

Two Types of Pseudo-Double Object Constructions in Mandarin Chinese*

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Abstract

In this paper I examine the structure of pseudo-double object construction in Mandarin under the applicative framework (see also Tsai 2007, 2008 and 2009). In addition to the *steal*-type of pseudo-double object construction proposed by Huang (2007, 2008a), I argue that we can find another *tell*-type of pseudo-double object construction as well. The difference can be observed from their A- and A'-movement behaviors. I then propose that these two types of pseudo-double construction are structurally similar to two subtypes of the Mandarin passive. The *tell*-type of pseudo-double object construction is parallel to the adversative/exclusive passive discussed in Huang (1999). On the other hand, the *steal*-type of pseudo-double object construction examined by Huang (2007, 2008a) is reminiscent of the possessive/inclusive passive. Finally, the similarity between the pseudo-double object construction and the passive construction in Mandarin Chinese not only supports the proposal of a common applicative projection posited in both constructions as discussed in the literature, but also benefits the introduction of the subtypes of these two constructions in teaching Chinese as a second language.

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1. Introduction

Applicative Projection [ApplP] has been proposed as a syntactic way to introduce an additional argument to the structure of a verb in nature languages these years (see Marantz 1993, McGinnis 2001, McGinnis and Gerds 2004 and Pylkkänen 2002, 2008 among many others). For example, in the following double object construction example (1) in Venda (a Bantu language), an additional non-core applied argument *old woman* can be introduced to the syntactic structure even if this old woman herself is not involved in the event of field investigation. The old woman simply benefits from this field investigation event.

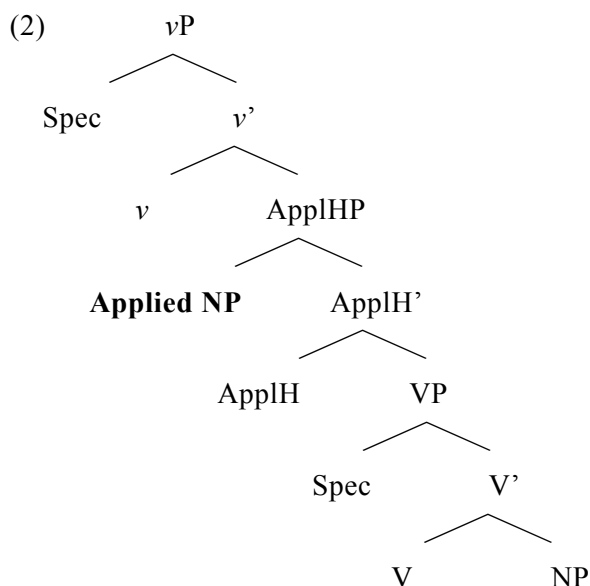
(1) Venda

Nd-o-tandulela	tshimu	ya	mukegulu.
1 _{SG} -PAST-Survey	old.woman	the	field
'I surveyed the field for the old woman.'			

(Pylkkänen 2008: 19)

The example in (1) has been argued in Pylkkänen (2008) to involve a high applicative [ApplHP] in the structure in order to host the additional applied argument. According to Pylkkänen (2008), the high applicative denotes a relationship between an event (the VP: field investigation) and an applied individual (the NP at Spec, ApplHP: the old woman).¹ Based on the semantic denotation, the high applicative projection is syntactically located right above the VP, as shown in (2).

¹ The name ApplHP is in contrast to the low applicative (ApplLP) which is located inside the VP domain and denotes a relationship between an individual (the NP at the complement position of ApplLP) and a Source/Recipient (the NP at Spec, ApplLP).



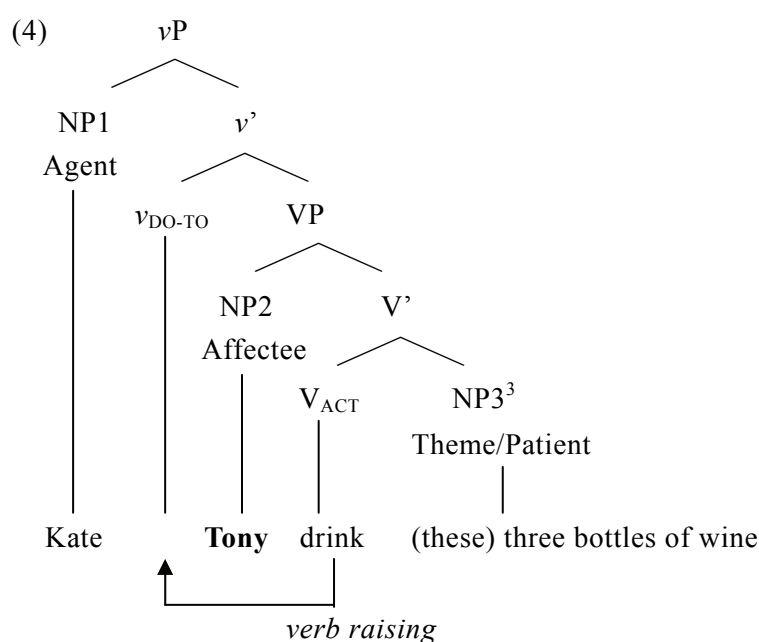
In Mandarin Chinese, Huang (2007, 2008a) discusses the following example (3) and proposes a structure like the one in (4).² This is called the pseudo-double object construction, in which the indirect object (IO) *Tony* is interpreted as an Affectee (cf. Zhang 1998 and many others). One can image the following scenario: *Kate* and *Tony* went to a bar, and *Tony* paid for *Kate*'s drinking three bottles of wine. In this way, *Tony* is affected even if he is not involved in the event of drinking.

- (3) Kaite he-le **Dongni** (zhe-)san-ping jiu
 Kate drink-ASP Tony this-three-CL wine
 'Kate drank (these) three bottles of wine on Tony.'

Note that in (3), the transitive verb *he* ('drink') somehow becomes ditransitive, which is quite similar to the case that we have seen in example (1). The proposed

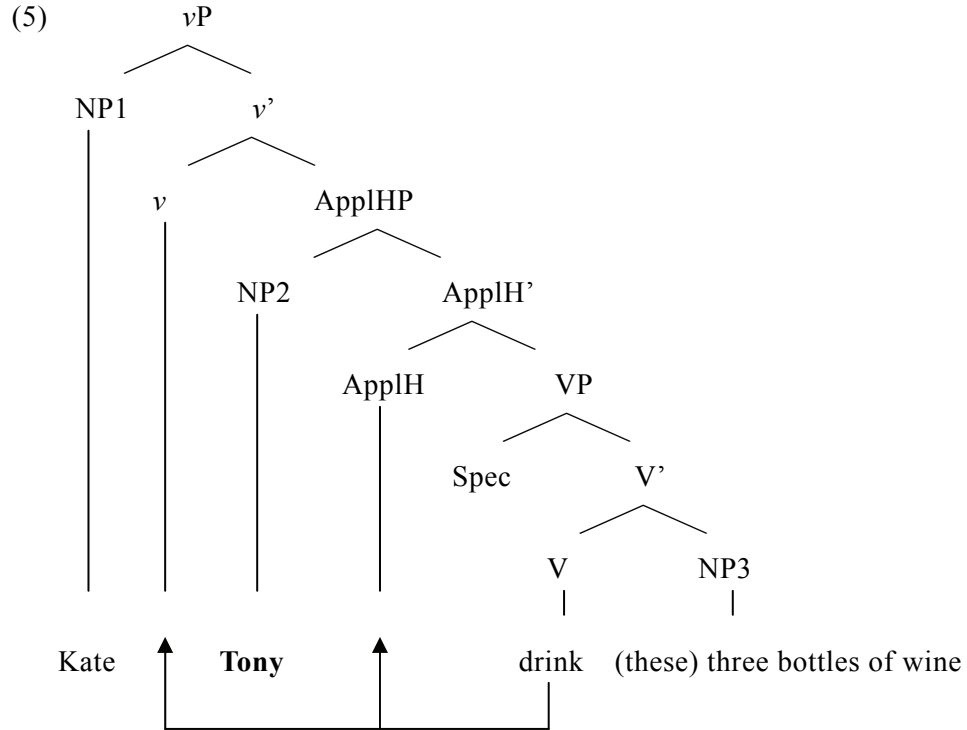
² A specificity/definiteness requirement has been observed to be imposed on the subject and topic/focus in Mandarin Chinese (see Hsin 2002 and Tsai 2001). In the following discussion, an optional demonstrative is added before the indefinite postverbal NP in the relevant examples. This is to avoid the interference of the specificity/definiteness requirement when the postverbal NP undergoes movement to the subject or topic/focus positions.

structure with an outer object in (4) by Huang is also quite close to the one in (2). The argument *Tony* (NP2) is base-generated in Spec, VP, where an Affectee theta-role is assigned. The verb has to undergo verb raising (head movement) to the *v* position in order to fulfill the requirement that the *v* head must be overtly filled (see Chomsky 1995 and Huang, Li and Li 2009).



Adopting the applicative framework, Tsai (2007, 2008, and 2009) proposes an updated version of structure (4) as in (5). In this structure, the Affectee *Tony* is located at Spec, ApplHP instead of Spec, VP, but there is still verb raising in order to get the correct word order. Note that in either structure (4) or (5), the applied NP *Tony* is proposed to be base-generated.

³ The term NP throughout this paper for Mandarin data is used in a broad sense which can include all the possible functional projections and the lexical NP head. The multiple functional projections may emerge optionally to host possessor, demonstrative, numeral and classifier if necessary.



In this paper, I will argue that there are in fact two types of pseudo-DOC in Mandarin: the *steal*-type and the *tell*-type. In Section 2, I first discuss the A-movement and A'-movement pattern of the IO and the DO in the *steal*-type of pseudo-DOC (i.e. example (3)). The results show that only the IO but not the DO in the *steal*-type of pseudo-DOC can undergo movement. In section 3, I discuss the *tell*-type of pseudo-DOC and show that this type of pseudo-DOC however shows symmetric movement pattern of the IO and the DO in both A- and A'-movement. I then provide an explanation in Section 4. According to the verb denotation, I propose that the *steal*-type of pseudo-DOC involves a Pro in the DO, while the *tell*-type of pseudo-DOC does not. The existence of a Pro and whether the Pro is c-commanded overtly by its antecedent together determines the movement symmetry/asymmetry of these two different types of pseudo-DOC. In Section 5, I compare the current findings of pseudo-DOC to the Mandarin passives. This current analysis implies that an applicative projection can be posited in the passives as proposed by Tsai (2008). In Section 6, some teaching suggestions of

the BEI construction and the pseudo-DOC in teaching Chinese a second language are discussed. I conclude the paper in the last section.

2. A- and A'-movement

In the literature regarding ApplP, one central issue of the structure is the movement symmetry/asymmetry of the applied argument IO and the verb argument DO (see McGinnis 2001, 2004, McGinnis and Gerdts 2004, Jeong 2006, Citko 2009, 2011 and so on). The discussed movement type is passivization (A-movement). Cross-linguistically, it has been shown that we can find either symmetric or asymmetric movement in the structure with a high applicative: both the IO and the DO can move, or only one of them can move. These are illustrated in the following examples with high applicatives.

(6) Kinyarwanda: both the IO and the DO can be passivized

- a. Umukoôbwa_i a-ra-andik-ir-w-a t_i íbárúwa n'ûmuhuûngu.
 girl SP-PR-write-APPL-PAS-ASP letter by boy
 'The girl is having the letter written for her by the boy.'

(Kimenyi 1980: 3c)

- b. Íbárúwa_i i-ra-andik-ir-w-a umukoôbwa t_i n'ûmuhuûngu.
 letter SP-PR-write-APPL-PAS-ASP girl by boy
 'The letter is written for the girl by the boy.'

(Kimenyi 1980: 3b)

(7) Chichewa: only the IO can be passivized

- a. Atsíkãna a-na-gúl-ír-idw-á mphâtso (ndi chitsîru)
 2.girls 2S-PST-buy-APPL-PAS-FV 9.gift by 7.fool
 'The girls were bought a gift (by the fool).'

- b. *Mphâtso i-na-gúl-ír-idw-á átsíkãna (ndi chitsîru)
 9.gift 9S-PST-buy-APPL-PAS-FV 2.girls by 7.fool
 'A gift was bought for the girls (by the fool).'

(McGinnis 2002:29)

(8) Polish: only the DO can be passivized⁴

- a. Półka została przytrzymana (Ewie) przez Janka.
 Shelf.NOM was held Eve.DAT by John
 ‘The shelf was held for Eve by John.’
- b. *Ewa została przytrzymana półkę przez Janka.
 Eve.NOM was held shelf.ACC by John
 ‘Eve was held a shelf by John.’

(Dziwirek 1994:84)

Citko (2009, 2011) employs a Case-based account to explain the above different movement patterns. She proposes that in the high applicative, the ν head values u Case on the IO, while the ApplHP head values u Case on the DO. As a language parameter, passivization may result from different Case absorption of these two heads. If it is the Case of the ν head being absorbed, the IO can be passivized. If it is the Case of the ApplHP head being absorbed, the DO can be passivized instead. These two options then give us an asymmetric movement pattern as the one in Chichewa and Polish. If a language can have either the Case feature of the ν head or the ApplHP head being absorbed, we get a symmetric movement such as the one in Kinyarwanda.

In Mandarin, I show the result of short passivization of example (3) via the BEI construction (see also Tsai 2008). The BEI construction is another name for the Mandarin passives, which can be divided into two further subtypes: the long passive (the BEI construction with the presence of an Agent) and the short passive (the BEI construction in Mandarin without the presence of an Agent). The former has been argued to involve Operator movement/A'-movement, while the latter involves A-movement (see Ting 1995, 1996, and 1998 and Huang 1999). The relevant example (3) of pseudo-DOC is repeated here with its structure as in (9), and the movement results are shown in (10).

⁴ For the DO-only passivization, the indirect object is marked with inherent Case and the current Case account needs further elaboration. See Citko (2011) for details.

- (9) [_{IP} Kaite [_{VP} he-le₂ [_{ApplP} Dongni t₂
 Kate drink-ASP Tony
 [_{VP} t₂ (zhe-)san-ping jiu.]]]
 this-three-CL wine
 ‘Kate drank (these) three bottles of wine on Tony.’
- (10) a. Dongni bei he-le (zhe-)san-ping jiu. (IO)
 Tony BEI drink-ASP this-three-CL wine
 ‘Tony was drank (these) three bottles of wine.’
- b. *Zhe-san-ping jiu bei he-le Dongni. (DO)
 this-three-CL wine BEI drink-ASP Tony
 ‘These three bottles of wine was drunk on Tony.’

The result shows that for the pseudo-DOC, only the IO, but not the DO can be passivized. From the Case perspective, one can follow Citko’s (2009) proposal in which the DO’s Case is valued by the ApplHP head via Agree. Also the possibility for the *v* head to evaluate Case is not available because of Case absorption. With a defective *v* head, the IO then has to value its Case with the T head and moves to Spec, TP because of the EPP feature.

Citko (2009) also investigates the *wh*-movement pattern of the high applicative. Presumably, both the IO and the DO can undergo *wh*-movement since A’-movement is not Case-related. The IO can move to Spec, CP directly. The DO has to stop at the outer specifier of ApplHP in order to be closer to the target than the IO, as proposed by McGinnis (2001) or Jeong (2006). McGinnis (2001) proposes that the ApplHP is a phase (see Chomsky 2000, 2001, 2004 and 2008), hence it has an EPP feature and can attract the DO to the outer specifier of ApplHP. Jeong (2006) adopts the Activation Condition by Bošković (2005, 2007) and assumes that an element (with an uninterpretable feature, such as *uCase*) is allowed to move for its own benefit, no matter there is a phase or not. Hence, under this approach movement can target any position as long as there is no other movement violation such as anti-locality or Minimality. Importantly, either approach allows both the IO and the DO to move if there are no other violations.

However, the following A'-movement results of pseudo-DOC (9) indicate that only the IO can undergo A'-movement. The DO is immobile. The A'-movement via long passive, topicalization, and focalization are shown in (11), (12) and (13) respectively.^{5,6}

(11) Long passive

- a. Dongni bei Kaite he-le (zhe-)san-ping jiu. (IO)
 Tony BEI Kate drink-ASP this-three-CL wine
 'Tony was drunk (these) three bottles of wine by Kate.'
- b. *Zhe-san-ping jiu bei Kaite he-le Dongni. (DO)
 this-three-CL wine BEI Kate drink-ASP Tony
 'These three bottles of wine was drunk by Kate on Tony.'

(12) Topicalization

- a. Dongni, Kaite he-le (zhe-)san-ping jiu. (IO)
 Tony Kate drink-ASP this-three-CL wine
 'Kate drank (these) three bottles of wine on Tony.'
- b. *Zhe-san-ping jiu, Kaite he-le Dongni. (DO)
 this-three-CL wine Kate drink-ASP Tony
 'Kate drank these three bottles of wine on Tony.'

⁵ The following context may help interpret example (12):

(i) Dongni, Kaite he-le (zhe-)san-ping jiu;
 Tony, Kate drink-ASP this-three-CL wine
 Maiji, Kaite he-le (na-)wu-ping jiu.
 McGee, Kate drink-ASP that-five-CL wine
 'Kate drank these three bottles of wine on Tony and those five bottles of wine on McGee.'

⁶ There are speaker variation regarding the acceptability of example (12a) and (13a) (also (17a) and (18a) and the following topicalization/focalization examples). Some speakers need the overt realization of a resumptive pronoun in the original IO position in order to make the sentence acceptable. It would be great to see what factor leads to this kind of variation but this has to be left for future investigation. The emergence of a resumptive pronoun in these two constructions highly implies a base-generation mechanism of the topic or focus. But since there is no such controversy in the grammaticality of the long passive, I assume that the A'-movement for the IO is allowed in the pseudo-DOC.

(13) Focalization

- a. Shi Dongni Kaite he-le (zhe-)san-ping jiu de, (IO)
is Tony Kate drink-ASP this-three-CL wine DE
(bushi Maiji)

not McGee

‘It is on Tony that Kate drank (these) three bottles of wine (, not on McGee).’

- b. ?*Shi zhe-san-ping jiu Kaite he-le Dongni de, (DO)
is this-three-CL wine Kate drink-ASP Tony DE
(bushi na-san-ping jiu)

not that-three-CL wine

‘It is these three bottles of wine that Kate drank on Tony (, not those three bottles of wine).’

The immobility of the DO regarding A'-movement is somehow unexpected. The A'-movement is Case-irrelevant, hence there should be no restriction for the IO or the DO to move, as predicted by Citko (2009). The facts of the movement asymmetry in A'-movement of the pseudo-DOC then become puzzling.

3. Asymmetric versus Symmetric Movement

In the above discussion, we see asymmetric movement of the pseudo-DOC in both A- and A'-movement. That is, only the IO but not the DO can move. However, in this section I would like to show that we in fact can find cases of symmetric movement in the pseudo-DOC as well.

In Li and Thompson (1981), they categorize Mandarin double object construction into three subtypes, and the pseudo-DOC under the current discussion equals to their third type of double object construction. Whether a double object construction allows a lexical item *gei* ('give') right after the main verb is their standard for categorizing these three subtypes. In the third type of double object construction, the lexical item *gei* ('give') is prohibited, as shown in (14). The verbs including *wen* ('ask'), *yin* ('win'), *tou* ('steal') etc are found in this type of double object construction.

- (14) Kaite wen(*-gei)-le Dongni zhe-xie wenti.
 Kate ask(*-give)-ASP Tony this-CL question
 ‘Kate asked Tony these questions.’

They also note that in certain Mandarin dialects, the verb *chi* (‘eat’) and *he* (‘drink’) have the meaning of “to eat off of” and “to drink off of”. Interestingly, these two verbs take an IO and a DO structurally, which can be subsumed under the pseudo-DOC. Recall that I have shown the structure of pseudo-DOC and the movement pattern of the verb *he* (‘drink’) which means “to drink off of” in the previous discussion.

Interestingly, if one examines the movement pattern of example (14), surprisingly we can get symmetric movement in both A- and A'-movement. This is shown from (15) to (18).⁷

- (15) Short passive
- a. Dongni bei wen-le zhe-xie wenti. (IO)
 Tony BEI ask-ASP this-CL question
 ‘Tony was asked these questions.’
- b. ?Zhe-xie wenti bei wen-le Dongni. (DO)
 This-CL question BEI ask-ASP Tony
 ‘These questions were asked on Tony.’

⁷ Some informants found a slight awkwardness in the passives in (15b) and (16b). This may be due to a semantic requirement of the BEI construction itself. The Malefactive reading on the subject has been well noted in the Chinese BEI constructions (see Hsin 1990 and Liu et al. 2001). However, this requirement is also controversial since not all passives impose such a requirement (see example (47) in Section 5). Note that in the cases of topicalization and focalization, they both exhibit grammaticality of the DO movement. Hence I assume that A'-movement of the DO is allowed for example (14).

(16) Long passive

- a. Dongni bei Kaite wen-le zhe-xie wenti. (IO)
Tony BEI Kate ask-ASP this-CL question
'Tony was asked these questions by Kate.'
- b. ?Zhe-xie wenti bei Kaite wen-le Dongni. (DO)
This-CL question BEI Kate ask-ASP Tony
'These questions were asked on Tony by Kate.'

(17) Topicalization

- a. Dongni, Kaite wen-le zhe-xie wenti. (IO)
Tony Kate ask-ASP this-CL question
'Kate asked Tony these questions.'
- b. Zhe-xie wenti, Kaite wen-le Dongni. (DO)
This-CL question Kate ask-ASP Tony
'Kate asked Tony these questions.'

(18) Focalization

- a. Shi Dongni Kaite wen-le zhe-xie wenti de, (IO)
is Tony Kate ask-ASP this-CL question DE
(bushi Maiji).
not McGee
'It is Tony that Kate asked these questions(, not McGee).'
- b. Shi zhe-xie wenti Kaite wen-le Dongni de, (DO)
is this-CL question Kate ask-ASP Tony DE
(bushi na-xie wenti).
not that-CL question
'It is these questions that Kate asked Tony(, not those questions).'

After examining all the verbs listed in the third type of double object construction in Li and Thompson (1981), I summarize their syntactic behaviors in the following Table 1.^{8,9} The movement results are shown as follows. I only present the movement results of short passive (A-movement) and long passive and topicalization (A'-movement) in order to save space.

Table 1 Two types of pseudo-DOC

	Movement asymmetry	Movement symmetry
Verb	<i>tou</i> ('steal'), <i>yin</i> ('win') <i>qiang</i> ('rob') <i>duo</i> ('snatch') <i>chi</i> ('eat'), <i>he</i> ('drink')	<i>gaosu</i> ('tell') <i>wen</i> ('ask') <i>qingjiao</i> (ask for enlightenment') <i>huida</i> ('answer')

Movement asymmetry:

tou ('steal'), *yin* ('win'), *qiang* ('rob'), *duo* ('snatch')

(19) Short passive

- a. Dongni bei tou/yin/qiang/duo-le zhe-xie qian. (IO)
 Tony BEI steal/win/rob/snatch-ASP this-CL money
 'Tony was stolen/won/robbed/snatched this amount of money.'
- b. *Zhe-xie qian bei tou/yin/qiang/duo-le Dongni. (DO)
 this-CL money BEI steal/win/rob/snatch-ASP Tony
 'This amount of money was stolen/won/robbed/snatched from Tony.'

⁸ I exclude the verb *gei* ('give') in Li and Thompson's list since this verb imposes a real double object construction. The impossibility of the sequence *gei-gei* in (i) should be due to some other phonological reasons.

(i) Dongni gei(*-gei)-le Kaite zhe-san-zhi qianbi. (V-IO-DO)
 Tony give-give-ASP Kate this-three-CL pencil
 'Tony gave Kate these three pencils.'

⁹ The verb *daying* ('promise') in Li and Thompson's list is also excluded here. For its short passive counterparts, my informants found both the IO and the DO movement ungrammatical. But both the IO and the DO can move in topicalization cases. Either the immobility of both the IO and the DO in short passive is due to the semantic incompatibility between the verb and short passive as noted in footnote 7, or it is the case that the verb *daying* ('promise') involves some other construction which is not the pseudo-DOC. I leave this issue for further research.

(20) Long passive

- a. Dongni bei Kaite tou/yin/qiang/duo-le zhe-xie qian. (IO)
Tony BEI Kate steal/win/rob/snatch-ASP this-CL money
'Tony was stolen/won/robbed/snatched this amount of money by Kate.'
- b. *Zhe-xie qian bei Kaite tou/yin/qiang/duo-le Dongni. (DO)
this-CL money BEI Kate steal/win/rob/snatch-ASP Tony
'This amount of money was stolen/won/robbed/snatched from Tony by Kate.'

(21) Topicalization

- a. Dongni, Kaite tou/yin/qiang/duo-le zhe-xie qian. (IO)
Tony Kate steal/win/rob/snatch-ASP this-CL money
'Kate stolen/won/robbed/snatched this amount of money from Tony.'
- b. *Zhe-xie qian, Kaite tou/yin/qiang/duo-le Dongni. (DO)
this-CL money Kate steal/win/rob/snatch-ASP Tony
'Kate stolen/won/robbed/snatched this amount of money from Tony.'

chi ('eat')

(22) Short passive

- a. Dongni bei chi-le (zhe-)san-wan fan. (IO)
Tony BEI eat-ASP this-three-CL rice
'Tony was eaten (these) three bowls of rice.'
- b. *Zhe-san-wan fan bei chi-le Dongni. (DO)
this-three-CL rice BEI eat-ASP Tony
'These three bowls of rice was eaten on Tony.'

(23) Long passive

- a. Dongni bei Kaite chi-le (zhe-)san-wan fan. (IO)
Tony BEI Kate eat-ASP this-three-CL rice
'Tony was eaten (these) three bowls of rice by Kate.'
- b. *Zhe-san-wan fan bei Kaite chi-le Dongni. (DO)
this-three-CL rice BEI Kate eat-ASP Tony
'These three bowls of rice was eaten on Tony by Kate.'

(24) Topicalization

- a. Dongni, Kaite chi-le (zhe-)san-wan fan. (IO)
 Tony Kate eat-ASP this-three-CL rice
 ‘Kate ate three bowls of rice on Tony.’
- b. *Zhe-san-wan fan, Kaite chi-le Dongni. (DO)
 this-three-CL rice Kate eat-ASP Tony
 ‘Kate ate three bowls of rice on Tony.’

Movement symmetry:

gaosu (‘tell’) and *qingjiao* (ask for enlightenment’)¹⁰

(25) Short passive

- a. Dongni bei goasu/qingjiao-le zhe-jian shi. (IO)
 Tony BEI tell/ask -ASP this-CL matter
 ‘Tony was told/asked this matter.’
- b. Zhe-jian shi bei goasu/qingjiao-le Dongni. (DO)
 this-CL matter BEI tell/ask -ASP Tony
 ‘This matter was told/asked to Tony.’

(26) Long passive

- a. Dongni bei Kaite goasu/qingjiao-le zhe-jian shi. (IO)
 Tony BEI Kate tell/ask-ASP this-CL matter
 ‘Tony was told/asked this matter by Kate.’
- b. Zhe-jian shi bei Kaite goasu/qingjiao-le Dongni. (DO)
 this-CL matter BEI Kate tell/ask-ASP Tony
 ‘This matter was told/asked to Tony by Kate.’

¹⁰ Some informants pointed out that they prefer *gaozhi* (‘tell’) to *gaosu* (‘tell’). Since these two verbs are near-synonymous, I assume that they are interchangeable with each other.

(27) Topicalization

- a. Dongni, Kaite goasu/qingjiao-le zhe-jian shi. (IO)
 Tony Kate tell/ask-ASP this-CL matter
 ‘Kate told/asked Tony this matter.’
- b. Zhe-jian shi, Kaite goasu/qingjiao-le Dongni. (DO)
 this-CL matter Kate tell/ask-ASP Tony
 ‘Kate told/asked Tony this matter.’

huida (‘answer’)

(28) Short passive

- a. ?Dongni bei huida-le zhe-ge wenti. (IO)
 Tony BEI answer-ASP this-CL question
 ‘Tony was answered this question.’
- b. ?Zhe-ge wenti bei huida-le Dongni. (DO)
 this-CL question BEI answer-ASP Tony
 ‘This question was answered to Tony.’

(29) Long passive

- a. ?Dongni bei Kaite huida-le zhe-ge wenti. (IO)
 Tony BEI Kate answer-ASP this-CL question
 ‘Tony was answered this question by Kate.’
- b. ?Zhe-ge wenti bei Kaite huida-le Dongni. (DO)
 this-CL question BEI Kate answer-ASP Tony
 ‘This question was answered to Tony by Kate.’

(30) Topicalization

- a. Dongni, Kaite huida-le zhe-ge wenti. (IO)
 Tony Kate answer-ASP this-CL question
 ‘Kate answered Tony this question.’
- b. Zhe-ge wenti, Kaite huida-le Dongni. (DO)
 this-CL question Kate answer-ASP Tony
 ‘Kate answered Tony this question.’

Hence there seems to be two different types of pseudo-DOC. One shows movement asymmetry, in which only the IO can move. The other one shows movement symmetry, in which both the IO and the DO can move. For the ease of the following discussion, I will name the former type as the *steal*-type of pseudo-DOC, and the latter type as the *tell*-type of pseudo-DOC.

4. Toward a Solution

In this section, I provide an explanation for the distinct syntactic behaviors of the two types of pseudo-DOC. First of all, let us reexamine the two groups of verb in Table 1. I propose that there is a clear semantic difference which can be observed between these two types. That is, in the *steal*-type of pseudo-DOC where we found movement asymmetry, the meaning of the verb requires something (Theme) to be taken away from someone (Affectee). Hence there seems to be a possessor-possessee relationship between the Theme and the Affectee. Note that this possessor-possessee relationship also holds in the scenario that I have mentioned in Section 1: *Kate* and *Tony* went to a bar, and *Tony* paid for *Kate*'s drinking three bottles of wine. *Tony* is affected even if he is not involved in the event of drinking. Notice that the possessor-possessee relationship is established once *Tony* paid for the bottles. When *Tony* paid for the wine, these bottles became his property. Even if *Tony* did not drink the wine himself, the wine he paid for was drunk by *Kate*. In this way he still lost his property once the bottles became empty.¹¹ Hence when the verb *chi* ('eat') and *he* ('drink') denote the meaning 'to eat off' and 'to drink off', a possessor-possessee relationship between the Af-

¹¹ How to define a precise possessor-possessee relationship is not uncontroversial in the literature. For example, it can be argued that the money does not belong to the clerk but to the bank as in (i). In this perspective, the clerk does not possess the money and may not count as its possessor.

(i) Qiangfei qiang-le hangyuan san-bai wan yuan.
robber rob-ASP clerk san-hundred ten-thousand dollar
'The robber robbed the clerk of three million dollars.'

However, this kind of example does not really pose a problem to the current possessor-possessee proposal. It simply points out that what we interpret as "possessor-possessee" relationship can be quite loose. Since the clerk works for the bank and is in charge of the money circulation, he/she can be viewed as part of the bank and becomes kind of indirect "possessor" of the money.

fectee and the Theme should emerge. The possessor-possessee relationship is even more noticeable in other verbs in the *steal*-type, since they all involve a very clear property loss situation from the Affectee.

Once the possessor-possessee relationship is established, I propose that this relationship should be presented syntactically. Following the “possessive passive” analysis by Huang (1999) as in (31), I assume that there is a Pro functioning as a null possessor and it merges with the head noun in the DO.¹² For the pseudo-DOC, the Pro is controlled by an outer object (the possessor/controller) which is base-generated under Spec, ApplHP. Hence the more accurate structure for example (3), repeated here as (32), should be the one in (33).¹³

- (31) [IP Zhangsan_i bei [IP OP_i [IP Lisi [t_i da-si-le
Zhangsan BEI Lisi hit-die-ASP
[NP zhe-ge Pro_i pengyou].
this-CL friend
‘Zhangsan’s this friend was beaten to death by Lisi.’
- (32) Kaite he-le **Dongni** (zhe-)san-ping jiu
Kate drink-ASP Tony this-three-CL wine
‘Kate drank (these) three bottles of wine on Tony.’

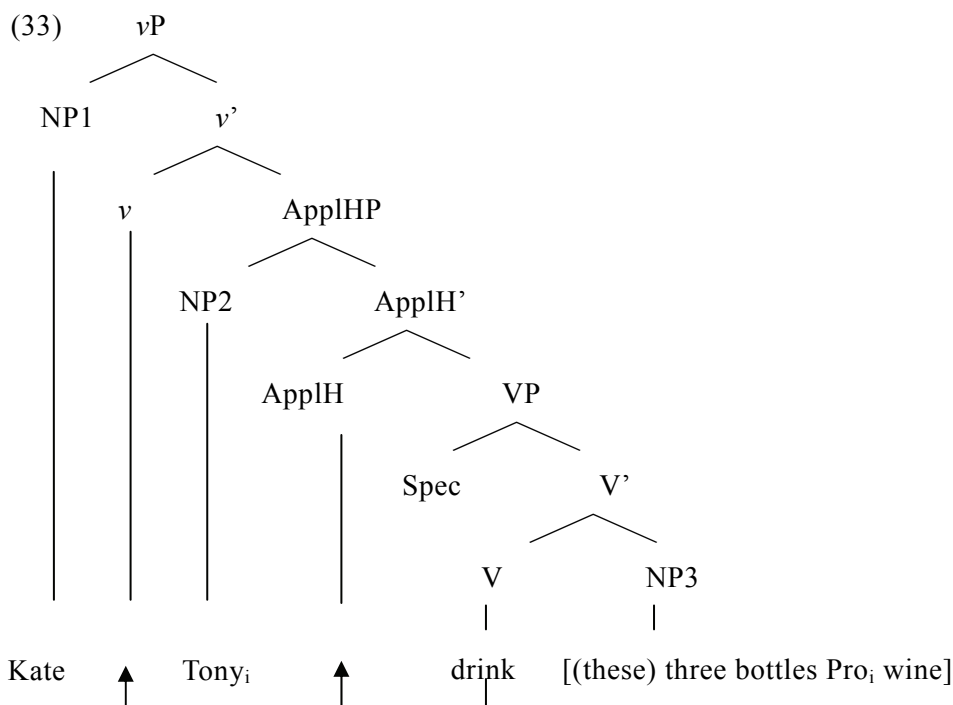
¹² The assumption that the Pro merges with the head noun is not unusual when one considers the two possible variations with an overt possessor inside the NP as in (i) and (ii).

(i) Zhe-ben **Zhangsan-de** shu
(ii) **Zhangsan-de** zhe-ben shu

¹³ One may wonder if there is any empirical evidence to show that the possessor/controller *Tony* has is not part of the Theme NP in (32). Although to have a manner adverbial in between the possessor and the Theme NP is not available for some other independent reasons, it is possible to have a distributive quantifier *ge* (‘each’) to intervene in between, as shown in (i).

(i) Dongni he-le tamen ge san-ping jiu.
Tony drink-ASP they each three-CL wine
‘Tony drank three bottles of wine on each of them.’

According to Soh’s (2005) analysis, the distributive quantifier *ge* adjoins to vP or VP. In example (i), it should be the case that *ge* adjoins to VP in structure (33). This shows that possessor/controller is not adjacent to the Theme NP and therefore is not part of the Theme NP.



Recall that for example (32), only the IO movement, but not the DO movement, is acceptable. In structure (33), there is a *Pro* in the Theme NP, with the possessor/controller at Spec, ApplHP. Interestingly, if the Theme NP is topicalized in the “possessive passive” in (31), we also get an ungrammatical sentence as in (34).

- (34) *Zhe-ge pengyou, Zhangsan bei Lisi da-si-le.
 this-CL friend Zhangsan BEI Lisi hit-die-ASP
 ‘Zhangsan’s this friend was beaten to death by Lisi.’

The example in (34) shows that when *Pro* is not overtly c-commanded by its antecedent (the possessor/controller), the sentence becomes ungrammatical (see Chomsky 1981, Li 1985, Huang 1989, Huang, Li and Li 2009). Hence it is expected that the pseudo-DOC which has a similar structure exhibits the same pattern. On the contrary, if it is the possessor/controller *Tony* in (32) which undergoes movement, the c-commanding relationship between *Tony* and the *Pro* can be

maintained and no problem arises.¹⁴

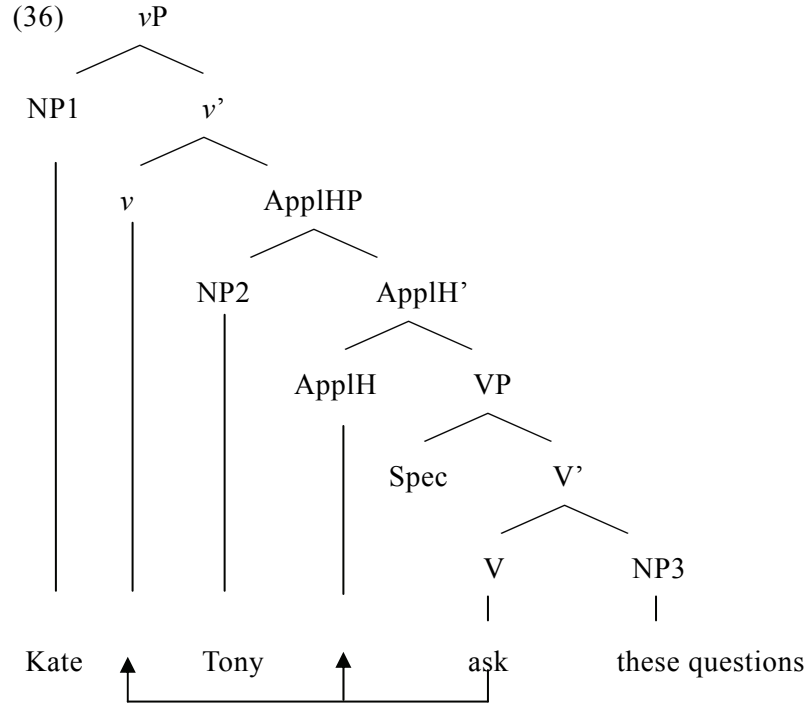
On the other hand, if one examines the semantic denotation of the verbs in the *tell*-type of pseudo-DOC, there is no possessor-possessee relationship between the Affectee and the Theme. The relevant example is shown in (35), in which the main verb is *wen* ('ask'). When you ask someone some questions, there is no property-transfer implication of those questions. Therefore I propose that the verbs in the *tell*-type of pseudo-DOC should employ the base-generation strategy as proposed by Huang (2007, 2008a) and Tsai (2007, 2008) for the pseudo-DOC, and the structure is shown in (36).

- (35) Kaite wen-le Dongni zhe-xie wenti.
 Kate ask-ASP Tony this-CL question
 'Kate asked Tony these questions.'

¹⁴ The relative clause counterpart of example (32) seems to be marginally acceptable:

- (i) ?Kaite he-le Dongni de zhe-san-ping jiu.
 Kate drink-ASP Tony DE this-three-CL wine
 'These three bottles of wine which are drunk by Kate on Tony'

At first sight, this example seems to pose a problem to the current analysis. If "these three bottles of wine" undergoes relativization, the Pro will not be controlled by the possessor/controller *Tony* and results in ungrammaticality as the other A'-movement cases. However, as argued in Aoun and Li (2003) and Huang, Li and Li (2009), what undergoes head movement for relativization is only the head NP without other functional projections such as demonstrative, numeral and classifier. The derivation for (i) can be as follows: the Pro and the head NP "jiu" merge first, forming a bigger NP. Via head NP movement, the possessor/controller can still control the Pro which is in the larger NP projection inside the relative clause. Then following Huang, Li and Li (2009), after other functional projections such as demonstrative, numeral and classifier are merged with the relativized NP "Kaite he-le Dongni de jiu", the relative clause "Kaite he-le Dongni" undergoes movement for focus or referentiality reason. At the end we get example (i). Note that even if the Pro undergoes head movement with the head NP, the possessor/controller can still control it after the relative clause which contains the possessor/controller undergoes focus or referentiality movement. In either derivation, the Pro can be controlled by the possessor/controller and results in a grammatical sentence as the one in (i).



Different from the structure in (33), there is no Pro in the Theme NP. The IO/DO movement symmetry is therefore expected.¹⁵

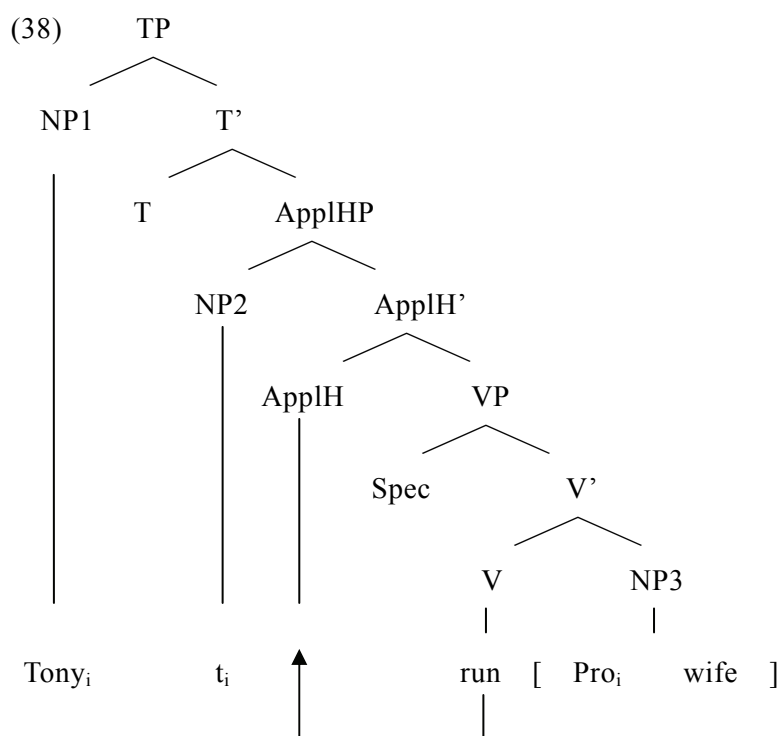
The current analysis can be applied to another construction which also employs the ApplHP. Tsai (2008) discussed the unaccusative applicative in Mandarin, as shown in (37) (cf. Pan 1997, Huang 2008b).

¹⁵ One reviewer points out that not all possessor-possessee relationships block movement. For example, the presence of the *-de* marker can rescue the A'-movement of the DO for the *steal*-type of pseudo-DOC as shown in (i). However, the A-movement of the DO in (ii) still results in ungrammaticality even with the presence of the *-de* marker. The ellipsis asymmetry between (i) and (ii) may co-relate to the licensing condition of the *-de* marker itself and needs further investigation.

(i) Zhe-san-ping jiu, Zhangsan he-le Lisi-de.
 this-three-CL wine Zhangsan drink-ASP Lisi-DE
 'Zhangsan drank these three bottles of wine on Lisi.'
 (ii) *Zhe-san-ping jiu bei he-le Lisi-de.
 this-three-CL wine BEI drink-ASP Lisi-DE
 'Lisi's these three bottles of wine was drank.'

- (37) Dongni pao-le laopo.
 Tony run-ASP wife
 ‘Tony’s wife ran away on him.’

In this example, it is *Tony*’s wife who ran away. And *Tony* is affected since his wife ran away. As noted by Tsai, there is a simple possessive relationship between the Affectee (*Tony*) and the Theme (his wife). Hence under the current analysis, there is a null possessor *Pro* involved in the structure. The structure is shown in (38). Note that there is no *vP* projection in the proposed structure. Different from the pseudo-DOC, the subject now is also the Affectee in this construction. The subject controls the *Pro* and moves from Spec, ApplHP and lands at Spec, TP.



Under this structure, it is predicted that the Theme NP cannot undergo A'-movement in which the landing site is higher than the subject, such as Spec, CP. This prediction is borne out in (39) and (40).

(39) Topicalization

*Laopo, Dongni pao-le.
 wife Tony run-ASP
 ‘Tony’s wife ran away on him.’

(40) Focalization

*shi laopo Dongni pao-le de, (bushi erzi).
 is wife Tony run-ASP DE not son
 ‘It is Tony’s wife who ran away on him(, not his son).’

To summarize, there are two different types of pseudo-DOC in Mandarin Chinese, and the difference lies in the existence of a Pro or not. Through different components of the structure, we get different syntactic behaviors of A- and A'-movement. The clarification of these two types also provides us with a clear way to show the real syntactic pattern of pseudo-DOC under the applicative framework. When compared to other languages, we need to exclude the asymmetric pseudo-DOC (the *steal*-type) because of the intervention effect of the control requirement of a null possessor Pro. Therefore, we may conclude that the Mandarin pseudo-DOC patterns with Kinyarwanda in that both the IO and the DO can undergo A-movement. Under Citko's (2009, 2011) analysis, this implies that when passivized, the Case evaluation of either the *v* head or the high ApplP head can be absorbed for the Mandarin pseudo-DOC.

5. The Comparison to the Passives

In the above discussion, I have shown that the *steal*-type of pseudo-double object construction is similar to the possessive passive, repeated here as (41).

(41) Zhangsan_i bei Lisi da-si-le zhe-ge pengyou.
 Zhangsan BEI Lisi hit-die-ASP this-CL friend
 ‘Zhangsan’s this friend was beaten to death by Lisi.’

Under the passive categorization by Huang (1999), there is also a type of “adversative passive” in Mandarin as shown in (42).

- (42) Zhangsan bei Lisi ji-chu-le yi-zhi quanleida.
 Zhangsan BEI Lisi hit-out-ASP one-CL home-run
 ‘Zhangsan had Lisi hit a homerun on him.’

In the literature, the short and long passive are termed as direct passives, while (41) and (42) are termed as indirect passives. The possessive passive in (41) is also called the “inclusive passive” since the subject is related to the object within the VP. In this example, *Zhangsan* is related to his friend in the predicate. On the other hand, the example in (42) is an “exclusive passive” since the subject is adversatively affected by the whole event of the VP. It has no separate connection with any element within the predicate.

Compared to what we have observed in the pseudo-DOCs, I propose that we may use the same labels from passives, and categorize these two different types of pseudo-DOC as the inclusive pseudo-DOC and the exclusive pseudo-DOC as shown in (43) and (44) respectively.

- (43) The inclusive pseudo-DOC (the *steal*-type)
 Kaite he-le **Dongni** (zhe-)san-ping jiu = (32)
 Kate drink-ASP Tony this-three-CL wine
 ‘Kate drank (these) three bottles of wine on Tony.’
- (44) The exclusive pseudo-DOC (the *tell*-type)
 Kaite wen-le **Dongni** zhe-xie wenti. = (35)
 Kate ask-ASP Tony this-CL question
 ‘Kate asked Tony these questions.’

One can see that these two constructions behave quite similarly. For the inclusive pseudo-DOC (the *steal*-type), the indirect object is related to the object inside the predicate. Recall that in example (43), *Tony* is the direct or indirect owner of these three bottles of wine. But for example (44), *Tony* is simply a Goal since he was asked questions by *Kate*. Unlike (43), the questions asked do not belong to *Tony* directly or indirectly from any respect. Hence example (44) parallels to the exclusive passive in (42).¹⁶

¹⁶ A prediction that we can make about the adversative passive is that its direct object

The parallelism between the pseudo-DOC and the passive in Mandarin Chinese is reminiscent of Tsai's (2007, 2008) proposal about the applicative version of Huang's (1999) outer/outmost object hypothesis for the Mandarin passives. The relevant structures for (41) and (42) are shown in (45) and (46) respectively (see also Tsai 2008). The outer object and the outmost object under Huang's (1999) analysis now both start out from the Spec, ApplHP position under the applicative version.¹⁷

- (45) [IP Zhangsan_i bei [IP OP_i [IP Lisi_j [vP t_j v [ApplHP t_i
BEI
[vP da-si-le [NP zhe-ge Pro_i pengyou].
hit-die-ASP this-CL friend
(46) [IP Zhangsan_i bei [IP OP_i [IP Lisi_j [vP t_j v [ApplHP t_i
BEI
[vP ji-chu-le [NP yi-zhi quanleida].
hit-ASP one-CL home-run

Lastly, notice that if the applicative framework can be adopted for both the passives and the pseudo-DOCs, this then implies that there is more than one single type of the high applicative head in Mandarin. For the inclusive pseudo-DOC, its IO seems to be a Malefactive. But for the exclusive pseudo-DOC, its IO seems to function as a Goal/Source, according to the semantic content of main verb. Note that even for the passives, it is well-known that not all passives have Malefactive subjects. For example, the following example (47) is taken from the result of Google search. Apparently the subject is not a Malefactive, but a Benefactive.

should be able to undergo movement such as topicalization. Similar to its pseudo-DOC counterpart in (44), there should be no Pro inside the object in the adversative passive. This prediction is borne out in (i).

- (i) ?Zhe yi-zhi quanleida, Zhangsan bei Lisi ji-chu-le.
this one-CL homerun Zhgnsan BEI Lisi hit-out-ASP
'Zhangsan had Lisi hit a homerun on him.'

Although example (i) is not perfectly grammatical, it is much better than the topicalization counterpart of the inclusive passive in (34). Example (34) is totally incomprehensible.

¹⁷ A similar perspective can be also found in Huang, Li and Li (2009) who propose a fine-grained event structure proposal for the Mandarin passives.

- (47) Zen-de ma? Wo conglai mei bei zheyang chengzan ye!
really-DE Q I never not BEI this praise EXCL
'Really? I have never been praised like this!'

Therefore we probably need a high applicative head which includes several different Affectee types as shown in (48). Different constructions in Mandarin then have different selections of the head.

- (48) High Appl in Mandarin
 $\lambda x. \lambda e \text{ Appl}(e, x)$
(collaping AppL_{Mal} , AppL_{Ben} , $\text{AppL}_{\text{Gaol}}$, $\text{AppL}_{\text{Source}}$, etc.)

This phenomenon then echoes Pytkänen's (2008) proposal in that the high Applicative is a universal inventory of functional head which includes several different high applicative head (Instrumental, Benefactive, Malefactive, Goal, etc.).

6. Implication of the Findings to Teaching Chinese

In this section I discuss the implication of the current findings to teaching Chinese as a second language. I suggest that the structural similarities between the pseudo-DOC and the BEI construction discussed above may provide the instructors of a good way to introduce the subtypes of pseudo-DOC and the BEI construction to the students who are learning Chinese as a second language (see Teng 1997 and 1998).

Let us take the series of the Practical Audio-Visual Chinese Book as an example, which are used as main textbooks in the Mandarin Training Center in the National Taiwan Normal University. I first check if any of the four constructions discussed above are introduced to the students: the *tell*-type of pseudo-DOC, the *steal*-type of pseudo-DOC, the possessive passive, and the adversative passive. After examining all the verbs listed in Table 1, it appears that the verb *wen* ('ask') in the *tell*-type of pseudo-DOC was taught first (Book 1, Lesson 6). Although the sentence pattern containing *wen* ('ask') listed in the textbook is the one in (49). The instructor that I have interviewed reports that she also uses (50) as a practice

pattern for this vocabulary.¹⁸

- (49) Wo wen ta zhe-ge jiao shenme.
 I ask he this-CL call what
 ‘I asked him what this was called.’ (Book 1, page 102)
- (50) Wo wen Dongni yi-ge wenti.
 I ask Tony one-CL question
 ‘I asked Tony one question.’

As for the *steal*-type of pseudo-DOC, after examining all the relevant verbs, although the verb *tou* (‘steal’) appears first in Book 2, Lesson 12, it is used as a main verb in the passive constructions. Not surprisingly, the *steal*-type of pseudo-DOC is not mentioned. Likewise, when the passive marker BEI is introduced as one of the vocabulary in Book 2, Lesson 12, there is no introduction of the possessive passive or the adversative passive. What have been presented as grammar points in the textbooks are the long and short passive sentence patterns.

Although the possessive passive is not introduced directly to the students, the following example (51) and (52) can be related to the possessive passives. Example (51) is an example found in the textbook (Book 2, Lesson 12). The one in (52) is also practiced by the students when the instructor introduces the BEI sentences.

- (51) Wo-de bi bei ta jiezou-le.
 I-DE pen BEI he borrow-ASP
 ‘My pen was borrowed by him.’ (Book 2, page 288)
- (52) Ta-de tou bei da-po-le.
 he-DE head BEI hit-break-ASP
 ‘His head was hit and broken.’

Lastly, although the adversative passive is not explicitly introduced to the students as a grammar point, the adversative passive is employed as one of the

¹⁸ The teaching strategies presented are provided by one of the current Mandarin teachers Ms. Jing-Zi Chen at the Mandarin Training Center in NTNU. The author hereby acknowledges her help.

practice questions in student's workbook as shown in (53) (Book 3, Lesson 12). The students are supposed to fill in *bei* ('BEI') in the blank.

- (53) Huoshi na-yi-ge qiuyuan fang-le cuo,
 or which-one-CL ball-player make-ASP mistake
 ___bei___ duifang paohui benlei.
 BEI opposite-side run-back home base
 'Or one of the baseball players made a mistake; the other side ran back
 to home base on him.'

The above discussions are summarized in the following Table 2:

Table 2 The emergence of four constructions

Constructions	Source	Note
The <i>tell</i> -type of pseudo-DOC	Book 1, Lesson 6	
The <i>steal</i> -type of pseudo-DOC	N/A	
The possessive passive	N/A	c.f. Book 2, Lesson 12
The adversative passive	Book 3, Lesson 12	student's workbook

According to the current findings, I would like to make the following teaching suggestions: Since the sentence pattern of the *tell*-type of pseudo-DOC has been introduced and practiced by the students quite early, I suggest that when students encounter the practice question regarding the adversative passive in their workbooks, the instructor may use the *tell*-type of pseudo-DOC as a trigger for the adversative passive. In both constructions, there is someone who is affected by the whole event. This kind of analogy should facilitate students' understanding of the adversative passive.

As for the possessive passive, the two sentences (51) and (52) in fact can be structurally related to (54) and (55), which are the syntactic pattern of the possessive passive.

- (54) Wo bei ta jiezou-le bi.
 I BEI he borrow-ASP pen
 'My pen was borrowed by him.'

- (55) Ta bei da-po-le tou.
 he BEI hit-break-ASP head
 ‘His head was bit and broken.’

If the instructor would like to do more supplement practice for the passives like the one in (51) or (52), the relevant structures in (54) and (55) can be easily introduced and acquired by the students. For more advanced students who may have a chance to encounter the sentence pattern of the *steal*-type of pseudo-DOC, the possessive passive then can be used as a trigger because of the structural similarity between these two constructions.

7. Conclusion

Starting from the asymmetric/symmetric A- and A'-movement behaviors, in this paper I have argued that there are two types of pseudo-DOC in Mandarin Chinese. The inclusive pseudo-DOC (the *steal*-type) exhibits movement asymmetry, which is similar to the possessive passive. The exclusive pseudo-DOC (the *tell*-type) exhibits movement symmetry, which is similar to the adversative passive. The similarities between the pseudo-DOC and the passive structurally enable us to posit an updated and common applicative projection in both constructions. Moreover, a structure-based implication can be made regarding the introduction of the BEI construction and the pseudo-DOC in teaching Chinese as a second language.

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論漢語中兩種類型的假雙賓結構

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摘要

本研究旨在探討在施用投射理論（見蔡 2007, 2007 和 2009）下的漢語假雙賓句之結構。除了黃（2007, 2008a）所討論的「偷」類型的假雙賓句句型外，本研究指出漢語中應該還存在另外一種「告訴」類型的假雙賓句。這兩種類型的假雙賓句結構不同處可以從其論元移動和非論元移動見之。本研究同時提出，此兩類的假雙賓句可分別類比於漢語被動句中的兩個次類。本研究所指出的「告訴」類型假雙賓句和黃（1999）所討論的受害者 / 排它被動句有相似的結構。另一方面，原來黃（2007, 2008a）所討論的「偷」類型的假雙賓句，則在結構上類似於所有者 / 內含被動句。最後，本研究提出，漢語中假雙賓句和被動句結構上的相似性，除了支持相關文獻中兩種句式存在著同一個施用投射的提案，也對華語教學中兩句式次類的介紹有所助益。

關鍵詞：假雙賓結構 施用投射 論元/非論元移動對稱與不對稱 所有者/內含被動句 受害者/排他被動句