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LA THÈSE A ÉTÉ
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PASSIVE CONSTRUCTION IN CHINESE

by

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Thesis submitted to the School of Graduate Studies
in partial fulfilment of the requirements
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ABSTRACT

The present study attempts to investigate the passive construction in Chinese. By Chinese we mean Chinese spoken all over China as the national language, or what is called "putunghua" ('the common language') in China, therefore, it excludes various Northern dialects, which may differ significantly from the modern spoken Chinese.

The contents and organization of this thesis are as follows:

Chapter I presents a general introduction to the basic structure of Chinese. Different notions, such as 'topic', 'subject' and 'word order', are used for the purpose of illustrating the structure of Chinese. Chapter II discusses the nature of the passive marker 'bei' and gives a brief diachronic description of the passive construction in Chinese. Some main characteristics of the Chinese passives are also discussed. Chapter III presents previous studies of the Chinese passives in the last two decades, which includes the Transformational Approach, the Higher-Sentence Hypothesis, the Case-Grammar Approach, and the Abstract Semantic Hypothesis. Chapter IV, which is the main part of the thesis, gives an alternative approach, namely, the Lexical Theory, to the analysis of passivization in Chinese. It is argued that the Lexical Theory is to be preferred to the previous studies in that it gives a more explanatory theory of linguistic competence on the one hand, and, on the other hand, a more explanatory theory of linguistic universals.

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION: SOME PRELIMINARIES

1.0 Topic versus Subject in Chinese

It has often been suggested by many linguists that Chinese is a topic-prominent language. The concept of topic and comment has been discussed by Chao (1968) at some length. He points out that "the grammatical meaning of subject and predicate in a Chinese sentence is topic and comment, rather than actor and action." (1968, 70) He thus uses topic and comment as semantic rather than as grammatical terms. So, in other words, "the subject is literally the subject matter to talk about, and the predicate is what the speaker comments on when a subject is presented to be talked about." (op. cit., 70)

Moving a little away from Chao's conception, Li & Thompson (1976) put forward certain criteria to serve as guidelines for distinguishing the notion of "topic" from the notion of "subject". They claim that languages differ in their strategies in constructing sentences according to the prominence of the notions of "topic" and "subject". Using these two notions, they classify languages into four basic types. Chinese, together with Lisu and Lahu, two languages of the Lolo-Burmese, is a topic-prominent language in direct contrast with English, which is a subject-prominent language. The contrast is further explained as follows:

In subject-prominent languages, the structure of sentences favours a description in which the grammatical relation subject-predicate plays a major role. In topic-prominent languages, the basic structure of sentences favours a

description in which the grammatical relation topic-comment plays a major role. (Li & Thompson, 1976, 459)

Although Chinese is described as a topic-prominent language, this is not to say that "subject" does not play any role in Chinese; in fact, the notion of "subject" clearly plays a role in certain types of grammatical processes and sentences. In some sentence structures, an NP serves both as topic and subject. But, generally speaking, the semantic and syntactic properties of the topic and the subject in Chinese can be differentiated in the following ways (See Li & Thompson 1976 for details.):

(i) Selectional Relations: The topic in Chinese need not have a selectional relation with any verb in the sentence. (It need not be an argument of a predicative constituent.) The subject, on the other hand, must have a selectional relation with some predicate in the sentence. For example:

(1) qu nian wǒ zhǐ bìng le yī cì
last year I only sick Asp. one cl.
'Last year (topic), I was sick only once.'

(2) nèi xiē shùmu shùshēn dà
those tree tree trunk big
'Those trees (topic), the trunks are big.'

In sentence (1) there is a selectional relation between the subject 'wo' ('I') and the verb 'bìng' ('sick') that the subject must be an animate NP, but there is no such selectional relation between the topic 'qu nian' ('last year') and the verb 'bìng' ('sick'). In the same fashion, in

sentence (2), the topic 'those trees' has no selectional relation with the adjective 'da' ('big').

(ii) Definiteness: The topic in Chinese must be definite, but the subject need not be a definite NP.

(3) a. zhe yizhong yu wo hen xihuan chi
 this one-cl. fish I very like eat
 'As to this kind of fish (topic), I like to eat very much.'

b. zhe yizhong yu hen hao chi
 this one-cl. fish very good eat
 'This kind of fish tastes very good.'

(4) a. ?? you yizhong yu wo zui xihuan chi
 indef. one-cl. fish I modifier like eat
 'A kind of fish (topic), I like to eat very much.'

b. you yizhong yu hen hao chi
 indef. one-cl. fish very good eat
 'There is a kind of fish which tastes very good.'

The reason that (4a) is unacceptable is that the subject has a minimal discourse function in contrast to the topic; so, it is the topic that serves as the "center of attention" of the sentence, which presents known information and, therefore, must be definite.

(iii) The verb determines subject but not topic in a Chinese sentence. As has been discussed in (i), the subject is selectionally related to the verb, and this fact implies that it is possible to predict what type of a subject of any given verb will be in a sentence; but, as the topic is not determined by the verb, the topic selection is independent of the verb. This characteristic of the topic is clearly demonstrated in examples (1) and (2).

(iv) Sentence-initial Position: The surface coding of the topic in a Chinese sentence always involves the sentence-initial position. The subject, on the other hand, is not confined to the sentence-initial position.

(5) na san ge keren. zuotian lai le
those three-cl. guest yesterday come Asp.

'Those three guests (topic), they came yesterday.' (literally)

(6) zuotian lai le san ge keren
yesterday come Asp. three-cl guest

'Yesterday came three guests.'

In sentence (5), 'na san ge keren' ('those three guests') serves both as the topic and subject in the sentence, but 'san ge keren' ('three guests') in (6) occurs in sentence-final position as the subject.

The reason that the topic but not the subject must be in sentence-initial position may be understood in terms of discourse requirements.

(See also 1.2.)

(v) Grammatical Processes: In Chinese it is the subject but not the topic that plays a prominent role in such processes as reflexivization, passivization, Equi-NP deletion and verb serialization, etc. For example:

(7) a. John mai le piao jinqu (Verb serialization)

John buy Asp. ticket go in

'John bought a ticket and went in.'

b. * John wo mai le piao jinqu

*'John (topic), I bought a ticket and went in.'

(8) a. John xihuan ta ziji (Reflexivization)

John like he self

'John likes himself.'

b. *John wo xihuan ta ziji
 John I like he self
 'John (topic), I like himself.'

(9) a. *John xiang Mary qu (Equi-NP deletion)
 John want Mary go
 *'John wants Mary to go.'

b. John xiang qu
 John want go
 'John wants to go.'

The reason that the topic is not involved in such grammatical processes is partially due to the fact that the topic is syntactically independent of the rest of the sentence.

1.1 The Identification of Subject in Chinese

We have said that the subject in Chinese displays various sentence-internal properties, e.g., it is selectionally related to the verb and plays an important role in some grammatical processes. But there are still problems in Chinese, as compared with English, in identifying the subject in a sentence.

(i) In English there is a corresponding relationship, such as "number" agreement between the subject and verb in a sentence; also there is a subject-auxiliary verb inversion in the interrogative sentence. But all these syntactic characteristics are lacking in Chinese and cannot be used as a means to identify the subject in a Chinese sentence.

(ii) In Chinese a subject does not necessarily occur in every sentence. There is no "dummy" or "empty" subjects, such as the English 'it' and 'there', in a Chinese sentence. The following types of sentences are

found without a subject:

(a) Sentences where the context is clear to both speaker and hearer. For example:

(10) (wǒ) yǐjīng děng (nǐ) (děng) le yīge zhōngtóu le
I already wait you wait Asp. one-cl. hour particle

'I have been waiting for you for an hour.'

(11) (wǒ) qǐng (nǐ) tǐchū yìjiàn

I request you give opinion

'Please give your opinion.' (literally)

(b) Sentences about natural phenomena, such as the weather, etc.

(12) a. xià yǔ le
fall rain particle

'It is raining.'

b. dǎ léi le
hit thunder particle

'It is thundering.'

(c) Sentences of existence or appearance. For example:

(13) huāyuán lǐ yǒu yīzhī māo
garden inside have one-cl. cat

'There is a cat in the garden.'

(iii) As has been discussed in 1.0, the subject in Chinese does not necessarily occur in sentence-initial position, other constituents of a sentence can precede the subject for emphasis or other reasons:

(14) a. zuótiān tā dào měiguó qù le (Temporal Adverb)
yesterday he go U.S. go Asp.

'Yesterday he went to United States.'

b. zhe ben shu wo nianguo le (Object)
 this cl. book I read Asp.

'I have read this book.'

On the other hand, Chinese, like the other topic-prominent languages, is famous for the so-called "double-subject construction". (See Li & Thompson, 1976, for a discussion of the double-subject constructions in Chinese and other languages.)

(15) a. ta de liangge erzi, yi guo dong jiaoyuan,
 she poss. two-cl. son one-cl. copula teacher
yi ge zuo shengyi
 one-cl. make business

'As to her two sons, one is a teacher, the other is a businessman.'

b. zhe jian shi ni ziji zuo zhu ba
 this-cl. affair you self make decision particle

'As to this affair, you make your own decision.'

c. ta tou teng
 he head ache

'He has a headache.'

In (15 a-c) the first subjects, 'her two sons', 'this affair', and 'he', are actually topics of the sentences and have no selectional relationship with the verb and seem not to be derived from other types of sentences through "movement" rules.

Despite the above problems, it is still possible to identify the subject in a Chinese sentence in terms of its sentence-internal properties and in other ways, such as the following:

(A) Position: Except in existential sentences (as shown in (13)),

which exhibit unusual word order in Chinese, subject in Chinese always occurs preverbally. Subject, however, can be preceded by topic, if both occur in a sentence and the two are not identical, as demonstrated in examples in (15). There is one more complication. Objects can sometimes occur between subject and verb. However, such objects are restricted to inanimate ones as in (16):

(16) a. tā xǐe wán xìn le

he write-finish letter Asp.

'He has finished writing the letter.'

b. tā xìn xǐe wán le

he letter write-finish Asp.

'He has finished the letter.'

(17) a. John dā le Mary

John hit Asp. Mary

'John hit Mary.'

b. *John Mary dā le

John Mary hit Asp.

(17b) is grammatical only when it means 'Mary hit John' with 'John' understood as topic. So, it can be said that, positionally, subject in Chinese can be identified as the first animate NP to the left of the verb, otherwise, the NP immediately before the verb in a sentence.

(B) Subject always bears some selectional relations to the verb of a sentence as discussed in 1.0.

(C) Subject in a Chinese sentence tends to have a specific reference, but there is no such requirement for "object". (In the case of topic, the referential requirement is more stringent as discussed in 1.0.) So, in the following sentences the subject can be identified in accordance with the properties of the subject we have discussed so far:

(18) a. tā xǐhuān kàn shū (Object)

he like read book

'He enjoys reading books.'

b. shū shì wǒ de (Subject)

book is I poss.

'The book is mine.'

(19) a. wǒ yào qǐng kè (Object)

I want invite guest

'I want to invite some guests.' (literally)

b. kè lái le (Subject)

guest come Asp.

'The guests have come.'

(D) Subject in Chinese plays an important role in certain grammatical processes, as has been discussed in 1.0.

1.2 The Role of Word Order in Chinese

It has also been recognized by a number of scholars that word order in Chinese plays a role in distinguishing definite from indefinite nouns. The interaction between the word order of sentence construction and the definite/indefinite properties of nominals occurs in many languages. Chao (1968), who treats a sentence-initial NP as "subject" and any post-verbal NP as "object", defines the relation between word order and definite/indefinite in terms of information:

The subject is likely to represent the known while the predicate introduces something unknown... Thus there is a very strong tendency for the subject to have a definite reference and the object to have an indefinite reference." (1968, 76)

Thompson (1978) has recently taken the notion of the "function of word order", which has been developed by the Prague School scholars, as a typological parameter in establishing a typology of languages in terms of the role which word order plays in individual languages. According to Thompson (op. cit.), there are basically two ways in which languages can utilize the linear arrangement of predicates and their arguments: pragmatically or grammatically. A language may either use this order pragmatically to signal which parts of the sentence convey old vs. new information, or may use this order to signal some essentially grammatical information. So, Chinese, in direct contrast with English, is a language in which word order functions pragmatically, that is to say, by using word order to distinguish what is "known" (the old information) from what is "not known" (the new information). In general, the initial word represents known information, the background for the rest of the sentence, and the final word in the sentence represents the focus of the assertion.

In Chinese the known information tends to be placed sentence-initially and the new information sentence-finally. In fact, the initial NP in a sentence is always interpreted as known information. Thus, in sentence (20)

(20) mao zai huayuan li
 cat at garden inside

'The cat is in the garden.'

The subject NP 'mao' ('cat') can only have the definite interpretation:

But, on the other hand, there is a tendency in Modern Chinese for definite nouns, whether subject or object, to be placed before the verb, whereas indefinite nouns tend to follow the verb. According to Li & Thompson (1973, 1974), this phenomenon is due to the change of word order from

archaic Chinese to Modern Chinese, i.e., from the order of SVO to SOV.

This is attested in the widespread use of the "ba-construction" in Modern Chinese. For example: ²

(21) a. tā bā yú chī le
he ba fish eat Asp.

'He ate the fish.'

b. tā pā yī běn shū mǎi cuò le
he ba one-cl. book buy wrong Asp.

'He bought the wrong book.'

But the "bei-construction" (the passive construction) is immune to this restriction because of other reasons, which will be discussed in Chapter II.

1.3 The Basic Sentence Patterns in Chinese

In this section a list of basic sentence types in Modern Chinese is presented to make it easier to understand the structure of the Chinese sentence, but this list is not exhaustive:

(i) NP + V
gǒu jiāo
dog bark
'The dog barks.'

(ii) NP₁ + V + NP₂
māo zhuō lǎoshǔ
cat catch mice
'The cat catches mice.'

(iii) NP + be + NP

gou shi dongwu
dog is animal

'A dog is an animal.'

(iv) NP + (be) + Adj.

na ge nǚhaizi hen piaoliang.
that-cl. girl very beautiful

'That girl is very beautiful.'

(v) NP₁ + V + NP₂ + Adj.

yinyue shi women kuaile
music make us happy

'Music makes us happy.'

(vi) NP₁ + V + NP₂ + (gei) + NP₃

John sung yifen liwu gei Mary
John send one-cl. present to Mary

'John sent a present to Mary.'

NP₁ + ba + NP₂ + V + gei + NP₃

John ba yifen liwu sung gei Mary
John ba one-cl. present send to Mary

'John has that present sent to Mary.'

(vii) NP₁ + V + NP₂ + NP₂

women xuan John dong huizhang
we elect John become president

'We elected John president.'

(viii) NP + be + Adverbial (locative)

John zai zhe- li

John at here

'John is here.'

There is no sentence in Chinese with an "empty" or "dummy" subject like 'there' and 'it' in English. In that situation we have subjectless

sentences as in (ix):

(ix) a. xia yǔ le

fall rain particle

'It is raining.'

b. waibian you yige ren

outside have one-cl. person

'There is a man outside.'

FOOTNOTES

1. Different terminologies are used to refer to the notion of definite/indefinite distinction: old-new, known-unknown, theme-rheme, topic-comment.

2. Different names have been used by the Chinese linguists to refer to the "ba-construction", such as the "disposal form", "causative". Like the passive construction, the "ba-construction" is another controversial topic in Chinese syntax. In very informal terms, the function of the disposal marker "ba" can be said to prepose the object NP to the position before the verb in a sentence. The normal order of a sentence is:

X NP₁ V NP₂ Y

but in the "ba-construction", the order is changed to the following:

X NP₁ BA NP₂ V Y

For example:

(1) a. tā mǎidiao le fāngzi le
 he sell Asp. house particle
 'He sold his house.'

b. tā ba fāngzi mǎidiao le
 he ba house sell Asp.
 'He sold his house.'

(See also footnote 3 and 4 in Chapter II.)

CHAPTER II

THE CHARACTERISTICS OF THE PASSIVE CONSTRUCTION IN CHINESE

2.0 The Nature of the Passive Marker "BEI": Verb or Preposition

The nature of a group of morphemes such as "ba" (object marker) ('to take'), "bei" (agent marker) ('to suffer/receive'), "gei" ('for'; 'to give') has been controversial among the Chinese linguists. The morphemes usually occur in the positions

Subject _____ NP _____ V _____ (NP)

in a sentence. These morphemes were verbs in earlier stages of the Chinese language. Some of them still function as verbs in certain contexts. Since most of them function, to a certain extent, as modifiers

of the following NP, some grammarians call them "co-verbs".¹

And since they may be translated into English as prepositions in some other contexts, others call them prepositions.² There is wide disagreement over whether such verb-like morphemes with prepositional meanings and functions should be regarded as verbs or prepositions.

And thus the term "co-verb" is widely used by almost all grammarians and linguists and by a textbook series published in the U.S. as the category defining this class of morphemes within the boundary between verbs and prepositions. So the use of the term

"co-verb" has helped many teachers of Chinese avoid making a decision about whether to call these morphemes verbs or prepositions when presenting them to students.

Chao (1968) does not distinguish "co-verb" from prepositions and follows the practice in the Hockett et al. dictionary, using the label 'K' to refer to them. (See footnote 1.) So, he is not clear about the question of whether they are verbs or prepositions, as can be witnessed from the following quote:

Verbs differ in the frequency with which they function as first verb in a V _ V series A listable number of verbs occur as first verbs with at least the same order of frequency as in other positions and are thus called "co-verbs" or prepositions. (1968, 335)

But it is not clear what he means by saying that "verbs are thus called co-verbs or prepositions."

On the other hand, Huang Hsuan-fan, in his article "Between Verbs and Prepositions" (1974), asserts that neither the term "co-verb" nor the concept of such is required; thus, morphemes such as "bei", "ba", "zai" etc. can be treated either as full verbs or prepositions. The term "co-verb" is absolutely superfluous. But Huang is too opinionated about this because he has ignored the historical evolution of these morphemes.

Li & Thompson (1974b) are of the opinion that "co-verbs" are best viewed as prepositions which are still in the process of changing from earlier verbs. Present-day "co-verbs", such as "ba" ('to hold, to take'), "bei" ('to suffer'), were transitive verbs, at earlier stages of the Chinese language, and their verbal origin accounts for a number of properties of the present-day "co-verbs". They hypothesize that in the transition from verbs to prepositions, some of these

morphemes have progressed farther than others. The term "co-verb" actually covers a class of morphemes of non-homogeneous types, in that some of the verbs have progressed towards the prepositional end while others have still remained in the middle of the continuum. Thus, we can say that the passive marker "bei" belongs to the first group and has changed from a verb (in the earlier stage) into a preposition in present-day Chinese, but it still retains certain vestiges of its verbal origin.

2.1 The Variants of the Passive Construction in Archaic Chinese and the Historical Development of the "Bei-construction"

There are different types of passive constructions in archaic Chinese (which probably began from the 3rd century B.C.), as in the following examples (from Li & Thompson 1973; Bennett 1981):

(i) the "yu" construction

the order: NP (patient) - Verb - yu - NP (Agent)

(1) lǎo lì zhě zhì yú rén

labor strength 'nominalizer' govern yu people

'Those who labour with their bodies are governed by others.'

The structure is identical to the modern English form.

(ii) the occurrence of "jian" ('to see') before the verb

(2) pēnchéng-kuo jian sha

name jian kill

'Pencheng-kuo was murdered.'

(iii) the "wei"-construction, both with and without a "suo"

(3) a. wei taizi wei Jiang-chong suo bai

name of crown-prince wei name suo defeat

'The crown-prince of Wei was defeated by Jiangchong.'

b. wei zhu^hhou xiao
 wei lord laugh

'was ridiculed by the feudal lords.'

Determining the date of origin of the "bei-construction" in Chinese is difficult because many of the early sentences are susceptible to more than one analysis. "Bei" first began as a verb which means 'to receive', as in the following examples (Li & Thompson 1973, 203):

(4) bao zhe bei huichou

immoral nominalizer receive punishment

'The immoral will receive punishment.'

(5) a. bei ru

bei insult

'be insulted.'

b. guo yi ri bei gong

country one day bei attack

'If one day the state is attacked.'

c. wan-cheng zhi guo bei wei yu Zhao

ten-thousand chariot 'attribute' state bei surround yu name

'A state of ten thousand chariots has been surrounded

by Zhao.'

In archaic Chinese, words could function as either nouns or verbs that make the part of speech of the element after "bei" unclear, as shown

in (6):

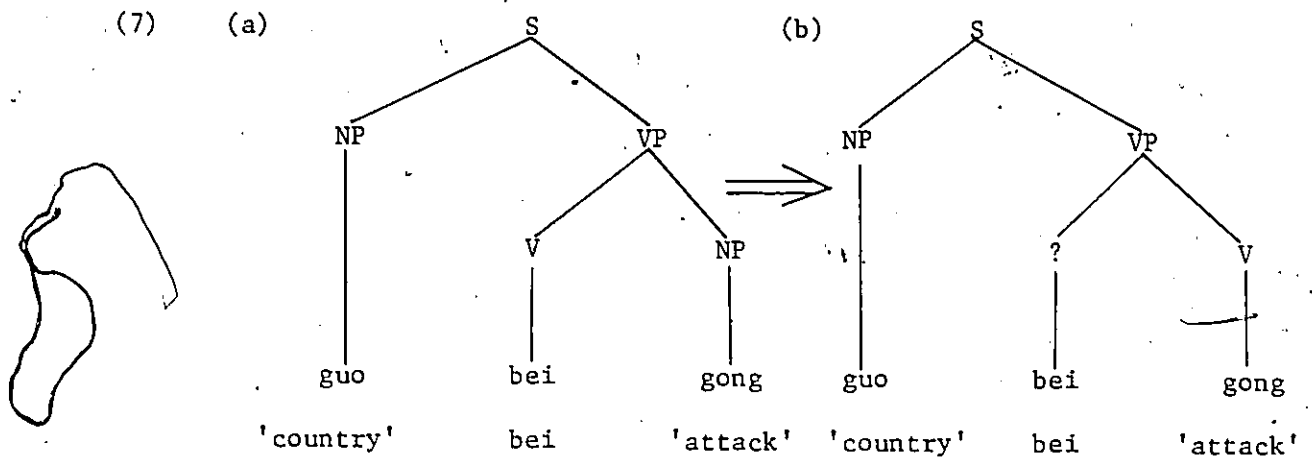
(6) bei shui han zhi hai

bei water drought particle damage

'received damage from drought and flood.'

But in (6), 'zhi' is used to connect a noun with elements that modify it, hence the phrase 'shui han zhi hai' must be nominal and it must function as "object" of the verb "bei".

Bennett (1981, 75-76) makes use of the concept of "misassignment of constituent structure" proposed by Parker (1976) as a mechanism for linguistic change in interpreting the grammaticalization of "bei" in the following way (taking (5b) as an example as shown in (7)):



In a later development the agent NP was inserted after "bei", as in (8):

- (8) Liangzi bei Su-jun hai
- name bei name harm
- 'Liangzi was harmed by Su-jun.'

Sentence (8) will get a very unnatural interpretation if "bei" is considered as a verb and 'hai' as its object, (i.e. Liangzi received Su-jun's harm.). It seems that the passive construction with its modern form has come into being gradually. So, this change in the position of the agent-phrase is an important aspect of the drift of the verb towards -

the end of the sentence. Li & Thompson (1973, 202-203) claim that the "bei-construction", with its "Patient (NP) - bei - Agent - Verb" order provides a new form with SOV word order for passive sentences.

Li & Thompson (op. cit.) regard the development of the "bei-construction" as the grammaticalization of the first verb in a serial verb sentence from the form S - V - NP - V - (NP) to that of S - P - NP - V - (NP).

Tai (1976, 299-300) gives a slightly different account of the emergence of the bei-sentence. He notes that in the second and first centuries B.C. "bei" began to appear in both truncated passives ('bei+V'), as in (5b), and full passives ('bei-verb-yu-agent), as in (5c).

He says:

On the basis of the fact that when the truncated "bei" passive became productive, "jian" truncated passive has disappeared, we can assume that "bei" as a verb replaced "jian" in truncated passives and then spread to full passives with the by-phrase still following the verb. (1976, 300)

Thus, (5c) has the structure of (9)

(9) NP V - V Preposition NP
 O bei - wei yu S

As "yu" prepositional phrases began to shift to the preverbal position and underwent reanalysis, "bei" as a verb became the most natural substitute for the preposition "yu". Thus, (9) developed into (10).

(10) NP V NP V
 O bei S

The account offered by Tai is rather controversial in nature, but it is not so important here since we do not want to delve deep into the

historical development of the passive construction. So, it took several centuries for the "bei-construction" to become the dominant form, to replace all the other variants, and to develop into its modern form.

2.2. Some Characteristics of the Passive Constructions in Modern Chinese

The passive construction in modern Chinese, like its counterpart in English, is one of the most discussed topics in Chinese syntax, especially since the advent of the transformational theory. Before we go into different approaches to the analysis of the construction, it seems better to discuss some main characteristics of the construction.

(i) The use of passive sentences in Chinese is far less common than the use of the active forms, and the passives have only a limited use. Most Chinese grammarians claim that the passive construction in Chinese is mainly used to express unhappy or unfortunate events for the subject, particularly the animate subject (i.e. surface subject), as in the following examples:

(11) a. xuésān bei laoshi mā le

student bei teacher scold Asp.

'The students were scolded by the teacher.'

b. xiǎotóu bei jǐnchú zhuozhu le

burglar bei police catch Asp.

'The burglar was caught by the police.'

Chao (1968, 703) says that "the bei-construction is usually limited to disposal verbs usually of unfavourable meanings. But recently, from translating foreign passive verbs, 'by' or some equivalents in a

western language (especially English), is mechanically equated to "bei" and applied to verbs of favourable meanings or verbs with no disposal implication."³ So, in modern Chinese we often find such passive sentences as in (12), which are considered by many as rather Europeanized in style.

(12) a. zhe-zhong cuowu jianglai yexu bei chengren
this-kind mistake future may bei consider
shi dui de
copula right particle

'This kind of mistake may be admitted to be correct
in the future.' (literally)

b. wo diyi ci zai dajia mianqian bei
I first time in people face-front bei
laoshi chengzan le
teacher praise Asp.

'I was praised by the teacher before the class for the
first time.'

We said in 1.2 that there is a tendency in modern Chinese for definite NPs, whether-subject or object, to be placed before the verbs, whereas indefinite NPs tend to follow the verbs. But the "bei-construction" is immune to this restriction, as opposed to the "ba-construction". This has been explained by Wang Li (1959), who says that the Chinese construction, using "bei" or one of its variants, has been heavily influenced by western languages, particularly English. One of the obvious ways in which this influence is felt is in translation. A passive sentence in the target language will often be used to translate

a passive in the source language. Under this western influence, not only has the use of passive sentences increased dramatically in the last several decades in both writing and speech, but an earlier semantic restriction on the occurrence of the construction has now been dropped. He says that, until the beginning of this century, the passive could only (or at least mostly) be used with verbs having a 'negative' meaning, so that, for example, 'da' ('beat') could occur in passive sentences, but 'chengzan' ('praise') could not. Because of the dropping of this requirement, the construction can be used with a wider range of verbs (i.e. with both favourable or unfavourable meaning), than has been possible previously, a fact which contributes to its spread.

It is quite possible, then, that the passive in modern Chinese has been strongly influenced by western languages in which there is no restriction on the definiteness of the agent (i.e. the NP following 'bei').

(ii) Another characteristic is the relationship between the passive marker "bei" and its other variants. The use of "bei" in passive sentences is sometimes considered quite formal. In spoken Chinese, particularly in the Northern dialects, "bei" is always replaced by its other variants such as "gei", "jiao" etc. For example:

(13) a. wǒ shuō de huà gei tā tīngjiàn le
I say poss. word gei she hear Asp.
'What I have said has been overheard by her.'

b. zìjǐ de míng zěnma jiao biérén guānzhe nie
one-self poss fate how jiao other people decide particle
'How can one's own fate be decided by others?'

c. w^o de shu rang dⁱdi sⁱpao le

I pass. book rang brother tear apart Asp.

'My book was torn apart by my younger brother.'

But they are not always mutually replaceable because each of these variant markers has different semantic properties and is subject to different restrictions.

Some Chinese grammarians put "you" in the list of the passive markers. However, there are differences in use between "bei" and "you". The main differences are these:

(A) The NP following "bei" may be either animate or inanimate but the NP following "you" must be animate. For example:

(14) a. tā de t^uei bei zh^adan zh^aduan le
he poss. leg bei bomb break Asp.

'His leg was broken by the bomb.' (literally)

b. *tā de t^uei you zh^adan zh^aduan le
he poss. leg you bomb break Asp.

(B) "Bei" is often used to describe unhappy or unfortunate events, but there is no such restriction placed upon "you". For example:

(15) a. ??nà yⁱ-xiang gongzuo yⁱjing bei John
that one-cl. work already bei John
wancheng le
finish Asp.

'That work has already been finished by John.'

b. nà yⁱxiang gongzuo yⁱjing you John wancheng le
that one-cl work already you John finish Asp.

'That work has already been finished by John.'

(C) The NP following "bei", if unspecified, can be deleted, but the NP following "you" cannot be deleted. For example:

(16) a. haizi bei chonghui le
child bei spoil Asp.

'The child has been spoiled.'

b. *haizi you zhaogu le
child you take care Asp.

*'The child has been taken care of.'

(iii) There are a lot of similarities between the "bei-construction" and the "ba-construction" in modern Chinese. The most noticeable are the following two (See also Chapter I & IV):

(A) In modern Chinese almost all passive sentences can be replaced by the "ba-sentences". For example:⁴

(17) a. ta bei xuexiao kaichu le
he bei school dismiss Asp.

'He was dismissed by the school.'

b. xuexiao ba ta kaichu le
school ba he dismiss Asp.

'The school fired him.'

(B) The negative marker "bushi" or "meiyou" can only be placed before "bei" and "ba" in a sentence, but cannot be placed after them, as in the following sentences:

(18) a. ta de yijian meiyou bei dajia jieshou
he poss. opinion not bei people accept

'His opinion was not accepted by the people.'

b. *ta de yijian bei dajia meiyou jieshou
he poss. opinion bei people not accept

The reason for this is that both "bei" and "ba" are verbs in archaic Chinese, and both have undergone grammaticalization, but they still retain a vestige of the properties of a verb, as we have discussed in this chapter.

However, these two constructions are still different: the NP following "bei" can be deleted and thus "bei" can occur directly before the verb, but the NP after "ba" cannot be deleted, as shown in (19):

- (19) a. $\overline{\text{diren}}$ $\overline{\text{bei}}$ $\overline{(\text{women})}$ $\overline{\text{xiaomie}}$ $\overline{\text{le}}$
 enemy bei we destroy Asp.
 'The enemy have been destroyed by us.'
- b. $\overline{*women}$ $\overline{\text{ba}}$ $\overline{(\text{diren})}$ $\overline{\text{xiaomie}}$ $\overline{\text{le}}$
 we ba enemy destroy Asp.

The reason is that the deleted NP in (19b) is the subject NP in (19a), which is presupposed, but it has a syntactic relation with the verb in (19b) because it is the object NP following the verb but is only preposed by the marker "ba".

FOOTNOTES.

1. The term "co-verb" was first used in Hockett et al., Dictionary of Spoken Chinese, published in 1945. In the discussion of the grammatical categories, co-verbs are assigned the letter 'K' and described as follows:

Co-verbs serve to mark nominal referents in a sentence, either (1) connecting the following nominal referent to a preceding one, or (2) indicating the relation of the following nominal referent to all the rest of the sentence. (Hockett et al. 1945, 18) (quote from Li & Thompson 1974b, 258)

Co-verbs, under this description, are very similar to prepositions.

2. No one has, so far, given a formal description of "preposition" in Chinese. These verb-like morphemes (with prepositional meaning) are often compared to verbs as follows:

(i) Verbs can be made interrogative in V-bu-V constructions and negated by either 'bu' ('not') or 'mei' ('have not').

(ii) Verbs can be followed by Aspect markers such as 'le', 'zhe', and 'guo'.

(iii) Verbs serve as the predicates of sentences.

Co-verbs lack all these properties possessed by the verbs.

3. Wang Li (1956, 181), another Chinese grammarian, expresses the same opinion of Chao's (1968). He says that "bei" has the meaning of 'suffer', therefore the passive asserts an unhappy or undesirable thing (or event) occurring to the subject (i.e. surface subject).

Sentences like (11 a & b) are in widespread use in newspapers and in translation and are dubbed as Europeanized Chinese. Strictly speaking, they should be expressed in the active forms.

On the other hand, the concept "disposal" is usually related to an unfavourable meaning. The concept of "disposal" was introduced in a context involving certain kinds of verbs in relation to the use of "ba" before certain preverbal objects in Chinese sentences. It is used as a grammatical term by Wang Li (1956), Chao, Yuen-Ren (1968) and other scholars in discussing the problems concerning "ba-sentences". Such sentences are described as sentences in their disposal form. The special verbs applicable in these sentences are called "disposal verbs". Their objects are described as having been 'disposed of' by the action of the verbs. For example:

tā bā yú chī le
he ba fish eat Asp.

'He ate the fish.'

(For detailed discussion of "disposal form", see Y.C. Li, 1974.)

4. The use of "ba-sentence" in this way is called the liberal use of the disposal form by Wang Li (1956). The disposal form does not really express any kind of disposing (in the strict sense given by Wang). It only shows that the matter at hand is the result of the influence of another matter. It frequently refers to an unhappy or involuntary happening.

CHAPTER III

PREVIOUS APPROACHES TO THE ANALYSIS OF THE CHINESE PASSIVE CONSTRUCTION

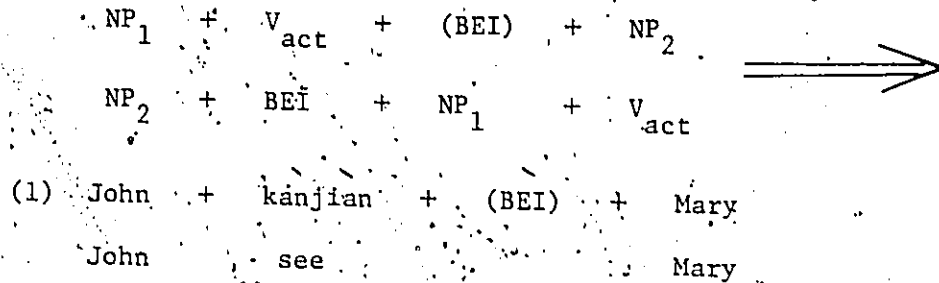
3.0 Introduction

The study of Chinese linguistics has been given new impetus since the advent of transformational theory. Chinese linguists have made a strenuous effort in keeping up with the development of the theory on the one hand, and, on the other hand, in using it to investigate the structure of Chinese. In the studies in Chinese linguistics along the lines of the generative theory, different approaches have been put forward for the analysis of the passive construction in Chinese. In the linguistic literature of the last two decades, four hypotheses are found.

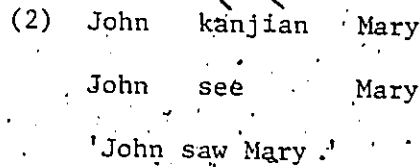
3.1 The Transformational Approach

In early transformational theory, the active-passive relation was accounted for by an optional transformation which applied to an underlying structure common to both active and passive sentences. So, the relationship was considered to be derivational. Some Chinese linguists applied this to account for the active-passive relation in Chinese. Chief among these transformational proponents were A. Hashimoto (1964), (who changed her position in treating 'bei' as a main verb in A. Hashimoto (1971).), Annear & Liu (1964) and Wang (1970, 1972). The main characteristic of this approach is the treatment of the passive marker 'bei' as a kind of particle.

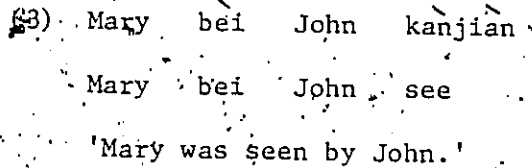
Annear & Liu (1964) introduce "bei" as a formative in the constituent structure rules, which triggers the passive transformation as follows:



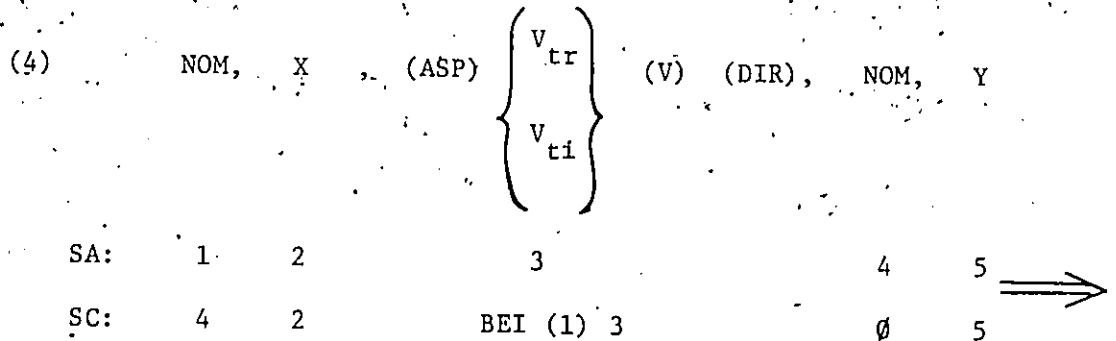
If the marker "bei" is not chosen, the string simply generates a transitive verb sentence as in (2):



But once the marker is chosen in the derivation, the string must obligatorily go through the passive transformation, i.e., the second NP is moved to the front and the verb is moved to follow "bei", as in (3):



A. Hashimoto (1964), on the other hand, follows Chomsky in deriving the passive sentence through a transformational rule, which is proposed as follows: (from Tang, 1977b, 194)



Conditions: (i) V represents any verb.

(ii) X cannot contain 'de' (i.e. the possessive marker).

(iii) Y cannot contain any nominal phrase.

NOM: Nominal phrase

ASP: Aspect marker

V_{tr}: Transitive verb

V_{ti}: Intransitive non-stative verb

Sentence (2) falls under this rule, except that the marker "bei" is inserted during the transformation, which differs from Annear & Liu's formulation.

Wang's formulation (1970, 1972) is similar to A. Hashimoto's. To him the underlying structure of the passive is the same as that of the active, and the passive marker "bei" is also inserted during the transformation. But he imposes a lot of restrictions on the passives, which, he claims, must be imposed to generate the correct result.¹ His transformational rule is represented in (5):

(5)	N	X	V	A	NP	Y	
SA:	1	2	3	4	5	6	⇒
SC:	5	2	BEI + 1	3	4	6	

A: Aspect marker

The transformational approach seems to give a simple account of the passive construction in Chinese. However, the weakness of the

analysis is quite evident. First, the rule formulated by Hashimoto and Wang follows the one that applies to English. The passive marker "bei" is inserted during the transformation in the same fashion as the 'by-phrase' is inserted in the English passive. The active-passive relation, on the other hand, is assumed to be derived from the common underlying structure. But, as the theory developed (Katz & Postal 1964; Chomsky 1965), the picture changed. Different underlying structures were proposed for active and passive respectively. But the rule formulated in this fashion lost its vigor, and had to be modified to fit in with the new theory, or be totally abandoned. Second, Wang (1970) imposes a lot of restrictions on the passives in Chinese (see footnote 1), but he does not formulate any generalization of them. He only lists them mechanically, and some of the restrictions are rather problematic. Thus, the rule formulated by him totally fails to have any explanatory power.

3.2 The Higher-Sentence Hypothesis

The Higher-Sentence Hypothesis is proposed by M. Hashimoto (1969), which is obviously influenced by Hasegawa's analysis of the English passives (1968). The basic motivation of his analysis is his rejection of the transformational account. He claims that the notion that the surface subject of a passive sentence should be derived from the underlying object of the corresponding active sentence does not represent the syntactic notion of the passive construction in Chinese. He gives the following evidence to support his argument:

- (i) The post-verbal object can appear in the surface structure as in (6):

(6) wǒ bei tā cóng shēnshàng tóu le shǒubiǎo (Obj)
 I bei he from body steal Asp. wrist-watch

'My watch was stolen by him.'

He claims that "if the sentence were to be derived syntactically from the underlying active string, the corresponding active sentence should contain 'wo' ('I') as its object constituent." (1969, 57) But he says that this is impossible and the only possible (semantic) active counterpart of (6) is (7):

(7) tā cóng wǒ de shēnshàng tóu le wǒ de shǒubiǎo
 he from my poss. body steal Asp. my poss. watch

'He stole (my) watch (from me).'

Where 'wo' ('I') turns out to be a genitive constituent of an adverbial phrase.

(ii) This type of adverbial phrase, as in (7), appears in the surface structure as an object; thus, a passive sentence like (8)

(8) wǒ bei tā wèn le xǔduō wèn'tí
 I bei he ask Asp. many question

'I was asked many questions by him.'

is not derived from (9)

(9) tā wèn le wǒ xǔduō wèn'tí
 he ask Asp. I many question

'He asked me many question.'

but from (10)

(10) tā xiàng wǒ wèn le xǔduō wèn'tí
 he to I ask Asp. many question

'He asked me many question.'

where 'wo' ('I') is the transform of a prepositional phrase 'xiang wo' from (10).

(iii) Intransitive passives can be found in modern Chinese, as in (11):

(11) kǎnshòu . bei fànren pǎo le
jailer bei criminal flee-Asp.

'The jailer suffered from the running away of the criminal.'

In this case, there is no syntactic active counterpart of (11) that can be found.

From all these, M. Hashimoto concludes that the surface subject of the so-called passive construction in Chinese may not in general be derived from the object of the corresponding active construction. Furthermore, he claims that the passive construction in Chinese, which is similar to that in Japanese, should more appropriately be called the "inflictive construction".²

Another motivation is his objection to the treatment of "bei" as a kind of preposition because "bei" differs from other prepositions in that it can be retained even if the noun following it is elided, whereas no other preposition in Chinese can be retained once the following noun is elided. (op.cit.) This is shown in (12):

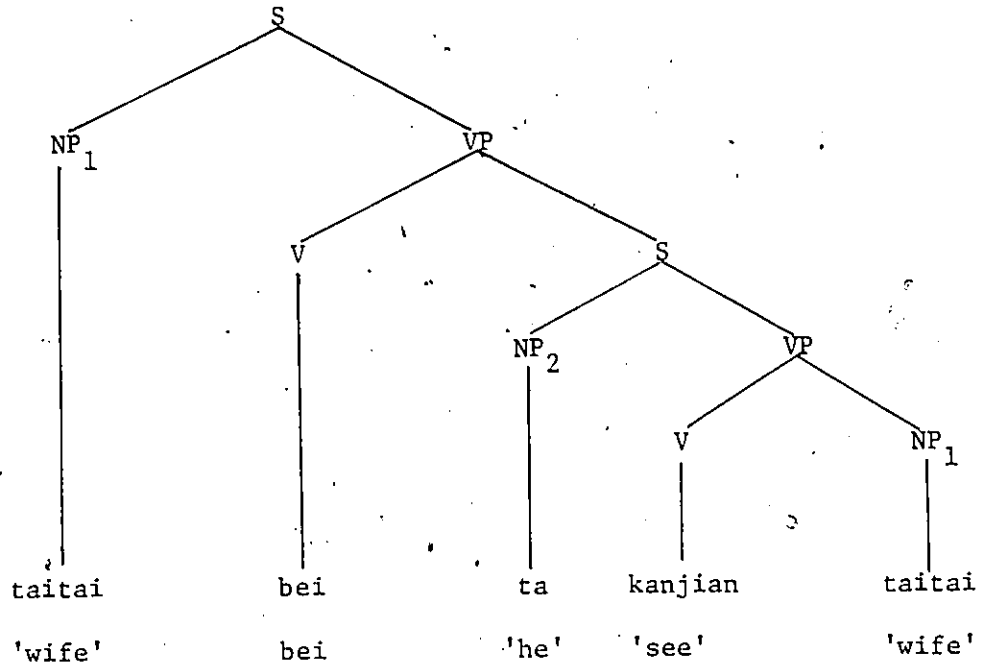
(12) John bei da le
John bei hit Asp.

'John was beaten.'

So, he proposes that the Chinese passive construction can be more reasonably analyzed as an embedding structure. For example, (13) can be more clearly represented in the following way as in (14):

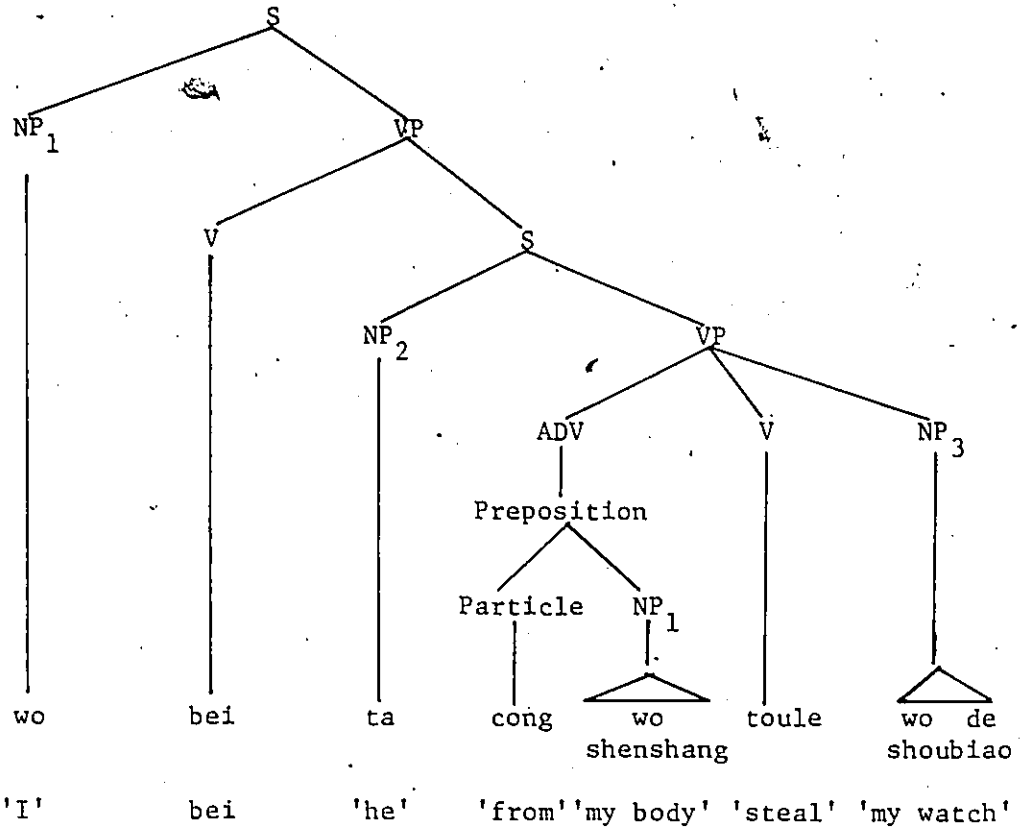
- (13) taitai bei tā kanjian
wife bei he see
'His wife was seen by him.'

(14)



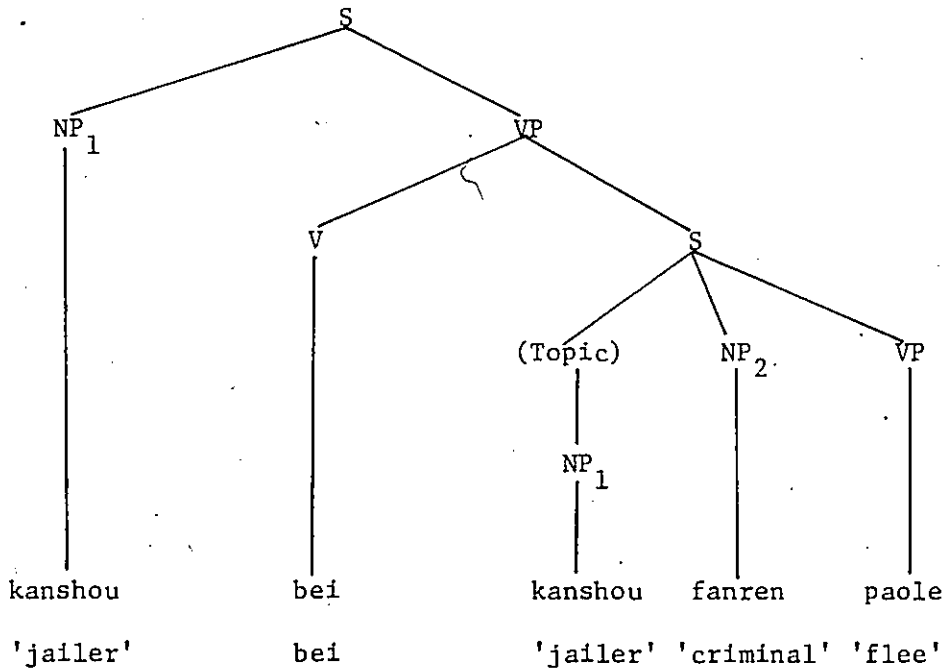
Thus, the embedding structure of sentences (6) & (11) can be represented in (15) and (16) respectively:

(15)



(The shared NP (i.e. NP₁), he claims, is an adverbial phrase in the constituent sentence.)

(16)



A. Hashimoto (1971), on the other hand, gives more evidence to support M. Hashimoto's analysis that the passive construction in Chinese must be generated from embedding structure. She puts forward the following sentences as evidence for that position:

(17) John bei dá le

John bei hit Asp.

'John was beaten.'

(18) John bei rén tōu le qián

John bei people steal Asp. money

'John's money was stolen by someone.'

She argues that if we consider "bei" as a kind of preposition or particle, it is difficult to explain (i) why passive sentences like (17) occur, or why a preposition can occur immediately before a verb in the surface structure, a behaviour not observed with true prepositions, and (ii) why the subject of the passive sentence is not the logical (direct) object in the active sentence, as in (18), where the logical subject is 'qian' ('money') but not 'John'.

But the main argument that A. Hashimoto puts forward in favour of generating the passive construction from the embedding structure is that "certain manner adverbials can only occur after the object NP of "bei", (as in (19b)), but not before the "bei-phrase", (as in 19c)." (1971, 72)

(19) a. Zhāng Sān hénhén de mā le Lǐ Sì yíduàn

Zhang San fiercely scold Asp. Li Si one-cl.

'Zhang San scolded Li Si fiercely.' (literally)

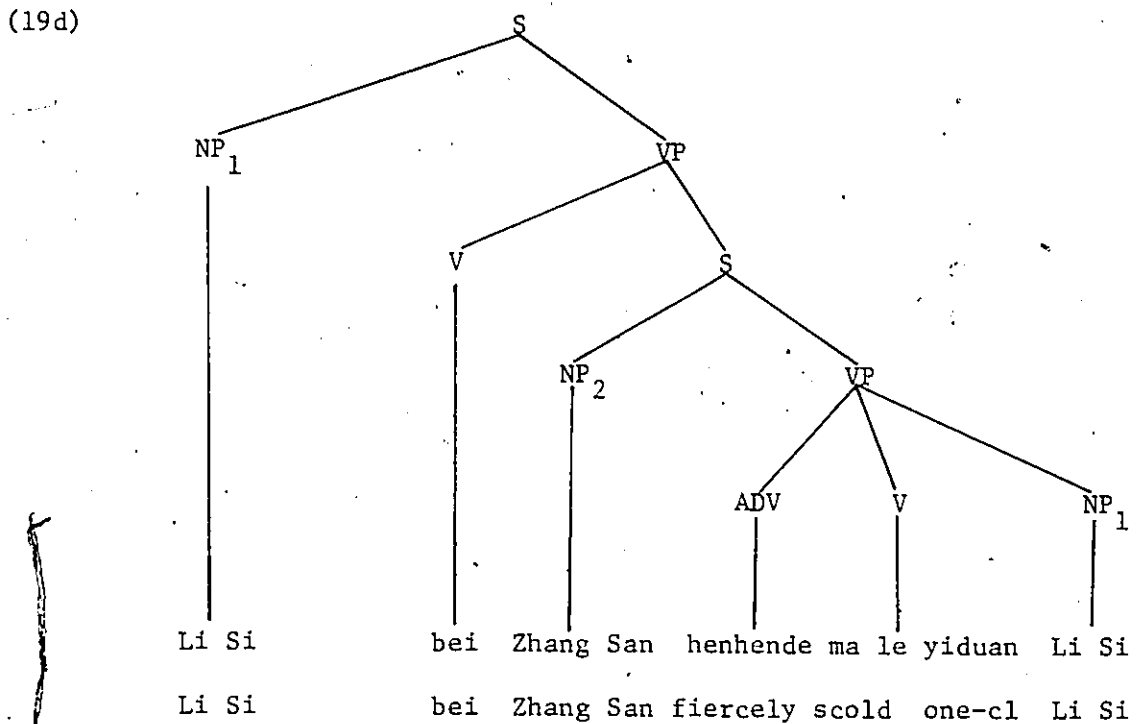
b. Lǐ Sì bei Zhāng Sān hénhén de mā le yíduàn

Li Si bei Zhang San fiercely scold Asp. one-cl.

'Li Si was fiercely scolded by Zhang San.'

c. *Li Si hēnhēnde bei Zhāng Sān mā le yiduan
 Li Si fiercely bei Zhang San scold Asp. one-cl.

She claims that the position of the occurrence of the manner adverbials in the passive can be accounted for if the passive construction is to be derived from the embedding structure as in (19d):



She argues that "if the passive construction is to be derived from an embedded structure, we have a natural explanation for the non-occurrence of such adverbials in the matrix string (as in 19c above), since sentential manner adverbs have their underlying subjects identical only with the subject NPs of the matrix sentences." (1971, 72)

The Higher-Sentence Hypothesis given by M. Hashimoto (1969) and A. Hashimoto (1971) accounts for a lot of interesting phenomena of the structure of the Chinese sentences; however, there are many difficulties with this approach. First, both M. & A. Hashimoto treat the passive

marker "bei" as a verb rather than as a preposition on the grounds that ".... no other preposition in Chinese can be retained once the following noun is elided" and ".... no true preposition can occur immediately before a verb in the surface structure." But the argument is not strong enough to claim that the passive marker "bei" is a verb. Undoubtedly, the marker "bei" is a verb in archaic Chinese, as has been discussed in Chapter II. But there is little reason to give "bei" the status of a verb in Modern Chinese, since it has no longer any verbal properties. It acts only as a marker. On the other hand, if the passive marker "bei" is treated as a higher verb, it is difficult to state in the analysis the restriction that when "bei" and "ba" occur in the same sentence, the former must precede the latter (See also Chapter IV). Second, M. Hashimoto (1969) asks why the post-verbal object can appear in the surface structure as the 'shoubiao' ('watch') in (6) and A. Hashimoto asks why the subject of the passive sentence is not the logical (direct) object in the active sentence, as in (17). It is true that the grammatical subjects 'wo' ('I') and 'John' in (6) and (17) respectively are not the logical objects, and it is also true that a logical object usually is the grammatical subject in a passive sentence, but these are not usual passives. (The treatment of this type of passive will be discussed in Chapter IV.) Third, and most problematic, is M. Hashimoto's treatment of sentence (11), in which, he claims, 'kanshou' ('jailer') in the embedded sentence is interpreted as originating from some kind of adverbial phrase, which is moved to the front. Many Chinese don't accept this sentence and substitute "bei" by "rang" ('let') (The jailer let the criminal run away.). Even M. Hashimoto himself has doubts about the grammaticality of the sentence and agrees that the

sentence will become more acceptable if "rang" is substituted for "bei", but the constituent "topic" in the embedding structure is a rather ad hoc device.

Although A. Hashimoto (1971) has made a very insightful explanation about the occurrence of the manner adverbials in Chinese, this is not the only possible explanation. Therefore, the argument put forward by her is still not strong enough to support the embedding structure of the passive construction in Chinese.

3.3 The Case-Grammar Approach

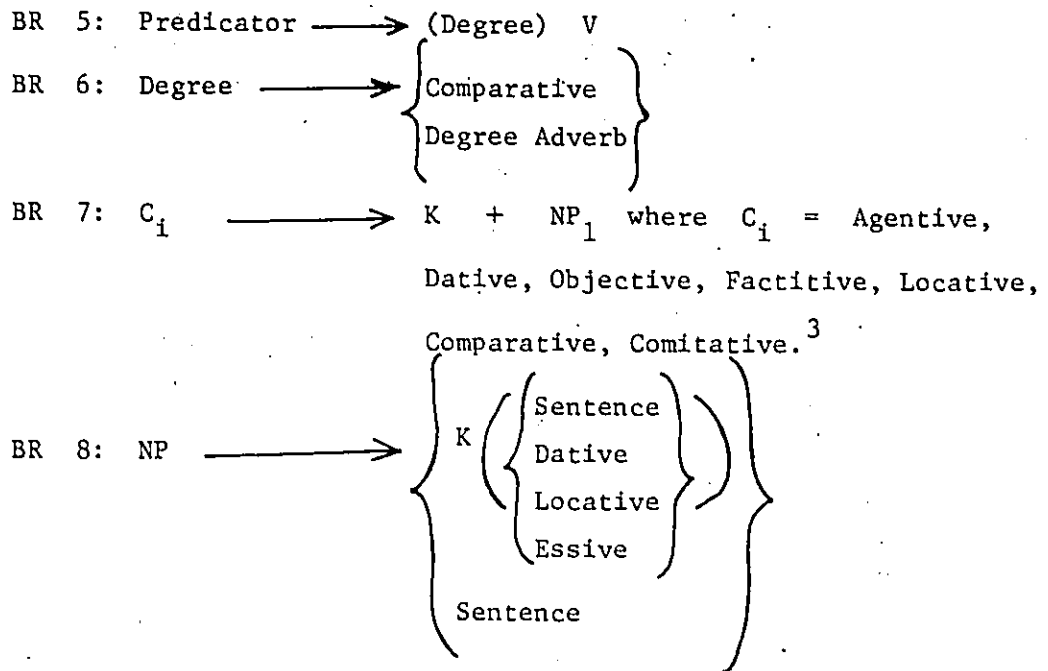
The Case-Grammar Approach is proposed by Tang (1972, 1977b), who combines Chomsky's transformational grammar (Chomsky, 1965) and Fillmore's Case theory (Fillmore, 1968), and sets up a framework in which he gives an extensive treatment of Chinese syntax. Following Fillmore, Tang claims that the notions like subject and object play no role in the deep structure of sentence. They pertain to the surface structure only. Thus, under this analysis, Chinese has the following base rules: (1972, 32)

BR 1: Sentence \longrightarrow Modality + Proposition

BR 2: Modality \longrightarrow $\left. \begin{array}{l} \text{Affirmative} \\ \text{Negative} \end{array} \right\} \left(\begin{array}{l} \text{Imperative} \\ \text{Interrogative} \\ \text{Exclamatory} \\ \text{Assertive} \end{array} \right) \text{ (Adverbial)}$

BR 3: Adverbial \longrightarrow (Sentential Adverb) (Temporal) (Locative)

BR 4: Proposition \longrightarrow (Predicator) (Agentive) (Instrumental)
(Dative) (Objective) (Factitive) (Locative)
(Temporal) (Essive)



After all the proper base rules have applied, the deep structure case frame is characterized, and then lexical items can be inserted. Finally, primary transformations such as Subjectivization³ may apply, creating the basic word order of the sentence. Tang distinguishes two kinds of transformations: primary and secondary. Primary transformations are those such as Subjectivization and Dative Movement; secondary transformations refer to optional, stylistic ones, such as passivization.

Tang (1972, 1977b) claims that, within the framework of Case Grammar as proposed by Fillmore (1968), there are two ways to generate passive sentences in Chinese. The first is that actives and passives are derived from the same underlying structure. The difference is the result of applying the transformation of subjectivization in choosing the different phrases. Under the "unmarked/or normal" circumstances, the "Agentive" or "Instrumental" is chosen to become the subject of a sentence. But under the "marked" circumstances, the "Objective" is chosen to become the subject, which gives us the passive construction.

The alternative is that the active and passive are derived from similar but not the same underlying structures. The active form is derived through the subjectivization transformation when the modality or the verb contains the feature (-passive); however, when the modality or the verb contains the feature (+passive), the passive will be chosen through the subjectivization and passivization.

Adopting the second approach, he proposes the passive transformation rule as follows: (1977b, 195)

(20)	K	NP	M	V	O	X
					+ Definite	

SA: I 2 3 4 5 6 \Rightarrow

SC: 1 > 'bei' or 'gei'; 4 > ('gei')⁴;

1 ² > 5; 4 > 1 ² + 4

Conditions: 1 2 = A or I; 3 contains (+Aspect), (+Direction), (+Resultative) etc.;

6 may contain Locative, or Goal etc.

K: Case marker

M: Modality

V: Verb

O: Objective

A: Agentive

I: Instrumental

>: to be replaced by

∪: concatenation



Under the structural analysis of (20), only the active form with the Agentive or Instrumental case as subject and the Objective as object can undergo passivization; thus, those sentences with "Experiencer", "Source", or "Goal" as subject or object cannot undergo the passive transformation. For example:

- (21) a. laobān_A kǎichú le tā_O
boss fire Asp. he
'The boss fired him.'
- b. tā bei laobān kǎichú le
he bei boss fire Asp.
'He was fired by the boss.'
- (22) a. nà-chāng huǒ_I shāohuǐ le fāngzi_O
that-cl. fire destroy Asp. house
'That fire destroyed the house.'
- b. fāngzi bei nà-chāng huǒ shāohuǐ le
house bei that-cl. fire destroy Asp.
'The house was destroyed by that fire.'
- (23) a. Mary_E hěn pà shé_O
Mary modifier scare snake
'Mary is scared of the snake.'
- b. *shé bei Mary pà
snake bei Mary scare

It seems that the Case-Grammar Approach proposed by Tang is more adequate than the other two approaches and can account for more phenomena in Chinese, yet still there are some difficulties.

First, under the structural analysis in (20), only the "Objective" can become the subject in the passive. But in the following passive sentences the subject is either "Goal" or "Source", but not the "Objective" which cannot be generated in (20).

(24) a. jǐngchá_G fá le tā_S yī-bǎi' kuài qián_O

police fine Asp. he. one hundred cl. money

'The police fined him a hundred dollars.'

b. *yī bǎi kuài qián_O bèi jǐngchá_G fá le tā_S

hundred-cl. money bei police fine Asp. he

'A hundred dollars was fined on him by the police.'

c. tā_S bèi jǐngchá_G fá le yī-bǎi kuài qián_O

'He was fined a hundred dollars by the police.'

On the other hand, some locatives can become the subject in the passive.

(25) a. tā zài zhuōzi shàng_L fàng le hěnduō shū

he on table top put Asp. many book

'He put many books on the table.'

b. zhuōzi shàng_L bèi tā fàng le hěnduō shū

table top bei he put Asp. many book

'Many books were put on the table by him.'

Because of these counterexamples, Tang modifies his formulation and argues that only the NP that immediately follows the VP can be realized as the surface subject in the passives, but what "case-category" that NP belongs to is not of much importance. So, he modifies his rule in (20) as follows:

(26)	K	NP	M	V	K	NP	X
	1	2	3	4	5	6	

(The other conditions are the same as in (20).)

But there are still counterexamples to this modified rule, as in (27):

- (27) a. tā gěi le Mary nà-fèn lǐwū
 he give Asp. Mary that-cl. present
 'He gave Mary that present.'
- b. *Mary bèi tā gěi le nà-fèn lǐwū
 Mary bei he give Asp. that-cl. present
 'Mary was given that present by him.'
- c. nà-fèn lǐwū bèi tā gěi le Mary le
 that-cl. present bei he give Asp. Mary particle
 'That present was given to Mary by him.'

In (27b), the NP 'Mary' immediately follows the VP, but cannot be the subject of the passive. (For the discussion of this type of sentence, see Chapter IV.)

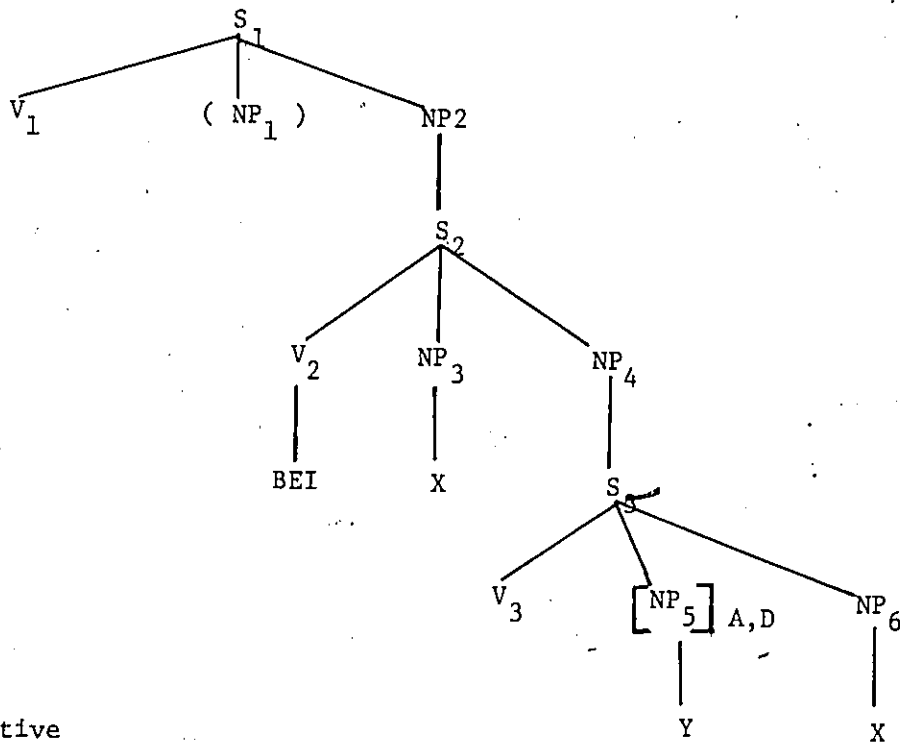
The second problem with the Case-Grammar Approach is its treatment of the grammatical notions such as "subject", "object", etc. Tang follows Fillmore (1968) in claiming that these notions play no role in the deep structure of sentences but pertain to the surface structure only. It follows that there is no linking between the deep structure and the surface structure except through the "movement" rules that link the two levels together. This is a problem for both transformational and case-grammar approach. This problem will be discussed under the lexical analysis proposed in Chapter IV.

3.4 The Abstract Semantic Hypothesis

Chu (1973), who has synthesized the case theory and the analysis given by A. Hashimoto (1971) and M. Hashimoto (1969), puts forward a

very abstract semantic account of the passive construction in Chinese, which is called the Abstract Semantic Hypothesis here. He argues that the Chinese passive construction does not merely involve a single transformation as Wang (1970) and A. Hashimoto (1964) claim it does. Nor does it merely consist of an additional higher-sentence with "bei" or any of its equivalents as the verb, superposed over another sentence, that might be regarded as its active counterpart, as proposed by M. & A. Hashimoto. Also it does not simply possess an extra passive formative which triggers a transformation and from which "bei" is derived along the line of Anpear & Liu. Rather, he says that the Chinese passive construction consists of several layers of sentences in its deep structure, each of which serves to pinpoint the syntactic behaviour and semantic peculiarities of the whole construction. So, he proposes the semantic structure of the Chinese passive construction as given in (28): (1973, 453)

(28)



A: Agentive

D: Dative

NP₃ = NP₆

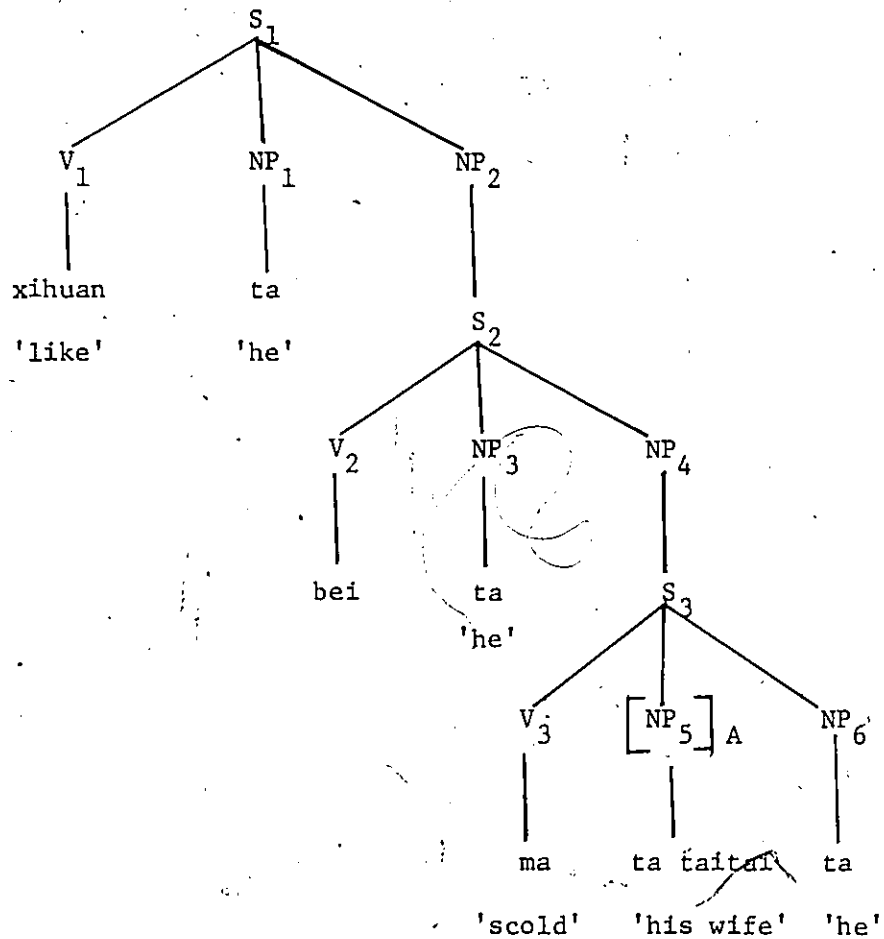
This semantic structure can be more clearly illustrated by applying it to the following examples:

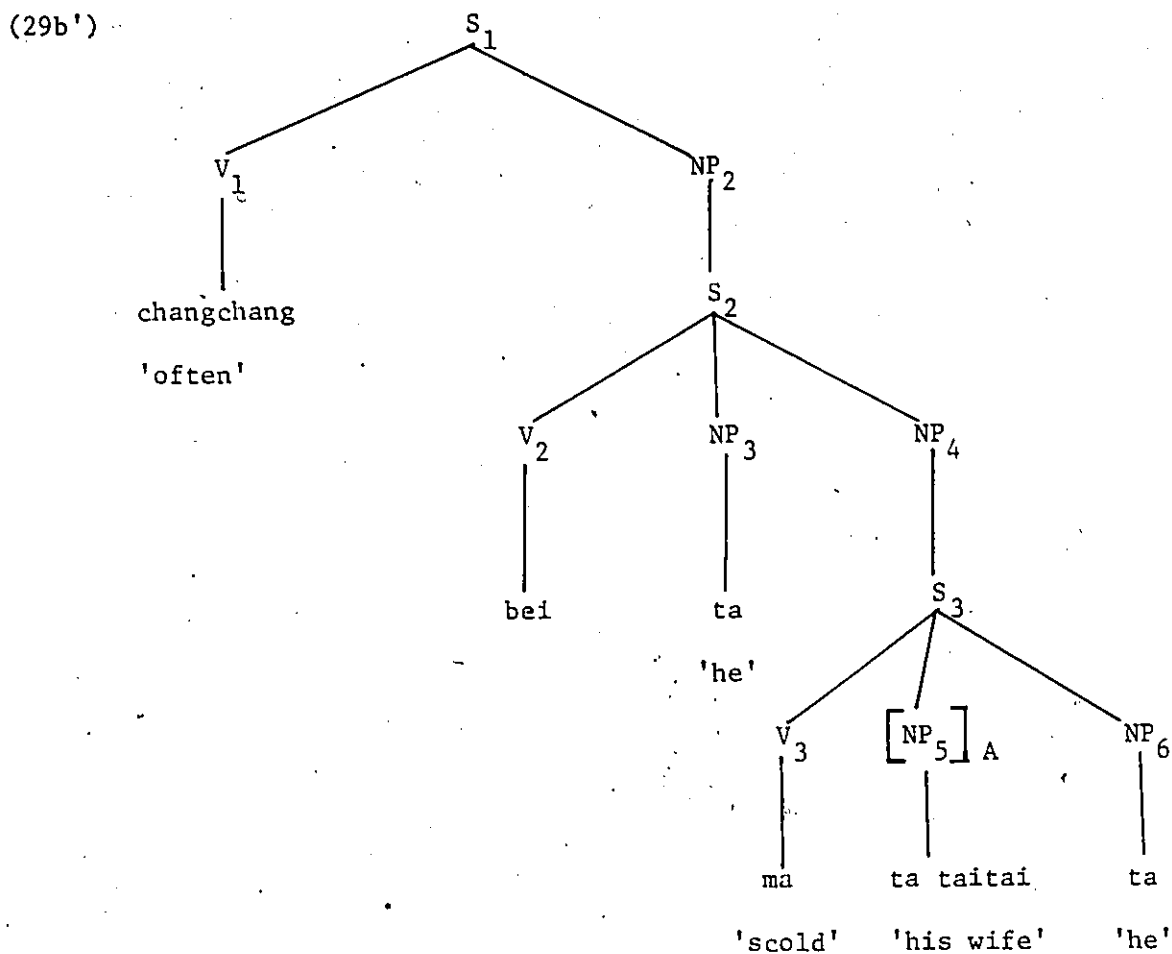
(29) a. tā xīhuan bei tā taitai ma
 he like bei his wife scold
 'He likes to be scolded by his wife.'

b. tā chángcháng bei tā taitai ma
 he often bei his wife scold
 'He is often scolded by his wife.'

The (a) & (b) sentences in (29), according to Chu, are derived from the following underlying structures respectively as in (29a') & (29b'):

(29a')





So, the semantic structure of the passive construction can be analysed into different layers:

(i) In the passive construction, the auxiliaries, like 'xihuan' ('like'), and adverb of frequency, like 'changchang' ('often'), as in (29 a & b), are treated as main verbs in the Deep Structure, and they are represented in S_1 . NP_1 , between parentheses, indicates an element whose presence depends on the nature of the V in S_1 . NP_1 occurs when V_1 is an auxiliary as in (29a), but not, as in (29b). Chu says that the only difference between these two categories is that "auxiliaries" is treated as occurring with a two-place predicate while "adverb" is found

with a one-place predicate.

(ii) The Passive is represented by S_2 . The passive marker "bei" is also treated as a verb. Chu argues that, aside from the arguments given by M. Hashimoto (1969) and A. Hashimoto (1971), there is historical evidence for regarding "bei" as a verb, which means 'to receive'. (See also Chapter II for the discussion of the marker "bei".)

(iii) The complement clause of the the passive is represented by S_3 , which corresponds to the active form. NP_5 must be in the "Agentive" or "Dative" case, even though it may not be phonetically present in the surface structure.⁴ As to NP_6 , only when it is in "Objective", "Dative", or "Locative" can it become the subject in the passive.

Thus, the semantic structure of (29a) & (29b), under Chu's analysis, can be represented as follows: (op. cit., 455)

(29a) Like (X, Receive (X, Scold (Y, X)))

(29b) Often (Receive (X, Scold (Y, X)))

Chu's analysis of the passive construction is rather abstract, but more thorough and more interesting than the one given by the Hashimotos. He seems to emphasize a more formalized account for the structure of the passive sentence. However, there are still some problems with his approach:

First, following A. & M. Hashimoto, he also treats the passive marker "bei" as a verb by using historical evidence. But, as we have discussed earlier, it is quite problematic to interpret "bei" as a verb in modern Chinese, and Chu, like the Hashimotos, has to use specific lexical features to differentiate the syntactic functions between "bei" and other verbs.

Another weakness, under Chu's analysis, is that the NP following "bei" is restricted to the "Agentive" and "Dative". It therefore follows that only animate NPs can occur after "bei", but it cannot explain why the inanimate NPs can occur after "bei" in the following passive sentences:

(30) a. fāngzǐ bei huǒ shāo le
house bei fire destroy Asp.

'The house was destroyed by the fire.'

b. tā bei xīwú měilì de fēngjǐng xīyīnzhù le
she bei West Lake beautiful poss. scenery attract Asp.

'She was attracted by the beautiful scenery of the West Lake.'

As we have discussed in this chapter, there are different approaches to the analysis of the passive in Chinese. But, on the other hand, we have found that all of them fail, in one way or the other, to give an explicit, coherent account of the passive construction. In the next chapter, we try to propose another alternative approach, i.e., the lexical theory, to the analysis of passivization in Chinese to see how it can offer a more adequate, coherent explanation for this type of construction.

FOOTNOTES

1. Wang (1970) lists a lot of restrictions on the passive construction in Chinese. The main ones are as follows: (from Chu, 1974, 440)
 - (i) A negative passive sentence always has the negative marker preceding "bei".
 - (ii) A "bei-sentence" must have 'le' plus a resultative complement or an adverb of frequency, duration, etc. (Only a limited number of verbs like 'da' ('beat'), 'chi' ('eat'), 'jiao' ('save') can occur in a "bei-sentence" with 'le' alone not accompanied by a resultative complement or an adverb of some type.)
 - (iii) The "bei-sentence" does not occur in the imperative form.
 - (iv) The "bei-sentence" is mainly used to express events that are unhappy or unfortunate for the subject.
 - (v) When a sentence has both (semantic) direct and indirect objects, only the direct object can be preposed to the subject of a passive sentence.

2. M. Hashimoto (1969, 53-54) claims that in Japanese many of the passives can be derived from the corresponding active sentences, as in English. For example:

Active: Inn (dog) + ga (subjective-particle) + boku (I) + o (Accusative-article) + kam (bite) + u (Aux)

'The dog bites me.'

Passive: Boku (I) + wa (Topic-particle) + inn (dog) + ni (by)

+ kam (bite) + are (be-en) + ru (Aux)

'I am bitten by the dog.'

But this approach (i.e. the transformational) will encounter problems with the following types of structures:

(a) the type of sentence where the main verb takes the accusative phrase as in (1):

- (1) Boku-ga inn-ni te-o kam - are -ta
 I subjective dog by hand accus. bite passive past
 'I was bitten by a dog on my hand.'

(b) the type where the main verb is an intransitive verb as in (2):

- (2) Boku -ga titi -ni sin are -ta
 I Subjective father by die-passive past
 '(My) father died on me.'

He says that "in Japanese the passive is primarily taken to be an action 'inflicted' on someone. Hence, the death of one's father could be a disastrous infliction on a person, even though the verb for 'to die' can be nothing but an intransitive verb." (op. cit., 54) Therefore, he concludes that the only reasonable way of generating these "inflictive" constructions should be derived from the embedding sentence.

The passive construction in Chinese, strictly speaking, he says, is also an "inflictive" construction rather than the passive construction, and, therefore, it should be generated in the same fashion.

3. According to Tang (1972), the Essive Case refers to the predicate noun phrase. For example:

- (1) Nei ge ren₀ shī wo de tangxue_{Essive}

that-cl. person copula I poss. classmate

'That person is my classmate.'

The comitative case refers to the conjoined noun phrase conjoined by conjunctions, such as 'gen' ('and') in (2):

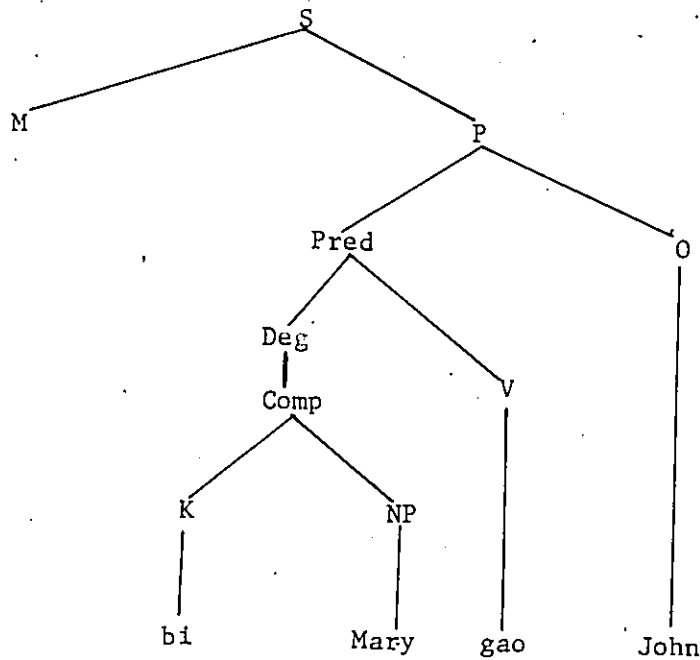
- (2) Mary gēn John (com.) zuótián yìqǐ lái le
 Mary and John yesterday together come Asp.

'Mary and John' came together yesterday.'

The comparative, according to Tang, is dominated by the degree adverbial and the comparative marker 'bi', which, he claims, behaves like other case-markers or prepositions. For example: (1972, 89)

- (3) John bi Mary gāo
 (Comp.)
 John than Mary tall

'John is taller than Mary.'



4. Chu (1973) claims that, under his analysis, there are no "unmarked" passive sentences in Chinese; thus, the following sentence

(1) yú chī le

fish eat Asp.

is not equivalent to the English sentence 'The fish has been eaten.', but should be rendered as 'Somebody ate the fish'. And the Chinese counterpart of the English passive above should be

(2) yú bèi chī le

(See Chapter IV for the discussion of this type of passive.)

CHAPTER IV

THE LEXICAL THEORY OF PASSIVIZATION IN CHINESE

4.0 Introduction

The lexical theory of syntax has been developed by Bresnan (1978, 1979, 1980 a, b) in collaboration with others as an alternative to the other theories in investigating the structure of natural languages. Bresnan (1980b) claims that the lexical theory of syntax is to be preferred to the alternative theories on two grounds: (i) it is a more explanatory theory of linguistic competence than the alternative theories in that it permits a unification of theories of the mental representation of languages, and (ii) it is a more explanatory theory of linguistic universals in that it explains both the universal semantic effects of rules like passivization and their variable syntactic manifestations across languages.

Bresnan (op. cit.) says that the main difference between the transformational theory and the lexical theory is that the grammatical relations of the passive verbs in the transformational theory and other structural theories are defined by syntactic phrase structure representations, which undergo movement rules, in order to relate 'deep' grammatical relations to the 'surface' structures of sentences. But the lexical theory, on the other hand, explains how surface structures are related to representations of meaningful grammatical relations.

The lexical analysis of passive constructions has previously been investigated by various linguists (cf. Freidin 1974, 1975; Wasow 1977,

1980).. But they have not offered any coherent, principled explanation but only fragments of information. Therefore, a lot of questions are left unanswered. However, the lexical theory developed by Bresnan provides a more complete and coherent interpretation for such a complex phenomenon as passivization.

4.1 The Fundamentals of the Lexical Theory

The lexical theory of grammar, according to Bresnan (1978, 1979, 1980; Bresnan & Kaplan 1980), assigns two levels of syntactic descriptions to every sentence of a language: constituent structure (hence, C-structure) and functional structure (hence, F-structure). A C-structure is a phrase structure tree that indicates the superficial arrangement of words and phrases in the sentence. An F-structure is the level where the surface grammatical functions are represented and the F-structure gives a precise characterization of those syntactic notions (such as Subject, Object, Oblique object, Complement and Adjunct etc.) which, are, then semantically interpreted.¹

By distinguishing the two levels of representation, the lexical theory attempts to separate those grammatical phenomena that are purely syntactic (involving only C-structures and F-structures) from those that are purely lexical.

4.1.1 The Lexical Encoding of Grammatical Relations

The theory of lexical encoding of grammatical relations is developed and refined by Bresnan (1978, 1979, 1980b). According to the theory, the predicate argument structures of the lexical items are represented independently of their syntactic structures as functions of

a fixed number of grammatically interpretable arguments.

There is a mapping between the predicate argument structure and the syntactic constituent structure by means of the grammatical functions, and the purpose of it is to assign the surface phrase structure positions by syntactic rules and the predicate argument structure positions by lexical rules. A lexical predicate argument structure with grammatical functions specified is a lexical form. Thus, the lexical encoding of the grammatical relations to the predicate argument structure of the lexical items by assigning grammatical functions to each of them is an advantage of the lexical theory in explaining the mutual relationship between the syntactic and the lexical structure of the grammar. In addition, the predicate argument structure positions are identified with thematic roles (i.e. Agent, Theme, Instrument, etc.) so that the grammatical function assignment can associate these thematic roles with grammatical functions (i.e. Subject, Object, etc.), and the grammatical functions are claimed by Bresnan (1980b) to be universals.²

There is one condition, namely, the function argument biuniqueness condition, which governs the mappings between the grammatical functions and the predicate argument structure by stipulating that "it must assign a unique function to each thematic role (or predicate argument) and a unique thematic role (or predicate argument) to each function which is associated with a predicate argument." (Bresnan 1980b, 4)

But the relation between grammatical functions and thematic roles is not in a one-to-one correspondence because there are non-thematic functions, such as the position of the raised subject in English and in Chinese; on the other hand, the thematic roles of the grammatical functions associated with a predicate may be changed by a lexical rule.

4.12 The Syntactic Encoding of Grammatical Functions

The grammatical functions, which are syntactically encoded, have no intrinsic semantic value but only provide the mapping between surface syntactic structures and predicate argument structures.

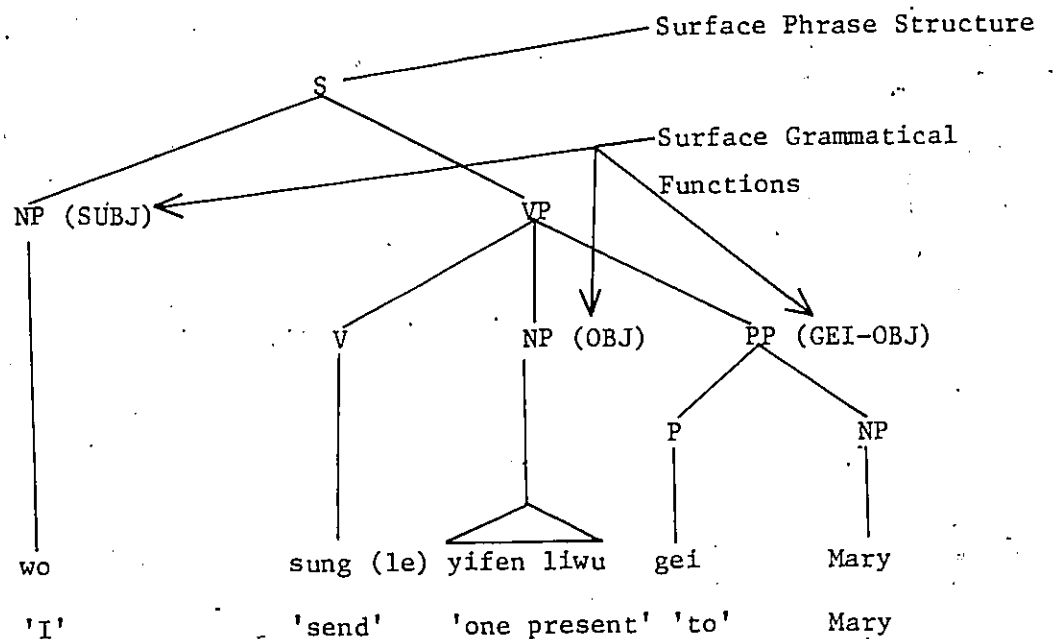
However, the mapping is language-particular and the grammar of each language characterizes which syntactic constituents in that language can be mapped onto predicate arguments. Although the characterizations differ from language to language, the functions remain the same in that they are universals. There are various ways for encoding the grammatical functions in syntactic categories of particular languages, and the grammar of each language must specify a language-particular mapping from the categories of the C-structures to the grammatical functions. Chinese is a configurational language so that the grammatical functions are assigned to the C-structure positions as in English. However, in a particular grammar, as pointed out by Bresnan (1980b, 5), "the correspondence between grammatical functions and the C-structure positions in which the functions are encoded need not be one-to-one." In some languages, the same function can be realized by distinct C-structures, whereas in others different functions can be realized by the same C-structure configurations. Nevertheless, there are limits on the possible mappings from syntactic categories to grammatical functions set up by the theory of Universal Grammar. The principle of direct syntactic encoding, which "requires that every nonlexical rule of the grammar preserves function-assignments, is to be observed by all grammars." ³ (Bresnan 1980b, 5)

The purpose of the principle of direct syntactic encoding is to prevent rules of syntax from replacing one function with another in order to guarantee that the syntactic encoding of grammatical functions in a language applies directly to surface structure. The direct encoding principle is the immediate consequence of the biuniqueness condition placed on the lexical encoding of alternative grammatical relations for verbs (i.e. the predicate argument structures). In this way, most transformational derivations are eliminated from the syntactic component of the grammar by means of the expanded lexical component.

To see how this approach applies to Chinese, consider the following illustration:

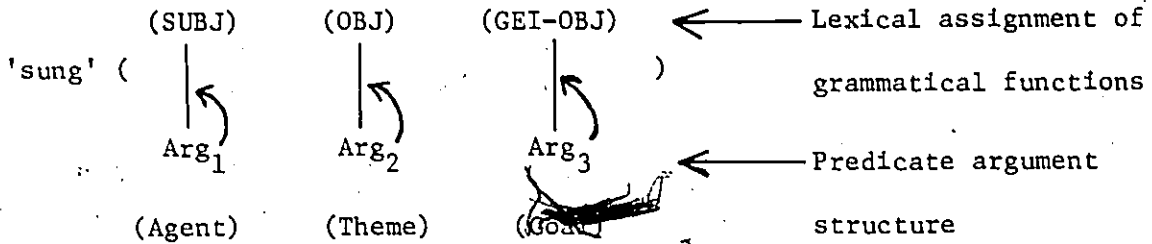
- (1) wǒ sòng le yīfēn lìwù gěi Mary
I send Asp. one-cl. present to Mary
'I sent a present to Mary.'

Syntactic Encoding of Grammatical Functions in Surface Structure



'sung' ((SUBJ), (OBJ), (GEI-OBJ)) ← Lexical form for 'sung'

Lexical Encoding of Grammatical Relations for the Verb 'sung'



The information above the dotted line is provided by the syntactic component and that below the dotted line is provided by the lexical component. From the lexical component we know that the lexical form for the verb 'sung' ('send') has a triadic predicate argument structure; the arguments can be identified by their order Arg₁, Arg₂, Arg₃ as Agent, Theme, and Goal, and they have been assigned the grammatical functions

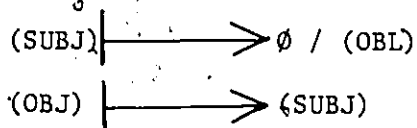
separately as (SUBJ), (OBJ), (GEI-OBJ) by the lexical rules. On the other hand, the syntactic component generates the surface phrase structure tree for the sentence 'wo sung le yifen liwu gei Mary' and we can identify the NPs dominating 'wo' ('I'), 'yifen liwu' ('a present'), and 'Mary' as (SUBJ), (OBJ) and (GEI-OBJ) separately. (See Fig. 1 & 2 on how the terms can be applied to the active and passive sentences in Chinese.)

4.20 The Universal Character of Passivization

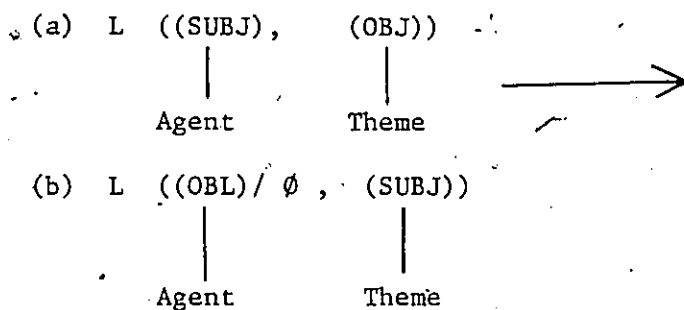
In 4.11 & 4.12 we have pointed out that, in the lexical theory, the grammatical relations are lexically encoded while the grammatical functions are syntactically encoded. In linking these two levels the principle of

direct syntactic encoding plays an important role because it distinguishes two types of rules: lexical and nonlexical. Every nonlexical rule of the grammar preserves function-assignment; this implies that "any rule of grammar which changes the grammatical functions of constituents must be a lexical rule." (Bresnan 1980b, 8) We have discussed above the fact that grammatical functions are independent of language-particular realizations in terms of syntactic structures; so, rules of this type have a universal characterization because it is invariant across languages. This is strong evidence that passivization should be handled lexically in a universal way. The universal characterization of passivization is given by Bresnan as follows: (1980b, 8)

(2) Passive in Universal Grammar



(3) Effect of Passivization on a Lexical Form



As is illustrated in (3a), the passive changes a transitive lexical form with its "Subject" as "Agent" and its "Object" as "Theme" into a grammatically intransitive lexical form. In the passivized lexical form in (3b), the Subject function now is correlated with the "Theme" of L and the optional Oblique Object function is correlated with the "Agent".⁴

4.21 The Interpretation of the Universal Passive Rule in Chinese

Passivization, as has been shown in 4.20, has one formulation in Universal Grammar; however, it is realized in a variety of ways in different languages. Language-particular instantiations of the universal passive rule, according to Bresnan (1980b), differ in the specification of the particular OBL function that expresses the thematic role of the subject in the corresponding passive and in the verbal morphology that registers the application of the passive rule to verbs. For example, the morphological effect of passivization in English is to change the base verb to a past participle, whereas that in Malayalan (a Dravidian language spoken in Southern India) is to affix the verb base with 'appet-', which itself takes further inflection for tense. (See Bresnan 1980b for details.) In comparison with these two languages, Chinese is different because there is no morphological change of the base verb in the passive. But the aspect marker 'le' remains to be attached after the verb in order to show tense and aspect.

On the other hand, the "syntactic effects of passivization in a particular language will follow from the syntactic encoding of the SUBJ, OBJ and OBL functions in that language" (op. cit., 10). Different languages have different syntactic encoding using different structural features. Because of this fact, the lexical theory of passivization gives a more explanatory description than the one given by the transformational theory.

The instantiations of the passive rule in Chinese can be posited as follows:

(4) The Passive in Chinese

Functional Change: (SUBJ) \longrightarrow \emptyset / (BEI- \emptyset) / (BEI-OBJ)

Morphological Change: V \longrightarrow V (no change)

(See fig. 1, 2, & 3 for illustrations.)

Now we come to the problem of syntactic encoding of Chinese. Chinese, like English, is a configurational language; so the SUBJ and OBJ function are assigned to specific C-structure configurations. It is better to use a Chinese sentence, for convenience's sake, to illustrate the partial syntactic encoding of grammatical functions in Chinese.

(5) a. S \longrightarrow NP VP

(\uparrow SUBJ) = \downarrow \uparrow = \downarrow

b. NP \longrightarrow (DET) (CLASSIFIER) N

c. VP \longrightarrow V NP PP

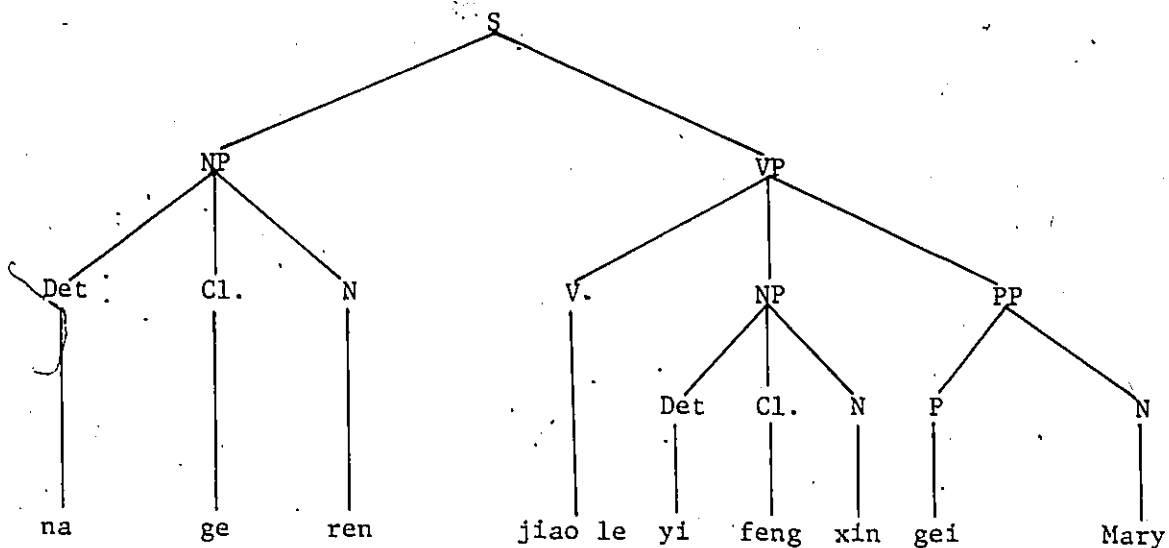
(\uparrow OBJ) = \downarrow (\uparrow PCASE) = GEI

(\downarrow GEI-OBJ) = \downarrow

nàgè rén jiāo le yīfēng xìn gěi Mary

that-cl. person hand over Asp. one-cl. letter to Mary

'That person handed over a letter to Mary.'



So (5a) gives the C-structure of the sentence in Chinese. ($\uparrow = \downarrow$) is a sign used for immediate domination. Thus it is specified that the "subject" of the sentence is the NP immediately dominated by S and preceding the VP; in (5c) the NP following the verb which is immediately dominated by the VP is the "object", and the PP whose preposition is 'gei' is the "oblique object" ('gei-obj'). (For details, see Bresnan & Kaplan 1980.) Therefore, in Chinese, as in English, the order of NPs in the C-structure is fixed, and the order serves to identify the syntactic subject and object.

4.22 Passivization in Chinese Interpreted as a Lexical Rule

Passivization in Chinese and English are partly similar; both involve the "movement" of an NP in a sentence from the postverbal object position to the preverbal subject position. They differ in that the OBL-OBJ (i.e. the BEI-OBJ) in Chinese is placed in front of the verb after the SUBJ. Because of this similarity in structure between Chinese and English, in the earlier period of transformational theory, some

Chinese linguists posited transformational rules for Chinese by copying the English passive rule. (See also 3.1.) But, as has been pointed out by Bresnan (1980b, 13), "these analyses are formulated in terms of structure-dependent operations --- e.g., move NP, which are defined on the relatively superficial syntactic structures of particular languages." Therefore, these operations are not universal at all. Bresnan (op. cit.) further points out that the structural primitives of transformational theory are not abstract enough to characterize the universal character of passivization which is function-dependent. However, the functional primitives of the lexical theory, which are independent of particular C-structures, can provide an abstract explanation for a universal theory of function-dependent rules such as passivization.

We have discussed above the fact that, in the lexical theory, grammatical relations are lexically encoded while grammatical functions are syntactically encoded; so, small changes in the lexical encoding of grammatical relations can cause striking syntactic effects in configurational languages, such as English and Chinese. But the universal character of passivization will never be revealed as a lexical process if passivization is based only on the syntactic structural effects; so this fact gives strong evidence that the rule of passivization in Chinese and English should be better expressed by operations on lexical forms rather than by operations on syntactic phrase structure representations. In this situation, English and Chinese should be considered to be quite similar in regard to the universal passivization. However, they are different in the mapping between grammatical relations and C-structures. Therefore, passivization in Chinese should not be based on the English passive rule.

4.3 The Problems of the Passive Construction in Chinese

In this section we attempt to explore some of the problems concerned with the passive constructions in Chinese by using the lexical analysis. Some of the problems have been analysed by previous studies but, here, we try to offer some solution to the problems from a different perspective.

4.3.1 The Problem of Adjectival Passives in Chinese

The problem of whether there are adjectival passives in Chinese is somewhat difficult to answer. It seems that there are no such adjectival passives in Chinese as those in English. First, the structure of the passives is not similar to that of the adjectival constructions. Adjectival construction usually occurs in the following positions in modern Chinese: (cf. Wasow 1977, 1980; Bresnan 1980b)

(i) It occurs in prenominal positions. For example:

- a. xīn de yīfú
new poss. clothes
'new clothes'

(ii) It can be modified by degree modifiers such as 'hen / feichang' ('very'):

- a. hěn xīn de yīfú
modifier new poss. clothes
'very-new clothes'

(iii) It can be prefixed with 'bu' ('not'), which is like the un- in English. For example:

- a. zhè jiàn dàyī bù piǎoliang
this-cl. overcoat not pretty
'This overcoat is not pretty.'

(iv) It can appear as complements to some verbs. For example:

- a. nà ge nǚhāizi kàn qǐ lái hěn piàoliang
that-cl. girl look quite pretty

'That girl looks quite pretty.'

Passives in Chinese almost never occur in these positions in sentences. Second, the function of the passives in Chinese is, mostly, to relate the "event" rather than the "state" of an action.

However, in Chinese there are some kinds of passive sentences which seem to be very interesting. For example:⁵

- (6) a. zhèjiàn dàyī chuān le hǎoduō nián le
this-cl. overcoat wear Asp. many year particle
'This overcoat has been worn for many years.'
- b. zhèjiàn dàyī bèi chuān le hǎoduō nián le
this-cl. overcoat bei wear Asp. many year particle
'This overcoat has been worn for many years.'
- c. zhèjiàn dàyī bèi tā chuān le hǎoduō nián le
this-cl. overcoat bei he wear Asp. many year particle
'This overcoat has been worn by him for many years.'
- (7) a. chuānzi dǎo po le
window break Asp.
'The window has been broken.'
- b. chuānzi bèi dǎo po le
window bei break Asp.
'The window has been broken.'
- c. chuānzi bèi tā dǎo po le
window bei he break Asp.
'The window has been broken by him.'

(8) a. yǔ chí le
 fish eat Asp.

'The fish has been eaten.'

b. yǔ bei chí le
 fish bei eat Asp.

'The fish has been eaten.'

c. yǔ bei tā chí le
 fish bei he eat Asp.

'The fish has been eaten by him.'

It seems that the (a) sentences from (6) to (8) refer, more or less, to the state of an action (i.e. the state of the overcoat having been worn for many years/ the window having been broken/ the fish having been eaten), although the event of an action still slightly exists in the sentence; but sentences (b) & (c) in (6)-(8) refer only to the event of an action. Because of this slight difference in meaning between them, we assume that there exists in Chinese some kind of passive which refers to the state of the action. The lexical rule of this type of passive can be formulated as in (9):

(9) (SUBJ) | \longrightarrow \emptyset
 (OBJ) | \longrightarrow SUBJ
 P (..... SUBJ)| \longrightarrow State of P (.... SUBJ)
 Condition: SUBJ = Theme of P
 (P: Predicate)

The effect of this lexical rule may be taken as a process of adjectivization; the input of the rule is a verbal passive but its output is some kind of adjectival passive.⁶

4.32 The Problem of the So-called Unspecified Subject

In Chinese there is one type of passive, which is similar to the truncated passive in English, which involves the absence of the NP following the passive marker "bei". The difference between English and Chinese truncated passives is that, in English, the NP and the preposition 'by' are both missing, but, in Chinese, the Agentive NP is missing but the passive marker "bei" is retained.

In previous analyses there have been two approaches to this construction. The first one is by Tang (1972, 1977b) in the Case-grammar framework. He claims that when the passive sentence has an unspecified Agentive NP characterized as (+Pronoun) and (-Specific) in the Deep Structure, the NP following "bei" is either to be realized as 'ren' ('someone') in the Surface Structure or to be deleted completely from it by an optional transformation. For example, sentence (10b) is said to be generated from the deep structure of the unspecified NP 'ren' ('someone') in the (a) sentence, because 'ren' here is characterised as (+pronoun, +human, -specific):

- (10) a. wǒ de qián bei rén taodiào le
I poss. money bei someone steal Asp.
'My money has been stolen by someone.'
- b. wǒ de qián bei taodiào le
I poss. money bei steal Asp.
'My money has been stolen.'

Tang uses "recoverability" as a criterion for deletion and argues that the "condition of recoverability" on deletion is not violated by the deletion of 'ren' ('someone') in (10b). However, the "recoverability

condition" on deletion will be violated if the deleted NP is not of the general category with the feature of (+pronoun, +human, -specific).

For example:

- (11) a. tā de fāngzi bei shāohuǐ le
 he poss. house bei burn-demolish Asp.

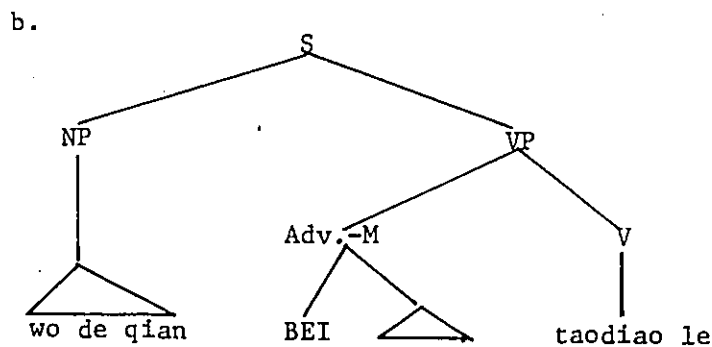
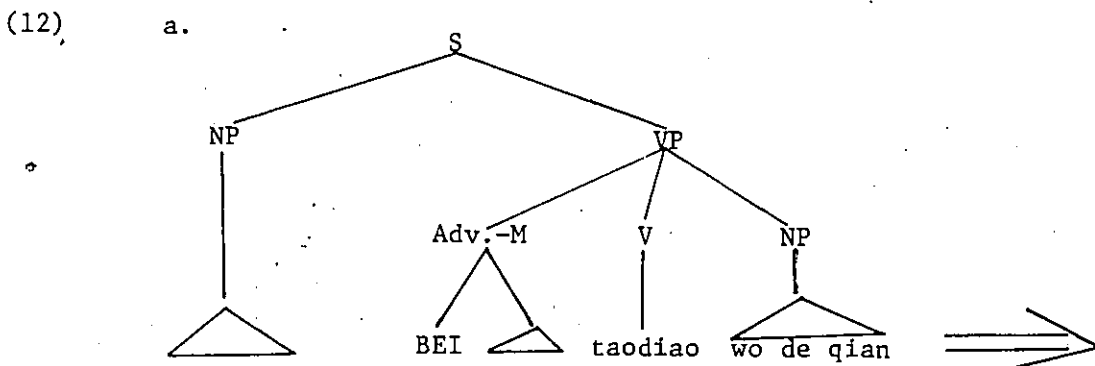
'His house was burnt down.'

- b. tā de fāngzi bei huo shāohuǐ le
 he poss. house bei fire burn-demolish Asp.

'His house was burnt down by fire.'

Tang claims that the underlined NP in (11b) cannot be deleted; once it is deleted, it cannot be recovered again.

The alternative approach is the Empty-Node Hypothesis. It claims that the truncated passives are derived from underlying structures which contain empty subject nodes. For example, (10b), repeated below, is derived from (12):



The empty subject node triggers obligatorily the preposing of the object NP into the subject position.

There are some problems with Tang's proposal. Under his analysis, the missing NP in a sentence is only confined to the Agentive NP. For example, he claims that in sentence (13), the missing NP is 'ren' ('someone').

- (13) tā bei kǎchǔ le)
 he bei fire Asp.
 'He was fired.'

But this is not always true. When no NP accompanies "bei", the pragmatically reconstructed missing argument in a sentence is not confined to the "Agent" only; so, the missing NP in (13) can be reconstructed as "Instrument", such as 'xuexiao' ('school') or 'gongsi' ('company'). However, there is a pragmatic correlation between the missing NP and the verb. Thus, the missing NP in (11a) can be pragmatically reconstructed as 'huo' ('fire').

On the other hand, the Empty-Node Hypothesis is following the truncated passive rule in English and the "BEI-△" is considered as the "manner adverbial" like the "by-△" in English. As we have discussed in 4.21 & 4.22, passivization in Chinese should not be based on that in English.

In the lexical theory, the problem of the unspecified subject passives in Chinese can be analyzed quite nicely in the following way. We have already discussed in 4.20 the fact that the function of the universal passive rule is to make the lexical form intransitivized. As to the realization of the OBL object, it differs from language to language.

Thus, we can formulate the lexical rule for this type of passives in Chinese as follows:

- (14) (SUBJ) $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \longrightarrow \\ \longrightarrow \end{array} \right.$ (BEI- \emptyset)
 (OBJ) $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \longrightarrow \\ \longrightarrow \end{array} \right.$ (SUBJ)

So, the lexical form of sentence (10b) can be represented as in (15):

- (15) 'taodiao' ('steal') ((BEI- \emptyset) (SUBJ))
 | |
 Agent Theme

4.33 The Double-Object Constructions

In Chinese, as in many other languages, there is a class of verbs that takes two objects, i.e. direct and indirect objects, in a sentence. For example:

- (16) wǒ sòng le yīfēn lǐwù_{DO} gěi tā_{IO}

I send Asp. one-cl. present to she

'I sent a present to her.'

- (17) wǒ fá le tā_{IO} shíkuài qián_{DO}

I fine Asp. he ten-cl. money

'I fined him ten dollars.'

The problem of the double-object verbs is very murky in Chinese. As for passivization in double-object sentences, it is more complicated than their counterparts in English. First observe the following examples:

- (18) a. tā jì le yīfēn lǐwù_{DO} gěi Mary_{IO}

he mail Asp. one-cl. present to Mary

'He mailed a present to Mary.'

- a'. *yifen liwu bei tā jì le gei Mary
one-cl. present bei he mail Asp. to Mary
- a''. *Mary bei tā jì le yifen liwu
Mary bei he mail Asp. one-cl. present
- b. tā jì le nāfen liwu gei Mary
he mail Asp. that-cl. present to Mary
'He mailed that present to Mary.'
- b'. nāfen liwu bei tā jì le gei Mary
'that-cl. present bei he mail Asp. to Mary
'That present was mailed to Mary by him.'
- b''. *Mary bei tā jì le nāfen liwu
Mary bei he mail Asp. that-cl. present
- (19) a. tā wèn le wǒ_{IO} yige wèntí_{DO}
he ask Asp. I one-cl. question
'He asked me a question.'
- a'. *yige wèntí bei tā wèn le wǒ
one-cl. question bei he ask Asp. I
- a''. wǒ bei tā wèn le yige wèntí
I bei he ask Asp. one-cl. question
'I was asked a question by him.'
- b. tā wèn le wǒ nāge wèntí
he ask Asp. I that-cl. question
'He asked me that question.'
- b'. *nāge wèntí bei tā wèn le wǒ
that-cl. question bei he Ask ask I
- b''. wǒ bei tā wèn le nāge wèntí
I bei he ask Asp. that-cl. question
'I was asked that question by him.'

From the above examples, in (18), only the direct object can be the subject in the passive as in (18b'); but in sentence (19), only the indirect object can be the subject of the passive, as in (19a' & 19b').

In Chinese there is a general constraint that the subject NP must be definite in initial position. (See also Chapter I for discussion.) Therefore, (18a') is blocked not by passivization but rather by this general constraint, but the indefinite marker 'you', when added to the indefinite NP, can undo the effect of this general constraint. So, (18a') can be made grammatical by adding the indefinite marker 'you' as in (20):

(20) $\check{y}ou$ $y\bar{i}f\bar{e}n$ $l\bar{i}w\bar{u}$ $b\bar{e}i$ $t\bar{a}$ $j\bar{i}$ $l\bar{e}$ $g\bar{e}i$ $Mary$

Indef. one-cl. present bei he mail Asp. to Mary

'A present was sent to Mary by Mary.'

There have been various approaches to the passivization of the double-object verbs in Chinese. Chu (1973, 450) claims that "whether an NP can be made the surface subject of a passive construction has little to do with its being a direct or indirect object in a corresponding non-passive construction but rather depends largely on the "case" in which an NP appears and on the definiteness of the NP". Therefore, he sets up the restriction in choosing the surface subject in the passive sentence as follows:

The NP in either the Neutral, the Dative or the Locative case may be subjectivalized when a Chinese passive sentence has more than two cases associated with it, one of them being the Agentive or the Dative when the subjectivalized NP is N or L. If the Dative and the Locative co-occur in such a sentence, the former is made the surface subject.⁷ (1973, 450)

Then he gives the following examples by way of illustration:

(21) a. tā_A gei le Mary_B neiben shu_N le
 he give Asp. Mary that-cl. book particle
 'He gave Mary that book.'

a'. neiben shu bei tā gei le Mary le
 that-cl. book bei he give Asp. Mary particle
 'That book was given to Mary by him.'

a''. *Mary bei tā gei le neiben shu le
 Mary bei he give Asp. that-cl. book particle
 'Mary was given that book by him.'

(22) b. tā_A wen le wǒ_D neige wenti_N le
 he ask Ask. I that-cl. question particle
 'He asked me that question.'

b'. wǒ bei tā wen le neige wenti le
 I bei he ask Ask. that-cl. question particle
 'I was asked that question by him.'

b''. *neige wenti bei tā wen le wǒ le
 that-cl. question bei he ask Ask. I particle

b'''. *neige wenti bei tā xiàng wǒ wen le
 that-cl. question bei he toward I ask. particle

(23) c. tā_A ná le wǒ_L nei liangben shu_N
 he take Asp. I. that two-cl. book
 'He took me those two books.'

c'. *nei liangben shu bei tā ná (zou) wǒ le
 that two-cl. book bei he take (away) I particle

c''. wǒ bei tā ná le nei liangben shu le
 I bei he take Asp. that two-cl. book particle

c''' . ne₁ liangben shu bei ta cung wo_L zher na(zou) le
 that two-cl. book bei he from I here take (away). Asp.

'Those two books were taken (away) from me.'

According to Chu, 'Mary' in (21a) is in the Benefactive case, which cannot be made the subject in a passive sentence. As to the other type of verbs in (22) and (23), they have 'deep structure' different from that of (21). The difference between (22) and (23) can be seen, he claims, by comparing (22b''') and (23c'''); in (23c'''), an appropriate preposition, i.e. 'cung' helps render the passive form grammatical while in (22b'''), it does not. Therefore, he proposes different 'deep' structures for (22) and (23) as in (24) and (25):

(24) ta_A xiang wo_D wen le neige wenti_N le
 he toward I ask Asp. that-cl. question particle
 'He asked that question from me.'

(25) ta_A cung wo_L jer na le liangben shu_N
 he from I here take Asp. two-cl. book

'He took two books from me.'

He says that the 'wo' ('I') in (24) is in the Dative Case but the 'wo' ('I') is in the Locative in (25) and this accounts for the grammaticality of (23c''') by adding the preposition but not in (22b'''), though they are similar in 'surface structure'.

Chu's analysis of the double-object constructions reveals only certain aspects of the characteristics of this type of sentences in Chinese, but the defects of his approach are obvious enough. The first problem is the difficulty in identifying certain cases in Chinese. For example, the Dative Case has a very wide scope of application besides being used

to identify the indirect object. Another is the Neutral (or Objective) Case which is like a wastebasket in which those NPs that cannot be classified into other categories are all included. The second problem concerns the restriction set up by Chu in that he does not explain why a certain case has priority in being made the subject in the passive over the other one. For example, he does not explain why the Neutral Case in (21) can be made the subject but that in (22) & (23) cannot. Even though these problems are all dealt with, the restrictions posited by him do nothing else than describe what has to be explained. They do not give an account of the semantic characteristics of the double-object passive sentences. For example, the Benefactive Case in Chinese (like the for-Dative in English) which cannot be subjectivalized in passives can only be accounted for in terms of the predicate argument structure (i.e. the thematic roles). In this way Chu's analysis fails to give an adequate, satisfactory explanation of this type of construction in Chinese.

Tang (1977a) takes a slightly different approach in handling this type of construction. Following Chao (1968), he classifies the double-object verbs in Chinese into four types based on the surface structure representations according to the following criteria:⁸ (1977a, 69-70)

- (i) whether the indirect object takes the Dative preposition 'gei' ('to');
- (ii) whether the direct and the indirect object may be transposed to allow two different word orders, and
- (iii) whether the indirect object may be genitivized to become a premodifier of the direct object.

He says that different types of double-object verbs behave differently with regard to different transformations. As to passivization,

with Type I verbs (including 'outward' verbs) and Type II verbs, only the direct object may become the subject of a passive sentence, whereas with Type III verbs (including 'inward' verbs), only the indirect object may become the subject in the passive. As for Type IV verbs which, he claims, consist of a heterogeneous group, they behave more idiosyncratically. For example, 'wen' ('ask') takes the indirect object as its passive subject whereas 'jiao' ('teach') takes the direct object as its passive subject. Here are some of the examples given for illustration:

(op. cit., 79-80)

Type I & II

- (26) a. neiben shu_{DO} bei tā ji gèi péngyǒu_{IO} le
 that-cl. book bei he mail to friend Asp.
 'That book was mailed to his friend by him.'
- b. *tā péngyǒu_{IO} bei tā ji (gèi) neiben shu_{DO} le
 he friend bei he mail to that-cl. book Asp.
 'His friend was mailed that book by him.'
- (27) a. Nà shí-huài qián_{DO} bei tā jiè gèi le péngyǒu_{IO}
 that ten-cl. money bei he lend to Asp. friend
 'Those ten dollars were lent to a friend by him.'
- b. *wǒ_{IO} bei tā jiè gèi shí-kuài qián_{DO} le
 I bei he lend to ten-cl. money Asp.
 'I was lent ten dollars by him.'

(27) is the bi-directional verb in the 'outward' sense.

Type III

- (28) a. *nà shí-kuài qián_{DO} bei péngyǒu jiè le wǒ_{IO} le
 that ten-cl. money bei friend borrow Asp. I particle
 'Those ten dollars were borrowed from me by a friend.'

- b. w_{IO} bei péngyou jiè le shí-kuài qián_{DO} le
 I bei friend borrow Asp. ten-cl. money particle
 'I was borrowed ten dollars by a friend.'

Type IV

- (29) a. *neige wèntí_{DO} bei laoshī wèngùo w_{IO} le
 that-cl. question bei teacher ask I particle
 'That question has been asked me by the teacher.'
- b. w_{IO} bei laoshī wèngùo neige wèntí_{DO} le
 I bei teacher ask that-cl. question particle
 'I was asked that question by the teacher.'
- c. neige wèntí_{DO} bei tā jiào le w_{IO}
 that-cl. question bei he teach Asp. I
 'That question has been taught me by him.'
- d. ? w_{IO} bei tā jiào le neige wèntí_{DO}
 I bei he teach Asp. that-cl. question
 'I was taught that question by him.'

Tang argues that the direct and indirect objects occurring with various types of double-object verbs differ from one another in a systematic way with regard to optionality of objects and different transformations, such as passivization. Therefore, he postulates the underlying semantic structures for various types of double-object verbs. Furthermore, he proposes the constraint on the movement and deletion of the double-object constructions in Chinese as follows:

Thematic Hierachy Condition

Movement and deletion transformations which affect object NPs seem to apply in the following order of priority: (i) Source, (ii) Theme, (iii) Goal. (1977a, 94)

He says that the above Condition can explain why sentences like (28a) & (29a) above sound odd because both Source and Theme are present.

(Repeated below as (28a') & (29a').)

(28a') * nei shi-kuai qian bei pengyou jie le wo le
(theme) (Goal) (Source)

that ten-cl. money bei friend borrow Asp. I particle

'Those ten dollars were borrowed from me by a friend.'

(29a') * neige wenti bei laoshi wenguo wo le
(Theme) (Agent/Goal) (Source)

that-cl, question bei teacher ask I particle

'That question has been asked of me by the teacher.'

However, sentences (28a'') & (29a''), he claims, in which Source is absent, are perfectly acceptable.

(28a'') na shi-kuai qian bei pengyou jiedzou le

that ten-cl. money bei friend borrow away Asp.

'Those ten dollars were borrowed (away) by a friend.'

(29a'') neige wenti bei laoshi wenguo le

that-cl. question bei teacher ask Asp.

'That question has been asked by the teacher.'

Under the lexical analysis, the double-object constructions can be dealt with in the following way: first, we assume that the verbs that take dative objects in Chinese can be classified into two basic groups. The formulations of the lexical forms of each group can be posited as follows:

Group I: V ((SUBJ), (OBJ), (GEI-OBJ))

Optional Dative Rules:

(GEI-OBJ) | —————> (GEI-OBJ/ OBJ₂ / ∅)

Group II: The Non-alternating Verbs

V ((SUBJ), (OBJ₂), (OBJ))

Optional Dative Rules:⁹

OBJ₂ |—————> OBJ

OBJ |—————> ∅

The lexical forms of the verbs in Group I include Type I' & II of Tang's classification, while those in Group II include his Type III & IV. The optional rules account for the optionality of the indirect objects with many dative verbs. The following examples can be used to illustrate more clearly the above two formulations:

Group I:

(32) a. wó sùng le yīfèn liwū gěi tā
I send Asp. one-cl. present to she

'I sent a present to her.'

b. wó sùng le gěi tā yīfèn liwū
I send Asp. to she one-cl. present

'I sent her a present.'

c. wó sùng le yīfèn liwū
I send Asp. one-cl. present

'I sent a present.'

Group II:

(33) a. wó fá le tā shí-kuai qián
I fine Asp. he ten-cl. money

'I fined him ten dollars.'

b. *wó fá le shí-kuai qián tā
I fine Asp. ten-cl. money he

c. wó fā le tā
 I fine Asp. he
 'I fined him.'

The lexical forms for (32) & (33) are represented in (34) & (35):

Group I:

- (34) a. 'sung' ('send') ((SUBJ), (OBJ), (GEI-OBJ))
 b. 'sung' ('send') ((SUBJ), (GEI-OBJ), (OBJ))
 c. 'sung' ('send') ((SUBJ), (OBJ), \emptyset)

Group II:

- (35) a. 'fa' ('fine') ((SUBJ), (OBJ₂), (OBJ))
 b. 'fa' ('fine') *((SUBJ), (OBJ), (OBJ₂))
 c. 'fa' ('fine') ((SUBJ), (OBJ) \emptyset)

The advantage of this classification over Tang's is that Tang's classification is based only on the surface syntactic representations. But, in the lexical analysis, the grammatical functions of the lexical forms are connected with the grammatical relations of the lexical form. We have mentioned above that it is the change of the grammatical relations of the lexical forms that triggers the change in the syntactic representations; nevertheless, their predicate argument structure remains the same. Let us observe the following examples:

(36) a. wó sung le nāfen lǐwū gěi tā
 I send Asp. she that-cl, present
 'I sent her a present.'

a'. nāfen lǐwū bèi wó sung le gěi tā
 that-cl. present bei I send Asp. to she
 'That present was sent to her by me.'

a''. *tā bei wǒ s[̀]ung le nāfen lǐwū le
 she bei I send Asp. that-cl. present particle
 'She was sent that present by me.'

(37) b. wǒ fā le tā shí-kuài qián
 I fine Asp. he ten-cl. money
 'I fined him ten dollars.'

b'. tā bei wǒ fā le shí-kuài qián
 he bei I fine Asp. ten-cl. money
 'He was fined ten dollars by me.'

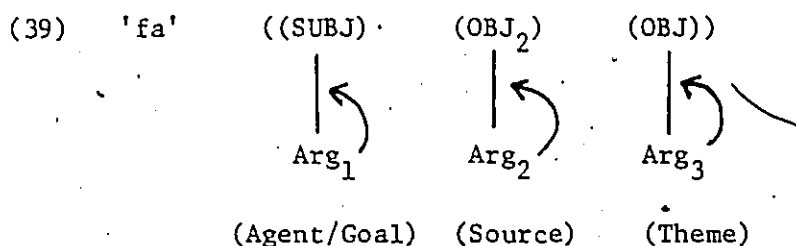
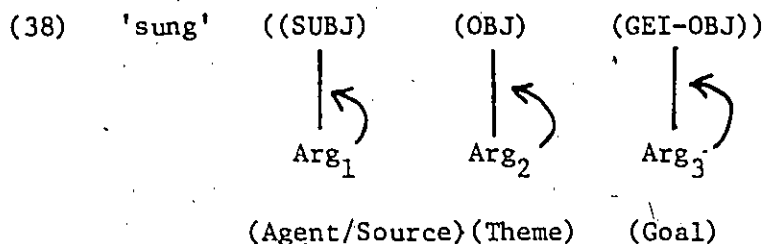
b''. *shí-kuài qián bei wǒ fā le tā
 ten-cl. money bei I fine Asp. he

The lexical forms of (36) & (37) are represented in (36') & (37') respectively:

- (36') a. 'sung' ((SUBJ) (OBJ) (GEI-OBJ))
 a'. 'sung' ((BEI-OBJ) (SUBJ) (GEI-OBJ))
 a''. 'sung' *((BEI-OBJ) (OBJ) (SUBJ))
- (37') b. 'fa' ((SUBJ) (OBJ₂) (OBJ))
 b'. 'fa' ((BEI-OBJ) (SUBJ) (OBJ))
 b''. 'fa' *((BEI-OBJ) (OBJ₂) (SUBJ))

If we compare the lexical forms of (36') & (37'), the difference between them in passivization is evident. In (36'), OBJ (i.e. the theme NP) can only be subjectivalized whereas in (37'), OBJ₂ (i.e. the Source NP) can only be made the subject in passives. It seems that in Chinese the real cause that affects the possibility of passivization in double-object sentences, in many ways is governed by the semantic properties of the NPs. Evidently, the thematic roles play a very important role in choosing

the subject in double-object passives. The difference between the thematic roles of the predicate argument structure in (36') & (37') is represented in (38) & (39):



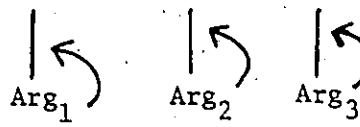
In (38), the Dative NP (i.e. Goal) is, in some sense, the projected recipient of the direct object (i.e. the theme NP). But in (39) this is not so; the Dative NP (i.e. OBJ₂) is the Source NP. Because of this semantic difference, we can distinguish the lexical forms of Group I and Group II verbs above by proposing a condition in choosing the NPs for the subject in the passives:

- (40) If the Dative NP is the animate NP which is the projected recipient of the Direct Object, then the Direct Object can only be taken as the Subject in the passive; otherwise, it is the Dative animate NP to be chosen as the Subject in the passive.¹⁰

This condition applies to both groups of verbs, and it accounts for the problems that arise in both Chu's and Tang's analyses. First, Chu claims that the Benefactive Case cannot be made the subject in the passive as in (23a''). (Repeated here as in (41).)

- (41) *Mary bei tā gei le nàiben shū le
 Mary bei he give Asp. that-cl. book particle
 'Mary was given that book by him.'

The lexical form of this sentence is as follows:

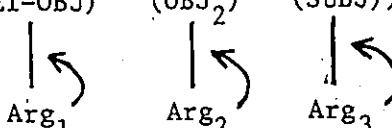
- (42) *'gei' ('give') ((BEI-OBJ) (SUBJ) (OBJ))

 Arg₁ Arg₂ Arg₃
 Agent Goal Theme
 Source

The Dative NP in (42) is the projected recipient of the Direct Object. Therefore, condition (40) applies and accounts for its ungrammaticality.

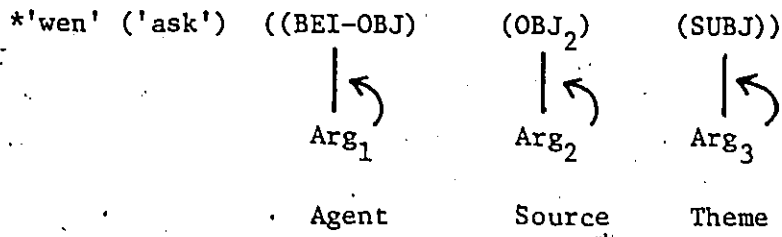
On the other hand, Tang handles sentences (28a') & (29a') and (28a'') & (29a'') very unconvincingly by using the Thematic Hierachy Condition.

The lexical forms of (28a') & (29a') are represented in (43) & (44):

- (43) *nei shì-kuài qián bei péngyou jiè le wǒ le
 that ten-cl. money bei friend borrow Asp. particle
 'Those ten dollars were borrowed from me by a friend.'

- * 'jie' ('borrow') ((BEI-OBJ) (OBJ)₂ (SUBJ))

 Arg₁ Arg₂ Arg₃
 Agent Source Theme

- (44) *neige wèntí bei lǎoshī wèngūo wǒ le
 that-cl. question bei teacher ask I Asp.
 'That question has been asked me by the teacher.'



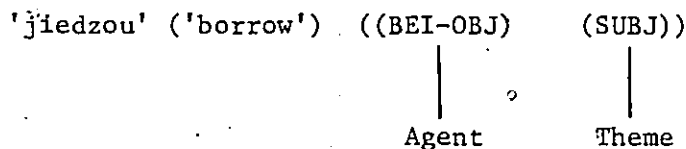
The reason why (28a') & (29a') are ungrammatical is that OBJ₂ (i.e. the animate Source NP) in both sentences is not the projected recipient of OBJ. In this case, according to condition (40), OBJ₂, but not OBJ, is to be taken as the subject in the passives. So, they are perfectly acceptable in (45) & (46):

(45) wó bei péngyǒu jiè le nà shí-kuài qián le
 I bei friend borrow Asp. that ten-cl. money particle
 'I have been /was borrowed away ten dollars by a friend.'
 (literally):

(46) wó bei lǎoshī wènguò neige wèntí le
 I bei teacher ask that-cl, question Asp.
 'I was asked that question by the teacher.'

As to sentences (28a'') and (29a''), the lexical forms are represented differently as in (47) & (48):

(47) nà shí-kuài qián bei péngyǒu jièzǒu le
 that ten-cl. money bei friend borrow away particle
 'Those ten dollars were borrowed (away) by a friend.'



(48) neige wenti bei laoshi wenguo

that-cl. question bei teacher ask

'That question was asked by the teacher.'

'wen' ('ask') ((BEI-OBJ) (SUBJ))

Agent

Theme

Goal

So, the lexical theory is to be preferred because of its capacity to handle these constructions.

4.34 The Locative Construction

In Chinese there is one type of locative construction which is linked to a limited number of verbs such as 'fang' ('put'), 'gua' ('hang'), and 'tie' ('paste'), which poses interesting problems for passivization. First, observe the following examples:

(49) a. tā zai zhuozhi sheng fang le henduo shu
he on table top put Asp. many book

'He put many books on the table.'

b. tā zai qiangshang gua le yizhang hua
he on wall-top hang Asp. one-cl. picture

'He hung a picture on the wall.'

c. tā zai xinfeng shang tie le yizhang youpiao
he on envelope top paste Asp. one-cl. stamp

'He pasted a stamp on the envelope.'

However, this kind of locative should be distinguished from the other one, which is similar in structure. For example:

(50) a. tā zài gōngchǎng gōngzào

he in factory work

'He works in a factory.'

b. tā zài xuéxiào dǎ qiú

he in school play ball

'He played basketball at school.'

One of the characteristics of this type of construction is its interaction with passivization. In normal cases, passive in Chinese applies to direct objects, but it does not apply to indirect objects or oblique NPs which are expressed by means of a prepositional phrase. However, passivization applies to this locative construction; therefore, the locatives in sentence (49) can all be passivized, the locative preposition being omitted as represented in (51):

(51) a. zhuōzi shàng bei tā fàng le hěnduō shū

table top bei he put Asp. many book

'On the table were put many books by him.'

b. qiángshàng bei tā guà le yízhāng huà

wall-top bei he hang Asp. one-cl. picture

'On the wall was hung a picture by him.'

c. xīnfēng shàng bei tā tiē le yízhāng yóupiào

envelope top be he paste Asp. one-cl. stamp

'On the envelope was pasted a stamp by him.'

This locative construction has been investigated by John Y. Hou (1977), who distinguishes two kinds of locatives in Chinese: (i) Scene-setting locative, and (ii) resultative locative. The former "denotes the location where the action of the verb takes place" whereas the latter

"denotes the location where the action of the verb takes place and the location that the recipient of the action reaches as a result of the action" (Hou 1977, 143). He gives the following examples:

(52) Max zai xuexiao litou da le John (Scene setting locative)
Max in school inside hit Asp. John
'Max hit John in the School.'

(53) Max zai shujia shangtou fang le henduo ben shu
Max on bookshelf top put Asp. many cl. book
'Max put many books on the bookshelf.' (resultative locative)

The semantic difference between the scene setting locative and the resultative locative as exhibited in (52) & (53) is that the locative in (52) 'zai xuexiao litou' ('in school') denotes the semantic role 'path-of-Motion' or Source but not Goal; however, the locative in (53) 'zai shujia shangtou' ('on the top of the bookshelf') denotes the semantic role Goal, but not Path-of-Motion. (Hou 1977, 144)

With regard to passivization, there is a difference between them in that passivization **does** not apply to the scene setting locatives in (52), which is represented in (54):

(54) *xuexiao litou bei Max da le John
school inside bei Max hit Asp. John

However, passivization applies to the resultative locatives in (53), which is shown in (55):

(55) shujia shangtou bei Max Fang le henduo ben shu
bookshelf top bei Max put Asp. many cl. book
'On the bookshelf were put many books by Max.'

Because of the semantic difference between the scene setting locative and the resultative locative, he proposes a condition for the

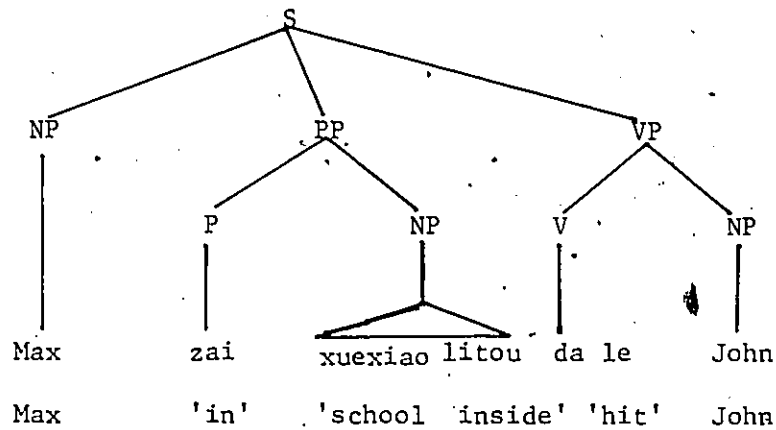
passive of the locative in Chinese as follows: (1977, 160)

(56) Locative → Subject

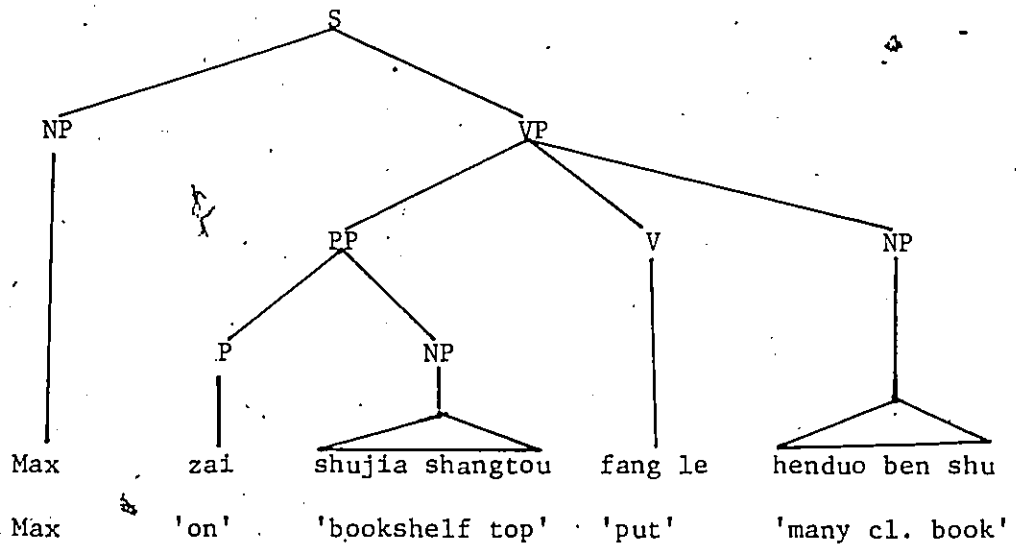
Condition: Locative must be in semantic role of Goal.

There is a problem with Hou's analysis. His distinction between the locatives totally relies on meaning, but the structure of the two locatives is different too. Scene setting locatives are dominated by S, while resultative locatives are dominated by VP. So, the phrase structure of (52) & (53) can be represented as in (57) & (58):

(57)

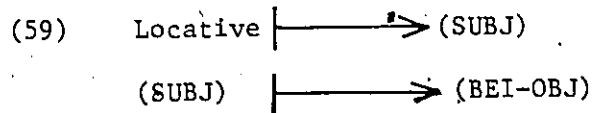


(58)



Thus, under the lexical approach, it can be explained quite nicely why passivization applies only to resultative locatives but not to scene setting locatives, because scene setting locatives are not arguments of the verb. (cf. Weinberg & Hornstein 1981)

So, we can formulate the lexical rule for this type of passives as follows:¹¹



Condition: The locative must be the argument of the Verb in a sentence.

4.35 The Interaction of the Bei-Construction and the Ba-Construction

Another problem in Chinese passivization is the interaction between the passive marker "bei" and the disposal marker "ba" in the passive construction. "Ba" and "Bei" can co-occur only in the order of 'bei....ba' as in (60) & (61).¹²

(60) tā bèi Mary bǎ tuǐ dàduàn le
 he bei Mary ba leg hit-break Asp.
 'His leg was broken by Mary.'

(61) Mary bèi rén bǎ qián piàn zǒu le
 Mary bei someone ba money cheat Asp.
 'Mary was cheated out of her money by someone.'

On the other hand, this kind of construction occurs only in a small number of resultative verbs in Chinese, as the verbs 'daduan' ('hit-break'), and 'pianzou' ('cheat-run') in (60) and (61).¹³

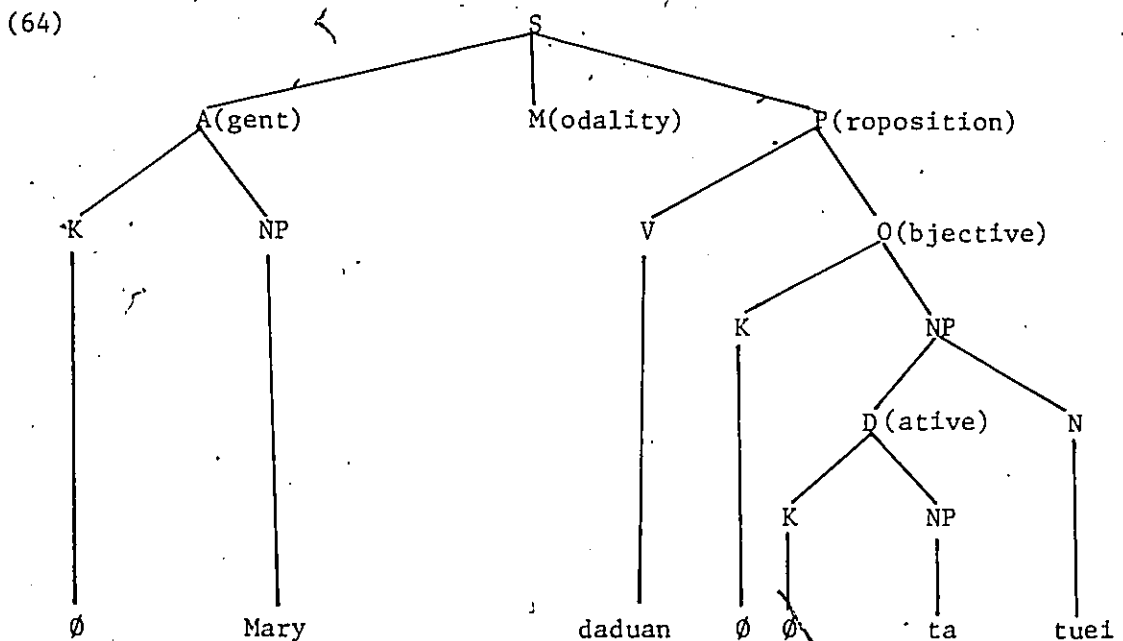
The main difficulty in giving a coherent analysis of this type of passive construction lies both in its syntactic structure and meaning. For example, in (60), it is not the subject 'ta' ('he') but 'ta de tuei' ('his leg') that was broken by Mary. In (61), it is not Mary, but 'her money' that was swindled out of her by somebody, and yet 'Mary' is in the subject position.

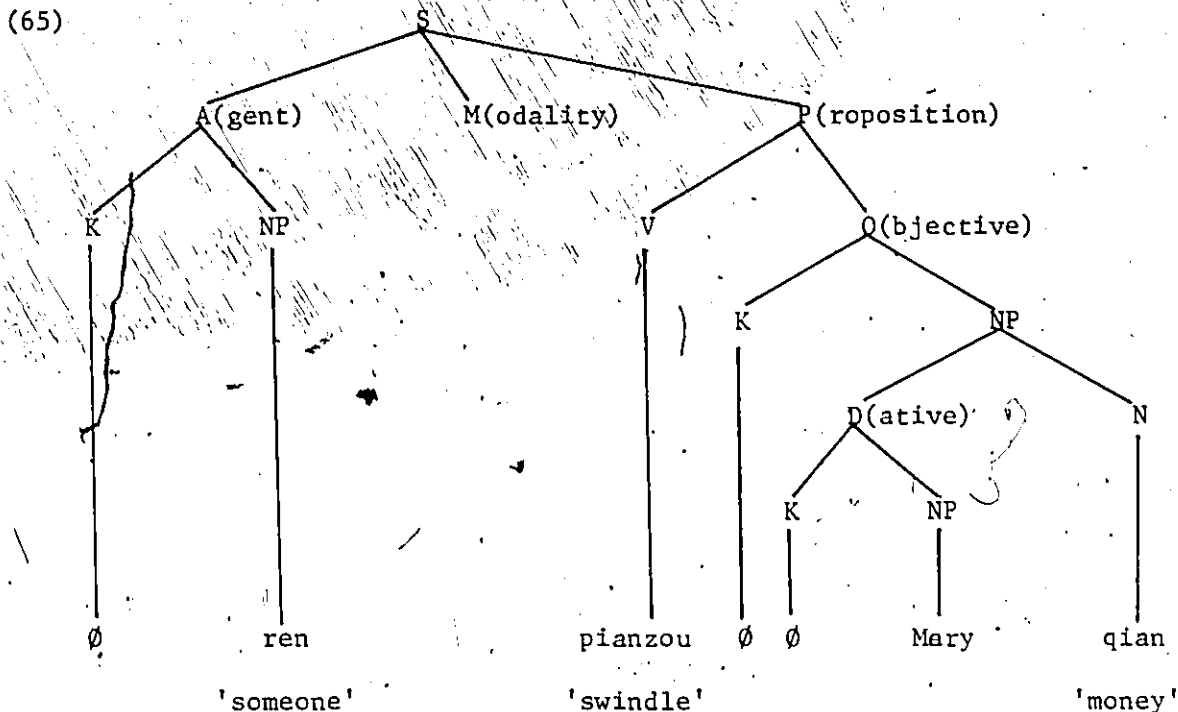
Several linguists have tried to account for this type of construction. The first is by Tang (1972) in the Case-Grammar framework. So, sentences (60) & (61), under Tang's analysis, will be derived from the underlying structures (62) & (63).

(62) Mary dāduan le tā de tuei
 Mary hit-break Asp. he poss. leg
 'Mary broke his leg.'

(63) (yǒu) rén piānzǒu le Mary de qián
 indef. someone swindle Asp. Mary poss. money
 'Someone swindled Mary out of her money.'

(62) & (63) are illustrated as in (64) & (65):





Tang (1972, 212) claims that "when the Objective contains an Adnominal Dative, either the entire Objective Case or only the Adnominal Dative may be preposed in passivization."¹⁴ So, sentences (60) and (61) are derived from the underlying structures by first applying the Preverbal Object Formation, generating the intermediary structure (66) & (67) and then applying passivization.

Preverbal Object Formation

(66) Mary bā tā de tūei daduan le
 Mary ba he poss. leg hit-break Asp.
 'Mary broke his leg.'

(67) (you) rén bā Mary de qian pianzou le
 someone ba Mary poss. money swindle Asp.
 'Someone swindled Mary out of her money.'

If the entire Objective is moved to the subject position, the resulting

sentence will be (68) & (69). If, on the other hand, only the Adnominal Dative is moved to become the subject, the resulting sentences will be (60) & (61) above. Tang also claims the Preverbal Object Formation must precede passivization.

(68) tā de tuei bei Mary daduan le
 he poss. leg bei Mary hit-break Asp.

'His leg was broken by Mary.'

(69) Mary de qian bei ren pianzou le
 Mary poss. money bei someone swindle Asp.

'Mary was swindled out of her money by someone.'

On the other hand, Wang, C-T (1972) says that (60) & (61) derive also from the underlying structure (62) and (63) as in Tang's analysis. His approach differs from Tang's in the order and the interaction of the rules. First, passivization applies and we get (70) & (71).

(70) tā de tuei bei Mary daduan le (= 68)
 he poss. leg bei Mary hit-break Asp.

'His leg was broken.'

(71) Mary de qian bei ren pianzou le
 Mary poss. money bei someone swindle Asp.

'Mary was swindled out of her money by someone.'

Next, the Possessive Head Noun Postposing Rule is applied to move the head NP of the possessive construction NP de NP, 'tuei' ('leg') and 'qian' ('money') in (70) & (71) to the end of the sentence. Then, the possessive marker 'de' is eliminated. Thus, we get (72) & (73) respectively.¹⁵

(72) tā bei Mary daduan le tuei
 he bei Mary hit-break Asp. leg

'His leg was broken by Mary.'

(73) Mary bei rén piānzou le qian

Mary bei someone swindle Asp. money

'Mary was swindled out of her money by someone.'

Then, the Ba-Preposing Rule is applied to (72) & (73), and sentences (60) & (61) result.

Wang also emphasizes the order of the two rules: Passivization must apply first, and the Ba-Preposing Rule follows with the Possessive Head Noun Postposing Rule intervening between them.

Of the two approaches, the one given by Wang (1972) is better than the one given by Tang (1972). The weakness of Tang's analysis is obvious. Tang says that the Ba-Rule (or the Preverbal Object Formation, following Tang) must precede passivization and he claims that "when the Objective contains an Adnominal Dative, either the entire Objective Case or only the Adnominal Dative may be preposed in passivization." (1972, 212). So, if the whole Objective Case is preposed, the disposal marker 'ba' is deleted. But if, on the other hand, only the Adnominal Dative is preposed, the disposal marker 'ba' is retained, which is totally arbitrary, because it violates the principle preventing extraction of elements out of a noun phrase, a principle that is otherwise required in Chinese.

It seems that this construction will pose a lot of problems for the lexical analysis. But, after we have analysed sentences (60) & (61) carefully, we find that the lexical theory can offer as good an explanation as the other theories can. First, observe the following examples:

(74) Mary daduan le tā de tui

Mary hit-break Asp. he poss. leg

'Mary broke his leg.'

(75) Mary bā tā de tuei daduan le (= 66)

Mary ba he poss. leg hit-break Asp.

'Mary broke his leg.'

(76) tā de tuei bei Mary daduan le (= 68)

he poss. leg bei Mary hit-break Asp.

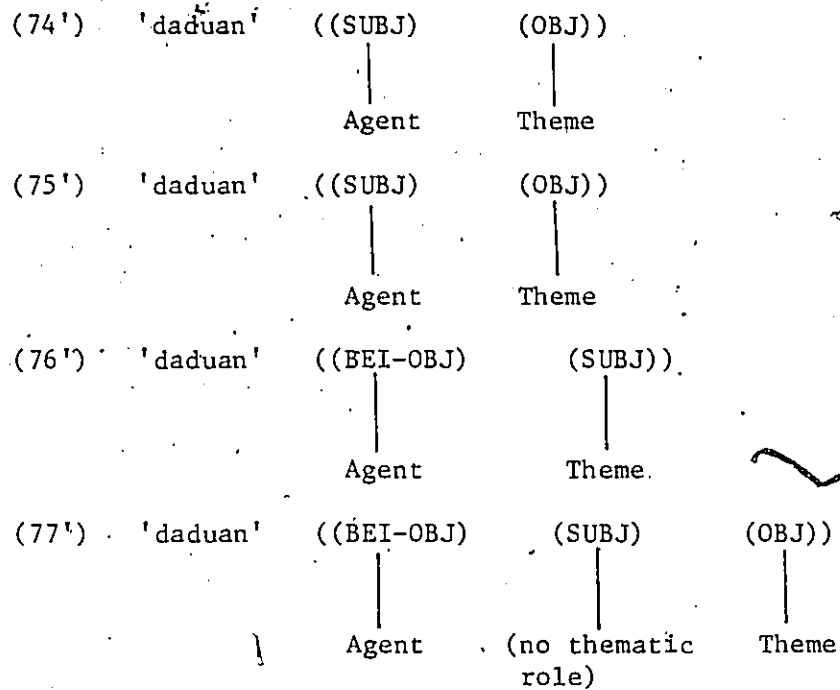
'His leg was broken by Mary.'

(77) tā bei Mary bā tuei daduan le (= 69)

he bei Mary ba leg hit-break Asp.

'His leg was broken by Mary.'

The lexical forms of sentences (74) to (77) are represented as follows:

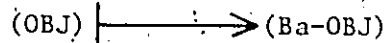


Despite the changes in grammatical functions, the predicate argument structures (or thematic roles) remain the same through all the sentences. This uniformity of the predicate argument structures shows that an account can be given by considering the grammatical relations of the lexical forms of the verbs.

Two more lexical rules are needed to explain sentences (75) and (77). In (75) it is the object preposing rule that preposes the object to the position before the verb with the marker 'ba', which can be formulated as in (78):

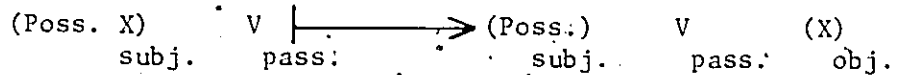
(78) Ba-Preposing Rule

Operations on the Lexical Forms



Another lexical rule, which is considered language-particular, is needed to generate sentence (77) in which there is an interaction of this rule with passivization and the Ba-Preposing Rule. Following Wang (1972), it is still called the Possessive Head Noun Postposing Rule, which can be formulated as in (79):

(79) Possessive Head Noun Postposing Rule



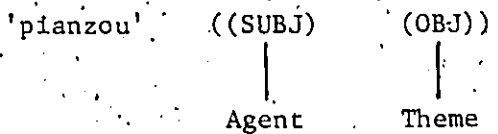
Condition: The OBJ belongs to (or is part of) SUBJ.

The SUBJ, here, is only the grammatical subject and not the logical subject in the sentence and, therefore, it is not mapped onto any predicate argument structures (or thematic roles). So, in a sense, it is semantically null, as shown in (77'). Here, the SUBJ, resulting from the Possessive Head Noun Postposing Rule, is treated like the OBJ Form of the Idiom Chunk in English by Bresnan. (See Bresnan 1980b, 56-62.)

As to the order of the rules, passivization precedes the Ba-Preposing Rule, with the Possessive Head Noun Postposing Rule intervening between them. So, the application of the rules in (61)

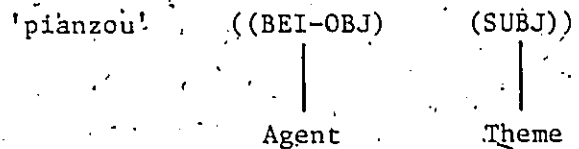
can be explained as follows:

(80) a. (you) ren pianzou le Mary de qian
 someone swindle Asp. Mary poss. money.
 'Someone swindled Mary out of her money.'



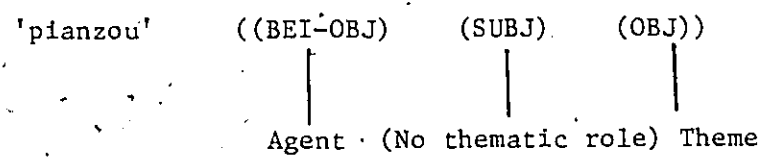
b. Mary de qian bei ren pianzou le (=71)
 Mary poss. money bei someone swindle Asp.

'Mary was swindled out of her money by someone.'



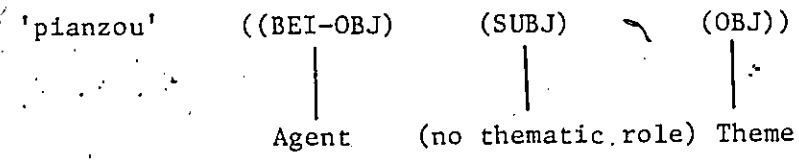
c. Mary bei ren pianzou le qian (=73)
 Mary bei someone swindle Asp. money

'Mary was swindled out of her money.'



d. Mary bei ren ba qian pianzou le (=61)
 Mary bei someone ba money swindle Asp.

'Mary was swindled out of her money.'



So, the lexical theory can explain as nicely as the transformational approach. But there is a difference between the two approaches, i.e.,

the properties. In the lexical theory, it is the lexical rule that changes the grammatical functions, which leads to differences in surface syntactic structures. The predicate argument structures still remain the same.

4.4 Some Residual Problems

We have applied the lexical approach to the analysis of different problems concerned with passivization in Chinese in the last section. There are two aspects which characterize the lexical theory's explanatory power in accounting for the linguistic phenomena in natural languages. The first is the semantic compatibility requirements of predicate argument structures, which requires that "each predicate argument structure represents a semantic function of n grammatically interpretable arguments, and to each predicate argument a grammatical function is assigned by the lexical form. When a grammatical function such as SUBJ (or OBJ) is assigned to a predicate argument, the functional subject (or object) of the predicate in a sentence will be bound to that argument." (Bresnan 1980b, 46) On the other hand, the semantic function represented by a predicate must be compatible with the semantic interpretations of all the subjects, objects, and other grammatical arguments that are bound to the arguments of the predicate. Most lexical rules, such as passivization, preserve the predicate structure. In passivization the grammatical function assignment changes the active lexical form to the passive lexical form, so different grammatical functions will be reassociated with the predicate arguments; however; the semantic compatibility requirements of the predicate argument

Although in the lexical theory there are separate lexical forms for active and passive verbs, this poses no difficulty for the theory. But, on the contrary, they give it an advantage in that the lexical forms permit both active and passive sentences to be base-generated and eliminate the need for the multiple constituent structure representations of a sentence that constitute its transformational derivation. So, the lexical rule of passivization has the advantage of deriving the passive lexical form from the active lexical form. For example, the passive lexical form of 'ai' ('love') is :

'ai' ('love') ((BEI-OBJ) (SUBJ))

and the active lexical form of 'ai' ('love') is:

'ai' ('love') ((SUBJ) (OBJ))

Given the passive lexical form, sentence (83) is functionally complete and coherent:

(83) John bei Mary aishang le
 John bei Mary love Asp.

*John is loved by Mary.

but sentence (84) is functionally incoherent, having an extra object 'Peter' that cannot be bound to a predicate argument.

(84) *John bei Mary aishang le Peter
 John bei Mary love Asp. Peter

So, this is an advantage for the lexical theory because lexical rules, such as passivization, are operations on the lexical forms. They derive lexical forms from lexical forms. With functional completeness and functional coherence conditions in the grammar, every lexical form

derived from these rules will define a set of grammatical contexts in which a passive verb can be lexically inserted.

4.5 Conclusion

As we have discussed at the beginning of the Chapter, passivization in the lexical theory has a universal characterization, which reveals its invariant form across languages. This is because passivization changes the lexical assignments of grammatical functions to predicate argument structures. Grammatical function, on the other hand, are independent of language-particular realizations in terms of syntactic structures or other forms exhibited in different languages. This major result places the lexical theory in a better position to provide a more revealing explanation of such complex phenomenon as passivization than the other theories, which are based on syntactic phrase structure representations. Thus, passivization in Chinese could not be better explained than as a lexical rule.

FOOTNOTES

1. According to Bresnan & Kaplan (1980, 2), the difference between C-structure and F-structure is that: C-structures are defined in terms of syntactic categories, terminal strings and their dominance and precedence relationships, but F-structures are composed of grammatical function names, semantic forms, and feature symbols.
2. The lexical theory is similar to Relational Grammar in its approach. The fundamental claim of Relational Grammar is that the basic grammatical relations such as 'subject of', 'direct object of', and 'indirect object of' are universal and play a crucial role in the syntax of natural languages. However, no semantic values are placed on them, though nothing in the theory excludes this.
3. The Principle of Direct Syntactic Encoding is defined by Bresnan & Kaplan as follows: (1980, 7)

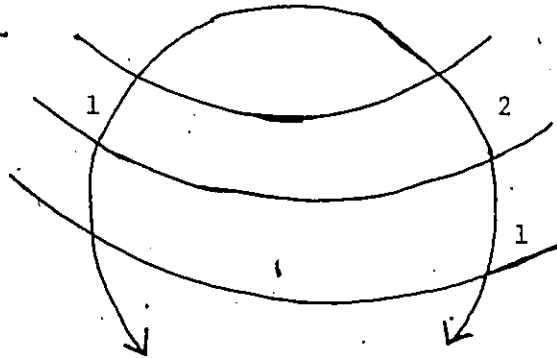
No rule of syntax may replace one function name by another. The Principle of Direct Syntactic Encoding helps to make the distinction of two classes of rules: (i) rules that change relations are lexical and range over finite sets, and (ii) syntactic rules that project onto an infinite set of sentences preserve grammatical relations.

Bresnan says that the correlation of rule properties is a significant difference between lexical grammar and relational grammar. The two approaches are similar except that relational grammar places more emphasis on grammatical relations.

4. Perlmutter & Postal (1977, 405) give the following characterization of passives in the framework of relational grammar:

If (i) the RN (relational network) for a clause Q has a nominal N_a that bears the 2-relation in a stratum in which some nominal bears the 1-relation, and (ii) if N_a bears the relation in the following stratum, then Q is a passive clause.

This can be represented as follows:



5. Li & Thompson (1976) regard sentences like (6)-(8) in 4.31 as a kind of 'pseudo-passives', and interpret them in terms of 'topic-comment' structure. For example, sentence (6a) in 4.31 will be interpreted as in (i):

(i) 'As to this overcoat (topic), it has been worn for many years.'

Chu (1974), on the other hand, considers sentences in 4.31 not as passives, but as the actives which have undergone "understood Agent Deletion" and "NP Preposing". For example, sentence (8a) in 4.31 is analysed in the following:

(ii) chí le yú (Understood Agent Deletion)

eat Asp. fish

yú chí le (NP Preposing)

fish eat Asp.

'Someone ate the fish.'

He claims that there are no "unmarked" passives such as those in 4.31 to his analysis. He argues that there is only one optional deletion, namely, the deletion of the Agentive NP following the passive marker 'bei'. So, the only variant forms of the full passives are the (b) sentences of (6)-(8) in 4.31. But the problem is that we have to take into account the nuances of meaning existing between the (a) sentences of (6)-(8) and the (b) & (c) sentences of (6)-(8) in 4.31.

6. There are one or two examples of verbal passives in modern Chinese which can occur in prenominal position. For example:

- (1) zhè jian chuan le henduo nian de dayi
this-cl. wear Asp. many year poss. overcoat
'the overcoat which has been worn for many years'
- (2) yi ben hai meiyǒu chubǎn de shu
one-cl. still not publish poss. book
'a book which is still not published'
- (3) yi xiang hai meiyǒu wanchang de gongzuo
one-cl. still not finish poss. work
'a still unfinished work'

These examples may, in some way, lend support to the lexical rule as posited in 4.31. But I am not definitely sure about this because these examples occur mostly in written Chinese, and they are considered rather Europeanized in style by some grammarians.

7. As to the number of 'cases' in Chinese, the Chinese linguists who have taken the Case-Grammar Approach have still not reached an agreement. Li, ying-Che (1971), following Fillmore (1968), posits the following cases in Chinese: Agentive, Objective, Dative, Locative, Instrumental, Comitative, Benefactive, and Factitive. In addition to these cases, Tang (1972) adds Essive and Comparative. (See also fn. (3) in Chapter III.)
8. The four types of verbs classified by Tang (1977a, 70-72) are based on the surface structures of the sentences:
- In Type I verbs, the direct object may take the preposition 'gei', and may precede or follow the direct object.
- In Type II verbs, the indirect object may either precede or follow the direct object, and the preposition 'gei' is obligatory if the indirect object follows the direct, but optional when the word order is reversed.
- In Type III verbs, the indirect object may not take the dative preposition 'gei', and must precede the direct object in the surface structure.
- In Type IV verbs, the indirect object cannot take the preposition 'gei' and must precede the direct object.
- Another kind of verbs in which the use or non-use of 'gei' before an indirect object makes a difference in the direction of the action. Such verbs (as, 'na' ('take'), 'jie' ('lend/borrow')) belong to this group. This type of verbs is sometimes called the 'bi-directional verbs': (1) If the preposition 'gei' is present, the direction of the action denoted by

the verb is from the subject to the indirect object (i.e. 'outward').

(1) wǒ jiè gěi tā shí-kuài qián (Outward)

I lend to he ten-cl. money

'I lent him ten dollars.'

(ii) If the preposition 'gei' is absent, the direction of the action denoted by the verb is from the indirect object to the subject (inward).

(2) wǒ jiè le tā shí-kuài qián (Inward)

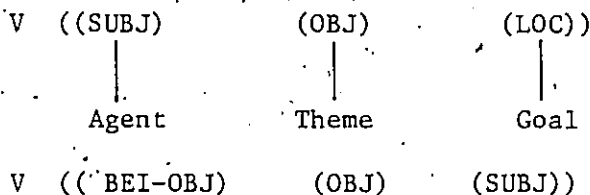
I borrow Asp. he ten-cl. money

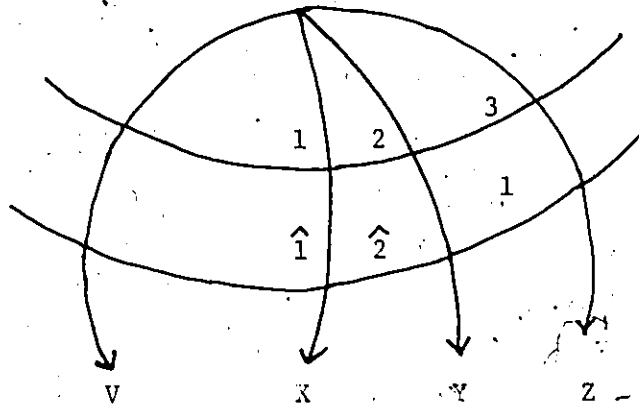
'I borrowed ten dollars from him.'

9. The verbs in Group II are heterogeneous in nature. To some verbs, such as 'ying' ('win'), 'jie' ('borrow'), 'wen' ('ask'), either OBJ or OBJ₂ can be absent.

10. The idea used in (40) is modified from that of Goldsmith's undated article.

11. The direct object in this type of sentence will behave like the role of chômeur in Relational Grammar, which can be represented as follows:





12. In Cantonese there is a similar construction, but it differs from

Mandarin by not preposing the object. For example:

(1) koey⁵ bei⁵ yen⁴ nukdz² houd² tsien⁴
 he by someone swindle a lot of money

'He was swindled out of a lot of money.'

(2) koey⁵ bei⁵ loup⁵ dadyn² dz² dzek⁸ goek⁸
 he bei wife hit-break Asp. cl. leg

'He had his leg broken by his wife.'

13. The resultative verbs in Chinese are compound verbs, i.e. V + V (resultative); the second verb states the result of the action which is expressed by the first verb. For example:

'da + si' ('hit + die': 'die' because of the result of beating)

'chi + bao' ('eat + full': to be full because of the result of eating)

14. The Adnominal Dative Case in Chinese, according to Tang (1972), refers to some NPs which belong to either alienable or inalienable possession. Tang (1972, 247) claims that the Adnominal Dative

derived from the relative clause (i.e. alienable possession) as well as the one derived from the Dative Complement (i.e. inalienable possession), may occur as the subject of the passive sentence:

15. Wang, C-T (1972, 246-47) distinguishes two types of sentences:

(1) tā da le yi-zhi gou
he beat Asp. one-cl. dog
'He beat a dog.'

(2) tā duan le yi-tiao tui
he break Asp. one-cl. leg
'He broke one leg.'

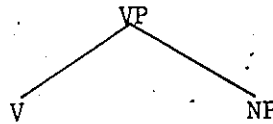
Of the above sentences, only (1) can be passivized but not (2).

(1') yi-zhi gou bei tā da le
one-cl. dog bei he beat Asp.
'A dog was beaten by him.'

(2') *yi-tiao tui bei tā duan le
one-cl. leg bei he break Asp.

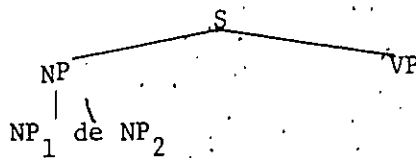
Therefore, he claims, despite their similarity in surface structure, they are different in 'deep' structure. And the deep structure of sentence (1) is posited as follows:

(1'')



However, the deep structure of (2) is quite different:

(2'')



Because of this difference, he proposes a grammatical rule for Chinese which states that a certain type of verbs allows the Possessive NP to be postposed. This is the Possessive NP Postposing Rule: (1972, 428)

Possessive NP Postposing Rule

SD:	NP ₁	de	NP ₂	VP
	1	2	3	4
SC:	1	4	3	2 → ∅

Restriction 1: NP₂ has to be part of NP₁ or belongs to NP₁.

Restriction 2: Only specially marked intransitive verbs can undergo this rule.

And this rule, he claims, is expanded to apply to passive sentences with resultative verbs.

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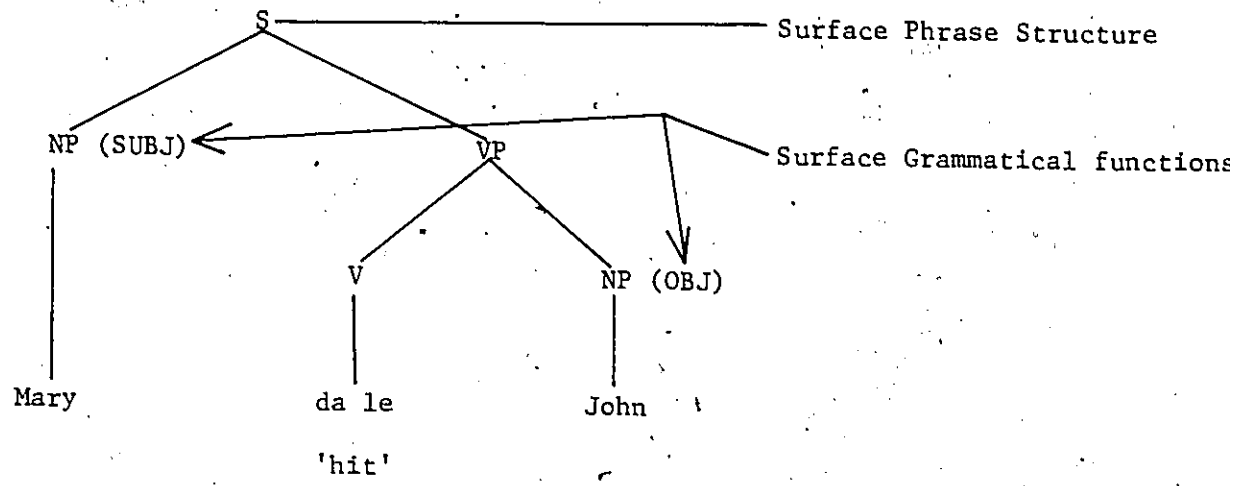
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APPENDIXES

- (I). Diagrams
- (II). Glossary of the symbols used in the thesis
- (III). Key to Chinese Phonetic Alphabet

Syntactic Encoding of Grammatical Functions in Surface Structure

Mary da le John
 Mary hit Asp. John
 'Mary hit John.'



'da' ('hit') ((SUBJ), (OBJ)) ← Lexical form for 'da'

Lexical Encoding of Grammatical Relations for the Verb 'da'

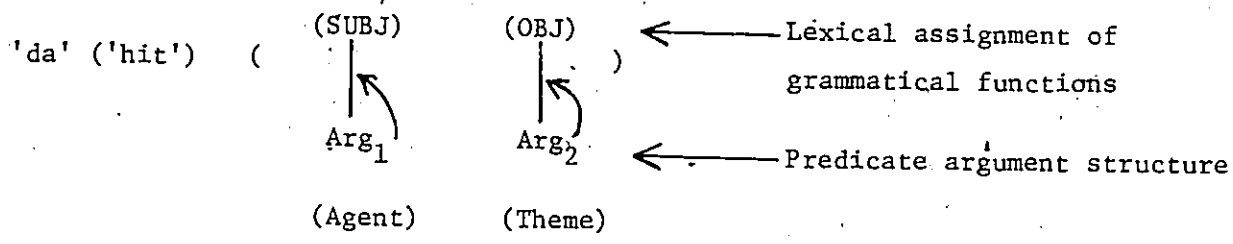
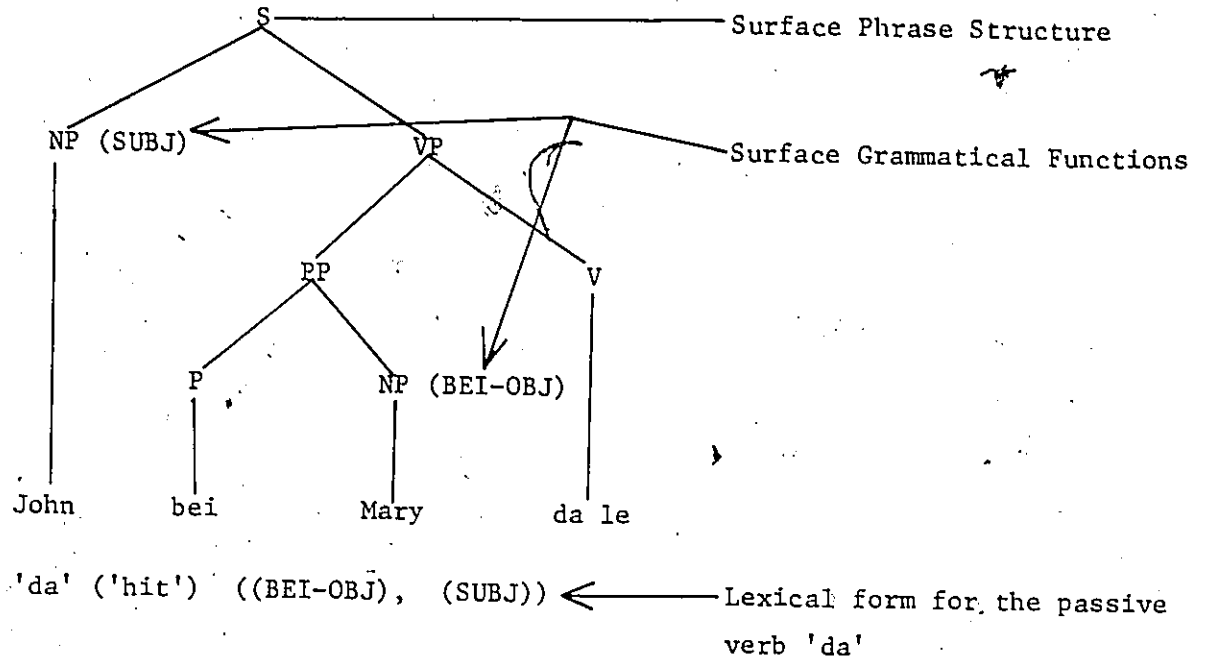


Fig. 1

Syntactic Encoding of Grammatical Functions in Surface Structure

John bei Mary da le
 John bei Mary hit Asp.
 'John was hit by Mary.'



Lexical Encoding of Grammatical Relations for the Passive Verb 'da'

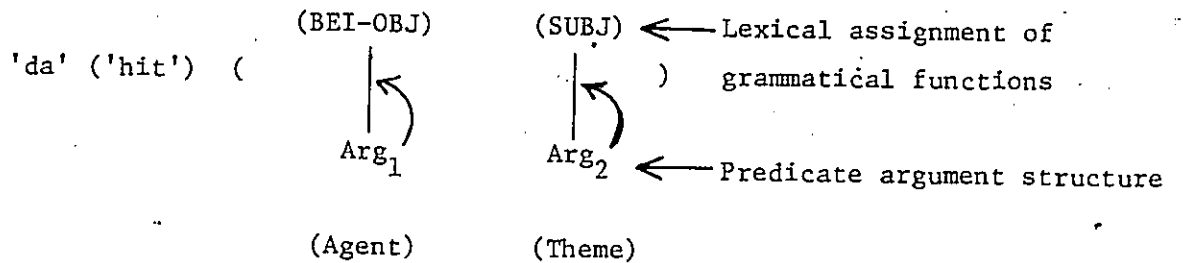
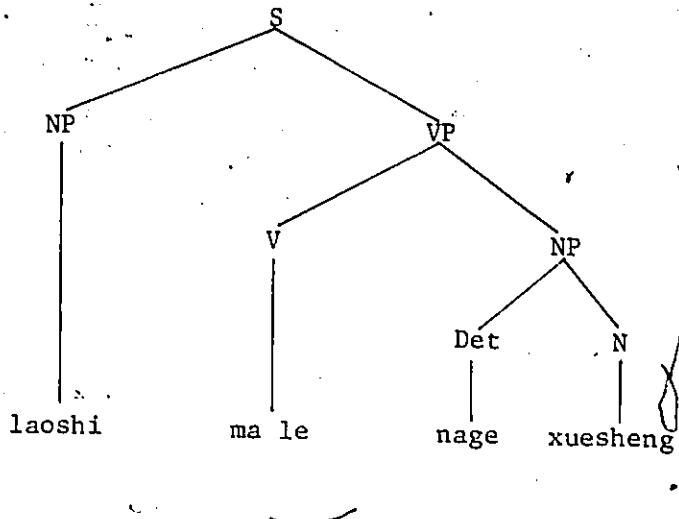


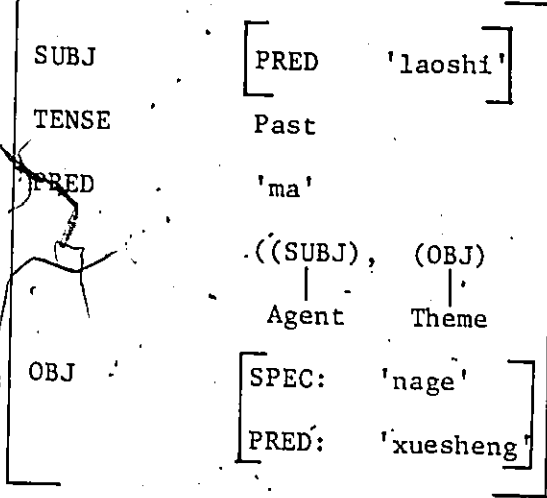
Fig. 2

laoshi ma le nage xuesheng
 teacher scold Asp. that-cl. student
 'The teacher scolded that student.'

C-structure



F-structure



nage xuesheng bei laoshi ma le
 that-cl. student bei teacher scold Asp.
 'The student was scolded by the teacher.'

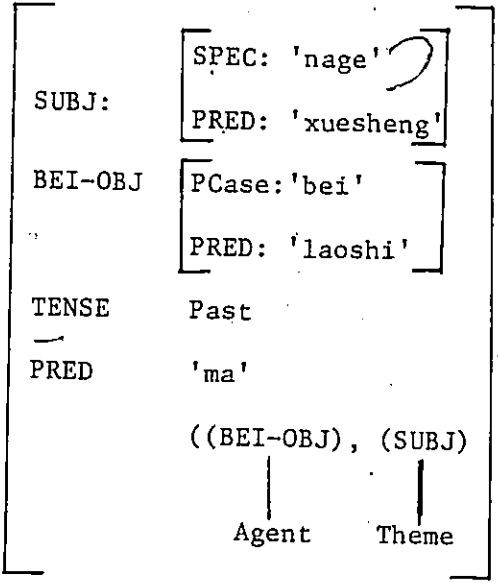
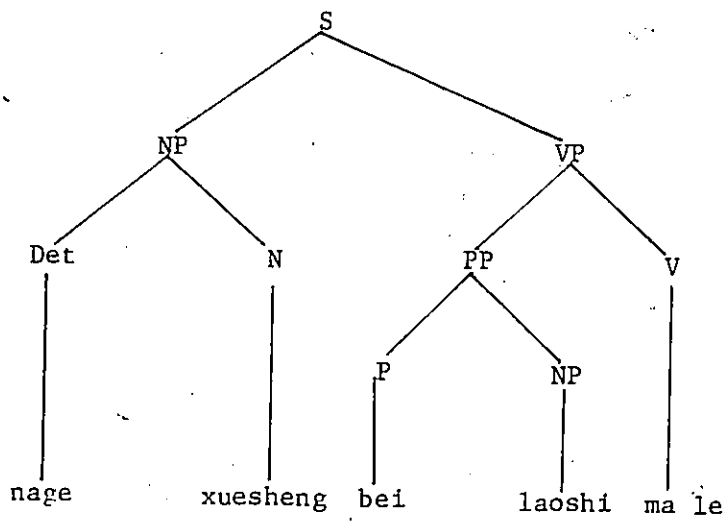


Fig. 3

GLOSSARY OF THE SYMBOLS USED IN THE THESIS

SA : Structural Analysis

SC : Structural Change

G : Goal

S : Source

O : Objective Case

L : Locative Case


A : Agentive Case


N : Neutral Case


D : Dative Case


DO : Direct Object

IO : Indirect Object

 : Mapping relationship

 : To be replaced by

 : Disjunctive relationship

 : Immediate domination

KEY TO CHINESE PHONETIC ALPHABET

(1) Initials

Chinese Phonetic Alphabet	International Phonetic Alphabet	Key Words
b (o)	[b]	<u>b</u> ay (de-voiced)
p (o)	[p']	<u>p</u> ay
m (o)	[m]	<u>m</u> ay
f (o)	[f]	<u>f</u> air
d (e)	[d]	<u>d</u> ay (de-voiced)
t (e)	[t']	<u>t</u> ake
n (e)	[n]	<u>n</u> ay
l (e)	[l]	<u>l</u> ay
g (e)	[g]	<u>g</u> ay (de-voiced)
k (e)	[k']	<u>k</u> ay
h (e)	[x]	<u>h</u> ay
j (i)	[tʃ]	<u>j</u> eeep (palatal)
q (i)	[tʃ']	<u>ch</u> eer (palatal)
x (i)	[ʃ]	<u>sh</u> e (palatal)
zh (i)	[tʃʂ]	<u>j</u> udge (retroflex, de-voiced)
ch (i)	[tʃʂ']	<u>ch</u> urch (retroflex)
sh (i)	[ʃʂ]	<u>sh</u> irt (retroflex)
r (i)	[ʒ]	le <u>is</u> ure (retroflex)
z (i)	[ts]	re <u>ad</u> s (de-voiced)
c (i)	[ts']	<u>h</u> ats

s (i)	[s]	<u>say</u>
y (i)	[j]	<u>yea</u>
w (u)	[w]	<u>way</u>

(2) Finals

C.P.A.	I.P.A.	Key Words
a	[a]	<u>father</u>
o	[ɔ]	<u>saw</u> (approximately)
e	[ɜ]	<u>her</u> (British)
i	[i]	<u>see</u>
u	[u]	<u>rude</u>
ʊ	[y]	French <u>tu</u> (<u>i</u> with rounded lips)
ɛr	[ɛr]	<u>err</u> (American)
ai	[ai]	<u>eye</u>
ei	[ei]	<u>eight</u>
ao	[ɑu]	<u>now</u>
ou	[ou]	<u>oh</u>
an	[an]	<u>can</u> (more open)
en	[ɛn]	<u>turn</u> (British)
ang	[ɑŋ]	German <u>Gang</u>
eng	[ʌŋ]	<u>sung</u>
ong	[uŋ]	German <u>Lunge</u>
ia	[ia]	Malaysia <u>ia</u>
ie	[iɛ]	<u>yes</u>
iao	[iau]	<u>yowl</u>
iu	[iou]	<u>yoke</u>
ian	[iɛn]	<u>yen</u>



C.P.A.	I.P.A.	Key Words
in	[in]	<u>in</u>
iang	[iŋ]	<u>young</u> (approximately)
ing	[iŋ]	<u>sing</u>
iong	[iɔŋ]	German <u>j</u> l <u>u</u> nger (approximately)
ua	[ua]	<u>guano</u>
uo	[uɔ]	<u>wall</u>
uai	[uai]	<u>wife</u>
ui	[uei]	<u>way</u>
uan	[uan]	<u>one</u> (approximately)
un	[uən]	<u>went</u> (approximately)
uang	[uɑŋ]	oo + ahng
ue	[yɛ]	ü + eh
üan	[yan]	ü + an
ün	[yn]	German gr <u>ü</u> n

Footnote:

"De-voiced" means the vocal cords do not vibrate.

"Palatal" means the front of the tongue touches the hard palate.

"Retroflex" means the tip of the tongue is slightly curled.

(3) Tones

- 1st tone, high and level
- / 2nd tone, rising
- ✓ 3rd tone, falling-rising
- \ 4th tone, falling

