

RE-EXAMINATION OF PASSIVES  
AND RELATED ASPECTS  
IN JAPANESE SYNTAX

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ABSTRACT

Hiromi Yamazaki

RE-EXAMINATION OF PASSIVES AND RELATED ASPECTS IN JAPANESE SYNTAX

The passive construction has played an important role, in different ways, in various types of grammatical framework. It has motivated Chomsky to introduce transformations and the basic concept of the deep and surface structures. It has also contributed to the foundation of Relational Grammar and to that of Bresnan's realistic model (1978).

In the literature of Japanese linguistics the passive construction is also one of the topics that has been discussed to a great extent. There have been two major contrasting theories proposed for Japanese passives within the standard transformational framework: Uniform and Nonuniform Theory. The main aim of this thesis is to propose a theory which can account for more facts about Japanese passives than those above. Revised Uniform Theory (R.U.T.) is introduced for this purpose. The proposal of a theory such as R.U.T. is not totally new in respect of the deep structure of passives, since Inoue (1976) has proposed a comparable theory in this respect. However, in this thesis a different passive rule is argued for with a correspondingly different analysis of the surface structure from Inoue's. In particular it is shown that certain passive sentences cannot be accounted for by the rule based on Inoue's (or by any other rule which derives a passive subject solely from an object of an active sentence in one way or another). As a result Passive-Raising is proposed. In the course of the discussion, it is shown that it is necessary to incorporate the interpretive approach of adverbs into the Extended Standard Theory. The rules are designed to apply according to Pullum's (1976) notion of the Universally Determined Rule Application principle. Two arguments concerning passives (by Kuroda 1965 and by Kuno 1976) are then re-considered from the point of view of R.U.T. In addition, the causative construction is discussed in relation to passives and Chomsky's (1973/75/76) conditions on transformations are examined on the basis of Passive-Raising. It is shown that his conditions do not hold in Japanese.

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It must be emphasized that any errors or mistakes that may remain in this thesis are solely my own responsibility.

CHAPTER I

UNIFORM AND NONUNIFORM THEORY



## 1.0. Introduction

This chapter is divided into four major sections:

1.1. illustrates two types of Japanese passives, direct and indirect passives; two major contrasting theories, Uniform and Non-uniform Theory; and the classic arguments based on reflexives in direct passives.

1.2. re-examines the devices proposed by each theory to account for the behaviour of reflexives in direct passives. The analysis of data consisting of direct passives containing reflexives on which the classic arguments were based will be re-analyzed.

1.3. re-examines another well-known argument based on adverbial scope in direct passives. It will be shown that adverbials should be treated interpretively on both deep and surface levels of derivation. The proposed theories then will be compared from the point of view of their treatments of indirect passives and of relationships between direct and indirect passives.

1.4. summarizes the above re-examinations and will show that each theory discussed so far is inadequate at some point.

## 1.1. Background

### 1.1.1. Alternative views

It has been recognized that there are two types of passives in Japanese; plain and affective passives in N. McCawley's terms or direct and indirect passives in Howard and Niyekawa-Howard's terms. The latter terms will be adopted here throughout the discussion. The examples (1) - (3) below are direct passives, whereas (4) - (6) are indirect passives.

- (1) Taroo wa wanpakuboozu ni buta-re-ta.  
Taro       naughty boy by hit-pass-past  
'Taro was hit by the naughty boy.'
- (2) Kodomo wa niwatori ni oikake-rate-ta.  
child       chicken by chase-pass-past  
'The child was chased by the chicken.'
- (3) Taroo wa sensei   ni home-rare-ta.  
              teacher by praise-pass-past  
'Taro was praised by the teacher.'
- (4) Tanaka-san wa Taroo o wanpakuboozu ni buta-re-ta.  
Mr. Tanaka               naughty boy by hit-pass-past  
'Mr. Tanaka had Taro hit by the naughty boy.'
- (5) Satoo-san wa kodomo o niwatori ni oikake-rare-ta.  
Mr. Sato       child   chicken by chase-pass-past  
'Mr. Sato had the child chased by the chicken.'
- (6) Watasi wa Taroo o sensei   ni home-rare-ta.  
I                        teacher by praise-pass-past  
'I had Taro praised by the teacher.' <sup>1</sup>

Each verb above, which is clause-final, is divided into three parts. Butareta in (1) and (4), for instance, can be broken down into buta-, an inflectional form of a verb butu 'hit', re-, an inflectional form of a passive marker reru, and ta, a past tense marker. In the same way, oikakerareta in (2) and (5) is divided into oikake-, originating from oikakeru 'chase', rare-, an inflectional form of another passive marker rareru, and ta. As for homerareta in (3) and (6), it consists of home-, coming from the basic form homeru 'praise', rare- and ta. The choice between the two passive markers reru and rareru is phonologically determined, depending on the last vowel of the inflected form of the preceding verb.<sup>2</sup> The particle (also called postposition) wa in each example (1) - (6) is a theme marker, but in this kind of structure above, NP + wa can be appropriately compared to the subject in English.<sup>3</sup> Ni is a particle which marks an agent, corresponding to the English preposition 'by'. The particle o is a direct object marker.

The main differences between those two types of passives can be illustrated as follows:

(a) Direct passives (1) - (3) have corresponding active counterparts, while indirect passives (4) - (6) have no such counterparts. That is, direct passives are parallel to English passives, while indirect passives are peculiar to Japanese. The subjects in the examples (1) - (3) are the arguments (direct objects in these cases) of the verbs butu 'hit', oikakeru 'chase' and homeru 'praise' respectively. Thus they have corresponding active sentences (7) - (9):

- (7) Wanpakuboozu wa Taroo o but-ta.  
naughty boy hit-past  
'The naughty boy hit Taro.'

(8) Niwatori wa kodomo o oikake-ta.  
 chicken child chase-past  
 'The chicken chased the child.'

(9) Sensei wa Taroo o home-ta.  
 teacher praise-past  
 'The teacher praised Taro.'

On the other hand, the subjects in (4) - (6) which also involve those verbs mentioned above, are not the arguments of those verbs. This fact predicts that indirect passives carry no corresponding active counterparts, which is illustrated in the ungrammatical sentences (10) - (12):

(10) \* Wapakuboozu wa Tanaka-san o/ni Taroo o but-ta.  
 naughty-boy Mr. Tanaka hit-past

(11) \* Niwatori wa Satoo-san o/ni kodomo o oikake-ta.  
 chicken Mr. Sato child chase-past

(12) \* Sensei wa watasi o/ni Taroo o home-ta.  
 teacher I praise-past

In addition to o, described as a direct object marker, the particle ni, which corresponds to the English preposition 'by' in such sentences as (1) - (6), can also serve as an object marker (indirect object marker) in appropriate structures. As can be seen in (10) - (12), neither of those object markers can fit in the above sentences.<sup>4</sup>

These ungrammatical strings show that setting up the agent as the subject in an attempt to produce an active sentence corresponding to an indirect passive does not work. Howard and Niyekawa-Howard (1976: 202) describe an indirect passive as containing "one more noun phrase than appears in its closest active counterpart."

(b) Intransitive verbs can be passivized as indirect passives:

(13) Taroo wa ame ni hura-re-ta.

rain by fall-pass-past

'Taro had rain fallen on him.' ('Taro was rained on.')

(14) Taroo wa Hanako ni ko-rare-ta.

Hanako by come-pass-past

'Taro had Hanako come.'

Now verbs like huru (whose meaning is 'fall', but whose subject is limited to 'rain', 'snow' or something similar), in the form of hura- in (13) and kuru 'come', in the form of ko- in (14) are intransitive and they can be passivized as indirect passives.

(c) Indirect passives have the implication that the subject is affected by the state of affairs expressed by the rest of the sentence. That is, they necessarily carry some kind of emotional connotation in which the subject is either negatively or positively affected. Direct passives do not necessarily carry such implication. The indirect passives (13) and (14), for instance, suggest that Taro was annoyed by the rain or by Hanako's coming. Now look at example (15):

(15) Taroo wa kaisya no subete o makasa-re-te,

firm of all leave-pass-conjunctive particle

tokuini omot-ta.

proud felt

'Taro felt proud, for he had all the affairs of the firm left in his charge.'

In contrast with (13) and (14), which carry negative implications, the indirect passive clause in (15) shows that Taro was pleased and proud that all the affairs of the firm were left in his charge.

Although whether the subject of indirect passives is adversely or positively affected entirely depends on the context (N.McCawley, 1972), it is clear that it is always emotionally affected in some way. For this reason, indirect passives are also called 'affective passives' and direct passives 'plain' or 'pure passives'.

(d) Indirect passives do not allow inanimate subjects, as shown in the pairs (16) and (17), whereas direct passives do, which is shown in examples (18) and (19):

- (16) a. Ziroo wa Akiko ni kamera o kowasa-re-ta.  
 Jiro Akiko by camera break-pass-past  
 'Jiro had his camera broken by Akiko.'
- b. \* Ziroo no kamera wa Akiko ni-yotte syattaa o kowasa-re-ta.<sup>5</sup>  
 Jiro 's camera by shutter break-pass-past  
 'Jiro's camera had its shutter broken by Akiko.'
- (17) a. Hiroshi wa kodomo ni hon o yabura-re-ta.  
 Hiroshi child book tear-pass-past  
 'Hiroshi had his book torn by the child.'
- b. \*Hiroshi no hon wa kodomo ni-yotte peegi o yabura-re-ta.  
 Hiroshi's book child by page tear-pass-past  
 'Hiroshi's book had its page torn by the child.'

Compared with the ungrammatical (b) sentences in (16) and (17), whose subjects are inanimate, the direct passives (18) and (19) below, whose subjects are also inanimate, are grammatical:

- (18) Agasa Kurisutii no hon wa sekaizyuu no hitobito ni-yotte  
 Agatha Christie 's book world-whole of people by

yoma-re-te-iru.

read-pass-conj. par-pres. perf

'Agatha Christie's books have been read by people of the whole world.'

- (19) Kono ie wa niyakunen mae ni tate-rare-ta.  
 this house 200-years ago build-pass-past  
 'This house was built 200 years ago.'

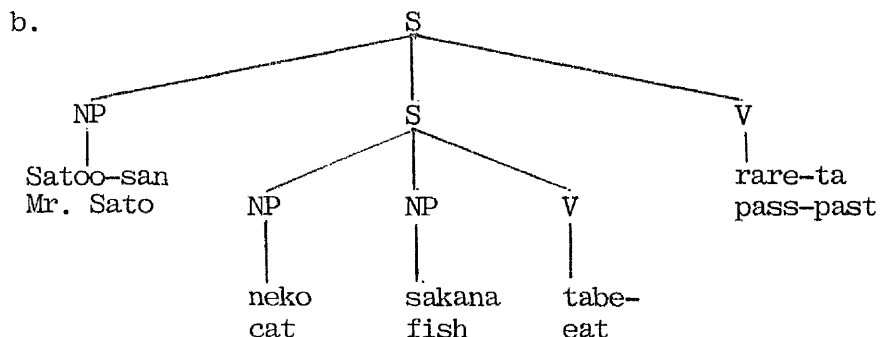
(The particle ni in (19) indicates a phrase of time.) In fact the point above that indirect passives do not allow inanimate subjects is related to the previously stated characteristic that they necessarily carry an emotional connotation of some kind. This is much more likely to be associated with animate subjects than inanimate ones.

There are two major contrasting theories concerning the Japanese passives as described above; the so called Uniform Theory (Hasegawa 1964 1968, Kuroda 1965, Muraki 1970, Makino 1972 1973 and Howard and Niyekawa-Howard 1976) and Nonuniform Theory (Howard 1968 1969, Niyekawa-Howard 1968, N. McCawley 1972, Kuno 1973, Harada 1973 and Perlmutter 1973). (The names of these theories were given by N. McCawley). The former of the two theories sets up the same type of deep structure for both direct and indirect passives, whereas the latter provides different deep structures for the two types of passives.

Let us first see how indirect passives are treated by those theories. Both theories set up the same deep structure and derivation for indirect passives as follows:

;

- (20) a. Satoo-san wa neko ni sakana o tabe-rare-ta.  
 Mr. Sato cat by fish eat-pass-past  
 'Mr. Sato had the fish eaten by the cat.'

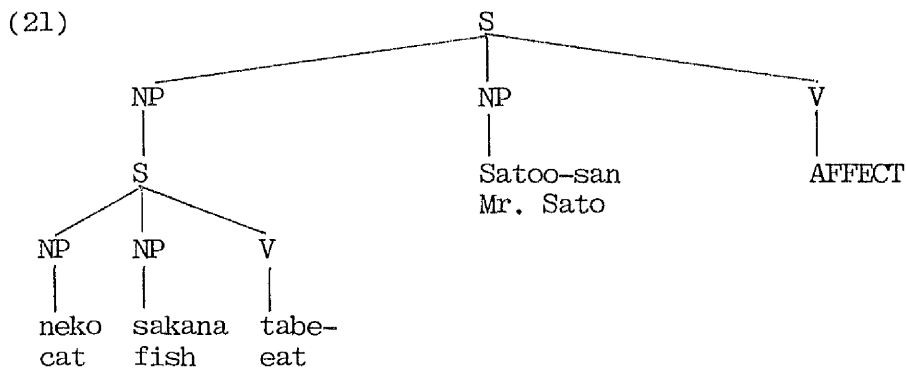


The representation (20b) is the deep structure of sentence (20a). As can be seen in (20b), grammatical functions of NP's are not marked by particles in the base. It is because the major particles (a subject marker ga, an object marker o and an indirect object marker ni) are introduced transformationally according to these theories. Following the general assumption that the basic word order of Japanese is SOV, the first NP immediately dominated by S is the subject and the second NP the object. The deep structure (20b) contains an embedded active sentence, which is 'the cat ate the fish' (however, the embedded sentence in this construction is, strictly speaking, tenseless). Thus under both theories, the indirect passive comes from a two-sentence source. Particles are assigned by a set of rules proposed by Kuno (1973) and Verb-raising adjoins the embedded verb tabe- (originating from taberu 'eat') to the matrix verb rare-ta 'pass-past'. Since the embedded sentence is left without a verb, the S node dominating that sentence is pruned following the universal convention of Ross,

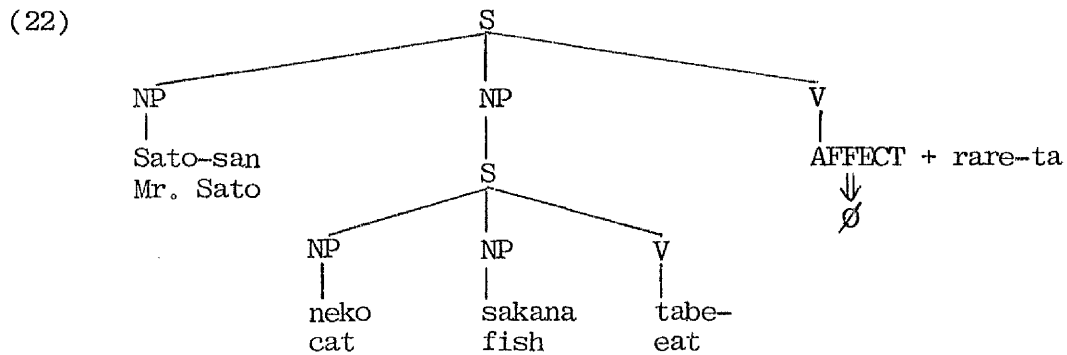


which yields the correct surface structure of the indirect passive (20a).<sup>6</sup>

N. McCawley (1972) argues for Nonuniform Theory and assigns a two-sentence source for indirect passives. However, she sets up a slightly different deep structure and derivation for indirect passives from the one just shown above:



In this proposal, the main subject is an embedded proposition and the main verb is an abstract verb AFFECT. According to N. McCawley, a rule of Passivization exchanges the main subject and the main object introducing a passive marker reru or rareru, which then will be followed by AFFECT deletion and Verb-raising, yielding (20a). The differences between this analysis and the one by Uniform and Non-uniform Theory cited above are that in this analysis we have Passivization and that the abstract verb AFFECT is set up with a sentential subject. Structure (22) below, which is derived by applying Passivization and AFFECT deletion to (21) is in fact almost identical to (20b), which Uniform and Nonuniform Theory set up as the deep structure:



Although N. McCawley's treatment of indirect passives is slightly different from the others, the principle of her theory is in accord with the standard Nonuniform Theory (by Kuno and others) in that it assigns different deep structures to direct and indirect passives. Thus it should be reasonable to call her theory Nonuniform without making any special distinction from the standard Nonuniform Theory. (The differences between the two analyses above will be discussed on p. 54-59)

As for direct passives, Nonuniform Theory sets up a movement rule which is called Pure Passive Formation (Kuno 1973). It exchanges the subject and the object of an active sentence just as Passivization does in English. Thus the deep structure of (2), for instance, is the structure corresponding to (8):

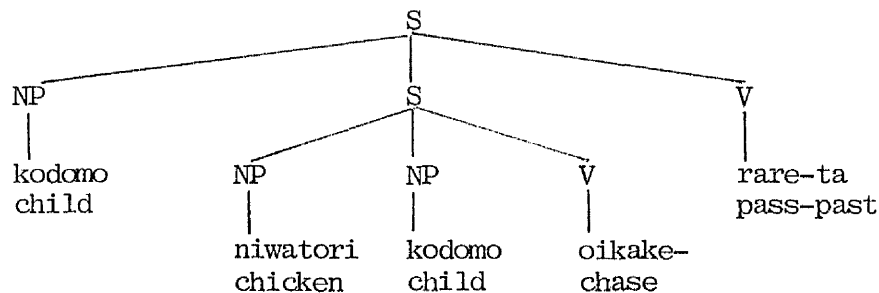
(2) Kodomo wa niwatori ni oikake-rare-ta.  
 child chicken by chase-pass-past  
 'The child was chased by the chicken.'

(8) Niwatori wa kodomo o oikake-ta.  
 chicken child chase-past  
 'The chicken chased the child.'

The object kodomo 'child' in (8) is made the subject in (2) and niwatori 'chicken' forms the agentive phrase with the particle ni 'by' added after it. Pure Passive Formation introduces the passive marker reru or rareru simultaneously with the exchange of the subject and object.

On the other hand, Uniform Theory, as the name itself suggests, assigns the same type of deep structure for direct passives as for indirect passives, that is, it posits a two-sentence structure:

(23)



As you can see in the tree above, in this theory the embedded object is identical with the subject of the matrix sentence in the deep structure of direct passives. Thus sentence (2) is derived by deleting the embedded NP kodomo 'child' in (23) under identity with the matrix subject by Equi-Object Deletion, together with Particle Placement and Verb-Raising.

Now we can summarize the two theories of the Japanese passive as follows. Uniform Theory sets up the same type of deep structure, which is a complex sentence structure, for both direct and indirect passives: (20b) for indirect passives and (23) for direct passives.

Nonuniform Theory also sets up a complex deep structure for indirect passives as (20b), or (21) in N. McCawley's analysis, but a simplex deep structure for direct passives as the structures corresponding to (7) - (9), which are the active counterparts to (1) - (3). The fact that there are two contrasting theories proposed for Japanese passives indicates that the relationship between direct and indirect passives is treated differently. That is, Uniform Theory concentrates on showing the similarities of these two kinds of passives, setting up one type of deep structure for both, while Nonuniform Theory concentrates on presenting differences between them, proposing two different types of deep structure. Thus Uniform Theory can show the fact that the two kinds of passives are indeed 'passives', in other words that they are ultimately one construction called 'passive'. On the other hand, Nonuniform Theory can indicate the differences between direct and indirect passives as (a) - (d) shown earlier.

N. McCawley (1972) tried to present in Nonuniform Theory the similarities of those two types of passives as well as the differences by setting up a deep structure as (21) for indirect passives. That is, the permutation rule, Passivization, introducing reru or rareru operates not only in direct passives but also in indirect passives, thus indicating their relatedness.

### 1.1.2. Arguments based on Reflexivization

As we have seen, one of the main differences between Uniform Theory and Nonuniform Theory lies in their treatments of direct passives: the former sets up a complex deep structure, and the latter a simplex deep structure. Therefore it seems natural that the discussions of the Japanese passive have centred on claiming the adequacy of a theory from the point of view of treating direct passives. Indeed the most common argument for Nonuniform Theory has been to show its ability to explain the behaviour of the reflexive *zibun* in direct passives. This has been presented mainly by Kuno (1973) and N. McCawley (1972). However, some years later than Kuno and McCawley, Howard and Niyekawa-Howard (1976) argued for Uniform Theory on the same grounds. Therefore, before going further, I shall present some relevant characteristics of the Japanese reflexive *zibun*.

First, *zibun* is used to refer to the subject, which is thereby its antecedent. This is called the subject-antecedent condition:

(24) *Taroo<sub>i</sub> wa Ziroo ni zibun<sub>i</sub> no syasin o mise-ta.*  
                         self    of picture    show-past  
 'Taro showed Jiro a picture of himself.'

Unlike in English, the reflexive only refers to Taroo, which is the subject. Secondly, it does not have to be a clausemate of the antecedent, which can be seen in (25):<sup>7</sup>

(25) *Taroo<sub>i</sub> wa [zibun<sub>i</sub> ga kai-ta] tegami o yaburi-sute-ta.*  
                         self        write-past letter    tear-throw-past  
 'Taro tore to pieces and threw away the letter that himself wrote.'

Zibun in the embedded clause (a relative clause in this case) refers to Taroo in the higher sentence. This example shows that the Japanese reflexive does not have to be in the same simplex sentence as its antecedent.<sup>8</sup> Now the fact that the antecedent of zibun must be the subject of a sentence means that in any simplex sentence the antecedent of zibun is unambiguous. However, since Reflexivization may extend beyond clause boundaries, it is possible for zibun to be ambiguous in a complex sentence with two or more subjects. Look at sentence (26):

- (26) Taroo<sub>i</sub> wa [Hanako<sub>j</sub> ga zibun<sub>i,j</sub> no syasin o Zi-roo ni miseru  
self of picture show  
no o] mokugekisi-ta.  
COMP witness-past  
'Taro witnessed Hanako showing a picture of self to Jiro.'

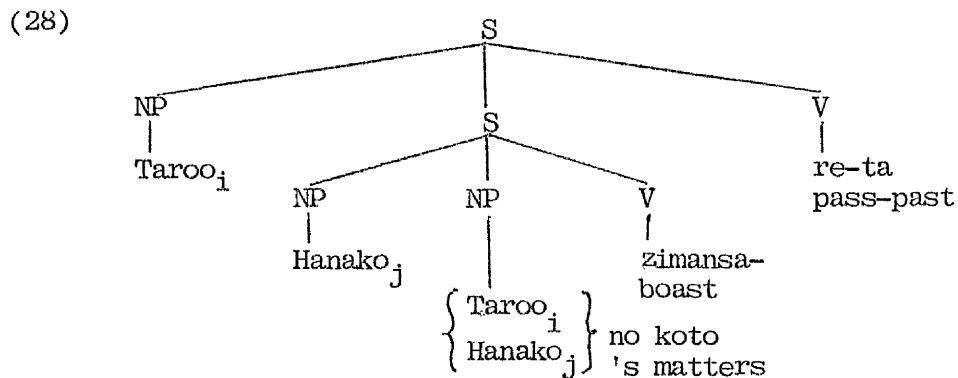
Zibun in the above example may refer either to Taroo or to Hanako, both of which are subjects of their clauses, but not to Zi-roo.

Keeping these characteristics of the Japanese reflexive in mind, let us have a look at the passives involving zibun. The example (27) below is an indirect passive containing the item in question.

- (27) Taroo<sub>i</sub> wa Hanako<sub>j</sub> ni zibun<sub>i,j</sub> no koto o zimansa-re-ta.  
by self of affairs boast-pass-past  
'Taro had self's affairs boasted by Hanako.'

Zibun is ambiguous in (27), referring to either Taroo or Hanako. The ambiguity of zibun in the above example indicates that Taroo and Hanako are subjects at some point of derivation and supports the two-sentence source analysis of indirect passives proposed by both theories.

The deep structure of (27) is as follows:



When Hanako boasted about Taro, the second occurrence of Taroo will be reflexivized under identity with the matrix subject, while when she boasted about herself, the second Hanako will be reflexivized owing to its coreferentiality with the embedded subject.

On the other hand, zibun in direct passives seems to cause complications. Look at the direct passive (29):

- (29) Taroo<sub>i</sub> wa Hanako ni zibun<sub>i</sub> no kanazuti de nagura-re-ta.  
                   by self of hammer with hit-pass-past  
 'Taro was hit with himself's hammer by Hanako.'

Zibun no kanazuti de is an instrumental phrase meaning 'with self's hammer'. Compare the following example:

- (30) \* Taroo wa Hanako<sub>j</sub> ni zibun<sub>j</sub> no kanazuti de nagura-re-ta  
                   by self of hammer with hit-pass-past  
 'Taro was hit with herself's hammer by Hanako.'

(sentence (30) will be shown to be in fact a good sentence later on p. 31-34). Example (30) consists of the same words in the same order as (29), but zibun refers to Hanako in the former and to Taroo

in the latter. It is explicitly stated by Kuno, N. McCawley and Howard and Niyekawa Howard that zibun is unambiguous in direct passives, the antecedent being the passive subject. Thus (29) is a good sentence with zibun referring to the subject Taroo, whereas (30) is marked as a bad sentence, for it is meant to refer to a non-subject NP Hanako. Now this unambiguity of zibun in direct passives causes a problem for both theories, which will be demonstrated below. If the hammer belongs to Taroo in the deep structure, both theories can generate the grammatical string (29). In Nonuniform Theory, its deep structure corresponds to (31):

- (31) Hanako wa Taroo<sub>i</sub> o Taroo<sub>i</sub> no kanazuti de nagut-ta.  
   of hammer with hit-past  
 'Hanako hit Taro with Taro's hammer.'

Pure Passive Formation applies to this structure, inverting the subject Hanako and object Taroo, adding the particle ni 'by' after Hanako and also introducing a passive marker reru in the form of re- and adjoining it to the verb. This yields (32):

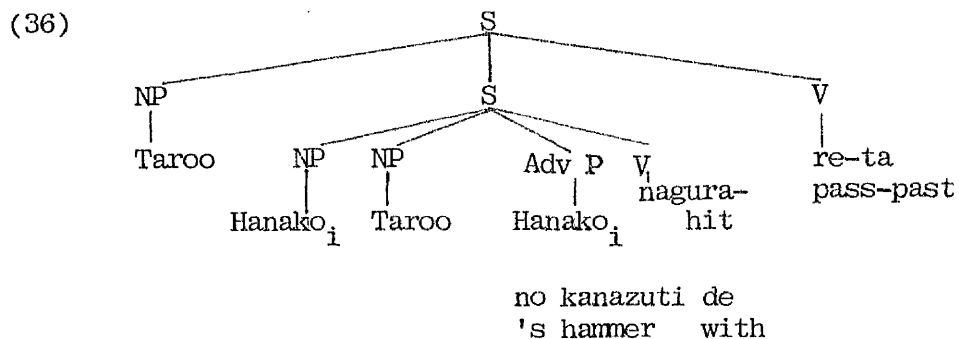
- (32) Taroo<sub>i</sub> wa Hanako ni Taroo<sub>i</sub> no kanazuti de nagura-re-ta.  
   by                    of hammer with hit-pass-past  
 'Taro was hit with Taro's hammer by Hanako.'

Now Taroo is the subject of the string and the application of Reflexivization to this string generates sentence (29). In Uniform Theory, on the other hand, the deep structure of (29) will be as (33):





structure with the hammer owned by Hanako is as (36):



The second occurrence of Hanako is reflexivized because the identical NP is the subject of the embedded sentence and the embedded object Taroo is deleted, thus generating (30).

Therefore both theories need some blocking device to prevent strings such as (30) from being derived. Nonuniform Theory deals with this problem by ordering Pure Passive Formation before Reflexivization. Thus Passivization applies to the structure (34), yielding the following:

- (37) Taroo wa Hanako<sub>i</sub> ni Hanako<sub>i</sub> no kanazuti de nagura-re-ta.  
   by                  of hammer   with hit-pass-past  
 'Taro was hit with Hanako's hammer by Hanako.'

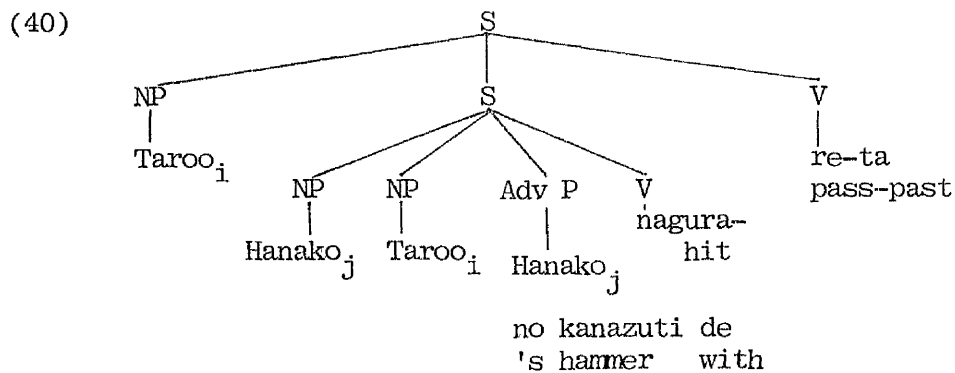
At this stage Reflexivization can no longer apply, since the subject-antecedent condition is not met. Instead, ordinary Pronominalization may apply, resulting in (38):

- (38) Taroo wa Hanako<sub>i</sub> ni kanozyo<sub>i</sub> no kanazuti de nagura-re-ta.  
   by her                  of hammer   with hit-pass-past  
 'Taro was hit with her hammer by Hanako.'



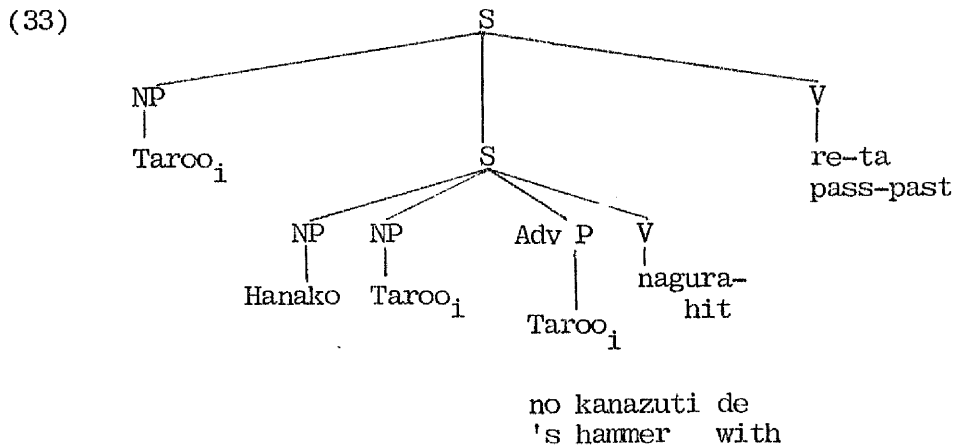
under Uniform Theory.

Now how this constraint blocks a sentence like (30) is as follows. The deep structure (36), which is given again as (40) with different index, has two pairs of coreferential NP's: two instances of Taroo and two instances of Hanako. According to Howard and Niyekawa-Howard, Reflexivization applies at any point wherever the subject-antecedent condition is met. Thus in the first cycle in structure (40) the second occurrence of Hanako is reflexivized and in the second cycle that of Taroo is reflexivized. This yields (41):



- (41) Taroo<sub>i</sub> wa Hanako<sub>j</sub> ni zibun<sub>i</sub> o zibun<sub>j</sub> no kanazuti de  
 by self self of hammer with  
 nagura-re-ta  
 hit-pass-past  
 'Taro had himself hit with herself's hammer by Hanako.'

This is the point where RCC applies. Because the two instances of zibun in (41) do not refer to the same antecedent, this is blocked as ungrammatical. Sentence (29), which does not violate RCC, is therefore grammatical. It can be accounted for as follows. The deep structure of (29) under the uniform treatment is repeated below:



In the second cycle both the second and the third Taroo are reflexivized under identity with the matrix subject. This produces the following:

- (42) Taroo<sub>i</sub> wa Hanako ni zibun<sub>i</sub> o zibun<sub>i</sub> no kanazuti de  
                                   by self      self    of hammer    with  
 nagura-re-ta  
 hit-pass-past  
 'Taro had himself hit with himself's hammer by Hanako.'

As is clear, the two zibun's refer to the same antecedent Taroo, which does not violate RCC. To generate (29), the first zibun in (42) will be deleted by Equi-Object Deletion.

We have seen that the unambiguity of the reflexive zibun in direct passives is now accounted for not only by Nonuniform Theory but also by Uniform Theory. They provide different explanations: Nonuniform Theory, by ordering Pure Passive Formation before Reflexivization, and Uniform Theory, by setting up RCC. Thus as far as the unambiguity of zibun in direct passives is concerned, both theories seem to be equally adequate. In the next section I shall re-examine the devices proposed by each theory and the behaviour of zibun in direct passives.

## 1.2. Re-examination - (1)

### 1.2.1. Inadequacy of the ordering and R.C.C. solution

First we shall look into the ordering solution proposed by Nonuniform Theory that Pure Passive Formation must apply before Reflexivization. Obviously this ordering solution presupposes the linear ordering hypothesis: in the grammar of any natural language a (possibly partial) order is defined on the set of transformational rules such that (within a given domain of application) the sequence of applications of rules in any well-formed derivation can be mapped in an order-preserving way onto the ordered set of rules (Soames, 1974, referred to by Pullum, 1976). However, Pullum (1976) convincingly argues against this widely accepted assumption that linear orderings should be extrinsically imposed on some rules of a grammar of a natural language. He states that there is no motivation for parochial ordering constraints (extrinsic orderings in Chomsky's terms (1965), which are imposed on a language-specific basis) and that all constraints on applicational precedence (ordering) of rules in syntax are universal. Even the most classic arguments for parochial orderings for English such as the argument from Reflexivization and Imperative Subject Deletion, from Extraposition and It Deletion and from Subject-Auxiliary Inversion and Tense Extraction are rejected by Pullum. Many other arguments proposed in defence of parochial orderings in English are criticized by Pullum simply as redundant, since either a proposed ordering is only a consequence of the structural descriptions of the rules (as Passivization and There Insertion) or else it is due to the Fallacy of Neglecting Cyclicity (as

Passivization and Relative Clause Formation, Question Formation and Sluicing, Passivization and Sentence Pronominalization, and Passivization/There Insertion and VP Deletion). Thus Pullum presents a number of good arguments which show that all those cases above, proposed as parochial orderings for English, can be handled by universal applicational precedence constraints and that the Universally Determined Rule Application hypothesis (abbreviated as UDRA by Pullum) holds. In other words all restrictions on the application of rules are determined by universal principles and hence there are no language-specific ordering restrictions between the rules of a grammar: rules apply whenever their structural descriptions meet a given representation.

Coming back to the ordering solution proposed by Nonuniform Theory, let us first see how Pure Passive Formation and Reflexivization can be formulated in Japanese:<sup>9</sup>

(43) Pure Passive Formation

$$\begin{array}{cccccccc}
 X_1 & - & [ & \text{NP} & - & \text{NP} & - & (\text{NP}) & - & \dots & - & [ & \text{+PASS} & ] & - & X_2 \\
 1 & & \text{S} & 2 & & 3 & & 4 & & 5 & & \text{V} & 6 & & \text{S} & 7 \Rightarrow (\text{OPT}) \\
 1 & \left\{ \begin{array}{l} 3 \\ 4 \end{array} \right\} & [2 \# \underline{\text{ni}}] & \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \emptyset \\ 3 \end{array} \right\} & \left\{ \begin{array}{l} 4 \\ \emptyset \end{array} \right\} & 5 & [6 \# \underline{\text{reru/rareru}}] & 7
 \end{array}$$

(44) Reflexivization<sup>10</sup>

$$\begin{array}{cccccccc}
 X_1 & - & [ & \text{NP} & - & X_2 & - & \text{NP} & - & X_3 & ] & - & X_4 \\
 1 & & \text{S} & 2 & & 3 & & 4 & & 5 & & 6 & \Rightarrow (\text{OBL}) \\
 1 & & 2 & & 3 & [ & 4 & ] & 5 & & 6 \\
 & & & & & [ & \text{+REFL} & ] & & & & &
 \end{array}$$

Condition: 2 and 4 are coreferential

Now from the fact that Reflexivization (44) is obligatory and Pure Passive Formation (43) is optional and given the assumption of the linear order of rule applications, it follows that the former must apply before the latter (Ringen, 1972). However, to block a sentence such as (30), Nonuniform Theory is forced to impose the ordering of (43) before (44). Thus the linear ordering hypothesis must propose this as a case of a parochial ordering, since the rules would otherwise be applied in the reverse order according to this hypothesis.

Let us see, however, whether we can show, following Pullum's argument for the UDRA hypothesis, that this imposed parochial ordering between Passivization and Reflexivization which is proposed by Non-uniform Theory could be proved to be redundant. That is to say, we shall consider whether this ordering can be shown to be the consequence either of the structural descriptions of the rules or of Fallacy of Neglecting Cyclicity, like those many cases in English, which were originally proposed as parochial (extrinsic) orderings under the linear ordering hypothesis, but which have been shown by Pullum to be redundant according to either of the two criteria above. First, if we look at the output of Pure Passive Formation (43), which is ultimately  $[\text{NP} - \text{NP} - \dots - \text{V}]$ , and the input of Reflexivization (44), which is  $[\text{NP} - \text{X} - \text{NP} - \text{X}]$ , we can see that there is nothing to determine the applicational precedence of the former over the latter. Hence it is not the case that the precedence of (43) over (44) is in fact structurally determined. The second possibility to prove that the proposed parochial ordering is redundant is to show that this ordering is in fact automatically explained by the principle of cycle.



However, although Pure Passive Formation is attributed to simplex sentences and Reflexivization may apply over a sentence boundary, the latter rule does not always operate on a higher cycle than that of the former when both rules are involved. Consequently Reflexivization does not have any crucial cyclic node embedded in a higher S in its structural description. In addition they are both cyclic. Thus it is not the case that (44) always applies in the later cycle than that of (43). Thus it seems that the proposed parochial ordering of rule (43) before (44) by Nonuniform Theory cannot be shown to be redundant from the point of view of the cycle, either.

The above observation has shown that the imposed parochial ordering between Passivization and Reflexivization cannot be proved to be redundant. What is implied by this is that either the proposed ordering in question is a true case of a parochial ordering and thus a genuine counterexample to Pullum's UDRA hypothesis, which claims that parochial orderings do not exist in a grammar of a natural language, or else that ordering is simply implausible on the basis of the UDRA hypothesis, since it is not within the domain of the universally determined rule applicational principle. The decision between those two possible predictions about the fate of the ordering solution depends on the plausibility of the UDRA hypothesis. In Pullum's discussion, the hypothesis is convincingly put forward and it seems reasonable to favour a grammar in which rules interact in a natural way as the UDRA hypothesis claims, i.e. rules apply whenever their structural descriptions are met. Therefore the parochial ordering solution of Pure Passive Formation and Reflexivization proposed by

Nonuniform Theory can be rejected as unwarranted. (In fact, it will be shown subsequently (c.f. p.33) that Pure Passive Formation and Reflexivization should not be parochially ordered at all within Non-uniform Theory and that they should apply whenever their structural descriptions are met, which supports the UDRA hypothesis. In other words, the ordering of those rules was necessarily imposed (parochial) only because it was set up on the false analysis of data. This confirms that parochial orderings do not exist in the correct analysis of data.)

As for the device proposed by Uniform Theory, that is RCC, let us look at some more examples that Howard and Niyekawa-Howard present to argue that the constraint is independently needed and well-motivated (Howard and Niyekawa-Howard, 1976:230).

(45) Taroo<sub>i</sub> wa [Hanako ga zibun<sub>i</sub> no kawari ni zibun<sub>i</sub> no heya de  
 self of behalf on self of room in  
 zibun<sub>i</sub> no sigoto o si-te-i-ta to] it-ta  
 self of work do-conj par-prog-past COMP say-past  
 'Taro said that Hanako was doing himself's work in himself's  
 room on himself's behalf.'

(46) Taroo wa [Hanako<sub>i</sub> ga zibun<sub>i</sub> hitori de zibun<sub>i</sub> no heya de  
 self alone by self of room in  
 zibun<sub>i</sub> no sigoto o si-te-i-ta to] it-ta  
 self of work do-conj par-prog-past COMP say-past  
 'Taro said that Hanako was doing herself's work by herself  
 alone in herself's room.'

Now zibun in the phrase zibun no kawari ni (on self's behalf) in (45) is semantically unambiguous, referring only to Taroo, and zibun in the phrase zibun hitori de (by self alone) in (46) is also unambiguous,

referring only to Hanako. The other instances of zibun in (45) also refer to Taroo, and the sentence would be ungrammatical if either of them was meant to refer to Hanako. The same is true of (46), the other occurrences of zibun referring both to Hanako and never to Taroo. This phenomenon is precisely what R.C.C. predicts.

However, this phenomenon that multiple instances of the reflexive within a given domain must share the same antecedent seems to be perceptually orientated and not purely syntactic. Bever observes the following sentences in English (Bever, 1976:77):

- (47) a. The boy kissed her only after the girl kissed him.  
 b. The boy kissed the girl only after the girl kissed him.  
 c. The boy kissed her only after the girl kissed the boy.

(48) ? The rock bounced on it after the boulder struck it.

Now (47a) is constructed by combining the two sentences reflected in (47b) and (47c). However, sentence (48), which is syntactically parallel to (47a), is unacceptable on the same cross-referring interpretation that was perfectly acceptable in (47a): the first it cannot refer to the boulder, while the second it refers to the rock. Since (47a) and (48) are syntactically parallel, Bever argues that the difficulty of the latter does not lie in its syntax but rather in the confusion introduced by having the two identical pronouns, it cross-referring. His prediction is shown to be correct by the following examples:

(49) The boy kissed the girl after she kissed him.

(50)? The rock bounced on the boulder after it struck it.

In contrast with (49), which is easy to understand, (50) is unacceptable for the cross-referring interpretation, which would mean 'the rock bounced on the boulder after the boulder struck it'. Thus Bever defines the following perceptual principle (Bever, 1976:77):

(51) Superficially identical definite noun phrases in the same discourse corefer.

The principle above explains the unacceptability of the cross-referring interpretation of (48) and (50) since it requires that it always refer to the same referent.. Now we realize that RCC is just an instance of principle (51), which is perceptually orientated.

Another point is as follows. According to Howard and Niyekawa-Howard, in the case of grammatical direct passives involving zibun as (29), the NP to be deleted must undergo Reflexivization as shown in (42) with the sole purpose of indicating that RCC is not violated. This operation of reflexivizing an NP which is afterwards to be deleted by Equi-Object Deletion is not well-motivated, for it would be totally unnecessary if it were not for RCC. What is more seriously wrong with the operation of deleting a reflexive which is assigned the same index for coreferentiality with the subject is that it violates the principle of unique recoverability of deletion (52) (Brame, 1976:89):

(52) Deletion transformations apply just in case the deleted terms are uniquely recoverable.

An NP which is not strictly identical (both stringwise and structurally) to its would-be-controller cannot be uniquely recoverable if deleted, since the information for unique recoverability would not be present in the structure resulting from its application. Now let us look back at structure (42), to which Equi-Object Deletion is supposed to apply, thus deleting the first occurrence of zibun and producing the following:

- (29) Taroo<sub>i</sub> wa Hanako ni  $\emptyset$  zibun<sub>i</sub> no kanazuti de nagura-re-ta.  
                                   by self 's hammer with hit-pass-past  
                                   'Taro was hit with himself's hammer by Hanako.'

From this structure it is impossible to recover zibun as the deleted NP under identity with Taroo. The only possible NP recoverable is Taroo. The point is that the deleted term was not stringwise identical to the controller.

From the above two arguments, it must be concluded that RCC is implausible on the grounds that it is not purely syntactic and it involves a deletion operation which violates the unique recoverability principle.<sup>11</sup>

1.2.2. On the analysis of a reflexive in direct passives

Having shown that both devices - the imposed (parochial) ordering and R.C.C. - which are set up to block a sentence like (30) are not plausible, I would now like to show that they are in fact unnecessary. That is, string (30) should not be blocked at all, since it is perfectly grammatical. In other words, zibun is ambiguous in direct passives as well as in indirect passives. Compare the following sentences:

- (53) Taroo<sub>i</sub> wa Hanako<sub>j</sub> ni zibun<sub>i</sub> , j no kanazuti de  
 by self | | of hammer with  
           | |  
           a b  
 nagura-re-ta node { a.  
 hit-pass-past because { b.

a. onaji koto ga mata okora-nai-yooni, kare wa moo  
 same thing again happen-not-so that he any longer  
 kanazuti o mota-nai koto ni kime-ta.  
 hammer have-not idea decide-past

b. keisatu ga sirabe ni ki-ta toki, Taroo no  
 police investigating for come-past when of  
 kanazuti ni wa nan no syooko mo mitukara-nakat-ta.  
 hammer on no of trace even be found-not-past

'Because Taro was hit with self's hammer by Hanako,

- { a. he decided not to have a hammer any longer, so that  
 the same thing would not happen again.'  
 { b. no trace was found on Taro's hammer when the police  
 came to investigate.'

Now if a direct passive such as (29) is followed by a clause like the one in (53a), most native speakers seem to feel that zibun refers to Taroo. However, when there is a clause as (53b) following, they agree that zibun refers to Hanako.<sup>12</sup> As a matter of fact, Inoue (1976:96) actually mentions the possibility of the ambiguous status of zibun in direct passives. Thus we have to take into account this behaviour of zibun, viz. that it is able to refer to Hanako as well. (54) and (55) are further examples of this kind.

(54) Taroo<sub>i</sub> wa Hanako<sub>j</sub> ni iti-zikan mo zibun<sub>i, j</sub> no  
by one-hour even self a, b of  
uti de matasa-re-te, { a  
house in make wait-pass-conj par { b

a. mati-kutabire-te, iikagen gaisyutusi-yoo to  
wait-tired of-conj par at that point go out-intend COMP  
omot-te-i-ta.  
think-conj par-prog-past

b. okyaku o uti e age-te, sonnani nagaku  
guest house into let enter-conj par so long  
mataseru kanozyo no manaa o utagat-ta.  
make wait her of manners doubt-past

'Taro was made to wait in self's house for an hour by Hanako,

- { a. and he was thinking of going out at that point, for  
he was tired of waiting.'  
b. and he wondered at her manners, in that she made her  
guest wait so long after letting him enter.'

(55) Ziroo<sub>i</sub> wa Mitiko<sub>j</sub> ni zibun<sub>i,j</sub> no syasin o mise-rare-te, {<sup>a</sup>  
by self a, b of picture show-pass-conj<sup>b</sup>

- { a. sira-nai toki ni tot-ta kanozyo o utomasiku omot-ta.  
know-not time in take-past her detestably feel-past  
b. kanozyo wa syasin no hoo ga kireida to omot-ta.  
she picture of more pretty COMP think-past

'Jiro was shown a picture of self by Michiko,

- { a. and he found her detestable in that she took his picture  
when he was not aware of it.'  
b. and he thought that she was prettier in the picture.'

Zibun in (54a) and (55a) refers to the passive subject, which is Taroo and Ziroo respectively, whereas it refers to Hanako in (54b) and Mitiko in (55b). Thus zibun in direct passives is potentially ambiguous.

The above examples (53) - (55) show that there is no need to block a string like (30), since it is grammatical just as (29) is. Now the fact that neither of the devices proposed by the two theories are not needed to block a sentence such as (30) is compatible with the previous arguments that those devices are implausible. These arguments show that ordering solution (parochial ordering) violates the UDRA hypothesis and R.C.C. is not purely syntactic and in addition violates the principle of unique recoverability. Given the re-analysis of data, we can see that those solutions had to be proved implausible because they were set up on the false analysis of data.

It was shown earlier (c.f. 1.1.2) that the reflexive zibun is ; analyzed as unambiguous by Uniform and Nonuniform Theory and that both theories are equally adequate in accounting for the unambiguous status



of zibun, because each theory proposed its own device to block sentences such as (30). However, the above discussion has shown that zibun is in fact potentially ambiguous and that the blocking devices should be abandoned. In any case they have been independently shown to be unwarranted (c.f. 1.2.1.). Given this analysis of the potentially ambiguous status of zibun and consequently the rejection of the blocking devices, the situation is that the two theories without the blocking devices would be still equally adequate, since they would both generate sentences such as (30), as shown earlier (c.f. p18 -19), thus accounting for the ambiguous status of zibun in direct passives. It seems to be a little disappointing that when so much attention has been drawn in the literature to the behaviour of zibun in direct passives, the data was wrongly analyzed or else the fact that zibun could be ambiguous in this construction was ignored, being mentioned only in the notes. In the next section, I would like to re-examine how Nonuniform and Uniform Theory account for other phenomena occurring in passive sentences.

1.3. Re-examination - (2)

1.3.1. Argument for Uniform Theory based on adverbial scope: Makino's analysis.

As has been shown in the preceding sections, Reflexivization in direct passives does not constitute an argument for either theory, whether with the blocking devices or without. Instead, it seems that the scope of adverbs is crucial in deciding whether the deep structure of a direct passive is simplex, as Nonuniform Theory proposes, or complex, as under Uniform Theory. Look at the following examples:

(56) Hanako wa Taroo ni iyaiya       syootaisa-re-ta.  
   by unwillingly invite-pass-past  
       'Hanako was invited unwillingly by Taro.'

(57) Hanako wa Taroo ni wazato       buta-re-ta.  
   by intentionally hit-pass-past  
       'Hanako was hit intentionally by Taro.'

As Makino (1972) states, certain attitudinal adverbs are unambiguously associated with the subject of a simple sentence. Iyaiya 'unwillingly/reluctantly' and wazato 'intentionally' are such adverbs. The point is that they are ambiguous in the above direct passives (56) and (57). In (56), for instance, iyaiya is associated either with Hanako, which gives the reading that Hanako did not really want to be invited, or with Taroo, which indicates that Taro did not really want to invite Hanako.

If direct passives are to be derived from their corresponding active structures as Nonuniform Theory claims, there is no explanation for the fact that the adverbs in (56) and (57) are ambiguously associated with both Hanako and Taroo. The following examples are the active counterparts corresponding to (56) and (57):

(58) Taroo wa Hanako o iyaiya           syootaisi-ta.  
  unwillingly invite-past  
'Taro invited Hanako unwillingly.'

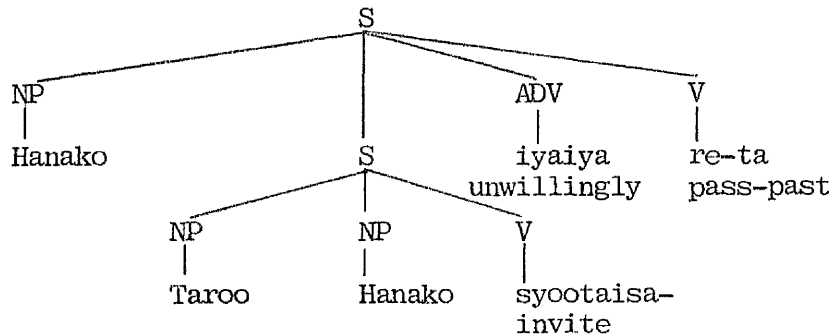
(59) Taroo wa Hanako o wazato           but-ta.  
  intentionally hit-past  
'Taro hit Hanako intentionally.'

The adverbs in question are only associated with Taroo, since this is the only subject in both (58) and (59), whose structures correspond to the deep structures of (56) and (57) respectively under the non-uniform treatment. Insofar as Nonuniform Theory is based on the assumption that semantic dependencies of adverbs of the type we are concerned with here should be captured solely in the deep structure, the theory fails to provide ambiguous readings for sentences such as (56) and (57). This is because it gives only one reading in which the adverb is associated with the NP of ni-phrase in the surface structure. That this analysis by Nonuniform Theory concerning the ambiguous status of adverbs in direct passives is unwarranted is implied in Howard and Niyekawa-Howard (1976).

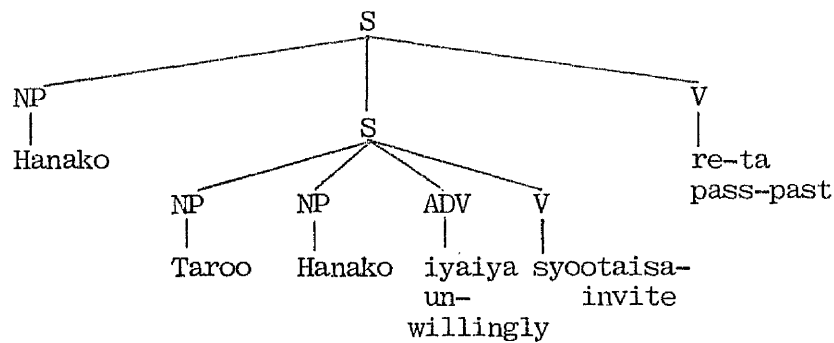
Makino in support of Uniform Theory gives an explanation for the ambiguity of adverbs in direct passives as outlined below. This is referred to by N. McCawley (1972) and also by Howard and Niyekawa-Howard (1976). (The presentations in (60) below are the inter-

pretations of Makino's analysis within the framework which does not adopt the node VP, though his structural description does include VP).

(60) a.



b.



As can be seen, two distinct deep structures are assigned to one direct passive (56), each showing the association of the adverb in question either with the matrix or the embedded subject. According to Makino, this clearly explains why the adverb iyaiya is ambiguous in a direct passive.

## 1.3.2. Against Makino's analysis

The above discussion of Makino's analysis seems to show that Uniform Theory is more adequate than Nonuniform Theory in treating the scope of adverbs in direct passives. However, the deep structure (60a), which is based on Makino's analysis, is not plausible on the following grounds. In order to show the association of the adverb iyaiya with the passive subject Hanako in the deep structure, Makino's analysis involves branching the adverb as a sister node of a passive verb reru. This is not satisfactory, because the passive verb reru/rareru is semantically empty and an adverb should not syntactically modify a semantically empty verb. That is to say, it is impossible to set up an analysis specifically directed towards making the semantic relations explicit in which the adverb syntactically modifies a verb it cannot semantically modify since the verb itself is semantically empty. It follows that the orientation of adverbs can only be semantically specified in a structure where they syntactically modify lexically meaningful verbs.

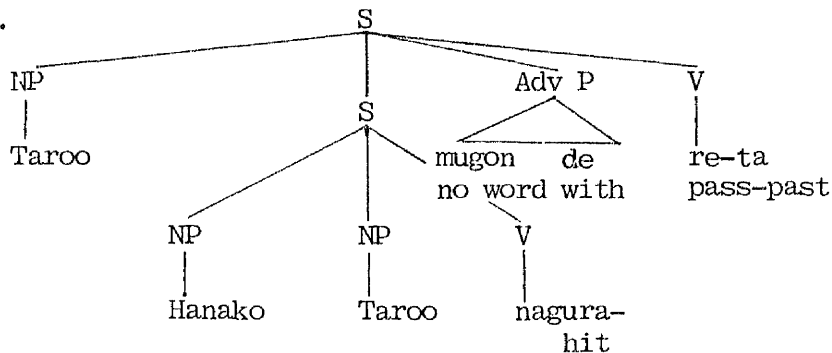
The above prediction that attitudinal (subject-orientated) adverbs should not be specified as syntactically modifying semantically empty verbs can be shown to be correct by the following examples:

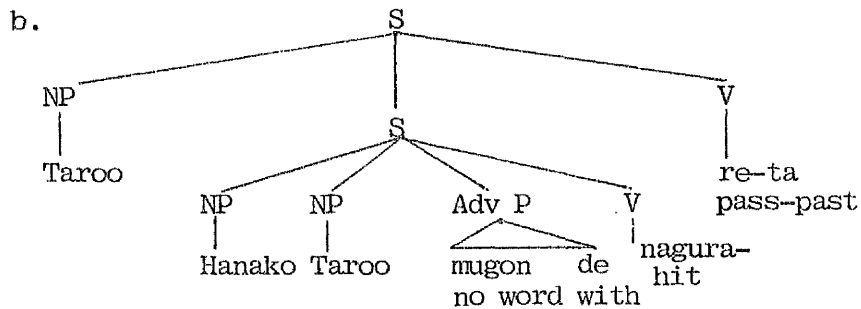
- (63) a. Taroo wa Hanako ni mugon de nagura-re-ta.  
   by no word with hit-pass-past  
   'Taro was hit without a word by Hanako.'
- b. Taroo wa Hanako ni mugon de donara-re-ta.  
   by no word with shout at-pass-past  
   'Taro was shouted at without a word by Hanako.'

- c. Taroo wa Hanako ni mugon de utawasa-re-ta.  
 by no word with make sing-pass-past  
 'Taro was made to sing without a word by Hanako.'

Now the adverbial mugon de 'without saying a word/without producing a sound' in (a) above is ambiguous, referring either to Taroo or Hanako. One reading is that Taro was hit by Hanako, during which time he (=Taroo) said nothing, and the other is that Taro was hit by Hanako, during which time she (=Hanako) said nothing. On the other hand, the same adverbial is unambiguous in (63b), being only associated with Taroo and not with Hanako, and the sentence thus has only one reading: Taro was shouted at by Hanako, during which time he (=Taroo) said nothing. As for (63c), the orientation of mugon de is towards Hanako and never Taroo. This is apparent in the only possible reading of sentence (63c): Taro was made to sing by Hanako, during which time she (=Hanako) said nothing. As has been seen, under Makino's analysis two distinct deep structures such as (60a) and (60b) are given for a direct passive involving a subject-oriented adverbial in order to account for the ambiguity of a sentence caused by the adverbial. Thus in his analysis the two deep structures below would be assigned to the ambiguous sentence (63a):

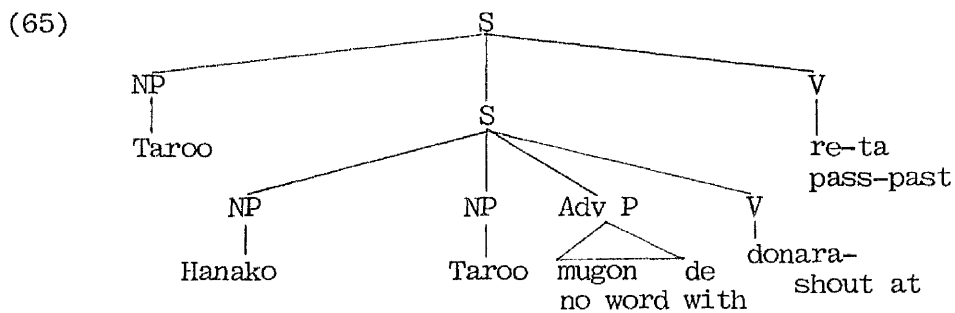
(64) a.





According to Makino, these two distinct deep structures are supposed to correspond to the different orientations of the adverbial mugon de in a sentence such as (63a).

Let us consider (63b). As has been stated, this sentence is unambiguous, since the adverbial mugon de is only associated with Taroo. Now it will be shown below that in order to wipe off the wrong interpretation, in which mugon de is associated with Hanako, we must semantically relate the adverbial to the lexically meaningful verb donaru 'shout at'. This is possible only when the adverbial is syntactically related to this lexically meaningful verb as in (65):



Structure (65) is one of the two deep structures of (63b) under Makino's analysis. Now the interpretation of the adverbial mugon de in the above structure, in which it would be associated with Hanako,

will be blocked by analogy with the unacceptability of the following sentence:

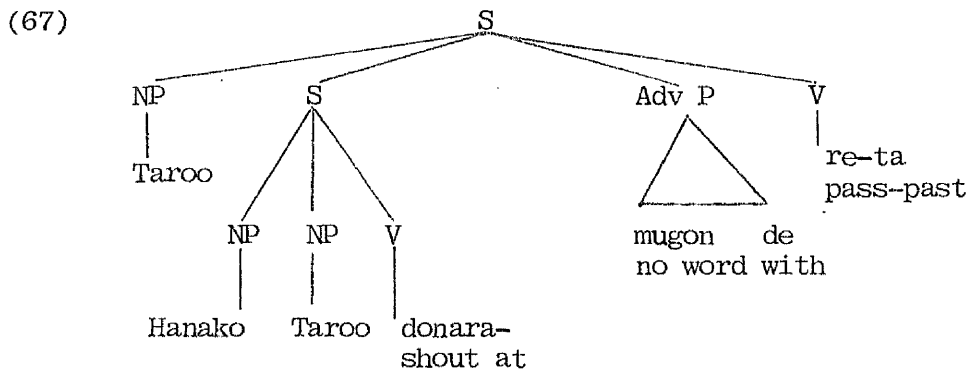
- (66) Hanako wa mugon de donat-ta.  
           no word with shout-past  
       'Hanko shouted without producing a sound.'

The above sentence is bad because of the semantic incongruity between the adverbial mugon de 'without saying a word/without producing a sound' and the verb donaru 'shout (at)'. That is, it involves a contradiction. Although a contradiction is independent of ungrammaticality and even if contradictory sentences are not assumed to be ungrammatical, it can still be argued that syntax should first provide a structure in which the contradiction involved can be accounted for by semantics. Having said that, if we look at structure (65), we can see that the adverbial mugon de syntactically modifies the verb donara- and therefore the contradiction between the semantics of the adverbial and of the verb can be stated. This consequently blocks the association of the adverbial with the subject of this verb, Hanako.

In this way, the unacceptable interpretation of (63b) is semantically explained using the syntactic structure (65) as a basis and is thereby correctly wiped off. Thus, in order to specify the orientation of an adverbial, the semantics of the adverbial should be checked against that of the verb involved, since the adverbial can be associated with the subject of a sentence only if its semantics matches that of the verb of this sentence. Furthermore a syntactic structure should be set up in such a way that semantic congruity or incongruity (contradiction) can be stated in the structure. Now if



this is the case, it leads Makino's analysis into difficulty in accounting for the correct interpretation of (63b) precisely because the semantic congruity between the adverbial and the verb cannot be properly explained in the structure he proposes. Let us look at the other type of deep structure which should also be given under Makino's analysis for sentence (63b):



From the above structure it is impossible to see whether the semantics of the adverbial and that of the verb match or not. This is due to the fact that deep structure (67) is set up in such a way that the verb does not carry any lexical meaning and therefore its semantics cannot be checked against that of the adverbial. This means that Makino's deep structure (67) cannot give an appropriate account for the association of the adverbial mugon de with the matrix subject Taroo, since, as has been suggested, in order to specify the orientation of an adverbial, the semantic congruity between the adverbial and a verb should be explicitly stated. The fact is that Makino's analysis provides a syntactic structure in which semantic congruity cannot be stated and therefore the deep structure (67) cannot adequately give

the correct reading of sentence (63b), viz. that Taro was shouted at by Hanako, during which time he (=Taro) said nothing. It follows then that (63a) cannot be interpreted properly either, since structure (64a) involves the same problem as (67) and thus one of the ambiguous readings is not adequately given for (63a).

However, one further move might be made within the framework adopted by Makino. It might be argued that semantic congruity is assumed between an adverbial and a verb unless there is a violent semantic incongruity involved between the two. This assumption would make it possible to establish an interpretation between an adverbial and a semantically empty verb such as reru/rareru. Mugon de 'without saying a word/without producing a sound' in structures (64a) and (67) would be interpreted in relation to re-ta 'pass-past' by stating that there is no violent semantic incongruity in the interpretation that Taro was done something to (somebody did something to Taro), during which time he (=Taro) said nothing. Therefore by this assumption, the orientation of the adverbial mugon de would be specified as Taroo, the subject of re-ta, in structures (64a) and (67), and thus the correct interpretations would be given to (63a) and (63b). However even if we adopt the above assumption which interprets adverbials in relation to semantically empty verbs such as reru/rareru, Makino's analysis would still face a problem. This is illustrated by (63c):

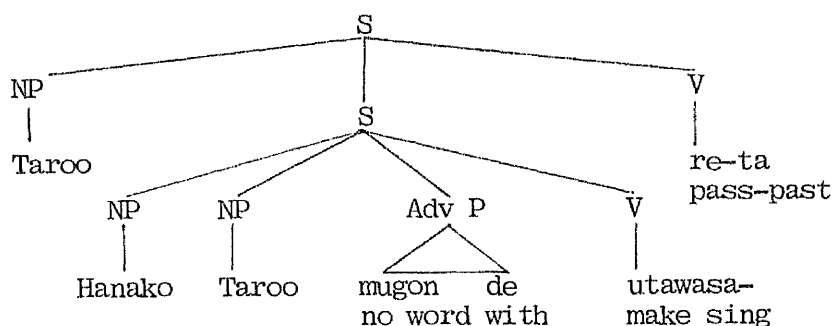
(63c) Taroo wa Hanako ni mugon de utawasa-re-ta.

by no word with make sing-pass-past

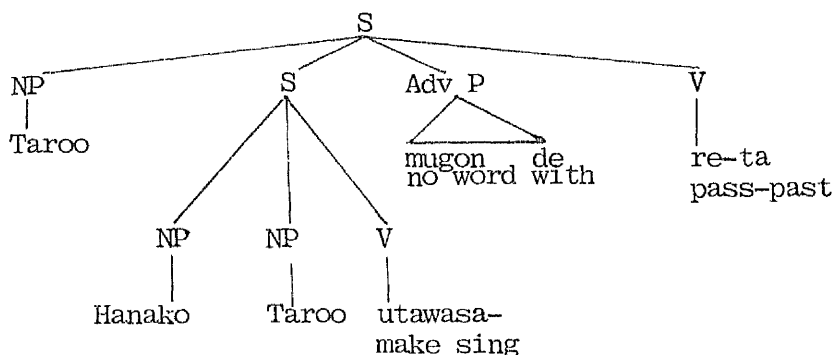
: 'Taro was made to sing without a word by Hanako.'

As stated earlier, mugon de only refers to Hanako in this sentence, i.e. Taro was made to sing by Hanako, during which time she (=Hanako) said nothing. The verb utawa-su 'make/let someone sing' is a causative verb, which originates from utawa-seru 'sing-cause.' At present it can be treated as a single transitive verb for the sake of avoiding an additional discussion of causatives at this stage. (See 4.1. for the discussion of causatives.) Now the deep structures under Makino's analysis which generate (63c) would be as follows:

(68) a.



b.



In structure (68a), mugon de can be interpreted as being associated with Hanako, since the semantics of mugon de 'without producing a sound' and that of utawasa - 'make sing' do not show any incongruity.

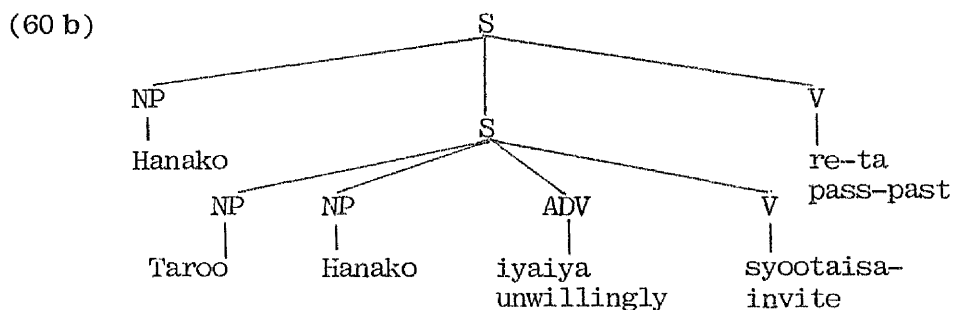
Thus the correct reading of sentence (63c) is provided based on structure (68a). As for structure (68b), there would be nothing to prevent

mugon de from being interpreted in relation to re-ta 'pass-past' and thereby from being associated with its subject Taroo. The above structure would thus provide the unacceptable reading, viz. that Taro was made to sing by Hanako, during which time he (=Taro) produced no sound. This unacceptable reading results from the assumption that the interpretation can be established between an adverbial and reru/rareru on the grounds that there is no violent semantic incongruity involved in the interpretation that Taro was done something to, during which time he said nothing. This has just been useful in establishing the correct interpretations of the adverbial in deep structures (64a) and (67). The assumption thus allows the adverbial to be interpreted irrespective of the embedded verb such as naguru 'hit' in (64a) or donaru 'shout at' in (67). However, the unacceptable interpretation given in (68b) above is due to the semantic incongruity (contradiction) between mugon de 'without producing a sound' and the whole set of verbs utawasa-re-ta 'was made to sing', since somebody cannot be made to sing without producing a sound. This contradiction cannot be predicted in structure (68b) because in this structure the verb to be semantically checked against the adverbial is not the whole set of verbs but only the passive verb re-ta, which is semantically empty. What this argument concerning sentence (63c) claims is that adverbials cannot be interpreted only in relation to a semantically empty verb for the purpose of explaining why they are or are not associated with the subject of this verb as the case may be. Thus it can be concluded ; that the orientation of adverbials can only be adequately accounted for when they are interpreted in relation to a lexically meaningful

verb. It follows then that the assumption tentatively proposed above for interpretations between adverbials and semantically empty verbs should be rejected after all. Thus deep structures (64a) and (67) should be definitely rejected because the interpretation was supposed to be established between the adverbial and reru/rareru but only by being supplemented by the above misleading assumption. The point is that an adverbial should not be interpreted irrespective of a lexically meaningful verb, while it is forced to be so interpreted in deep structures (60a), (64a), (67) and (68b), where it is syntactically branched as a sister node of reru/rareru. Now this leads us to the conclusion that a proper analysis should provide a structure in which adverbials syntactically modify only a lexically meaningful verb, so that they can be semantically checked against this verb. Hence Makino's analysis of adverbials cannot be maintained, since it provides a structure in which an adverbial syntactically modifies a semantically empty verb and thus fails to specify semantic congruity as in the case of (64a) or (67) and also fails to account for contradiction as in the case of (68b).

Since the deep structure of the type (60a) is rejected on the grounds discussed above, it could be claimed that under Uniform Theory the other type of deep structure (60b) is given as the only deep structure of a direct passive involving an adverbial such as (56). Then it becomes clear that Uniform Theory would not account for the ambiguous status of adverbials in direct passives, since only one reading is provided.

- (56) Hanako wa Taroo ni iyaiya syootaisa-re-ta.  
 unwillingly invite-pass-past  
 'Hanako was invited unwillingly by Taro.'



Thus the situation concerning adverbial scope in those two theories seems to be that neither of them would account for the full scope of adverbials in direct passives, since they only allow for one reading in which the adverbial is associated with the NP in the surface ni- phrase (agentive phrase).

It should be noticed that the idea in Uniform Theory of proposing two distinct deep structures for the ambiguous adverbials can be seen to be based on the meaning-preserving hypothesis, which assumes that the interpretation is given solely in the deep structure. However it was shown above that one of those two deep structures should be rejected in Uniform Theory and as a result the ambiguity of adverbials in direct passives would not be properly captured by either theory. Now this would be the situation only if we assumed the meaning-preserving hypothesis. In fact falsifying a deep structure of the type (60a) and claiming that the type (60b) is the only deep structure under Uniform Theory assignable to a direct passive involving adverbials directly corresponds to the rejection of the meaning-preserving hypothesis. This in turn argues for a non-meaning-preserving hypothesis and claims that interpretive rules should operate not only in deep structure but also in surface structure.

### 1.3.3. Nonuniform and Uniform Theory under the treatment of deep and surface interpretation of adverbs.

Before presenting how the deep and surface interpretative approach of adverbials would work in those theories in question, I would like to refer to Jackendoff's proposal (1972) for the interpretative treatment of adverbs in English. It is argued by Jackendoff that there is clear evidence for deep and surface interpretative rules of adverbs in English (Jackendoff, 1972: 47-107). He distinguishes several classes of adverbs according to their orientation and their surface positions in a sentence. There is a class of adverbs which may appear in the auxiliary position and may in this case be ambiguous between two readings; one commenting on the subject (subject-oriented reading) and the other indicating the manner in which the subject carries out whatever action is involved (manner reading). Consider the following examples from Jackendoff:

- (69) a. John {cleverly} dropped his cup of coffee.  
       b. It was {clever} of John to drop his cup of coffee.  
       c. It was {clumsy} of John to drop his cup of coffee.  
       d. The manner in which John dropped his cup of coffee was {clever.}  
   {clumsy.}

Sentences (69a) are ambiguous between the subject-oriented reading (69b) and the manner reading (69c). The point is that we get ambiguity of orientation between the surface subject and underlying subject if the adverb of this type is in the auxiliary position in passive sentences  
; (Jackendoff 1972:83)

- (70) a. John was carefully examined by the doctor.  
       b. Fred was carelessly arrested by the police.

Now (70a), for instance, has the two readings below:

(71) a. It was careful of John to be examined by the doctor.

b. The manner in which the doctor examined John was careful.

Jackendoff states, "We can explain these readings by saying that the interpretation of these subject-orientated S adverbs is based on the derived subject, but that these manner adverbs attribute a manner to the deep subject. In other words, the projection rule P-subject (interpretive rule for subject-oriented adverbs) applies to surface structure, but P-manner (interpretive rule for manner adverbs) applies to deep structure." (Jackendoff, 1972:83) His assumption is consistent with the fact that passives containing subject-oriented adverbs ( which are only subject-oriented because of the position in which they happen to occur) have the interpretation attributing their orientation only to the surface subjects (Jackendoff, 1972:82)

(72) a. The doctor cleverly has examined John.

b. John cleverly has been examined by the doctor.

c. It is clever of  $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{the doctor to have examined John.} \\ \text{John to have been examined by the doctor.} \end{array} \right.$

(73) a. The police carelessly have arrested Fred.

b. Fred carelessly has been arrested by the police.

c. It is careless of  $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{the police to have arrested Fred.} \\ \text{Fred to have been arrested by the police.} \end{array} \right.$

If the interpretation was given solely in the deep structure, the (b) sentences above would have the same reading as (a). Only the assumption that P-subject applies to the surface structure can account for the different readings of the (a) and (b) sentences, which are shown in



(c) of (72) - (73). Therefore English adverbs in certain cases should be interpreted in both deep and surface structure.

Now let us see how the analyses by Uniform and Nonuniform Theory will interact with this claim that interpretations should be given on both levels of derivation. In Nonuniform Theory, the structure of sentence (58), for example, corresponds to the deep structure of direct passive (56), both of which are repeated below as (74) and (75) respectively:

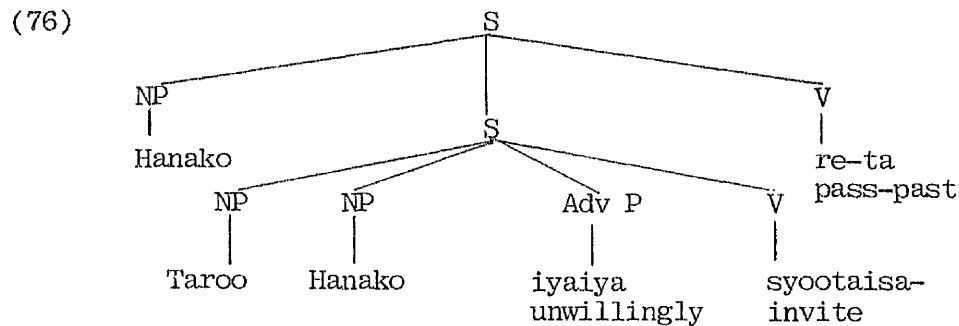
(74) Taroo wa Hanako o iyaiya       syootaisi-ta.  
   unwillingly invite-past  
 'Taro invited Hanako unwillingly.'

The structure of the above sentence is given an interpretation in which iyaiya 'unwillingly' is associated with the subject Taroo: Taro was unwilling to invite Hanako. Pure Passive Formation applies to the structure of sentence (74), deriving surface structure (75):

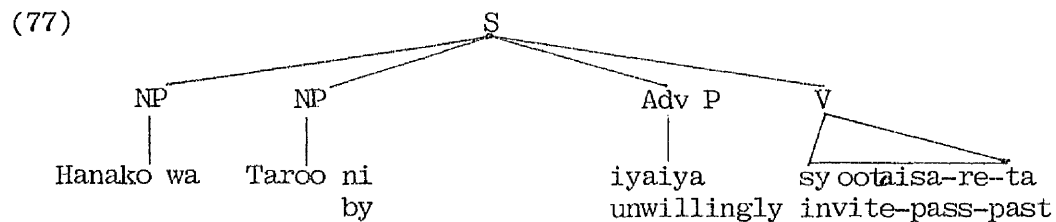
(75) Hanako wa Taroo ni iyaiya       syootaisa-re-ta.  
   by unwillingly invite-pass-past  
 'Hanako was invited unwillingly by Taro.'

At this stage, an interpretive rule applies, indicating the association of iyaiya with the derived subject Hanako and providing the reading that Hanako was unwilling to be invited by Taro. In this way, Non-uniform Theory would account for the ambiguity of attitudinal (subject-oriented) adverbs in direct passives within the deep and surface interpretive approach of adverbs.

On the other hand, Uniform Theory, now assigning only one deep structure for a direct passive involving an attitudinal adverb, has the underlying representation (76) for the passive sentence (75) above:



At this level, iyaiya is associated with the embedded subject Taroo. After Equi-Object Deletion, Verb-Raising and Particle Placement, we obtain a derived structure (77), which is equivalent to (75):



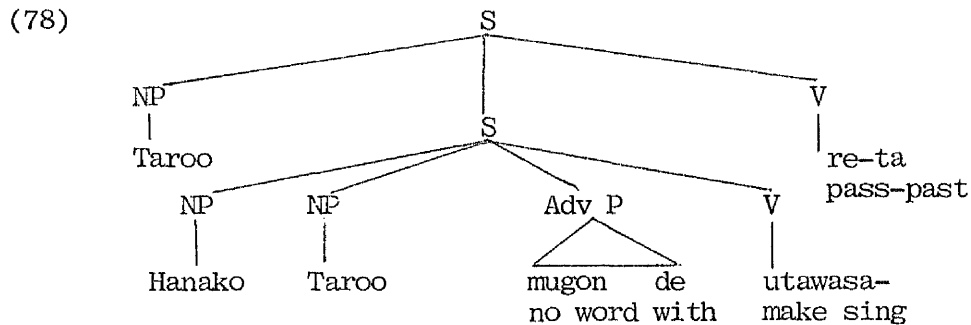
An interpretive rule assigns a reading in which iyaiya is associated with the surface subject Hanako. This is how Uniform Theory would account for the ambiguous status of adverbs in direct passives within the interpretive approach of adverbs.

As has been demonstrated, each theory when combined with the deep and surface interpretive approach of adverbs would adequately cope with adverbial scope in direct passives. Now it will be shown below that this treatment of adverbs can explain sentence (63c), which was shown to be problematic under Makino's analysis based on the meaning-

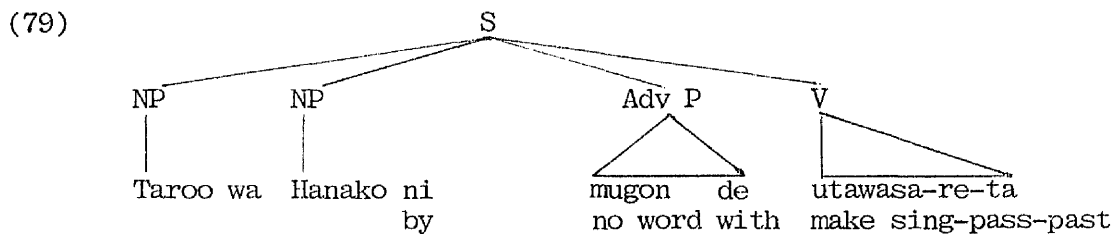
preserving hypothesis.

- (63c) Taroo wa Hanako ni mugon de utawasa-re-ta.  
 by no word with make sing-pass-past  
 'Taro was made to sing without a word by Hanako.'

Under Uniform Theory, for instance, the deep structure of (63c) would be as follows:



The interpretation would be given at this stage, indicating that Hanako made Taro sing, during which time she (=Hanako) said nothing, in which mugon de 'without a word' is associated with Hanako. After Equi-Object Deletion, Verb-Raising and appropriate Particle Placement, the surface structure is generated as follows:



In structure (79), the interpretation of mugon de in association with Taroo will be blocked on the grounds that the semantics of mugon de and that of the verb of Taroo, which is the whole set of the verbs utawasa-re-ta 'was made to sing' do not match: somebody cannot be made

to sing without producing a sound. As can be seen, the theory provides a syntactic structure in which adverbials always modify lexically meaningful verbs and in which therefore the semantic congruity or incongruity (contradiction) is explicitly stated. This makes it possible to explain why the adverbial is not associated with the subject or else why it is associated with the subject. Sentence (63c) would be accounted for in a similar way by Nonuniform Theory if it is combined with the above interpretive approach of adverbials.

It has been shown in this section that both theories would account for the ambiguous status of adverbials in direct passives within the deep and surface interpretive framework.<sup>13</sup> Thus the scope of adverbs in direct passives does not after all give any crucial evidence to argue for either theory in spite of the literature presented so far (Makino (1972), N. McCawley (1972) and Howard and Niyekawa-Howard (1976)).

Since the main difference between Nonuniform and Uniform Theory lies in their treatment of direct passives, we have concentrated on this construction. However, as the preceding section (1.2.) and this section so far have shown, neither reflexives nor adverbial scope can provide any supportive evidence to argue for either of the theories under consideration. Hence, the situation is that no crucial factor has been found to favour one theory over the other as far as direct passives are concerned. This brings us to a consideration of their treatment of indirect passives.

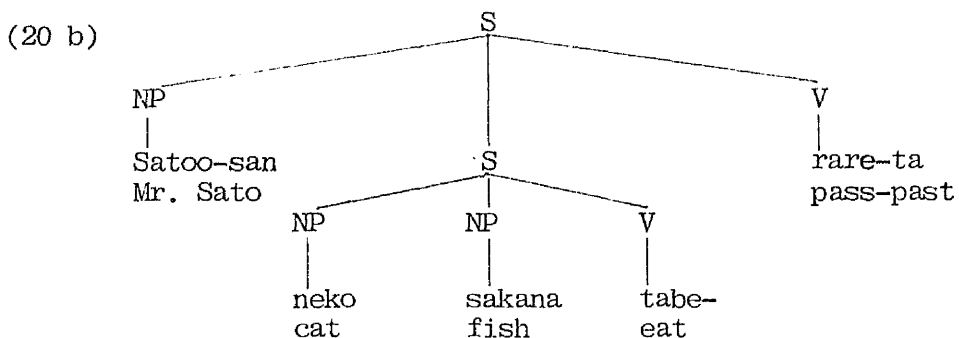
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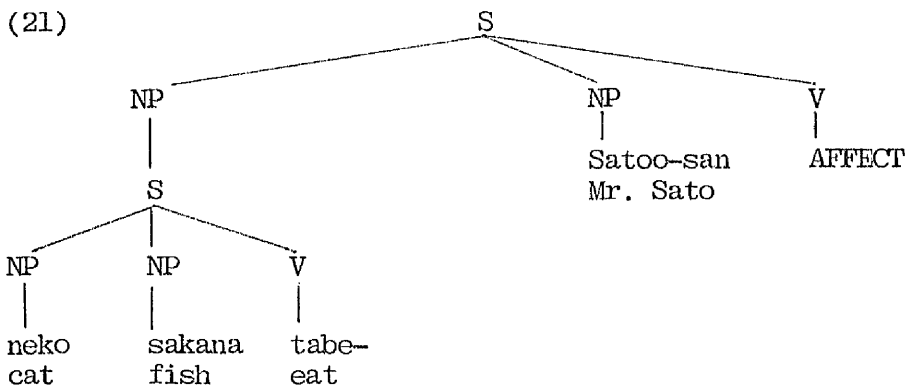
## 1.3.4. On the treatment of indirect passives

It should be recalled that both Nonuniform and Uniform Theory set up the same type of deep structure for indirect passives, that is, a complex structure (cf. p.9). However, N. McCawley, who supports Nonuniform Theory, proposes a deep structure for this construction that is also complex but slightly different from that set up by other linguists such as Kuroda (Uniform) and Kuno (Nonuniform).

The deep structure for indirect passives set up by Uniform Theory and the Nonuniform Theory proposed by Kuno and others (which will be called Kuno's Nonuniform Theory for convenience when the distinction is needed) is presented as (20b) and that by N. McCawley's Nonuniform Theory is presented as (21). Both of these are given again below:

- (20 a) Satoo-san wa neko ni sakana o tabe-rare-ta.  
 Mr. Sato      cat    by fish      eat-pass-past  
 'Mr. Sato had the fish eaten by the cat.'





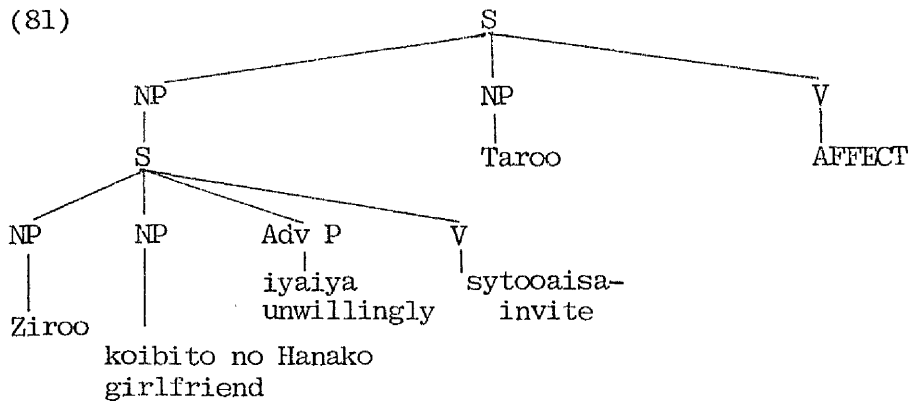
As can be clearly seen, both structures are complex. The differences between them can be stated as follows. First, the matrix verb is an abstract verb AFFECT in N. McCawley's analysis, whereas it consists of a passive marker and a past tense marker in the other. Second, the matrix subject is an embedded active sentence in the former and it is a lexical subject in the latter. Third, Passivization permutes the sentential subject and the matrix object introducing the passive marker reru or rareru in the former, while there is no such permutation rule in the latter.

The crucial motivation which led N. McCawley to propose a deep structure as (21) for indirect passives within Nonuniform Theory is to show the relatedness of direct and indirect passives, which Kuno's Nonuniform Theory cannot satisfactorily show. In other words, the relatedness is implied in the permutation rule, Passivization, which applies both to direct and indirect passives in N. McCawley's analysis.

Another advantage of N. McCawley's proposal is, she claims, that the unambiguous status of adverbs in indirect passives can be captured by a deep structure as (21). Consider the example:

- (80) Taroo wa Ziroo ni koibito no Hanako o  
           girlfriend appositive  
       iyaiya      syootaisa-re-ta  
       unwillingly invite-pass-past  
       'Taro had his girlfriend Hanako invited by Jiro unwillingly.'

N. McCawley states that iyaiya 'unwillingly' in the above indirect sentence is unambiguously associated with Ziroo and thus the only reading provided is that Taro was affected by Jiro's inviting Hanako unwillingly. This, she claims, can be satisfactorily dealt with by her proposal as follows:



This is the only deep structure that can be given for the indirect passive (80) within N. McCawley's analysis, since subject-oriented adverbs such as iyaiya cannot semantically and thus syntactically modify a sentential subject. N. McCawley states, "the forbidden use of adverbs which denote the passive subject's emotion or will[:the association of adverbs with the indirect passive subject] is probably due to the





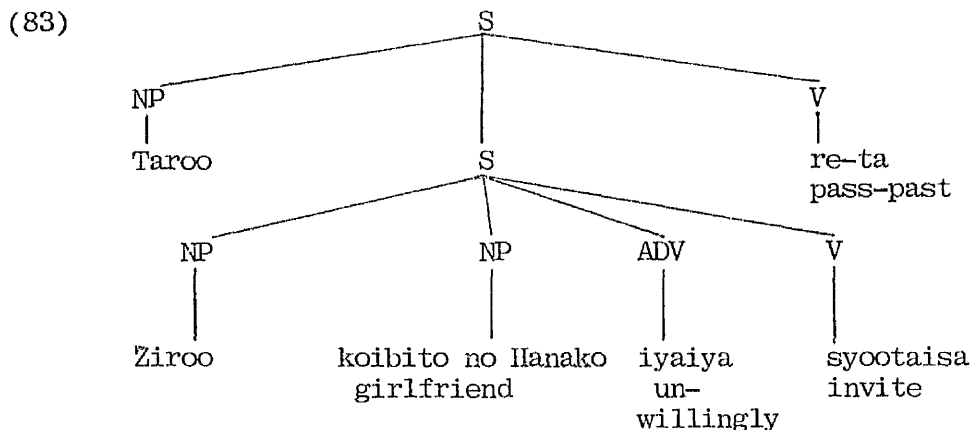
If a sentence like (80) is followed by another clause as in (82a), it becomes clear that iyaiya 'unwillingly' is associated with Taroo, whereas (82b) explicitly shows that it refers to Ziroo. This does not mean, however, that the adverb only refers to Ziroo and not to Taroo in the indirect passive (80), in which there is no other clause following, but rather that the added clauses in (82) unmistakably show the ambiguity of the adverb in (80). Thus even within the grammar conforming to the meaning-preserving hypothesis, on which N. McCawley's analysis is built, it can not show the ambiguity in question, since (81) is the only possible deep structure under her sentential-subject analysis of indirect passives.

Secondly, as claimed in the preceding part of the section, the adverb should be treated interpretively. This alone falsifies N. McCawley's semantically transparent deep structure, since a grammar with an abstract deep structure which is supposed to correspond to a semantic representation for that sentence is not compatible with a set of interpretive semantic rules applying at a later stage in the syntactic derivation.

Thus N. McCawley's deep structure can in no way characterize the fact that the adverb is ambiguous in indirect passives, i.e. that iyaiya is associated with not only Ziroo but also Taroo in (80).

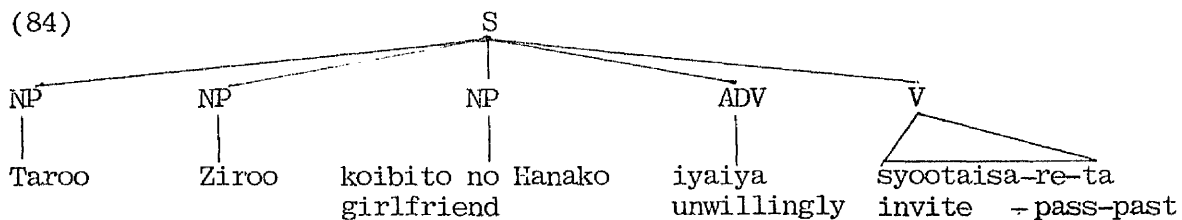
On the other hand, the ambiguous status of adverbs in indirect passives can be accounted for by the other type of deep structure proposed by Uniform and Kuno's Nonuniform Theory. Here the deep structure of (80) is presented as (83), to which an interpretive rule

applies to show that the adverb is associated with the embedded subject Ziroo:



Verb-raising and Particle Placement operate on this structure, yielding

(84):



An interpretive rule then applies, associating the adverb with Taroo and providing the reading that Taro was unwilling to have Hanako invited by Jiro. Structures (83) and (84) clearly characterize the fact that attitudinal adverbs in indirect passives are ambiguous.

The above argument shows that N. McCawley's deep structure for indirect passives is implausible from the point of view of adverbial scope in indirect passives. Consequently the other type of deep structure proposed by Uniform and Kuno's Nonuniform Theory for indirect passives can be said to be more adequate.

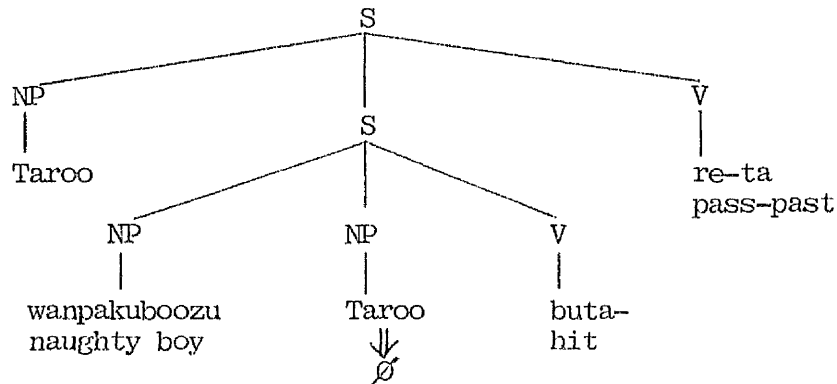
1.3.5. On the treatment of the relationship between direct and indirect passives

So far we have looked into the two major theories from the point of view of their adequacy in coping with direct and indirect passives as independent structures. It was mentioned earlier (cf.p.13) that the fact that there are two alternative theories proposed for Japanese passives indicates that the relationship between direct and indirect passives is treated differently. At this point we should examine the relative merits of each theory in relation to their treatments of the relationship between direct and indirect passives.

As has been mentioned before (cf.p.13), Uniform Theory concentrates on showing the similarities between these two kinds of passives by setting up one type of deep structure for both and introducing a passive marker lexically in both. Thus it can predict the fact that the two kinds of passives are indeed 'passives', in other words, that they are ultimately one construction called 'passive'. It follows, however, that this theory cannot explicitly show the differences between those two kinds of passives illustrated earlier in (a) - (d) (cf.p.4-8), as it sets up a single deep structure. The fact that those passives are different in several ways is indicated in this theory only in that direct passives necessarily involve Equi-Object Deletion in the derivation, whereas indirect passives do not. Compare the following (b) structures:

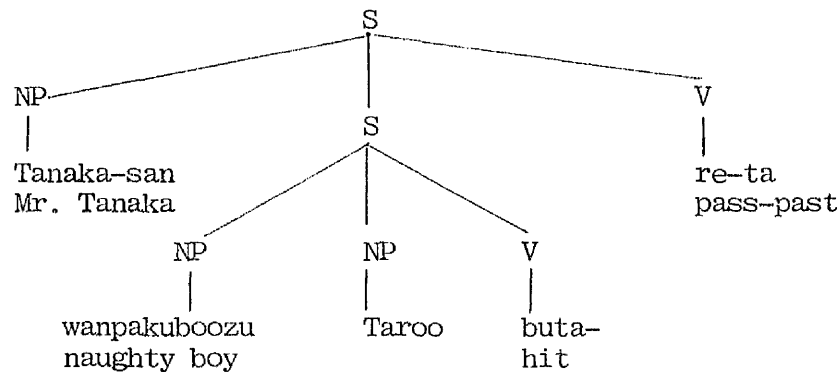
(85) a. Taroo wa wanpakuboozu ni buta-re-ta  
               naughty boy by hit-pass-past  
               'Taro was hit by the naughty boy.'

b.



- (86) a. Tanaka-san wa Taroo o wapakuboozu ni buta-re-ta.  
 Mr. Tanaka                    naughty boy by hit-pass-past  
 'Mr. Tanaka had Taro hit by the naughty boy.'

b.



As can be seen in (85b), the embedded object is identical to the matrix subject. This is necessarily the case in the deep structure of direct passives under Uniform Theory. However, it certainly seems implausible to suggest that an adequate characterization of the differences between direct and indirect passives is given solely by the applicability of Equi-Object Deletion. The above argument proves that although Uniform Theory can capture the relatedness between direct and indirect passives, it cannot properly indicate their differences.

Kuno's Nonuniform Theory, on the other hand, was set up mainly to explain the differences between those two types of passives. Thus it assigns distinct deep structures for direct and indirect passives in order to characterize the following different properties of those passives: (a) only direct passives have corresponding active counterparts, (b) intransitive verbs can be passivized as indirect passives, (c) indirect passives have the implication that the subject is affected, and (d) indirect passives do not allow inanimate subjects. Property (a) is accounted for by the simplex deep structure of a direct passive, corresponding to its active counterpart, in contrast with the complex deep structure of an indirect passive, where there is one more NP than in its closest active counterpart. Property (b) is accounted for by the fact that the deep structure of direct passives necessarily involves a transitive verb, to which Passivization can apply, while an embedded sentence in indirect passives is set up independently of the higher verb reru/rareru. Property (c) is explained by setting up the higher verb reru/rareru, which is supposed to be the source of affectedness, in the deep structure of indirect passives only. Property (d) is captured by setting up a lexical subject to reru/rareru in the deep structure of indirect passives only, on which level the selectional restriction between this subject (, which is to be a surface subject,) and reru/rareru can be stated. In direct contrast to Uniform Theory, however, Kuno's Nonuniform Theory fails to show their relatedness, as it mainly concentrates on accounting for the differences between them. Under this treatment, the passive marker reru/rareru is introduced in totally unrelated ways: transformationally in direct passives

and lexically in indirect passives. It ignores the fact that reru/rareru in both passives is the same passive marker. As N. McCawley points out, the common use of reru or rareru is unlikely to be the reason why they are equally 'passives'. For it is well-known that the morpheme reru or rareru is also used as an honorific marker and an epistemic marker as in (87) and (88) (from N. McCawley, 1972:268):

- (87) Satoo-sensei ga mata atarasii hon o kaka-re-ta.  
 professor again new book write-honorific-past  
 'Prof. Sato has written a new book again.'
- (88) Kono ringo wa, suppaku-te, tabe-rare-nai.  
 this apple sour-because eat-epistemic-not  
 'This apple is sour and I can't eat it.'

Although they too contain the morpheme reru/rareru, they are never called 'passives'. Thus, unlike Uniform Theory, Kuno's Nonuniform Theory can show the differences, but the fact that it introduces the passive marker reru/rareru in totally unrelated ways fails to show the relatedness of direct and indirect passives. It follows then that the two theories are mutually exclusive as far as their treatments of the relationship of those two passives are concerned and therefore both are unsatisfactory.

As shown above, N. McCawley in support of Nonuniform Theory proposes a different deep structure for indirect passives from that proposed by Kuno and others, in order to capture the similarities between direct and indirect passives as well as their differences. That is, she sets up distinct deep structures for those two passives to indicate the differences but presents the deep structure for indirect

passives in such a way that Passivization also applies to this construction and introduces a passive marker. Thus the passive marker reru/rareru is introduced transformationally not only in direct passives but also in indirect passives, which can indicate their relatedness.

The above argument shows that as far as the adequacy in accounting for the relationship between direct and indirect passives is concerned, N. McCawley's Nonuniform Theory is the only adequate theory.

#### 1.4. Summary

It is advisable at this point to review in brief the discussion so far developed. The characteristics of each theory are summarized in the table below:

#### (89) Characteristics of the alternative theories

	Uniform Theory	Nonuniform Theory	
		Kuno & others	N.McCawley
Direct Passives	Complex deep structure	Simplex deep structure & Passivization	
Indirect Passives	Complex deep structure		Complex deep structure & Passivization
Treatment of relationship between the two passives	Same type of deep structure for both Passive marker introduced lexically in both	Distinct deep structure for each	
		Passive marker introduced differently: transformationally & lexically	Passive marker introduced transformationally in both

First we discussed how direct passives are treated by those theories (the upper row in the table (89)), since the major difference appeared to lie in this construction. In Section 1.1.2. it was shown that the classic argument for Nonuniform Theory based on Reflexivization in direct passives is no longer crucial for this theory, since Uniform Theory gives its own account of a reflexive in this construction



of passives. In Section 1.2.1. it was argued that the devices given by each theory in 1.1.2. to account for the behaviour of the reflexive in direct passives are implausible on different grounds. However, in 1.2.2. the position of the two theories was shown to be still equal, since it was revealed that those devices were based on the wrong analysis of data, and both theories would adequately capture the fact of the reflexive in direct passives without them. Section 1.3.1. illustrated the apparent superiority of Uniform Theory in treating the scope of adverbs in direct passives, that is, in treating the ambiguous status of adverbs in this construction. However, after some consideration it was shown in 1.3.2. that the solution given by Uniform Theory on this issue is unwarranted on the grounds that adverbs cannot syntactically modify semantically empty verbs such as reru/rareru. This led us to face the inadequacy of the treatment of adverbs within the meaning-preserving hypothesis, on which Uniform Theory is based. It was then argued in Section 1.3.3. that adverbs should be treated interpretively on both deep and surface levels. As a result both theories would account equally well for the ambiguous status of attitudinal(subject-oriented) adverbs in direct passives within the framework of the deep and surface interpretive approach. This means that the adverbial scope does not after all constitute any supportive argument for either theory just as in the case of Reflexivization.

In Section 1.3.5. we then turned to indirect passives (the middle row in the table (89)), about which there were two different proposals: one by Uniform and Kuno's Nonuniform Theory and the other by N. McCawley's Nonuniform Theory. The study showed that the former

is more adequate than the latter, since the latter cannot give a correct interpretive account of the ambiguity of adverbs in indirect passives owing to its semantically transparent deep structure. Thus although N. McCawley's Nonuniform Theory is objected to on the above grounds, Uniform and Kuno's Nonuniform Theory are still equally adequate in their treatments of indirect passives as well as of direct passives.

Section 1.3.5. presented the adequacy/inadequacy of the proposals from the point of view of treating the relationship between direct and indirect passives (the bottom row in (89)). Their relationship is two-fold, that is, they are different in the way described in (a) - (d) (cf. p.4-8) and at the same time they are related in the sense that they are both 'passives' containing the same passive marker reru/rareru. The situation of the adequacy/inadequacy of those proposals is as follows. Uniform Theory cannot capture the differences as it posits the same type of deep structure for both passives, while Kuno's Nonuniform Theory cannot show the relatedness, since it introduces unrelated passive markers, one by a transformation and the other by the lexicon. However, N. McCawley's proposal seems to capture, as Kuno's Nonuniform Theory does, the differences between these passives as it gives a distinct deep structure for each, and also to show their relatedness, as Uniform Theory does, by introducing a passive marker transformationally in both passives. This led us to predict that N. McCawley's proposal is more adequate than Uniform and Kuno's Non-Uniform Theory as far as the treatment of the relationship between direct and indirect passives is concerned.

Having examined the adequacy/inadequacy of those proposals according to the way in which they treat direct and indirect passives independently and the relationship between them, we can now draw another table indicating the results (O: adequate, X: inadequate)

(90) Explanatory capacity of the alternative theories

		Uniform Theory	Nonuniform Theory	
			Kuno & others	N. McCawley
Direct Passives	Ambiguity of <u>zibun</u>	O	O	
	Ambiguity of adverbs	O	O	
Indirect Passives	Ambiguity of adverbs	O		X
Treatment of relationship between the two passives	Relatedness	O	X	O
	Differences	X	O	O

It should be clear from this table that every proposal shows inadequacy at some point. This calls for a new proposal and in the next chapter, I would like to present a revised version of Uniform Theory.

FOOTNOTES

1. As can be seen in examples (4) - (6), indirect passives are translated into 'have somebody/something done'. This construction of English in general carries a causative implication:

- (1) a. I had my hair cut.  
b. I had my thesis typed.

However, there are instances in which the construction is used idiomatically, carrying a passive implication, as exemplified below:

- (2) a. I had my car stolen.  
b. I had my pocket picked.

The implication carried by the above sentences is not only that of passivity but also of adversity. Now the English translations assigned to indirect passives should be taken in the sense observed in (2) above. Although indirect passives do not always suggest an adversity connotation (as stated on p6 - 7), it is true that they never carry a causative implication. Therefore the construction consisting of 'have somebody/something done' with a passive implication is the closest equivalent in English to Japanese indirect passives, although it may not always exhibit one-to-one correspondence to a given indirect passive (when an indirect passive has an implication that the passive subject is positively affected, as seen in example (15))

2. The table below is to show that the passive marker reru is used when the inflected form of a verb ends in /a/, while rareru is used when that ends either in /i/ or /e/.

(3)

		Forms of verbs to be followed by <u>reru</u>	Forms of verbs to be followed by <u>rareru</u>
Verbs whose inflected form ends in /a/	<u>nozoku</u> 'peer into'	<u>nozoka-reru</u>	/
	<u>butu</u> 'hit'	<u>buta-reru</u>	
Verbs whose inflected form ends in /i/	<u>niru</u> 'cook'	/	<u>ni-rareru</u>
	<u>miru</u> 'see'		<u>mi-rareru</u>
Verbs whose inflected form ends in /e/	<u>atumeru</u> 'collect'	/	<u>atume-rareru</u>
	<u>semeru</u> 'attack'		<u>seme-rareru</u>

3. I shall not go into details concerning the thematic wa in this discussion. However a brief remark on the issue may be advisable. There are two major alternative treatments of wa. One suggests that a thematic phrase (wa-phrase) is derived from a non-thematic phrase by a transformational rule called Thematization (Muraki, 1970 and Nakau, 1971). The other suggests that the theme marker is generated in the base (Kuno, 1973). Consider the following examples:

- (4) a. Taroo ga gakkoo e it-ta.  
school to go-past 'Taro went to school.'
- b. Taroo wa gakkoo e it-ta.  
school to go-past 'Taro went to school.'  
(Speaking of Taro, he went to school.)
- (5) a. Taroo ga hon o kat-ta.  
book buy-past 'Taro bought a book.'
- b. Hon wa Taroo ga kat-ta.  
book buy-past 'Speaking of the book, Taro bought it.'
- (6) a. Ziroom ga Hanako ni at-ta.  
(I.O) meet-past 'Jiro met Hanako.'
- b. Hanako ni wa Ziroom ga at-ta.  
meet-past 'Speaking of Hanako, Jiro met her.'
- (7) a. Tookyoo made kuruma de it-ta.  
Tokyo to car by go-past 'I went to Tokyo by car.'
- b. Tookyoo made wa kuruma de it-ta.  
Tokyo to car by go-past 'Speaking of Tokyo, I went there by car.'
- c. kuruma de wa Tookyoo made it-ta.  
car by Tokyo to go-past 'Speaking of the car, I went to Tokyo by that.'

As can be seen above, a theme can consist not only of an NP but also of an adverbial phrase. In fact it seems to be the case that a theme may consist of any constituent other than S and V. According to Muraki and Nakau, the (b) sentences in (4) - (7) and the (c) sentence in (7) are derived from the structures corresponding to their (a) sentences. However, Kuno (197 ) opposes this claim, arguing that there are thematic sentences which do not carry any corresponding non-thematic structures.

- (8) a. Sakana wa tai ga ii.  
fish snapper be good 'Speaking of fish, snappers are good.'
- b. Hana wa sakura ga ii.  
flowers cherry-blossoms be good 'Speaking of flowers, cherry-blossoms are good.'

Muraki (1970) suggests that these sentences above are derived from the structures corresponding to the following sentences:

- (9) a. Sakana no uti de tai ga ii.  
 fish among snappers be good. 'Snappers are good among fish.'  
 b. Hana no uti de sakura ga ii.  
 flowers among cherry-blossoms be good. 'Cherry-blossoms are good among flowers.'

However, Kuno rejects Muraki's proposal by stating that it is implausible to delete the phrase no uti de, which literally means 'in the inside of', because it contains a noun uti 'the inside'. Kuno further presents thematic sentences which cannot be solved by Muraki's 'no uti de formula':

- (10)a. Buturigaku wa syuusyoku ga taihenda..  
 physics getting a job be difficult  
 'Speaking of physics, getting a job is difficult.'  
 b. \*Buturigaku no uti de syuusyoku ga taihenda.  
 physics among getting a job be difficult  
 \*'Getting a job is difficult among physics.'

Thus Kuno claims that the thematic sentences of the type (8a), (8b) or (10a) do not have any corresponding non-thematic structures and that a theme cannot be derived transformationally but should be base-generated.

Kuno's argument, however, seems to be weak in that it concludes that thematic sentences such as (8a), (8b) and (10a) do not have any corresponding non-thematic sentences simply because Muraki's 'no uti de proposal' does not always work. Observe the following examples:

- (11) a. Sakana { ni tui-te ie ba } tai ga ii.  
                   { to ie ba }  
 fish { concerning speak if } snappers be good  
       { speak if }  
 'Speaking of fish, snappers are good.'  
 b. Hana { ni tui-te ie ba } sakura ga. ii.  
           { to ie ba }  
 flowers speaking of cherry-blossoms be good  
 'Speaking of flowers, cherry-blossoms are good.'  
 c. Buturigaku { ni tui-te ie ba } syuusyoku ga taihenda  
                   { to ie ba }  
 physics speaking of getting a job be difficult  
 'Speaking of physics, getting a job is difficult.'

As can be seen, it is possible to construct non-thematic sentences corresponding to the thematic sentences under consideration. The question of deleting a large part of the adverbial phrase containing the verb 'speak' is still to be discussed. However, it is clear that

Kuno's proposal, which says that a theme is base-generated, causes a structural complication, since thematic sentences which have corresponding non-thematic sentences are derived as follows:

- (12) a. Taroo wa Taroo ga gakkoo e it-ta . (cf. (4b))  
   ↓  
   ∅ school to go-past
- b. Hon wa Taroo ga hon o kat-ta . (cf.(5b))  
           book                                  book↓  
   ∅ buy-past

Furthermore the fact that case markers appear in the theme as in (6b), (7b) and (7c) is strong evidence that the constituent in the theme bears a grammatical relation to the rest of the sentence, i.e. that the constituent is extracted from the rest of the sentence and is made a theme. Examples (4b) and (5b) show that the subject marker ga and object marker o do not appear in the theme, but this can be explained by the notion of markedness: ga and o are unmarked and thus deleted.

Another point to be made about Kuno's proposal is that if a theme is base-generated irrespective of the structure following it, his analysis cannot provide a proper explanation for the following ungrammatical sentences:

- (13) a\* Sakana wa Hanako ga byooki da.  
           fish                                  illness be  
           \* 'Speaking of fish, Hanako is ill.'
- b\* Hana wa Taroo ga gakkoo o it-ta.  
           flowers                              school to go-past  
           \* 'Speaking of flowers, Taro went to school.'

Kuno states that this is a matter of semantics and thus does not have to be dealt with by syntax. However, even so, under Kuno's treatment the semantic incongruity of the above sentences should be stated quite separately from that involved in the following related examples:

- (14) a\* Sakana {ni tui-te ie ba}, Hanako ga byooki da.  
   {to ie ba }  
           fish speaking of                                  illness be  
           \* 'Speaking of fish, Hanako is ill.'
- b\* Hana {ni tui-te ie ba}, Taroo ga gakkoo e it-ta.  
   {to ie ba }  
           flowers speaking of                              school to go-past  
           \* 'Speaking of flowers, Taro went to school.'

Thus if it is assumed that thematic sentences are derived from the corresponding non-thematic sentences, we can relate the (a) sentences in (4) - (7) to their (b) sentences and (8a), (8b) and (10a) to (11a), (11b) and (11c) and consequently we only have to state the semantic incongruity of (14a) and (14b) above in order to explain that of (13a) and (13b). It can therefore be concluded that thematic sentences are transformationally derived from the corresponding non-thematic structures.

4. As has been shown (on p. 5), sentences (10) - (12), given below, are ungrammatical.

(10)\* Wanpakuboozu wa Tanaka-san o/ni Taroo o but-ta.  
naughty boy Mr. Tanaka hit-past

(11)\* Niwatori wa Satto-san o/ni kodomo o oikake-ta.  
chicken Mr. Sato child chase-past

(12)\* Sensei wa watasi o/ni Taroo o home-ta.  
teacher I praise-past

It is stated (on p. 5) that the reason for their ungrammaticality is that there is a phrase, in each sentence, which cannot take either the object markers, o and ni. Now the explanation for this fact lies in that the verbs in these sentences, butu 'hit', oikakeru 'chase' and homeru 'praise', are two-place predicates which take a direct object. However, sentences (10) - (12) carry three arguments and thus they are not matched by the subcategorizations of these verbs. This proves that if we try to construct an active sentence corresponding to an indirect passive by retaining all the NP's of the indirect passive in the active sentence and relating them to the verb of this sentence, an ungrammatical sentence will result which violates a subcategorization of a verb.

5. See footnotes 1 and 12 of the following chapter (on p.139 and p.143 -144) for the use of another agentive marker ni-yotte, which is seen in examples (16b) and (17b). As is evident in the text, although the above sentences are ungrammatical, the ungrammaticality does not lie in the use of ni-yotte.

6. Ross formulates the Pruning Convention as follows (Ross, 1969:299):

(15) An embedded S is deleted unless it immediately dominates VP and some other constituent.

The above convention is traditionally interpreted as follows. When a subordinate complement has lost its subject, it thereby loses its status as an S-constituent. It follows that S-pruning necessarily accompanies a rule such as Subject-Raising. Now, in addition to the above interpretation, there is another interpretation of Ross's convention. According to Aissen, S-pruning (15) entails the following (Aissen, 1974b:117, referred to by Radford, 1977:53):

- (16) a. If V is moved out of VP, VP prunes.  
b. Any S which loses its VP is pruned.

The above interpretation of S-pruning is also widely accepted and it is generally assumed that S-pruning necessarily accompanies Verb-Raising, which Chomsky-adjoins a subordinate verb to a matrix VR trigger. In the case of Japanese, since it is agreed that there is no VP node in the language, Aissen's interpretation (16) should be understood as follows:

(17) If V is moved out of S, S is pruned.



7. The clausemate condition, which states that an NP should be in the same clause as its antecedent, is assumed to be a strict restriction on applying Reflexivization in English. However, it can be seen below that this condition may not hold for English, either.

(18) John<sub>i</sub> arranged [for himself<sub>i</sub> to be impeached.]

8. In addition to those characteristics of zibun presented on p14-15, there are others:

(19) Zibun is free of gender.

a. Taroo<sub>i</sub> wa zibun<sub>i</sub> o erai to omot-te-iru.  
 self<sub>i</sub> be great COMP think-conjunctive particle-pres

'Taro thinks himself to be great.'

b. Hanako<sub>i</sub> wa zibun<sub>i</sub> o kireida to omot-te-iru  
 self<sub>i</sub> be pretty COMP think-conj par-pres

'Hanako thinks herself to be pretty.'

(20) Zibun is free of number.

a. Hitobito<sub>i</sub> wa tokaku zibun<sub>i</sub> dake no koto o kangaeru.  
 generally self<sub>i</sub> only affairs think-pres

'People generally think only of themselves.'

b. kodomotati<sub>i</sub> wa zibun<sub>i</sub> no oya ga itiban da to omou.  
 children self<sub>i</sub> of parents best be COMP think

'Children think { the parents of themselves } are the best,'  
 { their own parents }

9. Some explanation of the notation adopted in formulations (43) and (44) is given below:

(21) The notation

- a. X is an essential variable, corresponding to a stretch of syntactic representation of any length, containing any number of clause boundaries and constituents. It may correspond to nothing ( $\emptyset$ ).
- b. Notation ... is an abbreviatory variable, corresponding to a limited stretch of syntactic material containing only elements irrelevant to the statement of the rule: in a sequence A ... B, the ... is understood not to contain any instance of either A or B.
- c. Notation # is a Chomsky-adjunction: in  $[[A]_{aa} B]_a$ , B is Chomsky-adjointed to A.

10. Some explanation should be given for Reflexivization (44) in relation to Pronominalization. Consider the following examples:



By formulating Pronominalization as optional, the NP which is coreferential to the subject is necessarily either pronominalized or reflexivized.

It should be added that in contrast to the fact that Reflexivization requires the subject-antecedent condition, Pronominalization can be operated on the NP which is coreferential to a non-subject NP:

- (24) a. Hanako wa Taro<sub>i</sub> ni { kare<sub>i</sub> } no ozisan no ie de at-ta.  
i IO { \*zibun<sub>i</sub> } 's uncle 's house in meet-past  
 'Hanako met Taro<sub>i</sub> in his<sub>i</sub> uncle's house.'  
 b. Hanako wa Taro<sub>i</sub> no hon o { kare<sub>i</sub> } ni kaesi-ta.  
i 's book { \*zibun<sub>i</sub> } IO return-past  
 'Hanako returned Taro's<sub>i</sub> book to him<sub>i</sub>.'

Thus Pronominalization should have another formulation independent of (23) for such instances as above, in which it is obligatory.

(25) Pronominalization

X<sub>1</sub> - NP - X<sub>2</sub> - NP - X<sub>3</sub>  
 1     2     3     4     5     ⇒ (OBL)

1     2     3     [ 4 ] 5  
+PRON

2 and 4 are coreferential

Condition [ 4 ] should contain at least NP

I have adopted the transformational approach of reflexives and pronouns in this framework. However, it is widely accepted nowadays that pronouns should be treated interpretively (cf. Jackendoff, 1972). The close relationship between pronouns and reflexives cited above therefore suggests that reflexives may be also treated interpretively in Japanese. See footnote 13.

11. Kuno (1978), who supports Nonuniform Theory, argues against R.C.C. He rejects the assumption, on which R.C.C. is based, that Reflexivization of the embedded object is obligatory, presenting the following sentences as counterexamples (Kuno, 1978: 265)

- (26) a. Yamada wa [ kare o nikunde iru ] onna to kekkonsite  
him     hating   is   woman with marrying  
simatta  
ended-up

'Yamada married a woman who hated him.'

- b. Yamada wa [ Hanako ga kare o nikunde iru ] koto o sitte ita.  
him     hating   is   that   knowing was  
 'Yamada knew that Hanako hated him.'

Kuno's observation is quite correct in that pronouns can also appear in the place of *zibun* when the embedded object is coreferential with the matrix subject (cf. footnote 10 above). In fact this obligatory

Reflexivization of the embedded object was first discussed by Kuroda (1965) with reference to *Equi-NP Deletion*. Thus the assumption can be interpreted in such a way that the *doreferential substitution* (*Reflexivization* or *Pronominalization*) of the embedded object is obligatory when it is identical to the matrix subject (cf. footnote 3-(1) of Chapter 3: p. 191). This creates a problem for R.C.C., since if *Pronominalization* takes place instead of *Reflexivization*, as shown in (27), R.C.C. cannot operate because there will not be two instances of zibun, which are required for R.C.C.:

(27) Taroo<sub>i</sub> wa [Hanako<sub>j</sub> ga Taroo<sub>i</sub> o Hanako<sub>j</sub> no kanazuti de nagura]re-ta.  
                               ↓       ↓  
                               kare<sub>i</sub>      zibun<sub>j</sub> 's hammer  with hit-pas-past

12. The ambiguity of zibun observed in example (53) cannot be taken merely as a processing phenomenon. The example is presented to show explicitly that zibun in a direct passive as (29) is potentially ambiguous:

(29) Taroo wa Hanako ni zibun no kanazuti de nagura-re-ta.  
                               by self 's hammer  with hit-pass-past  
       'Taro was hit with self's hammer by Hanako.'

It is in no way implied that zibun in direct passives is ambiguous only when the passive sentences are followed by some clause as in (53). Insofar as the potential ambiguity of zibun is a fact, it should be written in a grammar: a grammar should be provided with an analysis by which the ambiguity is accounted for.

13. It should be recalled that reflexives and pronouns are derived transformationally in this framework. However, the suggestion made earlier (cf. footnote 10) that they may be treated interpretively seems to be reinforced by the argument that *adverbials* should be treated interpretively. (Although it is stated at present that interpretive rules apply on the deep and surface levels, it will be shown later that they in fact apply cyclically (cf. p211-215). The cyclic application of interpretive rules is proposed by Jackendoff, 1972). Furthermore the following fact may be a good argument for the interpretive approach of reflexives. Although in most of the cases the reflexive zibun is ambiguous in direct passives, there are instances in which zibun can be unambiguous in this construction because of the semantic interaction between the phrase containing zibun and the verb involved:

(28) a. Hanako wa Taroo<sub>i</sub> ni zibun<sub>i</sub> no tame ni riyoo-sa-re-ta.  
                               by self<sub>i</sub> 's sake for make use of-pass-past  
       'Hanako was made use of for himself's<sub>i</sub> (his own<sub>i</sub>) sake by Taro<sub>i</sub>.'

Zibun no tame ni riyoo-suru 'use somebody/something for one's own sake' is an idiomatic expression, in which zibun seems to refer strictly to the (logical) subject of the verb riyoo-suru 'make use of'.

- b. Taroo wa Hanako<sub>i</sub> ni zibun<sub>i</sub> no sekinin o nasurituke-rare-ta..  
                                 i by self<sub>i</sub> 's duties assign-pass-past  
 'Taro was assigned herself's<sub>i</sub> (her own) duties by Hanako<sub>i</sub>.'

Zibun no sekinin o nasuritukeru 'assign one's own duties to somebody' is another idiomatic expression. The reflexive refers to the (logical) subject of the verb nasuritukeru 'assign'.

- c. Taroo<sub>i</sub> wa Hanako ni zibun<sub>i</sub> no uti ni tazune-rare-ta.  
                                 i by self<sub>i</sub> 's home at visit-pass-past  
 'Taro<sub>i</sub> was visited at himself's<sub>i</sub> (his<sub>i</sub>) home by Hanako.'

The verb tazuneru 'visit' in general implies that its (logical) subject goes to a place which does not belong to him. This is why Hanako, the (logical) subject of tazune- 'visit', does not refer to zibun in the phrase zibun no uti ni ni 'at self's home', which denotes a place that Hanako visited and that therefore does not belong to her.

The fact that there are instances in which zibun can be unambiguous in direct passives for semantic reasons seems to support the interpretive approach of zibun. The situation is that zibun is potentially ambiguous in direct passives and thus syntax should provide structures in which this potential ambiguity can be accounted for (interpretively, perhaps). (cf. footnote 21 of Chapter 2. p152) As for such instances as above, in which zibun is unambiguous, an interpretive rule may for a variety of reasons delete an unacceptable association of zibun and leave the correct one.

CHAPTER 2

REVISED UNIFORM THEORY

## 2.0. Introduction

This chapter is divided into two sections. The first section concerns the proposal for Revised Uniform Theory and consists of the following four parts.

2.1.1. first outlines the inadequacy of Uniform Theory and then proposes Revised Uniform Theory, which presents a sentential-subject-analysis of direct passives. It is shown how the revised theory accounts for the different properties of direct and indirect passives that could not be adequately explained by the original theory.

2.1.2. shows that the superficially-complex-analysis of passives proposed by Inoue, who sets up the same deep structure as R.U.T. for direct passives, is unwarranted on the grounds of morphology and adverbial scope.

2.1.3. discusses the derivation of direct passives from the deep structure set up under R.U.T. and examines the operation of O-S-R, based on Inoue's proposal. It is proposed that in this framework adopted here rules apply according to the universally determined rule application principle posited by Pullum (1976).

2.1.4. presents some data of direct passives which are out of the domain of O-S-R and therefore introduces Passive-Raising, a revised version of O-S-R.

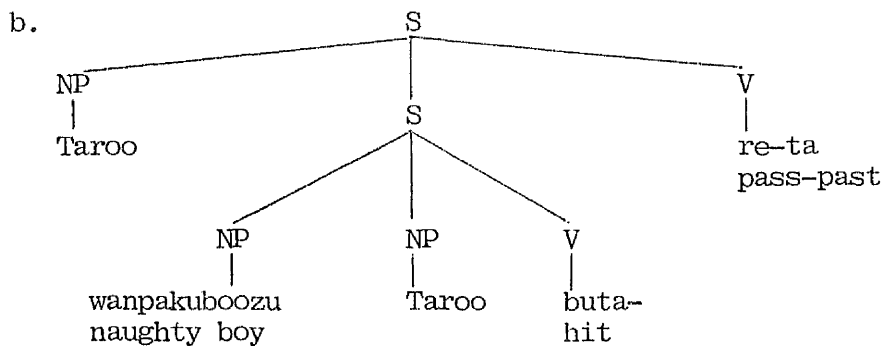
The second section 2.2. summarizes R.U.T., describing its capacity in explaining the characteristics of direct and indirect passives and the relationship between those passives. On the whole it is shown that R.U.T. can capture more facts about Japanese passives than the theories previously proposed.

## 2.1. Proposal for Revised Uniform Theory

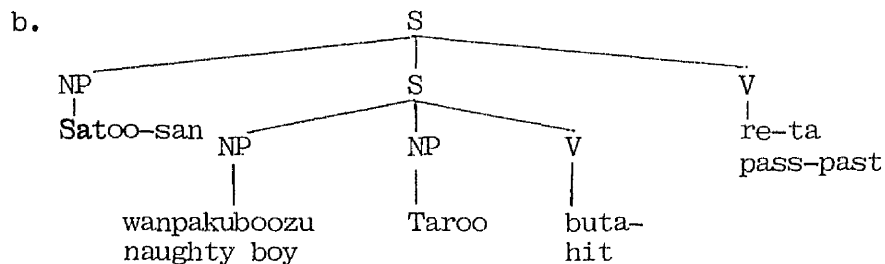
### 2.1.1. Sentential-subject analysis of direct passives

The weakness of Uniform Theory, as seen in the preceding chapter (cf. p. 60-61, p. 68), is that it cannot clearly indicate the differences between direct and indirect passives mainly because it assigns similar type of deep structure to both passives as (1b) and (2b) below:

- (1) a. Taroo ga wanpakuboozu ni buta-re-ta.  
       naughty boy by hit-pass-past  
       'Taro was hit by a naughty boy.'



- (2) a. Satoo-san ga wanpakuboozu ni Taroo o buta-re-ta.  
       Mr. Sato naughty boy by hit-pass-past  
       'Mr. Sato had Taro hit by a naughty boy.'





However, a closer examination shows that at least one of the different properties of direct and indirect passives can be indicated within Uniform Theory. In order to see this, let us first look at some more sentence patterns of both types of passives analyzed under Uniform Theory.

- (3) a. Tanaka-san ga tennouheika ni kunsyoo o atae-rare-ta.  
 Mr. Tanaka emperor by medal give-pass-past  
 'Mr. Tanaka was given a medal by the Emperor.'
- b. Tanaka-san [<sub>S</sub> tennouheika Tanaka-san kunsyoo atae-] rare-ta.  
 emperor medal give pass-past  
 NP [<sub>S</sub> NP NP NP V ] V
- (4) a. Tanaka-san ga tennouheika ni-yotte musuko ni kunsyoo o  
 emperor by son to(I.O) medal  
 atae-rare-ta.<sup>1</sup>  
 give-pass-past  
 'Mr. Tanaka had his son given a medal by the Emperor.'
- b. Tanaka-san [<sub>S</sub> tennouheika musuko kunsyoo atae-] rare-ta.  
 emperor son medal give pass-past  
 NP [<sub>S</sub> NP NP NP V ] V
- (5) a. Taroo ga Hanako ni kaera-re-ta.  
 by go home-pass-past  
 'Taro was subjected to Hanako's going home.'
- b. Taroo [<sub>S</sub> Hanako kaera-] re-ta.  
 go home pass-past  
 NP [<sub>S</sub> NP V ] V

Now (b) structures above, each symbolized by a sequence of categories, indicating its structural pattern, are the deep structures of their corresponding (a) sentences. Sentence (3a) is a direct passive, while

(4a) and (5a) are indirect passives. In order to generate those patterns of deep structures in (1) - (5), Uniform Theory must have a subcategorization of the passive verb reru/rareru as follows:

(6) reru/rareru : NP  $\begin{matrix} \lceil \\ \text{S} \end{matrix}$  NP (NP) (NP) V  $\begin{matrix} \rceil \\ \text{S} \end{matrix}$  \_\_\_\_\_

The above subcategorization implies that intransitive verbs can also be passivized, in which case the derived passive will come out as an indirect passive, as (5a). In this way, one of the properties of indirect passives, that intransitive verbs can be passivized, is indicated within Uniform Theory. (cf. (b) on p6).

However, it is very difficult to show within this theory the other different properties of those two types of passives, repeated as (7), (8) and (9) below.

(7) Only direct passives carry corresponding active counterparts.

(cf. (a) on p4).

(8) The subject of indirect passives has the potential implication of being affected. (cf. (c) on p6).

(9) The subject of indirect passives should be animate. (cf.(d) on p7-8)

First let us consider (7), which is probably the most clear-cut criterion for distinguishing direct passives from indirect passives. However, it will be shown below that this property of direct passives is not easy to indicate within Uniform Theory. Example (10a) below illustrates a typical pattern for a base structure of a direct passive and (10b) illustrates a pattern for a structure derived via the obligatory Equi-Object Deletion employed in Uniform Theory:

- (10) a.  $\text{NP}_i (\underline{\text{ga}})$     $\left[ \begin{array}{l} \text{NP}_j (\underline{\text{ga}}) \\ \text{SUBJ} \end{array} \right]$     $\text{NP}_i (\underline{\text{o}})$     $\text{V}$     $\left[ \begin{array}{l} \text{reru/rareru} \\ \text{V} \end{array} \right]$   
       SUBJ                      SUBJ                      OBJ                      V
- b.  $\text{NP}_i (\underline{\text{ga}})$     $\text{NP}_j (\underline{\text{ni}})$     $\emptyset$                        $\left[ \begin{array}{l} \text{V} - \text{reru/rareru} \\ \text{V} \end{array} \right]$     $\left[ \begin{array}{l} \\ \text{V} \end{array} \right]$   
       SUBJ                      AGENT                      V

In the comparison of (10a) and (10b) above, we cannot clearly see the standard active-passive relationship, in which a logical object is made a derived subject: the logical object in the embedded transitive sentence in (10a) is deleted in the derived structure (10b), and instead the subject of the matrix intransitive sentence in (10a) is made the surface subject in (10b). Thus it is not explicitly indicated in Uniform Theory that direct passives preserve the logical grammatical relations of NP's of the corresponding active counterparts.

As for the affective connotation attributed only to the subject of indirect passives, described in (8), this cannot be explained in a natural way under Uniform Theory, since the higher verb reru/rareru, which is supposed to be the source of affectedness, has a lexical subject in exactly the same way in the deep structures of both direct and indirect passives. This is seen in the subcategorization (6). It implies that the theory cannot explain why the subject of direct passives does not carry such connotation of affectedness.

The examples (11) - (14) below prove that criterion (9) is justifiably established:

- (11) a. Ziroo wa Akiko ni kamera o kowasa-re-ta.  
   by camera     break-pass-past  
 ;           'Jiro had his camera broken by Akiko.'

b.\* Ziroo no kamera wa Akiko ni-yotte syattaa o kowasa-re-ta.<sup>2</sup>  
 's camera by shutter break-pass-past  
 'Jiro's camera had its shutter broken by Akiko.'

(12) a. Hiroshi wa kodomo ni hon o yabura-re-ta.  
 child by book tear-pass-past  
 'Hiroshi had his book torn by the child.'

b.\* Hiroshi no hon wa kodomo ni-yotte peegi o yabura-re-ta.  
 's book child by page tear-pass-past  
 'Hiroshi's book had its page torn by the child.'

(13) Agasa Kuristii no hon wa takusan no hitobito ni-yotte  
 Agatha Christie's book many of people by  
 yoma-re-ta-iru.  
 read-pass-conj.particle-pres  
 'Agatha Christie's books are read by many people.'

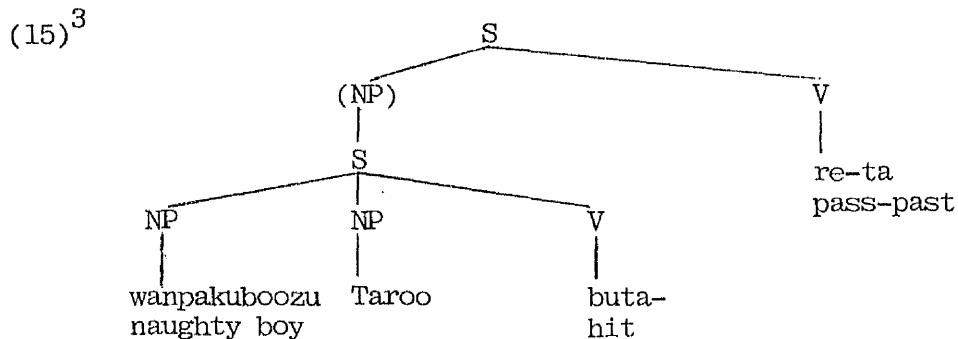
(14) Kono ie wa nihyakunen mae ni tate-rare-ta.  
 this house 200 years ago at build-pass-past  
 'This house was built 200 years ago.'

The direct passives (13) and (14), which carry inanimate subjects, are grammatical, whereas the indirect passives (11b) and (12b), with inanimate subjects, are ungrammatical. In order to indicate this restriction on indirect passives, we have to posit a feature specification [+ ANIMATE], in the subcategorization on the NP which is going to be a surface subject of an indirect passive. However, this is not easily achieved within Uniform Theory, since it has a single subcategorization for the passive verb irrespective of whether it is direct or indirect.

Because of the above problems with Uniform Theory, I would like to propose Revised Uniform Theory (henceforth called R.U.T.),

in which the deep structures of both direct and indirect passives are complex, as proposed by the original Uniform Theory, but in which they are not as similar as they are in the original. Let us look at the deep structure (15), which is set up for a direct passive (1a) under R.U.T.:

- (1a) Taroo ga wanpakuboozu ni buta-re-ta.  
       naughty boy by hit-pass-past  
 'Taro was hit by a naughty boy.'



In this hypothesis, a passive marker reru/rareru is a higher intransitive verb with a sentential subject, contrasting with the original deep structure (1b), in which the verb takes a lexical subject. This type of deep structure as (15) for direct passives is also proposed by Inoue (1976). The deep structure of indirect passives will remain the same in R.U.T. as in the original Uniform Theory ( and in Kuno's Nonuniform Theory).

Now by setting up a different type of deep structure for direct passives from that for indirect passives, we can indicate those differences between them, which the original Uniform Theory could not

clearly show. First of all, let us see how the property of direct passives as stated in (7) is accounted for in this revised theory. Since we have different types of deep structures for direct and indirect passives under this theory, we have a separate subcategorization for each type of passive as below:<sup>4</sup>

$$(16) \text{ a. } \underline{\text{reru/rareru}} : \left( \begin{array}{c} [ \\ \text{NP} \end{array} \right) \begin{array}{c} [ \\ \text{S} \end{array} \text{ NP NP (NP) V } \begin{array}{c} ] \\ \text{S} \end{array} \left( \begin{array}{c} ] \\ \text{NP} \end{array} \right) \text{-----}$$

$$\text{b. } \underline{\text{reru/rareru}} : \text{NP } \begin{array}{c} [ \\ \text{S} \end{array} \text{ NP (NP) (NP) V } \begin{array}{c} ] \\ \text{S} \end{array} \text{-----}$$

Together with appropriate PS-rules, the subcategorization (16a) generates a deep structure of a direct passive, while (16b) generates that of an indirect passive. Now (17a) below is a typical pattern for a base structure of a direct passive generated by some relevant PS-rules and the subcategorization (16a), and (17b) illustrates a pattern of a derived passive:

$$(17) \text{ a. } \left( \begin{array}{c} [ \\ \text{NP} \end{array} \right) \begin{array}{c} [ \\ \text{S} \end{array} \text{ NP}_i \text{ (ga) NP}_j \text{ (o) V } \begin{array}{c} ] \\ \text{S} \end{array} \left( \begin{array}{c} ] \\ \text{NP} \end{array} \right) \underline{\text{reru/rareru}}$$

SUBJ                      OBJ                      V                      V

$$\text{b. } \text{NP}_j \text{ (ga) NP}_i \text{ (ni) } \begin{array}{c} [ \\ \text{V} \end{array} \text{ V - } \underline{\text{reru/rareru}} \begin{array}{c} ] \\ \text{V} \end{array}$$

SUBJ                      AGENT                      V

The comparison between (17a) and (17b) clearly shows the active-passive relationship: the logical object in the deep structure (17a) is made the derived subject in (17b). In this way R.U.T. can show in its analysis that the embedded sentence in the deep structure of a direct passive and the derived passive from this deep structure are in an active-passive relationship.

Next let us consider (8), the property of indirect passives whereby the subject of this type of passive potentially carries an affective connotation. This can be explained in R.U.T., since it sets up in the deep structure of indirect passives only a lexical subject which is directly associated with the higher verb reru/rareru, the source of affectedness. This is seen in (16b). Thus the fact that there is no such potential connotation of affectedness on the subject of direct passives, which could not be properly accounted for by the original Uniform Theory, is automatically explained under this revised theory: the surface subject of direct passives is not directly associated with the source of affectedness in their deep structure as indicated in (16a).

As for property (9) that the subject of indirect passives should be animate, it can be indicated in a natural way in R.U.T. All that is necessary is to posit a feature specification [+ANIMATE] on the subject NP of reru/rareru in the subcategorization for indirect passives, as below:

(18) reru/rareru : NP  $\left[ \begin{array}{l} \text{S} \\ [+ANI] \end{array} \right]$  NP (NP) (NP) V ] \_\_\_\_\_

It is pointed out by Inoue (1976), who sets up a deep structure for direct passives which is identical to (15), that the sentential-subject analysis of reru/rareru in direct passives is consistent with the fact that there is no restriction imposed on the superficial subject of this type of passive. A restriction on the superficial subject of indirect passives requires a lexical subject to be set up for reru/rareru in the deep structure so that the selectional restriction between them can be stated

in the lexicon. On the other hand, when there is no such restriction on the superficial subject of direct passives, this predicts that we do not need a lexical subject for reru/rareru in the deep structure. Therefore setting up a sentential subject in the deep structure of direct passives and a lexical subject in that of indirect passives automatically reflects the fact that there is no selectional restriction on the surface subject of the former, while there is one on the surface subject of the latter.

Thus it can be seen that R.U.T. can adequately indicate the different properties of direct and indirect passives.



### 2.1.2. On Inoue's superficially complex analysis of passives

Having shown some advantages of setting up the deep structure of direct passives as (15), I would like to examine next a possible derivation from this deep structure. As has been stated, Inoue sets up the same deep structure as (15) for direct passives. She proposes Object-to-Subject Raising and 'Ni-Placement to Complement Subject' as the main transformational rules involved in the derivation from this deep structure. Leaving those transformational rules aside for the moment, I shall first discuss Inoue's assumption that Japanese passives are superficially complex. This contrasts with the theories so far discussed, since all the derivations under these theories except the one of direct passives under Nonuniform Theory involved Verb-Raising in order to convert complex deep structures to simplex surface structures (cf.p.9-12). Inoue's justification for the superficially complex treatment of passives is based on their interaction with causatives and with a constraint equivalent to Chomsky's Subjacency Condition. However, this complex analysis of passives is implausible on several grounds. First of all, there is no independent evidence given for the passives being complex on the surface. Secondly, the superficially complex analysis of causatives, which is crucial for Inoue's claim about passives, is not independently justified either (causatives will be discussed later,p.202-210). Thirdly, the constraint equivalent to the Subjacency Condition is unwarranted (discussed later, p.216-222) and fourthly, there is some independent evidence to claim that Japanese passives should be superficially simplex. The fourth point is discussed below.

In Inoue's analysis a surface structure of a direct passive is analyzed as (19) and that of an indirect passive, as (20):

(19) Taroo ga [<sub>S</sub> inu ni kama- ] re-ta.  
                   dog      bite      pass-past  
 'Taro was bitten by a dog.'

(20) Satoo-san ga [<sub>S</sub> inu ni Taroo o kama- ] re-ta.  
                   dog by                  bit      pass-past  
 'Mr. Sato had Taro bitten by a dog.'

Now there is no doubt that the verb kama-re-ta 'bite-pass-past' in both passives is morphologically one word. It follows then that it should be presented as one constituent dominated by a single node in the surface structure. Therefore it is clearly implausible to analyze a part of the verb in question as the embedded verb and the other part as the matrix verb in the surface structure as in (19) and (20).

Inoue's superficially complex treatment of passives thus cannot be maintained on morphological grounds.

There is another piece of evidence which shows that Japanese passives should not be complex on the surface. This is based on the scope of adverbs. Consider the following examples:

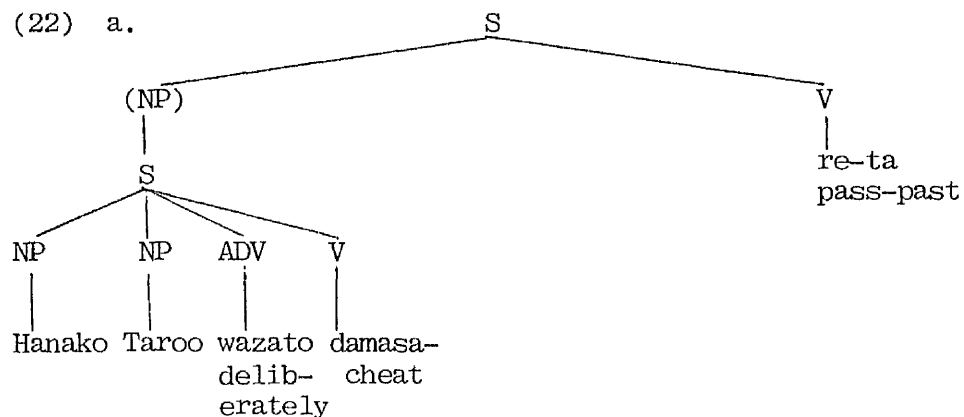
(21) a. Taroo ga Hanako ni wazato                  damasa-re-ta.  
   by deliberately cheat-pass-past  
 'Taro was cheated deliberately by Hanako.'

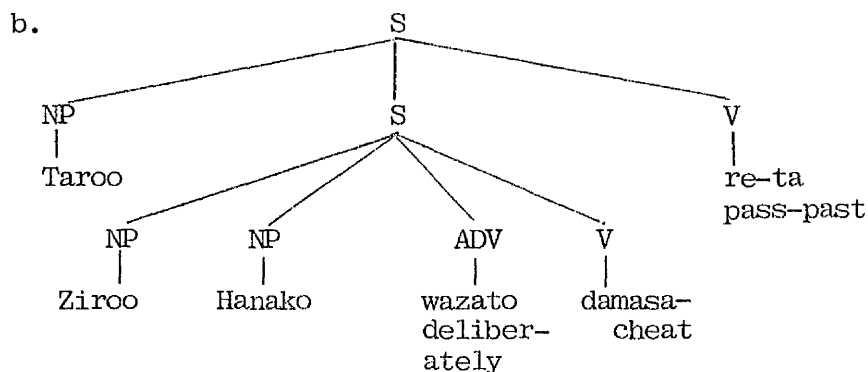
b. Taroo ga Ziroo ni Hanako o wazato                  damasa-re-ta.  
   by                                  deliberately cheat-pass-past  
 'Taro had Hanako cheated deliberately by Jiro.'

; The adverb wazato 'deliberately' is ambiguous in both these passives. In (21a), it can be associated either with Taroo or Hanako, giving

either the reading that it was Taro's deliberate design to be cheated or the reading that it was Hanako's deliberate design to cheat Taro. As for (21b), wazato is associated either with Taroo on the reading that Taro deliberately left Jiro to cheat Hanako or with Zi-roo on the reading that Taro was affected by Jiro's cheating Hanako deliberately. Now it should be recalled that certain attitudinal adverbs like wazato, which associate themselves with the subject of a sentence (i.e. they are subject-oriented), are interpreted both on the deep and surface level in the framework adopted here. This is because, as has been shown (cf. p.38-47), one of the two distinct deep structures given by Makino for a sentence which is ambiguous by virtue of the adverb turns out to be implausible. Therefore only one deep structure is given in this framework for a sentence which is ambiguous in respect of the attitudinal adverb. The adverb is interpreted in the deep and surface structure. It will be shown below that Inoue's superficially complex analysis of passives has difficulty in accounting for the ambiguity of the adverb precisely because only one deep structure should be assigned to each passive (21a) and (21b) as below:<sup>5</sup>

(22) a.





To each of the above deep structures an interpretation is assigned which indicates the association of the adverb with the embedded subject, Hanako in (22a) and Zi-roo in (22b). In this way one of the two readings of each sentence of (21a) and (21b) is accounted for in the deep structure. Under Inoue's analysis, the surface structures of those sentences would be presented as (23a) and (23b):

- (23) a. Taroo ga  $\left[ \begin{array}{c} \text{Hanako ni wazato} \\ \text{by deliberately} \end{array} \right]_S \text{ damasa-} \left[ \begin{array}{c} \text{re-ta.} \\ \text{pass-past} \end{array} \right]_S$
- b. Taroo ga  $\left[ \begin{array}{c} \text{Zi-roo ni Hanako o wazato} \\ \text{deliberately cheat} \end{array} \right]_S \text{ damasa-} \left[ \begin{array}{c} \text{re-ta.} \\ \text{pass-past} \end{array} \right]_S$

Since those attitudinal adverbs are only associated with the subject within the same clause, wazato in (23a) and (23b) cannot be shown to be associated with the matrix subject Taroo. Insofar as the surface structures are analyzed as complex, as in (23a) and (23b), the other reading, in which wazato is associated with Taroo, is not accounted for. It follows from the above discussion that an attitudinal adverb should be branched as a sister node of the surface subject on the superficial level and therefore sentences like (21a) and (21b) must be analyzed as superficially simplex.<sup>6</sup> (How the scope of adverbs in direct passives is explained in R.U.T. is presented on p.135-136.

The arguments in this section provide evidence that both direct and indirect passives should be superficially simplex from the points of view of morphology and adverbial scope.

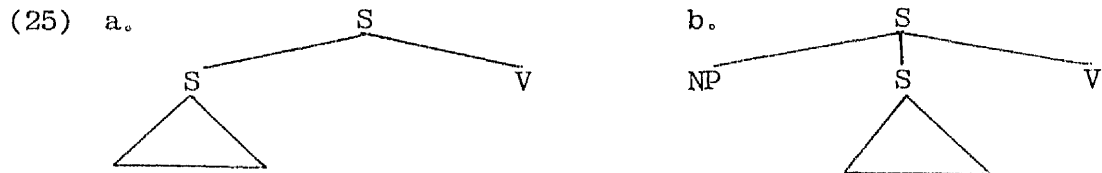
2.1.3. Object-to-Subject Raising for direct passives, based on Inoue's analysis

Coming back to the question of derivation, we shall see below how a direct passive can be generated from the deep structure of the type (15). The derivation will involve Verb-Raising, as it has just been shown that a passive sentence is superficially simplex. Since the discussion will concern the formulation of rules of various types including rules of particle placement, let me first introduce some relevant PS-rules and subcategorizations in order to show how the basic structures are constructed and also how the major particles (the subject marker ga, the indirect object marker ni and the direct object marker o) are treated in this framework.<sup>7</sup>

- (24) a.  $S \longrightarrow \left\{ \begin{array}{l} NP \quad (NP) \quad \left\{ \begin{array}{l} (NP) \quad (Adv \ P) \\ (S) \end{array} \right\} \\ S \end{array} \right\} V$
- b.  $NP \longrightarrow NOM \ P$
- c.  $NOM \longrightarrow \left\{ \begin{array}{l} (NP) \ N \\ \left\{ \begin{array}{l} S \\ \bar{S} \end{array} \right\} \ NOM \end{array} \right\}$
- d.  $\bar{S} \longrightarrow S \ COMP^8$
- e.  $COMP \longrightarrow P$
- f.  $Adv \ P \longrightarrow \left\{ \begin{array}{l} NP \\ ADV \end{array} \right\}$

I have adopted Stockwell, Schacter and Partee's notion of NOM (1973). NOM in this framework is supposed to present any constituent ending in N as shown in rule (24c) above. NP presents a sequence NOM - P. Thus adverbial phrases can be rewritten as NP in Japanese as seen in (24f), since they consist of a sequence NOM - P.<sup>9</sup>

Now it can be seen from PS-rule (24a) that there are instances in which S is rewritten as S-V or NP-S-V, giving PS-markers as follows:



The justification for the claim that a lower S is not dominated by NP in structures of the type above can be given by showing that S does not behave in the same way as the constituent NOM-P, which is set up as NP in (24b). The most noticeable characteristic of the constituent NOM-P is that it clearly shows its grammatical function in the surface structure, for example, the subject or the object. This is illustrated in (26). However, S by itself never shows up in the surface structure with the indication of a grammatical function. This is shown by the ungrammatical strings in (27):

- (26) a.  $\left[ \begin{array}{c} \text{[Taroo]} \\ \text{NP NOM} \end{array} \right] \left[ \begin{array}{c} \text{[ga]} \\ \text{P} \end{array} \right] \left[ \begin{array}{c} \text{[Hanako]} \\ \text{NP NOM} \end{array} \right] \left[ \begin{array}{c} \text{[ni]} \\ \text{P} \end{array} \right] \left[ \begin{array}{c} \text{[hon]} \\ \text{NP NOM} \end{array} \right] \left[ \begin{array}{c} \text{[o]} \\ \text{P} \end{array} \right] \text{okut-ta.}$   
to book (D.O) send-past  
(I.O)  
SUBJ. IND.OBJ. D.OBJ.  
'Taro sent Hanako a book.'
- b.  $\left[ \begin{array}{c} \text{[Ziuroo]} \\ \text{NP NOM} \end{array} \right] \left[ \begin{array}{c} \text{[ga]} \\ \text{P} \end{array} \right] \left[ \begin{array}{c} \text{[Mitiko]} \\ \text{NP NOM} \end{array} \right] \left[ \begin{array}{c} \text{[ni]} \\ \text{P} \end{array} \right] \left[ \begin{array}{c} \text{[syasin]} \\ \text{NP NOM} \end{array} \right] \left[ \begin{array}{c} \text{[o]} \\ \text{P} \end{array} \right] \text{mise-ta.}$   
to photo (D.O) show-past  
(I.O)  
SUBJ. IND.OBJ. D.OBJ.  
'Jiro showed Michiko a photo.'

- (27) a.\*  $\left[ \begin{array}{c} \text{Sore o kyoozyuu} \\ \text{S} \end{array} \right] \left[ \begin{array}{c} \text{ni suru} \\ \text{do} \end{array} \right] \text{nozomasii}$   
it today within do S be desirable  
(SUBJ?)

\* 'You do it within today is desirable'.

- b.\* Hanako wa [ nusumi o si-ta ] kakusi-te-iru  
 S stealing do-past S conceal-conj par-pres.prog.  
 (OBJ?)

\*'Hanako is concealing she did some stealing.'

The above examples show that S does not behave in the same way as the constituent NOM-P. Since it seems well-motivated to define as NP a sequence whose grammatical relation such as that of the subject or the object is clearly indicated in the surface structure, it follows that S cannot be directly labelled as NP. However, there are instances in which S can be dominated by NP. Compare the following examples with (27a) and (27b) above:

- (28) a. [ [ [ sore o kyoozyuu ni suru ] [ [ koto ] ] ]  
 NP NOM S it today within do S NOM N<sub>idea</sub> N NOM NOM  
 SUBJ  
 ga ] nozomasii.  
 NP be desirable  
 'The idea that you do it within today is desirable.'  
 ('To do it today is desirable')
- b: Hanako wa [ [ [ nusumi o si-ta ] [ [ koto ] ] ] o ]  
 NP NOM S stealing do-past fact NOM N N NOM NOM NP  
 OBJ.  
 kakusi-te-iru  
 conceal-conj par-pres.prog.  
 'Hanako is concealing the fact that she did some stealing.'

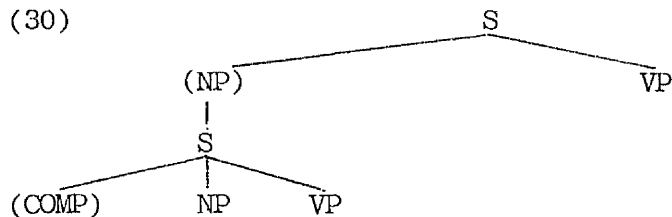
In these examples, the embedded sentences are followed by N, koto, which literally means 'matter/thing/affair'. In this case it is clear that the constituent containing S is NP, since it functions as the subject or the object in the surface structure as NP is supposed to do. Therefore S can be a part of NOM when followed by N and thus being indirectly dominated by NP, but it can never be directly dominated by NP.



The above argument has shown that S does not behave in the same way as the constituent labelled NP and that consequently it cannot be directly dominated by NP. It follows from this that a deep structure such as (25a) is generated in the base when a structure involves a higher intransitive verb which takes a sentential subject, such as reru/rareru for direct passives. The consequence which emerges from this is that the definition of subject should be stated as follows:

- (29) The subject in Japanese is either the first NP or the first S, directly dominated by S.

In fact Radford (1977) mentions a possible analysis in which a sentential subject is not dominated by NP. He presents the following structure (Radford, 1977:32):



He states, "bracketed elements are constituents which may or may not be present, according to the particular analysis or theoretical framework adopted", (Radford, 1977:32). This statement of Radford's clearly suggests the possibility that a sentential subject does not have to be dominated by NP and consequently that the definition of subject can be stated as (29). In the case of Japanese, it seems that the above treatment of S is not just a possibility but it is a well-motivated hypothesis.

The example (31) below presents some relevant subcategorizations.

(31) Some relevant subcategorizations<sup>10</sup>

a. ga (subject marker) :  $\left[ \begin{array}{c} \left[ \begin{array}{c} \text{NOM} \\ \text{---} \end{array} \right] \\ \text{S} \quad \text{NP} \quad \text{NP} \end{array} \right] (\text{NP}) (\text{NP}) \text{V} \left. \vphantom{\begin{array}{c} \left[ \begin{array}{c} \text{NOM} \\ \text{---} \end{array} \right] \\ \text{S} \quad \text{NP} \quad \text{NP} \end{array} \right]} \right] \text{S}$

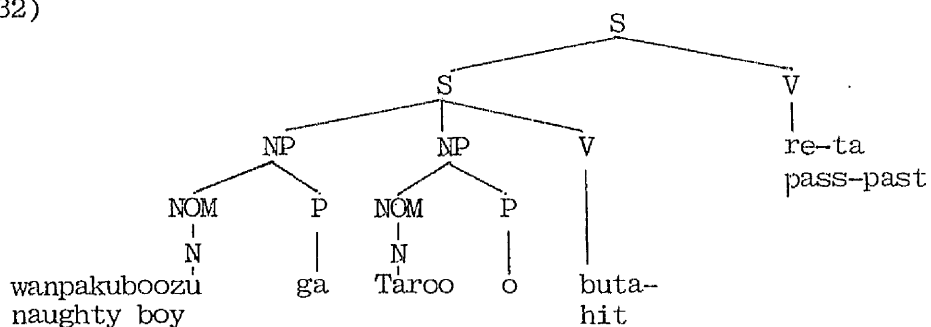
b. ni (indirect object marker):  $\left[ \begin{array}{c} \left[ \begin{array}{c} \text{NP} \\ \text{S} \end{array} \right] \left[ \begin{array}{c} \text{NOM} \\ \text{---} \end{array} \right] (\text{NP}) \left[ \begin{array}{c} \text{V} \\ [+ \text{IND. OBJ}] \end{array} \right] \end{array} \right] \text{S}$

c. o (direct object marker):  $\left[ \begin{array}{c} \left[ \begin{array}{c} \text{NP} (\text{NP}) \\ \text{S} \end{array} \right] \left[ \begin{array}{c} \text{NOM} \\ \text{---} \end{array} \right] \left[ \begin{array}{c} \text{V} \\ [+ \text{D. OBJ}] \end{array} \right] \end{array} \right] \text{S}$

Although many linguists claim that particles are introduced by cyclic transformations in Japanese, I adopt here the assumption that particles are base-generated and that they can also be transformationally and cyclically treated during the derivation if necessary. Now from the above base-rules and subcategorizations we can re-draw the deep structure (15) for a direct passive (1a) in the following way:

(1a) Taroo ga wanpakuboozu ni buta-re-ta.  
       naughty boy by hit-pass-past  
 'Taro was hit by a naughty boy.'

(32)



As mentioned earlier, Inoue proposes Object-to-Subject Raising as one of the transformational rules involved in the derivation of a direct passive from a deep structure which posits a sentential subject. O-S-R may be formulated as follows:

(33) Object-to-Subject Raising<sup>11</sup>

$$\begin{array}{cccccccc}
 X_1 - [ \text{NP} - \text{NP} - (\text{NP}) - \dots \text{V} ]_S - \text{reru/rareru} - X_2 \\
 \begin{array}{cccccccc}
 1 & 2 & 3 & 4 & 5 & 6 & 7 & 8 \Rightarrow (\text{OBL}) \\
 \{ \begin{array}{l} 3 \\ 4 \end{array} \} + [ \text{S} \begin{array}{l} \emptyset \\ 3 \end{array} \begin{array}{l} 4 \\ \emptyset \end{array} ] & 5 & 6 & ]_S & 7 & 8
 \end{array}
 \end{array}$$

Verbs with a feature [+PASS] are non-stative transitive verbs. The structural description above can cover the whole range of the following sentences (34) - (36) (Particles are appropriately assigned in the derived structures (b) below):

(34) a.  $[\text{S}$  wanpakuboozu ga | Taroo o | buta- ]<sub>S</sub> | re-ta.  
naughty boy | | hit | pass-past  
2 | 3 | 6 | 7  $\Rightarrow$  b  
OSR

'[a naughty boy hit Taro] - PASSIVE'

b. Taroo ga | [  $\text{S}$  wanpakuboozu ni | buta- ]<sub>S</sub> | re-ta  
| naughty boy by | hit | pass-past  
3 | 2 |  $\emptyset$  | 6 | 7

'Taro was hit by a naughty boy.'

The verb butu 'hit' appearing in the form of buta- above takes a direct object, which in this case corresponds to term 3 in the structural description of O-S-R (33)

(35) a.  $[\text{S}$  Taroo ga | Hanako ni | hanasikake- ]<sub>S</sub> | rare-ta.  
| (I.O) speak to | pass-past  
2 | 3 | 6 | 7  $\Rightarrow$  b  
OSR

'[Taro spoke to Hanako] - PASSIVE'

b. Hanako ga | [  $\text{S}$  Taroo ni | | hanasikake- ]<sub>S</sub> | rare-ta  
| by | | speak to | pass-past  
3 | 2 |  $\emptyset$  | 6 | 7

'Hanako was spoken to by Taro.'

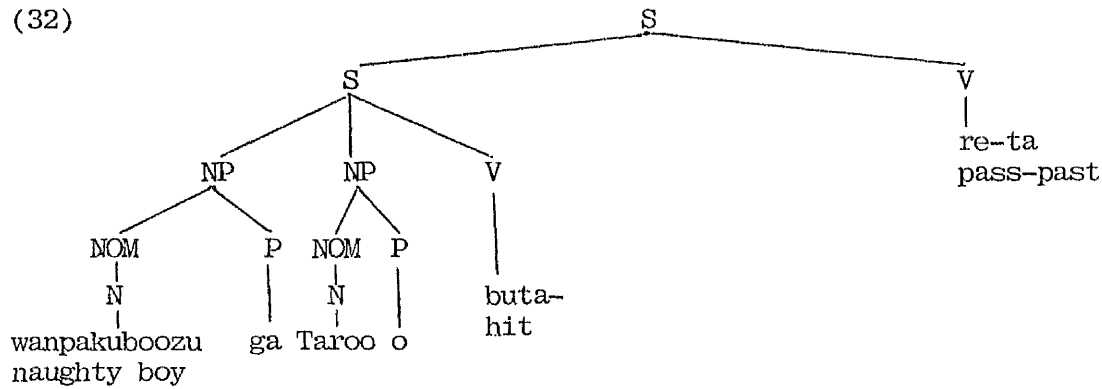
The verb hanasikakeru 'speak to' in the form of hanasikake- in (35) takes an indirect object marked by ni as in (35a). In the analysis of this type of sentence term 3 represents an indirect object.

- (36) a.  $\left[ \begin{array}{c} \text{S} \\ \text{Taroo ga} \end{array} \right] \left[ \begin{array}{c} \text{Hanako ni} \\ \text{(I.O)} \end{array} \right] \left[ \begin{array}{c} \text{okasi o} \\ \text{sweets} \end{array} \right] \left[ \begin{array}{c} \text{okura-} \\ \text{send} \end{array} \right] \left[ \begin{array}{c} \text{S} \\ \text{re-ta.} \\ \text{pass-past} \end{array} \right]$
- 2            3            4            6            7  $\xrightarrow{\text{OSR}}$   $\left. \begin{array}{l} \text{b} \\ \text{c} \end{array} \right\}$
- '[Taro sent Hanako some sweets ]'- PASSIVE
- b.  $\left[ \begin{array}{c} \text{Hanako ga} \\ \text{3} \end{array} \right] \left[ \begin{array}{c} \text{S} \\ \text{Taroo ni} \\ \text{by} \end{array} \right] \left[ \begin{array}{c} \text{okasi o} \\ \text{sweets} \\ \text{Ø} \end{array} \right] \left[ \begin{array}{c} \text{okura-} \\ \text{send} \\ \text{4} \end{array} \right] \left[ \begin{array}{c} \text{S} \\ \text{re-ta.} \\ \text{pass-past} \\ \text{6} \end{array} \right] \left[ \begin{array}{c} \text{7} \end{array} \right]$
- 'Hanako was sent some sweets by Taro.'
- c.  $\left[ \begin{array}{c} \text{Okasi ga} \\ \text{sweets} \\ \text{4} \end{array} \right] \left[ \begin{array}{c} \text{S} \\ \text{Taroo ni-yotte} \\ \text{by} \end{array} \right] \left[ \begin{array}{c} \text{Hanako ni} \\ \text{(I.O)} \\ \text{3} \end{array} \right] \left[ \begin{array}{c} \text{okura-} \\ \text{send} \\ \text{Ø} \end{array} \right] \left[ \begin{array}{c} \text{S} \\ \text{re-ta.}^{12} \\ \text{pass-past} \\ \text{6} \end{array} \right] \left[ \begin{array}{c} \text{7} \end{array} \right]$
- 'Some sweets were sent to Hanako by Taro.'

Now the verb okuru 'send' occurring in the form okura- in the above examples is a three-place predicate. In this case term 3 of the structural configuration (33) is occupied by an indirect object and term 4, by a direct object. As is evident from (36b) and (36c), either of those terms can be raised and made the passive subject. On the whole, whether term 3 of the structural configuration of (33) is occupied by a direct object or an indirect object and whether or not term 4 is filled depend on the verb involved.

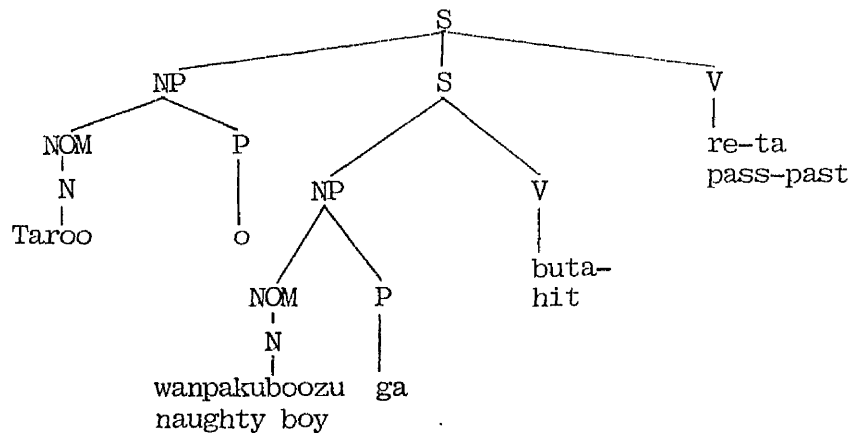
Now let us see how O-S-R operates in the derivation from the deep structure (32), repeated below.

(32)



Since the structural description of O-S-R meets the above representation as shown in (34a), the rule obligatorily applies, raising the NP Taroo o to the matrix subject position. This yields the following:<sup>13</sup>

(37)



As mentioned before, the major particles are introduced both lexically and transformationally in this framework. If we look at the structure (37), derived via O-S-R, we see that the NP which has been raised to the subject position is still marked by an object marker o. The subject marker ga is attached to this phrase by a transformational rule formulated as follows:

(38) Ga-Placement

$$\begin{array}{ccccccc}
 X_1 & - & [ & [ & \text{NOM P} & ] & - X_2 & ] & - X_3 \\
 & & \text{S} & \text{NP} & & \text{NP} & & \text{S} & \\
 1 & & & 2 & 3 & & 4 & & 5 \implies \text{(OBL)} \\
 1 & & & 2 & [3 \# \underline{\text{ga}}] & & 4 & & 5
 \end{array}$$

The above rule applies to the NP Taroo o in the structure

(37), Chomsky-adjoining ga to the particle o, and generates (39):

(39) Taroo  $\left[ \begin{array}{c} o + ga \\ P \quad P \end{array} \right]$

Now we have a sequence with two particles one after another. There is a rule of particle deletion, which deletes ga, o or ni when it is followed by another particle as a result of a transformation.

(cf. Kuno (1973) and kuroda (1965a)). The rule may be formulated as follows:

(40) Particle Deletion

$$X_1 - \left\{ \begin{array}{c} \underline{ga} \\ \underline{o} \\ \underline{ni} \end{array} \right\} - P - X_2$$

$$1 \quad 2 \quad 3 \quad 4 \implies (\text{OBL})$$

$$1 \quad \emptyset \quad 3 \quad 4$$

The application of Particle Deletion above to constituent (39) leads us to the structure (41):

(41) Taroo  $\emptyset$  ga  $\left[ \begin{array}{c} \text{wanpakuboozu ga buta-} \\ \text{naughty boy} \quad \text{hit} \end{array} \right] \text{ re-ta.}$   
pass-past

At this stage, according to Inoue's analysis, a rule called 'Ni-Placement to Complement Subject', which may be formulated as (42), applies to the complement subject wanpakuboozu ga in order to create an agentive phrase.

(42) Ni-Placement to Complement Subject<sup>14</sup>

$$X_1 - \left[ \begin{array}{c} \text{NP} \\ \text{S} \end{array} - \left[ \begin{array}{c} \left[ \begin{array}{c} \text{NOM}[\underline{ga}] \\ \text{P} \end{array} \right] - X_2 \\ \text{S NP} \quad \text{P NP} \end{array} \right] - \underline{\text{reru/rareru}} \right] - X_3$$

$$1 \quad 2 \quad 3 \quad 4 \quad 5 \quad 6 \quad 7 \Rightarrow (\text{OBL})$$

$$1 \quad 2 \quad 3 \quad \left[ 4\# \left\{ \begin{array}{c} \underline{ni} \\ \underline{ni-yotte} \end{array} \right\} \right] \quad 5 \quad 6 \quad 7$$

By applying the above rule to the complement subject of the structure (41), we get the following:

(43) wanpakuboozu  $\left[ \begin{array}{c} \text{ga} + \text{ni} \\ \text{P} \qquad \qquad \text{P} \end{array} \right]$

Particle Deletion (40) deletes ga in the above, yielding the structure (44):

(44) Taroo ga  $\left[ \begin{array}{c} \text{wanpakuboozu} \ \emptyset \ \text{ni buta-} \\ \text{S} \qquad \qquad \qquad \qquad \qquad \text{S} \end{array} \right]$  re-ta.  
naughty boy by hit pass-past

As far as Inoue's analysis is concerned, the above is the surface structure derived from the deep structure of the type (32). However, as we have seen in the preceding section, passive sentences are superficially simplex. Thus we should apply V-R, which adjoins an embedded verb to the matrix verb and which is followed by S-pruning, with the effect of raising all the embedded elements to the matrix sentence.

(45) Verb-Raising

$$\begin{array}{cccccc} X_1 & - & \left[ \begin{array}{c} X_2 - V \\ \text{S} \end{array} \right] & - & \left[ \begin{array}{c} V \\ +V-R \end{array} \right] & - & X_3 \\ 1 & & 2 & 3 & 4 & 5 & \implies \text{(OBL)} \\ 1 & & 2 & \emptyset & [3\#4] & 5 & \end{array}$$

When V-R applies to structure (44), we get the correct surface structure as follows:

(46) Taroo ga wanpakuboozu ni buta-re-ta.  
naughty boy by hit-pass-past  
'Taro was hit by a naughty boy.'

Given the above derivation based on Inoue's framework we have to assume a fixed linear order of rule applications such that O-S-R applies before Ni-Placement to Complement Subject, and the latter

applies before V-R. If this order is not assumed, V-R may apply prior to the application of O-S-R because the input structure to O-S-R can also be met by the structural description of V-R as follows:

(47) 
$$\begin{array}{c} \text{wanpakuboozu ga Taroo o} \\ \text{naughty boy} \\ 2 \end{array} \left[ \begin{array}{c} \text{buta-} \\ \text{hit} \\ 3 \end{array} \right] \left[ \begin{array}{c} \text{re-ta} \\ \text{pass-past} \\ 4 \end{array} \right] \quad (= (32))$$

The application of V-R to the above structure, necessarily entailing S-pruning, would yield the following:

(48) 
$$\begin{array}{c} \text{wanpakuboozu ga Taroo o} \\ \text{naughty boy} \end{array} \left[ \begin{array}{c} \text{buta-re-ta} \\ \text{hit-pass-past} \end{array} \right]$$

In this case neither O-S-R nor Ni-Placement to Complement Subject would apply to the output (48) because the domain of those rules is a complex structure, while the above structure is simplex. Similarly, without the specific order above, V-R may apply to the output structure of O-S-R, since the structural description of V-R would be met by the derived structure by O-S-R as follows:

(49) 
$$\begin{array}{c} \text{Taroo o} \\ 1 \end{array} \left[ \begin{array}{c} \text{wanpakuboozu ga} \\ \text{naughty boy} \\ 2 \end{array} \right] \left[ \begin{array}{c} \text{buta-} \\ \text{hit} \\ 3 \end{array} \right] \left[ \begin{array}{c} \text{re-ta} \\ \text{pass-past} \\ 4 \end{array} \right] \quad (= (37))$$

The result of applying V-R to the above structure, followed by S-pruning, would be (50):

(50) 
$$\begin{array}{c} \text{Taroo o wanpakuboozu ga} \\ \text{naughty boy} \end{array} \left[ \begin{array}{c} \text{buta-re-ta} \\ \text{hit-pass-past} \end{array} \right]$$

Now the structural configuration of Ni-Placement to Complement Subject would not meet representation (50), since this is simplex, whereas the domain of the structural configuration of the rule is complex.



Therefore given the present formulation of those rules, we have to assume a fixed linear order between them in order to generate correct surface structures of direct passives.

In the framework I adopt here, it is assumed, following Pullum (1976), that there is no fixed linear order of rule applications and that rules basically apply whenever their structural descriptions are met by the representation. (cf. p. 23-27). According to Pullum's assumption, if there are two obligatory rules whose structural descriptions are dissimilar and yet simultaneously met by a single representation, then they apply to the representation simultaneously. As we have seen, representation (32) is met by the structural descriptions of both O-S-R (cf. (34a)) and V-R (cf. (47)), which are obligatory. Thus under this assumption, O-S-R and V-R should apply simultaneously to representation (32). Example (51) below shows how structure (32) is simultaneously met by the structural descriptions of those two rules:

(51)	[	wanpakuboozu	ga	Taroo	o	buta-	]	re-ta.
		naughty	boy			hit		pass-past
O-S-R	2	;	3	;	6	;	7	
V-R	2	;	3	;	3	;	4	

The application of the two rules will yield the following:

(52)	Taroo	o	wanpakuboozu	ga	[	buta-re-ta	]
			naughty	boy		hit-pass-past	

The consequence of the simultaneous application of O-S-R and V-R, necessarily accompanied by S-pruning, is that we have to reformulate Ni-Placement so that its structural description meets the

output structure (52), which is simplex. The rule will be reformulated as follows:

(53) Ni-Placement

$X_1$	-	[	NP	-	[	NOM	[	<u>ga</u>	]	]	-	$X_2$	-	[	V-reru/rareru	]	]	-	$X_3$
			S				NP	P	P	NP				V	V	S			
1			2			3		4				5			6			7	⇒(OBL)
1			2			3	[4# <u>ni</u> <u>ni-yotte</u> ]					5			6			7	

Now this newly formulated Ni-Placement, and the Ga-Placement formulated earlier in (38), meet the structure of the second and first phrase of (52) respectively and thus each of them applies separately, generating the following:

(54) Taroo o + ga wanpakuboozu ga + ni buta-re-ta.  
                   naughty boy                   by hit-pass-past

Finally the structural description of Particle Deletion (40) meets the structures of the two phrases in the above string and thus it applies twice, deleting the first particle. As a result we get the correct surface structure:

(55) Taroo Ø ga wanpakuboozu Ø ni buta-re-ta. (= (1a))  
                   naughty boy           by hit-pass-past  
           'Taro was hit by a naughty boy.'

At this point let me summarize the above discussion. Since deep structure (32) is met by the structural descriptions of both O-S-R and V-R, these rules apply simultaneously, yielding (52). The derived structure is then met by both Ga-Placement and the re-formulated Ni-Placement as (53). The application of those two rules results in the structure (54). Finally Particle Deletion applies to structure (54), generating the surface structure (55).

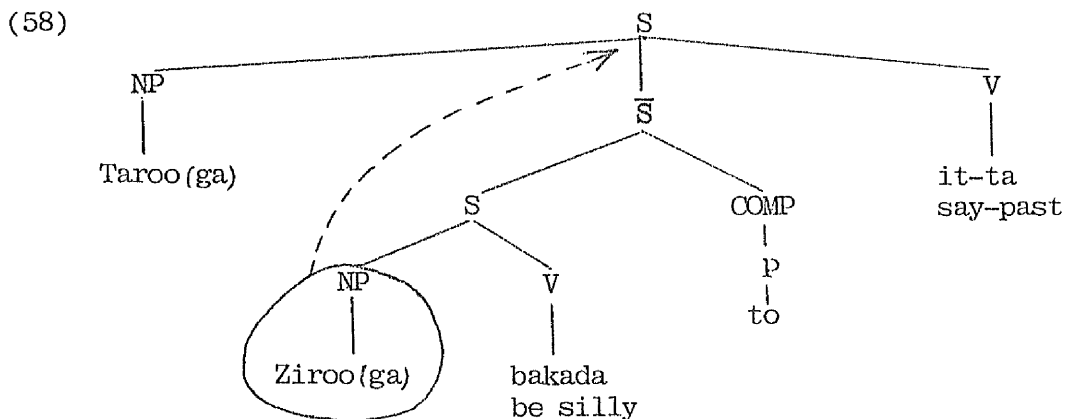
In the next section I shall discuss O-S-R in relation to a different construction and argue for a revised version of O-S-R for direct passives.

## 2.1.4. Passive-Raising: evidence from saying/thinking verbs

Postal (1974) and Kuno (1976) have shown that there is a clear case of Subject-to-Object Raising in Japanese. Consider the following examples:

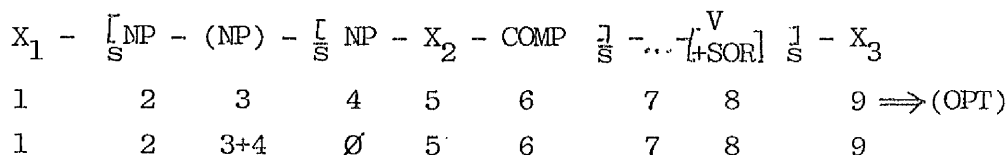
- (56) a. Taroo wa [Zi-roo ga badada to] it-ta.  
           be silly COMP say-past  
           'Taro said that Jiro was silly.'
- b. Taroo wa Zi-roo o [bakada to] it-ta.  
           be silly COMP  
           'Taro said Jiro to be silly. (Taro said that Jiro was silly)'
- (57) a. Taroo wa [Hanako ga hannin da to] utagat-ta.  
           criminal be COMP suspect-past  
           'Taro suspected that Hanako was the criminal.'
- b. Taroo wa Hanako o [hannin da to] utagat-ta.  
           criminal be COMP suspect-past  
           'Taro suspected Hanako to be the criminal.'

Verbs like iu 'say' and utagau 'suspect/doubt' take complement sentences. The (a) sentences above have a full complement sentence, while the (b) sentences seem to have lost the subject of the complement: Zi-roo in (56a) and Hanako in (57a) are the complement subjects, marked by the subject marker ga, whereas in the corresponding (b) sentences they are the matrix objects, since they are marked by the object marker o. Further evidence to prove that the phrases in question are the matrix objects in the (b) sentences is given in Kuno (1976). (However, he misanalyzes the iu 'say' type of verbs. This is discussed later on p163-168). Thus (56b), for instance, is generated from a structure corresponding to (56a) via S-O-R as follows:

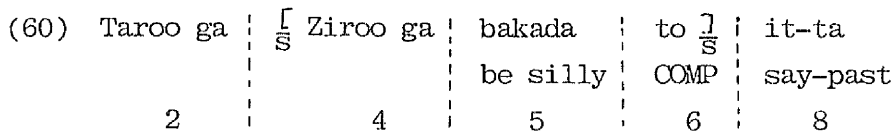


(57b) is generated in a similar way.<sup>15</sup> The rule S-O-R can be formulated as follows:

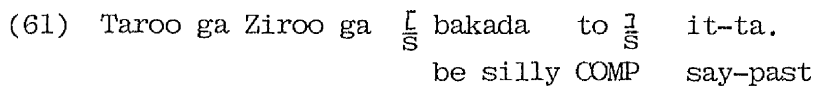
(59) Subject-to-Object Raising<sup>16</sup>



Verbs with a feature specification [+SOR] are saying/thinking verbs. (Saying/thinking verbs are discussed in 3.2. cf.p.163-189) The structural description of (59) meets representation (58) as in (60) below:



The result of the application of S-O-R to the above structure is the following:



The subject phrase Taroo ga in the above structure will be converted to a thematic phrase Taroo wa by some transformational rule, about which I shall not go into details in this discussion.(cf. footnote 3 of Chapter 1,p.70-72). After applying S-O-R, the phrase Ziroo ga is now

in the object position, as can be seen in structure (61). The rule O-Placement, formulated as (62), will adjoin an object marker o to the phrase concerned, yielding (63):

(62) O-Placement

$$\begin{array}{ccccccc}
 X_1 & - & [ & \text{NP} & - & (\text{NP}) & - & [ & \text{NOM} & [ & \underline{\text{ga}} & ] & ] & - & X_2 & [ & \text{V} & ] & - & X_3 \\
 & & \text{S} & & & & & \text{NP} & \text{P} & \text{P} & & \text{P} & \text{NP} & & & \text{[+D.OBJ]} & \text{S} & & & \\
 1 & & 2 & & 3 & & 4 & & 5 & & 6 & & 7 & & 8 & \Rightarrow (\text{OBL}) \\
 1 & & 2 & & 3 & & 4 & & [5\# \underline{o}] & & 6 & & 7 & & 8 & & & & & & &
 \end{array}$$

(63) Ziroo  $\left[ \begin{array}{c} \text{ga} + \text{o} \\ \text{P} \qquad \text{P} \end{array} \right]$

The deletion of ga in the above structure (63) by Particle Deletion formulated as (40) generates the surface structure.

(64) Taroo wa Ziroo  $\emptyset$  o [ bakada to ] it-ta. (= (56b))  
                                   be silly COMP say-past  
  'Taro said Jiro to be silly. (Taro said that Jiro was silly.)'

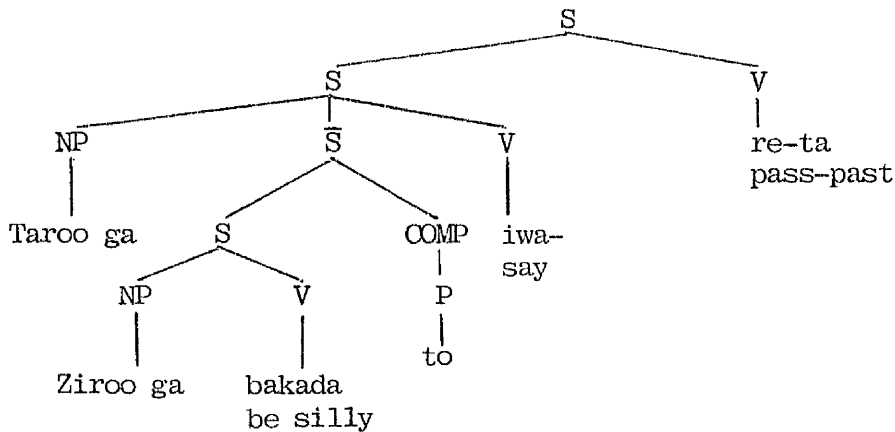
The following examples are the passivized versions of (56) and (57):

(65) Ziroo ga Taroo ni [ bakada to ] iwa-re-ta.  
                                   by be silly COMP say-pass-past  
  'Jiro was said to be silly by Taro.'

(66) Hanako ga Taroo ni [ hannin da to ] utagawa-re-ta.  
                                   criminal be COMP suspect-pass-past  
  'Hanako was suspected to be the criminal by Taro.'

Let us see how the direct passives (65) and (66) above, which involve saying/thinking verbs, are generated. The deep structure of (65), for instance, is given below:

(67)



Suppose the optional S-O-R rule (59) applies in the second cycle of the structure (67). Then we get:

(68)  $\left[ \begin{smallmatrix} \text{S} \\ \text{S} \end{smallmatrix} \right]$  Taroo ga Ziroom ga  $\left[ \begin{smallmatrix} \text{S} \\ \text{S} \end{smallmatrix} \right]$  bakada to  $\left[ \begin{smallmatrix} \text{S} \\ \text{S} \end{smallmatrix} \right]$  iwa-  $\left[ \begin{smallmatrix} \text{S} \\ \text{S} \end{smallmatrix} \right]$  re-ta.  
 be silly COMP say pass-past

The application of O-Placement to the phrase Ziroom ga above, followed by Particle Deletion, generates the following string:

(69)  $\left[ \begin{smallmatrix} \text{S} \\ \text{S} \end{smallmatrix} \right]$  Taroo ga Ziroom  $\emptyset$  o  $\left[ \begin{smallmatrix} \text{S} \\ \text{S} \end{smallmatrix} \right]$  bakada to  $\left[ \begin{smallmatrix} \text{S} \\ \text{S} \end{smallmatrix} \right]$  iwa-  $\left[ \begin{smallmatrix} \text{S} \\ \text{S} \end{smallmatrix} \right]$  re-ta.  
 be silly COMP say pass-past

Now in the third cycle the structural descriptions of O-S-R (33) and V-R (45), repeated below, simultaneously meet the representation above as in (70):

(33) Object-to-Subject Raising

$X_1 - \left[ \begin{smallmatrix} \text{S} \\ \text{S} \end{smallmatrix} \right]$  NP - NP - (NP) - .. -  $\left[ \begin{smallmatrix} \text{V} \\ \text{PASS} \end{smallmatrix} \right]$   $\left[ \begin{smallmatrix} \text{S} \\ \text{S} \end{smallmatrix} \right]$  -reru/rareru -  $X_2$

1            2        3        4        5        6                            7            8  $\Rightarrow$ (OBL)

1             $\left\{ \begin{smallmatrix} 3 \\ 4 \end{smallmatrix} \right\} + \left[ \begin{smallmatrix} \text{S} \\ \text{S} \end{smallmatrix} \right]$   $\left\{ \begin{smallmatrix} \emptyset & 4 \\ 3 & \emptyset \end{smallmatrix} \right\}$     5        6         $\left[ \begin{smallmatrix} \text{S} \\ \text{S} \end{smallmatrix} \right]$             7            8

(45) Verb-Raising

$X_1 - \left[ \begin{smallmatrix} \text{S} \\ \text{S} \end{smallmatrix} \right]$   $X_2 - V \left[ \begin{smallmatrix} \text{S} \\ \text{S} \end{smallmatrix} \right] - \left[ \begin{smallmatrix} \text{V} \\ \text{+V-R} \end{smallmatrix} \right]$  -  $X_3$

1        2        3        4        5  $\Rightarrow$  (OBL)

1        2         $\emptyset$     [3#4]    5

(70)	[	Taroo ga Ziroo o	[	bakada to]	]	iwa-]	re-ta.
	S		S	S	S		
				be silly COMP		say	pass-past
O-S-R	2	3	5	6	7		
V-R		2		3		4	

The simultaneous application of O-S-R and V-R, necessarily followed by S-pruning, generates the following:

(71)	Ziroo o Taroo ga	[	bakada to	]	iwa-re-ta.
		S	S	S	
			be silly COMP		say-pass-past

Ga-Placement (38) and Ni-Placement (53) adjoin ga and ni to the phrases Ziroo o and Taroo ga respectively. This produces the following phrases:

(72)	Ziroo	[	o + ga	]	Taroo	[	ga + ni	]
		P	P	P		P	P	

Particle Deletion then deletes the first particle in each phrase, deriving the surface structure:

(73)	Ziroo ∅ ga	Taroo ∅ ni	[ bakada to ]	iwa-re-ta.	(= (65))
			by be silly COMP	say-pass-past	
	'Jiro was said to be silly by Taro.'				

As we have seen above, direct passives including saying/thinking verbs as (65) and (66) can be generated by O-S-R without any problem: the structural description of O-S-R meets the intermediate structure derived by S-O-R, which is attributed to saying/thinking verbs. However, it will be shown below that there are certain direct passives which also involve saying/thinking verbs but which are out of the domain of O-S-R. Consider first of all the following sentences:

(74) a.	Hitobito wa	[	Ziroo ga Amerika e nige-ta	to]	it-te-iru.
	people		America to run away-past COMP	say-conj	
				par-pres	

'People say that Jiro ran away to America.'

b.\* Hitobito wa Ziroo o [Amerika e nige-ta to] it-te-iru.  
 America to run away-past COMP say-conj  
 par-pres

'People say Jiro to have run away to America.'

(75) a. Taroo wa [Hanako ga kodomo o but-ta to] utagat-ta.  
 child hit-past COMP suspect-past

'Taro suspected that Hanako had hit the child.'

b.\* Taroo wa Hanako o [kodomo o but-ta to] utagat-ta.  
 child hit-past COMP suspect

'Taro suspected Hanako to have hit the child.'

From the ungrammatical (b) sentences above, it is evident that S-O-R must not apply to the structures corresponding to the (a) sentences. Now the difference in complement verbs can be seen, if we compare those in (56a) and (57a), to whose structures S-O-R can apply as is clear from the grammaticality of the (b) sentences, (all repeated here,) and those in (74a) and (75a) above.

(56a) Taroo wa [Ziroo ga bakada to] it-ta.  
 be silly COMP say-past

'Taro said that Jiro was silly.'

(56b) Taroo wa Ziroo o [bakada to] it-ta.  
 be silly COMP say-past

'Taro said Jiro to be silly. (Taro said that Jiro was silly.)'

(57a) Taroo wa [Hanako ga hannin da to] utagat-ta.  
 criminal be COMP suspect-past

'Taro suspected that Hanako was the criminal.'

(57b) Taroo wa Hanako o [hannin da to] utagat-ta.  
 criminal be COMP suspect-past

'Taro suspected Hanako to be the criminal.'



That is, the complement verbs of (56a) and (57a) consist either of an adjective or of a 'nominal + copula'; bakada 'be silly' in (56a) is an adjective and hannin da 'criminal be' in (57a) in a constituent consisting of a 'nominal + copula'. On the other hand, the complement sentences of (74a) and (75a) consist of action verbs like nigeru 'run away' or butu 'hit'. Thus it can be concluded that when saying/thinking verbs contain action verbs in the complement sentence, S-O-R should be blocked. This peculiar phenomenon of S-O-R verbs in Japanese is pointed out by Kuno. (1976). Now this restriction concerning the application of S-O-R on complement verbs involved in saying/thinking verbs should be stated in the rule as follows (cf.(59)):

(76) Subject-to-Object Raising

$$X_1 - \left[ \begin{array}{c} \text{NP} \\ \text{S} \end{array} \right] - (\text{NP}) - \left[ \begin{array}{c} \text{NP} \\ \text{S} \end{array} \right] - X_2 - \left[ \begin{array}{c} \text{V} \\ \text{[-ACTION]} \end{array} \right] - \text{COMP} \left[ \begin{array}{c} \text{S} \\ \text{S} \end{array} \right] - \dots - \left[ \begin{array}{c} \text{V} \\ \text{[+SOR]} \end{array} \right] \left[ \begin{array}{c} \text{S} \\ \text{S} \end{array} \right] - X_3$$

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10 ⇒ (OPT)
1	2	3+4	∅	5	6	7	8	9	10

The category V specified by the feature [-ACTION] consists of adjectives or 'nominal + copula'.

Let us now consider some other examples:

(77) Jiroo ga hitobito ni [Amerika e nige-ta to] iwa-re-te-iru.  
 people by America to run away-past COMP say-pass-conj  
 par-pres

'Jiro is said by people to have run away to America.'

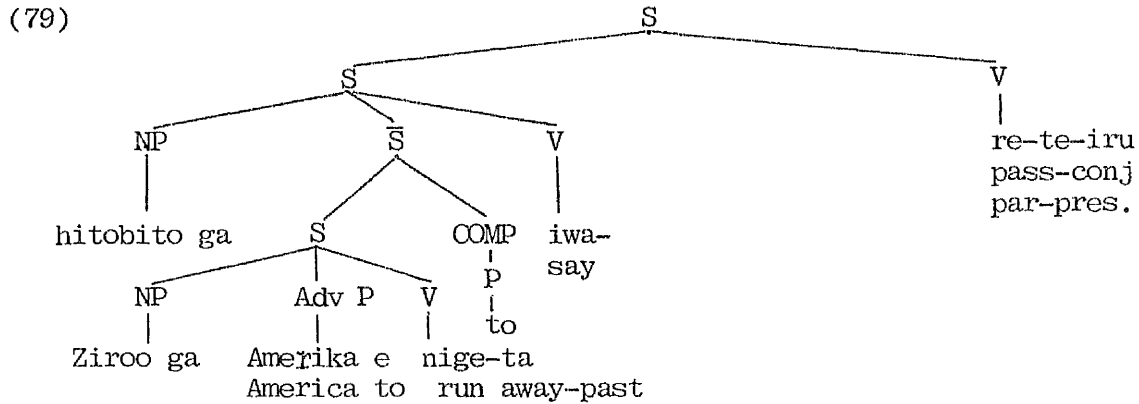
(78) Hanako ga Taroo ni [kodomo o but-ta to] utagawa-re-ta.  
 by child hit-past COMP suspect-pass-past

'Hanako was suspected by Taro to have hit the child.'

The above are the corresponding direct passives to sentences (74a) and (75a). We shall see below that unlike the passives (65) and (66), the

passives of the type (77) and (78) above cannot be generated by O-S-R.

The deep structure of (77), for instance, is as follows:



Since S-O-R re-stated as (76) is not applicable in the second cycle of structure (79) as the complement verb of the saying verb iu 'say' has the feature [+ACTION], the representation (79) will be checked against O-S-R (33), which is attributed to the passive construction. This is repeated below:

(33) Object-to-Subject Raising

$$\begin{array}{cccccccc}
 X_1 - \left[ \begin{array}{c} \text{NP} - \text{NP} - (\text{NP}) - \dots - \left[ \begin{array}{c} \text{V} \\ [+PASS] \end{array} \right] \text{S} \end{array} \right] - \underline{\text{reru/rareru}} - X_2 \\
 1 \quad \quad 2 \quad 3 \quad 4 \quad 5 \quad 6 \quad \quad 7 \quad 8 \Rightarrow (\text{OBL}) \\
 1 \quad \left\{ \begin{array}{l} 3 \\ 4 \end{array} \right\} + \left[ \begin{array}{c} 2 \\ \text{S} \end{array} \right] \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \emptyset \quad 4 \\ 3 \quad \emptyset \end{array} \right\} \quad 5 \quad 6 \quad \left[ \begin{array}{c} \text{S} \end{array} \right] \quad 7 \quad 8
 \end{array}$$

It should be noticed that the structural description of O-S-R is not met by representation (79), since there is no appropriate NP in (79) corresponding to term 3 in the description of rule (33). This can be observed clearly in the comparison between the structural configuration of rule (33) and the following structural configuration, which characterizes representation (79):

(80) 
$$\left[ \begin{array}{c} \text{NP} \\ \text{S} \end{array} \left[ \begin{array}{c} \text{NP} \\ \text{S} \end{array} \left[ \begin{array}{c} \text{NP Adv P V} \\ \text{S} \end{array} \right] \text{COMP} \right] \text{V} \right] \text{S} \quad \underline{\text{re-ru}}$$

Given the assumption that the basic word order of Japanese is S (IO) (DO)V and given the structural description of (33), in which the second NP represented by term 3 is a sister node to the first NP (subject NP) in the embedded sentence of reru/rareru, it is evident that term 3 is either a direct or an indirect object of this sentence. On the other hand the NP to be raised as the subject of a passive verb in the structure (79) or (80) is a complement subject. Thus although this complement subject Ziroo in (79) is the second NP in the whole embedded sentence of reru/rareru, it is not a sister to hitobito, the subject of this embedded sentence. Consequently, there is a clause boundary intervening between the embedded subject hitobito and the NP to be raised, which shows that structure (79) is out of the domain of O-S-R. Hence representation (79) is never met by the structural description of O-S-R (33) and the passives of the type (77) or (78) can never be generated by O-S-R.<sup>17</sup>

What is required is a revised version of rule (33) whose domain will cover this type of passive we are concerned with at the moment as well as the others discussed earlier. The rule can be termed Passive-Raising and can be formulated as follows:

(81) Passive-Raising<sup>18</sup>

$$X_1 - \left[ \begin{array}{c} \text{NP} - X_2 - \text{NP} - X_3 - \left[ \begin{array}{c} \text{V} \\ \text{S} \end{array} \right] \text{COMP} \right] \text{V} - \underline{\text{reru/rareru}} - X_4$$

1            2    3            4    5            6                    7                    8  $\Rightarrow$ (OBL)

$$1 \ 4 + \left[ \begin{array}{c} \text{S} \end{array} \left[ \begin{array}{c} \text{NP} - X_2 - \text{NP} - X_3 - \left[ \begin{array}{c} \text{V} \\ \text{S} \end{array} \right] \text{COMP} \right] \text{V} - \underline{\text{reru/rareru}} - X_4$$

1    4    2    3             $\emptyset$     5            6    7                    8

(Conditions on the variables  $X_2$  and  $X_3$  will be presented later on p.120-126)

The structural description of Passive-Raising (henceforth called P-R) meets representation (79) as follows:

- (82)  $\left[ \begin{array}{c} \text{hitobito ga} \\ \text{S} \\ \text{people} \\ 2 \end{array} \right] \left[ \begin{array}{c} \text{Ziroo ga} \\ \text{S} \\ 3 \end{array} \right] \left[ \begin{array}{c} \text{Amerika e nige-ta} \\ \text{America to run away-past} \\ 4 \end{array} \right] \left[ \begin{array}{c} \text{to} \\ \text{COMP} \\ 5 \end{array} \right] \left[ \begin{array}{c} \text{iwa-} \\ \text{S} \\ \text{say} \\ 6 \end{array} \right] \left[ \begin{array}{c} \text{re-te-iru} \\ \text{pass-conj-pres} \\ 7 \end{array} \right]$

The structural description of V-R (45), repeated below, also meets the above representation as in (83):

- (45) Verb-Raising

$$\begin{array}{cccccc} X_1 & - & \left[ X_2 - V \right] & - & \left[ +VR \right] & - & X_3 \\ 1 & & 2 & 3 & 4 & 5 & \implies \text{(OBL)} \\ 1 & & 2 & \emptyset & [3 \neq 4] & 5 & \end{array}$$

- (83)  $\left[ \begin{array}{c} \text{hitobito ga} \\ \text{S} \\ \text{people} \\ 2 \end{array} \right] \left[ \begin{array}{c} \text{Ziroo ga} \\ \text{S} \\ 3 \end{array} \right] \left[ \begin{array}{c} \text{Amerika e nige-ta} \\ \text{America to run away-past} \\ 4 \end{array} \right] \left[ \begin{array}{c} \text{to} \\ \text{COMP} \\ 5 \end{array} \right] \left[ \begin{array}{c} \text{iwa-} \\ \text{S} \\ \text{say} \\ 6 \end{array} \right] \left[ \begin{array}{c} \text{re-te-iru} \\ \text{pass-conj-pres.} \\ 7 \end{array} \right]$

The simultaneous application of P-R and V-R to structure (79), necessarily followed by S-pruning, yields the following:

- (84) Ziroo ga hitobito ga [Amerika e nige-ta to] iwa-re-te-iru  
 people America to run away-past COMP say-pass-conj-pres  
 -pres

At this stage, Ni-Placement (53) applies to the phrase hitobito ga, followed by Particle Deletion, generating the surface structure:

- ; (85) Ziroo ga hitobito  $\emptyset$  ni [Amerika e nige-ta to] iwa-re-te-iru  
 people by America to run away-past COMP say-pass-conj-pres  
 (= (77))

'Jiro is said by people to have run away to America.'

I would now like to show that P-R (81) also covers those passives which were previously shown to be generated by O-S-R.

Consider the examples below:

- (86) a. Hanako ga Taroo ni okasi o okura-re-ta. (cf. (36b))  
           by sweets send-pass-past  
           'Hanako was sent some sweets by Taro.'
- b. Okasi ga Taroo ni-yotte Hanako ni okura-re-ta. (cf.(36c))  
    sweets by to send-pass-past  
   (I.O)  
    'Some sweets were sent to Hanako by Taro.'
- c. [ Taroo ga Hanako ni okasi o okura- ] re-ta (cf.(36a))  
    S  S  
           to sweets send pass-past  
           (I.O)  
    ' [Taro sent Hanako some sweets]-PASSIVE'

The structure (86c) above illustrates the deep structure of the direct passives (86a) and (86b). If (86c) is matched by the structural description of P-R as in (87a), the derivation generates (86a), while if it is matched as in (87b), the derivation yields (86b):

- (87) a. [ S Taroo ga Hanako ni okasi o okura- ] re-ta.  
           S  S  
           to sweets send pass-past  
           (I.O)  
           2      4      5      6      7
- b. [ S Taroo ga Hanako ni okasi o okura- ] re-ta.  
    S  S  
           to sweets send pass-past  
           (I.O)  
           2      3      4      6      7

As has been stated earlier (cf. p117), since the structural description of V-R also meets the representation of the type (86c), P-R and V-R should apply simultaneously. Thus in the actual description of derivations, the output structure of the application of P-R alone never occurs. However, if, for the purpose of analysis, it were applied by itself, the following structures would be generated. Here we can clearly

see the effect of the application of P-R, that is, raising term 4 in the structures (87) to the matrix subject position as follows:

(88) a. Hanako ni [ Taroo ga : okasi o : okura - ] re-ta.  
           to          S                          S          S                          S  
           (I.O)                                  sweets      send                          pass-past  
           4                                  2          ∅          5                          6                          7

b. Okasi o [ Taroo ga : Hanako ni : okura- ] re-ta.  
       sweets          S                          to          S                          S                          S  
   (I.O)                          send                          pass-past  
           4                                  2          3          ∅          6                          7

V-R, (which in fact applies simultaneously with P-R to structures (87a) and (87b),) Ga-Placement, Ni-Placement and Particle Deletion generate the surface structures (86a) and (86b)

The direct passives of the type (65) or (66), which involve a saying/thinking verb whose complement verb is either an adjective or 'nominal + copula,' were shown to be generated via O-S-R (cf.p.110-112). Example (65) is repeated below:

(65) Ziroo ga Taroo ni [ bakada to ] iwa-re-ta.  
                           by be silly COMP say-pass-past

'Jiro was said to be silly by Taro,'

It was demonstrated that (65) is derived by applying O-S-R to the intermediate structure generated by S-O-R, which is attributed to saying/thinking verbs whose complement verbs are either adjectives or 'nominal + copula'. Under the O-S-R assumption this is the only derivation which generates a passive of this type.

The P-R analysis, on the other hand, shows that these passives are in fact derivationally ambiguous. That is to say, the structural

description of P-R meets both the deep structure of (65) as in (89a) and the structure derived via the optional S-O-R as in (89b):

- (89) a.  $\left[ \begin{array}{c} \text{Taroo ga} \\ \text{S} \end{array} \right] \left[ \begin{array}{c} \text{Zi-roo ga} \\ \text{S} \end{array} \right] \left[ \begin{array}{c} \text{bakada} \\ \text{to} \end{array} \right] \left[ \begin{array}{c} \text{iwa-} \\ \text{S} \end{array} \right] \text{re-ta.}$   
                   2          3          4          5          6          7  
                                   be silly COMP say pass-past
- b.  $\left[ \begin{array}{c} \text{Taroo ga} \\ \text{S} \end{array} \right] \text{Zi-roo o} \left[ \begin{array}{c} \text{bakada} \\ \text{to} \end{array} \right] \left[ \begin{array}{c} \text{iwa-} \\ \text{S} \end{array} \right] \text{re-ta.}$   
   4          5          6          7  
   be silly COMP say pass-past

The output structures derived by the application of P-R and V-R, accompanied by S-pruning, to the above structures are equivalent except in the particles of the raised NP's, shown in (90a) and (90b):

- (90) a. Zi-roo ga Taroo ga [ bakada to ] iwa-re-ta.  
                                   be silly COMP say-pass-past
- b. Zi-roo o Taroo ga [ bakada to ] iwa-re-ta.  
                                   be silly COMP say-pass-past

Rules of particle arrangement generate the same surface structure as follows:

- (91) a. Zi-roo ga Taroo  $\emptyset$  ni [ bakada to ] iwa-re-ta. (= (65))  
                                   be silly COMP say-pass-past  
                                   'Jiro was said to be silly by Taro.'
- b. Zi-roo  $\emptyset$  ga Taroo  $\emptyset$  ni [ bakada to ] iwa-re-ta. (= (65))  
                                   by be silly COMP say-pass-past

So far we have seen that P-R (81) can account for more direct passives than O-S-R (33). Now we should state some conditions on the variables  $X_2$  and  $X_3$ , which are terms 3 and 5 of the structural configuration of P-R, repeated below:

## (81) Passive-Raising

$$X_1 - \underset{S}{[} NP - X_2 - NP - X_3 - \overset{V}{[} +PASS ] \underset{S}{]} - \underline{\text{reru/rareru}} - X_4$$

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
1	4+	$\underset{S}{[}$	2	3	∅	5	6
						$\underset{S}{]}$	7
							8

First of all, as can be seen in structure (87a), from which the grammatical string (86a) is derived, term 5 can correspond to NP. In contrast to this, structures (82), (89a) and (89b) show that term 5 does not have to be NP. In fact it will be shown below that term 5 must be NP unless it contains COMP as in (82), (89a) and (89b).

Consider the following examples:

- (92) a. [ [ [ Hanako ga hon o age-ta ] otoko ga ] Taroo ni okasi o  
 S NP S book gave S man NP to sweets  
 (I.O)



okura- ] re-ta.  
 send S pass-past

6 : 7 ⇒ b  
 6 : 7 ⇒ c\*

'[The man Hanako gave a book sent Taro some sweets ] - PASSIVE'

- b. Taroo ga [ Hanako ga hon o age-ta ] otoko ni okasi o okura-re-ta  
 4 : 2 : : 5 : 6 : 7  
 'Taro was sent some sweets by the man Hanako gave a book to.'

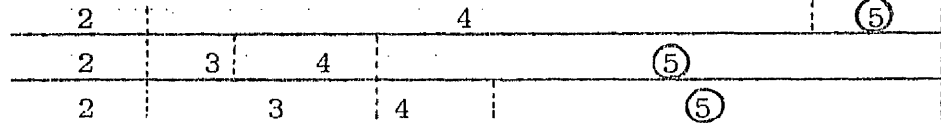
- c.\* Hon ga [ Hanako (ni-yotte) age-ta ] otoko ga Taroo ni  
 book by : gave man to  
 (I.O)

(1) 4 : 2 : : 5

okasi o okura-re-ta.  
 sweets : send-pass-past  
 : 6 : 7



(93) a. [ Taroo ga [ [ Hanako ga hon o age-ta ] otoko ni ] okasio  
 S NP S book gave S man to NP sweets  
 (I.O)



okura-re-ta.  
 send S pass-past  
 6 7 ⇒ b  
 6 7 ⇒ c\*  
 6 7 ⇒ d\*

'[Taro sent some sweets to the man Hanako gave a book to]-PASSIVE'

b. [Hanako ga hon o age-ta]otoko ga Taroo ni okasi o okura-re-ta.  
 4 2 (5) 6 7

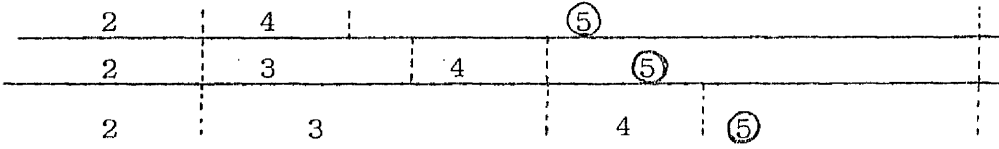
'The man Hanako gave a book to was sent some sweets by Taro.'

c\* Hanako ga Taroo ni [hon o age-ta]otoko ni okasi o okura-re-ta.  
 by book gave man to sweets send-pass-past  
 (I.O) past  
 4 2 (3) (5) 6 7

d\* Hon ga Taroo ni-yotte [Hanako ga age-ta]otoko ni okasi o  
 book by gave man to sweets  
 (I.O)

okura-re-ta.  
 send-pass-past  
 6 7

(94) a. [ Taroo ga Ziroo ni [ [ otoko ga Hanako ni kaesi-ta ] hon o ]  
 S to NP S to S NP  
 (I.O) man (I,O) returned book



okura- ] re-ta.  
 send S pass-past  
 6 7 ⇒ b  
 6 7 ⇒ c\*  
 6 7 ⇒ d\*

'[Taro sent Jiro the book which the man returned to Hanako]- PASSIVE:!

b. Ziroo ga Taroo ni ; [otoko ga Hanako ni kaesi-ta] hon o ; okura-re-ta.  
 4           2           ;                               ⑤                               ;           6           7

'Jiro was sent the book by Taro which the man returned to Hanako.'

c\* Otoko ga Taroo ni Ziroo ni [Hanako ni kaesi-ta] hon o ; okura-re-ta.  
 man                           by           to                           to returned book ; send-pass-past  
    (I.O)                                   (I.O)  
 4           2           3                               ;           ⑤                               ;           6           7

d\* Hanako ga Taroo ni Ziroo ni [otoko ga kaesi-ta] hon o ; okura-re-ta.  
    by           to man                   returned book ; send-pass-past  
    (I.O)  
 4           2           3                               ;           ⑤                               ;           6           7

The notation  $\implies$  indicates the applications of P-R, V-R and Particle Arrangement. The (a) in each example is a deep structure accompanied by some relevant possible instances in which the structural description of P-R (81) can meet this structure. The above passives do not involve saying/thinking verbs. In this case term 5 should be NP as shown by the analyses in (a) of (92) - (94) which lead to the grammatical (b) sentences, since otherwise the ungrammatical sentences such as (92c), and (c) and (d) in (93)-(94) would arise. Therefore it should be stated as a condition on the variable  $X_3$ , term 5: 5 must be NP unless it contains COMP.

Secondly, it can be noticed in structures (82) and (89a) that term 3 may be occupied by a clause boundary  $\bar{S}$ . Structure (87b) shows that term 3 may be NP, while structures (87a) and (89b) show that it may be null. Consider the following examples:

;

- (95) a.  $\left[ \begin{array}{c} \text{Hanako ga} \\ \text{everyone to} \\ \text{(I.O)} \end{array} \right]_{\bar{S}} \text{ minna } \left[ \begin{array}{c} \text{ni} \\ \text{Taroo ga} \\ \text{disappeared COMP} \end{array} \right]_{\bar{S}} \text{ sissousi-ta to } \left[ \begin{array}{c} \text{iwa-} \\ \text{tell} \end{array} \right]_{\bar{S}}$
- 2                    ③                    4                    5                    6

re-te-iru

pass-conj-pres

7                     $\implies$  b

'[Hanako tells everyone that Taro has disappeared] - PASSIVE'

- b.  $\left[ \begin{array}{c} \text{Taroo ga} \\ \text{Hanako ni-yotte} \end{array} \right]_{\bar{S}} \text{ minna } \left[ \begin{array}{c} \text{ni} \\ \text{sissousi-ta to} \end{array} \right]_{\bar{S}}$
- 4                    2                    ③                    5
- iwa-re-te-iru
- 6                    7

'Taro is told to everybody by Hanako to have disappeared.'

The above pair of examples show that term 3 may be occupied by NP

followed by a clause boundary  $\bar{S}$ . This is in contrast with the examples

below:

- (96) a.  $\left[ \begin{array}{c} \text{Taroo ga} \\ \text{to book} \\ \text{(I.O)} \end{array} \right]_{\bar{S}} \left[ \begin{array}{c} \text{Ziroom ga} \\ \text{gave} \\ \text{COMP} \end{array} \right]_{\bar{S}} \text{ Tanaka ni hon o age-ta to } \left[ \begin{array}{c} \text{hihansa-} \\ \text{accuse pass-} \\ \text{past} \end{array} \right]_{\bar{S}} \text{ re-ta.}$
- |   |   |   |   |   |                 |
|---|---|---|---|---|-----------------|
| 2 | ③ | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 $\implies$ b  |
| 2 | ③ | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 $\implies$ c* |
| 2 | ③ | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 $\implies$ d* |

'[Taro accused that Jiro gave the book to Tanaka] -PASSIVE'

([Taro accused Jiro of his giving the book to Tanaka]-PASSIVE)

- b.  $\left[ \begin{array}{c} \text{Ziroom ga} \\ \text{Taroo ni} \end{array} \right]_{\bar{S}} \left[ \begin{array}{c} \text{Tanaka ni} \\ \text{hon o age-ta to} \end{array} \right]_{\bar{S}} \text{ hihansa-re-ta.}$
- 4                    2                    ③                    5                    6                    7

'Jiro was accused by Taro of his giving the book to Tanaka.'

- c.\*  $\left[ \begin{array}{c} \text{Tanaka ga} \\ \text{Taroo ni} \end{array} \right]_{\bar{S}} \left[ \begin{array}{c} \text{Ziroom ga} \\ \text{hon o age-ta to} \end{array} \right]_{\bar{S}} \text{ hihansa-re-ta.}$
- 4                    2                    ③                    5                    6                    7

\* 'Tanaka was accused by Taro of Jiro's giving him the book.'

- d.\*  $\left[ \begin{array}{c} \text{Hon ga} \\ \text{Taroo ni-yotte} \end{array} \right]_{\bar{S}} \left[ \begin{array}{c} \text{Ziroom ga} \\ \text{Tanaka ni} \end{array} \right]_{\bar{S}} \text{ age-ta to } \left[ \begin{array}{c} \text{hihansa-} \\ \text{accuse pass-} \\ \text{past} \end{array} \right]_{\bar{S}} \text{ re-ta.}$
- 4                    2                    ③                    5

hihansa-re-ta.

6                    7

\* 'The book was accused by Taro of Jiro's giving it to Tanaka.'

In the ungrammatical (c) and (d) sentences, term 3 is occupied by NP or a sequence of NP's, preceded by a clause boundary  $\bar{S}$ . The fact is that when term 6 is a saying/thinking verb as above, the only NP to be raised from its complement sentence is the complement subject such as Zi-roo ga in (a) above. Non-subject NP's such as Tanaka ni or hon o 'book' cannot be raised.<sup>19</sup> Therefore term 3 must be restricted to either,  $\emptyset$ , NP, a clause boundary  $\bar{S}$  or NP followed by a clause boundary  $\bar{S}$ , since all the other instances, including cases such as (96c) and (96d) above, result in ungrammatical strings:

(97)a.  $\left[ \left[ \left[ \text{Hanako ga hon o age-ta} \right] \text{otoko ga} \right] \text{Taroo ni okasi o okura-} \right] \bar{S}$   
 S NP S book gave S man NP to sweets send  
 (I.O)  

	2		③	4	6
1	2	③	4	5	6
1	2		③	4	6

re-ta.  
pass-past

7  $\implies$  b  
7  $\implies$  c\*  
7  $\implies$  d\*

'[The man Hanako gave a book to sent Taro some sweets] -PASSIVE'

b. Okasi ga [Hanako ga hon o age-ta] otoko ni-yotte; Taroo ni okura-re-ta  
 4 2 ③ 6 7

'Some sweets were sent to Taro by the man Hanako gave a book to.'

c\* Taroo ga [Hanako (ni); hon o age-ta] otoko ga okasi o okura-re-ta.  
 book gave man sweets send-pass-past  
 (1) 4 2 ③ 5 6 7

d*	Okasi ga	[Hanako (ni-yotte)]	hon o	age-ta]	otoko ga	Taroo ni	
		by	book	gave	man		to
							(I.O)
(1)	4	2			③		
	okura-re-ta.						
	send-pass-past						
	6	7					

The above two conditions may be stated in the rule as follows:

(98) Passive-Raising

$$\begin{array}{cccccccc}
 X_1 - \left[ \begin{array}{c} \text{NP} \\ \text{S} \end{array} - X_2 - \text{NP} - X_3 - \left[ \begin{array}{c} \text{V} \\ +\text{PASS} \end{array} \right] \right] - \text{reru/rareru} - X_4 \\
 1 \quad 2 \quad 3 \quad 4 \quad 5 \quad 6 \quad 7 \quad 8 \Rightarrow (\text{OBL}) \\
 1 \quad 4 + \left[ \begin{array}{c} 2 \\ \text{S} \end{array} \right] 3 \quad \emptyset \quad 5 \quad 6 \quad \left[ \begin{array}{c} \text{S} \end{array} \right] \quad 7 \quad 8
 \end{array}$$

Condition : 3 = ( - (NP) - (  $\left[ \begin{array}{c} \text{S} \end{array} \right]$  ) - )  
and 5 = NP unless it contains COMP<sup>20</sup>

In this section it has been shown that O-S-R, discussed in the preceding section, cannot generate certain direct passives involving a saying/thinking verb whose complement verb has a feature [+ACTION]. This is because S-O-R does not apply to the saying/thinking verb in this circumstance and thus an object for O-S-R to raise is not derived. Consequently P-R has been set up to account for the above type of passives as well as the other passives that O-S-R could account for.

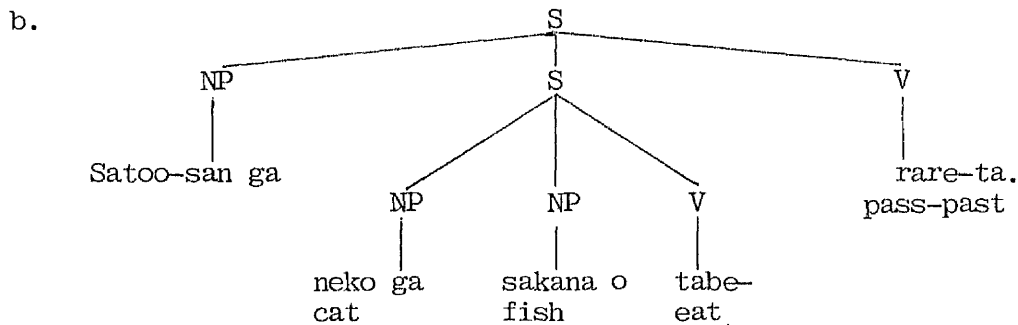
## 2.2. Summary of Revised Uniform Theory

At this point let me summarize the overall picture of R.U.T.

### 1. Treatment of indirect passives

The deep structure of indirect passives is set up in R.U.T. in the same way as the original Uniform Theory and Kuno's Nonuniform Theory. That is, the structure is complex, taking a lexical subject and a complement sentence (cf. p.9 and p.54) as in (99b):

- (99) a. Satoo-san ga neko ni sakana o tabe-rare-ta.  
 Mr. Sato cat by fish eat-pass-past  
 'Mr. Sato had the fish eaten by a cat.'



The operations involved in the derivation are V-R (45), Ni-Placement (53) and Particle Deletion (40), all repeated below:

#### (45) Verb-Raising

$$\begin{array}{ccccccccc}
 X_1 & - & \left[ \begin{array}{c} \text{S} \\ \text{S} \end{array} \right] & - & \left[ \begin{array}{c} \text{V} \\ \text{S} \end{array} \right] & - & \left[ \begin{array}{c} \text{V} \\ [+VR] \end{array} \right] & - & X_3 \\
 1 & & 2 & & 3 & & 4 & & 5 & \implies & \text{(OBL)} \\
 1 & & 2 & & \emptyset & & [3\#4] & & 5 & & 
 \end{array}$$

#### (53) Ni-Placement

$$\begin{array}{ccccccccccc}
 X_1 & - & \left[ \begin{array}{c} \text{NP} \\ \text{S} \end{array} \right] & - & \left[ \begin{array}{c} \text{NOM} \\ \text{NP} \end{array} \right] & - & \left[ \begin{array}{c} \text{ga} \\ \text{P} \end{array} \right] & \left[ \begin{array}{c} \text{P} \\ \text{NP} \end{array} \right] & - & X_2 & - & \left[ \begin{array}{c} \text{V-reru/rareru} \\ \text{V} \end{array} \right] & \left[ \begin{array}{c} \text{V} \\ \text{S} \end{array} \right] & - & X_3 \\
 1 & & 2 & & 3 & & 4 & & 5 & & & & 6 & & 7 \implies \text{(OBL)} \\
 1 & & 2 & & 3 & & [4\# \left. \begin{array}{l} \text{ni} \\ \text{ni-yotte} \end{array} \right\}] & & 5 & & & & 6 & & 7
 \end{array}$$

## (40) Particle Deletion

$$X_1 - \left\{ \begin{array}{c} \text{ga} \\ \text{o} \\ \text{ni} \end{array} \right\} - P - X_2$$

$$1 \quad 2 \quad 3 \quad 4 \quad \Rightarrow \text{(OBL)}$$

$$1 \quad \emptyset \quad 3 \quad 4$$

The application of V-R to the structure (99b), necessarily followed by S-pruning, yields (100a), to which Ni-Placement applies, deriving (100b). Finally the surface structure (100c) is generated by Particle Deletion applying to (100b):

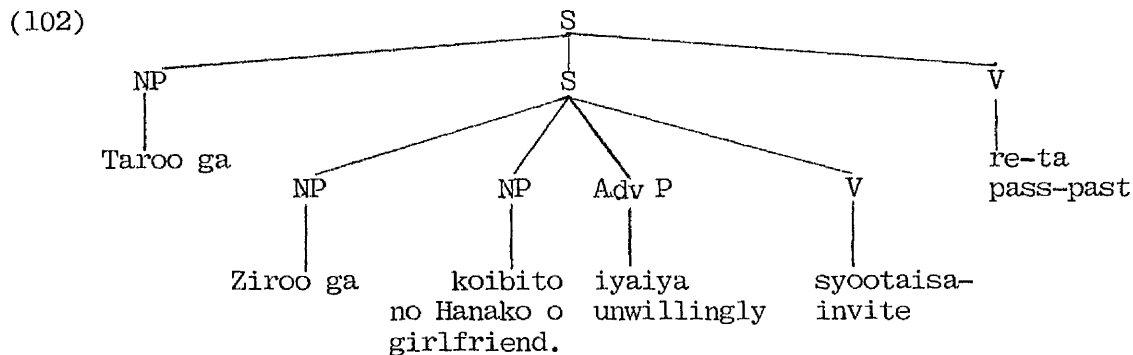
- (100) a. Satoo-san ga neko ga sakana o tabe-rare-ta.  
           cat       fish       eat-pass-past
- b. Satoo-san ga neko ga + ni sakana o tabe-rare-ta.  
           cat       by fish       eat-pass-past
- c. Satoo-san ga neko  $\emptyset$  ni sakana o tabe-rare-ta. (= (99a))  
           cat       by fish       eat-pass-past  
           'Mr. Sato had the fish eaten by a cat.'

It was argued earlier that adverbs should be interpreted on both deep and surface levels (cf.p.38-47). It was then shown that the ambiguous status of adverbials in indirect passives is interpretively accounted for by positing the deep structure of the type (99b), which is in contrast with N. McCawley's analysis. The latter cannot adequately cope with adverbial scope in indirect passives owing to the inevitable incompatibility between its semantically transparent deep structure and the interpretive approach of adverbials. (cf.p.58-59). The adverbials in indirect passives are accounted for ; within the deep and surface interpretive approach involving the deep

structure of the type (99b) as follows. Consider example (101):

- (101) Taroo ga Ziroom ni koibito no Hanako o iyaiya syootaisa-re-ta.  
by girlfriend appositive unwillingly invite-pass-past  
'Taro had his girlfriend Hanako invited unwillingly by Jiro.'

The adverb iyaiya 'unwillingly' in the above sentence is ambiguous between the two readings: Taro was unwilling to have Hanako invited by Jiro and Taro was subjected to Jiro's inviting Hanako unwillingly. The deep structure of (101) is presented as (102) under R.U.T:



The interpretive rule associates iyaiya 'unwillingly' with the subject of its clause Ziroom, giving the reading that Taro was affected by the state of affairs in which Jiro invited Hanako unwillingly. V-R, Ni-Placement and Particle Deletion derive the surface structure (103), in which iyaiya is syntactically associated with the passive subject Taroo:

- (103) Taroo ga Ziroom Ø ni koibito no Hanako o iyaiya  
by girlfriend unwillingly  
syootaisa-re-ta. (= (101))  
invite-pass-past

At this stage, the interpretive rule provides another reading, that Taro was unwilling to have Hanako invited by Jiro. The ambiguous status

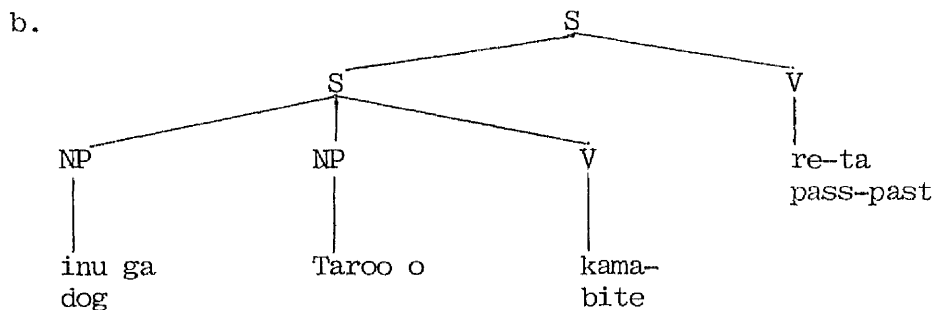


of adverbials in indirect passives is therefore accounted for by the analysis under R.U.T.

II. Treatment of direct passives

The deep structure of direct passives is complex, like that of indirect passives, but, unlike the latter, it takes a sentential subject, as illustrated in (104b):

- (104)a. Taroo ga inu ni kama-re-ta.  
           dog by bite-pass-past  
           'Taro was bitten by a dog.'



The derivation from the deep structure is shown as follows. Structure (104b) is met by the structural descriptions of both P-R (98), repeated below, and V-R (45), as presented in (105):

(98) Passive-Raising

$$\begin{array}{cccccccc}
 X_1 - \left[ \begin{array}{c} \text{NP} \\ \text{S} \end{array} - X_2 - \text{NP} - X_3 - \left[ \begin{array}{c} \text{V} \\ +\text{PASS} \end{array} \right] \right] - \text{reru/rareru} - X_4 \\
 1 \quad 2 \quad 3 \quad 4 \quad 5 \quad 6 \quad 7 \quad 8 \implies (\text{OBL}) \\
 1 \quad 4+ \left[ \begin{array}{c} 2 \quad 3 \\ \text{S} \end{array} \right] \quad \emptyset \quad 5 \quad 6 \quad \left[ \begin{array}{c} \text{V} \\ \text{S} \end{array} \right] \quad 7 \quad 8
 \end{array}$$

Condition: 3 = ( - (NP) - (  $\left[ \begin{array}{c} \text{S} \end{array} \right]$  ) - )

and 5 = NP unless it contains COMP

- (105)  $\left[ \begin{array}{c} \text{S} \\ \text{S} \end{array} \right]$  inu ga Taroo o kama-  $\left[ \begin{array}{c} \text{V} \\ \text{S} \end{array} \right]$  re-ta.  
           dog                                  bite          pass-past

P-R	2	4	6	7
V-R	2	3	4	

As stated earlier, I have adopted in this framework Pullum's assumption that there is no parochial order (fixed linear order) of rule applications and that rules apply according to the universally determined rule application principle (cf p. 23-27). Under this assumption two rules apply simultaneously if they are both obligatory and dissimilar in structural descriptions but are met simultaneously by a single representation. Thus P-R and V-R, being met by structure (104b) as in (105), apply simultaneously to this structure, generating (106):

(106) Taroo o inu ga kama-re-ta.  
           dog      bite-pass-past

The complex structure of (105) is converted to a simplex structure in (106) after S-pruning, which necessarily follows V-R. The applications of Ga-Placement (38), repeated below, to the first phrase, and Ni-Placement to the second phrase yield the following:

(38) Ga-Placement

$$X_1 - \left[ \begin{array}{c} \left[ \begin{array}{c} \text{NOM P} \\ \text{S NP} \end{array} \right] - X_2 \\ \text{NP} \quad \text{S} \end{array} \right] - X_3$$

1          2 3      4      5  $\implies$  (OBL)

1          2 [3#ga] 4      5

(107) Taroo o+ga inu ga+ni kama-re-ta.  
           dog      by bite-pass-past

Particle Deletion deletes the first particle in each phrase above, resulting in the surface structure:

(108) Taroo  $\emptyset$  ga inu  $\emptyset$  ni kama-re-ta. (= (104a))  
           dog      by bite-pass-past

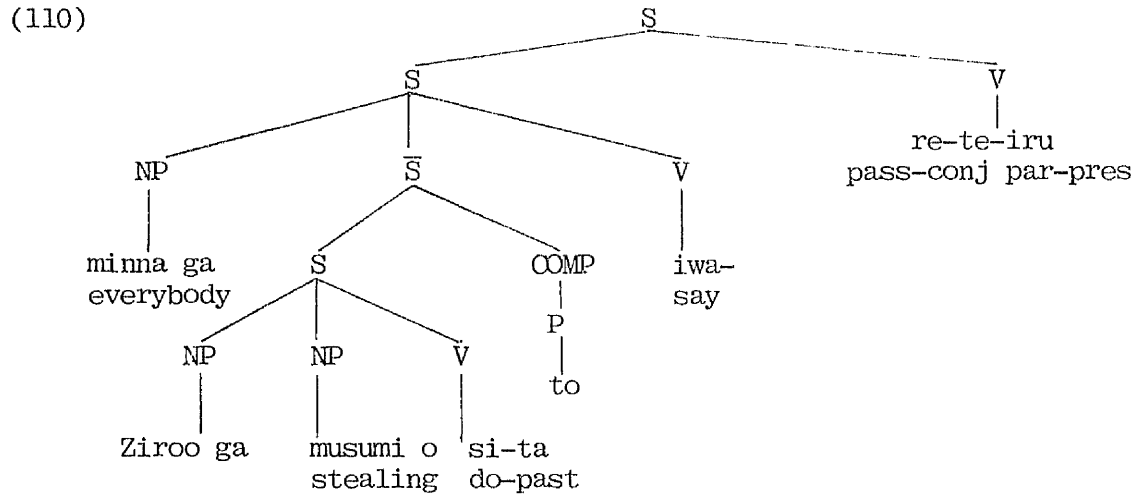
'Taro was bitten by a dog.'

The direct passives of the type (104a) could in fact be generated by O-S-R (33) (cf.p99-107). However those of the type below were shown to be out of the domain of O-S-R and consequently constituted evidence for setting up P-R for direct passives instead of O-S-R. (cf.p112-116).

(109) Ziroo ga minna ni  $\left[ \begin{smallmatrix} \text{S} \\ \text{S} \end{smallmatrix} \right]$  nusumi o si-ta to  $\left[ \begin{smallmatrix} \text{S} \\ \text{S} \end{smallmatrix} \right]$  iwa-re-te-iru.  
 everybody by stealing do-past COMP say-pass-conj-par-pres

'Jiro is said by everybody to have done some stealing.'

The deep structure of the above direct passive is as follows:



Since S-O-R (76), repeated below, does not apply in the second cycle because si-ta 'do-past', the complement verb of the saying verb, has a feature specification [+ACTION], structure (110) is the direct input to P-R and V-R.

(76) Subject-to-Object Raising

$$X_1 - \left[ \begin{smallmatrix} \text{NP} \\ \text{S} \end{smallmatrix} \right] - (\text{NP}) - \left[ \begin{smallmatrix} \text{NP} \\ \text{S} \end{smallmatrix} \right] - X_2 - \left[ \begin{smallmatrix} \text{V} \\ \text{S} \end{smallmatrix} \right] - [-\text{ACTION}] - \text{COMP} \left[ \begin{smallmatrix} \text{S} \\ \text{S} \end{smallmatrix} \right] - \dots - \left[ \begin{smallmatrix} \text{V} \\ \text{S} \end{smallmatrix} \right] - [+SOR] - X_3$$

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10 ⇒ (OPT)
1	2	3+4	∅	5	6	7	8	9	10

The structural configurations of P-R and V-R meet representation (110) as follows:

(111)  $\left[ \begin{array}{c} \text{minna} \\ \text{S} \end{array} \right] \text{ ga } \left[ \begin{array}{c} \text{Ziroo ga nusumi o si-ta} \\ \text{S} \end{array} \right] \text{ to } \left[ \begin{array}{c} \text{iwa-} \\ \text{S} \end{array} \right] \text{ ]}$   
 everybody stealing do-past COMP say

P-R	2	3	4	5	6
V-R		2			3

re-te-iru.  
 pass-conj par-pres  
 -----  
 7  
 4

As can be seen, term 4 of the structural description of P-R is occupied by a complement subject Ziroo ga, which is to be raised and made a passive subject in order to generate a direct passive (109). On the other hand, as the name itself suggests, the rule O-S-R (33), discussed in 2.1.3, is formulated in such a way that it raises only object NP's, as seen below:

(33) Object-to-Subject Raising

$$X_1 - \left[ \begin{array}{c} \text{NP} - \text{NP} - (\text{NP}) - \dots - \left[ \begin{array}{c} \text{V} \\ \text{S} \end{array} \right]_{\text{S}} \end{array} \right]_{\text{S}} - \text{reru/rareru} - X_2$$

1      2    3      4      5      6                      7                      8  $\Rightarrow$ (OBL)

$$1 \left\{ \begin{array}{c} 3 \\ 4 \end{array} \right\} + \left[ \begin{array}{c} \text{S} \\ \text{S} \end{array} \right] 2 \left\{ \begin{array}{c} \emptyset \quad 4 \\ 3 \quad \emptyset \end{array} \right\} \quad 5 \quad 6 \left[ \begin{array}{c} \text{S} \\ \text{S} \end{array} \right] \quad 7 \quad 8$$

Thus the passives of the type (109), that is, those direct passives which embed, in the sentential subject of reru/rareru, saying/thinking verbs whose complement verbs have a feature [+ACTION], cannot be generated by O-S-R. This is because there is no intermediate structure that contains an object in the sentential subject of reru/rareru for O-S-R to raise. The simultaneous application of P-R and V-R to structure (110), accompanied by S-pruning, generates the following :

(112) Ziroo ga minna      ga  $\left[ \begin{array}{c} \text{musumi o si-ta} \\ \text{S} \end{array} \right] \text{ to } \left[ \begin{array}{c} \text{iwa-re-te-iru.} \\ \text{S} \end{array} \right]$   
 everybody stealing do-past COMP say-pass-conj par-pres

Ni-Placement, followed by Particle Deletion, applies to the second phrase of the above structure, resulting in surface structure (113):

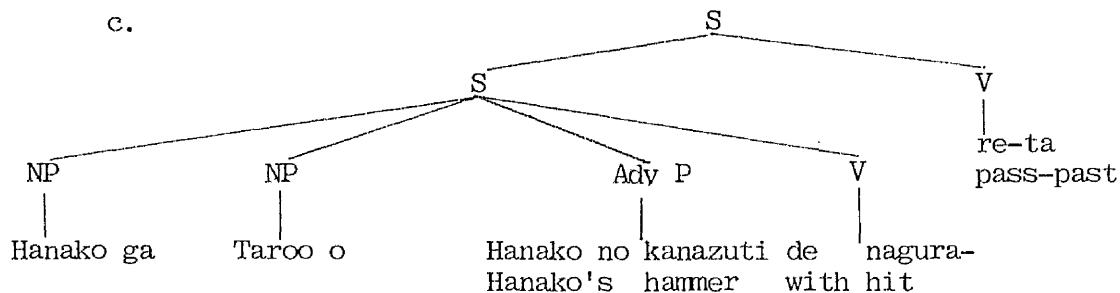
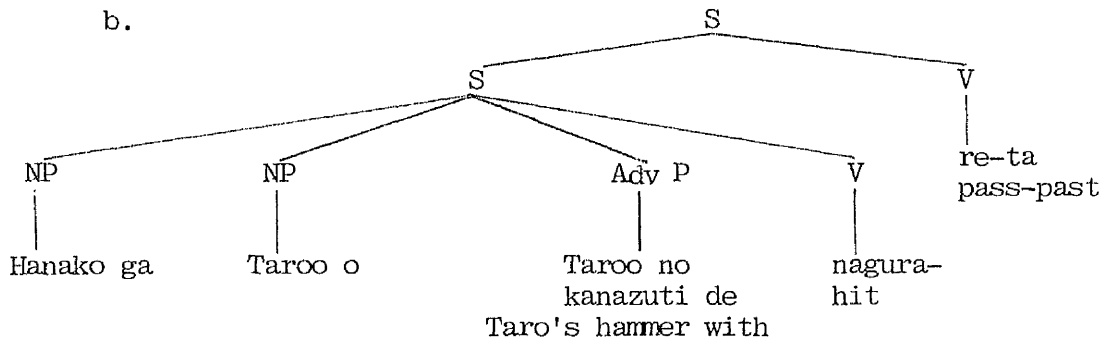
- (113) Ziroo ga minna  $\emptyset$  ni  $\overset{1}{S}$  nusumi o si-ta to  $\overset{1}{S}$  iwa-re-te-iru.  
 everybody stealing do-past COMP say-<sup>(=109)</sup>  
 pass-conj-par-pres

'Jiro is said by everybody to have done some stealing.'

In conclusion, it seems that P-R can account for more direct passives than O-S-R.

Now we shall see how the above analysis of direct passives under R.U.T. works in relation to the ambiguity of the reflexive zibun in this construction. (cf.p.31-34). Consider the following examples:

- (114) a. Taroo<sub>i</sub> ga Hanako<sub>j</sub> ni zibun<sub>i;j</sub> no kanazuti de nagura-re-ta.  
 by self 's hammer with hit-pass-past  
 'Taro was hit with self's hammer by Hanako.'



The representations (b) and (c) above are possible deep structures for sentence (114a), where zibun refers either to Taroo or to Hanako. In

the case of (b), P-R and V-R apply in the second cycle together with appropriate particle arrangement rules, yielding (115):

(115) Taroo<sub>i</sub> ga Hanako ni Taroo<sub>i</sub> no kanazuti de nagura-re-ta.  
by 's hammer with hit-pass-past

Since the subject-antecedent condition is met at this stage, the second occurrence of Taroo will be reflexivized, generating (114a), and providing one reading in which zibun refers to Taroo. In the case of (114c), on the other hand, in the first cycle the second Hanako will be reflexivized due to the subject-antecedent condition:

(116) [<sub>S</sub>Hanako<sub>j</sub> ga Taroo o zibun<sub>j</sub> no kanazuti de nagura- ]<sub>S</sub>  
self 's hammer with hit

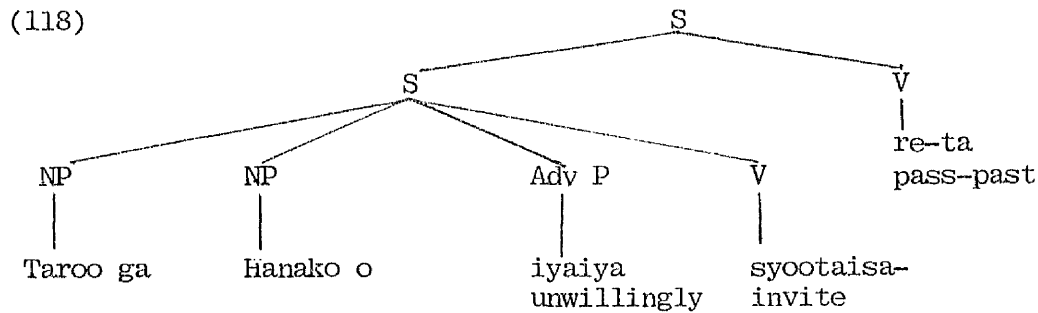
Thus zibun refers to Hanako. In the second cycle, Taroo is raised to the matrix subject position by P-R and other embedded elements are all raised as a consequence of V-R. This is followed by particle arrangement rules, deriving the structure (114a) with the above reading of zibun. In this way R.U.T. can account for the ambiguous status of zibun in direct passives. 21

It should be recalled that the previously proposed theories were also compared from the point of view of the ambiguity of adverbs in direct passives (cf.p.50-53). Thus R.U.T. will be examined in relation to this matter. Look at the example below:

(117) Hanako ga Taroo ni iyaiya syootaisa-re-ta.  
by unwillingly invite-pass-past  
'Hanako was invited unwillingly by Taro.'

The deep structure under R.U.T. is as follows:

:



In this structure, the association of iyaiya 'unwillingly' with Taroo can be indicated by an interpretive rule. After P-R, V-R and particle arrangement rules in the second cycle, an interpretive rule associates iyaiya with the derived subject Hanako:

(119) Hanako ga Taroo ni iyaiya syootaisa-re-ta. (=117)  
by unwillingly invite-pass-past

In this way the theory can adequately capture the scope of adverbs in direct passives.

### III Explanatory capacity in accounting for the relationship between direct and indirect passives

As we have seen, in R.U.T. the passive verb reru/rareru is introduced lexically in both direct and indirect passives, thus indicating the relatedness of those two kinds of passives. It should be recalled that Nonuniform Theory could not adequately show the relatedness of those passives, since it introduced reru/rareru lexically in indirect passives and transformationally in direct passives (cf. p.62-63 and p.68). On the other hand, as it was shown in 2.1.1., the theory can characterize in one way or another, the different properties of those two types of passives:

(a) Comparing the grammatical relations of NP's in the embedded sentence of the deep structure of a direct passive and those of the derived NP's in the surface structure shows that the standard active-passive relationship is held between the embedded sentence of the deep structure and the surface structure (cf. p. 87). The equivalent comparison in indirect passives does not present the same relationship. In this way R.U.T. reflects in its analysis the fact that only direct passives carry corresponding active counterparts.

(b) The comparison between the lexical subcategorizations of reru/rareru for direct and indirect passives, presented as (120a) and (120b) respectively under R.U.T., predicts that intransitive verbs can also be passivized in indirect passives, whereas this is not the case in direct passives:

- (120) a. reru/rareru:  $\left[ \begin{array}{c} \text{NP} \\ \text{S} \end{array} \left\{ \begin{array}{c} \text{NP} \quad (\text{NP}) \\ \text{S} \end{array} \right\} \text{V} \right]_{\text{S}} \text{-----}$
- b. reru/rareru:  $\text{NP} \left[ \begin{array}{c} \text{NP} \\ \text{S} \end{array} \left\{ \begin{array}{c} (\text{NP}) \quad (\text{NP}) \\ (\bar{\text{S}}) \end{array} \right\} \text{V} \right]_{\text{S}} \text{-----}$

(c) By setting up a lexical subject for the source of affectedness reru/rareru in the deep structure of indirect passives only, R.U.T. can explicitly account for the fact that the surface subject of an indirect passive, originating from its deep subject, is potentially affected by the state of affairs expressed by the rest of the sentence, whereas the surface subject of a direct passive has no such affective connotation. (cf. p.88)



(d) Positing a sentential subject for reru/rareru in the deep structure of direct passives is consistent with the fact that there is no selectional restriction between the surface subject and reru/rareru in direct passives. In contrast, setting up a lexical subject for reru/rareru in the deep structure of indirect passives makes it possible to state in a natural way the requirement that the surface subject of an indirect passive, which comes from the deep subject, should be animate. (cf.p.88-89)

The above has shown that R.U.T. can account for the relatedness of direct and indirect passives by lexically introducing reru/rareru in both passives and yet it can indicate the different properties of those passives mainly because it assigns a different deep structure to each.

From the observations, I, II and III above, we can draw a table as follows. This should be compared with tables (89) (p.65) and (90) (p.68):

(121)

REVISED UNIFORM THEORY			
Characteristics		Explanatory Capacity	
Complex deep structure Passive-Raising	Direct Passives	Ambiguity of <u>zibun</u>	0
		Ambiguity of adverbs	0
Complex deep structure	Indirect Passives	Ambiguity of adverbs	0
Distinct deep structure for each Passive verb introduced lexically in both	Treatment of relationships between the two passives	Relatedness	0
		Differences	0

(0 = adequate)

The above table proves that R.U.T. can capture more facts about Japanese passives than the theories discussed earlier.

## FOOTNOTES

1. In example (4a), the agent tennouheika 'the Emperor' is marked by another agent marker ni-yotte 'by'. In general it seems to be the case that ni-yotte is used for the sake of clarification. In the case of (4a);

(4a) Tanaka-san ga tennouheika ni-yotte musuko ni kunsyoo o  
 emperor by son to medal  
 (I.O)

atae-rare-ta.  
 give-pass-past

'Mr. Tanaka had his son given a medal by the Emperor.'

there is a ni-phrase, functioning as an indirect object, in the sentence. In order to avoid the confusion which may be caused by having two phrases marked by homonymous particles in a sentence, ni-yotte is used rather than ni. See footnote 12 for a further discussion on ni-yotte.

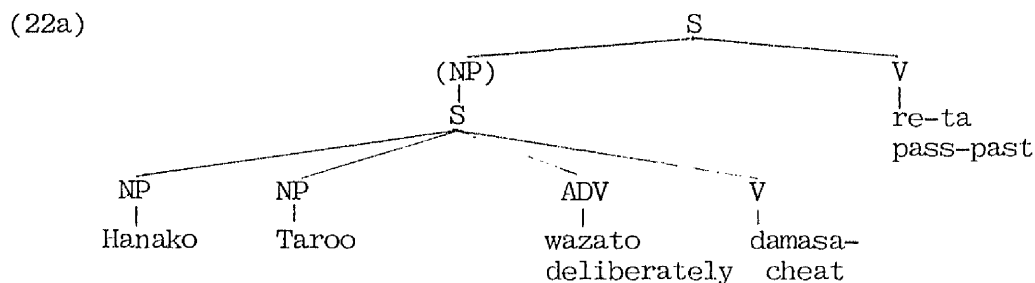
2. See footnote 12 for ni-yotte.

3. For the moment, the NP dominating S in structure (15) is in brackets. This is because it will be argued later that a sentential subject should not be dominated by an NP node (cf. p.96 - 98).

4. (16a) and (16b) are the minimum formulations of lexical sub-categorizations for reru/rareru. The formulations will naturally be more complicated in order to capture all passive sentences in Japanese. The subcategorizations (120a) and (120b) (on p.137) are formulated with some additions to (16a) and (16b) so that they can capture the passives involving saying/thinking verbs with complement sentences.

5. Even if we dared to adopt Makino's proposal, ignoring the problem of an adverb being associated with a semantically empty element, reru/rareru, (cf. p.38-47), we would still have to assign only one deep structure to a direct passive which is ambiguous because of an attitudinal adverb once the sentential-subject analysis of direct passives is recognized. This is because we cannot set up another deep structure like (1) together with (22a) in order to account for the ambiguous passive (21a):

(21a) Taroo ga Hanako ni wazato damasa-re-ta.  
 by deliberately cheat-pass-past  
 'Taro was cheated deliberately by Hanako.'





- c. Ziroo wa Hanako ni hon o age-ta.  
   book give-past  
 'Jiro gave Hanako a book.'
- d. Itiroo wa Taroo ni tegami o kai-ta.  
   letter write-past  
 'Ichiro wrote Taro a letter.'

② ni as a locative marker

- (3) a. Hanako wa Nihon ni kaet-ta.  
   Japan to return-past  
 'Hanako returned to Japan.'
- b. Taroo wa gakkoo ni it-ta.  
   school to go-past  
 'Taro went to school.'

③ ni as a marker for time adverbial phrases

- (4) a. Watasi wa go-zi ni tui-ta.  
   5 o'clock at arrive-past  
 'I arrived at 5 o'clock.'
- b. Ziroo wa sono hi ni kekkonsi-ta.  
   that day on marry-past  
 'Jiro got married on that day.'

8. See footnote 15 - (2) for the discussion of the simplification of PS-rules which can be achieved by assuming that S is invariably dominated by  $\bar{S}$ .

9. Here are some examples of adverbial phrases.

- (5) a. [ [ gakkoo ] ] [ e ]  
           NOM N           N NOM P P  
           school           to           'to school'
- b. [ [ uti ] ] [ kara ]  
           NOM N           N NOM P P  
           house           from           'from the house'
- c. [ [ naihu ] ] [ de ]  
           NOM N           N NOM P P  
           knife           with           'with the knife'
- d. [ [ asu ] ] [ made ]  
           NOM N           N NOM P P  
           tomorrow           by           'by tomorrow'

10. I have assumed the basic word order in Japanese to be S. IO. DO. V. This is mainly based on my intuition, since there seems to be no crucial evidence to determine otherwise. According to my intuition and that of a number of native speakers, the (a) sentences below sound neutral, while in the (b) sentences we feel that the direct object is emphasized in some way:

- (6) a. Taroo ga Hanako ni okasi o okut-ta.  
   to sweets send-past  
   (I.O)  
       'Taro sent Hanako some sweets.'
- b. Taroo ga okasi o Hanako ni okut-ta.  
                   sweets                        to send-past  
   (I.O)  
       'Taro sent Hanako some sweets (and not a book).'
- (7) a. Taroo ga Ziroo ni ranboo o hatarai-ta.  
   to violence do-past  
   (I.O)  
       'Taro did violence to Jiro.'
- b. Taroo ga ranboo o Ziroo ni hatarai-ta.  
                   violence                        to do-past  
   (I.O)  
       'Taro did violence to Jiro (and not a favour).'

When there is only one object following the subject, the choice between ni and o will be determined by the feature of the verb involved:

- (8) a. Taroo ga Hanako o but-ta.  
   [+D.OBJ.]  
   hit-past  
       'Taro hit Hanako.'
- b. Taroo ga Hanako o home-ta.  
   [+D.OBJ.]  
   praise-past  
       'Taro praised Hanako.'
- (9) a. Taroo ga Hanako ni at-ta.  
   [+IND.OBJ.]  
   meet-past  
       'Taro met Hanako.'
- b. Taroo ga Hanako ni ayamata-ta.  
   [+ IND.OBJ.]  
   apologize-past  
       'Taro apologized to Hanako'.

11. Formulation (33) may look rather awkward.

(33) O-S-R.

$$\begin{array}{ccccccccccc}
 X_1 & - & [ & \text{NP} & - & \text{NP} & - & (\text{NP}) & - & \dots & - & [ & \text{V} & ] & - & \text{reru/rareru} & - & X_2 \\
 & & \text{S} & & & & & & & & & [ & + & \text{PASS} & ] & \text{S} & & & \\
 1 & & 2 & & 3 & & 4 & & 5 & & & & 6 & & & 7 & & & 8 \Rightarrow (\text{OBL}) \\
 1 & & \left\{ \begin{array}{l} 3 \\ 4 \end{array} \right\} + [ & & 2 & & \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \emptyset \\ 3 \end{array} \right\} & & 4 & & & & 5 & & 6 & & ] & & & 7 & & & 8 \\
 & & & & \text{S} & & & & & & & & & & \text{S} & & & & & & & \text{S}
 \end{array}$$

However, it is not quite plausible to use a variable just for the sake of avoiding awkwardness, as follows:

(10) O-S-R

$$\begin{array}{cccccccc}
 X_1 & - & [ & \text{NP} & - & X_2 & - & \text{NP} & - & \dots & - & [ & \text{V} & ] & \text{S} & - & \text{reru/rareru} & - & X_3 \\
 1 & & & 2 & & 3 & & 4 & & 5 & & & & 6 & & & & 7 & & 8 \Rightarrow (\text{OBL}) \\
 1 & 4 & + & [ & 2 & & 3 & & \emptyset & & 5 & & & & 6 & ] & & & 7 & & 8 \\
 & & & & \text{S} & & & & & & & & & & \text{S} & & & & & & 
 \end{array}$$

Since a variable X can represent anything, it is too powerful for this position in (10), since an NP is the only category to be represented by term 3, if the structural description of this rule is properly met by a representation to generate a grammatical passive sentence.

Inoue's formulation of O-S-R is presented below for comparison:

(11) O-S-R

$$\begin{array}{ccccccc}
 X & [ & [ & \text{NP} & (\text{NP}) & \text{NP} & \text{Pred} & ] & ] & \text{Pred} \\
 1 & \text{NP} & \text{S} & 2 & 3 & 4 & 5 & & 6 & \Rightarrow \\
 \text{a.} & 1 + 4 & & 2 & 3 & \emptyset & 5 & & 6 & \\
 \text{b.} & 1 + 3 & & 2 & \emptyset & 4 & 5 & & 6 & 
 \end{array}$$

$$\text{Condition} \left\{ \begin{array}{l} 3, 4 \neq \text{S} \\ 1 \neq \text{NP or } 2 = \emptyset \\ 6 = [-\text{Trans}] \end{array} \right\}$$

It should be mentioned here that the operation of O-S-R (33) does not follow Chomsky's Specified Subject Condition (1973/75/76), since an object is moved out of a clause crossing over a specified subject, as can be seen below:

(12) a. Taroo ga wanpakuboozu ni buta-re-ta. (= (1a))  
  naughty boy by hit-pass-past  
  'Taro was hit by a naughty boy.'

b.  $\begin{array}{ccccccc} \uparrow & [ & \text{wanpakuboozu ga} & ; & \boxed{\text{Taroo o}} & ; & \text{buta-} & ] & \text{re-ta.} & (= (34a)) \\ \text{S} & & 2 & & 3 & & 6 & \text{S} & 7 & \end{array}$

Example (12b) shows that wanpakuboozu ga 'naughty boy SUBJ.' is a specified subject of the clause from which Taroo o is extracted. Chomsky's conditions will be discussed later on (cf. p.223-241).

12. It was mentioned earlier (see footnote 1) that another agentive marker ni-yotte is used for the sake of clarification. Thus when there is an indirect object phrase marked by ni in a passive structure, ni-yotte is chosen rather than ni as seen in example (4a) (on p.82). Now in example (36c);

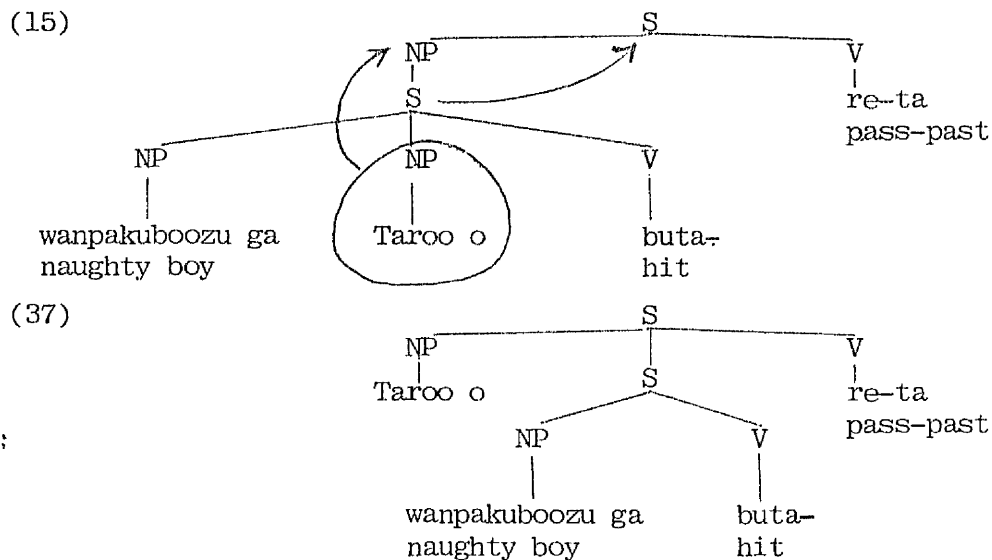
(36c) Okasi ga Taroo ni-yotte Hanako ni okura-re-ta.  
  : sweets by to send-pass-past  
  (I.O)  
  'Some sweets were sent to Hanako by Taro.'

ni-yotte is used as an agent marker, since there is an indirect object phrase Hanako ni 'Hanako to' in the same sentence. This is one way of explaining the use of ni-yotte in this sentence. There is an alternative explanation. The difference between ni and ni-yotte is described by Inoue (1976) as follows. The effect of using ni is such that the passive subject feels the active motion of the agent, while ni-yotte does not carry such effect on the subject. Thus Inoue states that ni is avoided in passives with an inanimate subject, since an inanimate noun in general has no capacity to feel. The following (b) sentences are therefore marked as ungrammatical by Inoue:

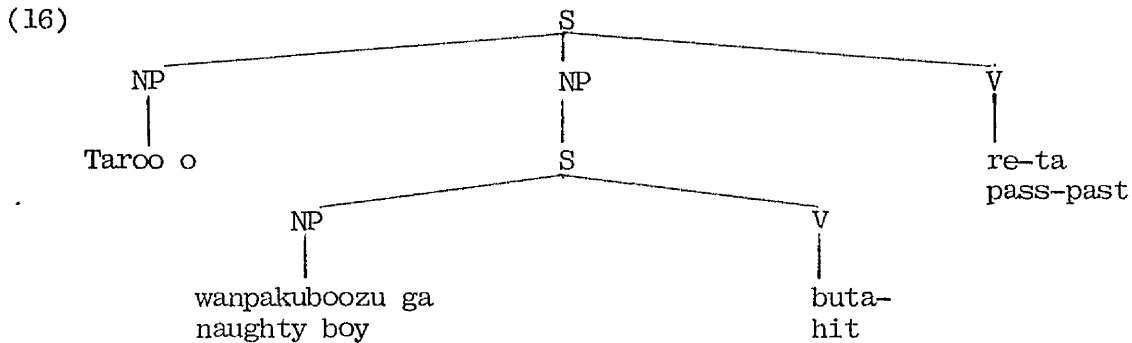
- (13) a. Yuusi ni-yotte sokoku-hukki-undoo ga tuzuke-rare  
volunteers by home country-return-movement continue-pass-  
te-ki-ta.  
conj-perf-past  
'The Returning-home Movement had been continued by volunteers.'
- b\* Yuusi ni sokoku-hukki-undoo ga tuzuke-rare-te-ki-ta.
- (14) a. Daihyoodan ni-yotte kaiga ga yoteisa-re-te-iru.  
delegation by meeting plan-pass-conj par-pres  
'A meeting is planned by the delegation.'
- b\* Daihyoodan ni kaigi ga yoteisa-re-te-iru.

However, the distinction seems to be a matter of delicate judgement. Although the majority of native speakers of Japanese will agree that the (a) sentences above sound better than the (b) sentences, it is debatable whether (b) should be marked as ungrammatical. Thus I shall leave open the question of choosing ni or ni-yotte and shall not lay down any specific condition for the choice between the two agent markers (see footnote 14).

13. If the sentential subject in (32) were dominated by NP as below, there would have to be a vacuous extraposition (Rosenbaum, 1967) built into the operation of O-S-R in order to generate (37):



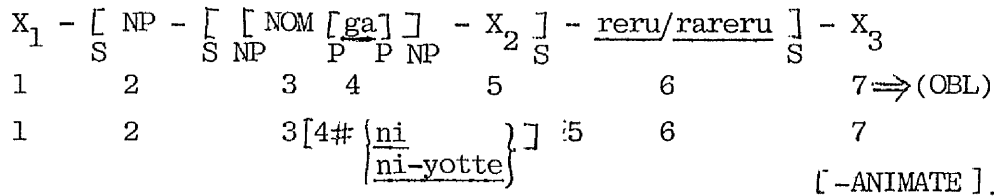
This is because without the vacuous extraposition as in (15), we would get an implausible string in which the intransitive verb reru/rareru took an object NP, after O-S-R had applied. This is illustrated in (16):



Therefore by claiming that S is not dominated by NP, we can avoid the operational complication which would otherwise arise.

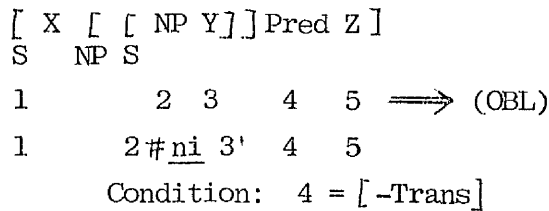
14. In footnote 12 it is stated that no special condition is posited as to the choice between the two agent markers, ni and ni-yotte. This is because the grammatical status of the passive sentences which are described by Inoue as ungrammatical due to the use of ni instead of ni-yotte is in fact disputable. However, if it is agreed that ni cannot be used when the passive subject is inanimate, as Inoue claims, there should be a condition as follows:

(17) Ni-Placement to Complement Subject

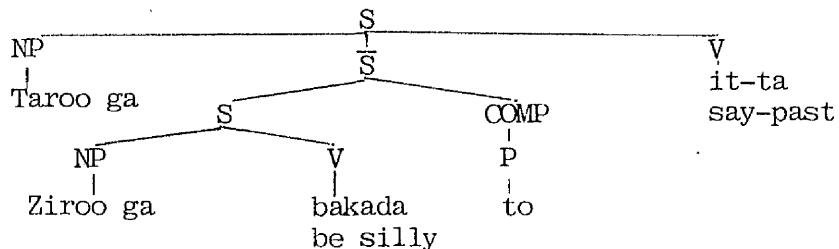


Condition: ni-yotte must be chosen when 2 has a feature Inoue's 'Ni-Placement to Complement Subject' is formulated as follows:

(18) Ni-Placement to Complement Subject



15 -(1) In order to capture structures such as (58) in the base,





we have to add a category  $\bar{S}$  to the previously established PS-rule (24a) (cf. p.95) as follows:

$$(19) \quad S \longrightarrow \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{NP} \\ \text{S} \end{array} \left( \text{NP} \right) \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \{(\text{NP})\} \\ \{(\bar{S})\} \\ (\text{S}) \end{array} \right\} (\text{Adv P}) \right\} \vee$$

Unlike in English,  $\bar{S}$  in Japanese is not dominated by NP in this framework. The motivation for the assumption that  $\bar{S}$  should not be directly dominated by NP can be explained as follows. Given the analysis in which NP is set up in such a way that NP directly dominated by S is either the subject or the object, it follows that  $\bar{S}$  would have either of these functions, if it was directly dominated by an NP which is directly dominated by S. However, the examples below show that this is not the case:

(20) a\*  $\begin{array}{l} \bar{S} \\ \bar{S} \end{array} \left[ \begin{array}{l} \text{Sore o kyoozyuu} \\ \text{it} \end{array} \right] \text{ ni suru to } \begin{array}{l} \bar{S} \\ \bar{S} \end{array} \left[ \begin{array}{l} \text{nozomasii} \\ \text{be desirable.} \end{array} \right]$   
 (SUBJ?)

'That you do it within today is desirable.'

b\* Hanako wa  $\begin{array}{l} \bar{S} \\ \bar{S} \end{array} \left[ \begin{array}{l} \text{nusumi} \\ \text{stealing} \end{array} \right] \text{ o si-ta to } \begin{array}{l} \bar{S} \\ \bar{S} \end{array} \left[ \begin{array}{l} \text{kakusi-te-iru} \\ \text{conceal-conj par-pres.} \end{array} \right]$   
 (OBJ?)  
 prog.

'Hanako is concealing it that she did some stealing.'

The ungrammatical strings above show that  $\bar{S}$  does not behave as NP is supposed to do. This constitutes a good argument that  $\bar{S}$  should not be directly dominated by NP in Japanese. In fact the subcategorizations (31) predict that NP directly dominated by S contains either ga, ni, or o and therefore it is clear that  $\bar{S}$ , which contains to, cannot serve as NP directly dominated by S. Just as in the case of  $\bar{S}$  (cf. p97), there are instances in which  $\bar{S}$  is dominated by NP. Compare the following examples with (20a) and (20b):

(21) a.  $\left[ \begin{array}{l} \text{NP} \\ \text{NOM} \end{array} \left[ \begin{array}{l} \bar{S} \\ \bar{S} \end{array} \left[ \begin{array}{l} \text{Sore o kyoozyuu} \\ \text{today within} \end{array} \right] \text{ ni suru to } \right] \left[ \begin{array}{l} \text{N} \\ \text{idea} \end{array} \right] \left[ \begin{array}{l} \text{NP} \\ \text{NOM} \end{array} \left[ \begin{array}{l} \text{ga} \\ \text{NP} \end{array} \right] \right]$   
 SUBJ

nozomasii  
 be desirable

'The idea that you do it within today is desirable.'

b. Hanako wa  $\left[ \begin{array}{l} \text{NP} \\ \text{NOM} \end{array} \left[ \begin{array}{l} \bar{S} \\ \bar{S} \end{array} \left[ \begin{array}{l} \text{nusumi} \\ \text{stealing} \end{array} \right] \text{ o si-ta to } \right] \left[ \begin{array}{l} \text{N} \\ \text{fact} \end{array} \right] \left[ \begin{array}{l} \text{NP} \\ \text{NOM} \end{array} \left[ \begin{array}{l} \text{o} \\ \text{NP} \end{array} \right] \right]$   
 OBJ.

kakusi-te-iru  
 conceal-conj.par-  
 pres.prog.

'Hanako is concealing the fact that she did some stealing.'

In the above structures,  $\bar{S}$  is followed by N (a lexical head), iu-koto, which literally means 'the matter (thing) meaning that...'. As can be seen, the constituent containing  $\bar{S}$  functions as the subject or the

object of a sentence. This falls within the domain of the generalization of NP's and thus the constituent can be labelled NP. The observation shows that  $\bar{S}$  can be indirectly dominated by NP, functioning as a part of NOM, but that it can never be directly dominated by NP, since it does not share the same characteristic as the constituent NOM-P, which is a well-established NP category.

15 -(2) PS-rule (19) above may be simplified by assuming that S is invariably dominated by  $\bar{S}$ . (Pullum and others, 1978).

(22) a.  $\bar{S} \rightarrow S \text{ COMP}$

$$S \rightarrow \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{NP} \quad (\text{NP}) \quad \left\{ \left\{ \begin{array}{l} (\text{NP}) \\ (\bar{S}_1) \end{array} \right\} \quad (\text{Adv P}) \right\} \\ \bar{S}_3 \quad \quad \quad \left\{ \begin{array}{l} (\bar{S}_2) \end{array} \right\} \end{array} \right\} \quad V$$

In this case COMP which appears in positions such as  $\bar{S}_2$  and  $\bar{S}_3$  above is lexically unfilled in the base. This should be specified in the subcategorizations of higher verbs such as *reru/rareru*. If COMP is unfilled in the base, it will be realized as null in the surface structure. Although the issue is a very important one, I shall leave open the question of the above alternative, since it is not directly crucial to the discussion at present. This alternative analysis is tentatively adopted later for the purpose of an argument. (cf. p229 -239)

16 Rule (59) is set up to capture the following (b) sentences, in which there is an indirect object, as well as (56b) and (57b) in the text:

(59) S-O-R

$X_1$	-	$\left[ \frac{\text{NP}}{\bar{S}} \right]$	-	(NP)	-	$\left[ \frac{\text{NP}}{\bar{S}} \right]$	-	$X_2$	-	COMP	]	-	...	-	$\left[ \frac{V}{\text{+SOR}} \right]_{\bar{S}}$	]	-	$X_3$
1		2		3		4		5		6		7			8		9	$\Rightarrow$ (OPT)
1		2		3+4		Ø		5		6		7			8		9	

(23) a. Taroo wa keisatu ni  $\left[ \frac{\text{Zi-roo ga}}{\bar{S}} \right]$  supai da to  $\left[ \frac{\text{spy be COMP}}{\bar{S}} \right]$  mikkokusi-ta.  
 police to spy be COMP inform-past  
 'Taro informed the police that Jiro was a spy.'

b. Taroo wa keisatu ni Zi-roo o  $\left[ \frac{\text{spy be COMP}}{\bar{S}} \right]$  supai da to  $\left[ \frac{\text{mikkokusi-ta}}{\bar{S}} \right]$ .  
 police to spy be COMP inform-past  
 (I.O)  
 'Taro informed the police that Jiro was a spy.'

(24) a. Hanako wa minna ni  $\left[ \frac{\text{Kazuo ga}}{\bar{S}} \right]$  tensai'da to  $\left[ \frac{\text{tell-past}}{\bar{S}} \right]$  it-ta.  
 everybody to genius be COMP tell-past  
 (I.O)

'Hanako told everyone tht Kazuo was a genius.'

b. Hanako wa minna ni Kazuo o  $\left[ \frac{\text{genius be COMP}}{\bar{S}} \right]$  tensai da to  $\left[ \frac{\text{tell-past}}{\bar{S}} \right]$  it-ta.  
 everybody genius be COMP tell-past  
 'Hanako told everyone that Kazuo was a genius.'

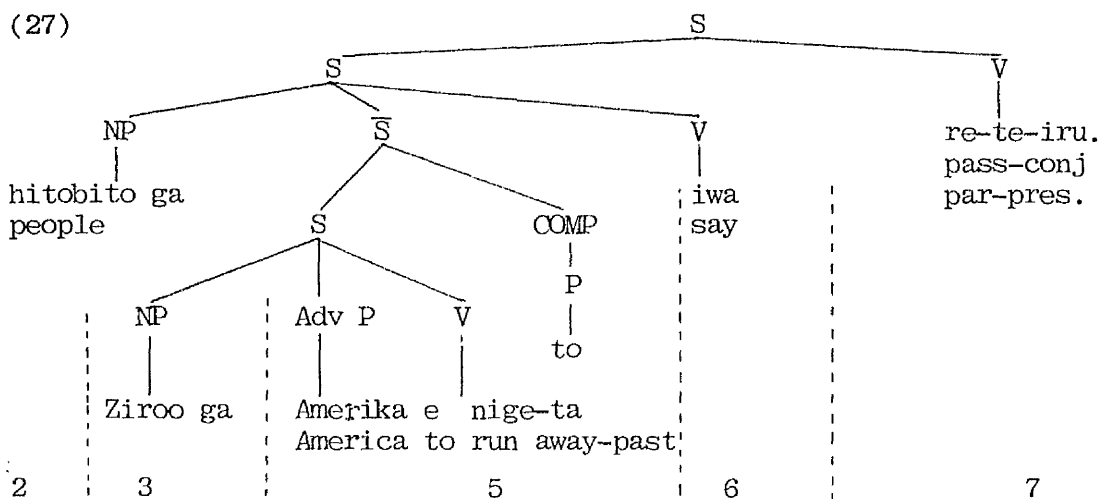
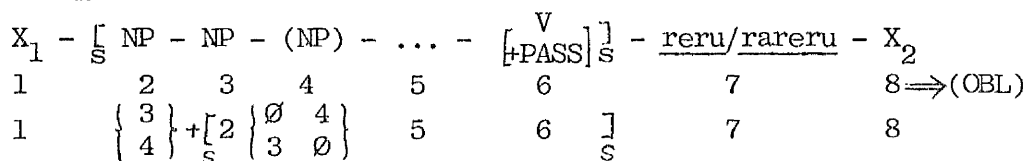
Another point to be made concerning S-O-R is that it can extract NP out of a tensed S, as shown in the following examples:

- (25) a. Taroo wa  $\left[ \begin{smallmatrix} \text{sono} \\ \text{geki} \end{smallmatrix} \right]_{\text{S}}$  ga yoku-nakat-ta to  $\left[ \begin{smallmatrix} \text{it-ta} \\ \text{COMP} \end{smallmatrix} \right]_{\text{S}}$   
 the play be good-not-past say-past  
 'Taro said that the play was not good.'
- b. Taroo wa sono geki o  $\left[ \begin{smallmatrix} \text{yoku-nakat-ta} \\ \text{COMP} \end{smallmatrix} \right]_{\text{S}}$  to  $\left[ \begin{smallmatrix} \text{it-ta} \\ \text{COMP} \end{smallmatrix} \right]_{\text{S}}$   
 the play be good-not-past say-past  
 'Taro said that the play was not good.'
- (26) a. Hanako wa  $\left[ \begin{smallmatrix} \text{Taroo} \\ \text{ga} \end{smallmatrix} \right]_{\text{S}}$  itiban otonasikat-ta to  $\left[ \begin{smallmatrix} \text{omot-ta} \\ \text{COMP} \end{smallmatrix} \right]_{\text{S}}$   
 most be quiet-past think-past  
 'Hanako thought that Taro was most quiet.'
- b. Hanako wa Taroo o  $\left[ \begin{smallmatrix} \text{itiban} \\ \text{COMP} \end{smallmatrix} \right]_{\text{S}}$  otonasikat-ta to  $\left[ \begin{smallmatrix} \text{omot-ta} \\ \text{COMP} \end{smallmatrix} \right]_{\text{S}}$   
 most be quiet-past think-past  
 'Hanako thought Taro to have been most quiet.'

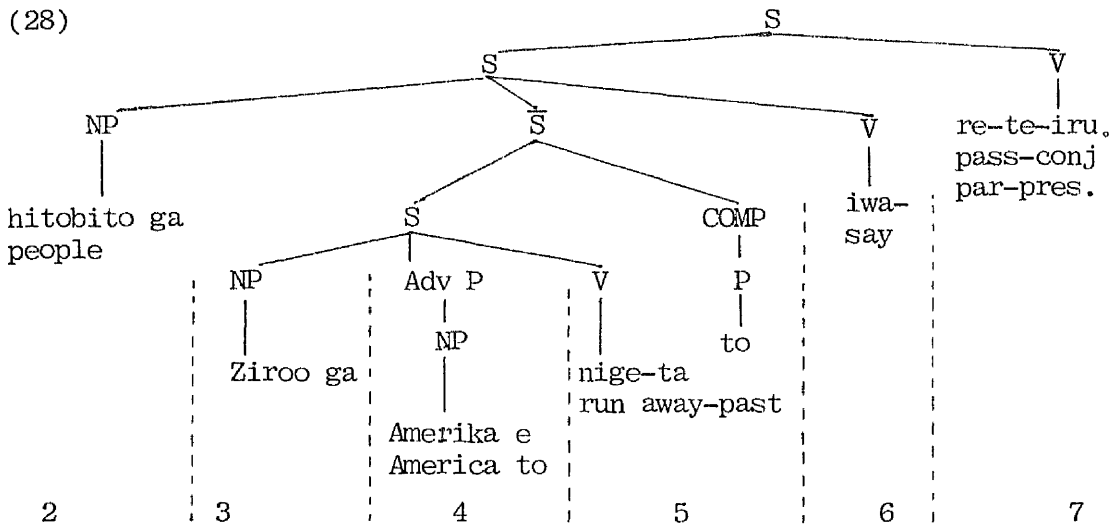
The comparison between the (a) and (b) sentences above shows that sono geki ga 'the play' and Taroo ga are both extracted from a tensed S. This means that Chomsky's Tensed-S Condition (1973/76) is not valid for S-O-R in Japanese. Chomsky's conditions will be discussed later. (cf. p.223-241)

17. If we strictly follow Chomsky's assumption that transformational rules operate on strings irrespective of their higher nodes, O-S-R (33) will meet the representation (79) as illustrated in (27):

(33) O-S-R



Thus under Chomsky's assumption, O-S-R will generate passives such as (77) and (78), which involve saying/thinking verbs to which S-O-R does not apply owing to the feature [+ACTION] of their complement verb. However, Chomsky's assumption cannot be directly adopted in the analysis of a Japanese grammar, in which even adverbial phrases are rewritten as NP, since NP represents any constituent consisting of NOM-P. This is because if it is assumed, as Chomsky claims, that higher nodes are irrelevant in deciding whether a given representation meets the structural configuration of a rule to be tested, the wrong string may be chosen for a rule to apply. The NP of the adverbial phrase in (27) above may be raised as the passive subject, since the structural description of (33) may meet the given representation as in (28) below instead of (27):

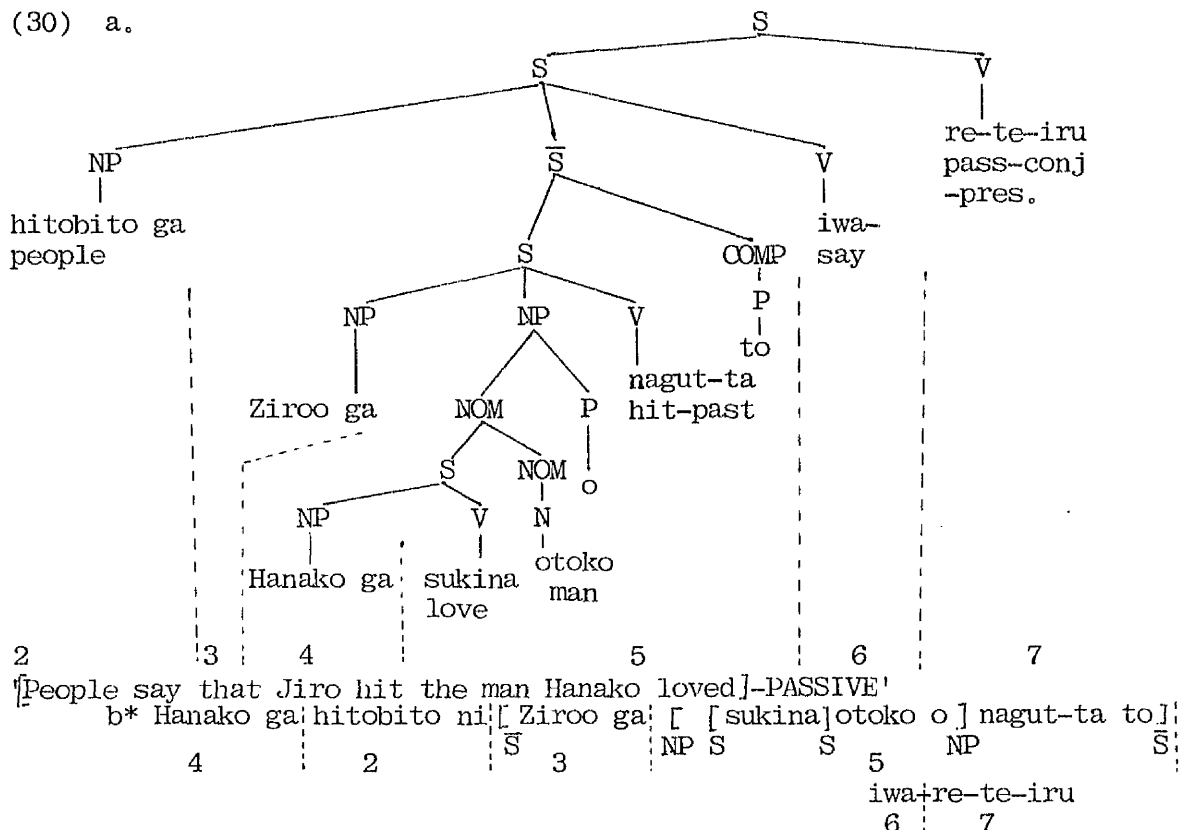


The NP directly dominated by the Adv P in the above structure may be raised to become a passive subject, generating the ungrammatical string:

- (29) \* Amerika wa hitobito ni-yotte [ Ziroo ga nige-ta to ] iwa-re-te-iru.  
 people by run away-past say-pass-past  
 \* 'America is said by people for John to have run away to.'

It might be argued that a condition should be stated on rule (33), such that term 4 is not to be raised if it is dominated by Adv P, so that a sentence such as (29) is not generated. However, this is not the only condition to be stated on the rule when working under the assumption that rules operate on strings. Consider the following examples:

(30) a.



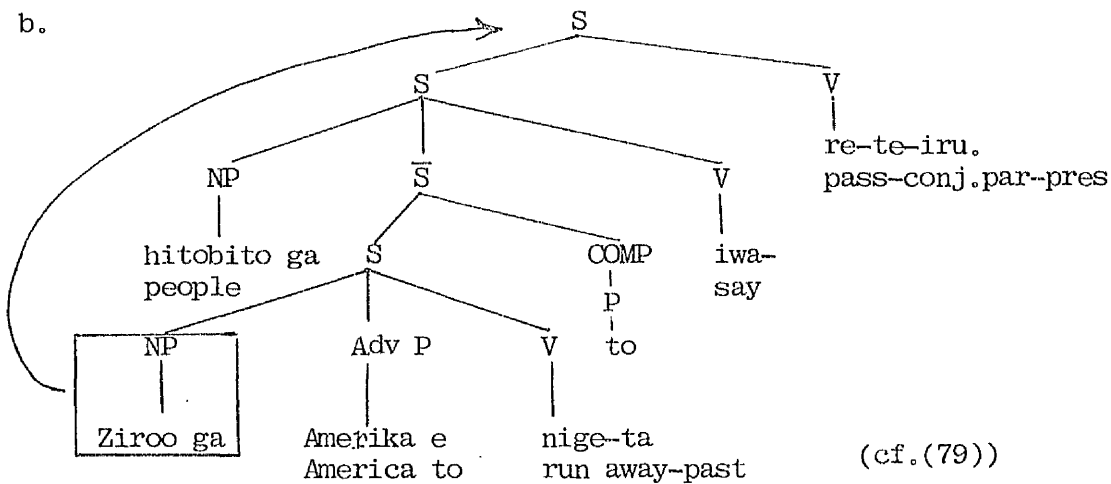
\* 'Hanako is said by people that Jiro hit the man she loved.'

The ungrammaticality of (b) shows that the NP in term 4 must not be dominated by a higher NP. Although I shall not go any further in finding other instances in which a rule may choose a wrong string, it seems clear that the assumption that rules operate on strings is over-powerful. Hence I shall not strictly follow Chomsky's idea and shall assume instead that higher nodes should be taken into account for rules to operate. (cf. footnote 20)

18. As can be seen from the comparison between the structural description and the structural change of Passive-Raising (81), the operation of the rule may not follow Chomsky's Subjacency Condition (1973/75/76), when term 3 involves a clause boundary. This is illustrated below:

(31) a. Ziroo ga hitobito ni  $\left[ \begin{array}{l} \text{Amerika e nige-ta} \\ \text{America to run away-past} \end{array} \right]_{\text{S}}$  to  $\left[ \right]_{\text{S}}$   
 people by COMP  
 iwa-re-te-iru.  
 say-pass-conj-pres

'Jiro is said by people to have run away to America.'



Example (31b) shows that raising the item involves crossing over two cyclic nodes, which is not consistent with the Subjacency Condition. Furthermore it also does not follow the Tensed-S Condition (Chomsky, 1973/76), since as seen in the above structure, the S from which Zi-roo ga is moved out is tensed, "Zi-roo ga Amerika e nige-ta" 'Jiro ran away to America.' In addition, P-R does not follow the Specified Subject Condition either. (Chomsky 1973/75/76) This is because P-R may raise an object from an embedded sentence of reru/rareru, across a specified subject, in the derivation of a passive sentence such as (32a):

(32) a. Taroo ga Hanako ni buta-re-ta.  
by hit-pass-past  
'Taro was hit by Hanako.'

b.  $\uparrow$  [ Hanako ga [ Taroo o ] buta- ] re-ta

Given that O-S-R does not follow the Specified Subject Condition (cf. footnote 11), it is clear that P-R does not follow this condition, since the latter is based on the former. Chomsky's conditions are discussed later. (cf. p.223-241)

19. This phenomenon, that non-subject NP's in the complement sentence of a saying/thinking verb cannot be raised, may be taken as a support of Chomsky's Specified Subject Condition (1973/75/76):

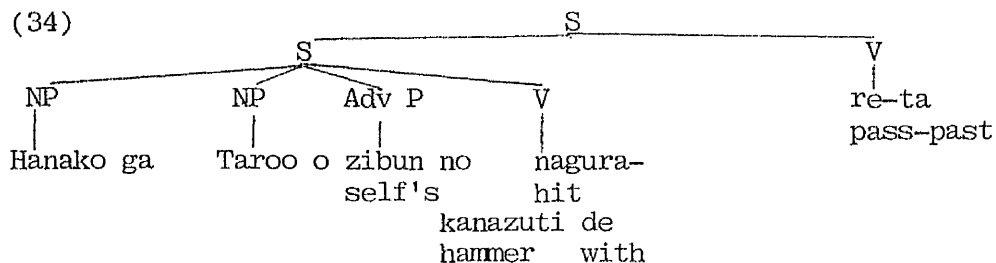
(33)  $\uparrow$  [ Taroo ga [  $\frac{S}{S}$  Zi-roo ga Tanaka ni hon o age-ta to  $\frac{1}{S}$  hihansa- ] re-ta.  
\* $\uparrow$  (I.O)book gave COMP $\frac{S}{S}$  accuse pass-past

However, as has already been mentioned (cf. footnote 11), O-S-R in Japanese, revised as P-R later, does not follow the Specified Subject Condition. Therefore it can be stated that the curious phenomenon that non-subject NP's in the complement sentence of a saying/thinking verb cannot be raised by P-R is not due to the Specified Subject Condition. Furthermore, the Specified Subject Condition is supposed to be irrelevant in  $\bar{S}$  owing to the Comp-to-Comp Escape Hatch. (Chomsky, 1973/75)

20. The conditions in (98) may appear to be awkward and the fact that they are stated positively rather than negatively may suggest that the variables posited in (98) are overpowerful in their positions. However, there is no other notation available within the present transformational framework to represent those elements stated in the condition in (98) and therefore the variable X seems to be the only possible notation that can be given for these positions. It should be mentioned that an analysis based on the assumption that transformational rules operate on strings irrespective of their higher nodes may be able to avoid the use of many variables. Nevertheless an analysis of this kind has to set up a different class of conditions (cf. footnote 17) and is therefore no better. There is a possibility of getting round the problem of conditions on rules and also the question whether rules should operate on strings or on structures. This is by following the principle of Relational Grammar and by treating subjects and objects as primitives (Perlmutter and Postal, Keenan and Comrie 1972, Johnson 1974, Pullum 1978). However, given the uncertain status of Relational Grammar at present, I shall leave the possibility of treating Japanese within this framework to a further study.

21. It has been suggested (cf. footnote 13 of Chapter 1, p.77) that reflexives may be treated interpretively like adverbials. If we adopt the interpretive approach of reflexives, zibun in direct passives under R.U.T. will be accounted for as follows. Sentence (114a) will have a deep structure as (34):

(114a) Taroo<sub>i</sub> ga Hanako<sub>j</sub> ni zibun<sub>i,j</sub> no kanazuti de nagura-re-ta.  
 'Taro was hit with self's hammer by Hanako.'



At this stage an interpretive rule will specify zibun as referring to the subject of its clause Hanako. After P-R, V-R and Particle Arrangement, surface structure (35) will be obtained:

(35) Taroo ga Hanako ni zibun no kanazuti de nagura-re-ta.  
 by self 's hammer with hit-pass-past

An interpretive rule will operate on this level, specifying zibun as referring to Taroo, which is the subject of the same clause. Thus, adopting the interpretive approach of reflexives will cause no problem for R.U.T. in accounting for the ambiguity of zibun in direct passives.

CHAPTER 3

TWO ARGUMENTS CONCERNING PASSIVES: REVIEWED ON THE  
BASIS OF R.U.T.



### 3.0. Introduction

This chapter consists of two sections.

3.1. takes up Kuroda's argument for Equi-Object Deletion in direct passives. He argues that Equi-Object Deletion is well-motivated for direct passives, since it is independently needed for another construction. However, it will be shown on the basis of R.U.T. that the justification of Equi-Object Deletion in another construction does not entail the conclusion that the rule is also justified for direct passives.

3.2. discusses Kuno's prediction that a derived object cannot be made a passive subject in Japanese. After the re-analyses of his accounts of passives involving S-O-R triggers, it will be shown that the above prediction does not hold in R.U.T. and also that it would not hold within his own framework.

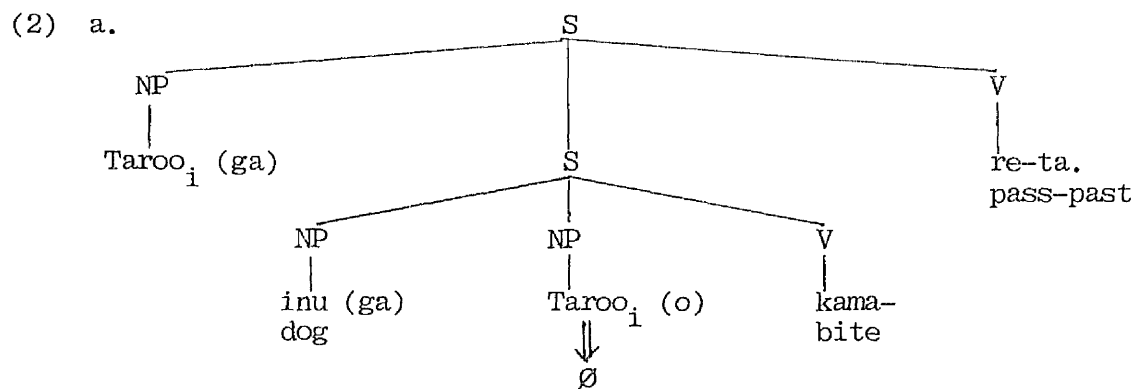
### 3.1. On Kuroda's account of Equi-Object Deletion for direct passives

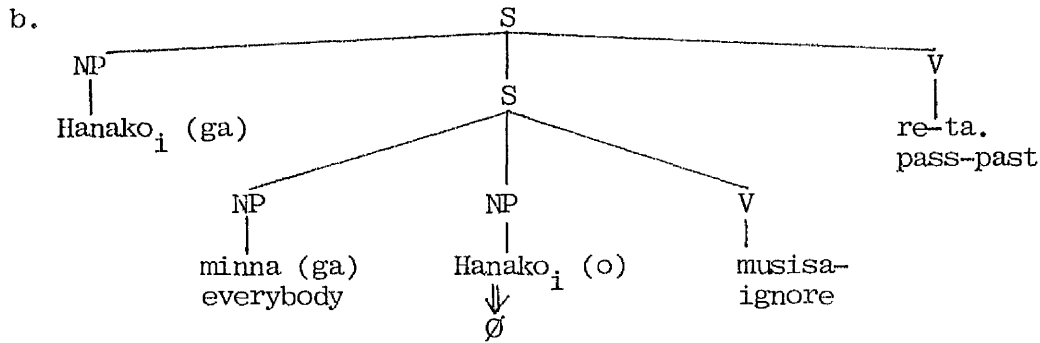
#### 3.1.1. Kuroda's argument for Equi-Object Deletion in relation to another construction

In his work on generative studies of Japanese (1965), Kuroda takes up the Uniform position on passives and argues for Equi-Object Deletion in direct passives. First let us recall how Equi-Object Deletion operates in the derivation of direct passives under Uniform Theory. Consider the following examples:

- (1) a. Taroo ga inu ni kama-re-ta.  
           dog by bite-pass-past  
           'Taro was bitten by a dog.'
- b. Hanako ga minna ni musisa-re-ta.  
           everybody by ignore-pass-past.  
           'Hanako was ignored by everybody.'

According to Uniform Theory, the above direct passives are derived via Equi-Object Deletion, which deletes the embedded object because of its identity with the matrix subject, as demonstrated below:





The surface structures (1a) and (1b) are generated by the application of Verb-Raising to the structures derived by Equi-Object Deletion, together with appropriate rules of particle arrangement.

Kuroda argues that Equi-Object Deletion, which generates direct passives as above, is justified, since it is independently needed for another construction. His argument (referred to by Howard and Niyekawa-Howard 1976) is as follows. First of all Kuroda discusses the relationship between Reflexivization and Zero-pronominalization (Equi-NP Deletion). He closely observes the conditions on the applicability of those rules, concentrating especially on the instances in which there is a coreferential relationship between the matrix subject and the subordinate object which is either in the object or complement of the matrix verb. From this observation, he concludes that Reflexivization of the embedded object is obligatory in the above circumstance and that Equi-NP Deletion should be blocked. Consider the examples from Kuroda (1965: 145-148)

- (3) a. John wa [ [ sono ie ni (zibun o) kakumat-ta ] Bill o ]  
 NP S that hous { \* ∅ } shelter-past S NP  
 self }  
 uragit-ta.  
 betray-past

'John betrayed Bill, who sheltered him (=John) in that house.'

- b. John wa [Bill ga {zibun o} settoku-suru-daroo-to] omot-te-iru.  
 $\bar{S}$   $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} * \emptyset \\ \text{self} \end{array} \right\}$   $\bar{S}$   
 self persuasion-do-will-that think

'John thinks that Bill will persuade him (=John)'

The subordinate clause in (3a) is a relative clause, embedded in the matrix object NP, while that in (3b) is a complement sentence. In both cases, the reflexive zibun refers to the matrix subject and thus the deep structures of these sentences are as below, in which the embedded object is identical with the matrix subject<sup>1</sup>:

- (4) a. John<sub>i</sub> (ga) [ [sono ie ni John<sub>i</sub> (o) kakumat-ta ] Bill(o) ]  
 $\text{NP S}$   $\text{that house}$   $\text{shelter-past S}$   $\text{NP}$   
 uragit-ta.  
 betray-past

- b. John<sub>i</sub> (ga) [Bill(ga) John<sub>i</sub>(o) settoku-suru-daroo-to ] omot-te-iru.  
 $\bar{S}$   $\bar{S}$   $\bar{S}$   
 persuasion-do-will-that think

As can be seen from the derived structures (3a) and (3b), Reflexivization of John in the embedded sentence in (4a) and (4b) is obligatory for the intended meaning. If there was no item ( $\emptyset$ ) in the place of zibun in (3a) and (3b), the meanings would be different and consequently the sentences would have different deep structures from (4a) and (4b).<sup>2</sup> Kuroda (1965:145-148) presents many other examples of the type (3a) and (3b), and therefore it must be said that his generalization about the obligatory Reflexivization is well-justified, viz. Reflexivization of the embedded object is obligatory when the matrix subject is co-referential with the embedded object which is in the object or complement of the matrix verb.<sup>3</sup>

Kuroda then examines direct passives. Consider the following example (Kuroda, 1965:155)

- (5) John wa Bill ni Ø mi-rare-ta.  
           by see-pass-past  
 'John was seen by Bill.'

According to Kuroda, the above sentence is generated from deep structure (6), since he takes the Uniform position:

- (6) John<sub>1</sub> (ga) [<sub>S</sub> Bill (ga) John<sub>1</sub> (o) mi- ]<sub>S</sub> rare-ta.  
                                 see pass-past

The comparison between the surface structure (5) and the deep structure above shows that the embedded object in the deep structure should be deleted due to its identity with the matrix subject. This operation of Equi-Object Deletion goes against the generalization that Reflexivization of the embedded object is obligatory when there is a coreferential relationship between the matrix subject and the embedded object which is in the object or complement of the matrix verb.

However, Kuroda claims that this deletion operation in direct passives is not an isolated phenomenon. He presents another construction which is, according to him, comparable to direct passives in respect of Equi-Object Deletion. Here are some examples from Kuroda (1965:157):

- (7) a. John ga Bill ni Ø suisen-si-te morat-ta.  
                                 recommend get to-past  
 'John got Bill to recommend him (=John).'
- b. John ga Bill ni Ø syootai-si-te morat-ta.  
                                 invite get to-past  
 'John got Bill to invite him (=John).'
- c. John ga Bill ni Ø yurusi-te morat-ta.  
                                 forgive get to-past  
 'John got Bill to forgive him (=John).'

Now the verb morau, appearing in the form morat- in the above examples, is described by Kuroda " ... we can have the following sentence frame [for morau]: N<sub>1</sub> - ga N<sub>2</sub> - ni V-te morau. N<sub>1</sub> and N<sub>2</sub> are the matrix and constituent subjects, respectively. The meaning of this form may be rendered as 'N<sub>1</sub> (asks and) gets N<sub>2</sub> to do V' ..." (1965:156)

Thus morau can be appropriately translated as 'get somebody to do something'. According to Kuroda, this Morau-construction has a similar deep structure to that of direct passives analyzed under Uniform Theory. The deep structure of (7a), for instance, is therefore as follows:

(8) John<sub>i</sub>(ga) [<sub>S</sub> Bill (ga) John<sub>i</sub> (o) suisensi- ] te-morat-ta.  
  recommend             get to-past

The surface structure (7a) is generated by deleting the embedded object John in structure (8) via Equi-Object Deletion. Hence Kuroda argues that Equi-Object Deletion is independently needed for the Morau-construction and that the rule is well-motivated for direct passives.

## 3.1.2. Re-consideration of Kuroda's argument, on the basis of R.U.T.

Although Kuroda claims that Equi-Object Deletion for direct passives is justified since it is not an isolated phenomenon, being also needed for the Morau-construction, it can be shown that his claim does not hold. The fact that Equi-Object Deletion is needed for the Morau-construction does not necessarily constitute a justification for this rule in direct passives. This is because the direct passive construction is not as parallel in structure to the Morau-construction as Kuroda claims. The difference in structure between these two constructions is reflected in the fact that direct passives allow both animate and inanimate subjects, as shown earlier (cf. p.7-8) while Morau-sentences do not allow inanimate subjects, as shown below:

(9) a. Taroo wa Ziroo ni tasuke-te-morat-ta.<sup>4</sup>

(by)help-conj par-get-past

'Taro got Jiro to help him.'

b\* Sono ie wa yuumeina daiku ni tate-te-morat-ta.

that house famous builder(by)build-conj par-get-past

\*'That house got a famous builder to build it.'

c\* Sono hon wa takusan no hito ni yon-de-morat-ta.

that book many people (by)read-conj par-get-past

\*'That book got many people to read it.'

Examples (9b) and (9c), which have inanimate subjects sono ie 'that house' and sono hon 'that book' respectively, are ungrammatical. This gives us a good reason to set up a lexical subject for the higher verb (te-) morau in the deep structure, so that we can state a selectional restriction between this subject and (te-) morau in the lexicon. This argument remains valid even if we grant that selectional restrictions are to be accounted for in the semantics since the semantics





posits a sentential subject for the passive verb in the deep structure of direct passives. The direct passive (5), repeated below, has a deep structure (12) under R.U.T., instead of (6):

(5) John wa Bill ni mi-rare-ta.  
                   by see-pass-past  
 'John was seen by Bill.'

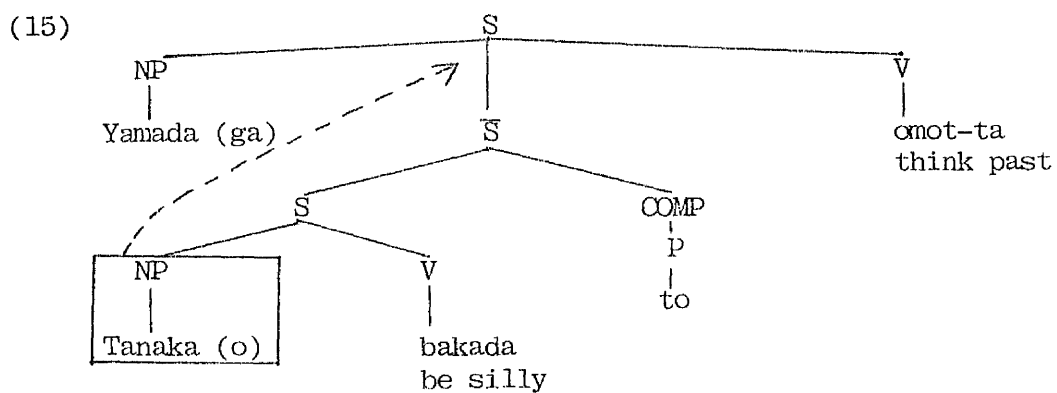
(12) [<sub>S</sub> Bill (ga) John (o) mi- ] rare-ta.  
                                   see    pass-past

The surface structure (5) is generated by Passive-Raising, which raises John of structure (12) to the matrix subject position, by Verb-Raising, which adjoins the embedded verb mi- 'see' to the matrix verb rare-ta, and by appropriate particle arrangement rules, including Ni-Placement. It should be noted that the derivation does not involve Equi-Object Deletion. Thus the proposal to set up a deep structure of the type (12) for direct passives corresponds to the rejection of Equi-Object Deletion in direct passives on the grounds that the deep structure to which it applies is not well-motivated.

The above argument has shown the invalidity of Kuroda's assumption, which says that Equi-Object Deletion is justified for direct passives on the grounds that it is needed for the Morau-construction. This is due to the fact that the two constructions carry different semantic properties concerning the surface subject, and this fact should be reflected in the different deep structures.



In the (a) sentences above Tanaka is a complement subject, while in (b) it is a matrix object. One of the several pieces of evidence presented in Kuno (1976: 24-29) to prove that Tanaka in the (b) sentences is a matrix object lies in the object marker o, which marks Tanaka in (b).<sup>5</sup> Although Kuno does not give a specific formulation of S-O-R, it is clear that the (b) sentences above are derived from the structures corresponding to their (a) sentences as follows<sup>6</sup>:



Kuno presents some arguments against the Equi-NP analysis for the derivation of (13b) and (14b), which may be proposed instead of S-O-R (1976: 29-39).<sup>7</sup>

Let us now consider examples (16) and (17), which contain saying verbs:

(16) a. Yamada wa  $\frac{I}{S}$  Tanaka ga bakada to  $\frac{I}{S}$  it-ta.  
                                 be silly COMP say-past  
 'Yamada said that Tanaka was silly.'

b(\*) Yamada wa Tanaka o  $\frac{I}{S}$  bakada to  $\frac{I}{S}$  it-ta. (starred by Kuno)  
                                 be silly COMP say-past  
 'Yamada said Tanaka to be silly'  
 (Yamada said that Tanaka was silly)

- (17) a. Yamada wa  $\left[ \begin{smallmatrix} \text{ } \\ \text{S} \end{smallmatrix} \right]$  Tanaka ga hannin da to  $\left[ \begin{smallmatrix} \text{ } \\ \text{S} \end{smallmatrix} \right]$  sitekisi-ta.  
 criminal be COMP point-out-past  
 'Yamada pointed out that Tanaka was the criminal.'
- b(\*) Yamada wa Tanaka o  $\left[ \begin{smallmatrix} \text{ } \\ \text{S} \end{smallmatrix} \right]$  hannin da to  $\left[ \begin{smallmatrix} \text{ } \\ \text{S} \end{smallmatrix} \right]$  sitekisi-ta (starred  
 criminal be COMP point out-past by Kuno)  
 'Yamada pointed out Tanaka to be the criminal.'  
 (Yamada pointed out that Tanaka was the criminal.)

The (b) sentences above, in which Tanaka is marked as a matrix object, are starred as ungrammatical by Kuno. Therefore he states that saying verbs, in contrast with thinking verbs, are not classified as S-O-R triggers. However, his analysis does not match the data, since the (b) sentences in (16) and (17) are perfectly grammatical to many native speakers of Japanese. (In fact the people I have consulted all agree that the sentences in question sound perfectly natural.) Hence (16b) and (17b) should be presented as grammatical sentences. Sentences (18)-(20) are further examples of this type:

- (18) a. Taroo wa  $\left[ \begin{smallmatrix} \text{ } \\ \text{S} \end{smallmatrix} \right]$  Hanako ga tuyoi ningen da to  $\left[ \begin{smallmatrix} \text{ } \\ \text{S} \end{smallmatrix} \right]$  bengosi-ta.  
 strong person be COMP defend-past  
 'Taro defended Hanako's being a strong person.'
- b. Taroo wa Hanako o  $\left[ \begin{smallmatrix} \text{ } \\ \text{S} \end{smallmatrix} \right]$  tuyoi ningen da to  $\left[ \begin{smallmatrix} \text{ } \\ \text{S} \end{smallmatrix} \right]$  bengosi-ta.  
 strong person be COMP defend-past  
 'Taro defended Hanako as being a strong person.'
- (19) a. Taroo wa  $\left[ \begin{smallmatrix} \text{ } \\ \text{S} \end{smallmatrix} \right]$  Hanako ga purei-gaaru da to  $\left[ \begin{smallmatrix} \text{ } \\ \text{S} \end{smallmatrix} \right]$  hinansi-ta.  
 play-girl be COMP accuse-past  
 'Taro accused that Hanako was a playgirl.'  
 (Taro accused Hanako of being a play girl.)
- b. Taroo wa Hanako o  $\left[ \begin{smallmatrix} \text{ } \\ \text{S} \end{smallmatrix} \right]$  purei-gaaru da to  $\left[ \begin{smallmatrix} \text{ } \\ \text{S} \end{smallmatrix} \right]$  hinansi-ta.  
 play-girl be COMP accuse-past  
 'Taro accused Hanako of being a play-girl.'

- (20) a. Taroo wa  $\left[ \begin{smallmatrix} \top \\ \text{S} \end{smallmatrix} \right]$  Ziroo ga koomanda to  $\left[ \begin{smallmatrix} \top \\ \text{S} \end{smallmatrix} \right]$  hihansi-ta.  
 be arrogant COMP criticize-past  
 'Taro criticized Jiro's being arrogant.'
- b. Taroo wa Ziroo o  $\left[ \begin{smallmatrix} \top \\ \text{S} \end{smallmatrix} \right]$  koomanda to  $\left[ \begin{smallmatrix} \top \\ \text{S} \end{smallmatrix} \right]$  hihansi-ta.  
 be arrogant COMP criticize-past  
 'Taro criticized Jiro as being arrogant.'

Examples (18b), (19b) and (20b) are perfectly grammatical sentences just as (16b) and (17b). Therefore sentences (16b)-(20b) are to be derived from the structures corresponding to their (a) sentences, all via S-O-R as shown in (15). It follows from this that, in contrast to Kuno's analysis that saying verbs such as those in (16)-(20) are not S-O-R triggers, S-O-R is in fact attributed not only to thinking verbs but also to saying verbs.

As has been stated earlier (p. 112-114), there is a peculiarity with these S-O-R verbs in Japanese, which is pointed out by Kuno. That is, S-O-R applies only when an S-O-R verb embeds a complement verb which carries a feature specification  $[-\text{ACTION}]$ . If we look at the previous examples involving S-O-R, we notice that the complement verbs of the saying/thinking verbs consist either of adjectives or of 'nominal + copula', both of which should be specified as  $[-\text{ACTION}]$ . Now consider the examples below:

- (21) a. Yamada wa  $\left[ \begin{smallmatrix} \top \\ \text{S} \end{smallmatrix} \right]$  Hanako ga Tanaka o korosi-ta to  $\left[ \begin{smallmatrix} \top \\ \text{S} \end{smallmatrix} \right]$  sinzi-ta.  
 kill-past COMP believe-past  
 'Yamada believed that Hanako had killed Tanaka.'
- b\* Yamada wa Hanako o  $\left[ \begin{smallmatrix} \top \\ \text{S} \end{smallmatrix} \right]$  Tanaka o korosi-ta to  $\left[ \begin{smallmatrix} \top \\ \text{S} \end{smallmatrix} \right]$  sinzi-ta.  
 kill-past COMP believe-past  
 'Yamada believed Hanako to have killed Tanaka.'

- (22) a. Yamada wa  $\left[ \begin{smallmatrix} \text{Tanaka} \\ \text{S} \end{smallmatrix} \right]$  ga Bosuton ni it-ta to  $\left[ \begin{smallmatrix} \text{COMP} \\ \text{S} \end{smallmatrix} \right]$  omot-ta.  
 Boston to go-past COMP think-past  
 'Yamada thought that Tanaka had gone to Boston.'
- b\* Yamada wa Tanaka o  $\left[ \begin{smallmatrix} \text{COMP} \\ \text{S} \end{smallmatrix} \right]$  Bosuton ni it-ta to  $\left[ \begin{smallmatrix} \text{COMP} \\ \text{S} \end{smallmatrix} \right]$  omot-ta.  
 Boston to go-past COMP think-past  
 'Yamada thought Tanaka to have gone to Boston.'
- (23) a. Taroo wa  $\left[ \begin{smallmatrix} \text{Hanako} \\ \text{S} \end{smallmatrix} \right]$  ga kodomo o but-ta to  $\left[ \begin{smallmatrix} \text{COMP} \\ \text{S} \end{smallmatrix} \right]$  it-ta.  
 child hit-past COMP say-past  
 'Taro said that Hanako had hit the child.'
- b\* Taroo wa Hanako o  $\left[ \begin{smallmatrix} \text{COMP} \\ \text{S} \end{smallmatrix} \right]$  kodomo o but-ta to  $\left[ \begin{smallmatrix} \text{COMP} \\ \text{S} \end{smallmatrix} \right]$  it-ta.  
 child hit-past COMP say-past  
 'Taro said Hanako to have hit the child.'  
 (Taro said that Hanako had hit the child.)
- (24) a. Taroo wa  $\left[ \begin{smallmatrix} \text{Hanako} \\ \text{S} \end{smallmatrix} \right]$  ga uso o tui-ta to  $\left[ \begin{smallmatrix} \text{COMP} \\ \text{S} \end{smallmatrix} \right]$  hinansi-ta.  
 lie tell-past COMP accuse-past  
 'Taro accused that Hanako had told a lie.'  
 (Taro accused Hanako of having told a lie.)
- b\* Taroo wa Hanako o  $\left[ \begin{smallmatrix} \text{COMP} \\ \text{S} \end{smallmatrix} \right]$  uso o tui-ta to  $\left[ \begin{smallmatrix} \text{COMP} \\ \text{S} \end{smallmatrix} \right]$  hinansi-ta.  
 lie tell-past COMP accuse-past  
 'Taro accused Hanako of having told a lie.'

As can be seen, the complement verbs of (21)-(24) contain action verbs such as korusu 'kill', iku 'go', butu 'hit', and uso o tuku 'tell a lie'. The ungrammatical (b) sentences show that S-O-R does not apply to the structures corresponding to the (a) sentences above. This fact is stated in the rule S-O-R formulated in the previous chapter (cf. p.114), which is repeated below:

(25) Subject-to-Object-Raising

$X_1$	-	$\left[ \begin{smallmatrix} \text{NP} \\ \text{S} \end{smallmatrix} \right]$	-	(NP)	-	$\left[ \begin{smallmatrix} \text{NP} \\ \text{S} \end{smallmatrix} \right]$	-	$X_2$	-	$\left[ \begin{smallmatrix} \text{V} \\ \text{[-ACTION]} \end{smallmatrix} \right]$	-	COMP	$\left[ \begin{smallmatrix} \text{S} \end{smallmatrix} \right]$	-	...	-	$\left[ \begin{smallmatrix} \text{V} \\ \text{[+SOR]} \end{smallmatrix} \right]$	$\left[ \begin{smallmatrix} \text{S} \end{smallmatrix} \right]$	-	$X_3$
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	10	(OPT)									
1	2	3 + 4	∅	5	6	7	8	9	10											

In this section Kuno's presentation of saying verbs as non-S-O-R triggers has been re-analyzed and it has been shown that in fact they are also S-O-R triggers just like thinking verbs.

3.2.2. Fallacy of Kuno's classification of indirect passives involving  
S-O-R triggers

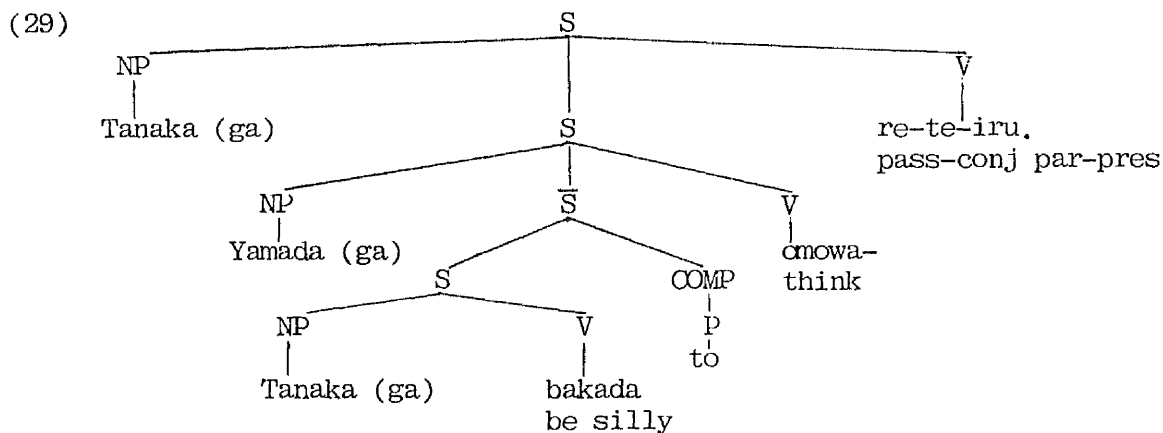
In discussing passives which involve saying/thinking verbs, Kuno makes a prediction that the derived object cannot be made a passive subject.<sup>8</sup> He then analyzes the following (26c) and (27c) as indirect passives:

- (26) a. Yamada wa  $\left[ \begin{smallmatrix} \text{ } \\ \text{S} \end{smallmatrix} \right]$  Tanaka ga bakada to  $\left[ \begin{smallmatrix} \text{ } \\ \text{S} \end{smallmatrix} \right]$  omot-te-iru.  
  be silly COMP think-conj par-pres  
'Yamada thinks that Tanaka is silly.'
- b. Yamada wa Tanaka o  $\left[ \begin{smallmatrix} \text{ } \\ \text{S} \end{smallmatrix} \right]$  bakada to  $\left[ \begin{smallmatrix} \text{ } \\ \text{S} \end{smallmatrix} \right]$  .omot-te-iru.  
  be silly COMP think-conj par-pres  
'Yamada thinks Tanaka to be silly.'
- c. Tanaka wa Yamada ni  $\left[ \begin{smallmatrix} \text{ } \\ \text{S} \end{smallmatrix} \right]$  bakada to  $\left[ \begin{smallmatrix} \text{ } \\ \text{S} \end{smallmatrix} \right]$  omowa-re-te-iru.  
  by be silly COMP think-pass-conj par-pres  
'Tanaka is thought to be silly by Yamada.'
- (27) a. Yamada wa  $\left[ \begin{smallmatrix} \text{ } \\ \text{S} \end{smallmatrix} \right]$  Tanaka ga tensai da to  $\left[ \begin{smallmatrix} \text{ } \\ \text{S} \end{smallmatrix} \right]$  sinzi-te-iru.  
  genius be COMP believe-conj par-pres  
'Yamada believes that Tanaka is a genius.'
- b. Yamada wa Tanaka o  $\left[ \begin{smallmatrix} \text{ } \\ \text{S} \end{smallmatrix} \right]$  tensai da to  $\left[ \begin{smallmatrix} \text{ } \\ \text{S} \end{smallmatrix} \right]$  sinzi-te-iru.  
  genius be COMP believe-conj par-pres  
'Yamada believes Tanaka to be a genius.'
- c. Tanaka wa Yamada ni  $\left[ \begin{smallmatrix} \text{ } \\ \text{S} \end{smallmatrix} \right]$  tensai da to  $\left[ \begin{smallmatrix} \text{ } \\ \text{S} \end{smallmatrix} \right]$  sinzi-rare-te-iru.  
  by genius be COMP believe-pass-conj par-pres  
'Tanaka is believed to be a genius by Yamada.'
- (28) a. Yamada wa  $\left[ \begin{smallmatrix} \text{ } \\ \text{S} \end{smallmatrix} \right]$  sono hon ga omosiroi to  $\left[ \begin{smallmatrix} \text{ } \\ \text{S} \end{smallmatrix} \right]$  omot-te-iru.  
  the book be interesting COMP think-conj par-pres  
'Yamada thinks that the book is interesting.'



- b. Yamada wa sono hon o  $\bar{S}$  omosiroi to  $\bar{S}$  omot-te-iru.  
 b. Yamada wa sono hon o  $\bar{S}$  omosiroi to  $\bar{S}$  omot-te-iru.  
 the book be interesting COMP think-conj par-pres
- c\* 'Yamada thinks the book to be interesting.'  
 by be interesting COMP think-pass-conj par-pres
- 'The book is thought to be interesting by Yamada.'

Kuno's justification for his analysis that (26c) and (27c) are not direct passives but indirect passives lies in the ungrammaticality of (28c), which has an inanimate passive subject. Since direct passives allow inanimate subjects, while indirect passives do not, (26c) and (27c), which are identical to (28c) in construction, are classified by Kuno as indirect passives. Therefore in his analysis the passive (26c), for instance, is derived from structure (29):



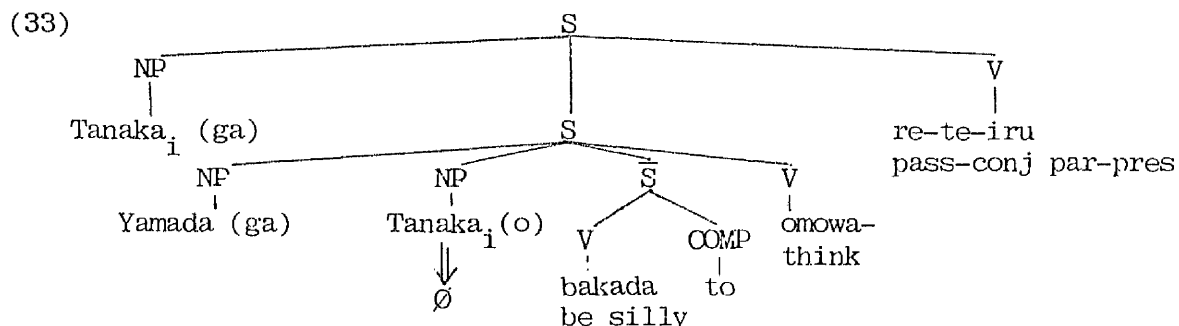
This is the deep structure given for sentence (26c) under Kuno's analysis. It follows then that Kuno's prediction that no derived object can be made the passive subject will be maintained within his analysis of sentences (26c) and (27c). This is because they are analyzed as indirect passives and thus should have a deep structure of the type (29), in which the passive subject is base-generated and consequently

does not come from a derived object. As can be seen, the passives (26c) and (27c) involve thinking verbs. Now the passives of the same pattern as (26c) and (27c) but involving saying verbs such as (30) and (31) below, are also analyzed as indirect passives under Kuno's analysis, since (32), which has an inanimate subject, is ungrammatical:

- (30) Tanaka wa Yamada ni  $\left[ \begin{smallmatrix} \bar{S} \\ S \end{smallmatrix} \right]$  bakada to  $\left[ \begin{smallmatrix} \bar{S} \\ S \end{smallmatrix} \right]$  iwa-re-te-iru.  
 by be silly COMP say-pass-conj par-pres  
 'Tanaka is said to be silly by Yamada.'
- (31) Tanaka wa Yamada ni  $\left[ \begin{smallmatrix} \bar{S} \\ S \end{smallmatrix} \right]$  tensai da to  $\left[ \begin{smallmatrix} \bar{S} \\ S \end{smallmatrix} \right]$  iwa-re-te-iru.  
 by genius be COMP say-pass-conj par-pres.  
 'Tanaka is said to be a genius by Yamada.'
- (32)\* Sono hon wa Yamada ni  $\left[ \begin{smallmatrix} \bar{S} \\ S \end{smallmatrix} \right]$  omosiroi to  $\left[ \begin{smallmatrix} \bar{S} \\ S \end{smallmatrix} \right]$  iwa-re-te-iru.  
 the book by be interesting COMP say-pass-conj par-pres  
 'The book is said to be interesting by Yamada.'

Thus (30) and (31) are generated from the deep structure of the type (29), in which the passive subject is base-generated.

It can be noticed that structure (29), which Kuno claims to be a deep structure of an indirect passive (26c), should involve Equi-NP Deletion at some point of the derivation in order to delete the embedded Tanaka. The deletion may apply to the structure which is derived by the application of S-O-R to the representation (29), as shown below:



At this point it should be recalled that no theory has so far proposed a derivation involving Equi-Object Deletion for indirect passives. Nonuniform Theory, which Kuno supports, is not an exception. Thus by proposing (29) (and consequently also (33)) as a structure involved in indirect passives, Kuno would have to add a structure of this type as a special case of indirect passives. Furthermore it should be recalled from an earlier discussion that the derivation involving Equi-Object Deletion is exactly what the original Uniform Theory proposes for 'direct passives'. In fact under the original Uniform Theory, Equi-Object Deletion is the main syntactic property of direct passives, by which they can be distinguished from indirect passives. (cf. p. 60-61)

The fact is that (26c), (27c), (30) and (31), are indeed direct passives. As stated before, one of the main distinct characteristics of direct and indirect passives is that the former carry corresponding active counterparts, while the latter do not. If we look at (26c) and (27c), they do have corresponding active counterparts, namely their (a) and (b) sentences. Sentences (30) and (31) similarly carry active counterparts. As for (28c) and (32), which have inanimate subjects and which are marked as ungrammatical, it can be shown that inanimate subjects can appear in these constructions. Consider the passives (34c) and (35c):

- (34) a. Hitobito wa  $\left[ \begin{array}{c} \text{sono hon} \\ \text{people} \end{array} \right]_{\text{S}}$  ga omosiroi to  $\left[ \begin{array}{c} \text{otomot-te-iru.} \\ \text{the book be interesting COMP think-conj} \\ \text{par-pres} \end{array} \right]_{\text{S}}$   
 'People think that the book is interesting.'

- b. Hitobito wa hon o  $\frac{1}{S}$  omosiroi to  $\frac{1}{S}$  omot-te-iru.  
 people book be interesting COMP think-conj par-pres  
 'People think the book to be interesting.'
- c. Sono hon wa hitobito ni-yotte  $\frac{1}{S}$  omosiroi to  $\frac{1}{S}$  omowa-re-te-iru.  
 the book people by be interesting COMP think-pass-conj  
 par-pres  
 'The book is thought by people to be interesting.'
- (35) a. Hitobito wa  $\frac{1}{S}$  repooto ga ayasii to  $\frac{1}{S}$  it-te-iru.  
 people report be doubtful COMP say-conj par-pres  
 'People say that the report is doubtful.'
- b. Hitobito wa repooto o  $\frac{1}{S}$  ayasii to  $\frac{1}{S}$  it-te-iru.  
 people report be doubtful COMP say-conj par-pres  
 'People say the report to be doubtful.'  
 (People say that the report is doubtful.)
- c. Repooto wa hitobito ni-yotte  $\frac{1}{S}$  ayasii to  $\frac{1}{S}$  iwa-re-te-iru.  
 report people by be doubtful COMP say-pass-conj  
 par-pres  
 'The report is said by people to be doubtful.'

The passives (34c) and (35c), which have the same pattern as (28c) and (32), carrying inanimate passive subjects, are grammatical. Although there seems to be a condition that an S-O-R verb should have an unspecified subject such as hitobito 'people' or minna 'everybody' when it is involved in the passive construction, it is clear that an inanimate subject can appear as the passive subject in the same pattern as (26c), (27c), (30) and (31). In addition, (26c), (27c), (30) and (31) carry no affective connotation just as (34c) and (35c) do not. The affective connotation would be necessarily carried if they were indirect passives. Therefore it should be concluded from the above discussion that the passives (26c), (27c), (30) and (31) are direct passives.

The consequence of the fact that (26c) and (27c) are direct passives is that even within his own framework Kuno would not be able to maintain his prediction, viz., that the derived object is not to be made a passive subject. This can be demonstrated as follows. As has been shown earlier (cf. p11-12), direct passives are derived from their corresponding active counterparts via Pure Passive Formation under Nonuniform Theory, which is supported by Kuno. The rule permutes the object and the subject of an active sentence, simultaneously introducing both the agentive marker and the passive verb. It could perhaps be formulated as follows (Kuno (1973) himself gives no formulations of his rules):

## (36) Pure Passive Formulation (P.P.F.)

$$\begin{array}{c} X_1 - \left[ \begin{array}{cccccc} \text{NP} & - & \text{NP} & - & (\text{NP}) & - \dots & - & \left[ \begin{array}{c} \text{V} \\ \text{+PASS} \end{array} \right] \text{S} & - & X_2 \\ 1 & & 2 & & 3 & & 4 & & 5 & & 6 & & 7 \end{array} \right] \longrightarrow \text{(OPT)} \\ 1 & \left\{ \begin{array}{l} 3 \\ 4 \end{array} \right\} \left[ \begin{array}{l} 2\# \\ \text{ni} \end{array} \right] & \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \emptyset \\ 3 \end{array} \right\} \begin{array}{l} 4 \\ \emptyset \end{array} & & 5 & & \left[ 6\# \right] \left[ \begin{array}{l} \text{reru} \\ \text{rareru} \end{array} \right] & & 7 \end{array}$$

Sentence (26c), for instance, would be derived in this framework from a structure corresponding to (26a):

$$\begin{array}{c} (37) \text{ Yamada (ga)} \left[ \begin{array}{c} \text{S} \\ \text{S} \end{array} \right] \text{ Tanaka (ga) bakada } \text{ to } \left[ \begin{array}{c} \text{S} \\ \text{S} \end{array} \right] \text{ omot-te-iru.} \\ \text{be silly COMP think-conj par-pres} \\ \text{'Yamada thinks that Tanaka is silly.'} \end{array}$$

Since the structural description of S-O-R (25) meets the above structure, it may apply, generating a structure corresponding to (26b):

$$\begin{array}{c} (38) \text{ Yamada ga Tanaka } \text{o} \left[ \begin{array}{c} \text{S} \\ \text{S} \end{array} \right] \text{ bakada } \text{ to } \left[ \begin{array}{c} \text{S} \\ \text{S} \end{array} \right] \text{ omot-te-iru.} \\ \text{be silly COMP think-conj par-pres} \\ \text{'Yamada thinks Tanaka to be silly.'} \end{array}$$

At this stage the structural description of P.P.F. (36) would meet the representation as shown below:

(39) Yamada ga | Tanaka o |  $\frac{I}{S}$  bakada to  $\frac{I}{S}$  | omot-te-iru.  
           2            3            5            6

The application of Pure Passive Formation would generate the following surface structure (rules of particle arrangement are appropriately assigned.):

(40) Tanaka wa | Yamada ni |  $\frac{I}{S}$  bakada to  $\frac{I}{S}$  | omowa-re-te-iru (= (26c))  
                   |            by | be silly COMP | think-pass-conj-pres.  
                   3            2 # ni |            5            6 # reru

Sentence (27c) and (34c) would be derived in the same way. As can be seen in the above derivation, P.P.F. derives a passive subject from a raised object, viz., term 3, Tanaka, which is made the passive subject in (40) (= (26c)), is a raised object originating from the embedded subject position, as seen in the process between (37), and (38). As for the passives (30), (31) and (35c), which involve saying verbs, they would not be generatable by P.P.F. This is because given the framework in which saying verbs are analyzed as non S-O-R triggers (cf. p.163-168) and in which P.P.F. requires an object of the verb to be passivized, there would be no stage in the derivation of the above sentences, in which P.P.F. could meet a representation. However, the fact that passives such as (26c), (27c) and (34c) should be derived via O-S-R and P.P.F. as demonstrated above is strong evidence even within this framework to reject the prediction that the derived object cannot be made a passive subject. The preceding argument has shown that once passives of the type (26c) and (27c) are proved to be direct passives, Kuno's prediction would not be maintainable even assigning his own theoretical model, viz. Nonuniform Theory joined with the analysis of saying verbs as non-S-O-R triggers.

Now it will be demonstrated below that Kuno's prediction cannot be maintained for generating not only the (26c) type of passives, which involve thinking verbs, but also the (30) type of passives, which involve saying verbs, under the framework adopted in this thesis, viz. R.U.T. accompanied by the re-analysis of saying verbs as S-O-R triggers. As has been shown earlier (cf. p119 ), passives involving an S-O-R verb whose complement verb is [- ACTION] are derivationally ambiguous under R.U.T. That is to say, they can be derived either by involving S-O-R or by not involving S-O-R, since the structural description of P-R, repeated below as (41), meets both the structure S-O-R has optionally applied to and the one it has not applied to (cf. p.119-120).

(41) Passive-Raising

$X_1$	-	$[S$	NP	-	$X_2$	-	NP	-	$X_3$	-	$[+PASS]$	$]S$	-	reru/rareru	-	$X_4$
1		2	3		4		5		6		7		8	⇒	(OBL)	
1		4 +	$[S$	2	3		∅		5		6	$]S$		7		8

Sentence (26c) can be generated as follows, involving S-O-R:

(42) The derivation involving S-O-R and P-R

- a.  $[S$  Yamada ga  $[S$  Tanaka ga bakada to  $]S$  omowa- $]S$  re-te-iru  $\xrightarrow{S-O-R}$  b  
be silly COMP think pass-conj par-pres  
'Yamada thinks that Tanaka is silly ]-PASSIVE'
- b.  $[S$  Yamada ga  $]S$  Tanaka o  $[S$  bakada to  $]S$  omowa- $]S$  re-te-iru  $\xrightarrow{P-R}$  c  
2 4 5 6 7  
and  $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} V-R \\ Particle \\ Arrangement \end{array} \right.$
- c. Tanaka wa Yamada ni  $[S$  bakada to  $]S$  omowa-re-te-iru. (= (26c))  
by be silly COMP think-pass-conj-pres  
'Tanaka is thought by Yamada to be silly.'

Sentences (27c) and (34c) can be generated in the same way. Furthermore, since in the analysis adopted here saying verbs are also S-O-R triggers, sentences (30), (31) and (35c) can be generated exactly as above. Derivation (42) shows that the derived object Tanaka in structure (42b) is made the passive subject in (42c) (= (26c)) via P-R. Hence, under R.U.T., accompanied by the re-analysis of saying verbs, Kuno's prediction does not hold in respect of any passive involving a saying/thinking verb whose complement verb in [-ACTION].

In this section it has been shown that Kuno's analysis of indirect passives involving S-O-R verbs is implausible and that consequently his claim that the derived object cannot be made a passive subject would not hold even in his own framework, Nonuniform Theory, let alone in R.U.T.



3.2.3. Inadequacy of Kuno's deep structure of direct passives  
involving S-O-R triggers

Kuno further analyzes the following sentences as direct passives on the basis of the grammaticality of (45), which has an inanimate subject:

- (43) Tanaka ga bakada to omowa-re-te-iru.  
be silly COMP think-pass-conj par-pres  
'Tanaka is thought to be silly.'
- (44) Tanaka ga tensai da to sinzi-rare-te-iru.  
genius be COMP believe-pass-conj par-pres  
'Tanaka is believed to be a genius.'
- (45) Sono hon ga omosiroi to omowa-re-te-iru.  
the book be interesting COMP think-pass-conj par-pres  
'The book is thought to be interesting.'

However, instead of deriving them from their corresponding active counterparts via P.P.F., by which direct passives are normally generated under Nonuniform Theory, Kuno proposes a peculiar deep structure for those passives above. Sentence (43), for instance, is derived from deep structure (46):

- (46)  $\left[ \begin{array}{c} \text{Tanaka} \\ \text{S} \end{array} \right] \text{ (ga) bakada to } \left[ \begin{array}{c} \text{omowa-re-te-iru} \\ \text{S} \end{array} \right]$   
be silly COMP think-pass-conj par-pres

The consequence of setting up a deep structure of the type (46) for those passives (43) - (45) is that the passive subjects of those sentences do not come from the derived objects. This is compatible with Kuno's claim that the derived object cannot be made a passive subject. The following examples, which contain saying verbs, are also supposed to be derived from the deep structure of the type (46):

- (47) Tanaka ga bakada to iwa-re-te-iru.  
       be silly COMP say-pass-conj par-pres  
       'Tanaka is said to be silly.'
- (48) Sono hon ga omosiroi to iwa-re-te-iru.  
       be interesting COMP say-pass-conj par-pres  
       'The book is said to be interesting.'

Insofar as the deep structure of the passives such as (43)-(45) and (47)-(48) is claimed to be of the type (46), those passives have nothing to do with raised objects, since the structural description of S-O-R (25) never meets a representation such as (46). Thus Kuno's prediction that a passive subject does not originate from a raised object is maintained under his analysis of the above passives.

However there (50) Hitobito wa { [Tanaka ga tensai da to] }  
 Kuno's deep structure { Tanaka o [tensai da to] }

(i) If the passives (43)-(45) and (47)-(48) are derived from a deep structure of the type (46), in which V-re-te-iru 'V-pass' is base-generated, then those sets of verbs in the above sentences should be assumed to be totally unrelated to the verbs in the following sentences:

- (49) Hitobito wa { [Tanaka ga bakada to] } omot-te-iru.  
       People think { that Tanaka is silly. } '  
       people { Tanaka to be silly. } think-conj par-pres  
       'People think { that Tanaka is silly. } '  
       { Tanaka to be silly. } '
- (50) Hitobito wa { [Tanaka ga tensai da to] } sinzi-te-iru.  
       people { Tanaka o [tensai da to] }  
       genius be COMP believe-conj par-pres  
       'People believe { that Tanaka is a genius. } '  
       { Tanaka to be a genius. } '

- (51) Hitobito wa { [Tanaka ga bakada to] } it-te-iru.  
                   { Tanaka o [bakada to] }  
 people                   be silly COMP   say-conj par-pres  
 'People say { that Tanaka is silly. }'  
                   { Tanaka to be silly. }  
                   { (that Tanaka is silly) }

Under Kuno's analysis, omowa-re-te-iru 'be thought' in (43) and (45) and omot-te-iru 'think' in (49); sinzi-rare-te-iru 'be believed' in (44) and sinzi-te-iru 'believe' in (50); and iwa-re-te-iru 'be said' in (47) and (48) and it-te-iru 'say' in (51) would be unrelated. This kind of analysis lacks a generalization, since omowa-re-te-iru 'be thought', for instance, is intuitively related to omot-te-iru 'think'. Consequently under Kuno's analysis, sentences (49)-(51) would also be unrelated to the passive sentences discussed above. Nevertheless, the fact is that (49)-(51) are the active counterparts corresponding to (43), (44) and (47) respectively. This is even stronger evidence than the grammaticality of (45) and (48), which contain inanimate subjects, to prove that sentences of the type (43) - (45) and (47)-(48) are indeed direct passives.

(ii) If the set of verbs V-re/rare-te-iru is base-generated in order to derive the passives of the type (43)-(45) and (47)-(48), Kuno should have two different types of derivations for direct passives within Nonuniform Theory. This is because when a saying/thinking verb has a lexical object as in (52a) below, the phonologically and morphologically identical verbs should be introduced in totally unrelated ways, such that in a direct passive (52b) sinzi-rare-te-iru 'be believed' would be derived transformationally via P.P.F., whereas sinzi-rare-te-iru in (44) would be lexically introduced:

- (52) a. Hanako ga Taroo o sinzi-te-iru.  $\xrightarrow{\text{P.P.F.}}$  b  
           believe in -conj-pres  
           'Hanako believes in Taro.'
- b. Taroo ga Hanako ni sinzi-rare-te-iru.  
           by believe in-pass-conj-pres  
           'Taro is believed in by Hanako.'

(iii) Let us consider again Kuno's deep structure (46):

- (46)  $\left[ \begin{array}{c} \text{S} \\ \text{S} \end{array} \right]$  Tanaka (ga) bakada to  $\left[ \begin{array}{c} \text{S} \\ \text{S} \end{array} \right]$  omowa-re-te-iru.  
           be silly COMP think-pass-conj par-pres

Now Kuno himself wonders about the status of the to-clause ( $\bar{S}$ ) and states, "I do not understand what status the [to-clause has in this sentence] because to-clauses in general cannot be in the subject position. Whatever the analysis of [this sentence] might be, it is clear that [it is] grammatical in the interpretation in which [Tanaka ga (in my example) is the subject of the to-clause]" (1976:46).

In his statement it is correct that to-clauses in general cannot be in the subject position, since the particle to (COMP) is not assumed to mark a subject. Now it will be shown below that Kuno's statement just quoted is self-contradictory: in the former half he wonders about the status of a to-clause as a subject in the construction (46), whereas in the latter half he makes a statement which would predict that a to-clause is a subject in this construction. This is because if Tanaka ga is taken as the subject of the to-clause in (46) as stated in the latter half of the quotation, the only possible analysis of the to-clause in this construction would be to treat it as a sentential subject, since the other element which is present in the sentence is an intransitive verb, omowa-re-ta-iru 'be thought'. Therefore the

latter half of Kuno's statement implies that the to-clause is the subject in the construction of the type (46) and thus contradicts the former.

However, it might be possible to set up  $\bar{S}$  as a sentential subject in deep structure (46) only if it is assumed in rather an ad hoc way that to marks a subject when  $\bar{S}$  is the first constituent directly dominated by S as in (46). Even if we adopt this ad hoc assumption and accept the deep structure of the type (46), Kuno's derivation of passives from this deep structure would not be without a problem. This concerns the surface analysis of passives (43)-(45) ( and also of (47)-(48)), which should be analyzed as follows:

- (53) Tanaka ga  $\frac{I}{S}$  bakada to  $\frac{I}{S}$  omowa-re-te-iru.  
           be silly COMP think-pass-conj par-pres  
       'Tanaka is thought to be silly.'
- (54) Tanaka ga  $\frac{I}{S}$  tensai da to  $\frac{I}{S}$  sinzi-rare-te-iru.  
           genius be COMP believe-pass-conj par-pres  
       'Tanaka is believed to be a genius.'
- (55) Sono hon ga  $\frac{I}{S}$  omosiroi to  $\frac{I}{S}$  omowa-re-te-iru.  
       the book be interesting COMP think-pass-conj par-pres  
       'The book is thought to be interesting.'

The fact that Tanaka ga and sono hon ga do not belong to the complement clauses in the surface structures (53)-(55) can be shown by the test of 'Scrambling' of adverbs. Kuno points out (1976:24-25) that adverbs can be positioned in various places in a sentence as in (56) below, owing to the relatively free surface word order in Japanese:

- (56) a. Orokanimo, Yamada wa sore o sira-nakat-ta.  
           stupidly that know-NEG-past  
       'Stupidly, Yamada didn't know that.'

- b. Yamada wa, orokanimo, sore o sira-nakat-ta.  
                   stupidly that know-NEG-past
- c. Yamada wa sore o, orokanimo, sira-nakat-ta.  
                   that stupidly know-NEG-past

He further observes that adverbs which are constituents of main clauses cannot be placed inside clauses that are embedded in the main clauses.

Consider the examples below:

- (57) a. Orokanimo, Yamada wa [Tanaka ga tensai da to ] sira-nakat-ta.  
           stupidly  genius be COMP know-NEG-past  
           'Stupidly, Yamada didn't know that Tanaka was a genius.'
- b. Yamada wa, orokanimo, [Tanaka ga tensai da to ] sira-nakat-ta.  
                   stupidly  genius be COMP know-NEG-past
- c. Yamada wa [Tanaka ga tensai da to ], orokanimo, sira-nakat-ta.  
   genius be COMP stupidly know-NEG-past

The intended reading is captured only when the adverb is directly dominated by the matrix sentence. Therefore sentence (58) is ungrammatical in the intended reading:

- (58)\* Yamada wa [Tanaka ga, orokanimo, tensai da to ] sira-nakat-ta.  
   stupidly genius be COMP know-NEG-past  
           'Stupidly, Yamada didn't know that Tanaka was a genius.'

The comparison between (57) and (58) in turn proves that Tanaka ga tensai da to 'that Tanaka is a genius' is a constituent sentence.

Keeping this in mind, let us consider the following sentences:

- (59) a. Orokanimo, minna wa [Tanaka ga bakada to ] omot-te-iru.  
           stupidly everybody                                  be silly COMP think-conj par  
   -pres  
           'Stupidly, everybody thinks that Tanaka is silly.'

- b. Minna wa, orokanimo, [Tanaka ga bakada to ] omot-te-iru.  
 everybody stupidly be silly COMP think-conj par-pres
- c. Minna wa [Tanaka ga bakada to], orokanimo, omot-te-iru,  
 everybody be silly COMP stupidly think-conj par-pres
- d.\* Minna wa [Tanaka ga, orokanimo, bakada to ] omot-te-iru.  
 stupidly be silly COMP think-conj par-pres

The ungrammaticality of (59d) in the intended reading can be explained by the adverb, which is supposed to be a constituent of a main clause, being dominated by a complement clause. The ungrammaticality due to the position of the adverb in (59d) thus proves that Tanaka ga bakada to 'that Tanaka is silly' is a complement clause and that Tanaka ga therefore is the complement subject. Now let us observe the following examples:

- (60) a. Hukoonimo, Tanaka ga[bakada to] omowa-re-te-iru.  
 Unfortunately be silly COMP think-pass-conj par-pres  
 'Unfortunately, Tanaka is thought to be silly.'
- b. Tanaka ga, hukoonimo, [bakada to] omowa-re-te-iru.  
 unfortunately be silly COMP think-pass-conj par-pres
- c. Tanaka ga[bakada to], hukoonimo, omowa-re-te-iru.  
 be silly COMP unfortunately think-pass-conj par-pres

The grammaticality of (60b) in the intended reading 'Unfortunately, Tanaka is thought to be silly' proves that both Tanaka ga and bakada to 'be silly COMP' belong to the matrix clause as separate constituents, as shown in the surface analyses (53)-(55). If sentence (43),





passives (43)-(45) can be generated in the same way as other direct passives (e.g. (26c), (27c) and (34c)) by P.P.F under Nonuniform Theory. Now if we compare the passives (43)-(45) with the others just mentioned, it can be seen that the only difference between those two groups of passives is that the former involve Unspecified Agent Deletion in the derivation, while the latter do not. As an example of this, sentences (26c) and (34c) are compared with (43) and (45) below:

(26c) Tanaka ga Yamada ni [ bakada to ] omowa-re-te-iru.

by be silly COMP think-pass-conj par-pres  
'Tanaka is thought to be silly by Yamada.'

(34c) Sono hon wa hitobito ni-yotte [ omosiroi to ] omowa-re-te-iru  
the book people by be interesting COMP think-pass  
conj par-pres

'The book is thought to be interesting by people.'

(43) Tanaka ga [ bakada to ] omowa-re-te-iru.

be silly COMP think-pass-conj par-pres  
'Tanaka is thought to be silly.'

(45) Sono hon ga [ omosiroi to ] omowa-re-te-iru.

the book be interesting COMP think-pass-conj par-pres  
'The book is thought to be interesting'.

From the above comparison, it can be seen that it is obviously implausible to analyze the former type as indirect passives and the latter as direct passives, as has been proposed by Kuno, when the only difference between them lies in the application of Unspecified Agent Deletion (U.A.D.). Within Kuno's Nonuniform Theory the derivation of the direct passive (43), for instance, would thus be comparable to that of (26c) (cf. p174-175):

- (64) a. Hitobito (ga) [ Tanaka (ga) bakada to ] omot-te-iru.  $\Rightarrow$  b  
 people be silly COMP think-conj par-pres  
 'People think that Tanaka is silly.'
- b. Hitobito ga Tanaka o [ bakada to ] omot-te-iru  $\Rightarrow$  c  
 people be silly COMP think-conj par-pres  
 'People think Tanaka to be silly.'
- c. Tanaka ga hitobito ni [ bakada to ] omowa-re-te-iru.  $\Rightarrow$  d  
 people by be silly COMP think-pass-conj par-pres  
 'Tanaka is thought to be silly by people.'
- d. Tanaka ga  $\emptyset$  [ bakada to ] omowa-re-te-iru. (= (43))  
 be silly COMP think-pass-conj par-pres  
 'Tanaka is thought to be silly.'

In the derivation (64) above, we can see that the derived object Tanaka in (b) is made the passive subject in (c) via P.P.F. Examples (44) and (45) would be derived in the same way. As for sentences (47) and (48), which involve a saying verb, they would not be able to be generated under Kuno's analysis, since saying verbs are analyzed as non-S-O-R triggers by Kuno, and P.P.F., which requires the presence of an object, would not meet the structure S-O-R has not applied to (cf.p.175). However, the fact remains that passives such as (43)-(45) would have a derivation in which a derived object is made a passive subject. Hence, the consequence of rejecting deep structure (46) and having to derive sentences (43)-(45) via P.P.F. within Kuno's Nonuniform Theory is that Kuno's prediction that a derived object is not to be made a passive subject would not be maintained within his framework.

This prediction about the derived object can be shown to be untenable in deriving not only (43)-(45) but also (47) and (48) under R.U.T. accompanied by our re-analysis of saying verbs as S-O-R triggers. The derivation of (43) may be as (65), involving S-O-R (cf. (42)):

(65) The derivation involving S-O-R and P-R

a.  $\left[ \begin{array}{c} \text{hitobito} \\ \text{S} \end{array} \right] \text{ ga } \left[ \begin{array}{c} \text{Tanaka} \\ \text{S} \end{array} \right] \text{ ga } \text{ bakada } \text{ to } \left[ \begin{array}{c} \text{omowa-} \\ \text{S} \end{array} \right] \left[ \begin{array}{c} \text{re-te-iru.} \\ \text{S} \end{array} \right] \Rightarrow \text{b}$   
 people be silly COMP think pass-conj-pres  
 '[People think that Tanaka is silly]- PASSIVE

b.  $\left[ \begin{array}{c} \text{hitobito} \\ \text{S} \end{array} \right] \text{ ga } \left[ \begin{array}{c} \text{Tanaka} \\ \text{S} \end{array} \right] \text{ o } \left[ \begin{array}{c} \text{bakada} \\ \text{S} \end{array} \right] \text{ to } \left[ \begin{array}{c} \text{omowa-} \\ \text{S} \end{array} \right] \left[ \begin{array}{c} \text{re-te-iru.} \\ \text{S} \end{array} \right] \Rightarrow \text{c}$   
 2 4 5 6 7 P-R  
 and V-R

c.  $\text{Tanaka o hitobito ga } \left[ \begin{array}{c} \text{bakada} \\ \text{S} \end{array} \right] \text{ to } \left[ \begin{array}{c} \text{omowa-re-te-iru.} \\ \text{S} \end{array} \right] \Rightarrow \text{d}$   
 U.A.D.

and Particle Arrangement

d.  $\text{Tanaka wa } \emptyset \left[ \begin{array}{c} \text{bakada} \\ \text{S} \end{array} \right] \text{ to } \left[ \begin{array}{c} \text{omowa-re-te-iru.} \\ \text{S} \end{array} \right] (= (43))$   
 be silly COMP think-pass-conj-pres  
 'Tanaka is thought to be silly.'

Since in our analysis, saying verbs are also analyzed as S-O-R triggers, (47) and (48) will also involve a derivation of the type (65). As is clear, in the derivation (65), which involves the application of the optional S-O-R, the derived object in (b) is made the passive subject in (c) via P-R. Therefore in R.U.T. it is also shown that Kuno's prediction that a derived object is not to be made a passive subject does not hold. In particular the prediction does not hold in deriving not only (43)-(45) but also (47) and (48) when the theory is combined with the re-analysis of saying verbs.

In this section Kuno's proposal for the deep structure of direct passives involving S-O-R verbs was rejected on several grounds. As a result, it was shown that Kuno's prediction that a derived object is not to be made a passive subject would not be tenable within his own framework, Nonuniform Theory, and that it is not tenable in R.U.T., either.

#### 3.2.4. Summary

First of all, Kuno's analysis of saying verbs as non-S-O-R triggers was re-considered and it was shown that they are also S-O-R triggers just as thinking verbs. Then his argument for indirect passives involving S-O-R verbs was discussed and some evidence was presented to prove that those passives which were claimed to be indirect passives are in fact direct passives. Finally the deep structure Kuno proposed for direct passives involving S-O-R verbs was shown to be implausible on several grounds. As a result of all the above considerations, it was argued that even within Kuno's Nonuniform Theory combined with his analysis that only thinking verbs are S-O-R triggers, the direct passives involving thinking verbs would have a derivation in which a derived object is made a passive subject, which is not compatible with his prediction. Furthermore, under R.U.T. accompanied by our re-analysis that both saying and thinking verbs are S-O-R triggers, the passives involving both saying and thinking verbs allow a derivation in which a derived object is raised to a passive subject. Thus the conclusion is that Kuno's prediction that a derived object cannot be made a passive subject in Japanese is not compatible with fact.

## FOOTNOTES

1. In example (3b), zibun is in fact ambiguous, as, due to the subject-antecedent condition, it refers also to the embedded subject Bill. However, this is not relevant to the present discussion.

2. Kuroda states, "... if zibun is replaced by PRO, i.e., by zero, the natural interpretation assumes some person or thing other than John as the object of the constituent sentence." (1965:145) Thus if there was no item in the place of zibun in (3a) and (3b) as below, the meaning would be different.

- (1) a. John wa [ [ sono ie ni Ø kakumat-ta ] Bill o ] uragit-ta.  
 NP S that house in shelter-past S NPbetray-past  
 'John betrayed Bill, whom John sheltered in that house.'
- b. John wa [ Bill ga Ø settoku-suru-daroo to ] omot-te-iru.  
 S persuasion-do-will COMP think  
 'John thinks that Bill will persuade the person (=somebody known to both the speaker and hearer)'

3-(1) As has been mentioned earlier (cf. Footnotes 10 and 11 of Chapter 1, p.74-77), a pronoun can appear in most places in which zibun can occur, except when zibun is in the object position in the same clause as its antecedent (even in this matrix object position, a pronoun may appear, but only when accompanied by a lexical item zisin 'one's own' as can be seen in example (3a) in this footnote below). It follows then that the term Reflexivization used by Kuroda can be understood, in most cases except the one mentioned above, as indicating the substitution of one of the two coreferential items either by zibun or by a pronoun. Therefore Kuroda's generalization, that Reflexivization of the embedded object is obligatory when the matrix subject is coreferential to the embedded object which is in the object or complement of the matrix verb, should be interpreted in the sense that the coreferential substitution (Reflexivization or Pronominalization) of the embedded object is obligatory in this environment (the examples of Footnote 11 of Chapter 1 show that pronouns also appear in the place of zibun in this environment.)

3-(2) The observation that Reflexivization (the coreferential substitution) of the embedded object is obligatory when the matrix subject is identical with the embedded object which is in the object or complement of the matrix verb can be compared with another observation by Kuroda. He states that Equi-NP Deletion is obligatory when the matrix subject is identical with the embedded object which is in an adverbial clause (1965:139-145):

- (2) a. John<sub>i</sub> wa [ [ Bill ga { Ø } mi-ta ] toki ] hon o  
 Adv P S { ((zibun<sub>i</sub> o)) } S Adv P  
 { (self)<sub>i</sub> } see time book  
 yon-de-ita.  
 read be  
 'John was reading a book when Bill saw him.'

- b. John<sub>i</sub> wa [ [Bill ga { ∅ } yon-] de-mo ] kotae-nakat-ta.  
 Adv P S { (zibun<sub>i</sub> o) } S Adv P reply-not  
 (self)<sub>i</sub> call even

'Even though Bill called him, John did not reply.'

- c. John<sub>i</sub> wa [ [Bill ga { ∅ } yonda] no-ni ] kotae-nakat-ta.  
 Adv P S { (zibun<sub>i</sub> o) } S Adv P reply-not  
 (self)<sub>i</sub> call though

'John did not reply though Bill called him.'

According to Kuroda, the embedded object in these sentences should be deleted and if zibun occurs in the position of the embedded object instead, the readings will belong to the narrative style (the non-reportive style, i.e., subject-oriented speech, Kuroda, 1973). Kuroda states (1965:143): "... the reading given in [the examples containing zibun in the object position of an adverbial clause] belongs to the narrative style, and this particular use of zibun can be excluded from our discussion of Reflexivization." In other words, he distinguishes the zibun which implies the awareness of the subject (subject-oriented) and the zibun which does not imply this awareness (speaker-oriented) and excludes the former from Reflexivization. In actual fact, however, zibun always seems to imply the awareness of the subject. Consider the following examples:

- (3) a. Taro<sub>i</sub> wa { \* ∅ } iyani nat-ta.  
 { zibun<sub>i</sub> o }  
 { kare<sub>i</sub> zisin<sub>i</sub> o }  
 { self } detest get-past  
 { him-his own }

'Taro got to detest himself.'

- b. Taro<sub>i</sub> wa [ [Hanako ga { \* ∅ } sukina] koto ni ] kigatui-ta.  
 NP S { zibun<sub>i</sub> o } S NP  
 { kare<sub>i</sub> o }  
 { self<sub>i</sub> } love fact realize-past  
 { him }

'Taro realized the fact that Hanako loved him.'

- c. Taro<sub>i</sub> wa [ Ziroo ga { \* ∅ } settokusuru to ] omot-ta.  
 S { zibun<sub>i</sub> o } S  
 { kare<sub>i</sub> o }  
 { self<sub>i</sub> } persuade COMP think-past  
 { him }

'Taro thought that Jiro would persuade him.'

Now in cases such as the above, in which the matrix subject is co-referential either to the matrix object or to the embedded object in a non-adjective clause, the coreferential substitution (Reflexivization or Pronominalization) of the matrix or embedded object is obligatory,

since the deletion of the item results in an ungrammatical sentence in the intended meaning. Since the zibun's in these cases are included in Reflexivization in Kuroda's analysis, i.e., they are generated by Reflexivization, it would be consequently implied by Kuroda that the readings of the above sentences containing zibun belong to the reportive style (speaker-oriented speech). However, zibun in these examples clearly implies the awareness of the subject, thus providing the narrative/non-reportive style (subject-oriented speech). On the other hand, if a pronoun occurs in the place of zibun in the sentences, their readings belong to the reportive style, expressing the speaker's assertion. The above contrasting styles of reading show that zibun potentially carries an implication of the awareness of the subject and that therefore a sentence containing zibun inevitably provides the narrative/non-reportive style (subject-oriented speech). It follows from this that it is implausible to exclude the zibun-versions in examples (2a)-(2c), by stating that their readings belong to the narrative/non-reportive style. Indeed one might argue that the narrative/reportive distinction is of semantic relevance only in any case. Hence, in spite of Kuroda's claim that Equi-NP Deletion of the embedded object is obligatory when the matrix subject is identical with the embedded object which is in an adverbial clause, and that consequently Reflexivization (the coreferential substitution) is blocked, the above argument shows that Reflexivization (the coreferential substitution) can take place in this environment as well as Equi-NP Deletion. This possibility of choosing between Reflexivization and Equi-NP Deletion is also found in the instances in which the matrix subject is identical with the embedded subject of any type of clause: an object clause, a complement, or an adverbial clause. (See Kuroda, 1965: 149-150)

4. The particle ni in the Morau-construction seems to be the same particle ni of the passive construction (agentive marker):

- (4) a. Taroo wa Hanako ni suisensa-re-ta.  
by recommend-pass-past  
'Taro was recommended by Hanako.'
- b. Taroo wa Hanako ni suisensi-te-morat-ta.  
by recommend-conj par-get-past  
'Taro got Hanako to recommend him.'
- (5) a. Taroo wa Hanako ni kodomo o home-rare-ta.  
by child praise-pass-past  
'Taro had his child praised by Hanako.'
- b. Taroo wa Hanako ni kodomo o home-te-morat-ta.  
by child praise-conj par-get-past  
'Taro got Hanako to praise his child.'

There is a clear difference between the indirect object marker ni and the above ni for Morau-sentences and passives:



- (6) a. Taroo wa Hanako ni okasi o age-ta.  
 (I.O)sweets give-past  
 'Taro gave Hanako some sweets.'
- b. [Taroo ga okasi o age-ta no ] wa Hanako  $\emptyset$  da.  
 sweets give-past whom be  
 'The one whom Taro gave some sweets (to) is Hanako.'
- (7) a. Taroo wa Zi-roo ni tegami o kai-ta.  
 (I.O)letter write-past  
 'Taro wrote Jiro a letter.'
- b. [Taroo ga tegami o kai-ta no ] wa Zi-roo  $\emptyset$  da.  
 letter write-past whom be  
 'The one whom Taro wrote a letter (to) is Jiro.'

The (b) sentences above are so-called pseudo-cleft sentences. As can be seen, the indirect object marker is deleted in this construction. However, the other ni for Morau-sentences and passives is not deleted when the constituent is separated from the rest of the sentence by pseudo-clefting:

- (8) a. [Taroo ga suisensa-re-ta no ] wa Hanako ni da. (cf.(4a))  
 recommend-pass-past whom by be  
 'The one whom Taro was recommended by is Hanako.'
- b. [Taroo ga suisensi-te-morat-ta no ] wa Hanako ni da (cf.(4b))  
 recommend-conj-get-past whom by be  
 'The one whom Taro got to recommend him is Hanako.'

Thus it may be said that Ni-Placement formulated for passives (cf.(53) of Chapter 2, p.107) can be shared by the Morau-construction.

(9) Ni-Placement

$$X_1 - [NP - [NOM [ga] ] - X_2 - [V - \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{reru/rareru} \\ \text{(te-)morau} \end{array} \right\} ] ] - X_3$$

1	2	3	4	5	6	7 $\Rightarrow$ (OBL)
1	2	3	[4# $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{ni} \\ \text{ni-yotte} \end{array} \right\}$ ]	5	6	7

5. Further evidence is given by Kuno (1976:24-29) in order to prove that the o-phrase in a sentence such as (13b) is a matrix object, while the ga-phrase in its corresponding sentence such as (13a) is an embedded subject.

- (13a) Yamada wa [Tanaka ga bakada to ] omot-ta.  
 S be silly COMP<sup>S</sup> think-past  
 'Yamada thought that Tanaka was silly.'
- (13b) Yamada wa Tanako o [ bakada to ] omot-ta.  
 S be silly COMP<sup>S</sup> think-past  
 'Yamada thought Tanaka to be silly.'

The criteria presented to prove the above are as follows:

a). Adverbs are moved around only within the same clause and cannot be moved into an embedded sentence.

- (10) a. Orokanimo, Yamada wa  $\left[ \begin{array}{c} \text{ } \\ \text{S} \end{array} \right]$  Tanaka ga tensai da to  $\left[ \begin{array}{c} \text{ } \\ \text{S} \end{array} \right]$   
stupidly genius be COMP  
omot-te-i-ta.  
think-past  
'Stupidly, Yamada thought that Tanaka was a genius.'
- b. Yamada wa, orokanimo,  $\left[ \begin{array}{c} \text{ } \\ \text{S} \end{array} \right]$  Tanaka ga tensai da to  $\left[ \begin{array}{c} \text{ } \\ \text{S} \end{array} \right]$   
omot-te-i-ta.
- c. Yamada wa  $\left[ \begin{array}{c} \text{ } \\ \text{S} \end{array} \right]$  Tanaka ga tensai da to  $\left[ \begin{array}{c} \text{ } \\ \text{S} \end{array} \right]$ , orokanimo,  
omot-te-i-ta.
- d\* Yamada wa  $\left[ \begin{array}{c} \text{ } \\ \text{S} \end{array} \right]$  Tanaka ga, orokanimo, tensai da to  $\left[ \begin{array}{c} \text{ } \\ \text{S} \end{array} \right]$   
omot-te-i-ta.

The ungrammaticality of (10d) in the intended meaning shows that Tanaka ga tensai da to 'that Tanaka is a genius' is an embedded sentence and that therefore Tanaka ga is an embedded subject. Consider the following examples:

- (11) a. Orokanimo, Yamada wa Tanaka o  $\left[ \begin{array}{c} \text{ } \\ \text{S} \end{array} \right]$  tensai da to  $\left[ \begin{array}{c} \text{ } \\ \text{S} \end{array} \right]$  omot-te-i-ta.  
stupidly genius be COMP think-past  
'Stupidly, Yamada thought Tanaka to be a genius.'
- b. Yamada wa, orokanimo, Tanaka o  $\left[ \begin{array}{c} \text{ } \\ \text{S} \end{array} \right]$  tensai da to  $\left[ \begin{array}{c} \text{ } \\ \text{S} \end{array} \right]$  omot-te-i-ta.
- c. Yamada wa Tanaka o  $\left[ \begin{array}{c} \text{ } \\ \text{S} \end{array} \right]$  tensai da to  $\left[ \begin{array}{c} \text{ } \\ \text{S} \end{array} \right]$ , orokanimo, omot-te-i-ta.
- d. Yamada wa Tanaka o, orokanimo,  $\left[ \begin{array}{c} \text{ } \\ \text{S} \end{array} \right]$  tensai da to  $\left[ \begin{array}{c} \text{ } \\ \text{S} \end{array} \right]$  omot-te-i-ta.

The grammatical (11d) in contrast with the ungrammatical (10d) shows that Tanaka o belongs to the matrix sentence.

b). Nonsubject constituents can be freely fronted to the pre-subject position of their clause. The embedded constituents cannot be fronted to the pre-subject position of the matrix clause. Observe the following examples:

- (12) a. Yamada wa  $\left[ \begin{array}{c} \text{ } \\ \text{S} \end{array} \right]$  Tanaka ga tensai da to  $\left[ \begin{array}{c} \text{ } \\ \text{S} \end{array} \right]$  omot-te-i-ta.  
genius be COMP think-past  
'Yamada thought that Tanaka was a genius.'
- b\* Tanaka ga, Yamada wa  $\left[ \begin{array}{c} \text{ } \\ \text{S} \end{array} \right]$   $\emptyset$  tensai da to  $\left[ \begin{array}{c} \text{ } \\ \text{S} \end{array} \right]$  omot-te-i-ta.

Example (12b) is ungrammatical in the intended reading. This is because Tanaka ga is moved out of the embedded clause and fronted in the pre-subject position of the matrix clause. Compare the examples below:

- (13) a. Yamada wa Tanaka o [ $\frac{L}{S}$  tensai da to  $\frac{I}{S}$  omot-te-i-ta.  
   genius be COMP think-past  
   'Yamada thought Tanaka to be a genius.'  
 b. Tanaka o, Yamada wa  $\emptyset$  [ $\frac{L}{S}$  tensai da to  $\frac{I}{S}$  omot-te-i-ta.

The grammaticality of (13a) shows that Tanaka o is a matrix constituent.

c). A pronoun can appear in the embedded sentence, referring to a matrix subject but it cannot appear in the matrix object referring to the matrix subject as its antecedent:

- (14) a. Yamada<sub>i</sub> wa [ $\frac{L}{S}$  kare<sub>i</sub> ga tensai da to  $\frac{I}{S}$  omot-te-iru.  
   he                          genius be COMP think-pres  
   'Yamada<sub>i</sub> thinks he<sub>i</sub> is a genius.'  
 b\* Yamada<sub>i</sub> wa kare<sub>i</sub> o [ $\frac{L}{S}$  tensai da to  $\frac{I}{S}$  omot-te-iru.  
   genius be COMP think-pres  
 \* 'Yamada<sub>i</sub> thinks him<sub>i</sub> to be a genius.'

The ungrammaticality of (14b) shows that the o-phrase is a matrix object, since the pronoun kare 'he' cannot appear in this position referring to the matrix subject Yamada as its antecedent.

The above criteria are presented by Kuno as evidence for S-O-R in (13b)(in the text). Thus example (13b) (in the text) is derived from a structure corresponding to its (a) sentence via S-O-R.

6. The justification for the analysis which proposes that  $\bar{S}$  is not labelled NP in Japanese is given in footnote 15 - (1) of Chapter 2 (cf. p.145-147).
7. Kuno presents (1976: 33-39) several arguments to show that a sentence such as (13b) (in the text) is derived from deep structure (15) (in the text) via S-O-R and not from the following deep structure (15) via Equi-NP Deletion.

- (13b) Yamada wa Tanaka o [ bakada to ] omot-ta.  
   be silly COMP think-past  
   'Yamada thought Tanaka to be silly.'
- (15) Yamada ga Tanaka o [ $\frac{L}{S}$  Tanaka ga bakada to  $\frac{I}{S}$  omot-ta.  
   ↓  
    $\emptyset$        be silly COMP think-past

The arguments are based on the following criteria:

- a). Equi-NP verbs in Japanese usually take a ni-phrase. Consider the examples below:

- (16) a. Yamada wa Tanaka ni [Tanaka ga sore o site-kurereu koto o]  
 (I.O)  $\downarrow \emptyset$  it do  
 kitaisi-te-iru  
 expect is  
 'Yamada is expecting Tanaka to do it.'
- b. Yamada wa Tanaka ni [Tanaka ga sore o suru koto o]meizi-ta.  
 (I.O)  $\downarrow \emptyset$  it do ordered  
 'Yamada ordered Tanaka to do it.'

The examples show that Equi-NP verbs take a ni-phrase and that therefore (13b) is not derived from (15) above via Equi-NP Deletion.

b). Tanaka ni in examples (16a) and (16b), which contain Equi-NP verbs, clearly represents the recipient of Yamada's expectation and order. The 'recipient' meaning is completely lacking in the Tanaka o of (13b).

c) It is possible to prepose the complement clauses of (16) to the left of Tanaka ni, but it is not possible to prepose the complement clause of (13b) to the left of Tanaka o:

- (17) a. Yamada wa [sore o suru koto o] Tanaka ni kitaisi-te-iru.  
 it do expect is  
 'Yamada is expecting Tanaka to do it.'
- b. Yamada wa [sore o suru koto o] Tanaka ni meizi-ta.  
 it do ordered  
 'Yamada ordered Tanaka to do it.'
- (18) \* Yamada wa [bakada to] Tanaka o omot-ta.  
 be silly COMP  
 'Yamada thought Tanaka to be silly.'

The examples show that a sentence such as (13b) behaves differently from sentences involving Equi-NP verbs.

d) Equi-NP Deletion is not obligatory in sentences such as (16a) and (16b). Consider the following examples:

- (19) a. Yamada wa Tanaka<sub>i</sub> ni [kare<sub>i</sub> ga sore o suru koto o]  
 he it do  
 kitaisi-te-iru.  
 expect is  
 'Yamada is expecting of Tanaka that he will do it.'
- b. Yamada wa Tanaka<sub>i</sub> ni [kare<sub>i</sub> ga sore o suru koto o]meizi-ta.  
 he it do ordered  
 (Lit) 'Yamada ordered Tanaka that he do it.'

However, it is not possible to use kare<sub>i</sub> ga 'he' for (13b) in the same way:

(20)\* Yamada wa Tanaka<sub>i</sub> o [kare<sub>i</sub> ga bakada to ] omot-ta.  
   he<sub>i</sub> be silly COMP think-past

'Yamada thought of Tanaka that he was silly.'

The above arguments show that (13b) is not derived from deep structure (15) (in this footnote) via Equi-NP Deletion, since a sentence of the type (13b) behaves differently from a sentence involving Equi-NP verbs in several respects.

8. The prediction that a derived object is not to be made a passive subject is also made by Harada (1973: 113-148).
9. Furthermore, the existence of S-S-R in Japanese is denied by Kuno himself (1976: 46, footnote 23).

CHAPTER 4

RELATED ASPECTS

#### 4.0. Introduction

This chapter consists of two separate sections.

4.1. presents analogous arguments for causatives with those given from passives in 1.3.2., 1.3.3. and 2.1.2. That is, it is argued, based on the well-motivatedness of the interpretive approach of adverbials, which is provided by the argument from passives, that the single-deep-structure analysis should also be proposed for an ambiguous causative containing a subject-oriented adverb. It is shown that the combination of the single-deep-structure analysis of an ambiguous causative and the interpretive approach of adverbs on more than one level entails that causatives should also be analyzed as superficially simplex. The interaction between passives and causatives is then examined, which results in the claim that interpretive rules do not only operate on the deep and surface levels of derivation but also at the intermediate stages, viz. that they apply cyclically. Finally from the assumption that both passives and causatives are superficially simplex, it is shown that Inoue's constraint, which is set up on her assumption that they are both superficially complex, is not well-motivated.

4.2. discusses Chomsky's conditions (1973/75/76), on the basis of Passive-Raising: the Specified Subject Condition, the Tensed-S Condition and the Subjacency Condition. It is shown that P-R is not subject to any of them. The COMP-to-COMP hopping analysis is then tentatively suggested in an attempt to keep the Japanese passive operation within the domains of the above conditions, viz., in an

attempt to set up the passive operation as a bounded rule. However, it is demonstrated that the nature of the COMP-to-COMP hopping analysis does not match the facts of Japanese and that consequently the conditions under discussion are not valid for the passive operation. Therefore it is concluded that the passive operation in Japanese is an unbounded rule, which justifies the nature of P-R. In addition to the passive operation, the general fronting rule is shown to be an unbounded rule in the course of the discussion.



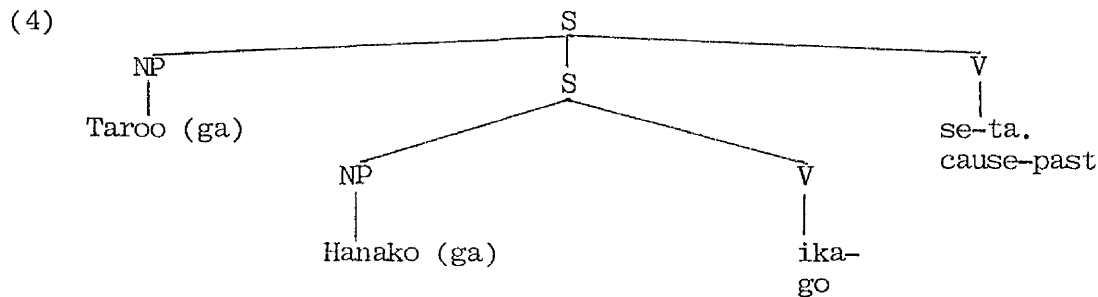
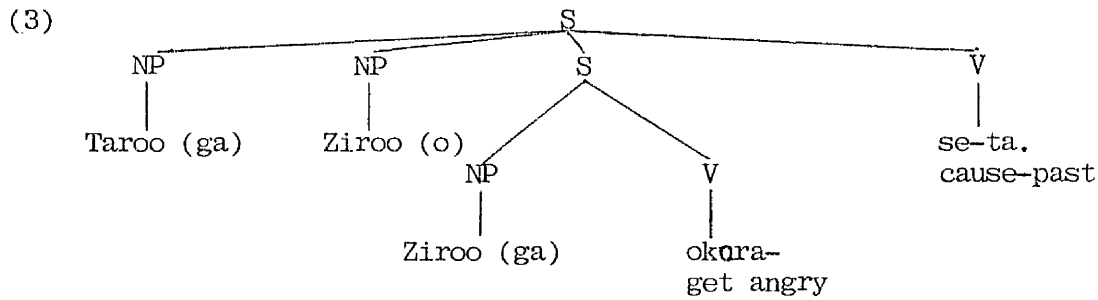
#### 4.1. Analogy and interaction between passives and causatives

4.1.1. Analogous arguments for causatives based on those from passives: single-deep-structure analysis of ambiguous causatives and superficially simplex analysis of causatives

It was argued in 1.3.2. (cf.p.38-47) that a single deep structure should be assigned to a passive sentence which is ambiguous because of a subject-oriented adverb. It was shown that in order to specify the semantic association of the adverbial with the subject, the semantics of the adverbial has to be checked against that of the verb in the same clause as this subject. Therefore one of Makino's two deep structures which are assigned to an ambiguous passive whose ambiguity is caused by an adverbial was rejected, since it is set up in such a way that the adverbial syntactically modifies the semantically empty verb reru/rareru, which makes it impossible to check the semantic relationship between the adverbial and the verb. As a result only one deep structure is assigned to an ambiguous passive sentence. This was the argument for the single-deep-structure analysis of passives which are ambiguous because of the adverb involved.<sup>1</sup> As has been stated (cf.p47), this entails the rejection of the meaning-preserving hypothesis, on which the two-deep-structure analysis of an ambiguous sentence is based. Consequently the deep and surface interpretive approach of adverbs was proposed in 1.3.3.

Based on the arguments from passives, the causative construction can be provided with the single-deep-structure analysis of an ambiguous sentence containing a subject-oriented adverb. First of all, I would like to present a brief outline of Japanese causatives.





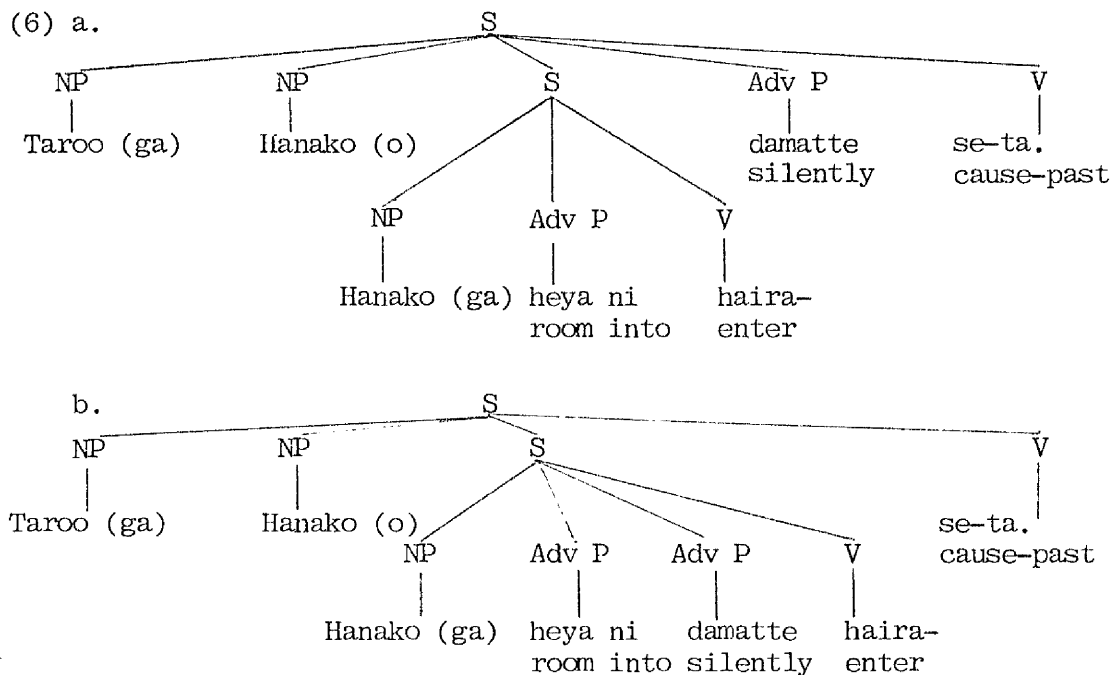
An extra noun phrase is posited in the matrix sentence that underlies the o-causative in order to indicate the direct coercive causation on the o-phrase.

Another point to be made about causatives is that they have ambiguous readings when they involve certain adverbials whose orientation is towards the subject of the sentence. Consider the examples below (from Shibatani, 1976:245):

- (5) a. Taroo wa Hanako o heya ni damatte haira-se-ta.  
           room into silently enter-cause-past  
           'Taro made Hanako enter the room silently.'
- b. Taroo wa Hanako o kyuuni tomara-se-ta.  
           suddenly stop-cause-past  
           'Taro made Hanako stop suddenly.'

Sentence (5a) is ambiguous, because the adverbial damatte 'silently' is associated either with Taroo or with Hanako. In the former the reading is that Taro silently made Hanako enter the room and in the

latter it is that Taro made Hanako silently enter the room. Similarly, the orientation of the adverb kyuuni 'suddenly' in (5b) is either towards Taroo, giving the reading that Taro suddenly made Hanako stop, or towards Hanako, giving the reading that Taro made Hanako suddenly stop. Shibatani states (1976:245) that "... adverbs can be interpreted as being associated with either the causing event or the caused event. That is, in one interpretation the adverb is a constituent of the clause whose main verb is sase, and in the other it is a constituent of the clause of a caused event." The above statement may be interpreted in such a way that the ambiguity of an adverb can be reflected by positing the adverb in the matrix clause on the one hand and in the embedded clause on the other.<sup>4</sup> Therefore, Inoue (1976:49), for instance, presents deep structures of the type below for an ambiguous causative such as (5a):



As can be noticed, the distinct deep structures (6a) and (6b) are comparable to those assigned by Makino (cf. p.37) to an ambiguous passive sentence containing a subject-oriented adverb. However, there is no reason to reject a deep structure such as (6a) on the same grounds that were given to the comparable deep structure of passives, since, unlike the passive verb reru/rareru, the causative verb seru/saseru is not semantically empty. Nevertheless, once we recognize the deep and surface interpretive approach of adverbs, which has resulted from the well-justified analysis that assigns a single deep structure to an ambiguous passive sentence containing a subject-oriented adverb, it can be argued that only one deep structure should be assigned to an ambiguous causative such as (5a). This is because the interpretive approach of adverbs, which is opposed to the meaning-preserving hypothesis, does not coincide with the two-deep-structure analysis of an ambiguous sentence, which belongs to the meaning-preserving hypothesis. As is clear, the two mutually exclusive approaches cannot coexist in a single grammar. Therefore, given the well-motivatedness of the interpretive approach of adverbs, it must be claimed that the single-deep-structure analysis is also provided for an ambiguous causative sentence containing a subject-oriented adverb. Hence, a structure of the type (6b) is assigned to the ambiguous causative (5a) as the sole deep structure. This treatment coincides with one of the principles of the description of a grammar: a grammar should be described with the maximum generalization.

Let us now observe how the ambiguous readings of (5a) are provided by the deep and surface interpretive rules of adverbs under









sentence containing a subject-oriented adverb and that the surface structure of causatives should be analyzed as simplex for the interpretive rule to account for the ambiguity. In the next section, the interaction between passives and causatives will be discussed in relation to the interpretive approach of adverbs.

## 4.1.2. Interaction between passives and causatives

Let us first consider the following examples:

- (11) a. Taroo ga Hanako ni kaera-se-rare-ta.  
by go home-cause-pass-past  
'Taro was made to go home by Hanako.'
- b. Taroo ga Hanako ni damara-se-rare-ta.  
by shut up-cause-pass-past  
'Taro was made to shut up by Hanako.'
- c. Taroo ga Hanako ni hasira-se-rare-ta.  
by run-cause-pass-past  
'Taro was made to run by Hanako.'

The above sentences are causative-passives. As should be noticed from the English translations, they have only coercive readings. Therefore, given the analysis in which only o-causatives are assumed to express coercive causation, the deep structure of causative-passives embeds o-causatives and not ni-causatives.<sup>5</sup> The deep structure and derivation of sentence (11a), for instance, are as follows:

- (12) a. Deep structure,  

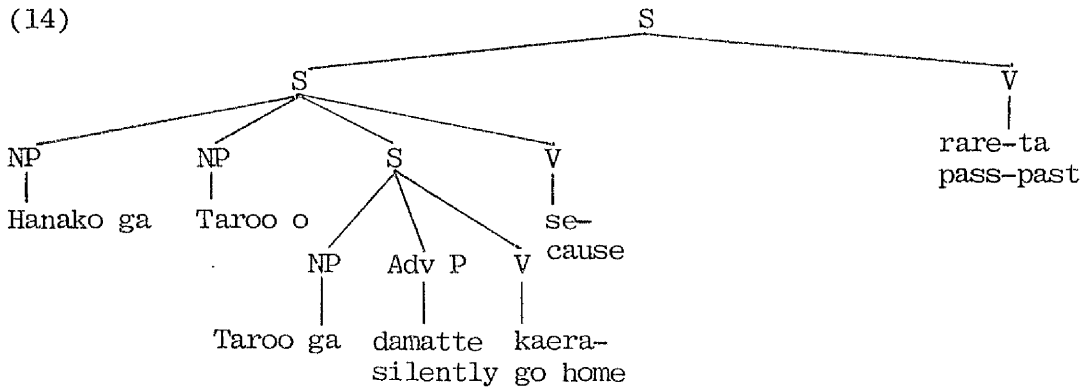
$$\left[ \begin{array}{c} \text{Hanako} \\ \text{S} \end{array} \text{ ga } \begin{array}{c} \text{Taroo} \\ \text{S} \end{array} \text{ o } \left[ \begin{array}{c} \text{Taroo} \\ \text{S} \end{array} \text{ ga } \begin{array}{c} \text{kaera-} \\ \text{S} \end{array} \right] \begin{array}{c} \text{se-} \\ \text{S} \end{array} \right] \begin{array}{c} \text{rare-ta.} \\ \text{S} \end{array}$$
 go home cause pass-past  
 '[Hanako made Taro [Taro go home]]-PASSIVE'
- b. Second cycle; Equi-NP Deletion and V-R,  

$$\left[ \begin{array}{c} \text{Hanako} \\ \text{S} \end{array} \text{ ga } \begin{array}{c} \text{Taroo} \\ \text{S} \end{array} \text{ o } \emptyset \begin{array}{c} \text{kaera-se-} \\ \text{S} \end{array} \right] \begin{array}{c} \text{rare-ta.} \\ \text{S} \end{array}$$
 go home-cause pass-past
- c. Third cycle; P-R, V-R and Particle Arrangement,  
 Taroo ga Hanako ni kaera-se-rare-ta. (= (11a))  
 by go home-cause-pass-past  
 'Taro was made to go home by Hanako.'

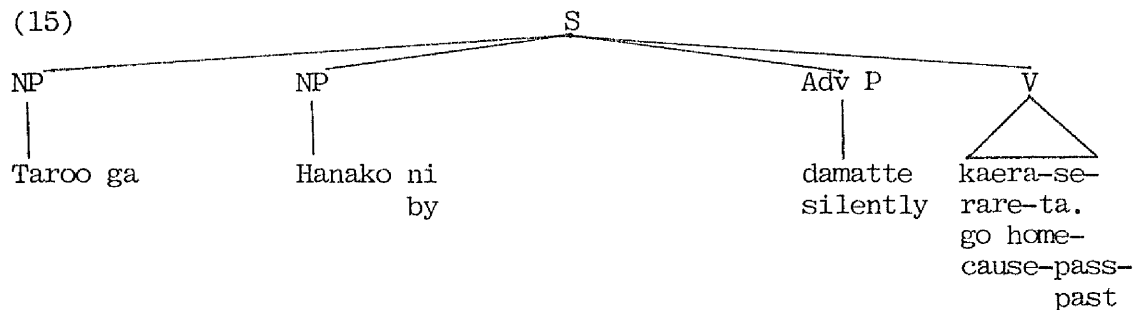
Let us now consider the examples below:

- (13) a. Taroo ga Hanako ni damatte kaera-se-rare-ta.  
   by silently go home-cause-pass-past  
   'Taro was made to go home silently by Hanako.'
- b. Taroo ga Hanako ni iyaiya damara-se-rare-ta.  
   by unwillingly shut up-cause-pass-past  
   'Taro was made to shut up unwillingly by Hanako.'
- c. Taroo ga Hanako ni yorokonde hasira-se-rare-ta.  
   by with pleasure run-cause-pass-past  
   'Taro was made to run with pleasure by Hanako.'

The above examples are ambiguous. In (13a), the adverbial damatte 'silently' refers either to Taroo or to Hanako, thus indicating either that Hanako made Taro go home without his (=Taro) saying anything or that Hanako made Taro go home without her (=Hanako) saying anything. In (13b), the adverb iyaiya 'unwillingly' causes the ambiguity, referring either to Taroo or to Hanako. In the former the reading is that Hanako made Taro shut up, but he (=Taro) didn't really want to shut up, while in the latter it is that Hanako made Taro shut up, but she (=Hanako) didn't really want to make him shut up. As for (13c), the association of the adverbial yorokonde 'with pleasure' with Taroo provides us with the reading that Hanako made Taro run and he (=Taro) did it with pleasure, while its association with Hanako results in the reading that Hanako made Taro run and she (=Hanako) did it with pleasure. The deep structure of sentence (13a), for instance, is as follows:



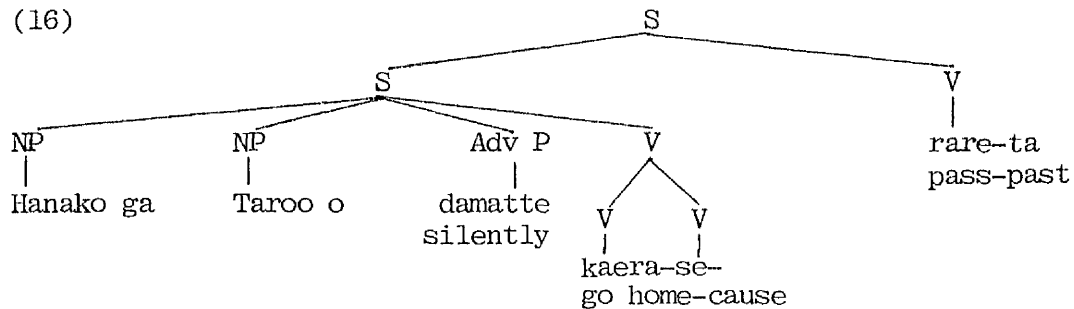
On this level an interpretive rule associates the adverbial damatte with the subject of its clause, Taroo, providing the reading that Hanako made Taro go home without his (=Taro) saying anything. It should be recalled that in both arguments based on passives and causatives, involving ambiguous adverbs, it was proposed that adverbs should be treated interpretively on both the deep and surface levels (cf. p.38-53 and p.204-209). Therefore the interpretive rule should next apply in the surface structure (15):



In structure (15) the interpretive rule associates the adverbial damatte again with Taroo, since Taroo is the subject of the clause in which the adverbial occurs. Therefore given the assumption that interpretive rules apply on the deep and surface levels, the other reading, in which damatte is associated with Hanako cannot be provided.

Examples (13b) and (13c) would present the same problem.

The data (13a)-(13c) thus constitute an argument for the cyclic application of interpretive rules, since in this way the other reading, associating damatte with Hanako, can be posited. This is illustrated as follows. After the application of Equi-NP Deletion and V-R in the second cycle of structure (14), the intermediate structure (16) is derived:



An interpretive rule should apply on this intermediate level in order to associate damatte with the subject of its clause, Hanako. This provides us with the reading that Hanako made Taro go home without her (=Hanako) saying anything. After the application of P-R, V-R and Particle Arrangement in the third cycle, surface structure (15) (=13a) is derived. An interpretive rule applies to the structure, vacuously in this case, associating damatte with Taroo, as seen earlier. The vacuous application of an interpretive rule may be objected to simply as being unprecedented. However, the vacuous interpretation of a subject-oriented adverbial seems inevitable in the derivation of a sentence such as (13a), in which there is an overlap in respect to the orientation of the adverbial. This can be explained as follows. In (13a) the verb kaera-se-rare-ta 'was made to go home' is derived in three stages; kaera- 'go home'; kaera-se- 'make go home'; and kaera-se-rare-ta 'was made to go home'. The subjects of kaera- and

kaera-se-rare-ta are identical, namely Taroo (cf. (14) and (15)).

Therefore the orientation of the subject-oriented adverbial damatte necessarily overlaps in the course of derivation, since it modifies kaera- at one stage and kaera-se-rare-ta at another, both of which have the identical subject. Thus, given the assumption that a subject-oriented adverbial should be associated with the subject of its clause unless there is semantic incongruity between them, which entails that the adverbial should be interpreted as many times as the number of subjects and consequently as many times as the number of verbs which occur in the derivation, the vacuous interpretation of the adverbial may take place in certain cases such as the above. Whatever the argument about the validity of the vacuous interpretation may be, it is clear that interpretive rules should apply at the intermediate level as well as at the deep and surface levels, in order to provide the ambiguous readings of sentences such as (13a)-(13c).<sup>6</sup>

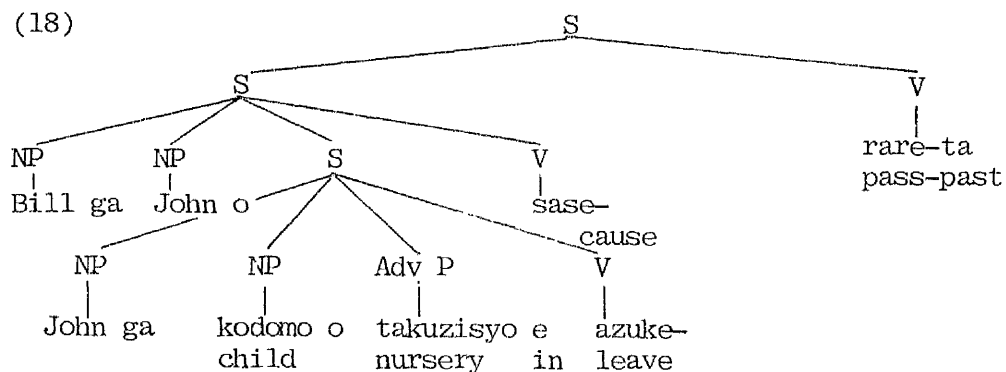
It has been shown above that the ambiguous causative-passives involving adverbs provide us with a further step within the interpretive analysis of adverbs, viz., it entails that interpretive rules apply cyclically.

## 4.1.3. On Inoue's constraint based on passives and causatives

Inoue (1976) discusses causative-passives. The following examples are from Inoue (1976:112):

- (17) a. Bill ga John ni kodomo o takuzisyo e azuke-sase-ta.  
           child nursery to/in leave-cause-past  
           'Bill made John leave the child in the nursery.'
- b. John ga Bill ni kodomo o takuzisyo e azuke-sase-rare-ta.  
           by child nursery to/in leave-cause-pass-past  
           'John was made by Bill to leave the child in the nursery.'
- c\* Kodomo ga Bill ni(-yotte) John ni takuzisyo e azuke-  
       child by nursery to/in leave  
   sase-rare-ta.  
   cause-pass-past
- \* 'The child was made by Bill for John to leave in the nursery.'

Examples (17b) and (17c) are possible structures derived from a passive deep structure which embeds a causative structure corresponding to (17a). This deep structure is presented below:

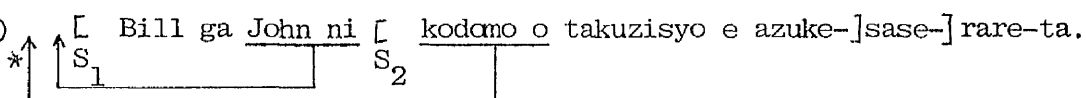


According to Inoue, the surface structures of both passives and causatives are superficially complex and therefore the derivations do not involve V-R. Given her analysis, after Equi-NP Deletion has applied

in the second cycle, deleting John in the most deeply embedded sentence, the structure which is to be tested for rule applications in the third cycle would be as follows (particles are appropriately assigned):

- (19) [<sub>S</sub> Bill ga John ni [<sub>S</sub> Ø kodomo o takuzisyo e azuke-] sase-] rare-ta.  
   child      nursery    in leave    cause    pass-past

In (19), if the underlined John ni is raised into a passive subject position, the grammatical (17b) would be generated, while if the underlined kodomo o 'child' is raised to a passive subject position, the ungrammatical (17c) would result. Inoue explains the ungrammaticality of (17c) by stating a constraint which prohibits a raising operation (O-S-R for passives under Inoue's analysis, cf. p.99 -107) from moving an item across more than one sentence boundary. This is comparable to the Subjacency Condition (Chomsky, 1973/75/76). Therefore according to Inoue, the ungrammaticality of (17c) lies in the operation which has raised kodomo o across two sentence boundaries, S<sub>2</sub> and S<sub>1</sub>, as illustrated below:

- (20) 
  
 \*↑    [ S<sub>1</sub> Bill ga John ni [ S<sub>2</sub> kodomo o takuzisyo e azuke- ] sase- ] rare-ta.

In turn the grammaticality of (17b) would be explained in Inoue's analysis by stating that John ni has been raised across one sentence boundary, S<sub>1</sub>, as seen in (20) and that therefore the constraint is not violated.

Inoue presents further examples in order to justify the constraint which prohibits a raising operation from involving more than one sentence boundary. She examines the higher verb tai 'want' and



shows that O-S-R may optionally apply to the Tai-construction.

Consider examples (21) and (22):

- (21) a. Watasi ga mizu o nomu.  
 I water drink  
 'I drink water.'
- b. Watasi ga mizu o nomi-tai.  
 I water drink-want  
 'I want to drink water.'
- c. Watasi wa mizu ga nomi-tai.  
 I water drink-want.  
 'I want to drink water.'
- (22) a. Watasi ga hon o yomu.  
 I book read  
 'I read a book.'
- b. Watasi ga hon o yomi-tai.  
 I book read-want  
 'I want to read a book.'
- c. Watasi wa hon ga yomi-tai.  
 I book read-want  
 'I want to read a book.'

The deep structures of the (b) and (c) sentences above embed structures corresponding to the (a) sentences. Sentences (21b) and (21c), for instance, have a deep structure as follows.<sup>7</sup>

- (23) Watasi ga [<sub>S</sub> watasi ga mizu o nomi- ]<sub>S</sub> tai.  
 I I water drink want

After Equi-NP Deletion, surface structure (24) would be generated.

Under Inoue's analysis Tai-sentences are also superficially complex.

- (24) Watasi ga [∅ mizu o nomi-]tai.  
 I water drink-want

On the other hand if the embedded object mizu o 'water' is raised to the subject position of tai 'want' via the optional O-S-R, this would yield surface structure (25) (Consequently, watasi ga, the original subject of tai, is converted to watasi wa (theme)):

- (25) Watasi wa mizu ga [Ø Ø nomi-]tai.  
 I water drink-want

Consider the following examples based on Inoue's (1976:114):

- (26)a. Wareware wa hito ni zibun no sigoto o home-rareru.  
 we people by self 's work praise-pass  
 'We have our own work praised by people.'
- b. Wareware wa hito ni zibun no sigoto o home-rare-tai.  
 we people by self 's work praise-pass-want  
 'We want to have our work praised by people.'
- c\*Wareware wa zibun no sigoto ga hito ni home-rare-tai.  
 we self 's work people by praise-pass-want  
 'We want to have our work praised by people.'

The (a) sentence is an indirect passive. The (b) sentence is derived from the Tai-structure which embeds a structure corresponding to (a). As for (c), it is ungrammatical. The deep structure of (26b) is as follows:

- (27) Wareware ga [<sub>S</sub> wareware ga [<sub>S</sub> hito ga wareware no sigoto o home-] ] tai.  
 we we people we 's work praise  
 rare- ]  
 pass want

In the second cycle, Reflexivization replaces wareware 'we' in the most deeply embedded sentence by zibun, and hito 'people' would be marked by the agent marker ni. Under Inoue's analysis, this would be all that happens in the second cycle. In the third cycle, Equi-NP Deletion deletes the passive subject, wareware ga 'we'. This would

yield surface structure (28) (wa is optionally attached to the matrix subject):

(28) Wareware wa [<sub>S</sub> ∅ [<sub>S</sub> hito ni zibun no sigoto o home-] rare-] tai.  
 we people by self 's work praise pass want

Now the ungrammaticality of (26c) is explained by Inoue as follows. The deep structure of (26c) is identical to (27) and the operations in the second and the third cycles are the same as above. Therefore after Equi-NP Deletion, an intermediate structure similar to (28) would be derived. If the optional O-S-R applies to this structure, raising zibun no sigoto o 'self's work' to the subject position of tai, as shown below, the ungrammatical (26c) would result:

(29) Wareware ga \*↑ [<sub>S<sub>1</sub></sub> ∅ [<sub>S<sub>2</sub></sub> hito ni zibun no sigoto o home-] rare-] tai  
 S S

According to Inoue, the ungrammaticality of (26c) is due to the raising operation which has raised an item across two sentence boundaries, S<sub>2</sub> and S<sub>1</sub>. Therefore she claims that the raising should not involve more than one sentence boundary.

It should be noted that Inoue's constraint on raising is set up on the assumption that causatives and passives are superficially complex and therefore do not involve V-R. In other words, it is crucial for her constraint to have intermediate structures such as (20) and (29), in which causatives and passives are complex, on the level where the raising operation takes place. However, as we have seen, both passives and causatives should be analyzed as superficially simplex, viz., they should be simplex at the end of their cycles.

Therefore instead of structures (20) and (29), we have the following structures respectively on the intermediate level:

- (30) a. \* $\left[ \begin{array}{c} \uparrow \\ \text{S} \end{array} \right] \left[ \text{Bill ga John ni kodomo o takuzisyo e azuke-sase-} \right] \text{rare-ta.}$   
child      nursery    in leave-cause pass-past
- b. Wareware ga  $\left[ \begin{array}{c} \uparrow \\ \text{S} \end{array} \right] \left[ \text{hito ni zibun no sigoto o home-rare-} \right] \text{tai.}$   
we                      people by self 's work      praise-pass want

As can be seen, each embedded sentence above, which is either causative or passive, is simplex. The examples show that there is in fact only one sentence boundary involved in the raising operation. Thus the ungrammaticality of (17c) and (26c) should be explained in some other way than Inoue's constraint, which is established on the false analysis in which passives and causatives are supposed to be superficially complex, viz., they are complex at the end of their cycles. The ungrammaticality of (17c), which involves intermediate structure (30a), can be explained in R.U.T. by adding a condition to P-R as follows:

(31) Passive-Raising (cf. (98) in Chapter 2)

$$X_1 - \left[ \begin{array}{c} \text{NP} \\ \text{S} \end{array} - X_2 - \text{NP} - X_3 - \left[ \begin{array}{c} \text{V} \\ +\text{PASS} \end{array} \right] \right] \text{S} - \text{reru/rareru} - X_4$$

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	⇒	(OBL)
1	4+	$\left[ \begin{array}{c} 2 \\ \text{S} \end{array} \right]$	3	∅	5	$\left[ \begin{array}{c} 6 \\ \text{S} \end{array} \right]$	7	8	

Condition: when 6 contains seru/saseru, 3 must be ∅

As for the ungrammatical (26c), some condition should also be stated on the raising rule which applies to the Tai-construction, in order to block an operation as in (30b). Although it seems undesirable a priori to add conditions on rules, it is clear that Inoue's constraint is

irrelevant for blocking sentences (17c) and (26c), since it has been justified that causatives and passives are simplex at the end of their cycles. Whether or not the constraint which prohibits raising operations from involving more than one sentence boundary exists in Japanese should be left to a further study, since the sase-rareru 'cause-pass' and the rare-tai 'pass-want' constructions do not constitute evidence for the constraint. Furthermore, even if it is shown from some other independent data that the condition exists, these constructions dealt with by Inoue have nothing to do with it because the raising operations carried out in them involve only one sentence boundary.<sup>8</sup>

Let me summarize 4.1. First the analogy between passives and causatives has been discussed in relation to the single-deep-structure analysis of an ambiguous sentence and their superficially simplex analysis. The interaction between passives and causatives has then provided evidence for the cyclic interpretive rules. Finally as a consequence of the superficially simplex analysis of both passives and causatives, it has been shown that the sase-rareru 'cause-pass' and the rare-tai 'pass-want' constructions do not constitute evidence for the raising constraint, which Inoue proposes based on the superficially complex analysis of passives and causatives.

## 4.2. 'Conditions on Transformations' and Passive-Raising

### 4.2.1. Nature of P-R in relation to Chomsky's conditions

Let us first recall how P-R operates in the derivation of direct passives under R.U.T.

(32) a. Taroo ga Hanako ni buta-re-ta.  
 by hit-pass-past

'Taro was hit by Hanako.'

b.  $\begin{array}{ccccccc} \uparrow & [ & \text{Hanako ga} & \text{Taroo o} & ] & \text{buta-} & \text{re-ta.} \\ & \text{S} & & & \text{S} & & \\ & & & & \text{hit} & & \text{pass-past} \end{array}$

(33) a. Kodomo ga niwatori ni oikake-rare-ta.  
 child chicken by chase-pass-past

'The child was chased by a chicken.'

b.  $\begin{array}{ccccccc} \uparrow & [ & \text{niwatori ga} & \text{kodomo o} & ] & \text{oikake-} & \text{rare-ta.} \\ & \text{S} & & & \text{S} & & \\ & & \text{chicken} & \text{child} & | & \text{chase} & \text{pass-past} \end{array}$

Examples (32b) and (33b) illustrate the operation of P-R, which raises an embedded item to a matrix subject position in order to generate passive sentences such as (32a) and (33a). As can be observed in (b) above, the embedded objects, Taroo o and kodomo o 'child', are raised out of their clauses crossing over the specified subjects, Hanako ga and niwatori ga 'chicken', respectively. The syntactic operation which moves an item out of, or into, a clause (a cyclic node), crossing over its specified subject is prohibited by the Specified Subject Condition (Chomsky, 1973/75/76).

Here is an outline of the Specified Subject Condition. Consider the following examples (Chomsky, 1973: 238-239):

- (34) a. The candidates each expected [<sub>S</sub> PRO to defeat the other ]<sub>S</sub>  
 b. The candidates expected to defeat each other.
- (35) a. The men each expected [<sub>S</sub> the soldier to shoot the other ]<sub>S</sub>  
 b\* The men expected the soldiers to shoot each other.
- (36) a. The men each saw [<sub>NP</sub> pictures of the other ]<sub>NP</sub>  
 b. The men saw pictures of each other.
- (37) a. The men each saw [<sub>NP</sub> John's pictures of the other ]<sub>NP</sub>  
 b\* The men saw John's pictures of each other.
- (38) a. COMP you saw [<sub>NP</sub> pictures of who ]<sub>NP</sub>  
 b. Who did you see pictures of?
- (39) a. COMP you saw [<sub>NP</sub> John's pictures of who ]<sub>NP</sub>  
 b\* Who did you see John's pictures of?

There are three points to be mentioned in connection with the examples above.

(i) Chomsky adopts Dougherty's formulation (1970) of the phrase each other. That is, a sentence such as the men hated each other derives from the men each hated the other(s) (ultimately, from each of the men hated the other(s)) by a rule that moves each into the determiner position in the other(s).

(ii) Chomsky assumes that the soldier in each sentence of (35) is the embedded subject. This contrasts with the analysis in which S-O-R is recognized and in which the soldier would therefore be the object of the verb expect.

(iii) According to Chomsky, both NP and S are cyclic nodes and the notion of 'subject of' is defined not only in S but also in NP.

Therefore John in each NP below is the 'subject' in an extended sense of this term:

- (40) a. John's refusal to leave  
 b. John's picture of Bill  
 c. John's strategy for victory

Assuming (i), (ii) and (iii), Chomsky accounts for the ungrammaticality of (35b), (37b) and (39b) on the basis of the Specified Subject Condition (1973:239):

(41) No rule can involve X, Y in the structure

... X ... [ <sub>$\alpha$</sub> ... Z ... -WYV ...] ...

where Z is the specified subject of WYV in  $\alpha$ .

The notation ' $\alpha$ ' is a cyclic node: either S or NP. According to Chomsky, the ungrammaticality of sentences (35b) and (37b) lies in the operation by which each has been moved into the cyclic nodes, S and NP, crossing over the specified subjects, the soldier and John, respectively. As for (39b), the ungrammaticality is caused by the operation which has moved who out of the cyclic node NP across the specified subject John. In turn the grammaticality of the (b) sentences in (34), (36) and (38) is explained by the fact that the condition is not violated, viz., in the cases of (34b) and (36b), each has been moved into the cyclic node under which there is no specified subject and in the case of (38b) who has been moved out of the cyclic node under which there is no specified subject.

The Specified Subject Condition described above is violated in the operation of P-R, as seen in (32b) and (33b), from which the grammatical passive sentences (32a) and (33a) are generated respectively.



Let us consider further examples of direct passives:

- (42) a. Ziroo ga hitobito ni [ $\bar{S}$  Amerika e nige-ta to  $\bar{J}$   $\bar{S}$ ]  
 people by America to run away-past COMP  
 iwa-re-te-iru.  
 say-pass-conj-pres

'Jiro is said by people to have run away to America.'

- b. [ $\bar{S}$  hitobito ga [ $\bar{S}$  Ziroo ga] Amerika e nige-ta to  $\bar{J}$   $\bar{S}$ ]  
 ↑ people to run away-past COMP  
 iwa- $\bar{J}$  re-te-iru.  
 say pass-conj-pres

- (43) a. Hanako ga Taroo ni [ $\bar{S}$  kodomo o but-ta to  $\bar{J}$   $\bar{S}$  utagawa-re-te-iru.  
 by child hit-past COMP suspect-pass-conj-  
 pres  
 'Hanako is suspected by Taro to have hit the child.'

- b. [ $\bar{S}$  Taroo ga [ $\bar{S}$  Hanako ga] kodomo o but-ta to  $\bar{J}$   $\bar{S}$  utagawa-  $\bar{J}$   $\bar{S}$ ]  
 ↑ child hit-past COMP suspect  
 re-te-iru.  
 pass-conj-pres

In order to generate passive sentences (42a) and (43a), P-R raises Ziroo ga and Hanako ga to the matrix subject position out of the tensed clauses Ziroo ga Amerika e nige-ta to 'that Jiro ran away to America' and Hanako ga kodomo o but-ta to 'that Hanako hit the child', and also operates crossing over two cyclic nodes,  $\bar{S}$  and S. The former phenomenon is out of the domain of the Tensed-S Condition and the latter is out of that of the Subjacency Condition (both by Chomsky, 1973/75/76).

The Tensed-S Condition is set up based on the following examples (Chomsky, 1973:238):

- (44) a. The candidates each expected the other(s) to win.  
 b. The candidates each expected that the other(s) would win.

- (45) a. The candidates expected each other to win.  
 b\* The candidates expected that each other would win.

The grammaticality of (45a) and the ungrammaticality of (45b) are explained by the Tensed-S Condition, formulated as follows (Chomsky, 1973:238):

- (46) No rule can involve X, Y in the structure

... X ... [ <sub>$\alpha$</sub>  ... Y ... ] ...

where  $\alpha$  is a tensed sentence

In (45a), each has been moved into the tenseless clause, the other(s) to win, whereas in (45b), it has been moved into the tensed clause, that the other(s) would win, which is the cause of the ungrammaticality.

The Subjacency Condition is set up to account for sentences of the type below (Chomsky, 1973: 247-248):

- (47) a. Who did you see [<sub>NP</sub> a picture of \_\_\_\_ ]<sub>NP</sub> ?  
 b. Who did you hear [<sub>NP</sub> stories about \_\_\_\_ ]<sub>NP</sub> ?  
 c\* Who did you hear [<sub>NP</sub> stories about [<sub>NP</sub> a picture of \_\_\_\_ ]<sub>NP</sub> ]<sub>NP</sub> ?
- (48) a. What do you write [<sub>NP</sub> articles about \_\_\_\_ ]<sub>NP</sub> ?  
 b. What do you generally receive [<sub>NP</sub> requests for \_\_\_\_ ]<sub>NP</sub> ?  
 c\* What do you receive [<sub>NP</sub> requests for [<sub>NP</sub> articles about \_\_\_\_ ]<sub>NP</sub> ]<sub>NP</sub> ?
- (49) a. Who does he believe [<sub>S</sub> that John saw \_\_\_\_ ]<sub>S</sub> ?  
 b\* Who does he believe [<sub>NP</sub> the claim [<sub>S</sub> that John saw \_\_\_\_ ]<sub>S</sub> ]<sub>NP</sub> ?

The Subjacency Condition is stated as follows (Chomsky, 1973:247):

- (50) No rule can involve X, Y, X superior to Y, if Y is not subjacent to X.<sup>9</sup>

In other words rules must not involve more than one intervening cyclic node in their operations. According to Chomsky, this condition explains the ungrammaticality of (47c), (48c) and (49b) by stating that Wh-Movement has raised the wh-word to the position which is not subjacent to this item, viz., the wh-word has been moved across more than one cyclic node.

As has been seen in (42b) and (43b), P-R is not subject to either of the conditions just described. Assuming the well-motivatedness of the three conditions proposed by Chomsky, in the next section I shall attempt to keep the passive operation within the domains of these conditions by making a tentative proposal.



In (a) of each example above the wh-word seems to have been moved out of the clause across more than one cyclic node, as illustrated in (b). This seems to be a violation of the Subjacency Condition.

In order to account for sentences such as (49a), (52a), (53a) and (54a) as non-violations of the conditions concerned, Chomsky proposes a mechanism called the COMP-to-COMP Escape Hatch (1973/75). This mechanism iteratively hops a wh-word to a COMP node within a clause or in an adjacent clause. Therefore, the above sentences are in fact generated as follows under Chomsky's analysis:

- (55) a. COMP he believes [ COMP John saw who ]  
 ↑ S | ↑ S
- b. COMP Bill wants [ COMP to get John [ COMP to ask Mary [ COMP  
 ↑ S | ↑ S | ↑ S | ↑ S  
 to translate which book ] ] ]  
 S S S
- c. COMP is suitable [ COMP Mary to ask John [ COMP to invite  
 ↑ S | ↑ S | ↑ S  
 her sister to which film ] ]  
 S S
- d. COMP is best [ COMP Joan to persuade Ruth [ COMP to ask Deirdre  
 ↑ S | ↑ S | ↑ S  
 [ COMP to cook what for the party ] ] ]  
 S | ↑ S S S

The iterative operation of COMP-to-COMP involving at most one intervening cyclic node is determined by lexical properties of the verb involved which specify how far the wh-word may hop.<sup>10</sup> The COMP-to-COMP hopping mechanism is proposed to salvage apparent counterexamples to the conditions under discussion. In (55a), who is moved to the first COMP without violating the Specified Subject Condition, since although the item crosses over the specified subject John, there is no cyclic node intervening between John and the first COMP, into which who is moved, while such an intervening cyclic node is crucial to the

Specified Subject Condition (41). Who is then moved from the first COMP to the second COMP out of the tensed clause. However, it is suggested by Chomsky that the Tensed-S Condition does not apply to the COMP-to-COMP operation. In (55b)-(55d) the wh-word is hopped to each COMP, involving at most one cyclic node and thus the operation does not violate the Subjacency Condition.<sup>11</sup> The consequence of setting up the COMP-to-COMP operation in order to validate these conditions is that Wh-Movement, which is generally taken to be an unbounded rule, is a bounded rule in Chomsky's analysis, whose domain is restricted by a COMP node.

Turning to the passive operation in Japanese, we have seen that P-R is not subject to any of the conditions proposed by Chomsky. Under the hypothesis that these conditions are well-motivated, we shall see below whether the COMP-to-COMP hopping mechanism just described can account for the passive operation in Japanese and whether the mechanism can consequently extend the domains of the conditions to the passive construction.

First of all it may be proposed that every clause contains COMP (cf. Bresnan, 1972)<sup>12</sup> Then (32a) and (42a), repeated below, would have the underlying structures as follows (It should be stated that in a language such as Japanese, which is a verb-final language, COMP is at the clause-final position):

- (32a) Taroo ga Hanako ni buta-re-ta.  
                                     by hit-pass-past  
 'Taro was hit by Hanako.'

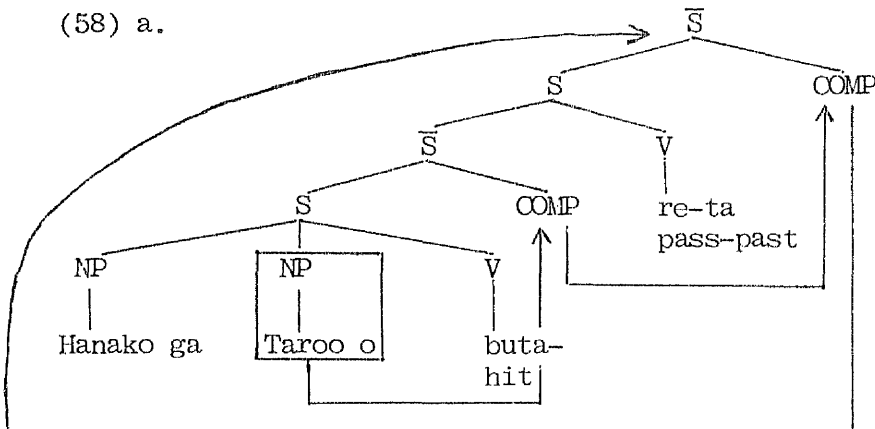
- (42a) Ziroo ga hitobito ni  $\bar{S}$  Amerika e nige-ta to  $\bar{S}$   
 people by America to run away-past COMP  
 iwa-re-te-iru.  
 say-pass-conj-pres  
 'Jiro is said by people to have run away to America.'

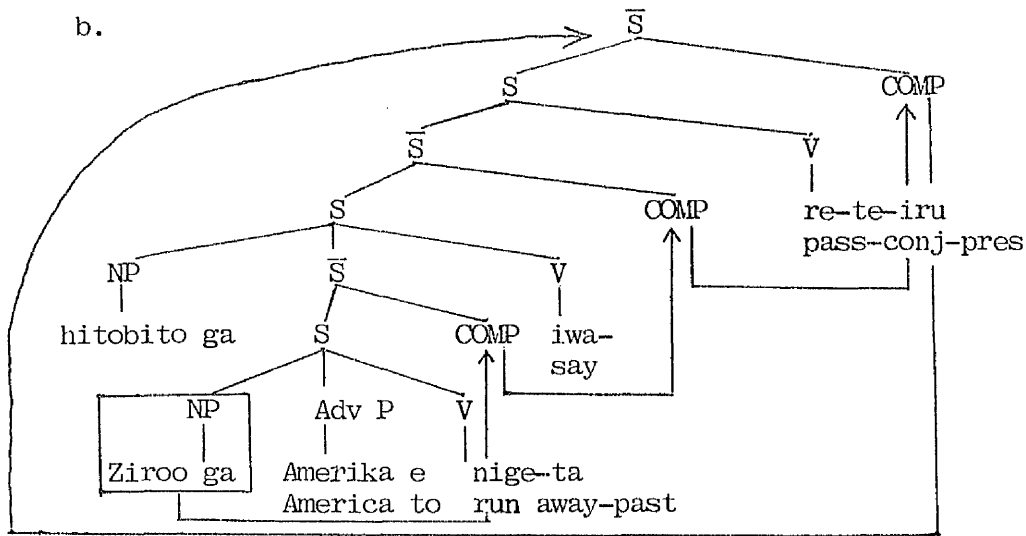
- (56)  $\bar{S}$  Hanako ga Taroo o buta- COMP  $\bar{S}$  re-ta COMP  
 hit pass-past

- (57)  $\bar{S}$  hitobito ga  $\bar{S}$  Ziroo ga Amerika e nige-ta COMP  $\bar{S}$   
 people America to run away-past  
 iwa-COMP  $\bar{S}$  re-te-iru COMP  
 say pass-conj-pres

Although Chomsky restricts COMP-hopping items to wh-words, there is no reason not to extend this to include NP's as COMP-hopping items, insofar as NP's are moved out of clauses and fronted just like wh-words. There may be two alternative ways in which the COMP-to-COMP mechanism can operate in structures (56) and (57). One is that an item hops directly into COMP and at the final cycle it hops to the sentence-initial position (Alternative A), as shown below:

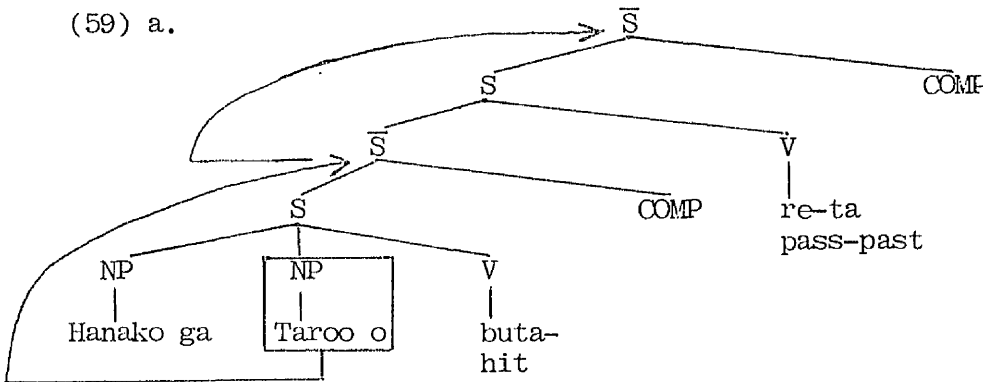
(58) a.



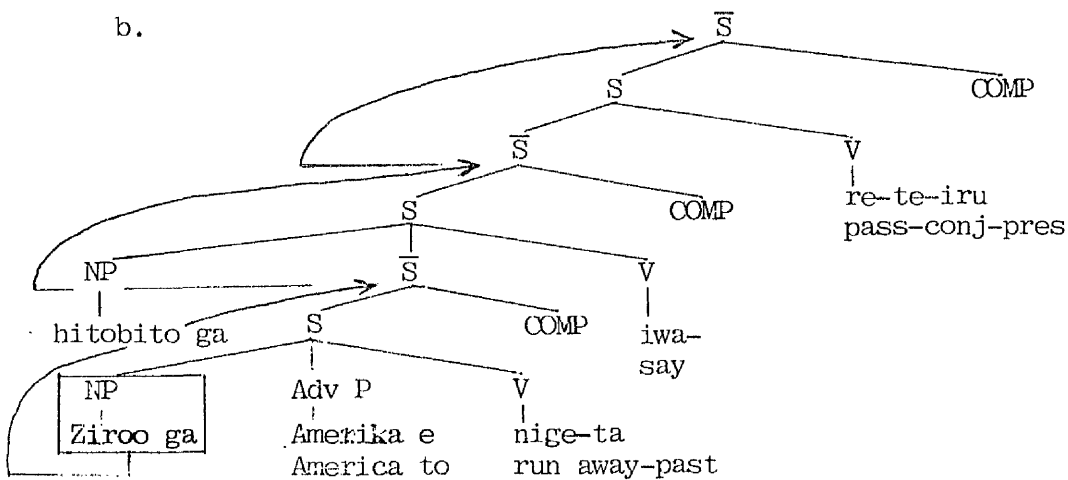


The other alternative is that an item hops to the clause-initial position whenever there is COMP at the final position in this clause or in the immediately adjacent clause. (Alternative B). This can be illustrated as follows:<sup>13</sup>

(59) a.



b.





In each structure of (58) and (59), none of the conditions is violated. In (58a) and (59a), the Specified Subject Condition is salvaged, since there is no cyclic node ( $\bar{S}$ ) intervening between the specified subject Hanako ga and the position into which Taroo o is moved (Chomsky's cyclic node S should be interpreted as  $\bar{S}$  in the analysis in which  $\bar{S}$  is adopted). In (58b) and (59b), the Subjacency Condition is not violated, since every move of Zi-roo ga does not involve more than one  $\bar{S}$ , and the Tensed-S Condition is not violated either, since this condition is not subject to the COMP-to-COMP hopping operation.

However it can be shown that both alternatives are implausible on several grounds. Alternative A, for instance, has two types of operations: hopping an item to the clause-final COMP and hopping it to the sentence-initial position in the last cycle. It can be noted that the latter operation is ad hoc, since it would not be needed elsewhere in a grammar of Japanese. This alone might cause us to give up Alternative A. But in fact there are two further arguments against both alternatives.

(i) The first argument is based on the implausible configuration which would necessarily be generated in both alternatives. That is, in the final cycle after the fronting operation under Alternative A and in every cycle under Alternative B, we would have to allow an ad hoc node created in the configuration below:

(60)  $\bar{S} \rightarrow NP S COMP$

This again would not be needed elsewhere.

(ii) Even if we managed to get around the above problems in one way or another, there would still remain a serious problem for both alternatives. The second argument, which illustrates the problem, is taken from interrogative non-passive sentences. Consider the examples below:

(61) a. Anata wa  $\frac{L}{S}$  Taroo ga Hanako ni  $\frac{L}{S}$  nani o uru yoo-ni  $\frac{1}{S}$   
 you what sell COMP  
 tanon-da to  $\frac{1}{S}$  kii-ta-ka?  
 ask-past COMP hear-past-Q  
 'What did you hear that Taro asked Hanako to sell?'

b. Nani o anata wa  $\frac{L}{S}$  Taroo ga Hanako ni  $\frac{L}{S}$   $\emptyset$  uru yoo-ni  $\frac{1}{S}$   
 what you sell COMP  
 tanon-da to  $\frac{1}{S}$  kii-ta-ka?  
 ask-past COMP hear-past-Q

(62) a. Anata wa  $\frac{L}{S}$  Ziroo ga Mitiko ni  $\frac{L}{S}$  nani o siraberu yoo-ni  $\frac{1}{S}$   
 you what check COMP  
 meireisi-ta to  $\frac{1}{S}$  omou-ka?  
 order-past COMP think-Q  
 'What do you think Jiro ordered Michiko to check?'

b. Nani o anata wa  $\frac{L}{S}$  Ziroo ga Mitiko ni  $\frac{L}{S}$   $\emptyset$  siraberu yoo-ni  $\frac{1}{S}$   
 what you check COMP  
 meireisi-ta-to  $\frac{1}{S}$  omou-ka?  
 order-past COMP think-Q

As examples (61a) and (62a) show, the wh-word, nani 'what', does not have to be moved to the sentential-initial position in Japanese. This is because Japanese is a verb-final language and in general verb-final languages do not have Wh-Movement. However, wh-words can optionally be moved into the sentence-initial position, as seen in

examples (61b) and (62b). The fronting operation carried out in the (b) sentences above would involve two sentence boundaries if it were not for the COMP-to-COMP hopping mechanism. Therefore it may be proposed that (61b) and (62b) are derived by the COMP-to-COMP operation, that is, by either of the two alternatives discussed above. Example (61b), for instance, would be derived either as in (63a) or as in (63b):

- (63) a.  $\begin{array}{l} \uparrow \text{anata wa } \left[ \begin{array}{l} \text{Taroo ga Hanako ni } \left[ \begin{array}{l} \boxed{\text{nani o}} \text{ uru } \text{ COMP } \left[ \begin{array}{l} \text{ } \end{array} \right] \end{array} \right. \\ \text{you} \qquad \qquad \qquad \text{what} \quad \text{sell} \end{array} \right. \\ \text{tanon-da } \text{ COMP } \left[ \begin{array}{l} \text{ } \end{array} \right] \text{ kii-ta } \text{ COMP } \\ \text{ask-past} \qquad \qquad \qquad \text{hear-past} \end{array} \right. \end{array}$
- b.  $\begin{array}{l} \uparrow \text{anata wa } \left[ \begin{array}{l} \text{Taroo ga Hanako ni } \left[ \begin{array}{l} \boxed{\text{nani o}} \text{ uru } \text{ COMP } \left[ \begin{array}{l} \text{ } \end{array} \right] \end{array} \right. \\ \text{you} \qquad \qquad \qquad \text{what} \quad \text{sell} \end{array} \right. \\ \text{tanon-da } \text{ COMP } \left[ \begin{array}{l} \text{ } \end{array} \right] \text{ kii-ta } \text{ COMP } \\ \text{ask-past} \qquad \qquad \qquad \text{hear-past} \end{array} \right. \end{array}$

The crucial point of the argument lies in the fact that more than one item can be fronted in a structure of Japanese:

- (64)  $\begin{array}{l} \underline{\text{Hanako ni nani o}} \text{ anata wa } \left[ \begin{array}{l} \text{Taroo ga } \emptyset \left[ \begin{array}{l} \emptyset \text{ uru } \text{ yoo-ni } \left[ \begin{array}{l} \text{ } \end{array} \right] \end{array} \right. \\ \text{what} \quad \text{you} \qquad \qquad \qquad \text{sell COMP} \end{array} \right. \\ \text{tanon-da to } \left[ \begin{array}{l} \text{ } \end{array} \right] \text{ kii-ta } \quad \text{ka?} \\ \text{ask-past COMP hear-past Q} \end{array} \right. \end{array}$

Example (64) would in no way be generated by either alternative, since there are two items fronted. Chomsky states (1973:245) that "the conditions on transformations prevent movement of a wh-phrase over a wh-COMP". The examples are from Chomsky:

- (65) a. COMP John knows [COMP PRO to give what books to whom]  
 b\* What books does John know to whom to give?  
 c\* To whom does John know what books to give?

- d. John knows what books to give to whom. .
- e. John knows to whom to give what books.

If the COMP in the embedded sentence of deep structure (65a) is filled by the phrase what books, for instance, then the phrase to whom cannot hop to the other COMP in the matrix sentence, as seen in the ungrammaticality of (65c) in contrast with the grammaticality of (65d). The implication of this restriction on the COMP-to-COMP movement would be that whatever is assumed to hop into COMP (wh-words or NP's), if there are two candidates to hop into COMP in the same clause, only one of them can hop to the COMP and the other remains in the original position, since otherwise it would be inevitable that the other item crosses over the filled COMP. In other words, if two items are fronted, they are not derived by the COMP-to-COMP operations.

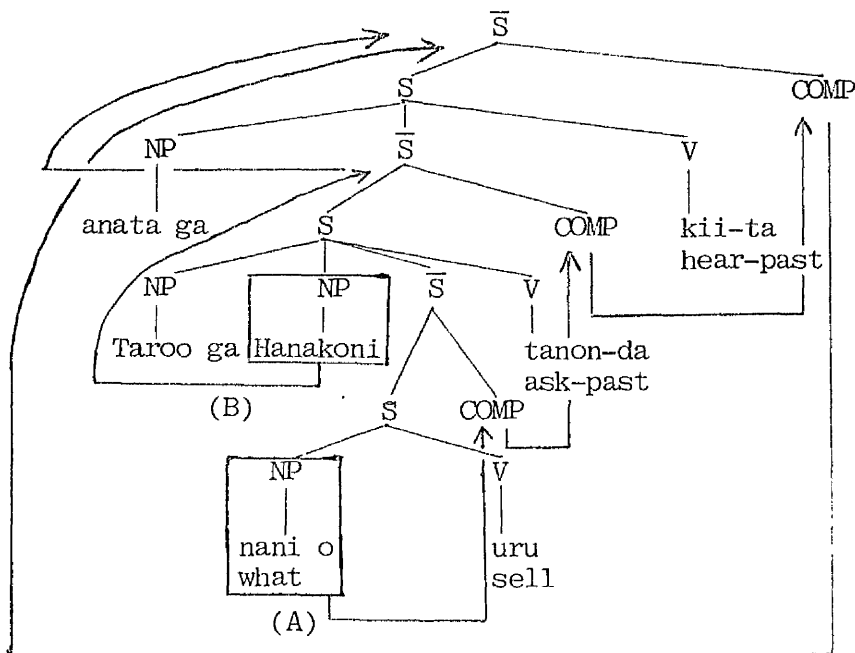
However, one might argue for some ways of generating a sentence such as (64) within the restriction which prohibits a COMP-hopping item from crossing over a filled COMP. One might argue, for example, that two items should hop into one COMP at the same time (in the case of Alternative A), or that two items should hop into the sentence-initial position at the same time by the presence of one COMP (in the case of Alternative B). The above restriction of crossing over a filled COMP would not be violated in either case. However this proposal would be implausible, since if it were allowed to hop two COMP-hopping items into one COMP, the following English sentences would be grammatical (cf. (65a))

(66) a\* John knows what books to whom to give.

b\* What books to whom does John know to give?

Although two items would not directly hop into one COMP in Alternative B combined with the above proposal, the theoretical implication of hopping two items into sentence-initial position, due to the presence of one COMP, originates from that of hopping two items directly into one COMP. Therefore 'the simultaneous hopping proposal' would not work in either alternative.<sup>14</sup> Another possible proposal that can be made in an attempt to generate sentence (64) without violating the restriction on the COMP-to-COMP hopping operation would be to apply Alternative A to one item and Alternative B to another, as illustrated below:

(67)



Neither item crosses over a filled COMP. Nevertheless, this solution would be totally ad hoc.

Thus, given the restriction which forbids a COMP-hopping item from crossing over a filled COMP, it should be concluded that if there are two items fronted, they are not derived by the COMP-to-COMP operations. A sentence such as (64), therefore, would never be generated by either of the proposed COMP-to-COMP operations, A and B.

The arguments (i) and (ii) have shown that Alternatives A and B would not work. That is, the proposal that the COMP-to-COMP hopping mechanism constitutes the passive operation has not been substantiated. It follows from this that the passive operation cannot after all be kept within the domains of the Specified Subject Condition, the Tensed-S Condition and the Subjacency Condition.<sup>15</sup> In addition, the argument (ii) has shown that the COMP-to-COMP mechanism would not account for the fronting operation in non-passive sentences either and that therefore this rule is also out of the domains of those conditions.<sup>16</sup> Thus whatever the universal validity of the COMP-to-COMP hopping analysis and of the related conditions may be, it should be concluded that Japanese passive and fronting operations are unbounded rules. It should be noted that the conclusion that the passive operation is an unbounded rule justifies the nature of P-R.

#### 4.2.3. Summary and Conclusions

In 4.2.1. it has been shown that P-R is not subject to any of the three conditions proposed by Chomsky: the Specified Subject Condition, the Tensed-S Condition and the Subjacency Condition. In 4.2.2. a tentative proposal for the COMP-to-COMP hopping mechanism as the passive operation has been made in an attempt to keep the passive operation within the domains of the conditions in question. However it has been observed that the proposal would not work. It should be noted that the proposal has been put forward on the basis of the assumption that the COMP-to-COMP hopping mechanism and consequently the related conditions are well-motivated, that is, the assumption that the principle of bounded rules is well-motivated. From the observation that the COMP-to-COMP hopping mechanism would not work for the passive and the fronting operations in Japanese, there are two possible conclusions to be drawn. That is, either (a) it may simply be stated that these rules of Japanese are out of the domain of the COMP-to-COMP hopping analysis and consequently out of the domains of Chomsky's conditions; therefore it may be stated that the rules, being unbounded, are exceptions to the principle of bounded rules, in which case, although the principle may be valid for English, it is not universal; or (b) the COMP-to-COMP hopping analysis and the related conditions are not only non-universal but also unwarranted; consequently the principle of bounded rules is implausible, which entails that there is no bounded rule in a grammar of a natural language. Bresnan (1977) argues on the basis of deletion rules that there are no bounded rules in English. She suggests that there are no such

rules as iterative bounded deletions, since a bounded deletion transformation cannot iteratively reapply to remove the same constituent. It is convincingly argued by Bresnan that the analysis in which rules are assumed to be unbounded can account for a much wider range of linguistic phenomena than Chomsky's analysis based on the principle of bounded rules.<sup>17</sup> Bach and Horn (1976) also argue against Chomsky's analysis, presenting numerous counterexamples to his conditions and then proposing " a more uniform and general applicability condition that seems to come somewhat closer to making the right predictions." (Bach and Horn, 1976:265)<sup>18</sup> Given the arguments by Bresnan, and Bach and Horn based on English and also given the above discussion based on Japanese, the latter conclusion, (b), seems more likely to be justified, viz., that the COMP-to-COMP hopping analysis and the related conditions are not only non-universal but also invalid, since they do not account for the facts of human languages.



## FOOTNOTES

1. In footnote 5 of Chapter 2 (cf. p139-140), it was shown that in addition to Makino's analysis, in which the adverb modifies a semantically empty verb, the sentential-subject analysis of direct passives (proposed by Inoue and R.U.T.) constitutes an argument for the single-deep-structure analysis of passives which are ambiguous because of the adverb involved. This is because a subject-oriented adverb cannot modify a sentential subject and therefore the only possible deep structure of an ambiguous passive such as (1a) is (1c):

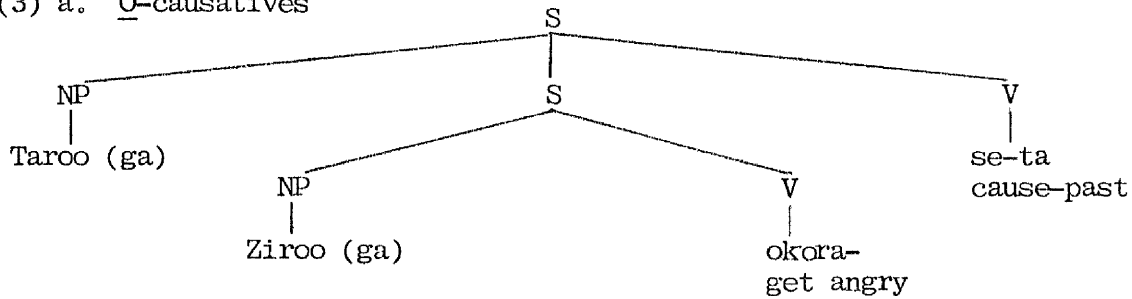
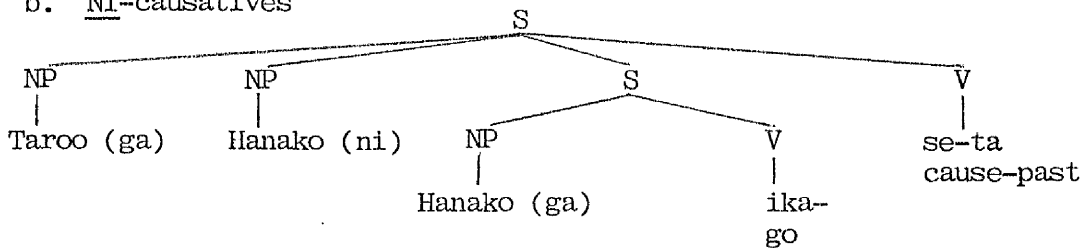
- (1) a. Taroo ga Hanako ni wazato buta-re-ta.  
deliberately hit-pass-past  
'Taro was hit deliberately by Hanako.'
- b\* [ Hanako (ga) Taroo (o) buta- ] wazato re-ta.  
S hit S deliberately pass-past
- c. [ Hanako (ga) Taroo (o) wazato buta- ] re-ta.  
S deliberately hit S pass-past

2. The table below shows that the causative marker seru is used when the inflected form of a verb ends in /a/, while saseru is used when that of a verb ends either in /i/ or /e/.

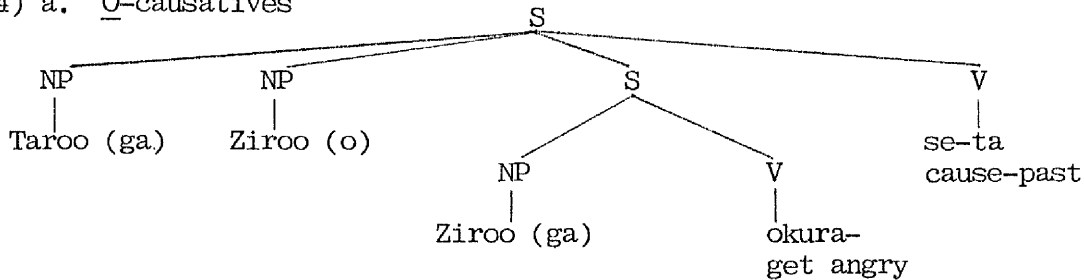
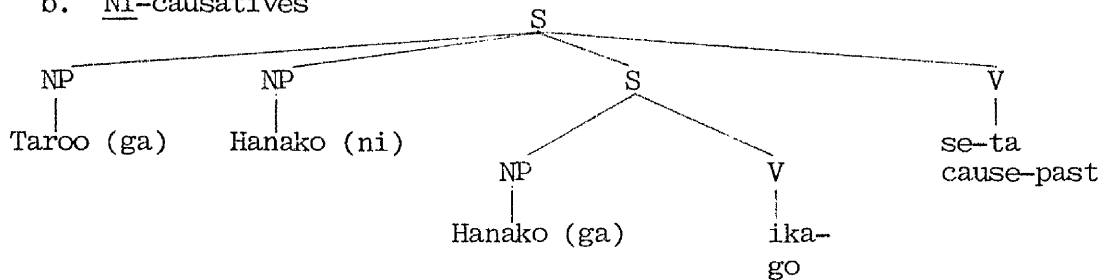
(2)

		Forms of verbs to be followed by <u>seru</u>	Forms of verbs to be followed by <u>saseru</u>
Verbs whose inflected form ends in /a/	<u>nozoku</u> 'peer into' <u>butu</u> 'hit'	<u>nozoka-seru</u> <u>buta-seru</u>	
Verbs whose inflected form ends in /i/	<u>niru</u> 'cook' <u>miru</u> 'see'		<u>ni-saseru</u> <u>mi-saseru</u>
Verbs whose inflected form ends in /e/	<u>atumeru</u> 'collect' <u>semeru</u> 'attack'		<u>atume-saseru</u> <u>seme-saseru</u>

3. The analysis which sets up deep structures such as (3) and (4) (in the text) is called O-Extra NP Analysis (by Tonoike, 1978). In contrast to this analysis, Nakau (1971) and Tonoike (1978) propose Ni-Extra NP Analysis (named by Tonoike), which posits the opposite deep structures to o- and ni-causatives as follows:

(3) a. O-causativesb. Ni-causatives

Although Inoue (1976) in principle follows O-Extra NP Analysis, she suggests in her N.B. (1976:70-74) an alternative analysis in which o- and ni-causatives have the same type of deep structure:

(4) a. O-causativesb. Ni-causatives

I shall not go into the discussion of which is the most plausible analysis among the three alternatives, since the discussion would need a great deal of space and furthermore the form of deep structure of causatives is not crucial to this thesis. Here I adopt the standard O-Extra NP Analysis.



On this intermediate level an interpretive rule associates yorokonde with the subject of its clause, Ziroo, and this gives the reading that Taro made Jiro make Ichiro walk and Jiro did it with pleasure.

c. The third cycle interpretation

Equi-NP Deletion deletes Ziroo of the embedded clause and V-R adjoins aruka-se 'walk-cause' to sase-ta 'cause-past', generating: (particles are assigned properly),

Taroo ga Ziroo ni Itiroo o yorokonde aruka-se-sase-ta.  
with pleasure walk-cause-cause-past

Yorokonde is associated with Taroo at this stage, resulting in the reading that Taro made Jiro make Ichiro walk and Taro did it with pleasure.

If the interpretive rule did not apply on the intermediate level, the association of yorokonde with Ziroo would never be specified. Thus double causatives give further evidence for the cyclic interpretive approach to adverbials.

7. The justification for positing a lexical subject for tai 'want' in the deep structure lies in the fact that there is a selectional restriction between the surface subject and tai, that the subject should not be inanimate.

- (8) a. kisyā ga eki o sugiru.  
train station pass  
'The train passes the station.'
- b\* kisyā ga eki o sugi-tai.  
train station pass-want  
\* 'The train wants to pass the station.'
- c\* kisyā wa eki ga sugi-tai.  
train station pass-want  
\* 'The train wants to pass the station.'
- (9) a. Taiyoo ga umi o terasu.  
the sun the sea shine on  
'The sun shines on the sea.'
- b\* Taiyoo ga umi o terasi-tai.  
the sun the sea shine on-want  
\* 'The sun wants to shine on the sea.'
- c\* Taiyoo wa umi ga terasi-tai.  
the sun the sea shine on-want  
\* 'The sun wants to shine on the sea.'

In order to state the selectional restriction between the subject and the verb, semantics requires a structure in which the subject bears a direct syntactic association with the verb.



The ungrammaticality of (13b) lies not in contextual features of lexical items but rather in the fact that who is moved out of the clause, crossing over two cyclic nodes, S and NP. The cause of the violation of the Subjacency Condition in (13b) is explained by the assumption that NP's do not contain COMP.

12. In footnote 15-(2) of Chapter 2 (cf. p147), a possible analysis in which S is invariably dominated by  $\bar{S}$  was mentioned. There, it was suggested that some COMP's are lexically filled in the base and others unfilled, depending on the subcategorizations of the verb involved. If, however, the COMP-to-COMP analysis is justified, COMP should be invariably unfilled in the base. After the COMP-to-COMP operations are carried out, certain COMP's will be lexically filled by some rule. Chomsky states (1975:89): (in the case of English) "there are rules, which I will not discuss here, that introduce that into the COMP position under certain conditions when this position is not filled by a wh-word."

13. It may be argued that the nature of the COMP-to-COMP hopping mechanism does not coincide with that of the passive operation, since the former is set up to hop any wh-word into COMP irrespective of its grammatical function, whereas the latter must choose certain NP's as the candidate for the operation. However, it may then be proposed that there is a certain rule for passives which chooses the correct NP as the COMP-hopping item and hops it either to the first COMP (in the case of Alternative A) or to the sentence initial position (in the case of Alternative B), after which the COMP-to-COMP operation is iteratively carried out. I shall not go into the discussion of the 'candidate-choosing' rule at present but continue my discussion, assuming that such a rule can exist.

14. It should be noted that even if it were assumed that a COMP-hopping item can cross over a filled COMP, Alternative A would inevitably face the problem of filling one COMP with two items in the last cycle, in order ultimately to front two items as in (64). This is because in Alternative A an item is fronted to sentence-initial position only from the COMP of the last cycle. Therefore insofar as it is correct to assume that COMP cannot be filled with two items, Alternative A is falsified independently of the prohibition of a COMP-hopping item from crossing over a filled COMP.

15. It may be argued that the passive operation, with no relation to the COMP-to-COMP analysis, would not violate at least the Specified Subject Condition and the Subjacency Condition, if P-R were reformulated in such a way that it would apply after V-R, since P-R then would not involve more than one clause boundary, as shown in (14b) and (15b):

- (14) a. Taroo ga Hanako ni buta-re-ta.  
by hit-pass-past  
'Taro was hit by Hanako.'
- b.  $\uparrow$  Hanako ga [Taroo o] [ buta-re-ta ] (cf. (32b))  
V
- (15) a. Ziroo ga hitobito ni [ Amelika e nige-ta ] to [ ]  
people by S to run-away past COMP S  
iwa-re-te-iru.  
say-pass-conj-pres  
'Jiro is said by people to have run away to America.'
- b.  $\uparrow$  hitobito ga [ Ziroo ga ] Amelika e nige-ta to [ ]  
people S to run away-past COMP S  
[ iwa-re-te-iru ] (cf. (42b))  
V say-pass-conj-pres

The Specified Subject Condition is not violated in (14b), and (15b) is within the domain of the Subjacency Condition. However the solution re-formulating P-R in such a way that it applies after V-R and consequently involves at most one sentence boundary in the operation, would not serve the purpose of keeping rules of Japanese in general within the domains of the conditions. This is because sentences such as (61b) and (62b) do not involve V-R triggers and therefore the violation of the Subjacency Condition by the fronting operation, which is involved in their derivations, cannot be salvaged by the above solution based on V-R. In addition to Fronting, Relative Deletion is another operation that violates the Subjacency Condition and that does not involve V-R. (cf. footnote 16 below)

16. It can be shown that Relative Deletion is not subject to the Subjacency Condition, when a relative clause is embedded in another relative clause as in (16b) and (17b):

- (16) a. [ [ kodomo ga inu o kawaiatteita ] inu ga ] sinda.  
NP S child dog  $\downarrow$  loved S dog NP died  
 $\emptyset$   
'The dog which the child loved died.'
- b. [ [ [ kodomo ga inu o kawaiatteita ] inu ga ] sinda ] kodomo  
S NP S child  $\downarrow$  dog  $\downarrow$  loved S dog NP died S child  
 $\emptyset$   $\emptyset$   
'The child whose dog, which he loved, died.'
- (17) a. [ [ sensei ga gakusei o osieta ] gakusei ga ] hon o dasita.  
NP S teacher student  $\downarrow$  taught S student NP book published  
 $\emptyset$   
'The student whom the teacher taught published a book.'
- b. [ [ [ sensei ga gakusei o osieta ] gakusei ga ]  
S NP S teacher  $\downarrow$  student  $\downarrow$  taught S student NP  
 $\emptyset$   $\emptyset$

hon o dasita J sensei  
 book published S teacher

'The teacher whose student, whom he taught, published a book.'

Examples (16b) and (17b) show that items are deleted across two clause boundaries: in (16b), kodomo ga 'child' in the most deeply embedded sentence is deleted and in (17b) sensei ga 'teacher' in the lower embedded sentence is deleted. Thus, if it is correct to assume that Chomsky applies the Subjacency Condition to deletion rules as well as extraction rules, as interpreted by Bresnan, the above case is another instance in which the Subjacency Condition is violated.

17. Bresnan (1977) argues that in English Subdeletion from comparative constructions, Relativization, Clefting and Comparative Deletion are all unbounded rules. According to her, the above rules should be stated in terms of variables and they operate without a bound in structures containing complement sentences. She sets up the Complementizer Constraint on Variables for her unbounded rules containing variables. This constraint on unbounded rules seems to be well-motivated and also more general than Chomsky's conditions on bounded rules, since it can account for more data than the latter.

18. Bach and Horn (1976) present a great number of counterexamples which are out of the domains of the Specified Subject Condition and the Subjacency Condition. In addition they argue that the conditions are not strong enough to account for ungrammatical sentences which are not out of the domains of these conditions. It is demonstrated that items can be freely extracted from, or deleted in, sentences involving specified subjects or several cyclic nodes. But items can neither be extracted from, nor deleted in, NP's with specified subjects or NP's containing another cyclic node. Thus from their observations, Bach and Horn claim that the crucial factor for the full range of extraction and deletion facts is neither the presence of a specified subject nor the number of intervening cyclic nodes but that it is a restriction on the extraction from, or the deletion in, NP's. As for the Tensed-S Condition, they argue that it has no independent justification in English.



CHAPTER 5

OVERVIEW AND CONCLUSIONS

The discussion in Chapter 1 evaluated the two major contrasting theories of the passive in Japanese: Uniform and Nonuniform Theory. The two well-known arguments based on reflexives and adverbs in direct passives were discussed and it was shown that they are not after all crucial in favouring one theory over the other. The theories were then compared on the bases of indirect passives and of their capacity in explaining the relationship between direct and indirect passives. As a result of the observations, it was claimed that Uniform Theory and the two types of Nonuniform Theory (Kuno and others' and N. McCawley's) are all defective in one way or another.

In Chapter 2, first of all the weakness of Uniform Theory was considered in detail, in particular, its weakness in explaining different properties of direct and indirect passives. R.U.T. was then proposed in order to remedy the weakness of the original Uniform Theory. In the revised theory, the deep structure of direct passives posits a sentential subject. Although Inoue proposes the identical deep structure for direct passives, her complex analysis of the surface structure was refuted on the basis of morphology and adverbial scope. Having set up the deep structure of direct passives and defined its surface structure as simplex, the rules involved in the derivation were discussed. It was demonstrated that the rule O-S-R, which is set up by Inoue as the major transformation in the derivation of direct passives, accounts for direct passives whose subjects are originated from objects of active sentences. However, it was shown that there are direct passives whose subjects are not originated from objects but from embedded subjects of active sentences. The relevant

data consists of direct passives containing saying/thinking verbs whose complement verbs have the feature specification [+ACTION]. This was the motivation for proposing Passive-Raising, which accounts for the above passives as well as those which are within the domain of O-S-R. The rules involved in the derivation, including P-R, are set up, following Pullum's Universally Determined Rule Application (1976), in such a way that they apply whenever their structural configurations are met by a given representation. Since P-R makes use of variables in its structural configuration in order to account for a wider range of direct passives than O-S-R, some conditions consequently had to be stated on the rule. Nevertheless, R.U.T., setting up a sentential subject deep structure and P-R, is more plausible than the original Uniform Theory and Nonuniform Theory in the sense that it can account for the relationship between direct and indirect passives, and more powerful than Inoue's analysis in the sense that it can generate a wider range of direct passives.

After having introduced R.U.T. as above, Kuroda's argument (1965) for Equi-NP Deletion in direct passives in relation to another construction was shown to be invalid in the first half of Chapter 3, on the basis of the sentential subject deep structure posited by R.U.T. In the second half, the discussion concerned Kuno's analyses (1976) of passives involving saying/thinking verbs (S-O-R triggers), which are based on his claim that a derived object cannot be made a passive subject. His analyses of these passives were rejected and re-analyzed, and consequently it was shown that his claim about derived objects does not hold in R.U.T. and would not hold within his own framework, Nonuniform Theory, either.

In Chapter 4, analogous arguments were presented for causatives with those from passives. That is to say, on the basis of the well-motivatedness of the interpretive approach of adverbs on more than one level of derivation, the single-deep-structure analysis was also provided for an ambiguous causative containing a subject-oriented adverb and it was also argued that like passives, causatives should be analyzed as superficially simplex. The interaction between passives and causatives provided evidence for the cyclic application of interpretive rules of adverbials. Inoue's constraint (1976), which forbids an item from being raised across more than one clause boundary and which is based on her superficially complex analysis of passives and causatives, was shown to be irrelevant to the constructions she cites as relevant. This is because, given the superficially simplex analysis of passives and causatives, the constructions Inoue presents, which embed either a passive or a causative structure, in fact involve only one clause boundary at the time the raising operation takes place. Finally Chomsky's conditions (1973/75/76) were discussed in relation to P-R. It was shown that P-R is not subject to any of his conditions: the Specified Subject Condition, the Tensed-S Condition and the Subjacency Condition. Assuming the well-motivatedness of these conditions, I suggested a tentative proposal of the COMP-to-COMP hopping mechanism as the alternative passive operation in order to keep the passive operation within the domains of these conditions. However, it was shown that the proposal would not work. As a result it was concluded that the passive operation in Japanese is an unbounded rule. In addition it was suggested that the COMP-to-COMP hopping analysis and consequently the related conditions are not only

non-universal but also invalid, given Bresnan's and Bach and Horn's counterarguments based on English and also given the above discussion based on Japanese.

I am quite aware of the fact that this study of Japanese passives is far from being complete. In particular, I must admit that the conditions which have been stated on P-R are not elegant. However, the notational limitations of a transformational grammar and the nature of Japanese passives, in which the embedded subject is the only NP to be made a passive subject among the NP's of the embedded sentence of a saying/thinking verb and in which an object of a causative structure cannot be made a passive subject when a three-place predicate is involved in a causative-passive, make it very difficult to state the rule without any conditions. It will be a challenging task to find out whether there is an independent and general constraint on the applicability of rules, including a passive rule. This will solve the problem of unsophisticated conditions on individual rules. It should be mentioned that the analogous arguments based on morphology for the superficially simplex analyses of the two types of higher verbs, reru/rareru 'passive' and seru/saseru 'causative', imply that the other higher verbs which are analyzed as superficially complex by Inoue (1976) are all likely to be analyzed as superficially simplex on the same grounds.

The theories discussed in this thesis are not the only proposals concerning Japanese passives. Kuroda (1977), for instance, has proposed a new dichotomy of passives. He distinguishes two types of passives by the agent markers ni 'by' and ni-yotte 'by'. According to him,

Ni-passives (the direct and indirect passives marked by ni in our terms) are not cognitively synonymous to their active counterparts or else do not carry corresponding active counterparts and hence they come from a two-sentence source. On the other hand, Ni-yotte-passives (the direct passives marked by ni-yotte in our terms) are almost cognitively synonymous to their active counterparts and therefore derive from a one-sentence source, which corresponds to the active counterparts, by transformationally switching NP's and introducing reru/rareru. However, Kuroda's analysis would involve the problem of introducing the passive verb reru/rareru in unrelated ways: lexically (in Ni-passives) and transformationally (in Ni-yotte-passives). Another problem would be that indirect passives may also be marked by ni-yotte. In this case it would be impossible to derive such a passive by a NP-switching rule, since it does not carry an active counterpart.

Furthermore, it may be argued that Japanese passives can be handled under such theories as Relational Grammar (Johnson 1974) or Bresnan's Realistic Transformational Grammar (1978). In fact the passive construction is one of the most crucial phenomena which has motivated the above linguists, in different ways, to put forward their unique grammatical models. In Relational Grammar, the passive operation constitutes a clear example of the rules which take grammatical relations as linguistic primitives, whereas in Bresnan's realistic model, an active-passive relation is representative of the relations which are expressed by lexical functional structures that provide a direct mapping from the logical argument structure of a verb into its various syntactic contexts.

Let us briefly consider how Japanese passives would be treated under the framework which has been presented so far as Relational Grammar. In this grammar, many of the major cyclic transformations are defined in terms of grammatical relations: 'subject of', 'direct object of', and 'indirect object of'. NP's which bear these relations to their verbs are called its terms and the others (instrumentals, locatives and so on) non-terms. The major class of transformations defined in Relational Grammar are Advancements and Raisings. An advancement rule is defined as one which promotes an NP up the Relational Hierarchy in a simplex sentence:

(1) Relational Hierarchy S > DO > IO > Non-terms

A passive rule in English and in all languages according to Johnson (1974) is a typical example of an advancement rule and is defined essentially as DO → S. However, as can be gathered, even if we assume that direct passives are derived from their active counterparts (as in Nonuniform Theory), DO → S is not the only procedure that happens in Japanese passives. That is to say, an embedded subject of a saying/thinking verb whose complement verb has the feature [+ACTION] can be raised to a passive subject. It follows from this that in spite of the claim by Relational Grammar that passive rules are invariably advancement rules, the Japanese passive rules would be partially a raising rule (in the cases such as the above). In Relational Grammar a raising rule is supposed to be subject to the Relational Succession Law, defined as follows:

(2) Relational Succession Law

NP promoted by a raising rule assumes the grammatical relation borne by the host out of which it is raised.

(The host indicates a clause from which an NP is extracted). Suppose a passive sentence such as (3a) is derived from a structure corresponding to its active sentence (3b), which would be the case in Relational Grammar.

(3) a. Taroo ga minna ni  $\bar{S}$  nusumi o si-ta to  $\bar{S}$  iwa-re-te-iru.  
 everybody stealing do-past COMP say-pass-conj  
 par-pres.

'Taro is said by everybody to have done some stealing.'

b. Minna ga  $\bar{S}$  Taroo ga nusumi o si-ta to  $\bar{S}$  it-te-iru.  
 everybody stealing do-past COMP say-conj  
 par-pres.

'Everybody says that Taro has done some stealing.'

The host out of which Taroo ga would be raised is a complement sentence, which is not labelled NP in Japanese (cf. footnote 15-(1) of Chapter 2, p.145-147) and which is therefore not an object in a sentence such as (3b), since an object is defined as NP which carries the object marker o. Furthermore,  $\bar{S}$  does not function either as a subject or an indirect object: Thus  $\bar{S}$  would be defined as a non-term in Relational Grammar. Then it follows that the raising carried out in passive sentence (3a) would violate the Relational Succession Law, since the NP, Taroo ga, promoted by a raising rule assumes the grammatical relation, Subject, which is not borne by the host out of which it is raised: the host, being a non-term, in fact would not bear any grammatical relation to the verb. Even if it were assumed in one way or another that  $\bar{S}$  in a sentence such as (3b) is an object, the Relational Succession Law would still be violated, because the raised NP Taroo ga does not assume the grammatical relation DO.



Although I shall not discuss the issue any further at present, it is indicated from the brief account of Relational Grammar in the form so far proposed, with respect to Japanese passives, that this type of grammatical framework would face difficulties in dealing with them. It should be mentioned that the reason for the fact that Japanese passives are discussed in this thesis within the Extended Standard Theory and not within Relational Grammar is because the status of the latter is at present uncertain. According to the recent circulation, Postal and Perlmutter are preparing a new version of Relational Grammar called Arc-pair Grammar, which has not yet been made public. Therefore one should wait until this comes in print in order to provide a proper analysis of whatever one is concerned with under the current Relational Grammar.

Let us now consider how Bresnan's Realistic Transformational Grammar (1978) would handle Japanese passives. This is a theory which claims that passivization is function-dependent and that all the functional information that is relevant to the interpretation of passives is extracted from the lexicon and the surface structure. The functional structure is introduced in the lexical entry of a verb in order to indicate both its logical argument structure and the syntactic contexts in which it can occur. The active-passive relation is expressed in terms of the operation which relates the active functional structures to the passive functional structures. For example, the verb eat in a sentence such as (4a) has a lexical entry (4b) and eaten in sentence (5a) has a lexical entry (5b):

- (4) a. Somebody ate the cat.  
 b. eat : V, [ \_\_\_ NP ], NP<sub>1</sub> EAT NP<sub>2</sub>
- (5) a. The cat was eaten.  
 b. eat + en : V, [be \_\_\_ [pp by NP] ]  
 ( $\exists x$ )(x EAT NP<sub>1</sub> & x = NP by)

In the functional structures, NP<sub>1</sub> EAT NP<sub>2</sub> and ( $\exists x$ )(x EAT NP<sub>1</sub> & x = NP by), NP<sub>1</sub> indicates grammatical function Subject and NP<sub>2</sub> Object. Thus functional structures show both the logical argument structure of a verb (by the order of elements) and the surface grammatical functions of its phrases (by the number assigned to NP's). The operation which relates functional structure (4b) to that of (5b) is the one which says, "Eliminate NP<sub>1</sub> and replace NP<sub>2</sub> by NP<sub>1</sub>." NP's are identified with the lexical items in the surface structure, providing appropriate interpretations.

Let us consider a Japanese passive sentence below:

- (6) Taroo ga Hanako ni buta-re-ta.  
                     by hit-pass-past.  
 'Taro was hit by Hanako.'

Suppose that the above direct passive is derived from a structure corresponding to its active counterpart (7):

- (7) Hanako ga Taroo o but-ta.  
                     hit-past  
 'Hanako hit Taro.'

The lexical entry for the active verb butu 'hit' and that for the passivized verb buta-reru 'hit-pass' would be as follows:

- (8) a. butu 'hit' : V, [ NP NP \_\_\_\_ ], NP<sub>1</sub> NP<sub>2</sub> BUTU  
 b. buta-reru 'hit-pass' : V, [ NP NP<sub>ni</sub> \_\_\_\_ ]  
 (∃x)(x NP<sub>1</sub> BUTU & x = NP<sub>ni</sub>)

The passive functional structure in (8b) is related to the active functional structure in (8a) by the operation which eliminates NP<sub>1</sub> and replaces NP<sub>2</sub> by NP<sub>1</sub> in the logical argument structure indicated in (8a). Thus the active-passive relation is reflected in the operation which relates the functional structures of (8a) and (8b). Let us now observe example (9):

- (9) Taroo ga Hanako ni kodomo o buta-re-ta.  
           by child     hit-pass-past  
 'Taro had his child hit by Hanako.'

This is an indirect passive. As we have seen, indirect passives do not carry corresponding active counterparts. Thus there is no active-passive relation to be shown in the analysis of sentence (9). Nevertheless, given Bresnan's grammatical framework, in which lexical functional structures provide a direct mapping from the logical argument structure of a verb into its various syntactic contexts, the verb buta-reru 'hit-pass' in an indirect passive such as (9) may be given the following functional structure in its lexical entry:

- (10) buta-reru 'hit-pass' : V, [ NP NP<sub>ni</sub> NP \_\_\_\_ ]  
 (∃x)(NP<sub>1</sub> (x NP<sub>2</sub> BUTU) RERU & x = NP<sub>ni</sub>)

The fact that the passivized verb buta-reru 'hit-pass' in an indirect passive is assigned a different lexical functional structure from that assigned to the phonologically identical verb in a direct passive is

due to the characteristic of indirect passives: that they do not carry corresponding active counterparts. In this way, it seems possible to characterize direct and indirect passives within the framework in which lexical functional structures for passive verbs are designed to provide a direct mapping between their logical argument structures and the syntactic contexts in which they can occur. Bresnan states (1978:22-23) that "A basic assumption is that human languages must be organized for communication, which requires both efficiency of expression and semantic stability. . . . with [the] functional structures in the lexicon of our grammar, we can achieve efficiency in grammatical processing, immediately extracting the logical relation for a word we know from the syntactic form in which it appears (or vice versa). At the same time, the various syntactic forms in which a verb appears are semantically stable: they are associated with the same underlying logical relation by operations like the active-passive relation." Bresnan's model described above is based on the assumption that our lexical capacity - the long-term capability to remember lexical information - is very large. This sounds intuitively realistic. However, this model is not a workable theory at present, since it concentrates on the limited facts of English and its details are not yet well-articulated. It will undoubtedly be interesting to try to extend the domains of this theoretical model to a wider range of linguistic phenomena, following Bresnan's initiative.

Since the Extended Standard Theory is the only framework so far available as a workable theoretical model, Japanese passives are examined in this thesis within that model. However, it would be

possible and moreover interesting to work on them in such frameworks as Relational Grammar or Bresnan's Realistic Transformational Grammar, when they are presented as overall grammatical theories. There may be other types of model put forward in the near future. Whatever model is constructed, it should be one that comes closer not only to "[the characterization of] the grammar that is to present the language user's knowledge of language" but also to "[the specification of] the relation between the grammar and the model of language use into which the grammar is to be incorporated as a basic component." (Bresnan, 1978: 1)

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