

Chapter 2

Literature Review

Voice phenomena, especially the relationship between the active and the passive, have played important roles in the development of modern linguistics (Shibatani, 1988). Voice is to be understood as a mechanism that selects a grammatically prominent syntactic constituent –subject—from the underlying semantic functions (case or thematic roles) of a clause. Formally speaking, in the prototypical active form an agent occupies the subject slot, and in the prototypical passive form a patient functions as a subject and an agent is syntactically unencoded (or, even if it is encoded, its grammatical prominence is marginal).

The typical active-passive opposition shows a semantic contrast, that is, in the active form the subject acts upon others or affects the others, while in the passive form the subject is affected or undergoes some effect.

Semantically, two terms borrowed from Case Grammar, “agent” and “patient” instead of syntactic subject and object, are proposed to explain the semantic roles of nominal phrases in passives (Jespersen 1924, Palmer 1976). Generally, agents are defined as the arguments which take part in an event willingly, voluntarily, and actively, while patients are defined as the ones which are involved in or receive an

event unwillingly, involuntarily, and passively (Tang 1992). Also, the most traditional definition of passives is that “the patient appears as subject of the passive whereas the agent appears as subject of the corresponding active” (Comrie 1988).

2.1 Functions of passive

In comparing languages, two functions of passive need to be distinguished: firstly, the demotion of agents, and secondly, the promotion of non-agents. An English passive like *Spike was arrested by the police* combines both functions: the agent argument is demoted to a prepositional phrase and the patient is promoted to subject. Thus, the related sentence *Spike was arrested* is a special case of passive, where demotion reaches its extreme in the suppression of the agent (Saeed, 2003).

Several related proposals have been made for rearranging arguments of the verb in passives. For example, Perlmutter & Postal (1977) and Givon (1979) characterized the passive in terms of the promotion of the patient. In contrast, Shibatani (1985) argued that the demotion of the agent is the core property of the passive and that the patient-promotion to the subject is only the consequence of filling the now-empty subject position after the agent-demotion. Still others, e.g., Haspelmath (1990), claimed that the original or basic function of the passive is the ‘inactivization’ of the verbal situation.

2.2 Previous Studies of *Bei* Passives

In contemporary Chinese, the *bei* form has the following structure: NP-Patient + *bei* (+ NP-Agent) + V + C, where C is a post-verbal constituent which can be a resultative, directional or locative complement, or an aspectual particle, or some other element. In the examples below, sentence (1a) has no agent while sentence (1b) has both Patient and Agent.

(1) a. Ta *bei* pian le.

he BEI fool PFV

‘He was fooled.’

b. Ta *bei* Xiaoming pian le.

he BEI Xiaoming fool PFV

‘He was fooled by Xiaoming.’

Ignoring the post-verbal constituent, (1a) and (1b) correspond respectively to two passive constructions with *bei*, i.e., “*bei* + V” (short passive) and “*bei* + Agent + V” (long passive).

2.2.1 Type of Verbs

Hashimoto (1975) stated that “the surface subject of passive should be derived from the underlying object of the corresponding active sentence; nonetheless, it does not represent a syntactic passive construction in Chinese because of certain examples

with intransitive verbs”. He substituted the notion of an inflictive construction for the *bei* construction instead of invoking the notion of passive construction. The example used to strengthen this conviction was what he called an “intransitive passive” in Modern Chinese (1975:58):

(2) Kanshou *bei* fanren pao le.

warder BEI prisoner flee PFV

‘The warder suffered from the escape of the prisoner.’

However, this “intransitive passive” example which he cited to support his view, as he had noticed, is unacceptable to many Modern Chinese speakers.

Another argument about the passivization of intransitive verbs in Mandarin Chinese was raised by Fu (1992).

(3) Yanjing *bei* ta ku hong le.

eyes BEI 3sg cry red PFV

‘Her eyes are red due to crying.’

Fu (1992) argued that sentence (3) cannot be considered a passive, as one of the characteristics of a passive sentence is that the verb is lexically transitive verb. There are two clauses: *ta ku* ‘she cries’ and *yanjing hong le* ‘the eyes became red’. First clause *ta ku* provides the cause of the complex proposition; second clause *yanjing hong le* ‘the eyes became red’ is the effect in what appears to be a complex sentence.

He claimed that intransitive verbs cannot occur in passive sentence, and there is a cause and effect relationship within the proposition rather than a passive sense.

However, in contradiction with his first claim that intransitive verbs are not compatible in passive sentence, Fu (1992) further suggested that “an intransitive verb is permitted in the *bei* construction only if it expresses causal relationship and modifies the result event that is the final main verb” (89). Without a resultative complement or final main verb, the intransitive *bei* construction is unacceptable.

(4) *Xiao Lan *bei* waimian de lang jiao.

Xiao Lan BEI outside GEN wolf howl

(5) Xiao Lan *bei* waimian de lang jiao de danzhanxijing.

Xiao Lan BEI outside GEN wolf howl DE very frightened

‘Xiao Lan is very frightened because the wolf is howling outside.’

In (4), the verb *jiao* ‘howl’ is an intransitive verb. Without a resultative complement, the sentence is unacceptable. Therefore, addition of resultative *danzhanxijing* ‘very frightened’ makes the sentence (5) acceptable. The main clause provides *the result* ‘Xiao Lan is frightened’ whereas the subordinate clause provides *the cause* ‘the wolf is howling’. It is important to note that the foreground clause is lower in transitivity, because it tells of a static event instead of dynamic event. On the other hand, the subordinate clause ‘the wolf is howling’ is higher in transitivity since

it has a dynamic verb.

With regard to the compatibility of transitive verbs to occur in *bei* passives, Fu (1992) claimed that several transitive verbs expressing emotions cannot be used in the *bei* construction, such as *taoyan* ‘dislike’, *ai* ‘love’, *hen* ‘hate’, and *xiang* ‘miss’.

(6) **Nei haizi bei ren taoyan le.*

that kid BEI person dislike PFV

‘That kid was disliked by everyone.’

(7) **Mary bei John ai le.*

Mary BEI John love PFV

‘Mary was loved by John.’

(8) **Mary bei ta yiqian de nan pengyou hen le.*

Mary BEI 3sg past GEN boy-friend hate PFV

‘Mary is hated by her ex-boyfriend.’

(9) **Wo bei mama xiang le.*

1sg BEI mom miss PFV

‘I was missed by my mother.’

The sentences (6) to (9) are not acceptable, because verbs *taoyan* ‘dislike’, *ai* ‘love’, *hen* ‘hate’, and *xiang* ‘miss’ do not indicate any manipulation or handling of the experiencer. In other words, the event expressed by the verb does not affect the

experiencer; therefore the verbs cannot be passivized. However, there are a few verbs that can be used in the *bei* construction but do not seem to indicate any direct affectedness of the objects, such as *kan* ‘see’, *du* ‘read’, *dianming* ‘mention the name of (criticize)’. It is claimed by Fu that although these verbs do not imply any physical contact, the experiencers are mentally or psychologically affected to a considerable degree.

(10) Zhao Ming jintian zai keshang *bei* laoshi dian le ming.

Zhao Ming today in class BEI teacher mention PFV name

‘Zhao Ming was criticized by the teacher today.’ (Fu 1992: 86)

In (10) the experiencer *Zhao Ming* is not physically affected, but he is certainly psychologically affected.

Study on *bei* passives was also conducted by Tien (2000). He proposed that in most cases only transitive verbs can appear in passives. Nevertheless, without the occurrence of post-verbal complements, a large number of transitive verbs would be excluded from the compatibility of using passive voice.

(11) a. *Na jian maoyi *bei* mama xi.

that CL sweater BEI mother wash

b. Na jian maoyi *bei* mama xi de hen ganjing.

that CL sweater BEI mother wash DE very clean

'That sweater was washed clean by mother.' (Tien 2000: 74)

(12) a. *Ta *bei shuo*.

3sg BEI say

c. Ta *bei shuo cheng shi ben dui huo-sheng de da gongchen*.

3sg BEI say become to be our team win GEN big contributor

'He was said to be the main contributor of our victory.'

(13) a. *Yue Fei *bei zun*.

Yue Fei BEI dignify

d. Yue Fei *bei zun wei minzu yingxiong*.

Yue Fei BEI dignify as ethnic/nation hero

'Yue Fei is dignified as a national hero.' (Tien 2000: 75)

From examples (11) to (13), the first one of each pair (part *a*) is ungrammatical because those transitive verbs must co-occur with following complements. Post-verbal complements have to appear to make passive sentences grammatical if the verb does require a result. As in (11b), the result of *xi* 'to wash' is *ganjing* 'to be clean'. In addition, noun complements are especially used to describe the status change of subject patients for verbs like *shuo-cheng* in (12b) and *zun-wei* in (13b). Other similar verbs include 看做 *kan-zuo* 'be considered as', 當成 *dang-cheng* 'be regarded as', 選為 *xuan-wei* 'be chosen as', etc.

2.2.2 Passive vs. Aspect

Xiao et al. (2006) suggested that passive constructions syntactically marked by *bei* are closely linked to aspect. For example, syntactic passives in Chinese convey an aspectual meaning of result that cannot be canceled when they interact with perfective aspects (see Xiao and McEnery 2004).

(14) Beizi *bei* ta da-po le.

cup BEI 3sg break PFV

‘The cup was broken by him.’

In addition to the perfective aspect marker *-le* and *-guo*, resultative verb complements (RVCs) in Chinese contribute to both situation aspect and viewpoint aspect in that they typically express a telic notion and grammaticality mark the completive aspect. The structure “verb + *de* + complement” can denote either resultativeness or manner, but only the resultative *de*-structure is relevant to aspect, as in *bei da-de biqing-lianzhong* ‘have one’s face bashed in’.

Chu (1973) claimed that *bei* sentence must have perfective marker *le* plus a resultative complement or an adverb of frequency, duration, etc. Furthermore, only a limited number of verbs like *da* ‘beat’, *chi* ‘eat’, *jiu* ‘save’ can occur in *bei* sentence with *le* alone unaccompanied by a resultative complement or an adverb of some type.

(15)?Ta *bei* ta taitai da.

3sg BEI 3sg wife beat

(16)Ta *changchang bei* ta taitai da.

3sg often BEI 3sg wife beat

‘He is often/likes to be beaten by his wife.’

(17)Ta *xihuan bei* ta taitai da.

3sg like BEI 3sg wife beat

‘He likes to be beaten by his wife.’

Wang (1970) attributed the unacceptability of (15) to the monosyllabic nature of the verbs. However, if perfective aspect marker *le* is added to the verb *da* ‘beat’, the sentence becomes acceptable. On the other hand, if a final *le* is added to (15), it does not in the least alter the grammaticality of the sentences, but it provides an additional meaning of state changing. Adverbs like *changchang* ‘often’ and auxiliaries like *xihuan* ‘to like’ all have the force to signal a situation, and that the *le* here, as the name status-changing particle indicates, also designates a change of state (i.e. situation).

Furthermore, Chu (1973) stated that while many of monosyllabic verbs (verbs without a complement) must be accompanied by a resultative complement in order for them to occur in a passive sentence, some of them such as *ma* ‘scold’ and *da* ‘beat’

may occur without such complement when there is a perfective marker *le* or when the sentence is situational in meaning by virtue of the presence of certain kinds of adverbs or auxiliaries. However, Chu's argumentation that verb *da* 'hit' in (15) must be followed by aspect marker *le* to make it grammatical cannot be accepted by most native speakers of Mandarin Chinese. Without marker *le*, the sentence is still acceptable.

Then, what characterizes those monosyllabic verbs that can occur in the passive construction without having to take a complement? Further reflection reveals a property held in common by such verbs. They all imply a certain result. Unless denied in additional clause, *da* 'beat' implies a result of being hurt in one way or another, *chi* 'eat' a result of complete consumption, and *jiu* 'save (from)' a result of preventing an unhappy or unfortunate event from happening. Each of the result would normally be expressed in a complement in the case of other verbs. Thus, of the three verbs *kan* 'to look', *shuo* 'to talk' and *pian* 'to cheat', only the last one can occur in a passive sentence without a complement, when no auxiliary or adverb of a stative nature precedes *bei*.

(18) Ta *bei* ren *kan/*shuo/pian le.

3sg BEI person look/talk/cheat PFV

'He was looked at/talked about/cheated by someone.'

Such an interpretation is, however, not just limited to monosyllabic verbs, but it applies to polysyllabic verbs as well. For instance, *zhidao* has two interpretations: ‘to know’ and ‘to find out’, the latter of which may be regarded as the “conflated” form of a verb plus complement. When it appears in a passive construction with *le* but without a complement phrase, only the second interpretation is possible.

(19) *Nei jian shi bei ta zhidao le.*

that CL matter BEI 3sg find-out PFV

‘That matter was found out by him.’

On the other hand, if there is a complement like *hen qingchu* ‘very clear’, both interpretations are possible.

(20) *Nei jian shi bei ta zhidao de hen qingchu le.*

that CL matter BEI 3sg know very clear PFV

‘That matter was clearly known to him.’

Lastly, Chu (1973) suggested that a transitive verb may occur in a situational passive sentence with or without a complement. The situation in such a sentence may be expressed by an auxiliary, an adverb, or a complement plus a status-changing *le*. The complement in turn may be in one of the several forms: a phrase introduced by *de*, a non-initial constituent of a compound verb, or part of a ‘conflated’ verb definable in the lexicon as a simple verb plus a complement.

From the literatures about *bei* passive construction in Mandarin, the compatibility of intransitive verbs to occur in *bei* passives is still a debatable topic and one general conclusion of it has not yet been agreed. Meanwhile, as to the compatibility of transitive verbs in *bei* passives, majority of Chinese linguists agree that transitive verbs can appear in passives but some of them require post-verbal aspects/complements stating results or depicting changes in the situation. Nevertheless, if the resultative state or event is already implied by the verb, then the verb can appear in passive without requiring resultative complement anymore.

At a glance, one may argue that the previous studies discussed above have answered the questions about restrictions to the verb types which can be passivized. However, the previous studies are still unable to explain why emotion-expressing verbs such as *ai* ‘love’, *taoyan* ‘dislike’, *xiang* ‘miss’ cannot be made passive, despite having already been combined with resultative complements. Moreover, Liu et al. (1996) explained that there are several verbs which cannot co-occur with *bei*, e.g. *shi* ‘to be’, *you* ‘have’, *zai* ‘at; exist’, *dang* ‘serve as’, *de* ‘get’, *qi* ‘rise’, *likai* ‘leave’, *jiejin* ‘approach’, etc. He also argued that all verbs which are compatible with *ba* construction are also compatible with *bei*. By giving this kind of statement, it is not clear what classes of verbs are incompatible with *bei* passives. Therefore, this study will provide a systematic explanation with regard to the restrictions imparted on

passivized verbs in Mandarin Chinese written corpora.

2.3 *Di-* Passives in Bahasa Indonesia

There are two passive constructions in Bahasa Indonesia. Following the terminology used by Dardjowidjojo (1978) and Sneddon (1996) they are referred to as Passive Type 1 (P1) and Passive Type 2 (P2). Chung (1976) called them, respectively, the Canonical Passive and the Object Preposing passive.

The two distinct passive constructions¹ are exemplified in (21) and (22):

(21) Buku itu sudah *di-baca* olehnya/ (oleh) dia. (Type I)

book that already DI-read by him / (by) him

‘That book has already been read by him.’

(22)a. Buku itu sudah *aku* baca. (Type II)

book that already 1sg read

‘I have read this book.’

b. Buku itu sudah *kubaca*.

book that already 1sg-read

‘I have read this book.’

Type I passives are restricted to third person agents i.e. pronoun *dia* or clitic *-nya* ‘he/she’ or *mereka* ‘they’, or a noun. Type II passives are restricted to

¹ Indonesian also has a class of ‘accidental’ passives with *ter-* and ‘adversative’ passives with *ke-an* morphology. These passives will not be discussed here.

clitic agents, both phonologically full (such as *saya* or *aku* ‘I’, *engkau* or *kamu* ‘you’) and reduced forms (*ku-* ‘I’, *kau-* ‘you’), and proper name agents.

Previous studies on passives in Bahasa Indonesia all focused on the difference between passives Type I and Type II. However, the discussion in this thesis will be focused on passives Type I or *di-* passives only. Therefore, a few studies related to *di-* passives were reviewed in the next section.

Chung (1976:77) claimed that many verbs of emotion, realization, and knowledge are marginal or ungrammatical in the *di-* passives. As examples of this verb type, she gave *suka* ‘like’, *tahu* ‘know’, *lupa* ‘forget’. Vamarasi (1999) argued that these verbs are not transitive in the first place, but rather they are intransitive verbs which take either an initial indirect object or an initial locative. Whenever this nominal is advanced to initial 2 (Object), the verb is suffixed with *-i*. On the other hand, the verb *lupa* ‘forget’ takes suffix *-kan* in its advanced form. In this case, she could not provide any explanation for the suffix *-kan* which normally indicates Benefactive.

Chung (1976) listed another set of verbs allowing *di-* passives. The list includes *percaya* ‘believe (transitive)’ and *rusak* ‘destroy’. For the verb *rusak*, this is an ordinary unaccusative predicate in its unaffixed form, meaning ‘destroyed’. As an unaccusative, it cannot be passivized. The expected transitive form is *rusakkan*, but

merusak is the usual transitive form, as in (23a). Nevertheless, the passive form *dirusak* is grammatical in (23b).

(23) a. Mereka *merusak* mobil itu.

3pl MENG-destroy car that

‘They destroyed the car.’

b. Mobil itu *dirusak* mereka.

car that DI-destroy them

‘The car was destroyed by them.’

Passive studies conducted by Chung (1976) and Vamarasi (1999) indeed discuss some verbs which may or may not be passivized. Nevertheless, their proposal and discussion are not systematic enough to give a specific explanation on the restrictions of the verbs.

Some Chinese Linguists (Li and Thompson 1981, Wang 1982, Hsueh 1989, Liu 1996) have mentioned some verbs that can or cannot occur in *bei* passives. On the other hand, most researchers of Bahasa Indonesia (McCune 1979, Sneddon 1996, Djawanai 1999) investigated the syntactic structure of two passive types and discourse study of passives, but have not focused much on the discussion about passivized verbs. In other words, these previous studies indeed have mentioned and discussed some verbs which can or cannot be passivized; however, they have not yet

provided a systematic categorization of those passivized verbs. Therefore, this thesis aims to reveal the semantic restrictions that affect the compatibility of verbs to appear in passive form. This corpus-based contrastive study will also suggest similarities and differences of passives in both languages from the structure and meaning.

