Direct and Indirect Passives in East Asian
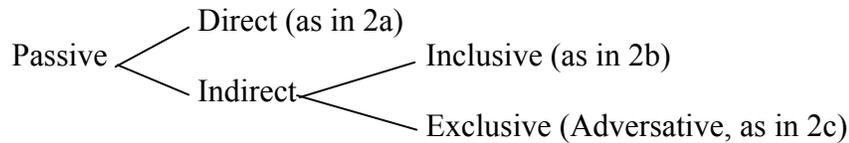
C.-T. James Huang
Harvard University
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I. Direct and Indirect Passives

(1)
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                    ┌─ Direct (as in 2a)
     Passive ───────┤              ┌─ Inclusive (as in 2b)
                    └─ Indirect────┤
                                   └─ Exclusive (Adversative, as in 2c)
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(2)   Japanese

    a.   Yantian-ga Pingtian-ni nagur-are-ta   (Direct)
          Yantian-nom Pingtian-dat hit-passive-past
          Yantian was hit by Pingtian.

    b.   Yantian-ga Pingtian-ni kodomo-o nagur-are-ta.   (Inclusive indirect)
          Yantian -nom Pingtian -dat John-acc hit-passive-past
          Yantian was (adversely) affected by Pingtian's hitting [his] son.

    c.   Yantian -ga Pingtian -ni Shantian-o nagur-are-ta.   (Exclusive)
          Yantian -nom Pingtian -dat Shantian-acc hit-passive-past
          Yantian was (adversely) affected by Pingtian's hitting Shantian.

(3)   Mandarin Direct Passive

    a.   Yantian bei Pingtina da-le
          Yantian BEI Pingtian hit-Perf
          Yantian was hit by Pingtian.

(4)   Mandarin Inclusive Indirect Passive (e.g. with 'retained object')

    a.   Yuantian bei Taitian daduan-le [e] yitiao tui.   [e] = Yuantian
          Zhangsan BEI Lisi hit-break-PERF one leg
          Zhangsan had a leg [of his] broken by Lisi.

    b.   Zhangsan bei tufei qiang-zou-le [[e] zui xihuan de wanju].   [e] = Zhangsan
          Zhangsan BEI bandit rob-away- PERF most like DE toy
          Zhangsan had [his] favorite toy robbed by the bandits.

(5)   Exclusive (Adversative) passive

      a.   Wutian you bei Futian zi-mo le.
          Wutian again BEI Futian self-tough PRT
          Wutian again was affected by Futian's winning by 'self-draw'.

      b.   Bentian you bei Fongtian jichu-le yi-zhi quanleida.
          Bentian again BEI Fongtian hit-PERF one home-run
          Honda again sustained Toyota's hitting a home run.

      c.   wo bei ta zhemo yi zuo, jiu   shenme dou kan-bu-jian le.
          I   BEI him thus   one sit   then everything all   can-not-see
          Now that I had him sitting this way [in front of me], I
          couldn't see anything at all. (Source from Shen 1992)

- Issues in the analysis of East Asian passives

    a. The Uniform Approach: all passive forms are bi-clausal, involving a complement clause embedded under the passive verb (*bei* or *rare*), and
      -   Direct Passive: identity deletion of the embedded object
      -   Inclusive Indirect: identity deletion of an NP in the embedded object
      -   Adversative: nothing is deleted from the embedded clause
    b. The Non-uniform approach: the passive forms are derived by movement and others are by complementation
      -   Direct: NP-movement (as in English)
      -   Inclusive: possessive phrase is moved, etc., or deleted
      -   Adversative: nothing is moved or deleted

The proper analysis of these various passive forms has been a topic of considerable interest and controversy among generative linguists. All scholars agree that the adversative passive should be analyzed in terms of a structure of clausal complementation in which the passive morpheme is treated as a main verb assigning the experiencer role to its subject. For the analysis of direct passives there are two approaches: the uniform approach takes them to involve clausal complementation as well, with concomitant pronoun-deletion; while the non-uniform approach derives the direct passives by NP-movement on a par with passive sentences in English. Among the adherents to the non-uniform approach, there are two views regarding the inclusive indirect passive, one analyzing it on a par with direct passives (with movement) and the other analyzing it on a par with adversatives (with no movement).

- **Claim of this paper:** all three passive types uniformly involve movement *and* complementation. In particular:
  a) The direct passives involve the movement of an (inner) object to a position where it is predicated on the subject.

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b) The inclusive indirect passives are those where an 'outer object' of a V' complex predicate is moved and predicated on the subject.
c) In the adversative passives, an 'outermost object' of the VP is moved and predicated on the subject.

⇒ This is thus a highly uniform theory, but it differs from the traditional uniform approach in that it postulates both movement and complementation for all passive forms.

II. The Analysis of Direct Passives (summary only)
    See Huang 1999, Feng 1995 and references cited there.

(7)   Zhangsan$_i$ bei   [$_{IP}$ OP$_i$ [$_{IP}$ Lisi da-le   t$_i$]]
              ↑ Predication   ↑ A'-movement

- The syntax: a direct passive involves main verb *bei* and a complement clause whose object is A'-moved as a null operator and adjoined to IP, from where it is co-indexed with the matrix subject, hence predicated on the subject. The direct passives thus
- The semantics: NOP$_i$ [. . . t$_i$ . . .] = λ$_x$ (. . . x . . .). *bei* = 'acquire the property of, or end up, being [an x such that ... x ...]'
- The history: The complementation structure and the NOP structure represent two historical stages in the grammaticalization of *bei*, with properties attested in historical texts.

III. The Inclusive Indirect Passives
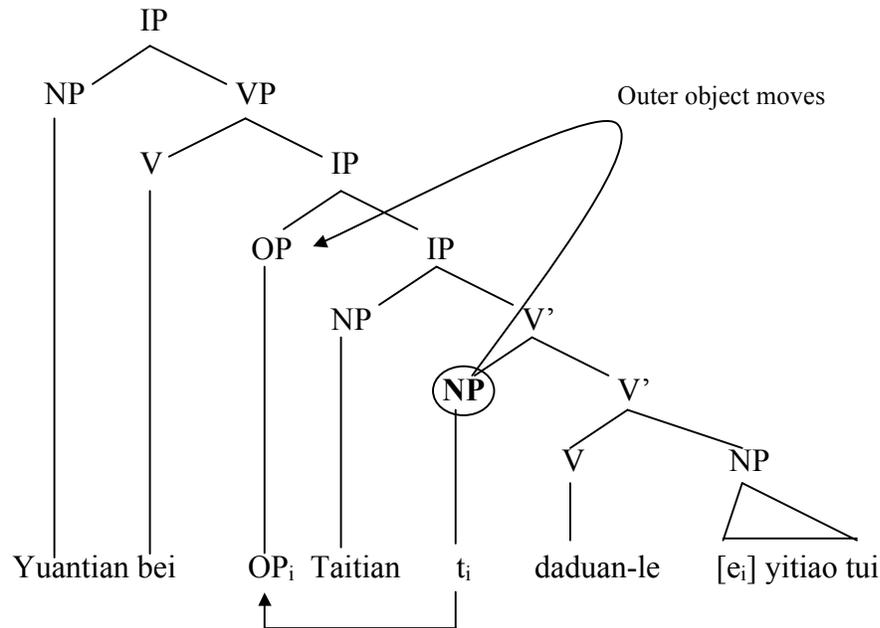
   Two traditional approaches:
- **Movement** (*mutatis mutandis* under our OP movement approach): the empty category is created by moving the possessor of 'one leg' in (4a) or the subject of *xihuan* 'like' in (4b) upward, to a position where it is predicated on the matrix subject.
- **Deletion/Control**: the empty possessor of 'one leg' and the subject of *xihuan* 'like' is deleted/controlled by *Yantian* or *Zhangsan*.

(4)   a.   Yuantian bei Taitian daduan-le [e] yitiao tui.   [e] = Yuantian
                Zhangsan BEI Lisi hit-break-PERF one leg
                Zhangsan had a leg [of his] broken by Lisi.

       b.   Zhangsan bei tufei qiang-zou-le [[e] zui xihuan de wanju]. [e] = Zhangsan
                Zhangsan BEI bandit rob-away- PERF most like DE toy
                Zhangsan had [his] favorite toy robbed by the bandits.

   •**Our analysis: the 'outer object' hypothesis**: an 'outer object' (bearing the theta role 'Affectee') of a complex predicate (e.g. the V-bar 'break [e] leg' or 'rob the toy that [e] likes most') occurs underlyingly as the object of a V-bar. This outer object controls the [e] in the complex predicate, but is itself A'-moved to a position where it is predicated on *Yantian* or *Zhangsan*.

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(8)

IP
NP   VP
V   IP
OP   IP   Outer object moves
NP   V'
NP   V'
V   NP

Yuantian bei   OP$_i$ Taitian   t$_i$ daduan-le   [e$_i$] yitiao tui

→ According to this hypothesis, the inclusive indirect passive involves *direct* passiviziation of an 'outer object' (of a complex predicate V'), i.e. the circled NP in (8). The outer object (Affectee) controls the possessive gap [e], and is passivized by NOP movement, as shown above.

- **Arguments for the Outer Object Hypothesis:**
    - The Direct Movement hypothesis is ruled out by general island constraints (LBC and CNPC, etc.)
    - The Direct Deletion/Control hypothesis is ruled out by the minimality requirements on control and predication.
    - The contrast between (9a) and (9b) provides evidence for the notion of a V-bar complex predicate.
    - Korean double Accusative constructions (10) provide evidence for outer objects in addition to inner objects.

(9)   Natural vs. unnatural complex predicate

    a.   zhuozi$_i$ bei wo da-duan-le yi-tiao [e$_i$] tui.
          table BEI I hit-broken one-CL leg
          The table had one of its legs broken by me.

    b.   *zhuozi$_i$ bei wo kanjian-le yi-tiao [e$_i$] tui.
          table BEI I see- CL one leg
          The table had one of its legs seen by me.
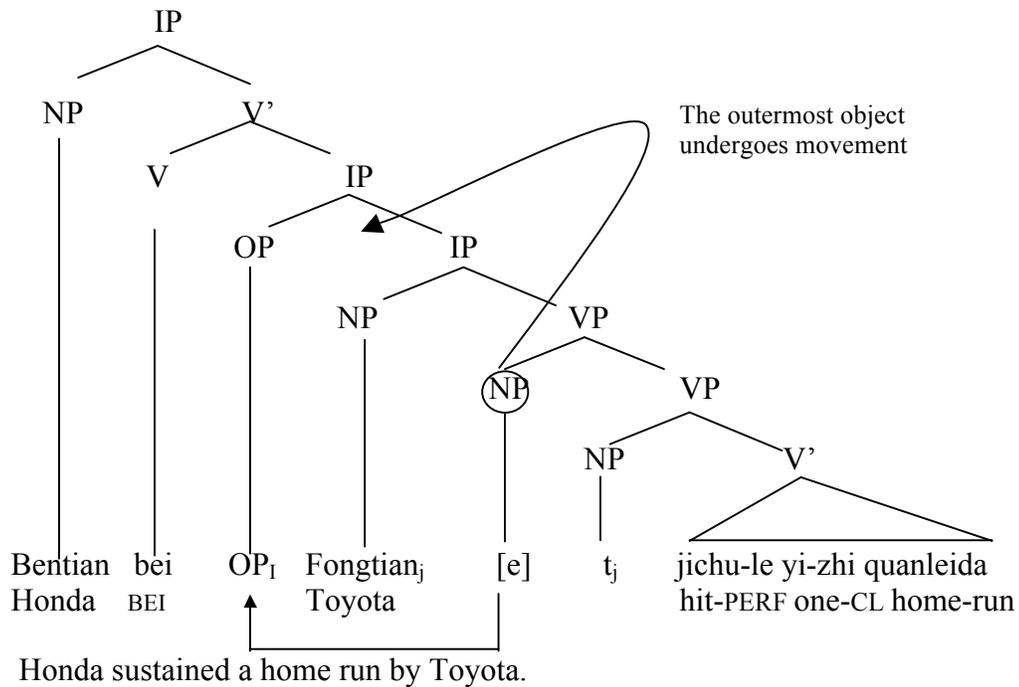
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(10)   Double Accusatives in Korean

        Mary-ka   John-ul tali-lui cha-ess-ta.
        Mary-nom John-acc leg-acc kick-past-decl.
        Mary kicked John in the leg. (Lit. Mary 'leg-kicked' John.)

IV. The Adversative Passives

- **Standard assumption**: no movement, no empty category
- **Proposal**: the adversative passive involves the passivization of an Indirect Affectee, the 'outermost object' of a VP.

(11)

The outermost object undergoes movement

Bentian	bei	OP$_I$	Fongtian$_j$	[e]	t$_j$	jichu-le yi-zhi quanleida
Honda	BEI		Toyota			hit-PERF one-CL home-run

Honda sustained a home run by Toyota.

- **Arguments for the "Outermost Object" hypothesis:**
  - Explains adversity: patient as prototypical object.
  - "Adversative active sentences" (Taiwanese, English, etc.; see (12-15))
  - *Se*-clitics in French (affected datives, etc.; see (16))

(12)   yi ka goa tsao-khi   a.
        he KA I   run-away PRT
        He ran away on me.

(13)   yin ka lan yiaN kui-a tiuN khi a.
        they KA we win several games away PRT
        They won several games away on us already.

(14)   goa kinazit be khimo, be   lai   ka i thetsa hapan.
         I   today not happy will come KA him earlier take-off
         Today I'm pissed, so I will quit early for the day on him [e.g., my boss].

(15)   i chhittsa-petsa to ka goa hapan, ho goa kiong beh khisi.
        He so-early then KA me take-off, cause me almost will anger-death
        He left for the day so early on me, it almost angered me to death.

(16)   a.   Jean s'est fait broyer par un camion.
              Jean *se* got crushed by a truck.

        b.   Jean s'est fait broyer la jambe par un camion.
              Jean *se* had his leg crushed by a truck.

        c.   Jean s'est fait broyer sa voiture par un camion.
              Jean *se* had his car crushed by a truck.

        d.   Jean s'est fait broyer la voiture de son amie par un camion.
              Jean *se* had his friend's car crushed by a truck.

        e.   Jean s'est fait broyer la voiture de Marie par un camion.
              Jean *se* had Marie's car crushed by a truck.

V. Concluding Remarks: Two Problems and One Solution
    See bottom of page 2 again.

- **Problem 1:** Although outer and outermost objects can be passivized (by our
  hypothesis), they cannot be topicalized or relativized (see (18) and (19)). This
  asymmetry does not hold of inner objects (as in (17).

        (17)   a.   Zhangsan bei Lisi piping-le.
                      Zhangsan BEI Lisi criticize-PERF
                      Zhangsan was criticized by Lisi.

                b.   Zhangsan, Lisi piping-le.
                      Zhangsan, Lisi piping-PERF
                      Zhangsan, Lisi criticized.

                c.   Lisi piping de nei-ge ren hen chou.
                      Lisi criticize DE that-CL person very ugly
                      The person that Lisi criticized is very ugly.
        (18)   a.   Zhangsan bei Lisi piping le baba.
                      Zhangsan BEI Lisi criticize-PERF father

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Zhangsan had his father criticized by Lisi.

  b. *Zhangsan, Lisi piping-le baba.
      Zhangsan, Lisi criticize-PERF father
      Intended: Zhangsan, Lisi criticized [Zhangsan's] father.

  c. *Lisi piping-le baba de nei-ge ren hui-qu le.
      Lisi criticize- PERFfather DE that-CL person return
      *The person such that Lisi criticized his own [Lisi's] father went
        back home.

(19) a. Zhangsan bei wo zi-mo le.
          Zhangsan BEI I self-draw PERF
          Zhangsan had me self-drawing [a winning tile] on him.

      b. ??Zhangsan, wo zi-mo le.
            Zhangsan I self-draw PERF
          ??Zhangsan, I self-drew [the winning tile].

      c. *wo zi-mo le de nei-ge ren yijing mei qian le.
            I self-draw PERF DE that-CL person already no money PERF
           *The person such that I self-drew the winning tile is already broke.

⇒ **Generalization:** Chinese passivization exhibits A'-dependency w.r.t. certain properties, and A-dependency w.r.t. others.

⇒ **Proposed Solution**: The process of predication deletes OP, and an A'-chain is re-interpreted as an A-chain in passives (20)→(21), but not in topics and relatives (22)→(23):

(20) Zhangsan$_i$ bei   [$_{IP}$ OP$_i$ [$_{IP}$ Lisi da-le t$_i$]] → delete OP → (21)
                  ↑ Predication   ↑ A'-movement

(21) Zhangsan$_i$ bei   [$_{IP}$ Lisi da-le t$_i$]
           A-dependency

(22) Zhangsan$_i$, OP$_i$ [$_{IP}$ wo t$_i$ zi-mo   le]   → delete OP → (23)
      Zhangsan   I   self-draw PERF

(23) Zhangsan$_i$,   [$_{IP}$ wo t$_i$ zi-mo   le]
           A'-dependency

- **Problem 2**: Japanese passives exhibit properties of A' movement, w.r.t. long distance passivization possibilities (Toyoshima 1996). But they exhibit A-chain properties w.r.t. the Double *o* Constraint (Saito 1982).

> (24) *Yantian-ga kodomo-o Pingtian-o nagur-ase-ta
> Yantian child Pingtian hit-cause-past
> Yantian made his child hit Pingtian.

> (25) *Pingtian-wa$_i$ Yantian-ga Heitian-o e$_i$ nagur-ase-ta
> Pingtian-Top$_i$ Yantian-Nom Heitian-Acc e$_i$ hit-cause-past
> As for Pingtian, Yantian made Heitian hit him.

> (26) Yantian-ga Heitian-o$_i$ Pingtian-ni e$_i$ nagur-are-sase-ta
> Yantian-Nom Heitian-Acc Pingtian-Dat hit-passive-cause-past
> Yantian made Heitian be hit by Pingtian.

(24) is ruled out because there are two accusative NPs, in violation of the Double *o* Constraint. (25) shows that the empty category bound by the topic counts as an accusative NP. (26) indicates that the empty category in passive does not count as an accusative NP, presumably a caseless NP.

⇒ **Proposed Solution:** same. Japanese passives may involve A'-movement of an NOP, which deletes under predication to the subject of *rare*, and the A'-dependency is reinterpreted as an A-chain, whose trace does not bear Case. And so (26) need not contain 2 accusative cases. The same process applied to topic structures, however, does not cause the reanalysis of an A'-chain into an A-chain. The A'-bound trace is case-marked as Acc, and (25) is out by the D-o-C.