

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_i zennin-ga t_i 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.