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Patient-Subject Constructions in Mandarin Chinese

Syntax, semantics, discourse

Xiaoling He

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Volume 12

Patient-Subject Constructions in Mandarin Chinese: Syntax, semantics, discourse
by Xiaoling He

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Syntax, semantics, discourse

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Abbreviations

A	agent
ACC	accusative
AP	adjective phrase
ASP	aspectual marker
CG	construction grammar
CLS	classifier
DIR	directional complement
EXCLA	exclamation
DEM PRO	demonstrative pronoun
FOC-M	focalization marker
IE	Indo-European
I _i	instance link
I _M	metaphorical link
INS	Instrumental case
I _p	polysemy link
I _S	subpart link
MID	middle marker
NOM	nominative
NOM-M	nominalization marker
N _p	location noun
NP	noun phrase
P	patient
PAR	particle
PAST	past tense
PL	plural
PRE	preposition
PRES	present tense
PSC	patient-subject construction
QUA	quantifier
QUAin	indefinite quantifier
RM	reflexive marker
RP	reflexive pronoun
S	subject
SG	singular

SP	subject-predicate
SVO	subject-verb-object
TES	tense marker
THEM	Theme
UH	unaccusative hypothesis
V	verb

Major chronological divisions of Chinese history

Western Zhou dynasty	1100 to 771 B.C.
Spring and Autumn period (Chunqiu)	770 to 476 B.C.
Warring States period (Zhanguo)	475 to 221 B.C.
Qin dynasty	221 to 207 B.C.
Western Han dynasty	206 B.C. to AD. 24
Eastern Han dynasty	AD. 25 to 220
Wei dynasty	AD. 220 to 265
Western Jin dynasty	AD. 265 to 316
Eastern Jin dynasty	AD. 317 to 420
Nanbeichao (Northern and Southern dynasties)	AD. 420 to 589
Sui dynasty	A.D. 618 to 907
Tang dynasty	A.D. 618 to 907
Five Dynasties period	A.D. 907 to 1127

(Source: Yuzhi Shi 2002)

Introduction

1.1 Patient-Subject Construction¹

The Patient-Subject Construction (henceforth ‘PSC’) is a highly common structure in Chinese.² As its name suggests, the PSC is a structure in which the syntactic subject is a semantic patient (more precisely, non-agent). In order to define the object of study as clearly as possible, this statement will be elaborated from two angles: the scope of ‘patient’ and its syntactic position.

1.1.1 The scope of ‘patient’

There are two main views on the scope of ‘patient’ in Modern Chinese. One is a narrow view, and the other a broad view. According to the narrow view, ‘patient’ is opposed to ‘agent’ and should strictly refer to the ‘recipient’ of an action or ‘the direct theme’ that is involved in a directed action of an event (Zhang 1988; Lin 1994; L. Li 1990; Chen 2003). Participants other than the direct recipient of actions should not be considered genuine cases of ‘patient’. In this view, ‘patient’ is sharply separated from other participant roles such as result or accompaniment.

Others, including Chen (1978) and Lü (1946), take the broad view and regard ‘patient’ as any participant that is a recipient, target, accompaniment, causee, or result/product of an action (Xu & Liu 1998; Xu 2004). Zhang (2004) also adopts

1. The term ‘construction’ is used throughout this book in its general sense as in ‘the BA construction’ or ‘the BEI construction’, without any commitment to any particular theoretical model or framework. The author is aware that this term has a technical use in Cognitive Grammars such as those proposed by Kay, Goldberg and Croft. While the essential insights of Construction Grammars are welcome and will be made use of in this work, the aim is *not* primarily to contribute to debates and discussions or advancements of particular Construction Grammar frameworks, but to achieve a more holistic and deeper understanding of the forms and functions of PSCs, as will be made clear in Section 1.3 of the present chapter.

2. Throughout this book, the term ‘Chinese’ will be used to refer primarily to Mandarin. While much of the argument of this book may also apply to other Chinese languages/dialects such as Cantonese or Hakka, the treatment is confined to Mandarin, leaving the question of its validity in other Chinese languages/dialects for future studies.

a broad view in which ‘patient-object’ as traditionally conceived, is understood as the recipient of an action, but actually this is not a very accurate understanding of the notion, because several other kinds of object are also recipients of actions such as causees and themes. In the present study a broad view of the scope of ‘patient’ is adopted, which may include any of the roles mentioned above, as well as location, instrument,³ etc., for the simple reason that adopting the broad definition will make it possible to consider as wide a range of semantic roles as possible using the PSC as a template.

- (1) 擦萝卜 (recipient of action)
ca luobo
 grate raddish
 ‘To grate the raddish’
- (2) 擦萝卜丝 (result)
cha luobo si
 grate radish shreds
 ‘To grate the radish into shreds’
- (3) 这次探访, 该见的人没见着。 (theme)
zhe ci tanfang, gai jian de ren mai jian zhao
 this QUA visit shoud see PAR person did not see succeed
 ‘As for this visit, (I) didn’t meet the person I should meet.’
- (4) 楼上已经搜查过了。 (place)
loushang yijing shoucha guo le
 upstairs already search ASP TES
 ‘The upstairs has been searched.’
- (5) 刀子砍钝了。 (instrument)
daozi kan dun le
 knife cut blunt ASP
 ‘The knife has been cut blunt.’
- (6) 因为化疗, 她的头发都快脱光了。 (cognate)
yinwei hualiao ta de toufa dou kuai tuo guang le
 because of chemo-therapy her PAR hair all fast fall off ASP
 ‘Because of the chemo-therapy, her hair has all fallen off.’

3. Chen (2001) thinks that there are no “instrumental subjects” or “instrumental objects” as have been proposed in the literature. For him, examples like *chi shitang* 吃食堂 ‘eat at canteen’; *shao shuihu* 烧水壶 ‘boil with a kettle’; *kun shengzi* 捆绳子 ‘tie with a string’ are patient-objects being used metonymically. This paper takes the same view. Therefore examples like (2)–(7) have been included.

- (7) 这点小事不必请示领导。 (accompaniment)
zhe dian xiao shi bu bi qingshi lingdao
 this amount minor matter noneed ask leader
 '(We) need not seek the leader's permission on this trivial matter.'

1.1.2 The syntactic position of patient

The position of patient in Modern Chinese is very flexible. It can occur before the verb or after it. The main syntactic positions are as follows:

As object:

- (8) 我看书呢。
Wo kan shu ne
 I read book PAR
 'I'm reading a book.'

As indirect object:

- (9) 我送给他两本书。
Wo song gei ta liang ben shu
 I give to him two CLS book
 'I gave him two books.'

Object of *ba*:

- (10) 我把书丢了。
Wo ba shu diu le
 I BA book lost ASP
 'I lost the book.'

As subject:

- (11) a. 书丢了。
shu diu le
 book lost ASP
 'The book is gone.'
- b. 书我丢了。
Shu wo diu le
 book I lost ASP
 'That book I've lost it.'
- c. 书被我丢了。
Shu bei wo diu le
 book BEI I lost ASP
 'The book is lost (by me).'
- d. 我所有的书都看过了。
wo suoyou de shu dou kan guo le
 I all PAR book all read ASP TES
 'I have read all the books.'

- e. 这种新产品很受欢迎。
zhe zhong xin chanpin hen shouhuanying
 this kind new product very popular
 ‘This kind of product is really well received.’
- f. 职代会代表已由工人们选举产生了。
zhudaihui daibiao yi you gongrenmen xuanqu
 union representative already by workers elect
chansheng le
 produce ASP
 ‘Union representatives have already been elected by the workers.’

It needs to be said from the outset that the presence of a syntactic subject playing a patient role in a sentence does not thereby make it a PSC. Several other constructions share this feature with PSC, including unmarked passives, SP-predicate sentences, the *bei*-construction, sentences with such verbs as *shou* 受, *zao* 遭, *ai* 挨, and sentences with the particle *you* 由. The scope of the present study is defined very sharply as only sentences of the kind “*shu diu le*” (i.e. Type 11a above). In the literature these have been called “patient-subject sentences” (Gong 1980, Chen 1986) or notional passives or unmarked passives (Song 1991, Wang 1994, Li 1994). It can be seen that Type 11a is only one sub-type of Patient-Subject Sentences in the broadest sense. However, for the sake of convenience, the term ‘PSC’ will be used throughout the rest of this book to refer to PSC in the sense of 11a.

1.2 The problem of the PSC

Previous research has dealt with both the historical and synchronic aspects of the PSC. Numerous historical studies have confirmed that the PSC is an ancient and highly stable construction in the language. As early as the time of “Bone Inscriptions” researchers have already found instances of PSCs (Wang 1943; Yao 1999; Zhang 2001; Guan 1994; L. He 2000; H. He 2004; Zhang 2003). Studies of Modern Chinese in the structuralist tradition have concentrated on the PSC’s syntactic properties, and in particular, its relation with the *bei*-construction⁴ (Wang 1943; L. Li 1980; R. Li 1980; W. Lü 1987; Liu 1987; Gong 1980; Zhou 1995). As a common construction, the PSC has not received enough attention, considering its importance. Even its status as an independent sentence-type is in doubt. Thus, the PSC

4. On the relationship between PSC and passive, most studies have been restricted to considering which kinds of PSCs can be transformed into which kinds of passives and vice versa.

has seldom been recognized as a sentence-type in its own right, but often as a sub-type of other constructions, e.g., as a kind of SVO or a kind of passive. The reason why it has been put under SVO is because the study of syntactic patterns in Modern Chinese has tended to use predicate type as its key concept.⁵ As the PSC has predicates that look basically identical with SVO sentences, it is not surprising that it has often been classified as a sub-category under SVO (e.g. Huang & Liao 1991). Even Chinese language textbooks written for foreign learners have described the PSC as a kind of sentence which in terms of word order and syntactic structure is no different from SVO (Liu 1983).

However, the greatest controversy so far is on whether the PSC should be regarded as a kind of passive. It is evident that the PSC shares an important feature with the passive (*bei*-construction), i.e., a patient taking subject position. Also, in terms of meaning, the PSC seems to have some kind of passive meaning. So the most common view is that it is an unmarked⁶ or notional passive (Li 1924; Tang 1985; Zhang 2001; Hong 1958; Sun 1994; Yi 1989; Yang & He 2001; He 2000; Gong 1980; Li 1994). Many PSCs can be transformed into *bei*-passives:

- (12) 饭碗被砸了。
fanwan bei za le
 rice-bowl BEI smash ASP
 'The rice bowl has been smashed.'
- (13) 饭碗砸了。
Fanwan za le
 rice-bowl smash ASP
 'The rice bowl has been broken.'
- (14) 事情被弄僵了。
shiqing bei nong jiang le
 matter BEI make stiff ASP
 'The matter has been made into a deadlock.'
- (15) 事情弄僵了。
shiqing nong jiang le
 matter make stiff ASP
 'The matter has been made into a deadlock.'

5. See Hu Yushu (1981) *Xiandai Hanyu*, Lu Shuxiang (1980) *Xiandai Hanyu Babai Ci*, Huang Borong (1991) *Xiandai Hanyu*, Chen Jianmin (1986) *Xiandai Hanyu Juxing Lun*, Li Linding (1986) *Xiandai Hanyu Juxing*.

6. The term 'unmarked' here refers only to the absence of formal markers. Later in the book we will consider markedness theory.

However, it must also be noted that many PSCs cannot be transformed into *bei*-constructions:

- (16) 信写好了。
xin xie hao le
 letter write well ASP
 ‘The letter is written.’
- (17) *信被写好了。⁷
xin bei xie hao le
 ‘letter Bei write well ASP’
- (18) 这只表买贵了。
Zhe zhi biao mai gui le
 This CLS watch buy expensive ASP
 ‘Too much was paid for this watch.’
- (19) *这只表被买贵了。
zhe zhi biao bei mai gui le
 this CLS watch Bei buy expensive ASP

This asymmetry between PSC and passive cast serious doubt on the view of PSC as a kind of passive. Besides, opponents have maintained that since the PSC does not contain any markers of passive, it should not be treated as a passive (Wang 1943; Liang 1960; Liu 1987; Fang 1997). This question will be discussed in more detail in Chapter 3.

At the same time, some linguists have held that the PSC is really a topicalization structure. One of the main reasons is that the prototypical subject should be an agent. Therefore with agent-subject sentences they are very willing to call the agent subject, but when it is a patient, the tendency is to think of it as a topic. Again, there are detailed arguments for and against this analysis, which must be left until Chapter 3.1.

Another view is that the PSC is a kind of “object becoming subject” or “agent equals patient” phenomenon (Li 1924). But there is more and more evidence challenging this view.

7. It is quite possible that other passive formulations may be deemed grammatical; for example, those that involve the use of particles such as GEI as opposed to BEI. The existence of different kinds of passives involving different particles has been a much-researched-into issue (e.g., Wang 1943, Hashimoto 1987; Liu 1987; Shi Dingxu 2005), which is beyond the scope of this study. The point here is merely that not all PSCs can be freely transformed into BEI-constructions.

- (20) 一瓶酒喝两个人。
yi ping jiu he liang ge ren
 one bottle wine drink two CLS person
 'One bottle of wine is good for two people.'
- (21) 他降职了。
ta jiangzhi le
 he demoted ASP
 'He has been demoted.'

In these sentences the patient in sentence-initial position cannot be moved to the post-verbal position, and so the “object-becoming-subject” view is questionable. Also, as a common structure in Modern Chinese, it does not seem very reasonable to describe the PSC as a special case of object-preposing.

There are thus many different views about the nature or status of the PSC. The problems touched upon in this introductory chapter are far from resolved. Is the PSC an independent construction, or is it an exception? If it has a place in a network or scheme of sentence or construction types, where should it be placed? Also, the PSC seems to have very complicated relations with the passive and the SVO. How should these relationships be properly understood, and is there any substance behind these relationships?

In the rest of this book, an attempt will be made to identify the specific semantic and discourse properties of the PSC, to find it an appropriate place within the Chinese grammar system, and to determine the relationship between the PSC and other major constructions in Mandarin, including the *ba*-construction and the *bei*-construction.

1.3 The present approach

In this book, the primary focus is on PSC as a grammatical phenomenon in Mandarin. The aim is to build up as comprehensive as possible a picture of the form, meaning and use of the PSC in order to achieve a deeper understanding of its nature, as well as its place within the grammatical system of Mandarin as a whole. In other words, the concern is essentially a descriptive one, but also one that is firmly grounded in empirical evidence. Needless to say, the exploration and investigation will be assisted by the literature as well as theoretical insights from different sources, as they become relevant to particular issues that will be addressed regarding the structure, meaning or use of the PSC. While all these sources will be gratefully acknowledged it is not intended to pursue a particular framework or

advance a particular theory. The choice of citations will be guided by the extent to which previous works can shed light on the PSC and how this can help deepen the understanding of the PSC. For example, by situating the PSC within the system of construction-types for Mandarin, the aim is to develop a detailed description of PSC at the level of syntax and semantics as well as at the level of discourse that will relate it systematically to other grammatical resources in the language. In the final chapter of the book, the Mandarin PSC will also be situated within a universal/typological framework by relating it to similar constructions in other languages.

To construct a credible and hopefully useful account of the PSC it must be ensured that all claims made are based on solid empirical evidence. To this end, two studies were carried out which will be reported in detail in Chapters 4 and 5. The first of these is a study of the syntax and semantics of PSCs, in particular, the question of whether all verbs can enter the PSC frame. To ascertain this, a thorough survey was carried out using the comprehensive *Dictionary of Verbs*, which contains entries on most of the verbs in modern Chinese. The result of this comprehensive and thorough investigation will be reported in Chapter 4.

The other empirical study is one that is based on Hopper and Thompson's Transitivity Hypothesis, which relates clauses (and constructions) to their discourse functions. Four Mandarin speakers were invited to perform a series of judgments on the discourse functions of PSCs, as well as other construction-types, in connected texts taken from a novel. The result of this study will be reported in Chapter 5.

Indeed, in terms of the many theoretical insights that inform the present work, one that bears directly on the discourse functions of PSC is Hopper and Thompson's Transitivity Hypothesis. As is well known, Hopper and Thompson's hypothesis allows (indeed, invites) researchers to examine grammatical units such as clauses (in the present case, linguistic constructions) within a discourse context. As will be shown in Chapter 5, the key to an in-depth understanding of the PSC is to see it under the light of Hopper and Thompson's discursive transitivity, and in comparison and contrast with other construction-types in terms of its discourse functions in connected texts. To this end, an empirical study will be carried out on the use of PSCs in discourse.

In addition to describing the form and meaning of the PSC, the following question must be answered: is the PSC a special construction? If so, in what way is it special? If not, what is its status within the grammatical system of Mandarin? Cross-linguistic research has shown that the particular form-meaning pairing called the PSC is a widely distributed construction among the world's languages. Whether in form or in meaning, the Chinese PSC resembles certain constructions in other languages. Therefore, it is believed that if the typological findings and insights are introduced in this study, one would be in a better position to

deepen the understanding of the PSC. To further this item of agenda, key insights will be culled from a variety of relevant typological works, particularly those that provide in-depth analysis of other language families, such as Indo-European (e.g., Geniushene 1987; Siewierska 1984, 1988).

In sum, the approach employed in this work, in comparison with previous studies, is characterized by two main considerations. (1) It considers the PSC not only syntactically and semantically, but also discursively and within the overall grammatical system of Mandarin as a language. (2) It situates the PSC in the broader context of language universals and typologies by comparing it with similar constructions in other languages.

1.4 Organization of the book

The remainder of this work is structured as follows. Chapter 2 presents a critical review of previous work. A discussion of several common views, namely, “passivization”, “topicalization” and “ergativization” is offered in Chapter 3. Chapter 4 presents a description of PSC in terms of its syntactic and semantic properties, based on a thorough analysis of data obtained from a dictionary of verb usages. Chapter 5 considers the relationship between PSC’s semantic properties and its discourse functions, based on an empirical study of the discourse functions of PSC and other major constructions of the language. In Chapter 6, the forms and functions of PSC will be examined within a typological context. In considering its syntactic and semantic properties, it will be seen that the Chinese PSC bears a striking resemblance to the Middle voice in other languages. Finally, Chapter 7 concludes with the main points of the present work and offers a discussion of its theoretical implications and directions for future research.

Previous studies of the patient-subject construction

The aims of this chapter are to give a historical overview of the PSC, to describe its key properties, and to critically review previous studies. There are three sections in this chapter. In the first section, it will be shown that the PSC is one of the oldest constructions in Chinese. The earliest documented records date back to Shang bone inscriptions (14th to 11th century BCE). In the second section, several general properties of the PSC are described. In the third section, previous treatments of the PSC in the literature are reviewed. Basically there are two main approaches to the analysis of the PSC: one is lexical and the other syntactic. It will be demonstrated that neither of these approaches is adequate for a number of reasons.

2.1 The PSC is an age-old construction in Chinese

The PSC is one of the oldest and most basic constructions in Chinese, and has been in existence from the Shang Bone Inscriptions to modern times (Wang 1943; Yao 1999; Zhang 2001; Guan 1994; He 2000; Zhang 2003; Zhang 2005). Numerous examples of the PSC can be found in bone inscriptions and early Qin writings; for example:

- (1) 麦易赤金。 (From Yao 1998)
Mai yi chi jin
Mai bestow pure gold
'Mai is bestowed with pure gold.'
- (2) 蔓草犹不可除,况君之宠弟乎。 (Zuozhuan)
Mancao you bu ke chu kuang jun zhi chong
wild grass still not remove, let alone you PAR favourite
di hu
brother EXCLA
'Even the grass is not removable, let alone your favourite brother.'

According to Djamouri (1996), the PSC accounts for 6.2% of all the sentence types in the Shang bone inscriptions. Although it was by no means a dominant construction type, its frequency of occurrence is still high enough to attract much interest, so much so that it has been taken by some linguists as an indication that Ancient Chinese had SOV word order. Shen (1993) notes that PSCs in the oracle passages typically contained single-verb predicates. This differs significantly from later stages of Chinese in which the predicate of a PSC is not always a single verb.

Data from the Han Dynasty show that the use of the PSC had taken a big step forward. He (2000) found that, of all the passive sentences¹ in the Book of History (Shiji), 40% were of the PSC type. She went so far as to say that the PSC was a characteristic property of the grammar of the Book of History. Since the Han Dynasty, along with the rapid development of orally based literary forms (e.g. *ci* 词, *qu* 曲, story-telling and Buddhist teaching), the frequency of occurrence of PSCs increased rapidly, and new structures based on the PSC were formed. Zhang (2005) carried out a statistical investigation of PSCs with human patient-subjects in the Tang-Song period (600–900 A.D.) and found two main differences between the Ancient Period (Qin-Han 221 B.C.-220 A.D.) and Tang-Song (618–1279 A. D.) First, more and more constituents came to be used after the verb. Second, two sub-types went almost completely out of use, namely, “Patient-Verb-Agent” and “Patient-Verb-Resumptive Object”.

Diao’s (1999) study of PSCs in pre-Modern Chinese indicated that its structural properties were already essentially the same as Modern Chinese. The predicate in PSCs has become much more complex structurally and more varied in form: it can be a simple verbal structure, a Modifier-Head structure with the verb as its head, a serial verb structure or a pivotal structure. While PSCs have always carried objects, the appearance of co-referential NPs in the object position in Ancient and Pre-modern Chinese is noticeably different in comparison with modern Chinese. Diao also compares PSCs with the BEI-construction and found some interesting differences. First, in terms of their semantics, the BEI-construction was used essentially to express the meaning of “unfortunately”, but the PSC did not carry that meaning. Second, the PSC was found to be a much less restricted or constrained construction than the BEI-construction, in the sense that while most BEI-constructions have a PSC counterpart, the reverse is not true; that is, many kinds of meanings can only be expressed by the PSC but not the BEI-construction. Based on these and similar observations, Diao came to the interesting conclusion

1. This includes sentences in which passiveness is marked by the use of co-verbs like *yu*, *jian*, and *wei*.

that the PSC and the BEI-construction are a pair of functionally complementary sentence types.

Thus, the PSC is an age-old construction in Chinese and has undergone much interesting development historically.

2.2 General properties of the PSC

2.2.1 High text frequency

PSCs occur very frequently in Modern Chinese. In discussing the grammatical meaning of subject and predicate in Chinese, Chao (1968) pointed out that the proportion of subject-predicate structures that meant actor-action should not be more than 50%. In other words, the other 50% of subject-predicate structures would have meanings other than actor-action. Within these non-actor-action structures, not a small proportion is possibly PSCs. In a survey of basic sentence types in naturally occurring spoken data, Tao and Thompson (1994) confirmed Chao's observation. They found that in their corpus, the most frequently occurring structure in Modern Chinese conversations is X+V: single-argument clauses accounted for 61% of all sentence types. 19% are double-argument clauses, and 20% clauses without any arguments. Needless to say, of these three kinds of structures, the one which is the most directly relevant to the present concern is that X+V type. Tao and Thompson's data reveal that of the two major sub-types under X+V, namely X=A, i.e. when X is Agent and X=O, i.e. when X is Theme, the former accounts for 58% of the sentences while the latter, 42%. From this it should be clear that PSCs are a highly frequent sentence type in Modern Chinese texts.

Not only are PSCs very common in Putonghua (which is the data used by Tao and Thompson's speakers), they are equally frequently seen in many other dialects. According to Huang's *Compendium of Chinese Dialect Grammar* (1996), in many Chinese dialects, PSCs are much more common than passive structures. In fact, in some dialects, the meaning of "passive" is usually expressed through PSCs rather than the BEI-construction or its dialect equivalents. Even more interesting is his finding that in many dialects, the meaning of BA is also typically expressed by PSCs. For example, in the dialects of Shanghai and Jinhua, sentences like:

- (3) 桌子揩揩伊。
Zhuozi kai kai yi
 Desk mop mop it
 'Mop the desk.'

Are typically used to express the same meaning as in Putonghua:

- (4) 把桌子擦擦。
Ba zhuozi ca ca
 BA desk mop mop
 ‘Mop the desk.’

2.2.2 Syntactic properties

The main structural properties of PSCs as discussed in the literature are summarized below.

1. The main verb is often accompanied by modals such as *ke* 可, *de* 得, *dang* 当, *nan* 难, *yinggai* 应该, *yi* 易, *yao* 要, etc. The presence of these modals turns a predicate into a structure that carries such meanings as ‘possibility’, ‘obligation’, ‘with ease/with difficulty’, etc. Consider some examples below:

- (5) 这句话可以相信。
Zhe ju hua keyi xiangxing
 This CLA words can believe
 ‘What (he/she) said is believable.’
- (6) 这种马难养。
Zhe zhong ma nan yang
 This CLA horse difficult raise
 ‘It is difficult to raise this kind of horse.’
- (7) 这个教训必须记住。
Zhe ge jiaoxun bixu jizhu
 This CLA lesson must remember
 ‘This lesson must be remembered.’

In a similar vein, Zhan (1992) notices that when the negative modal *bu de* 不得 occurs in the predicate, a sentence typically has a PSC reading. For example, while (8) is ambiguous, (9) is not:

- (8) 鸡不吃了。
Ji bu chi le
 Chicken not eat PAR
 ‘The chickens aren’t eating.’ OR ‘(We’re) not eating the chicken’
- (9) 鸡吃不得。
Ji chi bu de
 chicken eat not can
 ‘The chickens cannot be eaten.’ (i.e. chicken not edible or one is not allowed to eat the chicken)

2. The choice of verbs in a PSC is very free and not restricted to a (small) sub-class. Almost all verbs with a high degree of action or which has a target can enter into this structure. The predicate can be a resultative, *V+le*, *V+de+complement*, *adverb+V*, reduplicative, etc.

- (10) 衣服洗了。
Yifu xi le
 Clothes wash ASP
 ‘The clothes have been washed.’
- (11) 衣服洗坏了。
Yifu xi huai le
 Clothes wash bad ASP
 ‘The clothes have been washed (but torn)’
- (12) 衣服洗得干干净净。
Yifu xi de gangan jingjing
 Clothes wash PAR clean
 ‘The clothes have been washed clean.’
- (13) 酒慢慢地喝。
Jiu man man di he
 Wine slowly slowly PAR drink
 ‘Wine was drunk slowly.’
- (14) 书往地上一扔。
Shu wang dishang yi ren
 Book toward floor throw
 ‘The book was thrown onto the floor.’
- (15) 桌子擦擦。
zhuozi ca ca
 Desk scrub scrub
 ‘Scrub the desk.’

3. The subject of a PSC is usually inanimate but it is certainly not restricted to inanimate NPs; animate NPs can also occur in a PSC.

- (16) 我分配到一家小厂糊纸盒。
Wo fenpei dao yi jia xiao chang hu zhi he
 I allocate to one CLA small factory plaster paper box
 ‘I was allocated to a small factory to plaster paper boxes.’
- (17) 失散的亲人找着了。
Shisan de qin ren zhao zhao le
 Separated PAR family members find PAR ASP
 ‘The separated family members were found.’

- (18) 孩子抱来了。
Haizi bao lai le
 Child carry come PAR ASP
 ‘The child was taken here’
- (19) 敌人打退了。
Diren da tui le
 Enemy beat back PAR ASP
 ‘The enemy is beaten back.’

In connection with this, Song (1991) makes the following interesting observation: while it is very common for inanimate subjects to occur in a PSC, where its semantic relation with the verb is very clear (i.e. acting as its Patient), there are situations where the PSC cannot be used – only the BEI-construction can. For example:

- (20) a. *银行抢了。
yinhang qiang le
 Bank rob PAR ASP
 ‘The bank was robbed.’
- b. 银行被抢了。
Yinhang bei qiang le
 Bank BEI rob PAR ASP
 ‘The bank was robbed.’
- (21) a. *器盗卖了。
jiqi dao mai le
 machine steal sell PAR ASP
 ‘The machine has been stole and sold.’
- b. 机器被盗卖了。
jiqi bei dao mai le
 machine BEI steal sell PAR ASP
 ‘The machine has been stole and sold.’

2.3 Previous studies of the PSC

2.3.1 Phonetic marking of the grammatical distinction

From the above illustrations it can be seen that the form of PSCs may not look any different from agent-subject sentences; for example, the subject can be either animate or inanimate, the predicate can be resultative, reduplicative, etc. If this is the case, then one might wonder if the two constructions, i.e. agent-subject and patient-subject constructions can in principle be distinguished at all? Would observations made so far imply that the semantic roles of agent and patient may not be clearly distinguished in Chinese?

In Ancient Chinese, it has been claimed (Mei 2000) that “outward action verbs” and “inward action verbs” were distinguished by the presence or absence of voicing in the initial consonant. Mei (2000: 242) says, “[For some verbs,] when the initial consonant is voiceless, they are “outward”, i.e. the subject is an agent, but when the initial consonant is voiced, they are “inward”, i.e. the subject is a patient.” Mei believes that with this phonetic distinction, the semantic roles of agent and patient were clearly distinguishable in the grammar of the Chinese language before the 5th century A.D. A similar view is held by Hong (1958), who thinks that in Ancient Chinese, there was a clear distinction between active and passive verbs: “voiced expressions” were active, “voiceless expressions” were passive.

It is generally believed that, like other Sino-Tibetan languages, Ancient Chinese did have (some degree of) inflectional morphology, and that some inflections took the form of phonetic features like voicing. However, this was gradually eroded in the language and finally dropped, although it is believed that there are still remnants of this in some modern dialects. While being in general agreement with this view, Sun (1993) thinks that the use of phonetic means to mark grammatical distinctions was not generally or regularly done in Ancient Chinese. He notices that the pronunciation of many verbs in Ancient Chinese which could express both “outward” and “inward” action did not change at all. He believes that phonetic variation in some verbs was not necessarily a grammatical phenomenon but might have been a lexical one, i.e. phonetic differences were used to distinguish different lexical items. This is also true of modern Chinese. For example, the words ‘long’ (*chang*²) and ‘grow’ (*zhang*³) are distinguished through the use of different initial consonants and tones. Chao (1968) also thinks that phonetic changes that have grammatical ramifications need not actually be a grammatical phenomenon but may be better regarded as a lexical one.

Even if tones or voicing had some minor role to play in Ancient Chinese, it is clear that in Modern Chinese these and other phonetic features are not generally used to mark grammatical distinctions anymore. And yet, as shown above, PSC is a very frequently occurring sentence type in Modern Chinese. One must therefore explain the co-existence of agent-subject and patient-subject sentences within the same grammatical system of Modern Chinese. Previous researchers on this question have taken two main views: a syntactic approach and a lexical approach. These will be reviewed below.

2.3.2 Lexical approaches

2.3.2.1 *The “Inward-outward conversion” hypothesis*

Generally speaking, it is true that there is often some relationship between sentence types and verb types, e.g. only certain kinds of verbs tend to occur in certain

kinds of sentences. In *Ma Shi Wen Tong* 《马氏文通》, Ma (1898) treated sentences like the following as passives:

- (22) 龙逢斩 (Zhuangzi 《庄子》)
Long feng zhan
 Longfeng slain
 ‘Longfeng was slain.’
- (23) 邯郸围 (ibid)
Handan wei
 The-town-of-Handan surround
 ‘The town of Handan was surrounded.’

His analysis is based on the idea that the verbs *zhan* 斩 and *wei* 围 in these sentences are “inward action verbs” derived from “outward action verbs”, i.e. they are originally “outward” but have been converted into “inward” verbs in these sentences. Similarly, Hong (1958) uses this as one of his three criteria for the identification of passive sentences in Chinese.

However, Fang (1997) raises some questions for this analysis. He points out that in order for the analysis to be accepted, one must explain how to distinguish between “inward” and “outward” verbs in the first place, since the form of an “inward action verb” and an “outward action verb” appears to be exactly the same. In practice, the distinction is really based on whether a verb can take objects: those that can take objects are “outward”, otherwise they are “inward”.

- (24) 工人们建了一所房子。
Gongren men jian le yi suo fangzi
 Workers build ASP one CLA house
 ‘The workers have built a house.’
- (25) 这所房子建于1990年。
Zhe suo fangzi jian yu 1990 nian
 This CLA house build in 1990 year
 ‘This house was built in the year 1990.’

In the above sentences, one might say that *jian* 建 ‘build’ is an “outward action verb” in the first but an “inward action verb” in the second. In other words, the “inward/outward” distinction can only be made in the context of particular sentences like these. But if one’s judgment of a verb’s sub-class is based entirely on the sentence context, then one could run into problems. For example, verbs like *jing* 惊, ‘afraid’, *xian* 现 ‘show’ may appear to be typically “inward”, and yet they can still take objects in Ancient Chinese. Jiang (2001), in his discussion of ‘inward’, ‘outward’, and ‘causative’, also takes this view.

- (26) 惊姜氏。 (Zuozhuan.Dinggong Shinian 《左传. 定公十年》)
Jing Jiang surname
 Frighten Jiang
 ‘(someone or something) frightened Jiang.’
- (27) 孔子贤之。 (Mengzi.Lilouxia 《孟子. 离娄下》)
Kongzi xian zhi
 Kongzi virtue him
 ‘Kongzi makes him be virtuous.’

From the above, it can be appreciated that the use of distinctions like “inward action” and “outward action” may not help to help the difference between active and passive sentences. Such distinctions are hard to define lexically. Even if one can show that a sentence contains an “inward action verb” followed by an object, the result is not always a passive sentence; it may also be a causative or perceptual structure. This point is very closely related to the transitive/intransitive distinction, which will be discussed in the next section.

2.3.2.2 “Middle verbs”

Chao (1968) puts forward the “middle verb view” on the basis of the following examples:

- (28) 门已经开了。
Men yijing kai le
 Door already open PAR
 ‘The door is already open (or: has already been opened).’
- (29) 画挂得不正。
hua gua de bu zheng
 Painting hang PAR not upright
 ‘This painting is not hung straight.’

He argues that since with verbs like *kai* 开 ‘open’ and *gua* 关 ‘close’ the direction of action may go either outward from the subject as actor or inward towards the subject as goal, the sentences are like middle voice sentences in Ancient Greek. As a result of this, he says that these verbs can be called “middle voice verbs”.

Li and Thompson (1993) re-visited this question, and came to a different conclusion. They think that the verbs in the above sentences do not show any special formal properties, and that the idea of middle verbs seems to be based entirely on conceptual or notional meaning. They examined Chao’s “middle verbs” and compared their distributional and formal properties with other verbs but found no difference between them. Thus, they proposed to reject the term “middle verbs”. They

claimed that these verbs should be treated as a sub-class of transitive verbs, and (following Haspelmath 1987) called “labile verbs”. By “labile verbs”, Haspelmath refers to verbs like ‘open’ and ‘break’ in English, which can occur sometimes with one argument and sometimes with two arguments. When occurring with only one argument, its meaning is intransitive. Li and Thompson further suggest that the appearance of this kind of verbs and sentences in Chinese may be under the influence of Indo-European languages. It may be a relatively recent usage that has gained in popularity through Chinese translation of works which are originally published in Indo-European languages.

Although Li and Thompson are in disagreement with Chao over the terms “middle” and “labile”, their basic viewpoint is really not all that different. Whether they should be given one label or another, the point is that a small sub-class of verbs which can enter into patient-subject constructions should be recognized. The problem with this view is that PSCs are not restricted to a small sub-class of verbs. The great majority of verbs can enter into the construction and express essentially the same grammatical meaning.

Another difference between Y. R. Chao and Li and Thompson is that the former thinks that “middle verbs” are a kind of intransitive verb, but Li and Thompson think that “labile verbs” are a kind of transitive verb. But this takes one back to the problem discussed above of how “outward action verbs” and “inward action verbs” can in principle be distinguished. In fact, the transitive/intransitive distinction has long been a point of contention.² Lü (1987) states that there is considerable difficulty in drawing a distinction between transitive and intransitive verbs in Chinese. The main reasons for this are: firstly, almost all “transitive verbs” can either take an object or not take an object, and when they do take an object, the latter may not always be a direct object but it can be of many different kinds. For example:

他吃了一碗饭 (Literally: *he eat LE one bowl of rice*; Translation: *He ate one bowl of rice*.)

他吃了一小时 (Literally: *he ate LE one hour*; Translation: *He has eaten for one hour*.)

他吃了两口 (Literally: *he ate LE two mouth*; Translation: *He took two mouthfuls*)

他吃了一顿 (Literally: *he ate LE one meal*; Translation: *He had a meal*)

他吃食堂 (Literally: *he eat canteen*; Translation: *He dines in the canteen*)

他吃了满嘴油 (Literally: *he ate LE mouthful oil*; Translation: *He made his mouth oily after eating*)

2. Wang 1943 points out that the transitive/intransitive distinction is “not that important” in Chinese grammar. Yuan (1998) also thinks that the significance of the transitive/intransitive distinction “does not seem very obvious given the available evidence”.

他吃了大亏 (Literally: he ate LE big loss; Translation: *He had a big loss*)

他吃了一棍子 (Literally: he ate LE one stick; Translation: *He was hit by a stick.*)

Second, “intransitive verbs” can nonetheless take objects (Chao 1968; Zhu 1982). Even verbs that may look typically “intransitive”, e.g. *zuo* 坐 ‘sit’, *xiuxi* 休息 ‘rest’, *shuijiao* 睡觉 ‘sleep’, etc., can take objects, and the scope of these objects goes beyond what Chao calls ‘destination’, ‘starting point’, ‘objects of appearance or disappearance’. The actual range of objects in terms of their semantic relation to the verb is amazingly wide, as illustrated in Guo (2000).³

他坐椅子 (Literally: he sits chair; Translation: *He will sit in a chair.*)

他坐了一天 (Literally: he sat LE a whole day; Translation: *He sat for a whole day.*)

他坐火车 (Literally: He sits train; Translation: *He takes the train.*)

教室里坐满了人 (Literally: classroom in sit fully people; Translation: *The classroom is full of people*)

For the sake of the argument, if somehow a distinction can be made between transitive and intransitive verbs, by for example, defining the former as verbs which can logically take objects. Even so, verbs which can enter the PSC are definitely not restricted to a small sub-class. In his original analysis of *sheng* 胜 ‘win’ and *bai* 败 ‘lose’ sentences, Lü (1987) points out the existence of two syntactic types in Chinese:

Syntactic type 1	Syntactic type 2
X verb Y <i>Zhongguo dui sheng Nanchaoxian dui.</i> (中国队胜南朝鲜队。)	X verb Y <i>Zhongguo dui bai Nanchaoxian dui.</i> (中国队败南朝鲜队。)
X verb <i>Zhongguo dui sheng.</i> (中国队胜。)	Y verb <i>Nanchaoxian dui bai.</i> (南朝鲜队败。)

The second kind of sentence under Type 2 above (Y + verb: in bold) will fall into what is called PSC in this book. Lü points out that there are three kinds of verbs that typically enter this sentence type.

First, transitive verbs, e.g. *xie* 写 ‘write’:

(30) 我写了封信。

Wo xie le feng xin

I wrote TES CLA letter

‘I wrote a letter.’

3. Along with Chen 1998, Shi (1998) and Xu (2001) have also noticed the phenomenon of intransitive verbs taking objects. Shi talks of this in terms of ergativity, and Xu in terms of the unaccusative/unergative distinction, which will be discussed in the next sub-section.

信写了。

xing xie le

letter wrote ASP

‘The letter is written.’

Second, intransitive verbs like *zuo* 坐 ‘sit’:

- (31) 你在炉子上坐壶水。

Ni zai luzi shang zuo hu shui

You PRE stove N_p sit kettle water

‘You put a kettle of water on the stove.’

壶水坐在炉子上。

hu shui zuo zai luzi shang

kettle water sit PRE stove N_p

‘A kettle of water was put on the stove.’

Third, indeterminate verbs – not clear whether they should be called transitive or intransitive, e.g. *zhangjia* 涨价 ‘increase in prices’:

- (32) 这东西又涨价了。

Zhe dongxi you zhangjia le

This thing again rise price ASP

‘The price of this has risen again.’

价又涨了。

jia you zhang le

price again rise ASP

‘price has risen again.’

Thus, the range of verbs that can enter PSC is in fact very wide.

Another difficulty with Li and Thompson’s view is that, contrary to their opinion, the frequent occurrence of “labile verbs” in Chinese does not seem to be a result of Indo-European influence on Modern Chinese. As pointed out at the beginning of this chapter, the PSC has been in existence for a long time since Ancient Chinese, and is likely to be an “indigenous” construction.

In conclusion, therefore, neither the concept of “middle verbs” nor “labile verbs” can help to solve the problem of the PSC in Chinese.

2.3.3 Syntactic approaches

Syntactic approaches to the PSC revolve around the questions below. These possibilities will be considered one by one.

Is the PSC a case of object preposing?

Is the PSC a passive structure?

Is the PSC a topicalization structure?

Is the PSC a stative sentence?

2.3.3.1 Object-preposing

The PSC was described early on in Chinese grammatical research as “agent-patient conflation” (施受同辞) (Sun 1993). The famous pioneer Li Jinxi, in his *Comparative Grammar* (1933), calls it the “object-as-subject construction” (“反宾为主” 句式). Much of the grammatical debate which occurred in the 1950s centred around the understanding of subject and object. The controversy was with sentences like:

- (33) 钱花完了。
Qian hua wan le
 Money spent finish ASP
 ‘The money has been spent.’
- (34) 这个字不认得。
Zhe ge zi bu rende
 This CLA character not recognize
 ‘This character is not recognizable.’

One view during the debate was that the subjects of these sentences were actually preposed objects. However, many arguments were given by others to show that this could not be true. Although the debate did not produce lasting solutions to every problem, at the end of the debate, there was general agreement that subjects like *qian* 钱 “money” and *zhege zi* 这个字 “this character” in the above sentences were not preposed objects. (Lu 1986). More recently, Xu and Liu (1998) present a series of arguments to show that the initial NPs in these sentences are not objects but topics. The question of whether these should be better treated as subjects or topics will be returned to later, but Xu and Liu’s arguments are very strongly against viewing the relevant NPs as preposed objects.

Another angle on this can be obtained by considering object preposing in Ancient Chinese. Ma (1898) was the first to notice object preposing in Ancient Chinese. He noted that this process was subject to some clear conditions. For an object to be preposed to subject position, it must be an interrogative pronoun in an interrogative sentence (He 2001), a pronoun in a negative sentence (Guan 1953), a demonstrative pronoun (e.g. *shi* 是 or *zhi* 之) or a noun modified by the demonstratives *wei* 惟, *shi* 是 or *hui* 惠⁴ (Tang 1985)

4. There are different views on these particles. Shen (1993) thinks they should not be treated as markers of preposed objects, but as focus markers. Djamouri (1996) thinks they are verb particles. Zhang (2001) thinks they are tone-of-voice adverbs.

- (35) 吾谁欺, 欺天乎。 (Lunyu . Zihan 论语 子罕)
Wu shei qi, qi tian hu
 I who cheat, cheat heaven EXCLA
 ‘Who do I cheat, do I dare to cheat Heaven?’
- (36) 三岁贯汝, 莫我肯顾。 (Shijing . Shuoshu 诗经 硕鼠)
San sui guan ru, mo wo ken gu
 Three years dote you, nothing me willing considerate
 ‘I have been doting on you since you were three years old, but you are unwilling to give any consideration to me.’
- (37) 句读之不知, 惑之不解。 (Shishuo 师说)
Ju dou zhi bu zhi, hou zhi bu jie
 Sentence punctuate PAR not know, problems PAR not resolved
 ‘Not knowing how to punctuate the sentences, one will be unable to understanding the text.’
- (38) 惟余马首是瞻。 (Fengwanzhen 冯婉贞)
Wei yu ma shou shi zhan
 Only my horse head DEM PRO see
 ‘(you) watch the direction of my horse.’

Thus, patient-subjects and preposed objects are two totally different phenomena in Ancient Chinese. Object preposing was a marked construction that must satisfy some specific conditions, and is not to be confused with PSCs. In contrast, PSCs do not have any special conditions to satisfy. It can come in positive as well as negative forms, declarative as well as interrogative or imperative forms. As He (2001) pointed out, “the function and meaning of PSCs in subject or object positions are quite different. PSCs should not be regarded as object-preposing structures.” Further, some scholars have pointed out that object-preposing serves to form focusing structures (Xu & Liu 1998; Xu & Shi 2001). The PSC, on the other hand, does not have such clear functions. Similar considerations have led Shen (1992) to treat object preposing separately from PSCs in his research on word order in YinXu bone inscription materials (fourteenth to eleventh centuries BCE).

Generative theories have tended to treat PSCs like BEI-constructions by positing NP movements from (underlying) object positions. But this view is not universally accepted. Xu and Langendoen (1985) have shown how it is not possible to derive all topic-comment structures through NP movement. One difficulty comes from sentences that do not seem to have an underlying empty slot from which the topic NP can be moved:

- (39) 水果, 我最喜欢苹果。
Shuiguo, wo zui xihuan pingguo

Fruit I most like apple
 'As for fruit, I like apple most.'

- (40) 那场火幸亏消防队来得快。
Na chang huo xingkuai xiaofangdui lai de kuai
 That CL fire fortunately firefighters come PAR fast
 'As for that fire, fortunately the firefighters came fast.'

Xu and Langendoen's conclusion is that topic-comment structures (presumably including the PSCs of this book) are base-generated structures that are not derived through NP movement operations.

Movement accounts are faced with two further difficulties. First, PSCs in Ancient Chinese sometimes has an agent in object position. This will create problems for accounts which assume that NP movements can only go in a leftward direction.

- (41) 天下有道，小德役大德小贤役大贤。 (Mengzi . Liloushang 孟子 离娄上)
Tian xia you dao, xiao de yi da de, xiao
 Heaven under has moral, small Morality submit big Morality, small
xian yi da xian
 Virtue submit big Virtue.
 'There exist morals on earth, if small Morality is submitted to the big Morality, and small Virtue is submitted to big Virtue.'

Similar examples can be found also in Modern Chinese:

- (42) 一瓶酒喝两个人
Yi ping jiu he liang ge ren
 One bottle wine drink two CLS people
 'Two people share one bottle of wine.'
- (43) 一间房住进了六个人。
Yi jian fang zhu jin le liu ge ren
 One CLS room live in ASP six CLS people
 'There live six people in one room.'

Second, movement accounts would have to find some way of handling verbs which require their patients to occur in subject position rather than object position (Chen 2003)

- (44) 他降职了。
Ta jiangzhi le
 He demote ASP
 'He has been demoted.'

- (45) 这件事要保密。
Zhe jian shi yao baomi
 This CLS matter should keep secret
 'This must be kept secret.'
- (46) 那座桥明年动工。
Na zuo qiao mingnian donggong
 That CLS bridg next year start building
 'That bridge will start to be built next year.'

2.3.3.2 *Passive sentences*

It is clear that in terms of its syntactic position, the patient NP does have considerable flexibility in Modern Chinese (Ref to 1.1). However, it is admitted that the prototypical position of patient NP in Chinese is still post-verbal. SVO is still the basic word order in the language. However, as mentioned above, it is true that patient NPs can and do frequently occur at the beginning of a sentence. When this happens there is a PSC. It has been shown that in an accusative language, the subject of a sentence is prototypically an agent (Keenan 1976), while the object is typically a patient. In such a system, when the subject is a patient rather than an agent, the most likely outcome is a passive structure. In this respect, the passive construction and the PSC have one important feature in common: for both constructions the subject is a patient, not an agent.⁵

For this reason, the relationship between the PSC and the passive has always been one of the key questions in research on the PSC. In particular, much interest has been shown on the transformational relationship between PSCs and passives (e.g. Liu 1987; Lü 1987).

- (47) 饭碗砸了。
fanwan za le
 Rice bowl broke ASP
 'The bowl broke'
- 饭碗被砸了。
fanwan BEI za le
 rice bowl BEI broke ASP
 'the bowl was broken.'

5. The 'big subject' of the double Subject-Predicate construction may also be a patient. The difference between this and the passive and PSC is that the 'big subject' is followed immediately by another NP (the 'small subject'), e.g. *Na ben shu wo kanwanle*. In order to focus on the PSC, the double SP construction will not be discussed at this time, but this does not mean that it and the PSC are totally unrelated.

While certain PSCs can no doubt be transformed into passives, not all PSCs can do this. For example:

- (48) 信写了。
xin xie le
 Letter wrote PAR
 ‘The letter is written.’
- *信被写了。
 **xin BEI xie le*
 letter BEI wrote PAR

On the scope of the passive in Chinese, there are two main views. In one view, only sentences with explicit markers of passivity are regarded as passive structures, i.e. *bei*, as well as similar markers like *jiao* 叫, *rang* 让, *gei* 给 (Wang 1943; Hashimoto 1987; Liu 1987; Shi 2005). Another view includes within the scope of “passive” sentences which do not contain an explicit marker but are nevertheless there to express the passive meaning (Li 1924; Gong 1980; Li 1994). Thus, whether PSCs are passive structures remains an open question.

To answer this question, one could in principle examine the PSC against the most common definitions of the passive. The most commonly used definitions typically refer to the notions of “agent demotion” (Keenan 1976, Comrie 1977) or “patient promotion” (Perlmutter & Postal 1977). According to Keenan, one of the most basic functions of the passive is subject demotion, with direct object promotion being an optional feature. His proposal is in line with Comrie (1977)’s formulation, which describes subject demotion mechanisms, with the consequence of object promotion. Perlmutter and Postal (1977), on the other hand, argue that the basic function of the passive is direct object-to-subject promotion, with demotion of the subject as a consequence of this operation. As seen in the above discussions, there unfortunately lacks a commonly accepted or uncontroversial working definition to discern whether or PSC as a passive. (See also, for example, Shibatani 1988; Siewierska 1984; Klaiman 1993; Comrie 1988). In the existing literature, there are two opposing views on the issue:

a. PSCs are passives

The main reason here is that the subject of PSCs is a patient. In *Ma Shi Wen Tong* 《马氏文通》, PSCs are treated as one of six kinds of passives, and are regarded as sentences in which an inward action verb is used with one single argument. For other authors holding a similar view, PSCs are regarded as “unmarked passive” or “notional passive”.

Most scholars working on Ancient Chinese seem to take the unmarked passive view as if it was a self-evident fact. (Wang 1943; Hong 1958; Tang 1985; Yi 1989; Sun 1994; Zhang 2001; Yang & He 2001; He 2000). Many scholars believe that while there were passive sentences with markers like *yu* 于 and *jian* 见 in Ancient Chinese, the most common means of expressing passiveness was the use of an “active-like structure”, i.e. the PSC. Wei (2000)’s research on the Qin bamboo inscriptions unearthed in *Shuihudi* reveals that marked passives were a rare occurrence, but unmarked passive (PSCs) were very common. He Leshi’s study of the Book of History (*Shi Ji* 《史记》) reveals that PSCs accounted for about 40% of all passive sentences. One of the main reasons why PSCs are viewed as passives in Ancient Chinese is that in subsequent explanatory texts written by scholars in the Han dynasty on Ancient Chinese texts like the Book of History, PSCs in the original works were often “translated” as passives (Sun 1994).

In Modern Chinese PSCs are often analysed in a similar way. Wang (1943) calls them “passives without *bei*”. Most Modern Chinese grammars tend to put PSCs under the passive, e.g. Zhang Zhigong’s *Xiandai Hanyu* 《现代汉语》 (1982), Lü Shuxiang’s *Xiandai Hanyu Babaici* 《现代汉语八百词》 (1980), Lü Shuxiang and Zhu Dexi’s *Yufa Xiuci Jianghua* 《语法修辞讲话》 (1952). In all these influential reference works, PSCs are classified as a kind of passive; in contrast, relatively little in-depth studies have been done on the PSC, except for discussions of specific points such as which kinds of PSCs can be converted into the *bei*-construction (Lü 1987; Li 1986; Fu 1986).

b. PSCs are not passives

Those who hold the opposite view, i.e. PSCs are not passives, are united on the point that one should not start from meaning, or analyze sentences according to meaning without paying sufficient attention to grammatical form. (See Liu 1987). The idea is that the presence of specific markers (formal devices) is the only usable criterion. Since PSCs do not contain any passive marker, they cannot be regarded as real passives (Wang 1943; Liang 1960; Liu 1987; Fang 1961). While the reasoning behind this view seems to make perfectly good sense, what counts as a “formal device” is not very clear. The assumption seems to be that markers like *bei* 被, *jiao* 叫, *rang* 让, *gei* 给, etc. are passive markers, so any sentence that do not contain these words are not passives. But is this really convincing?

In his early writing, Wang Li seems to have accepted the view of *Ma Shi Wen Tong* that “when an outward action verb is not followed by an object, it would in effect have become an inward action verb.” However, in his paper of 1944, his position on this question is clearly revised. He no longer thought that sen-

tences⁶ like (49) are passives, because they are only notionally passive, but in terms of their syntactic form, they are no different from SV sentences. This view is shared by Fang (1961), according to whom there is no distinction between active verb forms and passive verb forms in Chinese. Since neither agents nor any passive marking can be identified, these sentences should not be regarded as passives.

(49) 你二哥哥的玉丢了。

Ni er gege de yu diu le
 You second brother PAR jade gone ASP
 'Your second brother's jade got lost.'

Summary

Since both the PSC and the *bei*-construction contain a patient NP in subject position, and since there exists a transformational relationship between them, such that the addition of *bei* or *bei*+agent turns a PSC into a *bei*-sentence, the PSC has often been treated in the past as an unmarked passive. But this view is far from universally accepted. As PSCs apparently do not contain any passive marking, some scholars think that there is a lack of formal evidence in calling PSCs passives. Thus, attempts to define the PSC either formally or functionally have resulted in a controversy which at times seems impossible to resolve.

2.3.3.3 Topicalization structure

The literature on subject and topic in Chinese is immense (Chao 1968; Li & Thompson 1976; Zhu 1985; Xu 1997; Shi 2001; Xu & Langendon 1985; Yuan 1996, 2003; Xu & Liu 1998; La Polla 1993). It is not possible to review this literature here. Comments will be confined to what is strictly relevant to the PSC.

In the subject and topic literature, there has been little direct discussion of the PSC. Only some occasional comments are made when considering different kinds of topicalization structures.⁷ One notable exception is Xu and Liu (1998), who specifically talk about sentences in which the topic is a patient. In this work, the authors believe that the sentence-initial NP is a topic (and not a subject), and proceed to justify their position by showing that the initial NP is not an (preposed)

6. The term 'sentence' is used in its general sense to refer mostly to sentences in written texts (if that happens to be the sources of an example). As the main aim is to arrive at a comprehensive description of the forms and functions of PSC, it is not possible for us to launch into a hard and involved discussion of how terms like 'sentence', 'construction' and 'clause' should be used and distinguished from one another. Such work must unfortunately be left to future research.

7. The six topicalization structures reviewed in Shi (1999) do not include the PSC.

object. To this end, they put forward several strong arguments against the preposed object view. We find Xu and Liu's arguments quite convincing in showing that the sentence-initial NP is not a preposed object, but does this mean that it is therefore a topic? What criteria have been used for the identification of topics? Since Chao 1968, it is generally agreed that topics are identified through prosodic cues (including suprasegmentals) like potential pauses and syntactic means like "pause particles". However, because the PSC, the focus of the present investigation, does not contain any special prosodic features, or pauses or pause particles, it is not so clear how these criteria can be usefully employed in the present study. These operational difficulties will be discussed in more detail in 3.2. below.

If Xu and Liu's argument that the sentence-initial patient NP in the PSC is not an object is correct then is it a topic, as Xu and Liu assume, or is it a subject? A first attempt can be made at answering this question by looking at previous discussions of the status of the sentence-initial NP in the *bei*-construction. As mentioned above, both the PSC and the *bei*-construction have a patient-NP in initial position, but so far in the literature, the patient-NPs in these two constructions have been treated totally differently: it is generally described as a subject in the *bei*-construction but a topic in the PSC. This is an interesting but puzzling phenomenon.

Shi (1997) believes that the initial NP in the *bei*-construction is a subject, but offers little systematic analysis in support of this view. Xu and Liu (1998) also treat it as a subject. Their reason is that in the *bei*-construction, the agent (if present) must be introduced by a preposition (i.e. *bei*), and in this syntactic frame functions as an adjunct. The reason for this according to the authors is that it can ensure that the subject position is left free for the patient to fill, thus showing that the patient NP is really a subject. Another piece of supporting evidence according to Xu and Liu, is that the patient NP in passive sentences in other languages (languages which have case marking) typically receives nominative (subject) marking. Since the *bei*-construction is the Chinese equivalent of their passive, its initial patient-NP is likely also to be a subject.

It seems reasonable that in the *bei* passive structure, the initial NP is a subject, if one understands the assignment of an oblique case/position to the agent as an operation the aim of which is to leave the subject position to the patient. However, the same argument cannot be made for the PSC because in this structure the agent is not even present.

Shi (2001) also thinks that the initial NP in the *bei*-construction is a subject, not a topic. His method is to examine these initial NPs in the light of two sets of features which have been identified in the international literature as typical of subject and topic respectively, and to see whether they resemble subject or topic more. Shi points out that most of the criterial features for subject and topic are similar, but when there is a conflict, he will follow the formal criteria. In comparing the

characteristics of the patient NP in the *bei*-construction with the set of subject features Shi found that in terms of the semantic criteria, they look very different, but in terms of the syntactic structures one can reach a different or opposite conclusion. Since he gives more weight to the formal features, his conclusion is that they are subjects, not topics.

From the above discussion it should be clear that there are good reasons to believe that the initial NP in the *bei*-construction is a subject. But little detailed explanation can be found in the literature to show that the initial NP in the PSC is a topic. If both the *bei*-construction and the PSC are characterized by the presence of the patient NP in sentence-initial position, then one wonders why in one case it is a subject and in another case it is a topic. We shall come back to these points in 3.1.

2.3.3.4 *Stative sentences*

Another common view on the PSC is that it is actually a stative structure used to indicate a state produced by an action (Lü 1942, Gong 1980). Chen (2000) also takes this view, and offers a diagnostic: it is ungrammatical to add adverbs like *zai* 在 and *zhengzai* 正在 in front of the verb in a PSC, suggesting that the sentences one is dealing with are stative. Yuan (1990) uses a similar test to show the stative nature of the PSC. However, it seems that the addition of *zai* 在 and *zhengzai* 正在 is not always impossible. For example:

- (50) 国民经济正在进一步调整。
Guomin jingji zhengzai jinyibu tiaozheng
 National economy ASP further adjust
 ‘The national economy is under further adjustment.’

We will argue in 4.3.2 that the occurrence of *zai* 在 and *zhengzai* 正在 actually does not violate the stative reading of PSC.

Fang (1961) also commented that it is better to treat PSCs as stative rather than as passives. He cited four criteria proposed in Song (1958) for stative sentences and pointed out that the PSC fulfills all four of them. The criteria are: (1) occurring with sentence-final *le*; (2) frequent insertion of *bu* or *de* in the middle of the resultative verb structure; (3) frequent co-occurrence of adverbials that show the direction of the action indicated by the verb; (4) frequent co-occurrence of adverbs like *rongyi* 容易, *nan* 难, *hao* 好.

From earlier discussions in Section 2.2.2, it is clear that the PSC does have all of the features identified by Song. Nevertheless, we also know that the characteristics of the PSC go beyond the scope laid down by her for stative sentences. The view taken in this study is that these features, though useful, are not necessary or sufficient conditions for the PSC.

A fundamental question should be raised: why should the above four features be thought of as definitive of stative sentences? Sentences with adjectival predicates must surely be regarded as in some sense prototypical examples of statives. For example,

- (51) 这朵花真美。
Zhe duo hua zhen mei
 This CL flower really beautiful
 ‘This flower is really beautiful.’

But sentence like this has none of Song’s four features. It is true that the scope of stative sentences might need to go beyond adjectival predicate sentences, to include verbal predicates. Examples like the following are called “state-of-affairs sentences” (Yuan 2003):

- (52) 我是去年上大学的。
Wo shi qunian shang daxue de
 I FOC-M last year go to college FOC-M
 ‘It was last year that I went to college.’
- (53) 书倒放着。
Shu dao fan zhe
 Book upside down put ASP
 ‘The book is laid upside down’

Notice that none of the above sentences has Song’s “prototypical characteristics”. This then leads to the conclusions that in fact the ‘stativeness’ may not be defined by these characteristics. However, Song’s four features are very useful in that the PSC does show these tendencies. But whether in syntactic or semantic terms the PSC is rather different from typical stative structures. The question of the position of the PSC within the grammatical system as a whole remains unanswered.

2.3.3.5 Middle constructions

More recently, Xiong (2018) has taken another approach to the study of PSCs that is different from all the other syntactic approaches mentioned in this section. Xiong’s proposal is to treat PSCs as ‘middle constructions’, taking both syntactic and semantic considerations into account. Be that as it may, as her treatment is still largely based on formal theories of syntax, within the general framework of the present study, it is still classified as a syntactic approach, which is very different from the one that is adopted in the present work, which places considerable emphasis on semantics and discourse.

What the PSC is not

3.1 Topicalization

As discussed in 2.3.3.1, there appear to be good reasons to believe that the sentence-initial NP in the PSC is not a case of object preposing. If this is true, the next question is: Is this constituent a subject or a topic? In this chapter, we take a closer look at arguments for and against these positions.

3.1.1 Prosodic cues

The general understanding seems to be that while the sentence-initial NP in the *bei*-construction is a subject, the corresponding constituent in the PSC is a topic. Linguists have taken considerable efforts to show that the former is the case by producing many arguments for it, but have tended to take the latter for granted.

When forced to produce supporting evidence for the topichood of the patient NP in the PSC, linguists have pointed in two main directions: prosodic cues and the sentence-initial slot which is usually seen as the default position for subject and topic. These two points will now be taken up in turn.

Pause is almost universally recognized as the most important indicator of topichood in Chinese (Chao 1968; Xu & Liu 1998, etc). It can either be realized as a gap of silence or as a pause particle. However, while PSCs do not come with an actual gap of silence or a pause particle after the sentence-initial NP, one cannot immediately come to the conclusion that this NP is therefore not a topic simply on the basis of this fact. Chao (1968) is very careful on this issue: he talks not only of actual pauses and pause particles but also *potential* pauses, which involve fine linguistic intuition and judgment. Since speakers' intuitions can vary, and do actually vary especially under speech situations, judgments about whether pauses or pause particles can be inserted after a sentence-initial NP are exceedingly difficult to make. To take an example:

- (1) 书看完了。
Shu kan wan le
 Book read finish ASP PAR
 '(I) have finished reading the book.'

On this sentence at least two interpretations can be formed:

Situation I: Suppose a teacher has asked a student to read a book and then write a report. After some time, the teacher asks the student: “*Ni de baogao xie hao le ma?*” (Have you finished writing your report?). In answer to this, the student might say: “*Shu kan wan le (dan baogao hai mei kaishi xie ne.*” (I have finished reading, but haven’t written the report yet.) In this context, there would seem to be a potential pause after the initial NP *shu* 书, which may therefore be regarded as a topic.

Situation II: Suppose a child is asking his mother’s permission to go out to play. He says, “*Mama, shu kan wan le, keyi chuqu wan yihuar ma?*” (Mum, I’ve finished reading. Can I go out and play for a while?). In this context, there does not seem to be the possibility of a pause after *shu*, in which case the same initial-NP could be regarded as a subject.

Thus, it is extremely difficult to decide whether there is a potential pause after a PSC unless a clear context is available. A PSC on its own, without a context, is potentially ambiguous and may or may not contain a pause. This suggests that potential pause cannot be used as a reliable criterion for topic-hood.

Another difficulty is that pauses or pause particles may be inserted at more than one place within the same sentence, thus making the identification of topics variable and indeterminate. For example:

- (2) 图书馆里的那些书看起来很不错。
Tushuguan li de na xie shu kan qilai hen bu cuo
 Library in PAR those book look DIR very good
 ‘Those books in the library look very good.’
- (3) 图书馆里的(啊)那些书看起来很不错。
Tushuguanli de (a), na xie shu kan qilai hen bu cuo
 Library in PAR (er) those book look DIR very good
 ‘Those books in the library look very good.’
- (4) 图书馆里的那些(啊),书看起来很不错。
Tushuguanli de na xie (a), shu kan qilai hen bu cuo
 Library in PAR those (er), book look DIR very good
- (5) 图书馆里的那些书(啊)看起来很不错。
Tushuguan li de na xie shu (a), kan qilai hen bu cuo
 Library in PAR those book (er), look DIR very good
- (6) 图书馆里的那些书看起来(啊),很不错。
Tushuguan li de na xie shu kan qilai (a), hen bu cuo
 Library in PAR those book look DIR (er), very good

In connection with the uncertainties of prosodic cues as a criterion for topic-hood we can mention some interesting facts from some dialects. In some dialects, in addition to clear cases of topicalization, where there are pauses after the topic-NP, there are also sentences where the sentence-initial patient NP cannot be followed by a pause. In the *Chaozhou* (潮州) and *Shantou* (汕头) varieties of the Min dialect, for example, “object-preposing structures” differ from their counterparts in Mandarin in two important respects. First, the so-called “preposed object” cannot receive stress. Second, unlike Mandarin, where a coreferential pronoun can appear at the object position of the matrix clause, in the *Chaozhou* and *Shantou* dialects, it is not grammatical for a pronoun to occur in the same position. Thus, it is possible, and quite natural to say something like this in Mandarin:

- (7) 这本书看过它了。
Zhe ben shu kan guo ta le
 This CLS book read PAR it PAR
 ‘(I) had finished this book.’

But it is not possible to use the pronoun *yi* in that position in *ChaoShan* (潮汕) My own intuitions in the *Changsha* (长沙) and *Shuangfeng* (双峰) varieties of the *Xiang* (湘) dialect suggest that pauses may or may not occur depending on different contexts:

- (8) 饭吃咯啞, 看下电视。
Fan qiou gen da, kan ho din si
 Meal eat PAR, watch QUA TV
 ‘Having finished the meal, (let’s) watch TV.’
- (9) 饭吃咯啞, 菜还冒动。
Fan qiou gen da, cai hai mao deng
 rice eat PAR, dish still not touch
 ‘Have eaten all the rice, but (I) didn’t touch the dish.’

There cannot be a pause after the word *fan* 饭 in sentence (8), but there can be a pause after the same word in sentence (9). But the two sentences are apparently both PSCs. So, it seems that more attention may have been given in the past to contrastive contexts (as in the second sentence above), but the first kind of context may have been ignored. While the second kind of context is obviously quite possible, the concern in this book will be on the first kind of context.

3.1.2 Subjecthood

It has become customary to determine the status of sentence-initial NPs by examining them against a set of universal prototypical features for subjects such as those proposed in Keenan (1976). One of the key features is “agent-hood”, so that NPs

that are not agents are usually not treated as subjects, unless there are other indications such as passive verb forms. Xu and Liu (1998) pointed out that grammarians in the past had the tendency “to define syntactic constituents in terms of semantic notions”, and “to use the prototypical semantic notions associated with a syntactic constituent as its defining features”. According to the authors, this is not totally satisfactory because “the semantic relations carried by syntactic constituents often turn out to be much more complicated than the prototypical features might suggest”. Having said this, however, Xu and Liu could find no way out of this difficulty but to return to the idea of prototypical features in their treatment of subject and topic. Thus, they said, “Subject is the grammaticalization of semantic roles, and the prototypical role here is agent”. Based on this assumption, they naturally come to the conclusion that the initial-NP in the PSC is a topic, not a subject.

The fact that in Chinese the status of an NP cannot be readily determined from its case marking or verb inflections (as there are few such inflections) may have led some to call the PSC’s initial-NP a topic. When we look at other languages, especially more inflectional ones, it soon becomes clear that “prototypical semantic roles” is not a reliable basis for determining grammatical functions. To being with, in English, for example, the following sentences all contain subjects which are not agents:

- (10) The book is selling very well.
- (11) The door suddenly opened.
- (12) This bread cuts easily.

In these sentences, the initial NP is unquestionably the subject, but it is clearly not an expression of the agent role.

In Lithuanian, an accusative language where the subject always carries nominative case marking and controls the verb in person, gender, and number, the situation is even clearer:

- (13) As skalbiu baltin-ius
I-NOM wash linen-ACC. PL
'I wash the linen.'
- (14) Baltin-iai gerai skalbia-si
Linen-NOM well wash-RM
'The linen washes well.'

In terms of semantic roles, obviously the subject of (13) is an agent but the subject of (14) is a patient. But nobody would argue that the initial-NPs in both cases here take nominative case which shows their equal syntactic status as subjects.

In fact, the fact that subjects can express many different semantic roles is only to be expected. If all subjects are agents and all objects are patients, then subjects

and objects should be identical with agents and patients. And if so, then an explanation would be needed as to why two different sets of terms are needed in the first place

From the above, it can be seen that the possibility cannot be ruled out that the sentence-initial NP in a PSC may be a subject although it does not carry the prototypical semantic role of agent.

3.1.3 Focus, subordination and nominalization

Shi (2001) points out that as a grammatical constituent, subject is a concept that is applicable to both the level of the sentence and the level of the clause. Shi also points out “another important concept related to subject and topic is that of focus” and that “since topic represents given information and focus represents new information, ... topicalization and focus markers are in principle two mutually incompatible concepts”. Based on this understanding, Shi goes on to show that since “A+V+P” can enter into clause structure, can be turned into an interrogative through the addition of an interrogative pronoun, and “focalized” via the use of the focus marker *shi*, it should be a basic sentence type in Chinese, with “A” as its subject. On the other hand, since “P+V+A” cannot enter into clause structure, cannot be turned into an interrogative or “focalized”, it is a marked sentence type, where P is the topic.

Although Shi’s object of study is PAV structures, not the PSC, i.e. PV structures, we can use the same method to show the status of P in the PV structure. It is found that the PV structure can enter into clausal structure:

- (15) 书看完了的同学可以走了。
Shu kan wan le de tongxue keyi zou le
 Book read finished ASP PAR student can leave PAR ASP
 ‘The students who have finished reading can leave.’
- (16) 饺子馅应该朝一个方向搅的道理很简单。
Jiaozi xian yinggai chao yi ge fangxiang jiao de
 Dumpling stuffing should toward one CLS direction mix PAR
daoli hen jiandan
 reason very simple
 ‘The reason that the dumpling stuffing should be mixed in only one direction is very simple.’
- (17) 这道菜叫了一刻钟了还没来。
Zhe dao cai jiao le yi kezhong le hai mei lai
 This CLS dish order ASP one quarter ASP still not arrive
 ‘The dish has been ordered for one quarter of an hour, but it still hasn’t come.’

The P in the structure can be “interrogativized” through the substitution by an interrogative pronoun, as well as “focalized” or given stress.

- (18) 李明冲闯不得。

Liming chongzhuang bu de
Liming displease not PAR
'Liming can't be displeased.'

-谁冲闯不得? -是李明冲闯不得。
-shui chongchuang bu de -shi Liming chongchung bu de
-who displease not PAR -is liming displease not PAR
'who can't be displeased?' -'it is Liming who can't be displeased.'

- (19) 铁盒埋在屋后了。

Tie he mai zai wu hou le
Iron box bury PRE house back ASP
'The iron box was buried at the back of house'

-什么埋在屋后了?
-shenme maizai wu hou le?
-what buryPRE house back ASP
-'what was buried at the back of house?'

-是铁盒埋在屋后了。
-shi tiehe mai zai wu hou le
-is iron box bury PRE wu hou le
-'It was the iron box that was buried at the back of house'

Since subject is an integral part of sentence grammar, it is not surprising that it is very closely related to other parts of the grammar. These relations can be seen from the effect of various syntactic operations, such as “clausification” as illustrated above, and nominalization, as illustrated below. Topic, on the other hand, is not an integral part of sentence grammar (but plays an important role at the discourse or textual level), it is natural that it does not have the same range of syntactic behaviour as the subject does. For example:

- (20) 这个干部考验了一年了。

Zhe ge ganbu kaoyan le yinian le
This CLS cadre test ASP one year ASP
'This cadre had been tested for one year'

-这个考验了一年的干部
-zhe ge kaoyan le yinian de ganbu
-this CLS test ASP one year PAR cadre
-'This is the cadre who had been tested for one year'

- (21) 广告录出来了。
Guangkao lu chulai le
 Advertisement record DIR ASP
 'The advertisement has been recorded.'
 -录出来了的广告
-lu chulai le de guangkao
 -record DIR ASP PAR advertisement
 -'the recorded advertisement'

Lu (1986) proposed another diagnostic that can help decide whether a sentence-initial NP is a topic. This is the addition of the phrase *shi-bu-shi* immediately after the NP. If it results in a grammatical interrogative sentence, then the NP is a topic. For example:

- (22) 这群牲口是不是得往回牵?
zhe qun shengkou shi-bu-shi dei wang hui xian
 this herd animal be-not-be should to back pull
 'Should this herd of animals be pulled home?'

Since the sentence-initial NP of a PSC can indeed undergo such an operation, does it mean that the PSC is a topicalization structure and its initial NP a topic? The answer is no. The reason is that if we consider all kinds of sentences, including SOV ones, and even ones which contain universally quantified NPs as subjects, can undergo this same operation. For example:

- (23) 一口水是不是都没喝过?
yi kou shui shibushi dou mei he guo
 one mouth water is-or-not both not drink ASP
 'Don't (you) drink even one mouthful of water?'
- (24) 样样事情是不是都得自己做?
yang yang shiqing shibushi dou dei ziji zou
 CLS CLS thing is-or-not both should self do
 'Should (I) do everything by myself?'

In contrast, most typical topicalization structures cannot accept the addition of *shi-bu-shi*:

- (25) *那场火, 是不是幸亏消防队来得快?
na chang hou, shibushi xing kui xiaofangdui lai de kuai
 that CLS fire, be-not-be fortunately firefighter come PAR quickly
 'As for that fire, is it fortunate that the firefighter came quickly?'

We therefore have some reservation about the reliability of the *shi-bu-shi* diagnostic for topic-hood.

In conclusion, the sentence-initial NP in the PSC has a range of characteristics that suggest that it is a subject. Compared to this, evidence for its topic-hood is far from conclusive. Thus there is no good reason to simply assume, as some have done in the past, that the patient-NP of the PSC is a topic.

3.2 PSC is not passive

It was shown in Chapter 2 how the PSC has been treated as a passive construction by some but not others. In this section, a closer look will be taken at this controversy. It will first be shown that although both sides of the argument are based on some good reasons, methodologically neither is without problems. New ways of looking at the nature of the PSC will then be considered and an alternative approach proposed.

3.2.1 Two opposing views

Proponents of the “passive view” (Hong 1958; Yi 1989; Sun 1994; Zhang 2001; Yang & He 2001) believe that the PSC is really a passive construction – a “notional passive”, as opposed to the *bei*-construction, which is also formally a passive – but nevertheless a passive in its own right. This view is of course based on a notional understanding of the passive, i.e. the idea that if the subject position of a sentence is occupied by a patient rather than an agent, then the sentence is a passive. This view can be re-phrased in contemporary terminology as the mapping between semantic roles and syntactic functions: a passive sentence is understood as the result of a special kind of operation which maps the semantic role of patient onto the syntactic function of subject (when it should normally be mapped onto the direct object function in accusative languages). According to this view, both the PSC and the *bei*-construction are passives, because in both cases the patient role has been mapped onto the subject function. The only difference between the two is that unlike the *bei*-construction, the PSC does not come with a formal marker. It is in this sense a “notional passive”.

Opponents of the passive theory (Wang 1943; Liang 1960; Liu 1987; Fang 1961) question its validity by pointing out that it is unsatisfactory to define the passive in purely notional terms. While they admit that patient-to-subject mapping is an important feature of the passive, they do not agree that it is a decisive factor. Patient-to-subject mapping may be a necessary but not a sufficient condition for a sentence to be called a passive. The “formalists” believe that in addition to notional features, formal features must also be taken into consideration. Without

the presence of formal features, there is no good reason to call a sentence a passive. Since unlike the *bei*-construction, which comes with a clear marker, the PSC does not have any formal marking, it should not be classified as a passive in this view.

Which is more reasonable – the “notional view” or the “formal view”? In one sense they are both right. And yet, as will be shown below, both are methodologically flawed. Although the notional view seems to rely too much on meaning, it is not entirely unreasonable. If we compare the PSC with the passive, it is hard to deny that there are some important similarities between them. For example, it does seem that the following sentences are very similar in meaning:

(26) 房子早就拆了。

Fangzi zao jiu chai le

House early already pull down ASP

‘The house has already been pulled down long ago.’

(27) 房子早就被拆了。

Fangzi zao jiu bei (ren) chai le

House early already Bei (somebody) pull down ASP

‘The house has already been pulled down long ago.’

There are, as one would expect, subtle semantic differences between these two sentences. After all, as they do clearly have different structures, it is only natural that there are some meaning differences between them. In spite of this, it seems not entirely unreasonable to say that at the same time there are basic and important similarities as well. For example, in both cases, the subject *fangzi* ‘the houses’ is the topic (or starting point or given information), and is the target (theme) of the action/activity indicated by the verb *chai* ‘demolish’. In a sense, then, both sentences convey the message that some houses being referred to by the speaker are no longer there, as a result of some demolition work which has taken place between now and then (e.g. the last time when the hearer saw the houses). Thus, the notionalists do seem to have a point. On the other hand, if the PSC and the passive are so similar in meaning, what actual differences are there which would set them apart? It seems that the “notionalists” will be forced to admit that there are (at least) two different kinds of passives in Modern Chinese. If so, what is the difference between them, and are there any principled ways to distinguish between different kinds of passives?

The formalists, on the other hand, are right in insisting that at least some formal features must be present before the PSC can be considered a passive. It is simply not right to rely just on semantics. What might count as a formal device in marking a passive? Haspelmath (1990: 28) provides a useful list on the basis of an extensive survey of 80 languages from the Gramcats sample:

1.	additional stem affix	25
2.	auxiliary verb (+ particle)	
3.	particle	1
4.	extra-inflectional affix	3
5.	differential subject person markers	2
6.	alternative stem affix	1

Checking the Chinese PSC against the above table, it can be seen that it does not contain any of the above morphemes. In contrast, the *bei*-construction does contain a preposition that marks the agent which has been “demoted”. In spite of this, it must be said that, like so many other areas of Chinese grammar, the sparseness of morphological marking should not be directly equated with the absence of formal devices. In this case, word order does seem to have an important role in the PSC. The fact that the patient-NP comes before the verb, together with the absence of an agent-NP, do make the PSC look distinctly different from other sentence types. Thus, the PSC and the *bei*-construction are united as far as word order is concerned. But the former is nevertheless different from the latter in that unlike the latter, it does not contain a syntactic slot reserved for the agent. The *bei*-construction, on the other hand, does come with a syntactic slot for the agent which is marked by a preposition. Thus, one might say that both constructions have an element of passiveness, only that the PSC is “less marked” than the *bei*-construction.

In a sense, both the notionalists and the formalists are right. And yet neither is completely right, because both suffer from a certain methodological weakness. The notionalists have relied too much on a semantic definition of the passive, without paying sufficiently attention to formal features. The formalists, on the other hand, have given too much weight to formal marking, and have not been very successful in handling the subtle similarities and differences between the PSC and the *bei*-construction. Neither approach offers a complete view on how the passive should be understood within the wider context of the voice system in the language.

3.2.2 Why PSC is not passive

In order to gain a deeper understanding, we need to take a broader view – and try to get away from the vicious circle of ‘form vs. meaning’. The starting point of an alternative approach is: what precisely is the relationship between the PSC and the *bei*-construction? As argued in the previous section, the sentence-initial NP in the PSC should be recognized as a subject. It is generally agreed that the sentence-initial NP in the *bei*-construction is also a subject. Given these two points, the question can be asked: what is the difference between these two constructions, and what is the relationship between them?

3.2.2.1 *Setting determining criteria*

3.2.2.1.1 Is a universal definition of passive possible? I believe that this question must be answered by looking at the two Chinese constructions from a wider, cross-linguistic perspective, by taking typological evidence into account. It might be thought that a useful, even necessary, starting point is a universal definition of passive. Unfortunately, such a definition is so far not available. Attempts to find a universal definition have resulted in disappointment. Siewierska (1984), for example, states, after reviewing a wide range of languages in the literature and considering every morpho-syntactic properties, including verbal marking, case marking and presence or absence of an overt agent, that “the term *passive* has been extended to cover a wide range of structures...[As] a group, the whole body of so called passives does not have a single property in common” (Siewierska 1984: 255). Keenan (1985) attempts to provide a working definition of passive for field workers, but ended up only making comments on a number of specific features of the passive in various languages throughout the world. Although previous research has failed on this point, they have helped gain a much deeper understanding. It is now known that the passive should properly be understood broadly as a set of constructions with diverse syntactic and semantic characteristics, as a prototype, so that it is better to think in terms of a cline.

3.2.2.1.2 *Markedness theory* Another very important insight that has come out of the typological research is that the passive can be viewed in terms of markedness theory. The terms of ‘marked’ and ‘unmarked’ have been used in linguistics for a long time, at least since the Prague School, but the sense of markedness that is crucial for the present discussion is the one which underlies much contemporary work in typology - what one might call “typological markedness”. The essence of this notion is that one often finds asymmetrical grammatical properties between the different terms of the same grammatical category. For example, within the category of ‘number’, several terms are found, including singular and plural (and in some systems, dual, triple, etc.). Cross-linguistic studies have found that of these different terms, the singular is generally unmarked, while the plural generally marked, in the sense that the singular form of a noun is often its base form, but the plural is formed by the addition of morphemes which would mark a word as ‘plural’. More interestingly, time and again in typological research, it is found that the relationship between the terms in a category can be expressed in terms of an implicational scale. Thus, for any given language, the existence of a marked plural will imply the existence of an unmarked singular, but the existence of an unmarked singular will not necessarily imply the existence of a marked plural. In other words, while there are (many)

languages in which the plural is marked but the singular is not, no language marks its singular nouns but not its plural nouns.

The promise of this line of research is that the same marked-unmarked relationship may exist across a whole range of grammatical categories in the world's languages. In Croft's (1991) words, the markedness theory "hypothesizes that the marked-unmarked relationship holding for any grammatical category, say active vs. passive, is of the same type as that holding for singular and plural". Indeed, of direct relevance to the present concern is the interesting finding from typological research that a majority of languages have a "basic voice strategy" which ensures that their voice systems will work according precisely to the predictions of the markedness theory. In accusative languages, for example, the basic voice is usually the one where the agent is selected as, or mapped on the syntactic function of, the subject. This is of course the active voice. In most accusative languages the basic voice is also the unmarked voice. At the same time, these languages also provide other strategies, for example, by assigning the patient (or some other semantic roles such as instrument or location) the subject function, while reserving some other place for the agent, resulting in a passive voice.

Contemporary typological work has found an abundance of evidence which show that cross-linguistically the passive is morphologically and syntactically a marked structure (Keenan 1985; Siewierskwa 1984; Croft 1986). Taking this as an important clue, we can now return to an examination of the PSC. If it is a passive, as some have argued before, then it can be expected to have the properties of a marked structure in the language. But on the other hand, if it does not have such properties, then this would suggest that it is not a passive structure.

3.2.2.2 *Criteria for markedness*

In order to be more systematic, we follow Croft's (1991) markedness theory, which is based on the Prague School. According to Croft, there are four main kinds of criteria in distinguishing marked and unmarked terms:

- I. Structural complexity
- II. Behavioral complexity
 - a. Inflectional complexity
 - b. Distribution
- III. Text frequency

An examination of the PSC in terms of these criteria will show that it can hardly be regarded as a passive construction, particularly when there is another much more qualified candidate, i.e. the *bei*-construction.

3.2.2.2.1 Text frequency. Consider the last point first – textual frequency. This was first proposed in Greenberg (1966), by which he meant “the frequency of occurrence of the construction in question in actual language use and across languages”. Croft (1991: 85) elaborates the concept as follows: “If a marked value occurs a certain number of times in frequency in a given text sample, then the unmarked value will occur at least as many times in a comparable text sample”.

In talking about the PSC and the *bei*-construction, Wang (1954) notes that the *bei*-construction has a very low [textual] frequency. But this does not mean that there are very few passive sentences in the language. By passive sentences, Wang is referring here to both PSCs and *bei*-sentences. According to Wang, most of these passive sentences are unmarked passives, i.e. PSCs. The high textual frequency of the PSC can be established through three kinds of evidence. First, from a synchronic point of view, there is little doubt that the PSC is a very frequently occurring construction in contemporary Chinese corpora; in fact, it is one of the most frequently occurring constructions in running texts. As mentioned in Chapter 1, Tao and Thompson (1994) have found from their detailed investigation of their Mandarin speech corpus, that the most frequently occurring sentence type is XV, i.e. single-argument clauses (61%). Two-argument clauses made up only 19% of the corpus. Another 20% were clauses without any arguments. Of the XV instances, 42% were cases where X was an ‘object’ (i.e. patient and other non-agent roles, and 58% where X was an agent. From these statistics, it is clear that the PSC occurs almost as frequently as SV(O) sentences. As SV(O) is universally accepted as an unmarked structure in Modern Chinese, the fact that the PSC has a textual frequency that is comparable to SV(O) suggests that it should not be called a passive.

Tao (2007) provides further evidence for the prevalence of the ‘X+V’ structure in discourse through a study of the occurrences of different kinds of argument structures in a set of texts of the ‘instructional’ genre (including instructional manuals, cooking recipes, operational procedures, etc.) taken from the Lancaster Corpus of Mandarin Chinese (LSMC). It was found that the most commonly occurring clauses are “mono-argumental” (i.e., of the form X + V, containing only one argument), accounting for 93.4% of all the clauses found in the data set. In Tao’s collection, the X in ‘X + V’ can be of different semantic roles: agent, patient, theme, etc. Interestingly, in Tao’s data, the frequency of occurrence of ‘patients’ (i.e., X = patient) far outnumbers that of ‘agents’ (i.e., X = agent), by a ratio of 5:1. From Tao’s study, it is clear that the occurrence of patient-NPs before verbs takes precedence over other options at least in the ‘instructional genre’.

Tao’s ‘X+V’ actually includes not only patient-subject constructions (as defined in the present study) but also *ba*-, *jiang*-, and *bei*- constructions, where the NP after the co-verb has a patient role. According to Tao’s frequency counts,

even though PSCs do not occur as frequently as *jiang-* and *ba-* constructions, nevertheless its frequency of occurrence is still high. Our study of the frequency of PSC in narration discourse, to be reported in Chapter 5, will confirm Tao's observations. Even though the present study made use of narrative rather than instructional texts, we came to the same conclusion that the choice of clause-structures of construction-types is based primarily on considerations of discourse functions.

Turning next to the PSC's textual frequency in other Chinese dialects, there is evidence that the PSC is a high frequency structure across a range of dialects. According to Huang Borong's *Compendium of Chinese Dialects*, the PSC's textual frequency when compared with the *bei*-construction is even higher in many dialects than Mandarin, e.g. the Suixian dialect of Hubei. Also, many southern dialects do not have a *bei* type of passive. Instead, co-verbs like *jiao*, *gei*, *ba* are used. Since these words are rather more verb-like than *bei* (which is generally agreed to be a preposition or co-verb), these sentences in the Southern dialects should perhaps be regarded as a special kind of passive – one which contains a serial-verb structure as its predicate. Also, in some other dialects, such as the *Shanghai* dialect and the *Jinhua* dialect of *Zhejiang*, when the predicate is a resultative or reduplicative structure, the PSC is the most common choice.

Furthermore, as has already been mentioned above in 2.1, the PSC is not only a high frequency structure in Modern Chinese but has always been a basic construction since Ancient Chinese. Thus, as far as textual frequency is concerned, there can be little doubt that the PSC is, and has been, one of the most frequently occurring construction types in Chinese.

3.2.2.2 Structural complexity. Consider next Greenberg's first criterion, structural complexity. As one of the most time-honoured criteria, structural complexity means that the number of morphemes associated with a marked value will be larger than the number of morphemes associated with an unmarked value. However, as Croft (1991: 76) has pointed out, "it is worth noting that the difficulties with determining formal aspects of the structural criterion of markedness are a greater problem in morphological categories, while the difficulties in determining the function of morphemes is greater problem in syntactic construction."

In the case of Chinese, an analytical language in which grammatical relations are marked mainly by word order and particles, the criterion of structural complexity is relatively easy to apply. It is clear that, in comparison with structures like the *bei*-construction, the PSC is less complex, in that no particles are used to mark any grammatical categories. By the criterion of structural complexity, then, the PSC would seem to be at least less marked than the *bei*-construction.

3.2.2.2.3 Distributional behavior. Of Greenberg's three criteria, Croft thinks that the most widely applicable ones are textual frequency and behavioral complexity. As indicated above, under "behavioral complexity" Greenberg listed two sub-criteria: inflectional complexity and distribution. As Chinese is largely non-inflectional, the main concern in the rest of this section will be distribution, i.e. the distribution of the PSC as compared to SV(O) on the one hand and the *bei*-construction on the other.

I. Most verbs or verb-headed structures (e.g. resultatives, reduplicatives, etc.) that can occur in SVO sentences can occur in the PSC:

a. Verb-complement¹ (result, degree, direction, etc)

(28) 气球吹破了。 (V-Complement of Resultative)

Qiqiu chu po le
Ballon blow broken ASP

'The balloon has been blown until it burst.'

(29) 那个洞挖得很深。 (V-Complement of Degree)

Na ge dong wan de hen shen
That CLS hole dig PAR very deep

'The hole was dug very deep.'

(30) 绳子拉上去了。 (V-Complement of Direction)

Sheng zi la shangqu le
Rope pull up ASP

'The rope has been pulled up.'

1. The term 'complement' is used in its common sense since Chao (1968) and Li & Thompson (1981), as a (very) rough English translation of the Chinese grammatical concept of *buyu* (补语). Chinese 'complements' in such a usage have very different properties and behaviours than complements in English and other Indo-European languages. In English, for example, a complement is usually used to add more information to a subject ('Jenny is a teacher.') or an object ('The group elected Larry President.'). This is different from Mandarin, where 'complements' typically to add more information to main verb in expressing results, conditions or temporal, locational or other circumstances of the event/situation. For want of a better translation, the conventional usage of 'complement' as a rough translation of *buyu* will be followed here. This difference between the two uses of the term 'complement' was pointed out to the author by an anonymous reviewer whose suggestion is much appreciated.

b. verb-object

(31) 那么多人要落实政策。

Na me dou ren yao luoshi zhengce

So many people must implement policy

‘The policy should be implemented by so many people.’

(32) 民间小调改编成器乐组曲。

Minjian xiaodiao gaibian cheng qiyue zuqu

Folk song revise become instrumental music composition

‘The folk songs have been revised to compositions of instrumental music.’

c. Others

(33) 那篇小说改编好拿去拍成电影。

Na pian xiaoshuo gaibian hao na qu bai cheng dianying

That CLS novel revise finished take cast become movie

‘That novel was revised and made into a film.’

(34) 那件衣服叫她洗干净还给你。

That CLS clothes ask her wash clean return give you

‘Ask her to wash the clothes and return them to you.’

As can be seen from the many examples above, the distribution of the PSC is comparable to that of the SVO structure.

II. The PSC is the favoured construction when the patient is relatively long or complex, or when the predicate is relatively long or complex:

a. Long/complex objects

(35) 茅舍中破锅、破灶、破碗、破罐尽多撒下。

Maoshe zhong poguo, pozhao, powan, poguan

Cottage NP broken pot, broken stove, broken bowl, broken pot

jin duo piexia

all throw away

‘All the broken pots, stoves, bowls and pots in the cottage were thrown away.’

b. Long/complex predicates

(36) 房间已经打扫得十分干净。

Fangjian yijing dasao de shifen ganjing

Room already sweep PAR very clean

‘The room has been swept clean.’

- (37) 衣服都扔在地上。
Yifu dou reng zai dishang
 Cloth all throw PRE floor_{N_p}
 ‘All the clothes have been thrown on the floor.’

III. As shown in the following cases of a - g, it would be evident that the syntactic distribution of the PSC is much broader than that of the *bei*-construction:

- a. When it is not necessary or possible to mention the agent, the PSC rather than the *bei*-construction is used.

- (38) 汉字教了四五百个。
Hanzi jiao le si wu bai ge
 Chinese character teach ASP four five hundred CLS
 ‘(We) have taught about four to five hundred Chinese characters.’

- (39) 敌人打退了。
Diren da tui le
 Enemy defeat ASP
 ‘The enemy has been defeated.’

- b. Like the SVO structure but unlike the *bei*-construction, the PSC can contain a whole variety of verbs: 1-place, 2-place, as well as 3-place. In order to ascertain this point, it was decided to investigate Lin Xingguang’s *Dictionary of Verbs*, a dictionary of some 2000 verbs with rich grammatical information and numerous example sentences. It was found that of all the verbs in the dictionary, 1851 can be used to form PSCs. Only 143 cannot be used. In comparison with the PSC, the *bei*-construction is much more restrictive in terms of what verbs can occur in the construction: only “disposal” verbs, i.e. activity verbs that contain a semantic element of ‘result’ can enter into the *bei*-construction. (Activity verbs that do not contain an element of result cannot do so.). Due to the lack of result meaning of the verbs, the following examples of (40a) and (41a) are ungrammatical. However, the same verbs can form legitimate grammatical PSCs, as shown in (40b) and (41b):

- (40) a. *我的大刀被耍了几十年了。
wode dadao bei shua le jishi nian le
 my spear Bei play ASP several ten years ASP
 ‘I have played the saber for several decades.’

- b. 我的大刀耍了几十年了。
wode dadao shua le jishi nian le
 my spear play ASP several ten year ASP
 ‘I have played the saber for several decades.’

- (41) a. *创作素材被搜集了不少。
chuangzuo sucai bei souji le bushao
 creative work material Bei collect ASP not few
 ‘Lots of materials for the creative work have been collected.’
- b. 创作素材搜集了不少。
chuang zuo sucai souji le bushao
 creative work material collect ASP not few
 ‘Lots of materials for the creative work have been collected.’
- c. A sentence can always be turned into a PSC with the addition of a modal verb of possibility, e.g. (*bu*) *neng* (不) 能, (*bu*) *de* (不) 得, (*bu*) *ken* (不) 肯, etc. to the predicate.

- (42) 这种人爱不得。
Zhe zhong ren ai bu de
 This type people love not PAR
 ‘You should not love this kind of people.’

On the face of it, the *bei*-construction can also take a modal verb of possibility, e.g.:

- (41) 我的任何疏忽都可能被人利用。
Wode renhe shuhu dou keneng bei
 My any carelessness all possible Bei
ren liyong
 people take advantage of
 ‘Any carelessness on my part cab possibly be taken advantage of by others.’
- (42) 花会被这样浇死的。
Hua hui bei zhe yang jiao si de
 Flower could Bei this water die PAR
 ‘The flowers could be watered to death in such a way.’

However, a closer look reveals that PSCs and *bei*-constructions with “possibility predicates” differ fundamentally both in form and meaning. As far as their forms are concerned, possibility PSCs tend to use *bu/de* 不/得 and (*bu*) *ke* (不) 可, e.g. “V+得 *de*+comp”, “V+不 *bu*+comp”, “可 *ke*+V”. Possibility *bei*-constructions, on the other hand, tend to use the modal auxiliary verbs *hui* 会 and *keneng* 可能. In terms of meaning, possibility PSCs express the meaning that something is possible or not possible as a result of some properties inherent in the person/object referred to by the sentence-initial patient-NP. The possibility *bei*-construction, on the other hand, has the meaning that something may or may not be affected by an action or activity – this having nothing to do with any inherent property of the subject.

d. The PSC can be used in an imperative; the *bei*-construction cannot:

- (43) a. 笔拿来!
Bi na lai
 Pen take N_p
 'Bring the pen here!'
- b. *笔被拿来!
Bi bei na lai
 Pen Bei take N_p
 'Bring the pen here!'

e. The PSC can take either a positive or a negative form, but the *bei*-construction usually occurs in the affirmative only.

- (44) a. 杯子打碎了。
beizi da sui le
 cup hit broken ASP
 'The cup was broken (by somebody).'
- b. 杯子没有打碎。
beizi meiyou da sui
 cup not hit broken
 'The cup was not broken (by somebody).'

- (45) a. ?杯子没有被打碎。
beizi meiyou bei da sui
 cup not Bei hit broken
 'The cup was not broken (by somebody).'
- b. 杯子被打碎了。
beizi bei da sui le
 cup Bei hit broken ASP
 'The cup was broken.'

f. In terms of temporality and modality the two constructions also behave very differently. The PSC is much more free, in that it can go with all kinds of aspect:

- (46) 国民经济正在进一步调整。 (present continuous aspect)
Guomin jingji zhengzai jinyibu tiaozheng
 National economy ASP further adjust
 'The national economy is under further adjustment.'
- (47) 体温量过了。 (experience aspect)
Tiwen liang guo le
 Temperature measure ASP ASP
 'The temperature has been measured'

- (48) 桌子抹干净了。 (completive aspect)
Zhouzi ma ganjing le
 Desk mop clean ASP PAR
 ‘The desk has been mopped clean.’
- (49) 火烧起来了。 (starting aspect)
Hou shao qilai le
 Fire burn DIR ASP
 ‘The fire started to burn.’
- (50) 这件事办下去一定会有成绩。 (continuous aspect)
Zhe jian shi ban xiaqu yiding hui you chengji
 This CLS matter do DIR must could have accomplishment
 ‘There should be some accomplishment if the work can be carried on.’
- (51) 这个杯子洗洗。 (tentative aspect)
Zhe ge beizi xi xi
 This CLS cup wash wash
 ‘Wash this cup.’

In comparison, the *bei*-construction is restricted to the completive/perfective aspect but cannot usually be used with the progressive or tentative aspects:

- (52) *房间被拾掇拾掇
Fangjian bei shiduo shiduo
 Room bei tidy up tidy up
 ‘Tidy up the room’

Another difference between the two is that the PSC can be used to express a universal, general, timeless proposition, while the *bei*-construction often contains an element of time. The reason would seem to be that the former can be used to describe properties (descriptive) but the latter is typically used to report events (narrative).

- (53) 这些古籍必须好好爱护
Zhe xie guji bixu haohao aihu
 This QU_A_{in} ancient book must well protect
 ‘These ancient books must be protected well.’
- (54) 这样的条件不能接受
Zhe yang de tiaojian buneng jieshou
 This kind PAR condition not able accept
 ‘This kind of condition is unacceptable.’

In observing the examples, when no temporality is expressed in a PSC, the predicate usually contains a deontic modal, e.g. *yinggai* 应该 ‘should’.

bixu 必须 ‘must’, *ke* 可 ‘may’, *yao* 要 ‘ought to’, *hao* 好 ‘well’, *de/bu* 得/不 ‘can’. In discussing the properties of the PSC, previous researchers have already noticed this difference between the PSC and the *bei*-construction (Ref. 2.2.2). As Wang (1943) said, “sentences which are used to express views and attitudes ... are called deontic sentences”. These are sentences that are used to describe actions/activities which have not yet occurred. Thus, what they express is an irrealis modality. The *bei*-construction, on the other hand, tends to be used for narrating events that have already happened. So, in terms of temporality and modality, the two constructions behave very differently. The main difference is that the PSC enjoys a much broader distribution than the *bei*-construction.

- g. As discussed in 3.1.3, PSC tends to be well integrated into the rest of the grammar in that it can involve some major syntactic operations in the language, such as nominalization, topicalization, subordinating, focalisation, negative formation and yes-or-not question formation. In contrast, the *bei*-construction tends to be excluded these operations. It is also noteworthy that PSC can be used in most syntactic slots:

(55) 功课按时做完是最起码的要求。 (PSC as subject)

Gongke anshi zuowan shi zui qima de yaoqiu
Homework on time do finish is most basic PAR requirement
‘To finish homework on time is the most basic requirement.’

(56) 功课做完的同学可以先走了。 (PSC as attributive)

Gongke zuo wan de tongxue keyi xian zou Le
Homework do finish PAR students can first leave ASP
‘The students who have finished the homework can leave.’

(57) 除功课必须做完之外, 你还得多读书。 (PSC as object of prep)

Chu gongke bixu zou wan zhi wai, ni hai Dei
Except homework must do finish PAR DIR, you still Must
duo du shu
more read book

‘Apart from finishing homework, you still need to read more books.’

In conclusion, in terms of textual frequency, structural complexity and distribution, there is plenty of evidence that the PSC behaves very differently from the *bei*-construction, and the differences are of a kind which can be expected of marked and unmarked terms in a grammatical system. From the above survey, it is clear that the *bei*-construction is a marked structure, just as one would expect of a passive. On the other hand, it is much less clear that the PSC is a marked structure. In fact, there is quite a lot of evidence to suggest that it is unmarked.

3.3 PSC is not an ergative construction

3.3.1 Ergativity

The standard definition of ergativity² as formulated by Dixon (1994) makes reference to three key terms: S, the intransitive subject, A, the transitive subject, and P, the transitive object.

In an accusative system, S is marked in the same way as A and differently from P. That is to say, transitive and intransitive subjects share identical cases or exhibit the same syntactic properties. Agents, in this system, normally are encoded as subjects, while patients are mapped onto syntactic objects. English is frequently cited as a typical case of an accusative language. For instance:

(58) I hit him.
NOM V ACC

(59) He laughed.
NOM V

The first sentence contains a transitive verb, while the second one, an intransitive verb. The subject in both sentences is the agent and controls verb agreement. “Him” in the first sentence is a patient-object and has no control over verb agreement.

In an ergative system, S is marked in the same way as P and differently from A. That is to say, the subject of an intransitive verb and the object of a transitive verb have the same case, usually the absolutive. The subject of a transitive verb, i.e. the agent, usually takes the ergative case. Well-known ergative languages include Eskimo, Basque, Abaza, Chukchee and Dyrbal (e.g. Dixon 1979; Comrie 1988). To cite just one example, consider the following Warlpiri sentences (Comrie 1988):

(60) Ngatuu ka-rna purla-mi
I: ABS AUX-1SG:NOM shout-NONPAST
'I shout.'

(61) Ngatjulu-rlu ka-rna-ngku nyuntu nya-nyi I-ERG
AUX-2SG:NOM-2SG:ACCU you:ABS see-NONPAST
'I see you.'

It can be seen in the above sentences that the subject of the intransitive clause and the object of the transitive one have the same case, i.e. the absolutive, whereas the subject of the transitive clause is in the ergative case.

2. As pointed out by Dixon, there are a number of misuses of the term “ergative” (cf. Dixon 1994: 18–22). The standard definition advocated by Dixon (1994) will be adopted here.

3.3.2 PSC is not an ergative structure

Although English is generally regarded as an accusative language, some linguists (e.g. Lyons 1968) have nevertheless called sentences like the following ergative constructions:

- (62) The bread cuts easily
 (63) The window broke.
 (64) The stone moved.

On the face of it, these sentences look similar to the PSC in Chinese, e.g.

- (65) 这种面包很容易切。
Zhe zhong mianbao hen rongyi qie
 This kind bread very easily cut
 ‘This kind of bread cuts easily.’
 (66) 大石头搬起来了。
Da shitou ban qilai le
 Big stone carry DIR ASP
 ‘The big stone was lifted up.’

As discussed above, in an ergative system, syntactic properties group S and P together as opposed to A. In the above English sentences, “bread, window, stone” are patients of their respective verbs, and yet as subjects, they control their respective verb’s person and number agreement. Although English has lost most of its case marking, still we can tell from subject-verb agreement which constituent is the subject and which one is the object. It would appear from the above sentences that S and P are united in opposition to A, which is characteristic of ergative languages.

Although there is no inflectional case marking in Chinese, as we have shown in Section 1 of this chapter, the first constituent of a PSC is a patient-subject. In this sense, the PSC would look similar to the English sentences cited above. If these English sentences are ergative constructions, does it mean that the Chinese PSC is perhaps also an ergative construction?

Dixon (1994: 20) points out that this is one way in which the term “ergative” has been misused. He argues that if the term “ergative” is used in this way then every language would show ergativity since a fair number of languages have verbs that can be used either intransitively or transitively, say in some instance with S=P, in others with S=A. Even in Dyirbal, a typical ergative language, where each verb is strictly transitive or intransitive, there are also constructions in which S=P, similar to the English and Chinese examples above.

According to Dixon, the kind of construction as illustrated by the three English examples above is not really ergative, but entirely a matter of lexical semantics. As

a lexical phenomenon its distribution in the language is definitely very restricted (i.e. restricted to a certain kind of verbs). In ergative languages on the other hand, this process appears not to be restricted at all (Siewieska 1984; Dixon 1994).

If Dixon is right about English, what about the apparently equivalent phenomenon of the PSC in Chinese? Can it also be analyzed as a lexical process?

3.3.3 The PSC is not an ergative construction

Because Dixon did not include Chinese in his analysis, we do not know what his views on Chinese may be. However, one thing is certain: the PSC in Chinese is definitely not a lexical phenomenon. Verbs that can occur in the PSC do not form a close set and do not share any obvious common semantic features. In fact, as mentioned above, most verbs can take part in the PSC. This point has been confirmed by a verb-by-verb investigation of all the entries in the *Dictionary of Verbs* 《现代汉语动词大词典》.

Recall Lü Shuxiang's (1987) observation that there are two different kinds of syntactic patterns in Chinese:

Pattern 1			Pattern 2		
X-V-Y			X-V-Y		
X-V			Y-V		
中国队	大胜	南朝鲜队	中国队	大败	南朝鲜队
Zhongguodui	dasheng	nan chaoxuandui	Zhongguodui	dabai	nan chaoxuandui
Chinese team	completelywin	South Korea	Chinese team	completelywin	South Korea
'The Chinese team defeated South Korea convincingly'			'The Chinese team defeated South Korea convincingly'		
中国队	大胜		南朝鲜队	大败	
Zhongguodui	dasheng		nan chaoxuandui	da bai	
Chinese team	completely wins		South Korea	completely lose	
'The Chinese team won (the match) convincingly'			'South Korea lost (the match) completely'		

In this paper, Lü points out that it would be a mistake to think that because there are sentences like those illustrated in Pattern 2 (in bold), Chinese is an ergative language.

Lü gives two reasons for denying the claim about ergativity. First, ergativity (vs. accusativity) is usually morphologically marked, but Chinese has no such markings. Second, he argues that Chinese could only be regarded as an ergative language if most verbs could take part in Pattern 2 but not Pattern 1. However, the opposite is true, i.e. most verbs can enter into Pattern 1 but only a very restricted set of verbs can enter into Pattern 2. This suggests that Pattern 2 is not really a case of ergativity in Chinese.

Lü's first argument does not seem very convincing. As noted by Dixon, it is not necessary for ergatives to be marked by morphological inflections. Word order

and particles can also be used to mark ergativity. Since there are syntactic properties shared by transitive subjects and PSC subjects, this is potential evidence for ergativity.

As for Lü Shuxiang's second argument, there can also be a different view. On the one hand, bare verbs tend to take part in Pattern 1. On the other hand, almost all verbs, when they occur with some aspect marker, object or complement (and are therefore not 'bare'), can participate in Pattern 2. As mentioned above, the survey of the *Dictionary of Verbs* has confirmed this point.

Is the PSC an ergative construction then? The answer is 'unlikely'. But the reasons that have led to this conclusion are different from Lü Shuxiang's. If the PSC were an ergative structure, one would expect it to show some features characteristic of sentences in an ergative system. In Dixon's (1994) treatment of ergative systems, the following two key constructions are discussed:

Construction A: S (absolutive) + V (intransitive)

Construction B: P (absolutive) + V (transitive) + A (ergative)

There are good reasons to say that the PSC is neither a case of Construction A nor a case of Construction B, and therefore is not a term in an ergative system. First, the PSC cannot be a case of Construction A, because this would violate two points. First, as mentioned above, the verbal predicate in the PSC is typically transitive in nature.³ This is directly opposed to the fact that the verb in Construction A is intransitive. Secondly, the meaning of the subject in Construction A is prototypically 'agent', but the subject in the PSC is a patient.

It should also be obvious that the PSC is not a case of Construction B. Notice that Construction B by definition contains two participants, agent and patient. In contrast to this, the PSC has only one participant – the patient. As shown in the previous section, the PSC is fundamentally different from the *bei*-passive in that unlike the *bei*-passive, it does not contain an agent slot. With only one argument instead of two, it cannot possibly be a case of Dixon's Construction B.

Comrie has noted that one way in which the ergative construction differs significantly from the passive construction is that the agent is not omissible in the ergative construction (but it is omissible, in fact normally omitted, from the passive construction).

In conclusion, there is little evidence that the PSC is either a lexical semantic phenomenon, as in English, or an ergative structure, as in Dyirbal. As

3. It is possible that the core verb in PSC can be intransitive. Nevertheless, the intransitive bare verb can always turn into a transitive verb by transforming it into a V-complement structure, e.g. 哭 (*ku*; cry) is basically intransitive in nature, but it can always be made to take a complement like 哭湿 (*ku shi*; cry wet)

a single-argument structure with a transitive verb, it is a “strange animal” that will need to be handled with a framework very different from existing ones in the literature.

However, it is noteworthy that ergativity in literature seems to refer one of two things. Among typologists, languages are called ergative if “the subject of an intransitive clause is treated in the same way as the object of a transitive clause, and differently from the transitive subject” (Dixon 1994:1). On the other hand, among generativists, verbs are called ergative if their subject at surface structure level does not derive from an underlying subject, but instead from a direct object. (Perlmutter 1978; Burzio 1986). The former applies the label ergative to languages, the later to verbs. The preceding discussion in this section is in relation to the former type of ergativity which concerns the typological features of languages. This discussion will be left until Chapter 6.

Syntactic and semantic properties of patient-subject constructions

In the last chapter, the view was considered and then rejected that the PSC may be a passive construction, topicalization, or ergative structure. In this chapter, a positive characterization is given of the PSC by answering the question: What is the PSC? What are its defining syntactic and semantic properties? This task will be approached by first sub-classifying the PSC into five sub-types according to their syntactic characteristics. Each sub-type will then be examined with reference to its semantic properties. After that, an attempt will be made to draw a number of generalizations about the syntax and semantics of all PSCs as a whole.

4.1 Sub-classifying the PSC

In order to have a solid database for the present investigation, examples of PSCs were collected by consulting the *Dictionary of Verbs* (DOV).¹ If the DOV has an example sentence illustrating a verb's occurrence in a PSC, we included that example in the database. If the DOV contains a verb entry which could legitimately occur in a PSC but the DOV does not provide an example, then a sentence was made up to show this usage, and then also included in the database. In this way, we arrived at a collection of 1851 instances of PSCs.

1. Lin Xingguang's *Dictionary of Verbs in Modern Chinese* (1994) was selected as a representative collection of the 2,000 verbs or so (and about 3000 senses) in Modern Chinese. It comes with clear definitions and useful examples for each verb. This is particularly useful when it comes to ascertaining whether particular verbs can enter the PSC frame. There are several large-scale and important corpora such as the CCL, the Sinica Corpus, the Lancaster Corpus of Mandarin Chinese, and the UCLA Corpus of Chinese. However, it is not possible to search for examples of PSC in these corpora as clause-types (or construction-types) are not typically included as part of the tagging. For the purposes of the second empirical study, a series of connected texts are needed which contain a variety of construction-types in mixed use. For this, a novel was chosen as the source of test materials – as will be described and explained in more detail in Chapter 5.

Using all the sentences in the database as a starting point, it was decided to proceed to classify them into sub-types. The criterion used was the syntactic forms of the PSCs. The reason why this was used as the main criterion is that prior to a detailed investigation, one did not have a good idea of the semantics of the PSC. It was therefore not possible to using semantic criteria. Syntactic considerations were also preferred to other possibilities because of its formal and objective nature. It was also considered a more cautious approach to start from the forms and then gradually move towards possible semantic and pragmatic generalizations

In terms of structure, the PSC is one of the least complicated in the language. It can simply be described as “NP + VP”. As was argued above, the NP is the subject of the sentence, and is usually inanimate, although in a small minority of cases it can also be animate. An attempt was made to classify PSCs in terms of animacy but found that such a classification says little about the nature of the PSC. Regarding the VP, there are many different kinds. The following classification based on the syntax of the predicate-VP is proposed:

Type A: V + Complement

1. V + Resultative/State complement
2. V + Potential complement
3. V + Place complement
4. V + Time complement
 - a. V + Duration
 - b. V + Frequency
 - c. V + Time point
5. V + Directional complement

Type B: Adverbial + V

1. Modal verb/ auxiliary verb + V
2. V + *qilai/shangqu/zhe* + AP
3. Adverbial + V
 - a. Adverbial of Place + V
 - b. Adverbial of Manner + V
 - c. Adverbial of Time + V

Type C: V + *le/zhe/guo*

Type D: V + Object

1. V + Partitive Object
2. V + Resultative Objects
3. V + Cognate Object

Type E: Special forms

1. Verb Reduplication
2. The ‘Capacity’ sub-type

Below, each type and sub-type will be examined and their semantic properties noted.

4.2 Different kinds of PSC and their semantic properties

4.2.1 NP + V + Complement

4.2.1.1 NP + V + Resultative/State Complement

- (1) 酒喝光了。
Jiu he guang le
 Wine drink up ASP PAR.
 ‘The wine has been drunk up.’
- (2) 雕像塑得精致细腻。
Diaoxiang su de jingzhi xini
 Statue carved PAR delicate fine.
 ‘The statue is delicately carved.’
- (3) 酒喝快了。
Jiu he kuai le
 Wine drink quickly PAR
 ‘The wine was drunk too quickly.’

In a PSC of this type, the semantic centre is on the C (complement) rather than the V (verb), as Ma (1987) has shown. Consider:

- (4) 小孩吓哭了=小孩哭了≠小孩吓了。
Xiao hai xia ku le = xiao hai ku le ≠ xiaohai
 Child frighten cry PAR = child cry PAR ≠ child
xia le
 frighten PAR
 ‘The child was frightened to cry’ = ‘The child cried’ ≠ ‘The child was frightened’
- (5) 帽子吹掉了=帽子掉了≠*帽子吹了。
*Maozi cui diao le = maozi diao le ≠ *maozi cui le*
 hat blown away ASP = hat away ASP ≠ hat blown ASP
 ‘The hat was blown away’ = ‘The hat was gone’ ≠ ‘The hat was blown’

It can be seen from these two examples that the VP is mainly about a state, not an action. In Example (1) above, the VP says something about the state of the patient (i.e. the wine) as a result of the action of drinking – *guangle* ‘gone/finished’ i.e. no more wine. Similarly, in (2), the VP comments on the properties of the statute which are there as a result of the sculpting. In (3), it is the manner of the drinking that is being described in the VP. As shall be seen below, there is much more variety in the description of actions and activities than agents and patients, and each kind of description will be dealt with in more detail below. At this point, the special case of resultative verbs will be mentioned:

- (6) 线路中断了。
Xianlu zhongduan le
 Circuitry interrupt ASP PAR
 ‘The circuitry has been interrupted.’
- (7) 几个朋友都邀请了。
Ji ge peng you dou yaoqing le
 A few CL friend all invite ASP PAR
 ‘All the friends have been invited.’

These sentences are evidently different in form from the ones discussed above, in that their predicates do not contain a V+C structure. But it must be pointed out that this is a special case of “V + Result”. In the earlier examples, the VPs take an analytical form and consist of two parts: a verb followed by an adjective. In example (6) and (7), on the other hand, the VPs consist of just one word, *zhongduan* 中断 ‘terminate’ and *yaoqing* 邀请 ‘invite’. Notice, however, that these compound verbs may be analyzed semantically into two elements, an action followed by a result. There are a considerable number of such verbs in Chinese, but it is a limited number, and the verbs form a close sub-class. Some examples are *jiechu* 解除; *jiefang* 解放; *duangzheng* 端正; *kuoda* 扩大; *gaijin* 改进; *tigao* 提高, etc. Unlike their corresponding SVO sentences, this type of PSC is clearly about results and states relating to the patients.

- (8) *几个朋友都邀请了,但朋友都拒绝了。
Ji ge peng you dou yaoqing le dan peng you dou
 A few CL friend all invite ASP PAR but friend all
jujue le
 decline PAR
 ‘All the friend have been invited, but they have all turned me down.’
- (9) 邀请了几个朋友,但朋友都拒绝了。
Yao qing le ji ge peng you dan peng you dou jujue le
 Invited PAR a fewCL friend but friend all decline PAR
 ‘I have invited all the friends but they have turned me down.’

In the first sentence, since the verb *yaoqing* 邀请 ‘invite’ already contains within itself an element of result (invitation accepted), to contradict it in the second clause produces an unacceptable sentence. However, the second sentence is grammatical, because here the action of inviting does not imply acceptance or non-acceptance. There is then no contradiction between the two clauses.

4.2.1.2 NP + V + Potential Complement

- (10) 这东西晒不得。
Zhe dong xi shai- bu-de
 This thing expose to sunlight -not-can
 ‘This thing cannot be exposed to the sun.’
- (11) 事情肯定办得成。
Shi qing ken ding ban-de-cheng
 Matter definitely do-can-succeed
 ‘This can definitely be done.’

This sub-type of PSC contains a potential complement such as *de* 得, *de cheng* 得成, *bu de* 不得, etc. It may be in the affirmative, as in (11), or negative, as in (10). The grammatical meaning expressed by this sub-type is the speaker’s subjective evaluation of the possibility or feasibility of an action or event, or his subjective evaluation of the result or state brought about by an action or event. For instance, sentence (10) expresses the speaker’s assessment of the feasibility or desirability of ‘exposing to the sun.’ Similarly, sentence (11) expresses the speaker’s judgment about the likelihood that the event can bring about the expected outcome. Some more observations will be made later during the discussion on the “evaluative” type of PSCs. As will be seen, although the “evaluative” sub-type differs syntactically from the potential sub-type, in that the former takes a form where an adverbial or modal verb precedes the verb. Semantically they are very similar.

A special case must be mentioned here: the “V+de” structure, such as *chide* 吃得 ‘edible’, *rende* 认得 ‘recognizable’, *jide* 记得 ‘memorable’, *chuande* 穿得 ‘wearable’, etc.:

- (12) 这个字不认得。
Zhe ge zi bu ren de
 This CL character cannot recognize
 ‘This character is not recognizable (to somebody).’
- (13) 那件衣服穿得。
Na jian yi fu chuan de
 That CL clothes can wear
 ‘That item of clothing is wearable.’

- (14) 这种东西吃得。
Zhe zhong dong xi chi de
 This kind thing can eat
 ‘This kind of thing is edible.’

This kind of verbs are semantically like the “V+able” words in English. Their concern is with the properties or attributes of a person or thing, not the action denoted by the verb. The sentence as a whole does not have an eventive meaning.

4.2.1.3 NP + V + Place Complement

- (15) 几个小鱼儿绣在下方。
Ji ge xiao yur xiu zai xia fang
 A few CL small fish embroider at lower part
 ‘A few small fish are embroidered in the lower part (of the picture).’
- (16) 外资企业限制在部分地区。
Wai zi qi ye xian zhi zai bu fen diqu
 Foreign- enterprises limit to part area
 ‘Foreign enterprises are restricted to certain areas (of the country).’

The above sentences are about the location of the subject-NP rather than the action or behaviour denoted by the verb. This can be seen more clearly by comparing the following pairs of examples:

- (17) a. 几个小鱼儿绣在下方≈几个小鱼儿在下方。
Ji ge xiao yuèr xiu zai xia fang ≈ ji ge
 A few CL small fish embroider at lower part A few CL
xiao yuèr zai xia fang
 small fish at lower part
- b. 几个小鱼儿绣在下方≠绣几个小鱼儿。
ji ge xiao yur xiu zai xia fang ≠ xiu
 a few CL small fish embroider at lower part ≠ embroider
ji ge xiao yur
 a few CL small fish
 ‘A few small fish are embroidered in the lower part (of the picture).’
 ≠ ‘To embroider a few small fish’

Thus, this kind of PSC is essentially stative rather than eventive. To transform these into SVO sentences the aspect *zhe* must be added to the end of the verb, e.g.:

- (18) 下方绣着几个小鱼儿。
Xia fang xiu zhe ji ge xiao yur
 Lower part embroider a few CL small fish
 ‘There embroider a few small fish in the lower part.’

Note that this *zhe* 着 is a marker not of “progression” but of “attachment/existence”. This is of course in line with the stative nature of the sentence as a whole. It is noticeable that the meaning of these sentences is not simply stative. There is an additional element of “causation” in it which is related to the meaning of the verb. Thus, in sentence (15), the existence of the little fish is understood to be caused by the act of sewing. Sentence (16) describes how some enterprises are located within certain geographical areas due to restrictions imposed by government policy.

4.2.1.4 NP + V + Time Complement

a. NP + V + Duration

- (19) 这筐菜拣了一个小时。
Zhe kang cai jian le yi ge xiao shi
 This basket vegetable pick TES one CL hour
 ‘(Someone) has spent an hour picking this basketful of vegetables.’

b. NP + V + Frequency

- (20) 这个问题争论了好几次。
Zhe ge wen ti zheng lun le hao ji ci
 This CL problem argue- TES good few times
 ‘This problem has been debated several times.’

c. NP + V + Time point

- (21) 银行贷款提供到1993。
Yin hang dai kuan ti gong dao 1993
 Bank loan provide until 1993
 ‘Bank loans are provided until 1993.’

This sub-type of PSC can be further divided into three kinds. The first kind contains a complement of time duration, which signals the length of time taken in carrying out an action. The second kind contains a frequency complement which indicates the number of times an action is carried out. The third kind contains a specification of time point, but in spite of this, it is really not about the time point as such but a duration of time from a reference point (e.g. time of speaking) to the named time point. Like the other sub-types discussed above, the semantic centre of these predicates lies in the temporal complement and not the verb. In Example (19), for instance, the point is how long the picking of vegetables has taken, not the action of picking vegetables itself. This kind of PSCs are used to answer “how (long)” questions rather than “what (happened)”. This can be seen from a comparison of the following sentences:

- (22) a. 会开了三天了。
Hui kai le san tian le
 meeting hold- TES three day ASPPAR
 ‘The meeting has been held for three days.’
- b. 开了三天会。
Kai le san tian hui
 hold- ASP three day meeting
 ‘(Someone) has held the meeting for three days.’

The first of these would be said in answer to:

- (23) 会怎样了?
Hui zen me le
 Meeting how ASP
 ‘How did the meeting go?’

But the second one would be said in answer to:

- (24) 干什么了?
Gan shen me le
 do what ASP
 ‘What was being done?’

Trying to pair the questions and answers up differently would produce wrong results: In answering “*hui zenyang le* 会怎样了 (How did the meeting go?)”, (22) a is the wrong response. Conversely, when being asked “*gan shenme le* 干什么了 (what did you do?)”, the answering of (22) b is improper in this case.

Using an SVO sentence to answer the “how” question or using the PSC to answer a “what” question will both give the wrong results. Thus, it can be seen that the semantic centre of this sub-type of PSCs is on time duration and frequency rather than the action or event.

4.2.1.5 NP + V + Directional Complement

- (25) 绳子拉上去了。
Sheng zi lai shang qu le
 Rope pull up PAR ASP PAR
 ‘The rope has been pulled up.’
- (26) 东西找回来了。
Dong xi zhao hui lai le
 Thing find back PAR ASP PAR
 ‘The things have been found.’
- (27) 店铺租出去了。
Dian pu zu chu qu le
 Shop rent out PAR ASP PAR
 ‘The shop has been rented out.’

- (28) 风车转起来了。
Feng che chuan qi lai le
 Wind mill turn begin PAR ASP PAR
 ‘The windmill is beginning to turn.’
- (29) 新机器造出来了。
Xin ji qi zao chu lai le
 New machine make out PAR ASP PAR
 ‘A new machine has been made.’
- (30) 车停下来了。
Che ting xia lai le
 Car stop end PAR ASP PAR
 ‘The car has stopped.’
- (31) 声音降下来了。
Sheng yin jiang xia lai le
 Sound lower down PAR ASP PAR
 ‘The sound has died down.’

This group of examples all contain a directional complement in their predicates. On the basis of 4 million words of data, Liu (1998) has carried out a comprehensive investigation of directional complements in Modern Chinese. Her conclusion is that directional complements usually express three kinds of meaning: direction, result, and state. As Meng Cong indicates in his Preface to Liu’s book, “At a high level of generalization and abstraction, the term ‘directional complements’ should be understood as ‘result’ or ‘outcome’. Thus, what used to be called directional complement should really be properly seen as a kind of resultative complement.” He goes on to comment that Chinese seems to give a great deal of importance to states, and Liu’s research has confirmed just this point.

Sentence (25) above does indicate physical direction – the way the position of the rope has been moved as a result of the action of pulling. In the next example, however, the sense of direction is already much less specific: all it says is that the object has been returned to its original place. In sentences (26) to (29), not even a trace of ‘direction’ can be discerned. These might be called metaphorical uses of directional complements. Example (28) expresses the meaning of ‘starting and, having started, carrying on...’. Example (29) indicates the appearance of a new thing which has been produced by a making or manufacturing process. The last sentences are clearly about states: how the car or the noise has entered into a new state, or carrying on in the same state. In these sentences, a sense of direction has become entirely irrelevant.

By comparing the PSC with two related sentences one can see how the emphasis of the above sentences lie in a description of the state:

(32) 东西找回来了 ≈ 东西回来了
Dong xi zhao hui lai le ≈ dong xi hui lai le
 Things found back ASP ≈ things back ASP PAR

(33) 东西找回来了 ≠ 东西找了
Dong xi zhao hui lai le ≠ dong xi zhao le
 Things found back ASP ≠ things look for ASP PAR

In all the above sentences, the semantic centre falls on the directional complement. The function of the verb is to point out how an outcome or state has come about – what has caused a person or thing to be in that state.

4.2.1.6 Section summary

In this section, it has been shown how all the different kinds of complements have one property in common: the semantic centre always falls on the complement. The function of this is to describe or assess the state someone or something is in, as a result of some action or activity. This is why these PSCs all have a stative rather than eventive meaning.

4.2.2 NP + Adverbial + V

4.2.2.1 NP + Modal verb / auxiliary verb + V

- (34) 成本要降低。
Cheng ben yao jiang di
 Cost should lower
 ‘The cost should be lowered.’
- (35) 饭店开不起来。
Fan dian kai bu qi lai
 Restaurant open not begin
 ‘The restaurant cannot be started up.’
- (36) 这样的文章好写。
Zhe yang de wen zhang hao xie
 This kind PAR article easy write
 ‘This kind of article is easy to write.’

This sub-type of PSCs has the following characteristics:

1. The agent is highly generalized, referring to people in general.
2. The verb does not come with any temporal specifications, e.g. it cannot occur with *le* 了; *zhe* 着; or *guo* 过.

3. There is a modal or auxiliary verb in the predicate. These are of two kinds: those that indicate possibility, e.g. *ke* 可; *yi* 易; *neng* 能; *hui* 会; *hao* 好; *nan* 难, on the one hand, and those that indicate necessity, e.g. *dei* 得; *bixu* 必须; *yao* 要, etc.

This kind of PSCs is used to express the speaker's evaluation or assessment: of the feasibility, possibility or necessity of an event. As far as assessing possibilities is concerned, there are two kinds of meanings: either the possibility that an event will occur, e.g. in (35), where the speaker thinks that the idea of running a restaurant is impossible, or a state that someone or something is likely to be in given its inherent properties, e.g. in (36), which indicates that the article is easily to write because of the topic is simple in nature. Example (34), on the other hand, is evidently about the necessity of an event occurring.

Be it possibility or necessity, this sub-type of PSCs is all about evaluation. The kind of modal verbs that can occur in it is very limited; typically verbs like *keyi* 可以 'can', *rongyi* 容易 'easy', *nan* 难 'hard', *yinggai* 应该 'should', etc. Interestingly, evaluative sentences like this are very commonly found in the world's languages. Below presents a small sample.

Estonian

- (37) See murd -0 lihtsust -u -b
 This-NOM fraction -NOM simplify -RM -PRES.3.SG
 'This fraction can be simplified' (Geniusiene 1987)

Fula

- (38) Ndiyam dam ana yar -oo
 Water this AUX drink -RM.PROGR
 'This water is drinkable (can be drink)' (Geniusiene 1987)

Icelandic

- (39) Bok -in sel -st vel
 Book -ART sells -RM well
 'The book sells well' (Geniusiene 1987)

The following examples are the potential-passive type with the modal meaning of necessity or instruction, e.g.:

Bulgarian

- (40) Cvetjata se otglezdat na toplo
 Flowers RM keep in warmth
 'Flowers must be kept in warmth' (Geniusiene 1987: 263)

French

- (41) Lf dans le mot 'clef' ne se prononce pas
 The f in the word 'clef' not RM pronounces
 'the 'f' in the word 'clef' in not pronounced' (Faltz 1977: 17)

German

- (42) Die Blumen muB (soll) man im Warmen balten
 The flowers must (should) one in warmth keep
 'Flowers must (should) be kept in warmth' (Geniusiene 1987: 263)

As noted by Geniusiene (1987), the meaning of potential PSCs is descriptive, as can be seen in the following example from Russian:

- (43) Etu dver -0 trudno otkryt'
 This door-ACC hard to-open
 'It is hard to open this door'

Geniusiene also noted that the equivalent construction in Czech is expressed with de-verbal adjectives:

- (44) Sklo je nerozbitne.
 Glass is non-breaking
 'this glass does not break' (Geniusiene 1987)

4.2.2.2 NP + V + *qilai* 起来/*lai* 来/*shangqu* 上去/*zhe* 着 + AP

- (45) 这种茶喝起来很苦。
Zhe Zhong cha he qilai hen ku
 This kind tea drink begin very bitter
 'This kind of tea is very bitter (once you start drinking it).'

This sub-type of PSCs has the following characteristics:

1. The predicate is made up of two parts, a verb phrase and an adjectival phrase.
2. The agent is highly generalized, referring to people in general.
3. The verb does not come with any temporal specifications.

The last of these properties are identical to those of the previous sub-type. What then is the relationship between these two kinds of PSCs?

Cao (2004) carried out an in-depth study of this particular kind of PSC, and came to the conclusion that sentences like (45) constitute the middle voice in Chinese. She notes similarities between them and the "middle construction" in English, e.g. "the cake smells nice." In her analysis, Cao calls the complement '*qilai* 起来/*shangqu* 上去' "middle markers" (rather than verbal particles) and "V + *qilai* 起来/*shangqu* 上去" the "middle phrase". The sentence as a whole, according to Cao, expresses the meaning of evaluation. As will be seen below, cross-linguistically, the

middle is a very common phenomenon in the world's languages, but wherever it is found, the meaning associated with it is typically much more general than "evaluation" (Kemmer 1993; Klaiman 1991; Anderson 1991; Shibatani 1999). Still, Cao's attempt to relate these PSCs to the notion of middle is interesting and insightful. It will be shown in the next chapter how interesting similarities are found between the Chinese PSC and the middle voice in other languages.

In Cao's analysis, the centre of the predicate is not the verb but the adjective. In this respect, this sub-type of PSCs is not any different from the other ones discussed previously in this chapter, and can be classified together with 'modal verb/auxiliary + V'.

Looking more closely at the verbs in this structure, the meaning being expressed is not really an action but an experience. Thus, in Example (45), the assessment that the tea is bitter is made on the basis of a drinking experience. The point here is not to report a specific event of drinking but rather provide a default experiential base for an assessment, i.e. the knowledge that this tea is bitter comes from tasting (as a common way of acquiring the relevant experience).

Cao treats the complement *qilai* 起来/*shangqu* 上去 as "inchoative aspect". However, from the analysis above, it should be clear that these are more likely to be markers of the experiential aspect. When *zhe* 着 is used, the emphasis is also on trying and experiencing. The meaning of the sentence as a whole is to give an evaluation of the entity referred to by the subject-NP on the basis of some experience obtained from some typical behavior (e.g. drinking with respect to tea). The content of the evaluation is given by the AP at the end of the sentence.

The nature of this meaning can be seen more clearly by comparing a number of sentences. Consider first the following:

- (46) a. 地球是圓的。
Di qiu shi yuan de
 Earth be round PAR
 'The earth is round.'
- b. *地球摸起來是圓的。
Di qiu mo qilai shi yuan de
 Earth touch begin be round PAR
 'The earth is round (once you begin to touch it).'

In (46a), the fact that the earth is round is presented as a general truth – not a conclusion drawn from any typical experience but a self-evident, universal truth. However, when "V + *qilai* 起来" is added to it, as in (46b), the sentence becomes unacceptable. The reason is obvious: the knowledge/assessment that the earth is round could not possibly have been obtained from the act of touching. If the verb is changed from 'touch' to 'look', then the sentence becomes acceptable again:

- (47) 地球看起来是圆的。
Di qiu kan qi lai shi yuan de
 Earth look begin be round PAR
 ‘The earth is round (once you look at it)’

The reason should be equally clear: one can say something about the shape of the earth on the basis of looking (from space or at a picture). The looking provides the experiential basis, and the statement about the shape of the earth is an assessment based on that kind of experience.

Similar examples:

- (48) a. 这只猫的头是方的。
Zhe zhi mao de tou shi fang de
 This CL cat PAR head be square PAR
 ‘This cat’s head is square.’
- b. 这只猫的头看起来是方的。
Zhe zhi mao de tou kan qi lai shi fang de
 This CL cat PAR head look begin be square PAR
 ‘This cat’s head looks square.’

Here again, a cat’s head cannot usually be square in shape, but a particular cat’s head may look as though it was square in shape.

4.2.2.3 NP + Adverbial + V

a. Place adverbials

- (49) 这封信一直在纪念馆收藏着。
Zhe fengxin yi zhi zai ji nian guan shou cang zhe
 This CL letter always in museum keeping ASP
 ‘This letter has always been kept in the museum.’

b. Manner and other adverbials

- (50) 这钱怎么挣来的? (method)
Zhe qian zen me zheng lai de
 This money how make come PAR
 ‘How was this money made?’
- (51) 全部武器用树枝盖起来。 (instrument)
Quan bu wuqi yong shu zhi gai qi lai
 All weapons use twigs cover up
 ‘All these weapons – cover them up with twigs!’
- (52) 矿产大量地开采。 (manner)
Kuang chan da liang di kai cai
 Minerals in-large-quantities mine
 ‘The minerals are being mined in large quantities.’

c. Time adverbials or negation

- (53) 那几个句子一直在斟酌。

Na ji ge ju zi yi zhi zai zhenzhuo

That CL sentence always at ponder

'That sentence – (I've) been pondering about it for some time.'

- (54) 衣服没洗。

Yi fu mei xi

Clothes have not wash

'The clothes have not been washed.'

These kinds of PSCs describe an event from different aspects. As expected, the semantic centre is on these different aspects of an event rather than the event itself. The nature of these sentences is therefore more stative than dynamic. Their semantic characteristics can be seen more clearly by comparing and contrasting some sentences below.

- (55) a. 那封信在纪念馆收藏着。

Na fengxin zai ji nian guan shou cang zhe

that CL letter in museum keeping ASP

'That letter has been kept in the museum.'

- b. 纪念馆收藏着那封信

Ji nian guan shou cang zhe na feng xin

museum keeping ASP that CL letter

'The museum has been keeping that letter.'

Sentence (a) is about a state: the location of the letter. The “museum” is where the “letter” is. *Shoucang* ‘keep’ is the “manner” of the letter’s existence. In sentence (b), on the other hand, the “museum” is presented more as an institution which is capable of actions, and “keep” is an action being carried out by the institution. An element of dynamic meaning can be discerned in the second sentence but not the first.

Consider another set of sentences:

- (56) a. 矿产大量地开采。

Kuang chan da liang di kai cai

Minerals in-large-quantities PAR mine

'The minerals are being mined in large quantities.'

- b. 大量地开采矿产

Daliang de kai cai kuang chan

In-large-quantities PAR mine minerals

'(They) mine the minerals in large quantities.'

Here again, a more stative meaning is expressed by sentence (a), as opposed to sentence (b) which is more dynamic. Further, the difference in the nature of these two kinds of sentences becomes apparent in nominalization structures. Consider:

- (57) *矿产大量地开采的。
Kuang chan da liang di kai cai DE
 Minerals in-large-quantities PAR mine NOM-M
- (58) 矿产的大量开采
Kuang chan de da liang di kai cai
 Minerals NOM-M in-large-quantities mine
 ‘The minerals being mined in large quantities.’

As can be seen here, to nominalize a PSC, the nominalizer *de* can be added to the end of the structure but must insert it after the subject. The truth value of the nominalization is identical to that of the PSC. This is exactly the same as the prototypical stative sentence where the predicate is an adjective:

- (59) 她漂亮。
Ta piao liang
 She pretty
 ‘She is pretty.’
- (60) 她的漂亮。
Ta DE piao liang
 She NOM-M pretty
 ‘Her prettiness’

The SVO construction behaves very differently:

- (61) 大量开采矿产的。
Daliang kai cai kuangchan DE
 In-large-quantities mine minerals NOM-M
 ‘(People or organizations who) mine the minerals in large quantities.’
- (62) 大量开采的矿产。
Daliang kai cai DE kuangchan
 In-large-quantities mine NOM-M minerals
 ‘The minerals which are mined in large quantities.’

First, unlike the PSC and the prototypical stative, the SVO structure is nominalized quite differently. *De* 的 must be added either at the end or in between the verb and its object. Second, the resulting nominalization refers to a different entity than the original SVO structure. Thus, the reference of (61) is the country or company that is doing the mining and the reference of (62) is the minerals. Both are different from (58), where reference is made to the act of mining and its product. As a result, the truth value of the nominalized structure is not the same as that of the original SVO.

These observations are in line with Zhu Dexi’s notion of “self reference” and “shifted reference”. After carrying out an in-depth investigation of nominalization

in Chinese, Zhu found that when predicative structures are nominalized their reference is shifted to the agent, the patient, the instrument, or some other participants, e.g. *mai cai de* 卖菜的 (agent), *xin mai de* 新买的 (theme), *qie rou de* 切肉的 (instrument). Through such a comparison, one can see how the PSC behaves much more like stative sentences than SVO.

4.2.2.4 Section summary

Upon examining different kinds of PSCs with an “adverbial + V” predicate, it was found that this sub-type mainly expresses two kinds of meaning, namely evaluation and description. Evaluation concerns possibility, feasibility and necessity. Description is about different aspects (place, manner, etc) of an event. Overall, while SVO sentences are typically used to present events (with actions or activities), the PSC focuses more on an entity’s properties.

4.2.3 NP + V + *le* 了/*zhe* 着/*guo* 过

The three most important verbal particles *le* 了, *zhe* 着 and *guo* 过 are used to express the perfective, continuation, and experiential aspects respectively. They can all be seen after the verb in a PSC and provide a highly productive means for the formation of the PSC.

4.2.3.1 *le* 了

Verb *kai* 开 in sentence as “*men kai le* 门开了” has been looked as middle verb in Chao (1968) and “labial verb” in Li and Thompson (1994). However, a very large number of verbs in Modern Chinese can take *le* to form a grammatical PSC, e.g.

- (63) 水喝了。
Shui he le
 Water drink ASP PAR
 ‘The water has been drunk.’
- (64) 书拿了。
Shu na le
 Book take ASP PAR
 ‘The book has been taken.’
- (65) 信写了。
Xin xie le
 Letter write ASP PAR
 ‘The letter has been written.’

If these verbs were analyzed as middle verbs, then most verbs in Modern Chinese would be middle verbs. In that case, the label “middle verb” would lose its

special meaning. Notice that the above sentence would become unacceptable once *le* is removed from the predicate. Thus, the presence of *le* is a necessary condition for the grammaticality of this sub-type of PSCs.

The meaning of *le* has been a subject of much research and debate. The mainstream view is to distinguish two *le* 了. The first one, *le*-1, is an aspect particle showing completion. On the other hand, *le*-2 occurs sentence-finally to show changes of state. It also has the function of completing a sentence.” (Lü Shuxiang *Xiandai huanyu babaici* 现代汉语八百词 1980). In this sense this *le* is an eventive particle. The *le* in the PSC would seem to be a case of *le*-2, as it is used to indicate a change of state. For example, in “*men kai le*”, the door can be seen to have undergone a change from a closing state to an open state as a result of the action ‘open’. Interestingly, the following sentence is not acceptable:

- (66) *银行抢了。
Yinhang qiang le
 Bank rob ASP PAR
 ‘The bank has been robbed.’

Theoretically, since ‘bank’ is inanimate, there should not be any problem in using it as a patient-subject in a PSC. However, it seems that this kind of nouns (referring to organizations and institutions) have been assigned an element of animacy, as though they had will power and could carry out actions, e.g. :

- (67) 银行公布了今年的利率。
Yinhang gongbu le jinnian de lilu
 Bank announce ASP this year PAR interest rate
 ‘The bank has announced this year’s interest rate.’

If *yinhang* 银行 ‘bank’ is replaced by a truly inanimate noun such as *jinku* 金库 ‘gold safe’, then the sentence immediately becomes acceptable:

- (68) 金库抢了。
Jin ku qiang le
 Gold safe rob ASP PAR
 ‘The gold safe has been robbed.’

4.2.3.2 *guo* 过

‘V + *guo* 过’ is a very common predicate type in the PSC data. Like *le*, it can occur with most verbs to form a grammatical PSC:

- (69) 针头煮过。
Zhen tou zhu guo
 Needle head boil ASP
 ‘The needle head has been boiled.’

Like *le*, *guo* also has several different senses. The one that is relevant to the PSC is ‘experience’ – something has happened before. The frequent use of ‘V + *guo*’ in the PSC is not surprising, because this sense of *guo* is about whether something has or has not happened before, rather than narrate an event.

4.2.3.3 *zhe* 着

(70) 画在墙上挂着。

Hua zai qiang shang gua zhe
Painting at wall on hanging ASP
‘The painting is hanging on the wall.’

(71) 书藏着不肯拿出来。

Shu cang zhe buken na chulai
Book hiding ASP not willing take out
‘The book is being hidden somewhere and (the one keeping it) refuses to take it out.’

(72) 肉炖着。

Rou dun zhe
Meat cooking ASP
‘The meat is cooking.’

Research on *zhe* 着 has revealed a distinction between *zhe-1*, *zhe-2* and *zhe-3*. *Zhe-1* is a verbal particle that indicates progression, *zhe-2* the continuation of a state, and *zhe-3* the continuation of an outcome brought about by an action or activity denoted by the verb. In contrast to this view, Dai (1991), Yuan (1993) and Fang (2000) hold that no such distinctions need to be made, i.e. there is only one *zhe*, and its grammatical meaning is ‘continuation’. The difference between these two views may well be just different levels of abstraction. There is no real disagreement on one basic point: the generalized meaning of *zhe* is ‘continuation’. Xiao (2002) confirms this point after doing a corpus analysis of *zhe*. He found that *zhe* can be used with many verbs to show that an element of “even-ness” of a state over time.

When the verb is punctual, *zhe* indicates the continuation of a state resulting from an action, e.g. (70). When the verb is durative, it indicates the steady continuation of a state-of-affairs, rather than the progression of an action or event, as in (71) and (72).

4.2.3.4 Section summary

In this section it has been shown how the aspect particles *le* 了, *guo* 过, and *zhe* 着 can be used with a lot of verbs to form PSCs. The verbs that they go with should not be viewed as middle verbs. By nature, they function as event particles which say

something about changes of state, previous appearance of state, or continuation of state, rather than verbal particles used to modify verbs and the actions they denote.

4.2.4 NP + V + NP

The predicate of a PSC can also take the form of “verb+object”. Here, at least three different kinds of objects can be distinguished.

4.2.4.1 *Partitive objects*

(73) 他打断了腿。

Ta da duan le tui

He hit break ASP leg

‘He broke his leg.’

(74) 大头针吸上几根来了。

Da tou zhen xi shang ji gen lai le

Pin suck up a few CL come ASP PAR

‘A few pins were sucked up.’

There are two main kinds of situation regarding partitive objects: the object may be a component part of the entity denoted by the subject-NP, or it may indicate a certain quantity of the entity denoted by the subject-NP. No matter whether it is the former or the latter, semantically this sub-type of PSC is very similar to that involving resultative complements (See 4.2.1.1 above). The only difference is that in the partitive object type, the result or outcome of the action indicated by the verb affects the patient-subject not as a whole, but only partially.

4.2.4.2 *Objects of result*

(75) 袖子挽出褶子来了。

Xiu zi wan chu zhe zi lai le

Sleeve carry out folds come ASP PAR

‘Folds are forming on the sleeves as a result of (the shirt) being carried.’

Like the previous sub-type, PSCs involving objects of result are semantically very similar to the “V + resultative complement” sub-type. For both, the patient-subject is affected and in that process an outcome is brought about. The only thing is that in the case of the objects-of-result sub-type, the process results in the appearance of a new entity, e.g. *qunzi* 裙子 ‘skirt’.

4.2.4.3 *Cognate objects*

(76) 重庆称作山城。

Chongqing chengzuo shan cheng

Chongqing call City-in-the-Mountain

‘Chongqing is known as the City-in-the-Mountain.’

The kind of verbs that can be used in this kind of PSC are limited, e.g. *chongdang* 充当, *suanzuo* 算作, *jiao* 叫, *jiaozuo* 叫作, *biancheng* 变成, *chengwei* 成为, etc. These verbs do not denote any actions or events and are similar to the copula *shi* 是. In fact, cognate-object PSCs can be replaced by the identity construction involving *shi* (is): “*Chongqing shi shancheng*”

4.2.5 Two special forms

Finally, two special forms of PSC must be mentioned: one that involves verb reduplication, and another which may be called the “capacity” sub-type.

4.2.5.1 Verb reduplication

(77) 车座往下落一落。

Che zuo wang xia luo-yi-luo
Car.seat to down lower a little
‘The car seat came down a little.’

A PSC may contain a reduplicated verb as its predicate, and when this happens, there is an imperative sentence. As the imperative mood is supposed to indicate the speaker’s wish for the hearer to carry out an action, it may be thought that it should be incompatible with the non-dynamic meaning of the PSC.

4.2.5.2 The “capacity” sub-type

Compare the following:

(78) 这个房间住进了六个人。

Zhe ge fang jian zhu jin le liu ge ren
This CL room live in TES six people
‘Six people have moved into the room.’

(79) 六个人住进了这个房间。

Liu ge ren zhu jin le zhe ge fang jian
Six CL people live in ASP this CL room
‘Six people have moved into the room.’

The first sentence is an example of the “capacity” sub-type, as it indicates the capacity of the room. In spite of the verb *zhu* 住 ‘live’, the meaning of the sentence as a whole is non-dynamic. This is clearly different from the other sentence, which contains a strong element of narrating an event.

4.2.6 Summary

This section started with a sub-classification of the PSC according to syntax, in particular, according to the structure of its predicate. These different kinds of PSCs were then examined closely for their semantic characteristics. A summary will

now be given of the main findings first in terms of syntax and then in terms of semantics.

4.2.6.1 Syntactic properties of PSC

1. Most verbs in Modern Chinese can enter the PSC. The present investigation of close to 2000 verbs (and about 3000 senses) from the Dictionary of Verbs shows that the great majority of verbs can occur in the predicate of a PSC. There are a small number of exceptions – 131. Many of these are reciprocal verbs, verbs that require a pair of NPs in the subject position, e.g. *fenlie* 分裂 ‘divide’, *kesou* 咳嗽 ‘cough’, *laodong* 劳动 ‘menial work’, *liudong* 流动 ‘flow’, etc.
2. The predicate of a PSC can take a great variety of forms: verb-complement, verb-object, adverbial-verb, etc., and these often co-occur with different aspect and modality particles. Merely looking at the predicate, little difference is seen between the PSC and SVO sentences. One of the reasons why the PSC is so highly productive is that it usually occurs with a verb-complement structure. Another productive measure is to add a modal verb before the main verb.

4.2.6.2 Semantic characteristics of PSC

Semantically, all the different sub-types of PSCs can first be reduced to two main kinds: descriptive ones and evaluative ones.

1. Descriptive PSCs: As shown above, the PSC is often used to describe different aspects of the circumstances surrounding an event, rather than to narrate the event. It is also used to describe the outcome or resulting state of an action:

(80) 螺丝拧紧了。
Luo si ning jin le
 Screw turn tight ASP PAR
 ‘The screw has been tightened.’

(81) 酒喝醉了。
Jiu he zui le
 Wine drink drunk ASP PAR
 ‘(Someone) got drunk on the wine.’

(82) 矿产大量开采。
Kuang chan da liang kai cai
 Mineral in.large.quantities mine
 ‘The minerals are mined in large quantities.’

2. Evaluative PSCs: Co-occurring with a group of modal verbs, co-verbs and adverbials (such as *ke, gai, nan, yi, yao*, etc.), this kind of PSC typically indicates

the speaker's subjective evaluation of the feasibility, possibility, or necessity of an event. Alternatively, a PSC can also be used to indicate the speaker's assessment of the quality of an entity on the basis of some general experiential behaviors which are universally understood to inform people's judgments.

These two semantic properties can in turn be subsumed, at the most general level, under the heading of 'inactiveness.' The rationale for this idea and the supporting evidence for the claim will be detailed in the following chapter. Before that, however, two immediate challenges to the notion 'inactiveness' should first be considered and settled before we move on to a more in-depth discussion of 'inactiveness' in Chapter 5.

4.3 Two challenges for the "inactiveness" account

Our proposal to generalize the semantics of the PSC at the highest level of abstraction in terms of "inactiveness" cannot be complete without a satisfactory answer to challenges from two directions: imperative sentences on the one hand and the adverb of progression *zhengzai* 正在 on the other. It is found that the PSC can occur in the form of an imperative sentence and can contain the adverb *zhengzai* in the predicate. This poses a problem for the inactiveness hypothesis because it seems to contradict these two phenomena: the imperative is associated with taking actions (speakers requesting hearers to do something), and *zhengzai* is usually regarded as an adverb that indicates an ongoing event. Neither seems compatible with the notion of inactiveness.

4.3.1 Imperative sentences

The grammatical meaning of an imperative sentence is usually to order or request the hearer to do something, to carry out some action. But notice that this apparent association with action and activeness exists not at the propositional or semantic level but at the speech act level. This is why typical adjectives too can occur in an imperative sentence, e.g. "Be quiet!", "Be good!" It is evident that the verb "be" does not in itself denote any action or activity. The interpretation that the hearer should do something in order to bring about that state is a conversational implicature based on the construction meaning of the imperative.

Thus, the "contradiction" between the grammatical meaning of the PSC and the imperative mood is more apparent than real. Our next question is: what kind of meaning is typically expressed by a PSC in the imperative mood? Consider a few examples:

- (83) 证件打开!
Zhengjian dakai
 Passport open
 ‘To let your passport be opened!’
- (84) 衣服洗干净!
Yifu xi ganjing
 Clothes wash ganjing
 ‘To wash the clothes Clean!’

It can be seen from these examples that most sub-types of PSC can occur in the imperative mood. Sentence (83) means something like “please do the action of opening your passport in order to bring about an open state for the passport”. While this sentence is certainly grammatical, native speakers feel that the more natural way of expression is to use the SVO structure (“*da kai zhengjian*”). The use of the PSC as above carries with it a sense of impatience. In (84), the key point is to bring about a state of ‘being clean’ to the clothes through washing, so the action of wash is presented only as a means towards an end. Thus, the meaning of an imperative PSC is not simply “be in a certain state” or “carry out a certain action” but “order or request the hearer to carry out some action in order to achieve a certain state or outcome”. We can elaborate on this through a comparison of the following sentences:

- (85) a. 票打开!
Piao dakai
 Tickets open
 ‘let your tickets be opened!’
- b. 打开票!
Dakai piao
 Open tickets
 ‘Open the tickets!’

These two sentences are likely to be said in different contexts.

Context I: At the entrance to the cinema, a customer shows the keeper a folded up ticket. The keeper might choose to use sentence (85a) to ask the customer to open up the ticket, but this would be perceived as impatient, even rude. In using this form, the speaker’s emphasis seems to be on the importance of seeing the ticket in an open state, rather than what the hearer should do, which is just a means towards an end.

Context II: At the entrance to the cinema, the keeper announces an instruction to customers entering the cinema and requests them to perform the action of unfolding their tickets (before showing them to the keeper). In choosing this form (85b), the speaker seems to have the presupposition that most customers would not have unfolded the tickets before they show them.

4.3.2 The problem of *zhengzai*

The other challenge to the inactiveness account is that the adverb *zhengzai* can occur in the PSC. The generally accepted view is that *zhengzai* is an indicator of activeness or dynamism. In fact, in the literature it is often used as a diagnostic for dynamic predicates. So in a way one would not expect it to occur in the predicate of a PSC, but it can. The problem is: why this apparent contradiction? First consider an example:

- (86) 国民经济正在进一步调整
Guomin jingji zhengzai jinyibu tiaozheng
 National economy ASP further adjustment
 ‘The national economy is undergoing further adjustment.’

Zheng 正, *zai* 在, and *zhengzai* 正在 are all adverbs of time, and in most contexts can be used interchangeably. Their basic meaning is “action in progress”. However, a closer examination shows that there are some delicate differences between them. *Zheng(zai)* emphasizes an action’s progress. It has the feature of ‘time point’,² and can be described as [-continuation]. *Zai*, on the other hand, emphasizes the maintenance of an action or state. It has the feature of ‘time period’, and can be described as [+continuation]. This is why the former cannot co-occur with words of time duration while the latter does often occur with these words. This semantic difference brings about a whole set of syntactic functional differences.

- (87) 衣服正在洗 *衣服正洗 衣服在洗 衣服一直在洗
*Yifu zhengzai xi *yifu zheng xi*
 clothes ASP wash *clothes ASP wash
yifu zai xi yifu yizhi zai xi
 clothes ASP wash clothes ADV ASP wash

- (88) 正在洗衣服 正洗衣服 在洗衣服 *一直正在洗衣服
zhengzai xi yifu zheng xi yifu zai xi yifu
 ASP wash clothes ASP wash clothes ASP wash yifu
 **yizhi zhengzai xi yifu*
 *ADV ASP wash clothes

Notice in the above examples that the adverb *zhengzai* cannot be changed into *zheng* in the PSC. This can be expected because of the incompatibility between the

2. According to Lu Jianming (1985), temporal adverbs in Chinese can be divided into two kinds, definite time adverbials and indefinite time adverbials.

action-in-progress meaning of *zheng* and the PSC's sense of inactiveness. On the other hand, *zhengzai* can be shortened to *zai* and still fit into the PSC without any problem because the sense of "maintenance" of *zai* is not incompatible with the PSC. Also, the adverb *yizhi* 一直 can occur in such sentences, again because it is semantically compatible with inactiveness. In contrast, the SVO structure behaves in an opposite way: it can go with *zheng* but not *zai*, and cannot co-occur with *yizhi*.

From the above comparison we can see that *zhengzai* is actually not incompatible with PSC's sense of inactiveness. In "yifu zhengzai xi 衣服正在洗", *zhengzai* indicates the maintenance or continuation of the state of being washed. On the other hand, in "zhengzai xi yifu 正在洗衣服", *zhengzai* emphasizes that the action of washing is in progress. The difference between the maintenance or continuation of a relatively static state and the progress being made in the performance of an action can be very further seen in the following examples:

- (89) 衣服正在洗涤当中。
Yifu zhengzai xidi dang zhong
 Clothes ASP wash right in
 'The clothes is washing'
- (90) *正在洗(涤)衣服当中
Zhengzai xi(di) yifu dang zhong
 ASP wash clothes right in

The syntactic frame "*zhengzai V zhizhong* (之中)" is typically used to indicate a continuing state. So it is not surprising that a PSC containing *zhengzai* can enter into this frame. In contrast, an SVO containing *zhengzai* cannot enter into this frame.

Another kind of supporting evidence comes from the selection of verbs. Only verbs whose semantics is compatible with a sense of maintenance or continuation can be used in a PSC with *zhengzai*. Otherwise the sentence will be ungrammatical. For example:

- (91) *杯子正在打
Beizi zhengzai da
 Cup ASP break

In fact, only a limited number of verbs can co-occur with *zhengzai* in a PSC, to indicate an action or state is in continuation (i.e. not changing). When the predicate of a PSC is a verb-complement structure, a verb-object structure, or an adverbial-verb structure, *zhengzai* cannot be used. The reason is that all these kinds of predicates are bounded and are therefore semantically incompatible with this adverb.

Thus when *zhengzai* occurs in a PSC, it indicates a non-changing situation (action keeps on being done or state keeping the same over time). But when it occurs in an SVO, it indicates that an action or activity is ongoing. The meaning of *zhengzai* in these two contexts are similar and yet different. They are similar in that both express the meaning of “ongoing” or continuation. They are different in that in one case it means “keep on doing something” but in the other it describes an unchanging state or situation.

These two similar and yet different meanings are found also in some dialects. Chu (2004) studied verbal aspects in the *Yuexi* 粤西 dialect and found that there is an important distinction between “durative” and “non-durative” aspects. Within the durative aspect, a further division is made between “process” and “frame”, as shown in the following table:

Durative	Process
	Frame
Non-durative	

According to Chu, “the process aspect and the frame-by-frame aspect do not indicate either the beginning or the end of an event. They only indicate an event’s progress, which can be presented either dynamically or statically. The process aspect highlights the dynamic side; the frame aspect emphasizes the static side... The process aspect tells what the subject is doing, placing the stress on dynamic action; the frame aspect tells how the subject is, placing the stress on a state. When the subject is a patient, only the frame aspect can be used to indicate what kind of situation the patient is in.” (Chu 2004).

More interestingly, apart from evidence from Chinese dialects, we can also find cross-linguistic support. Espunya (1996) found that Romance languages, unlike English, express two distinct progressive perspectives. In Spanish, the sequence “*estar + gerund*” realizes the notion of static progressive of an event; the sequence “*ir + gerund*” realize a dynamic progressive perspective. In other words, by using this form the development of an event is viewed as progressing. The essential distinction between the two lies in the nature of the development of an event: the stative progressive is predicated of an undivided period of time, whereas the dynamic progressive is predicated of a period of time divided into different phases

Thus, we believe that in spite of appearances, the presence of *zhengzai* in some PSCs does not cast doubt on the basic correctness of the inactiveness account. In fact, our consideration of this point may hopefully have strengthened our argument that in comparison to the SVO, the PSC has a more static sense.

4.4 Chapter summary

This chapter first sub-classified PSCs according to the structure of their predicates. The semantics of each sub-type was then examined in some detail. It was found that semantically PSCs can be divided into two main kinds: descriptive and evaluative. The former may have a transformational relation with the SVO, while the latter does not. In contrast to the SVO construction, which has high transitivity, the PSC is more stative and attends to properties, attributes and their subjective assessment by the speaker, or their assessment of a state-of-affairs. In the next chapter, these issues will be delved into more deeply by considering theories of polysemy (Haspelmath 1993), construction meaning (Goldberg 2003) and transitivity in discourse (Hopper & Thompson 1980).

'Inactiveness' and 'backgrounding'

PSC in discourse

5.1 The polysemy of PSC

So far two semantic types of PSCs have been identified: descriptive and evaluative. Are these two kinds of PSCs related to each other? Do they share any common properties? Since descriptive and evaluative PSCs have essentially the same syntactic form, the semantic split can be viewed as a case of polysemy, i.e. two different semantic categories subsumed under a single syntactic structure. As a single syntactic form, can the PSC be related to a more abstract semantic value?

Implicitly or explicitly, linguists often assume a same-form-same-meaning relationship. As Kemmer (1993: 4) points out: "Recurring instances of different meanings being expressed by the same formal or structural means is an indication that the meanings in question are related." This is only natural, once it is realized that the number of meanings is potentially infinite but the linguistic forms in any one language is always a limited inventory. It would therefore be sensible that a single form is used to express a class of related meanings, rather than have distinct forms for every distinct meaning. This is a basic property of human language (Haiman 1985).

Two approaches have been adopted in the study of polysemy. The first is diachronic, which attempts to explain the different meanings as a result of semantic changes or grammaticalization over time. The other approach is synchronic, which accounts for polysemy in terms of a common cognitive base underlying two or more different semantic representations. As discussed above, the PSC is one of the oldest syntactic constructions in Chinese. No historical evidence shows any relationship of grammaticalization between evaluative PSCs and descriptive PSCs. Neither can diachronic evidence be employed to explain this polysemous relationship. If the two turn out to be variations of the same theme, then the basis of this must presumably rest on a common cognitive structure underlying both categories.

5.1.1 The PSC as Envisioned within Event Structure

From the way an event is encoded by a linguistic form one can see the perspective from which a speaker perceives or conceptualizes the event. Much research has been done on the conceptualization of event structure in recent years (Talmy; Croft 1991, 1994; Langacker 1991). Langacker (1991) maintains that an event can be construed either as a dynamic process or as a static situation. When the conceptualization is dynamic, its contents will change over time. He terms this type of construal as “sequential scanning”. Sequential scanning involves a set of successive situations which evolve serially. With this concept a cognitive account of “action”, “activity”, and in general “activeness” can be given. An event can be conceptualized as “active” if it is presented in the manner of sequential scanning. In contrast to this, an event can also be conceptualized as “inactive”. Here, instead of sequential scanning, attention is placed on an attribute or a property which has come about as a result of an action or a process. Thus, activeness and inactiveness reflect different ways of conceptualizing an event. In elaborating the idea that distinctive language forms reflecting distinctive conceptualizations of event, Langacker (1987) advocates that passive expresses the realization of a relationship between an event and a participant in it, instead of simply recounting the course of the event.

In addition, the notion of “inactiveness” was also used by Haspelmath (1990) in elaborating passive markers cross-linguistically. He suggests that “inactive” is opposed to “active” as actional and agentive are opposed to non-actional and non-agentive. More importantly, he distinguishes between “stative” and “inactive” and argues that the former should be reserved for states. All states are inactive just as all actions are dynamic, but not all inactive situations are states. Inactiveness differs from state in that the latter does not imply an action, process or event which may have brought the state into being. For instance, the English verb ‘be’ is both inactive and stative, but ‘become’ is inactive rather than stative. By employing the notion of inactiveness, an attempt will be made to subsume descriptive PSCs and evaluative PSC under one core semantic value.

5.1.1.1 *Descriptive PSC and inactiveness*

To get a deeper understanding of the PSC, it will now be compared with the SVO construction. Consider first descriptive PSCs. As the following examples will show, a descriptive PSC and a SVO construction reflect two different ways of conceptualizing an event:

- (1) a. 衣服洗干净了。
yi fu xi ganjing le
 clothes wash clean ASP PAR
 ‘The clothes have been washed and (have become) clean.’

- b. 洗干净了衣服。

xi gan jing le yi fu
wash clean TES clothes

'(Someone) has washed the clothes (and made them clean).'

In sentence (a), which disallows the expression of the agent, the event is profiled to the state of the patient, which is attributed with a newly-obtained property as a result of the action “*xi* 洗 (wash)”.

- (2) 衣服洗干净了 ≈ 衣服干净了。

yi fu xi gan jing le ≈ yi fu gan jing le
clothes wash clean ASP ≈ clothes clean ASP

'The clothes have been washed and (have become) clean.' ≈ 'The clothes become clean.'

- (3) 衣服洗干净了 ≠ 洗衣服。

Yi fu xi gan jing le ≠ xi yi fu
clothes wash clean ASP ≠ wash clothes

'The clothes have been washed and (have become) clean.' ≈ 'To wash clothes'

In contrast, sentence (b) construes washing as a process and emphasizes the cause-and-effect relation between the action of washing and the resulting state of being clean:

- (4) 洗干净衣服了 ≈ 洗衣服

xi gan jing yi fule ≈ xi yi fu
wash clean clothes ASP ≈ wash clothes

'To washed the clothes clean.' ≈ 'To wash clothes'

- (5) 洗干净衣服了 ≈ 衣服干净了。

xi gan jing yi fu le ≈ yi fu gan jing le
wash clean clothes ASP ≈ clothes clean ASP

'The clothes have been washed and (have become) clean.' ≈ 'The clothes become clean.'

The different semantic properties of the PSC and the SVO can be further seen by considering how they function as answers to different questions. The former can only be an answer to a 'how' question, e.g. 'How about the clothes?' The latter can only answer action-type questions, e.g. 'What did you do?' Through the above comparison, it can be seen that the SVO has a much stronger element of action and activeness, reflecting a dynamic process. On the other hand, the PSC has an inherent stative sense. But does this mean that it is a construal of a static situation? In the author's view, this is not the case, as the PSC is just another way of presenting a state like sentences with adjectival predicates:

- (6) 衣服干净

yi fu gan jing

clothes clean

'The clothes are clean.'

- (7) 衣服洗干净了。

Yi fu xi gan jing le

clothes wash clean ASP PAR

'The clothes have been washed and (have become) clean.'

Here, the first sentence is a simple case of presenting a static situation. In this sentence, *ganjing* 'clean' is an attributive predication. This attribute is presented as natural and inherent. In the other sentence, however, the same attribute *ganjing* 干净 'clean' is construed as having been caused by the act of washing, rather than an inherent property.

5.1.1.2 Evaluative PSC and inactiveness

Next, consider whether evaluative PSCs may also have the property of inactiveness. Wang (1943) divides all sentences into three major types: narrative, descriptive, and judgmental. But at the same time, he points out that some narrative sentences may contain an element of description: "The use of verbs in the predicate is usually a feature of the narrative sentence type, but if the transitive verb is not followed by an object, and is preceded by adverbials like *ke* 可, *hao* 好, *nan* 难, *yi* 易, *gou* 够, etc., or followed by *de* 得 or *bude* 不得, then the resulting structure is a descriptive one. For example: 这小孩好看 (the child is good-looking); 这事情很容易办 (This job is easily manageable).

It should be clear that this kind of sentence that Wang Li was talking about is actually the evaluative PSCs. This suggests that evaluative PSCs do also contain an element of description. This is not so surprising, as evaluations or assessments will naturally be based on descriptions of attributes or properties rather than related to the narration of an action or event. But why is it believed that evaluative PSCs are a way of encoding "inactiveness"? What differences are there between them and prototypical stative sentences?

As discussed above, there are two kinds of evaluative PSCs: one comes with a "modal verb/co-verb + V" predicate, another comes with a "V + *qilai* 起来/*zhe* 着/*shangqu* 上去" predicate. The first kind presents an evaluation of the action or event itself (as denoted by the verb) and in this sense is evidently quite different from sentences which describe an entity's properties or attributes.

- (8) 他可以说服。

(assessing feasibility)

Ta ke yi shuo fu

He can persuade

'He can be persuaded.'

- (9) 那座城快守不住了。 (assessing possibility)
Na zuo cheng kuai shou-bu-zhu le
 That CL town soon cannot defend ASP PAR
 'The town will soon become indefensible (i.e. fall)'
- (10) 以前的合同必须遵守。 (assessing necessity)
Yi qian de he tong bi xu zhun shou
 Past PAR contract must follow
 'Past contracts must be followed.'

While the second kind of evaluative PSCs do present an assessment of a person or an object, they are evidently different from straightforward stative sentences in that their assessments are presented as having been formed on the basis of experiences acquired through actions. Compare:

- (11) 那个蛋糕很好吃。
Na ge dan gao hen hao chi
 That CL cake very delicious
 'That cake tastes really good.'
- (12) 那个蛋糕看起来很好吃,吃起来却不怎么样。
Na ge dan gao kan qi lai hen hao chi chi qi lai que bu
 That CL cake look begin very delicious eat begin but not
zen me yang
 so good
 'That cake looks delicious but doesn't taste that good.'

Unlike the first sentence, which simply presents 'deliciousness' as an inherent attribute of the cake, the PSC presents the assessment as being based on visual experience, which in the case of a cake, is of course not necessarily reliable.

From the above discussion, it should be clear that the two kinds of PSCs share one common feature: they both attend to a state as the effect of a causing action or process, and are in this sense used to express "inactiveness". In this respect they are both very different from SVO sentences, which attend to an action or a process. On the other hand, both types of PSCs also differ from stative sentences in that their 'point' is not to report, describe, or assess an attribute as an inherent property but as the product of a cause-and-effect chain.

5.2 Inactiveness as grammatical construal

If the core semantic value of the PSC as a whole is inactiveness, where does this meaning come from? From the previous sections it is clear that the predicate types of the PSC are essentially the same as those of the SVO construction. This suggests

that the fundamental difference in grammatical meaning between these two sentence types has little to do with their predicates. As far as the subject is concerned, it is self-evident that in one case the subject is an agent, and in the other case it is a patient, or, more precisely, a non-agent. But whether a subject-NP is an agent or not in a given sentence is a question that must ultimately be decided on the basis of the relation between the subject and the predicate, in fact, in the context of the sentence as a whole. It can now be seen that the most fundamental difference between the SVO construction and the PSC is their status as different constructions that carry different construction meanings: activeness in the case of SVO, and inactiveness in the case of PSC.

Goldberg (1995) rejects the claim that the semantics of a clause is projected exclusively from the specification of the main verb. In her theory of Construction Grammar, construction meaning is understood to be contributed by the construction itself. In other words, the skeletal construction contributes to argument linking. To illustrate this, one can take her example of ditransitive construction. According to Goldberg, the ditransitive construction is associated by definition with three participants: an agent, a patient, and a recipient, and the construction as a whole will carry the general meaning of transferal of objects or properties. Because of this, verbs occurring in the ditransitive construction will inevitably be assigned the construction meaning, and the NPs in the sentence will be linked to their respective positions in the skeletal syntactic configuration. Given all this, a sentence like “Suzie baked me a cake” will naturally have a transferal meaning without any need to stipulate a specific sense of “bake” unique to the ditransitive construction.

5.2.1 Construction meaning

The stage is now set to answer both the question of polysemy (of the PSC) and the question about the SVO-PSC distinction by proposing an overall framework within which the relationship between SVO and PSC and that between different sub-types of PSCs can all find a proper place.

Without a doubt, “subject + predicate” (SP) is the most basic syntactic pattern in Modern Chinese. According to Goldberg (1995: 66), basic sentence-level constructions designate basic facets of human experience (cf. Langacker 1991). In line with this insight, it is proposed that the basic SP construction in Modern Chinese is used to encode two basic facets of human experience:

1. S_{agent} + Predicate (Encodes activeness: narration of events)
2. $S_{\text{non-agent}}$ + Predicate (Encodes inactiveness: attribution of properties)

Construction (1) denotes an activity or a change of state. It is active and dynamic. Construction (2) attributes a property to a non-agent entity, and is static.

Goldberg's Construction Grammar is not transformational in that it does not posit any underlying syntactic or semantic form. Instead, it is a monostratal grammar in which different constructions are treated as extensions of some basic types. In view of this idea, it is proposed that the basic construction Construction (1) will have the following extensions:

- a. $S_{\text{agent}} + V_{\text{tr}} + O$
- b. $S_{\text{agent}} + V_{\text{int}}$
- c. $S_{\text{agent}} + N$
- d. $S_{\text{agent}} + \text{Adj}$

Given the construction meaning of Construction (1), it is not surprising that, as in (a) and (b) above, transitive verbs and intransitive verbs can occur in the construction. But why can nouns and adjectives (types c and d) enter this structure also? Consider the following examples:

- (13) 他大学生了(≠他大学生)。
Ta da xue sheng le
 He university.student PAR
 'He is (or has become) a university student already.'

- (14) 他骄傲了(≠他很骄傲)。
Ta jiao'ào le
 He arrogant PAR
 'He has become very arrogant.'

Sentences like this were explained previously in terms of ellipsis or 'temporary shift of word classes' (词类活用). According to these old hypotheses, in the first sentence, the use of the noun is explained by the omission or deletion of the copular verb 'shi'. The second sentence is explained by saying that the adjective is temporarily used as a verb. These explanations seem nowadays to be less than satisfactory. Better theories are needed to make more generalizations at a higher level of abstraction.

Using Construction Grammar, it will be said that as sub-classes under Construction (1), (c) and (d) necessarily have inherited Construction (1)'s construction meaning. This is why when a noun or an adjective enters into the construction frame, they will contribute to the sentence's overall meaning in much the same way as a verb will do within the same construction.

As is well known, in a sentence like (13), the change-of-state meaning implies that the person referred to by the subject-NP was previously not a university student, but has recently become one. It is argued that this is fundamentally different from a sentence like

- (15) 他大学生。
Ta da xue sheng.
 He college student
 'he is a college student.'

where the point is to attribute a property to the subject-NP. In the first case, the person is portrayed as someone who has undergone a series of states. The point of sentence (13) is to report or narrate an event (in a broad sense). In the second case, the person is portrayed as having a certain inherent attribute, and the point of the corresponding sentence is not to report or narrate an event, but to attend to a state. Similarly, sentence (14) presents a change of state, from not proud to proud. The same comments can apply to it and the way it differs from the seemingly closely related sentence

- (16) 他很骄傲。
Ta hen jiao ao.
 He very proud
 He is very proud

In the same vein, Construction (2) has the following extensions:

- a. $S_{\text{non-agent}} + N$
 b. $S_{\text{non-agent}} + \text{Adj}$
 c. $S_{\text{non-agent}} + V_{\text{tr}} + O$
 d. $S_{\text{non-agent}} + V_{\text{int}}$

The construction meaning of (2) is to attribute properties to a non-agent. The use of adjectives and nouns would seem natural, but how should one explain why verbs can also be used in such sentences. Consider:

- (17) 他错认为中国人了。
Ta cuo ren wei Zhong guo ren le
 He wrongly identify as Chinese PAR
 'He is wrongly identified as a Chinese person.'

- (18) 衣服洗干净了。
Yi fu xi gan jing le
 Clothes wash clean ASP PAR
 'The clothes are wash clean.'

When a verb enters Construction (2), as in c and d above, it will fit into and contribute to the meaning of the sentence in accordance with the construction meaning as a whole. Although the verbs of the above sentences are 'wrongly recognize' and 'wash' respectively, their interpretations preserve the meaning of their

dominating construction (2). The meaning of the former is about whether the person in question is Chinese and not about recognizing (something). The meaning of the latter is about whether the clothes are clean, rather than about washing. The active or action meaning of the verbs in these sentences has been significantly reduced. In fact, they are playing a subordinate role rather than main role in their respective sentences.

Can the construction meaning always override the verb meaning, so that any verb can freely occur in either construction (1) or construction (2)? The answer is no. In Goldberg's theory, construction meaning and verb meaning do not have equal status. The former is prototypical and universal and the latter may be a sub-type of the former. But at the same time Goldberg acknowledges that the lexical meaning of verbs is also very important. Verbs whose semantics is essentially incompatible with a particular construction may not be used in that context. The following examples are bad in that the meaning of the verbs conflict directly with the construction meaning:

(19) *他男人了。

Ta nan ren le
He man PAR

(20) *大地雪白雪白了。

Da di xue bai xue bai le
Land all.white PAR

(21) 衣服洗。

Yi fu xi
Clothes wash

Nanren 男人 'man' in Example (19) is not normally an attribute that can change over time. This conflicts with the construction meaning which, as mentioned above, denotes an activity or a change of state. In Example (20), *xuebai xuebai* 雪白雪白 "as white as snow", a reduplicative form of an adjective, is what Zhu Dexi (1984: 73) describes as a stative adjective, which has an obvious tendency to describe a situation. If it is changed into an attributive adjective such as *bai* 白 'white', the sentence would become grammatical:

(22) 大地白了。

da di bai le
big ground white ASP PAR
'The ground becomes white.'

Finally, the bare verb in (103) can only be used to indicate an action or behavior, and is incompatible with the construction meaning of attributing a property or

state to an entity. But to add a resultative complement such as *ganjing* 干净 ‘clean’ or an aspect particle such as *le* after it would turn the sentence immediately into a grammatical one. This is why bare verbs cannot usually be used in the predicate of a PSC, and that most predicates of PSCs are verb-complement structures.

5.2.2 Relations between constructions

5.2.2.1 *Inheritance relations*

Goldberg (1995) demonstrates convincingly that the constructions in any grammar system are not an unstructured set. Instead, they are systematically organized in the form of a network and are linked by inheritance relations. She proposes four major types of inheritance relations, including Polysemy (Ip) link, metaphorical (Im) link, subpart (Is) link and Instance (Ii) link (p. 75). These different types of inheritance links are posited between constructions which are related both syntactically and semantically. The linking types specify the relation between related constructions.

According to this inheritance link hypothesis, constructions (1) and (2) can be conceived as dominating constructions, while constructions a, b, c and d are dominated constructions. At the same time, construction a, b, c and d can act as dominating constructions to some other constructions; for instance, construction (1)a can be the dominating construction of caused-motion and ditransitive constructions (see Goldberg 1995: 109 for detailed illustrations).

The relationship between construction (1) and constructions (1) a, b, c, d is a series of instance links. Likewise the relationship between construction (2) and constructions (2) a, b, c, d consist of instance links. Instance links are defined by Goldberg as “particular constructions [that are] a special case of another construction” (P. 79). Polysemy links can be used to discern the relationship between constructions a, b, c, d.

Polysemy links are the most frequently-occurring type of links in languages. It posits a semantic relation between a particular meaning of a construction and its extensions from this meaning. The relationship between stative sentences, descriptive PSCs and evaluative PSCs as well can be explained in terms of the notion of polysemy link.

Both stative sentences and PSCs take the structure of “S_{non-agent} + Predicate” which attribute a property or state to the non-agent entity. This syntactic construction is associated with a family of related senses, rather than a single abstract sense. The following pattern is proposed:

I. X contains by inheritance a certain kind of attribute (central sense)

(23) 他大学生。
Ta da xue sheng
 He college student
 'He is a college student.'

(24) 衣服很干净。
Yi fu hen gan jing
 Clothes very clean
 'The clothes are very clean.'

II. X is endowed with a certain kind of attribute

(25) 他看上去像大学生。
Ta kan shang qu xiang da xue sheng
 Ta look DIR like college student
 'He looks like a college student.'

(26) 衣服看起来很干净。
Yi fu kan qi lai very gan jing
 Clothes look DIR very clean
 'The clothes are very clean.'

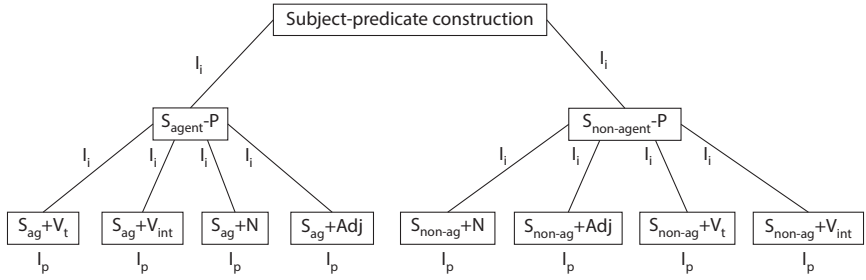
III. X is caused to acquire a certain kind of attribute

(27) 他错认为大学生。
Ta cuo ren wei da xue sheng
 He mistake identified as college student
 'He is mistakenly identified as a college student.'

(28) 衣服洗得很干净。
Yi fu xi de hen gan jing
 Clothes wash PAR very clean
 'The clothes are washed clean.'

Types (II) and (III) are extensions from the central sense. Both of them constitute a slightly different construction, motivated by the central sense. The link between the central sense and the sense of the evaluative PSC is one that relates attributes to endowed attributes, and the link between the central sense and the sense of the descriptive PSC is one that relates attributes to caused attributes. Both e-PSC and d-PSC are members of a family of constructions which attend to an attribute of some entity. Both e-PSC and d-PSC differ from the central sense in that the former involves dynamic meaning to a certain extent, while the latter exhibits static meaning. In this sense, the PSC is not a pure static construction though they belong to the same semantic family.

The following is an overview of all the relations discussed above:



In this section, following Goldberg, four kinds of inheritance relations are captured among constructions in Mandarin: polysemy link (lp), metaphorical link (lm), subpart link (ls) and instance link (li). Starting from S-P as the most basic construction, a bipartite division is first made between agent-subjects and non-agent subjects, the former encoding activeness and the latter inactiveness. Each of these two sub-categories are further sub-divided into finer categories. In such a scheme, PSC comes under non-agent subject as a sub-category and joins three other sub-categories as devices for encoding inactiveness.

5.3 Discourse functions of PSC

It is observed that in comparison with the *bei*-construction, the PSC usually forms a dependent clause occurring before the main clause, whereas the passive has a much higher degree of independence.

- (29) a. 酒喝光了。
Jiu he guang le
 Wine drink up
 ‘The wine has been drunk up.’
- b. 酒喝光了就走。
Jiu he guang le jiu zou
 wine drink up ASP then leave
 ‘After the wine has been drunk up and then (we) leave’
- (30) a. 酒被喝光了。
Jiu bei he guang le
 Wine Bei drink up ASP
 ‘The wine has been drunk up.’
- b. *酒被喝光就走。
jiu bei he guang jiu zou
 wine Bei drink up then leave
 ‘After the wine has been drunk up, then (we) leave.’

The study of Diao (1999) and Cao (1997) obtained the similar finding: PSCs are highly context-dependent. Diao (1999) examined some data from Pre-Modern Chinese and found that the PSCs in his corpus showed little independence and relied a great deal on the context. When they occurred they did so mainly in the form of subordinate clauses or contrastive contexts. According to his statistics, independent PSCs did not account for more than 20% of all PSCs in his data.

As indicated above, the PSC often occurs as a subordinate clause before the main clause, and functions in providing background information for the narrative main clause. For example:

- (31) 一句话说错了, 什么都可以变成逆产。
yi ju hua shou cuo le, shenme dou keyi biancheng ni
 Single CL word speak wrong, everything all can become traitor's
chan
 property
 'Even if putting a single word mistakenly, everything can possibly become traitor's property.'
- (32) 房子卖了, 你带你的儿子媳妇一齐去过也好。
Fangzi mai le, ni dai nide er' zi de xifu yiqi qu guo
 House sell ASP, you take your son's PAR wife together go live
ye hao
 also good
 'After the house has been sold, it's good for you to take your son and wife to live with (your parents).'

These examples are all complex sentences made up of a PSC in subordinate clause position, followed by a main clause with an (S)V(O) structure. It should be clear from these examples that what is being presented in the PSC is not an active event but a description of some state-of-affairs that will provide necessary background information for subsequent progression of the discourse.

On the interconnections between 'inactiveness', descriptions and backgrounding, the most comprehensive and convincing account is Hopper and Thompson's Transitivity Hypothesis. As is well-known, Hopper and Thompson argue in their 1980 paper entitled 'Transitivity in grammar and discourse' that transitivity as it was traditionally defined (i.e., syntactically, in terms of the presence or absence of an object relative to a verb) should be understood much more broadly to include a range of syntactic and semantic properties, such as aspect, punctuality, agency, affectedness, etc., which are found to positively correlate with one another in a good number of languages. Together they define the degree of "effectiveness with which an action takes place." (Hopper & Thompson 1980: 251) More important, Hopper and Thompson show how these syntactic and semantic properties are

Hopper and Thompson: "Mandarin has a pattern known as the *ba*-construction, which has the effect of fronting the O... The *ba*-construction is ... a highly transitive clause-type." (p. 274) It is also pointed out in Hopper and Thompson (1980) that such a characterization of the *ba*-construction finds support in the fact (which had been known for a long time, but left unexplained) that one of the syntactic requirements for the use of the *ba*-construction is that it must come with the perfective particle *le*.

...when viewed in terms of Transitivity, it immediately becomes clear that the highly transitive *ba* clause must be perfective: it requires a perfectivizing expression, either a perfective particle or clause specifying the boundary of the action. (1980: 275)

By laying out the construction-types on the transitivity scale in this fashion, a number of predictions can readily be derived from it. The transitivity scale predicts that, in connected discourse (e.g., a story), one would expect *ba* and SVO constructions to be used primarily to narrate (i.e., foreground), PSCs primarily to introduce background material (i.e., background), and *bei*-constructions for both (or neither).

5.3.1 An empirical study

To test the validity of these possible correlations, an empirical study was carried out in which Mandarin speakers were presented with a series of narrative texts. A number of questions were asked (e.g., whether in their view a particular sentence was used to describe a state-of-affairs, evaluate the likelihood of an event, or progress a narrative). The informants' judgments were solicited and recorded as data for analysis.

5.3.1.1 Text selection

For the purpose of preparing materials for the study, it was decided to use a novel written by the well-known sci-fi writer Liu Cixin (刘慈欣) entitled *The Three Body Problem* (《三体》), a novel about celestial mechanics. The reason for this choice is that the novel, while mainly narrative in content, also contains frequent descriptions of unfamiliar and counter-intuitive worlds in which the story takes place. Many of these descriptions are based on complex concepts in astronomy and physics, providing background information necessary for the readers' understanding of the story's plot and characters. As a result, the novel contains many passages in which a good mix of constructions co-occurs and where the constructions work closely together to serve the overall goal of storytelling, making it an ideal source of test material for an in-depth comparison and contrast to be made of the functions of the different construction-types in connected discourse.

To give a flavor of the novel and to illustrate the thinking behind the design of the study, consider the following passage taken from Book 1 of *The Three Body Problem*:

- Wāng miǎo zǒu chū àn shì qǔ chū yī zhī xīn de
 ① 汪 淼 走 出 暗 室, ② 取 出 一 只 新 的
 hēi bái jiāo juǎn zhuāng dào lái kǎ xiàng jī shàng
 黑 白 胶 卷 装 到 莱 卡 相 机 上,
 zài fáng jiān lǐ fēi kuài dì suí yì pāi shè qǐ lái
 ③ 在 房 间 里 飞 快 地 随 意 拍 摄 起 来。
 zuì hòu yòu dào yáng tái shàng pāi le jǐ zhāng shì wài
 ④ 最 后 又 到 阳 台 上 拍 了 几 张 室 外
 de huà miàn jiāo juǎn pāi wán hòu tā bǎ tā cóng
 的 画 面。 ⑤ 胶 卷 拍 完 后, ⑥ 他 把 它 从
 xiàng jī lǐ qǔ chū lái, yì tóu zuān jìn àn shì chōng xǐ
 相 机 里 取 出 来, ⑦ 一 头 钻 进 暗 室 冲 洗。

‘Wang Miao came out of the dark room, took out a new black-and-white film roll, put it into his Leica camera and started taking pictures everywhere in the room at great speed. Finally he went out to the porch and took a few pictures of the outside. When the roll of film was used up, he took it out of the camera, then headed straight back to the dark room to develop it.’

In this short passage, a total of seven clauses can be identified. First, starting from the beginning, one finds a series of four SVO clauses telling how the main character, Wang Miao, comes out of the dark room, goes into another room of the house, takes some pictures, then goes out to the porch and takes a few more pictures there. Evidently this line of narrative is carried forward by the use of SVO structures.

- ① Wang Miao leaves the dark room
- ② Takes out a new black-and-white roll of film and puts the film into his Leica camera
- ③ Starts taking pictures round the room quickly and randomly
- ④ Goes out to the porch and takes a few more pictures of the outside

In the sentence ⑤–⑦ of the passage, however, a series of three clauses is found, each of which is of a different construction-type:

- ⑤ jiāo juǎn pāi wán
 胶 卷 拍 完
 ‘The roll of film finishes’

[PSC]

- ⑥ tā bǎ tā cóng xiàng jī lǐ qǔ chū lái
他把它从相机里取出来
'He takes it out from the camera' [ba-construction]
- ⑦ yì tóu zuān jìn àn shì chōng xǐ
一头钻进暗室冲洗
'Heads straight back to the dark room to develop (it)' [SVO]

It should be clear from the context of the story that sentence ⑤ is an instance of PSC, is here used to set the time point of the next action herein. Sentence ⑥ happens to be an instance of the *ba*-construction, one sees a 'next action/event' which lies in the chain of the centre event – Wang taking the film out of the camera. The same can be said about the final clause, an SVO construction, which tells how Wang goes on to develop the film.

5.3.1.2 *Constructions in discourse*

Short passages like the one shown above were taken from the novel to be used as test materials. The criteria for selecting these passages were: first, that they should be relatively self-contained, and second, that they should be largely about actions and events. Long passages of a descriptive nature or dialogues between characters were excluded on the grounds that the main focus was on backgrounding and foregrounding, with the aim of ascertaining whether construction-type was a significant variable in discursive transitivity, as defined by Hopper and Thompson.

In the event, sixty passages were selected. For each passage a number of sentences were picked out for in-depth analysis. These came to a total of 143. The distribution of these 143 sentences in terms of construction-types was: 48 PSCs, 24 *ba*-constructions, 27 *bei*-constructions and 44 SVOs. A number of other sentence-types were mixed in for control.

For each sentence, raters were asked to judge, in the context of the story, what is the nature of the work undertaken by a sentence under consideration. The 'nature of work' falls into one of three major categories: narrative, descriptive/expository, and evaluative. The identification of these categories and their association with backgrounding and foregrounding is based on the work of Polanyi-Bowditch and others on narratives: "Narrative... is composed of two kinds of structures: temporal structure, which charts the progress of the narrative through time by presenting a series of events which are understood to occur sequentially; and durative/descriptive structure, which provides a spatial, characterological, and durational context for which the temporal structure marks time and changes of state." (Polanyi-Bowditch 1976: 61)

Once identified, these categories were defined and presented to the informants as follows:

1. Narrative: A sentence is said to be narrative in nature if the point of the sentence is to progress an event with a clear temporal dimension and if the meaning of the sentence is dynamic.
2. Descriptive or Expository: A sentence is said to be descriptive or expository in nature if the work that is being undertaken is to describe the environment or circumstances within which an action or event takes place, or to describe the outcome or result of an action or event that has just taken place, or to explain, inform, give information which is related to the current event.
3. Evaluative: A sentence is said to be evaluative in nature if the work that is being undertaken is to assess the likelihood of an event's happening, or its feasibility or predictability.

5.3.1.3 Procedure of discourse function analysis

Five raters were invited to participate in this task. They were all adult speakers of Mandarin, with previous experience of linguistics training or language teaching, and therefore an acute sense of analysis and intuition.

Each test sentence was highlighted in the passage in which it occurs, and a response column provided to the immediate right of the sentence for informants to indicate their judgments, i.e., whether the sentence under consideration is narrative, descriptive or evaluative. Importantly, the informants were *not* asked to judge the sentences in terms of 'backgrounding' or 'foregrounding'. In fact, these terms were not mentioned at all and care was taken to keep them strictly out of the test materials and instructions. Nor were the raters informed about the purpose of the study, including the interest in PSCs and other construction-types. The passages were made up of a variety of sentences of different kinds and therefore it would not be obvious to the raters what correlations were being looked for. On the basis of the semantic analysis of PSCs reported in the last chapter and on the basis of Hopper and Thompson's hypothesis, the prediction is that PSCs would be judged by the raters as essentially having a descriptive, expository, or evaluative character, serving backgrounding functions in a connected text. The *ba*-construction, on the other hand, being high in transitivity, would be judged by the raters to have a stronger narrative character, and used more often for foregrounding purposes.

The five raters' responses were collected and used as data for this study.

5.3.1.4 Results and analysis

The raters' responses are presented below in table form to show how each characterized the discourse functions of the sentences as they occur in the text.

Results

Table 1. PSC

	Rater 1	Rater 2	Rater 3	Rater 4	Rater 5
D	79.17%	81.25%	79.17%	79.17%	91.67%
E	14.58%	18.75%	10.42%	8.33%	8.33%
N	6.25%	0.00%	10.42%	12.50%	0.00%

Note: D = descriptive, E = evaluative, N = narrative

It is clear that for all five informants, the PSC is used overwhelmingly for backgrounding (i.e., D and E). For two of the informants (2 and 5), it is never used for foregrounding, even though the other three informants did identify a small number of occurrences of PSC as having a narrative function.

A chi-square goodness-of-fit test was performed to determine whether the three discourse functions (D, E, and N) were equally strongly associated with PSC. The statistical test indicates that the associations were not equally strong. ($\chi^2(2) = 51.61, p < .001$). The 'D' function has a significantly stronger association, indicating that the major discourse function of PSC, as compared to the other construction-types, is backgrounding.

Inter-coder reliability is acceptable (Cronbach's $\alpha = .70$), indicating a good internal consistency among the five informants in their judgments regarding the use of PSC.

Table 2. *ba* construction

	Rater 1	Rater 2	Rater 3	Rater 4	Rater 5
D	25.00%	20.83%	33.33%	8.33%	29.17%
E	12.50%	8.33%	8.33%	4.17%	4.17%
N	62.50%	70.83%	58.33%	87.50%	66.67%

When it comes to the *ba*-construction, the correlations look very different. For all five raters, the clear majority of occurrences were judged to have a N function (narrative) (ranging from 62.5% to 87.5%). This confirms that prediction made by the Transitivity Hypothesis, namely, that the *ba* construction, being of high transitivity, is used frequently for foregrounding – in this case, narration.

A chi-square goodness-of-fit test was performed to determine whether the three discourse functions (D, E, and N) were equally strongly associated with the *ba*-construction. The statistical test indicates that the associations were not equally strong, with N outperforming the other two functions significantly.

In spite of the clear preponderance of the N function, it can be seen from the raters' other responses that the *ba*-construction may also be used at times to serve descriptive and evaluative purposes. This is likely a 'side-effect' of the meanings of the verbs involved, which is an issue worthy of further investigation.

Inter-coder reliability for the *ba* constructions was also acceptable: (X2 (2) = 14.77, $p < .001$), indicating that there was significant agreement amongst the five raters.

Table 3. *bei* construction

	Rater 1	Rater 2	Rater 3	Rater 4	Rater 5
D	81.48%	70.37%	81.48%	29.63%	74.07%
E	7.41%	25.93%	11.11%	18.52%	18.52%
N	11.11%	3.70%	7.41%	51.85%	7.41%

The picture that emerges from the *bei* construction looks very different from the other two, and also more complicated. Here, there is no clear agreement amongst the five raters, the inter-coder reliability test returned a not-significant result (Cronbach's $\alpha = .33$). Different patterns of responses are observed among the different informants. Some regarded The low intercoder reliability suggests that the discourse functions of the *bei*-constructions are harder to pin down and may cut across the three categories.

Table 4. Combined result of 5 raters

	D	E	N
PSC (48)	82.08%	12.08%	5.83%
<i>ba</i> (24)	23.33%	7.50%	69.17%
<i>bei</i> (27)	64.41%	16.30%	16.30%

Finally, when the five raters' responses are considered in aggregate, some clear patterns are readily identified. Of the three construction-types, PSC is the one that evidently is the preferred choice for backgrounding (94%). On the other hand, for foregrounding purposes, *ba* appears to be the favourite option (69%). In comparison, the *bei* construction seems somewhat ambivalent: it is used frequently for description and evaluation, but appears to have retained a measure of transitivity, making it usable also for foregrounding under certain conditions. What these conditions are will have to await further research. In any case, in terms of a scale of transitivity, *bei* clearly sits in between *ba* and PSC.

More recently, another study has been carried out comparing and contrasting the functions of different construction-types in narrative discourse. In an article and a book on the subject (Li 2018), Wendan Li reports interesting findings coming out of a large-scale empirical study of seven major construction-types in Mandarin. From a 680,000-word corpus of narrative writing, Li identified instances of construction-types including SV(O)(Perfective), SV(O)(Imperfective), notional passive, preposed patient, double-nominative and dangling-topic, and investigated their discourse functions with reference to grounding theory. The PSC formed part of the study under the heading 'notional passive'.

In this study, Li uses a mixed (qualitative-quantitative) method. First, a qualitative analysis of the seven construction-types was carried out with reference to categories that came out of previous research on grounding – event, state, aspect, sequentiality, and boundedness. Using qualitative analysis, Li determined the main functions of each construction-type according to the grounding theory, and found that, unlike Indo-European languages, where morphology often plays a role, in Chinese, the key factor appears to be word order and construction-type. In her study, 'notional passives' (i.e., PSCs) were found to have backgrounding as their main discourse function. According to Li, even though PSCs may contain "dynamic verbs... followed by a bounding expression, ... and the verb is in the typical perfective form, the absence of an agent in the structure causes the predication to focus on the Patient NP. Consequently, the clause's transitivity value is reduced and the situation type is changed from an event to a state". As a result, "notional passives describe the time or circumstance of the main events... and are stative predications and backgrounding by nature." (Li 2014: 120)

Following the qualitative analysis, Li then performed a quantitative study of the correlations between transitivity and grounding using Hopper and Thompson's transitivity hypothesis (Hopper & Thompson 1980). This was done by calculating the 'transitivity value' of each construction-type using Hopper and Thompson's criteria (agency, kinesis, aspect, punctuality, etc.), and then testing the strength of correlation between each construction-type's transitivity value and their function in terms of grounding. It was found that SVO, the construction-type which has the highest transitivity value, was indeed the one that is most commonly used for foregrounding, as opposed to the notional passive and other construction-type that have low transitivity values, which tended to be used more often for backgrounding. This finding is clearly in line with the findings of the present study, and serves as a useful confirmation.

Thus, by using a qualitative method Li came to the same conclusion as the present study, which uses a quantitative method based on native speakers' judgments regarding the function of each construction-type in actual narrative passages. The finding that the PSC, which is semantically associated with description

and evaluation (and inactiveness more generally), is low in transitivity and serves primarily the function of backgrounding in discourse, as predicted by Hopper and Thompson's hypothesis.

All in all, the present empirical study has confirmed the validity of the Transitivity Hypothesis; particularly with regard to the 'division of labour' among the major construction-types in Mandarin in terms of their discourse functions. PSC emerges from the analysis as the one construction that is of a very low degree of transitivity, a feature that follows naturally from its preponderance of use for backgrounding in discourse.

5.4 Chapter summary

In this chapter, the phenomenon of PSC's polysemy was first tackled by considering possible ways of relating the two main variants of descriptive PSCs and evaluative PSCs to each other. Using the notion of 'inactiveness' in the literature (Haspelmath and others), it was proposed to unite the two varieties under the same semantic core of 'inactiveness'. The possibility of 'inactiveness' being a core meaning of PSC *as a construction*, was examined. Using Goldberg's influential ideas of constructions, construction meanings, and construction hierarchies, it was found that the two main variants can indeed be united as variations on the same construction meaning. Finally, these construction meanings and variation were examined at the level of discourse. Here's Hopper and Thompson's ground-breaking Transitivity Hypothesis provided a framework which allows not only a natural account of PSC, but also a way of relating PSC to other major construction-types in the language, through arranging the construction-types along a scale in terms of their degrees of transitivity. An empirical study was carried out to test the predictions of the Transitivity Hypothesis, according to which constructions with high transitivity are more likely to serve foregrounding functions in discourse, as opposed to constructions with low transitivity, which are more prone to being used for backgrounding. In comparison with the *ba* construction, SVO and the *bei* construction, PSC was found to be the most commonly used construction-type for backgrounding, as confirmed by the study. With this finding, it is possible to unite the semantics and discourse functions of PSC and account for its variation as well as its place within the broader context of the language's major construction-types as a whole.

CHAPTER 6

PSC in typological perspective

In this chapter, the PSC will be examined in a typological context. It will become evident that the PSC is a structure widely distributed across languages of diverse genetic and geographic backgrounds. Then, two major treatments, unaccusativity and middle voice, will be introduced and reviewed. Comparing these two approaches, it will be shown that Chinese PSC bears more resemblance to the middle voice.

Previous studies of the PSC have tended to confine it to Chinese, and treated it as an unusual or exceptional structure. The study of linguistic phenomena in particular languages is often carried out, implicitly or explicitly, against the background of other languages that act as a point of reference. Depending on one's reference points, very different conclusions may be drawn. In the case of the PSC in Chinese, the reference point has tended to be English. Since in English an SV(O) sentence is unmarked when the subject is an agent (i.e. active) but marked when it is a patient (i.e. passive), when linguists face SV(O) sentences in Chinese in which the subject is a patient, the common reaction is to treat it as an unusual, untypical, or marked construction.

This bias should be avoided by consulting as much data and evidence from cross-linguistic, typological research. Studying the PSC in a cross-linguistic context would make it possible to avoid the pitfall of making hasty conclusions on the basis of insufficient data. More can be found out about the true nature of the PSC by distinguishing universal from language-specific features. Also, with the help of a broader base, it would be possible to achieve a deeper understanding of the relationship between the PSC and other construction types in Chinese.

6.1 PSC-like structures in other languages

First several construction types in Indo-European (IE) as well as non-IE languages will be examined which in one way or another resemble the Chinese PSC. By considering their treatment in the literature, it is hoped that insights can help sharpen the present analysis of the PSC.

6.1.1 Reflexive constructions

In Geniusiene's typological investigation of reflexive structures (Geniusiene 1987),¹ there is a type of reflexives called Objective Reflexives. In her study, Objective Reflexives are attested widely across languages of diverse genetic and areal affiliations. Some languages included in her study were:

IE languages: Germanic; Slavic; Baltic

Non-IE languages: Turkic; Finno-Ugric; Semitic; Indian languages of America; Eskimo-Aleut; West Atlantic group, etc.

Interestingly, Siewierska (1984) has identified a similar structure that she calls *reflexive passive*.² The following is a list of examples from particular languages:

Examples in IE languages:

English

Bureaucrats bribe easily.

The wall paints easily.

The door opens.

(Werner Abraham, 1995)

Romanian

Vesela se spala [de el])

Dishes RM wash [by him]

'Dishes are (being) washed [by him]

(Geniusiene 1987)

German

Diese Leute beherrschen sich nicht leicht.

These people control RM not pleasantly

'these people are rather uncontrolled'

(ibid)

Italian

Le mele si vendono al mercato

The apples RM sell in market

'Apples are sold in the market'

(ibid)

French

Ce papier se lave.

The paper RM washes

This paper is washable.

(Werner Abraham, 1995)

1. Geniusiene (1987) is a typological survey of reflexives which covers a wide range of semantic types, including decausative, quasi-passive, reflexive passive, etc. PSC turns out to be one of these types.

2. For Siewierska, an alternative term for reflexive passive is Middle voice. This question will be returned to shortly.

Lithuanian

Dvirat -is su -si -deda
 Bicycle-NOM PREF -RM -folds
 The bicycle folds. (Geniusiene, 1987)

Russian

Pjatno smylo -s'
 Spot washed-off -RM
 'The spot got washed off' (Geniusiene, 1987)

Spanish

La puerta abre bien
 The door opens well
 'the door opens well' (Geniusiene, 1987)

Examples in Non-IE languages**Selkup**

Wecy-0 musy-cy -mpa
 Meat-ABS boil-RM -PAST. 3. SG.
 'The meat (has) boiled' (Geniusiene, 1987)

Finish

Ovi ava -utu -0
 Door-NOM open -RM -PRES
 'The door opens' (Geniusiene, 1987)

Uzbek

Kup pul sarfla -n -di
 Much money spend -RM -PAST. 3. SG
 'A lot of money got spent.' (Geniusiene, 1987)

Tatar

Idan ju -vil -a
 Floor wash -RM -PRES.3.SG
 'The door is (being) washed.' (Geniusiene, 1987)

Georgian

Ceril -I I -cer -eb -a
 Letter-NOM RM -write -THEM -3.SG
 'The letter is written.' (Geniusiene, 1987)

The above sentences from a large variety of languages may bear certain resemblances to the PSC in Chinese. Notice that in all of the above sentences the patient-NP either takes subject position and/or is marked for subject-case. In many cases the verb is modified by a modal adverb or auxiliary. These and other similarities with the PSC will be commented upon later in this section.

6.1.2 Middle constructions

The most common name given to PSC-like constructions in other languages is the ‘middle voice’ or ‘middle constructions’ (Lyons 1968; Klaiman 1991; Kemmer 1992; Manney 1998). For instance:

Fula

’o don- loot -ii
 He nonpunctual wash Stative MID
 ‘He is clean (in a state of having washed)’ (quoted from Klaiman 1993)

’innde maako don- wind -ii
 Name his nonpunctual write stative MID
 ‘His name is written down’ (quoted from Klaiman 1993)

Modern Greek

To amáksi dialí0ike ke ta komátya pulíoikan
 The-car: NOM dissolve:3SG:MID/A and the-partsNOM sell 3PL MID/A
 ‘The car was dismantled and the parts were sold’ (From Manney 1998)

German

Das buch wird sich wie ein Kriminalroman lessen
 The book will RM like a crime story read
 You will be able to read the book like a crime story’ (Steinbach 2002)

Treatments of voice in contemporary linguistics, particularly those that rely heavily on English, have tended to assume that active and passive form a basic voice opposition. But in the classical Indo-European languages, voice oppositions looked rather different. Lyons (1968) points out that the basic voice opposition in Classical Greek is not active vs. passive, but active vs. middle. Klaiman (1991) finds that the active vs. middle voice alternation exists not only in Indo-European languages, but also in languages as geographically and genetically diverse as Fula (a Niger-Congo language) and Tamil (a Dravidian language). The most widely accepted definition of the middle voice was given by Lyons, who characterized it as a mood which indicates that “an ‘action’ or ‘state’ affects the subject of the verb or his interests”.

Based on the findings of typological research, some basic morphosyntactic and semantic properties of middle constructions are presented below.

6.1.2.1 Basic morphosyntactic characteristics of middle constructions

1. **Verbs:** Sentences containing body action verbs like “wash, shave, bathe, dress”, etc., are often cited as examples of middle voice in the literature (Kemmer 1993; Klaiman 1991):

Fula

ò loot -ake

She wash General past MID

'She washed (herself)

(From Klaiman 1991)

Greek

Lou -omai

Wash 1SGMID

'I wash myself'

(ibid)

Also, Kemmer (1993) reports that verbs that regularly occur in the middle voice include verbs of grooming and bodily care, verbs of change in body posture, verbs of non-transitional motion, etc. This is an interesting observation, but Kemmer's list is probably not exhaustive. In Fula, as Klaiman (1991) points out, all finite, and even most non-finite verbs, have three inflectional categories, namely Active, Middle and Passive. In other words, middle constructions are by no means confined to any specific verb type in Fula. A similar situation is reported in French, Italian and Spanish in which the middle voice is not restricted to a special class of verbs (Abraham 1995).

Kemmer (1993) also suggests that verbs in middle constructions often exhibit a unified semantic property, namely low distinguishability of participants, i.e. agent and patient are not clearly distinguished or delineated. However, this view was questioned by Kazenin (2001) who claims that not all middle verbs contain such a semantic feature. Lyons (1968) also points out that "the middle may ... be used in a transitive sentence with an object that is distinct from the subject: e.g. *louonai khitona*, 'I am washing (my) shirt'."

2. **Subject:** As the term suggests, 'middle' is an intermediate option between active and passive. Active denotes an event in which a doer exerts a force upon a patient; therefore the subject of the active usually corresponds to the agent. By contrast, passive denotes an event in which a patient gets affected by an action; thus the subject of the passive usually corresponds to the patient. What about the subject of a middle construction? Cross-linguistically, the subject of the middle can be either the agent or the patient of an action:

Sanskrit

Kato Devadattena kri -ya -te

Mat-NOM Devadattena-INST make -ya 3SG MID

'A mat is made by Devadattena'

(Klaiman 1991)

Russian

Mat' odela-s'

Mother dressed-RM

'Mother dressed herself'

(Kazenin 2001)

In German, the subject of the middle in most cases corresponds to the accusative object of the active counterpart. But there are middle constructions with one-argument verbs not containing an accusative object. They have impersonal subjects instead (Steinbach 2002):

Es tanzt sich gut hier
It dances RP well here
'Here you can dance well' (From Abraham 1995)

3. **Adverbials:** It has often been claimed that the middle requires an adverbial, as in the case of the German and English middle constructions, e.g.:

English

This bread cuts easily.
The book is selling very well.

German

Der Fernseher schaltet sich schnell aus
The TV switches RP quickly off
'The TV can be switched off quickly' (From Steinbach 2002)

However this requirement does not apply to all languages. For instance, the middle constructions in French, Italian and Spanish do not always come with any adverbial modifications (Abraham 1993).

Even in German, it is not always the case that middle constructions contain an adverbial, as can be seen in the following example from Steinbach (2002)

und tabellen, die sich nicht drucken
and tables, that REF not print
'and tables, that do not print'

Therefore, typologically adverbials are not obligatory in middle constructions.

4. **Middle markers:** The middle voice is overwhelmingly relatable to, but is not solely marked in terms of reflexive marking patterns. Cross-linguistic investigations of the middle have naturally been connected to reflexive phenomena, but has not been confined exclusively to them. Kazenin (2001) reports that the same marker is used for reflexive as well as middles in some languages, such as German and French, but in some other languages, two different markers are used: for instance, the reflexive marker in Russian is similar (cognate), but not identical to, the middle marker. In still other languages, such as classical Greek and Turkish, the middle marker and the reflexive marker are formally distinct and non-cognate.

Moreover, typologically not all middle constructions require a marking system. According to Kemmer (1992), languages like English, Manam, Tongan

and a large number of Austronesian languages have middle constructions which do not contain any markers at all.

6.1.2.2 *Semantic properties of middle constructions*

1. **Genericity:** Genericity is an often-mentioned feature in the semantics of middle constructions. The insight here is that the middle construction is often used to present a state-of-affairs as a general situation, or to portray an attribute of a person or object as a general property (cf. Abraham 1995; Fagan 1988, 2009). Consider a Dutch example below:

Dutch

Het bed ligt zo zacht
 The bed lies so softly
 'One lies very softly in this bed'

In this example, the attribute of 'softness' is construed as a general property of the bed. Notice also that this is not just a completely static characterization, but is one that is related to the action of 'lying (down)', or more precisely, the feeling of softness and comfort that would come from the physical experience of sleeping in or lying on the bed.

Generic readings of middle constructions, though common, are not universal. According to Abraham (1995), unlike English and German, the middle constructions in French, Italian and Spanish can denote specific events, which is like the middle in Old Greek. The generic reading of the middle constructions is often brought out from the adverbial-middle collocation. But as pointed out above, cross-linguistically, adverbials are by no means obligatory for the middle. This is why we maintain that semantic genericity is a common but not universal feature. Data obtained from German and other languages support this suggestion (Steinbach 2002).

2. **Transitivity:** Cross-linguistically, the defining characteristic of a transitive structure is the existence of two participants associated with the verb. The typical intransitive is one in which only a single participant is involved. Overtly intransitives consist of a nominal and a verb. Middle differs from common transitive constructions in that unlike the latter, which have two entirely distinctive participants that are usually conceived separately, it presents only one participant. Based on this assumption, middle is sometimes regarded as an intransitive construction. However, the fact is that middle differs from 'real intransitive constructions', since the latter have only one participant, while middle have (potentially and cognitively) two. Admittedly, the absence of the agent significantly reduces the transitivity of the construction. However,

- a. Reciprocal middle – referents of plural subject do action to one another
- b. Reflexive middle – subject performs action to self
- c. Anticausative – a spontaneous process without an implied agent
- d. Deponent middle – action denotes physical/mental disposition of subject
- e. Potential passive – the subject is capable of undergoing an action.
- f. Passive– results of action accrue to subject
- g. Plain middle – subject does nothing, is affected in consequence of action

From the observations presented above, it can be seen that the term ‘middle’ has been used to designate a range of extremely diverse phenomena. Givón (1981) and Shibatani (1985) attempted to identify a functional core for the whole domain of middle voice. Their concern firstly turns to the regular morphological coincidence between passive on the one hand, and reflexive, reciprocals, anticausative, potentials, etc on the other. They proposed that all the constructions within the middle domain share with the passive at least one of its functions, such as agent-defocusing, topicalization, stativization of the whole event etc. In other words, passive is the prototype while the other constructions are its semantic extensions. However, this view has been questioned both empirically and theoretically in the literature. Haspelmath (1990) argues that “this prototype view has the problem that it is not clear why the passive should be in the center of the prototypically organized category, rather than, say, the reflexive, with the passive as a marginal category”. Incidentally, the reflexive investigation of Geniesi (1987) takes the stance of the “reflexive-centered” approach.

In support of Haspelmath’s view, Kazenin (2001) claims that many languages have a distinctive device only for marking the passive, such as Classical Greek, Imbabura Quechua, West Greenlandic Eskimo, Georgian, Fula, etc, suggesting that it is a marked, as opposed to basic, construction. Therefore, there is far from any general consensus on this issue. What then is the ‘common core’ of this wide range of middle domain?

6.1.2.3 *Two general properties*

We have now reviewed a diverse range of syntactic and semantic characteristics of the middle. We have learned from this survey that it is extremely hard to define the middle in terms of a universal and consistent set of necessary and sufficient conditions (syntactically or semantically or a combination). Nevertheless, two general

fact, it would seem that the passive category in Haspelmath’s work actually conflates to some extent with the middle.

characteristics of this construction can be found in spite of its versatile syntactic and semantic properties:

- a. The patient is ‘promoted’ to subject position.
- b. Non-agentivity (i.e. subject is patient, not agent, and agent is not present elsewhere in the sentence)

We will return to the Chinese PSC below and examine it against the background of these and other findings presented in this section.

6.2 The Chinese PSC as a middle construction

We are now ready to see how the Chinese PSC should properly be seen as a middle construction, first in terms of its form and meaning, and then in terms of a system of voice oppositions.

6.2.1 Sentence form and meaning

PSC, as the term suggests, contains a patient in a syntactic position which is usually reserved for the subject. As demonstrated in Chapter 1, patient in Chinese can flexibly occur in different syntactic positions. But its canonical position is undeniably post-verbal. In the following three examples, the patient has been ‘promoted’ to subject position:

- (3) 杯子打破了。
bei zi da po le
glass broke ASP
‘The glass is broken.’
- (4) 杯子被打破了。
bei zi bei da po le
glass BEI break ASP
‘The glass has been broken.’
- (5) 杯子他打破了。
bei zi ta da po le
glass he break ASP
‘As for the glass, he has broken it.’

Of the three sentences above, only (3) is a PSC. The other two are passive and topicalization structures respectively. Thus, ‘promotion’ of patient to subject position is a necessary but not sufficient condition for the PSC. On this point alone, we cannot distinguish between the PSC and the other two structures. To make

the relevant distinction, we need to consider also the parameter of non-agentivity discussed above.

An agent participant, prototypically specified in active voice constructions, is not encoded in a middle construction. But, as pointed out by Werner Abraham (1995), “non-agentivity” here does not mean the total irrelevance of an agent, but rather the appropriateness of an agentive interpretation in spite of the absence of an overt agent-NP in surface structure. In other words, semantically, the PSC supports an agentive reading by means of a lexically denoted event which presupposes the presence of an agent, even though no syntactic slot is reserved for the agent anywhere in the construction. The agent may be perceived as a potential rather than actual participant; it may not exist at all (anticausative), or it may coincide with the patient (as in reflexive and reciprocal middles). The Chinese PSC has very similar properties. It typically draws attention to a state or attribute but at the same time presupposes an agent (usually a generalized one like ‘someone’, ‘anyone’, or ‘one’). Structurally, however, no overtly-expressed agent can be present. For instance:

- (6) 手绢哭湿了。 (presupposed agent)
 shou juan ku shi le
 handkerchief cry wet LE
 ‘(Someone) cried so much that his/her handkerchief has become wet’
- (7) 这种纸可以洗。 (generalized agent)
 zhe Zhong zhi ke yi xi
 This kind paper can wash
 ‘This kind of paper is washable (by anyone).’

Thus, in both form and meaning, the PSC looks and behaves in ways that resemble many of the middle constructions presented above from a variety of languages around the world – as reported in Davidse and Heyvaert 2007, Davidse and Livier 2008, Fellbaum 1986, Fellbaum and Zribi-Hertz 1989, and others. We thus have a good basis for considering the PSC as a middle construction.

6.2.2 The active-middle opposition and its cognitive basis

Even more important than its form and meaning is the PSC’s position or status within the context of the voice system. As we have shown, the PSC is one of the oldest and most frequently used constructions in the language. Like the SVO structure (but unlike the *bei*-passive), it is unmarked. All these facts converge and point in the same direction: the PSC is not an unusual or exceptional structure, but, on the contrary, a basic construction. In fact, with the SVO, it is one of the two most basic constructions in the language. Together the two form a first-level

opposition in the voice system, namely active vs. middle. This understanding, we believe, will bring out the true nature of the PSC in Chinese.

Why such an opposition? Many linguists in recent years have attempted to look beyond the grammatical system in search of a cognitive basis for the opposition. Klaiman (1991) and Croft (1994) explicitly reject the view of voice as a mere remapping system between semantic roles and syntactic functions. Instead, they prefer to treat it as a manifestation of different cognitive structures. For instance, the middle voice in Klaiman's work is defined in terms of participant statuses which are opposed to the active voice. To be more specific, 'affectedness' of the subject is regarded as the essential property of all kinds of middle as opposed to active in the voice system. In Croft's view, different voice alternations reflect different types of event views. For example, active voice represents the prototypical causative event view, while the inchoative event view is encoded by the middle voice. Kemmer (1993) also incorporates her investigation of middle in a cognitively-based analysis by mapping out different types of middles in relation to each other in terms of the cognitive notions of distinguishability of participants and degree of elaboration of events.

Despite these authors' slight differences in emphasis, there is something in common between these accounts: they all agree that the opposition between active and middle is basic and fundamental and has its basis in how events or states-of-affairs are conceptualized by the speakers. On this account, the passive is a derived voice which comes later, that functions to encode yet another way of construing events.

6.3 Unaccusativity and ergativization

In the rest of this chapter we will explain why alternative accounts of the PSC which have been advanced in the literature have not been adopted in this study. In the literature it is often felt that middle constructions are in need of an explanation because somehow they look unusual and behave exceptionally. We will first examine critically a well-known account based on the idea of unaccusativity. After that, we will consider, in the context of the Chinese language, an attempt very similar in spirit to unaccusativity, which is based on the notion of ergativization

6.3.1 Unaccusativity

The Unaccusative Hypothesis (UH) was firstly formulated by Perlmutter (1978). Its later modification was by Burzio (1986). It is a theory very often cited in Generative Grammar, and it claims that there are two classes of intransitive

verbs, unaccusative and unergative verbs, each of which associated with different underlying syntactic structures. An unaccusative verb, such as ‘emerge’ in English, has no deep-structure subject but takes a theta-marked deep-structure object which appears as the surface-structure subject. An unergative verb, on the other hand, like ‘arrive’ in English, takes only a theta-marked deep-structure subject as the surface-structure subject and contains no object.

The unaccusative-unergative dichotomy in the literature is used to distinguish between two kinds of one-place predicates. There are three major approaches here. One is to classify them solely on semantic grounds (Dowty 1991). The other is mostly based on syntax (Baker 1988). Levin and Rappaport (1995) propose yet another approach that lies somewhere in between. They assume that the unaccusativity-unergativity distinction is semantically determined but syntactically encoded. (For details, see Levin and Rappaport 1995).

In the view of the UH, if PSC-like constructions are restricted to certain types of unaccusative verbs, then it could be treated as a derived construction whose subject corresponds to the direct object of its deep-structure. However, In German, for example, PSC formation is a very productive operation which is neither morphosyntactically marked on the verb nor lexically restricted to certain classes of verbs. It is possible with all kinds of one-, two-, or three-place predicates (Steinbach 2002).

The UH has been applied with interest and insight on the analysis of some sub-classes of verbs in Chinese, e.g. unergative verbs like *ku* ‘cry’ and *kesou* ‘cough’. However, a wholesale adoption of this theory to support the view that the PSC is simply a sentence containing an accusative verb is not promising, for the following reasons:

I. The same verbs can occur in identical form in the PSC as well as the SVO. For instance:

- (8) 杯子打破了。 (PSC)
 bei zi dapo le
 glass break ASP
- (9) 打破了杯子。 (SVO)
 da po le bei zi
 break TES glass

Both sentences contain the same verb in the same form. As we have seen, not just a small number of special or exceptional verbs find themselves in this situation. In fact, most verbs can occur in the PSC frame. It should thus be obvious that verb sub-classification is unlikely to help explain the difference between the two structures.

- II. As discussed before, the PSC predicates in the corpus show no significant semantic similarities. Verbs occurring in PSC do not form a unified semantic class. It is hardly plausible to say that PSC and SVO in Chinese form a syntactic dichotomy on the basis of different verb classifications.
- III. Unaccusativity is cross-linguistically based on a closed set of verbs. However, the PSC in Chinese is highly productive, and not restricted to any syntactic or lexical class or sub-class. This is similar to the German situation mentioned above.

All of the above observations suggest that PSC in Chinese is a much more general phenomenon than unaccusative verbs in Indo-European languages. Chen (2003) notices a group of verbs which seem to behave like unaccusative verbs, e.g. *dong gong* 动工 ‘start-work’, *baguan* 把关 ‘keep-goal’, *guomu* 过目 ‘run through one’s eyes – read’, *baomi* 保密 ‘keep-secret’, *jiangzhi* 降职 ‘downgrade-job, demote’, *bangmang* 帮忙 ‘help’. For example:

- (10) 那个工程上个月就动工了。
na ge gong cheng shang ge yue jiu dong gong le
 that CL project last CL month already start-work ASP
 ‘That project was already started last month.’
- (11) 那本书已经再版了。
Na ben shu yi jing zai ban le
 that CL book already reprint ASP
 ‘That book has already been re-printed.’

The syntactic behavior of these verbs makes them look somewhat similar to Perlmutter’s unaccusative verbs. Semantically they are verbs that should involve two participant roles, an agent and a patient. On the level of form, however, they appear as intransitive verbs, with no place reserved for the agent. On the other hand, the patient does appear on the surface syntax, but instead of occupying its prototypical position after the verb, it takes the subject slot. This group of verbs do form a closed set. Notice that these verbs have an internal VO structure, and can to some extent be extended (i.e. inserting elements between the V and the O). Their status as words is not very secure, and they are highly restricted in their ability to take objects. Chen thus concluded that these are not really unaccusative verbs. He also noticed that some of these verbs may, through frequent use, grammaticalize and become transitive verbs, and when that happens, there is even less reason for saying that they are unaccusative verbs:

- (12) 观光吉隆坡。
guan guang Ji long po
 sight-see Kuala-Lumpur
 ‘to sight-see KL’

The fact remains that the Chinese PSC is not a special construction that requires a special explanation, but a basic construction that requires a fundamental re-thinking of the Chinese voice system. If we had adopted an unaccusativity-based account, we would be forced into admitting that most verbs in the language are unaccusative verbs, a claim which would greatly weaken the usefulness of the concept. If most verbs were unaccusative, this would imply that the object of a transitive verb and the subject of an intransitive verb are equal in status in the language. We would then have to say that Chinese is an ergative language. But this is clearly not true. It is also highly controversial and cannot get much independent support. Thus, the unaccusativity account, however useful it may be for Indo-European and some other languages, is not applicable to Chinese.

6.3.2 Ergativization

Tang (2001), in a paper on the *bei*-construction, proposes a notion called “ergativization” to account for the generation of different types of *bei*-constructions. Although his paper is about *bei*-constructions and not the PSC, it would still be interesting to consider how the PSC might figure in his account, and learn something from the ‘experiment’. By ergativization is meant a syntactic process in which a transitive verb (for some reason) becomes intransitive – a process one might call ‘detransitivization’. As a result of this, the verb is left with just one argument. According to Tang, a verb can only assign accusative case to its patient (or some other participant roles) if it also assigns nominative case to its agent. If for any reason nominative case cannot be assigned to the agent, then the base-generated object is deprived of its accusative case, and is assigned nominative case instead.

In Tang’s proposal, passivization in Chinese involves three sub-processes. First is a process of “detransitivization”, in which a transitive verb is turned into an intransitive verb, resulting in the omission of the agent. Once the agent is gone, by the mechanism of case-assignment, nominative case is assigned to the patient, which will eventually surface as the subject of the sentence. Finally, the *bei*-phrase is added, the point of which is to introduce an element of causation. The following example illustrates how a passive sentence is produced according to this theory:

- (i) 某人打破了杯子 (base string)
mou ren da po le bei zi
 someone break TES glass
- (ii) 打破了杯子。 (after detransitivization: agent is gone)
da po le bei zi
 break TES glass
- (iii) 杯子打破了。 (after case-assignment: patient is assigned nominative case)
bei zi da po le
 glass break ASP

- (iv) 杯子被张三打破了。 (addition of the *bei*-phrase to indicate causation)
glass BEI Zhang san da po ASP
 'The glass was broken by Zhangsan'

The advantage of this account is that one can avoid the difficulties of the unaccusativity theory for Chinese, as explained above, while seeking an explanation at a general level. However, ergativization and the related notions of detransitivization and *bei*-marked causation are not without their problems. For one thing, as we have repeatedly argued above, the simple dichotomy between transitive and intransitive verbs cannot be maintained in Chinese. Without a clear distinction here there can be no starting point for detransitivization, which presupposes that very distinction. Second, as a name for the process of "patient being assigned nominative case" viz, to make the patient a subject when there is no agent, ergativization may be plausible. However, it seems that the issue is simply a matter of terminology. Moreover, given this name, one is tempted to ask the question: Does it imply that as the final product of the very process of ergativization, passive sentences in Chinese are actually ergative constructions? To take the view that the PSC or the *bei*-passive is an ergative structure would be an interesting but controversial position. As we have seen above, the PSC is an unmarked structure, a highly frequently occurring sentence-type, and one of the most basic constructions in the language. If we were to say that every PSC is the result of ergativization, then this would amount to saying that ergativization takes place once every two or three sentences in discourse. If so, it could be implied that Chinese is in fact typologically ergative, or at least a split-ergative language. We believe that this argument lacks convincing supporting evidence, because a large number of features are found which would contradict this claim; for example, the SVO structure is alive and well. Is Chinese then perhaps a split-ergative language? According to Dixon's research (1994), in split-ergative languages one should be able to hinge on clear conditions under which the language behaves like an accusative language and other clear conditions under which it behaves like an ergative language. However, in Chinese this is hardly possible, because, as we have seen, the SVO and the PSC are almost syntactically and semantically identical as far as their predicate is concerned. We have not been able to find any conditions under which one kind of predicate is used and another set of conditions under which a different kind of predicate is used. Therefore, there is little evidence, as far as we can see, that Chinese is either an ergative or a split-ergative language.

Thus, we conclude that neither unaccusativity nor ergativization can give a convincing and unified explanation for the PSC in Chinese. The account developed in the first part of this chapter, based on an active-middle voice opposition and the cognitive structures underlying it, will provide a more satisfactory explanation of the relevant facts.

6.4 Chapter summary

A recurrent theme in the literature on PSC-like constructions across a range of Indo-European and non-Indo-European languages is the opposition between ‘active’ and ‘middle’. However, a closer look at the features of the ‘middle voice’ in these languages reveals that there is actually great variation in the morph-syntactic properties of the verbs, subjects, adverbials of these construction as well as the existence (or otherwise) of explicit middle-voice markers. Looking next at the semantic properties of middles, it appears that there are indeed several intriguing affinities across the languages. These include: genericity, low transitivity and diversity of (discourse) functions. Placing the PSC in this context makes it possible to see its nature more clearly: it is much more similar to the middle than to the unaccusative or ergative in other languages. From this analysis it was concluded that there is a basic opposition between SV(O) and PSC in the system of construction-types in Mandarin. This opposition appears to have a semantic and discourse basis.

Summary and conclusion

7.1 A new picture of the PSC

Throughout this book, the focus has been on the Patient-Subject Construction (PSC) in Mandarin Chinese. The investigation started with the question ‘What is the true nature of the PSC?’ Through a review of previous work on the history of the PSC, it became clear that PSC as we know it in modern times is a construction-type which has evolved from an age-old structure already in existence in Archaic Chinese. This historical background is of much significance for an understanding of the workings of the PSC in the modern times, by pointing to a direction in which PSC need not be seen as a derivation or variation from other construction-types (such as topicalization or passive), but can instead be understood on its own terms.

The literature on the synchronic structure and semantic function of the PSC does in fact contain many instances where the construction is characterized in terms of pre-existing grammatical notions (which are closely associated with research on English and other Indo-European languages) – notions like ‘topicalization’, ‘passivization’ and ‘ergativization’. A critical review of this work found the evidence to be wanting, and the arguments not always convincing. It is the intention of this work to offer a fresh look at the PSC without resorting to this ‘Western baggage’.

In order to do this, one needs to have access to a rich and reliable data base which will provide a solid platform to launch fine-tuned explorations and in-depth investigations into the structure, meaning and use of PSCs. While there is no shortage of language corpora, the fact that PSCs do not come with explicit formal markers (such as *ba* or *bei*) means that it is not possible to automatically assemble a large number of PSCs. To get round this problem, it was decided to construct such a resource myself by going through a representative collection of verbs and their uses, including their occurrence in PSCs. Fortunately, such a collection was readily available in Lin Xingguang’s much acclaimed *Dictionary of Verbs in Modern Chinese* (2009), which contains a collection of 2,000 of the most commonly used verbs in the language, together with definitions and examples of

their uses in the language. Going through the entries one by one produced a list of verbs in the dictionary that can enter into the PSC, as shown and evidenced by example sentences that go with the verb entries. Where verbs did not come with PSC examples in the dictionary, a search was made of their occurrence in texts found on the Internet, and if found, these were added to the examples taken from the dictionary. In this way, some 1,800 examples of PSCs were collected to form a robust empirical basis for a fine-grained classification of PSCs into five syntactic types (and thirteen sub-types), each associated with clearly describable semantic properties.

With this inventory of syntactic and semantic properties emerging from the classification and sub-classification, an attempt was then made to integrate the finer details back into a bigger picture. While there was considerable polysemy in the use of each of the syntactic types and sub-types, through careful comparisons and contrasts it was found that it was possible, and indeed quite natural, to identify two semantic domains circumscribed by the numerous polysemous variations of PSC forms, namely 'description' and 'evaluation', which can further be subsumed under the more general notion of 'inactiveness'.

The next step, also the crucial step, was to make sense of the semantics of 'inactiveness' in the broader context of discourse. Over the years, scholars in the field of 'Grammar and Discourse', notably Sandra Thompson, Paul Hopper and others, have demonstrated the prime importance of putting syntactic forms and semantic potential back where they belong and where they function, namely, in a connected text or discourse. On this view, the syntactic types and semantic properties of PSCs would not have the significance that they do without a fuller account of their functions or uses in discourse. Specifically, on the phenomenon of different clause-types (or construction-types) playing different roles in constructing discourse, Hopper and Thompson (1980) argue for the importance of 'grounding theory' in furthering an understanding of discourse functions. Picking up on the suggestion made in that paper that some Chinese constructions (like the *ba*-construction) may be higher in transitivity than other constructions, it was decided to consider the possibility of PSC being low in transitivity and to examine correlations between the semantic property of 'inactiveness' and backgrounding in discourse.

This hypothesis – that the PSC, being a low-transitivity construction-type, is used primarily for the purpose of backgrounding, as opposed to high-transitivity construction-types such as the *ba*-construction, which serves foregrounding functions – was tested via an experiment, tapping on native speakers' intuitions and judgments regarding the work done by different sentences in a connected discourse such as narratives. The experiment, which was carried out with the help of five respondents, confirmed this main hypothesis. It was found that when making

judgments about the discourse functions of different construction-types in a large number of narrative texts, the respondents consistently associated PSCs with such descriptors as ‘description’ and ‘evaluation’, and by implication, backgrounding functions, relative to other sentences which helped progress events that constituted the narratives.

What emerged from this empirical study is an interesting picture in which the major construction-types of a language can be mapped onto a range of discourse functions by virtue of their position along the scale of transitivity. In this way, PSC (and by implication other constructions) can be better understood by being examined within the broader context of the discourse-functional distribution of major construction-types of a language.

In the final chapter, one further step will be taken to consider the Chinese PSC in the even broader context of language universals and typology. By comparing PSC with other (similar and yet different) constructions in the world’s languages, it became clear that the PSC bears a great deal of resemblance to middle constructions in other languages, both Indo-European and non-Indo-European. Specifically, like middle constructions, the patient is ‘promoted’ to the subject position. At the same time, as mentioned above, the agent is not expressed on the surface level (i.e. agentivity). Neither the verb nor the sentence as a whole is marked. Following these formal and semantic similarities as a lead, it was found that the PSC, together with the SVO construction, actually form a basic voice opposition (i.e. active vs. middle). This opposition is based not only on semantic-syntactic re-mapping, but more importantly on discourse functions.

In pursuing the long and protracted journey of ‘deciphering’ the PSC and in attempting to take a fresh look at its forms and functions, it was realised that it would not have been possible to paint a fuller picture of the PSC without taking a few methodological steps. First among these is the insistence upon understanding the PSC *on its own terms* (as opposed to using established categories such as topicalization or passivization based on IE and other languages). Second, but of even greater importance, is the conviction that a new and more in-depth understanding must be rested upon robust and solid data as well as empirical studies, using a combination of corpus data as well as experimental designs. Third, it is equally important to realize that the syntactic and semantic properties of the PSC cannot be fully appreciated and accounted for without placing it within a discourse context and without examining at close range the functions that it serves in connected text. Fourth, it is also of paramount importance that the PSC be understood, not in isolation from other major construction-types, but within the ‘overall design’ of the language as a whole. Fifth, and finally, to be able to see the true significance of the PSC, not only in the context of Chinese but also in relation to language universals and typology, there is a need to examine the PSC against the background

of similar construction-types in the world's languages. It is hoped that these methodological decisions and attempts have helped produce a newer, fuller and more useful picture of the PSC. It is also hoped that on the basis of these findings, further studies can be carried out on this fascinating grammatical phenomenon in Modern Chinese.

7.2 Further studies

7.2.1 The voice system

Traditionally, voice was regarded simply as a re-mapping mechanism (Shibatani 1988). However, with more and more typological research, more is known about the relationship between active, middle, and passive constructions. As Klaiman (1991) maintains, typologically, apart from role-remapping, there are also conceptual and pragmatic considerations. Different types of voice systems are sensitive to different levels of grammatical organization.

We believe that the opposition between SVO and PSC (or middle) reflects different cognitive models. The former views an event dynamically as a process, while the latter displays the final result or outcome, and relate this implicitly to the action/event that caused it. In cinema terms, the former is like a movie being played continuously. The latter is like showing a movie frame-by-frame. These two cognitive models are reflected in language as active vs. middle voice (or medio-passive). As two basic modes of conceptualization, there is no relationship of derivation between them. Klaiman (1988) explicitly rejects the view that in voice systems only one voice is non-derived, others being derived from it. It would seem from the present investigation that there are at least two basic voices, with others being derived from them.

7.2.2 The *ba*-construction

As we have argued, SVO and PSC form a pair of voices in the language. As basic voices, neither is marked. We have also devoted a portion of the book to the *bei*-construction. But what about the *ba*-construction? How should it be characterized and what is its relationship with SVO and PSC? We know that the *ba*-construction is subjected to very similar syntactic constraints as PSC and the *bei*-construction. The interchangeability between these three constructions is very striking. *Ba*-constructions can usually be converted to *bei*-constructions. *Bei*-constructions which cannot be converted to SVO sentences usually can however be converted into *ba*-constructions. For example:

- (1) 鸟类有益于人类, 被喻为人类之友。

Niao lei you yi yu ren lei bei yu wei
 Bird.species beneficial to human.species BEI compare as
ren lei zhi you
 human.species PAR friend

‘As birds are beneficial to humans, they are regarded as man’s friends.’

- (2) 我们的一位同志被殖民军包围在屋里。

Wo men de yi wei tongzhi bei zhi min jun bao wei
 We PAR one CL comrade BEI colonial.army surround
zai wu li
 in house

‘One of our comrades was surrounded by a group of colonial soldiers in the house.’

In Modern Chinese, many *ba*-constructions cannot be converted into SVO sentences. Zhu Dexi was one of the first linguists who noticed this phenomenon. He said, “In fact, the construction which is the most closely related to the *ba*-construction is not the SVO, but the PSC. For most *ba*-sentences can remain grammatical after removing the word *ba*, and what remains is a PSC.” (Zhu 1985: 187–189) If SVO and PSC are the two terms in a basic opposition in the voice system, would *bei* and *ba* also form an opposition at another level? Synchronically, what is the position of BA construction in the grammar system? All these questions should be worth closer investigation and more in-depth research.

7.2.3 The PSC and the *bei*-construction

In the previous chapters, we have seen how PSC and the *bei*-construction relate to each other in complicated ways but at the same time have quite distinctive semantic and discourse properties. Based on the empirical studies as well as related observations, we would like to conjecture that the *bei*-construction was a later development relative to the PSC, and was in fact historically derived from it. In support of this were two kinds of evidence: typological and historical. Cross-linguistic research has found that unlike the active and the middle, passive constructions tended to be subsequent developments. For example, in no proto-languages is there any evidence that there was a passive structure. From within the history of the Chinese language, we also found some useful evidence. First, early so-called “passives” like the *yu*-construction, the *jian*-construction, and the *wei*-construction were found, upon closer inspection, to be not really passives. The first real passive was the *bei*-construction, but this did not come until much later. Second, the PSC is one of the oldest constructions in the language, certainly earlier than the *bei*-construction.

Third, the meaning of the PSC was much broader, and included the general meaning of the passive. Finally, the PSC had always been a highly stable form, compared to the *bei*-form which has undergone syntactic and semantic changes even within a relative short time, and much less stable than the PSC.

What was the actual developmental path like? It is possible that the *bei*-construction developed out of a particular kind of the PSC, namely, the one that contains an affected patient. In certain pragmatic situations this kind became more and more specialized until it finally split off from the general PSC. The motivation obviously had something to do with speakers' judgment concerning the nature of the affectedness. When it was felt to be negative or unfortunate, the *bei* marker was inserted. This gradually led to the formation of a separate structure. Because the process was driven by speakers' subjective feelings, we would say that the motivation of the *bei*-passive in Chinese was subjectivization.

If correct, this hypothesis would help answer a number of old questions. For example, why is it that only some but not all PSCs can be converted into passives?

- (3) a. 信写了。
Xin xie le
 Letter write le
 'The letter is written.'
- b. *信被写了。
 **Xin bei xie le*
 Letter Bei write le
- (4) a. 信撕了。
Xinsi le
 Letter tearle
 'The letter is torn.'
- b. 信被撕了。
Xin bei si le
 Letter Bei tear le

In these examples, since the letter is (negatively) affected by the 'tearing', the *bei*-construction is appropriate, but since it is the product of the 'writing', the conversion into *bei* is not possible. Also, when the lexically implied agent is affected by an action or event, the sentence cannot be converted into a *bei*-construction. For example:

- (5) a. 饭吃饱了。
Fan chi bao le
 Rice eat full ASP
 '(Someone) is full after eating rice.'

- b. *饭被吃饱了。
 **Fan bei chi bao le*
 Rice Bei eat full ASP
- (6) a. 饭吃光了。
Fan chi guang le
 Rice eat gone ASP
 ‘The rice has all been eaten (all gone).’
- b. 饭被吃光了。
Fan bei chi guang le
 Rice Bei eat gone ASP

Other than this, this conjecture can also explain facts about the correspondence or lack of correspondence between SVO and passive, why some passive sentences do not have a passive meaning, why the agent can appear but can also be omitted, but the word *bei* itself cannot be omitted.

7.2.4 The classification of construction types in Chinese

In most accounts of sentence-types in Modern Chinese, at the level of simple sentences, a distinction is first made between subject-predicate (SP) sentences and non-SP sentences. After that, further distinctions are made according to different kinds of predicates: nominal-predicate sentences, verbal-predicate sentences, adjectival-predicate sentences, SP-predicate sentences, etc. And then under verbal-predicate sentences one would find transitive, ditransitive, etc. Finally, there would be a list of “special sentence-types”, such as *shi*-sentences, *bei*-construction, *ba*-construction, serial-verb constructions, pivotal constructions, etc. The main thrust is obviously predicate structure.

In such a scheme, the PSC can only come under SP sentences or as a “special construction”. However, the meaning of the PSC is obviously systematically different from typical SP sentences, e.g. SVO. This would cause problems both theoretically as well as in language teaching. If, on the other hand, it is treated as a “special construction”, then we would run into other difficulties, because, as we have seen, the PSC is not “special” at all but one of the most basic sentence types of the language. Also, as we saw in Chapter 4, what may appear to belong to the same sentence-types, e.g. nominal-predicate sentences or adjectival-predicate sentences, may turn out to have very different semantic properties if they appear in different constructions. Recall two examples first discussed in Chapter 5:

- (7) 他大学生 ≠ 他大学生了。
 ‘He is a university student.’ vs. ‘He has become a university student (already).’

- (8) 他很骄傲 ≠ 他骄傲了。
'He is very proud.' vs. 'He has become very proud.'

Traditional classification schemes would be tempted to treat the left-hand side as of the same sentence-type as the right-hand side. But they are in fact used to express very different meanings. The sentences on the left are 'attribute-assigning sentences', whose main function is to describe properties of an entity. The ones on the right, however, are 'event-narrating sentences' whose function is to present a new state (as opposed to an old one, thus implying time and change).

This suggests that the design of sentence-type schemes should take constructions as a starting point, and take semantic considerations into account at the same time as syntactic and formal properties. A combination of these will make it possible to absorb some of the "special sentence types" into the main scheme. For example, using cognitive principles we begin with a set of prototypical categories like narration, description, state, etc., and then relate these categories to each other possibly at different levels. In this way, we may be able to arrive at a scheme that is more able to relate forms to meanings, and also more useful for the teaching of Chinese to native as well as non-native speakers.

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APPENDIX 1

Verbs

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3	爱好	2	32	刮3	361
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5	爆发	47	34	害2	380
6	奔1	51	35	哄3	391
7	奔跑	51	36	呼吸	392
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11	吵2	118	40	晃2	411
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13	出差	145	42	混1	421
14	出发	146	43	挨1	1
15	喘息	154	44	爱	2
16	凑2	159	45	爱好	2
17	打扮	189	46	忌妒	429
18	打量	192	47	叫11	464
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20	道歉	212	49	警告	492
21	倒退	215	50	具有	501
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23	动2	263	52	看4	521
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26	飞3	316	55	扩散	543
27	分裂1	319	56	来往	554
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61	流动11	581	97	设想12	841
62	流动12	581	98	生气	853
63	旅行	594	99	生长	853
64	满意	605	100	睡觉	920
65	满足12	606	101	思念	928
66	冒11	607	102	送行	932
67	迷12	609	103	诉苦	937
68	灭11	611	104	缩3	945
69	闹11	623	105	塌	948
70	怏气	641	106	逃	954
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72	爬11	643	108	跳2	978
73	怕	644	109	停1	982
74	叛变	657	110	挺2	984
75	跑11	662	111	投降	993
76	跑15	664	112	退1	1006
77	配13	672	113	退2	1007
78	配合	673	114	妥协	1012
79	佩服	674	115	玩儿1	1017
80	起11	713	116	喜欢	1045
81	起来1	718	117	下1	1047
82	前进	728	118	下2	1047
83	侵略	740	119	下4	1048
84	屈服	749	120	嫌	1052
85	嚷11	762	121	想	1057
86	嚷12	752	122	响	1057
87	撒谎	781	123	小心	1060
88	撒娇	782	124	信	1066
89	撒气12	783	125	休息	1072
90	撒野	783	126	宣誓	1075
91	散步	793	127	旋转	1076
92	散心	796	128	压5	1083
93	杀12	805	129	咬2	1105
94	杀害	806	130	移动2	1109

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132	涌	1119
133	游1	1121
134	游行	1123
135	游泳	1124
136	怨	1129
137	站1	1163
138	站2	1164
139	战斗	1164
140	张望	1165
141	折腾1	1183
142	争吵	1191
143	挣扎	1194
144	着想	1250
145	走2	1253

APPENDIX 2

Other sources

	Verb	Page	Example
1	爱护	3	这些古籍必须好好爱护
2	爱惜	3	新买的衣服要爱惜
3	安1	4	头衔安上了
4	安3	5	技术员安到了我们车间
5	安排2	8	校园基建规划要重新安排
6	安慰	8	伤者家属要好好安慰一下
7	按1	10	手印按深点
8	按2	11	什么怒气都得按下来
9	熬2	12	苦日子总算熬过去了
10	拔1	13	草拔完了
11	把握2	16	机会要把握住
12	霸占	17	这座金矿霸占不得
13	摆3	20	手迅速地在空中摆了摆
14	扮演	28	这个角色扮演得很好
15	帮	29	这个忙帮不得
16	帮助	29	什么人都不要帮助
17	抱3	42	这窝鸡蛋可能要抱半个月
18	抱4	42	什么希望也不抱了
19	抱怨	43	这件事情抱怨不得
20	报复	45	这个人难报复
21	报告	46	这个消息要报告给上级领导
22	背1	48	这袋粮食要背走
23	背2	49	你父母要背着
24	奔2	51	护照奔了一个月
25	奔走	52	合同的事要多奔走奔走
26	蹦	53	这鞋可以多蹦蹦
27	比1	55	枪法又比了一通
28	比2	55	尺寸比好了
29	比3	56	这个靶心难比准

	Verb	Page	Example
30	比4	56	黄河常常比作中华民族的摇篮
31	比较	57	这些结果已经比较过了
32	毕业	59	大学毕业了
33	避	59	这个问题要避免
34	编1	61	芦苇很快编成了一只蚶蚶
35	编4	63	这段笑话可以编进相声里
36	编5	64	这些事倒没编进谎话里
37	辩论	65	这个论题已经辩论过了
38	变2	66	什么戏法都会变
39	变化	67	座位顺序变化了一下
40	表达	68	这种感情应该表达出来
41	表决	69	这个提案已经表决过了
42	表明	69	你的立场应该表明
43	表示	70	这个意思已经表示过了
44	表演	72	这个相声表演得棒极了
45	拨1	75	电话拨通了
46	剥削	77	店员的工钱不应该剥削
47	驳斥	77	这种观点早就驳斥过了
48	补2	79	作业都补上了
49	补3	79	维生素要经常补补
50	补助	80	这两百块钱补助给了王大爷
51	布置2	84	任务布置下去了
52	猜	86	这个字谜整整猜了一天
53	裁1	87	纸裁好了
54	裁2	87	这些人应该裁掉
55	采3	89	蝴蝶标本采回来了
56	采访	90	那个组的成员都采访过了
57	采取	91	什么防范措施都采取了
58	采用	91	这项技术已采用多年
59	踩	92	土已经踩实了
60	参加	93	什么娱乐活动都不参加
61	参考	93	有些资料目前还没参考
62	参与	94	什么活动都没参与
63	藏1	95	这儿藏不得
64	操心	98	什么事都要操心
65	操纵1	98	新机器要多操纵操纵

	Verb	Page	Example
66	操纵2	99	市场上的黄金价格可以操纵一下
67	测量	100	距离测量好了
68	蹭1	100	脚上的泥总算蹭掉了
69	查2	103	这个字查到了
70	撵1	106	这些伤员都撵进了候诊室
71	缠2	108	这种人缠不得
72	抄2	114	现成的答案都抄不好
73	抄4	115	近路没抄上
74	抄写	116	发言稿已经抄写完了
75	超过1	116	一辆车也没超过
76	吵1	118	邻居都吵醒了
77	撤4	122	他的职务必须撤掉
78	沉2	123	宝藏都要沉到海底去
79	衬1	124	薄膜衬在箱子里了
80	衬2	124	红花衬得更明艳了
81	称1	125	这样的人都应该称作英雄
82	称赞	126	这种行为不应该称赞
83	成1	126	这桩婚事都成了几个月了
84	成立1	128	这种组织以前成立过一次
85	承担	130	这项工程必须承担下来
86	承认1	131	这部分人的学历应该承认
87	承认2	132	这个新政权应该承认
88	承受1	132	这种压力以前也承受过
89	承受3	133	财产可以承受下来
90	乘1	133	气垫船还没乘过
91	乘2	134	这个得数儿乘错了
92	吃1	134	饺子都吃完了
93	吃2	135	救济金不能吃一辈子
94	冲1	137	所有防线都冲破了
95	冲2	138	咖啡冲好了
96	重复	139	这些话下课时又重复了一遍
97	抽3	141	穗儿都抽出来了
98	抽4	141	烟都抽完了
99	抽5	142	陀螺抽得嗡嗡响
100	愁	142	这事儿都愁了一年了
101	出1	143	一次国也没出过

	Verb	Page	Example
102	出2	143	题目出好了
103	除1	146	杂草已经除掉了
104	除2	147	这个数儿除错了
105	锄	147	地里的草已经锄过了
106	穿2	150	大沙漠终于穿过去了
107	穿3	151	那些珠子还没穿完
108	串1	154	这几段话可以串起来
109	串2	155	所有的店铺都串了一遍
110	闯2	155	什么地方都闯过
111	创造	156	一种新的切割技术又创造出来了
112	吹1	157	窗纸都吹破了
113	吹3	158	什么大话都敢吹
114	存5	163	这些话就存在心里吧
115	答应1	169	一声也没答应
116	打破	193	所有的旧框框都要打破
117	待	194	医院都待烦了
118	带1	196	一本工具书也没带
119	带2	197	信总算带回来了
120	带3	197	一个脏字也不要带
121	带4	198	这个旅行团要带好
122	带5	198	这两个落后生也都带上来了
123	代表1	199	什么人都不代表
124	代表2	199	什么意义也不代表
125	代理	200	秘书工作以前也代理过
126	逮捕	200	一个罪犯也没逮捕到
127	耽误	201	这件事都耽误在你们这儿了
128	担2	202	这个责任担不得
129	担心	204	这事儿就别担心了
130	当	205	这个班长可当不得
131	当心	206	什么事情都要当心
132	挡2	207	一点光都不挡
133	捣	211	这些药都捣好了
134	到	212	天河城到了
135	到达	213	任何地方都可以十分钟内到达
136	得到1	217	一个奖品也没得到
137	得到2	217	一点乐趣都没得到

	Verb	Page	Example
138	登1	218	泰山一次也没登过
139	登2	219	被子登地上了
140	登3	220	这把椅子登不得
141	等待	222	这件事要耐心等待
142	抵抗	225	一般的病还能抵抗一阵子
143	抵赖	226	这些事实抵赖不掉
144	掂	228	菜已经掂过了
145	点4	231	一次头也没点
146	点7	233	这批货已经点完了
147	点8	234	菜都点好了
148	惦	237	那件事儿一直都惦着呢
149	惦记	238	我的事不要总惦记着
150	掉4	244	车头掉过来了
151	掉5	245	座位掉过一次
152	叮	248	胳膊叮得红红的
153	顶1	250	这擻碗要顶稳
154	顶2	250	盖子顶起来好几个
155	顶5	253	什么领导都敢顶
156	顶6	253	夜班都顶了好几天了
157	懂	262	一点规矩都不懂
158	动3	263	这种念头动不得
159	斗2	268	一次鸡也没斗过
160	督促	269	这个孩子得督促督促
161	妒忌	273	什么事都要妒忌
162	渡	274	长江已经渡过去了
163	锻炼	277	身体锻炼得很结实
164	对待	281	批评意见要正确对待
165	蹲1	282	这个地方都蹲出一个坑来了
166	蹲2	282	基层蹲过三年
167	躲	286	这场台风躲过去了
168	躲藏	287	什么地方都可以躲藏
169	讹诈	289	家产都讹诈走了
170	恶化	290	局势恶化了
171	扼杀	291	新生事物不能扼杀
172	摠	291	图钉摠墙上了
173	发3	293	一次财也没发过

	Verb	Page	Example
174	发愁	296	什么事都发愁
175	发动1	296	罢工发生过一次
176	发挥1	298	优势发挥不出来
177	翻3	304	衣服兜儿翻了五遍
178	翻4	305	大雪山翻过去四座了
179	反对	306	这种做法应该反对
180	反映1	307	一些问题反映得很真实
181	犯1	308	一次规也没犯
182	犯2	308	这个毛病犯了三回
183	方便	309	谁都方便不了
184	防止	309	火灾防止了两起
185	访问	309	这个老英雄访问过了
186	放松	314	肌肉要放松一下儿
187	放心	314	家里的事总放心不下
188	分3	318	茶的等级要分清
189	分担	318	抚养费应该共同分担
190	分散2	321	我们的力量分散过一次
191	分析	322	问题分析得很透彻
192	奋斗	322	所有这些都是奋斗来的
193	丰富	323	这部分内容要丰富一下
194	缝	323	那件衣服缝好了
195	讽刺	324	这种行为应该讽刺一下
196	否认	325	什么事都否认了
197	扶1	325	伤员还没扶上来
198	扶2	326	这根柱子扶不正
199	符合	327	一条要求也不符合
200	服从	327	一切命令都要服从
201	负担	328	什么费用都不用负担
202	盖1	336	饭菜盖严实了
203	概括	338	文章的主题概括出来了
204	干涉	339	一次内政也没干涉过
205	赶1	340	什么潮流都赶
206	赶3	341	羊赶走了
207	感动	342	听众感动得泪流满面
208	感谢	343	他就不用感谢了
209	跟	350	什么人都跟着

	Verb	Page	Example
210	攻击1	352	指挥部应该最先攻击
211	攻击2	352	这项议案攻击不得
212	巩固	354	学过的知识要经常巩固
213	贡献	354	这些宝物全都贡献出来了
214	够2	356	鸟蛋都够下来了
215	辜负	357	他的好意不要辜负了
216	估计	357	形势估计错了
217	鼓动	358	所有的市民都应该鼓动起来
218	鼓励	358	创新精神应该鼓励
219	鼓舞	359	青年人要多鼓舞一下
220	雇	359	一个伙计也没雇
221	拐1	364	这个弯儿总算拐过去了
222	拐2	364	什么东西都拐走了
223	怪	364	谁都不能怪
224	关2	366	这只猫关了三天了
225	关心	367	孩子的学习要关心一下
226	观察	368	这种现象已经观察了一年了
227	管1	369	孩子要管严一点
228	管2	370	教学管得很严
229	管3	370	什么事都不管
230	管理	371	仓库管理得不错
231	灌	372	酱油灌好了
232	跪	375	地面跪出了两个坑
233	滚1	376	煤球滚完了
234	过1	378	春节过完了
235	害1	379	什么人都敢害
236	害怕	381	什么都不害怕
237	含1	381	药片含了两回了
238	含2	382	蛋白质含得多
239	喊1	382	口令应该喊得更响点
240	合作	386	这个项目以前合作过
241	恨	387	什么人都不要恨
242	哼	388	一声也没哼
243	轰动	389	全国都轰动了
244	后悔	392	这件事不能后悔了
245	怀疑	404	什么人都怀疑

	Verb	Page	Example
246	欢迎1	405	所有来宾都要热烈欢迎
247	欢迎2	406	什么意见都欢迎
248	晃1	411	眼睛晃得疼
249	回1	412	老家回过一次
250	回3	413	电话回过了
251	回忆	415	那段往事回忆不起来了
252	会2	417	这道题只会一半
253	会3	417	什么方言都会
254	积累	422	资料积累了半年了
255	集中	424	救灾药品都集中到红十字会了
256	爱护	3	这些古籍必须好好爱护
257	摆	19	鞋别摆在书架上
258	记	426	公式记住了,可就是不会用。
259	继承	428	优秀的传统应该继承。
260	纪念	429	昨天的游行应该纪念一下。
261	加入12	434	今年语言学会加入了几位新成员。
262	坚持	438	正确的路线应该坚持。
263	监督	438	精装修房屋质价不符,应该监督。
264	监视	438	工会那边不用监视了。
265	捡	441	烂的苹果已经捡到另一个筐里去了。
266	检讨	443	“国安系统”一定要检讨改进。
267	见13	445	这次探访,该见的人没见着。
268	讲究	452	衣着不必太讲究,整洁就行。
269	教	457	这首歌已经教过一遍了。
270	奖励	452	自行车奖励给了养猪能手。
271	交代11	458	单位上的事都交代给了小陈。
272	交代12	459	这伙歹徒的罪行几天几夜也交代不完。
273	嚼	462	这块骨头嚼不动。
274	叫12	465	救护车叫来了。
275	结	467	这棵树的果实每年都结得很多。
276	接触	473	这个课题以前也接触过。
277	接待	474	与会代表一定要接待好。
278	接近	474	这个人不容易接近。
279	接洽	475	工作没接洽好。
280	接受	476	这样的条件不能接受。
281	解	479	那个疙瘩几下子就解开了。

	Verb	Page	Example
282	解除	480	他们俩的婚约早就解除了。
283	解决	481	问题解决了。
284	解散	482	国会解散了。
285	借	483	钱要向朋友借。
286	进11	488	这种机器只进了两台。
287	进攻	489	敌人的薄弱环节应先进攻。
288	经过	491	二号线不会经过。
289	尽	491	儿女们的心意已经尽到了。
290	敬	493	酒敬了半天,他还是不肯喝。
291	揪	493	狡猾的小偷轻易揪不住。
292	救济	496	这么多难民一时救济不过来。
293	举11	497	这么重的杠铃轻易举不起来。
294	具备	501	环境条件不具备,热带作物很难在西藏地区生长。
295	拒绝	502	别人的好意不好拒绝。
296	捐	503	他的财产全捐给了慈善机构。
297	决定	505	这事就这么决定了。
298	卡	506	那批货物卡在大桥那里了。
299	开13	508	口子开在裤腿上。
300	开14	508	车开走了。
301	开17	510	联欢晚会昨晚已经开了。
302	开19	511	工资昨天开了。
303	开除	512	他的军籍已经开除了。
304	开导	513	这种学生要慢慢开导。
305	开拓	517	国外市场还没有充分开拓。
306	看11	518	孩子一定要看好。
307	砍11	519	山上的树都砍光了。
308	看12	520	报纸看完了。
309	看13	521	脑血栓的症状从片子上还看不出来。
310	看15	522	病看了一个星期。
311	靠	527	树靠倒了。
312	磕	528	烟灰不要磕在碗里。
313	刻画	530	这个艺术形象刻画得很成功。
314	啃	532	这骨头啃不动。
315	恐吓	533	他比他老子容易恐吓住。
316	控诉	533	这个恶霸的罪行几天几夜都控诉不完。
317	夸	538	小孩子不能老夸。

	Verb	Page	Example
318	夸耀	539	再大的成绩也没在人前夸耀过。
319	跨	540	这条沟轻易跨不过去。
320	挎	541	相机挎在身上呢。
321	拉11	544	船拉到岸上了。
322	拉12	544	货物拉回来了。
323	拉14	546	面拉好了。
324	拉15	547	除了小黄其余的人都拉到案子里去了。
325	落12	551	书落在教室里了。
326	落13	552	功课已经落了一个学期了。
327	来13	554	啤酒来一瓶。
328	拦	555	我们的车都拦在外面了。
329	勒	559	那条狗勒死了。
330	离11	560	家也离过三回了。
331	离12	561	书一刻也不能离。
332	离开	562	监狱轻易离开不得。
333	立12	565	规矩立了好几条。
334	联合	567	这些人最难联合。
335	联络	568	一个厂家也没联络上。
336	练	570	这一个元音练了好长时间。
337	量	572	体温量过了。
338	撩	573	帘子撩起来了。
339	晾	572	一件衣服也没晾出去。
340	了解11	574	他的性格比任何人都难了解。
341	了解12	574	情况了解到一些了。
342	领导	578	这支队伍不容易领导好。
343	领会	579	文件的精神不要领会错了。
344	流露	582	这种表情在别人面前不要随便流露出来。
345	留12	584	一个客人也没留住。
346	留神	587	这种人要特别留神。
347	留心	587	这方面的情况没怎么留心。
348	遛	588	马路遛了半天。
349	搂	591	孩子搂到隔壁去了。
350	漏13	592	名字漏掉了。
351	履行	595	公民义务应该履行。
352	落13	596	车座往下落落。
353	落18	600	这几年钱倒落了不少。

	Verb	Page	Example
354	擦	600	砖都擦起来了。
355	抹	601	桌子都抹干净了。
356	骂	602	这个人轻易骂不得。
357	满足 ¹¹	605	合理的要求应该满足。
358	冒 ²	607	一点风险都不应该冒。
359	蒙蔽	606	她比任何人都好蒙蔽。
360	弥漫	610	整座山弥漫在雾气里。
361	描	610	草图都描好了。
362	描述	611	具体情况已经描述得很清楚了。
363	灭 ¹³	612	庄稼的害虫怎么也灭不完。
364	灭 ¹²	612	大火灭了一个小时。
365	摸 ¹²	613	鱼摸了一个小时。
366	摸 ¹³	614	他的底细没摸清楚。
367	磨 ¹³	615	休假条好不容易磨到了。
368	磨 ²	617	豆子磨碎了。
369	抹	618	墙都抹完了。
370	拿 ¹¹	619	行李已经拿过了。
371	拿 ¹²	619	敌人的据点已经拿下了。
372	拿 ¹³	620	证据已经拿到了。
373	拿 ¹⁴	621	一个办法也拿不出来。
374	耐	621	这样的高温怎么耐得住。
375	难为	622	客人难为不得。
376	挠	622	他的脸挠破了。
377	闹 ¹²	623	这次她的脾气比任何一次都闹得凶。
378	闹 ¹³	624	肚子闹得厉害。
379	闹 ¹⁴	624	笑话倒闹过几回。
380	撵	627	小鸡儿都撵到屋里去了。
381	念 ¹¹	629	信念完了。
382	念 ¹²	629	大学念完了。
383	酿	630	酒酿出来了。
384	尿	631	尿尿在床上。
385	捏 ¹²	632	兔子捏过一次。
386	捏造	633	罪名捏造得荒唐。
387	拧 ¹²	634	腿都拧青了。
388	拧	634	螺丝已经拧上了。
389	扭 ¹¹	635	小偷儿已经扭到派出所了。

	Verb	Page	Example
390	弄11	636	花儿弄折了两朵。
391	弄12	637	菜汤弄好了。
392	挪用	640	这笔钱不能挪用。
393	趴12	642	桌子趴着一个人。
394	爬12	643	这个天梯以前爬过。
395	拍11	645	皮球拍破了。
396	拍13	646	电报拍错了。
397	拍14	647	几个领导都拍遍了。
398	排11	648	整版字都排好了。
399	攀11	653	这墙不能攀。
400	攀登	654	这座山峰已经攀登过好几回了。
401	盘问	654	犯人还没盘问完。
402	判11	655	卷子都判完了
403	判12	656	这个案子判错了。
404	判断	656	这时候的风向很难判断。
405	盼	657	假期总算盼到了。
406	盼望	657	这个儿子终于盼望回来了。
407	榜	658	东边那块地已经榜过了。
408	抛11	659	那束鲜花抛到水里了。
409	抛12	659	这些小事先抛开。
410	抛弃	660	不切实际的想法要赶紧抛弃。
411	刨	661	红薯都刨好了。
412	跑13	663	钢材没跑回来。
413	泡11	664	茶泡好了。
414	泡12	665	时间就这么泡没了。
415	培养12	667	兴趣可以慢慢培养。
416	赔11	668	钱已经赔给顾客了。
417	赔12	669	生意不景气,钱几乎赔光了。
418	赔偿	669	这些损失一律要赔偿。
419	配11	671	颜色已经配好了。
420	喷	674	农药喷完了。
421	捧12	676	这部戏好不容易捧红了。
422	碰11	677	凳子碰倒了。
423	碰12	677	这种事以前没碰到过。
424	碰13	678	这么好的机会很难再碰上。
425	碰见	678	宴会中一个老朋友也没碰见。

	Verb	Page	Example
426	批判	681	这种观点以前也批判过。
427	批评	682	这种态度应该严肃批评。
428	披11	683	这件棉衣只披过两次。
429	劈12	686	白菜帮子劈下来了。
430	劈13	687	腿都劈坏了。
431	便宜	688	这种人可便宜不得。
432	骗11	688	精明的小王可不那么容易骗。
433	骗12	689	钱骗到手了。
434	骗取	689	三百张选票骗取了三分之二。
435	撇	693	那块石子撇出去很远。
436	聘请	694	专家聘请来了。
437	评12	697	优秀学生不容易评上。
438	破14	701	敌军的八个据点破了七个。
439	扑11	705	球没扑到。
440	欺负	710	这个人欺负不得。
441	欺骗	711	小孩可不能随便欺骗。
442	启发	712	聪明的孩子比一般的孩子容易启发。
443	起12	713	锚刚起上来。
444	气12	720	老师气得哭了。
445	掐11	721	烟头掐灭了。
446	掐12	722	脖子掐出了一道红痕。
447	牵连	723	很多人都牵连进去了。
448	迁就	727	孩子不能老迁就。
449	欠22	730	盐还是欠了一点。
450	强调	730	质量问题要特别强调。
451	强迫	733	这人轻易强迫不了。
452	敲12	735	一点儿东西也没敲到。
453	敲诈	736	一分钱也没敲诈到。
454	撬	737	门撬坏了。
455	切	738	西瓜切开了。
456	亲	739	嘴巴不能亲。
457	轻视	742	任何工作都不能轻视。
458	请	742	医生请来了。
459	请教	743	这个问题已经向老师请教过了。
460	庆祝	745	你的生日要好好庆祝一番。
461	求12	747	答案求不出来。

	Verb	Page	Example
462	区别	748	不同的对象得区别开来。
463	驱逐	748	外国间谍已经驱逐出境了。
464	取11	750	包儿已经取走了。
465	取12	751	名字已经取好了。
466	取得	751	好成绩也取得过几回。
467	去11	754	这段话要去掉。
468	去12	754	电报也去过几封。
469	去2	755	这个角色不好去。
470	劝	756	他们一吵起来轻易劝不开。
471	劝解	757	他这种人要慢慢劝解。
472	确定	759	时间要马上确定下来。
473	让11	763	座位让给老大爷了。
474	让12	763	一杯酒让了半天。
475	饶	765	这种人饶不得。
476	扰乱	765	这样一来课堂秩序就不容易扰乱。
477	绕13	767	这些暗礁轻易绕不过去。
478	惹12	769	他轻易不能惹。
479	热爱	770	本职工作要热爱,非本职工作也不能马虎。
480	忍	771	眼泪终于没能忍住。
481	忍耐	771	心中的怒火实在难以忍耐。
482	忍受	772	这种冤枉气也忍受过几回。
483	认11	773	这些字实在不好认。
484	认12	774	一个徒弟也没认上。
485	认得	775	路已经不大认得了。
486	揉11	778	眼睛都揉红了。
487	撒	781	所有传单都撒完了。
488	塞	787	衣服都塞到柜子里了。
489	赛	788	武术都赛到海外去了。
490	丧失	798	最后一点信心也散失殆尽。
491	搔	798	头发搔乱了。
492	骚扰	799	一个村民都不能骚扰到。
493	扫11	800	垃圾都扫到外面去了。
494	扫12	801	所有的雷都扫干净了。
495	扫除	803	前进的障碍还没扫除。
496	杀11	804	鸡杀过两回。
497	杀13	805	(那药水真刺激,)眼睛都杀红了。

	Verb	Page	Example
498	刹	807	车没刹稳。
499	筛	809	这些红豆筛两遍了。
500	晒	810	衣服晒干了。
501	扇	811	扇子扇得呼呼作响。
502	煽动	811	不明真相的群众很容易煽动起来。
503	闪13	813	腰闪到了。
504	闪现	815	一个怪念头闪现在老人的心头。
505	苫	816	蜂窝煤苫上了。
506	商量	817	春游的事已经商量了好几回了。
507	伤害	819	孩子的自尊心不能轻易伤害。
508	赏11	821	珠宝都赏给下人们了。
509	赏12	821	菊花在北海公园赏过几回。
510	上11	853	飞机只上过一回。
511	上12	823	北京就上了好几回。
512	上13	824	意见书已经上过几回了。
513	上15	825	台是上过几回,可还是有点胆怯。
514	上16	826	菜都上齐了。
515	上17	827	锁要上好。
516	上18	828	底漆都上完了。
517	上19	829	国家级的刊物就上过几回。
518	烧11	833	水烧开了。
519	烧12	834	茄子已经烧好了。
520	捎	836	东西已经捎回去了。
521	少	837	东西少了一样。
522	赊	834	帐不能赊太久。
523	涉及	838	所有问题都涉及到了。
524	设	839	便民服务站就设在大门口。
525	设计	840	图纸设计出来了。
526	设想11	841	一个方案也没设想出来。
527	深入	844	基层要多深入。
528	伸	845	舌头别老伸出来。
529	审查	847	那些帐目刚审查完。
530	声明	849	我的立场已经反复声明多次了。
531	伤心	820	这件事不值得伤心。
532	散居	789	这一带散居着不少新移民。
533	请示	745	这点小事不必请示领导。

	Verb	Page	Example
534	求11	746	这事得求老王。
535	埋怨	605	这事不能埋怨他。
536	留11	583	这地方可以多留几天。
537	哭	538	嗓子都哭哑了。
538	见12	445	阳光最好先不要见。
539	交12	458	一个笔友也没交上。
540	来11	552	北京来过几回了。
541	落15	598	这个广场经常落下来不少鸽子。
542	没有11	607	一点热情也没有。
543	没有12	608	手机转眼间就没有了。
544	迷11	609	麻将迷上了好几年了。
545	殴打	640	警察殴打不得。
546	跑12	662	监狱跑了一个犯人。
547	跑14	663	轮胎跑气了。
548	陪	670	外宾一次陪了二十个。
549	赏识	822	这种人不值得赏识。
550	闪烁	814	他的眼睛闪烁着泪光。
551	气11	720	脸都气红了。
552	请求	744	这个计划得请求一下校方。
553	散失12	796	土壤散失了大量的水分。
554	扫13	802	一道目光扫向了他。
555	闪14	814	他的心头闪过一个奇特的想法。
556	闪15	814	远处的村庄闪着点点灯光。
557	结束	477	宴会结束半天了。
558	流传	580	这个传说流传得很广泛。
559	流行	582	这种样式的鞋子流行过一段时间。
560	来12	554	问题又来了。
561	降11	453	气温降下来了。
562	开110	512	水开了。
563	裂	575	墙裂开了。
564	漏11	591	水漏进来了。
565	漏12	592	盆漏了一个洞。
566	露	593	头露出半个。
567	落11	595	树叶落光了。
568	落12	596	粮价落了不少。
569	落14	597	一号选手在后面了。

	Verb	Page	Example
570	落17	599	东西落在他手里了。
571	披12	684	指甲披了好几回。
572	漂	690	小船漂走了。
573	飘	691	一阵清香随风飘进了院子。
574	飘扬	691	红旗随风飘扬。
575	破11	699	玻璃破了。
576	破裂	704	他们的感情彻底破裂。
577	破灭	704	理想最终破灭了。
578	起来12	718	风筝终于起来了。
579	翘	738	木板翘了起来。
580	晴	742	天晴了。
581	撒气11	782	这阵子轮胎老撒气。
582	洒12	785	牛奶都洒了。
583	洒落	785	雨水洒落在稻田里。
584	散	789	口袋全散了。
585	散伙	794	协会早就散伙了。
586	散落	795	灰尘都散落在桌子上了。
587	丧命	797	歹徒终于丧了命。
588	骚动	799	会场忽然骚动起来。
589	闪12	813	他的身体忽然闪了一下。
590	擅长	815	他擅长绘画。
591	善于	816	他善于处理人际关系。
592	上当	831	老太太又上当了。
593	上涨	832	价格上涨了。
594	烧13	835	孩子烧得厉害。
595	折	838	腿折了。
596	渗	848	水渗出来了。
597	虐待	638	一个俘虏也不能虐待。
598	省1	856	钱都省给妹妹了
599	实践	864	计划刚实践了一半
600	识	867	外国字不识几个
601	识破	867	一个阴谋也没识破
602	拾	868	这块地的麦穗拾完了
603	拾掇2	869	房间多拾掇拾掇
604	使唤	873	我不是用来使唤的
605	试	874	这个方法已经试过了

	Verb	Page	Example
606	适应	878	这里的气候很难适应
607	收4	881	包裹收到了
608	收5	882	这儿的摊儿晚上八点就收了
609	收买	886	这种败类收买了好几个
610	收拾1	887	会场收拾好了
611	收拾3	888	那帮土匪刚收拾干净怎么又出一批
612	守1	889	这座城快守不住了
613	守2	890	病人不用守着
614	守3	891	以前的合同必须要守, 否则就会吃官司
615	守候	891	伤员一定要好好守候
616	授予	892	劳动模范的称号授予给了李师傅
617	梳理	895	头发又梳理了一遍
618	疏忽	895	安全问题不能疏忽
619	抒发	899	豪情都抒发半天了, 快点干活吧
620	熟悉	900	这儿的情况都熟悉了
621	数	902	钱数错了
622	数落	903	孩子都数落哭了
623	束缚	905	人们的思想不能束缚
624	刷	907	鞋刷干净了
625	耍1	908	我的大刀耍了几十年了
626	耍2	909	你的脾气耍够了吧
627	甩2	914	墨水甩到衣服上了
628	甩3	915	思想上的包袱一定要甩掉
629	率领	916	旅游团率领得不好
630	涮2	918	羊肉涮好了
631	睡	919	眼睛肿了
632	说1	921	这个笑话都说了好几遍了
633	说2	922	这种人不能说
634	说服	923	他可以说服
635	说明	924	这个情况早就说明了
636	说情	925	这个混帐不值得说情
637	撕毁	926	合同早就撕毁很长时间了
638	思考	927	这个问题思考得不周全
639	饲养	929	这些马饲养得又肥又壮
640	送2	931	那本相册送给小王了
641	搜集	935	创作素材搜集了不少

	Verb	Page	Example
642	塑造	936	这个铜像塑造得非常成功
643	肃清	938	封建迷信还没肃清
644	算	939	水电费算错了
645	算计1	940	费用都算计半天了
646	算计2	941	下一步的工作早算计好了
647	算计3	941	爸爸的存款早算计完了
648	算计4	942	钱不能这么算计
649	损害	943	他的健康早损害了
650	损坏	943	她的名誉都损坏在这张嘴上
651	踏	948	地板都踏脏了
652	抬2	949	水泥都抬出来了
653	贪污	950	一分钱也没贪污过
654	谈	950	实际问题还没谈到
655	坦白	951	你的罪行坦白得不够彻底
656	探望	952	山那边的环境用望远镜才探望得清楚
657	躺	953	这种沙发躺着不舒服
658	烫1	953	孩子的手都烫出泡来了
659	淘1	954	米淘好了
660	讨	956	房租已经讨走了
661	讨厌	957	那个小伙子不讨厌
662	套	958	从他嘴里, 一句实话也套不出来
663	疼2	959	小孩子应多疼疼
664	剔2	960	桌子缝儿里的泥剔干净了
665	提1	961	菜提回来了
666	提3	962	从那以后, 这件事再也没提起过
667	提醒	965	孩子应多提醒提醒
668	体会	966	导演的意图没有确切体会到
669	体谅	966	群众的难处体谅得不够
670	体贴	967	孩子应该多体贴一下了
671	替	968	总工程师不应该替下来
672	挑1.2	971	一条缺点也挑不出来
673	挑3	976	人们之间的是非挑不得
674	跳	977	橡皮筋跳断了
675	听2	980	这些话不能听
676	听取	981	群众的意见一定要听取
677	听说	982	这样的事早听说好几次了

	Verb	Page	Example
678	挺1	983	腰挺得很直
679	通2	985	一门外语也不通
680	通过	985	无烟地通过一段时间了
681	同情	987	这种人不值得同情
682	同意	987	这件事不能同意
683	捅2	989	这只猫不能捅
684	投3	992	井投不成了
685	突出	995	劳模的成绩应特别突出一下
686	涂2	998	画涂得不像样子了
687	吐1	999	痰吐在痰盂里了
688	吐2	999	实话终于吐露出来了
689	团结	1000	群众紧密地团结在党的周围
690	推翻1	1004	反动政权迟早会推翻的
691	推翻2	1004	他的口供很容易就推翻了
692	脱离	1009	险境脱离了很长时间了
693	托1	1010	盘子刚刚托进去了
694	托2	1011	这件事已托给他了
695	挖苦	1014	他挖苦不得
696	玩儿3	1018	这种鬼把戏玩儿了好几回了
697	玩耍	1019	剪刀可不能玩耍
698	挽留	1021	一个客人也没挽留住
699	望	1023	草原已经望不见了
700	威胁	1023	人民的生命安全不会威胁到的
701	危害	1024	人民的生命不能危害
702	违背	1024	一条规定也没违背过
703	违反	1025	学校的纪律都违反了好几回了
704	闻	1034	菜都闻过了
705	吻	1035	孩子的照片都吻了好几次了
706	问3	1037	别人的事不要问
707	侮辱	1040	我的人格不能侮辱
708	吸2	1043	血一会就吸完了
709	洗澡	1046	一次澡也没洗过
710	下7	1050	保证书已经下了好几天了
711	吓	1051	孩子都吓出病来了
712	羡慕	1052	别人的成绩不应该只羡慕
713	相信	1055	他的话不能相信

	Verb	Page	Example
714	享受	1055	一次助学金也没享受过
715	想1	1056	这个问题想清楚了
716	向	1058	自己的孩子不能只向着
717	笑1	1060	眼泪都笑出来了
718	笑2	1060	那幅滑稽样真可笑
719	歇	1061	病都歇出来了
720	谢1	1064	这个好心人一定要好好谢谢
721	欣赏1	1065	这些艺术品要好好欣赏欣赏
722	欣赏2	1066	这种做法值得欣赏
723	信1	1066	这些传闻信不得
724	信2	1067	进化论的思想值得信
725	信任	1067	任何人都不要信任
726	需要	1073	进口设备还需要三台
727	叙述	1074	他的遭遇已经叙述完了
728	寻找	1079	出路很难寻找
729	训	1079	孩子都训傻了
730	压3	1082	他的怒火终于压下去了
731	压7	1084	财产都压给别人了
732	压迫1	1085	老百姓都压迫怕了
733	压迫2	1085	心脏压迫得都变形了
734	压制	1086	人才不能压制
735	淹1	1088	两千亩地快淹完了
736	研究	1090	这个问题研究得不深入
737	掩护	1095	印刷所没有掩护好
738	掩饰	1096	错误不能掩饰
739	养4	1098	精神养得很好
740	养成	1099	坏毛病养成了不少
741	要求	1102	小孩子不能这么严厉地要求
742	摇晃	1103	这儿棵树都摇晃得快死了
743	咬3	1105	好几个罪犯都咬出来了
744	依	1197	孩子不能总依着
745	依靠	1107	群众可以依靠
746	依赖	1107	救济不能依赖了
747	倚	1109	栏杆都倚歪了
748	议论	1110	这个问题早议论过了
749	引起	1111	战争不会这么容易就引起的

	Verb	Page	Example
750	迎接	1114	一个客人也没迎接到
751	赢	1115	钱赢回来了
752	赢得	1115	金牌赢得了两块
753	影响	1116	孩子容易影响
754	拥护	1118	他不值得拥护
755	用2	1120	时间用不完的
756	用3	1120	饭菜都用完了
757	遇	1126	这次一个坏人也没遇见
758	遇到	1126	一次危险也没遇到
759	遇见	1127	这次一个小偷也没遇见
760	预料	1128	结果难以预料
761	原谅	1128	他不值得原谅
762	约1	1129	时间、地点都约好了
763	约2	1130	朋友约来了几个
764	阅读	1130	这本书阅读完了
765	栽1.2	1139	贪污罪栽给了我哥哥
766	赞成	1142	一个计划也不赞成
767	糟蹋2	1145	姑娘糟蹋了好几个
768	责备	1148	孩子不应该再责备了
769	增长	1151	才干又增长了点儿
770	粘	1157	牙粘掉了好几颗
771	占有1	1161	土地不能占有
772	占有2	1162	一次优势也没占有过
773	占有3	1163	一条证据也没占有
774	掌握	1167	政权没掌握在劳动人民手里
775	招1.3	1170	那个疯子招不得
776	招2	1170	罪行全都招出来了
777	招待	1171	客人都招待完了
778	招呼2	1172	病人只能招呼一个
779	照2	1178	在哈哈镜前,脸照得变形了
780	照顾2	1180	困难户应该多照顾照顾
781	照料	1181	这儿的病人照料得很好
782	遮1	1182	房间的阳光都遮住了
783	蜇	1185	脸都蜇肿了
784	折磨	1185	犯人折磨死了一个
785	珍惜	1187	粮食应好好珍惜

	Verb	Page	Example
786	震动2	1188	房子震动了好几次
787	震动3	1189	她的心不容易震动
788	征服	1190	这些民族难以征服
789	拯救	1197	稀有动物拯救了几种
790	证明	1198	这个假设难证明
791	支持	1201	这种做法值得支持
792	支配1	1201	时间支配得正好
793	支配2	1202	机器人容易支配
794	支援	1203	化肥支援给农村了
795	执行	1206	这个规定执行了一段时间了
796	指1	1207	方向指给小李了
797	指2	1208	缺点指出了两点
798	指点	1209	窍门已经指点给他了
799	指挥	1211	这支合唱团不易指挥
800	指责	1212	小孩子不能这么严厉地指责
801	治理1	1214	这个烂工厂难治理好了
802	制造	1219	他们之间的矛盾很容易制造
803	制止	1220	这种坏风气已经制止住了
804	种植	1223	松树种植在山坡上了
805	重视	1224	教育问题应该好好重视
806	主持1	1226	这个会主持得很成功
807	主持2	1227	正义值得主持
808	拄	1227	拐杖拄坏了
809	注意	1229	产品的质量一定要注意
810	祝贺	1231	获奖者值得祝贺
811	抓1	1231	糖很快就抓完了
812	抓2	1232	脸抓破了
813	抓3	1233	罪犯只抓住了一个
814	转1	1235	女演员的脸转过来了
815	转达	1237	领导的意见已转达给大家了
816	装	1239	疯子可不容易装
817	撞	1243	门撞坏了
818	追	1244	小偷只追上了一个
819	追查	1245	事故的原因追查清楚了
820	追求1	1246	虚幻的名利不值得追求
821	追求2	1247	这种爱慕虚荣的女孩不能追求

	Verb	Page	Example
822	准备	1247	行李都准备好了
823	捉	1248	老鼠捉到了好几只
824	捉弄	1249	傻子容易捉弄
825	总结	1251	失败的教训总结了几条
826	走1	1253	正步不好走
827	奏	1254	钢琴曲又奏了一遍
828	揍	1255	孩子都揍怕了
829	阻碍	1257	生产力不能阻碍
830	阻挡	1257	风沙在防护林阻挡住了
831	阻拦	1258	孩子都阻拦在屋外面了
832	组织	1259	我们的乐队终于组织起来了
833	钻2	1261	这个山洞不能钻
834	钻研	1262	理论要好好钻研
835	尊敬	1264	父母应该好好尊敬
836	尊重	1264	群众的意见一定要尊重
837	遵守	1265	一条规则也不遵守
838	遵循	1266	党的方针一定要遵循
839	遵照	1266	一个文件也不遵照
840	琢磨	1267	他的话很难琢磨透

APPENDIX 3

Dictionary

	Verb	Page	Example
1	挨2	1	儿子挨了父亲一巴掌
2	安2	5	马路两旁的自动电话亭已安过无数次了
3	安插	6	这个侦探已在机要部门安插了一年了
4	安排1	7	下届奥运会将安排在欧洲
5	安装	9	大暖棚顶上的玻璃安装了一整天
6	熬1	11	豆浆再熬一遍
7	拔2	14	照目前的火势炉子可能还要拔一下儿
8	拔3	14	敌人的火力网除了一个地下火力点外都拔下了
9	拔4	15	啤酒拔了五瓶
10	把握1	16	操纵杆比方向盘可难把握
11	掰	18	这堆土豆一冬天掰了两遍牙儿
12	摆1	18	这批货已经摆了几遍了
13	摆2	19	那难看的面孔再没摆过一次
14	摆脱	21	这种笨重的体力劳动已摆脱多年了
15	搬1	22	桌子搬到楼上了
16	搬2	23	化工厂准备搬郊区去
17	搬3	23	纺织厂的经验搬服装厂来了
18	办1	24	这张调离申请陆陆续续办了一年
19	办2	25	化工厂应该办在郊区
20	办3	25	年货要办到腊月底了
21	办理	26	交接手续又办理了一遍
22	拌	27	鸡食已拌好半小时了
23	绑	30	点心已绑完一半了
24	包1	31	这些烧麦上午包不完
25	包2	31	这套房间包给经理了
26	包含	32	丰富的感情、殷切的希望全部包含在这短短的文字中了
27	包括	33	这出戏的全部感情都包括在演员的喜怒哀乐中了
28	包围	33	李家店比赵家屯包围得更严
29	剥	34	两袋花生剥了一天

	Verb	Page	Example
30	保存	35	胶卷可以在冰箱里保存
31	保持	36	我们的关系保持了二十多年
32	保护	37	一路上这些精密仪器一直都保护得很好
33	保留1	37	元大都土城仍保留在德胜门外
34	保留2	38	我的意见可以再保留一星期
35	保证	40	木材产量还能保证一年
36	抱1	40	孙子抱给姥姥了
37	抱2	41	这个孩子抱来两年了
38	报	44	天气预报早晨报一次
39	暴露	47	清军的大炮在阳光下暴露得清清楚楚
40	背3	49	课文只背了一半
41	备	50	东西一时备不齐
42	崩	53	锯条又崩折了好几根
43	逼	54	债一直逼到年关
44	比赛	58	象棋比赛了一上午
45	闭	59	眼睛闭了一会儿
46	避免	60	片面性往往比主观性更难避免
47	编2	61	我们俩编在一个小组里了
48	编3	62	这篇论文编到副刊上去
49	辨别	64	古董的制造材料比制造年代容易辨别
50	变1	66	他的态度在新情况下也并没有变
51	标	67	记号标在顶上
52	表现	71	大学期间他的个人主义就完全表现出来了
53	表扬	72	除了生产效益高的单位计划生育工作做得突出的单位也表扬了
54	憋	73	老先生的话都憋在心里了
55	别	74	这个发卡已别了三年了
56	拨2	75	作为科研经费这笔款子应该拨到科研机关
57	播	76	新闻都按先国内后国际的顺序播出
58	补1	78	这口旧铁锅已补了好几次了
59	补充	80	剩余人员补充到炊事班
60	捕获	81	这些飞禽比走兽还难捕获
61	捕捉	82	小鱼比大鱼还难捕捉
62	部署	82	这些导弹将部署在西部沙漠地带
63	布置1	83	到结婚的前一天洞房才布置完
64	擦1	84	这张砂纸擦了一个月了
65	擦2	85	桌子比黑板擦得干净

	Verb	Page	Example
66	擦3	86	护发素擦上了
67	采1	88	这一坡的草莓采了一下午了
68	采2	89	那个铅锌矿已采了10多年了
69	残废	95	小吴残废了
70	藏2	95	枪枝就藏在后院
71	藏3	96	这些邮票已经藏了二十多年了
72	操持	97	这个家操持得不错
73	蹭2	101	油漆蹭身上了
74	插1	101	这花儿刚插上不一会儿
75	插2	102	他上个月插进我们班了
76	查1	102	这本账查出了不少问题
77	查3	104	类似的案例只查过几起
78	差1	104	哥儿俩差一大截
79	差2	105	小数点差了一个
80	差3	105	饭桌还差3张
81	拆1	105	线已经拆了好几天了
82	拆2	106	桥都拆了两座了
83	撵2	107	这锅的水比那锅的撵得多
84	缠1	107	线缠好了
85	产1	109	卵产下来了
86	产2	109	成千上万吨煤产出来了
87	产生	110	隔阂已经产生
88	铲	110	煤都铲光了
89	颤抖	111	双腿在颤抖
90	尝	111	那道菜只尝过一口
91	唱	112	《康定情歌》唱完了
92	抄1	113	稿子抄上去了
93	抄3	114	赃款抄走了
94	抄5	115	双手抄后背了
95	炒	118	港式菜也炒了两盘
96	超过2	117	他的个子超过了1米70
97	朝	117	正门朝着车站
98	扯1	119	桌布扯下了四、五条
99	扯2	119	袖子口扯出了一道口子
100	扯3	120	地基的事扯了几次了
101	撤1	121	饭菜撤掉一会儿了

	Verb	Page	Example
102	撤3	122	我们的岗哨撤了四五处
103	撤5	123	这摞书除了最底下的两本都撤出来了
104	沉1	123	船沉了
105	沉3	124	我的心都沉下去了
106	称2	125	精盐称了三四斤
107	成2	127	小何成了英雄
108	成3	127	这事准成
109	成立2	128	这种观点不成立
110	成熟1	129	西瓜成熟了
111	成熟2	129	条件已经成熟
112	盛1	129	鱼汤盛盆里了
113	盛2	130	院子里的垃圾盛在铁桶里了
114	承受2	133	五十吨的压力也可以承受
115	吃3	136	车都吃掉好一会儿了
116	吃4	136	油都吃到纸盒上了
117	吃5	137	那汉子吃了一拳头
118	冲3	138	那些碗冲了半天了
119	抽1	139	黑桃没抽着一张
120	抽2	140	这批人马都抽出来两三个月了
121	出3	143	问题出过几次了
122	出4	144	由于温度的关系豆芽老不出来
123	出版	144	这套丛书已出版了几册了
124	处罚	148	这两个学生比别人处罚得重
125	处理1	149	文件都处理一下儿吧
126	处理2	149	这些货已处理一次了
127	穿1	150	木板穿了一个孔
128	穿4	151	袜子穿出一个洞来了
129	传播	152	这种观念几十年来一直到处传播
130	传递	153	球向左边传递过去了
131	传授	153	这些配方已经传授出去几种了
132	闯1	155	关口已闯过去几处了
133	吹2	158	头发吹出了几道弯儿
134	吹4	158	合同现在已经吹了
135	凑1	159	这笔钱都凑上来几个星期了
136	催	160	这点钱足足催了两个月
137	存1	161	大白菜也存了几筐

	Verb	Page	Example
138	存2	161	水都存在坑里了
139	存3	162	钱存在储蓄所了
140	存4	162	这辆车存了一周了
141	撮	163	玉米粒儿都撮到篮子里了
142	搭1	164	跳板再往前搭一搭
143	搭2	165	这件衣服从昨天就一直搭在这儿
144	搭3	166	你的胳膊搭在我身上半天了
145	搭4	166	次品都搭正品里了
146	搭5	167	这张床搭到屋里
147	搭6	168	这么多车一辆都没搭上
148	搭配	168	这种酒刚搭配出去两瓶
149	答应2	170	几项计划只答应了一项
150	达到	171	目标已经达到好长时间了
151	答复	171	这个问题已经答复一个月了
152	打1	172	果子就打下来十几个
153	打2	173	这个灯座儿打过一次
154	打3	173	不听话的孩子要打板子
155	打4		辞典未标注
156	打5	174	地基打过一次
157	打6	175	椅子打了几把
158	打7	176	鸡蛋打碗里
159	打8	177	这件行李打了十分钟
160	打9	177	这朵花最好打在胸前
161	打10	178	墨线再打上一道儿
162	打11	179	这眼井打了三天
163	打12	180	这把伞打了五年了
164	打13	181	电报在楼上打
165	打14	182	证明一张都没打来
166	打15	183	虫子只打过两次
167	打16	183	豆油一个月打一次
168	打17	184	兔子倒打过几只
169	打18	185	麦子还要打几天
170	打19	186	草稿就打了两三遍
171	打20	187	夜班要打到下星期了
172	打21	187	太极拳倒是打过几回
173	打22	188	口哨儿一个也没打

	Verb	Page	Example
174	打23	189	经理的比方比老张打得地道
175	打倒	190	官僚主义要跟封建主义一起打倒
176	打击	191	这类犯罪活动看来还要打击一段时间
177	打听	193	这点儿情况打听了好几天
178	逮	195	这只野猪逮了两个小时
179	戴	195	这顶帽子只戴过三次
180	担1	202	这些菜担给谁?
181	担任	203	经理职务要担任到明年
182	掸	204	这儿的灰一次也没掸过
183	挡1	206	土都挡在外面了
184	倒1	208	竹杆儿倒了两次
185	倒2	208	公司倒了
186	倒3	209	那批货照市场价倒出去了
187	倒4	210	这堆煤整整倒了一天
188	倒1	213	卡车倒进沟里了
189	倒2	214	这点醋倒给我吧
190	得1	216	学位得到手里了
191	得2	216	稿子明天能得
192	登记	220	这些车一辆也没登记上
193	等	221	票只等着一张
194	等于1	223	一公斤等于一千克
195	等于2	223	这些话都等于零
196	瞪	224	眼睛瞪得圆圆的
197	滴1	224	血滴下来了
198	滴2	225	香油再滴上几滴
199	递	227	报纸再递一份
200	颠	228	木板颠下去好几块
201	颠倒	229	上下颠倒过一次
202	点1	230	这个记号点上边
203	点2	231	穴位一个也没点着
204	点3	231	脚尖儿再这么点几分钟!
205	点5	232	这种药水只能点眼睛
206	点6	233	豆种点了十多斤
207	点9	235	这炉子点了十几分钟
208	垫1	236	这段铁轨得垫一下儿
209	垫2	236	款子都垫给别人了

	Verb	Page	Example
210	叨	238	花儿刚叨起两朵
211	调	239	粮食刚调走一批
212	调查	240	这件事还得调查一次
213	调动	241	各方面的力量几天就调动起来了
214	吊	242	房架子刚吊上去一个
215	掉1	242	牙掉了
216	掉2	243	帽子掉了
217	掉3	244	昨天油价掉下来了
218	钓	245	蛤蟆就钓上来过一次
219	跌	246	那个小孩跌到了
220	叠	247	一件衣服叠了这么长时间
221	盯	248	目标盯住了一个
222	钉	249	除了10号8号也得钉住
223	顶3	251	球顶进去三个
224	顶4	252	窗户顶过几次
225	顶7	254	书能顶饭吗
226	顶8	254	这个名还得顶一段时间
227	定	255	时间定在十月八日
228	订1	256	这种公约订过好几次了
229	订2	257	约会订下星期六
230	钉1	258	钉子钉了十几根
231	钉2	259	这个扣子钉在这儿
232	丢1	260	手表丢了一年了
233	丢2	260	石子丢了好几次了
234	丢3	261	手上的这个活儿现在丢不开呀!
235	动1	262	按照规定这些东西动不得
236	动员	264	这些人都动员过好几次了
237	冻1	265	这菜冻过一次
238	冻2	265	手冻了
239	抖1	266	手抖得很厉害
240	抖2	266	两件衣服抖了这么长时间
241	斗1	267	这个坏蛋昨天已经抖过了
242	逗	268	这孩子还得逗一会儿
243	读1	269	这个字得读古音
244	读2	270	古书倒是读过几本
245	读3	271	业余学校读过两所

	Verb	Page	Example
246	毒	271	耗子一只也没毒死
247	堵	272	这个窟窿比那个堵得严实
248	赌	273	扑克也可以赌
249	端	274	汤端上去两碗了
250	端正	275	他的态度目前端正过来了
251	断1	276	电线断了
252	断2	276	酒已经断了两年了
253	堆	277	劈柴堆在墙角儿
254	对1	278	这两块木板儿还得对一次
255	对2	279	答案上午就对完了
256	对3	280	焦距又得对一次
257	对4	280	药酒倒是得过一次
258	炖	283	肉已经炖出香味了
259	夺1	284	东西已经夺到手了
260	夺2	284	奖杯夺到过一
261	夺取	285	奖牌夺取到几块
262	躲避	287	因为判断上的失误炮弹没能躲避开
263	剃	288	这馅儿还得剃几刀
264	堕落	289	他在国外已经堕落了
265	发1	292	讣告发出去一个星期了
266	发2	293	两分钟后信号发出去了
267	发4	294	面发了
268	发5	294	因为方法的问题海参没发好
269	发表1	294	声明发表一个月了
270	发表2	295	这篇连载的报告文学一直发表到年底
271	发动2	297	工人比农民发动得多
272	发动3	298	车床发动一会儿了
273	发挥2	299	这种观点最后发挥成一篇洋洋洒洒的长文了
274	发明	299	区域熔炼法发明于欧洲
275	发现1	300	新大陆已发现几百年了
276	发现2	300	这种毛病已经发现10多天了
277	发扬	301	经过十几年后这种作风又发扬起来了
278	发源	301	黄河发源于青海
279	发展	302	近几年教育事业又发展起来了
280	罚	302	钱已经罚过了
281	翻1	303	汽车翻了

	Verb	Page	Example
282	翻2	303	杂草随泥土翻下去了
283	翻5	305	收入翻了一番
284	翻6	305	这些书已翻了几本儿了
285	反映2	307	情况反映了一大堆
286	放1	310	野兔已经放了
287	放2	310	由于连日来的大雪队里的羊群放不成了
288	放3	311	信号弹放两次了
289	放4	312	爆竹放了整整20分钟
290	放5	312	搬迁的事放了几个月了
291	放6	313	除公文包外几件行李都放里屋了
292	放7	313	香菇放进去几分钟了
293	费	316	水都费了两次了
294	分1	317	这些土豆分了半天了
295	分2	317	粮食已分了两次了
296	分割	319	除了那个半岛别的领地已分割完了
297	分裂2	320	这个组织分裂了三四年了
298	分散3	321	节目单都分散出去两天了
299	俘虏	326	除了参谋长这些敌人都俘虏过来了
300	该	329	化肥还该一吨
301	改1	330	样式上这件衣服就不用改了
302	改2	330	试卷卷用红铅笔改
303	改变	331	在新形势下我们的观念也应改变了
304	改革	332	经济制度随着政治制度一起改革
305	改进	333	这种服务态度一个晚上改进不了
306	改良	333	土地改良了三十亩
307	改善	334	食堂的伙食改善过几回
308	改造	334	这片沼泽地由于洪水一时改造不了
309	改正	335	这个错误改正了半年多了
310	盖2	336	号码盖到准考证上
311	盖3	337	到下学期图书馆就盖完了
312	干扰	338	电视图象雨天比风天干扰得厉害
313	赶2	340	这月的工作量才赶完一半
314	赶4	341	这头猪半天也赶不出来
315	干1	343	这项工程要干到正月底
316	干2	344	这个差事可以干到六十岁
317	搞	345	化肥只搞回来三吨

	Verb	Page	Example
318	告诉	346	根据当前局势这个消息暂不告诉外人
319	割	346	麦子割到十点多
320	搁1	347	盐刚搁了一会儿
321	搁2	348	这份计划在他那里搁了三个月
322	隔	348	这间房子隔开过一次
323	给	349	稿费已给了两月了
324	耕	350	这块地耕了一上午
325	公布	351	这项法案公布于1887年
326	钩	355	窗帘钩了一个月了
327	够1	356	这点钱不够
328	刮1	360	强披刮了一天
329	刮2	361	地皮都刮去三尺
330	挂1	362	衣服挂起了两件
331	挂2	362	电话挂了三次了
332	挂3	363	浆挂了好几层
333	关1	365	大铁门关了二十年
334	观赏	365	这次菊展可观赏到十月下旬
335	关3	367	那家大公司一两年内关不了
336	贯彻	372	这次会议精神贯彻了两年了
337	广播	373	《每日英语》已广播了三四遍了
338	逛	374	购物中心逛了两趟了
339	规定	374	经过一个多月标准总算规定下来了
340	裹	377	这堆苹果裹上废报纸
341	过2	378	户头已经过了一年多了
342	过3	379	鱼已过了三条
343	害羞	381	女孩很害羞
344	喊2	383	人都喊来了
345	耗	383	很多时间都耗到他身上了
346	喝	384	奶只喝了一半
347	合1	385	他的嘴巴合了几下
348	合2	385	过去这个饭店的菜都不合我的口味
349	合3	385	这块料子合五十块钱
350	合乎	386	他的话合乎情理
351	核对	386	这些帐目核对几次了
352	轰	388	你们这帮小孩子除了我儿子都得轰出去
353	烘	389	棉被烘了两小时了

	Verb	Page	Example
354	哄1	390	除了那个大点的其余的都哄
355	哄2	390	这孩子哄了好一阵了
356	忽视	392	群众的意见一条也不能忽视
357	糊	393	一个灯笼糊到晚上七八点钟
358	花	394	钱花到月底了
359	划1	395	船比木排好划
360	划2	396	玻璃划好几十块了
361	滑1	397	这一跤划出去好远
362	滑2	398	玩具滑了下去
363	化1	398	冰化了
364	化2	399	那点猪油化锅里了
365	化3	399	因为缺医少药的问题痰还没化干净
366	画1	400	石头画到右下角了
367	画2	401	一张表格竟然画了一上午
368	划	402	这条界限要一直往北划
369	化妆2	403	电影里的特务化装得不象
370	欢送	405	毕业生欢送走几批了
371	还	407	那些资料还了半年了
372	缓1	407	为了我们双方的利益自己手里的事儿先缓一下
373	缓2	408	小花缓过来了
374	缓和1	408	那里的局势缓和了
375	缓和2	408	因为这家伙的捣乱会场的气氛缓和不下来
376	换1	409	精白面换给包工队了
377	换2	410	玻璃换过好几次了
378	换3	410	这点美元足足换了半小时
379	晃3	412	脑袋又晃了几下
380	回2	413	他的身子回过来几次了
381	回答	414	一个问题回答了五分钟
382	汇报	415	那件事昨天已经汇报上去了
383	会1	416	这个老乡以前会过几次
384	会4	417	他的房钱比饭钱早会了几天
385	活	418	月季花活了
386	活动1	418	老人的胳膊前后活动了几下
387	活动2	419	门牙活动了两个星期了
388	活动3	419	球票活动来两张了
389	昏迷	421	伤员昏迷了

	Verb	Page	Example
390	混2	421	他的一生就这么窝窝囊囊地混过去了
391	集合	423	队伍一下子集合不起来
392	记录	426	病情要记录到出院那天。
393	寄	427	航空信比挂号信寄得快。
394	计算11	430	分数已计算过两遍了。
395	计算12	431	除了今年的工作明年的工作也都计算好了。
396	夹11	432	肉再夹两块来。
397	夹12	432	几句古语夹在文章中。
398	加	432	工资也随着职称加了一级。
399	加强	433	同学们的责任心也随着集体意识加强了。
400	加入11	433	糖和伴侣一起加入咖啡中。
401	架	434	锅已架起来半天了。
402	驾驶	435	这种老式机车还能驾驶一两次。
403	驾御	436	熟悉的题材比不熟悉的题材容易驾御,
404	煎11	437	汤药一共煎了一百多付。
405	煎12	437	这锅豆腐已经煎一刻钟了。
406	剪	440	柳树枝条已剪过一次了。
407	拣	440	这一筐菜拣了半小时。
408	减	441	羽绒服的价格在夏天还要减。
409	减少	442	根据专家论证结果该项工程的投资还可以减少。
410	检查	443	这些产品要按顺序全部检查一遍。
411	见11	444	这种海市蜃楼的现象只有在一定的条件下才能见到。
412	建	445	核电站要比火力发电站难建得多。
413	建立	446	这座观察站建立于五十年代初。
414	建设	447	各种生活设施要比住宅楼先建设起来。
415	建筑	448	我家的小洋楼按照图纸建筑起来了。
416	溅	448	我做饭时溅了一身油。
417	讲11	449	《三请诸葛亮》讲到第三回了。
418	讲12	450	这个讲座要讲到下学期。
419	讲13	451	条件在你来之前就讲好了。
420	讲解	451	牛顿第二定律比牛顿第一定律难讲解。
421	降	453	旗从旗杆上降下来了。
422	降低	454	成本费用要按一定的百分比降低。
423	浇11	455	这片黄瓜地今年夏天一次也没浇过。
424	浇12	456	这种工艺品必须一次浇成。
425	交11	457	学费随作业一起交上来。

	Verb	Page	Example
426	交换	460	两个部落的物产每年都要交换几车。
427	交流	460	我们的科研成果不对外交流。
428	交涉	462	这么多条款两天交涉不完。
429	搅	462	饺子馅应该朝同一个方向搅。
430	缴	463	水电费缴了三天了。
431	矫正	464	这些偏差矫正了半年。
432	叫13	466	这道菜叫了一刻钟了。
433	校对	466	数据已在昨天校对完了。
434	教育	467	这种父母离异的子女要比正常家庭的孩子难教育。
435	揭11	468	那张安民告示已揭下来了。
436	揭12	468	锅已揭开十分钟了。
437	揭发	469	他的问题才揭发出来十分之一二。
438	揭露	470	他的罪行已揭露出了一部分。
439	接11	471	煤气管道已接通半年了。
440	接12	471	球没接住。
441	接13	472	病人刚接出来三天。
442	截	476	木料比图纸多截了一厘米。
443	节约	479	这笔钱从每月的生活费里可以节约出来。
444	解放	480	最后一座岛屿于一九四九年解放了。
445	解释	483	成语要比歇后语难解释。
446	借	484	这辆车不能往外借。
447	戒	485	烟已经戒两年了。
448	介绍11	486	外国的一些新技术也通过贸易途径介绍进来了。
449	介绍12	486	这种武器的保养方法比使用方法难介绍。
450	紧	487	一个车轴紧了半天。
451	进12	488	急诊室每次进一个人。
452	进行	489	工程才进行了一半。
453	禁止	490	为了公众的利益所有黄色书刊一律禁止。
454	精简	492	这些管理人员必一般雇员更难精简。
455	纠缠	494	这件事已纠缠了一年多了。
456	纠正	495	思想错误比行为错误更难纠正。
457	救	496	遇难者只救上来一半。
458	举12	498	一个例子举了十几分钟。
459	举办	498	茶话会比联欢会先举办一小时。
460	举行	499	奥林匹克运动会已举行过二十四届。
461	锯	500	这棵大树锯了半天。

	Verb	Page	Example
462	卷	504	地毯昨天已卷走了。
463	掘	504	水渠已掘完三天了。
464	开11	507	门开了一晚上。
465	开12	508	这么大一片荒地半个月可开不完。
466	开16	509	饭店一两年开不起来。
467	开18	510	借款单跟介绍信一起开了。
468	开111	512	这门课要开到第二学期。
469	开动	514	汽车比拖拉机容易开动。
470	开发	515	海底石油已开发到深海地区。
471	开放	515	公共图书馆已正式向社会开放。
472	开辟	516	这种丘陵地比山地还难开辟。
473	开始	517	实验工作每次都不能按时开始。
474	看12	518	首犯要比那个从犯看得严一点。
475	看11	520	昨晚的文艺节目看到一点多。
476	扛	523	这袋面粉扛了我一身白粉。
477	烤	523	白薯可以和土豆一起烤。
478	考	524	数学考了近两个小时。
479	考查	525	这些问题已考查了一半了。
480	考察	525	这几个岛屿已考察完一半了。
481	考虑	525	天气情况跟各种因素一起考虑进去。
482	考验	526	这个干部已考验一年了。
483	靠近	528	她比大人物还难靠近。
484	刻	529	题词才刻上去一半。
485	克服	531	不利条件已克服了一半。
486	控制	534	传染病比流行病还难控制。
487	抠	535	这张画跟墙皮一起抠下来了。
488	扣11	535	衬衫跟外衣扣在一起了。
489	扣12	536	鸽子比麻雀难扣。
490	扣留	537	你的行车执照要扣留到月底。
491	捆	541	糕点比烟酒难捆。
492	扩充	542	你们的分队半路上可以随时扩充。
493	扩大	542	这张图纸按比例过大一点。
494	拉13	546	这支曲子一直拉到八点。
495	拉16	548	买卖倒是拉到一桩。
496	拉17	549	金子跟屎一起拉出来的。
497	拉2	550	口子拉得很长。

	Verb	Page	Example
498	落11	551	注释落过一次。
499	捞11	556	螃蟹就捞过一次。
500	捞12	557	好处也捞到过几次。
501	烙	558	油饼刚烙好三张。
502	垒	560	这道墙整整垒了三天。
503	理11	563	库里的东西还得理半天。
504	理12	563	根据以往的经验这人不能理。
505	理解	564	这些内容还得理解一段时间。
506	立11	565	牌子立出去两块了。
507	利用	566	水利资源才利用了很少一部分。
508	炼	569	这油还得炼一遍。
509	练习	571	曲子刚练习完一首。
510	淋	576	车子在外面淋了半天了。
511	淋	577	油漆还是淋到桶里吧。
512	领11	577	人领来半天了。
513	领12	578	证书领回来好几天了。
514	留13	584	按照要求这些照片都该留起来。
515	留14	585	这种东西按规矩留不得。
516	留15	586	东西留在他那儿了。
517	搂11	588	这块地里的麦吉得搂一天。
518	搂12	589	袖子搂起一只。
519	搂13	590	钱往回搂了不少。
520	录	593	广告已经录出来了。
521	落16	598	他们的户口落下了。
522	埋	602	铁盒埋在屋后了。
523	买	603	西服买回来了。
524	卖	604	这种鞋以前卖过一次。
525	摸11	613	这些展品按规定不能摸。
526	磨11	614	脚都磨出泡来了。
527	磨12	615	这把镰刀磨两回了。
528	磨14	616	时间磨掉了一半了。
529	抹11	616	口红抹到嘴唇下方了。
530	抹12	617	桌子抹干净了。
531	闹15	625	工潮在各大城市闹了起来。
532	拟定	626	大纲拟定了两三次。
533	捻	627	线绳捻了三根。

	Verb	Page	Example
534	碾	628	甘草碾进药里了。
535	捏11	631	沙粒捏纸上了。
536	拧11	633	衣服拧成麻花儿了。
537	扭12	636	腰扭了两次。
538	弄13	638	戏票比电影票好弄。
539	挪	639	桌子比柜子先挪出去的。
540	呕吐	641	肚子里的食物都呕吐到盆里了。
541	拍12	645	特写镜头拍了两个。
542	排12	648	这出戏比那出戏排得好。
543	排2	649	除了油烟其他有害气体也能排出去。
544	排出	650	水雷排除了一多半。
545	排列	651	由于人手问题卡片只排列出一部份。
546	派	651	活儿一连派了好多天。
547	派遣	652	慰问团已经派遣到前线了。
548	攀12	653	因为这一句话他这桩亲事就没攀上。
549	抛13	660	这些股票赶快往外抛。
550	培	666	雪都培到树根上了。
551	培养11	666	食用菌比疫苗好培养。
552	配12	672	这把钥匙配给老李。
553	配备	673	这部轿车配备给专家了。
554	捧11	676	鲜花捧在手里。
555	批11	679	一张假条批了两天。
556	批12	679	他的意见批到稿子上了。
557	批13	680	他的这套理论过去批过。
558	批发	681	那批货刚从这儿批发出去。
559	批准	683	二号方案比其他方案容易批准。
560	劈11	685	这几块木板劈了一下午。
561	劈12	686	一棵树劈成两半。
562	劈11	686	这几团毛线除了黑的都得劈开。
563	撇11	691	这个题目一直撇好几年。
564	撇12	692	豆皮跟豆子一块撇出去。
565	拼	693	因为板上的斑点图案没拼好。
566	平息	695	这场风波平息了两个月了。
567	评11	696	这出戏很可能要评到年底了。
568	评论	697	这部片子要评论到什么时候?
569	泼	698	沥青已经泼了一遍。

	Verb	Page	Example
570	破12	699	这堆柱子能破一阵子的。
571	破13	700	这个规矩破了好多年了。
572	破15	702	因为这个破绽案子很快就破了。
573	破除	702	这些旧习惯已经破除了好多年了。
574	破坏	703	八号现场比二号现场破坏得严重。
575	扑12	705	痲子粉扑了好几回了。
576	铺	706	沥青已经铺了两遍了。
577	普及	707	义务教育已经在农村日益普及。
578	漆	708	这扇门得再漆一遍。
579	沏	709	洗衣粉已经沏上半天了。
580	骑	711	那辆车一直骑到现在。
581	起13	714	痲子起过两回。
582	起14	714	因为这锈钉子怎么也起不出来。
583	起15	715	这个名字已起了好多年了。
584	起16	716	电教大楼刚起到三层。
585	起7	717	边境证已经起了一个星期了。
586	砌	719	院墙就在这个范围内砌。
587	牵	722	这群牲口得往回牵。
588	签11	724	名字签这儿。
589	签12	725	几点主要的看法都签在上面了。
590	签2	726	这两个被里签了一个多小时。
591	迁移	727	这些人在本月底都能迁移完。
592	欠1	729	我的脚欠了好一会儿了。
593	欠21	729	那笔帐一直欠到现在。
594	抢11	731	衣服抢了好几件。
595	抢12	732	镜头不要随便抢。
596	抢2	732	这黑灰还得往下抢。
597	呛	734	这孩子呛晕半天了。
598	敲11	734	这种鼓得照着谱子敲。
599	清理	741	这些东西先清理到院子里。
600	取消	752	该计划已取消一个多月了。
601	娶	753	媳妇已娶过来一个多月了。
602	圈	756	圈儿已经圈好了。
603	缺11	758	原料缺了好长时间了。
604	缺12	758	插图缺了两张。
605	缺乏	759	在我们那儿物资很缺乏。

	Verb	Page	Example
606	染11	760	这料子还得染一遍。
607	染12	761	这病在哪儿染上的？
608	让13	764	这块地皮让出去好长时间了。
609	绕11	766	线都绕到木板儿上了。
610	绕12	767	这一圈儿得绕到头儿。
611	惹11	768	这个乱子惹了好长时间了。
612	热	769	菜比饭好热。
613	认识	775	这种人倒是认识了几个。
614	扔11	776	铅球扔到线外了。
615	扔12	777	破烂儿扔过好几回了。
616	容纳	778	小床可以容纳八张。
617	揉12	779	这块面揉了两三遍了。
618	洒11	784	一瓢瓢清水洒向枯黄的稻秧。
619	撒	786	一勺糖没撒锅里,全撒外边了。
620	散11	790	因为这件事会提前散了。
621	散12	790	药味都散到屋里了。
622	散13	791	烟都散了好几回了,还没散尽。
623	散布	791	在会议结束之前一些谣言早就在厂子里散布开来了。
624	散发11	793	一股霉臭味一下子就散发出来了。
625	散发12	793	学习材料散发过两三回了。
626	散失11	795	那些手稿跟其他资料一起都散失了。
627	煞	807	这些箱子昨天就煞到车上了。
628	删	812	这个不确切的词临付排之前才删去。
629	商议	818	这件事终于商议出了一个头绪。
630	伤	819	这个小孩的骨头伤了两个星期了。
631	上110	829	这弦得往右上。
632	上111	830	实验课没上过几回。
633	上演	832	这出戏上演了三天了。
634	烧14	835	这盆花比那盆烧得厉害。
635	射11	842	球射在对大门的门柱上。
636	射12	843	水都射到院子里去了。
637	审11	846	这批稿子到下班时间还没审完。
638	审12	847	这个案子审了半年了。
639	生1	850	这小马驹生了七八天了
640	生2	850	豆芽都生到盆外边了
641	生3	851	这讨厌的疮生在后背上了

	Verb	Page	Example
642	生4	851	两个大炉子都生在西屋了
643	生产	852	这种新产品到五月份才能生产出来
644	升1	854	我们的国旗在运动场上升起过四次
645	升2	855	他的级别已经升过两回了
646	省2	857	这个环节省去好长时间了
647	盛产	857	这种水果盛产于南方
648	剩	858	饭又剩下了
649	胜	858	小王连续胜了三年了
650	胜利	859	他们的对手只胜利过一回
651	失败	860	这个试验昨天又失败了
652	失传	860	这种技术失传了
653	失灵	861	自行车的车闸失灵好几天了
654	失望	862	他们彻底失望了
655	失效	862	这些药都失效了
656	失掉	861	姑娘的勇气失掉了大半
657	施	863	化肥已经施过两遍了
658	施展	863	我们的全部手艺刚施展出一半
659	实现	865	全部计划只实现了三分之一
660	实行	866	奖学金制度已经实行了
661	拾掇1	869	仓库里积压的物资已经拾掇出一半了
662	拾掇2	869	收音机刚拾掇好一台
663	使	871	这杆毛笔使成了一根秃棍儿
664	使用	873	这种票证在指定商店里才能使用
665	试验	874	这种理疗机在三年前就试验出来了
666	逝世	875	这位伟大的科学家逝世了
667	是	876	这些珠宝在他眼中只是一堆泥土
668	释放	876	被关押的工人代表刚释放出三名
669	适合	877	这项规定在当时的情况下并不适合
670	适应	878	在南方, 这种植物很适应那里高温多雨的气候
671	收1	878	试卷全收齐了
672	收2	879	那几笔帐还没收上来
673	收3	880	晚熟品种的苹果八月份还收不了
674	收藏	883	这封信一直在纪念馆收藏着
675	收复	884	这块土地已经收复了好长时间了
676	收获	884	这种稻子一年可以收获三次
677	收集	885	资料还没收集全

	Verb	Page	Example
678	收拾2	888	那几辆破车一直收拾到下午四点钟
679	售	893	在作者的协助下,那批书很快就售完了
680	梳	894	辫子梳歪了
681	疏散	896	乡亲们好几次都疏散到了后山上
682	疏通	897	这条下水道疏通过两回了
683	输1	898	这瓶葡萄糖输了两个小时
684	输2	899	他挣下的钱全输在牌桌上了
685	赎	901	这些东西到现在还没赎出来
686	属	903	几年前这个地区才属北京市
687	属于	904	这些工厂属于国家
688	树立	904	这样的楷模在人们心中已经树立了好长时间了
689	竖	906	广告牌子一下子竖起了六七块
690	竖立	907	铜像竖立在广场上
691	衰退	910	爷爷的记忆力衰退了好长时间了
692	摔1	911	刘大伯的腿摔坏了好几年了
693	摔2	911	在试飞时,模型飞机从半空摔到了河里
694	摔3	912	家里的那个汤碗摔了两个星期了
695	摔4	913	裤子比上衣摔得干净
696	甩	913	鞭子在空中甩了个旋儿
697	拴	916	这些毛驴拴了一天了
698	涮1	917	这个杯子连盖儿也一块涮涮
699	顺	921	这些稿子顺过两遍了
700	撕	925	小男孩的衣服撕了一个三角口子
701	死	929	奶奶的鸡除了这只大公鸡全都死了
702	耸立	930	电视塔高高地耸立在人们的面前
703	送	930	这点货三五趟就送完了
704	搜	933	到现在赃物还没搜出来
705	搜查	934	楼上已经搜查过了
706	苏醒	936	被麻醉的大象苏醒了一会儿了
707	损坏	943	这些公物损坏了好长时间了
708	损失	944	这两只船都损失在这块海域上了
709	缩1	945	这条裤子缩了二寸
710	缩2	945	蜗牛的软软的身体往回缩了好几回
711	锁1	946	门锁上了
712	锁2	947	领口锁红线
713	抬1	949	他的头抬起来好一会了

	Verb	Page	Example
714	弹 1	950	额头上弹出一个小包来了
715	弹 2	951	这支曲子整整弹了半个小时
716	烫 2	953	裤子上烫出一个洞来
717	淘 2	955	那个坑比这个坑淘得干净
718	淘汰	955	因为质量的原因,那些货不久就淘汰了
719	讨 2	956	老婆讨回来两年了
720	讨论	956	除了伙食问题,别的问题都讨论过了
721	套 1	957	除了这件黄大衣,别的外衣都套不上去
722	套 2	958	那头牛套进车辕里去了
723	疼 1	958	伤口疼起来了
724	腾	959	李家的耕地只腾出了一亩
725	剔 1	960	因为刀的原因,这些排骨剔得不太干净
726	剔 3	960	这些废品剔出来几个星期了
727	踢	961	这场球踢了半个小时
728	提	962	二分局的方案已在会上提了两次了
729	提拔	963	这小子提拔到领导岗位上了
730	提倡	964	这种方法曾经提倡过一次
731	提高	964	办事效率提高了一点
732	提供	965	银行贷款提供到一九九三年
733	添	968	设备添过一回
734	填 1	969	枕芯儿填满了几个
735	填 2	970	志愿书填了两个月了
736	挑 1*1	970	坏萝卜挑过一回
737	挑 2	971	卤水跟豆腐一块儿挑回来吧
738	挑选	972	图书挑选好了一批了
739	调	973	出故障的微机调好两台了
740	调解	973	这个事情调解两年了
741	调整	974	你的名次调整到后面去了
742	挑 1	975	干草挑开了两捆了
743	挑 2	976	手上的刺挑出来两根了
744	贴	978	照片贴了两张
745	听	980	这出戏听十多遍了
746	听见	981	号音听见了几声
747	停 2	983	飞机停在停机坪上一架
748	停顿	983	除了开头,结尾也停顿了一下
749	通 1	984	这节烟筒比那节烟筒通得干净

	Verb	Page	Example
750	通过2	986	这项宏大的水利工程通过了一个星期了
751	通知	986	这个消息已经通知到你们单位了
752	捅1	988	这个窟窿捅得可不小
753	统一	989	大家的意见也统一过几次
754	偷	990	图纸已经偷到手了
755	投1	991	因为动作的问题,标枪没投多远
756	投2	991	这一票投给谁
757	投4	992	稿子已经投给报社了
758	透1	993	除了这个地方,哪儿都透风
759	透2	994	因为这一意外的变故,消息没透出去
760	透露	994	这事儿决不能透露到外面去
761	突出2	995	这个问题逐渐突出起来了
762	突击1	996	这些工事刚突击下来一个
763	突击2	996	稿子已经突击出来一篇了
764	涂1	997	油漆刚涂完一半
765	涂3	998	错别字涂去好几个
766	吐	1000	刚吃的东西吐出来不少
767	推1	1000	为了这项工程,围墙必须推到
768	推2	1001	这麦子还得推一遍
769	推3	1002	因为推子的问题,这个头没推好
770	推4	1003	工作都推在他一个人身上
771	推5	1003	因为工作,她的婚期推了好几次
772	推测	1004	今年的粮食产量现在还很难推测
773	推广	1005	这项技术比一般的技术好推广
774	推荐	1006	这个人还应往上推荐推荐
775	退	1007	按照规定,食品退不了
776	吞	1008	馒头已吞下去半天了
777	脱1	1008	因为化疗,她的头发都快脱光了
778	脱2	1008	棉衣脱了半个月了
779	拖	1010	那堆煤整整拖了两个多小时
780	拖延	1010	交稿日期拖延了好多天
781	驮	1012	这批货得整整驮三天
782	挖	1013	这沟都挖到咱家门口了
783	剃	1015	这垄葱还得剃半天儿
784	弯	1015	一根木头得弯一两个小时
785	完成	1016	他的作业就完成过两次

	Verb	Page	Example
786	玩儿	1017	因为他, 这把牌没玩儿好
787	挽1	1020	胳膊都挽出汗来了
788	挽2	1020	袖子挽出褶子来了
789	挽救	1021	这类病人没挽救过来几个
790	忘	1022	这事忘了好长时间了
791	围	1026	这个地方比那里围得还严
792	维持	1026	那儿的秩序因为人手的问题没能维持好
793	维护	1027	公民的有些权利还不能很好地维护
794	维修	1028	这房子得彻底维修一番
795	伪造	1029	这些钞票因为纸张的问题伪造得很不象
796	伪装	1029	炮车刚伪装好一辆
797	委托	1030	东西跟钥匙一起委托给邻居了
798	喂1	1031	这些鸭子晚上再喂一遍
799	喂2	1032	奶粉还能喂一个星期
800	慰问	1032	军属刚慰问了两户
801	温	1033	这水还得再温一遍
802	稳定	1034	病人的病情由于血压的关系现在还未能稳定住
803	问2	1037	这个犯人没问出什么东西
804	窝	1038	这个圈儿按要求得窝得圆一些
805	握	1039	这锄头把子一直握到现在
806	捂	1040	这豆子都捂出芽来了
807	误	1041	农时误过一回
808	误会	1041	父亲误会了我的意思
809	误解	1042	昨天, 姑娘误解了我的意思
810	吸1	1042	烟已经吸了几包了
811	吸3	1043	大头针吸上来十几根儿了
812	牺牲1	1044	他们牺牲在这片森林里
813	牺牲2	1044	我的财产牺牲了一半儿
814	洗1	1045	这件毛衣洗过两次了
815	洗2	1046	这张底板洗四五遍了
816	瞎	1047	宋伯伯的眼睛瞎了
817	下3	1048	通知昨天就下了
818	下5	1049	这盘棋下一上午了
819	下6	1049	小驹儿下了五六天了
820	下8	1050	除了你包的饺子, 别的饺子都已经下了
821	下降	1051	温度下降了

	Verb	Page	Example
822	掀	1051	褥子掀开几分钟了
823	献	1053	那块钻石献给国家很长时间了
824	限制	1054	外资企业还限制在部分地区
825	相等	1054	两边的长度相等
826	想 ²	1056	那首诗想出来三句了
827	向	1058	校门向着大街
828	像	1058	姐姐像妈妈
829	消除	1058	短期内, 障碍还消除不了
830	消灭	1059	这些敌人比黑鹰队好消灭
831	携带	1061	该用的东西除钢笔外都携带上了
832	写 ¹	1062	地址写到餐票上去了
833	写 ²	1063	剧本写出来了
834	泄露	1064	这一消息已泄露到外边去了
835	谢	1065	月季又谢了一遍
836	兴	1068	旗袍又兴起来了
837	醒 ¹	1069	病人醒过来了
838	醒 ²	1069	他们都醒了两次了
839	姓	1069	她姓彭
840	修 ¹	1069	除沙发外, 别的东西还没修好
841	修 ²	1070	铁路比公路修得慢
842	修 ³	1071	树冠都修成伞形了
843	修改	1071	稿子已经修改了两份儿
844	锈	1073	锄头锈了
845	绣	1073	几个鱼儿绣在右下方了
846	宣布	1074	新的规定只正式宣布过一回
847	选 ¹	1076	主角都选了半年了
848	选 ²	1077	代表选出来几周了
849	削减	1077	文艺活动费先后削减了两回
850	学习	1078	除附录材料外, 全书都学习过了
851	压 ¹	1080	那叠纸比这叠纸多压了一会儿
852	压 ²	1081	由于这场暴风雨, 油毡全压房子上了
853	压 ³	1082	价钱已经往下压过一回
854	压 ⁴	1083	这封信一直压在局长秘书手里
855	压缩	1085	除了立项费, 别的方面的费用也压缩掉了
856	押	1087	这家伙押到警察局了
857	哑	1087	嗓子哑了

	Verb	Page	Example
858	轧	1087	由于钢的质量, 钢管轧弯了
859	淹	1089	孩子的脖子昨天就淹了
860	腌	1089	咸菜腌两回了
861	研	1090	因为砚台的问题, 墨没研好
862	研究2	1091	分配方案研究出来了吗
863	沿	1092	除了鞋口, 帮上也沿上一条黑边儿
864	延期	1092	会议延期了
865	演	1093	因为政治上的原因, 这个片子没演成
866	演出	1093	这出剧目演出两个月了
867	掩盖1	1094	全部武器除两枝枪外统统用树枝掩盖起来
868	掩盖2	1095	你的罪行还准备掩盖到什么时候
869	咽	1096	瓜子儿咽到肚子里了
870	验	1096	这些血样可验了一阵功夫
871	养1	1097	那两个孩子在孤儿院里养着呢
872	养2	1097	七八只兔子没养活一只
873	养3	1098	孩子养在她姐家了
874	养活1	1099	穷人的孩子比富人的孩子好养活
875	养活2	1100	除了这种金鱼, 什么鱼都好养活
876	痒	1101	头皮痒痒
877	约	1101	这枣儿刚刚约过
878	邀请	1102	除了倩倩, 几个朋友都邀请来了
879	摇	1103	小狗的尾巴摇了好一阵
880	摇晃2	1104	吊灯摇晃了几下
881	咬1	1104	衣服上咬了一个窟窿
882	舀	1105	饭舀到碗外面了
883	噎	1106	这孩子喂饭的时候噎着了
884	移动	1108	这座雕像移动过一次
885	遗失	1109	那个提包已经遗失过一次
886	阴	1110	天阴了
887	引进	1111	我们的新品种比他们引进得早
888	引诱	1112	她比那个辣女人好引诱
889	隐瞒	1112	这事较一般的事好隐瞒
890	印	1113	数学讲义跟语文讲义同时印出
891	印刷	1113	这批连环画得印刷两个月
892	应付1	1116	这事比那事好应付
893	应付2	1117	这差事比别的差事好应付

	Verb	Page	Example
894	应用	1117	这门技术在数学系统中应用开了
895	用1	1119	多少钱都用在你身上了
896	优待	1121	午餐已经优待两天了
897	游	1122	华山比泰山游得尽兴
898	游览	1123	定陵游览了两次了
899	邮	1124	那几件邮件除了信都邮走了
900	有1	1125	这些坏毛病有了好久了
901	有2	1125	唐朝有很多诗人
902	预备	1127	茶水都预备了半天了
903	晕	1131	病人晕倒两个
904	运	1131	这批货马上运给你们
905	运输	1132	除了煤炭其他货物都运输完了
906	运用	1133	这个公式运用好多回了
907	酝酿	1134	一号方案比二号方案酝酿得成熟
908	熨	1134	这件衣服熨过两次
909	扎	1135	辫子一会儿就扎好了
910	砸1	1136	地基已经砸好了
911	砸2	1137	我的脚砸坏好长时间了
912	砸3	1138	沙锅砸好几个了
913	栽1	1138	树苗刚栽进去一捆
914	宰	1140	这只羊宰不出多少肉来
915	在1	1141	我离开教室的时候,东西还在呢
916	在2	1141	客人都在办公室
917	攒	1141	火柴盒攒了二十几个了
918	赞美	1143	这种品德要很好地赞美一番
919	葬送	1143	这场革命最终葬送在几个人的手里了
920	糟蹋1	1144	布料糟蹋了好几块
921	凿	1145	洞已经凿好了两个
922	造1	1146	因为技术上的问题,新机器还没造出来
923	造2	1147	假账造了好几本
924	增加	1148	工资比以前又增加了点儿
925	增强	1149	因为这些措施部队的战斗力大大地增强了
926	增添	1150	文学书籍增添了一些
927	扎	1152	你的耳朵眼儿比我的扎得好
928	铡	1153	玉米秸铡完六七捆了
929	炸	1153	土豆还要再炸几分钟

	Verb	Page	Example
930	炸1	1154	杯子炸了
931	炸2	1155	飞机炸毁了四架
932	摘1	1156	棉花得再摘一遍
933	摘2	1156	这样的例子也摘过两次
934	粘2	1158	台灯座粘好了一个
935	沾	1159	裤子刚才沾了点泥
936	展开	1159	图纸展开了三张
937	蘸	1160	这墨还可以蘸几次
938	占领	1160	那个山头比这块阵地早占领了一天
939	张	1165	他的嘴比别人的张得都大
940	掌握	1166	语法到现在还没掌握好
941	涨1	1167	豆子涨起来了
942	涨2	1168	脸涨得通红
943	胀1	1168	窗户胀过好几回
944	胀2	1168	肚子胀得厉害
945	招1.1	1168	技术员招到了几个
946	招1.2	1169	苍蝇招来一大群
947	招呼1	1171	孩子们就招呼回两个
948	着1	1173	除了脚上那块,这块伤也着过水
949	着2	1173	煤着起来了
950	找1	1174	东西找回了一些
951	找2	1174	粮票找回四两
952	罩	1175	饭跟菜罩在一起
953	召集	1176	这样的会以后还要召集一次
954	召开	1177	全厂大会只召开过一次
955	照1	1177	坏蛋照出了两个
956	照4	1179	黑白相片照了十几张
957	照顾1	1180	因为思想方法上的问题,有些关系未能照顾到
958	遮2	1182	为了病人,窗户总得遮得严严的
959	折腾2	1183	这点儿东西折腾了好几遍了
960	折腾3	1184	自从她得了这种病人都快折腾得只剩下一把骨头了
961	斟酌	1186	几个词句一直斟酌到现在
962	枕	1187	胳膊枕出了一道红印子
963	震	1188	茶具震碎了一套
964	震动1	1188	窗户震动了一下
965	镇压	1189	土匪头子镇压了几个

	Verb	Page	Example
966	征求	1191	订户又征求到一些
967	争夺	1192	奖牌争夺到五六块
968	争论	1193	这个理论问题在这些年里争论了好几次了
969	争取	1193	名额只争取到两个
970	蒸	1194	鸡蛋不要跟肉一起蒸
971	整顿	1195	音像市场在年底以前一定要整顿好
972	整理	1196	笔记已整理完了一半儿
973	挣	1199	这钱用什么方法挣来的
974	支	1200	山坡上临时的棚子支起了七、八个
975	织1	1203	双喜字织在中间
976	织2	1204	到春季,手套也没织出来
977	知道	1206	作为厂长,老赵刚知道这件事
978	指定	1210	下一步的任务已经指定下来好几天了
979	治1	1212	奶奶的病治过好多次了
980	治2	1214	这块地里的蚜虫已经治过一遍了
981	治理2	1215	到今年,这座山才彻底治理好
982	治疗	1216	他的病治疗了一个多月
983	制定	1217	这个公约制定了一年多了
984	制造1	1218	这个型号的缝纫机最早制造于三十年代
985	中断2	1221	一天之中,线路中断了好几次
986	中断2	1221	这里的供水昨天就中断了
987	肿	1222	他的脚都肿了
988	种	1222	菜园里韭菜只种了两畦
989	皱1	1225	爸爸的裤子皱了好几天了
990	皱2	1225	赵老师的眉头皱了几下
991	煮	1228	这些针头煮过一次了
992	住	1230	这个房间竟然住进了六个人
993	抓4	1234	因为主导思想上的问题,产品的质量一直抓不上去
994	转2	1235	这些证明转到这里两三天了
995	转变	1236	那个秘书的态度一下子就转变了
996	转移	1238	我们的工作重心转移了好长时间了
997	转	1239	风车慢慢地转了起来
998	装1	1240	这些货一直装到半夜
999	装2	1241	这条大街上路灯装了四十多盏
1000	装饰	1242	阳台都装饰上了盆花
1001	综合	1251	这些不同的观点全综合在报告中了

	Verb	Page	Example
1002	租	1256	临街的店铺租出去半年多了
1003	钻1	1260	这个地区油井钻出来五口了
1004	攥	1263	这个女人的一切都攥在他的手心里
1005	醉	1263	经理醉了
1006	坐1	1268	台上坐着主席团
1007	坐2	1268	这种飞机可以坐二百人
1008	坐3	1269	开水坐了好几壶了
1009	作	1270	到现在他的曲子也没作出来
1010	做1	1271	因为裁的问题这件衣服没做好
1011	做2	1272	这家的公司的生意都做到外国去了

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As a distinctive syntactic structure in Mandarin Chinese, the Patient-Subject Construction (PSC) is one of the most interesting but least well-understood structures in the language. This book offers a comprehensive account of the history, structure, meaning and use of the PSC. Unlike previous descriptions which were framed in terms of pre-existing grammatical notions such as ‘topicalization’, ‘passivization’ and ‘ergativization’, this book offers a fresh look at the PSC, in which its syntactic and semantic as well as its discourse functions are examined within the system of major construction-types of the language as a whole. The PSC, being low in transitivity, serves primarily the function of backgrounding in discourse. Typologically, the PSC bears a resemblance to middle constructions in Indo-European and other languages, raising interesting questions about ways to understand congruent and divergent syntactic structures across the world’s languages. This book will be of interest to students of Chinese Linguistics as well as Language Typology.



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