

15

MAJOR NON-CANONICAL CLAUSE TYPES: *bǎ*, *bèi*, and ditransitives

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Summary

This chapter concentrates first and foremost on three main non-canonical clause types in Chinese which correspond to the object-marking *bǎ* constructions, passives and various kinds of ditransitive clauses including double object, dative and benefactive constructions. All of these non-canonical clause types share the feature of a complex predicate and for this reason are felicitously grouped here together. The special semantic and syntactic features of complex predicates are examined in detail for the *bǎ* construction and the *bèi* passive with respect to a wide range of possible syntactic configurations, while the different syntactic patterns available for ditransitive constructions and compatible verb classes are treated in the last section.

As part of the description of these structures with complex predicates, we will also examine resultative and directional verb compounds. These verb classes are highly frequent in the elaborate predicates required in particularly *bǎ* constructions and *bèi* passives.

This chapter thus complements the description of basic monoclausal and complex sentence types which are dealt with in the preceding chapter, chapter 14, while other clause-level constructions with complex predicates, such as the comparative, are treated separately in Chapter 11.

15.1. The *bǎ* constructions in Chinese

15.1.1. Introduction

The *raison d'être* of the *bǎ* 把 construction in standard Chinese has often been described as a means to prepose the direct object of neutral S-V-O word order before the verb, as in [1], deriving the contrastive word order of S- *bǎ* 把-O-V in [2]:

- [1] S-V-O
她擦掉了我写的字。
'She erased the words I wrote.'
- [2] S- *bǎ* 把-O-V
她把我写的字擦掉了。
'She erased the words I wrote.'

The basic type of *bǎ* 把 construction exemplified by [1] above has a transitive action verb in its predicate and semantic undergoer (or grammatical direct object) as the noun governed by the *bǎ* 把 constituent (labelled the '把 NP' hereafter). In more detail, the syntactic form of the transitive *bǎ* construction is as follows:

$$(\text{NP}_{\text{CAUSE/SUBJECT}}) - [\text{OBJECT MARKER } [b\check{a}\text{把}] + \text{NP}_{\text{DIRECT OBJECT}}] - \text{VP}_{\text{TRANSITIVE}}$$

The object marker *bǎ* 把 is in fact derived from an earlier verb meaning 'to grasp' or 'to hold'. However, it no longer can be used as a full verb, being largely restricted to this grammatical function, apart from a handful of disyllabic words it forms, both nominal and verbal in nature, for example, *bǎbǐng* 把柄 'handle' and *bǎchí* 把持 'to dominate'.

In Chinese linguistics, this type of sentence has traditionally been called the 'disposal' or 'pretransitive' construction. The use of the term 'disposal form' (*chūzhì shì* 處置式) can be attributed to one of China's leading 20th century linguists, Wang Li 王力. Wang Li characterized the use of this construction as 'disposing of the object through the action of the verb' (1943: vol. 1, 163). The 'disposal' meaning refers to the interpretation of an explicit change of state in the object. An equally influential scholar, Chao Yuen Ren (趙元任), chose the label 'pretransitive' (前置賓語結構), in his turn, to highlight the preposing of the object before its transitive verb (1968: 346). The *bǎ* construction thus shows a contrastive word order with basic SVO sentences and stands out in its use of overt morphological marking with respect to the object noun.

A generally made observation is that *bǎ* sentences have many more restrictions on their occurrence than their neutral S-V-O correlates. These apply to compatible verb classes, the semantic category of the

object noun, the nature of verbal modification and the presence of predicate complements. Furthermore, it is not always possible to find a S-V-O counterpart for every *bǎ* sentence. Nonetheless, the syntactic and semantic constraints can be summarized in the form of the three main ones:

- (i) the requirement of a ‘discourse-old’ direct object that represents given information and
- (ii) the constraint that the direct object code a semantic patient which is understood to be highly affected by the event, for example, to undergo an observable change of state.
- (iii) Correspondingly, the predicate in declarative sentences needs to code an aspectually completive predicate.

These will be treated in turn in the following sections.

(a) SVO versus S *bǎ* OV

An interesting issue concerning the use of the *bǎ* construction in Chinese is whether or not it has a SVO correlate. This is useful for highlighting the differences between the two clause structures. Consider the following *bǎ* sentence which does not have a SVO form and so, serves as the only means of expression for the given event:

[3] Basic form of the *bǎ* construction:

(NP_{SUBJECT}) – [OBJECT MARKER [*bǎ*把] + NP_{DIRECT OBJECT}] – VP_{TRANSITIVE}

- (i) 我們不要把自由和散漫混爲一談。
‘We don’t want to confuse ‘freedom’ with ‘lack of discipline’.
- (ii) *我們不要混爲一談自由和散漫。

This is also the case with many other types of predicate, such as those with a locative PP following the verb. These regularly do not have any SVO counterpart. This example comes from a narrative told by a young woman, famous in her province for her extremely long and luxuriant hair, modestly hidden by day under a cap.

[4] *bǎ* construction with a locative PP

- (i) 天黑了,我就能把帽子摘了,把辮子放在兜裏...
‘When night falls, I can take off my cap and put my plait in my pocket.’ (ZS 488)
- (ii) SVO counterpart to *bǎ* construction with a locative PP adjunct
*我就能放辮子在兜裏...

A similar situation applies to the complex predicates with several other types of postverbal nouns such as retained objects, copular complements and certain kinds of indirect objects. They do not easily allow for non-*bā* counterparts. The different kinds of postverbal nouns are presented in §15.1.4.

15.2.1. Major features of the *bā* construction

(a) ‘Discourse-old’ direct object

Discourse factors involving information structure also certainly play a role in the choice of the *bā* construction: What is denoted by the *bā* NP typically represents ‘given’ or ‘old’ information, that is, information that is already known or shared by the speaker and the addressee. Once a new character or object is established in a conversation or narrative (and thus has a referent), the use of an object marker such as *bā* is harmonious with the status of the object NP as a ‘known’ referent and thus with it being placed closer to the head of the clause (for more details, see Chapter 17).

We thus use ‘given’ NP in the sense of one that has been mentioned in the previous discourse or is known as a consequence of contextual, extralinguistic or pragmatic factors. – Thus, it may be known to both speaker and listener for some pragmatic reason, for example, concepts that represent general knowledge such as ‘the sun’ or ‘the President’. In either situation, we have a case of shared information that is marked for given or ‘old’ status in terms of the information packaging of the clause. This has often been analysed in terms of a need for ‘definiteness’ or ‘specificity’ of the *bā* NP which, however, refers to the more specific situation of morphological means of coding old information by the use of demonstratives and definite articles. As discussed in Chapter 17, the usual position in Chinese for ‘old’ or ‘given’ information is precisely in the positions before the main verb. In the example above, the nouns ‘plait’ and ‘cap’ have already been mentioned in the previous discourse, an oral narrative, and so clearly represent information that is known to both the narrator and the readers. Thus, the referent of the *bā* NP generally represents ‘discourse-old’ information.

(b) Semantic role of the *bā* NP

This section considers briefly the semantic role of the *bā* NP. In the majority of cases, the ‘classic’ *bā* NP represents the direct object and is a semantic patient, as most of the examples in this chapter ably and amply testify. There is, however, a certain smaller proportion of *bā* sentences which allows syntactically transitive verbs which are non-volitional such as *wàng* 忘 ‘forget’ and *diū* 丟 ‘lose’, ‘drop’, and yet others

where intransitive subjects may occur in the *bā* construction as the *bā* NP. In terms of semantic roles, the intransitive subjects act however as pure patients (of UNACCUSATIVE verbs). An example of each is presented below.

- [5] *Bā* construction with a non-volitional transitive verb:
好多人把我們忘了。
'(So many years have passed by), lots of people have forgotten us.' (ZS 23)
- [6] *Bā* construction with an intransitive verb of the unaccusative type:
那小說裏爬山的事兒也是真的，也把那一家老小嚇了一跳。
'The story in the novel about mountain climbing was true. It frightened everyone in the family, young and old.' (ZS 34)

The intransitive type of *bā* construction has a causative force and is discussed in §15.1.6.(a).

Finally, there is no restriction on animacy: the *bā* NP may belong to the classes of human, animate and non-human, or inanimate, and can even be an abstract noun. It suffices to regard the examples in §15.1 of this chapter on the *bā* construction to verify this wide range of possibilities.

(c) 'Completiveness' restriction on the predicate

Various restrictions on the use of the *bā* construction can be drawn together as instances of the one general semantic property of 'completiveness'. Specifically, this requires that the predicate in the *bā* construction – in its declarative form – codes an event that has taken place and which affects the *bā* NP, causing some kind of change to it. This property is sometimes referred to variously as the need for a 'perfectivizing predicate', or the 'bounded' or 'telic nature' of the event: *ad minima* it must be understood as an event or state of affairs that has thus been completed or fully realized. This requirement for completiveness is principally encoded by means of the verb and the verbal or nominal complements postposed to it in the predicate.

As a consequence, the predicate may not usually comprise just a bare monosyllabic verb, unless it is in imperative mood (that is, when the *bā* sentence serves as an order), or under the scope of a modal verb which precedes the marker *bā*, if not followed immediately by another clause.

The requirement of an elaborate predicate can be achieved through numerous syntactic strategies including postverbal nouns, postverbal complements of extent and result, resultative and directional verb complexes and all manner of perfective or completive kinds of aspect

marking. As observed in §15.1.2.(a) above, in terms of discourse requirements, involving reasons of both coherence and cohesion, the *bā* NP generally has to refer to a person or thing (or even an abstract notion) that has already been established in the discourse – or else is knowledge shared between speaker and addressee – before the speaker can assert what action or event has happened with respect to it, and, thus, the resultant change which comes about affecting the *bā* NP.

A more detailed discussion of the possibilities is next presented for basic declarative mood sentences (Chapter 14), making use of the terms ‘completiveness’, ‘completed event’ or ‘event that has been realized’ to refer in a more transparent way to this syntactic and semantic requirement than notions such as ‘telicity’, ‘perfectivity’ or ‘boundedness’. We will also treat negated *bā* sentences, the imperative mood and modal verbs used with *bā*.

15.1.3. Predicate types in the Chinese *bā* construction

In this section, we describe six different kinds of elaborate predicate which are possible in the the *bā* construction in terms of verbal modification.

1. Verbal modification

- (i) V + perfective marker *-le* 了
- (ii) V + experiential perfect aspect marker *-guo* 過
- (iii) V + continuous marker *-zhe* 著
- (iv) V + (Numeral) + verbal classifier
- (v) Resultative and directional verb compounds
- (vi) [V + *de* 得 + X] resultative and extent complements

Corpora examples for each type are provided to clearly illustrate the ways in which this semantic feature may be realised in the case of the basic *bā* construction in Chinese.

(a) V + perfective aspect marker *-le* 了

The most commonly occurring aspect marking for the *bā* construction in the Sinica corpus is with the aspect marker *-le*, found either in postverbal or in clause-final position. In fact, in the most morphologically simple *bā* sentences of this category in declarative utterances, where the verb is monosyllabic as in [7i] with *chī* ‘eat’, the verb must at least be accompanied by the aspect marker *-le* to denote that the event has taken place. Otherwise, sentences such as [7ii] are non-felicitous in the sense that they cannot normally be used alone as an independent utterance (see also Chapter 5 on the aspectual system):

(NP_{SUBJECT}) – [OBJECT MARKER [*bǎ* 把] + NP_{DIRECT OBJECT}] – VP_{TRANSITIVE / COMPLETIVE}

- [7] Aspectually modified verb Unmodified verb
 (i) 她把飯吃了。 (ii) *她把飯吃。
 ‘She ate the food.’

Similarly, the predicates in [8], and in [9] below are both modified by the perfective aspect marker *-le* 了 which codes that the event has been realized. Apart from *-le*, other completive types of aspect markers are rarer in the database, including the experiential perfect *-guo* 過 (for which see §15.1.3(b)).

- [8] 當然是我們下江幫把最高級的理髮店包了。
 ‘Of course, it was our Xia Jiang gang who took over the classiest hairdressing salon.’ (ZS 340)
- [9] 跑上山去把和尚趕走，並放火把庵堂燒了。
 ‘(They) ran up the mountain and chased away the monks, then set fire to the temple and burned it down.’ (Sinica 100656)

In the form for the imperative mood, which gives an instruction to the addressee to do something, and so functions like an order or a command, the bare verb with zero marking is, on the contrary, possible in the *bǎ* construction. The imperative form is typically directed towards the addressee (*nǐ* 你 ‘you’). Not requiring any overt subject, it otherwise has no special morphological markers (see Chapter 14.4.2. on the imperative mood).

- [10] Imperative form of the *bǎ* construction:
 (NP_{SUBJECT}) – [*bǎ* 把+ NP_{DIRECT OBJECT}] – VP_{TRANSITIVE}
 來！把嘴巴張開。
 ‘Do it! Open your mouth wide.’ (Context: At the dentist’s) (Sinica 106238)

The same applies in the case of *bǎ* constructions embedded under a modal verb, such as *kě(yǐ)* 可(以) ‘may’, *néng(gōu)* 能(夠) ‘can’ and *huì* 會 ‘will, be likely’, all of which take the *bǎ* predicate and its main verb in their scope. Modal verbs express the IRREALIS and the potentiality or likelihood of an event to take place. Therefore, they are not usually compatible with perfective or other kinds of completive aspect marking (see also §15.1.5.). Example [11] uses *huì* 會 ‘will’ and zero marking for aspect:

- [11] ... 一定能把事情說明白。
'(he) can certainly explain the matter.' (Sinica 101485)

Finally, clause-chaining acts as a further way of coding completeness in that the event depicted in the first clause in series is understood to be finished before the event in the second clause takes place. Under these circumstances, the requirement for perfective aspect marking is waived when the *bā* construction is used in the flow of discourse as a non-final clause in a complex sentence (or clause chain): Example [10] above continues as below. The events in sequence lead to the interpretation of one event being completed, before the next succeeding event can take place, as illustrated by the first clause which contains a *bā* construction without any perfective aspect marking:

- [12] 阿明聽話地 把嘴巴 張開。牙醫拿一些工具把阿明的蛀牙拔掉，然後拿給阿明看：“你看！……”
'Ah Ming obediently opened his mouth. The dentist extracted his rotten tooth with some instruments, then showed it to Ah Ming: “Just look!” (Sinica 106238)

(b) V + experiential perfect aspect marker –*guo* 過

Despite the fact that the experiential perfect aspect marker *-guo* 過 is largely used with past contexts – and thus events that have been realized, only a relatively small number of examples of the *bā* construction are to be found in the corpora in which the main verb is modified by *-guo* 過. Here is one of them:

- [13] 林宅的傭人幾天前已經 把 林宅上下打掃過一 遍，……
'The servants at the Lin residence already cleaned the house from top to bottom several days ago...' (Gigaword 0170)

(c) V + continuous aspect marker –*zhe* 著

The use of the continuous marker in the *bā* construction is quite limited for the semantic reason that it codes an ongoing situation, typically stative (see Chapter 5 on aspect). There were only a small number of examples in the database, as most co-occurrences of *bā* with *-zhe* in the same utterance or written sentence, proved to have *-zhe* incorporated into a preverbal manner phrase, as in [14]:

- [14] 臨上橋前，母親又把裝著金銀珠寶的鎖麟囊交到女兒手裡，
‘Just before reaching the bridge, the mother handed the
purse of gold and silver jewellery embroidered with a *kirin* (a
mythical creature) to her daughter once more,’
(Sinica 101484)

The few examples of the *bā* construction where the main verb is modified by *-zhe* proved to be mainly *position* and *take* verbs, including *fàng* 放 ‘place’, *ná* 拿 ‘hold’, and 帶 *dài* ‘carry’, coding the advent of a new location.

- [15] 把重要物品貼身帶着，……
‘Keep your important belongings close to you.’
(Sinica 105030)

(d) V + numeral + verbal classifier

There are numerous examples in the Sinica and Gigaword corpora where the main verb of a *bā* construction is modified by a following verbal classifier phrase composed of typically the numeral *yī* — followed by one of a special set of classifiers. Together they are used to express iterativity, that is, the number of times an event or action has taken place. As such, its role in indicating frequency necessarily implicates the realization of the event, since, logically, we understand it has taken place for the indicated number of times. Common verbal classifiers are *dùn* 頓, *xià* 下, *biàn* 遍, *huí* 回, *fān* 番, *tiào* 跳 which express the meaning ‘to carry out an action at least once’ in combination with the predicate. Their use is often semantically restricted to particular (sets of) verbs, for example, *dùn* 頓 collocates par excellence with *chī yīdùn* 吃一頓 ‘eat one meal’ but also with beatings *dǎ yīdùn* 打一頓 and rebukes *mà yīdùn* 罵一頓 (see Chapter 7). Three examples follow, selected from the corpora.

- [16] 教練把他罵了一頓後，要強行把他趕回去。
‘After giving him a rebuking, the coach tried to force him
return (home).’ (Gigaword 0172)
- [17] 於是把公主安慰了一番……
‘Thereupon (they) consoled the princess …’ (Sinica 101486)
- [18] 紀曉嵐這一問，倒把皇帝嚇了一跳。
‘As soon as Ji Xiaolan asked this, it gave the emperor a
fright.’ (Sinica 101485)

(e) Resultative and directional verb compounds

First of all, we need to define these two types of verb compounds which occur with high frequency in the *bā* construction, their compatibility being due to the clear change of state semantics they entail. These constructions are a special feature of Chinese and are known as, respectively, resultative verb compounds (or RVCs) and directional verb compounds (or DVCs). They have the following structure:

RVC: $V_1[\text{Action/Event}] - V_2[\text{State/Phase marker}]$

DVC: $V_1[\text{Action/Event}] - (V_2[\text{Spatial orientation}]) - (V_3[\text{來 'come' / 去 'go'}])$

RVCs are productively formed by two verb constituents $V_1 V_2$ where V_1 is an action or event verb and V_2 is typically filled by stative verbs, including adjectives, that code the state which results after V_1 has occurred. Some examples are *nòng-suì* 弄碎 ‘break into pieces’, *kàn-dǒng* 看懂 ‘read (and understand), *chuān-pò* 穿破 ‘wear out’, ‘perforate’ and – if we include phase markers such as *wán* 完 ‘finish’, *hǎo* 好 ‘well, proper’ and *diào* 掉 ‘away’ that depict the degree to which an action or event has been achieved – also examples such as *chī-wán* 吃完 ‘finish eating’, *shuō-hǎo* 說好 ‘agree’ and *diū-diào* 丟掉 ‘lose’, ‘throw away’. The latter retain their lexical content to a higher degree than pure aspect markers such as *-le* 了 and *-guo* 过, discussed above in §15.1.3.(a) and §15.1.3.(b). The next example contains two resultative compound verbs, *nuó-dòng* 挪動 ‘shift-move’ and *jīng-xǐng* 驚醒 ‘awaken someone by making a noise’

- [19] 聽他打鼾，動也沒敢動，就怕把茶桌挪動了，把他驚醒，
 ‘Hearing him snore, (I) just didn’t dare to move, afraid that if I moved the coffee table, I would awaken him with the noise.’ (Sinica 103512)

In contrast, the following example of a *bā* sentence contains a resultative verb compound with the phase marker *diào* 掉 ‘away’.

- [20] 就是因為我們太會玩遊戲，結果把時間玩掉了，事業玩掉了
 ‘It’s all because we’ve indulged ourselves too much in playing games, so that we’ve ended up wasting our time and destroying our careers.’ (Sinica 100732)

Regarding their nature, there are three reasons for considering resultative verb compounds as a case of one lexical word: (1) aspectual marking takes the whole compound in its scope and may not be marked

on both verb constituents: *xiě-hǎo le* 寫好了 write-well PFV ‘to have finished writing now’ and not **xiě-le-hǎo le* *寫了好了, (2) the meaning of the compound is typically compositional rather than lexical or idiomatic and (3) if tone sandhi rules apply, they apply to the whole compound treated as a unit.

A second major type of verb complex involves directional verb compounds or DVCs. Unlike the RVCs, they can be composed of up to three verb constituents V_1 (V_2 (V_3)) where V_1 is frequently a motion verb in the concrete use of these DVCs (but can also be an action or event verb in more abstract uses). V_2 is typically a verb of direction that indicates spatial orientation including trajectories such as *shàng* 上 ‘(go) up’, *xià* 下 ‘(go) down’, *guò* 過 ‘(cross) over’, *huí* 回 ‘return’, *dào* 到 ‘arrive’, ‘to’, *chū* 出 ‘exit’, ‘out’, *jìn* 進 ‘enter’, ‘in’ which code the direction of motion for V_1 . V_3 is restricted to *lái* 來 ‘come’ or *qù* 去 ‘go’ but in this use indicates motion towards or away from the speaker (or some other reference point). These three groups of verbs can combine as $V_1 + V_2$, or $V_2 + V_3$ or $V_1 + V_3$ but equally with all three elements: $V_1 + V_2 + V_3$. Some examples are:

[21]	$V_1 + V_2$	<i>náxià</i>	拿下	‘take down’
	$V_2 + V_3$	<i>guòlái</i>	過來	‘come over (here)’
	$V_1 + V_3$	<i>fēiqù</i>	飛去	‘go flying (away)’
	$V_1 + V_2 + V_3$	<i>diàoxiàlái</i>	掉下來	‘fall down (towards speaker)
		<i>páshàngqù</i>	爬上去	‘climb up (away from speaker)

DVCs similarly combine very freely with the *bǎ* construction since they neatly code a displacement, specifically, a change of location or position for the *bǎ* NP:

- [22] 往後天黑下去前就把苦根送回去。
 ‘After that, before it got dark, (I) would take Kugen home.’
 (literally: accompany-return-go) (ZS 273)

When all three elements co-occur, unlike the RVCs, V_1 may be separated from both V_2 and V_3 by the perfective aspect marker *le*, as in example [23]:

- [24] 魏武子過世不久，魏顆就把父親的愛妾嫁了出去，
 ‘Not long after Wei Wuzi passed away, Wei Ke married off his father’s favourite concubine.’ (Sinica 102017)

Some other examples of V_1 了 V_2 V_3 from the database are *lā-le shàngqù* 拉了上去 ‘dragged up (away from speaker)’ and *lā-le guòlái* 拉了過來 ‘dragged over (towards the speaker)’. For this reason, polysyllabic DVCs

do not constitute one lexical word. RVCs and DVCs can both co-occur harmoniously with the *bèi* passive too, discussed in §15.4.4. and are overall well-adapted for verb-final structures in Chinese.

(f) [V+ *de* 得 + X] resultative and extent complements

Postverbal complements of result or extent which mean ‘Verb so that X’ or ‘Verb to the extent that the object noun is X’ are another common strategy for fulfilling the requirement to code a new state of affairs. These use the syntactic pattern *Verb – 得 – X* to express a result state, if not the extent or degree to which an event or action is realized. The constituent ‘X’ may be (i) an intensifier such as 很 *hěn* ‘very’ or 要死 *yàosǐ* (literally: want-die) ‘extremely’, (ii) an adjectival phrase as in examples [25] and [26] below, or even (iii) a clause, as in [27] and [28].

[25] Adjectival phrase as resultative complement
這短短的一句話，已把禪的本質敘說得 很 明確。
‘This very succinct sentence could explain the nature of Zen unequivocally on its own.’ (Sinica 100869).

[26] Adjectival phrase as resultative complement
《詩經》有許多地方把感情描寫得 相當 泛濫
‘There are many places in the *Book of Odes* where feelings are described in a rather exaggerated way.’ (Sinica 100623)

The next example, [27] illustrates the extent to which the affected person, Jiazhen, is tired and similarly for [28] which describes the desired result state of a delicious meal as the result of cooking the ‘food’, designated by the *bǎ* NP:

[27] Clause as extent complement
田里的活已經把家真累得說話都沒力氣了。
‘Working in the fields had already made Jiazhen so tired that she had no strength to talk.’ (活着1994: 126)

[28] Clause as extent complement
把菜燒得味道鮮美，
‘the food was so well-cooked that it tasted delicious,’
(Sinica 101481)

Section 15.1.3. has discussed the *bǎ* construction from the point of view of verbal modification of its predicate, including the use of complex verbs. In the next section, §15.1.4, we consider various structural types of the *bǎ* construction with different kinds of postverbal nouns.

15.1.4. Structural types with S-*bǎ*-O-V-NP

The six strategies described above show different ways in which a complex predicate can code the realization of an event and its associated semantic feature of a change of state. This was mainly for the type of *bǎ* construction with only two main argument NPs – the subject/agent and the direct object. In this section, we specifically examine the following structural types of the *bǎ* construction with third postverbal NP which can be filled by a range of different semantic categories of nouns:

Postverbal nouns

- (i) V + retained object
- (ii) V + locative PP
- (iii) $V_{\text{ditransitive}}$ + (*gei* 給) + indirect object
- (iv) Copular-style equative verbs + complement noun

The structural feature whereby the direct object precedes the main verb in the *bǎ* construction (S-*bǎ*-O-V) means that the canonical postverbal slot (SVO), which it might have occupied, is, as a consequence, made available for other uses. This gives free rein to the placement of different kinds of postverbal nouns which fulfil a range of roles, including locative NPs, ‘retained object’ nouns, complement nouns of both copular-style equative verbs and verbs of ‘fabrication’, not to mention the indirect objects of ditransitive verbs. We next treat each of these categories in turn.

(a) Verb + ‘retained object’ noun

The *bǎ* construction with a retained object expresses a part-whole relationship between the *bǎ* NP, representing the ‘whole’ and the postverbal noun, the ‘part’. This is known in Chinese linguistics as the ‘retained object’ *bǎoliú bīnyǔ* 保留宾语. This part-whole relationship typically refers to a part of the body and the person (or animate being) to whom it belongs, as in [29], if not a component part of an inanimate object, as in [30]. Less frequently the retained object may refer to a kin term.

- [29] 两人就动手忙起来, 把鱼刮了鳞。
‘The two of them then got busily to work, scaling the fish.’[literally: ‘took the fish and scraped its scales off’]
(Gui 1984: 143)
- [30] 老老實實地承認自己太粗心了, 把太字少寫了一點。
‘He candidly recognized that he was too careless, and had written the character *tài* ‘太’ with one ‘dot’ stroke less.’
(Sinica 10148)

(b) Verb + locative PP

As discussed above in §15.1.1.(a), in the case of S-V-O word order, it is not usually possible for both a direct object and a locative prepositional phrase (PP) to co-occur postverbally in sequence (see discussion for example [4] above). By way of contrast, the *bā* construction with its preverbal slot for the direct object noun is able to freely allow co-occurrence with a postverbal locative noun, without requiring verb copying (Chapter 4). Furthermore, this locative PP typically expresses the final destination of the *bā* object NP and thus codes its displacement to a new position or location. This is the case for ‘head’ in example [31] which comes to rest on someone’s shoulder blades and for ‘child’ in [32] faced with the prospect of being placed in an orphanage:

[31] 起先，她是斜著身子，把頭倚在我的肩胛上。
‘First of all, she leaned over, and rested her head
on my shoulder blades.’ (Sinica 107399)

[32] 他不是真的希望把小孩關在孤兒院裡；
‘He didn’t really want to lock up his child in an
orphanage.’ (Sinica 202264)

Although these examples do not contain any kind of completive aspect marking, the postverbal locative PP fulfils this crucial semantic role of expressing the realization of the event by virtue of it involving the endpoint of a displacement.

(c) Ditransitive verb + indirect object noun

The *bā* construction is similarly very well-adapted to ditransitive verbs which take three arguments and essentially express transferral as their core meaning: the three arguments are (1) the subject/agent who performs the transferral, (2) the object to be transferred (coded by the *bā* NP) and (3) the person who receives this object – the indirect object or recipient found in postverbal position. If the main verb is not one of a small number of verbs that belong to the semantic domain of giving, including the generic verb *gěi* 給 ‘give’ itself, then it can be directly followed by this same verb 給 ‘give’ which acts almost like a suffix indicating the direction of the transferral. The first example given below is of the ditransitive verb *gěi* ‘give’ used alone in the *bā* construction, while the two which follow contain V-*gěi* combinations:

- [38] ... 把公司 當成是自己的，
 ‘(they) treated the company as if it was their own.’
 (Sinica 100741)

In the preceding sections, we have surveyed some of the main predicate types that can be found in the *bǎ* construction and have discussed them from the point of view of verbal modification and postverbal nouns. In the following sections, we survey the use of this construction when negated as well as in non-declarative moods.

15.1.5. Negation, modal verbs and potential verb compounds

The fact that markers of negation, modal verbs and potential verb compounds are all excluded from within the predicate of *bǎ* sentences similarly conforms neatly with the semantic feature requiring the realization of the event and the need for some kind of perfectivizing or completive expression in the predicate. This is an interesting feature of object marking constructions, for, in general, negation markers immediately precede the verb they modify in Chinese languages, as do adverbs, the category to which they belong. However, it turns out that modal verbs and negative adverbs need to have the *bǎ* predicate in their scope by occurring in a syntactic slot directly preceding the marker *bǎ*.

The fact that negative adverbs, including *bù* 不 and *méi (yǒu)* 沒有 in Chinese, and modal verbs expressing ability such as *néng* 能 ‘can’, *yào* 要 ‘want, ‘will’, *kěyǐ* ‘may’ and *huì* 會 ‘be likely to’ can only be placed **before** the *bǎ* NP is shown first for the existential negative *méi (yǒu)* 沒有 ‘not (have)’ in [39]. The negative adverb, *méi (yǒu)* ‘not (have)’, is used to negate the presupposition of an event having ever taken place:

(NP_{SUBJECT}) – **NEGATIVE ADVERB** – [OBJECT MARKER [*bǎ* 把] + NP_{DIRECT OBJECT}] – VP

- [39] Negation of the basic transitive *bǎ* construction in Mandarin:
 (i) 小王沒有把飯吃完。
 ‘Xiang Wang hasn’t finished eating his meal.’
 (ii) *小王把飯沒有吃完。

An example from the database is next presented which serendipitously provides consecutive affirmative and negative forms of the same *bǎ* predicate:

- [40] 所以你把 他 當 好朋友，但是他 沒有把你 當 好朋友了。
 ‘So you treat him as a close friend, but he doesn’t treat you as a close friend anymore.’ (Sinica 106193)

Other negative adverbs used with the *bā* construction are the general negative *bù* 不 and the negative imperative *bié* 別 ‘don’t’. The general negative *bù* 不 is used to negate events located in either present, future or hypothetical time contexts.

- [41] 為什麼不把居住的環境改善得更好？
‘Why don’t they improve the residential environment even more? (Sinica 105758)

The imperative is a speech mode used to give an order to another person or persons, usually the addressee. The next example, in the affirmative imperative form of the *bā* construction, instructs the reader on how to prepare oneself to instill eyedrops:

- [42] 先把手洗乾淨。
‘First wash your hands (clean).’ (Sinica 105831)

The negative imperative marker is *bié* 別 ‘don’t’ and can either be used to order someone not to carry out a specific action, or else can be used to give an admonition or warning to the addressee, as in the case of the next example:

- [43] 我媽老說：“別把身體搞壞了，”
‘My mother always said: “Don’t ruin your health, ” (ZS 11)

(For more information on negation in Chinese, see Chapter 6, and for imperative constructions, see Chapter 14).

Modal verbs express ability, capacity, obligation and possibility among other meanings, none of which evidently make reference to the fact of a real event having taken place. For this reason, they too precede the marker *bā* and take the whole predicate in their scope. Following are two examples of the *bā* construction with the modal verbs *yào* 要 ‘want, ‘will’ and 可以 *kěyǐ* ‘may’:

- [44] 近期他要**把**家裡好好整理一下，
‘In the near future, he’ll tidy up his house properly, ...’
(Gigaword 0349)
- [45] 他們**可以**把系統內其他頻道都關掉
‘They can turn off all the other channels within the system.’
(Sinica 105685)

The next example contains both a negative adverb *bù* 不 and the modal verb *yào* 要 ‘want’ to express an admonition:

- [46] 你們 不要 把 國內 大躍進 想得 那麼 好 ，
 ‘You shouldn’t think about the Great Leap Forward so positively.’ (Sinica 101220)

Finally, an example is presented where the *bǎ* construction with modal verb *néng* 能 ‘can’ is embedded in a question form:

- [47] 那麼 文字 是否 能 把 語言 表現 得 完全 準確 呢 ?
 ‘So can writing represent language completely accurately?’
 (Sinica 101482)

In §15.1.3(e), we saw that resultative and directional verb complexes are highly adapted to use in the *bǎ* construction. Both these structures also form what are called ‘potential verb compounds’ by means of an infix *de* 得 in its affirmative form: V_1 得 V_2 or by means of the infix *bu* 不 in the negative form: V_1 不 V_2 . These two variants of the potential verb compound allow for the interpretation of ‘able to V_1 so that V_2 ’ or alternatively, ‘unable to V_1 so that V_2 ’. Two examples, one of each kind are *chī-guàn* 吃慣 literally: ‘accustomed to eating (a certain kind of cuisine)’ and *ná-dòng* 拿動 ‘carry’:

[48] Potential verb compounds: affirmative and negative forms	
V_1 得 V_2	V_1 不 V_2
<i>chī-de-guàn</i> 吃得慣 ‘able to get used to the food’	<i>chī-bu-guàn</i> 吃不慣 ‘unable to get used to the food’
<i>ná-de-dòng</i> 拿得動 ‘able to carry’	<i>ná-bu-dòng</i> 拿不動 ‘unable to carry’
<i>yóu-de-guòqù</i> 游得過去 ‘able to swim across’	<i>yóu-bu-guòqù</i> 游不過去 ‘unable to swim across’

This type of compound belongs to the domain of modality in expressing the ability to do something. Hence, it cannot occur in the predicate of the *bǎ* construction which, we have seen, must be always completive, coding the realization of a new event or situation. To summarize, modal verbs and negative adverbs occur in syntactic slots preceding the marker *bǎ* and, consequently, have scope over the *bǎ* predicate. (See also Chapter 4 for more on potential verb compounds).

15.1.6. Other construction types

In this final section on the *bā* construction, we examine several variations on its basic syntactic structure and constraints, as well as the issue of morphological markers of object-marking constructions other than *bā*.

(a) Intransitive *bā* constructions: *bā*-S-V

Apart from the transitive form, there is another type of *bā* construction where the nominal following the marker *bā* is the intransitive subject of the main verb. That is, there is only one argument in the clause instead of two. Thus, it has the basic syntactic form of *bā*-S-V. A feature shared with the transitive *bā* construction is that the *bā* NP ultimately has a patient role. Furthermore, the overall meaning is causative. Several intransitive verb classes are possible in it, the only proviso on their use being an associated result state which directly affects the *bā* NP, the patient. Note that the causing event may be coded as an abstract NP, or else it may be an entire clause preceding the *bā* NP, or simply zero-marked and understood from the preceding context.

The class of permitted intransitive verbs in question is known as UNACCUSATIVE. By definition, intransitive verbs are only associated with one main noun, called the ‘argument’, which can correspond to either the semantic role of agent or patient. UNERGATIVE verbs are those intransitive verbs whose single argument is the agent. These include *pǎo* 跑 ‘run’, *zǒu* 走 ‘walk’ and *kū* 哭 ‘cry (volitionally)’. In contrast to this, unaccusative verbs are intransitive verbs whose single argument is the semantic patient, such as the subject nouns associated with *shuāi* 摔 ‘fall over’, *è* 饿 ‘be hungry’ and *sǐ* 死 ‘die’. As unergative verbs occur in the *bā* construction in only a very limited fashion, we will limit our discussion to unaccusative verbs.

The causative type of *bā* construction co-occurs with the intransitive verb class of unaccusatives, such as *è* 饿 ‘be hungry’, *dòng* 凍 ‘freeze’ and *xià* 嚇 ‘frighten’ and typically involves a situation or event that is not under anyone’s control (e.g., lack of access to food; cold weather), or if an external human agent is involved, the event is unintentionally caused (e.g., a fright) .

Causative *bā* construction with unaccusative verbs:

(NP/CLAUSE_{CAUSE}) – [OBJECT MARKER + NP_{SUBJECT/PATIENT}] – VP_{UNACCUSATIVE}

[49] 把我饿得半死。

‘It made me almost die of hunger.’

[50] 可把我老婆冻坏了。

‘(Just one overnight stay), it got my wife frozen to the teeth.’
(ZS 359)

- [51] 唉，可把我嚇壞了。
 ‘Oh, how it gave me the fright of my life.’
 (ZS 496)

To conclude, certain causative subtypes of the *bā* construction allow an extension to semantically intransitive verbs of the unaccusative type. In these non-canonical subtypes, the *bā* NP remains the semantic patient even though it is, syntactically speaking, the subject of the intransitive verb.

(b) The *bā* construction with *gei* 給 + Verb

For both the *bā* and the *bèi* constructions (see §15.2), the main verb may be preceded by a prefix-like *gei* 給 (< ‘give’) which signals the presence of a direct object and patient involved in the event. For this reason, some linguists have called this use of *gei* 給 a ‘passive prefix’ since it serves to highlight the presence of a semantic patient and the event that it undergoes.

NP_{SUBJECT} – [OBJECT MARKER [*bā* 把] + NP_{DO}] – [*gei* 給 + V]

- [52] 一把火就把阿房宮給廢了，
 ‘It just took a fire to burn down the palace of E Pang.’
 (Sinica 103439)

(c) Markers of the direct object other than *bā*

In different styles and genres of Chinese, a variety of other markers of the direct object can be found which, though less frequent than *bā*, certainly deserve a brief description here. These are *jiāng* 將, *gěi* 給, *ná* 拿, and *guǎn* 管 which exhibit the same structure as for the basic *bā* construction. The marker *jiāng* 將 belongs to the written language and can be traced back to Medieval Chinese, when its use flourished. Nonetheless, it is still used today, though generally in more formal styles of speech and writing.

- [53] 有時我熬一個通宵寫好一個短篇，將原稿放在書桌上，……
 ‘Sometimes I would stay up all night to write a short story and then place the manuscript on the desk.’ (ZS 604)

In contrast to the more ‘bookish’ *jiāng* 將, in the vernacular Beijing dialect, the object marking construction with *gěi* 給 < ‘to give’ is the preferred form, and so stands in contrast to standard Chinese.

- [54] 我攥住豹尾，給它撂到三丈開外的崖下去了
'I grabbed hold of the leopard's tail and threw it down
thirty feet away on the cliff.' (ZS 545)

The verb *ná* 拿 'to hold' can also be used as an object marker. This is a common marker of direct objects in many dialects of central and southern China.

- [55] 我改給字模廠寫字。他們拿我的字當母字，作字模子。
'I changed (jobs) to writing Chinese characters for a matrix
factory. They used my characters as a matrix, as the
models.' (ZS 74)

Finally, in a special naming construction, we find the use of *guǎn* 管 X *jiào* 叫 Y as a fixed construction type, literally 'to take X and call it Y':

- [56] 所以村裏的人那管兩隻小雞子叫“革命雞”。
'So the village people called the two little chickens
'revolutionary chickens'.' (ZS 84)

15.2. The passive constructions in Chinese

15.2.1. Introduction

In this second part, we treat passive constructions in Chinese that employ one of the markers *bèi* 被, *ràng* 讓 or *jiào* 叫, or else use the lexical verbs *ái* 挨 'to suffer' and *zāo(shòu)* 遭受, also 'to suffer'. More rarely in the corpora data, we find the use of the verb *gěi* 给, a marker which is not however uncommon as a passive marker in Chinese dialects. The main part of the description will refer to the passive constructions formed with *bèi* 被 which has its origins in a verb meaning 'to cover'.

15.2.2. The passive

Passive constructions in many languages of the world are used to 'promote' the direct object into subject position and thereby focus on what has happened to it, as is the case in English. In example [57], the noun phrase *linguistic corpora* is the subject of the sentence and the direct object of the main verb *consult* at the same time.

Agentful passive:

- [57] *Linguistic corpora are consulted nowadays by more and more researchers.*

Agentless passive:

- [58] *The roses were left on the bench.*

The agent noun is correspondingly ‘demoted’ into a less conspicuous position, frequently into an oblique phrase, as, for example, into a *by-PP* in English – *by many researchers* in example [57] above) – or is simply deleted, as example [58] indicates.

Given that the subject of the passive typically has the role of the direct object or semantic patient of the verb, the verb necessarily has to be active, or eventive, and belongs, in the majority of cases, to the transitive class. The agentful and agentless passive variants are also known as ‘long’ and ‘short’ passives, respectively, in many contemporary studies.

15.2.3. Syntactic form of the passive

In Chinese, the most common passive construction found in corpora is formed with *bèi* 被 and its structure tends to be agentless. *Bèi* 被 is the morphological marker that introduces the agent noun and, as mentioned earlier, is derived from a Archaic Chinese verb meaning ‘to cover’ or ‘to put on the body’. However, it can no longer be used as a verb and, apart from its grammatical function as a marker of the passive, it is only found in a few disyllabic nouns to do with bedclothes, such as *bèizi* 被子 ‘quilt’ and *bèirù* 被褥 ‘bedding’.

In contrast to this, the more colloquial variants with *ràng* 讓 or *jiào* 叫 almost exceptionlessly co-occur with an agent NP, and moreover, are still have a separate use as verbs. In colloquial passives, the agent noun phrase is thus directly introduced by one of these three passive markers. All three types of passive have the structure:

NP_{Subject/Patient} – Passive Marker – NP_{Agent} – VP_{Transitive}
被 / 讓 / 叫

(a) Agentful *bèi* passive:

The syntactic form of the agentful variant of the passive has two arguments which represent the direct object and the agent in that order, hence we call it ‘agentful’. The direct object of the verb occurs in clause-initial position as the subject while the agent is introduced by one of the passive markers. In the following examples, ‘that cat’ 那隻貓 and ‘our mother’ 我媽 are respectively the agents.

- [59] 那群老鼠仍然被那隻貓追得死去活來呢！
‘The mice were nonetheless chased to the point of exhaustion by that cat.’ (Sinica 204364)

- [60] 你別急，大姐已經被我媽勸回去了。
'Don't get upset. Elder sister has already been persuaded to go back by our mother.' (Sinica 101492)

Note that it is frequent in passages of discourse for the subject NP to be omitted, since it is known from the preceding context. Its position is indicated by (___) in the next example:

- [61] 當地人就傳說 (___) 是被獅子吃掉了。(Sinica 2821)
'The locals spread the tale that (the villagers collecting firewood) had been eaten by lions.'

(b) Agentless *bèi* passive

Only the *bèi* 被 passive construction has a truly productive agentless variant in addition to its basic agentful form. That the agentless variant is the more frequent of the two types is statistically confirmed in the corpus data. It has the syntactic form:

NP_{Subject/Patient} – Passive Marker – VP_{Transitive}

- [62] 那個鬼就被趕出來了。
'The ghost was chased out.' (Sinica 22615)
- [63] 或者腳被踩了一下。
'Or else (you) had your foot trodden on.' (Sinica 2142)

In the flow of discourse, the subject of the agentless passive may not necessarily occur in the slot directly preceding the passive marker, as in the next example:

- [64] 娼妓一但進入性工作, (___) 便被貼上了罪惡的標籤，
'As soon as a prostitute starts the business (of sex work), she's given the label of a sinner, ...' (Sinica 20296)

The *bèi* passive will be used as the basis for the discussion of Chinese passives in the following sections.

15.2.4. Compatible verb classes

The range of verb classes which are compatible in the *bèi* passive is wider than those found in the transitive *bā* construction. Apart from a high proportion of transitive action verbs, not only do many verbs of cognition and perception co-occur with the *bèi* passive but also experiencer verbs. These include *zhīdao* 知道 'know', *kànjiàn* 看見 'see', *zhémó* 折磨 'torment',

hèn 恨 ‘hate’, *xǐhuan* 喜歡 ‘like’, *xià* 嚇 ‘frighten’ and *ài-shang* 爱上 ‘fall in love’.

- [65] “你怎麼了？”丁皓 被 她 嚇 了 一 跳 。
- “‘What’s the matter?’ Ding Hao has been startled by her.’
(Sinica 204598)

Certain cognition or emotion verbs are possible in the *bèi* passive when they can be interpreted as a punctual event, as opposed to a purely stative situation. Following is an example with stative *zhīdao* 知道 ‘know’ which takes on the intentional meaning of ‘find out’ in the passive and regularly depicts an adversative outcome for the subject NP (see §15.2.10):

- [66] 而 長 髮 姑 娘 也 答 應 了 。 可 惜 ， 這 一 切 都 被 巫 婆 知 道 了 。
- ‘The long-haired girl agreed too. Unfortunately, all of this was found out by the witch.’ (Sinica 2730)

Similarly, stative 看見 ‘see, watch’ is interpreted as ‘catch sight of (to somebody’s detriment)’ in the *bèi* passive. In contrast to *zhīdao* 知道 ‘know’ and *kànjiàn* 看見 ‘see’, other transitive experiencer verbs such as *xǐhuan* 喜欢 ‘like’, although not common, can nonetheless be also found in the corpora. They have a purely stative interpretation:

- [67] 那 什 麼 性 質 是 被 人 喜 歡 的 ？
- ‘So what characteristics are liked by others?’
(Sinica 106193)

Adjectives which can be used predicatively as stative verbs cannot normally form part of the predicate of the passive, for example, *móhu* 模糊 ‘blurred’ does not form a felicitous example:

- [68] (i) 眼 睛 被 激 動 的 淚 水 弄 模 糊 了 。
- ‘(Her) eyes became blurred through tears of excitement.’
- (ii) *眼 睛 被 激 動 的 淚 水 模 糊 了 。

Sentence [68ii] is only acceptable when the stative verb/adjective *móhu* 模糊 is combined with an explicit action verb to form the resultative verb compound 弄模糊 *nòng-móhu* ‘make blurred’. Nonetheless, it is possible for intransitive verbs to occur in the predicate of the *bèi* passive, the conditions for which are described in the next section, §15.2.5(f).

Another, what is at first blush an apparently non-conforming type of *bèi* passive, involves the co-occurrence of intransitive verbs. This is

possible when they similarly form part of a resultative verb compound or are the head verb in a complement of result, as with *zǒu-jìn* 走盡 ‘walk-exhaust’ in the following example, which allows them to fulfil the completiveness requirement.

- [69] 在外國的，中國的一大堆玩意裡拼命尋找自己的獨特風格，路好像被人走盡了，
‘I tried really hard to find my own distinct style amongst lots of ideas from overseas and in China, but it seemed that the pathways had all been fully explored by others.’
(ZS 183) (context: struggles of a budding artist)

15.2.5. Predicate types in the passive

In declarative passive clauses in Chinese, there is a semantic requirement for the event to be coded as a completed one. Consequently, some kind of result state can usually also be inferred from the event coded by the passive. This feature is known under many names as ‘telicity’, ‘perfectivity’ or ‘boundedness’ in linguistics, a feature which the passives share with the *bā* construction (see §15.1.2.(c)). We will continue to refer to this feature simply as a ‘completiveness or the ‘realization of the event’ in order to broadly encompass all these viewpoints.

There are three main ways of coding the realization of a new event or state of affairs in the Chinese predicate. These are next briefly discussed in terms of their syntactic characteristics and examples are provided:

- (i) The main syntactic strategy is the use of one of the three completive types of aspectual suffix, typically the perfective aspect marker *-le* 了; or, less commonly, the experiential perfect aspect marker *-guo* 過, clause-final *le* 了 or clause-final *de* 的 which all signal completion of an event in addition to other special semantic nuances. An example with the perfective aspect marker *-le* 了 follows:

- [70] 連綠卡也被偷了。
‘Even his green card was stolen.’ (Sinica 105402)

Completive aspect markers often co-occur in the examples from the corpus in combination with resultative verb compounds (§15.2.5(d)), reinforcing the meaning of this construction.

- [71] 殘存的家庭溫暖都被破壞了，
‘The remnants of the family’s warmth have all been destroyed.’ (Sinica 535)

- (ii) The second strategy is to use an elaborate predicate with a verb complex including resultative verb compounds of the form: VERB₁[Action/Event] – VERB₂[State], as in [71] above with *pò-huài* 破壞 ‘destroy’, literally ‘break-ruined’, to iconically code the result state of an action or event, and thus neatly fulfil this semantic requirement of completiveness. In the related category of directional verb compounds, the second verb in the compound codes a result state in the form of direction of motion taken, as for *duàn-le shànglai* 端了上來 ‘brought in’ in [72] below (see also §15.2.5(d)).

[72] 以「年」為主題的各式菜餚被端了上來，
‘Different dishes which take the year as the theme have
been brought in,’ (Sinica 4241)

- (iii) Another common strategy is the use of V-得-X where the complementizer 得 introduces a result state (§15.1.3(f)).

[73] 墳場上玩的那些遊戲，早被他忘得乾乾淨淨了。
‘The games played in the cemetery were all completely
forgotten by him at an early stage.’ (Sinica 101485)

- (iv) The fourth strategy involves the presence of a postverbal complement noun in the form of a locative of destination, a retained object noun or a classificatory noun in the case of copular (or equative) verbs such as *chéngwéi* 成為 ‘become’ or *xuānwéi* 選為 ‘choose as’, exemplified in [74] (see also §15.2.8(d)).

[74] 表現主義與杜象就在這時候被選為這個浪潮的先導。
‘At this time, expressionism and Duchamp were chosen as
vanguard of this wave’ (Sinica 100544)

15.2.5.(a) Perfective aspect marker *-le* 了

Many researchers describe the minimum syntactic realisation for the predicate of the *bèi* passive in an independent clause as the verb and the perfective aspect marker *-le* 了. It is certainly the case that many examples in the corpora bear out this prediction in having predicates containing just one single verb and the perfective aspect marker *-le*.

[75] 七月看到簡訊上提到這個預算被立法院刪了，……
‘In July we saw the news in brief mentioned that the
budget was left out by the Legislative Yuan, ...’ (Sinica
100538)

[76] ?這個預算被立法院刪。

Comparing the *bèi* constructions in [75] and [76], many native speakers might find [76] syntactically incomplete, if presented to them without any context. In general, this constraint should be seen in a relativistic light as a model for syntactically well-formed *bèi* passives, since real data show that this minimal form is not always in evidence: other considerations such as past context or the factor of genre enable a completive interpretation without overt coding by any of the four main strategies just discussed. Consider the following example from the corpus:

- [77] 那时就感到国家弱，被人欺，光是遊行，燒東西不行，
'At that time, I felt that our country was weak and was being
humiliated by others. Just demonstrating and burning
things was not enough.' [ZS 24]

In this example, the past time context explicitly coded by the temporal phrase in clause-initial position, *nà shí* 那时 'at that time', enables the perfective interpretation. A cursory glance at corpus data reveals that lack of explicit completive marking is not at all that uncommon. Finally, it should be noted that this feature cannot be simply equated with past time or past tense verbal forms that are used in other languages.

15.2.5.(b) Experiential perfect aspect marker *-guo* 過

A second main aspect marker in Chinese, the experiential aspect marker *-guo* 過, may be used in the *bèi* passive in place of the perfective aspect marker *-le* with the meaning of the subject having experienced the passive event at least once in the past. *Guo*, like *-le*, also acts as a verbal affix:

- [78] 他便說：我一生從未 被 別人如此 侮辱 過
Then he said: "I've never in my life been humiliated by other people like
this before," (Sinica101998)

- [79] 毛壽先也 被 蛇 咬 過, ……
'Mao Shouxian was also bitten by a snake, ...' (Sinica
105487)

Not only is this aspect marker concerned with predicating something about the subject in terms of experiencing an event and thus suiting it to a construction where the subject is also the undergoer, but since experience pertains to the past, it also encodes as part of its meaning that the event has definitively taken place.

15.2.5.(c) Continuous aspect marker *-zhe* 着

In the two previous sections, it was shown that the predicate of the *bèi* passive generally codes completion of an event. Sometimes, however, we come across examples of the *bèi* passive which co-occur with imperfective aspect markers such as the continuous aspect marker *-zhe* 着. This type of aspect marker does not code the completion of the event but rather that a typically stative situation holds sway at the given reference point of time, without regard to any endpoint (This is explained in more detail in Chapter 5 on aspect).

Precisely for this reason, predicates marked by such aspects are not usually compatible with *bèi*. Semantically, they would appear to be diametrically opposed to the semantic feature of completion of a change of state or realization of an event. Notwithstanding this, there is a small proportion of examples in the Sinica corpus where *-zhe* co-occurs with *bèi*. Such *bèi* sentences regularly code the inception of a new state of affairs, and then its continuation, as in [80] and [81]:

- [80] 我們回去也沒有用，門被鎖著進不去啊！
 'It's useless to go back anyway, because the door has been locked and we can't get in.' (Sinica 1014905)
- [81] 調查時，大部分的寺廟都還被佔用著。
 'At the time of the investigation, most of the temples were still being forcibly occupied.' (Sinica 105468)

Hence, although the proportion of this type of example is low, one could suggest that the semantic restriction on completiveness for the *bèi* passive could be currently undergoing erosion, as the construction expands and generalizes for adaptation to newer and larger contexts.

15.2.5.(d) Verbal classifiers

A common type of postverbal constituent found in the *bèi* passive is the verbal classifier which is typically used in conjunction with a preceding numeral to form a verbal classifier phrase: *Numeral + Verbal classifier*. The following examples use respectively *bāzhǎng* 巴掌 'slap' and *jiāo* 跤 'heel' as verbal classifiers with action verbs to form the expressions 'give a slap' and 'trip over'.

- [82] 所有的民意調查像是被打了一巴掌，
 'All the opinion polls seemed to have been rebuffed,'
 (literally: 'given a slap') (Sinica 203055)

- [83] 不料因沒注意到門檻的高度，硬生生被絆了一跤，
‘Unexpectedly, as she didn’t take any notice of the height
of the threshold to the door, she got tripped up by it,’
(Sinica 2756)

Other verbal classifiers can be found in examples [63] (*yī xià* 一下 ‘once’) and [65] (*yī tiào* 一跳 ‘once’ < ‘one jump’) above. Postverbal quantity expressions, including verbal classifiers, are discussed in Chapter 4.4 and also treated in §15.1.3.(d) above with respect to the *bǎ* construction.

15.2.5.(e) Resultative and directional verb compounds

Resultative verb and directional verb compounds co-occurring with the *bèi* passive are highly frequent in the corpora. Thus undoubtedly reflects the fact that they form a predicate type common in many kinds of verb-final clause structures in Chinese, which is precisely the situation for the main type of *bǎ* construction as well (§15.1.3.(e)). Both types of verb complexes allow for the interpretation of completiveness. For resultative verb compounds (RVC), this entails a new result state for the subject arising from the event or action, as is the case for *pò-huài* 破壞 ‘destroy-ruined’ in [85]:

- [84] *bèi* passive with a RVC: $V_1[\text{Action/Event}] - V_2[\text{State/Phase marker}]$
長城 ...它的存在是非常偉大的。但它破舊了，被人以及大自然破壞了，
‘The Great Wall ...its existence has been extremely glorious.
But it’s dilapidated now, being ruined by both people and
nature.’ (ZS 226)

The next example demonstrates the use of a RVC *wèn-fán* 問煩 ‘question until annoyed’ where V_2 is a stative verb.

- [85] 大家都知道他是同志，被問煩了。
‘Everyone knew he was gay, so he was asked questions to
the point of annoyance.’ (Sinica 202879)

For the basic use of directional verb compounds (DVCs), this entails a new location for the subject noun, as the result of a motion event. In the first example with a DVC given below, [87], the billets-doux, or love letters, are all returned to their writer:

- [86] *bèi* passive with a DVC:
 $V_1[\text{Action/Event}] - (V_2[\text{Spatial orientation}]) - (V_3[\text{來 'come'}/\text{去 'go'}])$

他寫的情書都被退回來了！

‘The billets-doux he wrote were all sent back!’ (Sinica 108555)

In the second example, the main verb is a non-motion one – *zhěnduàn* 診斷 ‘diagnose’ – and consequently the directional complement combining with it, *chū* 出, acquires an abstract sense in this DVC of literally ‘diagnose-out’:

- [87] 四年前，我被醫生診斷出患了胃癌；
 ‘Four years ago, I was diagnosed with stomach cancer by the doctor,’ (Sinica 100486)

RVCs and DVCs are discussed in somewhat more detail in §15.1.3.(e) above. In this connection, it is also important to note that the potential form of both the resultative and directional verb compounds is generally not acceptable in passive clauses. As explained in an earlier section, the potential form of RVCs and DVCs makes use of an infix, the verb 得 ‘able’ in the affirmative form or the negative adverb 不 ‘unable’ in the negative form.

- [88] $V_1[\text{Action/Event}] - \text{得/不} - V_2[\text{State/Phase marker}]$
 找得到 ‘able to find’; 找不到 ‘unable to find’
- [89] $V_1[\text{Action/event}] - \text{得/不} - (V_2[\text{Spatial orientation}]) - (V_3[\text{來 'come'}/\text{去 'go'}])$
 坐得下去 ‘able to keep sitting down’; 坐不下去 ‘unable to keep sitting down’

Once again, since these potential forms involve the modality of ability, specifically, of being ‘able/unable to do something’, their meaning is in conflict with the overall meaning of the passive which entails that the event or situation has taken place or has been realized. Nonetheless, occasionally such forms do turn up in the predicate of *bèi* passive forms, for example, when the potential form is interpreted as a fixed expression, such as *kàn-bu-qǐ* 看不起 look-NEG-up ‘to despise’ in [91]:

- [90] 我們的家庭被人看不起，所以孩子的心態上有些自卑， (Sinica 105543)
 ‘Our family was despised by others, so the children always had low self-esteem.’

This special type of verb complex is discussed in §15.1.3.(e) as well.

15.2.5.(f) Complements of result and extent

As will be recalled from §15.1.3.(f), complements of result and extent use the syntactic pattern *Verb – 得 – X* where X may be an intensifier, an adjectival phrase or a clause. This kind of predicate is also possible in the *bèi* passive since it denotes a new situation. Two examples follow which co-occur with the clause-final discourse particles, *de* 的 and *le* 了, respectively, which express an assertion and a currently relevant state of affairs respectively (Chapter 17).

[91] 家裡的牆壁總是 被 她 畫得 滿滿的。 (Sinica 204412)
 ‘The walls at home were always painted all over by her.’

[92] 為什麼 要 替 我 做飯？ 少女 被 問得 臉紅了，
 ‘“Why do you want to cook for me?” The young girl went red in the face from the questioning, ...’ (Sinica 101483)

15.2.6. Negation

The predicate in the *bèi* passive is always in the affirmative form, that is, negation of the main verb in the predicate, following the marker *bèi* 被, is generally not permitted, a fact reflected in the corpus data. This conforms to the description of the predicate in the Chinese passive as being only able to express events that can be completed or realized. In order to negate the passive form, negative adverbs must have scope over this predicate and thereby precede both it and the marker *bèi*:

NP_[Subject/Patient] **Negative Adverb** *bèi* 被 NP_[Agent] VP

That is, they may not be placed *immediately* before the main verb in the verb phrase, as they would be in active constructions, because this would mean they would follow the marker *bèi*, and thus be in its scope:

*NP_[Subject/Patient] *bèi* 被 NP_[Agent] **Negative Adverb** VP.

The required sequence of constituents can be observed in the next example with the negative adverb *méi you* 沒有 directly preceding *bèi*:

[93] 因為 只有 青蛙族 沒有 被 拍攝 過， 他們 覺得 這 是 一 件 不 光彩 的 事。

‘Because it was only the Green Frog Clan who had not been filmed, they believed it was a shameful matter.’ (Sinica 3145)

The two main negative markers in Chinese are the deontic, agent-oriented *bù* 不 + *VP* '(will) not VP/ do not want to VP' and the event-oriented *méi(you)* 没(有) + *VP* 'have not VP'. They are often labelled respectively as a 'general negative' and an 'existential negative' in Chinese linguistics. When *méi(you)* is used to negate the passive, it has the identical semantic effect as in active constructions – it contradicts any assumption that the (passive) event ever took place (see Chapter 6). Compare [94] with *méi you* 没有 and [95] with *bù* 不:

- [94] 像我國中的時候從來沒有被人家欺負過，
'For example, when I was at high school, I was never
bullied by others.' (Sinica 106209)
- [95] 不被切割成兩截，也會身受重傷，
'Even if it's not cut into two, it could still be seriously
injured,' (Sinica 107124) (Context: a seal swimming near
the propellers of a boat)

The negative marker *bù* may also be used to negate the possibility of an event taking place in the future, if not in some hypothetical situation, that is, in its conditional use, as in [96].

- [96] 像我要是去找李行、胡金銓這些大導演拍，不被他們
踢出來才怪！
'If I go to look for Li Xing, Hu Jinqun – these big shot
directors, it'll be a surprise if I'm not kicked out by
them!' (Sinica 1385)

Bù is frequently found in attributive phrases and relative clauses which modify a head noun and is less frequent in the corpora than *méi(you)* as a negator of declarative sentences. The following example contains a double negative, with both negative adverbs being present in this *bèi* passive:

- [97] 甜度為蔗糖的100至200倍，沒有熱量也不會被人體吸
收，
'Its sweetness is 100 to 200 times that of sugarcane, yet
there are no calories (for this substance) to be absorbed by
the body.' (Sinica 5603)

In sum, the negative adverb *méi(you)* is the main adverb used to form the negative counterpart of the passive and code that the event given in the predicate did not take place. In contrast to this, *bù* is used

with a modal sense to negate that a particular event is either not permitted to happen (in the past) or that it will not happen in the future. Both adverbs must normally be placed preceding the passive marker *bèi*, and cannot occur in the predicate of the passive.

15.2.7. Modal verbs and modality

15.2.7.(a) Modal verbs and potential verb compounds

Modal verbs express such meanings as the future possibility or likelihood of an event occurring as well as the ability, willingness, or even obligation, of the agent to carry out a certain action. These two common classes of modal auxiliaries are known as epistemic and deontic modals respectively. Similar to the case for negation described in §15.2.6. above, modal verbs need to be placed in a position preceding the marker *bèi*, a property which is confirmed by the corpus data. That they do not occur in the predicate following the passive marker is likewise related to the very same problem caused of contradicting the semantic property of completeness and the realization of the given event.

In this section, we treat modal verbs including *huì* 會 ‘be likely, will’, *néng* 能 ‘can’, and *kěnéng* 可能 ‘may, could’ as representative of this verb class, making a brief reference to potential verb compounds (see Chapter 4). The following example, about a young man who wants to guard a great discovery he believes he has made, shows the position of modal verbs preceding the *bèi* passive predicate over which they have scope:

- [98] 可 不 能 把 論 文 留 在 他 們 單 位 ， 更 不 能 寄 給 刊 物 ， 否 則 一 個 無 名 小 輩 的 成 果 會 被 人 偷 去 的 。
‘It wasn’t possible to leave my article at their work unit and even less so to send it to a journal. Otherwise, the results of an unknown person of the younger generation **could be** stolen by others.’ (ZS 7)

In contrast to the epistemic meaning of ‘possibility’ rendered by *huì* 會, the deontic modal verb *néng* 能 refers to ability to do something due to having fulfilled the right preconditions as in [99] or else ‘knowing how to do something’ due to being physically or mentally able to do it. In the next example, *néng* 能 combines with the negative adverb *bù*:

- [99] 唯 有 採 用 干 邑 區 葡 萄 ， …… ， 才 能 被 稱 作 干 邑 白 蘭 地 。
‘Only with the use of Cognac region grapes, ... , *can* it be called cognac.’ (Sinica 102736)

The modal verb *kěnéng* 可能 ‘may, could’, which also has a use as the adverb ‘maybe, possibly’, expresses less certainty about a future event taking place than either *huì* 會 ‘be likely’ or *néng* 能 ‘can’:

- [100] 誰要是“耍油條”,不好好工作,就*可能*被換回去。
 ‘Whoever takes it easy, and doesn’t work properly, could be replaced.’ (ZS 132)

Thus, modal verbs may co-occur with the passive, provided they precede the marker *bèi* and do not occur in the predicate itself. It goes without saying that potential verb compounds of the form V_1 -*de* 得- V_2 and V_1 -*bu* 不- V_2 are not compatible either if they occur within the predicate for precisely the same set of reasons (see also §15.1.3.(f)). (Note, however, occasional counterexamples to this statement with set phrases such as *kàn-de-qǐ* 看得起 ‘admire’ and *kàn-bu-qǐ* 看不起 ‘despise’ do occur.)

The two preceding sections have set out to explain how the co-occurrence of modals and negative adverbs is only possible in a position preceding the marker of the *bèi* passive construction. Moreover, this is due to the fact that they take the predicate and its main verb in their scope. These two categories are generally unable to occur within the predicate following the marker *bèi*, since their semantic effect is to encode possibility or ability, and so the non-realization of an event as in the case of syntactic negation.

15.2.7.(b) Imperatives and the passive

The imperative mode is used by speakers to formulate an order or command which they want their interlocutor to perform (Chapter 14). It is striking that only the negative imperative form of the passive is possible in Chinese with *bù yào* 不要 or its contracted form *bié* 別, ‘don’t’, and not the affirmative form. When the negative imperative combines with the *bèi* passive, it does not however merely code the converse of the affirmative imperative in meaning (an order), as it serves the purpose of an admonition or warning.

The negative imperative in Chinese has the form:

Bié 別(*bù yào* 不要) – *bèi* 被 – NP_[Agent] – VP_[Transitive]

- [101] 你*別*被我的話嚇住了,其實沒有你想的那麼難。
 ‘Don’t be overawed by what I said. In fact, it’s not as difficult as you imagine.’ (Sinica 101488)

15.2.8. Postverbal nouns in the passive

A variety of different semantic categories of nouns may be found in the postverbal position of the *bèi* predicate. These are next discussed in turn:

15.2.8.(a) Retained object passive

A special relationship may be set up between the subject of the passive and a postverbal noun, when they are semantically associated in a part-whole relationship. For example, the whole is typically coded as the subject while the postverbal noun represents one of its parts, as in the following example with *tuī* ‘leg’:

[102] 七歲的 Lahai 兩年前被叛軍戳爛一條腿，
‘Two years ago, seven year old Lahai had his leg crushed badly by the rebel army.’ (Sinica 107361)

The retained object may also form an idiomatic expression with the rest of the predicate, based nonetheless on the same pattern using a body part term, in this case, *dǎn* 膽 ‘gallbladder’, which forms metaphors for ‘courage’, such as 嚇破了膽 ‘to be scared out of one’s wits’, literally ‘scare-break PFV gallbladder’:

[103] 但橫渡連耶已被嚇破了膽，只想逃回美國的老家去，
‘but Hengdu Lianye was already scared out of his wits, and only thought of escaping back to his home in America.’ (Sinica 202929)

15.2.8.(b) Postverbal locative nouns

The use of postverbal locative PPs with the preposition *zài* 在 ‘at’ + *locative noun* also form a structural subtype, as described above for the *bǎ* construction (§15.1.4.(b)).

[104] 和另外三名台胞被留在越南河內北部
‘With three other compatriots from Taiwan, (he) was left behind in North Hanoi in Vietnam’ (Sinica 0255)

By way of contrast, with DVCs, postverbal locative nouns may directly follow motion verbs in the *bèi* passive:

[105] 因此被遣返回山東老家去。
‘As a consequence, (my father) was sent back to his hometown in Shandong.’ (ZS 129)

15.2.8.(c) Indirect objects

It is interesting to observe that the Chinese corpora consulted do not reveal any examples of ditransitive verbs where a transferral is directed towards the subject of the passive, and where the subject could thus be interpreted as the recipient of the action.

Consequently, the *bèi* passive is not highly compatible with ditransitive verbs of giving that take a postverbal indirect object introduced by *gěi* 給, unless the transferral moves in a direction away from the possessor or an associated person (where both can be coded by the subject noun), as [107] illustrates for Hambali whose wife has been handed over to the police.

- [106] 亞洲殺人魔漢巴裡的馬國華裔籍妻子李燕蓮，
 已被交給馬國警方處理。
 ‘Li Yanlian, the Malaysian wife, of Chinese origin, of
 the Asian psycho, Hambali, has been handed over to
 Malaysian police,’ (Sinica 0002)

Hence, this type of verb complex – $V_1 V_2(=gěi)$ – is only possible in the *bèi* passive when it means ‘to transfer something away from the subject noun’. Consequently, it comes as no surprise that verbs of deprivation co-occur with ease in the *bèi* passive, since the subject noun transparently represents the person who loses a possession – rather than one who could gain something – and the postverbal noun represents the lost object or possession:

$NP_{\text{Subject/Patient}} - \text{Passive Marker} - (NP_{\text{Agent}}) - \text{Verb}_{\text{Deprivation}} NP_{\text{Direct object. Possession}}$

- [107] 一次我被人偷了十塊錢，
 ‘Once I had 10 dollars stolen from me by someone.’
 (ZS 295)
- [108] 再以洗錢方式轉匯，而且其中楊某自稱在
 台中被竊了五百萬元 (Sinica 103923)
 ‘And then to transfer money by laundering it, during
 which Yang claimed that he had been thieved of five
 million yuan in Taichung.’

This predicate type with possessor and possession thus resembles closely the part-whole relation expressed by the retained object passive (§15.2.8.(a)).

15.2.8.(d) Copular complements

Complement nouns of copular class verbs and verb compounds which include a V_2 such as *chéng* 成 ‘become’ or *wéi* 為 ‘be, become’ may occur in the postverbal position of the predicate in the *bèi* passive. This in fact

identical to the situation described in §15.1.4.(d) above for the *bǎ* construction. The example below contains the verb *pìnwéi* 聘為 ‘appoint as’:

- [109] 被聘為劍橋講師之後，他加深了自己對人類學與史學理論的興趣，
‘After he had been appointed as a Cambridge lecturer, he deepened his interest in theories of anthropology and historiography.’ (Sinica 4200)

Another example with *xuǎnwéi* 選為 is found under [74].

15.2.9. Subject of the passive

The subject of the passive typically fills the role of the patient which undergoes the event. This effectively excludes agents and actors from this position by definition. Nor can the subject slot be filled by the indirect object noun of a verb of transferral in cases where the subject is clearly understood to be the recipient of the direct object. In contrast to this, the subject NP may however be construed as the owner of a possession which is taken away from him or her, as illustrated in §15.2.8.(c) above, or else is lost.

Apart from human and other animate nouns as the subject and undergoer of the passive, inanimate nouns in the form of a possession – or understood as such – may also fill this role, as also many abstract nouns. So too may locations affected by an agent which is a natural force, such as ‘wind’ or ‘floods’. Two of these possibilities are illustrated in turn below – the first concerns a narrative about the flooding of a village which destroys vital belongings and the second concerns a whole period in Chinese history:

- [110] 眼巴巴看着篾條和糧食被水淹沒。
‘We helplessly watched as our income (bamboo strips sold for making baskets) and food was submerged by the flood.’ (ZS 12)
- [111] 清朝終於被推翻了，(Sinica 100499)
‘The Qing dynasty was finally toppled.’

In terms of information structure, the subject of the passive acts as a topic, typically coding discourse-old information (see §17.2.3.).

15. Adversity feature

The traditional view of the *bèi* passive is that it is an adversative passive, in other words, one that must express an unfortunate or undesirable event that happens to its subject. This is clearly the interpretation of the majority of the examples presented in the earlier sections of this chapter, (consider in this light [110] and [111] directly above), and is particularly so in the case of verbs of giving and transferral (§15.2.8.(c)) which take on the antonymic construal as an overall loss for the subject.

Nonetheless, there are plentiful examples in contemporary usage where neutral, if not desirable events, are coded by the *bèi* passive and where, furthermore, the agent noun is absent, which corresponds to the structural definition given above for the agentless *bèi* passive in 15.2.3.(b). The following example is not adversative, nor is [109] above:

[112] Agentless non-adversative *bèi* passive
早在希臘時代即已被提出。

‘(This type of question) had already been proposed as early the time of Ancient Greece.’ (Sinica 4257)

This fact has led many linguists in recent decades to make the claim that there is an extended form of the *bèi* passive where the adversity feature has been eroded, citing the impact of European languages and cultures on China in the early 20th century. Translated works are thus given as the cause. This notwithstanding, a model for the agentless form already existed in the pre-Medieval period of the Han dynasty in the form of *bèi* + *Verb*:

[113] Pre-Medieval Chinese agentless *bèi* passive
屈平 … 信而見疑忠而被謗
‘Qu Ping ... though honest, was suspected;
though loyal, he was slandered.’
(*Shiji* 史記, 1st century BC: 屈原賈生列傳)

The corpus data reveal that it is the agentful variant of the *bèi* passive which tends to retain its overall adversative meaning. Moreover, it is undoubtedly significant to find that in several contemporary corpora, the neutral agentless form outnumbers the agentful form of the *bèi* passive. In contrast to this, the colloquial passives with *ràng* 讓 and *jiào* 叫 retain their agentful structure and adversity feature (see §15.2.11.).

Other kinds of passive constructions

In this final section on the *bèi* passive in Chinese, we examine some variant structures as well as passive constructions that use markers other than *bèi*.

15.2.10.(a) *Bèi* ... *gěi* + Verb

A variant of the *bèi* passive has the structure:

NP_{Subject/Patient} – Passive Marker – (NP_{Agent}) – *gěi* 給 + Verb.

The morpheme *gěi* 給 acts like a prefix on the main verb and serves to reinforce the passive meaning of the whole construction. The colloquial passives with *ràng* 讓 and *jiào* 叫 may use this variant form as well:

- [114] 這種關係本來是天生的，但不幸往往被父母自己給破壞了。
'This kind of relationship is in the first place quite natural, but, unfortunately, it is often destroyed by the parents themselves.' (Sinica 100146)

15.2.10.(b) *Ràng* 讓 passive

The *ràng* 讓 passive has the same basic structure as the agentful *bèi* passive in Chinese, emphasizing the fact that this structure is above all agentful, as confirmed in the corpus data. Thus, it has the structure:

NP_{Subject/Patient} – *ràng* 讓 – NP_{Agent} – (*gěi* 給) VP

This passive uses a marker which is derived from the verb *ràng* 讓 which means 'to let', 'to allow' among other uses, including a causative verb use (see Chapters 4 & 13). Apart from the fact that its use characterizes informal speech, the *ràng* passive bears very similar properties to the *bèi* passive.

- [115] 這牲口不好抓，讓人慣壞了。
'This animal was not easy to catch, it had become spoiled by people.'
(ZS 544)

It is relatively less frequent as a passive marker than is the *bèi*, as shown in the statistics for contemporary corpora.

15.2.10.(c) *Jiào* 叫 passive

The *jiào* 叫 passive, similarly to the *ràng* passive, has the same basic structure as the agentful *bèi* passive in Chinese. It too mainly occurs in the agentful structure, as confirmed in the corpus data. Identically to *ràng*, the *jiào* 叫 passive tends to be used in informal genres of speech and writing but otherwise resembles the agentful *bèi* passive in most of its features and use:

NP_{Subject/Patient} – *jiào* 叫 – NP_{Agent} – (*gěi* 給) VP

As a colloquial passive, it uses a marker which is derived from the verb *jiào* 叫 which means ‘to tell’, ‘to order’ among other uses.

- [116] 美差全叫他的老鄉占了。
 ‘All the cushy jobs are occupied by people from the same village as him (the company commander).’ [ZS 454]

The passive marker *jiào* 叫 also has a causative verb use, as observed for *ràng* 讓 (see Chapters 4 & 13). It is far less frequent as a passive marker than *bèi*, and slightly less frequent than *ràng* 讓 in occurrence, as shown in the statistics for contemporary corpora.

15.2.10.(d) *Ái* 挨 and *zāo(shòu)* 遭(受) passives

The passive formed with *ái* 挨 has both agentless and agentful forms and belongs to a more literary and formal register. Among several uses, the relevant verbal meaning of *ái* 挨 is ‘suffer, endure’.

The *ái* 挨 passive has been called an ‘inflictive’ passive, as it almost exceptionlessly expresses a misfortune which has been inflicted upon its subject. As *ái* 挨 remains a verb, not grammaticalizing into a preposition or pure morphological marker like 被 *bèi*, it may take aspectual marking.

Furthermore, unlike *bèi*, *ái* takes an obligatory object noun in its complement which is either a deverbal noun denoting some kind of aggressive action or destructive event, or a nominal denoting a weapon. An agent NP may be present but is not syntactically or semantically required by the *ái* passive. Agentless and agentful examples follow in this order:

NP1 [Subject/Patient] – *ái* 挨 Verb – (NP2 [Agent]) – NP3 [Deverbal noun/weapon]

- [117] 社员们在台下吃瓜子，笑，看我们挨鬥。
 ‘Below the stage, the commune members were eating melon seeds, laughing and watching us getting denounced.’ (ZS 495)

- [118] 老他娘的說咋挨人打，也丟人。
'It is shameful too, to always be bloody talking about how you've been beaten up by others.' (ZS 39)

The passive verbs *zāo*(*shòu*) 遭(受) and *shòu* 受 are not numerous in the corpora. Both verbs mean 'to suffer' and precede a noun, or deverbal noun, in agentless structures. An example for *shòu* 受 follows:

- [119] “大聯合”了回來，回來就受審查，...
'When we'd come back from the « Great (revolutionary) Alliance », we were investigated.' (ZS 331)

15.2.10.(e) *Gěi* 給 passive

It is also possible for the verb *gěi* 給 'to give' to be used in a derived function as a marker of the passive. While this is a very common source of passive markers which introduce the agent NP in non-standard Mandarin dialects, it is rarer in standard Chinese, but is nonetheless found in the corpora, albeit with a much lower frequency than any of the preceding three markers: *bèi* 被, *ràng* 讓 and *jiào* 叫. An example of an agentful *gěi* passive is given below:

NP_{Subject/Patient} – *gěi* 給 – NP_[Agent] – VP

- [120] 李文秀只覺蘇普給父親打得很可憐，
'Li Wenxiu just felt that Supu had been beaten into a miserable state by his father.' (Sinica 100622)

It is important to observe that the *gěi* passive is different from the three other passive structures in that it 'prefers' the agentless form and can be more felicitously classified as a prefix on the verb in the corpora:

NP_{Subject/Patient} – *gěi* 給 – VP

- [121] 爹媽老了，兒子不養，給背到山上扔了。(ZS 51)
'The parents grow old, but their sons do not care for them. They're taken up to the mountain and left there.'

This structure thus resembles more closely a patient-subject sentence.

15.2.10.(f) *Bèi* + Verb_[<noun]

A recent development in Chinese in the use of *bèi* has seen it collocated increasingly with a following verb, if not a denominal verb. The overall meaning coded by this new construction concerns the reporting of false

information about the subject NP, including the padding out of official figures and other types of cover-ups such as the cause of unexplained deaths and disappearances. Although clearly an agentless form, the typical implication is that the unnamed agent is some kind of official source, if not government agency, as the following examples reveal:

[122]		
被代表		'falsely reported as a representative'
被捐款		'falsely reported as having donated money'
被失蹤		'falsely reported as missing (e.g. as a cover-up for an arrest)'
被就业		'falsely reported as employed (but in fact jobless)'
被自杀		'falsely reported as having committed suicide (but may in fact have died in prison)'
被小康		'falsely reported as comfortably off'

15.2.10.(g) *Bèi* passives in relative clauses

There is particularly a preponderance of the *bèi* passive embedded into relative clauses in Chinese of both the headless and headed variety (see Chapter 9), as opposed to the other main types of passive constructions. In the first example below, the head noun is 人 'people' while in the second, the noun phrase is headless, with its referent noun found in the preceding discourse: 隱藏的事 'hidden affairs':

[123] 但是，所有被北宋山水感動過的人，……
'But all those (people) who have been moved by the landscape paintings of the Northern Song,' (Sinica 100615)

[124] 隱藏的事，沒有不被人知道的。
'Hidden affairs, there are none which are not found out about by others.' (Sinica 2266)

15.3. Ditransitive and dative in constructions in Chinese

Certain kinds of clauses can contain two kinds of object nouns, one direct and one indirect. These can form either dative or ditransitive constructions, depending on their syntactic configuration. In fact, Chinese belongs to one of the many languages that structurally distinguish these two types of constructions at the clause level. The direct object (DO), also known as the patient or the theme (T), is typically unmarked, while the indirect object (IO) or recipient (R) can be introduced by a preposition, depending on which structure it occurs in.

Ditransitive clauses are so-called since they contain ditransitive verbs that take two objects (Chapter 4), neither of which is marked morphologically or introduced by a preposition. In Chinese linguistics, this S-V-IO-DO clause type is called a ‘double object construction’ or *shuāngbīn jiégòu* 雙賓結構. In contrast to this, dative constructions *gěizìjù* 給字句, which also contain two object nouns, are defined by the presence of some kind of morphological marking on the indirect object. In English, this is the preposition *to*, while Chinese uses the preposition *gěi* 給, which is itself derived from the verb ‘to give’. Example [125] contains three double object constructions, one with *gěi* 給 as the main verb in the first clause, and the other two with *sòng* 送 ‘give as a present’ in the second and third clauses:

With two object nouns in the clause coding either double object or dative constructions, five main types of word order are structurally possible in Chinese, according to the order of the two constituents, DO and IO and whether or not *gěi* is used in its different roles of preposition or verb suffix. These are presented below:

1. Ditransitive or double object construction

S-V-IO-DO

- [125] 不過我給你一個建議，你喜歡朋友才送他禮物嘛，你送他酒反而是害了他，對不對，
‘Nonetheless, I’ll give you a suggestion: you only give presents to friends you like, OK? On the other hand, if you give them alcohol, it’s harming them, right?’ (Sinica 108982)

2. Dative of transferral with verb suffix *gěi*

S-V- *gěi* -IO-DO

- [126] 其中有位家長送給兒子電腦、金筆、皮夾及領帶， (Gigaword 0070)

‘Amongst them, there was a parent who gave his son a computer, a gold fountain pen, a leather wallet and tie,’

3. Dative construction with a clause-final *gěi PP*

S–V–DO– [*gěi* –IO]

- [127] 陳建成 飾演 快遞 男孩，幫 客戶 送 花 給 許瑋倫，
‘Chen Jiancheng worked as an express messenger,
delivering flowers to Xu Weilun for the customers,’
(Sinica 4576)

4. Benefactive construction with preverbal *gěi*

S– [*gěi* –IO] –V–DO

- [128] 教師 可以 通過 電腦 給 學生 寫 評語、打 分數；
‘The professors can write comments and give grades to the
students via the computer,’ (Gigaword 0208)

5. *Bǎ* construction with a dative predicate

S–*bǎ*–DO–V(–*gěi*) –IO

- [129] 原來 他 把 狼 皮 送 了 給 阿曼，
‘It turned out that he had given the wolf hide to A-Man’.
(Sinica 100622)

In the following sections, the five constructions are described in terms of their different semantic and syntactic features and the verb classes which are permitted in each construction type.

15.3.1. Ditransitive or double object constructions:

NP_[Subject] – Verb_{Ditransitive} – NP_{1 [Indirect Object]} – NP_{2 [Direct Object]}
Transferral

Most ditransitive verbs which express the general notion of transferral and thus belong to the semantic domain of ‘give’ can occur in the double object construction in which neither the DO nor the IO is introduced by a preposition. In this construction, the action of transferral takes place from the subject NP in the direction of the indirect object NP which denotes the recipient – the person who receives the object being transferred.

- [130] 他 幹 嘛 送 你 禮 物 啊 ？
‘Why is he giving you a present?’ (Sinica 4608)

Nonetheless, a few verbs from the ‘deprivation’ class, such as *tōu* 偷 ‘steal’ and *yíng* 贏 ‘win (from someone)’ may also be found to co-occur in this construction. These represent verbs where the interpretation is that the subject NP has taken away something from the indirect object NP.

- [131] 他的堂弟找到他說：「二哥，孩子不爭氣，偷了人家手把塊錢的柴油票，前天被派出所抓走了。
'His cousin found him and said: "Elder brother, the child is not bringing any credit to the family, and has stolen about 1000 dollars of diesel ration cards. He was arrested yesterday by the police and taken away.' (Sinica 0091)

15.3.2. Dative construction of transferral with verb suffix *gei*:

NP_[Subject/Patient] – Verb_{Ditransitive} – *gei* – NP_{1 [Indirect Object]} – NP_{2 [Direct Object]}
Transferral

This dative clause type makes use of a postverbal marker, *gei* 给, which acts like a suffix to the main verb and is similar to a completive phase marker in a RVC (see §15.1.3.(e) and §15.2.5.(e)). In its turn, the main verb is largely restricted to a closed class of ditransitive verbs that intrinsically express the notion of transferral, that is of giving. With a similar interpretation to the double object construction, in neutral declarative sentences, the direct object is understood to be successfully transferred from the subject noun (S), the source, to the IO or recipient noun.

- [132] S-V-[*gei*-IO]-DO
總統首先表示，神戶大震災的消息披露之後，日本方面寄給他很多相關資料，
'The President said first that after the news of the Kobe earthquake had broken, the Japanese authorities had sent him a lot of relevant information on this,' (Gigaword 0404)

Apart from *sòng* 送 'give as a present' exemplified above, some typical verbs found in this dative clause type are *fù* 付 'pay', *mài* 賣 'sell', *dì* 遞 'pass', *jiāo* 交 'give', *chuán* 傳 'transmit', *huì* 匯 'transfer' and *fā* 發 'distribute'.

- [133] 傳代? 我這大壺傳給誰?
'Pass onto the next generation? To whom can I pass on this big kettle of mine? (ZS 51) (Tianjin soup stand owner)

Some verbs that do not belong to the lexical domain of *give*, nonetheless take on this meaning, once they occur in this particular dative

construction. For example, *xiě* 寫 ‘write’, *丟* *diū* ‘lose, drop’ and *liú* 留 ‘leave (behind)’:

- [134] 其實，就是寫給在我身邊轉來轉去的這幾個孩子的。
 ‘Actually, it (the novel) was written for the children who are running about around me.’ (ZS 36)
- [135] 住了三個月，丟給他一百五十元鈔票，比住店貴。
 ‘Having lived there for three months, I forfeited 150 dollars to him. It was dearer than staying in a hotel.’ (ZS 137)

15.3.3. Dative construction with a clause-final *gei* PP:

NP_[Subject] – Verb₁ – NP_{1[Direct Object]} – *gei* – NP_{2[Indirect Object]} (Verb₂) ...

This second dative clause type in Chinese allows a much wider range of verbs to occur in its predicate: not only do ditransitive verbs from the *give* or transferral domain co-occur in it, but also verbs that express acquisition, receiving and gain, not to mention monotransitive verbs of fabrication and creation. This construction differs in its interpretation from the two preceding ones in that it codes an action that is performed with the intention or purpose of transferring the direct object involved to the recipient.

Crucially, whether or not the recipient (IO) receives the object is *not* a feature entailed by the construction, though it is evidently a strong pragmatic inference in past contexts. Compare the following example with the verb *jì* 寄 ‘send’, where it is not certain that the President received the memorandum from Einstein, with example [132] above with *jì-gei* 寄給 ‘send to’ using the verb suffix *gei*, where the assumption is more plausible that the President did indeed receive the materials. Note that both examples involve past contexts.

S-V-DO-[*gei*]- IO

- [136] 民國三十五年(一九四六年): 愛因斯坦宣稱，曾寄備忘錄給美國總統羅斯福，請求不要對日本使用原子彈。
 ‘In the 35th year of the Republic (1946): Einstein claimed that he had sent a memorandum to the American President Roosevelt, requesting him not to use the atomic bomb against Japan.’ (Gigaword 0160)

The majority of examples for double object constructions could thus be rephrased by speakers as this second dative clause type, for, in both, the IO represents the beneficiary and the goal, or destination, for the transferral of the DO. Even in the case of verbs of deprivation or ‘taking away’, the IO in this particular construction remains the beneficiary of

the action and never represents the person or persons from whom the DO is taken (unlike the case for the double object construction with such verbs, see [131] above). This is illustrated by the following example in which the indirect object is the noun *mūqin* 母親 ‘mother’, the recipient of the stolen food:

- [137] 他成了八路軍的小兵，還偷行軍乾糧給他仍在乞討的母親送去。
‘He became an Eighth Route Army soldier, but also stole the dry rations for the march to send to his mother who was still begging.’ (Sinica 3050)

In this example, the IO is the noun, *mūqin* 母親 ‘mother’ and she is understood to be the intended recipient of the stolen food. Furthermore, we do not find the combination of deprivation verbs such as **tōu-gěi* *偷給 steal-give in the clause type called the dative of transferral, which, as observed above, is restricted to the domain of lexically dative verbs of giving, in addition to a further small group of verbs whose interpretation is coerced in this construction as a transferral verb.

The third large class of verbs which occurs in the dative clause type under discussion is an open class of verbs that are often called ‘extended dative’ verbs and principally include verbs, if not predicates, involving the notions of fabrication and creation such as *chāo fàn* 炒飯 ‘cook a meal’, *dǎ máoyī* 打毛衣 ‘knit a pullover’, and *kè túzhāng* 刻圖章 ‘carve a seal’ and *fàng* ‘release’ in the expression *fàng kuān* 放款 ‘make a loan’:

- [138] 所以他打電話給王太太，問她哪家銀行最可靠。
‘So he phoned to Mrs Wang, asking her which bank was the most reliable.’ (Sinica 101442)

- [139] 他們帶著一把大茶壺，幾具玻璃杯，在鄉下的涼亭沖茶給人喝，
‘They bring along a big kettle, several sets of glasses and brew tea for people to drink in countryside wayside pavilions.’ (Sinica 100654)

Hence, this class of verbs form derived ditransitive predicates in this construction.

Finally, it can also be observed that in example [139], verbs in series enable the possibility of an expansion to this construction, that is, when the V₂ slot is filled following the indirect object NP (see also Chapters 4 and 13 on serial verb constructions).

15.3.4. Benefactive construction with preverbal *gei*:

NP_[Subject] – *gei* – NP_{1 [Indirect Object]} – Verb – NP_{2 [Direct Object]}
(open class)

By way of contrast to the three preceding ditransitive and double object constructions, it is particularly the open class of ‘extended dative’ verbs, ‘deprivation’ class verbs (*take, get* etc) and verbs of fabrication which characterize the benefactive construction. Hence, it is interesting to find that lexically dative verbs of giving do not commonly occur in this benefactive clause type which features a preverbal *gei* prepositional phrase coding the beneficiary. In the next examples, the main verbs are *zhǎo* 找 ‘look for’ and *zào* 造 ‘build’, neither of which is a transferral verb.

S– [*gei* –IO] –V–DO

[140] 馬上派人在北京給我找媳婦。

‘(My brother and his second wife) immediately sent for people to look for a wife for me in Beijing.’ (ZS 531)

[141] 我在一個城市給自己造一個簡單的「窩」，

‘I built myself a simple nest in a city, ...’ (ZS 605)

The preverbal *gei* PP mainly codes the benefactive ‘for’ sense, as in the preceding examples, but can also be understood with the dative ‘to’ sense, depending on the predicate type and the context. This is the case for the use of 寫 ‘write’ in the following example:

[142] 還有一些家長給校長寫聯名信。

‘There were also some parents who wrote a joint letter to the school principal.’ (Gigaword 0039)

Compare this example with example [128] above that has the same main verb 寫 ‘write’ and could be interpreted either as ‘for’ or ‘to the students’.

A small number of lexically dative (and syntactically ditransitive) verbs may also occur in this clause type, including 送 ‘to give as a present’, and retain the dative ‘to’ interpretation, as well as the possibility of a beneficiary ‘for’ interpretation. In the next example, the ‘team cadres’ are the IO and the destination reached for the gift of pork.

[143] 殺了豬,老是給隊幹部們送肉。

‘Whenever he slaughtered a pig, he always gave some meat to the cadres of the production brigade.’ (ZS 495)

15.3.5. Bǎ construction with a dative predicate:

NP_[Subject] – *bǎ*– NP_{2[Direct Object]} Verb – (*gěi*) –NP_{1 [Indirect Object]}.

In this fifth clause type with ditransitive verbs, the Theme role is flagged by *bǎ*, the marker of the direct object, while the indirect object occurs postverbally, typically introduced by *gěi*. It is precisely in this subtype with a postverbal *gěi* PP coding the IO in which dative clauses are implicated. For this reason, we briefly refer to this clause type again here as when an IO is present, the main verb belongs necessarily to the lexical datives expressing the notion of transferral. Note that this subtype is discussed in more detail in §15.1.4.(c) of this chapter on the object marking *bǎ* construction, a clause type which serves to place a referential direct object into prominence in preverbal position.

[144] S–*bǎ*–DO–V(–*gěi*) –IO
 把錢捐給小學校，學校老師領著學生來謝我們，
 ‘(We) donated money to a small school. The schoolteachers
 led their pupils out to thank us.’ (ZS 87)

[145] 拍了，也就走了， 都說把照片寄給我，差不多都沒寄；
 ‘After taking photos, they left, saying that they would send
 the photos to me, but basically they didn’t; (ZS 486)

Essentially, any predicate that may occur in the dative construction with V- *gěi* may occur in the *bǎ* construction too, since the preverbal direct object does not alter the postverbal position of the indirect object NP, nor have any other implications for the *bǎ* predicate configuration of Verb–(*gěi*)–NP_{1 [Indirect Object]}. The last example contains a verb of taking, 拿.

[146] 老吳又走過，大姐急忙把木瓜牛奶拿給他，說：
 「哪，這給你孩子的！」(Sinica 3679)
 ‘Old Wu came across again, so Elder Sister hurriedly
 brought him the papaya milkshake, saying: “This is for
 your child!”.

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Apart from the Sinica and Chinese Gigaword electronic databases, this chapter makes use of the following anthology of recorded and transcribed narratives:

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Data from this latter source is indicated after the relevant examples by (*ZS page number*) and from the Sinica and Chinese Gigaword databases in the same fashion: (Sinica/Gigaword *reference number*).

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(Note: This is a short list to provide some of the classic studies in this area. A fuller reference list is to be provided for the electronic database.)

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