Long-Distance Passives in Japanese

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1. Introduction

There are two types of long-distance passives in Japanese. What I call Type I long-distance passives involves aspectual constructions, where a whole complex predicate is passivized as shown in (1):

(1) Sono ronbun-ga (John-niyotte) e kaki-oe-rare-ta
that paper-NOM (John-by) write-finish-PASS(PASSIVE)-PAST
Lit. 'That paper was finished writing by John.' (Nishigauchi 1993: 85)

In (1), the complex predicate kaki-oe 'finish writing', which consists of the main verb kaki 'write' and the aspectual morpheme oe 'finish', is passivized as a whole. On the assumption that such complex predicate constructions have bi-clausal structures, examples like (1) count as long-distance passives. Type I long-distance passives have been extensively discussed by, among others, Sugioka (1984), Miyagawa (1989), Kageyama (1993), and Nishigauchi (1993). What I call Type II long-distance passives, on the other hand, has not been given so much attention. Type II long-distance passives look as if they involve passivization across a subject and the CP-TP node sequence as shown in (2) and (3):

(2) [John-no yoona gankona titoya]-ga hayaoyatati-ni
[John-GEN like stubborn father]-NOM mother-by
[CP [TP kodomo-ga tomodati-ni e zimantisagaru] to]
child-NOM friend-DAT want-to-boost that
omow-are-teiru yooda yo
think-PASS-PRES(ENT) seem PART(CLE)
Lit. 'Stubborn fathers like John seem to be thought of by mothers that children want to boost to their friends about them.'

(3) [John-no yooni mokuhi-o tuzukeru higisya]-ga
[John-GEN like nonconfession-ACC continue suspect]-NOM

* I am grateful to Hidehito Hoshi, Shigeru Miyagawa, Jairo Nunes, and Norvin Richards for helpful comments and discussions on earlier versions of this paper. Earlier versions were presented at Mini Workshop on Japanese/Korean Syntax at MFT and Minimalist Program: Quo Vadis? at University of Potsdam. I thank those in the audience for comments and suggestions. I am also grateful to Hiroshi Aoyagi, Hajime Ikawa, and Miyoko Yasui for help with the Japanese data. Remaining errors and omissions are, of course, the sole responsibility of the author. This work was supported in part by the Japan Society for the Promotion of Science under grant Scientific Research C 22520511.
masukoni-ni [CP [TP kensatukan-ga suguni mass-media-by prosecutor-NOM immediately e kisositagaru] to omow-are-teiru mitaida yo want-to-prosecute that think-PASS-PRES seem PART Lit. 'Suspects like John who continue to remain silent seem to be thought of by the mass media that prosecutors want to prosecute them immediately.'

In (2, 3), there is an object gap in the embedded clause, and the gap is associated with the matrix subject. In (2), for example, the matrix subject John-no yoona ganko-na tiiya 'stubborn fathers like John' is associated with the object position of the embedded verb zimansitagaru 'want-to-boast.' Since this paper only discusses Type II long-distance passives, I refer to Type II long-distance passives simply as long-distance passives in the rest of this paper.

Long-distance passives like (2, 3) have theoretical implications in that the embedded object prima facie undergoes "long NP-movement" to the matrix subject position, crossing the embedded subject and the CP-TP node sequence. It has been observed, however, that such "long NP-movement" is not allowed in languages like English as shown in (4):

(4) *John is believed [that Mary likes t].

In generative literature, various locality conditions have been proposed to rule out such "long NP-movement," like the Tensed-S Condition, Specified Subject Condition (Chomsky 1973), the Subjacency Condition (Chomsky 1981), the Empty Category Principle (Lasnik and Saito 1984; Chomsky 1986), and the Relativized Minimality (Rizzi 1990). In the minimalist program, "long NP-movement" like (4) is excluded by the defective intervention constraint (5) and the Phase Impenetrability Condition (PIC) (see, among others, Chomsky 2000, 2001). This paper adopts Chomsky's (2001) less strict version of the PIC (6):

(5) The Defective Intervention Constraint (adapted from Chomsky 2000)
*α > β > γ, where (i) >i indicates c-command, (ii) β and γ match the probe α, but β is inactive so that the effects of matching are blocked.

(6) The Phase Impenetrability Condition (adapted from Chomsky 2001)
In [ZP Z ... [HP α [H YP]]], where HP is a strong phrase and ZP is the next strong phrase, the domain of H is not accessible to operations at ZP, where the strong phrase is CP/vP.

(4) violates the defective intervention constraint (5), since the matrix T with unvalued φ-features, being a probe, cannot match with the embedded object John due to the intervening embedded subject Mary, whose Case feature is valued and hence inactive. (4) also violates the PIC (6), since the embedded object John never appears at the edge of the embedded vP or CP phase, being inaccessible to the matrix T. Given that the defective intervention constraint and the PIC are 'deep,' it has been widely assumed that "long NP-movement" like (4) is prohibited universally. Long-distance passives in Japanese like (2, 3) therefore present a challenge to the universality of these locality conditions.

This paper proposes contra the surface pattern that the matrix subject in (2, 3) originates not in the embedded object position, but in the major subject (MS) position of the embedded clause. It then undergoes NP-movement from the embedded MS position to the matrix Spec of T. I will argue that Japanese long-distance passives do not violate the defective intervention constraint or the PIC, enabling us to maintain the view that these locality conditions hold universally. The organization of this paper is as follows. Section 2 investigates two previous analyses of long-distance passives, i.e. Nagai (1991) and Toyoshima (1996). In section 3, I will point out that there is a hitherto unnoticed restriction on long-distance passives, which cannot be accommodated by Nagai (1991) or Toyoshima (1996). Section 4 proposes that the subject of a long-distance passive originates in the embedded MS position and undergoes NP-movement to the matrix Spec of T. It is shown that the proposed analysis explains the restriction on long-distance passives. I will also present further evidence for our analysis. Section 5 discusses potential objections to our analysis. Section 6 explicates a crosslinguistic perspective of the proposed analysis. Section 7 makes concluding remarks.

2. Previous Analyses

Nagai (1991) claims that the matrix subject of a long-distance passive is base-generated as a "major subject (MS)." The object gap in the complement CP is a small pro, as represented in (7):

(7) SUBJ ... [CP ... pro ...] V-(r)are (V-PASSIVE)

Toyoshima (1996) claims, on the other hand, that the matrix subject is base-generated and selected by the passive morpheme -(r)are. An empty operator originates in the position of an object gap within the embedded clause, and then moves to the embedded Spec of C, where it gets identified with the matrix subject through predication, as represented in (8):

(8) SUBJ ... [CP OP [... t ... V]] (r)are (PASSIVE)

3. A Restriction on Long-distance Passives

There is, however, a hitherto unnoticed restriction on long-distance passives in Japanese. Long-distance passives are not freely allowed, but their distribution is very limited. While examples like (2, 3) are acceptable, those like (9, 10) are deviant. In (9, 10), the matrix subject John is associated with the embedded object position:
interpreted as expressing an "important property" of John; the MSC in (13) is deviant.
Saito (1982, 1985) claims that the MSC with an object gap is also acceptable (though it sounds a little bit awkward) as far as it satisfies the "aboutness" condition (11), as exemplified by (14a, b) (Saito 1982: 13):

(14) a. *Kono syu-no eiga-ga kodomo-ga e yorokobu this kind-GEN movie-NOM child-NOM enjoy 'It is this kind of movie that children enjoy.'

b. *Kono syu-no hon-ga kodomotati-ga e yomitagaru this kind-GEN book-NOM children-NOM want-to-read 'It is this kind of book that children want to read.'

In (14), the MSs kono syu-no eiga 'this kind of movie' and kono syu-no hon 'this kind of book' correspond to the object gaps. (14a) can be interpreted as expressing an "important property" of kono syu-no eiga 'this kind of movie' such that children enjoy it. Similarly, (14b) can be interpreted as expressing an "important property" of kono syu-no hon 'this kind of book' such that children want to read it. Both (14a) and (14b) satisfy the "aboutness" condition (11). In contrast with (14), (15), where the MS sono hon 'that book' corresponds to the object gap, is deviant:


In (15), the sentence following the MS sono hon 'that book' cannot be interpreted as expressing an "important property" of that book. This is because its interpretation would be something like "that book has an important property such that John read it," which is anomalous.

3.2. Correlations between Long-distance Passives and the MSCs

Returning to long-distance passives, we have observed that long-distance passives like (2, 3) are acceptable. If we take the embedded clauses from (2, 3), and merge the matrix subjects as their MSs, we get (16, 17), which are the MSCs with object gaps. Taking (2) as an example, if we take the embedded clause 'children want to boast to their friends from (2), and merge the matrix subject 'stubborn fathers like John' as its MS, we get (16). (16, 17) are acceptable. In other words, the matrix subjects of the well-formed long-distance passives (2, 3) can be licensed as MSs of the embedded clauses.

Lit. 'It seems that it is John who continue to remain silent that prosecutors want to prosecute immediately.'

We have observed, on the other hand, that long-distance passives (9, 10) are deviant. If we take the embedded clauses from (9, 10), and merge the matrix subjects as their MSs, we get (18, 19), which are also deviant. In other words, the matrix subjects of the deviant long-distance passives (9, 10) cannot be licensed as MSs of the embedded clauses:

(18)* John-gen Mary-gen totuzen e nagutta yooda yo John-NOM Mary-NOM suddenly hit seem PART Lit. 'It seems that it is John who Mary suddenly hit.'

(19)* John-gen Mary-gen kinoo guuzen e atta yooda yo John-NOM Mary-NOM yesterday by accident met seem PART Lit. 'It seems it is John who Mary happened to meet yesterday.'

These facts indicate that there is a correlation between the availability of long-distance passives and that of the MSCs in the embedded clauses. Therefore argue that there is a restriction on long-distance passives (20):

(20) Restriction on Long-Distance Passives Long-distance passives are only allowed when their matrix subject can be licensed as a major subject of the embedded clause.

4. A Proposal

Restriction (20) strongly suggests that the base position of the subject of a long-distance passive is an MS position in the embedded clause. I argue that the subject of a long-distance passive originates in the embedded MS position (not in the apparent gap position), and then undergoes NP-movement from there to the matrix Spec of T. More specifically, I assume with Kuno (1973) and Saito (1982, 1985) that MSs are adjoined to TP, and their associated gap is identified as small pro, as represented in (21):

(21) Structure of the MSC [TP John-gen [TP pro musuko]-gen gakusei desu] John-NOM son-NOM student COPULA 'John’s son is a student.'

I propose that the derivation of Japanese long-distance passives like (2, 3) should proceed as shown in (22):

(22) a. [TP NP1 [TP NP2 ... [VP pro v] T]]
    b. [TP [TP by-NP [CP [TP NP1 [TP NP2 ... pro v T]] C] V-PASSIVE v] T]
    c. [TP NP1 [TP by-NP [CP [TP T [TP NP2 ... pro v T]] C] V-PASSIVE v] T]

As shown in (22a), the matrix subject NP1 originates in the embedded MS position, i.e. the TP-adjoined position, where it is associated with pro in the object gap position. When we construct (22b), the matrix T can access NP1 without inducing a defective intervention effect (5), since the embedded subject NP2 does not intervene between the matrix T and NP1. (22b) does not violate Chomsky's (2001) less strict version of the PIC (6) either given that the matrix passive vP is a weak phase (see, among others, Fujii 2007 and Martins and Nunes 2010). This is because the domain of the embedded C, which is a strong phase head, is only transferred when the next strong phase head, i.e. the matrix C, is introduced into the derivation. Hence, NP1 undergoes NP-movement from the embedded MS position to the matrix subject position without any intermediate step as shown in (22c). The rest of this section presents further evidence for the proposed analysis.

4.1. Locality on NP-movement

First, the proposed analysis claims that the association between the matrix subject and the embedded MS is established by movement. Since this movement is an NP-movement, it should be local in that it cannot cross over a subject or the CP-TP node sequence. This prediction is borne out, as shown in (23):

1 In (23), the matrix subject originates in the MS position of the most deeply embedded clause but not in that of the intermediate clause, since the matrix subject can be licensed as the MS of the most deeply embedded clause as shown in (i), but not as the MS of the intermediate clause as shown in (ii):

(i) [John-no yooni mukhi-o tuzukeru bigisyay]-ga John-GEN like nonconfession-ACC continue suspect-NOM kensutan-ga suguni pro kiosita [mita yo want-to-prosecute seem PART Lit. 'It seems that it is suspects like John who continue to remain silent that prosecutors want to prosecute immediately.'

(ii)* [John-no yooni mukhi-o tuzukeru bigisyay]-ga John-GEN like nonconfession-ACC continue suspect-NOM bengosi-ga [kensutan-ga suguni pro kiosita to] attorney-NOM prosecutor-NOM immediately want-to-prosecute that bakurosita mita yo revealed seem PART Lit. 'It seems that it is suspects like John who continue to remain silent
(23)*John-no yooni mokuhi-o tuzukeru higisya]-ga
John-GEN like nonconfession-ACC continue suspect-NOM
masukomi-ni [CP [TP bendosi-ga] [CP [TP kensatakan-ga]
attorney-NOM mass-media-by [TP [TP kensatakan-ga]
pro kisositaru to] bakurosita] [6]
immediately want-to-prosecute that revealed that
omow-are-teiru mitaida yo
think-PASS-PRES seem PART
Lit. 'Suspects like John who continue to remain silent seem to be
thought of by the mass media that the attorney revealed that
prosecutors want to prosecute them immediately.'

In (23), John-no yooni mokuhi-o tuzukeru higisya 'suspects like John who continue to remain silent' undergoes NP-movement from the MS position in the most deeply embedded clause to the matrix subject position, crossing the intermediate subject bendosi 'attorney' and the CP-TP node sequence. (23) is deviant, as predicted by our analysis.

4.2. No Island Effects

Second, our analysis claims that the association between the embedded MS and its associated gap, which is pro, is not formed by movement. We should therefore expect that the MS can be associated with a gap within an island. This prediction is borne out, as shown by the Complex NP case (24) and the Adjunct case (25):

(24) [Mary-no yooni doowa sakka]-ga syoogakkoo-no
[Mary-GEN like fairy-tale-writer]-NOM elementary school-GEN
sensei-ni [CP [TP [TP tiisai kodomo-ga suguni]
teacher-by small child-NOM soon
[Complex NP pro kaita sakuhin]-no arasuzi-ga rikaidekiru]]
worked work-GEN summary-NOM able-to-understand

Lit. 'Fairy tale writers like Mary seem to be thought of by elementary school teachers that small children soon understand the summary of [the book they wrote].'

(25) John-no yakuuyu sensyu-ga hahayatati-ni
John-GEN like baseball player-NOM mothers-by
[CP [TP [TP kodomo-ga [Adjunct mosi pro guuzen mikaketara]
child-NOM if happen-to-see
totemo yorokobu daroo] to] omow-are-teiru yooda yo
very pleased will that think-PASS-PRES seem PART

Lit. 'Baseball players like John seem to be thought of by mothers that their child will be very pleased [if she/he happens to see them].'

In (24), the MS, i.e. the trace left by NP-movement, is associated with pro within the relative clause. In (25), the MS is associated with pro within the adjunct clause. Both (24) and (25) are acceptable.

4.3. Overt Pronouns

Third, as pointed out by Saito (1985) and Ueda (1990), the MSs marginally allow their associated gaps, i.e. pro's, to be spelled out as overt pronouns as shown in (26). In (26), pro can be overtly realized as karera-no they-GEN:

(26) John-no yoona sakka-ga tiisai kodomo-ga
John-GEN like writer-NOM small child-NOM
[pro? karera-no sakuhin]-o yoku rikaidekiru yooda yo
[they-GEN work-ACC well able-to-understand seem PART

'It seems that it is fairy tale writers like John whose works small children understand well.'

Long-distance passives also marginally allow gaps to be replaced by overt pronouns as in (27). In (27), pro can be overtly realized as karera-o they-ACC:

(27) John-no yoona gankona titioya]-ga hahayatati-ni
John-GEN like stubborn father]-NOM mother-by
[MCP [TP kodomo-ga tomodati-ni pro? karera-o zimansitagaru] to]
child-NOM friend-DAT they-ACC want-to-boast that
omow-are-teiru yooda yo
think-PASS-PRES seem PART
Lit. 'Stubborn fathers like John seem to be thought of by mothers that children want to boast to their friends about them.'

This fact straightforwardly follows from our analysis, where the gaps in
long-distance passives are identified as pro's which are associated with
the embedded MS.

4.4. Further Consequences of the Restriction on Long-Distance Passives

Finally, the restriction on long-distance passives (20) applies not only to those with object gaps like (2, 3) but also to other types of long-distance passives. Let us first consider long-distance passives where the possessor of

2. It should be noted that Toyoshima's (1996) analysis cannot account for the absence of the island effect in (24, 25) or the presence of an overt pronoun in (27). Nagai's (1991) analysis, on the other hand, cannot capture the intervention effect with a subject and the CP-TP node sequence in (23).
a subject is a gap. In (28a), the MS John is associated with the possessor of the subject. This satisfies the "aboutness" condition on MSs (11); the result is acceptable. Its corresponding long-distance passive (28b) is also acceptable. In (28b), the matrix subject John is associated with the possessor of the embedded subject through the embedded MS position:

(28) a. [TP John-ga [TP [pro musuko]-ga gakusei desu] John-NOM son-NOM student be 'It is John whose son is a student.' (Saito 1982: 9) b. John-ga Bill-ni [CP [TP f [TP [pro musuko]-ga gakusei da] to] John-NOM Bill-by son-NOM student be that kantigais-are-teiru rasi misuderstand-PASS-PRES seem Lit. 'John seems to be misunderstood by Bill such that his son is a student.'

The MSC (29a), however, is deviant, since it violates the "aboutness" condition (11). Accordingly, its corresponding long-distance passive (29b) is also deviant:

(29) a. *[TP John-ga [TP [pro musuko]-ga odoroiita] John-NOM son-NOM was-surprised Lit. 'John is such that his son was surprised.' (Saito 1982: 9) b. *[John-ga Bill-ni [CP [TP f [TP [pro musuko]-ga John-NOM Bill-by son-NOM odoroiita] to] kantigais-are-teiru rasi was-surprised that misunderstand-PASS-PRES seem Lit. 'It seems that John is misunderstood by Bill such that his son was surprised.'

Hence, the restriction on long-distance passives (20) also holds when the possessor of a subject is a gap:

Similarly, restriction (20) holds when an indirect object is a gap as shown by the contrast between (30) and (31) and the possessor of an object is a gap as shown by the contrast between (32) and (33):

(30) a. *[TP John-no youna sensei-ga [TP kodomo-ga pro nayami-o John-GEN like teacher-NOM child-NOM worry-ACC teikoonaku utikeru youda)] yo easily express seem PART Lit. 'It seems that it is to teachers like John that children express their worries easily.' b. John-no youna sensei-ga hahayoa-tati-ni John-GEN like teacher-NOM mother-by [CP [TP f [TP kodomoga pro nayami-o teikoonaku utikeru] to] child-NOM worry-ACC easily express that sinzi-are-teiru youda yo believe-PASS-PRES seem PART

Furthermore, restriction (20) holds with the gapless pattern as shown in (34, 35):

(34) a. (Sizenkagaku-no naka-de-wa) kotosi-wa [TP buturi-ga natural science-GEN within-TOP this year-TOP physics-NOM [TP syusuysoku-ga taihen da] getting-a-job-NOM difficult-be 'Among the natural sciences) this year, physics is the area where it is difficult to get a job.' (Saito 1982: 14)
b. Kotosi-wa buturi-ga daigakuinsei-ni this year-NOM physics-NOM graduate-student-by [CP [TP f [TP syuuusyoku-ga talhen da]] to] getting-a-job-NOM be-difficult that gokais-are-teiru rasti misunderstanding-PASS-PRES seem Lit. 'This year, physics seems to be misunderstood by graduate students such that it is the area where it is most difficult to find a job.'

(35) a. *TP Mary-ga [TP John-ga Suzy-o korosita-yo daa] Mary-NOM John-NOM Suzy-ACC killed seem Lit. 'As for Mary, it seems that John killed Suzy.'

b. *TP Mary-ga keisatu-ni [TP f [TP John-ga Suzy-o Mary-NOM police-by John-NOM Suzy-ACC korosita)] to utagaw-are-teiru yoda killed that suspect-PASS-PRES seem Lit. 'It is Mary who is suspected by the police that John killed Suzy.'

These facts present further support for the restriction on long-distance passives (20) and hence for the proposed analysis.

5. Some Possible Objections

This section investigates three possible objections to our analysis, showing that those objections do not carry much weight.

5.1. The Activity Condition

Since the MS in examples like (16) (repeated here as (36)) is assigned the nominative case marker -ga, one might claim that derivation (22) (repeated here as (37)) violates the Activity Condition (38) advocated by Chomsky (2000, 2001), which prevents an element whose Case feature is valued from undergoing further A-movement (NP-movement):

(37) [TP John-no yoona gankona titoiya]-ga [TP kodomo-ga tomodati-ni John-GEN like stubborn father-NOM child-NOM friend-DAT pro zimantisagaru yoda y o want-to-boast seem PART Lit. 'It seems that it is stubborn fathers like John that children want to boast to their friends.'

(38) The Activity Condition
An element is not accessible to A-movement once its Case feature is valued.

It should be noted, however, that when the MSC (36) is embedded under verbs like omou 'think', the MS exhibits the nominative-accusative case alternation as shown in (39):

(39) Bill-ga [John-no yoona gankona titoiya]-ga o kodorno-ga Bill-NOM John-GEN like stubborn father-NOM/ACC child-NOM tomodati-ni pro zimantisagaru o omoteteiru rasti friend-DAT want-to-boast that think seem 'It seems that Bill thinks of stubborn fathers like John that children want to boast them to their friend.'

In (39), the embedded MS John-no yoona gankona titoiya 'stubborn fathers like John' is assigned either the nominative case marker -ga or the accusative case marker -o. If we assume with, among others, Kuno (1976), Tanaka (1992), and Hiraawa (2001) that the MS John-no yoona gankona titoiya 'stubborn fathers like John' in (39) originates within the embedded TP, the Case valuation of the MS by the embedded T should not be mandatory. The Case feature of the MS is valued by either the embedded T or the matrix v, leading to the nominative-accusative case alternation. Then, in (37), the embedded T does not have to value the Case feature of the embedded MS, and the matrix v does not have the Case valuation property because the matrix verb is passivized. The Case feature of the embedded MS can be left unvalued so that the MS is accessible to A-movement without violating the Activity Condition (38).

5.2. A Prolectic Analysis

One might claim that when the MS is assigned the accusative case marker -o, it is base-generated as a matrix element and associated with pro in the embedded MS position. Under such a prolectic analysis, when the MS John-no yoona gankona titoiya 'stubborn fathers like John' in (39) is assigned the accusative case marker -o, (39) would be assigned structure (40):

(40) Bill-ga [John-no yoona gankona titoiya]-o [CP [TP pro John-NOM like stubborn father-ACC [TP kodomo-ga tomodati-ni pro zimantisagaru to]] omoteteiru rasti child-NOM friend-DAT want-to-boast that think seem 'It seems that Bill thinks of stubborn fathers like John that children want to boast them to their friend.'

3. Apart from the fact that neither Nagai's (1991) nor Toyoshima's (1996) analysis cannot capture the restriction on long-distance passives (20), the latter would wrongly rule out long-distance passives where the possessor of a nominal is a gap like (28b, 30b) and gapless long-distance passives like (34b).
In (40), *John-no yoona gankona tiiyo* 'stubborn fathers like John' appears as a matrix element, and associated with *pro* in the embedded MS position. If this proleptic analysis were correct, NP movement in long-distance passives like (2, 3) would apply to the matrix element rather than the embedded MS, as represented in (41):

(41) [John-no yoona gankona tiiyo]-ga Bill-nil *f* [CP [TP *pro*
John-GEN like stubborn father-NOM Bill-by
[TP kodomo-ga tomodati-ni ...]
child-NOM friend-DAT]

As (42) shows, however, *pro* in the embedded MS position of (41) cannot be realized by an overt pronoun:

(42) *Bill-ga [John-no yoona gankona tiiyo](no-koto)-o*
Bill-NOM John-GEN like stubborn father-ACC
[CP [TP kadera-ga [TP kodomo-ga tomodati-ni pro zimansitagaru
they-NOM child-NOM friend-DAT want-to-boast
to] [omoteiro rasi that think seem 'It seems that Bill thinks of stubborn fathers like John that children want to boast them to their friend.'

This casts serious doubt on the existence of *pro* in the embedded MS position, indicating that the proleptic analysis (41) is not on the right track.

5.3. A Superreraising Analysis

Ura (1994) has presented evidence that many languages differ from languages like English in that they allow "long NP-movement," arguing that "long NP-movement" is subject to a parametric variation. (7, 8) exemplify superreraising cases in Moroccan Arabic and Mandarin Chinese:

(43) Moroccan Arabic (Ura 1994: 10)
Tishab-et-li nun [belle sfaq-ha mubend t
seemed-3SGF-to-1SG mother-1SG COMP sow-3SGM-3SGF Mohand
fsfrou]
in-Sefrou
Lit. 'My mother seemed to me that Mohand saw that in Sefrou.'

(44) Mandarin Chinese (Ura 1994: 10)
Tini di-anggap [bewa saja beri-φ surat itu t]
Tini PASS-believe COMP I give letter the
Lit. 'Tini is believed that I gave the letter.'

He claims that generalization (45) holds for superreraising (Ura 1994: 5):

(45) If a language allows the so called "Multiple Subject Construction," then it also allows superreraising to take place.

Putting technical details aside, he claims that if we adopt the Minimal Link Condition coupled with the notion of equidistance (see, among others, Chomsky 1995), languages that allow the multiple subject construction, i.e. the MSC, may use an outer specifier of position of T (AGR in his analysis) as an escape hatch for NP-movement given that the multiple subject construction involves multiple specifiers, as represented in (46):

(46) Superreraising in Languages with the "Multiple Subject Construction"

*John* seems [that [TP t'[TP it is told t[that Mary is a genius]].]

In (46), the two specifiers of T, i.e. *t* and *it*, are equally accessible to the matrix subject position according to the notion of equidistance; superreraising is allowed. Since Japanese has the multiple subject (major subject) construction, we should expect that superreraising may take place, thereby yielding long-distance passives. Under the superreraising analysis, (2) is derived as represented in (47):

(47) [John-no yoona gankona tiiyo]-ga hahoyatatni
[John-GEN like stubborn father-NOM mother-by
[CP [TP t'[TP kodomo-ga tomodati-ni t zimansitagaru to]
child-NOM friend-DAT want-to-boast that
omow-are-teiri yooda yo
think-PASS-PRES seem PART
Lit. 'Stubborn fathers like John seem to be thought of by mothers that children want to boast to their friends about them.'

In (47), the matrix subject originates in the embedded object position and then undergoes successive cyclic NP-movement using the embedded outer specifier of T as an escape hatch. Therefore, however, at least two points that cast doubt on the validity of the superreraising analysis of long-distance passives. First, Zwart (1997) claims that the allegedly "long NP movement" can be explained away as a case of non-raising or topicalization. Second, Dailey-McCartney, Eskenazi, and Huang (2002) claim that Ura's analysis is descriptively inaccurate in that their consultants judge the Moroccan Arabic example (43) and the Mandarin Chinese example (44) as deviant. They also point out that Ura's Indonesian and Persian examples are also deviant for their consultants. They argue that these languages do not allow superreraising, contrary to what Ura claims. It is therefore fair to say that further investigation on superreraising is needed before we come up with any theoretical conclusions.

Even if Ura's generalization (45) is correct, however, the superreraising analysis is too strong as well as too weak to accommodate long-distance passives in Japanese. First, the superreraising analysis is too weak to rule out examples like (9, 10), which violate the restriction on long-distance passives (20). The superreraising analysis would always allow the matrix subject to originate in the embedded object position and then undergo "long
NP-movement" via the embedded outer Spec of T as an escape hatch; it would wrongly predict that a long-distance passive with an object gap is freely available just like Nagai (1991) and Toyoshima (1996). Furthermore, since the superraising analysis would allow NP-movement to apply in a successive cyclic manner, it cannot capture the intervention effect with a subject and the CP-TP node sequence, which is exemplified by (23). Next, the superraising analysis is too strong in that it would wrongly rule out long-distance passives with a gap within an island like (24, 25), those with a possessor gap within a nominal phrase like (28b, 30b), and those without any gap like (34b).

6. A Crosslinguistic Perspective

This section discusses a crosslinguistic perspective of our proposed analysis. If the proposed analysis is on the right track, Japanese long-distance passives are parallel to what Martins and Nunes (2010) call "apparent hyper-raising" in Brazilian Portuguese like (48):

(48) Os meninos parecem que eles viajaram ontem.
the boys seem-3PL that they traveled-3PL yesterday
'The boys seem to have traveled yesterday.'

(Martins and Nunes 2010: 145)

They propose that the derivation of (48) proceeds as schematically represented in (49) with English words:

(49) a. [Topp the boys [TP they traveled yesterday]]
   b. [TP T seem [CP that [Topp the boys [TP they traveled yesterday]]]]
   c. [TP The boys T seem [CP that [Topp T [TP they traveled yesterday]]]]

As represented in (49a), the matrix subject *os meninos* 'the boys' originates in the embedded topic position, where it is associated with pronoun *eles* 'they' in the embedded Spec of T. When we construct the matrix TP (49b), the matrix T can access *os meninos* 'the boys' in the embedded topic position under the less strict version of the PIC (6) given that the matrix raising VP is a weak phase. *Os meninos* 'the boys' undergoes NP-movement from the embedded topic position to the matrix Spec of T in one swoop as represented in (49c). I argue that Martins and Nunes' analysis of apparent hyper-raising in Brazilian Portuguese counts as further evidence for our analysis of Japanese long-distance passives, since our proposed derivation of Japanese long-distance passives is independently motivated in apparent hyper-raising in Brazilian Portuguese. Specifically, the two analyses share the view that the matrix subject originates in a position between the embedded C and subject, thereby being accessible to the matrix T, and then undergoes NP-movement to the matrix Spec of T without any intermediate step.

There is, however, a difference between Japanese and Brazilian Portuguese. As pointed out by Martins and Nunes (2010: 159), apparent hyper-raising is excluded in passives as shown in (50). In other words, long-distance passives are not allowed in Brazilian Portuguese.

(50)*Os meninos foram ditos [que eles fizeram a tarefa],
the boys were said-MASC-PL that they did the homework
'It was said that the boys did the homework.'

Nunes (2009) proposes that examples like (50) are excluded by the A-over-A principle. He points out that there is a correlation between apparent hyper-raising and movement of a complement clause. Apparent hyper-raising is only possible if the relevant embedded CP is not movable as shown in (51), (52) (see Nunes 2009):

(51) a. Parece [que os meninos fizeram a tarefa]
       seems that the boys did the homework
       'It seems that the boys did their homework.'
   b.* [Que os meninos fizeram a tarefa], parece *
       that the boys did the homework seems
       'It seems that the boys did their homework.'

(52) a. Não foi dito [que os meninos fizeram a tarefa]
       not was said that the boys did the homework
       'It was not said/mentioned that the boys did the homework.'
   b. [Que os meninos fizeram a tarefa], não foi dito *
       that the boys did the homework not was said
       'That the boys did their homework was not said/mentioned.'

Raising predicates which license apparent hyper-raising prevent their CP complement from moving into the subject position as shown in (51b). Passive forms that do not license apparent hyper-raising, on the other hand, allow their CP complement to undergo movement to the subject position as shown in (52b). Nunes argues that this correlation can be accounted for if we assume Chomsky's (2008) view that φ-features are on C (they are associated with T only by inheritance) coupled with Hornstein's (2009) reinterpretation of Chomsky's (1964) A-over-A condition. Hornstein claims that the A-over-A condition can be subsumed under minimality (= the shortest dependency) if distance is measured by path lengths, i.e. the maximal projections intervening between related expressions.

Let us first consider passive forms, taking (50) and (52b) as examples again. When the matrix T probes a target for φ-feature agreement, the embedded CP is the closest projection containing φ-features, since it defines the shortest path to the matrix T. Crucially, the path from the embedded CP to the matrix T, i.e. (VP, vP), is shorter than the one from the embedded topic phrase to the matrix T, i.e. (CP, TopP, VP, vP), since the former is a proper subset of the latter. The matrix T undergoes AGREE with the embedded CP but not with the embedded topic phrase. The embedded CP,
but not the embedded topic phrase, undergoes movement to the matrix Spec of T to satisfy the Edge-feature (EF) of T (more precisely, the label of T), which requires an element to be merged as the sister of T either by internal or external Merge (see Chomsky 2008). This yields (52b). Hence, we can account for the lack of long-distance passives in Brazilian Portuguese like (50). In the case of raising predicates, Nunes argues that their CP complements are inherently case-marked, being inert for A-movement due to the Activity Condition (38); movement of the embedded CP to the matrix Spec of T is banned as shown in (51b). Since the embedded CP does not induce any intervention effect, the matrix T undergoes AGREE with the embedded topic phrase. The embedded topic phrase may undergo movement to the matrix Spec of T, yielding (48).\footnote{Nunes (2009) seems to be assuming that $\phi$-features on C remain active for the intervention effect after being inherited by T, though this view is not explicitly mentioned.}

I adopt Nunes’ insight, claiming that the difference between Japanese and Brazilian Portuguese regarding the presence/absence of long-distance passives can be reduced to the presence/absence of $\phi$-feature agreement in the TP-domain in these languages. Since Japanese does not have any overt realizations of $\phi$-feature agreement, it is controversial whether Japanese has any $\phi$-feature agreement. Fukui (1993) and Saito and Fukui (1998) argue that Japanese does not have any $\phi$-feature agreement. Miyagawa (2010), on the other hand, argues that Japanese has $\phi$-feature agreement. Miyagawa claims that both agreement-based languages like English and discourse-configurational languages like Japanese have $\phi$-features and focus/topic features on C. The difference between these two types of language resides in the fact that $\phi$-features are inherited by T in agreement-based languages whereas focus/topic features are inherited by T in discourse-configurational languages. Even under Miyagawa’s analysis, therefore, T does not have any $\phi$-features in languages like Japanese. Whichever view we adopt, NP-movement in Japanese long-distance passives has nothing to do with $\phi$-feature probing of T. I also argue that NP-movement is only triggered by the EF of T. Unlike $\phi$-features, an EF does not have any valuation, being unable to function as a probe given that only an unvalued feature functions as a probe. An EF is not subject to the A-over-A condition, which Nunes (2009) assumes to be a condition on a probe-goal relation. Hence, NP-movement of an embedded MS to the matrix Spec of T is allowed in Japanese long-distance passives, since it vacuously satisfies the A-over-A condition. It should also be noted that as correctly predicted by the proposed analysis, Japanese also allows “long-distance NP-movement” in the raising construction as shown in (53):

(53) [John no yoona gankona titiyo]-ga hahayatati-ni [John GEN like stubborn father]-NOM mother-by [\text{CP} f\text{[TP kodomo-ga tomodati-ni e zimantisitagaru]} yooni] omoeru child-NOM friend-DAT want-to-boost that seem

Lit. ‘Stubborn fathers like John seem to mothers that children want to boast to their friends about them.’

7. Conclusion

This paper has first pointed out that Japanese long-distance passives apparently violate locality conditions on movement. I have argued that contrary to the surface pattern, their matrix subject originates not in the gap position, but in the embedded MS position, and then undergoes NP-movement to the matrix Spec of T in one swoop without inducing the defective intervention effect or violating the PIC. It was shown that this analysis is supported by the restriction on long-distance passives, locality on NP-movement, the appearance of a gap within an island, and the distribution of an overtly realized pronoun. Finally, I have pointed out the similarity between Japanese long-distance passives and apparent hyper-raising in Brazilian Portuguese, which constitutes further support for our analysis.

References:


