Japanese displays three passive constructions: the ni passive (1b), the ni yotte passive (1c) and the indirect (or adversative) passive (1d).

(1) a. koroshiya-ga Takeshi-o neraw-da
    assassin-NOM T.-ACC target-PST
    ‘An assassin targeted Takeshi.’

b. Takeshi-ga koroshiya-ni neraw-are-ta
    T.-NOM assassin-by target-PAS-PST
    ‘Takeshi was targeted by an assassin.’

c. Takeshi-ga koroshiya-ni yotte neraw-are-ta
    T.-NOM assassin-by target-PAS-PST
    ‘Takeshi was targeted by an assassin.’

d. Takeshi-ga koroshiya-ni inochi-o neraw-are-ta
    T.-NOM assassin-by life-ACC target-PAS-PST
    ‘Takeshi has his life targeted by an assassin.’

Each passive form utilizes the passive morpheme \(-(r)are\), and the ni and ni yotte passives display properties much like English: the subject of the active sentence (1a) is demoted to a by-phrase and the active object is promoted to subject, bearing nominative case. On the other hand, the indirect passive appears to introduce an additional argument and accusative case is not absorbed.

There has been much debate as to whether the three passive constructions have a uniform structure (see Ishizuka 2010 for a recent attempt). However, much data suggests that a uniform structure is untenable (see Hoshi 1999 and Fukuda 2006 for summaries of the arguments). Instead, authors have concluded that the ni yotte passive is akin to the English passive, while the indirect passive does introduce an extra argument. The debate has centered around whether the ni passive should be analyzed as a type of indirect passive or ni yotte passive.

In this talk, I introduce two novel observations regarding the ni passive that distinguish it from both the ni yotte passive and indirect passive. First ni passives cannot bear genitive case in \(ga-no\) conversion environments (2).

(2) Taroo-ga/*no keisatu-ni tukamae-rare-ta hi
    T.-NOM/*GEN police-by catch-PAS-PST day
    ‘The day Taroo was caught by the police.

Second a QP subject of a ni passive does not permit scope ambiguities with respect to negation (3) when another element is scrambled before it.

(3) a. Taroo-ni zennin-ga tukamae-rare-nakat-ta
    T.-by all-NOM catch-PAS-NEG-PST
    ‘By Taro, all were not caught.’ [Neg.>All; All>Neg.]

b. hon-o, zennin-ga t, Taroo-ni watas-are-nakat-ta
    book-ACC all-NOM T.-by hand-PAS-NEG-PST
    ‘Books, all weren’t handed by Taro.’ [Neg.>All; All>Neg.]

Following Miyagawa (2012) for the GNC facts and Miyagawa (2001) for the scope facts. I conclude that unlike ni yotte and indirect passives. Subjects of ni passives must occupy Spec-TP. I will propose an emendation to Fukuda’s (2006) analysis of Japanese passives that is able to capture this requirement.