Necessitative passive *This TV needs fixing*

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Abstract
In this paper, a construction like *This TV needs fixing*, termed here necessitative passive, is analysed in order to solve a question why this construction exists in English. This construction is often mentioned in various descriptive grammars, but it has not been linguistically analysed in details. Various questions are raised, including the grammatical status of *need*, *want*, etc. and the verb in the *–ing* form, the source of the passive meaning, interference of the generic reading and modality, etc. Then these features are examined, using data from corpus, in comparison with the *be*-passive in English. Our finding indicates that the necessitative passive is closely related to the middle voice construction, and it seems that this construction exists in order to cover the middle-related functions in the voice continuum in English.

1   Introduction

In this paper, a construction like *This TV needs fixing* is examined. This construction, which we term necessitative passive, has been documented in descriptive grammars and there are some previous works which mention numerous historical data (cf. Visser 1963-1973: 1886-1888). However, it has not been given its deserved detailed attention yet and this can be shown by the quality of previous works, which do not go beyond the description of the necessitative passive. There are numerous questions to be answered with regard to this construction. So we dissect this construction in terms of form, meaning and function and study them in relation to the voice continuum in English.

This paper is organised as follows: first we present the data of necessitative passive, especially from the historical perspectives. Then various questions are raised, including the grammatical status of *need*, *want*, etc., the source of the passive meaning, interference of the generic reading and modality. Then these features are examined in comparison with the *be*-passive in English, and consider why constructions like necessitative passive exist.

This paper involves analysis of naturally occurring data, and we take advantage of corpora which include the London-Oslo-Bergen (LOB) corpus (written) and London-Lund (LL) corpus (spoken) and the historical examples are mainly taken from OED and Visser (1963-73). In addition, note that there are various conventional divisions of the English language into periods. The following broad division is generally agreed upon among scholars and therefore widely used including this work: Old English (OE) (700-1100), Middle English (ME) (1100-1500), Modern English (ModE) (1500-present), and Present-day English (PDE) (present).

2   **Necessitative passive**

Necessitative passive in this paper refers to a construction 'verbs such as *need*, *want*, etc. + V-*ing*' as in *This TV needs fixing*. The grammatical subject is undergoer (recipient of action), not actor (doer of action), i.e. the necessitative passive is undergoer-oriented. Some verbs take a gerund form of verbal compliment, not a to-infinitive form, and the orientation can determine whether a similar construction is necessitative passive or not as exemplified in (4) and (5). This orientation is identical to the one in the *be*-passive in PDE, and the basic meaning gained from the necessitative passive is quite similar to the one of the *be*-passive, except that the necessitative passive has an extra meaning, normally related to deontic modality (cf. Section 3.5), which is derived from the main verb. The undergoer-orientation further indicates that there is an actor, although it is not overtly expressed. It is obvious that there is a causer-causee relationship (or force-dynmaic alternation, cf. Croft 1991) in both the necessitative passive and the *be*-passive. So the causation involved in the clause also relate the necessitative passive to the *be*-passive at the functional level.

Visser (1963-73: 1886-1888), for example, lists about twenty such verbs. What this V-*ing* form expresses is a passive sense and this phrase can be paraphrased as *This TV has to be fixed* or *This TV needs to be fixed*. Visser (ibid.: 1886-1888) claims this construction sounds a little archaic and as a result, a passive form, instead of gerund, with one of these verbs as a main verb may be more frequently used nowadays. However, some doubt this claim: even in PDE, *need* and *want* at least are still stably productive (p.c. David Denison). So it seems fair to consider that the necessitative passive is not a construction that only thrived in the past. There were some variations of this construction, which do not exist any longer. So first we illustrate the historical developmental path of this construction, then concentrate on the details of morphosyntactic and morphosemantic aspects of necessitative passive in PDE.

As far as we can observe in examples cited in Visser (1963-73: 1886-1888), there seem to be three groups. This is based on the chronology of verbs used in this construction from historical perspectives. We list them below.

Verbs such as *abide*, *avoid*, *continue*, *escape*, *lack*, *suffer* ceased to be used in this type of construction around 17th-18th century. Some examples are:

(1)   The books **continue** selling. (1769 J. Priestley, *Rudiments of English Grammar* p. 111)

Verbs such as *await*, *miss*, *prevent*, *repay*, *stand* only appear in this type of construction in 19th-20th century. Some examples are:

(2)   Regular mess of prints and some odds and ends where they'd **missed** sweeping. (1947 N. Marsh, *Final Curtain* (Fontana Bks.) 228)

Verbs such as *bear*, *deserve*, *merit*, *need*, *require*, *want* started to appear in this type of construction as early as 1400 and can still appear in PDE. Some earlier examples are:

(3)   As al men of a comynte   **berun** punishing for þe defaut
              as all men of a community bear   punishing for the failing
              of two or on
              of two or one
              'All the men in a community bear punishment for the crime of one or two.' (c1400 Wyclif, *Apology* 27)

It is clear that those verbs whose semantic/lexical characteristics involve endurance and necessity survived in this construction. Between them, the meaning of necessity seems to be more productive and in this work, we collectively call the construction with main verbs creating meaning of endurance or necessity and gerund necessitative passive.

It should be mentioned that some verbs, such as *avoid*, can take V-*ing* as their object, but the orientation in PDE is different from the one in the earlier period. Thus, compare the following examples, where the earlier example (4) is undergoer-oriented, while the PDE example (5) is actor-oriented.

(4)   those, that escape, shall **avoid** killing (Söd) (1683 Dryden, *The Duke of Guise* (Wks., ed. Scott/S.) 90) [undergoer-oriented]

(5)   This means that one should **avoid** choosing wines that are very dry or of delicate flavour. (LOB E19 8-9) [actor-oriented]

When verbs like *avoid* are used, the development of necessitative passive is closely tied with the change in orientation, i.e. earlier construction had the undergoer orientation, which turned into the actor-orientation as the language developed. When the undergoer-orientation was still present, the passive reading was possible, but actor orientation prohibits this.

Chronologically, The first and second types are no longer so productive in PDE, and some verbs in the third type are the only productive ones. The necessitative passive historically sometimes involves a shift of orientation in the subject, i.e. from actor- to undergoer-orientation. Such change influenced the restriction of this construction in PDE. However, there are some other motivations for the survival of the third type, to which we will turn in the following sections. Various questions we need to answer involve both form and function of the necessitative passive. Although it is often difficult to draw a clear line between syntax and semantics, we make a rough division between morphosyntactic and morphosemantic aspects and we treat them separately.

3   Problems of necessitative passive

There are various questions to be answered regarding the necessitative passive. For example, where does the passive reading come from? It seems most likely that it is derived from the V-*ing* form, but how? There are various others. Abraham (1995: 11), in analysing the middle voice-related construction (such as unergative or unaccusative), asks six questions, which are: i. the relationship between the middle and passivisation; ii. coreference between the subject and reflexive pronoun and its relation to the middle or passive; iii. interference of generic reading in the middle; iv. relationship between the indispensable adverbials and generic reading; v. the absence of demoted agent; vi. the dummy subject in the monovalent reflexive in German and other Indo-European languages. Although his focus is on the middle-related construction, there are meaningful insights in these six questions which are applicable to our discussion here. As it becomes clear in later sections, some features typically associated with the middle voice or its related constructions, such as the generic reading or the deontic modality, can be found in the necessitative passive.

There are, however, some other questions which are typical of necessitative passive. For example, why can this construction express the similar meaning as the passive? If this is a type of the passive, where is the actor and is it possible to express it overtly? So in this paper, we take advantage of questions in Abraham, but also add some peculiar to the necessitative passive. So we address the following five questions.

(6)   a. What is the grammatical status of *need*, *want*, etc. and V-*ing* in the necessitative passive?
     b. From where is the passive meaning derived?
     c. Can the actor phrase be expressed in the necessitative passive?
     d. Is generic reading relevant to the necessitative passive?
     e. Is there any influence from the deontic modality in the formation of the necessitative passive?

Among them, (6b), (6c) and (6e) can be applied to both the necessitative passive and the middle voice or middle-related constructions, but the rest are specifically about the necessitative passive. In addition, these questions consist of both morphosyntactic (i.e. (6a)) and morphosemantic (i.e. (6b), (6d) and (6e)) aspects of the necessitative passive. However, this distinction is a very crude one and (6c) can belong to both aspects. In what follows, we start with the syntactic aspects, then the semantic ones, but we do not make the strict division and there are certain degrees of overlap.

3.1 What is the grammatical status of *need*, *want*, etc. and V-*ing*?

It is possible to consider the construction of the necessitative passive in several different ways: as far as the auxiliary is concerned, it can be considered either as 'auxiliary *need*, *want*, etc. + V-*ing*' or 'main verb + V-*ing*'. In addition, the V-*ing* form itself allows different interpretations and it can be also interpreted as either gerund or verbal noun. So we look at each verb form separately in turn.

   Suppose for the moment that *need* or *want* is an auxiliary: the auxiliary as a linguistic category has been a focus of debate, and some consider it as a distinct category, and others a type of lexical verb. See Heine (1993: 8-24) for an attractive summary of this diversity. Auxiliaries, when seen from a typological perspective, seem to involve various characteristics, as proposed in Heine (1993: 22-24). He lists 22 different properties of auxiliary (listed in Appendix), and considers that the more properties an item possesses, the better an auxiliary it is. Let us test whether *need*, *want*, etc. can be considered as an auxiliary by applying 22 properties to the PDE data. The result is shown in table 1. In terms of historical changes, the characteristics of these verbs have not changed, and we simplify the table by mentioning the result from PDE. Note that we listed only the matching properties in order to save the space.

Matching properties	Missing properties
4 e. They express grammatical functions but exhibit, at least to some extent, a verbal morphosyntax; k. They carry all morpho-logical information relating to a predicate, such as marking distinctions of person, number, tense/aspect/modality, negation, etc.; l. Subject agreement also tends to be marked on the auxiliary rather than the main verb; s. They tend to occur in a fixed order and in a fixed position in the clause.	18

Table 1. Properties associated with *need*, *want*, etc. in the necessitative passive

Some of the properties are not applicable at all to English at any period, such as obligatory presence (property m) or locative morphology in the main verb (property v). So we may be comparing twenty properties. Nevertheless, the matching properties can be five, if the property p. 'they tend to occur separately from the main verb' is applied, but this depends on the quality of V-*ing* form (whether it is verb or noun), so we leave it to later in this section. Nevertheless, it does not seem likely that these verbs are auxiliary, based on the four matching properties out of 22. If there are some changes in these properties, it looks like a change from a lexical verb to a grammatical functional marker based on the semantic changes in these verbs (cf. Heine 1993: 86-87). However, the change

cannot be observed and the semantic bleaching, as stated in the property o., has not happened and the meaning of necessity in the necessitative passive is derived from these verbs' lexical meanings.

Seen from a diachronic standpoint, we consider the auxiliary as one point in the developmental path from a full lexical verb to its loss. This approach assumes the prototypical instance of auxiliary, but at the same time allows some marginal, less prototypical instances (cf. Huddleston and Pullum 2002: 103-104). So there is a continuum of auxiliaryhood, i.e. the clear boundary between the auxiliary and the lexical verb is not assumed, but what distinguishes them is considered a continuum or gradience. This hypothesis is often employed in diachronic works (e.g. Bybee 1985; Bybee and Dahl 1989; Givón 1975, 1979, 1984, 1989; Haspelmath 1990; Heine 1993 and Hopper and Traugott 1993: 108-112), although there are some purely synchronic works (e.g. Bolinger 1980; Coates & Leech 1980; Leech & Coates 1980). The unclear distinction between the auxiliary and main verb can be considered as a natural result of historical change and it is sometimes impossible to draw a line between the lexical verb and auxiliary. Givón (1984: 270-271) and Haspelmath (1990: 38) further describe a continuum of auxiliary between a full lexical verb to its loss, containing intermediate stages such as cliticisation, affixation, etc., as schematised in 0. The arrow indicates the direction of historical change. What is represented in the scale is apparently syntactically oriented. This is true in a sense, since auxiliaries are in general considered semantically empty. However, there are cases where some semantic changes are involved. When a lexical verb turns into an auxiliary, various semantic aspects, most commonly modality, can appear. One such case is the modal *can* in PDE, which was originally used as a lexical verb meaning 'know' but is now fully grammaticalised as a modal auxiliary.
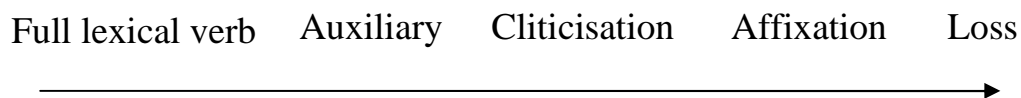
Full lexical verb   Auxiliary   Cliticisation   Affixation   Loss

Figure 1. Schematic representation of auxiliary scale

The verb in the V-*ing* form has not been discussed in detail. Due to its form, it is often considered as either gerund or verbal noun. The gerund normally refers to a V-*ing* form, "in which the verb still retains its ability to take verbal arguments, adverbs, complements, as in *Deliberately bowling bouncers is unfair*" (Trask 1993: 118), and the verbal noun is applied to a V-*ing* form, when "the -*ing* derivative functions straightforwardly as a noun, taking determiners, adjectives and other adnominals, as in *This deliberate bowling of bouncers is unfair*" (Trask ibid.: 118). This question may seem a trivial one, but this can reveal whether the 'need + V-*ing*' form is a cluster of 'verb + verbal participle' or 'verb + direct object'.

The tests to decide the category of V-*ing* are in fact already explained in the definition of each possibility, i.e. the acceptability of verbal arguments or adverbs for gerund, and adjectives, determiners, etc. for verbal noun. In *This TV needs fixing*, *fixing* cannot take its direct object, but the adverbs are applicable, i.e. *This TV needs fixing carefully*. Note that the adverbs refer to the V-*ing* form, not a verb in a higher clause *need*, e.g. **This TV carefully needs fixing*. In this case, some adverbs can appear modifying the verb in higher clause, as in *This TV certainly needs fixing*. As we will see later in Section 4.3, there are certain restrictions for the semantic characteristics of the adverbs in this constructions, and *certainly* do not belong to them. The adjectives can refer to the V-*ing* form, e.g. *This TV needs careful fixing*, but the article cannot be added, e.g. **This TV needs a fixing*.[1] So we can summarise the characteristics in table 2. This is not what is normally expected. For example, in *taking* in *Taking a walk is good for health*, it takes a direct object and adverb can be added, i.e. *Taking a walk regularly is good for health*. It does not take either adjectives or determiners, e.g. **Regular taking a walk is good for health*, **A taking a walk is good for health*. So this is a clear-cut case of gerund. However, *fixing* in *This TV needs fixing* shows partial characteristics of both gerund and verbal noun. This also means that *fixing* here is neither really a noun nor a verb.

Category	Properties	Applicability	Examples
Gerund	Direct object	×	*This TV needs fixing it.*
	Adverbs	√	*This TV needs fixing carefully.*
Verbal noun	Adjectives	√	*This TV needs careful fixing.*
	Determiners	×	*This TV needs a fixing.*

Keys: √ = applicable; × = not applicable
Table 2. Properties associated with gerund and verbal noun in *This TV needs fixing*

So the verbs like *need*, *want*, etc. are more likely to be main verb, not an auxiliary, and there is little evidence that it has started to develop into the auxiliary either. This makes our understanding of the necessitative passive slightly easier, i.e. it is either 'main verb + gerund' or 'main verb + verbal noun'. However, as far as its morphosyntactic behaviour is concerned, the V-*ing* form can be interpreted as either gerund or verbal noun.

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[1] It is worth mentioning that some instances may accept the article, e.g. *This orange juice needs a good shaking before serving*. However, this may be due to the higher degree of lexicalisation of particular verbs, i.e. *shaking* here has become more nominal than verbal. This type of change has not happened to every verb. Most examples do not accept the insertion of the article (for example, it is not possible with (10) and (11)), and it is considered here that the grammaticality of articles is a result of lexicalisation of particular verbs, which does not affect the analysis of the necessitative passive itself.

3.2   From where is the passive meaning derived?

The passive meaning is often obtainable from non-passive constructions. For example, some East-Asian languages are known to have so-called adversative passive, where verbs such as 'suffer' are used as auxiliary. They are often called submissive verbs or so-called in-bound transitive verbs (Chen 1994), sometimes also known as verbs of experience (Keenan 1985: 257-261). What is characteristic of this type of verb is that the action is directed towards the subject, which automatically makes the subject a recipient, as in *I fear him*, where the subject is the recipient of fear, as opposed to out-bound transitive verbs, as in *I beat him*, where the direct object is recipient of the action. So without the overt marking of the passive, some construction can create the passive meaning by making the subject a recipient of action, i.e. undergoer.

In the necessitative passive, the grammatical subject is doubtlessly undergoer, which functions as a direct object in the active construction (cf. (7b)). In the previous section, we saw that verbs *need*, *want*, etc. are lexical verbs and they do not behave as submissive verbs or in-bound transitive verbs. In addition, the V-*ing* form in the necessitative passive lacks the ability to take direct object and this resembles the past participle in the *be*-passive construction (cf. (7d)). So the fact that the V-*ing* form cannot take the direct object, which is a typical characteristic of verbal noun, makes the valence change from its possible active counterpart, i.e. one less argument. In addition, the *be*-passive can appear in the lower clause in a *to*-infinitive clause (cf. (7c)), where *need* is used in the higher clause.

(7) a. This TV needs fixing. (necessitative passive, one argument)
     b. Someone needs to fix this TV. (active, two arguments)
     c. This TV needs to be fixed. (*be*-passive in the lower clause, one argument)
     d. This TV is fixed. (*be*-passive, one argument)

This valency alternation makes this construction syntactically behave like the *be*-passive, which is illustrated in (7c). The valency reduction seems to be triggered by the V-*ing* form, not *need*, *want*, etc., since (7c) involves the passive auxiliary *be* in the lower clause, which is a clear sign that *need* does not trigger the reduction of valency. The puzzle here is that *to be fixed* (7c) or *fixed* (7d) are verbal phrase, while *fixing* in (7a) can be either a noun or a verb. To make the matter more complex, if *fixing* is to be considered a verbal phrase, it should accept the direct object. This is not what is observed in the necessitative passive. The lack of direct object can be specifically associated with the nominal characteristic of the V-*ing* form. This fact may explain the passive reading once disregarding the verbal characteristics of the V-*ing* form.

So it seems that the valency reducing operation, which makes the necessitative passive behave like the passive, is more closely associated with its nominal characteristics. Similar constructions with the V-*ing* form in English, where *be* is used instead of *need*, *want*, etc., also express the passive meaning, as exemplified in (8) and (9). This also illustrates that it is the V-*ing* form, not *need* or *be*, that is responsible for the passive meaning. However, this does not mean that the V-*ing* form is totally nominal: on the contrary, there are some verbal characteristics as shown in table 2. What is observable indicates that the passive reading is indeed taken from the nominal characteristics of the form, while leaving some other characteristics which are not so closely associated with the passive reading.

(8)   it is there the search must **be making** by Manfred and the strangers. (1765 *Walpole, Castle of Otranto* (Classic Tales) 457)

(9)   the baize … **was** actually **forming** into a curtain by the house-maids. (1814 Jane Austin, *Mansfield Park* (London 1897) 116)

3.3   Can the actor phrase be expressed in the necessitative passive?

In discussing the *be*-passive, it is a common practice that the active counterpart is assumed. So for instance, *The vase was broken (by John)* has its active counterpart *John broke the vase*. The actor in the passive is normally optional, and it is not so frequently used. It has been reported that only 20-30% of the occurrences have the overtly expressed actor phrase (cf. Jespersen 1924: 168; Svartvik 1966: 141; Givón 1979: 57-64; Huddleston 1984: 441; Dixon 1991: 278). This lack of actor phrase often results in the function of impersonalisation, which is considered as one of the main functions of the passive voice (cf. Dik 1989; Dixon 1991; Givón 1990, 1995; Palmer 1994). Some scholars such as Shibatani (1985) make an even stronger claim that this is the main function of the passive. When it comes to the necessitative passive, the expression of the actor phrase generally causes the ungrammaticality, e.g. **This TV needs fixing by the electrician*, although similar constructions like *be* + V-*ing* can have the actor phrase, as already exemplified in (8) and (9). So it is clear that imperosnalisation can assist the necessitative passive to be considered as a passive at the functional level. However, it is not clear why the actor should be suppressed and this is the main force for this construction to be chosen ahead of other similar constructions shown in (7).

3.4   Is generic reading relevant to the necessitative passive?

The verb phrase, the V-*ing* form, in the necessitative passive behaves in a particular way: there is a set of verbs known as labile verbs, which allow both the monovalent and the divalent construction, e.g. *I wash this plate* (divalent)

and *This plate washes well* (monovalent). Scholars like Keyser and Erades (1950), Roeper (1984), Fellbaum (1985), Dixon (1991), Rosta (1995) notice that the monovalent use of labile verbs in English often covers the range of the middle/reflexive voice in other languages. It is often the case that the construction is realised due to the inherent characteristic of the subject entity which enables the event to take place. This is what Kemmer (1993: 47) calls facilitative. The facilitative reading may be related to the necessitative passive, in a sense that the characteristics of the subject trigger the requirement of verbs in V-*ing* form, not the *be*-passive clause in the *to*-infinitive. This facilitative reading is what is meant by generic reading or subject's generic characteristics.

In *This TV needs fixing, fixing* can be considered as a labile verb, but it does not syntactically behave the same as verbs like *wash*. The verb needs to be in the V-*ing* form, so the following alternation is not possible: *I need to fix this TV*, but **This TV needs to fix*. Such an alternation is possible only in the verb phrase '*need + to*-infinitive' involving the passive, e.g. *I need to fix this TV* and *This TV needs to be fixed*. *Fix* needs to use the reflexive as in *This TV fixes itself* in order to behave like labile verbs. Such an alternation is not possible at all with the verb in higher clause in order to convey the necessitative passive meaning, e.g. **This TV needs itself*. So the labile verbs' characteristic seems to be more closely associated with the verbs in a lower clause, not the ones in the higher ones, although there is no perfect match. The middle voice-related constructions are known to express the passive meaning once the actor's agentivity is reduced (cf. Lyons 1977: 373, Jaeggli 1985, Klaiman 1991: 92), and historically, this can be one of the developmental paths of the passive morpheme (cf. Croft, Shyldkrot and Kemmer 1987; Givón 1990: 602-605; Greenberg 1995: 150). The necessitative passive, seen from the diachronic point of view, started as undergoer-oriented constructions (cf. (1) to (4)), which means that the actor's agentivity was low at the beginning, and some verbs changed the orientation from undergoer to actor (cf. (5)). So historically speaking, the necessitative passive does not follow the developmental path from the middle-related construction to the passive, although it expresses the facilitative meaning.

As far as labile verbs are concerned, the addition of adverbs clarifies the subject's generic characteristics. The subject argument is considered to be primarily responsible for the action or event denoted by the predicate (Erades 1950: 156; Rosta 1995), or often the predicate expresses something generic (Rosta 1995). For example, adverbials such as *well*, *easily* as in *This book reads easily*, *This new car steers well* frequently occur. Examples like ?*This book reads*, ?*This new car steers* are not well formed, since it is, although partially, the characteristic of 'this book' that enables it to be read or of 'car' that enables it to be steered. The clause requires some extra information which can be attributed to the particular subject's generic characteristics. So the addition of adverbials can give the extra information related to the subject's characteristics, and the relationship between the labile and adverbials can be considered as a

type of collocation. See Fellbaum (1985) for a similar argument. We can classify the adverbials which appear into a couple of semantic groups. Dixon (1991:325-326) indicates that three semantic types of adverb can be found: speed, such as *slowly*, *fast*; value, such as *well*, *badly*; and difficulty, such as *easily*, *with difficulty*. In addition to the use of adverbials, the use of modals can indicate the subject's characteristics clearly as well, e.g. *This book will sell*, *This type of cloth will not wash*, etc. It is worth mentioning that the subject argument can be considered to be affected, as argued by Jaeggli (1985), which is similar to the claim of the passive subject's affectedness (cf. Klaiman 1991). This explains why only certain adverbials are acceptable in the necessitative passive, but not the others. As already seen earlier in Section 3.1, *This TV needs fixing carefully* sounds better than **This TV carefully needs fixing*, because the facilitative reading in the subject entity collocate with these three types of adverbs.

   In the *be*-passive, it is commonly known that the subject tends to be entities lower in the nominal hierarchy. For example, Toyota (2003: 129-130) shows that nearly 75% of the passive subjects in PDE are inanimate. Svartvik (1966: 141) also provides the similar result. This can be compared with the subject's status in the active construction: Comrie (1977) notes that the agent/subject of an unmarked sentence, i.e. the active in English, is typically animate and definite, while objects are typically indefinite and inanimate, based on his text counting. When it comes to the necessitative passive, the animacy of the subject has no control over the occurrence of this type of construction: the subject can be either human-animate or inanimate. (10) illustrates a case of human subject and (11), inanimate subject.

(10)   I only hope **you** will not need rescuing before the day is out. (1954 J. R. R. Tolkien, *The Fellowship of the Ring* 120) [human-animate]

(11)   **Davis' evergreen verses** (happily too familiar to need recalling here). (1922 James Joyce *Ulysses* (The Odyssey Press) 329) [inanimate]

Our data does not contain many instances of necessitative passive examples (only 14 in PDE, and there is no earlier example) and it is obvious that the result is not statistically significant. Nevertheless, we show the characteristics of the undergoer-subject found in our corpora in table 3. Our data clearly shows that the frequency of the animacy between human and inanimate is nearly evenly divided between the features 'human' and 'inanimate'. This is another piece of evidence that the necessitative passive differs from the *be*-passive, and this also indicates that it is not the animacy hierarchy, but other features such as the subject's generic characteristics, that is crucial in the occurrence of the necessitative passive.

Human	Non-Hum. animate	Inanimate	Total
6 (42.9%)	0 (0%)	8 (57.1%)	14 (100%)

Table 3. Characteristics of the subject in necessitative passive in PDE

3.5 Any influence from the deontic modality in the necessitative passive?

The use of adverbial indicates a hint that the V-*ing* possesses characteristics similar to the labile verbs, although there is no perfect match. Then why are *need*, *want*, etc. in a higher clause required in the necessitative passive? The use of such verbs in *I need holidays* or *I want a cup of coffee* often creates the irrealis mood, in a sense that the speaker is not aware of the existence of the referent of the direct object (cf. Croft 1983; Haspelmath 1997: 40 for the use of irrealis mood in this sense). Such a difference can be found in the tense-aspect-mood system of other languages. Pieces of evidence can be found in several places: some Slavic languages use indefinite nouns as direct object for the future tense, but definite ones for the anterior (see Mullen 1997 for examples from Czech and other Slavic languages); the future tense marker is often derived from verbs expressing optative or irrealis mood, e.g. Polabian periphrastic future tense maker *cǫ* used to mean 'I want, I will' (Polański 1993: 815). In addition, the modality often delays the process of historical change and this general tendency of influence from modality could be cross-linguistically attested: some archaic constructions like impersonal verbs, if some of them remain in a language, tend to create some kind of modality. For example, in Classical Greek, we can find some residues of earlier impersonal verbs – 'residues', since most earlier impersonal verbs are 'personalised' by this stage (Bauer 1998: 112). So at the stage of development after classical Greek, most of them express modality (mainly deontic).

As for such a developmental pattern, Bauer (1998: 111) claims that "[s]ince the underlying "agency" is less apparent in these verbs than in verbs conveying emotions it is clear why these verbs are late in developing personal forms."[2] The same can be applied to the development of Latin impersonal verbs (cf. Bauer 1998: 108-111). This indicates that the deontic modality prevents the development of certain constructions. It may also explain why certain verbs in English were used as impersonal verbs even shortly after ME[3] and in addition,

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[2] Bauer (1998: 111) goes further to claims that "their use may also be related to their bound nature and especially their combining with infinitives, which fits the increasing use of auxiliaries.

[3] There were about 40 verbs classified as impersonal verbs in earlier English. See Pocheptsov (1997) for list of such verbs. Majority of them developed into 'personal' verbs by the end of ME, but there are some marginal cases where some phrasal or modal verbs started to appear as 'impersonal' verbs from 'personal' during ME (some of them even around lME), such as *have liefer* 'prefer', *must*, *ought*, *þurfe* 'need'. See Plank (1984: 322-323), Denison (1993: 71-72), Visser (1963-73: §§26-29, 32-34) for various examples.

the verb *need* draws our particular attention in this respect. It was used impersonally earlier and developed a personal form only in the sense of 'need', and the impersonal verb construction is kept when it denotes the sense of 'obligation' (cf. van der Gaaf 1904: 127-129). Thus, during ME, two distinct constructions could be found, as shown below:

Impersonal (denoting 'obligation')
(12)   me   nede
        I.DAT   need.IMPERS
        'I need' (lit. 'need to me')

Personal (denoting 'need')
(13)   It need not to be asked.

These examples indicate the stability of verbs denoting modality. Diachronically, there is cross-linguistic evidence, as we have seen, that modality tends to delay the diachronic change probably due to lack of agency, and this allows certain verbs expressing modality to appear in a syntactically marked construction.

   Recall that there are three classes of verbs used in the higher clause in the necessitative passive, and only the type iii, i.e. verbs such as *bear*, *deserve*, *merit*, *need*, *require*, *want*, survived. Earlier in Section 3.1, we have seen that *need* or *want* in the necessitative passive do not have the syntactic characteristics of auxiliary, but they express the semantic characteristics of the modal, i.e. irrealis mood which is a type of deontic modality. Does it mean that the deontic modality is one of the main reasons for the use of necessitative passive? At first sight, there is little wonder why only a couple of verbs remain in the necessitative passive in PDE. However, this needs to be handled with more care: earlier in (7a) and (7c), we saw two types of construction, i.e. the necessitative passive and the *be*-passive in the lower clause of the verb *need*, respectively. If the modality is the main reason for the use of the necessitative passive, why does the verbal phrase '*need to be* past participle' coexist with the necessitative passive? The importance of the modality is crucial among the three different classes of verbs used in the necessitative passive throughout the history of English, but it does not explain its significance in relation to the *be*-passive.

4   *Be*-passive and necessitative passive

We have seen so far various characteristics that make the necessitative passive rather unique among the passive-related constructions in English. In what follows, we examine how closely the *be*-passive and the necessitative passive are related. As it becomes clear in the due course, they are related at the

morphosemantic and functional level, but not so at the morphosyntactic level. Then we examine the role the necessitative passive plays in the voice system in English.

4.1 Morphosyntactic level

The necessitative passive does not share many morphosyntactic properties with the *be*-passive, apart from the undergoer-orientation. The actor cannot be overtly expressed in the necessitative passive, unlike the be-passive, which can optionally allow the actor in the oblique phrase. The verbs such as *need*, *want*, etc. in the higher clause have not been grammaticalised as an auxiliary and they are still lexical verbs. The V-*ing* in the lower clause is ambiguous between verbal noun and gerund. In fact, it contains partial characteristics of both (cf. table 2). So morphosyntactically, these two constructions are considered two separate ones.

4.2 Morphosemantic and functional level

At the level of morphosemantics and functions, however, these two constructions have much in common: to begin with, they both express the passive meaning, i.e. an action or a process viewed from the undergoer's point of view. This is achieved due to the undergoer-orientation. It is rather difficult to pinpoint from where this meaning comes in the necessitative passive, but it is most likely from the nominal characteristics of the V-*ing* form. In addition, this construction achieves the function of impersonalisation due to the deletion of actor. The deletion is obligatory in the necessitative passive, and this shows a much closer tie to the functions of the passive.

   What differs between them is the facilitative reading: it is important in the occurrence of the necessitative passive. The animacy of the subject entity does not matter in the necessitative passive, unlike the *be*-passive where the subject tends to be inanimate object. The facilitative reading often allows an insertion of particular classes of adverbs, and this is also possible in the necessitative passive.

4.3 Overall interpretation of necessitative passive

The overall interpretation of necessitative passive is that something needs to be done for the subject entity. What is unique here is that the combination of verbs in higher and lower clause constitutes the overall meaning, and the verbs in lower clause may be better considered as a verbal noun in this construction, since it does not allow the presence of direct object and these verbs are not really labile verbs. This does not happen in the case of the *be*-passive, where the overall meaning is derived from the past participle alone and *be* stands merely as a grammatical marker (cf. Toyota 2003: 89-99). So the lexical content of *need*,

want, etc. is well represented in the overall interpretation of the whole clause. This is how the deontic meaning is expressed. However, the facilitative reading is derived from the V-*ing* form, not the verb in a higher clause. This also illustrates that this construction is better considered a type of serial verb construction, rather than auxiliary and verbal noun/gerund. In table 4, details of both morphosyntactic and morphosemantic characteristics are summarised. Every possible characteristic is listed, and the ones highlighted in grey contribute to the representation of necessitative passive.

Need, *want*, etc.		V-*ing*	
Syntactic	Semantic	Syntactic	Semantic
Lexical verb	Deontic meaning	Direct object	Facilitative
Auxiliary		Adverbs	
		No object	
		Adjective	
		Determiners	

Table 4. Meaning composition of necessitative passive

4.4 Necessitative passive in the English voice system

Considering all these features, one may wonder what role the necessitative passive plays in the English voice system. It certainly expresses the passive meaning, but it is not passive syntactically. It is better considered a serial verb construction with deontic modality and the facilitative reading. The deontic modality can be expressed by different ways in English, such as a verb phrase *have to* or modal verbs *must*, etc., and this is not restricted to the passive or the middle voice. However, the facilitative reading is often associated with the middle-related constructions (Kemmer 1993: 20), and this indicates that the necessitative passive possesses the characteristics of the middle voice expressing also the passive meaning.

Facilitative reading is one of the characteristics associated with the middle, but there are others: when the middle-voice can be interpreted as a passive, non-agentive verbs are not used (see Abraham 1995: 21-23 for the Germanic middle/reflexive). So certain classes of verbs such as perception verbs do not form the middle expressing the passive meaning, although the perception verbs are often expressed in the middle due to its spontaneity. The middle often expresses spontaneous events, especially when it is viewed from historical perspectives, this is the original function of the middle voice in Indo-European languages (cf. Gamkrelidze and Ivanov 1995: 260-261). In addition, the English middle is undergoer-oriented (Abraham 1995: 10). This, combined with the agentive verbs, functions as impersonalisation, i.e. suppressing the identity of the actor. This is why the necessitative passive possesses the function of impersonalisation.

So the necessitative passive seems to possess partial characteristics of passive and middle voice. The fact that each construction considered under the grammatical voice are somehow, some more syntactic than semantic or vice versa, related to each other is often called the voice continuum. Various scholars, some more explicitly than others, have noticed this continuous nature of grammatical voice (cf. Lazard 1995; Shibatani 1998; Croft 2001: 283-319). So in the case of necessitative passive, the form itself belongs to the active voice, while its functional domain interacts with the passive (i.e. the undergoer-orientation) and the middle (i.e. facilitative reading). Since English lacks the overtly-marked middle voice, it is possible to consider that constructions like the necessitative passive play an important role in enriching the expressiveness of grammatical voice in English.

5   Conclusion

In this paper, the necessitative passive *This TV needs fixing* is analysed. This construction behaves like the passive at the functional level, since it expresses the action or process viewed from the undergoer's perspectives. Its morphosyntactic characteristics, however, differ significantly from those of the passive. It involves two verbs, *need*, *want*, etc. in a higher clause and verbs in V-*ing* form in a lower clause and it may appear to correspond to the *be*-passive, but verbs in a higher clause are not auxiliary, but lexical verbs. The V-*ing* form itself possess partial verbal and nominal characteristics, and the lack of direct object, which makes the undergoer-orientation possible, seems to be more closely related to the nominal characteristics. In addition, a part of its morphosemantic characteristics, i.e. facilitative reading, can be also found in the middle voice. Due to this, the necessitative passive is considered to form a voice continuum in English, covering the range of active, middle and passive voice. Since English lacks the middle voice, constructions like this play an important part in the voice system.

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Appendix: Properties of Auxiliaries (taken from Heine 1993: 22-24)

a. Auxiliaries tend to provide expressions for a small range of notional domains, especially for the domain of tense, aspect, and modality. This, however, does not exhaust the range of possible domains; other domains exhibiting "auxiliarylike" properties in a number of languages are negation and voice.

b. They form a closed set of linguistic units.

c. They are neither clearly lexical nor clearly grammatical units.

d. They also occur as main verbs (Lewandowski 1973: 259; Conrad 1988: 92); for some authors, this "twin rôle" (Abraham 1990: 201) in fact constitutes one of the definitional properties of auxiliaries.

e. They express grammatical functions but exhibit, at least to some extent, a verbal morphosyntax. In a number of works they are defined as a subset of verbs (Crystal 1980: 38; Bußmann 1990: 186; Conrad 1988: 92-93).

f. While having some verbal properties, they also show a reduced verbal behaviour, having, for example, "highly defective paradigms" (McCawley 1975: 597). Typically, they may associate only with a restricted spectrum of tense/aspect distinctions and/or verbal inflections, may not be passivised, and do not have imperative forms, and some authors have pointed out that auxiliaries may not be independently negated (e.g. Park 1992: 17).

g. They may not be the (semantic) "main predicate" of the clause (Marchese 1986: 82).

h. They may have two "free variants", where one is the full form (e.g. *I will go*) and the other one a reduced form (*I'll go*), or one is a clitic and the other an affix (cf. Hartmann & Stork 1972: 24).

i. They tend to be unstressed or unable to receive contrastive stress (Akmajian et al. 1979: 53).

j. They tend to be cliticizable or necessarily clitic (Steele 1978: 35).

k. They carry all morphological information relating to a predicate, such as marking distinctions of person, number, tense/aspect/modality, negation, etc. Steele et al. (1981: 146) note that elements that are marked on AUX may be expressions of subject marking, subject agreement, aspect, question marking, emphasis, evidential, object marking, object agreement, negation, tense, and modality, but this list does not exhaust the range of functions expressed by elements typically attached as inflections to auxiliaries.

l. Subject agreement also tends to be marked on the auxiliary rather than the main verb (Steele 1978: 32).

m. While auxiliaries are an obligatory part of finite clauses in certain languages, this is not necessarily so in nonfinitie or imperative clauses (cf. Jelinek 1983).

n. Auxiliaries may not themselves be governed by other auxiliaries, or only by a limited number of auxiliaries.

o. They do not have a meaning of their own (Hartmann & Stork 1972: 24; Lewandowski 1973: 259; Conrad 1988: 92-93), or do not contribute to the meaning of sentence but rather are "synsemantic" and "syncategorematic" to the lexeme to which they apply (typically the main verb); that is, they preserve the categorical status of the latter (Carlson 1983; Ramat 1987: 13). Various ways of referring to this fact have been proposed. Tucker and Mpaayei (1955: 96), for example, state in their Maasai grammar that auxiliaries are "verbs whose function is to indicate the situation in which the main verb operates."

p. They tend to occur separately from the main verb (Steele 1978: 13, 21).

q. They may be bound to some adjacent element (Steele et al. 1981: 142-143).

r. Unlike verbs, they may not be nominalized or occur in compounds (Marchese 1986: 81).

s. They tend to occur in a fixed order and in a fixed position in the clause (cf. Pullum & Wilson 1977: 747; Marchese 1986: 81). According to a typological survey carried out by Steele (1978), there are only three positions they occupy in the clause: first, second, or final, but the second position appears to be the preferred one, being used by a clear majority of the languages in her 20-langauges sample.

t. Furthermore, the following observation by Greenberg (196[6]: [85]; Universal 16) appears to be relevant to an understanding of auxiliaries: "In languages with dominant order VSO, an inflected auxiliaries always precedes the main verb. In languages with dominant order SOV, an inflected auxiliary always follows the main verb." An additional generalization has been proposed by Steele (1978: 42), namely that no language with an SVO or VSO basic word order, or with free word order, has its auxiliaries in clause-final position.

u. In the presence of an auxiliary, the main verb is likely to be used in a nonfinite form, frequently carrying with it some morphological element such as a nominalization, infinitive, participal or gerundival marker.

v. Finally, in the presence of auxiliaries, the main verb may be associated with some locative morphology (Anderson 1973).