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GLOW-in-Asia X
Passives forever: control, raising and implicit arguments

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1. Introduction

■ Ways to get passive

    a. By intransitivizing (unaccusativizing) the main verb, with ensuing syntactic consequences. [e.g., English *be* passive as in (1)]
    b. By superimposing an (unaccusativized) causative verb on the main predicate. [e.g., Chinese *bei* passive, as in (2). Corresponding cases in other languages: Japnaese *-rare*, Koerean *-I*, Vietname *–bi*, German *griegen/bekommon,* French *faire*, etc.]
    c. By a combination of the above. [e.g., English *get* passive, as in (3)]

(1) $John_i$ was kick+ed t_i (by Bill).

(2) $Zhangsan_i$ bei [(Lisi) ti-le e_i liang-xia]
          Zhangsan bei [(Lisi) kick-Perf   twice]
          Zhangsan got kicked twice (by Lisi).

(3) $John_i$ got [e_i arrested t_i by the police].

■ The analysis of Chinese *bei* passives in Huang (1999) and HLL (2009), also Feng (1996), Ting (1998):
    a. The long passive (with the agent phrase): semi-lexical verb *bei* complemented by a null operator construction predicated on the subject. [4]
    b. The short passive (without agent phrase): semi-lexical verb *bei* complemented by VP controlled by subject. [5]

(4) $Zhangsan_i$ bei [OP_i [Lisi kick-le t_i twice]]
              predication   movement

    -   syntax: akin to the *tough* construction, where OP_i [… i …] = λx(…x…)
    -   semantics: Zhangsan (affectee) ended up as an x s.t. (Lisi kicked x twice)
    -   Note: the agent stays in Spec,vP/TP, not implicit.

(5) $Zhangsan_i$ bei [$_{vP}$ PRO kick-le t_i twice]
              control   Movement

    -   syntax: akin to *get* passive under a control analysis
    -   semantics: as above

- The agent exists as an implicit argument, existentially closed. Assumed: the vP is a patient-subject sentence (受事主語句) with Agent suppressed (like a middle construction). *Bei* is something above the middle vP.

▪ Some recent discussions on the raising vs. control analysis of the English *get* passive. (Alexiadou 2005, Butler & Tsoulas 2006, Fox and Grozinsky 1998, Haegeman 1985.) The debates concern whether (3) should be analyzed in terms of raising, as in [6a], or in terms of control, as in [6b]:

(6) a. John$_i$ got   [t$_i$ arrested t$_i$ by the police].   (Raising analysis)
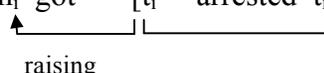
raising

   b. John$_i$ got   [PRO$_i$ arrested t$_i$ by the police].   (Control analysis)
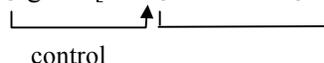
control

▪ Huang (2011, 2013) proposes that both Chinese *bei-* and English *get*-passive, should allow for **both** a control and a raising analysis. (Cf. also Liu 2012, Alexiadou 2013, Reed 2011.)

This talk will:

- Briefly summarize the arguments for both control/predication and raising as possible analyses of *bei-* and *get*-passive
- Provide additional arguments for the raising analysis from the notion of *implicit affectees*.
  - The suppressed implicit affectee in passives
  - The raising construction
  - The *gei-* and *ho-*+unaccusative adversatives (in Mandarin and Taiwanese)
- Address broader questions of how affectees are represented, and cross-linguistic variation in implicit arguments, and how affectee arguments are introduced.

2. Control, raising and the chameleonic character of *bei-* and *get*-passives

2.1. *Bei*-passive as control/predication (Hoshi 1994, Huang 1999 and references)

- Evidence for thematic subject

(7) Subject-controlled purpose clause
   a. *John was hit [PRO to collect insurance]   (*for PRO=John)
   b.   John got hit [PRO to collect insurance]

(8) Subject-oriented adverbs (Fieng & Lasnik 1974)
   a. *John was hit deliberately / on purpose (by the car). (*for John being deliberate)
   b.   John got hit deliberately / on purpose (by the car).

- Long-distance passivization (implies A-bar movement and predication, assuming prohibition against 'improper movement')[1]

(9) zhe-feng xin$_i$ bei wo jiao ta pai Lisi qing ta meimei ji-zou le.
     this letter$_I$ bei I ask him send Lisi request his sister mail Perf
     'This letter$_i$ bei [I asked him to dispatch Lisi to request his sister to mail t$_i$].'

(10) xuesheng bei ta pai   jingcha kai   zhenbaoche qusan-le
     student   bei he send police drive riot-vehicle disperse-Perf
      'The students bei [he asked the police to drive riot-vehicles to disperse t].'

- *suo* passives with long passives

(11) zhege jieshi   bu neng bei ta **suo** liaojie.
     This   explanation not can   bei he SUO understand
     'This explanation could not be understood by him.'

2.2. *get*-passive and *bei*-passive as raising

- The causative-unaccusative alternation (Haegeman 1985)

(12) a. John got Bill arrested by the police.
     b. John got arrested by the police.

(13) a. John broke the window.
     b. The window broke.

- Evidence from *be* vs. *get* (Fox and Grodzinsky 1997, Alexiadou 2005)
  Only *be*-passive seems to have an implicit agent

(14) a.   The ship was sunk [PRO to collect insurance money]
     b. *The ship got sunk [PRO to collect insurance money] (*for PRO=implicit agent)

(15) a.   The book was torn on purpose.
     b. *The book got torn on purpose. (*for the implicit's purpose. Judgment challenged.)

- Evidence from idiom-chunk

(16) a. (?) In the end, advantage always gets taken of John.
     b. (?) Tabs got taken on Jane Fonda by the FBI.

- Idiom chunks in Chinese

(17) pianyi dou bei ta yi-ge-ren zhan-guang le.
     advantage all bei him single-handedly taken-up le.
     Advantage was all taken by him single-handedly.

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[1] Possible 'restructuring' analysis for both *tough-* and long *bei-*.

(18) zhege niu bei chui de tai che le.[2]
    This   cow bei blow de too out-of-proportion
    This bluffing was done out of proportion.

3. The chameleonic character of the *bei-* and *get*-passive

- So, there is evidence for both analyses. How?
- How is this possible? Huang (2013): The two sets of facts are not mutually exclusive. Both control and raising analysis are possible, depending on the context and lexical choice. Specifically:
  - When *get* or *bei* takes idiom chunk subjects (for the speakers who accept them, the raising analysis is the only possible analysis. The subject is in a non-thematic position.
  - In the presence of subject-oriented adverbials, control/predication is the only possible analysis. The same applies to long-distance passivization and the particle *suo*, for partially theory-internal reasons.
  - By logic, in cases of 'local' passives without any subject-oriented adverbs, either raising or control is possible, since the subject may be ambiguously thematic or non-thematic.
- How can this come about? Huang (2013): This situation reflects the chameleon character of the semi-lexical verb *get* and *bei* whose meaning may include *multiple points* in the 'causative-unaccusative continuum:

(19) The causative-unaccusative continuum:
cause > let > witness > undergo > be affected by > become > exist > be

- Verbs may differ in having different 'bandwidths' along the spectrum:
  - *hoo* in Min: has the meanings of *give, cause, let, undergo* and a whole range of direct and indirect passive meanings.
  - *rang* 讓 and *jiao* 叫 in Mandarin: have the meaning *cause, let, undergo* (cf. also *zao* 遭, *shou* 受 'undergo/suffer')
  - *gei* 給 in Mandarin: *give,* passive-like, and existential 'happen'
  - *bei* 被: *be affected by, become* (lower yellow and upper blue in (19))
  - English *have, get,* French *faire*: ranging from agentive causation to active to passive experience, unaccusative (for *get*)). (*John got his haircut,* etc.)
  - German: the *kriegen* passive, the *bekommen* passive, the *erhalten* passive, the *sich lassen* passive (or middles), the *haben* passive (or statives).

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[2] Two notes: (a) The Fox-Grodzinsky-Alexiadou argument is based on the claim that *get*-passives do not have implicit agents and do not involve (verbal) passivization. But this argument may be called into question. Some people can accept (15b) and similar examples (Butler & Tsoulas 2006). At any rate, we cannot use a similar pattern in Chinese to make the argument, since implicit agents are clearly available in Chinese. (E.g. *shu bei tou qu song gei ren le* 'the book got stolen to give to others', *fangzi bei shaodiao yibian lingqu baoxian geifu* 'the house was burned down in order to collect insurance payment'. For (14b): maybe control by implicit agent is suppressed by the strong availability of control by the closer or more prominent *John* the experiencer/agent.) (b)The *get-be* difference w.r.t. idiom chunks has also been used to support the control analysis.

- German: *geben* ('give' or 'exist'), English *give* in 'What gives?'
- Micro-variations are typical among dialects, idiolects, etc. (e.g., *Advantage got taken of John*).

- This chameleon character is also abundantly observed with verbs illustrating typical control-raising distinctions:
  - English certain, sure; promise, threaten, begin [20-21]
  - Mandarin *kending* 'be certain', *guji* 'estimate', *kongpa* 'be afraid'. (22-23)
  - Modals in many languages: deontic vs. epistemic = control vs. raising. They are typically ambiguous depending on the types of complement clauses they take. (The deontic often takes an action complement clause, the epistemic a stative complement.)

(20) a. John is certain that he will win.   (control -- in kind)
      b. John is certain to win.   (raising)

(21) a. John threatened PRO to hit me
      b. The book threatens to fall off the table.
      c.   I will be sure [PRO to give you a call].

(22) *kending* 'be certain'
      Zhangsan kending [e mingtian   hui lai]
      Zhangsan certain   tomorrow will come
      a. Zhangsan was certain that [e] will come tomorrow.   [e = pro, control in kind]
      b. Zhangsan is certain to come tomorrow.   [e = trace, raising]

(23) *guji* 'estimate'
      a. wo guji Zhangsan hui ying.
          I estimate that Zhangsan will win.
      b. Zhangsan gujii [e] hui ying.
          (i) Zhangsan expects that he will win.   [e = pro, control in kind]
          (ii) Zhangsan is expected to win.   [e = trace, raising]

(24) *kongpa* 'be afraid +clause'
      a. wo kongpa jintian hui xiayu.
          I fear that it may rain today.
      b. jintian kongpa hui xiayu.
          It may (I'm afraid) rain.

4. More evidence for raising: the implicit experiencer argument

4.1. The reading of a 'misfortune' ← the existence of a sufferer/affectee

- A well-known property of *bei-* passives: they often describe an event that is unpleasant to or causes feelings of distress to someone—an experiencer/affectee or 'sufferer'. [Except for certain over-extended uses influenced by English *be-*passives, as in journalistic translation of *be-*passives. 'John is thought t to be…']
- The sufferer/affectee may be internal or external. Often it is the subject of *bei*, when the subject is animate and can "suffer". Let's refer to this as the "internal affectee reading".

- When the subject is inanimate (*the table, an idiom chunk,* etc.), then it cannot be adversely affected. However, the event being described is still understood as an unfortunate event for someone else—often the speaker, sometimes another 'person of interest'. Let's refer to this as the "external affectee reading"
- The internal reading involves an expressed Affecteee subject. In the external reading, we have an *implicit* Afffectee.

(25) Implicit arguments
- The implicit agent of the passive verbs
  - Syntactically active as controller of purpose clauses
  - Agent-oriented adverbials
  - Licensing a *by*-phrase
  - Existentially closed
- The implicit agent in a middle construction (Keyser and Roeper 1984, etc.)
  - Existentially closed
- An important distinction between {passives, middles} and {unaccusatives}：
  - (Non)existence of implicit agent
  - (Non)existence of subject-suppression
- Traditional wisdom: when an external arguments gets suppressed (or oppressed), it loses its original home, so it hangs around like a phantom.

- Other proposed implicit arguments:
  - Implicit arguments of certain adjectives (*necessary, wise*) (Roeper 1987)
  - Bearer of the obligation of a deontic modal (Epstein 1998, Bhatt & Pancheva 2006) [as opposed to an epistemic modal]
  - Implicit experiencers as controller of apparent arbitrary PRO (Bhatt and Izvorski 1998)

4.2. Proposal

(26) **The existence of Implicit Experiencers/Affectees** under passive/raising. There are three cases (at least):

a. A control *bei* passive involves a thematic subject (an internal Affectee). A raising *bei* suppresses its subject argument, thus (i) triggering raising of the patient/theme (of the main verb) into [Spec, *bei*-P] and (ii) creating an external Affectee, implicit and existentially closed.

b. Implicit Experiencers in (certain) raising constructions have similar properties.

c. Implicit Affectee in the *gei*-unaccusative (so-called *gei*-passive), when an adversative *gei* is suppressed. (Raising and passives are the same thing.)

e. Final nail for the preposition hypothesis of *bei*.

4.3. Existence of an implicit Affectee in passives

- Comparing *bei*-passives and *bei*-less passives

(27) Middles vs. *bei* - passives

    a. 衣服洗乾淨了。 (neutral, no person-of-interest, +implicit agent)
       yifu xi-ganjing le.
       clothes wash-clean Perf
       'The clothes have been washed clean.'

    b. 衣服被洗乾淨了。 (+implicit affectee, +implicit agent)
       yifu bei xi-ganjing le.
       clothes bei wash-clean Perf
       'The clothes got washed clean.' (Much to the dismay of the DA, who thereby
       lost the needed evidence!)

(28) *bei*-passive vs. *you*-passive

    a. 借來的書已經由館員放回書架上了。   (neutral, no sufferer)
       jielai de shu yijing you guanyuan fang-hui shujiang-shang le.
       borrowed DE book already by librarian put-back bookshelf-top Perf
       'The book [pro] borrowed has been returned to the shelf by the librarian.'

    b.借來的書已經被館員放回書架上了。 (implicit affectee)
       jielai de shu yijing bei guanyuan fang-hui shujiang-shang le.
       borrowed DE book already bei librarian put-back bookshelf-top Perf
       'The book [pro] borrowed got returned to the shelf by the librarian.'

       -   Only the *bei*-passive implies an external affectee.
       -   (28a) feels like a Japanese '*ni-yotte* passive'. Confirmed by Kikushima (p.c.): *yoru*
          依，由 'follow', *yotte* 'follow-*ing*' (through, by means of).

- Each *bei* sentence involves two subjects, both can be explicit or implicit.

(29) Zhangsan bei [jingcha daibu-le   erzi].
     Zhangsan bei police   arrest-perf son
     'Zhangsan had [his] son arrested by the police
     a. agent:police
     b.patient: son
     c. affectee: Zhangsan

(30) Zhangsan bei [jingcha daibu-le].
     Zhangsan bei police   arrest-perf
     'Zhangsan got arrested by the police'
     a. agent:police
     b. patient: Zhangsan
     c. affectee: Zhangsan   ($x = z$)

(31) Zhangsan bei [daibu-le].
Zhangsan bei arrest-perf
'Zhangsan got arrested.'
   a. agent:implicit, existentially closed[3]
   b. patient: Zhangsan
   c. affectee: Zhangsan

(32) erzi bei [jingcha daibu-le].
son bei police arrest-perf
'The son got arrested by the police'
   a. agent:implicit, existentially closed
   b. patient: son
   c. affectee: the son (or implicit, e.g. a parent, existentially closed)

(33) pingguo dou bei [Lisi chi-diao le]
apple all bei Lisi eat-up Perf
'All the apples got eaten up by Lisi.'
   a. agent: Lisi
   b. theme: apples
   c. affectee: implicit, existentially closed

(34) pingguo dou bei [chi-diao le]
apple all bei eat-up Perf
'All the apples got eaten up.'
   a. agent: implicit, existentially closed
   b. theme: apple
   c. affectee: implicit, existentially closed

(35) Relevant generalizations
- Standard assumption about passive verbs: An implicit agent is existentially closed when it's syntactic position is suppressed
- Similarly, an experiencer is existentially closed when its syntactic position is suppressed.
- The analysis of raising *bei* as grammaticalized from the control *bei* allows us to capture the existence of an external affectee/sufferer of a *bei*-passive event, as an implicit Experiencer.
  - Potentially, the affectee could be postulated as occurring somewhere in the upper left periphery.

4.4. More evidence for the implicit experiencer/affectee

- It can optionally show up as an High Applicative *gei*-DP in Mandarin, or *ka-DP* in Taiwanese SM:

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[3] This is evidence that the short passive involves suppression, not deletion, of the agent argument.

(36) pianyi   dou bei   ta **gei wo** zhan-guang-le   (Tsai 200x)
advantage all   BEI he on me take-empty-LE
'All the advantage was taken by him on me.'

(37) na-shuang   xiezi bei   ta   ti-po-le
that-CL   shoes BEI he kick-broken-LE
'That pair of shoes were kicked-broken by him.'

(38) na-shuang   xiezi bei   ta   **gei wo** ti-po-le
that-CL   shoes BEI him on me kick-broken-LE
'That pair of shoes were kicked-broken by him on me.'

A corresponding example is provided from Taiwanese Southern Min (TSM) with an optional Affectee phrase *ka goa* 'on me':

(39) hit-shiang e-a   hoo yi (ka goa) that-phua-khi   a.
that-CL   shoes BEI him on me   kick-broken-away LE
'That pair of shoes were kicked-broken by him (on me).'

An animate subject of *bei* when not modified by an intentional adverbial logically allows a raising analysis.

(40) xiao haizi   bei ta (gei wo) da-de   bi-qing-lian-zhong le.
small   child BEI he on me   hit-DE black-and-blue   LE
'The little child was hit black-and-blue by him (on me).'

When the subject is unambiguously thematic (when modified by an intentional adverb), an additional Affectee is strange:

(41) xiao haizi   guyi   bei ta (?*gei wo) da-de   bi-qing-lian-zhong le.
small   child purposely BEI he   on me   hit-DE black-and-blue   LE
'The little child purposely got hit black-and-blue by him (*on me).

4.5. Implicit experiencer/affectee in *gei*-passive/unaccusative

- The passive-like *gei-*+intransitive in Mandarin (examples from Shen and Sybesma 2010) and *hoo-*+intransitive in TSM

(42) a. xiao-niao gei fei-le.   (Mandarin)
little-bird gei fly-away
The little bird *gei* flew away.

b.xiao-shu gei zhang-wai le
little-tree gei grow-crooked
The little tree *gei* grew crooked.

c. fanren dou gei pao-le.
Prisoner all gei escaped
All the prisoners *gei* ran away.

(43) a. tsiau-a hoo pue-tshutkhi a.   (Taiwanese)
     bird-DM hoo fly-away LE^2
     The birds hoo fly away.

   b. huanlang long hoo tsau-tshutkhi a
     Prisoner all gei run-all-away LE^2
     All the prisoners hoo run away.

(44) Properties of the construction (Shen & Sybesma 2010; Huang 2013)
    a. It may occur with an intransitive
    b. It may not occur with an unergative
    c. it may occur below verbs like *jiao, rang, ba, bei*, but not above
    d. its occurrence licenses an implicit 'external force'   ← what is this?

(45) Analysis:

    a. ko-meng-e hoo huanlang long tsau-tshutkhi a   (an adversative passive)
      door-guard hoo prisoner all   run-away   LE^2
      'The guard had all prisoners running away (on him).'

    b. _____ hoo huanlang long tsau-tshutkhi a   (subject-suppressed)
      _____ hoo prisoner all   run-away   LE^2
      '∃x (it gets/happens [to x] that all the prisoners ran away).'

    c. huanlang$_i$ long hoo t_i tsau-tshutkhi a   (raising of embedded subject)
      Prisoner all   gei   run-all-away CRS
      All the prisoners got to run away [on someone].
      = ∃x (The event of all the prisoners happened to x s. that they run away.)

(46) Another example:

    a. khuaN-meng-e hoo hakseng-a tsau-jipkhi liphuatyiN a.
      door-guard   hoo students   run-into   Legislative LE^2
      'The guard had the students run into the Legislative Building.'

    b. _____ hoo hakseng-a tsao-jipkhi liphuatyiN a.   (subject-suppressed)
      _____ hoo students   run-into   Legislative LE^2
      ∃x (it affects x that the students ran into the Legislative Building).

    c. hakseng-a$_i$ hoo t_i tsau-jipkhi liphuatyiN a.   (subject-raising)
      students   hoo   run-into   Legislative LE^2
      ∃x (it affects x that the students ran into the Legislative Building).

- The extra 'external force' felt by speakers in the examples (42)-(43) is the Affectee-turned-implicit, as a result of subject suppression. Thus *gei, hoo* in these cases are raising verbs (like 'happen') derived from indirect passive-like constructions. (The strong adversity comes from the 'main clause' being 'exclusive' in Washio's 1993 sense.)

4.6. Implicit experiencers in other raising constructions

- English raising verbs: seem, appear, certain, likely, happen, turn out = the meaning of "epistemic" → Implicit experiencer (implicit "to DP")
  - These experiencers seem to occur higher than the subject, so as not to be able to control into a complement clause. (Different from the bearer of obligation of a deontic modal.)
- ME *methinks*: think[1] *thync(e)an*; think[2] *thenc(e)an*. (Lopez Kouso 1996)
  - **Methinks** it is a strange thing that now I should affect it. (1603, *The Trial of Sir Walter Raleigh 1.201.*)
  - For ye mowe trustly anogh connun with thaim of suche materes as **vs thenketh** by the gouernance that thei have shewed to us. (1418. *Henry V Letters 106*)
  - And as he paste beyond the castell **hym thought** he heard bellys rynge. (1470, *Malory Morte Darthur 205*)
  - In current terms: think[2] (he thinks that…) → suppression → think[1] ([it] him-thinks that ...)

- English raising-passive *putatives*: involving implicit sayer-thinker
  - John is said [t to have been involved in the scam]
  - Raising = passive (Move alpha)

- Cf. threaten, promise, continue, begin
  - They don't have a source with an experiential subject + verb + clause → no implicit argument

- TSM: Taiwanese **kong** 講 'say'、khuaN 看 'look'、khuat-ting 確定 'be certain'、mtsaiyaN 唔知影 'don't know'、khuaN khitlai 看起來 'to look at'、kamkong 敢講 'dare say'.
  - All of these verbs have been grammaticalized to take up a raising reading. (In fact, most of them are still ambiguous between raising and control)
  - The suppressed Agent or Experiencers of these raising verbs are implicit, existentially closed, too.

- Mandarin: 肯定、恐怕、估計、說不定、etc .
  - Similar to the corresponding raising verbs in English and Taiwanese.

5. Affectee arguments in comparative perspective

5.1. French (Peyraube, p.c., and Labelle 2013)

- *se faire … par* passives (or causatives) always involve an affectee, almost malefactive but need not be:

(47) Il s'est fait renverser par un camion.
'He has been knocked over by a truck.'

(48) Il s'est fait élire president.
     he has been elected president

They usually do not admit inanimate subjects. In the limited cases of *se faire* with inanimate subject, it is always expresses an "unfornate" event (i.e., there is an external Affectee)

(49) Ce livre précieux **s'est fait** déchrirer par le bébé
     'This precious book got torn to pieces by the baby.'

- Contrast *be* passive and *faire* passive:

(50) a. le livre **a été** rangé dans la bibliothèque par Paul
         the book has been put in the bookcase by Paul) (neutral).

     b.*le livre **s'est fait** ranger dans la bibliothèque par Paul'.
         'The book has got put in the bookcase by Paul.'

Similarly，the (b) examples are very strange:

(51) a.   il a été aimé pendant plusieurs années par Marie.
          'He has been loved for many years by Marie.'

     b. *?il s'est fait aimer pendant plusieurs années par Marie.
          'He has gotten loved for many years by Marie.'

(52) a. La proposition a été rejetée par tous les députés.
          'The proposal was rejected by all representatives.'

     b. *La proposition s'est fait rejeter par tous les députés.
          'The proposal got rejected by all representatives.'
          (Gaatone 1983, cited in Labelle 2013)

         → Difficult to have inanimate subjects for (*se*) *faire* passives, but when they are allowed, an implicit Affectee is involved.

5.2. Japanese *-rare* /Korean *-I*

(53) Subject of a *ni*-passive (where the agent is marked as dative subject):
     a. direct *ni*-passive: affecteed
     b.possessive *ni*-passive: affecteed
     c. exclusive *ni*-passive: adversely affected

(54) a. John-ga Mary-ni nagur-are-ta
         John-NOM Mary-DAT hit-PASS-PAST
         'John$_1$ was affected by Mary's hitting him$_1$.'

b. Taroo-ga Hanako-ni kodomo-o nade-rare-ta
Taro-NOM Hanako-DAT child-ACC rub-PASS-PAST
'Taro1 was affected by Hanako's patting (his1) child.'

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

(55) Japanese *ni yotte*-passive (where the agent is marked by an adjunct phrase)
a.   direct *ni yotte*-passive: neutral, no implicit affectee
b.   possessive *ni yotte*-passive: neutral, no implicit affectee
c.   exclusive *ni yotte*-passive: ungrammatical

This means that there are two *rare*'s: the control *rare* 'get' and the raising *rare* 'be'. (In the latter type, there seems to be no implicit affectee.)

(56) Animacy requirement
a.   *ni yotte* passive: inanimate subjects and idiom chunks OK
b.   *ni* passive:
-   Dialect A: no inanimate subject for *ni*-passive
-   Dialect B: inanimate subject OK (idiom chunk too?). And in this case, the sentence implies an implicit Affectee. (Dialect B is more like Chinese.)

(57) a.   kono hon-ga Mary-ni yotte hihan-sare-ta.
this book-NOM Mary-DAT yotte criticize-PASS-PAST
'This book was criticized by Mary.'

b.   kono hon-ga Mary-ni hihan-sare-ta.   (dialect B: ok)
this book-NOM Mary-DAT criticize-PASS-PAST
'This book got criticized by Mary.'   → [+implicit affectee]

(58) a.   Fermat-no teiri-ga John-**ni yotte** kakusin bubun-o syoomeis-are-ta
Fermat-GEN theorem-NOM John-BY central part-ACC prove-PASS-PAST
'The central part of Fermat's theorem was proven by John.' (Hoshi 1991:70)

b.   Fermat-no teiri-ga John-**ni** kakusin bubun-o syoomeis-are-ta
Fermat-GEN theorem-NOM John-BY central part-ACC prove-PASS-PAST
'The central part of Fermat's theorem was proven by John.'
Dialect B: ok, +implicit affectee
費馬大定理由張三成功證明了 。(neutral)
費馬大定理被張三成功證明了 。(unfortunate)

(59) a.   Dialect A: *rare* = control *get*, and *be*
b.   Dialect B: *rare* = control *get*, raising *get* (with implicit affectee), *be*

(60) Korean -*l* passive
a.   Direct: adversely affected
b.   Possessive: adversely affected
c.   Exclusive: ungrammatical

(61) a. Swuni-ka Inho-eykey son-lul cap-hi-ess-ta
Suni-NOM Inho-DAT hand-ACC hold-I-PAST-DEC
'Suni1 was adversely affected by Inho's holding her1 hand.'

    b. Swuni-ka Inho-eykey ilum-lul pwul-li-ess-ta
Suni-NOM Inho-DAT name-ACC call-I-PAST-DEC
'Suni1 was adversely affected by Inho's calling her1 name.'

    c. *haksayng-i   ai-eykey wul-li-ess-ta.
student-NOM child-DAT cry-PASS-PAST
(Intended for: "The student was adversely affected by the child crying.")

- Only the control reading.

5.3. Affectees as ethical datives and applicatives

- High (outermost object): Taiwanese (high) *ka*-DP, Mandarin *gei wo*
- Mid (outer object): Mandarin *ba*-DP and Taiwanese *ka*-DP, Acc-Dat "external possession"
- Ethical datives (datives of interest) in Hebrew, German, Spanish, etc.
- These are active sentences with agentive subjects. The non-core arguments are introduced compositionally. A few examples from TSM:

(62) Outer object (mid appl.):
khuaN li kotsui, gua lai **ka li** jia tsit teng.
see you handsome, I will **KA you** eat one meal
'Since you are cute, let me eat a meal [as a favor] on you.'

(63) Outermost (high appl.):
tsit-e pintuaN gin-a, tshit-tsa-pe-tsa to **ka gua** tsau khi khun.
this-Cl lazy child, 7-early-8-early then **KA me** go to sleep
'This lazy kid, he went to bed so early on me.'

6. Ways of getting affected

(64) Two ways to introduce the affectee argument
- Lexically: by being the experiencer/affectee subject of a verb
- Compositionally: by being an outer-object, outermost-object; i.e., mid or high applicative/ethical-dative

(65) Properties of the lexically introduced Affectee

    a. Selected by verbal heads like bei, hoo, rare, -l, get, faire, kriegen, geben, etc., also *rang* 讓、*jiao* 叫、*gei* 給；*shou* 受、*zao* 遭, etc. These verbs may differ w.r.t. their argument structures, their positions on the causative-unaccusative continuum, and w.r.t. their 'bandwiths'. (See Liu 2012 for similar.)
cause > let > witnesss > undergo > be affected by > become > exist > be

b. The difference in 'bandwiths' may lead to difference in control, raising, or control-raising alternation.

c. The availability of an implicit affectee depends on (a) whether there is suppression of affectee argument (e.g., *bei*, *hoo* vs. *zao* 'suffer'), and (b) whether the suppression is syntactically active (not for *rare* for 'be' in *ni yotte* passive).

d. There is no way to have one single non-canonical passive for all languages. (Tiny parameters.)

(66) Properties of the compositionally introduced Affectee

a. The affectee is introduced as a non-core argument compositionally
- Outer object (mid-applicative): affected, mild adversity
- Outermost object (high-appl): affected, strong adversity

b. The strength of affectedness (degree of adversity) is compositionally determined: the psychological effect increases when the physical connection decreases (a la Washio 1993)

c. These optional core arguments are additive: non-occurrence does not imply suppression.

d. This predicts that ethical datives are never implicit, just as there is no implicit Causer associated with ergative *break*.

7. Concluding remarks

- Additional evidence for treating *bei* as a (semi-lexical) verb on the extended vP or clausal spine, and not as a preposition

- The *be* passive as a special case of the causative-unaccusative continuum.

- Potential parametric differences among languages

  - Compositional affectees:
    - Does X have means to license the compositional affectees?
    - Prepositions, applicatives, cases, or agreement (Qiang, J. Sun p.c.)?

  - Lexical affectee verbs:
    - Positions and bandwidth on the continuum (control, raising, or both)
    - Implicit Affectees: are they unaccusative or unaccusativized (deep or surface unaccusative): underlying unaccusative (*break*) or derived unaccusative (passive, middle, raising *bei*, etc.).