On the syntax of causative morphology in Korean
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1. Synopsis: It is widely known that the four (i.e. /Hi/) out of the seven causative morphemes {i, hi, li, ki, wu, kwu, chwu} can also be used as passive (e.g. [3], [7], [8], a.o.) as in (1).

(1) *John-i   Mary-eykey   meli-lul   kkakk-i-ess-ta*
    John-NOM Mary-DAT   hair-ACC   cut-HI-PST-DECL
    (i) 'John made Mary cut his/her/someone else's hair.' (ii)'John had his hair but by Mary.'

(1) can be interpreted as either causative (i) or passive (ii). It is noteworthy that interpretive freedom of the retained accusative object in passive is more narrowly restricted than in causative. In this paper, I will argue that /Hi/ in Korean is univocally the exponent of Cause, and its passive sense results from Voice-Cause bundling proposed by [5].

2. The possible loci of Cause: [5] claims that Cause may appear in three different locations, depending on its selectional properties as in (2).

(2) a. Root-selecting Cause: $\sqrt{R}$^Cause   b. vP-selecting Cause: vP^Cause
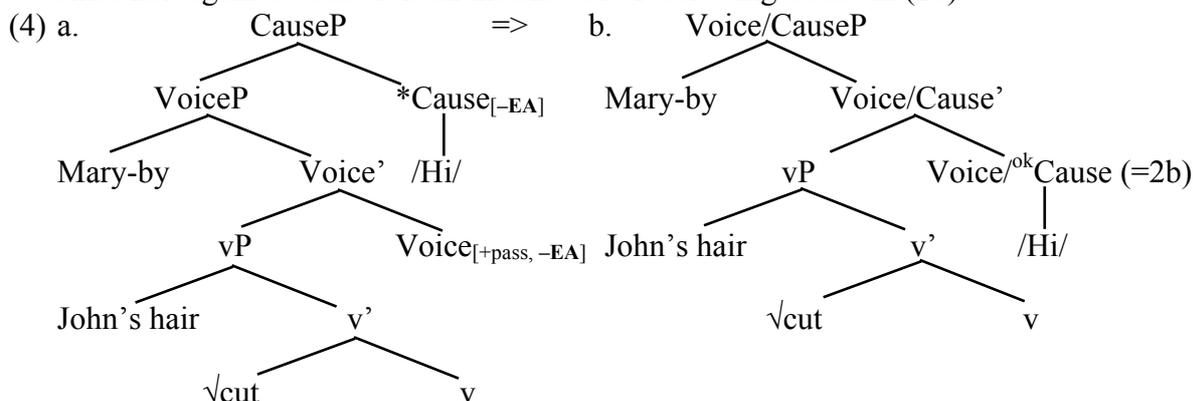   c. Phase-selecting Cause: [αP EA ... α]^Cause   (EA: external argument)

The definition of phase is due to [5]. I will take (2a~c) for conditions on the possible loci of Cause in Korean.

3. Voice-Cause bundling: The causative sense of (1) straightforwardly results from (3).

(3) ...[CauseP John$_1$ [VoiceP Mary$_2$=EA [vP hair$_{1, 2, 3}$ $\sqrt{cut}$^v]^Voice$_{[+EA]}$]^Cause$_{[+EA]}$=/Hi/]...

Cause above VoiceP is an instance of (2c), hence, permissible, because the latter is a phase with EA=*Mary*. Inasmuch as (1) is represented as a causative sentence in (3), the accusative marked internal argument (IA) hair need not be John's, and it can be Mary's or even somebody else's.

Suppose, on the other hand, that Cause can be [–EA], and the direct passive Voice is [–EA] by definition, *Mary* in (3) loses its EA status and is demoted to an adjunct. Now Cause in (4a) becomes illicit because VoiceP is not a phase; hence, it does not instantiate (2c), nor does it instantiate (2a) or (2b), for that matter. This is why Voice-Cause bundling, in the sense of [5], must take place, so that the selectional property of Cause will be satisfied. In (4b), Cause becomes licit again because it is an instance of vP-selecting Cause in (2b).
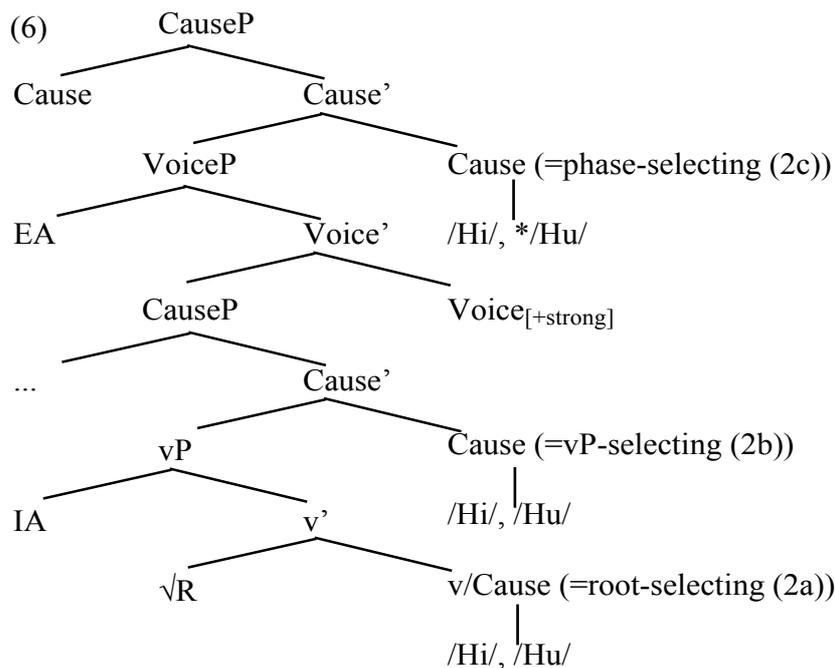
(4) a.   CauseP   =>   b.   Voice/CauseP

        VoiceP   *Cause$_{[-\textbf{EA}]}$ Mary-by   Voice/Cause'

   Mary-by   Voice'   /Hi/   vP   Voice/^{ok}Cause (=2b)

            vP   Voice$_{[+pass, -\textbf{EA}]}$ John's hair   v'   /Hi/

   John's hair   v' $\sqrt{cut}$ v

        $\sqrt{cut}$ v

If the possessor of IA *John* in (4b) is moved to Spec of T, (5) will be derived (see [4], [8]).

(5) [TP John$_1$ [Voice/CauseP Mary-by [vP <John$_1$>'s hair $\sqrt{cut}$^v]^Voice/Cause$_{[-EA]}$]^T]

Movement of the possessor *John* restricts the interpretation of the retained object hair to his own. Thus, our assumption that /Hi/ is univocally causative, and bundling takes place when necessary successfully accounts for the apparent ambiguity of /Hi/. Moreover, the derivational direction from causative to passive, not vice versa, is widely suggested ([1], [2], [6], a.o.).

4. Implication: **/Hi/ vs. /Hu/:** Among the seven causative morphemes, the latter three, represented as /Hu/, unlike /Hi/, are exclusively causative. Indeed, this asymmetry follows from their selectional properties. It should be noted that /Hi/ can be attached to dyadic stems as well as monadic stems (*ilk-hi* 'make read', *noph-i* 'heighten'), but /Hu/ can only be attached to monadic stems, i.e., either adjectives (*nac-chwu* 'lower') or intransitives (*kkay-wu*

'wake up'), but, importantly, no transitive stems to which /Hu/ is attached are attested.

(6)

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                    CauseP
          ┌───────────┴───────────┐
        Cause                   Cause'
                        ┌──────────┴──────────┐
                     VoiceP              Cause (=phase-selecting (2c))
               ┌───────┴───────┐                 │
              EA            Voice'            /Hi/, */Hu/
                      ┌───────┴───────┐
                   CauseP         Voice[+strong]
               ┌──────┴──────┐
             ...          Cause'
                    ┌────────┴────────┐
                   vP            Cause (=vP-selecting (2b))
              ┌─────┴─────┐            │
             IA          v'         /Hi/, /Hu/
                   ┌──────┴──────┐
                  √R        v/Cause (=root-selecting (2a))
                                    │
                                /Hi/, /Hu/
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Since vP with IA is monadic, both /Hi/ and /Hu/ may appear as either root-selecting Cause (2a) and vP-selecting Cause (2b). However, since VoiceP with EA, constituting a phase, is dyadic, only /Hi/ may appear as phase-selecting Cause (2c). If the passive sense of causative is derived by way of Voice-Cause bundling in (4), it follows that only /Hi/ may be involved.

Given (6) together with the selectional properties of /Hi/ and /Hu/, we will predict all the four combinations of /Hi/ and /Hu/ to be possible. This is indeed borne out as shown in (7).

(7) a. /Hi/-/Hi/: wul   -i -i   (-l   hyang)   ("Wayelyuhay," 18th c.)
                   sound(vi) -Hi -Hi   -adn   sound   'sound(vi)'
                   an   -ki -i   (North Kyungsang dialect)
                   hold(vt) -Hi -Hi   'make (onself) held'
    b. /Hi/-/Hu/: se   -y -wu   (present-day Seoul Korean)
                   stand(vi) -Hi -Hu   'stand(vt)'
    c. /Hu/-/Hi/: al   -o*   -y   (present-day Seoul Korean)
                   know(vt) -Hu   -Hi   'make/let (someone) know'
                   (N.B.: -o* due to vowel harmony)
    d. /Hu/-/Hu/: mac   -hwu -wu   (North Kyungsang dialect)
                   correct   -Hu   -Hu   'make (something) correct'

All the four combinations in (7a~d) are attested at some point of time or place in Korean, as expected. Presumably, the paucity of multiple suffixation in the present-day Seoul Korean results from some degenerative process like Voice-Cause bundling as showin in (4).

References:

[1]Haspelmath (1990) The Grammaticization of Passive Morphology. *Studies in Language* 14.
[2]Keenan and Dryer (1985) Passive in the World's Languages. *Language Typology and Syntactic Description.* [3]Kim, K-H (1994) Adversity and retained object passive constructions. *JK* 4. [4]Kubo (1992) Japanese Passives. *Language and Culture* 23. [5]Pylkkänen (2008) *Introducing Arguments.* [6]Washio (1993) When Causatives Mean Passive: a cross-linguistic perspective. *JEAL* 2. [7]Yang, D-W (1979) Kwuke-uy Phi-Satong (Passive and Causative in Korean). *Hankeul* 166. [8]Yeon, J-H (2003) *Korean Grammatical Constructions: Their Form and Meaning.*