WEI…SUO Passives in Archaic/Middle Chinese

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1. Introduction

This paper examines the WEI…SUO passives in late Archaic Chinese and Middle Chinese. I propose in this paper that WEI…SUO passives involve a double-*v*P structure that makes it different from the subsequent BEI passives.

The WEI…SUO passive, as shown in (1), typically embeds a SUO clause under the copula verb WEI, which precedes the agent in the SUO clause. The matrix subject, which precedes WEI, is interpreted as the gap in the SUO clause.

(1) 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)

WEI…SUO passives first appeared in the Warring States period of the $5^{th} \sim 3^{rd}$ centuries BCE. I have found 5 pre-Han examples of WEI…SUO passives in the online database of Academia Sinica (http://hanji.sinica.edu.tw/index.html). Entering the Han period, WEI…SUO passives became more and more popular. There are 86 examples alone in *Shiji*. According to Tang's (1987) survey, the WEI…SUO passive is the most common passive form of the $2^{th} \sim 6^{th}$ centuries CE. Starting from the Sui period, however, it was gradually replaced by the BEI passive.

In this paper, I propose a synchronic analysis of the WEI…SUO passive. The paper is organized in this way: in Section 2, I will review two existing analyses of WEI…SUO passives. I will also show that they do not fully account for the syntactic properties of WEI…SUO passives. I will then propose a double-*v*P analysis for the WEI…SUO passive in Section 3. In Section 4, I will argue for each part of my analysis. I will show that the SUO in WEI…SUO passives occupies a *v*P-internal position, different from the object relativizer SUO in Aldridge (2011a). I will also show that the SUO phrase in WEI…SUO passives, being syntactically very restricted, does not involve a TP layer. I will show the difference between WEI…SUO passives and the subsequent BEI passives in Section 5. Specifically, I will argue that BEI passives embed a CP layer under BEI. Section 6 concludes the paper.

2. 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) argues that WEI…SUO passives are actually copula constructions (判斷句). I will present empirical evidence against both analyses in this section.

2.1 Peyraube (1989)

Peyraube (1989) argues that WEI…SUO passives evolved from the passive form "WEI + Agent + V", as shown in (2), in early Archaic Chinese. The key difference is the addition of SUO.

(2) 止，將　　為　三　軍　　獲。
　　 zhi jiang wei san jun huo
　　 stop will WEI three army capture
　　 "(If you) stop, (you) will be captured by the Three Armies."

　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　(*Zuozhuan*, xianggong 18)

In Peyraube's (1989) sense, 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. Therefore, structurally Peyraube's (1989) analysis could be translated into (3):

(3) 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, it 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 (4).

(4) 輒　　　　為　　將　相　　　所　不　任，文吏　所　　毗戲。
　　 zhe　　　 wei　 jiang xiang　 suo bu ren wenli suo pixi
　　 subsequently WEI general premier　SUO not trust　officer SUO contempt
　　 'Subsequently, (he) would not be trusted by generals and premiers, (he) would
　　 be contempted by officers'

　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　(*Lunheng*, chengcai Wei 1994: 307)

(4) shows that the complement of WEI contains the agent, the SUO and the verb. In other words, rather than forming a PP with WEI, the agent forms a constituent with SUO and the verb. Therefore, Peyraube (1989) makes incorrect prediction by proposing WEI is a preposition.

2.2 Ma (1898), Wei (1994), Yan (1995) and Dong (1998)

Different from Peyraube (1989), these linguists consider WEI as a copula verb in Archaic Chinese. WEI was used as a copula verb in Archaic Chinese as shown in (5):

(5) 子　　為　誰？
　　　zi　　wei shui
　　　you WEI who
　　　"Who are you?"　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　（*Analects* 18）

　　Since SUO was an object relativizer in late Archaic Chinese, it is natural to consider the elements following WEI is a DP involving a headless object relative clause. Therefore, under the copula construction analysis, sentence in (6a) has the structure in (6b). Literally, (6a) is interpreted as: He belongs to the category of person whom the tortoise eats.

(6) a.為　　河鼈　所　食
　　　WEI tortoise SUO eat
　　　"(he) was eaten by a tortoise."　　　　　　　　　　　　（*Zhuangzi*, Daozhi）

　　b. *pro* [$_{vP}$ WEI [$_{DP}$ [D [$_{TP}$ tortoise$_i$ [SUO$_j$ [$_{vP}$ Op$_j$ t_i [eat]]]]]]]

　　The copula construction analysis accounts for the constituency problem in Peyraube (1989) since now the agent, SUO and the verb forms a DP.
　　One of the predictions made by the copula construction analysis is that the agent should be valued with genitive case. According to Aldridge (2011a), the subject in late Archaic Chinese object relative clause is valued with genitive case via agreeing with the D head, as shown in (7).

(7) [$_{DP}$ D$_{[uC: GEN]}$ [$_{nP}$ [$_{TP}$ subj$_{[uC: GEN]}$ [SUO [$_{vP}$ Op [$_{v'}$ <Subj> [$_v$ [$_{VP}$ V <Op>]]]]]]] ZHE]]

　　Since the copula construction analysis also treats the SUO clause in WEI…SUO passives as an object relative clause, the agent in WEI…SUO passives should be either a genitive pronoun 其 (QI) or marked with the genitive case marker 之 (ZHI). As I have mentioned in Section 1, there are 5 examples of WEI…SUO passives in pre-Han period when the genitive case was still overtly marked in the language. One of the 5 examples is shown in (1), it is very clear that the agent *tortoise* (河鼈) is not marked with the genitive case marker 之. I list the other 4 examples in (8):

(8) a. 方術　不　用，為　人　　所　　疑。
　　　fangshu bu yong, wei　ren　suo　yi
　　　doctrine not use　WEI people SUO doubt
　　　"(his) doctrine was not used, (he) was doubted by other people."
　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　（*Xunzi*, yaowen）

　　b. 夫　　直　　議　　者，不　為　人　　所　　容。
　　　fu　zhi　yi　　　zhe bu　wei ren　　suo　rong
　　　DEM straight discuss ZHE not WEI people SUO tolerate
　　　"As for those who talk straight from the heart, (they) are not tolerated by others."　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　（*Hanfeizi*, waichushuo）

c. 弊　邑　　為　大　國　　所　　患。
　　bi　yi　wei　da　guo　　suo huan
petty town WEI big country SUO detest
"Petty towns are detested by big countries."

<div align="right">(Lüshichunqiu, shenying)</div>

d. 誅　之　　則　為　人　主　所　　案據。
zhu zhi ze wei ren zhu suo anju
kill 3.OBJ then WEI people lord SUO protect
"If you kill it, then it will be protected by people's lord."

<div align="right">(Yanzichunqiu, neipian)</div>

Clearly, none of the sentences in (8) has a genitive agent in the SUO clause. It should be noted here that Aldridge (2011a) admits that there are some exceptions in which the subject in object relative clauses is not marked with genitive case due to prosodic or pragmatic reasons. What we have seen in WEI…SUO passives, however, is that the agents are uniformly not licensed with genitive case. This suggests that the genitive case is not available to the agent in WEI…SUO passives. Therefore, the prediction made by the copula construction analysis is not borne out. This analysis fails to account for the case licensing problem on the agent in WEI…SUO passives.

A short summary for this section: there are two problems associated with the WEI…SUO passive. The constituency problem shows that the agent, SUO and the verb forms a constituent as WEI's complement. The case licensing problem demonstrates that the agent in WEI…SUO passives is not marked with genitive case. Peyraube's (1989) analysis does not account for the constituency problem while the copula construction analysis fails to capture the case licensing property on the agent. Given the fact that embedded clauses, except control and ECM structure, in Archaic Chinese are nominalized (Aldridge, 2009); the nominative case is not an option for the agent either. It is therefore reasonable to consider that the agent takes accusative case. In next section, I propose an analysis that accounts for both the constituency and the case licensing problem.
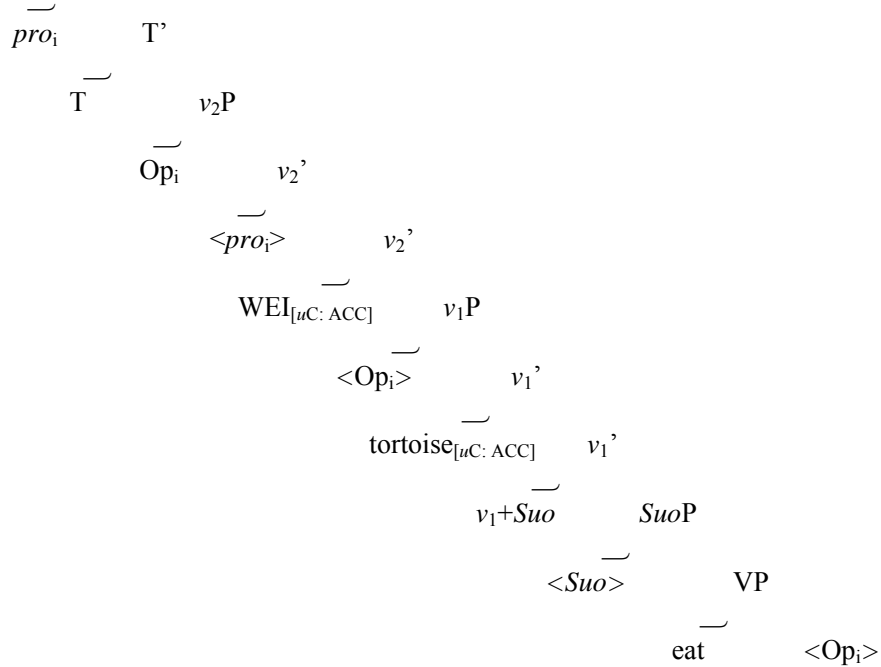
3. Double-*v*P analysis

I propose a double-*v*P analysis to account for the problems mentioned in last section for WEI…SUO passives. The double-*v*P structure has been proposed for the Modern Chinese BEI passives by Aldridge (personal communication). The structure for (9a) is shown in (9b). Under this analysis, a null operator is merged with the verb. The whole VP is selected by SUO which heads a *Suo*P. The *Suo*P is selected by light verb v_1. The agent of the WEI…SUO passives is base-generated in [Spec, v_1P] where it is θ-marked as the Agent. There is another light verb v_2 (phonologically realized as WEI) which selects the v_1P. 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 θ-role. 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 cyclic A'-movement to [Spec, v_2P].

(9) a. 為　　河鱉　所　　食

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

b.   TP

pro$_i$ T'

T v_2P

Op$_i$ v_2'

<pro$_i$> v_2'

WEI$_{[uC: ACC]}$ v_1P

<Op$_i$> v_1'

tortoise$_{[uC: ACC]}$ v_1'

v_1+*Suo*   *Suo*P

<*Suo*>   VP

eat   <Op$_i$>

The double-vP analysis accounts for the constituency problem since the agent, SUO and the verb are now contained in the same maximal projection. It also accounts for the problem of case licensing on the agent. The agent now agrees with WEI (light v_1) to value the accusative case. Therefore, it does not take the genitive case marker ZHI.

The double-vP analysis is based on two key assumptions: first, there is a low position for SUO. Aldridge (2011a) in her analysis for object relative clauses in late Archaic Chinese shows that the SUO heads a nominalized TP. The SUO in the double-vP analysis, on the other hand, is vP-internal. This is the first assumption that calls for evidence. The second assumption is that the WEI does not embed a clausal structure. There is no TP or CP layer under WEI. According to Aldridge (2009), non-control embedded clauses in Archaic Chinese are nominalized. In other words, they do not have a CP layer. Given the presence of an overt agent, a control analysis for SUO phrase is not possible. Therefore, evidence is needed to show that there is no TP layer in the SUO phrase. In the next section, I argue in turn for both assumptions.

4. Evidence for Double-vP Analysis

I begin this section by showing that, along with the SUO in object relative clauses, there is a SUO which occupies a lower position in Archaic Chinese. This is the SUO in the yousuo/wusuo (有所/無所) construction. I will refer to this SUO as the low SUO and the SUO in object relative clauses as the high SUO.

4.1 A Low Position for SUO

Aldridge (2011a) argues convincingly for SUO as a nominalized T head in late Archaic Chinese object relative clauses. I will not argue against her in this paper. Instead, I propose that in addition to this high SUO, there is also a low SUO. This low SUO is found in the yousuo/wusuo construction. To begin, the low SUO can refer to VP-internal positions. In (10a), it refers to the object position; in (10b), it refers to a locative constituent. It should be noted that the low SUO cannot refer to gaps in subject positions.

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

　　　b. 君子　　　無　　所　　爭。
　　　　junzi　　　wu　**suo**　zheng
　　　　lordling　lack　SUO　　fight
　　　　"Lordlings have nothing to fight for."　　　　　　　　　(*Analects*, bayi)

The first piece of evidence showing that the low SUO is lower than TP comes from the fact that it never precedes the subject-oriented quantifier *jie*. While the high SUO can precede *jie* (11a); as far as I have noticed, the SUO in yousuo/wusuo construction always follows *jie*, as shown in (11b).

(11) a. 此 天下 百姓　　　　之 所 皆 難　　也。
　　　　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."
　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　(*Mozi*, 15 Aldridge 2011a: 11)

　　　b. 矜、　　寡、　孤、獨、　廢、疾 者　皆 有 所 養
　　　　guan　　gua　gu　du　　fei ji zhe　jie you suo　yang
　　　　widower widow orphan lonely disable ill ZHE all have SUO subsist
　　　　"Widowers, widows, orphans, people who are lonely, people who are disabled and people who are ill have ways to subsist themselves."
　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　(*Liji*, liyun)

According to Aldridge (2011a), *jie* only quantifies subject to its left. In addition, *jie* is able to quantifier over a derived subject , as in (12), which suggests *jie* is located between TP and *v*P instead of being a stranded quantifier in [Spec, *v*P]. Therefore, the low SUO is at least lower than the QP headed by *jie*.

(12) 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 2011a: 13)

Another piece of evidence for the low position of SUO comes from the relative position of SUO and the aspectual negator *wei*. As Hsieh (2001) and Aldridge

(2011a) have argued, *wei* heads a functional projection NegP above the VP, since *wei* is able to license VP ellipsis as in (13).

(13) Q: 有　　諸？
　　　 You zhu?
　　　 exist 3.OBJ+Q
　　　 'Did such a thing happen?'
　 A: 未　　　也。
　　　 Wei __　 ye.
　　　 not.yet　COP
　　　 'Not yet.'　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　(*Mencius* 4 Aldridge 2011a: 10)

　　Given the fact that *wei* is an aspectual negator, it is most natural to locate it right above Asp$_{inner}$P inside the *v*P, which licenses the perfectivity. In all the examples I have found, the low SUO never precedes *wei*. Different from the high SUO, which is able to precede *wei* (14a), the low SUO always follows *wei* (14b).

(14) a. 皆　君　之　所　　未　嘗　　　聞。
　　　 jie jun　zhi　suo　 **wei**　chang　　wen.
　　　 all lord GEN SUO　not.yet　previously hear
　　　 "All of these are things which his lordship has never heard of."
　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　(*Hanfeizi* 38 Aldridge 2011a: 9)

　 b. 太子　　　　 不　幸　　薨，未　有　所　　立。
　　　 taizi　　　　 bu　xing　hong **wei**　you suo　li
　　　 crown prince not fortunate die not.yet have SUO designate
　　　 "The crown prince unfortunately died. There has not designated (another crown prince) yet."　　　　　　　　　(*Shiji*, sanwangshijia)

　　The final piece of evidence for the low SUO comes from the fact that it never precedes the perfective auxiliary *yi*. Assuming *yi* is a *v*P adjunct, the high SUO can precede *yi* as in (15a), while again no example shows that the low SUO can do so as well. In fact, the low SUO always follows the auxiliary as in (15b). This suggests that the position for low SUO is not higher than light *v*.

(15) a. 不　以　　所 已　藏　害 所　將　受。
　　　 bu　yi　　suo **yi**　cang　hai suo　jiang shou
　　　 not use　SUO PERF store harm SUO will　receive
　　　 'to not use [what you already have] to harm what you will receive'
　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　(*Xunzi* 21 Aldridge 2011a: 11)

　 b. 夫　　 己 有　所　簡　　矣。
　　　 fu　 yi you　suo jian　yi
　　　 DEM PERF have SUO thrifty PERF
　　　 "Those (people) have already done it in a thrity way."
　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　(*Zhuangzi*, dazongshi)

　　In this subsection, I have shown that there is a low position for SUO which is not higher than the light verb. In next subsection, I will show that the SUO in WEI…SUO passives parallels with the low SUO in yousuo/wusuo constructions.

4.2 SUO in WEI…SUO Passives as a Low SUO

The SUO in WEI…SUO passives parallels with the SUO in yousuo/wusuo constructions with respect to its interaction with *jie*, *wei* and *yi*. First, the SUO in WEI…SUO passives never precedes the subject oriented quantifier *jie*. As far as I have noticed, the SUO always follows *jie* as in (16).

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

Secondly, in WEI…SUO passives, the SUO never precedes the aspectual negator *wei*. In addition, in all examples it follows *wei* as (17) shows.

(17)未　　　為　　朝廷　　所　　　識。
　　　wei　　wei　chaoting　suo　　shi
　　　not.yet　WEI　government　SUO　recognize
　　　"(He) has not recognized by the government yet."
　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　(*Songshu*, liezhuan 58)

Finally, the SUO in WEI…SUO passives always follows the perfective auxiliary *yi* as shown in (18).

(18) 已　　為　義勇　　所　　破。
　　　yi　　wei　yiyong　　suo　　po
　　　PERF　WEI　warrior　SUO　defeat
　　　"(They) have been defeated by the warriors."
　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　(*Nanqishu*, liezhuan 3)

It is very clear from the discussion above that the SUO in WEI…SUO passives is similar to the SUO in yousuo/wusuo construction. Thererfore, in the WEI…SUO passives, the SUO also occupies a low *v*P-internal position. I have argued for the first assumption of the double-*v*P analysis by showing that the SUO is located low in the structure. In the following subsection, I will provide evidence to show that there is no TP layer embedded under WEI.

4.3 No TP Layer in WEI…SUO Passives

To begin, Aldridge (2009) argues that except control structures, embedded clauses in Archaic Chinese are nominalized. In other words, all non-control embedded clauses lack the CP layer. Given the presence of an overt agent, WEI…SUO passives does not involve control. Therefore, a TP is the only possible clausal structure to be embedded under WEI. There are two possible types of TP that can be embedded under WEI: a nominalized TP or an ECM-type TP. It is not difficult to argue against the nominalized TP layer under WEI.

Subjects in nominalized TP are licensed with genitive case. However, the examples in (1) and (8) show that the agent following WEI is never marked with

the genitive marker ZHI. In addition, there is no example of WEI…SUO passives in which a genitive pronoun QI appears in the agent position before mid 4th century CE when the genitive case marking was lost in the language.

Another piece of indirect evidence shows that the agent is probably marked with accusative case. (19) is a sentence from *Shiji*, a history book written around 1th century BCE. Although the genitive/accusative distinction had begun to lose at that period, (19) is the only example in *Shiji* beside the ECM structures in which an accusative 3rd person pronoun is used as an agent. Therefore, I assume that at the period of *Shiji*, the accusative 3rd person pronoun ZHI was not allowed to appear in a genitive subject position. Accordingly, (19) at least shows that the agent in WEI…SUO passives does not carry genitive case. Thus, it is unlikely that WEI embeds a nominalized TP.

(19) 吾　　属　今　且　为　　　　之　　　　所　禽　矣。
　　　Wu shu　jin　qie　wei　　zhi　　　suo　qin　yi.
　　　We　　now __¹　WEI 3rd ACC.pronoun SUO capture PERF
　　"We have been captured by it now."

<div align="right">(Shiji 92)</div>

The other possible TP to be embedded under WEI is an ECM-type TP headed by SUO. In fact, the ECM analysis also accounts for both the constituency problem and the case licensing problem. Under the ECM analysis, the agent, SUO and the verb are contained in the embedded TP. Therefore they form a constituent. In addition, the ECM subject is case-licensed by the matrix light verb with accusative case. This also accounts for the fact that there is no genitive agent in WEI…SUO passives.

However, an ECM analysis makes incorrect predictions for the WEI…SUO passives. First, given the availability of a TP layer in the ECM analysis, it predicts that TP-associated elements should be allowed between WEI and SUO. But this prediction is not borne out.

Temporal adverbs, as Aldridge (2011a) has argued, are typically adjoined to TP or T'. She uses this to argue for the position of a high SUO is no higher than TP. In all examples of WEI…SUO passives I have found, a temporal adverb never occurs between WEI and SUO. If there is a temporal adverb, it always precedes WEI as shown in (20).

(20) 今　為　賊　所　　圍。
　　　jin　wei　zei　suo　wei
　　　now WEI rebel SUO surround
　　"Now (he) is surrounded by the rebels."　　　　　　(*Sanguozhi*, Wu 4)

Another TP-associated element is the modal *jiang*. Wei (1999) observed that a subject *wh*-word in Classical Chinese always precedes *jiang* while an object *wh*-word always follows *jiang*. Aldridge (2010) based on this fact argues that the object *wh*-word targets at a CP internal position (a focus position between *v*P and TP). Therefore, it is reasonable to assume that *jiang* is located in the TP domain (maybe a T head). *jiang* is not allowed between WEI and SUO in WEI…SUO passives. Whenever there is a *jiang*, it precedes WEI, as shown in (21).

¹ I am sorry that I do not know how to translate this 且. I do not think it means "for the moment" in this context. In addition, with the presence of a perfective mark 矣. It is unlikely it marks future tense. My impression is that it has some emphatic function here.

(21) 將　為　所　　制。
　　jiang wei suo　　zhi
　　will WEI SUO control
　　"(We) will be controlled (by it)."　　　　　　　　　　(*Sanguozhi*, Wei 6)

The discussion above shows that TP-associated element such as temporal adverbs and modals are not allowed between WEI and SUO in WEI…SUO passives, contrary to the prediction made by the ECM analysis. Therefore it is not unreasonable to assume that there is no TP layer in the WEI…SUO passives.

The clinching evidence against an ECM analysis comes from the fact that derived subjects are not allowed between WEI…SUO. One property of ECM construction is that a passive sentence is allowed as the embedded complement clause as in (22a). This is also true for Archaic Chinese, as shown in (22b).

(22) 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
　岂　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?"
　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　(*Yanzi Chunqiu* 1.16 Aldridge 2011b: 14)

However, for all the WEI…SUO passives I have found, there is no example in which a passive sentence is embedded under WEI. This suggests that the WEI…SUO passive may not have an ECM-type TP as WEI's complement.

A short summary for Section 4: in this section, I have shown that in addition to being a T head, there is also a low position for SUO. In WEI…SUO passives, the SUO is located in this low position. I have also shown that there is no TP complement for WEI in WEI…SUO passives. A nominalized TP is ruled out by the fact that the agent is not marked with genitive case. ECM-type TPs are also not allowed since no TP-associated elements such as temporal adverbs and modals is found between WEI and SUO. In addition, unlike ECM structure, it is not possible to embed a passive sentence under WEI in WEI…SUO passives. In conclusion, I have argued for both assumptions of the double-*v*P analysis in this section. In next section, I will show that the WEI…SUO passive is structurally different from its successor, BEI passives.

6. Conclusion

In this paper, I proposed that the WEI…SUO passives involve a double-*v*P structure. This structure accounts for the fact that the agent in WEI…SUO passives is never licensed with genitive case. It also accounts for the fact that the agent, SUO and the verb forms a constituent. In addition, this structure captures the fact that the complement of WEI is syntactically very restricted.

I argue for this proposal by first showing that the SUO in WEI…SUO passives occupies a *v*P-internal position. I argue that there is a low position for the SUO in yousuo/wusuo constructions by investigating its relative position with *jie*, *wei* and *yi*. I also show that the SUO in WEI…SUO passives parallels syntactically with the SUO in yousuo/wusuo constructions.

The second part of my argument is that there is no TP complement of WEI in WEI…SUO passives. Nominalized TPs are ruled out by the fact that the agent is not licensed with genitive case. An ECM analysis is also not possible given the very restricted structure of WEI's complement. Specifically, typical TP-associated elements such as temporal adverbs and modals are not allowed between WEI and SUO. More crucially, unlike ECM structures, passive sentences are not allowed to be embedded in WEI…SUO passives.

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