

Animacy, agency and causality in Korean voice and diathesis

A cognitive-semiotic usage-based perspective

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Abstract

Adopting a usage-based construction grammar approach, the thesis proposes a radically revised account of the Korean voice system with two main oppositions: ACTIVE ~ INACTIVE and ENDOACTIVE ~ EXOACTIVE. These are marked on the verb, but voice categories are primarily semantic and equally basic. The attendant clause structures are only weakly determined by the predicate's voice status and instead inherited from a systemically independent diathesis system. The thesis first demonstrates the inherent Indoeuropean biases and asymmetries in the Standard Voice Model that underlies the traditional active-passive-causative account. It then turns to the Korean system and its central features: inchoative-passive conflation in a single INACTIVE voice, voice-marking paradigm proliferation with equipollency and complex correspondences to voice categories, causative and passive usage of unmarked basic verbs, and animacy, agency and causality differentiation in the diathesis system.

The thesis then details animacy-related effects in the oblique argument system. The choice of Inanimate and Animate Locational patterns is conditioned not by ontological animacy but by utterance-specific situational animacy and agency. And the variety of Korean agent-phrase-like patterns reflects differentiations along the situational animacy, agency and causality dimensions that correlate with animacy and agency constraints on diathesis selection.

Finally, the thesis investigates the lexical spread and usage of 'morphological' and 'analytic passive' verbs. It shows that inchoative usage and inchoative-passive ambivalences are so widespread that they must be considered a central feature of a single INACTIVE category. And animacy and agency differentiation drives a systemic alignment of non-interpersonal actions, weakly agentive situations and inanimate causation with spontaneous situations.

In conclusion, the thesis proposes that inchoative-passive conflation may be due to the fact that the ANIMATE ~ INANIMATE and AGENTIVE ~ NON-AGENTIVE dichotomies push the organisation and frequency distribution in the Korean diathesis system towards alignment of non-agentive causation with spontaneous situation-dynamics.

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Preliminaries

1.0 Introduction: Korean and its place in International Linguistics

Korean is a language spoken by more than 72 million fully fluent native speakers that are almost exclusively concentrated around the Korean peninsula, at the eastern edge of the Asian continent¹. It is widely believed to be related to the Ural-Altaic and the Japonic families, linking both into a kind of ‘macro-family’, a connection that is also suggested by archeological evidence of migratory population movements and diffusion. Conclusive proof of linguistic affiliation, however, has remained elusive due to the low number of cognates that can be convincingly established, not least for lack of written evidence with sufficient time depth. As for Contemporary Korean, the total First Language Speaker population includes 47 million in South Korea, 23 million in North Korea, up to 2 million in China and more than 1 million Koreans in the rest of the world. On the other hand, due to the strong ethnic homogeneity of the Korean heartland and a lack of lingua franca status, the Fluent Second Language Speaker population is rather insignificant and largely limited to descendants of Korean emigrants with other First Languages.

Nevertheless, a population of more than 72 million certainly puts Korean towards the top of the world’s languages, particularly if one sets aside the ‘imperial’ languages Chinese, Arabic, English, Spanish, Portuguese and French. This even more so since the Modern Korean dialect continuum is relatively and homogenous and shallow, with a

¹ Usually, the Korean speaker population is rather generously estimated to include ethnic Korean populations in Japan and the US and other emigration destinations. Here, I am somewhat more conservative, given the observation that the majority of 2nd and further generation descendants in these populations seem to be less than fully fluent native speakers. Instead, given that Korean citizenship is rarely acquired but widely given up by emigrants’ descendants (at least outside of Japan), I have taken citizenship as a good proxy. 72 million then is the sum of South Korean citizens in Korea and abroad, the North Korean population (all for 2005, from the South Korean National Bureau of Statistics on-line database www.kosis.kr), and the Ethnic Korean population in China (for 2005, same source) corrected to exclude Non-First-Language speakers (multiplied by percentage calculated from figures in SIL 2005).

high degree of mutual intelligibility that appears to have persisted since at least the 14th century². As for the contemporary situation, homogeneity has been somewhat dented in the lexicon due to divergent loanword and neologism strata between South Korea, North Korea and Korean in China. At the same time, however, homogeneity in South Korea (with 65% of the Korean population) has rapidly increased during the past four decades of massive internal migration, urbanisation and mass media influence. This has brought about severe dialect levelling towards what one could identify as ‘Modern Common Korean’, as a quasi-dialect that has emerged as a kind of amalgamate of the Seoul urban capital dialect, its (Written) Standard Korean offshoot and other Central dialects. It is now spoken by the younger urban generations within the immediate socio-economic influence of the Seoul, but also widespread across the rest of urbanised South Korea³. It is this Modern Common, both in its Colloquial and its more Formal and Literary registers that provides the database for this thesis.

Given the fact that a First Speaker population of 72 million puts it firmly within the worlds top 20 languages (see SIL 2005), Korean facts are still rather underrepresented in the International Linguistic discourse, due to a confluence of geographical, historical, geopolitical and linguistic factors. Thus, cut off from the Asian continent by China, Koreans are squeezed into a peninsula at the Pacific rim of North-East Asia, with Siberia to the North and the open seas of the Pacific to the East and South. Consequently, Korea and its language received massive influences from China but remained isolated from the rest of the world for much of its existence. For many centuries, this situation was exacerbated by a deliberate isolation policy that minimised contact with China or Japan and prevented maritime exploration or contact with Western explorers until the end of the 20th century. This was followed by a half-century of involuntary isolation under Japanese colonial rule, division of the Korean peninsula into North and South Korea, continued isolation of Koreans in the North, and a

² Traditionally, Korean dialectology identifies 7 main dialects – P’yŏngan (NW, in China and North Korea), Hamkyŏng (NE, in China and North Korea), Hwanghae (Central NW, in SW of North Korea), Seoul/Kyŏnggi (Central W, in NW of South Korea), Kangwŏn (Central E, straddling both North and South Korea), Ch’ungch’ŏng (Central SW, South Korea), Chŏlla (SW, in South Korea), Kyŏngsang (SE, in South Korea) and Cheju (S, isolated island dialect, South Korea). This division is somewhat mechanical in that it follows administrative provincial borders but seems to serve well enough for a rough picture of the main divisions. In the continuum, only the Cheju Island dialect is divergent enough to be only weakly intelligible to Speakers of most other dialects, occasioning the odd call for classification as a separate language.

³ As for what is spoken in North Korea these days, I have not seen much truly reliable information, although it would seem that there has also been considerable dialect levelling towards some form of amalgamation between what was originally the same Standard Seoul-centred language and the dialects spoken in the North-Western areas that include the capital P’yŏngyang. Anyhow, none of my data comes from North Korean sources.

relatively low national income and economic insignificance of the South that persisted until the 1970s.

As for the status of Korean in the International Linguistic discourse, Korean has until recently shared the fate of most other large and literary Non-European languages: it has been economically and geopolitically too insignificant but is too widely spoken and too much of a literary language to profit from the West's exoticist interest in the 'primitive' and 'endangered' that many underdog languages have enjoyed, especially over the past decades. There is a long list of major languages that have languished in similar obscurity: Chinese, Arabic and Indian languages, Turkish, Persian, Indonesian and Javanese, Burmese and Thai all come to mind. Only Japanese has managed to gain a firm foothold in International Linguistics, in lock-step with its emergence as one of the world's largest economies.

There is, however, one thing that sets Korean apart from most of its fellow sufferers: the emergence of significant academic discourses within South Korea that built on the pre-modern Confucian regard for scholarly endeavour and mushroomed together with its meteoric economic transformation during the past four decades. This has had two consequences for the linguistics of Korean. The first is a significant domestic discourse that is conducted by Koreans in Korea and is by now comparable in volume to what goes on in most European countries. The second is the participation of a truly staggering amount of Koreans in the Anglo-American academic discourse. And although most participants do not proceed beyond the postgraduate stage, this has given rise to a flurry of English-language publications and a few Koreans have now joined the ranks of well-known actors on the International Linguistic scene. On the other hand, work on Korean by non-Koreans is still vanishingly rare, particularly if one excepts those that involve collaboration with Korean co-authors.

The state of the art in what I shall refer to as the *Koreanist discourse* is thus rather extreme in the degree to which it is conducted by native speakers, in Korea and mostly in Korean. This even more so if one considers the fact that most English-language publications are rather minor contributions by doctoral or post-doctoral researchers who then tend to disappear from the scene. In addition to this, the Koreanist discourse is characterised by one final peculiarity: the extent to which it lacks grammarian precursors and is therefore largely based on the adoption of ill-suited assumptions and categories whose origins lie in the analysis of Indoeuropean languages.

At first sight, this assertion may seem surprising. After all, Korean would appear to be not that divergent from the Indoeuropean mould: it is relatively synthetic (although agglutinative, with a potential for long and complex morpheme concatenation), it is strictly accusative, it is strictly dependent-marking (with agglutinative/clitic particles of nominal constituents, moderately 'optional' for S and O, otherwise near-obligatory), it is SOV with free word-order (except for the strictly final verb), and it has an obligatory, verb-morphological and relatively tense-centered tense-aspect system (although its aspectual features are traditionally somewhat underplayed in favour of a simple tense-based analysis).

I also has, however, a number of other features that have only begun to receive the attention they deserve. These include rich systems of grammaticalised causatives and honorifics, but also a range of less appreciated phenomena: a complex system of clause and sentence linkage by means of agglutinative verb forms that is fed by and maintains strict verb-finality, an array of complex serial verb and verb-phrase chain patterns, and finally grammaticalised systems of mirativity, evidentiality and discourse modality. Since several linguistic monographs on Korean grammar are now available, I have made a deliberate decision not to outline all the pertinent features. To the interested observer, however, all of these will be evident in the natural and naturalised data that have chosen to use in this thesis.

As for argument structure, voice and diathesis, this is of course the focus of the present thesis. Here, however, I hope to show that things are not quite as straightforward as the rather uncritical adoption of Indoeuropean-based categories and modes of analysis suggests, in spite of the fact that the Korean system is fundamentally accusative and would seem to offer nothing exciting apart from its now well-publicised array of 'causative' constructions. Even if this thesis achieves no more than this it would, I believe, be worth the effort.

1.1 Topic, scope and organisation of this thesis

The Korean verbal system is characterised by a pervasive tendency towards overt structural differentiation of *situation-dynamic* categories that can be related to the dynamicity, causality, agentivity and transitivity parameters. The resultant verb-

structural patterns and paradigms stretch across the entire *voice continuum* comprised of the cross-linguistic categories inverse, passive, middle, anticausative, inchoative/unaccusative, unergative, reflexive active, transitive active, factitive and causative⁴. Thus, if we look at the sentences that instantiate the various types of associated clause-structural *diathesis alternation*, we find few alternations of the ‘labile’ type and the vast majority involve verb-structural *voice alternation* paradigms. Note the terminological distinction between ‘voice’ (pertaining to the verb or predicate) and ‘diathesis’ (pertaining to the clause construction), a distinction to which I shall adhere throughout this thesis.

Verb-structural paradigms are of course expected for ‘active ~ passive’ alternations. Importantly, however, they are also the norm where many other languages employ the same verb form in ‘labile’ alternation. This includes ‘inchoative ~ causative’ and ‘(unergative) motion ~ caused motion’, but also what usually goes under the name of ‘potential middle’ alternations. And, verb-structural variation is also widespread in clause alternations that closely resemble the ‘non-reflexive ~ reflexive’ or ‘active ~ middle’ contrasts in Indoeuropean languages, although in Korean it is the ‘non-reflexive’ that is verb-structurally marked for higher transitivity. Here, in recognition of the rather different organisation in the Korean system, I shall adopt three theoretically more neutral categories: *factitive* (instead of the ‘direct causative’), *endocentric/endoactive* (instead of the ‘reflexive’ and ‘middle’) and *exocentric/exoactive* (for the ‘non-reflexive’ that is not usually given a proper categorial status)⁵.

In keeping with the predominantly agglutinative structure of Korean morpho-syntactic marking, the verb-structural patterns involved in the differentiation of agentivity and causality are almost all located at the innermost hierarchical level of verb

⁴ Most of these categories are of course not traditionally considered voice categories and readers may object to my catholic notion of ‘voice’. On the other hand, however, typological evidence indicates that all of these categories are closely interconnected parts of the same phenomenon (a point recently emphasised in Shibatani 2006). And indeed, it is telling that more and more linguists have started subsuming traditional voice categories under comprehensive notions such as ‘valency-changing operations’ (Dixon & Aikhenvald ed 2000) or been using terms such as ‘voice and voice-like constructions’. See the detailed discussion in §2.1. As for the term ‘voice continuum’ this seems to have been introduced into the linguistic literature by William Croft (2001: §8) and although he uses it more narrowly, I am sure he would not object to the broad sense in which it is used in this thesis.

⁵ The term ‘factitive’ seems appropriate for three reasons: it comes with less theoretical baggage, it is less strongly associated with morphological marking, and it allows dissociation from the causal-chain semantic models associated with the ‘causative’ category. As for ‘endocentric/endoactive’ and ‘exocentric/exoactive’ these again avoid theoretical baggage, are neutral vis-a-vis morphological markedness, and allow dissociation from definitions in terms of ‘argument identity’. As for their source, they seem to originate in terms used (occasionally) in Japanese linguistics, following their adoption by Bruno Lewin who in turn acknowledges the Japanese-American private scholar P. M. Suski (Lewin 1959/90: 118ff/§134, quoting Suski 1942).

or predicate structure, within the verb stem slot of aspect/tense marking patterns. And it is surely no accident that the products of these voice-marking patterns show a strong tendency towards lexical entrenchment. It is here, however, that we also encounter the first major problem for a comprehensive and satisfactory account of the Korean voice system: a proliferation of different voice-marking patterns that include at least 7 major INACTIVE and 8 major EXOACTIVE–FACTITIVE patterns, plus a smattering of less widely distributed and/or less grammaticalised patterns (see §2.3.1).

What makes this proliferation particularly problematic is that only some of it can be put down to membership in different structural classes, morpho-phonemic restrictions or even arbitrary diachronic accident. Instead, we often find two or more patterns competing for the same voice-categorial status (say ‘passive’) in the same structural verb class or with the same verb root (f.ex. the two competing ‘passives’ *mak•hi.ta*⁶ and *mak•aci.ta* for the ACTIVE *mak.ta* ‘blocks’). On the other hand, however, we can discern some clear correlations between the different patterns and major situation types, including *patientive events* (events suffered by an animate patient), *body sphere events* (events involving the function, manipulation and use of the human body), *cognitive perception events*, *sensation and emotion events*, *spatial configuration events and states*, *force-dynamic state change events* (events involving physical disintegration and destabilisation with physical force or violent impact features) and *creation/genesis events* (see §4.1.1).

The upshot of all this is that the situation-semantic differences between the different Korean voice-marking patterns are largely orthogonal to the differences between the analytic voice categories of Contemporary Linguistic Theory. Instead, if we approach the Korean verbal voice-marking patterns in terms of the established analytic segmentation of the Voice Continuum, patterns fall into no more than two broad categories:

INACTIVE voice-marking patterns whose referential-semantic spectrum covers the entire ‘inactive’ part of the Voice Continuum: inverse, passive, object-immanent potential (‘potential middle’), inchoative (or anticausative), plus the stative category associated with adjectives and (objective) resultatives.

⁶ In line with the Korean practice I quote verbs not by the Stem but in the Citation (Dictionary) Form on *apsr-ta*, setting off the Citation Form Ending with a period. For romanisation see §1.3.5 and for unfamiliar symbols in the interlinear morpheme analysis §1.3.4 and the appendix.

FACTITIVE (or more precisely **FACTITIVE/EXOACTIVE**) voice-marking patterns whose referential-semantic spectrum covers the ‘high transitivity’ part of the Voice continuum: (non-reflexive) ‘transitive active’ and ‘manipulative/direct causative’.

What is most important here in relation to linguistic theory is that the Korean verb system conflates the ‘inverse/passive’ and the ‘anticausative/inchoative’ spectrums into the same verb-structural marking patterns. Note that this does not preclude the possibility that a particular verb may evoke strong ‘spontaneous’ or ‘agent-caused’ connotations (witness **INACTIVE**-marked *ilw̥aci.ta* [«fom(FACT):INCH] ‘form_{vi}, get formed’ vs *mantil̥aci.ta* [«make/create:INCH] ‘get made/created’).

The systemic passive–inchoative conflation in the Korean voice system has a number of important consequences for the organisation of the Korean voice and diathesis system as a whole:

1. In **INACTIVE** clauses, semantic and syntagmatic properties that correspond to the ‘inchoative’ vs ‘passive’ distinction cannot be specified by the predicate or its structural status. Instead, they are mainly dependent on the rest of the clause, its discourse environment, and extra-linguistic associations and context.
2. More so than in other systems, the presence or absence of agent-phrase-like arguments plays a central role in the expression of inchoative-like **SPONTANEOUS** versus passive-like **AGENT-CAUSED** or **FORCE-IMPACT-CAUSED** meaning. In other words, Korean **INACTIVE** constructions are characterised by a large degree of systemic independence between verbal voice and clausal diathesis⁷.
3. Like most languages of the world, Korean has many structurally basic **FACTITIVE** verbs, as well as many structurally basic **INACTIVE** verbs associated with **STATIVE** or **INCHOATIVE** usage⁸. More unusually, many unmarked **INACTIVE** verbs also

⁷ In fact, the strong independence of clausal argument constructions from the verbal sign is one of the most glaringly unrecognised typological features of Korean. Thus, the only (relatively) clear-cut association is that between **ACTION** verbs and the **TRANSITIVE** construction. Otherwise, the majority of Korean verbs are notoriously free to occur in a large number of different argument constructions, including various Double Subject and Double Object constructions. The upshot is that any attempts at postulating argument structures as part of a verb’s lexical entry soon end up having to specify large numbers of different argument structures, or alternatively resorting to a schematic ‘core’ structure that is then subjected to further intermediate argument-structure derivations.

⁸ Cross-linguistically, of course, there is one possible exception: languages that would obligatorily mark all **INCHOATIVE** and/or **FACTITIVE** verbs with a pertinent voice-marking pattern. One such case are so-called ‘active–stative’ systems with differential A vs O cross-referencing (see f.ex. Klaiman 1991: §3.2.2). However, even if one excludes cases that are exclusively based on cross-reference marking, there would seem to be some languages that consistently mark **INCHOATIVE** verbs as part of obligatory and equipollent marking for **INACTIVE** or **ENDOCENTRIC**

occur in the same passive-like diathesis constructions as the voice-marked INACTIVE verbs, and there are even some unmarked INACTIVE verbs for whom passive-like usage predominates. The obvious conclusion is that the Korean voice system consists of primarily semantic, non-structural voice categories.

The first two points here are pretty straightforward consequences of the inchoative-passive conflation. The last one, on the other hand, involves a leap of faith that requires us to abandon the entrenched habit of seeking to define voice categories on a verb-structural basis. And it certainly does not represent a view held by any other linguist of Korean.

Be that as it may, typologically informed linguists with no knowledge of Korean should have little quarrel with the general idea of a voice system that systemically conflates the analytic categories of the ‘passive’ and ‘inchoative/anticausative’ in a single voice category. And although typologists may doubt the need to distinguish between a ‘factive’ and a ‘causative’ category, they would certainly have no quarrel with the idea that a language system may distinguish between ‘direct/manipulative’ and ‘indirect’ causation, nor with the proposition that a language can have both unmarked and marked ‘(direct) causative’ verbs.

The established consensus among linguists of Korean, or what I shall call the ‘Koreanist Consensus’, on the other hand, has a rather different view of the Korean voice system. The reasons for this are, I believe, a combination of inherent Indoeuropean biases in Western Linguistic Theory, the lack of any indigenous pre-modern grammarian tradition, a rather too uncritical adoption of recent and contemporary linguistic theories, and the universal inertia of entrenched beliefs found in academic discourses (see §2.2.1). The Koreanist consensus as it stands currently could be summarised as follows:

1. Korean has an active–passive–causative voice system, in which the ‘active’ category (능동) is verb-structurally unmarked, and the ‘passive’ and ‘causative’ categories (피동, 사동) are marked through the modification of the ‘active’ verb stem with added voice-marking morphemes or auxiliary verb structures.
2. ‘Passive’ and ‘causative’ verbs are derived from their ‘active’ counterparts and involve modification of the ‘active’ verb’s valency that usually occasions

(‘middle’) versus ACTIVE meaning. Examples are, as far as I can tell, Fula and Tamil (see Klaiman 1991: §2.1-2.2).

changes in the modified verb's syntax. Voice-marked verbs that have no unmarked 'active' counterparts do not belong within the voice system.

3. The 'passive' and 'causative' voice categories consist only of the most widespread, productive and grammaticalised voice-marking patterns. All other patterns, as well as unmarked verbs, are at most 'passive/causative-like expressions' (피동성/사동성 표현⁹) and not a proper part of the voice system.
4. 'Passive' verbs also have non-passive uses that resemble those of unmarked 'intransitive' verbs (자동사)¹⁰. These are, however, secondary and less than (proto)typical and result from idiosyncratic lexicalisation processes that remove parts of a verb's usage to the margins or outside of the 'passive' category.

Here, it needs to be emphasised that uniform adherence to the active–passive–causative system analysis contrasts sharply with the recurrent debates and disagreements over which verbs, patterns and constructions to include and which to exclude from the 'passive' or 'causative' category. And although the notion of 'voice-like expressions' seems to offer a grudging recognition that the phenomena thus labelled should not be completely ignored, it has actually served as a way of forestalling possible criticism along the lines of 'yes, we know they are voice-like but really, when it boils down to it, they are not proper manifestations of voice'¹¹.

From the point of view of an open-minded typologist, of course, it is really quite irrelevant whether the pertinent Korean categories are labelled as 'passive' or 'inactive', or as 'causative' or 'factive'. And in this context it is worth citing at length the typologically oriented syntactic theorist William Croft in the preface to his *Radical Construction Grammar* that has greatly informed the theoretical outlook and analytic methodology of this thesis:

"I have also been frustrated at the often distant relationship between these syntactic models (...) and

⁹ The Korean terms are more literally paraphrased as 'passivity/causativity expressions', where '피동성 p'idong'sǒng' and '사동성 sadong'sǒng' combine the terms for 'passive' and 'causative' with the suffix 성 sǒng that is generally employed in calques on English '-ity' derivations. Witness also 타동성 t'adong'sǒng for 'transitivity' or 행동성 haengdong'sǒng (action+ity) for 'agentivity'.

¹⁰ Note that the Korean term 자동사 catongsa contains the element 자동 catong that can be internally analysed as roughly 'SELF•MOVING' and which in other words corresponds to English 'automatic' or even 'spontaneous'. It would seem to be these semantic associations that have motivated the fact that translation terms for 'inchoative' or 'unaccusative' are much less widely used, and if one carefully considers the usage of '자동사 cadongsa' it is clear that it is often used in not in the syntagmatic 'intransitive' sense but in the 'spontaneous' or 'inchoative' sense.

¹¹ Nowhere is this purpose clearer than in the way Im Hong-bin uses the term '피동성 [passivity, passive-like]' in his refutation of I Ki-dong's (1976, 1978) insightful observations on the many discrepancies between the Koreanist Consensus and actual usage (see Im Hong-bin 1977 which greatly contributed to the popularisation of the pertinent

empirical reality. A large class of research articles—again, both “formalist” and “functionalist”—is devoted to claiming that phenomenon X in language Y really is a passive, or really is not a passive. Such research discounted or ignored the opposing evidence, which made me uncomfortable. It also missed the point, which was that phenomenon X was interesting and challenging precisely because it sort of was a passive but sort of wasn’t at the same time; both its passivelike and its unpassivelike syntactic properties were equally important. Just as traditional grammarians tried—unsuccessfully—to fit modern European languages into the mold of Classical Latin and Greek, modern linguists are trying to fit languages of the world into the mold of “Standard Average European.”

(Croft 2001: xiii)

It could, I think, not be said any better: Both what the Koreanist Consensus calls a ‘passive’ and what it refuses to call a ‘passive’ is sort of a passive but is not at the same time. And both what it calls a ‘causative’ and what it refuses to call a ‘causative’ is sort of a causative but is not at the same time.

While perfectly applicable as a critique of the attitudes displayed in the Koreanist literature, Crofts statement is also a warning against becoming too obsessed with refuting the active–passive–causative model. Bearing that in mind, however, the question of how to understand the Korean voice and diathesis system requires a radical break away from all the baggage that comes with the terms ‘passive’ and ‘causative’. It is for this reason that I have chosen to avoid the term ‘passive’ as a label for categories in the Korean voice system and limited the term ‘causative’ to the spectrum of the ‘indirect causative’, although I am myself in doubt whether that is the wisest course of action.

Turning to the investigations in this thesis, I shall begin with a general critique of the way in which the analytic segmentation of the Voice Continuum used in Contemporary Linguistics, or what I shall call the Standard Voice Model, reflects a number of inherent biases that can be directly traced to the Indoeuropean source languages of Western linguistic theory (§2.1). This is followed by a discussion of the origins of the active–passive–causative analysis of the Korean voice and diathesis system and an outline of the main problems and the way in which they have been dealt with (or not dealt with) in the Koreanist literature (§2.2).

It is, however, not the aim of this thesis to reiterate all the arguments made for or against analysing a particular voice-marking pattern or clause construction as ‘passive’ or ‘causative’, or as what kind of ‘passive’ or ‘causative’. And, although there remains a

wealth of data yet to be revealed on the passive-like usage of verb-structurally unmarked INACTIVE verbs, this issue will only be touched upon in passing (see §2.3.3). The main reason is that the pertinent phenomena are all well-known, and all that stands in the way of appreciating them for what they are is the lingering adherence to preconceived notions about the Korean voice system: It must be based on verb-morphological patterns in the traditional sense; it must have an ‘active ~ passive’ opposition in the Standard Average European mold; and what looks like a ‘causative’ category must be exactly that and nothing else.

Instead, I shall approach the organisation of the Korean situation-dynamic system from a different angle that is rarely pursued at all, let alone in the form of systematic in-depth analysis: the issue of animacy, agency and force-dynamic involvement of the <cause locus> element. Note that by <cause locus> I mean the element in a causation-dynamic scene that linguists will usually talk about as the ‘agent’, which together with the ‘patient’ and the ‘participant’ belongs to a set of unfortunate personifying metaphors that we shall have to replace with the animacy-neutral notions of *cause locus*, *effect locus* and *situation element*¹².

Here, we find two phenomena. The first is the well-known differentiation between ‘animate agent’ and ‘inanimate agent’ phrases in passive-like constructions. The second are animacy-related effects in diathesis selection, which are actually driven not so much by animacy as a (relatively) stable ontological feature, but by situational animacy, agency and force-dynamic involvement. In Chapter 3 I will show that these two animacy-related phenomena, which are not usually considered in the same breath, are actually closely interconnected aspects of the same systemic phenomenon. Starting with the primary SPATIAL uses of the pertinent oblique particle patterns, I will show that what drives the choice between these patterns is again not ontological animacy but utterance-specific *situational animacy and agency* features (§3.1). I will then proceed to investigate what is actually a wide range of agent-phrase-like patterns that express fine-grained differentiations of causation-dynamic involvement in the referent situation. Not accidentally, these strongly correlate with the Animacy and Agency Effects in diathesis selection (§3.2).

Following onto these investigations, I shall in chapters 4 and 5 turn to the two most

¹² It would be fair to acknowledge here that my term ‘cause locus’ (and to some degree the notion itself) has its origins in Miriam Klaiman’s notion of the ‘locus of causality’ (Klaiman 1991: 115-6 and throughout).

basic INACTIVE voice-marking patterns that the Koreanist consensus generally regards as manifestations of 'passive derivation'. Here, my investigations will concentrate on demonstrating that these are characterised by 'stative--inchoative--passive' ambivalences that are deeply systemic and stretch right across all of the verbs in the pattern's lexical spread and right across the individual verbs' referential-semantic spectrums. And, most importantly, I will show that this ambivalence is intimately bound up with the systemic differentiations along the animacy and agency parameters.

Finally, I shall conclude this thesis by suggesting that the organisation of the Korean verbal voice system may in no small measure be due to and perpetuated by the way in which animacy and agency effects shape the organisation and frequency distribution of the Korean clausal diathesis system.

1.2 Theoretical background and assumptions

1.2.1 On framework(s) and theoretical assumptions

The proliferation of different methodologies, formalisms and theories in linguistics has currently reached epic proportions, a state of affairs that is compounded by the way in which most approaches have turned into ideologies with little capacity for inter-faith discourse. Even more problematic is that many popular theories propose detailed formulas for the generation of linguistic structures that are entirely hypothetical, validated at most by the fact that they seem to be yielding observed utterances. And, to make matters worse, most of these Formal(ist) theories are only concerned with the so-called 'language module(s)' assumed to exist in the human mind, and are hence developed with scant regard to the empirically much better-supported findings and proposals of cognitive psychology. Since I fundamentally disagree with empirically unsupported formalisms, I shall make little reference to Formalist approaches and their claims about the Korean phenomena investigated in this thesis.

One of the worst consequences of the ideological factionalism in contemporary linguistics is that it has led to strong pressure on individual linguists to closely align their methodologies, assumptions and indeed beliefs with one of the approaches on offer. The upshot is that more sceptically and eclectically inclined linguists find themselves left with few promising career paths. Perhaps the least rewarding option is to pick and

choose, whether from one or several approaches, but then find oneself dismissed for being methodologically inadequate, shaky or inconsistent. The other option, of course, is to keep out of the theoretical fray, concentrate on the identification of structural and distributional patterns in the linguistic data, restrict explanation to the identification of functional-semantic correlations, and refrain from trying to establish underlying cognitive processes. The drawback is that one routinely finds oneself marginalised as a light-weight 'descriptivist' or 'grammarian' by a large part of the linguistic community. Needless to say, unless one engages in large-scale typological comparison, this path is effectively limited to the investigation of less widely described languages.

The functional-typological approach, on the other hand, offers a natural home for this line of enquiry, and its methods have informed the descriptive and analytic methodology adopted in this thesis. And of course, since it has now (re)emerged as a recognised linguistic framework, adopting it provides a certain amount of protection from accusations of descriptivist tinkering. Unfortunately, however, it is hard to be taken seriously and indeed a little misleading, if one calls oneself a typologist but concentrates on a single language system without placing the analysis within a broad cross-linguistic context¹³.

Setting aside these issues, a more important drawback of taking a simple functional-semantic or functional-typological approach is that this only scratches the surface of language as a part of human cognition. Thus, even though linguistic typology has moved decisively towards a cognitive-linguistic approach, this shift has not gone much beyond extending the idea of functional explanation from grammar and discourse into the general cognitive domain. An early example close to this thesis is the way in which the discourse-functional explanation of the passive in terms of patient (or non-agent) 'topicality' has been reformulated in terms of the more cognitively based notion of 'agent defocusing' in Shibatani's prototype account (Shibatani 1985). Another, more general example is the way in which Linguistic Typology has developed the idea of typological prototype categories, based on and justified with the existence of prototype effects in cognitive-perceptual categorisation. More extensively cognitive explanations

¹³ A theoretically possible alternative would be to simply call oneself a functionalist. Within the current nomenclature, however, this does not clearly place the linguist within any established methodological or theoretical approach. Instead, in its established use, the term functionalist only identifies the linguist with the fundamental assumption that language is primarily driven by function and not innate mechanisms of a language faculty. Further, on a more personal note, it seems to me that exclusive emphasis on function tends to miss out on non-functional cognitive explanations, if not in principle then in actual practice.

are, on the other hand, routinely used in the study of grammaticalisation (see f.ex. Heine, Claudi & Hünemeyer 1991; Bybee, Perkins & Pagliuca 1994; Heine & Kuteva 2002).

If one is troubled by the lack of empirical and cognitive realism in most Formalist theories, but still interested in how language may work inside the human mind, then the Cognitive Linguistic approach provides an attractive alternative. And indeed, it offers many viable proposals that seem to be consistent with observed patterns of linguistic behaviour, particularly when it comes to the inextricable link between linguistic semantics and general cognitive processes. Moreover, its recently emerging Construction Grammar approaches offer a promising and potentially simple model that views utterance structure not as algorithmically derived through the selection and combination of atomic primitives, but through inheritance from holistic structural templates, driven and constrained by general cognitive processes (see the outline in §1.2.2).

On the other hand, however, dominant strands in Cognitive Linguistics have again accelerated towards an ever-increasing formalism that seems to aim for the same level of formal rigour and generative power as formalist theories. The problem, as I see it, is that what started off as the linguist's symbolic representations of multi-layered processes and fractal clustering patterns in a non-discrete continuum is now treated as if it provided realistic models of reifiable processes, structures and images in the human mind¹⁴. More importantly, although some of its more basic models have a powerful visual immediacy, they yet again seem to squeeze the data into inadequate and distortive straightjackets.

During the initial stages of this thesis, I began by approaching the Korean situation-dynamic system with some of the key 'event semantic' models of Cognitive Linguistics: Event Structure, Event Schemas, Force Dynamic Schemas and Causal Chain Models (see particularly Lakoff 1987; Croft 1990,1991; Talmy 1976/2000,1985/2000; Langacker 1987,1990,1991). In the final form of this thesis, these models remain present in terms of their fundamental and powerful insights into the way in which cognitive processes and language systems interact in the production and interpretation

¹⁴ Here it must be emphasised that not all strands of the Cognitive Linguistic approach have gone down the formalist road, although a certain amount of formalism seems required for respectability in the analysis of morpho-syntactic phenomena. And, in all fairness, even the progenitor of the highly formalistic Cognitive Grammar model, Ronald Langacker, explicitly acknowledges the non-discrete nature of cognitive organisation with its continuum and prototype effects (see Langacker 1987).

of linguistic utterances, our what Peircean semiotics would call *semiosis*. But, although their influence remains clearly discernible in the descriptive devices I employ, they do not appear as the models as which they were originally conceived. Instead, I have restricted myself to a minimal form of Radical Construction Grammar that refrains from claims about any kind of reifiable semantic or cognitive structures, objects or schemas.

There are two reasons for this. The first is that I am sceptical about their cognitive realism, particularly as their progressive application does yet again seem to give birth to increasingly intricate ad-hoc formalisations. The second is my increasing conviction that there is no such thing as a linguistic sign's 'lexical (or grammatical) meaning', no matter how radially or prototypically structured. That is, a linguistic sign does not have any general semantic value that the Speaker would 'put' into his utterance to 'express' some sort of mental category. And, once uttered, it does not 'carry' any semantic value that would be 'retrieved' by the Hearer and only then be pragmatically embellished according to discourse and experiential context. Particularly with regards to the lack of any meaningful distinction between semantics and pragmatics, this view is of course closely aligned with the encyclopedic view of meaning (see esp. Eco 1976; Haiman 1980; Langacker 1987: §4; Croft 2000: §4).

Instead, to put it radically, the meaning of a linguistic sign is never anything but pragmatic. Thus, the way I see the process of semiosis in the production and interpretation of linguistic signs is much more direct and could be roughly outlined as follows:

Semiosis in sign production:

- (1) The Speaker has a specific cognitive-perceptual experience. This usually involves situated and embodied sensori-motor perception of experience in the 'real world', but at the same time a certain degree of 'simulation' or 'construal' that may partly or wholly take place in abstract 'mental spaces' or 'imaginary' worlds.
- (2) The Speaker's cognitive-perceptual experience triggers a certain mental state. Importantly, this mental state is neurally distributed over large parts of the brain and cannot be equated with any particular semantic value or category.
- (3) The Speaker's mental state is similar (but not identical) to past mental states that are associated with a potentially large number of different linguistic signs and

utterances. In the end, the linguistic sign that the Speaker produces is that whose associated mental states come closest to her current mental state.

Semiosis in sign interpretation:

- (1) The Hearer's mind is in a particular 'background' state that arises from his current cognitive-perceptual experience, as also modified by his recent communicative interaction with the Speaker.
- (2) The utterance produces a certain mental state in the Hearer in a complex process of feedback between cognitive activation triggered by the utterance (on the basis of entrenched sign–referent associations) and the Hearer's background mental state.
- (3) At the end of this process stands a kind of 'simulated' cognitive-perceptual experience. Again, the mental states associated with the sign interpretation process are all neurally distributed and cannot be equated with any stable semantic value or category.

Note that this rough characterisation takes a number of metaphorical shortcuts that should not be taken too literally. Thus, it abstracts the reality of dynamic neural activation into the 'mental state' metaphor, it says nothing about what makes mental states similar to each other, and it omits the likely reality of complex feedback-loops that are inadequately captured in step-by-step descriptions. As for the theoretical background to this view, it comes from four main sources. The first are Cognitive Linguistic insights on the relation between embodied cognition and linguistic categorisation (see references above). The second are the insights of Peircean semiotic theory (see esp. Eco 1976 and Lee 1997), a theory that is rather shamefully neglected by linguistic theory but foreshadows many 'new' ideas in dynamic usage-based approaches. The third is evidence from psycholinguistic experiments that show the extent to which the production and interpretation of linguistic signs is interwoven with perceptual sensori-motor simulations in the brain (see f.ex. overview in Bergen *ip*). The fourth are Connectionist approaches that seek to explain and model the linguistic processes of acquisition and production in terms of an emergent neural network that evolves through the entrenchment of neurally distributed connections between cognitive-perceptual input and linguistic output, without anything like a semantic module or symbolic category level that would mediate between cognitive-perceptual processes and linguistic

output (see esp. Regier 1996).

If one views language in this way, then the 'lexical meaning' of a linguistic sign can at most be a descriptive device that generalises and imposes discrete structure over recurrent similarities across an arbitrarily chosen set of utterance-specific meanings. And indeed, this is essentially what radial prototype category models of a linguistic sign's meaning or function do, and without such models it is hard to get a handle on what is recurrent in the production and interpretation of a particular sign. On the other hand, however, even though the semantic category construct is a useful device, it should never be ascribed any reality beyond the observable recurrent associations between cognitive-perceptual features and linguistic output. Not incidentally, my view on this matter comes close to the position of many cognitive psychologists, including Eleanor Rosch to whom linguistics owes the concept of the prototype category but who speaks of experimental 'prototype effects' and emphatically avoids claims about the specific representation of categories and concepts in the human mind (see Rosch 1973a, 1973b, 1978 and also 1999).

Returning to the cognitive processes that may underlie linguistic semiosis, the exact nature of the mechanism is not essential to the approach pursued in this thesis. Instead, what matters is that the absence of conceptual category mediation leads us directly to a number of fundamental assumptions about the nature of language and its underlying processes:

- (1) Language is a *fundamentally dynamic system* of signs and their recurrent association with individual and instance-specific cognitive-perceptual referents, as entrenched in the minds of individual speakers.
- (2) Complex linguistic signs, including clauses and sentences, are *holistic signs* whose component signs synthesise into an overall meaning that is *not adequately described* by a compositional analysis that aims to derive their meaning through the simple additive combination of their component signs.
- (3) Sign production and sign interpretation are *different if related processes* that do not simply proceed in opposite directions of the same encoding/decoding chain.
- (4) The sign production process can only be approached in terms of the relation between the instance-specific cognitive-perceptual *referent* (as the initial input) and its associated linguistic *utterance* (as the final output).

- (5) Individual utterances and their internal morpho-syntactic structures are derived through the partial replication of previous utterances and their structures, conditioned by the cognitive-perceptual similarities between the previous and current referents.

The first two and the final of these assumptions are consistent with and informed by the *Evolutionary* and *Radical Construction Grammar* approaches developed in the recent work of the cognitive typologist William Croft (see Croft 2000 and 2001). Their elaboration in terms of the sign-referent relation and the other two assumptions are largely based on my own interpretation of Peircean semiotics and Connectionist models. Without any pretensions as regards originality or the breadth and cogency expected of a comprehensive theory, I shall refer to the amalgamated approach that informs the investigations in this thesis as a *Dynamic Construction Grammar* approach.

1.2.2 Basic tenets of the Dynamic Construction Grammar approach in this thesis

The aim of this thesis is to investigate certain aspects of the Korean-specific situation-dynamic system of verbal voice-marking and diathesis constructions. And although I believe that its findings are of theoretical relevance, I have made a deliberate decision to restrict my discussion to their significance for a satisfactory account of the Korean system.

As for analytic methodology, I have deliberately chosen to avoid as much theoretical and formal clutter as possible, and I believe that my arguments are intuitively accessible without any familiarity of their theoretical basis. Nevertheless, the reader may not be familiar with construction grammar approaches, and it therefore seems appropriate to briefly outline the major principles and assumptions of the approach taken in this thesis. Since the Radical Construction Grammar and Evolutionary Language Theory of William Croft are largely compatible with my views and have greatly clarified and enriched my own vague and diffuse thinking, most of the following formulations should be taken as derived from his seminal contributions to linguistic theory (Croft 2000; 2001; and also as in Croft & Cruse 2004: §9-11).

[1] *Constructions are the primitive building blocks of syntax*

Coherent stretches of linguistic material are generally *realisations* of more schematic morpho-syntactic *constructions*. Both realisations and constructions are of course complex structures made up of component *elements*, which may again themselves be embedded complex structures. According to Construction Grammar approaches, however, complex structures are not the endproduct of any algorithmic derivation process that builds up larger-scale structures through the rule-governed ‘bottom-up’ combination of their element. Instead, they are derived through a ‘top-down’ process of *inheritance*, in which constructions function as holistic structural templates for the structure of their concrete realisations.

The Radical Construction Grammar approach goes one step further than most and emphatically denies that constructions consist of atomic primitives that can be dissociated from the constructions they appear in. In other words, although many of a construction’s elements share structural, distributional and semantic properties with similar elements in other constructions, the categorial status, function or meaning of these constituent elements devolves from their role in each specific construction. Radical Construction Grammar is thus a *non-reductionist theory of syntax* that rejects the *Algorithmic Assumption* of most formalist theories and regards grammars as no more and no less than *inventories of the constructions used by Speakers or language communities* in the production of linguistic output.

- ◆ Although Construction Grammars in general tend to view syntactic structure as much flatter than is generally claimed by Formalist theories, this does not mean that they deny that constructions consist of hierarchically nested sub-structures (see also next heading).
- ◆ Radical Construction grammar gives no syntactically primitive status to part-of-speech categories such as ‘noun’ or ‘verb’, or to constituent categories such as ‘subject’ or ‘object’. Instead, these only exist as parts of specific constructions, such as ‘TR(ANSITIVE) ACT(ION) Verb or TRANSITIVE AGENT Subject in TRACT.AGENT TARGET TRACT_{Verb}’. This is certainly not to say that no meaningful generalisations can be made about elements with similar structural, syntagmatic and semantic properties across various constructions. What it means, however, is that such generalisations are not observations about the same atomic primitives but about sets of systemically related but incrementally different individual signs. And indeed, categories such as ‘TRANSITIVE ACTION Verb’ are already generalisations over sets of more specific categories such as ‘DESTRUCTIVE ACTION Verb’, all the way down to specific verbs such as *break*.

[2] *Constructions exist at all levels of morpho-syntactic hierarchy and lexical specificity*

Radical Construction Grammar views constructions as conventionalised and cognitively entrenched symbolic units in which structural templates are paired with recurrent shared meanings, in what is a clear return to the Saussurean idea of the linguistic sign. Aside from entrenchment as part of the structural inventory of a Speaker or language community, there are no other necessary requirements. Thus, constructions can exist at all hierarchical levels, including the morpheme level, the word level, the phrase level, the clause level, the sentence level or even the discourse level. And they can be of different lexical specificity all the way from completely substantive to completely schematic.

The approach pursued in this thesis largely shares this view of constructions, with one important difference that arises from my reservations about using the semantic category construct as a theoretical primitive, even in a non-modular Saussurean sense. Instead, I will use 'construction' to mean no more than *a cluster of systemically proximate instances* of complex linguistic signs, identified on the basis of association between *partially identical structural and syntagmatic properties* with *partially similar referential-semantic features*. In this view, what matters most for the identification of a construction are two conditions that I have subsumed under the term *systemic proximity*. One is that the form–referent correlations in these clusters should be cognitively entrenched. The other is that instance clusters can be arbitrarily fine-grained but should cover a coherent continuum of referential-semantic similarity.

- ◆ Construction grammar approaches originally arose from the failure of reductionist theories to account for idiomatic constructions of varying specificity, witness the substantive *kith and kin* and the partially substantive *HUMAN_{Subj} kick\TENSE the bucket*, but were soon extended to more schematic constructions in which part of the meaning can only be attributed to the construction as a whole, witness the BENEFACTIVE Double-Object construction *GIVER_{Subj} CREATION_{Verb} RECIPIENT_{Obj1} CREATION.PRODUCT_{Obj2}* as in *She cooked me dinner*. Now that construction grammars have developed into theories, of course, construction-based analysis is equally applied to (relatively) decomposable utterance structures.
- ◆ In principle, to assume the existence of constructions at all hierarchical levels is not quite consistent with the claim that construction elements have no primitive existence outside of the constructions they appear in. On the other hand, however, it is clear that language has a massive capacity for structural recombination and recursion. And, it is also clear that certain embedded structures (say *Peter's bag* or *HUMAN.POSSESSOR's THING.POSSESSED*) have a large degree of independent systemic entrenchment that is independent of the structures they occur in. To take account of these facts, Radical Construction Grammar must allow constructions at various hierarchy levels, subject to three

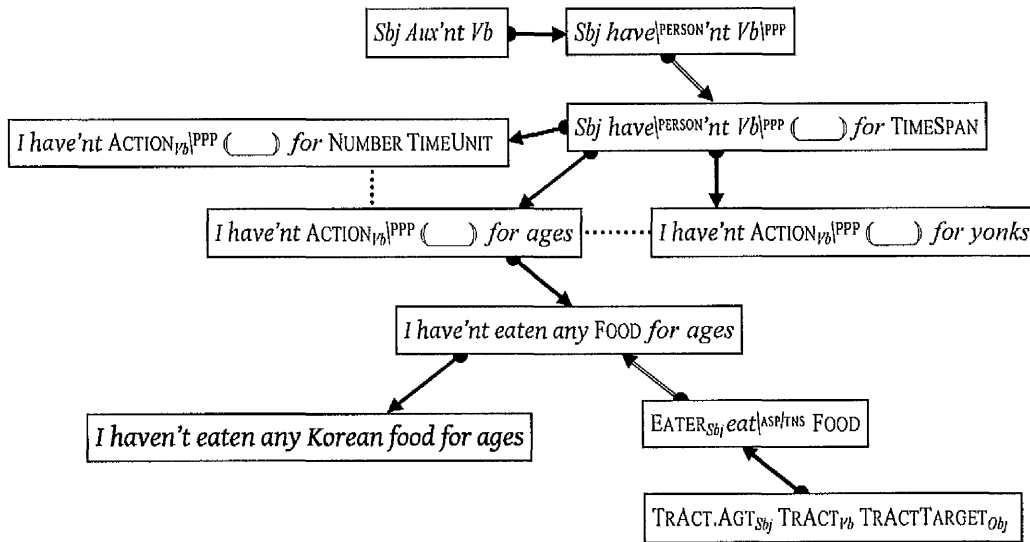
qualifications: (1) embedded status must be empirically verified and not just an analytic assumption (as in the case of the 'V(P) projection' *seen my bag* in *Have you seen my bag?*); (2) they are unlikely to ever be completely independent of their syntagmatic environment; (3) care must be taken to ensure that their meaning and function is not too much interwoven with the overall construction (contrast *my hand* in *Can you feel my hand?* with its appearance in *I hurt my hand*, where *my* BODYPART is not used to identify the 'possessor' of the body part, but to refer to the endocentric and patientive features of the situation as part of the overall clause construction INJURY.PATIENT *ReflPossPrN* BODYPART INJURY.EVENT_{vb}).

- ◆ Since 'conventionality' and 'entrenchment' are the only criteria for a structural template to be part of a grammar, construction grammars allow and indeed assume two related consequences that are anathema to most Formalist Theories but amply supported by psycholinguistic evidence. The first is widespread redundancy whereby the Speaker may directly call upon more specific constructions (say *I hate X*) or even fully substantive structures (say *I hate you!* or *kicked*) even though he could theoretically be accessing the same structure through more general constructions (say EXPERIENCER TARGETED.EMOTION_{vb} STIMULUS or the Regular Past Tense pattern *VSt-ed*). The second is that construction inventories are likely to vary even across Speakers that have very similar idiolects.
- ◆ As I have already mentioned under the previous heading, Radical Construction Grammar clearly takes an encyclopedic view of meaning that comes tantalisingly close to acknowledging that meaning in the semantic category sense is little more than an analytic construct that generalises over the recurrent referential-semantic features across a construction's utterance-specific instances. On the other hand, however, partly because it does not dissociate sign production from sign interpretation, it still relies on the idea of some sort of cognitively real schematic meaning.

[3] *Constructions are organised into interconnected taxonomic hierarchies*

For Radical Construction Grammar, grammars are no more and no less than inventories of the conventionalised and cognitively entrenched constructions known to Speakers and their language communities. These inventories, however, do not simply form an amorphous mass but are organised into *structured clusters of systemically proximate constructions* that can be represented as taxonomic networks. The form of these networks is of necessity complex, but should reflect schematic-to-substantive inclusion hierarchies, as well as structural-semantic similarity relations.

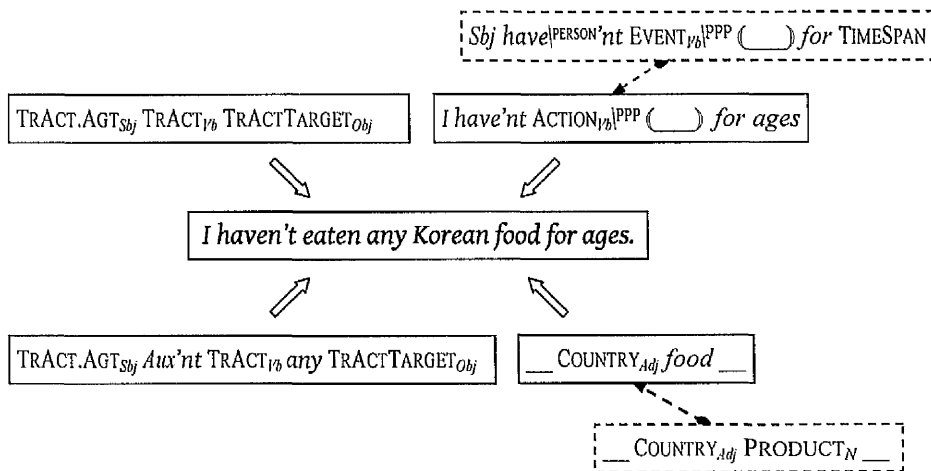
- ◆ The following is a taxonomic representation of the systemic relations between constructions. Note this assumes that the fully substantive sentence *I haven't eaten any Korean food for ages* and some other rather substantive constructions are part of the Speaker's grammatical inventory, but nothing hinges on the truth of that assumption. Single arrows represent *taxonomic*, and *not* derivational relations:



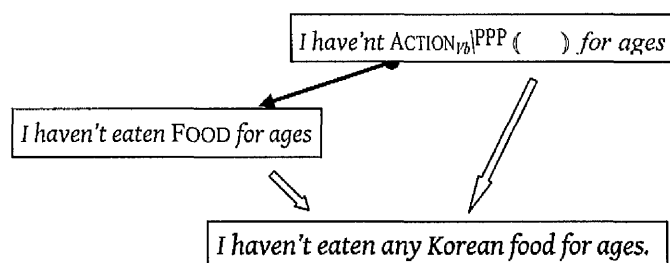
[4] Utterance structures are derived from multiple constructions

The principle of Inheritance Derivation has already been outlined above. However, given the nature of construction inventories, it is clear that utterance structures will generally derive from a multitude of constructions. Thus, recombination and recursion mean that inheritance derivation usually involves partial inheritance from several constructions. And, what is more, there is no principled reason why structures could not be simultaneously inherited both from a more substantive construction and from its more schematic taxonomic 'parent'.

- ♦ Multiple partial inheritance. Only double arrows represent possible derivation paths:



- ◆ Simultaneous inheritance from substantive ‘child’ and schematic ‘parent’ construction:



[5] *Language and grammar are full of fractally structured non-discrete continua*

Ever since the discovery of prototype effects in categorisation, linguistics has finally begun to come round to the idea that the (apparent) discreteness in the structural system of *sign form* may not be matched by discreteness in *sign meaning*. And, once prototype effects became accepted as the norm in language-specific categorisation, Linguistic Typology found itself presented with a highly effective metaphor to make the already well-established fact of non-discrete cross-linguistic diversity more palatable to the wider linguistic community.

Nevertheless, some of the most entrenched assumptions and practices of the Aristotelian heritage of linguistic analysis have only now slowly started to crumble, and more and more linguists have begun to recognise a vast amount of non-discrete continua. The following are a summary of continua pertinent to this thesis:

1. The Structural Complexity and Substantive– Schematic Continua

The *Structural Complexity Continuum* is the continuum formed by constructions of various complexity, from the atomic to the sentence and discourse levels.

The *Substantive–Schematic Continuum* is the continuum occasioned by the existence of constructions at various levels of structural and lexical specificity.

Note that the two continua are commonly subsumed under the notion of the *Syntax–Lexicon Continuum* (Langacker 1987: §1; Croft 2001: §1.3.2),

2. The Structural Density Continuum

The continuum that stretches across the collocational, internally syntactic and clitic structures that are traditionally given a syntactic or ‘periphrastic’ analysis, the additive structures subsumed under ‘compounding’ or ‘incorporation’, and the agglutinative, fusional and inflectional structures subsumed under

‘morphology’.

3. The Grammaticalisation Continuum

The continuum that stretches from semantically specific ‘lexical’ items, across ‘functors’ and ‘auxiliaries’ with various degrees of semantic bleaching and functional generality, all the way to maximally ‘functional’ signs with very low referential specificity. This of course correlates with but is not identical to the Structural Density Continuum.

4. Referential-semantic and cross-linguistic semantic continua

A linguistic sign’s *referential-semantic continuum* is the language-specific, fractally structured continuum formed by the (incrementally different) utterance-specific meanings or *referents* observed in the sign’s usage. It corresponds, of course, to what is schematically represented by prototype category models.

A *cross-linguistic semantic continuum*, on the other hand, is the cross-linguistic continuum that arises from the recurrent cross-linguistic similarities across individual language-specific signs and their referential-semantic continua. An example is the Voice Continuum formed by the different but overlapping functional-semantic spectrums of voice-like categories in the world’s languages (see Croft 1991: §8).

1.3 Data: Choice, methodology and glossing

1.3.1 General considerations and imperatives

Traditionally, most of modern syntactic argumentation has exclusively relied on data that has not been directly observed in actual usage (*real data*) but has in effect been created by linguists as part of their analysis (*designed data*). There are of course exceptions: historical linguistics has always had to rely on attested usage data, ‘ethnolinguistic’ fieldwork used to rely heavily on material from oral literature, and corpus-based linguistics is rapidly gaining ground. On the other hand, however, even language documentation and typological linguistics still rely to a large extent on data that is elicited or designed and confirmed by the fieldwork linguist.

Certainly, not all designed data is equally remote from language reality. Thus, no

matter whether created (or created and confirmed) by native and non-native linguists, designed data may still closely replicate data that the linguist retrieves from his memory of previously observed language behaviour. In other cases, however, particularly when it comes to the more marginal edges of a language system, data creation is often influenced by the linguists assumptions about general or language-specific 'facts'. The result is then is a dangerous epistemological circularity: the so-called data proves a point which it was designed to prove in the first place.

It should be obvious by now that I view the ubiquitous and uncritical use of designed data in linguistic argumentation with extreme scepticism. On the other hand, however, exclusive reliance on usage data is not always necessary, feasible or succinct. And, usage data too must be used carefully, with due consideration of utterance context, sample bias and the frequency of similar instances. Consequently, a judicious use of designed data can be both useful and justifiable. For one, it may be the most practical option: relevant usage data may not exist, the linguist may not have personal records, or corpus trawling may be too time-consuming. Secondly, most usage data requires context elaboration, is too long to fit into a single line (particularly if properly glossed), or contains much material not pertinent to the issue at hand. Lastly, design is often the only option when it comes to the illustration of dispreferred or anomalous structures. As for usage-based empirical evidence of anomaly, this would have to come from the absence or low frequency in large-scale corpora, but gathering this evidence is labour-intensive and requires the existence of a truly representative large-scale corpus.

For all these reasons, I do not entirely reject the use of designed data, and I have made fair use of it in this thesis. On the other hand, I believe that designed data should simulate actual observed usage as closely as possible, and therefore attempt to approximate and reconstruct past usage. This, however, necessitates a radical shift towards a different kind of intuition: not the native speaker's introspective intuitions about his own output potential, but the (native or non-native) linguist's memory-driven intuition about the utterances and patterns encountered in native speakers' past output. In other words, the criterion for designed data should not be 'Could I (or you) say that?' or 'Do I think this is an acceptable sentence' but 'Do I remember anybody saying something like that?' or at least 'Can I imagine people saying that?'. While less important for clear-cut phenomena (say the English article position in *the N*), the difference is an essential one when considering all those phenomena that are less rigidly

fixed and involve fuzzy transitions from the acceptable to the unacceptable (as in the vast majority of phenomena in any language).

1.3.2 The Koreanist methodological tradition and its problems

Setting aside all the detailed methodological considerations outlined so far, my position could be summarised into a simple imperative: *Use real observed data, or at least designed data that sounds like real data*. This, however, brings us to another issue that is more specific to the Koreanist discourse: the traditional practice of using idealised example structures that are significantly removed from real usage in a number of respects that are much less relevant in the case of Average European languages:

- (1) Examples avoid discourse-driven argument omission. Real usage shows prolific pro-drop effects.
- (2) Examples avoid Subject/Object particle omission. Real Colloquial usage shows prolific omission, and some happens even in Literary registers.
- (3) Examples avoid Delimiter particle structures, which also result in (obligatory) Subject/Object particle omission. Real usage is full of these.
- (4) Examples keep verb, predicate and clause numbers to a bare minimum. Real usage is full of serial verbs, micro-clause sequences, and multiple clause or sentence constructions.
- (5) Examples keep verbs in the Formal Plain Style form of Literary registers. Real usage is predominantly Colloquial, and in both Colloquial and Literary registers full of other forms, both non-finite and finite.

The not entirely illegitimate motivation for this practice is to avoid clutter, keep the verb forms short, remove ‘noise’ from constituent and particle dropping, and focus attention on the ‘underlying’ patterns under investigation. The upshot, however, is that most of these designed structures are little more than lexically fleshed-out templates that would require considerable modification to sound anything like real utterances. And not only that, but the use of the Plain Style makes matters worse in two ways: For one, it biases analysis against Colloquial usage and towards prescriptive norms. Secondly, it inhibits the consideration of anything but free-standing single clause structures.

The pitfalls of relying on idealised data can easily be illustrated in contrast with real

usage instances. Consider the following contrast in relation to the admissibility of passive-like usage for the unmarked INACTIVE verb *cuk.ta* ‘dies, gets killed’¹⁵:

(1) a. *Idealised example format that suggests anomaly:*

!? 첼수가 영수에게 죽었다.
 cʰəlsu-ka yŏŋsu-eke cuk-əss-ta.
 Chŏlsu-SBJ Yŏŋsu-AN.LOC/AGT die/get.killed-PF/AOR-DCL
 ‘Chŏlsu was killed by Yŏŋsu.’

b. *Real and perfectly natural utterance:*

다 거짓말이야. 우리 어머니 무사했을 리가 없지.
 ta kæciq.mal-i-ya. uli əmeni musa.hɛ-ss-il li-ka əps-ci.
 CMPL lie-CPL-FIN we mother disinterested:-PF/AOR-PSP reason-SBJ be.not.there-PROP
 아마 공산당놈들한테 죽었을 거야.
 ama kŏŋsan+taŋ-nŏm-til-hantʰe cuk-əss-il-kəy-a.
 probably communist+party+person.PEJ-PL-AN.LOC/AGT die/get.killed-PF/AOR-PSP/FUT-FIN
 Eqv: ‘It’s all a pack of lies. Our mother would never have quietly put up with what was happening.
 She must have been killed by the Commies.’ (=Cp)

Here, many Korean speakers would consider the idealised example 1a unlikely or anomalous, but the very same speakers would probably find the same structural AGENT INVERSE template highly natural in the attested 1b, particularly if given enough experiential or discourse context. This suggests that intuitive anomaly judgments of 1a have a lot to do with its idealised format: the use of the Literary Plain Style, the equally Literary AGENT-*eke* pattern and the ‘Peter/Mary’ equivalent *Cʰəlsu/Yŏŋsu* would all evoke prescriptive norms; and in most discourse contexts the patient would not appear in the Subject particle pattern PATIENT-*ka* but either be dropped or appear in the ‘topic’ pattern PATIENT-*nin*. Consider now the following contrast in relation to animacy and agency constraints on the TRANSITIVE SUBJECT slot:

(2) a. *Idealised example format that suggests anomaly:*

* 바람이 현수막을 찢었다.
 palam-i hyənsu-mak-il ccic-əss-ta.
 wind-SBJ banner-ACC tears-PF/AOR-FML.DCL
 ‘The wind tore the banners (apart/away).’

b. *Real and perfectly natural utterance:*

하늘도 청명한 오후에 바람이 김새도 전혀 없었는데,
 hanil-to cʰəŋmyəŋ.ha-n ohu-e palam-i kkimse-to cənhyə əps-əss-ninte,
 sky-INCL blue.and.clear-PF.AT afternoon-LOC wind-SBJ just.before-INCL (not).at.all be.not.there-PF-CIR.CJ
 어디선가 갑자기 거센 바람이 분다.
 əti-sə-n-ka kapcaki kəse-n palam-i pu-n-ta.
 where-SET-PF.AT-INQS suddenly almighty-PF.AT wind-SBJ blows-DYN-FML.DCL

¹⁵ For the interlinear morpheme analysis and glossing practice pursued in this thesis, including unfamiliar symbols, see §1.3.4 and the ‘Glossary’ appendix. Where applicable, data source and the extent of my modifications are briefly indicated in the translation line. The pertinent abbreviations and symbols are explained in the ‘Data Documentation’ appendix, which also includes detailed information on source and modifications.

이 바람은 상점 간판을 날리는가 하면 진열대를 부수기도 하고
i palam-in sanjem kanp^han-il nalli-nin-ka_hamyön, cinyölte-lil pusu-ki-to ha-ko
this wind-SEL shop signboard ACC sends.flying-DYN-PLR.CJ stall-ACC take.apart-GER-INCL do/PRV-PF.SQ
빌딩 사이에 걸쳐 있는 현수막을 찢기도 한다.
piltin+sai-e kally-ä_iss-nin hyönsumak-il ccic-ki-to ha-n-ta.
building+between-ADES get.hung-RES.CNT-AT banner-ACC tear-GER-INCL do/PRV-DYN-FML.DCL
‘On a blue and clear afternoon, after a long lull, an almighty wind suddenly starts blowing from
somewhere. **This wind** sends the shop signboards flying, pulls apart the stalls and **tears away the**
banners that are strung between the buildings.’ (=Cp)

Here again, most Korean speakers would find the simple isolated clause 2a anomalous, but find the almost identical argument pattern in the complex 2b utterly natural. The reason is that 2b not only refers to the wind’s force-dynamic effects but also clearly tracks its progression as it tears along the street, suggesting that the wind is perceived as having strong features of an autonomous moving entity. Exclusive reliance on idealised simple clauses such as 2a will not only completely miss this important point, but result in an inaccurate representation of the Korean system.

1.3.3 The data-gathering methodology in this thesis

Against the background outlined in the previous two subsections, I have chosen a mixed approach that relies on three types of data:

- (1) *Real usage data* as the preferred option, combined with due consideration of how frequently similar instances are attested. Following practices in corpus-based Koreanist studies, this may involve leaving out material and cutting off the example before the end of a sentence or sentence chain.
- (2) *Modified usage data* that attempts to retain the essential properties of the real utterance it is derived from, but adds ‘dropped’ material and/or shortens the example. I have occasionally used this kind of data for single examples, but mostly in the contrastive juxtaposition of minimal sentence pairs.
- (3) *Designed data* that aims to *reconstruct* and *approximate* previously encountered *usage data*. I have used this mainly for colloquial data, particularly since corpus data is hard to come by and very time-consuming to trawl due to lack of tagging and variable transcription.
- (4) *Designed data* that illustrates *dispreferred* or *anomalous* realisations
- (5) *Designed data* from or paraphrased from the linguistic literature, with a view to representing analytical claims or practices.

All usage-based data and all examples quoted from the literature are documented in the appendix, which also shows my cuts and modifications. Needless to say, modified and designed data has been checked with native speakers, although less than I would have liked.

1.3.4 Data presentation and glossing

For better or worse, the Contemporary Linguistic discourse is not only conducted in English, but strongly influenced by the Anglo-American Linguistics of the past decades. One consequence is the frightening amount of theoretical argumentation that relies primarily on English data. Another, less obvious consequence is the extent to which English is used, misused and abused as the meta-language for the analysis of typological data. Again, this is a general problem, but it is at its worst in the case of Korean and indeed other languages whose typological distance to English stands in the way of providing easy equivalences in interlinear and translation gloss. The following outlines the main problems and the way I have chosen to deal with them in my data presentation. My motivation in doing so lies again in the way in which glossing practices in the English-language literature on Korean tend to misrepresent the systemic properties of the pertinent data. The reader not interested in this issue may, however, wish to skim or ignore this subsection.

[1] Avoiding haphazard and distortive labelling

Under the influence of Typological approaches, interlinear glossing has come a long way from the haphazard practice found in publications up to the early 1980s, and there are now a large number of established conventions and functional glosses (see Lehman 2004; Bickel, Comrie & Haspelmath 2004). Still all too often, however, authors are less than thorough (f.ex. 'went' and not 'go:PST') or use lexical glosses instead of functional labels (f.ex. 'with' and not 'CMT/COMIT' for a comitative marker). Here, I strongly tend towards a maximally restrictive position (as in see Lehman 2004; differently from the more liberal Bickel, Comrie & Haspelmath 2004).

More problematically, authors also often skew the gloss towards what is clearly a peripheral function of the glossed element (say 'DAT' instead of 'LOC' or 'LOC/DAT' for to

in *I sent the letter to the bank*). While this practice may be economical where it is the function under discussion, it is all too often pursued in blatant expression of the author's conclusions and without due emphasis on the element's other functions (as if, say, 'SBJ' were chosen for a 'dative subject', and 'OBJ' or 'ACC' for Slavic 'genitive objects' or even Spanish 'animate objects' with the oblique Locative preposition *a*).

In the literature on Korean, all of these issues are particularly acute due to a mix of less-than-thorough practice, mismatches between Korean-specific and cross-linguistic categories and analytic biases and preconceptions. The following are two typical examples close to this thesis:

- (1) Korean has strong animacy-related constraints on the Transitive Subject slot that usually prevent the appearance of COLLECTIVE or INSTITUTION nouns as the 'agent subject' of an active verb. The normal alternative is to mark the pertinent noun with the Locational SOURCE/SETTING pattern *N-esə* (f.ex. *inhəŋ-ese pʰyānci pŏŋ-ss-e* 'bank-ABL/SET letter send:-PF-FIN'). The pertinent element is widely analysed as a non-canonically marked Subject. Whatever one's opinion on this, it would be inappropriate to gloss *esə* simply as 'SBJ'.
- (2) The usage of Korean verbs marked with the voice-like marker *-əci-* is scattered across the entire inchoative–anticausative–passive spectrum. Overall, however, inchoative-like STATE CHANGE usage clearly predominates, although many *-əci-* verbs have both inchoative- and passive-like usage, and for a few passive-like usage predominates (compare *ccic-əci-* 'tears, gets torn' against *mantil-əci-* 'gets made/created, gets formed'). Given these facts, *-əci-* should not be simply glossed as PASS(IVE), but either as 'INCH(OATIVE)' or as INCH/PASS.

Against this background I have adopted the following approach:

Principles of Interlinear Morpheme Glossing

- (1) Even at the risk of cluttering, the interlinear gloss tries to provide a detailed and comprehensive picture, also with a view to allowing further use by the reader.
- (2) The interlinear gloss is held as functional as possible, limiting English lexical glosses to word-like elements.
- (3) Functional glosses are kept largely in line with the standardised labels established by the Framework for Descriptive Grammars and the European Typology project (see lists in Croft 2001; Lehman 2004), but some recurrent

labels have been shortened and some new ones added.

- (4) To avoid giving a misleading picture of functional elements, the gloss of a functor's core usage is given before a pertinent peripheral usage, wherever feasible.

[2] *Avoiding distortive effects of compositional glossing*

Overall, provided it follows good practice, Interlinear Morpheme Glossing provides a highly effective means of presenting data on languages unknown to the reader, but it has one serious drawback: it is fundamentally compositional and has no devices that could cope adequately with structures that are not amenable to structural decomposition. Here, we encounter two different problems. The first are patterns at the synthetic end of the Structural Density continuum that involve partial fusion between what were in the past neatly segmentable elements, as in the following:

- ◆ German plurals that involve umlaut variation plus an additional segment:

Markt 'market' ~ *Märkte* 'markets' = *Markt*^{Umlaut-e}

- ◆ Korean verb-inflectional patterns that involve partial fusion of the inflectional suffix with certain verb stems, such as the PERFECT/AORIST pattern $\alpha_{VST}-a/əss-$:

$mək\text{eat}_{VST} + əss_{PST} + ə_{FIN} = mək-əss-ə$ (purely agglutinative)

$ha\text{do}_{VST} + əss_{PST} + ə_{FIN} = hɛss-ə$ (partial fusion with stem-suffix vowel merge)

As a simple solution that indicates partial fusion structures I shall use a 'colon plus boundary symbol' combination in the gloss (• / :- etc), with the colon attached to the element that is structurally modified by the fusion: *hɛ-ss-ə* do:-PF-FIN

A more serious problem arises when semantic decomposition is either too distortive or simply impossible. Here, the most distortive effects lie in the area of verb-structural analysis, where it is commonly assumed that the invariant verb stem core has the semantic value of the presumably 'basic' voice or tense-aspect categories 'active' and 'present'. The following illustrate this problem in relation to the issues in this thesis:

- ◆ The Korean 'passive' stem *mulli-* 'get bitten, get held in mouth, end up in mouth, [teeth] sink in, [gears] catch ...' is usually analysed as *mul-li-* 'bite-PASSIVE'. This suggests an algorithmic derivation whereby the 'active' stem and its meaning are modified by the 'passive' marker. This analysis is, however, simply not consistent with its actual usage.

- ◆ The Korean PERFECT structures *piəss̥ta* 'has become empty, is empty' and *pin* [pyən] 'empty [bottle]' are traditionally given a compositional analysis as *pi-əss-ta* 'become.empty-PF/AOR' and *pi-n* 'become.empty-PF.AT [bottle]'. This ascribes a DYNAMIC IMPERFECTIVE PRESENT meaning to the verb stem *pi-*, with a 'PERFECT' modification by the tense-aspect morphemes. In reality, however, the PERFECT forms of *pi.ta* refer predominantly to *original states* and must therefore be ascribed simple PRESENT STATE meaning. Decompositional analysis thus distorts the facts of actual usage.

Further, decompositional analysis is simply impossible where no specific semantic value can be ascribed to the verb-stem-like element:

- ◆ The equipollent verb pair *ssiləci.ta* ~ *ssiləttili.ta* 'collapse; get brought down' ~ 'topple; bring down' clearly contains the two voice-marking elements *-(ə)ci-* and *-(ə)ttili-*. However, since the voice alternation is equipollent, the invariant core element *ssil-* cannot be ascribed either ACTIVE-FACTITIVE or INCHOATIVE-PASSIVE meaning and to choose one over the other would unacceptably bias analysis.

As a solution that allows a non-distortive representation of the pertinent patterns, I use a single central dot '•' to indicate boundaries in highly non-compositional structures, as follows:

- (1) Where elements are strongly interdependent but can be given individual labels these may appear in the Interlinear Gloss, separated by the single dot:

Example: *mək-nin•te* eat-DYN•CIRC

- (2) Where a decompositional analysis is distortive, but glossing of individual elements remains informative, an overall gloss is given for the entire structure, followed by a decompositional gloss in square brackets:

Example: *mil•ly-əss-ta* get.pushed/push_{INCH}/mill.about[«push•INACT»]-PF/AOR-FML.DCL

- (3) Where the stem core cannot be glossed, but peripheral morphemes are clearly meaningful, an overall gloss is given for the entire structure, followed by the gloss of the peripheral element(s) in brackets:

Example: *ssil•əcy-əss-ta* collapse/get.toppled[•INCH]-PF/AOR-FML.DCL

[3] *Translation equivalence and context-specificity*

The final issue concerns the English translation gloss whose main function should be to give the reader an idea of the example's 'meaning' in the language of the linguistic text. Here, again, there are two main problems. The first is the unfortunate tendency to 'shadow' the structure of the source language data in the English gloss, rather than giving a natural English equivalent (see the criticism in Lehman 2004). Again, this is particularly pronounced in the case of Korean or other languages that strongly diverge from the English system. My position here is to take the principle of idiomatic glossing to its extreme and always seek to provide *closest translation equivalents* in the functional and referential-semantic sense, defined as the most likely utterance that the idealised bilingual speaker would have chosen in response to the same cognitive-perceptual referent. These may be preceded by a more 'literal' translation that shadows the Korean structure more closely.

The second and more important problem arises from the fact that the usage-based approach in this thesis is not concerned with the potential interpretational meanings of the data as a general linguistic structure, let alone with context-free general meanings whose cognitive reality it emphatically denies. Instead, the analysis in this thesis focuses on the process of instance-specific sign production, and specifically the question of what cognitive-perceptual features of a particular referent situation may condition the choice of a particular solution. Against this background, the English translation glosses given in this thesis should always be understood as pertaining only to the particular uses under consideration.

1.3.5 Romanisation

Since the 15th century Korean has, of course, had its own indigenous phonemic script, Han'gŭl. Moreover, because its sound system differs considerably from that of many Average European languages, Korean is not easily amenable to a romanisation whose representation would be satisfactory in both the phonetic and phonemic domains, particularly if based only on the simple Roman alphabet. The obvious solution would of course be diacritics, but these are strongly disliked by most Koreans, probably due to their absence in English. Moreover, the Korean consonant system revolves around a three-way plain/lax–tense/stiff–aspirate opposition and strongly tends towards

obligatory assimilation and reduction in consonant clusters.

The upshot is that it is virtually impossible to settle on a romanisation system that is easily usable and satisfactory for both Koreans and non-Koreans, and there are no fewer than three romanisation systems in existence:

<i>McCune-Reischauer Romanisation</i>		
Principle	Largely phonetic with some morpho-phonological representation	
Use	Western academic texts, Western libraries (but often without diacritics) Official Romanisation System 1984-2000	
Main Features	Some vowels represented with diacritic, some with double-letter umlaut signs	/ə/ = ǝ, /i/ = ǐ, /ɛ/ = ae, /wœ/ = oe
	Aspirated stops represented with apostrophe diacritic	/kʰ/ = k'
	Stop allophones represented phonetically (inter-vocalic voicing, nasal assimilation etc)	/kV V k/ = k, /V k V/ = g /V k N/ = ŋ
Evaluation	Good phonetic representation. Bad phonological representation. Interpretational ambiguity of 'ae', 'oe', 'ng' between single or two phoneme reading, unless separated by apostrophe or other diacritic Many-to-one (and some many-to-many) correspondences to Korean Han'gŭl script	

<i>Yale Romanisation</i>		
Principle	Consistently morpho-phonological. No diacritics.	
Use:	Linguistics only	
Main Features	Vowels with [i] off-glide origin represented as ' _y', in analogy with Korean Han'gŭl method	/e/ = ey, /ɛ/ = ay, /wœ/ = woy
	Some vowels represented idiosyncratically	/ə/ = e, /i/ = u, /u/ = wu
	Aspirated stops represented as 'Ch'	/kʰ/ = kh
Evaluation	Vowel representation misleading (esp. in suggestion of vowel clusters/glides) Interpretational ambiguity of 'ayV', 'eyV', 'oyV' and Ch between one and two phoneme reading, unless separated by do/hyphen	

<i>Current Official Romanisation</i>		
Principle	Partly morphophonological with some phonetic allophone representation	
Use:	Signs, government and private publications in Korea	
Main Features	Lax consonants as voiced letters except in non-released coda position	/kV V kV/ = g, /V k V kC/ = k
	Aspirated consonants represented as unvoiced letters	/kʰ/ = k
	Some vowels represented as 'eV' combinations, some with double-letter umlaut signs	/ə/ = eo, /i/ = eu /ɛ/ = ae, /wœ/ = oe
Evaluation	Highly misleading phonetic and phonological representation Prolific many-to-many correspondences with Han'gŭl script Interpretational ambiguity of a+e, o+e, e+o and e+u between single and two phoneme reading, unless separated by hyphen	

Of the three systems, the current official system is the least consistent, ill-suited for any non-Korean user and not without problems for Koreans either. It is also inadequate for linguistic representation. McCune-Reischauer gives a good phonetic representation, has the deepest tradition, and is used in academia, libraries and bibliographies. Most Koreans, however, struggle with its usage because it represents phonetic distinctions that are of no phonemic relevance and thus not easily accessible to the Korean speaker, and because it phoneticises reductions and assimilations that are not represented in the contemporary morpho-phonemic Han'gŭl orthography. And for the same reasons, it is not ideal for linguistic representation. Yale, on the other hand, is better suited for that purpose, but its vowel representation is misleading and impractical for use by both Koreans and non-Koreans. It has therefore rarely been used outside of the linguistic literature where it is more or less the established standard. Aside from its inadequate phonetic representation, however, Yale often suggests non-existent structural complexity and eats up a lot of space in example lines. For all these reasons, I believe the best system for representation in linguistics is a morpho-phonological system based on IPA signs, as used by some Korean linguists, prominently the typologist Jae Jung Song (see f.ex. Jae Jung Song 1996).

I have therefore decided to adopt IPA-inspired phonological representation in the linguistic examples, based on the following principles:

- (1) Lax consonants are represented by the pertinent voiceless IPA sign (*p*, *t*, *s*, *k*), except that [tʃ/dʒ] is simply represented as *c*.
- (2) Tense consonants are represented as geminate IPA signs (*pp*, *tt*, *ss*, *cc*, *kk*)
- (3) Aspirate consonants are represented with *h* superscript (*p^h*, *t^h*, *c^h*, *k^h*)
- (4) Tensing that occurs in the internal boundary of some compounds and is represented in Hangŭl with the 'sai sios 사|이 사|웃' is represented with *q*.
- (5) Vowels are represented with pertinent IPA signs. Although it has largely disappeared from the contemporary system, the distinction between *e* and *ɛ* is maintained according to Han'gŭl orthography. The IPA sign *æ* is used to represent what is now phonetically [ɛ/e] in the glide [wɛ/we] but historically [wœ] and remains distinguished from *wɛ* and *we* in Han'gŭl orthography.

Although I use IPA-based representation for the data, I have nevertheless chosen to follow the practice in Koreanist academia and libraries and used the McCune-

Reischauer system for Korean words and names in the text and bibliography. Lastly, even though this can result in using two different romanisations for the same person, I have referenced Korean language publications with the Korean author's name romanised according to McCune-Reischauer, but Western language publications with the author's name as it appears in the publication. Where appropriate, cross-references are included in the bibliography.

Voice and diathesis: Analytic categories, their application to Korean and some major problems

2.1 The Voice Continuum and its categorial segmentation in Linguistic Theory

2.1.1 The concepts of voice and diathesis in linguistic theory

In linguistic theory, the structural differentiation along the agentivity–causality dimension in predicate form and core clause structure is subsumed under a number of different terms and notions. These include, on the one hand, voice and diathesis and, on the other hand, valency or argument structure variation, change or adjustment. In addition, some recent constructional and cognitive approaches have expanded the valency model into broader cognitive-semantic models operating with the notion of situation-semantic categories, frames or schemata.

The much older concepts voice and diathesis originate in more or less synonymous terms used in the description of Latin and Greek verbal paradigms by Classical Roman and Greek grammarians and made their way into modern linguistic theory by different routes: voice mainly via the Latin-influenced West European tradition, and diathesis mainly via the Greek-influenced East European tradition.

In a reflex of its historical origin, the notion of voice in Western linguistic theory pertains primarily to predicate-internal structural variation patterns that accompany or ‘signal’ variations in the situational role of clause-constructional arguments. Moreover, in line with the way this phenomenon manifests itself in many Indoeuropean languages, the voice concept has traditionally been limited to verb-structural patterns that involve the presence of ‘morphological’ voice markers and signify a ‘change’ in the status of the clause subject referent from the ‘agent’ role to the ‘theme’ or ‘patient’ role. More

recently, ever since the early Generative Paradigm proposed to analyse 'active ~ passive' alternations in terms of transformational changes to clause syntax, Linguistic Theory has been operating with the concept of 'voice constructions' as pertaining to the combination of verb-structural marking and clause-constructional argument configuration.

As much as attention may have shifted to clause structure, however, syntactic theories remain deeply wedded to the *Predicate Primacy Assumption*: the assumption that the predicate is the primary determinant of the clause's core nominal configuration. Historically, this assumption seems to go back as far as the notions of voice and diathesis, and is evident in the assertion that certain verbs 'take' or 'govern' certain cases or prepositional constituents. And, much more recently, the Predicate Primacy Assumption has motivated the valency construct in its various formulations (valency/valence, thematic role structure, argument structure, or case frames) as a model of selectional restrictions on the core nominals, assumed to be inherent features of the verb or predicate.

In the course of the gradual affirmation and formalisation of the Predicate Primacy Assumption, both voice and diathesis have inevitably become integrated into the valency model, and contemporary linguistics now treats voice as a special case of valency variation (see f.ex. Payne 1997:§8, Dixon & Aikhenvald ed 2000). In the East European tradition, on the other hand, the Leningrad typological school, while using voice in a similarly narrow sense, developed diathesis into an integrated concept that comprises both valency and its mapping onto corresponding grammatical relations (Genušienė 1987: esp. 52-3, Comrie & Polinsky eds 1993). No doubt inspired by the prominent use of the diathesis notion in accounts of transitivity variation such as the Slavic reflexive or Altaic causative, Western linguistics then rediscovered diathesis as a convenient umbrella term to cover all kinds of valency variation, irrespective of whether they are expressed in predicate morphology or not (see f.ex. Levin 1993).

Diathesis then, even if claimed to be anchored in the predicate and its valency, is in effect only identifiable through and therefore based on clause-syntactic facts. On the other hand, while diathesis has turned thus into a clause-based concept, voice has remained a verb-based concept, fundamentally shaped by its origin in the analysis of Indoeuropean languages. There, for one, the verb-structural system is largely limited to the contrast between a structurally unmarked pattern and a structurally marked pattern

that typically expresses low(er) agentivity¹⁶. Secondly, while Latin, Greek and Sanskrit actually have a large number of medio-passive *solitaires* (the so-called *media/passiva tantum*) and deponents, this would not appear to be the case in the modern Western Indoeuropean languages, where every canonical passive predicate seems to have an active counterpart¹⁷. Thirdly, the structurally unmarked ‘active’ pattern does not constitute any coherent semantic category. Instead, it contains not only most or all semantically ACTIVE verbs, but also assimilates a large number of semantically INACTIVE (‘inchoative/unaccusative’) verbs. Lastly, in most modern Western Indoeuropean languages, canonical passive predicates appear to involve no valency reduction, or at least no removal of the ‘agent’ participant from verbal semantics) vis-à-vis the active, and consequently seem to express not a different situation-dynamic category but only a change in perspective, focus or topic-prominence of the situational elements or participants.

2.1.2 Indoeuropean biases in the Standard Voice Model

The Indoeuropean languages in the original database of Western Linguistics have of course situation-dynamic systems with their own peculiar, language-specific properties. Since, however, these have profoundly influenced even later developments in Contemporary Linguistics, these properties have resulted in a number of inherent biases and asymmetries in what I shall somewhat summarily call the Standard Voice Model, as a term that denotes the set of established voice and voice-like categories as they are currently used in the Contemporary Linguistic discourse.

The first bias lies in the assumption that voice categories must be verb-structurally based. That is, although a voice category may have several different structural realisations (a language may have several passives), each verb-structural pattern must be associated with one particular voice category (a particular pattern is either active or

¹⁶ English, out of all languages, provides a rudimentary exception in the *have/get PPP* causative (*has/gets one's hair cut*), but even this is closely related to the passive, being based on the passive participle and also having passive-like uses. On the other hand, many languages actually have several different marked patterns with lower transitivity, for example the partial split between middle and passive in Classical Greek, the simultaneous existence of passive and stative passive in Germanic and Romance, and the participle-based and reflexive-based passive in Romance and Slavic.

¹⁷ In fact, if one looks at the passive participle rather than the complex passive predicate construction, the lack of systematic and widespread passive *solitaires* in modern Western Indoeuropean languages turns out to be more apparent than real, witness the prolific and productive existence of passive *solitaires* and pseudo-*solitaires* among English physiological and psychological ‘adjectives’ (*stoned, knackered, flabberghasted, miffed, pissed off*, etc).

passive, but cannot be both)¹⁸. This *Structural Category Bias* remains evident even among prototype-based approaches in Functional-Typological Linguistics that accept the possibility that a single structural pattern may span the functional-semantic domains of several cross-linguistic categories (for example structurally reflexive or middle patterns that extend across the reflexive, anticausative and passive domains). Even there, it is common practice to then identify one voice category as the presumed core function, and other instances as secondary or peripheral extensions from this core function¹⁹.

The second bias is intimately bound up with the Compositional and Algorithmic assumptions: the assumptions that any structurally complex sign can be reduced to a combination of its constituent elements and their associated semantics, and that any marked structure is algorithmically derivable from its unmarked counterpart. Based on these often implicit assumptions, voice accounts generally assume that the structurally unmarked 'active' category must be systemically and conceptually basic and structurally marked voices systemically and conceptually derivative categories. And, in a further instance of Indoeuropean bias, this assumption is often made without any further consideration of the structural markedness of the 'active' itself or of distributional and statistical facts (for example, the assumption that the 'active' is basic is still maintained where it is structurally equipollent to 'passive' or other inactive patterns, or where an 'active' construction is not significantly more frequent than an 'inverse' construction)²⁰.

The effects of this *Markedness Bias* is also clearly discernible in the treatment of solitaires and deponents which are generally only identified for a structurally marked voice. That is, everybody speaks of 'passiva/media tantum' and 'passive/middle deponents', but hardly anybody pays attention to 'activa tantum' (that is 'active' verbs with no 'passive/middle' counterparts) and nobody even recognises 'active deponents' (that is verbs with 'active' morphology but 'passive/middle' meaning). And, even in languages that have large groups of solitaires or deponents, these are widely treated not as a systematic synchronic phenomenon, but relegated to the realm of lexical

¹⁸ In fact, the deeper cause here is not verb-structural bias but what Langacker calls the 'exclusionary fallacy', the "gratuitous and (...) rather dubious" assumption that "one analysis, motivation, categorization, cause, function, or explanation for a linguistic phenomenon necessarily precludes another" (Langacker 1987: 23ff).

¹⁹ One notable exception is Croft's attitude towards what he calls the "voice continuum". Thus, he seems to not only reject the validity of cross-linguistic voice categories but refrains from postulating core or peripheral functions for language-specific constructions (Croft 2001: §8).

²⁰ Note that there are, however, some functional-typological approaches that use not only structural but also much broader criteria for the identification of markedness, including distribution and frequency (see especially the voice approach initiated by Givón, f.ex. Givón ed 1994; Givón 1995: §2/44-5).

idiosyncrasy and synchronically fossilised historical accident²¹. Another, even less defensible form of algorithmic derivation bias is the imposition of algorithmic derivation even onto systems in which voices are equally marked (for example the Philippine or Indonesian voice systems).

In a third bias, even though the gradual widening of the cross-linguistic database has revealed a large number of differently organised systems, Contemporary Linguistics still shows a strong lingering preference for models centred on the 'active ~ passive' dichotomy. Expansion of the voice category to include active-inverse and ergative-antipassive systems notwithstanding, this *Active-Passive System Bias* is manifest in the strong tendency to identify as 'active' any verbal paradigm that is most strongly associated with transitive active constructions, and as 'passive' any structurally marked paradigm that can be viewed in terms of 'promotion' of the ACTIVE OBJECT (or 'patient' argument) and 'demotion' of the ACTIVE AGENT SUBJECT (or 'agent' argument).

The Active-Passive System Bias is further evident in a strong reluctance to extend the voice notion to anything that does not sufficiently resemble the 'active ~ passive' mold. This negative effect can be clearly discerned in the different degrees of acceptance towards including other situation-dynamic categories within the voice concept. Rejection is particularly widespread where a system has a large number of unusual diatheses (as in the Philippine 'focus' system), a diathesis does not involve structural variation in the predicate (as with labile 'inchoative ~ causative' alternations or passive/inverse-like patterns that involve only impersonal subject marking or word-order changes), is not sufficiently grammaticalised, widespread or productive (as in the English in *He found himself sidelined*), covers a multi-functional range that only partly extends into the spectrum of traditional voice categories (as with the 'reflexive passives' found in many Slavic, Romance and Germanic languages), or involves not a mere 'rearrangement' or 'remapping' of valency but the wholesale addition or removal of arguments (as with anticausatives, causatives, applicatives, and indeed also stative passives).

As a consequence of the Active-Passive System bias, only inverse and antipassive

²¹ Counterexamples can be found in some approaches to the 'middle' voice, notably that of Klaiman, who regards the middle as no less basic than the active and views middle solitaires and deponents as a direct response to situation-semantic features (1991: §2). On the other hand, Kemmer also considers them to be semantically motivated, but in the same breath then characterises them as anomalous "perturbations" that are either "diachronic residue" or result from the spread of the middle marker to verbs that were already intransitive at an earlier diachronic stage (1993: 238-9, 243).

are unanimously accepted as belonging to the voice domain, no doubt due to their strong resemblance to the passive. On the other hand, the acceptance of structurally marked inchoative/anticausative and reflexive constructions varies according to their structural and systemic proximity to the cross-linguistic passive category. Most importantly, the causative is in many systems an integral and structurally similar part of situation-dynamic verb paradigms (for example the Japanese *-sas(e)-* causative is structurally similar, equally marked and equally productive as the *-rare-* passive). Nevertheless, even though some now regard at least this type of causative-like pattern as the mirror-image of medio-passive categories, there is a clearly discernible bias against including even the most synthetic causatives into the voice concept.

In sum, Contemporary Linguistics predominantly reserves the voice concept to verb-structural categories and shows a strong lingering preference for the active–(medio)passive system as instantiated in its original Indo-European database. On the other hand, some recent approaches have begun to militate against this Indo-European bias. Thus, some functional-typological strands have now abandoned the requirement of structural expression in the predicate, relying instead on general clause-syntactic and semantic criteria such as nominal marking patterns, pivot or topic assignment, situation perspective or perceptual focus (see esp. Givón ed 1994; Givón 1995: §3).

On the other hand, the typological approach has also revealed a large number of basic voice systems in which no voice category, whether structurally marked or unmarked, can be viewed as derived from another (see the seminal Klaiman 1991). And, although this radical view remains marginal, the recent lexical shift that locates derivation on the lexical rather than syntactic level is evidence of a growing recognition that most voice systems cannot be analysed in terms of syntactic derivation from unmarked to marked voice. Lastly, even though diathesis remains the preferred term for categories that do not sufficiently resemble the Indo-European active–(medio)passive mold, the spread of terms such as ‘reflexive/causative voice’ reflects an increasing tendency to extend the voice concept to other categories structurally marked in the predicate (see f.ex. Croft 2001:§8, Shibatani 2006).



2.1.3 Voice and diathesis categories and their asymmetric segmentation of the Voice Continuum

Apart from the biases outlined in the previous subsection, the original Indoeuropean bias of Western linguistic theory has also led to a fundamental asymmetry in the analytic treatment of situation-dynamic systems that goes beyond the question of what category to include or exclude from voice analysis and is particularly relevant in the context of the Korean system. This asymmetry lies in the fact that, while the less active side of the Voice Continuum has been subjected to fine-grained differentiation into numerous and narrowly defined categories, the more active side has been largely subsumed under the single and broadly defined category of the causative.

On the whole, categories on the less active side are primarily based on verb-structural and clause-syntactic criteria, and only secondarily augmented by situation-semantic criteria. As for the verb-structural criterion, the inchoative is the only category that is equally applied to structurally unmarked and marked verbs (for example unmarked 'inchoative' verbs in the labile 'labile inchoative ~ causative' alternations of English or Romance, but reflexive-marked 'inchoatives' in Romance, Germanic and Slavic).

On the other hand, verb-structural markedness remains a central criterion for the inverse, anticausative, antipassive and reflexive categories, and predicates that do not conform to this criterion are widely excluded or at least treated as untypical and marginal (see for dogmatic insistence on verb morphology in the passive Siewierska 1984: 2 and Haspelmath 1990, in passive and antipassive Palmer 1994: §5.1, 6.2, 7.4, 7.7 and in the reflexive Genušienė 1987: 25-32, but for markedness as a prototype feature of the passive Shibatani 1985, of passive, anticausative and antipassive Dixon & Aikhenvald 2000: 7-12, of all categories Payne 1997:198-222). And, while the middle category has been rather broadly extended to constructions with unmarked predicates (see f.ex. Croft 1990, 1991; Levin 1993: 25-6), this extension has engendered considerable criticism (see f.ex. Dixon & Aikhenvald 2000: 11-2), and most approaches to the middle limit it to its original use as a structurally marked category (see Klaiman 1991: §2, Kemmer 1993).

At the same time, the second-most central criterion for these categories are clause-syntactic features. These are mostly of the kind that originate in transformational

analysis, and are hence based on comparison with the presumably basic transitive active clause. Here, for the passive, inverse and anticausative ‘patient promotion’ (the algorithmic interpretation of the contrast between the inactive ‘patient’ subject and the corresponding active ‘patient’ object) is regarded as a core feature that applies at least to their central or prototypical instances. Instances that do not conform to this criterion are thus inherently accorded a secondary, non-typical status (see f.ex. for the passive Shibatani 1985; for all three Dixon & Aikhenvald 2000). On the other hand, the most important feature used for defining and differentiating passive, inverse and anticausative is the degree of ‘agent demotion’ or ‘deletion’ (the algorithmic interpretation of the contrast between their oblique or absent ‘agent’ constituent and the corresponding active ‘agent’ subject): ‘demotion’ to optional oblique expression in the passive, ‘demotion’ to obligatory non-subject expression in the inverse, and ‘deletion’ in the anticausative (see again for the passive Shibatani 1985; for all three Dixon & Aikhenvald 2000: 7-11)²². Lastly, for the reflexive, its definitions are frequently based on the ‘removal’ of the ‘patient’ or ‘recipient’ constituent in the corresponding non-reflexive clause (see Genušienė 1987:53-7, Dixon & Aikhenvald 2000: 11)²³.

Due to the centrality of the Predicate Primacy Assumption in most contemporary approaches to clause structure, it has become common practice to (re-)formulate such clause-syntactic features in terms of the valency construct and its mapping onto clause syntax. In such formulations then, the passive is characterised as involving argument restructuring or even complete removal of the primary argument, or in more semantic formulations ‘patient fore-grounding’ and ‘agent-defocusing’ to a peripheral status. Similarly, the inverse is viewed as involving argument restructuring, or inverting the relative saliency, focus or topicality of ‘agent’ and ‘patient’ but retaining the ‘agent’ as a core argument, and the anticausative as involving the complete removal of the ‘agent’ from argument structure (see again for the passive Shibatani 1985; for all three Dixon &

²² Parallel features of ‘agent promotion’ and ‘patient demotion’ are central to the antipassive, a category that is however irrelevant for the highly accusative Korean system (see again Dixon & Aikhenvald 2000: 9-10).

²³ Arguably, ‘removal’ only takes place where the reflexive construction involves structural marking in the verb phrase, although grammaticalised reflexive pronouns such as French *se* can also be viewed as morphological markers. It would, however, not take place in unsynthesised clause-syntactic reflexive constructions that rely on word-level reflexive pronouns in nominal constituent position, as in English *He introduced himself* (see Dixon & Aikhenvald 2000: 11, but for a uniformly recessive view Genušienė 1987: §3.2). On the other hand, some of the most thorough investigations of the middle de-emphasise or avoid reliance on ‘agent removal’. Thus, for Klaiman the middle voice is not derived from the active, and valence reduction/detransitivisation is only a tendency (1991: §2/105). Kemmer, on the other hand, after rejecting generative clause-syntactic accounts, studiously avoids any reliance on or diagnosis of clause-syntactic properties (1993: §2.4 and elsewhere).

Aikhenvald 2000).

The main advantage of such valency-based approaches is that they do not rely on direct syntactic derivation and therefore allow the integration of instances which have no transitive 'active' counterpart, whether a hypothetical counterpart is blocked by animacy constraints (as common in inverse systems), because the predicate has only an 'unergative active' counterpart (as in the case of 'impersonal passives') or simply no counterpart at all (as in the case of medio-passive solitaires). In addition, they allow a principled distinction between 'anticausatives' where the 'agent' is completely absent from verbal semantics, and 'non-agented' or 'agentless passives' where the 'agent' remains part of verbal semantics but is optionally or obligatorily absent from the clause (see again Dixon & Aikhenvald 2000: 7-12).

The argument structure approach also allows for a unified characterisation of reflexive and middle categories that can accommodate their diverse clause-syntactic and functional-semantic manifestations. For the reflexive, the common core feature can be postulated as identity of the 'agent' and 'patient' or 'recipient'. Inactive uses can then be viewed as extensions to the expression of non-volitional and then spontaneous situations (see Genušienė 1987: esp. §1.3.3+2.1, and also Kemmer 1993: esp §3+4). For the middle, on the other hand, the common thread to its core semantic features can be identified as 'affectedness' of the primary 'participant' expressed as the clause subject (see Klaiman 1991: 105-8+§2 and Kemmer 1993: 237-45+§3-4)²⁴.

The less active side of the Voice Continuum is thus split up into the purely inactive categories of inchoative and anticausative, passive and inverse, plus the middle, reflexive and antipassive that straddle the inactive spectrum and a spectrum of low agentivity. The more active side, on the other hand, is almost completely covered by the single category of the causative, which is generally based only on two broad and diffuse criteria. The first of these is the minimal clause-structural requirement of two nominal constituents, one of which must be of the form associated with the typical agent (in

²⁴ The formulation presented here represents the common denominator of Klaiman's and Kemmer's semantic characterisations. In fact Klaiman proposes "affectedness of the logical subject" (Klaiman 1991:105), while Kemmer proposes specifically "Initiator as affected entity (Endpoint)" and more generally "low degree of elaboration of events", in the sense of a low degree of conceptual distinction between the event participants (Kemmer 1993: 121, 238). On the other hand, while Klaiman distinguishes between middle paradigms and reflexive constructions, Kemmer's emphasis lies on the grammaticalisation of reflexive constructions, and she proposes semantically reflexive and endocentric situation types as the core of the middle category, making the middle identical to the functionally diverse grammaticalised reflexive category of Genušienė (1987) (see for strong criticism of such loose uses of the middle category Dixon & Aikhenvald 2000: 11-2).

accusative languages the clause subject) and the other of which is typically of a different form (in accusative languages clause objects, datives, instrumentals etc). The second is a general semantic criterion, according to which anything is causative that expresses a causal chain in which one entity (the 'causer') causes some kind of change in the state or position of another entity (the 'causee') (see f.ex. Shibatani 1976, Croft 1990,1991, Jae Jung Song 1996, Shibatani & Pardeshi 2001).

As a category, the causative clearly originates in the analysis of structurally complex predicate and clause constructions that can be related to and analysed as derived from simpler constructions. Nevertheless, differently from all the inactive notions except the inchoative, characterisations of the causative have always been less strict on the issue of structural markedness or derivability. The root of this divergent development arguably lies in the simple fact that the Indoeuropean source languages of Western linguistic theory have little in the way of synthetic causatives, but express causation either through analytic constructions or through structurally basic predicates less amenable to algorithmic derivational analysis.

Whatever the reasons, for the 'causative' the structural markedness criterion rarely plays the essential or prototypical role that it has in the characterisation of the less active notions. Thus, whereas structurally unmarked verbs are generally excluded from the reflexive, passive and inverse, structurally unmarked 'lexical causative' verbs are rarely treated as less typical causatives on structural grounds alone (see f.ex. Shibatani 1976, Talmy 1976/2000, Jae Jung Song 1996 and Shibatani & Pardeshi 2001, but for verb morphology as a prototype feature Dixon & Aikhenvald 2000: 13). This is true even for problematic cases such as the notorious English *kill* and *send*, where the debate has been centred not so much on their causative status per se but rather on problems surrounding their less than perfectly suppletive alternation with their counterparts *die* and *go/come*.

The causative notion is also more liberal when it comes to constructions on the syntactic extremes of the Structural Density Continuum. Thus, although multiclausal constructions are generally excluded from inactive categories such as the inchoative/ anticausative and passive, multiclausal embedding and sequential constructions are widely accepted for the causative notions (see particularly Jae Jung Song 1996, also Dixon 2000 and Shibatani & Pardeshi 2001)²⁵.

²⁵ This asymmetry in approaches to inactive voice categories and the causative can be seen in the different response

On the other hand, even though most definitions of the causative refrain from insisting on verb-structural markedness, the causative is nevertheless viewed as a conceptually complex or derived category, in a barely disguised continuation of the generative semantic legacy. This is obviously the case in approaches that characterise the causative category primarily in terms of 'causativisation' involving the addition of a 'causer' constituent to a more basic source construction (see f.ex. Dixon 2000). More importantly, however, the same view is evident in the widespread semantic characterisation of the causative as representing a situation consisting of two sub-events, most commonly termed 'causing event' and 'caused event' (see for their origins Shibatani 1976 and Talmy 1976/2000; similar notions are 'cause (event)' and 'effect (event)' in Jae Jung Song 1996).

As a direct consequence of its broadness, the causative has been subdivided according to both structural and semantic criteria. The main structural distinctions include lexical, morphological, analytic and periphrastic causatives, and the main semantic distinctions direct or manipulative, sociative, coercive, indirect and permissive causatives (see f.ex. Shibatani & Pardeshi 2001). Much of the literature on the causative has revolved not only around the diagnosis and formalisation of the different causative types, but even more around the correlation between the structural fusion of structural causative types and the conceptual fusion of causing and caused events in the semantic types (f.ex. Shibatani 1976 and Talmy 1976/2000), culminating in the recognition of the causative as a paradigm case of linguistic iconicity (see Haiman 1985: 108-11/140-2; also Dixon 2000).

to the following multi-clausal English sentences:

- (I) a. For years, Lucy suffered her husband's abusing her day in and day out.
b. Richard ended up injuring his knee.
- (II) a. Lucy made Richard phone his mother.
b. The sudden onset of spring caused the snow to melt rapidly.

Here, the multiclausal constructions in (I) would certainly not be regarded as passive and inchoative/anticausative, whereas the parallel multiclausal constructions in (II) are widely accepted as analytic/periphrastic causative constructions. In the Korean case, however, we find translation-equivalent analytic constructions that are structurally parallel to such a degree that one would have to either accept both or neither as part of the voice system:

- (III) a. 부모님이 딸{이|을} 결혼하게 했다.
Pumo+nim-i ttal-{i|il} kyəlhon.ha-ke hē-ss-ta.
parents+HON-SBJ daughter-{SBJ|ACC} marry-RES.ADV do/ACT/CAUS-PF-DCL
'The parents {saw to it that their daughter go married | made their daughter marry}.'
- b. 딸이 (부모님 때문에) 결혼하게 됐다.
Ttal-i (pumo+nim ttemun.e) kyəlhon.ha-ke twæ-ss-ta.
daughter-SBJ (parents+HON because.of) marry-RES.ADV become/INCH/INACT-PF-DCL
'The daughter ended up marrying (because of her parents).'
// 'The daughter was forced to marry {by her parents}.'

Note the striking parallelism between the ANALYTIC CAUSATIVE [α_{VS} -ke] *ha.ta* and the ANALYTIC INCHOATIVE [α_{VS} -ke] *twæ.ta* constructions (see 2.3.1[3]).

These structural and semantic subdivisions, however, compound rather than resolve the fundamental asymmetry between the categories on both sides of the Voice Continuum. This is because, on the one hand, the structural subdivision of the causative into lexical, synthetic, analytic or syntactic causatives is of the same kind as the subdivisions applied *within* the separate categories of the less active spectrum (witness the distinctions between lexical and morphological inchoative/anticausative, and between synthetic, analytic and/or periphrastic passives). On the other hand, the semantic subdivisions of the causative into direct, sociative, indirect, coercive and permissive causatives is of the same kind as the division *between* the categories reflexive, antipassive, middle, inchoative/anticausative, passive and inverse (both are based on nominal constituent configurations and situation-semantic distinctions along the agentivity–causality dimension).

In sum, the causative notion is more flexible than the notions on the less active side of the Voice Continuum, a fact that is particularly useful in large-scale cross-linguistic comparison. On the other hand, however, the broadness of the causative notion means that it lumps together different patterns under a single category, even though they may actually constitute systemically quite distinct categories in a particular language. As for the general asymmetry of the Standard Voice Model, its imbalance is not only epistemologically unsatisfactory but obscures the view on more symmetrically organised systems. As we shall see, both of these consequences are highly relevant in the Korean case.

2.2 Voice in Korean: The consensus, its origins and its core database

2.2.1 Historical origins

Ever since the beginning of modern Korean linguistics around the turn of the 19th century, Korean linguists have been agreed that Korean has an active–passive–causative voice system, consisting of the unmarked category ‘active’ and the structurally marked and derived categories ‘passive’ and ‘causative’.

Historically, this consensus clearly originates in the application of the traditional Western voice model to the Korean situation-dynamic system. On the one hand, the distinction between unmarked ‘active’ and marked ‘passive’ voices directly mirrors the

active–passive distinction in the grammar of Western Indo-European languages. On the other hand, the addition of the ‘causative’ as a second marked voice category not found in Indoeuropean languages represents an important augmentation of the Standard Voice Model that recognises a central Korean-specific fact: the structural parallelism between the verb-structural expression of agentivity variation on both sides of the Voice Continuum²⁶.

The extent to which the integration of the ‘causative’ into the originally asymmetric Standard Voice Model represents an independent development is unclear, given the long-standing recognition of a causative verb-structural category in the analysis of the Altaic and Japanese languages²⁷. On the other hand, this early divergence of Korean morpho-syntactic analysis from the Contemporary Linguistic mainstream long predates the ‘discovery’ of the causative during the 1970s, let alone the recent tendency to give the causative an equal status among ‘voice and voice-like phenomena’ or ‘valency-changing operations’.

The influence of Western linguistics and its categories and premises on Korean linguistics, both of the grammarian tradition and contemporary approaches, has been particularly profound due to the peculiar history of linguistic enquiry in pre-modern Korea. Thus, all throughout Korean history, Classical Chinese remained the predominant medium of writing, be it in official documents, commercial and private records, education or literature. This state of affairs continued even after the invention of the Korean alphabet *Han’gŭl* around 1443 which revolutionised the notation of native Korean material that had hitherto been represented with Chinese characters, by variously representing Korean elements ideographically, representing the phonetics of Korean material through the conventional phonetic value of the Chinese character in its

²⁶ Here it is worth citing one of the earliest Western grammarians of Korean, Félix-Clair Ridel: “Nous réunissons sous le même article le verbe factitif et le verbe passif, parce qu’ils ont entre eux beaucoup de rapports dans leur mode de formation. (We shall discuss together in the same section the factitive [= causative] verb and the passive verb, because they have much in common as regards their formation.)” (Ridel attr 1881: 119). Note also the fact that the Korean grammarian tradition has always treated and still does treat ‘passive’ and ‘causative’ verbs within the same overall domain of verbal voice (동사태).

²⁷ Certainly, we can surmise that the authors of the first Western grammars of Korean were familiar with contemporary Western approaches to Japanese. Thus, the two earliest systematic grammars of Korean were written by the French and American missionaries Félix-Clair Ridel (1881) and Horace Grant Underwood (1890) (see Ko Yŏng-gŭn 2001: 4-26/§1). These were not academic linguists, but given their background and the close relationships between the Christian missions in East Asia at the turn of the 19th century, they must have been familiar with both the Western grammarian tradition and contemporary Western accounts of the typologically similar Japanese morphosyntactic system. Unfortunately, I have not been able to ascertain concrete biographical data that would corroborate their familiarity with Japanese, but both certainly published their works with Western publishers based in Yokohama, Japan: Ridel his *Grammaire Coréenne* (Ridel attr 1881) and Underwood his *An introduction to the spoken Korean language* (Underwood 1890a) and his *A concise dictionary of the Korean language* (Underwood 1890b).

Sino-Korean use, or in several complex mixes of both. On the other hand, however, the creation of the Han'gŭl script did not lead to a significant change in the socio-cultural status of Korean as the spoken vernacular, whose use outside of spoken and letter-writing registers never advanced much beyond a means for the annotation and explication of the written Classical Chinese language.

As a direct result of the predominance of Classical Chinese in any written discourse, be it official, intellectual or literary, the premodern grammarian tradition of Korea remained focussed on Classical Chinese. The only exception was the development of a sophisticated phonological theory during the invention of the Korean alphabet in the 15th century, but even phonological enquiry did not really progress much after that, and morphosyntactic enquiry continued to neglect the vernacular Korean throughout (see Ko Yŏng-gŭn 2001: 45).

Consequently, when the first systematic approaches to Korean morphosyntax by Western and Japanese grammarians during the late 19th century (Ridel attr 1881; Underwood 1890a; Haseko 1880) introduced the active-passive-causative model²⁸, there was little in the way of a strong and systematic indigenous Korean grammarian tradition that could have militated against this analysis²⁹. On the contrary, the founding fathers of the indigenous grammarian Kugŏhak tradition that emerged during the first half of the 20th century were clearly influenced by early Western approaches to Korean, the general Western Linguistic literature (particularly in English and German), and later also by the Japanese grammarian tradition that itself was under considerable Western influence (see Ko Yŏng-gŭn 2001: §1.2)³⁰.

²⁸ At the beginning of his section on the Korean verb, Ridel distinguishes only the voice categories “active [French: actif]” and “passive [F: passif]”, plus a third “neuter [F: neutre]” category for the more adjective-like Korean stative verbs that the Kugŏhak grammarians would later call ‘형용사’ hyŏngyongsa, a term that seems to come from Japanese ‘形容詞 keiyōshi’ and is also used as the translation for ‘adjective’. Later on, however, he also introduces the category “factitive [F: factitif]” (“also causative or double active [F: aussi causatif ou double actif]”) which he discusses in the same section as the “passive” (Ridel attr 1881: 60, 119-20). Underwood, citing the *Grammaire Coréenne*, distinguishes between “two classes, *Active* and *Neuter*” and “three distinct voices, *Active*, *Causative*, and *Passive*” (Underwood 1890a: 90).

²⁹ Ko Yŏn-gŭn, while emphasising that scholars of the later Chosŏn period (18th/19th century) recognised and named some morphological categories, argues that their contributions did not amount to a properly developed grammarian tradition, and the indigenous Korean grammarian tradition did only emerge in the footsteps of the early Western scholars at the end of the 19th century (Ko Yŏng-gŭn 1985: 68-9).

³⁰ Authors of the early pre-war Kugŏhak tradition, mainly concerned with the systematisation of Korean grammar for educational and standardisation purposes, did not follow strict referencing standards, and their rather haphazard references to Western language terms and authors seem to mainly serve the purpose of argumentation and justification (a typical example is the first proper and extensive Kugŏhak grammar of Ch’oe Hyŏn-bae 1937/61). Their knowledge of Western (and Japanese) publications is, however, clearly discernible and the parallels between their works and those of the early Western Korean grammarians have been meticulously documented in Ko Yon-gun’s (2001) historical conspectus of the Kugŏhak tradition.

As we shall see throughout this thesis, the Kugŏhak tradition never radically departed from the main categorial framework imported from Western Linguistics. On the other hand, as grammarians, the earlier Kugŏhak scholars certainly displayed an acute awareness of the peculiarities of the Korean voice system, and instead of sweeping them under the carpet sought to accommodate them either by expanding the scope of the traditional voice categories or by listing them as exceptions. This flexible approach remained predominant until the advent of the Generative Turn in Contemporary Linguistics and its rapid spread into the Korean academic discourse. As a result, the Kugŏhak tradition, although surviving within the educational establishment, became not only theoretically marginalised but itself heavily influenced by the new paradigm.

In the meantime, the traditional Western voice categories consolidated and evolved into the current Standard Voice Model. And although this actually added a considerable number of categories on the inactive side, this did not trigger any fundamental reappraisal of the Korean voice system. Among the main reasons for this one could enumerate the inertia of established analysis, the particularly strong role that Anglo-American formalist theories played in the Korean linguistic discourse until very recently and a lack of awareness about the actual cross-linguistic variety that exists outside and even within the Germanic and Romance language families. Whatever the reasons, the active-passive-causative analysis remains the only accepted account up to the present day. On the other hand, however, it would not have lasted that long were it not consistent with certain data, which we shall now turn to in the following subsection.

2.2.2 The example canon: Synthetic paradigms and interpersonal constructions

If one surveys the literature on Korean voice from its earliest days, one of the most striking facts is that every text relies on the same ever-recurrent examples to illustrate the presumed ‘passive’ and ‘causative’ voice categories. This example canon obviously reflects a general consensus on the most typical manifestation of these categories, but it is curiously limited in several respects:

1. The predicates belong to about a dozen core verb alternations.
2. The verb alternations form two verb-structural paradigms that are *isonuclear* (have the same stem core), *unipollent* (one unmarked, one marked) and *synthetic*

(‘morphological’), but have a highly limited lexical spread (‘lexical distribution’).

3. The verb and clause alternations are associated with experientially basic *interpersonal situations* (situations with features of an interaction between two human participants).

The two patterns involved and their core paradigms are represented in the following, together with the terms that I shall use in this thesis and the established analysis:

Paradigms	Terms in this thesis	Established analysis
$\alpha_{VSt} \sim \alpha_{VSt}Hi-$	Basic ~ Deactivative	‘active ~ passive’ 능동 ~ 피동 [active ~ passive]
$\alpha_{VSt} \sim \alpha_{VSt}Hu-$	Basic ~ Activative	‘active ~ causative’ 주동 ~ 사동 [endoactive ~ causative]

Note that the Koreanist discourse in Korea(n) actually tends to use two different terms for the unmarked verb stem: ‘active (능동)’ in opposition to the ‘passive (피동)’, but ‘endoactive (주동)’ in opposition to the ‘causative (사동)’. At the same time, however, it clearly treats the ‘passive’ and ‘causative’ as the two marked voice categories that join the set of unmarked ‘active’ verbs in a tripartite voice system.

The morphemes *Hi* and *Hu* in the pertinent voice-marking patterns appear as {*hi*, *li*, *ki*, *i*} or {*V-Fronting*} and *Hu* as {*hu*, *ku*, *u*} and {*V-Fronting*_u}³¹. The allomorph choice strongly correlates with the nuclear root’s final phoneme, although there are also some lexical idiosyncrasies. In reflection of the fact that they are located close to the fusional end of the Structural Density Continuum I shall refer to these patterns as the *Synthetic* voice-marking patterns.

The narrowness of the established example canon is itself symptomatic of the

³¹ The vowel-fronting realisation of *Hi* is generally treated as a form of *-i-* affixation in which affixation is followed by merge of stem vowel and /i/. And indeed, the *-i-* variant is diachronically and in some cases even synchronically attested. Similar merge phenomena can be observed in synchronic allomorph variation throughout the lexicon: *ai* ~ *ε* ‘child’, *sai* ~ *se* ‘inbetween’. Plus, we also find widespread umlaut variants in syllables adjacent to /i/: *iyaki* ~ *ye*ki ‘story’, *maki.ta* ~ *meki.ta* ‘feeds’. The main difference here is, however, that unmerged and merged variants usually coexist, but the merged realisation in the synthetic voice-marking patterns is obligatory. More importantly, the Korean Han’gŭl spelling is rather misleading, in that it graphically represents diphthongs that have mostly not continued into Modern Korean dialects. Thus, in Modern Korean Common, only for $_\alpha_{VSt} + i > __wi$ is the endproduct synchronically resolvable into a labial on-glide mutation of the stem vowel /u/ plus /i/. Otherwise, the endproduct used to be a resolvable glide in Middle Korean, but is now either a labial offglide followed by a different vowel $__o_{VSt} + i > __wae/w\epsilon$ or a monophthong front vowel $_\alpha_{VSt} + i > __e/e$ and $__a_{VSt} + i > __e$. For *Hu*, the Koreanist Consensus usually stipulates the allomorph *c^hu* instead of *hu*. However, this allomorph occurs only after stems on */c/* = [tʃ] and */c^h/* = [tʃ^h], and therefore both hypotheses would lead to the same phonological outcome: $__c + c^h = c^h$, $__c^h + c^h = c^h$, $__c + h = c^h$ and $__c^h + h = c^h$. Finally, the allomorphic realisation *V-Fronting_u* is generally viewed as a case of ‘double-marking’ with both *Hi* and *Hu*. While this is a realistic approximation of its diachronic origins, however, a double-marking analysis makes little synchronic sense since *V-Fronting_u* occurs only and invariably after vowel stems on *a*, *i*, *ae*, *e*.

problems that arise when one tries to apply the Standard Voice Model to Korean. For a start, they are exclusively limited to the Primary Verb class. And while this certainly lies at the core of the Korean verbal system, it in fact constitutes only a small and closed class within the entire Korean verbal lexicon (see §2.3.1-[1]). Secondly, although one could justifiably argue that the Synthetic paradigms constitute the core voice paradigms in the Primary Verb class, they are even there again restricted to certain verb groups and coexist or compete with a number of other voice-marking patterns (see §4.1.1). The upshot is that the Synthetic voice-marking patterns constitute the lexically most central voice-marking patterns, but are at the same time also highly restricted and unproductive.

Third, the verb-structural paradigms are of a maximally synthetic form, at least in the context of the agglutinative Korean system: The two voice-marking elements are short and dependent morphs, attach directly to a verb stem, exhibit considerable allomorphy, and show a high degree of fusion with the stem core. And, in addition, the two pertinent patterns normally appear in unipollent paradigms consisting of unmarked and marked alternates. The upshot is that the pertinent patterns closely conform to the Standard voice model's ideal of morph-based voice-marking. The other, more widespread and productive patterns, on the other hand, are less accommodating to this ideal (see again 2.3.1).

Fourth, in the 'active-passive' case the expression of interpersonal events is maximally unencumbered by animacy and agency constraints on the selection of clausal diathesis constructions. Consequently, we tend to find two straightforward alternates: one that focuses on and takes the perspective of the agent and one that focuses on and takes the perspective of the patient. As we shall see, other situation types are associated with various animacy and causation-dynamic constraints that militate against free diathesis selection (see §2.3.2, 3.2, and the detailed investigations in chapters 4-5).

Fifth, in the 'active-causative' case, the canonical causative-like alternates refer to interpersonal situations that have two animate participants with potential agency, and consequently tend to have the perceptually segmentable <causing action → caused situation> chain features regarded as typical of the 'causative' category.

Let us look, however, at the example canon. The following are some examples of the kind that recurs again and again in expositions of the so-called Korean 'passive':

Canonical 'active ~ passive' alternations with the Synthetic Deactivative paradigm

- (1) a. 경찰이 도둑을 잡았다.
 kyəŋtʃal-i totuk-il cap-ass-ta.
 police-SBJ thief-ACC catch-PF/AOR-FML.DCL
 'The police caught the thief.'
- b. 도둑이 (경찰에게) 잡혔다.
 totuk-i (kyəŋtʃal-eke) cap^{hy}-əss-ta.
 thief-SBJ (police-AN.LOC/AGT) get.caught[«catch»INACT]-PF/AOR-FML.DCL
 'The thief was caught (by the police).'
- (2) a. 개가 아이를 물었다.
 ke-ka ai-lil mul-əss-ta.
 dog-SBJ child-ACC bite-PF/AOR-FML.DCL
 'The dog bit the child.'
- b. 아이가 (개한테) 물렸다.
 ai-ka (ke-hant^{he}) mul^{ly}-əss-ta.
 child-SBJ (dog-AN.LOC/AGT) get.bitten[«bite»INACT]-PF/AOR-FML.DCL
 'The child was bitten (by the dog).'

Here, the active-like sentences 1-2:a are structurally straightforward instances of the TRANSACTIVE (TRANSITIVE ACTIVE) construction. Note, however, that the present AGENT-ON-PATIENT cluster is certainly not the most central cluster in the TRANSACTIVE construction, which is most frequently and typically used to refer to actions in which an animate agent manipulates or targets an inanimate physical object. The passive-like sentences 11-2:b, on the other hand, are instances of a construction family that I shall refer to as INVERSE constructions³²:

AGENT- <i>ka/i</i> PATIENT- <i>lil</i>	AGENT-ON-PATIENT TRANSACTIVE (PATIENT TRANSACTIVE)
PATIENT- <i>ka/i</i> AGENT- <i>eke</i>	PATIENT-BY-AGENT INVERSE (AGENT INVERSE)
PATIENT- <i>ka/i</i> AGENT- <i>hant^{he}</i>	

In alternations of this type we find all the structural, distributional and semantic hallmarks of the 'active ~ passive' alternation in the Standard Voice Model. For one, the 'active' verbs are structurally unmarked and the 'passive' verbs marked and algorithmically derivable from the 'active' verbs. Secondly, verb-structural alternation goes hand in hand with the expected variations in valency and argument patterns:

³² In adopting the term 'inverse' I quite deliberately follow a proposal by Klaiman who was the first (and still only author) to note the conspicuous similarities between parts of the Korean diathesis system and the direct-inverse voice systems of other languages (see Klaiman 1984, 1991: §4.1). These include animacy-related diathesis selection constraints, as well as (undiagnosed by Klaiman) a relatively high frequency of explicit agent or cause locus expression (provided that there is such a situation element that could be expressed). What diverges from the ideal of the 'typical' inverse system is the use of 'oblique' particles in the agent-phrase-like element, although the particle-marking of clause-constructural arguments is of course a general feature of Korean with its lack of argument cross-referencing in the predicate. Another reason why I choose the term 'inverse' is that it is a handy way of avoiding the epistemologically problematic term 'agented passive' as well as distinguishing between the notion of the INVERSE as a clause-constructural diathesis category as opposed to a verb-structurally based notion of 'passive voice'.

‘demotion’ of the AGENT argument from ‘active’ subject to optional ‘passive’ oblique and ‘promotion’ of the PATIENT argument from ‘active’ object to ‘passive’ subject. On the basis of these properties, the Koreanist Consensus views the morph *Hi* in these alternations as a passive voice marker. In distinction to other, less synthetic patterns the verb-structural pattern, and by extension its clause-syntactic appearances are most widely known as the ‘morphological passive’³³. Given the fact that this thesis rejects both arbitrary divisions along the Structural Density Continuum and the passive analysis, I shall refer to the pattern as the *Synthetic Deactivative* pattern³⁴.

Turning to the other side of the Voice Continuum, the following canonical examples could have come straight out of textbook expositions of the ‘causative’:

Canonical ‘active–causative’ alternations (Synthetic activative paradigms)

(3)a. 메리가 죽었다.

melī-ka cuk-əss-ta,
Mary-SBJ die-PF/AOR-FML.DCL
‘Mary (has) died.’ / ‘Mary is dead.’

b. 존이 메리를 죽였다.

con-i melī-lil cuk•y-əss-ta.
John-SBJ Mary-ACC kill[«die•FACT»]-PF/AOR-FML.DCL
‘John (has) killed Mary.’

(4)a. 아이가 의자에 앉았다.

ai-ka iyca-e anc-ass-ta.
child-SBJ chair-LOC sit.up/down-PF/AOR-FML.DCL
‘The child (has) sat down on the chair.’ / ‘The child is sitting on the chair.’

b. 어머니가 아이를 의자에 앉혔다.

əməni-ka ai-lil iyca-e anc•hy-əss-ta.
mother-SBJ child-ACC chair-LOC seat.sb[«sit•FACT»]-PF/AOR-FML.DCL
‘Mother (has) sat the child on the chair.’

(5)a. 아이가 옷을 입었다.

ai-ka os-il ip-əss-ta.
son-SBJ clothes-ACC dress.self-PF/AOR-FML.DCL
‘The child (has) dressed.’ // ‘The child is dressed.’

b. 어머니는 아이{에게 | 를} 옷을 입혔다.

əməni-nin ai-{eke | lil} os-il ip•hy-əss-ta.
mother-(SBJ)SEL child-{AN.LOC | ACC} clothes-ACC dress.sb[«dress.self•FACT»]-PF/AOR-FML.DCL
‘The mother (has) dressed her child.’ (=LgEx)

³³ While terminology is generally unified in English, that is not the case in Korean. Thus, the Korean terms used include ‘suffixal passive’ (접미사적 피동) and ‘morphological passive’ (형태론적 피동). And, in addition, the term ‘lexical passive’ (어위적 피동) appears both in Korean and English, but this is confusingly also used as a label for semantically and syntactically passive-like but structurally unmarked verbs such as *sok.ta* ‘gets deceived’. See the literature survey in Kim Hŭng-su 1998 (624).

³⁴ The terms ‘deactivative’ and ‘activative’ seem to have first been introduced to the analysis of Korean voice by Abasolo (1974) who does pay attention to the categorial mismatch between the Korean ‘passive’ and ‘causative’ and the cross-linguistic ‘passive’ and ‘causative’, but whose research is otherwise a typical representative of the Generative syntactic and semantic analysis en vogue at the time and does not contribute too much to the understanding of the Korean voice and diathesis system.

- (6)a. 아이가 밥을 먹는다.
 ai-ka pap-il mək-nin-ta.
 child-SBJ cooked.rice-ACC eat-DYN-FML.DCL
 'The child eats rice.'
- b. 어머니가 아이{를|한테|에게} 밥을 먹인다.
 əməni-ka ai-{lil| hant^{he} | eke} pap-il mək-i-n-ta.
 mother-SBJ child-{ACC|AN.LOC|AN.LOC} cooked.grain-ACC feed[«eat»FACT]-DYN-FML.DCL
 'The mother feeds the child (rice).'

Here, the active-like 3-6:a are either MONOVALENT (Subject-only 'intransitive') or TRANSACTIVE clauses. The causative-like sentences 3-6:b, on the other hand, instantiate various types of INTERPERSONAL TRANSACTION constructions: the simple PATIENT TRANSACTIVE (3-4:b) with the 'causee' argument in the OBJECT slot, but also more complex TRANSACTIVE constructions in which the 'causee' argument appears either marked with the Animate Locative particles *eke* or *hant^{he}* or as the first PATIENT OBJECT of a DOUBLE OBJECT construction. The attendant semantic difference can be roughly approximated with the RECIPIENT and PATIENT labels:

PATIENT/AGENT- <i>ka/i</i>	MONOVALENT
AGENT- <i>ka/i</i> OBJECT- <i>lil</i>	TRANSACTIVE
AGENT- <i>ka/i</i> PATIENT- <i>lil</i>	PATIENT TRANSACTIVE
AGENT- <i>ka/i</i> RECIPIENT- <i>hant^{he}</i> TARGET- <i>lil</i>	} RECIPIENT-DIRECTED TRANSACTIVE
AGENT- <i>ka/i</i> RECIPIENT- <i>eke</i> TARGET- <i>lil</i>	
AGENT- <i>ka/i</i> PATIENT- <i>lil</i> TARGET- <i>lil</i>	PATIENT-TARGETED D(ouble)-O(B) TRANSACTIVE

In alternations such as 3-6, we find all the structural, distributional and semantic hallmarks of the 'morphological' 'causative' alternations in the Standard Voice Model. For one, the 'active' verbs are structurally unmarked, and the 'causative' verbs are marked and derivable from the 'active' counterpart. Secondly, verb-structural alternation goes hand in hand with the expected variations in argument structure and in nominal marking: introduction of a new 'agent subject' subject and 'demotion' of the 'active agent subject' to a non-subject 'causee' phrase. Thirdly, the referent situations are at least to some degree amenable to a causation-chain analysis. This is particularly so in 4-6:b, whose referent situations have strong direct causation features, but seem to require the cause's cooperation, giving the causee at least some agentive features. The conformity of these canonical examples to the Standard Voice Model has led to the consensus that the morphs *Hi* and *Hu* in these alternations are causative voice markers. In distinction to other, less synthetic patterns, the verb-structural pattern and its

syntactic realisations are most widely known as the ‘morphological causative’³⁵. Again, I shall instead use the term ‘Synthetic Activative’.

The similarity between the Korean example canon and the crosslinguistic canon of Contemporary Linguistics is highly significant here, and not only because it reflects the influence of Contemporary Linguistics and its established voice notions. While this is surely the case, the deeper motivation for its recurrent deployment can be traced to the pervasive and universal role that animacy-related constraints play in diathesis selection. And although in Korean such constraints do not work as blanket prohibitions, they do play a much larger role than is generally acknowledged in the literature. The consequence is that interpersonal situations are the only situation type that allows for (relatively) free diathesis alternation. Once we leave this spectrum, as well will see, the data becomes decidedly problematic for a neat and straight-forward application of the Standard Voice Model.

2.3 Problems for the active–passive–causative system analysis

For the Koreanist discourse on verbal voice and the attendant syntactic phenomena, the central problem has always been and still remains the fact that the semantic and distributional properties of the presumed Korean ‘passive’ and ‘causative’ are not at all aligned with the properties of the ‘passive’ and ‘causative’ constructions in English and the few other Standard Average European languages that have informed much of Contemporary Linguistics.

In other words, on the inactive side, the main problem has been the Korean system’s conflation of the ‘passive’ and ‘anticausative/inchoative’. And indeed, if we look at the Koreanist literature, most of the debates and disagreements, most of the issues, problems and pseudo-problems, and most of the participants’ efforts, proposals and failures have circled around the fundamental mismatch between the Korean INACTIVE category and the expected properties of the ‘passive’ as a (presumed) universal category.

On the active–causative side, on the other hand, the main problem has not so much

³⁵ Again, English terminology is generally unified. Korean terms, however, include ‘suffixal causative (접미사적 사동)’, ‘short form causative (단형 사동, 짧은 꼴 하임법)’, ‘morphological causative’ (형태론적 피동), and ‘lexical causative (어위적 피동)’ (see literature survey in Kim Hung-su 1993: 624). Again, ‘lexical causative’ is also sometimes used in English, in both cases leading to potential confusion with causative-like unmarked verbs such as *næli.ta* ‘put down, lower’.

been the difficulty of aligning the Korean ‘causative’ with the theoretical notion of the ‘causative’, although this is also more fraught than may appear at first sight. Rather, and more relevant to the appreciation of the Korean INACTIVE category, the problem here lies in the fact that the Koreanist discourse has exclusively focussed on the ‘causative’ as a verb-structurally marked and derived voice category, and thereby overlooked the systemic overlap between marked ‘causative’ and unmarked ‘active’ verbs.

The discussions in this section will revolve around some of the main issues arising from the failure to fit the Korean system into the analytic categories adopted from the Standard Voice Model, and particularly their more rigid and dogmatic incarnations. Here, however, we shall narrowly focus on three main issues: verb-structural pattern proliferation, animacy constraints and the evidence for a semantically rather than verb-structurally organised voice system. As for the conflation of the ‘inchoative’ and ‘passive’ into a single INACTIVE category, on the other hand, this will for now be taken as given, for three reasons. The first is that the facts are both obvious and widely known to the Koreanist discourse, at least as far as most ‘passive-marked’ verbs are concerned. Consequently, the main issue is not the facts but whether one takes them beyond the ‘passive’ analysis. The second is that the phenomenon of passive–inchoative conflation is cross-linguistically widely attested and thus well-known to typologically informed linguistics. Most importantly, however, any discussion at this point would only duplicate the data and observations in the last two chapters of this thesis.

2.3.1 Verb-structural pattern proliferation

As I already outlined at the beginning of this thesis, one of the main problems for a straightforward application of the Standard Voice Model to the Korean system lies in the proliferation of different voice-marking patterns found in the Korean verbal system. The variety of verb-structural patterns involved is well captured in the following examples, where a diverse range of verbs and complex predicates clearly occupies what is the same verb slot of a passive-like sentence:

- (7)a. 아아, 우리 민중의 神氣, 그 氣化神靈은 1894년 갑오년을 고비로
aa uli mincuŋ-iy sinki, ki kihwa+sinlyəŋ-in 1894-nyən kaponyən-il kopi-lo
we the.people-AT vigour that spiritual.soul(?) 1894-year horse-year-ACC turning.point-EQU
외래의 잘못된 사상에 의해 옮겨지고, 소외되고,
wœle-iy calmos+twœ-n sasaŋ-e iyhe olmk̥y-æci-ko, sowœ+twœ-ko,
foreign-AT mistakenly+INCH-PF.AT thought-LOC due.to:FIN/CNSC shift.sth-INCH-PF.SQ alienation+become/INCH-PF.SQ
뿌리뽑히고, 억압당하고, 더럽혀지고, 분할당하고,
ppuli+ppop+hi-ko, əkap+tangha-ko, tələphyē-ci-ko, punhal+tangha-ko,
root+pull.out+INACT-PF.SQ oppression+undergo/PAT-PF.SQ stains/sullies-INCH-PF.SQ division+suffer/PAT-PF.SQ
파괴당하고, 노예가 되어 이제껏 죽임당해 왔다.
pʰakwœ+tangha-ko, noye-ka twœ-ə ice•kkəs cuki-m+tanghe-w-ass-ta.
destruction+suffer/PAT-PF.SQ slave-SBJ become-FIN/CNSC by.now/fully kill-NR+suffer/PAT:FIN-COME-PF-FML.DCL
‘After the watershed of 1894, our country came under foreign influence, and the vitality and soul of
our people was shifted, alienated, uprooted, oppressed, polluted, divided, destroyed and enslaved, and
has now finally been killed off by wrong foreign thought.’ (<Cp)
- b. 쿠르드족은 터어키, 이라크, 이란, 그리고 시리아 등지로 쪼개져
kʰuliti-cok-in tʰækʰi, ilakʰi, ilan kili-ko silia tiŋci-lo ccokay•cy-e
Kurd-tribe Turkey Irak Iran and.further Syria etc.place-DST splitFACT+INCH-FIN/CNSC
이리 밟히고 저리 밟히고 여기서 쥐터지고
ili palp+hi-ko cəli palp+hi-ko yəki-sə cwəthəci-ko
this.way tread+INACT-PF.SQ yon.way tread+INACT-PF.SQ here-SET get.oppressed[+INCH]-PF.SQ
저기서 괘시받고 무시당하고 ...
cəki-sə kwalsi+pat-ko musi+tangha-ko
yonder-SET contempt+get/PAT-PF.SQ neglect+suffer/PAT-PF.SQ
‘The Kurdish people where split up and put into Turkey, Irak, Iran and Syria, were trod upon here,
trod upon there, kept under the thumb here, held in contempt and neglected there (...)’ (<Cp)

And, although slightly less extreme, a similar variety of verb-structural patterns is also found on the ‘direct causative’ side of the Voice Continuum:

- (8)a. 아내와 어려운 살림살이 해가면서 아들도 낳고 딸도 낳고
Anē-wa əlyəu-n sallim+sali he-ka-myənsə atil-to nah-ko ttal-to nah-ko
own.wife-CMT difficult-PF.AT live+living do:FIN-go-SIM.SQ son-INCL give.birth-PF.SQ daughter-INCL give.birth-PF.SQ
그것들 키우고, 공부시키고 ...
ki+kəs-til kʰiu-ko, koŋpu+sikʰi-ko,
that+thing-PL big/grow-FACT-PF.SQ study+FACT-PF.SQ
‘Struggling along together with my wife, having a son, having a daughter, raising them and putting
them through school and university ...’
- b. 호흡을 안정시키고, 맥박수와 혈압을 떨어뜨리고
hohip-il ancəŋ+sikʰi-ko, mekpak+su-wa hyəlap-il ttəl•əttili-ko,
breathing-ACC stability+FACT-PF.SQ pulse+number-CMT blood.pressure-ACC throws.down[+FACT]-PF.SQ
근육을 이완하고, 잡생각을 줄이는 이완 요법 ...
kinyuk-il iwan+ha-ko, capsəŋkak-il cul•i-nin iwan yopəp
muscle-ACC relaxing+does/VBR-PF.SQ distracted.thought-ACC shrinks+FACT-DYN.AT relaxing treatment
‘a relaxation therapy that stabilises breathing, brings down pulse and blood pressure, relaxes the
muscles, and reduces uncontrolled thought’ (= Cp)

Note that the passive-like examples 7a-b also contain two even more problematic types of verbal sign: the verb *cwəthaci-ta* ‘gets oppressed’ (7b) that is not transparently derivable from any unmarked active verb, and the phrasal collocation *noye-ka twœ-ta* slave-SBJ become that has a syntactic internal structure with two full lexical items but whose properties in

this environment make it the clear equivalent of the English ‘get enslaved’. The causative-like examples 8a-b, on the other hand, also contain structurally unmarked FACTITIVE verbs, but given the cross-linguistically widespread incidence of unmarked verbs in the ‘direct causative’ spectrum, this presents a problem only insofar as it throws into doubt the tendency of the Koreanist consensus to distinguish strictly between the non-causative ‘(endo)active’ and the ‘causative’ on verb-structural grounds.

[1] *Pattern proliferation and verb class variety: The Primary and Phonosemantic classes*

As I already emphasised at the beginning of this thesis, a large part of the variety evident in the Korean system of verbal voice-marking patterns cannot be accounted for in terms of structural or morpho-phonemic cooccurrence restrictions. Seen from a general perspective, on the other hand, one of the main sources of pattern proliferation as a general phenomenon does indeed lie in the peculiar organisation of the Korean verbal lexicon, which falls into four distinct (if slightly overlapping) structural classes. This division correlates with but is only partly due to the pronounced division of the Korean lexicon into a *Primary* lexicon (known as the ‘native’ or ‘pure Korean’ lexicon, but also containing many ‘nativised’ items), a *Phonosemantic* lexicon (with clearly distinct phonological and structural properties), and a *Secondary* lexicon (made up of Sino-Korean and Loanword items that have not been absorbed into the other sections)³⁶.

The first two structural verb classes, which I shall call the *Primary* and the *Phonosemantic Verb* class, clearly coincide with the Primary and Phonosemantic sections. The following outline their properties and main voice alternation paradigms:

Primary Verbs
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ◆ Stem core is generally short (1-2 syllables) and occurs only as a dependent verb-stem-like element ◆ Stem core usually belongs to the native and non-phonosemantic Primary partition of the lexicon ◆ The class is virtually closed to new members and size remains somewhere in the low 100s

³⁶ For those unfamiliar with Korean (or indeed Japanese which shows a similar division), what is called the Sino-Korean lexicon consists of items that originate in the use of Classical Chinese (or rather its Korean dialect) as a parallel written language that was used in Korea as the only language in all administrative, all intellectual, and most of poetic and prosaic literary discourse. Although it does contain a fair number of items that can be traced back to Classical Chinese, however, the larger part of the Sino-Korean lexicon does in fact consist of later new-formations that combine Classical Chinese monosyllabic lexemes and are often as Chinese in origin as the English words *television*, *plutocracy* or *anthropology* are ‘originally’ Greek or Latin.

잡- cap- grasp _{vst}	잡다 cap-ta grasp-CIT 'grasp, catch'	잡히다 cap•hi-ta get.grasped[•INACT]-CIT 'get caught/grasped, end up in sb's hands' 잡히다 cap•hi-ta gives.to.grasp[«grasp•FACT]-CIT 'put in sb's hand to grasp'	α- ~ α•hi- (Basic ENDOACTIVE ~ EXOACTIVE/FACTITIVE) α- ~ α•hi- (Basic ACTIVE ~ INACTIVE)
맞- mac- fit _{vst}	맞다 mac-ta fit-CIT 'fit, hit target, be correct'	맞추다 mac•c ^h u-ta fit/match[«fit(INACT)•FACT]-CIT 'fit, match, guess [answer]'	α- ~ α•hu- (Basic INACTIVE ~ FACTITIVE)
끄- kki- extinguish _{vst}	끄다 kki-ta extinguish-CIT 'put out [fire]'	꺼지다 kk•æci-ta get.extinguished[«extinguish•INCH]-CIT 'go out, get put out [as fire]'	α- ~ α•a/æci- (Basic FACTITIVE ~ INCHOATIVE/INACTIVE)
(문-) mun- collapse _{vst}	무너지다 mun•æci-ta collapse[•INCH]-CIT 'collapse [of structure]'	무너뜨리다 mun•ættili-ta tear.down[•FACT]-CIT 'tear/bring down [structure]'	α•a/æci- ~ α•a/ættili- (INCHOATIVE/INACTIVE ~ FACTITIVE)

Phonosemantic Verbs

- ◆ Stem cores are atomic phonosemantic elements with distinctive phonological structure, especially
 - C₁V C₂ as reduplicative C₁V C₂ C₁V C₂ (ppas•ppas, ttuy•ttuy)
 - (C₁₁) V₁ (C₁₂) C₂₀ V₂ⁿ C₂₁^{ad} (Vⁿ = harmony-neutral i, i; C^{ad} = apico-dental s/t, l, n) (ækis, toŋkul, mikkin)
- ◆ Stem cores belong to iconically related 'isotope' groups that vary across lax-tense-aspirated and certain vowel contrasts (kasil, kkasil, kasil, kkasil, kasil, kkasil, kasil, kkasil etc)
- ◆ Verbs consist of single or reduplicated stem core, followed by an agglutinated verbalising morpheme or concatenated function verb.
- ◆ Class is open but small, with more frequently used members somewhere in the middle 100s.

쭈글 ccukil CRUMPLED	쭈글쭈글 ccukil•ccukil [kukyæci-ta] crumpled [get.crumpled-CIT] 'get crumpled all over'		α•α (adverbially deployed reduplicative)	
	쭈글쭈글하다 ccukil•ccukil•ha-ta crumpled•does/FV-CIT 'be crumpled'	쭈그리다 ccukil•i-ta hunch[•MOT•VBR]-CIT 'hunch [o's body]'	α•α•ha- (here STATIVE)	α•i- (MOTIVE/ACTIVE)
	쭈그러지다 ccukil•æci-ta get.crumpled[•INCH]-CIT 'get crumpled'	쭈그러뜨리다 ccukil•ættili-ta crumple[•FACT]-CIT 'be crumpled'	α•a/æci- ~ α•a/ættili- (INCHOATIVE/INACTIVE ~ FACTITIVE)	
(거꾸로) kækkul OTHER.WAY.ROUND	거꾸로 kækkul•lo[seu-ta] other.way.round•ADV [stand.up.FACT-CIT] '[stands sth] upside down'		α•(l)o (adverbial form)	
	거꾸러지다 kkækul•æci-ta fall.head.first[•INCH]-CIT 'fall over head first'	거꾸러뜨리다 kækkul•ættili-ta put.head.first[•FACT]-CIT 'knock over head first'	α•a/æci- ~ α•a/ættili- (INCHOATIVE/INACTIVE ~ FACTITIVE)	

Here, two brief remarks are in order. For one, the Primary Verb class is the systemically most central verb class, not only in structural terms but also in terms of its strong association with the expression of fundamental everyday experience. At the same time, however, it is relatively small and highly resistant to new membership, effectively making it a closed class. Secondly, although the distinctive phonological and morphosyntactic properties of phonosemantic lexemes in the Korean lexicon are widely known, Phonosemantic Verbs are generally not regarded as forming a major verb class and are for the most part ignored in discussions of the Korean voice system or indeed other morpho-syntactic phenomena.

[2] *Pattern proliferation and verb class variety: The Periphrastic and Phrasal classes*

As we have just seen, voice-marking pattern variety already begins in the Primary and Phonosemantic verb classes. Pattern proliferation, however, is particularly pronounced in the third structural verb class in the Korean lexicon. This class, which I shall refer to as the *Periphrastic Verb* class, consists of verbs in which a noun-like core element is combined with a high-frequency Primary Verb in a concatenative structure. Although this class is structurally and systemically less basic than the Primary and Phonosemantic classes, it is numerically much larger and maximally open to new membership. The following outline the properties of this class and its main voice alternation paradigms:

Periphrastic Verbs					
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ♦ Verbs consist of noun-like core elements and a concatenated verb element that also serves as a carrier of verb-inflectional material. ♦ Periphrastic Verb patterns lie on various points of the Grammaticalisation continuum with regard to the semantic bleaching of the verb element, as well as lexical spread and productivity. ♦ Apart from the maximally general <i>ha.ta</i>, all function verbs are associated with particular agentivity–causality categories. ♦ Class is maximally open and numbers in the 1000s. 					
파괴 p ^h akœ destruction	파괴 하다 p ^h akœ+ha-ta destruction+do/fv-CIT 'destroy'	파괴 시키다 p ^h akœ+sik ^h i-ta destruction+make.do/FACT-CIT 'destroy'	α+ha- (Basic FACTITIVE)	α+sik ^h i- (EXOACTIVE/ FACTITIVE)	
	파괴 되다 p ^h akœ+toe-ta destruction+become/INCH-CIT 'get destroyed'	파괴 당하다 p ^h akœ+taŋha-ta destruction+undergo/PAT-CIT 'suffer destruction (of sth)'	α+twœ- (INCHOATIVE/ INACTIVE)	α+taŋha- (PATIENTIVE)	

증발 cippal evaporation	증발하다 cippal+ha-ta evaporation+do/fv-CIT 'evaporate' 증발되다 cippal+twæ-ta evaporation+become/INCH-CIT 'evaporate'	증발시키다 cippal+sik ^{hi} -ta evaporation+make.do/FACT-CIT 'make evaporate'	α +ha- (Basic INACTIVE) α +twæ- (INCHOATIVE/ INACTIVE)	α +sik ^{hi} - (EXOACTIVE/ FACTITIVE)
고장 kocaj breakdown	고장나다 kocaj+na-ta break.down/INCH-CIT '[machine] break down'	고장내다 kocaj+ne-ta breakdown+put.out/FACT-CIT 'wreck [machine]'	α +na- (INCHOATIVE)	α +ne- (FACTITIVE)
이해 ihε understanding	이해하다 ihε+ha-ta understanding+do/fv-CIT 'understand' 이해되다 ihε+twæ-ta understanding+become/INCH-CIT 'get understood, be understandable'	이해시키다 ihε+sik ^{hi} -ta understanding+make.do/FACT-CIT 'make understand, explain'	α +ha- (Basic ENDOACTIVE)	α +sik ^{hi} - (EXOACTIVE/ FACTITIVE)
칭찬 c ^{hi} ŋc ^{han} praise	칭찬하다 c ^{hi} ŋc ^{han} +ha-ta praise+do/fv-CIT 'praises, flatters'	칭찬받다 c ^{hi} ŋc ^{han} +pat-ta praise+receive/RCPT/PAT-CIT 'get praised/flattered'	α +ha- (basic EXOACTIVE)	α +pat- (RECEPTIVE)
협박 hyəppak intimidation	협박하다 hyəppak+ha-ta intimidation+do/fv-CIT 'threaten'	협박받다 hyəppak+pat-ta intimidation+receive/RCPT/PAT-CIT 'get/have criticised' 협박당하다 hyəppak+taŋha-ta intimidation+undergo/PAT-CIT 'get/have criticised'	α +ha- (basic EXOACTIVE)	α +pat- (RECEPTIVE/ PATIENTIVE) α +taŋha- (PATIENTIVE)

Note that this table only illustrates only the most widespread and grammaticalised patterns in this class. Aside from these, we also find a range of more restricted patterns that occur only in a small number of verbs each:

- (9) a. α -ka.ta 이해가다
 α -go/INCH ihε+ka.ta
 understanding+FV
 'be understandable, can understand'
- b. α -mac.ta 야단맞다 소박맞다
 α -get.hit/PAT yatan+mac.ta sopak+mac.ta
 scolding+FV abandonment+FV
 'get scolded' 'get abandoned (as wife)'
- c. α -po.ta 맛보다 손해보다
 α -see/EXPR/PAT mas+po.ta sonhe+po.ta a
 taste+FV material.damage/loss+FV
 'taste sth' 'suffer material loss'

d. α -tit.ta	칭찬듣다	꾸중듣다
α -hear/EXPR/PAT	c ^h ijc ^h an+tit.ta	kkucuj+tit.ta
	praise+FV	rebuke+FV
	'get praised'	'get rebuked'

Here, the patterns are certainly less grammaticalised and productive and the function verbs would seem to be less semantically bleached. On the other hand, however, it is also clear that the function verbs in these patterns do not 'retain' more than certain situation-dynamic aspects of their main verb usage. Plus, it is certainly no accident that they are associated with fundamental categories of human experience and belong to the set of verbs that is prone to grammaticalisation in language after language.

In the Koreanist literature, Periphrastic verbs are generally viewed as 'compound verbs', suggesting a combination of relatively equal elements. However, while such an analysis is just about tenable for the less widespread patterns, a lexical compound analysis is certainly incongruous for the more widespread and grammaticalised patterns. Thus, the element *ha-ta* 'do, VERBALISER' in the maximally general α +*ha-ta* pattern is certainly little more than a semantically empty verbalising functor. And, although slightly less bleached, function-verb elements such as *tæ-ta* 'become; INCHOATIVE' and *sik^{hi}-ta* 'orders; FACTITIVE, CAUSATIVE' do not 'retain' much of their main-verb meaning in the pertinent patterns, but contribute only a minimal causation-dynamic meaning that is hardly more specific than that expressed by the Inchoative and Factitive elements in the α /*a/ci-* and α /*a/ttili-* patterns in the Primary and Phonosemantic classes.

Aside from these considerations, however, there are also more general arguments for regarding the pertinent structures not as mere compounds but as constituting a structural class on a par with the Primary and Phonosemantic classes. For one, in the vast majority the core element corresponds to a primary *SITUATION noun*, that is a noun that is primarily or exclusively used to refer to situations. And not only that, but a considerable proportion rarely or never occurs outside of Periphrastic patterns or other verb-like structures and is thus not fully noun-like. Secondly, even where the core element is not a Primary *SITUATION noun*, its use in the Periphrastic Verb almost always must or at least can be viewed as a secondary *SITUATION noun* usage³⁷. Third, seen from a systemic perspective, the existence of a Periphrastic Verb class is a clear correlate of the fact that

³⁷ Good examples are *totuk* 'thief' and *sənmul* 'present' that in periphrastic verbs refer to the <stealing> and <benevolent transfer> events rather than the <thief> or the <gift> as physical entities. Witness the fact that *totuk+ha.ta totuk+do/VBR* 'steal' and *totuk+mac.ta totuk+get.hit/PAT* 'have (sth) stolen', *sənmul+ha.ta sənmul+do/VBR* 'give (as present)' and *sənmul+pat.ta sənmul+receive/RCPT* 'be given (as) present' easily cooccur with STEALING AGENT and GIVEN PRESENT arguments.

the Primary Verb class is a relatively small and closed class and hence not open to new-formation. Lastly, from a typological perspective, Korean is by far not the only language with a similar organisation of the verbal lexicon into a small and relatively closed class of core inflection-carrying verbs and a periphrastic class in which a semantically specific SITUATION element is joined with inflection-carrying function verbs³⁸.

In sum, there are many arguments for viewing the Periphrastic Verb class as one of the main structural classes in the Korean verb system. On the other hand, however, there is no doubt that the core elements that appear in the Periphrastic Verb patterns also tend to have noun-like properties. Thus, for one, many Periphrastic Verbs have structural variants in which the core appears as an argument-like element case-marked with the Subject or Object particle. In many cases, particularly when the SITUATION noun appears modified with an ATTRIBUTIVE structure, the pertinent structure clearly has the properties of a syntactic *Subject/Object Predicate* collocation, as in the following:

- (10)a. 정글코끼리들은 시바의 신처럼 무자비한 파괴를 했다.
 cəŋkil+kʰokkili-til-in sipa-iy sin-cʰələm mucabi.ha-n pʰakwœ-lil hɛ-ss-ta.
 jungle+elephant-PL-SEL Shiva-AT god-EQU merciless-PF.AT destruction-ACC do-PF/AOR-FML.DCL
 'The jungle elephants engaged in a destructive orgy worthy of the god Shiva.' (=Med/Wb)
- b. 케이블카의 설치자체에 막대한 환경 파괴가 된다는
 kʰeipilkʰa-iy səlchʰi+cacʰe-e makte.ha-n hwankyəŋ+pʰakwœ-ka twœ-n-ta-nin
 cablecar-AT installation+itself-LOC/FRC massive-PF.AT environment+destruction-SBJ become/INCH-DYN-DCL.QOT-DYN.AT
 것을알고는 있겠죠?
 kəs-il al-ko-<nin>_iss-kess-c-yo?
 thing-ACC know-<SEL>PRG.CNT-ASMP-PROP-POL
 Lit: 'Surely, you are aware that because of the cable car installation as such massive environmental destruction will take place?'
 Eqv: 'Moreover, you are surely aware that the construction of the cable car alone will cause massive environmental destruction?' (=Wb)
- c. 그러나 70년 로마의 티투스 장군에 의해 예루살렘은 또 한번
 kiləna 70+nyən loma-iy tʰitʰusi cəŋkun-e_iyhɛ yelusalləm-in tto+han+pən
 however 70+year Rome-AT Titus general-due.to/through/by Jerusalem-SEL again+one+time
 철저한 파괴를 당했다.
 cʰəlca.ha-n pʰakwœ-lil taŋhɛ-ss-ta.
 thorough-PF.AT destruction-ACC undergo/PAT-PF/AOR-FML.DCL
 'However, in 70 AD Jerusalem was again thoroughly destroyed by the Roman general Titus.' (=Wb)

Here, the noun and verb elements are clearly integrated into the overall clause construction. On the other hand, however, the verb elements *ha.ta* 'do' (10a) and *twœ.ta* 'become' (10b) are clearly used as little more than the ACTIVE and INCHOATIVE/INACTIVE proverbs as which they also appear in a range of other constructions. And, what is more,

³⁸ Examples that come to mind are Japanese (with a very similar noun-like core element), and Basque and Welsh (where the core element seems to have less noun-like properties and appears to be generally viewed as a kind of 'non-finite' verb-like element).

even though the verbs *twæ.ta* 'become; INCH' (10b) and *taŋha.ta* 'undergo; PAT' (10c) have the syntagmatic properties of a main verb, the overall clause constructions certainly have the semantic and syntactic properties of passive constructions: they refer to (agent)-caused events and they appear with agent-phrase-like elements.

It is probably fair to say that the existence of related constructions in which their noun-like core element appears as a case-marked noun is one of the major reasons why Periphrastic verbs are not treated on a par with verbs from the Primary or Phonosemantic classes. This even more so since we also find cases in which phrasal *Subject/Object Verb* variants appear in exactly the same clause-constructive verb slot as the corresponding Periphrastic verbs, irrespective of whether this may lead to Multiple Subject or Multiple Object constructions:

- (11)a. 그런데 ^Ø미국은^Ø 왜 잔인하게 사람을 죽이고
 kilənte ^Ømikuk-in^Ø wœ canin.ha-ke salam-il cuk•i-ko
 but ^ØAmerica-(SBJ)SEL^Ø why cruel-ADV person-ACC kill[«die•FACT»]-PF.SQ
 자연을 파괴를 한다지요?
 파괴한다지요?
 cayən-il p^hakwœ-lil ha-n-ta-ci-yo?
 p^hakwœ+ha-n-ta-ci-yo?
 nature-ACC destruction-ACC do/ACT-DYN-DCL.RPT-PROP-POL
 destruction+do/VBR-DYN-DCL.RPT-PROP-POL
 'But then why does it (= America) cruelly kill people and destroy the environment?' (=Wb)
- b. *Irate comment on proposal to give overseas students residence in Korea:*
 어떤 십새끼가 밀약을 해서 국법을 파괴를 시키니까
 파괴시키니까
 əttə-n sip+sekki-ka milyak-il hœ-se kukpəp-il p^hakwœ-lil sik^hi-nikka
 p^hakwœ+sik^hi-nikka
 is.somehow-PF.AT cunt+pup-SBJ secret.agreement-ACC do/-CS.SQ law.of.land-ACC destroy-ACC make.do/FACT-EXPL.CJ
 destroy+make.do/FACT-EXPL.CJ
 국법 파괴자를 구속시켜야지.
 kukpəp+p^hakwœ+ca-lil kusok+sik^hy-əya-ci.
 law.of.land+destruction+person-ACC confining+make.do/EXO/FACT-NCS-PROP
 'If some bastard conspires to wreck our laws then we just have to lock up law-wreckers.' (=Wb)
- (12)a. (...) 아시아와 유럽의 강대국들이 연이어 그들에게 파괴를 당하고 (…)
 파괴당하고
 asia-wa yuləp-iy kəntəkuk-til-i yənə ki-til-eke p^hakwœ-lil taŋha-ko
 p^hakwœ+taŋha-ko
 Asia-CMT Europe-AT strong.country-PL-SBJ one.by.one that/he-PL-LOC/AGT destruction-ACC undergo/PAT-PF.SQ
 destruction+undergo/PAT-PF.SQ
 'The great powers of Asia and Europe, one by one, were destroyed by them (= the aliens)' (<Wb)
- b. (...) 태풍 경고를 제대로 하지 않아서 많은 사람들이
 t^hɛp^huŋ kyəŋko-lil cetelo ha-ci-lil anh-ase manh-in salam-til-i
 taiphon warning-ACC properly do-PROP-ACC-NEG_{PF}-CS.SQ much-PF.AT person-PL-SBJ

재산을 파괴를 당하고 파괴당하고	목숨을 잃는 일들이	많습니다.
cesan-il phakwœ-lil tanha-ko phakwœ+tanha-ko	mok+sum-il ilh-nin il-til-i	manh-sipni-ta.
assets-ACC destruction-ACC undergo/PAT-PF.SQ destruction+undergo/PAT-PF.SQ	throat+breath-ACC lose-DYN event-PL-SBJ	much-FML.POL-DCL
'Because they don't issue proper taiphoon warnings many people have their property destroyed and people keep losing their lives.' (<Wb)		

Note again the strongly passive-like properties of both the Periphrastic and the Phrasal variant in 12a.

The fact that the SITUATION nouns that occur in the Periphrastic pattern core may also appear marked with the Subject or Object particles is certainly evidence that the pertinent Periphrastic verbs are complex structures characterised by a relatively low degree of fusion. However, at least from the point of view of Construction Grammar this is not an argument against their analysis as regular verb-structural patterns. On the contrary, there are good reasons to regard even the *Subject/Object Verb* structures that appear in our examples 11-12 as another type of complex verb whose internal structure is syntactic, but whose syntagmatic properties in relation to the clause construction are similar to those of other verbs. In recognition of their internal syntactic structure, I shall refer to these verb-like structures as *Phrasal Verbs*.

[3] *The Analytic Inchoative and Causative constructions*

As diverse as they are, the voice-like patterns we have seen so far all had two properties: they involve some form of internal structural variation at the verb or predicate level and they are linked to particular structural verb classes. In addition, however, Korean also has a family of analytic embedding constructions in which causation-dynamic marking has scope over larger phrasal or clausal structures. Again, these revolve around the fundamental ACTIVE ~ INACTIVE opposition. The following represent the most grammaticalised analytic constructions, with a rough approximation of their referential-semantic spectrums:

[___α _{VST}]-ke ha.ta	ACTIVE – FACTITIVE – CAUSATIVE
[___α _{VST}]-RES.ADV do/ACT/CAUS	
[___α _{VST}]-ke mantil.ta	INTERPERSONAL FACTITIVE – CAUSATIVE
[___α _{VST}]-RES.ADV create/make/FACT/CAUS	
[___α _{VST}]-ke sikhi.ta	INSTRUCTIVE CAUSATIVE
[___α _{VST}]-RES.ADV order/make.do/CAUS	

[___ α_{VS}]-ke <i>nɛpitu.ta</i>	PERMISSIVE CAUSATIVE
[___ α_{VS}]-RES.ADV leave.as.it.is	
[___ α_{VS}]-ke <i>twæ.ta</i>	INCHOATIVE/INACTIVE, LOW AGENTIVITY
[___ α_{VS}]-RES.ADV become/INCH/INACT	

As we can see, there are two maximally general constructions with the verbs *ha.ta* 'do' and *twæ.ta* 'become' that are widely used as ACTIVE and INACTIVE proverbs across the Korean system. Plus, on the causative-like side we find a number of other, lexically more specific but highly conventionalised function verbs that can be related to some of the semantic subdivisions of the 'causative' category in the Standard Voice Model.

Given the fact that the 'causative' has been one of the most-discussed morpho-syntactic phenomena in the Contemporary Linguistic discourse, it is not surprising that the causative-like analytic constructions have received much attention in the Koreanist literature. On the other hand, in spite of its clear structural similarity and indeed systemic proximity to the causative-like constructions, the Analytic Inchoative/Inactive construction [___ α_{VS}]-ke *twæ.ta* has received scant attention and is usually excluded from voice analysis. The following are some representative examples that illustrate the close systemic proximity between the two constructions, together with the syntactic embedding structure typical of these patterns:

- (13) a. 사모님이 김교수님을 일찍 들어가게 하셨어.
samo•nim-i kim kyosu+nim-il [[ilccik tiləka-ke] ha-sy-əss-e].
wife•HON-SBJ Kim professor+HON-ACC early go.home-RES.ADV do/ACT/CAUS-HON-PF/AOR-FIN
'His wife has made Professor Kim go home early.'
- b. 사모님이 김교수님을 담배를 끊으시게 하셨어.
samo•nim-i kim kyosu+nim-il [[tampe-lil kkinh-isi-ke] ha-sy-əss-e].
wife-HON-SBJ Kim professor+HON-ACC cigarette-ACC severs-HON-RES.ADV do/ACT/CAUS-HON-PF/AOR-FIN
cigarette-ACC NEG stoke-HON-RES.ADV
'His wife has made Professor Kim stop smoking.'
- c. 사모님이 김교수님이 담배를 끊으시게 하셨어.
samo•nim-i [[kim kyosu+nim-i tampe-lil kkinh-isi-ke] ha-sy-əss-e].
wife-HON-SBJ Kim professor+HON-SBJ cigarette-ACC severs-HON-RES.ADV do/ACT/CAUS-HON-PF/AOR-FIN
'His wife has got Professor Kim to stop smoking.'
- (14) a. 김교수님이 사모님 덕분에 담배를 끊게 되셨어.
kim kyosu+nim-i samo•nim təkpun-e [[tampe-lil kkinh-ke] twæ-sy-əss-e].
Kim professor+HON-SBJ wife•HON thanks.to-LOC/CS cigarette-ACC severs-RES.ADV become/INCH-HON-PF/AOR-FIN
'Professor Kim stopped smoking thanks to his wife.'
- b. 사모님 덕분에 김교수님이 담배를 끊으시게 됐어.
samo•nim təkpun-e [[kim kyosu+nim-i tampe-lil kkinh-isi-ke] twæ-ss-e].
wife•HON thanks.to-LOC/CS Kim professor+HON-SBJ cigarette-ACC severs-HON-RES.ADV become/INCH-PF/AOR-FIN
'Thanks to his wife, Professor Kim stopped smoking.'

As we can see, the Analytic Causative constructions in 13a-c closely conform to the notion of a ‘syntactic’ or ‘periphrastic’ causative: it has ‘small-clause’ embedding structure and it refers to a relatively segmentable chain-causation dynamic in which the causer’s action precedes the caused situation and the causee has at least some agentivity. The Analytic Inchoative constructions in 14a-b, on the other hand, have in fact so similar structural and semantic properties that it is almost impossible not to view them as direct systemic alternates to the Analytic Causative constructions in 13b-c. The only problem, of course, is that linguistic theory has no category for them: in the Standard Voice Model’s criteria for inchoative/anticausative or passive constructions there is no room for complex small-clause embedding syntax, let alone for embedded transitive active clause syntax or ‘patients’ with some agentivity.

Unfortunately, a detailed investigation of the Analytic Causative and Inchoative constructions will have to remain outside the scope of this thesis, although we will come across them in passing. The Analytic Causative, however, is relevant to this thesis insofar as it also occurs as a kind of alternative solution where a semantically INACTIVE verb has no other EXOACTIVE/FACTITIVE alternate, as is arguably the case in the following examples:

- (15) a. 씨름을 하면 좋은데 친구가 다치면 어떻게 해
 ssilim-il ha-myən coh-in•te cʰinku-ka tacʰi-myən əttəh-ke•hə!?
 wrestling-ACC do-CND good-PF•CIR.CJ friend-ACC get.hurt-CND how-ADV do:FIN
 ‘It’s all good and fine to wrestle around a bit but not if you hurt your friend!’
- b. 씨름을 하면 좋은데 친구를 다치게 하면 어떡해
 ssilim-il ha-myən coh-in•te cʰinku-lil tacʰi-ke ha-myən əttəh-ke hə!?
 wrestling-ACC do-CND good-PF•CIR.CJ friend-ACC get.hurt-RES.ADV do/ACT/FACT-CND is.how-ADV do:FIN
 ‘It’s all good and fine to wrestle around a bit but not if you hurt your friend!’
- (16) a. 남편에게 그렇게 속상한 것은 처음이었다.
 namph̥yən-eke kiləh-ke soksaŋ.ha-n kəs-in cʰəim-i-əss-ta.
 husband-AN.LOC/AGT like.this-ADV get.emotionally.hurt-PF.AT thing-SEL first.time-CPL-PF/AOR-FML-DCL
 ‘It was the first time that she had been so badly disappointed by her husband.’
- b. 남편이 그렇게 속상하게 만든 것은 처음이었다.
 namph̥yən-i kiləh-ke soksaŋ.ha-ke manti-n kəs-in cʰəim-i-əss-ta.
 husband-SBJ like.this-ADV get.emotionally.hurt-RES.ADV-PF.AT thing-SEL first.time-CPL-PF/AOR-FML-DCL
 ‘It was the first time that her husband had disappointed her so badly.’

In this particular incarnation, the Analytic Causative structure is practically flat and the construction functions as little more than a verb-structural marking pattern along the lines of the Synthetic or Serial patterns. I shall refer to this particular use as the *Analytic Factitive* pattern.

[4] *Pattern variety and pattern competition*

So far, I have focussed only on the variety of voice-marking patterns by itself and its correlations with the structural divisions in the Korean verbal lexicon. The main verb-structural marking patterns in the Korean voice system can be summarised as follows, together with the terms I use in this thesis:

Class	INACTIVE voice patterns		FACTITIVE voice patterns	
Primary	$\alpha_{(VS)}\bullet Hi$	Synthetic Deactivative	$\alpha_{(VS)}\bullet Hi$ $\alpha_{(VS)}\bullet Hu$	Synthetic Activative
Primary & Phonosemantic	$\alpha_{(VS)}-a/\partial ci-$	Serial Inchoative	$\alpha_{(VS)}-a/\partial ttili-$	Serial Factitive
Periphrastic	$\alpha_{(N)}+na-$	na.ta Inchoative	$\alpha_{(N)}+ne-$	ne.ta Active/Factitive
	$\alpha_{(N)}+twæ-$	twæ.ta Inchoative	$\alpha_{(N)}+sik^hi-$	sik ^{hi} .ta Factitive
	$\alpha_{(N)}+pat-$	pat.ta Receptive		
	$\alpha_{(N)}+taŋha-$	taŋha.ta Patientive		
All classes			$\alpha_{(VS)}-ke\ ha.ta$	Analytic Factitive
			$\alpha_{(VS)}-ke\ mantil.ta$	Analytic Factitive

Evidently then, some of the pattern variety in the Korean voice-marking system arises from the peculiar structural divisions of its verb lexicon, and falls into roughly three pattern sets that can be viewed in terms of structural selection: The Synthetic patterns $\alpha_{(VS)}\bullet Hi-$ and $\alpha_{(VS)}\bullet Hu-$ in the Primary Verb class, the Serial patterns $\alpha_{(VS)}-a/\partial ci-$ and $\alpha_{(VS)}-a/\partial ttili-$ in the Primary and Phonosemantic class, and the Function Verb patterns $\alpha_{(S/N)}+FV$ in the Periphrastic and Phrasal Verb classes. That, however, still leaves us with a considerable amount of class-internal pattern variety and competition, within the same general voice category and often for the same lexical core.

Pattern differentiation is of course well-known within the cross-linguistic ‘causative’ spectrum. And here Korean does indeed show widespread competition between the various Factitive patterns and the Analytic Causative patterns that corresponds the familiar contrast between the Standard Voice Model’s ‘direct’ and the ‘indirect’ causative. The following is a typical example of the kind that has been much discussed in the literature:

- (17) a. 어머니가 아이에게 옷을 입혔다.
 əməni-ka ai-eke os-il ip•hy-əss-ta.
 mother-SBJ child-AN,ALL/DAT clothes-ACC puts.on.other[«puts.on.self»FACT/EXO]-PF-FML.DCL
 ‘The mother has dressed her child.’

- b. 어머니가 아이에게 옷을 입게 했다.
 aməni-ka ai-eke os-il ip-ke hɛ-ss-ta.
 mother-SBJ child-AN.ALLDAT clothes-ACC puts.on.self-RES.ADV does/ACTCAUS-PF-FML.DCL
 'The mother has made her child put on clothes.'

Since the investigations in this thesis are focussed on the inactive side of the Voice Continuum, we shall not pay too much attention to this type of contrast. It should be noted here, however, that Analytic Causative structures such as that in 17b are best viewed as clause-level constructions rather than verb-structural patterns, meaning that sentence pairs of this type should not be viewed in terms of straightforward verb-structural alternation (see also Shibatani 1976; Jaehoon Yeon 2003: 81-3).

Unusually, however, pattern competition exists and is indeed far more pronounced among INACTIVE voice-marking patterns. In this case, as I have already emphasised, the differences between competing isonuclear alternates are effectively orthogonal to the differences between Standard Voice Model's inactive categories. In other words, they cut across and apply equally to passive-like and to inchoative-like instances. This may appear rather less significant in the Periphrastic and Phrasal classes, where the differences between competing patterns can be semantically quite specific and relatable to the function verb's full-verb semantics. Observe the competition between the different INACTIVE alternates in the following passive-like instances:

- (18)a. 우리 민족은 광복의 기쁨이 채 가시기도 전에
 uli mincok-in kwanpok-iy kippim-i chɛ kasi-ki-to cən-e
 we people-SEL liberation-AT happiness-SBJ yet dissipate-GER-INCL before-LOC
 국토가 남북으로 분단되는 슬픔을 겪었다.
 kuktho-ka nampuk-ilo puntan+twœ-nin silp^him-il kyækk-æss-ta.
 territory-SBJ south&north-DST division+become/INCH-DYN.AT sadness-ACC experience-PF/AOR-FML.DCL
 'Our nation had not yet properly savoured the joy of liberation when it had to endure the sadness of seeing its territory divided into North and South.' (= Cp)
- b. (우리 민족은) 나라를 빼앗기고, 국토를 분단당하고
 (uli mincok-in) nala-lil ppeas^{*}ki-ko, kuktho-lil puntan+tarha-ko
 (we people-SEL) country-ACC rob*INACT-PF.SQ territory-ACC division+suffer.sth/PAT-PF.SQ
 동족끼리 전쟁을 벌였으며 (...)
 toŋcok-kkili cæncɛŋ-il pɔly-æss-i-myə (...)
 same.tribe-among war-ACC open.wide-PF/AOR-SIM.CJ
 'Our nation lost its state, had its territory divided, and finally started a fratricidal war (...)' (<Wb)
- (19)a. 그런 중에 딸이 남편한테 소박(을) 맞아
 ɿ ilə-n cɥŋ-e ttal-i namp^hən-hant^he sopak(-il) mac-a
 like.this-PF middle-LOC daughter-SBJ husband-AN.LOC/AGT abandonment(-ACC) get.exposed.to/PAT-FIN/CNSC
 독수공방으로나 지내게 될까봐 긴장을 하신거예요.
 toksukonpaŋ-ilo-na cinæ-ke twœ-l^{*}kka+pw-a kincan-il ha-si-n^{*}kə-e-yo.
 living.apart.from.husband-ADV-NXCL passes-ADV become/INCH-PSP*INQS+see-CNSC tension-ACC do-HON-PF*FCTL-FIN-POL
 'She has been tense with the fear that her daughter would be abandoned by her husband and end up living out her days alone.' (<Cp)

- b. 원형의 아내 김씨는 원형에게 소박(을) 받아서
 wənhyəŋ-iy ane kim+ssi-nin wənhyəŋ-eke sopak(-il) pat-ase
 Wŏnhyŏng-AT wife Kim+TITLE-SEL husband-AN.LOC/AGT abandonment(-ACC) get/RCPT/PAT-CS.SQ
 명색만 내외이지 사실로 남과 같이 지냈다.
 myəŋsek-man newœ-i-ci sasil-lo nam-kwa kat^{hi} cine-ss-ta.
 in.name-XCL husband&wife-CPL-PROP fact-EQU/ADV other-CMT together pass-PF/AOR-FML.DCL
 'Wŏnhyŏng's wife Mrs Kim was abandoned by him and they were husband and wife only in name, while in reality she was living with others.' (= Cp)
- c. 조선시대에는 아기를 낳지 못하면
 cosən+site-e-nin aki-lil nah-ci +mos+ha-myən
 Chosŏn+era-LOC-SEL child-ACC give.birth-PROP +NCTL.NEG+do/ACT.PRIV-CND
 여자가 (남편에게) 소박(을) 당하는 경우가 많았다.
 yəca-ka (namp^hən-eke) sopak(-il) tangha-nin kyəŋu-ka manh-ass-ta.
 woman-SBJ (husband-AN.LOC/AGT) abandonment(-ACC) suffer/PAT-DYN.AT case-SBJ many-PF/AOR-FML.DCL
 'During the Chosŏn era, if they did not bear any children, women used to be frequently abandoned by their husbands.' (Wb+)

The competing passive-like patterns here differentiate between what we could roughly characterise as <caused state change> ($\alpha_{SITN}+twœ-$ in 18a), <receptive exposure to interpersonal behaviour> ($\alpha_{SITN}+pat-$ in 19b) and <patientive undergoing> ($\alpha_{SITN}+mac-$ and $\alpha_{SITN}+tangha-$ in 18b, 19a/c). Only in the first pattern, however, is the function verb a semantically highly bleached INCHOATIVE marker, while the other verbs seem to be less semantically empty. Be that as it may, it is clear that the pattern variety here is facilitated by the relative openness of the *SITUATIONNoun+FunctionVerb* pattern's Function Verb slot.

Competition between isonuclear voice-marking patterns can, however, also be observed between the highly synthetic and grammaticalised patterns. Thus, although one alternate is usually preferred, many ACTIVE verbs have both $\alpha\bullet Hi-$ and the $\alpha\bullet a/ci-$ alternates, and some even a third double-marked alternate of the structure $\alpha\bullet Hi\bullet a/ci-$. Here, however, the systemic difference between the competing patterns is far from clear. On the one hand, there are a considerable number of alternations in which the $\alpha\bullet Hi-$ pattern is associated with SPONTANEOUS or INDIRECTLY CAUSED meaning and the $\alpha\bullet a/ci-$ pattern with AGENTED AND PURPOSEFULLY CAUSED meaning:

- (20)a. {길이 | 하수구가 | 구멍이} 막혔다.
 {kil-i | hasuku-ka | kuməŋ-i} mak^hhy-əss-ta.
 {way-SBJ | drain-SBJ | hole-SBJ} block.sth-INACT-PF-FML.DCL
 'The {road | drain | hole} {has become / is} blocked (spontaneously).'
- b. {길이 | 하수구가 | 구멍이} 막아졌다.
 {kil-i | hasuku-ka | kuməŋ-i} mak^hacy-əss-ta.
 {way-SBJ | drain-SBJ | hole-SBJ} block.sth-INACT-PF-FML.DCL
 'The {road | drain | hole} has been (successfully) blocked (by somebody).'

Here, the $\alpha\bullet Hi-$ verb is more inchoative-like but the $\alpha\bullet a/ci-$ verb more passive-like, at

Against this, however, stand instances of the same α -*Hi*- verbs that clearly have PATIENT IS ACTED UPON AND AFFECTED BY AGENT meaning and do indeed contain agent-phrase-like arguments:

- Finally and most importantly, we also find other verb pairs where it is clearly the α - α/ci - verb that is overall the more inchoative-like:

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Clearly then, attempts at trying to account for the contrast between the two INACTIVE patterns of the Primary Verb class in terms of the Standard Voice Model's 'passive' vs 'inchoative' distinction cannot but fail.

In sum, more even than the simple proliferation of verb-structural patterns, the fact that many are in direct competition with each other has proven deeply problematic for an account of the Korean system in terms of the established voice concepts of Contemporary Linguistics. This is particularly so on the inactive side of the Voice Continuum, where it has further encouraged continuous and fruitless debates over which pattern(s) should be regarded as the proper Korean manifestation of the 'passive' category (see f.ex. Yi Ki-dong 1976, 1978; versus Im Hong-bin 1977, 1978).

[5] *Paradigm proliferation, equipollency and solitaires*

So far, my discussion has remained focussed on the variety of voice-marking patterns by itself and its correlations with the structural divisions in the Korean verbal lexicon. Pattern proliferation is, however, not the only problem. Matters are made worse by the fact that the voice-marking patterns in this system are paradigmatically related to each other in a criss-crossing web of correspondences that puts paid to any attempts at establishing simple one-to-one correspondences between the various patterns and so to arrive at a neat system of voice alternation paradigms. Instead, the picture is so messy and full of 'exceptions' that we shall have to limit ourselves here to a brief outline with focus on the INACTIVE patterns. The following is a rough summary of the various pattern alternations found in the Primary and Phonosemantic Classes:

Paradigm proliferation: Primary and Phonosemantic Verbs		
Dominant paradigms		
α - ~ $\alpha \cdot hi$	[ACTIVE ~ INACTIVE]	잡다 ~ 잡히다
	[FACTITIVE ~ INACTIVE]	$cap.ta \sim cap \cdot hi.ta$ 'grasp' ~ 'get grasped etc'
		놓다 ~ 놓이다
		$noh.ta \sim noh \cdot i.ta$ 'put, place' ~ 'get put/placed'
		열다 ~ 열리다
α - ~ $\alpha \cdot a/aci$ -		$y\grave{a}l.ta \sim y\grave{a}l \cdot li.ta$ 'open sth' ~ 'get opened, open _{INCH} '
	[ACTIVE ~ INACTIVE]	찢다 ~ 찢어지다
	[FACTITIVE ~ INACTIVE]	$ccic.ta \sim ccic \cdot \acute{a}ci.ta$ 'tear sth' ~ 'get torn, tear _{INCH} '
		만들다 ~ 만들어지다
		$mantil.ta \sim mantil \cdot \acute{a}ci.ta$ 'make' ~ 'get made/formed'

$\alpha\text{-}a/\text{əci-}$ ~ $\alpha\text{-}a/\text{əttili-}$	[INACTIVE ~ FACTITIVE]	부러지다 ~ 부러뜨리다 <i>pul·əci.ta</i> ~ <i>pul·əttili.ta</i> 'break _{INCH} (brittly)' ~ 'break sth' 쓰러지다 ~ 쓰러뜨리다 <i>ssil·əci.ta</i> ~ <i>ssil·əttili.ta</i> 'collapse' ~ 'bring down'
Moderately spread paradigms		
$\alpha\text{-}a/\text{əci-}$	[INACTIVE] <i>only</i>	지러지다 <i>cil·əci.ta</i> 'wither, get stunted (as plant)' 사라지다 <i>sal·əci.ta</i> 'disappear'
Rare paradigms		
$\alpha\text{-}Hu$ ~ $\alpha\text{-}Hi$	[FACTITIVE ~ INACTIVE]	가두다 ~ 갇히다 <i>kat·u.ta</i> ~ <i>kat·hi.ta</i> 'confine' ~ 'get confined, confine self'
$\alpha\text{-}(h)i$ ~ $\alpha\text{-}Hi$	[FACTITIVE ~ INACTIVE]	호리다 ~ 홀리다 <i>hol·i.ta</i> ~ <i>hol·li.ta</i> 'captivate' ~ 'get captivated'
$\alpha\text{-}Hi$ ~ $\alpha\text{-}Hi$	[FACTITIVE ~ INACTIVE]	그슬리다 ~ 그슬리다 ◇ 그스르다 <i>kisil·li.ta</i> ~ <i>kisil·li.ta</i> 'scorch sth' ~ 'get scorched' ◇ <i>kisili.ta</i> 'get scorched'
$\alpha\text{-}(h)i$ ~ $\alpha\text{-}a/\text{əci-}$	[FACTITIVE ~ INACTIVE]	숙이다 ~ 숙어지다 <i>suk·i.ta</i> ~ <i>suk·əci.ta</i> 'let droop [head]' ~ 'droop' 기울이다 ~ 기울어지다 ◇ 기울다 <i>kiul·i.ta</i> ~ <i>kiul·əci.ta</i> 'tilt sth' ~ 'get/become tilted' ◇ <i>kiul.ta</i> 'get/become tilted'
$\alpha\text{-}Hi\text{-}$	[INACTIVE] <i>only</i>	시달리다 <i>sital·li.ta</i> 'get plagued' 지치다 <i>cic·hi.ta</i> [cic·hi.ta] 'get exhausted' 쏟리다 <i>ssol·lita</i> 'list, shift to one side'

If we look at the paradigm variety here, two facts stand out. The first is a fair amount of voice-marked INACTIVE solitaires with no ACTIVE counterpart. While this phenomenon is perhaps less widespread than in some other languages, it is certainly a problem for a derivational voice analysis that seeks to derive 'passive' verbs from 'active' counterparts. The second is a widespread incidence of equipollent alternations, chief among them INACTIVE ~ FACTITIVE alternations based on the Serial Inchoative and Factitive patterns $\alpha\text{-}a/\text{əci-}$ and $\alpha\text{-}a/\text{əttili-}$. Again, of course, this means that the INACTIVE verb cannot be reasonably analysed as derived from an 'active' counterpart. What is more, however, the incidence of equipollency means that the traditional notion of the 'active' as the systemically most basic and structurally unmarked voice category does not yield any systemically meaningful voice category.

In the Periphrastic Verb class, of course, verb-structural voice alternations always involve 'suppletive' variation of the peripheral Function Verb element. On the other

hand, however, of all the Periphrastic Verb patterns, α +*ha.ta* stands out in various respects that suggest it should be regarded as more basic than the others: it has the widest lexical spread, the function verb *ha.ta* 'do, VERBALISER' is maximally bleached, and it shows the highest degree of structural fusion with regard to the non-insertion of adverbial clitics and the incidence of Phrasal counterparts³⁹. On the other hand, however, equipollent alternations are in fact even more widespread in the Periphrastic class, although this fact is obscured by the fact that often one or both of the voice-marked alternates has a α +*ha.ta* competitor:

Paradigm proliferation: Periphrastic Verbs	
Main unipollent paradigms	
α + <i>ha.ta</i> ~ α + <i>sik^{hi}-</i>	[INACTIVE ~ FACTITIVE]
증발하다 ~ 증발시키다 ciŋpal+ <i>ha.ta</i> ~ ciŋpal+sik ^{hi} .ta	'evaporate _{INCH} ' ~ 'evaporate sth'
폭팔하다 ~ 폭발시키다 p ^h okp ^h al+ <i>ha.ta</i> ~ p ^h okp ^h al+sik ^{hi} .ta	'explode _{INCH} ' ~ 'explode sth'
α + <i>ha.ta</i> ~ α + <i>sik^{hi}-</i>	[ENDOACTIVE ~ EXOACTIVE/FACTITIVE]
공부하다 ~ 공부시키다 koŋpu+ <i>ha.ta</i> ~ koŋpu+sik ^{hi} .ta	'studies (sth)' ~ 'makes study, gives education'
목욕하다 ~ 목욕시키다 mokyok+ <i>ha.ta</i> ~ mokyok+sik ^{hi} .ta	'have bath' ~ 'give bath, bathe sb'
납득하다 ~ 납득시키다 naptik+ <i>ha.ta</i> ~ naptik+sik ^{hi} .ta	'get convinced' ~ 'convince sb'
α + <i>ha.ta</i> ~ α + <i>pat.ta</i>	[EXOACTIVE ~ INACTIVE]
비판하다 ~ 비판받다 pip ^h an+ <i>ha.ta</i> ~ pip ^h an+pat.ta	'critise' ~ 'get criticised'
고문하다 ~ 고문받다 komun+ <i>ha.ta</i> ~ komun+pat.ta	'torture' ~ 'get tortured'
α + <i>ha.ta</i> ~ α + <i>taŋha.ta</i>	[EXOACTIVE ~ INACTIVE]
강간하다 ~ 강간당하다 kaŋkan+ <i>ha.ta</i> ~ kaŋkan+taŋha.ta	'rape' ~ 'get raped'
거절하다 ~ 거절당하다 kæcel+ <i>ha.ta</i> ~ kæcel+taŋha.ta	'rebuff' ~ 'get rebuffed'
구속하다 ~ 구속당하다 kusok+ <i>ha.ta</i> ~ kusok+taŋha.ta	'lock sb up as prisoner' ~ 'get locked up'

³⁹ The term 'adverbial clitic insertion' here refers to the insertion of the NEGATIVE clitics *an* and *mos* as well as short MODAL clitics such as *cal* 'well, often, TENDENTIAL', *com* 'a bit, INTERLOCUTIVE SOFTENER' or *kkok* 'DEFINITE ACTION COMMITMENT'. When used with Periphrastic Verbs that also have Phrasal counterparts, these are mostly placed between the Nominal Element and the Function Verb (f.ex. *koŋpu an* he studying [NEG do/VBR:FIN] or *koŋpu an sik^{hi}-ə* [studying NEG make.do/FACT/CAUS]). In the case of the α +*ha.ta* pattern, however, case-marker or clitic insertion are unrestricted only for ACTION verbs: they do not happen with STATIVE verbs (f.ex. **p^hikon-i ha.ta* [tiredness-SBJ do/VBR] or **p^hikon an* he [tiredness NEG do/VBR:FIN], while with DYNAMIC INACTIVE verbs case-marker insertion is near-anomalous (f.ex. ?? *ciŋpal-fi / il* ha.ta [evaporation[SBJ] ACC] do/VBR] and clitic insertion coexists with clitic prepositioning, particularly in Colloquial registers (f.ex. *ciŋpal an* he [evaporation NEG do/VBR:FIN] but also *an ciŋpal+he*).

Main equipollent paradigms		
$\alpha+na-$ ~ $\alpha+n\epsilon-$	[INACTIVE ~ FACTITIVE]	
고장나다 ~ 고장내다 kocanj+na.ta ~ kocanj+n\epsilon.ta 'break down (as machine)' ~ 'wreck'		
펑크나다 ~ 펑크내다 p'h\anjki+na.ta ~ p'h\anjki+n\epsilon.ta 'puncture (as tire)' ~ 'puncture sth'		
$\alpha+sik^hi-$ ~ $\alpha+tw\ae-$	[FACTITIVE ~ INACTIVE]	
파괴시키다 ~ 파괴되다 p'hakw\ae+sik^hi.ta ~ p'hakw\ae+tw\ae.ta 'destroy sth' ~ 'get/become destroyed'	◇ 파괴하다 p'hakw\ae+ha.ta 'destroy'	
부상시키다 ~ 부상되다 pusanj+sik^hi.ta ~ pusanj+tw\ae.ta 'injure _{EXOACT} ' ~ 'get injured'	◇ 부상하다 pusanj+ha.ta 'get injured'	
증발시키다 ~ 증발되다 cinpal+sik^hi.ta ~ cinpal+tw\ae.ta 'evaporate sth' ~ 'get evaporated, evaporate'	◇ 증발하다 cinpal+ha.ta 'evaporate'	
$\alpha+sik^hi-$ ~ $\alpha+pat-$	[EXOACTIVE/FACTITIVE ~ INACTIVE]	
교육시키다 ~ 교육받다 kyoyuk+sik^hi.ta ~ kyoyuk+pat.ta 'educate' ~ 'get educated'	◇ 교육하다 kyoyuk+ha.ta 'educate'	
오해시키다 ~ 오해받다 oh\epsilon+sik^hi.ta ~ oh\epsilon+pat.ta 'make misunderstand, confuse' ~ 'misunderstand'	◇ 오해하다 oh\epsilon+ha.ta 'misunderstand'	
$\alpha+sik^hi-$ ~ $\alpha+tajha-$	[EXOACTIVE/FACTITIVE ~ INACTIVE]	
부상시키다 ~ 부상당하다 pusanj+sik^hi.ta ~ pusanj+tajha.ta 'injure _{EXOACT} ' ~ 'get injured'	◇ 부상하다 pusanj+ha.ta 'get wounded'	
소박시키다 ~ 소박당하다 sopak+sik^hi.ta ~ sopak+tajha.ta 'abandon [wife]' ~ 'get abandoned'	◇ 소박하다 sopak+ha.ta 'abandon [wife]'	
배척시키다 ~ 배척당하다 p\epsilonch\ae+k+sik^hi.ta ~ p\epsilonch\ae+k+tajha.ta 'boycott, ostracize' ~ 'get ostracised'	◇ 배척하다 p\epsilonch\ae+k+ha.ta 'boycott etc'	

Here, the relative usage frequencies of the equipollent alternations and their unipollent competitors varies across semantic classes and individual alternations. What is certain, however, is that the equipollent Factitive ~ Inchoative $\alpha+sik^hi-$ ~ $\alpha+tw\ae-$ paradigm is quite dominant in typical STATE CHANGE groups, although a final judgment on this matter would have to await proper statistical evidence⁴⁰. And it is surely no accident that these are the very same semantic verb groups that are also strongly associated with the equipollent Serial Inchoative ~ Factitive paradigms of the Primary and Phonosemantic Verb classes.

[6] Pattern proliferation and its treatment in the literature

As I outlined in the first subsection of this chapter (§2.2.1), the Koreanist discourse has shown few signs of trying to move away from the categorial framework provided by the

⁴⁰ Given the fact that most dictionaries take only cursory note of $\alpha+tw\ae.ta$ verbs and completely ignore $\alpha+sik^hi.ta$ verbs, it would seem that the spread of these patterns at the expense of the basic $\alpha+ha.ta$ pattern, as well as the spread of their equipollent alternations, may be a relatively recent phenomenon with which contemporary lexicography is only now beginning to catch up. Witness the fact that the systematic listing of periphrastic verbs of all types in the recent Y\onse Korean Dictionary is a rather revolutionary new practice (Yonsei CLID 1998).

Standard Voice Model. As I also emphasised, however, the earlier grammarians who developed and established the active–passive–causative account also applied this analysis in a highly flexible manner that recognised and sought to accommodate the obvious peculiarities of the Korean voice and diathesis system. Thus, even the earliest investigations in the Kugŏhak tradition considered at least the more grammaticalised patterns and they are subsumed under the ‘passive’ and ‘causative’ categories in Ch’oe Hyŏn-bae’s seminal grammar. The following summarises his classification of voice-marking patterns (Ch’oe Hyŏn-bae 1937/61: §240-252, 410-434). The structurally based pattern terminology on the right is of course mine:

The early Kugŏhak view of the Korean voice system

- First passive:* The Synthetic pattern α -Hi
- Second passive:* The Periphrastic patterns α +twæ.ta , α +pat.ta , α +tanha.ta
- Third passive:* The Serial pattern α +a/æci.ta
- First causative:* The Synthetic patterns α -Hi and α -Hu
- Second causative:* The Periphrastic pattern α +sik^{hi}.ta
- Third causative:* The Analytic pattern α -ke ha.ta

Ch’oe’s classification does of course capture only part of the actual pattern and paradigm variety in the Korean verbal system, due to three self-imposed limitations: he excludes Phrasal Verb patterns, he restricts himself to the more widespread and grammaticalised patterns (excluding in particular the less widely distributed Periphrastic patterns), and he considers only those patterns that can be found in alternations with structurally unmarked ‘active’ verbs (excluding in particular the Serial Factitive α +a/ættili.ta pattern). At the same time, his account notably embraces the Periphrastic Verb class as a proper part of the Korean verbal system and goes a long way towards accepting pattern variety. And, although he excludes α +a/æci.ta verbs with no unmarked ‘active’ counterparts, as well as patterns with a limited lexical spread, his copious footnotes indicate that he is well aware of their existence and voice-like properties and excludes them primarily out of a concern for derivability.

Overall then, aside from the choice of terminology, the only thing that fundamentally aligns the early Kugŏhak account with the Western Linguistic tradition is the insistence on identifying an unmarked ‘active’ and the marked ‘passive’ and ‘causative’ in terms of markedness and derivability the unmarked ‘active’. This flexible

approach, however, became rapidly marginalised once contemporary linguistic theories began to fully impact on the Korean linguistic discourse. Thus, for one, the preoccupation with morphosyntactic phenomena during the 1970s and 1980s resulted in the exclusion and almost complete neglect of the Periphrastic Verb class and its voice-marking patterns from voice analysis. Secondly, the desire to account for 'passive' and 'causative' structures in terms of algorithmic derivation from supposedly more basic 'active' counterparts meant that equipollent verb alternations remained largely unrecognised let alone accepted as a regular feature of the Korean voice system. And finally, although competition between a 'morphological' and an 'analytic' causative was accepted in line with the practice of Contemporary Linguistics, the competition between the 'morphological' α -*Hi*- and the 'analytic' α -*a/ci*- patterns went beyond what many were prepared to accept of a 'passive' category, resulting in predictable disagreements over which of the two should be regarded as the proper Korean passive.

Since the 1990s, however, investigations of Korean voice and diathesis have again begun to look at and even beyond all the patterns that had once been naturally included by the grammarians, and in a sense history seems to be coming full circle again. On the other hand, however, the lingering influence of Formalist dogma is still present in the distinction between the 'passive' and 'causative' proper and the peculiar notion of 'passive-like' and 'causative-like' 'expressions' as a catch-all box for any verb paradigm that is not deemed sufficiently morpho-syntactic in nature but otherwise exhibits the same passive- or causative-like semantic and distributional characteristics⁴¹.

Which and how many paradigms are accepted as proper manifestations of the 'passive' or 'causative' category then depends less on the data itself and more on how each author confronts the realities of linguistic data: competition between different structural solutions, polysemy and multifunctionality, and the Structural Density and Grammaticalisation continua. Thus, on the most extreme end, some authors accept only the Synthetic patterns as the true Korean manifestation of the passive or causative (see f.ex. Im Hong-bin 1977, 1978; Sŏ Chŏng-su 1996: §18/19; U In-hye 1997). Towards the middle, most authors tolerate the existence of pattern competition but will only accept

⁴¹ As always in the linguistics of Korean, terminology here is far from consistent and further differs from paradigm to paradigm. Common general terms that have emerged in English are 'lexical passive/causative' or 'semantically passive/causative verbs'. Earlier terms appearing in the Korean literature include 'pseudo-passive' (의사 피동) (Yi Sang-ŏk 1970; Sŏng Kwang-su 1976a) and 'indirect passive' (간접 피동) (Sŏng Kwang-su 1976b). More recently, Korean terminology seems to have settled on what is more literally 'expressions of passivity/causativity' (피동성 표현 and 사동성 표현) (see f.ex. Im Hong-bin 1977; Kim Hŭng-su 1998; U In-hye 1997).

more widespread, productive and grammaticalised patterns. But again, this means different things to different people, and many accept only the Synthetic α -*Hi* and α -*Hu* together with the Serial α -*a/ci.ta* and the Analytic α -*ke ha.ta*, while others are willing to include the Periphrastic α -*twæ.ta* and α -*sik^{hi}.ta* (see f.ex. Chang Suk-Jin 1996: §5.7). Finally, we even find one or two authors who are willing to accept some of the other passive-like Periphrastic patterns (see f.ex. Ho-min Sohn 1999: §9.9).

[7] *Coda*

In this subsection we have seen a number of phenomena that can be broadly subsumed under the heading of voice-marking pattern and paradigm variety. In principle, none of these phenomena would necessarily and on its own invalidate the established analysis of the Korean voice system. The particular way in which they manifest themselves, however, and the way in which they are all evident at the same time does, I believe, make the active–passive–causative system analysis as it currently stands a fundamentally inadequate model for the Korean voice system.

Pattern variety alone, of course, could quite plausibly be reconciled with the idea of an active–passive–causative system. Pattern competition is already more problematic, particularly since it seems to reflect a more fine-grained differentiation along situation-dynamic parameters. On the other hand, competing patterns also share a significant number of semantic and distributional properties, and on a rough-grained scale their inclusion within broader voice categories seems appropriate. Note, however, that this would require us to accept a ‘passive’ category that is as broad and internally complex as the Standard Voice Model’s causative category.

Equipollency, on the other hand, is certainly not what the Standard Voice model expects of ‘active ~ passive’ alternations, and it is generally given no place in the Koreanist active–passive–causative account. As a general phenomenon, however, it would not be an insurmountable problem either, as long as the pertinent paradigms could be unequivocally identified with the ‘active ~ passive’ opposition. But this is, of course, precisely not the case. Instead, the inconvenient reality is that the voice-marking patterns on the ACTIVE side of these equipollent alternations clearly belong into the ‘(direct) causative’ category, while the INACTIVE side realises the same structural patterns and has the same semantic and distributional properties as verbs that are given

a 'passive' analysis if derivable from unmarked 'active' verbs.

The only reasonable way out of this mess is, I believe, to accept that the Korean FACTITIVE voice-marking patterns may often function as little more than overt ACTIVE voice markers. In other words, the structurally based analytic distinction between unmarked 'active' and marked 'causative' verbs may not in fact properly reflect the actual organisation of the Korean verbal system.

2.3.2 Animacy and agency effects in diathesis constructions and their use

Animacy-related effects in voice and diathesis systems have been known in the typological literature for quite a long time, and it is by now well established that the animacy parameter is associated with considerable frequency effects even in English and other Standard Average European languages. On the other hand, however, languages in which animacy plays a pervasive role in shaping the organisation of the voice and diathesis system are largely limited to the more 'exotic' families that have only recently begun to have any measurable impact on linguistic theory.

If one surveys the Koreanist literature, one could be forgiven to think that animacy plays a rather minor role in the Korean system. The obvious exception is, of course, the differentiation between Basic and Animate Locational particle patterns, but even this is usually dealt with in terms of simple noun-driven selectional restrictions: Basic particle for 'inanimate noun', Animate particle for 'animate noun' (see §3.1.1ff). Otherwise, no matter whether the author is Korean or non-Korean, no linguistic grammars and few research monographs or papers that I have seen make more than cursory reference to animacy-related effects.

There would seem to be several different reasons for this state of affairs. One is the degree to which the Anglo-American linguistic discourse and particularly its Formalist Theories predominate in the Koreanist discourse. Another and related reason lies in the extent to which the Koreanist discourse still lacks typologically informed and interested participants. Consequently, English and a few other Standard Average European languages still constitute the main frame of reference for the analysis of Korean. Finally, although animacy-related effects are clearly discernible across almost the entire Korean system, they tend to come with a considerable range of 'exceptions' that stands in the way of neat rule-based representation that would be considered 'grammatical' rather

than ‘pragmatic’. As we will see throughout this thesis, however, the main reason lies in the fact that the role that animacy plays in Korean is not so much that of an ontological parameter but is instead intimately bound up with situation-specific features such as agency, agentivity and interpersonality.

[1] *Animacy-related differentiation of INVERSE CAUSE LOCUS patterns*

As I have already mentioned, the most obvious animacy-related phenomenon in the Korean system is the existence of two distinct sets of oblique Locational particles: Basic Locational particles that are predominantly associated with INANIMATE nouns and Animate Locational particles that are almost exclusively associated with ANIMATE nouns. We shall investigate the use of the pertinent particle patterns in the next chapter (3.2). What matters here is that the Korean constructions that come closest to the ‘agented passive’ category employ Locational particle patterns for their agent-phrase-like CAUSE LOCUS arguments.

As a direct correlate of the ANIMATE ~ INANIMATE opposition in the Locational particle system, the AGENT INVERSE constructions that appear in the INTERPERSONAL example canon are limited to situations that involve a real animate agent. Where, on the other hand, the situation is caused by an inanimate entity or percept, Korean employs a range of other solutions, including another INVERSE construction in which the CAUSE LOCUS argument is marked with the Basic Locative particle *e*. The following contrast the two different Locative particle patterns:

- (23) a. 과속하다가 경찰한테 잡혔어.
 단속 카메라에
 kwasok+ha-taka kyəŋcʰal-hantʰe cap•hy-əss-ə.
 speeding+do/FV-ABR.SQ police-AN.LOC/AGT get.caught[«catch•INACT】-FIN
 control camera-LOC/FRC
 ‘I got caught speeding {by the police | by a speed camera}.’
- b. 저는 사람들에게 밀려 넘어졌죠.
 파도에[Ⓢ]
 cə-nin salam-til-eke mil•ly-ə nəm•əcy-əss-c-yo.
 pʰato-e[Ⓢ]
 L.HML-(SB)SEL person-PL-AN.LOC/AGT get.pushed[«push•INACT】 fall.over[•INCH]-PF/AOR-PROP-POL
 wave-LOC/FRC
 ‘I was pushed around {by the people | by the waves} and found myself knocked over.’ (=Wb+)

- c. 남편이 투우장의 소에게 받혀 식물인간이 된 후로 (...)
 namph^hyən-i t^huu+caŋ-iy so-eke pat•hy-ə sikmul+inkan-i twœ-n hu-lo
 husband-SBJ bullfight+place-AT COW-AN.LOC/AGT get.rammed[«but•INACT»] plant+human-SBJ become-PF.AT after-DST
 truck-LOC/FRC
 'After her husband was rammed and injured {by a bull in the arena | by a truck} and turned into a human vegetable (...)' (<Wb+>)
- d. 싸우다가 친구한테 눈 찔려서 난리였어.
 ssau-taka c^hinku-hant^{he} nun ccil•ly-əse nanli-əss-ə.
 c^hinku-ka tanci-n kəs-e
 fight-ABR.SQ friend-AN.LOC/AGT eye(SBJ/ACC) get.pricked[«prick•INACT»] uproar-PF/AOR-FIN
 friend-SBJ throw-PF.AT thing-LOC/FRC
 'He fought and had his eye pricked {by his friend | by something his friend threw at him}, and it was all a big drama.'
- e. 영희는 다람쥐에게 물려서 소리를 질렀다.
 yəŋhiy-nin talamcwi-eke mul•ly-əsə soli-lil cil-ləss-ta.
 talamcwi-iy nalk^halou-n ippal-e
 Yŋghee-SEL squirrel--AN.LOC/AGT get.bitten[«bite•INACT»]-CS.SQ voice-ACC shout-PF/AOR-DCL
 squirrel-AT sharp-PF.AT tooth-LOC/FRC
 'Yenghuy got bitten {by the squirrel | by the squirrel's sharp teeth} and screamed.'

Note that the Animate Locative particles *eke* or *hant^{he}* could not replace the Basic Locative particle *e* in any of these examples, nor vice-versa.

The Basic Locative particle pattern *N-e* itself is, however, again limited to a particular range of <cause locus> referents. This includes, as illustrated in the examples, machines with autonomous function (23a and partly 23c), concrete natural forces (23b), independently moving entities (23d) and moving body parts (23e). Setting aside the case of machines, all the others share two central features: they move and as a result they physically impact on the <effect locus>. The *N-e* pattern also has some other usages, notably with perception, sensation and emotion <stimulus> referents. Aside from these cases, however, it is clear that it is dispreferred or anomalous for referents that lack spatio-temporal immanence and direct physical impact features, where we again find other constructions, including another type of INVERSE CAUSE LOCUS argument marked with the Instrumental particle *lo*:

- (24)a. 보시다시피 온 마을이 흙 {에 | 으로} 덮였습니다.
 posi-ta+siphi on mail-i hilk-{e | ilo} taph•y-əss-sipni-ta.
 see-DCL+feel•ADV whole village-SBJ soil/mud-{LOC/FRC | INST/CS} get.covered[«cover•INACT»]-PF-FML-FML.DCL
 landslide-{^hLOC/FRC | INST/CS}
 'As you can see, the whole village has been buried {in/by the mud | by the landslide}.'

- b. 우리는 강 {에 | *으로} 모든 재산을 다 빼앗겼다.
 홍수 {??에 | 로}
 uli-nin kaŋ-{e | *ilo} mot•in cesan-il ta ppeas•ky-æss-ta.
 hoŋsu-{??e | lo}
 we-SEL river-{LOC/FRC | *INST/CS} all•PF.AT assets-ACC CMPL get.robbed[«rob•INACT]-PF/AOR-FMLDCL
 flood-{??LOC/FRC | INST/CS}
 ‘We were robbed {by the river | by the floods} of everything we had.’

We shall investigate the properties of the three different INVERSE patterns in more detail in the next chapter. What is clear, however, is that they pose two challenges to the idea of the ‘passive agent phrase’. One is that they do not conform to the notion of a straightforward mappable relation between ‘active’ and ‘passive’ syntax, whether directly or as devolving from verbal valency. More importantly, however, they reflect a systemic distinction not just between animate and inanimate entities, but between animate agents and other inanimate and non-agent cause locus categories. In other words, they suggest that the ‘agent’ category in its usual and liberal ‘macro-role’ sense is not an appropriate analytic category for the Korean system.

[2] *Relative Animacy Effects in diathesis selection*

A superficially rather different type of animacy-related effect in the Korean diathesis system is the preferred or forced choice of diathesis constructions. Here we find two different kinds of effect. The first of these pertains to the choice between TRANSACTIVE and INVERSE constructions in accordance with the relative animacy status of the two core argument referents and could be roughly stated as follows:

Relative animacy effects in TRANSACTIVE vs INVERSE diathesis selection

If the referent situation involves a force or causation dynamic between a single animate referent and another inanimate referent, then the Speaker will generally choose the diathesis constructions that put the animate agent or patient into the Subject slot.

Note that these effects are of the kind that linguistic theory tends to formulate in terms of constraints. And indeed, they do have an ‘inhibitory’ flipside that lends itself to a constraint formulation such as the following:

Inhibitory constraints on TRANSACTIVE and INVERSE diathesis constructions

- (1) If the referent situation contains an animate agent but an inanimate effect locus, then an AGENT INVERSE construction that puts the animate agent into the oblique AGENT slot is anomalous; and (2) If the referent situation contains an inanimate cause locus but an animate patient, then a TRANSACTIVE construction that puts the animate patient into the

TARGET Object slot is anomalous.

There are, however, two reasons for not going down the route of constraint-based analysis. The first is that it would have to contend with a significant range of motivated 'exceptions'. The second and more important reason is that it would not apply to many other constructions that allow the cooccurrence of INANIMATE Subjects and ANIMATE obliques and consequently work only in the artificially limited context of the TRANSACTIVE ~ INVERSE opposition. I shall therefore prefer to speak of 'animacy-related effects' and use 'constraints' only in the narrow inhibitory sense.

Thanks to the Functional-Typological approach, the existence of animacy hierarchies and the widespread existence of 'direct-inverse' and other systems in which these hierarchies have a strong 'constraining' influence on diathesis selection is by now well established (see f.ex. Klaiman 1991). And it is also well known that most 'active-passive' systems show at least frequency effects and even the notoriously liberal English prefers the active over the passive when the 'agent' is more animate than the 'patient' and vice-versa. Finally, it is also clear that animacy hierarchies are language-specific, although we do find cross-linguistic similarities that have been generalised into a universal prototype hierarchy, whose main dimensions are ontological animacy (similarity to humans), ego-proximity (person and noun hierarchy), and definiteness (see esp. Dixon 1979; Langacker 1991: 306-7; Yamamoto 1999).

Seen from a cross-linguistic perspective then, the Relative Animacy Constraint can be seen as a simple form of the more complex animacy hierarchy constraints found in other languages. Differently from other, more fine-grained hierarchies, however, the Korean 'animacy hierarchy' revolves only around the fundamental dichotomy between what are really the two central attractors in the animacy dimension: humans (and human-like animals) with potential agency and inanimate things that lack such agency. Thus, for one, there is no clear hierarchical difference between humans and animals (see Jaehoon Yeon 2003: 131-2; contrary to Klaiman 1988; U Hyöng-sik 1996: 84-6):

- (25)a. 개가 아기를 물었다.
ke-ka aki-lil mul-əss-ta.
dog-SBJ child-ACC bite-PF/AOR-DCL
'The dog bit the child.' (=LgEx)
- b. 아기가 개에게 물렸다
aki-ka ke-eke mul•ly-əss-ta.
child-SBJ dog-AGT get.bitten[bite•INACT]-PF/AOR
'The child was bitten by the dog.' (=LgEx)

And, there is no clear ego-proximity hierarchy of the 1st > 2nd > 3rd person type (contrary to U Hyöng-sik 1996: 84-6):

- (26) a. 너 계속 그러면 쫓아낸다!
 nə kyesok kilə-myən ccoc^h-a-nə-n-tal
 you.NPOL continuously do.like.that-CND chase-FIN-put.out[FACT]-DYN-ASRT
 'If you keep going on like this I'll kick you out!'
- b. 너 계속 그러면 쫓겨난다!
 nə kyesok kilə-myən ccoc^h-ky-ə-na-n-tal
 you.NPOL continuously do.like.that-CND get.chased[*INACT]-FIN-move.out-DYN-ASRT
 'If you keep going on like this I'll kick you out!'
- (27) a. 그러니까 고양이가 {나를 | 너를} 긁었지.
 kilə-nikka koyəŋi-ka {na-lil | nə-lil} kilk-əss-ci.
 like.that-EXPL.CJ cat-SBJ {I-ACC | you-ACC} scratch-PF/AOR-PROP
 'Obviously that's why the cat scratched {me | you}.'
- b. 그러니까 ∅{나 | 너}∅ 고양이한테 긁혔지.
 kilə-nikka ∅{na | nə}∅ koyəŋi-hant^{he} kilk-hy-əss-ci.
 like.that-EXPL.CJ ∅{I | you.NPOL}∅ cat-AGT get.scratched[*INACT]-PF/AOR-PROP
 'Obviously that's why the cat scratched {me | you}.'

In all these cases, the choice of diathesis is not determined by the referent's position on the person hierarchy, but by whether the speaker focuses on what the agent is doing or what happens to the patient. This becomes clear if we consider the meaning and usage context of the last two alternates: the TRANSACTIVE 26a with the Speaker in the AGENT Subject slot is a threat centred on the speaker's future action, but the INVERSE 26b with the Hearer in the PATIENT Subject slot a threat centred on what will happen to the hearer. Similarly, the TRANSACTIVE 27a is focussed on the cat and its motivation for scratching the Speaker/Hearer, but the INVERSE 27b is focussed on the experience of the Speaker/Hearer and their responsibility for getting scratched.

At this point, it should be emphasised that ego-proximity and a more fine-grained ontological gradation within the animate spectrum may well have some sort of frequency effect, an issue that awaits further investigation. Be that as it may, the Relative Animacy Constraints are clearly centred around the simple animate-inanimate dichotomy. And indeed, it is surely no coincidence that this dichotomy is exactly the one that underlies and is perpetuated by the split between Basic and Animate Oblique particles and argument patterns (see details in §3.1.3).

Turning to the issue at hand, the choice between TRANSACTIVE and INVERSE diathesis constructions shows overwhelmingly strong correlations with the relative position of the two core arguments on the Korean Animacy Hierarchy. Thus, both

emerge easily only in reference to interpersonal situations:

- (28) a. 사냥꾼이 ∅ 쫓아서 토끼는 이리저리 뛰어 다녔다.
 sanyaŋkkun-i ∅ ccoc^h-asə t^hokki-nin ili+cəli ttwi-ə tany-əss-ta.
 hunt+habit.doer-SBJ chase-CS.SQ rabbit-(SBJ)SEL here+there leap-FIN move.about-PF/AOR-FML.DCL
 'With the hunter pursuing him, the rabbit ran about frantically.'
- b. 토끼는 사냥꾼에게 쫓겨서 이리저리 뛰어 다녔다.
 t^hokki-nin sanyaŋ+kkun-eke ccoc^h*ky-əsə ili+cəli ttwi-ə tany-əss-ta.
 rabbit-(SBJ)SEL hunt+habit.doer-AN.LOC/AGT get.chased[«chase*INACT»] here+there leap-FIN move.about-PF/AOR-FML.DCL
 'Pursued by the hunter, the rabbit leaped about frantically.' (=Cp)

On the other hand, where one situation element is a human or human-like animal but the other an inanimate thing, the speaker will generally express the hierarchically higher animate entity as the SUBJECT and end up choosing diathesis accordingly. The following represent two well-known cases:

- (29) <cause locus: animate, effect locus: inanimate>
- a. 민수가 공을 쫓아서 물에 빠지기 전에 잡았다.
 minsu-ka koŋ-il ccoc^h-asə mul-e ppaci-ki cən-e cap-ass-ta.
 Minsu-SBJ ball-ACC chase-CS.SQ water-ALL drop.in-GER before-LOC catch-PF/AOR-FML.DCL
 'Minsu chased after the ball and caught it before it would have fallen into the water.' (◊LgEx)
- b. * 공이 민수에게 쫓겨서 물에 빠지기 전에 잡혔다.
 * koŋ-i minsu-eke ccoc^h*ky-əsə mul-e ppaci-ki cən-e cap.hy-əss-ta.
 ball-SBJ Minsu-AN.LOC/AGT get.chased[«chase*INACT»] water-ALL drop.in-GER before-LOC get.caught-PF/AOR-FML.DCL
 For: 'Chased by Minsu, the ball got caught before it would have fallen into the water.' (◊LgEx)
- (30) <effect locus: animate, cause locus: inanimate>
- a. 요즘은 사람들이 시간에 쫓긴다.
 yocim-in salam-til-i sikan-e ccoc^h*ki-n-ta.
 recently-SEL person-PL-SBJ time-LOC/FRC get.chased/driven[«chase*INACT»]-DYN-FML.DCL
 'Nowadays people are constantly under time pressure.' (◊LgEx)
- b. * 요즘은 시간이 사람들을 쫓는다.
 * yocim-in sikan-i salam-til-il ccoc^h-nin-ta.
 recently-SEL person-SBJ time-PL-ACC chase-DYN-FML.DCL
 For: 'Nowadays time keeps people under pressure.' (◊LgEx)

Since the constraints evident here relate to the relative animacy status of the two core argument referents in the TRANSACTIVE and INVERSE constructions, I shall call them *Relative Animacy Constraints*. Note though that the infelicity of the TRANSACTIVE construction in 30b has as much to do with the *Absolute Animacy Constraints* that I shall outline under the following heading.

Even though they relate to the most basic form of animacy hierarchy, such cases of forced diathesis selection are similar to what happens in 'direct-inverse' voice systems (see Klaiman 1984, 1988, 1991: §4.1). Structurally, on the other hand, Korean diathesis constructions have most of the properties of active-passive systems: there is no

argument cross-referencing on the verb, arguments are directly marked with particles, and the INVERSE AGENT is an oblique constituent that does not appear in the same form as the TRANSACTIVE OBJECT. I shall nevertheless continue to use the term ‘inverse’ as a convenient term for the various types of two-argument diathesis constructions that resemble but also diverge from the notion of ‘agented passive’ constructions.

[3] *Absolute Animacy and Agency Effects in TRANSACTIVE diathesis selection*

Aside from Relative Animacy Effects that can be related to the notion of animacy hierarchy constraints on diathesis selection, the Korean diathesis system also shows animacy-related effects that pertain only to the choice of the TRANSACTIVE construction and could be roughly outlined as follows:

Absolute animacy and agency effects in TRANSACTIVE diathesis selection

The TRANSACTIVE construction is typically used in reference to situations that contain an animate and agentive participant who targets or manipulates and affects another entity. Its extension to other situation types is severely limited and generally requires that the potential TRANSACTIVE Subject referent share a significant amount of features with an animate and agentive entity.

Note that I have chosen the word ‘absolute’ only in the sense that the pertinent effects relate to absolute degrees of animacy and agency of a single referent. The effects themselves, on the other hand, are messy and far from absolute.

In terms of overall distribution and frequency, however, the Absolute Animacy and Agency Effects are quite straightforward. On the one hand, the TRANSACTIVE construction occurs regularly where its Subject referent is a human or human-like agent. Where, on the other hand, its Subject referent would be an inanimate entity, it is widely dispreferred or anomalous. The following are some representative illustrations, including cases noted in the literature:

- (31)a. * 가시가 옷을 찢었네.
 * kasi-ka os-il ccic-æss-ne.
 thorn-SBJ clothing-ACC tear,FACT-PF-MIR
 For: ‘Oh dear, the thorns have torn my clothes.’
- b. * 칼이 민호를 찔렀다.
 * k^{hal}-i minho-lil ccill-æss-ta.
 knife-SBJ Minho-ACC prick-PF/AOR-DCL
 For: ‘The knife pierced Minho (=LgEx).’

- c. ?? 결국은 돌 하나가 기차를 뒤집었다.
 ?? kyəlkuk-in tol hana-ka kic^ha-lil twicip-əss-ta.
 in.the.end-SEL stone one-SBJ train-ACC turn.over-PF/AOR
For: 'Ultimately, a single stone flipped over the train.' (>LgEx)
- d. * 이 열쇠는 문 안 열어요.
 * i yəlswœ-nin mun an yəl-ə-yo.
 this key-(SBJ)SEL door(ACC) NEG open.FACT-FIN-POL
For: 'This key doesn't open the door.' (≈ LgEx)

In all these cases, the only acceptable outcome are INACTIVE solutions, including INVERSE constructions with corresponding INACTIVE verbs. Note that topicality of the cause locus, one of the main factors that leads to the choice of passive constructions in more configurational languages, is simply expressed by putting the pertinent oblique argument into the first argument position⁴²:

- (32)a. 옷이 가시에 찢어졌네.
 os-i kasi-e ccic^həcy-əss-ne.
 clothing-SBJ thorn-LOC/FRC get.torn[=tear.FACT*INCH]-PF-MIR
 'Oh dear, my clothes got torn by the thorns.'
- b. 민호가 칼에 찔렸다.
 minho-ka k^hal-e ccil^hly-əss-ta.
 Minho-SBJ knife-ACC get.pricked[=pricks*INACT]-PF/AOR-DCL
 'Minho got stabbed.' (=LgEx).'
- c. 결국은 돌 하나에 기차가 뒤집혔다.
 kyəlkuk-in tol hana-e kic^ha-ka twicip^hhy-əss-ta.
 in.the.end-SEL stone one-FRC train-SBJ get.turned.over[=turn.over*INACT]-PF/AOR-DCL
Lit: 'Ultimately, by a single stone the train was flipped over.'
Eqv: 'Ultimately, a single stone flipped over the train.' (>LgEx)
- d. 이 열쇠로는 문이 안 열려요.
 i yəlswœ-lo-nin mun-i an yəl^hly-ə-yo.
 this key-INST-SEL door-SBJ NEG open.INACT-FIN-POL
Lit: 'With/by this key the door won't open.' (≈ LgEx)
Eqv: 'This key won't open the door.' // 'This key isn't working.'

In other words, in this case it is actually the INVERSE FORCE-*e* EFFECTLOCUS-*ka* Verb construction, with the fronted clause-topical CAUSE LOCUS element, which is the direct functional-semantic equivalent of the 'topicalising' passives in English and similar languages. I have translated and will continue to translate accordingly.

Before we continue, it is necessary to emphasise three facts. The first is that the effects illustrated here are strong when viewed in terms of overall distribution and frequency but are even less amenable to a constraint-based account, due to a variety of more or less widespread and frequent 'exceptions'. The second is that the use of the

⁴² Here it is worth noting that Im Hong-bin, from whose examples 31/32:c are derived, actually chooses the INVERSE [FORCE SUBJECT] order that has the same topicality sequence as the TRANSACTIVE [SUBJECT OBJECT] order would have. Since he does not comment on his motivation, it seems that his consideration of topicality equivalence is subconscious rather than deliberate, although this is in itself even more telling. (See Im Hong-bin 1978: 315-6)

TRANSACTIVE construction is of course primarily driven not by the Subject referent's animacy but by its agency in the referent situation. The third is that the ultimate determinant in the choice of the TRANSACTIVE construction is of course the extent to which the entire referent situation resembles the concrete manipulative and targeted actions that seem to constitute the cognitive-perceptual archetype of the 'transitive action' (see also Hopper & Thompson 1980). In other words, animacy and even agency are only facets of what may condition the choice for or against the TRANSACTIVE construction. We shall see more of this in the last two chapters (§4-5).

[4] Animacy and agency constraints in the Koreanist literature

In the literature, Korean data that shows animacy-related effects in diathesis selection has appeared regularly since at least the 1970s, particularly among Korean authors associated with the grammarian Kugŏhak tradition. The main reason is, of course, is that they pose two problems for the analysis of Korean 'passive' verbs and clauses in relation to a corresponding active sentence. The first is widespread infelicity or anomaly of AGENT arguments or phrases that would relate to the TRANSACTIVE AGENT Subject. The second is a widespread incidence of 'passive' and even 'agented passive' clauses that have no natural or acceptable 'active' counterpart.

On the other hand, however, even though the pertinent data has figured prominently in the literature on Korean voice, the fact that it may be a manifestation of systemic animacy-related effects and constraints has remained largely unrecognised in the Koreanist discourse. And indeed, discussions of the 'passive' in Korean grammar monographs are generally devoid of any reference to animacy effects or constraints in diathesis selection (f.ex. Nam Ki-sim & Ko Yŏng-gŭn 1985; Sŏ Chŏng-su 1996; Chang Suk-Jin 1996; Jae Jung Song 2005). The only exception I have seen is a brief reference to 'pragmatic avoidance' of inanimate agent subjects (Ho-min Sohn 1999: 369-70).

The upshot is that although authors readily acknowledge that 'active' clauses with inanimate subjects may be infrequent or avoided, they nevertheless regularly adduce them as the 'active' counterpart of 'passive' clauses, up to and beyond the bounds of what is found in real usage or would be considered natural or acceptable by most ordinary Korean speakers. This is of course even more remarkable as most of the authors in this discourse are in fact Korean native speakers.

Instead of considering the pertinent animacy-related effects and their possible explanations, the discourse has largely focussed on instances of idiomatic and secondary usage for which even linguists are reluctant to posit ‘active’ counterparts. The following are some well-known cases:

- (33) a. 마을이 어둠에 싸였다.
 mail-i ətim-e ssa-y-əss-ta.
 village-SBJ darkness-LOC/FRC get.wrapped[«wraps*INACT»]-PF-FML.DCL
 ‘The village was enveloped by darkness.’ # ‘The village was shrouded in darkness.’ (=LgEx)
- b. * 어둠이 마을을 쌌다.
 * ətim-i mail-il ssa-ss-ta.
 darkness-SBJ weather-ACC wraps-PF-FML.DCL
 For: ‘Darkness enveloped the village.’
- (34) a. 그는 강박 관념에 쫓긴다.
 ki-nin kanpak kwannyəm-e ccoc^h•ki-n-ta.
 that/he-(SBJ)SEL compulsion idea/conception-LOC/FRC get.chased/driven[«chase*INACT»]-DYN-FML.DCL
 ‘He is driven/plagued by (his) obsessions.’ (=LgEx)
- b. * 강박 관념이 그를 쫓는다.
 * kanpak kwannyəm-i ki-lil ccoc^h•nin-ta.
 compulsion idea/conception-SBJ that/he-ACC chase-DYN-FML.DCL
 For: ‘(His) obsessions are driving/plaguing him.’ (=LgEx)

The consequence of this focus on idiomatic usage has, however, been a tendency to attribute divergence from the Standard Voice Model’s passive to idiomaticity rather than systemic effects. And even though we find explanations such as “[the active sentence] is ill-formed because ‘obsession’ cannot be the logical subject of a ‘chasing’ action” (Im Hong-bin on 34b, my translation⁴³), such explanations have rarely gone beyond intuitive statements about what seems normal and obvious to a native speaker who is cognitively conditioned by the Korean system. After all, although a Korean speaker may think that obsessions can’t chase anything, an English speaker would not find that a particularly odd metaphor (witness instances such as *When your obsessions begin to drive you and all you do, you better start trying to do something about it*). We shall return to this issue in §4.2.1 where I will show that the lack of ‘active’ alternates to INACTIVE instances such as 33/34:a has little to do with idiomaticity, but must be viewed in the regular context of Animacy and Agency Effects on diathesis selection.

Turning to the Relative Animacy Effects, these remained unrecognised until the 1980s, when a series of seminal studies by the non-native typologist Miriam Klaiman placed Korean voice within the cross-linguistic context of direct-inverse systems

⁴³ Korean original: 「(7a)는 ‘강박 관념’이 ‘쫓는’ 행동의 주체가 되기 어렵기 때문에 비문이 된 것이고 ...」 (Im Hong-bin 1978: 314).

(Klaiman 1984, 1988, 1991: §4.1). Klaiman's analysis, however, has gained little acceptance, a fact that may be due to her introduction of the 'inverse' category and to the fact that her claims with regard to a more fine-grained differentiation between humans and animals are incorrect. Unfortunately, this has also meant that her identification of Animacy Hierarchy Effects in the Korean diathesis system remains largely ignored in the literature, with only few exceptions (notably U Hyöng-sik 1996 and Jaehoon Yeon 2003)⁴⁴. One consequence has again been the widespread practice of presenting so-called data that is simply non-existent in real usage and would be judged anomalous by any ordinary native speaker. The following are some typical examples from the literature (since the authors adduce them as well-formed and normal utterances, the anomaly judgments are of course mine):

- (35) a. * 책상이 목수에게 만들어진다.
 * *ch'eksan-i moksu-eke mantil·aci-n-ta.*
 desk-SBJ carpenter-AN.LOC/AGT get.made[=makes·INCH]-DYN-FML.DCL
 For (?): 'Tables get made by carpenters.' (Söng Kwang-su 1976a: 71)
- b. * 집앞 담장이 할아버지에게 헐렸다.
 * *cip ap^h tamcar-i halapaci-eke hæl·ly-æss-ta.*
 house front wall-SBJ grandfather-AN.LOC/AGT get.demolished[=demolishes·INACT]-PF/AOR-FML.DCL
 For: 'The front property wall was demolished by Grandfather.' (Im Hong-bin 1977: 334.3b)

Again, 'data' of this kind is routinely adduced in the literature on the Korean 'passive' in order to demonstrate the supposed referential equivalence and syntactic correspondences in 'active-passive' alternations. Note that some authors do admit that they may be somewhat untypical or marginal (f.ex. Im Hong-bin 1978: 315-6), but many others fail to mark or even acknowledge any of these as dispreferred, questionable or anomalous.

To conclude then, animacy and agency-related effects in Korean diathesis selection still remain to be properly appreciated in the Koreanist discourse. Against this background one of the main aims of this thesis is to show that they should not be dismissed into the realms of pragmatics but instead embraced as explanations for some of the most striking characteristics of the Korean voice and diathesis system.

⁴⁴ Symptomatic of this state of affairs is the fact that Kim Hŭng-su's otherwise excellent summary of the 'passive/causative' literature makes no reference to either Klaiman's Inverse proposal or Animacy Hierarchy Constraints (Kim Hŭng-su 1998). As for the two notable exceptions, U Hyöng-sik identifies animacy hierarchy constraints in his investigation of the TRANSITIVE Construction, although with no acknowledgment of Klaiman's work (see U Hyöng-sik 1996: esp. 51-4). So far, Yeon Jaehoon seems to be the only Korean author who has acknowledged and adopted Klaiman's core propositions regarding Animacy Hierarchy constraints, with some corrections and elaborations (Jaehoon Yeon 2003: 129-33).

2.3.3 The passive-like usage of Basic INACTIVE verbs

I concluded the previous subsection by suggesting that the so-called Korean ‘causative’ markers should at least in some cases be viewed as simple ACTIVE voice markers. In a sense, of course, this is simply a more radical take on the fact that Korean ‘causative’ verbs are often used indistinguishably from ACTIVE verbs, a fact that was indeed already established in the work of the Kugŏhak progenitor Ch’oe Hyŏn-bae (1937/61: 434-43/§255-56). The converse proposition, on the other hand, that Korean may have morphologically unmarked ‘lexical causative’ verbs has found surprisingly few adherents. The reality is, of course, that Korean has a large number of unmarked FACTITIVE verbs whose semantic and distributional properties are identical to those of the marked FACTITIVE verbs of the ‘morphological causative’. The following are some typical examples that illustrate this overlap between unmarked ‘active’ and marked ‘causative’ verbs, including their paradigmatic relation to their INACTIVE counterparts:

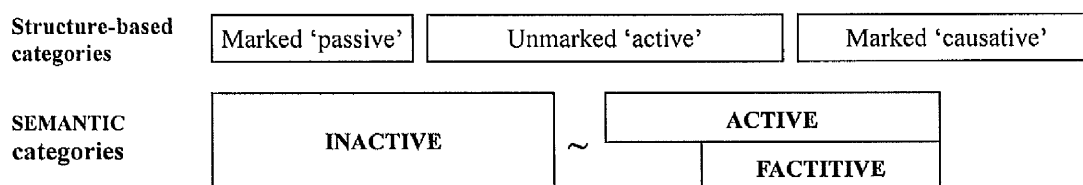
- (36)a. 문에 메모지 꽃아놓았었는데.
 붙여놓았었는데.
 mun-e memo+ci kkoc-a-noh-ass-ess-ninte.
 put^hy-ə-noh-ass-ess-ninte.
 door-ALL note+paper stick.in(FACT)-FIN-put-PF-PF/AOR-CIR
 stick.on[«stick(INACT)*FACT]-FIN-put-PF-PF/AOR-CIR
Lit: ‘But I stuck a note (into | onto) the door.’ *Egv:* ‘But I left a note {in/at | on} the door.’
- b. 문에 메모지가 꽃혀 있었었는데.
 붙어 있었었는데.
 mun-e memo+ci-ka kkoc^hhy-ə-iss-ess-ninte.
 put^h-ə-iss-ess-ninte.
 door-ALL/ADES note+paper-SBJ get.stuck.in[«stick.in(FACT)*INACT]-RES.CNT-CIR
 stick.on(INACT)-RES.CNT-CIR
Lit: ‘But a note was stuck {in | on} the door.’ *Egv:* ‘But there was a note {in/at | on} the door.’
- (37)a. 어느날 집에 들어왔더니
 əni+nal cip-e til•əw-ass-tə•ni
 specific+day house-ALL move.in•FIN•come-RSP•BG.SQ
 부인이 옛날 여자친구 사진을 모두 다 찢어버렸었다.
 태워버렸었다.
 puin-i ye•q+nal yəca+c^hinku sacin-il motu ta ccic-ə-pəly-ess-ess-tə.
 t^he•w-ə-pəly-ess-ess-tə.
 wife-SBJ long.ago•BUF+day woman+friend photo-ACC all CMPL tear.up(FACT)-FIN-IRR-V-PF-PF/AOR-DCL.RPT:FIN
 burn[«burn(INACT)*FACT]-FIN-IRR-V-PF-AOR-DCL.RPT:FIN
 ‘When he got home one day, his wife had {torn up | burnt} all of his ex-girlfriends photos.’
- b. ... 옛날 여자친구 사진이 모두 다 찢어져 있었대.
 타버려 있었대.
 ye•q+nal yəca+c^hinku sacin-i motu ta ccic•əcy-ə-iss-ess-tə.
 tha-pəly-ə-iss-ess-tə.
 long.ago•BUF day woman+friend photo-SBJ all CMPL get.torn[tear.up(FACT)*INCH]-RES.CNT-PF/AOR-DCL.RPT:FIN
 burn[«burn(INACT)*FACT]-FIN-IRR-V-RES.CNT-PF/AOR-DCL.RPT:FIN
 ‘When he got home one day, all of his ex-girlfriends photos {were torn up | were burnt}.’

Note that the **FACTITIVE** verbs here are certainly at the extreme end of the ‘direct causative’ spectrum and refer to perceptually non-segmented causation dynamics.

From a systemic point of view, of course, it is really quite irrelevant whether we focus on the active-like properties of the marked ‘causative’ verbs or the causative-like properties of the unmarked ‘active’ verbs. Instead, both are simply two facets of the same and cross-linguistically widespread phenomenon: the fact that the Korean ‘direct causative’ **FACTITIVE** category cannot be identified in terms of markedness, but straddles the verb-structurally based ‘active’ and ‘causative’ categories.

Unfortunately, a proper investigation of the active–causative side of the Korean system will have to remain outside the scope of this thesis. However, the facts just outlined are important in so far as they indicate that at least part of the Korean verbal system and its voice alternations is organised around primarily semantic categories, which correlate with but are not exclusively defined by verb-structural status.

The resulting mismatch can be roughly sketched as follows:



From a cross-linguistic perspective, as I have emphasised, the mismatch between verb-structural and semantic categories on the active–causative side is not at all surprising, although it remains largely ignored by the Koreanist consensus. A similar mismatch, however, is also evident on the inactive side of the Voice Continuum. Again, of course, this would not be surprising if it applied only to the Korean manifestation of the inchoative category. After all, we find language after language in which this category is manifest in both unmarked verbs and marked ‘anticausative’ verbs.

More unusually and controversially, however, Korean also widely employs structurally basic but semantically **INACTIVE** verbs in the very same **INVERSE** constructions that are considered ‘agented passives’ as long as they contain a voice-marked ‘passive’ verb. The following are some typical examples of **AGENT INVERSE** constructions that could hardly be more passive-like. Note that most are real and attested usage data:

- (38)a. 우리 아들이 또 형아한테 맞았지.
 Uli atil-i tto hyəŋa-hant^he mac-ass-ci.
 our son-BUF-SBJ again eld.brother-AN.LOC/AGT get.hit-PF/AOR-PROP
 'Our boy got hit by his cousin again, as usual.'
- b. 다 거짓말이야. 우리 어머니 무사했을 리가 없지.
 ta kæciq.mal-i-ya. uli əmeni musa.hə-ss-il li-ka əps-ci.
 CMPL lie-CPL-FIN we mother disinterested:-PF/AOR-PSP reason-SBJ be.not.there-PROP
 아마 공산당놈들한테 죽었을 거야.
 ama korjsan+taŋ-nom-til-hant^he cuk-əss-il•kəy-a.
 probably communist+party+person.PEJ-PL-AN.LOC/AGT die/get.killed-PF/AOR-PSP/FUT-FIN
Egv. 'It's all a pack of lies. Our mother would never have quietly put up with what was happening.
 She must have been killed by the Commies.' (=Cp)
- (39)a. 밖에서는 그럴 듯하게 행세를 하면서 (그는 공무원이다)
 Pakk-esə-nin kilə•l+tis.ha-ke həngse-lil ha-myənsə (ki-nin korŋmuwən-i-ta)
 outside-SET-SEL like.that•PSP+as.if-ADV wielding.power-ACC do/ACT-SIM.SQ (he-SEL public.official-CPL-FML.DCL)
 집안에서는 그의 아내에게 꼼짝도 못한다.
 cip+an-esə-nin ki-iy anē-eke kkomccak-to mos•ha-n-ta.
 house+inside-SET-SEL that/he-AT wife-AN.LOC/AGT budging-INCL NCTL.NEG•do/VBR-DYN-FML.DCL
 'Outside he appears to wield considerable power (he is a public official), but he is pretty much under his wife's thumb.' (=Wb)
- b. 나미는 자존심이 강하고 남에게 지기를 싫어하는 성격이다.
 nami-nin caconsim-i kaŋha-ko nam-eke ci-ki-lil silh-ə-ha-nin səŋkyək-i-ta.
 Nami-SEL selfrespect-SBJ strong-PF.SQ other-AN.LOC/AGT lose-GER-ACC hate-FIN-do/ACT-DYN.AT character-CPL-FML.DCL
 'Nami has a lot of pride, so she hates being beaten/trumped by others.' (=Cp)
- (40)a. 나는 단박에 언니가 그 남자에게 속고 있다는
 na-nin tanpak-e ənni-ka ki namca-eke sok-ko_iss-ta-nin
 I-SEL right.away-LOC fem's.elder.sister-SBJ that man-AN.LOC/AGT get.deceived-PRG.CNT-DCL.QOT-DYN.AT
 것을 알 수 있었다.
 kəs-il a-l su iss-əss-ta.
 thing-ACC know-PSP POT exist-PF/AOR-FML.DCL
 'It was immediately clear to me that my sister was being led on by that man.' (=Cp)
- b. 논문 이번 달 또 안 내면 지도교수한테 혼날거야.
 nonmun i+pən tal-e tto an nē-myən cito•kyosu-hant^he honna-l•kəy-a.
 thesis(ACC) this+time month-LOC again NEG put.out-CND guidance+prof-AN.LOC/AGT get.in.trouble-[PSP]FUT-FIN
 'If I don't hand in my thesis this month again I'll get into serious trouble with my supervisor.'

Predictably, given the widespread belief in Linguistic Theory and even among typologists that there is no such thing as a passive without some sort of morphological or functional voice marker, Koreanists are extremely reluctant to accept that data of this type should be considered regular and proper manifestations of the Korean 'passive'.

Apart from the fact that sentences such as 38-40 are instances of the AGENT INVERSE clause construction, however, there are three more reasons for regarding them in the same light as other passive-like instances. The first is that what is going on here is entirely consistent with the way in which the cross-linguistic 'inchoative' and 'passive' categories are conflated in the usage of structurally marked INACTIVE verb. In other words, they are a natural correlate of the way the Korean system consistently uses the

same 'passive' verbs for both spontaneous and agent-caused events.

The second reason to regard the passive-like usage of unmarked INACTIVE verbs as entirely regular instances of the INVERSE diathesis constructions is that they tend to have TRANSACTIVE counterparts, although usually based on marked 'causative' verbs that give us exactly the opposite markedness relation from that expected for 'active ~ passive' alternations:

- (41) a. 형아가 우리 아들 또 때렸지.
 hyəŋa-ka uli atil tto ttely-əss-ci.
 eld.brother-SBJ our son again get.hit-PF/AOR-PROP
 'His cousin hit our boy again, as usual.'
- b. 공산당놈들이 우리 엄마 죽였을거야.
 koŋsan+taŋ-nom-til-i uli əmma cuk•y-əss-il•kəy-a.
 communist+party-person.PEJ-SBJ we mother(ACC) kill[«die•FACT»]-PF/AOR-PSP/FUT-FIN
 'The Commies must have killed our mother.'
- (42) a. ... 집안에서는 (그의) 아내가 그를 꼼짝도못하게 한다.
 cip+an-esə-nin (ki-iy) anɛ-ka ki-lil kkomccak-to mos•ha-ke ha-n-ta.
 house+inside-SET-SEL (that/he-AT) wife-SBJ that/he-ACC budging-INCL NCTL.NEG•VBR-RES.ADV do/AGT/CAUS-DYN-DCL
 '... (but) at home his wife pretty much keeps him under her thumb.'
- b. 나미는 ... 남이 (자기를) 이기는 것을 싫어하는 성격이다.
 nami-nin nam-i (caki-lil) iki-nin kəs-il silh-ə-ha-nin səŋkyək-i-ta.
 Nami-SEL other-SBJ (self-ACC) win/defeat-DYN.AT thing-ACC hate-FIN-do/ACT-DYN.AT character-CPL-FML.DCL
 'Nami hates it when somebody else beats/trumps her.'
- (43) a. 나는 단박에 그 남자가 언니를 속이고 있다는
 na-nin tanpak-e ki namca-ka ənni-lil sok•i-ko_iss-ta-nin
 I-SEL right.away-LOC that man-SBJ fem's,elder.sister-ACC deceive[«get.deceived•FACT»]-PRG.CNT-DCL.QOT-DYN.AT
 것을 알수 있었다.
 kəs-il a-l su iss-əss-ta.
 thing-ACC know-PSP POT exist-PF/AOR-FML.DCL
 'It was immediately clear to me that that man was leading on my sister.'
- b. 논문 이번 달에 또 안 내면 지도교수가 혼내실거야.
 nonmun i.pən tal-e tto an nɛ-myən cito+kyosu-ka honnɛ-si-l•kəy-a.
 thesis(ACC) this month-LOC-INCL again NEG put.out-CND guidance+professor-SBJ give.hard.time-HON-[PSP]FUT-FIN
 'If I don't hand in my thesis this month again my supervisor is going to give me a hard time.'

The third reason for regarding the unmarked INACTIVE verbs themselves as no less passive than structurally marked 'passive' verbs is that there is simply no other alternative. That is, none of the ACTIVE verbs in 41-43 has any derivable marked 'passive' alternate that could appear instead of the unmarked INACTIVE verbs.

On the other hand, even though any unprejudiced survey of actual usage reveals a considerable range of similar instances, the majority would seem to involve verbs that are predominantly inchoative-like and are somehow 'coerced' into this kind of AGENT INVERSE usage. Of the present examples, this could easily be said for 38b, 39a-b and

perhaps also for 40b, although this is less plausible for 38a and 40a, which are both strongly associated with agent causation. Be that as it may, the Koreanist consensus is almost unanimously agreed that INVERSE instances of this type should at most be regarded as 'passive-like expressions'.

Finally, even though the appearance of unmarked verbs in AGENT INVERSE constructions is clearly a systemic phenomenon, it would be fair to acknowledge that few of the pertinent instances refer to situations with concrete force-dynamic and physical effect features. Here, the only verbs that come to mind are *mac.ta* 'get hit' (as in 38a), *cuk.ta* 'die, get killed' (as in 38b), *tachⁱ.ta* 'get hurt/injured' and *putækki.ta* 'get pushed about'⁴⁵. Instead, most refer to situations with social and psychological interaction features (as in 39-40), although this does not necessarily make them less passive-like.

Unmarked INACTIVE verbs, however, also regularly occur in the FORCE INVERSE construction, and are then associated with force-dynamic and physical effect features:

- (44) a. 바람에 떨고 있는 단풍나무 가지 사이로 가을의 파란 하늘이 보인다.
 palam-e ttəl-ko_iss-nin tanp^huŋ+namu kaci sai-lo kail-iy p^hala-n hanil-i po•i-n-ta.
 wind-LOC/FRC tremble-PRG.CNT maple[+tree] branch between-INST/PERL autumn-AT blue-PF.AT sky-SBJ visible-DYN-DCL
 'Through the branches trembling in the wind, I can see the blue autumn sky.' (=Cp)
- b. 지붕이 불에 타 폭삭 내려앉았다.
 cipuŋ-i pul-e t^ha p^hoksak nely-ə-anc-ass-ta.
 roof-SBJ fire-LOC/FRC burn:FIN/CNSC giving.in_{ph} move.down-FIN-sit-PF/AOR-FML.DCL
Lit: 'The roof, after being burnt by the fire, suddenly caved in.'
Eqv: 'The burning roof suddenly caved in.' (=Cp)
- c. 비에 젖어서 감기 걸리면 어떡해
 pi-e cæc-æse kamki kəl•li-myən əttək+he?
 rain-LOC/FRC get.wet-CS.SQ cold get.caught[«hang*INACT»]-CND how.ADV:+do:FIN
 'You're all wet from the rain, what if you catch cold?!'
- d. 아스팔트는 그 뜨거운 여름 햇빛에 질질 녹고 있었다.
 asip^halt^hi-nin ki ttikəu-n yəlīm hε+q+pic^h-e cil.cil nok-ko_iss-əss-ta.
 asphalt-(SB)SEL that hot:PF.AT summer sun+BUF+light-LOC/FRC sticky_{ph} melt-PRG.CNT-FML.DCL
 'The asphalt was being melted into a sticky mass by the hot summer sunshine.' (=Cp)

Again, one may quite legitimately point out that verbs such as *tha.ta* 'burn, get burnt' or *cæc.ta* 'get wet' are typical inchoative verbs, particularly if seen in a cross-linguistic context. And indeed, although the situations have physical effect features, their force-dynamic features are not those of the impact collision type and the cause locus is not of

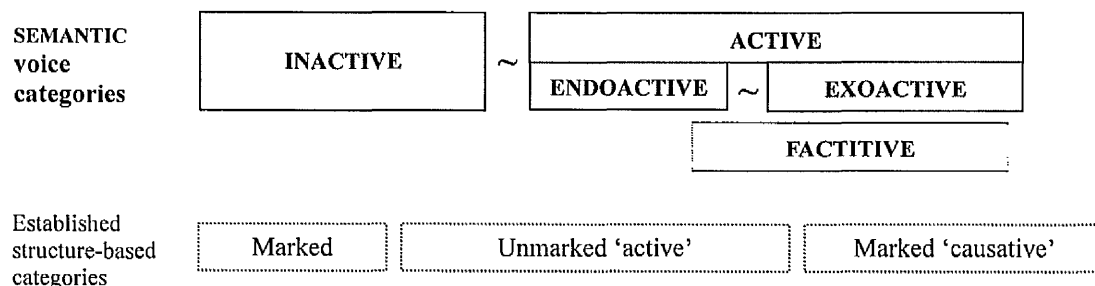
⁴⁵ Note that the latter two could also be regarded as 'passivum tantum' type solitaires of the Deactivate α -Hi- pattern, although the extent to which the possible (morpho)phonological connection of these verbs is cognitively real for the average Korean speaker is open to debate and would have to be confirmed by psycholinguistic tests. More likely cases of systemically real Deactivative solitaires are *sitali.ta* 'get plagued by' (which always appears with a CAUSE LOCUS argument and whose phonological pattern [__lli-] is almost exclusively associated with the α -Hi- pattern) and *tilk^hi.ta* 'gets caught out' (which is invariably associated with an agent-like animate entity and clearly to the near-isonuclear verbs *til.əna.ta* 'come into view' and *til.əne.ta* 'expose to view').

the spatio-temporally most immanent type. On the other hand, the referent situations in 44b-d are strongly associated with an identifiable cause locus: it is hard to imagine burning without fire, getting wet without liquid or melting without some heat source. Ultimately then, to which degree one regards the instances here as passive-like is almost a matter of taste, but the fact remains that they are instantiations of the FORCE INVERSE construction. And, as before, there is simply no other INACTIVE verb that could appear in these constructions.

To conclude then, all the evidence points towards the conclusion that the Korean INACTIVE voice category, too, should be viewed as a primarily semantic voice category, with regard to both inchoative-like and passive-like instances. What this also means, of course, is that the Korean set of structurally unmarked verbs does not have any systemic categorial relevance in the Korean voice and diathesis system. In other words, the mismatch between verb-structural and semantic categories is indeed spread across the entire Korean verbal system.

Finally, however, two things should be emphasised. The first is that voice-marking patterns are not, of course, systemically insignificant. All it means is that their presence is not a necessary and fully defining feature of voice categories. The second is that there is one situation-dynamic category that is strongly (but not exclusively) associated with the absence of verb-structural marking. This is the ENDOACTIVE category, which we could tentatively characterise as associated with actions that are primarily aimed at achieving an effect within the agent's own proximity sphere.

Unfortunately, further investigation into the ENDOACTIVE category and its place in the Korean system will have to lie outside the scope of this thesis, and I shall have to limit myself to a rough outline of the envisaged Korean voice system. Note that the FACTITIVE category that I have used and will keep using in this thesis may turn out to be not quite aligned with the ENDOACTIVE ~ EXOACTIVE opposition:



Animacy, agency and causality in oblique argument patterns and the Korean ‘agent phrase’

3.0 Introduction

As I outlined in the previous chapter (§2.3.2), animacy lies at the heart of three types of effect in the Korean diathesis system: Relative Animacy effects in TRANSACTIVE versus INVERSE diathesis selection, Absolute Animacy and Agency Effects in TRANSACTIVE versus INACTIVE diathesis selection, and Agency–Causality differentiation in INACTIVE agent-phrase-like patterns. As I also pointed out, the animacy dimension in the Korean system does not show much coalescence with the ego-proximity parameter, but simply revolves around the fundamental experiential distinction between, on the one hand, humans and higher animals and, on the other hand, inanimate physical objects.

Of the three different types of effect, the Relative Animacy effects are somewhat distinct from the other two in that they seem mainly conditioned by a tendency towards perceptual focus on the animate participants in a situational scene. And although they would certainly merit further investigation, they are fairly clear-cut and will not play a prominent role in the main argument of this thesis.

Differently from the Relative Animacy effects, both the Absolute Animacy and Agency effects in TRANSITIVE diathesis selection and the Agency–Causality differentiation in the INACTIVE CAUSE LOCUS patterns must, as I argued, be primarily considered in relation to situational parameters such as agency, force-dynamic involvement and causality. In the present chapter we shall investigate these phenomena by focussing on the oblique pattern system. Before we turn to the agent-phrase-like patterns, however, it will be both necessary and revealing to begin by looking at the way in which animacy and agency features condition the use of the Oblique Particle patterns

in their primary LOCATIONAL and INSTRUMENTAL usage spectrum.

3.1 Animacy and agency in oblique particle patterns

3.1.1 The Korean oblique particle system

[1] Basic Oblique particles

The vast majority of oblique arguments in Korean are based on a minimal set of rampantly polysemous particles. Three of these are generally limited to inanimate referents. The following roughly circumscribe their usage spectrums, followed by their traditional analysis and corresponding typological categories:

	Core spectrum	Traditionally	Typologically
<i>e</i>	(1) POSITION (2) GOAL (GROUND)	'(static) locative', 'locative', 'goal'	locative, adessive, inessive allative, illative
<i>esə</i>	(1) SOURCE (GROUND) (2) SITUATIONAL SETTING	'source' 'dynamic locative'	ablative locative
<i>ilo</i>	(1) DESTINATION, DIRECTION, GOAL (2) FUNCTION, ROLE (3) INSTRUMENT, MEANS, MATERIAL	'directional' 'role' 'instrumental'	destinative, allative essive instrumental

Of the three, *e*sə* is clearly a structural expansion of *e*, although its distributional breadth and usage frequency also makes it a distinct member of the core particle set. Note further that *ilo* is particularly polysemous and ranges from the locative spectrum across to the instrumental spectrum⁴⁶. As we shall see, all three particles are also used in the expression of the cause locus in causation-dynamic situation types.

In addition to these core particles, Korean also has two more spatial particles that are associated with spatial extension:

⁴⁶ Here, readers familiar with Korean may miss the 'comitative' particle *kwa* 'and, with' and its more Colloquial counterparts *hako* and *ilang* that are also used to mark argument-like noun phrases, not only but particularly with 'inherently symmetrical' verbs, as in *A-ka/i B-kwa talu-ta* 'A differs from B' or *Cuhiy-ka yonghiy-wa ssaw-ass-ta* 'Chuheee and Yönghee have fought with each other'. Not only, however, are the Korean Comitative particles also used in straightforward 'and'-type noun coordination, but the syntagmatic properties of the more comitative-like elements suggests that they are a kind of 'floating adjunct' that remains relationally coordinated with the pertinent Subject (or Object) constituents.

	CORE SPECTRUM	Traditionally	Typologically
<i>put^{hə}</i>	START OF PATH/SPACE/TIME EXTENSION (= 'all the way from')	(adverbial)	(originative?)
<i>kkaci</i>	END OF PATH/SPACE/TIME EXTENSION (= 'all the way to')	(adverbial)	terminative

Last but not least, Korean has complex particles and particle combinations that are all based on the structural expansion of core particle forms. The following are some more frequent examples:

<i>e•ta</i>	GOAL OF TRANSFER MANIPULATION
<i>iloput^{hə}</i>	ORIGIN/SOURCE
<i>ilosa</i>	ROLE

Neither the Spatial Extension particles nor the Complex particles are, however, distributionally and frequently as basic as the Core particles, and all but one are again generally limited to the expression of inanimate entities⁴⁷. We shall therefore limit our discussion to the Core particle set.

[2] Animate Locational particles

The Core Oblique particle set also contains two Animate Locative particles that are generally used for human and human-like animate referents and differ mainly in terms of register:

	CORE SPECTRUM	Traditionally	Typologically
<i>eke</i> } <i>hant^{he}</i> }	ANIMATE GOAL/GROUND, RECIPIENT	'dative, animate locative'	locative, adessive, allative, dative

Of these, *eke* is predominantly associated with more Literary registers and *hant^{he}* with more Colloquial registers. Otherwise, their distributional and semantic spectrum is almost identical, and they can for most purposes be treated as mere register variations.

The structurally simple Animate Locative particles are complemented by complex expansions, analogous to those of the Basic (Inanimate) particle *e*. Chief among these are Animate Source particles with the Source morpheme *-sa*:

⁴⁷ The only exception here is one usage of *iloput^{hə}*, which occurs in the agent-phrase-like COMMUNICATOR-*iloput^{hə}* pattern of Literary registers, f.ex. *Kim kyosunim-iloput^{hə} sokay-pat-ass-ta* 'I was introduced by Professor Kim'. Note further that the Spatial Extension particles are also used as delimiters that refer to the extreme boundaries of a set, in which case they are not subject to any animacy restrictions (f.ex. *alin-til-put^{hə} e-til-kkaci motu* 'everybody, from the elders to the children').

	CORE SPECTRUM	Traditionally	Typologically
<i>eke•sa</i> <i>hant^he•sa</i> }	ANIMATE SOURCE	'animate source'	ablative

Differently from the Basic (Inanimate) particle set, however, the choice of these Animate Source particles is largely optional and the simple Animate Locative particle tends to be preferred, particularly in Colloquial registers (see 3.1.3-[2]).

Lastly, we also find Animate Locative counterparts to the other expansions of *e*:

	CORE SPECTRUM
<i>eke•ta</i> <i>hant^he•ta</i> }	ANIMATE GOAL OF TRANSFER
<i>eke•lo</i> <i>hant^he•lo</i> }	ANIMATE DESTINATION

Again, we shall largely omit these from consideration. Note, however, that the Basic particle *i•lo* does not have a direct Animate counterpart, and hence the complex particles *eke•lo* and *hant^he•lo* are the only option for the explicit expression of <destination> features.

3.1.2 The Korean spatial reference system: characteristics and constraints

[1] *LOCATIONAL patterns, spatial relations and figure-ground contiguity*

The Korean Oblique particles are sometimes classified as 'postpositions', a choice of category that implies similarity to the prepositional classes of Indoeuropean languages. The Korean particle class, however, is of course not only much smaller but its particles are not associated with specific spatial relations in the conventional sense. Instead, Korean expresses specific spatial relations by two universally available means. One of these is through nouns that refer either to a particular part of an entity, or to a particular region of space identified relative to a landmark entity. As nouns they then appear in the head noun slot of the *LOCATIONAL* patterns. The *PART* or *LOCALITY* noun may come from relatively closed classes such as *RELATIVE SPACE* nouns (*ap^h* 'front'; *mit^h* 'bottom') or *BODY PART* nouns (*mali* 'head'; *mulip^h* 'knee, lap'), but also from a wide range of other nouns that are not usually viewed in terms of spatial relations. The pertinent landmark is then either implicit or appears in the *ATTRIBUTIVE* slot before the *PART* or *LOCALITY* noun:

- (1)a. 진희가 어머니 {앞에 | 무릎에} 앉았다.
 cinhiy-ka əməni {ap^h-e | mulip^h-e} anc-ass-ta.
 Chinhee-SBJ mother {front-ALL | lap-ALL} sit-PF/AOR-FML.DCL
 'Chinhee sat down {in front of her mother | on her mother's lap}.'
- b. 집에 왔더니 문 {옆에 | 틀에} 메모지가 붙어 있었다.
 cip-e wa-ss-təni mun {yəp^h-e | t^hil-e} memo+ci-ka put^h-ə_iss-əss-ta.
 house-ALL come-PF-RSP*BG.SQ door {side-ALL | frame-ALL} memo+paper-SBJ get.stuck-RES.CNT-FML.DCL
 'When he came home, he found a little note {next to the door | on the door frame}.'
- c. 한국에서는 개를 {집 밖으로 | (집) 마당으로} 내놓잖아요.
 hankuk-esə-nin ke-lil {cip pakk-ilo | (cip) mataŋ-ilo} nə-noh-canh-a-yo.
 Korea-SET-SEL dog-ACC {house outside-DST | (house) courtyard-DST} put.out:FIN-put-RMND-FIN-POL
 'In Korea, dogs are kept {outside the house | out in the courtyard}.'

Note that the 'ordinary' PART and LOCALITY nouns in 1b-c not only occur in the same slot as the more typically closed-class RELATIONAL SPACE nouns *yəp^h* '(be)side' or *pakk* 'outside', but may indeed be preferred or obligatory. Thus, in 1a *mulip^h* 'lap' is the only possible expression for the pertinent spatial relation. Similarly, if 1b were to refer to a situation that has the note on the door frame, then *t^hil* 'frame' remains as the only natural solution, due to the fact that *mun* 'gate, door' generally refers to a gate or door as an entire mechanism or installation inclusive of the frame. Finally, in 1c *pakk* 'outside' is natural enough, but *matan* 'courtyard' would certainly be the likelier choice: a typical Korean residential property has buildings within walled-in grounds, consequently *matan* tends to be the predominant choice for the <outside within the grounds>, and this is indeed where dogs are still usually kept.

Although noun-based solutions are common enough, however, the most widespread and frequent expression of spatial relations are verbs that are associated with relative motion or position features (observed from a deictic centre and relative to a landmark), or with particular manner-of-contact features (observed relative only to a ground-like entity). These verbs may come from the small and closed class of RELATIVE PATH verbs (f.ex. *til.ta* 'move into, enter'; *cina.ta* 'move past, passes'), but also from a range of other verbs associated with position shift or contact:

- (2)a. 이 병에 뭐 {들었어요 | 넣었어요}?
 i pyəŋ-e mwə {til-əss-ə-yo | nəh-əss-ə-yo}?
 this bottle-ALL what {move.in-PF-FIN-POL | put.in-PF-FIN-POL}
 'What's in | What've you put into} this bottle?'
- b. A: 내지갑 어디 갔죠?
 nə cikap əti ka-ss-c-yo?
 I:AT wallet where go-PF-PROP-POL
 'Where's my wallet gone?'
- B: 저기, 바닥에 떨어져 있어요.
 cəki, patak-e ttəl-əcy-ə_iss-ə-yo.
 over,there ground-ALL fall.down[*INCH]-RES.CNT-FIN-POL
 'It's over there, on the floor.'

- c. 꽃은 꽃병에 꽃아야겠어요.
 kkoc^h-in kkoc^h+pyəŋ-e kkoc-aya-kess-ə-yo.
 flower-SEL flower+bottle-ALL stick.in-NCS-ASMP-FIN-POL
 'I should put the flowers into a vase.'

In all these cases, expression through the pertinent verb is the only and indeed the obligatory means of expressing the pertinent spatial relation. More than anything, it is this that puts more lexically specific verbs such as *ttaləci.ta* 'falls, drops' (2b) or *kkoc^h.ta* (2c) on a par with more closed-class verbs such as *tɨl.ta* 'move in' or *nəh.ta* 'put in' (2a). Note that the overt expression of spatial relations in the verb usually goes hand in hand with a lack of overt expression in the *LOCATIONAL* argument.

No matter what language we look at, of course, not every expression of spatial constellations is necessarily associated with spatial relation features that go much beyond general contact or proximity. Here, the more elaborate adposition systems in other languages produce a mix of two outcomes: perceptually motivated but conventionalised uses of semantically more specific patterns (f.ex. English *in London*, *onto the train*), or semantically general patterns (f.ex. English {*at* | *by* | *to* | *from*} *the station*). The general patterns tend to appear where more specific spatial features are perceptually nonsalient, particularly where the observer has a kind of bird's eye view on large-scale settings that extend beyond the Speaker's immediate environment, or what we could call *cartographic settings*.

Lacking association with any specific spatial relations, the Korean Locational particles would seem to correspond to the more general adpositions of elaborate systems, particularly where used to refer to positional and translative situations in cartographic settings:

- (3)a. 그냥 집에 있었죠.
 kinyan cip-e iss-əss-c-yo.
 simply.as.it.is house-ALL be.there-PF/AOR-PROP-POL
 'I just stayed **at home**.'
- b. 우리는 다음 달 한국{에|으로} 가요.
 uli-nin taim tal hankuk-{e|ilo} ka-yo.
 we-SEL next month Korea-{ALL|DST} go:FIN-POL
 'We're going **to Korea** next month.'
- c. 이 고추가루는 언니가 한국에서 보내준 거야.
 i koc^hu+kalu-nin ənni-ka hankuk-esə pone-cu-n kə-y-a.
 this chilli+powder-SEL fem's,old.sister-SBJ Korea-ABL send:FIN-give/BEN-PF FCTL-FIN
 'This chilli powder older sister sent **from Korea**.'

Here, the bird's eye view is at least one of the reasons why the clause expresses no specific spatial relation. Although the setting is considerably smaller, the same would

seem to hold for the following:

- (4) a. 커피는 {부엌에 | 냉장고에 | 저 병에} 있어요.
 kʰəpʰi-nin {puəkʰ-e | nɛŋcaŋko-e | cə pyəŋ-e} iss-ə.
 coffee-SEL {kitchen-LOC | fridge-LOC | yon bottle-LOC} be.there-FIN
 'The coffee's {in the kitchen | in the fridge | in that glass}.'
- b. 서류는 {서재로 | 책상으로 | 서랍으로 | 가방으로} 치워놓았어요.
 səlyu-nin {səce-lo | cʰɛksaŋ-ilo | səlap-ilo | kapaŋ-ilo} cʰiw-ə-noh-ass-ə-yo.
 documents-SEL {study-DST | desk-DST | drawer-DST | bag-DST} put.away-FIN-put-PF-FIN-POL
 'I've put the documents away {into the study | onto/into the desk | into the drawer | into the bag}.'
- c. {방에서 | 소파에서} 가방 좀 찾아다줄래?
 {paŋ-esə | sopʰa-esə} kapaŋ com chac-a-ta-cu-lle?
 {room-ABL | sofa-ABL} bag MOD seek-FIN-ABR.SQ-give-INTN:FIN
 'Would you mind fetching the bag {from the bedroom | from the sofa}.'

Note that in such cases more extensive adpositional systems will tend towards choosing semantically more specific adpositions, although there seems to be a universal tendency towards less fine-grained differentiation for source-like referents⁴⁸.

The choice of the simple LOCATIONAL patterns in these circumstances is, however, subject to a number of significant constraints and requirements. These are particularly obvious in the case of large-scale cartographic settings where the non-expression of spatial relations requires that the particle-marked noun refer to a *locality*, that is a percept with non-minimal spatial extension (relative to the scale of the setting), spatial distribution features, and more often than not habitual experiential associations with particular human activities. In other words, the referent must be a proper location in the trivial sense. This fact is widely known and has been noted in the literature (see f.ex. U Hyōng-sik 1996: 137-9):

- (5) a. 민수는 {공원에 | 방에} 있어요.
 { * 나무에 | ?? 책상에 | * 냉장고에 | * 가방에 }
 minsu-nin {koŋwən-e | paŋ-e} iss-ə.
 { * namu-e | ?? cʰɛk+saŋ-e | * nɛŋcaŋko-e | * kapaŋ-e }
 Minsu-SEL {park-ADES | room-ADES} be.there-FIN
 { * tree-ADES | ?? book+table-ADES | * fridge-ADES | * bag-ADES }
 'Minsu is {in the park | in the room}
 { * by/under the tree | ?? at/by the desk | * by the fridge | * by/near the bag}.'
- b. 그가 {집으로 | 문으로 | ?? 책상으로 | * 책으로} 걸어갔다.
 ki-ka {cip-ilo | mun-ilo | ?? cʰɛk+saŋ-ilo | * cʰɛk-ilo} ka-ss-ta.
 he-SBJ {house-DST | door-DST | ?? book+table-DST | * book-DST} go-PF/AOR-FML.DCL
 'He went over {to the house | to the door | ?? to the desk | * to the book}.' (≈ LgEx)

⁴⁸ There are of course languages that show a rather fine-grained differentiation even for source-like referents. An example is Finnish with its multiple source-like cases. Even then, however, the number of source-like patterns tends to be smaller than that of goal-like patterns. We could thus hypothesise an implicational universal such as 'A language will have at least as many Source patterns as it has Goal patterns' or more strongly perhaps 'If a language has a semantically specific Source pattern, it will have at least one corresponding Goal pattern'.

- c. 애들 {공원에 | 부엌에 | ??냉장고에 | *음식에} 보냈어요.
 ε-til {koŋwən-e | puək^h-e | ??nɛŋcaŋko-e | *imsik-e} pone-ss-ə-yo.
 child-PL {park-ALL | kitchen-ALL | ??fridge-ALL | *food-ALL} send-PF-FIN-POL
 'I've sent the kids {to the park | to the kitchen | ??to the fridge | *to the food}.'

I shall refer to the constraint operative here as the *Locality Constraint*.

The anomalies illustrated in 5 would usually be put down to the fact that the particle-marked noun denotes a 'concrete physical object' rather than a 'place' or 'location' (see f.ex. U Hyōng-sik 1996: 138). On the other hand, the degree of anomaly obviously varies with the referent situation and particularly the relative scale of the setting and its individual elements. Thus, small object-like entities that cannot be localities in larger-scale settings can still be localities on the minimal scale of what we could call *localised settings*:

- (6) a. 보니까 민수는 {집에 | 부엌에} 있었다.
 po-nikka minsu-nin {cip-e | puək^h-e} iss-əss-ta.
 look-BG.SQ Minsu-SEL {house-ADES | kitchen-ADES} be.there-PF/AOR-FML.DCL
 {??dining.table-ADES | *fridge-ADES | *bag-ADES}
 'Then I realised that Minsu was {at home | in the kitchen}
 {??at the dining table | *by the fridge | *by/near the bag}.'
- b. 보니까 김치가 {집에 | 부엌에 | 냉장고에 | 가방에} 있었다.
 po-nikka kimchi-ka {cip-e | puək^h-e | nɛŋcaŋko-e | kapaŋ-e} iss-əss-ta.
 look-BG.SQ Kimchee-SBJ {house-ADES | kitchen-ADES | fridge-ADES | bag-ADES} be.there-PF/AOR-FML.DCL
 'Then I realised that the Kimchee was {at home | in the kitchen | in the fridge | in the bag}.'
- (7) a. 애들 {밖으로 | 부엌으로 | ??냉장고로 | *선반으로} 보냈어요.
 ε-til {pakk-ilo | puək-ilo | ??nɛŋcaŋko-lo | *sənpaŋ-ilo} pone-ss-ə-yo.
 child-PL(ACC) {outside-DST | kitchen-DST | ??fridge-DST | *shelf-DST} send-PF-FIN-POL
 'I've sent the kids {outside | into the kitchen | ??to the fridge | *to the shelf}.'
- b. 맥주를 {밖으로 | 부엌으로 | 냉장고로 | 선반으로} 치워놓았어.
 mekcu-lil {pakk-ilo | puək-ilo | nɛŋcaŋko-lo | sənpaŋ-ilo} c'iw-ə-noh-ass-ə.
 beer-ACC {outside-DST | kitchen-DST | fridge-DST | shelf-DST} clear.away-FIN-put-PF-FIN-POL
 'I've put away the beer {outside | into the kitchen | into the fridge | onto the shelf}.'

Clearly, the locality features of a particular referent depend in no small measure on the positioned entity. For example, a fridge cannot be a locality with respect to the position or motion of a person, but can easily be a locality with respect to the position or position change of smaller entities, particularly food and drink.

The Locality Constraint is largely irrelevant in the case of maximally scaled settings, where spatial reference locations are anyhow pretty much limited to cartographic localities – geographical areas, areal percepts (rivers, mountains etc), spaces defined by and associated with human activity (cities, parks, compounds, buildings). Its effects are, however, quite clearly discernible at the immediate 'field-of-vision scale' of what we

could call *environmental settings*, where spatial perception frequently relies on landmarks with spatially compact physical object features – natural objects (rocks, trees etc) and particularly human artefacts (walls, benches, signs etc). Here, the LANDMARK SPACE patterns are virtually obligatory:

- (8)a. 더워서 사람들이 모두 나무 밑에 모여 있었다.
 təw-əsə salam-til-i motu namu mit^h-e moy-ə_iss-əss-ta.
 hot-CS.SQ person-PL-SBJ all tree bottom-ADES gather-RES.CNT-PF/AOR-FML-DCL
 'Because of the heat, everybody was **under the trees**.'
- b. * 더워서 사람들이 모두 나무에 모여 있었다.
 * təw-əsə salam-til-i motu namu-e moy-ə_iss-əss-ta.
 hot-CS.SQ person-PL-SBJ all tree-ADES gather-RES.CNT-PF/AOR-FML-DCL
 For: 'Because of the heat, everybody was gathered **under/around/by the trees**.'
- (9)a. 짐은 저기 저 벤치 {쪽으로 | 옆으로 | 앞으로} 옮겨놓을까?
 cim-in cəki cə penc^hi {ccok-ilo | yəp^h-ilo | ap^h-ilo} olmk-y-ə-noh-il-kka?
 luggage-SEL yonder yon bench {side/section-DST | beside-DST | front-DST} shift-FIN-put-PSP-INQS
 'Shall we move our stuff over there {**near to that bench** | **next to that bench** | **in front of that bench**}.'
- b. * 짐은 저기 저 벤치로 옮겨놓을까?
 * cim-in cəki cə penc^hi-lo olmk-y-ə-noh-il-kka?
 luggage-SEL yonder yon bench-DST shift-FIN-put-PSP-INQS
 For: 'Shall we move our stuff over there (**near**) to that bench?' (OK as: ... **onto** that bench.)

Note that even relatively unspecific proximity relations require a LANDMARK SPACE solution with the semantically general PROXIMITY SPACE noun *ccok* 'side, region of space'.

Most significantly, when it comes to the environmental scale, even localities can appear in the noun slot of Locational particle patterns only if the position or path lies partly within or at least on the boundary of the locality. In other words, position or path must be contiguous with the locality⁴⁹:

- (10)a. 지금 학교로 왔는데요.
 cikim hakkyo-lo w-ass-ninte-yo.
 now school-DST come-PF-CIR-POL
 'We're **in/at the school** now (in the compound / right at the gate etc).'
- b. 지금 학교 앞으로 왔는데 어떻게 가면 돼요?
 ?? 학교로
 cikim hakkyo ap^h-ilo wa-ss-ninte ettəh-ke ka-myən twe-yo?
 ?? hakkyo-lo
 now school front-DST come-PF-CIR how-ADV go-CND become/INACT.PRIV.FIN-POL
 ??school-DST
 'We're **in front of / at the school** now; how do we go from here?'

⁴⁹ Note that the locality's boundaries may be 'fuzzy', allowing for localities such as <house/home> or <park> to include functionally associated peripheries such as the courtyard, garden or entrance area. This is also clear from the fact that nouns such as *mun* 'door, gate, entrance' could otherwise not be said to denote localities, contrary to their actual usage.

- (11)a. 차는 여기 보도에 세워도 돼요.
 c^ha-nin yəki poto-e sew-əto twe-yo.
 car-SEL here sidewalk-ALL put.standing-CONC.CND become/INCH.PRV.FIN-POL
 'You can park the car here **on the sidewalk.**'
- b. 차는 여기 보도 옆에 세워도 돼요.
 * 보도에
 c^ha-nin yəki p^hoto yəp^h-e sew-əto twe-yo.
 * p^hoto-e
 car-SEL here sidewalk side-ALL put.standing-CONC.CND become/INACT.PRV.FIN-POL
 *sidewalk-ALL
 'You can park the car here **next to / by the sidewalk.**'

For contrasts such as 10a-b, of course, it is always possible to find borderline referent situations that would allow either outcome. The reason for this, however, should not be sought in any weakness of the pertinent constraints, but in the potential fuzziness of the locality boundary. This is clear from contrasts such as 11a-b, where there is less scope for a fuzzy boundary, and the two sentences show little if any referential-semantic overlap.

If we evaluate the facts in 8-11 in terms of figure-ground relations, it becomes quite clear that we need to maintain a careful distinction between the notion of the *ground* (as a perceptual backdrop to the figure's position or motion path) and that of the *landmark* (as an entity or percept relative to which positions, translative paths or spaces are perceived and identified). Thus, in 10-11:a, <school> and <sidewalk> are grounds (and indeed landmark). In 10-11:b, however, <school> and <sidewalk> are only landmarks that serve to identify a ground, but the actual grounds against which motion is perceived are <space in front of school> and <space next to the sidewalk>.

Returning to the Locality constraint, spatial inclusion is also required in maximally scaled cartographic settings:

- (12)a. 식구들이 모두 다 서울에 살거든요.
 sikku-til-i motu ta səul-e sal-kətin-yo.
 household.members-PL-SBJ all CMPL Seoul-ADES live-EXPL-POL
 'All my immediate family lives **in Seoul** (*within its boundaries or immediate periphery*).'
- b. 식구들이 모두 다 서울 쪽에 살거든요.
 * 서울에
 sikku-til-i motu ta səul ccok-e sal-kətin-yo.
 * səul-e
 household.members-PL-SBJ all CMPL Seoul side-ADES live-EXPL-POL
 *Seoul-ADES
 'All my immediate family lives **in and around Seoul** (*within the larger Seoul area*).'
- (13)a. 꼭대기로 올라가야 전망이 넓어지지.
 kkokteki-lo oll-a-ka-ya cənmaŋ-i nəlɸ-əci-ci.
 summit-DST move.up-FIN-go:-NCS view-SBJ wide-INCH-PROP
 'You'll have to go up **to the summit** to get a good view.'

- b. 꼭대기 쪽으로 올라가야 전망이 넓어지지.
 * 꼭대기로
 kkokteki ccok-ilo oll-a-ka-ya cənmaŋ-i nəl̥p-əci-ci.
 * kkokteki-lo
 summit side/direction-DST move.up-FIN-go;NCS view-SBJ wide-INCH-PROP
 * summit-DST
 'You have to go **close to / towards** the summit to get a good view.'

- (14)a. 갑자기 집에서 개 두 마리가 뛰어왔다.
 kapcaki cip-esə ke tu mali-ka ttwi-ə-w-ass-ta.
 suddenly house-ABL dog two CLSF-SBJ leap-FIN-come-PF/AOR-FML,DCL
 'Suddenly two dogs came leaping **from** (the immediate locality of) the house.'

- b. 갑자기 집 쪽에서 개 두 마리가 뛰어왔다.
 * 집에서
 kapcaki cip ccok-esə ke tu mali-ka ttwi-ə-w-ass-ta.
 * cip-esə
 suddenly house-ABL dog two CLSF-SBJ leap-FIN-come-pst-FML,DCL
 * house-ABL
 'Suddenly two dogs came leaping **from** (the vicinity/direction of) the house.'

Here, the need to explicitly express the non-inclusion relations in 12-14:b may seem trivial, but it again highlights the fact that the Korean Locational particles are not as spatially vague as it may seem, particularly in simplistic comparison with English prepositions such as *at* or *towards*.

In the uses discussed so far then, the Korean *LOCATIONAL* patterns are actually associated with the quite specific spatial relation of *inclusion*. And not only that, but it would seem to be this association that underlies the Locality Constraint, for the simple reason that inclusion is not possible without some degree of spatial distribution and extension. The obligatory choice of *LANDMARK SPACE* patterns illustrated throughout 8-14 is entirely consistent with these requirements: they refer to regions of space (as identified relative to a landmark) that include the positioned entity. Stated in terms of the figure-ground model, this means that spatial relations may remain underspecified if the *LOCATIONAL* argument's referent is a ground that includes the figure's position or translative path points.

As I already outlined, Korean shows a marked preference for the expression of spatial relations in the verb, and this is indeed usually the only choice for relations that have strong non-visual features. This includes configurational relations that are associated with both spatial and force-dynamic parameters (f.ex. support, containment, adhesion, etc), but also relations associated with specific experiential and functional domains (body postures, dressing, carrying, storing things, etc.)⁵⁰. Here, simple

⁵⁰ Strictly speaking, such relations should perhaps be regarded as 'configurational' or 'functional' rather than purely 'spatial'. On the other hand, even core spatial parameters such as containment and support have many non-visual

LOCATIONAL arguments may and will usually be chosen if the referent is a ground that is physically involved in the pertinent spatial, force-dynamic or functional relation, and figure and ground are in a *spatial contiguity* relation of contact or inclusion. These often trivial, but essential requirements are illustrated in the following contrasts:

(15)a. 내 발에 앉지 마!
 ne pal-e anc-ci ma!
 I:AT foot-ALL sit-PROP DESIST
 'Don't sit **on my feet!**'

b. 내 (발) 앞에 앉지 마!
 * 내 발에
 ne (pal) ap^h-e anc-ci ma!
 * ne pal-e
 I:AT foot front-ALL sit-PROP DESIST
 * I:AT foot-ALL
 For: 'Don't sit **at my feet!**'

(16)a. 냉장고에서 물 새는데 어떻게 좀 봐봐.
 neŋcaŋko-esə mul se-nin-te əttəh-ke com pw-a-pw-a.
 fridge-ABL water leaks-DYN-CIR be.how-ADV MOD look-FIN-see/EXPR-FIN
 'There's water leaking **from the fridge**, have a look.'

b. 저 농장 {뒤|속|밑}에서 물 새는데 어떻게 좀 봐봐.
 * 저 농장에서
 cə noŋcaŋ {twi | sok | mit^h}-esə mul se-nin-te əttəh-ke com pw-a-pw-a.
 * cə noŋcaŋ-esə
 cupboard {back | inside | bottom}-ABL water leaks-DYN-CIR be.how-ADV MOD look-FIN-ABL-see/EXPR-FIN
 * cupboard-ABL
 'There's water leaking **from that cupboard**, have a look.'

(17)a. 나가보니까 나무가 집으로 기울어졌더라.
 na-ka po-nikka namu-ka cip-ilo kiul-əcy-əss-tə-la.
 exits:FIN-go:FIN see/EXPR-BG.SQ tree-SBJ house-DST tilt[*INCH]-PF/AOR-RSP-ASRT
 'When I went outside, the tree had tipped over **against the house.**'

b. 나가보니까 나무가 집 {앞으로|뒤로|쪽으로} 기울어졌더라.
 * 집으로
 na-ka po-nikka namu-ka cip {ap^h-ilo | twi-lo | ccok-ilo} kiul-əcy-əss-tə-la.
 * cip-ilo
 exits:FIN-go:FIN see/EXPR-BG.SQ tree-SBJ house {front-DST | back-DST | side-DST} tilt[*INCH]-PF/AOR-RSP-ASRT
 * house-DST
 'When I went outside, the tree had tipped over **towards the house.**'

(18)a. 이렇게 무거운 가방을 좌석으로 올려놓으면 위험하지 않나요?
 iləh-ke mukəu-n kapaŋ-il cwasək-ilo olly-ə-noh-imyən wihəmha-ci anh-na-yo?
 like.this-ADV heavy:PF.AT bag-ACC seat-DST put.up-FIN-put-CND dangerous-PROP NEG_{TV}-INQS-POL
 'Won't it be dangerous to put such a heavy bag **onto the seat?**'

b. 이렇게 무거운 가방을 좌석 위로 올려놓으면 위험하지 않나요?
 * 좌석으로
 iləh-ke mukəu-n kapaŋ-il cwasək wi-lo olly-ə-noh-imyən wihəmha-ci anh-na-yo?
 * cwasək-ilo
 like.this-ADV heavy:PF.AT bag-ACC seat top-DST put.up-FIN-put-CND dangerous-PROP NEG_{TV}-INQS-POL
 * seat-DST
 'Won't it be dangerous to put such a heavy bag **above the seat (onto the luggage rack) ?**'

features that are hard to exclude short of rendering the entire parameter epistemologically meaningless.

- (19)a. 오늘 오전에 물 끈다고 문에 딱지를 붙였는데.
 onil ocən-e mul kki-n-ta-ko mun-e ttakci-lil put^{hy}-əss-ninte.
 today morning-ADES water extinguish-DYN-DCL-QOT door-ALL label-ACC stick.on.FACT-PF/AOR-CIR
 'They did leave a note **on/at the door** saying they would turn off the water this morning.'
- b. 오늘 오전에 물 끈다고 문 옆에 딱지를 붙였는데.
 onil ocən-e mul kki-n-ta-ko mun yəp^h-e ttakci-lil put^{hy}-əss-ninte.
 today morning-ADES water extinguish-DYN-DCL-QOT door beside-ALL label-ACC stick.on.FACT-PF/AOR-CIR
 ?? 문에
 ?? mun-e door-ALL
 'They did leave a note **next to / at the door** saying they would turn off the water this morning.'

Note again that the obligatory LANDMARK SPACE patterns in 15-19:b overtly identify a locality that encompasses the actual ground, and thus fulfil the same requirement.

A more detailed investigation into the use of the LOCATIONAL patterns lies outside the scope of this thesis. Before we conclude the present discussion, however, it should be noted that simple LOCATIONAL phrases also occur in reference to the stationary (or quasi-stationary) ground of force-dynamic contact and collision:

- (20)a. 머리가 바닥에 부딪쳐서 기절할뻔했다.
 məli-ka patak-e putic^{hy}-əsə kicəl+ha-l•ppən.hə-ss-ta.
 head-SBJ floor-LOC hit.against-CS.SQ fainting+do/FV-[PSP]nearly.happen:-PF/AOR-FML.DCL
 'Her head hit **(against) the ground** and she nearly fainted.'
- b. 물건을 벽{에|으로} 던지면 자꾸 자국이 나잖아!
 mulkən-il pyək-{e|ilo} tenci-myən cakku cakuk-i na-canh-a!
 thing-ACC wall-{LOC|DST} throw-CND frequently mark-SBJ move.out/INCH_{IV}-RMND-FIN
 'If you throw things **against/at the wall**, it leaves marks all over.'

Needless to say, this use is again associated with a contiguous, if only momentary, figure-ground relation.

To conclude then, the Korean LOCATIONAL patterns are subject to a number of interrelated constraints that require the referent to be in a spatially contiguous ground relationship to the positioned entity. The upshot is a need to distinguish carefully between a ground or ground locality (as the spatial entity or percept against which the figure's position is perceived) and a mere landmark (as an object or entity that serves to identify a particular space or ground).

[2] Positions and path points versus situational setting

Another important characteristic of the Korean Locational particle system is a systemic distinction between spatial reference points within a situational scene and, on the other hand, the *situational setting* as the space that encompasses the entire situational scene, expressed through the well-known contrast between the LOCATION-*e* and SETTING-*esə*

patterns:

- (21) a. 연주는 집{에 | !? 에서} 있어요.
 yəncu-nin cip-{e | !? esə} iss-ə-yo.
 Yŏnju-SEL house-{ADES | *SET} be.there-FIN-POL
 'Yŏncu is at home.'
- b. 연주는 집{에서 | *에} 놀고 있어요.
 yəncu-nin cip-{esə | *e} nol-ko_iss-ə-yo.
 Yŏnju-SEL house-{SET | *ADES} play-PRG.CNT-FIN-POL
 'Yŏncu is enjoying herself at home.'
- (22) a. 학교 앞{에 | *에서} 술집 많죠.
 hakkyo ap^h-{e | *esə} sul+cip manh-c-yo.
 house-{ADES | *SET} alcohol+house many-PROP-POL
 'In front of the university there are lots of bars (of course).'
- b. 학교 앞{에서 | *에} 사고가 나가지고 난리였지.
 hakkyo ap^h-{esə | *e} sako-ka na-kaciko nanli-y-əss-ci.
 school front-{SET | *ADES} accident-SBJ come.out/occur-CS.SQ chaos-CPL-PF/AOR-PROP
 'There had been an accident in front of the school and everything was chaotic.'

Traditionally, the contrast between the two patterns here is analysed in terms of 'static location' (the location of a positional state) and 'dynamic location' (the location at which something happens). However, although this explanation is consistent with a wide range of constructions, it fails to explain why the supposedly 'dynamic' location particle *esə* may be preferred or obligatory in reference to completely static situations:

- (23) a. 한국{에서 | ??에}는 여름이 덥고 겨울이 춥다.
 hankuk-{esə | ??e}-nin yəlim-i təp-ko kyəul-i c^hup-ta.
 Korea-{SET | ??LOC-SEL} summer-SBJ hot-PF.SQ/ENM.CJ winter-SBJ cold-FML.DCL
 'In Korea summers are hot and winters are cold.'
- b. 우리반{에서 | *에} 내가 제일 키가 크다.
 uli pan-{esə | *e} nɛ-ka ceil k^hi-ka k^hi-ta.
 we cohort-{SET | *we cohort-LOC} I-SBJ first size-SBJ big-FML.DCL
 'In our class, I am the tallest.' (=Cp)

Clearly, the contrast between a positional ground or locality (the position at which an entity is or ends up at) and a situational setting (the space that surrounds the situation perceived by the Speaker) provides a much better explanation here.

The POSITION ~ SETTING opposition also explains contrasts such as the following, where both situations are equally dynamic, but are nevertheless associated with differential particle choice:

- (24) a. 우리 동네{에 | !!에서}도 지하철이 생겼어, 이제
 uli toŋne-{e | !!esə}-to cihac^həl-i sɛŋky-əss-ə, ince.
 we neighbourhood-{ALL/ADES | ??SET}-INCL underground-SBJ come.into.being-PF-FIN by.now
 'We've got the underground in our neighbourhood too now, finally.'

- b. 청주{에서|??에}도 지하철이 생겼어, 이제.
 c'həŋju-{esə|ʔe}-to cihac'həl-i sɛŋkyə-ss-ə, ince.
 Ch'ōngju-{SET|ʔALL/ADES}-INCL underground-SBJ come.into.being-PF-FIN by.now
 'We've now got an underground in Chōngju too now, finally.'

Again, the issue here is not the contrast between dynamic and static features, but the contrast between <position> or <ground> features in 24a (the final locality at which the underground line appears and ends up existing) versus <setting> features in 24b (the locality that contains the construction of a new underground system).

[3] *Path points: source, goal and destination*

In any language, the most basic function of locative-like patterns is the expression of spatial reference locations and orientations against which the Speaker perceives positional states, translative motion and spatial manipulation. Here, we find two main oppositions. The first is that between the GOAL-POSITION pattern *N-e* and its SOURCE counterpart *N-esə* :

- (25) a. 주희가 영국에 {왔어 | 와 있어 | 있어}
 cuhiy-ka yəŋkuk-e {w-ass-ə | w-a_iss-ə | iss-ə}.
 Chuhee-SBJ Britain-ALL {come-PF-FIN | come-RES.CNT-FIN | be.there-FIN}
 'Chuhee {has come | is now | is} in/to Britain.'
 b. 주희가 한국에서 왔어.
 cuhiy-ka hankuk-esə w-ass-ə.
 Chuhee-SBJ Britain-ABL come-PF-FIN
 'Chuhee has come from Korea.'
- (26) 연주가 우유를 냉장고에 넣었어.
 yəncu-ka uyu-lil nɛŋcaŋko-e nəh-əss-ə.
 Yōnju-SBJ milk-ACC fridge-LOC put.in-PF-FIN
 'Yōnju has put the milk into the fridge.'

Significantly, as 25a shows, the use of the GOAL pattern for the ground of a positional state (usually characterised as 'static location') is systemically no more than the limiting case of the GOAL spectrum.

The second central opposition in the Korean spatial reference system is that between the GOAL pattern *N-e* and the DESTINATION pattern *N-ilo*. Traditionally, this is viewed in terms of the contrast between the 'locative' and 'directional' categories, and at least some instantiations can indeed be viewed along these lines. Thus, for purely stative positions *LOCATION-e* is generally the only option and *DESTINATION-ilo* is anomalous:

- (27)a. 형이 집{에 | *으로} 있대.
 hyəŋ-i cip-{e | *ilo} iss-te.
 male's.older.brother-SBJ house-{ADES | *DST} be.there-DCL.RPT:FIN
 'Older Brother is at home (apparently).'
- b. 그의 왼쪽 이마{에 | *로} 제법 큼직한 반창고가 붙어 있다.
 ki-iy woen+ccok ima-{e | *lo} cepəp kʰimcimakha-n pancʰaŋko-ka putʰ-ə_iss-ta.
 he-AT left+side forehead-{ADES | *DST} pretty biggish-PF.AT plaster-SBJ get.stuck-RES.CNT-DCL
 'On his left forehead there is a pretty big plaster.' (=Cp+)
- c. 바닥{에 | *으로} 돈 떨어져 있네.
 patak-{e | *ilo} ton ttəl·əcy-ə_iss-ne.
 ground-{ALL/ADES | *DST} money drop[·INCH]-RES.CNT-MIR
 'There's money there on the floor, look!'

Note however that DESTINATION-*ilo* is only completely ruled out where the predicate describes a purely stative positional state that completely lacks perceptual association with a translative path (see next heading 3.1.2 [4]).

Conversely, in the description of viewpoint-relative directions LOCATION-*e* is ruled out and DESTINATION-*ilo* is the only option, but always with the RELATIVE SPACE noun *ccok* 'side, section of space' in the DESTINATION slot:

- (28)a. 두번 째 골목에서 오른쪽{으로 | *에} 꺾어서 가세요.
 tu+pən cce kolmok-esə olin+ccok-{ilo | *e} kkəkk-əsə ka-se-yo.
 two+times ORD small.stree-SET right+side-{DST | *ALL} turn-CS.SQ go-HON:FIN-POL
Lit: 'At the second alley turn **right** and go.'
Eqv: Take the second alley **to the right** (and keep going).'
- b. 좀 복잡한데 대체로 북쪽{으로 | *에} 가면 돼요.
 com pokcap.ha-n·te təcʰe·lo puk+ccok-{ilo | *e} ka-myən twe-yo.
 MOD unorderedly-PF·CIR.CJ roughly[·ADV] north+side-{DST | *ALL} go-CND become/INACT.PRIV:FIN-POL
 'It's a bit complicated, but you should roughly head **north**.'
- c. 100미터 정도 학교 쪽{으로 | *에} 가면 오른쪽에 있어요.
 100+mitʰə cəŋto hakkyo ccok-{ilo | *e} ka-myən olin+ccok-e iss-ə-yo.
 100+meter degree school side-{DST | *ALL} go-CND right-ALL be.there-FIN-POL
 'If you go about hundred meters **towards the school**, it's on the right.'

Here, the fact that purely directional descriptions invariably contain *ccok* is highly significant, whether as integral part of lexically fixed structures (*olin+ccok* in 28a/c, *puk+ccok* in 28b) or in the pattern LANDMARK *ccok-ilo* (*hakkyo ccok-ilo* in 28c). Obviously, this means that DIRECTION semantics are not carried by the particle *ilo* alone, but only by the complex combination *ccok-ilo*. Note also that the closely related LOCATION pattern LANDMARK *ccok-e* is used to indicate the broad direction in which positions and path endpoints lie (as indeed *olin+ccok-e* in the second clause of 28c).

In addition, however, the distributional facts in 27-28 are no proof for the 'locative vs directional' analysis for a simple reason: all they show us is that N-*ilo* is avoided for stative positions, and that it is the only choice for directions. However, even setting

aside the fact that they require the presence of *ccok*, pure DIRECTION arguments make up only a small part of its referential spectrum. A much larger part clearly refers to *destinations*, that is locations that are at least the projected endpoint of a translative path. Here again, there are some cases where the destination is not actually reached and the DESTINATION-*ilo* pattern seems obligatory:

- (29) 미국{으로|??에} 가다가 물에 빠져 죽었다.
 mikuk-{ilo|??e} ka-taka mul-e ppacy-ə cuk-əss-ta.
 America-{DST|??ALL} go-ABR.SQ water-ALL fall.in-FIN/CNSC die-PF/AOR-FML.DCL
 'They drowned on their way to America.'

Here, prescriptive grammar certainly requires the N-*ilo* pattern. However, at least in less extreme cases of unaccomplished arrival, uncontrolled usage includes many instances of the N-*e* pattern:

- (30) 서울{로|에} 가다가 사고를 당했다.
 sæul-{lo|e} ka-taka sako-lil tan.hə-ss-tə.
 Seoul-{DST|ALL} go-ABR.SQ accident-ACC suffers/PAT-PF/AOR-DCL.FIN
 'She got into a traffic accident on the way to Seoul.'

Here, not only are both patterns natural, but most importantly the choice of *Sæul-e* does not necessarily depend on or imply that the moving entity made it all the way to Seoul.

Whatever position one takes on such controversial cases, the vast majority of LOCATIONAL N-*ilo* arguments refer to destinations that are both projected and actually reached. In other words, most instances actually correspond to the cross-linguistic 'goal' category, in direct competition with the GOAL-*e* pattern:

- (31)a. 우리가 {교외{로|에} 이사갔어요.
 uli-ka kyowæ-{lo|e} isa+ka-ss-ə-yo.
 we-SBJ periphery-{DST|ALL} moving.house+go:-PF-FIN-POL
 'We've moved to the suburbs.'
 b. 서류 서랍{으로|에} 치웠어.
 sælyu sælap-{ilo|e} c'hiw-əss-ə.
 documents drawer-{DST|ALL} tidy.away-PF-FIN
 'I've put away the documents into the drawer.'

In all of these cases, the moving entity ends up at the referent location, and the DESTINATION-*ilo* argument is inevitably interpreted as such. Here then, explanations based on the 'location/goal ~ direction' contrast are clearly not sufficient.

The best clues for what is really going on here come from sentences in which the referent has strong <goal> features but DESTINATION-*ilo* is not only possible but actually preferred over GOAL-*e*. The following are some examples with verbs that

otherwise easily cooccur with GOAL-*e* arguments:

- (32) a. 시골에서 일자리를 못 찾아서 서울{로|!?에} 올라왔어.
 sikol-esə il+cali-lil mos ch^hac-ase səul-{lo|!?e} oll-a-w-ass-ə.
 countryside-SET work+place-ACC NCTL.NEG find-CS.SQ Seoul-{DST|!?ALL} move.up-FIN-come-PF/AOR-FIN
 'I couldn't find a job in the countryside so I came up to Seoul.'
- b. 서울{에|!?로} 올라온지 오래됐지.
 səul-{e|!?lo} oll-a-o-n-ci olɛ+twɛ-ss-ci.
 Seoul-{ALL|!?DST} move.up-FIN-come-(PF.AT*)since temporally.long+become/INCH:-PF/AOR-PROP
 'It has been a long time since I came to Seoul.'
- (33) a. 짐을 벌써 다 한국{으로|??에} 보내가지고 집이 텅 비었어요.
 cim-il pəlsə ta hankuk-{ilo|??e} pone-kaciko cip-i tʰɛŋ pi-əss-ə-yo.
 luggage-ACC already CMPL Korea-{DST|!?ALL} sends-CS.SQ house-SBJ INTSF get.empty-PF-FIN-POL
 'We've already sent all our stuff to Korea, so the house is completely empty.'
- b. 한국{에|!?으로} 가져갈 거 너무 많아요.
 hankuk-{e|!?ilo} kac-yə-ka-l kə nəmu manh-a-yo.
 Korea-{ALL|!?DST} take-FIN-go-PSP.AT thing exceedingly many/much-FIN-POL
 'We've got too many things that we need to take with us to Korea (when moving there).'

Here, the traditional criterion – arrival or non-arrival – does most certainly not work: both 32a and 32b refer to situations in which the Speaker has arrived, and both 33a and 33b refer to situations in which the Speaker's belongings have (probably) not yet arrived but are assumed to arrive. Rather, the difference between 32/33:a and 32/33:b seems to lie in whether the Speaker's perceptual focus lies on the source or the goal location. Thus, DESTINATION-*ilo* is preferred in 32a where focus lies on the Speaker's decision to leave his home town and in 33a where it lies on the empty house. Conversely, GOAL-*e* is preferred in 32b where focus lies on the Speaker's long presence in Seoul and in 33b where it lies on what belongings will go to the new home.

That we are on the right track here is further corroborated by the fact that certain motion verbs or motion verb usages tend to require the DESTINATION-*ilo* arguments:

- (34) a. 아들이 다 서울{로|*에} 떠나서 외로워졌다.
 ai-til-i ta səul-{lo|*e} ttəna-sə wəlow-ecy-əss-ta.
 child-PL-SBJ CMPL Seoul-{DST|*ALL} leaves-CS.SQ lonely-INCH-PF/AOR-FML.DCL
 'With all her children gone off to Seoul, she began to feel lonely.'
- b. TV를 작은 방{으로|??에} 옮길까?
 tʰipwi-lil cak-in paŋ-{ilo|??e} olmki-l-kka?
 TV-ACC small-PF room-{DST|!?ALL} shift-PSP*INQS
 'Shall we move the telly to the small room?'

Again, what matters is perceptual focus, but this time the verb (f.ex. *ttəna.ta* 'leaves') or the verb usage (f.ex. *olmki.ta* as 'shifts') itself is strongly associated with perceptual focus on what happens at the source location (here the disappearance of the moving entity).

And indeed, exactly the converse is true for verbs and verb usages that are near-exclusively associated with the GOAL-*e* pattern, as in the following where the verb is strongly associated with perceptual focus on the ground against which the situation is perceived:

- (35)a. 우리 아들이 장난하다가 물{에|??로} 빠져서 큰일 났어.
 uli atul-i capnan.ha-taka mul-{e|??lo} ppacy-əsə khi-n il na-ss-ə.
 we son-SBJ fool.around-ABR.SQ water-{ALL|??DST} fall.into-CS.SQ big-PF.AT event move.out/INCH_{TV}-PF/AOR-FIN
 'Our son managed to fall into the water, you can imagine the mess.'
- b. 닭{에|*으로} 기름 발라서 타버렸어.
 talk-{e|*ilo} kilim pall-ase tha-pəly-əss-ə.
 chicken-ALL oil smear-CS.SQ burn:FIN-IRRV-PF-FIN
 'The chicken's burnt cause we put oil on it.' (about Barbecue mishap)

We shall return to this issue again in under the next heading.

In the expression of translative paths then, the difference between the Locational particles *e* and *ilo* boils down to whether the *focal anchor* of spatial perception lies at the start or at the end of the path. We can thus capture the difference between the two argument patterns as the opposition between the GOAL-*e* pattern as a sign for the <goal as the primary spatial anchor location> and the DESTINATION-*ilo* pattern as a sign for the <destination as a secondary, non-focal goal-like locality>.

[4] Locational anchoring and positional states

As I just argued, the choice between the Locational particles *e* and *ilo* is conditioned by where the Speaker anchors her spatial perception of the referent situation. The notion of the spatial anchor, however, also throws a new light on the use of the LOCATION-*e* pattern in the expression of contact and positional situations. As we have just seen, this pattern is the obligatory choice for the location of the purely positional states expressed with the EXISTENTIAL verbs *iss.ta* 'is there' and *eps.ta* 'is not there'. It is, however, also near-obligatory with CONTACT verbs, and dominant with their CONTACT FACTITIVE counterparts:

- (36)a. 성적표가 복도 벽{에|*로} 붙어 있어.
 səŋcək+p^{hyo}-ka pokto pyək-{e|*lo} put^h-ə_iss-ə.
 exam.result.list-SBJ corridor wall-{ALL/ADES|*DST} stick.on(INACT)-RES/STV.CNT-FIN
 'The exam results are up on the corridor wall.'
- b. 성적표를 복도 벽{에|!/?으로} 붙였어.
 səŋcək+p^{hyo}-lil pokto pyək-{e|!/?ilo} put^h-y-əss-ə.
 exam.result.list-ACC corridor wall-{ALL/ADES|*DST} stick.on[«get.stick.on(INACT)•FACT】-RES/STV.CNT-FIN
 'They've put the exam results on the corridor walls.'

- (37)a. 보니까 문틀{에 | *로} 종이가 꽃혀 있었다.
 po-nikka mun+^til-{e | *lo} conji-ka kkoc•hy-ə_iss-əss-ta.
 look-BG.SQ door+frame-{ALL/ADES | *DST} paper-SBJ get.struck.in[«stick.in(FACT)•INACT]-RES/STV.CNT-FIN
 'When she looked, she could see a note stuck in(to) the doorframe.'
- b. 보니까 누가 문틀{에 | *로} 종이를 꽃아놓았었다.
 po-nikka nuka mun+^til-{e | *lo} conji-lil kkoc-a-noh-ass-əss-ta.
 look-BG.SQ who/somebody-SBJ door+frame-{ALL/ADES | *DST} paper-ACC stick.in(FACT)-FIN-put-PF/AOR-FML.DCL
 'When she looked, she could see somebody had stuck a note into the doorframe.'

Significantly, CONTACT verbs such as those in 36-37:a appear overwhelmingly in PERFECTIVE patterns that express a resultative or permanent positional state⁵¹. This includes the RESULTATIVE-STATIVE CONTINUOUS $\alpha_{VST}-a/\partial$ iss.ta in 36-37:a, but also relevant uses of other PERFECTIVE patterns such as $\alpha_{VST}-ass/\partial ss.ta$ α -PF- or $\alpha_{VST}-in$ α -PF.AT. And indeed, STATIVE predicates of all these types appear almost exclusively with LOCATION-*e* arguments:

- (38)a. 이 가방{에 | *로는} 뭐가 {들었어 | 들어 있어}?
 i kapaŋ-{e | *ilo}-nin mwə-ka {til-əss-ə | til-ə_iss-ə}?
 this bag-{ALL/ADES | *DST}-SEL what-SBJ {move/be.in-PF-FIN | move/be.in-RES/STV.CNT}
 'What's in this bag?' // 'What've you got in this bag.'
- b. 바닥{에 | ??으로} {떨어진 | 떨어져 있는} 거 왜 입에다 물어?!
 patak-{e | ??ilo} {ttəl•əci-n | ttəl•əcy-ə_iss-nin} kə we ip-eta mul-e?!
 ground-{ALL/ADES | ??DST-SEL} {drop[•INCH]-PF.AT | drop[•INCH]-RES.CNT-DYN.AT} thing why mouth-TRFR bite-FIN
 'Why on earth do you keep putting stuff on the floor into your mouth?'

The traditional explanation for the obligatory choice of the GOAL-*e* pattern would be that the referent is a 'location' and not a 'direction'. Again, however, the forced choice here is much better explained if we assume that the positional states here are inherently associated with perceptual focus on the contact ground. If that is so, then choice of the GOAL-*e* pattern is again conditioned by the referent's spatial anchor features. Further evidence for the role of spatial anchoring comes from exceptional cases where the DESTINATION-*ilo* pattern may be natural or even preferred with RESULTATIVE-STATIVE predicates, including from the CONTACT group:

- (39)a. 스위치가 왜 이렇게 엉뚱한 데{!!로|에} 붙어 있죠?
 siwichi-ka we iləh-ke ɛŋttuŋ.ha-n te-{!!lo | e} put^h-ə_iss-c-yo?
 switch-SBJ why like.this-ADV silly-PF.AT place-{DST | ALL/LOC} stick.on.INACT-RES.CNT
 'Why is the switch (fixed) in such a stupid position?'

⁵¹ Here it should be noted that the Koreanist Consensus applies the 'stative' category only to predicates of the inherently stative adjective-like PERCEPTUAL QUALITY groups. The RESULTATIVE-STATIVE pattern, on the other hand, is generally regarded as a resultative pattern that expresses both the preceding event and its resultant state, and the other patterns are normally regarded as having only past or at most perfect tense marking functions. The fact remains, however, that all PERFECTIVE patterns are also frequently employed to express states that are for all purposes no less permanent than those expressed with predicates from the PERCEPTUAL QUALITY groups. We shall see more evidence of this fact in §4.1.3.

- b. 케이블이 고장난 콘센트{로|에} 꽂혀 있어서 안 되는 거예요.
 k^heipil-i kocan.na-n k^honsent^hi-{lo | e} kkoc^hhy-ə_iss-əsə an twce-nin kə-e-yo.
 cable-SBJ break.down-PF.AT plughole-{DST | ALL/LOC} get.stuck.in[INACT]-RES/STV.CNT NEG become-DYN FCTL:FIN-POL
 'It's not working cause the cable is connected to a dead socket.'
- c. 지갑이 소파 뒤{로|! 에} 떨어져 있어서 못 찾았어.
 cikap-i s^ho^ha twi-{lo | ! e} ttəl^həcy-ə_iss-əsə mos c^hac-ass-ə.
 wallet-SBJ sofa back-{DST | ! ALL/LOC} drop[INCH]-RES/STV.CNT NCTL.NEG find-PF-FIN
 'The wallet {had fallen / was} behind the sofa, and/so I couldn't find it.'

What all the referent situations here have in common is that the positioned entity is in a location that it should not be in, and consequently the actual or hypothetical translative path that may have led to its final position has a high perceptual salience. More specifically, in 39c the perceptual focus lies on the wallet's disappearance, the spatial anchor is the area that is not the back of the sofa, and the DESTINATION-*ilo* pattern is the much preferred choice. In 39a/b, on the other hand, the start of the translative path is perceptually salient as the common point of several competing paths, and it is this salience that may lead to it becoming the spatial anchor, and hence to the optional choice of the DESTINATION-*ilo* pattern.

Perceptual salience of the start of the translative path also explains why the DESTINATION-*ilo* pattern occurs more easily with FACTITIVE CONTACT verbs than with their MOTION/PROCESS counterparts. The simple reason is that their use goes hand in hand with the perceptual salience of the agent's control over the transferred entity at the start of her action:

- (40) a. 이거 어디{로|(에)다|(에)} 붙일까요?
 i kə əti-{lo |(e)ta |(e)} put^hi-l^hka-yo?
 this thing where-{*DST | ALL | TRFR} stick.on[get.stuck.on*FACT]-PSP*INQS-POL
 'Where shall we stick/fix this?'
- b. 이거 꽃병{으로|에다|! 에} 꽃아야 오래가지.
 kkoc^h-in kkoc^h+pyəŋ-{ilo | eta | ! e} kkoc-aya olɛ+ka-ci.
 flower-SEL flower+bottle-{DST | TRFR | ! ALL} stick.on(FACT)-NCS,CND for.long+go-PROP
 'You should put flowers into a vase for them to last long.'

Here, at least in the case of 40b, the perceptual focus clearly lies on removing the flowers from their current position, and 40a could be viewed in the same light. Certainly, the DESTINATION-*ilo* pattern seems more likely if the Speaker has got something in her hands that she is not sure what to do with.

Unfortunately, a more detailed examination of the pertinent evidence shall have to be left for another day. Nevertheless, the data presented here indicates that the Location particle *e* is not a mere 'location' or 'goal' marker but is used to indicate that the referent is the privileged spatial anchor against which the Speaker perceives the referent

situation.

[5] Multiple *LOCATIONAL* arguments and the Single Anchor Constraint

One conspicuous feature of the Korean spatial reference system is a strong dispreference against the multiple occurrence of the same Locational argument pattern in a single clause. This may occasionally happen in Colloquial Spoken registers, but even then only in a strict ‘spatial zooming sequence’:

- (41)a. 저기, 방에, 서랍장에 가위를 넣었는데, 좀 갖다줄래?
 * 서랍장에, 방에
 cəki, paŋ-e, səlap+caŋ-e kaw-i-lil nəh-əss-ninte, com kacta.cu-lle?
 * səlapcaŋ-e, paŋ-e
 yonder room-ALL drawer+chest-ALL scissors-ACC put.in-PF-CIR,CJ MOD fetch-INTN:FIN
 * drawer+chest-ALL room-ALL
Lit: ‘You know, into the bedroom, into the drawers, I’ve put the scissors, could you fetch them?’
- b. 처음 미국으로, 뉴욕으로 갔을 때 (...)
 * 뉴욕으로, 미국으로
 c’həim mikuk-ilo, nyuyok-ilo ka-ss-il tte
 * nyuyok-ilo, mikuk-ilo
 first America-DST New.York-DST go:-PF-PSP,AT time
 * New.York-DST America-DST
 ‘When I first went over to America, to New York (...)’
- c. 시골에서, 강원도에서 왔대.
 * 강원도에서, 시골에서
 sikol-esə, kaŋwən+to-esə w-ass-te.
 * kaŋwən+to-esə, sikol-esə
 countryside-ABL Kangwŏn+province-ABL come-PF-DCL,RPT:FIN
 * Kangwŏn+province-ABL countryside-ABL
 ‘He’s come from the countryside, from Kangwŏndo.’

Apart from their rarity, such sequences also have a marked resumptive intonation that suggests they should be viewed as involving a mid-utterance decision to add the second element.

At first sight, one may be tempted to deal with the dispreferences here by simply postulating a constraint against two same-particle Location constituents in the same clause. That such a view would be far to mechanistic, however, can be seen from the fact that the different-particle sequence *DESTINATION-ilo* *LOCATION-e* is even more anomalous:

- (42)a. * 여름에 독일로, 어머니 집에 갈거예요.
 * yəlim-e tokil-lo, əməni cip-e ka-l.kə-e-yo.
 summer-LOC Germany-DST mother house-ALL go-FUT-FIN-POL
For: ‘In the summer, we’ll go to Germany, to my mother’s house.’

- b. ^{1?} 여름에 독일에, 어머니 집에 갈거예요.
 독일로, 어머니 집으로
^{1?} yəlim-e tokil-e, əməni cip-e ka-l.kə-e-yo.
 tokil-lo, əməni cip-ilo
 summer-LOC Germany-ALL drawer+chest-ALL go-FUT-FIN-POL
 Germany-DST drawer+chest-DST
 For: 'In the summer, we'll go to Germany, to my mother's house.'

This contrasts with the fact that sequences of DIRECTION *ccok-ilo* and LOCATION-*e* patterns are relatively acceptable in Colloquial registers:

- (43) 50미터 정도 갔다가 오른쪽으로 조그만 골목에 들어가세요.
 50+mit^{hə} cəŋto ka-ss-taka olin+ccok-ilo cokima-n kolmok-e til-ə-ka-se-yo.
 50+metre magnitude go:-PF.ABR.SQ right+side-DST tiny-PF.AT alley-ALL move.in-FIN-go-HON.FIN-POL
 'After going for about 50 meters, go to the right into a small alley.'

Note that the contrasts here are entirely consistent with our conclusions under the previous headings. Thus, on the one hand, the acceptability contrast between 42 and 43 highlights the need to distinguish between DIRECTION and DESTINATION uses of the particle *ilo*. The contrast between 42a and 42b, on the other hand, provides further evidence that the difference between the DESTINATION-*ilo* and LOCATION-*e* patterns lies in the placement of the spatial anchor within the situational setting: The same-particle sequences in 42b are marginally acceptable because they only involve zooming from a broader to a narrower path end location, whereas the anomalous DESTINATION-*ilo* LOCATION-*e* sequence in 42a would also involve a spatial anchor switch⁵².

Most significantly, however, we also find a dispreference against using both SOURCE-*esə* and POSITION-*e* arguments in the same clause. Instead, the normal solution is the sequence SOURCE-*esə* DESTINATION-*ilo*⁵³:

- (44)a. 70년대에 는 시골에서 서울로 오는 사람이 엄청 많았다.
 ??시골에서 서울로
 70+nyəntə-e-nin sikol-esə səul-lo o-nin salam-i əmchəŋ manh-ass-ta.
 ??sikol-esə səul-e
 70+decade-LOC-SEL countryside-ABL Seoul-DST come-DYN.AT person-SBJ massively many-PF/AOR-FML.DCL
 ??countryside-ABL Seoul-ALL
 'In the 70's massive numbers of people came from the countryside to Seoul.'

⁵² The anomaly of N-*ilo* N-*e* sequences of the kind exemplified in 42a has been noted by U Hyōng-sik (1996: 134-5). Since he adheres to 'directional' analysis of *ilo*, however, he fails to spot the contrast with 42b and 43 and simply concludes, somewhat obscurely, that the 'directional' *ilo* constituent cannot coexist with an *e* constituent because "a directional constituent cannot be the final arrival point of a motion action (이것은 방향 표시 명사성분은 이동동작의 최종 도달점이 되지 못함을 뜻한다)".

⁵³ Again, the cooccurrence restriction has been noted by U Hyōng-sik (1996: 134). Hobbled by the directional analysis of *ilo*, however, his attempt at accounting for the contrast between this and the acceptability of the SOURCE-*esə* DESTINATION-*ilo* sequence does not go beyond the claim that the appearance of 'DIRECTION' constituents is "conditioned by or dependent on (...) a SOURCE constituent" (이것은 방향이나 경로는 이탈점이나 도달점 표시 성분의 수정된, 또는 수반되는 표현이기 때문이다).

- b. 자리가 없어서 세탁기를 집에서 마당으로 내놓았는데.
 cali-ka əps-əsə setʰak+ki-lil ??집에서 마당에 nɛ-noh-ass-te.
 space-SBJ be.not.there-CS.SQ laundry+machine-ACC house-ABL courtyard-DST place.out:FIN-put-PF/AOR-RSP:FIN
 ??house-ABL courtyard-ALL
 'For lack of space, they had put the washing machine out of the house and into the courtyard.'

The distributional facts here not only indicate that the presence of *e* in *e·sə* is not a mere historical accident but of current systemic relevance. They also constitute further evidence that *e* does indeed refer to a spatial anchor, as the primary ground against which the Speaker views the moving figure and its path. Otherwise, unless SOURCE-*esə* and GOAL-*e* patterns were to share this common function, there would be no reason why their cooccurrence should be anomalous. This particularly so since the cooccurrence of N-*esə* and N-*e* elements is perfectly acceptable in other cases, such as a combination of SETTING and POSITION/GOAL patterns:

- (45) a. 한국에서는 미혼청년들이 아직도 부모집에 많이 살아요.
 hankuk-esə-nin mihon+chəŋnyən-til-i acik-to pumo+cip-e manh-i sal-a-yo.
 Korea-SET-SEL unmarried+young.person-PL-SBJ till-INCL parents+house-ADES much-ADV live-FIN.POL
 'In Korea, unmarried young people usually live with their parents.'
- b. 한국에서는 1980년대까지만 해도 외국에 많이 안 갔어요.
 hankuk-esə-nin 1980+nyəntɛ-kkaci-man hɛ-to wəkuk-e manh-i an ka-ss-ə-yo.
 Korea-SET-SEL 1980+decade-TERM-XCL do/ACTPRV:-CONC.CND foreign.country-ALL much-ADV NEG go:-PF/AOR.POL
 'In Korea, all the way into the 1980s, people did not go abroad much.'

If we accept that both *e* and *e·sə* express a perceptually privileged spatial anchor, however, then the fact that the normal solution is SOURCE-*esə* DESTINATION-*ilo* means further that the expression of a complete translative path tends to be associated with placing the spatial anchor on the starting point of motion. Why this should be so will have to remain unresolved in the absence of psycholinguistic and cross-linguistic evidence. All that can be said at this point is that there is another, although rare alternative in the sequence ORIGIN-*ilo·putʰə* GOAL-*e*, notably based on the expansion of *ilo* with *putʰə* ' = ORIGINATIVE, all the way from':

- (46) 70년대에는 시골로부터 서울에 오는 사람이 엄청 많았다.
 70+nyəntɛ-e-nin sikol-lo·putʰə səul-e o-nin salam-i əmchəŋ manh-ass-ta.
 70+decade-LOC-SEL countryside-DST*ORIG Seoul-ALL come-DYN.AT person-SBJ massively many-PF/AOR-FML.DCL
 'In the 70's massive numbers of people came from the countryside to Seoul.'

Significantly, however, this solution is again anomalous where the inherent perceptual focus lies on the disappearance of the pertinent entity from the start of its path:

- (47) {시골에서 도시로 | *시골로부터 서울에} 가버리는 사람들 때문에
 {sikol-esə tosi-lo | *sikol-lo•put^{hə} səul-e} ka-pəli-nin salam-til ttəmun•e
 {countryside-ABL Seoul-DST | countryside-DST•ORIG Seoul-ALL} go:FIN-IRR-V-DYN.AT person-PL reason•LOC
 지방이 개발되지 못했다고 할 수도 있겠다.
 cipəŋ-i kepal•twœ-ci mos.hɛ-ss-ta-ko ha-l su-to iss-kess-ta.
 province-SBJ develop[•INCH]-PROP NCTL.NEG_{TV}-PF/AOR-FML-QOT do/say-PSP POT-INCL be.there/FV-ASMP-FML.DCL
 'One could even claim that the provinces remained underdeveloped because of all the people who left
 the countryside for Seoul.'

The reason is that the perceptual focus here lies on the disappearance of people from the countryside, making this and not the cities the likely spatial anchor.

3.1.3 Animacy as a situational parameter in LOCATIONAL pattern choice

During my investigation into the BASIC LOCATIONAL patterns in the previous subsection, I introduced a number of systemically relevant perceptual distinctions. The first of these pertained to the scale of the situational setting, where we identified three significant magnitudes: cartographic, environmental and localised settings. The second pertained to the perceptual properties of the entities involved in spatial reference, where we distinguished between (spatially distributed and extended) localities and (spatially dense) physical objects. Proceeding on the basis of these distinctions, I argued that the LOCATIONAL patterns require a contiguous figure-ground relation between the positioned entity and the LOCATIONAL referent. On the cartographic and environmental scale, this requirement means that the LOCATIONAL pattern is limited to referents that have locality features and include the positioned entity within its boundaries. Landmarks that do not fulfil this criterion, on the other hand, can only appear in the ATTRIBUTE slot of complex LANDMARK SPACE patterns. On the localised scale, on the other hand, the difference between localities and physical objects dissolves, and the LOCATIONAL patterns is instead limited to referents that are the perceptual ground of a spatial or force-dynamic configuration, as expressed by the verb.

Given all these constraints on the BASIC LOCATIONAL patterns, it would be strange indeed if animate entities were to appear freely in the particle-marked head noun slot of any LOCATIONAL pattern, even one based on formally distinct Animate Locational particles. Thus, although animate entities could certainly be perceived as a ground on the localised scale, particularly in relation to contact or attachment, they are even less likely to be perceived as localities within larger-scale cartographic and environmental settings than physical objects. Clearly then, there must be other factors that motivate the

existence and use of the Animate Locational particles.

In the literature, on the other hand, the Animate Locative particles *eke* and *hant^{he}* are generally viewed as direct counterparts of the Basic Locative particle *e*, and there is indeed overwhelming evidence for close systemic proximity. Thus, the syntagmatic distribution of the pertinent argument patterns overlaps across the largest part of their usage spectrum, and this distributional overlap is matched by a close referential-semantic proximity. The upshot is that the usage of *eke* and *hant^{he}* ranges across both locative and dative spectrums, with the contrast between paradigmatic argument pairs largely boiling down to the animate ~ inanimate dichotomy. We shall return to this issue below and indeed throughout this thesis.

The strong overlap in syntagmatic distribution is complemented by a strong distributional overlap within the particle system itself, where the forms of both Basic and Animate Location particles consistently appear in the same structural slot of the complex particles:

	BASIC	ANIMATE	
LOCATION / LANDMARK	<i>e</i>	<i>eke</i>	<i>hant^{he}</i>
+ SOURCE	<i>e•sə</i>	<i>eke•sə</i>	<i>hant^{he}•sə</i>
+ TRANSFER	<i>e•ta</i>	<i>eke•ta</i>	<i>hant^{he}•ta</i>
+ DESTINATION	<i>e•lo</i>	<i>eke•lo</i>	<i>hant^{he}•lo</i>

Lastly, *eke* and *hant^{he}* (and the complex particles), cannot be ‘dropped’ and tend to remain before Delimiter particles such as the so-called ‘topic particle’ *nin* ‘SELECTIVE’ or *to* ‘INCLUSIVE, also’:

- (48) a. 사장님 {에 게 | 한 테 | ?? Ø} 말씀드렸습니까?
 sacaŋ+nim-{*eke* | *hant^{he}* | ?? Ø} malssim+tily-əss-supni•kka?
 boss+HON-{AN.LOC | AN.LOC | ?? Ø} speak+HML-PF-FML.POL•QST
 ‘Have you told the boss?’
- b. 사장님 {에 게 | 한 테 | ?? Ø} 도 말씀드렸습니까?
 sacaŋ+nim-{*eke* | *hant^{he}* | ?? Ø}-to malssim+tily-əss-supni•kka?
 boss+HON-{AN.LOC | AN.LOC | ?? Ø}-INCL speak+HML-PF-FML.POL•QST
 ‘Have you told the boss too?’

In this they clearly pattern with all the other Oblique particles, and not with the two Core ‘case’ particles *ka/i* (SUBJECT) and *lil* (OBJECT) that are often omitted and cannot appear before the Delimiter particles:

(49) **Oblique particles: No omission, used with Delimiter particles**

- a. 진희는 공원{에|로|??Ø} 나갔어요.
 cinhiy-nin koŋwən-{e|i|lo|??Ø} na-ka-ss-ə-yo.
 Chinhee-SEL park-{LOC|DST|*Ø} move.out:FIN-go:-PF-POL
 'Chinhee has gone out to the park.'
- b. 공원{에|으로|Ø}는 못 가죠.
 wœkuk-{e|i|lo|Ø}-nin mos ka-c-yo.
 foreign.country-{LOC|DST|Ø}-SEL NCTL.NEG go-PROP-POL
 Eqv: 'Going abroad is just not on the cards you know.'

(50) **Core Subject and Object particles: Prolific omission, not with Delimiter particles**

- a. 나 커피 못 샀어.
 na-Ø khəp^{hi}-Ø mos sa-ss-ə.
 I(SBJ) coffee(ACC) NCTL.NEG buys:-PF-FIN
 'I couldn't get any coffee.'
- b. 주희{Ø|*가}는 영어{Ø|*를}도 못 하죠.
 cuhiy-{Ø|*ka}-nin yəŋə-{Ø|*lil}-to mos ha-c-yo.
 Chuhee-{Ø|*SBJ}-SEL English-{Ø|*ACC}-INCL NCTL.NEG go-PROP-POL
 'Chuhee can't even speak English.'

Particularly in recognition of this, the Animate Locational particles are generally put into the 'adverbial case particle' group that includes all argument-marking particles apart from the Subject and Object particles. Even so, many authors treat *eke* and *hant^{he}* as the Korean manifestation of the cross-linguistic dative category and accord them a rather special status as a case marker for the 'indirect object' (see f.ex. Jaehoon Yeon 2003: 22). Some authors, on the other hand, follow the approach taken by the earlier Kukōhak tradition and treat them as manifestations of the same cross-linguistic 'locative' category as the Basic Locative particle *e* (see f.ex. Ch'oe Hyōn-bae 1937/61, Chang Suk-Jin 1996: 56-7, Yi Ik-sōp & I Sang-ōk 1997: 169). In the present subsection we shall try to reapproach the place and function of the Animate Locative patterns in relation to the Basic particle patterns by looking at what conditions the choice of each pattern.

[1] *ANIMATE and BASIC LOCATIONAL patterns in the locative spectrum*

As I already outlined, the syntagmatic distribution of the pertinent argument patterns overlaps across the largest part of their usage spectrum, and this distributional overlap is matched by a close referential-semantic proximity right across the locative-dative continuum. The following are some straightforward contrasts that illustrate the distributional and semantic overlap between the GOAL-*e* and ANIMATEGOAL-*hant^{he}* or ANIMATEGOAL-*eke* patterns at their most locative-like, in reference to a goal-like path

endpoint or contact ground:

- (51) a. **맡며느리가** **친정인 대구에** **가서** **첫 딸을** **낳았다.**
 mat+myənili-ka c^hincəŋ-i-n təkū-e ka-sə c^həs+ttal-il nah-ass-ta.
 firstborn+daughter-in-law-SBJ own.family-CPL-PF taegu-ALL go:CS.SQ first+daughter-ACC give.birth.to-PF/AOR-DCL
 'First Daughter-in-Law went to her home town Taegu and gave birth to her first daughter.' (=Cp)
- b. **맡며느리가** **친정어머니에게** **가서** **고민을** **털어놓았다.**
 myənili-ka cincəŋ+əməni-eke ka-sə komin-il t^həl.e.noh-ass-ta.
 daughter-in-law-SBJ own.family+mother-AN.ALL go:CS.SQ heartache-ACC divulge-PF/AOR-DCL
 'First Daughter-in-Law went to her mother in Taegu and told her everything.'
- (52) a. **자전거가 미끄러져** **가로수에 부딪쳐** **쓰러졌다.**
 cacənkə-ka mikkil·əcy-ə kalosu-e putic^hy-ə ssil·əcy-əss-ta.
 bike-SBJ slips[·INCH]-FIN/CNSC lamppost-ALL hit.against-FIN/CNSC tumble[·INCH]-PF/AOR-DCL
 'The bicycle skidded against the lamppost and fell over.' (=Cp)
- b. **뛰다가 형아한테** **부딪쳐서** **넘어졌지.**
 ttwi-taka hyəŋa-hant^he putic^hy-əsə nəm·əcy-əss-ci.
 leap-ABR.SQ male's.eld.brother-AN.LOC hit.against-CS.SQ fall.over[·INCH]-PF/AOR-PROP
 'He ran into his cousin and fell over, silly boy.'
- (53) a. (...) **거머리가 다리에 달라붙어** **떼어내던** **기억이 생생합니다**
 kəməli-ka tali-e tallaput^h-ə tte-ə-ne-tən kiək-i sənseŋ.ha-pni·ta.
 leech-SBJ leg-ALL cling-FIN/SQ remove-FIN-take.out-RSP.AT memory fresh-FML.POL·DCL
 'I still remember vividly when we were planting rice and a leech **clung to my leg** and I had to wrench it off myself.' (=Cp)
- b. **그녀는** **참거머리처럼** **군인에게 달라붙어** **떨어지지 않았다.**
⁰ki+nyə-nin⁰ chalkəməli-č^hələm kunin-eke tallaput^h-ə ttəl·əci-ci anh-ass-ta.
⁰that+female-SEL⁰ leech-EQU soldier-AN.ALL cling-FIN/SQ drop[·INCH]-PROP NEGFV-PF/AOR-FML
 'She **clung to the soldier** like a limpet and wouldn't let go.' (=Cp)

And a similarly close overlap can be found in more idiomatic and abstract uses:

- (54) a. **나는 주어진 생활에** **너무 익숙하다.**
 na-nin cu-əci-n sən^hwal-e nəmu iksuk.ha-ta.
 I-SBJ give-INCH-PF.AT life-ALL too familiar-DCL
 'I'm far too **used to the life** that I have.' (=Cp)
- b. **남편에게** **익숙해졌더니** **시집살림도** **편해졌다.**
 namp^hyən-eke iksukhe-cy-əss-təni sicip+sallim-to p^hyənhe-cy-əss-ta.
 husband-AN.LOC familiar-INCH-PF-RSP.BG.SQ husband's.house+life-INCL comfortable-INCH-PF-DCL
 'Once I got **used to my husband**, married life became much easier.'
- (55) a. **내 피부색에는** **금이 잘 안 어울리는 것같애.**
 ne p^hipu+sek-e-nin kim-i cal an əulli-nin kəs+kat^h-ε.
 I.AT skin+colour-LOC-SEL gold-SBJ TEND NEG suits-DYN.AT thing+seem-FIN
 'Gold doesn't seem to **suit my skin colour**.
- b. **나한테는** **금이 잘 안 어울리는 것같애.**
 na-hant^he-nin kim-i cal an əulli-nin kəs+kat^h-ε.
 I-AN.LOC-SEL gold-SBJ TEND NEG suits-DYN.AT thing-seem-FIN
 'Gold doesn't seem to **suit me**.

On the other hand, however, the Basic–Animate split in the Korean particle system comes with some clear asymmetries. The first major asymmetry arises from the fact that the obligatory GOAL ~ SOURCE distinction in *e* and *esə* is not properly mirrored on the ANIMATE side, where explicit SOURCE marking with *eke•sə* or *hant^he•sə* is effectively optional and tends to be dispreferred in all but the most prescriptively controlled registers:

- (56) a. 가족들한테 떨어져서 사니까 생각보다 힘들더라.
 !? 가족들한테서
 kacok-til-hant^he ttəl•əcy-əsə sa-nikka seŋkak-pota himtil-tə-la.
 !? kacok-til-hant^he•sə
 family-PL-AN.LOC fall.off[•INCH]-CS.SQ live-BG.SQ thought-CMPR hard-RSP-EMPH
 family-PL-AN.LOC•ABL
 Egv: 'Living apart **from** my wife and kids turned out to be harder than I thought.'
- b. 친구들에게 간단한 문안 편지만 받아도 반가워 (...)
 !! 친구들에게서
 c^hinku-til-eke kantan.ha-n munan p^hyənci-man pat-ato pankaw-ə
 !! c^hinku-til-eke•sə^o
 friend-PL-AN.LOC simple-PF.AT well.being.enquiry letter-XCL get-CONC.CND gratifying-FIN/CNSC
 friend-PL-AN.LOC•ABL
 Egv: 'He was pleased to receive even simple greeting cards **from** his friends (...)' (=Cp+)

The ANIMATE SOURCE patterns tend to be chosen more often in cases of potential ambiguity, but even then the simple ANIMATE LOCATIONAL patterns occur frequently:

- (57) 아빠한테 전화 왔는데 좀 늦게 들어오신대.
 !! 아빠한테서
 appa-hant^he cənhwa w-ass-ninte com nic-ke til-ə-o-si-n-tə.
 !! appa-hant^he•sə
 dad-AN.LOC phone come-PF/AOR-CIR.CJ a.bit late-ADV enter-FIN-come-HON-DYN-DCL.RPT:FIN
 dad-AN.LOC•ABL
 Egv: 'Dad called; he's gonna be a bit late today.'

Here, the first sentence structure *appa-hant^he cənhwa w-ass-ninte* could also mean 'a phone call came to/for dad = somebody called for dad'. In actual usage of course, linguistic context and experiential background tend to leave little scope for interpretational ambiguity.

In the literature, the choice of the simple ANIMATE LOCATIONAL patterns for source-like referents is usually viewed in terms of optional 'contraction' or 'abbreviation' of the supposedly underlying particles *eke•sə* and *hant^he•sə*. In other words, although the Speaker actually chooses the forms *eke* and *hant^he*, these are not viewed as instances of the pertinent particles but instead as shortened variants of the Source particles *eke•sə* and

hant^he•sə. However, aside from the dubious utility of such ad-hoc explanations, such claims seem hardly consistent with the fact that the supposedly shortened versions are frequently the only normal choice.

The second major asymmetry arises from the fact that the opposition between the structurally distinct Location and Destination particles *e* and *lo* has no counterpart on the Animate particle side. There, the closest correspondent is the opposition between *eke* or *hant^he* and its expansions *eke•lo* and *hant^he•lo*, but again this structural opposition is not matched on the distributional side. This is particularly so at the most locative-like end of the spectrum, where explicit DESTINATION marking is not only optional but widely dispreferred, particularly in more Colloquial registers:

- (58) a. 엄마 방해하지 말고 방{에 | 으로} 가서 놀아!
 əmma paŋhɛ.ha-ci mal-ko paŋ-{e | ilo} ka-sə nol-a!
 mum obstruct-PROP DESIST-PF.SQ room-{ALL | DST} go-CS.SQ play-FIN
 'Stop being in my way; go to your room and play!'
- b. 엄마 방해하지 말고 아빠{한테 | *한테로} 가서 놀아!
 əmma paŋhɛ.ha-ci mal-ko appa-{hant^he | *hant^he-lo} ka-sə nol-a!
 mum obstruct-PROP DESIST-PF.SQ dad-{AN.LOC | *AN.LOC-DST} go-CS.SQ play-FIN
 'Stop being in my way; go to daddy and play.'
- (59) a. 언니는 집{에 | 으로} 돈 자주 보내나 봐.
 ənni-nin cip-{e | ilo} ton cacu pone-na_pw-a.
 fem's.old.sister-SEL house/home{LOC | DST} money regularly send-SENS-FIN
 'She seems to be sending money back home regularly.'
- b. 언니는 어머니{한테 | ??한테로} 돈 자주 보내나 봐.
 ənni-nin əməni-{hant^he | ??hant^he-lo} ton cacu pone-na_pw-a.
 fem's.old.sister-SEL mother-{AN.LOC | ??AN.LOC-DST} money regularly send-SENS-FIN
 'She seems to be sending money to her mother regularly.'

In the literature, the overall preference for the simple ANIMATE LOCATIONAL patterns in these cases does not seem to have received any notice. Again, however, one may wish to argue that the *eke* and *hant^he* here are shortened variants of *eke•lo* and *hant^he•lo*, although such a claim seems even less warranted than in the SOURCE case. Alternatively, one could argue that the relevant paradigmatic relation is that between the GOAL-*e* and ANIMATEGOAL-*eke* or ANIMATEGOAL-*hant^he* patterns. Against this, however, stands the fact that ANIMATE GOAL arguments also occur in syntagmatic contexts in which GOAL-*e* arguments are dispreferred due to a strong tendency towards source anchorage (see §3.1.2):

- (60) a. 새댁은 아이를 데리고 시어른 방{!ʔ 에* | ilo} 건너가 한편에 누웠다.
 sətək-in ai-lil teli-ko si.əlɪn paŋ-{|ʔ e* | ilo} kənnəka han+yəp^h-e nwi-yəss-ta.
 bride-SEL child-ACC take-PF.SQ father.in.law room-DST go.across:FIN/SQ very+side-ALL lay-PF/AOR-DCL
 'The young mother carried the child over to her father-in-law's room and laid it next to him.' (=Cp+)
- b. 새댁은 아이를 데리고 시어른{에게 | ??에게로} 건너가 한편에 누웠다.
 sətək-in ai-lil teli-ko si+əlɪn-{|eke | ?? eke•lo} kənnəka han+yəp^h-e nwi-yəss-ta.
 new.bride-SEL child-ACC take-PF.SQ father.in.law-{AN.ALL | ??AN.LOC•DST} go.across:FIN/SQ very+side-ALL lay-PF/AOR-DCL
 'The young mother carried the child over to her father-in-law and laid it down next to him.'
- (61) a. 별 수 없이 나는 일어서서 문가{* 에* | 로} 다가갔다.
 pyəlsu.əps-i na-nin il-ə-sə-sə mun+ka-{|* e* | ilo} tak-a-ka-ss-ta.
 have.no.solution-ADV I-SEL rise-FIN-stand-CS.SQ door+edge-DST approach-FIN-go-PF/AOR-DCL
 'Not knowing what to do, I stood up and approached the door.' (=Cp+)
- b. 그는 잔을 내려 놓고 천천히 그녀{에게* | 에게로} 다가갔다.
 ki-nin can-il nely-ə-noh-ko c^hənc^hən•hi ki+nyə-{|eke* | eke•lo} tak-a-ka-ss-ta.
 that/he-SEL glass-ACC lowers-FIN-put-PF.SQ leisurely[•ADV] that+female-{AN.ALL | AN.LOC•DST} approach-FIN-go-AOR-DCL
 'He put down his glass and approached the woman.' (=Cp+)
- (62) a. (...) 국민의 권리를 그런 자들{한테 | 한테로} 넘겨줄 순 없어요.
 kukmin-iy kwənli-lil kilə-n ca-til-{|hant^he | hant^he•lo*} nəmkyəcu-l su-n əps-ə-yo.
 nation-AT right-ACC like.that-PF.AT person-PL-{AN.ALL | AN.LOC•DST} hand.over-PSP POT-SEL be.NEG-FIN-POL
 'We can't just hand our civil rights over to people like that.' (=Cp+)
- b. (...) 국민의 권리를 그런 데{* (에) | 로} 넘겨줄 순 없어요.
 kukmin-iy kwənli-lil kilə-n te-{|* (e) | lo} nəmkyəcu-l su-n əps-ə-yo.
 nation-AT right-ACC like.that-PF.AT place-{|* ALL | DST} hand.over-PSP POT-SEL be.not.there-FIN-POL
 'We can't just hand our civil rights over to places (=groups/institutions) like that.'

Effectively then, although their closest relationship remains that to the Location particle *e*, the Animate Locational particles *eke* and *hant^he* can and should also be considered in relation to *ilo*. We shall see further evidence for this under the next heading.

[3] LOCATIONAL patterns and the 'goal-recipient' continuum

As we have just seen, the usage continuum of the ANIMATE LOCATIONAL patterns begins right within the POSITION and TRANSLATIVE GOAL spectrum. The larger part of their usage, however, does indeed coincide with the cross-linguistic dative spectrum. This includes first of all instances that refer to the recipient of control transfer. Here, however, the transition between the ANIMATE GOAL and RECIPIENT spectrums is gradual and full of instances that relate to BASIC GOAL and DESTINATION arguments with clear locative-like properties:

- (63) a. 언니는 자주 장모님한테 돈 보내니까 신경 좀 쓰이나 봐.
 ənni-nin cakku caŋmo+nim-hant^he ton pone-nikka sinkyərj com ssii-na_pwa.
 fem's.old.sister-SEL often mother.in.law-AN.ALL/DAT money send-EXPL.CJ nerves MOD get.used-SENS-FIN
 Korea-{ALL | DST}
 'It seems to bother him that his wife keeps sending money {to her mother | to Korea}.'

- b. 서류를 사무실 최 선생님께서 제출했는데요.
 서류실{에|로}
 səlyu-lil samusil c^hwœ sənseŋnim-eke cec^hul.hɛ-ss-ninte-yo.
 samusil-{e|lo}
 documents-ACC office Choi teacher-AN.ALL/DAT submit:-PF/AOR-CIR-POL
 office-{ALL|DST}
 ‘But I submitted the documents {to Ms Choy in the office | to the office}.’

And a similar paradigmatic relation can be observed for information transfer situations:

- (64) 식구들한테도 예정을 알려줘야 되니까 빨리 정하자.
 집{에|으로}도
 sikku-til-hant^he-to yecəŋ-il ally-ə-cw-aya_twœ-nikka ppal•li cəŋha-ca.
 cip-{e|ilo}-to
 family.members-PL-AN.ALL/DAT-INCL schedule-ACC let.know-FIN-give/BEN-NCS-EXPL.CJ quick•ADV decide.on-HORT
 home-{ALL|DST}
 Both: ‘We have to let the family know our plans too, so let’s decide soon.’

Lastly, the ANIMATE LOCATIONAL patterns are ubiquitously used to refer to the recipient-like human participant of communicative actions. Closely related to information transfer, this situation type is also part of the social interaction spectrum, and as such also associated with the cross-linguistic dative category. Again, however, we find many instances that relate to locative-like BASIC GOAL and DESTINATION arguments:

- (65)a. 엄마한테 전화했어?
 집{에|으로}
 əmma-hant^he cənhwa+hɛ-ss-ə?
 cip-{e|ilo}
 mother-AN.ALL/DAT phone+do-PF:-FIN
 house/home-{LOC|DST}
 ‘Have you phoned {mum | home}?’
- b. 그는 앞자리에 앉은 직원에게 고개 숙여 인사한 다음 자리에 앉았다.
 직원이 앉은 자리{! 에|로}*
 ki-nin ap^h cali-e anc-in cikwən-eke koke suky-ə insa,ha-n taɪm cali-e anc-ass-ta.
 cikwən-i anc-in cali-{! e|lo}*
 he-SEL front seat-LOC sit-PF.AT-employee-AN.LOC head inclines-FIN/SQ greet-PF.AT next place-ALL sit-PF/AOR-DCL
 employee-PL-SBJ sit-PF.AT seat-{! LOC|DST}
 ‘After nodding {at the employee sitting opposite | towards where the employee was sitting} he sat down.’ (=Cp+)

The paradigmatic pairs in 63-65 further highlight the systemic locative–dative continuity in the Korean system, as well as the fact that the ANIMATE GOAL/RECIPIENT patterns should be viewed in relation to both GOAL-*e* and DESTINATION-*ilo* patterns.

The cross-linguistic ‘dative’ and ‘recipient’ categories are of course typically associated with ontological animacy, although languages then vary in the degree to which patterns associated with animate recipients are extended to minimally animate or inanimate referents. In this respect, the Korean ANIMATE LOCATIONAL patterns are definitely on the restrictive side, and widely used only for humans and mammals with

human behaviour features (chiefly predators and domestic animals). Where animacy is low or minimal, on the other hand, BASIC LOCATIONAL patterns are the preferred or normal choice:

- (66) a. 고양이한테 물 줬어?
 토끼{한테 | !? 에 | * 로}
 도마뱀{한테 | 에 | * 으로}
 꽃{??한테 | 에 | * 으로}
 koyari-hant^{he} mul cw-əss-ə?
 t^hokki-{hant^{he} | !? e | * lo}
 tomapəm-{hant^{he} | e | * lo}
 kkoc^h_{?? hant^{he} | e | * ilo}
 cat-AN.ALL/DAT water give-PF/AOR-FIN
 rabbit-{AN.ALL/DAT | !? ALL | * DST}
 lizard-{AN.ALL/DAT | ALL | * DST}
 flower-{??AN.ALL/DAT | ALL | * DST}
 'Have you given water {to the cat | to the rabbit | to the lizard | to the flowers}?'
 b. 양로시설의 거주자에게[Ⓢ] 특별 급식비를 지원하는 등 (...)
 양로시설{에 | 로[Ⓢ]} t^hikpyəl kipsik+pi-lil ciwən.ha-nin tin
 yarŋlo+sisəl-iy kəcuca-eke[Ⓢ] t^hikpyəl kipsik+pi-lil ciwən.ha-nin tin
 yarŋlo+sisəl-{e | * lo[Ⓢ]}
 elderly.care+facility-AT resident-AN.ALL/DAT special meal.provision+cost-ACC support-DYN.AT etc
 elderly.care+facility-ALL
 'For example, subsidising special meal costs {to care homes | to residents of care homes} (...)' (=Cp+)

Note that in this kind of recipient-like usage, the DESTINATION patterns are usually anomalous. And of course, we would have to assign 'dative' function to the Basic Locative particle pattern, too. Examples such as this thus further highlight the fact that the crosslinguistic locative and dative form a single continuum in the Korean system.

At this point, one could wish to argue with some justification that sentence pairs such as 66a-b prove that the Animate Locational particles correspond primarily or exclusively to the Basic Location particle *e*. In fact, however, the DESTINATION-*ilo* pattern is ruled out only where the perceptual focus lies on the receiving endpoint of the control transfer event. Otherwise the DESTINATION-*ilo* pattern can be quite normal:

- (67) 형한테 돈 갚아야 되니까 넉넉하게 못 살고 있지.
 은행{에 | 으로} ton kap^h-aya+ twce-nikka nəknəkha-ke mos sal-ko_iss-ci.
 hyəŋ-hant^{he} inheŋ-{e | ilo}
 male's.old.brother-AN.ALL/DAT money(ACC) pay.back-NCS+ INACT.PRIV-EXPL.CJ ample-ADV NCTL.NEG live-PRG.CNT-PROP
 bank-{ALL | DST}
 'We have to pay money back {to my brother | to the bank}, so we don't live too comfortably.'

Here, it would not be unusual for the Speaker to anchor the control transfer path on the giving side, since he may easily be focussing on the disappearance of the money from his control. On the other hand, while perspective may condition the choice of Basic

Locational patterns, this would not lead to preference for the simple Animate Locative particle for an animate recipient. The upshot is again that the ANIMATE LOCATIVE patterns stand in a paradigmatic relation not only to its supposed counterpart GOAL-ey but also to DESTINATION-ilo .

[4] *Situational factors in LOCATIONAL pattern choice: 'Intermediate' and pseudo-animacy*

Traditionally, the Korean split between BASIC and ANIMATE LOCATIONAL patterns has been viewed in terms of lexically conditioned particle selection, as determined by the particle-marked noun's animacy. Effectively, this Lexicalist approach means that the LOCATIONAL patterns are analysed in compositional terms only, with little consideration given to the argument pattern as a whole and in turn as a part of the entire clause construction. And it means that the choice between BASIC and ANIMATE patterns is taken to be determined by *ontological* animacy, as a generalisable and invariant feature of the particle-marked noun or its signified category, with little consideration of instance-specific usage and attendant situation-specific factors. The Lexicalist approach and its assumptions are of course entirely in line with the Compositional and Lexical Feature Assumptions so predominant in the Contemporary Linguistic discourse of the past decades.

Overall, as we have seen throughout the data considered so far, the choice between the BASIC and ANIMATE LOCATIONAL patterns does indeed correlate strongly with the referent's ontological animacy. Surveys of actual usage, however, indicate that the utterance-specific pattern choice is strongly influenced by *situational* animacy. Even for the Lexicalist approach, this is rather obvious in cases of 'intermediate animacy'. Particularly in prototype approaches, this term usually covers two separate phenomena: the systemically ambiguous status of lower life forms (*lower animacy*), and the potential for perceiving animacy features in autonomous machines or human collectives and organisations (*pseudo-animacy*). In the Korean case, such entities may appear both in the BASIC and the ANIMATE LOCATIONAL patterns. The following are some instances from the GOAL-RECIPIENT spectrum:

- (68) 양식장에서 고기{에|에게} 항생제 같은 거 너무 많이 준대요.
 yaŋsik+caŋ-esə koki-{e|eke} haŋsɛŋce kat^h-in kə nəmu manh*i* cu-n-tɛ-yo.
 breeding+place-SET fish-{ALL|AN.ALL/DAT} antibiotic like-PF.AT thing(ACC) too much+ADV give-DYN-DCL:RPT-POL
 'In fish farming, they give the fish too many antibiotics and similar stuff.'
- (69)a. 외환 거래를 컴퓨터{에|한테} 맡겨서 위험하대.
 woehwan kələ-lil k^həmp^hut^h-{e|hanth^e} mat^hky-əsə wihəm.ha-tɛ.
 foreign.exchange deal-ACC computer-{ALL|AN.ALL/DAT} entrust-CS.SQ dangerous-DCL:REP:FIN
 'Letting the computer do all the foreign exchange transactions is very dangerous, they say.'
- b. 정부가 땅을 주로 부동산 대기업{에|에게} 파는 거지.
 cəŋpu-ka ttaŋ-il culo putɔŋsan tɛkiəp-{e|eke} pha-nin kə-ci.
 government-SBJ land-ACC mainly real.estate large.company-{ALL|AN.ALL/DAT} sell-DYN-FCTL-PROP
 'The government sells land mainly to large developers.'

The fact that the Korean speaker may choose to assimilate the description of the pertinent entities to the description of either inanimate or animate entities is not particularly significant, and can easily be dealt with by means of a gradient prototype approach. Two important facts, however, are rarely if ever recognised in the literature. The first is the rather obvious fact that the utterance-specific pattern choice is not random but conditioned by situation-specific animacy features of the referent. The second is the fact that situational animacy is determined by features that relate to an ontologically animate entity's agency potential. More precisely, pattern choice depends on the degree to which the referent shows behavioural features associated with an ontologically animate entity's potential for action, interaction and reaction within its environment.

In a considerable number of cases, situational animacy goes hand in hand with interpersonal situation features, that is features associated with the interaction between two animate entities. As already in the previous 69a-b, these may lead to the possible or even preferred choice of the ANIMATE GOAL-RECIPIENT patterns. The following are some more examples:

- (70)a. 고기들{한테|에} 정 좀 줘야 잘 커요.
 koki-til-{hanth^e|[!]e} cəŋ com cw-əya cal k^h-ə-yo.
 fish-{AN.ALL/DAT|[!]ALL} affection MOD give-NCS TEND big/grow-FIN-POL
 'You have to treat the fish with a bit of affection and they'll do well.'
- b. 한국이 일본{에게|!!에} 당연히 이길거지.
 hankuk-i ilpon-{eke|^{!!}e} tanyən+hi iki-l₁-kə-ci.
 Korea-SBJ Japan-{AN.ALL|ALL} of.course+ADV win-PSP/FUT-PROP
 'Of course Korea is going to win against Japan!'
- c. 삼성이 미쯔비시{에게|*에} 가서 승용차 공동 생산을 제안했다.
 samsəŋ-i miccipsi-{eke|*e} ka-sə siŋyɔŋc^ha koŋtoŋ sɛŋsan-il cean.hɛ-ss-ta.
 Samsung-SBJ Mitsubishi-{AN.ALL/DAT|*ALL} go-CS.SQ passenger.car joint production-ACC propose:-PF-FML.DCL
 'Samseng has approached Mitsubishi and proposed the joint production of passenger cars.' (<Wb)

Note that the verbs in 70a-b are primarily INTERPERSONAL, suggesting the possibility of lexically driven selectional pressure from the verb. Such verb-driven pressure can, however, certainly not be discerned in 70c, where the verb's association with interpersonal events is not particularly strong, but the referent situation itself certainly has strong interpersonal features.

In the previous examples, the interpersonal features of the overall referent situation appeared to play a large part in the referent's situational animacy. In many other examples, however, situational animacy goes hand in hand with other agency-related situational features, as in the following contrast:

- (71) a. 양식장에서 고기에 항생제 같은 거 너무 많이 주니까
 !? 고기들에게
 yaŋsik+caŋ-esə koki-e haŋseŋce kat^{hi}-n kə nəmu manhi cu-nikka
 !? koki-til-eke
 breeding+place-SET fish-ALL antibiotic like-PF.AT thing(ACC) too much*ADV give-EXPLCJ
 !? fish-PL-AN.ALL/DAT
 건강에 안 좋대.
 kəŋkaŋ-e an coh-tə.
 health-LOC NEG good-DCL.RPT:FIN
 'On fish farms, they give the fish too many hormones. That is supposedly not good for our health.'
- b. !! 고기에 먹이를 안 주면 스트레스를 받는다고 한다.
 !! 고기들에게
 !! koki-e məki-lil an cu-myən si^{hi}lesil-lil pat-nin-ta-ko ha-n-ta.
 koki-til-eke
 fish-ALL feed-ACC NEG give-CND stress-ACC get/RCPT-DYN-DCL-QOT do/say/REP-DYN-FML.DCL
 fish-PL-AN.ALL/DAT
 'If the fish don't get fed, they get stressed, apparently.'

Here, in 71a the action of giving hormones is perceived in connection with its effect on the taste of the fish as food, and the BASIC GOAL pattern is more likely. In 71b, on the other hand, the action of (not) giving food is perceived in connection not only with the eating action of the fish, but also with their behavioural stress reaction to not having anything to eat, and the ANIMATE RECIPIENT pattern is by far the more likely choice. Note also the correlation between situational animacy and LOCATIONAL pattern choice, on the one hand, and the choice of the COLLECTIVE PLURAL marker *til* that is predominantly associated with human and animate groups.

That situation-specific features condition LOCATIONAL pattern choice is even more obvious in cases of pseudo-animacy, as the preference variation across the following shows:

- (72)a. 나머지는 컴퓨터{한테 || 에} 맡기면 돼요.
 naməci-nin kʰəmpʰytʰə-{hantʰe || e} mathki-myən twɛ-yo.
 remainder-SEL computer-{AN.ALL/DAT || ALL} entrust-CND become:-POL
 'The rest you can leave to the computer.'
- b. 컴퓨터{에 || 한테} 데이터만 입력하면 자가 알아서 계산해요.
 kʰəmpʰytʰə-{e || hantʰe} teitʰə-man iplyək.ha-myən ci-ka al-asə kyesan.hɛ-yo.
 computer-{ALL || AN.ALL/DAT} data-XCL input-CND self-SBJ know-CS.SQ calculate:FIN-POL
 'All you have to do is put the data into the computer and it'll do the calculations by itself.'
- c. 컴퓨터{에 | * 한테} 개인 데이터를 무조건 입력하면 위험해요.
 kʰəmpʰytʰə-{e | * hantʰe} kein teitʰə-lil mucəkən iplyək.ha-myən wihəm.hɛ-yo.
 computer-{ALL | * AN.ALL/DAT} data-ACC without.thought input-CND dangerous:FIN-POL
 'Putting personal data onto your computer carelessly is very dangerous.'

Clearly, the likelihood of the ANIMATE LOCATIVE pattern here varies with the strength of interpersonality and agency-related behavioural features. Consequently, in 72c, where the referent situation lacks such features, the BASIC LOCATIONAL patterns is the only viable option.

[5] *Ontological versus situational animacy: Unexpected pattern choice*

As we have just seen, ontological animacy is of limited utility in understanding the variable LOCATIONAL pattern choice in cases of intermediate animacy. Where ontological animacy is maximal, on the other hand, matters would appear to be much more clear-cut: nouns with human and other highly animate referents are indeed generally marked with the Animate Locational particles, as in the earlier examples under heading [1]-[3].

In fact, however, a survey of actual usage reveals a small but surprising number of cases in which typical 'animate' nouns appear marked with the Basic Location particle *e*. Most of these instances belong to more abstract or metaphorical uses of the GOAL patterns, and the referent tends to have a relatively low degree of individuation. There are, however, at least some cases that are clearly located within the relatively concrete PHYSICAL CONTACT or PHYSICAL TRANSFER spectrums:

- (73)a. 뛰다가 사람{에 || ?? 한테} 부딪쳐서 넘어졌지, 뭐.
 ttwi-taka salam-{e || ?? hantʰe} puticʰy-əsə nəmacy-əss-ci, =mwə.
 run-ABR.SQ person-{ALL || ?? AN.ALL/DAT} bump.against-CS.SQ fall.over-PF/AOR-PROP =what
 'He ran against somebody and fell over again, silly bugger.'
- b. 뒤트임 없는 유럽식은 뚱뚱한 사람{에 | 0 한테} 안 맞아.
 twi+thim əps-nin yuləp+sik-in ttugtugʰa-n salam-{e | 0 hantʰe} an mac-a.
 back+slit be.not.there-AT Europe+style-SEL chubby-PF.AT person-{ALL | 0 AN.ALL/DAT} NEG fit-FIN-POL
 'The European style with no slit in the back doesn't fit chubbier people.' (=Cp+)

- c. 요즘은 또 애기 {에 | 에게} 젖을 먹이면 제일 좋대요.
 yocim-in tto eki-{e | eke} cæc-il mæk•i-myən ceil coh-tæ-yo.
 recently-SEL again baby-{ALL | AN.ALL/DAT} breast-ACC feed[«eat•FACT»-CND most good-DCL.RPT:FIN-POL
 'These days they are again saying that one should breastfeed babies.'

In all these instances, the BASIC GOAL pattern is at least as normal as the ANIMATE LOCATIONAL pattern. A careful consideration of related instances, however, reveals that preferences may also vary with individuation and ego-proximity, that is ontological closeness to the Speaker:

- (74) a. 뛰다가 사람 {에 | ??한테} 부딪쳐서 넘어졌지, 뭐.
 ttwi-taka salam-{e | ??hantʰe} puticʰy-əsə nəmacy-əss-ci, =mwə.
 run-ABR.SQ person-{ALL | ??AN.ALL} bump.against-CS.SQ fall.over-PF/AOR-PROP=what
 'He ran against **somebody** and fell over again, silly bugger.' (=73a)
- b. 뛰다가 아빠 {한테 | !!에} 부딪쳐서 넘어졌지, 뭐.
 ttwi-taka appa-{hantʰe | !!e} puticʰy-əsə nəmacy-əss-ci, =mwə.
 run-ABR.SQ person-{ALL | !!AN.ALL} bump.against-CS.SQ fall.over-PF/AOR-PROP=what
 'He ran against {**his daddy** / **me**} and fell over again, silly bugger.'
- (75) a. 서양식 양복은 한국 사람 {에 | @한테} 안 맞거든요.
 sɔyɔnsik ɔnbok-in hankuk salam-{e | @hantʰe} an mac-kətin-yo
 Wester+stylesuit-SEL Korea person-{ALL | @AN.ALL} NEG fit-EXPL-POL
 'Western suits don't fit **Koreans** well.' (cf 73b)
- b. 여기서 파는 옷은 나같이 생긴 사람 {에 | @한테} 안 맞거든요.
 yəki-sə pʰa-nin os-in na-katʰ-i sɛŋki-n salam-{hantʰe | @e} an mac-kətin-yo.
 here-SET sell-DYN.AT clothes-SEL I-like•ADV come.to.be-PF.AT person-{AN.ALL | @ALL} NEG fit-EXPL-POL
 'The clothes they sell here don't fit **somebody** with **my** figure, you see.'
- c. 여기서 파는 옷은 나한테 안 맞거든요.
 yəki-sə pʰa-nin os-in na-{hantʰe | *e} an mac-kətin-yo.
 here-SET sell-DYN.AT clothes-SEL I-{AN.ALL | *ALL} NEG fit-EXPL-POL
 'The clothes they sell here don't fit **me**.'
- (76) a. 요즘은 또 애기 {에 | 에게} 젖을 먹이면 제일 좋대요.
 yocim-in tto eki-{e | eke} cæc-il mæk•i-myən ceil coh-tæ-yo.
 recently-SEL again baby-{ALL | AN.ALL/DAT} breast-ACC feed[«eat•FACT»-CND most good-DCL.RPT:FIN-POL
 'These days they are again saying that one should breastfeed **babies**.' (=73c)
- b. 애기 {한테 | ??에} 젖을 먹이고 싶은데 젖 잘 안 나와요.
 eki-{hantʰe | ??e} cæc-il mek•i-ko sipʰ-in•te cæc cal an na.w.a-yo.
 baby-{AN.ALL/DAT | ??ALL} breast-ACC feed[«eat•FACT»-PF.SQ/LNK want-PF•CIR.CJ breast(SBJ) TEND NEG come.out-FIN-POL
 'I want to breastfeed {my baby / him / her}, but I don't have enough milk.'

Note that individuation and ego-proximity do not necessarily lead to overt expression in the conventional sense, due to the simple fact that Korean has only rudimentary definiteness, number and pronoun systems. Nevertheless, *appa* in 74b and *eki* in 76b clearly refer to maximally identifiable individuals and may indeed be ascribed pronoun function. Consequently, they would preferentially appear in the ANIMATE LOCATIONAL patterns. For the First Person Pronoun *na* in 75c, on the other hand, these are virtually obligatory.

Both individuation and ego-proximity have of course been identified as parameters not only in the animacy or empathy hierarchies, but also in agentivity and transitivity (see Dixon 1979; Hopper & Thompson 1980; Klaiman 1991). In the following, however, the referent has high individuation, but still differential pattern choice is directly conditioned by situational animacy and agency:

- (77) a. 뛰다가 형아{에 | !! 한테} 부딪쳐서 넘어졌지, 뭐.
 ttwi-taka hyəŋa-{e | !! hant^{he}} putic^{hy}-əsə nəmacy-əss-ci, =mwə.
 run-ABR.SQ male's.eld.brother-{ALL | !! AN.ALL} bump.against-CS.SQ fall.over-PF/AOR-PROP=what
 'He ran against his brother and fell over again, silly bugger.'
- b. 뛰다가 형아{한테 | ?? 에} 부딪쳐서 둘이 싸웠지, 뭐.
 ttwi-taka hyəŋa-{hant^{he} | ?? e} putic^{hy}-əsə tul-i ssaw-əss-ci=mwə.
 run-ABR.SQ male's.eld.brother-{AN.ALL | ?? ALL} bump.against-CS.SQ two-SBJ fight-PF/AOR-PROP=what
 'He ran against his brother and they started fighting again, the two.'

Here, in 77a the older brother is a mere physical obstacle with low situational agency and animacy, and the BASIC GOAL pattern is at least normal if not preferred (at least unless he is perceived as an active and responsible participant). In 77b, on the other hand, the older brother is an agentive participant in the ensuing fight and thus has high situational agentivity and animacy, and the ANIMATE LOCATIONAL pattern is the much preferred choice.

Conversely, in the following the referent has low individuation, but differential LOCATIONAL pattern choice is directly conditioned by interpersonalitv:

- (78) a. 길에서 사람{에 | ?? 한테} 부딪쳐서 멍들었어요.
 kil-esə salam-{e | ?? hant^{he}} putic^{hy}-əsə mən+til-əss-ə-yo.
 road-SET person-{ALL | ?? AN.ALL} bump.against-CS.SQ bruise+move.in-PF/AOR-FIN-POL
 'I bruised myself running into somebody on the street.'
- b. 길에서 사람{한테 | ?? 에} 부딪치면 사과쯤 해야죠.
 kil-esə salam-{hant^{he} | ?? e} putic^{hi}-myən sakwa+ccim hē-ya-c-yo.
 road-SET person-{AN.ALL | ?? ALL} bump.against-CND apology+APRX do:-NCS-PROP-POL
 'If you run into somebody on the street you should at least apologise.'

Here, interpersonalitv goes hand in hand with situational animacy in the form of patientitv.

As I already mentioned, most cases of Basic Locational marking on nouns with ontologically animate referents belong to more metaphorical uses of the LOCATIONAL patterns. One case that is closely related to our earlier <physical fit> situations in 75 is represented in the following:

- (79) a. 그 회사의 사장인 그는 아직 그{에 || 에게*} 걸맞은 상대를
 ki hwesa-iy sacan-i-n ki-nin acik ki-{e | !! eke} kəl.mac-in san̥tə-lil
 that company-AT boss-CPL-PF.AT he-SEL still he-{LOC | !! AN.LOC} match-PF.AT counterpart-ACC
 못 찾아서 결혼을 못했다.
 mos c^hac-asə kyəlhon-il mos hē-ss-ta.
 NCTL.NEG find-CS.SQ marrying-ACC NCTL.NEG do:FIN-DCL
 'He still had not found anybody suitable yet and remained unmarried' (=Cp+)

- b. 남편{에 | ④ 한테} 익숙해졌더니 생활도 편해지더라고요.
 nam^hyən-{e | ④ hant^he} iksuk.hē-cy-əss-tə-ni seŋhwal-to p^hyənhe-ci-tə-la-ko-yo.
 husband-{ALL | ④ AN.ALL} used.to:-INCH-PF-RSP*BG.SQ daily.life-INCL comfortable:-INCH-RSP-EMPH-Ø-POL
 'Once I got used to my husband, life became easier.'

Here again, the choice of the BASIC LOCATIONAL pattern reflects low situational animacy, or more precisely a low situational salience of the referent's ontological agency potential. Thus, in 79a it is the likely choice because the salient aspect of the <matching> is the referent's social standing and circumstance, rather than his behaviour. Similarly, in 79b it would be the likely choice where the speaker had not lived with a man before and was apprehensive of married life, but got used to having and living with a husband⁵⁴. The ANIMATE GOAL pattern, on the other hand, would be preferred only where the husband's behaviour and therefore his agency is situationally relevant. That this is indeed so can be seen from the fact that it is preferred in the following:

- (80) 전에 많이 싸웠는데 이제 남편{한테 | ??에} 익숙해졌어요.
 cən-e manh*·*i ssaw-əss-ninte ince nam^hyən-{hant^he | ??e} iksuk.hē-cy-əss-ə-yo
 before-LOC much*ADV fight-PF/AOR-CIR.CJ by.now husband-{AN.ALL | ??ALL} used.to:-INCH-PF-FIN-POL
 'We used to fight a lot, but now I've got used to my husband.'

Another case of overall preference for the BASIC LANDMARK pattern are the metaphorical grounds that constitute a yardstick of comparison:

- (81) 신랑감 후보로 철수를 영수{에 || 에게*} 견줄 수야 없지.
 sinlaŋ+kam hupo-lo c^həlsu-lil yəŋsu-{e | !! eke*} kyəncu-l su-ya əps-ci.
 groom+material candidate-INST/EQU Chōlsu-ACC Yōŋsu-{ALL | !! AN.ALL} compare-PSP POT-FOC be.not-PROP
 'As a prospective groom, Chōlsu does really not compare with Yōŋsu.' (Dic+)

Presumably, the overall preference for the BASIC LANDMARK pattern here reflects the fact that comparisons of this kind tend to be based more on physical and social attributes than on behavioural properties. Again, this is corroborated by the preference for the ANIMATE LOCATIVE pattern in cases where behavioural features predominate:

⁵⁴ Indeed, from the interpretational point of view, one native informant felt that the BASIC GOAL pattern expressed not the husband as a person but the 'idea of a husband'. In other words, it connotes the social institution or role rather than the person. Note the similarities to the Basic/Inanimate particle *lo* in *Cinhiy-lil anə-lo sam-ass-ta* 'He made Chinhee into his wife. // He took Chinhee as his wife.'

- (82) 섹스는 철수를 영수{에게|!?에} 견줄 수야 없지.
 seksi-nin cʰəlsu-lil yəŋsu-{eke|!?e} kyəncu-l su-ya əps-ci.
 sex-SEL Chōlsu-ACC Yōŋsu-{AN.ALL|!?ALL} compare-PSP POT-FOC be.not-PROP
 'As far as sex is concerned, Chōlsu does not really compare with Yōŋsu.'

To conclude, as I emphasised, cases of Basic Locational marking on typical 'animate nouns' are exceptional and arise only under very narrowly circumscribed conditions. On the other hand, however, the data just surveyed shows that they are not random accidents, but systematically motivated in and conditioned by low situational animacy, particularly as relating to agency.

[6] *Animate entities in spatial reference: alternative solutions*

All the phenomena discussed so far in this subsection were of a kind that is at least visible to a particle-selection analysis. And indeed, the situation-specific choices discussed under the previous two headings could in principle be accommodated within such a compositional approach, provided that it views particle selection in relation to the actual utterance-specific referent rather than the noun or its 'semantic' or ontological category. On the other hand, however, it is quite obvious that much of what conditions the LOCATIONAL pattern choice lies at the level of the overall clause construction and its situational referent. Witness for example the correlation between, on the one hand, ANIMATE LOCATIVE pattern choice and, on the other hand, interpersonality features of the referent situation and the appearance of predominantly INTERPERSONAL verbs in the predicate. In other words, even the data surveyed so far is much more appropriately viewed in terms of a Construction Grammar approach.

Once we approach the Korean Oblique particle patterns from a constructional angle, however, it becomes immediately obvious that the ANIMATE LOCATIONAL patterns stand in a systemically significant paradigmatic relation with BASIC LOCATIONAL patterns that refer primarily not to the animate entity itself but to an associated space or locality, or its body or body part. These do of course belong to the same pattern family as the LANDMARK SPACE and WHOLE PART patterns encountered in the previous subsection (§3.1.2-[1]). Similarly to what we saw there for inanimate objects, the ANIMATELANDMARK SPACE patterns are associated with larger-scale cartographic and environmental settings:

- (83)a. 영희가 아버지에게 가서 앉았다.
 아버지 옆{에 | 으로}
 yəŋhii-ka apəci-eke ka-sə anc-ass-ta.
 apəci yəp^h-{e | ilo}
 Yŋghee-SBJ father-AN.ALL go:-CS.SQ sit.down-PF/AOR
 father side-{ALL | DST}
Lit: 'Yenghui went {to her father | to her father's side} and sat down.'
Eqv: 'Yenghui went and sat with her father.' (for both)

- b. 여름에는 애들 할머니한테 놀러 보낼거야.
 할머니 집{에 | 으로}
 yəlīm-e-nin ɛ-til halməni-hant^he nol-lə pone-l.kə.y-a.
 halməni cip-{e | ilo}
 summer-LOC-SEL child-PL(ACC) grandmother-AN.ALL play-PURP send-FUT-FIN
 grandmother house-{ALL | DST}
 'In the summer we'll send the children on holiday {to granny | to granny's}'

- c. 아가한테 블록 좀 그만 던져!
 아가 쪽{에 | 으로}
 aka-hant^he pillok com kiman təncy-əl
 aka ccok-{e | ilo}
 baby-AN.ALL block MOD no.more throw-FIN
 baby side.of.space-{ALL | DST}
Lit: 'Stop throwing blocks {at the baby | to the baby's side of space}.'
Eqv: 'Stop throwing blocks at your sister.' (for both)

The ANIMATE BODY(PART) patterns, on the other hand, are primarily associated with localised settings, as in the description of contact situations:

- (84)a. 아이, 아빠한테 앉어! 엄마가 아가한테 젖먹이고 있잖아!
 아빠 무릎에[Ⓢ]
 ai, appa-hant^he anc-əl əmma-ka aka-hant^he cəc+meki-ko_iss-canh-a!
 appa mulip^h-e[Ⓢ]
 tss daddy-AN.LOC sit-FIN mummy-SBJ baby-AN.ALL breast+feed[«eat+FACT»-PRG.CNT-RMND
 daddy lap-LOC
Both: 'Oh please, sit on you daddy's lap! Mummy's feeding the baby!' (PC+)
- b. 사람한테 부딪치면 사과쯤 해야지.
 사람 몸에
 salam-hant^he putic^hi-myən sakwa-ccim hɛ-ya-ci.
 salam mom-e
 person-AN.LOC bump.into-CND apology-APRX do:-NCS-PROP
 person body-LOC
Both eqv: 'If one bumps into somebody one should at least apologise.'

For the traditional analysis, there is nothing remarkable about the BASIC LOCATIVE arguments here: the ANIMATE noun appears only in embedded ATTRIBUTIVE position, the patterns involve additional lexical material in the head noun slot, and particle choice is entirely consistent with the inanimacy of this head noun and its category. And of course, where the SPACE or BODY(PART) slot contains semantically specific RELATIVE SPACE, LOCATION or BODY PART nouns such as yəp^h '(be)side' (83a), cip 'house' (83b) or mulip^h 'knee(s)' (84a), one could easily argue that the ANIMATE SPACE and ANIMATE

BODY(PART) patterns are simply chosen because the Speaker wishes to specify the exact location or bodypart.

There are, however, a number of reasons why the BASIC LOCATIVE patterns here need to be considered in relation to their ANIMATE LOCATIVE counterparts. For one, the two patterns are not only paradigmatically related, but may in some cases compete for the expression of the same or highly similar referent situations. Secondly, the ANIMATE SPACE and ANIMATE BODY(PART) patterns are not only highly frequent, but are in many other cases the preferred or only choice for the integration of animate entities into the expression of spatial settings. Thirdly, both patterns have highly frequent versions in which the SPACE and BODY noun slot is occupied by the maximally general nouns *ccok* 'side, section of space' and *mom* 'body' (see 83c,84b), and it consequently makes little sense to claim that they are chosen because the Speaker feels the need to be semantically specific. Instead, we need to look for other explanations.

[7] *Cognitive-perceptual constraints on ANIMATE LOCATIONAL patterns*

As I already pointed out, it would be rather inconsistent with the various Locality and Ground constraints on the BASIC LOCATIONAL patterns if the same system would allow ANIMATE LOCATIONAL patterns to be simply used to for animate entities as spatial reference landmarks. Thus, for a start, animate entities are even less likely to have locality features than physical objects. And in the case of cartographic and environmental settings, this is undoubtedly the primary factor that motivates the frequent expression of animate landmarks in the LANDMARK slot of the LANDMARK SPACE patterns, alternatively or often preferentially to the ANIMATE LOCATIONAL patterns:

(85)a. <Speaker tells child to go and stand next to grandmother for photoshoot>

저기, 할머니 옆에 가서 좀 서 봐!
 !! 할머니한테
 cəki, halməni yəp^h-e ka-se com sə pw-a!
 !! halməni-hant^he
 over.there grandmother-(be)side-ALL go-CS.SQ MOD stand:FIN EXPR-FIN
 grandmother-AN.ALL

Lit: 'Go over there {next to Granny | to Granny} and stand.'

Eqv (both): 'Go stand over there with granny.'

- b. 어제 유진이 집에 놀러 갔어.
 ?? 유진이한테
 ace yucin-i cip-e nol-lə ka-ss-ə.
 ?? yujin-i-hant^{he}
 yesterday Yujin-BUF house-ALL play-PURP go-PF/AOR-FIN
 Yujin-BUF-AN,ALL

Lit: 'Yesterday, I went to play at Yujin's house.' | *Eqv:* 'Yesterday I went to visit Yujin.'

Equivalent patterns and their motivated use can probably be found in all languages, including those with less strictly constrained spatial patterns. What makes the Korean ANIMATE.LANDMARK SPACE patterns systemically significant, however, is the high frequency of their general, preferred and obligatory usage.

In localised settings, on the other hand, an animate entity may well be perceived as the ground of force-dynamic contact. With respect to physical contact, however, the ground is not the animate entity as an animate entity, but only its physical body, or more often than not a perceptually salient part of its body. Clearly, it is at least to some degree this which motivates the frequent choice of BASIC LOCATIONAL patterns that present the animate entity only in the ATTRIBUTIVE slot before a BODY(PART) noun. Again, these patterns may occur alternatively to, but are often at least preferred to the ANIMATE LOCATIONAL patterns:

- (86) a. 애기 얼굴에는 이런 화장품 바르면 안 되죠!
 ① 애기에게는
 eki əlkul-e-nin ilə-n hwacəŋ+p^hum pali-myən an twœ-c-yo!
 ② eki-eke-nin
 baby face-ALL-SEL like.this-PF.AT make.up+good smear-CND NEG become/INACT.PRIV-PROP-POL
 ③ baby-AN,ALL-SEL

Both: 'You can't put this kind of cosmetic cream on a baby!'

- b. 들어갈 때 손에 도장을 찍는거야.
 * 손님한테
 til-ə-ka-l tte son-e tocaŋ-il ccik-nin•kə.y-a.
 * son•nim-hant^{he}
 move.in-FIN-go-PSP.AT time hand-ALL stamp-ACC punch-DYN•FCTL-FIN
 * customer[•HON]-AN,ALL
 'When you go in, they put a stamp on your hand.' (*As when entering club/concert etc*)

As before, it is not the existence of the ANIMATE.LANDMARK SPACE patterns but the high frequency of their general, preferred and obligatory usage that makes these universally available patterns significant in the Korean system.

Before we continue our investigation, it is worth emphasising that LANDMARK SPACE patterns have been the main diachronic source of Korean Animate Locational particles, both contemporary and obsolete:

<i>eke</i>	<i>eke</i> < ^Λ / <i>iykəy</i> < ^Λ / <i>iy+ki-ŋəy</i> AT+that-LOC (Kim Min-su et al 1997: 741/1) ... ^Λ / <i>iykiŋəy</i> < ^Λ / <i>iy+kək-iy</i> AT+there-LOC (Martin 1992: 499)
<i>kke</i>	<i>kke</i> < <i>qkəy</i> / <i>qkiy</i> < - <i>q+ki-ŋəy</i> AT/BUF-that-LOC (Kim Min-su et al 1997:164/2)
<i>hant^he</i>	<i>hant^he</i> < * <i>hante</i> < <i>hantəy</i> / <i>hantiy</i> < <i>han+təy</i> one/the.very+place (Martin 1992:499)
[†] <i>sontoy</i>	<i>sontəy</i> < <i>isy-on-təy</i> is.there-PF.AT spot/place (Martin 1992: 785/1)

In all these cases the SPACE noun has in the end turned into purely phonological material. On the other hand, however, their grammaticalisation does of course not come out of nowhere but presupposes prior entrenchment of what is at first a motivated LANDMARK SPACE pattern. Note also that the SPACE nouns involved signify categories that have the same generality as the contemporary *ccok* 'side, section' that appears in the semantically most general LANDMARK SPACE pattern of contemporary Korean.

[8] *Situational animacy as a general requirement on ANIMATE LOCATIVE pattern choice*

The facts outlined under the previous two headings throw up two rather different questions. The first pertains to the choice between the ANIMATE LOCATIVE and the ANIMATE SPACE-*ey* patterns. As I just argued, it is easy to understand why the latter might be preferred. This, however, leaves us with the question of why and when the ANIMATE LOCATIVE patterns would be used at all. The second question pertains to the choice between the ANIMATE LOCATIVE and the ANIMATE BODY(-PART)-*ey* patterns. Here, the animate entity does, after all, have the requisite <ground> features and nothing should thus prevent its appearance in the noun slot of a LOCATIONAL pattern. We are therefore left with the question of why and when the complex ANIMATE BODY(-PART)-*ey* should be used. As we shall see presently, the key to answering both of these question lies again in the *situational animacy* parameter.

Let us begin by having another look at data that would seem to involve a relatively free alternation between the ANIMATE LOCATIVE and the ANIMATE SPACE-*ey* patterns:

- (87) a. 영희가 아버지에게 가서 앉았다.
 아버지 옆{에 | 으}로
yəŋhii-ka apəci-eke ka-sə anc-ass-ta.
apəci yəp^h-{e | ilo}
 Yŏnghee-SBJ father-AN.ALL go:CS.SQ sit.down-PF/AOR-FML.DCL
 father (be)side-{ALL | DST}
Lit: 'Yenghui went {to her father | to her father's side} and sat down.'
Eqv (both): 'Yenghui went and sat with her father.' (=83a)

- b. 아가한테 블록 좀 그만 던져!
 아가 쪽{에 | 으로}
 aka-hant^he pillok com kiman tancy-ə!
 aka ccok-{e | ilo}
 baby-AN.ALL block MOD no.more throw-FIN
 baby side.of.space-{ALL | DST}
Lit: 'Stop throwing blocks {at the baby | to the baby's side of space}.'
Eqv (both): 'Stop throwing blocks at your sister.' (83c)

- (88)a. ㉠ 애기에게는 이런 화장품 바르면 안 되죠!
 애기 얼굴에는
 ㉠ eki-eke ilə-n hwacəŋ+p^hum pali-myən an twœ-c-yo!
 eki mom-e-nin
 ㉠ baby-AN.ALL like.this-PF.AT make.up+good smear-CND NEG become/INACT.PRIV-PROP-POL
 baby body-ALL
Lit: 'Putting this kind of cosmetic cream {on a baby | on a baby's face} is no good you know!'
Eqv (both): 'You can't use this kind of cosmetic (face)cream on a baby!' (=86a)

- b. 사람한테 부딪치면 사과쯤 해야지.
 사람 몸에
 salam-hant^he putic^hi-myən sakwa-ccim he-ya-ci.
 salam mom-e
 person-AN.ALL bump.into-CND apology-APRX do:-NCS-PROP
 person body-LOC
Eqv (both): 'If one bumps into somebody one should at least apologise.' (=84b)

Note that again the SPACE noun patterns may be based on either the GOAL or the DESTINATION pattern (N-e or N-ilo) whereas such differentiation of spatial anchoring is quite infrequent for the ANIMATE LOCATIVE particles.

At first sight, it would seem that the complex ANIMATE SPACE patterns in 87 are little different from the (INANIMATE)LANDMARK SPACE patterns that we encountered in the previous subsection (§3.1.2, esp [1]):

- (89)a. 영희가 문 옆{에 | 으로} 가서 앉았다.
 yəŋhii-ka mun yəp^h-{e | ilo} ka-sə anc-ass-ta.
 !! mun-{e | ilo}
 Yŏnghee-(SB)SEL door (be)side-{ALL | DST} go:-CS.SQ sit.down-PF/AOR-FML,DCL
 !! door-{ALL | DST}
 'Yenghui went and sat beside/by the door.'
 b. 상 쪽{에 | 으로} 블록 좀 그만 던져!
 상에
 saŋ ccok-{e | ilo} pillok com kiman tancy-ə!
 saŋ-e
 table-{ALL | DST} block MOD no.more throw-FIN
 table-ALL
 'Stop throwing balls against/at the furniture.'

And indeed, as I already pointed out, they may be similarly motivated, either as a response to the LANDMARK referent's lack of locality features (as in 87/89:a), or as an expression of spatial relations (as in 87/89:b).

When it comes to the contrast with the ANIMATE LOCATIVE patterns, however, closer

inspection reveals that the most important factor in the choice between the two patterns is again the referent's situational animacy. Consider the following, where utterance-specific preferences clearly vary with interpersonality features:

- (90)a. 영희가 아버지에게 가서 할 말을 다 했다.
 !? 아버지 옆에
 yəŋhii-ka apəci-eke ka-sə ha-l mal-il ta hess-ta.
 !? apəci yəp^h-e
 Yŏnghee-SBJ father-AN.ALL go-CS.SQ do/say-PSP.AT words-ACC CMPL do/say-PF/AOR-FML.DCL
 !? father (be)side-ALL
 'Yenghui went over to her father and told him what she had to say.'
- b. 영희가 아버지 옆에 가서 창 밖을 내다봤다.
 * 아버지에게
 yəŋhii-ka apəci yəp^h-e ka-sə c^haŋ pakk-il nɛ•ta•pw-ass-ta.
 * apəci-eke
 Yŏnghee-SBJ father (be)side-ALL go-CS.SQ window outside-ACC put,OUT:FIN*TRFR*look-PF/AOR-FML.DCL
 * father-AN.ALL
 'Yenghui went over (next to) her father and looked out of the window.' (*OK if he asked her to join)
- (91)a. <Toddler has thrown blocks at mother as power game etc>
 엄마한테 블록 던져서 벌 받고 있어.
 * 엄마 쪽{으로|에}
 əmma-hant^he pillok tancy-əsə pəl pat-ko_iss-ə.
 * əmma ccok-{ilo|e}
 mum-AN.ALL block throw-FIN punishment receive-PRG,CNT-FIN
 * mum side.of.space-{ALL|DST}
 'He's standing in the naughty corner (for punishment) cause he's thrown blocks at me.'
- b. <Baby has thrown around blocks and hit mother>
 아가 쪽으로 블록 던져서 눈 맞았어.
 !! 엄마한테
 əmma ccok-ilo pillok tancy-əsə nun mac-ass-ə.
 !! əmma-hant^he
 mum side.of.space-{ALL|DST} block throw-FIN eye get.hit-PF/AOR-FIN
 !! mum-AN.ALL
 'He's thrown blocks at me and hit me in the eye.'

As we can see, the ANIMATE LANDMARK pattern is preferred where interpersonality and hence the referent's situational agency and animacy are strong, but dispreferred or anomalous were such situational features are weak. Thus, in the potential referent situation(s) of 90a, the ontologically animate referent <father> is agentively involved in the situation as the person who has to listen (and respond) to what the subject referent has to say. In 90b, on the other hand, he is no more than a spatial landmark. And similarly, in the referent situation of 91a the mother is involved as a patientive participant (that is a participant who is denied agency and potential control), but in that of 91b she is more of a landmark for the throwing event. Note though that her patientive features in the consequent event make the ANIMATE LOCATIVE pattern rather more acceptable.

Situational animacy is also decisive in the following contrast between the RECIPIENT usage of the ANIMATE LOCATIVE patterns and the LANDMARK SPACE patterns. In this case, of course, interpersonality clearly goes hand in hand with the recipient's relative agentivity:

(92) a. <Speaker gives instructions to leave money with him for safekeeping etc>

돈은	여기 저한테	갖다주세요.
	{*여기 제 쪽으로 !? 이 쪽으로}	
ton-in	yəki cə-hant ^h e	kac•ta•cu-se-yo.
	{*yəki cə ccok-ilo !? i ccok-ilo}	
money-(ACC)SEL	here I.HML-AN.ALL	take•TRFR•give-HON-FIN-POL
	{*here I:AT side- DST !? this side-DST}	
'The cash, bring that over here to me.'		

b. <Speaker gives instructions to leave drinks at the location where he is (at party etc)>

돈은	{여기 제 쪽으로 이 쪽으로}	갖다주세요.
	*여기 저한테	
imlyosu-nin	{yəki cə ccok-ilo i ccok-ilo}	kac-ta-cu-se-yo.
	*yəki cə-hant ^h e	
money-(ACC)SEL	{here I:AT side- DST this side-DST}	take•TRFR•give-HON-FIN-POL
	*here I.HML-AN.ALL	
'The drinks, bring those over here to me.'		

Here, of course, the contrast is that between the Speaker as a control-taking recipient and as mere landmark for spatial reference. In cases such as these, the traditional 'dative' analysis is indeed pretty much on the mark.

To conclude then, once we look at pattern choice rather than particle choice, it is clear that it is indeed situational rather than ontological animacy that is the main factor in the choice of the ANIMATE LOCATIVE patterns over their BASIC, INANIMATE counterparts. And further, we have also seen that situational animacy is intimately bound up with situational agency and agentivity.

3.1.4 Animacy and agency restrictions on INSTRUMENTAL arguments

As briefly mentioned in the previous subsection, one of the core functions of the polysemous particle *ilo* is as a marker of INSTRUMENTAL arguments, whose referential spectrum ranges from implements and other concrete 'instrumental' entities, as well as raw materials, across to spatio-temporally distributed mechanisms and methods:

(93) a. 프랑스에서는 총으로 새를 잡는 것은 시민 권리라고 본다.
 phɪlɑŋsi-esə-nin cʰoŋ-ilo se-lil cap-nin kəs-in simin kwənli-lako po-n-ta.
 France-SET-SEL gun-INST bird-ACC catch-DYN.AT thing-SEL citizen right-CPL-DCL-QOT see-DYN-DCL
 'In France, hunting birds with guns is considered a citizen's right.'

- b. 언어는 한 교과서로 가르치는 것은 좋은 것 같습니다.
 ənə-nin han kyokwasə-lo kalic^hi-nin kəs-in coh-in kəs kat^h-sipni-ta.
 language-SEL one textbook-INST teach-DYN,AT thing-SEL good-PF,AT thing seem-FML,POL-DCL
 'I think it is best to teach languages **with a single textbook.**'
- c. 떡은 쌀로 만든 거야.
 ttək-in ssal-lo manti-n kə-y-a.
 Ttök-SEL rice.as,grain-INST make-PF,AT thing-CPL-FIN
 'Ttök are made **out of rice.**'
- d. 한국말로 얘기하죠.
 hankuk+mal-lo yeki.ha-c-yo.
 Korean+words-INST talk-PROP-POL
 'Let's talk **in Korean!**'

All of these uses are cross-linguistically widely attested.

It is, of course, a trivial experiential fact that the entities used by human agents in the performance of actions are predominantly inanimate objects, and consequently instrumental arguments with animate referents are relatively infrequent in any language. In contrast to many other languages, however, Korean does not allow animate referents in almost all conceivable uses:

- (94) a. !? 영국에서는 개로 여우를 잡는 것은 오래된 전통이다.
 yəŋkuk-esə-nin kə-lo yəu-lil cap-nin kəs-in olɛ.twœ-n cənt^hoŋ-i-ta.
 Britain-SET-SEL dog-INST fox-ACC catch-DYN,AT thing-SEL exist.long-PF,AT tradition-CPL-FML,DCL
 For: 'In England, hunting foxes **with dogs** has a long tradition.'
- b. * 요즘은 학부학생들을 대학원생으로 가르치는 게 보통이지.
 yocim-in hakpu.hakseŋ-til-il tɛhakwənsəŋ-ilo kalic^hi-nin ke pothoŋ-i-ci.
 nowadays-SEL undergraduate-PL-ACC postgraduate-INST teach-DYN,AT thing:SBJ normal-CPL-PROP
 For: 'Nowadays, it is normal practice to teach students **with postgraduate assistants** I'm afraid.'
- c. * 징병으로는 첨단군대를 만들 수 없다.
 ciŋpyəŋ-ilo-nin c^hemtan+kuntɛ-lil mantu-l su əps-ta.
 conscript-INST-SEL vanguard+army-ACC make-PSP POT be.not.there-FML,DCL
 For: 'One can't create a high-tech army **out of conscripts.**'
- d. * 아빠로 협박해도 소용없어.
 appa-lo hyəppak.hɛ-to soyoŋ+əps-ə.
 daddy-INST threatens-CONC.CND use+be.not.there-FIN
 For: 'You can threaten me **with your daddy** as much as you like (it won't do you any good).'

In the absence of an 'animate instrumental' marker, the solution are complex verb-based constructions, usually of the micro-sequential type, that express the specific way in which the agent goes about involving and utilising the animate entity in his actions:

- (95) a. 영국에서는 개를 데리고 여우를 잡는 것은 오래된 전통이다.
 yəŋkuk-esə-nin kə-lil teli-ko yəu-lil cap-nin kəs-in olɛ.twœ-n cənt^hoŋ-i-ta.
 Britain-SET-SEL dog-ACC lead-PF,SQ fox-ACC catch-DYN,AT thing-SEL exist.long-PF,AT tradition-CPL-DCL
 Eqv: 'In England, hunting foxes **with dogs** has a long tradition.'

- b. 요즘은 학부학생들을 대학원생 시켜서 가르치는 게 보통이지.
 yocim-in hakpu hakseŋ-til-il tehakwønsəŋ siky-əsə kalic^{hi}-nin ke pothoŋ-i-ci.
 nowadays-SEL undergraduate-PL-ACC postgraduate(ACC) order-CS.SQ teach-DYN.AT thing:SBJ normal-CPL-PROP
 'Nowadays it is normal practice to use postgraduates for teaching undergraduates.'
- c. 징병을 가지고는 첨단군대를 만들 수 없다.
 ciŋpyəŋ-il kaci-ko-nin chemtan+kunte-lil mantu-l su əps-ta.
 conscript-ACC take-PF.SQ-SEL vanguard+army-ACC make-PSP POT be.not.there-FML.DCL
 Egv: 'One can't create a high-tech army out of conscripts.'
- d. 아빠한테 일론다고 협박해도 소용없어.
 appa-hant^{he} illu-n-ta-ko hyəppak.hə-to soyoŋ+əps-ə.
 daddy-AN.ALL/DAT tell-DYN-DCL-QOT threatens:-CONC.CND use+be.not.there-FIN
 Egv: 'You can threaten me with telling your daddy as much as you like (it won't do you any good).'

Note that micro-sequential constructions such as in 95a-c tend to be highly conventionalised and do indeed also frequently occur for inanimate instrumental referents.

The previous 94 does, however, contain one exceptional case in which the appearance of an animate entity as an INSTRUMENT argument is marginally conceivable. This is 94a, where *kə-lo* 'dog-INST' seems just about conceivable since the agent utilises animals in the performance of an action for which it is especially bred, trained and kept. Significantly, however, this requires not only that the agent have virtually complete control over the animals, but the apparently ANIMATE noun must have a non-specific and non-individuated referent. Put simply, in sentences such as 94a *kə-lo* can only appear if it refers not to any particular dog but to dogs in general. Otherwise, it is again completely anomalous:

- (96) a. * 우리 개로는 토끼도 못 잡어.
 uli kə-lo-nin t^hokki-to mos cap-ə.
 we dog-INST-SEL rabbit-ACC NCTL.NEG catch-FIN
 For: 'With our dog, you can't even catch a rabbit.'
- b. 우리 개 데리고는 토끼도 못 잡어.
 uli kə teli-ko-nin t^hokki-to mos cap-ə.
 we dog(ACC) lead-PF.SQ SEL rabbit-INCL NCTL.NEG catch-FIN
 Egv: 'With our dog, you can't even catch a rabbit.'

Although of little systemic importance, the marginal exception in 94a and its limitations already indicate that what matters here is not animacy as a generalised ontological feature but situational animacy. Thus, the <hunting dogs> in 94a may be ontologically animate, but they lack animacy in the referent situation: not only do they lack individuality and specificity, but in the hunting context their autonomy and (potential) agency is both low and perceptually nonsalient. Note that in contrast, <postgraduates> in 94b have strong situational agency and are indeed relatively

autonomous primary agents that actually perform the teaching, and consequently the INSTRUMENT pattern is completely anomalous.

Once we start looking for them, we can indeed find other cases in which ontologically animate referents appear as INSTRUMENT arguments provided that their situational animacy and agency are weak or nonsalient. Take the following, where the INSTRUMENT pattern is in fact quite natural, although the alternative multi-clausal solution still seems preferred:

- (97) a. 요즘은 !! 유학생들로 돈 버니까 너무 쉽게 받아들여요.
 yocim-in !! yuhaksɛŋ-til-lo ton pə-nikka nəmu swipke pat-a-til-yə-yo.
 nowadays-SEL !! foreign.student-PL-INST money earn-EXPL.CJ too easy-ADV receive-FIN-put.in-FIN-POL
 foreign.student-PL receive-CS.SQ
Eqv. 'These days universities make money **with foreign students**, so they accept them far too readily.'
- b. 남편이 !! 애들로 협박하니까 이혼을 못 해요.
 namph^hyən-i !! ɛ-til-lo hyəppak.ha-nikka ihon-il mos hɛ-yo.
 husband-SBJ !! child-PL-INST threaten-EXPL.CJ divorce-ACC NCTL.NEG= do/FV-FIN-POL
 child-PL lead-FIN-go-DYN-DCL-QOT
Eqv. 'My husband threatens me **with the children**, so I can't get divorced.'

Here, the <foreign students> and <children> are ontologically animate, but this animacy is not in any way actualised in the referent situation, and this is clearly what allows and motivates the INSTRUMENT arguments. Contrast that with our earlier examples in which the referent's situational animacy and agency renders the INSTRUMENT pattern utterly anomalous and the multiclausal construction remains the only possible solution:

- (98) a. 요즘은 학부학생들을 * 대학원생으로 가르치는 게 보통이지.
 yocim-in hakpu.haksɛŋ-til-il * tɛhakwənsɛŋ-ilo kalich'i-nin ke pothoŋ-i-ci.
 nowadays-SEL undergraduate-PL-ACC postgraduate-INST teach-DYN.AT thing-SBJ normal-CPL-PROP
 postgraduate(ACC) order-CS.SQ
For: 'Nowadays, it is normal practice to teach students with postgraduate assistants I'm afraid.'
 (=94b/95b)
- b. 아빠로 협박해도 소용없어
 아빠한테 일른다고 * appa-lo hyəppak.hɛ-to soyoŋ+əps-ə.
 appa-hant^he illu-n-ta-ko * daddy-INST threaten-CONC.CND use+be.not.there-FIN
 daddy-AN.ALL/DAT tell-DYN-DCL-QOT
For: 'You can threaten me with your daddy as much as you like (it won't do you any good).'

To conclude then, the choice and admissibility of the Korean INSTRUMENT pattern is

indeed almost completely limited to ontologically inanimate entities. The exceptions to this correlation, however, indicate again that what matters ultimately are situational animacy features, and particularly the potential or actual agency of the referent within the overall referent situation. The fact that ontological animate referents are even rarer than in the case of the *LOCATIONAL* patterns, on the other hand, can be put down to the fact that ontologically animate entities with instrument features also tend to have agency features, for a simple reason: when an agent uses another animate entity to achieve a certain aim, this usually involves getting them to perform a requisite action.

3.2 Animacy, agency and causality differentiation in the Korean 'agent phrase'

One of the most problematic and controversial phenomena in the Korean situation-dynamic system is a proliferation of agent-phrase-like patterns that not only differentiate between different types of causation-dynamic involvement, but also lie on various points of the analytic-synthetic and lexical-syntactic continua. This heterogeneous variety poses predictable problems for the application of the Standard Voice Model.

The following is a rough summary of the more grammaticalised patterns, in descending degree of synthesis and grammaticalisation:

	Agent-phrase-like function (with established analysis)	Core function (with established analysis)
<i>N-eke</i>	(ANIMATE) AGENT/CAUSE	ANIMATE GOAL/RECIPIENT
<i>N-hant^he</i>	'(animate) agent phrase'	'animate locative', 'dative'
<i>N-e</i>	CONCRETE FORCE/CAUSE 'inanimate agent phrase'	POSITION/GOAL GROUND 'locative'
<i>N-iŋo</i>	AMBIENT/MEDIATE CAUSE 'instrumental/cause phrase'	INSTRUMENT 'instrumental'
<i>N-iŋo-put^ha</i>	COMMUNICATOR 'animate source/agent phrase'	ORIGIN 'directional + departure point'
<i>N-ttemun-e</i>	INDIRECT CAUSE, TRIGGER 'lexical phrase: because of'	REASON, MOTIVATION 'lexical phrase: because of'
<i>N-e iŋhe(a)</i>	CAUSE LOCUS '(periphrastic) agent phrase'	

In the literature, the only patterns that are generally accepted as Korean manifestations of the agent-phrase are the Animate Locative particle patterns with *eke* and *hant^{he}*, but also the Basic Locative particle pattern with *e*, and the periphrastic pattern *N-e iyhesa*. The latter is largely limited to more literary registers, but is a particular favourite among linguists, no doubt due to its common use as the Korean translation or analogue to English by phrases. All other patterns are at most accepted as having some agent-phrase-like properties.

As so often, the actual justifications given vary according to theoretical outlook and the individual author. Overall, however, we can distil the underlying assumptions, sometimes implicit and sometimes explicit, into the following three criteria:

Criteria for 'agent phrase' analysis as distilled from the literature

- (1) The pattern relates paradigmatically to the AGENT subject of a corresponding TRANSACTIVE sentence.
- (2) The pattern refers to entities with sufficient features of the typical agent.
- (3) The pattern is structurally simple and based on functional elements.

Methodologically, these three criteria are in turn distributional, semantic, and structural, and are indeed of the kind commonly applied in cross-linguistic comparison. On the other hand, however, all but one of the pertinent patterns does in one way or other diverge from these criteria. At the same time, however, all also have at least some agent-phrase-like properties and uses that suggest they should not simply be dismissed as irrelevant to the understanding of the Korean situation-dynamic system.

[1] The Locative-marked INVERSE AGENT and FORCE patterns

The one pattern that fulfils all these criteria in virtually all instances are the INVERSE AGENT patterns AGENT-*eke* and AGENT-*hant^{he}* that we encountered in the INTERPERSONAL diathesis alternations of §2.2.2:

- (99)a. 경찰이 도둑을 잡았다.
 kyəŋc^hal-i totuk-il cap-ass-ta.
 police-SBJ thief-ACC catch-PF/AOR-FML.DCL
 'The police (has) caught the thief.'

- b. 도둑이 (경찰에게) 잡혔다.
 totuk-i (kyəŋcʰal-eke) cap•hy-əss-ta.
 thief-SBJ (police-AN.LOC/AGT) get.caught[«catch•INACT»]-PF/AOR-FML.DCL
 'The thief was/is caught (by the police).'

- (100)a. 개가 아이를 물었다.
 ke-ka ai-lil mul-əss-ta.
 dog-SBJ child-ACC bite-PF/AOR-FML.DCL
 'The dog (has) bit the child.'

- b. 아이가 (개한테) 물렸다.
 ai-ka (ke-hantʰe) mul•ly-əss-ta.
 child-SBJ (dog-AN.LOC/AGT) get.bitten[«bite•INACT»]-PF/AOR-FML.DCL
 'The child {was / has been} bitten (by the dog).'

The simple reason is, of course, that the INVERSE AGENT patterns are marked with the Animate Locative particles and are therefore generally limited to human and human-like entities.

Of all the other agent-phrase-like patterns, the Basic Locative particle pattern *N-e* is certainly the systemically closest relation of the Animate Locative patterns *N-eke* and *N-hantʰe*. As we have seen, this systemic proximity begins in the core POSITION/GOAL-RECIPIENT spectrum, where the choice between the two particle types is generally viewed as conditioned by the animacy of the particle-marked noun or its referent category. A similar lexicalist analysis is generally applied to their use as markers of the '(passive) agent phrase' (see f.ex. Nam Ki-sim & Ko Yöng-gün 1985: 295). As a consequence, it is common to find formulations such as 'particle *e* is an agent phrase marker for inanimate nouns' whose authors seem untroubled by the oxymoronic contradiction between the terms 'agent' and 'inanimacy' in the context of a linguistic system with pervasive animacy effects (see f.ex. Ho-min Sohn 1999 368; Jaehoon Yeon 2003: 22/31 FN 5).

Be that as it may, distributional facts certainly suggest that the systemic proximity between the *N-e* and the *N-eke* or *N-hantʰe* patterns extends into their agent-phrase-like usage. Thus, for a start, the actual particles themselves may alternate where the referent has both animate and inanimate situational features:

- (101)a. 도둑이 경찰{에 | 에게} 잡혔다.
 totuk-i kyəŋcʰal-{e | eke} cap•hy-əss-ta.
 thief-SBJ police-{LOC/FRC | AN.LOC/AGT} get.caught[«catch•INACT»]-PF/AOR-FML.DCL
 'The thief was/got caught by the police.'
- b. 왜 나만 모기들{에 | 한테} 물리는지 모르겠네!
 we na-man moki-til-{e | hantʰe} mul•li-nin-ci moli-kess-ne!
 why I-XCL mosquito-PL-{LOC/FRC | AN.LOC/AGT} get.bitten[«AN.LOC/AGT»]-DYN-QST not.know-ASMP-MIR
 'Why only I get bitten by the mosquitos is beyond me!'

And, more importantly, the two argument pattern types occur prolifically within identical syntagmatic environments:

- (102) a. 과속하다가 경찰한테 잡혔어.
 kwasok+ha-taka kyəŋcʰal-hantʰe cap•hy-əss-ə.
 speeding+do/FV-ABR.SQ police-AN.LOC/AGT get.caught[«catch•INACT»]-FIN
 control camera-LOC/FRC
 'I got caught speeding {by the police | by a speed camera}.'
- b. 핑계같지만 너무 남들에게 휩쓸렸던 것 같습니다.
 pʰiŋke-katʰ-ciman nəmu nam-til-eke hwipssul•ly-əss-tən kəs katʰ-sipni•ta.
 excuse-seem-ADVS.CJ too other-PL-AN.LOC/AGT get.swept[«sweep•INACT»]-PF-RSP thing seem-FML.POL•DCL
 other-AT influence-LOC/FRC
 Both: 'Maybe that's an excuse, but I think I have been influenced too much by other people.' (=Wb+)
- c. 고양이 발톱에 긁힌 데는 쉽게 감염된다.
 koyanji paltʰop-e kilk•hi-n te-nin swip-ke kamyəm+twœ-n-ta.
 koyanji-eke
 cat claw-LOC/FRC get.scratched[«scratch•INACT»]-PF.AT spot-(SBJ)SEL easy-ADV get.infected[«infect•INACT»]-DYN-FML.DCL
 cat claw-AN.LOC/AGT
 'If you get scratched {by a cat's claw | by a cat}, the scratch can easily get infected.'

As evident in both 101 and 102, the two pattern types may even compete for the same situational referent, although it seems likely that the actual pattern choice will tend to be conditioned by the degree to which the Speaker actually perceives the referent as having agency and animacy features in the referent situation.

Distributional facts then certainly indicate a close systemic proximity between the two patterns across most of their usage spectrum. On the other hand, the *N-e* pattern is almost exclusively associated with physically concrete and force-dynamically impacting but *inanimate* entities that lack the central animacy features of the typical agent. In other words, it does not really fulfil the second, semantic criterion for the agent phrase. This would appear to matter little in the light of sentence alternations that conform closely enough to the Standard Voice Model. The following are some typical examples of the kind adduced in the literature, in the usual sentence-template format:

- (103) a. ㉠ 그 차가 사람을 받았다.
 ki cʰa-ka salam-il pat-ass-ta.
 that car-SBJ person-ACC butt-PF/AOR-FML.DCL
 'The car hit somebody.' (=LgEx)
- b. 사람이 그 차에 받혔다.
 salam-i ki cʰa-e pat•hy-əss-ta.
 person-SBJ that car-LOC/FRC get.buffed[«buff•INACT»]-PF/AOR-FML.DCL
 'Somebody was hit by that car.' (=LgEx)

- (104)a. !! 흙이 지붕을 덮었다.
 Hilk-i cipuŋ-il taph-əss-ta.
 mud-SBJ roof-ACC cover-PF/AOR-FML.DCL
 'The mud covered the roof.' (=LgEx)
- b. 지붕이 흙에 덮였다.
 cipuŋ-i hilk-e taph-y-əss-ta.
 roof-SBJ mud-LOC get.covered-[«cover*INACT»]-PF/AOR-FML.DCL
 'The roof was covered by the mud.' (=LgEx)
- (105)a. !! 바람이 나뭇가지를 꺾었다.
 Palam-i namu•q+kaci-lil kkəkk-əss-ta.
 wind-SBJ tree•BUF+branch-ACC snap(FACT)-PF-FML.DCL
 'The wind has broken the tree branches.'
- b. 나뭇가지가 (바람에) 꺾였다.
 namu•q+kaci-ka (palam-e) kkəkk-y-əss-ta.
 tree•BUF+SBJ (wind-LOC/FRC) get.snapped[«snap(FACT)*INACT»]-PF-FML.DCL
 'The tree branches have been broken (by the wind).'

Here, we see the same systematic correspondences as in the alternations of the INTERPERSONAL 'active ~ passive' example canon (§2.2.2): structural markedness and algorithmic derivability of the INACTIVE verb, and the requisite paradigmatic correspondences between the two clause-constructional arguments. As a consequence, such alternations have generally been regarded as further Korean manifestations of the Standard Voice Model.

The problem here, however, is not only that the CAUSE LOCUS argument of the INACTIVE sentence explicitly expresses the referent's lack of animacy. This by itself would not render the 'agent phrase' analysis entirely invalid. Thus, for a start, the same referent entities also appear in the AGENT SUBJECT slot of the TRANSACTIVE alternates. And, in addition, although the referents are ontologically inanimate, they have a number of other agent features that clearly motivate their appearance as the TRANSACTIVE SUBJECT: they move or are perceived as moving autonomously, and they have a direct and physical force-dynamic impact and effect on another entity.

Rather, the problem is that Korean has strong animacy and agency constraints on the TRANSACTIVE Subject slot. Consequently, the ACTIVE sentences 103-105:b are in fact already rather exceptional, both in terms of distribution and frequency. That is, they are only possible because the Subject referent shares sufficient force-dynamic features with the typical animate agent. On the other hand, however, they are not only avoided in most contexts, but tend to be interpretationally perceived as evoking strong connotations of personification. And, where agent-like force-dynamic features are less strong, the ACTIVE sentence is simply anomalous:

- (106)a. 잔디가 아이들 발에 밟혀서 망가져 있었다.
 canti-ka ai-til pal-e palp•hy-əsə maŋk•acy-ə_iss-əss-ta.
 grass-SBJ child-PL foot-LOC/FRC get.trod.on[«tread»INACT]-CS.SQ get.ruined[«INCH»-RES.CNT-PF/AOR-FML.DCL]
 'The lawn had been trod on by the children's feet and was ruined.'
- b. * 아이들발이 잔디를 밟아서 망가뜨렸었다.
 ai-til pal-i canti-lil palp-asə maŋk•attily-əss-əss-ta.
 child-PL foot-SBJ grass-ACC tread-CS.SQ ruin[«FACT»]-PF-PF/AOR-FIN
 'The children's feet had trampled the lawn and completely ruined it.'
- (107)a. 마루가 가구에 긁혔어요.
 malu-ka kaku-e kilk•hy-əss-ə-yo.
 wood.floor-SBJ furniture-LOC/FRC get.scratched[«scratch»INACT]-PF-FIN-POL
 'The floor's got scratched by the furniture.'
- b. * 가구가 마루를 긁었어요.
 kaku-ka malu-lil kilk-əss-ə-yo.
 furniture-SBJ floor-ACC scratch(FACT)-PF-FIN-POL
 'The furniture's scratched the floor.'
- (108)a. 옷이 가시에 {찢겼어 | 찢어졌어}
 os-i kasi-e {ccic•ky-əss-ə | ccic•əcy-əss-ə}.
 clothing-SBJ thorn-LOC/FRC {get.torn[«tear(FACT)»INACT]-PF-FIN | get.torn[«tear(FACT)»INCH]-PF-FIN}
 'My clothes got torn by the thorns.'
- b. * 가시가 옷을 찢었어요.
 kasi-ka os-il ccic-əss-ə.
 thorn-SBJ clothing-ACC tear(FACT)-PF-FIN
 'The thorns have torn my clothes.'

The upshot is that the INACTIVE *e* arguments in 106-108:a simply do not relate to any acceptable TRANSACTIVE AGENT Subject. And not only that, but the hypothetical TRANSACTIVE sentences 106-108:b are blocked precisely because the cause locus entity lacks sufficient similarity with the typical animate agent. In other words, the agent-phrase-like N-*e* arguments here fail to fulfil both the first, distributional and the second, semantic agent phrase criterion. And they do so for the very same reason.

Animacy and agentivity constraints on ACTIVE constructions and their Subjects remained largely ignored until the 1970s, when their significance in the voice context was finally recognised in the seminal investigations of I Ki-dong (1976;1978) and Im Hong-bin (1978). Their only lasting effect, however, has been to encourage a quick shift towards locating voice derivation in the lexical valency level, which allows the relegation of agentivity constraints to the pragmatic realm⁵⁵. On the other hand, even though the Korean term 'wōnin (원인 *E*: ultimate cause) commonly appears in the

⁵⁵ Here, I Ki-tong's radical rejection of the passive category for the synthetic voice-marking patterns never really caught on. The shift towards valency operation accounts, on the other hand, can already be discerned in Im Hong-bin's proposal. Thus, although proposing that passivisation involves the demotion of the agent from subject position, he clearly envisages this process as happening on an abstract constructional level, and further as going hand in hand with a downgrading of agentivity that allows the oblique expression of other types of CAUSE LOCUS constituents that are blocked as the active sentence subject (Im Hong-bin 1978: esp 321-22)

semantic description of the pertinent N-*e* elements, they remain widely treated as Korean agent phrase analogues.

We shall repeatedly return to the issues thrown up by the effects of animacy and agency on diathesis selection in the last two parts of this thesis (see §4/5). Given the facts discussed so far, however, it is clear that the ‘agent phrase’ analysis of the CAUSELOCUS-*e* pattern makes little sense with regard to both its semantic properties and the organisation of the Korean diathesis system. And in fact, the agent-phrase analysis of the N-*e* pattern is actually based on three other facts of little relevance: The first, mostly implicit but surely operative, is their translation equivalence to the English-style *by* phrases. The second is the assumption that the Basic Locative particle *e* and the Animate Locative particles *eke* and *hant^{he}* are somehow variants that differ only in terms of animacy. The third are the indirect paradigmatic relationships of N-*e* arguments to the more agent-phrase-like arguments that occur in the same constructional slot of other systemically proximate sentences:

- (109) a. 잔디가 아이들 발에 밟혀서 망가져 있었다.
 canti-ka ai-til pal-*e* palp^{hy}-əsa mark^{acy}-ə iss-əss-ta.
 lawn-SBJ child-PL foot-LOC/FRC get.trod.on[«tread»INACT]-CS.SQ get.ruined[«INCH»]-RES,CNT-PF/AOR-FML,DCL
 ‘The lawn had been trod on by the children’s feet and was ruined.’
- b. 아이가 아버지한테 밟혀서 울고 있었다.
 ai-ka apəci-hant^{he} palp^{hy}-əsa ul-ko iss-əss-ta.
 lawn-SBJ father-AN.LOC/AGT get.trod.on[«tread»INACT]-CS.SQ cry-PF.SQ be.there/CNT-PF/AOR-FML,DCL
 ‘The child had been trod on by his father and was crying.’

Such contrasts are certainly indicative of a close systemic proximity, particularly since the relevant particles are also in complementary distribution in their primary LOCATIVE uses. Crucially, however, they are not evidence for an agent phrase analysis.

To sum up then, virtually no instance of the N-*e* pattern is a true agent phrase, although some instances come close enough, apart from the referent’s lack of ontological animacy. What is probably the majority of instances, however, neither have referents with strong agent features nor relate to the AGENT Subject of a corresponding ACTIVE sentence. Consequently, the pertinent clause constructions do belong to the same family of INVERSE diathesis constructions as the AGENT INVERSE constructions with the Animate Locative *eke* and *hant^{he}* patterns. On the other hand, they constitute a clearly distinct construction, whose *e* argument is strongly associated with entities that conform closely to the ‘force’ concept in some semantic role models. I shall therefore adopt the name FORCE INVERSE for this diathesis construction.

[2] *The Instrumental-marked (CIRCUMSTANTIAL) CAUSE pattern*

What then of the other agent-phrase-like patterns? Here, the Instrumental-marked pattern *N-ilo* certainly belongs with the other particle-marked patterns, if only on general structural and distributional grounds. Thus, the particle *ilo* has a similar degree of structural compactness, distributional breadth, frequency, as well as semantic bleaching and polysemy. And, just as the other particle patterns, it is heavily involved in the expression of clause-constructive arguments, in the sense of syntactic elements that refer to physical entities, or at least reified percepts that are part of the situational scene expressed by the clause construction. At the same time, however, in its use as an agent-phrase-like CAUSE LOCUS pattern, the *N-ilo* pattern is strongly associated not with spatio-temporally immanent object-like entities but rather with spatio-temporally more distributed percepts such as physical mechanisms, natural phenomena or even whole events.

If we survey its usage, it is clear that the CAUSE-*ilo* pattern shows a considerable distributional and referential-semantic overlap and proximity to the Locative-marked FORCE-*e* pattern discussed under the previous heading, particularly at the more concrete end of its referential-semantic spectrum. The following represent this kind of usage, in reference to circumstantial and ambient causes that are spatio-temporally distributed but have certain concrete physical manifestations. Observe the close paradigmatic and semantic relationship to the FORCE-*e* pattern:

- (110) a. {① 바람이 | !! 태풍이} 나무들을 성냥처럼 꺾었다.
 {① palam-i | !! tʰɛpʰuŋ-i} namu-til-il səŋnyan+cʰəlem kkəkk-əss-ta.
 {① wind-SBJ | ① taiphon-SBJ} tree-PL-ACC match-like snap.FACT-PF/AOR-FML.DCL
 'The taiphon | wind} snapped the trees like matches.'
- b. 나무들이 (① 바람으로 | 태풍으로) 성냥처럼 꺾었다.
 namu-til-i (① palam-ilo | tʰɛpʰuŋ-ilo) səŋnyan+cʰəlem kkəkk•y-əss-ta.
 tree-PL-SBJ (① wind-INST/CS | taiphon-INST/CS) match-like get.snapped[«snap.FACT-INACT»-PF/AOR-FML.DCL
 'The trees got snapped like matches (by the wind | by the taiphon).'
- c. 나무들이 (바람에 | ① 태풍에) 성냥처럼 꺾었다.
 namu-til-i (palam-e | ① tʰɛpʰuŋ-e) səŋnyan+cʰəlem kkəkk•y-əss-ta.
 tree-PL-SBJ (wind-LOC/FRC | ① taiphon-LOC/FRC) match-like get.snapped[«snap.FACT-INACT»-PF/AOR-DCL
 'The trees got snapped like matches (by the wind | by the taiphon).'
- (111) a. {!! 흙이 | !? 산사태가} 온 마을을 덮었습니다.
 {!! Hilk-i | !? sansatʰe-ka} o•n mail-il tɔpʰ-əss-sipni-ta.
 {!! soil/mud-SBJ | !? landslide-SBJ} whole•PF.AT village-ACC cover-PF-FML-FML.DCL
 'The mud | the landslide} has buried the whole village.'

- b. 온 마을이 (흙으로 | 산사태로) 덮였습니다.
 o:n mail-i (hilk-ilo | sansat^he-lo) təp^hy-əss-sipni-ta.
 whole+PF.AT village-SBJ (soil/mud-INST/CS | landslide-INST/CS) get.covered[«cover»INACT]-PF-FML-FML.DCL
 'The whole village has been buried (by the mud | by the landslide).'
- c. 온 마을이 (흙에 | !? 산사태에) 덮였습니다.
 on mail-i (hilk-e | !? sansat^he-e) təp^hy-əss-sipni-ta.
 whole village-SBJ (soil/mud-LOC/FRC | !? landslide-LOC/FRC) get.covered[«cover»INACT]-PF-FML-FML.DCL
 'The whole village has been buried (by the mud | by the landslide).'
- (112)a. {!! 차가 | * 교통이} 맨날 길 막아요.
 {!! C^ha-ka | * kyot^hon-i} mɛ+q+nal kil-il mak-a-yo.
 @car-SBJ | *traffic-SBJ every+BUF+day road-ACC block-FIN-POL
 'The traffic keeps jamming up the roads.'
- b. 길이 맨날 (차로 | 교통으로) 막혀요.
 kil-i mɛ+q+nal (C^ha-lo | kyot^hon-ilo) mak^hhy-ə-yo.
 road-SBJ every+BUF+day (car-INST/CS | traffic-INST/CS) get.blocked[«blocks»INACT]-FIN-POL
 'The roads keep getting jammed up (by all the cars | by all the traffic).'
- c. 길이 맨날 (@ 차로 | * 교통으로) 막혀요.
 kil-i mɛ+q+nal (@ C^ha-e | * kyot^hon-e) mak^hhy-ə-yo.
 road-SBJ every+BUF+day (@ car-LOC/FRC | *traffic-LOC/FRC) get.blocked[«blocks»INACT]-FIN-POL
 'The roads keep getting jammed up (by all the cars | by all the traffic).'

As we can see, the CAUSE-*ilo* pattern is generally preferred over the FORCE-*e* pattern the more the referent has features of a temporally and physically distributed phenomenon rather than a concrete and physically manifest entity, and vice-versa. The same features also conflict with the Absolute Animacy and Agency Constraints on the ACTIVE SUBJECT, rendering the corresponding ACTIVE alternates peculiar or dispreferred. Nevertheless, at least some of these alternations conform closely enough to the notion of active ~ passive alternation.

On the other hand, however, it has often been pointed out that INACTIVE CAUSE-*ilo* elements also frequently refer to strongly instrumental entities (see f.ex. Yi Ki-dong 1976). Since the expression of such instruments as the ACTIVE AGENT Subject is virtually blocked in Korean, they then certainly relate at most to a structurally identical ACTIVE INSTRUMENTAL argument:

- (113)a. 입구가 테이프줄로 막혀 있었다.
 ipku-ka t^həip^hucul-lo mak^hhy-ə_iss-əss-ta.
 entrance-SBJ tape rope-INST get.blocked-RES.CNT-PF/AOR-FML.DCL
 Lit: 'The entrance had been blocked with tape.' // Eqv: 'The entrance had been taped off.'
- b. * 테이프줄이 입구를 막고 있었다.
 t^həip^hu cul-i ipku-lil mak-ko_iss-əss-ta.
 tape rope-SBJ entrance-ACC block-PF.CNT-PF/AOR-FML.DCL
 For: 'The tape blocked the entrance.'
- c. 경찰이 입구로 테이프줄로 막았었다.
 kyəŋc^hal-i ipku-lil t^həip^hi cul-lo mak-ass-əss-ta.
 police-SBJ entrance-ACC tape rope-INST block-PF-PF/AOR-FML.DCL
 Lit: 'The police had blocked the entrance with tape.' // Eqv: 'The police had taped off the entrance.'

Here, the INACTIVE sentence without the CAUSE-*ilo* element would actually be open to a non-agented interpretation. The presence of the INSTRUMENTAL *t^heip^hu cul-lo*, on the other hand, pretty much forces the interpretation of the INACTIVE sentence as referring to an agent-caused situation. The simple reason is of course the simple experiential association between agents and instruments.

Due to its strong association with spatio-temporally more distributed percepts, the CAUSE-*ilo* pattern does not conform closely to the first and second agent phrase criterion: Semantically, its referents have only weak agent features. And distributionally, for exactly that reason, this referent can frequently not appear as a corresponding ACTIVE Subject, as indeed in some of the cases illustrated in 111-112:a. Presumably for these reasons, the CAUSE-*ilo* pattern is generally not considered at all in the voice context (Im Hong-bin 1977,1978; Chang Suk-Jin 1996: §5.7; Ho-min Sohn 1999: §9.9.1; Jaehoon Yeon 2003: §5).

However, while the CAUSE-*ilo* pattern is certainly not a typical agent phrase, the fact remains that its distributional and semantic properties make it hardly less agent-phrase-like than the FORCE-*e* pattern, with which it indeed shows considerable distributional and referential overlap and proximity. It is therefore appropriately viewed as the oblique argument in another INVERSE construction, which we could call the CAUSE INVERSE construction. On the other hand, the fact that other INACTIVE CAUSE-*ilo* elements are close to its INSTRUMENTAL uses is hardly relevant: after all, other uses exist for just about any oblique agent-phrase-like element, be it in Korean or other languages.

[3] *The verb-based periphrastic patterns N-e iyhε(se) and N-ilo inhε(se)*

Let us now turn to the structurally more complex agent-phrase-like patterns. Here, only the periphrastic pattern *N-e iyhε(sə)* is accepted as an agent phrase. This pattern is largely limited to formal and literary registers, but does indeed frequently refer to typical animate agents, and then certainly relates to the AGENT Subject of a corresponding ACTIVE sentence:

- (114)a. 책은 (저 학자에 의하여) 쓰였다.
 (* 저 학자에 게 | * 저 학자한테)
 ^{ch'ek-in} (cə hakca-e iyhayə) ssi-y-əss-ta.
 (* cə hakca-eke | * cə hakca-hant^he)
 book-SEL (that scientist/academic-due.to/by) get.written[«write»INACT]-PF-FML,DCL
 (* that scientist/academic-AN.LOC/AGT | * same)
 'This book has been written by that academic.' (=LgEx)

- b. 저 학자가 이 책을 썼다.
 cə hakca-ka i cʰək-il ss-əss-ta.
 that scientist/academic-SBJ this book-ACC write-PF-FML,DCL
 'That academic has written this book.'
- (115)a. (시위대에 의해서) 길이 막혔다.
 { * 시위대에게 | * 시위대한테 } kil-i mak•hy-əss-ta.
 siwi•te-e iyhesə { * siwi•te-eke | * siwi•te-hantʰe }
 demonstration•corps-due.to/by path-SBJ get.blocked[«block-INACT»]-PF-FML,DCL
 { * demonstration•corps-AN.LOC/AGT | * same }
 'The roads have been blocked by the demonstrators.' // 'Because of the demonstrators the roads are at a standstill' (=Dict+) (* OK as: 'We had our way blocked by the demonstrators')
- b. 시위대가 길을 막았다.
 siwi•te-ka kil-il mak-ass-ta.
 demonstration•corps-SBJ path-ACC block-PF-FML,DCL
 'The demonstrators have blocked the road.' (<Dict)
- (116)a. 여성의 성적 일탈은 곧 남성들에 의해서 만들어진다.
 yəsəŋ-iy səŋcək iltʰal-in kot namca-til-e iyhesə mantil•əci-n-ta.
 woman-AT sexual deviation-SEL directly man-PL-due.to/by get.made[«make•INCH»]-DYN-FML,DCL
 namca-til- { * eke | ?? hantʰe }
 man-PL- { * AN.LOC/AGT | ?? AN.LOC/AGT }
 'A woman's sexual deviancy is created directly by men.' (=Cp+)
- b. 여성의 성적 일탈은 곧 남자들이 만든다.
 yəsəŋ-iy səŋcək iltʰal-in kot namca-til-i manti-n-ta.
 woman-AT sexual deviation-SEL immediately man-PL-SBJ make-DYN-FML,DCL
 Lit: 'A woman's sexual deviancy, men directly create (it).'
 Eqv: 'A woman's sexual deviancy is created directly by men.'

Note that the first INACTIVE sentence here (114a) is representative of the kind of artificial 'data' that occurs frequently in the linguistic literature but hardly ever in real life. The other two INACTIVE sentences are typical instances from literary registers. Needless to say, all the alternations here conform closely to the Standard Voice Models notion of 'active ~ passive' alternation.

There are, however, a number of facts that speak against a straightforward agent phrase analysis of this pattern. The first of these is that strongly agent-phrase-like instances occur predominantly where the INVERSE constructions are blocked or dispreferred due to animacy or agency constraints. This is the case in 114-116:a, where the INVERSE AGENT patterns *N-eke* and *N-hantʰe* would be peculiar or anomalous because they would result in a conflict between the argument and animacy hierarchies. The periphrastic patterns, on the other hand, are not subject to the same constraint.

The second fact is that the *N-e iyhes(sə)* pattern has the structural properties of an embedded clause fragment, consisting of the argument-like Locative particle pattern *N-e* and a Consecutive verb form *iyhes(sə)* due.to/derive.from:CNSC/(cs.sq) (see also Yi Ki-dong

1976; Pak Yangyu 1978). That is, it is centred on a verb-like sign that is definitely defective, but whose stem core does indeed also occur in a number of other forms and constructions that are clearly related to the *N-e iyhε(sə)* pattern. These include first of all the Attributive construction *N-e iyhan (N)* :

- (117) a. 여성의 성적 일탈은 곧 남자들에 의해서 만들어진다.
 yəsəŋ-iy səŋcək iltʰal-in kot namca-e iyhε-sə mantil.əci-n-ta.
 woman-AT sexual deviation-SEL directly man-PL-LOC due.to:CS,SQ get.made-DYN-FML,DCL
 'A woman's sexual deviancy is directly created **by men**.' (cf 116a)
- b. 남자들에 의한 여성의 성적 일탈은 여러가지 모습으로 나타난다.
 namca-e iyha-n yəsəŋ-iy səŋcək iltʰal-in yələ+kaci mosip-ilo natʰana-n-ta.
 man-LOC due.to-PF,AT woman-AT sexual deviation-SEL several+kinds appearance-INST/EQU appear-DYN-FML,DCL
 'The sexual deviancy of women **caused by men** manifests itself in various forms.'

And it includes two corresponding NEGATIVE constructions:

- (118) a. 여성의 성적 일탈은 남자들에 의하지 않고도 생길 수 있다.
 yəsəŋ-iy səŋcək iltʰal-in namca-e iyha-ci anh-ko-to senki-l su iss-ta.
 woman-AT sexual deviation-SEL man-PL-LOC due.to-PROP NEG_{FV}-PF,SQ-INCL arise-PSP,AT POT be,there-FML,DCL
 'A woman's sexual deviancy can appear **without being caused by men, too**.'
- b. 남자들에 의하지 않은 여성의 성적 일탈도 있다.
 namca-e iyha-ci anh-in yəsəŋ-iy səŋcək iltʰal-to iss-ta.
 man-LOC due.to-PROP NEG_{FV}-PF,AT woman-AT sexual deviation-SEL be,there-FML,DCL
 'Female sexual deviation **not caused by men** also exists.'

Further, many instances of the *N-e iyhε(sə)* pattern itself clearly exhibit the properties of a non-finite subordinate clause fragment that is in a dependency relation not so much with a clause predicate but to an entire matrix clause:

- (119) a. 하지만 악착스럽고 잔인한 상어 떼에 의해 끝내 고기는
 haciman akcʰaksiləp-ko caninha-n saŋə tte-e iyhε kkitʰnε koki-nin
 but eager-PF,SQ brutal-PF,AT shark herd-LOC due.to/derive.from-FIN/CNSC finally meat-SEL
 살점이 다 떨어져 나가고 뼈만 앙상하게 남고 만다.
 salcəm-i ta ttələcy-ə naka-ko ppyə-man aŋsarha-ke nam-ko ma-n-ta.
 flesh-SBJ CMPL fall.off-FIN proceeds-PF,SQ bone-XCL be.bare.bones-ADV remain-PF,SQ end.up_{ASFV}-DYN-FML,DCL
 'But, **because of the eager and brutal school of sharks**, the meat gets stripped of all its flesh, and in the end all that remains are bare bones.' (=Cp)
- b. 노조측이 합리적인 절차와 방법에 의해
 noco+cʰik-i haplicəki-n cəlčʰa-wa paŋpəp-e iyhε
 labour.union+side-SBJ rational-PF,AT procedure-CMT method-LOC due.to/derive.from-FIN/CNSC
 문제를 해결하려는 노력을 보였으면 한다.
 munce-lil həkyəl+ha-lyə-nin nolyək-il poy-əss-imyən ha-n-ta.
 problem-ACC resolving+do/FV-INTN-DYN,AT effort-ACC show-PF-CND do/ACT.PRIV-DYN-FML,DCL
 'It would be desirable if the unions would strive to resolve this problem **based on rational procedures and methods**.' (<Cp)

Note that the *N-e iyhε(sə)* element in the second example (119b) is actually an instrumental-like expression of method that occurs in an ACTIVE clause.

Finally, the lexeme *iyha.ta* also occurs as a finite predicate of a non-embedded clause, albeit rarely and for the most part in GENERIC PRESENT constructions:

- (120) a. 여성의 성적 일탈은 남자들에 의하지 스스로 생기지는 않는다.
 yəsəŋ-iy səŋcək iltʰal-in namca-e iyha-ci sisilo səŋki-ci-nin anh-nin-ta.
 woman-AT sexual deviation-SEL man-PL-LOC due.to-PROP by.self arise-PROP-SEL NEG_{FIN}-DYN-FML.DCL
 'A woman's sexual deviancy **is caused** by men; it does not just happen by itself.'
- b. 외적인 스트레스는 좀더 복잡하고 다양한 원인에 의하지만
 wœcək-i-n siʰilesi-nin com+tə pokcap.ha-ko tayaŋ.ha-n wənin-e iyha-ciman
 external-CPL-PF.AT stress-SEL bit.more complicated-PF.SQ varied-PF.AT cause-LOC due.to-ADVS.CJ
 대부분 부모에 의한 것이 많다.
 tɛpupun pumo-e iyha-n kəs-i manh-ta.
 large.part parents-LOC due.to-PF.AT thing-SBJ many-FML.DCL
 'External stress **is caused** by more complicated and diverse factors, but most often it is **caused** by the parents.' (=Wb)
- c. 발병 원인은 곰팡이, 세균, 선충류의 기생에 의한다.
 palpyəŋ wənin-in kompʰaŋi, sekyun, səncʰuŋ+lyu-iy kisəŋ-e iyha-n-ta.
 disease.outbreak cause-SEL mold, bacterium, nematode+genus-AT parasitism-LOC due.to-DYN-FML.DCL
 'The cause of the disease **derives from** the parasitism of molds, bacteria or nematodes.' (=Cp)

Corpus surveys indicate comparatively low frequencies for this type of usage (in the Koryŏ CETConc corpus 13/4670 = 0.27%, although this seems to underrepresent prescriptively less controlled usage). Be that as it may, the existence of such instances further underlines the clause-fragment properties of the *N-e iyhɛ(sə)* pattern.

The third, closely related fact is that the *N-e iyhɛ(sə)* pattern may in fact cooccur with the AGENT and FORCE INVERSE constructions (Yi Sang-ŏk 1970: 229; Pak Yangyu 1978: 59):

- (121) a. 영수에 의해, 철수가 영희에게 물렸다.
 yəŋsu-e iyhayə, ʧəlsu-ka yəŋhiy-eke mully-əss-ta.
 Yŏngsu-LOC due.to-CNSC Chŏlsu-SBJ Yŏnghee-AN.LOC/AGT get.bitten-PF/AOR-FML.DCL
 'Because of Yŏngsu, Chŏlsu got bitten by Yŏnghee.' (=LgEx)
- b. 희안한 말인가 같지만 한국인들이 페리에 의해 미국에게
 hiyhan.ha-n mal-i-n ke kath-ciman hankuk+in-til-i pʰeli-e iyhɛ mikuk-eke
 curious-PF.AT words-CPL-PF.AT thing seem-ADVS.CJ Korea+person-PL-SBJ Perry-LOC due.to:FIN America-AN.LOC/AGT
 개항되었다고 가정하고 미국의 식민지가 되었다고
 kəhaŋ+twœ-ess-ta-ko kacəŋ.ha-ko mikuk-iy sikminci-ka twœ-əss-ta-ko
 port+opening+INCH_{FIN}-PF/AOR-QOT hypothesise-PF.SQ America-AT colony-SBJ become-PF/AOR-DCL-QOT
 가정하면 미제의 침략과 수탈이 됩니다.
 kacəŋ.ha-myən mice-iy ʧimlyak-kwa sutʰal-i twœ-pni-ta.
 hypothesise-CND American.Empire-AT invasion-CMT plunder-SBJ become-FML.POL.DCL
 'It may strike you as a curious thought, but if we suppose that **due to (Admiral) Perry** (and his gunboat diplomacy) Koreans were forced to open their ports **by America**, and if we suppose that (due to Perry) we became an American colony, then that constitutes an invasion and plunder by the American empire.' (=Cp)
- c. 괴물보다도 괴물에 의해 바이러스에 감염되었을 것이라는
 kwœmul-pota-to kwœmul-e iyhɛ pailəsu-e kamyəm+twœ-əss-il-kəs.i-la-nin
 monster-CMPR-INCL monster-LOC due.to:FIN virus-LOC/FRC infection+become/INCH_{FIN}-PF/PSP/INFR-DCL.QOT-DYN.AT

의심이 더 무섭다.
 iysim-i tə musəp-ta.
 suspicion-SBJ more scary-FML.DCL

'More than the monster (*of the communist party*) itself, what is scary is that one can come under the suspicion that one has been infected by the monster with the virus (*of communism*).' (=Wb)

Here, the first example (121a) is again quite artificial, but the phenomenon it seeks to represent can also be observed in the other, more natural and attested instances 121b/c.

Lastly, if we survey the actual usage of the *N-e iyhe(sə)* pattern, it becomes immediately obvious that the majority of its instances do not refer to typical agents or agent-like entities at all, but rather to inanimate and spatio-temporally distributed percepts that are causally involved in the situation, but lack the concrete physical immanence features of either agents or force-like entities. The following are some representative instances in which the *N-e iyhe(sə)* pattern appears in reference to spatio-temporally distributed mechanisms, phenomena or indeed events. Again, of course, the lack of spatio-temporal immanence and impact causation features means that there simply are no TRANSACTIVE alternates:

- (122)a. 웜홀에서는 중력에 의해 시공이 극단적으로
 wəmhəl-esə-nin cuŋlyək-e iyhe sikon-i kiktancək-ilo
 wormhole-SET-SEL gravity-due.to/by space.time-SBJ extreme-INST/ADV
 휘어져 있기 때문에 두 개의 장소를 순식간에 이동할 수 있다.
 hwi-əcy-ə_iss-ki ttəmun-e tu kə-iy cʰaŋso-lil sunsikkan-e iton,ha-l su iss-ta.
 get.warped[*INCH]-RES/STV.CNT-GER reason-LOC two CLSF-AT location-ACC time.instant-LOC transfer-PSP.AT POT be-DCL
Lit: 'Because in a wormhole space-time is warped to extremes by gravity, one can traverse two locations in a single instant.' // *Eqv:* 'In a wormhole, gravity warps space-time to such extremes that one can traverse two locations in a single moment of time.' (=Cp)

- b. * 웜홀에서는 중력이 시공을 극단적으로 휘었기 때문에 ...
 wəmhəl-esə-nin cuŋlyək-i sikon-il kiktancək-ilo hwi-əss-ki ttəmun-e
 wormhole-SET-SEL gravity-due.to/by space.time-SBJ extreme-INST/ADV warp-PF-GER reason-LOC
For: 'In a wormhole, gravity warps space-time to such extremes that (...)'

- (123)a. 법이 궁극적으로 보호해야 할 개인의 인격과 행복권이
 pəp-i kungkikcək-ilo poho.ɬe-ya_ha-l kein-iy inkyək-kwa hənɸok+kwən-i
 law-SBJ positive-INST/ADV protect-NCS-PSP.AT individual-AT humanity-CMT happiness+right-SBJ
 폭력에 의해 무참히 짓밟힌 데 대해 재판부가
 pʰoklyək-e iyhe mucʰamh-i ciqpalpʰi-n te tehe cəpʰanpu-ka
 violence-due.to/by merciless-ADV get.trampled[*INACT]-PF.AT spot about-FIN/CNSC court-SBJ
 깊은 고뇌를 했다는 흔적은 찾아 보기 어렵다 (...)
 kipʰ-in konwœ-lil ɬe-ss-ta-nin hincek-in cʰacʰa-po-ki əlyəpta
 deep-PF.AT agonising-ACC do/ACT_{PF}-PF/AOR-DCL.QOT-DYN.AT trace/sign-SEL search-FIN/look-GER difficult-FML.DCL
 'It is hard to see any indications that the court gave much thought to the fact that the individual's human rights that the law should be actively protecting were trampled upon mercilessly by (government) violence.' (=Cp)

- b. * ... 폭력이 개인의 인격과 행복권을 무참히 짓밟은 데 대해 ...
 pʰoklyək-i kein-iy inkyək-kwa hənɸok+kwən-il mucʰamh-i ciqpalp-in te tehe
 violence-SBJ individual-AT humanity-CMT happiness+right-ACC merciless-ADV trample-PF.AT spot about
 '... (government) violence trampled upon the individual's humanity and right to happiness.'

- (124)a. 기술혁신이 전국민의 참여에 의해서 이루어지기 위해서는 (...)
 kisul+hyæksin-i cæn+kukmin-iy ... cʰamyə-e_iyhəsə ilu·æci-ki wihese-nin
 technology+reform-SBJ whole+nation-AT participation-due.to/by get.achieved[«achieve+INCH】-GER for-SEL
Lit: 'In order that technological innovation is achieved by/through the participation of the entire nation ...'
Eqv: 'If we want the entire nation to contribute to technological innovation ...' (=Cp)
- b. * 전국민의 참여가 기술혁신을 이루기 위해서는 ...
 cæn+kukmin-iy cʰamyə-ka kisul+hyæksin-il ilu-ki wihese-nin
 complete+nation-AT participation-SBJ technology+reform-ACC achieve-GER for-SEL
For: 'If we want the entire nation to contribute to technological innovation ...'

Note that where the referents are phenomena or situations that involve human action (as in 123/124), the referent situation additionally features the presence of some sort of agent, which may be unclear or nonsalient, but may also appear in an ATTRIBUTE to the noun in the *N-e iyhε(sə)* phrase (witness *kukmin-til-iy ... cʰamyə-e_iyhəsə* 'citizen-PL-AT participation-due.to/by' in 123a). Of course, this by itself is not a valid argument against an agent phrase analysis, otherwise there would be no end to looking for hidden agents in any language. On the other hand, what is important here is that the hypothetical TRANSACTIVE sentences are again impossible precisely because the cause expressed by the *N-e iyhε(sə)* pattern lacks agent features.

To sum up then, the periphrastic *N-e iyhε(sə)* pattern conforms closely to the agent phrase category across a considerable part of its usage spectrum. The majority of its instances, however, refer to entities or diffuse percepts that have only weak agent features, and can therefore not appear as the AGENT Subject of a corresponding ACTIVE sentence. In addition, it has many structural properties of an embedded clause fragment, and is thus a construction that is at most in the intermediate stage of grammaticalisation and does not have the same clause argument properties as the particle elements in the INVERSE constructions.

Turning to the periphrastic *N-ilo inhε(sə)* pattern, this patently has the same clause fragment structure as the supposed 'agent phrase' pattern *N-e iyhε(sə)*: it is based on Consecutive Sequential forms of the defective verb *inha.ta*, and the noun is not accidentally marked with the Instrumental particle *ilo* that also occurs in the CAUSE INVERSE construction. The verb *inha.ta* is arguably less semantically bleached than *iyha.ta*, but just as this it occurs predominantly in only two constructions: the CONSECUTIVE SEQUENTIAL and the PERFECTIVE ATTRIBUTIVE constructions (compare 117a/b):

- (125)a. (...) 군부독재로 인해 계급간의 갈등이 표출되지 못했다.
 kunpu tokce-lo inhe kyekip+kan kaltij-i p^hoc^hul+twœ-ci mos.he-ss-ta.
 military dictatorship-INST/CS caused:FIN/CNSC class+inter conflict-INCL surfacing+INCH_{IV}-PF/AOR-FML.DCL
Lit: 'Because of the military dictatorship class conflicts could not come to the surface.'
Eqv: 'The military dictatorship kept class conflicts below the surface.' (=Cp)

- b. (...) 오랜 기간의 군사독재로 인한 ♂남녀♂ 소통의 억압 등이 (...) ♂남녀♂
 olē-n kikan-iy kunsā+tokce-lo inha-n ♂namnyə♂ soth^hon-iy əkap tij-i
 long-PF.AT period-AT milit+dictatorship-INST/CS caused-PF.AT ♂man.woman communication-AT repression etc-SBJ
 'the repression of communication between the sexes (caused) by the military dictatorship' (=Wb)

In the Koryŏ CETConc corpus, the frequency ratio between these two constructions for *inha.ta* and *iyha.ta* is different, but of a similar magnitude (for *uyha.ta* 3071/1174 = 2.61, *inha.ta* 774/340 = 2.27).

In addition, just as the *iyha.ta* patterns, the *inha.ta* patterns also have NEGATIVE counterparts (compare 118a-b):

- (126)a. 우리는 예수의 피로 인하여 우리가 구원을 받은 것이라고 말하지만
 uli-nin yesu-iy p^hi-lo inha-yə uli-ka kuwən-il pat-in kəs.i-la-ko mal.ha-ci-man ...
 we-SEL Jesus-AT blood-INST/CS caused-CNSC we-SBJ rescue-ACC get/RCPT-PF FCTL-DCL-QOT say-ADVS.CJ
 'We say that we have been saved by the blood of Christ ...' (=Cp)

- b. 예수의 피로 인하지 않고는 도저히 탕감 받을 수가 없다.
 yesu-iy p^hi-lo inha-ci anh-ko-nin toçə.hi t^hanjkam pat-il su-ka əps-ta.
 Jesus-AT blood-INST/CS caused-PROPNEG_{IV}-PF.SQ-SEL very.^(uml)likely redemption get/RCPT-PSP POT_{IN}-SBJ be.not.there-FML.DCL
Lit: 'If not by the blood of Christ we cannot be redeemed.'
Eqv: 'We can only be redeemed by the blood of Christ.' (<Wb)

- (127) (...) 모든 장애의 원인을 산업재해로 인한 장애와
 moti•n caŋe-iy wənin-il sanəp+cehe-lo inha-n caŋe-wa
 all-PF.AT disability-AT cause-ACC industry+accident-INST/CS caused-PF.AT disability-CMT
 산업재해로 인하지 않은 장애로 나누어, (...)
 sanəp+cehe-lo inha-ci anh-in caŋe-lo nanu-ə,
 industry+accident-INST/CS caused-PROP NEG_{IV}-PF.AT disability-DST divide-FIN/CNSC
 '... I have divided the cause of disabilities into disabilities caused by industrial accidents and disabilities not caused by industrial accidents ...' (=Wb)

Lastly, again just as *iyha-*, the verb stem *inha-* may also occur as a finite predicate, although again predominantly in GENERIC PRESENT constructions (compare 120a-c):

- (128)a. (...) 제1형 당뇨병은 췌장의 베타 세포의 파괴로 인한다.
 ce.1.hyəŋ taŋnyopyəŋ-in chwecəŋ-iy petha sepho-iy phakwœ-lo inha-n-ta.
 infant-AT type.1 diabetes-SEL pancreas-AT beta cell-AT destruction-INST/CS caused-DYN-FML.DCL
 'Type 1 diabetes is caused by the destruction of the beta cells in the pancreas.' (<Cp)

- b. 비록 시작은 청나라로 인했지만 이후부터는
 pilok sicak-in chəŋ+nala-lo inhe-ss-ciman i+hu-put^hə-nin
 although start-SEL Qing+country-INST/CS caused:-PF/AOR-ADVS.CJ this+after-ORIG-SEL
 ♂우리나라 정부가♂ 자주적 건설을 위해 노력했다.
 ♂uli+nala cəŋpu-ka♂ cacucək kənsəl-il wihe nolyək+he-ss-ta.
 ♂we+country government-SBJ autonomous construction-ACC be.for:FIN/CNSC effort+do/VBR:-PF/AOR-FML.DCL
 'Although (the construction of Korea's telegraph network) was begun by Qing dynasty China, our government subsequently devoted itself to developing our own autonomous network.' (=Wb+)

NEGATIVE and non-embedded predicate uses of *inha.ta* appear to be acceptable to many but not all speakers. Certainly, corpora suggest they may be even rarer than for *iyha.ta* (in the Koryŏ CETConc corpus 0/1114; in the larger Kaist KCP corpus 2 NEGATIVE ATTRIBUTE and 1 GENERIC PRESENT instances).

At least in terms of its structural and paradigmatic properties then, the *N-ilo inhe(sə)* pattern differs little from the *N-e iyhe(sə)* pattern. Semantically, on the other hand, there is indeed one clear difference, in that the *N-ilo inhe(sə)* pattern rarely refers to animate or indeed material entities, and is virtually always anomalous in reference to direct physical impact or manipulative causation. Instead, it is predominantly associated with the indirect causation of spatio-temporally diffuse percepts, and particularly with mechanisms, events and circumstances. Due to agency and causality constraints, such referents can generally not appear as AGENT Subjects of corresponding ACTIVE sentences. The following are some typical instances:

- (129) a. 고위급 관리의 과소비 여행으로 인해 교사의 연수 기회가
 ko+wikip kwanli-iy kwa+sopi yəhɛŋ-ilo_inhe kyosa-iy yənsu kihwœ-ka
 high+level administrator-AT excess+consumption trip-caused.by/teacher-AT training opportunity-SBJ
 막혀버리는 것은 잘못된 것이다.
 mak•hy-ə-pəli-nin kəs-in calmos+twœ-n kəs-i-ta.
 get.blocked[«block»INACT]-FIN-IRR_{IV}-DYN.AT thing-SEL mistake+become/INCH_{IV}-PF.AT thing-CPL-FML.DCL
 'That teacher training opportunities are being denied {because of / by} the wasteful trips of high-level administrators is wrong.' (=Cp)

- b. * 고위급 관리의 과소비 여행이 교사의 연수 기회를
 Ko+wikip kwanli-iy kwa+sopi yəhɛŋ-i kyosa-iy yənsu kihwœ-lil
 high+level administrator-AT excess+consumption trip-SBJ teacher-AT training opportunity-ACC
 막아버리는 것은 ...
 mak-a-pəli-nin kəs-in
 block-FIN-discards/IRR_{IV}-DYN.AT thing-SEL

For: 'That the wasteful trips of high-level administrators deny teacher training opportunities ...'

- (130) a. 그러면 위에서 말한 여러 요인들로 인하여 현상태로 만들어진
 kilə-myən wi-esə mal.ha-n yələ yoin-til-lo_inhe hyən+saŋtʰɛ-lo mantil•əci-n
 like.that-CND above-SET say-PF.AT several factor-PL-caused.by/by present+state-DST get.made[«make»INCH]-PF.AT
 우리 국토는 어떠한 중요한 의미를 지녔나?
 uli kuktʰo-nin əttə.ha-n curyo.ha-n iymi-lil ciny-əss-na?
 we territory-SEL like.what-PF.AT important-PF.AT meaning-ACC keep-PF/AOR-INQS
 'Shaped as it has been into its present form by the various factors I have just outlined above, what importance then does our territory have?' (=Cp)

- b. * ... 위에서 말한 여러 요인들이 현상태로 만든 우리 국토는 ...
 wi-esə mal.ha-n yələ yoin-til-i hyən+saŋtʰɛ-lo manti-n uli kuktʰo
 above-SET say-PF.AT several factor-PL-SBJ present+state-DST make-PF.AT we territory

For: 'our territory that the various above-mentioned factors have shaped into its present form'

- (131) a. 운영상의 낭비와 비효율로 인해 재정 전반의 효율성이 저하되었다.
 unyɛŋ.səŋ-iy naŋpi-wa pihyoyul-lo_inhe cɛcəŋ cənpan-iy hyoyulsəŋ-i cəha+twœ-əss-ta.
 administrative-AT waste-CMT inefficiency-caused.by/finance.politics whole-AT efficiency-SBJ fall+INCH_{IV}-PF-FML.DCL
 'Because of administrative waste and inefficiency overall fiscal efficiency has deteriorated.'

// 'Overall fiscal efficiency has been brought down by administrative waste and inefficiency.' (<Cp)

- b. ?? 운용상의 낭비와 비효율이 재정 전반의 효율성을 저하시켰다.
 unyɔ̃nsaŋ-iy naŋpi-wa pihyoyul-i cecəŋ cənpan-iy hyoyulsəŋ-il cəha+sikʰy-əss-ta.
 administrative-AT waste-CMT inefficiency-SBJ finance.politics whole-AT efficiency-SBJ fall+FACT_{IV}-PF-FML,DCL
 For: 'Administrative waste and inefficiency has brought down overall fiscal efficiency.'

Here, of course, the *N-ilo inhε(sə)* elements do not conform to the agent phrase category. On the other hand, as we saw earlier on, the larger part of the *N-e iyhε(sə)* pattern's usage spectrum has similar semantic and distributional properties.

In addition, even in those rare instances where the *N-ilo inhε(sə)* element refers to more concrete entities with animacy or agency features, the situation still has strong indirect causation-dynamic features that again tend to render a corresponding TRANSACTIVE sentence anomalous:

- (132)a. 정치적 고려에 좌우돼 온 검찰로 인해
 cəŋcʰicək kolyə-e cwau+twɛ o-n kəmcʰal-lo_inhε
 political consideration-LOC/FRC get.swayed[+INCH] comes/VEN-PF.AT prosecution-caused.by/by
 정치권이 어느새 죄의식이 무디어졌다고 보여지는 것이다.
 cəŋcʰi+kwən-i əni+se cʰwɔ̃e+iysik-i muti-əcy-əss-ta-ko po•y-əci-nin kəsi-ta.
 politics+area-SBJ some+gap guilt+consciousness-SBJ blunt-INCH-PF-DCL-QOT visible[«see+INACT»]-INCH-DYN FCTL-DCL
 'From the way in which the prosecution is swayed by political considerations, it is evident that the political classes have largely lost their sense of right and wrong.' (<Cp)
- b. ?? 정치적 고려에 좌우돼 온 검찰이
 cəŋcʰicək kolyə-e cwau+twɛ o-n kəmcʰal-i
 political consideration-LOC/FRC get.swayed[+INCH] comes/VEN-PF.AT prosecution-SBJ
 정치권이 ... 죄의식이 무디어졌다고 보여지는 것이다.
 cəŋcʰi+kwən-i cʰwɔ̃e+iysik-i muti-əcy-əss-ta-ko po•y-əcu-nin kəsi-ta.
 politics+area-SBJ guilt+consciousness-SBJ blunt-INCH-PF-DCL-QOT show[«see+FACT»+FIN+give/BEN-DYN FCTL-DCL
 For: 'The prosecution and the way in which it is swayed by political considerations, illustrates that the political classes have largely lost their sense of right and wrong.'

Lastly, and not surprisingly given its association with indirect causation, *N-ilo inhε(sə)* elements also appear with active-like constructions, although these then tend to refer to situations with lower agentivity and control features:

- (133)a. 효정은 사이코드라마에서 받은 충격으로 인하여
 hocəŋ-in saikʰotilama-esə pat-in cʰuŋkyək-ilo inhaye
 Hojōng-SEL psychodrama-SET get-PF.AT shock-INST/CS caused.by
 자살을 기도하게 되고 (...)
 casal-il kito.ha-ke twɔ̃e-ko
 suicide-ACC attempt-RES,ADV become/INCH.PRV-PF,SQ
 'Hojōng is then driven to attempt suicide by the shock he received from the psychodrama ...' (=Cp)
- b. 딸의 가출로 인해서 먹지도 자지도 못하는 심정이야
 ttal-iy kacʰul-lo_inhese mək-ci-to ca-ci-to mos.ha-nin simcəŋ-iyə
 daughter-AT leaving.home-due.to eat-PROP-INCL sleep-PROP-INCL NCTL.NEG_{IV}-DYN.AT feelings-FOC

오죽했게는가¹ (135)a. 나도 그가 나로 인하여 곤란한 입장에 처하게 되는 것을
 ocuk+I na-to ki-ka na-lo_inhaye konlan.ha-n ipcaŋ-e cʰəha-ke twœ-nin kəs-il
 how.ver I-INCL that/he-SBJ I-caused.by awkward-PF.AT position-LOC be.placed-RES.ADV become/INCH_{IV}-DYN thing-ACC
 Lit: 'But how av
 unable
 원하지는 않았다.
 wənha-ci-nin anh-ass-ta.
 wish-PROP-SEL NEG_{IV}-PF/AOR-FML.DCL

Note that 133

'I myself didn't want him to end up in an awkward position because of me.'
 // 'I myself didn't wish that he would be put into an awkward position by me.' (=Cp)

INCHOATIVE
 constructions.

b. 나도 (내가) 그를 곤란한 입장에 처하게 하는 것을
 na-to (nɛ-ka) ki-lil konlan.ha-n ipcaŋ-e cʰəha-ke ha-nin kəs-il

Generally, then, the *N-ilo inhe(sə)* clearly diverges from the agent phrase category. On the other hand, however, none of the semantic and distributional facts outlined in the previous paragraphs set it qualitatively apart from most of the other agent-phrase-like patterns. And indeed, there are not a few cases in which the *N-ilo inhe(sə)* element does relate to the AGENT Subject of a corresponding TRANSACTIVE sentence. This happens first of all where its referent is an animate and agentive entity, albeit with indirect causality features:

(134)a. 너로 인해 나약해진 나를 버리고 다시 시작하려 떠났었어 (...)
 (134)a. 너로 인해 나약해진 나를 버리고 다시 시작하려 떠났었어 i-ə.
 nə-lo_inhe nayak.hɛ-ci-n na-lil pəli-ko tasi sicak.ha-lyə ttəna-ss-əss-ə. ʋR-FIN
 you-caused.by feeble;INCH-PF.AT I-ACC throw.away-PF.SQ again start-INTN depart;-PF-PF/AOR-FIN
 'I threw away the self that had been enfeebled by you and left to start over again.' (=CP)
 b. 너로 인해 나약하게 만든 나를 버리고
 ni-ka nayak.ha-ke manti-n na-lil pəli-ko
 you;-SBJ I-ACC weak-RES.ADV makes/FACT/CAUS-PF-FIN I-ACC throw.away-PF.SQ
 'I threw away the self that you had enfeebled ...'

(135)a. 나도 그가 나로 인하여 곤란한 입장에 처하게 되는 것을
 na-to ki-ka na-lo_inhaye konlan.ha-n ipcaŋ-e cʰəha-ke twœ-nin kəs-il
 I-INCL that/he-SBJ I-caused.by awkward-PF.AT position-LOC be.placed-RES.ADV become/INCH_{IV}-DYN thing-ACC
 원하지는 않았다.
 wənha-ci-nin anh-ass-ta.
 wish-PROP-SEL NEG_{IV}-PF/AOR-FML.DCL
 'I myself didn't want him to end up in an awkward position because of me.'
 // 'I myself didn't wish that he would be put into an awkward position by me.' (=Cp)
 b. 나도 (내가) 그를 곤란한 입장에 처하게 하는 것을
 na-to (nɛ-ka) ki-lil konlan.ha-n ipcaŋ-e cʰəha-ke ha-nin kəs-il
 I-INCL (I;-SBJ) that/he-ACC awkward-PF.AT position-LOC be.placed-RES.ADV do/FACT/CAUS_{IV}-DYN thing-ACC
 원하지는 않았다.
 wənha-ci-nin anh-ass-ta.
 wish-PROP-SEL NEG_{IV}-PF/AOR-FML.DCL
 'I myself didn't wish to put him into an awkward position.'

Here, the verb-structural alternations do of course not correspond to the 'active ~ passive' alternation of the Standard Voice Model: the predicate structures are equipollent and algorithmically derivable from unmarked STATE or POSITION verbs, and the TRANSACTIVE sentences are 'causative' rather than simple active sentences that

would usually be considered only in relation to ‘non-causative’ counterparts such as the following:

- (136) 나약한 나를 버리고 ...
 nayak.ha-n na-lil pəli-ko
 feeble-INCH-PF.AT I-ACC throw.away-PF.SQ
 ‘I threw away my feeble self ...’
- (137) 나도 그가 곤란한 입장에 처하는 것을 원하지는 않았다.
 na-to ki-ka konlan.ha-n ipcaŋ-e cʰəha-nin kəs-il wənha-ci-nin anh-ass-ta.
 I-INCL that/he-SBJ awkward-PF.AT position-LOC be.placed-DYN.AT thing-ACC wish-PROP-SEL NEG_{IV}-PF/AOR-FML.DCL
 ‘I myself didn’t wish that he be in an awkward position.’

Against this, however, stands the fact that these sentences would be rather unlikely solutions for the same situational referent as that of the previous sentence pairs. In other words, seen from a referential-semantic point of view, the equipollent pairs in 134-135 are indeed the closer alternations. And not only that, but Korean does not usually allow the ‘passivisation’ of the Factitive–Causative pattern STATE_{VS}-ke mantil.ta, effectively leaving sentences such as 134-135:a as the only viable INACTIVE option:

- (138) !? 너로 인해 나약하게 만들어진 나를 버리고 ...
 nə-lo inhe nayak.ha-ke mantil-ə-ci-n na-lil pəli-ko
 you-caused.by weak-RES.ADV make/FACT/CAUS-INCH-PF.AT I-ACC throw.away-PF.SQ
 For: ‘I threw away the self that had been enfeebled by you.’
- (139) *나도 그가 나로 인하여 곤란한 입장에 처하게 해지는 것을 원하지는 않았다.
 na-to ki-ka na-lo inhaye konlan.ha-n ipcaŋ-e cʰəha-ke hɛ-ci-nin kəs-il
 I-INCL that/he-SBJ I-caused.by awkward-PF.AT position-LOC be.placed-RES.ADV FACT_{IV}-INCH-DYN thing-ACC
 wənha-ci-nin anh-ass-ta.
 wish-PROP-SEL NEG_{IV}-PF/AOR-FML.DCL
 For: ‘I myself didn’t wish that he would be put into an awkward position by me.’

To sum up then, the only significant difference between to the *N-e iyhɛ(sə)* pattern is that the *N-ilo inhɛ(sə)* pattern virtually never refers to a typical agent who directly manipulates, changes or affects another entity. Otherwise, as is also obvious from our examples here, its structural, distributional and semantic properties are so similar to the *N-e iyhɛ(sə)* pattern that a differential treatment is hard to justify.

[4] The Function-Noun INDIRECT CAUSE/AGENT pattern *N ttemun-e*

Turning to the noun-phrasal pattern *N ttemun-e*, this is structurally complex and based on the noun-like element *ttemun*, whose meaning could be roughly approximated as CAUSE – REASON. On the other hand, however, *ttemun* belongs to the closed class of

dependent nouns, which behave syntactically like nouns, but otherwise have all the properties of familiar closed classes such as prepositions. Thus, *ttemun* is highly frequent and semantically general, generally requires a modifying element (noun, nominalised clause, or anaphoric demonstrative)⁵⁶, and occurs only particle-marked with *e* or as the copula-marked *-i.ta* predicate of a clefting construction:

- (140) a. (나는) 공부 때문에 영국에서 살게 됐어요.
 (Na-nin) *korpu ttemun-e yəŋkuk-esə sal-ke toess-ə-yo.*
 (I-SEL) studying reason-LOC Britain-SET live-RES,ADV become/INACT-PF/AOR-FIN-POL
 'I ended up living in Britain because of my studies.'
- b. (내가) 영국에서 살게 된 이유는 공부 때문이었어요.
 (Ne-ka) *yəŋkuk-esə sal-ke twœ-n iyu-nin korpu ttemun-i-əss-ə-yo.*
 (I-SBJ) Britain-SET live-RES,ADV INCH-PF,AT reason-SEL studying reason-CPLPF/AOR-FIN-FML,DCL
 'The reason why I ended up living in Britain were studies.'

What is more, in Colloquial Korean the *N ttemun•e* pattern has already been largely eroded into *N ttem•e*, whose frequent phonological spelling indicates a high degree of structural reanalysis and synthesis towards a simple particle pattern⁵⁷.

Semantically, the *ttemun•e* pattern is predominantly associated with indirect causation features. And, distributionally, it is found in virtually all syntagmatic environments, including the whole panoply of ACTIVE constructions. Consequently, it would appear to be anything but an agent phrase. On the other hand, however, indirect causation and agentivity are certainly not mutually exclusive features. After all, nobody would suggest that the 'causer' in 'indirect causative' constructions should be excluded from the AGENT category. Equally, the mere fact that a particular oblique pattern also occurs in ACTIVE constructions is no justification for its exclusion from the agent phrase category. Otherwise, we would be left without a single agent phrase pattern not only in Korean but also in most other languages.

Most importantly, across a large section of its usage spectrum, the *ttemun•e* pattern exhibits a close semantic and distributional proximity to the other agent-phrase-like patterns. This includes a considerable number of instances whose referents differ from the typical transactive agent not in agentivity but in causation dynamic involvement,

⁵⁶ The only exception is its use in the clause-initial, resumptive conjunctive pattern *Ttemun•e* __ 'Therefore, ...'. Note, however, that this pattern is limited to Literary registers, whereas Colloquial registers explicitly express the anaphoric reference to the preceding sentence(s) with a preceding demonstrative: *Ki ttemun-e* __ that reason-LOC 'Therefore, ...'.

⁵⁷ E-mail and other casual Web spelling shows a large proportion of the purely phonological spelling *tte-me* 때메 (11.5% of Blog search results on www.naver.com), against the semi-phonological spelling *tte-me* 때메 (1.6%) and the morpho-phonemic *ttēm•e* 땀메 that analyses the pattern into *ttēm-e* 'reason-LOC' (86.7%). Note that Modern Common Korean has largely lost the phonological distinction between /e/ and /e/.

and hence tend to relate to the CAUSING AGENT elements of a corresponding (INDIRECT) CAUSATIVE sentence:

- (141)a. 김 과장이 부장님 때문에 잘렸죠.
 kim kwacaj-i pucan+nim ttemun.e cal•ly-ess-c-yo.
 Kim section.head-SBJ department.head because.of get.cut[cuts•INACT]-PF-PROP-POL
 'Kim got fired because of his boss, you know.'
- b. 부장님이 김 과장을 잘리게 했죠.
 pucan+nim-i kim kwacaj-il cal•li-ke he-ss-c-yo.
 department.head+HON-SBJ Kim section.head-ACC get.cut[cuts•INACT]-RES.ADV do/ACT-PF-PROP-POL
 'It was his boss that got Kim fired, you know.'
- (142)a. 김 과장이 부장님 때문에 그만두었죠.
 kim kwacaj-i pucan+nim ttemun.e kimantw-ess-c-yo.
 Kim section.head-SBJ department.head+HON because.of quit-PF-PROP-POL
 'Kim quit because of his boss, you know.' or 'Kim was forced to quit by his boss, you know.'
- b. 부장님이 김 과장을 그만두게 만들었죠.
 pucan+nim-i kim kwacaj-il kimantu-ke mantil-ess-c-yo.
 department.head+HON-SBJ Kim section.head-ACC quit-RES.ADV make/CAUS-PF-PROP-POL
 'It was his boss that forced Kim to quit, you know.'
- c. ?? 김 과장이 부장님한테 그만두게 만들어졌지요.
 kim kwacaj-i pucan+nim-hant^he kimantu-ke he-cy-ess-c-yo.
 Kim section.head-SBJ department.head-AN.LOC/AGT quits-RES.ADV do/ACT-INCH-PF-PROP-POL
 Hypothetical 'Kim was forced to quit by his boss, you know.'

Again, the situation is similar to what we observed earlier in relation to the *N-ilo inhe(sa)* pattern. Thus, on the one hand, this kind of sentence alternation is simply not covered in the Standard Voice Model, and the *ttemun•e* elements in 141-142:a would certainly not be considered agent phrases. Thus, in 141a the verb is strongly passive-like, but there is clearly some other agent that is more directly responsible for the firing. And in 142a, of course, the *ttemun•e* element occurs in a typically ACTIVE clause, and the primary agent is clearly the AGENT SUBJECT referent. On the other hand, however, it is hard to see much of a referential-semantic difference between the *ttemun•e* elements' referents and the 'causer' AGENT SUBJECTS of the INDIRECT CAUSATIVE sentences 141-142:b. Add to that the fact that 'passivised causatives' such as 142c are virtually nonexistent in Korean, and it is clear that the two clause types are indeed properly viewed as alternations.

Overall, the *ttemun•e* pattern requires relatively strong indirect causality features. Where the referent is an animate and agentive entity, these include weak target-directedness or intentionality, weak physical manipulation or impact features, and spatio-temporally distributed causality. Consequently, the *ttemun•e* pattern is anomalous in cases such as the following, where the AGENT INVERSE constructions are certainly the

normal choice:

- (143) a. 우리 아들이 ??옆집 개 때문에 물렸어요.
 uli atil-i ??yəp^h+cip kɛ ttɛmun•e mul•ly-əss-ə-yo.
 we son-SBJ yəp^h+cip kɛ-hant^hey
 ?? beside+house dog because.of get.bitten[«bites•INACT»]-PF-FIN-POL
 beside+house dog-AN.LOC/AGT
 For: 'Our son got bitten by the neighbours' dog.'
- b. 김 과장이 ??사장님 때문에 잘렸죠
 kim kwacaj-i ??sacaj+nim ttɛmun-e cal•ly-əss-c-yo.
 Kim section.head-SBJ sacaj+nim-hant^hey
 boss+HON because.of/by get.cut[«cuts•INACT»]-PF-PROP-POL
 boss-AN.LOC/AGT
 For: 'Kim got fired by the boss.'

On the other hand, where the condition of indirect causality is met, the *ttɛmun•e* pattern may indeed also relate to the AGENT Subject of a corresponding simple ACTIVE sentence. The following are some typical instances in which it competes with a straightforward AGENT INVERSE construction:

- (144) a. 고양이 때문에 팔이 긁혔네요.
 koyaji ttɛmun•e p^hal-i kilk•hy-əss-ne-yo.
 koyaji-hant^he
 cat because.of/by arm-SBJ get.scratched[«scratch•INACT»]-PF-MIR-POL
 cat-AN.LOC/AGT
 'Oh dear, you got your arm scratched {because of / by} the cat, poor you.'
- b. 고양이가 팔을 긁었네요.
 koyaji-ka p^hal-il kilk-əss-ne-yo.
 cat-SBJ arm-ACC scratch-PF-MIR-POL
 'Oh dear, the cat scratched your arm, poor you.'
- (145) a. 우리 딸램들이 아빠 때문에 놀랬지.
 uli ttallɛm-til-i appa ttɛmun-e nollɛ-ss-ci.
 !! 아빠한테
 !! appa-hant^he
 we daughters-PL-SBJ daddy because.of get.startled-PF/AOR-PROP
 daddy-AN.LOC/AGT
 'Our girls got startled by you (obviously) (that's why they're crying).' (=PC)
- b. 아빠가 우리 딸램들 놀래켰지.
 appa-ka uli ttallɛm-til nollɛ•k^hy-əss-ci.
 daddy-SBJ we daughter-PL startles[«get.startled•FACT»]-PF/AOR-PROP
 'You startled our girls (obviously).'
- (146) a. 언니가 형부 때문에 너무 속상했대.
 ənni-ka hyəŋpu ttɛmun.e nəmu soksəŋhɛ-ss-tɛ.
 hyəŋpu-hant^he
 old.sister-SBJ brother.in.law because.of/by exceedingly get.emotionally.hurt-PF/AOR-DCL.RPT-FIN
 brother.in.law
 'My sister got really upset {because of / by} her husband.'

- b. 형부가 언니를 너무 속상하게 만들었다.
 hyəŋpu-ka ənni-lil nəmu soksaŋha-ke mantil-əss-tɛ.
 type.of.brother.in.law-SBJ type.of.sister-ACC exceedingly get.hurt-RES.ADV makes/FACT-PF/AOR-DCL.RPT:FIN
 'My brother-in-law really hurt/upset my sister.'

Here of course, only the first sentence pair in 144 conforms to the 'active ~ passive' alternations of the Standard Voice Model, whereas the other two (145/146) show the required clause-constructional correspondences but have a causative-like markedness pattern in the verb-structural paradigm. Be that as it may, the *ttemun•e* elements clearly refer to animate and agentive entities and relate to the AGENT Subject of a corresponding ACTIVE sentence.

On the other hand, there is a clear referential-semantic difference between the *ttemun•e* and the *hant^he* patterns in such examples: the *hant^he* elements tend to refer to immediate, directed and intentional agentivity, whereas the *ttemun•e* elements tend to refer to the relative absence of such features. Thus for example, in 144a *koyaŋi ttemun•e* 'cat because.of' is more likely where the scratching is not perceived as intentional, or where it happened incidentally during play. And in fact, this is precisely what makes the *ttemun•e* pattern congenial to the less direct and physical causation dynamics of the emotion events in 145-146, again particularly where the causing person did not intend to cause the event. Note further that strong indirect causation features would also make the TRANSACTIVE-FACTITIVE sentences a less likely choice.

The *ttemun•e* pattern also frequently occurs in instances where the AGENT INVERSE construction is blocked by animacy and agency constraints. Again, its use is conditional on indirect causality, but where this condition is met it competes with the periphrastic *N-e iyhɛ(sə)* pattern, and is indeed preferred in Colloquial registers where the periphrastic patterns are rare and perceived as quite formal or stilted. The follow are some instances that refer to typical animate and agentive entities and hence relate to the AGENT Subject of a corresponding TRANSACTIVE sentence:

- (147)a. 길이 (시위대 때문에^{*)} 막혔대.
 (시위대에 의해서)
 (!? 시위대 한테)
 kil-i (siwi+te ttemun.e^{*)} mak•hy-əss-tɛ.
 (siwi+te-e iyhɛsə)
 (!? siwite-hant^he)
 path-SBJ (demonstration+corps because.of/by) get.blocked[«blocks•INACT»]-PF/AOR-DCL.RPT:FIN
 (demonstration+corps-due.to/by)
 (!? demonstration+corps-AN.LOC/AGT)
 'Apparently, the road got blocked (because of / by the demonstrators)' (=Dict+)

- b. 시위대가 길을 막았다.
 siwi+te-ka kil-il mak-ass-ta.
 demonstration+corps-SBJ path-ACC block-PF/AOR-FML.DCL
 'The demonstrators blocked the road.' (≈Dict)

- (148)a. 문이 또 (너 때문에) 안 잠겨 있었어.
 (* 너에 의해서)
 (* 너한테[㉠])
 mun-i tto (nə ttem.e) an cam•ky-ə iss-əss-ə.
 (* nə-e iyhesə)
 (* nə-hant^{he})
 door-SBJ again (you because.of/by) NEG get.locked[«locks•INACT»]-FIN exists/STV-PF/AOR-FIN
 (* you-due.to/by)
 (* you-AN.LOC/AGT)
 'The door was again left unlocked (because of / by you).'

- b. 니가 또 문 안 잠갔었어
 ni-ka tto mun an camk-ass-əss-ə.
 you-SBJ again door NEG locks-PF-PF/AOR-FIN
 'You left the door unlocked again.'

- (149)a. 여자들의 모든 문제가 남자 때문에 만들어지는 거 아니죠.
 남자에 의해서
 * 남자한테
 yəca-til-iy motu-n munce-ka namca ttemun.e mantil•əci-nin kə ani-c-yo.
 namca-e iyhesə
 * namca-hant^{he}
 woman-PL-AT all-PF.AT problem-SBJ man because.of/by get.made-DYN FCTL NEG-PROP-POL
 man-due.to/by [«makes•INCH»]
 * man-AN.LOC/AGT
 'Not all of womens' problems are created by men, are they.'

- b. 여자들의 모든 문제를 남자가 만드는 거 아니죠.
 yəca-til-iy motu-n munce-lil namca-ka manti-nin kə ani-c-yo.
 woman-PL-AT all-PF.AT problem-ACC man-SBJ make-DYN FCTL NEG-PROP-POL
 'Men do not create all of womens' problems, do they.'

Again, the sentence alternations here conform to the 'active ~ passive' alternations of the Standard Voice Model, and the *ttemun•e* elements fulfil both the semantic and distributional properties of the agent phrase category.

Lastly, the *ttemun•e* pattern is also widely used in reference to the kind of natural forces and phenomena associated with the FORCE and CAUSE INVERSE patterns, and may then again relate to a corresponding TRANSACTIVE SUBJECT:

- (150)a. 나무가 (바람 때문에) 꺾였다.
 (바람에 | 바람으로)
 namu-ka (palam ttemun-e) kkəkk•y-əss-ta.
 (palam-e | palam-ilo)
 tree-SBJ (wind-because.of/by) get.snapped[«snap.FACT-INACT»]-PF/AOR-FML.DCL
 (wind-LOC/FRC | wind-INST/CS)
 'The trees got snapped (because of / by the wind).'
- b. ㉠ 바람이 나무를 꺾었다.
 ㉠ Palam-i namu-lil kkəkk-əss-ta.
 wind-SBJ tree-ACC snap.FACT-PF/AOR-FML.DCL
 'The wind (has) snapped the trees.'

But, just as we saw earlier on, a corresponding TRANSACTIVE sentence may be dispreferred due to animacy and agency-related constraints:

- (151)a. 온 마을이 (산사태 때문에) 덮였습니다.
 on mail-i (sansat^he ttemun.e) taph•y-æss-sipnita.
 whole village-SBJ (landslide-because.of/by) get.covered[«cover•INACT»]-PF/AOR-FML.POL•DCL
 (landslide-INST/CS | !? landslide-LOC/FRC)
 'The whole village got buried (by the mud | by the landslide).'
- b. !? 산사태가 온 마을을 덮였습니다.
 Sansat^he-ka o•n mail-il taph-æss-sipni•ta.
 landslide-SBJ whole•PF.AT village-ACC cover-PF/AOR-FML.POL•DCL
 For: 'The landslide buried the whole village.'

Since, however, the pertinent constraints rule out ACTIVE Subject correspondents for all kinds of oblique CAUSE LOCUS elements, this is certainly no reason to view the *ttemun•e* elements as less agent-phrase-like than most other putative agent phrases.

One possible objection that could be raised at this point is that the <AGENT> meaning of *ttemun•e* is not specified by its semantics, but arises only from contextual and pragmatic interpretation. Such a view is certainly corroborated by instances such as the following, where the *ttemun•e* elements would not receive an <AGENT> or even <CAUSE LOCUS> interpretation and relate to the same *ttemun•e* element in a corresponding ACTIVE clause:

- (152)a. 오늘 축제 때문에 길이 막혀 있다.
 onil c^hukce ttemun.e kil-i mak•hy-ə iss-tē.
 today festival-because.of path-SBJ get.blocked[«block•INACT»]-PF-DCL.RPT.FIN
 'Today the roads have been closed because of the festival.'
- b. 오늘 축제 때문에 길을 막았다.
 onil c^hukce ttemun.e kil-il mak-ass-tē.
 today festival because.of path-ACC block-PF-DCL.RPT.FIN
 'Today they've closed the road because of the festival.'
- (153)a. 이 세상이 남자 때문에 만들어진 거 아니죠.
 i sesaŋ-i namca ttemun.e mantil•æci-n kə ani-c-yo.
 this world-SBJ man because.of/for get.made[«makes•INCH»]-PF FCTL NEG-PROP-POL
 'This world has not been made **for men** (only).'
- b. 하나님도 이 세상을 남자 때문에 만드신 거 아니죠.
 hananim-to i sesaŋ-il namca ttemun.e manti-si-n kə ani-c-yo.
 god-INCL this world-ACC man-because.of/for make-HON-PF.AT FCTL NEG-PROP-POL
 'God did not create the world **for men** (only).'

In terms of sign interpretation then, it is certainly true that the <AGENT> interpretation of *ttemun•e* elements strongly depends on experiential and linguistic context, although most cases are far from ambiguous. In terms of sign production, however, it is equally

clear that the *temun•e* pattern is indeed systematically used in reference to agent-like entities.

Coda

Summing up the arguments in this section, the way in which the Koreanist consensus accepts only some agent-phrase-like CAUSE LOCUS expressions as true Korean manifestations of the 'agent phrase' and excludes others from consideration is not only arbitrary but hardly justifiable in the context of a system in which TRANSACTIVE constructions are regularly ruled out due to Animacy and Agency constraints on the TRANSACTIVE Subject. It is this more than anything that makes the main criterion that seems to underlie the established analysis – correspondence to the TRANSACTIVE Subject – an empirically inadequate criterion.

The other possible criterion – whether a candidate pattern is actually used to refer to animate agents – is in fact crucial when it comes to using the semantic role concept of the AGENT. And in the Korean context at least, this should indeed be restricted to its narrow sense and otherwise replaced by other semantic role concepts such as FORCE or CAUSE. To restrict consideration of agent-phrase-like elements to AGENT phrases in this narrow sense, on the other hand, is again unduly restrictive since it excludes all other types of causation-dynamic expression from consideration. In the end then, the most gainful approach is to simply embrace the variety of CAUSE LOCUS expressions in the Korean system. And once we do this and investigate their usage, it becomes clear that this variety is motivated in differentiations along the animacy, agentivity and causality dimensions that clearly correlate with the Animacy and Agency Effects and Constraints on diathesis selection.

Conformity and divergence: Deactivative verbs and the 'morphological passive'

4.1 The problem of passive–inchoative–stative ambivalence

4.1.1 The lexical spread of the Deactivative pattern: Some general observations

As I argued in §2.2.2, the application of the Standard Voice Model to Korean is primarily based on the clause constructions and verb-structural patterns used in the expression of interpersonal situations. As in any language, the majority of verbs in the Korean verbal system does of course have at most peripheral association with interpersonal situations, and the same goes for the Deactivative verbs that the Koreanist Consensus analyses as the 'morphological passive'. If we further investigate the lexical spread of the Deactivative pattern, however, we can notice a number of other striking facts that by themselves are deeply problematic for the 'passive' analysis.

[1] *PATIENTIVE verbs*

One of the most striking facts about the Deactivative paradigm is that only a small minority of Deactivative verbs are actually strongly associated with <action> referents. Those few that are include first of all verbs from certain *PATIENTIVE* groups that refer to situations with an animate, physically and emotionally affected patient. The following are some exemplars with their unmarked *TRANSACTIVE* counterparts:

- | | | |
|--|---|--------------------------------|
| (1) a. 물리다
mul•li.ta
'get bitten' | ~ | 물다
mul.ta
'bite' |
| b. 잡히다
cap•hi.ta
'get grasped, get caught' | ~ | 잡다
cap.ta
'grasp, catch' |

- | | | |
|---|---|--|
| (2) a. 쫓기다
ccoc ^h .ki.ta
'get chased, get chased away' | ~ | 쫓다
ccoc ^h .ta
'chase, chase away' |
| b. 빼앗기다
ppeas ^h .ki.ta
'have robbed, get deprived of' | ~ | 빼앗다.
ppeas.ta
'rob, deprive sb of' |

Here, the ACTIVE verbs on the right show a relatively strong association with interpersonal situations that contain a perceptually focal agent who acts on and affects an animate patient. The Deactivative verbs, on the other hand, are strongly associated with situations that have a perceptually focal animate patient who undergoes the event. At the same time, however, they are also strongly associated with animate agent causation, and hence seem to 'retain' the same interpersonal semantics and argument structure. Since they are also structurally marked and algorithmically derivable from unmarked counterparts they thus appear to conform closely to the Standard Voice Model's 'active ~ passive' voice alternation. We shall turn to this verb type in §4.1.4, where I will show that their actual usage presents a rather less clear-cut picture.

[2] *BODY IMPACT verbs, POSITION IN BODY-SPHERE verbs and the 'agent retention' fallacy*

More important, however, are Deactivative verbs that belong to several related semantic groups, all of which are associated with the use of the human body. Two of these are Deactivative verbs from the BODY IMPACT and the POSITION IN BODY-SPHERE group:

(3) *Deactivate alternations in the BODY IMPACT group*

- | | | |
|---|---|-------------------------------------|
| a. 차이다 / 채다
c ^h _a . 차 ^ó 이다 / 채다
' _g c ^h a.i.ta / c ^h ε.ta
'get kicked' | ~ | 차다
c ^h a.ta
'kick' |
| b. 밟
p ^a _b . 밟이다
' _g palp ^h .i.ta
'get trod on' | ~ | 밟다
palp.ta
'tread (on)' |

(4) *Deactivate alternations in the POSITION IN BODY-SPHERE group*

- | | | |
|---|---|--|
| a. 잡히다
cap ^h .i.ta
'get grasped, end.up/be in hand' | ~ | 잡다
cap.ta
'grasp, take/hold in hand' |
| b. 들리다
til ^h .i.ta
'get lifted, get/be held/carried in hand' | ~ | 들다
til.ta
'lift, hold/carry in hand' |

Here, the unmarked ACTIVE verbs would certainly be regarded as typical transitive active verbs, associated with a high degree of agentivity. The Deactivative verbs, on the other hand, do at first sight appear to have the kind of 'agent retention' semantics

regarded as a central property of the Standard Voice Model's 'passive', at least in their primary, concrete and non-metaphorical usage. After all, it would seem, if something gets kicked, trod on, grasped or lifted, then there surely must be some agent who does the kicking, treading, grasping or lifting. And indeed, although neither the ACTIVE nor the INACTIVE verbs are that strongly associated with INTERPERSONAL usage, we can certainly find instances that closely conform to the Standard Voice Model's 'active-passive' alternation:

- (5) a. 강아지들은 죄없이 주인아이들에게 배때기를 차였다.
 Kaŋaci-til-in cwœ+əps-i cuin ai-til-eke pɛ.tteki-lil cʰa•y-əss-ta.
 puppy-PL-(SBJ)SEL guilt+be.NEG•ADV owner child-PL-AN.LOC/AGT belly-ACC get.kicked[«kick•INACT»]-PF/AOR-FML.DCL
 'The innocent puppies got themselves kicked in the belly by the owner's sadistic children.' (=Cp)
- b. 주인 아이들이 강아지들을 잔인하게 배때기를 찼다.
 Cuin ai-til-i kaŋaci-til-il canin.ha-ke (pɛ.tteki-lil) cʰa-ss-ta.
 owner child-PL-SBJ puppy-PL-ACC merciless-ADV (belly-ACC) kick-PF/AOR-FML.DCL
 'The sadistic children of the owner cruelly kicked the puppies (right into their bellies).'
- (6) a. 내가 치기도 전에 녀석에게 손이 잡혀 버렸고 (...) (…)
 nɛ-ka cʰi-ki-to cən-e nyəsək-eke son-i cap•hy-ə-pəly-əss-ko
 I:-SBJ hit-GER-INCL before-LOC rascal-AN.LOC/AGT hand-SBJ get.grasped[«grasp•INACT»]-FIN-IRR-V-PF-ENM.CJ
 'Before I can even lash out, I find my hand held by the bastard ...' (=Cp)
- b. 내가 치기도 전에 녀석이 내 손을 잡아 버렸고 ...
 nɛ-ka cʰi-ki-to cən-e nyəsək-i nɛ son-il cap-a-pəly-əss-ko
 I:-SBJ hit-GER-INCL before-LOC rascal-SBJ I:AT hand-ACC grasp-FIN-IRR-V-PF-ENM.CJ
 'The sadistic child of the owner cruelly kicked the puppies (right into their bellies).'

Here, of course, both TRANSACTIVE and INVERSE solutions arise easily only because the referent situation is interpersonal and therefore neither is blocked by animacy and agency constraints.

Where the effect locus is an inanimate object, on the other hand, the Relative Animacy Constraints block the AGENT INVERSE construction and tend to render even the much-adduced phrasal *N-e iyhε(sə)* pattern infelicitous. Consequently, the only way in which the animate participant can appear is either as the ATTRIBUTE to a BODY PART argument or as the TRANSACTIVE AGENT SUBJECT of a TRANSACTIVE alternate:

- (7) a. 잔디가 아들 발에 밟혀서 망가져 있었다.
 *아이들에게
 ??아이들에 의해서
 canti-ka ai-til pal-e palp•hy-əsə maŋka•acy-ə_iss-əss-ta.
 *ai-til-eke
 ??aitil iyhε-se
 grass-SBJ child-PL foot-LOC/FRC get.trod.on[«tread•INACT»]-CS.SQ get.ruined[«INCH»]-RES.CNT-PF/AOR-DCL
 *child-PL-AN.LOC/AGT
 ??child-due.to/by
 'The lawn had been trod on (by the children) and was ruined.'

- b. 아이들이 잔디를 밟아서 망가뜨렸다.
 ai-til-i canti-lil palp-asə maŋkːattily-əss-əss-ta.
 child-PL-SBJ grass-ACC tread-CS.SQ ruin[*FACT]-PF-PF/AOR-FIN
 'The children had trampled the lawn and completely ruined it.'

- (8)a. 바돌로메의 손에 들려 있는 껍데기에 미켈란젤로는
 *바돌로메{에게|에 의해}
 patollome-iy son-e til•ly-e_iss-nin kkəpteki-e mikhellancello-nin
 *patollome-{eke | e_iyhe}
 Bartholomew-AT hand-LOC get.lifted-RES.CNT-AT shell-LOC Michelangelo-SEL
 *Bartholomew-{AN.LOC/AGT | due.to}
 자신의 얼굴을 그려 넣었다.
 casin-iy əlkul-il kily-ə nəh-əss-ta.
 self-AT face-ACC draw-FIN put.in-PF/AOR-FML.DCL
Lit.: 'Into the shell held up in Bartholomew's hand Michelangelo has painted his own face.'
// Eqv.: 'Into the shell held up by Bartholomew Michelangelo has painted his own face.' (=Cp)
- b. 바돌로메가 손에 들고 있는 껍데기에 ...
 patollome-ka son-e til-ko_iss-nin kkəpteki-e
 Bartholomew-SBJ hand-LOC lift-PF.CNT-AT shell-LOC
 'the shell that Bartholomew is holding up in his hand'

In such NON-INTERPERSONAL usage then, the Deactivative verbs correspond at most to the 'agentless passive' category.

So far, all the data is still consistent with 'agent retention' claims for the Deactivative verbs. In actual fact, however, such claims are based on an easy but fallacious chain of reasoning that confuses the Linguist's general experiential associations with regard to the pertinent situation types for the Speaker's perception of the utterance-specific referent situation. Thus, not only do Deactivative verbs such as *cha•i.ta* 'get kicked' and *til•li.ta* 'get lifted' generally resist agent-phrase-like expressions in NON-INTERPERSONAL usage. More importantly, although they may indeed refer to situations with agent-causation features, they are the preferred or obligatory choice where action features are non-salient, weak or lacking. And indeed, this is even true in the case of <patientive body impact> situations in which a moving animate entity's body part impacts on and affects an animate patient. Here, both the TRANSACTIVE and the AGENT INVERSE solutions are natural only if the Speaker perceives the event as due to the impacting animate entity's aim and volition, or at least as under its potential control. Otherwise, both are strongly dispreferred in favour of other INACTIVE solutions, particularly FORCE INVERSE constructions with a pertinent BODY PART noun in the FORCE slot:

(9) <horse passes or kicks about skittishly, uncle gets hit by horse's hoof>

- a. 큰아버지는 말 발길에 차여
 Kʰi-n apəci-nin mal palkil-e cha•y-ə
 big-PF.AT father-SEL horse moving.foot-LOC/FRC get.kicked[«kick»INACT]-FIN/CNSC

며칠 고생을 하셨다.
 myəçʰil koseŋ-il ha-sy-əss-ta.
 several.days struggle-ACC do-HON-PF/AOR-FML,DCL
Lit: 'Uncle got kicked/hit by a horse's hoof and was in a bad way for several days.'
/ Eqv: 'Uncle got himself kicked by a horse ...' (=Cp)

b.!? 큰 아버지는 말에게 차여 ...
 Kʰi-n apəci-nin mal-eke cha-y-ə
 big-PF,AT father-SEL horse-AN,LOC/AGT get.kicked[«kick*INACT»]-FIN/CNSC
For: 'Uncle got kicked by a horse ...' (OK if horse perceived as aiming to kick uncle or as careless)

c.!? 말은 큰 아버지를 차서 ...
 Mal-in kʰi-n apəci-lil cha-se
 horse-SEL big-PF,AT father-ACC kick-CS,SQ
For: 'The horse kicked uncle ...' (OK if horse perceived as aiming to kick uncle)

(10) <baby has very sharp fingernails that can easily cut into the eyeball>

a. 애기 손톱에 긁혀서 눈도 심하게 다칠 수 있대.
 ɛki son+tʰop-e kilk•hy-əse nun-to simha-ke tacʰi-l su iss-tɛ.
 baby hand+nail-LOC/FRC get.scratched[«scratch*INACT»]-CS,SQ eye-INCL serious-ADV get.hurt-PSP POT exist-DCL,RPT:FIN
Lit: 'When a baby's nails scratch you, you can hurt your eye very badly, apparently.'

b. ?? 애기한테 긁혀서 ...
 ɛki-hantʰe kilk•hy-əse
 baby-AN,LOC/AGT get.scratched[«scratch*INACT»]-CS,SQ
For: 'When you get scratched by a baby (accidentally) ...'

c. ?? 애기가 엄마를 긁어서 ...
 ɛki-ka əmma-lil kilk-əse
 baby-AN,LOC/AGT mother-ACC scratch-CS,SQ
For: 'When a baby scratches its mother (accidentally) ...'

A number of things are worth noting here. For one, instances such as these further highlight the fact that the choice of Korean diathesis constructions is driven and constrained by situational animacy and agency features rather than by any invariant ontological status of the pertinent referents. Secondly, the complex POSSESSOR BODYPARTFORCE-*e* pattern and the reason for its choice are clearly very similar to what we have seen of the structurally identical LOCATIONAL patterns in §3.1.3. Third, the fact that the BODY-PART patterns are one of the preferred solutions where the possessor of the body part lacks situation-specific agency explains their relatively high frequency in Korean, a fact that would be rather curious if the only reason for their use were the Speaker's wish to explicitly express or emphasise the situational role of the pertinent body part. Fourth, it again highlights the fact that the semantic role construct of the 'agent' construct as generally used in syntactic theory is simply not an appropriate analytic category in the context of a Korean system that so clearly distinguishes between animate agents and other types of cause locus.

Returning to our earlier discussion, 9-10 illustrate what is wrong with the 'agent retention' claim. Thus, BODY IMPACT verbs such as *cha•i.ta* 'get kicked' and *kilk•hi.ta* 'get

scratched' are indeed experientially associated with the situational involvement of an ontologically animate entity, and this animate entity does indeed move the pertinent body part that impacts on another object or patientive animate entity. This, however, neither means that the moving animate entity is necessarily perceived as similar to a typical agent, nor does it mean that the impact event is perceived as having strong action or agent causation features. Put simply, it is indeed eminently possible to get kicked without the owner of the foot aiming or controlling the kicking, and one can get scratched by somebody's nails without that person actually doing any scratching.

Turning to the POSITION IN BODY-SPHERE group, the situation would seem to be somewhat different, in that events such as grasping or lifting would definitely seem to be controlled by the person who grasps or lifts. However, if we look at the actual usage of Deactivative verbs such as *cap•hi.ta* 'get grasped' and *til•li.ta* 'get lifted' we can notice a number of striking facts that again speak against a straightforward 'agent retention' analysis. The first of these is a relatively high incidence of instances in which the pertinent verbs occur as RESULTATIVE-STATIVE predicates, together with a LOCATIVE element that refers to the pertinent body part:

- (11) 동현집 앞 (밤). 현관으로 들어서려는 동현.
 tonghyön cip aph (pam). hyönkwan-ilo til-ä-sä-lyä-nin tonghyön.
 Tonghyön house front (night) entrance-DST move.in-FIN-stand-INTN-DYN.AT Tonghyön
 손엔 비닐봉투가 들려있다.
 son-e-n pinil+porŋt^hu-ka til•lyä_iss-ta.
 hand-LOC-SEL plastic+bag-SBJ get.lifted[«lift»INACT]-RES.CNT-FML.DCL
 'In front of Tonghyön's house. Tonghyön, about to step into the entrance.
 In his hand there is a plastic bag.' (=Cp)

The second and clearly related fact is their prolific use in Attributive clause constructions whose primary function is to specify the position of the head-noun referent in relation to the animate referent's body part as expressed by a relevant LOCATIONAL phrase:

- (12) a. 시키지도 않았는데 그녀는 알아서 다가오더니
 sik^hici-to anh-ass-ninte ki+nyä-nin al-asä tak•a•o-täni
 make.do-PROP-INCL NEG_{PF}-PF/AOR-CIR.CJ that+female-SEL know-CS.SQ approach•FIN•COME-PF/AOR•BG.SQ
 내 손에 들린 담배 꽂초를 받아 갔다.
 nɛ son-e til•li-n tampe kkorj^ho-lil pat-a-ka-ss-ta.
 I:AT hand-LOC get.held[«hold»INACT]-PF.AT tobacco stub-ACC receive-FIN-go:PF/AOR-FML.DCL
 'I hadn't said a word, but the girl came over by herself and took away the cigarette end (that was) in my hand.' (=Cp)
- b. 왼쪽 손에 가볍게 잡혀있는 디지털 카메라 셔터를
 wœ•n+ccok son-e kapyäp-ke cap•hy-ä.iss-nin ticit^häl khamela syät^hä-lil
 left•PF.AT side hand-LOC light-ADV get.grasped[«grasp-RES.CNT»]-AT digital camera shutter-ACC

누르면서 나는 행복했다.
 nuli-myənse na-nin hən̄pɒk.hɛ-ss-ta.
 press-SIM.SQ I-SEL happy:-PF/AOR-FML.DCL

Lit: 'Pressing the shutter of the digital camera (that was) lying lightly in my left hand, I felt happy.'
// Eqv: 'In my left hand the digital camera was but a light presence and when I pressed the shutter, I felt happy.' (=Wb)

Whether in this or in the previous usage, the Deactivative verbs here clearly function as little more than a kind of TOPOLOGICAL SPATIAL RELATION verb that is not that dissimilar from the CONTACT CONFIGURATION verbs to be discussed below under [6], as also evident from the English equivalents in the translation gloss. And indeed, it is hard to see much difference to the structurally basic and supposedly 'active' SPATIAL RELATION, CONTACT and POSITIONAL POSTURE verbs in the following:

- (13) 손엔 비닐봉투가 들어 있다.
 son-e-n pinil+pon̄tʰu-ka til-e_iss-ta.
 hand-LOC-SEL plastic+bag-SBJ move.in-RES.CNT-FML.DCL
 'In his hand there is a plastic bag.' (*Arguably more natural if bag is small*)

- (14)a. 그녀는 내 손에 묻은 기름을 닦아줬다.
 ki+nyə-nin nɛ son-e mut-in kilim-il takk-a-cw-əss-ta.
 that+female-SEL I:AT hand-LOC stick.to-PF.AT oil-ACC wipe-FIN-give/BEN-PF/AOR-FML.DCL
 'The girl wiped away the oil on my fingers.'

- b. 왼쪽 손 바닥에 가볍게 앉아 있는 두더지를 쓰다듬어주면서 ...
 wœn+ccok son patak-e kapyəp-ke anc-a_iss-nin tutæci-lil ssitatim-ə-cu-myənse
 left-PF.AT side hand palm-LOC light-ADV sit-RES.CNT-AT mole-ACC stroke-FIN-give/BEN-SIM.SQ
 'Stroking the mole (that was sitting) in the palm of my left hand ...'

Moreover, although the referent situation for 11-12 certainly contains an animate entity in whose hand the subject referent is positioned, it is hard to claim that its situational agency in relation to this positional state is of much perceptual relevance. On the contrary, at least for the two Attributive examples in 12 a TRANSACTIVE solution would be dispreferred or anomalous:

- (15)a. 시키지도 않았는데 그녀는 알아서 다가오더니
 sikʰici-to an̄h-ass-ninte ki+nyə-nin al-asə tak•a•o-təni
 make.do-PROP-INCL NEG_{IV}-PF/AOR-CIR.CJ that+female-SEL know-CS.SQ approach•FIN•come-PF/AOR•BG.SQ
 내 손에 들린 담배 꾹초를 받아 갔다.
 I? 내가 손에 든 tampe kkon̄cʰo-lil pat-a-ka-ss-ta.
 I:AT hand-LOC get.held[hold•INACT]-PF.AT tobacco stub-ACC receive-FIN-go:-PF/AOR-FML.DCL
 I? I-SBJ hand-LOC lift/hold-PF.AT
 'I hadn't said a word, but the girl came over by herself and took away the cigarette end {that was / that I was holding} in my hand.'

b. 왼쪽 손에	가볍게	잡혀있는 ?? 잡고 있는	디지털 카메라 셔터를
wœ•n+ccok son-e	kapyəp-ke	cap•hy-ə.iss-nin ?? cap-ko iss-nin	ticitʰəl khamela syəthə-lil
left•PF.AT side hand-LOC	light-ADV	get.grasped[«grasp-RES.CNT]-AT ?? grasp-PF.SQ be/CNT-AT	digital camera shutter-ACC
누르면서 나는 행복했다.			
nuli-myənsə	na-nin	həppok.hə-ss-ta.	
press-SIM.SQ	I-SEL	happy:-PF/AOR-FML.DCL	
'Pressing the shutter of the digital camera {that was lying / that I was holding} lightly in my left hand, I felt happy.'			

Particularly given the fact that the pertinent animate entity is actually the 1st person Speaker, this indicates that the Deactivative verbs here have not only been chosen due to the positional features of the referent situation, but also because of a relative lack of agentivity on the part of the animate referent. More precisely, the Speaker did of course at some point act to put the pertinent objects in his hand. What matters at the situation time, however, is that the Speaker perceives their presence in his hand more like a less-than-active experiencer. This is particularly clear in 15b, which refers to the lightness of the digital camera in the Speaker's hand, witness the additional presence of the adverb *kapyəp.ke* 'lightly'.

[3] *BODY MOTION verbs: Further evidence against 'agent retention'*

As I have just argued, the 'agent retention' analysis of Deactivative verbs in the BODY IMPACT and POSITION IN BODY-SPHERE groups is based on a simple fallacy: just because a situation contains an ontologically animate entity with a latent potential for agency, this does not mean that this animate entity is necessarily perceived as an agent. This is even more obvious in the case of the Deactivative verbs in the BODY MOTION group:

(16) *Deactivative alternations in the BODY MOTION group*

a. 뜨이다 / 띄다		뜨다
tʰi•i.ta / tʰi.y.ta	~	tʰi.ta
'(eyes) open'		'open self's (eyes)'
b. 떨리다		떨다
tʰəl•li.ta	~	tʰəl.ta
'(body/bodypart) shake, shudder'		'shake, shudder (body/bodypart)'

Here, both alternates are associated with animate body motion, but this motion does not necessarily have strong action features. On the contrary, <eye-opening> may be perceived as a voluntary and controlled action, but is actually much more likely to be perceived as more of an involuntary and uncontrolled process. This goes even more so

for <shuddering>, whose action features are at most those of attempted but failed control.

Due to the widespread perceptual ambiguities surrounding agentivity in body motion, many referent situations would seem to allow for the use of both TRANSACTIVE and INACTIVE solutions. This even more so since the existence of Double Subject constructions in Korean means that both the moving animate entity and its body part can easily appear as distinct arguments of an INACTIVE construction:

(17) <looking at photograph of children>

- a. 우리 아들은 눈 감았네.
 Uli atil-in nun kam-ass-ne.
 we son-(SBJ)SEL eye(ACC) close.like.eye(FACT)-PF-MIR
 'Our boy's closed his eyes!'
- b. 우리 아들은 눈 감겼네.
 Uli atil-in nun kam•ky-ess-ne.
 we son-(SBJ)SEL eye(SBJ) close.like.eye[«close.like.eye(FACT)•INACT]-PF-MIR
 'Our boy's got his eyes closed!'

On the other hand, however, the TRANSACTIVE solution is obligatory in certain uses that presuppose the perception of agentivity. This includes commands, but also 'why' questions that enquire after motivation or intention:

(18) <to son before taking photograph>

- a. 아들이! 눈 감지 마!
 atil-a! nun kam-ci ma!
 son-VOC eye(ACC) close.like.eye(FACT)-PROP DESIST
 'Son! Don't close your eyes!'
- b. * 아들이! 눈 감기지 마!
 atil-a! nun kam•ki-ci ma!
 son-VOC eye(SBJ) close.like.eye[«close.like.eye(FACT)•INACT]-PF-MIR
 For: 'Son! Don't close your eyes!'

(19) <to son who is evidently not asleep but keeps eyes shut on purpose>

- a. 아들이! 눈 왜 감았어?
 atil-a! nun wae kam-ass-ə?
 son-VOC eye(ACC) why close.like.eye(FACT)-PF-FIN
 'Son! Why've you got your eyes shut?' / 'Son, why are you keeping your eyes closed?'
- b. * 아들이! 눈 왜 감겼어?
 atil-a! nun wae kam•ky-əss-e?
 son-VOC eye(SBJ) why close.like.eye[«close(FACT)•INACT]-PF-MIR
 For: 'Son! Why've you got your eyes shut?' (OK as: 'Son! Why have you fallen asleep?')

And conversely, the INACTIVE solution is preferred or obligatory where the Speaker perceives the body motion as a spontaneous process with no or minimal agentivity.

(20) <about son who is so sleepy he can't keep his eyes open>

- a. 우리 아들 눈 자꾸 감겨.
 Uli atil nun cakku kam•ky-ə.
 we son-(SBJ) eye(SBJ) frequently close.like.eye[«close(FACT)•INACT]-FIN
 'Our boy can't keep his eyes open.' / 'Our boy keeps nodding off.'
- b. * 우리 아들 눈 자꾸 감어.
 Uli atil nun cakku kam-ə.
 we son(SBJ) eye(ACC) frequently close.like.eye(FACT)-FIN
 For: 'Our boy can't keep his eyes open.' / 'Our boy keeps nodding off.'

Note that this is even so in cases where other languages with weaker agency constraints easily allow ACTIVE expressions:

(21) <about Speaker's tendency to blink at a camera flashlight>

- a. 나는 플래시 쓰면 눈이 어쩔수없이 감기는 거야.
 Na-nin p^hilesi ssi-myən nun-i əccə•l+su+eps•i kam•ki-nin kəy-a.
 I-(SBJ)SEL flash use-CND eye-SBJ do.how•PSP+POT+not.be•ADV close.like.eye[«close(FACT)•INACT]-DYN FCTL- FIN
 'When people use the flash I can't help closing my eyes.'
- b. ?? 나는 플래시 쓰면 눈을 어쩔수없이 감는 거야.
 ?? Na-nin p^hilesi ssi-myən nun-il əccə•l su eps•i kam-nin kəy-a.
 I-(SBJ)SEL flash use-CND eye-SBJ do.how•PSP POT not.be•ADV close.like.eye(FACT)-DYN FCTL- FIN
 For: 'When people use the flash I can't help closing my eyes.'

Again then, the actual utterance-specific choices between the ACTIVE and the Deactivative INACTIVE verbs and their constructions are clearly driven by whether the Speaker perceives a presence or absence of agentivity in the ontologically animate referent, putting paid to any claims of 'agent retention' in the Deactivative verb. Cross-linguistically, of course, this is all rather unsurprising anyway, given the fact that BODY MOTION verbs are typically associated with 'inchoative ~ causative' alternations, whereas the inalienable whole-part relation between moving agent and body part tends to block the use of 'passive' constructions in most if not all languages⁵⁸.

[4] Lexical gaps in the INTERACTION and JOINT ACTION groups

Continuing our survey of the Deactivative paradigm's lexical spread, the second striking fact are the large lexical gaps left by the absence of the Deactivative paradigm from a large number of verb groups that are all strongly associated with highly transitive manipulative or targeted actions. This includes first of all the INTERACTIVE CONTROL TRANSFER, INTERACTIVE COGNITIVE TRANSFER and JOINT ACTION groups, all of which refer to situations that involve a relatively symmetrical interaction between *two* agentive

⁵⁸ Thus, the English translation equivalent for the Korean Deactivative verbs here are of course INCHOATIVE and not (anomalous) PASSIVE predicates: *His eyes closed* and not * *His eyes were closed (by himself)*.

participants:

(22) a. *INTERACTIVE POSSESSION EXCHANGE verbs*

주다	받다	얻다	사다	팔다
cu.ta	pat.ta	ət.ta	sa.ta	p ^h al.ta
'give'	'receive'	'gain'	'buy'	'sell'

b. *INTERACTIVE KNOWLEDGE EXCHANGE verbs*

가르치다	배우다	묻다
kalichi.ta	pɛu.ta	mut.ta
'teach'	'learn'	'ask'

c. *JOINT ACTION verbs*

만나다	사귀다	싸우다	다투다
manna.ta	sakwi.ta	ssau.ta	tat ^h u.ta
'meet'	'get to know sb'	'fight'	'argue'

A number of things should be noted here. The first is that these verbs not only lack Deactivative counterparts but are also highly resistant to the application of the relatively productive Serial Inchoative pattern $\alpha_{VSR-a/ci.ta}$ ⁵⁹. Secondly, the lack of passive-like alternates for what we might call 'RECEIVER-FOCUS' verbs such as *sa.ta* 'buy' has surely got a lot to do with the fact that the Relative Animacy Constraints would block any RECEIVED THING Subject from appearing together with an oblique RECEIVER AGENT phrase along the lines of the English *This house was bought by my grandfather*.

Thirdly, as for 'GIVER-FOCUS' verbs such as *cu.ta* 'give' or *kalichi.ta* 'teach', the only argument structure variation that would not be blocked by the Relative Animacy Constraints would be a 'recipient-subject' construction, but for this converse 'RECEIVER-FOCUS' verbs such as *pat.ta* 'receive' or *pɛu.ta* 'buy' usually offer an easy suppletive solution:

(23) a. 할머니한테 용돈 받았네.

halməni-hant^he yon+ton pat-ass-ne.
grandmother-AN.LOC/AGT use+money give-HON-PF-MIR

'Oh, you got pocket money from granny.' / 'Oh, you've been given pocket money by granny!'

b. 나 거의 모든 걸을 부모님에게 배웠죠.

na kəiy mot+in kəs-il pumo+nim-eke pɛw-əss-c-yo.
I(SBJ) nearly all+PF.AT thing-ACC parents+HON-AN.LOC/AGT learn-PF-PROP-POL

'Almost everything I know I've learned from my parents, you know.'

// 'Almost everything I know I was taught by my parents, you know.'

Note that the 'giver' participant appears in the same Animate Locative particle pattern that also functions as the INVERSE AGENT signifier, although it is not clear whether the

⁵⁹ Apparent exceptions here are the Deactivative *p^hal.li.ta* 'get sold, sell (intrans)' and the Serial Inchoative *cureci.ta* 'be given'. Note, however, that both are limited to very specific and less-than-typically 'passive' uses, are relatively resistant to AGENT elements and *never* appear with the receiver in the SUBJECT slot.

present instances should be considered instances of the same or merely a related usage.

[5] *Lexical gaps in the CREATION, DISINTEGRATION and DESTABILISATION groups*

The most striking lexical gaps, both quantitatively and semantically, are caused by the near-complete absence of Deactivative alternations from several PHYSICAL STATE CHANGE groups that are all strongly associated with agent causation and would in other languages be considered to lie at the centre of any 'passive' category along the lines of the Standard Voice Model. Instead, the verbs in these groups predominantly participate in paradigms based on the Serial Inchoative pattern $\alpha_{PS}-a/\text{aci.ta}$. The first of these groups is the CREATION/GENESIS group:

- | | | | |
|---------|--|---|------------------------------------|
| (24) a. | 만들어지다 | | 만들다 |
| | $\text{mantil}\cdot\text{aci.ta}$ | ~ | mantil.ta |
| | 'get made, get created' | | 'make, create' |
| b. | 지어지다 | | 짓다 |
| | $\text{ci}\cdot\text{aci.ta}$ | ~ | ciq.ta |
| | 'get built' | | 'build' |
| c. | 결어지다 | | 결다 |
| | $\text{ky}\text{el}\cdot\text{aci.ta}$ | ~ | $\text{ky}\text{et.ta}$ [=kyər.ta] |
| | 'get woven' | | 'weave' |

To this we may add the set of COOKING verbs:

- | | | | |
|---------|---------------------------------|---|---------------------------|
| (25) a. | 삶아지다 | | 삶다 |
| | $\text{salm}\cdot\text{aci.ta}$ | ~ | salm.ta |
| | 'get boiled soft' | | 'boil soft' |
| b. | 구워지다 | | 굽다 |
| | $\text{kuw}\cdot\text{aci.ta}$ | ~ | kup.ta [=kuw.ta] |
| | 'get grilled/roasted' | | 'grill, roast' |

We shall return to the pertinent voice paradigm and the CREATION/GENESIS group in §5.1.3. What matters at this point is that the verbs here are predominantly used in reference to situations with strong agent causation features. And not only that, but where there is agent causation, the action is highly transitive: it is volitional, it is targeted and manipulative, it involves physical state change of the target object, and it has telic aspectuality. Since verbs that refer to such highly transitive actions are generally considered core candidates for the 'passive' alternations in other languages, the question arises why they should not participate in what is alleged to be the primary Korean 'passive' pattern.

With a few exceptions, the Deactivative pattern is also virtually absent from the

DESTRUCTION/DISINTEGRATION and the DESTABILISATION group. Instead, these are again strongly associated with the Serial Inchoative pattern $\alpha_{VSR}^a/aci.ta$, sometimes in alternation with unmarked counterparts, but mostly with verbs of the equipollent Serial Factitive pattern $\alpha_{VSR}^a/\text{attili.ta}$:

- | | | |
|--|---|--|
| (26) a. 깨지다
kke•ci.ta
'get smashed (into pieces)' | ~ | 깨다
kke.ta
'smash (into pieces)' |
| b. 꺼지다
kk•aci.ta
'crumble (like soil); go out (like fire)' | ~ | 끄다
kki.ta
'crush (like soil); put out (like fire)' |
| c. 터지다
t ^h •aci.ta
'get burst, bursts' | ~ | 터뜨리다
t ^h •attili.ta
'burst sth' |
| (27) a. 쓰러지다
ssil•aci.ta
'come down, get toppled' | ~ | 쓰러뜨리다
ssil•attili.ta
'topple, bring down' |
| b. 떨어지다
ttal•aci.ta
'fall down, get thrown down' | ~ | 떨어뜨리다
ttal•attili.ta
'drop/throw sth down' |

Again, we shall discuss these alternations later in §5.1.3 and 5.2.2, respectively. What is important at this point is that these verbs refer to situations with the kind of physical state change features that are typical of force-dynamic impact causation, whether by agents or inanimate force-like entities. And again, where there is agent causation, the action is highly transitive: it is volitional, it is targeted and manipulative, it physically impacts on the target object, it effects physical state change in the target object, and it has telic aspectuality. Where there is inanimate impact causation, on the other hand, agentivity features are naturally weaker, but the situation still has enough similarity to the related transitive actions to motivate the habitual use of the pertinent 'active' verbs in many languages, including of course the Average European languages that quite liberally extend their Transactive verbs and constructions for other forms of causation. For all these reasons, predicate alternations in these groups are also generally considered to lie at the core of the Standard Voice Model's 'active ~ passive' alternation, and their absence from the Deactivative pattern is another problem for the 'morphological passive' analysis.

At this point, it should be noted that Deactivative alternations are glaringly absent only from the DESTABILISATION group exemplified in 27, whereas the DESTRUCTION/DISINTEGRATION group seems to have quite a few Deactivative

alternations, including the following:

- (28) a. 잘리다 자르다
 cal•li.ta ~ cali.ta
 'get cut (into sections)' 'cut (into sections)'
- b. 찢기다 찢다
 ccic•ki.ta ~ ccic.ta
 'get torn' 'tears'
- c. 끊기다 끊다
 kkinh•ki.ta ~ kkinh.ta
 'get cut (like thread/rope)' 'cut (like thread/rope)'

Against this, however, stand a number of facts that corroborate rather than contradict the present claim. Thus, for one, all also have frequently used Serial Inchoative counterparts:

- (29) a. 잘라지다 자르다
 call•aci.ta ~ cali.ta
 'get cut (into sections)' 'cut (into sections)'
- b. 찢어지다 찢다
 ccic•aci.ta ~ ccic.ta
 'get torn apart' 'tears'
- c. 끊어지다 끊다
 kkinh•aci.ta ~ kkinh.ta
 'get cut (like thread/rope)' 'cut (like thread/rope)'

Most importantly, a survey of actual usage shows that the two INACTIVE verb types here have rather distinct if slightly overlapping referential-semantic usage spectrums. Thus, the Deactivative verbs are largely limited to situation types that either diverge from typical <physical disintegration> events or have other features that are typically associated with the Deactivative pattern, such as patientivity or interpersonality. To give one example, the Deactivative verbs tend to be preferred for patientive body injury events, whether agent-caused and interpersonal or not:

- (30) a. 또 목숨이 다해 가는 매미가 헤매는 개미 떼들에게
 tto mok+sum-i ta.he-ka-nin memi-ka heme-nin kemi tte-til-eke
 again throat+breath-SBJ complete:FIN-go-DYN.AT cicada-SBJ wander,about-DYN.AT ant swarm-PL-AN.LOC/AGT
 볼들려서, 끌려가고 찢기고 하는 것을
 puttil•ly-əsə, kil•ly-ə-ka-ko ccik•ki-ko ha-nin kəs-il
 get.seized[«seize•INACT»]-CS.SQ get.dragged[«drag•INACT»]-FIN-go-PF.SQ get.torn[«tear•INACT»]-PF.SQ do/PRV-DYN thing-ACC
 보기는 흔한 일이다.
 po-ki-nin hin.ha-n il-i-ta.
 see-GER-SEL common-PF.AT event-CPLFMDCL
 'Also one can commonly see a dying cicada being seized and carried away or torn apart by a wandering swarm of ants.' (<Cp>)

- ◆ ... 헤매는 개미 떼들에게 ... 찢기고 하는 것을 ...
 hemε-nin kemi tte-til-eke ccik•ki-ko ha-nin kəs-il
 * 찢어지고
 * ccic-ə-ci-ko
 wander.about-DYN.AT ant swarm-PL-AN.LOC/AGT get.torn[«tear•INACT»]-PF.SQ do/PRV-DYN thing-ACC
 * get.torn[«tear•INCH»]-PF.SQ
- b. 그는 어릴 때 소 여물을 썰다가
 Ki-nin əli-l tte so yəmul-il ssəl-taka
 that-SEL young-PSP.AT time cow feed.straw-ACC chop-ABR.SQ
 작두에 왼쪽 검지를 잘랐다고 한다.
 caktu-e wœ•n+ccok kəmcī-lil cal•ly-ess-ta-ko ha-n-ta.
 straw.cutter-LOC/FRC left•PF.AT+side index.finger-ACC get.cut[«cut•INACT»]-PF/AOR-DCL-QOT say/RPT-DYN-FML.DCL
 'It is said that when he was young and cutting straw fodder for the cows, he lost his left index finger to the straw cutter.' (=Cp)
- ◆ ... 작두에 왼쪽 검지를 잘랐다고 한다.
 caktu-e wœ•n+ccok kəmcī-lil cal•ly-ess-ta-ko ha-n-ta.
 wœ•n+ccok kəmcī-ka * call•acy-ess-ta-ko
 straw.cutter-LOC/FRC left•PF.AT+side index.finger-ACC get.cut[«cut•INACT»]-PF/AOR-DCL-QOT say/RPT-DYN-FML.DCL
 left•PF.AT+side index.finger-SBJ * get.cut[«cut•INCH»]-PF/AOR-DCL-QOT

And, on an entirely different note, the Deactivative verbs appear in various secondary uses whose common thread is that they do not have strong destruction or disintegration features. Depending on verb and referent, the Serial Inchoative verb may be used alternatively or ruled out:

- (31)a. 산자락이 십여 미터쯤 가다가 툭 잘려 있었다.
 * 잘라져 있었다
 San+calak-i sip+yə mitʰə-ccim ka-taka tʰuk cal•ly-ə_iss-əss-ta.
 * call•acy-ə_iss-əss-ta.
 mountain+hem-SBJ ten+plus metre-APRX go-ABR.SQ sharply get.cut[«cut•INACT»]-RES.CNT-PF/AOR-FML.DCL
 * get.cut[«cut•INCH»]-RES.CNT-PF/AOR-FML.DCL
 'The mountain ridge went on for a dozen or so yards when it suddenly dropped off sharply.' (=Cp)
- b. 지금 갈아선 윤 초시 네도 대가 끊긴 셈이지.
 ① 끊어진
 cikim katʰ-asə-n yun cʰosi-ne-to tɛ-ka kkinh•ki-n sem-i-ci.
 ① kkinh•əci-n
 now be.like-CS.SQ-SEL Yun TITLE-family-INCL generation-SBJ get.cut.like.string[«cut•INACT»]-PF.AT calculation-CPL-PROP
 ① get.cut.like.string[«cut•INCH»]-PF.AT
 'The way things are now, it looks like Mr. Yun's family line is not going to be continued.' (=Cp)

Note that in 31a, the Deactivative verb *cal•li.ta* 'get cut (into pieces)' is actually used to refer to a kind of internal spatial configuration of the SUBJECT referent that has no disintegration features whatsoever.

To cap off the present discussion, it is indeed the Serial Inchoative verbs that are the preferred or obligatory choice where <physical disintegration> features are strong:

Rather smallish and not the most coherent of groups, it would be tempting to simply regard this group as part of the STATE CHANGE family, with which it undoubtedly has a certain affinity. On the other hand, however, these verbs are associated with configurational state features that largely belong within the domain of spatial perception.

The second and also rather small group is the MASS CONFIGURATION group:

- | | | | |
|--------|---|---|--|
| (34)a. | 묶이다
mukk•i.ta
'get tied in bundle, get bundled' | ~ | 묶다
mukk.ta
'tie in bundle, bundle' |
| b. | 쌓이다
ssah•i.ta
'get/become/be piled up, pile up' | ~ | 쌓다
ssah.ta
'pile up' |

Again, these verbs are associated with configurational state features, but this time internal to what is usually a collection of individual entities, or sometimes a less individuated mass (such as snow for *ssahi.ta* 'piles up, gets piled up'). Note that the situational scene may also include a salient location at which the configuration obtains, usually expressed as a LOCATION-*e* element.

The third and largest group is the CONTACT CONFIGURATION group:

- | | | | |
|--------|--|---|---|
| (35)a. | 놓이다
noh•i.ta
'get/be put/placed, become/be located' | ~ | 놓다
noh.ta
'put, place' |
| b. | 엮히다
ənc•hi.ta
'get/be put/placed on (top of), sit on top of' | ~ | 엮다
ənc.ta
'place onto, place on top of' |
| c. | 깔리다
kkal•li.ta
'get/become/be spread flatly across surface' | ~ | 깔다
kkal.ta
'spread flatly across surface' |
| d. | 꽂히다
kkoc•hi.ta
'get/become/be stuck in(to)' | ~ | 꽂다
kkoc.ta
'stick into' |
| e. | 잠기다
cam•ki.ta
'get/become/be submerged in liquid etc' | ~ | 잠그다
camki.ta
'submerge in liquid etc' |
| f. | 걸리다
kəl•li.ta
'get/be hung, end up hanging' | ~ | 걸다
kəl.ta
'hang' |

Here, the verbs are associated with topological spatial configurations that arise in relation to a particular ground. While this ground may sometimes be perceptually unidentified or non-salient, it is frequently expressed as a LOCATION-*e* element. Note that differently from the previous group, the ground here is an integral part of the

configuration.

The Deactivative verb alternations in these three CONFIGURATION groups are crucial to the understanding of the Korean voice system, for three reasons. For a start, it is they, and not the much-adduced PATIENTIVE verbs of the interpersonal example canon, which form the bulk of the Deactivative paradigm that is generally considered the primary Korean 'passive'. Consequently, unless we ignore this simple numerical fact, it is these verb alternations that must be considered first and foremost when it comes to trying to establish the core functions of the Deactivative paradigm. Secondly, the CONFIGURATION verb alternations and their usage gives us one of the clearest pictures of the animacy-related constraints and effects in the Korean diathesis system. Lastly, and indeed partly because of this, the Deactivative verbs in these CONFIGURATION groups perfectly illustrate how and why the Korean verbal voice system lacks any systemic distinction between the inverse/passive and anticausative/inchoative categories. For all these reasons, we shall begin our usage-based investigation with verbs from these groups.

Overall, there are some important differences between the verbs in these CONFIGURATION groups, particularly as regards the relative weight of internal, configurational or positional state features, as well as the presence and role of a specific ground against which the configuration is perceived. On the other hand, however, the verbs in these groups also share a number of significant properties that are best understood in relation to their association with spatial configuration features. Beginning with the unmarked TRANSACTIVE alternates, these are FACTITIVE verbs that are overwhelmingly associated with agent causation, and are rarely if ever used to express other types of causation dynamic, no matter whether the cause locus is an animate but non-agentive entity, a physical object, a natural force, or some less concrete percept or mental object. The following illustrate this point succinctly for the verb *mak.ta* 'block':

(36)a. <blocking intentional and involving direct physical manipulation of effect locus>

영국 집은 수도꼭지로 가는 관을 막는 데가 없어서 탈이야.
 yəŋkuk cip-in suto+kkokci-lo ka-nin kwan-il mak-nin te-ka əps-əse tʰal-i-ya.
 Britain house-SEL water.system+handle-DST go-DYN.AT pipe-ACC block-DYN.AT spot-SBJ not.be-CS.SQ pain-CPL-FIN
 'British houses have nowhere to block off the water pipes that go to individual taps, it's a real pain.'

b. <blocking neither intended nor involving direct manipulation of effect locus>

?? 이렇게 계속 찌꺼기를 흘리면 하수관을 막아버리지.
 iləh-ke kyəsok ccikkəki-lil hilli-myən hasu+kwan-il mak-a-pəli-ci.
 like.this-ADV continuously dregs-ACC send.floating-CND drainage+pipe-ACC frequently block-FIN-IRR-V-PROP
 For: 'If you keep putting dregs down the drain pipe like this, you're bound to block it up!'

c. <blocking is directly caused by autonomous and minimally animate 'vegetative' entity>

?? 곰팡이가 꺾어서 하수관을 막아버리는 적도 많아.
 komph'anj-ka kky-əse hasukwan-il mak-a-pəli-nin cək-to manh-ə.
 mold-SBJ squeeze.against-CS.SQ drainage+pipe-ACC block-FIN-IRRV-DYN.AT time-INCL much-FIN
 For: 'Quite often, mold grows in and blocks the drain pipes.'

d. <blocking is directly caused by inanimate object>

* 찌꺼기가 또 하수관을 막아버렸네!
 ccikkəki-ka tto hasu+kwan-il mak-a-pəly-əss-ne!
 dregs-SBJ again drainage+pipe-ACC block-FIN-IRRV-PROP
 For: 'The dregs have blocked the drain again!'

As we can see, a TRANSACTIVE construction with *mak.ta* 'block' is only possible where an animate agent directly and intentionally seeks to bring about the event. Otherwise, it is simply anomalous, leaving INACTIVE constructions with the Deactivative *mak.hi.ta* 'get blocked' as the only viable option:

(37)a. 이렇게 계속 찌꺼기를 흘리면 하수관이 막혀버리지.
 iləh-ke kyəsok ccikkəki-lil hilli-myən hasu+kwan-i mak•hy-ə-pəli-ci.
 like.this-ADV continuously dregs-ACC send.floating-CND drainage+pipe-SBJ get.blocked[«block•INACT»]-FIN-IRRV-PROP
 'If you keep putting dregs down the drain pipe like this, it's bound to block up!'

b. 곰팡이가 꺾어서 하수관이 막혀버리는 적도 많아.
 komph'anj-ka kky-əse hasukwan-i mak•hy-ə-pəli-nin cək-to manh-ə.
 mold-SBJ squeeze-CS.SQ drainage+pipe-SBJ get.blocked[«block•INACT»]-FIN-IRRV-DYN.AT time-INCL much-FIN
 Lit: 'Quite often, mold grows and the drain pipe gets blocked.'
 // Eqv: 'Quite often, mold grows in and blocks the drain pipes.'

c. 찌꺼기{로|때때} 하수관이 또 막혀버렸네!
 ccikkəki-{lo|ttəmə} hasu+kwan-i tto mak•hy-ə-pəly-əss-ne!
 dregs{INST/CS|because.of} drainage+pipe-SBJ again get.blocked[«block•INACT»]-FIN-IRRV-PROP
 Lit: 'Because of the dregs the drain is blocked again!'
 // Eqv: 'The dregs have blocked the drain again!'

The ultimate reason for this state of affairs are, of course, the relatively strict agency constraints on the Korean TRANSACTIVE construction and its SUBJECT referent. At the same time, however, it is also clear that there must be more specific reasons why the use of verbs such as *mak.ta* is so restricted. After all, there is a wide range of motivated exceptions where the referent situation involves force-dynamic causation by a spatio-temporally compact natural force or moving object, as also in the following instance:

(38) (...) 110cm 길이의 쇠파이프가 정면으로 날아 와
 kili 110+cm-iy swœ+p'haip'h-ka cəŋmyən-ilo nal-a-w-a
 length 110+cm-AT iron+pipe-SBJ front.side-INST/ADV fly-FIN-come-FIN/CNSC
 본네트를 망가뜨리고 다시 앞유리를 완전히 깨뜨리고 ...
 ponnet'h-lil maŋk•attili-ko tasi ap'h+yuli-lil wancən•hi kke•ttiliko ...
 bonnet-ACC wreck[•FACT]-PF.SQ again front+glass-ACC completely[•ADV] smash-[•FACT]-PF.SQ
 '(...) a 110 cm long iron pipe came flying from the front, wrecked the bonnet and smashed the windshield again ... (=Wb)

Against this background, the more immediate reason why the use of ACTIVE

CONFIGURATION verbs is so restricted is clearly that the associated referent situations tend to lack the physical impact features that motivate the less-than-typical choice of the TRANSACTIVE construction in the case of other situation types. It is this that underlies the general lack of agency constraint violations and gives us a relatively clean picture of the agency-related effects in voice and diathesis selection.

Turning to the Deactivative verbs in the CONFIGURATION groups, we can see a broad variation in the degree to which they evoke interpretative connotations of agent causation. Thus, when considered introspectively as context-free lexical items, some carry strong connotations of agent causation (among our exemplars above 33a, 34a, 35a-c), whereas these are moderate for many others (f.ex. 33b-c, 34b, 35d-f). Any systematic survey of their actual usage, however, puts paid to claims of 'agent retention' semantics and reveals that such introspective connotations are largely caused by interference from the juxtaposition with their unmarked TRANSACTION counterparts, if not by outright analytic preconceptions. The reality is that all the Deactivative verbs in these groups have a usage continuum that ranges from agent and force-dynamic causation all the way to spontaneous situations, and that instances close to the spontaneous spectrum are far more systematic and widespread than is generally acknowledged. In other words, these Deactivative verbs conform both to the Standard Voice Model's passive and anticausative/inchoative categories. We shall thoroughly investigate this 'passive-inchoative' ambivalence in the next subsection (§4.1.2).

This, however, is not all. Thus, when the Deactivative verbs in these CONFIGURATION groups occur in IMPERFECT patterns, they refer to dynamic changes in spatial configuration:

- (39) a. 막힌다 막히는 길
 mak.hi-n-ta. mak.hi-~~nin~~ kil
 mak.hi-DYN-FML.DCL mak.hi-DYN.AT road
 'gets/become sblocked' 'a road that is becoming blocked; a road that gets blocked (regularly)'
- b. 쌓인다 쌓이면서
 ssah.i-n-ta. ssah.i-myənsə
 ssah.i-DYN-FML.DCL ssah.i-SIM.SQ
 'gets piled up, piles up' 'while piling up'
- c. 잠겨 잠길 거야
 cam.ky-ə. cam.ki-l kə.y-a.
 cam.ki-FIN cam.ki-PSP FCTL-FIN
 'gets/becomes submerged' 'will get/become/be submerged'

The IMPERFECT patterns include the canonical Present Tense patterns, as on the left-hand

side of each example here. At least as it is generally practiced, the compositional approach would therefore postulate that the verb stem core have INCHOATIVE STATE CHANGE semantics with inherently DYNAMIC aspectuality. In reality, however, these verbs appear much more frequently in PERFECT patterns⁶¹. Here the relative strength of association varies, but on the whole these refer not only to completed dynamic processes, but also to resultative or even preexistent states. The following are some examples that attempt to capture this usage breadth in the English glosses:

- | | |
|---|---|
| <p>(40)a. 막혔다
 mak.hy-əss-ta.
 mak.hi-PF/AOR-FML.DCL
 'got/became blocked;
 has been/become and is now blocked;
 always was and is blocked'</p> | <p>막힌 길
 mak.hi-n kil
 mak.hi-PF.AT path
 'a blocked path;
 a path that has been/become and is now blocked;
 a potential path that always was and is blocked'</p> |
| <p>b. 쌓b. 쌓인거야
 ssah.i-n_kə-y-a.
 ssah.i-PF.FCTL-FIN
 'h_i 'has (been) and is now piled up;
 alv always was and is piled up'</p> | <p>쌓였어요
 ssah.i-əss-əto
 ssah.i-PF-CONC'COND
 'even though it may have (been) piled up;
 even though it may be piled up'</p> |
| <p>c. 집c. 잡겨 있어
 ca cam.ky-ə_iss-ə.
 cam.ki-RES/STV.CONT
 'h_i 'have been/become and is now submerged
 alv always was and is submerged'</p> | <p>잠겨서
 cam.ky-əso
 cam.ki-CNSQ
 'having been/become submerged ;
 always was and is submerged and (so) ...'</p> |

Such PERFECT predicates then conform not only to the Standard Voice Model's '(process) passive' but also to the 'stative passive', the '(objective) resultative' and the 'stative/adjectival' category. We shall turn to this systemic 'processive-stative' ambivalence in subsection 4.1.3.

Coda

To sum up our overview in this subsection, even the mere consideration of the Deactivative pattern's lexical spread already reveals a number of striking properties that

⁶¹ Note that what I call 'perfect' in the Korean context is a tense-aspect category centered on the features of <anterior completion> and <result persistence> relative to the reference time. While generalisable over a large number of final, attributive and sequential patterns, these do not have uniform semantic properties. Thus, some PERFECT patterns consistently express anterior completion with subsequent result persistence, that is they have typical 'perfect' meaning. Examples are the Perfect Attributive α_{PS} -n and its various grammaticalised offshoots, such as the Perfect Factual Evidential α_{PS} -n kə'ta. Other PERFECT patterns are consistently associated with anterior completion, but sometimes with and sometimes without result persistence. Examples are the Perfect Final patterns on α_{PS} -a/əss- that extend into the past/aorist tense spectrum. Matters are further complicated by the fact that the relative weight of PERFECT-STATIVE and AORIST-PAST semantics varies strongly across verbs and verb groups and what would generally be termed the verb's 'inherent aspectuality'. For example, *pi-əss-ta* empties-PF-DCL 'is empty // has emptied // emptied' is most strongly associated with STATIVE semantics, *w-əss-ta* comes-PF-DCL 'is here // has come // came' most strongly with PERFECT semantics, and *ca-ss-ta* sleep-PF-DCL 'slept // has slept' most strongly with AORIST semantics.

make it at least a less-than-typical manifestation of the Standard Voice Model's passive category:

- (1) Only a minority of Deactivative verbs belongs to groups that are strongly associated with actions and agent causation.
- (2) In most of these groups, the Deactivative verbs are used precisely where the potential agent lacks agentivity.
- (3) The Deactivative pattern is absent from several state change groups that are strongly associated with impact causation.
- (4) The majority of Deactivative verbs refer to spatial configurations that have weak impact causation features and may involve either agented or spontaneous causation.
- (5) These Deactivative verbs are associated with both change dynamics and resultant or preexistent states.

In the remainder of this chapter we shall focus on the two main issues highlighted in this subsection: the fact that Deactivative verbs conform to both the passive and inchoative categories, and the fact that they are associated both with processive and stative temporal dynamics. Beginning with the SPATIAL CONFIGURATION groups, I will illustrate the widespread and systematic nature of the attendant passive–inchoative and processive–stative ambiguities. Finally, I will show that these systemic ambiguities can be found even for those Deactivative verbs that do at first sight seem to conform closely to the Standard Voice Model's passive category.

4.1.2 The systemic nature of 'passive – inchoative' ambivalence

The passive–inchoative ambivalence of Korean Deactivative verbs is best approached in terms of those exemplars that obviously straddle both categories even when considered as context-free lexical items. The following are some representatives from the POSITIONAL and INTERNAL CONFIGURATION groups which we shall investigate in this subsection:

(41)a.	깔리다 kkal•li.ta kkal•INACT 'get/become/be spread on surface'	깔다 kkal.ta kkal•Ø 'spread sth on surface'	POSITIONAL CONFIGURATION
b.	잠기다 camk•i.ta camk(i)•INACT 'get/become/be submerged'	잠그다 camki.ta camki•Ø 'submerge sth'	POSITIONAL CONFIGURATION
c.	열리다 yəl•li.ta yəl•INACT 'get/become/be open(ed)'	열다 yəl.ta yəl•Ø 'open sth'	INTERNAL CONFIGURATION
d.	막히다 mak•hi.ta mak•INACT 'get/become/be blocked'	막다 mak.ta mak•Ø 'block sth'	INTERNAL CONFIGURATION

The following sentences show these verbs at their most ambivalent:

- (42)a. 집 뒤에 봄 꽃이 작 깔려서 참 예쁘다.
cip twi-e pom kkoc^h-i cwak kkal•ly-əsə c^ham yəppi-ta.
house back-LOC grass-SBJ broadly get.spread[«spread(FACT)•INACT]-CS.SQ truly pretty-FML.DCL
Lit: 'Behind the house spring flowers {have spread / have been spread}, so it's really pretty.'
Eqv: 'Behind the house a carpet of spring flowers {has spread / has been spread}; it's a lovely sight.'
- b. 피해자의 몸이 늪 속에 잠겼다.
p^hiheca-iy mom-i nip^h sok-e camk•y-əss-ta.
victim-AT body-SBJ swamp inside-LOC get.submerged[«submerge(FACT)•INACT]-PF/AOR-FML.DCL
Lit: 'The victim's body {became / got} submerged in the swamp.'
Eqv: 'The victim's body sank into the swamp.' (after she veered off the path and drowned ...)
// 'The victim's body was thrown into the swamp.' (by the murderer ...)
- c. 갑자기 문이 열려서 놀랐지.
kapcaki mun-i yəl•ly-əsə nolla-ss-ci.
suddenly door-SBJ become.open[«open(FACT)•INACT]-CS.SQ get.startled-PF/AOR-PROP
Lit: 'Suddenly, the door {opened / was opened}, so I got startled.'
Eqv: 'Suddenly the door opened, startling me.' // 'Suddenly somebody opened the door, ...'
- d. 국도가 막혔나 봐요.
kukto-ka mak•hy-əss-na_pw-a-yo.
national.road-SBJ get.blocked[«block(FACT)•INACT]-PF-SENS-FIN-POL
Lit: 'The national road has {become jammed // been blocked / been closed off}, looks like.'
Eqv: 'Looks like the national road has {become impassable / got jammed / been closed off}.'

As indicated in the glosses, the INACTIVE sentences here are potentially ambiguous between <AGENT-CAUSED> and <SPONTANEOUS> interpretations, at least when considered in the context-free vacuum of traditional linguistic analysis.

Here it should be emphasised that sentences 42a-d have been deliberately chosen to highlight the passive–inchoative ambivalence of the pertinent Deactivative verbs. In real usage of course, most of their instantiations are much less ambiguous and ambiguity varies with the concrete syntagmatic environment of arguments, peripherals, adverbials

and the like. And, even where potentially ambiguous when considered in isolation, ambiguity usually dissipates within the experiential and discursive usage context.

The INACTIVE instances in 42 all have ACTIVE alternates, with the agent appearing in the focal TRANSACTIVE SUBJECT slot:

- (43) a. 집 뒤에 봄 꽃을 작 깔아서 참 예쁘다.
 cip twi-e pom kkoc^h-il cwak kkal-asə čam yəppi-ta.
 house back-LOC spring.flower-ACC broadly spread(FACT)-CS.SQ truly pretty-FML.DCL
 'Behind the house they've spread a carpet of spring flowers; it's a lovely sight.'
- b. 살인자가 피해자의 몸을 늪 속에 잠갔다.
 salinca-ka p^{hi}heca-iy mom-il nip^h sok-e camk-ass-ta.
 murderer-SBJ victim-AT body-ACC swamp inside-LOC submerge-PF/AOR-FML.DCL
 'The murderer sank the victim's body into the swamp.'
- c. 갑자기 문이 열어서 놀랐지.
 kapcaki mun-il yəl-əsə nolla-ss-ci.
 suddenly door-ACC open(FACT)-CS.SQ get.startled-PF/AOR-PROP
 'You startled me barging in like that.'
- d. 경찰이 국도를 막았나 봐요.
 kyəŋc^hal-i kukto-lil mak-ass-ne-yo.
 police-SBJ national.road-ACC block-PF-MIR-POL
 'The police has blocked/closed the national road.'

Since the verb alternations have an [ACTIVE ~ INACTIVE] markedness pattern, the sentence alternations between the INACTIVE examples in 42 and the TRANSACTIVE sentences here in 43 conform to the 'active ~ passive' category. At the same time, however, since the INACTIVE examples in 42 also have a spontaneous reading, they of course also conform to the 'causative ~ inchoative' or 'causative ~ anticausative' categories.

The INACTIVE sentences in 42 would certainly become unambiguously passive-like with the presence of AGENT elements. Since the Subject referents are inanimate, however, the AGENT INVERSE constructions would result in animacy hierarchy violation. Relative Animacy Constraints apply less strictly to periphrastic expressions, such as the CAUSE LOCUS construction *N-e iyhe(sə)* 'N-LOC due.to/CNSC/(CS,SQ)' that the literature traditionally adduces as an alternative 'agent phrase' pattern. However, as I already outlined in §3.2, not only is this predominantly used in more Literary registers, but it is even then often unusual or infelicitous. Needless to say, it is also largely avoided in Colloquial registers:

- (44)a. * 주인에 의해서 집 뒤에 봄 꽃이 작 깔려서 참 예쁘다.
 Cuin-e iyhesə cip twi-e pom kkoc^h-i cwak kkal•ly-əsə c^ham yəppi-ta.
 landlord-due.to/by house back-LOC spring.flower-SBJ broadly get.spread[«spread•INACT»]-CS.SQ truly pretty-DCL
For: 'Behind the house a carpet of spring flowers has been planted by the landlord; it's a lovely sight.'
- b. 피해자의 몸이 살인자에 의해 늪 속에 잠겼다.
 p^hiheca-iy mom-i salinca-e iyhe nip^h sok-e camk•y-əss-ta.
 victim-AT body-SBJ murderer-due.to/by swamp inside-LOC get.submerged[submerge•INACT]-PF/AOR-FML.DCL
 'The victims corpse was sunk into the swamp by the murderer.'
- c. ?? 갑자기 문이 경비원에 의해서 열려서 놀랐지.
 kapcaki mun-i kyəŋpiwən-e iyhesə yəl•ly-əsə nolla-ss-ci.
 suddenly door-SBJ security.guard-due.to/by get.opened[«open.FACT•INACT»]-CS.SQ get.startled-PF/AOR-PROP
Lit: 'Suddenly, the door was opened by the security guard, so I got startled.'
- d. !! 국도가 경찰에 의해서 막혔나 봐요.
 Kukto-ka kyəŋc^hal-e iyhe-sə mak•hy-əss-na pw-a-yo.
 national.road-SBJ police-LOC due.to-CS.SQ get.blocked[«block•INACT»]-PF-SENS-FIN-POL
 'Looks like the road has been blocked/closed by the police.' (≈Dic)

The upshot is that even in AGENT-CAUSED usage, Deactivative predicates often correspond at most to the cross-linguistic category of the 'agentless passive', that is a voice that implies the presence of an agent but does not allow its expression (see §2.1.3). If the speaker wishes to express the agent, on the other hand, the preferred or indeed only choice is usually a TRANSACTIVE solution along the lines of 43a-d, particularly in Colloquial registers.

On the other hand, however, two of our Deactivative verbs are regularly used in reference to interpersonal situations of the <agent affects patient> type, in which case they may occur in AGENT INVERSE constructions that relate to corresponding TRANSACTIVE alternatives:

- (45)a. 식이는 암놈이 수놈에게 깔려
 sik-i-nin am+nom-i su+nom-eke kkal•ly-ə
 Shik-BUF-SBJ female+person.PEJ-SBJ male+person.PEJ-AN.LOC/AGT get.spread[«spread•INACT»]-FIN/CNSC
 고난을 당하는 동안 달아난 이웃집 분이를 생각했다.
 konan+il taŋha-nin tojan talana-n ius+cip pun.i-lil sənjak+he-ss-ta.
 ordeal-ACC suffer/PAT_{IV}-DYN.AT while run.away-PF.AT neighbour+house Pun-BUF-ACC think-PF/AOR-FML.DCL
 'While the sow was being pinned down by the boar and submitted to her ordeal, Sik thought of Pun who had run away from his neighbours house.' (<Wb>)
- b. ... 수놈이 암놈을 깔고 일을 치르는 동안 ...
 su+nom-i am+nom-il kkal-ko il-il c^hilu-nin tojan
 male+person.PEJ-SBJ female+person.PEJ-ACC spread(FACT)-PF.SQ job-ACC carry.out-DYN.AT while
 'While the boar was pinning down the sow and getting on with his job ...'
- (46)a. ⁰내가⁰ 경비 아저씨한테 막혀서 못 들어갔어요.
⁰ne-ka⁰ kyəŋpi acəssi-hant^he mak•hy-əsə mos til-ə-ka-ss-ə-yo.
⁰I-SBJ⁰ guard middle.aged.man-AN.LOC/AGT get.blocked[«INACT»]-CS.SQ NCTL.NEG move.in-FIN-go-PF/AOR-FIN-POL
Lit: 'I was blocked by the security guard and couldn't go in.'
Eqv: 'I wasn't let in by the security guard.'

- b. 경비 아저씨가 나를 막아서 못 들어갔어요.
 kyøppi acøssi-ka na-lil mak-asə mos til-ə-ka-ss-ə-yo.
 guard middle.aged.man-SBJ 1-ACC block-CS.SQ NCTL.NEG move.in-FIN-go-PF/AOR-FIN-POL
Lit.: 'The security guard blocked me so I couldn't go in.'
Eqv.: 'The security guard wouldn't let me go in.'

An AGENT INVERSE construction is also possible, although perhaps less common, with *cam•ki.ta* 'gets submerged':

- (47) a. 피해자가 애인에게 물에 잠겨서 죽었다.
 phihæca-ka ein-eke mul-e camk•y-əsə cuk-əss-ta.
 victim-SBJ lover-AN.LOC/AGT water-LOC get.submerged[«submerge*INACT»-CS.SQ die-PF/AOR-FML.DCL
Lit.: 'The victim was submerged in the water by her lover and died.'
Eqv.: 'The victim was drowned by her lover.'
- b. 애인이 피해자를 물에 잠가서 죽였다.
 ein-i phihæca-lil mul-e camk-asə cuk•y-əss-ta.
 lover-SBJ victim-ACC water-LOC submerge-CS.SQ kills[«die*FACT»-PF/AOR-FML.DCL
Lit.: 'The lover submerged the victim in the pond water and killed her.'
Eqv.: 'The victim's lover drowned her in the pond.'

Needless to say, the TRANSACTIVE ~ AGENT INVERSE alternations in 45-47 conform closely to the Standard Voice Models 'active ~ passive alternation'.

The 'theoretical' possibility of adding AGENT elements, even if the Relative Animacy Constraints render them largely infelicitous or entirely hypothetical (as in 44), is often adduced as proof for a 'passive' analysis (see f.ex. Yi Ki-dong 1976,1978; Im Hong-bin 1978). Leaving aside the question of naturalness and actual usage, however, this argument is fallacious on a more general level: all that the possibility of adding AGENT elements proves is that the verb is *compatible* with an <agent-caused> use or interpretation, but it does not prove that this is the *only* possible use or interpretation. Conversely, of course, neither does *inadmissibility* of an AGENT element prove that the sentence cannot have any <agent-caused> use or interpretation. After all, the infelicity of 'agent phrases' may be due to other factors, including animacy hierarchy violation.

Returning to our initial examples 42, these become more explicitly inchoative-like with the addition of material that is only consistent with an <agentless> interpretation:

- (48) a. 집 뒤에 갑자기 봄 꽃이 짙 깔려서 참 예쁘다.
 cip twi-e kapcaki pom kkoc^h-i cwak kkal•ly-əsə c^ham yøppi-ta.
 house back-LOC suddenly grass-SBJ broadly spread[«spread(FACT)*INACT»-CS.SQ truly pretty-FML.DCL
Lit.: 'Behind the house suddenly spring flowers have spread; it's really pretty.'
Eqv.: 'Behind the house a carpet of spring flowers has suddenly appeared; it's a lovely sight.'

- b. 피해자의 몸이 조금씩 늪 속에 잠겼다.
 p^hiheca-iy mom-i cokim-ssik nip^h sok-e camky-æss-ta.
 victim-AT body-SBJ little-DSTR swamp inside-LOC become.submerged[«submerge*INACT»]-PF/AOR-FML,DCL
Lit: 'The victim's body little by little became submerged in the swamp.'
Eqv: 'The victims body slowly sank into the swamp.'
- c. 갑자기 문이 스스로 열려서 놀랐지.
 kapcaki mun-i sisilo yel-ly-əsə nolla-ss-ci.
 suddenly room+door-SBJ on.own accord open.INCH[«open(FACT)*INACT»]-CS.SQ get.startled-PF/AOR-PROP
Lit: 'Suddenly, the door opened all by itself, so I got startled.'
Eqv: 'Suddenly the door opened, startling me.'
- d. 퇴근 시간이라서 국도가 막혔나 봐요
 t^hwœkin sikan-i-lasə tolo-ka mak-hy-æss-na pw-a-yo.
 return.from.work hour-CPL-CS.SQ road-SBJ get.clogged.up[«block*INACT»]-PF-SENS-FIN-POL
Lit: 'It's evening rush hour, so the road has got clogged up, looks like.'
Eqv: 'Looks like the evening rush hour (traffic) has clogged up the roads.'

In 48a-b, the adverbs *kapcaki* 'suddenly' and *cokim.ssik* 'little by little' express temporal progressions that are in principle associated with any situation type, but do in this context lead to a preference for <SPONTANEOUS> interpretation. In 48c, the adverb *sisilo* 'on own accord' directly signifies SPONTANEITY. Lastly, in 48d the CONSEQUENTIAL construction expresses a circumstantial situation-chain causation with no perceived cause locus entity or percept.

Similar to the compatibility with agent phrases, the compatibility with manner adverbs that express spontaneity (particularly *cacallo* 'by itself', *sisilo* 'on own accord' and *catoncak*ilo* 'automatically') is often used as proof for a 'non-passive' or 'spontaneous' analysis (see f.ex. Yi Ki-dong 1976,1978; Jaehoon Yeon 2003: 119-20). All this compatibility proves, however, is that the verb and the remainder of the sentence *allow* a <spontaneous> use or interpretation. It does not prove that SPONTANEITY is necessarily its primary or exclusive 'meaning', nor does it prove that there are no other possible uses or interpretations. And indeed, as we saw in our initial ambiguous examples (116), <agent-caused> and <agentless spontaneous> uses and interpretations may well coexist.

Most Deactivative verbs refer of course not only to the two extremes of agent-caused and spontaneous dynamics, but also to other kinds of force and causation dynamic. Here, as we have already seen throughout this thesis, Korean has a wide and varied range of constructions that may diverge significantly from the Standard Voice Model's idea of what makes for 'passive' syntax. As I argued in §3.2, however, two of these constructions are rather closely related to the AGENT INVERSE constructions, although they differ from these in that they refer to causation by inanimate entities or percepts, expressed by oblique arguments marked with the Locative and Instrumental

particles. The referential-semantic spectrum of the two particle constructions can be roughly approached with the terms FORCE and (CIRCUMSTANTIAL) CAUSE:

EFFECTLOCUS-*ka/i* FORCE-*e* FORCE INVERSE

EFFECTLOCUS-*ka/i* CAUSE-*ilo* CAUSE INVERSE

The following are some examples with our Deactivative verbs:

- (49) 작년에도 미군의 장갑차에 여중생2명이 깔려서
 caɲnyən-e-to mikun-iy caŋkap^ha-e yə+cuŋ+seŋ 2.myəŋ-i kkal[•]ly-əse
 last.year-LOC-INCL US.forces-AT armour.car-LOC/FRC fem+middle+pupil 2+CLSF-SBJ get.spread[«spread»INACT]-CS.SQ
 사망했다.
 samaŋ.hɛ-ss-ta.
 die-PF/AOR-FML.DCL
Lit: 'Last year too, two middle school girls were run over by an American armoured vehicle and died.' // *Eqv:* 'Also, last year an American armoured personnel carrier ran over and killed two middle school girls.' (=Wb)
- (50) a. 갑자기 옆에서 스트로카는 팔에 머리가 물에 잠겨
 kapcaki yəp^h-esə sit^hilok+ha-nin p^hal-e məli-ka mul-e cam[•]ky-ə
 suddenly side-ABI/SET stroke+FV-DYN.AT arm-LOC/FRC head-SBJ water-LOC get.submerged[«submerge»INACT]-FIN/CNSC
 물을 먹었다.
 mul-il mək-əss-ta.
 water-ACC eat-AOR-DCL
Lit: 'My head was pushed under water by a stroking arm next to me and I swallowed water.'
 // *Eqv:* 'The arm of another swimmer pushed my head under the water and I spluttered.' (=Wb)
- b. 마을이 안개{에|로} 잠겨 보이지 않는다.
 mail-i anke-{e|lo} camk[•]y-ə poi-ci anh-nin-ta.
 village-SBJ fog-{LOC/FRC|INST/CS} get.submerged[«submerge»INACT]-FIN/CNSC visible-PROP NEG_{IV}-DYN-FML.DCL
Lit: 'The village is submerged in/by the fog and invisible.'
Eqv: 'The village is hidden from view in/by the fog.' (<Dict+)
- c. 월정사 유치원도 집중호우로 물에 잠겼다.
 wəlcəŋ+sa yuč^hiwən-to cipcuŋ+hou-lo mul-e camk[•]y-əss-ta.
 Wöljōng+temple nursery-INCL concentration+heavy.rain-INST/CS water-LOC get.submerged[«α_{vs}»INACT]-PF/AOR-DCL
Lit: 'The Wöljōng-sa temple nursery was also flooded by the concentrated downpours.' (<Web)
- (51) a. 갑자기 문이 바람{에|로} 열려서 놀랐지.
 kapcaki mun-i palam-{e|ilo} yəl[•]ly-əsə nolla-ss-ci.
 suddenly door-SBJ wind-{LOC/FRC|INST/CS} get.opened[«open(FACT)»INACT]-CS.SQ get.startled-PF/AOR-PROP
 'Suddenly, the door was thrown open by a gust of wind, startling me.'
- b. 문이 센서 장치로 열리니까 억지로 열면 안 돼요.
 mun-i sensə caŋc^hi-lo yəl[•]li-nikka əkci[•]lo yəl-myən an twoə-yo.
 door-SBJ sensor device-INST/CS get.opened[«open(FACT)»INACT]-EXPL.CJ forcing»INST open-CND NEG INACT.PRIV-FIN-POL
 'This door gets opened by a sensor device, so it shouldn't be forced.'
- (52) a. 도로가 {돌에|산사태로} 막혔네요.
 tolo-ka {tol-e|sansat^hɛ-lo} mak[•]hy-əss-ne-yo.
 road-SBJ {stone-LOC/FRC|avalanche-INST/CS} get.blocked[«block»INACT]-PF-MIR-POL
 'The road has been made unpassable {by stones | by an avalanche}.'

- b. 퇴근 교통으로 도로가 막혔나 봐요.
 t^hwœkin kyot^hon-ilo tolo-ka mak^hhy-æss-na pwa-yo.
 return.from.work traffic-INST/CS road-SBJ get.blocked/clog.up[«block*INACT»]-PF-SENS-POL
Lit.: 'Because of the evening rushhour traffic the road has got clogged up.'
// Eqv.: 'The evening rushhour traffic is clogging the roads.'

Sentences such as these are also generally given a 'morphological passive' analysis, although only the FORCE-*e* pattern is widely accepted as an agent phrase pattern. As I already outlined in §3.2, the main motivation for giving the FORCE-*e* pattern this status seems to be that it is more strongly associated with physically immanent entities that have a direct force-dynamic impact on the effect locus (as in 49-52:a). The Instrumental-marked CAUSE-*ilo* pattern, on the other hand, is strongly associated with either instrument-like mechanisms (51b) or spatio-temporally more distributed causes (50b-c, 52a/b).

Be that as it may, what is important in the present context is that the structural and semantic properties of these INACTIVE constructions partly conform and partly diverge from the Standard Voice Model's passive category. On the one hand, apart from the fact that the cause locus referent is inanimate, some instances seem to have all the requisite properties: the oblique argument refers to an entity that directly and physically causes the situation and it relates to the SUBJECT of a corresponding TRANSACTIVE alternate:

- (53)a. ... 미군의 장갑차에 여중생2명이 깔려서 사망했다.
 mikun-iy caŋkap^ha-e yə+cuŋ+seŋ 2+myəŋ-i kkal^hly-æse samarŋ.he-ss-ta
 US.forces-AT armour.car-LOC/FRC fem+middle+pupil 2+CLSF-SBJ get.spread[«α*INACT»]-CS.SQ die:-PF/AOR-FML,DCL
Lit.: 'Two middle school girls were run over by an American armoured vehicle and died.'
// Eqv.: 'An American armoured vehicle ran over and killed two middle school girls.' (<49)

- b. !? ... 미군의 장갑차가 여중생 2명을 깔아서 죽였다.
 mikun-iy caŋkap^ha-ka yə+cuŋ+seŋ 2+myəŋ-il kkal-asə cuk^hy-æss-ta.
 US.forces-AT armour.car-SBJ fem+middle+pupil 2+CLSF-ACC spread-CS.SQ kill[«die*FACT»]-PF/AOR-FML,DCL
 'An American armoured personnel carrier ran over and killed two middle school girls.'

- (54)a. 마을이 강에 잠겨서 우리가 남민이 되었다.
 mail-i kaŋ-e cam^hky-æse uli-ka nanmin-i twœ-æss-ta.
 village-SBJ river-LOC get.submerged[«α(FACT)*INACT»]-CS.SQ we-SBJ people.in.distress-SBJ become-PF/AOR-FML,DCL
 'The village was flooded by the river, and we were turned into refugees.'

- b. !! 강이 마을을 잠가서 우리를 남민으로 만들었다.
 kaŋ-i mail-il camk-asə uli-lil nanmin-ilo mantil-æss-ta.
 river-SBJ village-ACC submerge-CS.SQ we-ACC people.in.distress-DST/EQU make-PF/AOR-FML,DCL
 'The river flooded the whole village and turned us into refugees.'

- (55)a. 문이 센서 장치로 열리니까 억지로 열면 안 돼요.
 mun-i sœnsə caŋc^hi-lo yəl^hli-nikka ækci^hlo yəl-myən an twe-yo.
 door-SBJ sensor device-INST/CS get.opened[«open*INACT»]-EXPL.CJ forcing*INST open-CND NEG become/INACT,PRV:FIN-POL
 'This door gets opened by a sensor device, so it shouldn't be forced.' (=51b)

- b. !! 센서장치가 문을 알아서 여니까 억지로 열면 안 돼요.
 sɛnsə caŋcʰi-ka mun-il al-asə yə-nikka əkci-lo yəl-myən an toə-yo.
 sensor device-SBJ door-ACC know-CS.SQ open-EXPL.CJ forcing*INST open-CND NEG INACT.PRIV.FIN-POL
Lit: 'A sensor device knows and opens the door, so to open it forcefully won't do.'
Eqv: 'A sensor device opens this door automatically, so it shouldn't be forced.'

Note again that correspondences between TRANSACTIVE Subject and the INACTIVE Oblique obtain no matter whether the oblique argument is marked with the Locative or Instrumental particle. In other words, the MECHANISM/CAUSE-*ilo* elements here are hardly less agent-phrase-like than the FORCE-*e* elements.

On the other hand, due to the agency constraints on ACTIVE SUBJECT slots, all of the TRANSACTIVE alternates in 53-55 are of a kind that is generally dispreferred, rarely encountered in actual usage, and only likely in an experiential context that could condition expressive personification-like construal. Thus, for example, the first TRANSACTIVE example 53b, which refers to an actual incident that happened in 2002, requires that the Speaker perceive the event as strongly interpersonal, with the <armoured vehicle> as a kind of metonymic symbol of the responsible US forces. It must be emphasised that this is very different from the straightforward and conventionalised appearance of impacting force-like entities in the English TRANSACTIVE SUBJECT slot. And indeed, among the vast amount of utterances on the Web in relation to this much-discussed incident, I have only found a handful of similar TRANSACTIVE instances. As for the third TRANSACTIVE example 55b, this would of course have to be motivated in the functional autonomy of the <sensor mechanism>, and it is noteworthy that it would actually be much less natural without the presence of the idiomatic phrase *al-asə* 'knows-CS.SQ' that reflects a perception of 'machine autonomy' as akin to animate behaviour.

Returning to the issue at hand, however, what matters is that the FORCE and CAUSE INVERSE constructions begin to lack acceptable TRANSACTIVE counterparts as soon as the referent situation lacks the requisite perceptual similarities to typical human actions. Take the following case that differs from 53 only with respect to the lack of interpersonal situation features, immediately rendering a TRANSACTIVE sentence anomalous:

- (56)a. 길가에서 오락을 하던 학생이 언덕 위에 주정차된 트럭의
 kil+ka-esə olak-il ha-tən hakseŋ-i əntək wi-e cucəŋcʰa.twœ-n tʰilək-iy
 road+edge-SET game.play-ACC do-PST.AT student-SBJ hill top-LOC get.parked-PF.AT truck-AT

사이드 브레이크가 풀려 미끄러져 내려와
 saiti pileik^{hi}-ka p^hully-e mikkilacy-ə nelyəw-a
 hand.brake-SBJ comes undone-FIN/CNSC slide-FIN/CNSC move.down-FIN-come-FIN/CNSC
 (그 트럭에) 깔려 숨지는 사고가 발생했다.
 (ki t^hilək-e) kkal·ly-ə sumci-nin sako-ka palseŋhe-ss-ta.
 (that truck-LOC/FRC) get.spread.flat[«spread»INACT]-FIN/CNSC die-DYN.AT accident-SBJ occur-PF/AOR-FML.DCL
 'An accident occurred in which a student who was gaming at a machine on the roadside got run over and killed by a truck that had been parked at the top of a hill, suffered a hand brake malfunction and came careening downhill.' (<Wb>+)

- b. ?? ... 트럭이 사이드 브레이크가 풀려 미끄러져 내려와
 t^hilək-i saiti pileik^{hi}-ka p^hully-e mikkilacy-ə nelyəw-a
 truck-SBJ hand.brake-SBJ comes undone-FIN/CNSC slide-FIN/CNSC move.down-FIN-come-FIN/CNSC
 길가에서 오락을 하던 학생을 깔아서 숨지게 하는 사고 ...
 kil+ka-esə olak-il ha-tən hakseŋ-il kkal-ase sumci-ke ha-nin sako
 road+edge-SET game.play-ACC do-PST.AT student-ACC spread-CS.SQ die-RES.ADV do/ACT/CAUS-DYN.AT accident
 For: 'An accident (occurred) in which a truck that had been parked at the top of a hill had a hand brake malfunction, came careening downhill and ran over and killed a student that had been gaming on a machine at the roadside.'

The following is a similar case, where the cause locus is a typical natural force that has strong autonomous motion features but whose impact on the <door> lacks interpersonality features, making the TRANSACTIVE construction strongly dispreferred:

- (57)a. 갑자기 문이 바람{에 | ① 으로} 열려서 놀랐지.
 kapcaki mun-i palam-{e | ① ilo} yəl·ly-əsə nolla-ss-ci.
 suddenly door-SBJ wind-{LOC/FRC | ① INST/CS} get.opened[«open»FACT»INACT]-CS.SQ get.startled-PF/AOR-PROP
 'Suddenly, the door was thrown open by a gust of wind, startling me.'
 b. ?? 갑자기 바람이 문을 열어서 놀랐지.
 kapcaki palam-i mun-il yəl-əsə nolla-ss-ci.
 suddenly wind-SBJ wind-LOC/FRC open.FACT/-CS.SQ get.startled-PF/AOR-PROP
 For: 'Suddenly, a gust of wind threw open the door, startling me.' (≈LgEx)

Finally, consider the following where the cause locus is a spatio-temporally more distributed percept and does not physically impact on the effect locus:

- (58)a. 마을이 안개{에 | 로*} 잠겨 보이지 않는다.
 mail-i anke-{e | lo*} camk·y-ə poi-ci anh-nin-ta.
 village-SBJ fog-{LOC/FRC | INST/CS} get.submerged[«submerge»INACT]-FIN/CNSC visible-PROP NEG_{FR}-DYN-FML.DCL
 Lit: 'The village is submerged in/by the fog and invisible.'
 Eqv: 'The village is hidden from view in/by the fog.' (=50b; <Dict>+)
 b. * 안개가 마을을 잠가서 보이지 않는다.
 anke-ka mail-il camk-asə poi-ci anh-nin-ta
 village-SBJ village-ACC submerge-CS.SQ visible/can.see-DYN-FML.DCL
 For: 'The fog has hidden the village from view.'

Here, just about the only circumstance in which a sentence such as 58b would be imaginable is that of a personification metaphor in Poetic Literary registers.

Even further down the line, many other instances of the FORCE and CAUSE INVERSE constructions simply have no acceptable TRANSACTIVE counterparts, no matter under

what circumstance:

- (59)a. 갑자기 옆에서 스트로카는 팔에 머리가 물에 잠겨
 kapcaki yəp^h-esə si^hilok+ha-nin p^hal-e məli-ka mul-e cam^hky-ə
 suddenly side-ABL/SET stroke+FV-DYN.AT arm-LOC/FRC head-SBJ water-LOC get.submerged[«submerge+INACT»]-FIN/CNSC
 물을 먹었다.
 mul-il mək-əss-ta.
 water-ACC eat-AOR-DCL
Lit: 'My head was pushed under water by a stroking arm next to me and I swallowed water.'
// Eqv: 'The arm of another swimmer pushed my head under the water and I spluttered.' (=50a; =Wb)
- b. * ... 옆에서 스트로카는 팔이 머리를 물에 잠가서 물을 먹었다.
 yəp^h-esə si^hilok+ha-nin p^hal-i məli-lil mul-e camk-asə mul-il mək-əss-ta.
 side-ABL/SET stroke+FV-DYN.AT arm-SBJ head-ACC water-LOC submerge-CS.SQ water-ACC eat-PF/AOR-DCL
For: 'The arm of another swimmer pushed my head under water and I spluttered.'
- (60)a. 월정사 유치원도 집중호우로 물에 잠겼다.
 wəlcəŋ+sa yuč^hiwən-to cipcun^h+hou-lo mul-e camk^hy-əss-ta.
 Wöljōng+temple nursery-INCL concentration+heavy.rain-INST/CS water-LOC get.submerged[«α_{VS}+INACT»]-PF/AOR-DCL
 'The Wöljōng-sa temple nursery was also flooded by the concentrated downpours.' (=50c; <Web)
- b. * 집중호우가 월정사 유치원도 물에 잠갔다.
 cipcun^h+hou-ka wəlcəŋ+sa yuč^hiwən-to mul-e camk-ass-ta.
 concentration+heavy.rain-SBJ Wöljōng+temple nursery-INCL water-LOC submerge-PF/AOR-FML-DCL
For: 'The concentrated downpours also flooded the Wöljōng-sa temple nursery.'
- (61)a. 도로가 {돌에 | 산사태로} 막혔네요.
 tolo-ka {tol-e | sansat^hε-lo} mak^hhy-əss-ne-yo.
 road-SBJ {stone-LOC/FRC | avalanche-INST/CS} get.blocked[«block+INACT»]-PF-MIR-POL
 'The road has been made unpassable {by stones | by a landslide}.' (=52a)
- b. * {돌이 | 산사태가} 도로를 막았네요.
 {tol-i | sansat^hε-ka} tolo-lil mak-ass-ne-yo.
 {stone-SBJ | avalanche-SBJ} road-ACC block-PF-MIR-POL
For: 'Stones | A landslide have/has blocked the road.'
- (62)a. 퇴근 교통으로 도로가 막혔나 봐요.
 t^hwœkin kyot^hŋ-ilo tolo-ka mak^hhy-əss-na pwa-yo.
 return.from.work traffic-INST/CS road-SBJ get.blocked/clog.up[«block+INACT»]-PF-SENS-POL
Lit: 'Because of the evening rushhour traffic the road has got clogged up.'
// Eqv: 'The evening rushhour traffic is clogging the roads.' (=52b)
- b. * 퇴근 교통이 도로를 막았나 봐요.
 t^hwœkin kyot^hŋ-i tolo-lil mak-ass-na pwa-yo.
 return.from.work traffic-SBJ road-ACC block/clog.up-PF-SENS-POL
For: 'The evening rushhour traffic is clogging the roads.'

In all these examples, the TRANSACTIVE sentence is anomalous because the referent situation does simply not share enough features with an animate agent's manipulative or targeted actions. What is important here, however, is that all the FORCE and CAUSE INVERSE instances in examples 56-62 have essentially the same passive-like clause structure as the earlier alternating examples, but neither refer to agent-caused situations nor relate to any 'active' correspondents. Note that this again obtains no matter whether the oblique CAUSE LOCUS argument is marked with the Locative or Instrumental particle.

In other words, the present data is further evidence that the Locative-marked FORCE-*e* pattern is not that much more agent-phrase-like than the Instrumental-marked CAUSE-*ilo* pattern that is generally excluded from the agent-phrase category.

In principle, of course, there seems to be no reason why the FORCE and CAUSE INVERSE data here could not be accounted for in terms of the Standard Voice Model, as long as it is augmented by appropriate animacy and agency constraints. The problem is, however, that the identification of a voice category such as the 'passive' in a particular language is generally predicated on the existence of a relatively homogeneous structural manifestation across the diathesis system, as indeed not accidentally in English and many other Average European languages⁶². Against this background, the Korean proliferation of passive-like clause constructions becomes somewhat of a nuisance, even more so since their instances seamlessly shade over into inchoative-like instances of the same 'passive' verbs. If, on the other hand, we accept that the Korean verbal system completely conflates the inchoative and passive categories, then we can easily understand the FORCE and INVERSE constructions as intermediate categories that have both inchoative and passive properties.

4.1.3 Systemic 'processive – stative' and 'stative – stative passive' ambivalences

In the previous subsection, even though our investigation had to remain limited to a few select verbs, I hope to have shown convincingly that the passive–inchoative ambivalence of Korean Deactivative verbs is so systemic and so widespread across different uses that the only reasonable conclusion is that this 'morphological passive' pattern is simply neutral to the Standard Voice Models distinction between the 'passive' and 'anti-causative' categories. Passive–inchoative ambivalence, however, is not yet the whole story: as I already discussed in §4.1.1, most Deactivative verbs also straddle both

⁶² Typological approaches have of course recently accommodated some structural variety in the Standard Voice Model, both within and across languages. Language-specific examples are English 'auxiliary' variation (*he was / got / saw himself / found himself sidelined*) and 'reflexive passives' in Icelandic, Spanish or Russian. This flexibility, however, is at most applied to verb-structural variety, but not to clause-structural variety. Thus for example, it is hard to find anybody who would accept more than one or two 'agent phrase' patterns in any given language or consider the oblique phrases in *the drain is blocked with leaves* or *many Russian women are killed through domestic violence* to be an alternative form of agent phrase. And, when it comes to verb-structural variety, phenomena such as the 'reflexive passives' tend to be accepted only where they are not in direct competition with more traditional passives. Note further that although typologists are more willing to accept *crosslinguistic* variety (see f.ex. Givón 1995: §3), extreme openness been widely criticised (see f.ex. Haspelmath 1990) and many more still seem to prefer one 'proper passive' pattern for each language and relegate the others to a more peripheral status.

the 'inchoative' and 'stative' categories. Note that this phenomenon correlates with the fact that Korean lacks a distinct adjective class: States and properties are predominantly expressed through verbs, or alternatively through noun-like signs that again tend to be verbalised through affixation of the copula *-i.ta*⁶³.

Within the verb class, we can identify a class of STATIC verb stems according to a number of criteria, including non-participation in DYNAMIC and PROGRESSIVE patterns and the 'pure' tense semantics of certain aspect/tense patterns⁶⁴. Differently from the adjectives of many other languages, however, Korean STATIC verbs are exclusively associated with sensory and emotive qualities and states that tend to lack dynamic and state-change features within the time frame leading up to and including the 'situation time' (hence also the common English term 'descriptive verb'⁶⁵). The following are some examples:

(63) *Inherently STATIC 'descriptive' verbs*

- | | | | | |
|----------|-----------|---------------------|--------------------|--------------------|
| a. 크다 | 작다 | 빨강다 | 어리다 | 젊다 |
| kʰi.ta | cak.ta | ppalkah.ta | əli.ta | cəlm.ta |
| 'small' | 'big' | 'red' | 'young (of child)' | 'young (of adult)' |
| b. 춥다 | 졸리다 | 아프다 | | |
| cʰup.ta | colli.ta | apʰi.ta | | |
| 'cold' | 'sleepy' | 'painful' | | |
| c. 예쁘다 | 슬프다 | 좋다 | | |
| yeppi.ta | silpʰi.ta | coh.ta | | |
| 'pretty' | 'sad' | 'good, nice, =like' | | |

States that are strongly associated with preceding state change dynamics, on the other hand, are predominantly expressed with DYNAMIC verb stems in pertinent PERFECT aspect patterns. As we have already seen in §4.1.1, these include not only structurally basic verb stems, but also the bulk of Deactivative verb roots, particularly from the

⁶³ The copula is widely treated as a verb-like that is structurally separable from the 'complement' noun. This is in spite of the fact that it agglutinates to the noun element in the pattern *N-i.ta* and the resultant structures are essentially fused word-level units, at least in the sense of the 'prosodic words' found in polysynthetic languages. And not only that, but this pattern has many lexicalised and grammaticalised products that effectively have State verb properties (f.ex. *ajmaj-i.ta* 'be a muddle, be messy' or *taher-i.ta* 'is fortunate', and the Sino-Korean adjective-forming pattern *N-cəki-i.ta* as in *cəkkik-cəki-i.ta* 'is proactive').

⁶⁴ An example of the former is the non-occurrence of the DYNAMIC morphs *nin* and *ni* in a range of sentence-final forms (f.ex. *α_{PS}-(nin)-ta* α-(DYN)-FML.DCL, *α_{PS}-(nin)-kuna* α-(DYN)-APC or *α-nin/n-te* α-DYN/STV-CIR. An example of the latter are the PERFECT patterns on *α_{PS}-ə/əs-* that can have COMPLETION AND RESULT PERSISTENCE semantics with DYNAMIC verb stems, but have only PAST WITH NO REFERENCE-TIME RELEVANCE semantics with STATIC verb stems.

⁶⁵ Korean grammarians traditionally use the term '형용사 hyōngyongsa', a Sino-Korean term that seems to originate in the Japanese grammarian tradition (there '形容詞 keiyoshi') and is also used as a translation for the English term 'adjective'. In Japanese, however, the 'keiyoshi' class has verb-like inflectional behaviour, but the pertinent patterns are at least partially different from those found with the '動詞 doshi' class of typologically prototypical verbs. In Korean, on the other hand, STATIC verbs differ far less from the rest of the verb class, making a strict categorial and terminological distinction rather misleading. A more useful Korean term is the Korean '상태동사 sangtəac dongsa (E: state verb)'. English terms in use are 'adjective', 'adjectival verb', 'descriptive verb', and 'state verb'.

DYNAMIC verbs with PERFECT-marked 'resultative–stative' usage: [ㅁ

- Returning to our usage investigation of the Deactivative verb alternations, already some of our initial INACTIVE examples in the previous subsection have what are effectively RESULTATIVE–STATIVE uses and interpretations:

- The states expressed here have inherently resultative features: it is an obvious experiential fact that the flowers will have appeared some time earlier, and that the

roads will have been relatively empty at some point prior to the present state of affairs. On the other hand, however, the verbs and sentences themselves are in no way specific as to whether the Speaker perceives the current state in relation to any preceding events. This is even clearer in the following instances:

- (67) a. 한국 집은 마루나 장판이 깔려서 훨씬 위생적이다.
 hankuk cip-in malu-na carp^han-i kkal.ly-əsə hwəlssin wisɛŋcək-i-ta.
 Korea house-SEL wood.floor-NXCL floor.sheet-SBJ get/be.spread-CS.SQ far.more hygienic-CPL-FML.DCL
Lit: '(In) Korean houses, wooden or vinyl flooring is spread, so it's far more hygienic.'
Eqv: 'Korean houses have wooden or vinyl floors; that's far more hygienic.'
- b. 뒤 쪽은 (담 때문에) 막혔으니까 돌아서 가야 해요.
 twi ccok-in (tam ttemun-e) mak.hy-əss-inikka tol-asə ka-ya_hɛ-yo.
 back side-SEL (wall reason-LOC) get.blocked-PF-EXPL.CJ turn-CS.SQ go-NCS-FIN.POL
Lit: 'The back side of the house is blocked (because of a wall), so we have circle and go.'
Eqv: 'There's no way round the back, it's all walled in, so we'll have to go round the front.'

Again, the flooring and the wall will not have been in place forever, but their placement or appearance are irrelevant and this anterior state change is certainly not a situational feature perceived by the Speaker or evoked in the Hearer.

In Korean, inchoative–stative ambivalence of the kind illustrated in 66 systematically obtains for many PERFECT patterns, although the actual form of this ambivalence varies from pattern to pattern and verb to verb. There are, however, some patterns that are so strongly associated with stative situation features that the 'inchoative ~ stative' distinction effectively dissolves into irrelevance. These are the Stative (STATIVE–RESULTATIVE) Continuous $\alpha_{VST-a/a_iss.ta}$ (' $\alpha_{VST-FIN}$ exists/CNT'), the Perfect (PERFECT–STATIVE) Attributive α_{VST-in} , and its numerous grammaticalised offshoots.

All these patterns occur with TELIC MOTION, POSITION CHANGE and STATE CHANGE verbs, and when they do they express a state that could potentially be the result of a corresponding state-change event⁶⁶. Importantly, however, the referent situations frequently are but do not need to be resultative, but can instead be *original states* that are not perceived in relation to preceding events leading up to the state. In other words, these patterns express states pure and simple, no matter whether these states have resultative or original features. The following are some instances with our Deactivative

⁶⁶ Note that the Stative Continuous pattern is virtually limited to these verb groups, does not usually occur with primary ACTION verb stems, and never in TRANSACTIVE constructions. And indeed, the few ACTION verb stem exceptions correspond to the 'objective resultative' category, witness *ss-a_iss.ta* write-RES.CNT 'is written'. The Perfective Attributive form, on the other hand, has RESULTATIVE–STATIVE semantics with these verb groups but it also occurs with ACTION verb stems, where it refers to a current state-of-affairs that has resulted from the agent's completed action, similar to the English Perfect, although often slightly more resultative, witness *sul masi-n namca* alcohol drink-PF.AT man 'a drunk man'.

verbs:

- (68) a. 바닥에는 조그만 돌맹이들이 깔려 있었다.
 patak-e-nin cokima-n tolmerji-til-i kkal•ly-ə_iss-əss-ta.
 ground-LOC-SEL tiny-PF.AT pebble-PL-SBJ get/be.spread[«spread(FACT)•INACT]-RES/STV.CNT-PF/AOR-FML.DCL
Lit: 'On the ground tiny pebbles were spread.' / *Eqv:* 'The ground was covered in tiny pebbles.' (=Cp)
- b. 투명한 얼음이 반쯤 잠긴 채로
 tʰumɛŋ.ha-n əlim-i pan-ccim cʰam•ki-n cʰɛ-lo
 transparent-PF.AT ice-SBJ half-APRX get/be.submerged[«submerge•INACT]-PF.AT state-INST
 빙산처럼 떠 있었다.
 pʰiŋsan-cʰələm tt-ə_iss-əss-ta.
 iceberg-like float-RES/STV.CNT-PF/AOR-FML.DCL
Lit: 'Transparent ice, submerged half in the water, like an iceberg, was floating around.'
Eqv: 'Transparent ice was floating around half-submerged in the water, like little icebergs.' (=Cp)
- c. 그 공원은 문이 그냥 열린 거예요.
 ki koŋwən-in mun-i kinyan yəl•li-n kə.e-yo.
 that park-SEL gate-SBJ just.so get/be.open[open(FACT)•INACT]-PF FCTL:FIN-POL
Eqv: 'The entrances to that park are open all the time.'
- d. 가스가 빠질 데가 막혀 있어서 산이 폭발했지.
 kasi-ka ppaci-l te-ka mak•hy-ə_iss-əsə san-i pʰokpʰal.hɛ-ss-ci.
 gas-SBJ slip.out-PSP.AT spot-SBJ get/be.blocked[«block•INACT]-STV-CS.SQ mountain-SBJ explode-PF/AOR-PROP
Lit: 'Places for the gas to escape were blocked, so the mountain exploded, obviously.'
Eqv: 'The gas was confined inside with no way of escape, so the mountain just exploded.'

As before, the events that may have led to the referent states are irrelevant, and the states are perceived as original within the reference time frame. And indeed, 68a could easily be uttered in reference to the state of a dry river bed or pebble beach, and 68c in reference to the openness of a park that has symbolic entrance gates with nothing but gateposts.

The Koreanist Consensus analyses the appearance of Deactivative verb roots in the RESULTATIVE–STATIVE CONTINUOUS pattern as manifestations of the 'resultative passive' or 'stative passive' category (see f.ex. Jaehoon Yeon 2003: §5.3.5), and they do indeed show considerable similarity to the Stative–Resultative Passives in English and other languages⁶⁷. The Perfect Attributive form and its numerous uses, on the other hand, are virtually ignored due to the unfortunate practice of considering only schematic monoclausal examples that limit predicates to the FORMAL DECLARATIVE pattern. Whatever

⁶⁷ Similarity begins with the grammaticalised use of EXISTENTIAL verbs, although the Korean pattern is of course not based on an adjectival participle. And semantically, the irrelevance of what may have preceded the state is a common cross-linguistic feature of Stative–Resultative patterns. Witness the English *The door is closed*, which not only relates to both (Somebody/something) *has closed the door* and *The door has closed*, but primarily expresses a state pure and simple. Or take *Koreans are scattered all over the world*, which clearly has no referentially close 'active' alternate of the form *X scattered Koreans all over the world*. The main solution, of course, has been to deal with this Stative *be PPP* pattern by moving the relevant PPP to the lexicon, and either assume a separate lexical entry or at least a derivation process on the lexical level. Note that such a 'lexical level' analysis has never been proposed for the Korean STATIVE–RESULTATIVE pattern, at least as far as I am aware.

analysis we choose, however, the Deactivative predicates in 68 refer primarily to states, and *not* to the actions or processes that may have preceded that state.

One well-established consequence of this is that they are often not compatible with AGENT elements that express an agent who may have caused the referent state. In the literature, this widespread incompatibility has occasioned claims that (animate) agent phrases are generally impossible in the ‘resultative passive’ (see Jaehoon Yeon 2003: 126-8). The following illustrate their differential acceptability in DYNAMIC and STATIVE constructions:

- (69) a. 피해자의 몸이 살인자에 의해 늪 속에 잠겼다.
 p^hiheca-iy mom-i salinca-e iyhe nip^h sok-e camk•y-əss-ta.
 victim-AT body-SBJ murderer-due.to/by swamp inside-LOC get.submerged[*submerge*•INACT]-PF/AOR-FML.DCL
Eqv: ‘The victims corpse was sunk into the swamp by the murderer.’ (=44b)
- b. * 피해자의 몸이 살인자에 의해 늪 속에 잠겨 있다.
 p^hiheca-iy mom-i salinca-e iyhe nip^h sok-e cam•ky-ə-iss-ta.
 victim-AT body-SBJ murderer-due.to/by swamp inside-LOC get/be.submerged[*submerge*•INACT]-STV.CNT-DCL
For: ‘The victim’s body is submerged in the swamp by the murderer.’
- (70) a. ?? 갑자기 문이 경비원에 의해서 열려서 놀랐지.
 kapcaki mun-i kyəŋpiwən-e iyhesə yəl•ly-əsə nolla-ss-ci.
 suddenly door-SBJ security.guard-due.to/by get.opened[*open*.FACT•INACT]-CS.SQ get.startled-PF/AOR-PROP
Eqv: ‘Suddenly, the door was opened by the security guard, startling me.’ (=44c)
- b. * 갑자기 문이 경비원에 의해서 열린 거야.
 tasi po-nikka mun-i kyəŋpiwən-e iyhesə yəl•li-n kəy-a.
 again look-ARG•SQ door-SBJ security.guard-due.to/by open[*open*.FACT•INACT]-PF FCTL-FIN
For: ‘When I looked again, the door was open by the security guard’ (cf. LgEx)

The anomaly of the AGENT elements in 69-70:b has and can be explained as due to the fact that the ‘resultative passive’ is concerned only with the resultant state, where the agent plays no role or is irrelevant (Kim, Nam-kil 1991: 38-41; Jaehoon Yeon 2003: 126-8). Contrary to what has been suggested, however, this is no more than a property of specific RESULTATIVE–STATIVE instances and *not* a general property of the ‘resultative passive’. Thus, provided the referent is actively involved in actually maintaining the state, AGENT elements are just as acceptable as in other passive-like constructions. This is evident if we compare the following DYNAMIC ~ STATIVE sentence pairs:

- (71) a. 피해자의 몸이 (살인자에 의해) 5년 전에 방부제에
 p^hiheca-iy mom-i (salinca-e iyhe) o+nyən cən-e paŋpu+ce-e
 victim-AT body-SBJ (murderer-due.to/by) 5+year before-LOC preservation+material-LOC
 잠겼던 것으로 밝혀졌다.
 camk•y-əss-tən kəs-ilo palk^hyəcy-əss-ta.
 get.submerged[*submerge*•INACT]-PF/AOR-PST.AT thing-INST/EQU get.revealed-PF-FML.DCL
 ‘It has emerged that the victim’s body **had been put** into a preservative (by the murderer) 5 years earlier.’

- b. 피해자의 몸이 (살인자에 의해) 5년 동안 방부제에
 p^hiheca-iy mom-i (salinca-e_ iyhe) o+nyən tojan paŋpu+ce-e
 victim-AT body-SBJ (murderer-due.to/by) 5+year duration preservation+material-LOC
 잠겨 있었던 것으로 밝혀졌다.
 camk•y-ə iss-əss-tən kəs-ilo palk^hyacy-əss-ta.
 get/be.submerged[«submerge+INACT»]-RES/STV.CNT-PF/AOR-PST.AT thing-INST/EQU get.revealed-PF-FML.DCL
 'It has emerged that the victim's body was kept in a preservative (by the murderer) for 5 years.'

- (72)a. 도로가 (!! 경찰에 의해서) 막혔나 봐요.
 tolo-ka (!! kyəŋc^hal-e_ iyhesə) mak•hy-əss-na_pw-a-yo.
 road-SBJ (!! police-due.to/by) get.blocked[«block+INACT»]-PF-SENS-FIN-POL
 'Looks like the national road has been blocked/closed (by the police).' (≈Dict; =44d)

- b. 도로가 아직도 (!! 경찰에 의해서) 막혀 있나 봐요.
 tolo-ka acik-to (!! kyəŋc^hal-e_ iyhesə) mak•hy-ə_iss-na_pw-a-yo.
 road-SBJ still-INCL (!! police-due.to/by) get/be.blocked[«block+INACT»]-RES/STV.CNT-SENS-FIN-POL
 Eqv: 'Looks like the road is still kept closed (by the police).'

Given the facts in 71-72, it comes as no surprise that STATIVE predicates can also occur with AGENT INVERSE constructions, as long as the referent has sufficient agentivity in relation to the state that is referred to by the entire predicate pattern:

- (73)a. 식이는 암놈이 수놈에게 깔려 있는 동안
 sik-i-nin am+nom-i su+nom-eke kkal•ly-ə_iss-nin tojan
 Shik-BUF-SBJ female+person.PEJ-SBJ male+person.PEJ-AN.LOC/AGT get.spread[«spread+INACT»]-RES.CNT-DYN.AT while
 달아난 이웃집 분이를 생각했다.
 talana-n ius+cip pun.i-lil seŋkak+hē-ss-ta.
 run.away-PF.AT neighbour+house Pun-BUF-ACC think+PF/AOR-FML.DCL
 'While the sow was pinned down by the boar, Sik thought of Pun who had run away from his neighbours house.' (cf. 45a)
- b. 그래서 미군중령에게 깔려있는 장쯔이의 모습이
 Kile-sə mikun+cunlyəŋ-eke kkal•ly-ə.iss-nin caŋccii-iy mosip-i
 like.that-CS.SQ US.forces+lt.colonel-AN.LOC/AGT get.spread[«spread+INACT»]-RES/STV.CNT-AT Zhang Ziyi-AT sight-SBJ
 나는 역겹다.
 na-nin yəkkyəp-ta.
 I-SEL sick-FML.DCL
 'That is why the sight of (the actress) Zhang Ziyi pinned down by the American lieutenant colonel makes me sick.' (=Wb)

At this point, is it worth noting how the facts here clearly illustrate the problems caused by the fallacious assumption of semantic compositionality. Thus, the AGENT elements in 73a-b are perfectly normal because the referent has situational agentivity *in the state that obtains at the reference time*, whereas the referent's presence or agentivity in the (hypothetical) *preceding events* is utterly irrelevant. In other words, what matters is not the hypothetical meaning of the verb *kkal•li.ta* (or more precisely the verb stem *kkal•li-*) as abstracted away from tense-aspect marking, but the meaning of the entire RESULTATIVE-STATIVE predicate *kkal•ly-ə_iss-nin*⁶⁸.

⁶⁸ The actual assumption made here is of course that the 'present tense' is the most basic 'unmarked' tense, and therefore the presumed lexical meaning of the verb lexeme or stem corresponds to the meaning of its present tense

To cap matters off, the same condition of causal involvement in the persistence of the referent situation applies to the use of agent-phrase-like arguments in the FORCE and CAUSE INVERSE constructions. Note that the FORCE pattern in the first sentence 74a expresses the strongly agent-like organisation <police>:

- (74)a. 그러나 민원실 입구는 이미 집회 시작 전부터
 kiləna minwənsil ipku-nin imi ciphwœ sicak cən-put^hə
 however Public.Service.Centre entrance-(SBJ)SEL already assembly start before-ORIG
 경찰에 막혀있었다.
 kyəŋ^hchal-e mak^hhyə.iss-əss-ta.
 police-LOC/FRC get.blocked[«block»INACT]-RES.CNT-RSP:FIN-POL
 'However, the entrance was already blocked off by the police before the assembly (= demonstration) began.' (=Wb)
- b. 문이 바람에 열려 있다.
 mun-i palam-e yəl^hly-ə_iss-ta.
 door-SBJ wind-LOC/FRC get/be.opened[«open(FACT)»INACT]-RES.CNT-FML.DCL
 'The door is kept open by the wind.' (≈LgEx)
- (75)a. 네이트온이 방화벽{에 | 으로[㉠]} 막혀 있네요.
 neit^huon-i paŋhwa+pyək-{e | ilo[㉠]} mak^hhyə_iss-te-yo
 NateOn-SBJ fire.blocking+wall-{LOC/FRC | INST/CS} get/be.blocked[«block»INACT]-RES/STV.CNT-RSP:FIN-POL
 'The NateOn website kept getting blocked by the firewall.' (=Wb+)
- b. 온 마을이 안개{에 | 로} 잠겨 있다.
 ʔn mail-i anke-{e | lo} cam^hky-ə iss-ta.
 whole+PF.AT village-SBJ fog-{LOC/FRC | INST/CS} get/be.submerged[«submerge»INACT]-RES/STV.CNT-FML.DCL
 'The whole village is submerged/hidden by the fog.'
- c. 집 주변 하수구가 흙이나 쓰레기로 막혀있는지
 cip cupyən hasuku-ka hilk-ina ssileki-lo mak^hhy-ə.iss-nin^hci
 house surrounding drain-SBJ earth-NXCL rubbish-INST/CS get.blocked-RES.CNT-QST
 확인하고 제거한다.
 hwakin.ha-ko cekə.ha-n-ta.
 confirm-PF.SQ remove-DYN-FML.DCL
 'Check whether the drains around the house are blocked by earth or rubbish and remove.'
 (From civil defense instructions on what to do after Tsunami Warning) (=Wb)

We shall return to the cooccurrence of agent-phrase-like elements with RESULTATIVE–STATIVE constructions again in the next subsection.

To conclude, the majority of Deactivative verbs has a vast usage spectrum that ranges across most inactive analytical categories: the Standard Voice Model's passive and anticausative or inchoative, the stative passive and resultative, and even the stative or adjectival category. And not only that, but the RESULTATIVE–STATIVE usage again extends over an continuum from AGENT-CAUSED (passive) across the intermediate

form. While empirically dubious at the best of times, the strong Korean preference for TELIC verbs means a massive number of verbs for which other tense-aspect patterns constitute the most widely distributed and frequent forms. While this is already true for the Deactivative verbs under investigation in these sections, it goes even more so for extreme cases such as *pi.ta* 'becomes empty', whose Present Tense manifestations (*pi-n-ta* *pi-DYN-DCL* or *pi-nin^hte* *pi-DYN^hCIR*) are virtually limited to GENERIC PRESENT usage.

spectrum of FORCE-CAUSED, CIRCUMSTANCE-CAUSED (passive or inchoative) all the way to the SPONTANEOUS (inchoative) spectrum.

4.1.4 'Passive – inchoative – stative' ambivalences in the PATIENTIVE group

In the previous subsection we concentrated on some of those Deactivative verbs whose usage clearly extends across the whole spectrum of the Standard Voice Model's passive and inchoative categories. As I argued in §4.1.1, these make up the largest part of the Deactivative patterns lexical spread. This leaves us with those Deactivative verbs that do indeed appear to 'retain' the AGENT CAUSATION semantics of their ACTIVE counterparts.

It is by now abundantly clear that Deactivative verbs do not automatically share the AGENT CAUSATION semantics of their unmarked ACTIVE counterparts. Consequently, where a Deactivative verb consistently tends to invoke strong connotations of agent causation, this cannot be due to any systemic 'agent retention' semantics of the voice-marking pattern, but could at most be a lexically specific property of the pertinent verb alternation. However, as I will show in this subsection, claims of inherent 'agent retention' semantics are anyhow inconsistent with the actual usage of even these most passive-like exemplars.

Earlier on, in §4.1.1, we identified a number of semantic verb groups that are strongly associated with agent causation and hence appear to be evidence for the presumed passive-like 'agent retention' of the Deactivative pattern. The first of these were PATIENTIVE verbs and alternations with widespread INTERPERSONAL usage:

- | | | |
|---|---|--|
| (76)a. 잡히다
cap•hi.ta
'get/become held/caught' | ~ | 잡다
cap.ta
'hold, catch' |
| b. 물리다
mul.li.ta
'get bitten, get/be (held) in sb's mouth' | ~ | 물다
mul.ta
'bite, put/hold in mouth' |
| (77)a. 쫓기다
ccoc ^h .ki.ta
'get chased, get chased away' | ~ | 쫓다
ccoc ^h .ta
'chase, chase away' |
| b. 빼앗기다
ppeas•ki.ta
'have robbed, get deprived of' | ~ | 빼앗다
ppeas.ta
'rob, deprive sb of' |

As I have already argued, the Deactivative verbs here evoke strong connotations of agent causation simply because the individual Deactivative verbs themselves are habitually associated with interpersonal and hence agentive situations.

We already discussed the INTERPERSONAL usage of the pertinent verb alternations in §2.2.2. All of the Deactivative verbs in 76-77 do, however, also have NON-INTERPERSONAL PATIENTIVE uses that are closely related to their INTERPERSONAL usage. The pertinent referent situations have no agent, but a patient that has very similar affectedness features. The following are some FORCE and CAUSE INVERSE instances. As before, ACTIVE counterparts are frequently infelicitous because they would violate agency and animacy hierarchy constraints:

- (78)a. 쥐덫에 아가가 손 잡히면 어떻게 해
 cui+təc^h-e aka-ka son cap^hhi-myən əttəh-ke hɛ?
 mouse+trap-LOC/FRC baby-SBJ foot(SBJ)/ACC get.caught[«catch»INACT]-CND how-ADV do:FIN
 'What if the baby gets their fingers caught in/by the mouse trap?'
 b. * 쥐덫이 아가 손 잡으면 어떻게 해
 cui+təc^h-i aka son cap-imyən əttəh-ke hɛ?
 mouse+trap-SBJ baby hand(ACC) catch-CND how-ADV do:FIN
 For: 'What if the mouse trap catches somebody's foot?'
- (79)a. 영희는 다람쥐의 날카로운 이빨에 물려서 소리를 질렀다.
 yəŋhiy-nin talamcui-iy nalk^halou-n ippal-e mul^hly-əsə soli-lil cil-læss-ta.
 Yŏnghee-SEL squirrel-AT sharp-PF.AT tooth-LOC/FRC get.bitten[«bite»INACT]-CS.SQ voice-ACC shout-PF/AOR-DCL
 'Yenghuy got bitten by the squirrel's sharp teeth and screamed.'
 b. * 다람쥐의 날카로운 이빨이 영희를 물었다.
 * talamcui-iy nalk^halou-n ip^hal-i yəŋhiy-lil mul-æss-ta.
 squirrel-AT sharp-PF.AT tooth-SBJ Yŏnghee-ACC bite-PF/AOR-FML.DCL
 For: 'The squirrel's sharp teeth bit Yŏnghee.'
- (80)a. 일제의 식량수탈로 할아버지는 많은 땅을 빼앗겼다.
 ilce-iy siklyan+sut^hal-lo halapəci-nin manh-in ttan-il ppeas^hky-æss-ta.
 sixty+decade collectivisation policy-INST/CS grandfather-(SBJ)SEL much-PF.AT land-ACC get.robbed[«rob»INACT]-PF-DCL
 Lit: 'Through the Japanese colonial food plunder my grandfather lost a lot of his land.'
 // Eqv: 'The Japanese colonial land policies took away a lot of my grandfather's land.' (=PC/Wb)
 b. * 일제의 식량수탈이 할아버지한테서 많은 땅을 빼앗았다.
 ilce-iy siklyan+sut^hal-i halapəci-hant^he-se manh-in ttan-il ppeas-ass-ta.
 Japanese.empire-AT food+plunder-SBJ grandfather-PL-AN.LOC*ABL much-PF.AT land-ACC rob-PF/AOR-FML.DCL
 For: 'The Japanese colonial land policies robbed my grandfather of much of his land.'

The FORCE-*e* and CAUSE-*lo* elements here have strong GOAL/GROUND and INSTRUMENT flavour, and it may be tempting to dismiss them for not being 'proper' agent phrases. This even more so since there seems to be some agent in the background: in 78a the person who sets the trap, in 79a the squirrel that bites, and in 80a the Japanese regime and its actors who took away the land.

Again, however, there are a number of facts that speak against such 'implicit agent'

claims. The first is that the question of why the TRANSACTIVE 78-80:b are anomalous has simply to do with the lack of agentivity features for the hypothetical SUBJECT referent itself. The fact that there may be some other ‘real’ agent, on the other hand, is a red herring with little explanatory relevance. After all, if that were what made the TRANSACTIVE alternates anomalous and the INACTIVE obliques less agent-phrase-like, then that begs the question of why the same does so obviously not apply in the English system (witness the relative acceptability of the English TRANSACTIVE sentences in the translation glosses).

Secondly, even though the <trap-setter> of 78a is an animate and indeed agent-like entity, it can not appear as the AGENT SUBJECT of a corresponding TRANSACTIVE solution:

- (81)a. 쥐덫에 아가가 손 잡히면 어떻게 해
 cui+tæc^h-e aka-ka son cap^hhi-myən ættəh-ke hɛ?
 mouse+trap-LOC/FRC baby-SBJ foot(SBJ/ACC) get.caught[«catch»INACT]-CND how-ADV do:FIN
 ‘What if the baby gets their fingers caught in/by the mouse trap?’ (=78a)
- b. ?? *우리가* 쥐덫에 아가 손 잡으면 어떻게 해
 uli-ka cui+tæc^h-e aka son cap-imyən ættəh-ke hɛ?
 we-SBJ mouse+trap-LOC baby hand(ACC) catch-CND how-ADV do:FIN
 For: ‘What if we catch somebody’s foot in the mouse trap?’

Clearly, the reason for the anomaly of 81b is that the trap-setter has little agentivity in relation to the <foot-catching>. And indeed, upon reflection, the whole event does of course have strong accidental and spontaneous features: the foot gets caught not because somebody catches or traps it but because the foot accidentally ends up in the trap. And indeed, for the very same reasons, the Speaker would only be likely to put the squirrel of 79a into the AGENT SUBJECT slot of a TRANSACTIVE solution if the <biting> is perceived as intentional and targeted at the bitten person:

- (82)a. <Yŏnghee holds out food to squirrel, squirrel accidentally bites into her hand>
 영화는 다람쥐의 날카로운 이빨에 물려서 소리를 질렀다.
 yŏnghiy-nin talamcui-iy nalk^halou-n ippal-e mul^hly-əsə soli-lil cil-læss-ta.
 Yŏnghee-SEL squirrel-AT sharp-PF.AT tooth-LOC/FRC get.bitten[«bite»INACT]-CS.SQ voice-ACC shout-PF/AOR-DCL
 ‘Yenghuy got bitten by the squirrel’s sharp teeth and screamed.’ (=79a)
- b. <Yŏnghee holds out food to squirrel, squirrel accidentally bites into her hand>
 * 다람쥐가 (날카로운 이빨로) 물어서 영화가 소리를 질렀다.
 talamcui-ka (nalk^halou-n ip^hal-lo) mul-əsə yŏnghiy-ka soli-lil cil-læss-ta.
 squirrel-SBJ (sharp-PF.AT tooth-INST) bite-CS.SQ Yŏnghee-SBJ voice-ACC strike-PF/AOR-FML.DCL
 For: ‘The squirrel (accidentally) bit Yŏnghee (with her sharp teeth).’

c. <Yŏnghee holds hand out to squirrel, squirrel gets scared and bites>

다람쥐가 갑자기 (날카로운 이빨로) 물어서 영희가 소리를 질렀다.
 talamcui-ka kapcaki (nalkʰalou-n ipʰal-lo) mul-əse yŏŋhiy-ka soli-lil cil-ləss-ta.
 squirrel-SBJ suddenly (sharp-PF.AT tooth-INST) bite-CS.SQ Yŏnghee-SBJ voice-ACC strike-PF/AOR-FML.DCL
 'Suddenly the squirrel bit her (with her sharp teeth) and Yŏnghee screamed.'

Again, it is clear that the BODY PART FORCE INVERSE construction will be chosen precisely because the referent situation lacks a sufficiently agentive participant.

Thirdly, another fact that stands against 'implicit agent' claims is that none of the INVERSE constructions in 78-80:a would actually allow these 'agents' to be expressed as an additional AGENT element:

- (83)a. * 아가가 우리에게 쥐덫에 손 잡히면 어떻게 해
 salam-i uli-eke cui+təcʰ-e son capʰi-myən əttəh-ke hɛ?
 person-SBJ we-AN.LOC/AGT mouse+trap-LOC/FRC hand(ACC) get.caught[INACT]-CND how-ADV do:FIN
 For: 'What if somebody gets their foot caught by us in the mouse trap?'

- b. * 영희는 다람쥐에게 (그의) 날카로운 이빨에 물려서 ...
 yŏŋhiy-nin talamcui-eke (ki-iy) nalkʰalou-n ippal-e mulʰy-əsə
 Yŏnghee-SEL squirrel-AN.LOC/AGT (that-AT)-sharp-PF.AT tooth-LOC/FRC get.bitten[INACT]-CS.SQ
 For: 'Yŏnghui got bitten by the squirrel on/by its sharp teeth ... (and screamed).'

- c. ?? 일제의 식량수탈로 할아버지는 일본놈들에게
 ilce-iy siklyan+sutʰal-lo halapəci-nin ilpon+nom-til-eke
 Japanese empire-AT food+plunder-SBJ grandfather-(SBJ)SEL Japan+person.PEJ-PL-AN.LOC/AGT
 많은 땅을 빼앗겼다.
 manh-in ttan-il ppeasʰky-əss-ta.
 much-PF.AT land-ACC get.robbed[rob-INACT]-PF-DCL
 For: 'Because of the Japanese colonial food plunder my grandfather was robbed of much of his land by the Japanese bastards.'

Note that all of the sentences here have typical animate and patientive SUBJECT referents, meaning that the AGENT elements in 83a-b are not simply blocked by Relative Animacy Constraints.

In the literature, it has been argued that the cooccurrence of N-*eke* and N-*e* elements in sentences such as 83a/b is blocked by a general constraint against putting two Locative-marked elements into a single clause (see f.ex. Yi Ki-dong 1976,1978). And indeed, due to the Single Spatial Anchor Constraint discussed in §3.1.2-[5], the combination of clearly LOCATIONAL ANIMATEGOAL/RECIPIENT-*eke* and GOAL-*e* elements tends to be strongly dispreferred:

- (84)a. * 다 되는 대로 저한테 학교에 보내주세요.
 Ta twə-nin tɛʰlo cə-hantʰe həkkyo-e pone-cu-se-yo.
 all become-DYN.AT as,soon.as-ADV I.HML-AN.ALL/DAT school-ALL send:FIN-give/BEN-HON:FIN-POL
 'As soon as it's done, send me the stuff to the school.'

- b. * 손님에게 상에 재떨이 좀 갖다줘.
 Son•nim-eke saŋ-e ce•ttəl•i com kac•ta•cu-e.
 guest+HON-AN.ALL/DAT table-ALL ash+scatter+NR MOD take+ABR.SQ•give-FIN
 For: 'Please take that ashtray to the table to/for the customer.'

On the other hand, however, the combination of clear-cut AGENT-*eke* or AGENT-*hant^{he}* and GOAL-*e* elements is actually not at all subject to cooccurrence constraints, and neither is that of FORCE-*e* and GOAL-*e* elements:

- (85)a. 그래서 할아버님이 일본놈들한테 가목에 갇히셨어.
 Kilesə halapə•nim-i ilpon•nom-til-hant^{he} kamok-e kat•hi-sy-əss-ə.
 thus grandfather+HON-SBJ Japan+person.PEJ-AN.LOC/AGT jail-ALL get.confined[*INACT]-HON-PF/AOR-POL
 'And that's how Grandfather was put into prison by the Japanese.'
 b. ... 옆에서 스트로카는 팔에 머리가 물에 잠겨 물을 먹었다.
 yəp^h-esə si^thlok+ha-nin p^hal-e məli-ka mul-e cam•ky-ə mul-il mək-əss-ta.
 side-ABL/SET stroke+FV-DYN.AT arm-LOC/FRC head-SBJ water-LOC get.submerged-FIN/CNSC water-ACC eat-AOR-DCL
 Lit: 'My head was pushed under water by a stroking arm next to me and I swallowed water.'
 // Eqv: 'The arm of another swimmer pushed my head under the water and I spluttered.' (=50a; =Wb)

Consequently, the only plausible explanation for the anomaly of the cooccurring N-*eke* and N-*e* elements in 83a/b is that it is due to a constraint against the combination of both AGENT-*eke* or AGENT-*hant^{he}* and FORCE-*e* arguments. In other words, the Locative-marked N-*e* arguments in our initial examples 78/79:a are clear, if perhaps less typical instances of the INVERSE FORCE pattern.

Unfortunately, a more detailed investigation of the issues arising from the GOAL/GROUND-FORCE and INSTRUMENT-CIRCUMSTANCE ambivalences in the meaning and use of the two oblique particle patterns will have to remain outside the scope of this thesis. What should be clear, however, is that these ambivalences are simply the systemic manifestation of a densely interwoven usage continuum. And indeed, our initial INACTIVE instances in 78-80:a show a clear systemic proximity to more typical INVERSE instances that have conceivable if arguably less preferred TRANSACTIVE alternates along the lines of the Standard Voice Model's 'passive' category:

- (86)a. 닭들이 기계{에|로} 직접 잡혀서 감전으로 죽습니다.
 talk-til-i kikyē-{e|lo} cikcəp cap•hy-əsə kamcən-ilo cuk-sipni-ta.
 we-SEL machine-{LOC/FRC|INST/CS} directly get.caught[«catch»INACT]-CS.SQ electric.shock-INST die-FML-FML.DCL
 Lit: 'The chicken get grabbed directly by the machine and die from an electric shock.'
 Eqv: 'The chicken get grabbed automatically by the machine and killed by an electric shock.'
 b. !! 기계가 닭을 직접 잡아서 감전으로 죽입니다.
 kikyē-ka talk-il cikcəp cap-asə kamcən-ilo cuk•i-pni-ta.
 machine-SBJ chicken-ACC directly catch-CS.SQ electric.shock-INST kills[«die»FACT]-FML-FML.DCL
 'The machine directly grabs the chicken and kills it with an electric shock.'

- (87)a. 우리는 {강에 | 홍수로} 모든 재산을 다 빼앗겼다.
 uli-nin {kan-e | hongsu-lo} motu-n cesan-il ta ppeas•ky-ess-ta.
 we-SEL {river-LOC/FRC | flood-INST/CS} all-PF.AT assets-ACC CMPL get.robbed[«rob•INACT»]-PF/AOR-FML.DCL
 'We were robbed {by the river | by the floods} of everything we had.'
- b. {!! 강이 | !? 홍수가} 우리의 모든 재산을 다 빼앗았다.
 {!! kan-i | !? hongsu-ka} uli-iy motu-n cesan-il ta ppeas-ass-ta.
 {!! river-SBJ | !? flood-SBJ} we-AT all-PF.AT assets-ACC CMPL rob-PF/AOR-FML.DCL
 'The {river | floods} robbed us of everything we ever owned.'

Just as we have already seen in many examples through this thesis, the paradigmatic relation with the Transactive Subject obtains for both FORCE-*e* and CAUSE-*ilo* elements. On the other hand, as always, the likelihood of TRANSACTIVE constructions varies with the strength of action-like features. Thus, the autonomous motion and function of machines is most action-like (86b), the physical force-dynamic impact of a river and its water masses less so (87b), and the spatio-temporally distributed effects of flooding even less so (also 87b). Note also that the appearance of natural forces in TRANSACTIVE sentences such as 87:b seems to require that the Speaker perceive the referent situation as having strong interpersonal features. At least indirect evidence for this comes from the way in which Korean speakers judge such sentences to sound 'as if the river is some sort of person'.

While less frequent in more concrete uses of our Deactivative verbs, FORCE and CAUSE INVERSE constructions are widespread in more metaphorical usage, although then usually without any felicitous ACTIVE correspondent:

- (88)a. 단속 카메라에 잡히면 큰 벌금이 나와요.
 과속 단속으로 cap•hi-myən kʰi-n pəlkim-i na-w-a-yo.
 tansok kʰaməra-e kwasok tansok-ilo
 control camera-LOC/FRC get.caught[«catch•INACT»]-CND big-PF.AT fine-SBJ move.out:FIN-come-FIN-POL
 excessive.speed control-INST/CS
 'If you get caught by one of those {speed cameras | speed controls} you'll get a massive fine.'
- b. * 단속카메라가 잡으면 큰 벌금이 나와요.
 tansok kʰaməra-ka cap-imyən kʰi-n pəlkim-i na-w-a-yo.
 control camera-SBJ get.caught[INACT]-CND big-PF.AT fine-SBJ move.out:FIN-come-FIN-POL
 For: 'If one of those {speed cameras | speed controls} catches you, you'll get a massive fine.'
- (89)a. 그는 죄의식에 쫓겨 더욱 잔인해진 것은 아닐까.
 ki-nin cwœ+iysik-e ccocʰ•ky-ə tæuk canin.he-ci-n kəs-in ani-l•kka.
 that/he-SEL guilt+consciousness-LOC/FRC get.chased[«chase•INACT»]even.more cruel:INCH-PF FCTL-SEL NEG-PSP•INQS
 Lit: 'Is it not that he has been chased by his own guilt and so become even more cruel, I wonder.'
 Eqv: 'I do wonder whether his guilt has not driven him to become even more cruel.' (<Cp>)
- b. 죄의식이 그를 쫓아서 더욱 잔인해진 것은 아닐까.
 cwœ+iysik-i ki-lil ccocʰ-asə tæuk canin.he-ci-n kəs-in ani-l•kka.
 guilt+consciousness-SBJ that/he-ACC chase-CS,SQ even.more cruel:INCH-PF FCTL-SEL NEG-PSP•INQS
 For: 'His guilt has driven him to become even more cruel.'

- (90)a. 우리 나라의 민족주의 역사학은 일본 제국주의에
 uli nala-iy mincok+cuìy yaksà+hak-in ilpon cekukcuìy-e
 ilpon-iy sikmin+ci cipe-lo
 we country-AT people+ism history+science-SEL Japan imperialism-LOC/FRC
 Japan-AT colonisation+ground control-INST/CS
 나라를 빼앗긴 특수한 상황에서 생겨났다.
 nala-lil ppeas+ki-n t'iksu.ha-n sarhway-esə səŋky-ə-na-ss-ta.
 country-ACC get.robbed[«rob+INACT»]-PF.AT special-PF.AT circumstances-ABL/SET come.to.be-FIN-move.out-PF-DCL
 'Korean nationalist historiography has arisen from specific circumstances relating to the fact that we
 were robbed/deprived of our country {by Japanese Imperialism | by Japanese colonial control}.'
 (=Wb+;)
- b. * ... 일본 제국주의가 우리한테서 나라를 빼앗은 ... 상황에서
 ilpon cekuk+cuìy-ka uli-hant'e+sə nala-lil ppeas-in sarhway-esə
 ilpon-iy sikmin cipe-ka
 Japan imperialism-SBJ
 Japan-AT colonisation control-SBJ we-AN.LOC+ABL country-ACC rob-PF.AT circumstances-ABL/SET
 For: 'circumstances relating to the fact that {Japanese imperialism | Japanese colonial control}
 robbed/deprived us of our country.'

Note that the FORCE-*e* argument in 90a is unusual in that it refers to an abstract percept with no physical immanence features. Leaving aside this issue, the facts are identical to those we saw in the previous subsection: the INACTIVE sentence lacks a TRANSACTIVE correspondent obtains no matter whether the INACTIVE Oblique element is based on the Locative-marked FORCE-*e* or the Instrumental-marked CAUSE-*ilo* pattern.

Most importantly, this time the perceptual divergence from a human agent's manipulative or targeted actions renders the TRANSACTIVE sentences 88-90:b not simply unusual but infelicitous. Again, this further highlights the way in which the Korean situation-dynamic system makes a clear distinction between animate agents and other causally involved entities, and the Deactivative verbs in 88-90:a cannot be viewed as retaining the AGENT CAUSATION semantics of their unmarked counterparts. On the other hand, however, 88-90:a are also clearly instances of the same FORCE and CAUSE INVERSE constructions as the more passive-like sentences in 86-87 that did have acceptable ACTIVE counterparts in the sense of the Standard Voice Model.

The upshot is that our present Deactivative verbs present us with the same referential continuum across <agent causation – impact causation – distributed force-dynamic causation – circumstantial causation> that we saw in the previous subsections. And indeed, just as there, this continuum extends even further, right into the spontaneous spectrum of the cross-linguistic 'inchoative':

- (91)a. 얼마 아니 가서 비가 쏟아지는데 할 수 없이 쫓기어 들어왔다.
 əlma ani ka-sə pi-ka ssotaci-nin te ccoc'ki-ə til-ə-w-ass-ta.
 some.amount NEG go-CS.SQ rain-SBJ pours-DYN.AT place get.chased[«chase+INACT»]-FIN move.in-FIN-come-PF/AOR-FML.DCL
 Lit: 'Soon after, we were driven back inside again at/by the rain's pouring down.'
 Eqv: 'Not much later, it started to rain heavily and we hurried back inside' (<Cp)

- b. 이곳저곳 돌아다니다가 강의시간에 쫓겨 들어왔다.
 i+kos+cə+kos tol-a-tani-taka kanjy+sihan-e ccoc^h•ky-ə til.ə.w-ass-ta.
 this+place+yon+place turn-FIN-go.about-ABR.SQ lecture+time-LOC get.chased[«chase•INACT»]-FIN come.in-PF/AOR-DCL
Lit: 'After wandering around aimlessly, I came hurrying back in for the lecture.' (=Cp)
- c. 바쁜 하루 일과 속에서 이리저리 쫓기다가 어쩌다
 pappi-n halu ilkwa sok-esə ili+cəli ccoc^h•ki-taka əccəta
 busy-PF.AT one.day daily.task inside-SET this.way+that.way hurry.about[«chase•INACT»]-ABR.SQ at.times
 자기와 마주하는 시간을 갖게 되면 그 순간들을 가꾸기보다는
 caki-wa macu.ha-nin sihan-il kac-ke twœ-myən ki sunkantil-il kakkuki-pota-nin
 self-CMT confront-DYN.AT time-ACC have-RES.ADV INCH_{PF}-CND that moment-PL-ACC cultivate-GER.CMPR.SEL
 오히려 공허하고 외로운, 무기력한 자신을 발견하게 된다.
 ohilyə konghə.ha-ko wœlo-un, mukilyək.ha-n casin-il palkyən.ha-ke twœ-n-ta.
 rather void-PF.SQ lonely-PF.AT energyless-PF.AT self-ACC discover-RES.ADV INCH_{PF}-DYN-FML-DCL
 'After a whole busy day spent running around hectically trying to get things done, when I do
 occasionally end up having time to spend with myself, rather than using that time gainfully, I find
 myself discovering another, lethargic self.' (<Cp)

Here, although there is of course some causation involved, the referent situation clearly has strong spontaneity features, and the Deactivative verb *ccoc^h•ki.ta* is in fact used as a kind of (INVOLUNTARY) MOTION verb.

Finally, compare the following instances of *ppeas•ki.ta*, the Deactivative correspondent of *ppeas.ta* 'snatches, robs':

- (92) a. IMF로 생활 토대를 빼앗긴 가정이 많았다.
 IMF-lo serjhwat t'otē-lil ppeas•ki-n kacəŋ-i manh-ass-ta.
 IMF/1996.economic.crisis-INST/CS living basis-ACC get.robbed-PF.AT household-SBJ much-PF/AOR-FML-DCL
Lit: 'Because of the IMF (crisis) many households were robbed of their livelihoods
 // 'Many households were robbed of their livelihood by the IMF (crisis).'
Eqv: 'Many families lost their livelihood because of the 1997 economic crisis.'
 // 'The 1996 economic crisis deprived many families of their livelihood.'
- b. IMF가 터져서 생활 토대를 빼앗긴 가정이 많았다.
 IMF-ka t'əcy-əsə serjhwat t'otē-lil ppeas•ki-n kacəŋ-i manh-ass-ta.
 IMF/1996.crisis-SBJ burst•INCH-CS.SQ living basis-ACC get.robbed-PF.AT household-SBJ much-PF/AOR-FML-DCL
Eqv: 'After the 1997 economic crisis hit, many families lost their livelihood.'

Here, the situation is caused by the 1997 economic crisis, a spatio-temporally distributed percept with no force-dynamic features. In this case, one common response is the CAUSE INVERSE construction in 92a, a choice that is presumably conditioned by perceived similarities between the economic crisis and other reifiable mechanisms or circumstantial phenomena. Another common response, however, is the CAUSAL SEQUENTIAL construction in 92b that is clearly conditioned by the Speaker's perception of <causally connected situation chain> features. In other words, 92b is precisely conditioned by the lack of a spatio-temporal immanent cause locus. Again, this means that the Deactivative verb here can hardly be viewed as retaining or implying the presence of an agent or other cause locus component, and thus conforms to the Standard

Voice Model's inchoative rather than passive category.

A similar cline can be observed across the following instances:

- (93) a. 쓰잘 데 없는 일들에 시간을 빼앗기며
 kilə-n ssical_te_əps-nin il-til-e sikan-il ppeas•ki-myə
 such-PF.AT useless-DYN.AT matter-PL-LOC time-ACC get.robbed[«rob•INACT»]-SIM.SQ
 스스로를 짜증스레 만들다니.
 sisilo-lil ccaciŋsile mantil-tani.
 self-ACC annoyed:ADV make-CLM
 'To loose time to such trivial matters, and then getting oneself all worked up about it!' (=Cp)
- b. ... 하루 종일 보고서 쓰는 일에만 시간을 다 빼앗기고 말지."
 halu conil pokosə ssi-nin il-e-man sikan-il ta ppeas•ki-ko mal-ci.
 one.day all.day report write-DYN.AT matter-LOC time-ACC CMPL get.robbed/lose[«rob•INACT»]-PF.SQ end.up-PROP
 '... and I loose the whole day just to writing reports, you see.' (=Cp)
- c. 연구를 하고 강의를 나가고 집안 살림을 꾸려나가느라
 yəŋku-lil ha-ko kaŋiy-lil naka-ko cip+an+sallim-il kkuly-ə-naka-nila
 research-ACC do-PF.SQ lecture-ACC move.out:FIN-go-PF.SQ house+in+living-ACC pack.up-FIN-go.forward-SIM.CSL.SQ
 먹가는 시간을 많이 빼앗겼었다.
 məkka-nin sikan-il manh-i ppeas•ky-əss-əss-ta.
 McGarr(?) -SEL time-ACC much-ADV get.robbed[«rob•INACT»]-PF-PF/AOR-FML.DCL
 'Doing his research, going out for lectures, sorting out domestic matters, in the course of all this Məkka was being robbed of lots of time.'
 Eqv: 'Doing his research, going out to do his lectures, sorting out things at home, all of these things kept McGarr (?) preoccupied for most of the day.' (<Cp)

Here, in all three instances the referent situation involves <the protagonist losing time because he has to attend to various matters>. In 93a-b the response is to express the <matter(s)> with the noun *il* in a Locative particle pattern [ACTION α_{PS-nin}] *il-e* that seems to belong in the LOCATIVE rather than the agent-phrase-like spectrum. In 93c, on the other hand, what causes the loss of time is expressed through a SIMULTANEOUS CAUSAL SEQUENTIAL construction. Again, what matters is that the Deactivative *ppeas•ki.ta* here is used pretty much as a SPONTANEOUS CONTROL LOSS verb such as *ilh.ta* 'lose', cannot be viewed as retaining or implying any agent, and basically conforms to the Standard Model's inchoative rather than passive category.

To conclude then, even those PATIENTIVE Deactivative verbs that would seem to be invariably associated with agent causation and hence reasonably assumed to have 'agent retention' semantics turn out to appear in <non-agent causation> and even in strongly inchoative-like usage. And of course, where the cause locus is not sufficiently similar to agentive animate entities, they then usually have no TRANSACTIVE counterparts. In other words, even they exhibit the same broad inchoative-passive usage spectrum as all other Deactivative verbs.

4.2 The problem of paradigm-independent usage

4.2.1 Deactivative verbs in paradigm-independent metaphorical usage

In our investigation of the Deactivative paradigm and its usage, we have so far concentrated on uses and instances that occurred at least in some sort of diathesis alternation, even if this conformed more closely to the 'anticausative' rather than the 'passive' alternation category. Aside from such alternating uses, however, Deactivative verbs also show a good deal of paradigm-independent usage whereby the Deactivative verb appears in clauses that simply have no TRANSACTIVE counterpart that would be based on the corresponding unmarked ACTIVE verb. This phenomenon is particularly noticeable among secondary and often idiomatic uses and has attracted considerable attention in the literature, ever since it was first identified by Ch'oe Hyön-bae, in his ground-breaking 1937 Korean Grammar (Ch'oe Hyön-bae 1937/61: 434-9/§253-255). Long ignored during the early heyday of Generative approaches to Korean, Ch'oe's observations were revived in the late 1970s in a number of seminal articles by Yi Ki-dong (Keedong Lee) that kicked off a major shift towards recognition of the fact that the Korean 'morphological passive' should be viewed in terms of lexical rather than morpho-syntactic derivation (see Yi Ki-dong 1976, 1978). The following are some well-known cases:

- (94)a. 날씨가 풀렸다.
nalssi-ka p^hul•ly-æss-ta.
weather-SBJ come, undone[«undo•INACT»]-PF-FMLDCL
'The weather has broken (at the beginning of spring).' (=LgEx)
- b. 아버지가 암에 걸렸다.
apæci-ka ame-e kæl•ly-æss-tæ.
father-SBJ cancer-LOC get, hung/caught[«hang.FACT•INACT»]-PF-DCL.RPT:FIN
'Her father has got cancer.' (◊LgEx)
- c. 집안일이 너무 많이 밀렸어요.
cipanil-i næmu manhi mil•li-æss-ə-yo.
house.work-SBJ exceedingly much-ADV get, pushed[«push•INACT»]-PF-FIN-POL
'We've got too much housework left undone.'
- d. 요즘 자꾸 스트레스만 쌓인다.
yocim cakku si^hilesi-man ssah•i-n-ta.
these.days frequently stress-(SBJ)XCL pile.up.INACT[«pile.up(FACT)•INACT»]-DYN-FMLDCL
'These days I keep getting stressed out.'

The first thing to note about these sentences is that they refer to situations with strong spontaneity features, without any element that would resemble an agent or other concrete or reifiable cause locus. That is, at least in this usage, the Deactivative verbs

conform to the Standard Voice Model's inchoative rather than passive category.

These semantic properties are complemented by two distributional facts. For a start, all of these sentences are closely related to sentences that clearly instantiate the same clause constructions, but contain verbs that are unequivocally regarded as simple inchoative verbs (see Yi Ki-dong 1976):

- (95) a. 날씨가 따뜻해졌다.
 nalssi-ka ttattis.hɛ•cy-əss-ta.
 weather-SBJ become.warm[«warm»INCH]-PF-FML,DCL
 'The weather has become warm.'
- b. 아버지가 우울증에 빠졌다.
 apəci-ka uulciŋ-e ppa•cy-əss-tɛ.
 father-SBJ depression-LOC fall.into[«INCH»]-PF-DCL,RPT;FIN
 'Father has fallen into depression.'
- c. 할 일이 너무 많이 남았어요.
 hal il-i nəmu manhi nam-ass-ə-yo.
 do-PSP work-SBJ exceedingly much-ADV get.left-PF-FIN-POL
 'We've got too much housework left.'
- d. 요즘 자꾸 스트레스가 생긴다.
 yocim cakku si^hilesi-ka seŋki-n-ta.
 these.days frequently stress-SBJ come.into.being-DYN-FML,DCL
 'These days I keep getting stressed.'

Secondly, even where the referent situation is perceived as caused by an animate agent or some other cause, the most likely ACTIVE sentence would not be based on the unmarked active verb. Instead, the only systematically available alternative would be to put the Deactivative verb into the 'analytic causative' pattern:

- (96) a. 결국은 그 꼬마애가 날씨를 풀리게 했다.
 * 풀었다
 kyəlkuk-in ki kkoma+ɛ-ka nalssi-lil p^hul.li-ke hɛ-ss-ta.
 * p^hul-əss-ta
 ultimately-SEL that toddler+child-SBJ weather-ACC come undone-RES.ADV do/ACT_{IV}-PF/AOR-FML,DCL
 * undo-PF/AOR-FML,DCL
 'Ultimately, it was the child that made the weather break.' (As in the miracle in Oscar Wilde's 'The Selfish Giant')
- b. 아버지를 암에 걸리게 한 건 나다.
 * 건
 apəci-lil am-e kəl.li-ke ha-n kə-n na-ta
 * kə-n
 father-ACC cancer-LOC get.hung/caught-RES.ADV do/ACT_{IV}-PF.AT thing-SEL I-(CPL)FML,DCL
 * hang(FACT)-PF.AT
 'What made my father get cancer was me.' (=Wb)

- c. \emptyset 우리가 \emptyset 집안일을 너무 많이 밀리게 했어요.
 * 밀었어요
 \emptyset uli-ka \emptyset cipanil-il nəmu manhi mil.li-ke hɛ-ss-ə-yo.
 * mil-əss-ə-yo
 \emptyset we-sbj \emptyset house.work-ACC too much-ADV get.pushed/postponed-RES.ADV do/ACT/CAUS-PF-FIN-POL
 * push-PF-FIN-POL
 'We've left too much housework undone.'
- d. (...) 지나치게 간섭하는 것은 아기에게 스트레스를 쌓이게 한다.
 cinach'i-ke kansəp.ha-nin kəs-in aki-eke sitilesi-lil ssah.i-ke_ha-n-ta.
 * ssah-nin-ta.
 overshoot-ADV interfere-DYN.AT thing-SEL baby-AN.ALL/DAT stress-ACC pile.up-CAUS-DYN-DCL
 * pile.up(FACT)-DYN-FML.DCL
 'Interfering too much (with what it is doing) will only stress the baby.' (=Wb)

Here then, no matter how we analyse the Deactivative pattern, the voice-marked INACTIVE verbs are effectively the *unmarked* non-causative element in an alternation that falls within the Standard voice model's 'inchoative ~ causative' category. That is, the Deactivative verbs behave exactly like simple and underivable 'active' verbs.

The first two Deactivative verbs in our examples, *p^hul.li.ta* and *kəl.li.ta*, are in their present use entirely independent of the Deactivative voice paradigm⁶⁹. Interestingly, on the other hand, the verb *mil.li.ta* in 94c does actually have a synthetic alternate in the present uses. Much more frequently used than the Causative solution in 96c, this is the equipollent voice-marked verb *mil.w.ta* 'postpones', based on the Synthetic Activative pattern $\alpha_{\nu S}Hu$:

- (97) a. 집안일이 너무 많이 밀렸어요
 cipanil-i nəmu manhi mil.li-əss-ə-yo.
 house.work-SBJ exceedingly much-ADV get.pushed/postponed[«push*INACT»]-PF-FIN-POL
 'We've got too much housework left undone.' (=94c)
- b. \emptyset 우리가 \emptyset 집안일을 너무 많이 밀리게 했어요.
 \emptyset uli-ka \emptyset cip+an+il-il nəmu manhi mil.w-əss-ə-yo.
 \emptyset we-sbj \emptyset house+inside+work-ACC exceedingly much-ADV postpone[«push-FACT»]-PF-FIN-POL
 'We've postponed too much housework.'

What we see here then is a complex group paradigm, in which the INACTIVE verb *mil.li.ta* alternates partly with the unmarked TRANSACTIVE *mil.ta* 'pushes' and partly with the equipollent FACTITIVE *mil.wu.ta* 'postpones'. What is important here is that the two sentences here are only partial alternates: the INACTIVE sentence 97a with *mil.li.ta* can be used irrespectively of whether the event has spontaneous or caused situation-dynamic

⁶⁹ In the case of *p^hul.li.ta* some speakers can imagine the following use of *p^hul.ta*:

봄이 되면 하나님이 날씨를 풀어주신다.
 Pom-i twœ-myən hananim-i nalssi-lil p^hul-ə-cu-si-n-ta.
 spring-SBJ becomes-CND God-SBJ weather-ACC undoes-FIN-gives/BEN_{FV}-HON-DYN-DCL
 'In spring-time, God breaks the weather for us.'

Other speakers, however, reject this and prefer an analytic construction along the lines of (74a).

features, but the TRANSACTIVE sentence 97b with *mil•u.ta* can only be used for agent causation. This paradigmatic relationship, however, is of course closest to that of the Standard Voice Models ‘inchoative ~ causative’ category, with the Deactivative verb *mil•li.ta* as the ‘inchoative’ alternate.

A different situation obtains for the fourth of our initial INACTIVE sentences (94d) . Here, an ‘active’ correspondent with the unmarked verb *ssah.ta* ‘piles up sth’ is possible, but not in the kind of meaning we might expect:

- (98)a. 요즘 자꾸 스트레스만 쌓인다.
 yocim cakku sithilesi-man ssah•i-n-ta.
 these.days frequently stress-(SBJ)XCL pile.up.INACT[«pile.up(FACT)•INACT]-DYN-FML.DCL
 ‘These days I keep getting stressed out.’
- b. 스트레스만 쌓지 말고 마음 좀 놓고 놀자!
 Sithilesi-man ssah-ci mal-ko maim com noh-ko nol-ca!
 stress-(SBJ)XCL pile.up.FACT-PROP DESIST-PF.SQ heart MOD put.down-DESIST play-HORT
 ‘Let’s stop stressing ourselves and instead relax and have some fun for a while!’

As we can see, the unmarked ‘active’ alternative here occurs only in a reflexive-like ENDOACTIVE usage that expresses what we might characterise as an ‘experiencer-controlled psychological event’. This kind of construction, however, has a very limited distribution and mainly occurs in interlocutory utterances that suggest it would be better to avoid or control the pertinent emotional or psychological event⁷⁰. In fact then, contrary to the [INACTIVE ~ ACTIVE] markedness relation between the predicates, it is clearly the INACTIVE sentence that is more basic from a systemic point of view. Again then, the Deactivative *ssah•i.ta* behaves for all purposes like a simple and systemically basic verb.

The data discussed here consisted of relatively unpredictable uses that constitute clear-cut cases of secondary, idiomatic or ‘metaphorical’ extension from the voice-marked verb’s semantic core. Therefore, most authors that have bothered to consider such uses take the view that they express idiosyncratic meaning extensions that must be lexically derived after the application of the voice conversion process. And indeed, although the recent consensus on locating the Synthetic voice-derivation patterns in the lexicon has arisen partly in response to their less-than-fully predictable allomorphic variations and lexical gaps, semantically idiosyncratic secondary usage is now taken as one of the main pieces of evidence for the lexical derivation analysis (see f.ex. Yi Ki-

⁷⁰ There are two instances of *sithilesi-lil ssah.ta* stress-ACC pile.up.FACT in the Kaist corpus (Kaist ‘쌓게’: 1990 and ‘쌓아가는: 2837). Native informants found the present example (98b) unusual but acceptable.

dong 1976, Keedong Lee 1993: 282; Jaehoon Yeon 2003: 103-4).

Unfortunately, the (re)discovery and discussion of paradigm-independent instances of the synthetic deactivative pattern has largely concentrated on the most idiosyncratic cases of idiomatic meaning extension. Given the fact that the Koreanist Consensus remains committed to the 'passive' category, this focus on the most idiosyncratic aspects of paradigm-independent usage is surely no accident. After all, as long it can be relegated to realms of metaphor and idiom, paradigm-independent usage does not threaten the idea of 'passive' usage as the core function of the Deactivative and other passive-like patterns. Be that as it may, the only notable effect of this data on the Koreanist Consensus has been to encourage the shift away from syntactic to lexical derivation. Apart from this, most authors continue to insist that the primary function of the Deactivative pattern is that of a 'passive' voice-marking pattern in the sense of the Standard Voice Model (see f.ex. Im Hong-bin 1978; Chang Suk-Jin 1996: 111-2; U In-hye 1997; Ho-min Sohn 1999: §9.9.1; Jaehoon Yeon 2003: §5.3). Depending on theoretical preferences, inchoative-like instances are then either given separate lexical entries (see f.ex. Im Hong-bin 1978), or as peripheral instances of a passive prototype category (see f.ex. U In-hye 1997; Jaehoon Yeon 2003). In the following subsections, I shall show why such conclusions are incompatible with the actual evidence.

4.2.2 Paradigm-independent usage as a systemic phenomenon

According to the construction grammar approach pursued in this thesis, syntax and lexicon form a single inseparable continuum. Therefore, any repeatedly occurring linguistic sign of any size and complexity is likely to be entrenched in memory. This then means, however, that most structural patterns will present us with a mix of lexicalised idiosyncrasy and systematic regularity. In the present context, however, it also means that there is no empirical justification for postulating that a Deactivative verb such as *p^hul•li.ta* 'gets untied/undone' should be stored as a chunk for its idiosyncratic uses but still remain reliant on and in a synchronic derivational relationship with its 'active' counterpart *p^hul.ta* for the more regular bulk of its usage.

Against this background, I will show in this subsection that some of the most well-known cases of idiosyncratic paradigm-independent usage are in fact systemically closely related to the pertinent verb's core usage. The fact that they lack any plausible

'active' alternates, on the other hand, turns out to be little more than a correlate of the fact that the pertinent Deactivative verb is open to inchoative usage.

Let us begin with the deactivative verb *p^hul•li.ta* and its famous and much-adduced paradigm-independent use in the following sentence:

- (99) 날씨가 풀렸다.
 Nalssi-ka p^hul•ly-æss-ta.
 weather-SBJ come undone[«undo•INACT»]-PF-FML.DCL
 'The weather has broken (at the beginning of spring).' (=LgEx)

As a linguistic sign, the verb *p^hul•li.ta* is part of the Synthetic voice alternation *p^hul.ta* ~ *p^hul•li.ta*, whose core referential-semantic spectrum can be roughly represented as follows:

Core, physically concrete referential-semantic spectrum of *p^hul.ta* ~ *p^hul•li.ta*

DISSOLUTION OF ENTANGLED OBJECTS/MASS:

'untie, unfasten, undo, disentangle' ~ 'get untied, get disentangled, unravel, come undone'

DISINTEGRATION OR DISSOLUTION OF SOLID MASS IN LIQUID:

'dissolve [paper, powder, soap etc]' ~ '[paper, powder, soap etc] get dissolved, dissolve'

Contrasted against this semantic core, our non-alternating instance in 99 would indeed appear to be a highly idiosyncratic and metaphorical use of the Deactivative verb *p^hul•li.ta*. Upon closer inspection, however, we can locate this use at the edge of a continuum that is closely related to the verb's semantic core:

- (100)a. 날씨가 풀렸다.
 nalssi-ka p^hul•ly-æss-ta.
 weather-SBJ come undone[«undo•INACT»]-PF-FML.DCL
 'The weather has broken (at the beginning of spring).'
- b. 추위가 풀렸다.
 c^huwi-ka p^hul•ly-æss-ta.
 cold-SBJ come undone[«undo•INACT»]-PF-FML.DCL
 'The cold has broken (at the beginning of spring).'
- c. 강물이 풀렸다.
 kaŋ+mul-i p^hul•ly-æss-ta.
 river+water-SBJ come undone[«undo•INACT»]-PF-FML.DCL
Lit.: 'The river water has come undone.' / *Egv.*: 'The river has thawed.'

As these instances show, our initial example actually lies at the very end of a meaning-extension chain that emerges from a much more concrete usage. Thus, if we look at these sentences from the bottom up, we can observe what is in fact a kind of hyponymic chain that progresses from SOLIDLY FROZEN WATER/THINGS to THE WINTER COLD to THE

WEATHER. Note that of course, none of these sentences have an ACTIVE alternate.

The last sentence in 100 is then in turn part of the following instance cluster:

- (101)a. 강물이 풀렸다.
 kan+mul-i p^hul•ly-æss-ta.
 river+water-SBJ come undone[«undo»INACT]-PF-FML,DCL
Lit: 'The river water has come undone.' / 'The river has thawed.'
- b. 불을 쪼니 뻣뻣이 언 몸이 풀려왔다.
 pul-il ccwœ-ni ppæppæs-i ə-n mom-i p^hul•ly-ə-w-æss-ta.
 fire-ACC let.shine.on.self-BG,SQ stiff_{PH}-ADVR freeze-PF.AT body-SBJ come undone[«undo»INACT]-PF/AOR-FML,DCL
 'As she stood close to the fire, her stiff-frozen body began to warm up.' (=Cp)
- c. 그러자 긴장으로 옥죄였던 몸이 금세 풀렸다.
 kilə-ca kincan-ilo okcwœy-æss-tən mom-i kimse p^hul•ly-æss-ta.
 like.that-TMP,SQ tension-INST/CS get.tight/tense-PF-PST.AT-SBJ immediately get undone[«undo»INACT]-PF/AOR-FML,DCL
 'His tense body immediately began to relax.' (=Cp)

Seen in this context, our initial and apparently idiosyncratic example is revealed as part of larger instance cluster that is at its other end closely related to the semantic core of the verb *p^hul•li.ta*. Thus, all sentences here refer to a concrete and physical <state change away from a rigid, connected and fixed state>, in a usage that is experientially and perceptually closely related to the verb's semantic core.

Importantly here, just as the WEATHER COMES UNDONE uses, the much more concrete and central RIVER WATER COMES UNDONE use in 101a has no TRANSACTIVE alternate with the unmarked *p^hul.ta* but the other two uses in b101b-c do, although again in a very specific reflexive-like ENDOACTIVE usage similar to the one we came across in the previous subsection:

- (102)a. 불을 쪼면서 뻣뻣이 언 몸을 풀었다.
 pul-il ccwœ-myənsə ppæppæs-i ə-n mom-il p^hul-æss-ta.
 fire-ACC let.shine.on.self-SIM,SQ stiff_{PH}-ADVR freeze-PF.AT body-ACC undo-PF/AOR-FML,DCL
 'She stood near the fire and warmed up her stiff-frozen body.'
- b. 기호가 긴장으로 억죄였던 몸을 풀었다.
 kiho-ka kincan-ilo okcwœy-æss-tən mom-il p^hul-æss-ta.
 Kiho-SBJ tension-INST/CS get.tight/tense-PF-PST.AT-SBJ undo-PF/AOR-FML,DCL
 'Kiho got rid of the tension in his body (through exercise).' // 'Kiho let the tension go from his body.'

These TRANSACTIVE alternates refer to what we might call 'controlled physiological events', and are instances of an ENDOACTIVE BODY MANIPULATION construction that is exclusively associated with an agent's manipulation of his own body⁷¹. Be that as it may, the different paradigmatic properties of the examples in (101) suggest that the existence

⁷¹ For situations in which an agent manipulates another person's body, the non-reflexive nature of this action would be expressed through Benefactive or Causative patterns (*p^hul-ə-cu.ta* undoes-FIN-gives/BEN, *p^hul.li-ke ha.ta* gets undone-ADV does/ACT_{EV}).

or absence of an ACTIVE alternate does not necessarily depend on how idiosyncratic or 'metaphorical' a particular usage may be. Instead, the paradigm-independence of the <weather> sentences in 100a-c is due to the fact that they are part of an INCHOATIVE usage cluster that has no FACTITIVE counterparts because there never is anybody who would manipulate and change the weather. That is, the whole issue boils down to the simple question of whether the referent situation does or does not contain any entity that has enough agentivity features.

The workings of this simple situation-specific factor can be observed in the following and again closely related instance cluster, which refers to physiological phenomena and their dissolution:

- (103)a. 기호는 {긴장이 | 스트레스가} 풀렸다.
 kiho-nin {kincəŋ-i | si^hilesi-ka} p^hul•ly-əss-ta.
 Kiho-(SBJ)SEL {tension-SBJ | stress-SBJ} get undone[«undo*INACT»]-PF/AOR-FML,DCL
 'Kiho's {tension | stress} disappeared.'
- b. 기호는 {긴장을 | 스트레스를} 풀었다.
 kiho-nin {kincəŋ-il | si^hilesi-lil} p^hul-əss-ta.
 Hosöp-(SBJ)SEL {tension-ACC | stress-ACC} undo-PF/AOR-FML,DCL
 'Kiho relieved his {tension | stress}.' // 'Kiho managed to get rid of his {tension | stress}.'
- (104)a. 영길은 기운이 쪽 빠져 몸에 힘이 풀렸습니다.
 yəŋkil-in kiun-i ccok ppa•cy-ə mom-e him-i p^hul•ly-əss-sipni•ta.
 Yönggil-(SBJ)SEL energy-SBJ INTSF drops.out-FIN/CNSC body-LOC strength-SBJ get undone[«undo*INACT»]-PF/AOR-FML,POL•DCL
 'Yönggil lost heart and felt all his strength draining from his body.' (=Cp)
- b. ?? 영길은 기운이 쪽 빠져 몸에 힘을 풀었습니다.
 Yəŋkil-in kiun-i ccok ppa•cy-ə mom-e him-il p^hul-əss-ta.
 Yönggil-(SBJ)SEL vigour-SBJ INTSF drops.out/drains-FIN/CNSC body-LOC strength-ACC undo-PF/AOR-FML,POL•DCL
 For: 'Yönggil lost heart and let all the strength go from his body.'

Here, in the first example (103), the TRANSACTIVE alternate is possible because the dissolution of tension or stress can be perceptually associated with controlled action: a person can intentionally manipulate his body or work on his own state of mind and thereby target and resolve tension or stress. In the second example (103), on the other hand, the TRANSACTION alternate is anomalous because the referent situation is unlikely to have action features: strength can disappear, but a person is unlikely to be perceived as controlling the disappearance of strength. This of course applies particularly to the real usage instance 103a whose referent situation would seem to lack any scope for the perception of agency on the part of the animate referent <Yönggil>⁷².

⁷² A TRANSACTIVE sentence may, however, emerge under certain conditions. Take the following attested example:

As if this were not enough, however, non-alternating instances of the voice-marked

pʰul·li.ta can also be found right at its semantic core:

- (105) a. 휴지가 풀려서 옷에 붙었어.
 hyuci-ka pʰul·ly-əsə os-e putʰ-əss-ə.
 tissue.paper-SBJ come undone[«undo·INACT»-CS.SQ clothing-LOC get.stuck-PF-FIN
 'The tissue paper has dissolved and is stuck to the clothes.' (As in the famous laundry accident)
- b. 세터가 헐어서 여기저기 풀렸어. 'ent)
 sətʰə-ka həl-əsə yəki+cəki pʰul·ly-əss-ə.
 D. 세터가 벌어서 여기서기 풀렸어.
 sətʰə-ka həl-əsə yəki+cəki pʰul·ly-əss-ə.
 sweater-SBJ go.threadbare-CS.SQ here+there come undone[«undo·INACT»-PF-FIN
 'The sweater has gone threadbare and (the knitting) has come apart here and there.'

Again, the referent situations simply have no controlled action and manipulation features.

On the other hand, instances such as 105a-b clearly belong to the same instance cluster as the following that have possible TRANSACTIVE counterparts:

- (106) a. 종이가 다 풀려서 잘 붙어요.
 conji-ka ta pʰul·ly-əsə cal putʰ-ə-yo.
 paper-SBJ CMPL get undone-CS.SQ[«undo·INACT»] TEND get.stuck-FIN-POL
 'The paper has all dissolved, so it will stick (together) well (now). ' (As when making papier-maché)
- b. 종이를 다 풀어서 물을 짭니다
 conji-il ta pʰul-əsə mul-il cca-pni.ta.
 paper-ACC CMPL undo-CS.SQ water-ACC squeezed.in.hand-FML.POL·DCL
 'After completely dissolving the paper, you squeeze out the water.' (As instruction for papier-maché)
- (107) a. 매듭이 풀렸어.
 metip-i pʰul·ly-əss-ə.
 knot-SBJ get undone[«undo·INACT»]-PF-FIN
 'The knot has come undone.'
- b. 내가 매듭을 풀었어.
 Ne:ka metip-il pʰul-əss-ə.
 I-SBJ knot-ACC undo-PF-FIN
 'I've undone the knot.'

Here, in spite of all similarity, the two sentence pairs differ in one important pragmatic respect. Thus, in the first case, most referent situations would admit both the ACTIVE and the INACTIVE sentence, making the pair an almost perfect sentence alternation. Since the INACTIVE 106a would strongly imply the presence of some human participant who is causally involved in the <paper dissolution> event, it would of course lend itself to the kind of 'implicit agent' claims that are frequently adduced as evidence for a passive

그 여자는 죽은 듯이 몸에 힘을 풀고 눈을 감고 있었다.
 Ki yəca-nin cuk.in tis.i mom-e him-il pʰul-ko nun-il kam-ko iss-əss-ta.
 that woman-SEL as.if.dead body-LOC strength-ACC undoes-PF.SQ eye-ACC closes-PF.SQ IS-PF-DCL
 'The woman (lay) there with closed eyes, all life gone from her body.' (=Cp)

Here, the active alternate with *him-il pʰul.ta* arises from the fact that it is combined with the active *nun-il kam.ta*, in a microsequential construction that seems to at least favour if not require situation-dynamic consistency.

analysis. Whether the Speaker has actually perceived this presumed agent as a significant feature of the event is of course another matter, particularly since the associated causation chain is spatio-temporally not very tight. And indeed, it is certainly likely that the Speaker who utters the INACTIVE 106a is perceptually focussed only on the dissolution process that happens after the paper has been put into the water.

Be that as it may, matters are rather different in the case of the second sentence pair, where the INACTIVE 107a would be predominantly used to refer to a completely spontaneous event, making the INACTIVE ~ TRANSACTIVE pair a strongly partial alternation that closely conforms to the Standard Voice Model's 'inchoative/anticausative ~ causative' alternation. Most importantly, however, the whole usage cluster represented in 105-107 shows again that whether or not an instance of the Deactivative *p^hul•li.ta* has a possible counterpart with the unmarked ACTIVE *p^hul.ta* varies with each utterance-specific referent situation and has little to do with whether *p^hul•li.ta* appears in an idiomatic or core meaning.

So far, our detailed investigation of the verb *p^hul•li.ta* has revealed two important things about the paradigm-independent usage of Deactivative verbs. For one, the fact that secondary and idiomatic uses may lack an active alternate has nothing to do with the lexical idiosyncrasy of these uses. Instead, it is simply part and parcel of the same general, systemic and widespread inchoative usage of Deactivative verbs that stretches right into their core semantic spectrum. Secondly, whether in secondary and idiomatic usage or in primary usage, the existence of a corresponding 'active' counterpart in the sense of the Standard Voice Model depends on a single situation-specific condition: the ACTIVE alternate is possible if the referent situation features a typical causing and manipulating agent, and otherwise not. Again, this is of course a typical property of the Standard Voice Model's 'inchoative ~ causative' alternation.

Returning to our investigation, there are definitely instances in which the Deactivative *p^hul•li.ta* behaves more like a passive verb:

- (108)a. 이 수수께끼는 1900년 독일 물리학자인 막스 팔랑크에 의해
 i susukkekki-nin 1900+nyən-e tokil mullihakca-i-n maksɪ p^hallaŋk^hi-e iyhɛ
 this riddle-(SBJ)SEL 1900+year-LOC Germany physicist-CPL-PF.AT Max Planck-due.to/by
 풀렸다.
 p^hul•ly-əss-ta.
 get.undone/solved[«undo»INACT]-PF/AOR-FML.DCL
 'This riddle was solved in 1900 by Max Planck.' (<Cp)

- b. 신문지는 빗물에 다 풀리고 말겠다.
 sinmun+ci-nin pi•q+mul-e ta p^hul•li-ko mal-kess-ta.
 newspaper+paper-(SBJ)SEL rain•BUF+water-LOC CMPL get.dissolved[«undo•INACT»]-PF.SQ end.up-ASMP-FML/ASRT-DCL
 'The newspapers are going to get all messed up by the rain water.'
- c. (...) 우수, 경칩에 이르러 땅이 빗물에 풀리고
 usu, kyŏngch'ip-e ilil-ə ttarj-i^o pi•q+mul-e p^hul•li-ko
 Usu, Kyŏngch'ip-ALL reach-FIN/CNSC soil-SBJ^o rain•BUF+water-LOC/FRC get.undone[«undo•FACT»]-PF.SQ
 봄기운에 땅이 열려 봄이 약동할 때까지
 pom+kiun-e ttarj-i yəl•lyə pom-i yaktoŋ.ha-l tte-kkaci (...)
 spring+energy-LOC/FRC soil-SBJ open[«open(FACT)•INACT»]-FIN/CNSC spring-SBJ throb-PSP.AT time-TERM
 'until we would get to Usu (≈ 13 Feb) and Kyŏngch'ip (≈ 5 Mar), and until the soil would be thawed by the rain water and get opened by spring's life forces and spring would be in full swing ...' (=Wb)
- d. 한국에서는 날씨가 남쪽 열대 기후 영향으로 풀린다.
 hankuk-esə-nin nalssi-ka nam+ccok yəlte kihu yŏnghyaŋ-ilo p^hul•li-n-ta.
 Korea-SET-SEL weather-SBJ south+side tropics climate influence-INST/CS get.undone-DYN-FML-DCL
 'In Korea, the weather breaks under the influence of the tropical climate towards the South.'

Here, the first sentence is an instance of another secondary usage in which *p^hul•li.ta* (and the ACTIVE *p^hul.ta*) are used to refer to <problem solving>. The other three belong to the same instance clusters as our earlier examples.

The first thing to note here is that instances of *p^hul•li.ta* with such agent-phrase-like constituents are relatively infrequent. And, as have already emphasised throughout this thesis, the use of the phrasal marker *e iyhε* is of course limited to more Literary registers. Be that as it may, these sentences are significant in two respects. On the one hand, the last two examples 108c-d show that the WEATHER-BREAKING usage is not necessarily as SPONTANEOUS as it is generally made out to be and can easily be associated with more passive-like INVERSE instances. On the other hand, even in these passive-like uses, only the first sentence 108a has a less-than anomalous ACTIVE alternate in the sense of the Standard Voice Model:

- (109)a. 막스 플랑크가 이 수수께끼를 1900년에 풀었다.
 maksi p^hillanjk^{hi}-ka i susukkekki-lil 1900+nyən-e p^hul-əss-ta.
 Max Planck-SBJ this riddle-ACC 1900+year-LOC solve-PF/AOR-FML-DCL
 'Max Planck solved this riddle in 1900.'
- b. * 빗물이 신문을 풀고 말겠다.
 Pi•q+mul-i sinmun+ci-lil p^hul-ko mal-kess-ta.
 rain•BUF+water-SBJ newspaper+paper-ACC dissolve-PF.SQ end.up-ASMP-FML/ASRT-DCL
 For: 'The rain dissolved the newspaper.'
- c. ?? ... 빗물이 땅을 풀어 봄이 약동할 때까지 ...
 pi•q+mul-i ttarj-il p^hul-ə pom-i yaktoŋ.ha-l tte-kkaci ...
 rain•BUF+water-SBJ soil-ACC undo•FACT-FIN/CNSC spring-SBJ throb-PSP.AT time-TERM
 For: 'until the rain would thaw the soil and spring would be in full swing'
- d. * 한국에서는 남쪽 열대 기후 영향이 날씨를 푼다.
 hankuk-esə-nin nam+ccok yəlte kihu yŏnghyaŋ-i nalssi-lil p^hu-n-ta.
 Korea-SET-SEL south+side tropics climate influence-SBJ weather-ACC get.undone-DYN-FML-DCL
 For: 'In Korea, the tropical climate from the south breaks the weather.'

Again, of course, the anomaly of the ACTIVE sentences here is simply due to the agency constraints on the TRANSACTIVE AGENT SUBJECT. Note that this applies irrespective of whether we are dealing with instances that are close to the verb's referential-semantic core or with more idiomatic meanings.

The evidence I have presented so far, of course, pertains only to a single verb alternation, and would ideally have to be replicated for a sufficient number of cases. Unfortunately this will not be possible here in this thesis. I believe, however, that we would essentially see a similar picture for most of the supposedly idiosyncratic 'lexicalised' paradigm-independent uses. Before we turn to the Synthetic Activative pattern, however, it is worth considering one more verb alternation. This is the alternation *kəl.ta* ~ *kəl.li.ta* that already featured in the previous subsection (§4.2.1), an alternation that shows both similar and different properties compared to the alternation *pʰul.ta* ~ *pʰul.li.ta*. Thus, on the one hand, it exhibits a similarly systematic and widespread incidence of non-alternating usage of the voice-marked alternate. On the other hand, even more so than there, this non-alternating usage is immediately related to the verb's semantic core, which can be roughly captured in the following:

Core, physically concrete referential-semantic spectrum of *kəl.ta* ~ *kəl.li.ta*

CONTACT CONFIGURATION: 'hang' ~ 'get hung, end up hanging'

Again, the paradigm-independent metaphorical instance of the voice-marked *kəl.li.ta* in the previous subsection belongs to a whole cluster of instances that are more closely related to the verb's semantic core:

- (110) a. 아버지가 암에 걸렸대.
 apəci-ka ame-e kəl.ly-əss-tə.
 father-SBJ cancer-LOC get.hung/caught[«hang(FACT)•INACT]-PF-DCL.RPT:FIN
 'Father has got cancer.' (=94b, ◇LgEx)
- b. 김 씨가 음주 운전 단속에 걸렸대.
 kim ssi-ka imcu uncən tansok-e kəl.ly-əss-tə.
 Kim-TITLE-SBJ drinking driving control-LOC get.hung/caught[«hang(FACT)•INACT]-PF-DCL.RPT:FIN
 'Kim got caught in a drink-drive control.'
- c. 대통령이 마침내 탈출구를 찾기 어려운 덫에 걸렸다.
 tətʰonjyən-i mach'imne tʰal+cʰulku-lil cʰac-ki əlyəu-in təcʰ-e kəl.ly-əss-ta.
 president-SBJ in.the.end escape+exit-ACC find-GER difficult-PF.AT trap-LOC get.caught[«hang•INACT]-PF/AOR-DCL
 'The president finally found himself caught in a near inescapable trap.' (<Cp)

While still metaphorical uses, these are further connected to the following instances that all refer to concrete physical situations:

- (111)a. 석화가 (발이) 뿌리에 걸려서 넘어졌어.
 sək^ho-ka (pal-i) ppuli-e kəl•ly-əsə nəmacy-əss-ə.
 Səkho-SBJ (foot-SBJ) root-LOC get.hung/caught[«hang•INACT»]-CS.SQ fall.over-PF/AOR-FIN
 'Sokho caught his foot in a root and fell over.'
- b. 나뭇잎이 하수구에 걸려서 물이 안 빠져.
 namu•q+ip^h-i hasuku-e kəl•ly-əsə mul-i an ppacy-ə.
 tree•BUF+leaf-SBJ drain-LOC get.hung/caught[«hang•INACT»]-CS.SQ water-SBJ NEG fall.in-FIN
 'Leaves got caught on/by the drain (grill), so the water isn't running off.'
- c. 연이 나뭇가지에 걸려서 찢어졌어.
 yən-i namu•q+kaci-e kəl•ly-əsə ccicacy-əss-ə.
 kite-SBJ tree•BUF+branch-LOC get.hung/caught[«hang•INACT»]-CS.SQ get.torn-PF/AOR-FIN
 'The kite got caught in a tree (branch) and tore.'

Here, the first sentence is a concrete physical counterpart of the previous metaphorical examples. The other two sentences, however, come even closer to the verb's core meaning: they refer to situations where something ends up hanging in or on something. Thus, provided that the object is still hanging there at the reference time, these two sentences could alternate with the following sentence that have the verb *kəl•li.ta* in one of its most frequent uses, based on the Stative pattern $\alpha_{V/SI-A/a}$ *iss.ta* :

- (112)a. 하수구에 나뭇잎이 걸려 있어.
 hasuku-e namu•q+ip^h-i kəl•ly-ə iss-ə.
 drain-LOC tree•BUF+leaf-SBJ get.hung/caught[«hang•INACT»]-RES/STV.CNT_{IV}-FIN
 'There are leaves hanging/stuck in the drain.'
- b. 연이 나뭇가지에 걸려 있어.
 yən-i namu•q+kaci-e kəl•ly-ə iss-ə.
 kite-SBJ tree•BUF+branch-LOC get.hung/caught[«hang•INACT»]-RES/STV.CNT_{IV}-FIN
 'The kite is hanging/stuck in the tree.'

What is more, if we compare the two sentences, there is little difference between the experiential features of their referent situations, but the first (112a) seems to have no active alternate, whereas the second (112b) has a conceivable alternate with the corresponding unmarked ACTIVE verb *kəl.ta*:

- (113)a. ^ø내가^ø 연을 나뭇가지에 걸었어.
^øNe-ka^ø yən-il namu•q+kaci-e kəl-əss-ə.
^øI-SBJ^ø kite-ACC tree•BUF+branch-LOC hang.FACT-PF/AOR-FIN
 'I hung the kite onto a tree branch (deliberately).'
- b. 연이 나뭇가지에 걸렸어.
 yən-i namu-s+kaci-e kəl•ly-əss-ə.
 kite-SBJ tree•BUF+branch-LOC get.hung/caught-FIN-PF
 'The kite got caught in a tree.'

Again, however, this sentence alternation conforms at most to the notion of 'inchoative ~ factitive/causative' alternation. Thus, at least some referent situations can be expressed by both alternates. On the other hand, there is not that much overlap between

the referential spectrum of the two sentences: the transactive sentence mainly refers to deliberate manipulative actions, whereas the inactive sentence mainly refers to a spontaneous process (see Yi Ki-dong 1976, although there stated in semantic terms). The possibility of the ACTIVE alternate then depends only on whether it has any plausible referent. And in fact, if we were to perceive a situation in which a person bothered to deliberately hang leaves onto the drain grill, we could express this situation by the following (apparently) impossible ACTIVE sentence:

- (114) (미친 놈이) 나뭇잎을 하수구에 걸었어.
 (Mich'in nom-i) namu-q+ip^h-il hasuku-e kəl-əss-ə.
 (mad person.PEJ-SBJ) tree-BUF+leaf-ACC drain-LOC hang.FACT-PF/AOR-FIN
 'Some madman has hung leaves onto the (grill of the) drain.'

The situation, then, is little different from that observed for the Deactivative verb *p^hul.li.ta*: the voice-marked verb *kəl.li.ta* is in the majority of uses simply the inchoative-like counterpart of the unmarked FACTITIVE verb *kəl.ta*. Whether an instance of the voice-marked *kəl.li.ta* has an alternate with the unmarked 'active' *kəl.ta* depends not on how idiosyncratic, metaphorical or secondary this use is, but simply on whether its referent features the presence of an entity that sufficiently resembles a typical agent or not.

The observations made here, I believe, can be duplicated for most if not all exemplars of the Deactivative paradigm, although the actual frequency and distribution of non-alternating instances differs for each verb alternation. What is important here, however, are two facts. The first is that non-alternating and paradigm-independent uses are highly frequent for the majority of Deactivative alternations. Secondly, they are not idiosyncratic, but a systematic phenomenon that is conditioned directly by the experiential features of the utterance-specific referent situation.

4.3 Conclusion

In my earlier discussion of how voice and diathesis have been approached both in general and in relation to Korean, I argued that interpersonal situations and their linguistic expression have provided the primary basis for both the Standard Voice Model and its application to Korean (see §2.1-2.2). Further, the expression of interpersonal

situations of the <agent targets and affects patient> type is indeed strongly associated with the Synthetic voice paradigms of the Primary Verb class (see §2.2.2, 4.1.1-[1] and 4.1.4). In other words, the situation type that has been central to the Standard Voice Model is strongly associated with the most synthesised Korean voice paradigm in the systemically most basic and central Korean verb class. And indeed, it would seem that this is the main reason why the Synthetic voice paradigms have come to be regarded as the primary Korean manifestation of verbal voice.

As we have seen throughout this chapter, however, the Synthetic Deactivative paradigm is certainly not limited to the interpersonal spectrum. Nevertheless, even among its other uses we still find many instances that conform closely enough to the Standard Voice Model's category of passive alternation. These can and have been treated as evidence that Korean has a straightforward active-passive-causative system. As we have just seen, however, across what is surely the largest part of its usage spectrum, the Deactivative paradigm diverges significantly from the Standard Voice Model's 'active ~ passive' alternation, as well as from its established segmentation of the inactive continuum into 'inchoative/anticausative' and 'passive/inverse' categories.

Before we move on, however, it is worth recapitulating the main observations we made in relation to the Deactivative patterns and their usage:

- (1) Outside of the interpersonal spectrum, the usage of Deactivative verbs is indeed subject to animacy-related effects and constraints in diathesis selection: Relative Animacy Constraints that apply to situations with a lone animate agent or patient participant and generally led to the choice of either TRANSACTIVE or INVERSE diathesis, depending on which would put the agent or patient into the Subject slot. And they include Absolute Agency Constraints that led to dispreference against the TRANSACTIVE construction for referents that do not significantly resemble the typical animate, agentive and manipulating agent.
- (2) In the previous chapter, we investigated the Korean variety of agent-phrase-like patterns and saw how this is motivated in a fine-grained perceptual differentiation along the agentivity-causality dimension that strongly correlates with the Animacy and Agency effects in diathesis selection. The usage investigation of the Deactivative verbs and paradigms in this chapter strongly confirmed our initial conclusions.

- (3) The majority of Deactivative verbs and their instances conform most closely to the Standard Voice Model's 'inchoative/anticausative' category, although most also have 'inverse/passive'-like uses.
- (4) The fact that some Deactivative verbs strongly imply the presence of an agent in the referent situation is not a function of voice-marking, but depends on the degree to which each verb and alternation is experientially associated with agent causation.
- (5) The fact that many Deactivative verbs show paradigm-independent uses that do not seem to exist for their unmarked ACTIVE alternates is not a matter of lexical idiosyncrasy but due to their general inchoative-passive ambivalence.

In addition to these general 'behavioural' facts, the Synthetic voice patterns are also characterised by a severely limited lexical spread and an extreme lack of productivity, both of which make them even less typical voice-marking patterns in the sense of the Standard Voice Model. At the same time, however, this does certainly not mean that the rest of the Korean verb system shows no structural differentiation in the situation-dynamic dimension. On the contrary, as we have seen, the verb-structural differentiation along the Voice Continuum is in fact a pervasive feature of the Korean system, although the proliferation of different verb structural patterns and paradigms poses a serious challenge to the application of the Standard Voice Model.

In the following chapter, we shall end the investigations in this thesis by turning to one of the other core voice-marking patterns in the Korean verbal system: the Serial Inchoative pattern $\alpha_{VSR-a}/\partial ci.ta$ that is widely spread across the Primary and Phonosemantic verb classes, particularly but not only in the lexical gaps left by the limited lexical spread of the Deactivative pattern (see §4.1.1). A proper understanding of the role this pattern plays in the Korean situation-dynamic system is essential for several reasons. The first is that it is the dominant INACTIVE voice-marking pattern in a number of verb groups that are all strongly associated with high agentivity and transitivity but are missing from the lexical spread of the Deactivative pattern (see §4.1.1-[5]). Since the pertinent INACTIVE verbs frequently appear in strongly passive-like instantiations, the Koreanist Consensus holds that the $\alpha_{VSR-a}/\partial ci.ta$ pattern in these exemplars is an alternative 'analytic passive' pattern that fills the lexical gaps left by the limited spread of the 'morphological passive' Deactivative pattern.

If, on the other hand, we look at the entire lexical spread of the $\alpha_{VSr-a}/\partial ci.ta$ pattern, it is obvious that 'passive-marking' can at most be secondary function, and its primary and dominant function corresponds to the cross-linguistic category of an inchoative state-change marker. In the context of this thesis, of course, this by itself already makes it an obvious manifestation of the way in which the Korean system conflates the Standard Voice Model's inchoative and passive categories.

Lastly, the $\alpha_{VSr-a}/\partial ci.ta$ pattern presents us with an extreme variety of highly productive, lexicalised and synchronically fossilised exemplars that are difficult to reconcile with the Standard Voice Model's notion of voice-marking as a regular inflection-like phenomenon, but would be far less surprising for an inchoative/anticausative pattern. And indeed, as we will see, all of the observations we have just made about the 'morphological passive' Deactivative pattern can be replicated for the Serial Inchoative pattern $\alpha_{VSr-a}/\partial ci.ta$.

Conformity and divergence: The Serial Inchoative and Factitive patterns and the 'analytic passive'

5.1 The Serial Inchoative pattern: Across the 'inchoative' to the 'passive'

5.1.1 Overview and treatment in the literature

The $\alpha_{VSR-a}/\text{aci.ta}$ pattern is probably the single most widespread and productive situation-dynamic marking pattern in Korean, and can potentially combine with almost any verb stem. As I have already emphasised, however, this obviously means that it does not always correspond to the notion of a passive voice-marking pattern. The exemplars of the $\alpha_{VSR-a}/\text{aci.ta}$ pattern can be roughly divided into four main groups according to the semantic and syntagmatic characteristics of their corresponding unmarked counterparts. The first group consists of verbs with a STATIVE verb stem core. Here, the verb-like element *ci.ta* contributes typical STATE CHANGE meaning:

(1) STATE		INCHOATIVE (STATE CHANGE)
a. 높다 nop ^h .ta 'be high'	~	높아지다 nop ^h -aci.ta 'get high/higher'
b. 밝다 palk.ta 'be bright'	~	밝아지다 palk-aci.ta 'get bright'
c. 춥다 c ^h up.ta [=c ^h uw̃.ta] 'be cold'	~	추워지다 c ^h uw-aci.ta 'get cold/colder'
d. 슬프다 silp ^h .i.ta 'be sad'	~	슬퍼지다 silp ^h -aci.ta 'get sad'

The $\alpha_{VSR-a}/\text{aci.ta}$ pattern in this group is highly productive and frequent and the verb alternation easily conforms to the 'stative ~ inchoative' alternation category.

The second, closely related group consists of verbs with a core that corresponds to an already PROGRESSIVE, that is DYNAMIC INACTIVE verb stem. Here $\alpha_{VSR-a}/\partial ci.ta$ again contributes STATE CHANGE meaning and seems to emphasise the <change> or <spontaneity> features of the referent situation. The pertinent use is fairly widespread and open to productive new-formation, but at the same time not too frequent and limited to Colloquial registers. To some extent at least this appears to be due to strong prescriptive control. The following are some representative exemplars, all of which are attested in real usage:

(2) PROGRESSIVE		INCHOATIVE (SPONTANEOUS CHANGE)
a. 옮다 olm.ta 'move to other location'	~	움아지다 olm-aci.ta 'end up in other location'
b. 붙다 put ^h .ta 'get stuck/attached to sth'	~	붙어지다 put ^h -aci.ta 'end up sticking to sth'
c. 줄다 cul.ta 'shrink, decrease'	~	줄어지다 cul-aci.ta 'shrink, decrease'

As in the previous group, $\alpha_{VSR-a}/\partial ci.ta$ here seems to function as a straightforward if sometimes rather redundant INCHOATIVE marker.

The third group consists of verbs that are paradigmatically related to what would appear to be intransitive ACTIVE verbs. Since, however, Korean is characterised by a strong preference for the use of the TRANSACTIVE construction for all but a few IDLE ACTIVITY verbs (f.ex. *no!-ta* 'play' or *swi-ta* 'rest'), the pertinent active-like verbs come mainly from agentivity-neutral MOTION and PHYSIOLOGICAL EVENT groups. The resultant $\alpha_{VSR-a}/\partial ci.ta$ verbs are again rather infrequent and mainly used in SPONTANEOUS or POTENTIAL meaning. The following are some examples attested in real usage:

(3) MOTIVE/PHYSIOLOGICAL		SPONTANEOUS/POTENTIAL
a. 가다 ka.ta 'go'	~	가지다 ka-ci.ta 'end up going, manage to go'
b. 살다 sal.ta 'live'	~	살아지다 sal-aci.ta 'manage to live'
c. 웃다 us.ta 'laugh'	~	웃어지다 us-aci.ta 'end up laughing, manage to laugh'

(4) IDLE ACTIVITY		INCHOATIVE (SPONTANEOUS CHANGE)
a. 놀다 nol.ta 'play, have fun'	~	놀아지다 nol-aci.ta 'get to play, manage to play'
b. 쉬다 swi.ta 'rest'	~	쉬어지다 swi-aci.ta 'get some rest, manage to rest'

Here again, the $\alpha_{VSR-a}/\partial ci.ta$ pattern seems to function as an INCHOATIVE marker that expresses spontaneity and lack of agentivity or control. In this case, however, their alternation with the unmarked 'active' verb can be related to the 'agent defocusing' function of passive patterns in other languages. The same goes for the expression of potentiality, which has also been identified as a common if secondary function of the passive patterns in other languages (see for the cross-linguistic evidence of passive-spontaneous-potential correlations Shibatani 1985 and for the application of his 'agent defocusing' approach to the Korean verbs represented in 3-4 Jaehoon Yeon 2003: §5.3.2).

The fourth group are $\alpha_{VSR-a}/\partial ci.ta$ verbs with TRANSACTIVE alternates. Here, the Serial Inchoative pattern occurs again widely, productively and frequently. The result are verb alternations that share a large number of syntagmatic and semantic properties with the Synthetic Deactivative paradigm, an impression that is further reinforced by the ease with which the $\alpha_{VSR-a}/\partial ci.ta$ pattern seems to fill the gaps left by the Deactivative patterns limited spread.

In fact, however, the similarity to the Deactivative pattern includes the fact that many of these $\alpha_{VSR-a}/\partial ci.ta$ verbs do not necessarily imply the presence of an agent or other specific cause locus. The following are some prominent exemplars, both of the 'gap-filling' and the competing type:

Basic TRANSACTIVE		Serial INCHOATIVE	Deactivative
(5)a. 깨다 kke.ta 'break'	~	깨지다 kke.ci.ta 'get broken'	([†] kke•HI.ta)
b. 까다 kka.ta 'crack, peel'	~	까지다 kka.ci.ta 'get cracked/peeled'	([†] kka•HI.ta)
c. 끄다 kki.ta 'extinguish'	~	꺼지다 kk.ci.ta 'get extinguished'	([†] kki•HI.ta)
(6)a. 풀다 phul.ta 'undo, resolve'	~	풀어지다 phul.aci.ta 'get undone/resolved'	폴리다 phul.li.ta

b. 끊다 kkinh.ta 'cut through'	~	끊어지다 kkinh•əci.ta 'get cut through'	끊기다 kkinh•ki.ta
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But, on the other hand, there are indeed some alternations where the $\alpha_{VSR-a/ci.ta}$ verb does seem to semantically retain the AGENT component of its ACTIVE alternate. The following are some prominent exemplars, again of both of the 'gap-filling' and the competing type:

Basic TRANSACTIVE		Serial INCHOATIVE	
(7)a. 만들다 mantil.ta 'make'	~	만들어지다 mantil-əci.ta 'get made'	
b. 버리다 pəli.ta 'throw away'	~	버려지다 pəly-əci.ta 'get thrown away'	
c. 밝히다 palk ^{hi} .ta 'make bright, reveal'	~	밝혀지다 palk ^{hy} -əci.ta 'get revealed'	
(8)a. 막다 mak.ta 'block'	~	막히지다 m ^{hi} mak-əci.ta 'get blocked'	
b. 보다 po.ta 'see, look at'	~	보이지다 pv ^{hi} pw-əci.ta 'get seen, get looked at'	

In such alternations, $\alpha_{VSR-a/ci.ta}$ finally looks very much like a passive marker.

In the literature, the verb-like functor *ci.ta* is often approached as a polysemous and multi-functional auxiliary, with a clear analytic separation between 'inchoative' and 'passive' functions. Thus, although the connection between these two functions seems generally accepted, only those $\alpha_{VSR-a/ci.ta}$ verbs that can be algorithmically derived from a semantically ACTIVE verb are generally accepted as belonging into the Korean voice system. The term 'analytic passive' is of course motivated in the desire to express the difference to the more synthetic and unproductive 'morphological passive', although it is somewhat misleading in that the products of the $\alpha_{VSR-a/ci.ta}$ pattern constitute what is for all purposes a single word-stem-like element⁷³.

Even then, however, the passive analysis is not uniformly applied, but differs according to theoretical approach, author and the specific verb alternation type. Thus,

⁷³ The terminology here is more unified than that for the synthetic paradigms. Thus, in English they are usually termed 'analytic passive', although 'syntactic passive' has also been used, particularly in Generative approaches. In Korean, on the other hand, most authors use the term 'syntactic passive (통사적 피동)' (see Kim Hung-su 1993: 624, 631).

there seems to be an unspoken agreement to exclude the first and second group with semantically INACTIVE verb stem cores (1-2). And the third group with intransitive ACTIVE verb stem cores (3-4) is also rarely dealt with in voice accounts, although some authors do include them as somewhat peripheral cases of the ‘analytic passive’ (see f.ex. Ch’oe Hyön-bae 1937/61: 432-3/§252; Jaehoon Yeon 2003: 112-4). The fourth group with TRANSACTIVE verb stem cores, on the other hand, is widely viewed as an ‘analytic passive’ in the sense of the Standard Voice Model (see f.ex. Ch’oe Hyön-bae 1937/61: 431-4/§252; Yi Ki-dong 1978; Chang Suk-Jin 1996: 112-4; Ho-min Sohn 1999: 372-3; Jaehoon Yeon 2003: §5). On the other hand, to make matters even more complicated, some authors completely exclude the $\alpha_{VSR-a/ci.ta}$ pattern from the Korean voice system and give even its most passive-like uses no more than the status of ‘passive-like expressions’ (see esp. Im Hong-bin 1978; Sö Chöng-su 1996: 1077-84/§18.12-13)⁷⁴. No matter whether they prefer the ‘passive’ or the ‘passive-like’ analysis, most accounts of Korean voice tend to ignore all those $\alpha_{VSR-a/ci.ta}$ verbs that seem to have relatively strong SPONTANEOUS semantics, including those in 5-6. Judging from the way they are classified as ‘intransitive (자동사)’ in dictionaries, this presumably means that they are viewed as lexicalised intransitives, although it is hard to find explicit or principled justifications for this practice. Ultimately then, the analysis of the $\alpha_{VSR-a/ci.ta}$ pattern as an ‘analytic passive’ marker remains largely limited to those exemplars that seem to have strong AGENT-CAUSED semantics, as those in 7-8.

In line with the Sign Unity Principle, the position that I take in this thesis is simple: barring evidence to the contrary the $\alpha_{VSR-a/ci.ta}$ should be treated as a single sign with a polysemous but interrelated functional spectrum. And, since this spectrum is centred on the SPONTANEOUS STATE CHANGE spectrum, I shall refer to this pattern as the Serial Inchoative pattern.

⁷⁴ In fact, the waters are even more muddled by the fact that different authors have different notions of the Korean-specific ‘passive’ category itself. Certainly in the early Kugohak tradition, the expression of SPONTANEOUS semantics is seen as an integral, although secondary function of the Korean ‘passive’ (see Ch’oi Hyon-bae 1937/71: 422-3/§248). In its most extreme form, this wide notion of the Korean ‘passive’ has led some authors to analyse even inchoative-like verbs such as *nop^h-a-ci.ta* ‘is.high-FIN-INCH’ as ‘inchoative passive (기동격 피동)’, ‘pseudo-passive’ (의사 피동) and the like (see the summary in Kim Hung-su 1993: 639-40). Against this background, the insistence on a clear distinction between the ‘passive’ and ‘inchoative’ can also be understood as a reaction against such methodological opportunism.

5.1.2 Serial Inchoative verbs with STATIVE verb stem cores

We shall begin the discussion in this chapter with the first group identified in the previous subsection, consisting of $\alpha_{VSR-a}/\alpha ci.ta$ verbs with a STATIVE verb stem core. The following are some typical examples of the attendant STATIVE ~ INCHOATIVE alternations. As indicated in the gloss, the appearance of the $\alpha_{VSR-a}/\alpha ci.ta$ pattern is in this case so widespread and productive that it can justifiably be viewed as a regular morpho-syntactic pattern:

- (9)a. 나무가 엄청 높네!
 namu-ka əmchəŋ nop^h-ne!
 tree-SBJ enormously high-MIR
 'Wow, the trees (here) are really high!'
- b. 나무가 엄청 높아졌네!
 namu-ka əmchəŋ nop^h-acy-əss-ne!
 tree-SBJ enormously high-INCH-PF-MIR
 'Wow, the trees here have grown really high!'
- (10)a. 모래가 뜨겁다.
 mole-ka ttikəp-ta.
 sand-SBJ hot-FML.DCL
 'The sand is hot.'
- b. 모래가 뜨거워졌다.
 mole-ka ttikəw-əcy-əss-ta.
 sand-SBJ hot-INCH-DYN-FML.DCL
 'The sand has become hot.'
- (11)a. 요즘 강물이 꽤 깨끗해
 yocim kaŋ+mul-i kkwɛ kkɛkkis.ɬɛ.
 these.days river+water-SBJ quite clean:FIN
 'These days the river is quite clean.'
- b. 요즘 강물이 꽤 깨끗해졌어
 yocim kaŋ+mul-i kkwɛ kkɛkkis.ɬɛ-cy-əss-ə
 these.days river+water-SBJ quite clean.STV-INCH-PF-FIN
 'Recently the river has become quite clean.'
- (12)a. (난) 외국 생활이 편해요.
 (Na-n) wɛkuk sɛŋhwal-i p^hyənɬɛ-yo.
 (I-SEL) foreign.country daily.life-SBJ comfortable:FIN-POL
 'I find life abroad (quite) comfortable.'
- b. (난) 이제 외국 생활이 편해졌어요.
 (Na-n) ince wɛkuk sɛŋhwal-i p^hyənɬɛ-cy-əss-ə-yo
 (I-SEL) by.now foreign.country daily.life-SBJ get.comfortable[«comfortable»INCH]-PF-FIN-POL
 'I've come to find life abroad (quite) comfortable.'
- (13)a. 여자친구한테 채서 너무 슬펐어.
 yəca+c^hinku-hant^hɛ chɛ-sə nəmu silp^h-əss-ə.
 woman+friend-AN.LOC/AGT get.kicked[«kick»INACT]-CS.SQ exceedingly sad-PF/AOR-FIN
 'When I got the boot from my girlfriend I was really sad.'

- b. 여자친구한테 채서 너무 슬퍼졌어.
 yəca+c^hinku-hant^he c^hε-sə nəmu silp^h-əcy-əss-ə.
 woman+friend-AN.LOC/AGT get.kicked[«kick:INACT»]-CS.SQ exceedingly sad-INCH-PF/AOR-FIN
 'When I got the boot from my girlfriend I became really sad.'

The alternations here do, of course, conform closely to the notion of STATIVE ~ INCHOATIVE alternation.

The vast majority of instances from this group of $\alpha_{VSr-a}/aci.ta$ verbs is clearly located in the inchoative spectrum. At the same time, however, these verbs are also frequently used to refer to situations with a causing agent. One clear-cut case in which the presence of an agent is strongly implied is when the situational referent is a type of state change that is almost invariably the result of human action, as in the following instances:

- (14) 옆집 담이 높아졌네!
 yəp+cip tam-i nop^h-acy-əss-nel
 side+house fence/wall-SBJ high-INCH-PF-MIR
 'Look, the wall next door has gone up!'
- (15) 방이 깨끗해졌지.
 paŋ-i kkek^hkishe-cy-əss-ci.
 room-SBJ clean:-INCH-PF-PROP
 'The room has become clean/tidy, no?'
- (16) 나중에 지하철이 생기면 교통이 편해질거예요.
 nacuŋ-e cihac^həl-i sɛŋki-myən kyot^hoŋ-i phyənhe-ci-l_kə-e-yo.
 later-LOC metro-SBJ come.into.being-CND traffic-SBJ comfortable:-INCH-FUT-FIN-POL
 'Later when the metro comes, transport connections will become more convenient.'

In these instances, the $\alpha_{VSr-a}/aci.ta$ verbs clearly refer to and would always be interpreted as referring to events brought about by human agents: walls do not become higher by themselves, rooms do not spontaneously become tidy, the improvement of transport connectivity through new metro lines does not simply materialise out of thin air.

The use of INCHOATIVE verbs in reference to agent-caused events as exemplified in 14-16 is of course not peculiar to Korean, witness the English translation glosses. Be that as it may, since sentences of this type refer to agent-induced events, they naturally alternate with corresponding TRANSACTIVE sentences, based on FACTITIVE verbs:

- (17)a. 옆집 담이 높아졌네.
 yəp+cip tam-i nop^h-acy-əss-ne.
 side+house fence/wall-SBJ high-INCH-PF-MIR
 'Look, the wall next door has gone up!'

- b. 옆집 담을 높였네.
 yəp+ciɸ tam-il nop^hy-əss-ne.
 side+house fence/wall-ACC make.higher/raise[«high»FACT]-PF-MIR
 'Look, they've raised the wall next door!'
- (18)a. 방 깨끗해졌지!?
 paŋ kkekkiɸ.hɛ-cy-əss-ci!
 room(SBJ) clean-INCH-PF-PROP
 'The room has become clean/tidy, no?'
- b. 방 깨끗하게 해 놓았지.
 paŋ kkekkiɸ.ha-ke hɛ noh-ass-ci.
 room(ACC) clean-RES.ADV do/ACT_{IV}/FIN put/PREP-PF-PROP
 'I've got/left the room clean/tidy, no?'
- (19)a. 나중에 지하철이 생기면 교통이 편해질거예요.
 nacuŋ-e cihač^həl-i seŋki-myən kyot^hoŋ-i p^hyən^hɛ-ci-l.kə-e-yo.
 later-LOC metro-SBJ come.into.being-CND traffic-SBJ comfortable-INCH-FUT-FIN-POL
 'Later when the metro comes, transport connections will become more convenient.'
- b. 나중에 지하철을 놓으면 교통을 편해질거예요.
 nacuŋ-e cihač^həl-il noh-imyən kyot^hoŋ-il p^hyən^hha-ke manti-l.kə-e-yo.
 later-LOC metro-ACC put-CND traffic-ACC comfortable-RES.ADV makes/FACT_{IV}-FUT-FIN-POL
 'Later they'll build a metro and make traffic connections more convenient.'

The FACTITIVE verbs here are of course not algorithmically derivable from their INCHOATIVE alternates. Instead, both INCHOATIVE and FACTITIVE verb are equipollently marked with patterns that have the same STATIVE verb stem core. Consequently, the conventional compositional approach to morphology would relate the sentence alternations in 17-19 not to each other, but individually to corresponding STATIVE sentences such as the following:

- (20) 옆집 담이 높네!
 yəp+ciɸ tam-i nop^h-ne.
 side+house fence/wall-SBJ high-MIR
 'Look, the wall next door is high!'
- (21) 방이 깨끗하지!?
 paŋ-i kkekkiɸsha-ci!
 room-SBJ clean-PROP
 'The room is clean, no?'
- (22) ? 나중에 교통이 편할거예요.
 nacuŋ-e kyot^hoŋ-i p^hyən^hha-l.kə-e-yo.
 later-LOC traffic-SBJ comfortable-FUT-FIN-POL
 'Later, transport connections will be more convenient.'

The Korean usage reality, however, is that such STATIVE sentences are not often used in reference to situations with strong <state change> features. That is, the first STATIVE sentence 20 is a natural choice only where the Speaker does not perceive any change in the wall's height, as when she is not aware of how high the wall was previously, or if she assumes that its height has always been the same ever since its construction. On the

other hand, where the Speaker has perceived a change in height, a STATIVE construction is highly unlikely to the point of anomaly. Similarly, the second STATIVE sentence 21 is only likely where the Speaker does not strongly perceive the preceding state change, as when she proudly emphasises her fastidious character, but would be strongly dispreferred if she were pointing out the result of her tidying efforts. And indeed, this 'State Change Expression Preference' is highlighted by the general anomaly of sentences such as 22 that are clearly meant to refer to a future state that is different from the present one.

In fact then, the systemically relevant alternations here are clearly the verb-structurally equipollent INCHOATIVE ~ FACTITIVE pairs in 17-19: Both the INCHOATIVE and FACTITIVE sentences refer to the same agent-induced situations, although of course the INCHOATIVE sentence is generally unspecific as to the identity of the agent, whereas the FACTITIVE sentence is unspecific only if the agent is unexpressed.

As I already emphasised, the option of using INCHOATIVE verbs in reference to agent-induced situations is probably a cross-linguistically universal phenomenon. Most approaches, however, would locate this phenomenon outside the linguistic system and within the realms of pragmatics. Cognitive approaches, on the other hand, would regard it as a matter of conceptual construal that belongs within the language system. Even there, however, any INCHOATIVE construal would be viewed as involving the removal of the agent from the event schema, and therefore as distinct from PASSIVE constructions that 'background' or 'defocus' but still include the AGENT in the event schema (see f.ex. Croft 1990, 1991, 2001: §8).

Certainly, the present alternations have many distributional and semantic properties that make the $\alpha_{PSR}/\alpha_{ci.ta}$ verbs here less-than-typical passives according to the Standard Voice Model. The first of these is, of course, the fact that they have a STATIVE verb stem core, and are thus not directly derivable from the equipollent TRANSACTIVE verb. Secondly, the INCHOATIVE sentences we have looked at would not easily admit any of the common agent-phrase-like patterns, including the *N-e iyhe(sə)* 'being due to' pattern that is often possible where the INVERSE AGENT phrases are blocked:

- (23) * 옆집 담이 새 주인에 의해서 높아졌다.
 yap+cip tam-i se cuin-e iyhesə nop^ha-cy-əss-ta.
 side+house fence/wall-SBJ new owner-being.due.to/AGT high-INCH-PF-FML.DCL
 For: 'The wall next door got raised by the owner.'

- (24) * 방이 나에 의해서 깨끗해졌다.
 paŋ-i na-e iyhesə kkekkišhe-cy-əss-ta.
 room-SBJ I-being.due.to/AGT clean:-INCH-PF-FML.DCL
 For: 'The room got cleaned by me.'
- (25) * 교통이 새 시장에 의해서 편해질거예요.
 kyotʰoŋ-i se sicaŋ-e iyhesə pʰyənhe-ci-l-kə-e-yo.
 traffic-SBJ I-being.due.to/AGT comfortable:-INCH-FUT-FIN-POL
 For: 'Transport connections will be made more convenient by the new mayor.'

Note, however, that even the English passive glosses here are similarly anomalous. While not directly relevant to the Korean system, this does indicate that the anomaly of the Korean sentences may be due to other factors than the verb's structural status.

Finally, where the TRANSACTIVE alternate is based on a Synthetic Activative verb, one could argue that the relevant alternation here is that between the FACTITIVE verb and its properly derived 'analytic passive' counterpart. This even more so since with α_{VST} - $\alpha/ci.ta$ verbs of this type an explicit AGENT element would seem just about possible:

- (26) !? 옆집 담이 새 주인에 의해서 높아졌어요.
 yəp+cip tam-i se cuin-e iyhesə nopʰy-acy-əss-ə-yo.
 side+house fence/wall-SBJ new owner-being.due.to/AGT make.higher/raise[«high•FACT»]-INCH-PF-FIN-POL
 'The wall next door got raised by the new owner.'

On the other hand, however, the INCHOATIVE ~ FACTITIVE alternations in (17-19) do in fact have some properties of the Standard Voice Model's 'passive' alternation. For one, as indicated in the present example (26), an explicit AGENT element tends to be quite anomalous even with more passive-like verbs such as $nopʰy\alpha-ci.ta$ high•FACT-INCH 'gets raised', indicating that the anomaly of the oblique AGENT expressions may also have something to do with the fact that they clearly violate the Relative Animacy Constraints, particularly given the complete lack of animacy in the SUBJECT referent. Secondly, even in reference to agent-induced situations, the simple INCHOATIVE verb is by far the more likely choice:

- (27)a. 옆집 담이 높아졌네!
 yəp+cip tam-i nopʰacy-əss-ne!
 side+house fence/wall-SBJ high-INCH-PF-MIR
 'Look, the wall next door has gone up!' (=14/17)
- b. !? 옆집 담이 높아졌네.
 yəp+cip tam-i nopʰy-acy-əss-ne.
 side+house fence/wall-SBJ make.higher/raise[«high•FACT»]-INCH-PF-MIR
 For: 'Look, the wall next door has been raised!' (cf 26)

The more passive-like $nopʰy\alpha-ci.ta$, on the other hand, would be the normal choice only where the referent situation is perceived as a potential or unexpected achievement:

(28)a. 이런 담이 쉽게 높아진다.
 ilən tam-i swip-ke nop^h•y-əci-n-ta.
 like.this-PF.AT fence/wall-SBJ easy-RES.ADV make.higher/raise[«high•FACT»]-INCH-DYN-FML.DCL
 'This kind of wall can easily be raised.'

b. 담이 하루만에 높아졌다.
 tam-i halu-man-e nop^h•y-əcy-əss-ta.
 fence/wall-SBJ one.day-XCL-LOC make.higher/raise[«high•FACT»]-INCH-PF-FML.DCL
 'The wall got raised within a day.'

The fact that the supposedly 'passive' *nop^h•y-əci.ta* would be largely limited to this specific OBJECT-IMMANENT POTENTIAL usage is indeed consistent with the anomaly of the cooccurring AGENT expression *se cuin-e-iyhesə* 'due to the new owner' in 26. This is because the main factor that conditions its choice is precisely the Speaker's perception that the event is enabled because of some inherent feature of the SUBJECT referent, meaning that the agent is perceptually backgrounded.

Thirdly, where the only possible TRANSACTIVE alternate is based on a verb of the Analytic Causative α_{VSR-ke} *ha.ta* -type patterns, there simply is no alternative to using the STATIC core type α_{VSR-a} /*əci.ta* verb:

(29)a. 방이 깨끗해졌지!?
 * 깨끗하게 해졌지!?
 Paŋ-i kkekkiſhe-cy-əss-ci!?
 * kkekkiſ.ha-ke he-cy-əss-ci!?
 room-SBJ clean:-INCH-PF-FML.DCL
 * clean(STV)-RES.ADV do/ACT_{TV}-INCH-PF-PROP
 For: 'The room has been cleaned/tidied nicely, no?'

b. 나중에 교통이 편해질거예요.
 * 편하게 만들어질거예요.
 Nač^huŋ-e kyot^hoŋ-i p^hyənhe-ci-l_kə-e-yo.
 * p^hyənha-ke mantil-əci-l_kə-e-yo.
 later-LOC traffic-SBJ comfortable-INCH-FUT-FIN-POL
 * comfortable-RES.ADV makes/FACT_{TV}-INCH-FUT-FIN-POL
 For: 'Later the transport connections will be made more convenient.'

As these examples show, the Analytic Causative patterns simply cannot appear in the core slot of the α_{VSR-a} /*əci.ta* pattern, making the simple INCHOATIVE verbs the only choice for an INACTIVE alternate.

So far then, setting aside the fact their structural status is not that expected for the Standard Voice Model's passive category, the α_{VSR-a} /*əci.ta* instances here actually have most of the distributional and semantic properties of the passive. The only less typical property is the apparent inadmissibility of an agent-phrase-like constituent. In other words, they behave like 'agentless passives' that imply the presence of an agent, but do not allow its explicit expression.

At first sight, the conclusions here may seem rather adventurous, to say the least. And, of course, the $\alpha_{VSR-a/ci.ta}$ verbs in the STATIC verb stem group do indeed primarily belong into the cross-linguistic inchoative spectrum. There is, however, further evidence of passive-like behaviour. For a start, many of these verbs can also occur in the passive-like FORCE and CAUSE INVERSE constructions. Witness the following instances that show the expected argument correspondences to a conceivable if perhaps less likely TRANSACTIVE alternate, again of course based on a structurally marked FACTITIVE predicate:

- (30) a. 모래가 햇볕에 뜨거워졌다.
 mole-ka he+q+pyeth-e ttikaw-acy-ess-ta.
 sand-SBJ sun+BUF+shine-LOC/FRC hot-INCH-PF-FML.DCL
 'The sand has been turned really hot by the sun.'
- b. !? 햇볕이 모래를 뜨겁게 만들었다.
 he+q+pyeth-i mole-lil ttikap-ke mantil-ess-ta.
 sun+BUF+shine-SBJ sand-ACC hot-RES.ADV makes/FACT_{IV}-PF-FML.DCL
 'The sun has made the sand really hot.'
- (31) a. 방바닥이 온돌 고래에서 흐르는 열로 따뜻해진다.
 pan+patak-i ontol kole-esə hili-nin yel-lo ttattis.he-ci-n-ta.
 room+floor-SBJ floor.heating flue-SET flow-DYN.AT heat-INST/CS warm-INCH-DYN-FML.DCL
 'The floor gets warmed up by the heat that circulates in the flues of the floor heating system.'
- b. !! 온돌 고래에서 흐르는 열이 방바닥을 따뜻하게 만든다.
 ontol kole-esə hili-nin yel-i pan+patak-il ttattis.ha-ke manti-n-ta.
 floor.heating flue-SET flow-DYN.AT heat-SBJ room+floor-ACC warm-RES.ADV makes/FACT_{IV}-DYN-FML.DCL
 'The heat that circulates in the flues of the floor heating warm up the floor.'
- (32) a. (...) 기계화로 농사짓기 편해졌다고는 하지만 (...)
 kikyehwa-lo nonjsa+ciq-ki(-ka) phyənhe-cy-ess-ta-ko-nin ha-ciman
 mechanisation-INST/CS agriculture+build-GER(-SBJ) comfortable-INCH-PF-DCL-QOT-SEL do/say-ADVS.CJ
 Lit: 'Because of mechanisation agricultural work has become comfortable, they say ...'
 // Eqv: 'Mechanisation has made agricultural work easy, they say ...' (<Cp)
- b. !! 기계화가 농사짓기를 편하게 만들었다고는 하지만 ...
 kikyehwa-ka nonjsa+ciq-ki-lil phyənha-ke mantil-ess-ta-ko-nin ha-ciman
 sun+shine-SBJ agriculture+build-GER-ACC comfortable-RES.ADV makes/FACT_{IV}-QOT-SEL do/say-ADVS.CJ
 'Mechanisation has made agricultural work easy, they say ...'
- (33) a. 친구가 죽었다는 소식에 너무 슬퍼졌지.
 c^hinku-ka cuk-ess-ta-nin sosik-e nəmu silp^h-acy-ess-ci.
 friend-SBJ die-PF-DCL.RPT news-LOC/FRC exceedingly sad-INCH-PF/AOR-PROP
 'I was deeply saddened by the news that my friend had died.'
- b. !? 친구가 죽었다는 소식이 나를 너무 슬프게 만들었지.
 c^hinku-ka cuk-ess-ta-nin sosik-i na-lil nəmu silp^h-ke mantil-ess-ci.
 friend-SBJ die-PF-DCL.RPT news-SBJ I-ACC exceedingly sad-RES.ADV makes/FACT_{IV}-PF/AOR-PROP
 'The news that my friend had died deeply saddened me.'

Again, of course, the structural relationship between INACTIVE and TRANSACTIVE verb is not that expected of a 'passive' alternation along the lines of the Standard Voice Model.

On the other hand, however, these sentence pairs are clearly instances of the same TRANSACTIVE ~ INVERSE diathesis alternations that occur in the passive-like instances of the Deactivative alternation (see esp. §3.2 and 4.1.2).

The $\alpha_{VSR}/\alpha_{ci.ta}$ verbs in the STATIVE ~ INCHOATIVE group also occur with agent-phrase-like elements of the verb-phrasal *N-e iyhe(sə)*, both in reference to inanimate causes and agents. The following are examples where the agent-phrase-like element relates to a corresponding TRANSACTIVE SUBJECT:

- (34)a. 은행의 업무도 온라인 시스템 등에 의해 아주 편리해졌다.
 inhɛŋ-iy əpmu-to onlain sisit^hem tiŋ-e iyhe acu p^hyənli.hɛ-cy-əss-ta.
 bank-AT business-(SBJ)INCL online system etc-due.to/by very convenient:-INCH-PF-FML,DCL
 'Banking has been made much more convenient by online systems.' (=Cp)
- b. !! 온라인 시스템 등이 은행의 업무를 아주 편리하게 만들었다.
 onlain sisit^hem tiŋ-i inhɛŋ-iy əpmu-lil acu p^hyənli.ha-ke mantil-əss-ta.
 online system etc-SBJ bank-AT business-ACC very convenient-RES,ADV makes/FACT_{PF}-PF-FML,DCL
 'Online systems have made banking much more convenient.'
- (35)a. 집에 오면 바로 보일러에 의해서 따뜻해지고,
 cip-e o-myən palo poillə-e iyhese ttattus.hɛ-ci-ko,
 house-ALL come-CND directly boiler-due.to/by warm:-INCH-PF,SQ
 소파에 앉게 되면 편안함으로 꾸벅꾸벅 잠이 온다.
 sop^ha-e anc-ke twoe-myən p^hənan.ha-m-ilo kkupək.kkupək cam-i o-n-ta.
 sofa-ALL sit-RES,ADV become/INCH-CND at.peace-NR-INST/CS bobbing_{ph7} sleep-SBJ come-DYN-FML,DCL
 'When I get home I get warmed up by the boiler, and then when I end up sitting on the bed or sofa, I start nodding off.' (<Cp)
- b. !? 집에 오면 바로 보일러가 나를 따뜻하게 만들고 ...
 !? cip-e o-myən palo poillə-ka na-lil ttattus.ha-ke mantil-ko
 house-ALL come-CND directly boiler-SBJ I-ACC warm-RES,ADV make/FACT-PF,SQ
 'When I get home, the boiler immediately warms me up ...'

Note that Relative Animacy Constraint violation makes the second TRANSACTIVE sentence 35b just that little bit more awkward. Be that as it may, except for the structure of the two predicates, these sentence alternations have again all the properties of an 'active ~ passive' alternation. And, of course, they are instances of the same constructions that are analysed as such so long as the verb alternation conforms to the requirements of the Standard Voice Model.

Last but not least, we even find some verbs from the STATIVE core group occurring in AGENT INVERSE constructions. Such instances refer of course to interpersonal situations, and are largely limited to EMOTION verbs or metaphorical usages. Again, however, the oblique AGENT phrase then relates to the SUBJECT of a corresponding TRANSACTIVE alternate:

- (36) a. 그래서 진희한테 기분나빠졌지.
 kile-sə cinhiy-hant^{he} kipun+napp-acy-əss-ci
 like.that-CS.SQ Chinhee-AN.LOC/AGT mood+bad-INCH-PF/AOR-PROP
 'So I had my mood ruined by Chinhee.'
- b. 그래서 진희가 나 기분나쁘게 만들었지.
 kile-sə cinhiy-ka na kipun+nappi-ke mantil-əss-ci
 like.that-CS.SQ Chinhee-SBJ I(ACC) mood+bad-RES.ADV makes/FACT_{IV}-PF/AOR-DCL.RPT:FIN
 'So Chinhee ruined my mood.'
- (37) a. 석진이가 선생님한테 코가 납작해졌어.
 səkcin-i-ka sənseŋnim-hant^{he} k^ho-ka napcak.hə-cy-əss-ə.
 Sökjin-BUF-SBJ teacher-AN.LOC/AGT nose-SBJ flat-INCH-PF-FIN
 Lit: 'Sökjin got his nose flattened by the teacher.' // Eqv: 'Sökjin got put in his place by the teacher.'
- b. 선생님이 석진을 코를 납작하게 만드셨어.
 sənseŋnim-i səkcin-i-lil k^ho-lil napcak.ha-ke manti-sy-əss-ə.
 teacher-SBJ Sökjin-ACC nose-ACC flat-RES.ADV makes/FACT_{IV}-HON-PF-FIN
 Lit: 'The teacher flattened Sökjin's nose.' // Eqv: 'The teacher put Sökjin in his place.'

Instances such as these occur predominantly in spoken language and are judged exceptional or anomalous by some speakers. This, however, appears to be more an indication of prescriptive control than of grammatical anomaly. On the contrary, although such instances may not be altogether that frequent, they are far too systematic and motivated to be dismissed as idiosyncratic or anomalous.

To summarise the observations made in this subsection then, the STATIVE stem core group of $\alpha_{VSr-a}/\partial ci.ta$ verbs does predominantly conform to the inchoative category. On the other hand, however, even these typical INCHOATIVE verbs cover the same broad referential spectrum as other INACTIVE verbs, a spectrum that extends across both the inchoative and passive range.

At first sight, such instances seem to be subject to stronger restrictions on the explicit expression of typical animate agents. On the other hand, however, they easily occur with the explicit FORCE or CAUSE phrases of the INANIMATE INVERSE constructions, and we even find some instances with explicit AGENT arguments. The agent-phrase-like element may then relate to the SUBJECT element of a corresponding ACTIVE alternate, although the likelihood of such an alternate is subject to the pertinent animacy and agency constraints. In these instances though, the $\alpha_{VSr-a}/\partial ci.ta$ verb has almost all of the distributional properties of a typical passive verb. The only divergence from the Standard Voice Model lies in the fact that the two alternating verbs are equipollently marked and algorithmically derivable only from the corresponding STATIVE verb stem.

5.1.3 Serial Inchoative verbs with TRANSACTIVE verb stem cores

As I outlined in §5.1.1, the Koreanist Consensus views some Serial Inchoative α_{VSR} - $a/ci.ta$ verbs with a TRANSACTIVE verb stem core as ‘analytic passives’. However, while this analysis is in principle applied to all verbs in this group, most authors seem to make a distinction between two different sub-groups: verbs that look more like lexically derived inchoatives, and verbs that look more like morpho-syntactically derived passives.

The serial INCHOATIVE verbs of the first type do not strongly imply the presence of an agent or other cause locus and are frequently used to refer to situations with strong spontaneous features:

- (38) a. 꽃병이 (떨어져서) 깨졌어.
 kkoc^h+pyəŋ-i (ttəl•acy-əsə) kke•cy-əss-ə.
 flower+bottle/vase-SBJ (fall.down[•INCH]-CS.SQ) get.broken[«break(FACT);•INCH]-PF-FIN
 ‘The vase (fell down and) broke.’
- b. 가온이가 (넘어져서) 이마가 까졌어.
 kaon-i-ka (nəm•acy-əsə) ima-ka kka•cy-əss-ə.
 Kaon-BUF-SBJ (fall.over[•INCH]-CS.SQ) forehead-SBJ crack/peel.like.shell[«crack(FACT);•INCH]-PF/AOR-FIN
 ‘Kaon (fell and) hit his forehead bloody.’
- c. 불 꺼졌네요!
 pul kke•cy-əss-ne-yo!
 fire go.out.like.fire[«put.out•INCH]-PF-MIR-POL
 ‘Oh, the fire’s gone out!’
- d. 줄 끊어졌어요.
 cul kkinh•acy-əss-ə-yo.
 rope(SBJ) get.torn.like.string[«tear(FACT)•INCH]-PF-FIN-POL
 ‘The rope has/is torn.’

Instances such as these often refer to some form of causation chain, as explicitly expressed in the CAUSAL SEQUENTIAL constructions in 38. However, they neither have an agent-phrase-like element, nor do they necessarily refer to situations with any specific cause locus. In other words, they fall within the spectrum of the inchoative rather than the passive.

On the other hand, instances such as 38a-d do often have plausible TRANSACTIVE alternates, based on the corresponding unmarked ‘active’ verb:

- (39) a. 우리 아들이 꽃병을 깼어.
 uli atil+nom-i kkoc^h+pyəŋ-il kke-ss-ə.
 we son+person.PEJ-SBJ flower+bottle-ACC break(FACT);-PF-FIN
 ‘Our boy has broken the vase.’

- b. 유진이가 가온이 이마를 깎아.
 yucin-i-ka kaon-i ima-lil kka-ss-ə.
 Yujin-BUF-SBJ Kaon-BUF forehead-ACC crack(FACT)-PF-FIN
 'Yujin gave Kaon a bloody forehead.'
- c. 불 꺼졌네요!
 pul kk-əss-ne-yo!
 fire(ACC) extinguish-PF-MIR-POL
 'Oh, you put out the fire!'
- d. 줄 끊었어요.
 cul kkinh-əss-ə-yo.
 rope(ACC) sever-PF-FIN-POL
 'I've torn/cut the rope.'

Obviously, the pertinent alternations are then only partial and conform to the Standard Voice Model's 'inchoative/anticausative' rather than 'passive' alternation. Note though that this is little different from what we observed for many instances of the Deactivative verbs that the Koreanist Consensus regards as the primary Korean 'passive'.

On the other hand, however, the very same $\alpha_{VST} \alpha_{ci.ta}$ verbs are also frequently used to refer to situations with a specific inanimate cause locus, which may then be expressed as the oblique element of the FORCE or CAUSE INVERSE constructions EFFECTLOCUS-*ka/i* FORCE-*e* and EFFECTLOCUS-*ka/i* CAUSE-*il/o*. In many cases though, such instances have no acceptable TRANSACTIVE alternate:

- (40) a. 건물의 유리창이 (폭팔로) 깨졌다.
 kənmul-iy yulich'ar-i (pʰokpal-lo) kke-cy-əss-ta.
 building-AT glass.window-SBJ (explosion-INST/CS) get.smashed[«smash:INCH»]-PF/AOR-FML.DCL
 'The windows of the (surrounding) buildings got smashed by the explosion.'
- b. !? 폭팔이 건물의 유리창을 깼다.
 pʰokpal-i kənmul-iy yulich'ar-il kke-ss-ta.
 explosion-SBJ building-AT glass.window-ACC smash-PF/AOR-FML.DCL
 'The explosion smashed the windows of the (surrounding) buildings.'
- (41) a. 담배가 (빗물에) 자꾸 꺼져.
 tampe-ka (pis+mul-e) cakku kk-əcy-ə.
 cigarette-SBJ (rain+water-LOC) repeatedly go.out/get.extinguished[«put.out:INCH»]-FIN
 'My cigarette keeps {going out / getting extinguished} (in/by the rain).'
- b. * 빗물이 담배를 자꾸 꺼.
 pis+mul-i tampe-lil cakku kk-ə.
 rain+water-SBJ cigarette-ACC repeatedly extinguish-FIN
 'The rain keeps putting out my cigarette.'
- (42) a. 오늘 아침 새 구두에 까져 부푼 뒤꿈치와
 onil acʰim se kutu-e kka-cy-ə pupʰu-n twikkumcʰi-wa
 today morning new shoe-LOC get.cracked[«crack:INCH»]-FIN/CNSC swell-PF.AT back+heel-CMT
 피멍 든 발톱을 보다가 문득 네 생각이 났다.
 pʰi+məŋ+ti-n pal+thop-il po-taka muntik ne seŋkak-i na-ss-ta.
 blood+bruise+move.in-PF.SQ foot+nail-ACC look-ABR.SQ suddenly you:AT thought-SBJ move.out/INCH-PF/AOR-FML.DCL
 'This morning, when I looked at my heels that had been chafed in/by the new shoes and at my bruised toenails, I suddenly remembered you.' (=Cp)

- b. * ... 새 구두가 간 뒤꿈치 보다가 ...
 se kutu-ka kka-n twi+kkumc^{hi}-lil po-taka
 new shoe-SBJ cracks(FACT) back+heel-ACC look-ABR.SQ
For: 'When I looked at my heels that the new shoes had chafed bloody ...'

- (43)a. 강설{!!에|로} 전선이 끊어졌다.
 kaŋsəl-{{!!e|lo} cənsən-i kkinh•əcy-əss-ta.
 heavy.snow-{{!!LOC/FRC|INST/CS} power.line-SBJ get.torn.like.string[«tear»INCH]-PF/AOR-FML.DCL
 'The power lines were severed by the heavy snows.'

- b. !? 강설이 전선을 끊었다.
 kaŋsəl-i cənsən-il kkinh-əss-ta.
 heavy.snow-SBJ power.line-ACC tear.like.string(FACT)-PF/AOR-FML.DCL
 'The heavy snows severed the power lines.'

Again, the situation is exactly the same as that found with the Deactivative paradigm: the INACTIVE sentences are passive-like with regard to syntactic structure and verb-structural markedness, but lack ACTIVE alternates because the cause locus does not share enough features with an animate agent. As before, this phenomenon could be dealt with by augmenting the Standard Voice Model with the relevant animacy and agency constraints. As I already argued, however, such a solution would smack of methodological opportunism and ignore the clear systemic proximity of these INACTIVE sentences to the inchoative-like instances in 38.

In other cases, however, the INVERSE CAUSE LOCUS element may indeed relate to the SUBJECT of an acceptable, although arguably less likely, TRANSACTIVE alternate:

- (44)a. 차 앞유리가 (시위대에서 던진 돌에) 깨졌다.
 c^ha ap^h+yuli-ka (siwi+te-esə tən-ci-n tol-e) kke•cy-əss-ta.
 car front+glass-SBJ (demonstration+unit-ABL stone-LOC/FRC) get.broken[«INCH»]-PF/AOR-FML.DCL
 'The car windshield got broken by a stone thrown from amidst the demonstrators.'

- b. !? 시위대에서 던진 돌이 차 앞유리를 깼다.
 siwi+te-esə tən-ci-n tol-i c^ha ap^h+yuli-lil kke-ss-ta.
 demonstration+unit-ABL stone-SBJ car front+glass-ACC break-PF/AOR-FML.DCL
 'A stone thrown from amidst the demonstrators broke the car windshield.'

- (45)a. 불이 (빗물에) 꺼졌네요!
 pul-i (pis+mul-e) kk•əcy-əss-ne-yo!
 fire-SBJ (rain+water-LOC) get.extinguished[«put.out»INCH]-PF-MIR-POL
 'Look, the fire's been put out by the rain!'

- b. !? 빗물이 불을 꺾네요!
 pis+mul-i pul-il kk-əss-ne-yo!
 rain+water-SBJ fire-ACC put.out-PF-MIR-POL
 'Look, the rain's put out the fire!'

- (46)a. 태풍{에|으로} 전선이 끊어졌다.
 t^həp^huŋ-{{e|ilo} cənsən-i kkinh•əcy-əss-ta.
 taiphon-{{LOC/FRC|INST/CS} power.line-SBJ get.torn.like.rop[«tear»(FACT)INCH]-PF/AOR-FML.DCL
Lit: 'The power lines have been cut by the typhoon.' // *Egv:* 'The typhoon has cut the power lines.'

- b. !! 태풍이 전선을 끊었다.
 tʰɛpʰuŋ-i cənsən-il kkinh-æss-ta.
 taiphoon-SBJ power.line-ACC tear.like.rope(FACT)-PF/AOR-FML.DCL
 'The taiphoon has cut the power lines.'

As before, these instances now finally begin to conform closely to the Standard Voice Model's 'active ~ passive' alternation. Again though, the choice of the Basic (Inanimate) particle patterns FORCE-*e* and CAUSE-*ilo* is precisely motivated in the fact that the <cause locus> is *not* a typical animate agent. And, in line with the Absolute Agency Constraints, the same lack of animacy and agency features renders the TRANSACTIVE alternate markedly uncommon.

Finally though, the same $\alpha_{PSR-a}/\alpha_{ci.ta}$ verbs also occur in reference to situations with a typical animate agent, which may then be expressed as an optional oblique element. Of course, such expression is again subject to the usual animacy and agency constraints, and where the INACTIVE SUBJECT referent is inanimate the only option are more periphrastic AGENT patterns such as *N-e iyhesə* '(being) due to N'. Naturally, the pertinent agent-phrase-like element then relates to the AGENT SUBJECT of a TRANSACTIVE counterpart:

- (47) a. 우리 선수에 의해 세계 기록이 깨졌다.
 uli sənsu-e iyhe sekye kilok-i kke•cy-æss-ta.
 we athlete-due.to/AGT world record-SBJ get.smashed[«smash:•INCH»]-PF-FML.DCL
Lit: 'The world record has been broken by our athlete.'
// Eqv: 'Thanks to our athlete, we have broken the world record.' (=Dic)
- b. 우리 선수가 세계 기록을 깼다.
 uli sənsu-ka sekye kilok-il kke-ss-ta.
 we athlete-SBJ world.record-ACC break-PF-FML.DCL
 'Our athlete has broken the world record.' (=Dic)
- (48) a. \emptyset 불이 \emptyset (소방대에 의해) 16분만에 꺼졌다.
 \emptyset pul-i \emptyset (sopante-e iyhe) 16+pun-man-e kk•acy-æss-ta.
 \emptyset fire-SBJ \emptyset (fire.brigade-due.to/by) 16+minute-XCL-LOC get.extinguished[«put.out•INCH»]-PF/AOR-FML.DCL
 'The fire was put out (by the firebrigade) within 16 minutes.' (<Cp+)
- b. 소방대가 16분만에 불을 껐다.
 sopante-ka 16+pun-man-e pul-il kk-æss-ta.
 fire.brigade-SBJ 16+minute-XCL-LOC fire-ACC put.out.like.fire-PF/AOR-FML.DCL
 'The firebrigade put out the fire within one hour.'
- (49) a. 전선이 (게릴라에 의해) 끊어졌다.
 cənsən-i (kelilla-e iyhe) kkinh•acy-æss-ta.
 power.line-SBJ (guerilla-due.to/AGT) get.cut.like.rope[«cut•INCH»]-PF/AOR-FML.DCL
 'The power lines got cut by the guerilleros.'
- b. 게릴라가 전선을 끊었다.
 kelilla-ka cənsən-il kkinh-æss-ta.
 guerilla-SBJ power.line-ACC sever-PF/AOR-FML.DCL
 'The guerilleros cut the power lines.'

Explicit AGENT phrases of this type are not overly widespread or frequent and found mainly in more Literary registers. Otherwise, however, the sentence pairs here closely conform to the Standard Voice Model's 'active ~ passive' alternation.

Finally, where both cause and effect locus are animate, we also find instances of TRANSACTIVE ~ AGENT INVERSE diathesis alternation. The incidence of such alternations is, however, relatively rare and naturally requires that the referent situation be of the interpersonal type, as in the following:

- (50)a. 브라질이 독일을 3대1로 꺾다.
 pilacil-i tokil-il 3 te 1-lo kke-ss-ta.
 Brazil-SBJ Germany-ACC 3 against 1-INST break-PF/AOR-FML.DCL
 'Brazil soundly defeated Germany by 3 to 1.'
- b. 독일이 브라질에게 3대1로 꺾겼다.
 tokil-i pilacil-eke 3 te 1-lo kke-cy-ess-ta.
 Germany-SBJ Brazil-AN.LOC 3 against 1-INST get.broken[*INCH]-PF/AOR-FML.DCL
 'Germany got soundly defeated 3 to 1 by Brazil.'

As in the INTERPERSONAL example canon of the synthetic paradigm, this alternation is of course entirely consistent with the Standard Voice Model's 'active ~ passive' alternation.

To summarise our observations so far, the distributional and semantic properties of this type of Serial Inchoative verb are pretty much the same as those that we observed for the majority of the Deactivative verbs that the Koreanist consensus regards as 'morphological passives'. Thus, on the one hand, their usage is firmly anchored in the inchoative spectrum. On the other hand, they are also used in reference to situations with a specific cause locus or indeed a typical agent, in which case they tend to conform quite closely to the Standard Voice Model's 'passive' category. Again, these passive-like instances do not always have acceptable ACTIVE alternates, but this has little to do with the structural or lexical status of the verb, and is simply due to Animacy and Agency constraints on diathesis selection. As a consequence, the ACTIVE alternate exists only where the referent situation shares enough features with an animate and agentive entity's transitive actions.

While many $\alpha_{VS}-a/\text{aci.ta}$ verbs thus clearly straddle both the inchoative and the passive spectrum, others seem firmly located within the passive spectrum. A closer survey reveals that most of these alternate with unmarked verbs of the FACTITIVE CREATION, CONTROL TRANSFER and COGNITIVE TRANSFER classes:

Basic TRANSACTIVE		Serial INCHOATIVE
(51)a. 만들다 mantil.ta 'make'	~	만들어지다 mantil-æci.ta 'get made'
b. 짓다 ciq.ta 'build'	~	지어지다 ci-æci.ta 'get built'
c. 그리다 kili.ta 'draw, paint'	~	그려지다 kily-æci.ta 'get drawn/painted'
(52)a. 주다 cu.ta 'give'	~	주어지다 cu-æci.ta 'get given'
b. 버리다 pəli.ta 'throw away'	~	버려지다 pəly-æci.ta 'get thrown away'
(53)a. 밝히다 palk ^{hi} .ta 'reveal'	~	밝혀지다 palk ^{hy} -æci.ta 'get revealed'
b. 보이다 poi.ta 'show'	~	보여지다 poy-æci.ta 'get shown'

The $\alpha_{VSR}/\text{æci.ta}$ verbs here strongly imply the presence of a typical animate agent, and are hence generally given an 'agent retention' analysis. And indeed, it is certainly true that most of their instances refer to situations with such an agent, which may then be optionally expressed by an agent-phrase-like element that relates to the AGENT SUBJECT of a corresponding TRANSACTIVE alternate. The following are some instances with the familiar periphrastic *N-e iyhesə* '(being) due to N' pattern:

- (54)a. 여성의 성적 일탈은 곧 남자들에 의해서 만들어진다.
 yəsəŋ-iy səŋcək ilt^{hal}-in kot namca-til-e iyhesə mantil-æci-n-ta.
 woman-AT sexual deviation-SEL directly man-PL-due.to/by make-INCH-DYN-FML.DCL
 'A woman's sexual deviancy is created directly by men.' (=Cp)

- b. 여성의 성적 일탈은 곧 남자들이 만든다.
 yəsəŋ-iy səŋcək ilt^{hal}-in kot namca-til-i manti-n-ta.
 woman-AT sexual deviation-SEL immediately man-PL-SBJ make-DYN-FML.DCL
Lit: 'A woman's sexual deviancy, men directly create (it).'
Egv: A woman's sexual deviancy is created directly by men.'

- (55)a. 율법은 모세에 의해서 주어졌다.
 yulpəp-in mose-e iyhesə cu-acy-æss-ta.
 law-(SBJ)SEL Moses-due.to/by give-INCH-PF-FML.DCL
 'The Law was given (to us) by Moses.' (=Cp)
- b. 모세가 우리에게 율법을 주었다.
 mose-ka uli-eke yulpəp-il cu-æss-ta.
 Protestant.God-SBJ we-AN.ALL/DAT law-ACC give-PF-FML.DCL
 'Moses gave us the Law.'

- (56) a. 나카쓰가와 조선인 학살 사건이 양식 있는 일본인 교사에 의해
 nakhassikawa cosən+in haksal sakən-i yangsik iss-nin ilpon+in kyosa-e iyhe
 Nakatsugawa Chosŏn+person massacre incident-SBJ conscience exist-DYN Japan+person teacher-due.to/by
 요즘 밝혀졌는데도 (...) (Cp)
 yocim palk^hy-əcy-əss-ninte-to
 recently reveal-INCH-PF-CIR,CJ-INCL/CONC
 'Even though the Nakatsugawa massacre (of Korean forced labourers) has recently been brought to light by a conscientious Japanese school teacher ...' (<Cp>)
- b. 양식 있는 일본인 교사가 나카쓰가와 조선인 학살 사건을
 yangsik iss-nin ilpon+in kyosa-ka nakhassukawa chosən+in haksal sakən-il
 conscience exist-DYN Japanese teacher-SBJ Nakatsugawa Chosŏn+person massacre incident-ACC
 요즘 밝혔는데도 ...
 yocim palk^hy-əss-ninte-to
 recently reveal-PF-CIR,CJ-INCL/CONC
 'Even though a conscientious Japanese school teacher has recently brought to light the Nakatsugawa massacre ...'

In addition, provided the referent situation is of the interpersonal type, we also find instances of the AGENT INVERSE construction:

- (57) a. 다른 남자한테 버려진 여자두 관심을 끌 수 있어요?
 tali·n namca-hant^he pəly-əci-n yəca-tu kwansim-il kki-l su iss-ə-yo?
 different·PF.AT man-AN.LOC throw.away-INCH-PF.AT woman-INCL interest-ACC pull-PSP POT exist/FV-FIN-POL
 'Could a woman who has been discarded by another man be able to attract your fancy?' (=Cp)
- b. 다른 남자가 버린 여자두 관심을 끌 수 있어요?
 tali·n namca-ka pəli-n yəca-tu kwansim-il kki-l su iss-ə-yo?
 different·PF.AT man-SBJ throw.away-PF.AT woman-INCL interest-ACC pull-PSP POT exist/FV-FIN-POL
 'Could a woman whom another man has discarded be able to attract your fancy?' (=Cp)

As before, such sentence alternations have all the requisite properties of the 'active ~ passive alternations' in the Standard Voice Model.

The fact, however, that the $\alpha_{VSI-a/ci.ta}$ verbs here strongly imply agent-induced causation cannot be ascribed to any semantic contribution of the functor *ci.ta*. Rather, the strong tendency towards such an interpretation must be understood as motivated in the general experiential features associated with the pertinent verb alternation. Put simply, the agentive semantics of the CREATION verb *mantil.ta* 'make' is usually 'retained' in its INACTIVE counterpart *mantil-əci.ta* simply because the sign *mantil* is conventionally associated with a creative kind of genesis whose numerous specific features are strongly connected to the presence of a creating agent. And similarly, the agentive semantics of *pəli.ta* 'throw away' usually carries over into the INACTIVE verb *pəly-əci.ta* simply because the sign *pəli* is associated with specific situational features that rarely arise without the presence of an agent: if something is thrown away or discarded, there usually is somebody who throws away or discards.

In spite of these strong inherent associations with action features, however, a look at

actual usage reveals that even these verbs can and do occur in reference to situations without agent or causing entity:

- (58) a. 세계의 석회암은 모두 바다에서 만들어졌다!
 sekye-iy sək^hwœam-in motu pata-esə mantil•æcy-æss-ta.
 world-AT limestone-(SBJ)SEL all sea-SET get.made/formed[«make•INCH»-PF-FML,DCL
 Lit: 'The world's limestone has been made in the sea.'
 // Egv: 'The world's limestone has all formed in the sea.' (=Cp)
- b. 버스를 내린 그는 홀로 강변에 버려졌다.
 pəsi-lil neli-n ki-nin hollo kanpyən-e pəly•æcy-æss-ta.
 bus-ACC move.down-PF.AT that/he-(SBJ)SEL alone river.side-LOC get.thrown.away[«throw.away•INCH»-PF/AOR-FML,DCL
 'Having got off the bus, he found himself alone and abandoned next to the river.' (=Cp)
- c. 사망자의 신원이 몇년 후에 우연히 밝혀졌다.
 samanca-iy sinwən-i myəc^h+nyən + hu-e uyən.hi palk^hyə•cy-æss-ta.
 dead.person-AT identity-SBJ several+years + later by.chance get.revealed/come.to.light[«reveal•INCH»-PF/AOR-DCL
 'The identity of the deceased accidentally emerged after several years.'

The situation here is again the same as found for strongly passive-like Deactivative verbs such as *cap•hi.ta* grasp/catch•INACT: Overall, INACTIVE verbs such as *mantil•æci.ta* make•INCH are strongly associated with the presence of a typical manipulating agent. What motivates their use in these instances, however, is not similarity to manipulative actions, but other associated situation features: in 58a the combination and transformation of materials in the rock formation process, in 58b a similar emotion as that brought about by the experience of being abandoned by somebody, and in 58c the similarities to other, agentive disclosure events.

To conclude then, the Serial Inchoative $\alpha_{ISR-a/ci.ta}$ pattern's 'TRANSACTIVE stem core' groups differ from Deactivative verbs only in two respects: They show a weaker association with patientive and interpersonal situations, and instead a stronger association with typically transitive force-dynamic state-change features. The upshot is a lower incidence of AGENT INVERSE constructions, and combined with the effects of the Relative Animacy Constraints this means fewer instances that conform closely to the 'agented passive' category and to the interpersonal alternations of the Korean example canon. This, however, should not detract from the fact that they consistently occur in the same diathesis constructions, lie on same referential-semantic continuum across the inchoative/causative and passive/inverse categories, show the same Animacy and Agency Constraint effects and the same systemic inchoative-passive ambivalences that have all proven so problematic for a coherent account of the Korean voice system in terms of the Standard Voice Model's categories.

5.2 The Serial Inchoative ~ Factitive paradigm

5.2.1 Overview and treatment in the literature

As I already outlined in the previous paragraph, the serial INCHOATIVE pattern is one of the most widespread and productive situation-dynamic marking patterns in the Korean verbal system. Thus, we saw that the $\alpha_{VSr-a}/\partial ci.ta$ pattern may relate to unmarked counterparts of just about any situation-dynamic type. The result are typical unipollent paradigms that do not consistently conform to the 'active ~ passive alternation' category, but are consistent with another central assumption of the Standard Voice Model: that voice categories are 'morphologically' based categories and fall into a structurally unmarked and systemically basic 'active' and other, structurally marked and derivative voices.

The Serial Inchoative pattern does, however, also participate in another important paradigm that is even more problematic for the Standard Voice Model. This is a structurally equipollent paradigm that matches the Serial Inchoative pattern $\alpha-a/\partial ci.ta$ with the structurally parallel and equally marked pattern $\alpha-a/\partial ttili.ta$. In the literature, this serial pattern is generally conflated with another pattern in which the element *ttili.ta* is fused directly to a verb stem core, $\alpha_{VSr-ttili.ta}$, and which is associated with violent motion and impact features that obtain orthogonally to the causality dimension⁷⁵. The $\alpha-a/\partial ttili.ta$ serial pattern, however, shows a similar association with violent force-dynamic impact, but is exclusively associated with FACTITIVE STATE CHANGE actions in which an agent directly manipulates and effects a change of state or position in another entity that could be referred to by its Serial Inchoative counterpart. In other words, it conforms to the Standard Voice Model's notion of the 'direct causative' or what I choose to call the factitive category.

Differently from its other incarnations surveyed in the previous section (§5.1), the $\alpha-a/\partial ci.ta$ patterns exemplars in the Serial Inchoative ~ Factitive paradigm lie far towards the lexicalised end of the Lexicalisation Continuum: it has limited lexical spread and is not very productive. In a sense, this is primarily a characteristic of the Factitive pattern, and there indeed seem to be no $\alpha-a/\partial ttili.ta$ verbs without a corresponding $\alpha-a/\partial ci.ta$ alternate (see the surveys in Ko Yöng-jin 1997: 91-4, Song

⁷⁵ Overall, this pattern is much more polysemic and both cores and final products are various situation-dynamic types, including PROCESS, MOTION and ACTION. Here, the pattern $\alpha_{VSr-ttili.ta}$ clearly competes and overlaps with the close relative $\alpha_{VSr-c'hi.ta}$ which has similar INTENSE FORCE meaning (see the comparisons in Song Ch'ang-sön 1998: §5.3.2).

Ch'ang-sŏn 1998: §5.3)⁷⁶. At the same time, however, the $\alpha_{VS}-a/aci.ta$ pattern in these alternations is clearly much more lexicalised and ossified than in some of its more productive uses.

Serial Inchoative ~ Factitive alternations fall into three main types that are distinguishable according to the structural and distributional properties of the pattern core. In the first group, with only a few alternations, the paradigm core corresponds to a straightforward verb stem that also occurs without voice-marking elements:

(59) Serial inchoative~factitive paradigms with independent verb stem core

INCHOATIVE		FACTITIVE		Unmarked verb	Other patterns
a. 깨지다 kke•ci.ta 'get shattered'	~	깨뜨리다 kke•ttili.ta 'bring/tear down'		깨다 kke.ta 'break sth'	
b. 허물어지다 həmul•əci.ta 'fall apart, collapse'	~	㉠ 허물어뜨리다 həmul•əttili.ta 'bring/tear down'		허물다 həmul.ta 'bring/tear down'	
c. 끊어지다 kkinh•əci.ta 'get cut/severed'	~	!! 끊어뜨리다 !! kkinh•əttili.ta 'sever, cut'		끊다 kkinh.ta 'sever, cut'	끊기다 kkinh•ki.ta 'get severed'

Here, of course, we could in principle analyse the voice-marked verbs as algorithmic derivations from the unmarked verb, although this makes considerably less sense for the Factitive verb.

In this first group, the unmarked verb stem is itself invariably a FACTITIVE verb stem that seems to be near-synonymous with the $\alpha-a/əttili.ta$ exemplar. The latter is, however, perceived to have slightly more violent or forceful connotations. Furthermore, this apparent semantic contribution is precisely the one diagnosed for the fusional pattern $\alpha_{VS}-ttili.ta$. Undoubtedly based on these facts, the functor *ttili.ta* has traditionally been analysed as an 'intensifying auxiliary (stem) [강세 조동사, 강세 보조어간]' and hence been generally excluded from the Korean voice system (see for the origins of this view Ch'oe Hyŏn-bae 1937/61: §203/361-3).

⁷⁶ Ko Yŏng-jin's survey lists only five candidates without Serial Inchoative alternate (*əci•əttili.ta*, *sosil•əttili.ta*, *he•ttili.ta*, *ch'e•ttili.ta*, *ne•ttili.ta*). Of these, the only unequivocally serial patterns are *əci•əttili.ta* and *sosil•əttili.ta* and for both I have in fact found INCHOATIVE alternates on the Web. The common intransitive use of *sosil•əttili.ta* as 'jump up with fright' likely originates in an intransitive reanalysis of *mom-il sosil•əttili.ta* 'suddenly raises one's body'. The next two, *he•ttili.ta* and *ch'e•ttili.ta*, look more like instances of the INTENSIFYING fusion pattern $\alpha_{VS}-ttili.ta$, witness the existence of competing *he•chi.ta* and *ch'e•chi.ta* found for exemplars of this fusion pattern (see for a similar view on *ch'e•ttili.ta* Song Ch'ang-sŏn 1998: 11). Finally, *ne•ttili.ta* 'casts out/off' clearly belongs to the same pattern as *ttili•ttili.ta* 'throws into' that consist of the relative motion prefixes *ne* moves.out:ADV and *ttili* moves.in:ADV (historically fossilised adverbial forms of the relative motion verbs *na.ta* and *ttil.ta*) and the verb stem *ttili.ta* as a 'cranberry' morpheme with VIOLENT MANIPULATION semantics (probably diachronically from *ptali.ta* 'hit'. Witness again the competing *ne•chi.ta* and *ttili•chi.ta* where *ne* and *ttili* combine with the synchronically extant *chi.ta* 'slam, hit, do violently'.

While the Serial Inchoative ~ Factitive paradigm does include a few alternations of this type, however, the vast majority of its paradigm cores do not correspond to any synchronically extant verb stem. Thus, in the second group, covering roughly a third of its lexical spread, the paradigm nucleus looks like a Primary Verb Stem, but never occurs outside of the α - $a/aci.ta$ and α - $a/attili.ta$ patterns, although such a use is sometimes historically attested:

(60) **Serial INCHOATIVE~FACTITIVE paradigms with dependent stem core**

INCHOATIVE		FACTITIVE	Potential unmarked verb
a. 헤어지다 he•aci.ta 'get threadbare'	~	헤어뜨리다 he•attili.ta 'wear threadbare'	‡ 헤어다 he.ta
b. 무너지다 mun•aci.ta 'collapse, come down'	~	무너뜨리다 mun•attili.ta 'demolish, tear down'	‡ 문다 † 무느다 mun.ta muni.ta 'tear down'
c. 부러지다 pul•aci.ta 'break (like stick)'	~	부러뜨리다 pul•attili.ta 'break sth (like stick)'	‡ 볼다 / 붙다 pul.ta / put.ta

Here, of course, a compositional analysis or algorithmic derivation can only be posited for an underlying verb stem that never appears without explicit voice markers. Such 'defective' verb stems have, of course, been diagnosed in other languages, and also occur in other Korean serial verb patterns⁷⁷. While such an ad-hoc mechanism can certainly be posited, the main issue here is that these alternations actually constitute a typical equipollent paradigm: the two verbs instantiate two structurally parallel and equally marked patterns that cannot be algorithmically derived from each other.

The same conclusion must be drawn where the core element does correspond to the stem of an unmarked verb, but that verb has at best a rather loose systemic relationship with the Inchoative and Factitive verb:

(61) **Serial INCHOATIVE~FACTITIVE paradigms with semantically divergent stem core**

INCHOATIVE		FACTITIVE	Unmarked relative	Other relatives
a. 쓰러지다 ssil•aci.ta 'topple, collapse'	~	쓰러뜨리다 ssil•attili.ta 'topple sth, knock down'	쓸다 ssil.ta 'sweep (away)'	쓸리다 ssil•li.ta 'get swept'

⁷⁷ Defective verb stems are, for example, not unusual in serial RELATIVE-DEICTIC MOTION or MANNER-POSTURE MOTION verb patterns: witness *tak•a•ka.ta* approach•FIN•go 'go closer' or *cuc•a•anc.ta* flop.down•FIN•sit 'flops oneself down' with the verbal elements *tak* and *cuc* that never occur as independent verb stems.

b. 넘어지다 nəm•əci.ta 'fall/bowl over'	~	넘어뜨리다 nəm•əttili.ta 'throw/knock over'	넘다 nəm.ta 'move across'	넘어가다 nəm•ə•ka.ta 'go across; fall over'
				넘기다 nəm•ki.ta 'put across; push over'

Here, the relation of the INCHOATIVE ~ FACTITIVE paradigm to its potential derivational base is primarily diachronic. What is certain is that both INCHOATIVE and FACTITIVE verbs here are equipollently voice-marked and have only a relatively weak semantic relationship with the unmarked verb whose stem is identical to their pattern core. Thus, for example, the equipollent pair *ssil•əci.ta* 'collapse' and *ssil•əttili.ta* 'knock down' constitutes a systemically closely related INACTIVE ~ ACTIVE alternation that shares the core verb-stem-like element *ssil*, but their systemic relationship to the unmarked verb *ssil.ta* 'sweep' that has the structurally identical stem *ssil* is at most one of semantic affinity.

The third group of Serial INCHOATIVE ~ FACTITIVE alternations, covering roughly two thirds of its lexical spread, belongs to the Phonosemantic Verb class and is based on a core of the phonotactic type. These phonotactic lexemes have a clearly identifiable phonological structure and can be considered 'lexical atoms', in the sense that they have some degree of lexical independence, but cannot be easily put into one of the conventional part-of-speech categories. When used in a verb, the vast majority of these phonotactic atoms need the addition of some 'verbalising' element.

The INCHOATIVE~FACTITIVE paradigm constitutes the main, although not the only, voice paradigm in the Phonosemantic Verb class:

(62) Serial INCHOATIVE~FACTITIVE paradigm in the Phonosemantic Verb class

INCHOATIVE	FACTITIVE	Other relatives
a. 뭉그러지다 mun̄kil•əci.ta 'gets crumbled/mashed'	~ 뭉그러뜨리다 mun̄kil•əttili.ta 'crumble, mash'	뭉개다 mun̄kɛ.ta 'crumble, mash'
b. 찌그러지다 ccukil•əci.ta 'get crumpled/battered'	~ 찌그러뜨리다 ccukil•əttili.ta 'crumple, batter'	찌글쭉을하다 ccukil•ccukil•ha.ta 'be crumpled'
		찌그리다 ccukil•i.ta 'crumple sth, hunch own body'
c. 어그러지다 əkil•əci.ta 'get misaligned, go awry'	~ 어그러뜨리다 əkil•əttili.ta 'misalign, make go awry'	어긋나다 əkis•na.ta 'get/be misaligned, deviate'
d. 거꾸러지다 kəkkwɪ•əci.ta 'end up upside-down'	~ 거꾸러뜨리다 kəkkul•əttili.ta 'turn sth upside-down'	(거꾸로) (kəkku•lo) 'upside down (adv)'

As we can see, the INCHOATIVE ~ FACTITIVE alternations in this group usually exist not in isolation, but also relate to other verb patterns of the Phonosemantic class, sometimes forming rather complex group paradigms. What is important here is that the INCHOATIVE ~ FACTITIVE alternations are again equipollent.

In the literature, the serial INCHOATIVE ~ FACTITIVE paradigm is generally excluded from voice accounts and instead treated as a kind of synchronically fossilised form of lexical transitivity alternation (see f.ex. Ch'oe Hyön-bae 1937/61: 434-9/§253-5; U In-hye 1997: 86-91). Largely unreflected, this exclusion is clearly based on the fact that this paradigm conflicts with the Standard Voice Model's assumption of unipollent voice alternation in the [active ~ **passive/causative**] mold. As a consequence of this exclusion from voice accounts, even fewer authors acknowledge any similarity or systemic proximity to the 'analytic passive' alternations (but see Song Ch'ang-sön 1998: §5; and also the 'causative' treatment of algorithmically derivable $\alpha_{VSR-tt\tilde{il}i.ta}$ verbs a la 59 in Nam Ki-sim & Ko Yöng-gün 1985: 197).

5.2.2 Systemic 'inchoative ~ causative' and 'active ~ passive' ambivalences

If we survey the usage spectrum of the INACTIVE $\alpha_{VSR-a/\tilde{a}ci.ta}$ verbs this paradigm, it is clear that the larger part of their instances does indeed conform closely to the inchoative notion, and to this extent their exclusion from the 'passive' category is not without justification. If, on the other hand, we consider the usage spectrum of the FACTITIVE $\alpha_{VSR-tt\tilde{il}i.ta}$ verbs, their exclusion from the 'causative' category is rather more surprising, particularly when contrasted with their $\alpha_{VSR-a/\tilde{a}ci.ta}$ alternates:

- (63) a. 유리창이 깨졌습니다.
 yuli+c^hang-i kke•cy-ess-sipni•ta.
 glass+window-SBJ break/get.broken[«break(FACT):•INCH]-PF-FML.POL•DCL
 'The window has broken.'
- b. 불량배들이 유리창을 깨뜨렸습니다.
 pullyangpe-til-i yulic^hang-il kke•ttily-ess-sipni•ta.
 delinquents-PL-SBJ glass.window-ACC break/smash[break(FACT)•FACT]-PF-FML.POL•DCL
 'The juvenile delinquents have broken the window.'
- (64) a. 입상이 쓰러졌다.
 ipsang-i ssil•acy-ess-ta.
 statue-SBJ topple/get.toppled[•INCH]-PF-FML.DCL
 'The statue came down.'

- b. 시민들이 입상을 쓰러뜨렸다.
 simin-til-i ipsaŋ-il ssiləttily-əss-ta.
 citizen-PL-SBJ statue-ACC topple[FACT]-PF-FML,DCL
 'The citizens toppled the statue.'

- (65)a. 모자가 왜 이렇게 찌그러졌어?
 moca-ka we iləh-ke ccukiləcy-əss-ə?
 hat-SBJ why like.this-RES,ADV get.crumpled[*INCH]-PF-FML,DCL
 'Why's my hat in such a mess?'

- b. 누가 모자를 이렇게 찌그러뜨렸어?
 nu•ka moca-lil iləh-ke ccukiləttily-əss-ə?
 who-SBJ hat-ACC like.this-RES,ADV crumple[FACT]-PF-FML,DCL
 'Who's messed up my hat like this?'

All these sentence alternations here conform closely to the Standard Voice Model's 'inchoative ~ (direct) causative' alternation, and their equivalents in other languages could indeed have come right out of the literature on this topic.

Against this background, it is rather surprising that verb alternations of this type have hardly ever been discussed in the literature on the Korean 'causative'. There appear to be three reasons for this omission. The first is the fact that the α -a/əttili.ta verbs have no unmarked 'active' correspondent, and therefore do not fit the [non-causative ~ **causative**] markedness pattern that is found in the Synthetic and Analytic causative-like patterns that are generally considered the primary Korean manifestations of the Standard Voice Model's causative category. The second reason would seem to be that the Standard Voice Model itself takes algorithmic derivability of the 'causative' as the typical case, although it is certainly not as fixated on this requirement as it is in the case of the 'passive' category. The third reason for their omission from the 'causative' category would seem to lie in the fact that the semantic spectrum of the α -a/əttili.ta verbs is entirely limited to the factitive spectrum of the 'direct/manipulative causative'. In other words, its spectrum does not extend into the ranges of interpersonal or indirect causation that is widely treated as the core spectrum of the cross-linguistic 'causative' category.

As for the first two reasons (lack of an unmarked 'non-causative' correspondent), it should by now be eminently clear that the Korean verbal system is simply not organised into any neat system of structurally coherent and algorithmically derivable voice categories. As for the second reason, it is also quite clear that the Synthetic Activative paradigm that the Koreanist Consensus analyses as the 'morphological causative' paradigm is also predominantly associated with the factitive spectrum. Seen in this context, the α -a/əttili.ta pattern clearly belongs into the same group of FACTITIVE voice-

marking patterns.

The systemic similarities to the other voice paradigms, however, do not stop here. On the contrary, the α -a/ci.ta verbs in the Serial Inchoative-Factitive paradigm show the same distributional and referential-semantic breadth as that found for the other INACTIVE voice-marked verbs, including the Deactivative verbs and the Serial Inchoative verbs that are generally analysed as cases of the ‘morphological’ and ‘analytic passive’. Thus, alongside the inchoative-like instances in the previous examples (63-65), they frequently occur with the familiar range of agent-phrase-like constituents. These include first of all the oblique elements of the FORCE and CAUSE INVERSE constructions EFFECTLOCUS-ka/i FORCE-e and EFFECTLOCUS-ka/i CAUSE-ilo. As always, such sentences may not have any ACTIVE alternates:

- (66)a. 그의 몸이 초지를 데굴데굴 구르기 시작했다.
 Ki-iy mom-i choci-lil tekul~tekul kuli-ki sicak.hɛ•ss-ta.
 that/he-AT body-SBJ grassland-ACC tumbling_{PI}~REP roll-GER start:PF/AOR-FML.DCL
 가파른 돌에 살점 패이고 뼈가 부러져나가고
 kap^halin tol-e salcəm p^hɛ-i-ko ppyə-ka pul•əcy-ə-naka-ko
 steep-PF.AT stone-LOC/FRC flesh(SBJ/ACC) get.cleaved[«cleave•INACT»]-PF.SQ bone-SBJ get.broken[«INCH»]-proceed-PF.SQ
 피가 솟구쳤다.
 p^hi-ka soksuc^hy-əss-ta.
 blood-SBJ soar.up-PF/AOR-FML.DCL
 ‘His body started tumbling down the grassy slope. The steep rocks cut into his flesh, broke several of his bones and brought blood spurting out of his body.’ (=Cp)

- b. *가파른 돌이 살점 패이고 뼈가 부러져나가고 ...
 kap^hali-n tol-i salcəm-il p^hɛ-ko ppyə-lil pul•əttili-ko
 steep-PF.AT stone-SBJ flesh-ACC split(FACT)-PF.SQ bone-SBJ get.broken[«INCH»]-proceed-PF.SQ
 For: ‘The steep rocks cut into his flesh, broke his bones ...’

- (67)a. 김 씨가 과로로 쓰러졌다.
 kim ssi-ka kwalo-lo ssil•əcy-əss-tɛ.
 Kim TITLE-SBJ overwork-INST/CS topples[«INCH»]-PF-DCL/RPT:FIN
 ‘Mr. Kim collapsed from overwork.’ // ‘Mr. Kim was brought down by overwork.’

- b. *과로가 김 부장을 쓰러뜨렸다.
 kwalo-ka kim pucan-il ssil•əttily-əss-tɛ.
 overwork-SBJ Kim dept.head-INST/CS topples[«FACT»]-PF-DCL/RPT:FIN
 For: ‘Overwork knocked out Mr. Kim.’

- (68)a. 저기 만치 화재로 쭈그러진 파란 리본 하나를 발견하고
 cəki manc^hi hwacɛ-lo ccukil•əci-n p^hala-n ripon hana-lil palkyən.ha-ko
 conflagration-INST/CS get.crumple[«INCH»]-PF.AT blue-PF.AT ribbon one-ACC discover-PF.SQ
 펼쳐보니, “포항청년회의소”의 청색리본이다.
 pyəlchy-ə-po-ni “p^hohan+c^həŋnyən+hwəiyso”-iy c^həŋsek lipon-i-ta.
 spread.open-FIN-look/EXPR-BG.SQ “P’ohang youth centre”-AT blue+colour ribbon-CPL-FML.DCL
 ‘We’ve discovered a blue ribbon that has shriveled up in the fire, and when we pull it apart, it is a blue ribbon from the “P’ohang youth centre”’ (<Wb)

- b. * ... 화재가 쭈그러뜨린 파란 리본 하나가 ...
 hwac̥e-ka ccukil•əttili-n p̥hala-n ripon hana-ka
 conflagration-SBJ crumple[+FACT] blue-PF.AT ribbon one-ACC
 For: '... a blue ribbon that the fire had shriveled up ...'

Here, the oblique FORCE and CAUSE arguments refer to causing entities or phenomena that simply do not share enough features with the typical agent to condition any conceivable ACTIVE alternate.

In other instances, however, a TRANSACTIVE alternate based on the serial FACTITIVE verb is possible, although usually less likely or dispreferred:

- (69)a. 차체가 우박이 여기저기 우그러졌다.
 C̥hac̥e-ka upak-e yəki+cəki ukil•əcy-əss-ta.
 car.body-SBJ hail-LOC/FRC here+there get.dented[+INCH]-PF/AOR-FML.DCL
 'The car got dented all over by the hail.'

- b. !! 우박이 차체를 여기저기 우그러뜨렸다.
 upak-i c̥hac̥e-lil yəki+cəki ukil•əttily-əss-ta.
 hail-SBJ car.body-ACC here+there dent[+FACT]-PF/AOR-FML.DCL
 'The hail dented the car all over.'

- (70)a. 지진에 도시가 파괴됐고 폭풍과 해일에 둑이 무너졌다.
 cicin-e tosi-ka p̥hakwœ+twœ-ss-ko p̥hokp̥hɯŋ-kwa heil-e tuk-i mun•əcy-əss-ta.
 quake-LOC/FRC city-SBJ destruction+become/INCH gale-CMT tidal.wave-LOC/FRC dyke-SBJ collapse[+INCH]-PF/AOR-DCL
 Lit: 'By quakes the city was destroyed and by storms and tidal waves the dykes were brought down.'
 Eqv: 'Earthquakes destroyed the city and storms and tidal waves brought down the dykes.' (=Cp)

- b. !? 지진이 도시를 파괴했고 폭풍과 해일이 둑을 무너뜨렸다.
 cicin-i tosi-lil p̥hakwœ+hœ-ss-ko p̥hokp̥hɯŋ-kwa heil-i tuk-il mun•əttily-əss-ta.
 quake-SBJ city-ACC destruction+do/ACT_{IV} gale-CMT tidal.wave-SBJ dyke-ACC pull.down[+FACT]-PF/AOR-DCL
 'Earthquakes destroyed the city and storms and tidal waves brought down the dykes.'

- (71)a. 독재정권이 온 국민의 민주화에 대한 열망으로 쓰러졌다.
 tokc̥e+c̥əŋkwən-i on kukmin-iy mincu.hwa-e t̥əha-n yəlmaŋ-ilo ssil•əcy-əss-ta.
 dictatorship+regime-SBJ whole nation-AT democratisation face-PF.AT fervent.desire-INST/CS topple[+INCH]-PF/AOR-DCL
 'The dictatorship was brought down by the nation's desire for democratisation.'

- b. !! 온 국민의 민주화에 대한 열망이 결국 독재 정권을 쓰러뜨렸다.
 on kukmin-iy mincu.hwa-e t̥əha-n yəlmaŋ-i tokc̥e+c̥əŋkwən-il ssil•əttily-əss-ta
 whole nation-AT democratisation-ALL face-PF.AT fervour-SBJ dictatorship+regime-ACC topple[+FACT]-PF/AOR-FML.DCL
 'The nation's fervent desire for democratisation brought down the dictatorship.' (=Cp)

In line with the observations made throughout this thesis, the ACTIVE alternates here are possible for two different reasons: In the case of 69-70:b because the referent situation's force-dynamic impact features are similar to those found in the related actions, and in the case of 71b because of a force-dynamic construal in an abstract mental space of historical cause-effect analysis. Be that as it may, the INVERSE oblique relates to the TRANSACTIVE SUBJECT, and in terms of clause structure the sentence pairs here conform hardly less to the Standard Voice Model's 'active ~ passive' alternation than the passive-like instances of the so-called 'morphological' and 'analytic passive' that we have

encountered during our earlier discussions. The only thing that does not quite fit in with the Standard Voice Model are the structural properties of the ACTIVE verb, which is just as marked as the passive-like INACTIVE verb, with a functor that could also be considered a 'direct causative' marker.

Given all these facts, it should come as no surprise that we can also find instances that refer to situations with typical agents, which can be optionally expressed as oblique elements. These then, of course, relate again to the SUBJECT of a corresponding TRANSACTIVE alternate:

- (72) a. 프랑스군의 방어선이 독일군에 의해 하루만에 무너졌다.
 p^hilaŋsi+kun-iy paŋəsən-i tokil+kun-e iyhə halu-man-e mun•əcy-əss-ta.
 France+force-AT defense.line-SBJ Germany+forces-due.to one.day-XCL-LOC collapse[•INCH]-PF/AOR-FML,DCL
 'The French defenses were overcome by the German forces within the space of a single day.'
- b. 독일군이 프랑스군의 방어선을 하루만에 무너뜨렸다.
 tokil+kun-i p^hilaŋsi+kun-iy paŋəsən-il halu-man-e mun•əttily-əss-ta.
 Germany+forces-SBJ France+forces-AT defense.line-ACC one.day-XCL-LOC tear.down[•FACT]-PF/AOR-FML,DCL
 'The German forces immediately overcame the French defenses.'
- (73) a. 아이고, 아이고. 내 팔이 못된 중대가리한테 부러졌다!
 aiku, aiku. ne phal-i mos+twce-n cuŋ+tekali-hant^he pul•əcy-əss-ta!
 woe, woe I:AT arm-SBJ NCTL.NEG+become-PF.AT monk+top-AN.LOC/AGT snap.britly[•INCH]-PF-FML/ASRT,DCL
 'Oh-oh. I've had my arm broken by that ghastly bald-head!' (=Wb)
- b. 아이고, 아이고. 못된 중대가리가 내 팔을 부러뜨렸다!
 aiku, aiku. mos+twce-n cuŋ+tekali-ka ne phal-il pul•əttily-əss-ta!
 woe, woe NCTL.NEG+become-PF.AT monk+top-SBJ I:AT arm-ACC snap.britly[•INCH]-PF-FML/ASRT,DCL
 'Oh-oh. That ghastly bald-head has broken my arm!'
- (74) a. 결국은 독재정권이 국민들에게 쓰러졌다.
 kyəlkuk-in tokce+cəŋkwən-i kukmin-til-eke ssil•əcy-əss-ta.
 ultimately-SEL dictatorship+regime-SBJ nation-PL-AN.LOC/AGT get.toppled[•INCH]-PF/AOR-FML,DCL
 'Ultimately, the dictatorship got overthrown by the nation's citizens.'
- b. 결국은 국민들이 독재정권을 쓰러뜨렸다.
 kyəlkuk-in kukmin-til-i tokce+cəŋkwən-il ssil•əttily-əss-ta.
 ultimately-SEL nation-SBJ dictatorship+regime-ACC topples[•FACT]-PF/AOR-FML,DCL
 'Ultimately, the nation's citizens overthrew the dictatorship.'

Overall, just as in the case of the Basic-Inchoative alternations discussed in the previous section (§5.1.3), INACTIVE sentences with the periphrastic AGENT pattern *N-e iyhesə* '(being) due to N' seem to occur more commonly than AGENT INVERSE sentences. Again, however, the main reason lies in the simple fact that the Serial Inchoative pattern is strongly associated with material or configurational state changes of physical objects, in which case the AGENT INVERSE construction is of course blocked by the Relative Animacy Constraints. Where the situational referent refers to interpersonal events, however, the AGENT INVERSE construction occurs quite easily, particularly in

prescriptively uncontrolled usage. Be that as it may, apart from the structurally equipollent markedness of the ACTIVE verb, sentence alternations such as those in 72-74 could not conform more closely to the Standard Voice Model's category of 'active ~ passive' alternation.

Conclusion

One of the things that I found most difficult and frustrating to deal with during the work on this thesis has been the unshakable belief of the Koreanist discourse in the active-passive-causative system analysis. Difficult because it took me a such long time to detach my own frame of reference from what I have called the Standard Voice Model. Difficult and frustrating because I found myself engaging with issues, debates, arguments and explanations that seemed to be relevant, only to realise later on that they were primarily reflections of analytic beliefs and assumptions and bore little relation to facts and phenomena in the Korean system. And frustrating because the sheer weight of established beliefs and traditions makes it so hard to argue for a fresh start, as would be easily possible if Korean were as little researched as most other languages that do not fit the Standard Average European mold.

Nevertheless, I did in this thesis present the broad outline of a radically different approach to the Korean situation-dynamic system. Radically different, however, only in two respects. For one, I proposed that the Korean system of clausal diathesis constructions (what would generally fall under 'voice syntax') is relatively independent of the verbal system and its voice patterns and categories. In other words, it is not possible to claim that 'active' or 'passive' syntax is subcategorised by 'active' or 'passive' morphology. Secondly, I claimed that the Korean voice system consists of equally basic and primarily semantic categories that are associated with but not directly defined by verb-structural patterns or paradigms. In other words, the Korean system does not consist of morphological categories such as an unmarked 'active' or a marked 'passive' that can be defined on the basis of verb-morphological status.

In many other respects, the only thing that is radically different are my reinterpretations of well-known phenomena. For a start, it is well known that 'passive' verbs have widespread and frequent inchoative-like usage. My account is therefore radical only insofar as I view these verbs as belonging to an INACTIVE voice category

whose 'inchoative' usage is at least as central as, if not more central than their 'passive' usage. Secondly, voice-like verb-structural pattern and paradigm proliferation is an obvious fact. The only radical aspect of my account is that it embraces this proliferation as a correlate of the primarily semantic nature of Korean voice categories. Thirdly, it is well established that the verbs of the less widespread, grammaticalised or synthesised patterns have the same semantic, syntagmatic and paradigmatic properties as the verbs of the more 'regular' voice-marking patterns. My position is only radical in that it regards all patterns as equally valid and integral parts of the Korean voice system. And finally, the semantic voice categories in my account – INACTIVE, ENDOACTIVE and EXO-ACTIVE/FACTITIVE – are not all that different from the structurally based 'passive', 'active' and 'causative' categories, particularly as they appear in the Koreanist discourse.

After setting out this different take on the Korean situation-dynamic system, one tempting avenue would have been to fully engage with the Koreanist discourse and embark on a detailed critique of the way in which the established active-passive-causative analysis has failed to explain, obscured and even distorted the picture that emerges from the actual Korean data. In the end, however, most of the phenomena that are problematic for the established account are not really unknown, but instead dismissed or neglected as secondary, peripheral or insignificant. Consequently, it seems that the most effective and productive avenue is to show that these phenomena are so widespread and frequent, systemic and motivated that they must be viewed as central to the organisation of the Korean system.

Against this background, I have argued my case from three different angles. The first angle consisted of establishing the inherent biases and asymmetries in the Standard Voice Model and their origin in the language-specific organisation of first the Classical Indoeuropean and then English and other Average Standard European languages (§2.1). While such a discussion is almost unnecessary in view of recent shifts in the typologically informed discourses of Contemporary Linguistics, it remains important in the context of a Korean linguistic discourse that is still strongly influenced by the universalist tendencies of Anglo-American Formalist theories.

The second angle consisted of emphasising the true extent of structural variety in the Korean voice-marking system: pattern and paradigm proliferation, pattern competition and the widespread existence of equipollent voice-marking paradigms. And although I provided only a rough outline of the pertinent phenomena, this alone provides strong

evidence for my assertion that the Korean voice system is primarily organised into semantic rather than structural categories (§2.3.1).

In the main, however, we have concentrated on two phenomena that have turned out to be interwoven to a surprising extent. The first is the way in which the Korean voice and diathesis system is organised around fundamental experiential distinctions in the animacy, agency and causality dimensions: between animate and inanimate entities, between the actions of animate and agentive participants and situations that lack the pertinent features, and between agent causation, force-dynamic impact causation and spatio-temporally more distributed causation. These interrelated distinctions underlie a range of systemic phenomena: the distinction and choice between ANIMATE and INANIMATE LOCATIONAL patterns (§3.1), the distinction and choice between INVERSE AGENT, FORCE and CIRCUMSTANTIAL CAUSE as well as other agent-phrase-like patterns (§3.2), and the preferred or obligatory choice between ACTIVE and INACTIVE diathesis constructions (§2.3.2 and §4-5 throughout).

Finally, we turned to the two most central INACTIVE voice-marking patterns that occur in the Primary verb class and are generally regarded as Korean manifestations of the 'passive' category. Beginning with a survey of their lexical spread, I have argued that the apparent 'agent retention' semantics of 'morphological passive' and 'analytic passive' verbs are an illusion, caused by analytic prejudice, the analytic comparison with their ACTIVE counterparts and the assumption of referential equivalence between the two (§4.1.1, 5.1.3). We then moved on to a fine-grained investigation into the usage of a few but representative voice-marked INACTIVE verbs. There I have demonstrated that inchoative-like instances and stative/inchoative-passive ambivalences are so widespread and scattered across a verb's referential-semantic spectrum that inchoative-like and less passive-like instances must be viewed as central and integral parts of a single usage continuum (§4 and 5 throughout). In other words, contrary to what is generally assumed or claimed, Korean has no 'passive' category whose primary function would be that of an agent-retention passive along the lines of the Standard Voice Model, and whose other functions would be secondary, peripheral or idiomatic (§4, 5.1.3). And conversely, it is systemically unjustified to distinguish between 'non-passive' and 'passive' *α-a/ci.ta* verbs that are essentially exemplars of the same INACTIVE pattern (§5).

The most important conclusions that emerge from the usage investigations in this

thesis, however, concern the status and systemic significance of all those instances that refer to <inanimate causation>, that is causation by inanimate entities and percepts. These are, as we saw, passive-like and not passive-like at the same time: they may instantiate INVERSE constructions that resemble but differ from the AGENT INVERSE construction, they may have TRANSACTIVE counterparts but these are then dispreferred, and more often than not such ACTIVE counterparts are simply infelicitous or anomalous.

What underlies all the less passive-like properties of these instances is, of course, the fact that the referent situation lacks similarity to the manipulative or targeted actions of an agentive animate entity. It is this which motivates the existence and choice of the INANIMATE FORCE or CAUSE INVERSE constructions, and it is this which causes the widespread absence of TRANSACTIVE counterparts. And it is undoubtedly this which makes native Korean linguists conclude that INVERSE instances with no conceivable TRANSACTIVE counterparts lack those 'active' counterparts 'because there is no agent' are therefore they are not truly 'passive'. And in this they do have a point, but not in the sense intended, for the pertinent instances are clearly instances of the same INANIMATE INVERSE constructions as those with conceivable TRANSACTIVE counterparts. Instead, no matter whether potential TRANSACTIVE counterparts are less frequent, dispreferred or fully anomalous, what is significant about all these less passive-like instances is that they constitute one of the intermediate links between the most inchoative-like and most passive-like instances of the INACTIVE voice category. In other words, they are part of the glue that holds together the two extreme ends of the INACTIVE verbs' usage spectrum within a coherent continuum.

Which brings us to the final conclusion of this thesis: the proposition that the inchoative-passive conflation in the Korean verbal system may be in no small measure due to and perpetuated by the way in which animacy and agency effects shape both the organisation and the frequency distribution of the Korean diathesis system. The pertinent animacy and agency effects can be summarised as follows:

Animacy and agency effects in the Korean diathesis system:

- (1) TRANSACTIVE solutions are not widely and frequently extended beyond situations that involve a strongly agentive animate participant.
- (2) INACTIVE solutions show a pervasive distinction between <animate and agentive causation> versus <inanimate and non-agentive causation>.
- (3) The choice between TRANSACTIVE and INVERSE solutions is only relatively free

for interpersonal <animate agent targets and affects patient> situations.

- (4) For <inanimate causation> non-ACTIVE solutions are the overwhelmingly preferred choice.
- (5) For <animate agent targets inanimate object> situations the TRANSACTIVE solution is by far the preferred choice. The only widely used INACTIVE solution are constructions that leave the agent unexpressed, but these are only chosen where the agent and her causal involvement are perceptually nonsalient.

To appreciate how these effects influence the nature of the Korean diathesis system it is worth contrasting their systemic correlates with the pertinent features of the English system:

Systemic correlates in comparison with the English picture:

- (1) ACTIVE and INACTIVE diathesis constructions contrast primarily in relation to the <agentive> vs <non-agentive> dichotomy (Effects 1, 2).

English: ACTIVE and INACTIVE diathesis constructions contrast in relation to two different parameters: The ACTIVE ~ PASSIVE contrast revolves primarily around perceptual or attentional focus assignment to cause or effect locus. Both ACTIVE ~ INCHOATIVE and PASSIVE ~ INCHOATIVE contrasts revolve around the <caused> vs <spontaneous> dichotomy.

- (2) Actions are strongly associated with ACTIVE verbs and vice-versa (Effects 1, 2, 4, 5).

English: Actions are associated with both ACTIVE and PASSIVE verbs and vice-versa

- (3) In their INACTIVE expression, non-interpersonal actions are aligned with spontaneous situations: the INACTIVE expression tends to have no AGENT argument (that of spontaneous situations lacks a CAUSE LOCUS argument). And it tends to be chosen only when the agent is perceptually nonsalient (spontaneous situations have no perceived cause locus) (Effect 5).

English: The INACTIVE expression of actions may be aligned with the expression of spontaneous situations but AGENTED PASSIVE constructions are also frequent

- (4) Inanimate causation is only weakly aligned with the expression of agentive causation: it is rarely associated with ACTIVE constructions and it is associated with distinct INVERSE constructions (Effects 1, 2, 4).

English: Inanimate causation is strongly aligned with the expression of agentive causation: it is strongly associated both with ACTIVE constructions and with the

same PASSIVE EFFECTLOCUS be Verb\PPP by CAUSELOCUS construction as that used for agentive causation.

- (5) Apart from the interpersonal case, it is hard to find ACTIVE and INACTIVE clause pairs that would be semantically almost equivalent and differ only in terms of perceptual or attentional focus assignment (Effects 1-5).

English: A large proportion of ACTIVE ~ PASSIVE clause alternations are semantically almost equivalent and differ only in terms of perceptual or attentional focus assignment.

Here, I am not claiming that every diathesis system of a similar nature will necessarily lead to inchoative-passive conflation. What is striking, nevertheless, is the coincidence of three facts. For one, the usage spectrums of Korean ACTIVE and INACTIVE constructions are strongly dissociated from each other. Consequently, even if Korean had a distinct passive voice, its referential-semantic spectrum would remain different from that of the 'active'. Secondly, non-agentive causation is strongly dissociated from agentive causation with respect to both ACTIVE and INACTIVE constructions. The existence of a run-of-the-mill 'passive ~ inchoative' opposition would certainly result in a misalignment between the verbal voice and clausal diathesis systems. Thirdly, as long as agentive and non-agentive causation remain dissociated and 'agented passive' constructions remain strongly dispreferred for most action types, it is hard to see any strong pressure or motivation for a distinct 'agent retention' passive.

In final conclusion then, there are indeed strong systemic pressures that would seem to facilitate the emergence and perpetuation of the inchoative-passive conflation in the Korean verbal system. And, not to forget, once the inchoative and passive spectrum are conflated in a single INACTIVE category, the floodgates are opened for pattern proliferation and the passive-like use of structurally basic verbs, phenomena that are a natural correlate of inchoative-passive conflation but would seem to further militate against the emergence of a distinct 'passive' category. Whether and to which extent all of these pressures are truly decisive, however, is a question that can only be answered on the basis of broader cross-linguistic evidence.

Data Documentation

The data in this thesis comes from four sources, which are marked in the text and referenced in this appendix as follows:

- (1) Personally elicited or designed and confirmed data (*not marked in text*). Includes reconstructed data that is based on imprecise memory of natural utterances.
- (2) Personal collection (*marked in text as PC*). Data that I have personally collected either from written sources (print media, non-fiction and fiction books) or from spoken discourse. Written sources from newspapers or magazines are referenced by publication name and date or issue, other written sources are given bibliographical references. Spoken data not from media is documented with initials and date.
- (3) Corpus data (*marked in text as Cp*). Found in corpora and corpus-based literature and dictionaries. The following are the corpora that I directly accessed:

Kaist KCP: Untagged corpus collected and maintained at KAIST (Korean Advanced Institute of Science and Technology). Extracted through open access website <http://csfive.kaist.ac.kr/kcp>

Koryŏ CETConc: Tagged corpus collected and maintained at Koryŏ (Korea) University. Extracted through open-access website <http://ikc.korea.ac.kr/cgi-bin/kwic/kwic.cgi>

Corpus data taken from secondary sources is given bibliographical references.

- (4) Web data (*marked in text as Wb*). Found through web searches with two search engine providers: Google (www.google.co.kr) and Naver (www.naver.com). Returns were followed up onto the site or, where already removed, onto the cached record held by the search engine. Given the fast-changing nature of web sites and content, it seemed pointless to record the url address. Instead I have sometimes included information about author or website, but in most cases simply documented by date posted or, if none appears, date found.

- (5) Designed examples from dictionaries (*marked in text as Dic*) and the linguistic literature (*in text as LgEx*). Referenced by bibliographic entry and location.

The following documents the data type, its source, its original form (sometimes including necessary discourse context) and the changes that I have made for reasons of presentation, and its original form.

Data with type, source, modifications and original form

In the text, the extent to which examples stay true to the underlying original data were indicated as follows:

- =X Original with no modification (although possibly cut out from sentence or sentence chain)
- <X Original with cuts involving omission of constituents or phrases, plus verb form modifications where necessary
- X+ Original with additions, usually reconstructed dropped constituents or alternatives
- ≈X Changed with modifications involving element changes or reordering
- ◇X Quoted as reference only. Major changes/differences.

In examples that adduce or compare several elements in the same paradigmatic slot, those that are not in the original are folled by a raised⁹ sign.

In the following documentation, **omitted** material is in **pale outline** typeface, **cited** material in **bold**, and **modified** material **underlined**, with modifications and additions set out in the following note. Data adduced in the footnotes is at the very end.

- 1-1b Real, spoken register (spoken utterance in fiction?). Unchanged. Corpus: Kaist KCP
죽었을 Mark 264
다 거짓말이야. 우리 어머니 무사했을 리가 없지. 아마 공산당놈들한테
죽었을 거야.
- 1-2b Real, written register (screenplay scene description?). Unchanged. Corpus: Kaist KCP
찍기도 Mark 2624
하늘도 청명한 오후에 바람이 낚새도 전혀 없었는데, 어디선가 갑자기 거센
바람이 분다. 이 바람은 상점 간판을 날리는가 하면 진열대를 부수기도 하고
빌딩 사이에 걸려 있는 현수막을 찢기도 한다.
- 2-5b Designed, formal style (linguistic example format). Romanised, romanisation/gloss/
translation changed. Shibatani 1976: 19, Ex. 28a.
Emeni-nun ai-hanthey os-ul iphy-ess-ta.
mother-TM child-DM clothes-OM put on-past-ind
'The mother put the clothes on the child.'
- 2-7a Natural, literary register (formal web discourse). Cut; abridged. Corpus: Kibs 파괴 434
아아, 우리 민중의 神氣, 그 氣化神靈은 1894년 갑오년을 고비로 외래의
서양식 혹은 일본식으로 잘못된 사상들에 의해 옮겨지고, 소외되고,
뿌리뽑히고, 억압당하고, 더럽혀지고, 분할당하고, 감금당하고, 무시당하고,
파괴당하고, 노예가 되어 이제껏 죽임당해왔다.
- 2-7b Natural, literary register (formal web discourse). Web: found 16-01-07

쿠르드족 3000만명중 1500만명은 터키에 500만은 이라크에 몇백만은 이란에 그리고 몇백만은 시리아 등지로 쪼개져 이리 밟히고 저리 밟히고 여기서 쫓겨지고 저기서 팔시받고 무시당하고 못난 민족으로 살아가고 있는 모습이 까닥했으면 우리가 그렇게 될 뻔 한겁니다.

- 2-10a Real, written register (newspaper feature). Unchanged. 영남일보 [Yöngnam Times], Web edition: 14-12-06.
정글코끼리들은 시바의 신처럼 무자비한 파괴를 했다.
- 2-10b Real, colloquial register (written semi-oral). Unchanged. Web (forum): dated 22-05-02.
먼저 우리의 한라산의 환경을 돌아보고 케이블카를 설치 하는것이 좋은것인지 생각해 보아야 할것 같습니다. 그리고... 케이블카의 설치자체에 막대한 환경파괴가 된 다는것을 알고는 있겠죠?
- 2-10c Real, written register (tourist information). Unchanged. Web (travel advertisement): Google cached 07-02-07.
그러나 70년 로마의 티투스 장군에 의해 예루살렘은 또한번 철저한 파괴를 당했다.
- 2-11a Real, communicative written register. Unchanged. Web Media: OhMyNews (www.ohmynews.com; web-exclusive newspaper), reader's comment: dated 22-07-06.
특히나 미국이 선한 국가로 보이면서 사람을 죽이고 자연을 파괴하는 것은 다름 아닌 미국사람들이 제일 사람을 많이 죽이는 것 같습니다. [...]
그런데 왜 잔인하게 사람을 죽이고 자연을 파괴를 한다지요?
- 2-11b Real, colloquial register. Unchanged. Web (forum): dated 15-01-[05⁷] in summary dated 28-09-05
어떤 십새끼 [sic!]가 밀약을 해서 국법을 파괴를 시키니까 국법파괴자를 구속시켜야지.
- 2-12a Real, written register (fiction). Cut and abridged. Web-published novel: 삼류소설가 [A third-rate novelist]. *늑대와 양-0*. Posted on <http://www.fancug.net>, 01-11-06
지구에는 미국이 세계의 지배자임을 자처하며 모든 국가들위에 군림하고 있었지만 이 미지의 생명체들에 의해 맨먼저 파멸당했다. 그것도 단15일만에 말이다. 뒤를 이어 러시아, 중국등 아시아와 유럽의 강대국들이 연이어 그들에게 파괴를 당하고 제국주의를 표방하고 침략의 역사를 다시 쓰고있었던 일본마저 단3일만에 그들의 무자비한 공격으로 바닷속에 침몰해버렸다.
- 2-12b Real, communicative written register. Cut and abridged. Web (forum): posted 01-02-07
나의 블로그 안에 있는 근거 자료 기사들을 자세히 보시면 이해가 더 빠르시겠지만 태풍 경고를 제대로 하지않아서 많은 사람들이 재산을 파괴를 당하고 목숨을 잃는 일들이 수도 없이 많습니다.
- 2-23b Real, colloquial written register (diary/biographic). Web (blog): posted 17-01-06
그런데 순식간에 시위대의 대오가 무너졌습니다. 전경들이 시위대를 뒤쫓기 시작합니다. // 저는 사람들에게 밀려 넘어졌죠. 시위대가 아니므로 달아날 이유가 없어 옷을 뚝뚝 털고 일어서는데 곤봉이 머리로 날아듭니다.
- 2-23c Real, written register (film review/summary). Cut and abridged. Web Media: 일다(로) llda(ro) (www.ildaro.com; web-exclusive 'feminist journal'): dated 14-09-03
가장(家長)이었던 남편 후안이 투우장의 소에게 받혀 식물인간이 된 후로 그녀에게 삶의 모든 짐이 부과된다.

- 2-25a Designed, formal style (linguistic example format), Yale romanisation. Gloss/translation changed. Jaehoon Yeon 2003: 132, Ex. 81a.
 kay-ka aki-lul mul-ess-ta.
 dog-Nom child-Acc bite-Past-Dec
 'The dog bit the child.'
- 2-25b Designed, formal style (linguistic example format), Romanised, romanisation/gloss/translation changed Jaehoon Yeon 2003: 132, Ex. 81b.
 Aki-ka kay-eykey mul-ess-ta.
 dog-Nom child-Agent bite-Pass-Past-Dec
 'The child was bitten by the dog.'
- 2-28b Real, written register (fiction?). Corpus-based dictionary: Yonsei CLID 1998 1762.2 꽃기다 ①.
 토끼는 사냥꾼에게 쫓겨서 이리저리 뛰어 다녔다.
- 2-29a Designed, formal style (linguistic example format), romanised. Used as template for serious modification. Jaehoon Yeon 2003: 131, Ex. 78a.
 Namca-ka kong-ul ccoch-nun-ta.
 man-Nom ball-Acc chase-Pres-Dec
 'The man is chasing the ball.'
- 2-29b Designed, formal style (linguistic example format), romanised. Used as template for serious modification. Jaehoon Yeon 2003: 131, Ex. 78b.
 Kong-i namca-eykey ccoch-ki-n-ta.
 ball-Nom man-Agent chases-Pass-Pres-Dec
 'The ball is chased by the man.'
- 2-30a Designed, FORMAL style (linguistic example format), romanised. Used as template for serious modification. Jaehoon Yeon 2003: 131, Ex. 74b.
 Nay-ka sikan-ey ccoch-ki-n-ta.
 I-Nom time-by chases-Pass-Pres-Dec
 'I am chased by time (things are hectic for me).'
- 2-30b Designed, formal style (linguistic example format), romanised. Used as template for serious modification. Jaehoon Yeon 2003: 131, Ex. 74a.
 * Sikan-i na-lul ccoch-nun-ta.
 time-Nom I-Acc chase-Pres-Dec
 Time is chasing me.'
- 2-31b Designed, formal style (linguistic example format), romanised. Romanisation/gloss/translation changed. Jaehoon Yeon 2003: 129 Ex. 72a.
 * Khal-i Minho-lul ccilu-ess-ta
 sword-Nom [Minho]-Acc pierce-Past-Dec
 'The sword pierced Minho.'
- 2-31c Designed, formal style (linguistic example format). Expanded, judgment added (see note). Im Hong-bin 1978: 315 Ex. 10a.
 √1 돌 하나가 기차를 뒤집었다.
Added constituent: √1 결국은 Kyelkwuk.un ...
Im Hong-bin claims that this designed example is acceptable, if stylistically unusual (1978: 315-6). The sentence was, however, unanimously judged as 'strange' or 'impossible' by over a dozen Korean native speakers that I consulted. Note also that the first reaction of many consultants was simple incomprehension along the lines of 'Eh, what is that supposed to mean?'
- 2-31d Designed, formal style (linguistic example format). Kim Hŭng-su 1998: 629 (in text). Cites Pak Yŏng-mok 1977 for the INACTIVE PROCESS counterpart 32d.

[7] 열쇠가 문을 열었다

Judgment ?is my interpretation of 잘 성립되지 않으나 "is not likely to arise"

- 2-32b Designed, formal style (linguistic example format), Yale romanisation. Analysis/gloss/translation changed. Jaehoon Yeon 2003: 129 Ex. 72b.

* Minho-ka khal-ey ccilu-i-ess-ta
[Minho]-Nom sword-by pierce-Pass-Past-Dec
'Minho was stabbed (pierced by a sword).'

- 2-32c Designed, formal style (linguistic example format), Expanded. Im Hong-bin 1978: 315 Ex. 10b.

√1 돌 하나에 기차가 뒤집혔다.

Added constituent: √1 결국은 kyælkuk.in ...

- 2-32d Designed, formal style (linguistic example format). Kim Hŭng-su 1998: 628 Ex. 11 ㄱ, quoting Pak Yŏng-mok 1977.

문이 열쇠{로, 에 의해} 열렸다.

- 2-33a Designed, formal style (linguistic example format). No gloss. Yi Ki-dong 1976: 30, Ex. 24 ㄱ.

마을이 어둠에 싸였다.

- 2-34a Designed, formal style (linguistic example format). Im Hong-bin 1978: 313 Ex. 7b.

그는 강박 관념에 쫓긴다.

- 2-34b Designed, formal style (linguistic example format). Original with same acceptability judgment. Im Hong-bin 1978: 313 Ex. 7a.

* 강박 관념이 그를 쫓는다.

- 2-38b = 1-1b

- 2-39a Real, written register (diary/essay/feature style). Web (blog): posted 05-11-2004

밖에서는 그럴 듯하게 행세를 하면서(그는 공무원이다) 집안에서는 그의 아내에게 꼼짝도 못한다. 그래서 나와 그의 아내는 술 잔을 부딪히며 담소를 즐기는 동안, 그는 부엌에서 요리해서 내놓기 바쁘다.

- 2-39b Real, written register (fiction[?]). Corpus-based dictionary: Yonsei CLID 1998: 1716.1 지다²

나미는 자존심이 강하고 남에게 지기를 싫어하는 성격이다.

- 2-40a Real, written register (fiction[?]/biographical[?]). Corpus-based dictionary: Yonsei CLID 1998: 1093.1 속다.

나는 단박에 언니가 그 남자에게 속고 있다는 것을 알 수 있었다.

- 2-44a Real, written register (fiction[?]/biographical[?]). Corpus-based dictionary: Yonsei CLID 1998: 592.2 떨어 ㉠㉡

바람에 떨어 있는 단풍나무 가지 사이로 가을의 파란 하늘이 보인다.

- 2-44b Real, written register (fiction[?]/biographical[?]). Corpus-based dictionary: Yonsei CLID 1998: 1882.2 타다 ㉠

지붕이 불에 타 폭삭 내려앉았다.

- 2-44d Real, written register (fiction[?]). Corpus-based dictionary: Yonsei CLID 1998: 387.1/2 녹다 ㉠

아스팔트는 그 뜨거운 여름 햇빛에 질질 녹고 있었다.

- 3-5b Designed, formal style (linguistic example format). Verb simplified/changed. U Hyöng-sik 1996: 138, Ex. 4-74 k
 그가 {집, 문, ??책상, *책}-으로 걸어갔다.
Simplified/changed: 걸어갔다 → 갔다 ka.ss.ta.
- 3-23b Real, written register (essay?). Anomalous alternative added. Corpus-based dictionary: Yonsei CLID 1998 1289.1, 에서 [I] ① (5)
 우리 반에서 내가 제일 키가 크다.
*Alternate anomaly: *에 e*
- 3-27b Real, written register (script instruction? fiction?). Anomalous alternative added. Corpus-based dictionary: Yonsei CLID 1998 927.2, 붙다 [I] ①
 그의 왼쪽 이마에 제법 큼지막한 반창고가 붙어 있다.
*Alternate anomaly: *로 lo*
- 3-51a Real, written register. Corpus-based dictionary: Yonsei CLID 1998 1284.1, 에 [I] ㉔ (1)
 만며니리가 친정인 대구에 가서 첫딸을 낳았다.
- 3-52a Real, written register (fiction). Corpus-based dictionary: Yonsei CLID 1998 889.1, 부딪치다 [I] ①
 자전거가 미끄러져 가로수에 부딪쳐 쓰러졌다.
- 3-53a Real, written register (essay?). Abridged. Corpus-based dictionary: Yonsei CLID 1998 453.2, 달라붙다 ①
 모를 심을 때 거머리가 다리에 달라붙어 떼어내던 기억이 생생합니다
- 3-53b Real, written register (autobiographic essay?). Dropped constituent added. Kaist KCP: 달라붙어 2196
그녀는 발작을 일으킨 때문인지 힘이 세었다. 찰거머리처럼 군인에게 달라붙어 떨어지지 않았다.
- 3-54a Real, written register (essay?). Corpus-based dictionary: Yonsei CLID 1998 1477.2, 익숙하다 [I] ②
 나는 주어진 생활에 너무 익숙하다.
- 3-56b Real, written register (essay/fiction?). Cut; dispreferred alternative added. Corpus-based dictionary: Yonsei CLID 1998 1286.2, 에게 [I] ⑤
친구들에게 간단한 문안 편지만 받아도 방가워 몇번씩 읽고 또 읽었다.
Added alternate: !! 친구들에게서 c'inku.til.eke.sə ...
- 3-60a Real, written register (fiction). Corpus-based dictionary: Yonsei CLID 1998 80.1, 건너가다 [I]
 새택은 아이를 데리고 시어른 방으로 건너가 한옆에 누웠다.
Note: Non-standard spelling 누웠다 is original
- 3-61a Real, written register (fiction). Corpus-based dictionary: Yonsei CLID 1998 426.2, 다가가다 ①
 별 수 없이 나는 일어서서 문가로 다가가다.
- 3-61b Real, written register (fiction; translated?). Alternative added. Corpus-based dictionary: Yonsei CLID 1998 1287.1, 에게로 ①
 그는 잔을 내려 놓고 천천히 그녀에게로 다가가다.
Added alternate: 그녀에게 ki.nyə.eke

- 3-62a Real, spoken register (in fiction?). Abridged, alternative added. Corpus-based dictionary: Yonsei CLID 1998 375.2, 넘겨주다
다시 찾은 이 나라의 국민의 권리를 그런 자들한테 넘겨줄 순 없어요.
Added alternate: 한테로 hant^he.lo
- 3-65b Real, written register (fiction). Alternatives added. Corpus-based dictionary: Yonsei CLID 1998 1483.1, 인사하다 ①
그는 앞자리에 앉은 직원에게 고개 숙여 인사한 다음 자리에 앉았다.
Added alternates: 앞 자리에 앉은 직원 쪽{에|으로} ap^h cali.e ancin cikwən ccok{e | ilo}
- 3-66b Real, written register (newsprint?). Cut, alternative added. YSC1 via NKS93: 109 ex (6).
양로시설에 특별 급식비를 지원하는 등 ...
Added alternate: 양로시설의 거주자에게 yaŋloːsisəl.iy kəcuca.eke ...
- 3-73b Real, spoken register (radio/TV interview?). Alternative added. Corpus: Kaist KCP 안맞아 Mark 188
뒷트임 없는 유럽식은 똥똥한 사람에 안맞아
Added alternate: 사람한테 salam-hant^he
- 3-79a Real, written register, (fiction?). YSC1 via NKS93: 74
그 회사의 사장인 그는 아직 그에 걸맞은 상대를 못 찾아서 결혼을 못했다.
- 3-81 Designed?, usage dictionary. Alternative added. KVD: 33, 견주다 ① 2.
신랑감 후보로 철수를 영수에 견줄 수야 없지.
Added alternate: 에게 eke
- 3-84a Real, colloquial register (conversation). GWC 4-06.
아이 가온아 / 아빠한테 앉아! 엄마가 아가한테 젓맥이고 있잖아!
Added alternate: 아빠 무릎에 appa mulip^h.e
- 3-102b Real, written register (essay/blog style). Alternative added. Web: dated 31-10-2006.
핑계같지만 너무 남들에게 휩쓸렸던 것 같습니다.
Added alternate: 남의 영향에 nam-i yaŋhyang-e
- 3-103a Designed, formal style (linguistic example format). romanised. Romanisation/gloss/translation changed. Jaehoon Yeon 2003: 131, Ex. 79b.
ku cha-ka salam-ul pat-ass-ta.
the car-Nom man-Acc bang-Past-Dec
'The car struck the man.'
- 3-103b Designed, formal style (linguistic example format), romanised. Romanisation/gloss/translation changed. Jaehoon Yeon 2003: 131, Ex. 79b.
salam-i ku cha-ey pat-hy-ess-ta.
man-Nom the car-Agent bang-Pass-Past-Dec
'The man was hit by the car.'
- 3-104a Designed, formal style (linguistic example format). Im Hong-bin 1978: 315, Ex. 11a.
흑이 지붕을 덮었다.
Judgment as less-than-normal is mine. Although he does regard this and similar sentences as 'grammatically' well-formed, Im Hong-bin also explicitly concedes that it constitutes a stylistically unusual choice.
- 3-104b Designed, formal style (linguistic example format). Im Hong-bin 1978: 315, Ex. 11b.

지붕이 흠에 덮였다.

- 3-114a Designed, formal style (linguistic example format). Acceptability judgment changed, anomalous alternative added. Sŏ Chŏng-su 1994: 960, as quoted in Kim Hŭng-su 1998: 626, Ex. (5).

책은 저 학자{?에게, 에 의하여} 쓰였다.

Anomaly judgment in *에게 eke is mine.

Alternate anomaly: *한테 han^he

- 3-115a Designed, formal style (schematic clause in usage dictionary). Anomalous alternatives added. KVD: 174 막히다 [2]-3.

시위대에 의해 길이 막혔다.

Added anomalies: { *시위대에게 | *시위대한테 } {siwite.eke | siwite.han^he}.

A note in the source judges these as "awkward (실현이 어렵다).

- 3-115b Designed, formal style (schematic clause in usage dictionary). Abridged. KVD: 174 막히다 [1]-3.

시위대가 (바리케이드로) 길을 막기 시작했다.

- 3-116a Real, written register (essay style). Anomalous alternatives added. Corpus: Koryŏ CETConc 만들 (동사) 807.

여성의 성적 일탈은 곧 남자들에 의해서 만들어진단.

Added anomalies: 남자들{ *에게 | ??한테 } namca.til.{ *eke | ??han^he }

- 3-119a Real, written register (non-fiction). Corpus: Koryŏ CETConc 의하 (동사) 75.

하지만 약착스럽고 잔인한 상어 떼에 의해 끝내 고기는 살점이 다 떨어져 나가고 뼈만 앙상하게 남고 만다.

- 3-119b Real, written register (commentary style). Abridged. Corpus: Koryŏ CETConc 의하 (동사) № 15.

현대중공업 사태도 노조측이 법 테두리 안에서 합리적인 절차와 방법에 의해 문제를 해결하려는 노력을 보였으면 한다.

- 3-120b Real, written register (magazine feature style). Web: dated 23-12-2004

외적인 스트레스는 좀더 복잡하고 다양한 원인에 의하지만 대부분 부모에 의한 것이 많다.

- 3-120c Real, written register (essay style). Anomalous alternatives added. Corpus: Koryŏ CETConc 의하 (동사) № 4670.

발병 원인은 곰팡이, 세균, 선충류의 기생에 의한다.

- 3-121a Designed, formal style (linguistic example format). Pak Yangyu 1978: 59, seen as quoted in Kim Hŭng-su 1998

영수에 의해, 철수가 영의에게 물렸다.

- 3-121b Real, written register (essay/blog style). Cut. Web: dated 30-12-2006.

(일제의 침략과 수탈의 시발점이나 미제의 침략과 수탈의 시발점이나 뭐가 다른니까? 미제라는 말을 쓰면 빨갱이가 되는건니까?) 저 부분만 뚝 떼서 보면 회한한 말인거 같지만 한국인들이 페리에 의해 미국에게 개항되었다고 가정하고 미국의 식민지가 되었다고 가정하면 미제의 침략과 수탈이 됩니다.

- 3-121c Real, written register (essay style). Web: dated 03-08-2006.

(공산당이 무서운 것이 아니라 공산당으로 오인 받았을 때 가해지는 이 사회의 광기의 폭력이 두려움의 실체이다.) 괴물보다도 괴물에 의해

바이러스에 감염되었을 것이라는 의심이 더 무섭다.

- 3-122a Real, written register (popular science style). Corpus: Koryŏ CETConc 의하 (동사) № 59.

원홀에서는 중력에 의해 시공이 극단적으로 휘어져 있기 때문에 두 개의 장소를 순식간에 이동할 수 있다.

- 3-123a Real, semi-written register (indirect speech in newspaper report). Corpus: Koryŏ CETConc 의하 (동사) № 329.

그러나 " 법이 궁극적으로 보호해야 할 개인의 인격과 행복권이 폭력에 의해 무참히 짓밟힌 데 대해 재판부가 깊은 고뇌를 했다는 흔적은 찾아 보기 어렵다" 는 것이 재판을 지켜 본 많은 사람들의 공통된 느낌이다.

- 3-124a Real, written register (essay/commentary style). Cut and abridged. Corpus: Koryŏ CETConc 의하 (동사) № 1186.

또한 기술혁신이 전국민의 참여에 의해서 이루어지기 위해서는 과학 기술에 대한 국민적 지지가 필요하고 이를 위해서는 국민의 과학에 대한 이해의 폭이 커야 하고 따라서 과학대중화운동이 요구된다는 것이다.

- 3-125a Real, written register (analytic/academic style). Abridged. Corpus: Koryŏ CETConc 인하 (동사) № 507.

더욱이 분단에 근거한 폭압적 군부독재로 인해 계급간의 갈등이 표출되지 못했다.

- 3-125b Real, written register (essay/analytic style). Cut, dropped constituent added. Web: Google cache dated 27-11-06.

특히 우리나라의 경우 아직도 지방에는 남녀공학의 중고등학교가 드문 것처럼 기형적으로 억압된 남녀간의 만남이나 오랜 기간의 군사독재로 인한 소통의 억압 등이 인터넷을 통해 폭발적으로 터져나온 것이라 할 수 있지 않을까?

- 3-126a Real, written register (web blog/discussion style). Cut. Web: dated 04-12-2005

우리는 예수의 피로 인하여 우리가 구원을 받은 것이라고 말하지만, 이 의미는 예수께서 구원의 길을 열어 놓았다는 데 있다.

- 3-126b Real, written register (essay style). Cut. Web: found Spring 2006

하나님의 아들이신 ' 예수' 로 인하지 않고는(by the Blood of Jesus) 도저히 탕감 받을 수가 없다.

- 3-127 Real, written register (scientific paper style). Cut. 보건사회연구 21:2 p25 (이선우: 장애인의 취직형태와 소득에 영향을 미치는 원인에 대한 분석). Found in Web Search.

장애의 원인에서는 모든 장애의 원인을 산업재해로 인한 장애와 산업재해로 인하지 않은 장애로 나누어, 후자를0, 전자를1로 부호화하였다.

- 3-128a Real, written register (popular science style). Cut and abridged. Corpus: Kaist KCP 인한다 Mark 2016

의심할 바없이, 소아의 제1형 당뇨병은 내분비 체계의 Langerhans 섬의 베타 세포의 파괴로 인한다.

- 3-128b Real, written register (schoolbook style). Dropped constituent added. Web: dated 21-06-2002

(그러므로 중국과 일본은 이 한반도의 전신권을 손에 넣기 위해 모든 방법을 동원했다. 그러나 우리나라 정부는 이 부국강병의 도구를 그 어느

나라에게도 양도하지 않으려 노력했다.) 비록 시작은 청나라로 인했지만
이후부터는 자주적 건설을 위해 노력했다.

- 3-129a Real, written register (popular science style). Corpus: Koryŏ CETConc 인하 (동사) № 9.

고위급 관리의 과소비 여행으로 인해 교사의 연수 기회가 막혀버리는 것은 잘못된 것이다.

- 3-130a Real, written register (analytic style). Cut. Corpus: Koryŏ CETConc 인하 (동사) № 480.

그러면 우리 국토는 어떤 의미를 지닌 것인가 위에서 말한 여러 요인들로
인하여 현상태로 만들어진 우리 국토는 어떠한 중요한 의미를 지녔나?

- 3-131a Real, written register (analytic style). Cut and abridged. Corpus: Koryŏ CETConc 인하 (동사) № 61.

이 과정에서 예산의 규모는 확대되게 마련인데 우리 나라의 경우 80년대
안정 중실의 경제 운용 과정에서 통상적 예산인 앞주머니에 통제가
가해지자 각 부처는 기금이라는 옆주머니에 크게 의존하게 되어 결국 재정
구조가 복잡하게 되는 동시에 운용상의 낭비와 비효율로 인해 재정 전반의
효율성이 크게 저하되었다.

- 3-132a Real, written register (commentary style). Abridged. Corpus: Koryŏ CETConc 인하 (동사) № 23.

정치적 고려에 좌우돼 온 검찰로 인해 정치권이 어느새 도덕적 불감증에
젖고 죄의식이 무디어졌다고 보여지는 것이다.

- 3-133a Real, written register (description style). Cut. Corpus: Koryŏ CETConc 인하 (동사) № 193.

효정은 사이코드라마에서 받은 충격으로 인하여 자살을 기도하게 되고 결국
김과장의 정신 의학적 치료방법은 실패한 셈이 되고 만다.

- 3-133b Real, written register (fiction?). Corpus: Koryŏ CETConc 인하 (동사) № 492.

딸의 가출로 인해서 먹지도 자지도 못하는 심정이야 오죽했겠는가.

- 3-134a Real, written register (description style). Corpus: Koryŏ CETConc 인하 (동사) № 169.

(나 부산 바닷가에 갔었어,) 너로 인해 나약해진 나를 버리고 다시 시작하려
떠났었어 버리자 버리자 힘껏 내자 신에게 소리 치고 돌아왔는데

- 3-135a Real, written register (description style). Cut. Corpus: Koryŏ CETConc 인하 (동사) № 10.

나도 그가 나로 인하여 곤란한 입장에 처하게 되는 것을 원하지는 않았다.

- 3-145a Real, colloquial register. Alternative added. Personal Collection. GWC

우리 딸램들이 아빠 때문에 놀랬지.

Added alternate: 아빠한테 appa-hant^he ...

- 3-147a =3-115a

- 3-147b =3-115b

- 4-5a Real, written register (fiction?). Corpus-based dictionary: Yonsei CLID 1998 1773.1,
차이다 ①

강아지들은 죄없이 주인아이들에게 배때기를 차였다.

- 4-6a Real, written register (fiction/autobiographical?). Cut. Web: dated 25-11-2005

내가 치기도 전에 녀석에게 손이 잡혀 버렸고 나는 어이없게도 녀석에게
뺨을 맞은 것이다.

- 4-8a Real, written register (popular analytic). Corpus: Koryŏ CETConc 들리 (동사) № 520.
바돌로메의 손에 들려 있는 껍데기에 미켈란젤로는 자신의 얼굴을 그려
넣었다.
- 4-9a Real, written register (fiction?). Corpus-based dictionary: Yonsei CLID 1998 차이다
(동사) ①
큰아버지는 말 발길에 차여 며칠 고생을 하셨다.
- 4-11 Real, written register (screenplay instruction). Corpus: Kaist KCP 들려있다 Mark
2676
동현집 앞(밤) 현관으로 들어서려는 동현. 손엔 비닐봉투가 들려있다.
- 4-12a Real, written register (fiction). Corpus: Kaist KCP 들린 Mark 3620
시키지도 않았는데 그녀는 알아서W다가오더니 내 손에 들린 담배 궤초를
받아 갔다.
- 4-12b Real, written register (lifestyle column). Web: 여성신문 (*Women's Newspaper*) № 897,
dated 28-09-2006
왼쪽 손에 가볍게 잡혀있는 디지털 카메라 셔터를 누르면서 나는 행복했다.
- 4-30a Real, written register (essay/description style). Abridged. Corpus: Koryŏ CETConc
찢기 №. 10.
또 흙먼지 속에서 날개를 떨며 목숨이 다해 가는 매미가 먹이를 찾아 헤매는
개미 떼들에게 붙들려서, 끌려가고 찢기고 하는 것을 보기는 혼한 일이다.
- 4-30b Real, written register (fiction?). Cut. Corpus-based dictionary: Yonsei CLID 1998
1544.2 잘리다 ①.
그는 어릴 때 소 여물을 썰다가 작두에 왼쪽 검지를 잘렸다고 한다.
- 4-31a Real, written register (description style, fiction?). Corpus-based dictionary: Yonsei
CLID 1998 1544.2 잘리다 ③
산자락이 십여 미터쯤 가다가 툭 잘려 있었다.
- 4-31b Real, spoken register (spoken utterance in fiction). Corpus-based dictionary: Yonsei
CLID 1998 308.2 끊기다 ②⑦
지금 갈아선 윤 초시 네도 대가 끊긴 셈이지.
- 4-32a Real, written register (fiction?). Abridged. Corpus: Kaist KCP 잘라져 Mark 2322.
그의 앞에는 사슴 한 마리가 수백수천 토막으로 잘라져 있었다.
- 4-32b Real, spoken register (spoken utterance in fiction). Corpus: Koryŏ CETConc 찢어지
№. 19.
이 우산은 귀퉁이가 좀 찢어졌어요.
- 4-38 Natural, written register (casual, essay/diary). Clipped. Web: seen 27-10-06
차가 달리는데 트럭이 날아와 앞 유리를 깨뜨려 유리교환...
역시 주행중에 앞 차가 주의부족으로 밟은 길이 110cm 길이의 쇠파이프가
정면으로 날아 와 본넷을 망가뜨리고 다시 앞유리를 완전히 깨뜨리고...
- 4-44d Designed, formal style (schematic clause in usage dictionary). Modified to colloquial

register, judgment added. Verb usage dictionary: Hong Chae-sŏng et al 1991 174,
 막히다¹ ㉒-3

경찰에 의해 모든 도로가 막혔다.

(Source example is held in formal (written) style. Same construction is, however, rather less likely in colloquial registers, as in my modification).

- 4-45a Real, written register (fiction). Cut. Web: dated 11-03-2005
 식이는 암놈이 수놈에게 깔려 고난을 당하는 동안, 그리고 구경꾼들이
 킁킁거리는 속에서 달아난 이웃집 분이를 생각했다.
- 4-49 Real, written register (essay style). Web: written 2003
 작년에도 미군의 장갑차에 여중생2명이 깔려서 사망했다.
- 4-50a Real, written register (reporting style). Abridged. Web (Triathlon website): seen around
 11-2005
 갑자기 옆에서 스트록하는 팔에 머리가 물에 잠겨 물을 먹었다.
- 4-50b Designed?, formal style (fiction/description style). Abridged, alternative added. Verb
 usage dictionary: Hong Chae-sŏng et al 1991 390 잠기다² 2.
 산 중턱에 있는 마을이 안개에 잠겨 보이지 않는다.
Added alternate: 로 lo
- 4-50c Real, written register (reporting style). Abridged. Web: dated 16-07-2006
 특히 월정사 유치원도 집중호우로 물에 잠겼다.
- 4-56a Real, written register (reporting style). Abridged. Web: dated 23-09-2002
 의정부Y초등학교 통화로 문방구 앞 오라기에서 하교길에 $\sqrt{1}$ 오락을 하던
 학생이 언덕 위에 주?정차된^[sic] 트럭의 사이드 브레이크가 풀려 미끄러져
 내려와 $\sqrt{2}$ 깔려 숨지는 사고가 발생했다.
Added constituents: $\sqrt{1}$ 길가에서 kil.ka.esə (as short paraphrase of omitted material)
 $\sqrt{2}$ (그 트럭에 ki tʰi.lək.e)
- 4-57b Designed, written style (linguistic example format), romanised. Romanisation/gloss/
 translation changed, acceptability judgment changed. Used as template for serious
 modification. Jaehoon Yeon 2003: 129, Ex. 73b.
 * palam-i mun-ul yel-ess-ta
 wind-Nom door-Acc open-Past-Dec
 'The wind opened the door'
Acceptability judgment change reflects the more fine-grained gradation used in this thesis.
- 4-68a Real, written register (scenery description style; fiction?). Corpus-based dictionary:
 Yonsei CLID 1998 286.1 깔리다 ㉒㉓.
 바닥에는 조그만 돌맹이들이 깔려 있었다.
- 4-68b Real, written register (scenery description style; fiction?). Corpus-based dictionary:
 Yonsei CLID 1998 1546.2 잠기다² ㉒㉓㉔.
 투명한 얼음이 반쯤 잠긴 채로 빙산처럼 떠 있었다.
- 4-70b Designed, written register (linguistic example format), romanised. Romanisation/ gloss/
 translation changed. Used as template for serious modification. Jaehoon Yeon 2003:
 128, Ex. 70a.
 * John-ey uyhay mun-i yel-li-e iss-Ø-ta
 [John] by(Agent) door-Nom open-Pass-Result-Pres-Dec
 'The door is opened by John.'
Cited here for reference only. Same sentence also found in Kim, Nam-kil 1991.

- 4-73b Real, written register (criticism style). Web: KBS Cinema (Film review of 'Memoirs of a Geisha'), dated 13-02-06
 그래서 미군중령에게 깔려있는 장쑤이의 모습이 나는 역겹다.
- 4-74a Real, written register (newspaper report). Web: ngotimes.net (internet newspaper), dated 12-08-06
 집회 참가자들이 종로구청 민원실 쪽으로 밀려들었다. 그러나 민원실 입구는 이미 집회 시작 전부터 경찰에 막혀있었다.
- 4-74b Designed, written register (linguistic example format). Yale romanised, glossed and translated. Constituents reordered. Jaehoon Yeon 2003: 128, Ex. 70a.
 Palam ey (uyhay) mun-i yel-li-e iss-Ø-ta
 wind by (Agent) door-Nom open-Pass-Result-Pres-Decl
 'The door is opened by the wind.'
Same sentence also found in Kim, Nam-kil 1991.
- 4-75c Real, pseudo-spoken register (written instruction). Web: Ulsan City Namgu Civil Defense Advice, copyrighted for 2006
 집 주변 하수구가 흙이나 쓰레기로 막혀있는지
- 4-80a Real, written register (media feature style). 한겨레 신문 [*Hankyörye Newspaper*] (Web edition): 21-05-2004
 일제의 식량수탈로 할아버지는 많은 땅을 빼앗겼다.
- 4-89a Real, written register (fiction?). Abridged. Corpus-based dictionary: Yonsei CLID 1998
 쫓기다 ③.
 그는 자신이 죄를 짓고 있다는 죄의식에 쫓겨 더욱 잔해진 것은 아닐까.
- 4-90a Real, written register (intellectual style). Alternative added. Corpus: Koryö CETConc
 빼앗기 (동사) №. 63.
 우리 나라의 민족주의 역사학은 일본 제국주의에 나라를 빼앗긴 특수한 상황에서 생겨났다.
Alternative modelled on:
 Real written register (intellectual style). Corpus: Kaist KCP 빼앗겨 Mark 1665.
 일본의 식민지 지배로 나라를 빼앗겨 조선은 주권을 잃어버렸지만, 그 이전에는 가혹한 외압에서도 국토를 지켜며 주권을 유지하였던 것입니다.
- 4-91a Real, written register (1st person event description). Abridged. Corpus: Koryö CETConc
 쫓기 (동사) №. 59.
 얼마 아니 가서 비가 쏟아지는데 할 수 없이 쫓기어 들어왔다.
- 4-91b Real, written register (1st person event description). Corpus: Koryö CETConc 쫓기 (동사) №. 114.
 이곳저곳 돌아다니다가 강의시간에 쫓겨 들어왔다.
- 4-91c Real, written register (essay style). Abridged. Corpus: Koryö CETConc 쫓기 (동사) №. 53.
 바쁜 하루 일과 속에서 이리저리 쫓기다가 어쩌다 자기와 마주하는 시간을 갖게 되면 풍요롭게 그 순간들을 가꾸기보다는 오히려 공허하고 외로운, 멍한 시간을 갖는 무기력한 자신을 발견하게 된다.
- 4-93a Real, written register (essay/fiction?). Corpus: Koryö CETConc 빼앗기 (동사) №. 51.
 그런 쓰잘 데 없는 일들에 시간을 빼앗기며 스스로를 짜증스레 만들다니.
- 4-93b Real, spoken register (spoken utterance in fiction?). Cut. Corpus: Koryö CETConc

빼앗기 (동사) №. 50.

이런 일들이 계속 생기니 하루 종일 보고서 쓰는 일에만 시간을 다 빼앗기고 말지."

- 4-93c Real, written register (fiction). Abridged. Corpus: Koryŏ CETConc 빼앗기 (동사) №. 134.

회원들과 서체 연구를 하고 강의를 나가고 집안 살림을 꾸려나가느라 먹가는 시간을 많이 빼앗겼었다.

- 4-94a Designed, formal style (linguistic example format). No gloss. Yi Ki-dong 1976: 30, Ex. 20.

날씨가 풀었다.

- 4-94b Designed, formal style (linguistic example format). No gloss. Yi Ki-dong 1976: 33, Ex. 38^ㄴ.

철수가 감기에 걸렸다.

- 4-96b Real, spoken register (inner thought style, literary criticism). Cut. Web: copyrighted '1998-2002'.

의사 선생님이 그 사실을 말씀해주셨을 때, 아버지를 암에 걸리게 한 건 나다, 내가 그렇게까지 불효를 하지 않았더라면 아버지는 암에 걸리지 않으셨을 거야, 하는 생각이 들었습니다. 가슴이 미어지더군요.

- 4-96d Real, written register (advice style). Web: blog site, dated 16-06-2006

이렇게 말하면 이상하게 생각할 수도 있지만, 지나치게 간섭하고 잔소리하는 것은 아기에게 스트레스를 쌓이게 한다.

- 4-99 see 4-94a

- 4-101b Real, written register (fiction). Corpus: Kaist KCP '풀려왔다.' Mark 376

정류장에서 얼마를 걸으니 낮익은 복덕방이 보였다. 문을 열고 들어서니 약간은 머리가 벗겨지고 말라되는 사내가 그녀를 맞았다. (...) 불을 켜니 땀땀이 언 몸이 풀려왔다. 그녀는 굳은 날씨를 원망했다.

- 4-101c Real, written register (fiction). Corpus: Kaist KCP '풀렸다.' Mark 1300.

주체할 수 없도록 큰 소충을 부여 안고 긴장으로 몸을 떨고 있는 기호가 안스러웠던지, 김 하사는 어둠 속에서 나타나 타이르듯 말했다. 그러자 긴장으로 옥죄였던 몸이 금세 풀렸다.

- 4-104a Real, written register (children's fiction). Corpus: Koryŏ CETConc '풀리 (동사)' №. 194.

영길은 기운이 쏙 빠져 몸에 힘이 풀렸습니다.

- 4-108a Real, written register (popular science style). Abridged. Corpus: Kaist KCP '풀렸다.' Mark 1994.

이 수수께끼는 1900년 독일 물리학자인 막스 플랑크(1918년 노벨 물리학상 수상)에 의해 풀렸다.

- 4-108c Real, written register (cultural feature style). Cut. 당당뉴스 [DangDang News] (Christian news website) dated 12-02-2006

입춘 다음날인 지난 주일에 저는 '근신(勤愼)하고 깨어 맞이하는 봄'이라는 제목으로 말씀을 전하면서 입춘에 즈음하여 우리가 봄에 들었지만 우수, 경칩에 이르러 빗물에 풀리고 봄기운에 땅이 열려 봄이 악동할 때까지

행동을 삼가고 조심하면서 봄을 맞이하자고 했습니다.

- 4-110c Real, written register (current affairs commentary style). Abridged. Corpus: Koryŏ CETConc ‘결리 (동사)’ № 99.
소련의 고르바초프 대통령이 마침내 탈출구를 찾기 어려운 뚫에 걸렸다.
- 5-32a Real, written register (media feature style). Cut and abridged. Corpus: Koryŏ CETConc ‘편하 (형용사)’ № 51.
거품을 내고 논밭을 손보고 영농 준비를 하는 일부터 파종과 병충해 방지, 비료 주는 일, 거두어 모아 담고 저장하는 일에 이르기까지 기계화로 농사짓기 편해졌다고는 하지만 일부를 제외하고는 모두 사람의 직접적인 노동이 투입되어야만 한다.
- 5-34a Real, written register (media feature style). Cut. Corpus: Koryŏ CETConc ‘편리하 (형용사)’ № 10.
컴퓨터와 은행 수표없는 사회 오늘날의 정보화 시대에는 컴퓨터가 사회 변혁에 미치는 영향이 가히 ‘혁명적’ 이라 할 수 있으며, 은행의 업무도 온라인(on-line)^{sic!} 시스템 등에 의해 아주 편리해졌다.
- 5-35a Real, written register (casual descriptive/essay style). Abridged. Web: Blog entry dated 21-03-2006
집에 오면 바로 보일러에 의해서 따뜻해지고, 침대 또는 소파에 앉게 되면 편안함으로 꾸벅꾸벅 잠이 온다.
- 5-42a Real, written register (fiction?). Corpus: Kaist KCP ‘까져’ Mark 151.
오늘 아침 새 구두에 까져 부푼 뒤통치와 피멍 든 발톱을 보다가 문득 네 생각이 났다.
- 5-47a Designed. Written register (clause frame format). Usage dictionary: Hong Chae-sŏng et al 1991: 53, 깨지다¹ ④.
우리 선수에 의해 세계 기록이 깨졌다.
- 5-47b Designed. Written register (clause frame format). Usage dictionary: Hong Chae-sŏng et al 1991: 52, 깨다⁵ 4.
우리 선수가 세계 기록을 깼다.
- 5-48a Real, written register (media report style). Cut and abridged; dropped element reconstruction added. 한겨레 신문 [Hankyŏrye Newspaper] (Web edition): 12-02-2005
12일 오전3시54분께 서울 구로구 신도림동G음식점에서 원인을 알 수 없는 불이 나 식당 내부9평을 모두 태우고 지나가던 택시기사의 신고로 출동한 소방대에 의해 16분만에 꺼졌다.
- 5-54a Real, written register (essay style). Corpus: Koryŏ CETConc 만들 (동사) 807.
여성의 성적 일탈은 곧 남자들에 의해서 만들어진다.
Also appears in 3-116a, with alternate anomalies.
- 5-55a Real, written register (essay/sermon style). Corpus: Kaist KCP ‘주어졌다.’ Mark 2066.
율법은 모세에 의해서 주어졌다.
- 5-56a Real, written register (commentary style). Corpus: Koryŏ CETConc 의하 (동사) 191.
일제가 제2의 대본 영공사에 강제 동원한 한국인 징용자7천여 명 중1천여 명이 목숨을 잃은 사실이 대서 특필되고 또 발전소 건설에 징용된

한국인 1백여명이 생매장돼 참혹하게 죽었다는 이른바
 ‘나카쓰가와(중진천) 조선인 학살 사건’이 양식 있는 일본인 교사에 의해
 요즘 밝혀졌는데도 일본은 ‘불행한 과거 유감...’ 표시로 충분하다는
 말인가.

- 5-57a Real, spoken register (spoken utterance in fiction). Corpus: Kaist KCP ‘버려진’ Mark 2219.
 “ 다른 남자한테 버려진 여자두 관심을 끌 수 있어요?”
- 5-58a Real, written register (essay style). Corpus: Kaist KCP ‘만들어졌다!’ Mark 1953.
 세계의 석회암은 모두 바다에서 만들어졌다!
- 5-58b Real, written register (fiction). Corpus: Koryō CETConc ‘버려지다’ 626.
 버스를 내린 그는 홀로 강변에 버려졌다.
- 5-66a Real, written register (fiction). Corpus: Kaist KCP ‘부러져나가고’ Mark 2343.
 그의 몸이 초지를 데굴데굴 구르기 시작했다. 가파른 돌에 살점이 패이고
 뼈가 부러져나가고 피가 솟구쳤다.
- 5-68a Real, written register (diary style). Abridged. Web: Blog dated 11-01-2006.
 저기 만치 화재로 쭈그러진 파란 리본하나를 발견하고
 반가운 마음에 펼쳐보니,, ” 놀푸른 산악회” 리본이 아니고
 ” 포항청년회의소” 의 청색리본이다.
- 5-70a Real, written register (fiction). Corpus: Kaist KCP ‘무너졌다.’ Mark 2259.
 지진에 도시가 파괴됐고 폭풍과 해일에 둑이 무너졌다.
- 5-71b Real, written register (educational style). Corpus-based dictionary: Yonsei CLID 1998
 1197.1쓰러뜨리다 ②.
 온 국민의 민주화에 대한 열망이 결국 독재 정권을 쓰러뜨렸다.
- 5-73a Real, spoken register (spoken utterance in fiction). Web: 김명식 영웅문 (2부4편).
 Self-published novel. Posted 24-4-2005
 [아이고, 아이고. 내 팔이 못된 중대가리한테 부러졌다.]
- FN ⁷² Real, written register (fiction). Corpus: Koryō CETConc ‘풀 (동사)’ № 901.
 그 여자는 죽은 듯이 몸에 힘을 풀고 눈을 감고 있었다.

Glossary

Acceptability judgments

- * totally anomalous
- ?? infelicitous
- !? strongly dispreferred
- !! infrequent or less likely (always relative to other exemplified solutions)
- (!) slightly infrequent or slightly less likely (always relative to other exemplified solutions)
- † (of lexical item) obsolete
- ‡ (of lexical item) non-existent

Boundary symbols, brackets and other diacritics

Boundary symbol in both Data and Interlinear Gloss

- X Y X and Y are word-like elements
- X-Y X and Y are morphemes of regular decomposable structure
- X+Y X and Y form a lexical compound of word-like elements
- X•Y X and Y form a derivational structure of dependent morpheme-like elements

In data only:

- X_Y X and Y are word-like elements that correspond to a single IMG unit
- X.Y X and Y are segmentable in data but glossed by single IMG unit

Boundary symbol in Interlinear Gloss only:

- X:Y Data cannot be easily segmented because of complex fusion effects, or is not segmented for reasons of economy, but is analysable as a combination of X and Y
- X:-Y, X:•Y Data is hard to segment because of fusion effects, where part of Y has fused into X
- X.Y X and Y are grammatical subcategories of one element in data
- X/Y X/Y are alternative glosses

Brackets in both Data and Interlinear Gloss

- (XYZ) optional, omissible or insertable material
- °XYZ° reconstructed 'dropped' constituents
- {X | Y} X and Y are alternative elements in the same syntagmatic slot

Brackets in IMG only

- Z[«X•Y】 Z is portmanteau gloss but analysable as derived from X•Y
 Example: *sal•li* revive[«live•CAUS]
- Z[•Y] Z is portmanteau gloss and not analysable as X•Y, but X contributes meaning
 Example: *ssil•aci* collapse[•INCH]

Conventions in Translation Gloss

/, //	Alternative translations (single / for rather similar, double // for rather different)
{X / Y}	X and Y are alternative translations for parts within a whole sentence.
<i>Lit / Eqv</i>	<i>Lit(eral)</i> : Translation that mirrors Korean source language structure <i>Eq(ui)v(alent)</i> : Translation that is closest referential-semantic English equivalent

Glosses

Care has been taken to adopt labels from the standardised lists that have recently emerged from the collaborative efforts of a number of typologists (see Croft 2001, Lehman 2004, Bickel, Comrie & Haspelmath 2004 and reference therein). I have, however, shortened some longer labels that are particularly relevant to Korean and introduced a number of new labels due to too glaring categorial mismatches or absence from the lists.

ABL	ablative (SOURCE, 'from')
ABR.SQ	abruptive sequential
ACC	accusative
ACT	active (action voice)
ADES	adessive
ADV	adverbial
ADVS.CJ	adversative conjunctive
AGT	agent
ALL	allative
AN	animate
AN.ALL	animate allative
AN.LOC	animate locative
AOR	aorist
APC	apperceptive
APRX	approximative (delimiter)
ASMP	assumptive (presumptive; future)
ASRT	assertive
AT	attributor, attributive (of verb)
BEN	benefactive
BG.SQ	background sequential
BUF	buffer element
CAUS	causation
CIR	circumstantial (conjunctive/final)
CIR.CJ	circumstantial conjunctive
CIT	citation form
CJ	conjunctive
CLM	(ex)clamative
CLSF	classifier
CMPL	completive
CMPR	comparative (adjectival/case)
CMT	comitative
CND	conditional
CNSC	consecutive
CNT	continuous
CONC	concessive
CONC.CND	concessive conditional
CPL	copula
CS	cause (semantic role)

CS.SQ	consecutive/causal sequential
DAT	dative
DCL	declarative
DESIST	desistory ('refrains from doing')
DST	destinative
DYN	dynamic
DYN.AT	dynamic attributive
EMPH	emphatic
ENM.CJ	enumerative conjunctive, 'S and S'
EQU	equative (= 'just as, like')
EXO	exocentric (incl. <i>non-reflexive</i>)
EXPL	explanatory
EXPL.CJ	explanatory
EXPR	experiential (aspect/aktionsart)
FACT	factitive (direct causative)
FCTL	factual (mood/evidential)
FIN	finite (non-past)
FML	formal (discourse mood)
FOC	focal (delimiter)
FRC	force (semantic role)
FUT	future
FV	function verb
GER	gerund
HML	humble
HON	honorific
HORT	hortative
IMM.SQ	immediate sequential
INACT	inactive
INCH	inchoative
INCL	inclusive delimiter ('also, even')
INFR	inferential mood/evidential
INQS	inquisitive (question of interest)
INST	instrumental
INTN	intensive
INTSF	intensifier (adverbial)
IRRV	irreversible
LNK	linking morpheme
LOC	locative
MIR	mirative (discourse mood)
MOD	moderative (weakening of assertion)
MOT	motive
NCS	necessitative
NCTL.NEG	involuntary negative
NEG	negative
NPOL	non-polite
NR	nominaliser
NXCL	non-exclusive (delimiter) ('or the like')
ORD	ordinal number suffix
ORIG	originative (all the way from)
PAT	patientive
PEJ	pejorative
PERL	perlative
PF	perfect
PF.AT	perfect attributive

PF.SQ	perfect sequential
PF/AOR	perfect/aorist
PL	plural
PLR.CJ	polar conjunctive
POL	polite (hearer elevation)
POT	potential
PREP	preperatory (aspect)
PRG	progressive
PROP	propositive
PRV	proverb
PSP	prospective
PSP.AT	prospective
PST	past
PST.AT	past
PURP	purposive
QOT	quotative particle
QST	question marker
RCPT	receptive
REP	repetitive
RES	resultative
RES.ADV	resultative adverbial
RMND	reminder (to hearer; discourse)
RPT	reportative (evidential)
RSP	retrospective
SBJ	subject
SEL	selective (delimiter)
SENS	sensory evidential
SET	setting (event location)
SIM.CJ	simultaneous conjunctive
SIM.CSL.SQ	simultaneous causal sequential
SIM.SQ	simultaneous sequential
SPEC.DLM	specific delimiter
SQ	sequential
SRCE	source
STV	stative
TEND	tendential
TERM	terminative (all the way to)
TITLE	title suffix
TMP.SQ	temporal sequential ('when')
TRACT	transitive action
TRFR	transferentive (transfer goal)
VBR	verbaliser
VEN	venitive (deictic / aspect)
VOC	vocative
XCL	exclusive (delimiter) ('only')

ASP aspectual
FN function noun
FV function verb
PhT phonotactic element
VSt verb stem

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