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## Deriving Various Affected Subjects in *Bei*-passives

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**Abstract.** This paper investigates the thematic types and derivations of subjects in Mandarin *bei*-passives. Based on an examination of the categorial status of *bei* discussed in the literature, we try a new approach by adopting Liu and Huang's [5] view that the mechanism of deriving *bei*-passives is argument raising (in which *bei* is a semi-lexical verb heading the Voice projection), and propose a simplified and unified account of *bei*-passives' Experiencer and Possessor subjects, as well as their typical Patient subjects. Specifically, we propose that the high applicative *gei* proposed in Hsu and Qu [7] can account structurally for the source of the Experiencer in *bei*-passives. We then present how the structure proposed in this paper accounts for Possessor related subjects in *bei*-passives, and explain the interpretations and the possible derivation of an extra implicit affected subject in *bei*-passives.

**Keywords:** *bei* passives, raising, high applicative, implicit subject, *gei* 'give', Mandarin

## 1 Introduction

This paper examines the interpretations and derivations of an interesting but understudied aspect of the Mandarin *bei*-passive construction – an atypical thematic role expressed by the subject. Typically, a Mandarin *bei*-passive allows the optional use of semantic Agent. Accordingly, researchers have often referred to those passive sentences with an overt Agent as the long *bei*-passive, as in (1), and those without an overt Agent as the short *bei*-passive, as in (2) [1-3].

- (1) Long *bei*-passive:  
Zhangsan bei Lisi da-le.  
Zhangsan BEI Lisi hit-LE  
'Zhangsan was hit by Lisi.' ([3]: 112)
- (2) Short *bei*-passive:  
Zhangsan bei da-le.  
Zhangsan BEI hit-LE  
'Zhangsan was hit.' ([3]: 112)

While the subject in a canonical passive sentence is often the semantic Patient of the event, some researchers have noted that the Mandarin *bei*-passive allows the subject position to be occupied by a non-Patient argument. In (3), for example, the subject *Zhangsan* is the possessor of the direct object *baba* 'father'. However, in that sentence, *Zhangsan* is only indirectly associated with the bandits' killing of his father. In a more common passive form of the same sentence, as in (4), the subject *Zhangsan's father* is the direct sufferer of the event.

- (3) Zhangsan bei tufei da-si-LE baba.  
 Zhangsan BEI bandits hit-die-LE father  
 'Zhangsan was father-killed by the bandits.' ([3]: 142)

- (4) Zhangsan(-de) baba bei tufei da-si-le.  
 Zhangsan's father BEI bandits hit-die-LE  
 'Zhangsan's father was killed by the bandits.'

The subject in (3) can be understood as the Possessor of the Patient of the event. This is one of the special subjects found in Mandarin *bei*-passives. Some scholars have therefore suggested that the subjects of *bei*-passives can be vaguely associated with the event described [2], and others suggested that they may or may not be overtly expressed [4]. For example, (5) is clearly about the event 'Wangwu hit a home run'. However, when this sentence is presented in isolation, it is unclear what role *Lisi* plays in that event.

- (5) Lisi bei Wangwu jichu-le yi-zhi quan-lei-da.  
 Lisi BEI Wangwu hit-LE one-CL home-run  
 'Lisi had Wangwu hit a home run on him.' ([3]: 462-463)

Unlike (5), the subject position in (6a) is empty, and the semantic Patient (i.e., *zhe ye* 'this page') is retained in its original object position together with the Agent (i.e., *wo* 'I') following *bei*. In other words, the segment after *bei* in (6a) is a complete sentence by itself, and yet, readers of the full sentence may still perceive that some person or entity external to the event being described was unwillingly, adversatively, or unfortunately affected (see [5] for further discussion). Example (6b) represents a similar type of sentence, in which the implicit subject seems to be associated with the speaker's comment about the event 'he succeeded' – as implied by *zui-ou-de shi* 'what's the most upsetting is', and *juran* 'surprisingly'.

- (6) a. Juran bei wo zai Taiwan-Yahoo shang zhaodao zhe ye.  
 surprisinglyBEI I on Taiwan-Yahoo on find this page  
 'Surprisingly, this page was found by me on Taiwan Yahoo.'  
 b. Zui-ou-de shi juran hai bei ta chenggong-le.  
 most-upsetting be surprisingly even BEI he succeed-LE.  
 'What's the most upsetting is that, surprisingly, he even succeeded.' ([4]: 430)

Although previous studies have mentioned similar examples of such atypical subjects in *bei*-passives (cf. [6]), to the best of our knowledge, there have been no

systematic investigations of either how such subjects are derived, or the sources of the interpretations they are given. In this paper, therefore, we entertain the proposal that Mandarin *bei* is a semi-lexical verb that takes a raising structure to form long passives, and show that adopting the high applicative projection proposed by [7], in combination with a revised version of the raising structure discussed in [5], facilitates a unified account of different thematic types of subjects in Mandarin *bei*-passives.

## 2 Issues around Canonical *Bei*-passives

### 2.1 The categorial status of *bei*

Mandarin *bei*-passives have been a topic with extensive discussion among linguists, involving both the surface realization of participants' roles in an event, and the categorial status of *bei*. Regarding the latter, four main proposals have been made, i.e., that *bei* – is a verb [1-4, 8-9]; is a preposition [10-11]; occupies a dual-status category [12-14]; and is a semi-lexical verb [5, 15].

Earlier studies have suggested that, much like the *by*-phrase in English passives, *bei* can be understood as a preposition introducing an Agent argument [10-11]. However, some challenges remain if one adopts this understanding. First, if *bei* were a preposition, many short *bei* passives would exhibit preposition stranding (e.g., *Zhangsan bei da-le*), which is generally not allowed for Prepositional Phrases (PPs) cross-linguistically [3-4]. Second, one might wonder why *bei* and its following NP (e.g., *bei Lisi* in (7)) cannot occur at the beginning of a sentence, unlike typical PPs (e.g., *dui Lisi* 'to Lisi' in (7)).

- (7) a. \*Bei Lisi Zhangsan zuotian da-le.  
       BEI Lisi Zhangsan yesterday hit-LE.  
       'By Lisi, Zhangsan was hit yesterday.' ([3]: 116)  
       b. Dui Lisi Zhangsan hen keqi.  
       to Lisi Zhangsan very polite.  
       'To Lisi, Zhangsan is very polite.' ([3]: 116)

Therefore, most of those who argue that *bei* is a verb [1-3] see it as the main verb which selects a clause (IP) as its complement to form the long *bei* passive (e.g., (8)). This involves an A'-movement of a null operator (NOP) that is later co-indexed with the subject through predication. When the main verb *bei* selects a VP to form a short passive (e.g., (9)), the process involves an A-movement of a PRO object to be controlled by the subject.

- (8) Zhangsan<sub>i</sub> bei [<sub>IP</sub> NOP<sub>i</sub> [<sub>IP</sub> Lisi da-le t<sub>i</sub>]].  
       Zhangsan BEI Lisi hit-LE  
       'Zhangsan was hit by Lisi.' ([3]: 138)  
       (9) Zhangsan<sub>i</sub> bei [<sub>VP</sub> PRO<sub>i</sub> da-le t<sub>i</sub>].  
       Zhangsan BEI hit-LE

'Zhangsan was hit.' ([3]: 138)

To support the analysis of A'-movement in long passives, some studies assume that the trace can be replaced by a resumptive pronoun [3][8]. However, [14] point out that this is impossible, as evidenced by the contrast between (10) and (11). Instead, they propose two categories of *bei* in Mandarin: *bei*<sub>1</sub>, a functional category taking a VP as its complement, and *bei*<sub>2</sub> which is understood as a preposition [13-14].

- (10) Zhangsan<sub>i</sub> bei tufei t<sub>i</sub> daduan-le Pro<sub>i</sub> tui.  
 Zhangsan bei bandits hit-broken-LE leg  
 'Zhangsan had his leg "hit to broken" by the bandits.' ([14]: 219)

- (11) \*Zhangsan bei tufei ta daduan-le Pro<sub>i</sub> tui.  
 Zhangsan bei bandits him hit-broken-LE leg  
 'Zhangsan had his leg "hit to broken" by the bandits.' ([14]: 219)

[14] noted that, when both *bei*<sub>1</sub> and *bei*<sub>2</sub> co-occur and form a long passive sentence with the structure shown in (12a), only one *bei* is pronounced, and ascribed this to haplology. When the *bei*<sub>2</sub> PP is not expressed, a short passive is formed (i.e., (12b)). This dual-status analysis of *bei*, which assumes the A-movement of the Patient object – raising from inside of the VP to the subject position for the nominative case [2-3] – has the advantage of presenting a unified account of long and short *bei*-passive sentences.

- (12) a. [PassiveP *bei*<sub>1</sub> [VP [PP *bei*<sub>2</sub> NP] VP]] ([14]: 220)  
 b. [PassiveP *bei*<sub>1</sub> VP] ([14]: 220)

Arguing in favor of the above dual-status analysis, Shi [13] shows that a subject-oriented adverb (e.g., *guyi* 'intentionally') can refer either to an implicit Agent pro, as in (13), or to the overt Agent: e.g., *duifang duiyuan* 'players of the other team' in (14). This suggests that the short *bei*-passive (e.g., (13)) can be derived by omitting the Agent from a long passive (e.g., (14)).

- (13) Dazhi bei pro guyi zhuangshang-le.  
 Dazhi BEI intentionally crash-injury-LE.  
 'Dazhi was intentionally given a "crash-injury".' ([13]: 115)

- (14) Dazhi bei duifang-duiyuan guyi zhuangshang-le.  
 Dazhi BEI the.other.team-players intentionally crash-injury-LE.  
 'Dazhi was intentionally given a "crash-injury" from players of the other team.'  
 ([13]: 116)

However, examples like (15) show that haplology [14] may not be a tenable solution in Chinese, because even the same type of *bei* sometimes co-occurs within a sentence to signal different structures. Thus, it is unclear why haplology has to apply to the two different categories of *bei* exemplified in (12a).

- (15) Zhangsan bei bei shitou jizhong-de ren sha-le.  
 Zhangsan BEI BEI the stone hit-DE the person kill-LE.  
 'Zhangsan was killed by the person who was hit by the stone.'

Moreover, while the dual-status analysis assumes a derived pure Patient subject, sentences like (16) indicate that the matrix subject position can also be an Agentive role rather than a pure Patient, because *guyi* 'intentionally' can modify it. Such sentences suggest that the subject of *bei*-passives is in the matrix subject position, and one possible explanation is that the subject may be directly merged at that position. Yet, this has not been discussed in any version of the dual-status account. Nonetheless, if external-merge of the subject is allowed, how such an Agentive subject obtains an additional Patient interpretation still calls for explanation.

- (16) Dazhi guyi bei duifang-duiyuan zhuangshang-le.  
 Dazhi intentionally BEI the.other.team-players crash-injury-LE.  
 'Dazhi intentionally got a "crash-injury" from players of the other team.' ([13]: 116)

In light of examples like (16), [5] propose that *bei* is a semi-lexical verb that can be decomposed to Experience (Exp) and Become (Bec), forming a control structure. As shown in (17), *bei* merges with the Voice head which takes *vP* as its complement, and undergoes a cyclic head movement to Bec, and then to Exp. In this derivation, the Patient PRO raises from VP object position to Spec,VoiceP and is licensed at Spec,BecP. The Experiencer *Zhangsan* is merged with the Spec,ExpP and co-indexed with the PRO in that position, and later moves to Spec,TP where it serves as the subject of the sentence. This derivation accounts for the fact that the subject of a *bei*-passive may have an Experiencer sense (e.g., *Zhangsan* in (17)) in addition to a typical Patient role.

- (17) Control structure of *bei*  
 [TP Zhangsan<sub>i</sub> [ExpP t<sub>i</sub> bei<sub>j</sub> [BecP PRO<sub>i</sub> t<sub>j</sub> [VoiceP t<sub>i</sub> t<sub>j</sub> [vP Lisi [vP t<sub>i</sub> da-le<sub>k</sub> [vP t<sub>k</sub> t<sub>i</sub>]]]]]]].  
 Zhangsan BEI Lisi hit-LE  
 'Zhangsan got hit by Lisi.' ([5]: 396)

However, as highlighted by Liu and Huang [5], both long and short *bei*-passive sentences allow idiom-chunk subjects. As the structure in (18) shows, this kind of sentence can be derived by raising the NP *pianyi* 'advantage' cyclically to the matrix subject position. When this happens, *bei* only projects up to BecP, not beyond it to ExpP.

- (18) Raising structure of *bei*  
 [TP Pianyi<sub>i</sub> dou [BecP t<sub>i</sub> bei<sub>j</sub> [VoiceP t<sub>i</sub> t<sub>j</sub> [vP (ta yi-ge-ren) [vP t<sub>i</sub> zhan-guang-le<sub>k</sub> [vP t<sub>k</sub> t<sub>i</sub>]]]]]]].  
 advantage all BEI (he alone) take-empty-LE  
 'All the advantage was taken (by him single-handedly).' ([5]: 389)

According to the same proposal [5], when there is no ExpP, the Experiencer can either be introduced by the applicative *gei* as an applicative argument (e.g., *gei wo* in (19)), or be implied from the discourse without being uttered.

- (19) Pianyi        dou        bei        ta        (gei        wo)        zhan-guang-le!  
 advantage    all        BEI        he        on        me        take-empty-LE  
 'All the advantage was taken by him on me!' ([5]: 390)

Liu and Huang [5] then conclude that when the subject of *bei*-passives is animate, it can be ambiguous as to whether that subject is an Experiencer-Patient or a pure Patient; and that, while passives with an Experiencer-Patient subject such as those in (16) and (17) are accounted for by the control structure, those with a pure Patient subject are accounted for by the raising structure. In the latter, the raising *bei* is derived from the control *bei* after argument suppression, in which an Experiencer may either be introduced as an applicative argument, as in (19), or remain implicit. Crucially, according to this proposal, the Experiencer subject introduced by the control *bei* has its own source, which is independent of the lower applicative Experiencer introduced by *gei*.

While this control-and/or-raising account of *bei* nicely captures several patterns of passives in Mandarin, we would like to bring up some data that suggest that animacy may not be the reason of an Experiencer flavored subject as suggested by [8].

First, animate subjects do not always show such Experiencer-Patient ambiguity in *bei*-passives and some data show that Experiencer subjects of *bei*-passives can be associated with the applicative position. In this case, such an Experiencer subject does not express the type of Experiencer-Patient subject [5] related to (16-17), suggesting different derivation sources of the two types of thematic roles. As (20) shows, the Experiencer subject *Lisi* can be related to the applicative Experiencer position (*e*) after the applicative *gei*, while the Patient ('one home run') remains in its object position. One may wonder how the control-and/or-raising account [5] can explain whether *bei* derives a control or a raising structure in cases like this, which contains a pure Experiencer subject.

- (20) Lisi        bei        Wangwu (gei)    *e*        jichu-le yi-zhi    quan-lei-da.  
 Lisi        BEI        Wangwu Appl        hit-LE    one-CL    home-run  
 'Lisi had been affected by Wangwu's hitting of a home run.'

In light of examples like (20), we suggest that the Experiencer reading is determined by the association of the subject and the experiencer role introduced by the applicative *gei*, but not by an accidental side-effect of animacy. This account can also explain the affected Experiencer role for the matrix subject of *bei*-passive in the event described, but crucially not the Patient, when *gei* in sentences like (20) is covert. Concerning the sentences like (16-17) whose subjects are Patient with an experiencer sense, we thank one of the anonymous reviewers for this comment and will show in section 3 that this is determined by the interaction of the structures of applicative *gei* and *bei*, rather than the *bei* structure alone as assumed in past analyses.

Second, it is not clear why the choices of the types of *bei* structure should be contingent on the occurrence of the (implicit) Experiencer introduced by *gei*. While *gei* can introduce an (extra) Experiencer to an event, such a beneficiary light-verb structure emerged in Chinese syntax around 221 B.C. [16]. However, typical Patient-as-subject *bei*-passives appeared between 220 and 589 A.D., and Experiencer/empty subject *bei*-

passives between 618 and 907 A.D. [17]. Diachronically speaking, it therefore seems odd to propose that *bei* should be conceptualized as two sub-components – Experience and Become. Moreover, the occurrence of an Experiencer is independent of the passive structure. For example, in the active sentence in (21), depending on context (e.g., *Lisi* bet a lot of money as the result of a baseball game) and with respect to the event described, *Lisi* can be interpreted as having either a benefactive or a malefactive role in Wangwu's home-run event.

- (21) Wangwu    *gei*    Lisi    *jichu-le yi-zhi quan-lei-da*.  
       Wangwu   Appl   Lisi   hit-LE one-CL home-run  
       'Lisi got Wangwu hit a home run for/on him.'

Third, the subject of *bei*-passives can have a Possessor role, which typically is not introduced by the applicative head *gei* (as in (3) repeated below), and is not the (direct) Patient of the event.

- (3) Zhangsan    *bei*    tufei    *da-si-le*    baba  
       Zhangsan   BEI   the bandits   hit-die-LE   the father  
       'Zhangsan was "father-killed" by the bandits.'

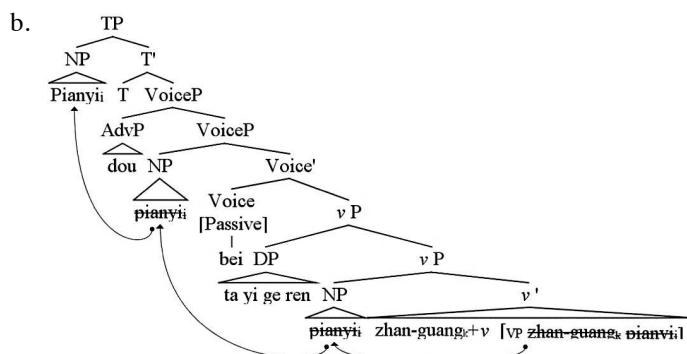
Therefore, while we accept the prior proposal that *bei* is a semi-lexical verb [5], we depart from their proposal of "*bei* as Become and Experience". The remainder of this paper will present a revised and simplified version of that proposal's raising *bei* structure. In combination with the high applicative phrase [7], our new proposal can derive both atypical and typical subjects in *bei*-passives, while avoiding the inconsistency in the previous proposals.

### 3 New Raising Structure of *Bei*-passives

Given that both short and long passives allow idiom-chunk subjects, and that the Experiencer realization introduced by *gei* is independent of passives, we propose a simplified raising structure of *bei*-passives, as shown in (22). That is, we propose that *bei* is a semi-lexical verb, whose status is like a light verb accounting for Voice, but is different from the Chomskyan light verb *v* (a view also held by [5] and [13]). The structure is shown in (22b).<sup>1</sup>

- (22) Revised raising structure of *bei*-passives  
 a. Panyi    *dou*    *bei*    *ta-yi-ge-ren zhan-guang*    *le*.  
    advantage   all   BEI   he-one-CL-person take-empty   LE  
    'All the advantage was taken by him alone.'

<sup>1</sup> We assume with Huang et al. [3] that an aspect phrase dominating the predicate (vP) accounts for the valuation of aspect marker *le* and the interpretation of the intended event. The detail of their suggested mechanism, however, is not included in the tree diagrams and the following discussion for ease of presentation.

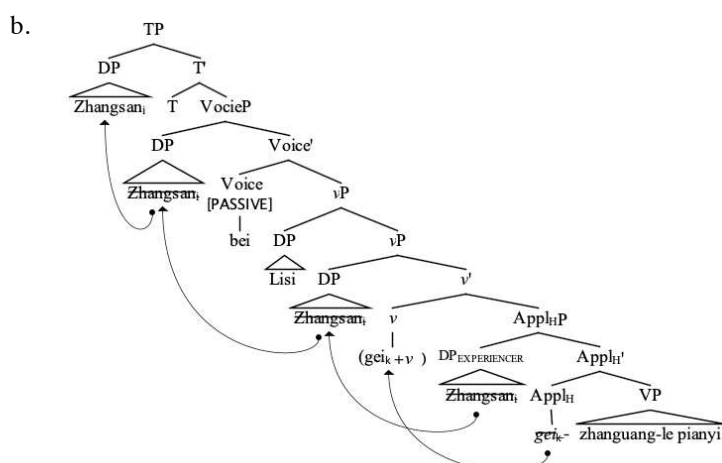


We assume that *bei* is a light-verb introducing an affected sense (cf. [18]) to its specifier, and its status may be similar to the Voice head and makes the (tucked-in) internal argument (cf. [19]) available for movement (cf. [5]: 395). However, we depart from previous suggestions that *bei* invokes BecP-ExpP [5], and propose that the internal argument (pure Patient and non-Patient) can move to Spec,TP directly. Pure Patient subjects of *bei*-passives will be derived as proposed by Liu and Huang [5].

When a *bei*-passive contains a pure Experiencer subject, the Experiencer is initially merged with the specifier of the high applicative head ( $\text{Appl}_H\text{P}$ ) dominated by the vP [7], deriving sentences like (21). Assuming with [7] that the directly merged high-applicative specifier obtains the Experiencer role and can undergo further raising, we propose that the passivization process of such sentences should be like that shown in (23).

(23) Raising structure for Experiencer subject

- a. Zhangsan bei Lisi (gei) zhanguang-le pianyi.  
Zhangsan BEI Lisi on/for take-empty-LE advantage  
'Zhangsan was affected by Lisi's taking all the advantage.'





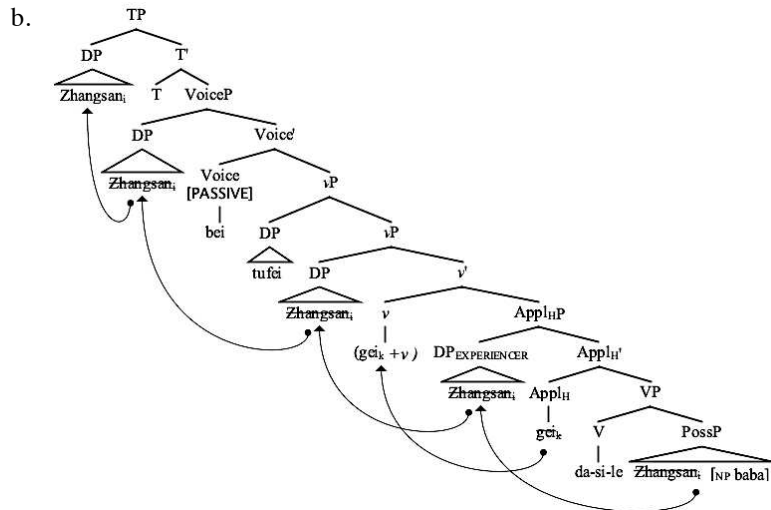
That is, the Experiencer introduced by the high applicative head, *Zhangsan*, first gets tucked into Spec,vP and then cyclically moves to Spec,TP. The applicative head *gei* that stay in the original positions may optionally be pronounced. This proposal accounts for the fact that an Experiencer subject of *bei*-passive does not always carry a Patient flavor (contrary to [5]), and that sometimes the *bei*-passive with a pure Experiencer subject may not contain an overt *gei* (cf. [7]). While assuming with previous studies that *bei* and applicative *gei* both show light-verb properties, in the structure (23) we reserve the notion, small *v*, to the light-verb that introduces the thematic Agent of an event, and distinguish it from *gei* and *bei* in the structure for ease of discussion.

#### 4 Possessor Subject and Implicit Subject in *Bei*-passives

Before we conclude this paper, we would like to discuss some other types of thematic subjects of *bei*-passives. We will first show how the current proposal may derive pure Possessor subjects in *bei*-passives and discuss an alternative account for the implicit subjects of Mandarin *bei*-passives.

It was suggested by Hsu and Qu [7] that only phrases at Spec,Appl<sub>H</sub>P that are not derived from Spec,Appl<sub>L</sub>P may undergo further raising, and that the possessor of a direct object may follow a similar mechanism by first moving to Spec,Appl<sub>H</sub>P from its nominal-internal position (e.g., the specifier of the Possessor Phrase cf. [20–22]) and then undergoing further raising to Spec,TP to form a passive sentence. This idea can be directly incorporated into the current proposal. A passive sentence with a Possessor subject, such as (3), would have a structure like (24).

- (24) a. Zhangsan            bei        tufei    gei        da-si-le        baba.  
          Zhangsan        BEI        bandits Appl<sub>H</sub> hit-die-LE        father  
          'Zhangsan got affected by [the] bandits' killing [of his] father.



In support of the movement proposal, the example in (25) shows that a pronoun *ta* cannot occur in the Experiencer position introduced by the high applicative *gei* and be co-indexed with the subject *Zhangsan* (cf. [14]).

- (25) \*Zhangsan<sub>i</sub> bei tufei gei ta<sub>i</sub> da-si-le baba.  
 Zhangsan BEI bandits Appl<sub>H</sub> him hit-die-LE father  
 'Zhangsan got affected by [the] bandits' killing [of his] father.

Alternatively, a typical passive with a Patient subject as in (26a) may be derived by tucking in the whole direct object (*Zhangsan's father*) after Voice *bei* merges with vP (as per the revised raising structure illustrated in (22)), thus yielding the sentence, 'Zhangsan's father was killed by the bandits'. As predicted by the movement approach, the pronoun *ta* is not allowed in the original Patient position, as shown in (26b).

- (26) a. Zhangsan baba bei tufei da-si-le .  
 Zhangsan father BEI bandits hit-die-LE  
 'Zhangsan's father was killed by [the] bandits.  
 b. \*Zhangsan baba<sub>i</sub> bei tufei da-si-le ta<sub>i</sub>.  
 Zhangsan father BEI bandits hit-die-LE him  
 'Zhangsan's father was killed by [the] bandits.

Last but not least, it is worth-noting that when the canonical thematic roles associated with the main predicate of an event all stay in their original positions, an extra-affectee interpretation somehow may still be available to the position before *bei*. When this occurs, we find that such an affectee is most naturally interpreted either as the speaker/narrator of a sentence like (27), or a topic mentioned in previous discourse – usually an unwilling, unfortunate affectee [6], and this implied subject (the narrator) tends to express the event as a surprise.

- (27) Bei tufei gei Qi.Guo da-pao-LE da.jiangjun  
 BEI bandits on/for Qi.nation hit-run-LE general  
 '[Someone] got affected by the bandits' defeating the General of Qi'

The availability of such an extra affectee interpretation in sentences like (27) suggests that Chinese syntax does not employ subject expletives, and that Chinese may not have impersonal passives in the sense of [23]. We agree with previous studies that this kind of affectee interpretation is not identical to thematic roles [6]. We suggest that it is instead part of *bei*'s light-verb lexical semantics [5] to specify phrases' unwillingness, unfortunateness, or surprisal readings by merging with the associated phrases as *bei*'s specifier. The specifier phrase may later raise to the Sepc,TP and serve as the matrix subject of a passive sentence. Such an implied subject is initially merged at the matrix subject position.

In addition, the position before *bei* in sentences like (27) may be an overt affected nominal external to the whole event, who is only indirectly affected, but for whom the whole sentence represents a subjective comment delivered by the narrator. For example, considering a situation where a witness or a reporter wishes to comment on a battle

between two countries (Qi and Zheng), Zheng played a trick so that they did not defeat the general of Qi themselves, and instead let the general of Qi be defeated by the bandits. The narrator could express such an unusual, unexpected event with a sentence like (28), where the extra-affectee can be made implicit as the context allows.

(28) (Zheng.Guo) guyi        bei tufei gei    Qi.Guo da-pao-le    dajiangjun  
 Zheng.nation intentionally BEI bandits on/for Qi.nation hit-run-LE    the.general  
 'The Country of Zheng intentionally got affected by the bandits' defeating the  
 General of Qi.'

While the subject of a *bei*-passive sentence may later undergo topicalization to a topic position representing a discourse topic (like most of the subjects in Chinese sentences), we would like to point out that such a subject can surface as the matrix subject. Example (28) shows that whether the subject is overt or not, a subject-oriented adverb like *guyi* 'intentionally' modifies the referent of the subject located before *bei*.

## 5 Concluding Remarks

In this paper, we have proposed a simplified raising structure to account for various thematic types of subjects in Mandarin *bei*-passives, based on a modification of the raising structure proposed by [5]. This modification involves accommodating an optional realization of the high applicative *gei*-construction [7]. We have showed how the revised raising structure of *bei* can straightforwardly account for the pure Experiencer and Possessor subjects as well as the typical Patient subjects of *bei*-passive sentences.

In addition, based on our proposed derivation, we have elaborated possible interpretations of the empty subject in *bei*-passives, and showed how such empty subjects might be structurally licensed. In other words, assuming that *bei* is by nature a semi-lexical verb, we agreed with [5] that the control analysis of *bei*-passive is not the only way to derive different thematic types of subjects in it; and that, in fact, an argument-raising account could straightforwardly derive various thematic subjects in a consistent and systematic way, while avoiding the inconsistencies introduced by previous proposals.

If the raising structure proposed in this paper is on the right track, we expect the same or similar mechanisms to be available in Chinese languages other than Mandarin. Due to space limitations, however, we will leave that cross-dialectal and cross-linguistic investigation to future studies.

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