# Table of contents

List of tables ................................................. ix
Abbreviations ............................................... xi
Abstract ...................................................... xiii
Acknowledgments ............................................. xv

## CHAPTER 1
Towards a unified theory of Japanese passives ........................ 1
  1.1 The general research program ................................ 1
  1.2 Modularity of grammar ......................................... 2
  1.3 The passive voice system in Japanese .......................... 3
    1.3.1 The traditional dichotomy .................................. 3
  1.4 Coalescing the two types of passives ......................... 5
    1.4.1 The polysemy of -rare .................................. 5
    1.4.2 Distributional differences between -rare and -sase .... 6
    1.4.3 Indirect passives are pseudo- and genitive passives .... 7
  1.5 Research questions .......................................... 10
  1.6 Framework and theoretical tools .............................. 11
    1.6.1 The principles and parameters treatment of English passives 12
    1.6.2 Collins' (2005) smuggling analysis ...................... 14
  1.7 The proposed analysis ........................................ 16
    1.7.1 Lexical properties of -rare .............................. 16
    1.7.2 General properties interacting with -rare ................ 18
    1.7.3 What -rare does not do ................................ 18
  1.8 The data: Grammaticality judgment surveys .................... 21
  1.9 Outline of the book .......................................... 22

## CHAPTER 2
The passive morpheme -rare .................................... 25
  2.1 The distribution of -rare .................................... 25
  2.2 The passive -rare is always a functional element ............ 28
  2.3 -rare as a voice head ....................................... 29
2.3.1 Establishing a pattern with long passivization 29
2.3.2 -rare instantiates voice 36
2.4 Lexical properties of -rare 38
2.4.1 Complementation properties of -rare 39
2.4.2 The EPP feature of -rare 41
2.4.3 Introducing a dative projection 46
2.5 Subject honorifics 46
2.6 Summary of the chapter 49

CHAPTER 3
The derived subject in the passive 51
3.1 General properties of Japanese 51
3.1.1 The absence of an expletive 51
3.1.2 Movement and case 54
3.2 The accusative passive 59
3.3 Dative and source passives derived from ditransitive verbs 61
3.3.1 Addressee of 'verbs of speaking' 63
3.3.2 Theme-raising of the passivized ditransitive verb 64
3.3.3 The source passive 75
3.4 Passivization of causatives 77
3.5 Pseudo-passives: Passives with intransitives 79
3.5.1 English pseudo-passives 79
3.5.2 Japanese passives derived from obliques 81
3.5.3 Postpositional objects incompatible with pseudo-passives 93
3.6 The genitive passive 94
3.6.1 Genitive passives disguised: Passives requiring context 102
3.7 Extra-thematic nominative DPs 116
3.8 Summary of the chapter 117

CHAPTER 4
Ni-passives, ni-yotte-passives, and short passives 119
4.1 The ni-phrase 123
4.2 The kara-phrase 126
4.3 Short passives and ni-yotte passives 127
4.3.1 Short passives 127
4.3.2 Ni-yotte passives 128

CHAPTER 5
Revisiting the literature 135
5.1 The traditional classification 135
5.2 Traditional analyses 138
  5.2.1 The standard analysis of indirect passives 139
  5.2.2 Standard analyses of direct passives 140
  5.2.3 Standard analyses of possessive passives 143
5.3 Are indirect passives special? 145
  5.3.1 Numeral Quantifier Floating 146
  5.3.2 The distribution of ni-phrases 157
5.4 Summary of the chapter 164

CHAPTER 6

Further support for movement 165
6.1 The gap is a trace 165
  6.1.1 Is the gap a pro? 166
6.2 Reconstruction effects 167
  6.2.1 Scope interactions 168
  6.2.2 Idiom reconstruction 173
  6.2.3 The distributive morpheme zutu 174
6.3 A- vs. Á-movement 182
  6.3.1 Reanalyzing long-distance passivization 183
6.4 Does -rare select for an argument? 187
  6.4.1 Compatibility with subject-oriented adverbs 188
  6.4.2 Incompatibility with inanimate/abstract DPs 190
  6.4.3 Adversative connotations 192
6.5 Summary of the chapter 203

CHAPTER 7

The extra-thematic passive 205
7.1 Methodology of the surveys 207
  7.1.1 Questionnaire A 208
  7.1.2 Questionnaires B and C 209
  7.1.3 Results 210
7.2 Adversative context and extra-thematic passives 211
  7.2.1 What is the right kind of context? 215
  7.2.2 Data from linguistically-trained native speakers 215
  7.2.3 Data from the surveys 218
7.3 The proposed analysis of Grammar-L 222
  7.3.1 Does Grammar-L contain Grammar-Q? 225
7.4 Issues centering on individual variability 228
7.5 Summary of the chapter 229
CHAPTER 8
Conclusions 231
8.1 A new analysis of Japanese passives 231
8.2 Properties that the proposed analysis accounts for 231
8.3 Implications 232

Bibliography 235
Name index 245
Subject index 247