

A Preliminary Investigation of the Adversity Reading in Archaic WEI Passives

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Abstract: Problem statement: It is well-known that modern Chinese imposes such a requirement on the subject in the BEI passive, but in fact it does not hold tightly in Modern Chinese. Only 50-75% of passives have the adversity reading on the subject. **Approach:** One approach to explain this phenomenon is to adopt the view of grammaticalization and trace the semantic change of the morpheme BEI. However, the majority of the passive construction in archaic Chinese is not the BEI passive, but the WEI construction. The Adversity reading in the WEI construction in archaic Chinese is examined as a pilot study in this study. **Results:** Our research result shows that in the book of Shi Ji, among 50 tokens, 78% of the WEI passive has the adversity reading. **Conclusion:** This thus indicates that our impression about the adversity reading imposed on passives is not an absolute requirement, no matter in modern or archaic Chinese. On the other hand, the investigation of the WEI...SUO construction indicates that there is a decline of the adversity reading. We therefore conclude that a follow-up study should be carried out to complete the whole picture of the investigation of the adversity reading in Chinese passives.

Key words: The BEI passive, the WEI (...SUO) passive, grammaticalization and language change

INTRODUCTION

Unlike passives in English, it is widely assumed that most passives in Chinese impose an adversity reading on the grammatical subject (Hsin, 1990; Liu *et al.*, 2001; Tseng, 2004), as articulated by the authors of a recent textbook for teachers of Chinese as a Second Language, "In modern Mandarin Chinese, BEI constructions are employed mostly when the subject suffers from some damage or feels unhappy. Therefore its usage is very limited" (Liu *et al.*, 2001, p.423) (the original excerpt from Liu *et al.* (2001) is as follows: "Zai xiandai hanyu Putonghua li, 「bei」 ziju muqian duo yongyu dui zhuyu laishuo shi shousun-de huo bu yukuai-de qingxing, suoyi ta-de shiyong shi bijiao youxian-de." (p. 423)). Hence, examples like (1a) and (1b), with a beneficiary reading on the subject, are considered ungrammatical. In contrast, the example in (2), which has an adversity/malificiary reading, is allowed (However, as pointed out by Liu *et al.* (2001), if a verbal complement is added after the verb *ai* ('love') in (3b), this sentence becomes acceptable in Chinese).

(i) Zhangsan bei ta-de xuesheng ai de yao-si.
Zhangsan BEI his student love DE want-die
'Zhangsan was loved by his students.'

Hence, it seems that the adding of the complement in BEI constructions may somehow cancel the requirement of the adversity reading on the subject. In the following discussion, the reader will see when examining BEI constructions, we consider both situations with and without the complement to avoid the controversy over this issue.

a. *Zhangsan bei ta-de xuesheng xinshang.
Zhangsan BEI his student appreciate (1)
'Zhangsan was appreciated by his students.'

b. *Zhangsan bei ta-de xuesheng ai.
Zhangsan BEI his student love
'Zhangsan was loved by his students.'

Zhangsan bei xuesheng da-shang-le.
Zhangsan BEI student hit-hurt-ASP (2)
'Zhangsan was hurt by the students.'

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However, this requirement in fact is not fully carried out if one examines the modern Chinese passives in the corpus. For example, according to some recent corpus studies by McEnery *et al.* (2003); McEnery and Xiao (2005); Xiao *et al.* (2006); Yang (2006) and Kuo (2010), it has been noticed that the adversity requirement does not hold tightly in Modern Chinese. These studies show that only 50-75% of the BEI passive has the adversity reading on the subject.

In the following discussion, we will first introduce the corpus works of Kuo (2010) and Peyraube (1989) which both address the issue of the adversity reading of the BEI passives. After that, we will point out that we may need to consider another historical factor when we examine the adversity reading change of the BEI passive. That is, in archaic Chinese, the BEI passive is not the only and major passive construction. We then investigate the WEI construction and conclude that in archaic Chinese, the WEI construction, as a major passive representative, also do not have a high percentage of adversity reading imposed on its subject. Further evidence from the comparison between the archaic and modern WEI...SUO passive also shows that the decline of the adversity reading is not limited to the BEI passive. These study results hence provide us with a new direction of the adversity reading decline of the BEI passive. We conclude the study in the last section.

MATERIALS AND METHODS

As mentioned previously, there are several corpus studies regarding the semantic change of the BEI passive. We presented two corpus studies: Kuo (2010) and Peyraube (1989). The former compares two sets of corpus data after 1900 to show that there is a decline of the adversity reading on the BEI passive. The latter traces the semantic change of the BEI passive back to the Archaic Chinese which is around 100 B.C. to 100 A.D. These two studies should give the readers an overview about the central issue of the adversity reading on the BEI passives.

Kuo (2010) compares two sets of Chinese data to see if there is indeed an adversity requirement on the subject in BEI constructions and if there is a gradual switch from the adversity/malificiary reading to the

neutral or beneficiary reading. The basic information of her data is shown in Table 1.

The two sets of data are both collected from the political editorial sections of newspapers. The first set of data is from the book “XinMin Shou,” a collection of political editorials written by Journalist and political activist Qichao Liang between 1902 and 1906 for the newspaper “XinMin CongBao” (“New Citizen Journal”). The word count of all his articles is around one hundred and twenty thousand. The second set of data is a collection of political editorials written by Journalist and political activist Hengwei Jin between 2008 and 2009 for the newspaper “The Liberty Times.” The word count is around one hundred and twenty thousand, thus matching the first set of data.

The data were compared in the following ways: First, Kuo picked out all the BEI passives, including both long passives and short passives. Second, she examined all the VPs in the passive constructions and categorized them by the meaning of the verb and its complement, if any. Any repeated or unidentified verbs (i.e., typos) were excluded. She also made reference to the on-line Chinese dictionary by the Ministry of Education to determine whether the verb or the whole VP carried the adversity reading, since this can affect the subject (the link of the on-line dictionary website: <http://dict.revised.moe.edu.tw/>). The final results are shown in the first two columns in Table 2. Note that the same procedure was applied a second time to the two sets of data, but this time excluding any BEI constructions with complements. This step was taken to avoid the controversy about whether the complement may void the adversity requirement in BEI constructions (cf. Liu *et al.*, 2001). The results are shown in the last two columns in Table 2.

Table 1: The Basic Information of Data 1 and Data 2

	Data 1	Data 2
Time	1902~1906	10/5, 2008 ~ 10/11, 2009
Author	Liang, Qichao	Jin, Hengwei
Source	XinMin CongBao (New Citizen Journal)	The Liberty Times
Genre	Political Editorial	
Word count	119,728	119,482

Table 2: The Comparison Results of Data 1 and Data 2

	Data 1	Data 2	Data 1 (with complement)	Data 2 (without complement)
Total passive constructions	22.000	94.000	21	69
Valid passive constructions (excluding the repeated or unidentified verb)	16.000	80.000	15	60
Adversity VP	14.000	61.000	14	45
Other VP	2.000	19.000	1	15
Adversity VP Percentage	87.500%	76.250%	93%	75%
The result of chi-square	< .001	< .001		

The results show that it is indeed true that the majority of the BEI passives have an adversity reading imposed on the subject, coming from the adversity VP. Moreover, the Chi-square test shows that there is a statistically significant drop in the number of passives with an adversity reading (regardless of whether the passive has a complement or not) between the early 20th and 21st centuries.

To sum up, the data presented so far support the initial observation that there has been a gradual decrease in the adversity reading on the subject. While it is true that the majority (around 75%) of the BEI passive meet the adversity reading requirement on the subject, consistent with the statement about BEI constructions from Liu *et al.* (2001) Chinese textbook, it also appears that BEI constructions increasingly allow non-adversity VPs. The drop in the adversity reading requirement over the past hundred years is around 15% (one phenomenon is also worth noting: the emergence of the complement in BEI constructions has also increased in the past hundred years. For example, in Data 1, the rate is 1 out of 16 (6.25%). But in Data 2, the rate becomes 20 out of 80 (25%). The use of different complements makes the BEI passives more dynamic, which adds a lot of variety in its expression ways).

The above study result shows that there is indeed a difference between our impression and the real reality of the BEI passive. In the literature, researchers hypothesize that the adversity reading may drop as the time goes by, but they differ in the cause of the dropping (see the discussions in Ma, 2003; Yang, 2006). There are two main hypotheses: one assumes that the dropping is due to language contact (i.e., Wang, 1957; Chao, 1968; Li and Thompson, 1981; Hashimoto, 1988) and the other assumes that the word BEI has been grammaticalized (i.e., Peyraube 1989; 2000; Tien, 2000; Xing, 2003; Yang 2006). The first hypothesis basically adopts the view of external influence, i.e., Language Contact. For example, Wang (1957) proposes that the dropping of the adversity reading of the BEI passive is because of language contact with the western languages. It may be the case that the BEI passive is influenced by the translation works (cf. Zhou and Feng, 1983; Wu, 1993; Zhu, 1996; Chen, 1997). And the May 4th movement in 1919 can be viewed as a dividing point. Other researchers support the view of internal change of the language itself (the second hypothesis). The word BEI experienced some internal change, shifting from a content word to a passive marker. For example, Hashimoto (1988) proposes that the adversity reading has declined from the end of the Tang Dynasty. Peyraube (1989) points out that the original BEI has the meaning of “blanket” as a noun and “to receive, to suffer” as a verb in the Han Dynasty. Because of the process of grammaticalization, BEI has become a

preposition in the Sui-Tang Dynasty and even become a passive marker in modern Chinese.

Here we examine the study of Peyraube (1989) for more details. To support his proposal, Peyraube (1989) did a diachronic investigation of the BEI passive. For the database, he went back to the book of Shi Ji and Han Shu and searched all the sentences containing the word BEI. There are 149 BEI in the main texts in the book of Shi Ji. BEIs in the footnotes are ignored. The search result shows that there are 56 nouns, which has the meaning of “blanket”. There are also 88 verbal usage of BEI, which can be divided into different subcategories syntactically. When BEI is used as a transitive verb, it can either mean “to receive, to suffer” or “to cover, to wear”. BEI can also be followed by a verb directly (similar to the structure of short passive) and means “to suffer, to be affected”. Finally BEI can also emerge in a long passive structure which can mean either “to cover, to wear” or “to suffer, to be affected”. This is shown in Table 3 (the total number of verbal BEI here is 80. There are 8 verbal usage of BEI which are not discussed in Peyraube (1989)).

As shown in Table 3, Peyraube (1989) only found 11 tokens of sentences in which BEI has the meaning related to passive marker. He also indicated that it is not until the late Han Dynasty has the number of the passive meaning of BEI increased. For example, in the book of Han Shu, there are 309 BEIs in the main texts, excluding the footnotes. While there are 74 noun usage, there are 235 verbal usage. In the following five syntactic structures in Table 4, Peyraube (1989) did not give the accurate number for the first three structures in his paper. He only concluded that in the book of Han Shu, BEI’s meaning “to receiver, to suffer” is slightly more numerous than the meaning “to cover, to wear” when BEI is used as a transitive verb. As for the short passive, the number is also remarkably increased. When it comes to the long passive structure, one can see that the number is still quite small.

Peyraube later also investigated the data from the medieval Chinese and concluded that the verbal BEI has become a preposition BEI in the Sui-Tang Dynasty. According to the above results, Peyraube (1989) proposes that BEI has undergone the process of grammaticalization (Li and Shi, 2006; Peyraube; 2000; Tien, 2000; Xing, 2003; Yang, 2006). Interesting, the process of grammaticalization does not apply to the word BEI only in the derivation of Mandarin. The same pattern has been attested by the BA construction in Mandarin as well, which has been proposed to share some syntactic similarities to the BEI passive (Huang *et al.*, 2009). BA has also undergone grammaticalization from a verb to a preposition in the Sui-Tang Dynasty and currently functions as a disposal marker in modern Chinese (see Sun, 1996).

Although BEIs do emerge in the archaic Chinese as passive constructions, we believe that we should be more careful when examining the change of the adversity reading of the BEI passives. First of all, according to Table 3, there are only 149 sentences containing the word BEI in the book of Shi Ji. If we count only the verbal ones, we have 88 tokens. The meaning “to cover”, to “wear” should be viewed as the beneficiary reading, while the one “to suffer”, “to be affected” should be viewed as the adversity reading. In this way, this means that sixty percent of the BEI passive has the beneficiary meaning. This is quite strange compared to the recent corpus research conclusions that there is a “decline” of the adversity reading of the BEI sentences. One may argue that we should only concentrate on the BEI sentences which mean “to suffer” or “to be affected”. In this way, the adversity reading should be 100% and it is possible that this requirement drops later. However, it should not be possible that there are only eleven passive sentences in a book like Shi Ji, which has more than fifty hundred and twenty thousand words.

Through the courses of archaic Chinese texts in our junior and high schools, we have learned that the passive construction is not limited to the BEI passive. Just like the cases we can use GEI, RANG, or JIAO as passive markers in modern Chinese, there are also

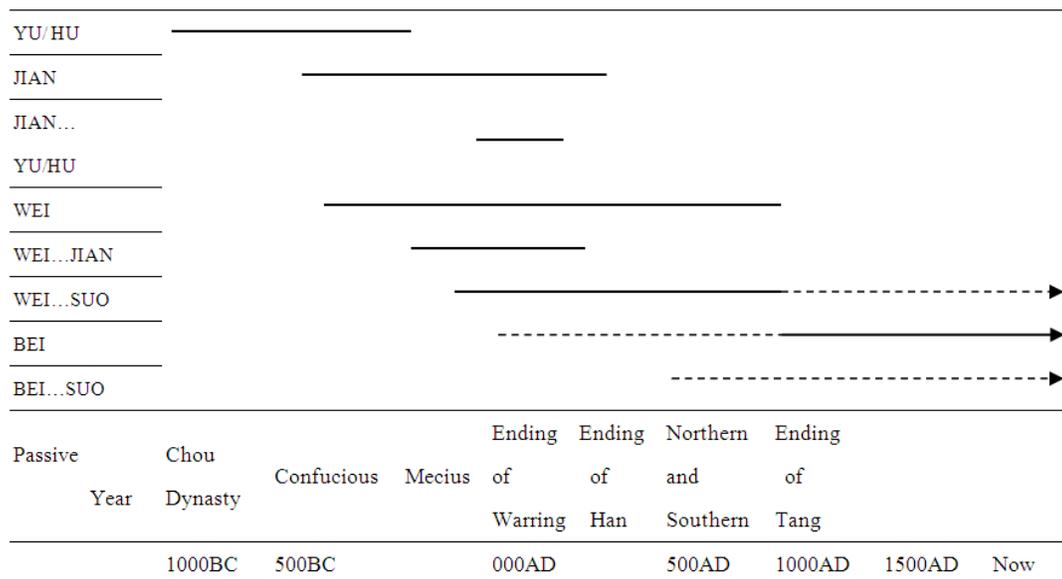
several passive morphemes in archaic Chinese, such as WEI, JIAN, SHOU. We do use WEI as the major passive marker in the modern Chinese because in the Sui-Tang Dynasty, BEI somehow replaces WEI and becomes the major candidate for passive constructions (Chu, 1987; Peyraube 1989; Li, 1994; Wu, 2007). Take Fig. 1 for example, the rise and fall of various Chinese passives is summarized as follows (this figure is based on Chu (1987) and modified accordingly by other researchers’ observations about Chinese passive constructions).

Table 3: The verbal BEI in the book of Shi Ji

The meaning	The structure	Sentence number
to receive, to suffer	BEI + NP	21
to cover, to wear	BEI + NP	27
to suffer, to be affected	BEI + V	8
to cover, to wear	BEI + NP1 + V + (NP2)	21
to suffer, to be affected	BEI + NP1 + V + (NP2)	3

Table 4: The verbal BEI in the book of Han Shu

The meaning	The structure	Sentence number
to receive, to suffer	BEI + NP	N/A
to cover, to wear	BEI + NP	N/A
to suffer, to be affected	BEI + V	N/A
to cover, to wear	BEI + NP1 + V + (NP2)	20
to suffer, to be affected	BEI + NP1 + V + (NP2)	5



— : the time when the construction in questions is used as a major passive construction

--- : the time when the construction in question is used as a minor passive construction

Fig. 1: The historical derivation of Chinese passives

Therefore, we believe that if we want to track the semantic change of the BEI passive, our search should not be limited in the BEI passive only. Hence we propose that in determining whether there is a decline of the adversity reading in Chinese passives, we should examine the constructions involving these words as well. The hypothesis we would like to test is as follows: Apparently the word BEI doesn't serve as the main passive maker in archaic Chinese, but it may be influenced by the semantic requirement of other dominant passive constructions. Although most archaic passive words are not used in modern Chinese, it is still possible in the process of language internal change, the adversity reading of these disappeared constructions is carried over to the BEI passive gradually. Hence the percentage of the adversity reading in those archaic passive sentences is an important indicator to see if the adversity reading is already imposed in archaic Chinese passives. And to what extent can we relate the result to the explanation of the decline of the adversity reading in the BEI passive. We present the result of a pilot study and discuss the results in the following section.

RESULTS

We first present the search result from the HanDian Corpus and we discuss the results as follows. In the pilot study we focus on the morpheme WEI, which is a very common word for archaic passive construction. This is to follow Li (1994); Peyraube's (1989) and Wu (2007) proposal in that WEI passive is a major passive construction before the Sui-Tang Dynasty and is replaced by the BEI passive construction after this turning point. Hence to investigate the semantic content of the WEI passive in archaic Chinese should shed some light on the BEI passive in modern Chinese.

For the data source, we used the HanDian corpus created by the Academia Sinica (<http://hanji.sinica.edu.tw/index.html>). Note that WEI in fact has several meanings, including the meaning of "to be", "for", "in light of", "to do" and "passive marker". Examples are shown from (3-7) respectively (note that the tone of WEI (the second tone) cannot be used to differentiate the passive meaning from the others).

To be:

Taizi li, shi WEI Yanyi wong.
Prince establish, is WEI Yanyi king (3)
'The prince is established. He is the King of yanyi.'

For:

Yu binke WEI chang ye yin.
With guests WEI long night drink (4)
'Drink with guests for the long night.'

In light of:

Yiwei fei wo mo neng WEI ye.
Is not I not can WEI YE (5)
'It is not what I can do.'

To do:

Sha ren fu zi er jun zhi, yu bu ren WEI.
Kill people father son then king it, I not bear WEI (6)
'To be a king, I kill people's fathers and sons. It is the thing that I cannot do.'

Passive marker:

Chen ge WEI qi zhu yong.
Courtiers each WEI one's master use (7)
'Courtiers are used by their masters.'

In the following search results, those sentences containing WEI other than the meaning of being a passive marker are excluded. As one can see, although WEI has many meanings, the differences are quite distinct and most of the sentences containing WEI can be clearly distinguished. If there is a doubt, we use modern Chinese translation of the book *Shi Ji* to figure out whether WEI in question is used for the passive construction.

We used WEI as the keyword and ran the search in the HanDian Corpus. We then examined all the sentences containing WEI page by page. Sentences which do not contain the passive word WEI are all excluded. Due to the time limit, we stopped this process when we got fifty WEI passive sentences. Among these fifty tokens, we categorize their meaning by the following three labels: adversity/malificiary, neutral or beneficiary. If there is controversy, we made reference to the on-line Chinese dictionary by the Ministry of Education. The results are shown in Table 5.

As one can see, the adversity reading in the WEI passive though is dominant, is not an absolute requirement. Only 78% of the WEI sentences have adversity reading.

In addition to the categorization by meaning, we also categorize the fifty WEI sentences by their syntactic formats. The most well-known syntactic

categorization is to divide passives into long and short passives (Ting, 1998; Huang, 1999). The Agent emerges in the long passive, while it is absent in the short passive. The examples are shown in (8) and (9).

Long passive:

Zhangsan bei Lisi da-le.
 Zhangsan BEI Lisi hit-ASP (8)
 'Zhangsan was hit by Lisi.'

Short passive:

Zhangsan bei da-le.
 Zhangsan BEI hit-ASP (9)
 'Zhangsan was hit.'

In addition to the long and short difference, one thing that drew our attention is the co-occurrence of WEI and SUO in the WEI passives. In modern Chinese, we can still use WEI as the passive marker, but it has to appear with SUO. Without SUO, the sentence is judged as ungrammatical, as shown in (10) (in modern Chinese, SUO is optional in the BEI passive (Chiu, 1993; Ting, 2003)). This WEI... SUO construction in modern Chinese usually emerges in the literary texts such as newspaper or news reports.

Zhangsan WEI Lisi *(SUO) qipian.
 Zhangsan WEI Lisi (SUO) cheat. (10)
 'Zhangsan was cheated by Lisi.'

Hence what we did next is to divide the WEI passives into the ones without SUO and the ones with SUO. Both subgroups are categorized by their syntactic formats as long or short passives. The results are shown in Table 6.

For the sentences without SUO, we found more long passives than short passives. For the other sentences with SUO, we only found long passives.

Semantically, we further investigated the WEI sentences with SUO and found out that these 22 sentences have adversity reading only (this observation does not hold for the WEI...SUO construction in modern Chinese. See discussions below. The contrast is shown below).

Bi Wuxu fu xiong WEI lu yu chu.
 He Wuxu father brother WEI kill in Chu (11)
 'Wuxu his father and brothers were killed in Chu'

Table 5: The WEI passive

Sentence Meaning	Sentence Number	Percentage
Adversity/Malificiary	39	78 %
Neutral	10	20 %
Beneficiary	1	2 %

Table 6: The WEI...SUO passive

Syntactic construction	WEI without SUO		WEI with SUO	
	Number	Percentage	Number	Percentage
Long	17	34%	22	44%
Short	11	22%	0	0%

Yan zai ye nan, sui WEI tainxia hao.
 Yan is Ye south thus WEI people call (12)
 'Yan is in the south of Ye, thus it was called its name by people.'

Jia pin, WEI ren SUO lue mai.
 Family poor, WEI people SUO kidnap sell (13)
 'The family is poor, (she) was kidnapped and sold by someone.'

As shown in (11), this passive has the adversity reading since the main verb is "kill". On the other hand, the verb in (12) is "call", hence it has the neutral reading. The one in (13) is the WEI...SUO is "kidnap" and "sell", hence it has the adversity reading. For the full list of all the WEI...SUO sentences, please see Appendix 1 for more details.

To summarize, based on the above preliminary investigation, we have the following three generalizations. First, among the fifty tokens, we found that the WEI passive is not restricted to adversity reading. But the adversity reading is still dominant. Secondly, the emergence of SUO is strongly connected to the appearance of the Agent. That is, it only occurs in the long passive. Thirdly, when WEI emerges with SUO, the sentence is restricted to the adversity reading.

DISCUSSION

The WEI passive: The first result shows that only 78% of the WEI sentences have adversity reading. It has the following implications. First of all, this result further confirms that the BEI sentences are not the majority of the archaic passive. Other words such as WEI constitute most part of the passive family (i.e., Fig. 1). Furthermore, the fifty tokens of the WEI passive only occupies a very small part of the book of Shi Ji, which indicates that the usage of passive is definitely not that 'rare'. Secondly, the adversity reading percentage is not very high in the WEI passives. The number 78% means that the majority of the WEI passives has the adversity reading, but it is not an absolute requirement.

Appendix 1: Twenty-two WEI...SUO sentences in Archaic Chinese

1. Source	shi ji juan qi xiang yu di qi
Archaic Chinese	xiang ji zhe, xia xiang ren ye, zi yu, chu qi shi, nian er shi si 。 qi ji fu xiang liang, liang fu ji chu jiang xiang yan, WEI qin jiang wang jian SUO lu zhe ye 。
Modern Chinese Translation	Xiang-ji-de shufu shi Xiang-liang, Xiang-liang-de fuqin shi Xiang-yan, jiushi bei Qin jiang Wang-jian SUO shahai de nawei chuguo dajiang 。
2. Source	shi ji juan ba gao zu ben ji di ba zhu shi
Archaic Chinese	shen qiu dao li ji yun “wang-mang yuan cheng ren, ju jin he ce, zu fu fen mu WEI shui SUO chong, yin he ru shen chuan, ci wang mang he yin ku ye 。
Modern Chinese Translation	Wang-mang shi Yuan-cheng ren, zhuzai kaojin hean bian, zufu-de Translation fenmu bei shui chonghui 。
3. Source	shi ji qin shi huang ben ji di liu
Archaic Chinese	er shi jiu nian, shi huang dong you 。 zhi yang wu bo lang sha zhong, WEI dao SUO jing 。 qiu fu de, nai ling tian xia da SUO shi ri 。
Modern Chinese Translation	Er-shi-jiu nian (qian 218, Shi-huang dao dongfang qu xunyou). Daod Yang-wu-xian Bo-lang-sha shi, zaodao Zhang-liang he yi-ming lishi-de xingci, cike wuzhong fuche, Shi-huang shou-le jingxia, zhuona cike meiyou zhuodao, jiu mingling quanguo da guimo soubu-le shitian 。
4. Source	shi ji qin shi huang ben ji di liu zhu shi
Archaic Chinese	fang shi xu shi deng ru hai qiu shen yao, shu sui bu de, fei duo, kong qian, nai zha yue: 「peng lai yao ke de, ran chang WEI da jiao yu SUO ku, gu bu de zhi, yuan qing shan she yu ju, jian ze yi lian nu she zhi 。」 shi huang meng yu hai shen zhan, ru ren zhuang 。
Modern Chinese Translation	Fangshi Xu-fu dengren dao haizhong xunzhao shenyao, hao ji-nian dou meiyou zhaodao, yongqu henduo qiancai, kongpa zaoshou qianze, ushi dui Shi-huang shuo: “Peng-lai-xian-dao-de shenyao shi keyi nadao-de, raner hangxing shi changchang bei da shayu xiji, suoyi wufa daoda, xiwang pai xie shanyu shesha shayu-de ren he women yiqi qu, shayu chuxian jiu yong da gongjian shesha ta 。” Shi-huang mengjian ziji he haishen zhandou, haishen de xingzhuang haoxiang ren 。
5. Source	shi ji wai qi shi jia di shi jiu
Archaic Chinese	dou huang hou xiong dou zhang jun, di yue dou guang guo, zi shao jun 。 shao jun nian si wu sui shi, jia pin, WEI ren SUO lue mai, qi jia bu zhi qi chu 。 chuan shi yu jia, zhi yi yang, WEI qi zhu ru shan zuo tan, mu wo an xia bai yu ren, an beng, jin ya sha wo zhe, shao jun du de tuo, bu si 。
Modern Chinese Translation	Dou huanghou-de gege Jiaozuo Dou Zhang-jun, didi Jiaozuo Dou Guang-guo, ingzi Shao-jun 。
	Didi zai si, wu-sui shi bei ren youguai maidiao, ta bu zhidao jia zai nail, ta bei daidao Yi-yang, bang ta-de zhuren dao shan shang kanchai, huanghun shi gaoda shang bai ren zai nali kanchai, jieguo shan shang bengta le, yasi le xuduo ren, zhiyou shao jun taozou mei si 。
6. Source	shi ji qin ben ji di wu zhu shi
Archaic Chinese	zhou tong xing SUO feng, zuo chuan yun yu, guo, jiao, hua, huo, yang, han, WEI jie ji xing ye 。 du yu yun ba guo jie WEI jin SUO mie 。
Modern Chinese Translation	Zhou-chao feng tongxing WEI hou, Zuo-chuan shuo yu guo jiao, hua, huo, yang, han, WEI zhe-xie guojia dou shi ji xing 。 Du yuyan zhe ba-ge guojia dou hui bei Jin-guo miwang 。
7. Source	shi ji ji bu luan bu lie chuan di si shi
Archaic Chinese	shi liang wang peng yue WEI jia ren shi, chang yu bu you, qiong kun, lin yong yu qi, WEI jiu ren bao 。 shu sui, peng yue qu zhi ju ye zhong WEI dao, er bu WEI ren SUO lue mai, WEI nu yu yan 。
Modern Chinese Translation	Luan-bu shi Liang-di ren。 Dangchu Liang wang Peng-yue zuo pingmin-de shihou cengjing he Luan-bu jiaowang。 Luan-bu jiali pinkun, zai qi di bei ren guyong, ti maijiu-de renjia zuo yonggong 。
	Guo-le ji-nian, Peng-yue laidao Ju-ye zuo qiangdao, er Luan-bu que bei ren qiangxing jiechi chumai, dao Yan di qu zuo nupu 。
8. Source	shi ji huai yin hou lie chuan di san shi er
Archaic Chinese	xin fang zhan, yue: 「wu hui bu yong kuai tong zhi ji, nai WEI er nu zi SUO zha, qi fei tian zai!」 sui yi xin san zu 。
Modern Chinese Translation	Han-xin lin zhan shi shuo: “Wo houhui meiyou caina Kuai-tong-de jimou, yizhi bei funu xiaozhi SUO qipian , nandao bushi tianyi ma ” Yushi zhusha-le Han-xin san zu 。
9. Source	shi ji feng chan shu di liu
Archaic Chinese	zi zhou ke yin hou shi si shi, shi yi shuai, li le fei, zhu hou zi xing, er you wang WEI quan rong SUO bai, zhou dong xi luo yi 。
Modern Chinese Translation	Shidao gengjia shuairuo, liyue gengjia feiqi, zhuhou ziyi xing shi, er Zhou-you-wang bei quan rong dabai 。
10. Source	shi ji qin ben ji di wu
Archaic Chinese	xiang gong er nian, rong WEI quan qiu, shi fu ji zhi, WEI rong ren SUO lu 。 sui yu, fu gui shi fu 。

Modern Chinese	Xiang gong er nian (qian 776), Xi-rong baowei Quan-qiu, wo fuqin qu gongda Translation Xi-rong, dan bei Xi-rong fulu.
11. Source	shi ji feng chan shu di liu
Archaic Chinese	shi huang feng chan zhi hou shi er sui, qin wang, zhu ru sheng ji qin fen shi shu, zhu lu wen xue, bai xing yuan qi fa, tian xia pan zhi, jie e yue: 「qin shi huang shang tai shan, WEI bao feng yu SUO ji, bu de feng chan。」
Modern Chinese	Shi-huang fengchan yihou shi-er nian, Qin chao miwang。 Na-xie rusheng-men jihen
Translation	Qin chao fenhui shishu, tusha, wuru wenxue shiren, baixing yuanhen Qin chao falu, tianxia ren dou beipan Qin chao, yiner dou echuan shuo: 「Shi-huang shang Tai-shan, bei baofengyu SUO zu, mei neng xing fengchan li。」
12. Source	shi ji zhou ben ji di si zhu shi
Archaic Chinese	di wang shi ji yun: 「ming dan。 sui ju tian zi zhi WEI hao, WEI zhu hou zhi SUO yi bi, yu jia ren wu yi。」
Modern Chinese	Zai diwang shiji pian ceng shuo: 「Suiran weiju tianzi-de minghao,
Translation	dan shiji shang bei zhuhou bipo zuoshi, qishi yu pingmin meiyou liangyang。」
13. Source	shi ji qin ben ji di wu
Archaic Chinese	zhang yi fa shu, shu wang kai zhan bu sheng, WEI yi SUO mie ye。
Modern Chinese Translation	Zhang-yi taofa Shu guo, Shu guo zhanbai, bei Zhang-yi xiaomie diao
14. Source	shi ji zhou ben ji di si
Archaic Chinese	u shi long li yao zi, WEI ren SUO shou, bao ren na zhi yu wang, gu yue bao si
Modern Chinese	Zhe-ge ren-de nuer shi Long-li yaonie de zisi, bei ren shoufu-le, Bao
Translation	ren jiang ta xian gei huang di, ming jiao Bao-si。
15. Source	zhou ben ji di si zhu shi
Archaic Chinese	du yu yun hua guo dou fei, he nan gou shi xian, WEI qin SUO mie, shi shu zheng, jin, hou shu zhou。
Modern Chinese	Du-yun-hua guodou Fei, ye jiushi Henan fu-de gou shi xian, hui
Translation	bei Qin xiaomie, benlai shuyu Zheng yu Jin guo, houlai shu yu Zhou guo。
16. Source	shi ji xia ben ji di er zhu shi
Archaic Chinese	zhou wu wang feng yu hou yu qi, hao dong lou gong, er shi yi dai WEI chu SUO mie。
Modern Chinese	Zhou-wu-wang jiang yu-de houdai cefeng zai Qi zhe yi-dai, chengzuo
Translation	Dong-lou-gong, dao-le di er-shi-yi dai bei Chu guo miediao。
17. Source	shi ji xia ben ji
Archaic Chinese	zhuo sha yi, peng zhi, yi shi qi zi, zi bu ren shi, sha yu qiong men, zhuo yin yi shi, sheng jiao ji yi。 shi jiao mie zhen guan shi ji zhen xun shi, er xiang WEI jiao SUO mie, hou min gui yu you reng, sheng shao kang。
Modern Chinese	Han-zhuo sha-le Hou-yi zhihou, zhulai WEI Hou-yi-de erzi, ta bu gan chi, er
Translation	zai Diong-men zisha。 Han-zhuo qiangzhan Hou-yi-de qishi sheng-le liang-ge erzi, yi-ge jiao Yun-jiao, ling yi-ge jiao Yun-yi。 Han-zhuo yao sha Xia-di-xiang, bian mingling Jiao xiaomie Zhen-guan-shi ji Zhen-xun-shi, er dou bei Jiao xiaomie-le。 Xiang de feizi Hou-min dangshi huaiyun, taodao niangjia You-reng-shi buluo (Shan-dong Ji-nan), shengxia Shao-kang
18. Source	shi ji xia ben ji di er
Archaic Chinese	pan yu you tian, bu xu min shi, WEI yi SUO zhu, bu de fan guo
Modern Chinese	Pan-yu zai yewai wanle, bu neng tixu minjian jiku, bei Hou-yi quzhu, bu
Translation	neng fan hui guojia dang wang。
19. Source	shi ji WEI kang shu shi jia di qi
Archaic Chinese	qing hou er shi nian, zhou you wang yin luan, WEI quan rong SUO shi。
Modern Chinese Translation	Zhou er-shi nian, Zhou-you-wang yinluan bei Quan-rong shahai。
20. Source	shi ji qin ben ji di wu
Archaic Chinese	jiu yue ren xu, yu jin hui gong yi wu he zhan yu han di, jin jun qi qi jun, yu qin zheng li, hai er ma jing。 miao gong yu hui xia chi zhui zhi, bu neng de jin jun, fan WEI jin jun SUO WEI。
Modern Chinese	Jiu yue ren xu ri, yu Jin-hui-gong Yi-wu zai Han di jiaozhan, Jin jun shuaixia ziji-de budui duzi wang
Translation	qian chong, gen Qin jun zhengdou。 Miao gong zhui shang qian, danshi zhuo bu dao Jin jun, ziji que bei Jin jun weizhu。
21. Source	shi ji xiang yu ben ji di qi
Archaic Chinese	wu wen xian ji zhi ren, hou ze WEI ren SUO zhi。
Modern Chinese Translation	Wo tingdao-le jiu xian fa zhi ren, man-le jiu hui bei ren kongzhi。
22. Source	shi ji xiang yu ben ji di qi zhu shi
Archaic Chinese	liu, zheng yi ye hou WEI chen SUO bing, gu yue chenliu。
Modern Chinese	Liu, shi Zheng guo-de shoudou。 Houlai bei Chen guo hebing, gaiwei, Chen guo-de
Translation	shou dou-Chen Liu。

This is similar to the conclusion of the BEI passive in modern Chinese, based on several corpus research results (50-75%). If this conclusion is on the right track, this may indicate that the adversity requirement, at least in the archaic WEI passive and the modern BEI passive constructions, is never a 100% requirement. As long as more than half of the passives have the adversity reading, we accept the impression of such a requirement imposed on passives and our textbook of language teaching.

Lastly, the adversity reading percentage of the WEI passive and the BEI passive do not show a dramatic difference. We have shown that the representative of the passive construction in archaic Chinese is the WEI passive and the representative in modern Chinese is the BEI passive. In other words, the difference of passive constructions throughout the time only lies in the different morpheme that we use mostly in the passive constructions. In archaic passive it is WEI and in modern Chinese it becomes BEI. While the former has 78% of adversity passive, the latter has around 50-75% adversity passive. The result of the current pilot study sheds light on the hypothesis that it is possible that the semantics of the BEI passive can be influenced by the WEI passive. We can see that the adversity reading percentage of the BEI passive (75%, the highest number in one of the current corpus studies) is very close to the one of the archaic WEI passive (78%). It is

possible that when the BEI passive replaces the WEI passive (Li, 1994; Peyraube, 1989; Wu, 2007) and therefore its semantic distribution is similar to one of the WEI passive. Later the adversity reading of the BEI passive may change according to other historical factors. Hence it can also be as low as around 50% (the lowest number in one of the current corpus studies).

The WEI...SUO passive: Our second research result shows that the WEI...SUO construction is only compatible with long passive construal. That is, the WEI...SUO construction must come with an Agent. There is a quite natural syntactic explanation for this. As proposed by Ting (1998) and Huang (1999), the long passive involves A'-movement, while the short passive involves A-movement. According to Huang (1999) and Ting (1998), the structure of long BEI passive is shown in (14). The Operator undergoes A'-movement and adjoin to the lower IP. It then co-indexes a base-generated NP at the higher IP.

$$[_{IP} \text{ Zhangsan}_i [_{VP} \text{ BEI } [_{IP} \text{ OP}_i [_{IP} \text{ Lisi } [_{VP} \text{ kill} - \text{ASP } t_i]]]]] \quad (14)$$

Wu (2007) has argued that when BEI passive replaces the WEI passive, their syntactic structures do not differ from each other. This is shown in (15).

The passive structure derivation from WEI to BEI construction: (Wu 2007):

$$\begin{array}{l} \text{WEI copula construction} \quad \text{long WEI passive} \quad \text{long BEI passive} \\ \text{WEI}_{\text{copula}} + [N_{\text{possessor}} + N]_{\text{NP}} \rightarrow \underset{\text{by reanalysis}}{\text{WEI}_{\text{passive}}} + [N_{\text{agent}} + V]_{\text{S}} \rightarrow \underset{\text{by analogy}}{\text{BEI}_{\text{passive}}} + [N_{\text{agent}} + V]_{\text{S}} \end{array} \quad (15)$$

Hence we assume that the syntactic structure proposed for the BEI passive should be applicable for the WEI passive in archaic Chinese, which is shown in (16):

$$[_{IP} \text{ Zhangsan}_i [_{VP} \text{ WEI } [_{IP} \text{ OP}_i [_{IP} \text{ Lisi } [_{VP} \text{ kill} - \text{ASP } t_i]]]]] \quad (16)$$

Chiu (1993) and Ting (1999) propose that the particle SUO can only show up in the chain of A'-movement. Hence in Chinese, only relative clause and the long passive allow the emergence of SUO, as shown in (17) and (18):

Relative clause:

$$\begin{array}{l} \text{Zhangsan} \quad (\text{suo}) \quad \text{xihuan} \quad \text{de} \quad \text{nusheng} \\ \text{Zhangsan} \quad (\text{SUO}) \quad \text{likes} \quad \text{DE} \quad \text{girl} \end{array} \quad (17)$$

'The girl who Zhangsan likes.'

Long passive:

$$\begin{array}{l} \text{Zhangsan bei Lisi (SUO) wujie} \\ \text{Zhangsan BEI Lisi (SUO) misunderstood} \end{array} \quad (18)$$

'Zhangsan was misunderstood by Lisi.'

It is therefore not surprising that we only found the WEI...SUO construction in the format of long passive. We have seen that the WEI...SUO construction also involve A'-movement like its modern BEI...SUO counterpart. And the particle SUO is only compatible with A'-movement. Hence we should expect to see WEI...SUO construction only with long passives.

Our third result gives us something interesting to be investigated in the future. It shows that all WEI...SUO sentences have an adversity reading. Since our sample is small, we are not sure whether it is just a coincident that all the WEI...SUO sentences have to have the adversity reading. Let us assume that the

adversity reading in archaic Chinese is relatively high (presumable 100% in our current data). With this assumption, we discuss the semantic comparison between the archaic and modern WEI...SUO constructions and provides a possible explanation for the adversity reading in the WEI...SUO construction from a syntactic perspective.

Semantically, there seems to be evidence showing in modern Chinese, the WEI...SUO construction does not have a high percentage of Adversity reading. For example, Xiao *et al.* (2006) searched the Lancaster Corpus of Mandarin Chinese (i.e., LCMC) built by McEnery *et al.* (2003), in which the content is the written texts in the early 90s in Mainland China. The result of the WEI...SUO construction is shown in Table 7 (to make the comparison more accurate, the same genre of written text should be selected. That is, we should also examine the WEI...SUO construction in historical written text. Here the adoption of the LCMC may lead to different result. But since our point here is to show that there may be a decline of the Adversity reading in the WEI...SUO construction as well. We will simply assume that these two pieces of data are comparable).

If one assumes that there is a very high percentage of adversity reading in the archaic WEI...SUO passive, there seems to be a dramatic decline of this reading in modern Chinese. Apparently there is adversity reading dropping in the WEI...SUO construction. The result of the chi-square test also shows that there is a significant gap between the archaic WEI...SUO construction and the modern WEI...SUO construction ($p < .001$). This is

not hard to imagine, since it is quite easy for native speakers to come up with a WEI...SUO sentence with non-Adversity reading, as shown in (19) and (20):

Zhangsan de shanju WEI dajia SUO tuichong
Zhangsan DE charity WEI everyone SUO praise (19)
'Zhangsan's charity was praised by everyone.'

Xiaohua WEI xiaoming de zhenqing SUO gandong
Xiaohua WEI xiaomng DE truefeeling SUO touch (20)
'Xiaohua was touched by xiaoming's true feelings.'

Syntactically, we would like to provide a structural account to explain why adversity reading is co-related to the WEI...SUO construction. Tsai (2008), following Pylkkanen (2001; 2008), proposed that there is an Applicative Projection [ApplP] between ν P and VP based on Huang's and Ting's passive structure to explain the existence of the adversity requirement in Chinese. The ApplP can only be projected if there is a negative event denoting VP. After adding the ApplP to the structure (14), the structure for the long passive should be like the one in (21). On its way to the lower adjoined IP position, the Operator has to stop at Spec, ApplP to receive the adversity theta-role from the ApplP head, which then explains the source of the adversity reading in the passive. The trace at Spec, ApplP can be overtly realized as SUO, as shown in (22):

$$[_{IP} \text{Zhangsan}_i [_{\nu P} \text{BEI} [_{IP} \text{OP}_i [_{IP} \text{Lisi} [_{\nu P} t_i [_{\text{ApplP}} t_i [_{\nu P} \text{kill} - \text{ASP } t_i]]]]]]]]]] \quad (21)$$

$$[_{IP} \text{Zhangsan}_i [_{\nu P} \text{BEI} [_{IP} \text{OP}_i [_{IP} \text{Lisi} [_{\nu P} t_i [_{\text{ApplP}} \text{SUO}_i [_{\nu P} \text{kill} - \text{ASP } t_i]]]]]]]]]] \quad (22)$$

As proposed above, the structure of the BEI passive may be applicable to archaic WEI passive. Recall that in the archaic WEI passive, when SUO emerges, the whole passive sentence must have an adversity reading. We have proposed that SUO is an overtly realization of the Operator trace in (22). This means when SUO emerges, the Operator must stop at

Spec, ApplP before moving on. The lexical item SUO then has to take the adversity theta-role from the ApplP head. This then explain the obligatory adversity in the WEI...SUO construction. On the other hand, if the WEI passive has an adversity reading but comes without SUO, this indicates that the trace is not overtly realized in (23):

$$[_{IP} \text{Zhangsan}_i [_{\nu P} \text{WEI} [_{IP} \text{OP}_i [_{IP} \text{Lisi} [_{\nu P} t_i [_{\text{ApplP}} t_i / \text{SUO}_i [_{\nu P} \text{kill} - \text{ASPT}_i]]]]]]]]]] \quad (23)$$

As for the WEI passive without the adversity reading, since there is no negative event denoting VP, there is no

ApplP, as shown in (24). This is the construction for those WEI passives without the adversity reading.

$$[_{IP} \text{Zhangsan}_i [_{\nu P} \text{WEI} [_{IP} \text{OP}_i [_{IP} \text{Lisi} [_{\nu P} t_i [_{\nu P} \text{kill} - \text{ASP } t_i]]]]]]]] \quad (24)$$

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