

On the syntax of assigning *you* constructions in Mandarin Chinese

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Assigning *you* constructions in Mandarin Chinese are special in that they often read like passives. With this in mind, the goal of this paper is twofold. First, I aim to compare assigning *you* constructions with typical passive constructions of *bei* in Mandarin Chinese. Second, I attempt to seek an approach that may derive assigning *you* constructions desirably. The research results are as follows. I have found that assigning *you* constructions and *bei* passives differ both semantically and syntactically. I argue, contrary to Xiong (2010), that *you* is not a passive morpheme since, unlike Mandarin *bei* passives or English *be* passives, assigning *you* constructions do not always exhibit the initial NP as a Patient or Theme. I also argue against the traditional treatment of *you* as a preposition and instead propose that *you* is a three-place predicate taking an IP complement. I show that the bi-clausal structure deriving from the verb analysis receives empirical support from binding phenomena.

Keywords: assigning, passive, patient, bi-clausal, binding

1. Introduction

This paper investigates the syntax of a less studied construction in Mandarin Chinese, formed by the free morpheme *you*.¹ The lexical semantics of this morpheme is associated with assignment of matters or jobs, falling into two subtypes as illustrated in (1)–(2).²

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1. The morpheme *you* concerned in the present study happens to have the same pinyin romanization spelling as the existential morpheme *you* ‘have’. In this paper, I call the former the assigning *you*, to be distinguished from the existential *you*.
 2. In many published articles, including those from which I cite relevant examples for the use in this paper, Mandarin person names like *Zhangsan* or *Lisi* are put in a way that the family

(1) Duty-assignment

Huoyuanjia you Huangyuanshen banyan.

Huoyuanjia YOU Huangyuanshen play

'Regarding the role of Huoyuanjia, Huangyuanshen was assigned to play it.'

(Lu 1985: 18)

(2) Benefit-assignment

2016-nian Nuobeier wenxue-jiang you Dilun huode.

2016-year Nobel literature-prize YOU Dylan obtain

'Regarding the 2016 Nobel Prize in Literature, Dylan was assigned to get it.'

The precise interpretation of the duty-assigning example in (1) is that regarding the role of *Huoyuanjia*, *Huangyuanshen* was assigned the duty to play it. The benefit-assigning example in (2) is interpreted to the effect that regarding the 2016 Nobel Prize in Literature, Dylan was assigned the benefit of winning it.

What is special about assigning *you* constructions is that they seem to appear in the form of passives. If we compare *you* constructions like (3) with canonical Mandarin passives headed by *bei* like (4), we may find that they exhibit similar sentence patterns.

(3) *Tamen you jun-jing ya-zhe xiang Zhonghai zou.*

3PL YOU soldier-police escort-DUR toward Zhonghai go

'As to them, the military police were assigned to escort them to Zhonghai.'

(Zhang 2004: 49)

(4) *Ruixuan cong Huguosi-jie chulai, zheng pengshang Qian-xiansheng bei*

Ruixuan from Huguosi-street get.out just run.across Qian-Mr. PASS

si-ge di-bing ya-zhe wang nan zou.

four-CLF enemy-soldier escort-DUR toward south go

'Ruixuan got out from Huguosi St. and just ran across Mr. Qian, who was

being escorted by four enemy soldiers going southward.' (Zhang 2004: 49)

Both examples involve the passive interpretation due to the occurrence of a Patient NP prior to *you/bei* (*tamen* 'they' & *Qian-xiansheng* 'Mr. Qian'). This is why assigning *you* constructions like (3) are referred to as "you passives" in the literature (Zhang 2004; Xiong 2010). Wang (1957: 93) also observes that in oral speeches, *you* is usually employed instead of *bei*. This observation assumes that *you* and *bei* are both passive morphemes, though they differ with respect to mode (spoken vs. written).

name and the given name are not separated. To be consistent, I follow this unseparated spelling style throughout the paper.

However, not all assigning *you* constructions have the passive reading. For example, the duty-assigning *you* sentence in (5) has nothing to do with passives since the subject *women* ‘we’ is obviously not a Patient.

- (5) *Women jiang you zhuan-ren wei nin fuwu.*
 1PL will YOU specific-person for 2SG serve
 ‘We will assign specific staff to serve you.’

I shall henceforth use the neutral term “*you* constructions” instead of “*you* passives” without misleadingly implying that all assigning *you* constructions are related to passives. In fact, in this paper I depart from the traditional passive analysis and show that *you* differs from *bei* on both semantic and syntactic grounds. I also propose an approach that derives *you* constructions in a way different from Mandarin *bei* passives and English *be* passives.

The remainder of this paper is organized as follows. §2 is a comparison between *you* constructions and *bei* passives. §3 is a review of previous syntactic analyses of *you* constructions, followed by my proposal for deriving *you* constructions in §4. §5 concludes the paper.

2. Comparison between *you* and *bei*

This section compares the semantics and syntax between *you* constructions and *bei* passives. The comparison shows that these two types of sentences differ in a number of ways.

2.1 Semantic differences

Lu (1985: 19) points out that “the primary function of *you* is to introduce the person responsible for the matter as well as the performer of the action.” Thus, in a duty-assigning *you* sentence like (1), the post-*you* NP has a dual status in terms of thematic relations. That is, *Huangyuanshen* in this example is not only a Patient who is assigned the duty to play the role of *Huoyuanjia* (see also Lu & Lin 1989 for the analysis of the post-*you* NP as someone who undertakes an assignment), but also an Agent who performs the action of playing the role of *Huoyuanjia*. Similarly, in a benefit-assigning *you* sentence like (2), the post-*you* NP also has multiple thematic relations. In this example, *Dilun* ‘Dylan’ is not simply a Patient who is assigned the benefit of winning the prize, but also a Recipient who receives the prize. In contrast, the post-*bei* NP in *bei* passives has only one thematic relation. As shown in (6), the post-*bei* NP *Lisi* is an Agent who performs the action of deceiving.

- (6) *Zhangsan bei Lisi pian-le.*
 Zhangsan PASS Lisi deceive-PRFV
 'Zhangsan was deceived by Lisi.'

Briefly, the first semantic difference between *you* constructions and *bei* passives lies in the number of thematic relations of the post-*you/bei* NP.

Another semantic difference I have noticed between *you* constructions and *bei* passives is that the pre-*bei* NP is obviously an Affectee, undergoing some outcome or consequence brought up by the action represented by the predicate, while the pre-*you* NP does not have this semantic property. This observation is based on the comparison of the examples in (7a–c).

- (7) a. *Zuotian da-saochu, keting you gege zhengli, woshi*
 yesterday big-cleaning living.room YOU older.brother clean.out bedroom
you didi zhengli.
 YOU younger.brother clean.out
 'In yesterday's big clean-up, regarding the living room, the older brother was assigned to clean it out; regarding the bedroom, the younger brother was assigned to clean it out.'
- b. *#Zuotian da-saochu, keting bei gege zhengli, woshi*
 yesterday big-cleaning living.room PASS older.brother clean.out bedroom
bei didi zhengli.
 PASS younger.brother clean.out
 Intended: 'In yesterday's big clean-up, the living room was cleaned out by the older brother, while the bedroom was cleaned out by the younger brother.'
- c. *Zuotian da-saochu, keting bei gege zhengli-de hen*
 yesterday big-cleaning living.room PASS older.brother clean.out-DE very
ganjing, woshi que bei didi zhengli-de hen lingluan.
 clean bedroom yet PASS younger.brother clean.out-DE very messy
 'In yesterday's big clean-up, the living room was cleaned out by the older brother and became neat and tidy, while the bedroom was cleaned out by the younger brother but turned out to be messy.'

The *you* sentence in (7a) does not involve any outcome or consequence resulting from the action of cleaning. This state of affairs, however, does not apply to *bei*, as evidenced by the unacceptability of (7b). This odd *bei* sentence can be improved by adding postverbal resultative phrases, as in (7c).

2.2 Syntactic differences

This subsection discusses three syntactic differences between *you* constructions and *bei* passives. First, these two types of sentences differ with respect to whether the post-*you/bei* NP can be omitted. As is well known (see Ting 1998 and Huang 1999, among others), *bei* passives have two subtypes: long and short, as in (8a) and (8b), respectively.

- (8) a. *Xiaotou bei jingcha daizou-le.* (long passive of *bei*)
 thief PASS police take.away-PFV
 'The thief was taken away by the police.'
 b. *Xiaotou bei daizou-le.* (short passive of *bei*)
 thief PASS take.away-PFV
 'The thief was taken away.'

Long passives of *bei* differ from short passives of *bei* in that the latter omit the post-*bei* Agent NP. Let us next turn to *you* constructions and see if they also display the long vs. short distinction.

- (9) a. *Xiaotou you jingcha daizou-le.*
 thief YOU police take.away-PFV
 'Regarding the thief, the police were assigned to take him/her away.'
 b. **Xiaotou you daizou-le.*
 thief YOU take.away-PFV
 Intended: 'Regarding the thief, someone was assigned to take him/her away.'

The comparison clearly shows that unlike *bei* passives, which exhibit both long and short subtypes, *you* constructions only have the long version.

A question that immediately arises from the above discussion concerns whether *you* constructions can be derived in the same way as long passives of *bei*. In the literature, there exist two competing approaches to deriving long passives of *bei*. One resorts to NP-movement as in the derivation of English *be* passives (Wang 1970; Koopman 1984; Travis 1984; Li 1985, 1990), while the other appeals to a structure of VP complementation headed by the matrix verb *bei*. Being a verb, *bei* takes an embedded clause in which the object is coreferential with the matrix subject and undergoes deletion. These two approaches, as reviewed in Huang (1999) and Huang et al. (2009), have limits of their own. A third hybrid approach was later proposed by Chiu (1995), Ting (1995; 1998), Feng (1997), Cheng et al. (1999), and Huang (1999). This hybrid approach derives long passives of *bei* based on operator movement and predication, on a par with the derivation of English *tough* constructions (Chomsky 1981). Relevant examples and derivations are given in (10)–(11).

- (10) a. This problem is easy for you to solve.
 b. This problem_i is easy [_{CP} NOP_i for you to solve t_i]

 predication movement
- (11) a. Zhangsan bei Lisi da-le.
 Zhangsan PASS Lisi beat-PFV
 ‘Zhangsan was beaten by Lisi.’
 b. Zhangsan_i bei [_{IP} OP_i [_{IP} Lisi da-le t_i]]

 predication A'-movement

In the hybrid approach, *bei* is analyzed as a matrix verb which selects an IP complement, and the matrix subject is derived by base-generation rather than NP-movement as in English *be* passives. As shown in (11b), what actually undergoes movement is a null operator within the embedded IP. This null operator, coreferential with the matrix subject, raises from the postverbal object position and finally adjoins to the embedded IP.

Given the hybrid approach to long passives of *bei*, one might wonder if it can be applied to *you* constructions. In my view, the answer is negative for two reasons. First, the dual thematic status of the post-*you* NP fails to be explained by derivations like (11b), where the post-*bei* NP has only one thematic relation (i.e. Agent). Moreover, the matrix subject in non-passive *you* constructions like (5) is not a Patient. This is, however, contrary to what we see in *bei* passives like (11b), where the matrix subject is a Patient. In §4, I shall propose an approach that may accommodate not only multiple thematic relations of the post-*you* NP but also the non-Patient relation of the matrix subject in non-passive *you* constructions like (5).

The second syntactic difference between *you* constructions and *bei* passives has to do with whether the pre-*you/bei* position can be empty. Compare (12) with (13).

- (12) a. *Huoyuanjia you Huangyuanshen banyan.*
 Huoyuanjia YOU Huangyuanshen play
 ‘Regarding the role of Huoyuanjia, Huangyuanshen was assigned to play
 it.’ (Lu 1985: 18)
- b. *You Huangyuanshen banyan Huoyuanjia.*
 YOU Huangyuanshen play Huoyuanjia
 ‘Huangyuanshen was assigned to play the role of Huoyuanjia.’
 (Lu 1985: 18)

- (13) a. *Zhangsan bei che zhuang-le.*
 Zhangsan PASS car hit-PFV
 ‘Zhangsan was hit by a car.’
 b. **Bei che zhuang-le Zhangsan.*
 PASS car hit-PFV Zhangsan
 ‘(Lit.) Undergoing the event that a car hit Zhangsan.’

The comparison shows that *you* constructions allow nothing to occur prior to *you*, as in (12b), whereas *bei* passives do not, as in (13b). Lu (1985) calls *you* sentences like (12b) “subjectless sentences” (*wu-zhu-ju* ‘without-subject-sentence’), as opposed to those with an overt subject as in (12a). In my analysis to be proposed in § 4, however, the initial Patient/Theme NP in *you* sentences like (12a) is not a subject but a derived topic. The genuine subject is a null form.

Third, Lin (2009) points out that gapless *bei* passives are possible only if they are licensed by an indefinite phrase such as *yi-xia* ‘once’. Compare (14a) with (14b).³

- (14) a. **Zhangsan bei Lisi da-le Wangwu.*
 Zhangsan PASS Lisi beat-PFV Wangwu
 Intended: ‘Zhangsan underwent the event that Lisi beat Wangwu.’
 b. *Zhangsan bei Lisi da-le Wangwu yi-xia.*
 Zhangsan PASS Lisi beat-PFV Wangwu once
 ‘Zhangsan underwent the event that Lisi beat Wangwu once.’
 (Lin 2009: 170)

In contrast, the occurrence of an indefinite phrase is not required for gapless *you* sentences. This is demonstrated in (15a–b).

- (15) a. *Zhe-dun fan you wo qingke.*
 this-CLF meal YOU 1SG treat.a.meal
 ‘Regarding this meal, let it be my assignment to treat you.’
 (Dong 2014: 154)

3. A reviewer pointed out that according to his/her intuition, (14b) is not acceptable. Lin (2009: 170, Footnote 2) has noted some speakers’ disagreement in judgment on (14b) and suggested that it “might arise from idiolectal or even dialectal differences”. Thus, for Mandarin speakers who share the same idiolect or dialect as Lin, the acceptability contrast in (14) does exist. On the other hand, for those who do not, the contrast in (14) does not emerge and both sentences are considered unacceptable. If we assume the latter judgment, it follows that gapless *bei* passives are not possible in any case while gapless *you* sentences are possible in some cases. This consequence still supports my point that the two types of constructions differ syntactically and cannot be treated on a par.

- b. *Ci-ci zhui-bu xingdong you jing-quan dai-lu.*
 this-time pursue-capture act YOU police-dog lead-way
 ‘Regarding the act of hunting this time, the police dogs were assigned to
 lead the way.’ (Zheng 2009: 120)

In a word, gapless *you* sentences are possible without being licensed by an indefinite phrase, whereas gapless *bei* passives are possible and must be licensed by an indefinite phrase.

From the above discussion we have clearly seen that *you* constructions and *bei* passives differ both semantically and syntactically. This suggests that these two types of sentences cannot be analyzed in the same way. Before proposing my analysis of *you* constructions in § 4, I first review two lines of previous research in the next section.

3. Review of previous studies

In the literature, assigning *you* constructions do not receive as much attention or discussion as *bei* passives under the generative framework. In this section, I review two lines of previous research on *you* constructions which have clear claims about the syntactic category of *you*: PP analysis and FP analysis. I show that both analyses raise their own problems.

3.1 PP analysis

A great number of previous studies (Gong 1980; Wang 1983; Lu 1985; Zhang 2004; Huang 2013) have assumed that the morpheme *you* in assigning *you* constructions is a preposition. With this assumption, Wang (1983: 415) further claims that “regarding the preposition *you*, when it serves its function in the sentence to introduce an Agent, it can, just like *bei*, be translated into *by* in English”. It follows that the preposition *you* and its following NP fall into a PP, which is parallel to *by*-phrases in English passives, as underlined in (16)–(17) (taken from Zhang 2004: 51).

- (16) a. This money should be paid **by me**.
 b. *Zhe-ge qian yinggai **you** wo fu.*
 this-CLF money should **YOU** 1SG pay
- (17) a. The resolution should be subjected to acceptance **by the general meeting**.
 b. *Gai jueyi xu **you** dahui tongguo.*
 that resolution should **YOU** meeting pass

A detailed syntactic structure of *you* constructions under the PP analysis is drawn by Huang (2013: 37), as illustrated in (18b).

- (18) a. *Fangzi, **you** AnAn Gongsì chaichu-le.*
 house **YOU** AnAn Company tear.down-PFV
 ‘The house was torn down by AnAn Company.’
- b. $[_{CP} [_{Spec} \textit{fangzi}_i] [_{IP} [_{VP} [_{PP} \textit{you} [_{NP} \textit{AnAn Gongsì}]] \textit{chaichu-le} \textit{t}_i]]]$
 house **YOU** AnAn Company tear.down-PFV

A piece of evidence in support of the PP analysis, as pointed out by Zhang (2004: 47), concerns the constraint on preposition stranding.

- (19) a. *Zhangsan **dui** pengyou hen kangkai.*
 Zhangsan to friend very generous
 ‘Zhangsan is very generous to his friends.’
- b. **Pengyou_i, Zhangsan **dui** e_i hen kangkai.*
 friend Zhangsan to very generous
 ‘(Lit.) His friends_i, Zhangsan is very generous to e_i.’
- (20) a. *Xiaotou **you** jingcha daizou-le.*
 thief **YOU** police take.away-PFV
 ‘The thief was taken away by the police.’
- b. **Jingcha_i, xiaotou **you** e_i daizou-le.*
 police thief **YOU** take.away-PFV
 ‘(Lit.) The police_i, the thief was taken away by e_i.’

Since the morpheme *you* behaves on a par with the preposition *dui* ‘to’ in that neither can be stranded, this suggests that the morpheme *you* should be a preposition.

However, the PP analysis runs into several problems. First, it has been observed (Huang 1999; Xiong 2010) that in addition to prepositions, certain Mandarin verbs such as *shi* ‘make’ and *bi* ‘force’ cannot be stranded either.

- (21) a. **Zhangsan_i wo **shi** e_i shengqi le.*
 Zhangsan 1SG make angry SFP
 ‘(Lit.) Zhangsan_i, I made e_i angry.’
- (Huang 1999: 447)

- b. **Li-xiaojie_i, wo bi e_i gai-jia le.*
 Li-Miss 1SG force re-marry SFP
 ‘(Lit.) Miss Li_i, I forced e_i to remarry.’ (Huang 1999: 447)

Here we see that the constraint on stranding is also applicable to certain verbs, not specific to prepositions. Therefore, it would be a hasty conclusion drawn from the ungrammaticality of a case like (20b) that the morpheme *you* must be a preposition.

Second, when the morpheme *you* is used as a genuine preposition, it means ‘from’ and shares the same meaning as the preposition *cong*. As shown in (22a–b), the [*you/cong*+NP] sequence is a PP, and this PP can be moved to the sentence-initial position. However, the assigning *you* does not behave on a par, given that the [*you*+NP] sequence fails to be fronted, as in (23b). This syntactic difference thus poses a challenge to the prepositional analysis of the assigning *you*.

- (22) a. *Wo* [_{PP} *you/cong ta-de kouzhong*] *dezhi ci-shi.*
 1SG from 3SG-GEN mouth learn this-matter
 ‘I learned about this from him/her.’
 b. [_{PP} *You/Cong ta-de kouzhong*] *wo dezhi ci-shi.*
 from 3SG-GEN mouth 1SG learn this-matter
 ‘From him/her I learned about this.’
- (23) a. *Women jiang you zhuan-ren wei nin fuwu.*
 1PL will YOU specific-person for 2SG serve
 ‘We will assign specific staff to serve you.’
 b. **[You zhuan-ren] women jiang wei nin fuwu.*
 YOU specific-person 1PL will for 2SG serve

I shall show in §4 that my proposed analysis is able to explain the ungrammaticality of (23b).

Third, many previous studies (Tang 1989; Cole et al. 1990; Huang & Tang 1991; Chiu 1993; Li 1993; Ting 1998; Huang 1999) have indicated that the monomorphemic reflexive *ziji* ‘self’ in Mandarin Chinese has the subject-oriented property. Consider (24a–b).

- (24) a. *Zhangsan_i gen Lisi_j taolun-le ziji_{i/*j}-de xiangfa.*
 Zhangsan with Lisi discuss-PFV self-GEN opinion
 ‘Zhangsan_i discussed with Lisi_j about his_{i/*j} own opinion.’
 b. *Zhangsan_i tongzhi-le Lisi_j ziji_{i/*j}-de fenshu.*
 Zhangsan inform-PFV Lisi self-GEN grade
 ‘Zhangsan_i informed Lisi_j of his_{i/*j} own grade.’ (Huang et al. 2009: 117)

It is shown here that the reflexive morpheme *ziji* ‘self’ can only refer to the subject NP, not to the object NP after a preposition like *gen* ‘with’ or after a transitive verb

like *tongzhi* ‘inform’. However, the *you* sentences in (25a–b) exhibit different patterns.⁴

- (25) a. *Xianzai jiu you ta_i lai jieshao ziji_i-de huazuo.*
 now just YOU 3SG come introduce self-GEN painting
 ‘Now we just let him/her introduce his/her own painting.’
 b. *Xiaotou you jingcha_i dai-huiqu ziji_i-de paichusuo.*
 thief YOU police bring-return self-GEN police.station
 ‘Regarding the thief, the police were assigned to bring him/her back to the police station of their own.’

The reflexive morpheme *ziji* ‘self’ in (25a–b) refers to the post-*you* NP, suggesting that this NP has subjecthood. If the PP analysis is adopted, it will be difficult to explain why the NP after the preposition *you* has subjecthood.

The fourth problem with the PP analysis is related to the Binding Principle B (Chomsky 1981), as pointed out by Xiong (2010). Consider (26a–c).

- (26) a. **Zhangsan_i [_{PP} zai Meigu_o] yikao ta_i.*
 Zhangsan in U.S. rely.on 3SG
 ‘*Zhangsan_i relies on him_i in the U.S.’
 b. *Fang-xiansheng_i you Wang-xiaojie tigong ta_i liang-dun fan.*
 Fang-Mr. YOU Wang-Miss offer 3SG two-CLF meal
 ‘Regarding Mr. Fang_i, Miss Wang was assigned to offer him_i two meals.’
 (Xiong 2010: 14)
 c. *Fang-xiansheng_i shuo Wang-xiaojie tigong ta_i liang-dun fan.*
 Fang-Mr. say Wang-Miss offer 3SG two-CLF meal
 ‘Mr. Fang_i said that Miss Wang offered him_i two meals.’

The ungrammaticality of (26a) is due to the violation of the Binding Principle B. The pronoun *ta* ‘him’ in this example must be locally free as required by the principle; nevertheless, it turns out to be locally bound by the subject *Zhangsan*, not conforming to the principle. Along this line of reasoning, if the *you* sentence in (26b) has a parallel mono-clausal structure in which *you* and its following NP constitute a PP, we shall predict the same violation of the Binding Principle B. This prediction, however, is not borne out, given the well-formedness of (26b). The further comparison between (26b) and (26c) indicates that the case of *you* in (26b) exhibits the same pronominal pattern as the bi-clausal structure in (26c). In light of this, I shall argue for a bi-clausal analysis of *you* constructions in § 4.

Finally, anaphoric patterns do not support the PP analysis of *you* constructions. Relevant examples are given in (27a–c).

4. The example in (25a) was obtained by a Google search, and the one in (25b) is mine.

- (27) a. *Fang-xiansheng_i [_{PP} gen Wang-xiaojie_j] jieshao ta-ziji_{i/*j}.*
 Fang-Mr. with Wang-Miss introduce 3SG-self
 ‘Mr. Fang introduced himself to Miss Wang.’
- b. *Fang-xiansheng_i you Wang-xiaojie_j jieshao ta-ziji_{i/*j}.*
 Fang-Mr. YOU Wang-Miss introduce 3SG-self
 ‘Mr. Fang let it be Miss Wang’s assignment to introduce herself.’
- c. *Fang-xiansheng_i tiyi Wang-xiaojie_j jieshao ta-ziji_{i/*j}.*
 Fang-Mr. propose Wang-Miss introduce 3SG-self
 ‘Mr. Fang proposed that Miss Wang should introduce herself.’

In (27a), the anaphor *ta-ziji* ‘oneself’ is bound by *Fang-xiansheng* ‘Mr. Fang’, and this indicates that the whole sentence is a local binding domain. In this mono-clausal structure, another potential antecedent *Wang-xiaojie* ‘Miss Wang’ fails to bind the anaphor *ta-ziji* because it is deeply embedded in the PP adjunct and unable to c-command *ta-ziji*. In (27b), if the [*you*+NP] sequence is also a PP and the whole sentence is a mono-clausal structure, we shall predict the same anaphoric pattern as seen in (27a). However, this prediction is not borne out, suggesting that the mono-clausal PP analysis is not tenable. If we further compare (27b) with (27c), we may find that a bi-clausal analysis seems to better explain the anaphoric patterns in both examples. That is, the anaphor *ta-ziji* and the matrix subject *Fang-xiansheng* ‘Mr. Fang’ are not located in the same local domain, and the long-distance binding is thus rejected by the Binding Principle A.

3.2 FP analysis

Departing from the PP analysis, Xiong (2010) proposes that *you* is a passive morpheme, and that it is a functional category rather than a verb. He argues against the verb analysis of *you* by pointing out that *you* cannot take the perfective marker *-le* nor the experiential marker *-guo*.

- (28) a. **Zhangsan you-le Lisi zhaogu.*
 Zhangsan YOU-PFV Lisi take.care
 Intended: ‘Regarding Zhangsan, Lisi was assigned to take care of him.’
- b. **Zhangsan you-guo Lisi zhaogu.*
 Zhangsan YOU-EXP Lisi take.care
 Intended: ‘Regarding Zhangsan, Lisi has been assigned to take care of him.’

According to Xiong’s proposal, the derivation for the *you* sentence in (12b), reproduced below as (29a), is given in (29b).

- (29) a. *You Huangyuanshen banyan Huoyuanjia.*
 YOU Huangyuanshen play Huoyuanjia
 ‘Huangyuanshen was assigned to play the role of Huoyuanjia.’
 (Lu 1985: 18)
- b. C [TP [T] [PassiveP [Passive *you*] [_v*P [*Huangyuanshen*]
 ↑ ↑
 [_v* [_v*] [VP [_v *banyan*] [_{DP} *Huoyuanjia*]]]]]]
 ↑ ↑

As shown in (29b), *you* is the head of the functional projection PassiveP. The post-*you* NP *Huangyuanshen* receives the nominative case from the tense head T, while the postverbal NP *Huoyuanjia* receives the accusative case from the light verb *v**. Furthermore, the postverbal NP *Huoyuanjia* can be topicalized, raising to SpecCP in left periphery.

Appealing as it may be, Xiong’s FP analysis is not desirable in several respects. First, the fact that *you* cannot take the perfective marker *-le* nor the experiential marker *-guo* is not a convincing argument against the verbal property of *you*, given that not all Mandarin verbs may take the two markers. Some may not, such as causative verbs and certain psych verbs. The morpheme *you* may be such a case as well.

- (30) a. **Zhangsan shi/rang-le wo zhidao zhe-jian shi.*
 Zhangsan make/let-**PFV** 1SG know this-CLF thing
 Intended: ‘Zhangsan made/let me know this.’
- b. **Zhangsan shi/rang-guo wo zhidao zhe-jian shi.*
 Zhangsan make/let-**EXP** 1SG know this-CLF thing
 Intended: ‘Zhangsan has made/let me know this.’
- (31) a. **Zhangsan renwei/juede-le Lisi hen qinqie.*
 Zhangsan think/feel-**PFV** Lisi very kind
 Intended: ‘Zhangsan thought/felt that Lisi is very kind.’
- b. **Zhangsan renwei/juede-guo Lisi hen qinqie.*
 Zhangsan think/feel-**EXP** Lisi very kind
 Intended: ‘Zhangsan has thought/felt that Lisi is very kind.’

Also, Mandarin verbs and verbal constituents are generally able to turn into the interrogative A-not-A formation. The examples in (32a–b), obtained by a Google search, show that *you* can be used in the form of A-not-A.

- (32) a. *Qishi, wenming jiujiang gai-bu-gai fazhan? You-bu-you*
 in.fact civilization on.earth should-not-should develop YOU-not-YOU
women kongzhi?
 1PL control
 'In fact, should civilization be developed or not? Is it our assignment or not to take control?'
 b. *You-bu-you ta maixia, jue ding-quan bu zai wo shen-shang.*
 YOU-not-YOU 3SG buy.up decide-right not at 1SG body-on
 'Regarding whether s/he should be assigned to buy it up or not, the discretion is not mine.'

To sum up, although *you* is unlike typical verbs which may take aspect markers, the possibility that it is still a verb cannot be ruled out, given that it syntactically behaves on a par with causative verbs and certain psych verbs, disallowing aspectual suffixation while allowing the interrogative A-not-A formation.⁵

Second, the analysis of *you* as a passive morpheme suffers an empirical problem having to do with the example in (33), reproduced from (5).

- (33) *Women jiang you zhuan-ren wei nin fuwu.*
 1PL will YOU specific-person for 2SG serve
 'We will assign specific staff to serve you.'

In typical passive constructions such as Mandarin *bei* passives and English *be* passives, the (matrix) subject position normally hosts a Patient (or Theme) NP. In

5. One of the reviewers made two comments on the interrogative A-not-A formation. First, s/he pointed out that (32b) is not a question. Second, s/he observed that Mandarin prepositions are also able to form A-not-A questions. This implies that *you* in examples like (32a–b) might be a preposition, not a verb. My response to the first comment is that the A-not-A constituent *you-bu-you* in (32b) actually represents an embedded question. The question reading is corroborated by the fact that we may replace *you-bu-you* with *shifou you* without changing the sentence meaning, *shifou* 'if' being a question word. In response to the second comment, I suggest that in my analysis, the A-not-A criterion is a necessary condition rather than a sufficient condition for determining if a lexical item is a verb. That is, if a lexical item is claimed to be a verb, it must pass the A-not-A test. This is why I illustrate the A-not-A examples in (32a–b) to justify the verbhood of *you*. However, things do not go the other way around. It is not the case that a lexical item which may pass the A-not-A test must be a verb. As correctly observed by the reviewer, Mandarin prepositions can also be used in the interrogative A-not-A formation. It follows that the only diagnostic criterion based on the A-not-A formation is not sufficient for guaranteeing the verbhood of *you*; other criteria should also be taken into consideration. Even though the A-not-A condition is not sufficient for identifying verbhood, it is necessary. The examples in (32a–b) are given to show that the necessary A-not-A condition is satisfied. Without satisfying this necessary condition, *you* cannot be a verb.

(33), however, the NP subject is more like an Agent instead of a Patient or Theme. This difference thus casts doubt on the passive analysis of *you*.

Third, I doubt if it is necessary to stipulate a functional category like Passive. An analysis with an extra stipulation is conceptually more complex and less desirable than another without an extra stipulation. In the next section, I shall propose an analysis that treats *you* as a verb, a common syntactic category. In this analysis, no stipulation of a unique functional category like Passive is required.

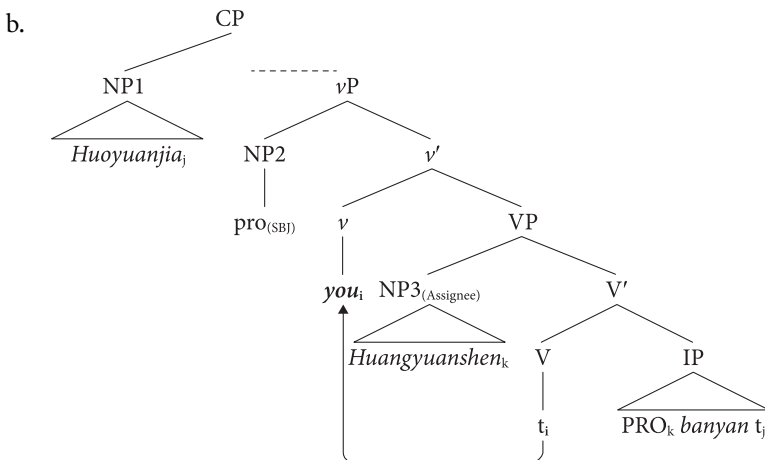
4. Proposal: VP analysis

I propose in this section that the morpheme *you* in assigning *you* constructions heads a VP. I also show that my VP analysis is superior to the PP analysis and the FP analysis reviewed in the previous section.

4.1 Toward a three-place argument structure

The lexical semantics of *you*, associated with assignment of matters or jobs, requires that it should take two objects. One of them is the matter or job being assigned, and the other is the person to whom the matter or job is assigned. Given this, I propose that *you* is a three-place predicate. I reproduce the example in (1) below as (34a) and draw its syntactic structure based on my proposal, as in (34b).

- (34) a. *Huoyuanjia you Huangyuanshen banyan.*
 Huoyuanjia YOU Huangyuanshen play
 ‘Regarding the role of Huoyuanjia, Huangyuanshen was assigned to play it.’



We saw in §3.2 that *you* has the verbal property since it can be used to form an A-not-A question. This lays the foundation for my analysis which merges *you* in V^0 . A subsequent process of V-to-*v* movement of *you* has to be applied, deriving the surface word order. As a three-place predicate, *you* takes one external argument and two internal arguments. As shown in (34b), the external argument is the matrix subject in the Spec of vP (i.e. NP2). It is the one who assigns matters or jobs and thus plays the role of Assigner (or Agent, in a more general sense). The Assignee is the outer internal argument of *you*, that is, NP3 in the Spec of VP . The inner internal argument of *you* corresponds to a proposition represented by IP selected by V^0 . The argument structure proposed here is interpreted in the way that the Agent/Assigner assigns the propositional matter to the Assignee. In the case of (34a), *Huangyuanshen* is given or assigned the propositional matter of playing the role of *Huoyuanjia*. When the propositional matter is construed as a job or mission, just like playing some role in a movie or play, the duty-assigning reading is yielded. On the other hand, in the case of (2), the propositional matter being assigned is earning an award, which, of course, is something honorable or glorious, and therefore the benefit-assigning reading is yielded.

It was previously mentioned that the post-*you* NP has a dual status in terms of thematic relations. This dual semantic property may perfectly derive from my proposed structure in (34b). On the one hand, the post-*you* NP is a Patient since it is assigned something from the verb *you*. On the other hand, the post-*you* NP can at the same time be an Agent in duty-assigning cases or a Recipient in benefit-assigning cases, depending on the semantic nature of the coreferential null subject in the IP complement taken by the verb *you*. For example, in (34a), the post-*you* NP *Huangyuanshen* is an Agent due to the fact that its coreferential null subject in the embedded IP performs the action of role-playing. But when this coreferential null subject does not perform an action but obtains something as in (2), the post-*you* NP is then a Recipient.

Recall from §3.1 that the genuine prepositional phrase headed by *you*, which means ‘from’, may undergo fronting from the preverbal position, whereas the [*you*+NP] sequence in assigning *you* sentences may not. Consider the contrast between (35a) and (35b).

- (35) a. [_{pp} *You/Cong ta-de kouzhong*]_i wo t_i dezhi ci-shi.
 from 3SG-GEN mouth 1SG learn this-matter
 ‘From him/her I learned about this.’
 b. **[You zhuan-ren]*_i women jiang t_i wei nin fuwu.
 YOU specific-person 1PL will for 2SG serve
 ‘(Lit.) Assign specific staff, we will serve you.’

While the ill-formedness of (35b) is unexpected under the PP analysis, it can be well accounted for by my proposed VP analysis. From the syntactic structure illustrated in (34b), we may see that *you* in its derived position (i.e. v^0) and its following NP (i.e. NP3) do not fall into a constituent. If we move this non-constituent as in (35b), this will not conform to the generally assumed requirement that only constituents should be able to move.

I also pointed out in §3.1 that the monomorphemic reflexive *ziji* ‘self’ in Mandarin Chinese is subject-oriented, and that the subjecthood of the post-*you* NP in (36a–b), reproduced from (25a–b), calls into question the PP analysis in which the NP after the preposition *you* is an object rather than a subject.

- (36) a. *Xianzai jiu you ta_i lai jieshao ziji_i-de huazuo.*
 now just YOU 3SG come introduce self-GEN painting
 ‘Now we just let him/her introduce his/her own painting.’
 b. *Xiaotou you jingcha_i dai-huiqu ziji_i-de paichusuo.*
 thief YOU police bring-return self-GEN police.station
 ‘Regarding the thief, the police were assigned to bring him/her back to the police station of their own.’

In contrast, the subjecthood of the post-*you* NP in (36a–b) can be satisfactorily explained by my bi-clausal analysis of *you* constructions. The bi-clausal structure is roughly drawn in (37).

- (37) [_{VP}... [_v *you*_i] [_{VP} NP_j [_v [_v *t*_i] [_{IP} PRO_j... *ziji*_j...]]]]
 YOU self

In this structure, the reflexive morpheme *ziji* ‘self’ is locally bound by the null subject in the IP complement selected by V^0 . Since the null subject is coreferential with the post-*you* NP, it follows that the subjecthood is passed on to the post-*you* NP via coreferentiality.

In what follows, I provide more details as well as empirical evidence in support of my proposed argument structure for assigning *you* constructions. I discuss four issues in order: syntactic parallels between the assigning *you* and typical ditransitive verbs, nonfiniteness of the embedded IP complement, the status of pre-*you* NPs, and bi-clausality.

4.2 Syntactic parallels between the assigning *you* and typical ditransitive verbs

In my analysis, the assigning *you* is a three-place predicate. The three-place argument structure I propose for *you* constructions is illustrated in (38c).

- (38) a. Two-place argument structure: NP [_{PP} *you* NP] VP
b. Two-place argument structure: NP [_V *you*] [_{IP} NP VP]
c. Three-place argument structure: NP [_{VP} NP [_V [_V *you*_i] [_{VP} NP
[_V' [_V *t*_i] [_{IP} PRO VP]]]]]

To argue for the ditransitive analysis, I have to rule out the alternative two-place argument structures in (38a–b) and also provide supporting evidence for the three-place argument structure in (38c). In (38a), an initial NP and a *you*-headed PP are subcategorized for.⁶ In §3.1 I have argued against the PP analysis and do not repeat the details here. In (38b), *you* is a transitive verb taking an IP complement, while in (38c), *you* is a ditransitive verb subcategorizing for two internal arguments: an IP complement and an NP Assignee in SpecVP. In this subsection, I show that *you* syntactically patterns with typical ditransitive verbs like *gei* ‘give’ instead of transitive verbs. The observed parallels between *you* and typical ditransitive verbs lend support to the analysis of *you* as a three-place predicate.

The first parallel I have observed concerns pseudo-cleft constructions. The contrast between (39a) and (39b) indicates that a double object construction fails to turn into a pseudo-cleft in which both objects are being focused.

- (39) a. *Ta di-gei gege yi-hu jiu.*
3SG pass-give brother one-CLF wine
‘S/he passed his/her brother a jug of wine.’
b. **Ta di-gei de shi gege yi-hu jiu.*
3SG pass-give DE be brother one-CLF wine
‘*What s/he passed was his/her brother a jug of wine.’
(Huang et al. 2009: 82)

Similar patterns are also found in monosyllabic ditransitive *gei* ‘give’ sentences. Following Lin & Huang (2015), I assume that the causative use of *gei* in (40a) involves a nominal object (i.e. *Lisi*) and a propositional object (i.e. the event that Lisi got the first place). Such a ditransitive sentence, again, cannot be transformed into a pseudo-cleft as in (40b).

- (40) a. *Zhangsan gei Lisi de di-yi-ming.*
Zhangsan give Lisi obtain first.place
‘Zhangsan caused Lisi to get the first place.’ (Lin & Huang 2015: 312)
b. **Zhangsan gei de shi Lisi de di-yi-ming.*
Zhangsan give DE be Lisi obtain first.place
‘*What Zhangsan caused was that Lisi got the first place.’

6. Those who favor the PP analysis have different views on the status of the initial NP in (38a). For Zhang (2004), it is a subject, while for Huang (2013), it is a derived topic raising from the postverbal object position.

In contrast, transitive verbs can be used in pseudo-cleft constructions. Those like *he* ‘drink’ as in (41) select a nominal complement, while those like *zhuzhang* ‘contend’ and *xiangxin* ‘believe’ as in (42) select a clausal complement.

- (41) a. *Ta he-le yi-hu jiu.*
 3SG **drink**-PFV one-CLF wine
 ‘S/he drank a jug of wine.’
 b. *Ta he de shi yi-hu jiu.*
 3SG **drink** DE be one-CLF wine
 ‘What s/he drank was a jug of wine.’
- (42) a. *Women zhuzhang/xiangxin ta you zui.*
 1PL **contend/believe** 3SG have guilt
 ‘We contend/believe that s/he is guilty.’
 b. *Women zhuzhang/xiangxin de shi ta you zui.*
 1PL **contend/believe** DE be 3SG have guilt
 ‘What we contend/believe is that s/he is guilty.’

Now, let us look at the pattern of the assigning *you* and find out whether it behaves akin to transitive or ditransitive verbs. Consider (43)–(44).

- (43) a. *Women jiang you zhuan-ren wei nin fuwu.*
 1PL will **YOU** specific-person for 2SG serve
 ‘We will assign specific staff to serve you.’
 b. **Women jiang you de shi zhuan-ren wei nin fuwu.*
 1PL will **YOU** DE be specific-person for 2SG serve
 Intended: ‘What we will assign is that specific staff serve you.’
- (44) a. *Xiaotou you jingcha daizou-le.*
 thief **YOU** police take.away-PFV
 ‘Regarding the thief, the police were assigned to take him/her away.’
 b. **Xiaotou you de shi jingcha daizou-le.*
 thief **YOU** DE be police take.away-PFV
 Intended: ‘Regarding the thief, what was assigned to the police was that they took him/her away.’

It is shown here that the assigning *you* cannot be used in pseudo-cleft constructions. This parallel with ditransitive verbs constitutes supporting evidence for my proposal that the assigning *you* is a three-place predicate.

Another parallel is observed with respect to topicalization. The comparison between (45) and (46)–(48) shows that transitive sentences allow topicalization of

a subject NP from the complement clause, whereas ditransitive *gei* ‘give’ sentences and assigning *you* sentences do not allow the same topicalization process.⁷

- (45) a. *Women renwei/xiangxin Zhangsan hui de di-yi-ming.*
 1PL think/believe Zhangsan will obtain first.place
 ‘We think/believe that Zhangsan will get the first place.’
 b. *Zhangsan_i, women renwei/xiangxin e_i hui de di-yi-ming.*
 Zhangsan 1PL think/believe will obtain first.place
 ‘Regarding Zhangsan, we think/believe that he will get the first place.’
- (46) a. *Zhangsan gei Lisi de di-yi-ming.*
 Zhangsan give Lisi obtain first.place
 ‘Zhangsan caused Lisi to get the first place.’ (Lin & Huang 2015: 312)
 b. **Lisi_i, Zhangsan gei e_i de di-yi-ming.*
 Lisi Zhangsan give obtain first.place
 Intended: ‘Regarding Lisi, Zhangsan caused him to get the first place.’
- (47) a. *Women jiang you zhuan-ren wei nin fuwu.*
 1PL will YOU specific-person for 2SG serve
 ‘We will assign specific staff to serve you.’
 b. **Zhuan-ren_i, women jiang you e_i wei nin fuwu.*
 specific-person 1PL will YOU for 2SG serve
 Intended: ‘Regarding specific staff, we will assign them to serve you.’
- (48) a. *Xiaotou you jingcha daizou-le.*
 thief YOU police take.away-PFV
 ‘Regarding the thief, the police were assigned to take him/her away.’

7. I have two remarks about the unacceptability of (46b). First, my intuition is that the sentence may notably improve if a resumptive pronoun is used, as shown in (i).

- (i) *Lisi_i, Zhangsan gei ta_i de di-yi-ming.*
 Lisi Zhangsan give 3SG obtain first.place
 ‘Regarding Lisi, Zhangsan caused him to get the first place.’

Second, as pointed out by Lin & Huang (2015: 314, Footnote 4), “the dislocation or dropping of the post-*gei* NP is more natural in negative contexts”. This is exemplified in (ii).

- (ii) *Na-shan men_i, Zhangsan bu gei e_i shang youqi.*
 that-CLF door Zhangsan not give apply paint
 ‘Regarding that door, Zhangsan did not paint a coat of paint on it.’

(Lin & Huang 2015: 314)

If Lin & Huang’s observation is correct, this indicates that the dropping of the post-*gei* NP is restricted and does not apply to affirmative contexts like (46b).

- b. **Jingcha*₁, *xiaotou* *you* *e*₁ *daizou-le*.
 police thief YOU take.away-PFV
 Intended: 'Regarding the police and the thief, the former were assigned to take the latter away.'

The parallel between the ditransitive verb *gei* 'give' in (46) and the assigning *you* in (47)–(48), again, provides support for the ditransitive analysis of the assigning *you*.

The final parallel is bound up with the use of clausal pro-forms such as *zheme* 'so' and *ruci* 'so'. The comparison between (49) and (50)–(51) shows that transitive verbs allow the complement clause to be replaced by a clausal pro-form, while the assigning *you* and typical ditransitive verbs such as *gei* 'give' and *song* 'send' do not allow their following clause to be replaced by a clausal pro-form.

- (49) a. *Women renwei/xiwang Zhangsan hui de di-yi-ming, tamen ye zheme*
 1PL think/hope Zhangsan will obtain first.place 3PL also so
renwei/xiwang.
think/hope
 'We think/hope that Zhangsan will get the first place, and they also think/hope so.'
- b. *Women renwei/xiwang Zhangsan hui de di-yi-ming, tamen ye*
 1PL think/hope Zhangsan will obtain first.place 3PL also
renwei/xiwang ruci.
think/hope so
 'We think/hope Zhangsan will get the first place, and they also think/hope so.'
- (50) a. **Women gei/song xiaohai chu-guo nian-shu, tamen ye zheme*
 1PL give/send child get.out-country read-book 3PL also so
gei/song.
give/send
 Intended: 'We allowed/sent the child to study abroad, and they also allowed/sent so.'
- b. **Women gei/song xiaohai chu-guo nian-shu, tamen ye*
 1PL give/send child get.out-country read-book 3PL also
gei/song ruci.
give/send so
 Intended: 'We allowed/sent the child to study abroad, and they also allowed/sent so.'

- (51) a. **Women you zhuan-ren wei guke fuwu, tamen ye zheme you.*
1PL YOU specific-person for customer serve 3PL also so YOU
Intended: 'We assign specific staff to serve customers, and they also assign so.'
- b. **Women you zhuan-ren wei guke fuwu, tamen ye you ruci.*
1PL YOU specific-person for customer serve 3PL also YOU so
Intended: 'We assign specific staff to serve customers, and they also assign so.'

To conclude, if the assigning *you* is a three-place predicate, the syntactic parallels observed in this subsection between *you* and typical ditransitive verbs do not come as a surprise. They naturally follow.

4.3 Nonfiniteness of the embedded IP complement

The syntactic structure proposed for assigning *you* constructions as depicted in (34b) is reminiscent of Lin & Huang's (2015) ditransitive analysis of causative-permissive *gei* 'give' constructions in Mandarin Chinese. As shown in (52b), the derivation of causative-permissive *gei* sentences also involves V-to-*v* movement and an embedded IP complement taken by the verb. The ditransitive verb *gei* denotes a transferring event (cf. Liu 2006). In (52a), the matrix subject transfers the propositional property of the Recipient's getting the first place to the Recipient. Since the Recipient's getting the first place is made to be possible due to the transferring event by the matrix subject, it can be said that the matrix subject causes/permits the Recipient to get the first place.

- (52) a. *Zhangsan gei Lisi de di-yi-ming.*
Zhangsan give Lisi obtain first.place
'Zhangsan caused Lisi to get the first place.' (Lin & Huang 2015: 312)
- b. [_{VP} Zhangsan [_v *gei*_i] [_{VP} [_{Recipient} Lisi]_j [_v *t*_i] [_{IP} PRO_j *de di-yi-ming*]]]
Zhangsan give Lisi obtain first.place

Following Bošković (1997), Lin & Huang (2015:328, Footnote 12) assume that "a nonfinite complement with a PRO subject (such as the clausal complement of *want* in English) is an IP rather than a CP". In their analysis, the embedded IP complement taken by the causative-permissive *gei* is nonfinite. They give the examples in (53)–(54) to support their analysis.

- (53) a. **Zhangsan gei Lisi zuotian de di-yi-ming.*
Zhangsan give Lisi yesterday obtain first.place
Intended: 'Zhangsan caused Lisi to get the first place yesterday.'

- b. *Zhangsan shi/rang Lisi zuotian de di-yi-ming.*
 Zhangsan **cause** Lisi **yesterday** obtain first.place
 ‘Zhangsan caused Lisi to get the first place yesterday.’
 (Lin & Huang 2015: 328)

- (54) a. **Zhangsan gei Lisi keneng de di-yi-ming.*
 Zhangsan **give** Lisi **be.likely.to** obtain first.place
 Intended: ‘Zhangsan caused Lisi to be likely to get the first place.’
 b. *Zhangsan shi/rang Lisi keneng de di-yi-ming.*
 Zhangsan **cause** Lisi **be.likely.to** obtain first.place
 ‘Zhangsan caused Lisi to be likely to get the first place.’
 (Lin & Huang 2015: 328)

Lin & Huang explain the grammaticality contrast between (53a) and (53b) by pointing out that the causative-permissive *gei* takes a nonfinite IP complement in which a time adverb like *zuotian* ‘yesterday’ is not allowed, whereas the causative verb *shi* (I have added another causative verb *rang* for comparison as well) takes a finite CP complement in which a time adverb is allowed. Moreover, to explain the contrast between (54a) and (54b), Lin & Huang (2015) assume with Lin (2012) that epistemic modals in Mandarin Chinese like *keneng* ‘be likely to’ can only occur in finite clauses. It follows that the causative verb *shi* (again, I have added *rang* for more comparison) should take a finite CP complement since the finite clause may accommodate the epistemic modal *keneng*, while the causative-permissive *gei* should take a nonfinite IP complement as *keneng* is not allowed in it.

As demonstrated in (53)–(54), the (non-)occurrence of time adverbs and epistemic modals may help determine whether a complement clause is finite or nonfinite. In order to see whether the complement clause taken by the assigning verb *you* is finite or nonfinite, I then place time adverbs and epistemic modals in *you* constructions. The results are given in (55)–(56).

- (55) a. *Huoyuanjia shang-ci you Huangyuanshen banyan.*
 Huoyuanjia **last-time** **YOU** Huangyuanshen play
 ‘Regarding the role of Huoyuanjia, last time Huangyuanshen was assigned to play it.’
 b. **Huoyuanjia you Huangyuanshen shang-ci banyan.*
 Huoyuanjia **YOU** Huangyuanshen **last-time** play
 Intended: ‘Regarding the role of Huoyuanjia, Huangyuanshen was assigned to play it last time.’

- (56) a. *Huoyuanjia keneng you Huangyuanshen banyan.*
Huoyuanjia **be.likely.to** YOU Huangyuanshen play
‘Regarding the role of Huoyuanjia, it is likely that Huangyuanshen will be assigned to play it.’
- b. **Huoyuanjia you Huangyuanshen keneng banyan.*
Huoyuanjia YOU Huangyuanshen **be.likely.to** play
Intended: ‘Regarding the role of Huoyuanjia, Huangyuanshen will be assigned to be likely to play it.’

The ungrammaticality of (55b) and (56b) suggests that the assigning *you* should take a nonfinite IP complement which does not allow the time adverb *shang-ci* ‘last time’ or the epistemic modal *keneng* ‘be likely to’. On the other hand, (55a) and (56a) are grammatical because the time adverb and the epistemic modal in these two cases are both located in matrix finite CP.

4.4 Pre-you NP: Topic vs. subject

My proposed *you* structure in (34b) contains two available positions for NPs in front of *you*. One of them is the Spec of CP for topics, and the other is the Spec of *v*P for subjects. The subject position in (34b), namely, NP2, hosts a null form. The null subject in *you* constructions can be construed as an invisible policymaker. It is this policymaker who assigns matters or jobs. Also, the policymaker is usually self-evident from the context or world knowledge and thus need not be spelt out. For example, in the case of (34a), even though the duty-assigner or policymaker is not revealed via words, s/he is normally assumed or understood to be the director or the sponsor since only the person with this identity has the privilege to determine which actor/actress may play which role.

The Assigner (or policymaker) in *you* constructions, though usually null, is not unlikely to be realized overtly. This can be seen in (57a–c).⁸

- (57) a. *Women jiang you zhuan-ren wei nin fuwu.*
1PL will YOU specific-person for 2SG serve
‘We will assign specific staff to serve you.’
- b. *Jiuba-de laoban you daili-ren chu-ting.*
bar-GEN owner YOU to.act.on.behalf-person show.up-court
‘The owner of the bar assigned an attorney to appear in court.’
- c. *Gongsi you ta chumian.*
company YOU 3SG come.forward
‘The company assigned him/her to come forward.’

8. The example in (57a) is reproduced from (5), and those in (57b–c) were obtained by a Google search.

In these examples, the duty-assigner is spelt out as an Agent subject and merged in the Spec of *v*P. While my analysis may capture the Agent role of the initial NP in (57a–c), the FP analysis reviewed in § 3.2, which treats *you* as a passive marker, would wrongly predict the initial NP in such cases to be a Patient subject. A piece of evidence that can be used to argue for the subjecthood of the initial Agent NP in *you* sentences like (57a–c) comes from the occurrence of the subject-oriented adverb *guyi* ‘intentionally’. Consider (58) and (59).⁹

- (58) *Zhangsan guyi bei Lisi da-le.*
 Zhangsan **intentionally** PASS Lisi hit-PPV
 ‘Zhangsan intentionally got hit by Lisi.’ (Huang 1999: 428)
- (59) *Gai-ren ming-zhi er guyi you ta-ren shiji baoguan.*
 that-person well-know but **intentionally** YOU other-person actual take.care
 ‘The person in question is fully aware of it but intentionally lets other people take actual care.’

Huang (1999) points out that the adverb *guyi* ‘intentionally’ in *bei* passives selects an Agent/Experiencer subject. Since this adverb can also be used in (59), this suggests that the initial NP *gai-ren* ‘that person’ in this *you* sentence should be an Agent/Experiencer subject.

It is worth noting that it is also possible to spell out the topic and the subject at the same time in the pre-*you* position. As shown in (60), under my analysis, the NP *xiaohai* ‘child’ is the derived Patient topic, while the NP *women* ‘we’ is the base-generated Agent subject.

- (60) *Xiaohai_i women you baomu zhaogu e_i yi-nian le.*
 child 1PL YOU babysitter take.care.of one-year SFP
 ‘Regarding the child, we have assigned the babysitter to take care of him/her for one year.’

To justify my analysis of the two initial NPs in *you* sentences like (60), I provide the following parallel between (61) and (62) as supporting evidence.

9. The example in (59) was obtained by a Google search.

- (61) a. *Jiaoshi_i women yijing dasao-guo e_i le.*
 classroom 1PL **already** clean.up-EXP SFP
 'Regarding the classroom, we have already cleaned it up.'
- b. **Jiaoshi_i yijing women dasao-guo e_i le.*
 classroom **already** 1PL clean.up-EXP SFP
- c. **Yijing jiaoshi_i women dasao-guo e_i le.*
already classroom 1PL clean.up-EXP SFP
- (62) a. *Xiaohai_i women yijing you baomu zhaogu e_i yi-nian le.*
 child 1PL **already** YOU babysitter take.care.of one-year SFP
 'Regarding the child, we have already assigned the babysitter to take care of him/her for one year.'
- b. **Xiaohai_i yijing women you baomu zhaogu e_i yi-nian le.*
 child **already** 1PL YOU babysitter take.care.of one-year SFP
- c. **Yijing xiaohai_i women you baomu zhaogu e_i yi-nian le.*
already child 1PL YOU babysitter take.care.of one-year SFP

The grammaticality contrast between (61a) and (61b) indicates that the temporal adverbial *yijing* 'already' can only occur after the subject, not before it. The same contrast is also found between (62a) and (62b), suggesting that the NP *women* 'we' in this *you* sentence should be the subject. In addition, from (61c) we can see that *yijing* 'already' is not allowed to precede the derived topic. The same pattern is also observed in (62c), and it can thus be concluded that the initial NP *xiaohai* 'child' in this *you* sentence should be the (derived) topic.

I next deal with a *you* example like (63), which might present a potential challenge to my *pro* subject analysis.

- (63) **Xiaohai_i pro guyi you baomu zhaogu e_i.*
 child **intentionally** YOU babysitter take.care.of
 Intended: 'Regarding the child, (we/they/someone) intentionally assigned the babysitter to take care of him/her.'

If we assume that the *you* sentence in (63) involves subject *pro*, the sentence should be predicted to be well-formed since the subject-oriented adverb *guyi* 'intentionally' should be able to characterize *pro*, which is a subject. However, given the ill-formedness of (63) which does not support the prediction, one might claim that the *pro* subject analysis is not tenable. I argue, nevertheless, that a *you* sentence like (63) is not a counterexample to the *pro* subject analysis. It actually lends support to the *pro* subject analysis. My argument comes from the grammaticality contrast between (64a) and (64b).

- (64) a. *Zhangsan-de shengri paidui wo guyi bu qu.*
 Zhangsan-GEN birthday party 1SG intentionally not go
 'Regarding Zhangsan's birthday party, I intentionally did not attend.'
 b. **Zhangsan-de shengri paidui pro guyi bu qu.*
 Zhangsan-GEN birthday party intentionally not go

The contrast here suggests that the subject-oriented adverb *guyi* requires an overt subject to characterize. It fails to characterize a null subject like *pro*. This then perfectly explains the ill-formedness of (63), in which the subject *pro* is covert and *guyi* cannot characterize it.

My analysis also makes two correct predictions. First, if we remove *guyi* from (63), the requirement on overtness of subjects will be irrelevant and the sentence should not be ruled out by the requirement. This prediction is borne out, as evidenced by the well-formedness of (65).

- (65) *Xiaohai_i pro you baomu zhaogu e_i.*
 child YOU babysitter take.care.of
 'Regarding the child, the babysitter was assigned to take care of him/her.'

Second, if we replace the null subject in (63) with an overt one, the requirement imposed by *guyi* will be met and the sentence should turn to be grammatical. This prediction is correct, given the well-formedness of (66).

- (66) *Xiaohai_i women guyi you baomu zhaogu e_i.*
 child 1PL intentionally YOU babysitter take.care.of
 'Regarding the child, we intentionally assigned the babysitter to take care of him/her.'

From the above discussion, I conclude that the *pro* subject analysis is on the right track as it provides a principled account of the interrelation between a subject-oriented adverb like *guyi* and overtness/covertness of the subject it characterizes.

In my proposal, *you* sentences like (65) involve subject *pro* as one of the three arguments; the ditransitive structure of (65) is roughly drawn in (67a). However, a reviewer wonders if the proposal of subject *pro* is redundant since s/he has found that *you* sentences like (65) contain only two arguments. If we otherwise assume that *you* is a two-place predicate, the two arguments it takes are most likely an NP subject and a complement clause, as illustrated in (67b).¹⁰

10. The reviewer did not clearly point out to me which two arguments s/he referred to in cases like (65). There are several possibilities. First, it could be that in the case of (65), the reviewer referred to the two overt NPs: *xiaohai* 'child' and *baomu* 'babysitter'. If this is the case, what selects these two arguments would be the two-place predicate *zhaogu* 'take care of'. But this analysis raises a question: what does *you* do in such a structure? It remains mysterious, and I

- (67) a. *xiaohai*_{(TOP)_i} [_{SBJ} *pro*] *you* [*baomu*]_j [_{IP} *PRO*_j *zhaogu* *e*_i]
 child YOU babysitter take.care.of
 b. [_{SBJ} *xiaohai*] *you* [_{IP} *baomu* *zhaogu*]
 child YOU babysitter take.care.of

I argue that the ditransitive analysis assuming subject *pro* under the structure in (67a) may explain the binding phenomenon in (68) more desirably.

- (68) *Xiaohai_i you ziji_j/_i zhaogu, bu shi you baomu zhaogu.*
 child YOU self take.care.of not be YOU babysitter take.care.of
 ‘Regarding the child, one_i assigned oneself_j to take care of him/her. It is not the case that one_i assigned the babysitter to take care of him/her.’

In this example, the reflexive morpheme *ziji* ‘self’ refers to a contextually determined entity, which is normally represented by *pro*. Also, recall from §3.1 that the reflexive morpheme *ziji* has the subject-oriented property. My proposal of subject *pro* in such a *you* sentence is just in line with this property. On the other hand, the transitive analysis of *you* under the structure in (67b) raises a question regarding why in (68) the coreferential relation between *ziji* and the matrix subject *xiaohai* ‘child’ is not possible. If we pay attention to an example like (69), we may see that the embedded subject *ziji* in the complement clause taken by transitive verbs has no problem to refer to the matrix subject *xiaohai* ‘child’.

- (69) *Xiaohai_i renwei/juede ziji_j hen congming.*
 child think/feel self very smart
 ‘The child thinks/feels that s/he him/herself is very smart.’

While in (68) the impossibility of coreferentiality between *ziji* and the initial NP *xiaohai* ‘child’ poses a problem for the transitive analysis of *you*, it can be well accounted for by my ditransitive analysis of *you*. In my analysis, the initial NP *xiaohai* ‘child’ in (68) is not a subject but a derived topic. Since this NP has no subjecthood, it cannot serve as the antecedent for the subject-oriented reflexive *ziji*.

thus put this analysis aside. It is also possible that the reviewer referred to the initial NP and the [*you*+NP] sequence as the two arguments. This analysis can be seen as corresponding to the structure of English passives, involving a subject and a *by*-phrase (Zhang 2004). However, since I have argued against the PP analysis in §3.1, I also put this second possibility aside. The remaining possibility I can think of is that *you* is a transitive verb which takes an NP subject and a complement clause as its two arguments, as shown in (67b). Not given sufficient information from the reviewer, I only discuss this third possibility.

4.5 Bi-clausality

My proposed syntactic structure for assigning *you* constructions is bi-clausal as the matrix verb *you* takes an embedded IP complement. This differs from the PP analysis of *you* constructions, under which the morpheme *you* is not a verb but a preposition, and the constituent after the PP is the only verb/predicate in the structure. I argue below that the bi-clausal VP analysis fares better than the mono-clausal PP analysis.

The first argument in support of the bi-clausal analysis concerns the example in (70a), reproduced from (26b). Its bi-clausal structure is roughly depicted in (70b).

- (70) a. *Fang-xiansheng_i you Wang-xiaojie tigong ta_i liang-dun fan.*
 Fang-Mr. YOU Wang-Miss offer 3SG two-CLF meal
 ‘Regarding Mr. Fang_i, Miss Wang was assigned to offer him_i two meals.’
 (Xiong 2010: 14)
- b. [_{CP} *Fang-xiansheng_i* ... [_{VP} *pro* [_V *you_j*] [_{VP} *Wang-xiaojie_k* [_V [_V *t_j*]]
 Fang-Mr. YOU Wang-Miss
 [_{IP} *PRO_k* ... *ta_i* ...]]]]
 3SG

The Binding Principle B requires that pronouns should be locally free. As shown in (70b), the pronoun *ta* is free in the embedded IP, which suggests that this embedded IP is a local domain. Outside this local domain, long-distance binding is possible. The bi-clausal analysis successfully captures the long-distance phenomenon in (70b), where the pronoun *ta* in the embedded scope is non-locally bound by the base-generated topic *Fang-xiansheng* ‘Mr. Fang’ in the matrix scope.

The second argument in favor of the bi-clausal analysis touches upon the anaphoric pattern we already saw in (27b), reproduced below as (71a) with its bi-clausal structure in (71b).

- (71) a. *Fang-xiansheng_i you Wang-xiaojie_j jieshao ta-ziji_{i/j}.*
 Fang-Mr. YOU Wang-Miss introduce 3SG-self
 ‘Mr. Fang let it be Miss Wang’s assignment to introduce herself.’
- b. [_{VP} *Fang-xiansheng_i* [_V *you_k*] [_{VP} *Wang-xiaojie_j* [_V [_V *t_k*] [_{IP} *PRO_j* ...
 Fang-Mr. YOU Wang-Miss
ta-ziji_{i/j} ...]]]]
 3SG-self

The Binding Principle A is obeyed in this example, given that the anaphor *ta-ziji*, as seen in (71b), is locally bound by the null subject, which is coreferential with the Assignee *Wang-xiaojie* ‘Miss Wang’. In contrast, the long-distance binding between the anaphor *ta-ziji* in the embedded scope and the subject *Fang-*

xiansheng ‘Mr. Fang’ in the matrix scope is not possible because it violates the Binding Principle A. Again, the bi-clausal analysis is shown to be reliable as it may well capture the anaphoric pattern in (71).

5. Concluding remarks

I end this paper by making two remarks. First, in my analysis, the passive *bei* sentence in (72) and the assigning *you* sentence in (73) fall into different structures, though they look superficially similar.

(72) *Xiaotou*_(SBJ) *bei jingcha daizou-le.*
 thief PASS police take.away-PFV
 ‘The thief was taken away by the police.’

(73) *Xiaotou*_{(TOP)_i} *pro*_(SBJ) *you jingcha daizou-le e_i.*
 thief YOU police take.away-PFV
 ‘Regarding the thief, the police were assigned to taken him/her away.’

In typical passive constructions, the initial NP is a Patient (or Theme) subject. In English, the Patient subject in *be* passives is generally taken to be derived by A-movement, while in Mandarin Chinese, the Patient subject in *bei* passives, assuming with Huang (1999), is derived by base-generation. In my proposal, *you* constructions differ from typical passives in that the pre-*you* NP, when it is a Patient, is not a subject but a topic. In (73), the Patient topic *xiaotou* ‘thief’ is derived by A'-movement. But when the pre-*you* NP is an Agent as in (57a–c), it is a base-generated subject. This base-generated Agent subject in *you* constructions need not be spelt out and can be syntactically realized as *pro* if it is self-evident from the context.

Second, the VP analysis proposed in this study is arguably more desirable than Xiong’s (2010) FP analysis in that the former does not additionally stipulate a unique functional category like Passive. In the VP analysis, the morpheme *you* is proposed to be a three-place predicate. It takes two internal arguments: the outer one is an Assignee NP in the Spec of VP, while the inner one is an embedded IP complement selected by the verb *you*. Under this VP analysis, assigning *you* constructions fall into a bi-clausal structure, as opposed to the mono-clausal structure under the PP analysis. Empirical evidence from binding phenomena supports the VP analysis instead of the PP analysis.

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Abbreviations

CLF	classifier	PFV	perfective
DE	pre-nominal modification marker or depictive/resultative marker	PL	plural
DUR	durative	SBJ	subject
EXP	experiential	SFP	sentence-final particle
GEN	genitive	SG	singular
PASS	passive	TOP	topic

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