

On the Potential Middle Constructions in Korean*

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This paper deals exhaustively with two types of potential Korean middle constructions (K1-type and K2-type). On the basis of cross-linguistic semantic and syntactic criteria, it will be shown that Korean does not have any type of middle construction.

1. Introduction

1.1. Middle Constructions

The term *middle voice* or *middle construction* traditionally refers to an inflectional category of the verb in Indo-European languages. Middle voice expresses the idea that the verbal action 'is performed with special reference to the subject' (Poutsma 1926, Jespersen 1929, Smyth 1956), and it also denotes bodily motion or mental activity of the subject. This previously neglected middle construction has recently been the subject of much discussion in the work of those who are interested in verbal intransitivity. For example, O'Grady (1980) discusses the existence of at least three distinct classes of intransitive verbs, one of which is the middle construction (which he calls the derived intransitive). Keyser and Roeper (1984; henceforth K & R) discuss the differences between ergatives such as (1b) and middles such as (2b) in English:

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- (1) a. The sun melted the ice.
 b. The ice melted.
- (2) a. He bribed a government official.
 b. Government officials bribe easily.

In brief, they claim that the transitive–ergative pair in (1) is generated by a lexical rule of Move α and therefore has both a transitive and an intransitive form in the lexicon. On the other hand, the transitive–middle pair in (2) is generated by a syntactic rule of Move α , and both forms are therefore transitive in the lexicon. Traditional grammatical theories and current linguistic analyses have assumed that there is a distinction between transitive and intransitive verbs based on the existence or nonexistence of a direct object. However, such a distinction cannot explain the relationship between the sentences in (1b) and (2b), since neither has a direct object in its surface structure. In this paper, we assume that a middle verb is a type of intransitive verb derived from a transitive counterpart, with certain unique semantic properties and constraints.

1. 2. Potential Korean Middles

There are potentially two types of middle constructions in Korean, depending on the characteristic of the middle morpheme: (1) the Korean 1-type (K1-type), which has no specific morpheme to indicate a middle function, similar to English middle, and (2) the Korean 2-type (K2-type), which has a special morpheme indicating the middle function, similar to German or French middle. Consider the two patterns of potential middle constructions from Korean ((3d) and (4d)), in conjunction with English and German middles in (3b) and (4b), respectively.

(3) K1-type

English

- a. Transitive
 John moves the car.
- b. Middle
 The car moves well.

Korean

- c. Transitive
- | | | |
|----------|---------|---------------|
| John-i | cha-lul | wumsiki-n-ta |
| John-Nom | car-Acc | move-NPST-DSE |

‘John moves the car.’

d. Potential middle

Cha-ka	cal	wumsiki-n-ta
car-Nom	well	move-NPST-DSE

‘The car moves well.’

In a K1-type construction such as (3), the intransitive verb (*move* = *wumsiki*) is apparently derived from a transitive verb without changing its form. Thus no overt morpheme indicates the apparent middle function in the K1-type. Yeon (1991: 353) suggests that the K1-type be treated as neutral, since verbs of this type are used as either intransitive or transitive without any addition of suffixes or alternation of the root verb. Now, consider the K-2 type exemplified in (4).

(4) K2-type

German

a. Transitive

Er	verkauft	Bücher
he	sells	books

‘He sells books.’

b. Middle

Das	Buch	verkauft	sich	gut
the	book	sells	REFL	well

‘The book sells well.’

Korean

c. Transitive

John-i	chayk-ul	pha-n-ta
John-Nom	book-Acc	sell-NPST-DSE

‘John sells the book.’

d. Potential middle

Chayk-i	cal	pha-li-n-ta
book-Nom	well	sell-MID-NPST-DSE

‘The book sells well.’

In a K2-type construction such as (4), the form in (4b) and (4d) is once again apparently derived from its transitive counterpart. The reflexive pronoun *sich* is added to the verb to indicate a middle function in German (4b), whereas the potential middle morphemen *li* is added in Korean (4d).

The main concern of this paper is to investigate the K1 and K2 patterns to determine whether there is a true middle construction in Korean. In other words, if there exists a middle construction in Korean, what are its properties and constraints? If the middle construction does not exist in Korean, what is the real status of those two types assumed?

1.3. Organization

In the first section of this paper, we have seen that middle verb is defined as an intransitive verb derived from a transitive counterpart, with several semantic properties unique to middle construction that will be discussed in the ensuing section. Section 2 briefly sketches properties of the middle, based on Fagan's (1988, 1992) criteria, which have been developed from the evidence of Indo-European languages, mostly English, German, and French. In section 3, we will apply the semantic and syntactic properties of the middle construction to the K1 and K2 patterns, concluding that neither is a canonical middle. Finally, section 4 summarizes this paper.

2. Properties of Middles

In this section, we will provide a comprehensive description and analysis of the middle construction. The term *middle voice* has had a wide range of applications in the linguistic literature of this century. At present, there is no generally accepted definition or characterization of the middle voice, let alone a satisfactory account of the relations among the various phenomena that have been given that name. However, we will use the characterizations or properties of middle constructions from several Indo-European languages, especially English, German, and French as a basis. In the following section we will lay out the common characteristics of middle constructions synchronically and typologically (Fagan 1992, Kemmer 1989).

2.1. Presence of an Implicit Argument

Middles typically have meanings that imply two theta-roles, even though only one theta-role is overtly realized in the syntax. This theta-role—typically the patient—is assigned to the subject. In addition, one other theta-role is not realized in the syntax but is nevertheless 'understood'. The understood

theta–role in middles is typically an agent theta–role. We sense intuitively that the middles in (5) imply an agent (a reader).

- (5) a. The book reads well.
 b. Das buch liest sich leicht.

The presence of the agent as an ‘implicit’ or unexpressed argument in middles can be demonstrated by considering a paraphrase of the middle that contains the indefinite subject ‘one, we, you’. The middle in (5), for example, can be paraphrased as in (6):

- (6) One can read the book easily.

The second piece of evidence for the presence of an agent role in middles comes from the ‘all by itself’ or ‘without aid’ test. Consider the sentence in (7):

- (7) *The book reads easily all by itself.

As Keyser and Roeper (1984: 405) note in their discussion of English middles, the notion ‘without aid’ or ‘all by itself’ is compatible only with agentlessness. Thus middles do not allow the expression of this notion, because ‘without aid’ is incompatible with the implied agent that is present in middles.

The implicit agent argument in middles may never appear overtly. The middle in (8a), for example, is unacceptable with an agent if a ‘by–phrase’. The passive clause in (8b), on the other hand, allows its agent theta–role to remain unexpressed or to be expressed in a ‘by–phrase’.

- (8) a. *The book reads easily by many students.
 b. The book was read (by many students).

2.2. Stativity (Noneventiveness)

The second characteristic of middles involves aspectual properties of the predicate. Middles are used to attribute properties to objects (entities) and are essentially stative, or ‘noneventive’. They do not describe processes or activities that take place at only a specific period or point in time.¹ This can be demonstrated using the ‘*happen* test’. The verb *happen* can only be used to refer to events (Krause 1977: 116) and is thus incompatible with

statives like *be* in (9a). However, with predicates that denote events, like *go* in (9b), the verb *happen* is perfectly acceptable.

- (9) a. The boy is tall. *That is happening now.
 b. He's going home by bus. That's happening because he has a flat tire.

As (10) demonstrates, *happen* cannot be used to refer to middles. Thus, middles cannot be eventive.

- (10) The book reads easily. *That is happening just now.

The distinction between stative and nonstative verbs was originally made by Lakoff (1965). Statives can be distinguished from nonstatives in the following ways (Dowty 1979: 55–56).

- (11) Only nonstatives occur in the progressive.

- a. Stative
 *John is knowing the answer.
 b. Nonstative
 John is running.
 c. Nonstative
 John is building a house.

- (12) Only nonstatives cooccur with Class I adverbs.²

- a. Stative
 *John deliberately knew the answer.

¹ Fagan (1992: 194) mentions that French middles can be either stative or eventive. For instances, they can be assigned the modal meaning in (1), in which case they are stative since the modal meaning associated with middles is responsible for the stative nature of these middles.

- (1) a. Cette chaise se plie.
 'This chair folds.'
 b. Cette voiture se gare.
 'This car parks easily' (from Zribi-Hertz 1982: 348).

A middle appearing in the progressive (2a) or in the nonpresent (2b) will typically be given an eventive interpretation.

- (2) a. La question est en train de se discuter dans la salle du conseil.
 'The issue is being discussed at the council hall' (from Zubizarreta 1987: 150).
 b. Les vivres se distribueront tout à l'heure au premier étage.
 'The food will be distributed in a while on the first floor' (from Zribi-Hertz 1982: 349).

b. Nonstative

John ran carefully.

c. Nonstative

John carefully built a house.

(13) Only nonstatives appear in pseudoclefts that focus the VP.

a. Stative

*What the box did was contain books.

b. Nonstative

What John did was run.

c. Nonstative

What John did was build a house.

(14) Only nonstatives have the iterative simple present.

a. Stative

*John exists everyday at 6.

b. Nonstative

John runs everyday at 6.

(15) Only nonstatives appear in rationale clauses.³

a. Stative

*John knew the answer [PRO to impress everyone].

b. Nonstative

I sank the ship [PRO to collect the money].

Keyser and Roeper noticed that middles pattern like statives with respect to the tests exemplified in (11)–(15).

(16) Middles do not occur with the progressive.

a. *Chickens are killing easily.

b. *The walls are painting easily.

² According to Jackendoff (1972), adverbs can appear in three positions in a clause: initial, auxiliary, or final. Adverbs fall into six distributional classes according to their ability to occur in these three positions. Class 1, agent-oriented, adverbs appear in all three positions, but with varying meanings: *cleverly, clumsily, carefully, deliberately, voluntarily, intentionally* ... (Roberts 1986: 72).

³ However, it is not always true that only nonstatives appear in rationale clauses. The following example shows that a stative can appear in a rationale clause:

(1) John is here [PRO to impress his wife].

- (17) Middles do not cooccur with Class 1 adverbs.
- a. *The book reads carefully.
 - b. *The book sells intentionally.
- (18) Middles do not appear in pseudoclefts.
- a. *What the chicken did was kill easily.
 - b. * What the bureaucrats did was bribe easily.
- (19) Middles do not have the iterative simple present.
- a. *Bureaucrats bribe every year at Christmas.
- (20) Middles do not appear in rationale clauses.
- a. *The book reads well [PRO to store knowledge].
 - b. *The book sells well [PRO to make money].

2.3. Modality

A third characteristic of middles involves the modal notion of ability or possibility, which is inherent in the meaning of a middle. The passive clauses in (21b–23b), which are paraphrases of the middle in (21a–23a), express this modality with the modal verb *can*.

- (21) a. The fabric launders well.
 b. The fabric can be laundered well.
- (22) a. The wall paints quickly.
 b. The wall can be painted quickly.
- (23) a. It nails easily.
 b. It can be nailed easily.

2.4. Adverb Modification

The fourth characteristic of middles is that they require the presence of an adverbial modifier. Consider the following middle constructions without adverbs in German (24) and English (25).

- (24) a. *Das Buch liest sich.
 ‘The book reads.’
 b. *Der Stoff wascht sich.
 ‘The fabric launders.’

- c. *Der Wagen fährt sich.
'The car drives.'

- (25) a. *The wall paints.
b. *The chickens kill.
c. *The floor waxes.

The adverbial expressions that occur in middles are typically manner adverbials that modify the predicate; they describe how the action of the predicate can be carried out with respect to the entity specified by the subject. The middles in (26), for example, contain the manner adverbials *easily*, *well*, and *very well*:

- (26) a. The suitcase carries easily.
b. The fabric launders well.
c. This product sells poorly.
d. The car drives very well.

Not just any manner adverbial expression may appear in middles. Manner adverbs that attribute a property to the agent (implicit argument) in addition to modifying the predicate are not acceptable in middles. The middles in (27), for example, are unacceptable because the adverbs *gladly* and *carefully* are agent-oriented; they imply volitional action and thus can only be associated with an agent:

- (27) *The book reads gladly/carefully.

As Wagner (1977: 245) points out, manner adverbs that are irrelevant to the properties of the patient are also unacceptable in middles. The adverb *loudly* in (28) is unacceptable because the loudness with which a book is read is not dependent on the properties of the book; rather, it is dependent on actions of the agent.

- (28) *The book reads loudly.

Although most middles require an adverbial modifier, there are some that apparently do not:

- (29) a. This dress won't fasten.
b. The spot won't wash out.

However, it is possible that the negation *not* in (29a) and (29b) or the particle *out* is functioning as an adverbial in these patterns.

2. 5. Other Properties

In the preceding section, we have seen that middles are derived from a transitive counterpart and have several semantic properties. Still, other properties can be identified. For example, German allows standard middle constructions as well as impersonal middle constructions consisting of a pleonastic subject and a reflexive pronoun. The latter is formed from intransitive predicates, as demonstrated in (30):

(30) Impersonal middle in German (Brinker 1969: 9)

a. Es lebt sich gut als Sekretärin in Bonn
 it lives REFL well as secretary in Bonn
 'You can live well as secretary in Bonn.'

b. Über dumme Fehler schimpft sich es leicht
 about dumb mistakes grumbles REFL-it easily
 'It's easy to grumble about dumb mistakes.'

The impersonal middle in (30a) is formed from a predicate without an object; the middle in (30b) is formed from a predicate with a prepositional object.

Moreover, in at least some languages, aspectual properties of verbs play a crucial role in determining their eligibility for middle formation. One of the best known verb typologies based on aspectual properties is proposed by Vendler (1967) and Dowth (1979).⁴ Vendler distinguishes four classes of verbs: activities, accomplishments, achievements, and states. Examples of verbs belonging to each class are provided in (31) (Vendler, 1967: 107–8):⁵

(31) Vendler's classification of verbs

a. activities: run, walk, push, pull, drive

b. accomplishments: paint, make, build, write, read, deliver

⁴ It makes sense to begin discussion of aspectual classes of verbs with a look at Indo-European languages, because Vendler's typology is based on English verbs. It also seems reasonable that his typology applies to Korean, since it is based on semantic notions.

⁵ Of course, we can not disregard the possibility that a verb might belong to more than one aspectual class.

- c. achievement: recognize, realize, spot, lose, find, reach, win, cross
- d. states: have, want, hate, know, believe

If we test verbs from each of Vendler's categories with respect to their ability to undergo middle formation, we see that only activities and accomplishments form acceptable middles (Fagan, 1992: 68):⁶

- (32) a. The car drives easily (activity).
- b. The book reads easily (accomplishment).
- c. *French acquires easily (achievement).
- d. *The answer knows easily (state).

3. Potential Korean Middle (K1-Type and K2-Type)

3.0. Introduction

We have mentioned two types of potential middle constructions in Korean. However, we will now show that in fact neither is a true middle. To do this, we will draw on the properties of middles described in the previous section.

3.1. Implicit Argument

It has been often pointed out (e.g. by Keyser and Roeper 1984, 1992) that the transitive verbs from which middles are derived involve agency. This leads naturally to the speculation that the agent theta-role associated with the relevant transitive verbs is still present in the middle. Of course, as is well-known, the agent role (the external argument) is obligatorily suppressed in the middle in the same sense that it is optionally suppressed in the passive. Consider the K1-type in Korean.⁷

⁶ Roberts (1986: 212) also considers aspectual categories of verbs in his discussion of English middles. He has classified verbs of English according to whether or not they have a theme argument, and this will partially determine each verb's membership in a given aspectual class: Verbs with a theme will be accomplishments; verbs without a theme will be activities, statives, and achievements. He goes on to argue that accomplishments are the only aspectual class that allows middle formation, because middle formation applies to verbs with internal themes.

(33) a. Transitive

John-i	cha-lul	wumsiki-n-ta
John-Nom	car-Acc	move-NPST-DSE
'John moves the car.'		

b. Potential middle

Cha-ka	cal	wumsiki-n-ta
car-Nom	well	move-NPST-DSE
'The car moves well.'		

(34) a. Transitive

John-i	cong-ul	wulli-n-ta
John-Nom	bell-Acc	ring-NPST-DSE
'John rings the bell.'		

b. Potential middle

Cong-i	cal	wulli-n-ta
bell-Nom	well	ring-NPST-DSE
'The bell rings well.'		

(35) a. Transitive

Ai-ka	wulum-ul	kuchi-n-ta
baby-Nom	crying-Acc	stop-NPST-DSE
'The baby stops crying.'		

b. Potential middle

Wulum-i	elyepkey	kuchi-n-ta
crying-Nom	with difficulty	stop-NPST-DSE
'The crying stops with difficulty.'		

Since the middle was defined as an intransitive verb with a theme subject derived from a transitive counterpart, the verbs in (33b)–(35b) are all qualified to be a middle lexically. (33a)–(35a) are basic transitive sentences in which both the agent and theme roles are overtly realized. The sen-

⁷ Other verbs of the K1-type in Korean include the following, all of which can be used both as transitives and intransitives. One common form in K1 verbs is that they include a causative affix in their stem: *-i*, *-hi*, *-li*, *-ki*, *-wu*, *-ku*, *-chwu*.

<i>memchwu-ta</i>	'stop'	<i>kuchi-ta</i>	'cease'
<i>nayli-ta</i>	'down'	<i>kwuki-ta</i>	'wriggle'
<i>phungki-ta</i>	'taste'	<i>nalli-ta</i>	'fly'
<i>hwi-ta</i>	'bend'		

tences in (33b)–(35b) are thus potential middle constructions which appear to be derived from a transitive verb without changing its form. Now, consider the K2-type in Korean:

(36) a. Transitive

John-i	chayk-ul	ilk-nun-ta
John-Nom	book-Acc	read-NPST-DSE
'John reads the book.'		

b. Potential middle

Chayk-i	cal	ilk-hi-n-ta
book-Nom	well	read-MID-NPST-DSE
'The book reads well.'		

(37) a. Transitive

John-i	mil-ul	ka-n-ta
John-Nom	wheat-Acc	grind-NPST-DSE
'John grinds wheat.'		

b. Potential middle

Mil-i	cal	ka-li-n-ta
wheat-Nom	well	grind-MID-NPST-DSE
'Wheat grinds well.'		

(38) a. Transitive

John-i	chayk-ul	pha-n-ta
John-Nom	book-Acc	sell-NPST-DSE
'John sells the book.'		

b. Potential middle

Chayk-i	cal	pha-li-n-ta
book-Nom	well	sell-MID-NPST-DSE
'The book sells well.'		

The verbs in (36b–38b) are also all qualified to be middles lexically. Thus, (36a–38a) are basic transitive sentences in which both the agent and theme roles are overtly expressed, while the verbs *ilk-hi*, *kal-li*, *phal-li* in (36b–38b) are derived from the transitive verbs *ilk-* 'read', *kal-* 'grind', *phal-* 'sell', respectively, and have only an overt theme argument.⁸ The question arises whether the K1 and K2 patterns have a true implicit agent argument. As noted in section 2, the presence of an implicit agent argument in

English middles can be demonstrated by considering a paraphrase of the middle that contains the indefinite subject ‘one, you, we’, as repeated from (6):

- (39) a. The book reads easily.
 b. One can read the book easily.

Although there is no indefinite pronoun in Korean, the K1-type can be rephrased as in (40) and the K2-type can be rephrased as in (41), using the definite pronouns *wuli* ‘we’ or *Salamtul* ‘one’.

(40) Rephrase in K1-verb

- a. Wuli(salamtul)-nun cha-lul cal wumsiki-lswuiss-ta
 we(people)-Nom car-Acc well move-can-DSE
 ‘We(people) can move the car well.’
- b. Wuli(salamtul)-nun cong-ul cal wumsiki-lswuiss-ta
 we(people)-Nom bell-Acc well move-can-DSE
 ‘We(people) can ring the bell well.’
- c. Wuli(salamtul)-nun wulum-ul swipkey kuchi-lswuiss-ta
 we(people)-Nom crying-Acc easily stop-can-DSE
 ‘We(people) stop the crying easily.’

(41) Rephrase in K2-verb

- a. Wuli-nun chayk-ul cal ilk-ulswuiss-ta
 we-Nom book-Acc well read-can-DSE
 ‘We can read the book well.’
- b. Wuli-nun mil-ul cal kal-swuiss-ta
 we-Nom wheat-Acc well grind-can-DSE
 ‘We can grind wheat well.’
- c. Wuli-nun chayk-ul swipkey phal-swuiss-ta
 we-Nom book-Acc easily sell-can-DSE
 ‘We sell the book easily.’

⁸Note that we glossed the morpheme *hi* as a potential middle (MID), since we will assume that the phonetic realization of causative, passive, and middle is the same. Korean has virtually the same morpheme for both causative and passive: *-i*, *-hi*, *-li*, *-ki*. With one or two exceptions, the causative and passive affixes show the same allomorphy. The distribution of Korean allomorphs is generally determined by the values of the final sound of the verb stem to which the affixes attach. (Park 1986: 12)

The sentences in (40) and (41) do not enter into a true paraphrase relationship, since they do not involve mutual entailment.⁹ The (a) sentences in (40) and (41) entail the sentences (b) in (40) and (41); If ‘the car moves well (*ca-ka cal wumsiki-n-ta*)’ or ‘the book reads well (*chayk-i cal ilk-hi-n-ta*)’ is true, it must also be true that ‘we can move the car well (*wuli-nun cha-lul cal wumsiki-lswuiss-ta*)’ or ‘we can read the book well (*wuli-nun chayk-ul cal ilk-ulswuiss-ta*)’, respectively. However, the reverse need not hold true; even if it is true that ‘we can move the car well (*wuli-nun cha-lul cal wumsiki-lswuiss-ta*)’ or ‘we can read the book well (*wuli-nun chayk-ul cal ilk-ulswuiss-ta*)’, it is not necessarily true that ‘the car moves well (*ca-ka cal wumsiki-n-ta*)’ or ‘the book reads well (*chayk-i cal ilk-hi-n-ta*).’ This result suggests that the K1 and the K2 patterns may not be a true middle.

Paraphrase relationships are not the only means by which the presence of an implied argument in middles can be brought out. The phrases *cecello* ‘all by itself’, or *towumepsi* ‘without aid’ in Korean should be not compatible with a true middle, since they are incompatible with the implied agent that is present in middles. As the following sentences show, K1 verbs allow these phrases—unlike true middles.

(42) K1 with *cecello*

a. Cha-ka	cecello	wumsiki-n-ta
car-Nom	all by itself	move-NPST-DSE
‘The car moves all by itself.’		

⁹Two sentences with identical meanings are said to be paraphrases of each other. A mutual entailment is the condition for a paraphrase relationship, as the following pair of sentences provide examples of complete or near complete paraphrases.

- (1) a. The police chased the burglar.
 b. The burglar was chased by the police.

Thus, if it is true that the police chased the burglar, it must also be true that the burglar was chased by the police. In some cases, however, entailment is asymmetrical, as shown in(2):

- (2) a. The park wardens killed the bear.
 b. The bear is dead.

If it is true that the park wardens killed the bear, then it must also true that the bear is dead. However, the reverse does not follow, since the bear could be dead without the park wardens having killed it.

- b. Cong-i cecello ulli-n-ta
 bell-Nom all by itself ring-NPST-DSE
 'The bell rings all by itself.'
- c. Wulum-i cecello kuchi-n-ta
 crying-Nom all by itself stop-NPST-DSE
 'The crying stops all by itself.'

In contrast, K2 verbs cannot cooccur with such an adverb.

(43) K2 with *cecello*¹⁰

- a. *?Chayk-i cecello ilk-hi-n-ta
 book-Nom all by itself read-MID-NPST-DSE
 'The book reads all by itself.'
- b. *?Mil-i elyepsianhkey cecello kal-li-n-ta
 wheat-Nom without difficulty without aid grind-MID-NPST-DSE
 'The wheat grinds easily without aid.'
- c. *?Chayk-i cecello phal-li-n-ta
 book-Nom without aid sell-MID-NPST-DSE
 'The book sells without aid.'

The implicit agent argument in middles may never appear overtly. The middle is unacceptable with an agent in a 'by-phrase'. The passive clause, on the other hand, allows its agent theta-role to remain unexpressed or to be expressed in a 'by-phrase'. In Korean, a 'by-phrase' can be expressed with the help of at least three different postpositions: *-eykey*, *-hanthey*, and *-eyuyhayse*.¹¹ Both K1 and K2 verbs allow the expression of the agent with

¹⁰ The sentences in (43) will be improved if the subject is personified. Otherwise, they are ungrammatical sentences.

¹¹ There is some semantic restriction among these three particles. It seems that *eykey/hanthey* can be used in three different functions which are usually filled by three distinct prepositions in English, namely, 'from', 'by', and 'to' (Song 1988: 56).

- (1) a. Kim sensayng-hanthey/eykey pule-lul paywu-ess-ta
 Kim teacher-from French-Acc learn-PST-DSE
 '(I) learned French from Mr. Kim.'
- b. Kkangphay-hanthey/eykey mac-ass-ta
 gangster-by be beaten-PST-DSE
 '(I) was beaten by a gangster.'
- c. Mary-hanthey/eykey kkoch-ul ponay-ess-ta
 Mary-to flower-Acc send-PST-DSE
 '(I) sent flowers to Mary.'

the *-eyuyhayse* (just as the passive construction does), but not with *-eykey*, or, *-hanthey*.

(44) K1 with *by*-phrase (*eyuyhayse*)

- a. Cha-ka John-eyuyhayse (*eykey/*hanthey)
 car-Nom John-by
 wumsiki-n-ta
 move-NPST-DSE
 'The car moves by John.'
- b. Cong-i May-eyuyhayse (*eykey/*hanthey)
 bell-Nom Mary-by
 wulli-n-ta
 ring-NPST-DSE
 'The bell rings by Mary.'
- c. Wulum-i emeni-eyuyhayse (*eykey/*hanthey)
 crying-Nom mother-by
 kuchi-n-ta
 stop-NPST-DSE
 'The crying stops by mother.'

(45) K2 with *by*-phrase (*eyuyhayse*)

- a. Chayk-i John-eyuyhayse (*eykey/*hanthey) cal
 book-Nom John-by well
 ilk-hi-n-ta
 read-MID-NPST-DSE
 'The book reads well by John.'

Furthermore, *eykey* is more restricted than *hanthey* with respect to the 'by-phrase' function, while *eyuyhayse* can be used more freely.

- (2) a. Totwuk-i swunkyeng-eyuyhayse (hanthey/*eykey)
 thief-Nom policeman-by
 cap-hi-ess-ta
 catch-PASS-PST-DSE
 'A thief was caught by a policeman.'
- b. Chayk-i Yengswu-eyuyhayse (*hanthey/*eykey)
 book-Nom Yengswu-by
 ilk-hi-ess-ta
 read-PASS-PAST-DSE
 'The book was read by Yengswu.'

We will treat these three particles as equivalent semantically, leaving open the question of the semantic conditions with which they can occur.

- b. Mil-i John-eyuyhayse (*eykey/*hanthey) cal
 wheat-Nom John-by well
 kal-li-n-ta
 grind-MID-NPST-DSE
 ‘The wheat grinds well by John.’
- c. Chayk-i John-eyuyhayse (*eykey/*hanthey) cal
 book-Nom John-by well
 phal-li-n-ta
 sell-MID-NPST-DSE
 ‘The book reads well by John.’

In contrast, as we saw in section 2.1, a true middle construction does not allow a ‘*by-phrase*’.

In sum, based on the tests involving an implicit agent argument that we have used (paraphrase, compatibility with ‘*all by itself*’, and cooccurrence with a ‘*by-phrase*’), we can not conclude that the K1 and K2 patterns are true middles, even though K2 verbs do seem to have an understood agent.

3.2. Stative

The second characteristic of middles involves its stative or noneventive nature. The terms *stative*, and *noneventive* are used to indicate that a verb expresses a state of affairs, rather than an action (Lyons 1977). Several diagnostics illustrate the noneventive character of middles. We will apply each individual diagnostic to the K1 and K2 verbs of Korean.

First, the verb *ilena-ta* ‘happen’ can refer back only to eventive predicates.

- (46) a. Chelswu-ka yakwu-lul ha-n-ta
 Chelswu-Nom baseball-Acc do-NPST-DSE
 ku-il-un ecey ilena-ss-ta
 that-matter-Nom yesterday happen-PST-DSE
 ‘Chelswu plays baseball; that happened yesterday.’
- b. *Yeonghuy-nun alumtap-ta
 Yeonghuy-Nom beautiful-DSE
 ku-il-un ecey ilena-ss-ta
 that-matter-Nom yesterday happen-PST-DSE
 ‘Yeonghuy is beautiful; that happened yesterday.’

The verb *happen* refers back to the eventive sentence that contains the verb *play* in (46a), but it does not refer back to the noneventive sentence in (46b). Thus, we predict that the verb *happen* should not refer back to the middle, because it is stative in character. Let us consider the K1 and K2 verbs occurring with the verb *happen*.

(47) K1 occurring with the verb *ilena-ta* 'happen'

- a. Cha-ka cal wumsiki-n-ta
 car-Nom well move-NPST-DSE
 ku-il-un ecey ilena-ss-ta
 that-matter-Nom yesterday happen-PST-DSE
 'The car moves well; that happened yesterday.'
- b. Cong-i cal wulli-n-ta
 bell-Nom well ring-NPST-DSE
 ku-il-un ecey ilena-ss-ta
 that-matter-Nom yesterday happen-PST-DSE
 'The bell rings well; that happened yesterday.'
- c. Wulum-i elyepkey kuchi-n-ta
 crying-Nom difficulty stop-NPST-DSE
 ku-il-un ecey ilena-ss-ta
 that-matter-Nom yesterday happen-PST-DSE
 'The crying stops with difficulty; that happened yesterday.'

(48) K2 occurring with the verb *ilena-ta* 'happen'

- a. Chayk-i cal ilk-hi-n-ta
 book-Nom well read-MID-NPST-DSE
 ku-il-un ecey ilena-ss-ta
 that-matter-Nom yesterday happen-PST-DSE
 'The book reads well, that happened yesterday.'
- b. Palamsoli-ka cal tul-li-n-ta
 wind noise-Nom well hear-MID-NPST-DSE
 ku-il-un ecey ilena-ss-ta
 that-matter-Nom yesterday happen-PST-DSE
 'The wind noise hears well, that happened yesterday.'
- c. Chayk-i cal phal-li-n-ta
 book-Nom well sell-MID-NPST-DSE

ku-il-un	ecey	ilena-ss-ta
that-matter-Nom	yesterday	happen-PST-DSE

'The book sells well, that happened yesterday.'

As (47) and (48) demonstrate, the verb *ilena-ta* 'happen' can refer back to K1 or K2-type verbs. Thus they are not true middles, since they are not stative.

Another piece of evidence that K1 and K2 verbs are not stative comes from a cooccurrence restriction involving the locative particles in Korean. It is generally accepted that there are two types of locative particles in Korean: stative (or static) locative-*ey*, and eventive (or dynamic) locative-*eyse* (Martin and Lee 1969, Song 1988). Corresponding to English 'in, at, on' is the particle-*ey* '(being) at (with or without some specific word of location in front of it)'. This is a particle of static location: something is in (at, on) a place. For dynamic location, when something happens in (at, on) a place, Koreans use the particle -*se* (happening) 'at' or the combination of -*eyse*. These particles have the same English translation as -*ey* but are used when the verb denotes an action. The following examples show two types of locative constructions:

(49) Locative constructions

- | | | | |
|----|---------------------------------|-------------|--------|
| a. | Hakkyo-ey | kukcang-i | iss-ta |
| | school-Loc(s) | theater-Nom | be-DSE |
| | 'There is a theater at school.' | | |
| b. | *Hakkyo-eyse | kukcang-i | iss-ta |
| | school-Loc(e) | theater-Nom | be-DSE |
| | 'There is a theater at school.' | | |
| c. | Hakkyo-eyse | yenghwa-ka | iss-ta |
| | school-Loc(e) | movie-Nom | be-DSE |
| | 'The movie is on at school.' | | |
| d. | *Hakkyo-ey | yenghwa-ka | iss-ta |
| | school-Loc(s) | movie-Nom | be-DSE |
| | 'The movie is on at school.' | | |

Crucially, K1 and K2 verbs occur with only the eventive locative-*eyse*, indicating that they are not stative. They do not occur with the stative locative -*ey*, as shown in the following examples:

- (50) K1 with eventive locative *eyse*
- a. Cha-ka kosoktolo-eyse cal wumsiki-n-ta
 car-Nom highway-Loc(e) well move-NPST-DSE
 'The car moves well on the highway.'
- b. Cong-i kyohoy-eyse cal wulli-n-ta
 bell-Nom church-Loc(e) well ring-NPST-DSE
 'The bell rings well at church.'
- c. Wulum-i kolpang-eyse cal kuchi-n-ta
 crying-Nom back room-Loc(e) well stop-NPST-DSE
 'The crying stops well in a back room.'
- (51) K1 with stative locative *ey*
- a. *Cha-ka kosoktolo-ey cal wumsiki-n-ta
 car-Nom highway-Loc(s) well move-NPST-DSE
 'The car moves well on the highway.'
- b. *Cong-i kyohoy-ey cal wulli-n-ta
 bell-Nom church-Loc(s) well ring-NPST-DSE
 'The bell rings well at church.'
- c. *Wulum-i kolpang-ey cal kuchi-n-ta
 crying-Nom back room-Loc(s) well stop-NPST-DSE
 'The crying stops well in a back room.'
- (52) K2 with eventive locative *eyse*
- a. Chayk-i hakkyo-eyse cal ilk-hi-n-ta
 book-Nom school-Loc(e) well read-MID-NPST-DSE
 'The book reads well at school.'
- b. Mil-i pangaskan-eyse cal kal-li-n-ta
 wheat-Nom mill-Loc(e) well grind-MID-NPST-DSE
 'Wheat grinds well at a mill.'
- c. Chayk-i secem-eyse cal phal-li-n-ta
 book-Nom bookstore-Loc(e) well sell-MID-NPST-DSE
 'The book sells well at a bookstore.'
- (53) K2 with stative locative *ey*
- a. *Chayk-i hakkyo-ey cal ilk-hi-n-ta
 book-Nom school-Loc(s) well read-MID-NPST-DSE
 'The book reads well at school.'
- b. *Mil-i pangaskan-ey cal kal-li-n-ta
 wheat-Nom mill-Loc(s) well grind-MID-NPST-DSE

'Wheat grinds well at a mill.'

- c. *Chayk-i secem-ey cal phal-li-n-ta
 book-Nom bookstore-Loc(s) well sell-MID-NPST-DSE
 'The book sells well at a bookstore.'

Another salient characteristic of middles involves considerations of tense and aspect. True middles are typically restricted to the simple present tense. This is not surprising, since middles are not used to describe events that occur at a particular time, but are used to describe properties of their subjects that generally hold independently of time. Keyser and Roeper relate this characteristic of middles to the fact that they appear in generic sentences, which are held to be generally true (Lyons 1977).¹² However, K1 and K2-type occur with a particular time reference such as past, or present (as in the imperative or vocative).

(54) K1 with past tense

- a. Cha-ka ohwu seysi-ey cal wumsiki-ess-ta
 car-Nom afternoon 3 o'clock-at well move-PST-DSE
 'The car moved well at 3 P.M.'
- b. Cong-i ecey seysi-ey wulli-ess-ta
 bell-Nom yesterday 3 o'clock-at ring-PST-DSE
 'The bell rang at 3 o'clock yesterday.'
- c. Wulum-i mak kuchi-ess-ta
 crying-Nom right now stop-PST-DSE
 'The crying stopped just now.'

(55) K2 with past tense

- a. Chayk-i ecey seysi-ey cal ilk-hi-ess-ta
 book-Nom yesterday 3 o'clock-at well read-MID-PST-DSE

¹² It is important to realize that generic sentences are not only tenseless, but timeless. At first sight, this statement is immediately refuted by pointing to the possibility of uttering such sentences as in (1), in order to assert what is a generic proposition (Lyons 1977: 194).

(1) The dinosaur was a friendly beast.

The past tense that occurs in (1) is not part of the proposition that is expressed when (1) is used to assert a generic proposition. In such circumstances, it is inappropriate to ask when it was that dinosaurs were friendly: the past tense is employed because the speaker believes that dinosaurs are extinct, not because he thinks that they have changed their properties. There are also certain apparent exceptions to this statement, but we need not go into them here.

'The book read well at 3 o'clock yesterday.'

- b. Mil-i ecey seysi-ey cal kal-li-ess-ta
 wheat-Nom yesterday 3 o'clock-at well grind-MID-PST-DSE
 'Wheat ground well at 3 o'clock yesterday.'
- c. Chayk-i ecey seysi-ey cal phal-li-ess-ta
 book-Nom yesterday 3 o'clock-at well sell-MID-PST-DSE
 'The book sold well at 3 o'clock yesterday.'

(56) K1 with imperative and vocative

- a. Ppalli wumsiki-ela cha-ya
 quickly move-IMP car-EXC
 'Move quickly, car!'
- b. Khukey wulli-ela cong-a
 loudly ring-IMP bell-EXC
 'Ring loudly, bell!'
- c. Ppalli kuchi-ela wulum-a
 quickly stop-IMP crying-EXC
 'Stop quickly, crying!'

(57) K2 with imperative and vocative

- a. Cal ilk-hi-ela chayk-a
 well read-MID-IMP book-EXC
 'Read well, books!'
- b. Cal kal-li-ela mil-a
 well grind-MID-IMP wheat-EXC
 'Grind well, wheat!'
- c. Cal phal-li-ela chayk-a
 well sell-MID-IMP book-EXC
 'Sell well, books!'

As (54)–(57) demonstrate, K1 and K2 verbs do not have the generic properties which are assumed to be a necessary condition for middle constructions.¹³

Progressive formation is universally used as a test for stativity (Kim 1990, Cho 1993), and it is naturally applicable to Korean as well. Only [–stative] verbs can occur with the progressive form *ko iss-*:

¹³ If a sentence is generic, it is always stative, but not vice versa. Thus some stative sentences are not generic.

(58) [+stative] verb with progressive formation

*John-i ton-i iss-ko iss-ta
 John-Nom money-Nom have-PGS-DSE
 'John is having money.'

(59) [-stative] verb with progressive formation

Inho-ka pap-ul mek-ko iss-ta
 Inho-Nom rice-Acc eat-PGS-DSE
 'Inho is eating the rice.'

Turning now to K1 and K2 verbs, we will find that both allow the progressive. This suggests that they are [-stative], which again suggests that they are not true middles.

(60) K1 in the progressive

- a. Cha-ka cal wumsiki-ko iss-ta
 car-Nom well move-PGS-DSE
 'The car is moving well.'
- b. Cong-i cal wulli-ko iss-ta
 bell-Nom well ring-PGS-DSE
 'The bell is ringing well.'
- c. Wulum-i mak kuchi-ko iss-ta
 crying-Nom right now stop-PGS-DSE
 'The crying is stopping right now.'

(61) K2 in the progressive

- a. Chayk-i cal ilk-hi-ko iss-ta
 book-Nom well read-MID-PGS-DSE
 'The book is reading well.'
- b. Mil-i cal kal-li-ko iss-ta
 wheat-Nom well grind-MID-PGS-DSE
 'Wheat is grinding well.'
- c. Chayk-i cal phal-li-ko iss-ta
 book-Nom well sell-MID-PGS-DSE
 'The book is selling well.'

As noted by Dowty (1979), only nonstatives occur with Class 1 adverbs, pseudoclefts, rationale clauses, or iterative simple present tense. Since true middle constructions are stative, they do not occur with Class 1 adverbs,

pseudoclefts, rationale clauses, or iterative simple present tense. K1 and K2 verbs, however, occur with Class 1 adverbs,¹⁴ clefts, rationale clauses,¹⁵ and iterative simple present tense, contrary to the basic property of middle constructions.

(62) K1 with class 1 adverbs

- a. Cha-ka cosimsulepkey wumsiki-n-ta
 car-Nom carefully move-NPST-DSE
 ‘The car moves carefully.’
- b. Cong-i cosimsulepkey wulli-n-ta
 bell-Nom carefully ring-NPST-DSE
 ‘The bell rings carefully.’
- c. Wulum-i cosimsulepkey kuchi-n-ta
 crying-Nom carefully stop-NPST-DSE
 ‘The crying stops carefully.’

(63) K1 with pseudoclefts

- a. Cha-ka ha-nun-il-un kil-wi-eyse
 car-Nom do-NPST-thing-Top street-on-Loc(e)
 wumsiki-nun-kes-ita
 move-NPST-thing-DSE
 ‘What the car does is to move on the street.’
- b. Cong-i ha-nun-il-un salam-tul-eykey
 bell-Nom do-NPST-thing-Top people-PL-Dat

¹⁴ It has been assumed that there are three types of adverbs in Korean: actional adverbs, stative adverbs and actional/stative adverbs. The actional adverbs occur with actional verbs that involve an agent, so they are equivalent to the class 1 adverbs. They include *cosimsulepkay* ‘carefully’, *sincwunghakay* ‘deliberately’ and mimesis such as *salkumsalkum* ‘sneakingly’.

¹⁵ We define the purpose clause and the rationale clause in the following way. As Bach (1979: 42) has suggested, the purpose clause in (1) contains exactly one obligatory NP gap, which may occur at any place in the clause. If there are two gaps, one of them must be in subject position and will be subject to principles of ‘free control’. On the other hand, the rationale clause in (2) contains only one subject gap.

(1) Purpose clause

I bought a book [PRO to give it to Mary]

(2) Rationale clause

I sank the ship [PRO to collect the insurance money]

wulli-nun-kes-ita
 ring-NPST-thing-DSE
 'What the bell does is to ring to people.'

- c. Naymsay-ka ha-nun-il-un sonnim-tul-eykey
 smell-Nom do-NPST-thing-Top guest-PL-Dat
 pwungki-nun-kes-ita
 spread-NPST-thing-DSE
 'What the smell does is to spread to guests.'

(64) K1 with rationale clauses

- a. [Tocek-ul cap-ki-wihayse] cha-ka ppalli
 thief-Acc catch-NOM-for car-Nom quickly
 wumsiki-n-ta
 move-NPST-DSE
 'The car moves quickly to catch the thief.'
- b. [Salam-ul mou-ki-wihayse] cong-i wulli-n-t
 people-Acc collect-NOM-for bell-Nom ring-NPST-DSE
 'The bell rings to collect people.'
- c. [Kwake-lul hoysang-ha-ki-wihayse] palkil-i
 past-Acc review-do-NOM-for footstep-Nom
 memchwu-n-ta
 stop-NPST-DSE
 'The footstep stops to review the past.'

(65) K1 with iterative simple present tense

- a. Ku cha-nun mayil-yeses-si-ey ceyil ppalli
 the car-Nom everyday-six o'clock-at most quickly
 wumsiki-n-ta
 move-NPST-DSE
 'The car moves quickly at 6 o'clock every day.'
- b. Cong-i mayil-ohwu-tases-si-ey wulli-n-ta
 bell-Nom everyday-P.M.-five o'clock-at ring-NPST-DSE
 'The bell rings at 5 o'clock in the afternoon every day.'
- c. palkil-i mayil-cemsim-sikan-ey ku cicem-ey
 footstep-Nom everyday-lunch-hour-at the point-at
 memchwun-n-ta
 stop-NPST-DSE
 'The footstep stops at the place at lunch hour every day.'

(66) K2 with class 1 adverbs

- a. Chayk-i cosimsulepkey ilk-hi-n-ta
 book-Nom carefully read-MID-NPST-DSE
 ‘The book reads carefully.’
- b. Mil-i cosimsulepkey kal-li-n-ta
 wheat-Nom carefully grind-MID-NPST-DSE
 ‘The wheat grinds carefully.’
- c. Chayk-i cosimsulepkey phal-li-n-ta
 book-Nom carefully sell-MID-NPST-DSE
 ‘The book sells carefully.’

(67) K2 with pseudoclefts

- a. Chayk-i ha-nun-il-un salam-tul-eykey
 book-Nom do-NPST-thing-Top people-PL-to
 ilk-hi-nun-kes-ita
 read-MID-NPST-thing-DSE
 ‘What the book does is to be read to people.’
- b. Mil-i ha-nun-il-un yescangswu-eykey
 wheat-Nom do-NPST-thing-Top taffy makers-to(by)
 kal-li-nun-kes-ita
 grind-MID-NPST-thing-DSE
 ‘What the wheat does is to be ground by taffy people.’
- c. Chayk-i ha-nun-il-un salam-tul-eykey
 book-Nom do-NPST-thing-Top people-PL-to(by)
 phal-li-nun-kes-ita
 sell-MID-NPST-thing-DSE
 ‘What the book does is to be sold to by people.’

(68) K2 with rationale clauses

- a. ?[I chayk-un cisik-ul chukcek-ha-ki-wihayse]
 this book-Nom knowledge-Acc store-do-NOM-for
 cal ilk-hi-n-ta
 well read-MID-NPST-DSE
 ‘This book reads well to store knowledge.’
- b. ?[I mil-un yes-ul mantul-ki-wihayse]
 this wheat-Nom taffy-Acc make-NOM-for
 cal kal-li-n-ta
 well grind-MID-NPST-DSE

‘This wheat grinds well to make taffy.’

- c. ?[I chayk-un semin-tul-uy
 this book-Nom common people-PL-Gen
 kyoyang-ul-ssah-ki-wihayse] cal phal-li-n-ta
 mental food-Acc-store-NOM-for well sell-MID-NPST-DSE
 ‘This book sells well to store mental food of the common people.’

(69) K2 with iterative simple present tense

- a. ku chayk-un mayil-yeses-si-ey cal
 the book-Nom everyday-six o'clock-at well
 ilk-hi-n-ta
 read-MID-NPST-DSE
 ‘The book reads well at 6 o'clock every day.’
- b. mil-i mayil-ohwu-tases-si-ey cal
 wheat-Nom everyday-P.M.-five o'clock-at well
 kal-li-n-ta
 grind-MID-NPST-DSE
 ‘The wheat grinds well at 5 o'clock in the afternoon every day.’
- c. chayk-i mayil-cemsim-sikan-ey kacang cal
 book-Nom everyday-lunch-hour-at most well
 phal-li-n-ta
 sell-MID-NPST-DSE
 ‘The book sells well at lunch hour every day.’

Based on the diagnostics for middle construction mentioned above, there is no reason to believe that the K1 and K2 patterns are a canonical middle.

3.3. Modality

Middles typically express the modal notion of ‘ability’ or ‘possibility’ and can therefore be paraphrased with a passive clause that contains the modal *can*, since modal auxiliaries appear to be the most straightforward way of expressing various forms of necessity and possibility. The middle in (70a), for example, can be paraphrased as in (70b), because the relationship between two sentences involves mutual entailment.

- (70) a. The bread cuts easily.
 b. The bread can be cut easily.

However, the K1 and K2 pattern can not be paraphrased with a passive sentence that contains the long-form passive and a modal *can* in (71) and (72), since they show asymmetrical entailment.

(71) K1 with modality

- a. I *catongcha-ka* *cal* *wumsiki-eci-lswuiss-ta*
 this car-Nom well move-PASS-can-DSE
 ‘This car can be moved well.’
- b. I *cong-i* *swipkey* *wulli-eci-lswuiss-ta*
 this bell-Nom easily ring-PASS-can-DSE
 ‘The bell can be rung easily.’
- c. *Wulum-i* *swipkey* *kuchi-eci-lswuiss-ta*
 crying-Nom easily stop-PASS-can-DSE
 ‘The crying can be stopped easily.’

(72) K2 with modality

- a. I *chayk-i* *cal* *ilk-hi-eci-lswuiss-ta*
 this book-Nom well read-MID-PASS-can-DSE
 ‘This book can be read well.’
- b. I *mil-i* *swipkey* *kal-li-eci-lswuiss-ta*
 this wheat-Nom easily grind-MID-PASS-can-DSE
 ‘This wheat can be ground easily.’
- c. I *chayk-i* *swipkey* *phal-li-eci-lswuiss-ta*
 this book-Nom easily sell-MID-PASS-can-DSE
 ‘This book can be sold easily.’

If it is true that this car moves well (*I catongcha-ka cal wumsiki-n-ta*) in (71a), it must also be true that this car can be moved well (*I catongcha-ka cal wumsiki-eci-lswuiss-ta*). However, the reverse is not true: even though it is true that this car can be moved well (*I catongcha-ka cal wumsiki-eci-lswuiss-ta*), it is not necessarily true that this car moves well (*I catongcha-ka cal wumsiki-n-ta*). Thus this car can be moved well without moving well.

In brief, the ‘modality’ might be an effective diagnostic to distinguish between middle and other constructions, since K1 and K2 verbs do not exhibit ‘modality’, indicating that they are not true middles.

3. 4. Adverb Modification

Yet another particular characteristic of middle verbs is that they must occur with adverbs, as shown in (73) and (74).

- (73) a. the wall paints easily.
 b. Chickens kill easily.
 c. The floor waxes easily.

- (74) a. *The wall paints.
 b. *The chickens kill.
 c. *The floor waxes.

The adverbials that appear in middles describe how an activity can be carried out with respect to a particular object. The K1 and K2 patterns in Korean, however, are acceptable without such a modifier, even though the sentences often sound more natural with them.

(75) K1 without adverbials

- a. Cha-ka wumsiki-n-ta
 car-Nom move-NPST-DSE
 'The car moves.'
- b. Cong-i wulli-n-ta
 bell-Nom ring-NPST-DSE
 'The bell rings.'
- c. Wulum-i kuchi-n-ta
 crying-Nom stop-NPST-DSE
 'The crying stops.'

(76) K2 without adverbials

- a. Chayk-i ilk-hi-n-ta
 book-Nom read-MID-NPST-DSE
 'The book reads.'
- b. mil-i kal-li-n-ta
 wheat-Nom grind-MID-NPST-DSE
 'The wheat grinds.'
- c. chayk-i phal-li-n-ta
 book-Nom sell-MID-NPST-DSE
 'The book sells.'

These facts suggest that the K1 and K2 pattern are not true middles, which do require an adverbial modifier.

3.5. Summary

In sum, we have seen that the K1 and K2 pattern in Korean do not have any properties of a canonical middle. As we have seen, the K1 type shows no sign of an implicit agent argument (i.e. the paraphrase relationship, the ‘*all by itself*’ test, or cooccurrence of ‘*by*-phrase’). Moreover, neither the K1 nor K2 type exhibits stativity, which is a necessary condition for middles. The tests for stativity that we have applied involve the verb *happen*, the progressive, class 1 adverbs, pseudoclefts, rationale clauses, the iterative simple present, and generics. Contrary to what we would expect if they were middles, the K1 and K2 verbs occur with the verb *ilena-ta* ‘happen’, the eventive locative particle *-eyse*, progressive *ko-iss*, class 1 adverbs, pseudoclefts, rationale clauses, the iterative simple present, imperatives, and vocatives. Furthermore, the K1 and K2 verbs do not permit a paraphrase containing the modal auxiliary. Finally, K1 and K2 verbs are acceptable irrespective of the existence of modifier adverbials, which is assumed to be a necessary condition for middles, since adverbials describe how an activity can be carried out with respect to a particular object. The following table summarizes these points.

(77) Summary of middle properties in K1 and K2

	Middle	K1	K2
Implicit	Y	NA	Y
paraphrase	Y	NA	NA
all by itself	N	Y	N
by-phrase	N	Y/N	Y/N
Stative	Y	N	N
happen	N	Y	Y
progressive	N	Y	Y
class 1 adverbs	N	Y	Y
psuedocleft	N	Y	Y
rationale	N	Y	NA
iterative simple present	N	Y	Y
generic	Y	N	N

imperative	N	Y	Y
vocative	N	Y	Y
past tense	N	Y	Y
Modality	Y	N	N
paraphrase	Y	N	N
Adverb modification	Y	N	N
adverb modify	Y	Y	Y
no adverb modify	N	Y	Y

(Y: yes, N: no, and NA: not applicable)

4. Conclusion

In this paper, we have noted that middle constructions have the following unique properties: (1) implicit agent argument, (2) stativity, (3) modality, and (4) adverb modification. We have also shown that there are two types of potential middles in Korean (K1 and K2), based on the lexical criteria for being middle. Based on the properties of the middle construction and tests for each property, however, we can conclude that Korean does not have a true middle construction. Contrary to the assumption of the universal existence of the middle construction (Kemmer 1988), Korean has been shown to be a language in which the middle construction is subsumed in other constructions. While the 'implicit argument' test is not applicable to the K1 and K2 patterns, the lack of stativity, modality, and adverb modification provides evidence that these two types are indeed not true middles.

The question of what type of structure the K1 and K2 patterns really are has not been addressed here. We nevertheless hope that the present analysis will suggest possible ways to solve the remaining issues.

Abbreviations

The Yale system of Romanization is followed in this paper. Abbreviations used are:

Acc	accusative	Nom	nominative
Dat	dative	NOM	nominalizer
DSE	declarative sentence ending	NPST	non-past
ERG	ergative	OBL	oblique

EXC	exclamation	PASS	passive
FUT	future	PGS	progressive
Gen	genitive	PL	plural
IMP	implicit argument	PN	pronoun
Loc(e)	eventive locative	PST	past
Loc(s)	stative locative	REFL	reflexive
MID	potential middle	Top	topic

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