Unifying the Long Passive and the Short Passive: On the *Bei* Construction in Taiwan Mandarin[*]

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This paper has three goals: to show that the Mandarin *bei* is a unified construction, to explore a universal characterization of the passive, and then to demonstrate that the *bei* construction is a genuine passive. The *bei* construction comes in two forms, one with an overt agent, known as the long passive, and the other without, known as the short passive. Previous accounts assign two very different structures to the two forms and posit two lexically different *bei*'s. This paper, however, based largely on newly discovered natural occurring data in Taiwan Mandarin, demonstrates that *bei* behaves rather similarly with or without an overt agent and thus dismisses the short passive and argues for a unified *bei*. Specifically, the *bei* construction is analyzed, within Lexical-Functional Grammar, as the passive counterpart of the active *ba* construction. The paper then explores a universal characterization of the passive and a typology of the syntactic assignment of the demoted agent, and it demonstrates that *bei*'s optional agent phrase, demoted to an object function, is in line with the universal characterization of passive.

Key words: long passive, short passive, universal, *bei*, *ba*, demotion, topicalization

1. Introduction

The precise nature of the Mandarin *bei* construction, along with the *ba* construction, has been one of the most contentious issues in Chinese linguistics. Even the part-of-speech of the two elements, examples of which are given in (1), has long been a topic of debate. While many, e.g. Wang (1970), Li & Thompson (1981), Her (1985-86), J. Huang (1982), L. Huang (1990), A. Li, (1990), McCawley (1992), and

Tsao (1996), have viewed them as prepositions, others, e.g. Hsueh (1989), Her (1989), Chiu (1993), Ting (1998), J. Huang (1999), Bender (2000), and D. Li (2003) have argued that they are in fact verbs.[1]

(1) a. Amei bei (gemi) weizhu   le.
         Amei BEI fans   encircle PERF[2]
         'Amei was encircled (by the fans).'
     b. Gemi ba Amei weizhu   le.
         fans   BA Amei encircle PERF
         'The fans encircled Amei.'

Notice that in (1a) the agent phrase after *bei* need not appear. In the literature, the *bei* construction with the overt agent has come to be known as the *long passive*, and the one without, the *short passive*. All researchers who made this formal distinction have assigned two distinct structures to the two passives, based on claims that the behavior of *bei* varies depending on the presence or absence of the agent phrase (e.g. Her 1989, 1991, Ting 1998, J. Huang 1999, J. Huang et al. 2008). Most notably this is based on the observation that the short passive does not seem to allow long-distance gaps, as shown in the example in (2), taken from J. Huang (1999).

(2) a. Zhangsan bei Lisi pai   jingcha zhua-zou le. (J. Huang 1999:450, (51a))
         John   BEI Lee send police arrest   PERF
         'John was "sent-police-to-arrest" by Lee.'
     b. *Zhangsan bei pai   jingcha zhua-zou le. (J. Huang 1999:450, (52a))
         John   BEI send police arrest   PERF

This paper disputes such claims and aims to accomplish three things: first to demonstrate that the short form essentially does not exist, as it is simply the long passive with a covert agent NP; to then propose a formal account of *bei* as a unified verb; and finally to show that *bei* fits in a universal characterization of passive and is precisely the passive counterpart of *ba*.

A notable feature of this paper is the source of its data. Unlike most of the previous studies on the syntax of Mandarin *bei*, this study focuses on Taiwan Mandarin (cf.,

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[1] Another lexical item in the language that involves a similar debate is the dative *gei*; see Her (2006) and Ting & Chang (2004).

[2] The following abbreviations are used: CL (classifier), ENF (emphatic), INST (instrument), OBJ (object), PASS (passive marker), past (past tense), PERF/PFV (perfective maker), POSS (possessive maker), PRT (particle), ptcpl (participle), SUBJ/subj (subject), 3 (third person).

Cheng 1985, Hsu 2006, Her 2009). Given the wide distribution of Mandarin in China and in the world, the language now comes in a great many varieties. To foster a greater accountability and reliability of the data employed and thus to minimize controversy over grammaticality issues, a single dialect is selected. Also, unlike most other papers on *bei*, the majority of examples used in this study are naturally occurring data found on the Internet with Google search within the domain of Taiwan, further aided by grammaticality judgment and other solicited data from native Taiwan Mandarin speakers. Smith (1999:15), a renowned generativist, has this to say regarding the kinds of data useful in the generativist research:

> While idealization is necessary, it must be emphasized that idealization away from speech errors, for instance, still allows one to use performance mistakes such as slips of the tongue as *evidence*… All our understanding of linguistic knowledge… has to be supported by evidence, and where that evidence comes from is limited only by our imagination and ingenuity. (Smith 1999:15, emphasis in original)

Chomsky himself, in spite of the widely circulated misconception, in fact does not object to the use of corpus data *per se*. Here is his precise position first hand:

> You don't take a corpus, you ask questions. You do exactly what they do in the natural sciences. ... You have to ask probing questions of nature. That's what is called experimentation, and then you may get some answers that mean something. ... You can take as many texts as you like, you can take tape recordings, but you'll never get the answer. (Chomsky, quoted in Aarts 2000:6)

Thus, as long as one starts out with a probing question of nature, there is simply no good reason for the overwhelmingly one-sided reliance on introspected data in mainstream generative theorizing. However, the situation is changing as more and more linguists are now using corpus data. Brian Joseph (2004:382), then editor of *Language*, confirms this observation, with reference to the articles of the journal: "…[W]e seem to be witnessing… a shift in the way some linguists find and utilize data—many papers now use corpora as their primary data, and many use internet data". In this paper, I thus also aim to show that Fillmore (1992:35) is right that, in addition to introspected data, corpora allow the establishment of new facts, some of which one "couldn't imagine finding out about in any other way".

The paper thus aims to answer this probing question: Does the short passive really exist in Mandarin Chinese? It is organized into five sections. Section 2, following this introduction, based on data from Taiwan Mandarin, shows that *bei* behaves rather

similarly with or without the agent phrase and thus that positing two distinct *bei*'s and two different structures for the long passive and the short passive cannot be justified. Section 3 then proposes a unified formal account of the *bei* construction within Lexical-Functional Grammar (LFG) (cf., Bresnan 1982, 2001). In §4, a universal characterization of the notion of passive and the typology of the demoted external argument are explored, and *bei* will be shown to be precisely the passive counterpart of the active *ba* construction. Section 5 concludes the paper.

2. Unifying the long passive and the short passive

This section will demonstrate the empirical facts of the long passive and the short passive respectively and the A′-dependency analysis for the long passive and the A-movement analysis for the short passive, which both J. Huang (1999) and Ting (1998) advocate. New evidence introduced here will establish the inadequate empirical coverage by the accounts offered in Ting (1998) and J. Huang (1999) and also the fact that the short passive in essence does not exist as it allows the same range of syntactic behavior as the long passive. Thus, it will be shown that *bei* is in fact one single unified lexical item. Note also that the account of *bei* in the book *The Syntax of Chinese* (J. Huang et al. 2008) is essentially adopted from J. Huang (1999).

2.1 Empirical facts on the long passive

The Chinese long passive is so called for two reasons: it has an overt agent phrase immediately after *bei*, and, perhaps more importantly, it allows the affected theme in the passive to be identified with a long-distance gap. The example in (3) is taken from J. Huang (1999) and Ting (1998) cites similar examples.

(3) Zhangsan bei Lisi pai   jingcha zhua-zou le. (J. Huang 1999:440, (24))
     John   BEI Lee send police arrest   PERF
     'John was "sent-police-to-arrest" by Lee.' [3]

(4) John was arrested by the police sent by Lee.

As seen in (3), the long passive *bei* construction is very different from the English *be*-passive in (4), where the passivized theme, *John*, must be identified with the logical

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[3] As English passive allows no unbounded gaps, there are no good translations available in the passive form. This paper thus follows J. Huang (1999) and indicates the long distance passive this way.

object of the passivized verb, *arrested*. However, in (3), while the expressed agent, *Lisi*, is the agent who sent the police, the matrix subject, *Zhangsan*, is identified with the object gap of *zhuazou* 'arrest', which is further embedded in the clause headed by *pai* 'send'.

In terms of argumentation, in order to prove that the long passive allows long-distance gaps, one only needs a few well-formed examples. It is not necessary, and in fact not possible, to demonstrate that *all* long-distance gaps are well-formed in the long passive. The unbounded nature of the filler-gap relationship in the long passive is indeed easily verified by many similar examples found on the Internet. Two such examples are listed below in (5) and (6).

(5) Duoshao kunnan dou bei ta shefa kefu le.
many difficulty all BEI he manage overcome PERF
'All of the many difficulties were "managed-to-overcome" by him.'

(6) Bei ta qitu nuyi de ziyou renmin.
BEI he attempt enslave DE free people
'The free people who were "attempted-to-enslave" by him.'

However, Ting (1998) and J. Huang (1999) further observe that the object position of the transitive verb that heads the final embedded clause need not be empty and can be filled by an overt resumptive pronoun, as in (7).

(7) Zhangsan$_i$ bei Lisi piping-le ta$_i$ yidun.
John BEI Lee criticize-PERF he once
'Zhangsan was criticized once by Lisi.'

Ting (1998) and J. Huang (1999) also note that the long passive allows the particle *suo*, as in (8), while the only other construction where *suo* appears is a relative clause with a relativized object, as in (9).

(8) Ta-de zhengci bu bei fating suo caixin.
he-POSS testimony not BEI court SUO believe
'His testimony was not believed by the court.'

(9) Ta jinnian suo chuban de shu dou hen hao.
he this-year SUO publish DE book all very good
'Books which he has published this year are all very good.'

Given the consensus that *suo*, a remnant from Classical Chinese, is an objective

pronoun of sort and must be accompanied by an empty object position (Chiu 1993, 1995, Ting 1995, 2003), both J. Huang (1999) and Ting (1998) take it as further evidence that the long passive must involve a gap or a resumptive pronoun. They thus presume that in the long passive there must be a lower element co-indexed with the matrix subject and that this element must be either a gap or an overt pronoun. In other words, if there is no gap or the gap is lexically filled by a non-pronominal NP, the long passive is ungrammatical. Ting (1998:342, (56)) cites the following examples as evidence.

(10)　a.　*Zhangsan　bei　liumang　da-le　　　Lisi.
　　　　　John　　　BEI　hoodlum　hit-PERF　Lee
　　　　　'John was affected by the hoodlum's hitting Lee.'
　　　b.　*Zhangsan　bei　wawa　ku-le.
　　　　　John　　　BEI　baby　cry-PERF
　　　　　'John was affected by the baby's crying.'
　　　c.　*Zhangsan$_i$　bei　Lisi　piping-le　　　ziji$_i$.
　　　　　John　　　BEI　Lee　criticize-PERF　self
　　　　　'Zhangsan was criticized by Lee.'

Again, in terms of argumentation, for the position of Ting (1998) and J. Huang (1999) to hold, there cannot be *any* well-formed case of the long passive that does not contain a gap or resumptive pronoun. However, such well-formed long passives abound and again can be easily verified by many examples found on the Internet. Two are given in the discourse cited in (11).

(11)　a.　Zongci ... gan-le　　　jingcha zheme jiu,
　　　　　Zongci　　be-PERF police　so　　long
　　　　　'Zongci … has been a cop for so long,'
　　　b.　diyi ci　yudao　　　sha-bu-si　　de　ren,
　　　　　first time encounter kill-not-dead　DE person
　　　　　'for the first time he encountered a person that couldn't be killed;'
　　　c.　bujin　*bei　ta　sha-le　　　tongshi*,
　　　　　not-only BEI　he　kill-PERF　partner
　　　　　'he (Zongci) not only was "killed-partner" by him,'
　　　d.　hai　chadian *bei　ta　pao-le*.[4]
　　　　　also　almost　BEI　he　escape-PERF
　　　　　'but also almost had him escaped on him.'

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[4] This is a genuine example found in a novel posted on a website in Taiwan, and its URL is: www.nch.com.tw/novel.php?nid=10868&cat=40917&sid=15.

In (11c), the verb *sha* 'kill' has its object lexically filled by *tongshi* 'partner', not a resumptive pronoun. In (11d), the verb *pao* 'escape' is intransitive and does not allow an object; thus, a gap or resumptive pronoun is not even possible. In (11c), the only link available between the matrix subject, *Zongci*, and *tongshi* 'partner', the object of *sha* 'kill', is that the former may be interpreted as the possessor of the latter. Like (11c), in (12) and (13), there are no gaps in the embedded clause and there are no links whatsoever between the implicit matrix subject, which presumably is the speaker, and any element in the embedded clause.

(12) Yinwei   wode dayi,   bei ta   chenggong le.[5]
      because-of my   carelessness BEI he   succeed   PERF
      'Because of my carelessness, he has succeeded (on me).'

(13) Meiyou tianli, hai   zhende bei ta   qudao laopo le.[6]
      no   justice even true   BEI he   marry wife   PERF
      'There is no justice, it's even true that he found a wife and got married.'

Clearly then, there are indeed *some* well-formed long passive sentences where no gaps or resumptive pronouns can be identified, (11d) and (13) being the clearest and non-controversial examples.

2.2 A′-dependency for the long passive

Both J. Huang (1999) and Ting (1998) contend that the Mandarin long *bei* passive should have the structure and derivation shown in (15), similar to the English *tough*-construction as analyzed by Chomsky (1980), shown in (14).

(14) This problem$_i$ is tough [$_{CP}$ OP$_i$ (for you) to solve t$_i$].
          |___ predication ___||___ movement ___|

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[5] http://ck101.com/forums/viewthread.php?tid=1244422&extra=&page=6.
[6] blog.yam.com/goldenmean/article/10434657.

(15)

'Zhangsai was hit by Lisi.'
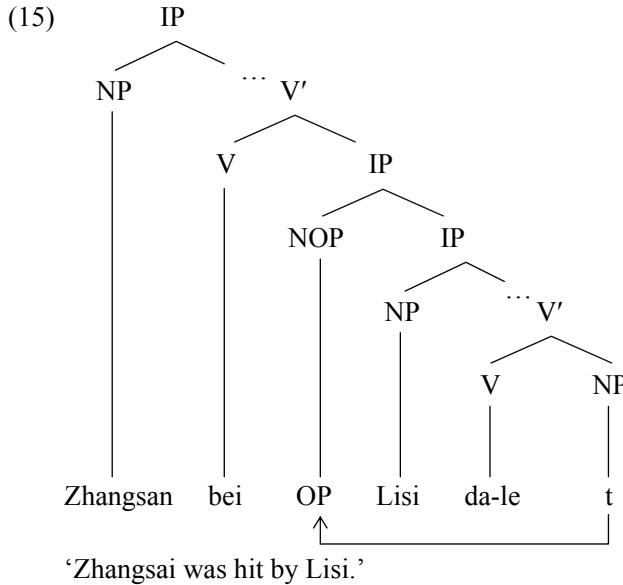
There are several important structural features in the analysis of (15). First of all, the long passive *bei* selects an NP as its subject and an IP clause as its complement. Secondly, it is assumed that the final embedded clause is *always* headed by a transitive verb; thus, in (15) the verb *da* 'hit' must be transitive. Thirdly, the object of this verb may be occupied by a null operator (NOP). In terms of derivation, the object of the final embedded clause, if it is an NOP, moves to adjoin the embedded IP. Thus, the fourth structural feature is that the long passive *bei* must lexically specify that its subject controls the NOP in its complement IP. Since the landing site of the movement involved here is a non-argument position, it is A′-movement in nature.

However, as mentioned earlier, the object of the transitive verb that heads the final embedded clause may also be filled by an overt resumptive pronoun, as in (16). According to Ting (1998), the A′-movement analysis in (15), arguably, does not apply here. Instead, the NOP, now based-generated as adjunction to the IP, enters into an A′-binding relation with the resumptive pronoun. Note that the control relation between *bei*'s subject and the NOP in its complement IP still holds.

(16)   Zhangsan$_i$ bei [$_{IP}$ OP$_i$ [$_{IP}$ Lisi piping-le   ta$_i$ yidun]]
       John   BEI   Lee criticize-PERF he once
       'Zhangsan was criticized once by Lisi.'

Aside from the non-movement A′-binding account for long passive resumptive pronouns, which is preferred by Ting (1998), it is conceivable for the relation between the

filler *Zhangsan* and the resumptive pronoun gap *ta* 'he' to be accounted for by movement. J. Huang (1999:443) also cites such sentences as further evidence for the A′-movement, or *wh*-movement, which accounts for the long passive but offers no further details. Zhang (2004), for example, proposes to extend Kayne's (2002) cluster-split hypothesis and view a resumptive pronoun and its antecedent as a cluster integrated into the relevant structure. The antecedent then moves, thus leaving the resumptive pronoun *in-situ* at the trace position of its antecedent.

(17)   Zhangsan$_i$ bei [$_{IP}$ OP$_i$ [$_{IP}$ Lisi piping-le t_i-ta$_i$ yidun]]
       John   BEI   Lee criticize-PERF   he once
       'Zhangsan was criticized once by Lisi.'
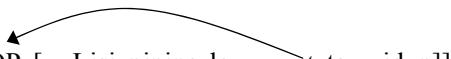
As shown in (17), the NOP and the resumptive pronoun *ta* 'he' are first generated in the same position as a cluster [OP$_i$-ta$_i$]; the NOP then moves, leaving *ta* 'he' standing alone at the NOP's trace position. Assuming that the particle *suo* is an object resumptive pronoun, one can extend the same A′-binding or A′-movement account outlined for (16) and (17). The A′-dependency account offered by Ting (1998) and J. Huang (1999) is thus adequate for long passives with a gap or a resumptive pronoun. However, this account's strict requirement of a *syntactically-licensed* dependency relation, by either movement or binding, forces the prediction that long passives where there are no gaps and no resumptive pronouns are ill-formed. As seen in (11), (12), and (13), this is incorrect.

Furthermore, this A′-dependency account also predicts that the final embedded verb in the long passive is always transitive. This again is not always the case. Some examples found on the Internet are given in (18).

(18)   a.   Wo   bei   gugu   fa-zhan.[7]
            I   BEI aunty punish-stand
            'I was "punished-to-stand-in-a-corner" by my aunty.'
       b.   Pengyou bu   shou   niao xing,
            friend   not familiar bird trait
            weishi deshihou you   bei   ta taotuo.[8]
            feed   when   again BEI it escape
            '(My) friend wasn't familiar with the traits of the bird. At the time of feeding, (he) again had it escape on him.'

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[7]   blog.sina.com.tw/htfjsw/article.php?pbgid=2348&entryid=4951
[8]   diary.yam.com/pets/article/595223

c. Zui   ou-de   shi juran   hai bei ta chenggong-le.[9]
    most upsetting be surprisingly even BEI he succeed-PERF
    'What's most upsetting is that, surprisingly, he even succeeded.'

d. Wo ..la-bu-zhu   fengzheng-de xi   xian, bei ta feizou-le.[10]
    I   hold-not-on kite-POSS   thin line   BEI it fly-away-PERF
    'I couldn't hold on to the kite's thin line and had it fly away on me.'

In these four examples, *fa-zhan* 'punish-to-stand', *taotuo* 'escape', *chenggong* 'succeed', and *feizou* 'fly away' are all intransitive verbs and do not allow an object. In these long passives, a dependency relation between a non-existent object and the matrix subject is simply impossible. The A′-dependency account, which by definition requires such a dependency relation, is too restricted and fails to cover the full range of *bei* long passives.

2.3 Empirical facts on the short passive

As for the short passive, according to J. Huang (1999) and Ting (1998), the need to distinguish it from the long passive is not so much the fact that it has no overt agent phrase but the fact it allows no long-distance gaps. J. Huang (1999) lists the sentence in (19a) as evidence and Ting (1998) also gives a similar example, as in (19b).

(19) a. *Zhangsan bei pai   jingcha zhua-zou le. (J. Huang 1999:450, (52))
        John   BEI send police   arrest   PERF
        'John was "sent-police-to-arrest".'

     b. *Lisi bei pai   wo zhua-zou le. (Ting 1998:324, (13b))
        Lee BEI send I   arrest   PERF
        'Lee was "sent-me-to-arrest".'

Without a proper context, the examples in (19) are admittedly odd; however, a far more important point to be noted is that, in order to justify the distinction of the short passive, it is not enough to show that the short passive does not allow one particular long-distance gap or even *some* long-distance gaps. Instead, one must demonstrate that *all* long-distance gaps are barred when *bei* appears without an overt agent phrase. Consequently, one only needs to demonstrate that the short passive in fact allows *some* long-distance gaps to unify the long passive and the short passive in this regard. And well-formed examples abound. Sentences in (20) have exactly the same object-control structure as that of those in (19). Sentences in (21) have the subject-control structure.

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[9] www.xxxs.cn/html/kumingdaizongcai/1003.html
[10] www.wzwx.com/lqyy/yy/424e.htm

All are authentic examples from the Internet.[11]

(20) a. Wo gang zoujin gongyuan,
I just enter park
jiu bei pai jingcha qing jin-le paichusuo.[12]
at-once BEI sent police invite enter-PERF precinct-station
'Just as I was entering the park, I was "sent-police-to-inviteinto-the-precinct-office".'

b. Tongdao dou yijing bei pai bing bashou.[13]
passage all already BEI send troop guard
'All passages have been "sent-troops-to-guard".'

(21) a. Gongsi-de wanglu bei qitu ruqin.[14]
company-POSS network BEI attempt hack
'The company network has been "attempted-to-hack".'

b. Ziliao bei shefa kaobei le.[15]
document BEI manage copy PERF
'The documents have been "managed-to-copy".'

Thus, it is pointless to dispute the grammaticality of the examples in (19) *per se*, as the grammaticality and authenticity of examples in (20) and (21) conclusively demonstrate that the long passive and the short passive are rather similar in allowing some long-distance gaps. In other words, there is no exclusive correlation between an agent phrase and a long-distance gap.

Ting (1998) and J. Huang (1999) also point out that while the long passive allows a resumptive pronoun at the gap, as shown in (22a) and (23a), the short passive requires

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[11] An anonymous reviewer suggested that frequency counts be provided for both short passives and long passives to show that the former is not marked. I contend that this is not necessary, for two good reasons, besides the fact that it is rather impractical. First, frequency counts are never an issue in syntactic studies that rely on introspection, which form the majority of generative works. More importantly, even if it turns out to be true that well-formed short passives are less frequent than their long passive counterparts, thus more marked, it would not change the logical conclusion that the two forms share an identical structure. In short, it is the grammaticality of the data that matters.

[12] www2.tianya.cn/new/Publicforum/Content.asp?idWriter=0&Key=0&strItem=no16&idArticle=115318&flag=1

[13] kuangge.net/writings/read.aspx?chapterid=6636&writingid=104

[14] download.microsoft.com/download/6/b/3/6b3eb4a5-1ba1-4e37-a501-73b977f9a5c8/032906_WindowsServer_am.ppt

[15] www.mobile01.com/topicdetail.php?f=226&t=51836&p=8

the gap to be lexically unfilled, as shown in (22b) and (23b).

(22) a. ?Zhangsan$_i$ bei   wo piping-le   ta$_i$ yidun. (Ting 1998:322, (6))
         John   BEI I   criticize-PERF he once
         'John was criticized once by me.'
     b. Zhangsan$_i$ bei   piping-le   (*ta$_i$) yidun. (Ting 1998:324, (13a))
         John   BEI criticize-PERF he once
         'John was criticized once.'

(23) a. Zhangsan$_i$ bei Lisi da-le   ta$_i$ yixia. (J. Huang 1999:443, (34))
         John   BEI Lee hit-PERF he once.
         'John was hit once by Lee.'
     b. Zhangsan$_i$ bei da-le   (*ta$_i$) yixia. (J. Huang 1999:452, (55))
         John   BEI hit-PERF   he once
         'John was hit once.'

First of all, as J. Huang (1999:443) has noticed, in (22a) and (23a), where the long passive allows a resumptive pronoun, the additional adjunct phrase *yidun* 'once' or *yixia* 'once' is necessary to make the pronoun more acceptable, as shown in (24). Note also that even (22a) is marked as marginal by Ting (1998).

(24) *Zhangsan$_i$ bei   Lisi da-le   ta$_i$. (J. Huang 1999:427, (5a))
      John   BEI Lee hit-PERF he.
      'John was hit by Lee.'

Clearly then, even in long passives, a resumptive pronoun in the gap position is subject to intricate restrictions, which require further research to clarify but are not immediately relevant to our discussion.[16] What is important here is whether resumptive pronouns are exclusive to long passives or they are likewise well-formed in *some* (thus not all) short passives. Again, plenty instances are found; four examples from the Internet are given in (25).

(25) a. Ta ba$_i$ pa   bei renwei ta$_i$ wufa guanjiao haizi.[17]
         he father afraid BEI consider he   fail discipline children
         'His father was afraid to be considered that he failed to discipline his
         children.'

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[16] Ning (2008) in fact discovers a general preference for gaps over resumption in Chinese relative
    clauses.
[17] www.pczone.com.tw/vbb3/archive/t-86499.html

    b.   Shuijiao de ren$_i$ dou hui bei shuocheng ta$_i$ shangxian-le.[18]
          sleep   DE person all   will BEI describe-as he on-line-PERF
          'Anyone who is sleeping would be described as he is "on-line".'

    c.   Ta$_i$ bei duozou-le   ta$_i$-de   zhongsheng quanyi.[19]
          he BEI deprive-PERF he-POSS lifelong   rights
          'He was deprived of his lifelong rights.'

None of the *bei* short passives in (25) has an overt agent but each has a resumptive pronoun at the gap position. In (25a), the matrix subject *ta* 'he' is co-indexed with the object of the verb *renwei* 'consider', *ta* 'he', a resumptive pronoun. In (25b), the matrix subject is *shuijiao de ren* 'a person who is sleeping', which is co-indexed with the lower *ta* 's/he'. In (25c), the resumptive pronoun *ta* 'he' serves as the possessor of the retained object and is co-indexed with the matrix subject.

As further evidence to the resumptive pronouns in the short passives in (25), examples in (26) and (27) show that the position occupied by the resumptive pronouns can also be a reflexive *ziji* 'self' or a gap, respectively. These are also genuine examples from the Internet.

(26)   a.   Tongxinglianzhe$_i$ bu xiang bei renwei   ziji$_i$ shi guaiwu.[20, 21]
              homosexuals   not want BEI consider self be   freak
              'Homosexuals do not want to be considered freaks.'

          b.   Ni$_i$...jiu   zheyang bei qiangzou-le ziji$_i$-de   qingmeizhuma![22, 23]
              you exactly this-way BEI rob-PERF self-POSS childhood-sweetheart
              'This is exactly how you were robbed of your childhood sweetheart!'

(27)   a.   Ni$_i$ bei renwei e_i shi shengming de   ruozhe.[24]
              you BEI consider   be life   DE weakling
              'You are considered to be a weakling in life.'

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[18] www.student.tw/db/archive/index.php?t-108308.html

[19] http://www.grass-land.com/qqc/03/qqc0311b.html

[20] www.ffoundation.com.tw/modules/newbb/viewtopic.php?topic_id=2445&forum=9

[21] An anonymous reviewer questions whether *ziji* here is a pronoun or an adverb. According to Tsai (2002), *ziji* as an adverb can mean *willingly*, *by oneself*, *by nature*, or *automatically*. None of these meanings exists in this example and the copular verb *shi* indicates *ziji* here serves as the nominal subject.

[22] blog.yam.com/ausky/article/11500862

[23] An anonymous reviewer commented that (26b) here and (25c) above can be accommodated under Thompson's (1973) retained object analysis. That indeed is the case. However, note that these examples are only meant to show that a resumptive pronoun is allowed in the short passive as well.

[24] buddhism.lib.ntu.edu.tw/BDLM/cbs/class1/dstext/3_2B92703048.doc

b. Wo$_i$ ..bei qiangzou-le e_i qian hai bei dashang-le e_i jiao.[25]
   I BEI rob-PERF money also BEI injure-PERF foot
   'I was robbed of (my) money and also had (my) foot injured.'

Thus, even though (24) is ill-formed and, like long passives, not all short passives allow resumptive pronouns, it is without question that *some* short passives do. Again, there is no exclusive correlation between an agent phrase and a resumptive pronoun. The long passive and the short passive are again alike in this regard. In all the short passive examples in (25) to (27) an overt agent phrase can be inserted after *bei* and turn the short passives into long passives that are grammatical. Short passives in (26) are used to illustrate this point, shown in (28).

(28) a. Tongxinglianzhe$_i$ bu xiang bei renmen renwei ziji$_i$ shi guaiwu.
        homosexuals not want BEI people consider self be freak
        'Homosexuals do not want to be considered freaks by people.'
     b. Ni$_i$...jiu zheyang bei ta qiangzou-le ziji$_i$-de
        you exactly this-way BEI he rob-PERF self-POSS
        qingmeizhuma![26]
        childhood-sweetheart
        'This is exactly how you were robbed of your childhood sweetheart by him!'

Furthermore, to date, in the relevant literature it has been widely assumed to be a fact that the particle *suo* is allowed in the long passive but not in the short passive. J. Huang (1999:451), for example, gives the examples in (29) and (30) as evidence.

(29) *Zhexie shiqing bu neng bei ___ suo liaojie. (J. Huang 1999:451, (53))
      these thing not can BEI SUO understand
      'These things cannot be understood.'

(30) *Ni zuijin dui ta-de xingwei kongpa hui bei ___
      you recent to he-POSS behavior afraid will BEI
      suo chixiao. (J. Huang 1999:451, (54))
      SUO laugh-at
      'I'm afraid your recent behavior toward him will be laughed at.'

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[25] www.bwsk.net/yq/s/suwaner/lhzd/002.htm
[26] blog.yam.com/ausky/article/11500862

J. Huang points out this contrast between the long passive and the short passive because if the missing agent is lexically filled in (29) and (30), for example with *tamen* 'people' or *wairen* 'others', the sentences will be good. However, the *wei*-passive, which does allow *suo* in its short passive, shown in (31), offers a first clue that the above assumption may be too hasty.

(31) Ta bu wei   suo   dong.
      he not WEI SUO affect
      'He was not affected.'

While noticing the fact presented in (31), Ting (1998:347, fn. 9) contends that this 'does not pose a problem for the proposed analysis that the *bei*-passive without a lexical logical subject does not license the presence of *suo*' and is determined that '*bei*-passives, in contrast to *wei*-passives, do not co-occur with *suo* in the absence of the lexical subject in modern Chinese.' Ting further disregards the second, and much stronger, clue that in Classical Chinese *suo* does occur in the *bei* short passive. Ting cites an example from *San Guo Yan Yi* (*Romance of the Three Kingdoms*), shown in (32).[27]

(32) Bi   bei suo   qin.
      definitely BEI SUO capture
      'Will definitely be captured.'

As Chiu (1995), J. Huang (1999), and Ting (1998, 2003, 2005) have duly noted, as a remnant of Classical Chinese, the particle *suo* is limited only to a literary style in modern Chinese. Thus, it is more often found in writing than in speech. Given that *suo* is a historical remnant and also that in Classical Chinese it does occur in the *bei* short passive, it should be no surprise at all, contrary to the conventional assumption, that the same usage is found in modern Mandarin, but one can also expect its use to be highly restricted. Aside from the numerous instances of *bu bei suo dong* 'not be affected' found in actual use, which is parallel to *bu wei suo dong* in (31), there are also many other examples in the conventionalized [bu bei suo V] pattern found on the Internet. Two are given in (33a-b). *Bu* is a stative negator (Lin 2006) and as such can in principle freely occur with the *bei…suo* construction. Therefore, not surprisingly, examples of [bei suo V], without the negative item, are also found; (33c-e) are three such examples.

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[27] It is generally agreed that this novel was written towards the end of the Yuan Dynasty (1279-1368) and the beginning of the Ming Dynasty (1368-1644), thus roughly in the 14th century.

(33) a. Bu bei suo ai   shi tongku de   zhemo.[28]
          not BEI SUO love be painful DE   torture
          'Not to be loved is a painful torture.'

      b. Ni nanmian   bu bei suo pian.[29]
          you unavoidably not BEI SUO trick
          'Unavoidably you would be tricked.'

      c. Bu zhidao laogong hui-bu-hui   bei suo   youhuo.[30]
          not know   husband will-not-will BEI SUO seduce
          '(I) don't know whether (my) husband will be seduced or not.'

      d. Ni neng ai   ren,   ye   yiding hui bei suo ai.[31]
          you can love person also surely will BEI SUO love
          '(If) you can love people, (then) surely you'll be loved also.'

      e. Ren   ruo tai zhizhuo, bi   jianghui bei suo kun.[32]
          person if   too stubborn surely will   BEI SUO trap
          'If one is too stubborn, one will surely be trapped.'

Furthermore, while the grammaticality judgment of J. Huang's examples in (29) and (30) is corroborated by myself and my half dozen native Taiwan Mandarin informants, an interesting 'adverb effect' has been noted in the experiments conducted. English is well-known for its *that*-trace effect, as any standard textbook on generative syntax attests. However, Culicover (1993a, 1993b) notes that certain fronted adverbials eliminate *that*-trace effect, as shown in (34); this is known as the 'adverb effect'.[33]

(34) a. *Robin met the man who$_i$ Leslie said that t_i was the mayor of the city.
      b. Robin met the man who$_i$ Leslie said that for all intents and purposes t_i
          was the mayor of the city. (Culicover 1993a:557)

Similarly, it seems that when in the short passive *bei* and *suo* are separated by an adverbial PP phrase, acceptability likewise increases. The sentence in (35a) is made up by the author and accepted by more than a dozen native speakers of Taiwan Mandarin, while (35b) is a genuine example found on the net.

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[28] www.i-part.com.tw/diary/diary_viewpage.php?o=1171640&d=47
[29] www.book188.com/files/article/html/18/18961/330666.html
[30] forum.frontier.org.tw/women/viewtopic.php?topic=26658&forum=8&8
[31] tw.myblog.yahoo.com/juju10022000/article?mid=926&prev=1203&next=570&l=f&fid=29&sc=1
[32] www.ck101.com/forums/viewthread.php?tid=1061899
[33] Kandybowicz (2006) notes that this effect was discovered by Bresnan (1977:194) and popularized by Culicover (1993a).

(35) a. Henduo ren   jiushi bei *(yi   zhe zhong huangyan) suo   pian.
          many   people exactly BEI with this kind lie   SUO trick
          'Many people were exactly tricked with such lies.'

      b. Zhe ge wenti de   gengjinyibu taolun   keneng bei zai yixie
          this CL issue POSS further   discussion perhaps BEI at   some
          jieduan suo   xuyao.[34]
          stage   SUO need
          'Further discussions on this issue are perhaps needed at some stages.'

Once again, in order to prove that *suo* does appear in the short passive, a few well-formed examples are sufficient. Thus, the previous conventional assumption held by J. Huang (1999) and Ting (1998), among others, is incorrect, as *some* of the short passives, like *some* of the long passives, do indeed allow the particle *suo*.

An anonymous reviewer challenges the legitimacy of the short passive *bei…suo* data in modern Chinese, arguing that, as claimed by Ting (2003), "*suo* is licensed in Classical Chinese but not in modern Chinese due to two different grammatical systems in modern and Classical Chinese". Therefore, "how can the author know that examples in (33) are not produced by imitation of Classical Chinese grammar?" However, note that the same point must apply to the long passive [*bei* NP *suo*] as well. Ting and J. Huang claim that *suo* distinguishes between the long passive and the short passive *in modern Chinese*, based solely on intuition; the data in (33) and (35) merely show that this is not true. Thus, as an imitation of Classical Chinese grammar or not, *suo* does not distinguish the long passive and the short passive *in modern Chinese*.

Finally, J. Huang (1999:449) observes that place adverbials may occur with the long form, as in (36a), but not the short form, as in (36b). Ting (1998:350) makes the same observation, shown in (37).

(36) a. Zhangsan bei Lisi zai xuexiao pian-zou le.
          John   BEI Lee at   school abduct PERF
          'John was abducted at school by Lee.'

      b. *Zhangsan bei   zai xuexiao pian-zou le.
          John   BEI at school   abduct   PERF
          'John was abducted at school.'

(37) *Zhangsan bei *zai gongsi li*   piping-le.
      John   BEI at company inside criticized-PERF
      'John was criticized in the company.'

[34] http://www.tipo.gov.tw/cooperation/cooperation_4_3_2.asp

Nonetheless, once again such a purely introspected observation is contradicted by data from naturally occurring texts. Two counterexamples are given here in (38).

(38) a. Qizi bei zai gonggong changsuo baoli   ouda yi   ci.[35]
        wife BEI at public   place   violence batter one time
        '(My) wife has been battered once in a public place.'

     b. Yi zhi laoshu bei zai jiujing zhong jinpao-le   yi   nian.[36]
        one CL mouse BEI at alcohol inside immerse-PERF one year
        'A mouse has been immersed in alcohol for a year.'

Our discussion thus far has thus established one simple fact: The short passive does not exist, as *bei*'s behavior is essentially the same with or without an agent phrase. *Bei* allows an optional agent phrase and an optional gap, which is unbounded in nature. *Contra* Her (1991), Ting (1998), and J. Huang (1999), among others, the short passive is quite simply an agentless version of the long passive.

2.4 A-movement for the short passive

Based on the conventional misconception that the short passive strictly requires a local gap, Ting (1998) and J. Huang (1999) propose that, the *bei* short passive involves A-movement, not A′-movement as in the long passive. J. Huang (1999), adopting Hoshi's (1991, 1994a, 1994b) analysis of the English *get*-passive and Japanese *ni*-passive, assigns the short passive the structure and derivation in (39).

(39)
```
                    IP
          ┌─────────┴──────────┐
         NP        ···         V′
         │               ┌─────┴─────┐
         │               V           VP
         │               │      ┌─────┴─────┐
         │               │     NP           V′
         │               │      │      ┌─────┴─────┐
         │               │      │      V          NP
         │               │      │      │           │
        Lisiᵢ           bei    PROᵢ   da-le        tᵢ
        Lisi            got     ↑     hit
```
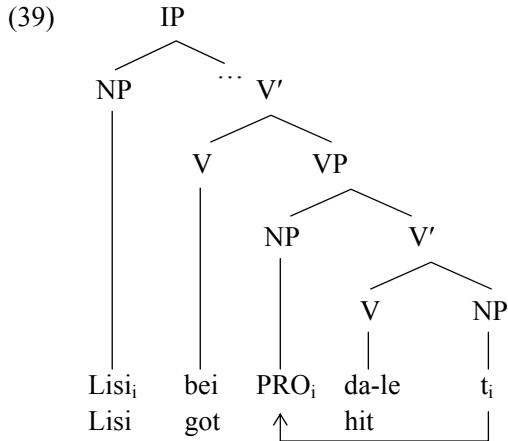
Ting (1998:340) argues for the same analysis for the short passive, as shown in (40b); (40a), as a contrast, shows the analysis proposed for the long passive.

(40) a. [Zhangsan$_i$ bei [$_{IP}$ OP_i [$_{IP}$ Lisi piping-le t_i]]. (long passive)
    John BEI Lee criticize-PERF
    'John was criticized by Lee.'
  b. [Zhangsan$_i$ bei [$_{VP}$ PRO$_i$ piping-le t_i]]. (short passive)
    John BEI criticize-PERF
    'John was criticized.'

There are several important features in the analysis of (39) and (40b). First of all, the short passive *bei* selects an NP as its subject and a VP as its complement. Secondly, it is assumed that this complement VP is *always* headed by a *passivized* transitive verb (e.g. *da* 'hit' in (39) and *piping* 'criticize' in (40b)) and its object must be PRO. Given the standard assumption that a passivized transitive verb has its external theta role assignment and the accusative case assignment absorbed, the PRO object thus must move to VP's spec position to avoid violating the case filter and to satisfy the EPP. This analysis thus crucially involves NP-movement, an A-movement. However, like the long passive, the short passive also involves a control relation, except that here the matrix subject controls the subject of the VP complement.

It is immediately clear that this A-movement analysis is inadequate for the range of short passive data covered in §2.3 and leaves unaccounted for the short passives with long-distance gaps, as in (20) and (21), resumptive pronouns, as in (25), and the particle *suo*, as in (33) and (35). Furthermore, like the long passive, a short passive may also be without a gap, resumptive pronoun, or *suo*. In other words, the embedded verb, if transitive, may have its object position lexically filled by a full NP, as in (41), and the embedded verb may also be intransitive and forbids an object entirely, as in (42). Again, these are all genuine examples from the Internet.

(41) a. Bei gai-ming Xu Zhi*tuo*, Xu Zhi*an* bu nu fan xiao.[37]
    BEI change-name Xu Zhituo Xu Zhian not angry instead laugh
    'Having been "changed-name-to-Xu-Zhi*tuo*", Xu Zhi*an* didn't get angry, but laughed instead.'
  b. Hai you qita ren bei qiangzou-le qian.[38]
    still have other person BEI rob-PERF money
    'There are other people who have been "robbed-money".'

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c. Bei jiechuan mianju de wo hen wuzhu.[39]
BEI lift mask DE I very helpless
'I, who have been "mask-lifted", am very helpless.'[40]

d. Minzhong paidui deng-zhe bei da pigu.[41]
folks line-up wait-PROG BEI spank bottom
'Folks lined up and were waiting to have their bottoms spanked.'

(42) a. Jintian zhuadao xiao gong juzi danshi bei paozou-le.[42]
today catch young male orange but BEI escape-PERF
'Today (I) caught the young male orange (cat), but had him escape on me.'

b. Po-hou chuangru youzhiyuan, xiaofangrenyuan weibu,
nasty-monkey break-in kindergarten firemen encircle-capture
reng bei taotuo.[43]
still BEI escape
'A naughty monkey broke in a kindergarten. The firemen tried to encircle and capture it, but still had it escape on them.'

c. Women you bei tiao-piao-le.[44]
we again BEI bounce-check-PERF
'Again, we were "bounced-check".'[45]

d. Mei nian you liu bai ge xuesheng bei tuixue.[46]
every year have six hundred CL student BEI withdraw-school
'Every year 600 students are "withdrawn-from-school".'

The problem presented by examples in (41), precisely, is that the object position of the passivized transitive verb is not occupied by an empty element but a non-pronominal full NP. Thus, no movement is possible, as this full NP remains *in situ*. Examples in (42) present a different but no less serious problem, that is, there is no object position at all, as all the embedded verbs here are intransitive. Thus, the A-movement account also fails to cover the full range of Chinese long passives.

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[39] www.gaotang.cc/bbs/xiangxi.asp?lbid=8&id=1413

[40] *Jiechuan mianju* 'lift mask' also has the idiomatic meaning of exposing one's lies.

[41] www.libertytimes.com.tw/2004/r-s/r-s040123-1.htm

[42] www.purlc.idv.tw/book_read.asp?book=b_animal&ssn=2065

[43] www.ettoday.com/2004/01/03/124-1566973.htm

[44] www.ettoday.com/2004/01/03/124-1566973.htm

[45] The literal meaning of *tiao-piao* is having a bounced check and its idiomatic reading is having a broken promise.

[46] www.pac.nctu.edu.tw/news/news_detail.php?Cp=3&NID=9794&hdr=nn

Finally, given the fact that the short passive and the long passive share essentially the same range of syntactic behavior, the A′-dependency account and the A-movement account can both be rejected for the Mandarin *bei* construction.

2.5 Passive compound verbs

In the discussion above, all *bei* passives are syntactically derived, as *bei* and the embedded verb are both free morphemes. There are also *bei*-V sequences where the V is no longer a free morpheme in modern Mandarin. Some examples are listed in (43).

(43) a. *bei-bu*   'to be arrested'
      b. *bei-qin*   'to be arrested'
      c. *bei-lu*   'to be captured'
      d. *bei-fu*   'to be captured'
      e. *bei-hai*   'to be killed'
      f. *bei-po*   'to be forced to…'
      g. *bei-jian*   'to be raped'
      h. *bei-fen*   'to be burned'
      i. *bei-ji*   'to be laughed at'
      j. *bei-feng*   'to be mocked'
      k. *bei-ji*   'to be hit'
      l. *bei-qie*   'to be stolen'
      m. *bei-duo*   'to be robbed/stolen'
      n. *bei-dong*   'to be passive'

Reynolds (1995), Ting (1998), J. Huang (1999), among others, have treated such *bei*-V sequences as lexical items derived by a lexical process. Such a lexical analysis is well-founded, for two reasons. First, as a bound morpheme, the V here no longer stands on its own in modern Mandarin. And, more importantly, these *bei*-V sequences observe lexical integrity, as the standard tests of separability can attest. However, there is clear evidence that the lexical approach cannot be extended to short passives where the V is a free morpheme, as adverbials can freely intervene and lexical integrity cannot be justified. The reader is referred to the references given above for further details. The rest of the paper will focus on the syntactically derived *bei* passives.

3. Formal analysis of *bei*

This section builds on what has been established so far, i.e. *bei* is a single verbal predicate, and demonstrates that *bei* is a three-place predicate, not a two-place predicate entailed under the analysis by Ting or J. Huang. *Bei* will be shown to be precisely the passive counterpart of the verb *ba*. A formal analysis of *bei*'s lexical structure and the syntactic structure of the *bei* passive will be rendered within the Lexical Functional Grammar (LFG).

3.1 *Bei* as a three-place predicate

It is clear that *bei*, as a unified verb, requires a clausal complement. What is not clear is what syntactic category this complement is. The core of this issue essentially rests on the grammatical status of the optional agent NP. Under the A′-dependency analysis proposed by Ting (1998) and J. Huang (1999), *bei* subcategorizes for two syntactic arguments: a subject and an IP complement. The optional agent NP is thus the subject of the embedded IP, as shown in (44). However, Her (1989, 1991) argues instead that *bei* subcategorizes for three syntactic arguments: subject, object, and a VP complement, as in (45), and more specifically that it is an object-control verb.

(44)   Zhangsan$_i$ bei [$_{IP}$ *OP$_i$* [$_{IP}$ (Lisi)   piping-le t_i]
        John   BEI   Lee   criticize-PERF
        'Zhangsan got criticized (by Lisi).'

(45)   Zhangsan [$_{VP}$ bei [$_{NP}$ (Lisi$_i$)] [$_{VP}$ PRO$_i$ piping-le   *e*]]^{47}
        John   BEI   Lee   criticize-PERF
        'Zhangsan got criticized (by Lisi).'

Ting and J. Huang further argue that *bei* in (44) is an ECM (exceptional case marking) verb, which assigns accusative case, exceptionally, to the subject of an adjacent IP. *Bei* is thus like *believe* in (46). Evidence that Ting and J. Huang have cited in support of the ECM analysis comes from binding, as in (47), and adjacency facts, as in (48).

(46)   Mary believed (*sometimes) *her$_i$/herself$_i$ to be a good linguist.

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[47] An anonymous reviewer questions why the coindexation does not go in a different way, e.g. *Zhangsan* coindexed with PRO and the object of *bei* with object of the embedded verb. First of all, the data indicate such relationships are incorrect. Secondly, as a general principle, object control supersedes subject control; thus, the promise-type of verbs is exceptional.

(47) Zhangsan$_i$ bei *ta$_i$/ziji$_i$ pian-le.
John   BEI   him/self trick-PERF
'John got tricked by himself.'

(48) Zhangsan$_i$ bei (*zuotian) (*xianran) ziji$_i$ pian-le.
John   BEI   yesterday   obviously self trick-PERF
'John obviously got tricked by himself (yesterday).'

However, clearly, (47) and (48) are no *evidence* for the ECM analysis. The ECM is merely a stipulation within the Chomskyan transformational theory to avoid a raising-to-object analysis and has been discredited by empirical arguments (e.g. Culicover & Jackendoff 2005). Rather, data in (47) and (48) present the simple fact that *syntactically* the agent NP behaves exactly like an object of *bei*, no more and no less. While *believe* in (46) does not assign any theta role to its object, it will be argued momentarily that *bei* does theta-mark the agent NP. Incidentally, *bei*, under the analysis by Ting and J. Huang, is also not exactly like *believe*, because of the NOP adjoined to the IP, which intervenes between *bei* and the agent NP. Thus, J. Huang (1999) needs to stipulate that an adjoined null category does not block ECM, while Ting (1995:138) proposes to extend Baker's (1988) theory that abstract case relationship must be expressed at PF to account for it.[48]

Another observation casts serious doubt on the IP analysis. According to Fu (1994) and Hsieh (2001), sentence adverbials occur as IP adjuncts only, never as VP adjuncts. Thus, if *bei* indeed requires an IP complement, sentence adverbials should occur, but they do not.

(49) Lisi xianran/dagai/huoxu   pian-le   Zhangsan.
Lee obviously/probably/possibly trick-PERF John
'Lee has obviously/probably/possibly tricked John.'

(50) *Zhangsan bei Lisi xianran/dagai/huoxu   pian-le.
John   BEI Lee obviously/probably/possibly trick-PERF
'John obviously/probably/possibly got tricked (by Lee).'

The contrast between (49) and (50) demonstrates that the post-*bei* sequence is not an IP. Again according to Fu (1994) and Hsieh (2001), VP adjuncts include temporal adverbs, manner adverbs, and various PPs. Thus, as expected within the VP analysis of (45), the post-agent sequence in the *bei* construction allows all these.

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[48] I thank the anonymous reviewer who provided this reference.

(51) Wo zuotian zai taibei yi jiachao chenggongde pian-le ta.
I yesterday at Taipei with fake-money successfully trick-PERF he
'Yesterday I successfully tricked him with fake money in Taipei.'

(52) Ta bei wo zuotian zai taibei yi jiachao chenggongde pian-le.
he BEI I yesterday at Taipei with fake-money successfully trick-PERF
'Yesterday in Taipei he was tricked by me with fake money successfully.'

Given the fact that the post-*bei* sequence is not an IP but the post-agent sequence is a VP, the only conclusion is that *bei* requires three syntactic arguments, a subject, an object, and a VP complement, confirming the analysis of (45). The next issue that needs to be addressed is whether the NP object is theta-marked by *bei* or not. In both (53a) and (54a), *him* behaves like the object of the matrix verb; however, it is theta-marked by *persuade* in (54a) but not theta-marked by *believe* in (53a).

(53) a. Mary believed him to be the best linguist.
    b. Mary believed him to be likely the best linguist.
(54) a. Mary persuaded him to be the best linguist.
    b. *Mary persuaded him to be likely the best linguist.

Note that in the raising, or ECM, construction of (53b), the nonthematic object of *believe* can be the controller of the nonthematic subject of *likely*, but the thematic object of the control verb *persuade* in (54b) cannot. This provides us with a test with the raising verb *kanqilai* 'seem' to determine whether *bei* is a raising or control verb.

(55) a. *Xianji bei zhongguoren kanqilai qiang-le.[49]
        initial-advantage BEI Chinese seem obtain-PERF
    b. *Taiwan bei zhongguoren kanqilai qiang-le xianji.
        Taiwan BEI Chinese seem obtain-PERF initial-advantage

Bei behaves like a control verb in (55). Another clue to the object's thematic nature is the fact that it can be syntactically empty. A nonthematic argument, e.g. the English expletive *it*, which by definition bears no semantic role, is only required syntactically. A

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[49] Note that the active counterpart is well-formed:
    (i) Zhongguoren kanqilai qiang-le xianji.
        Chinese seem obtain-PERF initial-advantage
        'The Chinese seem to have obtained the initial advantage.'
    This sentence is found at: mag.chinayes.com/MagazineBase/M59/1088/20080709151427855.shtml

nonthematic argument is therefore always syntactically overt.

(56) Zhangsan bei *e* pian-le.
       John   BEI   trick-PERF
       'John got tricked.'

The empty object in (56) thus must be thematic. Note that the optionally empty position after *bei* is not an assumption, but a fact, once it has been established that the long passive and the short passive belong to the same construction. The semantics of *bei* also confirms its requirement of three event participants. In (56), in spite of the empty object, *someone* is responsible for the event that happened to Zhangsan, the event being that this someone tricked Zhangsan. Under this analysis, *bei* is a three-place predicate requiring three theta roles with a meaning that approximates (57):

(57)   *bei* $<x\ y\ z>$, *x* is responsible for (adversely) affecting *y* as *z* describes

We shall discuss the syntactic assignment of *bei*'s thematic roles in §4. We shall now examine *bei*'s semantic property under the A$'$-dependency analysis by Ting and J. Huang, repeated in (58) below.

(58)   Zhangsan$_i$ bei [$_{IP}$ ***OP**_i* [$_{IP}$ (Lisi) piping-le   *t_i*]
       John   BEI   Lee   criticize-PERF
       'Zhangsan got criticized (by Lisi).'

According to J. Huang (1999), even though *bei* c-selects an NP subject and an IP complement, *bei* is in fact a *one-place* predicate, requiring only one argument semantically, which is linked to the subject. However, the *bei* construction involves a complex predicate: *bei* being the primary predicate and the IP structure the secondary predicate. [50] The IP structure is interpreted as the secondary predicate of the matrix subject due to the coindexing of the NOP and the matrix subject. According to this logic, (58) gets this interpretation: Zhangsan ended up with the property of being an *x* such that Lisi criticized *x*.

However, in (58), Lisi is not only the one that criticized Zhangsan, it is also the entity responsible for Zhangsan's ending up being criticized. Thus, the first drawback with this semantic analysis is that it completely leaves out the entity responsible for the subject ending up with a certain property. A much more serious problem is the fact that

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[50] J. Huang (1999) argues that *bei*'s IP complement turns into a secondary predicate by way of 'lambda-abstraction' and is thus no longer an argument.

this analysis incorrectly predicts the obligatoriness of a null object in the *bei* construction. This analysis thus fails to account for *bei* passives that do not host a gap. Many examples are given in §3; two more examples here should suffice.

(59) a. Gannaidi you bei Yangji jichu liang zhi anda.[51]
          Kennedy then BEI Yankee hit   two   CL hit
          'Kennedy then suffered two more hits by the Yankees.'
     b. Yinggelan xian bei duishou   dazhen.[52]
          England   first BEI opponent try
          'England suffered a try by its opponent first.'

In (59a), the verb *jichu* 'hit' is transitive and has a lexically filled object *liang zhi anda* 'two hits'. The sentence thus has the meaning approximating 'Kennedy was adversely affected by the Yankees for making two hits'. The verb *dazhen* in (59b), a VO compound meaning literally 'to reach goal', is an intransitive verb meaning to score a touchdown in American football or a try in English football. The sentence thus means approximately 'England was adversely affected by its opponent in that the latter scored a try'. In both sentences, there is nothing in the embedded clause to be coindexed with the matrix subject. The A′-dependency analysis thus fails to account for such *bei* passives.

To summarize, here are the steps we have taken in our argumentation. First, we established the verbal status of the unified *bei*. We then ruled out the analysis where *bei* subcategorizes for a subject and an IP complement. We confirmed that *bei* instead requires a subject, an object, and a VP complement. Whether *bei* is a two-place (raising) predicate or three-place (control) predicate hinges on the object's thematic status. Given that only thematic arguments can be syntactically unexpressed, the decision in turn can be based on whether *bei* allows its object to be syntactically unexpressed. The fact that the object of *bei* is optional thus indicates it is a role-bearing argument. *Bei* is therefore a three-place predicate.

3.2 Between *ba* and *bei*

As mentioned in the beginning of the paper, the part-of-speech of Mandarin *ba* has also been a contentious issue in Chinese linguistics. However, Bender (2000) and D. Li (2003) both argue, convincingly, that it is a verb, not a preposition. They demonstrate that *ba* is a three-place predicate that subcategorizes for a subject, an object, and a VP complement. The similarity between her analysis of *ba* and our analysis of *bei* is

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[51] blog.pixnet.net/mlb688/post/3981072
[52] blog.roodo.com/the_utopia/archives/214672.html

obvious. Thus, between *ba* and *bei*, the subject and the object are inverted, as shown in (60). Unlike *ba*, *bei* allows the agent NP to be optional.

(60) a. Ta ba juzi bo-le pi.
      he BA orange peel-PERF peel(*n*)
      'He peeled the orange.'

    b. Juzi bei (ta) bo-le pi.
      orange BEI he peel-PERF peel(*n*)
      'The orange was peeled (by him).'

Bender (2000:127) formally renders the lexical entry of *ba* in (61) within the grammatical framework of Lexical Functional Grammar (LFG), and the *ba*'s semantics is informally given in (80). Under this analysis, (60a) has the c-structure and f-structure given in (63a-b).

(61) *ba* V
    (↑ PRED) = '*ba* <(↑ SUBJ)(↑ OBJ)(↑ XCOMP)>'[53]
    (↑ OBJ) = (↑ XCOMP TOPIC)

(62) (↑ SUBJ) is responsible for the fact that (↑ OBJ) turns out
    as (↑ XCOMP) describes.

(63) Ta ba juzi bo-le pi.
    he BA orange peel-PERF peel(*n*)
    'He peeled the orange.'

    a. c-structure[54]

```
              IP
            /    \
          NP      VP
          |      /|\
          Ta   V  NP  VP
               |  |   /\
              ba juzi V   NP
                      |    |
                    bo-le  pi
```

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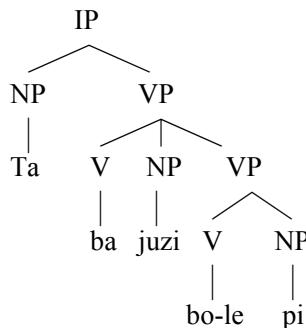
[53] Bender (2000) uses the function COMP. I modify it to be XCOMP, which is more in line with the LFG conventions.

[54] Note that LFG c-structures are annotated with functional equations, which link the c-structure and the f-structure. For the sake of simplicity, such annotations are not included.

b. f-structure[55]

$$
\begin{bmatrix}
\text{PRED} & \text{`ba} <(\uparrow\text{SUBJ})\ (\uparrow\text{OBJ})\ (\uparrow\text{XCOMP})>\text{'} \\
\text{OBJ} & [\text{`orange'}] \\
\text{SUBJ} & [\text{`3sg'}] \\
\text{XCOMP} & \begin{bmatrix}
\text{TOPIC} \\
\text{PRED} & \text{`peel} <(\uparrow\text{SUBJ})\ (\uparrow\text{OBJ})>\text{'} \\
\text{SUBJ} & [\text{....}] \\
\text{OBJ} & [\text{`peel'}]
\end{bmatrix}
\end{bmatrix}
$$
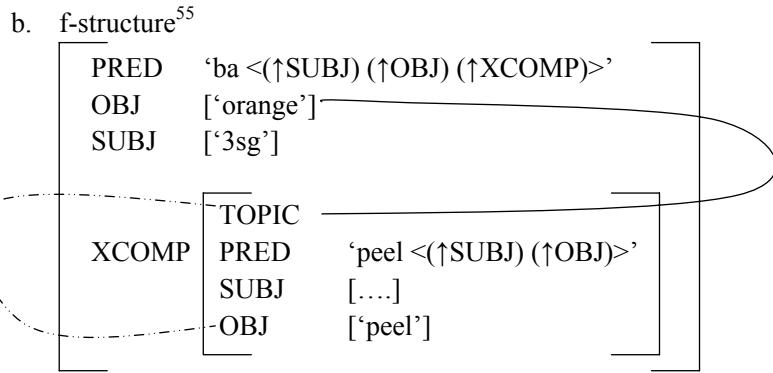
An important feature of Bender's account is that *ba*, unlike other pivotal verbs, does not have its object control the XCOMP's SUBJ; instead, it controls its TOPIC, indicated by the curved line in the f-structure in (63b). In LFG, TOPIC is grammaticalized discourse function, subject to the Extended Coherence Condition (ECC) (Bresnan & Mchombo 1987:8):

> The extended coherence condition requires that all functions in f-structure be *bound*. An argument function… is bound if it is the argument of a predicator (PRED). An adjunct is bound if it occurs in an f-structure containing a PRED. Finally, a topic or focus is bound whenever it is functionally identified with or anaphorically binds a bound function.

In the f-structure of (63b), the TOPIC in the complement clause, *juzi* 'orange', enters a possessor-possessed relation with OBJ in the local f-structure and thus anaphorically binds the latter, as indicated by the dotted line. This topic analysis of *ba*'s object also accounts for the unbounded nature of the gap, if any, in the embedded VP complement. Compare (64) and (65).

(64) Ta ba zhe jian shi jiao ren gaosu-le Lisi *e*.
he BA this CL matter ask someone tell-PERF Lee
'He has asked someone to tell Lee about this matter.'

(65) Zhe jian shi bei ta jiao ren gaosu-le Lisi *e*.
this CL matter BEI he ask someone tell-PERF Lee
'This matter has been "asked-someone-to-tell-Lee-about".'

---

[55] Note that the f-structure information is also drastically simplified. For example, the matrix subject function should have a full set of attribute-value pairs indicating person, number, and PRED. The current '3sg' and 'orange' (for the object function) is a 'short-hand' convention in the LFG literature.

In (64), the TOPIC of the embedded clause, which is controlled by *ba*'s object, *zhe jian shi* 'this matter', enters into a long-distance control relation with the (empty) object of the final embedded clause. The *ba* sentence in (64) finds its *bei* counterpart in (65), where the matrix subject likewise enters a long-distance control relation with the same object. According to Tsao (1987), a non-controversial topic in Chinese has the following properties.

(66) Topic properties (Tsao 1987:4)
   a. Topic invariably occupies the S-initial position of the first sentence in a topic chain.
   b. Topic can optionally be separated from the rest of the sentence by one of the four pause particles: *a* (*ya*), *na*, *me*, and *ba*.
   c. Topic is always definite or generic.
   d. Topic is a discourse notion; it may, and often does, extend its semantic domain to more than one sentence.
   e. Topic is in control of the pronominalization or deletion of all the coreferential NPs in a topic chain.
   f. Topic, except in cases where it is also subject, plays no role in such processes as reflexivization, passivization, and Equi-NP deletion.

Thus, while LFG's ECC can be taken to be a universal constraint, the possible relations listed in (66) can be seen as Mandarin-specific restrictions on the kind of adjuncts that are allowed to serve for the incorporation of the topic (Bender 2000:128). According to Tsao (1987) and Bender (2000), the only properties that *ba*'s object NP does not have are the initial position and pause particles. *Ba*'s object corresponds to *bei*'s subject in our analysis, and note that the *bei* subject shares *all* six properties listed by Tsao, including the initial position and all pause particles. Additionally, Tsao (1987) finds a close parallelism between pre-subject non-argument topics and the *ba*-NPs in the relations they enter with the comment clause, i.e. they allow virtually the same range of relations, including location, "relational" adverbials, possessor-possessed relation, and whole-part relation, precluding only time adverbials and class-member relationships. The following examples are Bender's (2000:125) adaptation from Tsao (1987:17-19).

(67) Locative adverbial
   Ta ba bilu   sheng-le   huo.
   he BA fireplace build-PERF fire
   'He built a fire in the fireplace.'

(68) "Relational" adverbial
    Ta ba nei jian shi xie-le   yi feng baogao.
    he BA that CL matter write-PERF one CL   report.
    'What he did with that matter was write a report about it.'

(69) Possessor-possessed
    Ni neng bu neng ba nei ben shu jiang yidian jia?
    you can not can BA that CL book lower a-little price
    'Can you reduce the price of that book a little?'

(70) Whole-part
    Zhangsan ba wu ge pingguo chi-le   san ge.
    John   BA five CL apple   eat-PERF three CL
    'John ate three of the five apples.'

Note that exactly the same patterns are found in the *bei* construction, with the subject and object inverted, as shown in (71)-(74) below. To further emphasize the point that there is no significant distinction between the long passive and the short passive, again note that the *bei* object in all these examples can be left empty.

(71) Locative adverbial
    Bilu   bei (ta) sheng-le   huo.
    fireplace BEI he build-PERF fire
    'What he did to the fireplace was build a fire in it.'

(72) "Relational" adverbial
    Nei jian shi   bei (ta) xie-le   yi feng baogao.
    that CL   matter BEI he write-PERF one CL   report.
    'What he did with that matter was write a report about it.'

(73) Possessor-possessed
    Nei ben shu bei (ta) jiang-le   yidian jia.
    that CL book BEI he lower-PERF a-little price
    'What he did with the book was reduce its price a bit.'

(74) Whole-part
    Wu ge pingguo bei (ta) chi-le   san ge.
    five CL apple   BEI he eat-PERF three CL
    'What he did with the five apples was eat three of them.'

I shall now give one final piece of evidence for the topic status of *ba*'s object and

its *bei* counterpart. One interesting feature associated with the Mandarin word formation of V-*lai*-V-*qu* 'V-come-V-go', meaning to do something repeatedly, is that the compound is detransitivized even if the V is transitive; however, this suppressed internal argument, though barred from surfacing as the object, may appear as the topic as well as in the *ba* and *bei* constructions (Chang 2007).

(75) a. *Ta zhengtian   jiang-lai-jiang-qu nei   jian shi.
          he   whole-day talk-come-talk-go   that CL   matter

     b. Nei jian shi,   ta   zhengtian   jiang-lai-jiang-qu.
        that CL matter he   whole-day talk-come-talk-go
        'That matter, he talks about all day long.'

     c. Ta zhengtian   jiang-lai-jiang-qu de   nei   jian shi
        he   whole-day talk-come-talk-go   DE that CL   matter
        'The matter which he talks about all day long.'

(76) a. Ta ba   nei jian shi   zhengtian   jiang-lai-jiang-qu.
        he   BA that CL   matter whole-day talk-come-talk-go
        'What he does with that matter is talk about it all day long.'

     b. Nei jian shi   bei   ta   zhengtian   jiang-lai-jiang-qu.
        that CL   matter BEI he   whole-day talk-come-talk-go
        'That matter is talked about by him all day long.'

In (75b), the absorbed argument appears as the sentential topic, and it is relativized in (75c). Within LFG, a relativized element also takes on a topic function (e.g. Bresnan 2001:183, Falk 2001:Ch.6). This topicalized NP is *ba*'s object, as in (76a), and *bei*'s subject, as in (76b). Bender's analysis of *ba*-NP is thus taken to be correct and the same analysis is extended to *bei*'s subject.

However, Bender's analysis of *ba* is incomplete in that it leaves the subject of the embedded clause unaccounted for. The f-structure in (63b) is repeated below in (77). An XCOMP's SUBJ, by definition, must be functionally or anaphorically controlled. In (77), it is unclear how SUBJ in the embedded clause is fulfilled. This issue is left for future research in Bender (2000:129).

(77) Ta ba   juzi   bo-le   pi.
      he   BA orange peel-PERF peel(*n*)
      'He peeled the orange.'

$$
\begin{bmatrix}
\text{PRED} & \text{`ba} <(\uparrow\text{SUBJ})\,(\uparrow\text{OBJ})\,(\uparrow\text{XCOMP})>\text{'} \\
\text{OBJ} & [\text{`orange'}] \\
\text{SU0BJ} & [\text{`3sg'}] \\
\text{XCOMP} & \begin{bmatrix}
\text{TOPIC} & \\
\text{PRED} & \text{`peel} <(\uparrow\text{SUBJ})\,(\uparrow\text{OBJ})>\text{'} \\
\text{SUBJ} & [\text{....}] \\
\text{OBJ} & [\text{`peel'}]
\end{bmatrix}
\end{bmatrix}\quad ?
$$
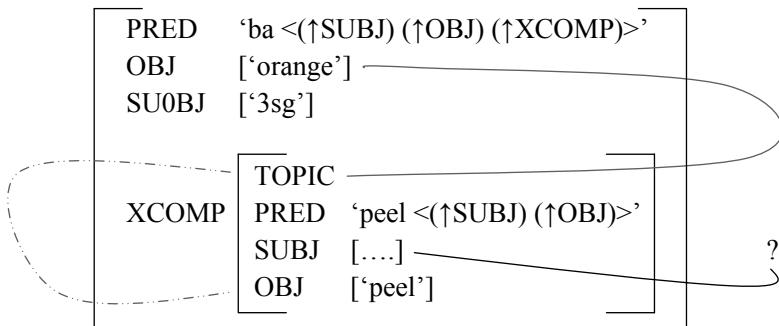
The primary reason for Bender's hesitation to have *ba*'s subject, the obvious choice, as the controller in (77) is because she argues, rather convincingly, that the simple transitive verbs in the embedded simplex clause are in fact unmarked passives. These are the core cases of *ba*. Thus, in (78), the embedded verb *chai* 'demolished' is an unmarked passive, with its agent role suppressed from syntactic assignment and its subject fulfilled by an anaphoric relation with the TOPIC, *fangzi* 'house'. The matrix subject thus cannot control the lower subject.

(78) Lısi ba   na   jian fangzi chai-le.
      Lee BA that CL   house   demolish-PERF
      'Lee demolished that house.'

$$
\begin{bmatrix}
\text{PRED} & \text{`ba} <(\uparrow\text{SUBJ})\,(\uparrow\text{OBJ})\,(\uparrow\text{XCOMP})>\text{'} \\
\text{OBJ} & [\text{`house'}] \\
\text{SUBJ} & [\text{`Lee'}] \\
\text{XCOMP} & \begin{bmatrix}
\text{TOPIC} & \\
\text{PRED} & \text{`demolished} <(\uparrow\text{SUBJ})>\text{'} \\
\text{SUBJ} & [\text{....}]
\end{bmatrix}
\end{bmatrix}
$$
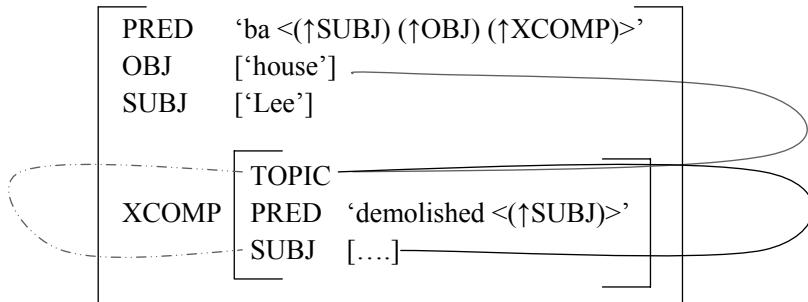
However, even when *ba*'s subject does not always control the subject of the first embedded predicate, it is linked to the agent role of the embedded predicate, as Bender (2000:128) clearly recognizes. Thus, in (78), *ba*'s subject, Lee, is identified with the passive *chai*'s 'demolished' agent, which is nonetheless suppressed by passivization. This control relation is thus not realized syntactically. Accordingly, in (77), the matrix subject does indeed control the lower subject, which is linked to the agent role, of the active verb *bo* 'peel', as shown in (79).

(79) Ta ba juzi   bo-le   pi.
     he BA orange peel-PERF peel(*n*)
     'He peeled the orange.'

$$
\begin{bmatrix}
\text{PRED} & \text{'ba} <(\uparrow\text{SUBJ})\,(\uparrow\text{OBJ})\,(\uparrow\text{XCOMP})>\text{'} \\
\text{OBJ} & [\text{'orange'}] \\
\text{SUBJ} & [\text{'3sg'}] \\
\\
\text{XCOMP} & \begin{bmatrix}
\text{TOPIC} & \\
\text{PRED} & \text{'peel} <(\uparrow\text{SUBJ})\,(\uparrow\text{OBJ})>\text{'} \\
\text{SUBJ} & [\ldots.] \\
\text{OBJ} & [\text{'peel'}]
\end{bmatrix}
\end{bmatrix}
$$
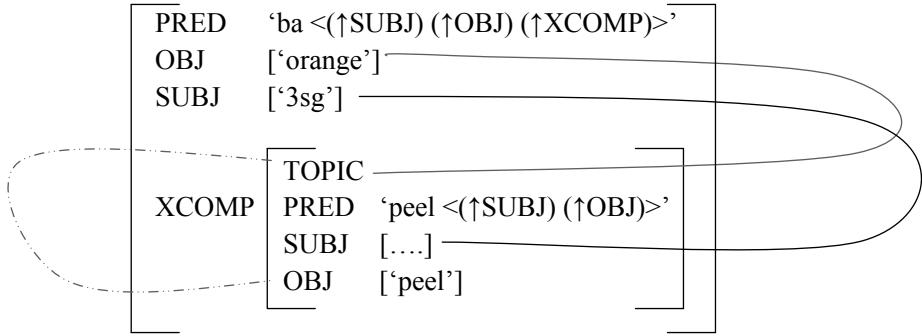
In fact, a more accurate generalization is that *ba*'s subject is always linked to the *logical subject*, or $\hat{\Theta}$ in LFG's terminology, of the first embedded predicate. LFG's current formalism does provide a way to specify this. The function that links theta roles with grammatical functions (GF) is γ; thus γ($\hat{\Theta}$) refers to the GF linked to the logical subject.[56] Thus, *ba*'s lexical entry in (79) can now be made complete with an additional functional equation, as the last equation in (80).

(80) *ba* V
         (↑ PRED) = '*ba* <(↑ SUBJ)(↑ OBJ)(↑ XCOMP)>'
         (↑ OBJ) = (↑ XCOMP TOPIC)
         (↑ SUBJ) = (↑ XCOMP γ($\hat{\Theta}$))

Given that the object of *bei* is the passive counterpart of the subject of *ba*, it also controls the GF linked to the logical subject, or $\hat{\Theta}$, of the first embedded predicate.

3.3 *Bei*'s lexical form

The discussion above demonstrates that *bei* requires three argument roles. Syntactically it subcategorizes for a subject, an object, and an open complement. Also, the matrix subject controls the topic of the embedded complement. *Bei*'s lexical form is formalized within LFG and given in (81) and its semantics is stated informally in (82). Under this analysis, (60b) has the c-structure and f-structure given in (83).

---

[56] For a comprehensive account of argument-function linking in LFG, see Her (2007, to appear).

(81) *bei* V
       ($\uparrow$ PRED) = '*bei* <($\uparrow$SUBJ) ($\uparrow$OBJ) ($\uparrow$XCOMP)>'
       ($\uparrow$ SUBJ) = ($\uparrow$ XCOMP TOPIC)
       ($\uparrow$ OBJ) = ($\uparrow$ XCOMP $\gamma(\hat{\Theta})$)
       $\neg$($\uparrow$ OBJ) => ($\uparrow$ OBJ PRED) = PRO

(82) ($\uparrow$ OBJ) is responsible for (adversely) affecting ($\uparrow$ SUBJ)
      as ($\uparrow$ XCOMP) describes.

(83) Juzi   bei ta bo-le   pi.
      orange BEI he peel-PERF peel(*n*)
      'He peeled the orange.'
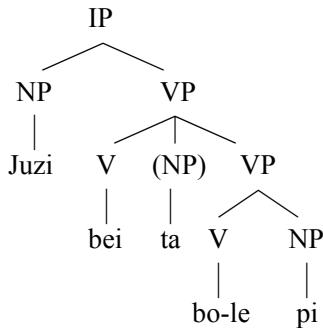
      a.   c-structure

      b.   f-structure
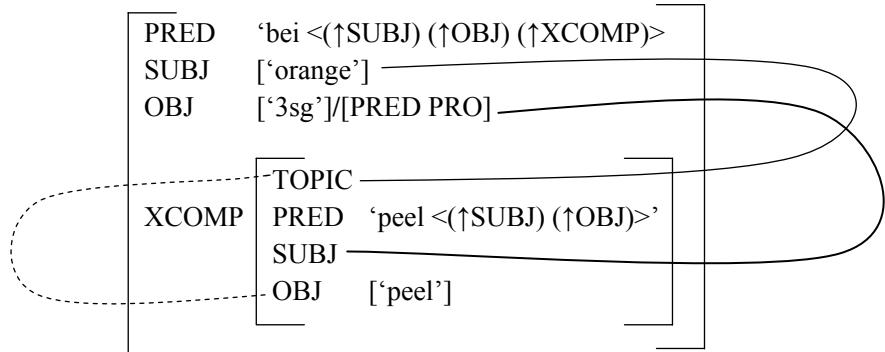
    First, note that the functional equation $\neg$($\uparrow$ OBJ) => ($\uparrow$ OBJ PRED) = PRO specifies that *if bei*'s OBJ is not lexically filled, *then* its OBJ will be interpreted as an empty pronominal, as in the so-called short passives. Further, its SUBJ functionally controls XCOMP's TOPIC, which in turn, due to the ECC, anaphorically binds the OBJ (indicated by the dotted curved line) to account for the possessor-possessed relation

between *orange* and the *peel*. The identification of the *bei* subject with the complement's topic thus accounts for its topic properties. Given the topic-comment relation between the topic and the predicate, this also explains the fact that *bei*'s complement describes *bei*'s subject. The same relationship exists between *ba*'s object and *ba*'s complement, as Bender's account likewise reflects. Furthermore, the *bei* construction shares the same reason why *ba*'s object and *ba*'s complement do not allow time adverbials and class-member relations.

> *Ba*-NPs can't be related to *ba*-complements as time adverbials or via the class-member relationship with some argument because of the semantics of *ba*. *Ba* does not introduce time adverbials, as times aren't usually affected by what happens during them, so there is nothing which can simultaneously be a time adverbial for a clause and have its current status be described by the clause. Similarly, a class (in the abstract sense of the class-member relationship) isn't usually affected by what happens to one of its members. (Bender 2000: 128).

Given the universal ECC and the Mandarin-specific restrictions on the possible relations between a topic and its clause as Tsao (1987) has indicated, the analysis of *bei* in (81) accounts for all sentences in (71)-(74) as well as *bei* passives with resumptive pronouns and retained objects as well as long-distance gaps.

Furthermore, *bei*'s object controls the GF linked to $\hat{\Theta}$, or the logical subject. As mentioned earlier, this control relation is syntactically null if the $\hat{\Theta}$ is syntactically suppressed and thus not linked to any GF. Extending Bender's (2000) analysis of unmarked passives for 'core' cases of *ba*, 'core' cases of *bei* are also treated as such. An example is given in (84).

(84) Na   jian   fangzi   bei   (Lisi)   chai-le.
     that   CL   house   BEI   Lee   demolish-PERF
     'That house got demolished (by Lee).'

```
PRED    'bei <(↑SUBJ) (↑OBJ) (↑XCOMP)>
SUBJ    ['house']
OBJ     ['Lee']/[PRED PRO]

        ⌐TOPIC
XCOMP │ PRED   'demolished <(↑SUBJ)>
        └SUBJ   [....]
```
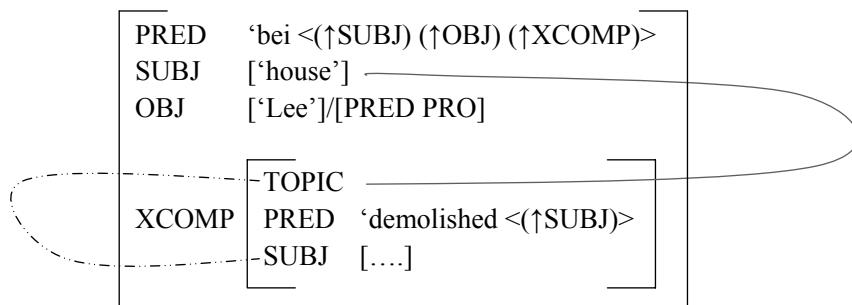
Again, *bei*'s object should control the GF linked to $\hat{\Theta}$, an agent role, in XCOMP. Yet, since *chai-le* 'demolished' is an unmarked passive, its $\hat{\Theta}$ is suppressed, this control relation is syntactically null. The matrix SUBJ controls XCOMP's TOPIC, indicated by the solid line, and the TOPIC in turn is anaphorically identified with the local SUBJ. The sentence thus means approximately 'the house was affected by Lee in that it was demolished (by Lee)'.

4. Discussion

Is the Mandarin *bei*-construction a genuine passive or not? Many (e.g. S. Huang 1966, Y. Li 1972, Hou 1979, Chu 1984, Her 1985-86, A. Li 1990, Tan 1991, Tsao 1996) have treated it as a passive, while others (e.g. Li & Thompson 1981, Hsueh 1989, Her 1989) contend that it is not. However, the data observed and analysis offered in this paper clearly show that a simple 'yes' or 'no' is not adequate, nor meaningful.

> A large class of research articles… both "formalist" and "functionalist" is devoted to claiming that phenomenon X in language Y really is a passive, or really is not a passive. Such research discounted or ignored the opposing evidence… It also missed the point, which was that phenomenon X was interesting and challenging precisely because it sort of was a passive but sort of wasn't at the same time; both its passivelike and its unpassivelike syntactic properties were equally important." (Croft 2001:xiii-xiv)

In this section, we shall first explore the properties that unify the passives in various languages. Then, against the backdrop of a universal characterization of the passive, we shall demonstrate how the unified account of the Mandarin *bei* construction qualifies it as a genuine passive *vis-à-vis* the active *ba* construction.

4.1 A universal notion of passive

J. Huang (1999), from a comparative perspective, proposes that three properties unify the notion of the passive construction.

(85)   Properties of a Universal Notion of Passive: (J. Huang 1999:481, (113))
      A. Intransitivization:
          The English morphological passive intransitivizes by eliminating the external argument of the predicate; the East Asian passive (of the type represented by Mandarin long passive) intransitivizes by turning the internal argument into a lambda predicate.

B. Argument promotion:

The English *be* passive does this by moving the object to the subject position; in the East Asian passive, an Experiencer NP comes to occupy the surface subject position as a result of inchoativization.

C. A missing NP position in the predicate coindexed with the subject:

In the English *be*-passive an NP trace is created as a result of the promotion process in (113b); in the East Asian passive, this configuration (with an A′ trace or resumptive pronoun) is created by NOP movement followed by predication.

According to (85), the English *be*-passive is thus a prototypical passive that exhibits all three properties. However, for the English *be*-passive, the property of (85c) only exists within a movement-based framework. Furthermore, note that even within a derivational approach (85c) is redundant as it is merely the consequence of the promotion of an internal argument, which is part of (85b). Thus, (85c) need not be taken as a universal property of the passive. Next, we examine the property in (85b). Here again, once we ignore the movement-based characterization, the object's promotion is merely the consequence of (85a), i.e. the elimination of the external argument, or the logical subject. As pointed out by an anonymous reviewer, the object's promotion is merely one logical possibility. Indeed, there are languages, for example, Ukrainian, Kannada, and Irish, where the object in (impersonal) passive is not promoted and retains the accusative case (Carnie 2002:250-251). Therefore, (85b) also need not, and in fact should not, be seen as a defining property of the passive. All that is needed is (85a), i.e. the 'elimination' of the logical subject. However, a better characterization is 'demotion' rather than 'elimination', since the external argument, or the logical subject, is no longer linked to the subject, the most prominent grammatical function and yet may still surface as a non-subject element.

The single syntactic property that unifies the notion of passive universally thus boils down to the demotion of the logical subject in terms of its syntactic assignment. This is further confirmed by the functionality of the passive. Givón (2006:338), for instance, defines the passive clause functionally as 'the clause-type whereby the agent of the corresponding active is radically de-topicalized and its patient becomes, by default, the only topical argument'. Similarly, Shibatani (1985) describes the prototypical function of passivization as 'agent de-focusing'. Passivization is therefore crucially different from straightforward topicalization or clefting of the patient, which does not involve the demotion of the logical subject, or the agent (e.g. Keenan & Dryer 2007). The essential property of the passive is thus solely the de-topicalization of the agent; the topicalization of the patient is only the consequence.[57]

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[57] Keenan & Dryer (2007:325), 'on the other hand, characterize the function of passives as to

There are two syntactic options for the demoted external argument in the passive: It may be overt and appear as a non-subject element, or it may be covert and thus receives null syntactic assignment. There are in turn three possibilities for the demoted logical subject's overt assignment: a non-subject argument, an adjunct, or an element incorporated into the passive verb (e.g. Keenan & Dryer 2007). A non-subject argument may in turn be either a term (or core) or non-term (noncore) function. Thus, it seems the full range of syntactic choices, other than the subject, is available for the demoted agent. We can conceptualize this range in terms of the 'depth' of its demotion, as represented in (86).

(86)   Syntactic Choices for the Passivized Logical Subject

                                    1. Term (e.g. object)
                                    2. Non-term (e.g. oblique)
        Depth of demotion   3. Adjunct
                                    4. Verb-incorporated element
                                    5. Null
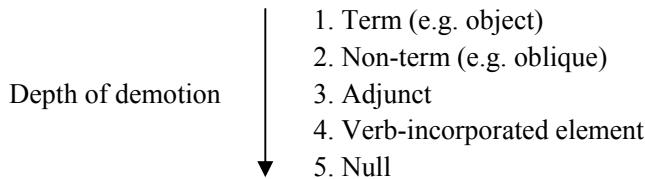
All these choices are manifested in the world's languages. We shall illustrate each choice with one or two examples, starting from the bottom. In the English short passive, also known as the truncated passive, the logical subject is syntactically null. In the Mandarin unmarked passive (e.g. Hsueh 1989, Tan 1991), as shown in (87), as well as the lexicalized *bei*-V passives in (88) (which do not have an exact active counterpart in modern Mandarin given that the relic V within is no longer a free morpheme), the agent is in fact inadmissible. Likewise, in Tarahumara, an indigenous language in the Uto-Aztecan family of northern Mexico, the demoted agent is entirely inadmissible in the passive. Example in (89) is taken from Valdez-Jara (2004), quoted in Givón (2006).

"topicalize" ("fore-ground", "draw our attention to") an element… which is not normally presented as topical in the active'. However, I believe Givón's (2006) view is more insightful, which, for example, is more consistent with the feminist Julia Penelope's (1990) proposition, made in the book *Speaking Freely: Unlearning the Lies of the Fathers' Tongues*, that the passive form, by hiding or placing the actor in the background and the victim in the foreground, e.g. '*the woman was raped*', is used to obscure agency. The key is thus the drastically reduced prominence of the agent. See also Bohner (2001) for more recent studies on this issue.

(87) a. Tamen chai-le   Lisi-de   fangzi.   (Mandarin)
        they   demolish-PERF Lee-POSS house
        'They demolished Lee's house.'
     b. Lisi-de   fangzi   chai-le.
        Lee-POSS   house   demolished-PERF
        'Lee's house was demolished (*by them).'

(88) a. Tamen zhongyu buhuo   xianfan.   (Mandarin)
        they   finally   capture suspect
        'They finally captured the suspect.'
     b. Xianfan   zhongyu   bei-bu.
        suspect   finally   captured
        'The suspect was finally captured (*by them).'

(89) a. Muéka   nechí   choná-re. (Tarahumaran)
        you-ENF   me/OBJ   hit-PERF
        'You hit me.'
     b. Né-ka   choná-ru-re
        I-ENF   hit-PASS-PERF
        'I was hit.'

English allows a very limited set of verbs, roughly those expressing authority, to incorporate the agent into the passive form, as in (90), but agent-incorporation is more productive in the Quechua passive, shown in (91) (Keenan & Dryer 2007:345).

(90) a. The State/NSF/government funds this project.
     b. This project is State/NSF/government-funded.

(91) a. Kuru-ø   manzana-ta miku-rqa-n.   (Quechua)
        bug-subj   apple-do   eat-past-3
        'The bug ate the apple.'
     b. Kuru miku-sqa-mi   manzana-ø ka-rqa-n.
        bug   eat-ptcpl-comment apple-subj   be-past-3
        'The apple was bug-eaten.'

A similar case may in fact be made of the Taiwanese short passive. According to J. Huang (1999), the apparent short passive of (92a) can only mean that I was hit by a definite third person singular individual as the agent. This incorporated or contracted agent can however appear overtly, as in (92b). In other words, (92a) can only have the

meaning of (92b). Likewise, in (93b), the passive auxiliary *hong* incorporates an indefinite third person as the agent and is the contracted form of (93a).

(92) a. Goa ho   pha-tio a.   (Taiwanese)
        I   HO hit   PRT
        'I was hit by him/her.'
     b. Goa ho   i   pha-tio a.
        I   HO s/he hit   PRT
        'I was hit by him/her.'

(93) a. Goa ho   lang   pha-tio a.   (Taiwanese)
        I   HO someone   hit   PRT
        'I was hit by someone.'
     b. Goa hong   pha-tio a.
        I   HONG   hit   PRT
        'I was hit by someone.'

In the English passive, the demoted agent may appear as a syntactic adjunct, in the form of the *by*-phrase. Some researchers (e.g. Morimoto 1999, Crouch et al. 2004) treat the English *by*-phrase as an oblique argument; however, it should be clear that it is an adjunct. An adjunct is typically optional and appears further away from the head than arguments. As shown in (94) below, the fact that the agent *by*-phrase is optional and that it appears further from the head than other attested adjunct phrases indicates that it is an adjunct, not a syntactic argument.

(94) a. John kissed Mary (repeatedly) (in the park) (yesterday).
     b. Mary was kissed (repeatedly) (in the park) (yesterday) (by John).

Many languages have the demoted agent as a syntactically oblique argument. In the Guarijío example in (95), from Medina-Murillo (2004) as quoted in Givón (2006), the demoted agent still receives syntactic argumenthood and appears as an instrument-marking oblique GF.

(95) a. Owéru wicho-ré   wakiá.   (Guarijío)
        women wash-PFV   clothes
        'The women washed the clothes.'
     b. Wicho-ré-tu   wakirá owéru-e.
        wash-PFV-PASS clothes women-INST
        'The clothes were washed by the women.'

The Guarijío, also a Uto-Aztecan language, is closely related to Tarahumara (see example in (89)), but unlike the latter, it permits the overt expression of the agent via an oblique function. Finally, as Keenan & Dryer (2007:344) have observed, the overt agent phrase may have no adposition at all, and cited Southeast Asian languages as examples, e.g. Thai, Vietnamese, as well as Mandarin. An example from Haya, a Bantu language, is given in (96), taken from Duranti & Byarushengo (1977), where they suggest that the unmarked agent appears to be an (applicative) object. This is similar to the object status we have argued for, for the unmarked agent phrase in the Mandarin *bei* passive, shown in (97).

(96)   Ebitooke b´ı-ka-cumb-w'   omukˆazi.   (Haya)
       bananas   they-past-cook-pass   woman
       'The bananas were cooked by the woman.'

(97)   Na   jian fangzi bei Lisi chai-le.   (Mandarin)
       that CL   house   BEI Lee   demolish-PERF
       'That house got demolished by Lee.'

Finally, it is also important to point out a typological feature regarding the syntactic status of the patient role in the passive. Even though universally the passive involves the demotion of the logical subject, the consequential topicalization of the patient does not necessarily mean its promotion to the subject syntactically, *contra* J. Huang's (85b). In fact, whether the non-agent topic of the passive clause is its nominative subject is the most general typological feature for passives, which distinguishes between promotional and non-promotional passives (Givón 2006). English has both promotional and non-promotional passives, the latter in the form of impersonal passives, e.g. {*It is rumored that John is gay.*}. We can thus conclude quite confidently that the only syntactic property that unifies the notion of passive is the demotion of the logical subject, and we now can determine objectively whether the unified *bei* construction fits in this universal notion of passive.

4.2 *Bei* as the passive counterpart of *ba*

The parallelism between *ba* and *bei* has been noted and stated explicitly in Hsueh (1989), where he considers the two constructions as both involving an [A X B + C] construction, X being either *ba* or *bei*, as shown below.

(98)   [A *ba* B + C]: in connection to A, B turns out to be what C describes.
(99)   [A *bei* B + C]: in connection to B, A turns out to be what C describes.

The insight in Hsueh's informal account is that in the two constructions, C remains constant, while A and B are reversed. In light of this parallelism, we shall now examine Bender's formal analysis of *ba* and the analysis of *bei* proposed in §4. *Ba*'s lexical form and meaning are repeated in (100) and (101).

(100)   (↑ PRED) = '*ba* <(↑ SUBJ)(↑ OBJ)(↑ XCOMP)>'
(101)   (↑ SUBJ) is responsible for the fact that (↑ OBJ) turns out
          as (↑ XCOMP) describes.

From this analysis, we can derive that *ba* is also a three-place predicate, as in (102), where *x*, the logical subject and also the instigator, is assigned to SUBJ; *y*, the experiencer patient, is linked to OBJ; and *z*, a propositional theme, is mapped to XCOMP. The mapping of *ba*'s thematic structure is summarized in (103).

(102)   *ba* <*x y z*>, *x* is responsible for affecting *y* as *z* describes
(103)   *ba*   <*x*   *y*   *z*>
              ↓   ↓   ↓
              S   O   XCOMP

As stated earlier, repeated in (104), *bei* is also a three-place predicate. Given *bei*'s lexical form in (105), we can likewise derive the syntactic assignment of its assignment roles, shown in (106).

(104)   *bei* <*x y z*>, *x* is responsible for (adversely) affecting *y* as *z* describes
(105)   (↑ PRED) = '*bei* <(↑SUBJ) (↑OBJ) (↑XCOMP)>'
(106)   *bei*   <*x*   *y*   *z*>
                  ⤬   ↓
              S   (O)   XCOMP
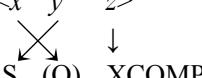
In contrast to the syntactic assignment of *ba* in (103), in the *bei* construction the logical subject, or *x*, is indeed either demoted to a less prominent GF, i.e. OBJ, or syntactically null, while the patient or experiencer role, *y*, is promoted to SUBJ. The *bei* construction fits in the universal characterization of the passive perfectly and is thus a genuine (promotional) passive. More precisely, it is the passive counterpart of the active *ba* construction.

In this characterization of *bei* passive, the optional occurrence of the post-*bei* NP, or the agent NP, receives a functional explanation. However, J. Huang (1999:447), among many others (e.g. Her 1991, C.-R. Huang 1992), observes that agent deletion is generally prohibited in the environment in which *bei* occurs, i.e. the V-NP-V configuration, offers

(107) and (108) as examples.

(107) *Zhangsan, wo shi __ shengqi le.   (J. Huang 1999, (44))
 Zhangsan I cause angry PERF
 'Zhangsan, I have caused to be angry.'

(108) *Li Xiaojie, wo bi __ gaijia le.   (J. Huang 1999, (45))
 Li Miss I force remarry PERF
 'Miss Li, I have forced to remarry.'

This is an important argument for the distinct structures of the short passive and the long passive, because if the long passive simply allows agent deletion to form the short passive, it would constitute an exception to the otherwise general prohibition. However, again, this (intuition-based) observation is not supported by corpus data. Numerous counterexamples were found to this misconceived prohibition, and some precisely in a 'short' *bei* passive no less, as shown in (109).

(109) a. Gongchandang   dangquan   hou, nainai bei bi gaijia.[58]
  Communist-Party took-power after granny BEI force remarry
  'After the Communist Party took power, Granny was forced to re-marry.'
 b. Ta bei qiangpo cansai.[59]
  he BEI force join-game
  'He was forced to participate in the game.'
 c. Ta bei quan likai bianji danwei.[60]
  he BEI advise leave editing department
  'He was advised to leave the editing department.'
 d. Ta bei shuifu chengwei yi min guanggao AE.[61]
  he BEI persuade become a CL advertising AE
  'He was persuaded to become an advertising AE.'

The prohibition of an object gap in the so-called pivot construction in Mandarin is thus clearly a myth. A distinct structure and analysis for the short passive is thus unjustified and all *bei* passives are in fact long passive in nature with an optional agent phrase. Tang's (2001) debate on how to account for the obligatory agent phrase in the long passive is thus also a non-issue.

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[58] http://hk.epochtimes.com/5/10/14/10024.htm
[59] http://www.wmfield.idv.tw/84
[60] http://blog.sina.com.tw/nanosoft/article.php?pbgid=751&entryid=19542
[61] http://www.comcareer.com.tw/talk/all_report/commercial/talk03-09.htm

Finally, it must be noted that the parallelism between *ba* and *bei* by no means implies a derivational relationship between the two, either morphologically or syntactically. Thus, there are real contrasts between *bei* and *ba*; see J. Huang et al. (2008:§5.1) for an excellent summary on their similarities and differences.[62]

5. Conclusion

It has been widely assumed that the Mandarin *bei* passive comes in two forms: the long passive and the short passive, depending on the presence or absence of the agent. Thus, previous formal accounts pose two different structures and two lexically different *bei*'s. Based on fresh empirical data mainly from corpora of Taiwan Mandarin, this paper has demonstrated that *bei* behaves rather similarly with or without the agent phrase and thus that positing two distinct *bei*'s and two different structures cannot be justified. This paper has demonstrated that Fillmore (1992:35) is right that corpora allow the establishment of new facts, some of which one "couldn't imagine finding out about in any other way". Research within the generativist approach thus cannot and should not rely on introspected data only (e.g. Smith 1999:15); generative linguistics and corpus linguistics can indeed converge and compensate for each other (Her & Wan 2007).

More importantly, a unified account of the *bei* construction is offered within the Lexical-Functional Grammar (LFG), where *bei* is shown to be a verb requiring three arguments. In order to settle the debate over whether the *bei* construction is a genuine passive or not, this paper has also explored the properties of a universal notion of passive and concluded that the syntactic feature that unites all passives is the demotion or suppression of the logical subject, or the external argument, in its syntactic assignment. In light of this universal characterization of the notion of passive, *bei* is shown to be precisely the passive counterpart of the active *ba* construction.

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[62] I thank the anonymous reviewer who reminded me of this and provided this reference.

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短被動與長被動的一致性：
論台灣華語中的被字句

何萬順

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　　本文的目的有三個：顯示被字句是單一結構、探討語言中被動句的普遍特徵、論證被字句確實是被動句。被字句有兩種型態：帶有施事的長被動以及不帶施事的短被動。先前的分析賦予長短被字句兩種截然不同的結構，因此也假設了兩個不同的「被」。本文主要是以最近在台灣華語中所發現的真實語料做爲論證基礎，證實被字句並不因施事的出現與否而有不同的句法行爲，因此長短被字句應爲單一結構。在詞彙功能語法的理論下，本文將被字句分析爲把字句的被動對應，並給予明確的單一結構。此外，本文也探討被動句在語言中的普遍特徵以及施事被降格後在句法上的表現類型。最後論證被字句中施事的句法表現無論是降格後的賓語或是完全被壓制，都合乎被動句的普遍特徵。

關鍵詞：長被動，短被動，普遍語法，把，被，降格，主題