

The Diachronic Development of Passive Constructions from Archaic Chinese to Modern  
Mandarin

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**Asbract**

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In this dissertation, I study the diachronic development of passive construction from Archaic Chinese to Modern Mandarin. I classify the passive forms into two major groups: 1) the monoclausal passive. 2) the biclausal passive. I propose that the monoclausal passive is similar to English-type passive constructions in that they involve a defective passive light verb. This type of passive can be traced back to the JIAN passive in Archaic Chinese. The Middle Chinese agentless BEI passive and Modern Mandarin short passive have the same structure as the JIAN passive. These three constructions can be viewed as three manifestations of a same recurring pattern. The biclausal passive developed from the Archaic Chinese WEI construction, which I analyze as a copula construction. The WEI construction was later reanalyzed as the WEI...SUO

passive in Middle Chinese. I propose that the WEI...SUO passive has the same structure as the Modern Mandarin long passive. I propose that the dichotomy of Mandarin Chinese passive constructions can be naturally traced back to their Archaic Chinese sources. Their distinct sources and diachronic developments endowed them with different syntactic properties. They developed independently along two distinct lines. These two distinct lines of development, however, are shown to be governed by the same principles in Minimalist Syntax.

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## Abbreviations

$\phi$	Phi-features
ACC	Accusative
APPL	Applicative
ASP	Aspect
AUX	Auxiliary
CAUS	Causative
C-I	Computation of Human Language
CP	Complementizer Phrase
DET	Determiner
DP	Determiner Phrase
ECM	Exceptional Case Marking
EPP	Extended Projection Principle
LF	Logical Form
NEG	Negator
NMLZ	Nominalizer
NOM	Nominative
<i>nP</i>	Light Noun Phrase
NP	Noun Phrase
NPI	Negative Polarity Item
PF	Phonological Form
PIC	Phase Impenetrability Condition
PL	Plural
PP	Prepositional Phrase
PST	Past Tense
Q	Question
SG	Singular
TP	Tense Phrase
<i>vP</i>	Light Verb Phrase



VP	Verb Phrase
VPE	VP Ellipsis

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*To Pangur Bán*

# *Chapter 1*

所謂對其本國以往歷史略有所知者，尤必附隨一種對其本國  
以往歷史之溫情與敬意。

—— 錢穆

# Chapter 1

## 1. Goals of the Study

The goal of this study is to examine the syntactic structures and development of the passive construction from Archaic Chinese to Modern Mandarin. I have selected six major syntactic types in this study. Based on their syntactic structures, I group them into two major classes: the monoclausal passive constructions and the biclausal passive constructions. These two groups of passive constructions ultimately developed into the Modern Mandarin short passive construction (1a) and long passive construction (2a) respectively from Archaic Chinese (10<sup>th</sup> C. BCE ~ 3<sup>rd</sup> C. BCE). This study aims to provide the historical background of the synchronic dichotomy in passive constructions in Modern Mandarin. The monoclausal class is shown in (1). (1b) is the YU passive in Archaic Chinese. (1c) is the JIAN passive in Archaic Chinese. (1a) is the agentless BEI passive (also called short passives cf. Huang et al. 2009). The YU passive was replaced by the JIAN passive in Early Middle Chinese (2<sup>nd</sup> C. BCE ~ 2<sup>nd</sup> C. CE). The agentless BEI passive arose in the same period. It has the same reanalysis process as the JIAN passive. This form continues into Modern Mandarin.

(1) a. Zhangsan bei da le.

Zhangsan BEI hit ASP

‘Zhangsan was hit.’

b. 辰嬴嬖於二君。<sup>1</sup>

(*Zuozhuan* Wen 5 EAC<sup>2</sup>)

Chenying bi yu er jun.

Chenying favor YU two lord

‘Chenying was favored by the two lords.

c. 盆成括見殺。

(*Mencius* 16 LAC)

Pen Chengkuo jian sha.

Pen Chengkuo JIAN kill

‘Pen Chengkuo was killed.’

The source of the biclausal passive construction is the WEI construction in Archaic Chinese (2b).

It was replaced by the WEI...SUO passive (2c) later in Middle Chinese. The WEI...SUO passive developed into the long passive (2a) in Late Middle Chinese (7<sup>th</sup> C. CE ~ 10<sup>th</sup> C. CE).

The long passive is still being used in Modern Mandarin.

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<sup>1</sup> Following in the convention in Historical Chinese syntax, the examples in this dissertation are glossed in the following way: the first line is the example in traditional Chinese written form. The second line is the example in the modern Chinese *pinyin* form. The third line is a word-for-word gloss. The fourth line is a translation provided by the author.

<sup>2</sup> The abbreviations of periodization are explained in (32) Section 3.

(2) a. Zhangsan        bei        Lisi        piping le.

Zhangsan        BEI        Lisi        criticize ASP

'Zhangsan was criticized by Lisi.'

b. 戰而不克，為諸侯笑。

(*Zuozhuan* Xiang 10 EAC)

Zhan er bu ke, wei zhuhou xiao.

fight but NEG win, WEI lords laugh

‘(If you) declared war but lost (it), (you) will be laughed at by the lords.’

c. 負石自投於河，為河鰲所食。

(*Zhuangzi*, Daozhi LAC)

fu     shi zi     tou     yu he     wei hebie     suo shi.

bear rock self throw into river WEI tortoise SUO eat

“(he), bearing a rock, threw himself into the river. (he) was eaten by a tortoise.”

(3) summarizes the general historical development of the passive constructions in the Chinese language.



(3) a. Monoclausal passives:

JIAN passive    Agentless BEI passive

b. Biclausal passives:

WEI construction → WEI...SUO passive → Long BEI passive

I will focus on two aspects of the constructions mentioned above: first, the syntactic structures they present; and second, the historical development from the Early Archaic Chinese<sup>3</sup> form to the current form in each class of passive constructions. I will examine the syntactic constructions of each passive form based on textual evidence (I will discuss the textual source in Section 3). The syntactic analysis will be done within the framework of the Minimalist Program (Chomsky 1995) with a concentration on the Phase Theory (Chomsky 2000, 2001, 2004, 2005, 2008). The framework I will adopt for the diachronic syntactic development is the theories that are developed by Roberts (1997), Whitman (2000), Roberts and Roussou (2003), Roberts (2007) and others.

It is my hope that a study of these two aspects will answer three major questions surrounding the passive construction of the Chinese languages. First, why are there two distinct passive constructions in Modern Mandarin? Second, what are the sources of these two passive constructions? Third, what are the historical development of the passive constructions in the Chinese language? The first question is the heart of this study. I will propose that the dichotomy in the Modern Mandarin passive constructions originated in the structural difference of their Archaic Chinese sources. Specifically, I will show that the source of the monoclausal passives is an Archaic Chinese semantic incorporation construction, as shown in (3a). The source of the

---

<sup>3</sup> In Chapter 2, some examples of passive constructions in Oracle bone inscriptions (Pre-Archaic Chinese) will be discussed. But this dissertation is mainly focused on passive constructions from Early Archaic Chinese to Modern Mandarin.

biclausal passives is an Archaic Chinese copula construction as shown in (3b). In the semantic incorporation construction (4a), a root is directly incorporated into the main verb *jian* ‘perceive/encounter’. The root itself does not have any additional functional projection that may be reanalyzed to host an agent in later developments. This characteristic leads to the agentless monoclausal structure of the passives shown in (1). On the other hand, in the copula construction in (4b)<sup>4</sup>, the copula verb *wei* selects a DP, which involves two functional projections above the root: the DP layer and the *nP* layer. Both provide a specifier that can potentially host an agent in later developments. This opens up the possibility for the later biclausal constructions of the passives shown in (2).

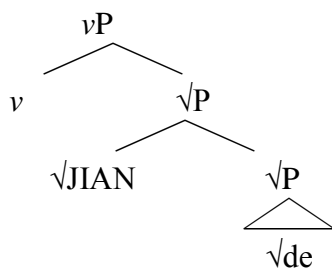
(4) a. 民不見德。

(*Zuozhuan* Xi 23 EAC)

Min      bu      jian      de.

People   NEG   perceive   merit

‘The people did not perceive (your) merit.’



<sup>4</sup> The WEI construction in Archaic Chinese was traditionally considered to be a type of passive construction. However, in Chapter 5 I will argue against this view. Instead, I treat the WEI constructions like (5b) as a type of copula construction.

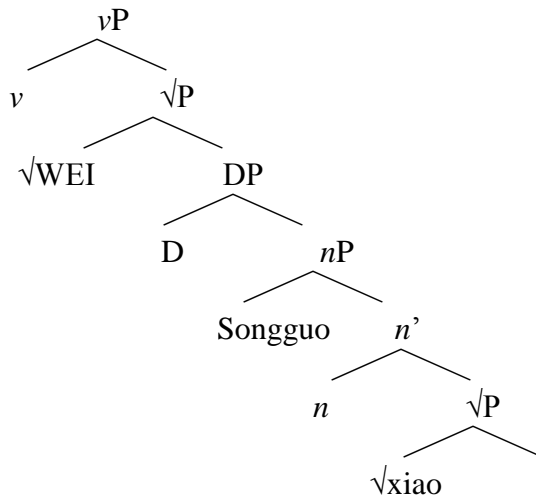
b. 而身為宋國笑。

(*Hanfeizi* 49 LAC)

er shen                wei    Song guo        xiao.

and himself        WEI   Song state        laugh

‘... and himself was laughed at by the State of Song.’



Following is a summary of the contents of this dissertation. I will briefly review the theoretical assumptions that are adopted in the rest of this chapter.

Chapter 2 will be a review on the literature of the passive constructions in Modern Mandarin. I support the A and A' dichotomy of Modern Mandarin passives proposed by Huang et al. (2009) and others. But I will show that the existing analyses of the short and long passives in Modern Mandarin have several shortcomings. At the end of this chapter, I will briefly present my own analysis of the Modern Mandarin passives.

Chapter 3 will be a study of the monoclausal passives in Archaic Chinese. I will begin with the YU passive (1b). I will argue that the YU passive is an unaccusative verb construction in which the YU functions as an agent-introducing preposition. The rest of the chapter is about

the JIAN passive in Archaic Chinese. I will argue that the JIAN passive developed from a semantic incorporation construction in which JIAN is the main verb.

Chapter 4 will continue to focus on the monoclausal passives in Middle Chinese. I will argue that the loss of the YU passive is related to the fact that YU gradually lost its status as a preposition in Middle Chinese. After that, the rise of the agentless BEI passives in Early Middle Chinese will be discussed. I will propose that the agentless BEI passives developed in the same fashion as the JIAN passives. The third part of this chapter will be devoted to the development of the monoclausal passives in Middle Chinese. I will propose that the JIAN passive and the BEI passive have the same reanalysis pattern. The JIAN passive decreased while the BEI passive increased in Middle Chinese.

Chapter 5 will be about the development of the biclausal passives. I will start with the WEI construction in Archaic Chinese. I will propose that syntactically it is a copula construction. I will argue that the later WEI...SUO passive in Middle Chinese has a double *vP* construction. I will account for the development from the WEI constructions to the WEI...SUO passive based on the theory of Relabeling (Whitman 2000). The last part of this chapter is about the development from the WEI...SUO passive to the Modern Mandarin long passive. I will show that this development involves two steps: First, the loss of SUO. Second, the lexical replacement of WEI by BEI.

Chapter 6 concludes the dissertation. I will summarize by saying that the dichotomy of the Modern Mandarin passives is due to the different structures of their Archaic Chinese sources. The availability of functional projections that can potentially host agents determines whether a clause can be embedded in the passive constructions. I will also show that the development of Chinese passive constructions supports the framework of diachronic generative syntax that

syntactic changes are motivated by parameter resettings by first language learners. (Roberts 1997, Whitman 2000, Roberts and Roussou 2003, Roberts 2007 and others).

## 2. Framework

There are three major frameworks that I adopt for this study. First, I adopt the Minimalist Program (Chomsky 1995), with a focus on the recent Phase Theory (Chomsky 2000, 2001, 2004, 2005, 2008), as the framework for the syntactic analysis in general. Second, I also adopt some ideas from the Distributed Morphology theory (Halle and Marantz 1993, 1994 and others). Third, for the diachronic syntax part, I adopt the theories developed in Roberts (1997), Roberts and Roussou (2003), Roberts (2007) and others that syntactic reanalysis is essentially parameter resetting. In this section, I briefly summarize the important features of these frameworks that are relevant to this study.

### 2.1 The Phase Theory

Chomsky (2000, 2001) propose that language is an optimal solution of the computational system to the interface conditions from the Sensorimotor (SM) system and the Conceptual-Intentional (C-I) system. He further proposes that the quantity of information that can be processed in the workspace is limited. It thus follows that syntactic objects are built in stages. These stages are called phases.

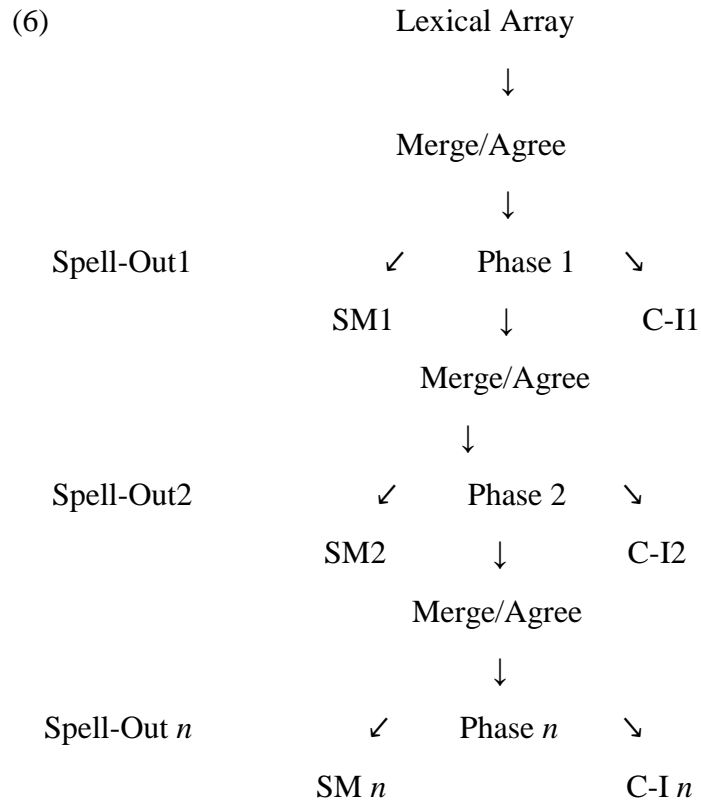
### (5) *Phase*

The closest syntactic counterpart to a proposition: either a verb phrase in which all theta roles are assigned or a full clause including tense and force. (Chomsky 2000: 106)

I will briefly review the features of the Phase Theory that are relevant to this dissertation in this subsection. Let me start with the general architecture of syntax.

#### 2.1.1 General architecture

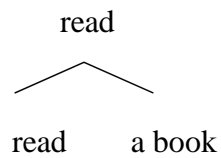
In Chomsky's (2000, 2001) terms, there are three components of the language faculty: Narrow Syntax, the phonological component and the semantic component. I mainly focus on the Narrow Syntax in this subsection. Syntactic derivation starts from a Lexical Array (LA), which is an unordered set of feature bundles. In Narrow Syntax, Merge and Agree are the basic operations that manipulate the lexical items in the LA. The output of the Narrow Syntax is Transferred, which is often called as Spell-Out, to the SM interface and the C-I interface for evaluation. If the interface conditions are met, then the derivation converges. If the conditions are not met, then it crashes. Given the proposal that the syntactic derivation proceeds in phases, it follows that there may be more than one Transfer (Spell-Out) in the derivation. (6) represents a syntactic derivation with multiple Spell-Out:



### 2.1.2 Merge and Agree

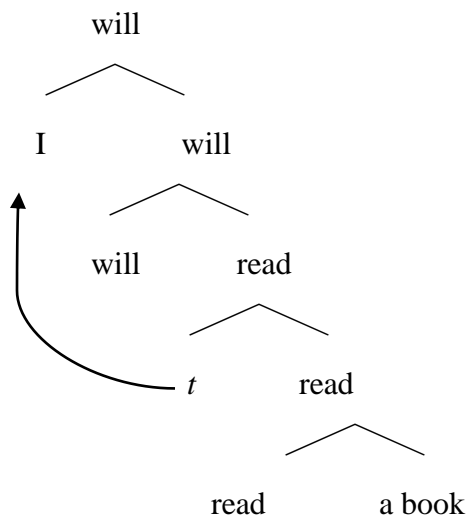
As reviewed in the last subsection, Merge and Agree are the two basic syntactic operations that manipulate the lexical items in Narrow Syntax. I will discuss these two operations in this subsection. Chomsky (2004) distinguishes two types of Merge: External Merge and Internal Merge. External Merge takes two independent elements, and combines them into a single structure:

(7) External Merge of *read* and *a book*, project *read*



Internal Merge, on the other hand, takes two elements, with one being a part of the other, and combines them into a single structure. In other words, Internal Merge yields the phenomenon which is often referred to as movement.

(8) Internal Merge of *I* and *will*



The second basic syntactic operation within Phase Theory is Agree. The basic idea of this operation is summarized in (9):



### (9) *Agree*

An unvalued feature  $F$  (a *probe*) on a head  $H$  scans its c-command domain for another instance of  $F$  (a *goal*) with which to agree. If the goal has a value, its value is assigned as the value of the probe (and the unvalued feature is deleted).

(Pesetsky and Torrego 2004: 2 cf. Chomsky 2000, 2001)

Let me illustrate this with Accusative case licensing. The Accusative case reflects an Agree relationship between a light verb and a DP within the light verb's c-command domain. (10) shows a light verb and a third person masculine singular object *him*. The light verb has a set of uninterpretable  $\phi$ -features. The object DP has a valued set of  $\phi$ -features and an uninterpretable Case feature. Once Agree between the light verb and the object DP *him* is established, the uninterpretable features on both elements are valued (and deleted).

(10) Mary called him yesterday.

$v$   $u\phi$  [ ]

DP *him*  $\phi$ [3SG. masculine],  $uC$  [ ]

$v$   $u\phi$  [~~3SG. masculine~~]

DP *him*  $\phi$ [3SG. masculine],  $uC$  [~~ACC~~]

### 2.1.3 Phase Impenetrability Condition (PIC)

Phase Theory proposes that once a construction is Transferred, it becomes inaccessible to Narrow Syntax. To account for such long-distance dependencies, which requires that some parts of an earlier phase must be accessible to later syntactic operations, Chomsky (2000) proposes the Phase Impenetrability Condition (PIC):

(11) *Phase Impenetrability Condition 1*

In phase  $\alpha$  with head H, the domain of H is inaccessible to operations outside  $\alpha$ , only H and its edge are accessible to such operations. (Chomsky 2000: 108)

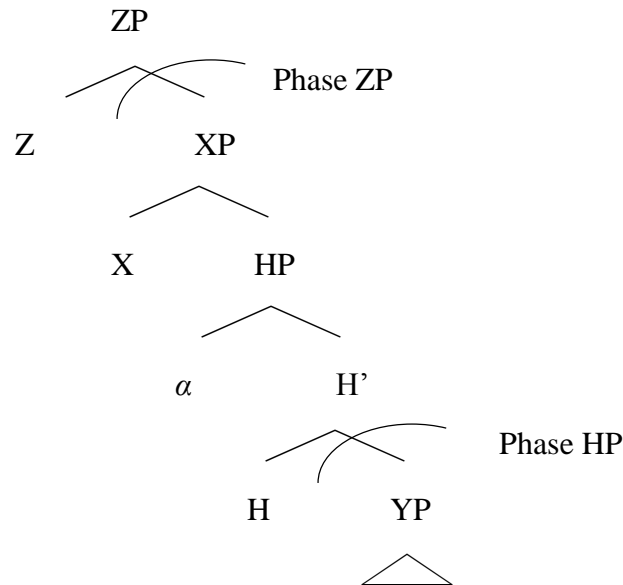
Together, the phase head and its specifiers are considered phase edges. In other words, in a long-distance movement scenario, the moved item has to get to the phase edges in order to escape Spell-Out. Thus, movements out of a phase has to proceed through phase edges. Chomsky (2001) proposes another version of the PIC:

(12) *Phase Impenetrability Condition 2*

The domain of H is not accessible to operations at ZP; only H and its edge are accessible to such operations. (Chomsky 2001: 14)

Essentially, the PIC1 and PIC2 differ in terms of when the domain of H becomes inaccessible to further operations. PIC1 states that the domain of H becomes inaccessible once HP is complete while PIC2 states that the domain of H becomes inaccessible at the point when the next phase head Z is merged. The difference is illustrated in (13). Assuming Z and H are phase heads while X is a non-phase head, according to PIC1, X is not able to Agree with the domain of H (YP) because when HP is complete, the domain of H becomes inaccessible. However, under PIC2, X is able to Agree with YP until the point at which Z is merged.

(13)



(cf. Citko 2014: 34)

Based on the study of quirky Nominative objects, such agreement relation between X and YP should be allowed. In Icelandic, an object can be licensed with Nominative Case while the subject has Dative Case (14). It is assumed that the quirky Nominative Case results from Agree between T and the object. This Agree relation is only possible under PIC2 because the  $\nu$ P phase is not spelled-out until the merge of the higher phase head C. PIC1, however, disallows such Agree since the  $\nu$ P phase is spelled-out once T is merged.

- (14) Henni      höfðu      leiðst      þeir.  
her.DAT    had.3PL    bored.at    they.NOM

‘She had found them boring.’ (Citko 2014: 35 citing Sigurðsson 2002: 692)

It then appears that PIC2 covers more empirical grounds than PIC1. In this dissertation, I will adopt PIC2.

#### 2.1.4 $\nu$ P phase and CP phase

Chomsky (2000) proposes that CPs and transitive/unergative  $\nu$ Ps are phases. It follows that these two projections are similar in many aspects. In this subsection, I briefly review some of the clausal properties of the  $\nu$ P phase. This provides relevant background for the discussion of the syntactic structures of the WEI...SUO passive in Chapter 5.

A light verb may select another  $\nu$ P as its complement, thus form a nested  $\nu$ P construction. In Chapter 5, I will argue that the Middle Chinese WEI...SUO passive (cf. 2c) has such a nested  $\nu$ P construction. To support this, I briefly discuss another case of nested  $\nu$ P construction here. Harley (2008) proposes that the biclausal properties<sup>5</sup> of Japanese productive causative constructions (15a) can be accounted for by a nested  $\nu$ P construction (15b). In (15b), the causative light verb *-sase* selects a second  $\nu$ P, which is viewed as the embedded clause in the Japanese productive causatives. The causee is merged as the external argument of the second  $\nu$ P which conveys the event that was caused by Taro.

(15) a. Taro<sub>o</sub>-ga Hanako-ni hanasi-o tutae-sase-ta

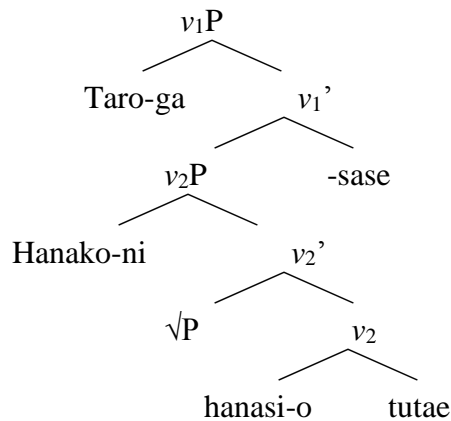
Taro-N Hanako-D story-A convey-CAUS-PST

‘Taro made Hanako convey a story.’

---

<sup>5</sup> Harley (2008) summarizes some of the biclausal properties of the productive causatives: First, adverbs can be interpreted as modifying both the caused event and the causing event. Second, subject-control *-te* adjuncts can be controlled by both the causer and the causee. Third, the subject oriented anaphor *zibun* can be licensed either by the causer or the causee. Readers are referred to Shibatani (1990), Terada (1991) and others for detailed discussion of these biclausal properties.

b.



(Harley 2008: 31)

Given the fact that a  $\nu P$  can represent a reduced embedded clause for a biclausal construction, the  $\nu P$  phase must share some clausal properties with the CP phase. The first similarity between a  $\nu P$  and CP is that both can be a final landing site for *wh*-movement. Manetta (2010) proposes that Hindi-Urdu *wh*-movement targets [Spec,  $\nu P$ ]. In (16), the *wh*-word which is base-generated in the embedded clause is pronounced at the matrix  $\nu P$  edge.

(16) Sita-ne                      kis-ko                      soca:                      ki                      Ravi:-ne                      dekha:?  
 Sita-ERG [ $\nu P$                       who-ACC<sub>i</sub>                      thought [<sub>CP</sub> that                      Ravi-ERG [ $\nu P$                       saw  $t_i$ ]]]

‘Who did Sita think that Ravi saw?’                      (cf. Citko 2014: 96, citing Manetta 2010: 1)

In addition to being a final landing site for *wh*-words, the edge of a  $\nu P$  also counts as a site for interpreting *wh*-words, similar to the edge of a CP. (17) provides evidence that the edge of a  $\nu P$  can be a reconstruction site for *wh*-phrases. The *wh*-phrase in this example involves a bound

pronoun and an R-expression. Variable binding and Principle C are satisfied at the reconstruction site between the quantified DP and the main verb. This reconstruction site is the edge of a  $\nu$ P.

(17) [Which of the books that he<sub>1</sub> asked Ms. Brown<sub>2</sub> for] did every student<sub>1</sub> \_\_\_\_ get from her<sub>2</sub>  
\_\_\_\_ \* ?

(Citko 2014: 100, citing Fox 1999: 175)

In the beginning of this subsection, I mentioned that for Chomsky (2000), only transitive/unergative  $\nu$ Ps are phases. This is because such  $\nu$ Ps have complete argument structure. The defective<sup>6</sup> passive and unaccusative  $\nu$ Ps, on the other hand, are not considered phases. I will follow Chomsky's (2000) standard treatment of passive  $\nu$ Ps in this dissertation<sup>7</sup>. But it is worth mentioning here that this view has been challenged by Legate (2003). Legate (2003) shows that there is an extra movement step through in edge of  $\nu$ P even in passive sentences. In (17), we see [Spec,  $\nu$ P] can be a reconstruction site for *wh*-phrases. Variable binding and Principle C are satisfied only when *wh*-movement goes through the edge of the  $\nu$ P. Parallel phenomenon can be found in passive sentences as well, as in (18). In this sentence, the *wh*-phrase contains a pronoun *he*, which has to be bound by *every man*, and an R-expression *Mary*, which must not be bound by the coreferential pronoun *her*, according to Principle C. Therefore, the reconstruction site of

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<sup>6</sup> In the sense that passive and accusative *vs* only include an internal argument and are not able to license accusative case.

<sup>7</sup> Chomsky (2007, 2008) proposes that V inherits the unvalued  $\phi$ -features of the phase head  $\nu$ . Based on this proposal, Legate (2012) points out that 'the phase is a closed domain for A-movement.' (Legate 2012: 238) She argues that this is because A-movements are motivated by uninterpretable features, and uninterpretable features cannot be present on a phase-edge. If so, a DP cannot be raised to the phase-edge by A-movement. Given the PIC, such a DP is not able to undergo A-movement to a higher phase. Since in passive and unaccusative  $\nu$ Ps, a DP is able to undergo A-movement to a higher phase. These  $\nu$ Ps are not phases.

this *wh*-phrase must be a position below every man and above her. The only available position for such requirement is the edge of the  $\nu$ P, the checked position shown in the example.

- (18) [At which of the parties that  $he_i$  invited  $Mary_j$  to] was every man<sub>i</sub> √ introduced to her<sub>j</sub>  
   \* ? (Legate 2003: 507)

Legate (2003) also shows that [Spec,  $\nu$ P] can be a landing site for Quantifier Raising (QR).

Readers are referred to her paper for the discussion of QR.

## 2.2 Distributed Morphology

Distributed Morphology (DM) is a grammatical theory first proposed by Halle and Marantz (1993, 1994). An inclusive overview of DM is beyond the scope of this dissertation. In this subsection, I only review the part of DM that is relevant to the discussion in this dissertation. One of the core properties of DM is the so called Late Insertion. Late Insertion is the hypothesis that syntactic categories do not have phonological content. In other words, in Narrow Syntax, only bundles of morphosyntactic features on functional heads are manipulated. The phonological expressions, which are referred to as Vocabulary Items, are inserted in the mapping to the Phonological Form. In DM, what Narrow Syntax manipulates are called syntactic terminals. Harley and Noyer (1998) proposes that there are two basic types of terminals: f-nodes and l-nodes. In their term, f-nodes ‘consists of feature bundles for which a speaker normally has no choice as regards vocabulary insertion; the Vocabulary Items which fill them are f-morphemes’

(Harley and Noyer 1998: 7). On the other hand, l-nodes are those whose Vocabulary Items are not determined in advance.

A related hypothesis regarding the dichotomy of syntactic terminals is that lexical categories, such as nouns, verbs and adjectives, of an l-node are determined by a category defining f-node that selects the l-node. Such l-nodes are called Root by Pesetsky (1995). Embick and Noyer (2007) defines Root in the following way:

(19) *Root*

Items such as  $\sqrt{\text{cat}}$ ,  $\sqrt{\text{ox}}$  or  $\sqrt{\text{sit}}$ , which are sequences of complexes of phonological features, along with, in some cases, non-phonological diacritic features...Roots do not contain or possess grammatical (syntactico-semantic) features. (Embick and Noyer 2007: 295)

Marantz (1995), Embick (1997, 1998), Harley and Noyer (1998), Embick and Noyer (2007) and others propose that Roots cannot appear bare. They must appear in a local relation with some categorizing heads, such as  $v$ ,  $n$ , etc. This is the Categorization Assumption:

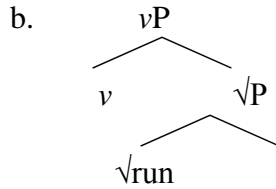
(20) Categorization Assumption

Roots cannot appear without being categorized; Roots are categorized by combining with category-defining functional heads. (Embick and Noyer 2007: 296)

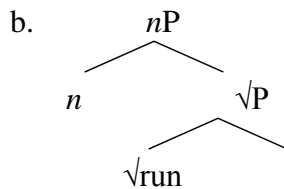


For example,  $\sqrt{\text{run}}$  becomes a ‘verb’ when it is selected by a category-defining  $v$  (21). It becomes a ‘noun’ when its category-defining head is an  $n$  (22). The discussion of this subsection provides relevant background for the discussion of the JIAN passive in Chapter 3.

(21) a. The dog is running.



(22) a. Catching sight of the dog, he broke into a run.



## 2.3 Syntactic Reanalysis as Parameter Resetting

The framework that I adopt for the diachronic syntactic analysis in this study is based on Roberts (1997), Roberts and Roussou (2003) and Roberts (2007). Their main proposal is that syntactic changes are caused by parameter resettings in first language learners. Roberts and Roussou (1999, 2003) propose that ‘movement and cross-linguistic variation are reflexes of a single property of the computational system of human language ( $C_{HL}$ )....(which is) referred to as interface interpretability.’ (Roberts and Roussou 2003: 27) Specifically, interpretability is the mapping of a syntactic feature onto a PF or LF expression. Therefore, a lexical item, for example *pen*, maps onto both a PF representation [pen] and an LF representation [[pen]], which is its denotation. A functional head, for example a Complementizer (C), must be LF interpretable.

However, it may or may not be PF interpretable. For example, the Irish *wh*-question (23a) is marked with an overt C but English is not (23b).

(23) a. Cad **a<sup>L</sup>** tá sa seomra?

What C-*wh* is in the-room

‘What is in the room?’

(Carnie 2007: 320)

b. What is in the room?

When a functional feature F requires a PF realization, it is marked as F\*. Roberts and Roussou (1999, 2003) propose that parameterization is thus the ‘random assignment of the diacritic to features typically associated with functional heads’ (Roberts and Roussou 2003: 29). Following Borer (1984), who proposes that parametric variation is a property of lexicon, they propose that this dimension of parameterization (assignment of \*) happens in the lexicon.

To Roberts and Roussou (1999, 2003), there is another dimension of parameterization, which is in narrow syntax. They suggest that once a language has a certain F\*, it can be realized in two different ways. If the lexicon provides a morphophonological matrix to F\*, this matrix is F\*’s PF realization. If there is no such matrix provided by the lexicon, material must move to F\* in syntax. In sum, Roberts and Roussou (1999, 2003) propose a two-fold system of parametric variation:

(24) a. F\*? YES/NO

b. If F\*, is it satisfied by Move or Merge?

(Roberts and Roussou 2003: 30)

Parameter values can be acquired via parameter expressions (P-expression):

(25) P-expression:

A substring of the input text  $S$  expresses a parameter  $p_i$  just in case a grammar must have  $p_i$  set to a definite value in order to assign a well-formed representation to  $S$ .

(Roberts and Roussou 2003: 15)

When certain P-expressions become P-ambiguous (defined in 26), syntactic change may take place. This is because a P-ambiguous P-expression can represent either value of  $p_i$ , which provides choices to first language learners between different values of  $p_i$ . There are several factors that may cause P-ambiguity in a P-expression. According to Roberts and Roussou (2003): morphological changes, which are usually caused by sound changes, are one of the major factors.

(26) a. P-ambiguity:

A substring of the input text  $S$  is strongly P-ambiguous with respect to a parameter  $p_i$  just in case a grammar can have  $p_i$  set to either value and assign a well-formed representation to  $S$ .

b. A strongly P-ambiguous string may express either value of  $p_i$  and therefore trigger either value of  $p_i$ .

c. A weakly P-ambiguous string expresses neither value of  $p_i$  and therefore triggers neither value of  $p_i$ .

(Roberts 2007: 233)

Facing P-ambiguities, first language learners will opt for the less marked representations.

Roberts and Roussou (2003) proposes the following markedness hierarchy (where > refers to ‘more marked than’):

(27) Markedness Hierarchy:

$$F^*_{\text{Internal Merge/External Merge}} > F^*_{\text{Internal Merge}} > F^*_{\text{External Merge}} > F$$

(Adapted from Roberts and Roussou 2003: 210)

Let me illustrate the theory mentioned above with the loss of V-to-T movement in Early Modern English (ENE). Under the current theory, this change can be viewed as resetting the value of the V-to-T parameter from positive to negative. (28) indicates that there was V-to-T movement in earlier English until 17<sup>th</sup> century (see Warner 1997 for a discussion of the chronology).

(28) if I gave not this accompt to you

‘if I didn’t give this account to you’

(c1557: J. Cheke, Letter to Hoby; Roberts 2007: 134, citing Roberts 1999: 290)

As Roberts (2007) argues, at the same time as (28), there were many simple sentences that were P-ambiguous in terms of the V-to-T parameter, (29). Without verbal agreement marking, the

surface order (29a) triggers either the positive value (29b) or the negative value (29c) of the V-to-T parameter. In this sense, (29) is strongly P-ambiguous.

(30) a. John walks.

b. John [<sub>TP</sub> walks [<sub>vP</sub> ... <walks>...]]

c. John [<sub>TP</sub>[<sub>vP</sub> walks.]]

Gray (1985) shows that shortly after 1500, the plural agreement marking in East Midlands English was lost. This change is significant because it has been observed that there is a correlation between the verbal agreement and the positive value of V-to-T movement. Roberts (1997) summarizes this correlation in the following way:

(30) If (finite) V is marked with person agreement in all simple tenses, this expresses a positive value for the V-to-T parameter. (Roberts 2007: 137, citing. Roberts 1999: 292)

According to Roberts and Roussou (2003) and Roberts (2007), first language learners will opt for the less marked syntactic representation. Now consider (29a), which involves Internal Merge of *walks* to T. (29b) is derived via External Merge *walks* to V. Based on the markedness hierarchy in (27), (29b) is the less marked construction, which will be opted for by first language learners. Since sentences such as (29b) do not involve V-to-T movement, the V-to-T parameter has been reset. (31) summarizes this change:

(31) English V-to-T movement

- i. Structural change:  $[_{TP} V+T [_{VP} <V>]] > [_{TP} [_{VP} V]]$
- ii. Parametric change:  $V^*_{Internal Merge} > V^*_{External Merge}$
- iii. Cause: loss of verbal agreement inflection

3. Periodization and Textual information

Following Aldridge (2013a), I assume the periodization in (32) for Archaic and Middle Chinese (historical time periods are in the parentheses).

(32) Periodization

Pre-Archaic (PAC):	14 <sup>th</sup> C. BCE ~ 11 <sup>th</sup> C. BCE	(Shang)
Early Archaic (EAC):	10 <sup>th</sup> C. BCE ~ 6 <sup>th</sup> C. BCE	(Zhou)
Late Archaic (LAC):	5 <sup>th</sup> C. BCE ~ 3 <sup>rd</sup> C. BCE	(Warring States)
Early Middle Chinese (EMC):	2 <sup>nd</sup> C. BCE ~ 2 <sup>nd</sup> C. CE	(Han)
Middle Chinese (MC):	3 <sup>rd</sup> C. CE ~ 6 <sup>th</sup> C. CE	(Six Dynasties)
Late Middle Chinese (LMC):	7 <sup>th</sup> C. CE ~ 10 <sup>th</sup> C. CE	(Tang)

It is unavoidable for any historical linguistics study to present information about the texts to be used. The texts I used for Pre-Archaic Chinese are oracle bone inscriptions cited from Zhang (2001). Other sources are specified when a particular example is cited.

The texts for the Archaic Chinese period are from the Hanji online Archaic Chinese database (漢籍電子文獻) by Academia Sinica: <http://hanji.sinica.edu.tw/>. Here I want to briefly discuss the reliability and the dating of the texts to be used, especially the Archaic Chinese texts. It should be noted that the composition date of these works are different from the dates of the extant versions. Taking *Analepts* as an example, this book was composed in the Warring States period (Els 2012 among others). However, the earliest extant version of *Analepts* was from the Tang Dynasty period (7<sup>th</sup> C. CE ~ 10<sup>th</sup> C. CE). There is almost a 1000-year gap between the date of *Analepts*' composition and the date of the extant version. We are not sure if there is any change in the text when it was copied and recopied. Thus it is worth keeping in mind that the extant copies of the texts to be used in this study postdate their composition date.

The methodology adopted here is to take these texts at face value. In other words, the dating and reliability problem mentioned above will be put aside. I will assume that the languages in these texts reflect the language that was used at the time of their composition. My methodology is based on two reasons: First, recovering the original form of such texts is difficult, if not impossible, given current limitations. I look forward to progress in archeology and philology. But this is beyond the scope of this dissertation. Second, although there may be changes in a text during its transmission, I believe that a large part of the text should remain unchanged. In addition, there are clear and systematic differences between earlier, copied texts and contemporary texts first written in later periods. As a further effort to avoid the reliability problem, a particular syntactic phenomenon will be illustrated by several examples taken from

different texts, thus minimizing the possibility of the reliability problem. The specific texts that will be covered are:

(33) Archaic Chinese texts

<i>Yi Li</i>	儀禮	Late Archaic Chinese <sup>8</sup>
<i>Li Ji</i>	禮記	Late Archaic Chinese <sup>9</sup>
<i>Zuozhuan</i>	春秋左傳	Early Archaic Chinese
<i>Zhanguo Ce</i>	戰國策	Late Archaic Chinese
<i>Lunyu (Analects)</i>	論語	Early Archaic Chinese
<i>Mengzi (Mencius)</i>	孟子	Late Archaic Chinese
<i>Zhuangzi</i>	莊子	Late Archaic Chinese
<i>Xunzi</i>	荀子	Late Archaic Chinese
<i>Hanfeizi</i>	韓非子	Late Archaic Chinese~ Early Middle Chinese <sup>10</sup>
<i>Lshi Chunqiu</i>	呂氏春秋	Late Archaic Chinese ~ Early Middle Chinese
<i>Shangjun Shu</i>	商君書	Late Archaic Chinese
<i>Sun Zi</i>	孫子	Late Archaic Chinese

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<sup>8</sup> The exact date of *Yi Li* is unknown. This book is a compilation of social behavior and ceremonial ritual. The complete version was lost during Qin Shihuang's 'Burning of the Books'. The existing *Yi Li* is the part that was memorized by contemporary scholar Gaotang Sheng. Boltz (1993: 237) believes that *Yi Li* 'is a remnant' of the pre-Han corpus. Therefore, I date it as a work in Late Archaic Chinese. But it is possible that the language in *Yi Li* is even older than this.

<sup>9</sup> *Li Ji* is a collection of texts about ceremonial ritual. Puett (2010: 137) proposes that the texts should be dated to the Warring State period (Late Archaic Chinese).

<sup>10</sup> *Hanfeizi* is a compilation of the work by Han Fei, a scholar in the Warring States period. It is believed that several articles written by other authors were added into *Hanfeizi* by Liu Xiang, who edited the book, in the Han period. Thus, *Hanfeizi* may reflect some features of Early Middle Chinese. But the majority of the texts should be work by Han Fei. Shiji recorded that at in 3<sup>rd</sup> C.BCE, Qin Shihuang has already read some of Han Fei's work (e.g. *Gufen* and



The Middle Chinese texts that will be covered include indigenous texts and Buddhist texts, which were typically translated into Chinese by monks<sup>11</sup>. The Middle Chinese indigenous texts that will be used are listed below:

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*Wudu*). Therefore, the language in *Hanfeizi* reflects the language used in the transition from Late Archaic Chinese to Early Middle Chinese.

<sup>11</sup> The source language of many Buddhist texts is Sanskrit. It is worth keeping in mind that the Middle Chinese as reflected in the translated Buddhist text may be influenced by the source language. Therefore, I use the Buddhist texts as secondary sources. Most of the discussion of this study is based on indigenous texts.

(34)	<i>Shi ji</i>	史記	Early Middle Chinese
	<i>Xin Shu</i>	新書	Early Middle Chinese
	<i>Huainan Zi</i>	淮南子	Early Middle Chinese
	<i>Yantie Lun</i>	鹽鐵論	Early Middle Chinese
	<i>Wuyue Chunqiu</i>	吳越春秋	Early Middle Chinese
	<i>Han Shu</i>	漢書	Early Middle Chinese
	<i>Lun Heng</i>	論衡	Early Middle Chinese
	<i>Sanguo Zhi</i>	三國志	Middle Chinese
	<i>Baopuzi neipian</i>	抱樸子內篇	Middle Chinese
	<i>Xinjiao Soushen Ji</i>	新校搜神記	Middle Chinese
	<i>Shishuo Xinyu</i>	世說新語	Middle Chinese
	<i>Song Shu</i>	宋書	Middle Chinese
	<i>Luoyang Qielan Ji</i>	洛陽伽藍記	Middle Chinese
	<i>Yanshi Jiaxun</i>	顏氏家訓	Middle Chinese

Most of the Middle Chinese indigenous texts are from the Hanji online database by Academia Sinica. In the appendix of this dissertation, I have listed the bibliographic information of the texts that are from elsewhere.

The Buddhist texts that will be used in this study are also from the Hanji online database. The specific text information can be found below:

(35)	<i>Zhongbenqi Jing</i>	中本起經	Early Middle Chinese
	<i>Daoxing Bore Jing</i>	道行般若經	Early Middle Chinese
	<i>Liuduji Jing</i>	六度集經	Early Middle Chinese
	<i>Pusa Benyuan Jing</i>	菩薩本緣經	Early Middle Chinese
	<i>Sheng Jing</i>	生經	Middle Chinese
	<i>Zhengfahua Jing</i>	正法華經	Middle Chinese
	<i>Baiyu Jing</i>	百喻經	Middle Chinese
	<i>Chuyao Jing</i>	出曜經	Middle Chinese
	<i>Dazhuangyanlun Jing</i>	大莊嚴論經	Middle Chinese
	<i>Fobenxingji Jing</i>	佛本行集經	Middle Chinese

# *Chapter 2*

知之者不如好之者，好之者不如樂之者。

——《論語 雍也第六》



## Chapter 2

In this chapter, I review the main literature on the structure of the modern Mandarin long and short passives. As mentioned in the first chapter, in long passive constructions the subject precedes the passive marker BEI, which embeds a reduced clausal structure housing the agent and a gap coindexed with the matrix subject. (1b) is a short passive construction which does not include an agent under BEI.

(1) a. Zhangsan        bei     Lisi    piping le.  
         Zhangsan       BEI    Lisi    criticize ASP  
         ‘Zhangsan was criticized by Lisi.’

b. Zhangsan        bei     piping        le.  
         Zhangsan       BEI    criticize        ASP  
         ‘Zhangsan was criticized.’

I begin this chapter by reviewing previous analyses of the modern Mandarin long passive construction. In the second section, I discuss the literature on the short passive construction. In the third section, I present an overview of my proposal.

## 1. Modern Mandarin long passives

There are two competing views on the structure of modern Mandarin long passive constructions. One view argues that long passives are derived via DP movement similar to the way an English passive sentence is derived. The other view, which is called the complementation approach, argues that the long passive construction is biclausal, with the passive auxiliary BEI acting as the matrix verb selecting an embedded clause. I will start this section with a review of the DP-movement approach. I will then proceed to the complementation approach.

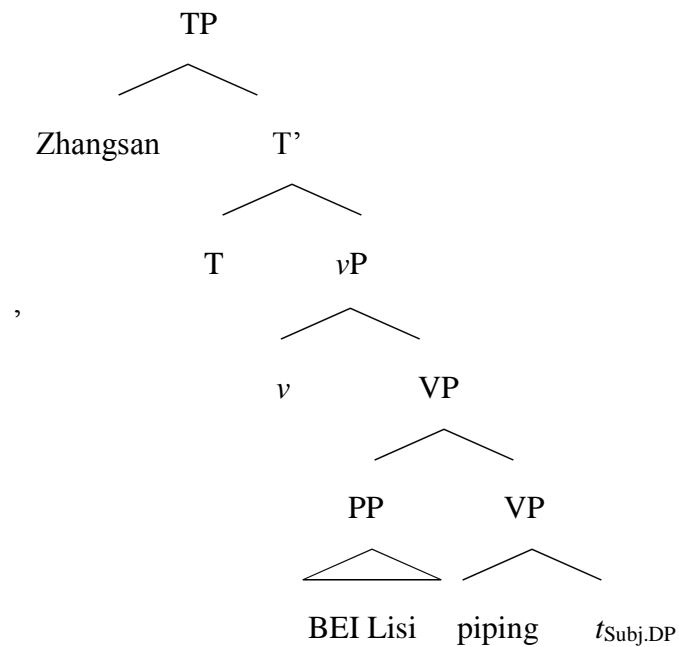
### 1.1 DP-movement approach

The DP-movement approach (Wang 1970, Li 1985, 1990, Travis 1984, Koopman 1984, Shi and Hu 2005) treats the long passives on a par with English passive sentences. Specifically, their approach can be captured by assuming that the VP in a long passive sentence is selected by a passive *v*. This passive *v* is defective in that it has no external  $\Theta$ -role and does not make accusative case available for an internal argument. Consequently, the Case-less internal argument agrees with the higher functional head T. It is thus licensed with Nominative Case. It also moves to [Spec, TP] to check the EPP feature on T. The DP-movement approach treats BEI as a preposition which introduces the agent into the clause, similar to the *by*-PP in English passives. In other words, the DP-movement approach assumes a unified analysis of the long passive and short passive construction in Mandarin Chinese. This analysis is represented in (2).

(2) a. Zhangsan bei Lisi piping le.

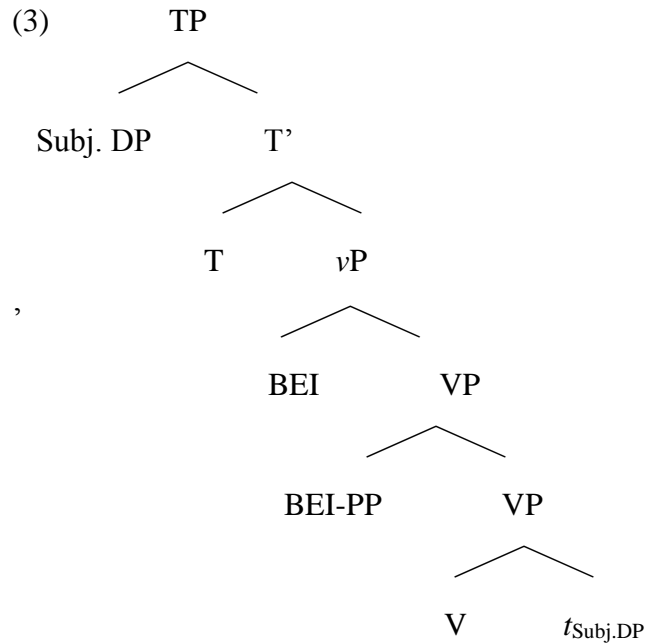
Zhangsan BEI Lisi criticize ASP

‘Zhangsan was criticized by Lisi.’



Shi and Hu (2005) proposes a modified version on the DP-movement approach. They argue that there are actually two BEIs in a long passive construction, with the first BEI being the passive *v* and the second BEI being a preposition. Since these two BEIs are linearly close to each other, they claim that according to the convention of Chinese language, the second BEI is not pronounced according to haplology. Their approach is represented in (3).





Several difficulties have been identified with the DP-movement approach. First, since the DP-movement analysis treats the BEI-DP as a PP, we would expect it to syntactically behave as a PP. As pointed out in (Huang et al. 2009), the BEI-PP is not movable, unlike other PPs in Mandarin Chinese. (4) shows that the BEI-PP cannot move to sentence-initial position. However other PPs can be preposed, as in (5).

(4) a. Zhangsan **bei** Lisi piping le.

Zhangsan BEI Lisi criticize ASP

‘Zhangsan was criticized by Lisi’

b. \***Bei Lisi** Zhangsan piping le.

BEI Lisi Zhangsan criticize ASP

Intended reading: ‘Zhangsan was criticized by Lisi.’

(5) a. Zhangsan **dui Lisi** hen reqing.

Zhangsan to Lisi very warm

‘Zhangsan is very warm to Lisi.’

b. **Dui Lisi** Zhangsan hen reqing.

To Lisi Zhangsan very warm

‘Zhangsan is very warm to Lisi.’

Second, as noted by Hashimoto (1987), BEI does not form a constituent with the DP that follows it. (6) shows that the agent DP forms a constituent with the following VP.

(6) Ta bei qinren huaiyi, wairen zhize.

(Hashimoto 1987: 42)

he BEI relative doubt outsider blame

‘He was doubted by his family and blamed by outsiders.’

Third, Huang (et al. 2009) argues that the referential interpretation of the reflexive pronoun *ziji* ‘self’ provides further evidence against the DP-movement approach. Tang (1989) has proposed that *ziji* is subject oriented, which means that it typically takes a subject as its antecedent (see also Cole, Hermon and Sung 1990, Huang and Tang 1991). This is shown in (7). It is clear that *ziji* only refers to the subject *Zhangsan* and is not able to take *Lisi*, which is the complement of the preposition *gen*, as its antecedent.

(7) Zhangsan<sub>i</sub> gen Lisi<sub>j</sub> taolun-le      ziji<sub>i/\*j</sub> de xiangfa.      (Huang et al. 2009: 117)

Zhangsan    with Lisi discuss-ASP self    DE idea

‘Zhangsan discussed his own ideas with Lisi.’

However, as (8) shows, the reflexive *ziji* refers to either Zhangsan or the passive agent Lisi.

Given that *ziji* is not able to take a prepositional object as its antecedent, (8) suggests that the DP following BEI is not the complement of a preposition.

(8) Zhangsan<sub>i</sub> bei Lisi<sub>j</sub> guanzai ziji<sub>i/j</sub> de jiali.      (Huang et al. 2009: 118)

Zhangsan    BEI Lisi hold      self    DE house-inside

‘Zhangsan was held in his own house by Lisi.’

‘Zhangsan was held in Lisi’s place by Lisi.’

The last piece of evidence is particularly damaging to Shi and Hu's (2005) modified DP-approach in which there are two BEIs in a long passive construction, a passive *v* and a preposition, and the second BEI is deleted due to haplology. This analysis, given that the BEI-PP is still maintained, suffers from the difficulties mentioned above. In addition, the coordination example in (6) argues against this approach in another way. (6) is repeated below as (9). According to Shi and Hu's (2005) condition of haplology of BEI, there is no motivation to delete the prepositional BEI that selects *wairen*. This is because the material following the passive *v* BEI in (9) are coordinated. Presumably, the first prepositional BEI, which selects *qinren*, is deleted under haplology since it is close to the passive BEI. But the second BEI should survive the haplology since it is not adjacent to the passive BEI, as shown in (10). Therefore, Shi and Hu (2005) would predict (9) to be ungrammatical, contrary to the fact.

(9) Ta bei qinren huaiyi, wairen zhize. (Hashimoto 1987: 42)

he BEI relative doubt outsider blame

'He was doubted by his family and blamed by outsiders.'

(10) Ta bei [<sub>PP</sub>bei qinren] huaiyi, [<sub>PP</sub>bei wairen] zhize.

Summarizing the review of the DP-movement approach so far, it appears that this approach suffers from quite a few problems. In particular, the DP that follows BEI forms a constituent

with the following VP. It also has the status of a subject (cf. 8). These facts are accounted for by the complementation approach, which I review in the next subsection.

## 1.2 Complementation approach

The complementation approach (Hashimoto 1987, Feng 1990, 1995, 1997, Chiu 1993, Tsai 1993, Ting 1995, 1998, Huang 1999 and Tang 2001) proposes that the Mandarin long passives are biclausal. In an early approach, Hashimoto (1987) proposes that BEI is a verb selecting an embedded clause. The agent is the subject of the embedded clause. Later on, Huang (1999) and others propose that Mandarin Chinese long passives involve operator movement from the gap in the embedded object position (11a).

(11) [Zhangsan [<sub>VP</sub> bei [<sub>IP</sub> Op Lisi [<sub>VP</sub> V hit *t*<sub>Op</sub> ]]]]. (adapted from Huang et al. 2009: 120)

As (11) shows, the passive marker BEI takes an IP as its complement. The patient argument is a gap in the embedded IP. A null operator undergoes A'-movement to [Spec, IP]. The subject of the long passive is base-generated in the matrix clause and receives an Experiencer  $\theta$ -role there. This accounts for the fact that the subject can be modified by subject-oriented adverbs such as *guyi*, as shown in (12).



(14) Zhangsan        bei        [Lisi    pai                wo [    piping    \_\_\_\_    le]].

Zhangsan        BEI    Lisi    send                I        criticize        ASP

‘Zhangsan was criticized by me, who was sent to do so by Lisi.’

In (14), the criticizer of *Zhangsan* is the first-person agent of *pai* ‘send’. *Zhangsan* refers to the gap in the clause embedded under the *pai*. This multi-clausal dependency is captured by the operator movement analysis of Huang (1999).

Third, Mandarin Chinese long passives optionally allow the use of the morpheme SUO, as shown in (15)

(15) Zhangsan    bei    Lisi    **suo**                piping        le.

Zhangsan    BEI    Lisi    SUO                criticize        ASP

‘Zhangsan was criticized by Lisi.’

Chiu (1995) argues that SUO triggers A'-movement in Mandarin Chinese relative clauses. She proposes that there is no movement if SUO does not appear in Mandarin Chinese relative clauses. In Mandarin Chinese, SUO typically occurs in relative clauses, such as (16a), but it is also found in long passives. As shown in (16b) and (c), while Mandarin Chinese relative clauses permit gaps in some islands without the presence of SUO, they generally show island effect when SUO is involved.

(16) a. [zui      heshi              gei              Lisi SUO kan              de] shu.

most    appropriate    give              Lisi SUO read              DE book

‘the book that is most appropriate for Lisi to read’

b. [[Lisi      kan  $e_i$  ]              zui              heshi              de]      shu<sub>i</sub>.

Lisi      read              most              appropriate      DE      book

‘the book that is most appropriate for Lisi to read’

c. \*[[Lisi **suo**              kan  $e_i$  ]              zui              heshi              de] shu<sub>i</sub>.

Lisi SUO              read              most              appropriate      DE book

‘the book that it is most appropriate for Lisi to read’


(Chiu 1995)

Consequently, the presence of SUO in Mandarin Chinese long passives like (15) also suggests that A’-movement has taken place, which lends indirect support to the operator movement analysis.

The complementation approach also implies that BEI embeds a non-finite clause. However, Huang (1999) does not specify how the embedded Agent is case-licensed in Mandarin



Chinese long passive constructions, since a nonfinite Infl should be unable to assign nominative case. Tang (2001) modifies Huang's (1999) approach by proposing that the agent receives accusative case exceptionally from the matrix verb BEI, as shown in (17).

- (17) [Zhangsan [<sub>VP</sub> bei [<sub>TP</sub> Op Lisi [<sub>VP</sub> piping *t*<sub>Op</sub>]]]]<sup>12</sup> (adapted from Tang 2001: 269, 288)
- 

Compared to the DP-movement approach, the complementation approach accounts for more syntactic properties of the long passives. This, however, does not mean that it is without difficulties. I discuss these difficulties in the remainder of this section. I first identify a theoretical problem in the current complementation approach. Then I turn to Tang's (2001) most updated version of the complementation approach to show that his evidence is not sufficient to prove the nonfiniteness of the embedded clause of the long passives.

As (11) and (17) show, the complementation approach assumes that the final landing site for the operator is the specifier of a **non-phase head** (I or non-finite T). This contradicts the spirit of Chomsky's feature inheritance proposal (Chomsky 2005). Chomsky argues that  $\phi$  and Tense features belong to C. The subject agreement between the DP and T arises as a consequence of feature inheritance, in which uninterpretable features are passed from a phase head to its complement. He proposes that feature inheritance follows from the C/I requirement of establishing

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<sup>12</sup> According to Tang (2001), the Mandarin long passive has an ECM structure. Therefore, the embedded clause only involves a TP layer. In addition, to account for the A'-property of the long passive, he further propose that there is operator movement to [Spec, TP]. This approach is not unproblematic, as I have criticized in the next paragraph.

the A/A' distinction, because it establishes a structural distinction between A positions created by C's Agree features and A' positions created by C's edge features. Therefore, the approach in (17) ignore this C/I requirement by making the specifier position of a non-phase head the landing site for A'-movement.

In addition to the theoretical problem mentioned above, the empirical evidence that has been proposed for the non-finiteness of the embedded clause faces several difficulties<sup>13</sup>. Tang's first argument comes from the licensing of NPI. Li (1990) argues that the NPI *renhe* can be licensed long distance in embedded infinitives but not in embedded finite clauses, as shown in (18).

(18) a. wo meiyou      dasuan [TP qu zuo      **renhe** shiqing].

I    not            plan      go do          any      thing

‘I have not plan him to do anything.’

b. \*wo meiyou      gaosu guo    ta      ni      zuo **renhe**      shiqing.

I not-have      tell      ASP    him    you      do    any          thing

‘I have not told him you did anything.’

(Li 1990: 271)

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<sup>13</sup> Huang (1999) only implies that the embedded clause is non-finite. Tang (2001) develops this idea and explicitly argues for the non-finiteness. I will comment on his evidence here.

Li (1990) suggests that a finite clause boundary blocks the licensing of NPIs. Extending this observation to long passives, (19) shows that NPIs can be licensed in long passives. Tang (2001) takes this as evidence that the embedded constituent is non-finite.

(19) wo            meiyou            bei [ta tou            le        **renhe** dongxi].

I            not            BEI he steal            ASP    any    thing

‘I did not have anything stolen by him’ (Tang 2001: 271)

However, it is generally the case that NPIs can be licensed across clause boundaries cross-linguistically in the case of Neg-Raising predicates. When negated, these sentences imply a corresponding sentence in which the negator takes embedded scope. For example, (20a) implies (20b):

(20) a. I do not think that John is at home.

b. I think that John is not at home.

As noted by Lakoff (1969), NPIs are licensed by negation across an embedded clause boundary if the matrix predicate is a neg-raising (NR) predicate, as shown in (21).

(21) a. embedded *until* & NR predicates

John does not think that Mary will be in town until tomorrow.

b. embedded *until* & Non-NR predicates

#John did not claim that Mary would be in town until tomorrow.<sup>14</sup>

Horn (1989) lists some of the NR predicates, which are shown in (22). As the list shows, some of the predicates embed a finite clause while others embed non-finite clauses. The list also includes a mixture of raising and control predicates.

(22) *Some of the Neg-Raising predicates listed in Horn (1989):*

a. think, believe, suppose, imagine, expect, reckon, feel

b. seem, appear, look like, sound like, feel like

c. want, intend, choose, plan

The diversity of the predicates in the list above suggests that the NPI licensing condition in neg-raising contexts is not the finiteness of the embedded clause. Gajewski (2005, 2007) suggests that NPI-licensing across clause boundaries can be captured by the semantics of neg-raising

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<sup>14</sup> This sentence is grammatical. However, it does not have the intended meaning ‘John claimed that Mary would not be in town until tomorrow.’

predicates. Crucially, he proposes that NPIs are licensed in both downward entailing and anti-additive contexts. Negated neg-raising predicates show the licensing capabilities of anti-additive functions. Thus they are able to license NPIs across clause boundaries. In short, the licensing condition for NPIs may be related to the semantics of the matrix predicate. At this point, let us re-examine the predicate in (16b). As (23) shows, *gaosu* itself is not a neg-raising predicate, since (23a) does not imply (23b). Consequently, it is not surprising that the NPI in the embedded clause cannot be licensed by negation in the matrix clause.

(23) a. Zhangsan meiyou gaosu      Lisi ta qu      le      Shanghai.

Zhangsan not      tell      Lisi he go      ASP      Shanghai

‘Zhangsan has not told Lisi that he went to Shanghai.’

b. Zhangsan gaosu      Lisi ta meiyou      qu Shanghai.

Zhangsan tell      Lisi he not      go Shanghai

‘Zhangsan told Lisi that he had not gone to Shanghai.’

In contrast, embedded NPIs can be licensed across finite clause boundaries if the matrix predicate is a Neg-Raising predicate in Mandarin Chinese, as shown in (24)<sup>15</sup>. This indicates that finiteness has no impact on NPI licensing in Mandarin Chinese.

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<sup>15</sup> The test below shows that the matrix predicate *juede* in (22) is a Neg-Raising predicate:

(24) Lisi meiyou juede [<sub>CP</sub> Zhangsan piping le **renhe** ren].

Lisi not think Zhangsan criticize ASP any people

‘Lisi did not think that Zhangsan criticized any people.’

The second piece of evidence for the non-finiteness of the clause embedded under BEI that Tang (2001) provides is the fact that VP-ellipsis is blocked in Mandarin long passives. Boskovic (1997) shows that VP ellipsis is blocked in infinitives. Saito and Murasugi (1990) and Lobeck (1995) explain that heads can license ellipsis of their complement only when they undergo specifier-head agreement. (25a) is grammatical because the tensed *did* undergoes spec-head agreement with the subject, allowing VP-ellipsis to take place in this sentence. (25b) is ungrammatical because nonfinite *to* does not undergo spec-head agreement. Thus, in this sentence VP-ellipsis is not licensed.

(25) a. John liked Mary and Peter did *e* too.

b. \*John believed Mary to know French but Peter believed Jane to *e*.

- 
- a. Zhangsan meiyou juede Lisi bing le.  
 Zhangsan not think Lisi ill ASP  
 'Zhangsan did not think that Lisi was ill.'
- b. Zhangsan juede Lisi meiyou bing.  
 Zhangsan think Lisi not ill  
 'Zhangsan thought that Lisi was not ill.'

The above a sentence implies the b sentence. Therefore, *juede* is a Neg-Raising predicate.

Returning to Mandarin Chinese, Tang (2001) shows that VP-ellipsis is not licensed in long passives, as shown in (26). Therefore, he argues that long passives lack an embedded finite T to license VP-ellipsis.

(26) \*na ben shu bei Zhangsan mai le, na zhi bi bei Lisi ye shi e.

that CL book BEI Zhangsan sell ASP, that CL pen BEI Lisi too SHI.

‘That book was sold by Zhangsan, and that pen was by Lisi as well.’

However, it has been claimed by Zagana (1988) that VP-ellipsis can be licensed under control infinitivals. Zagana (1988) argues that empty categories are subject to Empty Category Principle (ECP). She proposes that the infinitivals are able to  $\Theta$ -mark the elliptical VP as long as they are complements of the main verb. Thus, (27a) is grammatical since the infinitival is selected by the main verb. On the other hand, ECP is not satisfied in (27b) since the infinitival INFL cannot  $\Theta$ -mark the elliptical VP.

(27) a. John does not want to call Mary, but Bill wants to ~~{<sub>VP</sub> call Mary}~~.

b. \*John did not want to call Mary, so he asked to Bill to ~~{<sub>VP</sub> call Mary}~~.

In addition, using VP-ellipsis as a test for infinitives is doubtful from a cross-linguistic point of view. As Rouveret (2012) shows, Welsh allows VP-ellipsis in nonfinite clauses<sup>16</sup>:

(28) a. Ceisiodd Emyr agor y drws a **cheisiodd** Rhian wneud hefyd.

Tried Emyr open the door and tried Rhian do also

‘Emyr tried to open the door and Rhian also tried to.’

b. Bwriadai Sion ganu 'r anthem a **bwriadai** Mair wneud hefyd.

intended Sion sing the anthem and intended Mair do too

‘Sion intended to sing the anthem and Mair also intended to.’

(Rouveret 2012:21)

In addition to the cross-linguistics concern, the so-called VP-ellipsis in (26) has been shown to be different from canonical VP-ellipsis by Soh (2007)<sup>17</sup>. Soh (2007) argues that Mandarin

<sup>16</sup> Rouveret (2012) shows that 'wneud' is tied with a [telic] aspectual interpretation. The author proposes that 'wneud' is an inner aspectual head between light *v* and V.

<sup>17</sup> Soh (2007) proposes that Mandarin Chinese *shi*-ellipsis should be analyzed in this way: the auxiliary *shi* is realized in T or Mod. Given the proposal that a licensing head has to govern the gap (Zagona 1988, Lobeck 1995), *shi* licenses NegP ellipsis rather than *v*P ellipsis (i). This can be shown in the interpretation of the elided materials in (ii), in which the elided part must contain negation.

(i) [TP/ModP *shi* [<sub>NegP</sub> [<sub>vP</sub> ... ]]]

(ii) ta bu-xihuan Zhangsan. Wo ye shi [~~bu-xihuan Zhangsan~~].  
he not-like Zhangsan I also be not like Zhangsan  
‘He does not like Zhangsan. I don’t either.’

(adapted from Soh 2007: 181)



Chinese ellipsis involving *shi* seems to elide more structure than canonical VP-ellipsis involving a modal, as shown in (29):

(29) a. wo mei            qu            Shanghai, Zhangsan ye            shi.

I not            go-to            Shanghai, Zhangsan too            SHI

‘I did not go to Shanghai, and Zhangsan did not either.’

b. wo mei neng qu            Shanghai, Zhangsan ye **mei** neng.

I not be-able-to go-to            Shanghai, Zhangsan too not be-able-to

‘I was not able to go to Shanghai, and Zhangsan was not either.’

Soh (2007) observes that the *shi*-ellipsis takes scope over negation: in (29a), the negator *mei* is elided in the second conjunct. On the other hand, VP-ellipsis involving a modal does not take scope over negation. Therefore, the negator *mei* has to be present in (29b).

In addition to Soh's (2007) evidence, *shi*-ellipsis is different from canonical VP-ellipsis in other aspects as well. VP-ellipsis generally allows the 'vehicle change' phenomenon (Fiengo and May 1994; Merchant 2001 among others) in which a Principle C violation is remedied by ellipsis. For example, (30a) is perfectly grammatical, whereas its non-elliptical counterpart (30b) violates Principle C.

(30) a. They did not promote John<sub>i</sub>, though he<sub>i</sub> thought they would.

b.\* They did not promote John<sub>i</sub>, though he<sub>i</sub> thought they would promote John<sub>i</sub>.

In Mandarin Chinese, the vehicle change phenomenon is observed in canonical ellipsis, as (31a) shows. In (31b), *shi*-ellipsis fails to demonstrate the vehicle change effect. (31a) is grammatical only if the pronoun is not co-indexed with *Wangwu*.

(31) a. Zhangsan juede tamen hui      tiba      Wangwu<sub>i</sub>, ta<sub>i</sub> ye      juede tamen      hui.

Zhangsan think they      will promote Wangwu<sub>i</sub>, he<sub>i</sub>      also      think they      will

‘Zhangsan thought that they would promote Wangwu<sub>i</sub>, and he<sub>i</sub> also thought they would.’

b. \*Zhangsan zhidao      tamen      tiba-le      Wangwu<sub>i</sub>, ta<sub>i</sub>      ye      shi.

Zhangsan know      they      promote-ASP      Wangwu<sub>i</sub>, he<sub>i</sub>      also SHI

‘Zhangsan knew that they had promoted Wangwu<sub>i</sub>, and he<sub>i</sub> also knew that they had.’

The examples above showed that *shi*-ellipsis cannot be treated on a par with canonical VP-ellipsis. In other words, even if VP-ellipsis is a good test for non-finiteness, Tang's (2001) evidence (cf. 26) is still unreliable<sup>18</sup>.

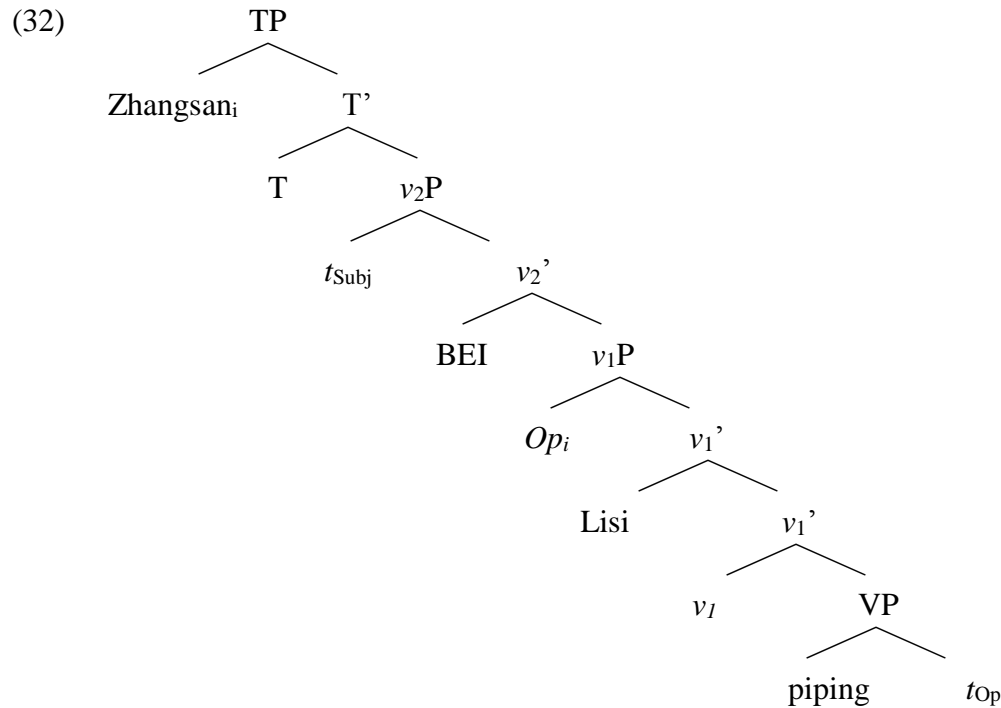
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<sup>18</sup> Canonical VP-ellipsis cannot be applied to Mandarin Chinese long passives either, since modals are generally disallowed in Mandarin Chinese long passives.

To summarize the discussion so far: the complementation approach is on the right track in avoiding the problems faced by the DP-movement approach. In addition, it also captures the biclausal properties and the A'-dependencies in the Mandarin long passives. However, as I have pointed out, the specific structures of the Mandarin long passives proposed by the current complementation approach need to be reconsidered. This is one of the focal points of this dissertation. In the next subsection I will present my analysis of the Mandarin Chinese long passive.

### 1.3 Modified Complementation Approach: $\nu$ P-shell analysis

In this study, I assume the basic spirit of the complementation approach. Building on previous analyses, I propose a double  $\nu$ P shell construction, as in (32). The passive marker BEI takes a  $\nu$ P as its complement. In this analysis, a null operator moves from internal argument position to the edge of this embedded domain, which is the edge of embedded  $\nu_1$ P, where it is licensed by being bound by the matrix subject. The matrix subject is base-generated in [Spec,  $\nu_2$ P] in the matrix clause, where it receives an Experiencer  $\Theta$ -role. The main difference between the structure in (32) and Huang et al.'s (2009) structure (cf. 11a) is that the embedded clause in (32) is more reduced. Therefore, this structure avoids the A- and A'-movement distinction problem I mentioned above while still accounting for the biclausal property and A'-dependencies demonstrated by Mandarin Chinese long passives. In the remaining part of this subsection, I will provide further evidence to support the double  $\nu$ P analysis. I will first discuss the non-finiteness of the embedded clause. Then I will provide evidence for the  $\nu$ P-shell analysis in (32).



### 1.3.1 The long passive embeds a non-finite clause

My first piece of evidence comes from the scope of perfect/inchoative marker *le* in Mandarin Chinese long passives. Lin (2011) argues that Mandarin Chinese epistemic modals (such as *keneng* 'be likely to') take a finite TP complement whereas root modals (such as *neng* 'be able to') take a nonfinite TP complement, as shown in (33).

(33) a. Zhangsan<sub>i</sub>      keneng<sub>[TP<sub>finite</sub> t<sub>i</sub> xihuan      ta].</sub>

Zhangsan      is-likely-to      like   her

‘Zhangsan is likely to like her.’

b. Zhangsan<sub>i</sub>      neng [<sub>TP</sub>non-finite      PRO    xihuan ta].

Zhangsan      be-able-to      PRO    like    her

‘Zhangsan is able to like her.’

Shen (2004) argues that the particle *le* in Mandarin Chinese represents perfect aspect, which needs a reference time (Hornstein 1990; Hacquard 2006). He proposes that *le* heads an AspP in Mandarin Chinese. To license the perfect aspect represented by *le*, Asp has to be valued with a reference time by T (or a tense feature). In such cases, the appearance of *le* is legitimate. On the other hand, if T is not able to value Asp with a tense feature, the perfect aspect cannot be defined. In other words, *le* cannot be licensed.

It is generally assumed that a non-finite T is [-Tense] whereas a finite T is [+Tense]. Therefore, Lin (2011) predicts that *le* cannot be licensed within the complement clause of a root modal in Mandarin Chinese. This prediction is actually borne out:

(34) Zhangsan neng      qu Taibei le.

Zhangsan be-able-to    go Taipei PERF

*le* > *neng*: [Zhangsan neng [qu Taipei] *le*].

‘It has become the case that Zhangsan is able to go to Taipei.’

# *neng* > *le*: [Zhangsan neng [qu Taipei *le*]].

\*‘Zhangsan is able to have gone to Taipei.’ (Lin 2011: 53)

As (34) shows, when *le* co-occurs with a root modal, it always takes scope over the root modal. The interpretation of the reverse scope cannot be achieved. This is because the complement clause of a root modal is non-finite, which is not able to provide the required reference time to license *le*. Consequently, the only possible source of the reference time is the finite matrix T, which evokes the wide scope reading. This shows that a non-finite clause is not able to license the perfective *le*.

On the other hand, when there is the epistemic modal *keneng* in the matrix clause, *le* only takes the narrow scope. This is because that *keneng* embeds a finite clause which is able to license the narrow scope reading of *le*. Therefore, *le* does not need to be licensed in the matrix clause.

(35) Zhangsan keneng            qu Taipei *le*.

Zhangsan be-able-to    go Taipei PERF

#*le* > *keneng*: [Zhangsan *keneng* [qu Taipei] *le*].

‘It has become possible that Zhangsan goes to Taipei.’

*keneng* > *le*: [Zhangsan *keneng* [qu Taipei] *le*].

‘Zhangsan may have gone to Taipei.’

*le*’s scope can be used as a test for finiteness in Mandarin Chinese long passives. If the embedded constituent in Mandarin Chinese long passives is non-finite, we would predict that only the wide scope reading of *le* is available. This prediction is borne out, as shown in (36):

(36) Zhangsan bei Lisi da le.

Zhangsan BEI Lisi beat PERF

*le* > *bei*: [Zhangsan [bei Lisi da] *le*].

Intended reading: ‘The impact of Lisi’s beating him was on Zhangsan at the same time as the beating happened.’

#*bei* > *le*: [Zhangsan bei [Lisi da le]].

Intended reading: ‘Zhangsan received the impact of Lisi’s beating him after he had been beaten. i.e. he felt the pain one day later.’<sup>19</sup>

The other piece of evidence comes from the licensing of adverbial element *gang* ‘just now’ and *yijing* ‘already’. C.- C. J. Tang (2001) shows that *gang* and *yijing* can only be licensed within a finite clause. In (37), in which the matrix predicates embed finite clauses, *yijing* and *gang* can appear in both the matrix and the embedded clauses. However, in (38), *yijing* and *gang* can only appear in the matrix clause because the control predicate *shefa* ‘try’ takes an infinitive. In (39) we observe the same phenomenon since the embedded clause is selected by a root modal. In sum, adverbial elements *yijing* and *gang* are sensitive to finiteness.

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<sup>19</sup> I translated the examples in (39) in such a way because it has been argued in the literature that the Mandarin Chinese passive sentences convey an affected reading on the matrix subject (Hashimoto 1987, Feng 1990, Huang 1999, Tang 2001, Huang et al. 2009, Li 2011). The affected reading becomes clear when a ditransitive sentence is passivized (i). Since the books are not of Zhangsan’s possession, the only semantic relation between Zhangsan and the event of stealing is that Zhangsan was affected by this event adversatively.

(i) Zhangsan ti      xuexiao guan shu,    dan ta      bei Lisi tou le yixie qian.

Zhangsan help school keep books, but 3.SG BEI Lisi kai le yixie qian.

‘Zhangsan is holding books for the school. However, he had some books stolen by Lisi.’



(37) a. ta (yijing)      zhidao [ni (yijing)      lai      le].

he already      know    you already    come      ASP

‘He (already) knew that you (already) came.’

(Tang 2001: 232)

b. ta      (gang)      zhidao [ni (gang)      lai].

he      just.now      know    you just.now    come

‘He (just now) knew that you (just now) came.’

(Tang 2001: 233)

(38)a. ta (yijing) shefa [(yijing) tongzhi      wo].

he already try    already    inform      I

‘He has (already) tried to inform me.’

(Tang 2001: 232)

b. ta (gang)      shefa      [(gang)      tongzhi wo].

he just.now      try      just.now      inform I

‘He has (just now) tried to inform me.’

(Tang 2001: 233)

(39) a. ta (yijing) neng (\*yijing) shuo yingwen.

He already be-able-to already speak English

‘He (already) can speak English.’

(Tang 2001: 232)

b. ta (gang) neng (\*gang) shuo yingwen.

he just.now can just.now speak English

‘He is (just now) able to speak English.’

(Tang 2001: 233)

Applying this test to Mandarin Chinese long passives, in (40), we observe that *yijing* and *gang* are only licensed in the matrix clause, similar to the cases discussed above. Therefore, we may conclude that the embedded constituent in Mandarin Chinese long passives is non-finite.

(40) a. Zhangsan (yijing) bei Lisi (\*yijing) piping le.

Zhangsan (already) BEI Lisi (\*already) criticize ASP

‘Zhangsan has already been criticized by Lisi.’

b. Zhangsan (gang)      bei      Lisi (\*gang)      piping      le.

Zhangsan (just.now)    BEI      Lisi (\*just.now)      criticize      ASP

‘Zhangsan has just now been criticized by Lisi.’

In the next subsection, I will argue that the embedded constituent in Mandarin Chinese long passives consists of no more than a *vP*.

### 1.3.2 No embedded TP layer in Mandarin Chinese long passives

This subsection argues that in Mandarin Chinese long passives BEI does not embed a TP layer.

First, some adjuncts cannot adjoin to certain positions in the embedded clause of Mandarin Chinese long passives. C.- C. J.Tang (2001) argues that the *wei* benefactive PP in Mandarin Chinese adjoins to T, outer Asp<sup>20</sup> or V.

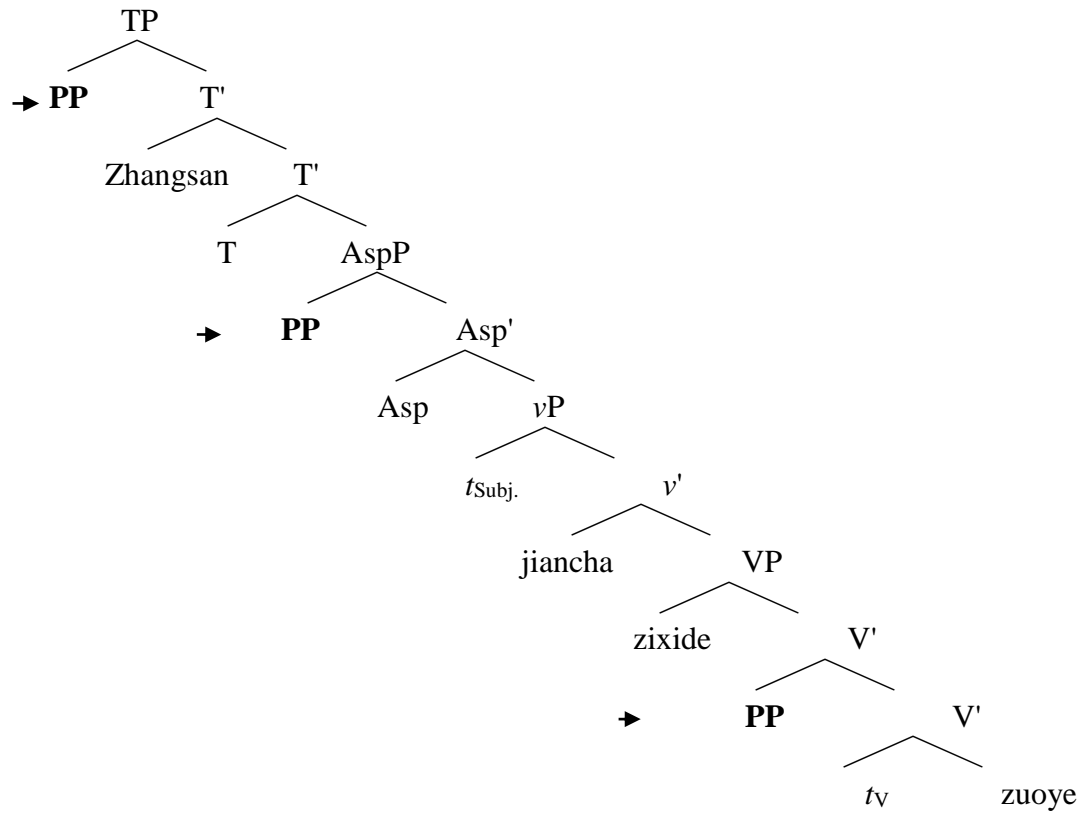
(41) (wei Lisi) Zhangsan (wei Lisi)    zixi-de                      (wei Lisi) jiancha      zuoye.

(for Lisi) Zhangsan (for Lisi)    carefully                      (for Lisi) examine      homework

‘Zhangsan carefully examined the homework for Lisi.’

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<sup>20</sup> In the sense of Travis (1991) or situation aspect in the sense of Smith (1991).



As (41) shows, there are three possible positions for the benefactive PP headed by *wei*. C.C.-J. Tang (2001) argues that the sentence initial PP adjoins to T whereas the PP that follows the manner adverb *carefully* adjoins to V. The middle one adjoins to outer Asp. If Mandarin Chinese long passives only embed a  $\nu$ P, we would expect that only the last benefactive PP is allowed in the embedded constituent. The other two positions are ruled out because of the lack of hosts. This prediction is borne out:

(42) Zhangsan bei [(\*wei Wangwu) Lisi (\*wei Wangwu) henhen-de

Zhangsan BEI (for Wangwu) Lisi (for Wangwu) ferociously

(wei Wangwu) piping.]

(for Wangwu) criticize

‘Zhangsan has been ferociously criticized by Lisi for Wangwu.’

C.- C. J.Tang (2001) argues that another adjunct *renran* 'still' adjoins to the outer Asp, as shown in (43):

(43) (\*renran) Zhangsan (renran) zixi-de (\*renran) xie zuoye.

(still) Zhangsan (still) carefully (still) write homework

‘Zhangsan still does the homework carefully.’

T and V are ruled out as possible hosts for *renran* because it can neither be adjoined to TP nor follow the manner adverb. Therefore, in Mandarin Chinese passives, we do not expect *renran* to appear in the embedded constituent if it is only a *vP*. This is shown to be correct by (44) where *renran* only appears in the matrix clause.

(44) Zhangsan (renran)        bei        Lisi (\*renran)        zenghen.

Zhangsan    (still)                BEI    Lisi (still)                hate

‘Zhangsan was still hated by Lisi.’

Note that the incompatibility of *renran* in the embedded constituent is not because of the non-finiteness, since *renran* can appear in an infinitive, as shown in (45).

(45) ta dasuan renran tongzhi        wo        yi        sheng.

ta plan    still        inform        I        one        sound

‘He still plans to inform me.’

(Tang 2001: 233)

The second piece of evidence for my proposal comes from temporal adverbs. Alexiadou (1997) argues that Mandarin Chinese temporal adverbs are licensed in the TP layer. C.C.-J.Tang (2001) points out that outer Asp could be another possible licenser for temporal adverbs, as shown by the two possible positions for temporal adverb *jintian* ‘today’ in (46).

(46) (jintian) ta        (jintian)        hen        kaixin.

(today) he        (today)        very happy

‘He is very happy today.’

C.- C.-J. Tang (2001) argues that in (46) the first temporal adverb is licensed in TP while the second one is licensed by outer Asp. However, it should be pointed out here that it is possible that temporal adverbs are licensed only by T. The word order in which the temporal adverb follows the subject may be derived from subject topicalization. Either way, Mandarin Chinese temporal adverbs have to be licensed by functional projections above vP. Therefore, my analysis for Mandarin Chinese long passives predicts that temporal adverbs cannot be embedded. As (47) shows this prediction is correct.

- (47) Zhangsan (zuotian)                      bei      Lisi                      (\*zuotian)      piping                      le.  
        Zhangsan (yesterday)                      BEI      Lisi                      (yesterday)      criticize                      ASP  
        ‘Zhangsan has been criticized by Lisi yesterday.’

Again, I want to show that this effect is not because of the non-finiteness. Temporal adverbs are licensed in certain non-finite embedded clauses, as shown in (48).

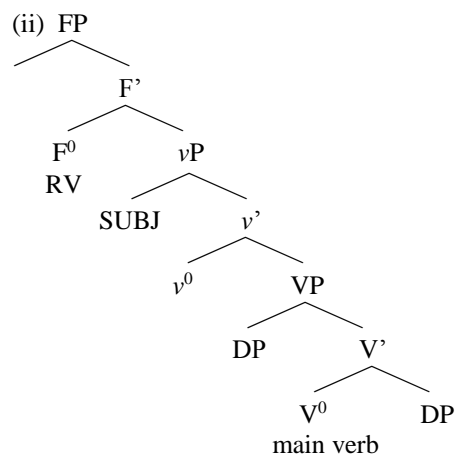
- (48) Zhangsan shefa    [**mingtian**      lai                      Shanghai].  
        Zhangsan    try                      tomorrow                      come-to                      Shanghai  
        ‘Zhangsan tried to come to Shanghai tomorrow.’

In addition to the test of temporal adverbs, Wurmbrand (2012) proposes a ‘tense contradiction’ test to investigate the size of an embedded infinitive. Specifically, following Martin (1992, 1996), Boskovic (1995, 1997) and Chomsky and Lasnik (1995), Wurmbrand (2012) argues that the tense feature of an infinitive resides on the T head. The lexical restructuring<sup>21</sup> construction (49), whose restructuring infinitive is a bare VP, is predicted to be tenseless. To test this hypothesis, Wurmbrand (2012) uses a ‘tense contradiction’ test.

<sup>21</sup> A restructuring construction is an infinitival which is transparent. In other words, it does not show clause-boundedness effects. For example, (ia) is a restructuring construction which allows clitic climbing, while (ib), a non-restructuring construction, does not allow such operation.

- |             |   |                       |
|-------------|---|-----------------------|
| (i) Italian |   |                       |
| a.          | Lo volevo [vedere t <sub>CL</sub> subito].<br>him I-wanted [see t <sub>CL</sub> immediately].<br>‘I wanted to see him immediately.’               | Restructuring         |
| b.          | *Lo detest [vedere t <sub>CL</sub> in quello stato].<br>him I-detest [see t <sub>CL</sub> in that state].<br>‘I detest seeing him in that state.’ | Non-restructuring     |
|             |   | (Wurmbrand 2004: 1-2) |

Wurmbrand (2012) further distinguishes two types of restructuring constructions: lexical restructuring (cf. 1) and functional restructuring. A lexical restructuring embeds a bare VP as its restructuring infinitive. A functional restructuring (ii) assumes the restructuring verb (RV) as a head in the functional domain above *v* which selects the restructuring infinitive.



(Wurmbrand 2004: 2)

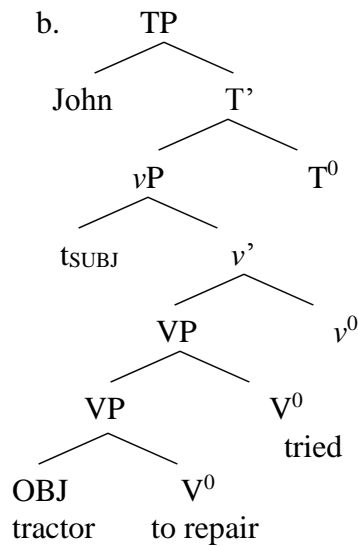
It is worth noting here that the BEI in the long passive is not a restructuring verb. First, BEI is not a functional RV. In a long passive, BEI heads a *v*P which is lower than the functional domain, since it has to assign an external theta-role to the matrix subject. Second, BEI is not a lexical RV. According to Wurmbrand’s (2012) analysis, a lexical RV heads a bare VP which in turn selects a bare VP as its restructuring infinitive. Notice that the embedded infinitive in a long passive includes an external argument. In other words, a bare VP is not large enough to host the embedded infinitive of a long passive. Therefore, BEI is different from an RV. However, certain tests Wurmbrand (2012) uses to test the size of the infinitive can be used in this study.



(49) a. weil Hans den Traktor zu reparieren versuchte.

since John the tractor-ACC to repair tried

‘since John tried to repair the tractor.’



(Wurmbrand 2012: 17)

Wurmbrand (2012) distinguishes two types of infinitives: tensed infinitive and tenseless infinitive (i.e. lexical restructuring). She proposes that in the tense of a tensed infinitive ‘establishes a temporal ordering relation between the time of the infinitival event and the time of the matrix event.’ (Wurmbrand 2012: 75) On the other hand, no such temporal ordering relation can be established in a tenseless infinitive. A tenseless infinitive is only able to receive a simultaneous interpretation. In this sense, (50a), a tensed infinitive, is grammatical but (50b), a restructuring (i.e. tenseless), is not. The temporal adverb is compatible with the interpretation in (50a) because it specifies the time of the embedded event is after the time of the matrix event. (50b) is not good because while the temporal adverb forces the embedded event to be interpreted

after the matrix event, the tenseless nature of the embedded infinitive requires both events to happen simultaneously. Thus, there is a tense contradiction in this sentence.

(50) a. Hans hat beschlossen (morgen) zu verreisen.

John has decided (tomorrow) to go-on-a-trip

‘John decided to go on a trip (tomorrow).’

b. Hans hat versucht (\*morgen) zu verreisen.

John has tried (\*tomorrow) to go-on-a-trip

‘John tried to go on a trip (\*tomorrow)’

(Wurmbrand 2012: 74)

The same test can be applied to Mandarin long passives. It is predicted that the embedded infinitive of a long passive is tenseless because it lacks a TP layer. This prediction is borne out. (51a) is ungrammatical because a tense contradiction happens between the embedded event and the matrix event. The embedded future temporal adverb forces the embedded event to happen after the matrix one. But the simultaneity, required by the tenseless nature, prevents such an ordering. In contrast, (51b), whose embedded infinitive is tensed, is good. The embedded event is interpreted to happen after the matrix event (actually also a day after the utterance time).

(51) a. Zhangsan yijing bei Lisi (\*mingtian) daizou le.

Zhangsan already BEI Lisi (\*tomorrow) bring-away ASP

‘Zhangsan has already been brought away by Lisi (\*tomorrow).’

b. Zhangsan yijing jueding (mingtian) qu Taipei le.

Zhangsan already decide (tomorrow) go Taipei ASP

‘Zhangsan has already decided to go to Taipei tomorrow.’

In sum, the ‘tense contradiction’ test also shows that the embedded clause in a long passive lacks a TP layer.

In Subsection 1.3, I presented my  $\nu$ P-shell analysis for the Mandarin Chinese long passives. This proposal is supported by: a. the complement of *bei* is non-finite. b. functional layers above  $\nu$ P such as TP and outer AspP are absent in the embedded clause. In the next section, I discuss the Mandarin Chinese short passives.

## 2. Short passives

I begin this section with a recap of the difference between the short and the long passives proposed in Cheng, Huang, Li and Tang (1993) and Ting (1995, 1996).

Huang (et al. 2009) shows that the short passive is significantly different from the long passive in that it is derived through A-movement. First, while SUO is optional in Mandarin Chinese long passive constructions (52a), it is not allowed in short passives, as shown in (52b):

(52) a. Zhangsan        bei    Lisi    suo            piping    le.

Zhangsan        BEI    Lisi    SUO            criticize ASP

‘Zhangsan was criticized by Lisi.’

b. \*Zhangsan        bei    suo    piping            le.

Zhangsan        BEI    SUO    criticize        ASP

‘Zhangsan was criticized.’

Another difference between long and short passives is in long-distance dependencies. In the previous section, I have shown that long-distance dependencies can be established in long passives (repeated in 53a). However, as (53b) shows, cross-clausal dependency is not allowed in short passives.

(53) a. Zhangsan        bei    [Lisi    pai            wo [    piping    —    le]].

Zhangsan        BEI    Lisi    send            I        criticize        ASP

‘Zhangsan was criticized by me, who was sent to do so by Lisi.’

b. \*Zhangsan bei pai jingcha zhuazou le.

Zhangsan BEI send police arrest ASP

Intended meaning: 'Zhangsan was arrested by police who were sent by somebody.'

A third difference between the two types of passive comes from the distribution of resumptive pronouns. In (54a), a resumptive pronoun is allowed in a long passive construction. On the other hand, a short passive cannot appear with a resumptive pronoun, as (54b) shows.

(54) a. Zhangsan bei Lisi piping le ta ji-ju.

Zhangsan BEI Lisi criticize ASP he several-CL

'Zhangsan was criticized a bit by Lisi.'

b. \*Zhangsan bei piping le ta ji-ju.

Zhangsan BEI criticize ASP he several-CL

'Zhangsan was criticized a bit.'

The discussion above shows that the short passive does not have the A'-properties exhibited by the long passive. The two types of passive are treated differently by most linguists. I begin the literature review for the short passives with Hashimoto's (1987) approach.

## 2.1 Hashimoto (1987): the deletion of the agent

Hashimoto (1987) proposes that the short passive is derived from the long passive construction by deleting the agent following BEI, as shown in (55). This proposal establishes an easy relation between the two types of the passive. However, based on the discussion above, it appears that the two types of passive constructions are derived via very different syntactic operations. The agent-deletion approach is not able to account for the aforementioned differences between short and long passives. Specifically, the agent-deletion approach inevitably leads to the conclusion that the two types of passive construction have identical syntactic structures. Their difference is simply whether the agent is overt or not.

(55) Zhangsan bei Lisi piping le. → Zhangsan bei ~~Lisi~~ piping le.

Zhangsan BEI Lisi criticize ASP      Zhangsan BEI      piping le

‘Zhangsan was criticized by Lisi.’      ‘Zhangsan was criticized’

In addition to the apparent failure to account for the difference between the two types of passive construction, the agent-deletion approach also ignores the diachronic development of passive constructions in the Chinese language. Deriving short passives from long passives predicts that long passives appeared earlier than the short passives. Minimally, the two constructions should have appeared at the same time historically. But as Wei (1994) points out, short passives appeared much earlier than long passives, contrary to the prediction made by the agent-deletion

approach. (56) is a Western Han period (1<sup>st</sup> century BCE) example. As Peyraube (1989) and Wei (1994) suggest, the long passive form did not appear until 6<sup>th</sup> century CE I will come back to this issue in later chapters when I discuss the diachronic development of Chinese passive constructions.

(56) 錯卒以被戮。 (Shiji 122, Kuli EMC)

Cuo zu yi bei lu.

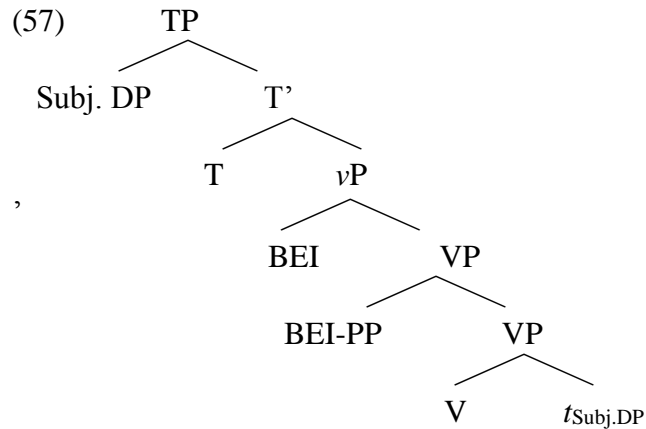
Cuo finally APPL BEI execute

'In the end, he (Chao Cuo) was executed for (this).'

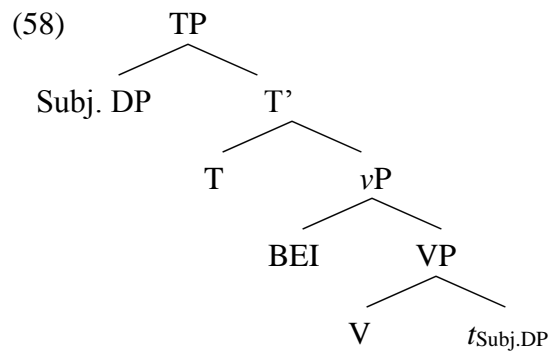
To sum up, the agent-deletion approach not only ignores the synchronic difference between the long and short passive constructions, it also makes incorrect diachronic predictions.

## 2.2 Shi and Hu (2005): English-type passive analysis

As mentioned in Section 1, Shi and Hu (2005) proposes a unified analysis of Mandarin passive constructions. They argue that there are two BEIs in Mandarin Chinese: a passive light verb BEI and a preposition BEI. The long passive construction has the structure in (57), in which the passive light verb BEI selects a VP. The agent is introduced by the preposition BEI, which heads a PP that is adjoined to the VP. Haplology prevents the second BEI from being pronounced.



Accordingly, they analyze the short passive as having a similar structure to (57). (58) shows the structure of a Mandarin Chinese short passive based on the analysis of Hu and Shi (2005). The only difference between a short passive and a long passive is that the former does not have the BEI-PP. As I will argue later, although the attempt to unify the two types of passive constructions is not correct, I will assume Hu and Shi's (2005) structure for short passives in this study. I will also provide historical evidence to support this structure in Chapter 3 and Chapter 4.





### 2.3 Huang et al. (2009): Control structure for short passives

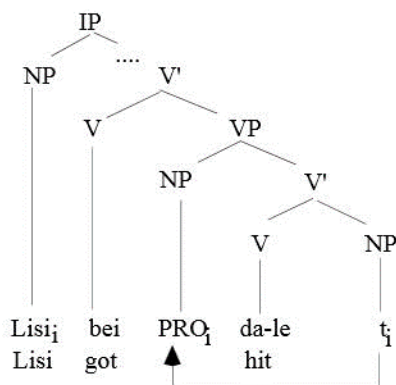
Huang et al. (2009) rejects the agent-deletion approach to long passives. Based on the differences between long and short passives, Huang et al. (2009) proposes a biclausal structure for the short passives. They analyzed Mandarin short passives as an instance of control.

(59) a. Lisi bei da-le.

Lisi BEI hit ASP

‘Lisi was hit.’

b.



(Huang et al. 2009: 147)

The subject *Lisi* is base generated in matrix [Spec, VP], which is headed by *bei*. The motivation for base-generating the subject is that Mandarin passive subjects can take subject-oriented adverbs such as *guyi* “intentionally”, as shown in (60):

(60) Zhangsan *guyi*                bei    da le.

Zhangsan intentionally BEI hit ASP

‘Zhangsan intentionally got hit [by someone].’

The ability to take subject-oriented adverbs suggests that Mandarin passive subjects are assigned Experiencer/Agent  $\Theta$ -role. If a passive subject is merged as the complement of the V head, it then receives a Theme theta-role upon external merge. According to the theta-criterion (Chomsky 1981), a DP can only be assigned one theta-role in a sentence. Accordingly, this passive subject is not able to get the required Experiencer/Agent theta-role. Therefore Huang et al. (2009) opts to base-generate the subject in an Experiencer thematic position so that it can receive Experiencer theta-role.

The passive subject then moves from [Spec, VP] to [Spec, IP] to check the EPP feature. From there it controls a PRO, which is base-generated as the complement of the verb. Under the VP-internal subject hypothesis, the PRO further moves to the subject position within the VP to obtain the passive reading.

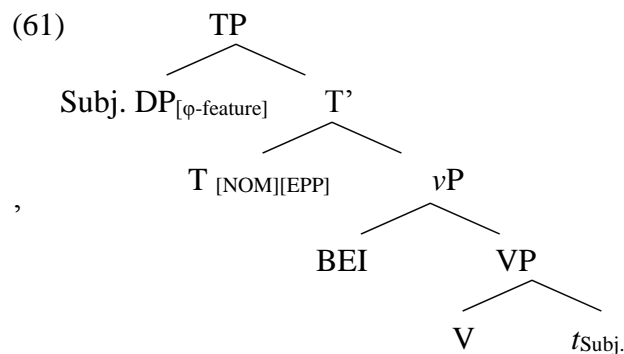
However, Huang’s analysis is not perfect: First, theoretically, the PRO moves from a complement position to a specifier position within the same projection, which is a violation of anti-locality (Dogget 2004, Grohmann 2002, Jeong 2007 among others).

Second, Huang et al. (2009) fails to clarify the motivation for the movement of PRO even if the movement itself is legitimate. Since a V is not considered as a phase head, there is no edge

feature that can trigger the movement of the big PRO. Even if we assume there is an edge feature that can trigger PRO's movement to [Spec, VP], it is not clear whether or not this movement is an A-movement or A'-movement. Chomsky (2005) proposes that edge features only trigger A'-movements. In this sense, the movement of PRO to [Spec, VP] should be viewed as an instance of A'-movement because it seems that edge feature is the sole feature that triggers this movement. Thus, the biclausal analysis predicts that Mandarin short passives are derived via A'-movements, contrary to the empirical evidence discussed in examples (52~54).

### 2.3 A monoclausal approach to Mandarin Chinese short passives

In this study, following Shi and Hu (2005), I propose that the Mandarin Chinese short passive is very similar to an English passive construction. The structure I propose is shown in (61). The subject is base generated as the internal argument of the verb. Since the light verb *v* is defective, it is not able to take an external argument or case-license the internal argument. The  $\phi$ -feature of the internal argument thus agrees with T and is licensed with nominative case. The internal argument further moves to [Spec, TP] to check the EPP feature on T.



This monoclausal analysis does not suffer from the theoretical problems of the biclausal analysis discussed above. One only needs to extend it to account for the subject-oriented adverb problem, which is the major motivation for Huang's biclausal analysis. In the remaining part of this subsection, I propose a semantic solution to this problem based on the work of Wyner (1998). Wyner (1998) observes that the sentence in (62) is ambiguous. It can either mean that Sandy was reluctant to get pushed or Kim was reluctant to push Sandy.

(62) Sandy was reluctantly pushed by Sandy.

Since *reluctantly* is a subject-oriented adverb which is sensitive to agentivity, Wyner (1998) faces the same problem for the monoclausal analysis of short passives. A violation to the Theta Criterion seems to be unavoidable under the standard analysis of English passives because Sandy has to have two theta-roles to achieve the first reading. Wyner (1998) proposes a semantic solution to this problem. Wyner (1998) discovers that subject-oriented adverbs are sensitive to violitentiality instead of agentivity. According to Dowty (1991), violitentiality is a thematic property of the Agent thematic role. A prototypical Agent role entails all its thematic properties as shown in (63). On the other hand, a non-prototypical Agent only entails some of the thematic properties.

(63) Proto Agent

- volitional involvement in the event or state

-sentience

- causing an event or change of state in another participant

- movement (relative to the position of another participant) (Dowty 1991: 572)

Dowty's (1991) points can be exemplified in (64). This sentence is ambiguous. In one interpretation, Kim intentionally hit the wall. Under this interpretation, Kim has all the thematic properties in (63). However, if (64) is interpreted as Kim accidentally hit the wall, then Kim must lack volitional involvement in this event.

(64) Kim hit the wall. (Wyner 1998: 338)

Wyner (1998) observes that if a subject-oriented adverb is added to (64), the sentence is no longer ambiguous (65). Specifically, the 'accidental' reading is now unavailable. Since this reading is associated with the lack of volitionality, Wyner (1998) concludes that subject-oriented adverbs force the existence of the volitionality thematic property. In other words, these adverbs are sensitive to volitionality rather than agentivity.

(65) Kim reluctantly hit the wall. (Wyner 1998: 338)

Wyner (1998) thus proposes that the English passive auxiliary *be* is actually ambiguous. It can be translated to either a semantically vacuous one (66a) or a contentful one (66b), which is able to attribute an individual (the Theme) with volitionality. In addition, since volitionality is a thematic property instead of a thematic role, the Theta Criterion is not violated. This is because the Theta Criterion only applies to theta roles, not to thematic properties.

(66) a.  $\lambda P \lambda z \lambda e [P(z)(e)]$

b.  $\lambda P \lambda z \lambda e [P(z)(e) \wedge \text{Volition}(e) = z]$  (Wyner 1998: 342)

Thus, when Sandy in (67a) is interpreted as having volitional involvement in the event, the sentence is translated as (67b). Essentially, given the function of the passive auxiliary, the underlying direct object is able to receive the volitional thematic property and surfaces as the subject.

(67) a. Sandy was hit.

b.  $[_{IP} (\text{Sandy}) [_{I'} \lambda P \lambda z \lambda e1 [P(z)(e1) \wedge \text{Volition}(e1) = z] \lambda v [_{VP} [_{V'} \lambda x \lambda e2 [\text{hitting}(e2) \wedge \text{Theme}(e2) = x]](v)]]]]$  (Wyner 1994: 343)

Turning to Mandarin Chinese, (68) shows that Mandarin Chinese subject-oriented adverbs are also sensitive to volitionality. (68a) can be either interpreted as Zhangsan intentionally hit the wall or as Zhangsan accidentally hit the wall. The later interpretation arises when Zhangsan lacks the volitional thematic property. However, when a subject-oriented adverb *buqingyuan de* ‘reluctantly’ is added (68b), the accidental reading disappeared.

(68) a. Zhangsan zhuang le qiang.

Zhangsan hit ASP wall

‘Zhangsan hit the wall.’

b. Zhangsan buqingyuan de zhuang le qiang.

Zhangsan reluctantly hit ASP wall

‘Zhangsan reluctantly hit the wall.’

For Mandarin short passives, I adopt Wyner’s (1998) analysis proposing that there are two BEIs in Mandarin Chinese: a regular BEI and a volitional BEI, which is able to attribute volitionality to the Theme DP. Thus, the volitional reading for (69a) in which Zhangsan intentionally got hit is translated as (69b). In this semantic translation, the direct object Zhangsan receives the volitional semantic property from BEI.

(69) a. Zhangsan bei da le.

Zhangsan be hit ASP

‘Zhangsan was hit.’

b.  $[_{IP} (Zhangsan) [_{I'} \lambda P \lambda Z \lambda e_1 [P(Z)(e_1) \wedge Volition(e_1) = Z] \lambda v[_{VP} [v' \lambda x \lambda e_2 [da (e_2) \wedge Theme(e_2) = x]](v)]]]]]$

In conclusion, in this subsection, I proposed a monoclausal analysis to Mandarin Chinese short passives. I argued for the monoclausal analysis by solving the subject-oriented adverb problem based on the semantic approach of Wyner (1998). In the next section I briefly discuss the historical development of the two types of passive construction in Mandarin Chinese.

### 3. Overview of the proposal

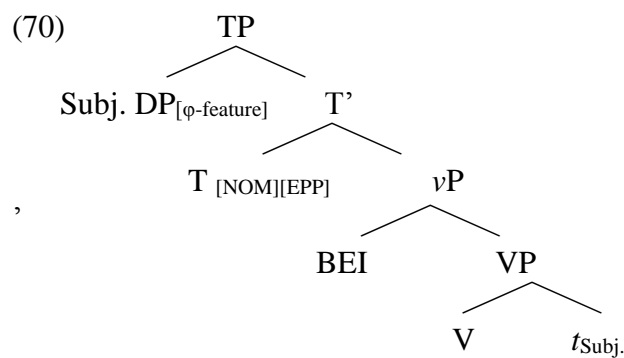
So far, we have observed that there are two types of passive construction in Mandarin Chinese and the two types have very different syntactic properties. This leads to the question of why a language would have two passive constructions with such different syntactic properties.

This dissertation addresses this question by tracing the diachronic origins of the two types of passive construction in Archaic Chinese and by showing their developments step-by-step through well-documented diachronic changes since that time. The reason that modern Mandarin has two different passive constructions is because each has a distinct historical origin in Archaic



Chinese. By investigating textual evidence, I propose that the syntactic differences between short and long passives should be attributed to the differences in their Archaic Chinese source structures. The two passive constructions found in modern Mandarin are the natural result of diachronic syntactic change. Typologically, it is thus not surprising that Chinese has two passive constructions.

As discussed in Subsection 2.3, I propose the following monoclausal analysis for Mandarin Chinese short passives.



I propose that this structure can be traced back to the JIAN passive (71). A typical JIAN passive has the word order Subj + JIAN + Verb. The subject can be interpreted as the Patient of the verb which is preceded by the passive auxiliary JIAN.

(71) 盆成括見殺。

(*Mengzi* 16 LAC)

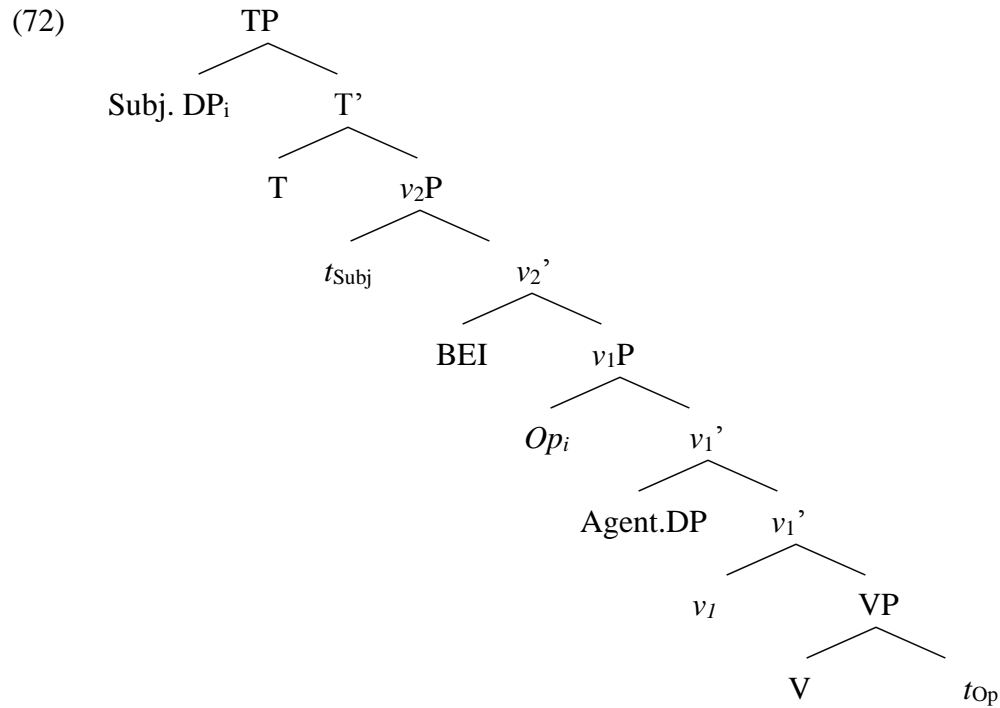
Pen Chengkuo jian sha.

Pen Chengkuo JIAN kill

‘Pen Chengkuo was killed.

The JIAN passives are the direct ancestor of the short BEI passives, which became very popular in the Dong Jin and Six Dynasty periods (4<sup>th</sup> century ~ 7<sup>th</sup> century C.E.). As I will argue, the development of the JIAN passive and the short BEI passive follows a parallel pattern

As discussed in Subsection 1.3, a nested-*v*P analysis (72) is proposed for Mandarin Chinese long passives.



I propose that the Mandarin long passive construction can be traced back to a WEI construction (73) in Archaic Chinese. In Chapter 5, I analyze this construction as a copula construction, where the copula verb WEI selects a DP *Songguo Xiao* ‘Song Guo’s ridicule’. This construction developed into the WEI...SUO passives (74) in Middle Chinese (3<sup>rd</sup> C. CE ~ 6<sup>th</sup> C. CE), which is the direct ancestor of the long passives. The structure I proposed for the WEI...SUO passives in Middle Chinese is nearly identical to the one I proposed for the Mandarin Chinese long passive construction. Both structures embed a reduced clause ( $vP$ ) under a light verb. In addition, both involve movement of a null operator from the embedded internal argument position to the edge of the embedded  $vP$ . The only difference is the addition of the morpheme SUO in the lower  $v$ .

(73) 而身為宋國笑。

(*Hanfeizi Wudu* LAC)

er shen wei songguo xiao.

and self WEI State of Song laugh

‘...and himself is the ridicule of the State of Song.’

(74) 後則為人所制。

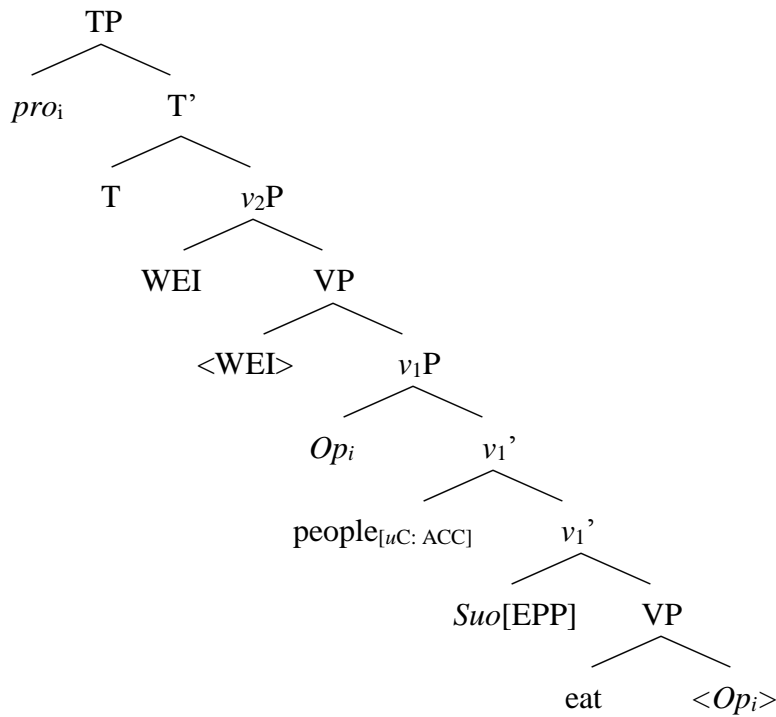
(*Shiji Xiangyu Benji* EMC)

hou ze wei ren suo zhi.

after then WEI people SUO control

‘(If you are) late, you will be controlled by others.’

*WEI...SUO passives*



I show that the transition from WEI...SUO passives to long passives can be dated to Late Middle Chinese (7<sup>th</sup> C.CE). I propose that the modern Mandarin long passive has a structure identical to the WEI...SUO passive in (74) except for two major differences: 1) the copula WEI is replaced by BEI; and 2) SUO is no longer obligatory. I argue that SUO is no longer required in Middle Chinese to mark object movement. The loss of SUO in WEI...SUO passives therefore resulted in a WEI passive construction in Middle Chinese (75). (75) is ambiguous between a passive construction and a copula construction. Thus, BEI, which had already grammaticalized into a passive marker in short passives, was used to replace WEI to disambiguate the sentence.

(75) 槎浮，則船為之破壞。

(*Youminglu* MC)

jie        fu    ze                chuan                wei    zhi    pohuai

branch    float   then                boat                WEI    it        destroy

'The branch floats. Then the boat is destroyed by it.'

Having presented the main aspects of my proposal, I begin tracing the history of Chinese passive constructions in the next chapter, which discusses several passive constructions in Archaic Chinese.

# *Chapter 3*

中國有禮儀之大，故稱夏；有服章之美，謂之華。

——《春秋左傳正義》

## Chapter 3

In this chapter, I discuss the development of monoclausal passive constructions in Archaic Chinese (10<sup>th</sup> C. BCE ~ 3<sup>rd</sup> C. BCE). In particular, I will argue that the early form of Chinese monoclausal passives, the YU construction, is an unaccusative verb construction. I will show that the YU heads a prepositional phrase (PP) whose function is to introduce the agent. I will also propose an analysis of the origin of the JIAN passive in Archaic Chinese. Within the framework of syntactic change proposed by Roberts and Roussou (2003) and Roberts (2007), I will argue that the Parameter ambiguity (P-ambiguity) triggered by the lack of an overt nominal marker in the transitive JIAN construction led to the reanalysis. In other words, the development of the JIAN passive provides important evidence for Roberts and Roussou's (2003) theory (cf. Chapter 1). This chapter is organized as follows: in the first section, I discuss the YU passives in Archaic Chinese. In the next section, I discuss the JIAN passives in Archaic Chinese. Section 3 concludes the chapter.

### 1. The YU Construction

In this section, I discuss the YU construction in Archaic Chinese. A typical YU construction is shown in (1a). In this sentence, the subject is interpreted as the patient of the main verb *bi* 嬖 'favor'. The DP that follows YU is interpreted as the agent. In this sense, the sentence carries a strong passive reading. On the surface, this sentence is very similar to an English passive sentence (1b).



(1) a. 辰嬴嬖於二君。

(*Zuozhuan* Wen 5 EAC)

Chenying bi    yu    er   jun.

Chenying favor YU two lord

‘Chenying was favored by the two lords.’

b. John was liked by his students.

This section is organized as follows: in the first subsection, I discuss the previous analyses of the YU construction in Archaic Chinese. I classify the analyses into two types. In one, YU plays a key role in the passive interpretation of the YU construction. In the other, YU does not bear the passive reading, which is syntactically expressed via other mechanisms. In the second subsection, I present my analysis of the YU construction. I adopt the view of Wei (1994) and Aldridge (2013c) and propose that YU does not itself evoke a passive interpretation. Based on verb classes in Archaic Chinese proposed by Cikoski (1978), I show that the verbs in the YU construction should be classified as unaccusative (“ergative” for Cikoski).

### 1.1 Previous Analysis

As mentioned above, there are two types of analysis of the YU construction in Archaic Chinese. The first group (Ma 1898, Wang 1958, Tang and Zhou 1985, Peyraube 1989, Pulleyblank 1995 and Reynolds 1996) proposes that YU plays a key role in the passive interpretation of the YU

construction. The most representative view of the function of YU comes from Tang and Zhou (1985). They propose that the function of YU is to mark the passive voice and introduce an agent. It also naturally follows that when YU is not present, the passive interpretation cannot be expressed syntactically. In other words, YU is obligatory for the passive interpretation.

This position is dubious from a minimalist point of view. Passive voice is syntactically encoded by the passive  $v$ <sup>22</sup>. The characteristic property of a passive  $v$  is its defectiveness: it does not take an external argument and it is not able to case-license the internal argument. Different languages have different overt realizations of the passive  $v$ . The English type uses the auxiliary ‘be’ which selects a main verb in its participle form, and the Mandarin Chinese type realizes it as the passive auxiliary BEI in short passives. Returning to the question of YU, Archaic Chinese auxiliaries typically precede the main verb. If YU were a passive auxiliary, we would expect it to precede the main verb, contrary to the attested position of YU in the YU construction. There were no Archaic Chinese inflectional elements visible in the writing system that intervened between the verb and object NP.

A second perspective on YU comes from Reynolds (1996). He examines the example in (2) and argues that if YU were not included, the sentence would be simply *Chen Huanzi shan*, which is identical to a simple statement ‘Chen Huanzi was good’. Given the fact that without the presence of YU *shan* in Archaic Chinese is always interpreted as ‘being good’, he concludes that YU is obligatory in expressing passivization. However, there are many counterexamples to Reynolds’ (1996) view in Pre-Archaic and Archaic Chinese. (3) is a pair of sentences from the

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<sup>22</sup> This view is based on the standard analyses presented in many syntax textbooks (Adger 2003, Carnie 2013, Radford 2004), which are based on earlier discussions of passive constructions in Jaeggli (1986) and Baker, Johnson, and Roberts (1989). Other approaches to passives can be found in Collins (2005), Bowers (1993) and Heycock (1991).

*Mai Ding* and *Mai Zun* bronze inscriptions. Both sentences talk about the same event. (3a) shows that a passive interpretation is available even without YU.

(2) 陳桓子善於子尾。

(*Zuozhuan* Zhao 8 EAC)

Chen Huanzi shan YU Ziwei.

Chen Huanzi good YU Ziwei

‘Chen Huanzi was considered good by Ziwei.’

(3) a. 麥賜赤金。

(*Maiding* bronze inscription PAC Cao 2012:32)

mai ci chijin.

Mai award gold

‘Mai was awarded gold.’

b. 麥賜金於辟候。

(*Maizun* bronze inscription PAC Cao 2012: 32)

mai ci jin yu pi hou.

Mai award gold YU Pi lord

‘Mai was awarded gold by Lord Pi’

In contrast to the preceding approach which views YU as a passive marker, Guo and Tang (1988), Sun (1989), Wei (1994), and Aldridge (2013c) argue that YU does not play a role syntactically in expressing the passive voice. Instead, YU is a preposition heading a PP whose only function is introducing an agent, analogous to the English *by*. Wei (1994) proposes that YU

itself is not enough to mark the passive voice. He suggests that the passive voice may have been overtly expressed via verbal morphology in Pre-Archaic and Archaic Chinese. To show the possible passive morphology in Archaic Chinese, he cites an Eastern Han annotation (4) which shows that some scholars were still aware of passive verbal morphology at that time. In this annotation, *He Xiu* suggested that there are two readings (‘long’ and ‘short’ in the translation<sup>23</sup>) of the passive and active forms of the verb *fa* 伐 ‘to attack’ respectively.

(4) 伐人者為客，讀伐長言之，齊人語也。見伐者為主，讀伐短言之，齊人語也。<sup>24</sup>

(He Xiu’s annotation in *Gongyang Zhuan* 28 EMC)

‘Those who attack others are those coming from the outside. (In this case), *fa* (attack) is pronounced long. This is the dialect of the State of Qi. Those who are attacked are those who reside inside. (In this case), *fa* (attack) is pronounced short. This is the dialect of the State of Qi.’

Aldridge (2013c) develops Wei’s (1994) idea by referring to works in Chinese historical phonology (see Karlgren 1933, Baxter and Sagart 2014 among others). She suggests that the

<sup>23</sup> The exact meaning of ‘long’ and ‘short’ in (4) remains controversial in the literature. For example, Wang (2014) argues that ‘long’ refers to ‘non-entering tones’ (非入聲). Zhang (1938) proposes that the ‘long’ and ‘short’ should be interpreted literally as ‘pronounced long’ and ‘pronounced short’. The main point here is that there are two different forms in Archaic Chinese to account for active and passive form for the same concept ‘attack’ in Archaic Chinese.

<sup>24</sup> This is an annotation to the texts in *Chunqiu Gongyang Zhuan* (春秋公羊傳):

伐者為客；伐者為主。

Fa      zhe wei ke,      fa      zhe wei zhu  
attack ZHE be agent,    attack    ZHE be patient

‘Those who attack are coming from the outside; those who (are) attacked are residing inside.’

This annotation does not refer to a specific sentence.

passive/active alternation may ‘reflect derivational affixation processes in Pre-Archaic and Archaic Chinese which were generally hidden by the logographic writing system.’ (Aldridge 2013b: 5).

I will comment on Aldridge (2013c) and Wei (1994)’s approach in Subsection 1.3. In the next subsections, I will first present my analysis of the YU construction.

## 1.2 The analysis of the YU construction in Archaic Chinese

Before explicitly spelling out the analysis and the structure of the YU construction in Archaic Chinese, I first review the syntactic properties of this construction.

### 1.2.1 Structural position of YU

The YU construction is attested from a very early stage in the development of the Chinese language. It is found in Pre-Archaic Chinese oracle bone inscriptions (14<sup>th</sup> ~ 11<sup>th</sup> C. BCE), as shown in (5).

(5) 不若於示?

(*Heji* 1285 Cao 2012: 30 PAC)

bu ruo yu shi?

Neg. bless YU god

‘Was (he) not blessed by the god?’

A number of YU constructions were also found in the bronze inscriptions in both the Shang (17<sup>th</sup> - 11<sup>th</sup> century B.C.E) and Western Zhou (11<sup>th</sup> - 8<sup>th</sup> century B.C.E) periods.

(6) 鬲賜貝於王。

(5956: *Lizun* Cao 2012: 32 PAC)

li ci bei yu wang.

Li grant money YU king

‘Li was granted money by the king.’

In this chapter, I focus on the YU construction in Archaic Chinese. In my survey, summarized in (7), the YU construction was used consistently throughout the Archaic period. It can be seen that compared to the total number of uses of YU in these texts, the ‘V + YU’ form is relatively rare.<sup>25</sup>

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<sup>25</sup> YU was used in different ways as a preposition in Archaic Chinese, in addition to being used to introduce an agent into a passive construction. It was used comparative constructions, meaning ‘than’, as the sentence below shows:

(7) *The YU construction in Archaic Chinese*

Text	Total occurrences of YU	V + YU
<i>Analect</i>	183	4
<i>Sunbin Bingfa</i>	115	4
<i>Zuozhuan</i>	3675	65
<i>Mengzi</i>	561	22
<i>Zhuangzi</i>	860	19
<i>Xunzi</i>	587	47
<i>Hanfeizi</i>	1341	60
<i>Lüshi Chunqiu</i>	1608	44
<i>Zhanguo Ce</i>	1650	48

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(i) 苛政猛於虎也。

(*Liji* 4 LAC)

ke    zheng   meng   yu    hu        ye.  
cruel policy fierce than tiger    NMLZ  
‘A cruel regime is fiercer than a tiger.’

It was also used as a preposition meaning ‘to’

(ii) 己所不欲，勿施於人。

(*Analects* 15 EAC)

ji    suo        bu        yu        wu        shi        yu        ren.  
self SUO    Neg    want    do.not    apply    to        people  
‘Do not do to others what you would not like to be done to you.’

It was also used as a preposition meaning ‘from’

(iii) 千里之行，始於足下。

(*Laozi* 64 EAC)

qian        li        zhi        xing        shi        yu        zu        xia.  
thousand    mile    GEN    trip        begin    from    foot    below  
‘A journey of thousands miles starts from a single step.’

Syntactically, a typical YU construction with a passive interpretation has the surface form ‘Subj. + VP + YU + DP’ (8). The subject is interpreted as the patient of the main verb. The DP that follows YU is interpreted as the agent.

(8) 辰羸嬖於二君。

(*Zuozhuan* Wen 5 EAC)

Chenying bi yu er jun.

Chenying favor YU two lord

‘Chenying was favored by the two lords.

A number of adverbs can appear in the YU construction. They always precede the main verb, as shown in (9).

(9) 內困於父母，外困於諸侯，是重困也。

(*Guoyu* 8 LAC)

**nei** kun yu fumu, **wai** kun yu zhuhou., shi chong kun ye.

**inside** beset YU parents **outside** beset YU lords this double beset NMLZ

‘Inside, he was beset by his parents; outside, he was beset by other lords. This is double trouble.’

Modals also appear in the YU construction. Similar to adverbs, modals precede the main verb.



(10) a. 且虞能親於桓莊乎。

(*Zuozhuan* Xi 5 EAC)

qie Yu **neng** qin yu Huan Zhuang hu.

in.addition Yu **can** favor YU Huan Zhuang Q

‘In addition, can Yu be favored by Lord Huan and Lord Zhuang?’

b. 將育於姜。

(*Zuozhuan* Zhuang 22 EAC)

**jiang** yu yu Jiang.

**will** nurture YU Jiang

‘(He) will be nurtured by Jiang.’

The YU construction can be negated by adding a negator *bu* 不 before the verb.

(11) 不容於魯國。

(*Zuozhuan* Xiang 23 EAC)

bu rong yu Lu guo.

Neg tolerate YU Lu country

‘It was not tolerated by the country of Lu.’

In the next subsection, I discuss the verb class in Archaic Chinese based on Cikoski (1978), which will lead to the analysis of the YU construction.

### 1.2.2 Two classes of verbs in Archaic Chinese

I adopt Wei (1994) and Aldridge's (2013c) analysis by treating YU as a preposition which selects an agent and projects a PP. In this sense, the YU-PP is very similar to the *by*-PP in English passive constructions. I will further propose that the YU construction is an unaccusative construction. Before presenting the details of the structure of the YU construction, let me first discuss Archaic Chinese verb classes in this subsection.

Cikoski (1978), Onishi (2004) and Wu (2008) distinguish two classes of verbs in Archaic Chinese: the ergative class<sup>26</sup> and the neutral class. Cikoski (1978) proposes that in Archaic Chinese, with an unaccusative verb, 'the presence or absence of an object reverses the direction of the agent-patient relationship' (Cikoski 1994: 13). Such alternation is shown in (12): in (12a), the surface subject *Qiren* 'people of Qi' of the intransitive variant of the ergative verb *jian* 'kill' is the internal argument. Therefore the surface subject has the theme (or patient)  $\Theta$ -role. Translated into Minimalist terms, in (12a), *jian* is an unaccusative verb. In (12b), the surface subject of the transitive variant is the agent while the object is the theme. (12c) shows that the

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<sup>26</sup> Cikoski (1978) termed this class as 'ergative'. However, this term is different from the 'ergativity' typically discussed in the Minimalist literature. In Minimalism, 'ergativity' refers to the ergative-absolutive case-marking system in which an intransitive subject receives the same case-marking as a transitive object. An intransitive subject receives absolutive case while a transitive subject receives ergative case. Since, Archaic Chinese has nominative-accusative case-marking system, Cikoski (1978) uses the term 'ergative' to refer to the case that 'the grammatical subject in intransitive constructions has the thematic status of a direct object.' (Aldridge to appear: 5), which is a property of unaccusative verbs in the Minimalist sense.

intransitive variant can optionally take a YU-PP which introduces an agent to the construction.  
However, in (12c), the surface subject is still the theme.

(12) a. 齊人殲焉。

(*Zuozhuan Zhuang* 17 EAC)

Qi ren **jian** yan.

Qi people kill there

‘The people of Qi were killed there.’

b. 殲我良人。

(*Shi Guofeng Qin Huangniao* EAC)

**jian** wo liangren.

kill my good.friend

‘(It) killed my good friend.’

c. 齊人殲於遂

(*Zuozhuan Zhuang* 17 EAC)

Qi ren **jian** yu Sui.

Qi people kill YU Sui

‘The people of Qi were killed by the tribe of Sui.’

In Cikoski's (1978) sense, the neutral verb class are verbs whose subject is always an agent whether the object is present or not. Typically, these verbs also show the transitive/intransitive alternation we have seen in (12) for the ergative class, as in (13). In (13a), the subject of the transitive variant of the verb *bi* 'avoid' is the agent (i.e. the external argument). In (13b), the subject of the intransitive variant is still the agent. Translated into Minimalist terms, in (13b), *bi* is an unergative verb.

(13) a. 王...避風雨。 (*Zuozhuan* Xi 32 EAC Aldridge 2015a: 7 cited from Cikoski 1978: 131)

Wang    bi        feng yu.

king        avoid wind rain

'The king... retreated from the storm.'

b. 王...避。 (*Zuozhuan* Zhao 12 EAC Aldridge 2015a: 7 Cikoski 1978: 131)

Wang    bi.

king        avoid

'The king...retreated.'

Cikoski (1978) argues that only the ergative class can appear in the YU construction. This is confirmed by my own survey. In my study, the transitive/intransitive alternation discussed above

is also found for most of the verbs in the YU constructions<sup>27</sup>. However, the surface subjects of the intransitive variant of these verbs uniformly have the theme  $\Theta$ -role (i.e. they are the internal argument) whether or not the YU-PP is present, as shown in (14). (14a) is a YU construction in which the main verb *zhi* ‘govern’ is followed by a YU-PP. This sentence has the passive sense. (14b) shows the transitive variant of *zhi* whose subject is the agent. (14c) shows the intransitive variant of *zhi* without a YU-PP. In this sentence, *zhi* is a simple unaccusative verb.

(14) a. 勞力者治於人。 (Mencius Tengwen 1 LAC Aldridge 2013b: 6)

Lao li zhe **zhi** yu ren.

work strength DET govern by person

‘Those who work with the strength of their bodies are governed by others.’

b. 勞心者治人。 (Mencius Tengwen 1 LAC Aldridge 2013b: 6)

Lao xin zhe **zhi** ren.

work mind DET govern person

‘Those who work with their minds govern others.’

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<sup>27</sup> The verbs which do not show this alternation are unaccusative verbs such as 死 *sǐ* ‘die’.

c. 民畏所以禁則國治矣。

(*Hanfeizi* 18 LAC Aldridge 2013b: 6)

Min      wei      suo      yi      jin      ze      guo      **zhi**      yi.

people    fear    SUO    by      punish then    nation order    ASP

‘If the people fear that by which they are punished, then the nation will be orderly.’

Thus, following Cikoski (1978) I propose that the verbs in the YU construction belong to the ergative verb class. I further propose that the YU construction is an unaccusative verb construction in which the YU-PP introduces the agent. I will discuss the structure of the YU construction in the next subsection.

### 1.2.3 The structure of the YU construction

In this subsection, I discuss the structure of the YU construction. I analyze the YU construction as an unaccusative construction. The YU introduces an agent into the construction which adds the sense of a passive sentence. (15) is the derivation for example (8), repeated below as (15a). The subject *Chenyi* is base generated as the internal argument of the verb. Since the unaccusative light verb is defective, it is not able to take an external argument or case-license the internal argument. The  $\phi$ -feature of the internal argument thus agrees with T, and this argument is licensed with nominative case and moves to [Spec, TP] to check the EPP feature on T.

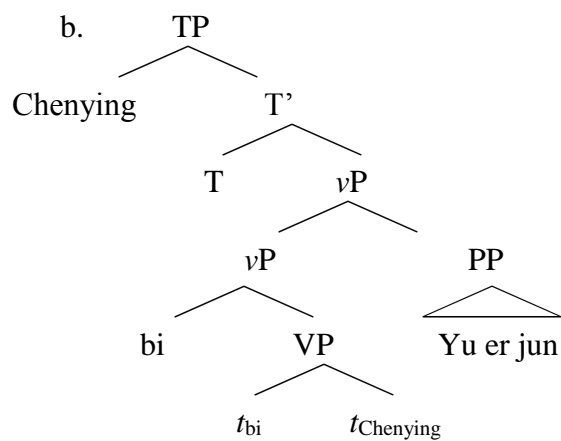
(15) a. 辰嬴嬖於二君。

(Zuozhuan Wen 5 EAC)

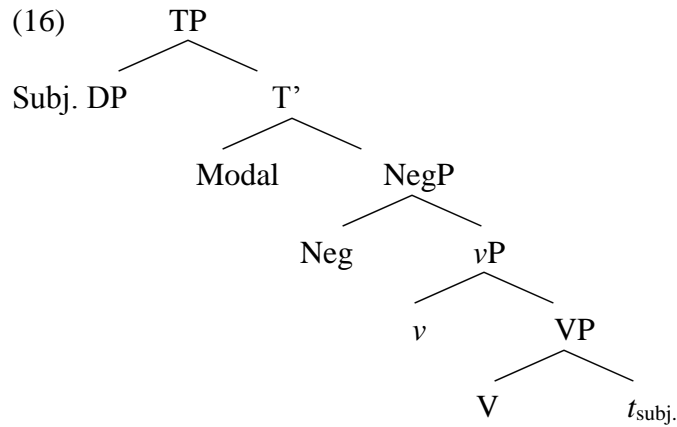
Chenyiing bi    yu   er   jun.

Chenyiing favor YU two lord

‘Chenyiing was favored by the two lords.



If an adverb appears in the YU construction, it is adjoined to the vP, resulting in the word order ‘Subj. + Adv + VP + YU-PP’. Likewise, I assume that modals are functional heads higher than vP. I treat them tentatively as T here. I will discuss the position of *jiang* in detail in Subsection 2.2.2. Thus, the word order ‘Subj. + Modal + VP + YU-PP’ is predicted by this structure as well. A negator is either adjoined to the vP or merged as a Neg head in the derivation. In either case, it precedes the main verb.



The analysis of the YU construction here makes an important prediction: the YU-PP is an adjunct. Consequently, we expect to find the same unaccusative verbs appearing with or without the YU-PP<sup>28</sup>. In other words, the YU-PP is not an obligatory part of an unaccusative construction. As shown by the pair in (3), this prediction is borne out. I will confirm this prediction with more examples.

Example (17) - (19) show a pair of unaccusative sentences that have the same main verb. One of them has a YU-PP, the other does not. The sentence without the YU-PP comes first. Based on my survey, such pairs exist throughout Pre-Archaic and Archaic Chinese. These examples are strong evidence that the YU-PP is optional in Pre-Archaic and Archaic Chinese unaccusative constructions.

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<sup>28</sup> These sentences are called *yinian ju* 意念句 by Chinese traditional linguists (Yao 1999, Cao 2012 among others).



(17) a. 王不若?

(*Heji* 2002 PAC Cao 2012: 28)

wang bu ruo?

king not bless

‘Is the king not blessed?’

b. 不若於示?

(*Heji* 1285 PAC Cao 2012: 28)

bu ruo yu shi?

Neg bless YU spirit

‘Is the king not blessed by the spirits (of his ancestors)?’

(18) a. 麥賜赤金。

(*Maiding* bronze inscription PAC Cao 2012: 30)

mai ci chijin.

Mai award gold

‘Mai was awarded gold.’

b. 麥賜金於辟候。

(*Maizun* bronze inscription PAC Cao 2012: 30)

mai ci jin yu pi hou.

Mai award gold YU Pi lord

‘Mai was awarded gold by Lord Pi’

(19) a. 吾王不豫，吾何以助？ (Mencius 2 LAC)

wu wang bu yu wu he yi zhu?

my king not tour, I how APPL help

‘My king never tours (this area), how could I get helped?’

b. 身不肖而令行者，助于眾。 (Hanfeizi 40 LAC)

shen bu xiao er ling xing zhe zhu yu zhong.

self not worthy but order practice DET help YU others

‘Those who are unworthy nevertheless get their orders put into practice. (This is because) they are helped by others’

In this subsection, I have presented my analysis that the YU construction is an unaccusative construction in Archaic Chinese. Furthermore, I have also shown that the YU-PP is optional in Archaic Chinese unaccusative constructions. In the next subsection, I will comment on Wei (1994) and Aldridge’s (2013c) suggestion that there is overt passive morphology in the Archaic Chinese YU constructions.

### 1.3 Passive verbal morphology: interface with historical phonology

As mentioned in Subsection 1.1, Wei (1994) and Aldridge (2013c) suggest the possibility of the overt passive morphology in Archaic Chinese. In this sense, the passive interpretation of the YU construction may come from the passive morphology. In this subsection, I will comment on this view.

As I have shown in example (14) in subsection 1.2.2, in Archaic Chinese, a transitive verb can be used as an unaccusative verb. (20a) shows that *huai* ‘break’ was used as a transitive verb in Archaic Chinese. Alternatively, *huai* could be used as an unaccusative verb in (20b).

(20) a. 壞大門及寢門而入。 (Zuozhuan Cheng 10 EAC Aldridge 2013b: 4)

**Huai** da men ji qin men er ru.

Break main gate and sleep gate CONJ enter

‘(He) broke down the main gate and the gate to the sleeping quarters and went in.’

b. 大室之屋壞。 (Zuozhuan Wen 13 EAC Aldridge 2013b: 4)

Dashi zhi wu huai.

temple GEN roof collapse

‘The roof of the temple collapsed.’

The alternation in (20a) and (20b) has been treated as a voicing alternation of the initial consonant of the root. Karlgren (1933) reconstructed the transitive form of *huai* with an unaspirated voiceless initial */\*k-/* and the intransitive form with an aspirated voiced initial */\*g’-/*. Baxter and Sagart (2014) reconstruct *kweajH* and *hweajH* for the transitive and unaccusative *huai* respectively in Middle Chinese. Baxter and Sagart (2014) proposed the sonorant prefix *\*N-* for Archaic Chinese: ‘The *\*N-* prefix typically derived stative intransitive verbs, often out of

transitive verbs.’ (Baxter and Sagart 2014: 54). Accordingly, they reconstructed \*[k]<sup>ʰ</sup><r>ujʔ-s for the transitive form in (20a) and \*N-[k]<sup>ʰ</sup><r>ujʔ-s for the unaccusative form in (20b). Such transitivity morphology may be interpreted as a type of passive morphology in Archaic Chinese.<sup>29</sup> I have found cases in which the reconstructed unaccusative verbs were used in YU constructions.

(21) 敗 \*N-p<sup>ʰ</sup>ra[t]-s ‘be defeated’

東敗於齊。

(*Mencius* 2 LAC)

dong bai yu qi.

east defeat YU Qi

‘In the east, it was defeated by Qi.’

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<sup>29</sup> In addition to the \*-N prefix, Jin (2006) also argues that the anticausative suffix \*-s is able to turn a transitive verb (shishi dongci 施事動詞) into a passive verb (shoushi dongci 受事動詞). In this sense, this suffix can also be viewed as a potential passive marker. For example, he reconstructed the transitive *chen* ‘show, display’ as \*r-din, (i). The passive *chen* ‘to be shown, to be displayed’ was reconstructed as \*r-din-s, (ii).

i. 齊侯陳諸侯之師。 (Zuozhuan Xi 4 EAC Jin 2006: 355)

Qi hou chen zhuhou zhi shi  
 Qi lord display lords GEN army  
 ‘The lord of Qi displayed other lords’ armies.’

ii. 晉師陳於華北。 (Zuozhuan Xi 28 EAC Jin 2006: 355)

Jin shi chen yu Hua bei  
 Jin army display to Hua north  
 ‘The army of Jin was displayed to the north of Hua.’

(22) 斷 \*N-tʰo[n]ʔ ‘be cut into two’

士斷於兵。

(*Zhanguo Ce* 12 LAC)

shi duan yu bing.

soldier cut YU weapon

‘Soldiers were injured by weapons.’

(23) 壞 \*N-kʰ<r>ujʔ-s ‘be destroyed’

琴壞於壁。

(*Hanfeizi* 36 LAC)

qin huai yu bi.

musical.instrument destroy YU wall

‘The musical instrument was destroyed against the wall.’

(24) 折 \*N-tet ‘be broken’

衛必折於魏。

(*Zhanguo Ce* 32 LAC)

Wei bi zhe yu Wei.

Wei necessarily break YU Wei

‘Wei will necessarily be destroyed by Wei.’

However, Archaic Chinese reconstruction of the \*N- prefix for the unaccusative verbs in (21) - (24) is based on their voicing alternation in Middle Chinese. This kind of alternation is only reflected in a small number of Archaic Chinese verbs. On the other hand, the verbs that can be used in a YU construction are not limited to this small number of lexical pairs. To show that there is overt passive morphology in Archaic Chinese, a more thorough study of Archaic Chinese morphophonology is needed, which is beyond the scope of this dissertation. In other words, although a passive analysis cannot be ruled out, I will treat the YU construction as an unaccusative construction until we have more knowledge of Archaic Chinese morphophonology.

To sum up, in this section I have shown that YU is not a passive marker in the YU construction, as it is entirely optional. Instead, I have proposed that the YU construction is syntactically an unaccusative construction. The passive interpretation becomes salient when the agent is introduced by the YU-PP. In the next section, I discuss the JIAN passive.

## 2. JIAN Passives

In this section, I discuss the JIAN passive in Archaic Chinese. As shown in (25), in a typical Archaic Chinese JIAN passive, the word order is SUBJ JIAN VERB. Optionally, a YU-PP can appear in the JIAN passive to introduce the agent (25c). I argue that this construction is a passive construction in this section. Under this analysis, the subject *Pen Chengkuo* can be interpreted as the Patient of the verb. Syntactically, JIAN can be analyzed as a passive marker that attaches to the main verb (25b).

(25) a. 盆成括見殺。

(*Mencius* 16 LAC)

Pen Chengkuo jian sha.

Pen Chengkuo JIAN kill

‘Pen Chengkuo was killed.’

b. [<sub>TP</sub> Pen Chengkuo [<sub>T</sub> T [<sub>VP</sub> JIAN + sha [<sub>VP</sub> <sha> <Pen Chengkuo>]]]]]

c. 故堯非有人，非見有於人也。

(*Zhuangzi* 20 LAC)

Gu Yao fei you ren, fei jian you **yu ren** ye.

Thus Yao NEG enslave people, NEG JIAN enslave by people NMLZ

‘Therefore Yao does not enslave people nor is he used by others.’

It should be noted that JIAN had three different functions in Archaic Chinese. Besides the JIAN passives discussed above, JIAN was used as a transitive verb meaning ‘see’ in Archaic Chinese, as shown in (26). In this sentence, JIAN takes a nominal complement *xiao* ‘small things’. I name this JIAN transitive JIAN A.

(26) a. 見小曰明。

(*Laozi* 52 EAC)

Jian      xiao    yue      ming.

See      small   call      bright

‘Seeing the small things is called bright.’

b. [TP *pro* [T' T [<sub>VP</sub> v + jian [<sub>VP</sub> <jian> xiao]]]]

Extending the meaning ‘see’, JIAN later acquired the meaning ‘encounter; perceive’.

Presumably, if someone sees something, then she/he encounters or perceives the thing that is seen. (27) is thus ambiguous, as reflected in the two readings. (28) is an example in which JIAN is better interpreted as ‘encounter’, as virtue is typically perceived instead of being seen. Similar to the JIAN in (31), it is also a transitive verb taking a DP complement in (28). I name this JIAN transitive JIAN B.

(27) 華父督見孔父之妻于路。

(*Zuozhuan* Huan 1 EAC)

Huafu Du    jian      Kongfu zhi    qi      yu      lu.

Huafu Du    JIAN   Kongfu GEN   wife   on      road

Reading A: ‘Huafu Du saw Kongfu’s wife on the road.’

Reading B: ‘Huafu Du encountered Kongfu’s wife on the road.’



(28) a. 民不見德。

(*Zuozhuan* Xi 23 EAC)

Min     bu     jian             de.

People Neg encounter merit

‘The people did not perceive (your) merit.’

b. [TP min [T' T [NegP bu [vP <min> [v' v + jian [vP <jian> de]]]]]

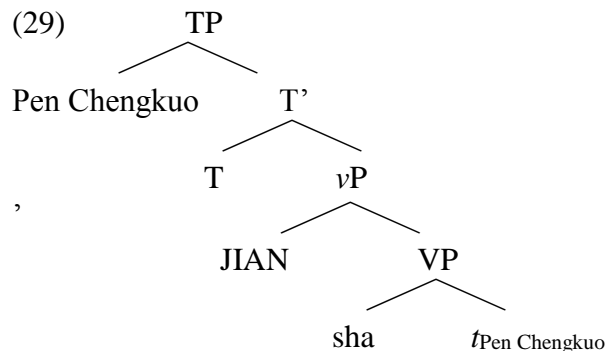
In this section, I will specifically argue that the JIAN passive in Archaic Chinese is the result of the reanalysis of the transitive JIAN B construction exemplified in (27) and (28). As we will see in Subsection 2.3, certain transitive JIAN B constructions are ambiguous between an active and passive interpretation. I argue in detail that such ambiguity ultimately leads to the reanalysis from the transitive JIAN construction to the JIAN passive. In the next subsection, I review previous analyses of the JIAN passive.

## 2.1 Previous Analysis

There are two different analyses of the JIAN passives in Archaic Chinese. The first analysis, which I call the passive approach, argues that JIAN is a passive marker. The second analysis, which I call the transitive approach, proposes that the JIAN in JIAN passives should be treated on a par with the transitive JIAN B. In this section, I argue against the transitive approach.

### 2.1.1 Passive Approach

In most accounts, JIAN is analyzed as a passive auxiliary selecting the main VP (Ma 1898, Wang 1958, Chou 1961, Tang and Zhou 1985, Peyraube 1989, Yang and He 1992, Wei 1994, Reynolds 1996). Translating to current minimalist terminology, JIAN is a passive *v* which does not take an external argument and is not able to license accusative case. The base position of the subject in the JIAN construction is the complement position of the main verb. The subject undergoes A-movement to [Spec, TP] to check the EPP feature on T. Its  $\phi$ -feature also agrees with T. Under this agree relation, T licenses the subject with nominative case. Under this analysis, (25) has the derivation in (29). This structure is very similar to an English passive construction.



Unfortunately, most analyses along these lines have not provided any supporting evidence arguing for JIAN's status as a passive marker (for example, Ma 1898, Wang 1958, Chou 1961, Peyraube 1989). The only work that actually provides such evidence is Wei (1994). Wei (1994) argues that since there are no other elements that can be inserted between JIAN and the main

verb in Archaic Chinese, JIAN should be analyzed as a passive auxiliary. Unfortunately, he does not develop this point further in his paper.

In this chapter, I adopt the passive approach to the JIAN passives but additionally provide further evidence to show that the passive approach accounts for more data than the transitive approach in subsection 2.2.2. But before that, I first point out some problems with the transitive approach.

### 2.1.2 Transitive Approach

Yao (1999) and Li (2007) propose that the JIAN passive in Archaic Chinese is not a passive construction. Instead, the JIAN should be interpreted as a transitive verb, meaning ‘encounter’ or ‘perceive’. The verb that follows JIAN is nominalized, functioning as its complement. The subject, instead of being the aforementioned patient, is the experiencer of JIAN. On this analysis, (25) would have the structure in (30):

(30) 盆成括見殺。

(*Mencius* 16 LAC)

Pen Chengkuo jian sha.

Pen Chengkuo JIAN kill

‘Pen Chengkuo encountered death/killing.’

[<sub>TP</sub>[<sub>DP</sub>Pen Chengkuo] T [<sub>VP</sub> [<sub>v</sub> jian + *v* [<sub>VP</sub> <jian> [<sub>DP</sub> sha]]]]]

The key to supporting this analysis is to show that the element that follows JIAN is nominalized. Yao (1990, 1999) provide the following data (31) to support their view. Yao (1999) points out that SVO is the basic word order in Archaic Chinese. When the object is preverbal, a genitive marker *zhi* 之 is typically added between the preposed object and the main verb, deriving the word order ‘S O *zhi* V’. I will discuss the specific mechanism of object preposing in Archaic Chinese in the next paragraphs. In both clauses of (31), we observe the word order ‘V *zhi* JIAN’. Yao (1990, 1999) therefore propose that the V that precedes *zhi* should actually be interpreted as the preposed object. Accordingly, JIAN is interpreted as the main verb meaning ‘encounter’.

(31)<sup>30</sup> 並之見則諸侯疏矣，

bing            zhi   jian   ze   zhuhou shu        yi,

annexation GEN JIAN then lords    alienate   NMLZ

‘If they encounter annexation, then the lords would alienate you.’

臣之見則諸侯離矣。

(*Xunzi* 9 LAC)

chen            zhi   jian   ze   zhuhou li        yi.

subordination GEN JIAN then lords    depart NMLZ

‘If (they) encounter subordination, then the lords would leave you.’

---

<sup>30</sup> Both translations in (31) are rendered by the author from Yao’s (1999) translation into modern Mandarin.

Before I comment on this proposal, more detailed information on object preposing in Archaic Chinese needs to be presented. Meisterernst (2010) proposes that object preposing of the type shown above is focus movement. The earliest attestation of focus fronting is in Pre-Archaic Chinese oracle bone inscriptions. A focused object is preceded by the focalizing copula *wei* 唯, as shown in (32).

(32) 王勿唯龍方伐。 (Heji 6476 PAC; from Djamouri et al. 2009: 15)

wang wu      **wei** long fang fa.

king must.not be Long tribe fight

‘It must not be the Long tribe that the king will fight.’

Focus fronting continued into the Archaic Chinese period. Archaic Chinese focus fronting constructions are different from the Pre-Archaic ones in two respects: first, the copula *wei* is no longer obligatory, as shown in (33). Second, either *zhi* or *shi* is required to follow the preposed object. (Aldridge 2013b)

(33) 君亡之不恤，而敗臣是憂，惠之至也。 (Zuozhuan, Xi 15 EAC Aldridge 2013b: 18)

Jun wang zhi bu xu, er

lord exile 3.ACC NEG concern CONJ

bai chen shi you, hui zhi zhi ye.

defeat minister DEM worry, benevolence GEN extreme NMLZ

‘Our lord is concerned not for his own exile but for his defeated ministers. This is benevolence in the extreme.’

Meisterenst (2010) proposes the structure in (34) for the Archaic Chinese focus fronting constructions. Following Djamouri (2000), she argues that the copula *wei* marks focalization. Thus it selects a FocP. The Foc head further selects an embedded nominalized clause, headed by the genitive marker *zhi* or the demonstrative *shi*. The embedded clause consists only of a VP. The internal argument of the embedded verb moves from its base position (the complement of the main verb) to [Spec, FocP], thus becoming the focused constituent clause. In addition, this movement derives SOV word order.

(34) [<sub>FocP</sub> ObjNP [<sub>Foc</sub> Foc<sup>0</sup> [<sub>DP</sub> *shi/zhi* [<sub>VP</sub> V<sup>0</sup> <ObjNP>]]]] (Meisterenst 2010: 90)

Returning to Yao’s (1990, 1999) example in (38), it seems that Meisterenst’s (2010) analysis of focus fronting argues for the transitive approach to JIAN. Since the preposed element has to be nominal, *bing* ‘to annex’ and *chen* ‘to subordinate’ in (31) must be nominalized. Accordingly,

JIAN has to be analyzed as a transitive verb taking nominal complement instead of a passive auxiliary which attaches to the main verb, (35).

(35) [<sub>FocP</sub> *bing*<sub>i</sub> [<sub>Foc'</sub> *Foc*<sup>0</sup> [<sub>DP</sub> *zhi* [<sub>VP</sub> *jian* *e<sub>i</sub>* ]]]]

However, I want to point out some problems for the transitive approach. First, (31) does not necessarily argue for the transitive approach over the passive approach because JIAN may receive a different interpretation in this sentence. According to Yao (1990, 1999), JIAN is interpreted as ‘encounter’ in this sentence. However, notice that the matrix subject is null in (31). Thus, it is also possible to interpret the JIAN in (31) as an agentive JIAN meaning ‘cause to appear’. Under this interpretation, the matrix subject is interpreted as the causer of *chen* and *bing*. Accordingly, the sentence has the reading: ‘If you show (the sign of) annexing them, then the lords will alienate you. If you show (the sign of) subordinating them, then the lords will leave you.’

On the other hand, the agentive JIAN cannot be extended to explain JIAN passives like (30). (30) would have the reading: ‘Pen Chengkuo caused killing to appear’, which is certainly not the interpretation in this context. In sum, if the agentive JIAN is possible in (31), then this clause is not necessarily related to the JIAN passives.

Secondly, the transitive approach argues that JIAN selects a nominal complement. Thus, the verb *sha* ‘kill’ in (30) has to be merged in its nominalized form, with the result that (30) should have an interpretation like ‘Pen Chengkuo encountered killing’. However, this interpretation does not ensure that the subject *Pen Chengkuo* is the person who was killed,

contrary to the actual interpretation of this sentence in which *Pen Chengkuo* was killed. In other words, the problem for the transitive approach is that claiming that JIAN's complement is nominalized does not account for the interpretation of the subject as the internal argument of the root following JIAN. On the other hand, if JIAN is interpreted as a passive marker, then the subject is necessarily interpreted as the internal argument of the main verb.

To conclude the discussion in this literature review, the passive approach is supported by very little evidence. On the other hand, the transitive approach is supported by some evidence. But as I have shown, focus fronting does not necessarily entail that JIAN is the transitive JIAN. B. JIAN could be interpreted as the agentive JIAN instead. Furthermore, the transitive approach does not account for the fact that the subject is always interpreted as the internal argument of the complement of JIAN. In the next subsection, the syntactic position of the JIAN in JIAN passives will be discussed. I will conclude that a passive approach best accounts for the syntactic properties of this construction.

## 2.2 The structure of JIAN passives

In this subsection, I propose that the JIAN in JIAN passives should be analyzed as a passive light verb. Before I present my analysis, I first review the distribution of JIAN passives in Archaic Chinese.



### 2.2.1 The distribution of JIAN passives

The distribution of the JIAN passives in Archaic Chinese texts is summarized in (36). Based on my survey, the JIAN passive was rarely used in early Archaic Chinese. There is only one instance in *Analects*. In *Zuozhuan*, there are two instances of the JIAN construction. In another contemporary text *Sunbin Bingfa* 孫臏兵法, I have not found any JIAN passives. In late Archaic Chinese texts, as shown in the chart below, the JIAN passive was used more frequently. This table shows that, compared to the YU construction discussed in the previous section (cf. 7), which was most commonly used in both Early and Late Archaic Chinese, the JIAN passive appeared much later. In addition, it was used much less frequently than the YU construction.

(36) *The distribution of the JIAN construction in Archaic Chinese*

Text	The total number of JIAN	JIAN + V	JIAN + V + YU
Analect	67	0	1
Sunbin Bingfa	34	0	0
Zuozhuan	333	2	0
Mengzi	116	2	0
Zhuangzi	237	3	2
Xunzi	152	19	0
Hanfeizi	326	17	2
Lvshi Chunqiu	297	9	5
Zhanguo Ce	1255	9	5

2.2.2 The position of JIAN

In this subsection, I argue that the analysis of JIAN as a light verb best captures its distribution in a clause. To begin, JIAN always follows the subject in Archaic Chinese JIAN passives, as in (37). Aldridge (2010) argues that in Archaic Chinese, the EPP feature on T is active and forces the subject to raise to [Spec, TP] from its base position in [Spec, vP]. Therefore, (37) shows that JIAN is lower than [Spec, TP].

(37) 盆成括見殺。

(*Mencius* 16 LAC)

Pen Chengkuo jian sha.

Pen Chengkuo JIAN kill

‘Pen Chengkuo was killed.’

In addition, temporal adverbs always precede JIAN in Archaic Chinese, as in (38). Aldridge (2013a) assumes that temporal adverbs adjoin to the TP layer in Archaic Chinese. This again suggests that JIAN is TP-internal. It is to be noted in (38) here an agent *Qin* ‘the State of Qin’ can be optionally introduced to the JIAN passive by a YU phrase.

(38) 今見破於秦，西面而事之。

(*Zhanguo Ce* 19 LAC)

Jin jian po yu Qin, xi mian er shi zhi.

Now JIAN defeat by Qin, westward face CONJ serve 3.ACC

‘Now (you) have been defeated by the State of Qin. (You) are serving them in the west.’

The third piece of evidence showing that JIAN is TP-internal comes from the modal verb or temporal adverb *jiang*. In JIAN passives, JIAN follows *jiang*, as shown in (39).

(39) 夫子何以知其將見殺？

(*Mencius* 14 LAC)

Fuzi    he yi    zhi    qi    jiang jian sha?

Master what APPL know 3.GEN will JIAN kill

‘How do you know he will be killed, Master?’

Wei (1999) observes that subject *wh*-words always precedes *jiang*, as in (40a). On the other hand, object *wh*-words always follows *jiang*, as in (40b).

(40) a. 誰將治之？

*Shei*    **jiang**    zhi    zhi?

who    will    govern    them

‘Who will govern them?’    (*Yanzi Chunqui*, Nei 1.13 LAC Aldridge 2013a: 16)

b. 我將何求？

Wo    **jiang**    he    qiu?

I    will    what    ask.for

‘What will I ask for?’    (*Zuozhuan*, Xi 28 EAC Aldridge 2013a: 16)

Aldridge (2010) proposes that a late Archaic Chinese object *wh*-element moves to the edge of *vP*. Subject *wh*-words are argued to remain in [Spec, TP]. The interrogative interpretation is achieved via unselective binding in the sense of Tsai (1994). Therefore, it is most natural to assume that *jiang* is a T head or a temporal adverb (see Meisterernst 2010). The fact that *jiang* always precedes JIAN indicates that JIAN is TP-internal.

In addition to TP-associated elements, JIAN also follows various clause-medial elements. (41) shows that JIAN follows negators *bu* and *fei*. Meisterernst (2010) proposes that both negators are merged in the NegP above *vP*. (49) suggests that JIAN is lower than the NegP.

(41) a. 故堯非有人，非見有於人也。 (Zhuangzi 20 LAC)

Gu Yao fei you ren, fei jian you yu ren ye.

Thus Yao NEG enslave people, NEG JIAN enslave by people NMLZ

‘Therefore Yao does not enslave people nor is he used by others.’

b. 黯也，進不見惡，退無謗言。 (Zuozhuan Aigong EAC)

an ye, jin bu jian e tui wu bangyan.

An YE, advance Neg. JIAN dislike, resign not.have complaint

‘As for An, he never gets disliked when he is promoted. He never complains when he is demoted.’

Besides negators, JIAN follows the modal adverb *gu* ‘certainly’, (42). I assume Meisterernst’s (2010) analysis that *gu* adjoins to ModP above the *v*P. Since JIAN precedes this adverb, it is lower than the ModP.

(42) 固見負於世。

(*Shangjun Shu* 1 LAC)

Gu        jian     fu        yu shi.

Certainly JIAN betray by world

‘Certainly (he) was betrayed by the world.’

The example in (43) shows that the aspectual adverb *ji* ‘already’ precedes JIAN in Archaic Chinese. Meisterernst (2013) proposes that *ji* is an adverb that adjoins to [Spec, Asp<sub>outer</sub>P] above *v*P. Therefore, (43) suggests that JIAN is lower than the outer AspP.

(43) 琅邪王劉澤既見欺。

(*Shiji* 22 EMC)

Langya Wang    Liu Ze ji                jian     qi.

Langya King     Liu Ze already        JIAN    deceive

‘Liu Ze, the King of Langya, have already been deceived.’

The examples above showed that JIAN is TP-internal. In addition, it is also lower than a various clause-medial functional projections such as ModP, outer AspP and ModP. (44) shows that it is above the  $\nu$ P-internal high applicative head *yi*.

(44) 則見以為華而不實。

(*Hanfei Zi* 3 LAC)

Ze            jian   yi        wei    hua    er bu   shi.

Then        JIAN   APPL   be        flashy but not substantial

‘Then (you) are considered as flashy but not substantial.’

[<sub>TP</sub> *pro* [<sub>T</sub> T [ <sub>$\nu$ P</sub> [ <sub>$\nu'$</sub>  JIAN+*yi* [<sub>ApplP</sub> <*pro*> [<sub>Appl'</sub> <*yi*> [ <sub>$\nu$ P</sub> *wei* [<sub>AdjP</sub> *hua er bu shi*]]]]]]]]]]]

Aldridge (2012) proposes the following structure for the Archaic Chinese applicative construction. As (45) shows, the base position of *yi* is lower than  $\nu$ . *yi* subsequently head-moves to adjoin to  $\nu$ . Since the head-movement of the applicative *yi* blocks the head-movement of the main verb to  $\nu$ , the fact that JIAN precedes the applicative head *yi* indicates that JIAN is higher than  $\nu$ .

(45) [<sub>TP</sub> Subj [<sub>T</sub> T [ <sub>$\nu$ P</sub> <Subj> [ <sub>$\nu'$</sub>   $\nu$ +*yi* [<sub>ApplP</sub> DP [<sub>Appl'</sub> <*yi*> [ <sub>$\nu$ P</sub> V DP ]]]]]]]]]]

(45) actually constitutes evidence against the transitive approach to JIAN passives discussed in the previous subsection. If JIAN were analyzed as a transitive verb in (44), it would have to take a nominalized complement. This would disallow functional projections such as  $\nu$ P and ApplP in the complement of the main verb.

(46) [<sub>TP</sub> *pro*<sub>i</sub> [<sub>VP</sub> JIAN [<sub>CP</sub> [<sub>TP</sub> *pro* [<sub>T'</sub> T [<sub>VP</sub> *v* [<sub>ApplP</sub> *pro*<sub>i</sub> [<sub>Appl'</sub> *yi* [<sub>VP</sub> *wei* [<sub>CP</sub> *hua er bu shi*]]]]]]]]]]]

(47) a. 莫知其無形。 (3<sup>rd</sup> C. BCE; *Xunzi*, Tianlun LAC Aldridge 2013b: 12)

‘No one knows that it does not have form.’



b. 天下之無道也久矣。 (5<sup>th</sup> C. BCE; *Analects*, Bayi EAC Aldridge 2013b: 12)

[Tianxia zhi wu dao ye] jiu yi.

world GEN not.have way NMLZ long ASP

‘It is a long time since the world has been without the proper way.’

Aldridge (2013b) further points out that a nominalized embedded clause must have an overt genitive subject. If the embedded clause does not have an overt subject, then it is generally a control clause, (48). In (44), there is neither an overt genitive marker *zhi* nor an embedded genitive subject pronoun *qi*. Therefore, the lack of nominalization marker suggests that JIAN is not selecting a nominal complement in (44). The transitive approach is not able to account for this example.

(48) 有司未知所之。 (*Mencius* 2 LAC)

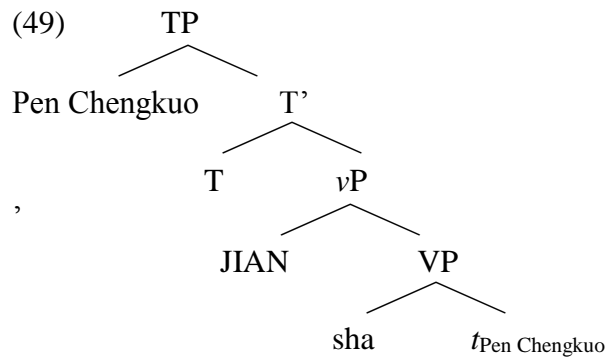
Yousi wei zhi PRO suo zhi.

driver not.yet know PRO SUO go

‘The driver does not know where to go.’

In sum, I have shown that the JIAN in (44) is not a transitive verb. To conclude the discussion so far, the word order in a JIAN passive is [SUBJ (TEMP) (ASP/MOD/NEG) JIAN (APPL) V]. I propose that in JIAN passives, JIAN is a passive light verb, as shown in (49). The subject

undergoes A-movement to [Spec, TP] to check the EPP feature on T. Its  $\phi$ -feature also agrees with T. Under this agree relation, T licenses the subject with nominative case. This analysis captures that fact that JIAN is TP-internal. It also accounts for JIAN's relative order with the aspectual adverb *ji*, modal adverb *gu* and negators *bu* and *fei*. Most importantly, this passive approach captures the semantics of the JIAN construction. By base-generating the surface subject as the internal argument of the main verb, the passive approach accounts for the problem that in a JIAN passive the subject is interpreted as the theme, which is not necessarily predicted by the transitive JIAN approach.



Furthermore, analyzing JIAN as a passive marker accounts for the word order in (44), as shown in (50). The semantic construal between the matrix subject and the applied object can be accounted for as well because the applied object undergoes A-movement to [Spec, TP] to become the passive subject.

(50) [<sub>TP</sub> *pro* [<sub>T'</sub> T [<sub>vP</sub> [<sub>v'</sub> JIAN+*yi* [<sub>AppIP</sub> <*pro*> [<sub>AppI'</sub> <*yi*> [<sub>VP</sub> *wei* [<sub>AdjP</sub> *hua er bu shi*]]]]]]]]]

In this subsection, I analyzed the position of JIAN in JIAN passives and concluded that the passive approach best accounts for the syntactic properties of JIAN. In the next subsection, I discuss the diachronic source of JIAN passives.

### 2.3 The source of JIAN passives

In this subsection, I propose that the JIAN passive is a result of the reanalysis of the transitive JIAN B construction. This reanalysis is in turn the result of the parameter ambiguity (P-ambiguity) of certain transitive JIAN B constructions. As discussed in Chapter 1, I follow Roberts and Roussou (2003) and Roberts (2007) in assuming that syntactic changes are caused by changing parameter settings. Specifically, ambiguity of parameter expressions (P-expressions) is required for syntactic change to take place. Learners opt for the simpler (or less marked) representations when such ambiguity occurs. I repeat Roberts' (2007) definition of P-ambiguity in (51). Readers are referred to the discussion of the loss of V-to-T movement in Early Modern English in Chapter 1, subsection 2.3, for concrete examples.

(51) a. P-ambiguity:

A substring of the input text  $S$  is strongly P-ambiguous with respect to a parameter  $p_i$  just in case a grammar can have  $p_i$  set to either value and assign a well-formed representation to  $S$ .

b. A strongly P-ambiguous string may express either value of  $p_i$  and therefore trigger either value of  $p_i$ .

c. A weakly P-ambiguous string expresses neither value of  $p_i$  and therefore triggers neither value of  $p_i$ . (Roberts 2007: 233)

I propose that the ambiguous P-expressions<sup>31</sup> that trigger the reanalysis of the transitive JIAN B constructions are ‘JIAN + N’ constructions like that shown in (52)<sup>32</sup>. Ambiguous P-expressions appeared when JIAN selected a complement, crucially here a bare noun, that could be easily interpreted as a verb rather than a noun.

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<sup>31</sup> As the discussion will show, in this case, these P-expressions are strongly P-ambiguous.

<sup>32</sup> There is yet another potential external trigger for the grammaticalization of JIAN from a transitive verb to a passive marker. As I have mentioned in subsection 1.3, there are potential passive affixes in Archaic Chinese. For example, the anticausative suffix \*-s in the sense of Jin (2006). These morphological markers were lost toward the end of Archaic Chinese (Aldridge 2013b, Baxter and Sagart 2014 among others). Aldridge (2013b) proposes that the rise of JIAN as a syllabic passive marker is a ‘a process of renewal at the end of a grammaticalization cycle.’ (Aldridge 2013b: 7). In other words, with the loss of overt passive affixes, JIAN was used as a new marker for the passive voice.

(52) 黯也進不見惡，退無謗言。<sup>33</sup>

(*Zuozhuan* Ai 20 EAC)

An ye            jin      bu      jian      e,      tui                      wu                      bangyan.

An NMLZ            ise.up NEG      JIAN   hate,      go.down                      not.have                      defame

Reading A: ‘As for An, when (he) advanced in rank, he did not encounter hatred; when (he) demoted, (no one) defamed him.’

Reading B: ‘As for An, when (he) advanced in rank, he was not hated; when (he) demoted, (no one) defamed him.’

In the earlier discussion of the transitive JIAN B constructions (cf. the introduction of Section 2 in this chapter), there is an obvious genitive marker *zhi* which marks the possessor that appears in the complement of the JIAN, as shown in (53). Aldridge (2015b) argues that *zhi* is a D head in Archaic Chinese. Therefore, first language learners will successfully interpret the JIAN in these structures as a verb taking a nominal complement. On the other hand, in the ‘JIAN + N’ constructions in (52), there is no obvious genitive marker. Furthermore, JIAN’s complement *e* ‘evil’ can be easily interpreted as a verb ‘hate’. Consequently, there are two readings for this

<sup>33</sup> *e* is ambiguous between a noun ‘hatred’ or a verb ‘hate’ in Archaic Chinese. This can be seen from the following example. This example first contains a verb *e* ‘hate’. Then this verb is used in its nominalized form as a noun ‘hatred’.

惡於宋而保於我，保之何補？

e            yu            song er    bao            yu            wo,            bao            zhi            he            bu  
hate        YU            song but protect    YU            1.SG            protect    3.SG            what            use

.... 與惡而棄好，非謀也。

yu            e            er            qi            hao            fei            mou            ye  
support    hatred    but            discard    alliance is.not            strategy Nmlz.

(*Zuozhuan* Zhuang 12)

‘(He) is hated by the State of Song but will be protected by us. (Therefore,) what is the point of protecting him? ... (We) raise the hatred from the State of Song while discarding the alliance (with them). (This) is not good strategy.’

sentence. Reading A corresponds to the interpretation that the JIAN is a transitive verb. Reading B is achieved when the JIAN is interpreted as a passive marker and when *e* is interpreted as a verb.

(53) 華父督見孔父之妻于路。

(*Zuozhuan* Huan 1 EAC)

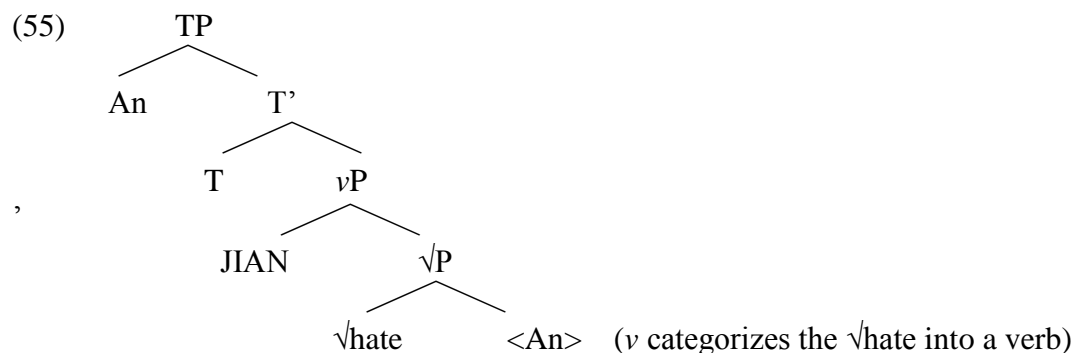
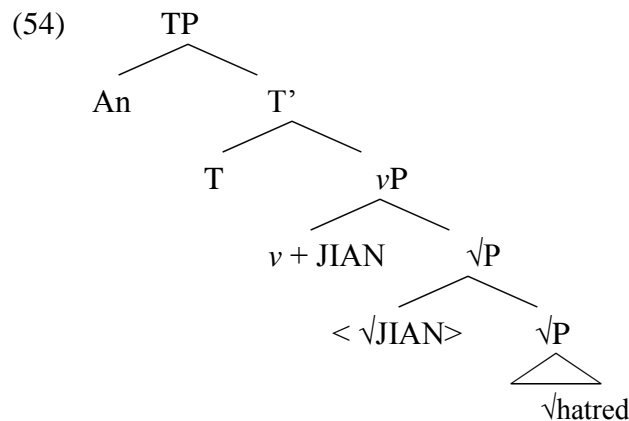
Huafu Du    jian    Kongfu zhi    qi    yu    lu.

Huafu Du    JIAN    Kongfu GEN    wife    on    road

‘Huafu Du encountered Kongfu’s wife on the road.’

I propose that the semantic ambiguity shown in (52) arises from the P-ambiguity of the sentence. The specific P-ambiguity that is relevant here is how the functional feature F of the light verb is realized in PF. Roberts and Roussou (2003) argues that a functional category bears functional feature F. F must be realized at the LF interface to ensure that the clause can be successfully interpreted. However, depending on language-specific requirements, the PF realization of F is optional. For example, languages can choose to pronounce a C (such as Irish) or not (such as Mandarin Chinese). As for the F on a light verb in Archaic Chinese, I assume that it must be realized by either Internal Merge as a lexical verb to *v* (as in active voice sentences) or external merge as a passive auxiliary to *v*. I propose the structure (54) to account for the Reading A in (52). In this structure, the functional feature F of the light verb is realized in PF via the movement of the root JIAN. The structure that is assigned to Reading B in (52) is shown in (55). In this case, the functional feature F of the light verb is realized in PF via direct merge the JIAN

to  $v$ . According to Distributed Morphology (Halle and Marantz 1993, Halle 1997, Marantz 1997, Embick 1997), the reanalysis of the complement from NP to VP is automatic, as the lexical category of the complement is interpreted in the context of a categorizing functional element (in this case,  $v$  for V). At this point, the whole clause is interpreted as a passive construction.



Before I discuss the motivation for the reanalysis from (54) to (55), let me briefly justify the semantic incorporation analysis for the Reading A first. This structure is compatible with Yao's (1999) interpretation of the 'JIAN + N' constructions. Translating his proposal into Minimalism, Yao (1999) argues that the complement of JIAN in such constructions lacks referentiality.

Semantic referentiality is a property of linguistic expressions that enables them to point to some

existing entity in a given context or discourse (Chen 2015: 405-407). Chen (2009) argues that Chinese bare NPs are non-referential when ‘they refer to a sub-set of the background set rather than a specific individual entity in the set’ (Chen 2009: 1658). It is in this sense that I propose that the bare NP *e* ‘hatred’ that follows JIAN in (52) as non-referential. In the context, (52) is an answer to the question in (56). The king asked his servant why Shi An is considered as a man of integrity. The servant’s reason that he is a man of integrity is that when he advanced in rank, he did not encounter hatred. Here the servant is not referring to a special type of hatred from the set. Instead, the servant is referring to a sub-set or the complete set of ‘hatred’. In other words, ‘hatred’ is not interpreted as referential.

(56) 王曰：「…吾將有問也。史黯何以得為君子？」 (Zuozhuan Ai 20 EAC)

Wang yue wu jiang you wen ye. Shi An he yi de wei junzi?

King say 1.SG will have question NMLZ Shi An why APPL can be man.of.integrity

‘The king said: “I will have a question. Why could Shi An be (considered as) a man of integrity?”’

As Van Geenhoven (1998) argues, the major property of the incorporated nominals is that they lack referentiality and they are low in individuation. Therefore, I propose the semantic incorporation analysis to account for the lack of referentiality of the nominals in ‘JIAN + NP’ constructions. In addition to the consideration of the semantic interpretation discussed above, the analysis in (54) also accounts for the fact that the optional agent in the JIAN passives must be introduced by a YU-PP historically, as in (57).



(57) 蔡澤見逐于趙。

(*Zhanguo Ce* 5 LAC)

Cai Ze    jian    zhu    yu    Zhao.

Cai Ze    JIAN    expel   by    Zhao

‘Cai Ze was expelled by Zhao.’

This is different from the WEI...SUO passives (58), in which the agent is obligatory and it is an argument in the embedded clause.

(58) 負石自投於河,為河鰲所食。

(*Zhuangzi* 29 LAC)

fu shi    zi    tou    yu    he    wei    hebie   suo   shi.

bear rock   self   throw   into   river   WEI   tortoise SUO   eat

‘(He), bearing a rock, threw himself into the river. (He) was eaten by a tortoise.’

In the semantic incorporation analysis, only a bare nominal is incorporated. This ensures that there are no additional functional layers in the complement of JIAN that will later be reanalyzed as potential spaces for an agent argument.

Now let me return to the discussion of the reanalysis from (54) to (55). Following Roberts and Roussou (2003) and Roberts (2007), first language learners reset parameters when there is P-ambiguity in P-expressions. They further propose that first language learners ‘will opt for the default option as part of the built-in preference of the learning device for simpler

representations.’ (Roberts and Roussou 2003: 17) Simplicity (or markedness in the sense of Roberts and Roussou 2003) is defined as follows (cf. Longobardi 2001: 294):

(59) A structural representation R for a substring of input text S is simpler than an alternative representation R’ iff R contains fewer formal feature syncretisms than R’.

(Roberts and Rossou 2003: 201)

Regarding the markedness of various syntactic operations, Roberts and Roussou (2003) (also see Roberts 2007 for a simplified version) proposes the following hierarchy (60) for parameter values (where ‘>’ refers to ‘more marked than’). In this hierarchy, Internal Merge is regarded as more marked than External Merge. In Chomsky’s (2004) sense, External Merge takes two objects and combines them into a larger object. Internal Merge also takes two objects and combines them into one. It is different from External Merge in that one of the two objects is a part of the other one. Thus, presumably, Internal Merge takes two steps: First, an object is copied from the existing structure. Then the copy merges with the existing structure. Compared to Internal Merge, External Merge only involves one step: Merge. Presumably, more formal feature is involved in Internal Merge than External Merge. Roberts and Roussou (2003) proposes that an operation is more marked if more formal feature is involved. Consequently, Internal Merge is more marked than External Merge.

$$(60) F^*_{\text{Internal Merge/External Merge}} > F^*_{\text{Internal Merge}} > F^*_{\text{External Merge}} > F$$

(Roberts and Roussou 2003: 210)

Now let us consider (54) and (55) in light of the theory summarized above. As I have mentioned, the parameter value that is relevant here is:

(61) Parameter: realize the functional feature of the light verb in PF.

Value<sub>1</sub>: Internal Merge

Value<sub>2</sub>: External Merge

With an overt noninitializer, such as *zhi*, the light verb in (53) would be unambiguously realized via Internal Merge. However, examples, such as (52) where the object of JIAN can be interpreted as a predicate rather than a specific individual, are therefore strongly P-ambiguous with respect to the PF-realization mechanism of the light verb's F feature. When the object of JIAN is interpreted as a verb, the F of the light verb is realized via External Merge. On the other hand, when the object of JIAN is an indeterminate bare NP (in the sense of Chen 2009), the light verb is realized via Internal Merge. The strong P-ambiguity thus leads to two possible structures as presented in (54) and (55). Following Roberts and Roussou (2003) and Roberts (2007), first language learners will opt for less marked presentations when they are faced with strong P-ambiguity. In addition, as (51) indicates, Internal Merge is more marked than External Merge. Since the F feature of the *v* is realized through External Merge of JIAN in (55), it will be preferred over the structure in (54) where the F feature is realized through Internal Merge. If the

object can easily be interpreted as a predicate, then the External Merge option will be chosen as more economical. Under such circumstances, the transitive JIAN B constructions were reanalyzed into JIAN passives. In other words, JIAN was thus grammaticalized from a root into a functional category, a light verb. Consequently, this diachronic change is another case that confirms that the loss of movements leads to grammaticalization (Roberts and Roussou 2003). The historical development discussed above is summarized as follows:

(62) i. Structural Change:  $[_{vP} v + \text{JIAN} [_{vP} <\sqrt{\text{JIAN}}> \sqrt{X}]] > [_{vP} \text{JIAN} [_{vP} \sqrt{X}]]$

ii. Parametric Change:  $v^*_{\text{Internal Merge}} > v^*_{\text{External Merge}}$

iii. Cause: Interpretation that allows for semantic incorporation in certain JIAN constructions

### 3. Conclusion

In this chapter, I analyzed the monoclausal passives in the Archaic Chinese period. I proposed that there are two types of monoclausal passives in Archaic Chinese: the first type (the YU construction) is actually an unaccusative verb construction; the second type (the JIAN passive) is similar to an English-type passive. I also argued that instead of being a passive auxiliary, YU heads a PP which is simply an adjunct introducing an agent to the unaccusative construction. The JIAN passive appeared later than the YU passive. In my proposal, the JIAN passive is the first attested construction that has the same structure as the Mandarin short passive. I argued for the passive approach over the transitive approach. Specifically, I pointed out that the transitive approach is not able to account for the fact that the surface subject in the JIAN passive is always

interpreted as the internal argument of the complement following JIAN. I also proposed that the JIAN passive is the result of the reanalysis of the transitive JIAN B construction. This reanalysis is triggered by the absence of an overt nominal marker. In the lack of such cues, the semantic incorporation structure of the transitive JIAN B construction was reanalyzed as the JIAN passive which is less marked. In the next chapter, I will continue the discussion of the monoclausal passives. I will analyze their development in Middle Chinese.

# *Chapter 4*

仁不異遠，義不辭難。

——《漢書 武帝本紀》

## Chapter 4

In this chapter, I discuss the monoclausal passives in Early Middle Chinese (2<sup>nd</sup> C.BCE ~ 2<sup>nd</sup> C.CE) and Middle Chinese (3<sup>rd</sup> C.CE ~ 6<sup>th</sup> C.CE). The monoclausal passives I will discuss include the YU construction (1) and the JIAN passive (2). In addition to these two forms, I will also discuss the agentless BEI passive (3) which continues to be used in modern Mandarin Chinese (the short passive). I argue that the JIAN passive in Middle Chinese is structurally identical to the JIAN passive in Archaic Chinese, discussed in Section 2 Chapter 3. In Early Middle Chinese, the JIAN passive became more popular than the YU construction. Later on, by the end of the Middle Chinese period, the number of the JIAN passive decreased while the agentless BEI passive became popular. As I will show in section 3, the agentless BEI passive and the JIAN passive have identical syntactic structures. More importantly, their reanalysis processes are parallel to each other. Both of them developed from a transitive verb construction. In this sense, the JIAN passive is the precursor of the modern short passive.

(1) 鄧通幸於文帝。

(*Qianfulun* EMC)

Deng Tong xing yu Wen di.

Deng Tong like by Wen Emperor

‘Deng Tong was liked by Emperor Wen.’

(2) 文欽之子不見殺，其餘何懼？

(*Sanguo Zhi* 28 MC)

Wen Qin zhi    zi   bu    jian sha,    qi    yu    he    ju?

Wen Qin GEN son NEG    JIAN kill    3.GEN remain what afraid

‘(Even) Wen Qin’s son was not killed. What were the remaining people afraid of?’

(3) 始作謝玄參軍，頗被禮遇。

(*Shishuo xinyu* 32 MC)

Shi                zuo                Xie Xuan canjun,                po    bei    liyu.

Initial    serve.as    Xie Xuan staff.officer    quite   BEI    respect

‘Initially, he served as Xie Xuan’s staff officer. He was well respected.’

The main theme of this chapter is to account for how these syntactic changes took place. I follow Roberts and Roussou (2003) and Roberts (2007) in proposing that parameter resetting is the key to syntactic changes. Parameter expressions<sup>34</sup>, which enable first language learners to set parameter values, become ambiguous when syntactic triggers are obscure. Under such circumstances, first language learners will lean towards the less marked (or simpler) representation. This preference for simpler representation of the learning device then results in parameter resetting which ultimately leads to syntactic changes. As we will see in the discussion of this chapter, I propose that interpretation that allows for semantic incorporation in certain transitive BEI constructions is the trigger for the reanalysis of transitive BEI constructions into the agentless BEI passive, similar to the development of the JIAN passive I discussed in Chapter 3. Lexical change, on the other hand, plays a key role in the decline of the YU construction. I

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<sup>34</sup> Roberts and Roussou (2003: 15) defines parameter expressions as ‘a substring of the input text S expresses a parameter  $p_i$  just in case a grammar must have  $p_i$  set to a definite value in order to assign a well-formed representation to S.’



will propose that the YU construction was lost due to the lexical change YU underwent in Middle Chinese: the use of YU as an agent-introducing preposition declined.

This chapter is organized as follows: in the first section, I present the statistical data for the Middle Chinese monoclausal passives. I lay out the three major questions that will be discussed in this chapter as well. In the second section, I focus on the two monoclausal passives which already existed in Archaic Chinese: the YU construction and the JIAN passive. I show that they have the same syntactic structure as their Archaic Chinese counterparts. I further propose that the decline of the YU construction is related to the lexical change of YU. The following section focuses on the rise of the short BEI passives. I propose that BEI was originally a transitive verb meaning ‘suffer’ in Archaic Chinese. It grammaticalized into a passive marker in Early Middle Chinese. In the last section, I will discuss the transition from JIAN passives to short BEI passives in the Six Dynasties period (3<sup>rd</sup> C.CE ~ 6<sup>th</sup> C.CE). Specifically, I argue that the JIAN passive was used in more formal settings in Middle Chinese. It was gradually replaced by the more colloquial BEI, since first language learners had more chances to be exposed to the latter. Section 5 concludes the chapter.

## 1. The distribution of monoclausal passives in Early Middle Chinese and Middle Chinese

Table (5) summarizes the distribution of the three types of monoclausal passives in Early Middle Chinese and Middle Chinese. It should be noted that in the Western Han period (202 BCE - 8 CE), there is no convincing evidence showing that the BEI in BEI short passives had completed its grammaticalization. Therefore, the so-called BEI passives I included here are constructions that are ambiguous between a transitive BEI construction and a short passive, as shown in (4). This sentence has two readings. Reading A arises from a transitive BEI construction in which

BEI is interpreted as a transitive verb meaning ‘suffer’. It takes a DP as its complement. The B reading results when the example is a passive sentence, in which BEI, as a passive marker, precedes the main verb. Essentially, the categorical ambiguity of the word *xing* between a noun ‘torment’ and a verb ‘torture’ leads to the structural ambiguity of the sentence.

(4) 行直而被刑。

(*Huainan zi* 9 EMC)

Xing      zhi                  er      bei      xing.

conduct    upright                  but      BEI      torture

Reading A: ‘His conduct was upright. But he suffered torment.’

Reading B: ‘His conduct was upright. But he was tortured.’

(5) Monoclausal passives in Early Middle Chinese and Middle Chinese (texts are chronically ordered)

Text	Date	YU constructions	JIAN passives	BEI passives
Shi ji	Western Han 202 BCE ~ 8 CE	36	71	17
Xin shu		8	3	3
Huainanzi		61	3	5
Yantie lun		37	13	6
Total occurrences		142	90	31
Percentage <sup>35</sup>		53.9%	34.3%	11.8%
Wuyue chunqiu	Eastern Han 25 ~ 220 CE	4	12	5
Han shu		36	53	16
Lun heng		23	57	8
Total occurrences		63	122	29
Percentage		29.4%	57%	13.6%
Sanguo zhi	Six Dynasties 3 <sup>rd</sup> C.CE ~ 6 <sup>th</sup> C.CE	21	138	59
Baopuzi neipian		24	9	3
Xinjiao soushenji		3	14	8
Shishuo xinyu		4	7	30
Song shu (Vol. 81 ~ 90)		0	48	31
Luoyang qielan ji		0	1	5
Yanshi jiaxun		0	5	18
Total occurrences		52	222	154
Percentage		12.1%	51.9%	36%

There are three main observations based on table (5): first, the use of YU constructions started to decline in the Eastern Han period. YU passives were rarely used at the end of the Six Dynasties period. On the other hand, the number of JIAN passives exceeded the number of YU constructions in Eastern Han. In the early Six Dynasties period, with the exception of *Baopuzi neipian*, JIAN passives were more popular than YU constructions. Second, the BEI passives

<sup>35</sup> The percentage here is the percentage of the number of a particular passive structure to the total number of monoclausal passives in a given period.

developed slowly in Western Han and Eastern Han. They became more popular in the Six Dynasties period. As I have noted earlier in the beginning of this subsection, the Western Han BEI passives were actually ambiguous. I will argue that true BEI passives appeared in the Eastern Han period. Third, the BEI passives gradually replaced the JIAN passives toward the end of the Six Dynasties period. Starting from *Shishuo xinyu*, the number of BEI passives in the texts exceeded the number of JIAN passives. However, the texts I surveyed in the table above actually only form a rather small sample to show the transition from JIAN passives to BEI passives. Table (6) shows the result of surveying additional Buddhist texts, which confirm this transition. In Eastern Han period, BEI passives were rarely used in Buddhist texts. However, entering the Six Dynasties period, BEI passives became more and more popular while the JIAN passives steadily declined. This trend resulted in the sharp contrast between BEI and JIAN passives in *Fobenxingji Jing* (127 : 2).

(6) JIAN and BEI passives in Buddhist texts

Text	Date	JIAN passives	BEI passives
Zhongbenqi jing	Eastern Han 25 ~ 220 CE	3	0
Daoxing bore jing		0	0
Liuduji jing		8	4
Pusa benyuan jing		1	1
Total occurrences		12	5
Percentage		70.6%	29.4%
Sheng jing	Six Dynasties 3 <sup>rd</sup> C.CE ~ 6 <sup>th</sup> C.CE	9	8
Zhengfahua jing		17	10
Baiyu jing		0	6
Chuyao jing		8	43
Dazhuangyanlun jing		3	25
Fobenxingji jing		2	127
Total occurrences		39	217
Percentage		15.2%	84.8%

Based on the observations above, three major questions about the development of monoclausal passives in Middle Chinese arise: first, what caused the decline of the YU construction in Middle Chinese? Second, what is the source of the BEI passives? Third, why were JIAN passives replaced by BEI passives? In the following subsections, I will answer these questions one by one.

## 2. YU constructions and JIAN passives in Middle Chinese

In this subsection, I discuss the Middle Chinese monoclausal passives which already existed in Archaic Chinese: the YU construction and the JIAN passive. I propose that both passives have the same structure as their Archaic Chinese counterparts. I further propose that the decline of the YU construction in Middle Chinese is related to the lexical change in YU. Let me first discuss the syntactic structure of the YU passives and JIAN passives in the relevant period.

### 2.1 The syntactic structure of the YU construction

Similar to the YU construction in Archaic Chinese, a typical YU construction in Middle Chinese takes the surface form ‘Subj. + VP + YU + DP’. The subject is either the theme or the patient of the main verb. The DP that follows YU is the agent.

(7) 然則人君劫於臣，已失法也。

(*Lunheng* Wang 1989: 273 EMC)

Ranze renjun      jie      yu      chen,              yi      shi      fa              ye.

But   king              coerce by      minister              already loss      standard              NMLZ

‘But the king was coerced by his ministers. The standards have already been lost.’

Adverbial elements always precede the main verb in YU constructions.

(8) 今單于新困於漢。

(*Hanshu* 61 EMC)

Jin            Chanyu xin            kun    yu    Han.

Now           Chanyu recently           trouble by    Han

‘Now the Chanyu was recently troubled by the Han Empire.’

Modals appear in YU constructions as well. When there is a modal, it always precedes the main verb, similar to adverbs. In the example below, the main verb follows the modal *bi* (must).

(9) 必不容於寇讎。

(*Shishuo xinyu* 5 MC)

Bi            bu    rong    yu kou           chou.

must        NEG    tolerate by enemy    foe

‘You are surely not tolerated by his enemies and foes.’

In addition, negators such as *bu* also precede the main verb.

(10) 是法不信於民也。

(*Hanshu* 94 EMC)

Shi    fa    bu    xin    yu min           ye.

This.is rule NEG    trust by the.people NMLZ

‘This is a case in which rules are not trusted by people.’

To sum up, the YU constructions in Early Middle Chinese and Middle Chinese have the same syntactic properties. Therefore, I propose that they have the same syntactic structure. Taking (7) as an example, the structure of a YU construction is shown in (11). The subject *renjun* is base generated as the internal argument of the unaccusative verb *jie* ‘coerce’. Since the unaccusative light verb is defective, it is not able to take an external argument or case-license the internal argument. The case feature of the internal argument is thus valued by T. It is licensed with nominative case by T. The internal argument further moves to [Spec, TP] to check the EPP feature on T. The YU and its DP complement form a PP which is adjoined to the little *vP*.

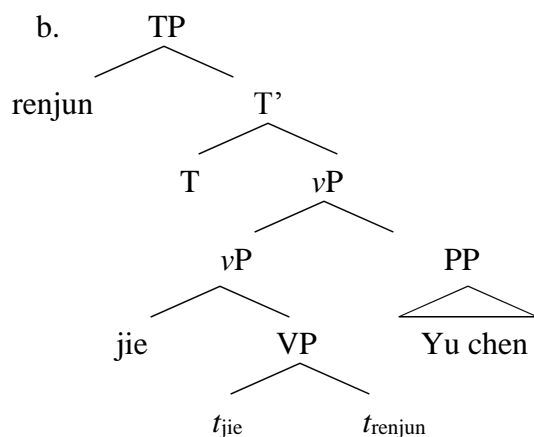
(11) a. 人君劫於臣。

(*Lunheng* Wang 1989: 273 EMC)

Renjun jie      yu chen.

king      coerce by minister

‘The king was coerced by his ministers.’



In the next subsection, I discuss the JIAN passives in Early Middle Chinese and Middle Chinese.

## 2.2 The syntactic structure of the JIAN passive

Similar to the YU construction discussed above, the JIAN passives in Middle Chinese are syntactically similar to the ones in Archaic Chinese, discussed in Section 2 Chapter 3.

Specifically, JIAN follows items that typically appear in the CP/TP domain. In addition, it precedes *v*P-internal functional elements such as the high applicative head *yi*. I will discuss this in detail below.

First, JIAN follows the imperative negator *wu* ‘do not’. Given that *wu* is associated with imperative force, it is likely to appear in the clausal domain (the CP layer) (Rizzi 1997, Zanuttini 2008, Zanuttini, Pak, and Portner 2012 among others). This indicates that JIAN is lower than the C head.

(12) 無見譏責。

(*Shengjing* 3 MC)

Wu        jian    ji                ze.  
do.not    JIAN   laugh.at        blame  
‘Do not get laughed at or blamed.’

Second, similar to the JIAN passives in Archaic Chinese, JIAN typically follows temporal adverbs, which are assumed to be adjoined to the TP layer (Aldridge 2013b). This shows that JIAN is at least lower than TP.



(13) 用能一戰而霸，今見稱。

(Weishu 13 MC)

Yong neng                      yi zhan                      er                      ba,                      jin jian                      cheng.  
use be.able.to                      one battle                      CONJ                      conquer now JIAN                      praise

‘When you appointed him (as the general), he was able to conquer the enemy after only one battle. He is still praised (for this) nowadays.’

Additional evidence that JIAN is lower than TP comes from the example below. It shows that in Middle Chinese JIAN passives, JIAN typically follows the modal *jiang*. As discussed in the previous chapter, Aldridge (2010) proposes that *jiang* is a T head. Therefore, JIAN is lower than T.

(14) 將見害者數矣。

(Songshu 7 MC)

Jiang jian hai                      zhe                      shuo                      yi.  
will JIAN persecute                      ZHE                      many ASP

‘There have been many people who will be persecuted.’

The data above show that JIAN in Middle Chinese JIAN passives is lower than the TP layer. (15) shows that, similar to the passive JIAN in Archaic Chinese, it is above the high applicative head *yi*, which I discussed in the previous chapter.

(15) a. 梁惠王不果所言，則見以為迂遠而闊於事情。

(*Shiji* 74 EMC)

Liang Hui Wang bu guo suo yan,

Liang Hui King NEG correct SUO say

ze jian yi wei yuyuan er kuo yu shiqing.

then JIAN APPL be pedantic CONJ neglect PREP general.affairs

‘The King Hui of Liang did not consider what he said correct. He was then considered as pedantic and ignorant about the general affairs.’

b. [<sub>TP</sub> pro[<sub>T'</sub> T[<sub>VP</sub> jian + yi [<sub>ApplP</sub> t<sub>pro</sub>[<sub>Appl'</sub> t<sub>yi</sub> [<sub>VP</sub> wei [<sub>CP</sub> yuyuan er kuo yu shiqing]]]]]]]

To sum up, JIAN is lower than various CP/TP domain elements but is higher than high vP-internal functional elements. In addition, the syntactic behavior of the JIAN passive in Middle Chinese is similar to the one in Archaic Chinese (cf. Chapter 3 Section 2). Therefore, I propose that they share the same syntactic structure. In this sense, the JIAN passive in Archaic Chinese continues to function as a passive in Middle Chinese. Specifically, the JIAN in Middle Chinese is a light verb, which marks passive voice in a sentence. The passive subject *Wen Qin zhi zi* ‘Wen Qin’s son’ is base-generated as the internal argument of the main verb. Since the light verb JIAN is defective, it is not able to license this internal argument. Thus, it moves to [Spec, TP] to check its  $\phi$ -feature and license Case.

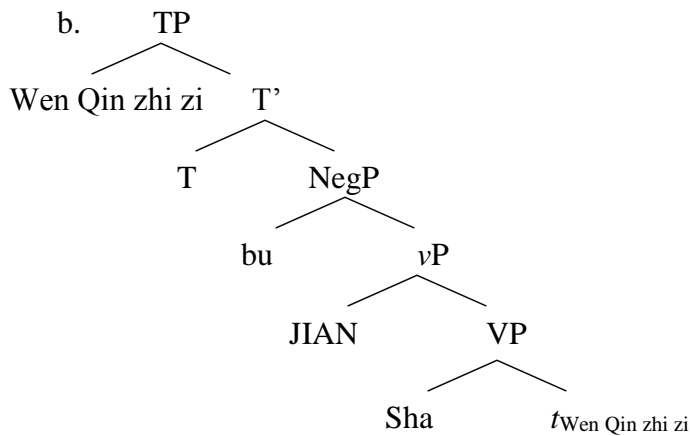
(16) a. 文欽之子不見殺。

(*Sanguo Zhi* 28 MC)

Wen Qin zhi zi bu jian sha.

Wen Qin GEN son NEG JIAN kill

‘(Even) Wen Qin’s son was not killed.’



In the next subsection, I will discuss the reason for the decline of the YU construction in Middle Chinese.

### 2.3 The decline of the YU construction in Middle Chinese

As I have argued in Subsection 2.1, the YU construction in Middle Chinese is syntactically similar to the one in Archaic Chinese: both of them are unaccusative verb constructions. In this subsection, I discuss the decline of the YU construction in Middle Chinese. Table 5 in Section 1 shows that the YU construction started to decline in the Eastern Han period. It was rarely used at the end of the Six Dynasties period. I propose in this subsection that the decline of the YU construction is related to the fact that YU was not able to introduce agents as a preposition in Middle Chinese. Thus, fewer and fewer YU constructions are found in texts. In other words, it

was not the change in the unaccusative verb construction itself that caused the decline. It was the decline of the YU-PP in Middle Chinese that led to the decrease of this specific construction, the YU construction.

Let me first show the change in the lexical item YU. Fang (2000), Wei (2003), Wu (2004) and Dong (2006) argue that YU's status as a preposition began to decline in Middle Chinese. In modern Mandarin, YU is not used as a preposition in colloquial Mandarin. It only appears rarely in more formal texts as a preposition. In (17) – (19), three pairs of sentences are listed. The first sentence is from *Zuozhuan*, an Early Archaic Chinese text, while the second one is from *Shiji*, an Early Middle Chinese text. Both sentences mention the same event. It can be seen that while a YU was used as a preposition at the time of *Zuozhuan*, the same event was described without using the YU at the time of *Shiji*. In (17), YU was used to head a locative PP. In both (18) and (19), YU heads an argument PP.

(17) a. 晏子立於崔氏之門外。

(*Zuozhuan* Xiang 25 EAC)

Yanzi li    **yu**    Cuishi            zhi    men    wai.

Yanzi stand YU Cui's.family GEN door    outside

‘Yanzi stood outside the door of the Cui’s family.’

b. 晏子立崔氏門外。

(*Shiji* Qitaigong Shijia EMC)

Yanzi li      Cuishi      men      wai.

Yanzi stand Cui's.family door      outside

‘Yanzi stood outside the door of the Cui’s family.’

(18) a. 請觀於周樂。

(*Zuozhuan* Xiang 29 EAC)

Qing      guan      **yu**      zhou      yue.

Please      listen      YU      Zhou      music

‘Please listen to Zhou’s music.’

b. 請觀周樂。

(*Shiji* Wutaibo Shijia EMC)

Qing      guan      Zhou      yue.

Please      listen      Zhou      music

‘Please listen to Zhou’s music.’

(19) 韓宣子問於叔向。

(*Zuozhuan* Zhao 13 EAC)

Han Xuanzi wen **yu** Shuxiang.

Han Xuanzi ask YU Shuxiang

‘Xuanzi of Han asked Shuxiang.’

韓宣子問叔向。

(*Shiji* Chu Shijia EMC)

Han Xuanzi wen Shuxiang.

Han Xuanzi ask Shuxiang

‘Xuanzi of Han asked Shuxiang.’

The examples above show that YU started to lose its function as a preposition in general in Middle Chinese. Now I show in particular that YU’s function to introduce agents as a preposition started to decline in Middle Chinese. The evidence comes from the decline of the JIAN-YU passive in Middle Chinese. In Subsection 2.2.2 Chapter 3 I showed that in Archaic Chinese, an agent can be optionally introduced to the JIAN passive by a YU-PP. The example is repeated here in (20).

(20) a. 今見破於秦，西面而事之。 (Zhanguo Ce 19 LAC)

Jin jian po **yu Qin**, xi mian er shi zhi.

Now JIAN defeat by Qin, westward face CONJ serve 3.ACC

‘Now (you) have been defeated by the State of Qin. (You) are serving them in the west.’

b. 故堯非有人，非見有於人也。 (Zhuangzi 20 LAC)

Gu Yao fei you ren, fei jian you **yu ren** ye.

Thus Yao NEG enslave people, NEG JIAN enslave by people FIN

‘Therefore Yao does not enslave people nor is he used by others.’

In Tang and Zhou (1985) and Tang (1987), the authors did a statistical study of the JIAN passive with a YU-PP (JIAN-YU passive)<sup>36</sup>. They concluded that the number of JIAN-YU passives started to decrease in the Han period (202 BCE – 220 CE EMC). It almost disappeared toward the end of the Six Dynasties period (3<sup>rd</sup> C.CE – 6<sup>th</sup> C. CE MC). Specifically, in Archaic Chinese, the percentage of JIAN-YU passive in the JIAN passive is 22.4%. In the Western Han period, it becomes 15.8%. The percentage further declined in the Six Dynasties period to 10.5%. More significantly, in late Middle Chinese texts, for example *Yanshi Jiaxun*<sup>37</sup>, the JIAN-YU passive completely disappeared. In the meantime, as table (5) shows, the JIAN passive persisted in

<sup>36</sup> As I have shown in example (25c) section 2 Chapter 3, the JIAN passive can optionally take a YU-PP which introduces the agent. The term ‘JIAN-YU passive’ used here does not refer to a new passive pattern. In other words, this term refers to the JIAN passive which could optionally take an adjunct YU-PP.

<sup>37</sup> Compiled in early 6<sup>th</sup> C.CE.

Middle Chinese. In other words, the JIAN passive in Middle Chinese occurred less frequently with an agent which is introduced by the YU-PP. This shows that the use of YU as an agent-introducing preposition in particular declined in Middle Chinese. Since YU's function in the YU construction is to introduce agents, it is expected that the total number of YU construction also decreased in Middle Chinese.

Before concluding this subsection, I want to show that the unaccusative verb construction itself did not undergo change in Middle Chinese. While a thorough study of the unaccusative verbs in Archaic Chinese and Middle Chinese is beyond the scope of this dissertation, I want to show that Cikoski's (1978) verb classes (cf. Subsection 1.2.2 Chapter 3) are still found in Middle Chinese, as shown in (21) and (22). (21) shows an ergative verb *po* 'defeat' in Middle Chinese. (21a) is the transitive variant. (21b) is the intransitive variant (i.e. unaccusative verbs). (22) shows a neutral verb *bi* 'avoid': the transitive variant in (22a) and the intransitive variant (i.e. unergative verbs) in (22b).

(21) a. 曹操破張魯。

(*Hou Hanshu* Liezhuan 75 EMC)

Cao Cao **po** Zhang Lu.

Cao Cao defeat Zhang Lu

'Cao Cao defeated Zhang Lu.'



b. 兵破身困者數矣。

(*Hou Hanshu Liezhuan* 3 EMC)

Bing    **po**    shen            kun zhe    shuo            yi.

army    defeat himself            trap DET            numerous    ASP

‘(There have been) numerous (people) whose army was defeated and who were trapped.’

(22) a. 不避怨恨。

(*Baopuzi neipian* 6 EMC)

bu        **bi**        yuan            hen.

Neg        avoid    resentment    hatred

‘(He) does not avoid resentment and hatred.’

b. 百鬼走避。

(*Baopuzi neipian* 4 EMC)

Bai        gui        zou        **bi**.

hundred    ghost    run        avoid

‘The ghosts ran and retreated.’

In fact, these verb classes are still found in Modern Mandarin by Lü (1987). (23) shows the neutral class with the verb *sheng* ‘to defeat’ (Lü’s ‘pattern one’ *diyi geju* 第一格局). (24) shows the ergative class with *bai* ‘to lose’ (Lü’s ‘pattern two’ *dier geju* 第二格局).

(23) a. Zhongguo dui **sheng** nan chaoxian dui.

China team win south Korea team

‘The Chinese team defeats the South Korean team’ (Aldridge 2015b: 8 cite Lü 1987:1)

b. Zhongguo dui **sheng**.

China team win

‘The Chinese team wins.’ (Aldridge 2015b: 8 cite Lü 1987:1)

(24) a. Zhongguo dui **bai** nan chaoxian dui.

China team lose south Korean team

‘The Chinese team defeats the South Korean team.’ (Aldridge 2015b: 9 cite Lü 1987:1)

b. Nan chaoxian dui **bai**.

south Korea team lose

‘The South Korean team loses.’ (Aldridge 2015b: 9 cite Lü 1987:1)

To sum up, in this subsection, I propose that the decline of the YU construction in Middle Chinese is related to the change in the preposition, not the loss of the unaccusative structure. In particular, while the unaccusative/causative alternation persisted, the use of YU as an agent-introducing preposition declined in Middle Chinese. Consequently, the number of YU constructions also decreased. In other words, the decline of the YU construction in Middle Chinese is the decline of the YU-PP in disguise.

### 3. The rise of the agentless BEI passive

In this subsection, I discuss the development of the BEI passive in Middle Chinese. Here, I focus on the agentless BEI passives, equivalent to what are termed short passives in Modern Mandarin. I argue that the development of the BEI passives is very similar to the development of the JIAN passives: it was first a transitive construction, in which BEI is a transitive verb meaning ‘suffer’. Later, it was reanalyzed as a passive construction because of the ambiguity of BEI’s complement. I will first discuss the BEI constructions in Archaic Chinese. Then I present data which show that BEI was grammaticalized into a passive marker in Eastern Han Chinese. In the same subsection, I also discuss the syntactic structure of the BEI passive in Middle Chinese.

#### 3.1 BEI in Archaic Chinese

BEI can be either a noun or a transitive verb in Archaic Chinese. When it was used as a noun, it meant ‘quilt’ or ‘cover’, as shown in (25). This sentence describes a basket used to contain jujubes in ceremonies.

(25) 玄被纁裏有蓋。

(Yili 8 LAC)

Xuan bei xun li you gai.

black cover light.red liner have lid

‘It has black cover and light red liner. It also has a lid.’

When used as a transitive verb, *bei* had two meanings in Archaic Chinese. The first meaning is ‘to cover’, as shown in (26). This meaning is related to the noun BEI.

(26) 皋蘭被徑。

(Chuci Zhaohun LAC)

Gao lan bei jing.

highland orchid cover road

‘The highland orchid covers the road.’

A meaning that is related to the meaning ‘to cover’, is ‘to drape something over something’, as shown in (27). The *bei* in (27) can also be interpreted as having a passive sense ‘to be covered’, since in this sentence the subject *pro* is covered with his own hair. In (21), the BEI means ‘encounter’ or ‘suffer’. It takes a DP as its complement, as shown by the genitive pronoun *qi*. Intuitively, this meaning is derived from the meaning ‘to cover’. If you cover A with B, then A naturally encounters B. Abstracting from this meaning, if A encounters B, then in some malefactive cases, it can be interpreted as A suffers B.

(27) 被髮行歌而遊於塘下。

(*Zhuangzi* 19 LAC)

bei fa xing ge er you yu tang xia.

drape hair sing sang CONJ walk PREP pond side

‘(He) draped his hair over his shoulder, singing songs and walked around the pond.’

Dong (1989), Wang (1989), Wu (2004, 2005) propose that the second meaning of *bei*, ‘to suffer’ shown in (28), is a metaphorical extension from the meaning ‘to drape something over something’ or ‘to be covered’. Specifically, when A is covered with B, it follows that an adversative sense that A ‘suffers’ from B can be derived.

(28) 秦被其勞，而趙受其利。

(*Zhanguo Ce* 18 LAC)

Qin bei qi lao er Zhao shou qi li.

Qin suffer 3.GEN labor CONJ Zhao enjoy 3.GEN benefit

‘The State of Qin suffered from its labor but the State of Zhao enjoys its benefits.’

I propose that it is the transitive verb BEI which means ‘suffer’ that is related to the passive marker BEI later used in agentless BEI passives. In the next subsection, I will present BEI in Western Han and Eastern Han Chinese.

### 3.2 BEI in Western Han and Eastern Han Chinese

In this subsection, I focus on the BEI which meant ‘suffer’ in Western Han and Eastern Han Chinese. In Western Han Chinese, this transitive BEI typically takes a DP as its complement. In

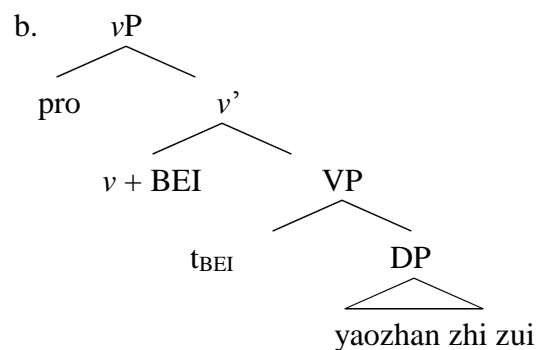
(29a), the genitive marker *zhi* shows that BEI's complement is unambiguously a DP. The structure of (29a) is shown in (29b).

(29) a. 被要斬之罪。

(*Huainan Zi* 13 EMC)

**bei**    yaozhan        zhi    zu.i  
suffer cut.off        GEN    punishment

‘(He) suffered the punishment of cutting his body in two at the waist.’



In addition to these unambiguous transitive BEI constructions, there were some Western Han BEI constructions that could possibly be interpreted as a passive construction. For example, (30) has two readings, arising from the categorical ambiguity of the word *kou*. When *kou* is interpreted as a noun meaning ‘invader’, BEI is interpreted as a transitive verb. (30) is interpreted according to the Reading A. When *kou* is interpreted as a verb meaning ‘to invade’, BEI becomes a passive marker. Accordingly, (30) has Reading B.

(30) 國新被寇，使者行矣。

(*Shiji* 113 EMC)

Guo xin        bei        kou,        shizhe xing    yi.  
state recently   suffer/be   invader/invoke   envoy move   ASP

Reading A: 'The state recently suffered invasions. The envoys have been sent out.'

Reading B: 'The state was recently invaded. The envoys have been sent out.'

(31) shows that *kou* is indeed ambiguous between a noun and a verb in the Western Han period.

Therefore, the syntactic ambiguity of (31) between a transitive verb construction and a passive construction arises from the categorical ambiguity of the word that follows BEI. In later subsections, I will argue that it is this categorical ambiguity that motivated the reanalysis of the transitive BEI construction as the BEI passives. However, because of the ambiguity of sentences like (31), one could not simply classify them as agentless BEI passives.

(31) a. 不能下，乃寇入邊而去。

(*Shiji* 110 EMC)

bu    neng    xia,    nai    kou ru    bian    er    qu.  
NEG be.able.to conquer then   invade.into   frontier CONJ   leave

'(They) were not able to conquer (the inland cities). (They) invaded into the frontier and left.'

b. 邊城少寇，安用之？

(*Shiji* 39 EMC)

Bian cheng shao kou, an yong zhi?

frontier city lack invader where appoint 3.ACC

‘There are few invaders near the frontier cities. Where (do you) appoint him (as the general)?’

In the Eastern Han period, cases of the transitive BEI construction were still found in texts, as shown in (32). In addition, there were many cases of the ambiguous BEI constructions, as in (33).

(32) 今天下頗被疾疫之災。

(*Hanshu* 8 EMC)

Jin tianxia po bei jiyi zhi zai.

now state quite suffer disease GEN disaster

‘Now the state suffers a lot from the disaster caused by diseases.’

(33) 父兄被誅，子弟怨憤。

(*Hanshu* 28.2 EMC)

Fu xiong bei zhu zi di yuan fen.

father elder.brother BEI kill, son younger.brother resent angry

‘The fathers and the elder brothers were killed. The sons and the younger brothers resented this and became angry.’

However, there are two cases of BEI constructions in which the word following BEI is unambiguously a verb found in *Hanshu*, as shown in (28) and (29). In (28), *li* is a verb meaning



‘to appoint somebody as the crown prince’. In contemporary texts, I have not found any use of this *li* as a noun. In addition, the lack of adversative sense of the BEI in (34) also indicates that grammaticalization has taken place since the transitive *bei* means ‘to suffer’. Similarly, in (29), *fangqi* is a compound verb meaning ‘to abandon’. It was exclusively used as a verb in Middle Chinese. Further support for the verbal status of these words comes from Wei’s (2003: 77) observation that categorical ambiguity<sup>38</sup> has declined in Middle Chinese.

(34) 即位二年，子懿公被立。 (Hanshu 21.2 EMC)

Jiwei er nian, zi Yi Gong bei li.

enthronement two year, son Yi Gong be appoint

‘In the second year after (his) enthronement. (His) son Yi Gong was appointed as the crown prince.’

(35) 皆老被放棄。 (Hanshu 60 EMC)

Jie lao bei fangqi.

All old be abandon

‘All (of them) were abandoned after they got old.’

Since the word that follows BEI is a verb, the sentences above can only be interpreted as passives. Thus, these examples show that the grammaticalization of BEI from a transitive verb into a passive marker was completed in Eastern Han, more precisely at the time of *Hanshu*

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<sup>38</sup> Wei (2003) suggests that the decline is due to the loss of category-changing morphology. Readers are referred to Wei’s (2003) paper for a detailed discussion.

(roughly 2<sup>nd</sup> C.CE). In the following subsection when I discuss the syntactic behavior and structure of agentless BEI passives, I will exclusively use examples from the Six Dynasties period (3<sup>rd</sup> C.CE ~ 6<sup>th</sup> C.CE).

### 3.3 The syntactic structure of agentless BEI passives

In this section, I discuss the syntactic structure of the agentless BEI passives in Middle Chinese. I argue that BEI is lower than various functional items generally found in the clausal domain (CP and TP layers). The tests are similar to the ones I used when I discussed the structure of JIAN passives in the previous chapter. Based on these observations, I propose that BEI is a defective passive *v*.

First, BEI always follows temporal adverbs, which are assumed to adjoin to TPs in Aldridge (2013b), in Middle Chinese. This suggests that BEI is likely to be lower than [Spec, TP].

(36) 昨被召來，今卻得還。

(*Xinji Soushenji* 15 MC)

Zuo                      bei zhao              lai      jin      que de huan.

yesterday              be summon      come      today      but can return

‘Yesterday (I) was summoned here. But today I was able to return.’

Similar to JIAN, BEI also follows the modal *jiang*, which is argued to be a T head in Aldridge (2010). This indicates that BEI is lower than T.

(37) 張遼等又將被召。

(*Sanguo Zhi* 15 MC)

Zhang Liao deng            jiang   you   jiang   bei   zhao.

Zhang Liao and.so.on      general again   will   be   summon

‘Generals such as Zhang Liao will be summoned up again.’

Third, BEI always follows the subject-oriented quantifier *jie*. In the previous chapter, I showed that *jie* is located outside the *vP* below TP. The fact that *jie* always precedes BEI in Middle Chinese further suggests that BEI is likely located in the *vP* domain.

(38) 人當時無名，後皆被知遇。

(*Shishuo xinyu* 7 MC)

Ren            dang   shi      wu            ming,            hou            jie bei zhiyu.

people        at            time   not.have reputation,   afterwards   all be promote

‘Some people did not have reputation in the past. But afterwards all (of them) were promoted.’

The final piece of evidence comes from the relative order between BEI and the aspectual negator *wei*. As Hsieh (2001) argues, aspectual negators are Neg heads which are higher than the *vP*. This again shows that in Middle Chinese, BEI is lower than *vP*-external functional elements.

(39) 初未被用，後乃除為郎中。

(*Houhan Shu* 26 MC)

Chu           wei   bei yong,       hou           nai   chu   wei   Langzhong  
initial       not.have be appoint   afterwards   then   assign be   Langzhong

‘Initially, (he) had not been appointed to a position. Then afterwards, he was assigned as the officer of *langzhong*.’

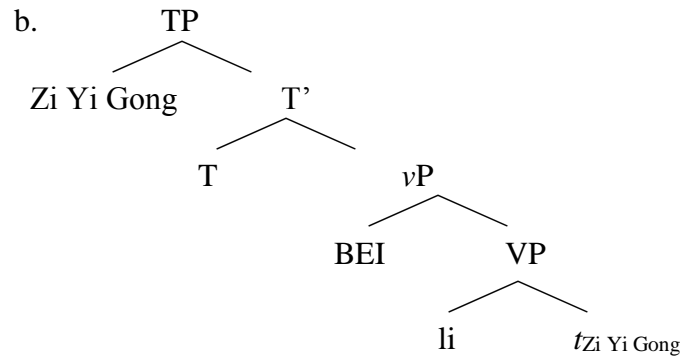
Based on the evidence above, one can conclude that in Middle Chinese BEI is located lower than TP. Given the fact that BEI always precedes the main verb in the sentence, I propose that BEI is a defective passive light verb. The Middle Chinese agentless BEI passive has the structure in (40b). It should be noted that this structure is essentially the same as the JIAN passives. Under this analysis, the passive subject is base-generated as the internal argument of the main verb. It moves to [Spec, TP] because the defective  $\nu$  BEI is not able to check its  $\phi$ -features and license it with accusative case.

(40) a. 子懿公被立。

(*Hanshu* 21.2 EMC)

zi Yi Gong   bei       li.  
son Yi Gong be appoint

‘His son Yi Gong was appointed as the crown prince.’



In the next subsection, I discuss the transitive from transitive BEI constructions to agentless BEI passives.

### 3.4 From transitive BEI to passive BEI

In this subsection, I propose that the reanalysis from the transitive BEI construction into the passive BEI construction was triggered when the transitive *bei* selected a bare noun as its complement that could be easily interpreted as a verb rather than a noun. As shown in (41), a transitive BEI meaning suffer is able to take a bare noun as its complement. *Zai* ‘disaster’ was used purely as a noun in Archaic and Early Middle Chinese.

(41) 伏見被災之郡。

(*Hou hanshu* Liezhuan 22 MC)

Fu jian bei    zai      zhi    jun.

Fu see suffer disaster GEN    county

‘Fu saw counties that suffered disaster.’

When the transitive BEI ‘suffer’ takes a bare noun that is ambiguous between a noun and a verb, such construction is ambiguous between a transitive verb construction and a semantic incorporation construction. This reanalysis process is very similar to the one for the JIAN passive in Archaic Chinese (cf. Chapter 3 Subsection 2.3). As I have mentioned subsection 1.3.2, in the Western and Eastern Han period, there are a lot of examples in which a bare noun was selected as the complement of a transitive *bei* (42). I propose that such constructions are the strongly P-ambiguous P-expressions that facilitated the reanalysis from the transitive BEI construction to the agentless BEI passive. Similar to the transitive JIAN construction in Archaic Chinese, the semantic incorporation structure (43a) is proposed to account for the A Reading in (42). The passive reading (Reading B) is achieved through treating BEI as a passive light verb (43b).

(42) 地踔遠，人民希，數被寇。 (Shiji 113 EMC)

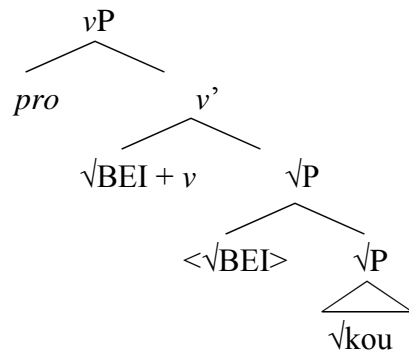
Di chuoyuan, renmin xi, shuo bei kou.

place far.away, people sparse, frequent BEI invasion/invade

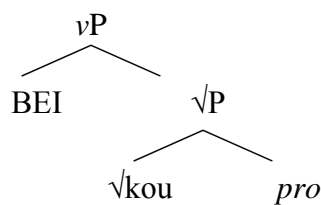
Reading A: (This) place is remote. Its people are sparse. **It frequently suffered from invasion.**

Reading B: (This) place is remote. Its people are sparse. **It was frequently invaded in the past.**

(43) a.



b.



Before I discuss the transition from (43a) to (43b), let me justify the semantic incorporation approach to Reading A. Following Higginbotham (1987) Greenhoven (1998) and Mathieu (2004), the major property of the incorporated nominal is that it lacks referentiality and it is low in individuation. (43a) accounts for Bennett (1981) and Yao's (1999) interpretation of Middle Chinese transitive *bei* construction. In Minimalist terms, their interpretation is that the complement of *bei* lacks referentiality. As Chomsky (2015: 405 - 407) proposes, referentiality is a property of linguistic expressions that enables them to point to some existing entity in a given context or discourse. Chen (2009) argues that Chinese bare NPs are non-referential when 'they refer to a sub-set of the background set rather than a specific individual entity in the set' (Chen 2009: 1658). Therefore, the semantic incorporation approach predicts that the complement of *bei* does not refer to a specific individual. This prediction is borne out. (44) is the context for (42). As the contexts show, both sentences describe the region of *Yan*. (44) provides the geographic information. (42) provides information about its population and security status. In (42) *kou* refers

to a more generic interpretation of ‘invasion’ rather than a specific invasion that happened to *Yan*. In other words, this sentence indicates that since *Yan* is remote and low in population (i.e. having less people to defend it), it is prone to suffer from invasion. In this sense, this bare NP *kou* is non-referential.

(44) 燕亦勃、碣之閒一都會也。南通齊、趙東北邊胡。 (Shiji Liezhuan 69 EMC)

Yan yi Bo Jie zhi jian yi duhui ye.

Yan also Bo Jie GEN between one region NMLZ

Nan tong qi zhao, dong bei bian hu.

south connect Qi Zhao east north border Hu

‘Yan is also a region between Bo and Jie. It connects to Qi and Zhao in the south. Its northeastern part borders Hu.’

Let us continue the discussion of the syntactic change from (43a) to (43b). The parametric difference between (43a) and (43b) is whether the functional feature F on the light verb is realized in PF through the Internal Merge (43a) or the External Merge (43b) of BEI. First language learners then face the P-ambiguity shown in (43). According to Roberts and Roussou (2003) and Roberts (2007), they will opt for the less marked representation in the process of acquisition. As I have discussed in Chapter 1 and Chapter 3, Internal Merge is considered to be more marked than External Merge, as more formal features are involved in Internal Merge. Consequently, with respect to (43), the first language learners will opt for (43b) over (43a), as the F feature of the light verb in (43b) is realized via the External Merge of BEI. Under such circumstances, the transitive BEI construction was reanalyzed into the agentless BEI passive.



BEI was thus grammaticalized from a root into a categorizing head light verb. The historical development discussed above is summarized as follows:

- (45) i. Structural Change:  $[_{vP} v + \text{BEI } [_{\sqrt{P}} <\sqrt{\text{BEI}}> \sqrt{X}]] > [_{vP} \text{BEI } [_{\sqrt{P}} \sqrt{X}]]$
- ii. Parametric Change:  $v^*_{\text{Internal Merge}} > v^*_{\text{External Merge}}$
- iii. Cause: Interpretation that allows for semantic incorporation in certain BEI constructions

In conclusion, in this subsection, I discussed the development of the agentless BEI passives in Middle Chinese. I proposed that the agentless BEI passives developed from the transitive BEI construction in Archaic Chinese and Early Middle Chinese. Essentially, the grammaticalization of BEI was motivated by the categorical ambiguity of its complement. In the next section, I discuss the transition from JIAN passives to BEI passives in Middle Chinese.

#### 4. From JIAN passives to BEI passives

In this section I discuss the transition from the JIAN passive to the BEI passive. In subsection 1.1, I have shown that the agentless BEI passives became popular in Middle Chinese while the JIAN passives declined. This trend has been noted by several other linguists (see Wang 1958, Bennet 1981 among others). My survey also confirms this general trend, see the table in (46) and (47).

(46) the distribution of the JIAN passive and the BEI passive in Middle Chinese indigenous texts

Text	Date	JIAN passives	BEI passives
Shi ji	Western Han 202 BCE ~ 8 CE	71	17
Xin shu		3	3
Huainanzi		3	5
Yantie lun		13	6
Total occurrences		90	31
Percentage		74.3%	25.7%
Wuyue chunqiu	Eastern Han 25 ~ 220 CE	12	5
Han shu		53	16
Lun heng		57	8
Total occurrences		122	29
Percentage		80.8%	19.2%
Sanguo zhi	Six Dynasties 3 <sup>rd</sup> C.CE ~ 6 <sup>th</sup> C.CE	138	59
Baopuzi neipian		9	3
Xinjiao soushenji		5	12
Shishuo xinyu		7	30
Nanqi shu		127	11
Gaoseng zhuan		33	48
Guanshiyin Yingyan ji		9	22
Song shu (Vol. 81 ~ 90)		48	31
Luoyang qielan ji		1	5
Yanshi jiaxun		5	18
Total occurrences		222	154
Percentage		59%	41%

(47) the distribution of the JIAN passive and the BEI passive in Middle Chinese Buddhist texts

Text	Date	JIAN passives	BEI passives
Zhongbenqi jing	Eastern Han 25 ~ 220 CE	3	0
Daoxing bore jing		0	0
Liuduji jing		8	4
Pusa benyuan jing		1	1
Total occurrences		12	5
Percentage		70.6%	29.4%
Sheng jing	Six Dynasties 3 <sup>rd</sup> C.CE ~ 6 <sup>th</sup> C.CE	9	8
Zhengfahua jing		17	10
Baiyu jing		0	6
Chuyao jing		8	43
Dazhuangyanlun jing		3	25
Fobenxingji jing		2	127
Total occurrences		39	217
Percentage		15.2%	84.8%

The distribution of the two passive forms in both indigenous texts and Buddhist texts shows that they were in competition in Middle Chinese. In the Han (Eastern and Western) period, the JIAN passive was more popular than the BEI passive. However, entering the Six Dynasties period, the BEI passive gradually outnumbered the JIAN passive. Toward the end of the Six Dynasties period, the BEI passive has become the more popular one. There are, however, two texts, *Nanqi shu* and *Song shu*, to be noticed. In their contemporary texts, the BEI passive has already outnumbered the JIAN passive. But in these two texts, the JIAN passive is still the dominant one. I will give an explanation to this exception later in the discussion.

Based on the discussion in subsection 2.3 Chapter 2 and subsection 3.3 in this chapter, the syntactic structures of a JIAN passive and a BEI passive are identical, as shown in (48). In this sense, the JIAN passive is the precursor of the BEI passive. Both involve a defective passive light verb, which is not able to Agree with the internal argument. The internal argument in turn

Agrees with T and moves to [Spec, TP]. The two passive constructions are only different with respect to the phonological realization of the passive light verb: in (48a), it is realized as JIAN while in (48b) BEI is the realization. In terms of Distributed Morphology (DM), which is discussed in Subsection 2.2 in Chapter 1, these two passive constructions are identical in Narrow Syntax. The passive light verbs in these two constructions have the same set of formal features. They diverge in their mapping to the Phonological Form. In other words, they have different phonological expressions inserted.

In addition, I also want to point out that both constructions developed from a transitive verb construction. Their reanalysis processes are parallel. In this sense, the JIAN passive and the agentless BEI passive can be viewed as two forms of a recurring pattern of the monoclausal passive from Late Archaic Chinese to Modern Mandarin.

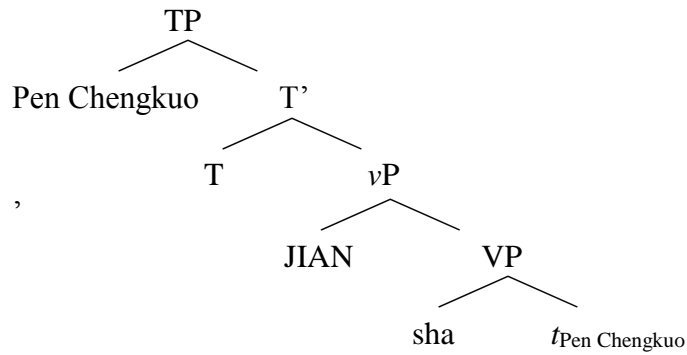
(48) a. 盆成括見殺

(*Mencius* 16 LAC)

Pen Chengkuo jian sha

Pen Chengkuo JIAN kill

‘Pen Chengkuo was killed.’



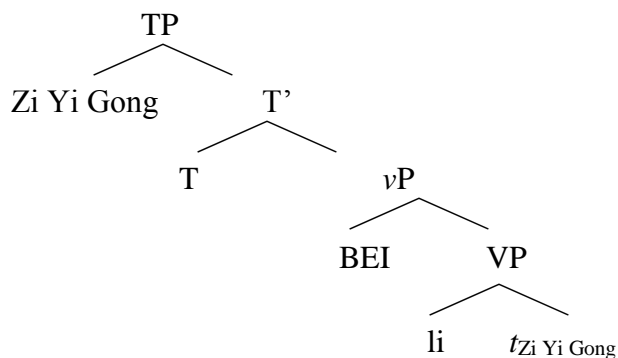
b. 子懿公被立

(*Hanshu* 21.2 EMC)

zi Yi Gong bei li

son Yi Gong be appoint

‘(His) son Yi Gong was appointed as the crown prince.’



For this reason, I will not pursue a syntactic approach to account for the transition from the JIAN passive to the BEI passive. Instead, I stipulate that BEI replaced JIAN because it was more frequently used in colloquial language in Middle Chinese. Therefore, compared to JIAN, which was used in more formal settings in Middle Chinese, first language learners were more easily exposed to BEI. Therefore, BEI was gradually acquired as the sole passive marker for monoclausal passives.

Specifically, I propose here that the transition of JIAN to BEI may be attributed to stylistic preference. Recall that in the beginning of this section, I noticed that there are two exceptions, the *Nanqi shu* and the *Song shu*, in the Six Dynasties period when the BEI passive outnumbered the JIAN passive. The number of JIAN passives in these two texts exceeds the number of BEI passives. These two texts are different from the other contemporary texts listed in the table in that they are works of official history compiled by scholars under the order of the emperor. They reflect a more formal style in comparison to the other listed works, which are more colloquial (Tang and Zhou 1985). For example, among these more colloquial works, *Shishuo xinyu* is a compilation of historical anecdotes. Dong (2007) proposes that compared to the official history style (*shizhuan ti* 史傳體), *Shishuo xinyu* takes a more innovative style which includes many contemporary colloquial feature. *Yanshi jiaxun* is a collection of Yan Tuizhi's (Yanshi) quotations. *Gaoseng zhuan* is a compilation of Buddhist monks' anecdotes. Bao (2004) has done a study in the lexicon used in *Gaoseng zhuan*. He concludes that colloquial expressions were frequently used in *Gaoseng zhuan*.

Therefore, I suggest that the innovative BEI was used in more colloquial settings in Middle Chinese while JIAN was used in more literary works. Consequently, first language learners have greater chances to be exposed to BEI than to JIAN, since BEI was preferred in casual, informal, daily speech. Gradually, BEI became the passive marker in JIAN's stead.

In sum, in this section I propose that the transition from JIAN to BEI passives in Middle Chinese did not involve syntactic changes. This transition was a case of competition between two instances of phonological realizations of the same passive light verb. BEI eventually won over JIAN in the competition. I further proposed that the reason that BEI survives is that it was

preferred in colloquial settings in Middle Chinese. First language learners are more likely to acquire BEI as the primary passive marker since they are first exposed to colloquial speech.

## 5. Conclusion

In this chapter, I accounted for the diachronic development of Chinese monoclausal passives in the Middle Chinese period. I proposed that the decline of the YU construction is due to the lexical change undergone by YU. Specifically, in Middle Chinese, YU started to lose its status as an agent-introducing preposition. The reanalysis from the transitive BEI construction into the agentless BEI passive is triggered by the interpretation that allows for semantic incorporation in certain transitive BEI constructions. In the absence of such cues, the semantic incorporation structure of these transitive BEI constructions was reanalyzed as an agentless BEI passive. I proposed the development from the JIAN passive to the agentless BEI passive is not due to P-ambiguity. Instead, the two constructions belong to the same recurring pattern of the monoclausal passive from Late Archaic Chinese to Modern Mandarin. The competition is between two phonological realizations of the passive light verb: JIAN and BEI. BEI was favored because it was preferred in colloquial settings in Middle Chinese. Thus it has a higher chance to be acquired as a passive marker by first language learners.

# *Chapter 5*

反聽之謂聰，內視之謂明，自勝之謂強。

——《史記 商君列傳》



## Chapter 5

This chapter analyzes the development of Chinese biclausal passive constructions. I will propose that the Chinese biclausal passives originate from the WEI construction (1a) in Archaic Chinese (10<sup>th</sup> C. BCE - 3<sup>rd</sup> C. BCE). The WEI construction was replaced by the WEI...SUO passive (1b) in Early Middle Chinese (2<sup>nd</sup> C. BCE - 2<sup>nd</sup> C. CE). The long passive construction (1c) replaced the WEI...SUO passive in Late Middle Chinese (7<sup>th</sup> C. CE - 10<sup>th</sup> C. CE).

(1) a. 而身為宋國笑。 (Hanfeizi 49 LAC)

er shen wei Song guo xiao.

and himself WEI Song state laugh

‘... and himself was laughed at by the State of Song.’

b. 負石自投於河，為河鰲所食。 (Zhuangzi, Daozhi LAC)

fu shi zi tou yu he wei hebie suo shi.

bear rock self throw into river WEI tortoise SUO eat

“(He), bearing a rock, threw himself into the river. (he) was eaten by a tortoise.”

- c. Zhangsan            bei     Lisi    piping le.  
 Zhangsan            BEI    Lisi    criticize ASP  
 ‘Zhangsan was criticized by Lisi.’

I will propose that the WEI construction in Archaic Chinese is a copula construction. The WEI is a copula verb which selects a nominal complement (2a). The structure of the WEI...SUO passive in Middle Chinese is analyzed as a nested- $\nu$ P construction (2b)<sup>39</sup>. I account for the diachronic change from the WEI construction to the WEI...SUO passive as a case of Relabeling in the sense of Whitman (2000). Specifically, the categorial feature of the little  $n$  in the WEI construction changed from  $n$  to  $\nu$ . Consequently, the complement of WEI was reanalyzed as verbal.

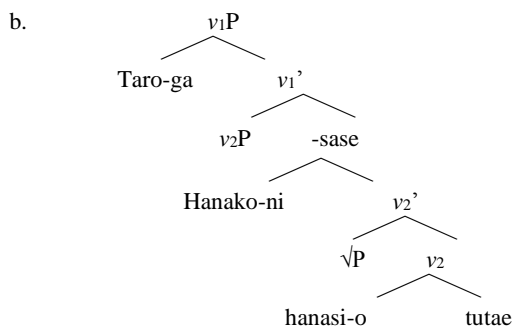
<sup>39</sup> The nested  $\nu$ P construction is in the sense of Harley (2008), which I have discussed in Chapter 1. I repeat the relevant discussion here:

Harley (2008) proposes that the biclausal properties of Japanese productive causative constructions (ia) can be accounted for by a nested  $\nu$ P construction (ib). In (ib), the causative light verb *-sase* selects a second  $\nu$ P, which is viewed as the embedded clause in the Japanese productive causatives. The causee is merged as the external argument of the second  $\nu$ P, which conveys the event that was caused by Taro.

- (i) a. Taro-o-ga Hanako-ni hanasi-o tutae-sase-ta

Taro-N Hanako-D story-A convey-CAUS-PST

‘Taro made Hanako convey a story.’



(Harley 2008: 31)

(2) a. WEI construction:

$$[_{VP} \text{ WEI } [_{VP} <\text{WEI}> [_{DP} D [_{nP} \text{ Agent } [_{n'} n [_{\sqrt{P}} \sqrt{\phantom{x}} ]]]]]]]]$$

b. WEI...SUO passive:

$$[_{TP} \text{ Matrix Subj}_i [_{VP} \text{ WEI } [_{VP} <\text{WEI}> [_{VP} \text{ Op}_i [_{VP} \text{ Agent } [_{v'} \text{ SUO } [_{\sqrt{P}} \sqrt{\phantom{x}} <\text{Op}_i>]]]]]]]]]$$

Finally, I will propose that the Modern Mandarin long passive has a same syntactic structure as the WEI...SUO passive (3). The diachronic change from the WEI...SUO passive to the long passive involves the dropping of SUO, which was caused by the general sound change in Early Middle Chinese. After the loss of SUO, WEI was replaced by BEI.

(3) Long passive:

$$[_{TP} \text{ Matrix Subj}_i [_{VP} \text{ BEI } [_{VP} \text{ Op}_i [_{VP} \text{ Agent } [_{v'} [_{\sqrt{P}} \sqrt{\phantom{x}} <\text{Op}_i>]]]]]]]$$

I start this chapter with an analysis of the syntactic structures of the WEI construction in Archaic Chinese (Section 1). Section 2 is my analysis of the structure of the WEI...SUO passive in Middle Chinese. I address the diachronic change from the WEI construction to the WEI...SUO passive in Section 3. Section 4 concerns the historical development from the WEI...SUO passive to the long passive. In Section 5, I discuss why the monoclausal BEI passive (short passive) is not a source for the long passive. Section 6 concludes this chapter.

## 1. The WEI construction in Archaic Chinese

In this section, I discuss the structure of the WEI construction in Archaic Chinese. Examples of the WEI construction are shown in (4). As (4b) shows, the passive subject is followed by a functional morpheme WEI, which in turn is followed by the agent *Songguo* ‘the State of Song’. The main verb comes after the agent. Sometimes the agent is not present in a WEI construction, as in (4a). In such cases, the main verb immediately follows WEI. In this chapter, this type of WEI construction is referred to as an agentless WEI construction. The type in (4b) is referred to as an agentive WEI construction. I refer to both types in (4) when I use the term ‘the WEI construction’.

(4) a. 厚者為戮。

(*Hanfeizi* 12 LAC)

Hou                      zhe      wei      lu.

honest                      ZHE      WEI      lu

‘Those who were honest were killed.’

b. 而身為宋國笑。

(*Hanfeizi* 49 LAC)

er   shen                      wei      Song guo      xiao.

and himself                      WEI      Song state      laugh

‘... and himself was laughed at by the State of Song.’

I will propose that the WEI in Archaic Chinese WEI constructions is not a passive auxiliary, contrary to the view in Ma (1898), Wang (1958), Chou (1961), Peyraube (1989) and Pulleyblank (1995). Following Wei (1994), I analyze WEI as a copula verb which takes a nominal complement. In other words, the WEI construction in Archaic Chinese is a copula construction. In the next subsection, I review the previous analyses of the WEI construction in Archaic Chinese.

## 1.1 Literature Review

There are two main approaches to the WEI construction in the literature. The first type, which I call the passive approach, argues that the WEI construction in Archaic Chinese is a passive construction. The WEI is a passive auxiliary. The second approach, which I call the copula approach, treats WEI as a copula verb which takes a nominal complement. I start with a discussion of the passive approach.

### 1.1.1 The passive approach

Ma (1898), Wang (1958), Chou (1961), Peyraube (1989) and Pulleyblank (1995) analyze WEI as a passive auxiliary which selects the main VP as its complement. Translating this view into Minimalist Syntax, the passive approach proposes that WEI is a passive light verb selecting the main VP. Therefore, (4a) is analyzed as (5b). In this clause, *houzhe* ‘honest people’ is base generated as the complement of the main verb *lu* ‘kill’. The main VP merges with the passive light verb WEI. Since WEI is defective, it is not able to establish an Agree relation with the

internal argument. Therefore, the internal argument agrees with the T head. It further moves to [Spec, TP] to check the EPP feature.

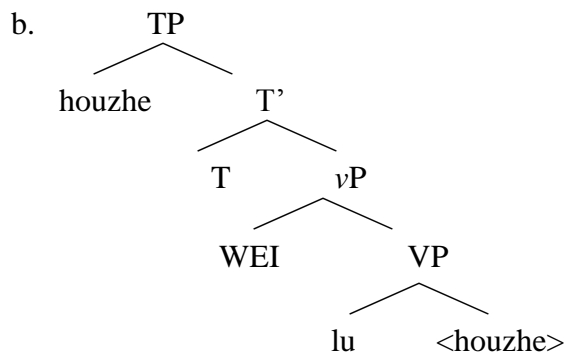
(5) a. 厚者為戮。

(*Hanfeizi* 12 LAC)

Hou                      zhe      wei      lu.

honest      ZHE   WEI   lu

‘Those who were honest were killed.’



Treating WEI as a passive auxiliary is not unproblematic. The first obvious problem for this approach is the agent in the agentive WEI construction. Since WEI is a passive light verb, it should not be able to take an external argument. This is discussed in Subsection 2.1.4 Chapter 1. Ma (1898) and Wang (1958) have not explicitly spelled out an analysis of the external argument. They simply state the fact that the agent can appear between WEI and the main verb. Pulleyblank (1995) proposes that the agentive WEI construction can be treated as a type of pivot construction. In Pulleyblank’s (1995) sense, a main verb is able to take two objects in a pivot

construction. The first object is a noun or a pronoun. The second object is an embedded clause. The first object serves as the object of the main verb. At the same time it also serves as the subject in the embedded clause. For example, in (6), the first object *ren* ‘people’ is the object of the main verb *shi* ‘sent, make’. It also serves as the subject of the embedded clause *ren lai* ‘people come’. In this sense, the first object functions like a pivot in the construction.

(6) 王使人來。

(*Mencius* 2.2 EAC Pulleyblank 1995: 40)

Wang [<sub>VP</sub> shi [<sub>CP</sub> **ren**] lai].

king    make        people come

‘The king sent someone to come.’

Based on Pulleyblank’s (1995) analysis, an agentive WEI construction is analyzed as in (7). The pivot object *Songguo* ‘the State of Song’ is in bold. It is simultaneously the object of WEI and the subject of the embedded clause *Songguo xiao* ‘Songguo laugh’.

(7) 身為宋國笑。

(*Hanfeizi* 49 LAC)

[[NP shen]            [VP wei            [CP **Songguo**            xiao ]].

himself            WEI            Song state            laugh

‘... himself was laughed at by the State of Song.’

Let me first comment on Pulleyblank’s (1995) approach. Pulleyblank (1995) argues that WEI is a passive auxiliary. It is not clear how a passive auxiliary can function as a main verb, like *shi* ‘make’, to take a pivot object. In addition, Pulleyblank (1995) does not explain how the matrix subject is interpreted as the object of the embedded verb. I will come back to this point in a moment.

Since Ma (1898) and Wang (1958)’s passive approach has not explicitly proposed an analysis for the external argument. Let me explore the possibility of having an external argument when WEI is the passive auxiliary. I translate their approach wherever necessary into Minimalism. We can assume that the agent is base-generated in [Spec, *v*P], as shown in (8b). The passive approach is not able to account for the word order of the agentive WEI construction. This is because that the agent between WEI and the verb blocks A-movement of the object to [Spec, TP]. To achieve the word order in (8a), I further assume that the WEI is base-generated in T as a passive auxiliary (in 7b it is T).



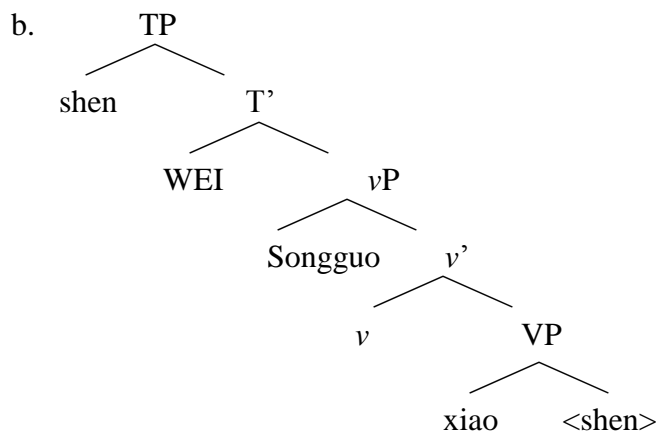
(8) a. 而身為宋國笑。

(*Hanfeizi* 49 LAC)

er shen                      wei    Song guo      xiao.

and himself                      WEI Song state      laugh

‘... and himself was laughed at by the State of Song.’



Since WEI is a passive light verb, it is not able to license Case on the internal argument. The internal argument *shen* ‘self’ has to agree with a higher probe T. However, this Agree relation cannot be sustained because of the external argument *Songguo*. Let us review the definition of Agree mentioned in Chapter 1, repeated here as (9).

## (9) Agree

An unvalued feature F (a *probe*) on a head H scans its c-command domain for another instance of F (a *goal*) with which to agree. If the goal has a value, its value is assigned as the value of the probe (and the unvalued feature is deleted).

(Pesetsky and Torrego 2004: 2 see also: Chomsky 2000, 2001)

Based on (9), in (8b) the probe is the unvalued  $\phi$ -features on T. There are two potential goals in (8b): the valued  $\phi$ -features on the external argument *Songguo* or the ones on the internal argument *shen*. Both are in the probe's c-command domain. However, as (8b) shows, the external argument is closer to the probe than the internal argument. Therefore, the probe will agree with the external argument. After this agree relation, the unvalued  $\phi$ -features on T is valued. The external argument is licensed with Nominative Case by the probe T. It further moves to [Spec, TP] to check T's EPP feature. Since the probe T has valued all its unvalued features, it will not probe further to agree with the internal argument. In this way, the passive approach is not able to explain the word order in (8a). In addition, the derivation will crash because that the internal argument is left in its base position without Case.

Having discussed the blocking of the internal argument by the external argument, let me point out one more problem for Pulleyblank's (1995) pivot approach. In the earlier discussion, I pointed out that Pulleyblank (1995) does not explain why the matrix subject in an agentive WEI construction is interpreted as the object in the embedded clause. One way to achieve this interpretation is to propose that this object moves to the matrix subject position. However, based on the discussion above, this movement cannot be achieved. The reason is that, translating into

Minimalism, the pivot object would agree with the matrix T first, blocking the movement of the object in the embedded clause.

Peyraube (1989) takes another approach to the external argument in the agentive WEI construction by proposing that the WEI in agentive WEI constructions is a preposition, similar to the *by* in English passive constructions. WEI thus forms a PP with the agent. In this way, the agent is not introduced as an argument. The aforementioned problems about licensing the passive voice are avoided. However, Peyraube's (1989) approach raises other problems. First, the role of the WEI in the agentless WEI construction is not clear. If WEI is a preposition, in what way could it mark passive voice in the agentless WEI constructions (cf. 4a)? To address this problem, Peyraube (1989) further proposes that the WEI in the agentless WEI constructions is a passive auxiliary while in the agentive WEI construction, it is a preposition. This proposal provides little explanatory power because the agentive WEI construction still needs a passive marker. In this construction, WEI is not a candidate since it is only an agent-introducing preposition.

Aside from how passive voice in the agentive WEI construction is marked, treating WEI as an agent-introducing preposition is still questionable. As I have argued in Chapter 3, in Archaic Chinese, YU is an agent-introducing preposition in Archaic Chinese. It is able to introduce an agent to the unaccusative verb construction (10a) or to the JIAN passive (10b).

(10) a. 身不肖而令行者，助於眾。

(*Hanfeizi* 40 LAC)

shen bu xiao er ling xing zhe, zhu yu zhong.

self not worthy but order practice DET help YU others

‘Those who are unworthy but get their orders practiced are helped by others’

b. 故堯非有人，非見有於人也。

(*Zhuangzi* 20 LAC)

Gu Yao fei you ren, fei jian you yu ren ye.

Thus Yao NEG enslave people, NEG JIAN enslave by people NMLZ

‘Therefore Yao does not enslave people nor is he used by others.’

Peyraube (1989) predicts that WEI is able to introduce an agent to these two constructions as well, since WEI is argued to be an agent-introducing preposition. One can argue that the agentless WEI construction is an instance of the unaccusative verb construction. The real problem lies in the JIAN passives. In my survey, the agent in Archaic Chinese JIAN passives was never introduced by WEI. This is confirmed by other analyses on Archaic Chinese passive constructions (Ma 1898, Wang 1958, Wei 1994, Pulleyblank 1995 among others). The agent in the JIAN passive was always introduced by YU. Peyraube (1989) also mentions this point. Thus, in order to propose that WEI is an agent-introducing preposition, one has to explain why it was completely blocked in the Archaic Chinese JIAN passives.<sup>40</sup>

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<sup>40</sup> Peyraube (1989) also fails to explain the discrepancy that the YU-NP follows the verb while the WEI-NP precedes the verb.

Yet another problem for the passive auxiliary approach is the fact that a genitive marker *zhi* may appear between the agent and the verb in WEI constructions, see (11).

- (11) a. 身死國亡，為天下之大僂。 (Xunzi Zhenglun LAC Aldridge 2013c: 15)

Shen si guo wang, wei tianxia zhi da lu.

body die nation lose WEI world GEN great ridicule

‘... to lose life and dominion and extensively made the laughing stock of the world.’

- b. 見王之親為越之擒也。 (Guoyu 19 LAC)

jian wang zhi qin wei Yue zhi qin ye.

see king GEN in.person WEI Yue GEN capture NMLZ

‘(I) see my lord himself will become Yue’s captive.’

- c. 遂為周氏之禽。 (Guanzi 52 LAC)

sui wei zhou shi zhi qin

then WEI Zhou tribe GEN captive

‘Then (he) became the tribe of Zhou’s captive.’

First, the genitive marker *zhi* is a problem for Peyraube's (1989) approach which treats WEI as a preposition. In Archaic Chinese, the complement of a preposition is never marked with genitive case, as shown in (12). In (12b), the preposition *wei* 'for' selects an third person accusative pronoun *zhi*, suggesting that the complement of a preposition is marked with Accusative Case in Archaic Chinese.

(12) a. 從臺上彈人，而觀其避丸也。 (Zuozhuan Xuan 2 EAC)

**cong** tai shang tan ren er guan qi bi wan ye.

from platform up shoot people CONJ watch 3.GEN dodge pellet NMLZ

'(The king) shoots people from the high platform. Then (he) watches them dodge the pellet.'

b. 及莊公即位，為之請制。 (Zuozhuan Yin 1 EAC)

ji Zhuanggong jiwei, **wei** zhi qing zhi.

after Zhuanggong enthrone for 3.ACC ask appanage

'After Zhuanggong became the king, (his mother) asked him for appanage for his younger brother.'

The genitive marker *zhi* remains a problem even if WEI is analyzed as a passive light verb. As mentioned above, if the agent is base generated in [Spec, *v*P], it agrees with T, blocking the Agree relation between T and the internal argument. Consequently, the agent should be licensed

with Nominative Case by T. It is not clear why this agent has Genitive Case marking (marked by the genitive marker *zhi*).

The third problem for the passive approach is the distribution of degree adverbs in the WEI construction. In WEI constructions, certain degree adverbs such as *da* ‘greatly’ appear between WEI and the verb, as shown in (13).

(13) a. 身死國亡，為天下之大僇。 (Xunzi Zhenglun LAC Aldridge 2013c: 15)

Shen	si	guo	wang,	wei	tianxia	zhi	<b>da</b>	lu.
body	die	nation	lose	WEI	world	GEN	great	ridicule

‘... to lose life and dominion and be extensively made the laughing stock of the world.’

Since the passive approach assumes that WEI is a passive light verb, it should behave similarly to another Archaic Chinese passive auxiliary, JIAN. We would expect that the degree adverbs have the same distribution in the WEI construction and the JIAN passive. However, degree adverbs in a JIAN passive always precede JIAN. They never appear between JIAN and the main verb, as shown in (14). (14a) is a middle Chinese example. There is no example of JIAN passives in Archaic Chinese in which *da* ‘greatly’ was used to modify the main verb. (14b) is an Archaic Chinese example. A similar degree adverb *shen* ‘deeply’ is used.

(14) a. 於中路逢一鬼，大見揶揄。

(*Shishuo Xinyu* 23 MC)

yu zhong lu feng yi gui,            **da**        jian yeyu.

in middle path encounter one ghost, greatly JIAN tease

‘(He) encountered a ghost on his way. (He) was greatly teased (by the ghost).’

b. 深見侮而不崗。

(*Lüshi Chunqiu* 4 LAC)

shen jian wu er bu gang.

deeply JIAN insult but NEG angry

‘(He) was deeply insulted but (he) was not angry.’

The passive approach has to explain the different distribution of degree adverbs in the WEI construction and the JIAN passive before claiming that the WEI is a passive light verb on a par with JIAN.

In sum, the discussion in this subsection shows that the passive approach is not able to fully account for the syntactic behavior of the WEI construction in Archaic Chinese. I turn to the copula approach in the next subsection.



### 1.1.2 The copula approach

Wei (1994) and Yao (1999) propose that the WEI construction in Archaic Chinese is a copula construction. This view is based on the fact that WEI was used as a BECOME *v* copula verb, which specifically means ‘to become’, in Archaic Chinese, as shown in (15).

(15) 漢東之國，隨為大。 (Zuozhuan Huan 6 EAC)

Han dong zhi guo, Sui wei da.

Han east GEN country, Sui become big

‘(Among) the countries to the east of Han, Sui became the biggest.’

Wei (1994) does not explicitly spell out an analysis of the structure of the WEI construction. He proposed that WEI is a copula verb which means ‘be’ or ‘become’. Yao (1999) proposes that WEI is similar to modern Mandarin copula verb *shi* ‘be’. The complement of WEI is a predicate NP (*weici xing mingci duanyu* 謂詞性名詞短語). Together they form a copula construction. Translating into Minimalism, Yao’s (1999) analysis is shown in (16). According to this analysis, *lu* ‘kill’ is nominalized. It now means ‘victims’.

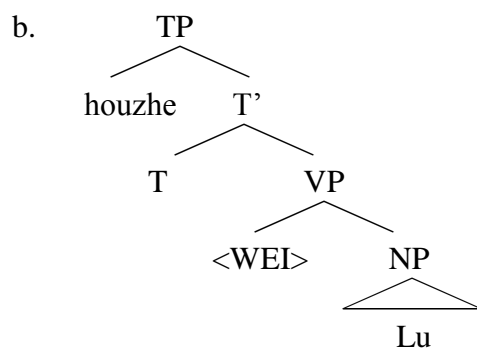
(16) a. 厚者為戮。

(*Hanfeizi* 12 LAC)

Hou        zhe    wei    lu.

honest     ZHE   WEI   lu

‘Those who were honest became victims.’



The key evidence to support the copula analysis is that a genitive marker *zhi* can appear between the agent and the verb in certain Archaic Chinese agentive WEI constructions, as shown in (17). The genitive marker shows that the complement of WEI is nominalized. Recall that the genitive marker is strong evidence against Peyraube’s (1989) preposition approach to WEI as discussed in subsection 1.1.1, since the complement of a preposition is never marked with Genitive Case in Archaic Chinese.

(17) a. 身死國亡，為天下之大僂。

(*Xunzi Zhenglun* LAC Aldridge 2013c: 15)

Shen si guo wang, wei tianxia zhi da lu.

body die nation lose WEI world GEN great ridicule

‘... to lose life and dominion and be made the laughing stock of the world.’

b. 見王之親為越之擒也。

(*Guoyu* 19 LAC)

jian wang zhi qin wei Yue zhi qin ye.

see king GEN in.person WEI Yue GEN capture NMLZ

‘(I) see my lord himself will become Yue’s captive.’

However, there are only a few examples of the WEI construction in Archaic Chinese texts which have an overt genitive marker. *zhi* does not appear between the agent and the main verb in most of the WEI constructions. Wei (1994) and Yao (1999) have not provided an explanation for this fact. I will discuss this problem in detail in the next subsection.

## 1.2 The syntactic structure of the WEI construction

In this subsection, I present my analysis of the WEI construction. Following Wei (1994) and Yao (1999), I analyze the WEI construction as a copula construction. I will show that this analysis

better accounts for the data. I will also discuss the absence of the genitive marker *zhi* in most of the WEI constructions. Let me first discuss the syntactic structure of the WEI construction.

### 1.2.1 The syntactic structure of the WEI construction

Syntactically, a WEI construction typically takes the form ‘DP + WEI + (DP) + Verb’. Adverbs precede WEI in both types of the WEI construction, as shown in (18).

(18) a. 葢叔必為戮。 (Guoyu 3 Cao LAC 2012: 56)

Changshu bi                      wei lu.

Changshu necessarily WEI kill

‘Changshu certainly was killed.’

b. 必為諸侯笑。 (Guoyu 9 LAC Cao 2012: 57)

Bi                      wei      zhuhou      xiao.

necessarily      WEI      lords      laugh

‘(It) certainly will be laughed at by the lords.’

Modals also appear in the WEI construction. Similar to the adverbs, they must precede WEI, as shown in (19).

(19) 止，將為三軍獲。

(*Zuozhuan* Xiang 18 EAC)

Zhi jiang wei san jun huo.

stop will WEI three army capture

‘(If you) stop, then (you) will be captured by the enemy.’

The WEI construction can be negated by adding a negator *bu* before WEI. Negators are not attested to follow WEI.

(20) 不為細人用。

(*Hanfeizi* 21 LAC)

Bu wei xiren yong.

NEG WEI ordinary people use

‘(It) is not used by ordinary people.’

In addition, WEI is never followed by the Archaic Chinese applicative marker YI. This indicates the lack of functional categories after WEI.

In conclusion, adverbs, modals, negators and applicative markers are not attested to follow WEI in the WEI constructions. In the next subsection, I discuss the structure of the WEI construction to account for the data presented in this subsection.

### 1.2.2 The structure of the WEI construction

Based on the discussion above, following Wei (1994) and Yao (1999), I propose that the WEI in the WEI construction is a copula verb which takes a nominal complement. Treating the complement of WEI as a nominal constituent accounts for the general absence of negators following WEI. In addition, as I will discuss later, the copula approach either avoids or solves the problems for the passive approach.

According to this analysis, a WEI construction is analyzed as in (21b). The nominal complement of WEI includes a nominal layer consisting of a DP and an *nP* layer in the sense of Abney (1987), Baker (2005, 2011), Grohmann and Panagiotidis (2009), Aldridge (2015b) and others. In this construction, *xiao*, instead of being in main verb ‘laugh at’, is treated as a noun ‘laughing stock’. I do not assume that *xiao* takes an internal argument or a gap as its complement. In other words, there is no movement out of the  $\sqrt{P}$ . The agent *zhuhou* ‘lords’ is interpreted as a possessor base generated in [Spec, *nP*]. Consequently, under my copula analysis, (21a) is interpreted as: (It) certainly will be the lords’ laughing stock.

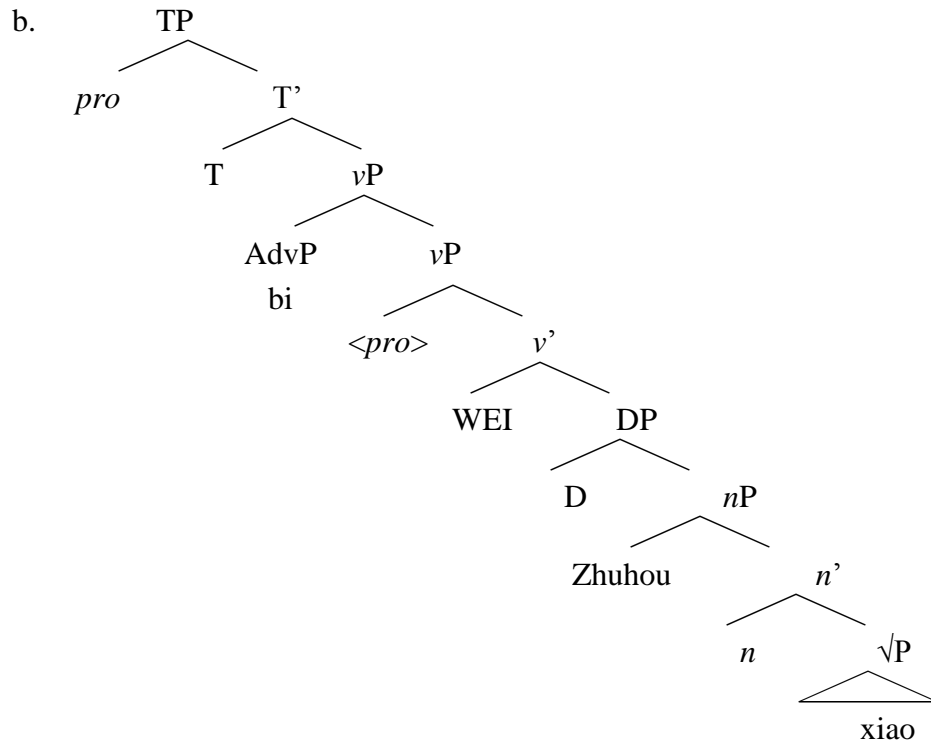
(21) a. 必為諸侯笑。

(Guoyu 9 LAC Cao 2012: 57)

Bi                      wei      zhuhou              xiao.

necessarily              WEI      lords              laugh

‘(It) certainly will become the lords’ laughing stock.’



This analysis accounts for the distribution of modals, adverbs and negators mentioned in subsection 1.2.1. Since modals are typically higher than  $vP$ , they precede WEI, which is the  $v$ . Adverbs in Archaic Chinese adjoins to  $vP$ , as exemplified by *bi* ‘certainly’ in (21b). Thus they also precede the copula verb WEI. As discussed in Chapter 3 and Chapter 4, I assume negators are introduced by a NegP which is higher than  $vP$  in Archaic Chinese. The copula analysis also accounts for the fact that WEI is always preceded by negators.

Treating the WEI construction as a copula construction also avoids the problems for the passive approach (discussed in subsection 1.1.1). First, the agent in the passive approach is now a part of the DP complement of WEI. It is not necessary now to assume that the agent is base generated in the specifier of a passive light verb which is theoretically problematic. As a part of the DP complement, the agent does not block the Agree relation between T and the matrix subject which is base-generated in [Spec,  $vP$ ]. Treating WEI as a copula verb instead of a

preposition also avoids Peyraube's (1989) dilemma of lacking a passive marker in the WEI construction. Since the WEI construction is not a passive construction, the absence of an overt passive marker is not a problem anymore.

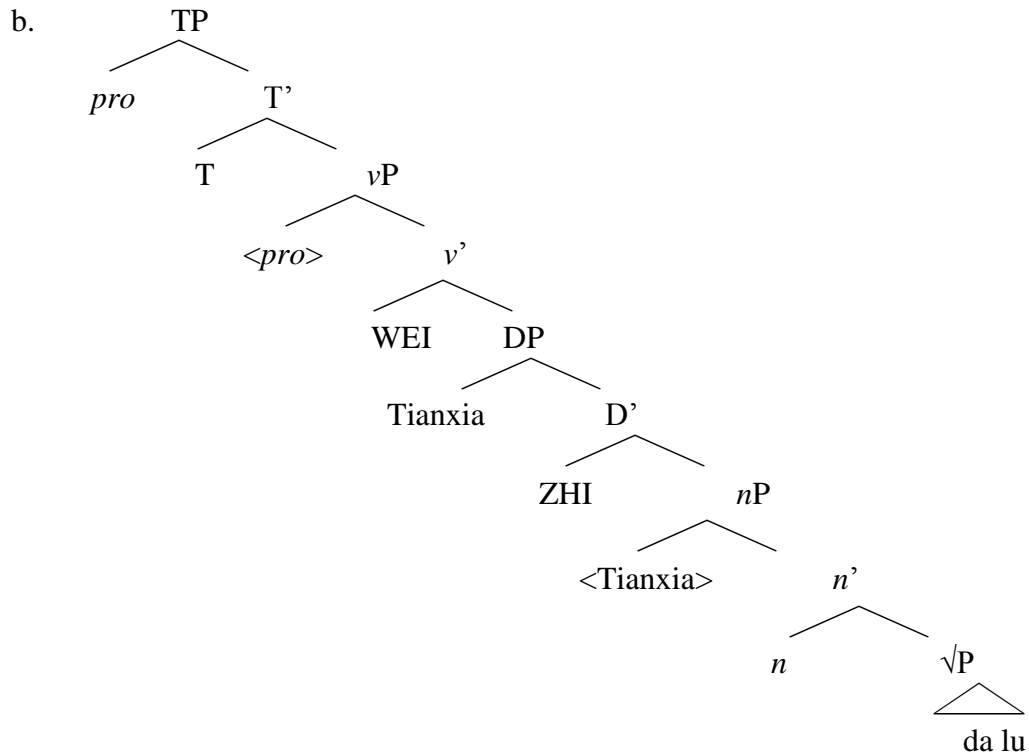
Furthermore, the genitive marker *zhi* is not a problem for the copula approach. Aldridge (2015b) proposes the genitive marker *zhi* is located in D in Archaic Chinese. Thus a WEI construction with a genitive marker *zhi* has the structure in (22). The possessor *tianxia* 'world' is base generated in [Spec, *n*P]. It moves to [Spec, DP] to check the EPP feature. The genitive marker *zhi* is located in D.

(22) a. 身死國亡，為天下之大僂。 (Xunzi Zhenglun LAC Aldridge 2013c: 15)

Shen	si	guo	wang,	<b>wei</b>	<b>tianxia</b>	<b>zhi</b>	<b>da</b>	<b>lu.</b>
body	die	nation	lose	WEI	world	GEN	great	ridicule

‘... to lose life and dominion and be made the laughing stock of the world.’





The third problem for the passive approach is the distribution of degree adverbs. The passive approach predicts that the distribution of degree adverbs in the WEI construction and the JIAN passive should be the same. However, degree adverbs can appear between WEI and the main verb in a WEI construction. In the JIAN passive, however, they always precede JIAN. The copula approach accounts for this position in the WEI construction. These so-called adverbs are now treated as adjectives in the WEI construction. As the examples in (23) show, *da* is a homophone between an adverb ‘greatly, too’ and an adjective ‘great’ in Archaic Chinese.

(23) a. 大謾願聞其要。

(*Zhuangzi* LAC 12)

**da** man yuan wen qi yao.

greatly brief want listen 3.GEN core

‘(This is) too brief. I want to learn the core idea.’

b. 大匠不為拙工改廢繩墨。

(*Mencius* LAC 7)

**da** jiang bu wei zhuo gong gai fei moshen.

great master NEG for dumb workman change break rule

‘Great masters do not change or break his own rules for inexperienced workmen.’

In the copula approach, *da* heads an adjectival phrase (AP) which adjoins to the *nP*, as shown in (24). Therefore, in the WEI construction, adjectives such as *da* appear between WEI and the main verb. Adverbs (cf. 18) precede WEI.

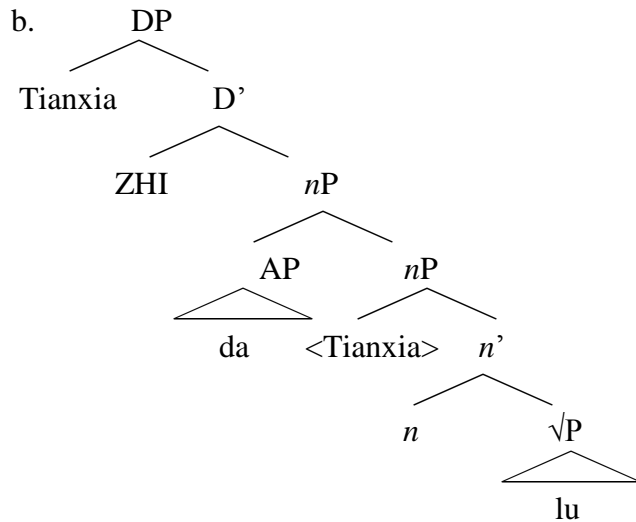
(24) a. 天下之大謬。

(*Xunzi* Zhenglun)

tianxia zhi da lu.

world GEN great ridicule

‘the great laughing stock of the world.’



In conclusion, in this subsection, I argued for the copula approach to the Archaic Chinese WEI construction. This approach accounts for the structural position of WEI discussed in Subsection 1.2.1. More importantly, the copula approach either avoids or solves the problems for the passive approach. It has clear advantages over the passive approach. In the next subsection, I will provide an explanation to the aforementioned genitive marker problem in the WEI construction.

### 1.2.3 The genitive marker *zhi*

In subsection 1.1.2, I pointed out that the problem of the presence/absence of the genitive marker *zhi* in the WEI construction has not been addressed in Wei (1994) or Yao (1999). In this section, I provide an explanation for this problem.

It has been pointed out in Zhang (1959), Wang (1965), Hong (2008, 2010) and others that the genitive marker *zhi* is not obligatory in Archaic Chinese DPs, as shown in (25). In (25a), the complement of *wen* ‘hear’ is nominalized. It contains an overt genitive marker *zhi*. On the other hand, in (25b), *zhi* is absent in the complement of *wen*.

(25) a. 又聞君子之遠其子也。

(*Analects* 20 EAC Hong 2010: 180)

You                      wen   junzi                      zhi      yuan                      qi                      zi      ye.

in.addition   hear   wise.man                      GEN   alienate                      3.GEN                      son   NMLZ

‘In addition, (I) learned that wise men are not biased toward their sons.’

b. 吾聞君子不党。

(*Analects* 7 EAC Hong 2010: 180)

Wu              wen      junzi                      bu              dang.

1.SG   hear                      wise.man                      NEG      exclude

‘I heard that wise men do not bias exclude (others).’

The examples in (25) involve the distribution of *zhi* in nominalized complement clauses. Such distribution of the genitive marker *zhi* is also observed in simple DPs which involve a noun and a possessor. In (26a), the possessor and the noun are linked by the genitive marker *zhi*. However, in (26b), from the same text *Mencius*, there is no morpheme between the possessor and the noun.

(26) a. 文王之囿方七十裡。 (Mencius Liang Hui Wang 2 EAC Aldridge 2015b: 3)

[<sub>DP</sub> Wen wang **zhi** [<sub>NP</sub> you]] fang qishi li.

Wen king ZHI park square seventy neighborhood

‘King Wen’s park was as big as 70 neighborhoods (70 square *li*).’

b. 予未得為孔子徒也。 (Mencius EAC Li Lou 2)

yu wei de wei Kongzi tu ye.

1.SG have.not be.able.to become Confucius student NMLZ

‘I have not been able to become Confucius’ student.’

Both Aldridge (2015b) and Hong (2008, 2010) account for the distribution of *zhi* in Archaic Chinese DPs with the information structure. Both of them argue that *zhi* is associated with definite or generic interpretations. Aldridge (2015b) argues that the genitive marker *zhi* is a D head in Archaic Chinese. She notes that in Archaic Chinese, only postnominal relatives without *zhi* can occur as the complement of an existential verb, as shown in (27). This can be explained by the Definiteness Restriction on existential constructions (Milsark 1974): the semantics of an existential construction is incompatible with a definite interpretation. If *zhi* is overt, a definite interpretation will be forced. Thus, only *zhi*-less postnominal relative clauses are allowed in Archaic Chinese existential constructions.

(27) 有一史後至者。

(*Zhuangzi* Quqie LAC Aldridge 2015b: 7)

You [DP<sub>[nP</sub> [yi shi] [<sub>n</sub>'[TP hou zhi] zhe]].

exist one scribe later arrive ZHE

‘There was one scribe who arrived late.’

Hong (2008, 2010) discuss the distribution of the genitive marker *zhi* in complements of perceptual verbs *zhi* ‘to know’ and *wen* ‘to hear’ in three Archaic Chinese texts, as shown in (28). He argues that a clear pattern can be found: the complement DP of *zhi* ‘to know’ typically includes the genitive marker *zhi*. On the other hand, *wen* generally takes a complement without the genitive marker *zhi*. He relates this pattern to the semantics of these two verbs. Specifically, he argues that the complement of *zhi* ‘to know’ is typically a discourse topic, which is known by both the addresser and the addressee. Therefore, the definiteness associated with the genitive marker *zhi* is compatible with the semantics of the main verb ‘to know’. However, *wen* ‘to hear’ is different. Generally speaking, the thing that is heard is typically new information that is introduced to the discourse. In other words, the complement of *wen* is typically not definite. Consequently, the genitive marker *zhi* is generally not allowed in the complement of *wen*. Therefore, the asymmetric distribution of the genitive marker *zhi* in (28) can be explained: the verb *zhi* ‘to know’ takes a factive complement whose proposition is presupposed by the speakers, which is compatible with the definiteness requirement of the genitive marker *zhi*. On the other hand, the complement of *wen* ‘to hear’ is not presupposed and need not be true.

(28) Distribution of the genitive marker *zhi* in three Archaic Chinese texts (Hong 2010: 181)

		<i>Zhi</i> ‘to know’	<i>Wen</i> ‘to hear’
<i>Analects</i>	+ GEN marker <i>zhi</i>	11	1
	- GEN marker <i>zhi</i>	0	2
<i>Zuo zhuan</i>	+ GEN marker <i>zhi</i>	46	26
	- GEN marker <i>zhi</i>	1	61
<i>Mencius</i>	+ GEN marker <i>zhi</i>	21	3
	- GEN marker <i>zhi</i>	2	15

I propose that the distribution of *zhi* in the WEI construction can be also accounted for by the definiteness associated with *zhi*. I have done a survey of the *zhi*-less agentive WEI construction. The *zhi*-less complements of WEI in these examples are typically indefinite information that is newly introduced to the discourse. For instance, in (29), there is no *zhi* between the agent *xin sheng* ‘new wise men’ and the verb *xiao* ‘laugh’. This is because *xin sheng* is new information that is introduced to the discourse. This indefinite referent is thus incompatible with the definiteness associated with *zhi*.

(29) 今有美堯、舜、湯、武、禹之道於當今之世者，

Jin you mei Yao Shun Tang Wu Yu zhi dao yu dangjin zhi shi zhe,

Now have praise Yao Shun Tang Wu Yu GEN way in present GEN world ZHE

必為新聖笑矣。

(*Hanfeizi* 49 LAC)

bi wei xin sheng xiao yi.

certainly WEI new wise.men laugh PERF

‘Now there are people who praise the way of Yao, Shun, Tang, Wu and Yu in nowadays’  
world. (Such people) must have been the laughing stock of the new wise men.’

On the other hand, complements of WEI with *zhi* typically contain discourse topics. For instance, in (30), *zhi* appears between the agent *yue* ‘people of Yue’ and the verb *qin* ‘capture’. The preceding discourse for this clause describes the imminent attack from the people of Yue. It is clear from the discourse that *yue* ‘people of Yue’ is a presupposed discourse topic by the speaker which is compatible with the definiteness expressed by *zhi*.



(30) 越人必來襲我 …

Yue                    ren    bi                                    lai                    xi                    wo...

Yue                    people certainly                    come                    attack                    us

見王之親為越之擒也。 (Guoyu 19 LAC)

jian            wang zhi            qin                    wei    Yue zhi            qin    ye.

see            king GEN            in.person            WEI    Yue GEN            capture NMLZ

‘The people of Yue will certainly come to attack us... (I) see my lord himself will become Yue’s captive.’

In conclusion, in this section I analyzed the syntactic structure of the WEI construction in Archaic Chinese. I proposed a unified analysis for the WEI constructions, in which WEI is argued to be a copula verb selecting a nominal complement. I provided evidence against the passive approach which treats WEI as a passive auxiliary. As I have shown, the copula analysis is able to account for the structural position of WEI. In addition, the copula verb analysis also solves the problems for the passive approach. I have also addressed the distribution of the genitive marker *zhi* in the WEI construction based on the studies of the information structure of *zhi*. Following Hong (2008, 2010) and Aldridge (2015b), I propose that the genitive marker *zhi* appears in the complement of WEI when the possessor is a presupposed discourse topic.

## 2. The structure of WEI...SUO passives

This section explores the structure of WEI...SUO passives. I propose a nested-*v*P analysis for the WEI...SUO passives.

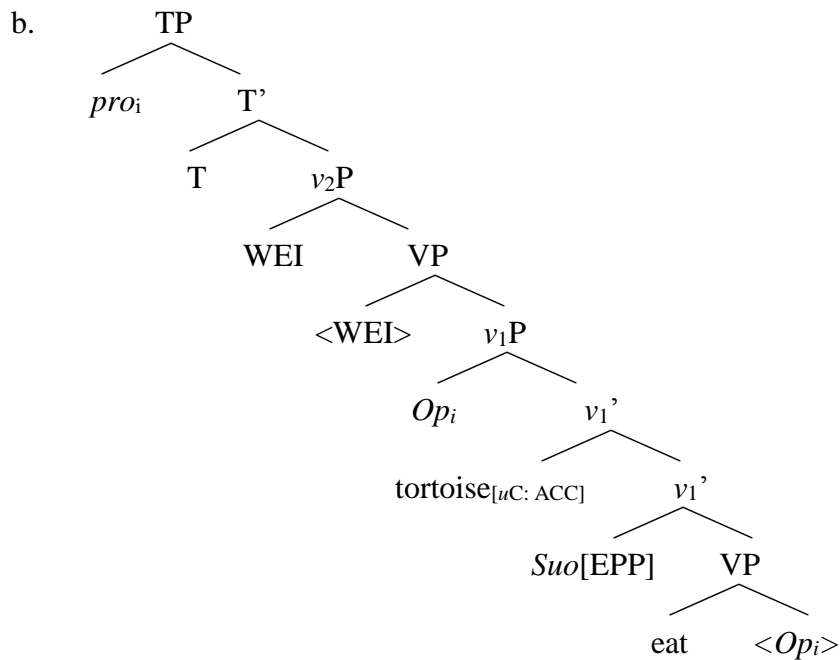
(31) a. 為河鱉所食。

(Zhuangzi Daozhi LAC)

wei hebie suo shi.

WEI tortoise SUO eat

‘(he) was eaten by a tortoise.’



Under this analysis, a null operator is merged with the verb. The whole VP is selected by a light verb *v*<sub>1</sub>. The agent of the WEI...SUO passives is base-generated in [Spec, *v*<sub>1</sub>P] where it is θ-

marked.  $v_1P$  was selected by WEI, which undergoes head-to-head movement to  $v_2$ .  $v_2$  agrees with the agent and values it with accusative case. The subject of WEI...SUO passives is generated in [Spec,  $v_2P$ ] where it receives the Experiencer  $\theta$ -role, similar to Mandarin Chinese long passives. The subject agrees with T to value nominative case and moves to [Spec, TP] to check the EPP on T. The null operator, which is coindexed with the subject, undergoes A'-movement to [Spec,  $v_1P$ ]. Since the edge of the strong phase  $v_1P$  is the target of the object movement of the null operator,  $v_1$  is pronounced as SUO<sup>41</sup>.

I begin this section by reviewing existing analyses of WEI...SUO passives in subsection 2.1. In subsection 2.2, I will show that SUO triggers A'-movement in clauses. In the next subsection, I will show that there is no CP or TP layer between WEI and SUO. I will also argue that SUO is best analyzed as a  $v$ , because it is higher than some  $vP$ -internal functional projections.

## 2.1 Previous analysis

There are two existing analyses for the WEI...SUO passives: Peyraube (1989) views WEI as a preposition, which forms a PP with the agent preceding SUO. SUO is analyzed as a passive marker on the verb. On the other hand, Ma (1898), Wei (1994), Yan (1995) and Dong (1998) argue that WEI...SUO passives are actually copula constructions (判断句). I will present empirical evidence against both analyses in this section.

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<sup>41</sup> This is a requirement in Archaic Chinese. SUO is necessary when object movement targets or stops at the edge of a strong  $vP$  phase. (see also the discussion of SUO in Archaic Chinese headless object relative clauses in Aldridge 2013)

### 2.1.1 WEI as a preposition

Peyraube (1989) argues that WEI is a preposition because it is followed by a noun (the agent). He further argues that since WEI is a preposition, it does not have the ability to license the passivity. Consequently, a passive marker SUO is added to the main verb to mark the passivity. His analysis is shown in (32):

(32) Subj. [PP WEI Agent] [VP SUO Verb]

The key prediction made by Peyraube (1989) is that WEI forms a constituent with the following agent. In addition, the agent does not form a constituent with the SUO and the verb. However, this prediction is not borne out if one considers the coordination structure in (33).

(33) 輒為將相所不任，文吏所毗戲。 (Lunheng, chengcai EMC Wei 1994: 307)

zhe            wei [vP1jiang xiang    suo bu ren] [vP2wenli    suo    pixi].

subsequently WEI    general premier SUO not trust    officer SUO contempt

‘Subsequently, (he) would not be trusted by generals and premiers and would be contempt  
by officers’

(33) is a coordinate structure. In this example, the clause *jiangxiang suo buren* ‘not trusted by generals and premiers’ and *wenli suo pixi* ‘contempted by officers’ are coordinated. A

Coordinate structure typically coordinates constituents of the same type. Therefore, (33) shows that the agent, SUO and the embedded verb together form a constituent. This is not predicted by Peyraube's preposition analysis of WEI. On the other hand, the double- $v$ P analysis captures the constituency in (33). In my analysis, the embedded agent, SUO and the embedded verb together form the  $v_1$ P, which is a single constituent.

In addition to the problem raised above, SUO's status as a passive marker is also questionable. Peyraube (1989) predicts that it is possible to form a SUO passive construction without the WEI-PP, which is merely an adjunct. In other words, we would expect to find examples like (34) in Middle Chinese. This prediction is not borne out. Sentences such as (34) have never been reported in any Middle Chinese texts.<sup>42</sup>

(34) 輒所不任，所毗戲。

zhe                      suo   bu   ren,                      suo   pixi.

subsequently SUO not trust SUO contempt

‘Subsequently, (he) was trusted and (he) was held in contempt.’

<sup>42</sup> In fact, there are also examples from Early Middle Chinese in which the WEI is not followed by an NP in a WEI...SUO passive, as shown in (i). This sentence can be a piece of evidence against Peyraube (1989). If WEI is a preposition, it must be followed by an NP. Given (i), WEI is not a preposition.

(i) 遂為所憎。 (Lunheng 1 EMC)  
sui wei suo zeng.  
then WEI SUO hate  
'Then (he) was hated (by others).'

### 2.1.2 Relative clause approach

The second type of analysis proposes that WEI...SUO passives are copula construction (判断句) in which the copula verb WEI selects a relative clause (Ma 1898, Wei 1994, Yan 1995 and Dong 1998). This analysis is based on two facts: First, WEI could function as a copula in Archaic Chinese (35), as discussed in subsection 1.1.2.

(35) 爾為爾，我為我。 (Mencius Gongsun Chou 1 LAC)

er	wei	er,	wo	wei	wo.
2.SG	WEI	2.SG	1.SG	WEI	1.SG

‘You are yourself. I am myself.’

Secondly, SUO was also used as an object relativizer (36) in late Archaic Chinese (Aldridge, 2013a). For this reason, it is natural to consider the clause following WEI as a complex DP involving a headless object relative clause.

(36) 人之所畏。

(*Laozi* EAC Aldridge 2013a: 2)

ren zhi suo wei.

person GEN SUO fear

‘what people fear’

Therefore, under the copula construction analysis, the sentence in (28a) has the structure in (37b). Literally, (37a) is interpreted as: ‘He belongs to the category of person whom the tortoise eats.’

(37) a. 為河鰲所食。

(*Zhuangzi* Daozhi LAC)

wei hebie suo shi.

WEI tortoise SUO eat

“(he) was eaten by a tortoise.”

b. *pro* [<sub>VP</sub> WEI [<sub>DP</sub> [D [<sub>TP</sub> tortoise<sub>i</sub> [SUO<sub>j</sub> [<sub>VP</sub> Op<sub>j</sub> *t<sub>i</sub>* [eat]]]]]]]

The copula construction analysis accounts for the constituency problem in Peyraube (1989) since now the agent, SUO and the verb form a DP. However, I will show in Subsection 2.3.2 that the

syntactic behavior of a headless object relative clause is different from that of the complement clause in a WEI...SUO passive.

## 2.2 Movement in the SUO clause

This subsection argues that there is A'-movement in the embedded clause which contains SUO. First, the embedded clause in WEI...SUO passives is sensitive to locality constraints on movement. In my corpus, I have not found evidence that the operator moves across island boundaries. Second, there is indirect evidence that SUO relatives, as in (38a), are more sensitive to locality constraint than Mandarin Chinese relative clauses. As Chiu (1995) argues, while Mandarin Chinese relative clauses permit gaps in some islands without the presence of SUO, they generally show island effects when SUO is involved:

(38) a. zhe shi Lisi suo kan de shu.

This is Lisi SUO read DE book

‘This is the book that Lisi read.’

b. [[Lisi kan  $e_i$ ] zui heshi de] shu<sub>i</sub>.

Lisi read most appropriate DE book

‘the book that it is most appropriate for Lisi to read’



c. \*[[Lisi **suo**                      kan *e<sub>i</sub>* ]                      zui                      heshi                      de] shu<sub>i</sub>.

Lisi SUO                      read                      most                      appropriate                      DE book

‘the book that it is most appropriate for Lisi to read’

(b and c are from Chiu 1995, Aldridge 2013a: 20)

This suggests that SUO triggers movement, since island effects emerge when locality constraints are violated by movement.

## 2.3 Position of SUO

This subsection argues that SUO is a *v*. Crucially, I argue that 1) there is no CP or TP layer between WEI and SUO; 2) SUO is higher than some *v*P-internal high functional projections.

### 2.3.1 The absence of CP or TP layer between WEI and SUO

In this subsection, I will show that various morphemes associated with CP or TP layers do not intervene between WEI and SUO. The morphemes that will be covered are imperative negators, temporal adverbs, modals, and the subject-oriented quantifier *jie*. I will also discuss the possibility of embedding a derived subject in the WEI...SUO passive. Let me start the discussion with the imperative negator *wu*.

The imperative negator *wu* 'do not' is not attested to appear between WEI and SUO. In my corpus, all instances of *wu* precede WEI, as (39) shows.

(39) 無為吏所獲。

(*Sanguo Zhi* 1 MC)

wu     wei   li             suo   huó.

do.not WEI officer   SUO   catch

‘Do not be caught by officers.’

Since *wu* is associated with imperative force, it is likely to appear in the CP domain (Potsdam 2007). This indicates that there is no CP domain below WEI.

In addition, temporal adverbs are not attested between WEI and SUO. Since Aldridge (2013a) suggests that temporal adverbs adjoin to TPs, the absence of temporal adverbs indicates that a TP layer is unlikely to be embedded under existential verbs.

Another piece of evidence for the absence for an embedded TP layer is the position of the modal *jiang* in WEI...SUO passives. In the previous chapter, I showed that *jiang* can be analyzed either as a T head (Aldridge 2010) or a temporal adverb (Meisterenst 2010). The fact that *jiang* never appears between WEI and SUO suggests that SUO is below T.

(40) 今不早圖，將為所制。

(*Sanguo Zhi* 6 MC)

jīn   bu   zǎo   tu,   jiāng   wei   suo   zhì.

now   Neg early consider will WEI SUO control

‘If we do not consider it earlier now, we will be controlled by it.’

One more piece of evidence to show that the embedded element in WEI...SUO passives is no larger than a *vP* is the position of the subject-oriented quantifier *jie*. Aldridge (2013a) argues that *jie* is located outside *vP* for two reasons: first, *jie* is able to quantify over a derived subject in passives, as in (41), which suggests that it is not a stranded quantifier in [Spec, *vP*]; second, *jie* is not attested in post verbal position, indicating that its position is not VP-internal.

(41) 皆可謂能禮士矣。

(*Lüshi Chunqiu* 13.5 LAC Aldridge 2013a: 13)

Jie **ke**   wei   neng   li   shì   yǐ.

all PASS say can respect gentleman ASP

‘(They) all can be said to be able to respect a man of class.’

In WEI...SUO passives, *jie* never appears between WEI and SUO. In all cases, it is only allowed to precede WEI, as (42) shows. Since *jie* is *vP*-external the absence of an embedded *jie* suggests that functional projection above *vP* that can host *jie* may not be allowed between WEI and SUO.

(42) 道逢匈奴騎多，皆為所歿。 (*Houhanshu* liezhuan 9 MC)

dao feng        xiongnu qi   duo jie wei suo mo.

road encounter Hun cavalry many all WEI SUO kill

“(they) encountered a lot of Hun cavalries on their road, and all of (them) were  
slaughtered.”

I end the discussion of this subsection with an argument against SUO being the operator itself in WEI...SUO passives. As shown by the discussion so far, there is no TP layer between WEI and SUO. Therefore, the subject must remain in its theta position [Spec,  $\nu$ P]. Operator movement is triggered by edge features and therefore targets the phase edge. Therefore, the landing site for WEI...SUO passives is the specifier position of the embedded  $\nu$ P<sup>43</sup>. If SUO itself is the operator, we would predict the word order 'WEI + SUO + agent'. This is certainly not the case in WEI...SUO passives.

### 2.3.2 WEI's embedded clause is not an object relative clause

In Subsection 2.1.2, I reviewed the copula approach which claims that WEI embeds a headless object relative clause in the WEI...SUO construction, see (43). In this subsection, I compare Archaic Chinese headless relative clauses with the embedded clause in WEI...SUO passives. I

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<sup>43</sup> The operator does not need to further move to the edge of the matrix  $\nu$ P because it is able to be coindexed with the matrix subject, when the latter is merged in the specifier of the matrix  $\nu$ P, before its movement to matrix [Spec, TP].

point out that these two constructions have different syntactic properties, which are neglected by the relative approach. In other words, the embedded clause in the WEI...SUO construction is not a headless object relative clause.

(43) a. 為河鰲所食。

(Zhuangzi Daozhi LAC)

wei hebie suo shi.

WEI tortoise SUO eat

‘(he) was eaten by a tortoise.’

b. *pro* [<sub>VP</sub> WEI [<sub>DP</sub> [D [<sub>TP</sub> tortoise<sub>i</sub> [SUO<sub>j</sub> [<sub>VP</sub> Op<sub>j</sub> *t<sub>i</sub>* [eat]]]]]]]

Aldridge (2013a) analyzes the Archaic Chinese headless relative clauses in (44a) as (44b). SUO is base merged as a light verb. It forms relative clauses on the VP-internal positions by triggering an operator to move to its edge. SUO further undergoes head-to-head movement to T. The TP is in turn selected by a D head, which licenses the subject in [Spec, TP] with Genitive Case.

Aldridge (2013a) argues that the subject does not move to [Spec, DP].

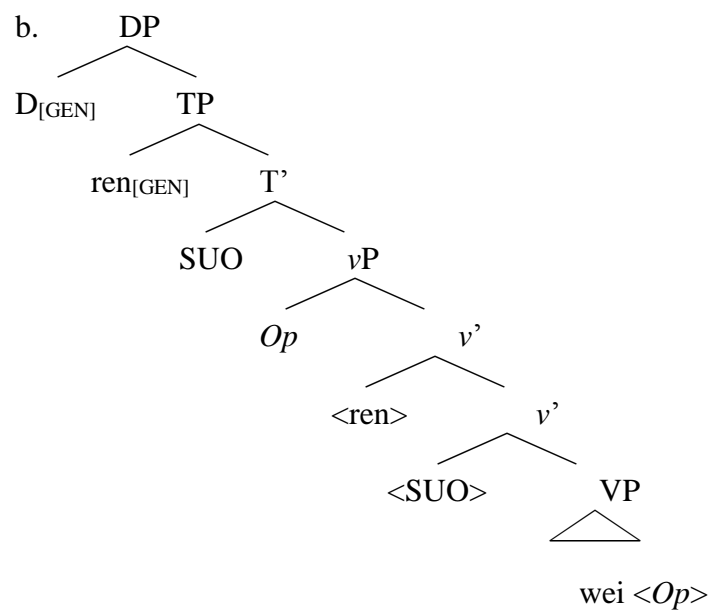
(44) a. 人之所畏。

(Laozi EAC Aldridge 2013a: 2)

ren zhi suo wei.

person GEN SUO fear

‘what people fear’



Since SUO surfaces on T in a headless object relative clause, we expect that it precedes clause medial elements that are located between TP and vP. On the other hand, as I have shown in Subsection 2.3.1, the SUO in the WEI...SUO passive is not higher than vP, we expect that this SUO is preceded by such clause medial elements.

The first difference is the position of subject-oriented quantifier *jie*. As I have shown in example (42) Subsection 2.3.1, in a WEI...SUO passive, *jie* never intervenes between WEI and SUO. However, in an object relative clause, *jie* follows SUO.

(45) 此天下百姓之所皆難也。

(*Mozi* 15 LAC Aldridge 2013a: 9)

Ci [tianxia baixing zhi suo **jie** nan ] ye.

this world commoner GEN SUO all suffer COP

‘This is something which commoners the world over all agonize over.’

Another element that is between T and *v* is the perfective aspect marker *yi* ‘already’. Meisterernst (in preparation) proposes that *yi* is an aspectual adverb that is adjoined to the outer aspect projection between T and *v*. In WEI...SUO passives, *yi* always precedes WEI. It is never located between WEI and SUO as in (46).

(46) 已為魏所破。

(*Sanguo Zhi* Wu 2 MC)

**yi** wei Wei suo po.

already WEI Wei SUO defeat

‘(It) has already been defeated by Wei.’

However, in an object relative clause, SUO is able to precede *yi*, as shown in (47):

(47) 不以所已藏害所將受。

(*Xunzi* 21 LAC Aldridge 2013a: 9)

bu yi [suo yi cang] hai suo jiang shou.

not APPL SUO already store harm SUO will receive

‘to not use [what you already have] to harm what you will receive’

The third difference between an object relative clause and the embedded clause of the WEI...SUO passive is that unaccusative verbs are allowed in object relative clauses while they are not allowed to be embedded under WEI. In Subsection 2.3.1, I conclude that the lack of embedded TP layers in the WEI...SUO passive blocks the embedded unaccusative verbs. However, since in a relative clause D selects a non-finite T, unaccusative verbs are allowed, as shown in (48). In this example, SUO relativizes on a VP-internal locative.

(48) 穀食之所生。

(*Zhuangzi* 2.10 Aldridge 2013a: 7)

[gushi zhi suo [<sub>VP</sub> sheng e]].

grain GEN SUO grow

‘where grain grow’

In conclusion, there are significant differences between a headless object relative clauses and the WEI...SUO passive’s embedded clause. By proposing that WEI embeds a relative clause, the relative clause approach has neglected these important differences. On the other hand, the lack of



a CP or TP layer in the embedded clause of the WEI...SUO passive can be accounted for by my nested-*vP* analysis.

### 2.3.3 SUO is above *vP*-internal functional projections

The preceding subsection showed that SUO in the WEI...SUO passive is not higher than *vP*. In addition, by showing that the WEI...SUO passive's embedded clause is not an object relative clause, I argued against the copula approach to the WEI...SUO passive. I continue the discussion of the structure of the WEI...SUO passive in this subsection by arguing that SUO is located above the *vP*-internal high applicative projection (in the sense of Pylkkanen 2008), which indicates that SUO is very high in the *vP* domain.

It is somewhat challenging to show that SUO is higher than *vP*-internal elements other than the main verb in WEI...SUO passives because of the lack of data. In this subsection, I use indirect evidence from the SUO in existential relative constructions, as shown in (49).

(49) a. 大夫有所往。

(*Liji yuzao* LAC)

daifu            you **SUO** wang.

grand.master have SUO go

‘The grand masters has someplace to go.’

b. 君子無所爭。

(*Analects* bayi EAC)

junzi      wu   **suo**   zheng.

wise.man   lack   SUO   fight

‘Wise men have nothing to fight for.’

Similar to the SUO in WEI...SUO passives, the gaps in the existential relative constructions are in VP-internal positions. There is no attested example in which a gap is located in a VP-external position. In fact, the SUO in existential relative constructions exhibits striking syntactic parallelism to the SUO in WEI...SUO passives. First, similar to WEI...SUO passives, temporal adverbs precede the existential verb *you* ‘there is’ or *wu* ‘there is not’, as in (50). These never appear between the existential verb and SUO.

(50) 今有所求，此我將奚聽乎？

(*Zhanguo ce* Han 1 LAC)

jin   you      suo   qiu,      ci      wo   jiang   xi      ting      hu?

now have   SUO request this      1.sg   should      which listen.to      Q

‘Now you ask me for something. In this situation, which (norm) should I follow?’

Second, the modal *jiang* in existential relative constructions always precedes the existential verb, as shown in (51). It is not attested to appear between existential verbs and SUO.

(51) 子之於學也，將有所不行乎？

(*Zhanguo Ce* 24 LAC)

zi            zhi   yu   xue   ye,    jiang   you   suo    bu    xing   hu?

2.SG            GEN   YU study PAR   will    have   SUO    NEG   practice Q

'As for your attitude toward study, is there anything that you will not practice?'

Third, like in WEI...SUO passives, SUO in existential relative constructions never precedes the subject oriented quantifier *jie*. As far as I have noticed, SUO always follows *jie* as in (52).

(52) 人皆有所不忍，

ren        **jie**   you   suo    bu    ren,

people   all   have   SUO   NEG   tolerate

達之於其所忍，仁也。

(*Mencius jinxin* LAC)

da    zhi   yu   qi            suo   ren,        ren        ye.

extend it to 3SG.GEN   SUO tolerate   humanity NMLZ

'People all have something that they do not tolerate. If you extend it to the things you tolerate, this is humanity.'

Finally, examples are unattested in which the imperative negator *wu* is between existential verbs and SUO. As discussed in Subsection 2.3.1, I assume *wu* to be an imperative negator which is in the CP domain. In my corpus, *wu* always precedes the matrix existential verb, as (53) shows:

(53) 專而農民，毋有所使。 (Liji 6 LAC)

zhuan er nongmin wu you suo shi.

focus 2.SG farmer do.not have SUO employ

'Let your farmer focus on preparing next year's work. Do not employ them (to do other things). '

Having shown the syntactic similarities between the existential relative constructions and WEL...SUO passives, I propose that the SUO in both constructions occupies the same syntactic position. This SUO is higher than the *v*P-internal high applicative projection since it precedes the high applicative head *yi*, as shown in (54).

(54) 夫天生蒸民，有所以取之。 (Xunzi rongru LAC)

fu tian sheng zhengmin, you suo yi qu zhi.

PAR heaven give.birth people have SUO APPL take them

'As the heaven gives birth to people, it has its ways to control them.'

As I have discussed in the previous chapters, Aldridge (2012) proposes the structure in (55a) for applicatives in Archaic Chinese. As it shows, the base position of *yi* is lower than *v*. *yi* subsequently head-moves to adjoin to the *v*. If SUO is a *v*, the word order in (54) could be explained. Since the *v* is overtly realized as SUO, *yi* moves to adjoin to SUO, as in (55b).

(55) a. [<sub>TP</sub> Subj [<sub>T'</sub> T [<sub>VP</sub> <Subj> [<sub>v'</sub> *v*+*yi* [<sub>ApplP</sub> DP [<sub>Appl'</sub> <*yi*> [<sub>VP</sub> V DP ]]]]]]]]

b. [<sub>VP</sub> Subj [<sub>v'</sub> *v*+YOU [<sub>VP</sub><YOU>[<sub>VP</sub>*pro*<sub>j</sub>[<sub>v'</sub>SUO<sub>i</sub> + *yi* [<sub>ApplP</sub> Op<sub>i</sub> [<sub>Appl'</sub> <*yi*>[<sub>VP</sub> V DP]]]]]]]]]

To recap the discussion so far, I have shown that in WEI...SUO passives, SUO is not higher than the *v*P domain. I have also argued that the SUO in both existential relative constructions and WEI...SUO passives occupies the same syntactic position. Based on SUO's relative order with the applicative head *yi*, I have shown that SUO should be higher than the *v*P-internal high applicative projection. At this point, it is most natural to assume that SUO itself is the light verb, projecting the embedded *v*P layer. This analysis has several advantages: 1) It is able to account for all the data discussed above. 2) By analyzing SUO as the light verb, we are able to establish a relation between SUO and the operator. In Archaic Chinese, SUO is always related to a gap in internal argument position. In my analysis, this relation is accounted for because it is the edge feature on SUO that triggers the operator movement.

It should be pointed out here that one can propose an additional functional projection, for instance a *SuoP*, between *v* and *ApplP*, which hosts SUO. This analysis also accounts for the

word order issues discussed above. However, proposing a special layer for SUO specifically for Archaic Chinese is idiosyncratic. This takes out the minimalist merits of the *v* analysis. The relation between SUO and the internal gap that SUO triggers null operator movement out of the VP-internal gap is not clear either under this analysis. Therefore, based on the evidence above, I argue that SUO is a *v* and that WEI...SUO passives have a double-*v*P construction. In the next section, I turn the discussion to the diachronic development from the WEI construction in Archaic Chinese to the WEI...SUO passive in Middle Chinese.

### 3. From the WEI construction to the WEI...SUO passive

In this section, I propose that the WEI...SUO passive in Middle Chinese developed from the *zhi*-less agentive WEI construction in Archaic Chinese. This change is well-documented in the literature: Tang (1987), Peyraube (1989), Wei (1994), Yan (1995), Dong (1998), Yao (1999), Cao (2012) and others propose that the WEI...SUO passive replaced the agentive WEI construction in the Eastern Han period (25 – 220 C. CE). In this section, I argue that the diachronic change is a case of Relabeling in the sense of Whitman (2000). I will begin this section with a brief review of Relabeling.

#### 3.1 Relabeling

Whitman (2000) observes that in many cases, syntactic change can be attributed to the change in a categorial feature. In the sense of Langacker (1977), such changes involve ‘a change in the structure of an expression or class of expressions that does not involve any immediate or intrinsic modification of its surface manifestation’ (Langacker 1977: 59). Whitman (2000) notes that this

class of changes cannot be accounted for in terms of ‘gain or loss of a movement operation’ (Whitman 2000: 220). To analyze this class of changes, he proposes the idea Relabeling to account for such changes, (56).

(56) *Relabeling*

The first step of syntactic reanalysis is restricted to relabelling, where relabelling refers to a change in the categorial feature of a head. The result of relabelling must be well formed independently of any changes out the minimal domain of the relabelled item.

(Whitman 2000: 223)

Relabeling can be illustrated in the diachronic change in the reanalysis of serial verbs as prepositional phrases in Ewe. Lord (1976) argues that the Ewe verb *le* ‘be at’ was later reanalyzed as a preposition *le* ‘at’. This change is accompanied with a reanalysis of Ewe serial verb construction as shown in (57). In the original serial verb construction, the first verb *buy* (V<sub>1</sub>) takes the second verb *be-at* (V<sub>2</sub>) as its complement. The argument that is shared by V<sub>1</sub> and V<sub>2</sub> is base-generated in [Spec, V<sub>1</sub>P] where it controls a *pro* in [Spec, V<sub>2</sub>P].

(57) a. [TP Me [<sub>VP</sub> fle [<sub>V1P</sub> agbale<sub>i</sub> [<sub>V1'</sub> <fle> [<sub>V2P</sub> *pro*<sub>i</sub> [<sub>V2'</sub> le [<sub>DP</sub> Keta]]]]]]]]

I      buy              book                              be-at              Keta

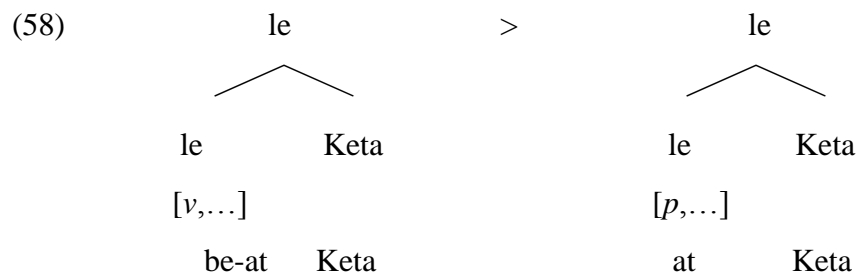
‘I bought a book which is at Keta.’

b. [TP Me [<sub>VP</sub> fle [<sub>VP</sub> [<sub>VP</sub> <fle> [<sub>DP</sub> agbale] [<sub>PP</sub> le [<sub>DP</sub> Keta]] ]]]]

I      buy                      book              at              Keta

‘I bought a book at Keta.’ (Whitman 2000: 220 citing Lord 1976: 182)

Relabeling accounts for the change in (57), as shown in (58). In terms of Minimalist syntax, the lexical item *le* and its label (projected from *le*) have remained the same. What really changes is *le*’s categorial feature: it changes from *v* to *p*.



(Whitman 2000: 221)

Notice that there is another change that is caused by the Relabeling of *le* in Ewe serial verb construction. *le* originally assigns a thematic role to the *pro* its specifier position. After the Relabeling of *le*, its categorial feature changes from *v* to *p*. The new P head *le* is not able to



assign a thematic role to its specifier. Therefore, in (57a), the Spec-Head relation between the *pro* and *le* is eliminated, as shown in (59).

(59) [V<sub>2P</sub> *pro* [V<sub>2'</sub> *le* [DP *Keta*]]] > [PP *le* [DP *Keta*]]

Whitman (2000) proposes that this type of elimination of structure, which he names as Pruning, is a natural result of Relabeling. He defines Pruning as follows:

(60) *Pruning*:

The consequence of a change that makes a syntactic position cease to be the target for merge or movement, resulting in a non-branching projection. In a theory which disallows non-branching projections, the consequence of such a change is elimination of the projection.

(Whitman 2000: 233)

In the next subsection, I discuss the diachronic change from the WEI construction to the WEI...SUO passive based on Relabeling and Pruning reviewed above.

### 3.2 From the WEI construction to the WEI...SUO passive

In section 1 and section 2, I proposed the following structures for the *zhi*-less agentive WEI construction and the WEI...SUO passive respectively. It can be seen that the crucial change from

the *zhi*-less agentive WEI construction to the WEI...SUO passive takes place in the complement of WEI: from a DP to a  $\nu$ P.

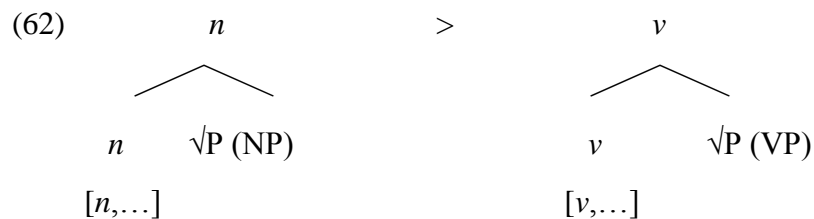
(61) a. WEI construction:

$[_{\nu P} \text{WEI} [_{VP} <\text{WEI}> [_{DP} D [_{nP} \text{Agent} [_n n [_{\sqrt{P}} \sqrt{\phantom{x}} ]]]]]]]]$

b. WEI...SUO passive:

$[_{TP} \text{Matrix Subj}_i [_{\nu P} \text{WEI} [_{VP} <\text{WEI}> [_{\nu P} \text{Op}_i [_{\nu P} \text{Agent} [_v \text{SUO} [_{\sqrt{P}} \sqrt{\phantom{x}} <\text{Op}_i> ]]]]]]]]$

The change from a DP to a  $\nu$ P can be viewed as a case of Relabeling. Essentially, the categorial feature that undergoes change is the one on the little *n* head. In this case, *n*'s categorial feature changes from *n* to *v*, as shown in (62). The little *n* head consequently becomes a little *v* head.



I propose that the trigger of the Relabeling in (62) is that certain nouns in the WEI construction were ambiguous between a noun and a verb in Archaic Chinese<sup>44</sup>. Consequently, facing such

<sup>44</sup> Such verb-noun homonyms are called Jianlei Ci (動名兼類詞) or Dong Ming Tongxing (動名同形) by Chinese linguists. As pointed out by Wei (2003), Wang (1958) and Xiang (2010), verb-noun homonyms are very common in Archaic Chinese. The meanings of the noun and the verb are typically related. For example, in (i) shi means 'be sent on a diplomatic mission'. In (ii), shi means 'envoy'.

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(64) a. 多遺秦禽。

(*Zuozhuan* Xiang 14 EAC)

Duo wei Qin **qin**.

lot.of leave Qin captive

‘(We) left Qin a lot of captives.’

b. 君子不重傷，不禽二毛。

(*Zuozhuan* Xi 22 EAC)

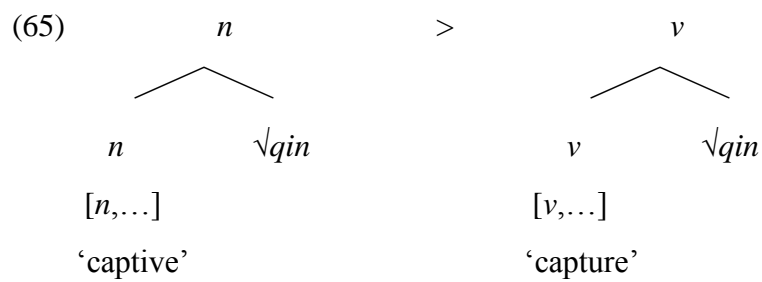
Junzi bu chong shang, bu **qin** ermao.

master NEG twice hurt NEG capture old.men

‘Masters do not hurt (those who have already been wounded). (They) do not capture old men (in battles) either.’

When *qin* is interpreted as a noun, it is selected by a little *n*, which has a categorial feature [*n*].

When *qin* is interpreted as a verb, Relabeling changes the categorial feature [*n*] on the little *n* to [*v*]. The little *n* consequently becomes a *v*. This change is summarized in (65).



The change in the categorial feature on *n* leads to two subsequent changes. First, the little *n* and its projection (*n*P) are selected by the D head because they match the selectional feature on the D head. When *n* is reanalyzed as *v*, it no longer matches the selectional feature on the D head.

Extending Whitman's (2000) Pruning, I propose that a Relabeling process that creates a mismatch between the selectional feature of the higher head and the categorial feature of a lower head leads to the pruning of the higher projection to avoid such mismatch when the higher projection does not have any surface manifestation. In this sense, the D head and the DP (projected by D) are pruned. (66) summarizes this change.

(66) before pruning: [<sub>VP</sub> WEI [<sub>VP</sub> <WEI> [<sub>DP</sub> D [<sub>VP</sub> Agent [<sub>v'</sub> *v* [<sub>√P</sub> *√qin* ]]]]]]]

after pruning: [<sub>VP</sub> WEI [<sub>VP</sub> <WEI> ~~[<sub>DP</sub> D~~ [<sub>VP</sub> Agent [<sub>v'</sub> *v* [<sub>√P</sub> *√qin* ]]]]]]]

The second change that is caused by the Relabeling of *n* happens to *n*'s complement, the root. Before relabeling, (63) is interpreted as '(It will) certainly be Wu's captive.' After Relabeling, since *n* changes to *v*, the root that was selected by *n* is now interpreted as a verb. In other words, the root is interpreted as a transitive verb *qin* 'capture'. When the root is interpreted as an NP, as in the copula construction, it is predicated of the subject. Following Heim and Kratzer (1998), I assume that these NPs denote functions from individuals to truth-values. The semantics of the NP 'captive' is shown in (67).

(67)  $[[\text{captive}]] = \lambda x \in D_e. x \text{ is a captive}$

Heim and Kratzer (1998: 27) proposes that the denotation of a transitive verb ‘is a function from individuals to functions from individuals to truth values’. After Relabeling, the root is interpreted as a transitive verb, and it now has the semantics shown in (68). The  $\lambda$ -notation makes it clear that, different from the NP ‘captive’, the transitive verb ‘capture’ requires an object.

(68)  $[[\text{capture}]] := [\lambda x: x \in D. [\lambda y: y \in D. y \text{ captures } x]]$

However, as the surface structure in (63) shows, the object position of the transitive verb *qin* ‘capture’ is not pronounced. The first language learners must have a way to interpret this empty object position. I will discuss this in the next paragraphs. (69) summarizes the discussion so far. ‘\_\_\_’ indicates that the surface object position is empty.

(69) [Matrix Subject [<sub>VP</sub> WEI [<sub>VP</sub> <WEI> [<sub>VP</sub> Agent [<sub>v'</sub> v [<sub>√P</sub> *qin* \_\_\_ ]]]]]]

The object position in the input sentences is empty. But transitive verbs require an object. For first language learners, there are three possible ways to interpret this empty object position: First, there is an object *pro* which is coindexed with the subject; Second, the internal argument undergoes movement to a position higher than WEI; Third, the empty object is construed with the subject. It is a trace of a null operator.

The first possibility cannot be assumed by first language learners. This is because object *pro* is not allowed in Archaic Chinese (Aldridge 2011). For example, in the second part of (70), the object is an overt pronoun even if its referent (*su* ‘grain’) is known from the first part of this question.

(70) Q: 君饋之粟，則受之乎？

Jun kui zhi su, ze \_\_\_\_ shou **zhi** hu?

lord give 3.ACC grain then receive 3.ACC Q

‘If his lord gives him grain, then should (he) take it?’

A: 受之。 (Mencius Wan Zhang 2 LAC Aldridge 2011: 15)

\_\_\_\_ shou **zhi**.

receive 3.ACC

‘Yes, he should.’

Movement of the internal argument to a higher position is not possible either. First, WEI has to be interpreted as a passive or an unaccusative light verb by first language learners if the internal argument undergoes A-movement to the matrix subject position. However, the same problems encountered by the passive approach to the WEI constructions, which I mentioned subsection 1.1.1, would prohibit first language learners from analyzing WEI as a passive light verb. Second, the internal argument cannot be assumed to be topicalized. This is because in Archaic Chinese,

object positions are resumed by a pronoun *zhi* after topicalization, as shown in (71). Since the object positions of the input sentences are empty, first language learners would not have been able to interpret them as traces left by topicalization.<sup>45</sup>

(71) 子路，人告之以有過。 (Mencius Gongsun Chou 1 LAC Aldridge 2011: 17)

Zilui, ren gao **zhi** yi you guo.

Zilu person tell 3.ACC that have error

‘Zilu, someone told him he made a mistake.’

---

<sup>45</sup> Another logical possibility is to argue that the WEI construction is similar to the reflexive clitic construction in Spanish, as in (i). Under such an analysis, the matrix subject of the WEI construction is parallel to the reflexive clitic in Spanish which surfaces in the object position.

- (i) Se vio en el espejo  
 reflex saw in the mirror  
 ‘He/she saw himself/hers.’

However, this possibility should be ruled out. This is because Archaic Chinese uses two specific reflexive pronouns, *zi* and *ji*, as shown in (iia) and (iib). Given the general lack of these two pronouns in the WEI construction, the WEI construction is not a reflexive construction.

- (ii) a. 脩己以安人。 (Analects14 EAC Aldridge 2009: 1)

*e*<sub>i</sub> xiu **ji**<sub>i</sub> yi an ren.  
 train self to protect person  
 ‘Train yourself in order to protect other people.’

- b. 多行不義，必自斃。 (Zuozhuan Yin 1 EAC Aldridge 2009: 1)

Duo xing bu yi, *e*<sub>i</sub> bi **zi**<sub>i</sub> bi.  
 much do NEG right certain self kill  
 ‘Having done much wrong, he will certainly do himself in.’



Consequently, first language learners had to assume that after Relabeling, the object of the transitive verb *qin* ‘capture’ is a trace of A’-movement. This in turn leads first language learners to adduce the presence of a null operator in the object position. This null operator moves to the edge of  $v_1P$ , where it is coindexed with the matrix subject. In this way, the object of the verb *qin* ‘capture’ is construed with the matrix subject. (72) summarizes this change.

(72) [Matrix Subject<sub>i</sub> [<sub>v2P</sub> WEI[<sub>VP</sub> <WEI> [<sub>v1P</sub> Op<sub>i</sub>[<sub>v1P</sub> Agent [<sub>v1</sub>’  $v_1$ [<sub>√P</sub>  $\sqrt{qin}$  <Op<sub>i</sub>> ]]]]]]]]



Coindexation

Movement

As I have discussed above, the null operator movement is a consequence of object’s construal with the subject, which is the only way to interpret the unpronounced object after Relabeling. The construal with the subject not only leads to the operator movement, it also forces the presence of SUO in the WEI construction. This is because in Archaic Chinese, when the object movement targets or stops at the edge of a strong  $vP$  phase, this light verb is pronounced as SUO. Therefore, after interpreting the object as construed with the subject, first language learners will adduce the presence of null operator movement and simultaneously pronounce  $v_1$  as SUO. At this moment, the WEI construction has been reanalyzed as the WEI...SUO construction. This change is summarized in (73):

(73) [Matrix Subject<sub>i</sub>[<sub>v2P</sub> WEI[<sub>VP</sub> <WEI>[<sub>v1P</sub> Op<sub>i</sub>[<sub>v1P</sub> Agent[<sub>v1</sub>’ SUO[<sub>√P</sub>  $\sqrt{qin}$  <Op<sub>i</sub>> ]]]]]]]]

The complete reanalysis from the WEI construction to the WEI...SUO construction is summarized in (74). As (74) shows, Relabeling leads to the reanalysis of the root as a transitive verb instead of an NP. The transitive verb requires an object, which is unpronounced in the input sentence. The unpronounced object is the key in the transition from the WEI construction to the WEI...SUO passive. As I have shown above, this unpronounced object can only be interpreted as construed with the subject, which necessitates that the learner posits null operator movement from the object position. Finally, once the light verb triggers object movement to its edge, it is simultaneously spelled out as SUO.

(74) Relabelling of *n* as *v* → a. Pruning of DP

b. Root is interpreted as a verb

c. The root has to select an object. But the object is unpronounced.

→ input sentence's empty object position is interpreted to be  
construed with the subject.

→ Construal with the subject leads the learners to adduce the  
null operator movement.

→ The lower light verb is realized as SUO, when the operator  
movement targets at its edge.

In sum, I proposed that the source of the WEI...SUO passive in Middle Chinese is the *zhi*-less agentive WEI construction in Archaic Chinese. Specifically, I argued that this diachronic change is a case of Relabeling of the *n* as *v* in the sense of Whitman (2000). The trigger for such Relabeling is the verb-noun homonyms in Archaic Chinese. When first language learners encountered such categorically ambiguous lexical items in the *zhi*-less agentive WEI construction, Relabeling of the little *n* as little *v* happened. I also extended Whitman's (2000) concept of Pruning. I proposed that Pruning also applies to a higher projection which is no longer able to select the relabeled lower projection. Thus, Pruning deletes the DP layer above the relabeled *v*P layer in the WEI construction. Since a verb has to actually select an object, the unpronounced object in the input sentence has to be accounted for by the first language learners. I rejected the object *pro* and object topicalization possibility. I propose that first language learners had to interpret the object being construed with the subject, which further led them to adduce the null operator movement from the object position. In this way, the interpretation is accounted for. The *v* is simultaneously pronounced as SUO when object movement targets a strong *v*P phase. I begin the discussion of Modern Mandarin long passives in the next section.

#### 4. From WEI...SUO passives to long passives

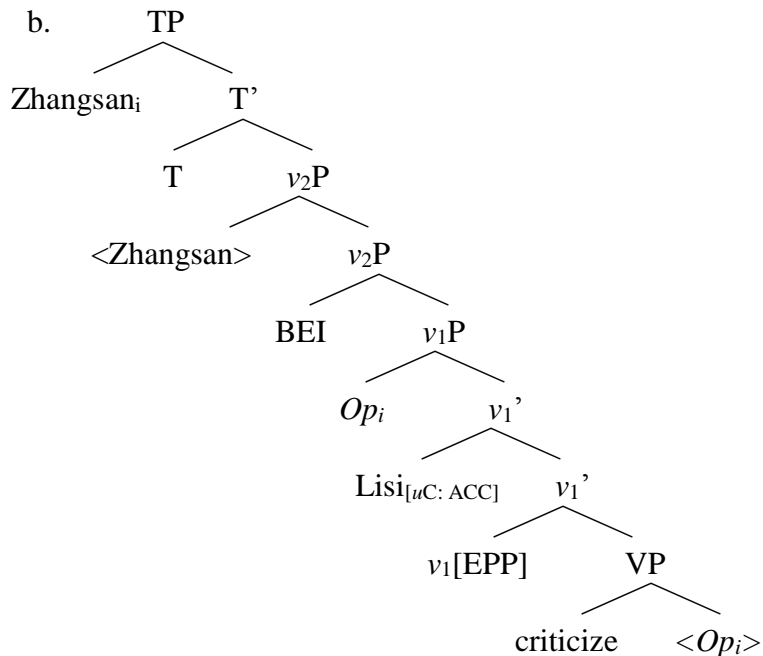
Before discussing the diachronic analysis of the transition from the WEI...SUO passive to the long passive, I briefly review my proposed structure of Mandarin Chinese long passives (also cf. section 1, Chapter 2). My approach to Mandarin Chinese long passives builds on Huang's (1999) proposal. However, I analyze the embedded clause in Mandarin Chinese long passives as a *v*P instead of an IP, which is Huang's (1999) analysis. In a Mandarin Chinese long passive construction (75b), the passive marker BEI takes a *v*P as its complement. A null operator starts

from the gap in the embedded internal argument position. It undergoes A'-movement to the edge of embedded  $v_1P$  to be predicated on the matrix subject in the sense of Huang (1999) and Hang et al. (2009). The matrix subject, which binds the operator, is base-generated from [Spec,  $v_2P$ ] in the matrix clause. It also gets the Experiencer  $\theta$ -role there.

(75) a. Zhangsan bei Lisi piping le.

Zhangsan BEI Lisi criticize ASP

‘Zhangsan was criticized by Lisi.’



Compare the long passive with the WEI...SUO passive, which is shown in (76). The structures I argued for the two constructions are almost identical. The differences between WEI...SUO

passives and long passives are: 1. SUO is completely optional in long passives; 2. the matrix *v* is WEI in WEI...SUO passives and BEI in MC long passives respectively.

(76) a. WEI...SUO passives

$[_{v2P} \text{Matrix Subj}_i [_{v2'} \text{WEI} [_{vIP} \text{Op}_i [_{vI'} \text{Agent} [_{vI'} \text{SUO}_{[EPP]} [_{VP} \text{V } t_{\text{Op}_i}]]]]]]]$

b. Mandarin Chinese BEI long passives

$[_{v2P} \text{Matrix Subj}_i [_{v2'} \text{BEI} [_{vIP} \text{Op}_i [_{vI'} \text{Agent} [_{VP} \text{V } t_{\text{Op}_i}]]] \text{le}]]]$

In this section, I propose that the diachronic change from the WEI...SUO passive to the long passive involves two steps: 1) the loss of SUO; and 2) the lexical replacement of WEI by BEI. I will also discuss one piece of evidence supporting my proposal that Mandarin Chinese BEI long passives descend from the WEI...SUO passive.

#### 4.1 Diachronic change

As mentioned in subsection 1.1.2 in Chapter 5, Aldridge (2013a) assigns the following structure in (77) to Archaic Chinese object relative clauses. Crucially, she argues that SUO is merged as a light verb. SUO has a nominal category feature. It subsequently undergoes head movement to T. As a result, T obtains the nominal category feature from SUO, which enables it to be selected by D. D values the subject with genitive case.

(77) [D<sub>[GEN]</sub> [TP Subj<sub>[Gen]</sub> [T<sup>n</sup> SUO<sub>i</sub> [<sub>VP</sub> Op<sub>i</sub> [<sub>v'</sub> t<sub>Subj</sub>. [<sub>tsuo</sub> [<sub>VP</sub> t<sub>Op</sub>]]]]]]]

She noted that SUO was obligatory for object relative clauses until the 1<sup>st</sup> century BCE. As (78) shows, object relative clauses could be instead formed with the Archaic Chinese subject relativizer ZHE in the 1<sup>st</sup> century BCE.

(78) a. 我請君塞兩耳，

wo        qing   jun   sai                liang   er,

1.Sg      ask     lord   close                two    ear

無聽談者。

(*Zhanguoce* Zhao 1 LAC Aldridge 2013a: 34)

wu                ting    [tan                **zhe**].

do.not            listen   discuss        DET

‘I asked my lord to close his ears and not listen to what was being discussed.’

b. 君王將何問者也？

(*Zhanguoce* Chu 1 LAC Aldridge 2013a: 34)

Junwang      jiang    he                      [wen **zhe**]      ye?

majesty          will    what                      ask ZHE      NMLZ

‘What is it that Your Majesty would like to ask?’

She argued that the loss of SUO was related to the loss of the nominal layer, which was triggered by the loss of the morphological distinction between cases in Early Middle Chinese. According to her survey, out of 255 total object relative clauses with overt subjects in *Zhuangzi*, 232 have genitive subjects. This suggests that the genitive marker was basically obligatory in SUO relatives in the 4<sup>th</sup> and 3<sup>rd</sup> centuries BCE. She further provided evidence showing that the genitive marker *zhi* was lost in Early Middle Chinese. (79a) is a Late Archaic Chinese example of sentential subject. The embedded subject is marked with genitive case. (79b) shows that a similar sentence in Early Middle Chinese does not mark the embedded subject with genitive case.

(79) a. 天下之無道也久矣。

(*Analects* 3 EAC Aldridge 2013a: 33)

[Tianxia    **zhi**    wu                      dao    ye]    jiu                      yi.

world          GEN not.have                      way    NMLZ long                      ASP

‘It is a long time since the world has been without the proper way.’

b. 天下無道久矣。

(*Shiji* 47 EMC Aldridge 2013a: 33)

[Tianxia   wu                   dao ]   jiu                   yi.

world   not.have           way   long           ASP

‘It is a long time since the world has been without the proper way.’

Based on these facts, Aldridge (2013a) argues that genitive case marking is crucial for learners to acquire the marked nominalization structure of embedded clauses (cf. 77). As a result of the loss of the morphological trigger, the learners acquired the default (in the sense of Roberts 1997 and Roberts and Roussou 2003) embedded structure: a finite CP which does not involve SUO.

I propose that the loss of SUO in object relative clauses was triggered by the loss of SUO's relation with the internal argument gap, which subsequently led to the loss of SUO in WEI...SUO passives. Since the SUO in WEI...SUO passives is not related to genitive case licensing, it was lost later than the SUO in object relative clauses. I observe that the loss of SUO in passives began no earlier than 3<sup>rd</sup> century CE, which is the Western Jin period.

Based on the structural similarities between WEI...SUO passives and long passives discussed in the previous sections, I propose that in the Sui period (early 6<sup>th</sup> century CE), WEI...SUO passives underwent a lexical replacement process. Specifically, WEI was replaced by BEI, which had already been used as a passive marker in the agentless BEI passives discussed in Chapter 4 at that time.



Wei (1994) relates the rise of the BEI long passives to the loss of SUO in WEI...SUO passives. I adopt his view here. As a result of the loss of SUO, the WEI...SUO passive took the form of 'WEI + Agent + V', as shown in (80).

(80) a. 槎浮，則船為之破壞。 (youminglu<sup>46</sup> MC)

jie fu ze chuan wei zhi pohuai.

branch float then boat WEI it destroy

‘The branch floats. Then the boat is destroyed by it.’

b. 其為時賢重。 (gaosengzhuan<sup>47</sup> MC)

qi wei shi xian zhong.

he WEI contemporary sage value

‘He was valued by contemporary sages.’

Since WEI is a copula verb meaning ‘become’<sup>48</sup>, 'WEI + Agent + verb' is structurally ambiguous. It could be analyzed as a copula construction in which the copula verb WEI takes a

<sup>46</sup> This is a book written in mid 4<sup>th</sup> century CE.

<sup>47</sup> This is a book written in early 5<sup>th</sup> century CE.

<sup>48</sup> WEI was still used as a copula verb in 5<sup>th</sup> century CE. The following example is taken from *Nanqi Shu*, written around Mid 5<sup>th</sup> century CE.

relative clause as its complement: WEI + [RC Agent + verb]. Therefore, BEI, which was already a passive marker in that period, was used to replace WEI in order to disambiguate the construction. Peyraube (1989) shows that after early 5<sup>th</sup> century CE, both WEI...SUO passives and 'WEI + Agent + verb' constructions rapidly decreased in numbers. This coincided with the rise of BEI long passives at that time, as shown in (81). (81) is an example taken from *baiyujing*, which was written in early to mid 5<sup>th</sup> century CE.

(81) 如彼愚人，被他打頭。 (baiyujing 5 LMC)

ru bi yuren, bei ta da tou.

similar.to that stupid.people BEI he hit head

'(You are) similar to that stupid guy whose head was hit by someone.'

It should be noted here that the 'WEI + Agent + verb' construction discussed above is different from the WEI construction in Archaic Chinese discussed in Section 1, which is shown in (82).

---

(i) 初為建威府參軍。

(Songshu Xiao Chengzhi Zhuan MC)

chu wei jianwei fu canjun.

beginning WEI jianwei city consultant

'At the beginning, he was a consultant in Jianwei.'

However, as Wang (1989) and Xiang (2010) point out, the copula WEI started to decline in Middle Chinese. This can be a trigger for the lexical replacement of WEI by BEI.

(82) 必為天下大笑。

(*xunzi jiangguo* LAC)

bi                wei tianxia    da    xiao.

necessarily WEI world    great    laugh.at

'(He) will necessarily be greatly laughed at by the whole world.'

Wei (1994) pointed out that in the Archaic period, the verb in the 'WEI + Agent + verb' form is highly restricted to a small class of verb consisting of *lu* 戮 'kill', *xing* 刑 'execute', *qin* 擒 'capture', *xiao* 笑 'laugh at' and *yong* 用 'use'. Wei (1994) noticed that the lexical category of these verbs is actually ambiguous. These verbs were used as nouns in that period as well. On the other hand, the verb in the Middle Chinese 'WEI + Agent + verb' construction is not limited to that small class. In addition, as he noted, most of the verbs are no longer ambiguous in terms of their lexical category<sup>49</sup>.

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<sup>49</sup> It is also possible that the WEI construction in Archaic Chinese continued to be used in Middle Chinese occasionally. And these WEI constructions underwent an extension so that more verbs were used. However, Cao (2012) has done a survey of the marked passive construction (these roughly correspond to the WEI construction, YU passive, JIAN passive and WEI...SUO passive in this study) in Middle Chinese. She found out that in the Eastern Han period (25 ~ 220 CE), the total percentage of the WEI construction (both agentless and agentive) in marked passives is 6.6% (Cao 2012: 115). However, entering the Wei Jin period (220 ~ 420 CE), the percentage of the WEI construction curiously increased to 10.1% (Cao 2012: 138, 140). In the Six Dynasty period (420 ~ 589 CE), the percentage of the WEI construction sharply decreased to 3% (Cao 2012: 157). The curve in the usage of the WEI construction in Middle Chinese indicates that even if the WEI construction in Archaic Chinese remained in Middle Chinese, the drop of SUO in WEI...SUO passives may have contributed to the increased usage of the WEI construction in the Wei Jin period.

## 4.2 Gapless long passives

In last subsection, I have proposed that the Mandarin Chinese BEI long passive construction descends from the WEI...SUO passive. Essentially, BEI long passives are not structurally related to the early agentless passive using BEI. The passive marker BEI in BEI long passives is merely a result of the lexical replacement happened in Middle Chinese. In this subsection, I provide evidence to support my proposal. In this section, I discuss a later construction involving BEI in which BEI embeds a full clausal constituent. Superficially, this suggests that the Mandarin Chinese long passive evolved directly from agentless passives. However, I show that this is not the case. I present evidence that BEI, as a transitive verb, is able to take clausal complements. Furthermore, these clausal complements are finite. In other words, they are radically different from the non-finite embedded clause in BEI long passives. Consequently, we must conclude that BEI long passives are not diachronically related to the fully biclausal structure projected by the transitive verb BEI, which is the source for the BEI in agentless passives (cf. Chapter 4).

It has been noted by Wang (1989) that BEI is able to embed a gapless clause, as shown in (83). Both the external and the internal argument for the transitive verb *hua* 'transform' are overt in the embedded clause. I call these constructions gapless passives. This is different from the WEI...SUO passive which has to have an embedded gap.

(83) 被猴行者化一團大石。 (Datang sanzang qujing shihua Early Mandarin)

bei houxingzhe hua yi tuan da shi.

BEI Monkey King transform one CL big rock

‘(He) suffered from the fact that the Monkey King turned into a big rock (and entered into his belly).’

I argue that the gapless passives embed a full finite clause based the evidence below.

First, embedded temporal adverbs are allowed in gapless passives while they are not allowed in gapped long passives, as shown in (84). (84b) shows that gapless passives have an embedded TP layer to license temporal adverbs.

(84) a. \*Zhangsan bei Lisi zuotian piping le.

Zhangsan BEI Lisi yesterday criticize ASP

‘Zhangsan has been criticized by Lisi yesterday.’

b. 被那山主前日前來，綁在此間。

(*shuihuzhuan* 85 Early Mandarin)

bei      na      shanzhu                      qianri   qianlai      bang zai      cijian.

BEI      that Lord.of.the.mountain      yesterday come      bind in      here

'(I) suffered from the fact that the lord of this mountain came yesterday. (I) was bound here by him.'

Second, different from gapped long passives, certain high modals are allowed to appear in the embedded clause in gapless passives. *yao* (be going to) is a modal expressing imperfective aspect. I propose that it is similar to Archaic Chinese *jiang* which is associated to TP. While embedded *yao* is not allowed in gapped long passives (85a), it is found in gapless passives (85b). This again suggests that gapless passives embed at least a TP layer.

(85) a. \* Zhangsan bei Lisi      yao                      piping.

Zhangsan BEI Lisi      be.going.to      criticize

'Zhangsan will be criticized by Lisi.'

b. 今被番家要興兵搶占高麗。

(*Jingshi tongyan* 9 Early Mandarin)

jin bei fanjia yao xing bing qiangzhan gaoli.

now BEI barbarians be.going.to raise army occupy Goryeo

‘Now (we) suffer from the fact that the barbarians are going to raise their army to invade the Goryeo.’

Based on the data discussed above, I propose that gapless passives embed a full finite CP under BEI. Consequently, the BEI in gapless passives must not be analyzed as a passive marker as in Mandarin Chinese BEI long passives but rather as a transitive verb which takes a clausal complement, as shown in (86).

(86) [<sub>VP</sub> Subj [<sub>V</sub> [<sub>VP</sub> BEI [<sub>CP</sub> ... ]]]]

Etymologically, the verb BEI originally meant ‘cover; to cover something with’. Its meaning then extended to ‘suffer’. I propose that gapless passives should be interpreted as the subject suffers or encounters an event.

To support my proposal, I show that the transitive BEI is correlated to gapless passives. I studied four books for gapless passives and transitive BEI which takes DP as its complement. The four books I have used are *dunhuang bianwen* (700~900 A.D.), *zhuzi yulei* (1263 A.D. late

Southern Song), *jingshi hengyan* (1627 A.D. late Ming) and *guanchang xianxingji* (1903 A.D. late Qing). There is roughly a four-hundred-year interval between each book.

In these books, there are a lot of cases in which the complement of the transitive BEI is actually ambiguous with respect to its lexical category. For example, BEI's complement *zhang* in (87a) could be either verbal, which leads to Reading 1, or nominal, which leads to Reading 2. These examples were excluded from my survey. I only included unambiguous ones (87b) in which BEI is clearly a transitive verb.

(87) a. 婦聞雀兒被杖。 (dunhuang bianwen LMC)

fu            wen queer            **bei**    **zhang.**

woman    hear bird            BEI    flog

Reading 1: The woman heard that the bird was flogged.

Reading 2: The woman heard that the bird suffered the punishment of flogging.



b. 養子還徒被老時

(*dunhuang bianwen* LMC)

yang      zi                                  huan   tu                                  bei      lao      shi.

nurture   offspring                                  PAR   prepare                                  suffer   aging   time

‘(People) nurture their offspring because they want to prepare for the time when they suffer from aging.’

Here is a chart which shows the total as well as the percentage of both transitive BEI and gapless BEI. I have rounded the percentage number.

(88) Table: transitive BEI and gapless long passives

Text	Total number of BEI <sup>50</sup>	Transitive BEI	Gapless passives
<i>dunhuang bianwen</i>	283	8      2.8%	10      3.5%
<i>zhuzi yulei</i>	670	32      4%	78      11%
<i>jingshi hengyan</i>	345	1      0.2%	9      2.6%
<i>guanchang xianxingji</i>	531	1      0.1%	6      1.1%

<sup>50</sup> This total number includes all the occurrences of BEI: short passive BEI, long passive BEI, gap-less BEI, transitive BEI and nominal BEI (meaning blanket).

As shown in the chart, in the Tang period (6<sup>th</sup> ~ 9<sup>th</sup> century CE) text *dunhuang bianwen*, the transitive BEI and gapless passives have about the same percentage. If one counts the ambiguous sentences like (87a), transitive BEI may have even higher percentage.

In the Song and Yuan period (10<sup>th</sup> ~ 13<sup>th</sup> century CE) text *zhuzi yulei*, the use of transitive BEI actually increases in terms of the percentage (jumps from 2.8% to 4%). On the other hand, gapless passives became very popular during this period. This is also noticed by Wang (1989). However, starting from the late Ming period (16<sup>th</sup> century CE), transitive BEI becomes very rare (only one example in both *jingshi hengyan* and *guanchang xianxingji*). Gapless passives also decreased. In modern Mandarin, both are generally not allowed.

In conclusion, there is a correlation between the usage of transitive BEI and gapless passives: the gapless passives decreased as the usage of transitive BEI decreased. This further supports my analysis of the gapless passives. In addition, this correlation also explains the decrease in gapless passives starting from the Ming period: it is the loss of transitive BEI that triggers the decline of the gapless passives.

Based on the discussion above, the gapless long passive developed from the transitive BEI. In other words, a transitive BEI took a finite clausal complement. As I have shown in Section 1 Chapter 2 (briefly reviewed in the beginning of this section), BEI long passives embed a non-finite complement. Therefore, syntactically, the BEI in BEI long passives and the transitive BEI, which is the source for the BEI in agentless passives, are unrelated. This further suggests that there is no connection between the short passives and the BEI long passives.

## 5. BEI short passives and long passives

In subsection 5.2, I concluded that the *bei* in gapless long passives is a transitive verb ‘suffer’, which is different from the passive marker BEI in the long passives. In this section, I show that the BEI short passives, as discussed in section 2 Chapter 2 and section 3 Chapter 4, are not the source of the long passives discussed in this chapter.

Let us first review the structure I have proposed for the short passive and the long passive. As shown in (89), the key differences between a short passive (89a) and a long passive (89b) are: 1) the long passive has an embedded external argument (i.e. the agent) while the short passive does not; and 2) the long passives is derived via A’-movement but the short passive is derived via A-movement.

(89) a. Zhangsan bei piping le.

Zhangsan BEI criticize ASP

‘Zhangsan was criticized.’

[<sub>TP</sub> Zhangsan [<sub>T</sub> T [<sub>VP</sub> BEI [<sub>√P</sub> √criticize *t*<sub>Zhangsan</sub>]]]]

b. Zhangsan bei Lisi piping le.

Zhangsan BEI Lisi criticize ASP

‘Zhangsan was criticized by Lisi.’

$[_{v2P} \text{Zhangsan}_i [_{v2'} \text{BEI } [_{v1P} \text{Op}_i [_{v1'} \text{Lisi } [_{\sqrt{P}} \sqrt{\text{criticize } t_{\text{Op}_i}}]] \text{le}]]]$

I propose that the short passive could not have become the source of the long passive for three reasons: 1) throughout its development, the short passive has not had the functional layers that can host the embedded agent; 2) there is no historical evidence showing that there is A'-movement from the object position in short passives; 3) the correlation between the WEI...SUO passive and the long passive could not be explained if the short passive were the source of the long passive.

First, in Chapter 4, I proposed that the short passive is the consequence of the reanalysis of the transitive *bei* construction. The reanalysis process is shown in (90). (90a) is the input expression which is P-ambiguous. (90b) corresponds to Reading A, which involves semantic incorporation. (90c) corresponds to Reading B, which interprets the lexical item *kou* as a verb. The parametric difference between (90b) and (90c) is whether the functional feature F on the light verb is realized in PF through Internal Merge or External Merge. On the assumption that Internal Merge is more marked than External Merge, (90c) is favored.

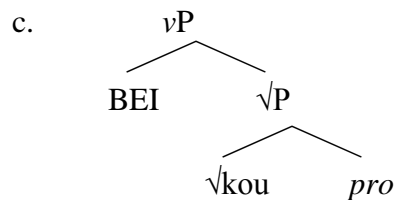
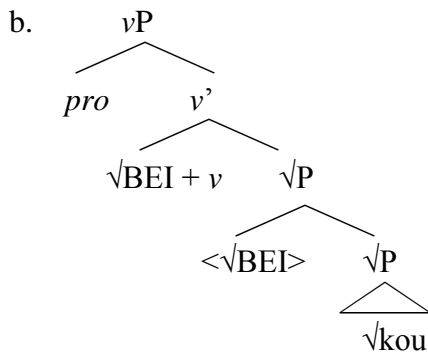
(90) a. 地踔遠，人民希，數被寇。

(Shiji 113 EMC)

Di            chuoyuan, renmin xi,            shuo            bei    kou  
place        far.away, people sparse,        frequent        BEI    invasion/invade

Reading A: (This) place is remote. Its people are sparse. **It frequently suffered from invasion.**

Reading B: (This) place is remote. Its people are sparse. **It was frequently invaded in the past.**



The key part in this diachronic reanalysis is that the source of the short passive involves semantic incorporation in which only a bare nominal  $\sqrt{kou}$  is incorporated to the root  $\sqrt{bei}$ . After BEI was reanalyzed as the passive light verb,  $\sqrt{kou}$  came to head a  $\sqrt{P}$  in the short passive. In other words, the transitive *bei* construction, which is shown to be the source of the short passive, provides no additional functional layer in the complement of BEI that can be further reanalyzed as a potential

landing site to host an agent. Thus, the historical development of the short passive rules out the possibility for an agent argument to appear between BEI and the main verb.

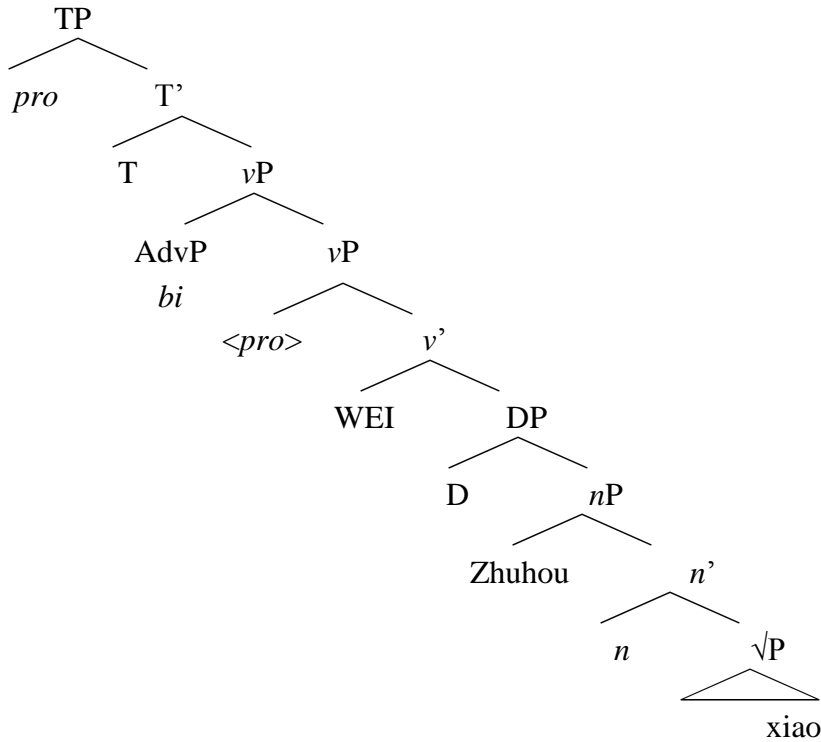
On the other hand, as I have argued in section 3 of this chapter, the ultimate source for the long passive is the *zhi*-less agentive WEI construction, which is shown in (91a). In this construction, the WEI selects a full DP. After the *n*P is relabeled as a *v*P, as in (91b) (I omit the structure above WEI), the agent is able to be base generated in [Spec, *v*P]. The source of the long passive must provide a structural position for the agent. For this reason, the agentive WEI construction, rather than the transitive JIAN construction, is a more reasonable candidate as the source for the long passive.

(91) a. 必為諸侯笑。 (Guoyu 9 LAC Cao 2012: 57)

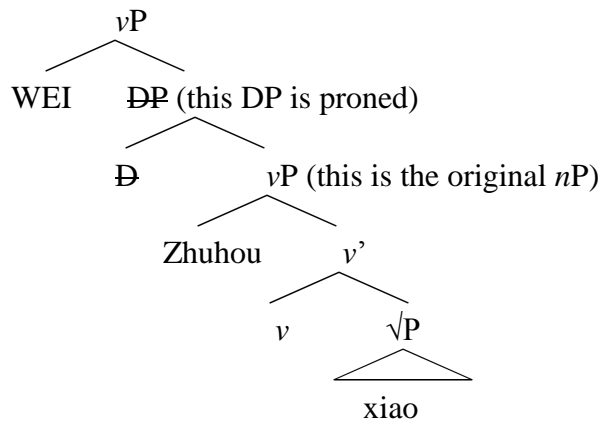
Bi                      wei      zhuhou              xiao.

necessarily          WEI    lords              laugh

‘(It) certainly will be the lords’ laughing stock.’



b. After Relabeling:



Second, there is no historical evidence showing that there was A'-movement from the object position in the short passive. Although Aldridge (2013a) points out that SUO is not obligatory to mark object movement which targets or stops at the edge of a strong  $vP$  phase in Middle Chinese, there were still many reflexes of this Archaic Chinese requirement in Middle Chinese, as shown

by the large number of the WEI...SUO passives in that period. If the short passive was the source of the long passive, we would have expected that the short passive went through a stage in Middle Chinese in which it displayed certain signs of A'-movement from the object position. In other words, we would have expected examples like (92) where the short passive coexisted with SUO to be possible in Middle Chinese.

(92) \*數被所寇。

Shuo                      bei      suo      kou.

frequently              BEI      SUO      invade

Intended reading: 'It was frequently invaded by someone.'

However, this type of example has not been found in my survey; nor has it been reported by any study of Middle Chinese syntax. The earliest example, as in (93), in which a SUO follows BEI was found in *Sanguo yanyi*, a novel written approximately in the 15<sup>th</sup> C.CE, when the long passive had already been used for almost 800 years. It is possible that example (93) is a long passive in which the agent is a *pro*.



(93) 恐被所算。

(*Sanguo yanyi* 58 Early Mandarin 15<sup>th</sup> C.CE)

Kong            bei suo    suan.

be.afraid.of BEI SUO plot.against

‘(He) was afraid of being plotted against.’

Third, if the short passive was the source of the long passive, it would have been very difficult to explain the structural parallelism between the long passive and the WEI...SUO passive in Middle Chinese. In this chapter, I have shown that the two constructions have similar structures. To argue that the short passive was the source of the long passive, one has to explain why the long passive coincidentally has a similar structure to the WEI...SUO passive, since the two constructions are unrelated under the assumption that the former one develops from the short passive.

## 6. Conclusion

In this chapter, I proposed that the *zhi*-less agentive WEI construction is the historical source of the Middle Chinese WEI...SUO passive and the Mandarin Chinese long passive. The biclausal structure can be traced back to WEI's nominal complement which includes both a DP layer and *nP* layer. These functional layers provide enough space for the later biclausal passives to host the embedded agent after the *zhi*-less agentive WEI construction underwent Relabelling and Pruning. This contrasts the development of the monoclausal passives discussed in the previous two chapters. The monoclausal passives originated from a semantic incorporation structure in Archaic

Chinese (cf. Subsection 2.3 in Chapter 3). The bare root that is incorporated into the main verb JIAN does not have any additional functional layer that provides space for later constructions to host an agent. Therefore, it is clear that the dichotomy between biclausal and monoclausal passives can be traced back to the availability of functional projections in the complement of JIAN and WEI in Archaic Chinese.

I have also proposed that the WEI...SUO passives in Middle Chinese contain a restricted embedded structure: a  $\nu$ P, which is headed by SUO. I also argued that MC long passives have the same syntactic structure as WEI...SUO passives. Based on the syntactic analysis of both passive constructions, I proposed that the change from WEI...SUO passives to Mandarin Chinese long passives involves two steps: a. the loss of SUO; b. the lexical replacement of WEI with BEI. I proposed that the loss of SUO in WEI...SUO passives is related to the loss of the SUO in Archaic Chinese object relative clauses, which was in turn triggered by the loss of overt case morphology in Early Middle Chinese. Following Wei (1994), I argue that the lexical replacement was a result of the structural ambiguity triggered by the loss of SUO in WEI...SUO passives.

I showed in section 5 that the Mandarin Chinese long passive did not descend directly from the agent-less BEI passives (the short passive) in Middle Chinese. Instead, the historical source of the Mandarin Chinese long passive is the WEI construction in Archaic Chinese, which later developed into the WEI...SUO passive. Since SUO is a phase head triggering the operator movement from an internal argument position in Archaic and Early Middle Chinese, the analysis in this chapter explains why long passives are derived from A'-movement (Huang et al. 2009). In other words, the A'-properties of the Mandarin Chinese long passive are not surprising after all, since it originated from an old requirement that object movement should be licensed in Archaic Chinese.



## Chapter 6 Conclusion

In this study, I showed that the biclausal (long) and monoclausal (short) passive constructions, (1), in Mandarin Chinese originated from two distinct and unrelated sources in Archaic Chinese respectively. The precursor of the short passive construction is the JIAN passive<sup>51</sup>, (2), in Archaic Chinese. The long passive, on the other hand, developed from the Archaic Chinese copula construction, the WEI construction (3).

### (1) a. *short passive*

Zhangsan bei da le.

Zhangsan BEI hit ASP

‘Zhangsan was hit.’

### *long passive*

Zhangsan bei Lisi piping le.

Zhangsan BEI Lisi criticize ASP

‘Zhangsan was criticized by Lisi.’

---

<sup>51</sup> In Chapter 4, I have shown that the short agentless BEI passive has an identical development process to the JIAN passive. Thus, I take the JIAN passive as the precursor of Mandarin Chinese short passives.

(2) 盆成括見殺。

(*Mencius* 16 LAC)

Pen Chengkuo jian sha.

Pen Chengkuo JIAN kill

‘Pen Chengkuo was killed.’

(3) 戰而不克，為諸侯笑。

(*Zuozhuan* Xiang 10 EAC)

Zhan er bu ke, wei zhuhou xiao.

fight but NEG win, WEI lords laugh

‘(If you) claimed war but lost (it), (you) will be laughed at by the lords.’

As I have shown in Chapter 2, the major syntactic differences between Mandarin Chinese long and short passive are: 1) An overt agent is only allowed in the long passive. 2) The long passive is biclausal while the short passive is monoclausal. 3) The long passive is derived via A'-movement; the short passive only involves A movement.

I have proposed that this dichotomy of Mandarin Chinese passive constructions is a natural result of the historical development of the JIAN passive and the WEI construction: First, whether an overt agent is allowed in a certain type of Mandarin Chinese passive construction is directly related to the structure of their Archaic Chinese ancestors. As shown in (4), the JIAN construction was reanalyzed from an earlier semantic incorporation construction which was

formed when the transitive verb *jian* ‘encounter’ takes a non-referential, indefinite bare noun. In this construction there is virtually no extra space to host a potential agent. On the other hand, [Spec, *nP*] is open to host the potential agent in the DP complement of the WEI construction (5), which is the ancestor of the long passive. Therefore, the sources of the Mandarin Chinese passive constructions determine whether an agent can be introduced to the structure in subsequent reanalysis.

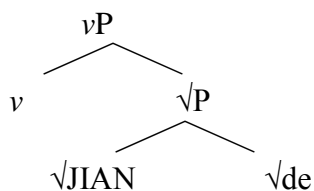
(4) a. 民不見德。

(*Zuozhuan* Xi 23 EAC)

Min      bu      jian              de.

People   NEG   perceive           merit

‘The people did not perceive (your) merit.’



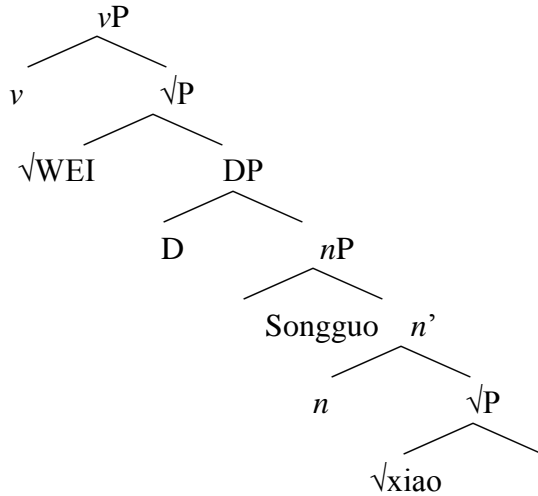
(5) 而身為宋國笑。

(*Hanfeizi* 49 LAC)

er   shen              wei      Song guo              xiao.

and himself              WEI   Song state              laugh

‘... and himself was laughed at by the State of Song.’



Second, the monclausal/biclausal distinction between the two types of Mandarin Chinese passive constructions can be traced back to the historical development of Archaic Chinese JIAN passive and the WEI construction. In Chapter 3, I proposed that the earlier semantic incorporation construction (4) was reanalyzed as the JIAN passive due to the lexical ambiguity between a noun and a verb in the complement of the transitive verb *jian*. Specifically, when first language learners interpreted this complement as a verb, *jian* was reanalyzed as a passive marker (corresponds to Reading B in 6). In addition, the incorporated bare noun became the head of the √P. At this time, the transitive *jian* construction was interpreted as a passive JIAN construction. This reanalysis process, as shown in (6), led to the monoclausal structure of Mandarin Chinese short passives.

(6) 黯也進不見惡，退無謗言。

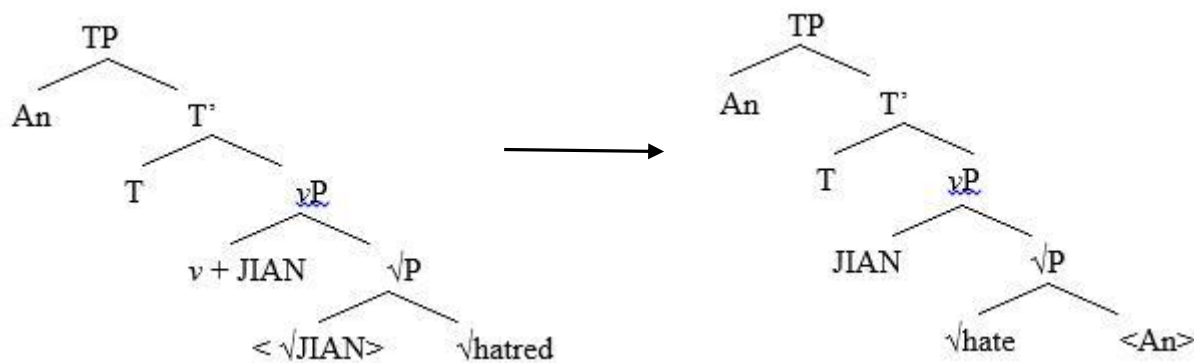
(Zuozhuan Ai 20 EAC)

An ye            jin     bu     jian     e,     tui            wu            bangyan.

An NMLZ        ise.up NEG     JIAN   hate,   go.down     not.have     defame

Reading A: ‘As for An, when (he) advanced in rank, he did not encounter hatred; when (he) demoted, (no one) defamed him.’

Reading B: ‘As for An, when (he) advanced in rank, he was not hated; when (he) demoted, (no one) defamed him.’



On the other hand, the WEI construction was reanalyzed as a biclausal WEI...SUO passive in Early Middle Chinese, which is the direct ancestor of the Mandarin Chinese long passive. This process is shown in (7). The trigger for the reanalysis was once again the DP complement's lexical ambiguity between a noun and a verb. When the DP complement was interpreted as a verb, the *n* head was relabeled as a *v* in the sense of Whitman (2000). The DP layer was subsequently pruned due to the mismatch between the selectional feature of the D and the



categorial feature of the light verb. In this way, the copula construction of the WEI construction was reanalyzed into a biclausal nested-*v*P construction.

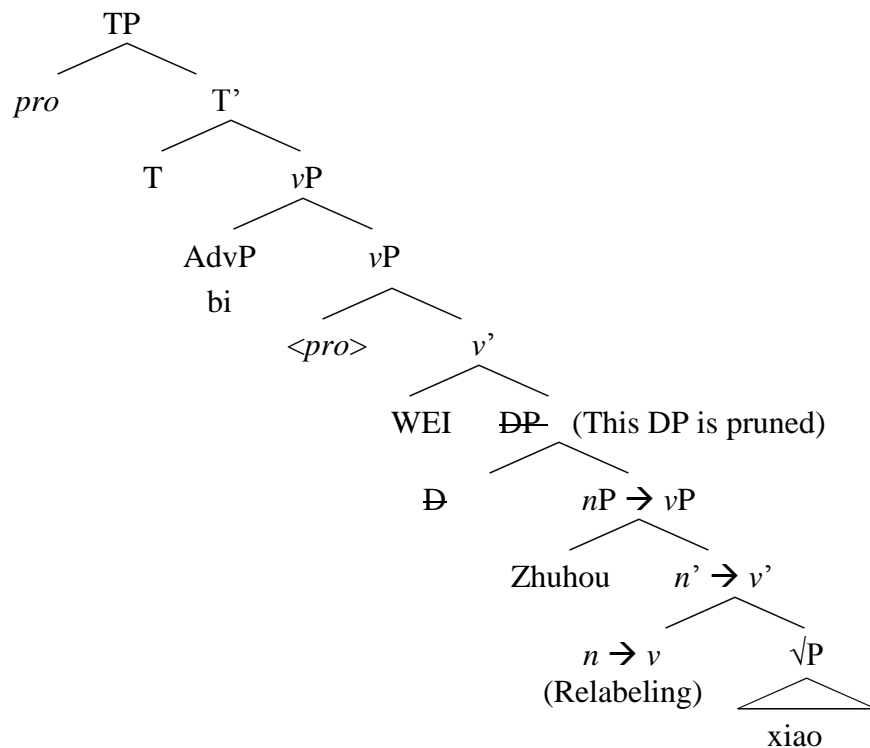
(7) 必為諸侯笑。

(Guoyu 9 LAC Cao 2012: 57)

Bi                      wei      zhuhou              xiao.

necessarily          WEI    lords              laugh

‘(It) certainly will be the lords’ laughing stock.’



Third, the A and A' distinction between Mandarin Chinese short and long passive results from the reanalysis of the transitive *jian* construction and the WEI construction. As shown in (6), after

the reanalysis, the transitive verb *jian* was grammaticalized into a passive auxiliary. The incorporated bare noun was in turn interpreted as the main verb. Its object underwent A-movement to [Spec, TP], where it was interpreted as the passive subject. On the other hand, after the Relabeling, as in (7), the DP complement became the main verb in the WEI construction, an unpronounced object was also deduced by the first language learners. In Chapter 5, I have shown that it is not possible to interpret this unpronounced object as a *pro* or the trace of topicalization. The only option for the first language learners is that the object was coindexed with the subject (though was not its trace). Thus, the unpronounced object position was interpreted as the trace of a null operator which had moved to [Spec, v1P] to be coindexed with the matrix subject, as in (8). The A'-properties of Mandarin Chinese long passives are inherited from this reanalysis process.

(9) summaries the development of Mandarin Chinese passive constructions.

	LAC	EMC	MC	LMC
Monoclausal Passives	JIAN Passive	JIAN Passive	a. JIAN Passive b. Short Passive	Short Passive
Biclausal Passives	WEI construction	WEI...SUO Passive	a. WEI...SUO Passive b. Long Passive	Long Passive

In sum, the dichotomy of Mandarin Chinese passive constructions can be naturally traced back to their Archaic Chinese sources. Their distinct sources and diachronic developments endowed them with different syntactic properties. They developed independently along two distinct lines. These two distinct lines of development, however, are shown to be governed by the same principles in Minimalist Syntax. Specifically, the development of Chinese passive constructions

supports the view that syntactic change is the result of parameter resetting in first language acquisition (Roberts and Roussou 2003, Roberts 2007), which is triggered by parametric ambiguity (P-ambiguity).

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