A TRANSITIVITY ANALYSIS OF THE MANDARIN BA CONSTRUCTION

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ABSTRACT

Mandarin BA construction is quite a controversial but frequently-used unique sentence pattern with the most salient characteristic of sentence order. Since it is different from the most frequently-shown sentence order of subject-verb-object (SVO) in Chinese, BA construction tends to follow the pattern of "NP1+BA+NP2+V/VP". It has been implied that the character of BA plays the role in enabling the post-verbal NP2 to occupy the pre-verbal position. Due to its structural peculiarity, the BA construction has received a considerable attention of grammarians.

There have been many voices (L. Wang, 1945; Li and Thompson ,1981; H. Wang, 1984; Tsao, 1987; Li, 1990; Chapell, 1991; Zou, 1995; Cheng, 1998; Wu, 1999; Sybesma,1999; Zhang, 2000; Ding, 2001; Shi, 2002; Xu, 2006) that have mainly attempted to classify the Mandarin BA construction, discuss the nature of the BA construction, explore the meanings and functions of the construction, analyze the syntactic feature of the morpheme BA and its NP, and establish some certain relationship among BA, NPs, and verbs. Although these works have disclosed language facts, they belong either to a descriptive analysis or a transformational framework. However, while the BA-construction is a syntactical structure which appears in daily conversations, systematic analysis of BA-constructions in conversation has been scarce. This dissertation will serve as a step toward understanding the BA-construction in written and spoken discourse from a functional approach, especially from newspaper articles and talk shows.

Compared with previous studies (L. Wang, 1945; H. Wang, 1984; Tsao, 1987; Wang,

1995; Liu, 1997; Zhang, 2000; Li, 2001; Shi, 2002; H. Q. Wang, 2003; Xu, 2006), this dissertation will focus on attributes of the BA-construction in newspaper articles and talk shows in Mandarin. It will further develop claims of transitivity made by Hopper and Thompson (1980) and Thompson and Hopper (2000); that is, that BA-constructions are high transitive in Chinese and low transitive in English conversations. However, Hopper and Thompson (1980) only discussed one type of BA-construction, and there have been other studies which oppose their results (Tsunoda, 1981, 1985; Lazard, 1998). Based on these studies, it is worthwhile to investigate the degree of transitivity of Mandarin BA-constructions appearing in newspaper articles and talk shows. Transitivity parameters are the principal tool for the analysis of both written and spoken data in this study. This dissertation is to test the Western speculations of transitivity on the Mandarin BA-construction, which is a step forward towards the application of transitivity across languages. Furthermore, it may be used as a contrastive study with other languages.

Key words: Mandarin BA-construction, Transitivity, Conversations

ABSTRAK

Pembinaan Mandarin BA adalah satu corak hukum yang agak kontroversi tetapi sering digunakan pada fakta yang paling penting pada susunan ayat. Ia adalah berbeza daripada susunan ayat yang kerap digunakan iaitu susunan ayat yang menggunakan subjek-kata kerja-objek (SVO) dalam bahasa Cina, manakala pembinaan BA cenderung untuk mengikuti corak "NP1+BA+NP2+V/VP". Ia telah menyatakan bahawa sifat BA memainkan peranan dalam membolehkan NP2 pasca- lisan untuk menduduki kedudukan pra-lisan. Oleh kerana keunikan struktur, pembinaan BA ianya telah mendapat perhatian ahli tatabahasa.

Terdapat banyak suara yang telah cuba untuk mengklasifikasikan pembinaan Mandarin BA, membincangkan jenis pembinaan BA, meneroka makna dan fungsi pembinaan, menganalisis ciri sintaksis morfem untuk BA dan NP, dan membina beberapa hubungan tertentu antara BA, NPS, dan kata kerja. Walaupun kajian ini telah mendedahkan fakta bahasa, mereka tergolong sama ada untuk analisis deskriptif atau rangka kerja transformasi. Walaupun, pembinaan BA-adalah struktur sintaksis yang wujud dalam perbualan harian, analisis sistematik untuk pembinaan BA dalam perbualan adalah terhad. Disertasi ini adalah satu langkah ke arah memahami pembinaan BA dalam wacana bertulis dan pertuturan dari pendekatan fungsian, terutama dari artikel suratkhabar dan rancangan bual bicara.

Berbanding dengan kajian sebelum ini, disertasi ini akan memberi tumpuan kepada sifat-sifat pembinaan BA dalam artikel-artikel akhbar dan rancangan bual bicara dalam bahasa Mandarin. Ia akan mengembangkan lagi dakwaan transitive yang dibuat oleh Hopper dan Thompson (1980) dan Thompson dan Hopper (2000); iaitu, bahawa

pembinaan BA mempunyai transitif tinggi dalam bahasa Cina dan transitif rendah dalam perbualan Bahasa Inggeris. Walau bagaimanapun, Hopper dan Thompson (1980) hanya membincangkan satu jenis pembinaan BA, dan terdapat kajian lain yang menentang keputusan mereka (Tsunoda, 1981, 1985; Lazard, 1998). Berdasarkan kajian ini, ia adalah berbaloi untuk menyiasat tahap transitiviti pembinaan BAdalam bahasa Mandarin yang terdapat dalam artikel-artikel akhbar dan rancangan bual bicara. Parameter Transitiviti adalah alat yang digunakan bagi kedua-dua analisis data tulisan dan lisan dalam kajian ini. Disertasi ini akan memberi sumbangan kepada kajian tatabahasa Cina dan bergerak ke arah aplikasi transitiviti merentasi bahasa. Tambahan pula, ia boleh digunakan sebagai satu kajian untuk memperlihatkan perbezaan dengan bahasa-bahasa lain.

Kata kunci: Mandarin BA-pembinaan, Transitiviti, Perbualan

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

Abbreviation	Term
A	Agent
ADV	Adverb
ASP	Aspect marker
ASSOC	Associative morpheme
BA	BA Morpheme
BC	BA-construction
CL	Classifier
COM	Complement
DAT	Dative
de-RC	De resultative construction
DUR	Durative aspect
ERG	Ergative
EXT	Extentative
IMPF	Imperfective
NP	Noun phrase
O	Object
PAST	Past tense
PERF	Perfective aspect
PN	Proper name
RC	Resultative construction

S	Subject/ Spoken data
SELF	Reflexive morpheme
T	Topic
TP	Transitivity Parameters
V	Verb
VP	Verbal phrase
W	Written data
NP1+BA+NP2+V/VP	Noun phrase+BA+Noun phrase2+Verb/Verbal phrase
(NP1)-BA-NP2-V-COM	Noun phrase1-BA-Noun phrase2-Verb-Complement
(NP1)-BA-NP2-V-ASP	Noun phrase1-BA-Noun phrase2-Verb-Aspect marker
(NP1)-BA-NP2-ADV-V	Noun phrase1-BA-Noun phrase2-Adverb-Verb
Ø-BA-S-V	Empty-BA-Subjective-Verb
T-BA-S-V	Topic-BA-Subjective-Verb
X BA Y Z	Noun phrase1+BA+Noun phrase2+Verbal+Complement

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CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

1.1 Background of the Study

BA-construction is a basic syntactic pattern in modern Mandarin and has been seen as a unique grammatical pattern by various linguists (L. Wang, 1945; Chao, 1968; Li and Thompson, 1981; Tiee, 1990; Sybesma, 1999). Li (2001) indicated that the BA-construction is one type of special construction frequently used in Mandarin, especially in spoken Chinese. What makes the BA-construction so special in Mandarin Chinese? The fact is, there is no corresponding syntactic construction of the BA-construction in other languages, especially in European languages (L. Wang, 1945; Tsao, 2005; Qu, 2005; Huang, 2009). BA-construction cannot be successfully translated in English or other languages, its unique word order and the subtle constraints on the components of the construction have caused the BA-construction to receive attention from linguists both at home and abroad.

Most scholars have agreed that the BA-construction developed from a serial verb construction and did not come into being until the Tang Dynasty (around 1000 A. D.) (M. Wang, 1987; L. Wang, 1988; Shi, 2002; Xu, 2006). In traditional Chinese, morpheme BA is a lexical verb with the meaning of 'to take, hold' (L. Wang, 1945; Bennett, 1981; H. Wang, 1984; Shi, 2002; Li, 2001). An example of a BA-construction in traditional Chinese is provided in (1).

(1) 相　　待甚　厚，　临　别　**把**　臂　言　誓

xiang　dai shen hou,　lin　bie　**BA**　bi　yan　shi

towards treat very good before part **hold** arm say oath

'(He) was very well-treated, at paring, he held the host's arm and swore an

oath.'

Recently, most linguists have come to believe that the morpheme BA evolved into a function word in modern Chinese after an extended period of grammaticalization (Bennett, 1981; Sun, 1996; Xing, 2003; Ziegeler, 2000). The only uncertainty remaining about the morpheme BA in the Chinese BA-construction appears to be its exact functional nature; thus, it posses various names, such as a verb (L. Wang, 1947; Chao, 1968, Hashimoto, 1971; Bender, 2000; Ding, 2001), a co-verb (Chang, 1977; Li and Thompson, 1974, 1981; Ross, 1991; Gao, 2001), a preposition (Lv, 1955; H. Wang, 1984; Sun, 1996; Li, 2001), an object marker or a case marker (Huang, 1982; Koopman, 1984; Goodall, 1986; Sun, 1996; Ritter & Rosen 2000), a marker of high transitivity (Hopper and Thompson, 1980; Sun, 1995), or a topic marker (Tsao, 1987; Xue, 1987; Chen, 1983).

A number of scholars have discussed potential motivations for the appearance of the Modern Mandarin BA-construction. Xu (2006, p. 138) argued that the appearance of the Modern Mandarin BA-construction was motivated by the needs of Chinese to shift from "a language in which different devices coexisted into a language in which syntactic devices became a dominant and almost unique device indicating grammatical functions". The grammaticalization of morpheme BA and the appearance or development of the BA-construction is closely related to the formation of the resultative construction in Chinese (L. Wang, 1988; Shi, 2001). Whatever the reason, the Modern

Mandarin BA-construction is finally established around the twelfth century (Shi, 2002). From that point, the BA-construction began its journey as a unique construction in Chinese and has undergone development through history.

The BA-construction refers to "a wide range of sentences containing a phrase headed by BA, in which BA did not denote any concrete meaning" (Ding, 1992, p. 1). A regular sentence in Mandarin takes the SVO order, an example of a regular construction is provided in (2). However, a BA-construction follows the form of "NP1+BA+NP2+V/VP", per (3) (L. Wang, 1947; Lv, 1948; Li and Thompson, 1981; Song 1981; H. Wang, 1984; Li, 1990, 2001; Zou, 1995; Liu, 1997; Zhang, 2000; Liu, 2001).

(2) 我　　吃　　了　　桃子

wo　　chi　　le　　taozi

I　　eat　　PERF　　peach

'I ate peaches.'

(3) 我　　**把**　　桃子　　吃　　了

wo　　**BA**　　taozi　　chi　　le

I　　**BA**　　peach　　eat　　PERF

'I ate the peaches.'

(H. Wang, 1984, p. 24)

The BA-construction is distinguished from the regular SVO clause, as it differs in the presence or absence of the morpheme BA and in word order. Compared with the SVO clause (2), the NP2, 桃子 *taozi* 'peach' in (3) appears to be the left of the verb and posit after the morpheme BA (Liu, 1997, p. 34). The above BA-construction has been

taken as a common form of the BA-constructions, which is the NP2 interpreted to be the direct object of the verb in the construction (Ding, 1992). As (3), the NP2 桃子 *taozi* 'peach' is the direct object of the main verb 吃 c*hi* 'eat', they can form a transitive construction, which is 吃桃子 *chitaozi* 'eat the peach'. Secondly, the BA-construction emphasizes what has happened to the NP2, and the NP2 always receives a definite or specific reading (Mei, 1990; Sun, 1997; Liu, 1997; Sybesma, 1999; Bender, 2000). The NP2 桃子 *taozi* 'peach' in the BA-construction has either definiteness or specificity for both the speaker and hearer in the given discourse context, whereas the NP2 does not have a definite or specific reading in (2). In addition, (3) has an interpretation of perfectivity of the event denoted by the predicate 吃了 *chi le* 'eat PERF'of the construction, which literally means the peach has been ate up; while the (2) is just the narration of the action, the peach may be finished or there still some of it have been left. However, in real discourse, the form of BA-construction is not limited to (3) and becomes very productive. It is quite pervasive when the verb or verb phrase combined with other complements in the BA-construction, such as a resultative complement, a directional complement or a locative complement, as illustrated in the following examples.

(4)　李岩　**把**　力气　　用　　尽

　　　Liyan　**BA**　liqi　　yong　　jin

　　　PN　　**BA**　strength　use　　complete

　　　'Liyan has used up all his strength.'

(5)　我　**把**　书　放　在　桌子　上

　　　wo　**BA**　shu　fang　zai　zhuozi　shang

I   **BA**   book   put   at   desk   up

'I put the book on the desk.'

(6)   王闯   **把**   他   叫   起   来

Wangchuang   **BA**   ta   jiao   qi   lai

PN   **BA**   him call   rise   come

'Wangchuang called him up.'

(H. Wang, 1984, p. 34-37)

Example (4) features a BA-construction with a resultative complement 尽 *jin* 'to the end' to denote the degree to which the action 用 *yong* 'use' goes. In sentence (5), the prepositional phrase 在桌子上 *zai zhuozi shang* 'on the desk' following the verb 放 *fang* 'put' signals the location in which the object 书 *shu* 'book' ends up. This sense of motion may be expressed by the English preposition *on*. The directional complement 起来 *qi lai* 'rise come' in construction (6) refers to the upward direction of the movement. These complements can make the interpretation of BA-construction show more telicity, perfectivity, or boundedness (Tenny, 1987; Rhys, 1996; Hopper and Thompson, 1980; Liu, 1997).

However, in example (7), the NP2 腿 *tui* 'leg' cannot be an object of the verb, since the verb 站 *zhan* 'stand' is considered intransitive in traditional grammars of the Western languages. Transitivity pertains to the presence of an object and intransitivity the absence of one (Jacobsen, 1985; Helbig and Buscha, 1993, Tsunoda, 2005).

(7)   我   **把**   腿   站   累   了

wo   **BA**   tui   zhan   lei   le

I   **BA**   leg   stand   tired   PERF

'I have fatigued the legs, standing on them.'

(H. Wang, 1984, p. 41)

In this case, Sybesma (1999) referred to this kind of BA-construction as an intransitive or unaccusative construction. However, this type of intransitive BA-construction is not used as frequently as transitive BA-constructions.

So far, this study have conducted an overview of the different types of the BA-construction. In fact, interplay of all components determines the function of the entire construction. Thus, the BA-construction must be considered an inseparable whole and a primitive unit of analysis (Jing-Schmidt, 2005). Due to the diversity of the construction, the analysis of the BA-construction becomes more complicated.

However, as Li and Thompson (1981, p. 19) have pointed out, "the order in which basic words and phrases occur is governed to a large extent by considerations of meaning rather than of grammatical functions". Recently, discussions have arisen from the semantic requirement and the practical usage in actual discourse. Semantically, the BA-construction has been largely acknowledged by the notion of disposal (L. Wang, 1943, 1947, 1980; Song, 1981; Li and Thompson, 1981; H. Wang, 1984; Zhang, 2000; H. Q. Wang, 2003), transitivity (Thompson, 1973; Hopper and Thompson, 1980; Tsao, 1987; M. Wang, 1987; Sun, 1995; Li, 2001), causativity (Chapell, 1991; Sybesma, 1999; Ye, 2004; Liu, 2002; H. Q. Wang, 2003; Hu, 2005), topic-comment (Tsao, 1987; Xue, 1987; Xu, 2007; Liu, 2007), and that the event described by the BA-construction must be a temporally-bounded action (Liu, 1997; Rhys, 1996; Tenny, 1987). With respect to nominal reference, the NP2 always has a definite or specific reading in the BA-construction (Bender, 2000; Liu, 1997; Hashimoto, 1971). The peculiar features of

BA-constructions make the analysis become rather complicated. As Li (2001) has stated, the nature of the BA-construction is considered to be vagueness and uncertainty. In this study, I intend to concentrate on BA-constructions' transitivity features to investigate the degree of transitivity in the BA-constructions.

1.2 Research Problem Statement

The BA-construction is one of the most widely discussed topics in both Chinese and Western linguistics. Its notable feature is its peculiar word order in Modern Mandarin, it follows "NP1+BA+NP2+V/VP" (Zou, 1995; Tsao, 1987; Li, 1990; Zhang, 2000). It seems that the morpheme BA plays the role of enabling the post-verbal NP2 to occupy the pre-verbal position. Syntactically, the research focuses on the various syntactic constituents of the BA-construction and the interplay of all the constituents in the construction. Scholars have attempted to show how these constituents of the construction are well-organized and interact in a grammatical BA-construction. The individual constituents in the construction are grammatically interdependent. This interdependency includes the NP2 and the main verb, the main verb and its modifier or complements (Huang, 1989; Ding, 1992; Qi, 2005; Guo, 1981; Gao, 1999; Ren, 2005; Ren, 1998; Liu, 2001; Xu, 2007). Discussions of the syntactic status of morpheme BA have received much attention by both Chinese and foreign linguists. It had been considered a verb (L. Wang, 1945; Bennett, 1981; H. Wang, 1984; Shi, 2002; Li, 2001), a preposition (Chao, 1968; Travis, 1984; Cheng, 1998; Li, 1990), a case marker (Huang, 1982; Koopman, 1984; Goodall, 1986), and a high transitivity marker (Thompson, 1973; Hopper and Thompson, 1980; M. Wang, 1987; Sun, 1995; Li, 2001), etc. In order to

highlight its uniqueness, the BA-construction has been compared with other syntactic structures such as a standard SVO clause, a verb-copying construction, a causative construction, and a BEI-construction (Ren, 1998; Wu, 1999; Hsieh, 1992; Waltraud, 2002; Yang, 1995).

Based on the previous syntactic studies, the readers may have a fundamental understanding on the BA-construction in Mandarin Chinese. Although their works disclosed a number of language facts, they belong either to descriptive analysis or transformational framework. Speaking of its semantics, previous research has discussed the special semantic features on the NP2, with respect to nominal reference, the NP2 always refers to a definite or specific entity in contrast to the non-BA counterpart (Bender, 2000; Liu, 1997; Hashimoto, 1971). Explanations have been based on the parameter of transitivity, namely the strong individuation of the object per Hopper and Thompson (1980). The interpretation of BA-construction may be related to aspectual boundedness (Liu, 1997; Rhys, 1996; Tenny, 1987) or telicity/perfectivity as termed by Hopper and Thompson (1980). There has not been much research on the transitivity features of the BA-construction or measurement of the degree of transitivity of the BA-construction, especially in spoken discourse (Tao and Liu, 2010).

In previous studies, the property of transitivity has been shown to be always related to the BA-construction (Thompson1973; Hopper and Thompson, 1980; Sun, 1995). In Hopper and Thompson's work, they declared that the BA-construction is a highly transitive clause. In fact, transitivity is true with the majority of the BA-construction in Mandarin Chinese owing to the presence of transitive verbs that it frequently permits. Hopper and Thompson explained that the Chinese BA-construction agreed with the

following motivations: high transitivity, which might be characterized as an agent "doing something to" a patient both actively and volitionally. The problem with this view is that the fail to explain the occurrence of intransitive verbs in the Chinese BA-constructions. It has been observed that the BA-construction may truly involve the occurrence of intransitive verbs in the Mandarin discourses; for example, 哭 *ku* 'to cry', 死 *si* 'to die' (Zhu, 1998). They are intransitives and cannot take objects on their own, so one cannot say 哭眼睛 *ku yanjing* 'cry eyes' or 死爸爸 *si baba* 'die father'. Lipenkova (2011) argued that the acceptability of verbs in the BA-construction decreases with the degree of transitivity. Hopper and Thompson (1980) only focused on the regular type of the BA-construction in which the NP2 is the direct object of the main verb in the construction. So, whether the transitivity hypothesis is also applicable to those intransitive BA-construction was not shown in their study. The appearance of intransitive verbs made the analysis of the BA-construction become complicated. In general, the BA-construction has been a hot topic during the history of Mandarin studies; it has been widely discussed on every aspect, but barely discussed from the perspective of Hopper and Thompson's transitivity.

The transitivity hypothesis as proposed by Hopper and Thompson (1980) has been ranked among the influential theories of transitivity. Although predictions given by the transitivity hypothesis have brought a new view to relationships among different grammatical and semantic facets of language, it has very rarely been tested empirically (Olsen and Macfarland 1996, Otani 2008, Newman and Rice 2006, Cech 2009). There are some linguists who have questioned the predications of transitivity hypothesis (Tsunoda, 1981, 1985; Lazard, 1998; Malchukov, 2005). In the view of Hopper and

Thompson (1980), all transitivity parameters are equally important and all of them are predicated to co-vary with each other. This claim has been criticized by other scholars. Tsunoda (1981; 1985) and Lazard (1998) noted that not all parameters were equally relevant and some parameters cannot co-vary, such as telicity and affectedness of an object can co-vary, agency and volitionally can co-vary, volitionally and affectedness of an object cannot (Malchukov, 2005). Thereafter, the conception of the transitivity parameters as formulated by Hopper and Thompson has been seen as an unordered list and could not be validated (Tsunoda, 1981, 1985; Malchukov, 2005).

After that, Thompson and Hopper (2001) reexamined their expectations of transitivity hypothesis in another different type of discourse, English conversations. They found that the clauses of the English conversations rate very low in terms of transitivity; clauses in daily speech tend to be intransitive, *such as they pay in advance* or *I'm excited about it.* However, studies on the transitivity of the BA-construction in Mandarin conversations are scarce. It is worthy of investigation to determine whether BA-constructions in Mandarin conversations are low in the degree of transitivity, or whether BA-constructions occurring in Mandarin conversations, which are high in transitivity. Essentially, this dissertation will enhance understanding of the transitivity of the BA-constructions from the two works: one is the Hopper and Thompson's (1980) transitivity hypothesis, and the other refers to Thompson and Hopper's (2001) findings from conversational data. In Chapter 5, a brief discussion on subjectivity will be offered. I will briefly discuss the link between BA-construction and subjectivity, the notion that has recently drawn scholars' attention.

1.3 Objectives of the Study

This study offers an analysis of the BA-construction on the degree of transitivity in Mandarin Chinese. The main aim is to measure the degree of transitivity of BA-construction in Mandarin newspaper articles and TV talk show conversations (per my research at the end of Chapter 4) to examine the universality of the transitivity predications across different types of discourses and different languages. This study attempts to see whether the predications of transitivity made by Hopper and Thompson (1980) and Thompson and Hopper (2001) in the written and spoken discourse of the past years can be applied in the matter of the BA-construction. Firstly the semantic properties of BA-constructions will be presented through the observations of the previous studies. Secondly, the researcher would like to test the degree of transitivity of BA-construction both in written and spoken discourse.

1.4 Research Questions

The following four questions will be addressed in this study:

1. What are the degrees of transitivity of Mandarin BA-constructions which appear in newspaper articles?

2. What are the degrees of transitivity of Mandarin BA-constructions which appear in TV talk show conversations?

3. Are there any differences between BA-constructions appearing in newspaper articles and TV talk show conversations in term of Hopper and Thompson's transitivity?

4. Apart from the ten semantic factors proposed by Hopper and Thompson (1980), are there any other factors constrained in terms of transitivity proposal?

1.5 Significance of the Study

It is hoped that this study will be of some theoretical and practical value. Although the composite concept of transitivity has been developed over the past few decades but also make it is still uncertain precisely what kind of phenomenon we are referring to with the term. So this study is to develop more accurate analyses of transitivity in actual data. Although both the speculations of Hopper and Thompson (1980) and Thompson and Hopper (2001) brought a new view regarding relations among different grammatical features such as semantic facets and forms of languages, their universality has not been tested very well. It is important to test the Western speculations of transitivity on the Mandarin BA-construction, which is a step forward towards the application of transitivity across languages. Moreover, it may provide cross-linguistic evidence that the Chinese language is not close to English, although it is undeniable that there are similarities. This study can serve as a step toward understanding the transitivity in BA-constructions in written and spoken discourse.

1.6 Limitation of the Study

Despite efforts made in this dissertation to make the study more convincing and reliable, there are still some limitations and room for improvement. Due to time constraints, data collecting is limited to two types of texts (newspaper and talk show) and their analysis is far from exhaustive and comprehensive. Therefore, it is inevitable that some types of BA-constructions may not have been taken into consideration in the database. Due to the complex features of BA-construction, the distinction among the different types of the BA-constructions is not absolute, so there may be some semantic overlapping in the

constructions.

1.7 Recommendations for Future Research

The BA-construction is an extremely important structure in Mandarin and is frequently used in daily life (Li, 2001). Studies on BA-construction have attracted the attention of both Chinese and Western linguists. And the property of transitivity has been seen as an important feature on the BA-construction (Hopper and Thompson, 1980; Sun, 1995; Liu, 1997; Wang, 1999; Li, 2001). The analysis of the transitivity of the BA-construction has become very important. However, there are not many studies on the degree of transitivity based on Hopper and Thompson's (1980) scale. For the further studies, more attention should be given to studies of the degree of transitivity of the BA-constructions, especially intransitive BA-constructions, as there is no rigorous description of the intransitive BA-construction. This study is conducted on the causal level, and studies of BA-construction on the clausal level should receive more attention.

In a recent work, Shen (2002) demonstrated that subjectivity of the BA-construction is a distinctive feature of the construction, but it has been weakened to a certain degree during its1 development. His speculation has not been verified by other scholars. For further study, it would be worthwhile to test whether the subjectivity of BA-construction has recently become weakened.

1.8 Organization of the Study

The study will be organized into five chapters.

Chapter 1 provides a discussion on the introduction, statement of the research area, aim of study, significance of the study and organization of the study.

Chapter 2 is literature review, constituting semantic features of BA-construction and review of previous researches related to the present study so that to present a clear picture of what other experts have done and achieved in the past to clarify the objectives of this study.

Chapter 3 contains a discussion on the theoretical framework adopted in this research, which is the transitivity parameters proposed by Hopper and Thompson (1980). This chapter will also include the research design, description of data selection, as well as procedures of data analysis.

Chapter 4 consists of a qualitative analysis of data. The analysis focuses on the degrees of the transitivity of BA-constructions in written and spoken data and answers how the transitivity works on the Mandarin BA-construction. The chapter will also discuss the results of the analysis.

Chapter 5 will summarize the main findings and discuss the link between BA-construction and subjectivity.

CHAPTER TWO

LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1 Introduction

As one of the complex constructions in Mandarin, the BA-construction has been examined from various perspectives, such as in terms of syntactic structure, historical development, the category status and grammaticalization of BA, and semantic constraints (L. Wang, 1945; Hashimoto, 1971; Bennett, 1981; H. Wang, 1984; Tsao, 1987; Tenny, 1987; Li, 1990; Hsieh, 1992; Zou, 1995; Yang, 1995; Rhys, 1996; Cheng, 1998; Wu, 1999; Liu, 1997; Zhang, 2000; Bender, 2000; Li, 2001; Ding, 2001; Shi, 2002; Waltraud, 2002; Xing, 2003; Xu, 2006). The properties of BA-construction appear to be significant for the study of disposal (L. Wang, 1943, 1947, 1980; Song, 1981; Li and Thompson, 1981; H. Wang, 1984; Zhang, 2000; H. Q. Wang, 2003), transitivity (Thompson, 1973; Hopper and Thompson, 1980; Tsao, 1987; M. Wang, 1987; Sun, 1995; Li, 2001), causativitiy (Chapell, 1991; Sybesma, 1999; Ye, 2004; Liu, 2002; H. Q. Wang, 2003; Hu, 2005), and topic-comment (Tsao, 1987; Xue, 1987).

In the following section, the researcher will mainly discuss prior descriptions of the semantics of the BA-construction (section 2.1-2.5). This chapter will include discussions of the different interpretations of the BA-construction along with most important approaches used for the analysis of the BA-construction. It will provide an overall view of how previous scholars have described and analysed BA-constructions. As cognitive linguistics have recently gained scholarly attention, a brief discussion on the BA-construction from this area will be offered at the end of the chapter (section 2.6).

The two works, Hopper and Thompson's (1980) transitivity hypothesis and Thompson and Hopper's (2001) results of their conversational data, will be addressed in detail in Chapter 3.

2.2 L. Wang's 处置式 *chu zhi shi* 'Disposal Construction'

L. Wang (1943) coined the grammatical term 处置式 *chu zhi shi* 'disposal form' or 'disposal construction' to identify the Mandarin BA-construction. According to L. Wang, this term describes the "purposeful action" taken with regard to the direct object of the BA-construction. L. Wang (1947) claimed that the so-called disposal construction describes "how a person is handled, manipulated, or dealt with; how something is disposed of, or how an affair is conducted. Since it is specifically designed for disposing, the disposal form cannot be used unless the action possesses the quality of disposal" (L. Wang, 1947, p. 160-161, cited in Li, 1974, p. 200-201). An example of a BA-construction in a disposal interpretation is provided in (8).

(8) 她　　**把**　　衣服　　烧　　了

　　ta　　**BA**　　yifu　　shao　　le

　　she　　**BA**　　clothes　　burn　　PERF

'She burn her clothes.'

(L. Wang, 1947, p. 164)

In (8), the BA-construction conveys the message of disposal, which is the NP2, 衣服 *yifu* 'clothes' is disposed of by means of burning. The verb 烧 *shao* 'burn' and NP2 衣服 *yifu* 'clothes' may form a grammatical transitive construction, namely 烧衣服 *shao yifu* 'burn the clothes'. In such a case the function of the BA-constructions is taken

as an expression of disposal (L. Wang, 1947; Liu, 1997).

M. Wang (1987) demonstrated that the term disposal is derived from the intrinsic meaning of the morpheme BA, meaning "to hold or to handle", when the BA-construction has something to do with the execution of an action. Hashimoto (1971) considered the BA-construction as one type of executive construction. He described the construction as "an embedding structure with BA as the matrix verb which takes an object NP and a complement sentence" (p. 66). It can be seen that the interpretation of executive construction is somewhat parallel to that of disposal construction.

In L. Wang's study, the semantics of the verb were considered a decisive factor in the qualified BA-construction. He regarded those verbs which may be accompanied by a BA-construction as 'disposal verbs' and those which could not as 'non-disposal verbs'. He listed five types of verbs that were unacceptable to co-occurrence with the BA-construction because they were incompatible with the concept of disposal. They are (i) verbs that refer to psychological activities, as in (9); (ii) verbs of perception, as in (10); (iii) verbs that refer to activities that do not cause change of state in the NP2 referent, as in (11); (iv) verbs describing events that occur by chance, as in (12); or (v) verbs of possession or location, as in (13) and (14). He also observed that VPs in the BA-construction cannot be bare verbs.

(9) a. 我　爱　　他　　　　　　　　b. * 我　　**把**　　他　爱

　　　wo　ai　ta　　　　　　　　　　　wo　**BA**　ta　ai

　　　I　love　him　　　　　　　　　　I　**BA**　him　love

　　　'I love him.'

(10) a. 我　看见　他　　　　　　　b. * 我　**把**　他　看见

　　　wo　kanjian　ta　　　　　　　　　wo　**BA**　ta　kanjian

　　　I　see　him　　　　　　　　　　　I　**BA**　him　see

　　　'I saw him.'

(11) a. 我　上　楼　　　　　　　　　b. * 我　**把**　楼　上

　　　wo　shang　lou　　　　　　　　　wo　**BA**　lou　shang

　　　I　(go) up　stair　　　　　　　　I　**BA**　stair　up (go)

　　　'I went upstairs.'

(12) a. 我　　拾 了　一　块　手帕

　　　wo　　shi　le　yi　kua　shoupa

　　　I　pick　PERF　one　CL　handkerchief

　　　'I picked up a piece of handkerchief.'

　　　b. * 我　**把**　一　块　手帕　拾　了

　　　　　wo　**BA**　yi　kua　shoupa　shi　le

　　　　　I　**BA**　one　CL　handkerchief　pick　PERF

(13) a. 我　有　钱　　　　　　　　　b. * 我　**把**　钱　有

　　　wo　you　qian　　　　　　　　　wo　**BA**　qian　you

　　　I　have　money　　　　　　　　I　**BA**　money　have

　　　'I have money.'

(14) a. 他　在　家　　　　　　　　　b. * 他　**把**　家　在

　　　ta　zai　jia　　　　　　　　　ta　**BA**　jia　zai

　　　he　at　home　　　　　　　　he　**BA**　home　at

　　　'He is at home.'

The "non-disposal verbs" in the above examples are not capable of expressing the disposal meaning. Such as in (9) b, it has no meanings of 他 *ta* 'him' is handled or dealt with by the psychological action of 爱 *ai* 'to love'. But Li and Thompson (1981) disagreed with L. Wang's position and claimed that the disposal meaning need not be a physical effect only; and that it may be abstract, such as a psychological or emotional act, or even imaginary (Lv, 1948; Chao, 1968, p.344; Li and Thompson, 1981; Li, 2001), as in (15). To some extent, the concept of the BA-construction has been enlarged to cover many types of BA-constructions.

(15) 她　　**把**　　小　　猫　　爱　　得　　　要　　死

　　　ta　　**BA**　　xiao　　mao　　ai　　de　　yao　　si

　　　she　　**BA**　　small　　cat　　love　　EXT　　want　　die

　　　'She loves the kitten so much that she wants to die.'

(16) * 她　　**把**　　小　　猫　　爱

　　　ta　　**BA**　　xiao　　mao　　ai

　　　she　　**BA**　　small　　cat　　love

　　　'She loves the kitten.'

According to L. Wang, the psychological verb 爱 *ai* 'love', is disqualified as a candidate for the verb of the BA-construction. However, Li and Thompson (1981, p.489) believed that the BA-construction must be either preceded by certain adverbs or followed by post-verbal elements, such as perfective marker, directional, or resultative complements or even by a complex clause. The reason that BA-constructions always

have verbs with those elements preceding or following them is that such sentences serve to explicate the attribute of disposal. In (15), the post-verbal expression 要死 *yaosi* 'want to die' exaggerates the degree of her love for the kitten; they further indicated the BA-construction "hyperbolically create an image that such an intense love must have some effect on the 'small cat'" (Li and Thompson, 1981, p. 469). Therefore, (16) is ungrammatical while (15) is grammatical. They indicated that the interpretation of L. Wang's disposal construction should be implied by the verb accompanied by the extra added expression. In addition, they claimed the referent of the NP2 was generally shared knowledge by the addresser and addressee from the preceding discourse context. "The more prominent the object is and the more strongly the sentence expresses disposal, the more likely it is that the message will be expressed in the form of BA-construction" (Li and Thompson, 1981, p. 490).

Although L. Wang's (1943, 1947) insight has been vital to later semantic studies on the BA-construction, the term disposal construction has still been limited and should be understood in a broader sense (Song 1981; H. Wang, 1984; Zhang, 2000; Liu, 2001). Song (1981) declared that the semantic feature of the BA-construction was confined to the characteristics of its verb, it will be difficult to display the unique meaning of the structure. Hu and Wen (1990, p.24) believed that for those BA-constructions which do convey the disposal meaning, they can actually be transformed into other sentence patterns without losing the meaning of disposal. For example,

(17) 他　　**把**　　窗户　　打　　碎　　了

ta　　**BA**　　chuanghu　da　　sui　　le

he　　**BA**　　window　　broke　pieces　PERF

(18) 他　　打　　碎　　了　　窗户

　　　ta　　da　　sui　　le　　chuanghu

　　　he　　broke　pieces　PERF　window

'He broke the window.'

(Wen, 1990, p. 24)

These two examples have the same disposing meaning as 'he broke the window.' That is to say, the disposing meaning which is determined by the relations between the verb and the NP2 cannot be seen as a peculiar characteristic of the BA-construction (Shao, 2006). Song (1981) declared that researchers need to look beyond the meaning of a verb in a construction for the uniqueness of the grammatical meaning of the BA-construction. M. Wang (1987) interpreted the BA-construction via Song's (1981, cited in M. Wang's 1987, p. 22) definition, as follows: "the action expressed by the verb of the sentence has some positive influence on the object introduced by BA so that the object often undergoes a certain change, has a certain result or is in a certain state. Therefore, disposal represents a relation between the verb and the object; it does not necessarily represent a purposeful action of the person or thing expressed by the subject" (H. Wang, 1984 cited in M. Wang, 1987, p. 22).

Zhang (2000) proposed that disposal meaning is the relation between BA itself and the affected NP2. Accordingly, "the disposal meaning of the BA-construction comes directly from 'BA', whereas VP only shows the means or result of the disposing process" (Zhang, 2000, p. 36). Then, he categorized the disposal into conscious and unconscious types, direct or indirect ones. In the NP1 of the BA-constructions were natural forces, instruments, or animals (Lu, 2003).

(19)　风　**把**　衣服　刮　跑　了

feng　**BA**　yifu　gua　pao　le

wind　**BA**　coat　blow　run　PERF

'The wind blew the coats away.'

(20)　锤子　**把**　花瓶　打　碎　了

chuizi　**BA**　huaping　da　sui　le

hammer　**BA**　vase　broke　pieces　PERF

'The hammer broke the vase.'

(Gu, 2007, p. 11)

In (19) and (20), the NP1s are natural force 风 *feng* 'wind' and instrument, 锤子 *chuizi* 'hammer', which cannot be used for the expression with a conscious and intentional execution. H. Q. Wang (2003) shared a similar view as Zhang (2000). He interpreted disposal meaning as a controlled causation, as causation is represented by the verb and the meaning of control was indicated by the morpheme BA. According to him, BA and the NP2 form a transitive relation, and the verb in the BA-construction had a transitive relation with the NP2, the former relation is control, while the latter is causation.

It is also noted by L. Wang that in certain occasions the BA-construction was not strictly a disposal form; it was also used when the occurrence described came as an effect of another one, and this occurrence was often unhappy or unfortunate happening (L. Wang, 1980, p. 414), per (19). He referred to such a BA-construction as the extended usage of the disposal form and termed it the consecutive form, in which VP, contradictory to the concept of disposal, may be an intransitive verb.

(21) 偏   又   **把** 凤   丫头   病   了

pian   you   **BA** Feng yatou bing le

unfortunately moreover **BA** PN   girl fall ill PERF

'To make things worse, Feng-girl fell ill just now.'

(L. Wang, 1980, p. 414)

The example (21) reports a one-participancy event, the verb 病 *bing* 'fall ill' is intransitive and the NP2, 凤丫头 *feng yatou* 'Feng-girl', is actually more of subject than an object in relation to the verb 病 *bing* 'fall ill'. He announced that such use of the BA-construction as an exception which could be ignored, because this usage was not frequently appearing to compete with the disposal usage. However, Lv (1948) dissented from L. Wang's (1980) distinction between the disposal form and the consecutive form, since he thought the disposal form and the consecutive form might share a syntactic structure. He argued that "if we do not call the BA-construction disposal form in the first place, we would not have the trouble of creating the term of consecutive form" (Lv, 1948, p. 45). Essentially, Lv (1948) focused on the syntactic features of the BA-construction, and he regarded the BA-construction as a syntactic device used to prepose objects.

In general, L. Wang's disposal view was essential to later semantic studies on the BA-construction. Two main points of L. Wang's disposal analysis are noteworthy; firstly BA-construction has a meaning close to disposal, even though to characterize it as disposal is probably not general enough. Secondly, most NP2s actually bear the transitive relation with direct objects in the BA-construction (Hashimoto, 1971; Song, 1981; H. Wang, 1984; Zhang, 2000; Liu, 2001). Although the concept of disposal covers

a lot of language facts, the BA-construction does not always have anything to do with how someone or something is disposed of and he should not confine the semantic features of the BA-construction to the characteristics of its verb. One can see that to assign the 'disposal' meaning to the BA-construction is problematic and the description of disposal construction cannot cover various kinds of BA-constructions. Nevertheless, L. Wang's study marked the beginning of the semantic research on the Mandarin BA-construction. It determines the basic meaning and functional conditions on the Mandarin BA-construction in the following years.

2.3 The BA-construction as a 'Transitive Construction'

The most influential transitivity analysis of the Mandarin BA-construction is offered by Chao (1968). Chao (1968) was the first to represent the BA-construction as a special format of the verbal-expressions-in-series (V-V series) and label it as the 'pre-transitive verbal construction' (p. 344). He mentioned that the 'pre-transitive verbal construction' was a type of serials verb construction, where BA is the pre-transitive verb to 'mark the goal object' of the action (Chao, 1970, p. 261). Chao then discussed the following aspects of the BA-construction: First, the nature of the NP2 was definite in the referential aspect. Second, the meanings of the second verb were not always disposal. Chao was the first one to link the BA-construction with transitivity. In this section, the BA-construction will be discussed from a functional approach represented by the transitivity analysis. The systematic transitivity analysis of the BA-construction is proposed by Thompson (1973), and it is also advocated in Hopper and Thompson (1980), Li and Thompson (1981), Sun (1995), etc. On the transitivity aspect, the

BA-construction relates to transitivity and exhibits high transitivity.

Thompson (1973) interpreted the BA-construction as X **BA** Y Z, in which X, Y referred to NP1 and NP2, and Z referred to a verb with a complement specifying how Y (NP2) had been affected. She indicated that the morpheme BA in the above formula is a transitive marker signifying the "pass-over of action" from X (NP1) to Y (NP2). The BA-construction is usually used to answer the question of, NP1 **BA** NP2 怎么了 *zenme le*? in Mandarin, its English version is 'What did NP1 do to NP2?'. This interpretation seems to be an illustration of L. Wang's disposal construction. In the formula, both X (NP1) and Y (NP2) should represent presupposed information. Y (NP2) represents the one that is affected: it is syntactically a direct object and semantically a patient. However, obviously the intransitive Mandarin BA-construction must be rejected within the framework proposed by Thompson.

Hopper and Thompson (1980) stated that the issue of transitivity is a matter of degree, and proposed ten parameters to judge the degree of transitivity. The parameters can be summarized as participants, aspect, punctuality, volitionality, affirmation, mode, agency, affectedness of the object, and the individuation of the object (Hopper and Thompson, 1980, p. 252). The Mandarin BA-construction had been studied in their study, an example of a BA-construction is provided in (22).

(22) 我　　**把**　　我的　　车子　　卖　　了

　　　wo　　**BA**　　wode　　chezi　　mai　　le

　　　I　　**BA**　　my　　　car　　　sell　　PERF

(23) 我　　卖　　了　　我的　　车子

　　　wo　　mai　　le　　wode　　chezi

I   sell   PERF   my   car

'I sold my car.'

Hopper and Thompson (1980, p. 274) claimed that compared with the standard SVO clause (23), the agent 我 *wo* 'I' in (22) behaves more actively or volitional; the verb 卖 *mai* 'sell' was an action verb and the object 我的车子 *wode chezi* 'my car' has a definite or referential reading. These features of the BA-construction provide a high degree of transitivity. Besides the high transitivity, they linked the transitivity of the Mandarin BA-construction to the condition of perfectivity. They (1980, p. 275) stated "the highly Transitive BA clause must also be perfective: it requires a perfectivizing expression, either a perfective participle or a phrase or clause specifying the conceptual boundary of the action". Liu (1997) also shared the same view, but used the term of boundedness instead of perfectivity to describe the BA-construction. In his words, boundedness is a notion similar to Hopper and Thompson's notion of telicity, which may be either temporal or situational. Temporal boundedness means the termination of the temporal structure accompanying an event or activity. Situation boundedness may be understood to mean the accomplishment of a change of a state. The boundedness of the BA-construction and the specific reference of the NP2 are manifested by a bounded meaning of the predicate of the construction. Such predicate does not have internal stage and it cannot be static or ongoing without a boundary. In Chinese, the verb itself may inherently indicate such boundedness or it requires an aspect suffix 了 *le* or other elements after the verb to help the verb to force an accomplishmented reading of the event. The boundedness is indisputably real in most BA-constructions, as (24).

(24)　我们　**把**　　水果　　吃　　了

　　　　women　**BA**　shuiguo　chi　le

　　　　we　　　**BA**　　fruit　　　eat　PERF

　　　'We ate the fruit.'

<div align="right">(Liu, 1997, p. 34)</div>

In the above example, as the verb 吃 *chi* 'eat' does not belong to the accomplishment or achievement type of verbs, the action of 吃水果 *chi shuiguo* 'eat the fruit' may be repeated and go on continuously. The verb 吃 *chi* 'eat' alone fails to meet the boundedness meaning, but the aspect marker 了 *le* helps the BA-construction to have the feature of boundedness.

Tsao (1987) followed up on Hopper and Thompson's study and regarded the transitivity as one of two readings of the BA-construction. He studied the BA-construction from a topic-comment perspective. The function of morpheme BA is to signal the following NP as a special topic. There exists a transitivity relation between the primary topic presented by the initial NP and the secondary topic introduced by BA. According to Tsao, the BA-construction is used to bring into focus the result of action, as expressed by the verb together with its complement. Tsao postulated a rule for the interpretation of the BA-construction, as the BA-construction would be assigned a transitivity reading if the primary topic can be understood as the actor of the action denoted by the verb, if not, the clause would receive a causative reading.

M. Wang (1987), Sun (1995) and Li (2001) insisted that Hopper and Thompson's view that the BA-construction can be understood as a highly transitive construction. M. Wang (1987) said the high transitivity characteristic made the Mandarin

BA-construction distinctive from its non-BA counterpart. Sun (1995) mentioned that BA can be seen as a "high transitivity marker" in the Mandarin BA-construction. He speculated that the BA-construction conveyed a total affectedness on the direct object of the verb. Then, Li (2001) proposed the BA-construction exhibited a high degree of affectedness on the NP2, per (25) and (26).

(25) 我　**把**　锅子　装　了　水

　　　wo　**BA**　guozi　zhuang　le　shui

　　　I　**BA**　pot　　　fill　PERF　water

　　　'I filled the pot with water.'

(26) 我　**把**　水　　装　在　锅子　里

　　　wo　**BA**　shui　zhuang　zai　guozi　li

　　　I　**BA**　water　　fill　at　pot　in

　　　'I filled the water into the pot.'

(Li, 2001, p. 46)

In (25), the NP2 锅子 *guozi* 'the pot' has been affected in the sense that now it has water. In (26), the NP2 水 *shui* 'water' is affected in the sense that its location has changed, now the water is in the pot. Hopper and Thompson's transitivity theory quite differs with the traditional transitivity view which refers to the presence or absence of an object. The traditional view oversimplifies or ignores the semantic meanings of the clause. The strength of Hopper and Thompson's study is that it transcends the traditional notion of transitivity and it enhances the semantics of transitivity on a clause level. Under the transitivity analysis, many features of the BA-construction follow naturally. Thus, states and activities in general do not appear with BA-construction, since states

and activities are atelic situations, thus showing low transitivity on the aspect of transitivity component. Non-specific NPs do not appear with the BA-construction because non-specific NPs exhibit low transitivity on object, they are not individualized. A BA-construction often displays total affectedness because total affectedness of object is a sign of high transitivity.

Hopper and Thompson (1980) provided a large amount of cross-linguistic data to support their view that transitivity should be regarded as a continuum. Transitivity of a clause can be ranked according to ten parameters of transitivity (Hopper and Thompson, 1980, p. 252). According to characteristics of the parameters, a clause can be realized as more or less transitive. Their transitivity parameters (parameters A-J) will be explained in detail in the next chapter. In their view, all transitivity parameters are equally important and all of them are predicted to co-vary.

They introduced the notion of co-variation to express the interaction of the transitivity parameters. They claimed that "these component features of Transitivity CO-VARY extensively and systematically… whenever an obligatory pairing of two Transitivity features occurs in the morphosyntactic or semantics of a clause, THE PAIRED FEATURES ARE ALWAYS ON THE SAME SIDE OF THE HIGH-LOW TRANSITIVITY SCALE" (Hopper and Thompson, 1980, p. 254). The notion of covariation leads to their claim of transitivity hypothesis: "If two clauses (a) and (b) in a language differ in that (a) is higher in Transitivity according to any of the features A-J, then, if a concomitant grammatical or semantic difference appears elsewhere in the clause, that difference will also show (a) to be higher in Transitivity" (Hopper and Thompson, 1980, p. 255).

The most important aspect of the transitivity hypothesis lies in the predication which hypothesizes the relationships between the parameters: it is predicated that high transitivity features of particular parameters co-vary extensively and systematically in a sentence. More concretely, the transitivity hypothesis predicts that, for instance, if the verb is punctual (i.e., expresses high transitivity feature of the parameter of punctuality), the sentence containing this verb should have two or more participants (high transitivity feature of the "number of participants"). In Hopper and Thompson's view, all transitivity features are equally important and all of them are predicated to co-vary with each other. The predication of the transitivity hypothesis can be reflected in the Mandarin BA-construction, an example of BA-construction is provided in (27).

(27) 他　**把**　衣服　洗　好　了

　　　ta　**BA**　yifu　xi　hao　le

　　　he　**BA**　clothes　wash　finish　PERF

　　　'He finished washing the clothes.'

(28) 他　洗　好　了　衣服

　　　ta　xi　hao　le　yifu

　　　he　wash　finish　PERF　clothes

　　　'He finished washing clothes.'

(Liu, 1997, p. 57)

Compared with (28), the object 衣服 *yifu* 'clothes'of a BA-construction in (27) refers to a referential or definite object, while in (28), the object 衣服 *yifu* 'clothes' does not receive this specific interpretation. The difference between two sentences is (27) is higher in the degree of individuation of object than (28), then the concomitant

difference appears in the telicity; that (27) is telic, while (28) is atelic. The difference shows (27) is higher in transitivity.

Although predications made by the transitivity hypothesis brought a new view on relationships among different grammatical and semantic facets of language, the results given by other languages have not always corroborated on the predication of transitivity hypothesis. Some scholars have pointed out that not all components of transitivity can co-vary (Tsunoda,1985; Liu, 1997; Cech and Pajas, 2009). Liu (1997) mentioned that the transitivity hypothesis was supported with a condition. Only when the predicate and the argument are related by a structure-preserving function can the transitivity hypothesis be met.

Tsunoda (1985) argued that the transitivity hypothesis proposed by Hopper and Thompson (1980) is too strong as some parameters show structural co-variation whereas other parameters simply cannot co-vary. He mentioned not all parameters are equally relevant, some of them have a very close correlation with each other, and some of them seem non-existent at all, for instance, the parameters of volitionality and agency always co-vary but parameters of volitionality and affectedness do not (see Table 1, section 3.1). As stated (1985, p. 386), "in certain instances, they always contradict each other and never co-vary".

Cech and Pajas (2009) tested the transitivity hypothesis in both written and spoken Czech language. The results showed that the parameter of participants and the parameter of aspect cannot co-vary in the Czech language. Finally, the transitivity parameters proposed by Hopper and Thompson (1980) have been considered as unambiguous criteria or an unordered list and could not be validated (Tsunoda, 1985;

Cech and Pajas, 2009). Thus, the co-variation between transitivity components should be viewed not in the strict sense, but as a tendency which is well measurable in language corpora (Thompson and Hopper, 2001). The above mentioned transitivity parameters will be addressed in detail in Chapter 3.

Recently, Malchukov (2006) argued that the Hopper and Thompson's transitivity parameters should be preferably encoded on the 'relevant constituent' then transformed them to a transitivity scale. He recast Hopper and Thompson's transitivity parameters into A-related parameters, O-related parameters, and V-related parameters. He explained that all features pertaining to the agent should be marked on A (e.g. animacy/volitionality), and features of object (e.g. affectedness/individuation/negation) should be encoded on O. Features related to the verb (e.g. tense/mood) are preferably marked on V. Malchukove (2006) argued that adjacency of features predicted where there should be relations, e.g. affectedness and individuation were adjacent and co-vary, but not affectedness and animacy.

In a recent paper, Lazard (2003) denied any semantical co-variation between transitivity parameters, such as the aspect, affectedness of the object and individuation of the object. In particular, he noted that while in Hungarian that language he deals with, a perfective verb can only combine with a definite object, in English there is no co-variation between the parameters of aspect and object definiteness, for example *kick a/the ball* and *kick at a/the ball*. Hence, "the co-variation that obtains in certain languages as Hungarian should not be raised to the status of a general law" (Lazard, 2003, p. 175). Malchukov (2006) believed that the term co-variation as used by Hopper and Thompson did not suggest that this co-variation was observable in every language.

Rather it suggested that there is a mutual dependency between the parameters. There may be languages in which perfective verbs can take only definite object and the imperfective only indefinite, but there may be no language that will show an opposite restriction (e.g. perfective verbs combining exclusively with indefinite objects). Malchukov (2006) indicated that such mutual dependencies are explained by selective semantic affinities among individual parameters.

Hopper and Thompson (1980, p. 251) also related the transitivity to the grounding. They demonstrated that "high transitivity is correlated with foregrounding and low transitivity with backgrounding". Chui (2003), based on Hopper and Thompson's (1980) study, examined the correlation between grounding and transitivity in Chinese narratives and conversations. The results show that the universality of the correlation across languages was only found in narrative discourse not in daily talk.

Transitivity can also be used to analyze other genres. Thompson and Hopper (2001) have revisited transitivity on the clauses of English daily conversations. They concluded that the typical clauses of daily talks in English were very low in the transitivity degree. In terms of frequency, the role of transitive clauses in every day conversations was extremely small, and that highly transitive exemplars were extremely rare. Transitivity is high in constructed sentences and spoken or written narratives and low in English conversation (Thompson and Hopper, 2001, p. 27). Their analysis of English conversation is equally important for revealing that there is a remarkable degree of fluidity in the valency of verbs; transitivity is often indeterminate, and native speakers' intuitions demonstrate a usage-based bias. The simple transitive clauses are not common in the natural conversations. Many conversations are couched in non-eventive

language that express subjective attitudes and observations. Their findings have been corroborated by conversational researches on other languages, like Javanese (Ewing, 1999), Russian (Turk, 2000), and Persian (Mohsen and Ahmad, 2012).

In the recent work, Jing-Schmidt (2005) judged the Mandarin BA-construction with the notion of "prototypical transitivity", which coincided with the cardinal transitivity proposed by Hopper and Thompson (1980). She pointed out "on the whole, the BA-construction is capable of conveying a gradient of transitivity ranging from low transitivity (when the verb is low in salience) to high, or prototypical transitivity (when the agent, the object and the verb are all salient)" (Jing-Schmidt, 2005, p. 102). In other words, she believed that the Mandarin BA-construction is able to tolerate various degrees of transitivity.

The transitivity approach is related to the previous disposal analysis of the Mandarin BA-construction. However, the transitivity approach may make a difference with the disposal approach. The transitivity approach is focused on the formal and functional nature of the morpheme BA and assigning a function such as a "high transitivity marker", while the disposal approach considers the morpheme BA as an auxiliary for the inversion of the direct object.

To sum up, the Mandarin BA-construction has been acknowledged as a highly transitive type of clause based on Hopper and Thompson's criteria. However, their analysis on the BA-construction has not been tested well; they do not cover the full range of BA-constructions, such as intransitive BA-constructions. To my knowledge studies on the transitivity degrees of BA-constructions in Mandarin are scarce. Furthermore, the transitivity predications made by Hopper and Thompson (1980) and

Thompson and Hopper (2001) are questioned by other linguists in the past years. It would be worthwhile to investigate whether their predications of the past years can be applied in the matter of Mandarin BA-construction. Whether the high transitivity can appear in the intransitive BA-construction and whether the degree of BA-construction in terms of transitivity is low in spoken discourse will be examined in Chapter 4.

2.4 Tsao's Topic-Comment Approach to the BA-construction

Firstly Li and Thompson (1976) made the claim that Mandarin Chinese was a topic-prominent language as opposed to a subject-prominent language. Then, Tsao (1987) attempted to analyze the BA-construction from the view of topic-comment. He summarized the properties of Chinese topic had and compared first with those possessed by the NP1 in the BA-construction and then with those owned by the NP2. The evidence showed that the NP2 had almost all the features of a regular topic in Chinese clauses. However, a regular topic does not allow a specific reading which the BA NP2 has under some particular circumstances. He said such comparisons revealed that the NP1 was a regular topic and the NP2 was a secondary topic, and the function of the morpheme BA was to mark the NP2 as a secondary topic (Tsao, 1987; Hsueh, 1989; Bender, 2000, Ding, 2001). This point of view is opposite to that of others who think morpheme BA only functions as the proposed object of the verb in the BA-construction. For Tsao, the meaning of the BA-construction is to "make clear the transitivity relation between the primary topic and the BA topic and to bring into focus the result, as expressed by the verb and its complement" (p. 1). Two points were used by Tsao to argue for a topic treatment of the NP2. One was the NP2 can head a topic chain which is

embedded in a larger topic chain headed by a usual topic. The other is that the NP2 is in control of all the pronominalization and coreferential NP deletion process in terms of grammatical relations and the structure of the clause in Mandarin. These properties are illustrated in the following example:

(29)　王　　小姐　**把**　　书　　涨　　了　　价，

Wang　xiaojie　**BA**　shu　zhang　le　jia,

PN　Miss　**BA**　book　raise　PERF　price,

再　**把**　它　卖　给　我们

zai　**BA**　ta　mai　gei　women

then　**BA**　it　sell　to　us

'Miss Wang raised the price of the book before she sold it to us.'

(30)　王　　小姐　**把**　　书　　涨　　了　　价，

Wang　xiaojie　**BA**　shu　zhang　le　jia,

PN　Miss　**BA**　book　raise　PERF　price,

再　卖　给　我们

zai　mai　gei　women

then　sell　to　us

(Tsao, 1987, p. 75)

In (29), the first NP2 书 *shu* 'the book' is the head of topic chain, and controls the distribution or appearance of the second NP2 它 *ta* 'it'. The second NP2 is in co-references with the first NP2, it can be omitted, so the example (29) becomes the (30) form without any change in meaning. However, the analysis of the NP2 as a second topic does not fully account for the information-structural implications of the

BA-construction.

There are some linguists against Tsao's view, such as Xue (1987), who proposed that the NP2 in the BA-construction was the main topic and the NP1 should be regarded as secondary. He made two points to support this argument. First, VP is a descriptive statement about the NP2; that is to say, VP has a closer relation with NP2 than NP1. Second, a BA-construction which leaves out NP1 is also acceptable without changing the original meaning of the sentence, whereas NP2 cannot be omitted in any case, otherwise the sentence will fall apart. Finally, Xue described the semantics of the entire BA-construction as due to NP1, NP2 results in the state described by VP. Cui (1995) thought Xue's (1987) generalization of the BA-construction's meaning was basically acceptable, but he also pointed out that there were some forms of the BA-construction that did not fit in Xue's description. Cui (1995) called this type of the BA-construction as the "modal-vector" BA-construction. Jin (1997) further divided the modal-vector BA-construction into modal BA-construction and momentum BA-construction. Jin believed that the theoretical aim for the semantic research about the BA-construction should be to find out several sets of semantic features for different forms of the BA-construction respectively.

Rejecting Tsao's interpretation, Xu (2007) and Liu (2007) admitted that functionally a NP2 bears some features of a secondary topic in terms of semantics and discourse function, but refused to regard it as a real since the NP2 in the BA-construction has been argued to have some differences with a real one. They said there some discrepancies between the NP2 and the secondary topic, which including most secondary topics can be moved to precede the subject first, thus becoming a main

topic, whereas morpheme BA and NP2 as a whole cannot be put ahead of NP1. Then, negative adverbs like 不 *bu* 'no' may be inserted between a secondary topic and a verb in a sentence, while it only be place before morpheme BA in the BA-construction. Lastly, topics cannot be stressed and marked by 是 *shi* 'to be' as contrastive focus, while NP2 in the BA-construction can become such focus.

Broadly speaking, the topic-comment analysis provides the reader with a new approach to the study of the semantics of the BA-construction. A few scholars have accepted this analysis and attempted to develop their own ideas on such a basis. Topic-comment analysis of the BA-construction completely abandons the traditional explanation centered on disposal, thus avoiding the association of the construction with the analysis of "agent and affected object". So, the topic-comment analysis can account for those BA-constructions which cannot be explained by the traditional analysis. However, this kind of analysis fails to show the peculiar features of the Mandarin BA-construction; otherwise, the BA-construction is the same as other syntactic patterns in Mandarin (Hu, 2005). The topic-comment view on the Chinese BA-construction deserves some consideration, as the NP2 indeed carries some prominent information because of its position and referential quality.

2.5 Causative Approach to the BA-construction

Not all BA-constructions can be interpreted by the notion of disposal, transitivity or topic-comment. Some scholars have stated that there is a semantic affinity between the BA-construction and causativity (Ye, 1997; Guo, 1999; Liu, 2002). Since the BA-construction is frequently observed with resultative complements. Chapell (1991)

reported that the verbs in the BA-constructions can be intransitive, an example of an intransitive verb in a BA-construction is provided in (31) and the majority of which were used to express mental activities. The intransitive verbs were usually assorted with the complements or modifiers in the constructions. He reported that the intransitive BA-constructions have been ignored by other scholars.

(31)　那　件　事　**把**　我　气　死　了

　　　na　jian　shi　**BA**　wo　qi　si　le

　　　that　CL　event　**BA**　I　angry　die　PERF

　　　'That event made me feel so angry.'

<div align="right">(Chapell, 1991, p. 156)</div>

In (31) the verb 气 *qi* 'angry' is intransitive, and the NP2 我 *wo* 'I' is not the patient but the agent of the event.

Afterward, Sybesma (1992) attempted a well-defined interpretation of Mandarin BA-construction by analyzing it as a variety of the causative construction, in which "the subject causes the noun phrase after BA to undergo the event denoted by the VP" (p. 178). In his proposal, there is no actual distinction between the BA-construction and the causative construction. It is true that some BA-constructions do interpret a causative meaning, but that most linguists agree that this type of BA-construction is not so frequently used as the ones that indicate the meaning of disposal in discourse (Zhu, 1982; H. Wang, 1984, 2003; Liu, 2002; Ye, 2004; Hu, 2005).

In the recent years, there have also been some scholars who trace the causative approach. Ye (2004) proved her point by demonstrating that the VP in the BA-construction represents a causative situation which was defined by Talmy (1976) in

cognitive semantics. The causative situation is composed of a causing event and a caused event. According to Ye, the semantic structure of the VP in the BA-construction generally has a causing event and a caused event. In his words, the causing event was expressed by specific lexical items in the BA-construction, the caused event can be either expressed explicitly or implied unclear. An example of the causative situation in a BA-construction is provided in (32).

(32) 是   不   是   我   **把**   枝儿   逼   得   太   过分   了

shi bu shi wo **BA** Zhier bi de tai guofen le

is   not is   I   **BA** PN push EXT too far PERF

'Did I push Zhier too hard?'

<div align="right">(Ye, 2004, p. 64)</div>

The causative meaning may be part of the semantics expressed by the Mandarin BA-construction (Fan, 2001). Liu (2002) stated that when the subject of a Mandarin BA-construction consciously exerted some influence on NP2 without causing any change, the Mandarin BA-construction only had the semantic meaning of disposal, an example of a BA-construction in a disposal meaning is provided in (33).

(33) 张培   轻轻地   **把**   周大勇   的   脊背   压了压，

Zhangpei qingqingdi **BA** Zhoudayong de   jibei yaleya,

PN   slightly **BA** PN ASSOC   back press,

说： "不要   急，   部队   是   要   全部   撤走。"

shuo: "buyao ji,   budui shi yao quanbu chezou."

say: 'don't worry, army is should whole withdraw."

'Zhang Pei slightly pressed against Zhou Dayong's back, saying, 'Don't

worry, the whole army is going to withdraw.''

(Wang, 2006, p. 21)

Liu (2002) explained that when the subject of a Mandarin BA-construction unconsciously influenced the NP2 and caused it to change, the Mandarin BA-construction only possessed the causative meaning, per (34). An example of a BA-construction in a Chinese idiom is provided in (34).

(34) 桑葚   把   孩子   的   舌头   都   吃   麻   了

     sangshen **BA** haizi   de   shetou   dou chi   ma   le

     mulberry **BA** child ASSOC tongue all eat   fall asleep PERF

     'The mulberry made the child's tongue fall asleep.'

(Liu, 2002, p. 132)

He said that only when the subject of a Mandarin BA-construction consciously affected NP2 and caused it to change, the Mandarin BA-construction could be said to express both the disposal and causative meanings, an example of a BA-construction is provided in (35). Example (35) has the direct meaning of the pen is disposed of by me or the indirect meaning of I cause the pen to break into pieces.

(35) 我   把   钢笔   折   断   了

     wo   **BA** gangbi zhe   duan   le

     I   **BA** pen   break broken PERF

     'I broke the pen.'

(Liu, 2002, p. 136)

Hu (2005) focused on the objective causal relationship underlying the construction and proposed the interpretation of the semantic meaning of the BA-construction was:

related to the causer, NP2 is in the result state described by VP. It seems that the causative meaning is the special semantic feature of the Mandarin BA-construction which could serve to distinguish it from other syntactic patterns (Hu, 2005). However, the fact is the standard transitive clause (SVO) and the NP1+NP2+VP pattern in Mandarin can also express the causative meaning, which means the causativity cannot be seen as a unique character in the BA-construction (H. Q. Wang, 2003). H. Q. Wang (2003) gave the description of the relationship between the conception of causative and disposal. He demonstrated that the causative meaning was the hyponym of disposal meaning and disposal meaning was a superordinate of causative meaning. Then, he proposed that besides causation, the BA-construction also encompasses the meaning of control, the controlling causative or causative under control. According to him, "BA and the preceding object form a transitive relation, and the predicate verb after BA has a transitive relation with the object too; the former relation is control, while the latter is causation" (H. Q. Wang, 2003, p. 35). While H. Q. Wang's interpretation of the BA-construction is more general than that of other causative supporters. Causative interpretations refer to the meaning of the whole construction and focus on the objective causal relationship underlying the construction, rather than the subjective consciousness on the part of NP1.

This section discusses the interpretations of some scholars who mention causative approach while analyzing the semantic structure of the BA-construction. The analysis may be summarized in three aspects. Firstly, Zhu (1982) and H. Wang (1984) thought that the Mandarin BA-construction had the causative meaning which was just not as frequently used as disposal conception. Secondly, Hu (2005) supposed that the causative

semantic feature of the BA-construction can be used to distinguish it from other syntactic Chinese patterns. Lastly, Liu (2002) and H. Q. Wang (2003) believed that Mandarin BA-constructions can include both the meaning of disposal and causativity. The previous views on the semantic feature of the BA-construction do not differ in essence; they all admit that the causative meaning can be expressed by the BA-construction. The causative approach may cover almost all types of the BA-construction, including the consecutive BA-construction as proposed by L. Wang (1980). The only flaw in the causativity is that it cannot pinpoint the semantic features which distinguish the BA-construction from other syntactic constructions which also express causative meaning.

2.6 Ding's BA-Resultative-Construction

Ding (1993) identified three kinds of BA-constructions as "BA-Resultative-Construction" in his study. Dai (2005) followed Ding's (1993) steps with the following examples: (1) the regular BA-construction, as (36), (2) the object-retained BA-construction, as (37), and (3) the causative BA-construction, as (38). Examples are below:

(36) 我 **把** 她 弄 哭 了

     wo **BA** ta nong ku le

     I **BA** she make cry PERF

     'I made her cry.'

(37) 我 **把** 它 吃 了 一 半

     wo **BA** ta chi le yi ban

I   **BA**   it   eat   PERF   one   half

'I ate half of it.'

(38)   论文   **把**   她   累   死   了

lunwen   **BA**   ta   lei   si   le

thesis   **BA**   she   tired   die   PERF

'Her thesis made her exhausted.'

(Dai, 2005, p. 174)

In order to identify the common characteristics shared among these three kinds of BA-constructions, Ding (1993) interprets them as follows: "A BA sentence belongs to the BA Resultative Construction if, and only if, the object of BA holds a proper semantic relationship with the successive clause that denotes a resultative state. The semantic relation between the object of BA and the clausal complement can be PATIENT-and-resultant, or EXPERIENCER-and-stative" (Ding, 1993, p. 14).

However, the semantic attribute of the entity referred by the NP1 in the BA-construction was not make clear by the Ding's interpretation. Ding based his view on Nedjalkov and Jaxontov's conception of 'resultative' (1988), which distinguished between 'resultative' and 'stative': "the stative expresses a state of a thing without any implication of its origin, while the resultative expresses both a state and the preceding action it has resulted from" (Nedjalkov and Jaxontov 1988, p. 6). Ding further classified the following five kinds of BA-resultative-construction: (1) subjective resultative construction; (2) objective resultative construction; (3) possessive resultative construction; (4) locative-objective resultative construction; and (5) objective-impersonal resultative construction.

But "the substitute type of 得 *de* 'EXT' resultative construction" did not involved in Ding's classification of resultative construction, shown in (39).   Mandarin Chinese 得 *de*-construction is a construction that depicts the result of a specific action; 得 *de* can be translated as 'to the degree that.'

Like Tsao (1987), Ding considered the V-*de*-EXT resultative construction derived from the as change based on the verb copying structure shown in (40) that carries over a meaning of resultative. He claimed that result as relevant to the event, but irrelevant to any specific entity in the clause.

(39) 美月　　**把**　　宝莲　　照顾　　得　　好好的

     meiyue　**BA**　Baolian　zhaogu　　de　　haohaode

     PN　　**BA**　PN　　take care　EXT　　well

     'Meiyue has Baolian well taken care of.'

(40) 美月　　照顾　　宝莲　　照顾　　　得　　好好的

     Meiyue　zhaogu　Baolian　zhaogu　　de　　haohaode

     PN　　take care　PN　　take care　EXT　　well

     'Meiyue takes good care of Baolian.'

(Dai, 2005, p. 177)

In Ding's view, the morpheme BA in the de-RC is analogous to the first verb in the verb copying structure. Dai (2005) disputed Ding's point of view that the morpheme BA in (39) was only relevant to the event and not to a specific entity. Dai (2005) proposed that the profile in the BA-construction in the example (39) was construed through the agency of 美月 *Meiyue* and the resultant scene ascribed to 宝莲 *Baolian*'s state. The entity 宝莲 *Baolian* was obviously the backward-looking center of the construction.

Therefore, the BA in example (39) was relevant to a specific entity in the event, 宝莲 *Baolian*. However, in the verb-copying structure (40) based on (39), the agent 美月 *Meiyue* was the backward-looking center, and the event of taking care of 宝莲 *Baolian* is profiled. These two examples get different degrees of prominence in terms of cognitive reality; hence, Dai (2005) did not think (40) to be an analogical change from a (39).

Ding's position with regard to the BA-construction has developed over time; he first argued that the morpheme BA was a resultative verb (1993) and then later claimed that the morpheme BA was a grammaticalized verb (2001). Both interpretations are consistent with his view of the morpheme BA as a verb that means 'to bring out a result.'

2.7 Recent Studies on the BA-construction

Recently, people began to realize that when one uses language, one does not only negotiate our social or communicative relationships but also his attitudes towards what one is talking about. The studies on the BA-construction have gone beyond the scope constituent-oriented sentence grammar and some scholars argue that the characterization of the BA-construction is to express subjectivity or emotionality (Shen, 2002; H. Q. Wang, 2003; Jing-Schmidt, 2005, 2007a).

Considering that language is not directly mapped onto the real world but is reflected in the world shaped by thoughts and concepts, subjective factors such as believes, values, needs, communicative motivations, cognitive strategies and so on (Shen, 2002; H. Q. Wang, 2003; Jing-Schmidt, 2005, 2007a; Jing-Schmidt and Tao, 2009). Shen (2002) pointed out that BA-construction is used to express the subjective relationship between two participants involved in an event. H. Q. Wang (2003)

suggested that the understanding of the meaning of the BA-construction should take account of the subjective interpretations of the speaker.

Shen (2002) carried out a thorough analysis of the subjectivity of the Mandarin BA-construction. In his study, the notion of subjectivity referred to a linguistic phenomenon in which "the speaker, in making an utterance, simultaneously comments upon that utterance and expresses his attitude to what he is saying" (Lyons, 1977, p. 739; Shen, 2002). He argued that to express subjectivity is the real motivation for the existence of the BA-construction. Shen supported his argument by investigating how the three main aspects (the speaker's emotion, the speaker's perspective and the speaker's epistemicity) of subjectivity are reflected by BA-constructions. He demonstrated that a BA-construction can reflect the speaker's attitude towards the thing to be disposed of, and this affect may be sympathy, devotion, or dislike. He believed that the semantics of the BA-construction express subjective disposal rather than objective disposal. Then, he claimed that the BA-construction depicts a speaker's perspective on or judgment of the thing or event mentioned in the construction, which is manifested by the modifier and the determiner of its object and the modification of its verb. Finally, he indicated that the BA-construction can imply the speaker's epistemic status of the event described in the construction. Shen (2002) admitted although the subjectivity of the BA-construction has been weakened to a certain degree during its development, it remains a distinctive feature of the construction.

Jing-Schmidt (2005) drew similar conclusions when looking into the interaction of the BA-construction on both clausal and trans-clausal levels. She argued that the BA-construction indicated discourse dramaticity on the grounds of cognitive salience,

subjectivity, and emotionality. She proposed that when a speaker intended to achieve high discourse dramaticity, the BA-construction would be used. To further prove subjectivity and emotionality are the essential characteristics of the semantics of the BA-construction, Jing-Schmidt (2007a) attempted with a cognitive-affective model to explain L. Wang's (1980) interpretation that sometimes the BA-construction is relevant to something 'unhappy or unfortunate'. She argued that if it was a real device of interpreting subjective and emotional events, the BA-construction embodies a negativity bias. Finally, she stated that subjectivity and emotionality are central to the semantics and pragmatics of the BA-construction.

With new developments in learning Chinese as a foreign language, the BA-construction has become considered one of the most confusing constructions to L2 Chinese learners (Li, 2001; Zhang, 2002; Du, 2004; Wei, 2006; Cheng, 2006; Jin, 2007; Lu, 2008; Wen, 2010). Thus, more recent studies have tried to analyze the errors in L2 Chinese learners' production or comprehension and to find error patterns in acquiring the BA-construction (Zhang, 2002; Du, 2004; Wei, 2006; Cheng, 2006; Lu, 2008; Wen 2010).

2.8 Summary

To sum up, a retrospection of the semantic analysis of BA-construction has been accomplished in this section. As a unique construction that has developed over the history of Chinese language, it is not surprising that the BA-construction has aroused so much interest among Chinese linguists and other linguists in general. The Mandarin Chinese BA-construction is a much controversial construction; the debate includes the

different theoretical perspectives in syntactics or semantics or language acquisition applied in examining this construction. As one of the complex constructions in Mandarin, the BA-construction has been examined from various perspectives, such as syntactic structure, historical development, the category status and grammaticalization of BA, and semantic constraints (L. Wang, 1945; Chao, 1968; Bennett, 1981; Huang, 1982; Travis, 1984; H. Wang, 1984; Koopman, 1984; Goodall, 1986; Tenny, 1987; Huang, 1989; Li, 1990; Ding, 1992; Cheng, 1998; Qi, 2005; Guo, 1981; Rhys, 1996; Liu, 1997; Ren, 1998; Gao, 1999; Liu, 2001; Li, 2001; Shi, 2002; Ren, 2005; Xu, 2007). Its properties seemed to be significant for the study of disposal (L. Wang, 1943, 1947, 1980; Song, 1981; Li and Thompson, 1981; H. Wang, 1984; Zhang, 2000; H. Q. Wang, 2003), transitivity (Thompson, 1973; Hopper and Thompson, 1980; Tsao, 1987; Wang, 1987; Sun, 1995; Li, 2001), causativitiy (Chapell, 1991; Sybesma, 1999; Ye, 2004; Liu, 2002; H. Q. Wang, 2003; Hu, 2005), and topic-comment (Tsao, 1987; Xue, 1987; Cui, 1995; Jin, 1997; Xu, 2007; Liu, 2007). As Li (2001) pointed out, there appears to be 'rich and endless literature' on the BA-construction, ranging from the syntactic feature, semantic meaning and discourse function of the BA-construction as a whole, to each element of the BA-construction, to the constraints on the BA-construction. As mentioned earlier, despite the high amount of literature on the BA-construction, to the researcher's knowledge no analysis on the BA-construction provides a satisfactory examined on the transitivity properties. This dissertation will serve as a step toward understanding this issue based on the theories proposed by Hopper and Thompson (1980) and Thompson and Hopper (2001).

CHAPTER THREE

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK AND RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

3.1 Introduction

Transitivity has been widely known as a universal notion, though it has various linguistic manifestations from one language to another. In the traditional view of transitivity, clauses may be divided into transitive and intransitive clauses, verb with a subject and a direct object was classified as transitive clause, like *'John hit Paul.'* and that without as intransitive one, like *'Mary slept.'* (Jacobsen, 1985; Tsunoda, 2005). In other words, transitivity in traditional grammar mainly concerns the types of verbs and the relationship between the verb and the following objects. The traditional view of transitivity mainly considers grammatical structure. Obviously, this classification only embodies the structure of sentences; hence, it oversimplifies or ignores the semantic differences of different verbs. For example, in the sentence of *He liked the gift very much,* the verb *like* is a transitive verb just as *hit* in the first example sentence. But clearly, *like* and *hit* show different semantic relations between the subject and the object. However, the traditional grammar of transitivity cannot reveal these differences.

In contrast to the traditional approach, Hopper and Thompson (1980) claimed that the defining properties of transitivity were discourse determined instead of purely syntactic. Transitivity is a complex concept which not only relates to the categorization of verbal lexemes of binary values, namely transitive or intransitive, but this is a multifactorial and gradual notion (Lakoff, 1977; Hopper and Thompson, 1980; Taylor, 1995). In fact, the phenomenon of transitivity depends on diverse factors, such as

semantic properties of the verbs and of the arguments that they are compatible with at the clause level. The present study focuses on the semantic features of transitivity rather than merely associated with its syntactic feature.

In Hopper and Thompson's (1980) view, transitivity was taken as a crucial relationship in language with a number of universally predictable consequences in grammar. Then they gave a large amount of cross-linguistic data to demonstrate that the degree of transitivity (high or low) had morphosyntactic and semantic consequences. Spanish shows an extreme restriction in requiring that the object marked with *a* must be animate, either human or human-like (Hopper and Thompson, 1980). Two examples are provided in (3.1)-a and (3.1)-b.

(3.1) a. Busco   mi   sombrero.

I seek   my   hat

'I'm looking for my hat.'

b. Busco *a*   mi   amigo.

I seek   my   friend

'I'm looking for my friend.'

(Hopper and Thompson, 1980, p. 256)

In Hindi, the suffix *–koo* on the O is used to identify animate definite O (Hopper and Thompson, 1980). Here are some examples:

(3.2) a. Machuee-nee   machlii   pak Rii.

fisherman-ERG   fish   caught

'The fisherman caught a fish.'

b. Machuee-nee   machlii-KOO   pak Raa.

fisherman-ERG   fish   caught

'The fisherman caught the fish.'

<div align="right">(Hopper and Thompson, 1980, p. 256)</div>

In Kalkatungu (Blake, 1976), the case-markings have a correlation with the Aspect:

(3.3) a. Kupaŋuru-tu   caa   kalpin   ḻai-n̲a.

old man-ERG   here   young man   hit-PAST

'The old man hit the young man.'

b. Kupaŋuru   caa   kalpin-ku   ḻai-min̲a.

old man   here   young man-DAT   hit-IMPF

'The old man is hitting the young man.'

<div align="right">(Hopper and Thompson, 1980, p. 272)</div>

In Mandarin, the morpheme BA remarks the high transitivity, so the
BA-construction (3.4)-b is higher transitivity than the standard SVO clause, as (3.4)-a.

(3.4) a. 我   卖   了   我的   车子

wo   mai   le   wode   chezi

I   sell   PERF   my   car

b. 我   **把**   我的   车子   卖   了

wo   **BA**   wode   chezi   mai   le

I   **BA**   my   car   sell   PERF

'I sold my car.'

<div align="right">(Hopper and Thompson, 1980, p. 274)</div>

Hopper and Thompson's cross-linguistic morphosyntactic data demonstrated the

universality of transitivity across a variety of languages.

3.2 Theoretical Framework

3.2.1 1980 Framework

In *Transitivity in Grammar and Discourse,* Hopper and Thompson (1980) provided a large amount of cross-linguistic data to point out transitivity as a crucial relationship in language which has a number of universally predictable consequences in grammar. They took transitivity as a continuum in the entire clause. They created ten transitivity parameters with a number of properties of clauses and claimed transitivity to be "as a matter of carrying-over or transferring an action from one participant to another – can be broken into its component parts, each focusing on a different facet of this carrying-over in a different part of the clause" (Hopper and Thompson, 1980, p. 253). The parameters listed by Hopper and Thompson (1980, p. 252) as seen in Table 1 are restated here along with the properties which indicate high or low transitivity for each parameter:

Table 1 Parameters of High transitivity and Low transitivity.

	High transitivity	Low transitivity
A. Participants	two participants or more (A and O)	one participant
B. Kinesis	action	non-action
C. Aspect	telic	Atelic
D. Punctuality	punctual	non-punctual
E. Volitionality	volitional	non-volitional
F. Affirmation	affirmative	negative
G. Mode	realis	irrealis
H. Agency	A high in potency	A low in potency
I. Affectedness of O	O totally affected	O not affected
J. Individuation of O	O highly individuated	O non-individuated

Then they defined the above components features in the following (Hopper and Thompson, 1980, p. 252-53):

(a) Participants: no transfer can take place at all unless at least two participants are involved.

(b) Kinesis: actions can be transferred from one participant to another, while states cannot. Thus, something happens to Mary in *I hugged Mary*, but not in *I like Mary*.

(c) Aspect: an action as viewed from its endpoint, i.e. a telic action, is more effectively transferred to a patient than one not provided with such an endpoint. In the telic sentence *I ate it up*, the activity is viewed as completed, and the transfer is carried out in its entirely, but in the atelic *I am eating it*, the transfer is only partially carried out.

(d) Punctuality: actions carried out with no obvious transitional phase between inception and completion have a more marked effect on their patients than actions which are inherently on-going; contrast *kick* (punctual) with *carry* (non-punctual).

(e) Volitionality: the effect on the patient is typically more apparent when A is presented as acting purposefully; contrast *I wrote your name* (volitional) with *I forgot your name* (non-volitional).

(f) Affirmation: this refers to affirmative/negative parameters.

(g) Mode: this refers to the discussion between 'realis' and 'irrealis' encoding of events. An action which either did not occur, or which is presented as occurring in a non-real world, is obviously less effective than one whose occurrence is actually asserted as corresponding directly with a real event.

(h) Agency: it is obvious that participants high in agency can affect a transfer of an

action in a way that those low in agency cannot. Thus the normal interpretation of *Gorge startled me* is that of a perceptible event with perceptible consequences; however, *The picture startled me* could be completely an internal state.

(i) Affectedness of object: the degree to which an action is transferred to a patient is a function of how completely that patient is affected.

(j) Individuation of object: the component of individuation, however, refers both to the distinctness of the patient from the agent and to its distinctness from its own background.

(Hopper and Thompson, 1980, p. 252-253)

According to Hopper and Thompson (1980), "an action can be more effectively transferred to a patient which is individuated" (p. 253). Properties of objects which indicate high individuation (left column) and low individuation (right column) are shown in Table 2.

Table 2 Individuation of the object

Individuated	Non-individuated
proper	common
human, animate	inanimate
concrete	abstract
singular	plural
count	mass
referential, definite	non-referential

These ten transitivity components could be used as a criteria for measuring the degree of transitivity in a given clause (Hopper and Thompson, 1980; Tsunoda, 1994). They proposed that the transitivity degree may be determined based on the number of transitivity features in a given clause. They said "Taken together, they allow clauses to

be characterized as MORE or LESS Transitive: the more features a clause has in the 'high' column in 1 A-J, the more Transitive it is – the closer it is to CARDINAL Transitivity" (Hopper and Thompson, 1980, p. 253). For example:

(3.5) Jerry knocked Sam down.

(3.6) Jerry likes beer.

(Hopper and Thompson, 1980, p. 253)

According to Hopper and Thompson (1980), (3.5) is higher in transitivity than (3.6) because it represents the following high transitivity properties: "Kinesis: action, Aspect: telic, Punctuality: punctual, Affectedness of O: total, Individuation of O: referential, animate and proper" (Hopper and Thompson, 1980, p. 253). Considering another example:

(3.7) There were no stars in the sky.

(Hopper and Thompson, 1980, p. 253)

Example (3.7) would be quite lower in the transitivity than either (3.5) or (3.6) because it has only one feature (realis) on the high transitivity column. In general, Hopper and Thompson's study used cross-linguistic data to suggest that transitivity cannot be defined simply in terms of the existence of a syntactic object, and its presence may be a matter of degree.

3.2.2 2001 Framework

Considering transitivity as a composite issue, Thompson and Hopper (2001) have revisited transitivity on the clauses of English daily conversations. They predicted that transitivity was low in English conversations. The majority of clauses turn out to have

one-participant and highly transitive exemplars are extremely rare. The numbers of two-participant clauses in the English conversations are minority and these are low in transitivity, an example of low transitivity is provided in (3.8).

(3.8) I'll have fun.

(Thompson and Hopper, 2001, p. 34)

Example (3.8) is a V-O compound which has been taken as a two-participant clause. According to the transitivity attributes proposed by Hopper and Thompson (1980), (3.8) is low in transitivity. While the majority of one-participant clauses can be grouped into three main types, verbal predicates with one participant as in (3.9), copular clauses as in (3.10), and epistemic/evidential clauses as in (3.11).

(3.9) They pay in advance.

(3.10) I'm excited about it.

(3.11) I can't tell you whether that fear was completely off the wall.

(Thompson and Hopper, 2001, p. 37-39)

Their quantitative analysis of the English conversational discourse shows that "the most frequent kind of clause used by speakers in everyday conversational interactions is one that is low in transitivity" (Thompson and Hopper, 2001, p. 39). They attempted to use the argument structure to explain the transitivity degree of the conversational data, but thought the schema in which a given verb occurred may be an artifact of a methodology based on idealized data. Then they concluded that argument structure constituted only a small part of what a speaker needed to know about their language, the argument structure was of limited value for understanding how language was produced and processed. Their analysis of English conversation is equally important for revealing

that there is a remarkable degree of fluidity in the valency of verbs; transitivity is often indeterminate, and native speakers' intuitions demonstrate a usage-based bias. When looking at natural conversation, simple transitive clauses are not common; much of ordinary conversation is couched in non-eventive language that expresses subjective attitudes and observations. Their finding has been corroborated by conversational studies on other languages, like Javanese (Ewing, 1999), Russian (Turk, 2000) and Persian (Mohsen and Ahmad, 2012) to identify the universality of the continuum of the transitivity across-language and there are the significant differences and similarities among various languages.

3.3 Methodology

3.3.1 Data Collection

In this study, the data consist of two parts - written data and spoken data. The written data consists of 50 articles selected from the electronic newspaper named *Musical Life Newspaper*. It is an authoritative music weekly newspaper sponsored by the Ministry of Culture of China and Chinese Popular Music Association. All of these 50 selected newspaper articles published from January 2013 to January 2014. The spoken data is composed of eight conversations from a popular Chinese TV talk show - *A Date with Luyu*. To get the data, each conversation was around six minutes in length. In this TV talk show program, the speakers in the conversations were requested to speak Mandarin. There is no personal prejudice and favoritism in the selection of both written and spoken data, both of two parts of data were selected based on the same theme. Some written examples related to the analysis are presented in the Appendix A and the

transcriptions of the spoken data are shown in the Appendix B.

3.3.2 Data Categorization

As stated in chapter 1, there are mainly two types of the BA-construction are taken into account in the current paper, namely the transitive BA-constructions (NP1-BA-NP2(O)-V/VP) and intransitive BA-constructions (NP1-BA-NP2(S)-V/VP). In this study, the categorization of the BA-construction is based on its syntactic surface. According to the compositions of V/VP in the constructions, the transitive BA-constructions have a number of variations, transitive BA-constructions with complements ((NP1)-BA-NP2-V-COM), transitive BA-constructions with aspect markers ((NP1)-BA-NP2-V-ASP), transitive BA-constructions with preverbal adverbials ((NP1)-BA-NP2-ADV-V). According to Liu (1997), a complement is the linguistic material that signals the degree, result, direction, or destination of the action. The BA-construction can be divided into the following types in the written and spoken data (Table 3).

Table 3 Types of the BA-constructions from the written data.

A. Transitive BA-constructions	
(a) Transitive BA-construction with COM ((NP1)-BA-NP2-V-COM)	
Written data: 我把歌唱好 'I sung the song well.' (see the example (4.1)) 把声音放得极低 '(He) dropped his voice so much.' (see the example (4.6)) 我把她叫起来 'I roused her up.' (see the example (4.9))	Spoken data: 团队把我弄得很崩溃 'The team made me very disappointed.' (see the example (4.43)) 把外面的包装做得非常简单 '(The team) made the packing simply.' (see the example (4.44)) 不觉得别人会把我认出来 'I don't think other people will recognize me.'

我**把**唱片放到盒子里 'I put the record into the box.' (see the example 4.(13)) 我**把**我的录音机给他了 'I gave him my tape recorder.' (see the example (4.15)) 瞬间就**把**帽子变成兔子 'Suddenly (he) changed the hat into a rabbit.' (see the example (4.20))	(see the example (4.48)) 我们慢慢的**把**所有的东西都集中到了音乐里面 'We slowly gathered all the stuff into the music.' (see the example (4.51)) 她全部**把**它翻成汉语 'She completely translated it into Chinese.' (see the example (4.55))
(b) Transitive BA-constructions with ASP ((NP1)-BA-NP2-V-ASP)	
Written data: 他**把**裤子洗了 'He washed his pants.' (see the example (4.26)) 你**把**书拿着 'Hold the book.' (see the example (4.32))	Spoken data: **把**唱片发完了 '(She) released the record.' (see the example (4.57)) 我的助手**把**我抱着 'My assistant hold me.' (see the example (4.61))
(c) Transitive BA-construction with preverbal ADV ((NP1)-BA-NP2-ADV-V)	
Written data: 你总**把**音调往高扯 'You always pull the tone upward.' (see the example (4.34)) 他**把**吉他使劲一摔 'He forcefully thrown the guitar.' (see the example (4.35))	There is no such kind of BA-constructions in the spoken data.
B. Intransitive BA-constructions (Ø-BA-S-V/VP/ T-BA-S-V/VP)	
Written data: **把**大家都笑了 'All the people laughed.' (see the example (4.36)) **把**眼睛哭肿了 'His eyes turned swollen.' (see the example (4.39)) 她**把**衣服都淋湿了 'Her clothes were all wet.' (see the example (4.40))	There is no such kind of BA-constructions in the spoken data.

3.3.3 Data Coding

After the defining the categorizations of BA-constructions, each BA-construction was coded in terms of ten transitivity properties proposed by Hopper and Thompson (1980). The degree of transitivity has been decided by how many transitivity components features can be met in the given clause. Thus, the researcher considers high transitivity of BA-constructions as clauses which have at least five high transitivity features in the parameters listed in the above Table 1 at page 53. On the contrary, low transitivity BA-constructions are those which contain fewer than five high transitivity features. The data was coded in (3.12).

Written data: (3.12)

我	就	**把**	歌	唱	好
wo	jiu	**BA**	ge	chang	hao
I	then	**BA**	song	sing	well

'I sung the song well.'

Example (3.12) is two participants, an action, telic, volitional, affirmative, realis, high in potency, the object totally affected and highly individuated.

The spoken data used in this study are about six minute excerpts from long recordings. An example of how to code data is shown in the following; the morpheme BA will be bold in the recorded text. The subject of talk is how the guest described her music career with the host in the TV talk show program.

Recording:

G1:

然后	等到	那	种	幻视	幻听	效果	出现	的	时候
ranhou	dengdao	na	zhong	huanshi	huanting	xiaoguo	chuxian	de	shihou
then	wait	that	CL	heteroptics	acousma	effect	appear	ASSOC	moment

'then when there is a sign of the hallucinations'

我　　突然间　发现　我 会 有　旋律　　[出来]

wo　turanjian faxian wo hui you xuanlv　[chu lai]

I　　suddenly find　I　will have melody [come out]

'then I can write the meldoy.'

H: [然后　你]　　怎么 **把**　它 扑捉　　下来　　　呢

[ranhou ni]　zenme **BA** ta buzhuo　xialai　　　ne

[then　you]　　how **BA** it catch　come down　question marker

'Then how do you catch the melody.'

G1: 录　　　下来　　就 拿 那 个 我 那　时候　　笔记本电脑, 要是　在

lu　　　xialai　　jiu na zhe ge　wo　na　shihou bijibendiannao, yaoshi zai

record　come down then use that CL　I　that　time　　　laptop,　　if　　at

隔壁　　　　溜达　　　就　　拿　手机

gebi　　　liuda　　　jiu　na　shouji

next door　wandering　then　use　phone

'I use my laptop to record it, if I am staying at the next door, I will use my phone to record it.'

H: **把**　那　段　旋律　　哼　[下来]

BA　na　duan　xuanlv　heng　[xia lai]

BA　that　CL　melody　sing　[come down]

'(You) sing that melody.'

G1: [就]　很　简单 **把** 它 录　　下来　　就 音质　　特别　差

[jiu]　hen jiandan **BA** ta lv　　xia lai　　jiu yinzhi　tebie　cha

[then] very simple **BA**   it   record   down come   then quality   quite   worse

'Then (I) simply recorded it, but its quality is not very well. '

Spoken data: (3.13) 你   怎么   <u>把</u>   它   扑捉   下来   呢

ni   zenme   **BA**   ta   buzhuo   xia lai   ne

you   how   **BA**   it   catch   come down   question marker

'How do you catch the melody.'

Example (3.13) has two participants, an action, telic, volitional, is high in potency, and the object is totally affected and highly individuated.

Spoken data: (3.14) <u>把</u>   那   段   旋律   哼   下来

BA   na   duan   xuanlv   heng   xia lai

BA   that   CL   melody   sing   down come

'(You) sing that melody.'

(3.15) <u>把</u>   它   录   下来

BA   ta   lv   xia lai

BA   it   record   down come

'(I) recorded it.'

These two examples are actions, telic, affirmatives, realis, the object totally affected and highly individuated. The above examples clearly illustrate that BA-constructions in conversation do receive high degrees of transitivity. An analysis of BA-construction in terms of transitivity will be presented in the next chapter in greater detail.

3.3.4 Data Analysing

This study is to examine the universality of the transitivity predications across different

types of discourses and different languages. In order to arrive at a more convincing and reliable conclusion, qualitative analysis is applied into current research. Based on the three research questions, data will be analysed at three levels.

I. The first level is to analyse the BA-constructions shown in the written data. The researcher attempts to do the transitivity accounts for the BA-constructions that occur in the written discourse. The first level of analysis includes:

1). Identifying and selecting BA-constructions used in the written discourses.

2). Characterising BA-constructions based on their syntactic features.

3). Analysing various types of BA-constructions based on the theoretical framework proposed by Hopper and Thompson (1980). They considered the Mandarin BA-constructions were highly transitive constructions. Hopper and Thompson's view has been insisted by other linguists such as M. Wang (1987), Sun (1995) and Li (2001). Sun (1995) mentioned that BA can be seen as a "high transitivity marker" in the Mandarin BA-construction. In this level, the researcher will attempt to find out what are the degrees of transitivity of Mandarin BA-constructions which appear in newspapers articles?

II. The second level is to analyse BA-constructions presented in the spoken data. The analysis procedure of the spoken data is the same as the analysis of the written data.

1). Selecting BA-constructions.

2). Categorising BA-constructions based on their syntactic features.

3). Analysing BA-constructions within transitivity framework proposed by Hopper and Thompson (1980). In Thompson and Hopper's (2001) study, they believed that most of the clauses in English conversations were very low in transitivity. Their finding has

been corroborated by conversational studies on other languages, like Javanese (Ewing, 1999), Russian (Turk, 2000) and Persian (Mohsen and Ahmad, 2012). In the end of this level, the researcher attempts to find out what are the degrees of transitivity of Mandarin BA-constructions which appear in TV talk show conversations?

III. The third level attempts to answer the third question by comparing BA-constructions selected from written and spoken discourse to figure out if there are any differences between them in transitivity.

IV. The forth level attempts to analyse data with the notion of subjectivity proposed by Lyons (1977) to find out apart from the ten semantic factors proposed by Hopper and Thompson (1980), are there any other factors constrained in terms of transitivity.

3.4 Conclusion

This chapter has presented a brief discussion about the theoretical framework which is proposed by Hopper and Thompson (1980) and Thompson and Hopper (2001) and the methodology applied in this study. The following chapter will present the analyses of two types of data.

CHAPTER FOUR

ANALYSIS OF THE STUDY

4.1 Introduction

In this chapter the BA-construction will be analysed using Hopper and Thompson's (1980) parameters (see Table 1, Section 3.1). On the analysis, the BA-construction exhibits high transitivity and the certain restrictions on the BA-construction can be explained by this requirement (Hopper and Thompson, 1980; Li and Thompson, 1981; Sun, 1995). In the following section, we will see what are the degrees of transitivity of Mandarin BA-constructions appearing in newspaper articles and what are the degrees of transitivity of Mandarin BA-constructions appearing in talk shows. The verification of the transitivity degree rests on data-driven analyses on the construction level.

This chapter has the following two major sections: the analysis of BA-construction selected from the written discourse in terms of transitivity (4.1); the analysis of BA-construction selected from the spoken discourse in terms of transitivity (4.2). The researcher will use the transitivity parameters proposed by Hopper and Thompson (1980) (see Table 1, section 3.1) to investigate the transitivity degrees of BA-constructions selected from newspaper articles and TV talk shows.

4.2 BA-constructions from the Written Discourse

The on-line electronic musical newspaper articles contain a large number of BA-constructions. The analyses of the BA-constructions are mainly divided into two parts, namely the analyses of transitive BA-constructions and the analyses of

intransitive BA-constructions. Based on the various syntactic structures of transitive BA-constructions appearing in the written discourse, the transitive BA-constructions can be further categorized into three subtypes, whereas the intransitive BA-construction will be divided into two types based on the function of initial noun phrase in the BA-construction. In the end, the researcher will analyse the degrees of transitivity on different kinds of BA-constructions within the Hopper and Thompson's (1980) transitivity framework. First, this study will show what kinds of BA-constructions have been found in the written discourse.

4.2.1 Transitive BA-constructions

The BA-construction always has the form of "NP1+BA+NP2+V/VP" (L. Wang, 1947; Li and Thompson, 1981; Li, 1990, 2001; Liu, 2001). It has been widely noted in the previous studies (H. Wang, 1984; M. Wang, 1987; Liu, 1997; Li, 2001; Shi, 2002; Jing-Schmidt, 2005) that the NP2 is sensitive to a myriad of semantic and syntactic restrictions of the BA-construction. The transitive BA-construction refers to the transitive verb appearing in the construction. In the transitive BA-construction, the NP2 is the patient of the action denoted by the verb. The verb and the NP2 of the construction can form a verb-object combination. Under Hopper and Thompson's (1980) transitivity proposal, the morpheme BA is a marker of the semantic role of the patient in Mandarin. As a matter of fact, the transitive BA-construction is the most common form of the BA-construction. In this study, the categorizations of the transitive BA-constructions are based on their syntactic features. The transitive BA-constructions can be divided into three different subtypes: the transitive BA-constructions with post-verbal complements

((NP1)-BA-NP2-V-COM), the transitive BA-constructions with preverbal adverbials ((NP1)-BA-NP2-ADV-V), and the transitive BA-constructions with aspect markers ((NP1)-BA-NP2-V-ASP).

4.2.1.1 Transitive BA-constructions with Complements

4.2.1.1.1 BA-constructions with Resultative Complements

The BA-construction is theoretically to be formed with a 'heavy' predicate (Jing-Schmidt, 2005). The data shows that the BA-constructions are frequently observed with post-verbal complements. A BA-construction can be made acceptable by the addition of certain post-verbal complement. The complement is the linguistic material that signals the degree, result, direction, or destination of the action (Liu, 1997). The transitive BA-construction with complement is formed as a structure of (NP1)-BA-NP2-V-COM. The post-verbal complements of a transitive BA-construction come in four major forms as follows: resultatives (extentatives), directives, locatives, and aspect markers.

There are two subtypes of resultative complements appearing in the transitive BA-constructions. The first one consists of a simple adjective denoting the ending state of the event as a result of the action. These are 好 *hao* 'good, well' in 唱好 *chang hao* 'sing well' in (4.1), 收好 *shou hao* 'keep well' in (4.2), 干 *gan* 'dry' in 喝干 *he gan* 'drink drain' in (4.3), 清 qing 'clear' in 查清 *cha qing* 'investigate thoroughly' in (4.4).

(4.1) 我　　**把**　　歌　唱　　好

　　　wo　**BA**　ge　chang　hao

　　　NP1　**BA**　O　V　COM

I **BA** song sing well

'I sang the song well.'

(4.2) <u>把</u> 收据 收 <u>好</u>

BA shouju shou hao

BA receipt keep well

'Be careful to get the receipt.'

(4.3) 几 口 <u>把</u> 它 喝 <u>干</u>

ji kou **BA** ta he gan

several mouth **BA** it drink dry

'(She) drained it within a few mouthfuls.'

(4.4) 一定 <u>把</u> 这 件 事儿 查 <u>清</u>

yiding **BA** zhe jian shier cha qing

must **BA** this CL event investigate thoroughly

'This event must be investigated thoroughly.'

Example (4.1) features a BA-construction with an extentative complement 好 *hao* 'well' expressing the degree to which the action 唱 *chang* 'sing' performs. In Mandarin Chinese, extentatives are translated as 'to the degree that' that profiles the result of a particular action. It can be equally regarded as a resultative since the ending state of the object is being considered. The adjective 好 *hao* 'well' also appears in the example (4.2) which is denoting the end state of 收 *shou* 'keep' as a result of the action. The adjective 干 *gan* 'dry' associated with verb 喝 *he* 'drink' in (4.3) can be translated as 'drain'. In real effects, it signals the change in the state of affair. In (4.4), the adverbial 清 *qing* 'thoroughly' denotes the resulting state of the object 事儿 *shier* 'event' caused by the

action of 查 *cha* 'investigate'.

The above examples use the BA-construction with adjectives or adverbials to indicate the resultative state of the action or activity. The adjective or adverbial can be seen as the resultative complement in the post-verbal position of the construction. As previously mentioned, Hopper and Thompson (1980) considered the BA-construction as a construction that ranked high on the transitivity scale. They stated that the BA-constructions have the property of telicity. They linked BA-construction to the property of perfectivity; in their words, "the BA-construction required either a perfective particle or a phrase or clause specifying the conceptual boundary of the action" (1980, p. 275). In terms of terminology, 'perfective/imperfective' has been interchangeably used with 'telic/atelic'. It has to do with the way the speaker views the situation. Telic predicates "which specify an endpoint or a conceptual boundary" (Hopper and Thompson, 1980, p. 285) are higher in transitivity than atelic predicates.

In Mandarin, the definition boundedness is the same as telicity. Unlike in English, the boundedness or perfectivity of the events has no iconic grammatical marking in Mandarin. A bounded situation is a telic situation, a situation with an inherent terminal point or resultative state (Liu, 1997). To determine if an event is bounded, a Mandarin BA-construction should consider the entire predicate, including the aspect markers and additional complements. If an event or a situation is bounded on the basis of whether the terminal point or resultative state is treated as part of the meaning of the predicate (Liu, 1997, p. 14). In the above examples, the resultative states of the action are the part of the meaning of the predicates, which implies the constructions have been viewed from their endpoints. So the degrees of telicity are high in these BA-constructions.

Except the property of telicity, these BA-constructions also exhibit other different properties of the transitivity, such as, under the Hopper and Thompson's transitivity framework, the example (4.1) has two participants, while other examples only have one, because the NP1s in the constructions are omitted. It is obvious that agents personal pronouns, 我 *wo* 'I' in (4.1) acting volitional and with high potency. The verbs in these BA-constructions are no doubt action verbs show their dynamism.

The second subtype of resultative complement takes the morpheme 得 *de* in the BA-construction. The examples of complex resultative complements with overt markers 得 *de* in BA-constructions are provided in (4.5) –(4.7).

(4.5) <u>把</u>　步子　迈　<u>得</u>　更　大

　　　BA　buzi　mai　DE　geng　da

　　　BA　step　take　EXT　more　big

　　　'(We) took a further step.'

(4.6) <u>把</u>　声音　放　<u>得</u>　极　低

　　　BA　shengyin　fang　de　ji　di

　　　BA　voice　put　EXT　extremely　low

　　　'(He) dropped his voice so much.'

(4.7) <u>把</u>　家庭　照顾　<u>得</u>　特别　好

　　　BA　jiating　zhaogu　DE　tebie　hao

　　　BA　family　take care　EXT　especially　well

　　　'(He) took care of the family very well.'

In the example, the morpheme 得 *de* is attached to the main verb in the function of an overt resultative marker to introduce the following constituent as the resulting state

of the object caused by the action. Such as in (4.5), 得 *de* followed by an evaluative remark denotes the extent to which the action of taking step is carried out, which means the resultative states occurring after the action to bring them about has reached a certain extent. The action has thus reached its ultimate intensity and has a final point. The BA-construction with 得 *de* shows the telic property of the transitivity. The increase marker 更 *geng* 'more' in (4.5), the adverb 极 *ji* 'extremely' and 特别 *tebie* 'especially' in (4.6) and (4.7) are expressed the degree from the speaker's perspective, such as 极 *ji* 'extremely'. This signals the degree that is judged as exceeding what is expected to be ordinary. The decision is up to the person who judges.

4.2.1.1.2 BA-constructions with Directional Complements

Another type of complement in the transitive BA-construction is a directional complement. In dealing with directional suffixes, the researcher differentiates between 'single directive suffixes' and 'compound directive' suffixes on account of the assumption that the latter provide more information about the spatial and directional relationships involved in events than the former. A simple directive such as 上 *shang* literally 'up', 出 *chu* 'out' (see example (1) in Appendix A), while a compound directive such as 起来 *qi lai* literally means 'rise come' in (4.9), (4.10), 出来 *chu lai* literally means 'out come' in (4.11), 进来 *jin lai* literally means 'in come' (see example (2) in Appendix A), 上来 *shanglai* 'up come' (see example (3) in Appendix A), 过去 *guoqu* 'over go' (see example (4) in Appendix A).

(4.8) 她　**把**　门　　用力　　摔　　上

　　　ta　**BA**　men　yongli　shuai　shang

she **BA**   door   forcefully   slam   up

'She slammed the door.'

In the construction (4.8), the suffix 上 *shang* 'up' following the main verb 摔 *shuai* 'slam' signals the location in which the object 门 *men* 'door' ends up.

The directional complements to express the result of a location change, it can be physical or abstract. There is the directional expression 起来 *qi lai* 'rise come' in (4.9), (4.10). Compared with (4.9), a directional complement in (4.10) may denote a direction in a more abstract sense.

(4.9) 我 **把** 她 叫 <u>起来</u>

     wo **BA** ta jiao qi lai

     I **BA** her call rise come

     'I roused her up.'

(4.10) 能 **把** 忘记 的 一切 又 都 想 <u>起来</u>

     neng **BA** wangji de yiqie you dou xiang qi lai

     can **BA** forget ASSOC all again all think rise come

     '(I) can remember all that have been forgotten.'

In (4.9), the real event depicts the physical action of calling person to get up. The suffix 起来 *qi lai* 'rise come' in (4.9) refers to the upward direction of the physical movement, while the same suffix appearing in (4.10) can no longer be understood in terms of physical direction; it refers to something in a more abstract domain, namely the mental domain. The abstract directionality is to be perceived by the physical upward motion. So the suffix 起来 *qi lai* 'rise come' is used more abstractly in (4.10) than in (4.9).

(4.10) embodies two semantically contrasting events, forgetting everything and remembering that which has been forgotten, which are connected to each other by the additive adjunct 又 *you* 'again' and the BA-construction can be used to emphasize this semantic contrast. The additive adjunct 又 *you* 'again' markedly signals the extension of the emotion denoted by the BA-construction. In (4.10), the particle 来 *lai* 'come' expresses the speaker's awareness that what is being forgotten and recalled is close to the time of the utterance and remains in the speaker's immediate consciousness.

In Mandarin Chinese, the genitive suffix 的 *de* is added to personal pronouns and nouns to form possessives. So 忘记 *wangji* 'forget' cannot be seen as the verb, the real verb in the BA-construction is 想 *xiang* 'remember'. Here the verb 想 *xiang* 'think' is not highly dynamic in terms of the instantaneous exercising of physical force; this kind of mental verb can be observed in the BA-construction with low property of kinesis. Note that in (4.10), the adjective 一切 *yiqie* 'all' and adverb 都 *dou* 'all' are universal quantifiers. Since the amount of what has been forgotten being communicated is unknown and unobservable, a strict interpretation of the statement is unlikely. The two universal quantifiers co-occur to increase the intensity of the utterance denoted by the BA-construction. The modal verb 能 *neng* 'can' denoting that the event encoded by the BA-construction has conditional probability; its meaning is inherently emotive and non-factual.

(4.11)

不	敢	**把**	我的	车	开	出来	了
bu	gan	**BA**	wode	che	kai	chu lai	le
not	dare	**BA**	my	car	drive	out come	PERF

'(I) do not dare to drive my car.'

出来 *chu lai* 'come out' in (4.11) do not necessarily indicate the action of coming; it may simply an indicator of the direction of motion. The directional complement is also followed by the perfective aspect marker 了 *le* in the example (aspect marker will be discussed in detail in the section 4.2.1.2), which signals the change in the state of affairs. The (4.11) is a negative BA-construction, proving that the BA-construction is not restricted to affirmative use. According to Hopper and Thompson (1980), affirmative actions are more transitive than those actions which are negative. So the degree of affirmation in (4.11) is lower than in (4.9). Example (4.11) encodes that action of driving the car did not happen and the total effects on the object will take place. The negative BA-construction indicates irrealis, in other words, the degree of mode is low in the negative BA-construction.

However, the negative BA-construction is quite different with the negative SVO clause, since the negative word 不 *bu,* 别 *bie*, 没有 *meiyou* 'not' is not placed before the verb but before the morpheme BA. In addition, negation can be freely formed with the BA-construction in all moods to express negative messages such as perfective failure, predicated inability, unwillingness, and prohibitions (see examples (5), (6), (7), (8) in Appendix A).

In my view, directional complements may be subsumed under resultative complements. Directives not only signal directionality of physical movement and but also serve to signal change in the state of affairs as a result of the action communicated by the main verb. They also signal the speaker's expectation of the completion of the action or the boundedness of the event. For instance, the compound directives 下来 *xia lai* 'down come' and 下去 *xia qu* 'down go' in examples (9) and (10) of Appendix A

respectively indicate that the action of undressing is expected by the speaker to be completed and the completion fulfilled. Note that the verb 脱 *tuo* already has the inherent meaning of taking off or causing something to come off and suffix 下来 *xia lai* 'down come', translated into 'off' would be redundant if its only function were to add to the same sense of directional physical move. Both the expressions 脱下来 *tuo xia lai* and 脱下去 *tuo xia qu* are translated into 'take off', while the suffixes 来 *lai* 'come' and 去 *qu* 'go' serve to denote the speaker's point of view. However, consideration of the speaker's perspective in the representation of the events will enable one to understand why such events may still be compatible with the use of the BA-construction. Compound directives provide more information about the action being described than simple directives, as they signal not only the direction of the action but also the speaker's perspective. The fact that the speaker's perspective is involved in the description speaks to the speaker's special attention to the event in which the speaker is interested.

4.2.1.1.3 BA-constructions with Locative Complements

Examples of locative complements of BA-constructions are provided in (4.12) to (4.14). The locative BA-construction signals the motion of a NP2 operated by NP1, with the complement of position attached to the verb indicating the goal of the motion. It is manifested in the possibility of a post-verbal 在 *zai* 'in, at, on' or 到 *dao* 'to' locative phrase which expresses the goal of the action or the event, as in (4.12), (4.13).

(4.12) 洋洋   **把**   话筒   放   <u>在 了 桌子 上</u>

    Yangyang **BA** huatong   fang   zai le zhuozi shang

PN　　　　BA　microphone　put　at　PERF　desk　up

'Yangyang put the microphone on the desk.'

(4.13) 我　<u>**把**</u>　唱片　　　放　<u>到　盒子　里</u>

wo　**BA**　changpian　fang　dao　hezi　li

I　**BA**　record　　put　to　box　in

'I put the record into the box.'

Example (4.12) indicates that the object 话筒 *huatong* 'microphone' has been physically moved to the desk; this sense of motion can be expressed by the English preposition *on*. In (4.13), the object 唱片*changpian* 'record' has been moved to the box, the movement can be translated by the English preposition *to*. More action and punctual verbs are used in this kind of BA-construction such as 放 *fang* 'put', 贴 tie 'post' (see examples (11) and (12) in Appendix A). An example of a physical action in a locative BA-construction is provided in (4.13), and an example of an abstract motion in a BA-construction is provided in (4.14).

(4.14) 我　早　<u>**把**</u>　那　　事儿　扔　<u>到　脑　后　了</u>

wo　zao　**BA**　na　shier　reng　dao　nao　hou　le

I　early　**BA**　that　matter　toss　to　brain　back　PERF

'I clean forgot about it.'

The literally expression of (4.14) is I early tossed that matter to the back of the brain. Compared with the physical action expressed by the above examples, the interpretation of (4.14) is more abstract.

4.2.1.1.4 BA-constructions with the Double Object Complements

Examples (4.15) and (4.16) have been observed to contain two objects on each side of the verb. (4.15) shows that it is possible to find a post-verbal complement in a BA-construction which is simply an indirect object of the verb.

(4.15) 我 <u>把</u> 我的 录音机 <u>给</u> 他 了

　　　wo **BA** wode luyinji gei ta le

　　　I **BA** my tape recorder give he PERF

　　　'I gave him my tape recorder.'

In (4.15), besides the semantic roles of agent and patient, this type of BA-construction owes a recipient in the construction. In this case, the construction is capable of having three participants, namely an agent 我 *wo* 'I', a direct object 录音机 *luyinji* 'my recorder' and a post-verbal object 他 *ta* 'he' as the recipient of the direct object affected by the action of giving. The most frequently co-occurring elements with BA-constructions are verbs 给 *gei* 'give', sometimes are other verbs combined with 给 *gei* 'give' such as 拿给 *na gei* 'take to' in (4.16), 让给 *rang gei* 'give to' in (4.17)，带给 *dai gei* 'bring to' , 教给 *jiao gei* 'teach to', 介绍给 *jieshao gei* 'introduce to' in examples (13), (14), (15) of Appendix A respectively. In these cases, the morpheme 给 *gei* 'give' as a recipient marker.

(4.16) <u>把</u> 这 个 <u>拿 给</u> 我

　　　BA zhe ge na gei wo

　　　BA this CL bring to I

　　　'(You) bring it to me.'

(4.17) 宋阳　　**把**　　机会　　让　给　　林夕

　　　Songyang　**BA**　jihui　rang　gei　Linxi

　　　PN　　　**BA**　chance　give up　to　PN

　　　'Songyang gave her chance to Linxi'

In (4.16) and (4.17), the verbs 拿给 *na gei* 'take to', 让给 *rang gei* 'give to' can show their strong dynamism but weak punctuality, since they involve a series of actions that are distributed over time. The researcher considers that the recipient of an object can be considered as the result of the action imposed upon the object. Constructions with a recipient complement is counted as resultative construction. Except the verb 给 *gei* 'give', the verb 告诉 *gaosu* 'tell' is typically associated with three participants which also appear in the BA-construction, an example is provided in (4.18).

(4.18) 我　**把**　决定　　告诉　了　　周围　　的　　朋友

　　　wo　**BA**　jueding　gaosu　le　zhouwei　de　pengyou

　　　I　**BA**　decision　tell　PERF surround　ASSOC　friends

　　　'I told the decision to my friends.'

Besides as a recipient, the post-verbal object can also be a direct object of the verb in the construction, an example is provided in (4.19). In this case, the NP2 and the post-verbal object become a part-whole relationship in the BA-construction.

(4.19) 月亮　　**把**　太阳　只　遮住　一　个　小　　边

　　　yueliang **BA**　taiyang　zhi　zhezhu　yi　ge　xiao　bian

　　　moon　　**BA**　sun　　only　cover　one　CL small　side

　　　'The sun covered a small side of the moon.'

Strictly speaking, the direct object of the verb 遮住 *zhezhu* 'cover' in (4.19) is not

the NP2 太阳 *tai yang* 'sun' but the post-verbal object 一个小边 *yi ge xiao bian* 'a small side of', which refers to the partial of the NP2 太阳 *tai yang* 'the sun'. The NP2 and the post-verbal object is a part-whole relationship. This type of BA-construction is different from the BA-construction which has been previously discussed. With the feature of high transitivity, the construction describes the particular action made upon its object or a high degree of affectedness of the verb exerted upon the object (L. Wang 1945; Chao 1968; Hashimoto 1971; Thompson 1973; Li, 1974; Li and Thompson 1981; H. Wang 1984; M. Wang 1987; Tiee 1990). In other words, the direct object of the BA-construction has been highly affected. According to object parameter proposed by Hopper and Thompson (1980), the more the object is affected, the more transitive the clause is. If the object is not totally affected, low transitivity is registered. The direct objects of BA-constructions have been completely affected in most cases, but in this case, in the my view the object of the BA-construction is not totally but only partially affected by the action, since the affected object is the post-verbal object which refers to part of the NP2. So (4.19) receives a lower degree on the object. And the additive adjunct 只*zhi* 'only' in (4.19) which implies the direct object deserving pragmatic attention from the speaker's perspective.

Most of the NP1s of BA-constructions found in the prior examples refer to the human such as the pronoun 我 *wo* 'I' in (4.18) or proper pronoun 宋阳 *Songyang* 'PN' in (4.17), while the NP1 月亮 *yueliang* 'the moon' of (4.19) is different, it is non-human. There is a parameter agency associated with the subject of the construction (see Table 1, section, 3.1), Hopper and Thompson's study (1980) did not discuss the property of agency in detail. Actually, the degree of agency is subject to or determined

by an Animacy hierarchy. According to Aissen (2003), Animacy Hierarchy is represented as human > animate nonhuman > inanimate. In Animacy Hierarchy, generally speaking, categories higher in the hierarchy are more animate or agency, an categories low in the hierarchy are less animate or agency. The data displays that in most cases, the NP1s of the BA-constructions are agents presented by the personal pronoun or proper pronoun, so the most of NP1s in the BA-constructions are animates, which behave high degree of potency. On the contrary, NP1s such as 月亮 *yueliang* 'the moon' in (4.19) or the natural force 风 *feng* 'the wind' in example (16) of Appendix A are inanimate, with a low degree of agency.

In the following example, the post-verbal object in the BA-construction as a referent perceived by the speaker undergoes a transformation described by the verb, in other words, the NP1 undergoes transformation to become the post-verbal object in the construction. In this case, the verb denotes change, such as 变成 *bian cheng* 'change into' in (4.20).

(4.20) 瞬间　　　就　**把**　帽子　　变成　　　兔子

shuanjian　jiu　**BA**　maozi　　bian cheng　tuzi

suddenly　just　**BA**　hat　　　change into　rabbit

'Suddenly (he) changed the hat into a rabbit.'

The situation perceived by the speaker is that the NP2 帽子 *maozi* 'hat' undergoes a transformation to become the 兔子 *tuzi* 'rabbit' in the construction. The transformation can be either visible in the physical world like (4.20) or invisible in the mental domain like (4.21) and (4.22). The verbs 当作 *dang zuo* 'take as' or 比作 *bi zuo* 'regard as' signal the change under the transformations.

(4.21) 你　须　**把**　困难　　<u>当作</u>　　动力

　　　 ni　 xu　**BA**　kunnan　dang zuo　dongli

　　　 you　must　**BA**　difficulties　take as　motivation

　　　'You have to take difficulty as motivation.'

(4.22) 她　**把**　男高音　　<u>比作</u>　　大熊猫

　　　 ta　 BA　nangaoyin　bi zuo　 daxiongmao

　　　 she　BA　tenor　　　treat as　panda

　　　'She treated tenor the as a panda.'

The example (4.21) contains a modal verb 须 *xu*. It is translated here into 'have to' under the given circumstance. The sense of necessity is conveyed by the modal verb 须 *xu* 'must' before the morpheme BA, the speaker expresses his personal understanding of the necessity to do the things encoded by the BA-construction. The transformation in (4.22) is metaphorically formulated. In the above examples, the post-verbal object in the BA-construction as a referent perceived by the speaker undergoes a transformation as a result of the activity described by the verb. This kind of BA-construction is the compulsive BA-construction, it cannot be expressed by other construction. The researcher considers that the complement referring to the recipient or the partitive direct object or the transform of an object can be considered either as the final location of the transferred object or as the result of the action imposed upon the object.

4.2.1.1.5 BA-constructions with the Other Post-verbal Complements

There are other expressions that commonly serve as post-verbal complements, such as a duration or frequency phrase. Two examples are provided in the following, (4.23)

contains a duration phrase and (4.24) contains a frequency phrase.

(4.23) 你　**把**　这　个　再　看　一　下

ni　**BA**　zhe　ge　zai　kan　yi　xia

you　**BA**　this　CL　again　watch　one　down

'You watch it for a while.'

(4.24) 你　应该　**把**　它　再　唱　十　遍

ni　yinggai　**BA**　ta　zai　chang　shi　bian

you　should　**BA**　it　again　sing　ten　times

'You should sing it ten times.'

The NP2 in (4.23) is a deixis in the form of demonstrative 这 *zhe* 'this' in conjunction with a proper classifier 个 *ge* in the BA-construction, while in (4.24) the NP2 is the personal pronoun 它 *ta* 'it'. Both the NP2s can be translated into 'it' in the constructions. They are considered specific, since both the speaker and the hearer know which particular entity they refer to. The presence of the verbal quantifier 下 *xia* 'down' in (4.23) signals that the quantification of the action rather than its dynamism is at issue. The modal verb 要 *yao* 'should' in (4.24) conveys a demand from the speaker's emotional perspective. Because the existence of the modal, the action of (4.24) has not been carried out, the event denoted by the BA-construction becomes unrealis.

In brief, the post-verbal complement is as a result expression, which in fact is the most commonly found example for the BA-construction, and resultative complements signal change and make the event being communicated visible and noteworthy. Based on Hopper and Thompson's (1980) frameworks, BA-constructions with resultative complements are the high transitive BA-constructions. In the above examples, there are

always some kind of verbal complements in the BA-constructions. By specifying the aspect values of the action or activity denoted by the predicate, a post-verbal complement not only signals that a change of state is at issue, but also contributes to the depiction of the change from speaker's perspective or with his own attitude.

4.2.1.2 Transitive BA-constructions with Aspect Markers

The second type of transitive BA-constructions whose VPs only required an aspect marker after the verb, formed as the structure of (NP1)-BA-O-V-ASP. Chao (1968) and L. Wang (1980), among others, noted that the minimum addition to the main verb of a BA-construction is an aspect marker. Sybesma (1999) following Chu (1978) called this subtype of BA-construction "the bare BA-constructions" and analysed them "as containing empty post-verbal constituents". The aspect markers are not dummy items, rather, they signal how the speaker views the event being described. Mandarin has a number of aspect suffixes of varying stages of grammaticalization. Hopper and Thompson (1980) indicated that the BA-constructions required more perfective described event. The most commonly observed to co-occur with the BA-construction is the perfective aspect marker 了 *le*. Three examples of BA-constructions with aspect markers 了 *le* are provided in (4.25) – (4.27).

(4.25) 他　**把**　鸟　　放　　**了**

　　　　ta　**BA**　niao　fang　le

　　　　he　**BA**　bird　release　PERF

　　　　'He released the bird.'

(4.26) 他　　**把**　　裤子　　洗　　了

　　　　ta　　**BA**　　kuzi　　xi　　le

　　　　he　　**BA**　　pants　　wash　　PERF

　　　　'He washed his pants.'

(4.27) 我　　**把**　　他　　打　　了

　　　　wo　　**BA**　　ta　　da　　le

　　　　I　　**BA**　　he　　hit　　PERF

　　　　'I hit him.'

All the verbs in the above BA-constructions are dynamic verbs that denote physical force. L. Wang (1945) interpreted that these verbs have the special disposal meaning in order to make an appropriately grammatical BA-construction. In the data, different verbs may have different strengths of disposal. A verb like, 放 *fang* 'release' in (4.25), 洗 *xi* 'wash' in (4.26), 打*da* 'hit' in (4.27), it is easier to have an interpretation according to which its object is affected by the releasing, washing and hitting, these verbs can be interpreted by a stronger disposal meaning. In contrast, for a verb like 想 *xiang* 'think' in the prior example (4.10), it is harder to have such an interpretation, it interprets much weaker disposal meaning. The former, those verbs stronger in disposal interpretation, generally just need a perfective aspect marker 了 *le* to indicate that the action is carried out and the effect is inflicted on its object. That is, the verb appearing a in BA-construction with the simple perfective aspect marker 了*le* is higher in transitivity. The latter, those low in transitivity and weak in disposal meaning such as stative verbs (了解 *liaojie* 'understand' in example (19) of Appendix A, 认识 *renshi* 'know' in example (20) of Appendix A) generally are more difficult to make into a grammatical

BA-construction, they need the help of resultative complements. It would appear that the disposal BA-construction may high in transitivity.

The above examples are the same kind of BA-construction which Hopper and Thompson (1980) discussed in their study. They refer the BA-construction as having the effect of fronting the object (p. 274). Because a NP2 is simply the object of a verb, it is quite common for a NP2 to correspond to the direct object of the verb in its standard SVO construction. Sybesma (1999) regarded the BA-construction and its standard SVO construction as synonymous. It may be true that almost every BA-construction has a counterpart without BA, but it is not correct to say that the two have the same meaning. An example of BA-construction is provided in (28), while an example of standard SVO construction is provided in (4.29).

(4.28) 我 **把** 钥匙 丢 了

     wo **BA** yaoshi diu le

     I **BA** key lost PERF

     'I lost the key.'

(4.29) 我 丢 了 钥匙

     wo diu le yaoshi

     I lost PERF key

     'I lost the key.'

The example (4.28) and (4.29) not only differ in the presence or absence of the morpheme BA and word order also the referential of the NP2 钥匙 *yaoshi* 'key'. It has been noticed cross-linguistically that the NP appearing before the VP in a delimited event always has a specific or definite reading after they have moved out of the original position.

It has been recognized in the literature on BA-construction that a NP2 normally refers to a specific entity in contrast to its standard SVO construction (Mei, 1990; Sun, 1997; Sybesma, 1999). As stated in the transitivity parameters of Hopper and Thompson (1980), a clause is highly transitive if the object is highly individuated. By individuation, it means that the entity is considered to be a concrete, distinct and particularized entity. Two discourse factors indicated such individuation, namely definiteness and referentiality. The term definiteness is hearer-oriented. According to Chafe (1976), definiteness pertains to the speaker's assumption of the identifiability of the referent on the hearer's apart. A referent is categorized as definite when the speaker assumes that the hearer already knows and is able to identify the referent the speaker is talking about. Here the entity NP2 钥匙 *yaoshi* 'key' in (4.28) is definite, since both speaker and listener have the same entity in their mind, while it is ambiguous in (4.29). It can either have a definite feature or not. The (4.28) is more transitive than (4.29). So the BA-construction is more transitive than the standard SVO construction.

The entity 他 *ta* 'he' in (4.27) has a specific reading because the speaker is introducing a personal pronoun, one which is part of the present reality and with which the speaker has mental contact, although this entity is not yet identifiable to the hearer. The speaker has the referent of the entity in mind and the hearer is able to infer that the speaker is talking about the same entity as in the previous utterance. The data exhibits that the definiteness of the NP2 though not obligatory, is an intimate correlate of the BA-construction. In the data, the NP2 may or may not always be definite, but it is in any case specific.

The aspect marker 了 *le* signals how the speaker views the event being described,

and the presence or absence of the aspect suffix is not the single criterion by which the telicity of a BA-construction is judged. The verbal complements that are used as part of the predicate can also specify aspect value, an example is provided in (4.30).

(4.30) 把　你　打　死

BA　ni　da　si

BA　you　hit　die

'(He) hit you dead.'

Xu (2006) mentioned that the aspect markers can be co-occurred with other kinds of complements to form complex post-verbal complements, an example is provided in (4.31). In the prior examples, we can see the aspect marker with the directive complement, recall (4.11), with the locative complement, recall (4.12), or with second object complement, recall (4.15).

(4.31) 李成　为　我　把　瓶子　打　开　了

Licheng　wei　wo　BA　pingzi　da　kai　le

PN　for　I　BA　bottle　hit　open　PERF

'Licheng opened the bottle for me.'

In (4.31), the aspect marker 了 *le* co-occurred with a resultative complement 开 *kai* 'open'. The appearance of 了 *le* is to increase the intensity of aspect. It helps the event denoted by the BA-construction become more grammatical and transitive.

Mandarin has a number of aspect markers on varying stages of grammaticalization. Although many BA-constructions are in perfective aspect markers, some BA-constructions do not need to be given in the perfective aspect. An example of a BA-construction with an imperfective marker is provided in (4.32).

(4.32) 你　　**把**　　书　　　拿　　**着**

ni　　**BA**　shu　　na　　zhe

you　**BA**　book　hold　DUR

'Hold the book.'

In (4.32), the imperfective marker 着 *zhe* is associated with the verb 拿 *na* 'hold' in the construction. In the discourse, it describes as a request for the addressee to take up a book and hold it which can be interpreted as an imperative. Then the (4.32) is irrealis mood, exhibits low degree of transitivity.

4.2.1.3 Transitive BA-constructions with Preverbal Adverbial

The overwhelming majority of all verbal modifier units found in the BA-constructions are post-verbal, and only a small number are preverbal. Almost any type of components that may occur in the post-verbal position and the preverbal component can be an adverb or a PP pre-verbally in the BA-construction. In the structure of (NP1)-BA-NP2-ADV-V, where the adverb is inserted between the NP2 and the verb, then verb itself is pushed to the end of the BA-construction. Two examples of BA-constructions with adverbs are provided in (4.33) and (4.34).

(4.33) 我　**把**　　音调　　往下　　　压

wo　**BA**　yindiao　wangxia　ya

I　**BA**　tone　downward　press

'I reduced the tone.'

(4.34) 你　　总　　**把**　音调　　往高　　　扯

ni　　zong　**BA**　yindiao　wanggao　che

you   always   **BA**   tone   upward   pull

'You always pull the tone upward.'

In (4.33) and (4.34), the verbs are pushed to the end of the constructions and both of them have directive elements as their preverbal modifiers. It is 往下 *wang xia*, which literally translates to 'toward down', meaning 'downward' in (4.33) and 往高 *wang gao*, literally means 'toward high', can be translating to 'upward' in (4.34). The preverbal directive modifier in (4.33) or (4.34) which signals the direction and dynamism of the action carried out by the verb. Both constructions describe the dynamic manipulation of an object with marked trajectory of motion. In this case, the preverbal directive modifier is indispensable to the grammaticality of the BA-construction that possesses no post-verbal modifiers. For example, the construction (4.33) would be odd without the directive modifier. It seems that the removal of the directive modifier immediately causes a failure to direct or relieve the energy and dynamic generated by the BA-construction. Given that directionality of action introduced preverbally predicts change in the unfolding event as a result of the action. In this sense, preverbal element is viewed as a verbal modifier or a part of predication core. The preverbal adverbial signals the dynamism of the action, which is characterized by Hopper and Thomson's (1980) kinetic force. In (4.34), there is adverb 总 *zong* 'always' in the construction, which implies that it is possible to use the BA-construction to describe habitual events under favorable circumstances.

Another type of preverbal modifier is the preverbal numeral 一 *yi* 'one' in the BA-construction. An example of a BA-construction with preverbal numeral 一 *yi* 'one' is provided in (4.35). This modifier here does not signal the literal quantity of action in

the prior example (4.23), but rather defines the punctuality of motion.

(4.35) 他　　**把**　吉他　　使劲　　一　　摔

ta　　**BA**　jita　　shijin　　yi　　shuai

he　　**BA**　guitar　forcefully　one　break

'He forcefully tossed the guitar away.'

The preverbal numeral 一 *yi* 'one' in (4.35) is functionally different from the post-verbal quantifier in prior example (4.23). With the numeral 一 *yi* 'one' in (4.35), it expresses the suddenness and swiftness with which the action takes place. As Hopper and Thompson's sense, it reflects the property of punctuality. This example shows that the preverbal numeral 一 *yi* 'one' is used to feature the dynamism and punctuality of the action. The structure of 一+ V *yi+V* 'one+V' in the BA-construction is associated with the property of dynamism and punctuality. The above examples show that preverbal modifiers are subject to the particular semantic constraint of dynamism characterized by the suddenness of action or directionally traceable movement.

According to the data, there is always some kind of verbal modifier in a BA-construction. The overwhelming majority of all verbal modifier units found in the BA-constructions are post-verbal and only a few are preverbal. The preverbal verbal modifiers possess minimal linguistic substance while post-verbal complements are substantially more sizable and freer to expand. The formal limitations typical of preverbal verbal modifiers determine their relatively low descriptiveness in comparison to post-verbal complements that allow maximal complementing information about the events.

4.2.2 Intransitive BA-constructions

In all of the above in the transitive BA-construction section, verbs are transitive and the NP2s function like the objects of verbs. In fact, the intransitive verbs may present in the BA-construction. In this case, the event being communicated is intransitive, or "un-accusative" to use Sybesma's term (1999, p. 138). Hopper and Thompson (1980) have indicated that there must be two participants, an agent and an object for the transfer of action to take place. They considered the parameter of two participants as a basic condition of the transitivity. However, the real discourse data shows that the intransitive verb which only takes one participant appear in the BA-construction. Due to the presence of the intransitive verb, the intransitive BA-construction only assigns one participant. But the one-participant construction does not mean a intransitive BA-construction, since the NP1 in the BA-construction is omittable and is typically omitted by virtue of co-reference, per the example of (4.2), (4.3), (4.4), among others.

The following examples lack NP1s in the initial position of the construction. The syntactic structure of this kind of BA-construction is characterized as Ø-BA-NP2-V/VP. Here the NP2 are more likely a subject of the predicate. The data shows that the intransitive BA-construction commonly is accompanied by the aspect marker 了 *le*. Three examples of intransitive BA-constructions with aspect markers 了 *le* are provided in (4.36) – (4.38).

(4.36) 把　　大家　　都　　笑　　了

     BA　dajia　dou　xiao　le

     BA　NP　　　　VP

     BA　people　all　laugh　PERF

'All the people laughed.'

(4.37) 把　　帽子　　掉　　了

BA　maozi　diao　le

BA　hat　drop　PERF

'My hat dropped.'

(4.38) 把　　头发　　散　　开

BA　douta　san　kai

BA　hair　untie　open

'My hair untied.'

The above BA-constructions are all in the form of Ø-BA-S-V/VP. They encode one-participant events, namely 'all the people laughed', 'my hat dropped' and 'my hair untied'. In this case, the morpheme BA is not indispensable to the grammaticality of the construction. (4.36), (4.37) and (4.38) are still grammatical without the morpheme BA. Sometimes the intransitive BA-construction can be used in a causative circumstance, an example is provided in (4.39).

(4.39) 把　　眼睛　　哭　　肿　　了

BA　yanjing　ku　zhong　le

BA　eye　cry　swollen　PERF

'His eyes turned swollen as a result of crying.'

The NP2 眼睛 *yanjing* 'eyes' of (4.39) is definite body-part noun behave as the logical subject of the intransitive verb, 哭 *ku* 'cry'. The intransitive verbs in the sense that they do not normally take objects on their own. One does not say 哭眼睛 *ku yanjing* 'cry eyes' as it is ungrammatical in Mandarin. Yet, with the help of the

following resultative complement, the entire VP can take an object, such as 哭肿了眼睛 *ku zhong le yanjing*. This BA-construction seems to be a good example explaining that an intransitive verb followed by a resultative complement can make a grammatical BA-construction, with the NP2 interpreted as the subject of the resultative complement. L. Wang (1980, p.414) stated that the intransitive BA-construction usually recognized as an unpleasant event described by this construction. The events are judged by their human experiences to be either pleasant or unpleasant. According to the context, (4.39) describes the unexpected event from speaker's perspective, which is non-volition semantic scenario.

Li and Thompson (1976, p. 476) claimed that Mandarin Chinese is a topic-prominent language as opposed to a subject-prominent language. That is, the NP1 of the sentence is not confined to the grammatical case of nominative, which is normally identified as the agent of the event. In view of transitive BA-construction circumstance, the NP1 of the construction is the subject. Normally this subject is indeed the agent that performs the action denoted by the verb. However, this is not absolute. Sometimes the subject does not coincide with the agent role, which is when the subject is the one experiencing an event. In comparison to the transitive BA-constructions, the NP1 of this kind of intransitive BA-construction has to be considered as a topic of the sentence and engaged no "participation" in the event being represented, this kind of BA-construction can be formed into T-NP2-V/VP. An example of a BA-construction with a topic is provided in (4.40)

(4.40) 她 **把** 衣服 都 淋 湿 了

　　　 ta **BA** yifu dou lin shi le

	T	**BA**	S		VP		
	she	BA	clothes	all	sprinkle	wet	PERF

'Her clothes were all wet.'

If 她 *ta* 'she' was the subject of the BA-construction, the inference would be that 'she sprinkled the clothes wet', which does not make sense. The only logical subject if any has to be the rain, which is however not formally featured in the BA-construction. The intransitive BA-constructions associated with the morpheme 得 *de* also commonly observed in the data. An example of an intransitive BA-construction with a morpheme 得 *de* is provided in (4.41).

(4.41)	他	差点	就	**把**	我	气	得	半	死
	ta	chadian	jiu	**BA**	wo	qi	de	ban	si
	he	almost	then	**BA**	me	angry	EXT	half	die

'I'm angry to death.'

In (4.41), the BA-construction takes a simple resultative complement 半死 *ban si* 'half dead' to exaggerate the degree of the action of 气 *qi* 'angry'. The adverbial 就 *jiu* 'then' before morpheme BA reflects the speaker's dislike affect. The adverb 差点 *cha dian* 'almost' means the event did not happen in the reality. In the written data, the intransitive BA-constructions are much less frequent than the transitive BA-constructions.

4.3 BA-constructions from the Spoken Discourse

The spoken conversations in the TV talk show reflect the real informal language used in Mandarin, the conversations are spontaneous dialogues between the host and the guests

because the topics of their conversations are not determined beforehand, which is similar to the language material used in Thompson and Hopper (2001)'s paper. In context, the spoken data used in this study are around six minute-long excerpts from long recordings. The eight recorded conversations will be presented to demonstrate analysis of transitivity of BA-constructions in spoken discourse; completed transcription conversations are seen in the Appendix B. The theme of conversations is about the guest's new album. She has recently released her new album, in the conversations, the topics are surrounded by the guest's musical career and her life between the host and the guest.

4.3.1 Transitive BA-constructions

The data show that the spoken BA-constructions do not have as many types as the written BA-constructions. According to the data, firstly the transitive BA-construction with post-verbal complement can also be found in the spoken discourse. The spoken data shows that the transitive BA-constructions are commonly accompanied by complements. The post-verbal complements in the BA-construction includes resultatives, directives, recipients, and aspect markers. An example of a transitive BA-construction with a resultative complement in the recording conversation is provided in (4.42).

(4.42) 我　　要　　**把**　　这　个　　东西　　拍　　好　　了

wo　yao　**BA**　zhe　ge　dongxi　pai　hao　le

I　would like **BA**　this　CL　thing　shoot　well　PERF

'I would like to shoot it well.'

Example (4.42) features a BA-construction with an adjective complement 好 *hao* 'well' expressing the degree to which the action 拍 *pai* 'shoot' performs. So, (4.42) has been viewed from its endpoint. It seems the adjective 好 *hao* 'good, well' is very commonly observed in the BA-construction. It appeared both in the written data and spoken data. To measure the degree of individuation on the object, the appearance of a deixis in the form of demonstrative 这 *zhe* 'this' in conjunction with proper classifier 个 *ge* in the construction, which helps the object receive a definite reading in the discourse. The modal verb 要 *yao* 'would like' in the construction conveys a wish or a desire from the speaker's emotional perspective. Due to the existence of the modal, the action of (4.42) has not been carried out, the event denoted by the BA-construction becomes unrealis.

The more complex resultative complements with overt marker 得 *de* which observed in the written transitive BA-construction also appear in the spoken transitive BA-construction, examples are provided in (4.43) and (4.44).

(4.43) 团队 **把** 我 弄 得 很 崩溃

      tuandui **BA** wo nong de hen bengkui

      team **BA** I made EXT very breakdown

      'The team made me very disappointed.'

(4.44) **把** 外面 的 包装 做 得 非常 简单

      BA waimian de baozhuang zuo de feichang jiandan

      BA outside ASSOC packing make EXT very simple

      '(The team) made the packing simple.'

In examples (4.43) and (4.44), the verbal suffix 得 *de* is attached to the main verb

in the function of an overt resultative marker to introduce the following constituent 崩溃 *bengkui* 'breakdown' in (4.43), 简单 *jiandan* 'simple' in (4.44), respectively, as the resulting state of the object caused by the action encoded by the main verb. Actually, both of BA-constructions have the same subject, which are the agent 团队 *tuandui* 'the team' with high potency. The difference is that the subject appears in (4.43) but has been omitted by virtue of co-reference in (4.44). In this sense, the (4.43) has the high degree of agency, while (4.44) has low degree of agency. The modifiers 很 *hen* in (4.43) and 非常 *feichang* in (4.44) can be translated into 'very' to further increase the degree of intensity in BA-constructions. The genitive suffix 的 *de* is added to nouns to form possessives in (4.44), which indicates that the object in the construction is highly individuated. An example of a BA-construction with a resultative complement is provided in (4.45).

(4.45) 把   自己   化   得   特别   丑

BA   ziji   hua   de   tebie   chou

BA   SELF   make up   EXT   especially   ugly

'Your makeup is very ugly.'

Example (4.45) is with a resultative complement 特别丑 *tebie chou* 'especially ugly'. The adverb 特别 *tebie* 'especially' demonstrates the speaker's ironic attitude. The discourse environment selects the (4.45) to support the speaker's evaluation from her own perspective. The object 自己 *ziji* 'self' is a reflexive in the Mandarin Chinese. As to the individuation of thce object, Hopper and Thompson (1980, p.277) stated that the properties of reflexives can be explained by appealing to their intermediate status between one-argument and two-argument clauses. Compared with one-argument clauses,

they may be more transitive; compared with two-argument clauses, they typically display features associated with less transitive. So, the object 自己 *ziji* 'self' in (4.45) is low in the degree of individuation of the transitivity.

The transitive BA-construction with a directional complement has been observed in the spoken discourse. Both the single directive suffixes and compound directive suffixes can be found in the spoken BA-construction. Examples of BA-constructions with directive suffixes are provided in (4.46) – (4.50). A single directive suffix 上 *shang* literally translated as 'up' is in (4.46). The compound directive suffixes, 出来 *chu lai* 'come out' is (4.47) and (4.48), 下来 *xia lai* 'down come' is in (4.48), 回去 *hui qu* 'back go' is in (4.50).

(4.46) 我　　**把**　下　个　　月　　　的　　　也　　算　　　上

　　　　wo　**BA**　xia　ge　yue　　de　　ye　suan　shang

　　　　I　　**BA**　next　CL　month　ASSOC　also　count　up

　　　　'I also counted the next month in.'

In (4.46), the directional suffix 上 *shang,* literally 'up', denotes a direction in a more abstract sense. The object with modifier 下个月 *xia ge yue* 'next month' represents a definite set, whose identifiability is assured by the speaker.

(4.47) 突然　　**把**　以前　很多　年　不　见　的　　朋友

　　　　turan　**BA**　yiqian　henduo　nian　bu　jian　de　pengyou

　　　　suddenly　**BA**　before　many　year　not　see　ASSCO　friends

　　　　叫　　出来

　　　　jiao　chu lai

　　　　call　come out

'Suddenly (I) called up the friends who I have not seen many years.'

(4.48) 不　　觉得　　别人　　会　　**把**　　我　　认　　　　<u>出来</u>

bu　juede　bieren　hui　**BA**　wo　ren　　chu lai

no　feel　people　will　**BA**　I　recognize　come out

'I don't think other people will recognize me.'

In (4.47), the real event depicts the physical action of calling person to come out. The suffix 出来 *chu lai* 'come out' in (4.47) refers to the physical direction toward the outside, while the same suffix appearing in (4.48) can no longer be understood in terms of physical direction, it refers to an object in the mental domain. The directional complement 出来 *chu lai* 'come out' is used more abstractly in (4.48) than in (4.47). In (4.47), the adverb 突然 *turan* 'suddenly' may be seen as a universal time quantifier, with a surprised attitude from the speaker's perspective. Different from (4.47), (4.48) is a negative BA-construction. The negative message is denoted by 不觉得 *bu juede* 'I don't think', and this expression is definitely from the speaker perspective. The modal verb 会 *hui* 'will' in (4.48) denoting that the event encoded by the BA-construction is conditional possibility, its meaning is inherently emotive and non-factual.

As well as the suffix 出来 *chu lai,* literally translated as 'come out', there are others like 下来 *xia lai* 'down out' in (4.49) or 回去 *hui qu* 'back go' in (4.50) in spoken BA-constructions.

(4.49) 我们　　就　　**把**　　她的　　这　　个　　五　　篇　　文章　　　　保留

wome　jiu　**BA**　tade　zhe　ge　wu　pian　wenzhang　baoliu

we　　just　**BA**　her　this CL　five　CL　article　save

下来　　　了

xia lai　　　le

down come　　PERF

'We saved her five articles.'

(4.50) 把　　　人　　给　　顶　　　回去　　了

BA　ren　　gei　ding　　hui qu　le

BA　people　to　push　　back go　PERF

'(You) made people swallow the word.'

The directive suffixes in examples (4.49) and (4.50) are associated with the perfective aspect marker 了 *le*. The event denoted by the BA-constructions are viewed in their entirety. The object in (4.49) is more complex, it is modified by the possessive case 的 *de* and a deixis in the form of demonstratives 这 *zhe* 'this' in conjunction with a classifier 个 *ge*. So, the object is more specific in that the speaker has its particular referent in mind. In the directive BA-constructions, the speaker offers precise information on the directions of movements and results of actions.

The cases involving locative complements or the second object complements observed in the written data were also found in the spoken data, examples of BA-constructions with locative complements in spoken data are provided in (4.51) – (4.53).

(4.51) 我们　　　慢慢的　　**把**　所有　的　　　东西　　都　　　集中

women　　manmande **BA**　suoyou　de　　dongxi　dou　jizhong

we　　　slowly　　**BA**　all　ASSOC　stuff　all　gather

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<u>到 了 音乐 里面</u>

dao le yinyue limian

to PERF music inside

'We slowly gathered all the stuff into the music.'

(4.52) 然后 **把** 那些 所有 的 情绪 我 全

ranhou **BA** naxie suoyou de qingxu wo quan

then **BA** these all ASSOC feeling I completely

写 <u>在 我的 音乐 里面</u>

xie zai wode yinyue limian

write in my music inside

'Then I wrote all c feelings into the music.'

In (4.51) and (4.52), locative complement, namely 到了音乐里面 *dao le yinyue limian* or 在我的音乐里面 *zai wode yinyue limian,* can be translated into the phrase of 'into the music' in constructions. The objects 东西 *dongxi* 'stuff' and 情绪 *qingxu* 'feeling' have been totally transferred into the final position in the above examples. Different with (4.52), the verb 集中 *jizhong* 'gather' in (4.51) takes the aspect suffix 了 *le* before the locative complement. Both examples are corroborated with the double universal quantifier 所有 *duoyou* 'all' + 都/全 *dou/quan* 'all/completely' that conveys high intensity to create a sense of exaggeration. In (4.52), the motion is a physical action, an example of a BA-construction in an abstract motion is provided in (4.53).

(4.53) 我 已经 **把** 所有 的 东西 回归 <u>到 内心 了</u>

wo yijing **BA** suoyou de dongxxi huigui dao neixin le

I already **BA** all ASSOC stuff return to heart PERF

'I already returned all the stuff into my heart.'

The intensifying adverb 已经 *yijing* 'already' is used in (4.53). It indicates that the action of movement have been carried out. With the perfective aspect 了 *le* in the construction, the event is viewed from its end point.

In written data, the transitive BA-construction can have three participants referring to the agent, object, and recipient; in this case, the ditransitive verb like 给 *gei* 'give' or other verbs combined with 给 *gei* 'give' such as 拿给 *na gei* 'take to', 让给 *rang gei* 'give to' are commonly observed in the written BA-construction, while in spoken discourse, only the verb 发给 *fa gei* 'send to' have been found to be associated with the BA-construction. An example of a BA-constructions with a second object complement in spoken data is provided in (4.54).

(4.54)

我	已经	**把**	小样	发	给	人家	了
wo	yijing	**BA**	xiaoyang	fa	gei	renjia	le
I	already	**BA**	sample	send	to	someone	PERF

'I already send him the sample.'

The morpheme 给 *gei* 'to' in (4.54) is a recipient marker, while the following noun 人家 *renjia* 'people' is a recipient of the direct object affected by the action of sending. The recipient 人家 *renjia* is literally translated as 'someone', but refers to someone particular in the speaker's mind and the hearer can also determine out what the speaker refers to. So, the three participants refer to an agent 我 *wo* 'I', an object 小样 *xiaoyang* 'sample', and a recipient 人家 *renjia* 'people', respectively.

The post-verbal object as a referent perceived by the speaker undergoes a transformation when described by the verb appearing in the spoken BA-construction,

per (4.55).

(4.55) 她　　全部　　**把**　它　翻　　成　　汉语

　　　 ta　 quanbu　**BA**　ta　fan　cheng　hanyu

　　　 she　 entirely　**BA**　 it　 translate into　 Chinese

　　　 'She completely translated it into Chinese.'

The adverbial 全部 *quanbu* 'all of' indicates the object 它 *ta* 'it' has been completely affected. Both speaker and the hearer know the referent of the entity of the pronoun 它 *ta* 'it' after the morpheme BA, which is anaphoric, referring to a French article in the previous text.

The BA-construction with the part-whole relationship is found spoken discourse, an example of a BA-construction is provided in (4.56).

(4.56) **把**　　广播　　大概　　　下载　　了　　　七　　八　　篇

　　　 BA　 guangbo　 dagai　 xiazai　 le　 qi　 ba　 pian

　　　 BA　 radio　 probably　 download　 PERF　 seven eight　 CL

文章

wenzhang

articles

　　　 '(She) downloaded seven or eight radio articles.'

In (4.56), the direct object of the verb 下载 *xiazai* 'download' is not the NP2 广播 *guangbo* 'radio' but the post-verbal object 文章 *wenzhang* 'article' modified by the quantifier 七八篇 *qi ba pian* 'seven, eight CL'. In this construction, the NP2 is a type of ellipsis, the integrated one is the 广播文章 *guangbo wenzhang* 'radio articles'. To avoid repetition, the 文章 *wenzhang* 'article' does not appear in the NP2; it appears in

the complement with the numeral modifier, that is 七八篇文章 *qi ba pian wenzhang* 'seven/eight articles'. Actually, one can say 把广播文章大概下载了七八篇 *BA guangbo wenzhang dagai xiazaile qiba pian*. This is grammatical and it carries the same meaning as the example (4.56). In essence, the complement 七八篇文章 *qi ba pian wenzhang* 'seven/eight articles' refers to a number of the NP2 广播 *guangbo* 'radio'. The NP2 广播 *guangbo* 'radio' and the direct object 文章 *wenzhang* 'article' after a verb becomes a part-whole relationship in the construction. Only the partial object has been affected in (4.56).

By virtue of the perfective aspect marker 了 *le*, the action denoted by the construction is viewed in its entirety. The BA-construction with aspect markers are commonly found in the written discourse. In spoken discourse, the aspect marker may co-occur with BA-construction, examples of BA-constructions are provided in (4.57) and (4.58).

(4.57) 把　　唱片　　发　　完　　了

BA　changpai　fa　　wan　　le

BA　record　　release　finish　PERF

'(She) released the record.'

(4.58) 把　　所有　的　　课本　　都　　全　　读　　完　　了

BA　duoyou　de　　keben　dou　quan　du　wan　le

BA　all　ASSOC　textbooks　all　complete　read　finish　PERF

'(She) read all the textbooks.'

Note that in (4.58) the universal quantifiers 所有 *suoyou* 'all' and 都 *dou* 'all, completely' are co-occurred to maximize the intensity of the utterance denoted by the

BA-construction. The adverb 全 *quan* 'complete' indicates the object has been completely affected by the action.

The aspect marker 了 *le* signals that the speaker views the event from its endpoint. It demonstrates that the presence or absence of the perfective aspect suffix is not a single criterion by which the telicity of a BA-construction is judged in the written data (H. Wang, 1984, p. 28). Examples of BA-constructions with verbal complements in spoken discourse are provided in (4.59) and (4.60). The verbal complements used as part of the predicate may also specify aspect value, the verb 完 *wan* 'finish' in (4.59) and 住 *zhu* 'stop' in (4.60).

(4.59) 把　所有　的　　视觉　的　东西　做　完

BA　suoyou　de　　shijue　de　dongxi　zuo　wan

BA　all　ASSOC　visual　ASSOC　stuff　do　finish

'(We) finished all the visual work.'

(4.60) 有个人　　**把**　我　两腿　抱　住

yougeren　**BA**　wo　liangtui　bao　zhu

somebody　**BA**　I　legs　hold　stop

'Somebody hold my leg.'

The verbal complements 完 *wan* 'finish' in (4.59), 住 *zhu* 'stop' in (4.60) are used to modify the main verbs without having to take the aspectual marker 了 *le,* but they perform the same bounding function as aspect markers do. The verb 完 *wan* 'finish' signals that an action is conduced to completion as a task. The completion of a task implies that the event being communicated must be intentional. Inherent in intentionality is human volition. Thus, the use of 完 *wan* 'finish' requires a volitional

verb with a primarily human agent, as in (4.59). Since the actual completion of task is the central concern, this suffix cannot be employed in situations that do not warrant the fulfillment of this requirement. The verbal complement 住 *zhu* 'stay' in (4.60) can signal the end-stated of holding realized. The verbal complement in the complex predicate does not necessarily retain its verbal status. That is, the final verbal part of in such compound of a main verb plus a verb has become grammaticalized and reduced to a suffix. It would appear that not only the perfective aspect marker 了 *le* can help the BA-construction get a high degree of transitivity; the verbal complement can do the same function as the perfective aspect marker.

Apparently, the BA-construction is quite versatile in its capacity to take aspect markers. Recall the example (4.32) in written data. In spoken discourse, the durative aspect marker 着 *zhe* may co-occur with verb. An example of a BA-construction with a marker 着 *zhe* in spoken discourse is provided in (4.61). In Chinese, 着 *zhe* is a durative aspect marker (Li, 2001, p.35). The durative marker 着 *zhe* signals the succession of an action or activity without regard to endpoints (Smith, 1991). With BA-construction, it is used to bring about a state which is durative (Liu, 1997). To assist in description, here the prior example (4.32) is again presented.

(4.32)　你　　**把**　书　　拿　　着

　　　　ni　　**BA**　shu　　na　　zhe

　　　　you　**BA**　book　hold　DUR

　　　　'Hold the book.'

(4.61)　我的　　助手　　**把**　我　抱　　着

　　　　wode　zhushou　**BA**　wo　bao　zhe

my assistant **BA** I hold DUR

'My assistant hold me.'

The aspect marker 着 *zhe* typically either signals a continuous action/activity or indicates a stative event. Such as the example (4.32) appears in the written data, it describes as a request for the addressee to take up a book and hold it which can be interpreted as an imperative. Compared with (4.32), (4.61) is different, even though both constructions are associated with aspect marker 着 *zhe*. In (4.61), the speaker is trying to exhibit a stative situation by using the durative 着 *zhe* with the BA-construction. In this case, the interpretation of BA-construction can be viewed from its endpoint, which means the degree of telicity of (4.61) is high. So the example (4.61) cannot be translated into an imperative, as it is realis.

The transitive BA-construction accompanied by a preverbal adverbial which signals the dynamism or punctuality of the action in the written data has not been found in spoken discourse. This implies that the preverbal modifiers are much less commonly used with the BA-construction.

Compared with the written data, the types of transitive BA-constructions, including resultatives, directives, locatives, recipients, and aspect markers are found in spoken discourse, but a transitive BA-construction with a duration or frequency phrase or a preverbal dynamic adverbial have not been found in spoken discourse. The evidence shows that the spoken BA-constructions do not have as much variety as written BA-constructions.

4.3.2 Intransitive BA-constructions

The presence of an object is taken to be the defining feature of transitivity from the conventional view of transitivity in the western tradition of grammatical thinking. In Mandarin, there is no rigorous description of an intransitive BA-construction. In this paper, the intransitive BA-construction has been taken to be a BA-construction involving an intransitive verb and referring to a one-participant event. In written discourse, the intransitive BA-construction takes the syntactic feature of Ø-BA-NP2-V/VP or T-BA-NP2-V/VP. In the construction, NP2 is considered to be the real subject, recall the examples of (4.36) to (4.41). The intransitive BA-construction is unusual but real appeared in the written data. Compared with written data, the intransitive BA-constructions have not been found in the spoken data.

The main aim in this study is to measure out the degree of transitivity of BA-construction in Mandarin newspaper articles and TV talk show conversations. The two tables summarizing the BA-constructions were introduced above in accordance with Hopper and Thompson's (1980) transitivity attributes. In the Table 4, it is shown the findings of transitivity degrees of written data. In the Table 5, it is shown the findings of transitivity degrees of spoken data. In the Table, BCs stands for BA-constructions, TPs for Hopper and Thompson's transitivity parameters, and H for High transitivity. A-J stand for transitivity properties which have been presented in Table1 in page 53.

Table 4 Findings from the BA-constructions in the written data.

TPs / BCs	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J
BCs with resultative complements			H		H	H	H			H
BCs with directive complements		H	H		H	H				H
BCs with locative complements			H		H	H	H		H	H
BCs with double objects	H		H		H	H	H			H
BCs with preverbal adverbs		H	H	H	H	H	H			H
BCs with aspect suffix		H	H		H	H	H	H		H
Intransitive BCs		H	H			H	H			

Table 5 Findings from BA-constructions in the spoken data.

TPs / BCs	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J
BCs with resultative complements			H		H	H	H		H	H
BCs with directive complements		H	H			H	H			H
BCs with locative complements			H		H	H	H		H	H
BCs with double objects	H		H		H	H	H			H
BCs with aspect suffix		H	H		H	H	H	H		H

4.4 Conclusion

In this chapter, the BA-constructions selected from the written and spoken discourse have been well organized and analysed, the two parts of data are mainly divided into

two types, that is transitive BA-constructions and intransitive BA-constructions. It seems that the BA-constructions from spoken data have not as many variety as written data has. The types of transitive BA-constructions found in the written data include complements, preverbal adverbs, and aspects, while in the spoken data only the transitive BA-constructions with post-verbal complements and aspects can be found. Then, final major results will be presented in the next chapter.

CHAPTER FIVE

CONCLUSION

5.1 Introduction

In this study, transitivity is considered a complex concept which not only relates to the requirements of verbal lexemes, but also to a number of other properties which can be identified at the clausal level. Regarding Mandarin BA-constructions, this study investigates the degrees of transitivity in the newspaper articles and TV talk conversations. This study attempts to investigate whether the BA-constructions in written article as highly transitive constructions. This study also aims to see whether BA-constructions in Mandarin conversations are as low in the degree of transitivity as the predictions in Thompson and Hopper's (2001) study. Through the qualitative analysis of transitivity degree in the 146 samples (113 BA-constructions selected from newspaper articles and 33 BA-constructions collected from TV talk show conversations), various forms of BA-constructions have been examined. Based on varying properties of a BA-construction, the transitivity of the BA-constructions can form a continuum from high transitivity to low transitivity. The results of the degrees of transitivity in various BA-constructions will be summarized in this chapter.

5.2 Answering Research Question 1

In this section, the results of two seminal works (Hopper and Thompson (1980) and Thompson and Hopper (2001)) are presented. Firstly Hopper and Thompson (1980) proposed ten parameters to be used to determine the degree of transitivity of clauses or

sentences. These transitivity parameters imply the existence of a transitivity continuum, with high transitivity on one end and low transitivity on the other. The degrees of BA-constructions depend on the number of transitivity parameters that possess in the high column (see Table 1, Section 3.1). Through the scrutinization of transitive BA-constructions and intransitive BA-constructions in terms of transitivity degree, two results have been derived from the written data. One result is that the degrees of transitivity of Mandarin transitive BA-constructions appeared in newspaper articles are high. The result is when the transitive verbs appearing in the BA-constructions, the constructions tend to have the high degree of transitivity. In this case, the morpheme BA may be as a marker of high transitivity in Mandarin. In this study, categorization of the transitive BA-constructions is based on syntactic features. The findings on written discourse show that transitive BA-constructions are composed by transitive BA-constructions with complements ((NP1)-BA-NP2-V-COM), transitive BA-constructions with aspect markers ((NP1)-BA-NP2-V-ASP), and transitive BA-constructions with preverbal adverbials ((NP1)-BA-NP2-ADV-V). The results on transitive BA-constructions show that degrees of transitivity are ranked high within Hopper and Thompson's scale (see Table 1, Section 3.1). An example of a high transitivity in a transitive BA-construction is provided in (5.1).

(5.1) 他　　**把**　　裤子　　洗　　　了

　　　ta　　**BA**　　kuzi　　xi　　　le

　　　he　　**BA**　　pants　　wash　　PERF

　　　'He washed his pants.'　　　(W-4.26)

The action of washing his pants has been depicted by the construction (5.1). Under

Hopper and Thompson's (1980) theoretical framework, the written example (5.1) exhibits a high degree on the transitivity features of participants, kinesis, aspect, agency, volitionality, affirmation, mode, affectedness, and individuation of the object.

The findings on transitive BA-constructions confirm the claim that the transitivity degree of BA-construction is high, per Hopper and Thompson (1980). However, their study only focused on the typical transitive BA-construction such as (5.1) in the narrative discourse; the real written data in this study demonstrates that the intransitive verbs can exist in the BA-construction. The written data show that the number of intransitive BA-constructions appeared in the newspaper articles are not as many as transitive BA-constructions. Hopper and Thompson (1980) claimed that transitivity is a continuum, with high transitivity on one end and low transitivity on the other. In other words, their transitivity theory places transitive verbs on the high end of the transitivity continuum while intransitive verbs rank low on the same scale. Based on this theory, the intransitive BA-constructions involved intransitive verbs should be low in transitivity. As Table 6 shows, in general, the results indicate that the transitivity degrees of the intransitive BA-constructions are low in the written data. So the speculation of BA-construction as a highly transitive construction as claimed by Hopper and Thompson (1980) only applies to the transitive BA-constructions, not the intransitive BA-constructions, an example of intransitive BA-construction in written discourse is provided in (5.2).

(5.2) 把　　眼睛　　哭　　　肿　　　了

    BA　yanjing　ku　　zhong　　le

    BA　　eye　　cry　　swollen　PERF

'His eyes turned swollen as a result of crying.'   (W-4.39)

The verb 哭 *ku* 'cry' in (5.2) is intransitive. This example has only a high degree of transitivity on the scale of kinesis, telicity, affirmation, and realis. The written example (5.2) is low in transitivity. After the main two types of BA-construction (transitive BA-constructions and intransitive BA-constructions) have been investigated under Hopper and Thompson's (1980) theoretical framework, it would appear that the degrees of transitivity form a continuum in Mandarin BA-constructions, from high transitivity to low transitivity. In Table 6, BCs stands for BA-constructions, TPs stands for Hopper and Thompson's transitivity parameters, A-J stand for transitivity properties which have been presented in Table1 in page 53.

Table 6 Results from the BA-constructions in the written data.

TPs / BCs		A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J
Transitive BCs	BCs with COM ((NP1)-BA-O-V-COM)	H	H	H		H	H	H	H		H
	BCs with ASP ((NP1)-BA-O-V-ASP)			H		H	H	H		H	H
	BCs with preverbal ADV ((NP1)-BA-O-ADV-V)		H	H	H	H	H	H			H
Intransitive BCs (Ø-BA-S-V/VP/ T-BA-S-V/VP)			H	H			H	H			

According to Hopper and Thompson's (1980) view, all transitivity features are equally important and all of them are predicated to co-vary with each other. Some scholars criticize that not all components of transitivity can covary, but only certain of them can (Tsunoda, 1985; Liu, 1997; Cech and Pajas, 2009). Tsunoda (1985) mentioned not all parameters are equally relevant, some of them have a very close correlation with

each other, and some of them seem non-existent at all; for instance, volitionality and agency always co-vary but volitionality and affectedness do not. Cech and Pajas (2009) stated that participants and aspect cannot co-vary in the Czech language, while Liu (1997) mentioned that Hopper and Thompson's view was supported with conditions. In this study, the written data shows that not all parameters are equally relevant and co-vary. Indeed, the researcher thinks that only two of the transitivity features are closely related and co-vary in this study. The parameter agency (agent high in potency) is high and the parameter of individuation (high individuation of the object) is high if and only if the parameter of participants (two participants or more) can be simultaneously met. It corroborates that the transitivity components may agree in being both high side of the transitivity (Hopper and Thompson, 1980), but this view is supported with the structure-preserving condition. So, the researcher does not think that all transitivity features were predicated to covary.

5.3 Answering Research Question 2

Secondly, according to the work of Thompson and Hopper in 2001, the majority of clauses in the English conversations are one-participant clauses and degree of transitivity in English is low in conversations. The expectation based on their study is that the BA-constructions are intransitive in the Mandarin conversations or BA-constructions may not occur in Mandarin conversation. The findings show that Mandarin BA-constructions recorded from the spoken conversations are only transitive BA-constructions. Per Table 7, the findings on spoken discourse show that transitive BA-constructions are high in transitivity, while the intransitive BA-constructions are not

found in the spoken data. In the Table 7, BCs stands for BA-constructions, TPs stands for Hopper and Thompson's transitivity parameters, A-J stand for transitivity properties which have been presented in Table1 in page 53.

Table 7 Results from BA-constructions in the spoken data.

TPs BCs		A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J
Transitive BCs	BCs with COM ((NP1)-BA-O-V-COM)		H	H		H	H	H	H	H	H
	BCs with ASP ((NP1)-BA-O-V-ASP)		H	H		H	H	H	H		H

Thompson and Hopper (2001) claimed that the occurrence of high transitive clauses were strikingly low frequency in actual English language usages (Ewing, 1999; Hopper, 1997b). They found that when looking at conversations, simple transitive clauses were not common: "much of ordinary conversation is couched in non-eventive language that express subjective attitudes and observations" (Thompson and Hopper, 2001, p. 52). Hopper and Thompson (1980) refer to clauses of high transitivity as 'cardinal transitive' clauses (see section 3.1). At that time, they did not consider the factor of relative frequencies, but in their 2001 study, their conversational results interpret that the cardinal transitive clauses occur with strikingly low frequency in actual English use. The clauses of low transitivity make up most of English daily conversations. The findings show that there is not intransitive BA-constructions in the spoken conversations, an example of an intransitive BA-construction in spoken discourse is provided in (5.3), which means that low transitive BA-constructions are quite rare in Mandarin conversations.

(5.3) 有个人　　　**把**　　我　　两腿　　抱　　**住**

　　　　yougeren　　BA　　wo　　liangtui　　bao　　zhu

　　　　somebody　　BA　　I　　legs　　hold　　stop

　　　　'Somebody hold my leg.'　(S-4.60)

The results show that when looking at conversations, intransitive BA-construction is not common. So the results from the Mandarin spoken conversation do not corroborate Thompson and Hopper's (2001) prediction. BA-constructions can occur in Mandarin spoken conversation and is not low in transitivity. The clauses of high transitivity make up most of Mandarin spoken conversations. Thompson and Hopper (2001) demonstrated a connection between the goals, motives, and purpose of conversation in a particular cultural setting and the grammatical resources that speakers in this setting draw upon to accomplish their interactional goals. The cultural setting in their study refers to the English language. Their results are not applicable to Mandarin Chinese conversations. The different degree of transitivity reflects different linguistic features in English and Mandarin. It seems that the Mandarin Chinese is different from English. Mandarin speakers tend to focus on the action with a volitional agent affecting the object of the predicate in conversations, while English speakers prefer to confine their conversations to non-actions with fewer objects affected by the event; they seem to talk about states, attitudes, or properties of people and situations.

5.4 Answering Research Question 3

A comparison of written discourse and spoken discourse shows that the written discourse has more patterns of BA-constructions than spoken discourse. In terms of

transitivity, there is no any difference between BA-constructions from musical articles and BA-constructions from TV talk shows. In both written and spoken discourse, transitive BA-constructions are correlated with high transitivity, while the intransitive BA-construction correlate with low transitivity. The transitivity features of BA-construction appearing in written and spoken data are almost the same. This study is based on two seminal works by Hopper and Thompson (1980) and Thompson and Hopper (2001). Their claims are that the clauses are high in transitivity in the English written narratives and most such clauses are low in transitivity in English conversations. The difference between these two works is that they investigated two different types of discourses, namely written and spoken discourse. It is well known that genre importantly affects grammar of the text (Bier, 1999). Thompson and Hopper (2001) and Hopper (2003, P. 54) suggested that "transitivity is relevant not for a language as a whole but only for certain genres". Language form has a considerable impact on grammatical and semantic language properties which were ruled by transitivity (Thompson and Hopper, 2001). The degrees of transitivity may have much to do with the genre. One might expect that the results of BA-constructions in two different discourses are to reflect some differences between the written discourse and spoken discourse. In this study, both written and spoken discourse are selected with the same theme (see the section 4). However, that expectation is not borne out by the data; the result is that the transitivity features of BA-construction appearing in written and spoken data are almost the same. There are not any differences between these two types of discourse in terms of transitivity. In my view, genre does not play a role in the analysis of the transitivity of different types of discourses in Mandarin.

5.5 Answering Research Question 4

According to Cognitive Linguistics, "the grammar of a language is a cognitive subsystem. Anything in the grammar that has to be learned by a native speaker must exist as part of that cognitive subsystem, and thus has some cognitive status" (Lackoff, 1987, p. 533). People have been increasingly concerned about the functions of language; language does not only convey information but also expresses a speaker's attitude and reflects people's way of thinking (L. Wang, 2009, p. 6). This perception can be subjectively influenced by the perceiver's interaction with the object of perception. The notion of subjectivity that has recently drawn scholar's attention. Shen (2002) claimed that the BA-construction shows the speaker's perspective, judgment of the thing, or event mentioned in the construction, as manifested by the modifier and the determiner of its object and the modification of its verb. H. Q. Wang (2003) suggested that the understanding of the meaning of the BA-construction should take account of the subjective interpretations of the speaker. The present study has adopted Lyons (1977, p. 739) notion of subjectivity that refers to a linguistic phenomenon that "the speaker, in making an utterance, simultaneously comments upon that utterance and expresses his attitude to what is saying". Traugott (2003) has claimed that language changes from propositional meaning toward subjective meaning. The result is that the Mandarin BA-construction not only reports that something has happened, but also expresses the reporters' emotion or attitudes from their own perspectives in response to the occurrence being reported.

In the analyses of both written and spoken data, the data has shown that the BA-constructions are often occurred with modal verbs. The most frequently used are 须 *xu* 'must, need' recall example (4.21), 会 *hui* 'will' recall example (4.48), 能 *neng*

'can' recall example (4.10) and 要 *yao* 'want' in (5.4), all of which express emotion or subjectivity. The sense of necessity is conveyed by the modal verb 须 *xu* 'must' in (4.21), the speaker expresses his personal understanding of the necessity to do the things encoded by the BA-construction. Both the modal verb 会 *hui* 'will' in (4.48) and 能 *neng* 'can' in (4.10) denote that the event encoded by the BA-construction is conditional possibility or probability. The meaning of a model verb is inherently emotive and non-factual. The modal verb 要 *yao* 'should, would like' conveys a demand or a wish or a desire from the speaker's emotional perspective, an example of a BA-construction with a modal verb is provided in (5.4).

(5.4)	我	要	**把**	这	个	东西	拍	好	了
	wo	yao	**BA**	zhe	ge	dongxi	pai	hao	le
	I	would like	**BA**	this	CL	thing	shoot	well	PERF

'I would like to shoot it well.'   (W-4.42)

The construction (5.4) conveys a desire of shooting it well from his own emotional perspective. The data shows that the most frequently used intensifying adverbs in the BA-constructions are 总 *zong* 'always', 只 *zhi* 'only', 都 *dou* 'all', 就 *jiu* 'just', 又 *you* 'again', 很 *hen* 'very', 特别 *tebie* 'extremely', 极 *ji* 'extremely', 已经 *yijing* 'already', 突然 *turan* 'suddenly'. Many of them engage non-literal interpretations, such as 总 *zong* 'always' as a time adverbial that is inherently biasing in that a strict interpretation of the statement made by the adverbial is unobservable from the immediate context, an example of a BA-construction with an adverb is provided in (5.5). In fact, it may be viewed as universal time quantifier expressing the speaker's subjective experience.

(5.5) 你　　　总　　**把**　　音调　　　往高　　　　扯

　　　　ni　　　zong　**BA**　yindiao　　wang gao　che

　　　　you　　always　**BA**　tone　　　toward high　pull

　　　　'You always pull the tone upward.'　　　　　　(W-4.34)

In (5.5), the BA-construction describes a habitual event under favorable circumstances. 总 *zong* 'always' emphasizes the speaker's dislike towards the event denoted by the BA-construction. An example of a BA-construction with an adverb 特别 *tebie* 'especially' in spoken discourse is provided in (5.6).

(5.6) **把**　自己　　化　　　**得**　　特别　　　丑

　　　BA　ziji　　hua　　de　　　tebie　　chou

　　　BA　self　make up　EXT　especially　ugly

　　　'Your makeup is very ugly.'　　(S-4.45)

The adverb 特别 *tebie* 'especially' in (5.6) shows the speaker's irony attitude. The BA-construction reflects the speaker's evaluation from her own perspective. An example of a BA-construction with an adverb 极 *ji* 'extremely' in written discourse is provided in (5.7).

(5.7) **把**　声音　　放　　**得**　　极　　　低

　　　BA　shengyin　fang　de　　ji　　　di

　　　BA　voice　put　EXT　extremely　low

　　　'He dropped his voice so much.'　　　　　　(W-4.6)

The event descried by (5.7) embraces the speaker's subjective intention. The adverb 极 *ji* 'extremely' is a highly subjective lexeme. It is subjective because it signals the degree that is judged as exceeding what is expected to be ordinary. The decision is up to

the person who judges. It turns out that the subjectivity or emotionality is expressed by the speaker. Universal quantification is a means of intensification in Mandarin Chinese, an example of a BA-construction with universal quantifiers is provided in (5.8).

(5.8) 把　　所有　的　　课本　　都　　全　　读　　完　　了

BA duoyou de keben dou quan du wan le

BA all ASSOC textbooks all completely read finish PERF

'(She) read all the textbooks.'　　(S-4.58)

In (5.8) the adjective 所有 *suoyou* 'all' and adverb 都/全 *dou/quan* 'all/ completely' are universal quantifiers in Mandarin. Since the number of textbooks being communicated is unknown and unobservable, a strict interpretation of the statement is unlikely. The two universal quantifiers co-occur to increase the intensity of the utterance denoted by the BA-construction.

The directive complements in BA-constructions not only signal directionality of physical movement and but also signal the speaker's different perspective, (see examples (9) and (10) in Appendix A). Here, the suffixes 来 *lai* 'come' and 去 *qu* 'go' not only serve to denote the direction of the action denoted by the BA-construction but also the speaker's different point of view. The fact that the speaker's perspective is involved in the description expresses the speaker's special attention to the event with which the speaker is interested. The intransitive BA-construction is used to encode one-participant event whereby the speaker's personal attitude towards the event is externalized, such as the negative attitude from speaker's perspective. The speaker perceives the situation as perceptually striking in that it describes the speaker's attention, revealing his emotion, or giving his the assessment of situation being communicated.

The consideration of the speaker's subjective investment in the representation of the events will enable the reader to understand why such events may still be compatible with the use of the BA-construction.

In both the written and spoken data, the speakers try to describe their states, reveal their attitudes, and provide their assessments of situations and behaviors. These are reflections of subjectivity manifested by the modifier and the modification of its verb in the BA-construction. So the BA-construction can imply speakers' feelings and attitudes in the course of achieving their interactional goals during the discourse. The result is that the degree of transitivity of BA-construction in the discourse is not only conditioned by the semantics of the construction, but it is also conditioned by the speaker's subjectivity. The understanding of the meaning of the BA-construction should take account of the subjective interpretation of the speaker. The finding from the BA-constructions supports Rice's (1987) claim that the transitivity features were not only given in the content of the sentence *per se*, but may also be imposed subjectively by the speaker. Because of the presence of this subjectivity, intransitive BA-constructions are possible.

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The Samples from Written Data

Not all the written BA-constructions have been presented in the Appendix, only those have mentioned in the chapter of the analysis of the study.

(1) **把** 尾声　　　　的　　　第一　个　音　　干净　利落　甩　　出

　　BA　weisheng　　de　　diyi　ge　yin　ganjing　liluo　shuai　chu

　　BA　epilogue　ASSOC　first　CL　sound　neat　　tidy　　throw　out

　　'(She) sung the first sound of the epilogue neatly .'

(2) 你　　**把**　衣服　　收　　　进来

　　ni　**BA**　yifu　　shou　　jin lai

　　you　**BA**　clothes　collect　in come

　　'You bring in the clothes.'

(3) **把**　　观众　　　请　　　上来

　　BA　guanzhong　qing　　shang lai

　　BA　audience　　invite　up come

　　'(We) invited the audience.'

(4) **把**　她　　所有　　的　　缺点　　都　　掩饰　　过去

　　BA　ta　　suoyou　　de　　quedian　dou　yanshi　guo qu

　　BA　she　all　　ASSOC　blemish　all　　hide　　over go

　　'(She) covered up all her blemishes.'

(5) 我　没有　　**把**　它　带　　走

　　wo　meiyou　**BA**　ta　dai　　zou

　　I　not　　　**BA**　it　bring　walk

'I did not bring it.'

(6) 我　　不　　能　　**把**　　她　　抛弃

　　　wo　bu　neng　**BA**　ta　diuqi

　　　I　　not　can　**BA**　her　abandon

　　　'I cannot abandon her.'

(7) 你　　不　　应该　　**把**　　现在　　的　　工作　　看做　　工作

　　　ni　bu　yinggai　**BA**　xianzai　de　gongzuo　kan zuo　gongzuo

　　　you　not　should　**BA**　now　ASSOC　work　regard as　work

　　　'You should not take it as the work.'

(8) 别　　**把**　　白　　的　　和　　彩色　　的　　衣服　　放　　在　　一起　　洗

　　　bie　**BA**　bai　de　he　saise　de　yifu　fang　zai　yiqi　xi

　　　not　**BA**　white ASSOC and color ASSOC　clothes　put　in　together wash

　　　'(You) do not wash whites and colors together.'

(9) 我　　**把**　　外套　　脱　　下来

　　　wo　**BA**　waitao　tuo　xia lai

　　　I　**BA**　coat　take off　down come

　　　'I take off　my coat.'

(10) 你　　**把**　　外套　　脱　　下去

　　　ni　**BA**　waitao　tuo　xia qu

　　　you　**BA**　coat　take off　down go

　　　'Take off your coat.'

(11) 李晨　　**把**　　一　　个　　手指　　放　　在　　嘴唇　　上

　　　Lichen　**BA**　yi　ge　shouzhi　fang　zai　zuocheng　shang

PN   **BA**   one   CL   finger   put   at   lip   up

'Licheng put one of his fingers on his lip.'

(12) 他   **把**   画   贴   在   墙   上

ta   **BA**   hua   tia   zai   qiang   shang

he   **BA**   painting   post   at   wall   up

'He post the painting on the wall.'

(13) 把   真正   好   的   作品   带   给   大家

BA   zhenzheng   hao   de   zuopin   dai   gei   dajia

BA   real   good   ASSOC   work   bring   to   people

'(I) bring the audience the real good work.'

(14) 把   我   学到   的   东 西   毫无   保留   的

BA   wo   xuedao   de   dongxi   haowu   biaoliu   de

BA   I   learn   ASSOC   stuff   without   reservation   ASSOC

教   给   他们

jiao   gei   tamen

teach   to   them

'(I) taught them all what I had learned.'

(15) 把   这   个   可爱   的   女孩   介绍   给   你

BA   zhe   ge   keai   de   nvhai   jieshao   gei   ni

BA   this   CL   lovely   ASSOC   girl   introduce   to   you

'(I) will introduce this lovely girl to you.'

APPENDIX B

The Samples of Transcription conversations.

H: refers to the host

G1: refers to the first gust

G2: refers to the second gust

The transcription system was proposed by Du Bois et al. (1993). 'Intonation unit' (IU) is defined as a stretch of speech uttered under a single coherent intonation contour, which tends to be marked by a pause, a change of pitch, and a lengthening of the final syllable.

Sample 1

G1: 那　个　是　我　在　写　完　歌　以后　第一　时间　　跟　所有

　　na　ge　shi　wo　zai　xie　wan　ge　yiyou　diyi　shijian　gen　suoyou

　　that　CL　is　I　at　write　finish　song　after　first　time　and　all

　　视觉　的　团队　　包括　导演　　包括　　设计师　包括　所有　的

　　shijue　de　tuandui　baokuo　daoyan　baokuo　shejishi　baokuo　suoyou　de

　　visual　ASSOC　team　include　director　include　designer　include　all　ASSOC

　　平面　　所有　的　创意　　人员　　一起 (...)　我们　　商量

　　pingmian　duoyou　de　chuangyi　renyuan　yiqi (...)　women　shangliang

　　plane　　all　ASSOC　creativity　people　together (...)　we　discuss

　　出来　这　是　我　要　的　东西　(...)　这　是　我　在　当初

　　chu lai　zhe　shi　wo　yao　de　dongxi (...)　zhe　shi　wo　zai dangchu

　　come out　this　is　I　want　ASSOC　thing (...) this　is　I　at　first

　　写　《小　星星》　那　个　歌　的　时候　　眼睛　里面　　看

xie <xiao xingxing> na ge ge de shihou yanjing limian kan

write <little star> that CL song ASSOC time eye inside look

到 的 画面

dao de huamian

to ASSOC picture

'After I wrote the song, at the first time I talked to my team including director, designer and all people who worked for the creativity, we discussed that it is what I wanted when I wrote the song of <little star>.'

H: 嗯

en

um

S: 我们 终于 过 来 了 所以 不管 怎么样 我 要 **把**

women zhongyu guo lai le suoyi bu guan zenmeyang wo yao **BA**

we finally over come ASP so despite how I want **BA**

这 个 东西 拍 [好 了]=

zhe ge dongxi pai [hao le]=

this CL thing shoot [well PERF]=

'We finally make it, so no matter how I want to shoot it well.'

L: [嗯]

[en]

um

S: =[不然] 白 冻 了 那 多 不 划算 啊 @

=[Buran] bai dong le na duo bu huasuan a @

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=[otherwise]　white　froze　PERF　that　more　no　worth　exclamation　@

'Otherwise we are waisting time.

Sample 2

L: 你　不　　宽恕　　你　什么　　　呢

　　ni　bu　kanshu　ni　shenme　ne

　　you　not　forgive　you　what　question

　　'Why you not forgive yourself ?'

S: 我　不　宽恕　　我自己 (.)　为什么　　做　　不　好　这　个 (.)　做

　　wo　bu　kanshu　woziji　(.)　weishenme　zuo　bu　hao　zhe　ge　(.) zuo

　　I　not　forgive　myself　(.)　why　　do　　not　wel　this CL　(.)　do

　　不　好　　那　个(.)　我　记得　那　时候　　团队　把　　我　弄　　得

　　bu　hao　na　ge (.)　wo　jide　na　shihou　tuandui　**BA**　wo dong　de

　　not　well that　CL (.)　I　remember　that time　team　**BA**　I　make EXT

　　很　　崩溃

　　hen　bengkui

　　very　sad

　　'I do not forgive myself. I complained why I did not do it very well. I remember at

　　that time, the team made me crazy.'

L: [嗯]

　　[en]

　　[um]

S: [我]　三　　天　两　头　的 (.)　比如　　今天　一　个　演出　哈-@

　　[wo]　san　tian liang tou　de (.)　biru　jintian　yi　ge　yanchu　ha-@

[I]   three   days two CL ASSOC (.) such as   today one CL perform ha-@

'I often sung a song, such as we have a perform today.'

Sample 3

G1: 我 为什么   很   感谢   《我 是 歌手》(.) 因为   我   从   2011

wo weishenme   hen   ganxie   <wo shi geshou> (.) yinwei   wo   cong   2011

I   why   very   thank   <I   am singer> (.) because   I   from   2011

年 开始 做 现在 的 这 种   电子   的   就 不   是

nian kaishi zuo xianzai de zhe zhong dianzi   de   jiu bu   shi

year begin do now ASSOC this CL   electronic ASSOC then   not   is

电音   了(.) 已经   跳 过 当初 那 个   张扬   的

dianyin   le (.) yijing tiao guo dangchu na ge   zhangyang   de

electronic PERF(.) already jump over first   that CL overstate   ASSOC

电音   阶段   了(.)=

dianyin   jieduna   le(.)=

electronic   stage PERF (.)=

'Why did we thank for the program of <I'm singer>', because from 2011 I made

this electronic music is different the usual one, it is better than the old one.'

H: [嗯]

[en]

[um]

G1: =[这   种] 电子   的 (.) 我   已经 **把**   所有 的   东西   已经

=[the zhong]   dianzi   de   (.) wo yijing **BA** suoyou de dongxi yijing

=[this CL] electronic ASSOC(.) I   already **BA**   all   ASSOC   thing   already

回归 到 内心 了 我 就 不管 是 疯狂 的 也好：歇斯底里

huigui dao neixin le wo jiu buguan shi fengkuang de ye hao : xiesidili

return to inside PERF I then despite is crazy ASSOC well : hysteric

的 也好：愤怒的 (.) 还是 现在 平和 的 温暖 的

de yehao : fennv de (.) haishi xianzai heping de wennai de

ASSOC well : furious ASSOC(.) or now peaceful ASSOC warm ASSOC

东西 就是 我们 慢慢 的 **把** 所有 的 东西 都 集中

dongxi jiu shi women manman de **BA** suoyou de dongxi dou jizhong

thing then is we slowly ASSOC **BA** all ASSOC thing all together

到 了 音乐 里面

dao le yinyue limian

to PERF music inside

'I return all the things into my heart, I don't care wether it is crazy, hysteric,

furious, peaceful or warm, slowly we put all the things into the music. '

H: 嗯

en

um

G1: (.) 然后 **把** 外面 的 包装 做 的 非常 简单 像

(.) ranhou **BA** waimian de baozhuang zuo de feichang jiandan xiang

(.) then **BA** outside ASSOC wrap do ASSOC very simple like

这 个 工作 我们 从 2011 年 那 张 《in》

zhe ge gongzuo women cong 2011 nian na zhang <in>

this CL work we from 2011 year that CL <in>

'Then the team made the wrap very simple, we do it from 2011 when we

released the album <in>.'

Sample 4

H: 你 还会 你 还 每天 再 算 账 吗 [我 今天]

ni haihui ni hai meitian zai suan zhuang ma [wo jintian]

you will you still every again do account question [I today]

'Do you do accounts everyday?'

G1: [哦算呢] 我 每天 再 算 因为 我 基本 上 大头 都 得

[oh suan ne] wo meitian zai suan yinwei wo jiben shang dadou dou de

[oh account] I everyday again account because I basically up many all EXT

还 然后 留下 一 部分 给 自己 花=

huan ranhou liuxia yi bufen gei ziji hua=

pay then left one part give self spent=

'Oh yes, I'm doing accounts everyday, the majority of money is used to pay for

the debt, I spent a few of it.'

H: [嗯]

[en]

[um]

G1: =[然后] 我 每 次 都 得 算 就 这 个 月 多少 然后 呢 我

=[ranhou] wo mei ci dou de suan jiu zhe ge yue duoshao ranhou ne

=[then] I every time all EXT account then this CL month how much then I

听　他　说　哦 (.) 下　个　月　　还有　　　什么　工作　　我　**把** 下

ting　ta　shuo　oh (.)　xia　ge　yue　haiyou　shenme　gongzuo　wo　**BA** xia

hear　he　say　　(.) next　CL month　have　what　　　work　　　I　**BA** next

个　　月　　　的　　也　算　　上

ge　yue　　　de　　ye　suan　　shang

CL month　ASSOC　also　account　up

'I'm doing accounts every month, when I heard I got a work next month, I

took the next month salary into account.'

Sample 5

H: 为什么　　　是　　　今　年

weishenme　　shi　　jin　ian

why　　　　is　　this　year

'Why this year?'

G1: 去　年　的　十月　到　今　年　一月吧　去　年　的　　九月

qu nian　de　shiyue　dao　jin nian　yiyue ba　qu　nian　de　　jiuyue

last year ASSOC October to　this year　January　last year ASSOC September

初　八月　底　九月　初　我　发　了　那　张《最后　的　　赞歌》(.)

chu　bayue　di　jiuyue　chu　wo　fa　le na zhang <zuihou de　zange>(.)

begin August end September begin I release PERF that CL<last ASSOCpaean>(.)

《最后的赞歌》　整　张　唱片　　的 基调　都　很　浓重　　就

<zuihou de zange> zheng zhang changpian　de jidiao dou hen　nongzhong jiu

<last ASSOC paean> whole CL　song　ASSOC mood all very　heavy　then

特别　　的　愤怒　特别 的　暴躁:　　　然后就　各种　　极端

tebie   de fennu tebie de kuangzao: ranhoujiu gezhong jiduan

especially ASSOC anger especially ASSOC irritable: then   various   extreme

的   情绪   全部   在 我 旋律 和 歌词 里面 然后 (.) 但是 那 个

de qingxu quanbu zai wo xuanlv he heci limian ranhou(.) danshi na ge

ASSOC mood   all   in I melody and lyric inside then   (.) but   that CL

阶段   全部   写 完   了(...)   全部 把   唱片   发 完   了

jieduan quanbu xie wan le (...)   quanbu **BA** changpian fa wan   le

stage   all   write finish PERF(...)   all   **BA** record   release finish PERF

之后(.) 突然之间 我 觉得   好像 一 个 人 把 该要   说 的

zhihou(.) turanzhijian wo juede haoxiang yi ge ren **BA** gaiyao shuo de

after(.) suddenly   I feel like   one CL people **BA**   should   say ASSOC

话   全   说   完   了

hua   quan shuo   wan   le

words complete say   finish PERF

'At the beginning of the last September, I released the album of <the last paean>,

the mood of the album is very heavy, it is furious, irritable. The melody and

lyric shows my extreme emotion. After I released the album, I feel like my soul

has been liberated.'

Sample 6

G1: -突然之间   你 能   意识到   这 一 点 (.) 以前   听 别人   说-

- turanzhijian ni neng yishidao zhe yi dian (.) yiqian ting bieren shuo-

- suddenly   you can   realize   this one point (.) once listen others say-

长者   说 这样 的 话 谁 都 会 说 嘛 但是 你 没有

zhangzhe shuo zheyang de　hua　shui dou hui shuo ma　danshi　ni meiyou

elders　say　this　ASSOC words who all can say　ma　but　you　not

切身　　的　体会(.) 但是　在　　那　两　三　个　月　里面 我　突然 有

qieshen　de　tihui (.) danshi　zai　na liang san　ge yue limian　wo turan you

self　ASSOC feel (.) but　in　that two three CL month inside I suddenly have

了　这　种　　　感觉-

le　zhe zhong　ganjue-

PERF this CL　feel-

'Suddenly you realized, you heard the elders talked about the feeling, but you did

not go through it. Suddenly I have the feeling in these two or three months.'

H: 没有　　什么　特别　的　原因　你　要　知道　突然　**把** 以前　很

meiyou　shenme　tebie　de yuanyin　ni yao zhidao　turan　**BA**　yiqian hen

not　what　special ASSOC reason you should know suddenly **BA** once very

多　年　不　见　的　朋友　　叫　　出来(.)　一 一 向　人家　　说

duo　nian　bu　jian de　pengyou　jiao　chu lai (.) yi yi xiang renjia　shuo

many years　not see ASSOC friends call come out(.)　one one to　others　say

当年　　我 做 了　什么　　事 对不起 你　是 挺　恐怖　的　事情@

dangnian wo zuo　le　shenme　shi　duibuqi ni　shi ting kongbu de shiqing@

past　　I　do　PERF　what　thing sorry you is very horrible ASSOC thing@

'Without any special reasons, you suddenly called the friends who you have not

seen them many years, tell them I feel sorry about what I have done to them, it is a

horrible thing.'

Sample 7

G1: 早　　　班机　哈=

　　zao　　banji　ha=

　　morning　flight　ha=

　　'Morning flight.'

H: [嗯]

　[en]

　[um]

G1: = 是(.) 好像　　是　早　班机

　= shi (.) haoxiang　shi　zao　banji

　= yes (.)　seem　is　morning flight

　'It seems a morning flight.'

H: 然后　　当时　你　特别　　吃惊　我　认出　了　　你

　ranhou　dangshi　ni　tebie　chijing　wo　renchu　le　ni

　then　at that time you especially surprise　I　recognize PERF you

　'You look very surprise that I recognize you.'

G1: 对 @

　dui @

　yes @

H: 为什么

　weishenme

　why

G1: 不 觉得　别人　会　**把**　我　认　　出来=

　bu juede　bieren　hui　**BA**　wo　ren　chu lai=

not think   others   will   **BA**   I recognize out come=

'I don't think other people will recognize me.'

H: [嗯]

  [en]

  [um]

G1: =[画]   完   妆   和 不   化妆   其实 差别   还挺 大   的 所以 我

  =[hua]   wan zhuang   he bu huazhuang   qishi chabie   haiting da   de suoyi wo

  =[make] finish makeup and not makeup actually difference very big ASSOC so I

  那   天   就   特别   意外(.)   就   您   还   能   **把** 我   认   出来

  na   tian   jiu   tebie   yiwai(.)   jiu   nin   hai neng **BA** wo ren   chu lai

  that day   then especially accident (.) then you also can **BA** I recognize out come

  'There is big different between with makeup and without makeup. So I feel

    surprised that you can also recognize me.'

Sample 8

G2：-就 尽量 利用   这 个   电脑   然后呢 (.) 用   电子版   的

  -jiu jinliang liyong zhe ge diannao ranhou ne(.) yong dianziban de

  -then try to   use   this CL   computer   than (.) use   electronic ASSOC

  形式   交   作业 所以   我们   就   **把** 她的 这 个 五 篇   文章

  xingshi jiao zuoye suoyi   women jiu **BA**   tade   zhe ge wu pian   wenzheng

  form hand over work   so   we then   **BA**   her   this CL five CL   articles

  给   保留   下来   了

  gei   baoliu   xia lai   le

  to   save   down come PERF

'We try to use submit the homework with the electronic version, so we saved her five articles.'

有　一　件　事情　我　还是　非常　感动　的 (.) 有一天

you　yi　jian　shiqing　wo　haishi　feichang　gandong　de (.) youyitian

have one CL　thing　I　still　very　touch　ASSOC (.) one day

跟　我　说　她　说 (.) 我　现在　学　到　这样　一　个　程度

gen　wo　shuo　ta shuo　() wo xianzai　xue dao zheyang yi　ge chengdu

toward I　say　she say (.)　I　now　learn to　such　one　CL　degree

接　下　来　应该　做　什么(.)　我　说 你 要　进行　熟练度

jie　xia　lai　yinggai　zuo　shenme(.)　wo shuo ni　yao jinxing shuliandu

next down out should　do　what　(.)　I　say　ni should do　proficiency

的 训练　然后　她呢　就 去 **把**　法国　广播　电视台 对　法国人

de xunlian　ranhou ta ne　jiu qu **BA**　faguo guangbo　dianshitai dui faguoren

ASSOC train then she then go **BA** french broadcast　television station to french

的　广播　大概　下载　了　七　八　篇　文章@

de　guangbo　dagai　xiazai　le　qi　ba　pian　wenzhang@

ASSOC broadcast probably download PERF　seven eight CL　articles@

'One thing she made I feel so touch, one day she asked me I want to improve my French what should I do, I told her you should do the training of proficiency. Then she followed my words downloaded seven or eight articles from the French broadcast.'

G1: 那 个　是　二十　分钟　一 个 (.) [片段]

na　ge　shi　ershi　fenzhong　yi　ge (.)　[pianduan]

that CL is twenty minutes one CL (.) [segment]

'Each segments has twenty minutes.'

G2: [对] 二十 分钟 一 个 片段 我 曾经 也 让 她的 学弟

[dui] ershi fenzhong yi ge pianduan wo cengjing ye rang tade xuedi

[yes] twenty minutes one CL segment I once still ask her brothers

学妹们 做 过 但 到 目前 为止 只有 大概 四 五 个

xuemeimen zuo guo dan dao muqian weizhi zhiyou dagai si wu ge ren

sisters do ASP but to present stop only probably four five CL

人 能够 做 她 全部 **把** 它 听 下来(.) 全部 **把** 它

ren nenggou zuo ta quanbu **BA** ta ting xia lai (.) quanbu **BA** ta

people can do she whole **BA** it listen down come (.) whole **BA** it

翻成 汉语 然后 我们 一起 讨论 一起 改正 然后 全部

fancheng hanyu ranhou women yiqi taolun yiqi gaizheng ranhou quanbu

translate Chinese then we together discuss together correct then whole

把 它 背 出来

BA ta bei chu lai

BA it memory out come

'Twenty minutes a segment, I once asked her brothers and sisters to do that, but only four or five students can do it. She listened these broadcasts then translated them into Chinese, discussed with teachers and corrected them, after that she memoried all of them.'

Sample 9

G1: 其实 我 性格 很 直 (.) 而且 很 冲 就 所以 我 就 在 我

qishi wo xingge hen zhi (.) erqie hen chong jiu suoyi wo jiu zai wo

actually I character very straight(.) while very strong then so I then at I

抗拒 记者 的 那个 阶段 我 真的 就 白眼 就 会 白 上去

kangju jizhe de nage jieduan wo zhende jiu baiyan jiu hui bai shang qu

resist journalist ASSOC that CL stage I really then white eye then will white up

有的时候 真的 说 的 话 就 **把** 人 给 顶 回去 了

youdeshihou zhende shuo de hua jiu **BA** ren gei ding hui qu le

sometimes real talk ASSOC words then **BA** people to reject back go PERF

你 知道 吗

ni zhidao ma

you know question

'Actually, my character is very straight, at that moment, I always made journalist

  say no words. Do you know?'

H: 嗯@

en @

um @

G1: 顶 回 去 了 以后@ 同事 会 过 来 跟 我 说 (.) 你 这个 这个

  ding hui qu le yihou@ tongshi hui guo lai gen wo shuo(.) ni zhe ge zhe ge

resist back go PERF after@ college will over come to I say(.) you this CL this CL

不 太 好 人家 **把** 你 播 出来 了

bu tai hao renjia **BA** ni bo chu qu le

not too well people **BA** you air out come PERF

'After that my college told me you should not do that, the reporter will report

you bad attitude towards the report.'

Sample 10

G1: 然后 《救赎》

ranhou <jiu shu>

then <salvation>

'Then I release the song of salvation.'

H: [嗯]

[en]

[um]

G1: (.) [我 觉得] 我 是 一 个 就 是 真的 需要 爆发 的 人 然后

(.) [wo juede] wo shi yi ge jiu shi zhende xuyao baofa de ren ranhou

(.) [I feel] I am one CL that is real need break out ASSOC people then

把 那些 所有 的 情绪 我 全 写 在 我的 音乐 里面

BA naxie suoyou de qingxu wo quan xie zai wode yinyue limian

BA these all ASSOC mood I complete write in my music inside

'I feel I need release the pressure, I put all my mood into my music.'

我 说 啊 (.) 她的 制作人 吗 人家 愿 不 愿意 给 我 做 呀

wo shuo a (.) tade zhizuoren ma renjia yuan bu yuanyi gei wo zuo ya

I say a(.) her producer question people will not will give I do exclamation

然后 他 说 我 已经 把 小样 发 给 人家 了(.) 人家 说 很

ranhou ta shuo wo yijing **BA** xiaoyang fa gei renjia le (.) renjia shuo hen

then he say I already **BA** sample send to people PERF(.) people say very

感兴趣 要 不 你 通 个 电话 吧

ganxingqu   yao   bu   ni   tong   ge dianhua   ba

interested   will not   you call   CL   phone   exclamation

'I asked wether her producer want to make me an album, then he said I already

sent him your sample, the producer said he's very interested, why do not you call

him'

把   所有   的   视觉   的   东西   做   完=

BA   suoyou   de   shijue   de   dongxi   zuo wan=

BA   all   ASSOC   visual ASSOC thing   do finish=

'We finished all things on the visual aspect.'

H: [嗯]

  [en]

  [um]

G1: =[然后] (.)   这   张   唱片   是 做 的   过程   最   顺利   最   快 的

  =[ranhou] (.) zhe zhang changpian   shi zuo de guocheng zui shunli zuikuai   de

  =[then](.) this CL recorder is do ASSOC process best successful fastest ASSOC

  一   张

  yi zhang

  one   CL

'Then this recorder becomes one of the best and fastest recorder. '

然后   表情   特别   享受   你们   看到   的   是   上   半身

ranhou   biaoqing   tebie   xiangshou   nimen   kandao de   shi shang banshen

then   face   especially enjoy   you   look   ASSOC   is upper part body

的   镜头 @   因为   下   半身   我的   助手   把 我   抱   着

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de   jingtou @   yinwei xia banshen wode   zhushou **BA** wo bao   zhe

ASSOC scene @ because   down body   my   assistant **BA** I hold DUR

'Then you only can see my upper part of body, since lower body was hold by my

  assistant.'

H: [嗯]@

  [en]@

  [um]@

G1: 就 (.) 整个   人   根本   站   不住 (.) 然后   只   能   有个人

  jiu (.)   zhengge ren   genben   zhan   buzhu (.) ranhou   zhi neng   youge ren

  then (.) whole people basically stand   not   (.)   then   only   can some body

  蹲   在   下   边   **把**   我   两   腿   抱   住   这样   拍   上   半身 @

  dun zai   xia xian   **BA**   wo liang tui   bao zhu   zheyang pai shang banshen@

  squat at down CL   **BA**   I   two legs hold stop   such   shoot   up part body@

 'I can hardly stand, then my assistant hold my legs, we only shoot my upper part

  of body.'