

Concealed passives and the syntax and semantics of *need/philyo* in English and Korean

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Abstract. Despite similar argument structure, the syntax of English *need* and Korean *philyo* contrasts, illuminating differences in lexical derivation and insertion of argument-taking elements. Verbs *need*, *require*, *deserve*, *want*, and *bear* take gerundive complements that are “understood passively” (Jespersen 1927/1954:112[9.23]) and called concealed passive constructions (CPCs) (Huddleston & Pullum 2002:1429). In this paper, we argue that in English, the gerund CPC object of *need* is a lexically passivized V that takes a nominalizing derivational *-ing* affix, whereas in Korean, the CPC object of *philyo* is a verbal noun, directly inserted as a complement of the verb without derivation.

Keywords. English *need*; Korean *philyo*; passive; concealed passive; double nominative construction

1. Introduction. This paper examines the syntax and semantics of *need/philyo* in English and Korean. While having similar semantic argument structure, their syntactic properties contrast and illuminate differences in lexical derivation and syntactic insertion of argument-taking elements. It will also take a closer look at the structure of what Huddleston and Pullum (2002) call concealed passive constructions (CPCs). These CPCs are first noted in Jespersen 1927, can be “paraphrased as regular passives” even though they are not actual passives (Wanner 2009: 75; see also Quirk et al. 1985 and Kim 2018). The paper is structured as follows. Section 2 discusses the grammatical properties of the English verb *need*, and section 3 discusses the grammatical properties of Korean verb *philyo* ‘need’. Comparing English *need* and Korean *philyo*, we find that complements of the former can be either CP, IP, or NP, while complements of the latter are always NPs. Section 4 focuses specifically on the CPC as a complement of the English *need* and Korean *philyo* ‘need’, respectively. Section 5 provides a conclusion for the paper.

2. The grammatical properties of English *need*. The verb *need* has two senses: (i) *need*₁ (thematic ‘need’) which takes two thematic arguments and (ii) *need*₂ (modal ‘need’), a verb of ontological necessity that takes only one thematic argument. For instance, the sentence *I need*₁ *to make a phone call* is understood as “I have the need to make a phone call.” Here, *I* gets its thematic role directly from the verb *need*₁. In the latter case, it is similar to the modal verb *must*. Accordingly, *I need*₂ *to make a phone call* means “I must make a phone call.” In this reading, *I* gets its thematic role the embedded verb *make*, and undergoes Raising. When *need*₁ or *need*₂ is the main verb, the first argument will be either a thematic NP subject (*need*₁) or a derived NP subject (*need*₂). The complement can be clausal or nominal in the case of *need*₁, but only clausal in the case of *need*₂. Example (1) illustrates these two verbs, where (1a) shows *need*₁ with an NP complement, and (1b), (1c), and (1d) illustrate *need*_{1/2} with a clausal complement. When used as thematic ‘need’ (e.g. *I’m tired and need to sleep*), in (1b) and (1c), it is an optional control predicate. In (1b) *need*₁ has a controlled CP complement, and in (1c) *need*₁ has a non-controlled

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- (5) a. Kim₁-i [NP [VP pro₀₁ cip-ul chengso-ha]]-nun kes]-i philyoha-y
 Kim-NOM house-ACC clean-do-SUB kes-NOM need-DECL
 ‘Kim has a need for herself to clean the house.’ [philyo₁]
- b. Kim₁-i [NP [VP pro₀₂ cip-ul chengso-ha]]-nun kes]-i philyoha-y
 Kim-NOM house-ACC clean-do-SUB kes-NOM need-DECL
 ‘Kim has a need for someone else to clean the house.’ [philyo₁]
- (6) a. pro [NP [VP Kim-i cip-ul chengso-ha]]-nun kes]-i philyoha-y
 Someone Kim-NOM house-ACC clean-do-SUB kes-NOM need-DECL
 ‘Someone needs for Kim to clean the house.’ [philyo₁]
- b. pro [NP [VP Kim-i cip-ul chengso-ha]]-nun kes]-i philyoha-y
 it Kim-NOM house-ACC clean-do-SUB kes-NOM need-DECL
 ‘It is necessary for Kim to clean the house.’ [philyo₂]

Like English, *philyo* can also take a nonsentient subject, and (7) can have two interpretations, as we saw for (4).

- (7) cip-i chengso-toy-nun kes-i philyoha-y
 house-NOM clean-PASSIVE-SUB kes-NOM need-DECL
 ‘The house is in need of being cleaned.’
 ‘It is necessary that the house be cleaned.’

As before, these two interpretations are dependent on whether the passivized nominal *cip* ‘house’ is overtly in the matrix or the embedded clause. We can see the contrast in (8).

- (8) a. cip₁-i [NP [VP pro₀₁ chengso-toy-nun kes]]-i philyoha-y
 house-NOM clean-PASSIVE-SUB kes-NOM need-DECL
 ‘The house is in need of being cleaned.’ [philyo₁]
- b. pro [NP [VP cip₁-i chengso-toy-nun kes]]-i philyoha-y
 it house-NOM clean-PASSIVE-SUB kes-NOM need-DECL
 ‘It is necessary that the house be cleaned.’ [philyo₂]

4. CPC constructions with *need* and *philyo*. Turning to the CPC complements, we noted that CPCs have a passive interpretation despite the absence of overt passive morphology. (9a) is a CPC and (9b) is a true passive paraphrase of that.

- (9) a. The house needs [VP?/NP? **painting**] [CPC]
 b. The house needs to be painted. [Embedded passive]

In Korean, (10a) is a CPC with *philyo* taking a simple NP complement, and in (10b), the verbal noun (VN) *chengso* ‘clean’ takes a passive verbal morpheme *toy*, which has a subordinating suffix *nun* and nominalizer *kes*, to become the NP complement of *philyo*.

- (10) a. cip-i [v?/N? **chengso**]-ka philyo-hay [CPC]
 house-NOM clean-NOM need-DECL
 ‘The house needs cleaning.’
- b. cip-i chengso-ka toy-nun-kes-i [Embedded passive]
 house-NOM clean-NOM PASS-SUBORD-NOMINAL-NOM
 philyo-hay.
 need-DECL
 ‘The house needs to be cleaned.’

In (9a), *need* has a gerundive complement, which might be a VP or an NP. In (10a), *philyo* takes a verbal noun (VN) complement that functions variously as a V or an N.

4.1 ENGLISH ‘NEED’ GERUNDIVE AND CPC CONSTRUCTIONS. When *need_I* takes a gerundive complement, it is unclear what its category might be. In (11a), we find a gerundive object-verb complement, and in (11b) we see a bare gerundive verb complement.

- (11) a. Kim **needs_I** [VP?/NP? house-cleaning]
 b. The house **needs_I** [VP?/NP? cleaning]

Given that *-ing* expressions can be nominal or verbal, it is not clear whether the complements of *need_I* in (11) are NPs or VPs, since gerunds can be both.² The ambiguous status of *ing* is apparent when we consider (12) where the subjects are more NP-like as we go from (12a) to (12c).

- (12) a. [NP [VP **him** reading that book]] took a long time
 b. [NP **his** [VP reading that book]] took a long time
 c. [NP **his** [V reading] **of** that book] took a long time

We assert that the gerundive compound *house-cleaning* in (11a) and that the gerundive *cleaning* in (11b) are both NP and not VP complements of the verb *need_I*. This is supported by the following, they (i) co-occur with determiners and quantifiers; (ii) take adjectival but not adverbial modifiers; (iii) are accompanied by either *by* or *from* agent-like modifiers (iv) have the object preceding the verb; (v) are not used as VP-idioms; and (vi) when the gerundive complement is a phrasal verb (e.g. *look up*), do not allow the intensifier *right* to be inserted between the verbal morpheme and the particle (e.g. **look right up*).

Taking up (i), note that a true VP gerund – even one with a compounded object – cannot take a specifier or a quantifier, as in (13). In contrast, gerundive complements of *need_I* can be preceded by either, as in (14).

- (13) Kim is [VP {***a**/***some**} pizza-eating]
 (14) a. Kim **needs_I** [NP {**a/some**} house-cleaning]
 b. The house **needs_I** [NP {**a/some**} cleaning] [CPC]

Second, VP gerundives can be modified by adverbs, but not adjectives, as in (15). In contrast, gerundive complements of *need_I* are modified by adjectives, but not adverbs, as in (16).

- (15) Kim is [VP thorough*(**ly**) investigating a corona virus]
 (16) a. Kim **needs_I** [NP thorough*(**ly**) house-cleaning]
 b. The house **needs_I** [NP thorough*(**ly**) cleaning] [CPC]

Third, VP gerundives in passives can have *by* modifiers, but not *from* modifiers, as in (17). Gerundive complements of *need_I*, however, can have either *by* or *from* modifiers, as in (18).

- (17) The house is [VP being cleaned {**by**/***from**} Kim]
 (18) a. Kim **needs_I** [NP some house-cleaning {**by**/**from**} Kim]
 b. The house **needs_I** [NP some cleaning {**by**/**from**} Kim] [CPC]

² As pointed out by Frances Blanchette, example (11b) has parallels in some varieties of American English with sentences like (i).

(i) *The house needs cleaned.*

While we suspect, based on a cursory examination of the data, that *cleaned* in (i) heads a VP, in contrast with *cleaning* in (11b). Further discussion of this contrast lies outside the bounds of this paper.

Fourth, the object of a VP gerundive usually follows the verb as in (19a) and (19b). However, gerundive complements of *need*_I, must precedes the verb, as (20a) and (20b) show.

- (19) a. Kim disliked [_{VP} him cleaning (the) **house**]
 b. * Kim disliked [_{VP} him **house-cleaning**]
- (20) a. Kim really needs_I [_{NP} **house-cleaning**]
 b. *Kim really needs_I [_{NP} cleaning-**house**]

Fifth, when a VP-idiom forms a lexical compound, it loses its idiomatic meaning. We see this in the contrast between (21a) and (21b), where the VP gerundive is idiomatic and the NP gerund formed through the compounding of *hit* and *book* is not. When we attempt to use this idiom as a complement of *need*_I, it fails, because *need*_I cannot take a VP gerundive complement as in (22a), and the NP gerundive complement in (22b) cannot be idiomatic.

- (21) a. Jeremy dislikes [_{VP} **hitting the books**]
 b. *Jeremy dislikes [_{NP} **book-hitting**]
- (22) a. *Jeremy needs [_{VP} **hitting the books**]
 b. *Jeremy needs [_{NP} **book-hitting**]

Finally, when a gerundive complement of *need* is a phrasal verb, the intensifier *right* cannot be inserted between the verbal morpheme and the particle. These facts, in particular, show the NP gerund analysis of *need*_I complements to be correct.

Observe the contrast between gerundive and passive VP complements of *need*_I in (23).

- (23) a. The 1st word was ignored by the students, but the 2nd one_i
 needs_I [_{CP} PRO_i to [_{VP} be **looked t_i** [_{PP} **right up**]]] [Embedded passive]
- b. The 1st word was ignored by the students, but the 2nd one
 needs_I [_{NP} **looking (*right) up**] [CPC]

The asymmetry between CPC and passive in (23) is explained by our proposed structure for the CPC. In (23a), the object of *look up* (i.e. *the 2nd one*) is a complement of *look*, and the particle *up* projects a PP that is modified by *right*. In (23b), *look up* is lexically derived as a compound phrasal verb and the *-ing* affix attaches directly to the head of this compound (i.e. to *look*). In this context, *right* cannot be inserted immediately before *up*.

We know that this is the case whenever a phrasal verb's particle is not separated from its head. In (24b), *up* is attached directly to *look* and cannot project a PP that would accommodate *right*.

- (24) a. They [_{VP} looked the word [_{PP} (**right**) **up**]] in the dictionary
 b. *They [_{VP} [_v [_v looked] [_P (***right**) **up**]] the word] in the dictionary

The structure of the CPC complement in (23a) is similar and shown here in (25).

- (25) [_{NP} -ing [_v [_v look] [_P up]]] → [_{NP} look_I -ing [_v [_v t_I] [_P up]]]

In (25), the V head *look* undergoes head movement to the N head *-ing* of the gerundive NP. The P in the compound *up* cannot project a phrase and cannot thereby host *right*.

4.2 KOREAN 'PHILYO' VERBAL NP AND CPC CONSTRUCTIONS. Like English, Korean also has CPC constructions with the verb *philyo*, but their syntax is different from what we have found with the English verb *need*. In (26a), the complement of *philyo* is a VN object-verb compound, and in (26b) it is a CPC with a bare VN complement.

- (29) a. Kim-i cip-**ul** chengso-*(**ha**)-yss-e
 Kim-NOM house-ACC clean-do-PST-DECL
 ‘Kim cleaned the house.’
 b. Kim-i cip-**ul** **sass-e**
 Kim-NOM house-ACC buy-PST-DECL
 ‘Kim bought the house.’
- (30) a. Kim-i cip-(***ul**)-chengso-ka philyoha-y.
 Kim-NOM house-ACC-clean-NOM need-DECL
 ‘Kim needs₁ house-cleaning.’
 b. cip-{i/***ul**} chengso-ka philyoha-y.
 house-{NOM/ACC} clean-NOM need-DECL
 ‘The house needs₁ cleaning.’ [CPC]

Third, the nominalizer *-kes*, together with the VP-subordinator *-nun*, can only be attached to VP clausal complements, but not to NP complements. In (31a), the verb *sa* ‘buy’ forms a transitive VP with its object *kapang* ‘bag’. This VP has the subordinator *nun* attached to it, and is then nominalized with *kes*, forming a NP complement of *cohaha* ‘like’ and getting marked with accusative case *ul*. In (31b), the transitive VN *kapang-kwumay* ‘bag-purchase’ takes accusative case directly, indicating that it is already an NP. In (32), the transitive VN *cip-cheongso* ‘house-clean’ and the bare VN *cheongso* ‘clean’ both take the nominative case assigned by *philyo*, and neither can be suffixed with *nun-kes*. Accordingly, we assume that these VNs are NPs.

- (31) a. Kim-i [NP [[VP kapang-ul sa] nun] **kes**]-ul cohaha-n-ta.
 Kim-NOM bag-ACC buy SUB kes-ACC like-PRES-DECL
 ‘Kim likes buying a bag.’
 b. Kim-i [VN kapang-kwumay]-lul cohaha-n-ta.
 Kim-NOM bag-purchase-ACC like-PRES-DECL
 ‘Kim likes buying a bag.’
- (32) a. Kim-i [VN cip-cheongso] {-ka/*-**nun-kes-i**} philyoha-y
 Kim-NOM house-clean {-NOM/-SUB-kes-NOM} need-DECL
 ‘Kim needs₁ house-cleaning.’
 b. cip-i [VN cheongso] {-ka/*-**nun-kes-i**} philyoha-y
 house-NOM clean {-NOM/-SUB-kes-NOM} need-DECL
 ‘The house needs₁ cleaning.’ [CPC]

Finally, a Korean nominal expression can be modified by adjectives but not adverbs, as in (33a) where *cip* ‘house’ is modified by the adjective *kkalkkumhan* ‘neat’. In contrast, verbal expressions take adverbial modifiers, as in (33b), where the VP *cip-up cheongso-ha* ‘clean the house’ is modified by the adverb *kkalkkumhakey* ‘neatly’. In (34), the transitive VN *cip-cheongso* ‘house-clean’ and the bare VN *cheongso* ‘clean’ both take adjectival but not adverbial modifiers.

- (33) a. Kim-i [VP [NP **kkalkkumhan** [NP cip]]]-ul cheongso-ha]-yss-e
 Kim-NOM neat house-ACC clean-do-PST-DECL
 ‘Kim cleaned the neat house.’
 b. Kim-i [VP **kkalkkumhakey** [VP [NP cip]-ul cheongso-ha]]-yss-e
 Kim-NOM neatly house-ACC clean-do-PST-DECL
 ‘Kim cleaned the house neatly.’

