On the Unmarked Passivized Unergative Construction in Mandarin

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Abstract—This paper introduces a particular construction named the unmarked passivized uneragtive construction (UPUC). The aim of this paper is to explore the underlying structure of UPUC from generative syntax perspective. In this construction, the subject is an Affectee, affected by the following VO sequence. The VO sequence denotes a passive meaning. In the second part, this paper summarizes the unique grammatical properties of UPUC, then points out that the UPUC are a benefit construction and the Affectee has the inalienable possessive relation with the Theme. Then the paper analyzes the derivational process of UPUC.

Index Terms—passivized, unergative construction, generative syntax, affectee, inalienable possessive relation, unaccusative construction, three-place predicates, passive marker gei, body-part relationship

I. INTRODUCTION

This paper aims at giving an analysis of certain syntactic and semantic peculiarities of a special type of unmarked passive sentences in Mandarin Chinese, shown in (1)-(5).

- Zhangsan shenti. (1) zai yiyuan jiancha le Zhangsan at hospital check ASP body 'Zhangsan has his body checked in the hospital.' (2) Zhangsan zai lifadian fa.
- (2) Zhangsan zai lifadian li le fa.

 Zhangsan at barbershop cut ASP hair.

 'Zhangsan has his hair cut at a barbershop.'
- (3) Zhangsan ba le yi ke ya. Zhangsan pull-out ASP one CL tooth. 'Zhangsan has one of his teeth pulled out.'
- (4) Zhangsan chou le xie. Zhangsan took-out ASP blood 'Zhangsan has some of his blood taken out.'
- (5) Xiaogou yijing jian guo mao le. little dog already trim ASP hair SFP 'The little dog got its hair trimmed.'

The syntactic structure of these sentences is SVO, while the semantic (thematic) structure of these sentences can be loosely defined as Patient-Verb-Patient. The first patient can be understood as an Affectee, affected by the action denoted by the following VO sequence, while the second patient is the theme of the verb. However, the verbs occurring in these sentences are typical Agent-oriented transitive verbs, illustrated in (6)-(10).

- (6)(a) Yisheng jiancha le Zhangsan shenti. zai yiyuan hospital Zhangsan doctor check **ASP** body at 'The doctor has checked Zhangsan's body in the hospital.'
 - (b) Yisheng zai yiyuan gei Zhangsan jiancha le shenti. doctor at hospital GEI Zhangsan check ASP body
 - 'The doctor has checked Zhangsan's body in the hospital.'
- (7) (a) Lifashi li le Zhangsan de toufa. barber cut ASP Zhangsan DE hair 'The barber has cut Zhangsan's hair.'
 - (b) Lifashi gei Zhangsan li le fa. barber GEI Zhangsan cut ASP hair 'The barber has cut Zhangsan's hair.'
- (8)(a) Mama yijing jian guo xiao gou de mao le. mother already trim **ASP** little dog DE hair **SFP** 'Mother has already trimmed the little dog's hair.'
 - (b) Mama xiao gou yijing jian gei guo mao le. mother **GEI** little dog **SFP** already trim ASP hair 'Mother has already trimmed the little dog's hair.'

- (9) (a) Yayi ba le Zhangsan yi ke ya. dentist pull-out ASP Zhangsan one CL tooth 'The dentist has pulled out one of Zhangsan's teeth'
 - (b) Yayi gei Zhangsan ba le yi ke ya. dentist GEI Zhangsan pull-out ASP one CL tooth 'The dentist has pulled out one of Zhangsan's teeth'
- (10) (a) Hushi chou le Zhangsan 20 haosheng xie.
 nurse take-out ASP Zhangsan 20 c.c. blood
 'The nurse has taken-out Zhangsan's 20 c.c. blood.'
 - (b) Hushi gei Zhangsan chou le 20 haosheng xie. nurse GEI Zhangsan take-out ASP 20 c.c. blood 'The nurse has taken-out Zhangsan's 20c.c. blood.'

In (6a), the verb *jiancha* 'check' is a two-place predicate. The external argument assumes the semantic role of Agent, while the internal argument assumes the semantic role of Theme. With the same verb, we found different thematic structures represented by (1) and (6a), repeated here as (11).

- (11) (a) Zhangsan zai yiyuan jiancha le shenti.
 Zhangsan at hospital check ASP body 'Zhangsan has his body checked in the hospital.'
 - <Affectee> <Adjunct> <V> <Theme> <Agent> <Adjunct> <V> <Theme> Yisheng zai yiyuan jiancha de shenti. le Zhangsan doctor at hospital check ASP Zhangsan DE body 'The doctor has checked Zhangsan's body in the hospital.'

Based on the thematic structure of the sentence (11a), one analysis is to treat sentences (1)-(5) as examples of unaccusative constructions with retained object, illustrated by the following typical examples.¹

(12) Experiencer> <Adjunct> <V> <Theme>
(12) (a) Wangmian qi sui si le fuqin.
Wangmian seven year-old die ASP father
'When Wangmian was seven years old, his father died.'

- (b) Zhangsan bai le toufa. Zhangsan white ASP hair 'Zhangsan's hair became white.'
- (c) Zhangsan xia le yi zhi yanjing. Zhangsan blind ASP one CL eye 'One of Zhangsan's eyes became blind.'
- (d) Zuotian tamen fasheng le. yi chang che huo. yesterday they happen ASP one CL car accident 'Yesterday a traffic accident happened to them.'
- Tamen gongsi you chen chuan. yi SOU they company again sink **ASP** one CL boat 'Their company again had a boat sinking.'

The subjects in these examples assume the semantic role of Experiencer rather than Affectee. But the subjects in our data (1)-(5) assume the semantic role of Affectee rather than Experiencer. So the verbs in these two kinds of sentences should belong to different categories. If we compare (13a) with (13b), we can get the difference between Experiencer and Affectee quite clearly.

(13) (a) Zhangsan ba le yi ke ya.

Zhangsan pull-out ASP one CL tooth

'Zhangsan has one of his teeth pulled out.'

<Affectee>

(b) Zhangsan xia le yi zhi . yanjing. Zhangsan blind ASP one CL eye 'One of Zhangsan's eyes became blind.'

<Experiencer>

The subject *Zhangsan* in (13a) is Affectee and is affected by the action *ba ya* 'pull a tooth out'. This action should be performed by an Agent which is a covert one like *yisheng* 'doctor'. The subject *Zhangsan* in (13b), however, is an Experiencer, which means *Zhangsan* has experienced the event of his eyes becoming blind. This event is not performed by any Agent. Based on this difference, we would propose that (13a) and (13b) are different syntactic constructions. We would argue that (13a) is an unmarked (with no passive marker) passive sentence with a three-place unergative verb,

¹ Examples from (12) are from Huang (2007).

while (13b) is an active sentence with a two-place unaccusative verb.

II. SOME GRAMMATICAL PROPERTIES OF UPUC

In this section, we will describe the grammatical properties of the unmarked passivized unergative construction (UPUC) introduced in the previous section, and pave a way for the syntactic analysis in section 4.

A. The Verb in UPUC

The UPUC illustrated in (1)-(5) can be transformed into *gei* construction, shown in (6)—(10). In these counterpart constructions, the Agent-oriented verb of UPUC can take three arguments which are Agent, Affectee and Theme, shown in (14)-(18).

- (14) Yisheng zai yiyuan gei Zhangsan jiancha le shenti. doctor at hospital GEI Zhangsan check ASP body 'The doctor has checked Zhangsan's body in the hospital.'
- (15) Lifashi gei Zhangsan li le fa. barber GEI Zhangsan cut ASP hair 'The barber has cut Zhangsan's hair.'
- (16) Mama gei xiaogou jian le mao. mother GEI little dog trim ASP hair 'Mother has trimmed the hair of the little dog.'
- (17)(a) Yayi gei Zhangsan ba le yi ke ya. dentist **GEI** Zhangsan pull-out ASP one CL tooth 'The dentist has pulled out one of Zhangsan's teeth'
 - (b) Yayi ba le Zhangsan yi ke ya. dentist pull out ASP Zhangsan one CL tooth 'The dentist has pulled out one of Zhangsan's teeth.'
- (18)(a) Hushi gei Zhangsan chou 20 haosheng le. xie. **GEI ASP** nurse Zhangsan take-out 20 c.c. blood 'The nurse has taken-out Zhangsan's 20c.c. blood.'
 - (b) Hushi chou le Zhangsan 20 haosheng xie.
 nurse take-out ASP Zhangsan 20 c.c. blood.
 'The nurse has taken-out Zhangsan's 20c.c. blood.'

The above sentences show that all UPUC can be transformed into *gei* construction. *Gei* construction in Mandarin can be a kind of double object construction (DOC) (Harley, 2003). Examples in (17b) and (18b) are DOC, which are similar with rob-type DOC. But we observed that being different from sentences in (17) and (18), the rob-type DOC does not have a counterpart of *gei* construction. Otherwise, the meaning will be contradictory. Comparing (19a) and (19b), we can see the latter change is very odd and it changes the original meaning, which is different from (18a) and (18b)

- (19) (a) Daozei qiang le Lisi wubaikuai qian. robber rob ASP Lisi \$500 money 'Lisi's \$500 was robbed by the robber.'
 - (b) * Daozei gei Lisi qiang le wubaikuai qian. robber GEI Lisi rob ASP \$500 money 'The robber robbed of \$500 for Lisi.'
 - (c) Lisi qiang le wubaikuai qian. Lisi rob ASP \$500 money 'Lisi robbed \$500.'

We know that *gei* has the meaning of 'do-for'. From semantic aspect, the meaning of *Daozei* 'robber' do robbing money for *Lisi* violates the original meaning. The verb *qiang* 'rob' in (19c) is an unergative verb with two place predicate while the verb in UPUC is three-place unergative verb. The subject NP *Lisi* performed the action *qiang le wubaikuai qian* 'robbed someone of \$500'. So *Lisi* takes the thematic role of Agent. However, the subject NP of UPUC takes the thematic role of Affectee. So the rob type DOC like (19c) does not have its counterpart of UPUC.

B. UPUC and Ba Construction

The UPUC can be transformed into ba construction. Now let's look at the transformed ba construction of UPUC:

- Zhangsan yiyuan ba shenti jiancha (20)zai le. Zhangsan BA check **SFP** at hospital body 'Zhangsan has his body checked in the hospital.'
- (21)Zhangsan lifadian ba li zai toufa le. Zhangsan at barbershop BA hair cut SFP 'Zhangsan has his hair cut at a barbershop.'

- (22) Zhangsan ba yi ke ya ba le. Zhangsan BA one CL tooth pull-out SFP 'Zhangsan has one of his teeth pulled out.'
- (23) Zhangsan ba xie chou le Zhangsan BA blood take-out SFP 'Zhangsan has some of his blood taken out.'
- (24) Zhangsan ba che xiu le. Zhangsan BA car repaire SFP 'Zhangsan has his car repaired'

From semantic aspect, the Affectee in UPUC has intention of accepting the action which is denoted by the following VO sequence, so in *ba* construction the Affectee can be also understood as a causer. Actually, *ba* itself has the meaning of 'cause'. However, the Experiencer in the unaccusative construction does not have the intention of accepting the action denoted by the following VO. In other words, the Experiencer does not cause the event of his father dying. If the sentence containing two-place unaccusative verb is transformed into *ba* construction, then the derived sentence sounds very bad, shown in (25).

(25)(a) * Zhangsan yi yanjing xia le ba zhi Zhangsan BA CLblind SFP one eye 'Zhangsan made one of his eyes blind.' (b) * Wangmian ba fugin si le Wangmian BA father **SFP** die

'Wangmian had his father died on him.'

In Mandarin, the above sentences are ungrammatical ones. Therefore, the sentence containing two-place unaccusative verb cannot be ba-transformed.

C. The Obligatory Possession Relation between the Two Arguments

In UPUC, the possessive relation is obligatorily required between the Affectee and the Theme. However, in unaccusative construction, the possession relation between the Experiencer and the Theme is not necessary, which has been extensively argued in Huang's article (Huang, 2007). The details are illustrated in (26)².

- (26) (a) Ta jia lai le xuduo yaofande. he home come ASP many beggar 'Many beggars has arrived in his home.'
 - (b) Zhongguo chu le ge Mao Zedong. China exit ASP CL Mao Zedong 'China emerged a Mao Zedong.'
 - (c) Zhangsan de erzi zhang chu liang menya. le Zhangsan DE exit **ASP** CL tooth son grow two 'Zhangsan's son grew two front teeth.'
 - (d) Ta qi le yi shen jipigeda. he rise ASP one body google pimple 'He rose a whole body-full of google pimples.'

In the above example, the subject assumes thematic role of Experiencer. The object assumes thematic role of Theme. There is no possessive relation between Experiencer and Theme.

D. The Beneficiary Subject of UPUC

The thematic role of the subject of UPUC must be beneficiary. In the previous discussion, we have compared (17) with (19) and claimed that in the transformed *gei* construction of UPUC, *gei* means 'do-for'. In (17), the Affectee *Zhangsan* is a beneficiary. The sentence means *Zhangsan* gets benefit from the event of pulling out his tooth. However, the Affectee *Lisi* in (19) is a loser and loses his money. (19a) cannot be transformed into *gei* construction with a benefit meaning. Let's compare (17) with another group of sentences, illustrated in (27) and (28). Example (17) is repeated here as (27).

- (27) (a) Yayi ba le Zhangsan yi ke ya. **ASP** Zhangsan dentist pull out one CL tooth 'The dentist has pulled out one of Zhangsan's teeth.'
 - (b) Yayi gei Zhangsan ba le yi ke ya dentist GEI Zhangsan pull-out ASP one CL tooth 'The dentist has pulled out one of Zhangsan's teeth'
- (28)Tufei ge le Zhangsan yi zhi erduo. Zhangsan handit cut **ASP** CL one ear 'The bandit cut one of Zhangsan's ears.'

² Examples in (26) are from Huang (2007).

- (b) * Tufei zhi gei Zhangsan le yi erduo. ge **ASP** bandit **GEI** Zhangsan CLcut one ear 'The bandit cut one ear for Zhangsan.'
- (c) * Zhangsan ge le yi zhi erduo. Zhangsan cut ASP one CL ear 'Zhangsan cut one ear.'

(28a) is a kind of lose-type double object construction, which is different from the DOC with a benefit meaning shown in (27a). So in semantic aspect, the indirect object *Zhangsan* in (27a) is a beneficiary while the outer object *Zhangsan* in (28) is a loser. Only the uncanonical DOC with a benefit meaning can be transformed into *gei* construction like (27b). The canonical DOC with a "lose" meaning cannot be *gei* transformed because *gei* implies a benefit meaning which is equal to 'do-for'. Otherwise, the sentence meaning will be completely changed shown in (28b), which means the bandit cut one ear for *Zhangsan*. However, the sentence in (28a) can be understood as a kind of affective construction (Tsai, 2005). Tsai (2005) proposed that the lose type DOC belongs to the affective construction (Tsai, 2005). Tsai (2005) also discussed the *gei* marked affective construction and analyzed their passivized form in which *gei* is similar to a passive marker (Tsai, 2005), shown below:

- (29) (a) Ta juran gei wo pao le he unexpectedly GEI me run SFP 'He unexpectedly escaped from my hand.'
 - (b) Wo juran gei ta pao le. I unexpectedly GEI him run SFP 'He unexpectedly escaped from my hand.'

So we can treat sentence in (29b) as the passivized affective construction. The Affectee Ta 'he' occupies the subject position which is affected by the following clause which denotes a bad event. So we can see that the DOC with benefit meaning in (27a) is different from the lose-type or rob-type DOC. Furthermore, the former has its counterpart of UPUC while the latter dose not. Otherwise, the sentence loses the original meaning, shown in (28c). The subject Zhangsan is not the beneficiary, which fails to meet the requirement of the UPUC.

In the following discussions we will focus on the syntactic structure and the derivation of UPUC.

III. LITERATURE REVIEW

The UPUC is a special construction, which has attracted more and more attention among the researches. The recent study about this construction is by Li (2007). In her study, she proposed that this construction contains a passive meaning and there is a possessive relation between the subject and object (Li, 2007). Her analyses mainly focus on showing the semantic and pragmatic properties of this construction. The underlying syntactic structure of the UPUC has not been dealt with in her study.

The typical unaccusative construction in (12a) is a similar one which has been discussed extensively in literature (Tan, 1991; Pan, 1998; Xu, 1999, 2001; Han, 2005; Shen, 2006). Generally speaking, the derivation of (12a) is different from the UPUC because they have different syntactic structures. Following Hole (2006) and Huang (2007), the argument structure of Chinese verbs can be modified by adding extra arguments (Hole, 2006; Huang, 2007). Hence intransitive unaccusative and unergative verbs can take two or more arguments.

A. The Introduction of Extra Argumentality

Hole (2006) proposed the syntactic functions of extra arguments (Hole, 2006). First, some extra arguments have the subject function. In such sentences, the main verbs are usually unaccusative verbs, shown as (30)³

The direct object *luntai* 'tyre' should be the subject of the sentence with the intransitive verb *bao* 'burst'. The extra argument *Che* 'car' in the subject position in (30) and the more deeply embedded argument *luntai* 'tyre' constitute a part-whole relation. We can see that the extra argument in the subject position is not the topic of a sentence. This sentence is different from the Chinese topics because the topic sentence cannot exist in a question-answer sequence. But the sentence with extra argument can be in a question-answer pair.

Second, the extra arguments in some sentences have the object function. The relation between the extra argument and

³ Example in (30) is from Hole (2006).

Theme is called external possession, shown in (32):

(32) Xiao Wang chi le wo yi ge dangao. little Wang eat ASP I one CL cake 'Little Wang ate one of my cakes.'

The direct object *dangao* 'cake' is part of or possessed by the extra argument *wo* 'I'. The main verb *chi* 'eat' is originally transitive, but in this sentence, the verb *chi* 'eat' is ditransitive. The ditransitive construction is typically found that the indirect object (extra argument) loses something, or that the indirect object is exempted from something. In (32), the extra argument *wo* 'I' lose *dangao* 'cake'. However, there are rarely sentences with verbs that have the indirect object coming into the possession of something, like *gei* (or *song*) 'give' sentences.

Hole (2006) further proposed that some *ba* constructions contain extra argument positions (Hole, 2006). We now should look at the typical *ba* construction which is derived from the transitive construction with a subject and a direct object, shown as (33):

- (33)
 (a) Ta zuo wan le zuoye.
 he do up ASP homework
 'He finished his homework.'
 (b) Ta ba zuoye zuo wan le
 - (b) Ta ba zuoye zuo wan le. he BA homework do up SFP 'He finished his homework.'

The direct object *zuoye* 'homework' moves to the preverbal *ba* position. Then the typical *ba* sentence shown in (33b) denotes a high transitive event. But this *ba* sentence does not involving extra argument.

In some ba constructions, there are retained objects following the verbs. We call it post verbal object. Hole (2006) proposes if the preverbal ba object co-occurs with the post verbal object, the extra argument position realizes in the ba construction (Hole, 2006), shown as (34)⁴.

- (34) (a) Zhangsan ba men shang le suo. Zhangsan BA door put-on ASP lock 'Zhangsan put a lock on the door.'
 - (b) Tamen ba zhu fang le xie. they BA pig release ASP blood 'They drained the pig of its blood.'
 - (c) Ta ba juzi bo le pi. he BA orange peel ASP peel 'He removed the peel of the orange.'

The example in (34a) shows that something shown as suo 'lock' is added as a part to the whole shown as men 'door'. (34b) and (34c) show that the Theme ends up away from or detaches from the extra argument. So the part-whole relation exists between the extra argument and the Theme. Hole (2006) concludes that only when the more deeply embedded Theme argument is a functional or essential part of the extra argument, the ba construction can add extra argument position (Hole, 2006).

B. The Comparison between Unaccusative and Unergative Construction

Normally, unaccusative verbs and unergative verbs are two different types of intransitive verbs. An unaccusative verb takes an internal argument as the object in its underlying structure. The unaccusative verb does not have the ability to assign accusative case, so the internal argument moves from the object position to the subject position. The unergative intransitive verb takes an external argument as the subject. The thematic structures of these two different intransitive verbs are totally different, shown as (35) and (36).

le ti.

SFP

<internal argument> (underlying structure) (a) [Zhangsan de yanjing]i xia Zhangsan DE eye blind

'Zhangsan's eyes became blind.'

<Theme>

<internal argument> (underlying structure)

- (b) [Wangmian de fuqin]i si le ti Wangmian DE father die SFP 'Wangmian's father died.'
 - <Theme>

<external argument>

(36) (a) Xiaoming ku guo le.
Xiaoming cry ASP SFP
'Xiaoming has cried.'

<Agent>

(35)

⁴ Examples in (34) are from Hole (2006).

<external argument>

(b) Lisi xiao le.
doctor laugh SFP
'The doctor has laughed.'

<Agent>

In (35), xia 'blind' and si 'die' are one-place unaccusative verb. The argument Zhangsan de yanjing 'Zhangsan's eye' and Wangmian de fuqin 'Wangmian's father' originally occupy the internal argument positions in the underlying structures and both assume the thematic role of Theme. They move to the subject positions to fulfill the Case requirement. In (36), ku 'cry' and xiao 'laugh' are one-place unergative verbs. The subject Xiaoming and Yisheng 'doctor' occupy external argument both in underlying structure and surface structure. These two subjects assume the thematic role of Agent.

Second, we mentioned that the two types of intransitive verb can be transitivized by adding different arguments. A one-place unaccusative verb can become transitive verb with two-place predicate by adding an external argument. Whereas a one-place unergative verb can become transitive verb with two-place predicate by adding an internal argument. The different thematic structures between these two verbs are shown in (37) and (38).

_								, ,		
		<external argument=""></external>					<internal argument=""></internal>			
(37)	(a)	Zhangsan		xia	le	yi	zhi	yanjing.		
		Zhangsan		blind	ASP	one	CL	eye		
	'One of Zhangsan's eyes became blind.'									
		<experien< td=""><td>icer></td><td><v></v></td><td></td><td></td><td><</td><td>Theme></td></experien<>	icer>	<v></v>			<	Theme>		
		<exteranl a<="" td=""><td>rgument></td><td></td><td colspan="6"><internal argument=""></internal></td></exteranl>	rgument>		<internal argument=""></internal>					
	(b)	Wangmian	_	qi	sui	si	le	fuqin.		
		Wangmian		seven	year-old	die die	ASP	father		
'When Wangmian was seven years old, his father died.'										
		<experien< td=""><td>icer></td><td>_</td><td></td><td><v:< td=""><td>></td><td><theme></theme></td></v:<></td></experien<>	icer>	_		<v:< td=""><td>></td><td><theme></theme></td></v:<>	>	<theme></theme>		
		<external a<="" th=""><th>rgument></th><th></th><th></th><th><ii< th=""><th>nternal</th><th>argument></th></ii<></th></external>	rgument>			<ii< th=""><th>nternal</th><th>argument></th></ii<>	nternal	argument>		
(38)	(a)	(a) Zhangsan		xiao guo			Lisi.			
	Zhangsan			laugh ASP			Lisi			
	'Zhangsan laughed at Lisi.'									
		<agent></agent>	< V >		<th< td=""><td colspan="3"><theme></theme></td></th<>	<theme></theme>				
		<external a<="" th=""><th></th><th></th><th><ir< th=""><th colspan="3"><internal argument=""></internal></th></ir<></th></external>			<ir< th=""><th colspan="3"><internal argument=""></internal></th></ir<>	<internal argument=""></internal>				
	(b) Zhangsan zhengzai			ku	ta sic	qu d	le fuc	qin.		
		Zhangsan	just now	cry	he di	ie D	E fat	ther		
	'Zhangsan is crying for l Agent>				<v></v>		<theme></theme>			
TOTAL .		(25)				•				

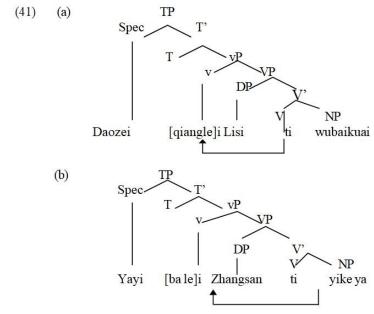
The sentences in (37) are unaccusative constructions with two-place predicates. In (37a), the external argument *Zhangsan* assumes the thematic role of Experiencer. The sentence means Zhangsan experienced the event of eye becoming blind. In (37b), the intermediate argument *Wangmian* assumes the thematic role of Experiencer. *Wangmian* experienced the event that his father died. The sentences in (38) are unergative constructions with two-place predicates, which have the typical **Agent V Patient** structure meaning the Agent did something to the patient.

Third, the unaccusative and unergative verb can be applied to three-place predicates. Both three-place unaccusative and unergative constructions contain an external argument, an internal argument and an intermediate argument. In Mandarin Chinese, the give-type double object construction belongs to unaccusative constructions with two-place predicates. The rob-type double object constructions and the UPUC belong to unergative constructions with three-place predicates. The differences between the two constructions are shown in (39) and (40).

	Xiaoming	song	le	1	_1S1	yı	ben	shu.			
	Xiaoming	give	ASP	I	_isi	one	CL	book			
'Xiaoming gave Lisi one book.'											
<causer> <experiencer></experiencer></causer>						>		<theme></theme>			
(a)	Daozei	qiang	le	Lisi	wuba	ikuai	qian.				
	robber	rob	ASP	Lisi	\$500		money				
'Lisi's \$500 was robbed by the robber.'											
<agent></agent>			<affectee></affectee>					<theme></theme>			
(b)	Yayi	ba	le	Zha	ngsan	yi	ke	ya.			
	dentist	pull-out	ASP	Zha	angsan	one	CL	tooth			
'The dentist has pulled out one of Zhangsan's teeth'											
<agent></agent>			<affectee></affectee>					<theme></theme>			
	` '	Xiaoming s 'Xiaoming s 'Causer> (a) Daozei robber 'Lisi's \$50 <agent> (b) Yayi dentist 'The denti</agent>	Xiaoming give 'Xiaoming gave Lisi o <causer> (a) Daozei qiang robber rob 'Lisi's \$500 was rob' <agent> (b) Yayi ba dentist pull-out 'The dentist has pull-</agent></causer>	Xiaoming give ASP 'Xiaoming gave Lisi one book. <causer> (a) Daozei qiang le robber rob ASP 'Lisi's \$500 was robbed by th <agent> (b) Yayi ba le dentist pull-out ASP 'The dentist has pulled out or</agent></causer>	Xiaoming give ASP II 'Xiaoming gave Lisi one book.' <causer> <expectage \$500="" 'lisi's="" (a)="" asp="" by="" caused="" daozei="" le="" lisi="" qiang="" rob="" robbe<="" robbed="" robben="" robber="" td="" the="" was=""><td>Xiaoming give ASP Lisi 'Xiaoming gave Lisi one book.' <causer></causer></td><td>Xiaoming give ASP Lisi one 'Xiaoming gave Lisi one book.' <causer></causer></td><td>Xiaoming give ASP Lisi one CL 'Xiaoming gave Lisi one book.' <causer></causer></td></expectage></causer>	Xiaoming give ASP Lisi 'Xiaoming gave Lisi one book.' <causer></causer>	Xiaoming give ASP Lisi one 'Xiaoming gave Lisi one book.' <causer></causer>	Xiaoming give ASP Lisi one CL 'Xiaoming gave Lisi one book.' <causer></causer>			

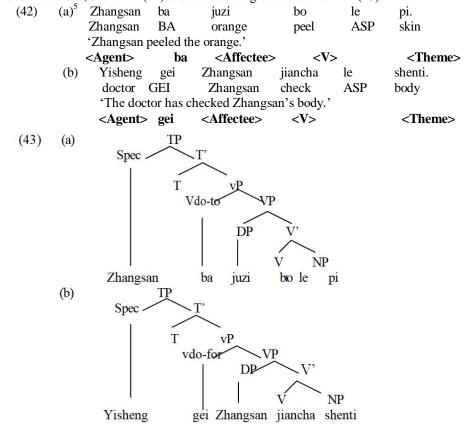
In (39), the unaccusative verb *song* 'give' means 'cause to have'. The intermediate argument *Lisi* assumes the thematic role of Experiencer. The sentence means Xiaoming caused Lisi to have a book. The sentences in (40) contain light verb positions in the underlying structures. Huang (2007) proposes this light verb can attract the main verb and

merge together (Huang, 2007). The tree diagrams are shown in (41):



The intermediate argument *Lisi/Zhangsan* assumes the thematic role of Affectee. (41a) means the robber did the action of robbing \$500 to *Lisi*. (41b) means the doctor did the action of pulling out teeth for *Zhangsan*.

Moreover, the underlying structure of *ba* construction with retained object and *gei* construction is similar to the underlying structure of the sentences shown in (42), but the light verb position is occupied by *ba* or *gei*, and the main verb does not move, shown in (42) and the tree diagrams are shown in (43).



In (43a), the Affectee *juzi* 'orange' has been affected by the action denoted in the following VP phrase. The sentence means *Zhangsan* did the action of peeling skin to oranges. In (43b), the Affectee *Zhangsan* gets benefit from the action denoted in the following vP phrase. The sentence means the doctor did the action of checking body for *Zhangsan*. In the previous discussion, we have analyzed that the *ba* sentence in (43a) contains an extra argument. The retained object *pi* 'peel' assuming the Theme is a functional or essential part of the extra argument *juzi* 'orange'. Here we observed that

⁵ Example in (42)a is from Huang (2007).

the *gei* sentence in (43b) also contains an extra argument *Zhangsan*. Similarly, all the transformed *gei* constructions of UPUC shown in (14)-(18) are observed to contain extra arguments. We have discussed in section 2 that the preverbal *gei* object has inalienable possession with the Theme argument. Specifically, the Theme *shenti* 'body', *ya* 'tooth', *toufa* 'hair' or *xie* 'blood' is one part of the whole body. So the Theme argument has a functional or essential part-whole relation with the extra argument in the preverbal *gei* position.

C. The Affective Construction and UPUC

We have earlier discussed that UPUC can be transformed into gei construction or double object construction shown in (14)-(18). These constructions are similar to the affective construction proposed by Tsai (2005). He claimed that in the Chinese affective construction, the external argument takes the role of Affectee, which is affected by the event argument containing the main verb (Tsai, 2005). He analyzed that there is a null-operator in the underlying structure and it is co-indexed with the event argument (Tsai, 2005). They formed the complex predicate which takes the Affectee as the outer object of the vP phrase. The typical sentence among this kind of construction mentioned by Tsai (Tsai, 2005) is marked by gei, shown in $(44)^6$.

(44) [Ta]k juran gei wo [Opi [PROk pao le (Ei)]]. he unexpectedly GEI me run ASP 'He unexpectedly escaped from my hand.'

The PRO in the embedded vP is controlled by the subject Ta 'he'. The null-operator is co-indexed with event argument represented by E. They form a complex predicate and it selects the Affectee wo 'me' as the outer object.

Let's go back to the example (14)-(18). Take (15) as an example shown in (45):

(45) [Lifashi]k gei Zhangsan [Opi [PROk li le fa (Ei)]]. barber GEI Zhangsan cut ASP hair 'The barber has cut Zhangsan's hair.'

Being similar to the affective construction, the Affectee in the transformed gei construction of UPUC is

affected by the following event argument. We can assume that this transformed gei construction also contains a null-operator which is co-indexed with the event argument.

Tsai (2005) also analyzed that the uncanonical double object construction shown in (46)⁷ is a kind of covert affective construction (Tsai, 2005).

(46) (a) Ah Q qiang le xiao D webaikuai qian. Ah Q rob ASP little D \$500 money 'Ah Q robbed \$500 from xiao D.'

(b) Ah Q yigong xiu le Wang iia san shan men. Ah Q totally repair ASP Wang house three CLdoor 'Ah Q repaired totally three doors of Wang's house.'

In the above sentences, the external argument *xiao D* and *Wang jia* 'Wang's house' is affected by the event argument denoted by the embedded clause. The event which influences the Affectee can be either good thing or bad thing. (46a) shows a bad thing while (46b) shows a good thing.

Take the uncanonical DOC (17b) and (18b) as examples. Being similar to the example (46a), they can also be analyzed as covert affective construction. The event in the embedded clause only expresses good thing. The Affectee is a beneficiary in obligatory.

In sentence of UPUC, the Affectee occupies the external argument position and assumes to be affected by the action denoted in the following VP. From semantic aspect, this structure is very close to the passivized affective construction mentioned by Tsai (2005), shown in (47).

(47) Wo juran gei ta pao le. I unexpectedly GEI him run ASP

'He unexpectedly escaped from my hand.'

Compared with (44), (47) conveys a passive meaning. The Affectee Wo 'I' occupies the external argument position. It is affected by the following event denoted by the clause *ta pao le* 'he escaped from my hand'. The sentence (48) is also a kind of passivized affective construction mentioned by Tsai (2005).

(48) Lisi gei Zhangsan jin san ge qiu. ti 1e Lisi **GEI** Zhangsan kick enter **ASP** three CL ball 'Lisi kicked three balls into Zhangsan's goal.'

Tsai (2005) also proposed that some covert affective constructions have the passivized form such as rob type DOC and the DOC with the meaning of consumption (Tsai, 2005). The examples are shown in (49) and (50)⁸:

(49) (a) Ah Q qiang le xiao D wubaikuai qian. Ah Q rob ASP little D \$500 money 'Ah Q robbed \$500 from xiao D.'

⁷ Examples in (46) are from Tsai (2005).

⁶ Example in (44) is from Tsai (2005).

⁸ Examples in (49) and (50) are from Tsai (2005).

- (b) wubaikuai Xiao D bei Ah Q giang le. qian. little D **BEI** Ah Q rob ASP \$500 money 'Xiao D's \$500 was robbed by Ah Q.'
- (50)Ah Q zuotian he diao xiao D ping pijiu. san Ah Q yesterday drink ASP little D three bottle wine 'Ah Q drank xiao D's three bottles of wine.'
 - (b) Xiao D zuotian bei Ah Q he diao san ping pijiu. Little D yesterday BEI Ah Q drink ASP three bottle wine 'Little D's three bottles of wine was drunk by Ah Q yesterday.'

Tsai (2005) argues that only the indirect object which assumes the Affectee in the covert affective construction can become the external argument in the passive form (Tsai, 2005). We observed that the Affectee in the external argument position was affected by the following negative thing. These properties also fit for the UPUC in (4) and (5), repeated (4) here:

(51) Zhangsan chou le xie. Zhangsan took-out ASP blood 'Zhangsan has some of his blood taken out.'

The difference is that the event denoted in the following VP expresses a good thing. Take sentence (4) as an example. The Affectee *Zhangsan* in the external argument position is affected by the following event *chou le xie* 'take out the blood'. The sentence means Zhangsan got benefit from the action of taking out some of his blood. We assume that the UPUC is a passivized form of *gei* construction or uncanonical double object construction, that is to say the UPUC is derived from unergative constructions with three-place predicates. The Affectee undergoes A-movement to occupy the external argument position. This passivized construction denotes a beneficiary meaning.

IV. THE DERIVATION OF UPUC

Before our analyses on the above assumption, we should first have a review on Chinese passivization process. In this section, we review three influential analyses.

A. Ting (1998)

Ting (1998) proposed that there are two different ways to derive short passives and long passives distinctively (Ting, 1998). The passive marker *bei* in the long passives is different from the one in the short passives. Specifically speaking, *bei* in the short passives selects a VP phrase as its complement whereas *bei* in the long passives selects a TP clause as its complement. The derivation of short passives undergoes A-movement. The long passives structure involves a null operator and its derivation undergoes A'-movement.

For the short passives, the subject theta-role is suppressed because the verb is passivized. And the verb immediately follows *bei* loses the ability of assigning Case to its object. Then the internal argument in object position moves to the subject position to get Case for the Case filter. This can be shown in (52a).

(52)(a) [Xiaoming de qian]i bei [VP PRO qiang le ti] Xiaoming DE money BEI **SFP** 'Xiaoming's money was robbed.' (b) [Xiaoming]i [VP PRO giang wubaiyuan bei le gian ti] **ASP** Xiaoming rob \$500 money 'Xiaoming's \$500 was robbed.'

If the VP phrase contains a retained object (inner object) as in (52b), the head of VP combines it to form a complex verb. The passive marker *bei* selects this complex verb as complement and makes it fail to assign Case to the outer object. Then the outer object moves to the specific position of the structure.

For the long passives, Ting (1998) argued that the TP clause following *bei* is an infinite clause. *bei* has the ability of assigning case to the subject of the embedded clause (Ting, 1998). He analyzed that there is an A'-configuration with a null operator in the underlying structure (Ting, 1998). The embedded object NP moves to the subject position through A'-movement. And the null operator argument is co-indexed with the subject by A'-binding, shown in (53a).

(53)(a) [Xiaoming de wubaiyuan qian]i [Opi xiaotou qiang le ti] Xiaoming DE \$500 thief **SFP** 'Xiaoming was robbed by the thief.' (b) [Xiaoming]i bei [Opi xiaotou qiang le wubaiyuan qian ti] Xiaoming BEI thief **ASP** \$500 money 'Xiaoming's \$500 was robbed by the thief.'

The long passive structure contains a null operator co-indexed with the subject preceded by *bei*. Ting (1998) analyzed that the Chinese long passive behaves like the Complement Object Deletion in English. *bei* selects a clause as its complement (Ting, 1998). In the embedded clause, the object first moves to the null operator position, which is co-indexed with the subject. If the clause contains a retained object, the verb combines with it to form a complex predicate

as shown in (53b).

B. James Huang (1999)

Huang (1999) proposed that there are two ways to get passives. One way is for long passives, the other one is for short passives (Huang, 1999). The subject is base-generated because it is sometimes not purely patient or theme, which can be supported by subject-orientated adverb such as *guyi* 'intentionally' shown in the following example⁹:

(54)Zhangsan guyi bei Lisi da le Zhangsan intentionally BEI Lisi hit 'Zhangsan intentionally got hit by Lisi.' Zhangsan guyi bei le. da **SFP** Zhangsan intentionally **BEI** hit 'Zhangsan intentionally got hit.'

First, let us look at the long passive. Huang (1999) argues that the object of the event denoted in the embedded clause is a null category so the long passive undergoes A'-movement of a NOP (Huang, 1999). The passivized main verb failed to assign case to its object so the object can move away. The moved object is a null category represented by NOP. The analysis of long passive is shown below:

(55) [Zhangsan]i bei OPi Lisi da le ti
Zhangsan BEI Lisi hit SFP
'Zhangsan got hit by Lisi.'

The passive marker *bei* is a two-place predicate which selects the Experiencer as its subject and the Event as its complement. This passive construction is similar to the tough construction in English. The relation between the NOP and the embedded object is a kind of movement. This movement is assuming A'-movement. The relation between the matrix subject and the NOP is a kind of control or predicate. Then, let's look at Huang's analyses about the short passive (Huang, 1999). Being different from the long passives, Huang (1999) argues that the short passive undergoes A-movement of a PRO (Huang, 1999). The object cannot get case from the passivized verb, so it moves to the specific position of VP. The moved object is an empty category PRO which is controlled by the base-generated subject. The analysis of short passive is shown below:

(56) [Zhangsan]i bei PROi da le t

Zhangsan BEI hit SFP

'Zhangsan got hit.'

In the analyses of the indirect passives in Chinese, Huang (1998) proposed the 'outer object hypotheses' (Huang, 1998). Take the following sentence for example. It was analyzed as involving a complex predicate with an 'outer object':

(57) [Zhangsan]i bei OPi tufei ti shasi le PROi Fuqin

Zhangsan BEI bandits kill ASP father

'Zhangsan's father was killed by the bandits.'

In this sentence, the verb *shasi* 'kill' and its immediate object *Fuqin* 'father' forms a complex predicate that takes another object as the 'outer object'. The outer object controls the possessor PRO and eventually moves to the NOP position which is the spec position of the embedded IP. Then it is co-indexed with the subject Zhangsan. The complex predicate shasi one's father 'kill one's father' can be semantically transitive. The event indeed affects the person represented by the outer object who is the inalienable possessor of the father. The above example is about the indirect long passives. The analysis also applies to indirect short passives which involves PRO movement. Take the following sentence as an example:

(58) Ta bei PROi ti qiangzou le PROi wubaiyuan qian he BEI rob ASP \$500 money 'He was robbed of \$500.'

The verb plus its object forms a complex predicate *qiangzou le wubai yuan qian* 'rob of \$500'. It takes an outer object which moves to the spec position of the embedded VP. This outer object is controlled by the based-generated subject *Ta* 'he', while the possessor PRO is controlled by the outer object.

C. Tsai (2005)

In Tsai's analysis about the Chinese affective constructions, he also analyzed two different passive form of affective construction marked by *gei* (Tsai, 2005). He proposed that the passive marker *gei* selects an Event argument as its internal argument (Tsai, 2005). The first passive form contains a null-operator which is co-indexed with the Event argument represented by E, shown in (59a):

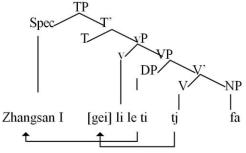
(59) (a) Xiao Li zuotian gei [Opi [Lao Wang tijin le san qiu (Ei)]]

⁹ Examples in (54) are from Huang (1999).

Xiao Li yesterday GEI old Wang kick ASP three ball 'Lao Wang kicked three balls into Xiao Li's gate.'

(b) Xiao Li zuotian gei [Opi [Lao Wang sha le ei]] Xiao Li yesterday GEI old Wang kill SFP 'Xiao Li was killed by Lao Wang yesterday.'

The second passive form shown in (59b) also contains a null-operator. The difference is that this null-operator is coindexed with the internal argument which is an empty category. Based on the above analyses about the grammatical properties of UPUC discussed in Section 3, we claim that UPUC is a kind of beneficiary construction. We assumed that the UPUC can be analyzed as being derived from the *gei*-construction. One way of deriving the passivized unergative construction adopts the traditional method of passivization: A movement. According to Burzio's Generalization (Burzio,1986), the passivized *gei* fails to assign case to internal argument *Xiaoming*, so *Xiaoming* moves to the external argument position to get case. Then, the verb *li* 'cut' moves to the higher v position. It is incorporated into the passivized light verb *gei*. The tree diagram is shown below:



Through this way, we can get the sentence below:

(60) Zhangsan gei li le fa. Zhangsan GEI cut ASP hair

'Zhangsan had his hair cut.'

Because the verb is incorporated into *gei* and they form one verb, so no element such as manner adverb is permitted to be inserted between *gei* and the verb.

* Zhangsan (61)gei qingqing de ba le. yi ke ya. Zhangsan **GEI** DE pull **ASP** CL tooth softly one

'One of Zhangsan's teeth was pulled out softly.'

We observed that the derived sentence as (60) looks like a passive sentence. There are many similar expressions in Mandarin Chinese, such as.

(62) Beizi gei da po le. cup GEI beat break SFP

'The cup was broken.'

The other way of getting UPUC is similar to the Huang's and Ting's analyses of passive construction (Huang, 1999; Ting, 1998). In this passive construction, *gei* is the passive marker and the subject NP is base-generated. There is also a complex predicate which is composed by the verb and its immediate object. This complex predicate takes an outer object which controls the PRO in the embedded VP. Then the outer object moves to the spec position of the embedded IP. The moved object is a null category represented by OP and it is co-indexed with the subject. The outer object is affected by the embedded IP which denotes an event. Specifically speaking, the subject gets benefit from the event. The analysis of this structure is shown in (63):

(63) [Xiaoming]i gei OPi Lifashi ti li le PROi fa

Xiaoming GEI barber cut ASP hair
'Xiaoming has his hair cut.'

In this sentence, the subject *Xiaoming* is a beneficiary who gets benefit from the embedded event. The moved outer object is the possessor of the inner object because *Xiaoming* is the possessor of the *fa* 'hair'. This possession between the outer object and the inner object is inalienable for it is a kind of body-part relation. In this beneficiary construction, the passive marker plus the following NP phrase can be omitted. Then we get the construction with benefit meaning, which is an unmarked passive construction, shown in (65):

(64) Xiaoming OPi ti li le PROi fa

Xiaoming cut ASP hair
'Xiaoming has his hair cut.'

The Affectee occupies the subject position. It is co-indexed with the moved outer object OP and is affected by the following VP phrase which denotes a good event. This construction directly shows a beneficiary relation between the Affectee and the following event argument.

V. CONCLUSION

In Mandarin Chinese, the UPUC is a special construction with the thematic structure of 'Affectee V Theme'. It has unique grammatical properties and its syntactic structure is quite different with other similar constructions.

The verb in UPUC is a passivized unergative verb without passive marker. The demoted NP phrase is also omitted because the inalienable possessive relation exists between the Affectee and the Theme. Specifically speaking, the possessor and possessee have the body-part or kinship relation. In the UPUC which is shown in our example (1)-(5), the Affectee and the theme is typically body-part relation. The particular property of this construction is that it expresses a benefit meaning. That is to say the Affectee gets benefit from the event argument which denotes a good action. But the unaccusative verb cannot be passivized because it originally cannot assign case to its object. However, the rob type DOC can be passivized through the same process as the UPUC because the main verb is an unergative verb with three-place predicates. The passivized rob type DOC must contain passive marker *bei*. But in the UPUC which is passivized from the *gei* construction, the passive marker *bei* or *gei* as well as the following NP phrase appear as null phonetic form. The reason for this can be given basing on the above sections of analyses. In Section 3, we have proposed that the original *gei* construction contains an extra argument, and the preverbal *gei* object must have an inalienable possessive relation with the Theme object. Furthermore, the Theme object must be a functional or essential part of the extra argument. So only when the extra argument (Affectee) in *gei* construction has a functional or inalienable part-whole relation with the Theme argument, the passive marker *gei* in the UPUC can take a null phonetic form. But our preliminary analysis for this remained issue is still needed to be further considered and discussed.

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