

## Diagnosing passive/unaccusative alternations in two Korean 'passive' constructions

**1 Introduction** Identifying the function of elements in the Korean voice morphology domain has proven complex (see Ahn & Yap 2017, Yap & Ahn 2017, among others). In this study, I address functional alternations present for *-hi* and *-eci*, two voice morphemes that have commonly been identified as passive (Park & Whitman 2003, Son 2006, K.S. Lee 1999, among others). I will restrict my attention to verbs for which the alternation is present (see Song 2016 for discussion of patterns between verb classes). Toward this end, I show that *-ey uyhay* also alternates between a true by-phrase and a causer phrase.

**2 A potential by-phrase: *-ey uyhay*** It has often been contested that *-ey uyhay* is a by-phrase (see Kim 2014 for discussion). Below, I show that *-ey uyhay* appears both as a true by-phrase (with animate agent) and as a causer phrase (with inanimate agent). When the causer is animate, *-ey uihay* is incompatible with an indirect-causer interpretation (in contrast to constructions such as *-ttaymwun-ey* and *-ulo inhay*):

(1) Context: Minsu is a house-builder who Cheolsu hired to build a house. Cheolsu wants the house to be made of wood. [OR] Minsu and Cheolsu are architects. Minsu wanted to make his latest house out of bricks, but Cheolsu bought up all the bricks, so Minsu had to use wood.

#chelswu-ey uyhay i cip-un namwu-lo mantule-cy-ess-ta  
Cheolsu-LOC depend this house-TOP wood-INSTR make-PASS-PST-DECL  
Because of Cheolsu, this house was made out of wood.

With an inanimate agent, *-ey uihay* can appear as a causer phrase (shown by co-occurrence with 'by itself'):

(2) palam-ey uyhay yen-i cecello kkunh-ky-ess-ta  
wind-LOC depend.on kite-NOM by.itself cut.off-HI-PST-DECL  
Because of/by the wind, the kite snapped off by itself.

So *-ey uyhay* is a true by-phrase when attached to an animate agent, but appears as a causer phrase when the agent/causer is inanimate. Thus, an *-ey uyhay* phrase should only be used as a diagnostic for passives in the former case, and not the latter.

### 3 Diagnostics for unaccusatives

**3.1 *-e iss-ta*** The *-e iss-ta* construction indicates an enduring state and has been argued to be a diagnostic for unaccusatives (Son 2006). As we see below, both *-hi* and *-ci* constructions are compatible with *-e iss-ta* (-VBZ exist-DECL) suggesting that they can function as unaccusatives

4.2 **By-phrases** As we saw above, -