

A movement analysis of possessive passive in Japanese: Raised from within indeed!

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Abstract

This paper shows that the nominative possessor in possessive passive involves possessor-raising from within the possessum phrase. It proposes that given the presence of high applicative in possessive passive and the application of Hornstein's movement analysis of control to the nominative possessor in possessive passive, the ungrammaticality of the possessive passive with the genitive possessor can be accounted for. That is, the possessor needs to move out of the possessum phrase in order to have its Affectee role assigned in [Spec, APPL_{-affect}], and its nominative Case licensed in [Spec, T]. Finally, empirical support for the possessor-raising analysis is provided on the basis of two types of honorification.

1. Introduction

The principal goal of this paper is to show whether possessive passive in Japanese involves syntactic possessor-raising from within the possessum phrase. (1) illustrates the passive in question:

(1) possessive passive

Okisakisama-ga zizyo-ni kao-o (kireeni) huk-are-ta.
queen-NOM handmaid-BY face-ACC clean wipe-PASS-PAST
 'The queen had her face wiped (clean) by her handmaid.'

Under the possessor-raising analysis, the nominative possessor *okisakisama-ga* 'queen-NOM' is considered to have moved from within the accusative possessum phrase [_{DP} *t kao*]-*o* 'face-ACC.' Concerning the syntax of possessive passive, Kubo (1992) and Hasegawa (2009) have shown that possessive passive exhibits parallel behavior to direct passive, not to indirect passive. Consider (2) and (3) for examples of direct passive and indirect passive, respectively:

(2) direct passive

Zizyo-ga okisakisama-ni sikar-are-ta
handmaid-NOM queen-BY scold-PASS-PAST
 'The handmaid was scolded by the queen.'

(3) indirect passive

Okisakisama-ga zizyo-ni hetana-uta-o utaw-are-ta.
queen-NOM handmaid-NI terrible-song-ACC sing-PASS-PAST
 'The queen had a terrible song sung by the handmaid.'

One of the syntactic properties common to direct and possessive passives is A-movement of their respective nominative “subjects,” i.e., the nominative Theme phrase for direct passive and the nominative possessor for possessive passive, to which I will return in Section 2 (see Kuno 1973, Kuroda 1979, Washio 1989-90, Shibatani 1990 for previous discussion on types of Japanese passives and their properties). However, it is not clear if the raising of the possessor is actually from inside the possessum phrase. In other words, the question is whether the possessor external to the possessum phrase is derived entirely by movement, or some type of control is involved. Notice the unavailability of the genitive possessor in possessive passive, as illustrated in (4), which suggests that the movement is not from an internal position within the possessum phrase:¹

- (4) * zizyo-ni okisakisama-no kao-o (kireeni) huk-are-ta.
handmaid-BY queen-GEN face-ACC clean wipe-PASS-PAST
 ‘The queen had her face wiped (clean) by her handmaid.’

Despite (4), this paper will argue for possessor-raising in possessive passive. It will propose that the possessum phrase in possessive passive is parallel to the nonfinite embedded clause in control constructions, e.g., *John wants to swim*, and that Hornstein’s (1999) movement analysis of control can be applied to possessive passive. Under this analysis, the ungrammaticality of (4) can be accounted for.

This paper is organized as follows. Section 2 will review some of the crucial facts in the literature that support the possessor-raising analysis. In Section 3, I will propose that possessive passive involves high applicative, not low applicative (Pylkkänen 2002), and that movement analysis of control can be adopted to account for the derivation of possessive passive. Section 4 will provide evidence for the proposed analysis. Finally, Section 5 will conclude this paper.

2. Possessor-raising in Japanese possessive passive

There is evidence to support possessor-raising in possessive passive (see Kubo 1992, and Hasegawa 2009 for more detailed discussion). The facts in (5), (6) and (7) represent such evidence: floating numeral quantifiers (NQs), scope ambiguity and a Proper Government Condition effect. First, (5) illustrates a contrast between direct and possessive passives on the one hand and indirect passive on the other, as to whether NQ floating (Miyagawa 1989) is allowed with respect to their respective nominative subjects.

(5) Floating NQs

a. Direct passive

- Kodomo-ga Hanako-ni san-nin sikar-are-ta.
child-NOM Hanako-NI three-CL scold-PASS-PAST
 ‘Three children were scolded by Hanako.’

¹ Note that (4) is grammatical as indirect passive, in which the Affectee (or commonly called Experiencer) phrase is unpronounced. That is, there is someone affected by the event of the queen’s face having been wiped by her handmaid.

b. Indirect passive

*Kodomo-ga Hanako-ni san-nin doramu-o tatak-are-ta.

child-NOM Hanako-NI three-CL drum-ACC beat-PASS-PAST

‘Three children had the drum beaten by Hanako.’

c. Possessive passive

Kodomo-ga Hanako-ni san-nin kami-o kir-are-ta.

child-NOM Hanako-NI three-CL hair-ACC cut-PASS-PAST

‘Three children had their hair cut by Hanako.’

The NQ *san-nin* ‘three-CL’ can float in the direct and possessive passives as in (5a) and (5c), but not in the indirect passive in (5b). This suggests that the nominative subjects in the direct and possessive passives have moved from below the Agent *-ni*-phrase, while the nominative subject in the indirect passive is base-generated above the Agent *-ni*-phrase.

Second, direct and possessive passives behave alike regarding scope ambiguity of their nominative subjects, as illustrated in (6):

(6) Scope ambiguity (Hasegawa 2009)

a. Direct passive

San-nin-no kodomo-ga sensee-ni mai-asa homer-are-tei-ru.

three-CL-GEN child-NOM teacher-NI every-morning praise-PASS-ASP-PRES

‘Three children are praised by the teacher every morning.’

✓ three children > every morning (Reading: same three children)

✓ every morning > three children (Reading: different sets of three children)

b. Indirect passive

San-nin-no kodomo-ga oya-ni mai-asa neboos-are-tei-ru.

three-CL-GEN child-NOM parent-NI every-morning sleep.in-PASS-ASP-PRES

‘Three children have their parent(s) sleep in every morning.’

✓ three children > every morning (Reading: same three children)

× every morning > three children (Reading: different sets of three children)

c. Possessive passive

San-nin-no kodomo-ga sensee-ni mai-asa atama-o nade-rare-tei-ru.

three-CL-GEN child-NOM teacher-NI every-morning head-ACC rub-PASS-ASP-PRES

‘Three children have their heads rubbed by the teacher every morning.’

✓ three children > every morning (Reading: same three children)

✓ every morning > three children (Reading: different sets of three children)

The scope ambiguity shown in the direct passive in (6a) and the possessive passive in (6c) indicates that their nominative subjects have raised from below the adverb *mai-asa* ‘every-morning.’ In contrast, the unambiguity, namely, the unavailability of the wider reading of three children in the indirect passive shows that the base position of the nominative Experiencer (henceforth, Affectee, for the reason given in the following section) subject is

always higher than the adverb.

Third, raising the accusative Theme phrase above the nominative subject in possessive passive results in ungrammaticality, while it can raise above the nominative Affectee phrase in indirect passive. Consider (7):

(7) Proper Binding Condition effect ²

a. Indirect passive

Taroo-ga Hanako-ni doramu-o tatak-are-ta.

Taroo-NOM Hanako-NI drum-ACC beat-PASS-PAST

‘Taro had the drum beaten by Hanako.’

a’. Doramu-o Taroo-ga Hanako-ni tatak-are-ta.

drum-ACC Taroo-NOM Hanako-NI beat-PAST-PAST

‘Taro had the drum beaten by Hanako.’

b. Possessive passive

Taroo-ga Hanako-ni kami-o kir-are-ta.

Taroo-NOM Hanako-NI hair-ACC cut-PASS-PAST

‘Taro had his hair cut by Hanako.’

b’. ^{*/??}Kami-o Taroo-ga Hanako-ni kir-are-ta.

hair-ACC Taroo-NOM Hanako-NI cut-PASS-PAST

‘Taro had his hair cut by Hanako.’

The accusative phrase can raise higher than the nominative subject in the indirect passive in (7a’), while the accusative possessee cannot in the possessive passive in (7b’). This can be a Proper Binding Condition effect, i.e., the accusative possessee contains the trace of the possessor (cf Fiango 1977, Saito 1989). Thus, the possessor cannot bind its trace when the possessee moves higher than the possessor.

Despite the above facts in favor of the possessor-raising analysis, at least two questions arise concerning the derivation of possessor passive: (i) the source of affectedness on the nominative possessor; (ii) the double θ -roles assigned to the nominative possessor, namely, the Affectee and Possessor roles. In the next section, I will propose that affectedness interpretation is rooted in an applicative head, and that the double θ -roles can be explained in the framework of the movement analysis of control (Hornstein 1999).

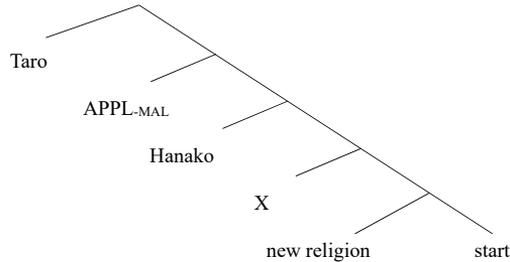
3. Proposal

According to Pykkänen (2002), the affectedness interpretation in Japanese indirect and possessive passives are rooted in two types of applicative heads, high and low applicatives, respectively. (8) and (9) illustrate their respective examples and syntactic structures.

² Needless to say, binding has no place within the Minimalist Program, and attempts have been made to reduce the Proper Binding Condition to locality conditions (e.g., Kitahara 1997). The degradedness/ungrammaticality of (7b’) can be explained for locality reasons: the possessum phrase cannot move over the possessor since it is frozen in the lower phrase.

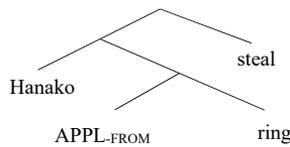
(8) indirect passive (high applicative)

Taroo-ga Hanako-ni sinkoosyuukyoo-o hazimer-are-ta.
Taroo-NOM Hanako-DAT new.religion-ACC start-PASS-PAST
 ‘Taroo had a new religion started by Hanako.’



(9) possessive passive (low applicative)

Hanako-ga doroboo-ni yubiwa-o tor-are-ta.
Hanako-NOM thief-BY ring-ACC steal-PASS-PAST
 ‘Hanako had her ring stolen by a thief.’



High applicative denotes a relation between an event and an individual. In the case of indirect passive, it relates the nominative Affectee to the event. Low applicative, on the other hand, denotes a relation between two individuals. With regard to possessive passive, this relation is between the possessor and the possessee. Pylkkänen (2002) claims that the low applicative head that establishes this relation induces affectedness interpretation in such constructions as possessor datives in Hebrew, German and French, while their genitive counterparts do not express affectedness (Landau 1999), in the absence of low applicative. She further claims that the presence of low applicative can account for possessor passive in Japanese. In what follows, I will review one of her arguments for her low-applicative analysis of possessive passive.

Pylkkänen (2002) argues that the possessor-raising analysis cannot account for the ungrammaticality of the sentence with the static verb *mot-* ‘hold,’ while the low-applicative analysis can. That is, the low applicative denoting “source” is incompatible with the stative verb at issue, as shown in (10). Regarding (11), indirect passive does not involve low applicative, hence its grammaticality.

(10) Possessive passive³

*Toroo-ga Ziroo-niyotte sara-o mot-are-ta.
Taroo-NOM Ziroo-BY plate-ACC hold-PASS-PAST
 ‘Taro had the plates held by Jiro.’

(Context: the plates are expensive and Jiro is clumsy, therefore Taro would prefer for Jiro not to hold the plates.)

³ A question arises as to whether (10) represents possessive passive. Instead, it could be indirect passive. If that is the case, its ungrammaticality is rooted in the mismatch between indirect passive and the postpositional *-niyotte* phase.

(11) Indirect passive

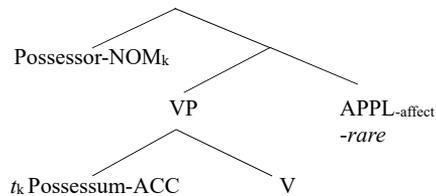
Taroo-ga Ziroo-ni sara-o mot-are-ta.
Taroo-NOM Ziroo-NI plate-ACC hold-PASS-PAST
 ‘Taro had the plates held by Jiro.’

However, possessive passive can be derived with the verb *some-* ‘dye,’ as in (12).

(12) Eri-ga Ken-niyotte kami-o some-rare-ta.
Eri-NOM Ken-BY hand-ACC dye-PASS-PAST
 ‘Eri had her hair dyed by Ken.’

The “source” low applicative seems incompatible with “dyeing” as much as “holding,” but (12) is grammatical, which in turn appears to lend support for the possessor-raising analysis of possessor passive. Thus, contra Pylkkänen (2002), I propose that the affectedness reading stems from high applicative, which is morphologically realized as *-(r)are* in possessive passive. (13) illustrates the structure of possessive passive.

(13)



Note that this high applicative head assigns the θ -role Affectee to the nominative possessor. Note also that *-rare* in indirect passive is also a high applicative head, and the Affectee phrase in nominative case is base-generated in [Spec, APPL_{-affect}].

One difficulty in positing a high applicative head and possessor-raising for possessive passive is the double θ -roles that the nominative possessor assumes: Possessor and Affectee, which violates the θ -criterion (Chomsky 1981). To obviate this difficulty, the control analysis seems more desirable than the possessor-raising analysis. However, once one adopts the movement analysis of control (Hornstein 1999), the double θ -role assignment problem for external possession constructions such as possessive passive evaporates.

Hornstein (1999) argues that there is no ground to support the control theory given that government has no place within the Minimalist Program of linguistic theory (Chomsky 1995), and that obligatorily controlled PRO is actually an NP trace. Further, he maintains that θ -roles are features on verbs, and that these features are checked by a DP/NP as it merges with a verbal/predicative phrase. Movement from one θ -position to another is permitted, hence multiple θ -role assignment on DP/NP. (14b) illustrates the movement-theory-of-control analysis of (14a):

(14) a. John hopes to leave

b. [_{TP} John [_{VP} John [hopes [_{TP} John to [_{VP} John leave]]]]]

D-feature/Case *θ-role* *D-feature* *θ-role*

Step 1: *John* merges with the verb *leave* and checks its internal *θ*-role.

Step 2: *John* moves to the embedded [Spec, T], and checks the D-feature of T.

Step 3: *John* moves to [Spec, V] to check the *θ*-role of the matrix verb *hope*.

Step 4: *John* moves to the matrix [Spec, T] to check the D-feature and Case of T.

Turning to possessive passive, under the control analysis, *pro* in the accusative possessum DP is controlled by the external nominative possessor, as illustrated by (15):

(15) Possessor-NOM_i Agent-BY [_{DP} *pro*_i possessee]-ACC V-rare-T

Given that control is obligatory in possessive passive, (15) is analogous to control verb constructions, it can be recast in the framework of movement of control. (16) illustrates the derivation of possessive passive, in which the nominative possessor *Ken-ga* ‘Ken-NOM’ assumes two *θ*-roles as it merges with the verb *kir-* ‘cut’ and with the high applicative *-(r)are*.

(16) [_{TP} Ken-ga [_{APPL-malP} Ken-ga Eri-ni [_{DP} Ken-ga [_{NP} Ken-ga kami]-o kir] -are]-ta]

D-feature/Case *θ-role* *D-feature* *θ-role*

Eri-BY *Ken-NOM* *hair-ACC* *cut-APPL-PAST*

‘Ken had his hair cut by Eri.’

Step 1: *Ken-ga* merges with the relational noun *kami-* ‘hair’ and checks its *θ*-role.

Step 2: *Ken-ga* moves to [Spec, D] and checks the D-feature.

Step 3: *Ken-ga* moves to [Spec, APPL_{-affect}] to checks its Affectee *θ*-role.

Step 4: *Ken-ga* moves to [Spec, T] to checks its D-feature and Case.

Thus, the absence of the genitive possessor in possessive passive, i.e., the ungrammaticality of (4), can be accounted for: the possessor needs to move through [Spec, APPL_{-affect}] in order to have the Affectee *θ*-role assigned. In the remainder of this paper, I will show that my proposed analysis is on the right track.

4. Further evidence for possessor-raising based on honorification

In what follows, I will provide empirical support for my analysis based on two types of honorification (Kishimoto 2012, 2013).

First, two kinds of sentential honorific construction (Kishimoto 2012) provide evidence for the possessor-raising analysis of possessive passive. The two honorific constructions are schematized in (17), in which honorification is licensed for the target phrase deserving respect. (18) illustrates an example for each construction:

- (17) Two types of honorific constructions
- a. V-honorific construction: honorification prefix(HON) + V + light V(LV)
 - b. ASP-honorific construction: honorification prefix(HON) + *be* + light V(LV)

- (18) a. V-honorific construction
- Sasaki-sensee-ga ohirugohan-o o-tabe-ni-nat-teir-u.
Sasaki-teacher-NOM lunch-ACC HON-eat-LV-ASP-PRES
 ‘Prof. Sasaki is eating lunch.’
- b. ASP-honorific construction
- Sasaki-sensee-ga ohirugohan-o tabete o-ide-ni-nar-u.
Sasaki-teacher-NOM lunch-ACC eat HON-be-LV-PRES
 ‘Prof. Sasaki is eating lunch.’

In the V-honorific construction in (18a) and the ASP-honorific construction in (18b), honorification is licensed for the nominative subject, *Sasaki-sensee* ‘Prof. Sasaki.’ Honorification is licensed in the following respective syntactic positions: ⁴

- (19) a. V-honorific construction [Spec, *v*]
 b. ASP-honorific construction [Spec, ASP]

Kishimoto (2012) shows that nominative subjects in direct passive and unaccusative sentences are licensed in the two honorific constructions. In the case of direct passive, honorification is considered to be licensed in [Spec, _{PASS}*v*] and [Spec, ASP]. ⁵ Consider (20).

⁴ Kishimoto (2012) proposes that the honorific affix *o-* represents the honorific head H, a Probe, which bears an uninterpretable honorification feature that searches / targets an honorific expression, a Goal, such as *sensee* ‘teacher.’ This proposal is combined with the Phase Theory (Chomsky 2001, 2006, 2008), in particular, the Phase Impenetrability Condition (PIC), which blocks honorification agreement in cases where lower phases have already been spelled out. However, a non-phase analysis presented here suffices for the data and discussion in this paper.

⁵ Kishimoto (2012) adopts passive *v*, which is equivalent to the passive Voice head proposed in, for example, Collins (2005). Drawing on Kubo (1992), I claim that the passive affix *-rare* and V form a single verb in direct passive. With regard to possessive passive, V and *-rare* are independent heads, as proposed in this paper, and *v* assigns accusative Case. By contrast, Hasegawa (2009) proposes that accusative Case in possessive passive is assigned by *-rare*, while accusative Case in indirect passive is assigned by *v*. Further, indirect passive involves strong phase and possessive passive, weak phase; weak phase allows possessor-raising in possessive passive. The strength of phase depends on the presence or the absence of incorporation. Details aside, she does not discuss the phasehood of the possessum phrase in possessive passive. I will address this issue in my forthcoming work, in which the analysis proposed here will be recast in the framework of Phase Theory of movement and “labelling” (Chomsky 2001, 2006, 2008, 2013, 2015).

(20) Honorification in direct passive

a. V-honorific construction

Ito-sensee-ga sinsain-ni o-home-ni-nar-are-teir-u.
Ito-teacher-NOM judge-NI HON-praise-PASS-LV-ASP-PRES
 ‘Prof. Ito is being praised by the judges.’

b. ASP-honorific construction

Ito-sensee-ga sinsain-ni home-rarete o-ide-ni-nar-u.
Ito-teacher-NOM judge-NI praise-PASS HON-be-LV-PRES
 ‘Prof. Ito is being praised by the judges.’

The nominative subject is base-generated within vP , and moves through the Spec of $_{PASS}v$ and Spec of ASP, where honorification is licensed, as the grammaticality of (20a) and (20b) show, respectively.

Turning to possessive passive, given that the nominative possessor undergoes movement to [Spec, T], Ayano (2015) has shown that honorification should be licensed both in the V-honorific and ASP-honorific constructions. In contrast, in indirect passive, the nominative Affectee phrase is base-generated in, i.e., [Spec, APPL_{-affect}], where the Affectee role is assigned. It follows from this analysis that honorification should be licensed in [Spec, ASP] only, not in [Spec, v]. (21) summarizes the above predictions:

(21) a. Possessive passive

- | | |
|------------------------------|--|
| ✓ V-honorific construction | POSS _k ... [_{vP} t_k ...] ... |
| ✓ ASP-honorific construction | POSS _k ... [_{ASPP} t'_k [_{vP} t_k ...]] ... |
| b. Indirect passive | |
| × V-honorific construction | [_{APPLP} Affectee ... [_{vP} ...] ...] |
| ✓ ASP-honorific construction | Affectee _k ... [_{ASPP} t'_k [_{APPLP} t_k ... [_{vP} ...]] ...] |

The predictions in (21) are borne out. Consider (22) and (23):

(22) Possessive passive

a. V-honorific construction

Ito-sensee-ga tanka-de ICU-ni musuko-o o-hakob-are-ni-nat-teir-u.
Ito-teacher-NOM stretcher-with ICU-to son-ACC HON-carry-APPL-LV-ASP-PRES
 ‘Prof Ito had his son carried into the ICU on a stretcher.’

b. ASP-honorific construction

Ito-sensee-ga tanka-de ICU-ni musuko-o hakob-arete o-ide-ni-nar-u.
Ito-teacher-NOM stretcher-with ICU-to son-ACC carry-APPL HON-be-LV-PRES
 ‘Prof Ito had his son carried into the ICU on a stretcher.’

(23) Indirect passive

a. V-honorific construction

*Ito-sensee-ga Taroo-ni sinkoo-syuukyoo-ni o-sasow-are-ni-nat-teir-u.
Ito-teacher-NOM Taroo-NI new-religion-into HON-tempt-APPL-LV-ASP-PRES
 ‘Prof. Ito had Taro tempt him into a new religion.’

b. ASP-honorific construction

Ito-sensee-ga Taroo-ni sinkoosyuukyoo-ni sasow-arete o-ide-ni-nar-u.
Ito-teacher-NOM Taroo-NI new-religion-into tempt-APPL HON-be-LV-PRES
 ‘Prof. Ito had Taro tempt him into a new religion.’

The second type of honorification licensing takes place within the possessum phrase (Kishimoto 2013). Consider (24), in which the genitive possessor *Ito-sensee-no* ‘Prof. Ito’s,’ is a legitimate target of the honorification marker *o-* on *kuti* ‘mouth’ or *me* ‘eye,’ but the possessor *desi-no* ‘disciple-GEN’ is not.

- (24) Ito-sensee-no/*desi-no o-kuti/o-me
Ito-teacher-GEN/disciple-GEN HON-mouth/HON-eye
 ‘Prof. Ito’s/*the disciple’s mouth/eye’

Further, Kishimoto (2013) has demonstrated that honorification can be licensed either internal or external to the possessum phrase in complex idiomatic predicates. Consider (25):

- (25) a. Sono-koto-ga Ito-sensee-no (*mezurasiku) o-ki-ni sawat-ta (rasii)
that-fact-NOM Ito-teacher-GEN unusually HON-mind-LOC harm-PAST seem
 ‘(It seems that) Prof. Ito did not (unusually) like that fact.’
 b. Ito-sensee-ni sono-koto-ga (mezurasiku) o-ki-ni sawat-ta (rasii)
Ito-teacher-DAT that-fact-NOM unusually HON-mind-LOC harm-PAST seem
 ‘“(It seems that) Prof. Ito did not (unusually) like that fact.’

In (25a), the genitive possessor appears within the possessum phrase, and honorification is licensed, which is supported by the unavailability of the adverb *mezurasiku* ‘unusually’ intervening between the possessor, *Ito-sensee-no* ‘Prof. Ito’s’ and the possessee, *o-ki-ni* ‘to mind.’ Turning to (25b), the dative possessor is a legitimate target of honorification. The intervening nominative phrase and adverb indicate that the dative possessor is outside the possessum phrase. Given that possessum-phrase-internal honorification can be maintained even when the possessor is raised out, as in (25b), it should follow that the possessor in (1) can be a target of honorification by adding the honorification prefix *o-* to the possessee *te* ‘hand,’ if the possessor-raising is from within the possessum phrase. Consider (24):

- (26) Okisakisama-ga zizyo-ni o-ka-o (kireeni) huk-are-ta.
queen-NOM handmaid-BY HON-hand-ACC clean wipe-AFFECT-PAST
 ‘The queen had her face wiped (clean) by her handmaid.’

The prediction is borne out. However, one might still argue that there could be a null pronoun *pro* within the possessum phrase, which is controlled by the nominative possessor. Consider (27):

- (27) Okisakisama-ga zizyo-ni [pro o-kao]-o (kireeni) huk-are-ta.
queen-NOM handmaid-BY HON-hand-ACC clean wipe-AFFECT-PAST
'The queen had her face wiped (clean) by her handmaid.'

However, if (27) is the correct analysis, the question is how one can account for the ungrammaticality of (28):

- (28) *Okisakisama-ga zizyo-ni [kanozyo-no o-kao]-o (kireeni) huk-are-ta.
queen-NOM handmaid-BY her-GEN HON-hand-ACC clean wipe-AFFECT-PAST
'The queen had her face wiped (clean) by her handmaid.'

Moreover, the control analysis cannot account for the grammaticality of possessive passive in the two types of honorification: V-honorification and ASP-honorification shown at the beginning of this section.

5. Conclusion

The present paper has shown that the nominative possessor in possessive passive involves possessor-raising from within the possessum phrase. I have proposed here that given the presence of high applicative in possessive passive and the application of Hornstein's movement analysis of control to the nominative possessor in possessive passive, the ungrammaticality of the possessive passive with the genitive possessor can be accounted for. That is, the possessor needs to move out of the possessum phrase in order to have its Affectee role assigned in [Spec, APPL_{-affect}], and its nominative Case licensed in [Spec, T]. Finally, empirical support for the possessor-raising analysis has been provided on the basis of two types of honorification (Kishimoto 2012, 2013). However, it remains to be seen how the analysis proposed here can be recast in terms of the Phase Theory.

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日本語の所有受動文の移動分析について

— まさに内部からの上昇である！ —

綾野 誠紀

要 旨

本稿では、日本語の所有受動文の主格所有者句には、被所有者句内からの移動が関与していることを明らかにする。所有受動文の所有者句は、属格表示で被所有者句内に現れることができない。一見、所有者句の被所有者句内からの移動に反する事実である。しかし、所有受動文の派生には高適用主要部 (high applicative head) が関わっていること、また、Hornstein (1999) が提案したコントロール構文の移動分析を適用することにより、所有受動文における属格所有者句の不在が説明可能であることを示す。本稿の分析に基づくと、所有者句は被所有句内位置から移動し、[Spec, APPL_{affected}]においてAffectee役割を授与され、さらに、[Spec, T]において主格を認可されなければならない。よって、属格で所有句内に留まることができない。最後に、二種類の尊敬化表現 (Kishimoto 2012, 2013) に基づく所有者句上昇分析を支持する事実を提示する。