

SOAS-AKS
Working Papers in Korean Studies

No. 4

**ON THE IMPORTANCE OF
ANIMACY AND AGENCY EFFECTS
IN THE KOREAN DIATHESIS SYSTEM**

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June 2008

<http://www.soas.ac.uk/koreanstudies/soas-aks/soas-aks-papers/>

On the importance of animacy and agency effects in the Korean diathesis system

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1. Introduction

Animacy and agency are two of the most fundamental cognitive-perceptual dimensions of human experience. The two are also, of course, intimately related: Agency as the potential for control in motion and action is one of the central features in the perception of animacy. And conversely, animacy is central to whether we will perceive a particular entity as having realised or at least potential agency. As for their specific role, animacy and its absence, and agency and its absence, are two of the parameters along which we perceive the involvement of the entities in a situational scene, as well as the situation itself. In language systems, the universal consequence are differentiation, variation and constraints in the structure and usage of argument marking patterns, diathesis constructions and verb-morphological voice-marking patterns.

On the other hand, however, the form and extent of such animacy and agency-related effects differs considerably across languages. And unfortunately for contemporary linguistics, such effects are relatively weak in English and other Standard Average European languages. The situation is, however, quite different in Korean, where animacy and agency have strong effects that fall into at least three broad types. The first type of effect occurs in the argument pattern system, most obviously manifest in the differentiation between Basic (Inanimate) and Animate Locational particles:

- (1) a. Inanimate Locational particles: 에, 에 서, (으)로, 에 다가 etc
 e esə (i)lo etaka
- b. Animate Locational particles: 에 게, 에 게(서), 에 게(로) etc
 eke eke(sə) eke(lo)

What is particularly important here is that this differentiation is maintained in the oblique agent-phrase-like arguments of passive-like clauses, as in the following contrasts:

- (2) a. 비둘기는 **고양이에게** 한쪽 날개가 **찢겨서** (날아가지 못하고 잡혔다.)
pitulki-nin **koyaji-eke** hancok nalkε-ka **ccic•ky-əsə**
dove-SEL cat-AN.LOC/AGT one+side wing-SBJ get.torn[•INACT]-CNSC
‘The dove had one of its wings torn by the cat, ... (couldn’t fly off and was caught).’

- b. 비둘기는 고양이 발톱에 한쪽 날개가 찢겨서 ...
 pitulki-nin koyangi palt^hop-e hancok nalke-ka ccic[•]ky-əsə
 dove-SEL cat claw-LOC one+side wing get.torn[•INACT]-CNSC
 ‘The dove had one of its wings torn by the cat’s claws, ...’
- (3) a. 싸우다가 오빠한테 눈 찢려서 난리였지.
 ssau-taka oppa-hant^he nun ccil[•]ly-əse nanli-y-əss-ci
 fight-SQ brother-AN.LOC eye get.stung[•INACT] uproar-CPL-PST-PROP
 ‘When they fought she got stung in the eye by her brother, so there was a big uproar.’
- b. 싸우다가 오빠가 던진 것에 눈 찢려서 난리였지.
 ssau-taka oppa-ka tanci-n kəs-e nun ccil[•]ly-əse nanli-y-əss-ci
 fight-SQ brother-SBJ throw-PF.AT thing-LOC eye get.stung[•INACT]-CNSC uproar-CPL-PST-PROP
 ‘When they fought she got stung in the eye by her brother, so there was a big uproar.’
- (4) a. [우리는] 전경들에게 막혀 한 발도 나갈 수 없었다.
 [uli-nin] cəŋkyəŋ-til-eke mak[•]hy-ə han pal-to naka-l_{su}-eps-ess-ta.
 [we-SEL] riot.police-PL-AN.LOC get.blocked[•INACT] one foot-even go.forward-cannot-PST-DCL
 ‘We were blocked by the riot police and could not go a single step forward.’
- b. 길이 퇴근 교통으로 막혔다.
 kil-i t^hwœkin kyot^hoŋ-ilo mak[•]hy-əss-ta.
 road-SBJ return traffic-INST get.blocked[•INACT]-PST-DCL
 ‘The road was blocked by the rush hour traffic.’

I shall refer to this phenomenon as animacy and agency differentiation in argument patterns.

The second type of effect is a clear distinction between ACTIVE and other verb and construction types, with the ACTIVE types being predominantly restricted to animate and agentive Subject referents. This is most obviously evident in the expression of concrete physical causation, where TRANSITIVE ACTIVE verbs and constructions are largely reserved to causation by an animate and agentive entity and avoided for causation by inanimate Subject referents:

- (5) a. 우리 딸들이 꽃 찢어버리는 게 취미야.
 uli ttal-til-i kkoch ccic-ə-pəli-nin ke c^hwimi-y-a
 we daughter-PL-SBJ flower tear-FIN-CMPL-DYN.AT thing:SBJ hobby-CPL-FIN
 ‘Our daughters just love tearing apart flowers.’
- b. * 바람이 꽃 다 찢어버렸네.
 palam-i kkoc^h ta ccic-ə-pəly-əss-ne
 wind-SBJ flower all tear-FIN-CMPL-MIR
 For: ‘The wind has torn up all the flowers.’
- (6) a. 오빠가 눈 찢려서 난리였지.
 oppa-ka nun ccill-əse nanli-y-əss-ci
 brother-SBJ eye prick-CNSC uproar-CPL-PST-PROP
 ‘Her brother stung her in the eye, so there was a big uproar.’
- b. * 젓가락이 눈 찢려서 난리였지.
 cəqkalak-i nun ccill-əse nanli-y-əss-ci
 chopstick-SBJ eye prick-CNSC uproar-CPL-PST-PROP
 For: ‘A chopstick stung her in the eye, so there was a big uproar.’

- (7) a. [저는] 전기 밥솥 없으면 밥 잘 못 지어요.
 [cə-nin] cənki pap+soth əps-imyən pap cal mos ci-ə-yo.
 [I-SEL] electric rice+pot be.not.there-CND rice well NCTL.NEG build-FIN-POL
 ‘If I don’t have a rice cooker then I can’t make rice properly.’
- b. * 이 밥솥은 너무 오래돼서 밥 잘 안/못 지어요.
 i pap_soth-in nəmu olɛ.twæ+se pap cal an/mos ci-ə-yo
 this rice+pot-TP too.much be.old÷CNSC rice well NEG/NCTL.NEG build-FIN-POL
 For: ‘This rice cooker is too old, it doesn’t cook the rice properly.’

Instead, passive-like INACTIVE verbs and constructions are the preferred or only solution:

- (8) 바람에 꽃이 다 찢겨버렸네.
 palam-e kkoc^h-i ta ccic•kyə-pəly-əss-ne
 wind-LOC flower-SBJ all get.torn[•INACT]-FIN-CMPL-MIR
 Lit: ‘By the wind the flowers have all been torn.’ // Eqv: ‘The wind has torn up all the flowers.’
- (9) 젓가락에 눈 찔려서 난리였지.
 cəqkalak-e nun ccil•ly-əse nanli-y-əss-ci
 chopstick-LOC eye prick[•INACT]-CNSC uproar-CPL-PST-PROP
 Lit: ‘She had her eye stung by a chopstick, so there was a big uproar.’
 // Eqv: A chopstick stung her in the eye, so there was a big uproar.’
- (10) 이 밥솥은 너무 오래돼서 밥 잘 안 지어져요.
 i pap_soth-in nəmu olɛ.twæ+se pap cal an ci+əcy-ə-yo
 this rice+pot-SEL too.much be.old÷CNSC rice well NEG build+INACT-FIN-POL
 Lit: ‘This rice cooker is too old so the rice doesn’t get cooked well.’
 // Eqv: ‘This rice cooker is too old, it doesn’t cook the rice properly.’

What matters here is the absolute strength of animacy and agency features of the pertinent referent. I shall therefore refer to this type of phenomenon as *absolute animacy* and *agency effects*.

The third type of effect are diathesis selection preferences that are conditioned by differences between the animacy and agency features of core argument referents. Roughly speaking, these obtain where the Speaker expresses a causation-dynamic situation in which only one of the two core elements is animate and the other inanimate. Particularly in the case of concrete force-dynamic causation, the Korean Speaker will almost invariably choose between ACTIVE and INACTIVE constructions in such a way that the animate agent or patient element appears as the clause Subject:

- (11) a. 잔디는 애들이 밟아서 완전히 망가져 있었다.
 canti-nin ai-til-i palp-asə wancən.hi maŋk•acy-ə_iss-əss-ta.
 grass-SEL child-PL-SBJ tread.on-CNSC completely get.ruined[•INACT]-RES-PST-DCL
 ‘The lawn had been trod on by the children’s feet and was ruined.’
- b. * 잔디는 애들에게 밟혀서 완전히 망가져 있었다.
 canti-nin ai-til-eke palp•hy-asə wancən.hi maŋk•acy-ə_iss-əss-ta.
 grass-SEL child-AN.LOC get.trod.on[•INACT]-CNSC completely get.ruined[•INACT]-RES-PST-DCL
 For: ‘The lawn had been trod on by the children and was ruined.’

- (12) a. 남편이 단속 카메라에 잡혀서 큰일났다.
 namp^hyən-i tansok k^hamela-e cap^hhy-əsə k^hi-n il na-ss-tɛ.
 husband-SBJ control camera-LOC get.caught[•INACT]-CNSC big-PF.AT matter exit-PST-DCL.RPT
 ‘Apparently, her husband got caught by a speeding camera, so now he’s in trouble.’
- b. * 단속 카메라가 남편을 잡아서 큰일났다.
 tansok k^hamela-ka namp^hyən-il cap-əsə k^hi-n il na-ss-tɛ.
 control camera-SBJ husband-ACC catch-CNSC big-PF.AT matter exit-PST-DCL.RPT
 ‘Apparently, her husband got caught by a speeding camera, so now he’s in trouble.’

The familiar and much discussed ‘typical active–passive’ alternation is thus only unconstrained in situations with both animate agent and patient:

- (13) a. 아빠가 [딸램이를] 밟아서 난리였지.
 appa-ka [ttallɛm.i-lil] palp-ase nanli-y-əss-ci
 daddy-SBJ [daughter-ACC] tread.on-CNSC uproar-CPL-PST-PROP
 ‘Daddy trod on her so you can imagine the uproar.’
- b. [딸램이가] 아빠한테 밟혀서 난리였지.
 ttallɛm.i-ka appa-hant^he palp^hhy-əsə nanli-y-əss-ci
 daughter-SBJ daddy-AN.LOC get.trod.on[•INACT]-CNSC uproar-CPL-PST-PROP
 ‘She got trod on by her daddy, so you can imagine the uproar.’

What matters here is the relative position of the two core situation elements in relation to a basic two-step hierarchy of animacy and agency potential. I shall therefore refer to this type of phenomenon as *relative animacy* and *agency effects*.

2. Animacy and agency effects in the Koreanist literature

In the literature on the Korean passive, data that shows animacy-related effects in diathesis selection has appeared regularly since at least the 1970s, particularly among Korean authors associated with the Kugōhak tradition. The main reason is, of course, that they pose two problems for the traditional analysis that seeks to relate ‘passive’ verbs and clauses to ACTIVE counterparts. Here, the first problem is that the Korean ‘passive’ tends to resist the addition of explicit AGENT phrases that relate to the ACTIVE AGENT Subject. The second problem is that many ‘passive’ clauses have no (or no natural) ‘active’ counterpart.

On the other hand, however, even though the pertinent data is often discussed, the fact that it may be the result of systemic animacy-related effects and constraints has remained largely unrecognised in the Koreanist discourse. Thus, in most of the Korean grammar monographs I have seen, there is no reference at all to animacy effects or constraints in diathesis selection (f.ex. Nam Ki-sim & Ko Yōng-gūn 1985; Sō Chōng-su 1996; Chang Suk-Jin 1996). The only exception I have seen is a brief comment on ‘pragmatic avoidance’ of inanimate agent subjects (Ho-min Sohn 1999: 369-70).

The situation is not that much better in the more specialised literature on the Korean ‘passive’. On the contrary, in order to relate ‘passive’ clauses to ACTIVE counterparts, authors often adduce ‘data’ that is at least unusual or dispreferred, if not anomalous. Take the following examples, in which the proposed ACTIVE clauses are of a type that is strongly avoided in actual

usage, in line with Absolute Animacy Constraints against the use of ACTIVE constructions for causation by inanimate entities:

(14)a. 돌 하나에 기차가 뒤집혔다. (Im Hong-bin 1978: 315)
 tol hana-e kic^ha-ka twicip^hhy-æss-ta.
 stone one-LOC train-SBJ get.turned.over[•INACT]-PST-DCL
Lit: ‘By a single stone the train was flipped over.’ // *Eqv:* ‘A single stone flipped over the train.’

b. ^{!?} 돌 하나가 기차를 뒤집었다. (Im Hong-bin 1978: 315; ^{!?} is mine)
tol hana-ka kic^ha-lil **twicip**-æss-ta.
 stone one-SBJ train-ACC turn.over-PST
For: ‘A single stone flipped over the train.’

(15)a. 나무가 전기톱에 잘렸다. (Sö Chǒng-su 1996: 1073-4)
 namu-ka cænki+thæp-e cally-æss-ta.
 tree-SBJ electricity+saw-LOC get.cut[•INACT]-PST-DCL
 ‘The trees got cut down by electric saws.’

b. * 전기톱이 나무를 잘랐다. (Sö Chǒng-su 1996: 1073-4; * is mine)
 cænkit^hop-i namu-lil call-ass-ta.
 electric+saw-SBJ train-ACC cut-PST-DCL
For: ‘The electric saws cut down the trees.’

Native speaker judgments of ACTIVE clauses such as 14-15:b vary, and some speakers appear ready to accept them in principle. A number of facts, however, should make us very wary about them. The first is that linguists and speakers who consciously think about ‘grammatical rules’ or ‘logic’ are far more ready to accept them than the average ordinary speaker. The second is that even those who accept them usually concede that the INACTIVE counterparts sound far more natural. And indeed, at least some linguists that present such examples do acknowledge that they are stylistically peculiar (see especially Im Hong-bin 1978 on 14b and similar examples).

Thirdly, speakers are much less ready to accept such structures if one presents them in a more colloquial register. Thus, there seems to be general agreement that sentences such as the following are completely anomalous:

(16) * 공이 냄비를 뒤집어 가지고 음식이 다 쏟아졌어.
kong-i næŋpi-lil **twicip-ə** kaciko imsik-i ta sso^tacy-æss-ə
 ball-SBJ pot-ACC flip.over-CNSC food-SBJ all get.spilt[•INACT]-PST-FIN
For: ‘The ball threw over the pot and spilt all the food.’

Here, I would contend, the reason why 16 sounds worse than 14 is that it is actually framed in a natural and colloquial fashion rather than in the ‘Plain Style’ of 14 that evokes written texts and (due to its simplex clause structure) grammar books. And finally, it is almost impossible to find ACTIVE sentences that would be even remotely similar to 14-15:b in corpus or web searches.

At this point it should be noted that there is one exception to the general neglect of Absolute Animacy Effects on diathesis selection. This is the case of metaphorical usages that are conventionally applied only to the INACTIVE verb and do not exist for the ACTIVE counterpart, as in the following well-known examples:

- (17)a. 마을이 어둠에 싸였다. (Yi Ki-dong 1976: 30)
 mail-i ətim-e ssa•y-əss-ta.
 village-SBJ darkness-LOC get.wrapped[•INACT]-PST-DCL
 ‘The village was enveloped by darkness.’ // ‘The village was shrouded in darkness.’
- b. * 어둠이 마을을 쫓다.
 ətim-i mail-il ssa-ss-ta.
 darkness-SBJ weather-ACC wraps-PF-DCL
 For: ‘Darkness enveloped the village.’
- (18)a. 그는 강박 관념에 쫓긴다. (Im Hong-bin 1978: 313)
 ki-nin kaŋpak kwannyəm-e ccoc^h•ki-n-ta.
 he-SEL compulsion idea/conception-LOC get.chased/driven[•INACT]-DYN-DCL
 ‘He is driven/plagued by (his) obsessions.’
- b. * 강박 관념이 그를 쫓는다. (Im Hong-bin 1978: 313)
 kaŋpak kwannyəm-i ki-lil ccoc^h-nin-ta.
 compulsion idea/conception-SBJ he-ACC chase-DYN-DCL
 For: ‘(His) obsessions are driving/plaguing him.’

On the other hand, however, explanations of why the INACTIVE clauses here lack ACTIVE counterparts tend to emphasise the idiomatic nature of such instances rather than the lack of animacy on the part of the anomalous ACTIVE Subject referent. Thus, although Im Hong-bin’s remark that “[18b] is anomalous because it is difficult for ‘강박 관념 [obsession]’ to be the logical subject of the action of ‘쫓다 [chasing]’” (Im Hong-bin 1978: 313) clearly indicates awareness of the Absolute Animacy Constraint as the reason for the anomaly of the ACTIVE sentence, his main emphasis lies on the fact that the pertinent idiomatic meaning is lexically and semantically sanctioned for the ‘passive’ verb 쫓기다 *ccoc^hki.ta* but not the ACTIVE verb 쫓다 *ccoch.ta*.

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 (Klaiman 1984, 1988, 1991: §4.1). Klaiman’s analysis, however, has gained little acceptance, partly due to her non-traditional approach and partly due to inaccurate and disputable observations. 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 Hyōng-sik 1996 and Jaehoon Yeon 2003). One consequence has again been the widespread practice of presenting ‘data’ that does not or only very rarely occur in real usage:

- (19)a. * 책상이 목수{에게 | 에 의해} 만들어진다. (Sōng Kwang-su 1976: 71; * is mine)
 c^heksarŋ-i moksu-{eke | e iyhɛ} mantil•əci-n-ta.
 desk-SBJ carpenter-{AN.LOC | due.to/by} get.made[•INACT]-DYN-DCL
 For (?): ‘Tables get made by carpenters.’ (Sōng Kwang-su 1976a: 71)
- b. * 집 앞 담장이 할아버지에 게 헐렸다. (Im Hong-bin 1977: 335; * is mine)
 cip ap^h tamcaŋ-i halapəci-eke həl•ly-əss-ta.
 house front wall-SBJ grandfather-AN.LOC get.demolished[•INACT]-PST-DCL
 For: ‘The front property wall was demolished by Grandfather.’

- c. * 책이 아이에게 읽힌다. (Sō Chǒng-su 1996: 1054, * is mine)
 cʰɛk-i ai-eke ilk•hi-n-ta.
 book-SBJ child-AN.LOC get.read[•INACT]-DYN-DCL
 For: ‘The book is read by the child.’

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 aims of this paper is to show that they should not be dismissed into the realms of pragmatics but embraced as explanations in the analysis of the Korean voice and diathesis system.

3. Parallels in other languages

It is by now well-established in International Linguistics that the fundamental perceptual distinction between animate and inanimate entities (as well as more fine-grained animacy distinctions) has profound effects on the organisation of linguistic systems. Thus, for one, many languages show animate–inanimate distinctions in argument-marking patterns. One well-known example is Spanish, where the INANIMATE TARGET arguments of TRANSITIVE ACTIVE verbs take no object marker but ANIMATE TARGET arguments tend to be marked instead with the Dative preposition *a*:

- (20) a. Juan golpeó **la mesa**.
 Juan hit.AOR.3SG DEF.F table
 ‘Juan hit the table.’
 b. Juan golpeó **a su perro**.
 Juan hit.AOR.3SG LOC/DAT 3.POSS dog
 ‘Juan hit the table.’

Although in Korean, of course, the distinction is made within the oblique argument marking system, the phenomenon is a comparable one.

Animacy effects in the selection of active versus inactive diathesis are also widely attested. Thus, even in English, we find usage preferences that are less strict but analogous to the Korean Relative Animacy Effects. For example, for situations with 1st or 2nd person agents and inanimate targets, Colloquial English often shows a near-obligatory preference for ACTIVE constructions. Most significantly this is even so where the target is topical, leading to object scrambling or left-dislocation:

- (21) a. All those photos, why on earth **have you torn**’em all up?
cf. 사진은 도대체 왜 다 찢어버렸어?
 b. * All those photos, why on earth have they been torn up by you?
cf. *사진은 도대체 왜 너에 의해서 찢어버렸어요?
 (22) a. This book **I bought** in Korea.
 b. This book, **I bought that** in Korea.
 c. * This book was bought by me in Korea.

In addition, ACTIVE topic-fronting constructions are often near-obligatory with 3rd person pronouns:

- (23) a. All those photos, why on earth did **she tear**'em all up?
 b. * All those photos, why on earth have they been torn up by her?

And, although PASSIVE constructions occur widely with ANIMATE agent phrases, there are at least some cases where topic-fronting ACTIVE constructions remain the preferred choice

- (24) a. This book, **my wife bought** (that) in Korea.
 b. ¹⁷ This book was bought by my wife in Korea.

Where both cause locus and effect locus are inanimate, on the other hand, ACTIVE constructions are normal where the cause locus is topical. But, where the effect locus is topical, PASSIVE constructions are the normal choice:

- (25) a. **The tsunami** completely destroyed this village.
 b. **This village** was completely destroyed by the tsunami.
 c. * This village, the tsunami completely destroyed it.

As so often, however, comparison with English is only of limited value for understanding what goes on in the Korean system. Thus, not only are animacy hierarchy effects relatively limited, but ACTIVE constructions are usually a perfectly normal solution for the expression of inanimate causation (as here in 25a). Many other languages, however, are much more restrictive and generally disprefer extensions of their transitive active constructions to inanimate causation in most registers and contexts. One example is the Dravidian Language Kannada, where it seems that TRANSITIVE ACTIVE constructions are generally not used for inanimate causation (Nanjundaiah W-1993; see also Bath 1991: 67-8)

- (26) a. * candamaarutavu marav-annu urulis-itu (Nanjundaiah W-1993)
 hurricane.(SBJ) tree-ACC knock.over-PST-3N.SG
For: 'The hurricane knocked over the tree.' *cf.* ¹⁷ 태풍이 나무를 넘어뜨렸다.
- b. Candamaarutad-inda maravu urul-i-tu (Nanjundaiah W-1993)
 hurricane-INST tree.(SBJ) fall.over-PST-3N.SG
Lit: 'By the hurricane the tree fell over.'
 = *Eqv*: 'The hurricane knocked over the tree.' *cf.* 태풍으로 나무가 넘어졌다.
- (27) a. avanu madake-yannu ode-d-a (Bath 1991: 67)
 he.SBJ pot.ACC break-PST-3M.SG
 'He broke the pot.' *cf.* 아저씨가 항아리를 깨다.
- b. * kallu madake-yannu ode-y-itu (Bath 1991: 67)
 stone.(SBJ) pot.ACC break-PST-3N.SG
 'The stone broke the pot.' *cf.* ^{??} 돌이 항아리를 깨다.
- c. kallininda madake ode-yal-aa-y-itu (Bath 1991: 68)
 stone-INST pot.(SBJ) break-INF-PASS-PST-3N.SG
Lit: 'With/by the stone, the pot was broken'
 = *Eqv*: 'The stone broke the pot.' *cf.* 돌에 항아리가 깨졌다.

According to Bath, ACTIVE clauses such as 26a or 27b are restricted to poetic style. It thus seems that they are possibly even more dispreferred than in Korean.

As for the Relative Animacy effects in Korean diathesis selection, similar phenomena are well-established for many North and Central American languages (see Klaiman 1991: §4.1). Thus, in the Mayan language Tzotzil the choice between ACTIVE or AGENTED/CAUSED PASSIVE is forced where two 3rd person referents differ in animacy (Aissen 1997):

- (28) a. I-s-vok' p'in li maruch-e (Aissen 1997: 728)
 PF-3ERG-break pot DEF Maria-ENCL
 'Maria broke the pot.' cf. 마리아가 항아리를 깬다.
- b. * I-vok'-e yu'un maruch li p'in-e (Aissen 1997: 728)
 PF-3ERG-break-PASS by/AGT Maria DEF pot-ENCL
 'The pot was broken by Maria.' cf. * 항아리가 마리아에게 깨졌다
- (29) a. * I-s-mil Xun li ton-e (Aissen 1997: 725)
 PF-3ERG-kill Juan DEF rock-ENCL
 'The rock killed Juan.' cf. * 돌이 후안을 죽였다
- b. I-mil-e ta ton li Xun-e (Aissen 1997: 728)
 PF-kill-PASS by rock DEF Juan-ENCL
 'Juan was killed by the rock.' cf. 후안이 돌에 깔려 죽었다

Note the similarities in the acceptability of the Korean structural parallels.

To conclude then, animacy effects in voice and diathesis systems are a cross-linguistically widespread phenomenon, and we can find many parallels to what is going on in Korean.

4. Animacy effects and the 'agent' and 'agent phrase' categories

One of the biggest obstacles to the appreciation of the Korean 'passive' has been the fact that it is used very differently from the passives of English and other Standard Average European languages that have informed linguistic theories of the past decades. And indeed, it is for this reason that I prefer to use the term 'inactive' in this paper.

Here, one problem is that Korean has no single 'agent phrase' pattern comparable to the English *by* phrase. The second problem is that Korean INACTIVE clauses often have no acceptable 'active' counterparts, and that even if they have agent-phrase-like elements. This causes difficulties for the idea that the 'active' is systemically basic and the 'passive' systemically secondary and derived from the 'active'. The third problem is that Korean INACTIVE verbs are generally used in a way that corresponds both to the theoretical category of the passive predicate and the theoretical category of the *anticausative* verb, that is a morphologically marked inchoative or unaccusative verb. In other words, the Korean verb-morphological system widely conflates the passive and anticausative within one category.

Turning to the first issue, Korean INACTIVE verbs occur with a wide variety of oblique expressions of the situation's cause locus (agent, cause etc):

- (30) a. N-에 게/한테 N-에 N-(으)로
 N-eke/hant^he N-e N-(i)lo
 N-AN.LOC N-LOC N-INST

- b. N-에 의해(서) N-(으)로 인해서
 N-e iyhɛ(sə) N-(i)lo inhɛsə
 N-LOC due.to-CNSC N-INST caused-CNSC
- c. N-(으)로부터 N-때문에/땀에
 N-(i)loputʰə N-ttɛmun-e/ttɛme
 N-ORIGIN N-REASON-LOC / BECAUSE.OF

Not all of these are generally accepted as Korean manifestations of the ‘agent phrase’ category, it is easy to find arguments against an ‘agent phrase’ analysis for all but N-에 게/한테.

Unfortunately, a discussion of all of these patterns is not possible here and we shall have to concentrate on the set of patterns in 30a. Here, of course, 에게 and 한테 are generally considered to mark ‘animate agents’, whereas 에 is said to mark ‘inanimate agents’. The function of the Instrumental particle (으)로, on the other hand, is more controversial: some will accept an agent-phrase analysis while many do not. Whatever position one takes, it is clear that both 에 and (으)로 are used to mark oblique arguments in INACTIVE clause constructions that can at least in some cases be related to a corresponding ACTIVE Subject:

- (31) a. 왜 나만 {모기한테 | 모기에} 물리는지 모르겠어.
 wɛ na-man {**moki-hantʰe** | **moki-e**} **mul•li-nin-ci** moli-kess-ə!
 why I-only {mosquito-AN.LOC | mosquito-LOC} get.bitten[•INACT]-DYN-QST not.know-ASMP-FIN
 ‘Why only I get bitten by the mosquitos is beyond me!’
- b. 모기는 왜 나만 무는지 모르겠어.
moki-nin wɛ na-man **mu-nin-ci** moli-kess-ə!
 mosquito-SEL why I-only bite-DYN-QST not.know-ASMP-FIN
 ‘Why the mosquitos are only biting me is beyond me!’
- (32) a. 꽃이 바람에 꺾였네요.
 kkoč-i **palam-e** **kkəkk•y-əss-ne-yo**.
 flower-SBJ wind-LOC get.snapped[•INACT]-PST-MIR-POL
 ‘The tree branches have been broken (by the wind).’
- b. ¹² 바람이 꽃을 꺾었네요.
 palam-i **kkoch-il** **kkəkk-əss-ne-yo**.
 flower-SBJ wind-ACC snap-PST-MIR-POL
 For: ‘The wind has broken the tree branches.’
- (33) a. 차체가 {총알에 | 총알로} 여기저기 뚫렸다.
 cʰacʰe-ka {cʰoŋal-e | cʰoŋal-lo} yəki+cəki ttulh•ly-əss-ta.
 car.body-SBJ {bullet-LOC | bullet-INST} here+there get.pierced[•INACT]-DCL
 ‘The car (body) was penetrated by bullets in several places.’
- b. ¹¹ 총알이 차체를 여기저기 뚫었다.
 cʰoŋal-i cʰacʰe-lil yəki+cəki ttulh-əss-ta.
 bullet-SBJ car.body-ACC here+there pierce-PST-DCL
 For: ‘The bullets penetrated the car (body) in several places.’

- (34) a. {용암에 | 용암으로} 온 마을이 묻혔습니다.
 {yongam-e | yongam-ilo} on mail-i mut•hy-æss-sipni+ta
 {lava-LOC | lava-INST} whole village-SBJ get.buried[•INACT]-PST-FML.POL÷DCL
Lit: ‘By the lava the whole village has been buried.’
// Eqv: ‘The lava has buried the whole village.’
- b. " 용암이 온 마을을 묻었습니다.
 yongam-i on mail-il mut-æss-sipni+ta
 lava-SBJ whole village-ACC bury-PST-FML.POL÷DCL
For: ‘The lava has buried the whole village.’

On the other hand, however, in the case of 32-34 the event is caused by an inanimate entity or percept, and although the ACTIVE clauses are acceptable, they are certainly the less likely choice. That this matters is clear from the fact that ACTIVE counterparts are anomalous in cases such as the following:

- (35) a. 아가 잇몸에 (젓꼭질) 물리면 얼마나 아픈지 알어?
 aka iq.mom-e (cæc+kkokci-l) mul•li-myən əlma-na ap^{hi}-n-ci al-ə?
 baby gums-LOC (breast+nipple+ACC) get.bitten[•INACT]-CND how.much painful-AT-QST know-FIN
 ‘Do you realise how much that hurts when you get bitten (on you nipples) by baby gums?’
- b. * 아가 잇몸이 (젓꼭질) 물면 ...
 aka iq.mom-i (cæc+kkokci-l) mul-myən ...
 baby gums-SBJ (breast+nipple+ACC) get.bitten[•INACT]-CND
For: ‘... when baby gums bite your nipples?’
- (36) a. 바람에 꽃이 다 찢었네요.
 palam-e kkoch-i ta ccic-æss-ne-yo.
 wind-LOC flower-SBJ all tear-PST-MIR-POL
Lit: ‘By the wind the flowers have all been torn.’ // *Eqv:* ‘The wind has torn all the flowers.’
- b. * 바람이 꽃을 다 찢었네요.
 palam-i kkoch-il ta ccic-æss-ne-yo.
 wind-SBJ flower-ACC all tear-PST-MIR-POL
For: ‘The wind has torn all the flowers.’
- (37) a. 칼에 벽이 뚫리면 냉동실 망가져!
 k^hal-e pyæk-i ttulh•li-myən nɛŋtoŋsil maŋkacy-ə!
 knife-LOC wall-SBJ get.pierced[•INACT]-CND freezer get.destroyed-FIN
Lit: ‘If the wall gets pierced by the knife, then the freezer will get wrecked!’
// Eqv: ‘If the knife pierces the wall ...’
- b. * 칼이 벽을 뚫으면 ...
 k^hal-i pyæk-il ttulh•li-myən ...
 knife-SBJ wall-ACC pierce-CND
For: ‘If the knife pierces the wall ...’
- (38) a. 화산 분출로 온 마을이 (용암에) 묻혔습니다.
 hwasan punchul-lo on mail-i (yongam-e) mut•hy-æss-sipni+ta
 vulcano eruption-INST whole village-SBJ (lava-LOC) get.buried[•INACT]-PST-FML.POL÷DCL
Lit: ‘By the volcanic eruption the whole village was buried (in lava).’
// Eqv: ‘The volcanic eruption buried the whole village (in lava).’

- b. * **화산 분출이** 온 마을을 (용암에) 묻었습니다.
hwasan punchul-i on mail-il (yorjam-e) mut-əss-sipni+ta
 vulcano eruption-SBJ whole village-ACC (lava-LOC) bury-PST-FML.POL÷DCL
For: ‘The volcanic eruption has buried the whole village (in lava).’

Clearly, what makes the ACTIVE (b) sentences here anomalous is that the situations are too different from actions of an animate agent that are usually expressed by the ACTIVE verbs 묻다 *mul.ta*, 찢다 *mul.ta*, 뚫다 *mul.ta* and 묻다 *mut.ta*.

The factors that make some ACTIVE sentences relatively acceptable but others anomalous are not that easy to identify, and the more data one considers, the more complex the situation seems to become. The most important factors seem to be that the cause locus have autonomous motion features, that the cause locus has a direct force-dynamic impact on the effect locus (witness 34b versus 38b), and that the effect arises at the spatio-temporal endpoint of the motion path (witness 32b versus 36b).

What matters most in the context of this paper, however, is that ACTIVE clauses such as 31-38:b are generally dispreferred because the cause locus is inanimate and thus lacks the most central cognitive-perceptual feature of the typical agent. And, of course, this is precisely why the INACTIVE ‘agent phrase’ is not marked with the Animate Oblique markers *에게* or *한테* but with the Inanimate Oblique markers *에* or *(으)로*. What this means, however, is that the Korean system consistently distinguishes between agents and agent causation, on the one hand, and inanimate forces or causes and non-agent causation, on the other hand. In such a diathesis system then, the ‘agent’ and the ‘agent phrase’ categories in their established general sense are simply not adequate analytical categories.

5. Animacy effects and the passive–inchoative polysemy of the Korean ‘passive’

As I have already emphasised, one of the central characteristics of Korean INACTIVE verbs is that their usage generally conforms both to the notion of the passive and to that of the (morphologically marked) anticausative/inchoative. And it is probably not an exaggeration to say that this passive–inchoative polysemy lies at the heart of most of the analytic problems and disagreements in the literature on Korean voice.

This, of course, was not always so, and in fact the problems began only when the Generative Turn began to influence the Koreanist discourse. Certainly, Ch’oe Hyön-bae (1937/61: 410-434) had no problem in accommodating inchoative-like usage under the term ‘spontaneous passive’ (절로되는 입음법), although he too treats the passive-like function as primary. Since the early 1970s, however, the situation changed and most authors began to insist on a strict categorial distinction between a ‘true’ or ‘typical’ passive and other ‘pseudo-passive’ or ‘untypical passive’ usage.

In other words, not only is passive-like usage considered primary, but other non-passive-like uses tend to be excluded from voice analysis. One result of this analytic stance has been a focus on idiomaticity as an explanation for less-than-passive-like usage, based on instances such as the following well-known examples (the first from Yi Kidong 1976: 30, going back to Ch’oe

Hyön-bae; the second from Im Hong-bin 1978: 313):

- (39) a. 날씨가 풀렸다.
 nalssi-ka p^hul•ly-æss-ta
 weather-SBJ get.undone[•INACT]-PST-DCL
 ‘The weather has broken.’ (*Said at the beginning of Spring*)
- b. * X가 날씨를 풀었다.
 X-ka nalssi-lil p^hul-æss-ta
 X-SBJ weather-ACC undo-PST-DCL
 For: ‘X has broken the weather’
- (40) a. 그는 강박 관념에 쫓긴다.
 ki-nin kaŋpak kwannyəm-e ccoc^h•ki-n-ta.
 he-SEL compulsion ideaconception-LOC get.chaseddriven[•INACT]-DYN-DCL
 ‘He is driven/plagued by (his) obsessions.’
- b. * 강박 관념이 그를 쫓는다.
 kaŋpak kwannyəm-i ki-lil ccoc^h-nin-ta.
 compulsion ideaconception-SBJ he-ACC chase-DYN-DCL
 For: ‘(His) obsessions are driving/plaguing him.’

Here, of course, the INACTIVE clauses with 풀리다 and 쫓기다 have no ACTIVE counterparts. In addition, 39a is strongly inchoative-like, and so is 40a, even though it contains the agent-phrase-like EVENT CAUSE constituent 관념에. On the other hand, however, even though they are indeed cases of idiomatic usage, the main reason they lack ACTIVE counterparts is not idiomaticity, but the fact that any corresponding ACTIVE sentences along the lines of 39-40:b would violate Animacy and Agency Constraints.

Thus, sentence 40b, apart from having an INANIMATE and indeed NON-CONCRETE noun in the AGENT *Subject* slot, would also violate Relative Animacy and Agency Constraints. That is, the combination of INANIMATE *Subject* + ANIMATE *Object* in [ANIMATE-가 INANIMATE-를] would violate the strong requirement for alignment between Constituent and Animacy Hierarchy in the expression of causation chains: where one end of a causation chain is animate and the other inanimate, the animate referent must appear as the clause subject.

At first sight, matters would seem to be somewhat different in the case of 39a/b, where the impossibility of a corresponding ACTIVE sentence would seem to be due to the fact that there is no conceivable agent that could appear as the active AGENT *Subject*. In other words, 39a would indeed seem to constitute a special case of idiomatic ‘inchoative/spontaneous’ usage of the verb 풀리다 (as suggested by Yi Kidong 1976). However, although there is indeed no conceivable **animate** agent (at least apart from God or other weather-manipulating entities), there are conceivable percepts that could be construed as event causes and indeed be expressed in an oblique agent-phrase-like constituent of a slightly more passive-like INACTIVE sentence, again though with no acceptable ACTIVE counterpart:

- (41) a. 3월이 되면 남서 계절풍으로 날씨가 급속히 풀린다.
 sam-wəl-i twœ-myən namsə kyecəlp^huŋ-ilo nalssi-ka kipsok.hi p^hul•li-n-ta.
 3-month-SBJ become-CND SW monsoon-INST weather-SBJ rapidly get.undone-DYN-DCL

Lit: ‘When March comes, by the South-West monsoon the weather is rapidly broken’

// *Eqv:* ‘When March comes, the South-West monsoon rapidly breaks the weather.’

- b. * ... 남서 계절풍이 날씨를 급속히 푼다.
 namsə kyecəlp^huŋ-i nalssi-lil kipsok.hi p^hu-n-ta.
 SW monsoon-SBJ weather-ACC rapidly undo-DYN-DCL
For: ‘... the South-West monsoon rapidly breaks the weather.’

Here, of course, the *Instrumental* N-로 phrase in 41a would not be considered an agent phrase by many authors. However, what is apparently a very idiomatic usage is in fact part of a much wider usage cluster, a cluster which also contains instances with *Locative* N-에 constituents that refer to more concrete and physical causes and are of the kind that would be considered an agent phrase by many authors. Again, however, active counterparts would be anomalous due to the fact that the pertinent causes are not sufficiently similar to the typical human or human-like animate agent:

- (42) a. 따뜻한 날씨로 강물이 풀렸다.
 ttattusha-n nalssi-lo kaŋ+mul-i p^hul•ly-æss-ta.
 warm-AT weather-INST river+water-SBJ get.undone[•INACT]-PST-DCL

Lit: ‘By the warm weather, the river water was undone.’

// *Eqv:* ‘The warm weather broke the river ice.’

- b. * 따뜻한 날씨가 강물을 풀었다.
 ttattus.ha-n nalssi-ka kaŋ+mul-il p^hul-æss-ta.
 warm-AT weather-SUBJ river+water-ACC undo-PST-DCL
For: ‘The warm weather broke the river ice.’

- (43) a. 우수, 경칩에 이르러 [땅이] 빗물에 풀리고 (From Web)
 usu, kyŋch’ip-e ili-lə [ttaŋ-i] piq+mul-e p^hul•li-ko
 Usu, Kyŋgch’ip-LOC reach-CNSC [soil-SBJ] rain+water-LOC get.undone[•INACT]-SQ
 봄기운에 땅이 열려 봄이 약동할 때까지
 pom+kiun-e ttaŋ-i yəl•lyə pom-i yaktŋ.ha-l ttε-kkaci (...)
 spring+energy-LOC soil-SBJ open[•INACT]-CNSC spring-SBJ throb-PSP.AT time-until
 ‘until we would get to Usu (≈ 13 Feb) and Kyŋgch’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 ...’

- b. ?? ... 빗물이 땅을 풀고 ...
 ... piq+mul-i ttaŋ-il p^hul-ko ...
 rain+water-SBJ soil-ACC undo-SQ
For: ‘... until the rain water would thaw the soil ...’

And, finally, such instances are in turn linked to cases where there is indeed a typical human agent and the passive-like INACTIVE sentences do therefore have ACTIVE counterparts:

- (44) a. [그녀가] 불을 쪼니 뻣뻣이 언 몸이 풀려왔다. (From corpus)
 [kinyə-ka] pul-il ccwœ-ni ppəsp̄p̄əs.i ə-n mom-i p^hul•ly-ə-w-ass-ta.
 [she-SBJ] fire-ACC let.shine.on.self-SQ stiff freeze-PE.AT body-SBJ get.undone[INACT]-FIN-come-PST-DCL
 ‘As she stood close to the fire, her stiff-frozen body began to warm up.’

- b. [그녀가] 불을 쪼면서 뻣뻣이 언 몸을 풀었다.
 [kinyə-ka] pul-il ccwœ-myənsə ppəsp̄p̄s.i ə-n mom-il p^hul-əss-ta.
 [she-SBJ] fire-ACC let.shine.on.self-SIM stiffly freeze-PF.AT body-ACC undo-PST-DCL
 ‘Keeping close to the fire, she warmed up her stiff-frozen body.’
- (45) a. 마누라한테 안마를 받아서 어깨가 금새 풀렸다.
 manula-hant^he anma-lil pat-asə əkkɛ-ka kimsɛ p^hul•ly-əss-ta
 wife-AN.LOC message-ACC get-CNSC shoulder-SBJ immediately get.undone[•INACT]-PST-DCL
 ‘Upon receiving a massage from his wife, his shoulder immediately lost its stiffness.’
- b. 마누라가 안마를 해줘서 어깨를 풀어줬다.
 manula-ka anma-lil hɛ-cw-əsə əkkɛ-lil p^hul•ə-cw-əss-ta
 wife-SBJ message-ACC do-give-CNSC shoulder-ACC undo-FIN-give/BEN-PST-DCL
 ‘Upon his wife giving him a massage, his shoulder immediately lost its stiffness.’

Note that, of course, these and indeed all previous instances of 풀리다 have both passive-like and inchoative-like characteristics, and 39-45:a could indeed be taken as a good illustration of the fact that inchoative-like and passive-like usage lie on exactly the same continuum. The existence or lack of conceivable active counterparts, on the other hand, is clearly conditioned by animacy effects and constraints rather than by idiomaticity.

6. Why animacy effects are important

So, in conclusion, why are the animacy effects that I have outlined in the previous sections important? The answer, in short, is that they are what makes many passive-like constructions in Korean look rather un-passive-like, at least in terms what is expected from comparison with the major Western European languages. Take, for example, the case of the *Locative-marked* ‘inanimate agent’ phrases on [N-에], as discussed in §4 above, which included the following examples:

- (46) a. 왜 나만 {모기한테 | 모기에} 물리는지 모르겠어.
 wɛ na-man {moki-hant^he | moki-e} mul•li-nin-ci moli-kess-ə!
 why I-only {mosquito-AN.LOC | mosquito-LOC} get.bitten[•INACT]-DYN-QST not.know-ASMP-FIN
 ‘Why only I get bitten by the mosquitos is beyond me!’
- b. 모기는 왜 나만 무는지 모르겠어.
 moki-nin wɛ na-man mu-nin-ci moli-kess-ə!
 mosquito-SEL why I-only bite-DYN-QST not.know-ASMP-FIN
 ‘Why only I get bitten by the mosquitos is beyond me!’
- (47) a. 아가 잇몸에 (젓꼭질) 물리면 얼마나 아픈지 알어?
 aka iq.mom-e (cəc+kkokci-l) mul•li-myən əlma-na ap^hi-n-ci al-ə?
 baby gums-LOC (breast+nipple+ACC) get.bitten[•INACT]-CND how.much painful-AT-QST know-FIN
 ‘Do you realise how much that hurts when you get bitten (on you nipples) by baby gums?’
- b. * 아가 잇몸이 (젓꼭질) 물면 ...
 aka iq.mom-i (cəc+kkokci-l) mul-myən ...
 baby gums-SBJ (breast+nipple+ACC) get.bitten[•INACT]-CND
 For: ‘... when baby gums bite your nipples?’

Here, of course, the CAUSE phrase 모기에 in 46a is much more agent-like than 잇몸에 in 47a,

and this is precisely why 46a has a natural active counterpart, while 47a does not. And, a similar if slightly different situation obtains in the following:

- (48) a. 차체가 {총알에 | 총알로} 여기저기 뚫렸다.
 c^hac^he-ka {c^hoŋal-e | c^hoŋal-lo} yæki+cæki ttulh•ly-æss-ta.
 car.body-SBJ {bullet-LOC | bullet-INST} here+there get.pierced[•INACT]-DCL
 ‘The car (body) was penetrated by bullets in several places.’
- b. !! 총알이 차체를 여기저기 뚫었다.
 c^hoŋal-i c^hac^he-lil yæki+cæki ttulh-æss-ta.
 bullet-SBJ car.body-ACC here+there pierce-PST-DCL
 For: ‘The bullets penetrated the car (body) in several places.’
- (49) a. 칼에 벽이 뚫리면 냉동실 망가져!
 k^hal-e pyæk-i ttulh•li-myən nɛŋtoŋsil maŋkacy-ə!
 knife-LOC wall-SBJ get.pierced[•INACT]-CND freezer get.destroyed-FIN
 Lit: ‘If the wall gets pierced by the knife, then the freezer will get wrecked!’
 // Eqv: ‘If the knife pierces the wall ...’
- b. * 칼이 벽을 뚫으면 ...
 k^hal-i pyæk-il ttulh-imyən ...
 knife-SBJ wall-ACC pierce-CND
 For: ‘If the knife pierces the wall ...’

Here, of course, the CAUSE phrase 총알에 c^hoŋal-e in 48a is inanimate and therefore less agent-phrase-like than 모기에 moki-e in 46b. Nevertheless, its referent <bullets> shares certain experiential features with animate agents, especially what we could characterise as <motion and impact that is physically detached from any animate agent>. It is this which makes 총알에 c^hoŋal-e in 48a more agent-like than 칼에 k^hal-e in 49a, and this is precisely why 48a has dispreferred but quite conceivable active counterpart, but 49a has not.

At issue here, however, is not only the question of what constitutes an ‘agent phrase’. Rather, it is the fact that the pertinent animacy effects tend to influence linguists’ judgments as to which sentences can be considered passive and which should merely be considered cases of inchoative/anticausative usage. The reason is, of course, that the passive is expected to at least imply ‘agent causation’, whereas the inchoative/anticausative is considered to come with no such semantic specification.

The notions of ‘agent’ and ‘agent causation’ are, however, by themselves highly problematic, due to the fact that they are usually used as semantic categories that go beyond the narrow prototypes of <animate human who performs a volitional and controlled action> and <volitional and controlled behaviour of an animate human>. Consequently, how far they are assumed to extend is itself strongly influenced by the language of investigator and investigation. Thus, returning to the cases that I presented in §5, the following English sentence pairs are of course considered passive – active alternations, just as the *by* phrases in the passive clauses would be considered agent phrases:

- (50) a. He is (so) badly driven **by his obsessions** (that he is not in control of his own actions).
 b. His obsessions are driving him (so) badly (that he is not in control of his own actions).

- (51) a. In March, the cold winter weather is rapidly broken **by the summer monsoon**.
 b. In March, the summer monsoon rapidly breaks the cold winter weather.

Here, of course, if one were to ask “Why are 50/51:a passive and not anticausative/inchoative?” the answer would be “Because they express events brought about by an agent”. And, if one were to ask why the *by* phrases should be considered agent phrases, the answer would be “Because they correspond to the agent subject of the active counterpart”.

The two answers are, of course, largely justified in the context of the English system. In the Korean case, however, there is of course no corresponding active sentence:

- (52) a. 그는 강박 관념에 쫓긴다. (Im Hong-bin 1978: 313)
 ki-nin kanpak kwannyəm-e ccoc^h•ki-n-ta.
 he-SEL compulsion ideaconception-LOC get.chaseddriven[•INACT]-DYN-DCL
 ‘He is driven/plagued by (his) obsessions.’
 b. * 강박 관념이 그를 쫓는다. (Im Hong-bin 1978: 313)
 kanpak kwannyəm-i ki-lil ccoc^h-nin-ta.
 compulsion ideaconception-SBJ he-ACC chase-DYN-DCL
 For: ‘(His) obsessions are driving/plaguing him.’

- (53) a. 3월이 되면 남서 계절풍으로 날씨가 급속히 풀린다.
 sam-wəl-i twœ-myən namsə kyecəlp^huŋ-ilo nalssi-ka kipsok.hi p^hul•li-n-ta.
 3-month-SBJ become-CND SW monsoon-INST weather-SBJ rapidly get.undone-DYN-DCL
 Lit: ‘When March comes, by the South-West monsoon the weather is rapidly broken’
 // Eqv: ‘When March comes, the South-West monsoon rapidly breaks the weather.’
 b. * ... 남서 계절풍이 날씨를 급속히 푼다.
 namsə kyecəlp^huŋ-i nalssi-lil kipsok.hi p^hu-n-ta.
 SW monsoon-SBJ weather-ACC rapidly undo-DYN-DCL
 For: ‘... the South-West monsoon rapidly breaks the weather.’

The main reason is, as we have seen, that the situation is not at all similar to the typical human action, and the situation cause is not at all similar to the typical human agent.

This divergence from <action> and <agent> prototypes is, of course, just as strong in the English case. At the same time, however, the animacy and agency effects that operate in Korean make the structurally parallel clause structures look far less like ‘agent phrases’ and ‘agent causation’ than in the English case. In other words, the analyst of Korean will tend to conclude that the inactive sentences 52/53:a are more like inchoative/anticausatives than like passives, and should therefore be seen in a similar light as the following:

- (54) 바쁜 하루 일과 속에서 이리저리 쫓기다가
 pappi-n halu ilkwa sok-esə ili+cəli ccoc^h•ki-taka
 busy-AT one.day daily.task inside-SET this.way+that.way hurry.about[«chase•INACT]-SQ
 어찌다 자기와 마주하는 시간을 갖게 되면 ...
 əccəta caki-wa macu.ha-nin sikan-il kac-ke twœ-myən
 at.times self-CMT confront-DYN.AT time-ACC have-RES.ADV INCH_{IV}-CND
 (그 순간을 가꾸기보다는 오히려 공허하고 외로운, 무기력한 자신을 발견하게 된다.)

‘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.)’

- (55) 날씨가 풀렸다. (Yi Kidong 1976: 30)
 nalssi-ka p^hul•ly-æss-ta
 weather-SBJ get undone[•INACT]-PST-DCL
 ‘The weather has broken.’ (*Said at the beginning of Spring*)

Here, of course, there is no agent-phrase-like constituent and not only that, but there is neither an implied ‘agent’ nor any other implied cause and 53a/b do therefore indeed conform most closely to the inchoative/anticausative category.

Finally, of course, there is another difference between English and Korean: English speakers can in many cases choose between inchoative/unaccusative verbs (Intransitive *break*) and passive predicates (*be/get broken*), whereas Korean usually conflates the two in one form (*풀리다*). Given the fact that Korean does conflate the two categories of the ‘anticausative’ and the ‘passive’ within the same verb-morphological category, however, it becomes even more important to consider the animacy effects described in this paper, since they will otherwise impede an objective and neutral evaluation of Korean voice and voice constructions.

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), but some had to be added or shortened.

ACC	accusative	NCTL.NEG	non-control (involuntary) negative
AN.LOC	animate locative	NEG	negative
ASMP	assumptive (presumptive; future)	PF	perfect
AT	attributor, attributive (of verb)	PF.AT	perfect attributive
BEN	benefactive	PL	plural
CMPL	completive	POL	polite (hearer elevation)
CND	conditional	PROP	propositive
CNSC	consecutive	PSP	prospective
CPL	copula	PSP.AT	prospective
DCL	declarative	PST	past
DYN.AT	dynamic attributive	QST	question marker
FIN	finite (non-past)	RES	resultative
FML	formal (discourse mood)	RPT	reportative (evidential)
INACT	inactive	SBJ	subject
INCH	inchoative	SEL	selective (delimiter)
INST	instrumental	SET	setting (event location)
LOC	locative	SIM	simultaneous conjunctive
MIR	mirative (discourse mood)	SQ	sequential

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