# Passive Light Verb Constructions in Korean

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There are two different types of passive constructions in Korean: lexical passives and syntactic passives. Syntactic passives are, in turn, divided into two groups: those formed by the auxiliary verb *ci-*, which takes an *-e* form complement, and those containing Verbal Nouns (VNs) and such passive Light Verbs (pLVs) like *toy-, pat-* and *tangha-*, which we will call "passive Light Verb Constructions (pLVCs)." In this presentation, we will explore some basic properties of pLVCs and will provide a mono-stratal analysis of them, within an "Indexed Phrase Structure Grammar (IPSG)" framework (Chae 1992).

An active LVC sentence like the one in (1) below can have such corresponding pLVC sentences as those in (2):

(1) kyengchal-i ku-lul   kamsi(-lul)   ha-yess-ta.

    police-Nom he-Acc watch(-Acc) do-Past-Decl   'The police watched him.'

(2) a. ku-ka   (kyengchal-eykey) kamsi(-ka)   toy-ess-ta.

       he-Nom police-by         watch(-Nom) become-Past-Decl   'He was watched (by the police).'

    b. ku-ka   (kyengchal-eykey) kamsi(-lul) pat-ass-ta.

       he-Nom police-by         watch(-Acc) receive-Past-Decl

    c. ku-ka   (kyengchal-eykey) kamsi(-lul) tangha-ess-ta.

       he-Nom police-by         watch(-Acc) undergo-Past-Decl

There is a controversy over the status of the constructions in (2), whether they can be analyzed as the passive form of the LVC sentence (1). It is true that they are not examples of typical passives. For example, they do not appear in Keenan's (1985) list of passive constructions in world languages. However, it is very clear that they have one less complement than sentence (1), which is one of the most important characterizing properties of passives sentences (No 1997). The Acc complement of the VN *kamsi* in (1) is "promoted" to the Nom complement in (2), and the Nom complement of the VN is "demoted" to an oblique complement or is deleted in (2).

The pLVCs in (2), besides their "promotional/demotional" properties, have some other special properties. Firstly, the pLV *toy-* requires a Nom-marked VN, while the pLVs *pat-* and *tangha-* require an Acc-marked VN, if a case marker is present. Secondly, although the VN *kamsi* can combine with all the three pLVs, not all VNs can combine with all the pLVs:

(3) a. kensel 'construction': kensel toy-/*pat-/*tangha-

    b. phakoy 'destruction': phakoy toy-/*pat-/tangha-

    c. chotay 'invitation': chotay toy-/pat-/*tangha-

    d. kemmun 'check(-up)': kemmun *?toy-/pat-/tangha-

Lastly, we must realize that the VN itself does not have any passive properties at all. It becomes a passive expression only when it combines with a pLV:

(4) a. sang-ul     swuye(-lul)      ha-yess-ta.

        prize-Acc awarding(-Acc) do-Past-Decl   '... awarded a prize.'

  b. sang-ul    swuye       hwu

        prize-Acc awarding after   'after awarding a prize'

(5) a. sang-i      swuye(-ka)       toy-ess-ta.

        prize-Nom awarding(-Nom) become-Past-Decl   'A prize was awarded.'

  b. *sang-i swuye hwu

As we can see from the data in (4), the VN *swuye* shows the same case-marking pattern, regardless of whether it occurs with the LV *ha-* or with the (dependent) aspectual noun *hwu*. However, the case-marking pattern of the passive sentence in (5a) is not preserved in (5b). These data indicate that the subcat(egorization) frame of a VN remains constant, unless the VN is followed by a pLV. Hence, we can conclude that the pLV is responsible for the passive properties in pLVCs.

Chae (2002) provides an IPSG analysis of LVCs in Korean, which is based on the framework developed in Chae (1992). The main points of this framework is that each lexical item which induces a particular construction has a stacked [LICENSOR XP] as a part of its syntactic information in the lexicon. LICENSOR is a kind of a FOOT feature and its value (i.e. XP) is the same as the target. The feature in the stack is discharged according to the following principle:

(6) The Principle of LICENSOR Discharge:

      [LICENSOR XP] in the stack of a node (pops out of the stack and) licenses one of this node's daughters when the specification of the LICENSOR's value (i.e. XP) is the same as that of this daughter node.

To implement the fact that VNs are allowed to have NP-external complements only when the VN is licensed by *ha-* or by an aspectual noun, Chae (2002) assumes that these elements rather than the VNs have a LICENSOR feature with an empty value. He further assumes that when they combine with a VN, what is subcategorized for by the VN becomes the value of the feature. This operation makes it sure that what will be licensed by the LICENSOR feature are the complements of the PN.

In this presentation, we will show that pLVCs in Korean can be accounted for naturally within the framework of Chae (1992, 2002). The pLV has a LICENSOR feature with an empty value, just like the LV *ha-*. The value of the feature gets filled when the pLV combines with a VN. In the case of LVCs, what is subcategorized for by the VN becomes the value of the feature. For example, in (4a), when the LV *ha-* combines with the VN *swuye*, the complements of the VN, i.e. its object and subject complements, become the value of the LICENSOR. In the case of pLVCs, the subcategorized elements of the VN cannot themselves be the value of the feature, as we can see in (5a). The feature has to take as its value the "passivized" subcat frame of the corresponding active sentence. As the pLV induces pLVCs and, hence, is responsible for their passive properties, we assume that the pLV governs a construction feature PAS, just like the passive auxiliary *be/get* in English (Zwicky 1987). This feature will take care of changing an active subcat frame into its passive subcat frame. For example, the subcat frame of *swuye* in (4), i.e. <NP1[Nom], PP[PFORM -*eykey*], NP2[Acc]>, will turn into a passive subcat frame, i.e. <NP2[Nom], PP[PFORM -*eykey*], (NP1[Obl])>, once the feature [PAS +] is realized on the VN node. Then, the

elements of the passive subcat frame will become the value of the LICENSOR feature. Now we have provided a natural account of the most important passive properties of pLVCs, the "promotional/demotional" properties (cf. (5a)).

Other special properties of pLVCs can also be accounted for under the present approach. Firstly, we saw that the pLV *toy-* requires a Nom-marked VN and the pLVs *pat-* and *tangha-* require an Acc-marked VN. As the pLV takes a VN as its complement in our approach (cf. Chae 2002), the requirements here become a matter of the combination between a head and its complements. That is, the pLV *toy-* takes a Nom-marked VN as its complement and the other pLVs take a Acc-marked VN. Secondly, we need to account for the fact that not all VNs can combine with all the pLVs. We must notice that this is not a special property of pLVs. Each of the VNs has its own selectional restrictions in combining with a LV, regardless of whether it is an active LV or a passive LV. Hence, the restrictions should be specified in the lexicon item by item. Lastly, the VN itself does not have any passive properties at all. It becomes a passive expression only when it combines with a pLV. These facts are also implemented into the system naturally. As the subcat frame of a VN remains constant, it does not itself has any passive properties. Its subcat frame changes only when it combines with a pLV, resulting in a passive expression.

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## 1. 서술명사(VN)와 수동 경동사(pLV)의 의미적 관련성

(1) 능동, 수동 동사의 관련성 (김윤신 2001: 104-)
   가. 피동화의 어휘의미론적 제약 1 (사건구조상의 제약):
      완성동사만이 피동화가 가능하다.
   나. 피동화의 어휘의미론적 제약 2 (동사의 어휘부류에 대한 제약):
      간접사동인 창조동사는 피동화가 불가능하다.
      어휘적으로 피동의 짝을 갖는 동사도 피동화가 불가능하다.

(2) 수동 경동사: "되다, 받다, 당하다"
   - 각 수동 경동사와 결합할 수 있는 서술명사의 공통적 의미적 특성이 있는가?
   - 개별 서술명사의 의미적 특성에 따라 결합 가능한 경동사를 예측할 수 있는가?

(3) 생성어휘부 이론의 관점에서 서술명사의 분류 (강범모 1999/2002)
   가. 동정, 증오, 존경, 신뢰, 혐오, 증오, 총애, 질투, 생각, ...
   나. 파면, 파괴, 해고, 폭파, 감금, 정화, 확장, 파손, ...
   다. 편집, 설계, 저술, ...
   라. 비판, 공격, 연구, 조사, 공부, 간호, ...
   -- 이들 부류와 각 수동 경동사는 특별한 관련성을 찾아 보기 어려움.

(4) "하다"와 결합할 수 있는 서술명사 중 세 수동 경동사 모두와 결합할 수 있는 것 다수
   우인혜 (1995): 1094개의 서술명사 중 "10분의 1에 못미친다".


## 2. 기본 현상

(5) 경동사 구문, 수동 경동사 구문:
   가. 선생님이 독서를 강조를 하셨다.
   나. (선생님에 의해) 독서가 강조가 되었다.
   다. "되다"가 있기 때문에 수동형이 됨:
      선생님이 독서를 강조, 선생님이 독서를 강조 후
      *(선생님에 의해) 독서가 강조, *(선생님에 의해) 독서가 강조 후

(6) 능동 → "되다" 수동: 2가지 변화
   가. i) "강조를" → "강조가",  ii) "독서를" → "독서가", "선생님이" → "선생님에 의해"
   나. (i)과 (ii)는 서로 독립적 현상 (수동문의 "독서가 강조가"는 격 일치 현상이 아님):
      a. 오스왈드가 케네디를 살해-를 했다.
      b. (오스왈드에 의해) 케네디가 살해-가 되었다. *케네디가 살해-를 되었다.

c. (오스왈드에 의해) 케네디가 살해-를 당했다. *케네디가 살해-가 당했다.

(7) 서술명사와 (수동) 경동사의 결합은 기본적으로 자의적인 측면이 있지만, 경동사에 따라 논항이나 문장 전체에 미치는 개별적인 통사/의미적 제약이 있다.
　　가. 하다 vs. 되다,　나. 되다 vs. 받다/당하다,　다. 받다 vs. 당하다

(8) 가. 세관원이 가방을 검사(를) 했다.　나. 영자가 철수를 감시(를) 했다.

(9) "되다" 수동 경동사 구문:
　　가. 가방이 (세관원에게) 검사(가) 되었다.　철수가 (영자에게) 감시(가) 되었다.
　　　　- object promotion, subject demotion
　　나. *세관원이 가방이 검사(가) 되었다.　*영자가 철수가 감시(가) 되었다.
　　　　- object promotion, no subject demotion
　　다. *(세관원에게) 가방을 검사(가) 되었다.　*(영자에게) 철수를 감시(가) 되었다.
　　　　-　no object promotion, subject demotion
　　라. *세관원이 가방을 검사(가) 되었다.　*영자가 철수를 감시(가) 되었다.
　　　　- no object promotion, no subject demotion
　　→ object promotion과 subject demotion을 동시에 요구.

(10) "받다/당하다" 수동 경동사 구문:
　　가. *가방이 (세관원에게) 검사(를) 받았다/당했다.
　　　　철수가 (영자에게) 감시(를) 받았다/당했다.
　　나. *세관원이 가방이 검사(를) 받았다/당했다.　*영자가 철수가 감시(를) 받았다/받았다.
　　다. (세관원에게) 가방을 검사(를) 받았다/당했다.
　　　　*(영자에게) 철수를 감시(를) 받았다/당했다.
　　라. *세관원이 가방을 검사를(를) 받았다/당했다.　*영자가 철수를 감시(를) 받았다/당했다.
　　→ a object promotion과 subject demotion을 동시에 일어나든지 subject demotion만 되든지.

(11) 자료 (10)의 보충 설명:
　　가. (10가): *가방이 (세관원에게) 검사(를) 받았다/당했다.
　　　　의미적 문제: 가방이 '검사를 받는/당하는' 주체가 될 수 없기 때문에 비문.
　　나. (10다): *(영자에게) 철수를 감시(를) 당했다/받았다.
　　　　'감시를 당하는/받는' 주체가 따로 있으면 정문.

(12) "되다" 수동형 vs. "받다/당하다" 수동형:
　　가. "되다" 수동형:
　　　　주격을 가진 보충어를 취함 (주어에 대한 제약이 없음).
　　　　목적어 promotion과 주어 demotion이 모두 되어야 함.

나. 받다/당하다 수동형:

　목적격을 가진 보충어를 취함 (주어는 'VN+받/당하는' 주체가 될 수 있어야 함).

　최소한 주어만 demotion되면 됨.


(13) J-R Kim (1991): the subject of

　가. "되다"의 주어: theme or patient

　나. "받다"의 주어: recipient

　다. "당하다"의 주어: adverse recipient


## 3. 인덱스 구구조문법적 분석 (Indexed Phrase Structure Grammar)

(14) A lexical rule approach:

　가. "되다": |COMPS <VNP[CASE NOM, PAS +]>|

　나. lexical rule (cf. Borsley 1999: 146):

　　VN|SUBJ <[1]>, COMPS <[2], ...>| ⇒ VN|SUBJ <[2]>, COMPS <...>, PAS +>|


(15) (14)의 문제점:

　가. 서술명사 자체의 "수동형"을 규정할 수 없음: 상을 수여 후 vs. *상이 수여 후.

　나. (10다): (세관원에게) 가방을 검사(를) 당했다/받았다. – only subject demotion

　　단어인 "검사"가 아니라 구인 "가방을 검사"가 수동화됨.


(16) Zwicky (1987): "Construction features" for those constructions generalizing over many patterns

　- the construction feature PAS for the English passive construction

　가. Characteristics of PAS in universal grammar:

　　a. PAS is a HEAD feature.

　　b. [+ PAS] occurs only with [+V, -N, -SUBJ] categories.

　나. The verbs *be* and *get* can govern VP[+PAS].

　다. Exponents of VP[+PAS] in English:

　　a. If VP has [+PAS] then it has [\NP].

　　b. VP[+PAS] can have PP[by] as a daughter.

　　c. If VP has [+PAS] then it has [VFOEM: PSP].


(17) 수동 경동사 구문 분석

　가. The verbs "되다, 받다, 당하다" govern VNP[PAS +].

　나. A constraint on VNP[PAS +]:

　　VNP|PAS +, SUBJ <[1]>, COMPS <[2], ...>| ⇒ VNP|SUBJ <[2]>, COMPS <..., ([1])>


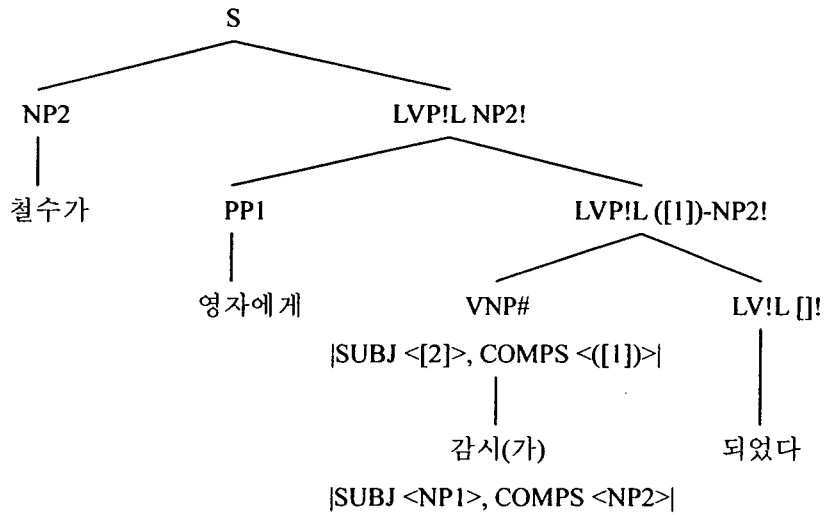(18) "유사 수동" 경동사 구문 분석: (10다)

　가. The verbs "받다, 당하다" can govern VNP[PPAS +]. (cf. PPAS: Pseudo-PAS)

나. A constraint on VNP[PPAS +]:

　　VNP|PPAS +, SUBJ <[1]>, COMPS <...>|　⇒　VNP|SUBJ ◇, COMPS <..., ([1])>

(19) 경동사 구문의 인덱스문법적 분석: Chae (2002)

(20) 철수가 (영자에게) 감시(가) 되었다 / 감시(를) 받았다/당했다.

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                          S
            ┌─────────────┴──────────────┐
          NP2                        LVP!L NP2!
           │              ┌──────────────┴────────────┐
         철수가          PP1                    LVP!L ([1])-NP2!
                          │                  ┌──────────┴──────────┐
                        영자에게             VNP#                 LV!L []!
                                     |SUBJ <[2]>, COMPS <([1])>|    │
                                             │                    되었다
                                          감시(가)
                                  |SUBJ <NP1>, COMPS <NP2>|
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(21) (세관원에게) 가방을 검사(를) 당했다/받았다.

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                    S
                    │
                   LVP
         ┌──────────┴──────────────┐
        PP1                    LVP!L ([1])!
         │              ┌───────────┴───────────┐
      세관원에게        VNP#                   LV!L []!
                |SUBJ ◇, COMPS <([1])>|          │
                 ┌───────┴───────┐          당했다/받았다
               NP2              VN
                │                │
              가방을          검사(를)
                |SUBJ <NP1>, COMPS <NP2>|
```