Chinese Passives in Comparative Perspective

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ABSTRACT

This paper provides a detailed analysis of two types of Mandarin Chinese passives, and discusses their implications for linguistic theory and syntactic typology. In contrast to traditional opposing views, we defend an analysis of Chinese passives that crucially postulates both complementation and movement. The long passive involves an experiential verb taking a clausal complement which turns itself into a secondary predicate, whereas the short passive involves an experiential auxiliary taking a VP complement which undergoes internal NP-movement. We then compare Mandarin passives to passives in other languages, including two Chinese dialects (Taiwanese Min and Cantonese), Japanese, Korean, English and Romance, and are led to several broader questions, including (a) the universality of the notion 'passive', (b) sources of cross-linguistic variations, and (c) the proper analysis of 'indirect passives' (both the 'possessive passives' and the 'adversative passives'), etc. It is shown that, universally, passivization intransitivizes transitive predicates, but intransitivization may take the form of suppressing the external argument, or of type-shifting an internal argument into a secondary predicate. Furthermore, given the existence of indirect passives, case absorption is not a universal property of passivization. For the analysis of indirect passives, it is argued that they involve the passivization of complex predicates that take external objects (the 'outer object' for the possessive passive, and the 'outermost object' for the adversative passive). Finally, the range of cross-linguistic variations in passivization can be insightfully viewed as a function of the variation in the 'strengths' of the passivizing morpheme: whether it is a verb, an auxiliary, a clitic, or a suffix. These observations fit well current views of parametric theory, which attributes complicated syntactic differences to small lexical variations across languages.

Key Words: passivization, null-operator movement, pro-movement, indirect passives, adversative passives, parametric theory, Chinese, Japanese.

1. Introduction

The analysis of passive sentences is one of the most familiar topics of syntactic research.* There is now a relatively uncontroversial view of how such sentences should be analyzed in English and other familiar Western languages —uncontroversial at least among researchers working within the same theoretical framework. However, the analysis of passives in Chinese and other East Asian languages has remained a topic of great controversy. There is reason to believe, nevertheless, that this situation has improved significantly in the past few years, so that it is now realistic to consider the possibility of a general theory of passivization that takes these languages into serious consideration.

This paper presents a thorough synchronic analysis of passive sentences in Mandarin Chinese, and puts the Chinese passives in cross-linguistic perspective with the goal of developing a general theory of passivization in natural language. In Section 2, I start with a review and discussion of the classical (but persistent) problems of analyzing two types of passive sentences in Mandarin Chinese. It will be shown that neither the traditional NP-movement approach

nor the pure complementation approach provide a fully satisfactory account of properties of Chinese passives. It is argued that the canonical passives are best analyzed as involving null operator movement and predication. In Section 3, the traditional NP-movement approach is shown to be suitable for a special 'short' (agentless) passive form found in Mandarin. Section 4 contains a comparative survey of passive sentences in various Chinese dialects, and in other languages of East Asia and the West. Four important questions that emerge in this comparative survey are addressed in Section 5, concerning the question of universality and a uniform notion of passivization, the analysis of indirect passives, and the distribution of various passive forms across different languages. It will be the conclusion of this paper that while the syntax of Chinese passives seriously challenges the adequacy of current 'standard' views of passivization, a highly uniform theory is available, in fact highly desirable, that ties together the diverse forms of passives across languages. The observed systematic cross-linguistic variations are attributed to the varying degrees of functional strengths, or extent of grammaticalization, of individual lexical items that are responsible for forming the passive in a given language.

2. The Mandarin Long Passive

2.1. Two types of Passives in Mandarin

Mandarin passives take either of the two forms illustrated in (1) and (2), depending on whether the Agent phrase is present or not:

(1) The long passive: *bei NP-VP*
張三被李四打了。
Zhangsan bei Lisi da le.
Zhangsan BEI Lisi hit PERF
Zhangsan was hit by Lisi.

(2) The short passive: *bei VP*
張三被打了。
Zhangsan bei da le.
Zhangsan BEI hit PERF
Zhangsan was hit.

In (1) the passive morpheme *bei* is followed by an NP (the agent) and a VP. In (2), *bei* is directly followed by a VP. We shall refer to these as the long passive

and the short passive, respectively. There are in fact two versions of the short passive, as pointed out by Ting (1996) and others, a phrasal short passive in which the morpheme is attached to a VP and a lexical one in which it forms a compound with a following V. A natural question arises as to whether these forms are to be derivationally related, and how. As we shall see below, the answer to the first question is no. But before addressing this question, let us start with the problem of analyzing the long passive. In what follows, "passives" will be used to refer to either all passive forms in general or to the long passive in particular. This is because the long passive is the most robust form of the passive construction, exhibiting properties that will be our main concern in this section.

2.2. Two Competing Approaches: Movement or Complementation?

From the early days of generative linguistics, two competing lines of research have existed in the analysis of Chinese passives. One line of research assumes that they are derived as an instance of NP movement as typical English passives are derived, according to which an underlying object moves to a surface subject position in the presence of the morpheme *bei*. The other line denies the existence of such movement, but postulates a structure of VP complementation according to which *bei* is a matrix verb taking an embedded clause whose object is deleted under identity with the matrix subject. These two approaches have existed side by side for nearly 30 years, with Wang (1970) being an early proponent of the movement approach and Hashimoto (1969) being the most prominent early advocate of the complementation approach. Most recent adherents of the movement approach include Audrey Li (1985/1990), Travis (1984), Koopman (1984). The complementation approach has also been defended at length in more recent works such as Hashimoto (1987) and Wei (1994).

According to recent versions of the movement hypothesis, the passive morpheme *bei* has the property of absorbing the Accusative Case of the Theme object of an active sentence, and of dethematizing the subject position of the verb. The caseless Theme object then undergoes movement to the non-thematic subject position. The Agent argument is realized as part of an adjunct PP headed by the passive morpheme *bei*, assumed to be a P.

(3) Passive as NP-Movement
     a. Accusative Case absorbed by *bei*
     b. Subject theta role suppresed by *bei*
     c. Theme undergoes NP-movement to subject position
     d. *bei* and the Agent NP form a PP adjunct

(4)

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                          IP
                  ┌───────────┴──────────┐
                 NP                      VP
                  │              ┌────────┴────────┐
                  │             PP                 V′
                  │          ┌───┴───┐         ┌────┴────┐
                  │          P      NP         V        NP
                  │          │       │         │         │
            Zhangsan_i      bei     Lisi     da-le      e_i
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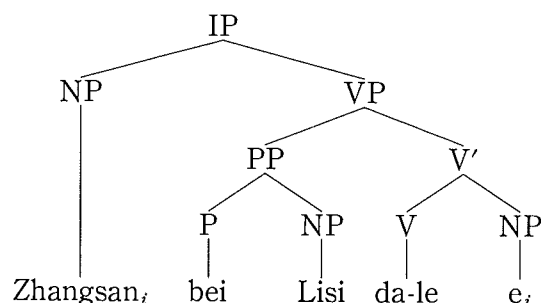
Because passives are derived by NP-movement, it is correctly predicted that the theme subject is necessarily related to an empty category—NP trace coindexed with it—in the object position. The ungrammaticality of the following sentences is therefore explained in Chinese, as it is in English.[1]

(5) a. *張三被李四打了他。
         *Zhangsan bei Lisi da-le   ta.
         Zhangsan BEI Lisi hit-PERF him
         Zhangsan was hit (*him) by Lisi.

     b. *張三被李四打了自己。
         *Zhangsan bei Lisi da-le   ziji.
         Zhangsan BEI Lisi hit-PERF self
         Zhangsan was hit (*self) by Lisi.

     c. *張三被李四打了王五。
         *Zhangsan bei Lisi da-le   Wangwu.
         Zhangsan BEI Lisi hit-PERF Wangwu
         Zhangsan was hit (*Wangwu) by Lisi.

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1. The status of (5a-b) in relation to the analysis of passives was discussed in Huang (1982) and Li (1990). As will be seen below, sentences of the sort represented by (5c-d) may be acceptable in some languages, each with a strong sense of 'adversity', e.g., Zhangsan was adversely affected by Lisi hitting Wangwu or by Lisi's arrival. Some speakers of Mandarin find (5c-d) marginally acceptable under the adversative reading.

d. *張三被李四來了。(no object at all)
     Zhangsan bei Lisi lai-le.
     Zhangsan BEI Lisi come-PERF
  *Zhangsan was arrived by Lisi.

These sentences cannot be ruled out by any version of the binding principles (Chomsky 1981, 1986, inter alia), for example, since they are ungrammatical whether a postverbal object (if any) enters into a binding relation with the subject *Zhangsan* or not.   The NP movement hypothesis entails the existence of an NP trace (hence the ungrammaticality of (5d)), which in its caseless position cannot be replaced by any lexical material, be it a pronoun (5a), a reflexive (5b), or a referential expression (5c).

There are several difficulties with this NP movement approach, however. First, this approach claims that the subject position of passives is a non-thematic position, but the following sentences suggest that the subject does not always play a pure Patient or Theme role which it inherits from the NP-trace, but may receive a thematic role of its own.   This is evidenced by passive sentences containing subject-oriented adverbs like *guyi* 'deliberately, intentionally':[2]

(6) 張三故意被打了。
     Zhangsan guyi   bei da le.
     Zhangsan intentionally BEI hit PERF
     Zhangsan intentionally got hit.

(7) 張三故意被李四打了。
     Zhangsan guyi   bei Lisi da le.
     Zhangsan intentionally BEI Lisi hit PERF
     Zhangsan intentionally got hit by Lisi.

Subject-oriented adverbs impose selectional restrictions and are predicated on their subjects but not their objects.   So for *guyi* only an NP denoting an Agent or Experiencer can qualify as its subject.   This means that the subject of (6)-(7) cannot simply bear whatever theta-role it would bear in the object position following *da* 'hit', i.e., Theme or Patient, but must be an Agent or Experiencer also.

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2. These sentences would be most natural if *guyi* is put in focus, e.g., as part of a cleft sentence:

    (i) 張三是故意被李四打的。
         Zhangsan shi guyi   bei (Lisi) da de.
         Zhangsan be intentionally BEI (Lisi) hit PRT
         Zhangsan intentionally got hit (by Lisi).

Under the NP-movement analysis, the subject would acquire its theta-role solely by inheriting it from the object, but being a Theme or Patient does not meet the selectional requirements of *guyi*. In other words, the occurrence of subject-oriented adverbs suggests that the subject of *bei* sentences may be base-generated and receive its theta role in situ, instead of acquiring its subject status and theta role through movement. In this respect, Chinese passives behave on a par with *get* passives in English, but differently from *be* passives (Lasnik and Fiengo 1974, 552f), a difference that does not follow if both passive constructions are treated in the same way under NP-movement.

(8) a. *The pedestrian was hit deliberately.
    b. The pedestrian got hit deliberately.

(9) a. *Rodman was fouled by Ewing on purpose.
    b. Rodman got fouled by Ewing on purpose.

Secondly, since the *bei*-NP sequence is treated as a prepositional phrase, it is expected to behave as a PP. But there is never any evidence that it behaves as a PP, or even as a constituent. For one thing, it cannot move (as a constituent) across a time phrase or prepose to a sentence-initial position (unlike the PP *by Bill* in the English translation):

(10) a. 張三昨天被李四打了。
         Zhangsan zuotian   *bei Lisi* da-le.
         Zhangsan yesterday BEI Lisi hit-PERF
         (cf. John was hit by Bill yesterday.)

     b. *張三被李四昨天打了。
         *Zhangsan *bei Lisi* zuotian   da-le.
          Zhangsan BEI Lisi yesterday hit-PERF
          (cf. John was hit yesterday by Bill.)

     c. *被李四張三昨天打了。
         bei Lisi Zhangsan zuotian   da-le.
          BEI Lisi Zhangsan yesterday hit-PERF
          (cf. It was by Bill that John was hit yesterday.)

Other putative PPs are normally movable:

(11) a. 我跟張三很處得來。
         wo *gen Zhangsan* hen chu-de-lai.
         I   with *Zhangsan* very get-along
         I get along well with Zhangsan.

b. 跟張三我很處得來。

gen Zhangsan wo hen chu-de-lai.

with Zhangsan I   very get-along

I get along well with Zhangsan.

(12) a. 張三對李四很客氣。

Zhangsan *dui Lisi* hen keqi.

Zhangsan to   Lisi very polite

Zhangsan is very polite to Lisi.

b. 對李四張三很客氣。

dui Lisi Zhangsan hen   keqi.

to   Lisi Zhangsan very polite

Zhangsan is very polite to Lisi.

(13) a. 我擺了一盆花在桌子上。

wo bai-le   yi-pen huar *zai zhuozi-shang*.

I   put-PERF one-pot flower on table-top

I put a pot of flowers on the table.

b. 我在桌子上擺了一盆花。

wo *zai zhuozi-shang bai-le*   yi-pen   huar.

I   on table-top   put-PERF one-pot flower

I put a pot of flowers on the table.

c. 在桌子上我擺了一盆花。

zai zhuozi-shang wo bai-le   yi-pen   huar.

on table-top   I   put-PERF one-pot flower

I put a pot of flowers on the table.

Thirdly, the following coordination test shows that the Agent NP forms a clausal constituent with the VP that follows it, to the exclusion of the preceding *bei*:[3]

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3. Coordination is also possible with *bei* repeated in the second conjunct. But this fact is irrelevant to the point being made. Sentences like the following are generally considered to be cases of right-node raising (RNR). RNR is often used to identify the constituency of the raised phrase, but not that of the remnant. In (i), RNR establishes that *kanjian le* is a (VP) constituent.

(i) ta you bei Zhangsan, you bei Lisi, kanjian le.

he also by Zhangsan also by Lisi, see   perf/fp

He was seen both by Zhangsan and by Lisi.

(14) 他被李四罵了兩聲，王五踢了三下。

    ta bei *Lisi ma-le*   *liang-sheng, Wangwu ti-le*   *san-xia.*

    he BEI Lisi scold-PERF twice   Wangwu kick-PERF three-times

    He was scolded twice by Lisi and kicked three times by Wangwu.

This shows that *bei* + *NP* does not form a constituent that excludes the following VP, and is hence not a PP.

    A fourth argument against the PP-status of the *bei*-NP comes from anaphor-binding. It is now widely known that the reflexive pronoun *ziji* is subject-oriented, i.e., it must take a subject as its antecedent (see Tang 1989, Cole et al. 1990, Huang and Tang 1991, inter alia). In the following passive sentences, note that *ziji* can be bound by *Zhangsan* or by *Lisi*, suggesting that they are both subjects. In particular, the agent NP *Lisi* is not a prepositional object, but a subject of an embedded clause:[4]

(15) 張三被李四關在自己的家裡。

    Zhangsan bei Lisi guan zai ziji de jiali.

    Zhangsan BEI Lisi lock at   self DE home

    Zhangsan was locked by Lisi in self's home.   (ZS's or LS's)

(16) 那封信被李四帶回自己的家去了。

    nei-feng xin   bei Lisi dai-hui   ziji de jia   qu le.

    that-CL letter BEI Lisi bring-back self DE home go PERF

    That letter was brought back to self's (Lisi's) home by Lisi.

(17) 那本書被李四請自己的朋友拿走了。

    nei-ben shu   bei Lisi qing ziji-de pengyou na-zou   le.

    that-CL book BEI Lisi ask   self-DE friend   take-away PERF

    That book had Lisi having his friend to take [it] away.

Thus considerations of thematic relations, constituency, and anaphora jointly call into question an NP-movement analysis of passives.

    These considerations favor a complementation analysis, according to which

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4. See Xu (1993) and Cole and Wang (1996) for additional examples. For many speakers there is a strong preference for *ziji* to be bound by *Zhangsan* in (15), but the possibility for binding by *Lisi* should not be totally excluded if the contexts are appropriate (e.g., if the sentence is used to recount an event that all parties already know about). Binding by the Agent NP is clearly acceptable, in fact obligatory, in (16), where the subject 'that letter', being inanimate, cannot antecede the reflexive. Example (17), where the agent NP must also be the antecedent of *ziji*, is an example of long-distance passivization, to be discussed below.

bei is treated as the main verb, a two-place predicate meaning 'undergo', 'experience', etc., which selects an Experiencer as its subject and an Event as its complement. The object of the Event complement clause is obligatorily deleted under identity with the matrix subject. Recent proponents of this approach include Hashimoto (1987) and references cited there, and Wei (1994).[5] Under the complementation analysis, a long passive like (1) has the following structure:

(18)

Zhangsan$_i$ bei Lisi da-le e$_i$
'Zhangsan underwent Lisi's hitting [him].'
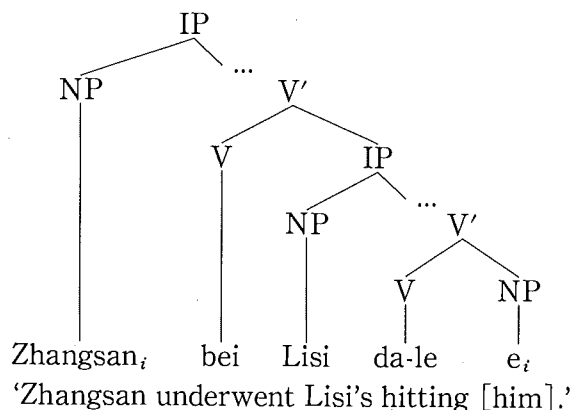
This approach is particularly attractive when we consider the four problems just noted for the movement approach. First, because *bei* is a two-place predicate with its own subject argument, a subject-oriented adverb may be naturally accommodated. If a passive sentence expresses an undergoing by an Experiencer, then it is entirely normal that an Experiencer may intentionally undergo some event. Secondly, as indicated by the tree diagram above, *bei* and the Agent NP do not form a constituent, let alone a PP constituent. Hence the *bei*+NP sequence does not behave as a PP, as shown above. Thirdly, in (18) the Agent forms an IP with the VP that follows it, predicting the coordination fact indicated above. Finally, the problem of reflexive binding is also explained. According to (18), both the Experiencer and the Agent are subjects (matrix and embed-

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5. The complementation approach goes back to Hashimoto (1969). The third argument above, concerning the clausal constituency of NP-VP following *bei* was presented by Wei (1994) to show that *bei* was clearly a verb taking a clausal complement in historical Chinese. The above point here establishes that the same constituency status of NP-VP remains for modern Chinese. Since Wei was dealing with a historical stage where the Theme subject could still be related to an overt pronoun in postverbal position (unlike in Modern Chinese, as shown in (5a-c)), Wei's argument really only established the complementation structure of the historical stage that concerned him.

ded subjects, respectively), so in (16) and (17) the reflexive may be bound by *Lisi* and, in (15), by either *Lisi* or *Zhangsan*. Every problem that arose under the NP-movement approach disappears under the complementation approach.

A problem arises, however, concerning the obligatoriness of deleting the embedded object. As indicated in (18), the embedded null object would be an A-bound empty pronoun (a pro in the sense of Chomsky 1981). Whether a true pro (A-bound) is possible in object position is still controversial at best (see Huang 1984, 1989 and references cited). Even if it is possible, the question remains why it cannot be replaced by an overt pronoun or reflexive. As we know, an A-bound embedded object can normally take the form of an overt pronoun or anaphor:

(19) a. 張三說李四打了他。
      Zhangsan shuo Lisi da-le   ta.
      Zhangsan say Lisi hit-PERF him
      Zhangsan said Lisi hit him.

    b. 張三說李四打了自己。
      Zhangsan shuo Lisi da-le   ziji.
      Zhangsan say Lisi hit-PERF self
      Zhangsan said Lisi hit self.

Except for the choice of their main verbs, these sentences have the same structure as the passive structure in (18). The question that the complementation theory raises is why a change from the verb *shuo* 'say' to the verb *bei* 'undergo' makes complement object deletion obligatory, and this seems a difficult question to answer. The question does not arise, of course, under the NP-movement approach, according to which the empty postverbal element is an NP-trace, an empty category which cannot be replaced by lexical material.

We have thus come to a dilemma: Both the movement approach and the complementation approach seem to be correct and incorrect at the same time. In fact these two approaches seem to complement each other, so that problems that arise under one approach seem to provide evidence for the other, and vice versa.

2.3. The Long Passive as A'-movement and Predication

The situation just described has persisted—until most recently—more or less since the earliest generative studies of Chinese syntax, with scholars adhering to their favorite analyses but unaware of, or ignoring, problems associated with

them.   An analysis that came closest to a genuine solution to the dilemma was first proposed by Feng (1995).   A number of other works have since appeared either employing or giving additional evidence in support of Feng's proposal, including Chiu (1995), Cheng, Huang, Li, and Tang (1993, 1996), and Ting (1995, 1996).   The essential spirit of Feng's proposal is that Chinese passives should be analyzed on a par with current treatments of the *tough* construction in English. In the standard Principles-and-Parameters literature following Chomsky (1981), the complement of *tough* is analyzed as involving null operator (NOP) movement and predication:

(20) This problem$_i$ is easy [$_{CP}$ NOP$_i$ for you to solve t$_i$].
        |____ predication ____| |____ movement ____|

Derivationally, the object of the embedded clause is a null category that moves to the embedded [Spec, CP], from where it is then predicated on the matrix subject.   The relation between the NOP and the embedded object position is one of movement; its relation with the matrix subject is one of predication, or control.   The '*tough*-movement' analysis of (1) is as depicted in (21):

(21)

```
                        IP
                 _____/ \___...
                /             \
              NP              V'
              |              / \
              |             V    IP
              |             |   /  \
              |             |  NOP   IP
              |             |   |   / \...
              |             |   |  NP   V'
              |             |   |  |   / \
              |             |   |  |  V   NP
              |             |   |  |  |    |
           Zhangsan        bei OP Lisi da-le  t
                               ↑_____|
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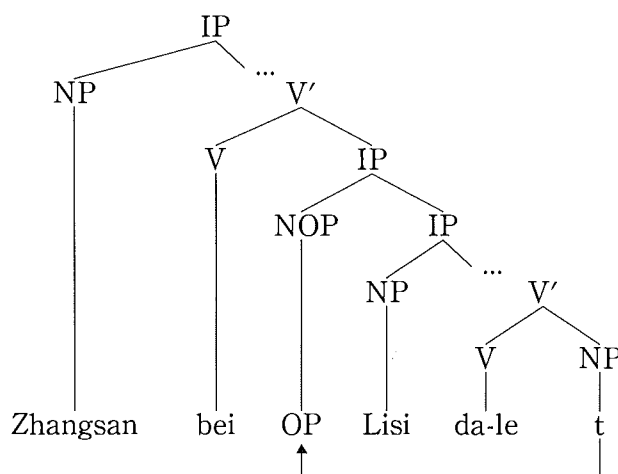
Zhangsan was hit by Lisi.

According to this analysis, the structure of a passive involves both complementation and movement.   It involves complementation, as *bei* selects an NP as its subject and a clausal category as its complement (which we shall assume to be an IP).   It also involves movement, of the embedded null object (which we

assume to be adjunction to IP).[6] This analysis thus incorporates a combination of the two approaches we discussed in the preceding section. It should be noted, however, that the NOP movement assumed here is an instance of A'-movement, and differs crucially from the NP-movement assumed in the earlier approach, which is a case of A-movement.

An immediate argument for (21) is that this analysis now has the virtues of both the movement analysis (as represented by (3)) and the complementation analysis (as represented by (18)), but none of their problems. Recall that an important property of the passives is the obligatoriness of an empty category in object position. This property follows from the NOP analysis as much as it does from the NP-movement analysis, because both assume the existence of an object that moves away.[7] The other properties, which pose problems for the NP-movement analysis, do not pose a problem for the NOP analysis. In fact they follow from the NOP analysis as much as they do from the complementation analysis. For example, since the subject is assigned a theta role of its own

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6. The following considerations suggest that the embedded clause is an IP rather than CP, and that the null operator is adjoined to IP, rather than moved to [Spec, CP]. First, the following contrast shows that the minimal binding domain for the embedded subject is the main clause:

    (i)   Zhangsan$_i$ bei *ta$_i$/ziji$_i$ hai-can   le.
           Zhangsan BEI him/self harm-badly ASP
           'Zhangsan was badly harmed by *him/himself.'

This is expected if the embedded subject is exceptionally governed, and Case-marked, by *bei*. (Cf. *John$_i$ believes *him$_i$/himself$_i$ to be honest.*) Secondly, nothing with phonetic content can intervene between *bei* and the Agent phrase:

    (ii) *Zhangsan bei zai xuexiao Lisi da-le.
           Zhangsan BEI at school Lisi hit-Perf
           'Zhangsan was hit by Lisi at the school.'

This adjacency requirement again suggests ECM and an IP immediately following *bei* (cf. *John believes firmly Bill to be innocent*). We assume that an adjoined null category does not block ECM.

7. Both reviewers of the paper point out that with respect to this property, the passive bears resemblance to sentences like the following:

    (i) zhe-ben shu hen zhide (ni) kan.
       · this-CL book very worth (you) read
       'This book is worth (your) reading.'

    (ii) zhe-dong fangzi xuyao xiuli.
        this-CL house need repair
        'This house needs repairing.'

In both cases the matrix verb is followed by a transitive predicate whose object is obligatorily null. It would seem that these examples could be analyzed as NOP constructions as well. Whether or not this may work out remains to be seen.

(Experiencer), a subject-oriented adverb can be used in a Chinese passive sentence. The analysis also claims that the NP following *bei* is a subject that forms a clausal constituent with the following VP, but does not form a constituent with the morpheme *bei*. It thus explains why the *bei*+NP sequence cannot move like a PP or serve as a nominal modifier. The coordination test confirms the hypothesis embodied in (21) that the NP-VP sequence forms a constituent.

Finally, the fact that the Agent NP may antecede the subject-oriented anaphor *ziji* follows because the Agent is a subject of the embedded IP. Note that the combination of these properties follows from the NOP analysis, but not from the NP-movement or the complementation alone.

Note that the structure (21) differs from (18) in how the coindexing relation between the subject of *bei* and the null object of the lower verb is established. According to the pure complementation approach represented by (18), this relation is established directly, so that the subject of *bei* directly binds the embedded null object. According to the NOP analysis, this relation is established indirectly: the null object is first IP-adjoined and it is from this IP-adjoined position that it gets bound by the matrix subject, under predication. Is the NOP analysis just a syntactic trick to obtain the facts reviewed so far? I shall now show that the NOP analysis is in fact supported by important semantic and historical considerations as well, in addition to a host of other independent syntactic motivations.

What semantic difference does it make to say that one structure involves NOP movement but not the other? I suggest that an NOP structure is a *predicate* denoting a property, whereas a normal clausal complement is an *argument* denoting an entity (an event, proposition, etc.). The structure (18) claims that the verb *bei* is a two-place (transitive) predicate selecting two arguments. In particular, in addition to the Experiencer subject, it s-selects an Event as its internal (complement) argument, and c-selects an IP to realize that internal argument.[8] The meaning of *bei* in this case is then approximately that of 'undergo', or the verb 'to experience'. On the other hand, the claim being made about (21) is that *bei* does not select an argument as a complement. Instead, it selects a predicate, which denotes a property. The *bei* in (21) is thus intransitive, with only one argument. There are two predicates, the primary predicate *bei*, and the *secondary* predicate realized by the NOP structure. By coindexing the NOP with the matrix subject (a case of "strong binding" of Chomsky 1986), the NOP

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8. Chomsky (1986) uses the term "c-selection" (category-selection) for the earlier term "strict subcategorization", and the term "s-selection" (semantic selection) for the selection of arguments based on their theta-role types.

structure is interpreted as the secondary predicate of that subject.

How does NOP movement turn a propositional (IP) argument (as in (18)) into a predicate (as is claimed in (21))? The answer comes from the general conception of NOP movement that it is the syntactic correlate of "lambda-abstraction," as it is commonly assumed in the semantic literature. An expression like "Zhangsan hit *him*" (where *him* may be expressed by a null pronoun as in (18)) is a closed category with no open argument positions, and it denotes a proposition (or a truth value). A lambda-abstracted expression containing exactly one free variable is equivalent to an intransitive predicate, where exactly one argument position is unsaturated. Thus, the lambda expression λx (. . . x . . .), which can be informally read as "is an x such that . . . x . . . ," denotes the set of individuals {x} such that ". . . x . . ." is true. Any individual that fits this description is said to be the (semantic) subject of this predicate. We can turn a proposition into a predicate describing the property of one of its arguments by substituting into the argument's position a variable bound by the lambda operator. The NOP movement has exactly this effect. Thus the embedded IP in (18) expresses the *proposition* that Lisi hit him, but the NOP clause in (21) expresses "the *property* of being an x such that Lisi hit x." General requirements of predication (e.g., that a predicate must be related to a subject—cf. Williams 1980, Chomsky 1982, 1986), and general locality conditions (e.g., Minimal Distance Principle, etc.) ensure that the null operator is coindexed with the matrix subject, and the embedded predicate headed by the null operator is said to be a secondary predicate of the matrix subject.

Now, if *bei* in (18) has the meaning of 'undergo [an event]', an appropriate paraphrase of the *bei* in (21) would be 'get, acquire, or end up with the property of . . . .' According to (18), Zhangsan underwent an event in which Lisi hit him. According to (21), Zhangsan ended up with the property of being an x such that Lisi hit x. What's the difference between these two paraphrases? Not much as far as informal paraphrasing goes, but in a theory of syntax-semantics interface they correspond to, or are mapped from, different syntactic representations that are motivated syntactically on both synchronic and diachronic considerations. The two different syntactic structures (18) and (21) make different claims about the "lexical strength"—or transitivity—of the verb *bei*. In (18) *bei* is a transitive verb with two arguments. In (21) *bei* is an intransitive with one argument and a secondary predicate. In the latter case, we may consider *bei* and the secondary predicate to make up an intransitive complex predicate which compositionally

selects the subject as its single argument.[9] On the other hand, in (18) *bei* is treated as a true transitive main verb with a clausal complement. The different syntactic structures make different predictions concerning the properties of passive sentences, and as we have seen, only (21) correctly predicts the obigatoriness of a null object in passive constructions like (1). We shall see shortly below that (21) makes several other correct predictions that (18) does not.

In addition to synchronic considerations, distinguishing between the two structures (18) and (21) is also diachronically justified. There is good reason to believe that these structures reflect two different stages of grammaticalization in the historical development of the passive construction. In particular, as documented by Wei (1994), the (long) passive has undergone a gradual development through the grammaticalization of *bei* that can be traced through historical texts. Sentences with *bei-NP-VP* structure started out without the requirement that the VP contain any item anaphoric to the subject of *bei*, and then developed into a stage where the VP regularly contained an overt pronoun during the Medieval Period as described in Wei (1994) and Peyraube (1996), and finally reached the stage (post-Tang) where the pronoun became impossible, as we have observed in Modern Mandarin. Some passive sentences from Medieval Chinese (of the Jin Dynasty) are given below:

(22) 其財物被淫女人悉奪取之。(生經)
　　　qi caiwu bei yin　　　nüren xi duoqu　zhi.　(Shengjing)
　　　his wealth BEI whorely woman all grabbed it
　　　His wealth were all snapped [it] by the whorely woman.

(23) (天女) 被池主見之。(搜神記・田崑崙)
　　　tiannü bei chi-zhu　　jian zhi.　(Soushenji・Tiankunlun)
　　　fairies BEI pool-owner see them
　　　The fairiestn were seen [them] by the pool-owners.

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9. In this case, because of its light functional load, *bei* comes close to having the status of an auxiliary (or light verb) and the NOP having the status of the main predicate. One could go one step further, following Chomsky (1981) and Stowell (1981) in their treatments of *tough* constructions, and assume that re-analysis wipes out the NOP structure and turns the variable into an NP-trace in the end. For indepedent reasons having to do with Case theory, we shall assume that this is in fact possible in some constructions though perhaps not for others. The latter point is supported by the fact, as we shall see shortly below, that there are cases where the NOP movement allows for the use of resumptive pronouns. In such cases the reanalysis would result in treating a resumptive pronoun as an NP-trace. This seems implausible, since NP trace is A-bound in its minimal clause, and a resumptive pronoun, qua pronoun, must be A-free in its governing category, as is well known.

These examples contrast with (1) and (5a-b), repeated below:

(1)   張三被李四打了。

    Zhangsan bei Lisi da le.

    Zhangsan BEI Lisi hit PERF

    Zhangsan was hit by Lisi.

(5a-b) *張三被李四打了他／自己。

    *Zhangsan bei Lisi da le   ta/ziji.

    *Zhangsan BEI Lisi hit PERF him/self

    Zhangsan was hit by Lisi.

It seems that (18) would be an appropriate analysis of passive sentences in Medieval Chinese as represented by (22)–(23), except that the coreference between the embedded object and the matrix subject is simply established by pronominal anaphora, but (21) is the proper analysis for the passives in Modern (possibly also Pre-Modern) Mandarin with an obligatory null object. The *bei* sentences in Medieval Chinese are just experiential sentences involving a two-place experiential predicate *bei*, but the *bei* sentences in Modern Mandarin are true passives with an intransitive complex predicate.

In short, the postulation of the structure (21) as distinct from (18) is justified not only on syntactic and semantic grounds, but also on historical considerations. Inasmuch as we need the structure (18) to describe the earlier language, we also need the structure (21) to bring out the difference of the modern language.

2.4. Further Evidence for the NOP Analysis

In addition to solving all the problems associated with either the NP-movement approach or the complementation approach, the analysis embodying NOP movement receives important independent evidence from the following facts.

2.4.1. Long-Distance Passives

First, Chinese passives exhibit "unbounded" dependency. As observed by Huang (1974), passives of the following sort are well-formed in Mandarin Chinese, quite unlike English passives.[10]

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10. Although Huang (1974) may have been the first to claim that Chinese passives can be formed by unbounded movement, he proposed that the embedded object was directly

(24) 張三被李四派警察抓走了。
  Zhangsan bei Lisi pai jingcha zhua-zou le.
  Zhangsan BEI Lisi send police arrest PERF
  Zhangsan was "sent-police-to-arrest" by Lisi.

(25) 那封信被我叫李四請王五托他妹妹寄走了。
  nei-feng xin bei wo jiao Lisi qing Wangwu tuo ta meimei ji-zou
  that-CL letter BEI I tell Lisi ask Wangwu request his sister send
  le.
  PERF
  That letter was "told-LS-to-ask-WW—get-his-sister-to-send" by me.

According to (24), for example, Zhangsan was arrested by the police, but it was Lisi who sent the police to arrest him. So the true Agent of the entire event is Lisi; the police being the Agent of a sub-event of the event that Zhangsan underwent. A more idiomatic translation of (24) into English might be "Zhangsan underwent Lisi's sending the police to arrest him" (and the police were successful in making the arrest). Similarly, in (25) the Patient is the letter, but the Agent of the entire event that the letter underwent is *wo* 'I', not 'his sister', the sender.

As is well known, unbounded dependencies are a characteristic property of A'-movement. Given NOP movement as a case of A'-movement, long-distance passivization is entirely expected. It is also well known that English *tough* sentences also exhibit long-distance dependencies:

(26) This problem is too easy for me to ask the teacher to help me solve.

A peculiar property associated with unbounded dependency in such constructions is that the NOP structure must be non-finite, non-propositional (must contain control PROs).

(27) ?*This problem is too easy for me to think that I can ask the teacher to help me solve.

This peculiar property is likewise observed with Chinese passivization, which

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moved into the subject position of the main clause, as the notion of NOP movement was not available at the time. I recall discussing this fact with Noam Chomsky and Ken Hale circa 1980–81 and ended up resorting to reanalysis (cf. the preceding footnote) without an intermediate step of NOP-movement. It was not until Feng (1995) that an explicit NOP-movement account was proposed. It seems that both NOP movement and reanalysis are necessary in order to capture a mismatch between Case and thematic properties of the passives. For a full development of this idea, see Huang (1999).

lends further support to our analysis of Chinese passives in parallel to *tough* constructions under the NOP analysis.

(28) *張三被李四說警察抓走了。
    *Zhangsan bei Lisi shuo jingcha zhua-zou le.
    Zhangsan BEI Lisi say   police arrest   PERF

(29) *那封信被我以爲李四說王五托他妹妹寄走了。
    *nei-feng xin   bei wo yiwei Lisi shuo Wangwu tuo   ta meimei ji-zou
    that-CL letter BEI I   think Lisi said Wangwu request his sister   send
    le.
    PERF

2.4.2. Island Sensitivity

Secondly, Chinese long-distance passives exhibit island effects, thus passing another diagnostic for A'-movement (cf. Chomsky 1977).

(30) 張三被我通知李四把讚美*(他)的書都買走了。
    Zhangsan bei wo tongzhi Lisi ba zanmei *(ta) de shu   dou mai-zou   le.
    Zhangsan BEI me inform Lisi BA praise (him) DE book all buy-away PERF
    Zhangsan had me inform Lisi to buy up all the books that praise [him].

The sentence is ungrammatical with a gap in the object position following 'praise', the verb of the relative clause modifying 'books', though well-formed with a resumptive pronoun in that position.   There is no similar deletion analysis that would account for this distribution of an empty object: allowing long-distance dependency but not into a complex NP.   This distribution is strongly symptomatic of A'-movement.[11]

2.4.3. The Particle *suo*

A third piece of additional evidence comes from the distribution of the particle *suo*.   As observed in Chiu (1995), in somewhat literary speech, a passive sentence may include the particle *suo* 所 before the lower verb:

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11. Hide Hoshi (personal communication) correctly points out that this argument goes through only if Chinese relative clauses may be non-finite.   The reason is that, as shown in (27), *tough* movement cannot extract an element out of a finite clause, and if all relative clauses must be finite in Chinese, (30) could be ruled out independently, thus providing no evidence for CNPC.   The question of what counts as 'finite' in Chinese is an open-ended question, but given the existence of infinitival relatives in English (e.g. *a book to read*), the burden of proof lies with the supposition that Chinese relatives must always be finite.   I hence take (30) as exhibiting an island effect.

(31) 這些事情不能被他們所了解。

zhexie shiqing bu neng bei tamen **suo**   liaojie.

these thing   not can BEI they   SUO understand

These things cannot be understood by them.

(32) 你最近對他的行爲恐怕會被外人所恥笑。

ni   zuijin dui ta   de xingwei kongpa hui bei wairen **suo**   chixiao.

you recent to him DE behavior afraid   will BEI others SUO laugh-at

I'm afraid your recent behavior toward him will be laughed-at by others.

It is generally accepted that this *suo* is a remnant of Classical Chinese.   It is also well known that the only one other construction that involves this particle *suo* is relative clauses, specifically only when an object is relativized.   An example of Modern Chinese relativization with *suo* is given below:

(33) 小偷所沒有偷走的那些書在桌子上。

xiaotou **suo** meiyou   touzou __ de naxie shu   zai zhuozi-shang.

thief   **suo** not-have steal   __ DE those book at table-top

The books that the thieves have not stolen are on the table.

A widely accepted analysis of *suo* in the literature treats *suo* as on a par with an (object) relative pronoun (*suo* literally means 'location', which is often used to refer to the "objective entity").   Whether *suo* should be equated with a relative pronoun in English-type languages (where it occurs in Spec, CP) is controversial. What is uncontroversial is that such relative clauses exhibit A'-dependency involving an empty object position.   The fact that the Passive construction is the only other construction with *suo* and an accompanying empty object position then provides striking support for the idea that Chinese passives involve A'-movement of the object.   In fact, Chiu (1995) argues strongly that *suo* is triggered by the existence of wh-movement in both cases.[12]

2.4.4.   Resumptive Pronouns

Finally, the distribution of resumptive pronouns in Chinese passives also

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12. Chiu (1995) argues that *suo* is an object clitic. Although overt wh-movement is not observed in Modern Chinese, there is reason to believe that some overt A'-movement existed in Classical Chinese for certain operators, including *wh*-phrases, the relativized object, and certain focalized elements.   Incidentally, *wh*-phrases in Classical Chinese did not have a non-interrogative quantificational use as they do today.   This difference may be related to the fact that overt wh-movement takes place only in Classical Chinese, but not in Modern Chinese.

puts them together with relative clauses as instances of A'-movement. Earlier we highlighted a requirement of the passives that it must contain an object position with null content. Although this empty object requirement is true with simple sentences of the sort we have considered above, it is in fact possible to use a pronoun instead, when the object occurs within a somewhat more complex environment. We have just seen an example where such a pronoun is used, in (30), to avoid an island violation. The following example (of the sort cited in Feng 1995) allows a pronoun in the object position bound by the subject.

(34) 張三被李四打了他一下。
    Zhangsan bei Lisi da-le   ta   yi-xia.
    Zhangsan BEI Lisi hit-PERF him once
    Zhangsan was hit once by Lisi.

Under the NP-movement approach, the grammaticality of (34) would be entirely unexpected.[13] Under the A'-movement approach, however, the overt pronoun is simply a resumptive pronoun, which is locally A'-bound, but locally A-free. Note that (34) differs from the ungrammatical (5a), repeated below, only in that the verb phrase in (34) is longer than that in (5a).[14]

(5)   a. *張三被李四打了他。
      *Zhangsan bei Lisi da-le   ta.
      Zhangsan BEI Lisi hit-PERF him
      Zhangsan was hit (*him) by Lisi.

We do not know exactly why the additional material in (34) makes a pronoun possible, but do know that, the same effect can be observed with relative clauses. Thus simple object (or subject) relativization requires the gap strategy, whereas a resumptive pronoun strategy may be used when the relativized NP is surround-

13. According to Chomsky's (1981) binding theory, an NP-trace is an anaphor which must be bound in its governing category. A pronoun in place of the NP-trace would have to be free in its governing category, so NP-traces cannot alternate with overt pronouns at all. In fact, there is a more general property of the NP-trace, namely it cannot alternate with any overt category, and this property comes from Case-theoretic considerations, independently of binding theory.
14. Feng (1995) highlighted the grammaticality of (34) as evidence that Chinese passives do not require an empty object position, but he ignored the ungrammaticality of simple sentences like (5a), where a resumptive pronoun is prohibited. His argument thus remained incomplete because the requirement of a null object, in simple everyday passives, was left unexplained.

ed by more materials.[15]

(35) *李四打了他的那個人來了。

　　*Lisi da-le　　ta　de nei-ge ren　　lai　　le.

　　 Lisi hit-PERF him DE that　 person came PERF

　　(Lit.: The person who Lisi hit him came.)

(36) 李四打了他一下的那個人來了。

　　Lisi da-le　　　ta　yi-xia de nei-ge ren　　lai　　le.

　　Lisi hit-PERF him once　DE that　 person came PERF

　　The person who Lisi hit [him] once came.

Note that the contrast between (35) and (36) parallels that between (5a) and (34). This parallelism is quite extensive and complete. For example, an optional resumptive pronoun is possible when an embedded subject is passivized or relativized:

(37) Zhangsan bei　Lisi huaiyi　(ta) tou-le　　　qian.

　　Zhangsan BEI Lisi suspect (he) steal-PERF money

　　Zhangsan was suspected (by Lisi) [he] to have stolen the money.

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15. The literature on relativization strategies in Chinese was somewhat controversial. Sanders and Tai (1972) claim that the 'gap' strategy was required only when the relativized NP is the matrix subject of the relative clause; all other relativized NPs can, or must, take the 'pronoun' strategy. Mei (1978) claims that direct object relatives also require the gap strategy, though indirect objects may employ the pronoun strategy. My judgment agrees with that of Mei's, which I believe is shared by most other speakers. The grammatical (36) and (34) would be on a par with cases of indirect object relativization and passivization, respectively, where the 'indirect object' may be a benefactor or an Affectee:

(i) 李四送了他兩本書的那個人走了。

　　Lisi song-le　　ta　liang-ben shu　de na-ge　　ren　　zou　le.

　　Lisi give-PERF him two-CL　 book DE that-CL person leave PERF

　　The person who Lisi gave [him] two books left.

(ii) 李四偷了他兩本書的那個人走了。

　　Lisi tou-le　　　ta　liang-ben shu　de na-ge　　ren　　zou　le.

　　Lisi steal-PERF him two-CL　 book DE that-CL person leave PERF

　　The person who Lisi stole two books of/from left.

(iii) 李四被我偷了他兩百塊錢。

　　Lisi bei　wo tou-le　　　ta　liangbai　　　kuai　qian

　　Lisi BEI I　 steal-PERF him two-hundred dollar money

　　Lisi was stolen [him] 200 dollars by me.

(38) Lisi huaiyi (ta) tou-le   qian   de nei-ge ren   zou-le.
    Lisi suspect (he) steal-PERF money DE that   person leave-PERF
    The person that Lisi suspected [he] stole the money has left.

And when a prepositional object is passivized or relativized, a resumptive pronoun is required:

(39) Zhangsan bei Lisi ba ta   pian-de-tuantuanzhuan.
    Zhangsan BEI Lisi BA him cheat-till-run-around
    Zhangsan was pushed around like a fool by Lisi.

(40) Lisi ba ta   pian-de-tuantuanzhuan de nei-ge ren   zou-le.
    Lisi BA him cheat-till-run-around   DE that   person leave-PERF
    The person that Lisi pushed around like a fool has left.

It is well known that the option of using the resumptive pronoun strategy is an option of A'-movement, not of A-movement. The fact that passivization parallels relativization so neatly in this respect lends important support to the A'-movement analysis of the passives.

In summary, an NOP analysis of Chinese (long) passives has the merits of both the NP movement and the pure complementation approaches but none of their problems, and receives independent motivation from considerations of long-distance dependency, island sensitivity, and the distribution of resumptive pronouns and the particle *suo*.[16] The superiority of the NOP analysis is evident

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16. The analysis of Chinese passives in terms of A'-movement and predication poses a problem for the account of purported scope ambiguities of Chinese passives reported in Aoun and Li (1989, 1993). Aoun and Li claim that, in contrast to their active counterparts, passive sentences like the following are ambiguous between a distributive and collective reading:
    (i) 每個學生都被三個老師教過。
       mei-ge xuesheng dou bei san-ge laoshi   jiao-guo.
       every student   all BEI three teacher teach-EXP
       Every student was taught by three teachers.
They argue that the collective reading is derived from the fact that the Agent 'three teachers' c-commands an NP-trace of the Theme 'every student'. According to the NOP movement analysis adopted here, a (long) passive is structurally on a par with a 'tough' construction. It has been pointed out, by Higginbotham (1996) citing Barbara Partee, that a *tough* construction does not exhibit scope reconstruction effects. *Everyone is hard for someone to please* has only the distributive, but not the collective, reading. It has always been my claim that the Chinese passives do not exhibit scope ambiguities any more than the actives do. (See Huang 1993 for related discussion.) This fact is entirely consistent with the NOP-movement analysis of the passives, but not with with a pure movement analysis that does not involve predication (for the long passive) or control (for the short passive, as we shall see below).

from the number of facts that follow from it as compared to those that follow from either of the other two approaches, as summarized below:

(41)

	NP-Movement	Complementation	NOP
1. Movement of *bei*-NP	?	✓	✓
2. Coordination	?	✓	✓
3. Thematic subject	?	✓	✓
4. Anaphor binding	?	✓	✓
5. Obligatory null object	✓	?	✓
6. Long-distance passivization	?	✓	✓
7. Island sensitivity	?	?	✓
8. The particle *suo*	?	?	✓
9. Resumptive pronouns	?	?	✓

3. The Mandarin Short Passive

In the literature on Chinese syntax, one common assumption about the short passive (as in (2), repeated below) has been that it is derived from the long form (as in (1)) via deletion of the Agent NP (see, for example, Hashimoto 1987 and references cited there).

(1) 張三被李四打了。
Zhangsan bei Lisi da le.
Zhangsan BEI Lisi hit PERF
Zhangsan was hit by Lisi.

(2) 張三被打了。
Zhangsan bei da le.
Zhangsan BEI hit PERF
Zhangsan was hit.

While this seems an easy way to relate the two constructions, there are numerous reasons to reject such an analysis. Huang (1982) pointed out that such an analysis is inappropriate on both interpretive considerations and independent syntactic grounds. Wei (1994) argued the analysis would be excluded by crucial

historical evidence. Comparison with properties of the long passives also leads to the same conclusion (as briefly alluded to in Cheng, Huang, Li & Tang 1993 and argued independently in Ting 1995, 1996). Let us consider these arguments in turn.

3.1. Against the Agent-Deletion Analysis

3.1.1. Accessibility

First, note that the Agent is located in a position otherwise generally inaccessible to deletion. This is true regardless of whether *bei* is analyzed as a preposition or as a verb. As a preposition, *bei* would permit no deletion of the Agent NP, given the general prohibition against preposition stranding as illustrated in (42)–(43):

(42) 張三，這件事跟＊(他)沒有關係。
    Zhangsan, zhe-jian shi   gen *(ta) mei-you guanxi.
    Zhangsan this-CL thing with *(him) not-have relation
    Zhangsan, this thing has nothing to do with him.

(43) 這件事跟＊(他)沒有關係的那個人走了。
    zhe-jian shi   gen *(ta) mei-you guanxi de na-ge   ren   zou le.
    this-CL thing with *(him) not-have relation DE that-CL person leave PERF
    The person such that this thing has nothing to do with him has left.

As a verb, the environment in which *bei* occurs (a V-NP-V configuration) also does not allow the Agent NP to be deleted (whether the NP is a constituent of the higher clause or the subject of the lower clause), as illustrated below:

(44) ＊張三，我使 ＿ 生氣了。
    *Zhangsan, wo shi   ＿ shengqi le.
    Zhangsan I   cause   angry PERF
    Zhangsan, I have caused to be angry.

(45) ＊李小姐，我逼 ＿ 改嫁了。
    *Li Xiaojie, wo bi   ・ ＿ gaijia   le.
    Miss Li   I   force   re-marry PERF
    Miss Li, I have forced to re-marry.

If the short passive were derived from the long passive by deletion of the Agent, it would constitute an unexplained exception to the otherwise general prohibition.

3.1.2. Chronology of Emergence

In independently arguing against Hashimoto's Agent deletion hypothesis, Wei (1994) pointed out that the short passive was used as early as 300 B.C. (e.g., in the text of *Han Feizi*), much earlier than the long passive form, which was not attested until 500 years later, in Han texts (ca. A.D. 200). Two examples of the short form are found in the following quote from *Hanfei zi*:

(46) 今兄弟被侵，必攻者，廉也；知友被辱，隨仇者，貞也。
jin   xiongdi bei qin,   bi   gong zhe,   lian   ye;
now brothers BEI attack, must attack person, straight PRT;

zhi   you   bei ru,   sui   chou zhe,   zhen ye.
know friends BEI insult, along angry person, loyal PRT

Now those who will attack when their brothers are attacked are straight; those who, when their best friends are insulted, will be likewise angry, are loyal.

Since the long passive form did not exist at this stage, any attempt to derive the short passives from underlying long passives would be extremely unsatisfactory.

3.1.3. Obligatory Null Object

A related point has to do with the requirement of a null object. As indicated above in connection with (22)–(23), it is a fact of the long passive that it developed from experiential sentences through grammaticalization of the experiential verb *bei*. Prior to its current form represented by (1), many earlier examples of the passive construction involved an overt pronoun in the embedded clause bound by the subject of *bei*. Additional Medieval Chinese examples are given below (from Jin texts cited in Feng (1998)):

(47) (李子敖) 被鳴鶴吞之。(搜神記)
(Li Zi'ao) bei ming-he   tun   zhi.   (Soushenji)
Lisi Zi'ao BEI chirping-crane swallow him
Li Zi'ao was swallowed (him) by the chirping crane.

(48) 金丹若被諸物犯之。(抱朴子內篇)
Jindan ruo bei zhuwu   fan   zhi (Baopuzi)
Jindan if   BEI everything attack him
If Jindan was attacked (him) by everything . . .

The requirement of a null object is in fact a relatively recent property of the long passive. On the other hand, the short passive has always involved an obligatory null object position from the very start in 300 B.C. Needless to say, this makes

the hypothesis to derive the short passive from the long passive even less plausible.

3.1.4. Adverbial Positions

From a purely synchronic viewpoint, a number of differences also exist between the long and the short passives that argue against the Agent deletion analysis. One is that although sentential adverbials as well as VP adverbials are allowed with long passives, only VP-adverbials may occur with the short form. Thus, (49) shows that both manner and place adverbials may occur with the long form, whereas (50) shows that the short form admits only manner adverbials:

(49) a. 張三被李四莫明其妙的騙走了！
      Zhangsan bei Lisi momingqimiao de pian-zou le.
      Zhangsan BEI Lisi confused   -ly abduct   PERF
      Zhangsan was abducted in a state of confusion by Lisi.

    b. 張三被李四在學校騙走了。
      Zhangsan bei Lisi zai xuexiao pian-zou le.
      Zhangsan BEI Lisi at   school   abduct   PERF
      Zhangsan was abducted at school by Lisi.

(50) a. 張三被莫明其妙的騙走了。
      Zhangsan bei momingqimiao de pian-zou le.
      Zhangsan BEI confused   -ly abduct   PERF
      Zhangsan was abducted in a state of confusion.

    b. *張三被在學校騙走了。
      *Zhangsan bei zai xuexiao pian-zou le.
      Zhangsan BEI at   school   abduct   PERF
      Zhangsan was abducted at school.

This suggests that while the long passive contains an IP following *bei*, the short passive contains a VP in that position. An analysis employing Agent deletion from the long passive would entail an IP containing a null subject position, but then it would be unclear why such a structure could not accommodate a locative adverbial.

3.1.5.   Long-Distance Possibilities

Earlier we saw that the long passives exhibit unbounded dependencies subject to island constraints (as in (51)). By contrast, short passives are strictly local, disallowing any cross-clausal dependency (52):

(51) a. 張三被李四派警察抓走了。
      Zhangsan bei Lisi pai   jingcha zhua-zou le.
      Zhangsan BEI Lisi send police   arrest   PERF
      Zhangsan was "sent-police-to-arrest" by Lisi.

   b. 那封信被我叫李四請王五托他妹妹寄走了。
      neifeng xin   bei wo jiao Lisi qing Wangwu tuo   ta meimei ji-zou
      that   letter BEI me tell Lisi ask   Wangwu request his sister   send
      le.
      PERF
      That letter was "told-LS-ask-WW-have-his-sister-send" by me.

(52) a. *張三被派警察抓走了。
      *Zhangsan bei pai   jingcha zhua-zou le.
      Zhangsan BEI send police   arrest   PERF

   b. *那封信被叫李四請王五托他妹妹寄走了。
      *neifeng xin   bei jiao Lisi qing Wangwu tuo   ta meimei ji-zou
      that   letter BEI tell Lisi ask   Wangwu request his sister   send
      le.
      PERF

We saw that unbounded dependencies and island sensitivity constitute an important diagnostic for A'-movement in the analysis of long passives.   The lack of such unbounded dependencies with the short passive suggests that it does not involve A'-movement; and hence against the hypothesis that the short passive is simply obtained by Agent deletion.

3.1.6.   The Particle *suo*

We saw above that, in some semi-literary style, long passives may contain the particle *suo* (as in (31)–(32), repeated below), a property they share with relative clauses, providing evidence for A'-movement.

(31) 這些事情不能被他們所了解。
    zhexie shiqing bu neng bei tamen **suo**   liaojie.
    these thing   not can BEI they   SUO understand
    These things cannot be understood by them.

(32) 你最近對他的行爲恐怕會被外人所恥笑。
    ni   zuijin dui ta   de xingwei kongpa hui bei wairen **suo**   chixiao.
    you recent to him DE behavior afraid   will BEI others SUO laugh-at
    I'm afraid your recent behavior toward him will be laughed-at by others.

By contrast, the short passive disallows *suo*, in both spoken and literary style:[17]

(53) *這些事情不能被 __ 所了解。
    *zhexie shiqing bu neng bei __ **suo**   liaojie.
    these thing   not can BEI   SUO understand
    These things cannot be understood.

(54) *你最近對他的行爲恐怕會被 __ 所恥笑。
    *ni   zuijin dui ta   de xingwei kongpa hui bei __ **suo**   chixiao.
    you recent to him DE behavior afraid   will BEI   SUO laugh-at
    I'm afraid your recent behavior toward him will be laughed-at.

This contrast again would be unaccounted for under a simple Agent deletion analysis.

3.1.7. Resumptive Pronouns

Finally, the long and short passives also contrast with respect to the distribution of resumptive pronouns. A long passive may employ the pronoun strategy in cases like (34), repeated below:

(34) 張三被李四打了他一下。
    Zhangsan bei Lisi da-le   ta   yi -xia.
    Zhangsan BEI Lisi hit-PERF him once.
    Zhangsan was hit once by Lisi.

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17. A related construction in Classical Chinese involving *wei* 爲 rather than *bei* is grammatical with *suo* but without the Agent phrase: 不爲所動 *bu wei suo dong* 'was not moved [by it]'. Though this looks like a 'short passive' with *suo*, it should be noted that this 'short passive' differs from the pattern under discussion in the text. This example involves true deletion of the agent NP whose reference is clear in context, and so it is better translated as 'was not moved by it', not 'was not moved', which would be appropriate for a short passive we are considering in the text. See Wei (1994) for related remarks.

But a short passive without the Agent phrase does not admit any resumptive pronoun under similar circumstances:[18]

(55) *張三被打了他一下。
     *Zhangsan bei da-le   ta   yi -xia.
     Zhangsan BEI hit-PERF him once.
     Zhangsan was hit once.

This suggests again that the derivation of the short passive must be very different from that of the long passive.

3.2. Analysis of the Short Passive

In view of the large number of arguments presented above, it is clear that a short passive cannot be treated as an Agent-deleted version of the long passive. Two possibilities come to mind: they might involve NP-movement in some fashion, or they may be derived without any movement.

Some of the contrastive properties we have just seen—those concerning (the lack of) unbounded dependencies, resumptive pronouns, and *suo*—suggest that although the short passive does not involve A'-movement, an analysis in terms of A-movement of the sort used in English *be*-passives might be appropriate. This is in fact the analysis adopted by Ting (1995, 1996), according to whom the surface subject of the short passive is derived via movement of the underlying object into the Spec of IP position. However, such an analysis ignores the fact that both the long and the short passives, but not the English *be* passive, may contain a subject-oriented adverb like *guyi* 'intentionally', as we saw in (6) and (7), which suggests that the subject is base-generated in place and receives an independent thematic role from *bei*.

(6) 張三故意被打了。
    Zhangsan guyi   bei da le.
    Zhangsan intentionally BEI hit PERF
    Zhangsan intentionally got hit.

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18. The following agentless short passive does allow a resumptive pronoun within a 'retained object':
    (i) 張三被拿走了他最喜歡的玩具。
        Zhangsan bei na-zou-le   ta zui   xihuan de wanju.
        Zhangsan BEI take-away-PERF he most like   DE toy
        Zhangsan had the toy he liked most taken away.

(7) 張三故意被李四打了。
    Zhangsan guyi   bei Lisi da le.
    Zhangsan intentionally BEI Lisi hit PERF
    Zhangsan intentionally got hit by Lisi.

For this reason, a more reasonable analysis might take the form depicted in (56) (following Hoshi's (1991, 1994a, b) analysis of English *get*-passives and Japanese *ni*-passives):[19]

(56)
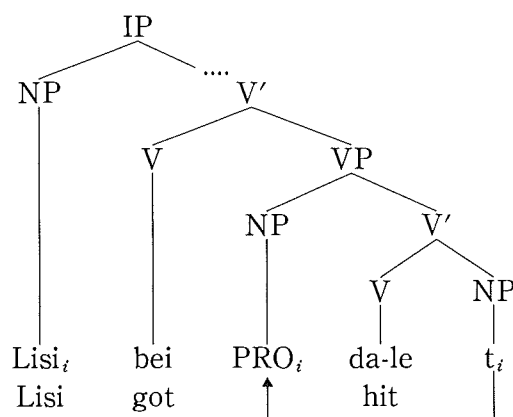
According to this analysis, *bei* has the status akin to that of a deontic modal auxiliary or light verb, s-selecting an Experiencer as its subject and a predicate (a property) as its complement, and c-selecting a VP as the structural realization of the predicate complement.   Following the Predicate Internal Subject Hypothesis (Contreras 1987, Sportiche 1988, Fukui and Speas 1986, Kitagawa 1986, Kuroda 1988, etc.), a VP contains a subject position of its own.   The VP itself is a passive structure with internal NP-movement as shown above, with the underlying Patient argument moved into the non-thematic [Spec, VP] position, binding a trace.   The moved Patient is itself an empty category, a PRO, which is controlled by the base-generated subject *Lisi*.   Thus the short passive has a structure somewhat parallel to that of the long passive, except that while the long passive involves the A'-movement of an NOP which is then coindexed with the matrix subject under predication, the short passive involves the A-movement of a PRO which is then controlled by the subject.   It's easy to see that all the

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19. Hoshi indicates that this was an adaptation of a similar analysis of *be*-passives in English proposed earlier by Saito and Murasugi (1989).

properties considered so far of the short passive follow from this analysis.

First, because we assume that the auxiliary-like *bei* selects a VP (rather than IP), it follows that only manner adverbs (which can be adjoined to V' or VPs) may occur in short passives, but not sentential adverbs (which must be adjoined to I' or IP). Secondly, because it assigns an independent Experiencer role to its subject, it follows that adverbs like *guyi* 'intentionally' are allowed. Thirdly, because the short passive involves NP-movement, unbounded dependencies, resumptive pronouns, and *suo* are correctly excluded. Furthermore, because it does not involve deletion of an Agent phrase from the embedded subject position, the problem of accessibility does not arise. And finally, since this structure is postulated independently of the NOP structure of the long passive, the relative chronology of these two passive forms again poses no problem for our analysis.

While this NP-movement-plus-control analysis seems quite elegant for the cases of the short passive we have considered, it is not the only possible analysis, nor clearly the best analysis. For one thing, as has been noted by Shen (1992), Ting (1996), among others, certain short passives must be derived by a lexical process, illustrated by (57):

(57) 張三被捕了。
     Zhangsan bei bu   le.
     Zhangsan BEI arrest PERF
     Zhangsan was arrested.

(58) 敵軍被俘了。
     dijun   bei fu   le.
     enemy BEI capture PRT
     The enemy troops got captured.

In these cases, the verb directly following *bei* is a bound morpheme. Contrast *bei bu* with *bei daibu*:

(59) a. 警察逮捕了張三。
        jingcha daibu-le   Zhangsan.
        police arrest-PERF Zhangsan
        The police arrested Zhangsan.

b. 張三被警察逮捕了。

Zhangsan bei jingcha daibu-le.

Zhangsan BEI police   arrest-PERF/PRT

Zhangsan was arrested by the police.

c. 張三被警察祕密的逮捕了。

Zhangsan bei jingcha mimide daibu-le.

Zhangsan BEI police   secretly arrest-PERF/PRT

Zhangsan was secretly arrested by the police.

d. 張三被警察逮捕了兩個學生。

Zhangsan bei jingcha daibu-le   liang-ge xuesheng.

Zhangsan BEI police   arrest-PERF two-CL students

Zhangsan had two students arrested by the police.

(60) a. *警察捕了張三。

*jingcha bu-le   Zhangsan.

 police   arrest-PERF Zhangsan

b. *張三被警察捕了。

*Zhangsan bei jingcha bu-le.

Zhangsan BEI police   arrest-PERF/PRT

c. *張三被警察秘密的捕了。

*Zhangsan bei jingcha mimide bu-le.

Zhangsan BEI police   secretly arrest-PERF/PRT

d. *張三被警察捕了兩個學生。

*Zhangsan bei jingcha bu-le   liang-ge xuesheng.

Zhangsan BEI police   arrest-PERF two-CL students

Cases like (57)–(58) must therefore be derived by a lexical process that directly combines *bei* with a verb to make a 'passive verb'. This raises the possibility that even the phrasal short passives with a free morpheme (such as (59)b) may also be derived by directly combining *bei* with a verb phrase to form a 'passive verb phrase', without a syntactic movement process.[20] This hypothesis cannot be ruled out by the simple fact that the process involves an utterance larger than a word in size, especially given the need to recognize the concept of a complex predicate, as the discussion of Section 5 below will show.

It seems clear that the reason why the short passive has both a lexical and a

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20. Or 'complex' passive verbs as McCawley (1992) proposed.

phrasal form has to do with its history dating back, as indicated, to late Archaic Chinese, when the language was highly monosyllabic. At first, *bei* was used as an alternative for the passive marker *jian* (which soon gave way to *bei*):

(61) 吾常見笑於大方之家。(莊子·秋水)

  wu chang jian xiao yu dafang   zhi jia. (Zhuangzi·Qiushui)
  I often get laughed by large-expertise DE scholar
  I often got laughed at by the great experts.

(62) 萬乘之國被圍於趙。(戰國策·齊策)

  wan-sheng zhi guo bei wei   yu Zhao. (Zhanguoce·Qice)
  10,000-vehicle DE state BEI surround by Zhao
  A state of ten thousand chariotts got surrounded by Zhao.

These sentences in Archaic Chinese could be related to their Modern counter-parts in one of two ways. On the one hand, *bei*, like *jian*, could be an auxiliary taking a VP complement whose subject theta-role is suppressed.[21] (This would be similar to the English *-en* (or, rather, the *get*+*-en* complex), except that un-like *-en* which undergoes Affix Hopping, *bei* and *jian* each stays in its head posi-

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21. In English the usual assumption about suppression of the subject theta role is that it is suppressed by the passive ending *-en*. In a structural representation where the *-en* in fact heads a higher functional category (the 'Voice Phrase'), it is the higher head that absorbs the subject theta-role of its complement. In this light, there is nothing unusual theoreti-cally to say that *bei* as an auxiliary absorbs the subject theta-role of the VP complement (i.e., it selects an ergative VP). It is the nature of an analytic language that what happens in the morphology in a synthetic language often happens at the syntactic level. It should be noted that suppression (or selection of an ergative VP) is by no means peculiar to *bei*. It is a fact of Archaic Chinese that certain auxiliary verbs select only subject-suppressed (ergative) VPs while others select only active VPs (see Mei 1991). The most well known contrast is between the auxiliaries *neng* and *ke*. While both are translatable as 'can', *neng* is 'can (do)' whereas *ke* is 'can (be done)':

 (i) 今之孝者，是謂能養。至於犬馬，皆能有養；不敬，何以別乎？ (論語·爲政第二)
   jin zhi xiao zhe, shi wei neng yang. zhiyu quan-ma, jie neng you yang;
   today DE filial DE, be say can feed, as-for dog-horse, all can have feed
   bu jing, he yi bie   hu? (Lunyu·2)
   not respect, what with distinguish Q?

   Today, when one says that someone is filial, it amounts to saying that he can sup-port his elders. As for animals and beasts, they all can feed their elders as well. If you do not do this with respect, what makes you different from the animals?

 (ii) 民可使由之，不可使知之。(論語·泰伯第八)
   min ke shi you zhi, bu ke shi zhi zhi. (Lunyu·8)
   people can-be caused follow it, not can-be caused know it
   The people can be made to follow it (the rule), but cannot be made to understand it.
 See also the following as written in classical style:

tion.) These sentences would then be like the English *get* passives, properly analyzed as in (56) above (à la Hoshi). The main difference between the Archaic (61)–(62) and the Modern (56) is that the Agent appeared as a postverbal PP headed by *yu* in Archaic, but is completely missing in the modern short passive. Under this hypothesis, the Modern short passive may have developed as follows. First, as is well known, an important change that occurred to the history of Chinese word order is the disappearance of adjunct PPs from postverbal position. It has been argued quite convincingly (see Sun 1996 and references) that the postverbal adjunct PPs did not 'move' historically to the preverbal position; they simply fell into disuse in postverbal position. This explains why the modern short form, even though it has a syntax akin to the English *get* passive, does not include an Agent PP. Secondly, another well known historical development is that the language became highly disyllabic. If the verb disyllabified (as in *daibu* 'arrest'), it continued to head a VP structure under the auxiliary *bei*, and kept the template available for later development when the VP became more complicated, allowing for preverbal manner adjuncts and 'retained objects' as in (59c-d). If the verb did not disyllabify, the auxiliary *bei* might be cliticized to it (for prosodic reasons, see Feng 1994). This in turn could lead to further development with the result that *bei* became the first element of a V-V compound or a prefix to the monosyllabic verb, as in *bei bu* 'get arrested', *bei fu* 'get captured' in (57) and (58). When the monosyllabic form of these verbs fell in disuse (and replaced by *daibu* 'arrest' and *fulu* 'capture'), they became bound morphemes, and could not appear in the environments in (60).[22]

An opposite way to relate the Archaic passive forms with Modern short passives is to assume that, at the stage represented by (61) and (62), *jian* and *bei* were already prefixes forming a word with the verb. After disyllabification, and the introduction of long passives, the V-V compounds reanalyzed as V'-

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      (iii) 士可殺，不可辱。(明史・卷一八一)
            shi   ke   sha,   bu ke   ru. (Mingshi, 181)
            scholar can-be killed, not can-be insulted
            A scholar can be killed, but cannot be insulted.

Seen in this light, *bei* and *jian* were simply auxiliaries of the type that also included *ke* 可. The distinction between *neng* vs. *ke* is, of course, reminiscent of the well known distinction between *be* and *have* in Italian and other languages (Burzio 1986): the former auxiliary selects unaccusative, and the latter unergatives and transitives.

22. Logically, for a monosyllabic free form like *da* 'hit', a simple passive like *ta bei da le* 'He got hit' could involve either lexical or phrasal passive, though *ta bei da de hen teng* 'He was hit (and was) severely (hurt)' and *ta bei tongkuai de da le* 'He was soundly beaten' require a phrasal analysis.

phrases (a process of what Chao 1968 termed 'ionization'). These made it possible for the phrasal short passives to be developed.

On the other hand, those V-V compounds that never underwent ionization (such as *bei bu* and *bei fu*) continued to be compounds, even after the monosyllabic *bu* and *fu* fell into disuse, thus exhibiting lexical integrity (i.e., inseparability, etc.) as shown in (60).

Whether or not the details of these various analyses are correct, it seems quite certain that the short passive is not simply an Agentless version of a long passive. The short passive in Modern Mandarin is handed down from the Archaic passive construction. The phrasal short passive seems to retain the NP-movement properties of Archaic passives whereas the lexical passive appears to have been fossilized from Archaic forms that were once phrasal. There may be other alternative ways to analyze the phrasal short passives, as McCawley (1992) and Feng (1998) have suggested. We shall leave the question open for future work, as to which of these alternatives fares the best.

We have examined Mandarin passives in considerable detail. In the next section, let's turn our attention to passive constructions in other languages and survey their properties with a comparative purpose in mind. We shall then address the cross-linguistic variations and the questions they raise for a general theory of passivization.

4. Passives in Comparative Perspective

4.1. Passives in Chinese Dialects

We shall look at two Chinese dialects, Cantonese and Taiwanese. One important observation to note is that, unlike Mandarin, neither of these dialects have the short passive form. Thus in Cantonese, for example, the short passive form illustrated in (63a) is ungrammatical:[23]

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23. Szewing Tang (personal communication) informs me that (63a) is ungrammatical only when *bei* is pronounced in the native high rising tone (35). If it is pronounced in the low tone (22, generally considered to be borrowed from Mandarin) and with some appropriate aspect, the sentence is acceptable. I tentatively assume that this construction, with the low-tone *bei*, is borrowed from the Mandarin short passive. The same point applies to Taiwanese as well. In Taiwanese, a true short passive is possible when rendered in the 'literary version' (what is known as the 'reading pronunciation' based on Mandarin-like sentences as opposed to the more native 'speaking pronunciation'): *Chiong-a pi sat lo* (corresponding to *Chiong-a bei sha le*) 'Chiong-a got killed'. In what follows we shall be concerned only with the 'native' versions of these dialects.

(63) Cantonese

    a. *ngo bei daa zo.   我被打了。
       I   BEI hit PERF
       I was hit.

    b. ngo bei keoi da zo.   我被他打了。
       I   BEI him hit PERF
       I was hit by him.

    c. ngo bei jan   daa zo.   我被人打了。
       I   BEI people hit PERF
       I was hit by someone.

The same obtains with Taiwanese. This may not be obvious in the face of examples like (64), where *ho*, the Taiwanese counterpart of *bei*, appears to be directly followed by a VP:

(64) Taiwanese

    我給打著了。
    goa ho pha-tio   a.
    I   HO hit-attach PRT
    I was hit [by him/her].

There is evidence, however, that this is not a genuine case of the short passive. Rather, the *ho* in (64) is really a contraction of *ho* plus *i*, the third person singular pronoun, derived from (65), and hence a long passive:

(65) 我給伊打著了。

    goa ho i   pha-tio   a.
    I   HO him hit-attach PRT
    I was hit by him/her.

This must be the case for several reasons. Semantically, (64) can only be translated as "I was hit by him/her" with a clear understanding that a definite third person singular individual was the Agent, not as "I was hit," which would be the appropriate translation for the corresponding short passive in Mandarin. Also, unlike the Mandarin short passive, (64) can be used as a comment or relative clause saying something about a third person singular individual:

(66) 彼個人，我給打著了。

    hit-e   lang,   goa ho pha-tio   a.
    that-CL person, I   HO hit-attach PRT
    That person, I was hit [by him/her].

Phonologically, we know that *ho* should be in the sandhi tone in this environment (whether pre-NP or pre-VP), which should be a low $\underline{21}$ tone. However, in (64) and (66) it is pronounced in a mid-level $\underline{33}$ tone. This exceptional behavior is explained under the contraction hypothesis, because the tone of the third person pronoun in this environment would carry a mid-level $\underline{33}$ tone. That is, we can assume that in the process of the contraction, either the tone of the second syllable alone, or a tonal melody combining the tones of both syllables, is preserved. This hypothesis is independently evidenced by the following examples from Tung (1973):[24]

(67) a. 伊給人騙走了。

    i   hong   phian-khi a.
    he HONG cheat-go PRT
    He was cheated by someone.

  b. 汝把人家驚著了。

    li   kang   kiaN-tio a.
    you KANG frighten PRT
    You frightened them.

As Tung (1973) shows, *hong* and *kang* are respectively contracted forms of *ho* + *lang* 'person' and *ka* + *lang* 'person'. The fused forms must carry a low rising $\underline{13}$ tone, which is also the tone of *lang* when not contracted.

    The fact that neither Cantonese nor Taiwanese have (native) short passives raises the question why they should differ from Mandarin in this way. The answer seems clearly to come from the fact that unlike Mandarin, these dialects

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24. Luther Liu (personal communication) provides the following examples showing that the contracted form is a melody combining tones of both syllables:

    (i)   sia (55) + lang (13) → siang (53)
        who   person   who
    (ii) lay (33) + khi (21) → lay (31)
        come   go   let's go
    (iii) tsit (5) + tang (33) si → tsiang (53) si
        this   moment time this time

do not use the cognate of *bei* in forming their (long) passives. Instead, both Taiwanese and Cantonese use the verb whose lexical meaning ranges from caus-ative to dative ('give') to passive, but unrelated to Mandarin *bei*. Because the development of the long passive in the vernacular languages did not involve *bei*, this presumably caused the short passive inherited from Archaic Chinese to fall in disuse (except in literary renditions, as indicated in note 23). On the other hand, the Archaic short passive has been kept alive (and even enriched) in Mod-ern Mandarin because the same morpheme *bei* was used in the development of Pre-Modern and Modern Mandarin long-passives. Note that, if this explana-tion is correct, it provides another important argument against the "Agent-deletion" analysis of Mandarin short passives. For if it were possible in princi-ple to delete the Agent phrase in a long passive in Mandarin, it would be possible to do the same in Taiwanese and Cantonese long passives as well, but as we have seen, this never happened.

A second observation concerning Chinese dialects is that, regardless of whether they have the short passive form or not, all of them allow some form of what has come to be known as the "indirect passive".[25] In the passive examples we have seen, the subject of a passive sentence is coindexed with the direct object of the main verb.[26] Such are the "direct passive" sentences. But the sub-ject may also be related to something other than the direct object, or not to any apparent syntactic position in the main clause. Such "indirect passives" include cases (from Mandarin and Taiwanese) where the passivized NP originates from a possessive position:

(68) 張三被李四打斷了一條腿。
    Zhangsan bei Lisi daduan-le   yitiao tui.
    Zhangsan BEI Lisi hit-break-PERF one   leg
    Zhangsan had a leg broken by Lisi.

(69) 阿彬給阿德看到眞多缺點。
    Apin ho   Atek khoaN-tio chinche khuattiam.
    Apin BEI Atek seen   many   flaws
    Apin had many of his flaws discovered by Atek.

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25. The direct vs. indirect distinction is borrowed from the literature on Japanese passives. Although this distinction has figured prominently from the early days of generative study, it has not attracted much attention in Chinese syntax.
26. Or that of a complement verb in cases of long-distance passivization. The one exception is (59d), which is an example of the 'indirect passive' under discussion here.

and those where it does not seem to have originated from any 'underlying' position at all.   These latter cases are also known as "adversative passives," because of the strong sense of adversity they convey on the part of the referents of their subjects.   Taiwanese seems quite free in admitting such sentences:

(70) 我給伊走去了。

    goa ho i   tsao-khi a.

    I   HO him run-away PRT

    I (adversely) experienced his running away.

(71) 咱無小心給伊們贏好幾場去了。

    lan bosiosim ho in   iaN kui-a   tiuN khi   a.

    we careless HO them win several games away PRT

    Due to our carelessness we (adversely) experienced their winning several games away from us.

Although Mandarin normally does not permit simple adversative passives like (70),[27] in contexts where the sense of adversity is very clear, such passives are quite natural as well:[28]

(72) 我又被他自摸了。

    wo you   bei ta zi-mo   le.

    I   again BEI he self-touch PRT

    I again had him 'self-draw' [on me].

    (Said of a Mahjong game where one wins by drawing the last matching tile by oneself, rather than converting on an opponent's discarded tile.)

(73) 李四又被王五擊出了一支全壘打。

    Lisi you   bei Wangwu jichu-le   yi-zhi quanleida.

    Lisi again BEI Wangwu hit-PERF one   home-run

    Lisi again had Wangwu hit a home run [on him].

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27. The counterparts of these sentences in Mandarin would use the verb *rang* 'let, experience': *wo rang ta gei pao le*.   The sentence can mean that I let him run away on my own will, or that he ran away on me.
28. Example (73) was provided by one reviewer, and (74) is from Shen (1992).

(74) 我被他這麼一坐，就甚麼都看不見了。

    wo bei ta zhemo yi zuo, jiu shenme dou kan-bu-jian le.

    I BEI he thus one sit then everything all can-not-see PERF

    As soon as I had him sitting this way [on me], I couldn't see anything at all. (Said of a concert, when someone tall sits in front of me and blocks my view.)

An interesting aspect of the adversity passive is that in languages in which the form has been widely discussed (like Japanese), there is generally no known grammatical "active" counterpart from which the passive could be said to be derived. Interestingly enough, Taiwanese has active adversative sentences as well as adversative passives. In the following examples, an NP denoting the adversely affected individual(s) occurs immediately following *ka*, the marker of preverbal object corresponding to Mandarin *ba*.

(75) 伊把我跑走了。

    yi ka goa tsao-khi a.

    he KA me run-away PRT

    He ran away on me.

(76) 伊們把咱們贏好幾場去了。

    yin ka lan yiaN kui-a tiuN khi a.

    they KA we win several games away PRT

    They won several games away on us already.

(77) 我今天不高興，欲來把他提早下班。

    goa kinazit be khimo, be lai ka i thetsa hapan.

    I today not happy will come KA him earlier take-off

    Today I'm pissed, so I will quit early for the day on him [e.g., my boss].

These sentences are not unlike certain adversative sentences in English (as the English translations of these sentences show), although English does not have adversative passives.

    The distribution of various passive forms across the three Chinese dialects can be summarized below:

(78)

	Mandarin	Taiwanese	Cantonese
be passive	no	no	no
short *get* passive	yes	no	no
long *get* passive (direct)	yes	yes	yes
indirect passive (inclusive)	yes	yes	yes
indirect passive (adversative)[29]	no	yes	yes
adversative active	no	yes	yes

I assume that the long passives in both Taiwanese and Cantonese involves NOP movement as it does in Mandarin.[30] We shall return to the analysis of indirect passives below.

4.2. Passives in Japanese and Korean

From the early days of generative linguistics, it has been well known that Japanese has two passive forms, the 'direct' passive whose subject may be related to an object gap in the predicate and the 'indirect' passive whose subject is apparently not related to an object position in the predicate. There are two kinds of indirect passives. In one kind, the subject is related to some other position than the object within the predicate (e.g., the possessor of the object). In the other kind, the subject is not apparently related to any position in the predicate at all. The first kind of indirect passives is 'inclusive' and the second kind is 'exclusive' (Washio 1993). The 'exclusive' indirect passives are also known as 'adversative passives'. (79b) is a case of the direct passive, (80b) is a 'possessive' indirect passive, and (81b) and (82b) are examples of the adversative indirect passive.

(79) a. Mary-ga   John-o   nagut-ta.
        Mary-nom John-acc hit-past
        Mary hit John.

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29. The adversative passive is possible only in limited cases in Mandarin.
30. See Tang (1999) for analysis of Cantonese passives along these lines. Tang also cites examples indicating that Cantonese has both inclusive and adversative indirect passives.

    b. John-ga   Mary-ni   nagur-are-ta.
       John-nom Mary-dat hit-passive-past
       John was hit by Mary.

(80) a. Mary-ga   John-no   kodomo-o sikat-ta.
       Mary-nom John-gen child-acc scold-past
       Mary scolded John's child.

    b. John-ga   Mary-ni   kodomo-o sikar-are-ta.
       John-nom Mary-dat child-acc scold-passive-past
       John had his child scolded by Mary.
       (Lit. John$_i$ was scolded [his$_i$] child by Mary.)

(81) a. Mary-ga   John-o   nagut-ta.
       Mary-nom John-acc hit-past
       Mary hit John.

    b. Bill-ga   Mary-ni   John-o   nagur-are-ta.
       Bill-nom Mary-dat John-acc hit-passive-past
       Bill was (adversely) affected by Mary's hitting John.

(82) a. John-ga   nai-ta.
       John-nom cry-past
       John cried.

    b. Mary-ga   John-ni   nak-are-ta.
       Mary-nom John-dat cry-passive-past
       Mary had John crying on her.

The situation with Korean is similar, where both direct and indirect passives are possible. Unlike Japanese, however, it has been reported (see e.g., Washio 1993) that Korean does not permit the adversative passive. Thus in contrast to (82b) in Japanese, the following Korean example is ungrammatical under a 'passive' reading:

(83) *haksayng-i   ai-eykey wul-li-ess-ta.
     student-nom child-dat cry-pass-past
     (Intended for: "The student was adversely affected by the child crying.")

On the other hand, Korean shares with Taiwanese (and Cantonese) one property that they do not share with Mandarin or Japanese. In Korean, the passive morpheme can also have a causative reading. Thus, although (83) is ungrammatical under the adversative passive reading, it is in fact grammatical with a causative reading, meaning "the student made the child cry." The Taiwanese

example below can be three-way ambiguous with a strong and weak causative reading ('cause' and 'let') and an adversative passive reading:

(84) goa ho i   tio-tio   te-it tsiong a
     I   HO him get-attach first prize   PERF
     a. I made him win the first prize.
     b. I let him win the first prize.
     c. I (adversely) experienced his winning the first prize.

The distribution of the various passive forms in East Asian languages may be summarized below.

(85)

	Mandarin	Taiwanese	Cantonese	Japanese	Korean
be passive	no	no	no	no[31]	no
short *get* passive	yes	no	no	—	—
long *get* passive (direct)	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes
indirect passive (inclusive)	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes
indirect passive (adversative)	y/n	yes	yes	yes	no
adversative active	no	yes	no	no	no
same causative form	no	yes	yes	no	yes

This pattern raises a number of questions of distribution and analysis. One question, which I have already touched upon and will not discuss any further, is why only Mandarin, but neither Taiwanese nor Cantonese, possesses short passives.[32] Another question is how Japanese and Korean direct passives should be

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31. With one exception, the East Asian passives seem to all behave more like *get* passives in English. The one exception occurs in Japanese, when the Agent phrase is introduced by the postposition *ni yotte* rather than the case-marker *-ni*. Hoshi (1993) argues that unlike the *ni*-passive, the *ni yotte*-passive involves non-thematic subjects and should be analyzed as involving movement into the subject position above the passive morpheme. In the rest of this section I will only be concerned with *ni*-passives. I shall assume that the *ni yotte*-passives represent a stage where the passive morpheme *rare* has been further weakened (grammaticalized) than in the case of a *ni*-passive. In *ni*-passives, *rare* means 'experience, undergo', and in *ni yotte*-passives, it means 'become, turn out', thus having the status of a raising verb. See also note 34 below.

32. Japanese and Korean allow for the optional omission of the Agent phrase, just like *John got ripped off (by the merchants)*. Unlike the Mandarin short passives, there seems to be no similar consideration that excludes an analysis of the Japanese and Korean short passives in terms of Agent-deletion (or omission) from the long passives.

analyzed, in light of our discussion of Chinese direct passives above.

The analysis of the various passive forms in Japanese has been a topic of great controversy among Japanese syntacticians. All scholars seem to have agreed that indirect passives (especially the adversative ones) involve a structure of clausal complementation, with a matrix experiential verb *rare* and a complement clause embedded under it. For the direct passives, Kuroda (1965) maintained that they too involve clausal complementation, plus a process that deletes the embedded object under identity with the matrix subject. N. McCawley (1972) and Kuno (1973), on the other hand, analyzed the direct passive as a simplex structure derived from NP-movement, but without clausal complementation. Thus Kuroda championed a 'uniform' theory for both direct amd indirect passives, while N. McCawley and Kuno championed a 'non-uniform' theory. (See Howard and Niyekawa-Howard 1976 for an early review of the various issues. For a more recent review and attempt to defend the uniform hypothesis, see Kitagawa and Kuroda 1992.)

As far as the direct passives are concerned, it is easy to see that these two competing approaches parallel the two competing approaches that have figured in the analysis of Chinese passives also.[33]

In light of our discussion of the Mandarin passives above, one might suspect that the best analysis of Japanese passives also lies somewhere along the best analysis of Chinese passives, according to which they involve both complementation and movement: (a) the long passive involves complementation of an embedded IP under *bei* and the A'-movement of an NOP which is then predicated of the matrix subject, and (b) the short passive involves complementation of a VP under *bei* and the A-movement of a PRO controlled by the matrix subject. Such an approach should satisfy proponents of the 'uniform' theory since all passives do involve complementation and, in the case of the direct passives, a bound pronominal (i.e., the NOP or the moved PRO). It should also satisfy proponents of the 'non-uniform' theory since, for them, the issue is not non-uniformity per se, but the crucial existence of movement, in the derivation of the direct passive (an A'-trace of the NOP or an NP-trace of the moved PRO, in our analysis).

In fact, precisely this sort of analysis has been proposed for Japanese. Hoshi (1991) was the first to propose that Japanese direct passives involve the movement of PRO to Spec of VP where it is then controlled by the subject of

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33. The issue of uniformity was irrelevant in the analysis of Mandarin passives because adversative passives are generally unacceptable in Mandarin. No one, as far as I know, ever entertained a non-uniform approach to direct and indirect passives.

matrix verb *rare*. His proposal is also appropriate for the English *get* passive and, as indicated above, has been adopted for the analysis of the Mandarin short passive. A representation of the direct passive, according to this analysis, is (86):

(86)

```
                        IP
                      /   \
                     /   . . . .
                   /         \
                 NP           VP
                  |          /   \
              John_i-ga    VP      V
                          /  \      |
                        NP    V'  (r)are 'get'
                         |    / \
                       PRO_i /   \
                            NP  NP  V
                             |   |   |
                          Bill-ni t_i nagur
                                       'hit'
```
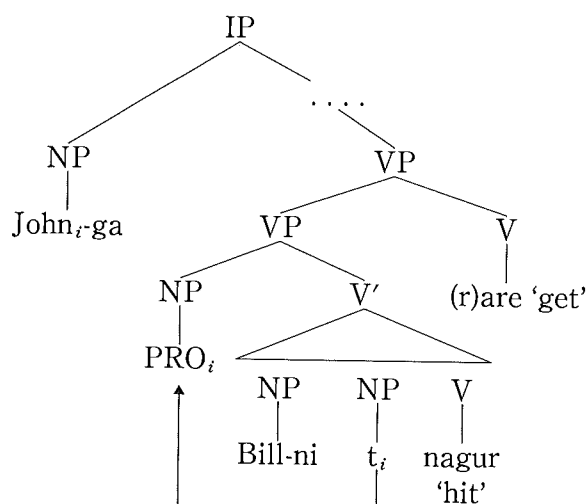
Hoshi (1994a, b) incorporated this analysis into a general scheme that also accommodates the other passive types (the *ni yotte* passive and the indirect passive) elegantly.[34] In contrast to Hoshi's analysis, Toyoshima (1996) has more recently argued that Japanese direct passives actually involve A'-movement of an NOP, citing Ting (1995) in reference to the NOP analysis of Chinese passives.

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34. Assuming that *rare* may or may not assign a subject theta role (à la Kuroda) and may or may not trigger 'passivization' of the lower VP (suppressing its external argument and absorbing its Accusative case), Hoshi proposes that *rare* may be characterized by the features $[\alpha\text{Experiencer}]$ and $[\beta\text{Passivization}]$. The combination $[+\text{Exp},+\text{Pass}]$ characterizes the *rare* of the direct *ni*-passive, whereas the combination $[-\text{Exp},+\text{Pass}]$ is suitable for the *rare* of the *ni yotte* passive. The indirect passive *rare* is said to be $[+\text{Exp}, -\text{Pass}]$, whereas the combination $[-\text{Exp}, -\text{Pass}]$ is said to be excluded for independent reasons.

(87)

```
                    IP
                  /    \
                 /      ....
                /        \
              NP          VP
              |          /  \
          John_i-ga    CP     V
                      /  \     |
                   NOP_i  IP  (r)are 'get'
                         /  \
                       NP  NP  V
                       |   |   |
                     Bill-ni t_i nagur
                              'hit'
```
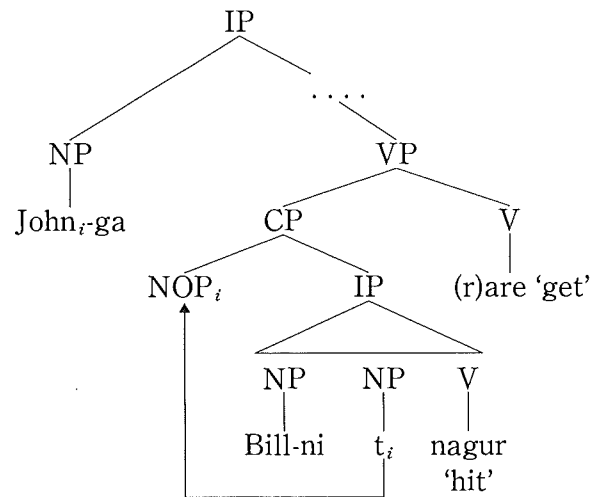
Some of the arguments we saw above for the NOP analysis of the Chinese long passives may apply to Japanese direct passives as well. In fact, citing Nagai (1991), Toyoshima (1996) shows that Japanese permits long-distance passivization:

(88) Mary$_i$-ga John-ni [Bill-ga e$_i$ hihansita to]   iw-are-te-iru.
Mary-nom john-dat Bill-nom   criticized comp say-ing-is
Mary is said by John to have been criticized by Bill.
Lit. Mary$_i$ is (being) said by John that Bill criticized e$_i$.

In addition, he shows that the direct passive (a) forms a weak island that prevents the extraction of an adjunct interrogative (like *naze* 'why'), (b) can license a parasitic gap, and (c) displays Principle C type of reconstruction effects.

While Toyoshima's facts seem to converge on providing evidence for the existence of an A'-movement chain whose head is a null operator and whose tail is a variable, there is also evidence in favor of a PRO-movement approach involving A-movement.[35] Whether the Japanese direct passive is best analyzed in

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35. One such piece of evidence comes from Saito (1985), based on the distribution of the effects of the well known "Double -*o* Constraint" of Harada (1973), which prohibits a predicate from assigning two (or more) Accusative cases to its arguments. Saito shows that the Double -*o* Constraint applies to both empty categories (as well as overt categories) bearing Accusative case (such as an Accusative-marked *wh*-trace or pro). In a passive construction, however, the trace of the fronted subject may co-occur with another overt Accusative-marked NP. This shows that the trace is not itself Case-marked, hence an NP-trace.

terms of PRO-movement as in (86) or in terms of NOP-movement as in (87) is a question that merits further discussion beyond the space limits of this article. (See Huang (1999), where this topic is taken up in some detail.) In what follows I shall assume that at least as a possibility, Japanese direct *ni*-passives can also involve NOP movement as the Chinese long passives do. Regardless of whether this is correct, it is clear that these analyses are in similar spirit. Most relevantly, the PRO/NOP-movement approach can satisfy proponents of the 'uniform' approach who insist on complementation and those of the 'non-uniform' approach who capitalize on the existence of movement. According to the PRO/NOP-movement approach, the *ni*-passive involves both movement *and* complementation: either PRO movement in a structure of VP complementation, or NOP movement in a structure of clausal complementation.[36]

I have not investigated Korean passives in detail and shall leave open the question whether Korean direct passives can be analyzed along these same lines. Let's again defer discussion of the indirect passive momentarily.

4.3. Passives in English and Romance

In English, the familiar *be* passive has been analyzed as shown in (89):

(89) [$_{IP}$ John$_i$ was [$_{VP}$ blamed t$_i$ for the mistake by Bill]].

Under the Predicate Internal Subject Hypothesis, a more articulate structure of
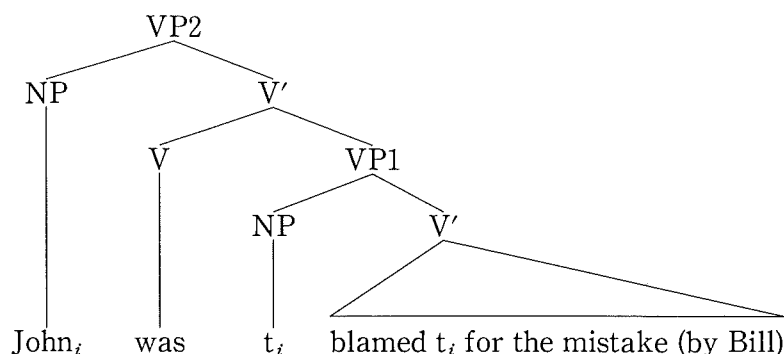
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36. Kitagawa and Kuroda (1992) represents the most recent major attempt to defend the uniform approach (the 'pure complementation' approach) to *ni* passives. They provide important evidence that *ni* direct passives involve clausal complementation, and show that some arguments presented for movement or against their complementation apporach are flawed. Like the pure complementation approach to Chinese long passives (see (18) above, for example), however, K&K's theory also falls short of accounting for the obligatoriness of a null object in simple passive sentences. K&K does contain several important arguments against the 'pure movement' approach. In particular, they show that Japanese passives fail to exhibit reconstruction effects with respect to Condition A, quantifier scope interpretation, and weak crossover. They take the lack of reconstruction effects as evidence that Japanese passives are not formed by movement, but by complementation and identity deletion. Note, however, that these arguments are without force against the PRO- or NOP-movement approach. It is an independent fact of control and predication chains that they do not reconstruct. The following sentences, for example, do not exhibit quantifier reconstruction effects (see Higginbotham 1996 and references cited):
    (i) Someone expects [PRO] to be seen by everyone.
    (ii) Everyone is easy [NOP] PRO to tell some story to t.
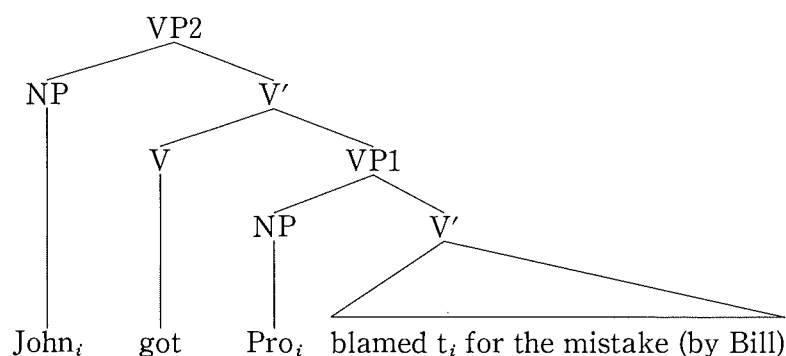See Huang (1999) for more detailed discussion.

(89) is:[37]

(90)

```
                    VP2
             ┌───────┴───────┐
            NP              V'
             │         ┌─────┴──────┐
             │         V          VP1
             │         │      ┌─────┴─────┐
             │         │     NP          V'
             │         │      │      ┌────┴──────────┐
             │         │      │     △_____
          John_i      was     t_i   blamed t_i for the mistake (by Bill)
```

That is, passivization takes place first within the lower VP, with the Patient moved into [Spec, VP1], before it raises into the higher [Spec, VP2] position. The verb *be* is treated as a raising verb. In this light, the difference between the standard *be* passive and the *get* passive is simply that between raising and control. Following Hoshi's (1991, 1994a,b) analysis, a *get* passive has the following structure:

(91)

```
                    VP2
             ┌───────┴───────┐
            NP              V'
             │         ┌─────┴──────┐
             │         V          VP1
             │         │      ┌─────┴─────┐
             │         │     NP          V'
             │         │      │      ┌────┴──────────┐
             │         │      │     △_____
          John_i      got    Pro_i  blamed t_i for the mistake (by Bill)
```

This structural distinction then very conveniently attributes some important differences between *be* and *get* passives to the familiar raising vs. control distinction among predicates. Observe, for example, the parallelism below with respect to the distribution of subject-oriented adverbs (92–93) and idiom chunks (94–95).

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37. I shall ignore the IP projections above the matrix VP. It is assumed that the verb *be* will eventually move into Tns, and the subject *John* will move into Spec of TP.

(92) a. *John was cheated intentionally.
     b.   John got cheated intentionally.

(93) a. *John is intentionally likely to win.
     b.   John is intentionally eager to win.

(94) a.   Advantage was taken of John.
     b. *?Advantage got taken of John.[38]

(95) a.   The shit is likely to hit the fan.
     b. *The shit is eager to hit the fan.

Like its Taiwanese and Korean counterparts, English *get* may be used as a causative:

(96) John got Bill to win the game.

One significant difference, though, is that whereas the causative verb may select a clause denoting an active event in all these languages, only in English it may also take a complement that is itself a passive clause, as in:

(97) Mary got John blamed for the mistake (by Bill).

Similar examples can be found with causative *have*:

(98) Mary had her car tuned up (by the mechanic) today.

Such "causative-passive" examples are not found in Taiwanese or Mandarin. A direct rendering of (97) into Mandarin or Taiwanese would yield an example of the long passive we examined earlier. To see this more clearly, first consider the following pair in English:

(99) a. John got cheated.
     b. John got Bill cheated.

---

38. Some speakers can accept sentences like (94b), with an idiom chunk appearing in the subject position. Washio (1990, p. 258) gives (i) as being fully grammatical:

    (i)   Nowadays, advantage gets taken of little girls by adult men,

I assume that for these speakers the verb *get* has been further weakened (ergativized, grammaticalized) so that in addition to the meaning 'to experience', it can also have the meaning approximating 'to become, turn out'. In this latter meaning its subject is non-thematic and can host NP-movement. The derivation would be as depicted in (90) for the *be*-passive: [*Advantage$_i$ got* [*t'$_i$* [*taken t$_i$ of John*]]], with *t'* being a trace rather than Pro.

(99a) expresses an "ergative-passive" sense, meaning John got into a state (hence ergative) in which he was cheated (hence passive). (99b) expresses a "causative-passive" sense, meaning John caused Bill to be in a state in which he (Bill) was cheated. Now, a direct rendering of this pair into Mandarin does not give us an ergative-causative alternative, but simply a pair consisting of the short passive and the long passive:

(100) a. Zhangsan bei pian le.
           Zhangsan BEI cheat PERF
           Zhangsan got cheated.

       b. Zhangsan bei Lisi pian le.
           Zhangsan BEI Lisi cheat PERF
           Zhangsan was cheated by Bill.

Whereas (100a) may be likened to (99a) as an "ergative-passive" sentence, (100b) is not its "causative-passive" counterpart, unlike (99b). In (99b), *Bill* is the Patient subject of a passive verb but in (100b), *Lisi* is the Agent subject of an active verb.

What would be the appropriate analysis of "causative-passive" like (97) or (98) as opposed to an "ergative-passive" like (91)? In light of the analysis given in (91), I think the simplest analysis for (97) would be that it contains (91) as the complement of a causative VP shell. In the structure for (97) below, the substructure shown in the box is identical to the whole structure in (91):

(101)

Mary [e] John$_i$ got PRO$_i$ blamed t$_i$ for the mistake (by Bill)
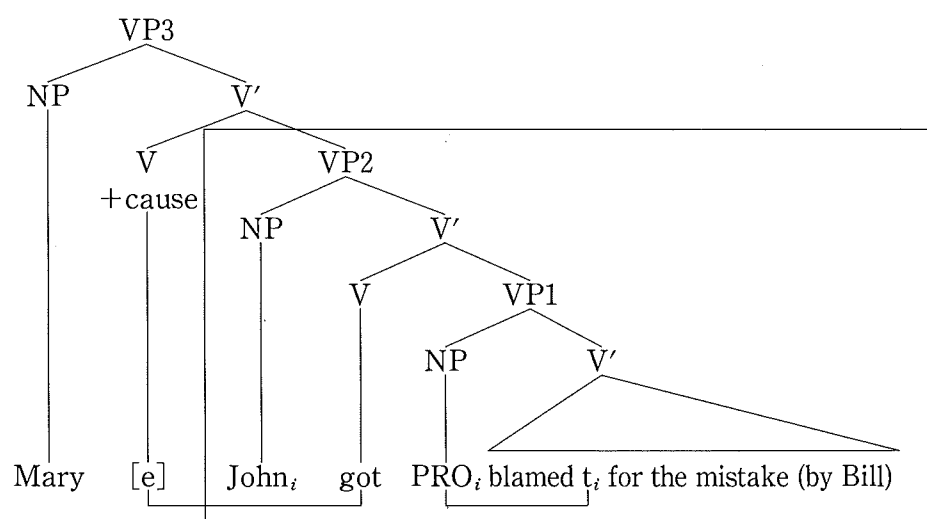
The difference with the causative is the imposition of the causative VP shell with a causative light verb, which triggers verb raising of *got*, resulting in the surface structure (97). The alternation between these two passive forms is therefore parallel to the familiar ergative-causative alternation illustrated by *The window broke* and *John broke the window*. The only difference is that in this latter pair we have an ergative-causative alternation of a simplex verb, whereas (91) and (97) involve that of a complex predicate, i.e., *got blamed for the mistake*.

Like English, the Romance languages also display a full range of *be* passives, ergative *get* passives, and causative *get* passives:

(102) a. Jean a été broyeé par un camion.
            Jean was crushed by a truck.
       b. Jean s'est fait broyer par un camion.
            Jean got crushed by a truck.
       c. Jean a fait broyer la voiture par un camion.
            Jean had the car crushed by a truck.

Unlike the English *get* passives, however, the main verb below *faire* in (102b-c) does not carry passive morphology, but in fact occurs in its active form. Such are what Kayne (1975) has termed the *faire par* construction. Italian *faire par* constructions display the same property (as shown in Burzio 1986):

(103) Maria ha fatto riparare la macchina (da Giovanni).
       Maria has made repaire the car   (by Giovanni).
       'Maria has had the car repaired (by Giovanni).'

Both the Romance *faire* constructions and English *get* sentences have a *by*-agent phrase (which may optionally delete). Hence these sentences all lack a thematic subject position for the main verb under *faire* or *get*. In English the verb below *get* is passivized, so its object is fronted, yielding sentences like *I got Bill blamed*. In the Romance *faire par* constructions, however, the verb below *faire* remains active, and so its object remains in its original position. The generalization is that, unlike English *get* passives/causatives, the *faire par* construction involves only suppression of an external argument (hence the *par* phrase), but no Case absorption (hence the object remains in situ).

Seen in this light, the Romance *faire* passive constructions are closer in form to the East Asian passive sentences than to their English counterparts. The similarities between *faire par* constructions and Japanese *ni* passives have already been observed by Mamoru Saito (cited in Hoshi 1994): both involve bi-

clausal structures, both involve argument suppression, and neither involves passive morphology. Two of these properties apply to Chinese long passives as well (bi-clausal structure, and no passive morphology). Note that from the last property (i.e., the lack of passive morphology) also follows that there is no Case absorption, and hence also the existence of indirect passives, where the main verb is capable of being followed by internal objects. In other words, Romance *faire par* constructions like (103) and (102b-c) are simply examples of what has been known as indirect passives in East Asian. Because English *get* passives require passive morphology, no indirect passives are possible in English.

4.4. Summary

Summarizing, we have seen that a number of passive forms occur in various languages:

(104)

	Mand.	Taiw.	Cant.	Jap.	Kor.	Eng.	Rom.
be passive	no	no	no	no	no	yes	yes
get passive	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes
direct passive	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes
inclusive indirect passive	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes	no[39]	yes
adversative passive	y/n	yes	yes	yes	no	no[40]	?
adversative active	no	yes	no	?	?	yes[41]	?
same 'get' causative form	no	yes	yes	no	yes	yes	yes
causative-passive form	no	no	no	no	no	yes	no

Numerous theoretical questions can be asked about this cross-linguistic distribution of various passive forms.

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39. Sentences like *John had his car tuned up* in its experiential sense (rather than the causative sense) would have the flavor of an inclusive indirect passive, but note that the embedded clause is already in a direct passive form. Such forms are subsumed under the 'causative-passive' form.
40. In fact, *get* and *faire* + passive forms are often associated with some degree of adversity as well. Compare *John got killed*, ??*John got loved / liked, John was liked*.
41. E.g., *John died on me, Bill quit on me*, etc.

(105)   a. Why do "passive sentences" involve the various forms we have observed, but not other forms? For example, why do they involve *be* or *get*, or similar predicates, but not others? And why can the passive verb also have a causative sense, at least in some languages?

        b. Is there a universal notion of the "passive construction"?

        c. What is the status of the indirect passive, especially the adversative passive in a general theory of the passive? Where would Chinese stand, for example, in such a theory?

        d. What explains the cross-linguistic differences among some languages or language groups displayed in (104)?

These are all important questions that any full theory of the passive construction must address. But finding a definitive answer to each of these questions goes beyond the scope of this paper. In Section 5, I offer some general remarks (some of them necessarily speculative) that might point to possible fruitful directions for future research.

5. Some Theoretical Issues

5.1. Ways to Get Passive

The preceding discussion shows that a passive may be formed in one of three strategies: (a) by passive voice morphology, as in English simple *be* passives with the ending *-en*, which directly alters the argument structure of the active verb; (b) by embedding an *active* clause or VP under a 'get' like predicate, as happens in the East Asian languages and with certain types of passives in Romance; and (c) by a combination of the two, as in English *get* passives, which embed a *passivized* clause under a 'get' like predicate. We have also seen that the predicate involved in the embedding strategy often exhibits a number of possible interpretations that range from the strong causative reading ('cause'), to the weak causative reading ('let'), to the meanings of 'experience', 'be adversely affected by', and 'be acted upon'. Take the Taiwanese *ho* for example, which may have any of these meanings depending on their environments:

(106)   a. goa beh ho li   peh-be-khilai.
           I   want HO you crawl-not-up
           I will cause you to be unable to get up.

b. goa beh　ho　i　　seng tshut-khi.
　　I　　want HO him first　out-go
　　I will let him get out first.

c. goa bosiosim ho　i　　tsao-tshut-khi a.
　　I　　careless　HO him run-out-away PRT
　　Due to my carelessness I had him running away (on me).

d. goa ho　i　　khoaN-tio goa-e pibit.
　　I　　HO him see-result　my　　secret
　　I had him discovering my secret.

e. goa ho　i　　thaothe neng-pa kho.
　　I　　HO him steal　　200　　　dollar
　　I got stolen 200 dollars by him.

f. goa ho　i　　liah-tio a.
　　I　　HO him catch　PRT
　　I got caught by him.

(106a-b) have the strong and weak causative senses, respectively. (106c) is an adversative passive, describing an event adverse to the subject but one that the subject is not involved in any way. (106d) still describes an adversative event and the subject is indirectly involved as someone whose secret was revealed. In (106e) the subject is even more involved, as the recipient of the action 'steal 200 dollars (of)', and finally in (106f) the subject is directly involved as the direct object of 'catch'. The examples (a-b) are "active sentences" in the sense that the individual denoted by the subject has at least some minimal control over the event, and those in (c-f) are called "passive sentences" because the subject appears not to be in control of the event. It is also possible that the verb may have a neutral meaning (neither active nor passive). In Archaic Chinese, the ancestor of *ho* alternated between the meaning of 'give' and that of 'receive'. (See Cheng, Huang, Li, and Tang 1996.) Similarly, Archaic *bei* (the ancestor of Mandarin passive *bei*) alternated between the meanings of 'cover' and 'come under the cover of'. The receiving event is neither active nor passive, but neutral.

This range of senses reflects the gradual 'weakening' (over time) of the strength of the verb and a concomitant lowering of the thematic role of the subject (along the Thematic Hierarchy).

(107)

	Verb Meaning	Subject Role
a.	Cause	Agent or Active Causer
b.	Let, allow	Non-active Causer
c.	Experience	Neutral Experiencer
d.	Experience (adverse event)	Indirect Affectee
e.	Be affected	Affectee (Indirect Patient)
f.	Be acted upon	Patient

The East Asian languages exemplify a full range of this pattern. The two senses of *get* in English also fit into this picture. The causative *get* passives may vaguely fit in the category (107a-c), while the ergative *get* passives fit under (107d-f). Although English is usually not thought to have an adversative passive of the sort exemplified by (106d), certain *get* passives often convey a sense of adversity that *be* passives do not. Compare *John got mugged* vs. *John was mugged* and *?John got praised* vs. *John was praised*.

Seen in (107), then, the *get* passives are merely part of a gradual continuum. The case with the morphological strategy is different, however. There are only two discrete alternating members: the active and the passive.

(108)   a. John cheated Mary.
        b. Mary was cheated (by John).

The subject of the *be* passive always bears the same thematic role of the object of the corresponding active. Because of this, it has been possible to say that the passive morphology eliminates (de-thematizes) the subject argument and triggers movement of the object into the subject position. The same analysis has proven difficult with East Asian passives, where the subject may be an Experiencer related directly or indirectly to the object of the main predicate, but need not have the same thematic role as the object.

The question that concerns us is why the passive construction is formed by one of these two strategies, or a combination of the two, but not by other strategies. The answer I want to suggest here is that these are the only two ways that the argument structure of a predicate can be altered to give rise to the meaning of passivity. The argument structure of a predicate may be viewed from two dimensions: transitivity and aspectuality (cf. Jackendoff 1990, Grimshaw 1990; also Cheng and Huang 1995 regarding the two dimensions in the anal-

ysis of Chinese resultative compounds). The transitivity dimension concerns the number of arguments a predicate has, and the aspectuality dimension relates to the event structure of a predicate, in ways that reflect Vendler's (1967) classification of verb types (achievements, states, etc.). On the transitivity dimension, a predicate is associated with an argument structure characterizing it as having one, two, or more arguments. On the aspectuality dimension, a predicate is represented in an articulated event structure in which its meanings are decomposed into parts that represent causality, inchoativity, state, etc. I want to suggest that the morphological strategy represented by English *be* passive is one that manipulates the transitivity dimension of a predicate's argument structure, whereas the embedding strategy widely employed by East Asian languages is one that manipulates the aspectuality dimension of the embedding predicate.

To see this point more clearly, consider—in general terms—the properties of a passive as opposed to those of an active sentence. First, there is intransitivization by elimination of the external argument, so that the passive is an intransitive sentence. Secondly, there is promotion—an NP bearing a lower-ranked thematic role than the active subject takes up the subject position. Thirdly, the object argument of the active is missing from the object position in the passive. These three properties—argument reduction, promotion, and a missing object —are obtained in a passive driven by the passive voice morphology, which is said to suppress the subject argument (hence argument reduction) and absorb the Case of the object argument (hence promotion and an object trace). In this case, passivization affects the transitivity structure of a predicate regardless of the event type it represents and the thematic role label of its arguments:

(109)   [Arg$_1$ [Verb Arg$_2$]] $\Longrightarrow$ [Arg$_2$ [Verb-en t$_2$]]

Now, consider a pattern of alternation on the aspectuality dimension of a predicate. The most familiar example is the ergative alternation, or the causative-inchoative alternation:

(110)   a. They broke the window.
        b. The window broke.

(111)   a. They sank the ship.
        b. The ship sank.

The alternation can be described as that between a causative template and an ergative or inchoative template.

(112)

```
        VP1                                        VP2
       /   \                                      /   \
     NP     V'              ⟹                   NP     V'
   Causer  /  \                            Experiencer /  \
          V    VP2                           Theme     V    ....
       [+Cause] /  \                               [+become]
              NP     V'
          Experiencer/ /  \
            Theme    V    ....
                 [+become]
```
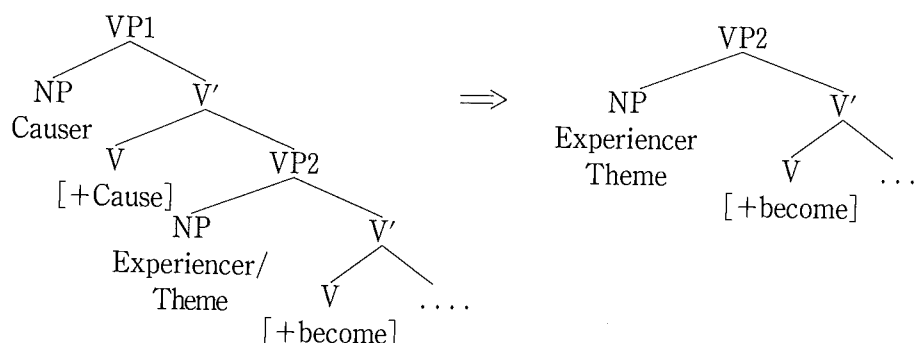
The alternation shown here involves the elimination of the causative component of the verb and the concomitant erasure of the Causer argument, namely the upper VP shell. As a result, the Experiencer/Theme, which ranks lower than a Causer, now ends up as the subject of the main clause. Note that this characterization applies not only to pairs involving simple sentences with *break*, *sink*, and the like. It also applies to the two patterns of *get* passives in English. In fact, shift of meaning from 'cause' to 'let' to 'experience', etc. (which we saw with Taiwanese *ho* in (106)) can be appropriately seen in the same way, as the result of successive elimination of a higher VP shell, if given a more fine-grained event structure.

The causative-ergative alternation is thus similar to the active-passive alternation in that it also involves argument reduction and argument promotion. From here it is not surprising that both these alternations are exploited in natural language to express the notion of passivity. A plausible answer to the question why passives use one or both of these strategies comes from the fact that both these patterns involve argument reduction and argument promotion.

Still, the causative-ergative alternation is different from an active-passive alternation. For one thing, the ergative does not really have a 'passive' meaning: in the true passive *The window was broken*, the window is felt to be the recipient or victim of some event brought about by others, but the ergative *The window broke* simply expresses a 'becoming' or the coming into existence of a situation (hence the ergative is an 'inchoative'). Secondly, a true passive (except for the indirect passives) involves a (passivized) transitive verb with a missing object, a property that is not clearly true of an inchoative. Thirdly, a true passive is generally a one-place predicate, but an inchoative need not be monadic. For example, *John experienced x* is an inchoative relative to *Bill caused John to experience x*, but the experiential sentence has two arguments, *John* and *x*. The causative-ergative alternation has the effect of eliminating an

external argument, but not quite enough to produce an intransitive sentence. As a result, the shift from 'cause' to 'let' to 'experience' only gives rise to a 'weakening' effect on the strength of the verb, with concomitant lowering of the subject's thematic role, but the results (as represented in (107b-c)) are still active sentences.

What, then, causes speakers (and linguists) to consider cases like (107d-f) and (106d-f) passive sentences? I suggest that further weakening of the verb does eventually cause it to become a monadic predicate, thus fulfilling the definition of a passive. But unlike in the active-passive alternation, intransitivization at the bottom of the causative-ergative alternation need not come from the complete elimination of the external argument but may be achieved by turning the *internal* argument expressing an event into a (secondary) predicate expressing a property—i.e., semantically by lambda-abstracting a term out of the event clause, and syntactically by the device of NOP movement. I assume that this occurred as a result of grammaticalization over time, crucially when the relevant verb *bei* (or *ho*, etc.) was further weakened from the status of a two-place predicate meaning 'experience, undergo' to that of a one-place predicate meaning 'end up being an x such that'.

5.2. A Universal Notion of the Passive?

The above view about the East Asian type of passives enables us to have a unifying notion of the passive construction as having the following three properties:

(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.

The English *get* passive involves both the morphological and the embedding strategies.   In *John got [PRO blamed t]*, the embedded VP has all the properties of a *be* passive (assuming PRO-movement within the VP).   The matrix verb *get* is in the inchoative sense (and the subject is an Experiencer).   The embedded VP (with a moved PRO) is taken as a secondary predicate (in satisfaction of the second part of (113a)), and control of PRO by the matrix subject establishes the configuration stated in (113c).

This much seems to qualify as the universal defining characteristics of a passive construction.   Two other characterics that have been associated with passivization are: (a) suppression of the external argument, and (b) absorption of the Case of the internal argument. In view of the our analysis of Chinese passives, these two properties are not universal.   First, for the *be* passives and English-type *get* passives, suppression of the external argument of the main verb certainly takes place.   For the East Asian types passives, one can say that suppression of the external theta-role does occur at the level of the embedding verb; namely, the suppression of the Causer argument allows for the Experiencer argument to be the subject and therefore for the entire sentence to acquire a passive reading.   At the level of the embedded verb, we can also say that the external argument has been suppressed for cases that involve PRO movement, such as the Mandarin short passives and in Hoshi's analysis of Japanese *ni*-passives.   However, for the long passives in Mandarin, Taiwanese, and Cantonese (and Japanese if we take the NOP-movement analysis), the external argument of the embedded verb is not suppressed, but continues to stay in subject position. Similarly, Case absorption also does not apply in this sort of passives.   Passivity comes from the coindexation of the embedded object with a higher Experiencer subject (through the mediation of an NOP), but the embedded clause is still a transitive active clause.   Finally, Case absorption also does not occur in the indirect passives, because the embedded verb is either unergative, or is followed by its own object.

While the universal characterization given in (113) seems satisfactory for the most part, one question arises with the status of adversative passives represented by (106c) and (71), repeated below:

(106c) 我無小心給伊跑出去了。
       goa bosiosim ho i   chao-chhut-khi a.
       I   careless HO him run-out-away PRT
       Due to my carelessness I had him running away (on me).

(71)   咱無小心給伊們贏好幾場去了。
        lan bosiosim ho in   iaN kui-a   tiuN khi   a.
        we careless HO them win several games away PRT
        Due to our carelessness we had them walking away winning several
        games.

The problem is that they apparently do not have all the defining characteristics
of a passive listed in (113).   For example, they apparently do not involve a miss-
ing object position in the embedded predicate, nor NOP movement, and hence no
intransitivization by formation of a secondary predicate.   The only relevant
property is that the embedding verb is used in the inchoative sense, taking an
experiencer as its subject. But this is a property of inchoativization, not passiv-
ization. Therefore, these sentences should be classified on a par with the neutral
experiential, hence active, sentences.   The problem could be avoided if we sim-
ply said that the adversative passives are simply active, and they do not fit under
the characterization (113). However, most scholars do consider the adversative
experiential sentences as some kind of passives, and there is, at least intuitively,
good reason for this view.   Let's then address the problem of the adversative
passive.

5.3. The Analysis of Indirect Passives

In fact, the problem of the adversative passive is part of a larger problem
concerning all indirect passives.   Recall that in some indirect passives the sub-
ject may be related to a position in the predicate other than the object position,
while in others the subject apparently cannot be related to any position internal
to the predicate at all.   Washio (1993) calls the former kind the 'inclusive pas-
sive' and the latter the 'exclusive passive'.   The exclusive indirect passives are
also called the adversative passives.   (The direct passives, of course, are all
'inclusive'.)

5.3.1. The Inclusive Indirect Passive
Consider a case of the inclusive indirect passive. One such case is the 'posses-
sive passive', commonly found in all East Asian languages:

(114)   張三被土匪打死了爸爸。
        Zhangsan bei tufei   dasi-le   baba.   (Mandarin)
        Zhangsan BEI bandits kill-PERF father
        Zhangsan had his father killed by the bandits.

(115) 我給伊踢著肚子了。

     goa ho i   that-tio patto   a.   (Taiwanese)

     I   HO him kick   stomach PRT

     I was 'kicked [my] stomach' by him.

(116) John-ga   Mary-ni kodomo-o sikar-are-ta.   (Japanese)

     John-nom Mary-dat child-acc scold-pass-past

     John had his child scolded by Mary.

(117) haksayng-i sensayngnim-eykey son-ul   cap-hi-ess-ta. (Korean)

     student-nom teacher-dat   hand-acc catch-pass-past-decl.

     The student had his hand caught by the teacher.

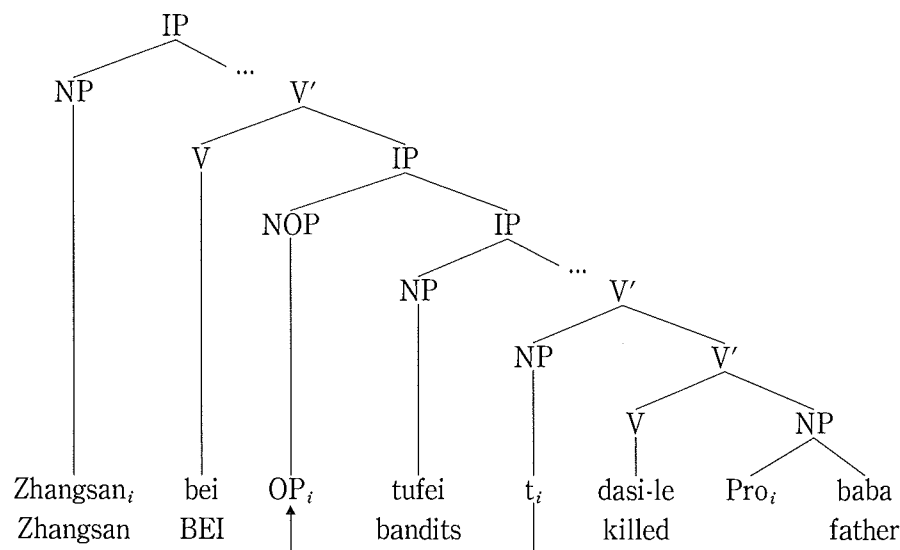   (The student was caught by the hand by the teacher.)

Assuming that, in each of these sentences, there is indeed a null possessive phrase in the predicate coindexed with the subject of the passive verb, the question arises how this anaphoric relationship is established. One possibility would be that the possessive phrase directly undergoes NOP movement. This 'possessive raising hypothesis' must be ruled out, however, for the following reasons. First, the possessive phrase is generally inaccessible to be moved out of the possessed phrase, as this would violate Ross' (1967) Left Branch Condition. Secondly, even if one were to claim that the LBC did not obtain in East Asian languages, proponents of the movement hypothesis would need to explain contrasts like that between (114) and the following highly marginal sentence:

(118) ?*張三被我問了爸爸了。

     ?*Zhangsan$_i$ bei wo wen-le   e$_i$ baba le.

      Zhangsan BEI I   ask-PERF father PRT

      Zhangsan had his father asked (a question) by me.

If the possessive of 'father' were allowed to be moved out in (114), the same movement should be allowed in (118), but (118) is considerably less natural than (114).

I have suggested elsewhere (Huang 1991, inter alia, extending an idea of Thompson 1973) that sentences like (114)–(115) should be analyzed as involving a complex predicate with an 'outer object' that controls the null possessor. The possessor is not a trace, but a Pro controlled by the outer object. What is moved is the outer object itself.

(119)

```
                      IP
              /        \
            NP          ...   V'
             |              /      \
             |             V          IP
             |             |        /    \
             |             |      NOP      IP
             |             |      |      /    \
             |             |      |    NP     ... V'
             |             |      |    |        /    \
             |             |      |    |      NP      V'
             |             |      |    |      |      /    \
             |             |      |    |      |     V      NP
             |             |      |    |      |     |     /  \
        Zhangsan_i  bei   OP_i  tufei  t_i  dasi-le  Pro_i  baba
        Zhangsan   BEI          bandits     killed          father
```

Zhangsan was 'father-killed' by the bandits.

In this structure, the verb 'kill' takes the NP 'Pro father' as its immediate object. The verb and this object forms a complex predicate V' that takes another object, the 'outer object'. The outer object controls the possessor Pro and is in turn NOP-moved to IP, where it is coindexed with *Zhangsan* under predication. (Both predication and control are subject to a Minimal Distance Principle of the sort first proposed by Rosenbaum 1970, as part of the Generalized Control Theory of Huang 1984, 1991, inter alia.) I take the standard view that theta-role assignment is compositional. The inner object receives the role Patient/Theme from the verb *dasi*, and the outer object receives the role Affectee from the V' *dasi-le Pro baba*.

It is easy to see that the two problems encountered by the 'possessive raising hypothesis' immediately disappear under the 'outer object hypothesis'. First, since movement does not take place directly from the possessive position, the LBC is not violated. Secondly, the contrast between (114) and (118) receives a natural explanation from the complex predicate analysis. The complex predicate 'kill one's father' can be semantically transitive (taking an Affectee as an outer object) as the event can indeed affect someone (the inalienable possessor of the father). On the other hand, the complex predicate 'ask one's father' (as in (118)) denotes an event that can hardly affect anyone, and hence is hard to construe as being semantically transitive. The marginality of (118) therefore follows from the fact that the subject *Zhangsan* is not related to an Affectee of the

event.   (The possessive Pro in (118) cannot be directly coindexed with *Zhangsan* because this relation is excluded by the Minimal Distance requirement of control.)[42]

In fact, we can derive a further bonus from the outer object hypothesis, in consideration of certain seemingly exclusive indirect passives.   As indicated above, Mandarin does not normally permit exclusive indirect, i.e., adversative, passives.   Thus the following is quite unnatural:

(120)   *張三被李四跑回家去了。
       *Zhangsan bei Lisi pao hui   jia   qu le.
       Zhangsan BEI Lisi run back home go PERF
       (Lit.: Zhangsan had Lisi run away home [on him].)

However, certainly apparently exclusive passive sentences are quite good.

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42. Susumu Kuno (personal communication) points out correctly that the postulation of an outer object opens up the possibility of long-distance passivization in apparent violation of island constraints, thus potentially causing the collapse of one of our earlier arguments for NOP movement.   More specifically, suppose we have an inclusive indirect passive where the 'shared NP' is a Pro located within a relative clause.   Such a Pro could be co-indexed with an outer object outside of the island, and the outer object could then be NOP-moved to a local IP.   So in principle an island effect originally expected of movement out of the complex NP would become invisible.   This is indeed the case with some cases, but not all. Consider the following two cases, which contrast in acceptability:
> (i)   李四被我買走了(他)最喜歡的那本書。
>   Lisi bei wo mai-zou-le   [Pro/ta zui   xihuan de naben shu].
>   Lisi BEI me buy-away-PERF   he most like   DE that   book
>   Lisi was affected by my buying the book that [he] liked most.
> (ii) 李四被我買走了讚美*(他)的那本書。
>   Lisi bei wo mai-zou-le   [zanmei *Pro/ta   de naben shu].
>   Lisi BEI me buy-away-PERF praise   him DE that   book
>   Lisi was affected by my buying the book that praised him.

Suppose that the reason Lisi liked that book most is because the book praised him, and the fact that I just bought the last copy of that book is what adversely affected him (as he now cannot buy a copy for his self-amusement). Then pragmatically speaking (i) and (ii) are equally natural.   The fact is that (i) allows the subject of the relative clause to be empty in apparent violation of Subjacency, but (ii) requires a resumptive pronoun.   In my analysis, (i) is indeed a case of apparent island violation opened up by the postulated outer object which controls the subject Pro in the relative clause in accordance with the Minimal Distance Principle. In (ii), however, the outer object cannot control the object Pro (which is minimally c-commanded by its own subject), and therefore no apparent Subjacency violation is possible. In short, the possibility that Kuno mentioned does exist as in (i), but this does not take away the argument for NOP movement based on its island sensitivity. And the key is that control of Pro is subject to some version of minimality.   See Huang (1984) for more examples where other subject-object asymmetries concerning the visibility of island constraints are accounted for.

These include the following (see also (72)–(74) above):

(121) 張振聲被檢察官求刑七年。
       Zhang Zhensheng bei jianchaguan   qiu-xing   qi   nian.
       Zhang Zhensheng BEI district-attorney ask-for-jail-term seven years
       Zhang Zhensheng had the D.A. requesting a jail term of 7 years on him.

Here, there is no probable null possessive position in the predicate, nor any other null internal argument position that could be related to the subject. The verb *qiu-xing* 'ask for a jail term of' takes '7 years' as its object. The subject *Zhang Zhensheng* cannot be related to any apparent argument position of the verb nor any modifier position of object NP. This would be an adversative passive. But what distinguishes (120) from (121) that makes the latter good?

A natural suggestion is that (121) (as well as (72)–(74)) is actually, contrary to appearance, an *inclusive* indirect passive, and the contrast between (120) and (121) is simply that Mandarin does not permit true adversative passives. (121) is inclusive because it contains an outer object position that is related to the matrix subject. This situation is made possible for (121) (but not for (120)), because the complex predicate 'ask for a jail term of 7 years' is easily construed as being transitive, taking an Affectee as its outer object.

The outer object hypothesis defended here applies to other East Asian languages as well. It is a well known fact of Korean syntax, for example, that a sentence may contain two Accusative-marked NPs (see, for example, Cho 1992).

(122) Mary-ka   John-ul   tali-lui cha-ess-ta.
       Mary-nom John-acc leg-acc kick-past-decl.
       Mary kicked John in the leg. (Lit. Mary 'leg-kicked' John.)

The status of *John* as an outer object in (122) is confirmed by the ungrammaticality of (123), with the predicate 'see leg':

(123) *Mary-ka   John-ul   tali-lui po-ess-ta.
       Mary-nom John-acc leg-acc see-past-decl.
       (Lit. Mary 'leg-saw' John.)

The existence of "double accusative" constructions like (122) in Korean thus provides overt evidence for the outer object occurring *in situ*. As for why other languages do not also generally exhibit *in situ* outer objects, we can assume that these languages lack an appropriate device to Case-license them in their base position.

For Japanese, evidence for the outer object has been presented by Homma

(1995), who independently made the same arguments regarding the notion of a natural transitive predicate, and Korean double Accusative constructions. In addition, citing Kayne (1975), Homma shows that certain Romance inalienable possessive constructions include an Affectee argument which must be accommodated in what we have dubbed the 'outer object' position.

Hiroto Hoshi (p.c.) pointed out another piece of support for this hypothesis from quantifier floating:

(124) gakusei-ga   sensei-ni   san-nin t kino   [sakubun-o
       student-nom teacher-dat 3-cl   yesterday essay-acc
       home]-rare-ta.
       praise-passive-past
       Three students had their essays praised by the teacher yesterday.
       (Lit. Three students were 'essay-praised' by the teacher yesterday.)

Note that the QP *san-nin* '3-classifier', which is related to *gakusei* 'student', is stranded in the matrix clause, not as part of a possessive phrase modifying 'essays'. This shows that there must be a position in construction with the floated quantifier external to the complex predicate 'praise the essays' but internal to the main VP headed by *rare*, and that is the position of the outer object.[43]

Summarizing, the complex predicate analysis for the 'inclusive' indirect passive is supported by several independent considerations: (a) the theory of movement constraints, (b) contrasts between natural and unnatural 'transitive com-

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43. The conclusion that certain cases of non-local (i.e. long-distance) passivization are reduced to the local passivization of an Affectee outer object raises the question whether all apparent long-distance cases are so reducible.   I think this is neither necessary nor empirically possible.   For one thing, note that A'-movement cannot be dispensed with: even the locally moved outer objects have to be A'-moved, since the subject of IP is already filled.   Since A'-movement can typically go long-distance (while respecting island constraints), it would be unnecessary, in fact undesirable, to suppose that all apparent cases of long-distance passivization are local passivization of the outer object.   Furthermore, there are many grammatical passive sentences that can be derived by A'-movement using the resumptive pronoun strategy which could not be derived by the local movement of an outer object. We have seen with (114) that 'kill father' can be a complex predicate taking an Affectee as an outer object.   This is further evidenced by the fact the Affectee can appear following *ba* in a *ba*-construction:

(i)   土匪把張三打死了爸爸。
      tufei   ba   Zhangsan [da-si-le   Pro baba].
      bandit BA Zhangsan   kill-PERF Pro father
      The bandits 'father-killed' Zhangsan.

Note crucially that in a *ba* construction of this sort, where *Zhangsan* is clearly an outer object, the Pro possessor of 'father' cannot be replaced by a pronoun:

plex predicates', (c) distribution of quantifier floating, and (d) the overt existence of outer objects in some languages (e.g., Korean and Romance).[44] Note that this analysis applies not only to long passives which involve NOP movement, but also to short passives involving PRO movement. The following are a few *indirect* short passives:

(ii) *土匪把張三打死了他爸爸。
      *tufei ba Zhangsan [da-si-le   ta baba].
      bandit BA Zhangsan kill-PERF his father
      The bandits 'killed-his-father' Zhangsan.

This prohibition does not apply to passivization, however. Thus both (iii) (=114) and (iv) are well-formed:

(iii) 張三被土匪打死了爸爸。
      Zhangsan bei tufei   dasi-le   baba.
      Zhangsan BEI bandits kill-PERF father
      Zhangsan had his father killed by the bandits.

(iv) 張三被土匪打死了他的爸爸。
      Zhangsan bei tufei   dasi-le   ta-de baba.
      Zhangsan BEI bandits kill-PERF his   father
      Zhangsan had his father killed by the bandits.

This difference between the passive and the *ba* construction can be accounted for if we say that (iv) is derived not by movement of an outer object, but by establishing an A'-dependency directly with the possessor using the resumptive pronoun strategy. The following contrast also shows the same point.

(v) *張三把李四打了他一下。
      Zhangsan ba Lisi da-le   ta   yixia.
      Zhangsan BA Lisi hit-PERF him once
      Zhangsan hit Lisi once.

(vi) 李四被張三打了他一下。
      Lisi bei Zhangsan da-le   ta   yixia.
      Lisi BEI Zhangsan hit-PERF him once
      Lisi was hit once by Zhangsan.

(v) shows that the outer object *Lisi* cannot serve as the antecedent of the overt pronoun. The grammatical (vi) therefore cannot be derived by A'-movement of an outer object; an A'-dependency must be established with the possessor directly using the resumptive pronoun strategy.

44. This hypothesis is also supported on theory-internal grounds concerning the theory of Pro-identification under the Minimal Distance Principle (Rosenbaum 1970, Huang 1991). Consider the tree diagram in (119). Under the assumption that both *Zhangsan* and *tufei* 'bandits' are subjects, the lower subject *tufei* is closer to 'Pro father' than *Zhangsan*. If no outer object were posited, then Pro in 'Pro father' would be controlled by *tufei*, and the sentence would only have the reading of 'Zhangsan was affected by the bandits killing their (the bandits') fathers', which is not what the sentence (119) means. By positing the outer object as in (119) which controls Pro and adjoins to the lower IP, we get the correct reading as desired.

(125) 北大被逮捕了三個學生。
      Beida bei daibu-le   san-ge xuesheng.
      PKU BEI arrest-PERF three students
      Peking University had three students arrested.

(126) 他們被搶走了最喜歡的玩具。
      tamen bei qiang-zou-le   zui   xihuan de wanju.
      they   BEI rob-away-PERF most like   DE toy
      They had the toys that [they] liked most robbed [from them].

If our analysis that the short passives involve PRO movement is correct, then something must be moved into the Spec of VP below *bei*. Given the above considerations, it is the hypothesized outer object that is moved, but not the Possessor of '3 students' in (125) or the subject of the relative clause 'Pro liked most'. The structure of (126), for example, is:

(127)

    tamen$_i$ bei   Pro$_i$ t$_i$ qiang-zou-le   Pro$_i$ zui   xihuan de wanju
    they   robbed   most like   DE toys
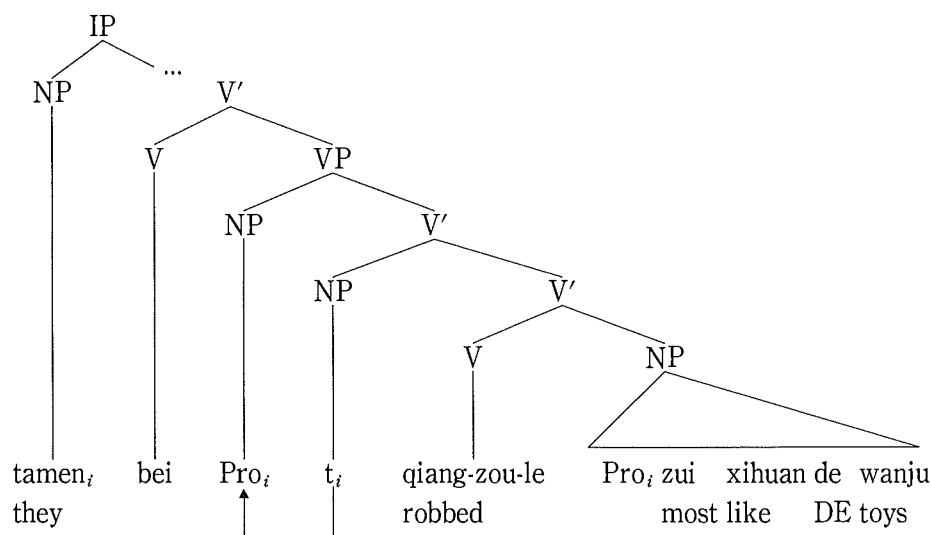
    Given these facts, we expect that Japanese inclusive indirect passives may be formed with *ni yotte* as well. This expectation is fulfilled, as evidenced by the following examples (from Homma 1995; see also Terada 1990, Kubo 1990):

(128) Emi-ga   Ken-ni yotte kodomo-o home-rare-ta.
      Emi-Nom Ken-Dat-by child-Acc praise-Pass-Past
      Emi had her child praised by Ken.

(129) Ken-ga   Aya-ni yotte asi-ni   ude-o   sibaritake-rare-ta.
       Ken-Nom Aya-Dat-by leg-Dat arm-Acc tie-Pass-Past
       Ken has his arms tied to his legs by Aya.

If Hoshi's analysis is correct that *rare* in the *ni yotte* construction triggers NP-movement into [Spec, VP] followed by raising to [Spec, VP], then the movement must originate from the external object position.[45]

5.3.2. The Adversative Passive

We have seen that (at least some) inclusive indirect passives can actually be analyzed as some kind of a direct passive, i.e. as involving the promotion of some object, albeit an outer object. Like the direct passives, they involve both complementation and movement. Thus a strongly uniform hypothesis applies to all inclusive passives. Now what about the exclusive indirect passive? The standard assumption in the literature is that this construction does not involve any movement or coindexation of any sort. The adversative passive sentence is just like a normal experiential sentence, except that the usual cases involve a neutral Experiencer, but *somehow* when the passive verb is used it displays a strong sense of adversity. The subject is completely "excluded" in the real sense.
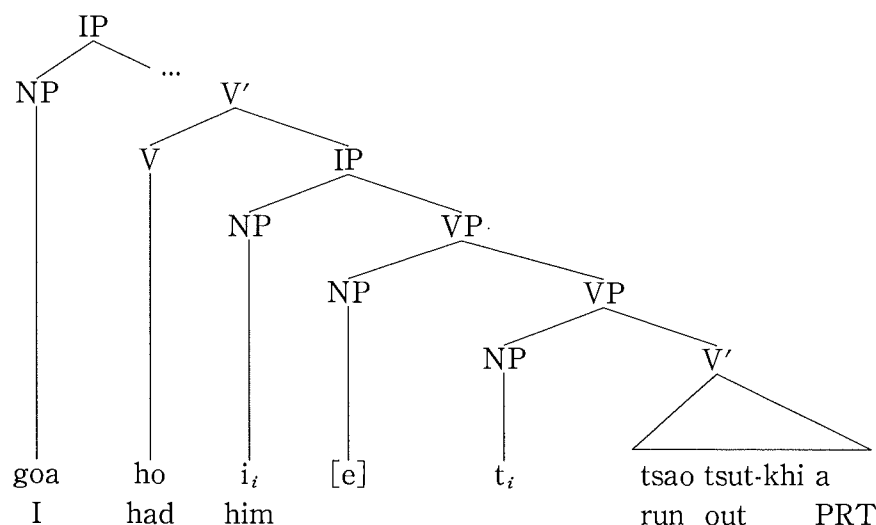
This standard assumption, however, is not obviously the best assumption. For one thing, it is completely unclear how the sense of adversity all of a sudden pops up when a passive verb appears. It is unclear because, as we have seen, the same verb may alternate between a passive and causative use—at least in some languages, and that there is good reason to believe they are historically related. A causative verb minus causativity would be inchoative, as we have seen with many other cases of inchoativization. Where does the sense of adversity come from? The literature has not given us a real answer to this question. For example, Washio (1993), discussing earlier works by Wierzbicka, Kuroda, and Kuno, says that "if you are affected by an event without being involved in it, then you are adversely affected." That is certainly a reasonable—and I believe correct—conjecture, but this still begs the question about the source of one's being affected in the first place. The verb 'experience' (i.e., 'cause' minus causativity), for example, may have a perfectly neutral Experiencer as its subject. Note that

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45. The fact that these sentences can occur in *ni yotte* form indicates that the VP embedded under *rare* has undergone suppression of its external argument, but no absorption of the Accusative case. This raises a technical difficulty for Hoshi's single feature [+passivization] (see note 34 above), which presupposes that suppression and absorption must occur together.

in the English sentence *John had a friend leaving early*, John may not be affected in any way; he is necessarily affected only in *John had a friend leaving early on him*. What is it in the exclusive passive sentence that gives rise to affectedness in the first place?

My suggestion is that the adversative passives, too, can and should be treated as involving an outer object of some kind—one that is even further remote from the verb than the outer object involved in the inclusive indirect passive. For lack of a better term, let us call this adversely affected object the 'outermost object', and assume that it bears the theta role Indirect Affectee. I also propose that whereas the (direct) Affectee is an object of a V', the Indirect Affectee is an object of the VP.[46] Still assuming the Predicate Internal Subject Hypothesis, an adversative passive has the following underlying structure:

(130)

```
                IP
              /    \
           NP       ...   V'
                        /    \
                      V        IP
                             /    \
                           NP       VP·
                                   /    \
                                 NP       VP
                                        /    \
                                      NP       V'
                                             /    \
         goa      ho      i_i      [e]      t_i      tsao tsut-khi  a
          I       had     him                        run   out     PRT
```

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46. In a more fine-grained event structure where the verb is fully decomposed, both the 'object of VP' and the 'object of V'' are each in fact the subject of a light verb. There is a point of similarity between the 'outermost object' (as an extension of our 'outer object') and the 'malefactive object' discussed in Marantz (1985). Marantz takes the malefactive argument to be the object of the higher passive verb and postulates NP-movement of this object to the surface subject position. In my treatment, the outermost object is an argument of the lower verb which is NOP-moved, adjoined to IP, and coindexed with the base-generated matrix subject. A piece of evidence that the outermost object originates in the lower clause comes from Taiwanese adversative active sentences like (75)–(77). These sentences are not embedded under a passive verb like *ho*, and yet they each contain an outermost object in a position lower than that of the Agent in the Spec of IP. The same holds with the *on*-phrases in English adversative sentences, which occur freely in the absence of any embedding verb meaning 'happen' or 'undergo'.

In this structure, [e] is the 'outermost object'. It is seen as an object of the VP, whose subject has raised to IP. The outermost object undergoes NOP movement by adjunction to the lower IP and is coindexed with the subject *goa*.

The assumption that the 'outer object' is an object of the V' and the 'outermost object' the object of the VP, very elegantly characterizes the two meanings of the following Taiwanese sentence:

(131)   我給伊用掉兩百塊去了。
       goa ho i   yong-tiao nengpa kho   khi-a.
       I   HO him use-up   200   dollars away-PRT
       a. I had [my] 200 dollars used up by him.
       b. I am affected by his using up [his own] 200 dollars.

The first reading is the "inclusive indirect" reading, and the second reading is the adversative, (so-called) exclusive reading.[47] The inclusive reading is obtained when the 'outer object' is adjoined to V', where it can control the Pro possessor of '200 dollars'. The adversative reading is obtained with the 'outermost object' adjoined to VP, where it is too far to control the Pro possessor. (Instead, the trace of the embedded subject *him* controls the possessor.)

The proposal to represent the adversely affected NP as the 'outermost object' of a predicate thus provides us with a structural account of the distinction between a neutral experiential sentence and an adversative experiential sentence. It captures the speakers' intuition that sentences with the meanings represented by (107a-c) are 'active' and those with the meanings represented by (107d-f) are 'passive', and it explains adversity as a property of the exclusive indirect passives. A sentence is passive if its subject has prototypical object properties. The most prototypical object is the NP bearing the Patient role. Such a situation automatically obtains when indeed a direct object that bears the Patient role is passivized. The less directly involved one is in an event, the harder it is for one to quality as the reference of a prototypical object, unless it is understood to be affected in some way, most typically in an adverse way. Thus when an outer object is passivized to form an inclusive indirect passive, adver-

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47. The inclusive reading comes more readily than the adversative reading, but the latter is still possible. Some speakers find the adversative reading difficult to get. This is natural, for pragmatic reasons. In general, the availability of a direct passive reading of a sentence will pretty much exclude an indirect reading; and the availability of an inclusive indirect reading is much more accessible than an exclusive reading.

sity adds to its naturalness. And when an outermost object is passivized, adversity becomes a requirement. The amount of adversity required for a sentence to sound natural is inversely proportionate to the proximity of the passivized argument to the main verb.

We have thus treated all forms of passive as inclusive passives. In fact, they are all 'direct' passives in the sense that they all involve the passivization of an object (inner, outer, or outermost object). At least as far as the cases we have dealt with are concerned, we have a highly uniform characterization of the East Asian type of passives: they possess all the properties of a passive outlined in (113). The debates between a uniform and a non-uniform approach to East Asian type passives can now stop according to this proposal: our approach is highly uniform for all passives, direct and indirect, inclusive and exclusive, and for all cases it involves not only complementation but also movement.

The postulation of an 'outermost object' is not only justified on theoretical considerations but also supported by empirical evidence. For example, we have seen that Taiwanese *ka* construction (often said to be the Taiwanese counterpart of the Mandarin *ba* construction) may take an object that fits this category perfectly. The relevant examples (75-77) are repeated below:

(75) 伊把我跑走了。
    yi ka goa tsao-khi a.
    he KA I   run-away PRT
    He ran away on me.

(76) 伊們把咱們贏好幾場去了。
    yin ka lan yiaN kui-a   tiuN   khi   a.
    they KA we win   several games away PRT
    They won several games away on us already.

(77) 我今天不高興，欲來把他提早下班。
    goa kinazit be khimo, be lai   ka i   thetsa hapan.
    I   today not happy will come KA him earlier take-off
    Today I'm pissed, so I will quit early for the day on him [e.g., my boss].

Note that in each case the NP following *ka* is completely dispensable for the completeness of the sense of its predicate. The *ka*-NP is simply added by brute force, so to speak, and a sense of adversity is required to quilify it as an 'object'

of the sentence.[48]

As shown in the translation for each of (75–77), English expresses adversity by putting the Indirect Affectee within an *on*-PP. The status of the *on*-PP in English has never, as far as I know, been made clear in the literature, but in light of the Taiwanese data it seems quite reasonable to treat it as an 'outermost object' of VPs.[49]

French, too, seems to provide good evidence for the existence of an 'outermost object'. All the following sentences convey some degree of passivity:

(132) a. Jean s'est fait broyer par un camion.
          Jean *se* got crushed by a truck.

       b. Jean s'est fait broyer la jambe par un camion.
          Jean had his leg crushed by a truck.

       c. Jean s'est fait broyer sa voiture par un camion.
          Jean *se* had his car crushed by a truck.

       d. Jean s'est fait broyer la voiture de son amie par un camion.
          Jean *se* had his friend's car crushed by a truck.

       e. Jean s'est fait broyer la voiture de Marie par un camion.
          Jean *se* had Marie's car crushed by a truck.

Note that each sentence above contains the reflexive clitic *se*. Thus, although (132) is directly translatable as 'Jean got crushed by a truck', a more faithful translation might be 'Jean got himself crushed by a truck', with the reflexive treated as the Indirect Affectee. The case for an 'outermost object' is even more compelling in (132b-d). Here the reflexive clitic cannot have originated as a direct argument of any verb or as a possessor of a larger NP because all syntactic positions for such functions are already lexically filled. As a result the reflexive may be felt to be an unnecessary element that should be deleted. But

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48. Sometimes a benefactive, rather than adversative, sense is present, but often with a sarcastic tone. For example, suppose someone has been bragging about his cooking, and we decide to do him a favor by accepting his invitation to dinner. The following sentence is acceptable:
    (i) lan lai   ka i   chia chit-waN.
         let's come KA him eat one-bowl
         Let's eat a bowl on him.
49. As expected from Case theoretic considerations, the Indirect Affectee must appear within a PP. The choice of preposition *on* is determined on thematic-role considerations (*to* for a Goal argument, and *on* for an Indirect Affectee, etc.).

the reflexive is crucially needed for the passive reading to be present—without it these sentences would only have a causative reading. We can solve this problem by analyzing the reflexive as the 'outermost object' denoting the Indirect Affectee. It is the presence of an outermost object that gives rise to passivity. And since the outermost object is only indirectly affected, a sense of adversity normally accompanies this kind of passives.[50]

Summarizing, we have seen that the 'outermost object' analysis of the adversative passive is justified on several important considerations: (a) the speakers' intuition about the active-passive contrast; (b) the existence of overt outermost objects (in Taiwanese, English, and French), and (c) the fact that it explains adversity, tying it to the notion of prototypical objecthood. An additional advantage of the analysis is that it enables us to treat all passive forms uniformly, as direct passives formed by complementation and movement. Finally, our analysis also predicts an interesting asymmetry between inclusive and exclusive passives with respect to the *ni yotte* form. According to our proposal, the outermost object is adjoined to VP, whereas the outer object is adjoined to V'. (In fact, in a more articulate structure, they should each be in the Spec of a light verb above V' and VP respectively.) This means that while an outer object may undergo NP-movement to [Spec, VP], an outermost object cannot (because it is already higher than the landing site). This prediction is correct. As we have seen in (125)–(129), Japanese *ni yotte* passives (and Mandarin short passives) do allow inclusive indirect passives each involving an outer object. As for the exclusive indirect passives, it has indeed been reported that they cannot take the *ni yotte* form (see Kubo 1990, Terada 1990, Homma 1995):

(133) *Emi-ga   Ken-ni yotte deteik-are-ta.
       Emi-Nom Ken-Dat-by go-out-Pass-Past
       Emi was affected by Ken going out.

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50. At the stage this paper was being formatted for publication, Joe Emonds (commenting on a paper presented by M. Matsuoka) pointed out the relevance of a class of "Datives of Interest" in French and their analysis by Authier and Reed (1992). It is immediately obvious that what I have analyzed as "outermost objects" (e.g. the reflexive clitic in (132)) correspond in very similar spirit to their "affected datives", and what I have analyzed as "outer objects" correspond to Kayne's (1975) "datives of inalienable possession". I shall leave a more detailed comparison of Chinese and French for future work, but one cannot help observing that there are many similarities between East Asian and continental European languages that have escaped the attention of the many researchers whose work has largely been focused on comparison with English. As Marco Polo might have reasoned, the road to China must be closer by going East.

(134) *Mary-ga   John-ni yotte nak-are-ta.
       Mary-Nom John-Dat-by cry-Pass-Past
       Mary had John crying on her.

In the system of Hoshi (1994b), in *ni yotte* passives the auxiliary verb *rare* does not assign a theta-role to its IP subject, and there is only one VP-shell in the VP below it. An outermost object adjoined to this VP shell cannot be moved *down* into this VP before it raises to [Spec, IP], as such movement would not be permitted by general considerations. But there is no more [Spec, VP] below *rare* (nor any [Spec, IP] for that matter) for it to move into. Hence there is no way to form an adversative *ni yotte* passive. (The case with Mandarin short passive cannot be tested, because Mandarin in general allows only inclusive indirect passives, but not adversative passives anyway.)[51]

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51. The postulation of an outer and outermost object raises an important question why the following topicalized sentences (and their corresponding relativized noun phrases) are ill-formed:

   (i)   *張三，我自摸了。
         *Zhangsan, wo zi   mo   le.
          Zhangsan I   self draw PRT
          Zhangsan, I drew the converting [Mahjong] tile myself.

(i) illustrates a general contrast. In general, an outer (or outermost) object can be passivized or appear as object of *ba*, it cannot be topicalized or relativized. Thus (i) is ungrammatical but its passive counterpart below (repeated from (72)), is grammatical:

   (ii) 我又被他自摸了。
         wo you   bei ta zi-mo   le.
         I   again BEI he self-touch PERF
         I again had him 'self-draw' [on me].

What explains the contrast between (i) and (ii)? Why cannot the topic in (i) bind an empty category in the outer (or outermost) object position? I submit that the answer comes from Case theory. For the case at hand I suggest that outer and outermost objects are not good candidates for direct binding by a topic because they are not Case marked. This leads next to the question how they can be accommodated if they are NOP-moved under our analysis. Since NOP-movement is A'-movement, the traces of outer and outermost objects should be Case-marked as well. This question, I believe, is also what has prevented some from adopting the NOP analysis of Japanese passives (recall also Saito's argument from the 'Double-*o* Constraint' alluded to in footnote 35). I suggest that the way out of this dilemma is the idea that the NOP is subject to deletion in LF, after predication (and strong binding) has taken place. This results in the external object traces being directly A-bound, and reinterpreted as an NP-trace, which does not need Case. The same process does not save (i), however, because binding by the topic is still a case of A'-binding, and hence (i) cannot avoid the fate of being excluded by the Case Filter. I assume that essentially the same hypothesis may also provide the key to the problem posed by the 'Double-*o* Constraint' which provided important evidence (as shown by Saito 1985) for the existence

5.4. Cross-Linguistic Variations

For the most part of this paper, we have been concerned with the general characterization of passive sentences in uniform terms, but it has also been obvious that languages differ considerably in the distribution of the various forms of the passive construction. An adequate theory should not only account for the similarities shared by all languages, but also explain the cross-linguistic variations observed.   Many specific questions can be asked: (i) Why should English-French have *be* passives, but not the East Asian languages? (ii) Why should the East Asian languages employ the A'-movement strategy, but not English-French type languages? (iii) Why are adversative passives found in some languages, but not in others? the same question may be raised about (iv) the use of the 'same' verb for both passive and causative forms, and (v) the occurrence of causative-passive forms (in English but not in Taiwanese, Cantonese).   A detailed answer to these questions will not be possible here.   I will make some general remarks.

I think that an explanation for the cross-linguistic variations we have observed is available from current conceptions of how languages and dialects differ synchronically, and they develop and diverge diachronically.   In the field of Chinese dialectal comparative syntax, it has been held that Chinese dialects have the same inventory of content words (lexical categories), but differ in their inventory of grammatical words (functional categories).   Many functional categories are born of lexical categories through the process of grammaticalization, and languages diverge because grammaticalization of various lexcial items has taken varying speeds and directions across different languages or dialects.   The same slogan applies well to variations among languages of different families, not just to dialects of the same language.   And this view is clearly in accord with current views of linguistic parameterization (e.g., Fukui 1995 and the Minimalist framework of Chomsky 1995).

In the Minimalist framework, it is said that the 'strength' of a functional category corresponds to the existence or absence of certain syntactic processes. For example, [+strong] functional categories trigger overt movement, but [−strong] ones do not, etc.   Roughly speaking, the 'strength' of a functional category corresponds to the 'weakness' of its lexical content. Note that the dichotomy 'lexical' vs. 'functional' can be understood in relative terms, so considering only verbal categories, we can see the following hierarchy as expressing

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of NP-movement and which had therefore also stood in the way of analyzing Japanese *ni* passives in terms of NOP movement.

a progression from a more lexical, less functional, category to a more functional, less lexical, category:

(135)   full verbs > auxiliaries > clitics > affixes

This synchronic hierarchy mirrors a historical hierarchy, indicating the relative degree a given verb has been grammaticalized over time.   We can in fact obtain a more fine-agrained hierarchy if we consider the various verb types and their history of grammaticalization. In general, three-place predicates are more 'lexical' then two-place predicates, and transitives and causatives are more lexical than intransitives and ergatives. Control verbs are more lexical than raising verbs, and deontic (control) auxiliaries are more lexical than epistemic (raising) auxiliaries.   The relative lexical strengths generally correspond to the number of arguments a given predicate takes, and the hierarchies of strengths are generally mirrored by the degree and direction a given lexical verb may have grammaticalized. (See Traugott 1991, Peyraube 1996, and other references for recent studies on grammaticalization.)

Seen in this light, the cross-linguistic differences in passivization between the East Asian and the Western languages is but one facet of the general parametric differences between these language types.   English and French have passive morphology, with inflectional suffixes that belong to the bottom of the hierarchy (135).   The suffix -*en* is 'strong' in grammatical function (and 'weak' in lexical content) and it triggers argument suppression and Case absorption, and we have a passive construction within a participial VP.   If this VP is embedded under *get* we have control of a passivized PRO in VP.   If this VP is embedded under the raising verb *be*, a passivized lexical subject will be raised to Spec of IP. Note that when passive morphology is involved, passivization is thorough in that both suppression and absorption occur, and hence overt movement is unavoidable.

As for the East Asian languages, some differences clearly stem from the fact that they do not have inflectional morphology as strong as -*en* (the kind of suffix that is subject to Affix Hopping), and they rely on the grammaticalized versions of an aspectual verb 'get' to achieve the purpose of forming passives.   And it seems that the different behaviors of various passive forms in East Asian languages as well as cross-linguistic differences among them, can be attributed to different degrees of grammaticalization, or functionality, of the relevant passive verbs involved.   For example, we can say the long passives in Mandarin, Taiwanese, and Cantonese still retain their status as verbs, near but not quite at the left end of (135), which operate on their complements to give rise to passivity.

As verbs, they take clausal complements, and can induce neither suppression nor absorption on the predicate on the clausal complement. They therefore resort to NOP movement and passivize in a 'minimal' way, i.e., intransitivization by type-shifting or lambda-abstraction.

What about Japanese? It seems at least that the adversative passive *rare* can still be considered a verb taking IP complement (and therefore NOP movement of the outermost object if my analysis is correct). As for the inclusive indirect and direct *ni*-passives, the analysis would be the same if Kitagawa and Kuroda's view is correct that the *ni*-phrase is in [Spec, IP]. For those speakers who absolutely cannot allow for the *ni*-phrase to function as IP subject (e.g., as antecedent of *zibun*), it may be that *rare* has grammaticalized to the status of a deontic auxiliary.[52] As an auxiliary, it may trigger argument-suppression and Case-absorption on the embedded VP (resulting in the direct *ni*-passive), or just argument suppression (resulting in the inclusive indirect *ni*-passive). As for the *ni-yotte* passive, the *rare* must have at least weakened to the status of an auxiliary, in particular an *epistemic* auxiliary, or even that of a clitic (possibly on its way to becoming a suffix). In its current status, again, it can trigger both suppresion and absorption (resulting in the direct *ni yotte* passive), or just suppression (resulting in the indirect inclusive *ni yotte* passive).[53]

As for the Mandarin short passives, we assume that *bei* started out in Archaic Chinese possibly as an auxiliary that triggers suppression of the external argument of the embedded VP (on a par with *ke* 'can be' and *jian*, another passive marker). When the language gradually changed from monosyllabic to polysyllabic, some verbs did not become bi-syllabic by themselves but combined with *bei* to make a bi-syllable compound, causing it to become a bound morpheme, in effect a prefix now analogous to English *-en* with full functional strength (triggering both suppression and absorption). Those verbs that did become bisyllabic, however, left the *bei* alone to continue as an auxiliary to the

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52. Hasegawa (1988) proposes that *rare* is transitive in indirect (especially adversative) passives, but intransitive in direct passives. There is a point of similarity here. The direct passive *rare* seems to be more grammaticalized than the indirect passive *rare*.

53. Naoki Fukui (personal communication) informed me that in informal speech among younger speakers, the verb *rare* is simply rendered as *-re*. It would be natural to expect that sentences containing such reduced verbs may have acquired properties of the *ni yotte* passive, would *-re* being an epistemic auxiliary or even clitic. Hoji (personal communication), citing work by Kinsui, indicates that the *ni yotte* passive, arose out of attempts to translate Dutch texts into Japanese. I assume that the crucial change comes from the weakening of the morpheme *rare*, and the need for translation is one factor that causes the weakening.

modern times.   As an auxiliary, the short passive *bei* may trigger both suppression and absorption, forming direct short passives; or they may simply trigger suppression, forming inclusive indirect short passives. In this latter situation, again, the Mandarin short passive is analogous to inclusive indirect passives and certain types of *faire* passives in Romance, namely examples of the *faire par* construction.   In such cases (see (102b-c) and (103)), *faire* would be an auxiliary that suppresses an external argument, but does not absorb a Case.

In general, then, there are three strategies to make passive sentences: the verbal strategy, the auxiliary strategy, and the affixal strategy.   These three strategies reflect three degrees of functionality of the passive-forming element. The affix triggers both argument suppression and case-absorption, the verb does neither, whereas the auxiliary triggers suppression, but may or may not trigger absorption.

6. Concluding Remarks

In this study I started with a close examination of two types of passive sentences in Chinese and showed that appearance notwithstanding, they demonstrate two distinct ways to 'go passive'.   I then put the results in the perspective of other Chinese dialects and other languages.   From a comparative and universal perspective, the most important conclusions to draw are as follows.

First, the most familiar syntactic mechanisms for passivization and the theory that has been developed to account for them in the formal syntactic literature, while suitable for familiar Western languages, are instantiated only in a few limited cases for East Asian languages.   Three ingredients of the familiar theory of passivization are (a) Agent suppression, (b) Case absorption, and (c) NP movement.   We have seen that none of these is a necessarily universal property of passivization.   Some languages do employ some, not necessarily all, of these strategies, but others may resort to other means, such as lambda-abstraction (type-shifting) via NOP movement and predication, and still others may use a combination of these.

Secondly, in spite of the first conclusion, there is nevertheless a universal notion of passivization that can be maintained, namely that all passives involve intransitivization and a dependency relation between the surface subject and underlying object position—the former distinguishing passives from inherent intransitives and the latter giving rise to the sense of passivity. We have argued that this is the case not only with direct passives, but also with indirect passives, including the adversative passives.   So in spite of the first conclusion, we argued

for a highly 'uniform' approach to passives.

Thirdly, languages differ with respect to how they form passives within the available choices given by UG, and their differences can be attributed to the grammatical status, or functional strengths, of the passivizing morphemes they employ, which are in turn determined by the degree of grammaticalization that such elements have undergone in the development of the language in question. For example, a language whose passivizing morphemes are affixal does not have indirect passives, and only those languages which employ highly verbal passivizing elements will have adversative passives.

I would now like to finish with a few final remarks. First, although I have contrasted East Asian passives with English *be* passives by the claim that they involve control or predication while the English *be* passives involve raising to the subject, it should be noted that this is for purposes of comparison of familiar cases only. For the English passive, there is evidence that a control analysis may also be appropriate under certain circumstances. The following sentence, due to Higginbotham (1996), is a case in point.

(136) Mary was reluctantly instructed to leave.

In this sentence the adverb is subject-oriented. By the same reasoning that we used in justifying a control analysis for *get* passives (compare *John got hit intentionally* vs. **John was hit intentionally*), the grammaticality of (136) suggests that *Mary* receives an independent thematic role, Theme, such that she was reluctant in being instructed to leave, which means that (136) should also be analyzed in the same way as a *get* passive, involving PRO movement and control. (The idea that English *be* passives may involve PRO movement and control has also been proposed by Saito and Murasugi 1989, though based on different considerations, as noted by Hoshi 1994.) This state of affairs is possible because *be*, in addition to being a raising verb, can also be a two-place predicate, taking a Theme subject, forming predicational or identificational sentences. This means that even without an overt subject-oriented adverb, a *be* passive may be ambiguous between a control and a raising structure. (Of course the raising structure would be forced when idiom chunks are involved.)[54]

Secondly, there is also evidence that, at least for some speakers, *get* passives may involve raising instead of control. This has to do with the fact noted in conjunction with (94b) that such speakers may find *Advantage got taken of John*

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54. Cf. Kural (1996) who took the stronger view that all cases of passives (including *be* passives) should be analyzed in terms of control.

acceptable. (Washio (1990, 258) gave the example *Nowadays, advantage gets taken of young girls by adult men*.)   The same speakers may also obtain the contrast between *be* and *get* passives with subject-oriented adverbs.   This means that for some speakers *get* may actually be ambiguous between a raising and a control verb, so a simple *get* passive without idiom chunks or subject-oriented adverbs can be analyzed in either way.

In fact, the same remark applies to some of the Chinese *bei* passives we have discussed.   What we have established in this paper is that it must be possible to analyze some Chinese passives in terms of NOP movement and predication, especially when they involve subject-oriented adverbs, long-distance dependencies, and/or resumptive pronouns, etc.   At least for some speakers, however, the possibility also exists that certain simple long passives can also involve NP-movement and raising, thus approximating the status of Japanese *ni yotte* passive.   This must be possible for speakers who find sentences like *pianyi dou bei ta zhan-guang le* advantage-all-BEI-him-taken-up-PERF 'Advantage was fully taken up by him'.   For such speakers, the conclusion again is that for simple long passives that do not contain subject-oriented adverbs or other hallmarks of A'-movement, either a control/predication analysis or NP-movement may be possible.

These final remarks do not, of course, alter the general points made in this paper.   The remarks are in order here as a matter of logic, and the facts themselves simply reflect individual variations and historical realities.

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漢語被動句與比較語法

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摘　　要

　　本文針對國語中的兩種被動句型提出分析，並且討論其對語法理論與句法類型理論的影響。本文認為，關於漢語被動句的形成，補語接續和詞組移位兩種機制都有所牽涉，這一點與傳統的看法大相逕庭。在「長被動句」中，「被」乃是表經驗的動詞，它選擇一個補語子句，並藉著空運算元移位將其轉化為次級謂語。在「短被動句」中，「被」則為助動詞，以動詞組為補語，其空代詞賓語以名詞組移位的方式移到動詞組內部的主語位置。本文也將國語的被動句與其他語言的被動句加以比較，包括漢語中的兩個方言（台灣閩南話和廣東話）、日語、韓語、英語與羅曼斯語言等，從而探討了若干重要的問題，如(a)「被動化」此一觀念的普遍性，(b)不同語言間差異的根源，以及(c)「間接被動」（含「所有格被動」和「逆意被動」兩種）的適切分析等。本文指出，就普遍性而言，被動化的過程乃是將一個及物謂語非及物化。然而，非及物化可藉由不同的方式達成，如將外在論元加以抑制，或把某個內在論元加以「語意轉型」，藉之將整個充作論元的補語子句轉化成次級謂語，等等。特別重要的是，間接被動式的存在證明格位吸收並非被動化普遍定義的一部份。至於間接被動句，本文的分析認為它其實包含了一個內在的複雜謂語。此複雜謂語可以有個外在賓語（所有格被動句中為「外賓語」，逆意被動句中則為「最外賓語」），經過向上移位，就形成了間接被動句。最後本文提出，不同語言間在被動化現象方面種種的差異，可歸因於「觸發」被動化的語法成份。此觸發成份在不同語言中可以是動詞、助動詞、附著詞、或詞綴，因而具有「強度」不同的語法功能。此一看法與當今參數理論的論點相一致，即不同語言間複雜的句法差異乃是由有限的辭彙差異所造成。漢語被動句基本上屬於動詞、助動詞的類別，因而在語言類型學上具有重要的類型意義。

關鍵詞：被動化，空運算元移位，空代詞移位，間接被動句，逆意被動句，參數理論，漢語，日語