Predicate union and the syntax of Japanese passives[1]

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This paper presents a relational account of the Japanese constructions that are commonly referred to as 'passives'. They are shown to all be multipredicate, monoclausal constructions, with the differences between them primarily attributable to optionality in the lexical argument structure of the 'passive' predicate. The proposed analysis explains the differences between passives and causatives, despite their sometimes identical case-marking. Further, evidence from the interaction of unaccusative verbs and passive is shown to lead to a formal revision of the 1-Advancement Exclusiveness law. Finally, the differences between Japanese and Korean with respect to passives is reduced to a simple lexical difference between the two languages.

1. INTRODUCTION

This paper adopts an approach to multipredicate structures first proposed in Davies & Rosen (1988), and demonstrates its applicability to Japanese passive (-*rare*) constructions. It will show that a relational analysis can account in an insightful way for the grammatical properties exhibited by the dependents of the passive construction; properties only hinted at by an examination of surface case marking and thematic roles, and often obscured by them. It will also demonstrate that a proper account of case-marking must acknowledge the existence of three distinct classes of passive (-*rare*) constructions, rather than the two traditionally recognized in the literature. Other particular claims made in this analysis are: (i) all -*rare* constructions involve passive, including those which have an accusative Theme nominal and those constructed from intransitive predicates, (ii) a class of syntactically

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unaccusative predicates in Japanese is identifiable (in part) from their interaction with -*rare* morphology, and (iii) the differences between the range of passive constructions available in Japanese and Korean is directly attributable to the failure of Korean to have one of the three constructions argued to exist in Japanese.

Section 2 introduces the relational approach to multipredicate clauses, based on Davies & Rosen (1988). Section 3 presents a relational analysis of the basic structures associated with the Japanese passive morpheme. Section 4 shows how counterexamples to some of the well-known properties of indirect passive can be explained by combining possessor ascension and passive in the same clause. Section 5 discusses grammatical properties of the dative 'by' phrase, and demonstrates that embedded subjects of causatives and passives must be distinguished, even though they have the same case marker. Section 6 provides evidence for the underlying object-hood of indirect passive subjects. Section 7 takes up the interaction between -*rare* and unaccusative predicates and motivates a revision of the 1-Advancement Exclusiveness law, and section 8 provides an account for the differences between Japanese and Korean with respect to passive.

2. Clause union and Relational Grammar

The term UNION as it is used in Relational Grammar (RG) is most often the label for the structure of complex (or multipredicate) constructions in various languages, in which there is evidence for only a single clause node in the surface syntax. The term reflects the fact that such constructions behave in some ways as biclausal structures, despite the superficial manifestations to the contrary. Union analyses were first applied in RG to causative constructions (Aissen & Permutter 1976) and out of this research, the universal parameters for causative constructions were first developed. In their work on causatives in Portuguese and Chamorro, Gibson & Raposo (1986) ascertained that the embedded subject (hereafter, 1) is the only argument which can be REVALUED (assigned a new grammatical relation (GR), in the application of union. They also determined that the embedded 1 can be revalued either to direct object (hereafter, 2) or to indirect object (hereafter, 3), and that the choice of GR is fixed on a language and/or construction specific basis. Rosen (1983), in an examination of causative constructions in Italian, extended this typology to include cases in which the embedded 1 of a union is not revalued at all. In these cases, it (the embedded 1) is put EN CHÔMAGE by the matrix 1 (if there is one).[2] The universal

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[2] The CHÔMEUR (Cho) relation arises when the GR borne by a clausal dependent is assumed by another dependent of the same clause. The Cho relation is MOTIVATED where retention of its GR would result in a violation of STRATAL UNIQUENESS (which specifies that only one dependent can bear a given GR in a given stratum). Acquiring the Cho relation is technically a DEMOTION; that is, Chos are classed with Obliques as regards accessibility to syntactic phenomena (such as relativization and clefting).

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parameters of union constructions as they evolved out of this earlier work are stated in (1).

(1) (a) The embedded 1 may be revalued or not.
     (b) If the embedded 1 is revalued, it is revalued as a 2 or a 3.

Other embedded nominals either retain their embedded GR or acquire the Chômeur (Cho) relation (in case their embedded GR is assumed by revaluation of the embedded 1). For example, an embedded final 2 will be a union stratum 2 unless the embedded 1 is revalued to 2, in which case it will be a Cho.

Davies & Rosen (1988) first applied this model to other types of multipredicate constructions and further refined the universal parameters of union as applied to ALL multipredicate constructions of this type. In most of the RG literature prior to Davies & Rosen (1988), unions are represented as structures having two clauses underlyingly and one clause at the surface. However, the biclausal formalization of union suffers from several drawbacks which are laid out in detail in their article. Under their account, all predicates and nominals are dependents of the same clausal node. The embedded predicate heads a P(redicate) arc in the first (hereafter, c_1) stratum. The matrix (and often affixal) predicate does not head any arc in the c_1 stratum, but is introduced into the clause in a later (that is, post-initial) stratum, which is, by definition, the union stratum. Any arguments selected by the matrix predicate are introduced along with it into the clause in this union stratum. In the case of causatives, for example, the causer is introduced in this fashion. The first stratum in which a predicate heads a P arc is defined as its P-INITIAL stratum. Correspondingly, the last stratum in which it heads a P arc is P-FINAL. Note that in a multipredicate construction, a given predicate's P-initial or P-final stratum is not necessarily the initial or final stratum of the clause.

Example (2) illustrates a typical causative union structure from Japanese. The structure or RELATIONAL NETWORK (RN) of this clause is provided in (3).[3]

(2) Sensei wa gakusei o   hayaku kaer-aseta.
     teacher TOP student ACC early   go.home-made
     'The teacher made the students go home early.'

In (2), the nominals *gakusei* 'student' and *sensei* 'teacher' behave in some ways as the arguments of distinct predicates. In other respects, they appear to be the dependents of a single clause. Thus, the causee *gakusei* is both the subject of the predicate *kaer-* 'go.home' and the direct object of the entire clause.

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[3] The specific analysis provided here for Japanese causatives is argued for in more detail in Dubinsky (1994).

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(3)

		I	P
P	I	2	Cho
-sase	sensei	gakusei	kaer-

Sensei and *gakusei* both head P-initial I arcs. The strata in which a given predicate heads a P arc form its P-SECTOR. The c_1 stratum in which *kaer-* in (3) heads a P arc is the INNER P-sector; the c_2 stratum in which the causative predicate *-sase* heads a P arc is, in addition to being the union stratum, the FINAL or OUTER P-sector. In the union (c_2) stratum of (3), the predicate of the inner P-sector, *kaer-*, is put en chômage, and the inner P-final I, *gakusei*, revalues to 2.

As the RN in (3) shows, union is characterized by the introduction of a predicate into a non-initial stratum of a clause. Obviously, union is available only to a small number of predicates in a given language (such as certain affixal predicates in Japanese, or the causative verb and auxiliaries in Italian). The mechanism by which a verb is lexically characterized as a union predicate need not be very complex and can be folded into the sub-categorization requirements that all verbs generally impose on their RNs. In principle, a P arc might originate in ANY stratum, and it is the capacity to originate in a non-initial stratum which characterizes union predicates. While the vast majority of verbs are required to head a P arc beginning in the first stratum of a clause, OPTIONAL union predicates have the first coordinate of their P arc left unspecified, and the P arcs of affixal predicates such as the Japanese causative *-sase*, which can ONLY appear as union predicates, are specified to begin in a post-initial stratum.

3. JAPANESE PASSIVE CONSTRUCTIONS

This paper is concerned with the classes of Japanese constructions that involve the verbal affix *-rare* and are typically labeled 'passive'. So-called 'direct' passives are analogous to English passives. They typically involve an initially transitive clause in which the initial 2 advances to I and is *ga* or *wa* marked, and the initial I is *ni* marked as a passive I-Cho. The predicate is marked with *-(r)are*.[4] (4) is an example of direct passive.

(4) Taroo wa sensei ni yobareta.
    TOP teacher DAT was.called
    'Taro was called by the teacher.'

The 'indirect' or 'adversative' passive is like the direct passive in that it involves the marking of a predicate with *-rare* and the marking of that

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[4] The passive verbal affix *-rare* and the causative predicate *-sase* both drop their first consonant when affixed to a verb stem ending in a consonant.

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predicate's initial subject with *ni*. Unlike the direct passive, however, the -*rare* marked predicate need not be transitive. If it is transitive, then its initial 2 does NOT advance to 1 and remains *o* marked. In either case, the surface subject in an indirect passive is NOT an argument of the -*rare* marked predicate. (5) and (6) typify indirect passives built on transitive and intransitive predicates, respectively.

(5) Tanaka wa basu ni   doro o   hanerareta.
          TOP bus   DAT mud ACC was.splashed
     'Tanaka was splashed mud by the bus.'
(6) Watasi wa ame ni   hurareta.
     I   TOP rain DAT was.fallen
     'I was fallen by rain.'

These constructions are semantically analogous to the non-passive English construction given in (7), which more naturally paraphrases the meaning of (6).

(7) It rained on me.

The meaning of (6) (and the intended reading of (7)) is that 'It rained and I was (adversely) affected by it'. It does not carry the necessary implication that 'I got wet'. It is for this reason that the indirect passive has also been called the 'adversative' passive (Howard & Niyekawa-Howard 1976) and 'affective' passive (Akatsuka-McCawley 1972). Despite the construction's partial similarity to the direct passive (4), the 'passive' label for (5) and (6) is at least an APPARENT misnomer, since it does appear that any object in (5) or (6) has been promoted to subject. In (5), the embedded object remains in situ, and in (6), the embedded clause does not have an object. However, despite these appearances, indirect passives will be shown to be passives in accord with the standard relational characterization. That is, they will all be shown to involve a 2-1 advancement out of a transitive stratum (Perlmutter & Postal's (1983c) universal characterization of passive). The RNs proposed for (4), (5) and (6) are given in (8)-(10):

(8)   = (4)

2	1	P	
1	Cho	P	
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1	Cho	Cho	P
Taroo	sensei	yob	areta

(9)   = (5)

	1	2	P	
---	---	---	---	---
2	1	Cho	Cho	P
1	Cho	Cho	Cho	P
Tanaka	basu	doro	hane	rareta

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(10) = (6)		1	P
2	1	Cho	P
1	Cho	Cho	P
Watasi	ame	hur	areta

The analysis presented in RNs (8)-(10) proposes to account for all *-rare* passives as union constructions in which *-rare* is the union predicate.[5] As union constructions, *-rare* passives conform to the universal characterization of union presented in Davies & Rosen (1988). The direct passive (4) involves the addition of the predicate *-rare* to a passivized inner clause with no additional arguments and no revaluation of the GRs in the pre-union (c2) stratum. In the indirect passive, much like the causative predicate *-sase*, *-rare* introduces an extra argument into the clause. While the causative predicate introduces a 1, *-rare* introduces an initial 2 which is LEXICALLY required to advance to 1, and is assigned the thematic role Affectee. I will henceforth refer to the construction as Affective Union (AU). Direct passives and AU constructions are similar in the following ways: (i) they are unions involving the predicate *-rare*, and (ii) they are true passives (that is, they involve 2-1 advancement out of a transitive stratum). AU constructions are distinct from direct passives in that their 1-Chos head P-FINAL 1 arcs, and distinct from Causative Unions in that their *ni* marked argument is a final Cho rather than a final 3.

The predicate *-rare* is a verb having the rather generic meaning 'befall' or 'happen', and is OPTIONALLY subcategorized for a P-initial 2. When *-rare* initializes an Affectee in the AU construction, it means 'something happens to/befalls someone' and since the Affectee is lexically required to advance to 1, the surface form of the construction is glossed as 'someone is befallen by something'. Note that the stipulation of lexically governed 2-1 advancement for the argument introduced by *-rare* is a well-established mechanism of the grammar. Perlmutter (1984) argues for lexically specified 1-3 retreat for the class of psychological predicates represented by *wakaru* 'understand', and Dubinsky (1990) presents evidence for 2–3 retreat in another class of verbs, represented by *au* 'meet'. What we have here in *-rare* is simply a lexically governed rule associated with a UNION predicate, something predicted to be

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[5] There is another use of the verbal inflection *-rare* that is not dealt with in this paper. In addition to marking passive structures, it also functions as an indicator of subject honorification as in (i).

(i) Sensei   wa kono hon o   yom-areta.
    professor TOP this book ACC read-HON
    'The professor[+HON] read this book.'

A full discussion of this use of *-rare* lies beyond the scope of this paper, but its use as an honorific is readily accomodated as a union construction (see Dubinsky (1985a: chapter 10) for an analysis). At the same time, the appearance of *-rare* as an auxiliary of honorification makes it clear that passive is a sufficient, but not a necessary, condition for its use. Under this view, passive in an RN triggers the appearance of the predicate *-rare*, rather than the other way around.

possible if it is the case that union predicates differ from other verbs only in their ability to head a clause initial P arc. The extended valence of -*rare* is given in (11), adopting the formalization developed in Davies & Dubinsky (1991).

$$(11) \quad [P\ (\text{-}\textit{rare},b)\ \langle ci \rangle) \rightarrow \left(\begin{cases} [2\ (a,b)\ \langle ci \rangle) \\ (1\ (a,b)\ \langle cw \rangle) \end{cases} \right) \ \&\ w > i > 1$$

Informally, (11) states that the predicate -*rare* is subcategorized for a P-initial 2, and that this 2 is lexically required to advance to 1. Positing the final 1 in an AU construction as a P-initial 2 will be seen to have desirable consequences in correctly ruling out multiple -*rare* constructions and in explaining why unaccusative predicates cannot form AU constructions.

The advantage of this analysis lies in its exploitation of structures already well motivated in many other languages. Once the above two assumptions have been made, the rest of RNs (8)-(10) fall out in accordance with the general characterization of unions. Davies & Rosen (1988) suggest that unions can be completely characterized in the following way:

(12) *Union Revaluation Law*
       Revaluation across a P-sector boundary can occur only in the following context:
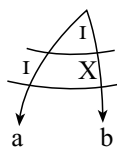
In other words, only a 1 can be revalued and revaluation can occur only with the introduction of a distinct 1 in the union stratum. There is no need to stipulate that the 1 always revalues to an object relation, since the Oblique Law prevents revaluation to Oblique. An inner 1, if it revalues, may thus only revalue to 2 or 3. In case there is no revaluation, it follows from the Stratal Uniqueness Law and the Chômeur Law (Perlmutter & Postal 1983b) that the inner P-final 1 will be a Cho. Under the assumption made here, namely that the AU predicate introduces a 2 and not a 1, the Union Revaluation Law (12) correctly predicts that AU must be a no-revaluation union. Thus, these RNs entail clause union with no revaluation of ANY of the inner P-final arguments. The inner P-final 1 heads a 1 arc in the union stratum, and the 2 introduced by the union predicate chômeurizes any inner P-final 2 in accordance with the Union Revaluation Law and the Oblique Law.[6] The pre-union 1 is put en chômage by the 2-1 advancement of the 2 introduced in the union stratum.

[6] The chômage of the embedded initial 2 in (9) is assumed on the basis of the Stratal Uniqueness Law in addition to these universally motivated principles of union (see Aissen & Perlmutter 1976, Gibson & Raposo 1986, Davies & Rosen 1988). Direct language-internal evidence for the chômage of this initial 2 is not, to my knowledge, readily available.

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The analysis proposed here bears similarity to some early transformational analyses. Hasegawa (1964) and Kuroda (1965) each propose a uniform underlying structure for the two construction types. Under their uniform analysis (4) and (5) would have the underlying structure shown in (4′) and (5′).

(4′)   [$_\text{S}$ Taroo   [$_\text{NP}$ [$_\text{S}$ sensei Taroo yob]]   rare]
(5′)   [$_\text{S}$Tanaka   [$_\text{NP}$ [$_\text{S}$ basu   doro   hane]] rare]

In their account -*rare* is an independent matrix predicate. In the direct passive, (4′), the lower object *Taroo* undergoes Equi-object deletion under identity with the matrix subject. Passive, in the traditional sense, is never involved. The analysis presented in this paper adopts the uniform strategy of taking -*rare* to be a predicate in both construction types, but claims that a passive rule is always involved. The relational analysis is also able to distinguish between the surface subjects of the two types of passive, and between the *ni*-marked nominals of the two constructions, in a way that the traditional uniform analyses could not. In other respects, the proposed analysis is reminiscent of Akatsuka-McCawley's (1972) non-uniform analysis (also see Kuno 1973). Under her account, direct passive does not involve a higher predicate, but the AU construction does (in the form of an abstract predicate AFFECT). Her analysis of (5) would be as follows:

(5″)   [$_\text{S}$ [$_\text{NP}$ [$_\text{S}$ basu doro hane]] Tanaka AFFECT]

As in the relational analysis presented here, the surface subject of the AU construction is an object and both construction types involve the application of a passive rule. The relational analysis differs from Akatsuka-McCawley's in taking -*rare* itself to be a predicate, and in assuming this predicate to occur in direct passive as well.

The relational analysis proposed here is a 'uniform' analysis in that both constructions are claimed to involve passive and have -*rare* as a matrix predicate. It is 'non-uniform' in that the surface subject of the -*rare* clause is held to be an argument of this matrix predicate in the AU construction, but not in direct passives. Insofar as this analysis is correct, it provides a single, uniform characterization of the different passive constructions (namely, that they all involve 'passive' as formally defined in Perlmutter & Postal 1983c), and distinguishes clearly between these constructions and other uses of -*rare* (honorific and potential). It reduces the difference between direct passive and AU construction to the optional subcategorization of the predicate -*rare* for an Affectee argument, and will subsequently be shown in this paper to account clearly for the differences between the *ni*-marked 1-Cho in each construction. Under this account, we will see that the difference between AU constructions and causatives can be reduced to the (lexically determined) initial grammatical relation born by the higher predicate's single argument (which is the union stratum 2 in the AU construction and the union stratum

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1 in the causative), and that it provides an explanation for the different behavior exhibited by *ni*-marked embedded subjects in AU constructions and causatives. Section 6 will provide clear evidence, heretofore lacking in any analysis, for the initial 2-hood of the AU predicate's single argument. Section 7 will motivate a revision of the 1-Advancement Exclusiveness Law (Perlmutter & Postal 1984), based on the interaction of AU with unaccusative verbs. Finally, in section 8, differences between Japanese and Korean passive constructions will be shown to arise from the simple fact that the Korean passive predicate is not subcategorized for an argument.

4. THE AU CONSTRUCTION AND POSSESSOR ASCENSION-PASSIVE

Previous studies have shown the AU construction to be distinguished from direct passives by the following properties: (i) the AU construction (like the causative) introduces an additional argument (in other words, it has no active analog); (ii) AU constructions impose a selectional restriction on the sentential subject (animacy); and (iii) the inner subject of an AU construction is always marked with dative *ni*, while that of the direct passive can be marked with *ni* or *niyotte*. In this section, we will briefly review these properties, discuss some apparent counterexamples, and demonstrate how the rule of possessor ascension (PA) combined with passive can produce a construction superficially similar to the AU passive, and account for all the troublesome data.

4.1 *Properties of AU passives*

Affective union passives differ from direct passive constructions in that they lack 'active analogs' (see Kuno (1973: 299–304, 345–346)). Accordingly, while the active analog (13b) of the direct passive (13a) is grammatical, active analogs of the AU constructions in (14a) and (15a) are both ill-formed.

(13) (a) Taroo wa sensei ni   yobareta.
             TOP teacher DAT was.called
         'Taro was called by the teacher.'
     (b) Sensei ga Taroo o   yonda.
         teacher NOM   ACC called
         'The teacher called Taro.'

(14) (a) Tanaka ga   sensei ni Hanako o   sikarareta.
             NOM teacher DAT   ACC was.scolded
         'Tanaka was scolded Hanako by the teacher.'
     (b) *Sensei ga Tanaka o/ni   Hanako o   sikatta.
          teacher NOM   ACC/DAT   ACC scolded

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(15) (a) Taroo ga   ame ni   hurareta.
           NOM rain DAT was.fallen
       'Taro was fallen by rain.'
     (b) *Ame ga Taroo o/ni   hutta.
         rain NOM   ACC/DAT fell

If the surface subject in an AU construction bears any relation at all in the inner P-sector, it is a possessor of one of the embedded nominals and never an argument of the inner predicate itself. Example (16a) might have (16b) as an active analog, since *Tanaka* stands so clearly in the possessor relation to *kodomo* 'child'.

(16) (a) Tanaka ga   sensei ni   kodomo o   sikarareta.
            NOM teacher DAT child   ACC was.scolded
       'Tanaka was scolded [his] child by the teacher.'
     (b) Sensei ga Tanaka no   kodomo o   sikatta.
         teacher NOM   GEN child   ACC scolded
       'The teacher scolded Tanaka's child.'

However, *Tanaka* is NOT an argument of *sikaru* 'scold' at any level. RN (17) represents an analysis that accounts both for *Tanaka*'s status as a possessor AND its being the final 1 of the clause.

(17) = (16a)

        -rare Tanaka kodomo sensei sikaru
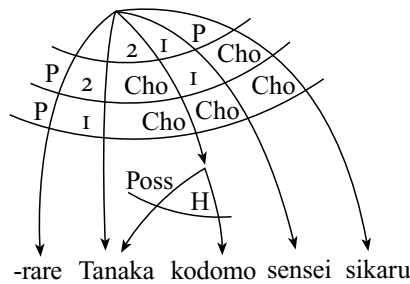
In (17), *Tanaka* undergoes possessor ascension (PA) out of the initial 2 of the clause, and in accordance with the Relational Succession Law (RSL, see Perlmutter & Postal 1983a) it inherits the 2 relation of its HOST. As a 2, it can serve as the argument of *-rare* which requires an initial 2 in its P-initial stratum.

Inoue (1976: 79) noted that the subjects of indirect passives must be animate, while those of direct passives can be inanimate.[7] Actually, it is

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[7] Direct passives with inanimate surface subjects are often (but not always) found to be less than acceptable. Kuno (1978) notes that it is 'difficult to passivize a sentence with an underlying human subject and an underlying inanimate object'.

  (i) (= Kuno 1978: (25c))
      ???Sono ringo wa Taroo ni(yotte) taberareta.
         that apple TOP   DAT   was.eaten
      ('That apple was eaten by Taro.')

sufficient that the subject have an animate possessor (who can be affected by the event). Thus, in (18), either *Hanako* or *Hanako no suutukeesu* 'Hanako's suitcase' can be the subject of AU passive.

(18) (a) Hanako ga   basu ni   doro o   hanerareta.
               NOM bus   DAT mud   ACC was.splashed
       'Hanako was splashed mud by the bus.'
    (b) Hanako no   suutukeesu ga   basu ni   doro o   kakerareta.
               GEN suitcase   NOM bus   DAT mud   ACC were.splashed
       'Hanako's suitcases were splashed mud by the bus.'

Further, the possessor of the subject need not be overtly expressed, as (19) demonstrates.

(19) Suutukeesu ga   basu ni   doro o   kakerareta.
     suitcase   NOM bus   DAT mud   ACC were.splashed
     '(My) suitcases were splashed mud by the bus.'

However, when an inanimate subject of AU is not interpreted as having an animate possessor, AU passive is ill-formed. Examples (20) and (21) show the contrast: AU passives cannot have inanimate subject nominals, while direct passives can.

(20) *Hodoo   ga   basu ni   doro o   kakerareta.
      sidewalk NOM bus   DAT mud   ACC was.splashed
      ('The sidewalk was splashed mud by the bus.')
(21) Sono biru wa Haruki-san ni   sekkei-sareta.
     that bldg. TOP   DAT design-was.done
     'That building was designed by Mr. Haruki.'

(20) is an AU passive and is anomalous insofar as *hodoo* 'sidewalk' is inanimate and construed as an unpossessed nominal. The subject of the well-formed direct passive (21), on the other hand, is both inanimate and unpossessed.[8]

    J. McCawley observed (see Kuno 1973: 346) that the dative marker of the embedded initial I (*ni*) can be replaced with the Agentive postposition *niyotte*

This is due, he says, to the difficulty of 'empathizing' with an inanimate over an animate nominal. If the Agent is inanimate and/or indefinite, passive is more likely to be acceptable:

(ii) (= Kuno 1978: (27c))
     Ringo wa musi ni   taberarete ana darake datta.
     apple TOP bug DAT was.eaten hole all   was
     'The apples were all full of holes, having been eaten by insects.'

[8] S. Kuno (personal communication) points out that this constraint can sometimes be violated if the clause violating the constraint is embedded in a clause that independently licenses the inanimate subject.

in direct passives, but not in AU passives. The direct passive (22a) allows *niyotte* marking, while the AU in (22b) does not.

(22) (a) Taroo wa Asako **ni(yotte)** korosareta.
           TOP   was.killed
      'Taro was killed by Asako.'
   (b) Taroo wa titi **ni(??yotte)** sinareta.
           TOP father   was.died
      'Taro was died on by [his] father.'

Actually, *ni* and *niyotte* are not as readily interchangeable in direct passives as (22a) suggests. Kuroda (1983) delineates the semantic conditions under which *niyotte* marking can occur. *Ni* marking is usually preferred to *niyotte* when the final 1 is someone with whom the speaker has empathy, such as *Ziroo* in (23).

(23) Ziroo wa tomodati **ni** korosareta.
       TOP friend   was.killed
   'Ziro was killed by a friend.'

Niyotte is more appropriate when an event is detached from the personal experience of the speaker, as in a news report:

(24) Kenedii-daitooryoo wa CIA **niyotte** ansatusareta.
         president   TOP   was.assassinated
    'President Kennedy was assassinated by the CIA.'

When contextually induced empathy is impossible and/or the final 1 cannot be an Affectee, *niyotte* is actually preferred.

(25) America wa Koronbusu **niyotte/??ni** hakken-sareta.
        TOP Columbus   discover-was.done
    'America was discovered by Columbus.'

Lest *niyotte* marking appear to be dependent upon the choice of the inner predicate, note the contrast between (25) above and (26) below.

(26) Amerikan-indian wa yooroppajin **ni/??niyotte** amerika-
              TOP Europeans
   tairiku   o   hakken-sareta.
   -continentACC discover-were.done
   'The American Indians were discovered the American continent by the Europeans.'

    (i) Hodoo wa, basu ni doro o kakerarete, dorodoro ni natteita.
       sidewalk TOP bus DAT mud ACC was.splashed muddy DAT had.become
       'The sidewalk, having been splashed mud by buses, had become muddy.'

   In (i), *hodoo* is the overt subject of the matrix clause whose predicate is *natteita*, and presumably controls a null subject of the embedded adverbial clause. This example raises the question of how the selectional restriction in the embedded clause might be overridden by a separately licensed controller. However, the evidence for the animacy restriction in root clauses remains uncontroversial.

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Both (25) and (26) involve the same inner predicate *hakken-suru* 'discover', yet there is a strong preference for *niyotte* in (25), a direct passive, and for *ni* in (26), an AU construction. It is clear from this that the choice between *ni* or *niyotte* marking of the 1-Cho is related to the thematic properties of the final 1. In (25) the final 1 *Amerika* is not an Affectee, while in (26) the final 1 *Amerikan-indian* is so.

4.2 *Possessor ascension-passives*

In arguing against the status of *-rare* as a distinct predicate, Saito (1982: 101) presents an apparent counterexample to the animacy restriction on AU passive subjects.

(27) Nihon-sya   wa   sono keizaisei   o
     Japanese-cars TOP that   economic.aspect ACC
     takaku hyooka-sareteiru.
     highly   regard-has.been.done
     'Japanese cars are appreciated for that economic aspect (e.g. their fuel consumption).'

Example (27) has an inanimate subject and an accusative object. Saito claims, based on this, that the subject of an AU passive is actually a non-argument topic or focus nominal, and is not subject to selectional restrictions. If Saito's example were actually AU, then we would be forced to abandon animacy as a necessary property of AU subjects. However, we find that the subject *nihon-sya* must be construed as a possessor of the quality *keizaisei*.[9] Thus, under our analysis the active analog of (27) is (28).

(28) Sekai wa nihon-sya   no (sono) keizaisei   o   takaku
     world TOP Japanese-car GEN (that) economic.aspect ACC high
     hyooka-siteiru.
     regard-is.doing
     'The world highly regards (that) economic aspect of Japanese cars.'

In the active analog of (27), the subject of the passive MUST be subordinated to the direct object as its possessor. Otherwise, the sentence makes no sense.

(29) ??Sekai wa keizaisei   o   takaku hyooka-siteiru.
     world TOP economic.aspect ACC highly   regard-is.doing
     ??'The world highly regards the economic aspect.'

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[9] One might claim that the presence of *sono* as a deictic determiner of *keizaisei* in (27) argues against an analysis in which the nominal *nihon-sya* is an underlying possessor. However, as seen in (28), both the possessor *nihon-sya* and the determiner *sono* can simultaneously co-occur before the noun *keizaisei*.

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This contrasts dramatically with a true AU passive in which the inner P-sector can, by itself, form a perfectly natural sentence as in (30b).

(30) (a) Watasi wa ame ni   hurareta.   (b) Ame ga   hutta.
        I   TOP rain DAT was.fallen   rain NOM fell
        'I was fallen by rain.'   'It rained.'

Whenever an AU passive is ungrammatical because it has a inanimate subject, there is no acceptable active analog of the sentence in which the AU subject is a possessor of the object. Thus, an active analog of ungrammatical example (20) in which *hoodoo* appears as a possessor of the object *doro* is itself anomalous.

(31) *Basu wa hoodoo no doro o   haneta.
        bus   TOP sidewalk GEN mud ACC splashed
       ('The bus splashed the sidewalk's mud.')

This evidence, taken altogether, supports the view that (27) is not a counterexample to the animacy restriction on AU passives, because it is not an AU passive. I would propose here that (27) is simply a possessor ascension (PA) from an object, in which the ascended possessor is then passivized. The RN claimed for (27) is given in (32).[10]

(32) = (27)

RN (32) is similar to the PA-AU passive RN in (17), except that 2-1 advancement of the ascendee occurs in the inner P-sector. Since *nihon-sya* 'Japanese car' is not a 2-1 advancee in the outer P-sector, it is not initialized by the predicate *-rare* and not assigned a thematic role by it. Example (27)

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[10] This analysis for possessor ascension-passives was orginally presented in Dubinsky (1985a: 193–199). Since that time, Kubo (1989/1990), Shibatani (1990), Terada (1990) have all independently arrived at the same conclusion regarding possessor passives.

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is both predicted and adequately accounted for under an analysis which holds PA, AU, and direct passive to be distinct constructions.[11]

It was observed above that AU passives, in which -*rare* initializes its own argument, do not allow *niyotte* marking of the inner subject (recall (22b)). There are, however, apparent counterexamples to this claim. Consider examples (33) and (34) (N. Kawasaki, personal communication).

(33) Taroo wa tuma **niyotte** kodomo o   korosareta.
          TOP wife   child   ACC was.killed
    'Taro was killed [his] child by his wife.'

(34) Marubeni wa suunin no   kanbu **niyotte** kaisya   no
            TOP several GEN   company GEN
    menboku o   tubusareta.
    honor   ACC was.crushed
    'Marubeni Co. was crushed [its] honor by several executives.'

If (33) is an AU passive in which *Taroo* is initialized as an argument of the outer predicate -*rare*, then *niyotte* marking of *tuma* ought to be unacceptable. The explanation for these apparent counterexamples rests on the facts that all of them involve transitive inner predicates. In the previous discussion of possessor ascension (PA), we saw that the possessor of a 2, which bears the 2-relation after ascension, can advance to 1 in either the outer or the inner

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[11] The advancement in (32) of *nihon-sya* from 2 to 1 in the inner P-sector seems obligatory. That is, when the ascended possessor remains a 2, and is adjacent to the *o* marked 2-Cho, the sentence is ill-formed. Example (i), with possessor ascension and no passive, is unacceptable.

    (i) *Sekai wa nihon-sya   o   sono keizaisei o   takaku hyooka-siteiru.
       world TOP Japanese-car ACC that economyACC high   regard-is.doing

The unacceptability of (i), however, appears to arise from a violation of Harada's (1973) 'double-*o* constraint', which rules out sentences having two adjacent *o* marked nominals. Analogous to (i) is (ii), which has an *o* marked direct object and an *o* marked locative of extent.

    (ii) *Tanaka wa kono niguruma o   sono mon o   toosita.
           TOP this cart   ACC that gate ACC pass
    ('Tanaka passed this cart through that gate.')

If the surface impediment of adjacent *o* marking is eliminated, say by clefting one of the nominals, both (i) and (ii) are greatly improved. Compare (iii) and (iv).

    (iii) Sekai ga   sono keizaisei o   takaku hyooka-siteiru no   wa nihon-sya   da.
        world NOM that economy ACC high   regard-is.doing thing TOP Japanese-car is
        'The thing that the world highly regards the economy of is Japanese cars.'

    (ii) Tanaka ga   sono mon o   toosita no   wa kono niguruma da.
           NOM that gate ACC pass   thing TOP this cart   is
        'The thing that Tanaka passed through that gate is this cart.'

For further discussion of the 'double-*o* constraint' and its implications, see Harada (1973), Kuroda (1978), Poser (1983), Dubinsky (1985b) and (1994), and Hoshi (1994).

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P-sector (see RNs (17) and (32)). If 2-1 advancement occurs in the inner P-sector, as in (27), the nominal is not initialized by -*rare* and not assigned the role Affectee. The RN of (33) is like that of (27). *Taroo* is the possessor of the initial 2, *kodomo*. It undergoes both PA and 2-1 advancement in the INNER P-sector, and is not assigned the role Affectee from -*rare*. As a result, the construction is actually a direct passive (preceded by PA), and the initial 1, *tuma*, can be marked with *niyotte*. This account correctly predicts there to be no apparent counterexamples involving intransitive inner predicates, since they lack the embedded object which might serve as the host of PA.

The PA account for (33) makes the obvious prediction that *niyotte* should not be available when a passive subject cannot be interpreted as the possessor of the embedded object. In this light, compare (33) and (35a).[12]

(35) (a) Taroo wa tuma **ni/??niyotte** doku o   nomareta.
           TOP wife   poison ACC was.drunk
         'Taro was taken poison by his wife.'
     (b) Tuma wa Taroo no   doku o   nonda.
         wife TOP   GEN poison ACC drank
         'The wife took Taro's poison.'

Under this account, the unacceptability of *niyotte* in (35a) can be attributed to its being unrelated to (35b). While the child (*kodomo*) in (33) is implicitly Taro's child, there is no similar implication in (35a) that the poison (*doku*) is Taro's poison. Thus, impossibility of *niyotte* in (35a) supports the claim that *niyotte* marking in (33) is a result of PA and inner P-sector passive.

One final bit of support for the possessor ascension analysis of certain passives comes from Kubo's (1989/1990) account of the construction (see also Shibatani 1990: 327–328). In addition to being able to have inanimate subjects and *niyotte* marking on the initial 1, PA-passives also have the property of having an optional Agent phrase (in contrast with true AU passives). Thus, when the subject of the clause can be construed as a possessor of the object, the Agentive *ni*-phrase is omissible. Compare the true AU passives in (36) with the PA-passive in (37).

(36) (a) Taroo ga *(ame ni) hurareta.
              NOM rain DAT was.fallen
         'Taro was fallen (by rain).'
     (b) Taroo wa *(tuma ni) doku o   nomareta.
              TOP   wife DAT poison ACC was.drunk
         'Taro was taken poison (by his wife).'
(37) Taroo wa (tuma ni/niyotte) kodomo o   korosareta.
          TOP wife   child ACC was.killed
     'Taro was killed [his] child (by his wife).'

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[12] Example (35a) is due to S. Y. Kuroda (personal communication).

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Once PA is recognized as an independent syntactic operation that can co-occur with passive, we are left with a coherent analysis of all passives, and an explanation for data that seems to counterexemplify their known properties.

5. THE GRAMMATICAL STATUS OF EMBEDDED INITIAL SUBJECTS

Leaving aside the issue of *niyotte* marking in direct passive (which arises at least partly from semantic/pragmatic factors), initial subjects of direct and AU passives appear superficially indistinguishable, insofar as they all can be marked with dative *ni*. Further, if case marking is taken as a measure of grammatical status, then passive initial subjects also appear identical to the embedded subjects of certain causatives. In (38), the embedded subject of the causative predicate *hanasaseta* 'made speak' is the *ni* marked nominal *seito* 'student'.

(38) Sensei ga seito ni eigo   o   hanasaseta.
     teacher NOM pupil DAT English ACC made.speak
     'The teacher made/let the pupils speak English.'

Previous published analyses of affixal predicate constructions in Japanese, going back to Shibatani (1973) and Kuroda (1978), and as recently as Washio (1993), have all taken surface case marking to be a primary indicator of grammatical status and have sought to unify the syntax of passives and causatives by treating all *ni* marked subjects identically. Now, one important way in which the current analysis differs from its antecedents is in its claim that *ni* marked initial subjects of these three different constructions have different grammatical status. In the case of *ni* marked causees, such as *seito* in (38), this author's previously published accounts (see Dubinsky 1990 and 1994) have shown them to be P-final 1s and clause-final (or surface) 3s. AU passive initial subjects are also P-final 1s, but are clause-final chômeurs. Direct passive initial subjects are clause-final chômeurs but not P-final 1s. These differences are summarized in (39).

(39)	*ni* marked nominals of ...		
	Direct passive	**AU passive**	**Causative**
P-final 1	×	✓	✓
Clause-final	Cho	Cho	3

Based on this analysis, we would expect *ni* marked nominals in all passives to be distinguishable from *ni* marked causees with respect to phenomena that are sensitive to final 3-hood. At the same time, the embedded subjects of AU passives and causatives should cluster together when phenomena that pick out P-final 1s are examined. Without disputing the ability of previous analyses to offer insights into the mapping from argument structure to case, there is good evidence that the inner/initial 1s in these constructions are syntactically distinct.

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A fronted, *wa* marked nominal can have two possible sentential functions, topic or contrast (see Kuno 1973: 37–61). This is illustrated in (40), with the fronted, *wa* marked direct object *Amerika*.

(40) Amerika wa dare ga hakken-sita?
        TOP who NOM discover-did
   (i) 'Speaking of America, who discovered it?'
   (ii) 'America (as opposed to someplace else), who discovered it?'

In its contrastive use, (40-ii), the nominal *Amerika wa* normally receives prominent intonation.

When a subject or direct object is a topic or contrastive element, *wa* replaces the nominative and accusative postpositions *ga* and *o*. When the *wa* nominal has a contrastive function and is an indirect object that would normally be marked with dative *ni*, it can optionally retain the dative postposition before *wa*. This is shown in (41).

(41) Taroo (ni) wa dare ga okane o kasita?
        DAT TOP who NOM money ACC loaned
  'To Taro (as opposed to s.o. else), who loaned him money?'

When *ni* marked causees are fronted contrastively, they behave like final 3s in that *ni* is optional before *wa*.

(42) Ziroo (ni) wa dare ga tegami o kakasetekureta?
        DAT TOP who NOM letter ACC write.let.received
  'Ziro (as opposed to s.o. else), who let him write the letter?'

In (42), the causee *Ziroo* can be marked with *ni wa* or with *wa* alone.

Passives, both AU and direct, contrast clearly with *ni* marked causees and other final 3s, in that they obligatorily retain the postposition *ni* before *wa*. Example (43) illustrates a direct passive construction with a fronted *ni* nominal, and (44) illustrates an AU passive.[13]

(43) Tanaka-sensei ?? (ni) wa dare ga syootai-sareta?
        -professor DAT TOP who NOM invite-was.done
  'By Professor Tanaka (as opposed to s.o. else), who was invited by him?'

(44) Saisyo no doroboo *(ni) wa, Ziroo ga saihu o nusumareta,
    first GEN thief DAT TOP NOM wallet ACC was.stolen
    nibanme no doroboo *(ni) wa, Yooko ga apaato
    second GEN thief DAT TOP NOM apartment
    ni hairareta.
    DAT was.entered

    'By the first thief, Ziro was stolen a wallet by him; by the second thief, Yuko was entered her apartment by him.'

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[13] The basic form of (44) is due to S. Kuno (personal communication).

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The sentences in (43) and (44) are unacceptable without *ni* preceding *wa*. The behavior of passive *ni* nominals thus contrasts vividly with that of *ni* marked causees, and can be readily explained if we assume that the former are 1-Chos rather than final 3s.[14]

Cleft formation facts provide the second argument for the 1-Cho status of passive *ni* nominals. Nominals which are final TERMS (1s, 2s, or 3s) typically form cleft constructions rather freely, and do NOT retain their postpositions in the process. Nominals having the oblique relations locative (*ni* marked), instrumental (*de* marked), and comitative (*to* marked) are somewhat less free in forming cleft constructions, but also do NOT retain their postposition when they do so. In (45), the clefted final 3 *Hanako* cannot have dative *ni* marking.

(45) Taroo ga   hon o   ataeta no wa Hanako (*ni) desu.
       NOM book ACC gave   one TOP   DAT is
    'The one who Taro gave a book to is Hanako.'

Causative *ni* nominals, as final 3s, would be expected to drop their postposition in a cleft construction, and do so.

(46) Sensei ga   eigo   o   hanasaseta   no wa Mitiko (*ni) desu.
    teacher NOM English ACC speak.made/let one TOP   DAT is
    'The one whom the teacher made/let speak English is Mitiko.'

Example (46) is unacceptable if the clefted final 3, *Mitiko*, retains its *ni* marking.

The behavior of passive chômeurs in cleft position contrasts markedly with that of causees. While direct passives form clefts less readily than AU passives, all passive *ni* nominals obligatorily retain their *ni* marking when clefted.[15] (47) illustrates a direct passive, and (48) shows clefted *ni* nominals of transitive and intransitive AU passives.

(47) Tanaka ga   korosareta no wa ano doroboo *(ni) deatta.
        NOM was.killed   one TOP that thief   DAT was
    'The one who Tanaka was killed by was that thief.'

---

[14] In the account presented here, I have endeavored to elaborate only the data which are directly relevant to distinguishing between *ni* marked causees and *ni* marked passive chômeurs. The complete picture is somewhat more complex. Simple subjects and direct objects are marked with *wa* alone for both contrastive and topic functions. Simple indirect objects retain the postposition *ni* before *wa*, when used as topics. In contrastive contexts, they can be marked with *ni wa* or with *wa* alone. The behavior of *ni* marked locative nominals is the same as indirect objects. *Ni* marked causees also pattern like indirect objects (which is unsurprising, since they are claimed to be final 3s). Of all the *ni* marked nominals, only 1-Chos must retain *ni* before *wa* in both cases. A more complete discussion of these facts, along with illustrative data, can be found in Dubinsky (1994).

[15] Among the oblique relations, only source nominals (*kara* marked) behave like 1-Chos in retaining their postposition.

(48) (a) Tanaka ga   kodomo o   sikarareta   no wa sensei *(ni) da.
     NOM child ACC was.scolded one TOP teacher DAT is
    'It is by the teacher that Tanaka was scolded his child.'
 (b) Tanaka ga   sinareta no wa kodomo ??(ni)   da.
     NOM was.died one TOP child   DAT is
    'It is by a child that Tanaka was died.'

The contrast observed between the behavior of final 3s in (45) and (46) and that of passive *ni* nominals in (47) and (48) is readily accounted for in this analysis, in that passive *ni* nominals are uniformly claimed to be 1-Chos and to be distinct from *ni* marked causees (which are final 3s).[16]

As noted above, this analysis claims that AU passive *ni* nominals and *ni* marked causees share the property of being P-final 1s, and that they contrast with direct passive *ni* nominals in this regard. The first property (of two) that suggests that the embedded subjects of AU passives and causatives are P-final 1s is their ability to control the unexpressed subject of an adverbial clause. Typically, equi control of the null subject in adverbial clauses ending in *nagara* 'while/during' is restricted to matrix subjects.

(49) Taroo wa Hanako ni [piano o hiki-nagara]   uta
     TOP   DAT   ACC playing-while song
   o utatte-yatta.
   ACC sing-did
   'Taro sang a song to Hanako while he/*she played the piano.'

In (49), the unexpressed subject of the adverbial clause *piano o hikinagara* can be understood as *Taroo*, the matrix subject, but not as *Hanako*, the matrix indirect object.

At the same time, there is good evidence from a comparison of lexical and syntactic causatives that equi control of a *nagara* clause subject is licensed by P-FINAL 1-hood, rather than clause-final 1-hood. Crucially, objects of lexical causatives, which do not head 1 arcs at any level, cannot control equi.

(50) Ziroo no tomodati wa kare o [uta o utai-nagara]
    GEN friend TOP he ACC song ACC sing-while
   kooen ni toosita.
   park DAT passed
   'Singing a song$_{i,*j}$, Ziro's friends$_i$ passed him$_j$ into the park.'

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[16] It is suggested by an anonymous referee of this ms. that the contrasts in behavior between causatives and passives might be accounted for by appeal to 'recoverability', rather than to grammatical status. However, recall (from the end of section 4.2) Kubo's (1989/1990) observations concerning the omissibility of passive *ni* nominals. She noted that the *ni* nominal in a passive is only optional when a possessor relation holds between it and the direct object of the clause. Accordingly, if the contrasts examined in this section were due to differences in 'recoverability', we might predict there to be a difference between possessor passives and non-possessor passives (for example, between (47) and (48a)). The fact that no such contrasts obtain would lead one to believe that 'recoverability' is not likely a crucial factor in these instances.

In (50), the subject of the transitive matrix verb *toosita* 'pass', *Ziroo no tomodati*, controls the *nagara* clause, while the direct object *kare* cannot do so. In contrast, syntactic causees, which are claimed to be final 1s in the inner P-sector of the clause, can control a *nagara* clause.

(51) Ziroo no tomodati wa kare o   [uta o   utai-nagara]
         GEN friend   TOP he   ACC sing ACC sing-while
    kooen ni   tooraseta.
    park   DAT pass.made
    'Singing a song$_{i,j}$, Ziro's friends$_i$ made him$_j$ pass into the park.'

Example (51) is analogous to (50), except that the transitive verb *toosita* 'pass' is replaced with the causativized form of the intransitive verb *tooru* 'pass', *tooraseta*. In this sentence, the *o* marked nominal *kare* can be interpreted as the subject of the adverbial *nagara* clause, on account of its being a P-final 1. Facts similar to that shown in (51) obtain for *ni* marked causees, as (52) illustrates.

(52) Tanaka wa kodomotati ni [arukimawari-nagara] uta
          TOP children   DAT walk.around-while   song
    o   utawaseta.
    ACC sing.made
    'Tanaka made/let the children sing a song while he/they walked around.'

Given the facts in (49)–(52) and the proposed analysis of AU passive, AU passive *ni* nominals are predicted (as P-final 1s) to be able to control *nagara* equi.[17]

(53) ?Hanako wa isya   ni [tiryoosi-nagara] otooto o   sikarareta.
          TOP doctor DAT treat-while   brother ACC was.scolded
    'Hanako was scolded her brother by the doctor$_i$, while he$_i$ was treating (a patient = Hanako/brother/other).'

(54) Titi   ni [inori-nagara] sinareta.
    father DAT pray-while   was.died
    '[I] was died by my father$_i$, while he$_i$ prayed.'

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[17] Example (53) is found to be somewhat odd with the adverbial affix *-nagara*. Native speakers strongly prefer the form *tiryoo-tyuuni* in this case. However, insofar as the sentence is acceptable, its embedded subject *isya* 'doctor' can control the *-nagara* phrase, indicating that this nominal is a P-final 1.

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Examples (53) and (54) confirm this prediction, with *isya* 'doctor' controlling the subject of the *nagara* clause in (53) and *titi* 'father' doing so in (54).[18]

Conditions governing the antecedence of the reflexive *zibun* provide the second argument for aligning AU passive *ni* nominals with *ni* marked causees on the basis of their being P-final 1s. As originally observed in Kuno (1972), although antecedence of the reflexive pronoun *zibun* is normally restricted to subjects, there are certain circumstances in which non-subjects can antecede. Since the reflexive must be anteceded by a nominal whose referent is sentient, the subject-seeking property of *zibun* can be overridden when the sentential subject is inanimate. Compare (55a) and (55b).

(55) (a) John wa Mary ni   zibun ga   baka dearu koto o   osieta.
            TOP   DAT self   NOM fool is   fact ACC taught
         'John taught Mary that he/*she was a fool.'

     (b) (= Kuno 1972: (117a))
         Sono keiken   wa Mary ni   zibun ga   baka dearu
         that experience TOP   DAT self   NOM fool is
         koto o   osieta.
         fact ACC taught
         'That experience taught Mary$_i$ that she$_i$ was a fool.'

In (55a), the subject *John* is sentient, and is the only possible antecedent for *zibun*. In (55b), the subject *John* is replaced by the inanimate nominal *sono keiken* 'that experience', and under these conditions, *Mary*, a 3, can antecede *zibun*. Example (55b) has the interpretation that it does, because *Mary* heads a term arc (that is, a 1, 2, or 3 arc) and is the only sentient nominal in the clause. The fact that only nonsubject TERMS (2s and 3s) may antecede *zibun* is illustrated by comparing (55b) to a clause in which the only sentient nominal in the clause is marked with the same postposition *ni*, but is an oblique nominal rather than a term. In (56), the nominal *Taroo* is the only sentient nominal in the clause and is marked by the postposition *ni*. However, since the nominal is a locative, rather than a 3, antecedence of *zibun* is not possible.

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[18] Direct passive *ni* nominals cannot be tested for equi control into *nagara* 'while/during' clauses, because this adverbial clause type does not occur with direct passives at all. This is illustrated in (i).

  (i) ??Kodomotati wa sensei ni   tabe-nagara sikarareta.
     children   TOP teacher DAT eat-while   were.scolded
     ('The children were scolded by the teacher, while eating.')

A direct passive can contain a *nagara* clause, where *nagara* means 'although', but since equi-control of these clauses is not restricted to subjects they are not relevant to the argument presented here. In (ii), the passive chômeur controls the adverbial clause, however *nagara* in this clause represents the stative meaning 'although'.

  (ii) Tanaka wa Yamada ni   zibun no tomodati deari-nagara   damasareta.
       TOP   DAT self   GEN friend   being-although was.deceived
     'Tanaka$_j$ was deceived by Yamada$_i$, even though he$_i$ was her$_j$ friend.'

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(56) (= Inoue 1976: (138b))
[Titiga   zibun o   yonda toki], kozutsumi ga Taroo ni   kita.
dad NOM self   ACC called time   parcel   NOM   DAT came
'When father called self$_i$, a parcel came to Taroo$_i$.'

The nominal *Taroo* in (56) cannot antecede *zibun*, because it heads an oblique (Locative) arc, rather than a term arc.[19]

In the case of *ni* marked causatives, we find that they can antecede *zibun* even when the matrix subject is sentient. Thus, in (57), either the matrix subject *Taroo* or the causee *Hanako* can be interpreted as anteceding the reflexive.

(57) Taroo wa Hanako ni   zibun no   mondai o   hanasaseta.
         TOP   DAT self   GEN problem ACC speak.made
     'Taro made Hanako speak about his/her problem.'

Since the animacy/sentience of *Taroo* does not block *Hanako* as an antecedent, it might be assumed that this is the result of both nominals having the status of subject; if *Taroo* is the clause-final subject, then *Hanako* must be the P-final subject of the inner P-sector.

Data from passives suggests that the status of *ni* nominals in AU passives is analogous to that of *ni* causees. In (58), for example, both *John* and *Mary* are sentient and both can antecede *zibun*.

(58) John wa Mary ni   zibun no   koto   o   ziman-sareta.
         TOP   DAT self   GEN matter ACC boast-was.done
     'John$_i$ suffered Mary's$_j$ boasting about self's$_{i,j}$ matters.'

(59) Taroo wa titi   ni   zibun no   uti   de sinareta.
         TOP father DAT self   GEN home LOC was.died
     'Taro$_i$ was died by [his] father$_j$ in self's$_{i,j}$ home.'

This suggests that neither member of the possible antecedents in (58) outranks the other, and is consistent with the account developed here in which both the matrix subject of the AU passive and the *ni* nominal are P-final 1s. The same test, applied to direct passives, indicates that their *ni*

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[19] Lest the impression mistakenly be given that (56) is anomalous due to precedence relations, note that the following example involves antecedence of *zibun* by a matrix clause indirect object (a 3), *kyoozyu ni*, that follows it in the sentence.

(i) (= Inoue 1976: (128))
    Zibun no   hatumei-sita omotya ga   kyoozyu ni   bakudai na
    self   GEN invent-did   toy   NOM professor DAT great   be
       zaisan o   motarasita.
       fortune ACC brought
    'The toy that self$_i$ invented brought a great fortune to the professor$_i$.'

nominals are true obliques (they do not head a final term arc at any level).[20]

(60) Mary wa John ni   zibun no uti   de korosareta.
   TOP DAT self GEN home LOC was.killed
 'Mary$_i$ was killed by John$_j$ in self's$_{i,*j}$ home.'

Example (60), a direct passive, contrasts with both the causative in (57) and the AU passives in (58) and (59).

6. Initial 2-Hood of Affectee in AU Passives

This section turns to the claim that the matrix subject of AU passives is a 2-1 advancee. As noted previously, the notion that the Affectee in the AU construction is an initial 2 is not entirely novel, as it is anteceded by Akatsuka-McCawley's (1972) analysis in which she proposed that this nominal is a direct object of the abstract verb 'AFFECT/INFLUENCE'. Recall her analysis of (5), repeated here.[21]

(5″) [$_S$ [$_{NP}$ [$_S$ basu doro hane]] Tanaka AFFECT]

She claimed that this initial object passivizes, and that -*rare* is a marker of passive in all these constructions. While Akatsuka-McCawley did not present empirical evidence in support of this aspect of her analysis, it turns out that there is indeed convincing support for the notion that AU passive subjects are lexically inserted as the object of the higher predicate -*rare*.

Without explicit motivation, there is no reason to assume that the nominal *Tanaka* in (61) is initialized as a 2 and advances from 2-1.

(61) Tanaka wa doroboo ni   saihu o   nusumareta.
   TOP thief DAT wallet ACC was.stolen
 'Tanaka was stolen his wallet by a thief.'

Another equally plausible analysis for (61), consistent with all the evidence thus far, is one in which the AU passive subject is introduced (analogous to the subject of a causative) as the initial subject of the predicate -*rare*. This is, in fact, the sort of analysis proposed in other recent accounts of passive (including Kubo 1989/1990, Terada 1990, Hoshi 1994). Alongside this author's 2-1 advancement analysis, repeated here in RN (62), is a non-

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[20] It was Kuno (1973) who first noted that the *ni* marked nominal in a direct passive cannot antecede *zibun*, while that of an AU passive can.

[21] Washio's (1993) analysis also presents the subject of the adversative passive as the second argument of an abstract predicate AFF[ect]. However, Washio's account is analogous to the current analysis at the level of lexical conceptual structure (LCS) rather than in a mapping to grammatical relations or syntactic positions. Because of this, his analysis cannot easily accomodate most of the data accounted for in this section (and section 7) on the basis of the initial direct objecthood of the Affectee.

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advancement analysis, in which *Tanaka* is introduced as a 1, as given in RN (63).[22]

(62) (*Proposed analysis*)

	I	2	P	
2	I	Cho	Cho	P
I	Cho	Cho	Cho	P
Tanaka	doroboo	saihu	nusum	areta

(63) (*Alternative analysis*)

I		2	P	
I	Cho	2	Cho	P
Tanaka	doroboo	saihu	nusum	areta

In (63), *Tanaka* is initialized as a 1 by the predicate *-rare* and puts the inner 1 en chômage. In both analyses, the AU passive *ni* nominal *doroboo* is a P-final 1 and a clause-final 1-Cho. At first glance, (63) appears to be simpler, and in the absence of evidence to the contrary there is no reason not to prefer it. However, adopting (63) would leave unexplained some crucial differences between AU constructions and causatives. It will be shown below that the 2-1 advancement analysis interacts with the 1-Advancement Exclusiveness Law (1AEX) in a way that accounts for all the relevant data.

1AEX, as proposed in Perlmutter & Postal (1984), accounts for the fact that multiple advancements to 1 in a single clause appear to be universally prohibited. The law is presented formally in (64).

(64) *The 1-Advancement Exclusiveness Law (1AEX)*
If an RN contains arcs of the form
$[GRx\ (a,b)\ \langle cx,ci \rangle]$ AND $[1\ (a,b)\ \langle ci+1,cw \rangle]$,
then it does not contain arcs of the form
$[GRx\ (c,b)\ \langle cx,cj \rangle]$ AND $[1\ (c,b)\ \langle cj+1,cw \rangle]$

Simply stated, this law says that there cannot be more than one advancement to 1 in a single clause. Perlmutter & Postal (1984) show how the law correctly predicts multiple passivization to be impossible, along with impersonal passives or pseudopassives based on unaccusative predicates.

If AU and causative constructions are both unions in which the outer predicate introduces a 1, then it might be expected that there would be no difference in the range of clauses that can form the inner P-sector of such unions. It turns out, however, that causatives of direct passives are grammatical, while AU constructions built on direct passives are impossible.

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[22] Note that RN (63) cannot easily handle the possibility of possessor ascension (PA) in (61), without positing additional structure or violating the Relational Succession Law (RSL). RN (62) accomodates both PA and non-PA cases without further elaboration, since *Tanaka* bears a 2 relation in the clause before advancing (which is what the RSL demands of PA out of a 2 host).

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(65) Hanako ga Ziroo ni butareta.
          NOM   DAT was.hit
  'Hanako was hit by Ziro.'

The direct passive clause in (65) can be readily causativized, as in (66).

(66) (a) Taroo ga Hanako o Ziroo ni butaresaseta.
          NOM   ACC   DAT hit.was.made
    'Taro made Hanako be hit by Ziro.'
   (b) Taroo ga Hanako ni Ziroo ni butaresaseta.
          NOM   DAT   DAT hit.was.let
    'Taro let Hanako be hit by Ziro.'

In (66), *Hanako* passivizes in the inner P-sector (2-1) putting *Ziroo* en chômage. As the pre-causative P-final 1, *Hanako* is revalued to 2. If the nominal remains a 2 in the final stratum, it is interpreted as a 'make'-causative and marked with *o*, as in (66a). If it retreats to 3, it is interpreted as a 'let'-causative and marked with *ni*, as in (66b). The RNs of (66a) and (66b) are (67) and (68).[23]

(67) = (66a)

2	1	P			
1	Cho	P			
1	Cho	Cho	P		
1	2	Cho	Cho	Cho	P
Taroo	Hanako	Ziroo	but	are	saseta

(68) = (66b)

2	1	P			
1	Cho	P			
1	Cho	Cho	P		
1	2	Cho	Cho	Cho	P
1	3	Cho	Cho	Cho	P
Taroo	Hanako	Ziroo	but	are	saseta

If an AU construction initializes a 1, like a causative, then there is no obvious reason why an AU built on (65), analogous to (66b), should not be possible. In fact though, it is not.

(69) *Taroo ga Hanako ni Ziroo ni butarerareta.
          NOM   DAT   dat was.hit
    ('Taro was affected by Hanako being hit by Ziro.')

Under the proposed analysis, the ill-formed (69) has RN (70) and its unacceptability is attributable to a violation of the 1AEX.

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[23] Motivations for the analysis of causatives shown here, and for the proposed 2–3 retreat of *ni* marked causees are to be found in Dubinsky (1990) and (1994).

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(70)   *

	2	1	P		
	1	Cho	P		
	1	Cho	Cho	P	
2	1	Cho	Cho	Cho	P
1	Cho	Cho	Cho	Cho	P
Taroo	Hanako	Ziroo	but	are	rareta

In (70), *Hanako* undergoes 2-1 advancement in the first two strata of the RN and *Taroo* is a 2-1 advancee in the last two. The multiple advancements to 1 by distinct nominals in (70) violate the 1AEX. Consider now the alternative analysis of AU (in which the Affectee is introduced as a 1), which would posit RN (71) for the ungrammatical (69).

(71)

	2	1	P		
	1	Cho	P		
	1	Cho	Cho	P	
1	Cho	Cho	Cho	Cho	P
Taroo	Hanako	Ziroo	but	are	rareta

(71) is a well-formed RN containing a single 2-1 advancement in the inner P-sector, and does not lead to a straightforward account for the unacceptability of (69). Thus, the analysis which claims the Affectee to be initialized as a 2 is preferred on the basis of its ability, in conjunction with the 1AEX, to correctly rule out AU constructions with inner direct passive.

In a similar vein, we can contrast the possibility of forming causatives of causatives with the impossibility of forming AU constructions of AU constructions. We find, under certain circumstances, that a causative construction may itself be causativized, as in (72).

(72) Tanaka wa Yamada ni   kodomo o   tabesasesaseta.
         TOP   DAT child   ACC eat.make.made
    'Tanaka made Yamada make the child eat.'

The RN for (72) is (73).

(73) = (72)

		1	P		
	1	2	Cho	P	
1	2	Cho	Cho	Cho	P
1	3	Cho	Cho	Cho	P
Tanaka	Yamada	kodomo	tabe	sase	saseta

If it is possible for 'Yamada to make the child eat' and for 'Tanaka to make

Yamada make the child eat', and if it is possible for 'Hanako's child to be (adversely) affected by its raining' as in (74a), then it should also be possible for 'Hanako to be (adversely) affected by her child's being (adversely) affected by its raining'. As (74b) shows, this is not the case.

(74) (a) Hanako no kodomo ga   ame ni   hurareta.
            GEN child   NOM rain DAT fall.affected
       'Hanako's child was fallen by rain.'
    (b) *Hanako ga   kodomo ni   ame ni   hurarerareta.
           NOM child   DAT rain DAT fall.affect.affected
       ('Hanako was affected by her child's being fallen by rain.')

The proposed analysis assigns to (74b) the RN given in (75) and the alternative analysis assigns to it RN (76).

(75)

	Hanako	kodomo	ame	hur	are	rareta
*			I	P		
2			I	Cho	P	
1			Cho	Cho	P	
2		I	Cho	Cho	Cho	P
1		Cho	Cho	Cho	Cho	P
	Hanako	kodomo	ame	hur	are	rareta

(76)

	Hanako	kodomo	ame	hur	are	rareta
			I	P		
I			Cho	Cho	P	
I		Cho	Cho	Cho	Cho	P
	Hanako	kodomo	ame	hur	are	rareta

RN (75) contains two separate advancements to I (by *kodomo* in the second P-sector and by *Hanako* in the final P-sector) and is ill-formed by the IAEX. RN (76) contains no multiple advancements to I and is well-formed, leaving the ungrammaticality of (74b) unexplained. Once again, P-initial 2-hood of the Affectee explains observed differences between AU constructions and causatives.

7. UNACCUSATIVE VERBS, THE IAEX, AND AU PASSIVE

This section examines the interaction of UNACCUSATIVE verbs with causative and passive, and based on the evidence, proposes a revision of the IAEX. Where the original formulation of the IAEX simply prohibited multiple advancements to I in a single clause, the evidence presented here will show that multiple advancements to I are possible, provided the same nominal undergoes them. That is, the revised IAEX will prohibit advancements to I BY DISTINCT NOMINALS in the same clause.

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The UNACCUSATIVE HYPOTHESIS (Perlmutter 1978) embodies the proposal that intransitive verbs can be divided into those whose single argument is underlyingly a subject (UNERGATIVES) and those whose single argument is underlyingly a direct object (UNACCUSATIVES). Previous research, reported in Dubinsky (1985a) and Miyagawa (1989), has shown unaccusative verbs in Japanese to be identifiable on the basis of at least two syntactic phenomena. Miyagawa (1989) shows that the surface subjects of unaccusative verbs can host a non-adjacent numeral quantifier, while unergatives cannot. Dubinsky (1985a) demonstrates that unaccusative verbal (or argument-taking) nouns cannot be marked with accusative case, while unergatives and transitives can.[24] Example (77) presents a clause containing the single unaccusative predicate *nemuru* 'sleep'.

(77) Yuube   wa yoku nemutta.
     last.night TOP well slept
     'Last night, [I] slept well.'

It is of interest to us in this discussion to note that the surface subject of an unaccusative predicate can undergo direct passive, after the verb is causativized.

(78) (a) Hanako wa Ziroo o   nemuraseta.
                TOP   ACC made.sleep
         'Hanako made Ziro sleep.'
     (b) Ziroo wa Hanako ni   nemuraserareta.
                TOP   DAT be.made.sleep
         'Ziro was made to sleep by Hanako.'

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[24] As stated in the text, one of the two diagnostics for unaccusativity is restricted to 'verbal nouns', which can be followed by the postposition *o* when they are transitive or unergative, but not when they are unaccusative. Accordingly, I have listed here a number of verbal nouns which are claimed to be unaccusative.

ekika	'liquefy'	kansoo	'dry'	syussui	'flood'
geraku	'decline'	kika	'evaporate'	syuusyuku	'shrink'
gyooko	'solidify'	kootyoo	'redden'	tanzyoo	'be born'
henka	'change'	kyuuzoo	'jump'	tikuseki	'accumulate'
hunka	'erupt'	meityuu	'hit (target)'	tinbotu	'sink'
hunsitu	'lose'	ryuukoo	'be popular'	tootyaku	'arrive'
huttoo	'boil'	siboo	'die'	zensyoo	'burn down'
kaimetu	'be ruined'	sissin	'pass out'	zooryoo	'increase'
kakoo	'go down'	syoosin	'be promoted'	zyoohatu	'evaporate'
kakudai	'enlarge'	syukusyoo	'reduce'	zyoosyoo	'go up/rise'
kaitoo	'thaw'	syussan	'bear(be born)'		

This list includes every unaccusative verbal noun cited by the following authors: Dubinsky (1985a), Grimshaw & Mester (1988), Kajihara (1991), Miyagawa (1987, 1989), Terada (1990), Tsujimura (1990a,b). While the members of this lexical class may vary slightly from speaker to speaker, and individual authors may differ on which verbal nouns to include in the list, there is nonetheless a clear consensus for the existence of this class and general agreement on the grammatical phenomena that distinguish them from unergatives.

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In (78b), the embedded subject of 'sleep' and causee, *Ziroo*, undergoes 2-1 direct passive. At the same time, AU passives formed from unaccusative predicates are ill-formed.

(79) ?*Tanaka wa musume ni   nemurareta.
　　　　　　TOP daughter DAT was.slept
　　　('Tanaka was fallen.asleep by his daughter.')

Providing a principled explanation for these facts involves first ascertaining the relational status of the unaccusative verb's subject when the predicate is embedded as in (78) and (79). In other words, we need to know in the case of (78a), for instance, whether *Ziroo* (which is an initial 2 of the predicate *nemuru*) advances to 1 in the embedded clause, before being revalued to 2 as a causee.

Perlmutter & Postal (1983b) introduces a law of clause structure called the FINAL 1 LAW. Simply put, this law requires every basic clause to have a final 1. We do not know a priori whether to apply the term 'basic clause' to each P-sector of a construction, or whether 'basic clause' only includes the entire clause with all of its predicates. If the Final 1 Law is applied to every P-sector, then unaccusative verbs must undergo 2-1 advancement prior to the application of a union predicate such as causative *-sase* and passive *-rare*. If they do so, then the ungrammaticality of unaccusative verbs in AU passive constructions, as seen in (79), could be explained as a violation of the 1AEX, since (79) would then involve an inner P-sector 2-1 advancement of *musume* coupled with an outer P-sector 2-1 advancement of *Tanaka*. There is indeed evidence that *musume* advances to 1 in the inner P-sector of (79). On the basis of syntactic phenomena that are sensitive to P-final 1-hood (equi control of *nagara* clauses and triggering of subject honorification (SH)), it can be shown that an unaccusative nominal undergoes 2-1 advancement in the inner P-sector of a causative construction. In (80), *Ziroo* is claimed to head an inner P-final 1-arc on the basis of its being able to control the subject of the adverbial clause *hosi o kazoe-nagara* 'while counting the stars'.

(80) Hanako wa Ziroo o   [hosi o   kazoe-nagara] nemuraseta.
　　　　TOP　　　ACC star ACC count-while   sleep.made
　　'Hanako made Ziro sleep while she/he counted the stars.'

SH facts are much harder to come by, since it is pragmatically quite difficult to generate an acceptable sentence in which the same nominal is both a grammatical causee and a trigger of SH. However, Kuno (1983) shows that a causee (under the right circumstances) can be a SH trigger.[25]

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[25] The general form of (81) is due to S. Kuno (personal communication).

(81) Watasi wa, kootyoosensei o,   o-suki   na dake
    I   TOP principal   ACC HON-like COP just
    o-nemuri ni   narasete   o-oki   moosiageru kotonisita.
    HON-sleep DAT become.made   HON-leave do.HUMBLE decided
    'I[+HUMBLE] decided to leave the Principal[+HON] to sleep as much
    as he wanted.'

Insofar as the nominal *kootyoosensei* 'principal' in (81) triggers SH, it must head a P-final 1-arc at some level. Based on these facts, we can conclude that *Ziroo*, the initial 2 of *nemuru* 'sleep' advances to 1 in the inner P-sector of (78a), before being revalued to 2 in the union stratum. Thus, *Ziroo* is an initial 2 and a final 2, but also a P-final 1. The RN of (78a) is given here in (82).

(82) = (78a)

		2	P	
		1	P	
	1	2	Cho	P
	Hanako	Ziroo	nemur	aseta

The observation that unaccusatives satisfy the Final 1 Law in the inner P-sector of a multipredicate construction, combined with the 1AEX, leads to the prediction (that we have already seen to be correct) that unaccusative verbs cannot form AU passives. In (79), *musume* advances 2-1 in the inner P-sector. The nominal *Tanaka*, introduced in the outer P-sector as the Affectee argument of *-rare*, also advances 2-1. The sentence, as represented in RN (83), is ruled out by the 1AEX.[26]

(83) = (79)

*		**2**	P	
		1	P	
2	1	Cho	P	
1	Cho	Cho	P	
Tanaka	musume	nemur	areta	

Having explained how the 1AEX conspires with the Final 1 Law to rule out AU passives of unaccusatives, we must return to the problem of (78b).

    In (78b), the embedded subject of a causativized unaccusative predicate undergoes 2-1 direct passive. Based on what we now know about the precausative inner P-sector of (78b), this embedded subject has undergone 2-1 advancement before being revalued to 2 as a causee. The RN for (78b), extending that of (78a), is expressed in (84).

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[26] Note that there is nothing to rule out the combination of *-rare* with an unaccusative predicate, so long as the 1AEX is not violated. The morpheme *-rare* also functions as an honorific morpheme (triggered by an appropriate subject), and forms such as *nemurareta* 'slept.HON' are perfectly acceptable. See Dubinsky (1985a) for an account of *-rare* as an honorific.

(84) = (78b)

| | 2 | P | | |
	1	P		
1	2	Cho	P	
Cho	1	Cho	P	
Cho	1	Cho	Cho	P
Hanako	Ziroo	nemur	ase	areta

Technically, both (79) and (78b) should be ruled out by the 1AEX as formulated in Perlmutter & Postal (1984); see (64) above. Note that *Ziroo* undergoes two advancements to 1 in (84), once to satisfy the Final 1 Law in the inner P-sector and once as a consequence of passivization. Comparing (83) and (84), it would appear that multiple advancements to 1 are possible, and it is advancements to 1 by distinct nominals in the same clause that leads to ill-formedness. These facts lead naturally to a minor revision in the formalization of the 1AEX given in (85).

(85) *The 1-Advancement Exclusiveness Law (1AEX): **Revised***
        If an RN contains arcs of the form
        [GRx (a,b) $\langle cx,ci \rangle$] AND [1 (a,b) $\langle ci+1,cw \rangle$],
        and arcs of the form
        [GRx (c,b) $\langle cx,cj \rangle$] AND [1 (c,b) $\langle cj+1,cw \rangle$], **then a = c**

As revised, the 1AEX states that if there is more than one advancement to 1 in a single clause, then it must be by the same nominal.

  Any claim that asserts the syntactic relevance of unaccusativity to a phenomenon begs the question of whether the phenomenon might not be accounted for just as adequately by reference to thematic properties. Thus, it might be reasonably asked whether (79) is ruled out because the argument of 'sleep' is nonagentive (rather than because it is unaccusative). This question can be answered by comparing AU passive and causative constructions. In causatives involving intransitive predicates, the causee can often be marked either with *ni* or with *o*. However, when the matrix subject of the causative is an agent and the argument of the embedded intransitive predicate is not, the causee must be *o* marked (see Dubinsky 1990 and 1994). Two predicates that are restricted in this way are *huru* 'fall, precipitate' and *agaru* 'rise'.

(86) (a) Ame ga   hutta.   (b) Kion   ga agatta.
          rain NOM fell   temperature NOM rose
          'It rained.'   'The temperature went up.'

Because the surface subjects of *huru* and *agaru* are both non-agents, the two predicates can only form *o* causatives.

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(87) (a) Taroo wa ame o/*ni huraseru koto ga dekiru.
         TOP rain ACC/DAT fall.make thing NOM can
    'Taro can make it rain.'
   (b) Taroo wa kion o/*ni agaraseru koto ga dekiru.
         TOP temperature ACC/DAT rise.make thing NOM can
    'Taro can make the temperature rise.'

Now, if agentivity in the inner P-sector were the relevant property in licensing intransitive AU passives, then we would expect neither to be able to form an AU construction. We find, however, that *huru* can form a grammatical AU passive, and that *agaru* cannot.

(88) (a) Taroo ga ame ni hurareta.
         NOM rain DAT was.fallen
    'Taro was fallen by rain.'
   (b) *Taroo ga kion ni agarareta.
         NOM temperature DAT was.risen
    ('Taro was gone up by the temperature.')

The facts in (87) and the grammaticality of (88a) indicate that (88b) is not ruled out due to *kion* 'temperature' being nonagentive.[27] The data rather suggest that syntactic unaccusativity is in fact relevant to an account of AU passives, that *huru* 'precipitate' is unergative, *agaru* 'rise' is unaccusative, and (88b) is a violation of the 1AEX. In (88a), *ame* 'rain' is an initial 1 in the inner P-sector, and the 2-1 advancement in the outer P-sector yields a well-formed RN. In (88b), *kion* is an initial 2 that advances to 1 in the inner P-sector. Coupled with the 2-1 advancement of *Taroo* in the outer P-sector, its RN is ill-formed.

8. A SUMMARY OF THE SYNTAX OF -*RARE* AND A COMPARISON WITH KOREAN

This paper has presented an analysis for a range of constructions that all involve the affixal predicate -*rare*. It has been shown that -*rare* is a reflex of regular passive in a RN, and also marks the presence of a predicate which can

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[27] There is additional evidence (unrelated to the discussion at hand) that agentivity of the surface subject does not correlate with unergativity, and that the unaccusative/unergative distinction is grammatical rather than thematic. For instance, while it may be true that all unaccusative verbs have non-agentive subjects, it is not true that all verbs that take non-agentive subjects are unaccusative. As evidence of this, one can point to several intransitive verbal nouns, such as *seki* 'cough', *kusyami* 'sneeze', *byooki* 'be sick', and *wakajini* 'die young', whose subjects are demonstrably nonagentive, yet which must be categorized as unergative in that they (i) allow accusative case, (ii) form adversative passives, and (iii) do not permit displacement of a numeral quantifier away from the subject.

introduce its own argument in a manner similar to the causative predicate -*sase*. However, while the extra argument introduced by -*sase* (that is, the causer) is initialized as a 1, that of -*rare* (the affectee) is initialized as a 2 and advances to 1. As a result, all constructions having -*rare* expressed morphologically on the verb involve passive (which is 2-1 advancement out of a transitive stratum).

The foregoing discussion has analyzed the traditionally recognized categories of direct and indirect (AU) passive, and accounted for the differences between them. It has also demonstrated the need to recognize a third category of passive constructions, one that involves the application of possessor ascension (PA) together with passive. This last category always bears a superficial resemblance to transitive AU passive, even though it is sometimes only a combination of PA and direct passive. The recognition of this third category, along with the analysis given for it here, makes an interesting prediction were a language to have direct passive and PA but not AU. It predicts that such a language would APPEAR to have transitive AU passives along with direct passives, and would inexplicably fail to have AU-like constructions involving intransitive predicates. As we shall see shortly, Korean is such a language.

It is observed in Washio (1993) that Korean has both a regular direct passive as well as what appears to be an AU construction containing a transitive inner predicate. However, Korean does not permit AU constructions built from intransitive (unergative) inner predicates. Compare the following examples, which involve the Japanese passive -(*r*)*are* or the Korean passive -(*h*)*i*.

(89) (a) (= Washio 1993: (9a)) *Japanese direct passive*
        Doroboo ga   keikan ni   torae-**rare**-ta.
        thief   NOM police   DAT was.arrested
        'The thief was arrested by the police.'

   (b) (= Washio 1993: (9b)) *Korean direct passive*
        Totwuk i   swunkyung eykey cap-**hi**-ess-ta.
        thief   NOM police   DAT   was.caught
        'The thief was caught by the police.'

(90) (a) (= Washio 1993: (11b)) *Japanese indirect passive*
                                   (*transitive predicate*)
        John ga Mary ni   kami o   kir-**are**-ta.
             NOM   DAT hair ACC was.cut
        'John was cut the hair by Mary.'

   (b) (= Washio 1993: (11a)) *Korean indirect passive*
                                  (*transitive predicate*)
        John i Mary eykey melithel ul   kkakk-**i**-ess-ta.
             NOM   DAT hair   ACC was.cut
        'John was cut the hair by Mary.'

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(91) (a) (= Washio 1993: (6))   *Japanese indirect passive*
                                      (*intransitive predicate*)
          Gakusei **ga**   kodomo ni   nak-**are**-ta.
          student NOM child   DAT was.cried
          'The student was cried by the child.'
     (b) (= Washio 1993: (8b))   *Korean indirect passive*
                                      (*intransitive predicate*)
          *Haksayng **i**   ai   eykey wull-**i**-ess-ta.
           student   NOM child DAT   was.cried
          ('The student was cried by the child.')

The ungrammaticality of (91b) in Korean is puzzling. If the Korean inflection *-hi* can introduce an extra argument in the same manner as *-rare*, then it is not immediately clear why it should only do so when the embedded verb is transitive. However, as Washio observes, there also a difference in Japanese and Korean between the two grammatical indirect passives in (90). In the Japanese example, (90a), the object *kami* 'hair' can be interpreted as belonging to either John or Mary. In the Korean example, (90b), the object *melithel* 'hair' can only be interpreted as 'John's hair'. When the clausal subject of a transitive indirect passive cannot be interpreted as the possessor of the embedded object, the construction is ungrammatical in Korean but not in Japanese. Compare (92) and (93).

(92) (a) Inu ga   yuudokuna kinoko   o   tabeta.
          dog NOM poisonous   mushroom ACC ate
          'The dog ate poisonous mushrooms.'
     (b) Yuudokuna kinoko   ga   inu ni   taberareta.
          poisonous   mushroom NOM dog DAT were.eaten
          'Poisonous mushrooms were eaten by the dog.'
     (c) John ga   inu ni   yuudokuna kinoko   o   taberareta.
               NOM dog DAT poisonous   mushroom ACC were.eaten
          'John was eaten poisonous mushrooms by [his] dog.'

(93) (a) Kay ka [toki   issnun peses]   ul   mek-ess-ta.
          dog NOM poison has   mushroom ACC ate
          'The dog ate poisonous mushrooms.'
     (b) [Toki   issnun peses]   i   kay eykey mek-hi-ess-ta.[28]
           poison has   mushroom NOM dog DAT   were.eaten
          'Poisonous mushrooms were eaten by the dog.'

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[28] (93b) might be deemed slightly odd by some speakers of Korean, due to the fact that the subject of this sentence is inanimate. However, it contrasts robustly with (93c), which is completely ungrammatical.

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(c) *John i   kay eykey [toki   issnun peses]
      NOM dog DAT   poison has   mushroom
ul   mek-hi-ess-ta
ACC was.eaten
('John was eaten poisonous mushrooms by [his] dog.')

The restrictions in the interpretation of (90b) and the ungrammaticality of (91b) and (93c) are directly accounted for if the AU construction, in which a union predicate independently initializes an Affectee, does not exist in Korean. Accordingly, Korean would have analogs of the Japanese regular passive and the possessor ascension-regular passive (recall example (27) and its RN (32)), but no analogs of the true AU constructions. This difference between Japanese and Korean is reduceable to a difference in the lexical entries of their respective passive predicates: in Japanese, -*rare* optionally initializes an Affectee direct object, while in Korean, -*hi* does not introduce its own argument into the clause.[29]

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[29] Washio (1993) accounts for the difference between indirect and possessor ascension passive by positing a pragmatic relation between the Affectee and the event in the first case and between the Affectee and an argument of the event in the second case. While the analysis effectively captures some of the cross-linguistic semantic similarities between passives and causatives, it is not able to distinguish syntactically between the embedded subject of an AU passive and that of a causative (see note 21 for further comments on the analysis).

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