A Passive Analysis of Morphological Causatives in Korean

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Abstract

Morphological causatives in Korean show some intimate correlations with morphological passives across different domains of the grammar. Morphologically, both the causative and the passive can be marked with the allomorphs *-i*, *-hi*, *-li*, *-ki*; syntactically, in both constructions, the agent of the stem verb can be assigned dative case *-eykey*; and semantically, some apparent causative constructions (often called the retained object construction) may be interpreted passively. In this paper, I suggest that the causative-passive correlations arise because the causative may contain the passive as part of its structure. Specifically, I argue that (i) the passive in Korean involves passive Voice; and that (ii) the head responsible for causativization, Caus(e), c-selects VoiceP in Korean including passive VoiceP. The possibility of Caus taking passive VoiceP as its complement is claimed to bring about the correlations in question.

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1 Introduction

Morphological causatives in Korean show some intimate correlations with morphological passives across different domains of the grammar. Morphologically, the passive allomorphs *-i*, *-hi*, *-li*, *-ki* (which will be referred to as *-Ci*) constitute a subset of the set of the causative allomorphs, which include *-wu*, *-kwu*, *-chwu* (which will be referred to as *-Cwu*) in addition to *-i*, *-hi*, *-li*, *-ki*.

(1) *kkakk-i-*: 'be cut', 'cause to cut'
     cap-hi-:   'be caught', 'cause to catch'
     mwul-li-: 'be bitten', 'cause to bite'
     an-ki-:   'be hugged', 'cause to hug'
(2) *kkay-wu-*:   'cause to wake up'
     sos-kwu-:   'cause to soar'
     mac-chwu-: 'cause to reach/hit'

Syntactically, agent of a transitive stem verb is assigned either dative or accusative case in the causative (3a). Dative case is what is assigned to the agent in the passive (3b).

(3) a. Swuni-ka   kangaci-{eykey/lul} son-ul   mwul-li-ess-ta.
         Swuni-NOM puppy-{DAT/ACC}   hand-ACC bite-CI-PST-DECL
         'Swuni had the puppy bite the hand.'
     b. Son-i   kangaci-eykey mwul-li-ess-ta.
         hand-NOM puppy-DAT   bite-CI-PST-DECL
         'The hand was bitten by the puppy.'

And semantically, some causative constructions may be interpreted passively if the surface object has a "close relation" (cf. Washio 1993; J. Yeon 2002, 2005) with the surface subject. For instance, an apparent causative construction like (3a), which is often called the retained object construction, is in fact ambiguous between the two interpretations in (4a) and (4b).

(4) a. Swuni caused the puppy to bite her hand.
     b. Swuni was bitten in her hand by the puppy.

Since it was first noted by S.-O. Lee (1972), the overlap between the causative and the passive in Korean has been given much attention in the literature. Yet, the focus of the previous research has been mostly on the ambiguous construction exemplified in (3a) (K. Kim 2011; L. Kim 2014; Y.-s. Kim 2006, 2007; S. Nam 2005; Washio 1993; J. Yeon 1991, 2002, 2005, 2015; among many others), while few attempts, if any, appear to have been made to identify any underlying reason for why the correlations are exhibited across the different domains of the grammar.

In this paper, I propose that the causative-passive correlations illustrated above arise because the causative may contain the passive as part of its structure. Specifically, I suggest that (i) the passive involves a variant of agentive Voice (Kratzer 1996) called *passive Voice* (Bruening and Tran 2015; Legate 2014) in Korean; and that (ii) the head responsible for causativization, *Caus(e)* (Pylkkänen 2008), c-selects VoiceP in Korean (Jo and Vu 2018) including passive VoiceP. The possibility of Caus taking passive VoiceP as its complement is claimed to bring about the correlations in question.
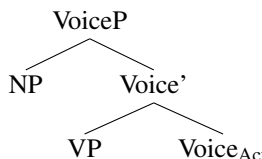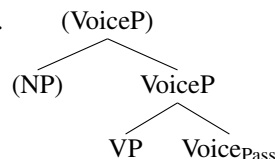
2 Passives

Canonical passives such as those in English involve two basic functions: (i) demotion or removal of agent; and (ii) promotion of non-agent to the surface subject. It has long been noted that only the former, but not the latter, is essential to the passive (Bruening 2013; Bruening and Tran 2015; Comrie 1977; Shibatani 1985). Shibatani (1985:830; 834, (34–35)), for instance, claims that the primary

function of the passive is 'agent defocusing', pointing out that many languages allow passivization of unergatives that do not project an internal argument (e.g., German, Welsh), or passivization of transitives without promoting the theme argument (e.g., Ute, Hindi).

To capture the essential property of the passive, i.e., agent demotion, it has been proposed that agentive Voice (Kratzer 1996) comes in two variants: active and passive Voice (Bruening and Tran 2015; Legate 2014). Both types of Voice contains an agent variable. The difference is that the agent variable of active Voice is saturated by projecting an NP argument in its specifier, whereas that of passive Voice is saturated through either adjunction or existential quantification without projecting a specifier (for relevant discussion, see Bruening 2013; Legate 2014, Chapter 2).

Adopting the Voice analysis of the passive, I assume that the active-passive alternation in Korean also involves the two variants of Voice illustrated in (5a–b). That is, a transitive sentence like (6a) is "passivized" as in (6b) if passive Voice is employed in place of active Voice.

(5) a.   VoiceP   b.   (VoiceP)

         NP   Voice'   (NP)   VoiceP

              VP   Voice$_{Act}$ VP   Voice$_{Pass}$

(6) a. Koyangi-ka cwi-lul   cap-ass-ta.
       cat-NOM   mouse-ACC catch-PST-DECL
       'The cat caught the mouse.'
    b. Cwi-ka   (koyangi-eykey) cap-hi-ess-ta.
       mouse-NOM (cat-DAT)   catch-CI-PST-DECL
       'The mouse was caught (by the cat).'

Notice that demoted agent of the stem verb is marked with dative case in Korean passives (6b). The argument may be marked with -*eyuyhay* instead as in *Cwi-ka koyangi-**eyuyhay** cap-hi-ess-ta*. It is standardly assumed in the literature that -*eyuyhay* is an alternative agent marker in the passive (corresponding to *by* in English passives), but this is not necessarily the case. As J.-t. Lee (2002, 2003) observes, dative case and -*eyuyhay* are not always interchangeable in the passive. One of the factors he notes that determine their distribution is how directly the argument in question is involved in the event denoted by a stem verb.[1] When the argument is directly involved in a verbal event (e.g., a mosquito bites a person), only dative case is felicitous as in (7a); on the other hand, when the argument is involved only indirectly in a verbal event (e.g., the president catches a spy by giving an order), only -*eyuyhay* is felicitous as in (7b). If the degree of involvement of the argument can be either way, it may be marked with either dative case or -*eyuyhay* as in (7c).

(7) a. Swuni-ka   moki-{eykey/#eyuyhay}   mwul-li-ess-ta.
       Swuni-NOM mosquito-{DAT/#EYUYHAY} bite-CI-PST-DECL
       'Swuni was bitten by a mosquito.'
    b. Kanchep-i taythonglyeng-{#eykey/eyuyhay} cap-hi-ess-ta.
       spy-NOM   president-{#DAT/EYUYHAY}   catch-CI-PST-DECL
       'The spy was caught by the president.'
    c. Pyekci-ka   appa-{eykey/eyuyhay} ttut-ki-ess-ta.
       wallpaper-NOM dad-{DAT/EYUYHAY} tear.off-CI-PST-DECL
       'The wallpaper was torn off by dad.'

The difference between dative case and -*eyuyhay* becomes more evident if the active counterparts of the above examples are considered: the active versions of (7a) and (7c) are felicitous, whereas that of (7b) is not. That is, the possibility of dative case marking in the passive patterns together with the felicity of the corresponding transitive. The infelicity of the transitive version of (7b) must be because the president is unlikely to be agent of the catching event, for the sentence would become felicitous if the subject were replaced by a probable agent like *kyengchal* 'police.' Assuming that the subject of the transitive is agent introduced by active Voice, what the pattern indicates is that

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[1]The other factors are the tendencies to avoid dative case when there already is a dative-marked NP within the same clause or when the surface subject is inanimate.

the argument marked with dative case is agent introduced by a sibling of active Voice, i.e., passive Voice, but the argument marked with *-eyuyhay* is not agent but something else.

In fact, Fukuda (2011) proposes that *-niyotte*, the Japanese counterpart of *-eyuyhay* in Korean passives, introduces a causer rather than an agent argument. The same appears to be the case for *-eyuyhay* in Korean. One easy way to see this is to consider a pair of examples like (8a–b). In (8a), the *-eyuyhay* phrase appears in addition to agent marked with dative case. Importantly, the passive (8a) is a paraphrase of the causative (8b), showing that the argument marked with *-eyuyhay* in the passive corresponds to the causer argument in the causative.

(8) a. Cwi-ka   ai-eyuyhay   koyangi-eykey cap-hi-ess-ta.
         mouse-NOM child-EYUYHAY cat-DAT   catch-CI-PST-DECL
         'The child caused the mouse to be caught by the cat.'
     b. Ai-ka   koyangi-eykey cwi-lul   cap-hi-ess-ta.
         child-NOM cat-DAT   mouse-ACC catch-CI-PST-DECL
         'The child caused the cat to catch the mouse.'

In this paper, I adopt Fukuda's view and assume that *-eyuyhay* in Korean introduces a causer argument. I further assume that *-eyuyhay* is an adjunct predicate that attaches to non-active (i.e., unaccusative and passive) VoiceP and introduces a causing event and a causer argument on its own.[2]

As for the agentive reading that the *-eyuyhay* phrase often gives, I take it to be pragmatic implicature in that the reading can be easily canceled when followed by an NP with dative case.

(9) Cwi-ka   ai-eyuyhay   mek-hi-ess-e,   wuli cip   koyangi-eykey mal-i-ya.
     mouse-NOM child-EYUYHAY eat-CI-PST-DECL our home cat-DAT   word-COP-DECL
     'The child had the mouse be eaten, by our own cat, I mean.'

In (9), the dominant reading of the clause before the comma is 'the mouse was eaten by a child', but the following NP with dative case cancels the agentive reading of *ai* 'child', and generates an updated interpretation that the child is causer of the eating event where the cat is agent.

3 Causatives

Jo and Vu (2018) suggest that the head responsible for causativization, *Caus(e)* (Pylkkänen 2008:84), c-selects VoiceP in Korean. The proposal is based on the observations that (i) causativization may target any verbal predicates including transitive verbs (e.g., *pwul-li-* 'cause to solve'), unergative verbs (e.g., *wul-li-* 'cause to cry'), and unaccusative verbs (e.g., *nok-i-* 'cause to melt'), and that (ii) the resulting causative shows mono-clausal properties. If lexical verbs always accompany a Voice head that encodes a grammatical voice, the view that Caus selects VoiceP of any kind accounts for the fact that any class of verbs can be the target of causativization.[3] The mono-clausal properties also follow naturally from the c-selectional property of Caus. For instance, in the causative in Korean, the negation marker can never intervene between the stem verb and the causative morpheme (10a); instead, it must appear between the causative morpheme and the tense marker (10b).

(10) a. * Swuni-ka   ai-eykey chayk-ul ilk-ci   anh-ki-ess-ta.
            Swuni-NOM child-DAT book-ACC read-CONN NEG-CI-PST-DECL
            Int. 'Swuni made the child not read a book.'
      b.   Swuni-ka   ai-eykey chayk-ul ilk-hi-ci   anh-ass-ta.
            Swuni-NOM child-NOM book-ACC read-CI-CONN NEG-PST-DECL
            'Swuni did not make the child read a book.'

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[2]The assumption is based on the observation that the *-eyuyhay* phrase can be freely added to unaccusatives or passives, but not to transitives or unergatives. Also, decomposition of *-eyuyhay* suggests that it is a predicate encoding causativity, because *-eyuyhay* consists of the locative *-ey*, the verbal predicate *uyha-* 'be based; be caused', and the suffix denoting a cause *-ye* 'because' (*-y* in *-eyuyhay* is a shortened form of *-ye*). I leave formalization of the syntax and semantics of *-eyuyhay* to future research.
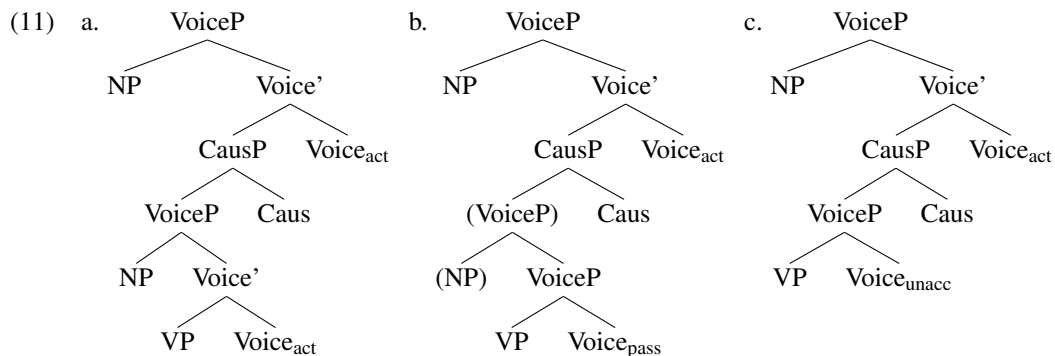
[3]In a language like Hungarian, Jo and Vu note, Caus must select agentive VoiceP, in that morphological causativization may target only those verbs with an external argument (i.e., transitives and unergatives): e.g., *olvas-tat-* 'cause to read', *ugrál-tat-* 'cause to jump', **olvad-tat-* 'cause to melt'.

Assuming the standard view that NegP comes in below TP (and above VoiceP) in the structure (Pollock 1989), the fixed position of the negation marker (...V CAUS NEG TNS...) suggests that the causative contains a single TP layer above CausP, which in turn means that the head of CausP must take the extended verbal projection below TP and NegP as its complement, namely, VoiceP.[4]

The view that the causative in Korean involves Caus c-selecting VoiceP, along with the view that the passive involves passive Voice (Section 2), offers a logical possibility that Caus in Korean may take passive VoiceP, among other types of VoiceP, as its complement. In Section 4, I show that the causative-passive correlations in Korean arise because of this possibility.

4 The Causative-Passive Correlations

According to the discussion so far, there are three possibilities that can be involved in the derivation of the causative in Korean: (a) Caus selecting active VoiceP (transitives and unergatives); (b) Caus selecting passive VoiceP; and (c) Caus selecting unaccusative VoiceP. The derivational possibilities are illustrated in (11a–c). Here, it is assumed with Pylkkänen (2008:83–84) that introduction of a causer argument is not an essential property of causativization, and the external argument of a causing event is introduced by a Voice head above CausP.

(11) a.

VoiceP
├── NP
└── Voice'
    ├── CausP
    │   ├── VoiceP
    │   │   ├── NP
    │   │   └── Voice'
    │   │   ├── VP
    │   │   └── Voice$_{act}$
    │   └── Caus
    └── Voice$_{act}$

b.

VoiceP
├── NP
└── Voice'
    ├── CausP
    │   ├── (VoiceP)
    │   │   ├── (NP)
    │   │   └── VoiceP
    │   │   ├── VP
    │   │   └── Voice$_{pass}$
    │   └── Caus
    └── Voice$_{act}$

c.

VoiceP
├── NP
└── Voice'
    ├── CausP
    │   ├── VoiceP
    │   │   ├── VP
    │   │   └── Voice$_{unacc}$
    │   └── Caus
    └── Voice$_{act}$

Notice also that no independent Voice head is posited for unergatives. I assume that active Voice assigns structural case optionally; that is, the unergative is viewed to be derived with active Voice, which introduces an external argument and does not have to assign accusative case.[5]

4.1 Shared Morphology

The allomorphs *-i*, *-hi*, *-li*, *-ki* not only appear in the causative and the passive, but they also appear in the unaccusative (K. Kim 2009, 2011; S.-Y. Park 2013). In examples like (12a–b), for instance, the verbal root is suffixed with the *Ci* morpheme, yet an agent argument is not allowed to appear, suggesting that the examples are not the passive (which entails an external argument) but the unaccusative (which does not entail an external argument).[6]

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[4]In Japanese, on the other hand, the negation marker may appear either of the two positions discussed in the text (Horváth and Siloni 2011:661, (5a–b)), suggesting that Caus in this language selects a phrase bigger than VoiceP, presumably (non-finite) TP (Jo and Vu 2018).

[5]The assumption is not in conflict with Burzio's Generalization, in that the generalization states that only those verbs that assign a θ-role to the subject *can* assign accusative case. See Legate (2014:91) for the interpretation of Burzio's Generalization from the perspective of Voice theory.

[6]The arguments *ai* 'child' and *sencang* 'captain' in (12a–b) are allowed to appear if they are marked with *-eyuyhay* instead of dative case. This again shows that dative case and *-eyuyhay* introduce different types of arguments: the former introduces an agent argument, while the latter a causer argument (Section 2). J.-t. Lee (2002, 2003) states that examples like (12a–b) are the passive, but the use of dative case is restricted due to the constraint that dative case cannot co-occur with an inanimate subject. In such a view, however, it is not clear (i) how the *-eyuyhay* phrase can appear in addition to NP marked with dative case in the passive as in (8a); (ii) why there are cases where dative-marked agent can co-occur with an inanimate subject as in (3b) and (7c); and above all, (iii) why such a constraint must exist in a language.

(12) a. Menci-ka (*ai-eykey)   nal-li-ess-ta.
          dust-NOM (*child-DAT) fly-CI-PST-DECL
          'Dust floated in the air (*by the child).'
      b. Pay-ka   (*sencang-eykey) pata-ey   cam-ki-ess-ta.
          boat-NOM (*captain-DAT)   sea-LOC sink-CI-PST-DECL
          'The boat sank in the sea (*by the captain).'

The same morpheme may appear in the simple transitive as well. For instance, a verbal root like *pel-* 'be set' can never appear by itself (13a), but instead must appear with the *Ci* morpheme (13b) (see S. Kim 1997 for discussion on the class of verbs in Korean that always appear with the *Ci* morpheme).

(13) a. * Khun canchi-ka   pel-ess-ta.
            big   party-NOM be.set-PST-DECL
            'A big party has been set.'
      b. Choy yengkam   tayk-i   khun canchi-lul pel-i-ess-ta.
          Choi old.man.HON residence-NOM big   party-ACC be.set-CI-PST-DECL
          'Mr. Choi's family threw a big party.'

The verb *pel-i-* in (13b) must not have been derived by causativization, because example (13a) cannot be analytically causativized with *-key ha-*.

(14) * Choy yengkam   tayk-i   khun canchi-lul pel-key   ha-yess-ta.
        Choy old.man.HON residence-NOM big   party-ACC be.set-CONN DO-PST-DECL
        Int. 'Mr. Choy's family had a big party be set.'

Analytic causativization is an entirely productive process in Korean. So, the fact that the verbal root *pel-* resists analytic causativization shows that *pel-i-* in (13b) is not a causativized version of *pel-*, but instead is a transitive verb in itself.

The distribution of the *Ci* morpheme in the unaccusative and the transitive, as well as in the causative and the passive, indicates that the morpheme represents an element that is common to the verbs in all these constructions. On the assumption that any verb must have a grammatical voice, and grammatical voices are encoded by Voice heads, the distribution of *Ci* as such suggests that it is the morphological realization of Voice. Note in passing that under this view, the ungrammaticality of (13a) and (14) is because the verbal root *pel-* is used without a Voice head.

The realization of Voice must be listed, and not all members of a certain class of verbs accompany an overt voice marker. In many cases, verbs appear to be used without a voice marker (e.g., *nok-Ø-* 'melt', *cap-Ø-* 'catch'). The choice of an allomorph of the Voice morpheme must also be listed than rule-governed. When verbs are used with an overt voice marker, its form varies between *-i, -hi, -li, -ki*. Compare the exponents of unaccusative Voice in (12a) and (12b) above. The pattern of exponence appears to be relatively regular: *-i* appears after a vowel or *kk*; *-hi* appears after a stop consonant; *-li* appears after a liquid or *lu*; and *-ki* appears after a nasal or *t*. Such a pattern might have a historical background, but as J. Yeon (1991) points out, it is hardly phonologically motivated from a synchronic point of view, for there is no phonetic feature common to the elements that must be preceded by each allomorph.[7]

As for the passive, its morphological property distinct from the unaccusative or the transitive is that the verb always appears with the *Ci* morpheme. Assuming that *Ci* is the exponent of Voice, as we have established above, what this means is that passive Voice must be overtly realized as *Ci* as described informally in (15) (the actual rules are shown in (20) below).

(15) $Voice_{pass} \rightarrow \{i, hi, li, ki\}$ / V __

The same holds for the causative, except that the inventory of the potential allomorphs of Voice is bigger than that in the passive. Recall from Section 3 that Caus in Korean takes any type of VoiceP as its complement. This means that any type of Voice head must be overtly realized in the causative along the following lines (the actual rules are shown in (21) below).

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[7]Notice also that *kk* and *k* in the coda position are both pronounced as /k/, and yet the former must be followed by *-i*, while the latter be followed by *-hi*: e.g., *takk-i-* 'be wiped' vs. *mak-hi-* 'be blocked'.

(16)   Voice → {*i, hi, li, ki, wu, kwu, chwu*} / V __ Caus

Considering the two rules in (15) and (16) along with the fact that the allomorphs in question are exponents of Voice, it is clear why the passive allomorphs constitute a subset of the set of the causative allomorphs (and why, for example, it is not the other way around, nor is there no overlap at all). The form of Voice in the passive is conditioned by the stem verb alone, but the form of Voice in the causative may be conditioned by the stem verb as well as by Caus. That is, there is additional head involved in the causative that may trigger further change in the form of the morpheme. Note that under the current view, Caus in Korean does not have its own exponence; all it does is to constitute a morphological environment in which the form of Voice is determined. In other words, the causative in Korean is argued to be marked through the exponence of Voice conditioned by Caus.

In the case of the passive and the causative, too, the choice of an allomorph for Voice must be listed. First, there are cases where different allomorphs must be chosen under apparently identical phonological environments: *kkoc-hi-* 'be put in' vs. *ccic-ki-* 'be torn' (J. Yeon 1991:340, (3)). Moreover, there are cases where homonyms are used with different allomorphs.

(17)   a.   *cha-* 'kick'   *cha-i-* 'be kicked', 'cause to kick'
       b.   *cha-* 'be filled'   *chay-wu-* 'cause to be filled'
(18)   a.   *ssu-* 'write'   *ssu-i-* 'be written', 'cause to write'
       b.   *ssu-* 'put on'   *ssu-i-* 'be put on' / *ssuy-wu-* 'cause to put on'

For many speakers, a single verbal root like *tot-* 'sprout' may even accompany either one of two allomorphs.[8]

(19)   Sinsenhan namwul-i   ipmas-ul   tot-{wu/kwu}-ess-ta.
       Fresh   seasoned.vegetable-NOM appetite-ACC sprout-{*wu/kwu*}-PST-DECL
       'Fresh seasoned vegetable stimulated the appetite.'

The cases introduced above clearly show that the allomorphy of Voice needs to be memorized, and thus must be listed from a synchronic perspective. Some examples of the listed allomorphy in the passive and the causative in Korean are shown in (20) and (21), respectively.

(20)   a.   Voice_{pass} → *i* / {**ssu- 'put on'**, *takk-* 'wipe', *kko-* 'twist', ...} __
       b.   Voice_{pass} → *hi* / {**mek- 'eat'**, *cek-* 'write', *ic-* 'forget', ...} __
       c.   Voice_{pass} → *li* / {*kel-* 'hang', *phal-* 'sell', *phwul-* 'solve', ...} __
       d.   Voice_{pass} → *ki* / {**an- 'hug'**, *ppayas-* 'take.away', *ttut-* 'pluck', ...} __
(21)   a.   Voice → *i* / {**mek- 'eat'**, *cwuk-* 'die', ...} __ Caus
       b.   Voice → *hi* / {*ilk-* 'read', *ip-* 'put on', ...} __ Caus
       c.   Voice → *li* / {*kal-* 'plow', *al-* 'know', ...} __ Caus
       d.   Voice → *ki* / {**an- 'hug'**, *wus-* 'laugh' ...} __ Caus
       e.   Voice → *wu* / {**ssu- 'put on'**, *ci-* 'carry', *kkay-* 'wake', ...} __ Caus
       f.   Voice → *kwu* / {*sos-* 'soar'} __ Caus
       g.   Voice → *chwu* / {*mac-* 'be hit', *nuc-* 'be late', ...} __ Caus

Notice in (20–21) that Voice for a verb like *an-* 'hug' is realized as *-ki* in both the passive and the causative, Voice for a verb like *mek-* 'eat' is realized as *-hi* in the passive and as *-i* in the causative (both are the *Ci* form), and Voice for a verb like *ssu-* 'put on' is realized as *-i* in the passive and as *-wu* in the causative (one is the *Ci* form, the other is the *Cwu* form accompanied by a stem alternation). These cases indicate that although the sets of allomorphs may overlap, the exponence of Voice must be conditioned in different environments between the passive and the causative as suggested in this paper.[9]

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[8]The prescribed form listed in the dictionary is *tot-wu-*, yet many contemporary speakers of Korean use the two forms interchangeably.

[9]In fact, it has been observed that the number of the verbs is not many for which an identical form of the passive and causative markers can be used (see Y.-s. Kim 2006, J. Yeon 2015, and references therein).

4.2 Case Marking

When a transitive verb is causativized, the agent argument of the stem verb can receive either accusative or dative case.[10]

(22) Emma-ka   ai-{lul/eykey}   chayk-ul   ilk-hi-ess-ta.
      mom-NOM child-{ACC/DAT} book-ACC read-CI-PST-DECL
      'Mom made the child read a book.'

On the other hand, when an intransitive verb is causativized, the sole argument of the stem verb can only receive accusative case.

(23) a. Appa-ka   ai-{lul/*eykey}   wul-li-ess-ta.
          dad-NOM child-{ACC/*DAT} cry-CI-PST-DECL
          'Dad made the child cry.'
      b. Sanyangkkwun-i saca-{lul/*eykey} cwuk-i-ess-ta.
          hunter-NOM   lion-{ACC/*DAT} die-CI-PST-DECL
          'The hunter killed a lion.' (*Lit.* 'The hunter made a lion die.')

The contrast between (22) and (23a–b) follows from the facts that (i) Caus in Korean c-selects VoiceP, and (ii) passive Voice is not compatible with intransitive verbs in Korean.

When the stem verb is transitive, there are two options for deriving the causative: either Caus takes active VoiceP or Caus takes passive VoiceP. This is because Caus c-selects VoiceP, and transitive verbs are compatible with either one of the two types of agentive VoiceP. If Caus takes active VoiceP, the external argument of the stem verb is projected at Spec,VoiceP and thus must be assigned structural case. This means that it is assigned accusative case by a higher case-assigning head, i.e., Voice above CausP. On the other hand, if Caus takes passive VoiceP, the external argument is demoted by passive Voice and thus is realized as an adjunct marked with (oblique) dative case, just as the external argument in the passive. In other words, the agent argument is marked with dative case in the causative when the argument is demoted by passive Voice embedded under CausP.

One piece of evidence for this view comes from the fact that when the agent argument of the stem verb is omitted in the causative, the omitted causee receives an existential interpretation like that in the passive.[11] As shown in both the passive (24a) and the causative (24b), the omitted agent is interpreted existentially. This contrasts with an example like (25), where the omitted agent receives a pronominal interpretation that requires discourse licensing.

(24) a. Selyu-ka   kawi-lo   cal-li-ess-ta.
          document-NOM scissors-with cut-CI-PST-DECL
          'The document was cut (by someone) with scissors.'
      b. Swuni-ka   selyu-lul   kawi-lo   cal-li-ess-ta.
          Swuni-NOM document-ACC scissors-with cut-CI-PST-DECL
          'Swuni made (someone) cut the document with scissors.'
(25) Selyu-lul   kawi-lo   cal-lass-ta.
      document-ACC scissors-with cut-PST-DECL
      '(The person given in the context) cut the document with scissors.'

If the omitted agent in the passive is existentially quantified, whereas that in the transitive is a null pronoun, the fact that the causative (24b) patterns together with the passive (24a) and not with the transitive (25) suggests that the omitted causee in the causative is also existentially quantified.

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[10]The two cases give different impressions about how manipulative the causer is in the causing event: when accusative case is used, the causer is interpreted to be more manipulative; whereas when dative case is used, it is interpreted to be more directive. The same tendency is observed between morphological and analytic causatives. J. J. Song (2015:105–108), following I.-S. Yang's (1979) view, claims that morphological and analytic causatives only have different stylistic effects, pointing out that the interpretations are variable depending on the context. I suggest that this is also the case in (22). In fact, the alternation between accusative and dative case does not seem to affect the truth condition of the sentence at all.

[11]See Key (2013:185–186) for the same case in Turkish.

A potential problem for the passive analysis of causatives might be the fact that the agent argument cannot be introduced by *-eyuyhay* in the causative, while it can in the passive.

(26) a. Cwi-ka   koyangi-{eykey/eyuyhay} cap-hi-ess-ta.
          mouse-NOM cat-{DAT/EYUYHAY}   catch-CI-PST-DECL
          'The mouse was caught by the cat.'
      b. Ai-ka   koyangi-{eykey/*eyuyhay} cwi-lul   cap-hi-ess-ta.
          child-NOM cat-{DAT/*EYUYHAY}   mouse-ACC catch-CI-PST-DECL
          'The child had the cat catch the mouse.'

But recall from Section 2 that *-eyuyhay* is viewed to be an adjunct predicate that introduces its own causing event and causer argument. Given this, it is not surprising why *-eyuyhay* is disallowed in the causative: there would be two causing events for a single main event. That is, the example in (26b) with *-eyuyhay* generates an improper semantics as its translation would be 'The child caused someone/something to catch the mouse, where the catching event was caused by the cat'; hence, the ungrammaticality.

The last point to note regarding causativization of a transitive verb is that some causative constructions may be ambiguous between the causative and the ditransitive. The ambiguity arises when the event denoted by a causativized verb involves a potential transfer of possession as in (27).[12]

(27) Emma-ka ai-eykey pap-ul   mek-i-ess-ta.
       mom-NOM child-DAT rice-ACC eat-CI-PST-DECL
       'Mom made the child eat rice.' or 'Mom fed rice to the child.'

The ambiguity can be tested with instrumentals and agent-oriented comitatives. Instrumentals and agent-oriented comitatives are known to be associated only with the agent participant of an event (Bruening 2013).[13] So, it is predicted that when a sentence like (27) receives the causative interpretation, instrumentals and agent-oriented comitatives can be associated with the dative-marked argument; but when it receives the ditransitive interpretation, they are associated with the surface subject. The prediction is born out as shown below.

(28) Emma-ka adul-eykey pap-ul   {swutkalak-ulo/chinkwu-wa hamkkey} mek-i-ess-ta.
       mom-NOM son-DAT   rice-ACC {spoon-with/friend-with   together} eat-CI-PST-DECL
       'Mom made her son eat rice {with a spoon/with his friend}.' or 'Mom, {with a spoon/with her friend}, fed rice to her son.'

The fact that instrumentals and agent-oriented comitatives are associated with the dative argument when interpreted causatively shows that the dative argument is agent of the main event, which in turn indicates that Caus is embedding a variant of agentive VoiceP, namely, passive VoiceP.[14] The same pattern is observed when a causativized verb cannot be construed to involve a transfer of possession.

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[12]I thank Julie Legate at PLC 42 for bringing my attention to this point (cf. Legate 2014:159, fn. 2). Other transitive verbs that may involve a transfer of possession when causativized would include *ip-* 'get dressed' (e.g., 'cause to get dressed' as in a mother dressing a baby in a bodysuit), *cap-* 'hold' (e.g., 'cause to hold' as in a mother handing over a baby rattle to her baby to hold), etc. The potential involvement in a transfer of possession can be affected by the context as well. For instance, *cap-hi-* 'cause to hold' may (but not necessarily) involve a transfer of possession if the theme is a transferable entity like a baby rattle, but it may not if the theme is a non-transferable entity like a doorknob.

[13]Agent-oriented adverbs do not appear to be an appropriate tool to test agency in Korean, since the adverbs are also structurally sensitive and target the argument in the surface subject position (see also Bruening and Tran 2015). Consider a passive example (i), where the dative-marked argument is clearly agent:

(i) Kwutwu-ka Swuni-eykey (*ilpwule)   palp-hi-ess-ta.
      shoes-NOM Swuni-DAT   (*deliberately) step.on-CI-PST-DECL
      'The shoes were stepped on by Swuni (*deliberately).'

The incompatibility of *ilpwule* 'deliberately' in (i) shows that it only targets the surface subject and cannot target the agent marked with dative case. The adverb becomes compatible in (i) if the subject is replaced by a volitional argument like *chinkwu* 'friend'.

[14]Recall that agent of the causing event is also assumed to be introduced by Voice (cf. (11a–c)). In fact, instrumentals and agent-oriented comitatives may also be associated with the surface subject of the causative.

(29) Emma-ka   adul-eykey {kyeysanki-lo/chinkwu-wa   hamkkey} swuhak mwuncey-lul
       mom-NOM son-DAT   {calculator-with/friend-with together} math   problem-ACC
       phwul-li-ess-ta.
       solve-CI-PST-DECL
       'Mom made her son solve a math problem {with a calculator/with his friend}.'

Finally, as for intransitive verbs, it is clear according to the discussion so far why the argument of an intransitive verb cannot be marked with dative case when causativized: intransitive verbs cannot be passivized in Korean, that is, they are incompatible with passive Voice (see Bruening 2016 for discussion on why this might be so in languages like English and Korean). Therefore, the non-demoted causee must receive structural case from Voice above CausP.

4.3 The Retained Object Construction

J. Yeon (2005:168–170) claims that the two interpretations (30i) and (30ii) of a sentence like (30) arise because two distinct derivational histories could have been involved in the surface construction.

(30) Halmeni-ka   sonca-eykey   heli-lul   palp-hi-ess-ta.   (J. Yeon 2005:170, (17))
       grandma-NOM grandson-DAT back-ACC step.on-CI-PST-DECL
       i. Grandma made her grandson walk on her back (e.g., to relieve the back pain).
       ii. Grandma was stepped on her back by her grandson (e.g., by accident).

I adopt his view and suggest that the two interpretations of the ambiguous construction are read off from two distinct structures that accidentally yield the same word order with the same case markings. The accidental overlap is, again, due to the possibility that Caus selects passive VoiceP in Korean.

More specifically, I suggest that the construction is given a causative interpretation if it is the causative embedding passive VoiceP, whereas the construction is given a passive interpretation if it is the passive of a double accusative construction with the recursive VP structure (Tomioka and Sim 2005).[15] This view is supported by the fact that the ambiguity disappears if the agent argument is marked with accusative case instead of dative case: the sentence is unambiguously causative. This is because only in the causative, the argument can be 'not demoted' by means of Caus selecting active VoiceP, and accordingly receives structural case from Voice above CausP. The ambiguity also disappears if the retained object is marked with nominative case instead of accusative case: now the sentence is unambiguously passive. This is because object promotion takes place only in the passive.

5 Conclusion

In this paper, I have argued for a passive analysis of causatives (cf. Kayne 1975) in Korean, suggesting that the causative-passive correlations exhibited across the morphological, syntactic, and semantic domains of the grammar are attributed to the possibility of Caus taking passive Voice as its complement.

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For instance, if *chong-ulo* 'with a gun' is used in (28), the sentence receives the interpretation 'Mom made her son eat rice using a gun (as a threat)'. The same is the case for agent-oriented comitatives: *chinkwu-wa hamkkey* 'with a friend' in (28) may also be associated with *emma* 'mom' in the causative interpretation.

[15]Not all double accusative constructions can be passivized as such (e.g., ditransitives, the constructions involving a floating quantifier or a topic-comment relation between the two accusative-marked NPs). For this reason, I assume that the other types of double accusative constructions have structures different from the one suggested by Tomioka and Sim (2005).

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