

The Structures of Chinese Long and Short *Bei* Passives Revisited*

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This paper revisits the categorial status of the Mandarin passive marker *bei* and the derivational relationship between long and short *bei* passives. In regard to its categorial status, there have been three major analyses: *bei* is a preposition, or is a verb, or it has the dual status of being both a verb and a preposition. This paper reviews these views, especially the latter two, pointing out their strengths and weaknesses. On this basis, it makes three claims. (a) *Bei* is a verb, which is supported by the new evidence from reflexive *ziji* tests, Chinese fragmentary constructions, and the chameleonic properties of the *bei* passive alternating between control and raising structures. (b) As for the structures of the long and short passives, by reviewing the uniform and non-uniform approaches, we provide the third approach, arguing that long passives can be further divided into local long and long-distance passives. The local long passive and its corresponding short form may be derivationally related, while the long-distance passive does not have a short form. (c) By reinterpreting the facts from some negation tests, we argue that the semi-lexical verb *bei* subcategorizes for a non-finite clause that does not involve Aspect phrase (AspP) or Currently Relevant State phrase (CrSP).

Key words: categorial status of *bei*, control and raising passives, long and short *bei* passives, non-finite clause, reflexive *ziji*

1. Introduction

As is commonly acknowledged, there are two forms of the Mandarin *bei* passive, illustrated in (1) and (2), depending on whether the Agent phrase is present or not:

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- (1) The long passive: *bei NP-VP*
 Zhangsan bei Lisi da-le.
 Zhangsan BEI Lisi hit-LE¹
 ‘Zhangsan was hit by Lisi.’
- (2) The short passive: *bei VP*
 Zhangsan bei da-le.
 Zhangsan BEI hit-LE
 ‘Zhangsan was hit.’

Concerning the categorial status of the Chinese passive marker *bei*, there are mainly three competing views in the literature: *bei* is a preposition (Chen 2002; Her 1985–86; J. Huang 1982; L. Huang 1990; A. Li 1990; S. Li 1994; Li & Thompson 1981; Lü 2000[1980]; McCawley 1992; Tsao 1996; Wang 1970); it is a verb or light verb (Bender 2000; Chiu 1993; Feng 1995; Her 1989, 2009; Hsueh 1989; J. Huang 1999; Huang et al. 2009; Li 2003; S. Tang 2001, 2003, 2004, 2008; Ting 1998; Wang 1992[1943]; Wu 1999; Xiong 2003); or it has the double status of being both verbal and prepositional (Cao 2011; Shi 2005; Shi & Hu 2005). As for the syntactic structures of the long and short passives, while some linguists (Cao 2011; Huang 1999; Huang et al. 2009; Tang 2001, 2003, 2008; Ting 1998;) hold the view that the long and short passives are not derivationally related, others (Hashimoto 1987; Her 2009; Shi 2005; Shi & Hu 2005) argue that the long and short forms have similar underlying structures. This paper will revisit the status of *bei* in view of more recent arguments, and propose that *bei* is a semi-lexical verb selecting a non-finite clause as its complement. New evidence is found from reflexive *ziji* tests, fragment structures and the control-raising alternating properties of the *bei* passive to support this proposal. In addition, it will argue that the long passive can be reclassified into the local long and long-distance passives. The short passive is derived from the local long passive by agent suppression and the long-distance passive falls under the NOP movement analysis made by Huang (1999) and Huang et al. (2009), together with Feng (1995) and Ting (1998), among others.

2. The categorial status of *bei*

This section will re-examine the analyses of the categorial status of *bei*, especially the recent arguments within the verbal *bei* and double *bei* analyses, and offer new evidence to argue that it is more appropriate to analyze *bei* as a verb.

¹ Abbreviations used in this paper are as follows: Asp: aspect marker; CL: classifier; CP: complement clause; DE: possessive marker; DP: determiner phrase; Exp: experiential aspect marker; IP: Inflectional Phrase; LE: grammatical particle occurring as a verb suffix or in sentence final position; NEG: negator; NOP: null operator movement; Perf/PRF: perfective aspect marker; pl: plural marker; Prog: progressive marker.

2.1 The verbal *bei* and double *bei* analyses

Huang (1999) and Huang et al. (2009) argue that *bei* behaves like a verb instead of a preposition for the following reasons: First, the subject of the *bei* passive can be modified by a subject-oriented adverb, such as *guyi* ‘intentionally’ as in (3), which shows that *bei* can assign a theta role to its subject and this cannot be explained if *bei* is a preposition.

- (3) Zhangsan guyi bei Lisi da-le. (Huang et al. 2009:115)
 Zhangsan intentionally BEI Lisi hit-LE
 ‘Zhangsan intentionally got hit by Lisi.’

Second, the *bei*-DP does not behave like a prepositional phrase (PP) because it cannot move across a time phrase as in (4b), or prepose to a sentence-initial position as in (4c), as other commonly regarded PPs do, as in (5).

- (4) a. Zhangsan zuotian bei Lisi da-le. (Huang et al. 2009:116)
 Zhangsan yesterday BEI Lisi hit-LE
 (cf. ‘John was hit by Bill yesterday.’)
 b. *Zhangsan bei Lisi zuotian da-le.
 Zhangsan BEI Lisi yesterday hit-LE
 (cf. ‘John was hit yesterday by Bill.’)
 c. *Bei Lisi Zhangsan zuotian da-le.
 BEI Lisi Zhangsan yesterday hit-LE
 (cf. ‘It was by Bill that John was hit yesterday.’)

- (5) a. Zhangsan dui Lisi hen keqi. (Huang et al. 2009:116)
 Zhangsan to Lisi very polite
 ‘Zhangsan is very polite to Lisi.’
 b. Dui Lisi Zhangsan hen keqi.
 to Lisi Zhangsan very polite
 ‘Zhangsan is very polite to Lisi.’

Third, the coordination test in (6) shows that the Agent DP and the VP following it form a constituent, excluding *bei*.

- (6) Ta bei Lisi ma-le liang-sheng, Wangwu ti-le san-xia. (Huang et al. 2009:117)
 he BEI Lisi scold-LE twice Wangwu kick-LE three-times
 ‘He was scolded twice by Lisi and kicked three times by Wangwu.’

Fourth, the binding test in (7) indicates that the agent DP *Lisi* is not the object of *bei* but a subject of the embedded clause since the reflexive pronoun *ziji* must take a subject as its antecedent (see Cole et al. 1990; Huang & Tang 1991; C.-C. Tang 1989, among others). These two facts cannot be accounted for if *bei* is treated as a preposition.

- (7) Zhangsan bei Lisi guan zai ziji de jiali. (Huang et al. 2009:118)
 Zhangsan BEI Lisi lock at self DE home
 ‘Zhangsan was locked by Lisi in self’s home. (ZS or LS’s home)’

Based on the verbal *bei* analysis, Huang (1999) and Huang et al. (2009), following Chiu (1995), Ting (1995, 1996) and Feng (1995), further assume that the long *bei* passive is a complex predication structure that involves null operator movement. This hypothesis is supported by the following evidence. First, Chinese long passives exhibit unbounded dependency as shown in (8), which involves the Agent of a matrix verb (i.e. *pai* ‘send’) and the Theme object of an embedded verb *zhua-zou* ‘arrest-away’. The unbounded dependency is a typical characteristic of A’-movement.

- (8) Zhangsan bei Lisi pai jingcha zhua-zou-le. (Huang et al. 2009:125)
 Zhangsan BEI Lisi send police arrest-away-LE
 ‘Zhangsan was “sent-police-to-arrest” by Lisi.’

Moreover, long-distance passives are sensitive to island effects, as shown in (9). The object (= Zhangsan) of the verb *zanmei* ‘praise’ in the relative clause modifying ‘books’ cannot be empty, which can be explained if we suppose that the long passive in (9) involves A’-movement which is blocked by the Complex NP constraint (Ross 1967). The fact that the derivation can be saved with a resumptive pronoun in that position further supports the A’-movement hypothesis because such a pronoun always appears in an A’-bound position.

- (9) Zhangsan bei wo tongzhi Lisi ba [zanmei *(ta) de]
 Zhangsan BEI me inform Lisi BA praise him DE
 shu dou mai-zou-le. (Huang et al. 2009:125)
 book all buy-away-LE
 ‘Zhangsan had me inform Lisi to buy up all the books that praise [him].’

In addition, Chiu (1995) argues that the occurrence of particle *suo* (akin to an English relative pronoun) in the long passive as in (10) supports the hypothesis of A’-movement.

- (10) Zhexie shiqing bu neng bei tamen suo liaojie.
 these thing not can BEI they SUO understand
 ‘These things cannot be understood by them.’

Based on the above evidence, Huang (1999) and Huang et al. (2009), in the spirit of Chiu (1995), Ting (1995, 1996) and Feng (1995), assume that the structure of the long *bei* passive is as shown in (11).

- (11) Zhangsan_i bei [_{IP} NOP_i [_{IP} Lisi da-le t_i]]. (long passive)
 Zhangsan BEI Lisi hit-LE
 ‘Zhangsan was hit by Lisi.’

In (11), the main verb *bei*, meaning ‘get, acquire, or end up with the property of ...’ selects an active IP as its complement, within which a null operator moves from the object position of the base verb to Spec, IP. The main verb *bei* and the complement IP form a complex predicate, which selects the matrix subject as its single argument. The moved null object is bound by the matrix subject under predication. Tang (2001) agrees with the verbal nature of *bei* and further assumes that *bei* in the long passive is an ECM verb taking an infinitive clause as its complement.

As for the structure of the short passive, Huang (1999) and Huang et al. (2009) argue that it is not derived from the long form via deletion of the Agent DP, but is a control structure that involves A-movement. Some crucial evidence is listed as follows. First, no matter whether *bei* is analyzed as a preposition or a verb, the Agent is not allowed to be deleted. If *bei* is a preposition, the deletion of its object (i.e. the Agent DP) would violate the general prohibition against preposition stranding. If it is a verb, it would behave like other verbs in the similar V-NP-V configuration, as in (12), that does not allow the deletion of the Agent DP either.

- (12) *Zhangsan, wo shi — shengqi le. (Huang et al. 2009:130)
 Zhangsan I cause angry LE
 ‘Zhangsan, I have caused to be angry.’

Second, there are a number of syntactic differences between long and short passives. For instance, in contrast to the long passive, the short passive does not exhibit unbounded dependencies, nor does it allow the particle *suo* or a resumptive pronoun, as shown in (13)–(15) respectively.

- (13) a. Zhangsan bei Lisi pai jingcha zhua-zou-le. (Huang et al. 2009:132)
 Zhangsan BEI Lisi send police arrest-LE
 ‘Zhangsan was “sent-police-to-arrest” by Lisi.’
 b. *Zhangsan bei pai jingcha zhua-zou-le.
 Zhangsan BEI send police arrest-LE
 ‘Zhangsan was “sent-police-to-arrest”.’
- (14) a. Zhaxie shiqing bu neng bei tamen suo liaojie. (Huang et al. 2009:132–133)
 these thing not can BEI they SUO understand
 ‘These things cannot be understood by them.’
 b. *Zhaxie shiqing bu neng bei — suo liaojie.
 these thing not can BEI SUO understand
 ‘These things cannot be understood.’
- (15) a. Zhangsan bei Lisi da-le ta yi-xia. (Huang et al. 2009:133)
 Zhangsan BEI Lisi hit-LE him once
 ‘Zhangsan was hit once by Lisi.’
 b. *Zhangsan bei da-le ta yi-xia.
 Zhangsan BEI hit-LE him once
 ‘Zhangsan was hit once.’

The above differences between the two passives suggest that, unlike the long passive, the short passive does not involve A'-movement but A-movement. Therefore, following Hoshi's (1991, 1994a, b) analysis of English *get*-passives and Japanese *ni*-passives, Huang (1999) and Huang et al. (2009) assume the short passive has a structure as in (16).

- (16) Lisi_i bei [_{VP} PRO_i da-le t_i]
 Lisi BEI hit-LE
 'Lisi was hit.'

In (16), *bei* is a semi-lexical or light verb, selecting an Experiencer subject and a VP complement, in which the Theme object is an empty category PRO that moves to Spec, VP and gets controlled by the matrix subject.

In summary, a number of linguists have put forward forceful arguments for treating *bei* as a verb. However, some of the purported evidence has been called into question. Shi and Hu (2005) point out some problems of treating *bei* as a verb and advocate the double *bei* analysis. First, one piece of evidence offered by Huang (1999) to show the non-preposition status of *bei* is that *bei*-DP cannot be preposed to the sentence-initial position as common PPs can, as shown in (4) and (5). Shi and Hu (2005) argue that this evidence is not strong enough for its purpose because some prepositional phrases cannot be preposed to the sentence-initial position either, as in (17), in which the commonly acknowledged prepositional phrases *gei renmin* 'to people' and *cong xiaolu* 'from small lane' are not allowed to be preposed.

- (17) a. *Gei renmin gaigekai fang dai-lai-le
 to people reform-opening bring-come-LE
 hen da de shihui. (Shi & Hu 2005:216)
 very huge DE profit
 'The opening and reform policy has brought huge profit to people.'
 b. *Cong xiaolu xiaotou keneng tao-zou-le. (Shi & Hu 2005:216)
 from small-lane thief might escape-away-LE
 'The thief might escape away from the small lane.'

Second, they argue that the coordination test shown in (6) may also be explained by assuming that the coordinated part involves the omission of the preposition *bei* because Chinese prepositions, when appearing repeatedly, can be omitted, as shown in (18), in which the preposition *yi* 'with' before the DPs *damo* 'desert' and *gaoyuan* 'plateau' is repeated and omitted.

- (18) Ta yi shanfeng zuo xuanlü, (yi) damo,
 he with mountain-wind make melody, with desert
 gaoyuan zuo wutai. (Shi & Hu 2005:216)
 plateau make performance-stage
 'He treated the mountain wind as melody, and desert and plateau as the performance stage.'

Third, they observe that *bei*-DP can undergo coordination tests as shown in (19), which suggests that the string of *bei* and the Agent DP is a constituent.

- (19) Yihuir, zhe meimiao de shengyin bei shu, bei cao,
 a-while this beautiful DE voice BEI tree BEI grass
 bei yi-ge guangmo de kongjian tunshi-le. (Shi & Hu 2005:216)
 BEI one-CL wild DE space swallow-LE
 ‘Not for a while, this beautiful voice got swallowed by trees, grass and a wild space.’

Fourth, they argue that the reflexive *ziji* ‘self’ test in (7) cannot forcefully show that *bei* is not a preposition because the objects of some prepositions can also serve as the antecedents of *ziji*, as in (20). The reflexive *ziji* ‘self’ can be co-indexed with the DP *Xiaoli*, the object of *wei* ‘for’ in (20a) and the pronoun *ta* ‘her’, the object of *gei* ‘for’ in (20b).

- (20) a. Wo wei Xiaoli_i zai ziji_i jia-li gai-le ge chepeng. (Shi & Hu 2005:217)
 I for Xiaoli at self home-inside build-LE CL bicycle-shed
 ‘I made a bicycle shed for Xiaoli at her own house.’
 b. (Xiaoli zongshi bang bieren zhi maoyi,) suoyi wo gei ta_i mai-le
 Xiaoli always help other-people knit sweater so I for her buy-LE
 yi-jian ziji_i chuan de maoyi. (Shi & Hu 2005:217)
 one-CL self wear DE sweater
 ‘(Xiaoli often knits sweaters for other people), so I bought one sweater for her.’

Fifth, Shi and Hu (2005) pointed out that the biggest problem in treating *bei* as a verb is revealed from the negation test: When we intend to negate a passive sentence, we have to negate *bei* but not the embedded VP, as shown in (21) and (22).

- (21) a. Hai you xuduo dongxue mei you bei women faxian. (Shi & Hu 2005:217)
 still have many cave not have BEI us discover
 ‘There are still a lot of caves that have not been discovered by us.’
 b. *Hai you xuduo dongxue bei women mei you faxian. (Shi & Hu 2005:217)
 still have many cave BEI us not have discover
 (22) a. Zhe-zhong xiao shi ziran bu bei shangtou zhongshi. (Shi & Hu 2005:217)
 this-CL small case certainly not BEI supervisor attach-importance-to
 ‘Such a small case will certainly not be attached importance to by the supervisors.’
 b. *Zhe-zhong xiao shi ziran bei shangtou bu zhongshi. (Shi & Hu 2005:217)
 this-CL small case certainly BEI supervisor not attach-importance-to

However, Chinese verbs must be in the same clause as the elements that negate them, as shown in (23). In (23a), the negator *mei* negates the matrix predicate *jiandan* ‘simple’; in (23b), the negator *bu* ‘not’ is able to appear in the complement of the matrix verb *qiangpo* ‘force’, which shows that the complement is a clause. Shi and Hu, hence, argued that if *bei* were treated as a verb taking a

clausal complement, such a kind of clause would be a unique clause type in Chinese, and the explanatory power would be weakened.

- (23) a. Shiqing mei zhemo jiandan. (Shi & Hu 2005:217)
 thing not this simple
 'The things are not this simple.'
 b. Laoban qiangpo gongren-men xingqiri ye bu xiuxi, ri ye jiaban.
 boss force workman-pl Sunday also not rest, day night work-for-extra-hours
 'The boss forced the workers to work for extra hours day and night, even on Sundays without a rest.'

Shi and Hu (2005) then assume that there are two *bei*'s in the long passive: the passive morpheme *bei* heading the Passive Phrase and the prepositional *bei* taking the Agent DP as its complement. They are designated as *bei*₁ and *bei*₂ as in (24). Since the two *bei*'s are adjacent and homophones, the second one undergoes haplology and gets deleted. The short passive is derived from the long passive by deleting the agentive PP, as in (25).

- (24) [_{PassiveP} *bei*₁ [_{VP} [_{PP} *bei*₂ DP] VP]]

- (25) [[_{PassiveP} *bei*₁ VP]

This analysis has some advantages. For one thing, it can avoid some of the problems caused by the verbal *bei* analysis as Shi and Hu argued above. For another, assuming that the entire agentive PP, and not just the Agent DP, is deleted in the short passive avoids the general prohibition of preposition stranding. In spite of these advantages, Shi and Hu's analysis has some problems. First, although some arguments (such as the first, second and fourth arguments) offered by them call into question some of the verbal analysis's arguments against the P-status of *bei*, they do not establish its P-status either. In addition, the third argument that *bei* and the Agent DP form a constituent, based on the fact that they can be coordinated, as exemplified in (19) and repeated as (26), is not as persuasive as its authors would like.

- (26) Yihuir, zhe meimiao de shengyin bei shu, bei cao,
 a-while this beautiful DE voice BEI tree BEI grass
 bei yi-ge guangmo de kongjian tunshi-le. (Shi & Hu 2005:216)
 BEI one-CL wild DE space swallow-LE
 'Not for a while, this beautiful voice got swallowed by trees, grass and a wild space.'

This test should not be treated as a coordination test for the constituent status of *bei*-DP. It is a phenomenon of right node raising (RNR), as already pointed out by Huang (1999), and more recently by Xiong (2010). The following are some typical examples of right node raising:

- (27) a. [John loves and Mary hates] oysters. (Xiong 2010:124)
 b. [Wo jingchang er ta henshao] chouyan.
 I often but he seldom smoke
 'I often but he seldom smokes.'

According to Wilder (1999:587), an RNR construction has the form in which the shared constituent α surfaces on the final conjunct, and gap(s) corresponding to α must be at the right edge of their non-final conjuncts, as shown in (28).

- (28) [John loves ____] and [Mary hates *oysters*]

The ‘coordinated’ *bei*-DPs in (26) are in a similar configuration, as shown in (29).

- (29) Yihuir, zhe meimiao de shengyin [bei shu __], [bei cao __],
 a-while this beautiful DE voice BEI tree BEI grass
 [bei yi-ge guangmo de kongjian *tunshi-le*]
 BEI one-CL wild DE space swallow-LE

In (29), the shared constituent (the VP *tunshi-le* ‘swallow-LE’) surfaces the final conjunct *bei yi-ge guangmo de kongjian* ‘BEI a wild space’, and its corresponding gap is at the right edge of the non-final conjuncts *bei shu* ‘BEI tree’ and *bei cao* ‘BEI grass’. Furthermore, according to Postal (1974), Gazdar (1981), Williams (1981) and Huang (1999) among others, the function of RNR is to identify the constituency status of the raised rightmost part (the VP *tunshi-le* ‘swallow-LE’ in (29)) but not that of the remnant (the *bei*-DPs in (29)). Therefore, the ‘*bei*-DP’ constituency test illustrated in (26) may not be an effective argument against the verbal *bei* analysis.

As for the fifth argument involving the negation test, by reinterpreting it in §4, we will show that it actually supports the verbal *bei* analysis. To summarize so far, some of the tests for the verbal *bei* analysis do not serve their purpose well, and the double *bei* analysis is also lacking supporting evidence. In the next section, we will offer new evidence to show that *bei* should more properly be analyzed as a verb.

2.2 *Bei* is a verb

In this section, we will argue that *bei* is a verb. Evidence from the reflexive *ziji* tests, fragmentary structures, and the property of the control/raising variation of the *bei* passive will be offered to support this argument.

2.2.1 Evidence from reflexive *ziji* tests

It was mentioned in §2.1 that Huang (1999) and Huang et al. (2009) use the reflexive *ziji* ‘self’ test to show that the Agent DP is the subject of the complement clause of *bei*, but not the object of the preposition *bei* since it can bind the reflexive *ziji*, as shown in (7), repeated as (30). Shi and Hu (2005) argue that this test may not necessarily show that the Agent DP is a subject since the objects of some prepositions can also serve as the antecedents of *ziji*, as shown in (20), repeated as (31).

- (30) Zhangsan_i bei Lisi_j guan zai ziji_{i/j} de jiali.
 Zhangsan BEI Lisi lock at self DE home
 ‘Zhangsan was locked by Lisi in self’s home. (ZS or LS’s home)’

- (31) a. Wo wei Xiaoli_i zai ziji_i jia-li gai-le ge chepeng.
 I for Xiaoli at self home-inside build-LE CL bicycle-shed
 ‘I made a bicycle shed for Xiaoli at her own house.’
 b. (Xiaoli zongshi bang bieren zhi maoyi,) suoyi wo gei ta_i mai-le
 Xiaoli always help other-people knit sweater so I for her buy-LE
 yi-jian ziji_i chuan de maoyi.
 one-CL self wear DE sweater
 ‘(Xiaoli often knits sweaters for others), so I bought one sweater for her.’

It will be shown that the reflexive test provided by neither side is sufficient against the other. First, consider (31b). It has been well known, at least since Tang (1989), that the Chinese reflexive *ziji* ‘self’ can be used as either an anaphor or an intensifier. The anaphoric *ziji* appears in argument positions, while the intensifying *ziji* occurs in non-argument positions. (32) is an instance where the intensifying *ziji* occurs.

- (32) Lisi ziji zhufan. (Tang 1989:95)
 Lisi INT cook-rice
 ‘Lisi does cooking himself.’

The reflexive *ziji* in (31b) is within a relative clause *ziji chuan* ‘self wears’ modifying the DP *maoyi* ‘sweater’. According to the analysis provided by Tang (1989), *ziji chuan* can be analyzed on a par with *ta ziji chuan* ‘she herself wears’ with *ta*, ‘she’ being a null pronominal *pro* (i.e. *pro ziji chuan*). Therefore, the distribution of *ziji* in this case is similar to that in (32). Since *ziji* is an adjunct, it can be omitted without affecting the meaning of the sentence, as in (33).²

- (33) Wo gei ta mai-le yi-jian ta chuan de maoyi.
 I for her buy-LE one-CL she wear DE sweater
 ‘I bought a sweater for her to wear.’

As for (31a), my own intuition is that it is not quite acceptable. Even for those who can accept it, the preferred antecedent for *ziji* is still the subject *wo* ‘I’ rather than the P-object *Xiaoli*. In (34), *ziji* definitely cannot be bound by *Xiaoli*, the object of *gen* ‘with’ in (a), or that of *dui* ‘to’ in (b).

- (34) a. Wo_i gen Xiaoli_j taolun-le ziji_{i/*j} de qiantu.
 I with Xiaoli discuss-LE self DE future
 ‘(Lit.) I discussed the future of myself with Xiaoli.’
 b. Ta_i dui Xiaoli_j shuo-chu-le ziji_{i/*j} de xiangfa.
 he to Xiaoli say-out-LE self DE idea
 ‘He told his ideas to Xiaoli.’

² We observe that in this particular example, the null pronoun subject *ta* ‘she’ has to be overt since the relative clause denotes a specific property (i.e. the sweater is made for her (=Xiaoli) not for others to wear) but not a generic property (the sweater is for wearing not for eating or something) of the NP it modifies.

However, if the monomorphemic *ziji* ‘self’ is changed into the polymorphemic *taziji* ‘herself’, the reflexive in (31a) and (34a and b) can refer to the object of the prepositions much more easily, as in (35a–c), though in (35c), it is odd (but not unacceptably so) for *taziji* to refer to the object of preposition.

- (35) a. Wo wei Xiaoli_i zai taziji_i jia-li gai-le ge chepeng.
 I for Xiaoli at herself home-inside build-LE CL bicycle-shed
 ‘I made a bicycle shed for Xiaoli at her own house.’
 b. Wo gen Xiaoli_i taolun-le taziji_i de qiantu.
 I with Xiaoli discuss-LE herself DE future
 ‘I discussed with Xiaoli about her own future.’
 c. Ta dui Xiaoli_i shuo-chu-le taziji_{#i} de xiangfa.
 he to Xiaoli say-out-LE herself DE idea
 ‘He told his ideas to Xiaoli.’

What can be observed is that when the nominal expression *taziji* ‘herself’ is in possessive position, it can refer to the object of a preposition. To explain this, we assume that when *taziji* is in this position, the whole expression is equivalent to the pronoun *ta* with *ziji* serving as a modifier of the pronoun, illustrated as [_{DP} [_{DP} *ta*] *ziji*]. For the pronominal *taziji* in (35), the governing category (GC) is the DP *taziji de* NP that contains the pronoun and the governor, the Head D.³ Since there is no binder for the pronoun in the GC, the Binding Condition B is satisfied. It would not cause any problem if *taziji* is co-indexed with the object of a preposition.

In the same vein, we assume that when *ziji* occurs in the possessive position, it may also have flexible interpretations. In a sentence like (31a), the possessive *ziji* may be either an anaphor (bound by the subject *wo* ‘I’) or an intensifier modifying *pro*, namely [_{DP} [_{DP} *pro*] *ziji*], where the *pro* may be bound by the subject *wo* ‘I’ or the object *Xiaoli*. Hence the acceptable indexing shown in (31a) is not a counterexample to the well-established subject-orientation requirement of anaphoric *ziji*. Still, as we have noted, binding by *Xiaoli* is not as acceptable in (31a) with a *pro* as it is in (35a) with an overt *ta* ‘she’. This suggests that when the pronoun *ta* ‘she’ in *taziji* ‘herself’ is null, its pronominal reference is very weak, and the anaphor reading of *ziji* is far more dominant. Therefore, *ziji* in (31a) behaves more like an anaphor than a pronoun. As for why the weak pronominal reading of *ziji* is not allowed in (34a and b), we resort to a pragmatic account. In (31a), since *Xiaoli* is the beneficiary of the event of bike-shed building, it is understandable for the bike shed to be built in her (=Xiaoli’s) house. When the object of the preposition is the owner of the DP of which *pro ziji* is the possessor, it can be co-indexed with *pro ziji* more easily, as shown in (36).

- (36) Qizi mingling zhangfu, “ni qu ti erzi ba ziji de fangjian zhengli yi-xia”.
 wife order husband you go for son BA self DE room clean once
 ‘The wife ordered her husband, “Clean the room for our son.”’

³ According to Huang’s (1983) revised version of GC, the GC for pronouns does not involve the concept of ACCESSIBLE SUBJECT.

However, the contexts in (34a and b) strongly suggest that the ‘future’ or ‘ideas’ belong to the matrix subject. Hence, *ziji* can only refer to the subject, unless the null pronominal *pro* in *pro ziji* becomes overt to make it strong enough for the reflexive to refer to the object of the preposition as in (35b and c).

In short, when *ziji* is in the possessive position of a DP, it might permit a weak pronominal reading in a proper context. In this case, *ziji* indicates its intensifying use. It is not an anaphor and can refer to either the subject or the object of a preposition. Therefore, it is really hard to decide whether the Agent DP is the subject of the complement of the verbal *bei* or the object of the prepositional *bei*.

Let us turn to cases where *ziji* occurs in a subject or object position of a sentence. An interesting subject–object asymmetry appears, again due to Tang (1989): while a subject *ziji* may be anteceded by a subject or non-subject, an object *ziji* is strictly subject-oriented, as shown in (37a) and (37b) respectively:

- (37) a. Zhangsan_i wen Lisi_j [*ziji*_{i/j} zui xihuan shenme].
 Zhangsan ask Lisi self best like what
 ‘Zhangsan asked Lisi what he likes best.’
 b. Zhangsan_i wen Lisi_j [shenme ren_k zongshi piping *ziji*_{i/*j/k}].
 Zhangsan ask Lisi what people always criticize self
 ‘Zhangsan asked Lisi what people always criticize themselves or him.’

Why should this be so? Again, we follow an important account provided by Tang (1989), according to whom the *ziji* in subject position, as in (37a), can be analyzed as [*pro* + *ziji*] where *pro* is a pronominal and *ziji* is an intensifier. Under this analysis, Zhangsan asked Lisi what *he* (=pro) *himself* likes most, where the emphasized *he* can refer to either Zhangsan or Lisi, as is expected. On the other hand, in (37b), where *ziji* occurs as the object, an analysis as [*pro* + *ziji*] is unavailable—perhaps for the reason that *pro* is usually excluded from object positions (as first argued by Huang 1984, 1987 et seq.). Therefore, the only possibility for *ziji* in (37b) is as a reflexive anaphor. As a reflexive anaphor, it is subject-oriented and therefore can only be bound by the local subject *shenme ren* ‘what people’, or the matrix subject *Zhangsan*, but not by the object *Lisi*. (The latter case is now treated as a case of logophoric binding, as argued in Huang & Liu 2001.)

It is interesting to note that Tang’s (1989) generalization seems to be mirrored by a similar pattern in English, as first observed by Bickerton (1987). As (38a and b) show, *himself* can be used to intensify a subject pronoun, but not an object pronoun:

- (38) a. John_i says that he himself_i saw Mary yesterday.
 b. *John_i says that Mary saw him himself_i yesterday.

Given these considerations then, we should try to avoid contexts where *ziji* could not be used as a canonical anaphor. With this in mind, we designed the following binding tests, the results of which can only be explained under the hypothesis that *bei* is a verb and the Agent DP is the subject of its complement clause. First consider some cases that contrast with Shi and Hu’s examples in (20a)=(31a). In the following example, we have provided a *ziji* in the object position (as object of a verb or preposition).

- (39) *Wo wei Xiaoli_i gai-le ge chepeng gei ziji_i fang zixingche.
 I for Xiaoli build-LE CL bicycle-shed for self store bicycle
 ‘(Lit.) I made a bicycle shed for Xiaoli herself to store bicycles.’

In contrast to the earlier examples (30–31), this sentence strictly prohibits the anaphor *ziji* from taking a non-subject as its antecedent.

With this fact established, now let us consider *bei* sentences with *ziji* in a similar object position:

- (40) a. Na-feng xin bei Zhangsan_i ji-gei-le ziji_i
 that-CL letter BEI Zhangsan send-to-LE self
 ‘That letter was sent to himself by Zhangsan.’
 b. Suoyou de shengli dou bei Zhangsan_i guigong yu ziji_i le.⁴
 all DE success all BEI Zhangsan attribute to self LE
 ‘(Lit.) All the success was attributed to himself by Zhangsan.’

And let us consider the passive sentence corresponding to (31a).

- (41) *Na-kuai kongdi bei wo wei Xiaoli_i gai-le yi-ge chepeng
 that-CL open-space BEI I for Xiaoli build-LE one-CL bicycle-shed
 gei ziji_i fang zixingche.
 for self store bicycle
 ‘(Lit.) That piece of open space was (taken) by me to build a bicycle shed for Xiaoli herself to store bicycles.’

It is important to note that the ungrammaticality of (39) and (41) under the intended co-indexing cannot be attributed to semantic or pragmatic reasons, for in each case, substitution of *ziji* with *ta* ‘her’ immediately results in perfect grammaticality, as native readers can confirm for themselves. Taken together, all these facts then re-establish the subject-orientation of anaphoric *ziji*, as well as the claim of the verbal *bei* hypothesis that the Agent DP is not a P-object, but the subject of the complement clause selected by *bei*.

Before we conclude this subsection, it is worth mentioning the following example, where binding of *ziji* by the Agent phrase seems unacceptable:

- (42) *Zhangsan bei Lisi_j da-le ziji_j yi-ge erguang.
 Zhangsan BEI Lisi hit-LE self one-CL ear
 ‘Zhangsan was affected by Lisi slapping himself in the face.’

One may ask why this should be the case, given that the Agent *Lisi* is the subject of the clause under *bei*. We submit that the answer comes from the fact that, if *ziji* is co-indexed with *Lisi*, the subject of *bei* cannot be related to the predicate under predication (or through movement). It would

⁴ Many thanks to C.-T. James Huang for calling our attention to this example and the examples in (41).

be a sentence like *Zhangsan bei Lisi hui jia qu le* ‘Zhangsan bei Lisi went home’—an adversative passive sentence whose translation might be grammatical in Japanese or Taiwanese Southern Min, but such an adversative passive is ungrammatical in Mandarin with *bei*. The equivalent of (42) in Japanese or Taiwanese could be grammatical, meaning ‘Zhangsan was adversely affected by Lisi’s slapping himself in the face’ because Japanese and Taiwanese allow gapless passives in which the subject of a passive sentence can just be the affectee of an event without being involved in it. The unacceptability of the intended co-indexing of (42) is thus explained by the general unavailability of the adversative gapless passive in Mandarin.⁵ Note that the sentence itself may be acceptable if *ziji* is co-indexed with *Zhangsan*, and is thus not a gapless passive sentence. In this case the co-indexing is one of long-distance binding, with *ziji* being a logophor, based on the definition of logophor made by Huang and Liu (2001) and Huang (2010). Summarizing, concerning the reflexive *ziji* test, previous arguments from both the verbal and double *bei* analyses are not convincing because they involve examples where the status of *ziji* is itself unclear, with *ziji* located in possessive or adjunct positions. We have attempted to explain some of the unclear cases, and designed new tests with an unambiguous anaphor *ziji*, whose results show that *bei* is a verb, validating the use of the binding test in Huang (1999) and Huang et al. (2009). However, if we took the claim that the anaphor *ziji* need not be subject-oriented, we would be obliged to explain the host of examples that have been established in the literature—ever since Tang (1989), to show that anaphor *ziji* is indeed subject-oriented.

2.2.2 Evidence from fragmentary structures

Wei (2014) discovers that the *bei*-DP cannot form fragment questions (FQs) but can form fragment answers (FAs), as shown in (43) and (44) respectively.

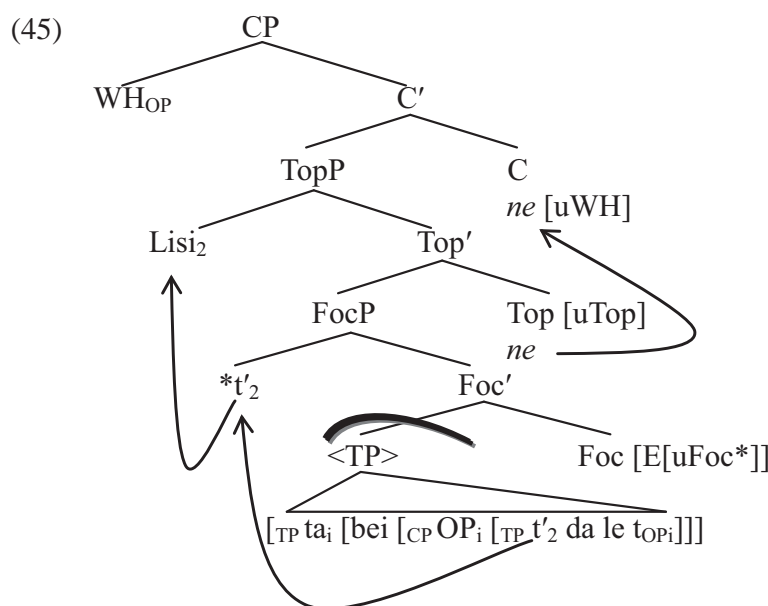
- (43) A: Ta bei Zhangsan da-le.
 he BEI Zhangsan hit-LE
 ‘He was hit by Zhangsan.’
 B: *Lisi ne?
 Lisi Part
 ‘What about (by) Lisi?’
 B’: *Bei Lisi ne?
 BEI Lisi Part

⁵ Mandarin does not allow adversative passives in general unless adversity is self-evident from the nature of the event, as in (i) and (ii):

- (i) Lisi you bei Wangwu jichu-le yi-zhi quanleida. (Huang 1999:462)
 Lisi again BEI Wangwu hit-LE one-CL home-run
 ‘Lisi again had Wangwu hit a home run [on him].’
 (ii) Wo bei ta zhemo yi zuo, jiu shenme dou kan-bu-jian le. (Huang 1999:463 quoted in Shen 1992)
 I BEI he thus one sit then everything all can-not-see LE
 ‘As soon as I had him sitting this way [on me], I couldn’t see anything at all.’
 (Said of a concert, when someone tall sits in front of me and blocks my view.)

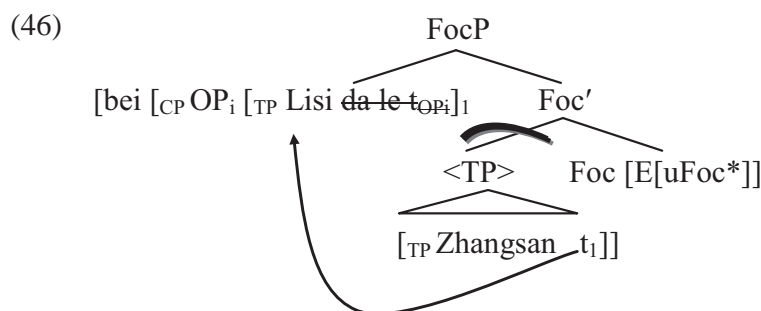
- (44) A: Zhangsan bei shui da-le?
 Zhangsan BEI who hit-LE
 ‘(Lit.) By whom was John beaten?’
 B: (Bei) Lisi.
 BEI Lisi
 ‘(Lit.) By Lisi.’

Based on the analysis of the characteristics of various types of FQs and FAs, he concludes that FQs involve the movement of the fragmented element to the Topic position, while for FA to *wh*-questions, the fragment is raised to the Spec, FocP position. The fact that *bei*-DP (i.e. *bei Lisi ne?* in (43B')) cannot form a fragment question shows that *bei* and the DP are not a syntactic constituent and hence cannot move together. He also adopts the null operator analysis for the long passive (Feng 1995; Huang 1999; Ting 1995, 1996, among others) to explain the ungrammaticality of (43B). As shown in (45), the fragment question *Lisi ne?* is ruled out because the CP below *bei* with the null operator OP in the left periphery is an island for the movement of the fragment *Lisi*, and therefore both the traces t_2 and t'_2 cannot be properly governed.⁶ Although the TP ellipsis erases the problematic t_2 , the t'_2 higher in Spec, FocP causes the FQ to crash.



⁶ As for why t'_2 is an offending trace, following Merchant (2004), Wei assumes that if an XP violates island condition at one phase, it will take the offending *-marked all the way to its final destination. That is, all the traces of the Agent *Lisi* which raise from the null operator island will be marked offending *-marking. If it can be erased, the sentence is grammatical, such as the trace t_2 . If not, the sentence is rejected as ungrammatical. The ungrammatical (43B) is the result caused by the fact that t'_2 is marked as an offending trace and cannot be erased.

The FA *Lisi* in (44B) is grammatical because it moves to Spec, FocP and the problematic trace caused by the intervention of the operator is erased by TP-ellipsis. What remains to be explained is why the FA *bei Lisi* is also grammatical. Since *bei* and the post-*bei* DP do not form a constituent, they cannot move together. So, the FA *bei Lisi* should be ungrammatical, which is contrary to fact. Wei (2014) proposes that the whole *bei* phrase (i.e. *bei* + CP) is pied-piped to Spec, FocP before TP-ellipsis. After that, the VP *da-le* ‘hit-LE’ is deleted and *bei*-DP remains, as shown in (46).



He further assumes that the same mechanism cannot rescue *bei*-DP in FQ because *bei* forms a complex predicate with the CP that involves the null operator movement, and hence the *bei* phrase (*bei* + CP) is a comment but not a topic and cannot move to Spec, Top. Anyway, the failure of *bei*-DP to form an FQ shows that the two elements do not build a constituent, and the fact that *bei*-DP is able to form an FA can be explained by Wei's analysis, as illustrated in (46). The facts revealed by the behaviors of Chinese fragmentary structures support the verbal *bei* analysis.

2.2.3 Evidence from the chameleonic character of *bei*-passives

According to recent studies by Huang (2011, 2013, 2014) and Liu (2012), the *bei*-passive allows for both a control and a raising analysis. When *bei* takes an idiom chunk subject, as shown in (47), the subject position is non-thematic and the *bei* passive is a raising structure; in the case where subject-oriented adverbs are present, as shown in (3) and repeated as (48), the subject is thematic and the control/predication analysis is the only possibility. The same analysis applies to the passives that exhibit long-distance dependencies, or allow particle *suo* or resumptive pronouns (see §3 for detailed discussion). By logic, in the cases of local passives without any subject-oriented adverbs, either raising or control analysis should be allowed, because the subject might be either thematic or non-thematic.

- (47) Pīanyi dōu bei (tā) zhān-guāng-le.
 advantage all BEI he take-empty-LE
 'All the advantage was taken by him.'

- (48) Zhāngsān gùyì bei Lisi dā-le. (Huang et al. 2009:115)
 Zhangsan intentionally BEI Lisi hit-LE
 'Zhangsan intentionally got hit by Lisi.'

Huang (2014) offers one more piece of evidence to support the raising analysis of the *bei* passive, that is the existence of the implicit experiencer argument. The *bei* passive is well known to tend to describe an event which is unpleasant or causes misfortune to someone who is an experiencer/affectee or a sufferer. The affectee can be internal or external. When the subject of *bei* is animate, it may be the ‘sufferer’, which is referred to as the ‘internal affectee’. When the subject is inanimate (the table, idiom chunk, etc.), the event described can also be understood as a misfortune to someone else, perhaps the speaker or another ‘person of interest’. This implicit sufferer is referred to as the ‘external affectee’. The evidence for the existence of the implicit affectee is as follows. First, compared with the *bei*-less passive in (49a) (analyzed as a middle construction by Cheng & Huang 1994), which is neutral and involves no person-of-interest, the *bei* passive in (49b) implies an implicit affectee.

- (49) a. Yifu xi-ganjing le. (neutral, no person-of-interest) (Huang 2014:7)
 clothes wash-clean Perf
 ‘The clothes have been washed clean.’
 b. Yifu bei xi-ganjing le. (+implicit affectee)
 clothes BEI wash-clean Perf
 ‘The clothes got washed clean.’ (Much to the dismay of the District Attorney, who thereby lost the needed evidence!)

Second, differently from the neutral *you* passive, the *bei* passive implies an implicit affectee, as shown in (50a and b).

- (50) a. Jielai de shu yijing you guanliyuan fang-hui shujia-shang le. (Huang 2014:8)
 borrow DE book already by librarian put-back bookshelf-top Perf
 ‘The book [pro] borrowed has been returned to the shelf by the librarian.’
 b. Jielai de shu yijing bei guanliyuan fang-hui shujia-shang le. (Huang 2014:8)
 borrow DE book already BEI librarian put-back bookshelf-top Perf
 ‘The book [pro] borrowed got returned to the shelf by the librarian.’

Third, each *bei* sentence involves two subjects, and both can be explicit or implicit, as shown in (51).

- (51) a. Zhangsan bei [jingcha daibu-le erzi].
 Zhangsan BEI police arrest-perf son
 ‘Zhangsan had [his] son arrested by the police.’
 b. Erzi bei [daibu-le].
 son BEI arrest-perf
 ‘The son got arrested by the police.’

In (51a), the subject *Zhangsan* is the Experiencer and the subject of the embedded clause is the Agent *jingcha* ‘police’. *Erzi* ‘son’ is the patient. In contrast, in (51b), the Agent is implicit. *Erzi* ‘son’ is the patient and also affectee, or the affectee can be an implicit parent. Fourth, the implicit affectee can optionally appear overtly as *gei*-DP as in (52).

- (52) Píanyì dòu bei tā **gēi** wǒ zhān-guāng-le. (Liu & Huang 2013; Huang 2014)
 advantage all BEI he on me take-empty-LE
 ‘All the advantage was taken by him on me.’

In order to explain why *bei* exhibits both the control and raising behaviors, Huang (2013, 2014) supposes that *bei* is a semi-lexical verb, the meaning of which may include multiple points in the causative-unaccusative continuum as in (53), with the points denoting *undergo* (with experiencer subject), *be affected by* (with an affectee subject) and *become* (with no thematic subject).

- (53) The causative-unaccusative continuum: (Huang 2013:103)
 cause > let > witness > undergo > be affected by > become > exist > be

To explain the existence of the implicit affectee, Huang (2014) assumes that the raising *bei* is grammaticalized from the control *bei* by suppressing its experiencer subject, triggering the raising of the patient/theme object of the main verb into Spec, *bei*-P position and producing an external implicit affectee.⁷ Among other things, the chameleonic character of the *bei* passive as either a raising or control structure discussed in Huang’s research can only be explained when *bei* is treated as a semi-lexical verb but not as a preposition or as having the dual status of a passive morpheme and a preposition.

In summary, this section has reviewed the verbal *bei* and double *bei* analyses in previous studies, and argued that *bei* is a verb. New evidence has been offered from binding tests, Chinese fragmentary structures, and the alternating properties of the *bei* passive (from control to raising) to support this idea.

3. On the derivational relationship between long and short *bei* passives

In §2.2.3, we mentioned that the *bei* passive can be analyzed as either a control or raising structure. In this section, we will look further into the derivational relationship between long and short *bei* passives. Traditionally, there have been two main approaches to describe it: the non-uniform

⁷ Long distance passives, as we will show in §3, can only be analyzed as the structures of complex predication which involves null operator movement, but not the structures of raising. However, they can also take implicit affectee arguments, as shown in (i):

(i) Na-feng_i xìn bei [_{IP}OP_i wǒ pài Zhāngsān tōu-zōu-le t_i]
 that-CL letter BEI I send Zhāngsān steal-away-LE
 ‘That letter was “sent-Zhangsan-to-steal-away” by me.’

In (i), there can be an implicit affectee denoting for instance the owner of the letter. How is this problem solved if we follow Huang in treating the implicit affectee as evidence for raising analysis? Hartman (2012) in his dissertation dealing with the defective intervention effect with matrix experiencers in tough constructions argues that these constructions involve ‘A’-movement to the highest embedded clause, followed by A-movement to the subject position of the matrix clause’ (97). This would allow us to posit that long-distance passives (akin to tough constructions) may involve A’-movement followed by A-movement. If that is the case, the final step of the movement may involve the suppression of an implicit experiencer.

approach, under which the long and short passives have distinct underlying structures, and the uniform approach, under which the long and short passives behave rather similarly. This section will evaluate these two approaches and argue for a third approach, according to which the long passive can be further divided into the local long passive and the long-distance passive, and the local long passive may have the same underlying structure as the short passive, while the long-distance passive does not have a short form.

As we mentioned in §2.1, several linguists (Huang 1999; Huang et al. 2009; Tang 2001, 2003, 2008; Ting 1998, among others) point out many differences between the long and short passives before reaching the conclusion that the two types of passive should be derived in different ways. However, there is a crucial difference between the local long passive and the short passive on the one hand and the long-distance passive on the other: the first two allow idiom chunk subjects as in (47), while the latter does not, as in (54).

- (54) a. **Pianyi dou bei wo rang ta zhan-guang-le.*
 advantage all BEI I let him take-empty-LE
 ‘All the advantage was “let-him-take” by me.’
 b. **Pianyi dou bei ta suo zhan-guang.*
 advantage all BEI he SUO take-empty
 ‘All the advantage was taken by him.’
 c. **Pianyi dou bei Zhangsan ba ta zhan-guang-le.*
 advantage all BEI Zhangsan BA it take-empty-LE
 ‘All the advantage was taken by Zhangsan.’

The idiom chunk *pianyi* ‘advantage’ cannot occur in the long passives exhibiting long-distance dependency, as in (54a), nor with the relative clause particle *suo*, as in (54b), nor with resumptive pronoun, as in (54c). In addition, we find the following interesting contrast:

- (55) a. *Zhangsan bei Lisi da-duan-le yi-tiao tui.*
 Zhangsan BEI Lisi hit-broken-LE one-CL leg
 ‘Zhangsan got a leg hit-broken by Lisi.’
 b. *Zhangsan bei da-duan-le yi-tiao tui.*
 Zhangsan BEI hit-broken-LE one-CL leg
 ‘Zhangsan got a leg hit-broken.’
 (56) a. *Zhangsan bei Lisi da-duan-le ta yi-tiao tui.*
 Zhangsan BEI Lisi hit-broken-LE he one-CL leg
 ‘Zhangsan got himself one leg hit-broken by Lisi.’
 b. **Zhangsan bei da-duan-le ta yi-tiao tui.*
 Zhangsan BEI hit-broken-LE he one-CL leg
 ‘Zhangsan got himself a leg hit-broken by Lisi.’

The long passive (55a) allows the agent to be covert, as in (55b), while the long passive (56a) with a resumptive pronoun *ta* in it does not, as in (56b). This shows that there do exist two types of long

passives. Based on the above evidence, we follow Huang (2011, 2013, 2014) in arguing that long passives can be further divided into the local long passive and the long-distance passive. The local long passives that do not involve resumptive pronouns or the relative clause particle *suo* and short passives are simple clausal structures and may have both raising and control analyses. The movement of the underlying object is A-movement.⁸ Long-distance passives which involve A'-dependencies should fall under the NOP movement analysis proposed by Feng (1995), Ting (1998), Huang (1999), Tang (2001, 2003, 2008), Huang et al. (2009), among others. As for the uniform approach, besides Shi and Hu's double *bei* analysis as mentioned in §2.1, Her (2009) argues that the *bei* passive behaves similarly with or without the agent phrase, and his analysis is based on the data from Taiwan Mandarin found on the Internet, as in (57)–(59) from Her (2009:431–433).

- (57) a. Wo gang zoujin gongyuan, jiu bei pai jingcha
 I just enter park at-once BEI sent police
 qing jin-le paichusuo.
 invite enter-Perf precinct-station
 'Just as I was entering the park, I was "sent-police-to-invite" into the precinct office.'
- b. Tongdao dou yijing bei pai bing bashou.
 passage all already BEI send troop guard
 'All passages have been "sent-troops-to-guard".'
- (58) a. Ta ba_i pa bei renwei ta_i wufa guanjiao haizi.⁹
 his father afraid BEI consider he fail discipline children
 'His father was afraid to be considered that he failed to discipline his children.'
- b. Shuijiao de ren_i dou hui bei shuocheng ta_i shangxian-le.
 Sleep DE person all will BEI describe-as he on-line-PERF
 'Anyone who is sleeping would be described as he is "on-line".'
- (59) Bi bei suo qin. (*San Guo Yan Yi*, Romance of the Three Kingdoms)
 definitely BEI suo capture
 'Will definitely be captured.'

The sentences in (57) and (58) show that in Taiwan Mandarin the short passive behaves like the long passive in exhibiting long-distance dependency and licensing resumptive pronouns.

⁸ The detailed discussions about the syntax of local long and short passives are shown in a separate paper developed by Liu and Huang (2013).

⁹ Notice that for some reason if the pronoun *ta* is changed into *ziji*, or is unpronounced, the sentence is more acceptable. Similarly, *ta bei renwei [e] you zui* 'He is considered to be guilty.' But note that this is a case of local passive, not long-distance passive, where the passivized argument originates from the object position of the embedded clause. The corresponding English sentence is grammatical. Similarly, with *ziji* being an intensifier, we have *ta bei renwei [e]ziji you zui* 'He is considered to be guilty himself'. Both these sentences are short, local passives.

However, these judgments are not accepted by non-Taiwan Mandarin speakers.¹⁰ It may be an interesting topic to find out why these two versions of Mandarin differ in this way. One possibility is that it may be attributed to dialect mixture and influence by Taiwanese Southern Min.¹¹ Whether or not this explanation is correct goes beyond the scope of this paper. At any rate, Her's claim about (57) and (58) does not invalidate our claim about Mandarin. As for the short passive with the particle *suo*, as shown in (59), we argue that such an example is of Classical Chinese and used in a very restricted form like '*bi bei suo V*' in which the V(erb) is monosyllabic. However, this example cannot be used to support the claim that the particle *suo* can occur in short passives in Modern Mandarin. The following examples of Taiwan Mandarin are not acceptable in Modern Mandarin.

- (60) a. Bu zhidao laogong hui-bu-hui bei suo youhuo. (Her 2009:436)
 not know husband will-not-will BEI SUO seduce
 '(I) don't know whether (my) husband will be seduced or not.'
- b. Ren ruguo tai zhizhuo, bi jianghui bei suo kun.
 person if too stubborn surely will BEI SUO trap
 'If one is too stubborn, one will surely be trapped.'

Again, pointing out the grammaticality of (59) in a historical period of Chinese does not invalidate the claim that such examples are ungrammatical in Modern Mandarin. At most, it invites historical syntacticians to study how and why this change has taken place (again beyond our scope). But it is clear that this argument is insufficient, just as it would not do to challenge the claim that Modern English has SVO order by showing that Old English had SOV order.

To summarize, in this section we have argued that besides the long and short passive distinction, there is a further local long and long-distance division among long passives.

4. The verbal *bei* subcategorizes for a non-finite clause

As mentioned in §2.1, Shi and Hu (2005) argue that in the formation of negative sentences, it is *bei* but not the embedded VP that can be negated, as shown in (21) and (22), repeated next as

¹⁰ Actually, according to Li and Ting's (2011) research, the examples in (58) are rated significantly worse than their corresponding long forms even among the native speakers of Mandarin in Taiwan. The results of their research support the non-uniform approach.

¹¹ It has been shown in Huang (1999) that Taiwanese extensively allows adversative, gapless passives of which (57)–(58), if grammatical, would be some examples. It is also relevant to note, as demonstrated by Cheng et al. (1999), that although Taiwanese allows apparent short passives like *Zhangsan hoo kyaNtio* 'Zhangsan got frightened', the passive verb *hoo* actually incorporates an unstressed third-person pronoun *i* (judging from the tonal quality of *hoo*). In other words, it is noted by Cheng et al. (1999) that Taiwanese does not have agentless short passives at all. The same situation is true of other southern dialects. It is possible that only Mandarin *bei* has short passives—these being inherited from Old Chinese directly, as already argued by many scholars before.

(61) and (62). Since in Chinese negators and the predicates that they negate must be in the same clause, they argue that the complement of *bei* should not be a clause.

- (61) a. Hai you xuduo dongxue mei you bei women faxian. (Shi & Hu 2005:217)
 still have many caves not have BEI us discover
 ‘There are still a lot of caves that have not been discovered by us.’
 b. *Hai you xuduo dongxue bei women mei you faxian. (Shi & Hu 2005:217)
 still have many caves BEI us not have discover
- (62) a. Zhe-zhong xiao shi ziran bu bei shangtou zhongshi. (Shi & Hu 2005:217)
 this-CL small case certainly not BEI supervisor attach-importance-to
 ‘Such a small case will certainly not be attached importance to by the supervisors.’
 b. *Zhe-zhong xiao shi ziran bei shangtou bu zhongshi. (Shi & Hu 2005:217)
 this-CL small case certainly BEI supervisor not attach-importance-to

Revisiting and reinterpreting these tests, we will show that they actually indicate that the verbal *bei* combines with non-finite clausal complement.

With closer observation of these examples, we find that although (61b) is ill-formed, (62b), according to our intuition, is not. Similar structures can be found as early as the Song Dynasty. The following examples are pointed out by Jiang (1994).

- (63) a. 覩著鶯鶯，眼去眉來，被那女孩不瞅不睬。（董西廂，卷一）
 Qu-zhe Yingying, yan qu mei lai, **bei** na nühai
 look-Prog Yingying, eye go eyebrow come BEI that girl
bu chou **bu** cai. (*Dong Xixiang*, Vol. I)
 not look-at not look-at
 ‘(He) was looking at Yingying, conversing with eyes, but was ignored by her.’
 b. 老漢自到蔡婆婆家，希望做個接腳，卻被他媳婦堅持不從。（寶娥冤，第二折）
 Laohan zi dao Cai popo jia, xiwang zuo ge jiejiao,
 old man since arrive Cai old-lady house expect be CL husband-from-remarriage
 que **bei** ta xifu jianchi **bu** cong. (*Dou E Yuan*, Chapter 2)
 but BEI her daughter-in-law persistently not allow
 ‘That old man has been expecting to marry the old widow Cai since he lived in her house, but their remarriage was persistently not allowed by Cai’s daughter-in-law.’

In these sentences, the negator *bu* ‘not’ is able to appear under *bei*. Similar examples can also be found in Modern Chinese, as in (64)–(69).

- (64) Wo haoxin quan ta, que bei ta bu li bu cai.
 I good-intention persuade him but BEI him not heed not look-at
 ‘I offered advice to him out of good intention, but was not paid attention to by him.’

- (65) ...Bei xuduo ren bu kanhao de Heshan zhongxue ji
 BEI many people not think-high DE Heshan middle-school succeed
 qunian gaokao yimingjingren
 last-year college-entrance-exam amaze-the-world-with-a-single-brilliant-feat
 zhihou, jinnian zaici rang ren chijing.
 after this-year once-again make people shock
 ‘The Heshan Middle School, which has not been thought highly of, shocked people again
 this year after it amazed the world with a brilliant feat in the college entrance exam last
 year.’
 (*Xiamen Ribao* ‘Xiamen Daily’, *Putong Zhongxue Bu Putong* ‘Ordinary Middle Schools
 are Not Ordinary’, 2005-7-15)
- (66) Bei ren bu xinren de ganjue zhen bu hao.¹²
 BEI people not trust DE feeling really not good
 ‘The feeling of not being trusted is really bad.’
- (67) Ta zui pa bei ren bu lijie.
 he most afraid BEI people not understand
 ‘He is most afraid of not being understood by other people.’
- (68) Xiaotou yiban dou zai bei ren bu zhuyi de qingkuang xia xingqie.
 Thief usually DOU at BEI people not notice DE condition under steal
 ‘Thieves usually steal things under the condition of not being noticed.’
- (69) bei bu qisu ren¹³ (Ma 2006:235)
 BEI not prosecute person
 ‘unindicted non-defendant’

Since it is not totally impossible to embed negation under *bei*, the negation test does not support the view that *bei* does not subcategorize for a clause. Of course, a question remains as to why (62b) and all of (64)–(69) with the negator *bu* are good, but (61b) with the negator *mei(you)* is bad. Whatever the answer is, the conclusion is the same: given Shi and Hu’s (2005) reasonable criterion of using the appearance of a negator to detect the presence of a clausal category, the mere acceptability of (62b)–(69) is sufficient evidence for the presence of a clause under the verbal *bei*.

However, it remains an interesting question to ponder what difference between the two negators explains the asymmetry between (61b) and (62b)–(69). A proper answer should presumably come from the semantic and syntactic differences between them. Many linguists have researched the negators *meiyou* and *bu*. Li and Thompson (1981) point out that *meiyou* denies the completion of

¹² Many thanks are due to Shengli Feng for offering us the examples (66)–(68).

¹³ If the procuratorate decided not to bring a suit against a person to the court, that person is called non-defendant.

an event, while *bu* denies an event without denying the completion of it. Lin (2003a) distinguishes *bu* from *mei* in that they select complements of different aspectualities. The negator *mei* is like the negative counterpart of the perfective marker *le*. It selects an event as its complement, indicating the non-existence or non-realization of an event. On the other hand, the negator *bu* aspectually selects as its complement a stative situation that requires no input of energy to bring it about and has no inherent end boundary. Based on the above, we assume that the fact that the negator *meiyou* cannot appear below *bei* as in (61b) is not because the complement of *bei* is not a clause, but because the semantics of *bei* do not allow the negator *meiyou* to occur below it. *Bei* means ‘to undergo or to suffer from some event’, and *meiyou* negates the existence of an event. Therefore, it is impossible for one to state that someone or something underwent or suffered an event, and then to deny the existence of that event. Differently from *meiyou*, if *bu* occurs in the complement of *bei* it does not cause any semantic conflict with *bei*: a *bei* passive with the embedded clause being negated by *bu* indicates that somebody or something was plunged into a situation in which he or it was treated in a negative way (such as ‘not to pay attention to’, ‘not to think highly of’, ‘not to believe’, ‘not to understand’, ‘not to notice’, ‘not to indict’, etc.).

What are the implications that the distributions of *meiyou* and *bu* have on the syntax of the *bei* passive? Wang (1965) observes that *le* and *you* both as perfective markers are in complementary distribution. According to Li and Thompson (1981), the negator *bu* is for modal, stative and activity verbs, while *meiyou* is for aspects. Liu (2004) states that *mei(you)* negates perfective aspect or currently relevant state (CRS, which is marked by sentence-final *le* and indicates inchoativity). The Aspect phrase (AspP) or CRS phrase (CrsP) is headed by *you* or a null aspectual operator. *Bu* negates the verbs without being marked with aspect or CRS. The fact that *bu* can occur below *bei* while *meiyou* cannot indicates that there is no AspP or CrsP in the complement of *bei*. Taking a clause without AspP or CrsP to be non-finite, we conclude that the verb *bei* selects a non-finite clausal category as its complement.

This conclusion can be independently evidenced by the fact that the complement clauses of *bei* behave like other non-finite clauses in Chinese in that they allow the occurrence of the negator *bu* but not *meiyou* as shown in (70).

- (70) a. Ta bi Xiaoli bu gaijia.
 he force Xiaoli not remarry
 ‘He forced Xiaoli not to remarry.’
 b. *Ta bi Xiaoli meiyou gaijia.
 he force Xiaoli not have remarry
 ‘He forced Xiaoli not to remarry.’

This analysis can also be supported by cross-linguistic evidence. *You* ‘have’ in Taiwan Mandarin is thought to function as an equivalent to the Mandarin perfective marker *le*, denoting an event that has already occurred. The Mandarin sentence *Zhangsan lai-le* ‘Zhangsan has come’ can be expressed as *Zhangsan you lai* in Taiwan Mandarin. Similarly to Mandarin, *meiyou* cannot appear below *bei* to negate the existence of an event in Taiwan Mandarin. What is interesting is that even *you* cannot appear in the complement of *bei* as in (71). This shows that the complement of *bei* does not involve an AspP which is headed by *you*.

- (71) *Zhangsan bei you pian.
 Zhangsan BEI have cheat
 ‘Zhangsan has been cheated.’

Incidentally, (71) shows clearly that the ungrammaticality arises from the incompatibility of perfectiveness and *bei*, not from any supposed prohibition against negation below *bei*. In other words, the ungrammaticality of (61b) is due to the presence of *you* in *mei*(*you*), not to the existence of negation below *bei*.¹⁴

Although the above analysis seems to be plausible, there remains a problem: if there is no AspP in the complement of *bei*, how do we explain the facts in (72) below, in which the aspect markers—perfective *le* and the experiential *guo*—seem to be able to appear below *bei*? Similar examples were pointed out by Shi (2005) to throw doubt on the non-finite status of the complement clause of *bei*.

- (72) a. Zhangsan bei Lisi da-le yixia.
 Zhangsan BEI Lisi hit-LE once
 ‘Zhangsan was once hit by Lisi.’
 b. Zhangsan conglai mei(you) bei ren qifu guo.
 Zhangsan ever not have BEI people mistreat Exp
 ‘Zhangsan has never been mistreated by people.’

With regard to this problem, we propose that in these *bei* sentences, *guo* and *le* are actually base-generated at the matrix level and lowered to attach to the embedded verb through the process of Functional Restructuring (Grano 2011). Huang (1982, 1989) and Li (1985, 1990) observe that Mandarin has two types of embedded clauses: one type has overt subject and overt aspect markers and the other type does not allow these elements, as illustrated by the examples in (73a and b) respectively, which are offered by Grano (2011:1).

- (73) a. Zhangsan shuo [ta lai-guo/-le].
 Zhangsan say he come-PRF
 ‘Zhangsan said he came.’
 b. Zhangsan shefa [*ta lai (*-guo/*-le)].
 Zhangsan try he come-PRF
 ‘Zhangsan tried to come.’

¹⁴ Notice that the negator *mei* in certain cases can appear in the complement of *bei*, but *meiyou* definitely cannot, as shown below.

- (i) a. Zhangsan daodi bei Lisi da-guo **mei (*you)** da-guo?
 Zhangsan after-all BEI Lisi hit-Exp not have hit-Exp
 ‘Was Zhangsan hit by Lisi after all?’
 b. Ta de shenqing bei shangtou **mei (*you)** pi.
 he DE application BEI supervisor not have approve
 ‘His application was not approved by the supervisor.’

According to Ma (2010), *mei* behaves like *bu* in many aspects but differently from *meiyou*. We may thus assume that while *meiyou* negates the existence of an event denoted by the clause, *mei* behaves as a variant of *bu* here and denotes a negative situation.

These authors hence assume that the embedded clause in (73a) is a finite clause and the one in (73b) is a non-finite clause from which the aspect markers like *guo* and *le* are precluded. When faced with the apparent counterexample as in (74), they argue that although these aspect markers are syntactically attached to embedded verbs, they are interpreted at the matrix level. Therefore, (74) does not count as a true counterexample.

- (74) Wo qing ta [(**ta*) chi(-*guo*) fan].
 1SG invite 3SG 3SG eat-Perf meal
 ‘I invited him to eat.’

Xu (1985–86) and Hu et al. (2001) throw doubt on this view based on the following argumentation. If the aspect marker in (74) is truly interpreted at the matrix level, it could be attached to the matrix verb without causing a change in meaning, which is contrary to fact. As in (75), when the aspect marker *le* is suffixed to the matrix verb *pai* ‘ask’, the sentence is felicitous with the indicated follow-up clause in the parenthesis; when *le* is embedded, the parenthetical follow-up is semantically contradictory to the clause.

- (75) a. Zhangsan pai-le Lisi qu Beijing, (keshi ta mei qu).
 Zhangsan ask-Perf Lisi go Beijing but he not go
 ‘Zhangsan asked Lisi to go to Beijing, but he did not go.’
 b. Zhangsan pai Lisi qu le Beijing, (#keshi ta mei qu).
 Zhangsan ask Lisi go-Perf Beijing but he not go
 ‘Zhangsan asked Lisi to go to Beijing, but he did not go.’

Grano (2011) argues that (75) does not form a counterexample to Huang’s (1982, 1989) and Li’s (1985, 1990) point. He assumes that in (75a), the aspect marker *le* is base-generated in the head of AspP in the matrix clause and lowers to attach to the matrix verb *pai* ‘ask’ because of its being affixal, as in (76a). On the other hand, (75b), as shown in (76b), is a case of functional restructuring put forward by Wurmbrand (2001) and Cinque (2006), in which the matrix verb is not a lexical verb but a functional head projecting over a monoclausal structure. When the aspect *le* generated in Asp lowers, it passes over the verb *pai* ‘ask’ since aspect markers cannot be attached to functional heads in Mandarin. Instead, it attaches to the lower verb *qu* ‘go’.

- (76) a.
- b.

The functional verb *pai* in (76b) behaves similarly to other preverbal functional heads, such as the disposal marker *ba*, as in (77).

- (77) Ta ba (*-le) juzi bo (-le) pi. (Grano 2011:2)
 3SG BA-Perf orange peel-Perf skin
 ‘He peeled the skin off the orange.’

In (77), since *ba* is a functional head, *le* has to pass it and attach to the lower lexical verb *bo* ‘peel’. According to Grano, this hypothesis can be independently evidenced by the contrast between *le* and its allomorph *you* ‘have’ in the negative sentence. In the affirmative sentence, *le* has to undergo restructuring and be suffixed to the lower verb because it is affixal, but its negative counterpart *you* has to remain in the base-generated position, that is the Asp above *ba* because *you* is not suffixal, as shown below.

- (78) Ta {mei-you} ba juzi {*mei-you} bo pi. (Grano 2011:2)
 3SG NEG-PRF BA orange NEG-PRF peel skin
 ‘S/he has not peeled the orange.’

Concerning the semantic conflict in (75b), Grano follows Hacquard (2008) in supposing that the perfective marker’s attachment to the embedded verb through restructuring gives rise to ‘actuality entailment’, which means that the event associated with the embedded clause has been realized. In other words, he agrees with Huang (1982, 1989) and Li (1985, 1990) that the perfective markers in non-finite embedded clauses are interpreted at the matrix level and supposes that such interpretation is achieved by functional restructuring. If the aspect marker *le* in (75b) is interpreted at the embedded level, it would not have an ‘actuality entailment’ reading but a ‘relative past’ interpretation which signals that the embedded event precedes the matrix event, as supposed by Lin (2003b). This is shown in (79).

- (79) Xiaozhang hui banfa jiangzhuang gei naxie xiangchu-le
 principal will give testimonial to those figure-out-Perf
 daan de ren. (Lin 2003b:272)
 answer DE people
 ‘The principal will award a testimonial of merit to those who have figured out the answer.’

According to Lin, (79) is suitable for two situations: In one situation, the matrix event will take place in the future, but the embedded event was located before the speech time. The other situation only requires that the embedded event precedes the future matrix event and, hence, the embedded event can also occur in the future.

The sentences in (72) entail that the embedded event has been realized, as the *bei* passive usually does. This is in line with Hacquard’s (2008) and Grano’s (2011) argument that the combination of RESTRUCTURING and PERFECTIVE entails the realization of the embedded event. Therefore, we assume that the perfective aspect markers in (72) are base-generated in the Asp above *bei*. Since *bei*, similarly to *ba*, is a light verb, they cannot be suffixed to it, but have to pass over it to be attached to the base verbs. The fact that *le* and its negative counterpart *you* are also in complementary distribution in the *bei* passive (80) further supports the restructuring analysis.

- (80) Zhangsan meiyou bei Lisi da-shang(*-le) shou.
 Zhangsan not-have BEI Lisi hit-injured-Perf hand
 ‘Zhangsan hasn’t had his hand injured by Lisi.’

In a word, the appearance of the aspect markers *guo* and *le* in the complement of *bei* do not at all affect our hypothesis that the complement of *bei* does not contain Asp/Crs projection and hence is a non-finite clause.

In this section, we have argued that the fact that the predicates in the complement of *bei* can be negated by *bu* but not by *meiyou* shows that the complement clause of *bei* is a non-finite clause which does not involve an aspect phrase, or it is a vP or a projection slightly above vP that contains a negative phrase headed by *bu*. This is in line with Tang’s (2001) assumption that *bei* selects an infinitival complement clause.

5. Conclusion

This paper has reviewed the three major approaches to the categorial status of the Mandarin passive marker *bei*, especially the two recent competing ones—the verbal *bei* and double *bei* analyses—by discussing their strengths and weaknesses. Based on this, the paper has made three claims. First, depending on the new evidence found from reflexive *ziji* tests, Chinese fragmentary structures and the varying properties of the *bei* passive between control and raising, we argue that *bei* should be analyzed as a verb. Second, as for the syntactic derivations of the long and short passives, we have pointed out the problems of the uniform and non-uniform approaches and argue for a third approach according to which the long passives may be split into the local long and long-distance passives, and the former has a similar underlying structure with the short passive but the latter does not have a corresponding short form. Thus, the long and short passives are partially unified under a uniform control-raising analysis, yet a non-uniform approach remains to account for the differential A-bar properties of the long-distance passives. Third, based on the facts from the negation tests and the properties of Chinese finite and non-finite clauses, we propose that *bei* subcategorizes a non-finite clause that is in the form of a vP excluding AspP or CrsP.

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漢語長短被字句句法結構的重新思考

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本文重新探討「被」的句法地位以及長短被字句之間的句法衍生關係，提出三個假設：(a)「被」為動詞，這一觀點得到來自反身代詞「自己」、漢語片段語結構以及被字句的控制–提升變換特性三方面新證據的支持；(b) 長被字句有近距離長被字句和遠距離長被字句之分。前者與其相應的短被字句可以具有同一底層結構，而後者沒有短被字句形式；(c) 通過重新分析一些否定測試，文章假設「被」選擇非限定性子句為補足語，其中不含 AspP 或 CrsP。

關鍵詞：「被」的句法地位，長短被字句，反身代詞「自己」，控制和提升被字句，非限定性子句