Toward a Unified Account of Morphological Causatives and Passives in Korean

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1. Introduction

It is well known that causatives and passives may each appear in two distinct forms in Korean, as shown in (1) and (2).

(1) a. emeni-ka aitul-eykey ku chayk-ul ilk-key ha-ess-ta
   mother-nom children-dat that book-acc read-comp do-past-decl
   'Mother made the children read the book.'
   b. emeni-ka aitul-eykey ku chayk-ul ilk-hi-ess-ta
   mother-nom children-dat that book-acc read-caus-past-decl

(2) a. ku chayk-i (manh-un aitul-ey uy-hay) ilke-ci-ess-ta
   that book-nom many children-by read-pass-past-decl
   'The book was read (by many children).'</n
   b. ku chayk-i (manh-un aitul-eykey) ilk-hi-ess-ta
   that book-nom many children-dat read-pass-past-decl

In (1a) is a productive analytic (or periphrastic) causative sentence accompanied by -key ha 'comp-do,' and in (1b) is a morphological causative sentence in which the verb stem is simply suffixed with -hi. In (2a) is an analytic (or periphrastic) passive sentence with -ci 'pass,' and in (1b) is a morphological passive sentence whose verb stem is suffixed with -hi. It is also a well-known fact that the Korean causative and passive morphology often exhibits isomorphism, as exemplified by (1b) and (2b) above. While the

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1 This morpheme may be suffixed with intransitives/adjectives as well as transitives (e.g. nelpe-ci 'widen (intr.)' < nelp 'wide'); hence, it might be better termed as an inchoative morpheme.
causative morphology shows allomorphy in seven ways (i.e. -i, -hi, -li, -ki, -wu, -kwu, -chwu), the passive morphology in four ways (i.e. -i, -hi, -li, -ki). In other words, the set of passive allomorphs constitutes a proper subset of the causative allomorphs. Although there is much lexical idiosyncrasy, some causative morphemes can also be used as passives, as expected.

(3) Chelswu-ka Yenghuy-eykey meli-lul kkakk-i-ess-ta
   -nom          -dat  hair-acc  cut-Hf2-past-decl
   (i) 'Chelswu made Yenghuy cut his/her/s.b. else's hair.' (causative)
   (ii) 'Chelswu had his hair but by Yenghuy.' (passive)

(3) is ambiguous between causative and passive readings as indicated. However, when it is understood as passive, meli 'hair' in the accusative should be taken for Chelswu's, not anybody else's. This should be contrasted with the Japanese counterparts in (4a, b).

(4) a. Taroo-ga Hanako-ni kami-o kir-ase-ta. (causative)
   -nom          -acc  hair-acc  cut-caus-past
   'Taro made Hanako cut his/her/s.b. else's hair,'

b. Taroo-ga Hanako-ni kami-o kir-are-ta. (passive)
   -nom          -acc  hair-acc  cut-pass-past
   'Taro had his/her/s.b. else's hair cut by Hanako.'

Japanese has distinct morphemes for causatives and passives, i.e. -(s)ase and -(r)are, respectively. As in the causative reading of (3), (4a) allows kami 'hair' to be interpreted as Taroo's, Hanako's or somebody else's. However, in contrast to the passive reading of (3), (4b) allows as much interpretive freedom for kami as (4a) does; i.e., it can be Taroo's, Hanako's or somebody else's. This suggests that while the subject of Korean indirect passives should be "included" in the rest of the event denoted (i.e. as the possessor of meli 'hair' in (3)), such a requirement does not hold for Japanese indirect passives.

This point becomes even clearer in indirect passives whose verb stems are intransitives, as in (5).

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2 For the relatively low productivity and idiosyncrasy of morphological causatives and passives, see J.-H. Yeon (1991). K.-H. Kim (1994) questions Washio's factual observations and makes an opposite claim that only limited cases of morphological passives can mean causative. However, most of my informants agree with Washio's factual observations. Hence, we concentrate on attested morphological causatives which can also mean passive in this paper.

3 In what follows, we will let -hi represent the four allomorphs of the causative morpheme that can also be used as passive.
Japanese allows indirect passives built on intransitive verb stems. (5a) is a paradigmatic case of adversative passive where the passive subject sensei 'teacher' is "excluded" from the event of the student's crying (Kuno 1983, 1986). On the other hand, the Korean counterpart in (5b) does not allow such an interpretation.

The purpose of this article is two-fold. First, we will explicate the isomorphism of the Korean causative and passive morphology as exemplified by (3). Then, we will provide a principled account for the "inclusion requirement" on the subject of morphological passives in Korean as in (3).

The organization of this article is as follows. In section 2, we will see that some causative constructions can mean passive across languages. Section 3 summarizes Washio's (1993) generalization based on French and Korean. In section 4, we will develop an analysis as to why the same morpheme appears in passives as well as causatives. Furthermore, we will discuss some apparently problematic cases in section 5. Section 6 is a brief conclusion.

2. **Causatives can mean passive across languages**

As noted above, it seems to be striking that some morphological causatives in Korean allow passive interpretations. However, causative-passive ambiguity of this sort is found across languages. For instance, certain uses of *have* and *get* in English exhibit the same ambiguity.

(6)  
<p>| | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>a.</td>
<td>Mary had John break her glasses.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b.</td>
<td>Mary got John to break her glasses.</td>
</tr>
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</table>

(7)  
<p>| | |</p>
<table>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>a.</td>
<td>Mary had her glasses broken by John.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b.</td>
<td>Mary got her glasses broken by John.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

While *have* and *get* allow only causative readings in (6a, b), the same verbs permit passive readings for many speakers in (7a, b).

As extensively discussed by Kayne (1975: chap. 3), French has two types of causative constructions as in the following.

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4 As noted by Washio (1993), (5b) is grammatical as a causative sentence.
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(8) a. Jean a fait taper la lettre à sa secrétaire.
   has made type the letter to his secretary
   'Jean has his secretary type the letter.'

b. Jean a fait taper la lettre par sa secrétaire.
   has made type the letter by his secretary
   'Jean has the letter typed by his secretary.'

In (8a) is a *fair-à* construction, and in (8b) is a *fair-par* construction. The latter can be used to render a passive sense, as exemplified by (9) from Washio (1993: 47)\(^5\).

(9) Jean s'est fait broyer sa voiture par un camion.
       RC be made crush his car by a truck
   'Jean had his car crushed by a truck.'

As will be discussed in section 3, the use of the reflexive clitic (=RC) *se* plays a key role in making passive interpretation permissible for a causative construction like (9) in French.

Interestingly, *gei* 'give' in a Taiwanese variety of Mandarin Chinese\(^6\) allows causative and (affective) passive readings as well as its prototypical giving and benefactive readings as in (10).

(10) a. Mama gei wo yi-ben shu.
       mother give me one-CL book
       'Mother gave me a book.'

b. Mama gei wo zhu fan.
       mother give me cook rice
       'Mother cooks (rice) for me.'

       Father give enter-Asp university
       'Father made/let Lisi enter college.'

b. Laoshi (shangke shijian) gei xuesheng xie gongke.
   teacher (class time) give student write homework
   'The teacher made students write their homework during the class.'

\(^5\) Hoshi (1994) also points out similarities between the French *fair-par* construction (and its equivalents in other Romance languages) and the Japanese *ni*-direct passive.

\(^6\) The examples in (11) and (12b, c) are supplied by S.-I. Shyu (p.c.) and (12a) is taken from Tsai (2007: 1).
(12)  a. Wo juran gei Zhangsan pao-le.
I unexpectedly give run-PRT
'I was unexpectedly affected by the event in which Zhangsan had run away.'
b. Wo, juran gei Zhangsan da-ku-le pro,
I unexpectedly give hit-cry-PRT
'I unexpectedly had myself hit and made to cry by Zhangsan.'
c. Wo juran gei Zhangsan da-ku-le (wo-de) airen
I unexpectedly give hit-cry-PRT my wife
'I unexpectedly had my wife hit and made to cry by Zhangsan.'

As exemplified in (11) and (12), this dialectal variety of Mandarin Chinese allows *gei* to produce causative and passive senses.

3. **When causatives can mean passive**

As shown in the previous section, the causative-passive ambiguity is rather a cross-linguistic phenomenon. Drawing relevant facts from French and Korean, Washio (1993) proposes a generalization as to when causative constructions can mean passive.

According to Washio (1993: 55), if the French *faire-par* construction is to be interpreted as passive, it must include a reflexive clitic that is coreferential with the matrix subject, as exhibited in (13a, b).

(13)  a. Il s'est fait renverser par une voiture.
'He was knocked down by a car.'
b. Elle s'est fait arrêter par la police.
'She was arrested by the police.'

If the clitic is disjoint with the subject as in (14a) or the reflexive clitic is affixed with the embedded verb as in (14b), passive reading is not available (Washio 1993: 57, 58).

(14)  a. Elle l'a fait arrêter par la police.
'She had him arrested by the police.'
b. Ils ont fait se connaître les invités.
'They made the guests to know each other.'

Turning to Korean, Washio makes an interesting observation. In (15a)

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7 Additionally, in Manchu, Evenki, and Even (Yeon 1991) and Mongolian (Washio 1993), causatives and passives share the same verbal morphology.
is a sentence with ilk-hi 'read-HI.' Although (15a) should potentially be ambiguous between causative and passive, its dominant reading is that of causative. However, if the pragmatic context is modified as in (15b, c), passive reading becomes possible. The examples in (15) are drawn from Washio (1993: 60) ((15b) being slightly modified).

       I-top teacher-dat book-acc read-HI-past-decl
    'I had the teacher read a/the/his book.'
  b. na-nun kwuntay-eyse sangkwan-eykey (ayin-eykeyse-uy)
       I-top army-loc superior officer-dat lover-from-gen
       letter-acc read-HI-past-decl
       'In the army, I was affected by the superior officer's reading a letter
       (from my girl friend).'
  c. Swunca-nun tongsayng-eykey ilki-lul ilk-hi-ess-ta
       -top brother-dat diary-acc read-HI-past-decl
    'Swunca had her diary read by her brother.'

According to Washio, this is due to the fact that the object of the verb stem, i.e. a letter (from my girlfriend) in (15b) and my diary in (15c), belongs to the personal domain of the subject so that the subject counts as "included" in the event denoted by the rest of the sentence.

From these observations in French and Korean, Washio (1993: 61-62) draws the following generalization.

(16)  In both French and Korean,
     a. the causative construction can potentially express both passive and
        causative senses;
     b. if the subject is "excluded" from the event (described in the rest of
        the clause), then only a causative sense is possible;
     c. if the subject is "included" in the event, then a passive sense is
        possible.

In Washio's terms, if the subject is to be "included" in the event denoted by the rest of the sentence, a reflexive clitic bound by that subject must be affixed to the matrix verb or auxiliary in French, as schematized in (17a), and the subject must be pragmatically related to the object of the verb stem (by a

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8 For criticisms on Washio's factual evaluations and arguments, see K.-H. Kim (1994).
relational predicate "R") in Korean, as shown in (17b).

(17)  a. French:
   NP₁  RC₁ faire  V  (t₁)  (par NP₂)  (RC=reflexive clitic)
   b. Korean:
   NP₁-nom NP₂-dat NP₂-acc Vstem-HI  (R(NP₁, NP₂))

4. An analysis
4.1 Assumptions and proposals
   In this section, we will develop a principled account of Washio's generalizations in (17) with respect to Korean upon the Bare Phrase Structure Theory (BPST) (Chomsky 1995) and Distributed Morphology (DM) (Halle and Marantz 1993). Especially, our analysis will be built on the following set of assumptions.

(18)  a. Lexical items including light verbs (=v's) and D's can be freely Numerated.
   b. A full-fledged v has a [D] feature that normally induces the EPP effect, and it assigns an external theta role to its Spec (Chomsky 1995).
   c. When two \(X^0\) items are base Merged, only one of them may project, and the other counts as \(X^0\) and \(X^{\text{max}}\) (Chomsky 1995)
   d. Vocabulary Insertion (VI) takes place in PF after heads are amalgamated as the result of either head movement or morphological merger\(^\text{10}\) (Halle and Marantz 1993).

Our main claims are as follows.

(19)  a. Korean morphological causative and passive forms (=V+HI) are the result of VI applied to the complex head that is composed of a root verb (=\(\sqrt{V}\)) and (more than one) functional feature sets.
   b. In Korean morphological passives, a D\(^0\) is base Merged with v\(^0\), with the latter projected; the unprojected D\(^0\text{max}\) counts as an argument, analogous to the English passive morpheme -en as proposed by Baker, Johnson and Roberts (1989).

\(^9\) Ahn (2001) also claims that Korean causative and passive morphemes are light verbs of some sort.
\(^{10}\) While J. H.-S. Yoon (1994) argues against overt head raising in Korean, Aoyagi (2006a, b) claims that while Korean opts for a head raising option in PF, Japanese does not.
c. Subjects of morphological passives with a retained object are derived via possessor ascension (PA) (Dubinsky 1997).

4.2 Causative-passive ambiguity and rules of VI

Let us start our account with a simple transitive clause like (20a). The relevant part of its phrase marker at Spell-Out is in (20b).

(20) a. aitul-i ku chayk-ul ilk-ess-ta
children-nom that book-acc read-past-decl
'The children read that book.'

b. [TP children, [vP t_i [VP that book √READ v]-ess]-ta

In (20b), *children*, which is base generated as an external argument in [Spec, vP], is raised to [Spec, TP] for an EPP/Case reason.

Let us turn to the morphological causative in (1b) and passive in (2b), reproduced as (21a, b) below. Their phrase structures at Spell-Out are represented in (22a, b), respectively.

(21) a. emeni-ka aitul-eykey ku chayk-ul ilk-hi-ess-ta (=1b)
mother-nom children-dat that book-caus read-past-decl
'Mother made children read that book.'

b. ku chayk-i manh-un aitul-eykey ilk-hi-ess-ta (=2b)
that book-nom many children-dat read-pass-past-decl
'That book is read (by many children).'

(22) a. [TP mother, [vP t_i [vP children [VP that book √READ v]-ess]-ta

b. [TP that book_i [vP (many children) [VP t_j √READ v-D^{max}]-ess]-ta

In morphological causatives like (21a=1b), two v's are introduced to the derivation, and they are both projected. In other words, vP is embedded under another v, as shown in (23). In (23), the Spec of the higher v counts as a causer, and that of the lower v as a causee.

(23) [vP external-agent [vP internal-agent [VP ... √V v] v] v]
   =causer =causee

In morphological passives like (21b=2b), we claim that v and D are base Merged, as schematized in (24).

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11 For arguments for "indirect" passives whose subjects are derived from possessors in Japanese, see Kubo (1990), Terada (1990), Ishizuka (2006).
In (24), v and D are base Merged, and the former projects. The [D] feature of v is checked against that of D. Furthermore, the external theta role of v is assigned to D as $D^{\text{max}}$; hence, many children is dethematized and turned to be an adjunct in (21b). Consequently, that book may be raised to [Spec, TP] across many children to satisfy the EPP feature of T without violating minimality.

At Morphology in the PF side of the derivation, VI takes place. In the case of (20), the complex head that consists of √V and v is replaced by /ilk/ as in (25a). In the causative sentence in (21a), √V and two v's are replaced by /ilk-hi/ as in (25b), and in the passive sentence in (21b), √V+v+D are replaced by, again, /ilk-hi/ as in (25c).

\[(25)\]
\[\begin{align*}
\text{a. } & /ilk/ \leftrightarrow \{\sqrt{\text{READ}}, v\} & \text{(for (20))} \\
\text{b. } & /ilk-hi/ \leftrightarrow \{\sqrt{\text{READ}}, v, v\} & \text{(for (21a))} \\
\text{c. } & /ilk-hi/ \leftrightarrow \{\sqrt{\text{READ}}, v, D\} & \text{(for (21b))}
\end{align*}\]

Remember that in DM rules of VI apply to bundles of features, and they should be as general as possible. Namely, underspecification is favorable. Note that v and D have at least one feature in common, i.e. a [D] feature. Then, the rules in (25b, c) can be conflated in the following way.

\[(26)\] /ilk-hi/ \leftrightarrow \{\sqrt{\text{READ}}, v, [D]\} \quad \text{(for (21a, b))}

We propose that this is the source of the noted isomorphism in the causative and passive morphology in Korean\(^\text{12}\).

Let us turn back to the ambiguous case in (3), reproduced as (27) below.

\[12\] Our approach also allows for lexical idiosyncrasy in verbal morphology. Some root verbs allow the proposed rule conflation, but others do not. For instance, the root verb kki ‘put on (one’s gloves, glasses, rings, etc.)’ has separate forms for causative and passive as follows:

\[(i)\]
\[\begin{align*}
\text{a. } & /kki-wu/ \leftrightarrow \{\sqrt{\text{PUT ON}}, v, v\} \quad \text{(causative)} \\
\text{b. } & /kki-i/ \leftrightarrow \{\sqrt{\text{PUT ON}}, v, D\} \quad \text{(passive)}
\end{align*}\]
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(27) Chelswu-ka Yenghuy-eykey meli-lul kkakk-i-ess-ta. (=3)
    -nom -dat hair-acc cut-HI-past-decl
(i) 'Chelswu made Yenghuy cut his/her/s.b. else's hair.' (causative)
(ii) 'Chelswu had his hair but by Yenghuy.' (passive)

Remember that when (27) is interpreted as causative, *hair* in the accusative has such a wide interpretive freedom that it can be Chelswu's, Yenghuy's or somebody else's; however, when (27) is construed as passive, hair must be Chelswu's. This is due to the two distinct representations in (28).

(28) a. [TP Chelswu [vP t [vP Yenghuy [vP hair √CUT] v] v]-ess]-ta
    b. [TP Chelswu [vP (Yenghuy) [vP t [vP hair √CUT] [v-D0/max]]]-ess]-ta

(28a) is the representation for the causative reading of (27), and (28b) is that for its passive reading. In the latter case, Chelswu (i.e. the inalienable possessor of the hair) undergoes PA, which derives (29b) from (29a).\(^{13}\)

(29) a. Yenghuy-ka Chelswu-uy meli-lul kkakk-ass-ta. (active tr.)
    -nom -gen hair-acc cut-past-decl
    'Yenghuy cut Chelswu's hair.'
  b. #Yenghuy-ka Chelswu-lul meli-lul kkakk-ass-ta. (PA)
    -nom -acc hair-acc cut-past-decl

Although the judgment of sentences like (29b) varies among speakers, we propose, following Dubinsky (1997), that this is an intermediate stage of the derivation of the sentence in (27) with the passive reading. Once Chelswu undergoes PA and Yenghuy is dethematized due to base Merge of v and D as shown in (24), Chelswu may be raised to [Spec, TP] as indicated in (28b).\(^{14}\)

As is the case with (21a, b), we need only one general rule of VI as in (30b) for both causative and passive readings of (27).

\(^{13}\) The exact nature of possessor ascension and/or multiple accusative constructions is yet to be known (see J. H.-S. Yoon 1989, K.-H. Kim 1989, Nakamura 1991, among others). However, it seems that inalienable possession (or whole-part relation) and affectivity play some key roles. Here we simply assume that the possessor DP is adjoined to the possessed DP, and the two DPs share Case and a theta role.

\(^{14}\) The fact that a certain version of minimality or MLC is honored here suggests that our movement analysis is on the right track. If *meli* 'hair' is moved across Chelswu, an ungrammatical sentence results, as indicated in the following.

(i) *Meli-ka Yenghuy-eykey Chelswu-lul t_i kkakk-i-ess-ta
    hair-nom -dat -acc cut-HI-past-decl
4.3 Bi-clausality of morphological causatives in Korean

In the traditional approach (e.g. Shibatani 1973, Tsukamoto 1997), morphological causative sentences were taken to be mono-clausal. However, recent studies have revealed that at least some morphological causatives exhibit bi-clausality. First, according to Washio (2002: 19), the predominant reading of (31a) is that in which the antecedent of caki 'self' is Swunca for the majority of Korean speakers; however, it is not impossible for the anaphor to take tongsayng 'brother' as an antecedent as well. The latter interpretation becomes even more favorable if the nominative phrase is zero-pronominalized as in the imperative sentence in (31b).

\[(31)\]
\[a. \ Swunca_1-ka \ tongsayng_2-eykey \ caki_{1,2} \ chayk-ul \ ilk-hi-ess-ta \]
\[-nom \ brother-dat \ self \ book-acc \ read-HI-past-decl \]
'Swunca made her brother read self's book.'
\[b. \ Tongsayng_2-eykey(-nun) \ caki_{2} \ chayk-ul \ ilk-hye-la! \]
\[\ text{brother-dat-top} \ self \ book-acc \ read-HI-imp \]
'Make your brother read self's book!'

Inasmuch as the reflexive anaphor caki exhibits subject-orientation, our view is supported that Korean morphological causatives are complex sentences. Furthermore, A.-R. Kim (1998: 453) provides additional evidence for bi-clausality of certain morphological causatives in Korean.

\[(32)\]
\[a. \ Mary_1-ka \ John-eykey \ chayk-ul \ khu-key_{1,2} \ ilk-hi-ess-ta. \]
\[-nom \ -dat \ book-acc \ aloud \ read-HI-past-decl \]
'Mary made John read the book aloud.'
\[b. \ Mary_{1}-ka \ John-eykey \ tung-ul \ o-pun \ tongan_{1,2} \ palp-hi_{2}-ess-ta. \]
\[-nom \ -dat \ back-acc \ 5 \ minutes \ step \ on-HI-past-decl \]
'Mary made John step on her back for five minutes (for massage).'

The manner adverb khu-key 'aloud' can modify either Mary's directive action or John's action of reading the book in (32a). In the same vein, the durative adverb o-pun tongan 'for five minutes' can modify either Mary's directive action or John's action of stepping on her back.

Given that vP constitutes the smallest CFC (Chomsky 1986) that denotes an event, the facts in (31) and (32) support our analysis of Korean morphological causatives that relies on multiple occurrences of v's.
4.4 Dethematized subjects in morphological passives
 Unlike "genuine" indirect passives (i.e. those whose subjects are "excluded" in the rest of the event) in Japanese as in (5a), our approach to morphological passives in Korean predicts that irrespective of the presence or absence of a retained object, their subject position is dethematized. This is borne out by examples like the following ((33a) from K.-H. Kim 1994: 342).

(33) a. cha-ka thulek-ey pemphe-lul pat-hi-ess-ta.
   car-nom truck-dat bumper-acc butt-HI-past-decl
   'The car had its bumper crashed into by the truck.'
 b. kacwuk-kkun-i cwuy-eykey han kkurh-ul mwul-li-ess-ta
   leather string-nom mouse-dat one end-acc bite-HI-past-decl
   'One end of the leather string was bitten off by a mouse.'
 c. sonamwu-ka namwukkwun-eykey kaci-lul kkakk-i-ess-ta
   pine tree-nom woodman-dat branch-acc cut-HI-past-decl
   'Branches of the pine tree were trimmed by the woodman.'

Note that each subject in (33a-c) bears a whole-part relation with the retained object. The fact that the passive subject can be an inanimate entity in examples like these indicates that subject position of a morphological passive in Korean is dethematized; hence, the animacy condition is irrelevant15.

5. Apparent counterexamples
  5.1 "Reflexive" verbs in Korean
       According to Chung (2006: 142-143), a class of verbs that denote one's action that affects one's own body part, e.g. ssis 'wash (one's body part),' pis 'comb (one's hair),' kam 'wash (one's hair),' exhibits a rather distinct behavior. If the denoted action is directed to one's own body part as in (34a) and (35a), the verb stem alone is used. However, if the action is directed to somebody else's body part, a causative morpheme must be suffixed with the verb stem, as shown in (34b) and (35b).

(34) a. emeni-ka son-ul ssis-ess-ta
   mother-nom hand-acc wash-past-decl
   'Mother washed her own hands.'
 b. emeni-ka Chel-uy son-ul siss-??(ki)-ess-ta
   mother-nom -gen hand-acc wash-HI-past-decl
   'Mother washed Chel's hands.'

15 K.-S. Hong (1991) presents an argument orthogonal to the text claim, though.
What is striking in b-examples in (34) and (35) is the fact that the valency of the verb stem does not seem to have been increased despite the causative morphology. Since Chel is only the genitive possessor of the body part expression in each b-example, it does not appear to affect the valency of the verb. Furthermore, verbs of this class with a causative suffix may appear in the NOM-DAT-ACC case array, and the resultant clause exhibit the noted causative-passive ambiguity, as exhibited in (36a, b).

Note that the causative readings of (36a, b) do not allow the same degree of interpretive freedom with respect to the retained object as in our earlier examples like (3). That is, the hand and the hair must be Chel’s in (36a) and (36b), respectively. Naturally, these facts should be accounted for in a principled way.

For the lack of better terminology, let us call verbs of this class "reflexive" verbs. We propose that "reflexive" verbs are unergatives that trigger Noun Incorporation (NI) (Baker 1988) at LF. Thus, the derivation of the apparently simple transitive clause in (34a) proceeds in the following way.

\begin{align*}
& (35) \quad a. \text{ emeni-ka meli-lul pis-ess-ta} \\
& \quad \text{ mother-nom hair-acc comb-past-decl} \\
& \quad \text{ ‘Mother combed her own hair.’} \\
& b. \text{ emeni-ka Chel-uy meli-lul pis-?i(ki)-ess-ta} \\
& \quad \text{ mother-nom gen hair-acc comb-HI-past-decl} \\
& \quad \text{ ‘Mother combed Chel’s hair.’} \\
& (36) \quad a. \text{ emeni-ka Chel-ekan son-ul ssis-ki-ess-ta} \\
& \quad \text{ mother-nom -dat hand-acc wash-HI-past-decl} \\
& \quad (i) \text{ ‘Mother made Chel wash his hands.’ (causative)} \\
& \quad (ii) \text{ ‘Mother had her hands washed by Chel.’ (passive)} \\
& b. \text{ emeni-ka Chel-eykey meli-lul pis-ki-ess-ta} \\
& \quad \text{ mother-nom -dat hair-acc comb-HI-past-decl} \\
& \quad (i) \text{ ‘Mother made Chel comb his hair.’ (causative)} \\
& \quad (ii) \text{ ‘Mother had her hair combed by Chel.’ (passive)}
\end{align*}

\begin{align*}
& (37) \quad a. \left[ \text{VP} \left[ \text{DP} \text{ mother} \right] \text{ hand} \right] \text{ √wash} \\
& \quad \text{(Merge DP with √V)} \\
& b. \left[ \text{VP} \left[ \text{DP} \text{ mother}, \left[ \text{DP} \text{ t} \right] \text{ hand} \right] \right] \text{ √wash} \\
& \quad \text{(PA of mother)} \\
& c. \left[ \text{VP} \left[ \text{DP} \text{ mother}, \left[ \text{DP} \text{ t}, \text{ hand} \right] \right] \text{ √wash} \right] \text{ v} \\
& \quad \text{(Merge VP with v)} \\
& d. \left[ \text{TP} \text{ mother}, \left[ \text{VP} \left[ \text{DP} \text{ t}, \left[ \text{DP} \text{ t}, \text{ hand} \right] \right] \text{ √wash} \right] \text{ v} \right] \text{ T} \\
& \quad \text{(Move mother to [Spec, vP], Merge vP with T, and Move mother to [Spec, TP])}
\end{align*}
Toward a Unified Account of Morphological Causatives and Passives in Korean

We assume that "reflexive" verbs allow PA of the possessor DP as other transitive verbs in Korean, as indicated in (37b). However, since the head of the possessed DP eventually incorporates to the root verb at LF (in other words, the possessed DP is not an argument but constitutes part of the predicate) as indicated in (37e), the PAed possessor DP will no longer have any theta role to share (see footnote 12). Hence, it must move to [Spec, vP] for an agent role, as shown in (37d)\textsuperscript{16}.

Next, we turn to the case where the possessor DP remains in the genitive as in (34b).

\begin{align*}
\text{(38)} & \quad \text{a.} \quad [vP \{[vP Chel \ hand] \ \sqrt{\text{WASH}}\}] \quad (\text{Merge DP with } \sqrt{v}) \\
& \quad \text{b.} \quad [vP \{[vP Chel \ hand] \ \sqrt{\text{WASH}}\} \ v^*] \quad (\text{Merge VP with } v^*, \text{ a transitivizer that will license the possessor}) \\
& \quad \text{c.} \quad [TP \text{mother, } [vP \{[vP Chel \ hand] \ \sqrt{\text{WASH}}\} \ v^*] \ v] \ T] \\
& \quad \text{(Merge } v^*P \text{ with } v, \text{ Merge } \text{mother} \text{ to [Spec, vP], Merge vP with T, and Move } \text{mother} \text{ to [Spec, TP])} \\

\Rightarrow \text{Spell-Out} \\
& \quad \text{d.} \quad [TP \text{mother, } [vP \{[vP Chel \ hand] \ \sqrt{\text{WASH}}\} \ v^*] \ v] \ T] \\
& \quad \text{(NI of } \text{hand to } \sqrt{\text{WASH}}, \text{ PA of } \text{Chel, and Move } \text{Chel} \text{ to [Spec, } v^*P]\text{ at LF})
\end{align*}

The derivation of the causative sentence in (34a) starts with VP in (38a). Since hand eventually incorporates to the root verb, a transitivizing v* should be introduced to license the possessor, as indicated in (38b). Then, another v and mother (=causer) are introduced as in (38c). At LF, hand undergoes NI to incorporate to \sqrt{wash}, and Chel undergoes PA. Note that insertion of v* is necessary because the root verb \sqrt{WASH} is an unergative verb that does not license the possessor DP as its argument.\textsuperscript{17}

Our analysis of "reflexive" verbs as NI verbs is supported by the following fact.

\textsuperscript{16} Obviously, the current approach should allow us to "look ahead" of the derivation.

\textsuperscript{17} K.-H. Kim (1994: fn. 4) reports that there are speakers who accept the linear strings in (36a, b) (with Chel in the dative) in the same sense as those in (34b) and (35b) (with Chel in the genitive). In our approach, this means that for those speakers, the possessor Chel may overtly move to [Spec, v*P] to be licensed.
As indicated in (39a, b), the body part expression of a "reflexive" verb can simply be implied\(^8\). We take this to be a piece of evidence that the body part expression undergoes NI at LF.

Now we turn to the causative-passive ambiguity observed in (36). The causative reading of (36a) has the LF representation in (40a), and its passive reading that in (40b).

\[
\begin{align*}
(40) & \quad \text{a. } \text{TP mother} \text{ [vP [vP Chel [vP [DP ti ti] hand-k√WASH] v] v]-ess]-ta} \\
& \quad \text{b. } \text{TP mother} \text{ [vP (Chel) [vP [DP ti ti] hand-k√WASH] v-D0/max-ess]-ta}
\end{align*}
\]

Since ssis 'wash' belongs to the class of "reflexive" verbs, it triggers incorporation of the body part expression (=NI) at LF in either case. In the derivation of (36a) as a causative sentence, Chel, which is base generated within the object DP, moves to the lower [Spec, vP] for the secondary agent (=causee) role, and mother is Merged in the higher [Spec, vP] as the causer, as indicated in (40a). Hence, hand is interpreted as Chel's. On the other hand, in the derivation of (36a) as a passive sentence, D is base Merged with the lower v. As a result, Chel can only be introduced to the derivation as an adjunct. In this case, mother base generated as the possessor of the object DP may move to the higher [Spec, vP] across Chel, as indicated in (40b).

In our approach, while the derivation of the transitive clause in (34a) involves only one v, that of the transitive clause in (34b) and that of the causative-passive clause in (36a) involves two occurrences of v's. Hence, we need only two, rather than three, rules of VI as in (41).

\[
\begin{align*}
(41) & \quad \text{a. } /\text{ssis}/ \iff \{\sqrt{\text{WASH}}, v\} \quad (\text{for } (34a)) \\
& \quad \text{b. } /\text{ssis-ki}/ \iff \{\sqrt{\text{WASH}}, v, v\} \quad (\text{for } (34b), (36a))
\end{align*}
\]

\(^8\) Quite similarly, English has a small class of verbs that do not require a (reflexive) object.


However, the Japanese counterparts definitely require an object, as shown below.

(ii) a. *(karada-o) araw-e! b. *(kami-o) tok(as)-e!

"Wash yourself!" "Comb your hair!"
5.2 Mek-i-class "lexical" causatives

Finally, we will discuss cases that seem to challenge our syntactic approach to Korean morphological causatives, as illustrated in (42b) and (43b).

(42) a. ay-ka wuyu-lul mek-ess-ta.
   child-nom milk-acc. eat-past-decl
   'The child had milk.'

b. emeni-ka ay-eykey wuyu-lul chenchenhi-1,2 mek1-i2-ess-ta.
   mother-nom child-dat milk-acc slowly eat-HI-past-decl
   'Mother fed the child with milk slowly.'

(43) a. ay-ka os-ul ip-ess-ta.
   child-nom clothes-acc put on-past-decl
   'The child put on clothes.'

b. emeni-ka ay-eykey os-ul ppalli-1,2 ip1-hi2-ess-ta.
   mother-nom child-dat clothes-acc quickly put on-HI-past-decl
   'Mother dressed the child quickly.'

In each b-case above, the manner adverb can modify Mother's manipulative action, but not the child's action. In neither of the b-examples does the child act as an agent, but it seems to bear a goal or benefactive role. From this fact, A.-R. Kim (1998) concludes that verbs like mek-i 'feed' and ip-hi 'dress' are true "lexical" causative verbs.

However, we believe that a syntactic account is possible for these cases as well. Following Miyagawa and Tsujioka (2004), Jung and Miyagawa (2004), and Tsai (2007) among others, we propose that verbs of this class involve an applicative head (=APPL). For instance, the sentences in (42a, b) have the representations in (44a, b), respectively.


While (44a) is the representation of a simple transitive clause in (42a), (44b) is that of a "lexical" causative clause in (42b), which involves an applicative head. In PF, VI takes place. We can formulate two separate rules of VI as

---

19 Similar observations are made of certain uses of Japanese morphological causatives like nom-ase 'drink-make = to feed' and hak-ase 'put on-make = put on (shoes/socks)' See Matsumoto (1998), Murasugi, et. al. (2005) for relevant discussions.
One piece of supporting evidence for our approach comes from the following fact. The paradigmatic applicative verb *cwu 'give' is compatible with verbs of the *mek-i 'feed' class, but not those of the *ilk-hi 'read-make' class, as illustrated in (46) and (47).

(46) a. *chayk-ul ilk-hye cwu-ess-ta
    book-acc read-HI give-past-decl
    'make/let (someone) read a book'

b. *tung-ul palp-hye cwu-ess-ta
    back-acc step on-HI give-past-decl
    'make/let (someone) step on one's back'

If APPL is distinct from *v in that it does not constitute an eventive category, the contrast between the two classes of causative verbs under discussion is explained away.

6. Conclusion

In this paper, we have attempted to answer the questions as to (i) why the causative and passive morphology in Korean often exhibit isomorphism, and (ii) why the "inclusion" requirement is imposed on the subject in the passive reading of a causative construction. As for the first question, we have proposed that causative and passive constructions involve more than one functional heads such as *v and D. Especially, the complex verbal heads formed by PF include at least one *v and another head with a D-feature as well as a root verb. Since underspecified rules of VI cannot make a distinction between the two feature sets, i.e., {√V, v, v} and {√V, v, D}, due to the presence of a D-feature in *v; hence, rules of VI often insert one and the same vocabulary item to both causative and passive verbal heads. As for the second question, we have claimed that the subject of indirect passives based on causative constructions is derived from the possessor of the retained object.
via PA, which is an independently motivated productive process in Korean. Naturally, one may raise a question from a comparative perspective as to why the causative-passive ambiguity is found in Korean, but not in Japanese. One immediate speculative answer to this question is to state that while the Korean causative and passive morphemes are functional categories, their Japanese counterparts are lexical categories. However, it is not entirely clear at this point whether this statement will provide an ultimate answer to the difference between the two languages.

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