

## Chapter 3

### Analysis

#### 3.1 The Corpus

Analysis in this study is based on two corpora: (1) the internet posting of news articles in Bahasa Indonesia from *Kompas Cyber Media* between January 7-13, 2008; (2) the internet posting of news articles in Mandarin Chinese from *中國時報* 'China Times' between January 7-13, 2008. News articles were taken from the same or consecutive days from two main topics: international news and entertainment news. News stories rather than editorials or magazine-style articles were chosen so that the collected data would be as similar as possible in type to the narrative non-fiction data.

The two media were chosen because they have similar news categorization format in their websites. They are considered representative of other electronic media of both languages. Moreover, international news articles and entertainment news were deliberately selected to cover international as well as national/local scope. The majority of international news originated from foreign language (English), and the articles in both Mandarin Chinese and Bahasa Indonesia were very likely to directly adopt the language style of the original texts. For example, when the original language of the news uses passive expression, then the articles in Mandarin Chinese

or Bahasa Indonesia will also use passive construction. The language style as well as verb selection from the two types of news would cover casual and the formal language ensuring wide variety of verbs to be collected.

With regard to type of passives found in the data, the Mandarin Chinese corpus merely show the occurrence of canonical or prototypical passive construction. In the literature Huang (1999) classified passive *bei* construction in Mandarin Chinese into four types: short passive, long passive, inclusive passive, and exclusive passive. In the long passive morpheme *bei* is followed by an NP (the Agent) and a VP; while *bei* is directly followed by a VP in the short passive. The instances of these two types were given in (1) and (2). On the other hand, the terms “inclusive” and “exclusive” passives were first introduced by Washio (1993). In the former type, the subject may be related to a position in the predicate other than the object position. In contrast, the subject in the latter type apparently cannot be related to any position internal to the predicate at all. The instances of inclusive and exclusive passives were shown in (3) and (4).

(1) Zhangsan bei Lisi da le.

Zhangsan BEI Lisi hit PFV

‘Zhangsan was hit by Lisi.’

(2) Zhangsan bei da le.

Zhangsan BEI hit PFV

‘Zhangsan was hit.’

(3) Zhangsan bei Lisi daduan-le yi tiao tui.

Zhangsan BEI Lisi hit-break-PFV one-CL leg

‘Zhangsan had a leg broken by Lisi.’

(4) Zhang Zhenxing bei jianchaguan qiu-xing qi nian.

Zhang Zhenxing BEI district-attorney ask-for-jail-term seven years

‘Zhang Zhenxing had the D.A. request a jail term of 7 years on him.’

Depending on whether the Agent phrase is present or not, the sentences (1) and (2) were categorized by Ting (1998) and Huang (1999) into two types of passive. However, based on previously undiscovered empirical facts, Her (2007) demonstrated that *bei* behaves rather similarly with or without an overt agent and thus dismisses the short passive and argues for a unified *bei*. This unified *bei* passive is known as prototypical passive in Mandarin Chinese. Instance (3) is called the “possessive passive”, commonly found in all East Asian languages as the common case of inclusive passive. The verb *daduan* ‘to break’ takes the NP *yi tiao tui* ‘one leg’ as its immediate object. The passivized NP subject *Zhangsan* originates from a possessive position *Zhangsan de yi tiao tui* ‘Zhangsan’s one leg’. On the other hand, in (4) the verb *qiu-xing* ‘ask for a jail term’ takes *qi nian* ‘7 years’ as its time complement. The subject *Zhang Zhenxing* cannot be related to any apparent argument position of the

verb or any modifier position of object NP. These two types of indirect passive are known as non-prototypical passive.

Among the passive types suggested by Huang (1999), only the prototypical passives are found in the Mandarin Chinese corpus. No instance of non-prototypical passive is found. Therefore, this study is limited to the discussion of prototypical passive.

### **3.2 *Bei* Construction in Mandarin Chinese**

#### 3.2.1 Frequency

The Mandarin Chinese corpus consists of 169 articles with 537 clauses and 40,978 words in total. Among the 537 clauses, 137 occurrences of *bei*-verb are found. Of the 537 clauses, the 137 clauses comprising *bei*-verb are 25.5 percent ratio. Some of these *bei*-verbs are repeated or re-occurred with different post-verbal complements. Thus, the total of passivized verbs after excluding the re-occurred verb stems is reduced to 91 occurrences. How is the distribution of these *bei* verbs?

#### 3.2.2 Categorization and distribution of the *bei* verbs

Among the 91 passivized *bei* verbs, 85 stems are transitive verbs; 2 stems are intransitive verbs; and, 4 stems are idiomatic expression. The distribution is tabulated in Table 1.

TRANSITIVE VERBS					INTRANSITIVE VERBS	IDIOM
發現	要求	看好	列爲	評	溶化	投以異樣
取代	開除	丟入	視爲	傳	爆	津津樂道
唾棄	欺負	打亂	喻爲	甩		擴而大之
遺忘	代謝	退掉	選爲	封		蒙在鼓裡
指控	攻擊	趴光	封爲	控		
認定	淘汰	害死	判刑	拒		
感染	指定	沖昏	抓包	判		
目擊	安排	分成	斷電	俘		
判定	領養	曬成	罰款	捕		
摧殘	低估	叫成	定罪	扣		
棄養	裁定	拍攝成	縱火	噓		
批評	擁抱	擋住	求婚	稱		
告知	認爲	拍到		拍		
吸引	告白	嚇到		叫		
逼問		問到				
宣傳	迫延至	買下				
撞見	移送至	貼上				
干擾	送往	關進				
跨說	吊到	卜出				
搜索	傳喚到	挖掘出				
指指點點	騙得	突顯出來				

Table 1. Distribution of *bei* verbs

Table 1 above shows that the passivized verbs in the corpus are dominated by transitive verbal stems (93.4 %). Of the 85 transitive stems, there are 12 monosyllabic verbs, 35 disyllabic/polysyllabic verbs (or parallel verb compounds), 31 resultative verb compounds (or RVCs), and 7 verb-object compounds.

Categorization of stems into intransitive verbs is quite confusing because there are certain verbs which may function either as transitive verbs or intransitive verbs.

Are *ronghua* ‘melt’ and *bao* ‘explode’ genuine intransitive verbs? Or they appear as

transitive verbs at the active sentential level before being passivized?

### 3.2.3 Analysis of the *bei* verbs

#### 3.2.3.1 *Intransitive verbal stems*

Intransitive verbs lack the ability to take direct objects. Sadler and Spencer (1998) proposed that many languages distinguish morphosyntactically between two types of intransitive verb. In the first type, the unergative, the subject fulfills an active semantic role (such as the traditional Agent), while in the second, the unaccusative, the subject corresponds to a Theme or Patient, fulfilling a passive semantic role. The contrast can be illustrated in Mandarin Chinese with the unaccusative *kai* ‘to open’, as opposed to the unergative *pao* ‘to run’.

(1) 門 開 了 。

*Men kai le.*

door open PFV

‘The door opened.’

(2) 他 跑 了 。

*Ta pao le.*

3sg run PFV

‘He ran.’

In (1) *kai* ‘open’ has a Theme subject and is thus unaccusative, while *pao* ‘run’ in (2)

has an Agent subject and is thus unergative.

It is apparent that the occurrence of intransitive verbs is very rare in passive construction; only two stems are found. Does it tell us that majority of intransitive verbs are ineligible to appear in *bei* sentence?

The previous study of *bei* passives conducted by Fu (1992) claims that an intransitive verb is permitted in the *bei* construction when it expresses causal relationship and modifies the result of an event. In the corpus, two intransitive stems *ronghua* ‘melt’ and *bao* ‘explode’ are found. The stems *ronghua* ‘melt’ and *bao* ‘explode’ are categorized into unaccusative verbs because their predicates only require one participant, i.e. the Theme as shown in (3) and (4).

(3) 雪 已 開始 溶化 了。

*Xue yi kaishi ronghua le.*

snow already start melt PFV

‘The snow has started to melt.’

(4) 車胎 爆 了。

*Chetai bao le.*

tire explode PFV

‘The tire exploded.’

The verb *ronghua* ‘melt’ has *xue* ‘snow’ as its argument, while the verb *bao*

'explode' has *chetai* 'tire' as its argument. The passive forms of similar stems

collected from the corpus are shown in (5) and (6).

- (5) 最大 的 隱憂 在於脂肪一旦 被 溶化，會何去何從？

*Zui da de yinyou zai yu zhifang yi dan **bei** ronghua, hui he qu he cong?*

the biggest DE lurking danger lie in fat once BEI melt can course-to-follow

'The biggest lurking danger lying in fat is once it is made to melt, what course will it take?'

- (6) 長瀨智 被 爆 出 他在 兩 人 交 往 時 就 劈 腿 。

*Chang Laizhi **bei** bao-chu ta zai liang ren jiaowang shi jiu pitui.*

Chang Laizhi BEI explode out 3sg in two person contact when at once have affair

'Chang Laizhi is exposed (by someone) that he has an affair while they are still in a relationship'.

In passive sentence (5) the intransitive stem *ronghua* 'melt' is realized as *bei ronghua* 'be made to melt'. In passives, the suppressed Agent is available semantically and enjoys a certain presence syntactically without necessarily being syntactically expressed (Sadler and Spencer, 1998: 210). Therefore, we can assume there is a suppressed Agent after *bei*, which is not syntactically expressed. The Agent is the factor causing the Theme *zhifang* 'fat' to melt. It could be a natural metabolism or a medical treatment by which *zhifang* 'the fat' is melted. By understanding that the



Agent semantically exists, the acceptability of *bei ronghua* can be explained.

Unlike the claim in previous study conducted by Fu (1992), the intransitive stem *ronghua* in (5) does not need any complement to make the sentence acceptable. In contrast, *bao* ‘explode’ is realized as a resultative verb compound *bao-chu* ‘explode out/expose out’, then is followed by a complement clause in *bei* sentence (6). In the passive sentence, the appearance of directional verb *chu* ‘exit-out’ occurs in RVC *bao-chu* and the complement clause play an important role in the acceptability of the passive sentence. The complement clause denotes a state ‘the rumor being exposed’ as the result of the verb *bao* ‘to expose’. The evidence comes from the fact that if the directional verb *chu* ‘out’ is omitted in (7), the acceptability of the sentence is questioned; however, if the complement clause is excluded in (8), the sentence will become unacceptable.

(7) ?長瀨智 被爆 他在兩人 交往時 就 劈腿。

*Chang Laizhi bei bao ta zai liang ren jiaowang shi jiu pitui.*

Chang Laizhi BEI explode 3sg in two person contact when at once have affair

(8) \*長瀨智 被爆出。

*Chang Laizhi bei bao-chu.*

Chang Laizhi BEI explode out

From the analysis above, there are two assumptions or hypotheses with regard

to the occurrence of the intransitive stems *ronghua* ‘to melt’ and *bao* ‘to explode’ in *bei* passives. The first hypothesis is that passivization process adds a new argument “the Agent/Causer” to the predicate argument structure of *bei*-verb. In the surface structure, this new argument is syntactically suppressed and only semantically exists. *Ronghua* and *bao* are unaccusative verbs, which only require one argument “the Theme”. However, in *bei* sentences (5) and (6) the passive verbs *bei-ronghua* ‘be melted’ and *bei-bao* ‘be exposed’ require two arguments <Th, Ag>. The Theme occupies the subject position, while the Agent or Causer, which is added through passivization process, is suppressed and does not occur in the syntactic level.

The second hypothesis is the stems *ronghua* ‘to melt’ and *bao* ‘to explode/to expose’ are actually transitive verbs and allow direct objects to appear in the active sentence. This second assumption is based on the fact that there are certain verbs which may function either as transitive verbs or intransitive verbs.

(9) a. ?醫生 溶化 了 脂肪。

*Yisheng ronghua le zhifang.*

doctor melt PFV fat

‘The doctor melted the fat.’

b. 溶化 ‘to melt’ <Ag, Th>

(10) a. 媒體 爆 他在兩 人 交往 時 就 劈腿。

*Meiti bao ta zai liang ren jiaowang shi jiu pitui.*

media expose 3sg in two person contact when at once have affair

‘The media exposed that he has an affair while they are still in a relationship.’

b. 爆 ‘to explode/ to expose’ <Ag, Th>

The instances (9) and (10) show that *ronghua* ‘to melt’ and *bao* ‘to expose’ can function as transitive verbs. They require two arguments, the Agent and the Theme, and can have causative reading. Sentence (9) means ‘the doctor melted the fat’ or ‘the doctor caused the fat to melt’; while sentence (10) can also mean ‘the media caused his affair to be exposed’. When these sentences were passivized, the causative reading is retained, as shown in (5) and (6).

The common thing between both hypotheses is the causative-resultative reading of *bei* passives. The findings in this study support the claim proposed by Fu (1992) that an intransitive verb is permitted in the *bei* construction when it expresses causal relationship.

Nevertheless, no instance of unergative verbs co-occurring with *bei* is found in the corpus. The absence is probably caused by the lack of Patient or Theme object.

(11) 犯人 跑了。

*Fanren pao le.*

prisoner run PFV

‘The prisoner ran away.’

(12) ?犯人 被跑了。

*Fanren bei pao le.*

prisoner BEI run PFV

‘The prisoner was caused to run.’

As shown in (11), unergative verb *pao* ‘run’ requires only an Agent subject *fanren* ‘prisoner’. Since the construction lacks the Patient or Theme object, there is no other argument which can be promoted to the matrix subject in a *bei* sentence. We can assume that there is an addition of a new argument (the Agent) after *bei* as a result of passivization. This new argument is suppressed but semantically available. However, the acceptability of *bei* sentence in (12) is still questionable. This sentence is acceptable for some native speakers of Mandarin Chinese but some others may view the sentence as ungrammatical.

Overall, the limited data in Mandarin corpus reveal that only unaccusative verbs can occur in *bei* passives, while the passivization of unergative verbs is not found. Furthermore, the passivized *bei* verbs all indicate a causative-resultative

interpretation.

### 3.2.3.2 Transitive verbal stems

In the corpus, the distribution of transitive stems is as follows: 12 monosyllabic verbs, 35 disyllabic/polysyllabic verbs (or parallel verb compounds), 31 resultative verb compounds (RVCs), and 7 verb-object compounds. The distribution of transitive verbs is provided in Table 2.

TRANSITIVE VERBS					
Monosyllabic Verbs	Disyllabic/ Polysyllabic Verbs		RVCs		VO Compounds
評	發現	要求	看好	貼上	判刑
傳	取代	開除	丟入	買下	抓包
甩	唾棄	欺負	打亂	關進	斷電
封	遺忘	代謝	退掉	卜出	罰款
控	指控	攻擊	趴光	爆出	定罪
拒	認定	淘汰	害死	送往	縱火
判	感染	指定	沖昏	挖掘出	求婚
俘	目擊	安排	分成	迫延至	
捕	判定	領養	曬成	移送至	
扣	摧殘	低估	叫成	傳喚到	
噓	棄養	裁定	拍攝成	視為	
稱	批評	擁抱	擋住	喻為	
	告知	感染	拍到	選為	
	吸引	認為	嚇到	列為	
	逼問	告白	問到	騙得	
	宣傳	干擾	吊到		
	撞見				

Table 2. The distribution of transitive verbal stems in *bei* passives

It can be seen that most transitive stems are realized as verbal compounds (77.6%) in *bei* passives. The resultative verb compound, or RVC, is always composed

of two elements. The second element signals some result of the action or process conveyed by the first element, as in (13).

(13) 他 沒 想 到 孩 子 們 竟 然 被 父 親 害 死 。

*Ta mei xiang dao haizimen jingran bei fuqin hai-si.*

3sg NEG think-ASP children actually BEI father persecute to death

‘He could not imagine that the children were actually killed by their father.’

RVC *hai-si* ‘persecute to death’ in (13) has an activity verb *hai* ‘harm’ as its first element and a resultant state *si* ‘death’ as its second element. Being the second element in a resultative verb compound, a resultative complement is meant to signal the result of the action or process conveyed by its preceding verb.

Li and Thompson (1981:55-56) identified four kinds of “result” expressed by RVCs, such as *cause*, *achievement*, *direction*, and “*phase*”<sup>1</sup>. All types of RVCs are found to co-occur with *bei* in the corpus, as presented in instances (14) to (17).

(14) 小 豬 不 急 著 結 婚 ， 笑 嘲 人 生 計 畫 早 就 被 打 亂 。

*Xiaozhu bu ji-zhe jiehun, xiaochao rensheng jihua zao jiu bei da-luan.*

Xiao Zhu NEG in hurry ASP married joke life plan early BEI hit-chaos

‘Xiao Zhu is not in hurry to get married, he jokes that his life plan has been ruined since long time.’

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<sup>1</sup> *Phase* RVCs refer to certain RVCs in which the second verb expresses something more like the type of action described by the first verb or the degree to which it is carried out than its result. (Li & Thompson, 1981:65)

(15) 11 月 兩人 夜 遊 上海、歡唱 KTV 被 拍 到。

*11 yue liang ren yeyou Shanghai huanchang KTV **bei** pai-dao.*

November two person night travel Shanghai sing merrily KTV BEI shot-succeed

‘On November, two persons travelled in Shanghai, (they) went to KTV and were captured by the camera.’

(16) 6 人 已 爲 此 吃上官司，有可能 被 關 進 大牢。

*6 ren yi wei ci chi shang guansi, you keneng **bei** guan-jin dalao.*

six person already for this face lawsuit possibly BEI shut in jail

‘Six persons have already faced lawsuit because of this (reason), possibly (they) will be made shut in jail.’

(17) ..., 連 挪威 兒童 社工 也 被 她 騙 得 團團轉。

*..., lian Nuowei ertong shegong ye **bei** ta pian de tuantuanzhuan.*

even Norway children social worker also BEI 3sg deceive DE roll-rotate

‘..., even children social workers from Norway were also deceived very badly’

In sentences (14) to (17), *luan* in *da-luan* ‘to upset/ruin’ denotes the result of *da* ‘hit’; *dao* in *pai-dao* ‘take pictures’ also indicates the success in achieving a result of *pai* ‘to take pictures’; *jin dalao* in *guan-jin dalao* ‘shut in jail’ indicates the result-state of *guan* ‘to shut’; and, *tuan-tuan-zhuan* in *pian de tuan-tuan-zhuan* ‘to deceive

seriously’ denotes the degree to which the action *pian* ‘to deceive’ is carried out.

Referring to the studies of RVCs, some linguists such as Szeto (1988), Ross (1990), Yong (1997), and Kang (1999) have pointed out that resultative complements bear the ability to add an endpoint or a goal to RVCs, which guarantees every RVC is telic or delimited. Hence, in most cases the occurrence of resultative complements in *bei* + RVCs structure is obligatory.

- (18) a. 波佳曼 先 被 警方 移送至 高等法院。

*Bojiaman xian bei jingfang yisong-zhi gaodeng fayuan.*

Bo jia man first BEI police escort to the High Court

‘Bo Jia Man is first escorted to the High Court by the police.’

- b. \*波佳曼 先 被 警方 移送至

*Bojiaman xian bei jingfang yisong-zhi*

Bo Jia Man first BEI police escort to

- (19) a. 人們 已 厭倦 躺 在沙灘上 被曬成 龍蝦

*Renmen yi yanjuan tang zai shatan shang bei shai-cheng longxia*

people already be fed up lie down at sandy beach BEI dry into lobster

的 旅遊 方式。

de lüyou fangshi

GEN vacation style



‘People are already fed up with the type of vacation where they lie  
down on sandy beach to be sun-baked into lobster ’

b. \*人們 已 厭倦 躺 在沙灘上 被 曬成

*Renmen yi yanjuan tang zai shatan shang bei shai-cheng*

people already be fed up lie down at sandy beach BEI dry into

的 旅遊 方式。

*de lüyou fangshi*

GEN vacation style

The complement (noun) phrase *gaodeng fayuan* ‘the High Court’ and *longxia* ‘lobster’ are added to the RVCs *yisong-zhi* ‘to escort to’ and *shai-cheng* ‘to sun-bake into’. These complement phrases are important to express the goal of directional verb *yisong* ‘to escort’ and change of state as a result of *shai* ‘to sun-bake’. Therefore, their occurrences are obligatory. Omission of the complement phrases will cause the sentence to become ungrammatical, as shown in the second sentence of each pair in (18) and (19).

Furthermore, is there any causative reading in the passive structure BEI +  
RVCs?

(20) 他 沒 想 到 孩子們 竟然 被 父親 害死。

*Ta mei xiang dao haizimen jingran bei fuqin hai-si.*

3sg NEG think-ASP children actually BEI father persecute to death

‘He could not imagine that the children were actually killed by their father.’

In (20), as for the distribution of arguments, *fuqin* ‘father’ is the agent, *haizimen* ‘children’ is the patient and *si* ‘dead’ is the resultant state. The semantic notion of instance (20) is presented in (21).

(21) The semantic notion of *bei* + RVC

Syntax: NP<sub>2</sub> BEI NP<sub>1</sub> V CP<sub>3</sub> (CP=Complement Phrase)

Semantics: father CAUSE [the children BECOME dead]

Meaning: Father killed the children

However, *bei* + RVCs constructions are not composed of two subevents, contrary to the findings of Feng’s study (2005). The causal relation indeed exists between the stem *hai* ‘to harm’ and the resultative complement *si* ‘dead’, but the situation is presented as a non-decomposable event.

The occurrences of *bei* constructions with RVCs reveal some characteristics of RVC. From the discussion above, it can be seen that an RVC obviously indicates resultant state, irrespective of the RVC type. RVCs encode both the process and the result. The dynamicity is embodied in the causal relationship between the process and the resultant state.

Overall, according to instances (14) to (20), the causative-resultative reading of

*bei* passive can be detected when the verb arises with *bei* and the resultative complement. The causative-resultative reading does not come exclusively from the base verb's lexical meaning, but from the integration of the meaning of the *bei* + RVCs constructions. Recalling instance (16), *guan* 'shut' is a process verb. The causative interpretation emerges when it occurs together with *bei* in *bei-guan* 'be shut in'. On the other hand, the resultative reading comes from the *bei* + RVC construction, i.e. *bei-guan jin dalao* 'be shut in jail'.

(22) 6 人 已 爲 此 吃上官司，有可能 被 關 進 大牢。

*6 ren yi wei ci chi shang guansi, you keneng bei guan-jin dalao.*

six person already for this face lawsuit possibly BEI shut in jail

'Six persons have already faced lawsuit because of this (reason), possibly (they) will be shut in jail.'

Chu (1973) claimed that only a limited number of verbs like *da* 'beat', *chi* 'eat' and *jiu* 'save' can occur in *bei* sentence with perfective marker *le* alone, unaccompanied by a resultative complement. What characterizes those monosyllabic verbs so that they can occur in the passive construction without having to take a complement? Further examination 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 otherwise be expressed in a complement in the case of other verbs being used.

In the Mandarin corpus, many of the monosyllabic verbs must be accompanied by a resultative complement in order for them to occur in a passive sentence.

(23) a. 但 因 罪 證 不 足， 被 評 審 團 判 無 罪。

*Dan yin zuizheng bu zu, bei pingshen tuan pan wuzui.*

but because proof of crime NEG enough BEI the juries judge innocent

‘But because the evidences are not enough, he is judged innocent by

the juries.’

b. \*但 因 罪 證 不 足， 被 評 審 團 判

*Dan yin zuizheng bu zu, bei pingshen tuan pan*

but because proof of crime NEG enough BEI the juries judge

The monosyllabic stem *pan* ‘judge’ must be followed by a resultative complement *wu zui* ‘innocent’ in *bei* construction, as in (23). The occurrence of this complement is obligatory, since omission of the resultative complement yields an ungrammatical passive sentence.

However, some monosyllabic verbs such as *bu* ‘seize’ and *ju* ‘reject’ may occur without resultative complement. Furthermore, the aspect marker *le* and certain kinds

of adverb or auxiliary are absent. This finding is contrary to the claim made by Chu (1973).

(24) 琳賽 當場 被 捕。 (\*可是沒捕到)

*Linsai dangchang bei bu. (\*keshi mei bu dao)*

Lin Sai on the spot BEI seize

‘Lindsay was seized on the spot.’

(25) 她 落跑 主因 是 擔憂 被 拒。 (\*可是沒 拒成)

*Ta laopao zhuyin shi danyou bei ju. (\*keshi mei ju-cheng)*

she run away main reason to be worry BEI reject

‘She runs away mainly because she is worried that she will be rejected.’

In (24) and (25) monosyllabic verbs *bu* ‘seize’ and *ju* ‘reject’ at the core level (interaction between verb and arguments) do not encode a result. But when the *bei* construction is used, they all imply a result and can no longer be contradicted. The verb *bei-bu* ‘be seized’ implies a result of being jailed, and *bei-ju* ‘be rejected’ results in being rejected.

Monosyllabic verbs with lexical meanings of implying the possibility of a resultant state can be passivized without being followed by resultative complements. In the corpus data, verbs such as *shuai* ‘to dump’ and *pai* ‘to take (picture)’ occur with *bei* without any resultative complement. The resultative readings emerge from the *bei*

construction.

(26) 池 賢宇 一邊 幻想 被 甩 一邊 寫 武俠 小說，...

*Chi Xianyu yibian huanxiang bei shuai yibian xie wuxia xiaoshuo, ...*

Chi Xianyu while imagine BEI dump while write martial art fiction

‘Chi Xianyu imagined of himself being dumped while he was writing a martial art fiction.’

The lexical meaning of the stem *shuai* ‘to dump’ in (26) only expresses a dynamic or action verb. The result of being dumped or changing of status (from a boyfriend to a common friend) is yielded from the construction *bei-shuai*.

Such an interpretation, however, is not just limited to monosyllabic verbs, but it applies to disyllabic/polysyllabic verbs as well.

(27) 最後一直爭議 很大的 史竹君 被 淘汰。

*Zuihou yizhi zhengyi hen da de Shi Zhujun bei taotai.*

last always controversy very big GEN Shi Zhujun BEI eliminate

‘Shi Zhujun who is always a very big controversy has been eliminated.’

(28) 他 因 遭 父親虐待， 被 安排 住進 一家 兒童 收容所。

*Ta yin zao fuqin nüedai, bei anpai zhu-jin yi jia ertong shourongsuo.*

3sg because encounter father abuse, BEI arrange stay in one-CL children shelter

‘Because he was abused by his father, he is (now) arranged to stay in a

shelter for children.’

The disyllabic *taotai* ‘eliminate’ in (27) implies a result of being lost or eliminated, therefore the resultative complement may not appear, and the sentence is still grammatical. However, the lexical meaning of verb *anpai* ‘arrange’ in (28) does not imply any result or change of state. Hence, a resultative complement clause *zhu-jin yi jia ertong shourongsuo* ‘to stay in a children shelter’ must be added to express result of the verb *anpai* ‘arrange’.

We can also argue that there are some transitive verbs whose direct objects are clauses or verb phrases. When these kinds of verbs are passivized, the logical (direct) object (which is clause or verb phrase) occupies the position of resultative complement in *bei* constructions, as in (29).

(29) 某 電子 業者 指定 她 擔任 爲尾牙 評審。

*Mou dianzi yezhe zhiding ta danren wei weiya pingshen.*

some electronic businessman assign 3sg take charge as year-end dinner examine

‘Some electronic businessmen assigned her to take charge as examiner of

the year-end dinner.’

(30) 她 被 某 電子 業者 指定擔任 爲尾牙 評審。

*Ta bei mou dianzi yezhe zhiding danren wei weiya pingshen.*

3sg BEI some electronic businessman assign take charge as year-end dinner examine

‘She was assigned to take charge as examiner of the year-end dinner by some electronic businessmen.’

The direct object in (29) is the clause *ta danren wei weiya pingshen* ‘she takes charge as an examiner of a year-end dinner’. When the sentence is passivized as in (30), the subject *ta* ‘she’ in this object clause moves to the subject position in *bei* passive sentence, while the verb phrase *danren wei weiya pingshen* ‘to take charge as an examiner of a year-end dinner’ serves as the complement phrase. Other similar verbs include 認為 *renwei* ‘to believe that’, 判定 *panding* ‘to judge’, 要求 *yaoqiu* ‘to demand’, etc. All of these verbs can be classified into raising verbs or three-place predicate verbs.

(31) a. 余天老婆 李亞萍 被 黑函 攻擊 她 裝 病 住院。

*Yu Tian laopo Li Yaping bei heihan gongji ta zhuang bing zhuyuan.*

Yu Tian wife Li Yaping BEI black letter vilify 3sg pretend sick hospitalize

‘Yu Tian’s wife, Li Yaping, was vilified by a black letter that she

pretended to be sick and be hospitalized.’

b. 余天老婆 李亞萍 被 黑函 攻擊。

*Yu Tian laopo Li Yaping bei heihan gongji.*

Yu Tian wife Li Yaping BEI black letter vilify

‘Yu Tian’s wife, Li Yaping, was vilified by a black mail.’



In instance (31), the dynamic verb *gongji* ‘vilify, attack; assault’ implies a result of being harmed in its lexical meaning. Hence, the occurrence of complement *ta zhuang bing zhu-yuan* ‘she pretended to be sick and be hospitalized’ can be omitted without influencing the acceptability of the sentence.

In this study, some verb-object compounds and idiomatic expressions can also be passivized, as in (32) and (33).

(32) 11 日 法院宣判， 馬克 被 判刑 兩年 並罰款 3000 美金。

*11 yue fayuan xuanpan, Ma Ke bei panxing 2 nian bing fakuan 3000 Meijin.*

11 day court pronounce Mark BEI sentence two year and fine 3000 US\$

‘On the eleventh day (of a month) the court pronounced that Mark had been sentenced to two years (imprisonment) and had been fined US\$ 3,000.’

(33) 愛 美 女子 似乎 完全 被 蒙在鼓裡。

*Ai mei nüzi sihu wanquan bei meng zai gu li.*

love beauty woman seemingly completely BEI hide inside a drum

‘Seemingly, women who are fond of making-up are completely (shrouded) in the dark.’

Verb-object compound *panxing* ‘sentence’ in (32) has implied a result of punishment, however, the complement phrase *liang nian* ‘two years’ is still added in passives to make the resultative state clearer. On the other hand, idiomatic expression

*meng zai gu li* ‘in the dark; unaware’ is passivized without addition of any resultative complement in sentence (33). The idiomatic expression itself has denoted a result of unawareness; therefore, a resultative complements may not appear.

#### 3.2.4 Summary

Only a limited intransitive verbal stems may appear in *bei* passives. The intransitive verbs are further restricted to unaccusative verbs. Their occurrence is permitted because of the fact that such verbs may function as transitive verbs, e.g. *bao* ‘to explode/to expose’. Another argument is that passivization to unaccusative verbs adds a new argument “the Agent/Causer” to the argument structure of passivized verb, which also yields a causative reading of the *bei* sentence, i.e. *ronghua* ‘melt’. In contrast, unergative verbs (i.e. *pao* ‘run’) cannot occur in *bei* passives. Consequently, no instance of unergative verbs co-occurring with *bei* is found in the corpus. The lack of Patient or Theme object is probably the reason behind the absence of unergative verbs.

Transitive verbs are the dominant stems co-occurring with *bei* in Chinese passives. Most transitive stems are realized as verbal compounds (77.6%), while some stems occur as monosyllabic or disyllabic verbs, VO compounds, and idiom expressions. The occurrence of these transitive stems in *bei* passives denotes causative-resultative reading. Therefore, the occurrence of resultative complements in

*bei* + RVCs structure is obligatory. The causal relationship is realized between the process and the resultant state. On the other hand, some monosyllabic and disyllabic verbal stems may occur in *bei* passives with or without a resultative complement. In these cases, only stems with lexical meaning of implying the possibility of a result can be passivized without being followed by resultative complements. Because the verbs such as *you* 'exist', *xiang* 'resemble' and *xing* 'be surnamed' carry no internal change they cannot be combined with a result phrase to yield a possible end state of an event. As a result, these verbs are precluded from appearing in *bei* construction, which specifies the causative-resultative reading.

In a nutshell, the restrictions on semantic features of the base verbs (both intransitives and transitives) are [+dynamic] and [-result]. The verbs must be dynamic and do not encode a result in order to appear in *bei* construction. The dynamic feature is closely related to the structure of RVCs, [activity + result], which typically takes an action verb as the preceding verb. Since the post-verbal complement in *bei* + RVC construction always denotes a result-state, the base verb is not supposed to indicate any result. Therefore, *bei* construction is incompatible with stative verbs (*ai* 'love', *taoyan* 'dislike', *xiang* 'miss') and achievement verbs (*dida* 'arrive', *huode* 'achieve') since they have already encoded a result themselves.

### 3.3 *Di-* passives in Bahasa Indonesia

#### 3.3.1 Frequency

The Indonesian corpus consists of 168 articles with approximately 3,266 clauses and 86,200 words in total. 894 occurrences of *di-* verbs are obtained, constituting 25.8 % of the total clauses. Nearly half of the total *di-*verbs in corpus re-occur a few times with similar stems. Therefore, after eliminating the doubly counted, re-occurring verbs, there are only 351 *di-* verbs with different stems. Among the 351 *di-* verbs, 141 stems are categorized into transitive verbs, 95 stems are categorized into intransitive verbs, 90 stems are nouns, and 25 stems are adjectives. The data of the *di-* verbs is given in the Appendix.

Bahasa Indonesia verbs accept a wide range of affixes to form new voices or new lexemes. Bahasa Indonesia has a form which is generally referred to as a passive, i.e. verb with a prefix *di-*. Hence, from *masak* ‘to cook’ we have *dimasak* ‘be cooked’.

*Di-* passive permits expression or suppression of external argument marked by optional preposition *oleh* ‘by’, as in (34).

(34) Makanan itu dimasak oleh pembantu.

food            that DI-cook by    maid

‘The food was cooked by the maid.’

### 3.3.2 Distribution of *di-* verbs

The literature shows that *di-* passives are realized into three forms: *di-stem*, *di-stem-kan*, and *di-stem-i*. The distribution of each *di-* forms in corpus is tabulated in

Table 3 below.

Frequency of Occurrence (%)	TYPE OF STEM	
	Intransitives	Transitives
DI-	0.0	83.9
DI--KAN	72.2	11.8
DI--I	27.8	4.3

Table 3. Distribution of *di-* verbs

Table 3 shows that all of the stems can be passivized into *di--kan* and *di--i* forms, though the occurrences of transitive verbs in these two forms is quite rare (11.8 % and 4.3% respectively). Passivization of intransitive stems only can appear in *di--kan* and *di--i* forms, while the passivization of transitive stems can happen across the three *di-*forms.

In the corpus, the stems that can be passivized directly using *di-stem* are only transitive verbs, as in (35) and (36). Moreover, the occurrence of passivized *di-stem* with transitive verbs is very high in percentage (83.9%).

(35) John Lennon mati ditembak oleh penggemarnya sendiri di New York.

John Lennon    dead DI-shoot    by    fan                    -3sg oneself    in New York

‘John Lennon was shot dead by his own fan in New York’

(36) Kabinet Olmert hanya akan **didukung** 67 anggota parlemen.

cabinet Olmert only will DI-support 67 member parliament

‘The Olmert’s cabinet would only be supported by 67 parliament members’

Transitive verbal stems *tembak* ‘shoot’ and *dukung* ‘support’ in (35) and (36) are passivized into *ditembak* ‘be shot’ and *didukung* ‘be supported’. The occurrences of such form in the corpus are largely distributed.

On the other hand, intransitive stems such as *jatuh* ‘fall’, *lengkap* ‘complete’, and *kuat* ‘strong’ only can be passivized by using the forms *di--kan* and *di--i*, as shown in (37) to (40).

(37) 38 bom seberat 40.000 pound **dijatuhkan** dalam 10 menit pertama.

38 bomb as heavy as 40,000 pound DI-drop-KAN in 10 minutes first

‘38 bombs as heavy as 40,000’pounds were dropped in the first 10 minutes.’

(38) Di Korea Selatan hasil pemilihan presiden bisa ditiadakan jika

in South Korea result election president can DI-annul-KAN if

seseorang **dijatuhi** hukuman penjara.

someone DI-impose-I imprisonment

‘In South Korea, the result of presidential election can be annulled if he/she is sentenced to imprisonment’

(39) Mobil-mobil pengangkut bahan makanan akan **dilengkapi** GPS.

cars carrier foodstuffs will DI-complete-I GPS

‘Cars carrying foodstuffs will be equipped with GPS.’

(40) Putusan itu **dikuatkan** oleh pengadilan federal di Miami Agustus 2007.

decision that DI-strong-KAN by court federal in Miami August 2007

‘The decision was supported by Miami Federal Court in August 2007.’

### 3.3.3 Analysis of *di-* verbs

Analysis and discussion on *di-* verbs in this section will be focused on the transitivity of the stems and grammatical meaning of the passivized verbs.

#### 3.3.3.1 *Intransitive verbal stems*

In (37) and (38) intransitive stem *jatuh* ‘fall’ was passivized into *dijatuhkan* ‘be dropped’ and *dijatuhi* ‘be imposed/ be sentenced’. The grammatical meaning of passivized verb is different from the lexical meaning of the stem.

(41) 38 bom jatuh dalam 10 menit pertama.

38 bomb fall in 10 minute first

‘38 bombs fell in the first ten minutes.’

The stem *jatuh* when it occurs in active sentence usually denotes the intransitive meaning ‘fall’, as in (41). The argument structure of predicate *jatuh* ‘fall’ has *bom* ‘the bomb’ as the Theme occupying the Subject position. Because there is no other

participant or internal argument that can be promoted to the subject position in passive, passivization of intransitive verb *jatuh* into *di-* form *dijatuh* is blocked.

Therefore, the sentence (42) is unacceptable.

(42) \*38 bom dijatuh dalam 10 menit pertama.

38 bomb DI-fall in 10 minute first

However, by adding suffix *-kan* or *-i* to the intransitive stem *jatuh* ‘fall’, the passivized verbs *dijatuhkan* in (37) and *dijatuhi* in (38) are obtained. The derivation process of passive verb *dijatuhkan* ‘be caused to fall’ is shown in (43).

(43)

<i>jatuh</i>	‘fall’	
↓		
<i>meng- + jatuh + -kan</i>	‘cause to fall’	(active form)
↓		
<i>di- + jatuhkan</i>	‘be caused to fall’	(passive form)

(44) a. 38 bom jatuh dalam 10 menit pertama.

38 bomb fall in 10 minute first

‘38 bombs fell in the first ten minutes.’

b. Tentara Amerika menjatuhkan 38 bom dalam 10 menit pertama.

army U.S. MENG-drop-KAN 38 bomb in 10 minute first

‘The U.S. army dropped 38 bombs in the first ten minutes.’

c. 38 bom seberat 40.000 pound dijatuhkan dalam 10 menit pertama.

38 bomb as heavy as 40,000 pound DI-drop-KAN in 10 minutes first



‘38 bombs as heavy as 40,000 pounds were caused to fall in the first ten minutes.’

In sentence (44b) suffix *-kan* appears to change the argument structure of the intransitive stem *jatuh* ‘fall’ by adding a Causer *tentara Amerika* ‘the U.S. army’ as the highest argument of verb *jatuhkan* ‘cause to fall’. This has caused the highest argument of the base verb *jatuh* ‘fall’ in (44a), *38 bom* ‘the 38 bombs’, to be displaced into the position of the second argument. When the suffixed verb (*meng-*)*jatuhkan* ‘cause to fall’ is passivized, passive marker *di-* is added and the suffix *-kan* is retained as in (44c). Moreover, the Theme *38 bom* ‘38 bombs’ occupies the Subject position in passive sentence (44c), while the additional argument (the Causer) *hakim* ‘the judge’ is suppressed. In other words, the addition of *-kan* to intransitive verbs adds a new argument with a causative interpretation and also increases its transitivity, that is, the affixation process produces a transitive verb. In most cases, this new argument is suppressed and cannot be seen in passive sentence. Therefore, the derivation process must involve active sentence in order to show the addition of a new argument to the predicate resulted from the suffixation process.

Besides adding suffix *-kan*, intransitive stems also can be added by suffix *-i* in order to be eligible for passivization, as in (45).

- (45)
- |                           |                |           |
|---------------------------|----------------|-----------|
| <i>jatuh</i>              | ‘fall’         |           |
| ↓                         |                |           |
| <i>meng- + jatuh + -i</i> | ‘to sentence’  | (active)  |
| ↓                         |                |           |
| <i>di- + jatuhi</i>       | ‘be sentenced’ | (passive) |

- (46) a. 38 bom jatuh dalam 10 menit pertama.

38 bomb fall in 10 minute first

‘38 bombs fell in the first ten minutes.’

- b. Hakim menjatuhi hukuman penjara 5 tahun kepada perampok itu.

judge MENG-impose-I imprisonment 5 year to robber that

‘The judge sentenced the robber to five years in jail.’

- c. Perampok itu dijatuhi hukuman penjara 5 tahun.

robber that DI-impose-I sentence jail 5 years

‘The robber was sentenced to five years in jail.’

As shown in (46a) above, the intransitive verb *jatuh* ‘fall’ only has one argument, i.e., the *Theme*. There is no oblique argument in this sentence. According to Cole and Son (2004), suffix *-i* in Bahasa Indonesia appears to play the role of a prototypical applicative suffix.<sup>2</sup> As shown in (46b), applicative suffix *-i* both adds an oblique argument (the *goal*) *perampok itu* ‘the robber’ to the argument structure and makes the argument become the primary object of the verb *menjatuhi* ‘to sentence’. When

<sup>2</sup> In prototypical applicative suffix the nominal corresponding to the object of a preposition in the base sentence must appear as the primary object in the applied construction. (Cole, 2004)

the active sentence (46b) is passivized, it is the goal *perampok itu* ‘the robber’ that becomes the Subject. The entire process creates a passive verb *dijatuhi* ‘be sentenced’ as in (46c).

In addition, the grammatical meaning of *dijatuhi* ‘be sentenced’ is different from the lexical meaning of the stem *jatuh* ‘to fall’. Contrast to the addition of suffix *-kan* which invokes a causative meaning in its derived form, suffixation *-i* to the stem does not yield a causative meaning. The derived verb + *-i* usually has applicative reading, as in (46c).

The collected data shows that the occurrence of intransitive stems in *di--kan* form (72.2%) is much more frequent than in *di--i* form (27.8%). Why so? In the next discussion the occurrence of *di-*verbs in forms *di--kan* and *di--i* will be examined based on the types of intransitive verbs.

(47) a. Semua penerbangan di bandara IKA dan Mehrabad batal.

all flight at airport IKA and Mehrabad cancel

‘All flights at IKA and Mehrabad airports are canceled.’

b. Pemerintah membatalkan semua penerbangan di bandara IKA.

government MENG-cancel-KAN all flight at airport IKA

‘The government canceled all flights at IKA airport.’

c. Semua penerbangan di bandara IKA **dibatalkan** pemerintah.

all flight at airport IKA DI-cancel-KAN government

‘All flights at IKA Airport were canceled by the government.’

(48) a. 395 karyawan **keluar** dari pekerjaannya.

395 employee quit from job -3PL

‘395 employees quit from their job.’

b. Pemerintah **mengeluarkan** 395 karyawannya.

government MENG-discharge-KAN 395 employee-3SG

‘The government dismissed 395 employees.’

c. 395 karyawan **dikeluarkan** dari instansi pemerintah.

395 employee DI-discharge-KAN from agency government

‘395 employees were dismissed from government agency.’

In (47a) the unaccusative verb *batal* ‘cancel’ requires only one argument, i.e. the Theme *semua penerbangan* ‘all flights’. The unergative verb *keluar* ‘quit’ in (48a) also requires one argument, i.e. the Agent *karyawan* ‘employee’. In order to be eligible for passivization, a new argument must be added to the stem. Addition of a new argument (the Causer) *pemerintah* ‘the government’ is obtained from suffixation *-kan* to the both stems *batal* ‘cancel’ and *keluar* ‘quit’. This suffixation process gives a causative interpretation to both active forms of *membatalkan* ‘cause to cancel’ and

*mengeluarkan* ‘cause to quit’ in (47b) and (48b). When the active verbs are passivized, the suffix *-kan* is retained and the passive verbs are realized as *dibatalkan* ‘be caused to cancel’ and *dikeluarkan* ‘be caused to quit’. In the passive sentences (47c) and (48c), the suffix *-kan* and the causative reading are retained.

(49) a. SCTV duduk di urutan kedua dengan channel share 17.2 %.

SCTV sit on order second with channel share 17.2 percent

‘SCTV sat in the second rank with channel share of 17.2 percent.’

b. SCTV menduduki urutan kedua dengan channel share 17.2 %.

SCTV MENG-sit-I order second with channel share 17.2 percent

‘SCTV occupied the second rank with channel share of 17.2 percent.’

c. Urutan kedua diduduki SCTV dengan channel share 17, 2 %.

order second DI-sit-I SCTV with channel share 17.2 percent

‘The second rank was occupied by SCTV with channel share of 17.2 percent.’

(50) a. Kedua belah pihak hadir dalam sidang tersebut.

both side party attend in court that

‘Both parties are present in the court.’

b. Kedua belah pihak menghadiri sidang tersebut.

both side party MENG-attend-I court that

‘Both parties attend the court.’

- c. Sidang tersebut dihadiri oleh kedua belah pihak.

court that DI-attend-I by both side party

‘The court is attended by both parties.’

In (49a) and (50a) the lexical meanings of *duduk* ‘sit’ and *hadir* ‘attend’ require merely one argument. The Subject of unaccusative verb *duduk* ‘sit’ is occupied by the Theme, *SCTV* ‘(name of a TV channel)’; while the Subject of unergative verb *hadir* ‘attend’ is an Agent, *kedua belah pihak* ‘both parties’. In order to be passivized, these verbs must be changed into transitive verbs first. Suffix *-i* is added because it fulfills the characteristic of prototypical applicative suffix.<sup>3</sup> Suffixation of *-i* to *duduk* ‘sit’ and *hadir* ‘attend’ changes the nominal phrases *urutan kedua* ‘second rank’ and *sidang tersebut* ‘the court’ to become the primary objects in the active constructions (49b) and (50b). The nominal phrase *urutan kedua* ‘second rank’ corresponds to the object of prepositional phrase *di urutan kedua* ‘in the second rank’ in the base sentence (51a), while the nominal phrase *sidang tersebut* ‘the court’ corresponds to the object of prepositional phrase *dalam sidang tersebut* ‘in the court’ in (50a). As a result, transitive verbs are obtained and can be passivized into *diduduki* ‘be occupied’ in (49c) and *dihadiri* ‘be attended’ in (50c). Passivization process promotes the

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<sup>3</sup> Cole and Son proposed that in prototypical applicative suffix the nominal corresponding to the object of a preposition in the base sentence must appear as the primary object in the applied construction. (2004: 343)

primary objects *urutan kedua* ‘second place’ and *sidang tersebut* ‘the court’ to the subject position, while at the same time the logical subject (the Agent) *SCTV* ‘(name of a TV channel)’ and *kedua belah pihak* ‘both parties’ are demoted to the object position in *di-* passive. The passivized verbs *diduduki* ‘be occupied’ and *dihadiri* ‘be attended’ indicate resultant states of being occupied and being attended, respectively.

In summary, intransitive stems (regardless unaccusative or unergative verbs) may be passivized either by using *di--kan* or *di--i* passive forms, but cannot be passivized into *di-*stem. Suffix *-kan* and *-i* have different functions but they both can transform intransitive stems to transitive ones by adding a new argument to the argument structure of the derived verbs. The choice between suffix *-kan* and suffix *-i* depends on what the intention a speaker wants to express. For example, if a speaker wants to give causative interpretation into his/her passive sentence, thus suffix *-kan* must be chosen. On the other hand, if he/she only wants to change the object of a preposition in base sentence to become the primary object in passive sentence as in (50), or to add an oblique argument as in (46) then suffix *-i* must be attached to the verb. The corpus data show that most of intransitive verbs appear in *di-*stem-*kan* form (72.2%), confirming the close relationship of passive construction with causative meaning. Or vice versa, the close relationship between passive and causative reading produces high frequency of intransitive verbs appearing in *di--kan* form, where the

suffix *-kan* functions to yield a causative meaning.

### 3.3.3.2 Transitive verbal stems

Passivization of transitive verbs in Bahasa Indonesia is not a topic of debate in literatures due to the fact that all transitive verbal stems can be passivized directly into *di*-forms (as shown in Table 2).

(51) a. Polisi Kenya menolak tuduhan itu.

police Kenya MENG-deny accusation that

‘The Kenyan Police denied the accusation.’

b. Tuduhan itu ditolak polisi Kenya.

Accusation that DI-deny police Kenya

‘The accusation was denied by the Kenyan Police.’

In example (51) above transitive stem *tolak* or *menolak* ‘refuse; deny’ is passivized into passive form *ditolak* ‘be denied’. Unlike intransitive verbs, passivization process of transitive stem does not necessarily involve a suffixation process yielding addition of a new argument. Each simple transitive stems can be directly passivized into *di*-stem form. Therefore, data in the corpus shows a high percentage of the occurrence of *di*-stem in passives from transitive stem (83.9%)

Some transitive stems in the corpus also appear in the passive forms of *di--kan* (11.8%) and *di--i* (4.3%). The occurrence of transitive verbs in these two forms



indicates addition or alteration of the lexical meaning of the stem. Instance (52)

indicates that the transitive verb *ungkap* ‘to reveal’ can appear with or without suffix

*-kan* in passive construction. How are these two verbs different?

(52) a. Senin (7/1) rahasia itu **diungkap** para pendukung Bond.

Monday (7/1) secret that DI-reveal (collective marker) supporter Bond

‘On Monday (7/1) the secret was revealed by supporters of Bond.’

b. Hal itu **diungkapkan** Presiden Yudhoyono di Hotel JW Marriott.

issue that DI-reveal-KAN president Yudhoyono at Hotel JW Marriott

‘That issue was revealed by President Yudhoyono at JW Marriot

Hotel.’

In (52), the passive verbs *diungkap* and *diungkapkan* have a grammatical passive meaning ‘be revealed’. The difference between these two passive verbs lies on the function of suffix *-kan*. Suffixation of *-kan* to the transitive verb *ungkap* ‘to reveal’ adds a causative-resultative reading to the lexical meaning of its base verb. As a result, the derived passive verb *diungkapkan* ‘be revealed’ emphasizes that the issue was caused to reveal and the action of revealing has been completed and has shown a result. In contrast, the passive verb without suffix *-kan* has no causative interpretation and the action is neither complete nor denoting a result. In the corpus of Bahasa Indonesia several verbs with the above situation can be found: *pindah/pindahkan* ‘to

move’, *sebar/sebarkan* ‘to spread’, *banding/bandingkan* ‘to compare’, *antar/antarkan* ‘to send off’, etc.

(53) a. Hampir seluruh masyarakat Kamboja membaca Phnom Penh Post.

almost all society Cambodian MENG-read Phnom Penh Post

‘Almost all Cambodian People read Phnom Penh Post.’

b. Phnom Penh Post dibaca oleh hampir seluruh masyarakat Kamboja.

Phnom Penh Post DI-read by almost all society Cambodian

‘Phnom Penh Post is read by almost all Cambodian people.’

(54) a. Rowling membacakan cerita Harry Potter untuk anak-anak di India.

Rowling MENG-read-KAN story Harry Potter for children in India

‘Rowling read story of Harry Potter for children in India.’

b. Cerita Harry Potter dibacakan Rowling untuk anak-anak di India.

story Harry Potter DI-read-KAN Rowling for children in India

‘The story of Harry Potter was read by Rowling for children in India.’

Instance (53) and (54) show that the transitive verb *baca* ‘to read’ can also appear with or without suffix *-kan*. In its active form in (53a), *membaca* ‘to read’ has an object *Phnom Penh Post* meaning ‘X read Y’. There is no benefactive interpretation in this sentence. The passivization process outcome is verb *dibaca* ‘be read’ in (53b) which also has no benefactive interpretation. It is the addition of suffix

*-kan* to the transitive verb *beri* ‘to give’ in (54) that really yields a benefactive interpretation. The suffix *-kan* adds a benefactive argument *anak-anak* ‘children’ to the predicate *membacakan* ‘to read (for someone)’, as in (54a). The active verb is then passivized into *dibacakan* ‘be read (for someone)’. Although the benefactive argument occurs after preposition *untuk* ‘for’ as an adjunct, the occurrence of this adjunct is obligatory to signify the benefactive reading in both active and passive constructions. Therefore, in passive sentence (54b) the benefactive argument is retained.

(55) a. Pemerintah memasang stiker larangan merokok di semua taksi.

government MENG-stick sticker prohibition smoking at all taxi

‘The government sticks no-smoking stickers on all taxis.’

b. Semua taksi dipasang stiker larangan merokok.

all taxi DI-stick sticker prohibition smoking

‘All taxis are stuck with no-smoking stickers.’

(56) a. Pemerintah memasangi semua taksi dengan stiker larangan merokok.

government MENG-stick-I all taxi with sticker prohibition smoking

‘The government sticks a no-smoking sticker on every taxi.’

b. Semua taksi dipasangi stiker larangan merokok.

all taxi DI-stick-I sticker prohibition smoking

‘All taxis, one by one and every of them, are stuck with no-smoking stickers.’

Other than suffix *-kan*, suffix *-i* can also be added to transitive verbs. Transitive verb *pasang* or *memasang* ‘to stick’ in (55) can appear as *dipasang* ‘be stuck’ and *dipasangi* ‘be stuck somewhere/repeatedly’ in passive construction. Suffixation of *-i* to the base verb *pasang* or *memasang* ‘to stick’ produces a derived verb *memasangi* ‘to stick in somewhere/repeatedly’. Sentence (56a) has both locative and iterative meanings. The appearance of locative object *semua taksi* ‘all taxis’ denotes a locative meaning while the derived verb *memasangi* ‘to stick repeatedly’ also emphasizes that an action *memasang* ‘to stick’ are done repeatedly, one by one. Without suffix *-i* the verb *memasang* ‘to stick’ indicates an action of sticking (the stickers on all taxis) done in one step. The emphasis of doing the sticking in an orderly or repetitive fashion is given by the addition of suffix *-i* to that verb. The repetitive meaning is retained when the verb *memasangi* is passivized into *dipasangi* ‘be stuck somewhere/repeatedly’ as in (56b).

However, no verb is found to appear in all the three passive forms. It could be caused by the small size of the corpus. According to the study by Sie (1988), every transitive verb can be made passive in all three forms of *di*-passive as long as the lexical meanings of the base verb are in agreement with the function of the suffixation,

i.e. adding a new meaning. Suffixation of *-kan* and *-i* to a transitive verb has a specific function of giving the derived verb a new grammatical meaning different from the lexical meaning of the base verb. Suffix *-kan* functions to add causative or benefactive meaning while suffix *-i* functions to attach locative or iterative meaning to the derived verb.

#### 3.3.4 Summary

All verbs, both intransitives and transitives, can be passivized into *di-* forms in Bahasa Indonesia. *Di-* passive in Bahasa Indonesia may appear in three forms: *di-stem*, *di-stem-kan*, dan *di-stem-i*. Suffixation of *-kan* or *-i* is the key of the wide acceptability of passivization process in Bahasa Indonesia, especially when dealing with intransitive verbs.

All stems which can be categorized as intransitive verbs must first undergo suffixation before they can be passivized. The suffixation transforms intransitive verbs into transitive verbs by adding new argument to the argument structure of the base verb. Addition of suffix *-kan* results in causative interpretation. On the other hand, addition of applicative suffix *-i* to the base verb results in, other than giving an oblique argument to the argument structure of the derived verb, alteration of the position of object originally behind the preposition to become the primary object, making the verb compatible for passivization. When passivized, suffix *-kan* or *-i* is not

removed; it is retained in the passive verbs. Therefore, passivization of intransitive verbs in Bahasa Indonesia can be realized in two forms, i.e. *di-stem-kan* and *di-stem-i*.

Passivization of transitive verbs in Bahasa Indonesia is so widespread. Generally speaking, all transitive verbs can be passivized into three variants of *di*-passive: *di-stem*, *di-stem-kan*, and *di-stem-i*. Regarding the first variant, all transitive verbs can be passivized into *di-stem*. Passivization into second form (*di--kan*) and third form (*di--i*) is possible theoretically as long as the lexical meaning of the stem is compatible with the functions of the suffix *-kan* or *-i*. Addition of suffix *-kan* to transitive verb results in causative or benefactive interpretation. Meanwhile, suffix *-i* possesses locative and repetitive readings. Data in the corpus reveal that frequencies of occurrence of transitive verbs with *di--kan* and *di--i* are low: 11.8% and 4.3%, respectively.

### **3.4 A contrastive analysis of *bei* passives and *di-* passives**

This section contrasts the passive constructions of *bei* in Mandarin Chinese and *di-* in Bahasa Indonesia with regard to the frequency and distribution of passive verbs and the restrictions to verbal stems.

#### **3.4.1 Overall frequency and distribution**

In Mandarin Chinese corpus data, of the 537 clauses, the 137 clauses comprising

*bei*-verb are 25.5% ratio. In contrast, 894 occurrences of *di*-verbs obtained from Indonesian corpus constitute 25.8% of the total clauses. The percentage numbers above may tell us that the occurrence of passive constructions in both languages is balanced.

However, a deeper look at the verb distributions should reveal that Bahasa Indonesia has much more passive verbs as compared to Mandarin Chinese. After separating the reoccurring verbs, 351 unique passive verbs are found in the Bahasa Indonesia corpus while only 91 unique passive verbs are collected from the Mandarin Chinese corpus. Analysis of verb transitivity supports this fact. The abundance of *di*-passive verbs is caused by the fact that nearly all verbs in Bahasa Indonesia can be passivized, irrespective of the transitivity of the verbs. On the other hand, in Mandarin Chinese corpus, majority of the *bei*-passive verbs are transitive verbs.

#### 3.4.2 The restrictions to verbal stems

Only two intransitive verbs (unaccusative verbs) which are preceded by *bei* can be found in the written Mandarin corpus data, i.e. *ronghua* 'melt' and *bao* 'explode'.

Analysis of *bei* verbs in Mandarin Chinese shows that unaccusative verbs may co-occur with *bei* in passive construction by adding an argument the “causer”, while unergative verbs may not appear in *bei* sentence. However, the extremely low frequency of occurrence of the intransitive verbs may indicate that these verbs are

unfavorable to be passivized in *bei* passives of Mandarin Chinese.

In contrast, all intransitive verbs can be passivized into *di-* forms in Bahasa Indonesia. Suffixation of *-kan* or *-i* is the key of the wide acceptability of passivization process in Bahasa Indonesia, especially intransitive verbs. The suffixation transforms intransitive verbs to transitive verbs by adding new argument to the argument structure of the base verb. Addition of suffix *-kan* results in causative interpretation. On the other hand, applicative suffix *-i* is added to the base verb in order to add oblique argument to the argument structure of the derived verb. It also functions to alter the position of object originally behind the preposition to become the primary object, making the verb compatible for passivization. All stems which can be categorized as intransitive verbs must first undergo suffixation before they can be passivized. When passivized, suffix *-kan* or *-i* is not removed; it is retained in the passive verbs.

All transitive verbs in Mandarin Chinese can be passivized into *bei* form with or without a resultative complement phrase. Transitive verbs that appear in *bei* passive without complement phrase usually have meaning implying a result. On the other hand, transitive verbs which must be followed by a complement phrase are generally monosyllabic verbs in the structure of *bei* + RVCs. *Bei* passive clearly has a very tight relationship with complement phrases denoting resultative state. Transitive verbs



which can be passivized are commonly action verbs stating an activity or a dynamic event.

Passivization of transitive verbs in Bahasa Indonesia is so widespread that the frequency of occurrence is very high. Generally speaking, all transitive verbs can be passivized into three variants of *di*-passive: *di*-stem, *di*-stem-*kan*, and *di*-stem-*i*.

Addition of suffix *-kan* to transitive verb results in causative or benefactive interpretation, while suffix *-i* has locative and repetitive reading.

In sum, passives in both languages occur primarily with transitive verbal stems. The passivization of transitive verbs in Mandarin Chinese denotes a causative reading and a certain result. On the other hand, the occurrence of transitive verbs in *di*-passives merely expresses a passive meaning in the *di*-stem form but denotes a new grammatical meaning other than the passive meaning when occurring in *di*-stem-*kan* and *di*-stem-*i* forms. The occurrence of intransitive verbs in *bei* passives is restricted to unaccusative verbs which denote a causative-resultative reading. In contrast, all of intransitive verbs in Bahasa Indonesia can be passivized through a suffixation process of *-kan* or *-i*. The suffixation process results in a new grammatical meaning of the passivized verb which is different from the lexical meaning of the base verb.

### 3.4.3 Semantic Typology

As discussed above, passivization in Mandarin Chinese adds a semantic

component, such as causatives and resultatives. This causative-resultative interpretation is obtained when the root verb appears in *bei* construction, with an addition of resultative complement phrase. In other words, the passivization process is a semantic operation which takes place in the syntactic level.

In contrast, passive marker *di-* in Bahasa Indonesia is a prefix. It is attached to the verb and changes the meaning of the root verb into a passive verb. Besides, passivization in Bahasa Indonesia also involves a complex affixation process (i.e. suffixation *-kan* or *-i*), which alters the semantic lexical of the root verb. Both affixation and passivization processes occur and are completed in the lexical level. This lexical operation creates slightly different lexemes with syntactic realizations different from those of the base predicate.

In sum, from the perspective of semantic typology, passivization process in Mandarin Chinese is an operation at syntactic level while passivization process in Bahasa Indonesia is a lexical operation at a lexico-semantic level.