Direct Movement Passives in Korean and Japanese

SANG DOH PARK
JOHN WHITMAN
Cornell University

1. Introduction: Direct Movement and Non-Movement Passives in Japanese and Korean

Kuroda (1979) argues that Japanese *ni yotte* passives are derived by movement of an underlying internal argument to subject position. The so-called syntactic passive pattern in Korean, derived with the bound verb *-ci* 'become', also gives strong evidence for a movement derivation (see Park 2001). Facts like those in (1-3) below support the movement analysis: (1-2) show that subject position is not assigned an underlying thematic role; (3) shows that both Japanese *ni yotte* and Korean *-ci* passives induce scope ambiguity.

(1) **Non-affectee subjects allowed**

a. Siroi booru ga Oo ni yotte takadaka to utiage-rare-ta. (J)
white ball NOM Oh by high hit.up-PASS-PAST
'A white ball was hit high in the air by Oh.' (Kuroda 1979: 309)

b. Hayan kong i Big Choy ey uyhay(e) nophi chyeollye-ci-ess-ta. (K)
white ball NOM Big Choi by high hit.up-PASS-PAST-DEC
'A white ball was hit high in the air by Big Choi.'

(2) **The object in idiom chunks passivizable**

a. Tyuui ga John ni yotte haraw-rare-ta. (J)
attention NOM John by pay-PASS-PAST
'Attention was paid by John.' (Hoshi 1999: 198)

b. Cwuuy ka Chelswu ey uyhay(e) kiwulye-ci-ess-ta. (K)
attention NOM Chelswu by devote-PASS-PAST-DEC
'Attention was devoted by Chelswu.'

(3) **Scope ambiguity induced**[1]

a. Nanika ga iinkai ni yotte dono ie ni mo okur-are-ta. (J)
something NOM committee by every house to send-PASS-PAST
'Something was sent by the committee to every house.'
(modified from Yatsushiro 1999: 40)
(∃ > ∀, ∀ > ∃)

b. Muenka ka wuywenhoy ey uyhay(e) enu cip ey na (K)
something NOM committee by every house to
ponay-ci-ess-ta.
send-PASS-PAST-DEC
'Something was sent by the committee to every house.'
(∃ > ∀, ∀ > ∃)

As is well known, both Japanese and Korean have contrasting passive patterns which fail the tests in (1-3) for direct movement of an underlying internal argument to subject position:

(4) a. Fermat no teiri ga John *ni/ni yotte syoomeis-are-ta. (J)
Fermat's theorem NOM John DAT/by prove-PASS-PAST
'Fermat's theorem was proved by John.' (Kuroda 1979: 330-331)

b. *Sakwa ka Chelswu eykey mek-hi-ess-ta. (K)
apple NOM Chelswu DAT eat-PASS-PAST-DEC
'An apple was eaten by Chelswu.'

(5) a. *Tyuui ga John ni haraw-rare-ta. (J)
attention NOM John DAT pay-PASS-PAST
'Attention was paid by John.' (Hoshi 1999: 198)

[1]Speakers of both languages observe that ambiguity is enhanced when the *by*-phrase follows the Goal argument. We note also that in Japanese it is substantially more difficult to obtain scope ambiguity between the derived subject and a quantified expression in the *by*-phrase, than between the subject and a non-agent NP, as in (3a).

b. *Nai ka Mary eykey mek-hi-ess-ta.[2] (K)
age NOM Mary DAT eat-PASS-PAST-DEC
'Age was eaten by Mary'

(6) a. Dareka ga Hanako ni daremo ni syookais-are-ta. (J)
someone NOM Hanako DAT everyone DAT introduce-PASS-PAST
'Someone was introduced to everyone by Hanako.'
(∃ > ∀, ?*∀ > ∃) (Kitagawa & Kuroda 1992: 10)

b. Nwukwunka ka nwukwuna eykey cap-hi-ess-ta. (K)
someone NOM everyone DAT catch-PASS-PAST-DEC
'Someone was caught by everyone.'
(∃ > ∀, *∀ > ∃) (Park 2001: 643)

The Japanese *ni* passives and Korean lexical HI passives in (4-6) both mark the *by*-phrase with dative.[3] While there are competing analyses for both languages (Kuroda 1965, Kuno 1973, Kitagawa & Kuroda 1992, Hoshi 1994, 1999 for Japanese; Choe 1988, Kang 1997, Park 2001 for Korean), the contrast between (1-3) and (4-6) indicates that these passives are not derived by direct movement of an internal argument to the highest subject position, as argued under the so-called Uniform Hypothesis for Japanese (Kuroda 1965, Hoshi 1994, 1999). In contrast with passives of this type, we label the patterns in (1-3) **direct movement passives**.

In this paper we undertake a comparative investigation of direct movement passives, focusing on syntactic differences behind the similarities.

2. The Status of *By*-phrases

Despite their superficial lexical similarity, Korean *ey uyhay(e)* 'by, due to' in *-ci* passives differs from Japanese *ni yotte* (idem) in several respects. Hong (1991a,b) and Park (2001) show that the NP in the *ey uyhay(e)* phrase of Korean *-ci* passives has subject properties: it can be construed with subject-oriented adverbs (7a), and readily antecede reflexive *caki* (8a). These properties do not hold of the NP in *ni yotte* phrases in Japanese (7-8b).

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[2] The active counterpart of this sentence has the idiomatic meaning 'Mary got old'.

[3] In Japanese, use of dative in the *by*-phrase has been taken to be criterial, but see Inoue (1976: 84), Kuroda (1979: 328-9) and Kuno (1983: 197-8) for discussion of contexts where *ni* can be used in passives with inanimate derived subjects. We discuss other postposition options below. In Korean, the morphology of the passive predicate is criterial. Dative *eyeky* is marginally possible in *-ci* passives with affectee subjects; they retain the direct movement properties of *-ci* passives. Lexical passives with *ey uyhay(e)*, in contrast, have the properties of middles; see Park (to appear) for details.

(7) a. John i taythonglyeng ey uyhay macimoshay (K)
John NOM president by unwillingly
Iraq ey ponay-ci-ess-ta.
Iraq to send-PASS-PAST-DEC
'John was sent to Iraq by the president unwillingly.'
→ The president was unwilling to send John to Iraq.
b. John ga daitooryoo ni yotte iyaiya Iraq e oku-rare-ta. (J)
John NOM president by unwillingly Iraq to send-pass-past
'John was sent to Iraq by the president unwillingly.'
→ John was unwilling to be sent to Iraq by the president.'

(8) a. Taypyo ka taythonglyeng ey uyhay (K)
representative NOM president by
caki uy kohyang ulo ponay-ci-ess-ta.
self's hometown to send-PASS-PAST-DEC
'The representative was sent by the president to $_{rep/pres}$'s hometown.'
b. Daihyoo ga daitooryoo ni yotte (J)
representative NOM president by
zibun no kokyoo ni oku-are-ta.
self's hometown to send- PASS-PAST
'The representative was sent by the president to $_{rep/*pres}$'s hometown.'

The contrast observed in (7-8) suggests that the NP in the *ey uyhay(e)* phrase in Korean *-ci* passives originates as an external argument, while the NP in the *ni yotte* phrase does not. While *ey uyhay(e)* freely occurs with non-agent external arguments such as experiencers, Teramura (1982: 226) observes that *ni yotte* is not felicitous with passives of psychological predicates:

(9) a. *Turandot* ka manhun umhak ayhoka ey uyhay culkie-ci-ess-ta. (K)
Turandot NOM many music lover by enjoy-PASS-PAST-DEC
'*Turandot* was enjoyed by many music lovers.'
b. Kare no *Haru no umi* wa ooku no hito ni/kara/*ni yotte (J)
his *Spring* GEN *Sea* TOP many people DAT/from/by
ais-are-te iru. (modified from Teramura 1982: 221)
love-PASS-ing is
'His "Spring Sea" is loved by many people.'

The variation in Japanese between *ni* (dative), *kara* 'from' and *ni yotte* suggests that the NP in the *by*-phrase receives its thematic role directly from the postposition. Teramura shows that *kara* 'from' but not *ni yotte* is acceptable

with a source NP in the *by*-phrase and a recipient derived subject, while *ni yotte* is acceptable but *kara* is not with a pure agent NP in the *by*-phrase:

(10) a. Kare wa tizi kara/*ni yotte kansyazyoo o (J)
he TOP governor from/by thanks certificate ACC
okur-are-ta.
present-PASS-PAST
'He was presented a certificate of appreciation by the governor.'
(Teramura 1982: 232)
b. Kodomo ga hahaoya *kara/ni yotte kuruma ni nose-rare-ru. (J)
child NOM mother from/by car in put-PASS-PAST
'The child is put in the car by the mother.'
(Teramura 1982: 236)

In contrast, Korean uses *ey uyhay(e)* freely with source NPs in the *by*-phrase:

(11) Kamsacang un ku eykey cisa ey uyhay ponay-ci-ess-ta. (K)
thanks certificate TOP him to governor by send-PASS-PAST-DEC
'The certificate of appreciation was sent to him by the governor.'

These facts indicate that '*ni yotte* passive' is somewhat of a misnomer for the relevant Japanese pattern: instead, the characteristic of this pattern is that the thematic role of the NP in the *by*-phrase is assigned by the postposition. Korean *ey uyhay(e)*, in contrast, is more directly comparable to *by* in English passives: it functions as a structural case licenser for the underlying external argument, irrespective of the thematic role of that argument.

3. Licensing Accusative Case in Ditransitive Passives

A second salient difference between *-ci* passives and *ni yotte* passives is the fact that Japanese appears to be a 'symmetrical' language with respect to A-movement passivization in ditransitive constructions (Shibatani 1977: 803, Kuroda 1979: 333): either direct or indirect object may be passivized.

(12) a. Tanaka ga zaidan ni yotte Nooberu syoo o atae-rare-ta.
Taroo NOM foundation by Nobel prize ACC award-PASS-PAST
'Tanaka was awarded the Nobel prize by the foundation.'
b. Nooberu syoo ga zaidan ni yotte Tanaka ni atae-rare-ta.
Nobel prize NOM foundation by Tanaka DAT award-PASS-PAST
'The Nobel prize was awarded to Tanaka by the foundation.'

In contrast, Korean does not allow *-ci* passivization of direct or indirect object with accusative case on the remaining object (Shibatani 1977: 804):

(13) a. Wuywenhoy ka Chelswu eykey/lul sang ul cwu-ess-ta.
committee NOM Chelswu DAT/ACC prize ACC give-PAST-DEC
'The committee gave Chelswu a prize.'
b.*Chelswu ka wuywenhoy ey uyhay sang ul cwue-ci-essta.
Chelswu NOM committee by prize ACC give-PASS-PAST-DEC
'Chelswu was given a prize by the committee.'
c. Sang i wuywenhoy ey uyhay Chelswu eykey/*ul
prize NOM committee by Chelswu DAT/ACC
cwue-ci-essta.
give-PASS-PAST-DEC
'Chelswu was given a prize by the committee.'

A number of different accounts have been proposed for this property of *-ci* passives (Shibatani 1977, Gerdts 1986). But the most straightforward explanation is that *-ci* passives simply disallow assignment of accusative case (Kang 1986: 112). Note that (13b) is acceptable with nominative case assigned to the direct object, showing that Korean does allow *-ci* passivization of indirect objects:

(14) Chelswu ka wuywenhoy ey uyhay sang i cwue-ci-essta.
Chelswu NOM committee by prize NOM give-PASS-PAST-DEC
'Chelswu was given a prize by the committee.'

From a comparative standpoint, however, this property of *-ci* passives itself requires an explanation. Why do Japanese A-movement passives allow assignment of accusative case, while Korean A-movement passives do not? We propose an explanation based on two independently motivated differences between the two languages: dative case in Japanese ditransitives can be structural, while Korean dative case is not; and Korean accusative may be multiply assigned, while accusative case in Japanese may not be.

4. Dative in Korean vs. Japanese

Urushibara (1991) shows that the Korean dative particle *eykey* (animate)/*ey* (inanimate) is not a structural case marker, while Sadakane and Koizumi (1995) show that the Japanese dative particle *ni* in ditransitive constructions has two reflexes: a structural case marker, and a postposition. For example, Urushibara (1991: 423) points out that Korean *eykey* allows case stacking:

(15) **Japanese**
John *ni/e no tegami
John DAT/to GEN letter
'a letter to John'

Korean
John eykey uy phyenci
John DAT GEN letter
'a letter to John'

It is well known that structural case markers may stack on inherent case markers or postpositions, but stacking of structural case markers is not allowed (Gerdts and Youn 1988). Thus the Korean example in (15) shows that dative *eykey* is not a structural case marker.[4]

A second diagnostic is quantifier float. Sadakane and Koizumi show that *ni* in ditransitives allows quantifier float (16), while Urushibara, following Shibatani (1977), shows that *eykey* does not (17).

(16) Emi wa tomodati ni san-nin bara no hanataba o ageta. (J)
Emi TOP friend DAT 3-CLASS rose GEN bouquet ACC gave
'Emi gave a bouquet of roses to three of her friends.'
(Sadakane and Koizumi 1995: 12)

(17) Nay ka ai *eykey/lul seys yenge lul kaluchi-ess-ta. (K)
I NOM child DAT/ACC three English ACC teach-PAST-DEC
'I taught English to three children.'
(Shibatani 1977: 805)

Finally, Sadakane and Koizumi show that ditransitive *ni* is disallowed for most speakers in the focus position of pseudoclefts:

(18) [Emi ga bara no hanataba o ageta no wa] Mika (*ni) da.
Emi NOM rose GEN bouquet ACC gave COMP TOP Mika DAT is
'It is to Mika that Emi gave a bouquet of roses.'
(Sadakane and Koizumi 1995: 12)

In contrast, ditransitive *eykey* is allowed in this position, unlike structural *(l)ul* (accusative):

(19) [John i ton lul cwu-n kes-un] Mary eykey/*lul (i)-ta.
John NOM money ACC give-PAST COMP-TOP Mary DAT/ACC be-DEC
'Who John gave money is Mary.'

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[4] On the other hand, the Japanese example in (15) does not show that *ni* is a structural case marker. Sadakane and Koizumi (1995) give evidence in some contexts *ni* is a structural case marker, but *ni* is disallowed in the genitive stacking pattern of (15) regardless of its function (in contrast to allative *e*).

These tests reveal a clear difference between Korean and Japanese: Korean dative *eykey* in ditransitive constructions is a postposition or inherent case marker, while dative *ni* in Japanese ditransitive constructions can be a structural case marker. It is important to emphasize can here: Sadakane and Koizumi (1995: 20) show that *ni* in the ditransitive pattern of (20) is actually ambiguous between a structural case marker and a postposition:

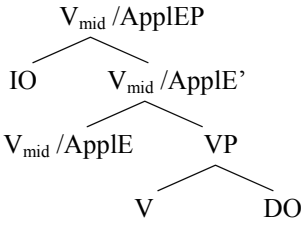
(20) a. Hokuto wa sukina onnanoko ni huta-ri hanataba o okutta.
Hokuto TOP favorite girl DAT 2-CLASS bouquet ACC sent
'Hokuto sent a bouquet to two of his favorite young women.'
b. *Hokuto wa gaikoku ni huta-tu hanataba o okutta.
Hokuto TOP foreign country DAT 2-CLASS bouquet ACC sent
'Hokuto sent a bouquet to two foreign countries.'

Sadakane and Koizumi analyze *ni* in (20b) as a postposition. They observe, 'if the *ni*-marked NP is…something whose referent does not have the ability to possess things, the particle *ni* will be unambiguously analyzed as a postposition' (1995: 20).

5. Structures for Ditransitive A-Movement Passives in Japanese

Ura (1996, 2000), McGinnis (2001, 2002), and Pylkkänen (2002) account for double object constructions by positing an additional verbal projection, Ura's V_{mid} and Pylkkänen's Appl(icative)P, which assigns a thematic role to the indirect object. The mechanics of these proposals differ: Ura locates the V_{mid} projection above VP (21a), while Pylkkänen posits two distinct positions for an Applicative Phrase projection introducing the indirect object. With transfer-of-possession predicates, the 'lower' applicative projection ApplIP is generated as the complement of the lexical verb (21b); this contrasts with the 'high' applicative ApplEP, which introduces indirect object arguments bearing roles such as benefactive or instrumental and is generated above VP. Ditransitives of the sort discussed so far in this paper are clearly of the former type, and Pylkkänen explicitly identifies Korean and Japanese ditransitives as belonging to the lower applicative pattern in (21b), where IO stands for indirect object, DO for direct object:

(21) a.



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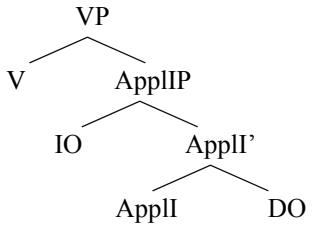


We will not attempt to choose between the structures in (21a-b) in this paper. Either structure provides a straightforward account of dative *ni yotte* passives such as (12a). On either account, in active ditransitives, structural dative case on the IO is licensed (checked) by v, and accusative case on the DO is licensed by V_{mid} /ApplP. Passive *-rare-* eliminates the case (licensing) feature on v; the IO raises and checks the case feature on T, while accusative case on the DO is licensed by V_{mid} /ApplP as before.

Less clear is what happens when the DO of a ditransitive is passivized as in (12b). Under Ura's account, this possibility is the byproduct of object shift in Japanese ditransitives: the DO in (21a) moves to an outer specifier of V_{mid}. In this position, the DO and IO are equidistant from any higher head; either may be attracted to v and subsequently to T. According to this account, the amalgam V-V_{mid}-v has two case features (cf. Ura's discussion of ditransitive passives in Norwegian and Swedish, 2000: 242), one belonging to v and the other to V_{mid}; the passive morpheme eliminates one of these features, and the other is checked by the argument that does not undergo passivization. While this account works for Norwegian and Swedish ditransitive passives (where the non-passivized argument is always accusative), it is unclear why in Japanese ditransitive passives, when the DO is passivized as in (12b), the IO surfaces with dative, rather than accusative case.

McGinnis (2001, 2002), in contrast, accepts Pylkkänen's distinction between high (21a) and low (21b) applicatives, but argues that only the high applicative structure in (21a) allows passivization of the DO in a ditransitive. Given Pylkkänen's arguments that Japanese and Korean double object constructions are of the 'low' type in (21b), this leaves us with no explanation for pattern in (12b).

We would like to present a different account of the direct object passivization pattern in (12b). Since Shibatani (1977) it has been assumed that Japanese is a 'symmetrical' language with respect to passivization possibilities in ditransitive constructions. This is based on the further assumption that Japanese lacks dative shift.

In the previous section we saw Sadakane and Koizumi's evidence that *ni* may be either a postposition or a structural case marker in ditransitive constructions. Consider now the following contrast:

(22) a. Sityoo ga gakusei ni san-nin kansyazyoo o okutta.
mayor NOM student DAT 3-CLASS thank letter ACC sent
'The mayor sent a letter of thanks to three students.'
b.??Kansyazyoo ga sityoo kara/ni yotte gakusei ni san-nin
thank letter NOM mayor from/by student DAT 3-CLASS
okur-are-ta.
send-PASS-PAST
'The mayor sent a letter of thanks to three students.'

While quantifier float from the DO is acceptable in the active sentence (22a), most speakers find it substantially degraded in the corresponding *ni yotte* passive (22b). The same is true even if the verb is one that entails transfer of possession on the basis of its lexical meaning:

(23) a. Zaidan ga nihonzin ni huta-ri Nooberu syoo o
foundation NOM Japanese DAT 2-CLASS prize ACC
atae-ta.
award-PAST
'The foundation awarded the Nobel prize to two Japanese.'
b. ??Nooberu syoo ga zaidan ni yotte nihonzin ni
Nobel prize NOM committee by Japanese
huta-ri atae-rare-ta.
2-CLASS award-PASS-PAST
'The Nobel prize was awarded by the foundation to two Japanese.'

The quantifier float diagnostic indicates that while *ni* in the active ditransitives (22-23a) is (or can be) a structural case marker, *ni* in the corresponding passives is a postposition. This suggests the following scenario: in a Japanese ditransitive, when the DO is passivized, *ni* on the indirect object is a postposition. When the indirect object is passivized, on the other hand, structural dative case has been absorbed. Evidence for the second part of this scenario comes from the entailments associated with transfer-of-possession verbs. It is well known that an entailment that the direct object comes into the possession of the indirect object is associated with dative shift (incorporation) of the indirect object (Stowell 1982). This effect is also visible in Sadakane and Koizumi's examples (20), where structural dative (20a), diagnosed by the quantifier float test, is compatible only with the indirect object that actually comes into possession of the direct object. Under the scenario proposed here, structural dative corresponds to the dative shift pattern in Japanese. Now consider the contrast between direct and indirect object passives below:

(24) a. Sityoo ga gakusei ni kansyazyoo o okutta kedo,
mayor NOM student DAT thank letter ACC sent but
todok-ana-katta.
arrive-not-PAST
'The mayor sent a letter of thanks to the students, but it didn't arrive.'

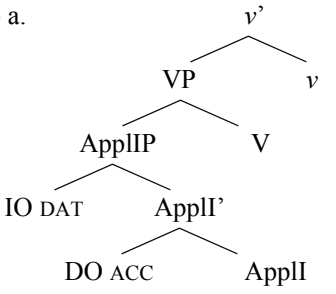
b. Kansyazyoo ga sityoo kara/ni yotte gakusei ni
thank letter NOM mayor from/by student DAT
okur-are-ta kedo, todok-ana-katta.
send-PASS-PAST but arrive-not-PAST
'The letter of thanks was sent by the mayor to the students, but it didn't arrive.'

c. #Gakusei ga sityoo kara/ni yotte kansyazyoo o
student NOM mayor from/by thanks letter ACC
okur-are-ta kedo, todok-ana-katta.
send-PASS-PAST but arrive-not-PAST
'The students were sent the letter of thanks by the mayor, but it didn't arrive.'

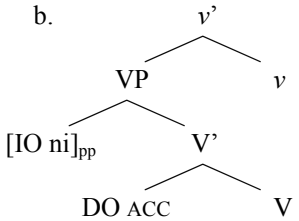
Neither the active ditransitive (24a) nor the passivized direct object pattern in (24b) entails that the letter actually arrived. This is consistent with the hypothesis that *ni* in the active ditransitive may be either a structural case marker or a postposition, while *ni* in (24b) is a postposition. In contrast, the passivized indirect object pattern in (24c) appears to entail that the letter actually arrived. This is explained if the case absorbed in (24c) is structural dative.

Above, we have suggested that Japanese in fact has dative shift in ditransitives, corresponding to the alternation between postposition *ni* and structural case *ni*. We thus propose the two structures in (25) for (12a-b), where (25a) is the structure which allows passivization of the indirect object, and (25b) is the source structure for passivization of the direct object.

(25) a.



b.

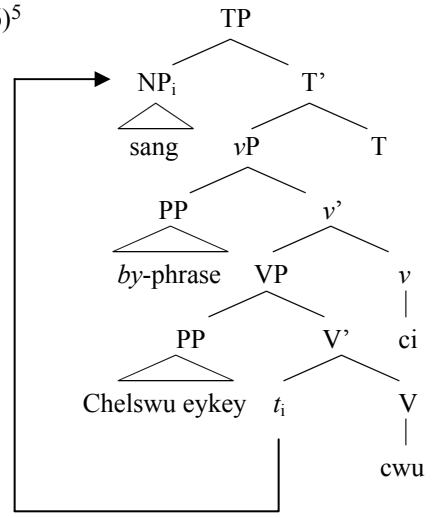


In (25a), structural dative case on the IO is licensed by v; when the case feature of v is eliminated in a passive, the IO raises to the surface subject position. In (25b), accusative case on the DO is licensed by v; this case feature is eliminated in the passive.

6. Structures for Ditransitive A-Movement Passives in Korean

As we observed in §3, Korean does not allow *-ci* passivization of DO or IO with accusative case on the remaining object. When the direct object alone undergoes passivization, the indirect object appears with the dative marker, as shown in (13c), which is parallel to (12b). Recall now that the Korean dative marker is always a postposition unlike the Japanese dative marker. This motivates a structure for (13c) parallel to (25b). The only difference between Korean and Japanese passives is that the *by*-phrase has the status of an argument only in Korean. The derivation of (13c) is as follows:

(26)[5]



One crucial difference between Japanese and Korean is that the so-called Double o Constraint does not apply in Korean. We adopt the view

[5] There are two possible explanations for how the direct object can move over the *by*-phrase without violating relativized minimality, or the Minimal Link Condition (MLC) of Chomsky (1995). One is that the *by*-phrase does not cause an MLC violation because the NP is embedded in PP. Another is that the indirect argument moves cyclically via the spec of *v*, leapfrogging the *by*-phrase, possible if *v* has an EPP feature even in passives; see McGinnis (1999).

that *v* in Korean licenses multiple occurrences of accusative case (Cho 1996), illustrated by the following patterns:

(27) a. Wuywenhoy ka Chelswu lul sang ul cwu-ess-ta.
committee NOM Chelswu ACC prize ACC give-PAST-DEC
'The committee gave a prize to Chelswu.'

b. John i Mary lul son lul puthcapassta. (Kang 1986: 84)
John NOM Mary ACC hand ACC caught
'John caught Mary by the hand.'

c. Chelswu ka chayk lul sey sikan lul ilkessta. (Maling 1989)
Chelswu NOM book ACC 3 hours ACC read
'Chelswu read a book for three hours.'

The multiple accusative ditransitive pattern in (27a) can be assigned the lower accusative structure in (25a). This pattern occurs with only a small number of verbs, such as *cwu-* 'give' and *kaluchi-* 'teach'. It is noteworthy that these verbs lexically entail a transfer of ownership from subject to IO, in contrast to verbs such as 'send' or 'throw', where the DO may fail to come into the ownership of the IO. In (25a), the lower applicative projection is selected by V; in Korean, it appears that only verbs which lexically entail a transfer of ownership select this projection.

Given the ability of *v* to license multiple accusative in Korean, there is no need for the applicative head to be a case licenser in Korean; we assume that it is not. Recall now that *-ci* passives in Korean completely block assignment of accusative case. This is straightforward under our analysis; the passive morpheme *-ci* strips *v* of its case-licensing ability; hence both indirect and direct objects must be case-licensed by T.[6]

7. Conclusion

In this paper we have shown that a set of shared properties (non-thematic subjects, scope ambiguity) relate direct movement passives in Korean and Japanese. Direct movement passives in both languages also employ a postposition other than the dative in the *by*-phrase, although in Japanese the choice of postposition is tied more closely to the thematic role of the NP in the *by*-phrase. Differences in ditransitive direct movement passives follow from the existence of structural dative case in Japanese and licensing of multiple accusative in Korean.

[6] While presumably the higher argument (the indirect object or possessor in (27)) raises to subject position to check EPP feature of T.

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