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PASSIVE AND UNACCUSATIVE IN THE JIEYANG
DIALECT OF CHAOZHOU*

A distinctive syntactic feature of the Chaozhou dialect group is the use of the same morpheme in the passive and in certain intransitive constructions. In the Jieyang variety, the passive marker *k'e?* derived from the verb 'give' requires an agent, a requirement which we relate to the subcategorization of the lexical verb 'give'. We show that the same morpheme is used with unaccusative verbs in the form [*k'e? i V*], where *i* is an expletive pronominal: it cannot encode an agent because the unaccusative predicates concerned lack an agent argument. Therefore what appears to be a passive marker with agent in fact constitutes overt coding of unaccusativity, of a kind unusual in Chinese dialects but paralleled in several Indo-European languages. The passive and unaccusative constructions are shown to share thematic and aspectual properties: the surface subject carries the role of theme or patient, and the predicate denotes a change of state, hence the requirement for a resultative verbal complement (RVC). The [*k'e? i V-RVC*] construction is shown to involve formation of an unaccusative complex predicate, with the RVC contributing a change of state component to the aspectuality of the predicate.

1. INTRODUCTION

In this paper we examine a characteristic feature of the Chaozhou dialect group: the apparent use of passive morphosyntax with intransitive verbs. Specifically, passive and unaccusative constructions in Chaozhou dialects are marked with the same morpheme, *k'e?* in the case of the Jieyang variety. This phenomenon raises several questions concerning the relationship between passive and unaccusative constructions, the status of the agent phrase, and the role of resultative complements in each construction.

Belonging to the Southern Min dialect family, the group of dialects concerned is spoken in a coastal region in eastern Guangdong province, PRC, and popularly known as *Chaozhou hua* after the city of Chaozhou which was formerly the regional prefecture governing the region including Jieyang, Shantou, Chaoyang, etc. Chinese linguists use the term *Chao-Shan* (Chaozhou-Shantou) to refer to this dialect group, while in Singapore and parts of Southeast Asia (where there are many speakers) it is known as *Teochew* (see Cole and Lee 1997).¹ While the specific passive markers differ from one Chaozhou variety to another, the syntax of the varieties investigated here (Jieyang, Chaoyang and Shantou) appears to be similar with

respect to the properties at issue. We shall focus on the Jieyang variety in which the passive morpheme concerned is *k'e?*: unless otherwise stated, the examples given here represent the Jieyang dialect as spoken by the second author. A general description of this variety is given in Xu (2004), while the Chaoyang variety is the subject of Matthews and Yip (in preparation).

We shall begin by reviewing some properties of the passive construction with transitive verbs, as in the active/passive pair (1–2):²

- (1) *i tiam me ua*
 3sg always scold me
 'He keeps scolding me.'
- (2) *ua tiam k'e? *(i) me*
 I always Pass 3sg scold
 'I keep being scolded by him.'

While in the active (1) the agent appears in the subject position, in the passive (2) the patient argument appears as the subject. Apart from this patient-subject mapping, there is a passive marker *k'e?* and an obligatory noun phrase representing the agent (the pronoun *i* in (2)). We then focus on constructions with intransitive verbs in which the same marker *k'e?* appears, as in (3–4).

- (3) *tsaŋ hue k'e? i si k'u*
 Cl flower Pass 3sg die RVC
 'The flower has died.'
- (4) *kai nou-kiã k'e? i pua? lo? k'u*
 Cl child Pass 3sg fall down RVC
 'The child fell over.'

We shall argue that in these intransitive constructions *k'e?* represents overt marking of unaccusative predicates, which are derived by combining an intransitive verb (*si* 'die' in (3), *pua?* 'fall' in (4)), with a resultative complement (*k'u* 'go' in (3), *lo? k'u* 'go down' in (4)) to indicate a change of state. The existence of this construction in Chaozhou dialects has been noted briefly in some Chinese sources (Li 1959, 258; Shi 1996, 156) and in Yue-Hashimoto (1993, 139) but it has not, to our knowledge, been analyzed in detail. Given current understanding of unaccusativity across languages, following in particular Perlmutter (1978) and Levin and Rappaport Hovav (1995), an informed account of the Chaozhou construction and its relation to the passive can now be attempted.

A pioneering work on the Chaozhou dialect by Li Yongming includes a brief description of the phenomenon at issue, which in fact raises the principal issues to be addressed in this paper. Li (1959, 258) makes two observations concerning how Chaozhou diverges from Putonghua in the domain of the passive:

- (i) the object (*binyu*) of the passive marker *k'e?* must be present, as shown in (2) above;
- (ii) “self-induced sentences” (our translation of Li’s term *zidongju*) can appear in the passive form (*beidongshi*), as in Li’s example:

- (5) ts'iō k'e? i to lo? k'u
 wall Pass 3sg fall down RVC
 ‘The wall fell down.’

From the perspective of contemporary grammatical theory, these properties raise a number of puzzles:

- (i) Why is the agent obligatorily present in the passive, as in (2)?
- (ii) What is the role of the pronoun *i* in clauses with unaccusative predicates, as in (3–5), which by definition lack an agent role?
- (iii) Why are passive and unaccusative constructions both marked by the morpheme *k'e?*?

In section 2 below, we shall relate the obligatory agent phrase (question (i) above) to the grammaticalization of the passive marker *k'e?* based on the verb ‘give’. Question (ii) will be resolved in section 3.3 by analyzing *i* as an expletive pronominal. Problem (iii) is addressed in section 4, where we first consider structural parallels between passive and unaccusative structures in Indo-European languages and in interlanguage data (4.1). We then focus on the semantic features shared by the two constructions, in particular adversity (4.2.1) and telicity (4.2.2).

2. PASSIVES BASED ON TRANSITIVE VERBS

In this section we review the properties of passives based on transitive verbs in Chaozhou. These properties are typical of southern Chinese dialects where passive markers are derived from ‘give’ verbs. We begin by outlining the pathway of grammaticalization of the passive construction as this will shed light on the verbal status of the passive marker and the obligatory occurrence of the agent phrase.

2.1. *Grammaticalization of k'eʔ as Passive Marker*

Like *bei* in Cantonese, *ho* in Taiwanese and similar cases in many Sinitic languages, the passive markers used in Chaoshan dialects are derived from lexical verbs meaning 'give'.³ The verbs concerned include *puŋ* in Shantou (6) and a verb which is variously pronounced *k'ɣʔ* in *Chao'an*, *k'iʔ* in Chaoyang and *k'eʔ* in Jieyang (7):

- (6) a. ua tiam puŋ i tsĩ (Shantou)
 I always give 3sg money
 'I keep giving him money.'
 b. ua puŋ i kiã tioʔ (Shantou)
 I Pass 3sg frighten RVC
 'I was scared by him.'
- (7) a. ua tiam k'eʔ i tsĩ (Jieyang)
 I always give 3sg money
 'I keep giving him money.'
 b. ua tiam k'eʔ i me (Jieyang)
 I always Pass 3sg scold
 'I keep being scolded by him.'

Since the examples in this paper are principally taken from the Jieyang variety, the passive marker generally appears as *k'eʔ* as in (7) above.

In historical terms, the systematic use of 'give' verbs as passive markers involves a pathway of grammaticalization proceeding from lexical 'give' to permissive meaning ('allow') and eventually to passive function (Lord, Yap and Iwasaki 2002, Yap and Iwasaki 2003):⁴

- (8) Lexical verb: Permissive: Passive:
 'give' = > 'allow' = > 'by'

This hypothesized developmental pathway is reflected synchronically in the various uses of the morphemes in question:

- (9) ua tsau-zeʔ k'eʔ i puŋ tsu (lexical 'give')
 I yesterday give 3sg Cl book
 'I gave him a book yesterday.'
- (10) i bo k'eʔ ua t'oi tsi puŋ tsu (permissive 'allow')
 3sg not.have give 1sg read this Cl book
 'He didn't let me read this book.'

- (11) puŋ tsu k'e? naŋ boi k'w lau (passive)
 Cl book give person buy RVC Prt
 'The book has been bought already.'

Diachronically, this “pathway” represents putative stages in the grammaticalization of *k'e?*. It may also have synchronic relevance: each of the putative stages still remains productive, as shown in (9–11), so that synchronically, *k'e?* is a highly polyfunctional morpheme. These points may shed light on the agent requirement in passives, as discussed below.

2.2. *The Agent Requirement in Passives*

As already noted, Chaozhou passive sentences require an agent to be overtly expressed. Agentless passives are not allowed in Chaozhou:

- (12) *ua tiam k'e? me
 I always Pass scold
 (Intended reading: 'I keep getting scolded.')

This fact was recognized by Li (1959, 258) who observed that the “object” (*binyu*) of *k'e?* must be present in Chaozhou passive sentences, in contrast to Mandarin passives with *bei* where it is optional. If the agent is semantically generic, it is expressed as *naŋ* “people”:

- (13) ua tiam k'e? naŋ me
 I always Pass people scold
 'I keep getting scolded.'

In terms of the distinction drawn by Ting (1995, 1998), Chaozhou exhibits “long passives” (including an agent) and lacks “short passives” (without an overt agent). To show that the agentless passive is ungrammatical in Jieyang is not entirely straightforward, since in rapid speech the passive marker *k'e?* with a low checked tone may fuse with the third-person pronoun *i* to give a monosyllabic contracted form *k'ei* or *k'e*, as in (14):

- (14) ua tiam k'ei me
 I always Pass-3sg scold
 'I keep getting scolded by him/her.'

Nevertheless, a number of arguments suggest that the pronominal *i* is present in such cases, only becoming fused with the passive morpheme at a surface level. The fusion results in change of tone from the usual low tone 2 of *k'e?* to the mid level 33 tone of the pronoun *i*:⁵

(15) $k'e\eta^2 + i^{33} \rightarrow k'ei^{33}/k'e^{33}$

This suggests that the resulting fused form incorporates the pronominal agent. A similar observation is made by Huang (1999) for the Taiwanese passive marker *ho*, which sometimes appears to occur without an agent as in (16):

(16) *gua ho pha-tio a* (Taiwanese Southern Min)
 I Pass hit Prt
 'I was hit [by him/her].'

Huang argues that the tone of *ho* here (level 33, instead of the expected sandhi tone 21) derives from fusion with the third-person pronoun *i*. Huang also shows that such sentences must be interpreted as having a third-person agent, a point which also applies to passivized transitive predicates in Chaozhou as shown in (14) above (but not to unaccusatives, as we shall see in 3.3 below).

This requirement of an overt agent is known to apply in several Sinitic languages including Cantonese (Matthews and Yip 1994) and Taiwanese Southern Min (Ting 1998) but appears to be unusual from a typological perspective, in the sense that passives in most languages allow optional realization of the agent. In a typological survey of passives, Keenan formulated the following generalization:

G-2.1 If a language has passives with agent phrases, then it has them without agent phrases. (Keenan 1985, 249)

Southern Sinitic languages such as Chaozhou, Taiwanese and Cantonese appear to be counter-examples to Keenan's generalization, since these languages do not allow passives without agent phrases. This in turn calls for an explanation: either constructions such as (13–14) are not true passives, or there is something special about the way passives are constructed in these languages. Recent analyses such as Ting (1998), Huang (1999) and Tang (2001) have taken the 'long passive' to be a particular kind of passive construction and sought to account for its properties. For Cantonese, Huang and Tang relate the agent requirement to complementation, assuming that Cantonese *bei*² selects a clausal complement, Tense Phrase (TP), while Mandarin *bèi* selects either TP (in long passives) or VP (in short passives). Tang (2001, 277–278) notes that Cantonese *bei*² preserves more verbal properties than does Mandarin *bèi* (such as allowing some forms of aspect marking) and suggests that the discrepancy derives from different routes of grammaticalization. We believe that this line of explanation is essentially correct and suggest that it can be made more explicit by

considering the subcategorization properties of the ‘give’ verb in each of its lexical and grammatical functions. Let us pursue this line of argument through the pathway of grammaticalization as sketched in 2.1 above:

- (i) as a lexical verb, *k'e?* ‘give’ requires two objects, representing a recipient and a theme as in (17), exemplified in (18):⁶

(17) Subcategorization of *k'e?* ‘give’: [___ NP NP]
 < recipient > < theme >

(18) *k'e?* ua kiã sã
 give me Cl clothing
 ‘Give me a shirt.’

- (ii) *k'e?* meaning ‘allow’ assigns a role of causee (recipient of permission, corresponding to the recipient role of the lexical verb ‘give’) as in (19), exemplified in (20):

(19) Subcategorization of *k'e?* ‘let’: [___ NP VP]
 < causee >

(20) tsi-ko bo k'e? *(naŋ) tsia? huŋ
 here not-have allow people consume smoke
 ‘Smoking is not allowed here.’

- (iii) in the passive construction, *k'e?* is followed by a NP which now carries the role of agent as in (21), exemplified in (22):

(21) Subcategorization of *k'e?* as passive marker: [___ [TP NP VP]]
 < agent >

(22) puŋ tsu k'e? *(naŋ) boi k'ũ lau
 Cl book Pass person buy RVC PRT
 ‘The book has been bought already.’

What is constant across these subcategorization frames is the presence of the NP immediately following *k'e?*, while the thematic role assigned to it varies from recipient (18) to causee (20) to agent (22). The preservation of the subcategorization of the lexical *k'e?* ‘give’ is plausible to the extent that there is still some synchronic connection between the functions of *k'e?*. A similar question arises with the verb *ho* ‘give’ in Taiwanese, which appears in a range of constructions overlapping with Chaozhou *k'e?*: Cheng et al. (1999, 148) observe an “intuitive relatedness” between the various grammatical functions of *ho* and propose a unified analysis in which *ho* remains a verb.

Such an analysis is supported in the Jieyang dialect by intermediate cases which are compatible with more than one interpretation of the ‘give’ verb. These “bridging contexts” have been noted in other dialects, including Mandarin (Hashimoto 1987).⁷ Such a connection holds between the permissive and passive constructions—between allowing something to be done to oneself, and having something done to oneself. Thus examples such as (23) could be analyzed as either permissive or passive:

- (23) mai k'e? naŋ lia? tio? lu
 don't let/Pass people catch RVC 2sg
 ‘Don't let anyone catch you’ (permissive) or
 ‘Don't get caught.’ (passive)

To see that a passive reading of (23) is possible, it should be noted that the patient NP of a passive can be left ‘in situ’ (i.e., in object position after the verb) in Chaozhou, as shown in (24):

- (24) k'e? ua lia? tio? lu lau
 Pass 1sg catch RVC you Prt
 ‘I've caught you’ or ‘You've been caught by me.’

The existence of bridging contexts such as (23) between permissive and passive is consistent with the view that the agent requirement in the passive is a consequence of the subcategorization of the source verb *k'e?* ‘give’ as a three-place predicate.⁸

3. THE K'E? I CONSTRUCTION WITH UNACCUSATIVE PREDICATES

As reviewed in the previous section, the properties of passives based on transitive verbs are similar to those of other southern Chinese dialects such as Cantonese and Taiwanese. In Chaozhou, however, as Li (1959, 258) observed, “self-induced sentences” (*zidongju*) can appear in the passive form (*beidongshi*), as in (25):

- (25) tsia? "t'i? ta? ni ho" k'e? i tim lo? k'ʉ
 Cl Titanic Pass 3sg sink down RVC
 ‘The Titanic sank.’

Two features of the construction are immediately notable:

- (i) the passive marker *k'e?* is used with an intransitive verb, *tim* ‘sink’;
- (ii) the third person pronoun *i* is apparently used in the position of agent.

3.2. *Unaccusative Predicates in Chaozhou*

The intransitive predicates involved in the *k'e? i* construction belong to the *unaccusative* sub-category: they denote non-volitional changes of state, such as *tim* 'sink' in (25) or *kuã tloh* 'catch cold' in (31):

- (31) kai nou-kiã k'e? i kuã tloh
 Cl child Pass 3sg cold RVC
 'The child caught a cold.'

Verbs participating in the *k'e? i* construction instantiate several of the semantic sub-classes recognized by Perlmutter (1978) and others for English, and Li (1990) for Mandarin:

- change of state: *si* 'die', *kiu* 'shrink':

- (32) kiã sã soi ho k'e? i kiu k'w
 Cl blouse wash RVC Pass 3sg shrink RVC
 'The blouse shrank after being washed.'

- change of location: *to* 'fall', *tim* 'sink'

- (33) i bo la? t'ua ko t'i? k'w kau,
 3sg not-have strength drag Def metal go arrive
 kau kai naŋ tsu k'e? i pua? to hio k'oi ko
 whole Cl person then Pass3sg fall at that river there
 'As he was so weak, when he was dragging the metal, he fell
 into the river.'

- disappearance: *m-kiaŋ* 'disappear', *tsau* 'escape'

- (34) sã kai ts'a? k'e? i tsau k'w
 three Cl thief Pass 3sg run RVC
 'Three thieves escaped.'

What these classes have in common is that the sole NP argument (internal argument) of the verb bears the role of patient (undergoing change of state, as in *kiu* 'shrink') or theme (undergoing change of location, as in *m-kiaŋ* 'disappear').

In addition to these typical unaccusative verbs, in Chaozhou further unaccusative predicates can be created by combining a stative verb with a resultative verbal complement (RVC). Thus prototypical adjectival predicates (whether these are considered as adjectives or as stative verbs) can become change-of-state verbs by the addition of the verbal complement *k'w* (literally 'go'), e.g. from *ta* 'dry' we derive the unaccusative predicate *ta-k'w* 'to become dry':

- (35) *lu ki pe? tio? k'ai, bo ko ba? tse?-e tsu*
 2sg Cl brush should cover, not.have Cl ink a-while then
k'e? i ta k'u
 Pass 3sg dry RVC
 'You should put the cap on the brush, otherwise the ink will dry up.'

The combination of the adjective and the complement creates a predicate denoting entering a new state. The most productive V + RVC combinations are those with *k'u*, which as a verb means 'go' but as an RVC in Chaozhou indicates completion or perfectivity:

- (36) a. *ou* 'black' -> *ou k'u* 'to become dark/black'
 b. *saj* 'thin' -> *saj k'u* 'to become thin, slim'
 c. *iaŋ-iō* 'ugly' -> *iaŋ-iō k'u* 'to become ugly'
 d. *ŋaŋ* 'cold' -> *ŋaŋ k'u* 'to become cold'
 e. *ts'ẽ-me* 'blind' -> *ts'ẽ-me k'u* 'to become blind'

Other productive patterns include those with *tio?* 'attached' and *si* 'die'; these RVCs are associated with adversative semantics, a point which will be taken up in discussing the relationship between unaccusative and passive constructions in section 4.2.1. This pattern may be formalized in terms of Levin and Rappaport Hovav's lexical semantic representation for non-causative change-of-state verbs:

- (37) [y become STATE] (Levin and Rappaport Hovav 1995, 27)

Thus the predicate *ta k'u* in (35) has the lexical semantic representation in (38):

- (38) [y BECOME DRY]

So far we have shown that the intransitive constructions with *k'e? i* involve unaccusative predicates. By contrast, no such structures are possible with unergative verbs. If we put an unergative verb into the same syntactic frame, parallel readings are not possible (although a permissive reading of *k'e?* may be available, as discussed under 2.1 above):

- (39) *kai nou-kiã tiam-tiam k'e? i k'au*
 Cl child always Pass 3sg cry
 Ungrammatical reading: 'The child is always crying.'
 Grammatical reading: '(They) always allow the child to cry.'

- (40) t'ang-tsa iu k'e? i ĭ
 just-now again Pass 3sg sleep
 Ungrammatical reading: 'He was sleeping again just now.'
 Grammatical reading: 'Just now (someone) let him sleep again.'

Here it is helpful to contrast the Jieyang unaccusative construction with impersonal passives, in which intransitive verbs appear in passive form. Such constructions are known from many Indo-European languages, as in the following examples:

- (41) a. die Kinder schliefen. (German)
 the children sleep:Past
 'The children slept.'
 b. es wurde (von den Kindern) geschlafen.
 it became by the children sleep:PastPart
 'There was sleeping (by the children).'
- (42) a. Can-odd y côr neithiwr. (Welsh: Tallerman 1998, 184)
 sing-Past the choir last-night
 'The choir sang last night.'
 b. Can-wyd (gan y côr) neithiwr.
 sing-Past:Pass by the choir last-night
 'There was singing (by the choir) last night.'

These Indo-European impersonal passives have the following properties:

- (i) the subject is expletive (German *es*) or null (as in Welsh);
- (ii) the agent phrase is typically optional, as in (41b) and (42b);
- (iii) the verbs involved are *unergative* intransitives such as *sing* and *sleep*, agentive predicates denoting a volitional action.

The Chaozhou constructions at issue contrast systematically with these impersonal passives:

- (i) the subject is not expletive, but a referential patient or theme (*kai nou-kiã* 'the child' in (31));
- (ii) the pronominal *i* in the position of agent is obligatory (although *i* appears to be an expletive or non-referential pronoun, as discussed in section 3.3 below);
- (iii) the verbs are unaccusative, as argued above.

The Chaozhou sentence using the unergative verb 'sleep' (40) cannot be interpreted as 'He was sleeping again just now' like the German impersonal passive in (41b). Conversely, the unaccusative predicate 'fall asleep' can be

expressed in the *k'e?* *i* construction in Chaozhou (43), but not in the impersonal passive in German (44):

- (43) t'ang-tsa iu k'e? i i k'wu
 just-now again Pass 3sg sleep RVC
 'Just now he fell asleep again.'

- (44) *Es wurde von den Kindern ein-geschlafen
 it became by the children fall-asleep:PastPart
 'There was some falling asleep (by the children).'

This contrast highlights the difference between the Indo-European intransitive passive constructions which involve unergative verbs, and the Chaozhou ones with unaccusative predicates.¹⁰

3.3. *The Pronominal i as Expletive*

One of the most puzzling properties of the unaccusative construction is the obligatory use of the pronominal *i*. Passives are expected to include an agent role, even in impersonal passives based on unergative verbs (41–42), and we have argued for Chaozhou that the agent is obligatorily present, even when phonologically fused with the passive marker *k'e?* (see 2.2 above). The Chaozhou unaccusatives, however, cannot assign an external theta role since unaccusative predicates lack such a role by definition: “an unaccusative predicate is one that takes an internal argument but no external argument” (Levin and Rappaport Hovav 1995, 3). A crucial question thus involves the status of the pronominal *i* which appears in the position of agent.

An immediate distinction between the passive and unaccusative constructions is that while passives based on transitive verbs allow essentially any agentive NP to appear in the position following *k'e?*, the unaccusative construction allows only *i*. For example, *naŋ* ‘people’ which can be the generic agent in a transitive passive (cf. (11) above) cannot appear with *k'e?* in an unaccusative construction:

- (45) a. k'e? i pua? lo? k'wu
 Pass 3sg fall down RVC
 'He fell down.'
 b. *k'e? naŋ pua? lo? k'wu
 Pass people fall down RVC
 (intended reading: 'People fell down.')

The morpheme *i* is generally the third person singular pronoun, as in other Southern Min dialects. But what role does it play in unaccusative structures

such as (45a)? We shall consider a number of possibilities, leading to the conclusion that the pronominal *i* is expletive.

One initially plausible approach would be to suppose that *i* is to be interpreted as some kind of implicit agent. That is, it might be reasoned, any change of state must logically have a cause, even if no such cause is specified or implied: in (45a), for example, something must have caused the speaker to fall, and this would justify the inclusion of the pronoun *i* to represent this causative agent. Indeed, native-speaking consultants often suggest such an interpretation when asked to what *i* refers. In relation to interlanguage data, too, there is evidence that conceptualizable agents play a role in the passivization of unaccusative predicates (Ju 2000), as discussed in section 4.1. These intuitions are compatible with the observation that a subset of unaccusatives are understood as having an external cause: “externally caused verbs by their very nature imply the existence of an ‘external cause’ with immediate control over the eventuality described by the verb: an agent, an instrument, a natural force, or a circumstance.” (Levin and Rappaport Hovav 1995, 92). However, this external cause is not represented in the argument structure of the verb, but (following Levin and Rappaport Hovav’s model) bound within its Lexical-Semantic Representation. Consequently, for *i* to encode an agent role is incompatible with the universal characterisation of unaccusativity as outlined in 3.1 above.

A second possibility might be that *i* is coreferential with the grammatical subject. Indeed, Li (1959, 258) suggests (parenthetically) that *i* refers back to the subject in his example (5), repeated here:

- (46) ts’iō k’e? i to lo? k’w
 wall Pass 3sg fall down RVC
 ‘The wall fell down (by itself).’

On this interpretation, the wall falls down by itself, consistent with Li’s term *zidongju* “self-induced sentences.” This suggestion too has some initial plausibility. In many languages, a reflexive pronoun is used to encode unaccusative predicates, as in French:

- (47) Le verre s’est brisée
 the glass Refl-is broken
 ‘The glass broke.’

The motivation for such reflexives appears to be that a property of the theme NP itself causes the action (Levin and Rappaport Hovav 1995, 294, note 4). In Chaozhou, however, the pronominal *i* cannot strictly be

coreferential with the grammatical subject since it remains invariable regardless of the person/number features of the subject. In (48), the subject *no kai noukiã* ‘two children’ is plural, but the third-person plural pronoun form *i naŋ* cannot be substituted for *i* in the “agent” position:

- (48) no kai noukiã k'e? i (*naŋ) pua? lo? k'w
 two Cl child Pass 3sg (Pl) fall down RVC
 ‘The two children fell over.’

Similarly, the form *k'e? i* remains invariable even when the subject is first person as in (49):

- (49) ua k'e? i pua? lo? k'w
 I Pass 3sg fall down RVC
 ‘I fell over.’

This evidence suggests that *i* in unaccusative structures is at best a frozen “dummy agent” rather than a referential pronominal: it is apparently there to fill the syntactic position occupied by the agent in passives but lacks the semantic role of agent and is therefore non-thematic, much like an expletive subject in English. In fact the pronominal *i* meets all three criteria for expletive status proposed by Postal and Pullum (1988, 636), being:

- (i) morphologically identical to a pro-form: *i* is morphologically identical to the third person pronoun;
- (ii) non-referential (neither anaphoric/cataphoric nor exophoric): *i* does not refer back to the subject, since there is no person/number agreement as shown above;
- (iii) devoid of any but a vacuous semantic role: *i* cannot have a true semantic role of agent, since the argument structure of an unaccusative predicate precludes any such role.

Note that the pronoun *i* is not used as expletive in subject position, like expletive *it* in English, but this is only to be expected since as a null subject language, Chinese does not use expletive subjects. Conversely, we should recall that English allows expletive pronominals in object position in a number of cases (Postal and Pullum 1988).

Empirical support for an expletive analysis of *i* comes from another construction in which a “dummy” pronominal *i* appears in a non-subject position. This is the pretransitive construction, which in the Jieyang vernacular may take the form [*t'ang* NP *kai i* V], with *t'ang* corresponding broadly to Mandarin *ba* and *kai* to *gei*, as in (50):

- (50) *i* t'əŋ ki hou-tsia kai *i* m-kiaŋ ne.
 3sg Pretr Cl umbrella OM 3sg lose Prt
 'He lost the umbrella!'

Like the unaccusative construction in (48–49), this pretransitive construction retains the pronominal *i* even when the object concerned has features other than 3rd person singular, as with *lu* 'you' in (51):

- (51) ua t'əŋ lu kai *i* poi tiau ne
 I Pretr you OM 3sg sell RVC Prt
 'I'll sell you off!'

Here, the object of *poi* 'sell' is *lu* 'you', not *i* 'him/her'. As in the unaccusative construction, the pronominal *i* here must be considered non-referential.¹¹

The analysis of *i* as an expletive pronominal offers a solution to the paradox noted above whereby *i* occupies the *position* occupied by the agent in typical passives based on transitive verbs but lacks the thematic role of agent as dictated by the universal characterisation of unaccusativity reviewed in 3.1 above. At the same time, our solution calls into question the assumption that every subcategorized position must be assigned a theta role: like the English data offered by Postal and Pullum (1988), the evidence for an expletive pronominal *i* in the Chaozhou unaccusative construction poses an empirical challenge to such assumptions.

Non-referential pronouns in object position are not unknown in other Chinese languages: Chao (1968, 320) speaks of "mock objects" in Mandarin, while Matthews and Yip (1994, 82) and Man (1998, 60) describe similar non-referential uses of *keoi* in Cantonese. In employing an expletive in the unaccusative construction, however, Chaozhou grammar differs from that of Chinese at large. Indeed, Li (1959) contrasted his example (5) with the Putonghua equivalent which is clearly ungrammatical:

- (52) *chang gei ta dao xia qu
 wall Pass 3sg fall down RVC
 'The wall fell down.'

The many southern dialects in which the passive marker is derived from a 'give' verb typically do not allow such a construction. Parallel configurations are clearly ungrammatical in Cantonese, for example:

- (53) *bung coeng bei keoi dit-zo (Cantonese)
 Cl wall Pass 3sg fall-Pfv
 ‘The wall fell down.’

In Mandarin, neither *bei* nor *gei* allows a structure directly parallel to the *k'e? i* construction, with a pronominal or other NP following *bei/gei*. In some Mandarin dialects in which *gei* is widely used as a passive marker, however, the use of *gei* with unaccusative verbs results in structures which are similar apart from the lack of a pronoun after *gei*:

- (54) xiao haizi gei (*ta) pao diao le
 small child GEI (3sg) run RVC Prt
 ‘The child ran away.’
- (55) yi ge qi ge yue da de nanying gei (*ta) huo-huo
 one Cl seven Cl month old DE boy GEI 3sg live-live
 e si le
 hunger die Prt
 ‘A seven-month-old boy starved alive.’

Although apparently not cognate with Chaozhou *k'e?* (the Chaozhou cognate of *gei* being *kai*, as in (50–51) above), Mandarin *gei* has undergone a similar process of grammaticalization from lexical ‘give’ to permissive and passive functions (competing with *bei* in the case of passives). Its extension from passive to unaccusative verbs may thus be parallel to that which we observe in Chaozhou, though undoubtedly more limited: the Chaozhou unaccusative construction with *k'e? i* is more productive than the Mandarin one with *gei* and represents an unmarked structure for the verbs concerned. In many cases, omitting *k'e? i* is judged to be odd, while including it is natural (speakers describe its inclusion as *sng-tsui* ‘tripping off the lips’):

- (56) kai nou-kiã ??(k'e? i) pua? lo? k'w
 Cl child Pass 3sg fall down RVC
 ‘The child fell over.’
- (57) lu nasi bo ãi tso-k'ãŋ-k'ue tsu tio? ?*(k'e? i) go tio?
 2sg if not want do-work then have-to Pass 3sg starve RVC
 ‘(In those days) if you didn’t work, you would starve.’

The judgements here are not quite categorical, in part because most speakers are familiar with dialects in which no counterpart of *k'e? i* exists (Cantonese) or none is required (Mandarin) in comparable unaccusative constructions.

We discuss the optionality of *k'e?i* further in relation to adversity in section 4.2.1.

4. THE PASSIVE-UNACCUSATIVE RELATIONSHIP

We shall now focus on the relationship between passive and unaccusative constructions from both syntactic and semantic perspectives. Syntactically, we note that formal overlap between passive and unaccusative constructions is widespread (4.1). Semantically, we argue that unaccusatives and passives share thematic and aspectual properties, which in turn motivate the extension of passive morphosyntax to unaccusative predicates (4.2).

4.1. *Passive and Unaccusative in Natural Languages*

As we have seen, the Chaozhou use of passive morphosyntax with unaccusative verbs appears rather unusual within Chinese. In a typological perspective, however, formal resemblances between passives and the structures used for unaccusative verbs are not uncommon. Morphosyntactic parallels between passive and unaccusative constructions are found in a number of languages, as shown in Table 2.

Verbs of the “deponent” class in Latin, for example, are traditionally described as passive in form but active in meaning, e.g. *mortus est* ‘he died’ takes the auxiliary BE, just like the passive *amatus est* ‘he was loved’ based on the transitive verb *amare* ‘to love’. Most of these verbs belong to the unaccusative class on semantic grounds, as with the verbs *patior* ‘I suffer’, *ingredior* ‘I enter’, and *labor* ‘I slip’, etc. In Italian, the form of the perfect tense in the case of unaccusative verbs, as in *é andato via* ‘(he) has gone away’, is identical in form to the present passive as in *é amato da tutti* ‘(he) is loved by everyone’, where both constructions select the auxiliary *essere* ‘to

TABLE 2

Formal similarity of passive and unaccusative structures

Languages	Passive	Unaccusative
Latin	amatus est loved is '(he) was loved'	mortus est died is '(he) died'
Italian	é amato da tutti is loved by all '(he) is loved by everyone.'	é andato via is gone away '(he) has left'
Chaozhou (Jieyang)	ua k'e? i lia? tio? I Pass 3sg catch RVC 'I got caught by him'	ua ke? i kuā tio? I Pass 3sg cold RVC 'I caught a cold'

be' (see Sorace 2000). In Albanian, similarly, unaccusative predicates take the middle voice form, which is also used in passive constructions, thus putting unaccusatives into a class with passives (Rosen 1984, 57, citing unpublished work by Philip Hubbard).

These parallels suggest that the Chaozhou phenomenon is part of a widespread tendency for unaccusative predicates to be treated like passives. It is thus natural to find that the unaccusative *k'e? i kuã tio?* '(he) caught a cold' is formally identical to the passive *k'e? i lia? tio?* '(he) got caught by him'. Still more specific parallels exist in German, where the unergative predicate *schlafen* 'sleep' selects the auxiliary *haben* 'have', and the prefixed change-of-state verb *einschlafen* 'fall asleep' is unaccusative, taking *sein* 'be':

- (58) a. Ich habe geschlafen
 I have slept
 'I slept.'
- b. Ich bin eingeschlafen
 I am in-slept
 'I fell asleep.'

This alternation between unergative simplex verbs and complex unaccusative verbs parallels that in Chaozhou as described in 3.2 above. In each case, aspect (the change of state element, encoded by the prefix in German and the RVC in Chaozhou) is a crucial element determining the unaccusativity of a predicate, as discussed in 4.2.2 below.

The formal identity of the unaccusative and passive also finds parallels in the interlanguage grammar of second language learners. Learners of English from various L1 backgrounds have been observed to extend passive morphosyntax to unaccusative verbs. Native speakers of Chinese learning English, for example, produce sentences such as the following (Yip 1995):

- (59) His father was died.
- (60) An accident was happened.
- (61) The car was broken down.

Two lines of explanation for this phenomenon, which are not mutually exclusive, have been pursued in the interlanguage literature:

- (i) the passive morphology can be seen as overt marking to show that the subject has the role of theme or patient, which represents a

non-canonical mapping of semantic roles to grammatical relations (Yip 1995, 43);

- (ii) the use of passive forms may reflect a tendency to attribute events to a causal agent (Yip 1995, 138; Ju 2000). This account recalls the intuition of Chaozhou speakers that the unaccusative construction implies an external cause (see 3.3 above).

Oshita (2000) shows that passivized unaccusative verbs are produced by learners of English from a variety of language backgrounds, including Japanese, Korean, Italian and Spanish. He argues that the passive marking of unaccusatives serves as ‘an overt marker of NP movement, a type of overgeneralization based on the passive morphosyntax of the target English’ (319–320). An unaccusative predicate is associated with an argument structure of the form: (\emptyset <y>). That is, there is no external argument, while the theme <y> is the internal argument. In certain cases, this internal argument appears in object position:

- (62) a. There appeared two dogs on the stage.
b. Two dogs_i appeared t_i on the stage.

The NP *two dogs* originates as the underlying object (internal argument) of the unaccusative verb *appear*, as in (62a) where the subject position is occupied by an expletive subject *there*; alternatively, *two dogs* can occur in the subject position via NP movement, leaving a trace in the object position (62b). A similar alternation can be seen in the interlanguage data, where the theme argument can appear in object position, as in (63):

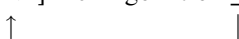
- (63) *Once happened something no very good for her
(produced by L1 Spanish speaker: Oshita 2000, 316).

When the theme argument of *happen* appears in subject position, it is assumed to have undergone NP-movement from the internal argument position. This, in the interlanguage grammar of the learners concerned, calls for passive morphology:¹²

- (64) *...to find out what would be happened in the next stories
(produced by L1 Korean speaker: Oshita 2000, 316).

Such L2 learners of English apparently feel compelled to overtly mark the movement of the NP from underlying object to subject position by employing the passive morphosyntax of *be* + *en*.

The extension of passive marking (*k'e?i*) from passive to unaccusative in Chaozhou is thus consistent with a strong tendency to mark the derivation via movement (and the concomitant change in grammatical relation) by some kind of overt morphology, as manifested in the English interlanguage grammars across different L1 backgrounds. Applied to the Chaozhou data, the analysis developed by Yip (1995) and Oshita (2000) would give the following derivation:

- (65) unaccusative argument structure: *go tio?* [___ NP_i] (\emptyset < y_i >)
'starve'
- (66) NP-movement and passive marking: [NP] *k'e? i go - tio?* ___


The NP representing the internal argument < y > in (65) would undergo NP-movement as in (66), triggering morphosyntactic marking by the phrase *k'e?i* and resulting in (67):¹³

- (67) *luu tio? k'e? i go tio?*
 2sg must Pass 3sg starve RVC
 'You're going to starve.'

The parallel between the dialect and interlanguage data is entirely consistent with the general view of interlanguage adopted by Yip, Oshita and others engaged in the theoretical analysis of interlanguage structure. Such analysis is predicated on the assumption that a learner's language is, at any stage, a possible natural language, as argued in the seminal papers of Selinker (1972) and Adjemian (1976). Indeed, an early formulation of the interlanguage hypothesis described learner languages as "idiosyncratic dialects" (Corder 1973). In this view the interlanguage data, like the Chaozhou dialects studied here, represent natural languages providing further evidence for the Unaccusative Hypothesis.

4.2 *Semantic Properties: Adversity and Aspectuality*

In the previous section, we reviewed formal similarities between passive and unaccusative constructions across languages. In the case of Jieyang there are also semantic properties which unite these two constructions, in particular adversity and aspectual properties.

4.2.1 *Adversative Semantics of the Passive and Unaccusative*

The semantic feature of adversity is a well-known characteristic of passives in Chinese as a whole (Chao 1968, 703) and more generally of languages of

East and Southeast Asia (Keenan 1985, 270). This is also a feature of passives in Jieyang: for example, the verb *t'ōi* 'see' is intrinsically neutral with respect to effect on the object, but its passive form carries the adversative sense, in this case implying that the speaker did not wish to be seen:

- (68) ua k'e? naŋ t'ōi tio?
 I Pass people see RVC
 'I was seen.'

Like the passive constructions, the unaccusatives in Chaozhou are also associated with adverse effect on the subject. A change of state that results in adverse effect on the subject calls for the *k'e?i* construction, while a change of state which is desirable may not allow it. For example, the predicate *ts'au* 'bad-smelling' allows the unaccusative construction meaning 'become smelly', but its antonym *p'aŋ* 'fragrant' does not, because 'becoming fragrant' is not normally an adverse effect:

- (69) bue huɿ k'e? i ts'au k'w
 Cl fish Pass 3sg smelly RVC
 'The fish turned smelly.'
- (70) *tsaŋ hue k'e? i p'aŋ k'w
 Cl flower Pass 3sg fragrant RVC
 'The flower became fragrant.'

Similarly, the unaccusative predicate *boi k'w* 'become unable' is compatible with the *k'e?i* construction but its positive counterpart *oi k'w* 'become able' is not:

- (71) ua i-tsaï oi iu-ion, heŋ-tsaï loŋ k'e? i boi k'w
 1sg before able swim, now all Pass 3sg not.able RVC
 'I used to be able to swim, but now I can't.'
- (72) *ua i-tsaï boi iu-ion, heŋ-tsaï loŋ k'e? i oi k'w
 1sg before not.able swim, now all Pass 3sg able RVC
 'I used to be unable to swim, but now I can.'

These contrasts shed light on the question of optionality of *k'e?i* which we noted in section 3.3 above. Some unaccusative predicates, such as *ta* '(be)come dry', may be used with or without *k'e?i*. Without *k'e?i*, as in (73), the sentence is judged to be a neutral description of a change of state, without any adversative sense:

- (73) a. ko bak ta bue?
 Cl ink dry not.yet
 ‘Has the ink dried up?’
 b. ta lau
 dry Prt
 ‘Yes, it has.’

Here the ink on the page has dried up as anticipated, while in (74), with *k'e?i*, the drying up of the ink is considered unfortunate because it prevents someone from writing with the pen:

- (74) ki pek ko bak k'e? i ta k'ɯ
 Cl pen Cl ink Pass 3sg dry RVC
 ‘The ink of the pen has gone dry.’

This adversative sense may be due to the perceived relationship of the construction to the passive, where *k'e?i* explicitly assigns the role of patient to the subject NP.

4.2.2. *Aspectuality and the Role of Resultative Verbal Complements*

Huang (1999) points out that passive constructions involve two distinct dimensions of the predicates concerned: transitivity and aspectuality. While transitivity involves the number of arguments of a predicate, as when a typical passive construction involves detransitivization, the aspectuality dimension involves features such as causality, inchoativity and change of state. Huang further suggests that the Chinese type of passive involves manipulating the aspectuality dimension of the embedded predicate, whereas in the English type, the transitivity dimension is manipulated.

Aspect plays a prominent role in the grammar of unaccusatives too, as in Pan's (1996) analysis of locative inversion in Mandarin, where the imperfective suffix *-zhe* plays a crucial role. Following Bresnan and Kanerva (1989), Pan assumes that locative inversion may apply when the verb is unaccusative either intrinsically, or as a result of undergoing some morphological operation; the predicates which undergo locative inversion in Mandarin are unaccusatives derived through such an operation, namely suffixation of the suffix *-zhe* and concomitant deletion of the agent argument. In general, non-passivized transitive verbs are not expected to occur in locative inversion, but Mandarin allows verbs such as *fang* ‘put’, *xie* ‘write’, etc., to do so when the suffix *-zhe* is added. Addition of the suffix *-zhe* to an accomplishment verb such as *fang* ‘put’ with the argument structure

<agent, theme, location> triggers deletion of the agent role, deriving an unaccusative predicate with the argument structure <theme, location> (Pan 1996, 427). This derived unaccusative predicate then appears in the locative inversion construction, as in (75). Due to the agent deletion operation associated with *-zhe*, an agent phrase is precluded from the locative inversion construction (76):

- (75) *zhuozishang fang-zhe yi ben shu*
 table-top put-ZHE one Cl book
 '(Lit.) There is a book put on the table.'
- (76) **zhuozishang (bei) John fang-zhe yi ben shu*
 table-top by John put-ZHE one Cl book
 'On the table was put a book by John.' (examples from
 Pan 1996, 410)

In Chaozhou, aspectuality plays such a role both in transitive passives and in the unaccusative construction. In particular, the intransitive verbs with which we are concerned appear in the form [*k'e?* *i* V] only in conjunction with a resultative verbal complement (RVC) which encodes change of state. For example, *si* 'die' is itself a prototypical unaccusative predicate, but in the construction [*k'e?* *i* V], it requires the verbal complement *k'uu* (lit. 'go'). In this respect, the unaccusative verbs (77a) behave like passives based on transitive verbs, which also require the RVC (77b):

- | | | | |
|------|---------------------------------|------------------------------------|----------------------------|
| | unaccusative | | passive of transitive verb |
| (77) | a. <i>bue hu k'e? i si k'uu</i> | b. <i>bue hu k'e? i tsia? k'uu</i> | |
| | Cl fish Pass 3sg die RVC | Cl fish Pass 3sg eat RVC | |
| | 'The fish died.' | 'The fish was eaten up by him.' | |

Without the RVC, *k'e?* can only be interpreted in its permissive sense (cf. 2.1 above):

- | | | |
|------|---------------------|------------------------|
| | unaccusative | transitive |
| (78) | a. <i>K'e? i si</i> | b. <i>K'e? i tsia?</i> |
| | allow 3sg die | allow 3sg eat |
| | 'Let him die.' | 'Let him eat.' |

The addition of a resultative verbal complement therefore manipulates both the argument structure and the aspectuality of the predicate. The verb *ĩ* 'sleep' alone, for example, is intrinsically unergative (79a). With the addition of the resultative complement *k'uu*, however, the verbal complex *ĩ k'uu* 'fall asleep' is unaccusative and thus calls for the *k'e?* *i* construction (79b):

- (79) a. ua t'õi tiangsi au tsu k'ũ i
 I watch TV after then go sleep
 'I went to sleep after watching TV.'
- b. ua t'õi tiangsi, t'õi t'õi e tsu *(k'e?
 I watch television watch watch Asp then Pass
 i) i k'ũ
 3sg sleep RVC
 'I fell asleep while watching television.'

A revealing variant of the same process occurs where the verb is followed by a clausal complement introduced by *kau* 'until' instead of a RVC. Such a complement clause expresses a result or extent (cf. Mandarin *de*, Cantonese *dou*) and is predicated of the subject:

- (80) tsau-ze? k'ui tse? ze? ts'ia, k'e? i he? kau mǎi tǎ
 yesterday drive one day car, Pass 3sg tired until not-want say
 'I drove for a whole day yesterday and became dead tired.'
- (81) kai tou k'e? i tsia? kau t'ĩã si
 Cl stomach Pass 3sg eat until hurt RVC
 'I ate until my stomach hurt.'

Again, the verbs here are not intrinsically unaccusative predicates: *he?* 'tired' by itself involves no change of state while *tsia?* 'eat' denotes a volitional action. With the addition of the complement clause introduced by *kau*, however, a complex predicate is formed which is non-volitional and entails a change of state: 'become tired to death' in (80), and 'eat with the effect of having a stomach-ache' in (81). Given these semantic features, the predicate as a whole is now unaccusative, hence the use of the marker *k'e?* just as for unaccusatives consisting of verb + RVC as discussed above. An important implication of the variant in (80) is that the RVC itself, though characteristic of the unaccusative construction, is not an absolute requirement; rather, what is decisive is the semantic component [Change of State] which can be encoded either by an RVC or an alternative means such as the resultative clause.

Finally, we note that the option of the resultative clause is one which the unaccusative construction shares with the passive, as seen in (82):

- (82) kai tou k'e? i p'a? kau t'ĩã si
 Cl stomach Pass 3sg hit until hurt RVC
 'My stomach was hit by him until it hurt.'

This behavior of resultative clauses is parallel to English, where resultative phrases may be predicated of the subjects of passivized and unaccusative verbs (83–84), but not of unergatives (85):

(83) I was knocked flat on the ground (passive)

(84) I fell flat on the ground (unaccusative)

(85) *I crawled flat on the ground (unergative)

One of relatively few reliable diagnostics for unaccusatives in English, this is considered a “deep” manifestation of unaccusativity by Levin and Rappaport Hovav (1995). In Chaozhou, the “deep” unaccusativity shown in (80–82) confirms the “surface” manifestation constituted by the appearance of *k'e? i* in (80–81).

5. CONCLUSIONS

This investigation of the relationship between passive and unaccusative constructions in Chaozhou began with an observation made by Li (1959) some 45 years ago: that the same morpheme *k'e?* involved in the passive also appears in certain intransitive constructions. We have shown that Li's “self-induced sentences” are clauses with unaccusative verbs. The use of the marker *k'e? i* with unaccusative verbs presents a distinctive syntactic feature of this dialect group: it constitutes overt, grammaticalized marking of unaccusativity, of a kind unusual in Chinese but paralleled in several Indo-European languages. The resemblance in form between passive and unaccusative constructions observed in the Jieyang dialect parallels that in languages such as Italian and German where the same auxiliary is selected in passive and unaccusative structures. The use of specifically passive morphosyntax with unaccusative predicates also closely resembles constructions widely attested in the interlanguage of learners of English, in which passive morphosyntax is extended to unaccusative verbs. Thus the Chaozhou *k'e? i* construction, while unusual within Chinese dialect syntax, proves to be well-motivated in a wider typological and theoretical perspective. The underlying parallel between passive and unaccusative structures, in each case, involves both thematic roles and aspectuality. Both constructions can be characterised as having the internal argument appearing as the subject, representing the semantic role of theme or patient. The unaccusative predicates are formed by a verb together with a resultative complement which specifies an aspectual component, [change of state].

The properties of the passive and unaccusative constructions present a paradox: how can we reconcile the fact that the passive marker *k'e?*, which has an agent requirement in Chaozhou, is extended to unaccusative predicates, which by definition lack an agent role? In the solution we have suggested, the obligatory agent phrase in the passive is a consequence of the subcategorization of the verb *k'e?* 'give' which has become grammaticalized as a marker of passive constructions. The invariable *i* which occupies the corresponding position in unaccusative constructions is an expletive pronominal, lacking the thematic role of agent and not coreferential with the subject.

Finally, the account we have offered suggests several avenues for future research. One concerns the prevalence of the phenomenon: its instantiations in the diverse Min dialects, the relationship between the obligatory unaccusative marking in Chaozhou and the optional use of *gei* in Mandarin dialects, etc. Other issues deserving further investigation include the nature of the aspectual constraints on passive and unaccusative constructions in Min, the role of non-referential pronouns in unaccusative and pretransitive constructions, and the implications of the phenomenon for syntactic and semantic approaches to unaccusativity.

NOTES

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¹ The term *Teochew* or *Teochiu* is a romanization of the pronunciation of the term *Chaozhou* in the dialect itself, while the variant *Chiu Chow* reflects the Cantonese pronunciation of the word.

² Abbreviations used are as follows: Asp: aspect marker, Cl: classifier, OM: object marker, Pass: passive marker, Poss: possessive marker, Pretr: pretransitive marker, Prt: particle, Refl: reflexive, RVC: resultative verbal complement. The morpheme *k'e?* is glossed as 'Pass' in both unaccusative and passive constructions to show that they are marked with the same morpheme, but this should not be taken to imply that the unaccusative construction is to be analysed as passive.

³ The relevant Cantonese morpheme is the colloquial passive marker *bei²* with the high rising tone. The formal marker *bei⁶* with the low level tone, representing the Cantonese reading for the canonical Mandarin passive marker *bèi*, follows a different pathway of grammaticalization and has correspondingly different properties.

⁴ A further extension of this grammaticalization pathway occurs when the marker develops from permissive to full causative meaning. This extension has taken place in the case of Taiwanese *hou* (Tsao 1988, 167) and to a more limited extent in Jieyang, as in (i):

- (i) *lu tio? k'e? kai noukiã k'w gua-pãi kǐ-kǐ si-mej*
 you should give Cl child go outside see-see world
 'You should get your child to go out and see the world.'

This case may be intermediate between permissive ('let him see the world') and full causative function ('get him to see the world'). The following example from the Chaoyang dialect, however, implies a causative reading since the speaker is suggesting that the child be put to bed regardless of his wishes:

- (ii) k'ɿ? i tsa k'u ɿ? (Chaoyang)
 give 3sg early go sleep
 'Put him to bed early.'

Following Shibatani and Pardeshi (2002), we may characterize cases such as (i-ii) as sociative causation. Another function of *k'e?* is the 'dative' as in (iv):

- (iii) k'io? pue tsui k'e? ua
 bring glass water give me
 'Bring me a glass of water.'

Here *k'e?* can be seen either as the second verb in a serial construction, or as a preposition. Although this usage involves grammaticalization of the same verb, we see it as a parallel pathway of grammaticalization rather than an intermediate stage on the path leading to the permissive/causative and passive usages. The general point to underline here is that pathways of grammaticalization need not be linear in nature (see also Enfield 2003).

⁵ Where relevant, tones are indicated on the 1-5 scale widely used in Chinese dialectology: 33 indicates a mid level tone, beginning and ending at the intermediate level 3, while 2 indicates a low tone on a checked syllable.

⁶ Two alternative word orders are attested in the Chaozhou double object construction: Verb–Indirect Object–Direct Object (V IO DO) as in Mandarin, and V DO IO as is typical in Cantonese. This variation is not unexpected since Chaozhou dialects are in close contact with Cantonese and other Yue dialects. The order V IO DO as seen in (18) is judged to be the canonical order in Jieyang.

⁷ The term "bridging contexts", introduced by Evans and Wilkins (2000) in relation to semantic change in verbs of perception, is equally applicable to grammaticalization (see Heine 2002).

⁸ In the terminology of recent approaches to grammaticalization, this would appear to constitute a case of *persistence* (Hopper and Traugott 1993) whereby syntactic properties of the lexical source persist beyond the point of grammaticalization. There is a certain paradox here in appealing to history to explain a synchronic pattern, which might be resolved in terms of the synchronic role of the bridging contexts in preserving the links in the chain of grammaticalization. An alternative approach invokes parallels between diachronic and ontogenetic developmental pathways (Ziegeler 1997).

⁹ Verbs such as *tim* 'sink' lack a transitive/causative counterpart because the causative sense would be expressed by a compound, as in *mue? tim* 'make sink'.

¹⁰ A subset of those languages which allow intransitive passives with unergative verbs also allow them with unaccusatives. Such languages include Lithuanian, Irish and Turkish (Levin and Rappoport Hovav 1995, 297).

¹¹ Given that *i* in the pretransitive construction with *kai i* is not a referential pronoun, a number of alternative analyses might be considered. It may, for example, serve as an index of a preposed object like a morphological marker of object agreement. Such an analysis, however, does not appear to be available for the unaccusative construction, where there would be no object for *i* to agree with, unless (under a rather abstract analysis) it were the *underlying* object of the unaccusative verb. We leave the detailed analysis of the pretransitive construction for future research.

¹² Oshita rejects an alternative analysis according to which 'passive unaccusatives' in interlanguage result from formation of a causative counterpart of the unaccusative predicate. Although there is some evidence for such causativization of unaccusatives, in many cases there is no plausible causer of the event, as in examples (i-ii) from Yip (1995, 146):

- (i) *One will find that English poems were seemed to be more personal.
 (ii) *The Chinese poems are seemed to be more sophisticated.

These sentences cannot easily be accounted for in terms of causativization since there is no semantically plausible causative counterpart for the verb *seem*. Rather, the passive morphology signals that the surface subjects are syntactically derived, with NP-movement extending across a clause boundary in (i–ii). Thus the passivization of unaccusative and raising predicates in interlanguage can be unified under the same account.

¹³ In this case, NP-movement seems to be obligatory. The NP cannot remain in object position with the predicate *go tio?* ‘starve’ (i), apparently because the RVC *tio?* calls for the *k’e? i* form (see 4.2.2):

- (i) ?*ki-hŋ kai si-hau, go tio? ho? tsoi naŋ.
 famine Poss time starve-die very many people.
 ‘Many people died of starvation during the period of famine.’

In the case of *go si* ‘starve to death’, the internal argument can either remain in object position, as in (ii), or undergo movement marked by *k’e? i* as in (iii):

- (ii) ki-hŋ kai si-hau, go si ho? tsoi naŋ.
 famine Poss time starve die very many people
 ‘Many people died of starvation during the period of famine.’
 (iii) ki-hŋ kai si-hau, ho? tsoi naŋ k’e? i go-si.
 famine Poss time very many people Pass 3sg starve-die
 ‘Many people died of starvation during the period of famine.’

Whether NP-movement is obligatory thus appears to hinge on the role of individual RVCs, as well as on native-speaker judgements which are often less than categorical. We leave this question for future investigation.

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