

The Korean Causative-Passive Correlation Revisited*

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0. Introduction

During the last thirty years, causative and passive constructions have been studied intensively from both the morphological and syntactic points of view. However, linguists have usually studied these two constructions separately, and have only recently begun to study their interrelationship.

Cross-linguistically, the causative-passive correlation is less well-known, despite the fact that in some languages (e.g. Korean, Manchu, Evenki, Even etc.)¹ causative and passive constructions share the same verbal morphology.

In Korean linguistics as well, this interrelationship has been relatively overlooked, since it was first observed and described by Lee. S. O. (1970, 1972). The causative-passive correlation has begun to attract linguists' attention again recently (cf. Lee (1986), Park (1986, 1987), Song (1987),

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¹ The passive in some Tungusic languages is derived from the causative.

In southern Tungusic language Manchu, the suffix "-bu-" serves both as a causative and passive marker (see Haspelmath (1990: 48)). In Evenki, verbs may be passivized by adding the suffix -w-/-p-/-b-/-mu-. There are also examples in which this suffix is used to derive forms which may be regarded as fossilised causatives. And in Even, a northern Tungusic language like Evenki, the same suffix can have either passive or causative meaning (See Knott (forthcoming)).

Whitman & Hahn (1988)).

The two main aims of this paper² are: 1) to observe the relationship between the causative and passive constructions, and 2) to introduce the neutral-verb construction and then reveal the differences between the neutral-verb construction and causative/passive construction.

In section 1, I examine the distribution of the causative and passive allomorphs and point out that despite many previous attempts, it cannot be properly characterized on the basis of phonology alone. In section 2, I examine the possibility of voice-duplication and the ambiguity between causative and passive readings. Since the causative and passive are marked by the same suffixes in Korean, a few sentences are ambiguous between the causative and passive. In this case, the passive reading is biased towards an adverse affectedness interpretation, while the ordinary passive is neutral. This ambiguity seems to arise only when the noun phrase marked by the accusative particle is a possession or body-part of the subject. The possessive relationship can be classified as inalienable vs. alienable possession.

However, the causative and passive are not always ambiguous. I also try to determine the conditions under which the ambiguity disappears and the sentence is interpreted only as a passive or causative. The ambiguity also seems to be related to the selectional restrictions of the verb. Lastly, I observe the relationship between the causative/passive and neutral-verb construction. Neutral-verbs are verbs used as either intransitive or transitive without any addition of suffixes or any alternation of the root verb.

1. The Morpho-phonology of Passive and Causative Suffixes

The passive suffix in Korean has four shapes: /-i, -hi, -li, -ki/, while the causative suffix has seven shapes: /-i, -hi, -li, -ki, -wu, -kwu, -chwu/.

Interestingly, the shapes of the passive suffix are identical with several shapes of the causative suffix. As a result, there occur cases of homonymous passive and causative forms derived from the same root, as in (1):

² My thinking on this topic has been heavily influenced by the work of Lee (1970, 1972), and I cite a number of examples from Lee (1970, 1972), Lee (1986), Park (1986, 1987) and Song (1987), but avoid mentioning them one by one, except when citing their analyses.

(1)	po-	'to see'	po-i-	'be seen', 'cause to see(=show)'
	cap-	'to catch'	cap-hi-	'be caught', 'cause to catch'
	tul-	'to lift'	tul-li-	'be lifted', 'cause to lift'
	pes-	'to take off'	pes-ki-	'be taken off', 'cause to take off'

Although the passive and causative suffixes have many shapes in common, the phonological environments of their distribution are not always the same. In most cases, selection of the suffix shape by individual verbs seems to be determined phonologically, and there have been attempts to explain their distribution based on phonology (Park (1986), Song (1987)). But it is not true for all cases (cf. Lee (1986)). Let us examine their distribution.

In general, the passive allomorphs /-i, -hi, -li, -ki/ show the distribution in (2):

(2) a. /-i/ (when preceded by a vowel or /kk/)

pha-	'dig'	pha-i-	'be dug'
kko-	'twist'	kko-i-	'be twisted'
mwukk-	'tie'	mwukk-i-	'be tied'
sekk-	'blend'	sekk-i-	'be blended'

b. /-hi/ (when preceded by a stop consonant)

cap-	'catch'	cap-hi-	'be caught'
tat-	'close'	tat-hi-	'be closed'
mek-	'eat'	mek-hi-	'be eaten'

c. /-li/ (when preceded by a liquid or /lu/)

mwul-	'bite'	mwul-li-	'be bitten'
kal-	'replace, grind'	kal-li-	'be replaced, be ground'
kalu-	'divide'	kal-li-	'be divided'
nwulu-	'press'	nwul-li-	'be pressed'

d. /-ki/ (when preceded by a nasal or /t/)

kam-	'wind'	kam-ki-	'be wound'
an-	'embrace'	an-ki-	'be embraced'
pes-	'take off'	pes-ki-	'be taken off'

ttut-	'pluck'	ttut-ki-	'be plucked'
mit-	'believe'	mit-ki-	'be believed'

At first glance, most of the passive allomorphs seem to be conditioned phonologically. However, as far as the above phonological environments are concerned, there is no phonological feature common to vowels and /kk/ in (2a), or to nasals and /t/ in (2d).

In addition, there are cases where different passive suffixes are used under apparently identical phonological conditions:

(3)	kkoc-	'stick, put in'	kkoc-hi-	'be stuck, be put in'
	ccic-	'tear'	ccic-ki-	'be torn'

Now observe the phonological distribution of the causative allomorphs, /-i, -hi, -li, -ki, -wu, -kwu, -chwu/:

(4) a.	/-i/			
	po-	'see'	po-i-	'cause to see (=show)'
	mek-	'eat'	mek-i-	'cause to eat'
	cwul-	'decrease'	cwul-i-	'cause to decrease'
	noph-	'be high'	noph-i-	'cause to be high'
b.	/-hi/			
	nwup-	'lie down'	nwup-hi-	'cause to lie down'
	mwut-	'stick (to)'	mwut-hi-	'cause to stick (to)'
	ik-	'ripen'	ik-hi-	'cause to ripen'
c.	/-li/			
	tol-	'turn'	tol-li-	'cause to turn'
	nal-	'fly'	nal-li-	'cause to fly'
	pwulu-	'be full'	pwul-li-	'fill (one's stomach)'
d.	/-ki/			
	swum-	'hide'	swum-ki-	'cause to hide'
	wus-	'smile'	wus-ki-	'cause to smile'
	nam-	'remain'	nam-ki-	'cause to remain'

- e. /-wu/
- | | | | |
|-------|------------|----------|---------------------|
| kkay- | 'wake up' | kkay-wu- | 'cause to wake up' |
| pi- | 'be empty' | pi-wu- | 'cause to be empty' |
- f. /-kwu/
- | | | | |
|------|------------|----------|---------------------|
| tot- | 'come out' | tot-kwu- | 'cause to come out' |
|------|------------|----------|---------------------|
- g. /-chwu/
- | | | | |
|------|-----------|-----------|-----------------------------------|
| nuc- | 'be late' | nuc-chwu- | 'cause to be late
(=postpone)' |
|------|-----------|-----------|-----------------------------------|

Even though the passive and causative suffixes seem to show similar distributions, careful observation of the above data reveals that passive and causative allomorphs with the same shape may occur in different phonological environments. Likewise, different shapes of the passive and causative suffix may occur in phonologically identical environments.

And with the same lexical item, different suffixes are used depending on whether it is used as causative verb or passive verb, as in the example (5):

- (5)
- | | |
|-----------|----------------------|
| mek-(eat) | mek-i-(cause to eat) |
| | mek-hi-(be eaten) |

In cases of polysemy like the example (6), the same suffix shape is used as a causative suffix in one word and as a passive suffix in the other. This phenomenon cannot be explained solely on phonological grounds.

- (6)
- | | | | |
|-------------|--------------|--------------------|-----------------------|
| a. mwut-(1) | 'bury' | mwut-hi- | 'be buried' |
| | | Pass | |
| b. mwut-(2) | 'stick (to)' | mwut-hi- | 'cause to stick (to)' |
| | | Caus | |
| c. mwut-(3) | 'ask' | no (morphological) | |
| | | passive/causative | |

Thus, one cannot properly characterize the distribution of the passive and causative suffix shapes on the basis of phonology alone.

At the moment, we have no idea about the origin of these suffixes in Ko-

rean. One North Korean scholar (Kim (1964)) has remarked that these suffixes were used mainly for the causative in Middle-Korean, while their passive usage was merely a variation of their causative usage (cited in Song (1987b: 165)). However, for the moment, these remarks are speculative and unreliable, and more evidence is needed³.

2. The Correlation of Causative and Passive

2.1. The Duplication of Voice Suffixes

Interrelationship in the voice system has been relatively overlooked in Korean grammar, although it was observed as early as 1970 by S. O. Lee. As Lee (1970) pointed out, the duplication of voice suffixes is widely used in everyday conversation, and it is rather surprising that we have failed to notice this phenomenon so far. We can find examples of double passive and causative-passive in English as well:

The court was ordered to be cleared.

I could not make myself understood.

In this section, we will examine possible cases of voice duplication in Korean⁴.

Theoretically, a passive V(int) derived from a V(tran) should be able to serve as input to the causative V(tran), and similarly, a causative V(tran) derived from a V(int) should be able to serve as input to the passive V(int). However, this is not always true in Korean.

We cannot find examples where the morphological causative and passive apply *together* in the sequence causative-passive, but we do find the opposite order rarely:

³ In fact, scholars such as Haspelmath (1990), Knott (forthcoming) and Leníngrad Typology Group, among others have noticed a typological tendency for the direction of diachronic development of the causative-passive suffixes to be from causative to passive. See also Ch. 2.2. for related matters.

⁴ Since Lee's (1970: 178ff) first observations about voice duplication, Lee (1986) has examined the interaction between the causative and passive in Korean. The order of presentation and examples (8a) (9a) and (10) in this section are based on Lee (1986).

(7) a. causative-passive

* wul-li-hi-	'to-be-caused-to-cry'
cry-caus-pass	
* nal-li-hi-	'to-be-caused-to-fly'
fly-caus-pass	
* tol-li-hi-	'to-be-caused-to-turn'
turn-caus-pass	

b. passive-causative

pwul (u)-li-wu-	'to cause to be called'
call-pass-caus	

In theory, after intransitive verbs become transitive through the process of causativization, they should be able to be passivized. However the above examples show that the morphological causative-passive form is not possible in Korean.

Note also that while the Korean grammarian Choi (1929) argued that the forms in (7) were actually used in his days, they are never used nowadays⁵.

By the way, we can find an example of passive-causative sequence /pwul-li-wu/ if we analyze /-wu-/ as a causative suffix as in (7b). However, it is still difficult to imagine passive-causative meaning whatever it is 'to-cause-to-be-called' or 'to-be-caused-to-call'. Interestingly, Hamkyeng dialect passives tend to have two morphemes, passive + causative /-wu-/ where Seoul standard Korean has just one (passive): e.g. /cap-hi-wu-l

⁵ A crucial difference between Japanese and Korean morphological causatives and passives is that Korean allows neither a causative of a passive nor a passive of a causative. In Japanese, however, a causative of a passive is derived by the addition of the causative suffix '-sase' to a derived passive V-rare 'V-Pass' (Park (1987)).

- (1) Ziroo-ga Taroo-o/-ni Hanako-ni but-rare-sase-ta
 Nom Acc/Dat Data hit-Pass-Caus-Past
 'Jiro made/let Taro be hit by Hanako.'

Similarly, a passive of a causative is allowed in Japanese, but not in Korean.

- (2) Ziroo-ga Taroo-ni sakana-o tabe-sase-rare-ta.
 Nom Dat fish-Acc eat-Caus-Pass-Past
 'Ziro was made to eat fish by Taro.'

kkataalk/ “a reason to be caught”, /pul ey ssa-i-wu-/ “be enveloped in flames”, /kulk-hi-wu-/ “get scratched” (King (1991)).

A morphologically derived passive (or causative) verb can be further subjected to analytic causativization (or passivization). Consider the examples in (8):

- (8) a. John-i Mary-lul cap -hi -key ha-ess-ta.
 nom acc catch -Pass -Caus -Past
 ‘John caused Mary to be caught.’

- b. can-i tol-li-e ci-ess-ta.
 cup-nom turn(int)-Caus-Pass-Past
 ‘The cup was caused to be turned.’

In (8a) the transitive verb /cap-/ is converted into the intransitive verb /cap-hi-/ by morphological passivization. Then the resulting intransitive verb is converted into /cap-hi-key ha-/ by analytic /ha-/ causativization. The process in (8b) just the opposite.

Now let us examine a case where the analytic passive is followed by the analytic causative, and vice versa.

- (9) a. John-i cip-ul hemul-e ci-key ha-ess-ta.
 nom house-acc demolish-Pass-Caus-Past
 ‘John caused the house to be demolished.’

- b. 'cha-ka ka-key ha-e ci-n-ta.
 nom go-Caus-Pass-Pres
 ‘The car is caused to move.’

Example (9b) sounds a bit strange but is not ungrammatical.

There is no case in which the analytic /ci-/passive (or /ha-/ causative) precedes the morphological causative (or passive).

- (10) a. *John-i cip-ul hemul-e ci-hi-ess-ta.
 Nom house-acc demolish-Pass-Caus-Past
 ‘John caused the house to be demolished.’

- b. *John-i cwuk-key ha-i-n-ta.
 Nom die-Caus-Pass-Pres
 'John is caused to die.'

The reason the analytic passive/causative cannot precede the morphological causative/passive is partly because there are strong restrictions on the morphological causative or passive verb formation in Korean. The following verb class cannot be morphologically passivized nor causativized in Korean.⁶

- (a) /-ha-/ verb⁷ ('to do')
- (b) ditransitive verbs ('to give', 'to receive')
- (c) benefactive verbs ('to look for', 'to help', 'to buy')
- * exception; /phal-/ 'to sell'
- (d) experiential verbs ('to learn', 'to hope', 'to feel')
- (e) symmetric verbs ('to meet', 'to take after')
- (f) most verbs which have the vowel '-i' at the final position of stem
- | | | | |
|--------------|------------|--------|------------|
| e.g.) tenci- | 'to throw' | cikhi- | 'to keep' |
| ttayli- | 'to hit' | manci- | 'to touch' |

2.2. The Ambiguity between the Causative and the Passive

The causative/passive correlation, in particular ambiguity between the causative and the passive, appears in some languages where causative and passive constructions share the same verbal morphology. Scholars like Shibatani (1985: 840), Keenan (1985: 262ff), Haspelmath (1990: 46ff) and Knott (forthcoming) have observed the causative-passive correlation, and shown how a basically causative morphology could come to be associated with a passive meaning through an intermediate reflexive-causative usage⁸. The following example illustrates this transition in English

⁶ Although there are strong restrictions on morphological causative and passive verb formation, these gaps are filled in by the analytic causative and passive verbs.

⁷ In Middle Korean, the morphological passive form of the verb /ha-/ is attested.

⁸ There seems to be a cross-linguistic tendency for causatives to become passive, but not vice versa (See Haspelmath (1990: 37ff)):

"Although passives from causatives do not seem to be as frequent as the

(Haspelmath (1990: 46)):

- (11) a. I have the barber shave me. (causative)
 b. I have myself shaved by the barber. (reflexive-causative)
 c. I am shaved by the barber. (passive)

This example shows how the change from causative to passive is possible. (11c) differs from (11b) mainly in that the reflexive direct object in (11b) is deleted, and the subject in (11c) is reinterpreted as an affected entity rather than as an agent. The affectedness of the passive subject implies that it is a patient.

An example of this correlation is found in Korean as well:

- (12) a. Mary-ka emeni-eykey ai-lul an-ki-ess-ta.
 Nom mother-Dat child-Acc embrace-Caus-Past-Dec
 'Mary had the mother embrace the child.'
- b. Ai-ka emeni-eykey caki mom-ul an-ki-ess-ta.
 child-Nom mother-Dat self body-Acc embrace-Caus-Past-Dec
 'The child had the mother embrace its body.'
- c. Ai-ka emeni-eykey an-ki-ess-ta.
 child-Nom mother-Dat embrace-Pass-Dec
 'The child was embraced by the mother.'

In Korean the same verbal morphology is used for both causative and passive, and the above example shows how causative morphology can be related with a passive meaning. (12a) is a causative and (12b) is a sort of re-

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passives from active auxiliaries and passives from NP-reflexives, they occur in different parts of the world and are well-motivated semantically. ... And note that there is again unidirectionality: a causative can become a passive, but to my knowledge there is no evidence for a case of a passive becoming a causative."

According to Knott (forthcoming), a Soviet scholar in the Leningrad Typology Group postulates a causative origin for the passive suffix in proto-Tungus, on the basis of comparative evidence and the fact that the suffix derives etymologically from a root meaning "give."

flexive-causative containing a reflexive direct object which is the body part of the subject. (12c) becomes passive by deletion of the reflexive direct object.

The causative construction can be interpreted as a passive when the object is a possession or body part of the subject, as in (13):

- (13) a. John had/got his car stolen.
 b. John had/got his room painted.

This correlation results from the fact that causatives involve the subject's making others do something that affects the subject himself⁹.

Since the causative and passive are marked by the same suffixes in Korean, a few sentences are ambiguous between the causative and passive. Sentence (14) allows two interpretations (cf. Lee (1972), Song (1987)):

- (14) cangkwn-i pwuha-eykey mal-koppi-lul
 general-Nom subordinate-Dat horse-bridle-Acc
 cap-hi-ess-ta.
 catch-Caus-Past
 Pass

- 1) The general made the subordinate hold the bridle of his horse.
- 2) The general was subjected to the subordinate holding the bridle of his horse.

The first interpretation is that /cangkwn/ 'general', as Agent, caused the event 'the subordinate hold the bridle of his horse.' The second is that he had no control over the event and was adversely affected as a consequence of it.¹⁰ The two interpretations share the event of the subordinate's holding the bridle of the general's horse. Therefore, we assume that the

⁹ See Shibatani (1985) for the correlation of the passive with the causative as well as with the other related constructions.

¹⁰ Song (1987) argues that sentence (14) with the second interpretation is syntactically and semantically identical with the 'possessive reflexive type' of the passive of interest in Japanese.

causative and passive sentences with the identical structure (14) are derived from an active sentence (15) by the introduction of a causative Agent and an Experiencer, respectively.

- (15) *pwuha-ka (cangkwun-uy) mal-koppi-lul cap-ass-ta.*
 'The subordinate held the bridle of the (general's) horse.'

We can find other ambiguous sentences which can be interpreted either as causatives or passives. Observe the examples in (16-18):

- (16) John-i ipalsa-eykey meli-lul kkakk-i-ess-ta.
 Nom barber-Dat hair-Acc cut-Caus-Past
 Pass

- 1) John made the barber cut his hair.
- 2) John had his hair cut by the barber.

- (17) halmeni-ka sonca-eykey heli-lul palp-hi-ess-ta.
 grandma grandson waist-Acc step on-Caus-Past
 Pass

- 1) Grandmother made her grandson walk on her back.
- 2) Grandmother got her back stepped on by her grandson.

- (18) emeni-ka ai-eykey cec-ul mwul-li-ess-ta.
 mother-Nom baby-Dat nipple-Acc bite-Caus-Past
 Pass

- 1) Mother had the child bite her nipple.
 (Mother suckled the child.)
- 2) Mother had/got her nipple bitten by the child.

Native speakers of Korean easily recognize the ambiguity of the above sentences. This ambiguity can occur when the passive verb is a three-place verb with a "retained object"¹¹. And the ambiguity cannot be resolved with

¹¹ In English indirect passive constructions like "He was given the book", the direct object is 'retained' in the passive. The Korean passive construction with an object is slightly different from the English retained object. We use this term in the sense of an object of the passive construction. The Korean passive construction can have an object which represents an "inalienable possession" of the subject.

The passive of bodily effect in Chinese also has a postverbal or retained object (See Chappell (1986)). The Chinese object-containing passive construction shows an inalienable relationship between a person and a part of the body. See also Lee (1970: 234ff) for a detailed explanation of the structural ambiguity between the causative and passive as well as the cause of the ambiguity.

out referring to the contexts.

This type of construction has several peculiarities.

First, this type of passive is biased towards the adverse affectedness interpretation, while the other passive is neutral¹². The active sentence (15) does not entail that the general was adversely affected, while the passive sentences in (14) and (16-18) do. However, there is a strong restriction on this kind of passive in Korean: the noun phrase marked with the nominative marker and that marked with the accusative marker should be characterized by a possessive relationship, as illustrated in (19).

- (19) a. John-i Mary-eykey chayk-ul ppays-ki-ess-ta.
 Nom Dat book-Acc take away-Pass
 ‘John was adversely affected by Mary’s taking his book away.’
- b. John-i Mary-eykey Sonmok-ul cap-hi-ess-ta.
 Nom Dat wrist-Acc grab-Pass
 ‘John got his wrist grabbed by Mary.’
- c. *John-i Mary-eykey thayksi-lul cap-hi-ess-ta.
 Nom Dat taxi-Acc catch-Pass
 ‘? John was adversely affected by Mary’s taking/grabbing taxi.’

(19b) is grammatical, since the possessive relationship exists between the subject /John/ and the noun phrase marked with the accusative marker. In other words, /sonmok/ ‘wrist’ in (19b) is interpreted as John’s. On the other hand, the ungrammaticality of (19c) can be attributed to the absence

¹² The well-known case of this is the indirect passive in Japanese, where an indirect affectee is introduced as the subject of a passive clause (Shibatani (forthcoming)).

e.g. Taroo-wa hahaoya-ni sina-re-ta.
 Top mother-by die-Pass-Past
 “Taro had his mother die”.

This construction expresses unfavorable effect upon the subject of a passive construction, and thus the Japanese indirect passive is often referred to as the adversative passive.

of such a relationship.¹³

Secondly, this type of passive does not allow an inanimate subject.¹⁴

- (20) a. John-i chayksang tali-lul cap-ass-ta.
 Nom table leg-Acc grasp-Past-Dec
 'John grasped a leg of the table.'
- b. *chayksang-i John-eykey tali-lul cap-hi-ess-ta.
 table-Nom Dat leg-Acc grasp-Pass-Past-Dec
 'The desk had it's leg grasped by John.'

Let us return to the problem of the ambiguity between causatives and passives. At this stage, the question can be raised: 'In Korean, are the causative and passive always ambiguous?'. The answer is 'No'. The causative and the passive are not always ambiguous.

As mentioned above, this ambiguity seems to arise only when the noun phrase marked with the accusative marker is a possession or a body part of the subject¹⁵. Compare sentences (21-22) with (16-18).

- (21) John-i ipalsa-eykey tongsayng-uy meli-lul kkakk-i-ess-ta.
 Nom barber-Dat brother-Poss hair-Acc cut-Caus-Past
 'John made the barber cut his brother's hair.'
- (22) emeni-ka ai-eykey som-ul mwul-li-ess-ta.
 mother-Nom child-Dat cotton-Acc bite-Caus-Past
 'Mother caused the child to bite the cotton pad.'

¹³ The absence of such a relationship does not always lead to ungrammatical sentences. The following example is not ungrammatical, even though it shows no possessive relationship between the subject and the noun phrase marked with the accusative marker. The point is that it cannot be interpreted with an adversity passive meaning. Rather, it is interpreted as a causative meaning:

- (1) John-i Mary-eykey Tom-uy sonmok-ul cap-hi-ess-ta.
 Non Dat Poss wrist-Acc grab-Caus-Past
 'John made Mary grab Tom's wrist.'

¹⁴ Probably this is true of all passives originally in Korean. An inanimate subject passive might be a recent development influenced by western languages.

¹⁵ The possessive relationship can also be classified as inalienable vs. alienable possession. Body-parts are an inalienable possession of the possessor while other things, such as books, money, wallets... etc, are examples of the alienable possession.

- (28) a. kyengchal-i cha-lul memchwu-ess-ta.
 police -Nom car-Acc stop -Past
 ‘The police stopped the car.’
- b. cha-ka memchwu-ess-ta.
 car-Nom stop -Past
 ‘The car stopped.’

When the neutral-verbs are used in an intransitive construction, they show an interaction with a passive construction. When the neutral-verbs are used in a transitive construction, they show an interaction with a causative construction.

First, let’s examine the difference between analytic passive and the intransitive construction of neutral-verbs. Observe the sentences in (29):

- (29) a. analytic passive construction of the verb /memchwu-/
 cha-ka memchwu-e ci-ess-ta
 car-Nom stop -Pass -past
 ‘The car is stopped /has been brought to a stop.’
- b. intransitive construction of the neutral-verb /memchwu-/
 cha-ka memchwu-ess-ta
 car-Nom stop -Past
 ‘The car stopped.’

The difference between (29a) and (29b) lies in whether an agent is implied or not, even though it need not be expressed overtly in the sentence. While in (a) we can suppose an unnamed hidden agent who controls the stopping of a car, in (b) there is no such agent and the car seems to stop on its own. This difference is revealed when the agent is expressed overtly, as in the following sentences:

- (30) a. cha-ka kyengchal-ey uyhay memchwu-e ci-ess-ta.
 car-Nom policeman-Agent stop -Pass-Past
 ‘The car was stopped by the policeman.’

Lastly, I observed the relationship between the causative/passive and neutral-verb construction. Neutral-verbs are verbs used as either intransitive or transitive without any addition of suffixes or any alternation of the root verb. When the neutral-verbs are used in an intransitive construction, they show an interaction with a passive construction. When the neutral-verbs are used in a transitive construction, they show an interaction with a causative construction. I also examined subtle meaning differences between these constructions.

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