

## Subjects of Complex Predicates: A Preliminary Study\*

Mamoru Saito  
Nanzan University

### 1. Introduction

The notion of ‘subject’ has played an important role in Japanese syntax. It is well-known, for example, that the Japanese reflexive pronoun *zibun* is subject-oriented. Thus, *Hanako* is the only possible antecedent for *zibun* in (1) and (2).

(1) Hanako-ga Taroo-ni zibun-no hon-o okut-ta  
      -NOM       -DAT self -GEN book-ACC send-Past  
      ‘Hanako sent her book to Taroo.’

(2) Hanako-ga Taroo-o zibun-no ie -de sikat-ta  
      -NOM       -ACC self -GEN house-at scold-Past  
      ‘Hanako scolded Taroo at her house.’

On the other hand, the definition of ‘subject’ in the relevant sense is yet to be made precise. The subject of a sentence has been defined as [NP, TP], that is, the NP immediately dominated by TP. But with the introduction of the predicate-internal subject hypothesis, there is another candidate, namely, [NP,  $\nu$ P]. In the structure of (1), shown in (3), the antecedent of *zibun* may be *Hanako* in TP Spec or its trace in  $\nu$ P Spec.

(3) [TP Hanako<sub>i</sub>-ga [ $\nu$ P t<sub>i</sub> [ $\nu$ P Taroo-ni zibun<sub>i</sub>-no hon-o okut-]] ta]

The main purpose of this paper is to examine ‘subjecthood’ in sentences with complex predicates, and thereby, to give a more precise characterization of possible antecedents for *zibun*. Causative sentences, for example, provide useful data in this respect because they contain two potential antecedents for *zibun*, the agent and the causee, despite the fact that they apparently have a simplex structure with a single complex predicate. This is illustrated in (4) and (5).

---

\* The material in this paper was presented in syntax seminars at Nanzan University and University of Connecticut, and in colloquia at Keio University and Stony Brook University. I would like to thank the audience, especially Masumi Aono, Jonathan Bobaljik, Tomoko Kawamura, and Hisa Kitahara, as well as Hiroshi Aoyagi for helpful comments and suggestions. Part of this research was made possible by the Nanzan University 2006 Pache Research Grant I-A (2), which is gratefully acknowledged.

- (4) Hanako-ga Taroo-ni zibun-no hon -o sute -sase -ta  
 -NOM -DAT self -GEN book-ACC discard-make-Past  
 'Hanako made Taroo discard her/his book.'
- (5) Hanako-ga Taroo-ni karera-ni zibun-no hon -o  
 -NOM -DAT they -DAT self -GEN book-ACC  
 okur-ase -ta  
 send-make-Past  
 'Hanako made Taroo send her/his book to them.'

I will pursue this topic in the following section and argue that the possible antecedents for *zibun* can be defined simply as phrases in  $\nu$ P Spec.

In Section 3, I will discuss the implications of this tentative conclusion for the analysis of scrambling. Kuroda (1988) has proposed that scrambling is movement to TP Spec. Similarly, Miyagawa (2001, 2003, among others) has argued that what has been called A-scrambling is triggered by the EPP-feature of T. This analysis of scrambling is obviously inconsistent with the definition of 'subject' as TP Spec. A scrambled object does not qualify as the antecedent of *zibun*, as shown in (6).

- (6) Taroo-o<sub>i</sub> Hanako-ga t<sub>i</sub> zibun-no ie -de sikat -ta  
 -ACC -NOM self -GEN house-at scold-Past  
 'Hanako scolded Taroo at her house.'

Thus, the claim mentioned above that *zibun* is bound from  $\nu$ P Spec rather than TP Spec appears to provide support for this analysis of scrambling. However, I will examine the relevant data and argue that they, instead, pose a problem for the EPP analysis of scrambling and point to the conclusion that A-scrambling has nothing to do with the EPP.

It will be shown in the course of the discussion in Section 3 that the non-thematic  $\nu$  that selects passive and unaccusative complements carries an EPP-feature, and attracts an NP to its Spec position. According to the analysis to be presented, it is by virtue of satisfying the EPP-feature of  $\nu$  that the subjects of passive and unaccusative sentences qualify as the antecedent of *zibun*. Based on this, I will suggest a refined definition of 'subject' as those phrases that satisfy the EPP requirement either of T or of  $\nu$ . Section 4 summarizes the conclusion of the paper and discuss further issues related to the EPP-feature of  $\nu$ .

## 2. Subject as $\nu$ P Spec

### 2.1. Subjects of $\nu$ P Complements

As shown in (3), the antecedent of *zibun* can be assumed to be either TP Spec or  $\nu$ P Spec in a regular transitive sentence. On the other hand, when we consider passive and unaccusative sentences, it is tempting to define 'subject' as TP Spec. (7) and (8) show that the derived subjects in those sentences are possible

antecedents for *zibun*.<sup>1</sup>

- (7) Taroo-ga<sub>i</sub> karera-niyotte zibun-no ie -de t<sub>i</sub> koros-are -ta  
-NOM they -by self -GEN house-at kill -Passive-Past  
(koto)  
fact  
'Taroo was killed by them at his house.'
- (8) Taroo-ga<sub>i</sub> zibun-no ie -de t<sub>i</sub> sin-da (koto)  
-NOM self -GEN house-at die-Past fact  
'Taroo died at his house.'

If *Taroo* moves from the object position to TP Spec in these examples, then it must be the TP Spec position that qualifies it as the antecedent of *zibun*.

However, the examination of sentences with complex predicates leads us to a different conclusion. Let us consider the causative sentences in (4) and (5), repeated below as (9) and (10).

- (9) Hanako-ga Taroo-ni zibun-no hon -o sute -sase -ta  
-NOM -DAT self -GEN book-ACC discard-make-Past  
'Hanako made Taroo discard her/his book.'
- (10) Hanako-ga Taroo-ni karera-ni zibun-no hon -o  
-NOM -DAT they -DAT self -GEN book-ACC  
okur-ase -ta  
send-make-Past  
'Hanako made Taroo send her/his book to them.'

As mentioned above, *zibun* can refer to the causee *Taroo* in these examples. This implies that *Taroo* is a subject in the relevant sense, and that the examples have clausal embedding. Thus, it is assumed in Kuroda (1965) and Kuno (1973), among many others, that the causative morpheme *sase* selects for a sentential complement.

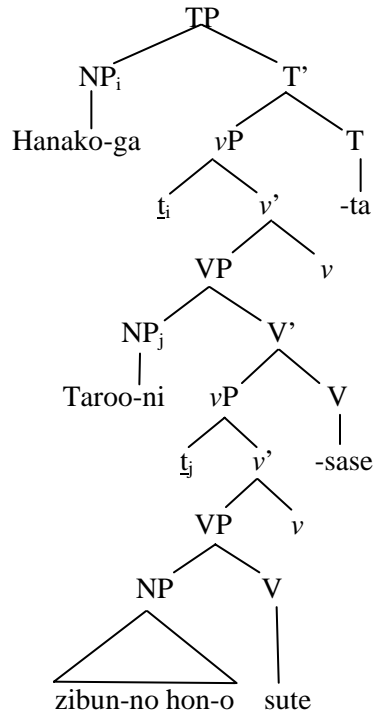
At the same time, however, it is clear that the embedded clause lacks Tense and is similar in structure to small clauses. It is hence assumed in more recent works, such as Murasugi and Hashimoto (2005), that *sase* takes a *vP* complement. The structure of (9), for example, will then be as in (11).<sup>2</sup>

---

<sup>1</sup> I sometimes place *koto* 'the fact that' at the end of an example sentence in order to avoid the unnaturalness resulting from the lack of a topic in a matrix clause. I will ignore it in the translation in parentheses.

<sup>2</sup> In (11), the embedded subject *Taroo* moves and merges with a projection of the causative verb *sase* in order to receive the causee role. (See Saito 2001 for relevant discussion.) But this is not crucial for the discussion in this paper. The argument is unaffected even if *Taroo* stays in the embedded *vP* Spec, or it is merged directly in the matrix VP and controls PRO in the embedded *vP* Spec.

(11)



Here, *Taroo*, a possible antecedent for *zibun*, never occupies a TP Spec position. Examples of this kind suggest that *vP* Spec is the subject position in the relevant sense.

The examination of what has been called ‘indirect passive’ points to the same conclusion. In addition to the regular (direct) passive illustrated in (7), Japanese has a construction with the same passive morpheme *rare* where there is no absorption of objective Case and the surface subject is interpreted as an affectee. This is illustrated in (12) and (13).

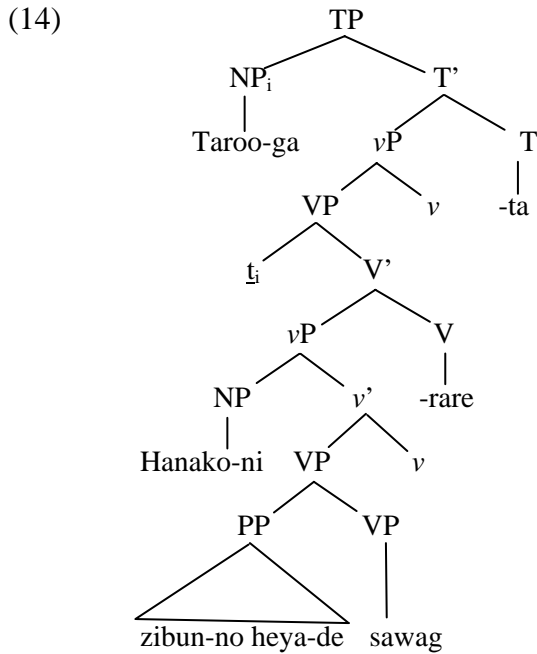
(12) Taroo-ga Hanako-ni (zibun-no heya -de) sawag -are -ta  
-NOM -by self -GEN room-at make noise-Passive-Past  
‘Taroo was affected by Hanako making big noise (in his/her room).’

(13) Taroo-ga Hanako-ni heyazyuu -ni (zibun-no) yohuku-o  
-NOM -by all-over-the-room-in self -GEN clothes -ACC  
baramak-are -ta  
scatter -Passive-Past  
‘Taroo was affected by Hanako scattering (his/her) clothes all over the room.’

As can be seen in these examples, the affectee that appears in the surface subject position and the subject of the sentence that expresses the affecting event both qualify as the antecedent of *zibun*. Thus, this construction has been assumed to have clausal embedding, just like the causative construction.<sup>3</sup> Again, as the

<sup>3</sup> Detailed discussion of Japanese passives can be found, for example, in Kuno (1973), Kuroda

embedded clause lacks tense, it seems to be a *vP*, as illustrated in the structure (14) for (12).<sup>4</sup>



Since *Hanako* is in *vP* Spec and qualifies as the antecedent of *zibun*, this example, too, suggests that the reflexive pronoun can take a phrase in *vP* Spec as its antecedent.

The discussion so far suggests that phrases in TP Spec as well as those in *vP* Spec can serve as the antecedent for *zibun*. A summary is given in (15).

- (15) a. *Zibun* is subject-oriented.  
 b. Both TP Spec and *vP* Spec are subject positions in the relevant sense.

However, it was necessary to include TP Spec among the subject positions because it was assumed that the internal argument moves directly to TP Spec in passive and unaccusative sentences. The relevant unaccusative example in (8) is repeated below as (16).

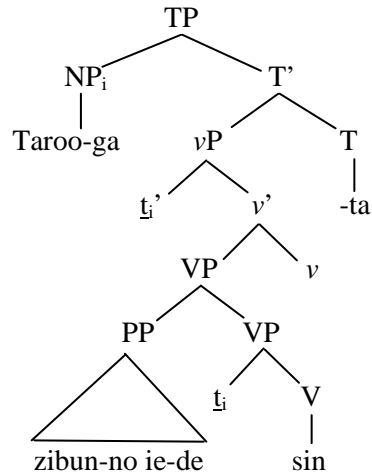
- (16) Taroo-ga<sub>i</sub> zibun-no ie -de t<sub>i</sub> sin-da (koto)  
 -NOM self -GEN house-at die-Past fact  
 'Taroo died at his house.'

On the other hand, if *Taroo* moves through *vP* Spec, as illustrated in (17), then it becomes possible to simplify the definition of 'subject' position as *vP* Spec.

---

(1979), and Hoshi (1994).  
<sup>4</sup> Following Belletti and Rizzi (1988), I assumed that affectee (= experiencer) is an internal  $\theta$ -role, and hence, merged *Taroo* with a projection of *rare* in (14). (See Saito 2001 for relevant discussion.) This assumption, however, has no effect on the discussion in this paper.

(17)



In the following subsection, I will argue that the movement indeed proceeds through vP Spec as in (17), drawing evidence, again, from examples with complex predicates.

## 2.2. v-Projection with Passive and Unaccusative Verbs

It was argued above that the embedded vP Spec qualifies as the ‘subject’ position in causative and indirect passive constructions. In all of the examples considered so far, the embedded verb was either unergative or transitive. So, it was only natural to assume that its external argument is merged at the embedded vP Spec position. And the proposal was that it is by virtue of being in vP Spec that it obtains ‘subjecthood’. But then, what happens when the embedded verb is (direct) passive or unaccusative with no external argument?

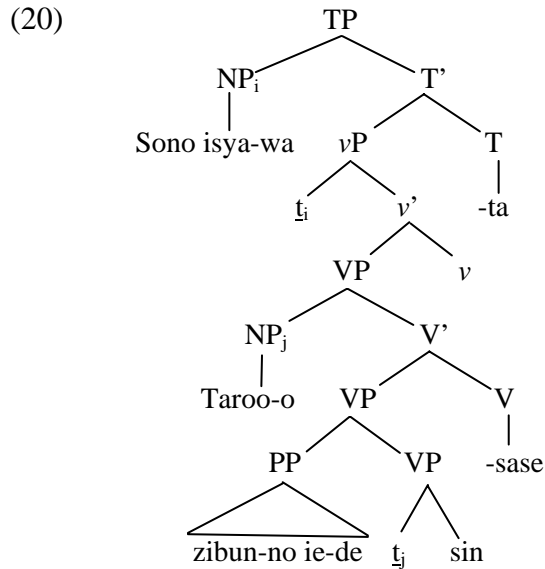
Let us directly consider the relevant examples in (18) and (19).

(18) Keisatu-wa yoogisya-ni zibun-no dokuboo-de sin-are-te simat-ta  
police -TOP suspect -by self -GEN cell -in die-Passive have -Past  
'The police has been affected by the suspect dying in his/her own cell.'

(19) Sono isya -wa Taroo-o zibun-no ie -de sin-ase-te  
that doctor-TOP -ACC self -GEN house-in die-make  
simat-ta  
have -Past  
'The doctor has let Taroo die in his own house.'

In (18), the unaccusative verb *sin* ‘die’ appears embedded in an indirect passive sentence. *Zibun* can refer to the theme argument *yoogisya* ‘suspect’ of this verb, indicating that this argument occupies a ‘subject’ position. The same verb appears embedded in a causative sentence in (19). The sentence is appropriate in the context where the doctor failed to hospitalize the patient *Taroo*, and indirectly caused his death by letting him stay at home. In this situation, *zibun* can clearly refer to the causee *Taroo*. It, then, must be in a ‘subject’ position in this sentence.

However, it is not obvious how *Taroo* comes to occupy a subject position in (18) and (19). Let us consider the causative sentence in (19). *Taroo* receives an internal theta-role from the unaccusative verb *sin*, and at the same time, is an internal (causee) argument of the causative verb. Thus, (20) is a plausible structure for the sentence.<sup>5</sup>

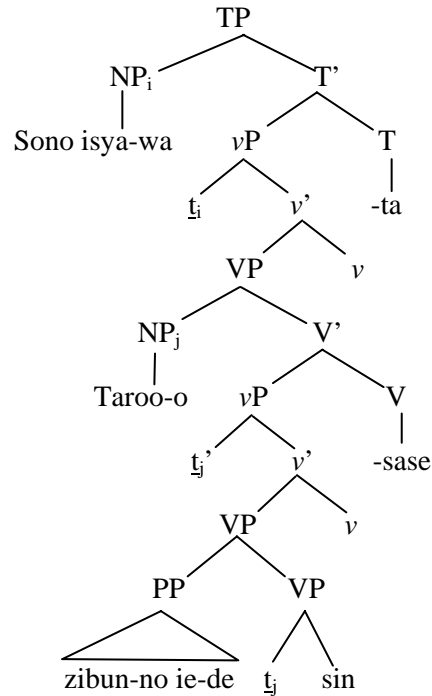


Here, *Taroo* simply moves from an internal position to another internal position, and never is in TP Spec or *vP* Spec.

The only way, as far as I can see, to qualify *Taroo* as the antecedent of *zibun* is to postulate a *v* projection above the unaccusative VP in (20) and to move the NP to the Spec position of this *vP*. This is illustrated in (21).

<sup>5</sup> The final verb *simat-ta* adds perfective meaning to the sentence. I will ignore it in the structure in (20).

(21)



As *Taroo* moves through the embedded vP Spec position, its subject property is correctly predicted with this structure.

If this account is on the right track, then unaccusative verbs must be selected by *v* and their internal arguments must be able to move through its Spec position. This in turn implies (16), repeated below as (22), is compatible with the definition of 'subject' as vP spec.

- (22) Taroo-ga<sub>i</sub> zibun-no ie -de t<sub>i</sub> sin-da (koto)  
-NOM self -GEN house-at die-Past fact  
'Taroo died at his house.'

(19) shows that the sole argument of the unaccusative verb *sin* 'die' can pass through the Spec of the immediately dominating *v*-projection when it moves to a higher position. Then, the movement of *Taroo* in (22) should be able to proceed as in (17). It is, hence, unnecessary to include TP Spec among the 'subject positions' to accommodate unaccusative sentences such as (22).

Exactly the same conclusion can be reached for passives on the basis of examples like (23).

- (23) Taroo-wa dai-sensei -o zibun-no gakusei-tati-niyotte  
-TOP big-teacher-ACC self -GEN student-PL-by  
suhais -are -sase-te oi -ta  
worship-Passive-make leave-Past  
'Taroo kept letting the big professor be worshiped by his/her students.'

Here, a direct passive sentence is embedded under the causative verb *sase*, and

*zibun* can refer to the causee *dai-sensei* ‘big professor’. Since this NP is the theme argument of the embedded verb, *suuhais* ‘worship’, and the internal causee argument of the causative verb, the only way that it can obtain ‘subject’ status, it seems, is by moving through the embedded *vP* Spec. And if so, in simple passive sentences like (7), repeated below as (24), the surface subject must be able to qualify as the antecedent of *zibun* by moving through the *vP* Spec position.

- (24) Taroo-ga<sub>i</sub> karera-niyotte zibun-no ie -de t<sub>i</sub> koros-are -ta  
 -NOM they -by self -GEN house-at kill -Passive-Past  
 (koto)  
 fact  
 'Taroo was killed by them at his house.'

Hence, passives are also consistent with the definition of ‘subject’ as *vP* Spec.

It was argued in this section that possible antecedents for *zibun* can be defined as those phrases in *vP* Spec, and that there is no need to refer to TP Spec. The discussion only showed that it is possible to consider *vP* Spec as the ‘subject’ in the relevant sense, and did not provide positive reason to exclude TP Spec. Thus, all the data are consistent with the definition of ‘subject’ as either *vP* Spec or TP Spec. However, as noted at the outset of this paper, if one assumes the EPP analysis of A-scrambling, there is compelling reason to exclude TP Spec from the ‘subject’ positions. Hence, the discussion in this section suggests that it is possible to analyze the subject-orientation of *zibun* in a way consistent with this analysis of A-scrambling. In the following section, I will examine the relevant facts further and argue that on the contrary, the interpretation of *zibun* poses a serious problem for the EPP analysis of A-scrambling.

### 3. A-Scrambling and the EPP-feature on *v*

It was pointed out by Mahajan (1990) that a phrase preposed by clause-internal scrambling can serve as the antecedent for an anaphor. Thus, (25b) contrasts sharply with (25a).

- (25) a. ?\*[Otagai -no sensei-ga karera-o hihansi-ta] (koto)  
 each other-GEN teacher-NOM they -ACC criticize-Past fact  
 'They were criticized by each other's teachers.'  
 b. Karera-o<sub>i</sub> [otagai -no sensei-ga t<sub>i</sub> hihansi-ta] (koto)  
 they -ACC each other-GEN teacher-NOM criticize-Past fact

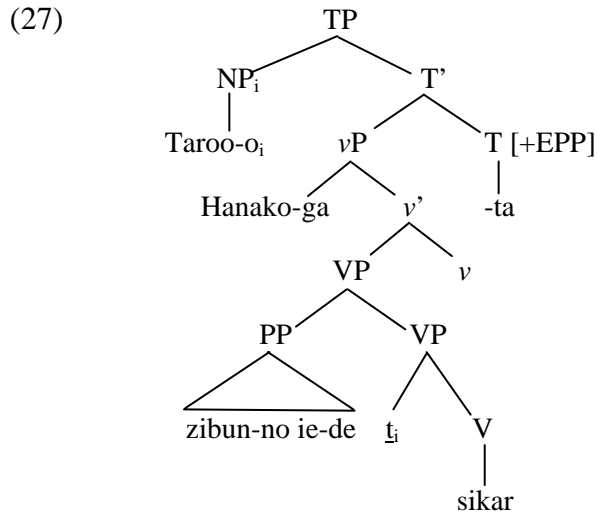
This indicates that the landing site for this kind of scrambling (A-scrambling) is an A-position. Mahajan has proposed that it is the Spec position of an AGR head.

Shigeru Miyagawa, in a series of papers, has developed this analysis, and argued that A-scrambling is driven by the EPP-feature of T.<sup>6</sup> According to this

<sup>6</sup> See Miyagawa (2001, 2003), for example. Kuroda (1988) presents an analysis of scrambling as movement to TP Spec, but he considers it an optional operation.

analysis, the example in (6), repeated below as (26), can have the structure shown in (27).<sup>7</sup>

- (26) Taroo-o<sub>i</sub> Hanako-ga t<sub>i</sub> zibun-no ie -de sikat -ta  
 -ACC -NOM self -GEN room-at scold-Past  
 'Hanako scolded Taroo at her house.'



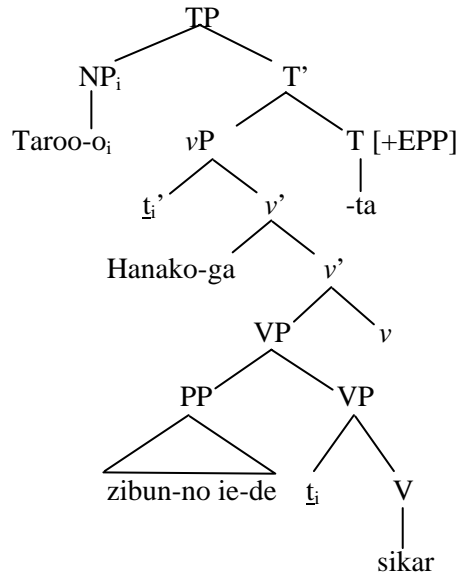
As *Hanako* is the only possible antecedent for *zibun* in (26), this analysis is clearly incompatible with the definition of ‘subject’ as TP Spec. On the other hand, if *vP* Spec is the ‘subject’ position in the relevant sense, the interpretation of (26) is correctly predicted by the structure in (27). Hence, the discussion in the preceding section seems to provide indirect support for the EPP analysis of A-scrambling.

However, the situation is a little more complicated because (26) is a transitive sentence and hence, *vP* should constitute a phase.<sup>8</sup> This implies that the scrambling of *Taroo* in (27) should proceed via *vP* Spec as in (28).

<sup>7</sup> Miyagawa and Mahajan assume that there is another kind of scrambling, A'-scrambling. (27) is the structure for (26) when the object is preposed by A-scrambling.

<sup>8</sup> I will assume, following Chomsky (2000), for example, that C and transitive *v* (*v*\* in Chomsky's terms) project derivational phases.

(28)



But then, the scrambled object obtains ‘subject’ status after all by virtue of its intermediate vP Spec position.

The problem is clearer when examples with complex predicates are considered. It is known that the embedded object in a causative sentence can be A-scrambled to the sentence initial position, as illustrated in (29).

- (29) Karera-o<sub>i</sub> [otagai -no sensei -ga Taroo-ni t<sub>i</sub>  
they -ACC each other-GEN teacher-NOM -DAT  
home -sase -ta] (koto)  
praise-make-Past fact  
'Lit. Each other's teachers made Taroo praise them.'

In this case, the scrambled object, *karera-o* ‘they-ACC’, must move through the embedded vP Spec as well as the matrix vP Spec. Yet, it does not qualify as the antecedent of *zibun*, as shown in (30).

- (30) Hanako-o<sub>i</sub> [Ziroo-ga Taroo-ni zibun-no ie -de t<sub>i</sub>  
-ACC -NOM -DAT self -GEN house-at  
nagur-ase -ta] (koto)  
praise-make-Past fact  
'Ziroo made Taroo hit Hanako at his house.'

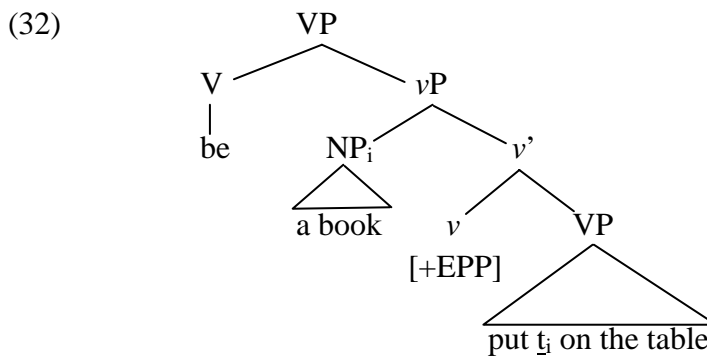
*Zibun* in this example can refer to *Ziroo* or *Taroo*, but not to *Hanako*.

Examples like (26) and (30) are not only problematic for the EPP analysis of A-scrambling, but pose a general problem for the definition of ‘subject’. It was shown in the preceding section that phrases in vP Spec qualify as the antecedent of *zibun*. Yet, when a scrambled phrase moves through this position, it does not obtain ‘subjecthood’ in the relevant sense. It seems then necessary to distinguish the vP Spec position postulated in the preceding section and the vP Spec position that serves as an intermediate landing site for scrambling.

A proposal that could lead to a solution for this problem is found in Lasnik (1995). He considers the contrast in (31) and suggests that passive sentences contain a low functional head with an EPP-feature.

- (31) a. There has been a book put on the table  
 b. \*There has been put a book on the table

These examples show that a passive verb is allowed in the existential construction only when the object is preposed over the verb. Lasnik suggests then that there is a functional head over the passive verb that triggers this movement. The structure of the relevant part of (31a) will be as in (32) if the functional head in question is  $v$ .

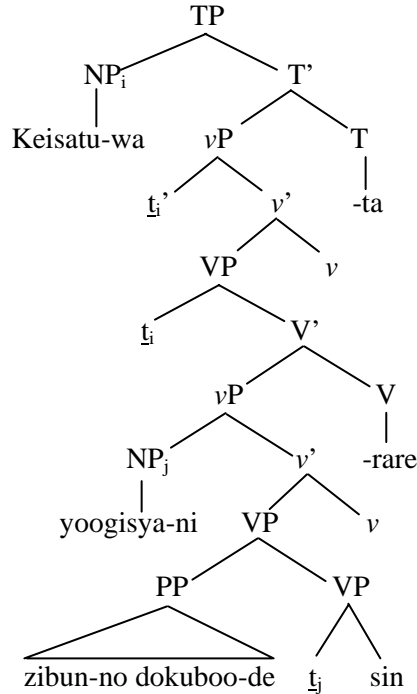


If we adapt this suggestion and assume that the  $v$  associated with passive and unaccusative verbs in Japanese is equipped with an EPP-feature as well, the analysis of the ‘subject’ property of passive and unaccusative subjects presented in the preceding section can be made more solid. Let us consider again (18), repeated below as (33).

- (33) Keisatu-wa yoogisya-ni zibun-no dokuboo-de sin-are-te simat-ta  
 police -TOP suspect -by self -GEN cell -in die-Passive have -Past  
 'The police have been affected by the suspect dying in his/her own cell.'

According to the analysis in Section 2, this sentence has the structure in (34).

(34)



The intended antecedent of *zibun*, *yoogisya* ‘suspect’, not only obtains ‘subject’ status but also establishes a c-command relation with the reflexive pronoun by moving to the embedded *vP* Spec. If the embedded *v* has an EPP-feature, then there is clear reason for this movement.

Let us now return with this background to (26), repeated in (35).

- (35) Taroo-o<sub>i</sub> Hanako-ga t<sub>i</sub> zibun-no heya-de sikat-ta  
 -ACC -NOM self -GEN room-at scold-Past  
 ‘Hanako scolded Taroo in her room.’

As noted above, the scrambling of *Taroo-o* must proceed through *vP* Spec because the *vP* constitutes a derivational phase. If this initial movement is triggered by an EPP-feature on *v*, it is indistinguishable from the movement of *yoogisya* ‘suspect’ in (34). We would then incorrectly predict that *Taroo* is a possible antecedent for *zibun* in (35). On the other hand, if the movement is not triggered by the EPP, there is a way to distinguish the two cases. We may say that those phrases that satisfy the EPP requirement of *v* obtain the ‘subject’ status. This is the case for *yoogisya* ‘suspect’ in (34), and hence, it is a possible antecedent for *zibun*. In contrast, the movement of *Taroo-o* to *vP* Spec in (35) has nothing to do with the EPP, and it is correctly predicted that the NP does not qualify as the antecedent of the reflexive.

This proposal has implications for the definition of ‘subject’ as well as for the analysis of A-scrambling. The discussion in the preceding section was based on the assumption that ‘subjecthood’ is defined in terms of positions. Thus, the Spec positions of T and *v* were considered as candidates. But the analysis proposed in this section suggests that ‘subjecthood’ should be defined in terms of

the EPP. That is, a phrase that checks an EPP-feature, regardless of whether it is on  $v$  or T, qualifies as the ‘subject’. If this is correct, *Taroo* obtains ‘subjecthood’ in two ways in the simple unaccusative sentence (16), repeated below as (36).

- (36) Taroo-ga<sub>i</sub> zibun-no ie -de t<sub>i</sub> sin-da (koto)  
 -NOM self -GEN house-at die-Past fact  
 'Taroo died at his house.'

It first moves to  $v$ P Spec to check the EPP-feature on  $v$  and then moves on to TP Spec in order to satisfy the EPP requirement of T.

Second, if the movement of *Taroo-o* to  $v$ P Spec in (35) is not triggered by an EPP-feature, as proposed here, then Japanese, after all, has local A-scrambling that is independent of the EPP. This raises serious doubts for the EPP analysis of A-scrambling to the sentence-initial position. If A-scrambling can prepose a phrase to the  $v$ P-initial position without an EPP-feature, it is not clear why it cannot do the same to the sentence-initial position. The definition of ‘subject’ proposed in the preceding paragraph in fact suggests a stronger conclusion. The ‘subject’ was defined as a phrase that satisfies the EPP requirement of a functional head,  $v$  or T. Since a phrase scrambled to the sentence-initial position does not qualify as a ‘subject’, it cannot be checking the EPP-feature of T. Thus, the analysis presented above implies that A-scrambling, whether it is to  $v$ P Spec or to TP Spec, freely applies without the EPP-feature, as proposed, for example, in Saito (1989), Saito and Fukui (1998), and Kawamura (2004).

#### 4. Summary and Further Speculations on the Nature of $v$

I argued in this paper that the possible antecedents of *zibun* are those phrases that check the EPP-feature. The EPP-feature, in turn, is carried by T and by passive and unaccusative  $v$ . This simple definition of ‘subject’ accounts for the interpretation of *zibun* not only in simple sentences but also in sentences with complex predicates. It also captures the binding properties of phrases preposed by scrambling, provided that A-scrambling is not triggered by the EPP-feature. Crucial in this discussion was the proposal that passive and unaccusative verbs are selected by  $v$  with an EPP-feature. I will briefly discuss some of the issues related to this proposal before concluding the paper.

The proposal was based on Lasnik’s (1995) suggestion that passive verbs in English are selected by a functional head with an EPP-feature. His examples in (31) are shown again in (37).

- (37) a. There has been a book put on the table  
 b. \*There has been put a book on the table

Unaccusatives, however, exhibit different patterns. Thus, (38) contrasts with (37).

- (38) a. \*There someone arrived  
 b. There arrived someone

These examples show that the theme argument is not raised over an unaccusative verb. Furthermore, one of Lasnik's concerns was the contrast between (37a) and its grammatical Italian counterpart in (39), discussed in detail in Belletti (1988).

- (39) È stato messo un libro sul tavolo  
 has been put a book on the table  
 'There has been a book put on the table.'

He tentatively suggests, noting some complications, that the NP feature of the passive functional head is weak in Italian. This is equivalent to saying that in Italian passives, either  $\nu$  is absent or it lacks the EPP-feature.

If all this is correct, we have the three-way contrast shown in (40).

(40)

	$\nu$ [+EPP] with passives	$\nu$ [+EPP] with unaccusatives
Italian	–	–
English	+	–
Japanese	+	+

This possibility must be examined against broader range of data. And if it is tenable, it would be desirable to deduce this variation from the morphological properties of the verbs.

Another issue concerns the features of the  $\nu$  associated with unergative and transitive verbs. Does it carry an EPP-feature? One possibility is that it does and the feature is satisfied by the external argument. Another is that UG allows only non-thematic (i.e., purely functional)  $\nu$  to carry an EPP-feature. In the latter case, the definition of 'subject' must be relaxed to include external arguments in theta-relation with  $\nu$ . This is because of the examples of causative and indirect passive in (9)-(10) and (12)-(13), where the embedded external argument qualifies as the antecedent of *zibun*. I will leave the choice open.

On the other hand, the proposals in this paper have clearer implications for the feature of  $\nu$  that makes successive-cyclic operator movement possible. It is proposed in Chomsky (2000) and (2001), for example, that an EPP-feature can be assigned to an unergative/transitive  $\nu$  and this makes the initial step of the *Wh*-movement in (41) possible.

- (41) [<sub>CP</sub> What<sub>i</sub> did [<sub>TP</sub> John [<sub>νP</sub> t<sub>i</sub>' [<sub>VP</sub> buy t<sub>i</sub>]]]]

The  $\nu$  in this example must carry some feature that triggers the movement of the *Wh*-phrase to its Spec. However, if an EPP-feature can be freely assigned to  $\nu$  to ensure successive-cyclic operator movement, we would make false predictions for examples like (42).



- Kuroda, Shige-Yuki. 1979. "On Japanese Passives." In George Bedell, Eichi Kobayashi, and Masatake Muraki (eds.), *Explorations in Linguistics: Papers in Honor of Kazuko Inoue*, Tokyo: Kenkyusha, pp. 305-347..
- Kuroda, Shige-Yuki. 1988. "Whether We Agree or Not: A Comparative Syntax of English and Japanese." *Linguisticae Investigationes* 12, 1-47.
- Lasnik, Howard. 1995. "Case and Expletives Revisited: On Greed and Other Human Failings." *Linguistic Inquiry* 26, 615-633.
- Mahajan, Anoop. 1990. *The A/A-Bar Distinction and Movement Theory*. Ph.D. dissertation, MIT.
- Miyagawa, Shigeru. 2001. "The EPP, Scrambling, and *Wh*-in-situ." In Michael Kenstowicz (ed.), *Ken Hale: A Life in Language*, Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, pp. 293-338.
- Miyagawa, Shigeru. 2003. "A-Movement Scrambling and Options without Optionality." In Simin Karimi (ed.), *Word Order and Scrambling*, Oxford: Blackwell Publishing, pp. 177-200.
- Murasugi, Keiko. 2001. *Noun Phrases in Japanese and English: A Study in Syntax, Learnability and Acquisition*. Ph.D. dissertation, University of Connecticut.
- Murasugi, Keiko, and Tomoko Hashimoto. 2005. "Three Pieces of Acquisition Evidence for the *v*-VP Frame." *Nanzan Linguistics* 1, 1-19. Center for Linguistics, Nanzan University.
- Saito, Mamoru. 1989. "Scrambling as Semantically Vacuous A'-movement." In Mark Baltin and Anthony Kroch (eds.), *Alternative Conceptions of Phrase Structure*, Chicago: University of Chicago Press, pp. 182-200.
- Saito, Mamoru. 2001. "Movement and  $\theta$ -roles: A Case Study with Resultatives." In Yukio Otsu (ed.), *Proceedings of the Second Tokyo Conference on Psycholinguistics*, Tokyo: Hituzi Syobo, pp. 35-60.
- Saito, Mamoru, and Naoki Fukui. 1998. "Order in Phrase Structure and Movement." *Linguistic Inquiry* 29, 439-474.

Mamoru Saito  
 Department of Anthropology and Philosophy  
 Nanzan University  
 18 Yamazato-cho, Showa-ku  
 Nagoya 466-8673  
 Japan  
[saito@nanzan-u.ac.jp](mailto:saito@nanzan-u.ac.jp)