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From WEI...SUO passives to long passives

0. Introduction

➢ Long passives: the passive subject precedes the passive marker BEI. An agent is embedded under BEI.

➢ Short passives: no embedded 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.'

➢ WEI...SUO passives are similar to Mandarin Chinese (MC) long passives:
a. Both constructions embed a clausal constituent which includes an overt agent under the matrix verb.
b. The matrix subject is related to a gap in the embedded clause.

(3) 負 石 自　 投 於 河,　為　 河鱉 所　 食。

   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."

                                                                    (*Zhuangzi,* Daozhi)

1. Summary of the main proposals and an overview of the presentation

   In this presentation, I will propose:
   1. MC long passives and WEI...SUO passives share many syntactic similarities.
   2. MC long passives did not evolve from the short passives but has an independent historical source.
   3. MC long passives originated from the WEI...SUO passives.

2. The structure of long passives

2.1 Biclausal analysis for MC long passives

➢ Huang (1999): MC long passives are biclausal. They involve A'-movement.

(3) a. [Zhangsan [$_{VP}$ bei [$_{IP}$ Op Lisi [$_{VP}$ V hit t_{Op}]]]].
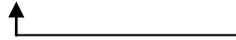
b. [The Lakers [$_{VP}$are [$_{IP}$Op *tough* to [$_{VP}$beat t_{Op}]]]

➢ MC long passives embed a simple *v*P.
a. the embedded clause is non-finite
b. elements, such as some adverbs, that are usually associated to TP are not allowed in the embedded clause.

(4)   [$_{TP}$ Zhangsan [$_{vP}$ $t_{Zhangsan}$[BEI [$_{vP}$ Op [$_{v'}$ Lisi [$_{VP}$ piping t_{Op}]] le]]]

2.1 Syntactic properties of MC long passives

➢ The passive subject can be modified by subject-oriented adverbs (cf. footnote 1).

➢ The agent NP forms a constituent with the following VP.

(5) ta   bei Zhangsan yiwang le,   Lisi hushi   le.
    he   BEI Zhangsan forget   ASP, Lisi ignore   ASP
    'He was forgot by Zhangsan and ignored by Lisi.'

➢ MC long passives exhibit island constraints on movements.

(6)* Zhangsan bei   wo tongzhi Lisi ba [$_{DP}$ [$_{RC}$zanmei __]de   shu] maizou   le.
    Zhangsan BEI wo   inform Lisi BA   praise   DE book buy-away ASP
    'Zhangsan had me inform Lisi to buy up the books that praise him.'
                                                                    (Huang et al. 2009: 125)

➢ MC long passives exhibit unbounded dependencies

(7) Zhangsan   bei [Lisi   pai   wo [piping   ___ le]].
    Zhangsan BEI   Lisi   send   I   criticize   ASP
    Intended meaning: Zhangsan was criticized by me, who was sent to do so by Lisi.

➢ MC long passives can optionally take SUO

(8) Zhangsan   bei   Lisi   **suo**   piping   le.
   Zhangsan   BEI   Lisi   SUO   criticize   ASP.
   'Zhangsan was critized by Lisi.'

➢ Chiu (1995): SUO[1] evokes A'-movement in MC.

(9) a. [zui   heshi   gei   Lisi   SUO kan de] shu
      most appropriate   give   Lisi   SUO read DE book
   'the book that it is most appropriate for Lisi to read'

  b. [[Lisi kan e_i] zui   heshi   de]   shu$_i$
     Lisi read   most   appropriate DE   book
     'the book that it is most appropriate for Lisi to read'

  c. *[[Lisi **suo**   kan e_i] zui   heshi   de] shu$_i$
      Lisi SUO   read   most   appropriate DE book
    'the book that it is most appropriate for Lisi to read'
                             (Chiu 1995, Aldridge 2011a: 20)

2.2 Non-finite embedded clause in MC long passives

➢ **Non-finite embedded clause in long passives:** there is no CP layer in the embedded clause. The overt agent has to get case from the matrix light *v*. An embedded CP layer would block the agreement between the agent and matrix light *v* because of PIC (Chomsky 2005, 2008)

(10)   [$_{TP}$ Zhangsan [$_{vP}$ $t_{Zhangsan}$[BEI [$_{vP}$ Op [$_{v'}$ Lisi [$_{VP}$ piping t_{Op}]] le]]]
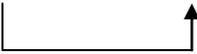
                             [ACC]

➢ Lin (2011): MC epistemic modals take finite TP complements; MC root modals take non-finite TP complements.

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    [1] SUO was originally a noun meaning 'place'. This meaning can still be found in some compound nouns in Mandarin Chinese, such as huisuo 'meeting place'. SUO was grammaticalized into a functional head in Archaic Chinese. Specifically, it was a light verb in Archaic Chinese object relative clauses. The edge feature of SUO triggers operator movement within object relative clauses. (42) is a brief summary of Aldridge's (2013) analysis of Archaic Chinese object relative clauses.

(11) a. Zhangsan$_i$ keneng[$_{TPfinite}$ t_i xihuan   ta].
       Zhangsan   is-likely-to   like   her.
       'Zhangsan is likely to like her.'
     b. Zhangsan$_i$ neng [$_{TPnon-finite}$ PRO   xihuan   ta].
       Zhangsan be-able-to   like   her.
       'Zhangsan is able to like her.'

➢   Shen (2004): MC *le* heads an AspP. It has to be licensed by a finite T.

➢   Lin (2011): *le* cannot be licensed within the complement clause of an MC root modal.

(12) Zhangsan neng   qu Taibei le.
    Zhangsan be-able-to go Taipei PERF

    le > neng: [Zhangsan neng [qu Taibei] le]
              'It has become the case that Zhangsan is able to go to Taipei.'

    # *neng > le*:   [Zhangsan neng [qu Taibei le]]
              *'Zhangsan is able to have gone to Taipei.'   (Lin 2011: 53)

➢   Lin (2011): *le* only takes the narrow scope when there is an epitemic modal in the matrix clause.

(13)   Zhangsan keneng   qu Taibei le.
      Zhangsan be-able-to go Taipei PERF

      #le > keneng: [Zhangsan keneng [qu Taibei] le].
      'It has become possible that Zhangsan goes to Taipei.'

      keneng > le: [Zhangsan keneng [qu Taibei le]].
      'Zhangsan may have gone to Taipei.'

➢   *le* only has the right scope reading in MC long passives.

(14) Zhangsan bei   Lisi da   le.
    Zhangsan BEI   Lisi beat PERF

    le > bei: [Zhangsan [bei Lisi da] le]
               'Zhangsan has suffered from the fact that Lisi beat him.'

    #*bei > le*:   [Zhangsan bei [Lisi da le]]
             *'Zhangsan is suffering from the fact that Lisi has beaten him.'

➤ C.-C. J. Tang (2001): *gang* 'just' and *yijing* 'already' can only be licensed within a finite clause.

(15) 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)   neng   (*gang)   shuo   yingwen.
     he just   can   just   speak   English
     'He is (just) able to speak English.'   (Tang 2001: 233)

➤ MC long passives only allow *yijing* and *gang* to appear in the matrix clause.

(16)   Zhangsan (yijing/gang) bei   Lisi (*yijing/*gang) piping   le.
        Zhangsan (already/just) BEI   Lisi (*already/just)   criticize   ASP
   'Zhangsan has already/just been criticized by Lisi.'

2.3 No embedded TP layer in MC long passives

➤ Huang (1999) assumes that the landing site for the operator is [Spec, IP].
➤ Chomsky (2005): the landing site for A'-movement should only be specifiers of a phase head. [Spec, IP] is not a legitimate landing site for A'-movement.

(17)   [Zhangsan [$_{VP}$ bei [$_{IP}$ Op Lisi [$_{VP}$ V da t_{Op} le]]]].
      Zhangsan   BEI   Lisi   hit   ASP
      'Zhangsan was hit by Lisi.'

➤ C.-C. J. Tang (2001): MC wei benefective PP adjoins to T, outer Asp or V.

(18) (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.'
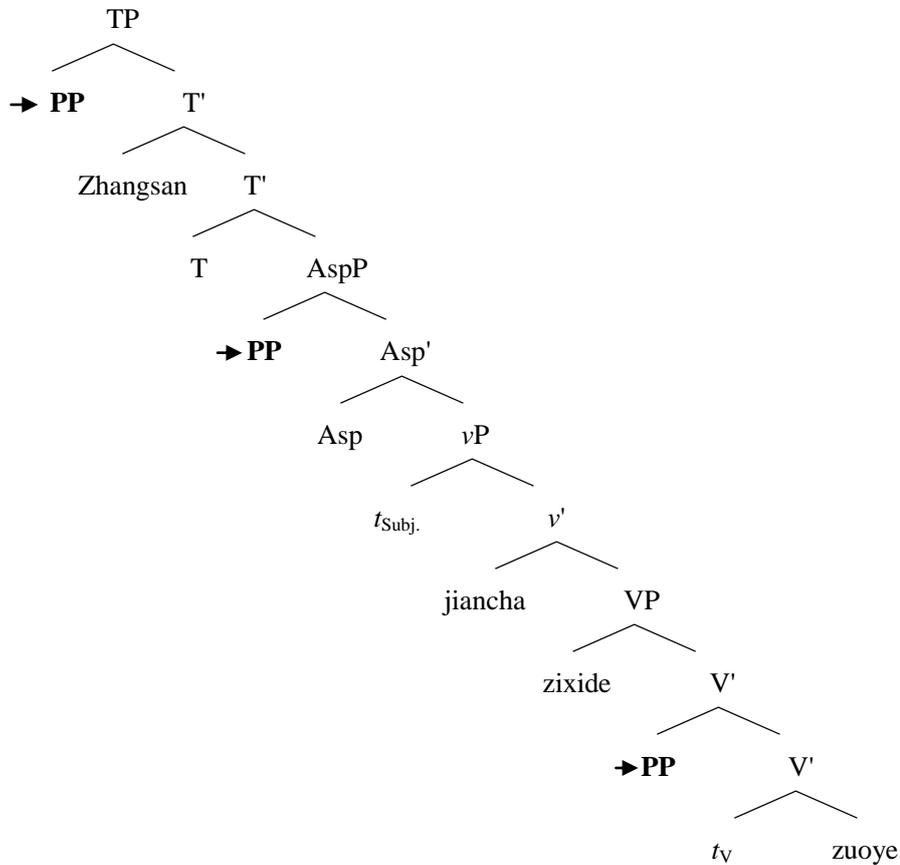
> Only the lowest PP in (18) is allowed in the embedded clause in MC long passives.

(19) 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): *rengran* 'still' adjoins to outer Asp.

(20) (*rengran) Zhangsan (rengran)　　 zixi-de (*rengran)　　 xie zuoye.
　　 (still)　　　 Zhangsan (still)　　 carefully (still)　　　 write homework
　　 'Zhangsan still does the homework carefully.'

➢ MC long passives only allow *rengran* to appear in the matrix clause.

(21) Zhangsan (rengran) bei Lisi (*rengran) zenghen.
　　 Zhangsan (still) 　　BEI Lisi (still) 　　　hate
　　 'Zhangsan was still hated by Lisi.'

➢ C.-C. J. Tang (2001): MC temporal adverbs can be licensed by T or outer Asp.

(23) (jintian) 　　ta (jintian) 　hen 　kaixin.
　　 (today) 　　he (today) very happy
　　 'He is very happy today.'

➢ MC long passives do not allow embedded temporal adverbs.

(24) Zhangsan (zuotian) 　　bei Lisi (*zuotian) piping 　le.
　　 Zhangsan 　　(yesterday) BEI Lisi (yesterday) criticize ASP
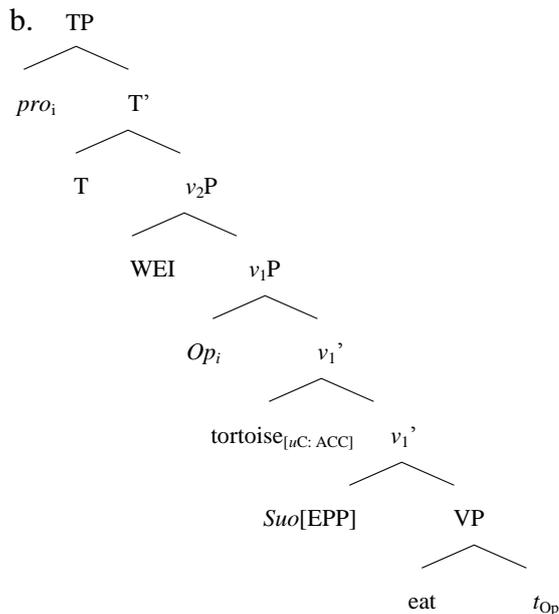　　 'Zhangsan has been criticized by Lisi yesterday.'

The structure of MC long passives:

(25) [$_{TP}$ Zhangsan [$_{vP}$ $t_{Zhangsan}$[BEI [$_{vP}$ Op [$_{v'}$ Lisi [$_{VP}$ piping t_{Op}]] le]]]

3. The structure of WEI...SUO passives

(26) a. 為　　河鱉　所　　食

　　　 wei 　hebie 　suo 　shi
　　　 WEI tortoise SUO 　eat
　　 "(he) was eaten by a tortoise." 　　　　　　　　　　　　(*Zhuangzi*, Daozhi)

b.

- ➢ A null operator is merged with the verb.
- ➢ SUO is a light verb which select the embedded VP. The agent is base-generated in the specifier position of the vP headed by SUO.
- ➢ This vP is selected by a higher vP headed by WEI.
- ➢ The operator moves the [Spec, v_1P] to check the EPP on SUO.
- ➢ The matrix subject is base-generated in [Spec, v_2P]. It subsequently moves to [Spec, TP] to check the EPP.

3.1 Movement in the SUO clause

1. The embedded clause in WEI...SUO passives is sensitive to locality constraints on movement. I have not found evidence that the operator moves across island boundaries.

2. SUO triggers island effects (Chiu 1995)

(27) a. [[Lisi   kan e_i] zui   heshi   de]   shu$_i$
      Lisi read   most   appropriate DE   book
   'the book that it is most appropriate for Lisi to read'

  b. *[[Lisi **suo**   kan e_i] zui   heshi   de] shu$_i$
      Lisi SUO   read   most   appropriate DE book
    'the book that it is most appropriate for Lisi to read'
                                         (Chiu 1995, Aldridge 2011a: 20)

3.2 The position of SUO

3.2.1 The absence of CP or TP layer between WEI and SUO

- ➢ Imperative negator wu 無 'do not' never appear between WEI and SUO.

(28) 無   為   吏   所   獲。

    wu   wei   li   suo   huo.
    do.not WEI   officer SUO   catch
    'Do not be caught by officers.'   (*Sanguo Zhi*, 1)

- ➢ Wei (1999): jiang always follows subject *wh*-words but precedes object *wh*-words.
- ➢ Aldridge (2010): Archaic Chinese object wh-elements moves to the edge of vP while subject wh-words remain in [Spec, TP].

(29) a. 誰　　將　　　治　　　之？

    Shei **jiang** zhi zhi?
    who will govern them
    'Who will govern them?'   (*Yanzi Chunqui*, Nei 1.13 Aldridge to appear : 16)

  b. 我　　將　　　何　求？

    Wo **jiang** *he* qiu?
    I will what ask.for
    'What will I ask for?'   (*Zuozhuan*, Xi 28 Aldridge to appear: 16)

➢ In WEI...SUO passives, *jiang* always precedes WEI.

(30) 今　　不　早　圖，　　　將　　為　　所　　　制。

    jin bu zao tu, jiang wei suo zhi.
    now Neg early consider will WEI SUO control
    'If we do not consider it earlier now, we would be controlled by it.'

                                    (*Sanguo Zhi*, 6)

➢ Aldridge (2013): *jie* is located outside of *v*P. In WEI...SUO passives, *jie* always precedes WEI.

(31) 皆 可　謂 能　禮　　士　　　矣。

    Jie **ke** wei neng li shi yi.
    all PASS say can respect gentleman PERF
    '(They) all can be said to be able to respect a man of class.'
                       (*Lüshi Chunqiu* 13.5, Aldridge to appear: 13)

(32) 道　　逢　　匈奴　　騎　多，皆 為 所　殁。
    dao feng xiongnu qi duo jie wei suo mo
    road encounter Xiongnu cavalry many all WEI SUO kill
    "(they) encountered many Xiongnu cavalries on their road, all of (them) were
    slaughtered."   (*Houhanshu*, liezhuan 9)

➢ ECM construction which has an embedded TP layer allows embedded derived subject.

(63) a. I expect the Heat to be defeated by the Mavs.

b.使　　國　可　長　保　而　傳　于　　子孫，

Shi　[guo　ke　chang　bao　er　chuan　yu　　zisun],
make　nation Pass　long　keep Conj　pass　to　descendant

豈　不　　樂　　哉？

qi　bu　le　zai?
Part　not　joy　Excl
　"To make the nation be able to be maintained for a long time and passed on to one's descendants; is this not a cause for joy?"

<div align="right">(<i>Yanzi Chunqiu</i> 1.16 Aldridge 2011: 14)</div>

➢ Archaic Chinese object relative clauses can also embed derived subject, since it has embedded TP layer.

(34) a. 是　不材　　之　　木　　也，無　　　所　可　　用。

Shi bucai　zhi　mu　ye, wu　[*pro* suo　**ke**　yong].

this worthless GEN　tree　TOP not.exist　SUO PASS.POT use
　'There is no place for this worthless tree to be used.'
<div align="right">(<i>Zhuangzi</i> 1.4 Aldridge to appear: 47)</div>

b.[$_{DP}$ D$_{[uC: GEN]}$ [$_{nP}$ [$_{TP}$ sub$_{j[uC: GEN]}$ [SUO[$_{vP}$Op[$_{v'}$<Subj>[t_{SUO}[$_{VP}$ V <Op>]]]]]] ZHE]]

➢ There is no attested example in which a WEI...SUO passive embed a derived subject.

3.2.2 SUO is above vP-internal functional projections

➢ The SUO in existential constructions and the SUO in WEI...SUO passives occupy the same syntactic position.

(35)　大夫　　　有　所　　往。
　daifu　　　you　**suo**　wang
　grand master have　SUO　go
　"The grand masters has someplace to go."　　　　　　　(*Liji*, yuzao)

➢ The modal *jiang* in existential relative constructions always precedes the existential verb

(36) 子　　之　於　　学　也，　将　　有　　所　不　行　　乎？
zi　　zhi　yu　xue　ye,　jiang　　you　　suo　bu　xing　　hu
2.SG　　GEN YU study PAR　will　　have　　SUO Neg practice Q.PAR
'As for your attitude toward study, is there anything that you will not practice?'
<div align="right">(Zhanguo Ce, 24)</div>

➢ SUO in existential relative constructions never precedes the subject oriented quantifier *jie*.

(37) 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。

da　　zhi　yu　qi　　suo　ren,　ren　　ye.
extend　it　to　3SG.GEN　SUO tolerate　humanity PAR
'People all have something that they do not tolerate. If you extend it to the things you tolerate, this is humanity.'
<div align="right">(Mencius, jinxin)</div>

➢ The imperative negator wu always appears between existential verbs and SUO.

(38) 專　　而　　農民，　　毋　　有　　所　　使。

zhuan　　er　　nongmin　wu　　you　suo　shi
focus　　2.SG　farmer　do.not　have　SUO　employ
'Let your farmar focus on preparing next year's work. Do not employ them (to do other things). '　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　(*Liji*, 6)

➢ SUO precedes the high applicative head *yi*.

(39) 夫　天　生　　　蒸民，　　有　所　以　取　之。
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.'
<div align="right">(*Xunzi*, rongru)</div>

➢ Aldridge (2012): yi is a high applicative head. It undergoes head movement to adjoin to light *v*.

(40) a. [$_{TP}$ Subj [$_{T'}$ T [$_{vP}$ <Subj> [$_{v'}$ *v*+*yi* [$_{ApplP}$ DP [$_{Appl'}$ <*yi*> [$_{VP}$ V DP]]]]]]]

b. [$_{vP}$ Subj$_j$ [$_{v'}$ *v*+YOU [$_{VP}$<YOU>[$_{vP}$*pro*$_j$[$_{v'}$SUO$_i$ [$_{ApplP}$ Op$_i$ [$_{Appl'}$ *yi*[$_{VP}$ V DP]]]]]]]]

4. From WEI...SUO passives to long passives

➤ MC BEI long passives and WEI...SUO passives are similar

(41) a. WEI...SUO passives
$[_{v2P}$Matrix Subj$_i[_{v2'}$WEI$[_{v1P}$Op$_i[_{v1'}$Agent$[_{v1'}$SUO$_{[EPP]}$ $[_{VP}$V $t_{Opi}]]]]]]$

b. MC BEI long passives
$[_{v2P}$Matrix Subj$_i$ $[_{v2'}$ BEI $[_{v1P}$ Op$_i$ $[_{v1'}$ Agent $[_{VP}$ V $t_{Opi}]]$ le$]]$

➤ The diachronic change from WEI...SUO passives to MC BEI long passives involve two steps:
a. the loss of SUO
b. the lexical replacement of WEI by BEI

4.1 Diachronic change

➤ Aldridge (2013): SUO is obligatory for object relative clauses until the 1st century BCE.

(42) $[D_{[GEN]}[_{TP}$ Subj$_{[Gen]}$ $[_{T'}$ SUO$_i$ $[_{vP}$ Op$_i$ $[_{v'}$ $t_{Subj.}$ $[t_{SUO}$ $[_{VP}$ $t_{Op}]]]]]]]]$

(43) a. 我請君塞兩耳無聽談者。

wo	qing	jun	sai	liang	er
1.Sg	ask	lord	close	two	ear

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.'
(1st C. BCE; *Zhanguoce*, Zhao 1 Aldridge to appear: 34)

➤ Aldridge (2013): 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.

(44) a. 天下之無道也久矣。

[Tianxia	**zhi**	wu	dao	ye]	jiu	yi.
world	GEN	not.have	way	NMLZ	long	PERF

'It is a long time since the world has been without the proper way.'
(5th C. BCE; *Analects* 3 Aldridge to appear: 33)

b.　　　天下無道久矣。

　　　[Tianxia　wu　　　　dao]　jiu　　yi.
　　　world　not.have　　way　　long　　PERF
　　'It is a long time since the world has been without the proper way.'

<div align="right">(1st C. CE; <i>Shiji</i> 47 Aldridge to appear: 33)</div>

➢ Aldridge (2013)*:* proposed that genitive case marking is crucial for learners to acquire the marked nominalization structure of embedded clauses.

I propose:

➢ The loss of SUO in object relative clauses triggered the loss of SUO in WEI...SUO passives.

➢ Around SUI period, the WEI was replaced by BEI through lexical replacement process.
  a. The loss of SUO triggered ambiguity in WEI...SUO passives. A new marker is needed for the passiveness.
  b. BEi has already been a passive marker at that time.[2]
  c. BEI rhymed with WEI at that time.

➢ With the loss of SUO, the WEI...SUO became 'WEI + Agent + V'

➢ 'WEI + Agent + V' is ambiguous because WEI is a copular verb. This structure could be interpreted as 'WEI + [$_{RC}$ Agent + verb]'.

(45) a.槎　　　浮，　則　　　船　　　為 之 破壞。

　　　jie　　fu　　ze　　　chuan　　wei zhi pohuai
　　　not PAR　branch float　then　　boat　　WEI it　destroy
　　'The branch floats. Then the boat is destroyed by it.'　　　(*youminglu*[3])

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[2] Baxter & Sagart (n.d.) reconstruct the passive BEI as *m-p(r)ajʔ glossed 'cover self with'; *m- here is presumably their "*m$_{1a}$-: changes a nonvolitional verb into a volitional one, at times with causative overtones. BEI subsequently carried the meaning of 'suffer; receive' and became a transitive verb as shown in (1).

(1)　萬　　民　　被　　其　　　利。
　　wan　　min　　bei　　qi　　　li
　　million people　receive　3.GEN　　benefit
　　'Millions of people receive his benefits.'　　(4 C. BCE. *Mozi*, shangxian)

Later on, BEI grammaticalized into a passive marker in Early Middle Chinese, as in (2) (Wei 1994). Note that there is no Agent DP following BEI in these passive constructions. This type of construction continues to exist in modern Mandarin as the short passive construction (cf. 1b).

(2)　錯 卒　　以　被　　　戮。
　　Cuo zu　　yi　bei　　　lu.
　　Cuo finally for　BEI　execute

　'In the end, he (Chao Cuo) was executed for (this).' (1st C. BCE; *Shiji* 122, Kuli)

Huang (2009 et al.) shows that MC short passives are structurally different from MC long passives. See appendix for details.

[3] This is a book written in mid 4th century CE.

4.2 Gapless long passives

(47) 被　　猴行者　　　　化　　　一　團　大　　石。
　　　BEI　Monkey King　transform　one CL　big　　rock
　　　Intended reading: '(He) suffered from the fact that the Monkey King turned into a
　　　big rock (and entered into his belly).'　　　　　　　　(*Datang sanzang qujing shihu*)

➢　Gapless passives embed a finite clause which is selected by the transitive verb
　　BEI. They are different from BEI long passives.
➢　BEI long passives are not diachronically related to the fully biclausal structure
　　projected by the transitive verb BEI.

Evidence: gapless passives take finite clausal complement
➢　In gapless passives, aspect marker can take scope within the embedded clause.

(48) 却　被 刘鄩　将　　五　千　　　军　在 河　　曲田地 里　　藏伏 了，
　　　but BEI Liuxun JIANG five thousand army in river bend field inside hide ASP
　　　...围　　　了 晋王　　　数　　重。
　　　surround ASP King.of.Jin several　CL
　　'However, (Jin's King) suffered from the fact that Liuxun had already hid five
　　thousand soldiers in the river bend and in the field... they surrounded the King
　　tightly.'　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　(*wudaishi pinghua*)

➢　embedded temporal adverbs are allowed in gapless passives while they are not
　　allowed in BEI long passives

(49) 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。
　　　　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.'　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　(*shuihuzhuan* 85)

➢　Imperfective modal yao is allowed in gapless passives but is not allowed in BEI
　　long passives.

(50) 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。

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.' (*Jingshi tongyan* 9)

Based on the data discussed above, I propose that gapless passives embed a full finite CP under BEI, as shown in (51).

The structure of gapless passives:

(51) [$_{vP}$ Subj [v [$_{VP}$ BEI [$_{CP}$ ...]]]]

➢ Transitive verb BEI is correlated to gapless passives.
➢ Four books I studied:

dunhuang bianwen	(700~900 A.D. Tang Period)
zhuzi yulei	(1263 A.D. late Southern Song)
jingshi hengyan	(1627 A.D. late Ming)
guanchang xianxingji	(1903 A.D. late Qing)

(52) Table: transitive BEI and gapless long passives

Text	Total number of BEI[4]	Transitive BEI		Gapless passives	
dunhuang bianwen	283	8	2.8%	10	3.5%
zhuzi yulei	670	32	4%	78	11%
jingshi hengyan	345	1	0.2%	9	2.6%
guanchang xianxingji	531	1	0.1%	6	1.1%

➢ The gapless passives decreased as the usage of transitive BEI decreased. This further supports my analysis of the gapless passives.

5. Conclusion

This paper has shown and proposed that:

1. The MC BEI long passives and the WEI...SUO passives share similar syntactic structure: both embed a vP under the matrix verb.

2. The MC BEI long passives descend from the WEI...SUO passives. The change involves two steps: a. the loss of SUO; b. the lexical replacement of WEI with BEI.

3. MC long passive did not descend directly from the agent-less BEI passives in Middle Chinese.

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[4] 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).

Appendix: difference between MC short passives and MC long passives

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 MC long passive constructions (1a), it is not allowed in short passives, as shown in (1b):

(1) a.Zhangsan   bei   Lisi   suo   piping   le.
  Zhangsan   BEI   Lisi   SUO   criticize ASP.
  'Zhangsan was critized by Lisi.'

 b.*Zhangsan   bei   suo piping   le.
  Zhangsan   BEI   SUO   criticize   ASP.
  'Zhangsan was critized.'

Another difference between long and short passives is long distance dependencies. In the previous section, I have shown that long distance dependencies can be established in long passives (repeated in 2a). However, as (2b) shows, cross-clausal dependency is not allowed in short passives.

(2) a. Zhangsan   bei [Lisi   pai   wo [piping   ___   le]].
  Zhangsan BEI   Lisi   send   I   criticize   ASP
  Intended meaning: 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.'

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