Phase based account of idioms and its consequences*

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Kim, Kyumin. 2015. Phase based account of idioms and its consequences. *Linguistic Research* 32(3), 631-670. Within the Minimalist framework (e.g., Chomsky 2000), where the syntactic computation is interpreted cyclically in phases as the derivation is built up, it is predicted that there should be a strict structural boundary restricting idiomatic interpretations. Voice, which merges external to VP and introduces an agent, is argued to be one such boundary. This paper argues that another VP-external head, high applicative head (ApplH) can also restrict the domain of idiomatic interpretation, but a VP-internal head, such as low applicative head cannot, by providing evidence from Korean and Japanese. Expanding on the proposed approach to idioms, this paper also shows how a phase-based account of idioms interacts with passivization. Given that passivization is not always possible with the direct object of idioms, this paper proposes that this is because a phase head may be a part of idiomatic expressions. The proposed analysis provides a unified account of the structural restrictions on idiomatic interpretation across languages. Theoretically, this paper lends novel empirical support to a cyclic domain of semantic interpretation, i.e., phase, as ApplH, like Voice, constitutes a phasal head. **(Cheongju University)**

Keywords   idiom, applicative, phase, double object construction, passive, EPP

1. Introduction

In recent studies on idioms (Svenonious 2005, Harley and Stone 2013), it has been suggested that a phase (Chomsky 2000, 2001, 2004a,b) may be a boundary that delimits idiomatic expressions. Chomsky proposes that syntactic derivations undergo semantic and phonological interpretation in incremental chunks or *phases*. Phases

(i.e., strong phases) can be headed by a number of possible categories including C, D, and a head (*v* or Voice) that carries active voice features and projects an agent external argument in its specifier (see (1)). Once a phase is complete, the complement of the phase (i.e., the domain) is sent for phonological (PF) or *semantic* (LF) interpretation. As a consequence, the domain of the phase, e.g., VP of the phase VoiceP, is not accessible to further operations (e.g., movement).

(1)

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        VoiceP
       /      \
   agent      Voice'
             /      _____ Domain
         Voice        VP
              \      /    \
               V   theme
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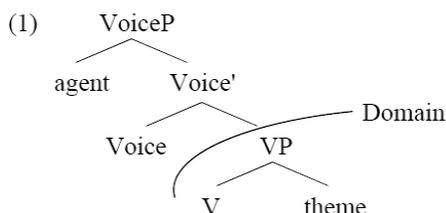
If syntactic computation is interpreted cyclically in phases, it is predicted that there should be a strict boundary restricting idiomatic interpretations. For instance, idiomatic interpretations would depend on context no larger than a phase, as a phase is the maximum boundary that can be semantically interpreted at a *single* time. Voice, which merges external to VP and introduces an agent as in (1), is argued to be one such boundary, which captures Marantz's (1984, 1997) generalization on idioms (Harley and Stone 2013). For example, the idioms in (2) exclude an agent from their idiomatic interpretations. The exclusion of an agent from the idioms can be attributed to the fact that an agent-introducing head, Voice, is a phase head, and thus Voice can delimit the boundary for idiomatic interpretations, namely its domain, VP.

(2)   a. kill a bug   'cause the bug to die'
       b. kill an evening   'while away the time span of the evening'
       c. kill a bottle   'empty the bottle'

I argue that another VP-external head, high applicative head (ApplH), can also restrict the domain of idiomatic interpretation, but a VP-internal head, such as low applicative head (ApplL) cannot, as schematically illustrated in (3).

(3) ApplHP
```
(3)        ApplHP
        ╱        ╲
     DP            Appl'
                ╱      ╲                ── a phase boundary for idiomatic interpretation
            ApplH       VP
            [EPP]     ╱    ╲
                    V      ApplLP
                          ╱    ╲
                      ... ApplL ...
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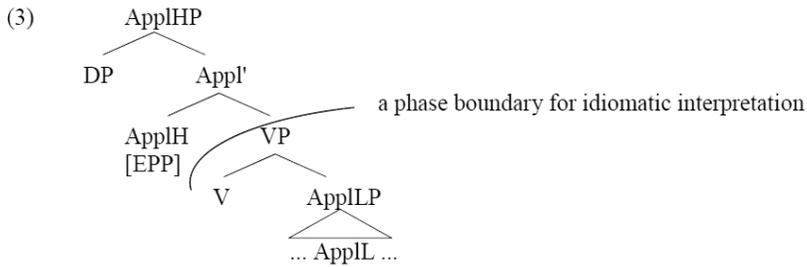
The proposed analysis (3) builds on the recent proposal in which ApplH is a phase head but ApplL is not (McGinnis 2001) (see section 2 for more discussion). It is predicted that the phase head ApplH can delimit idiomatic interpretations, while the non-phase heads ApplL cannot, and I show that this prediction is borne out by data from the Double Object Construction (DOC) and the Post-/Pre-positional Dative (PD) in Korean, Japanese, and English (and potentially Hebrew).

After a phase is complete, one of the consequence is that the domain of the phase is not accessible to further operations, e.g., A-movement. However, an EPP feature can be available on a phase head, and this can allow an element in the domain to undergo A-movement. Thus, under the phase-based account to idioms, it is predicted that the direct object of an idiomatic expression in the domain could undergo a type of A-movement, e.g., passivization, as EPP on the phase head, Voice or ApplH, is available (see (3)). Contrary to this prediction, however, I show that passivization is not always possible with the direct object of idioms. I propose that this is because a phase head may be a part of idiomatic expressions.[1]

The theoretical contribution of this paper is that it provides novel empirical support to a cyclic domain of semantic interpretation, i.e., phase, ApplH, like Voice, constitutes a phase head. This paper also shows that a phasal head such as ApplH or Voice can be included in idiomatic interpretations, which has consequences for passivization.

This paper is organized as follows. Section 2 is a brief introduction of ApplH and ApplL in Pylkkkänen (2008) and McGinnis (2001). Section 3 and 4 show that the phasal difference between ApplH and ApplL has consequences for idiomatic interpretation by providing evidence from the DOC and the PD in Korean and

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[1] A similar idea has been suggested by Stone (2009) for English transitives, which is discussed in section 6.3.

Japanese. In particular, it is argued that the specifier of ApplH is excluded from idiomatic interpretation, but the specifier of ApplL (or ApplLP) is not. An additional consequence emerging from the proposed analysis is that the PP that merges under VP can be included in idiomatic expressions, as will be shown with PD. Section 5 discusses how the proposed analysis can be extended to the cross-linguistic distribution of idioms. Section 6 presents how the proposed phase-based account of idioms interacts with an A-movement such as passivization. This section also discusses passivization of the direct object in idioms of simple transitives in Korean and Japanese, and provides potential evidence that Voice in simple transitives may constitute a part of the idiomatic meaning as ApplH does. Section 7 concludes the paper.

2. Introduction to ApplH and ApplL

Pylkkänen (2008) proposed that applicatives can be classified into two different types, as illustrated in (4). ApplH merges external to VP (4a), while ApplL merges internal to VP (4b) These structures are proposed for applicatives, possessor raising, and DOC in a number of languages.

(4) a.   ApplHP
        DP   ApplH'
                ApplH   **VP**

b.   **VP**
        V   ApplLP
             ApplL   DP
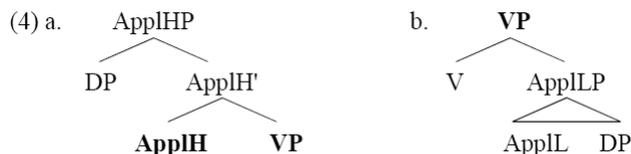
ApplH is similar to Voice in that it relates its argument to an event VP, but different from Voice in that it introduces a non-agentive external argument (e.g., Kim, K. 2011). As such, it merges *above* VP. On the other hand, ApplLP merges *below* VP, as illustrated in (4b); thus, a DP in ApplLP is not an external argument to VP, unlike a DP in the specifier of ApplHP. I argue that this difference (i.e., being phasal or not, as discussed below) affects whether a DP in the specifier of Appl can be included in idiomatic interpretations.[2]

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2   In Pylkkänen (2008), unlike ApplH which relates an entity to an event, ApplL is proposed to

In McGinnis (2001), it is argued that these two applicative structures can be classified in terms of phase. ApplH constitutes a phase head, but ApplL does not. She discusses a number of consequences of a phasal distinction between ApplH and ApplL. Among these, a relevant consequence to this paper is A-movement such as passivization. In Chomsky (2000), it is proposed that movement operations can target a phasal head and its edge (i.e., a specifier), once a phase is complete. However, in some cases, an EPP feature can be added to a phase before a phase is complete, which enables its complement in the domain to move to its edge.

If so, ApplH, being phasal, can bear an EPP feature allowing its complement such as DO in its domain to move to its edge, as illustrated in (5).

(5)   ApplHP
  DO   Appl'
                              Domain
      ApplH   VP
      [EPP]
              V   <DO>
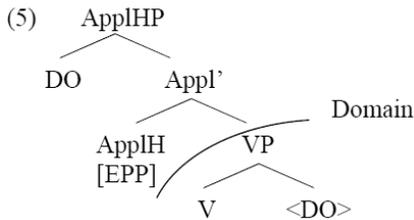
A DO in VP complement of ApplH could move through the specifier of ApplH (i.e., edge) to check phase-EPP feature. However, being a non-phasal head, ApplL such as in (4b) is not likely to have this option. That is, a DP in ApplLP as in (4b) would not be able to undergo A-movement.[3] In section 6, I discuss to what extent the passivization of idioms conform to the prediction about phase heads, ApplH and Voice. I show that in some cases ApplH or Voice is part of an idiomatic meaning, which is a source of ungrammaticality of passivization of those idioms.

Following the previous studies (e.g., Pylkkänen 2002, 2008, Cuervo 2003, Harley 2009, Kim, K. 2011, Harley 2012), I assume that ApplH or Voice is an argument introducer, and *v* is a verbalizing head projected above a root.[4] In the tree structures

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indicate a relation between an entity and another entity. I leave how this difference would affect idiomatic interpretations for future research.

3   As mentioned in McGinnis (2001), not every ApplL follows this prediction. Furthermore, as shown in Peterson (2007), not all applicatives behave similarly across languages. In this paper, I assume that a DOC in Korean or Japanese that involves ApplH (see section 3 and 4) follows the predicted differences in A-movement.

4   Moreover, ApplH or ApplL is not the same type of head such as Asp(ect)P, which is relevant to

presented in this paper, *v* is omitted, as it is not relevant to the core discussion of the paper, and *v*P is presented as VP.

3. Idiomatic expressions in Korean ditransitives

This section discusses ditransitives in Korean. The distribution of idioms in ditransitives suggests that ApplH may be a structural boundary restricting idiomatic interpretations, but a PP that merges under VP (i.e., domain) is not. By casting these consequences into the context of phase, this section argues that a boundary that limits idiomatic interpretations can be a phasal head such as ApplH.

3.1 Idioms and ditransitives

Korean has several ditransitive verbs, and they can form either DOC or PD. A distinction between these two constructions can be made by a morphological difference on the goal argument (e.g., Jung and Miyagawa 2004). For instance, in (6), a ditransitive verb *cwu-* 'give' appears. The sentence in (6a) is a DOC, as the goal *Inho* is marked with accusative case *-lul*. By contrast, the sentence in (6b) is a PD, as the same goal as in (6a) is marked with dative marking *-eykey*. The pair in (6c) and (6d) shows the same difference in case marking with respect to the goal argument.

(6) a. Swuni-ka   Inho-**lul**   chayk-ul   cwu-ess-ta   DOC
       Suni-nom   Inho-acc book-acc   give-past-dec
       'Suni gave Inho the book.'

   b. Swuni-ka   Inho-**eykey** chayk-ul   cwu-ess-ta   PD
       Suni-nom   Inho-dat   book-acc   give-past-dec
       'Suni gave the book to Inho.'

   c. Swuni-ka   haksayngtul-lul hankwuke-lul kaluchi-ess-ta.   DOC
       Suni- nom students- acc   Korean- acc   teach- past-dec
       'Suni taught the students Korean.'

_____

aspectual distinction.

     d. Swuni-ka   haksayngtul-eykey hankwuke-lul kaluchi-ess-ta.   PD
       Suni- nom students-dat   Korean- acc   teach-past-dec
       'Suni taught Korean to the students.'

There are two different views on ditransitives in the literature. One is an asymmetrical approach in which the complements of each clause involve a different structure (Bruening 2010, Kim, L. 2015). The other is a symmetrical approach (Harley 2002) in which the complements of each clause involves similar structure. I assume the asymmetrical approach to the structures of DOC and PD, as illustrated in (7).[5]
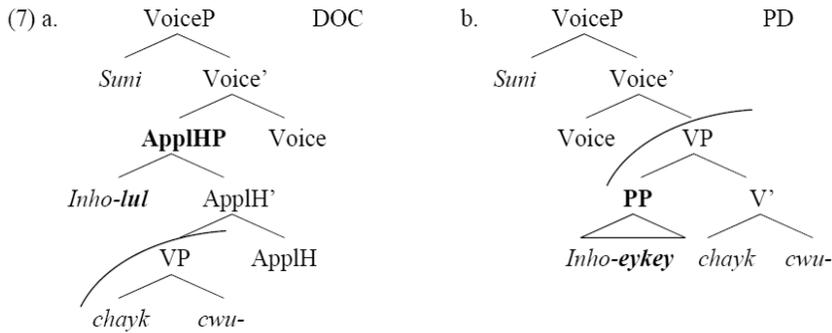
DOC (7a) has ApplHP as a complement where an accusative-marked goal (*Inho-lul*) merges in its specifier. On the other hand, PD (7b) has a VP complement, and a dative- marked goal (*Inho-eykey*) merges under the VP. In particular, the dative goal appears as a PP in the VP. In the structures of DOC and PD as in (7), a structural difference between the two morphologically different goal arguments is that the accusative marked goal in DOC appears outside of VP but the dative marked one in PD appears inside VP.

   Interestingly, idioms in DOC and PD have been observed to have different distributions (Hong 1998, Kim, L. 2015). In DOC, for instance, the accusative goal never belongs to an idiomatic expression, as illustrated in (8a) (reported in Kim, L. (2015)), and in (8b) from the Korean Idiom Dictionary distributed by *The National Institute of the Korean language* (idiomatic parts are in square brackets).[6]

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5   See Bruening (2010) and Kim, L. (2015) for evidence for these structures in (7). For the purpose of this paper, I do not replicate the evidence.

(8) IOacc [DOacc- V] ✓

  a. sensayngnim-un   aitul-ul   [chim-ul   noh]-ass-ta.

     teacher- topic   kids- acc needle- acc   put.onto- past-dec

     'The teacher warned the kids (to be quiet).' (Kim, L. 2015)

  b. nwuna-un   (sopung   kacako maku)   tongsayng-lul

     elder sister-topic picnic   go   a lot   brother-acc

     [palam-ul neh]-ess-ta

     wind-acc   put.into-past-dec

     'The elder sister instigated her brother to go on a picnic.'

For instance, the idiom in (8b) consists of the accusative theme 'wind' and the verb 'put into' meaning 'instigate'.[7] Importantly, the accusative goal 'brother' does not belong to the idiomatic meaning, which has been found to be a regular pattern in the language. Put differently, in Korean, idioms that include an accusative goal are absent, as shown in (9a) and (9b). The patterns of idioms as in (9) do not exist. They are well formed when accusative case on the goal is dative marked (see (12)), as will be discussed shortly. The contrast between existing idioms in (8) and non-existing idioms in (9) indicates that an accusative goal is excluded from idiomatic expressions.

(9) a. [IOacc DOacc-V] ✗

    *Swuni-ka   [VP [kasum-lul] [kal-lul   pum]]-ess-ta.

    Suni-nom   chest-acc   knife-acc bear-past-dec

    Intended meaning: 'Suni cherished resentment.'

  b. [IOacc] DOacc [V] ✗

    *Swuni-ka   [maum-lul] ku il-ul   [V twu]-ess-ta

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6   Idioms provided in this paper without citation are from the Korean Idiom Dictionary distributed by *The National Institute of the Korean language*.

7   A reviewer suggested that the grammaticality of the idiom in (8b) may depend on whether an accusative goal is human or not, as the idiom is ungrammatical with an animal (e.g., *tokki* 'rabbit') or an inanimate (e.g., *pungseon* 'balloon') goal. Although it is not clear to me how these facts should be accounted for, these facts do not undermine what has been proposed in this paper. Regardless of grammaticality, the goals do not belong to the idiomatic interpretation, as proposed in this paper.

Suni-nom   mind-acc   that accident-acc   put-past-dec

Intended meaning: 'Suni has not forgotten that accident.'

Moreover, the exclusion of an accusative goal from the idiomatic interpretation is also observed with some morphological causative verbs that are proposed to be ditransitives in the language (Jung and Miyagawa 2004). Jung and Miyagawa (2004) argue that morphological causative verbs such as *mek-i* 'feed' or *mwul-li* 'suckle' belong to ditransitives, as they show similar semantic and syntactic distributions; for example, those verbs show the same case alternation as the ditransitives in (6). This is exemplified in (10): the causee 'Mary' can be either accusative (10a) or dative (10b) marked. Jung and Miyagawa (2004) further argued that such morphological causatives have the same structure as that of ditransitives, and I assume that those morphological causatives with different case-marked causees as in (10a) and (10b) have the structure DOC (7a) and PD (7b) respectively.

(10)   a. John-i   Mary-lul   pica-lul   mek-i-ess-ta.

            John-nom   Mary-acc   pizza-acc eat-caus-pst-dec

            'John caused Mary to eat pizza.'

        b. John-i   Mary- eykey pica-lul   mek-i-ess-ta.

            John-nom   Mary-dat   pizza-acc   eat-caus-pst-dec

            'John caused Mary to eat pizza.'

(Jung and Miyagawa 2004)

Interestingly, an idiom with this type of causative verb also excludes an accusative goal from its idiomatic interpretation, as illustrated in (11).[8] In (11), the idiom 'bribe' consists of the theme *ton* 'money' and the verb *mek-* 'eat'. Data such as (11) provide further support for the observed generalization on the distribution of idioms that an accusative goal tends not to belong to idiomatic expressions.

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8   Like an accusative goal, a dative goal in a sentence like (10b) is also excluded from idiomatic interpretations. This type of neutralization has been well observed cross-linguistically. I assume that this is because of an animacy or more specifically a humanness (as in Horvath and Siloni to appear) restriction on idiomatic expressions (e.g., Marantz 1984, Kiparsky 1987, Nunberg, Sag, and Wasow 1994). These studies suggest that an animate or human noun does not belong to an idiomatic expression, because cognitively it is perceived as being concrete, as opposed to idioms, whose nature is abstract. Importantly, this view does not contradict with the current proposal, as the animate/humanness restriction is suggested to stem from human cognition, independent from the narrow syntax.

(11)   John-i   Mary-lul   ton-lul   mek-i-ess-ta.
       John-nom   Mary-acc   ton-acc   eat-caus-pst-dec
       'John bribed Mary.' (Lit. 'John caused Mary to eat money.')

By contrast, dative goal PPs can be a part of idiomatic expressions as shown in (12). In (12a), the idiom 'cherished resentment' consists of the PP 'on chest' and VP 'bear knife', and in (12b) the idiom 'have not forget (something/someone)'consists of the PP 'in the mind' and V 'put'.

(12)   a. [PP   DO-V]   ✓
          Swuni-ka   [VP [PP kasum-ey]   [kal-lul   pum]]-ess-ta.
          Suni-nom   chest-p   knife-acc   bear-past-dec
          'Suni cherished resentment.'
       b. [PP] DO [V]✓
          Swuni-ka   [PP maum-ey]   ku   il-ul   [V   twu]-ess-ta
          Suni-nom   mind-p   that   accident-acc   put-past-dec
          'Suni has not forgotten that accident.'

The structural position of differently case-marked goal arguments correlates with the capability of the argument to participate in idiomatic expressions. When a goal appears outside of VP and is accusative marked, e.g., the specifier of ApplH as in DOC (see (7a)), it cannot be part of an idiomatic expression. On the other hand, it can belong to an idiomatic expression when it appears inside VP and is dative marked. Assuming phasal status of ApplH as discussed in section 2, the contrast between the accusative and dative goals of DOC and PD including morphological causative constructions with respect to idiomatic expressions suggests that a phase head ApplH delimits the boundary of idiomatic expressions, but a non-phase head, a P that appears in the domain (i.e., VP), does not. Thus, the generalization on idiomatic interpretations observed in literature can be captured by the phasal approach proposed in this paper. In the next section, I argue for a similar proposal for Japanese ditransitives that phasal boundaries can account for the restrictions on idiomatic expressions.

4. Idioms in Japanese ditransitives

Unlike Korean, Japanese DOC and PD do not show case distinctions on the goals in DOC. Both are marked by the *-ni* dative, as shown in (13). In both examples in (13), a *ni*-marked DP 'Hanako' is a goal and the accusative marked DP is a theme. *Ni*-marked goals in ditransitives can be distinguished by whether *-ni* can be alternated with a postposition *-e* (Miyagawa and Tsujioka 2004).

(13) a. Taroo-ga   Hanako-ni/??-e okasi-o   atae-ta.   DOC
           Taro-nom   Hanako-dat/p   sweets-acc send-past
           'Taro gave Hanako sweets.'
       b. Taroo-ga   Hanako-ni/-e   nimotu-o   okutta.   PD
           Taro-nom   Hanako-dat/p   package-acc sent
           'Taro sent a package to Hanako.'

In DOC (13a), the *-ni* marked goal 'Hanako' cannot be alternated with the postposition *-e*, while in PD (13b), the *-ni* marked goal can be alternated with *-e*. As established in previous studies on Japanese ditransitives (e.g., Miyagawa and Tsujioka 2004), I refer to *-ni* dative DPs in DOC as possessor DPs and to *-ni* marked goal PPs in PD as locative PPs. In recent studies (Miyagawa and Tsujioka 2004, Kishimoto 2008), *-ni* possessors are shown to merge as the specifier of an applicative phrase *above* VP, whereas *-ni* locative PPs merge in the VP, *below* the applicative phrase. As I distinguish ApplH and ApplL (see (4)), this amounts to saying that *-ni* possessors merge in the specifier of ApplH while *-ni* locative PPs merge under VP (see (14)).

Building on the observations made in literature, I show that in Japanese, like in Korean, the phase head, ApplH, restricts the domain of idiomatic interpretation, while ApplL and P that merge in the VP domain do not. The overall distribution of idioms in Japanese that will be discussed in this section is presented in (14).[9]

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9 A similar division shown in (14) is provided in Kishimoto (2008), but it is not implemented in terms of phase as in this paper.

(14)   Idioms in Japanese ditransitive

```
                              ApplHP
Non-idiomatic   ──▶   DP-ni        Appl'
(possessor)
                         VP      Appl
                                         ◀── a phase boundary for idiomatic expressions
Idiomatic      ──▶   PP-ni      V'
(locative)
                            DP-o     V'

                    ApplLP          V

Idiomatic     ──▶   DP-ni   ApplL
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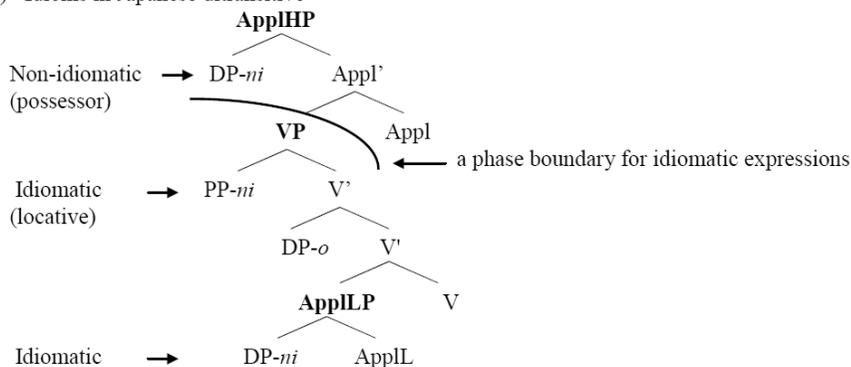
Given the analysis in which a DOC projects ApplHP in its complement, but a PD does not project ApplHP, it is predicted that possessor DPs do not belong to idiomatic expressions, as they merge in the specifier of a phase phrase, ApplHP (14). In contrast, other materials that merge in the domain, i.e., VP, can belong to the idiomatic expressions, e.g., locative PP in (13b). This is also borne out by the data in Japanese. It has been observed that -*ni* marked possessors do not belong to idioms (Miyagawa and Tsujioka 2004, Kishimoto 2008), as predicted by the current proposal. However, -*ni* marked PPs that merge below VP are observed to belong to idiomatic expressions. Consider the examples in (15) where idiomatic expressions consist of PPs and VP.

(15)   a. kokyoo-ni/-e   nisiki-o   kazar-u
          hometown-dat/-p   silk-acc   decorate-pres
          'return in glory'
       b. kayui   tokoro-ni/-e   te-ga   todok-u
          itchy   place-dat/-p   hand-nom   reach-pres
          'give a timely service.'   (Miyagawa and Tsujioka 2004)

In (15), the -*ni* marked argument is a PP as the grammaticality of the postposition -*e* on the PP shows. This PP is a part of the idiom 'return in glory.' The idiomatic meaning is not affected by the alternation of -*e*. Furthermore, interestingly, a dative DP, which is neither a possessor nor a locative PP, can be a part of idiomatic expressions, as shown in (16) (Kishimoto 2008).

(16) a. omotta   koto-o   [kuti-ni/*-e   das]-u
          thought   thing-acc   mouth-dat/-to let.out-pres
          'Say what's on his mind.'
      b. sainoo-o   [hana-ni/*-e   kake]-ru
          talent-acc   nose-dat/-to   hang-pres
          'Boast of a talent.'   (Kishimoto 2008)

As illustrated in (16), the *-ni* marked arguments are DPs, rather than PPs, as the ungrammaticality of the postposition *-e* on them suggests. However, they do not merge in the specifier of ApplH like a *-ni* possessor, but in the VP domain (Miyagawa and Tsujioka 2004, Kishimoto 2008, Tsujioka 2011).

   Specifically, Kishimoto (2008) argues that they appear in the specifier of an applicative phrase *below* VP as shown in (14): this *-ni* DP merges below a locative PP that appears below VP. [10] Evidence for this claim comes from the differences in nominalization of the idiomatic *-ni* DPs and non-idiomatic *-ni* DPs (i.e., possessors in the specifier of ApplHP) above VP. In a nominalization, each DP has a different morphological marking that suggests that the *-ni* possessor merges above VP but an idiomatic *-ni* DP merges in a phrase below VP, called ApplP which is suggested by Kishimoto (2008). To illustrate, consider the examples in (17). The sentence in (17a) is a DOC, as the ungrammaticality of *-e* marking on the goal 'Hanako' suggests, and the goal is non-idiomatic. The sentence in (17b) shows the nominalization of DOC (17a). In this case, a nominal marking *-e-no* (*e* gen) is required on the non-idiomatic goal, and a verbal marking *-ni* (dat) is ungrammatical.

(17) a. Taroo-ga   Hanako-ni/??-e   hon-o   atae-ta.   DOC
          Taro-nom   Hanako-dat/-p   book-acc give-past
          'Taro gave Hanako a book.'
      b. Hanako-**e-no**/?*-ni   hon-no   atae-niku-sa
          Hanako-p-gen/-dat   book-gen give-difficult-nl
          'The difficulty of giving a book to Hanako'

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10 Tsujioka (2011) argues that a wider range of data from idioms in nominalizations support the analysis of Miyagawa and Tsujioka (2004), rather than Kishimoto (2008): idiomatic DP in VP vs. below VP (i.e., ApplL). In other words, the *ni* marked argument in idioms (16) belong to a goal PP like in (15) rather than to a goal DP as argued in Kishimoto (2008). The difference does not affect the proposed analysis, as both goals, PP and DP, appear in the VP domain.

In contrast, the nominalization of idiomatic DPs require a different marking from the nominalization of non-idiomatic DPs shown in (17b). Consider the examples of idiomatic DPs in (16) that are argued to merge below VP in Kishimoto (2008). As shown in (18), when these idiomatic DPs are nominalized, they are required to have a verbal marking, *-ni*: *kuti* 'mouth' (18a) and *hana* 'nose' in (18b) are marked with *-ni*. The nominal marking *-e no* is ungrammatical, unlike in the nominalization of the non-idiomatic DPs in (17).

(18) a. omotta   koto-no   kuti-**ni**/*-e-no   dasi-niku-sa
          thought   thing-gen   mouth-dat/-p-gen   let.out-difficult-nl
          'the difficulty to say what's on his mind'
      b. zibun-no sainoo-no   hana-**ni**/*-e-no   kake-yasu-sa
          self-gen talent-gen   nose-dat/-p-gen   hang-easy-nl
          'The easiness to boast of his own talent'

To summarize the observed pattern on the nominalization, the *ni*-possessors (non-idiomatic ones) that merge above VP have nominal *e-no* marking, which is assumed to be assigned by a local c-commanding head, i.e., a nominalizer [*niku* or *yasu*]-*sa*. This is schematically shown by a dashed arrow in (19). As for the *-ni* marked non-possessor DPs (idiomatic ones), they have a verbal marking *-ni* (dat) in nominalization as the closest c-commanding head is V, as indicated by a solid arrow in (19).

(19) [DP-*e-no*... [ᵥₚ [ₐₚₚₗₚ DP-*ni*   Appl] V] -*niku*/*yasu-sa*]

```
----→       nominal  marking
———→        verbal  marking
```

In accordance with my assumptions about Appl (see (4a) vs. (4b)), the ApplP below VP proposed in Kishimoto (2008) is Appl**L**P. In other words, idiomatic *-ni* DPs appear in ApplLP, in the domain of a phase, which is exactly what we would expect based on the proposed analysis of this paper (see section 1 and 2). The pattern of DPs in the nominalization embedded in the current assumption on two structurally different Appls is summarized in Table 1.

Table 1. Summary on nominalization under the two structurally different Appl assumptions

DP in nominalization	ApplH	ApplL
-*e no* (gen) marked	✓	✗
-*ni* (dat) marked	✗	✓
Idiomatic?	✗	✓

The different nominal markings on the DPs suggest their relatively different positions with respect to VP. Importantly, the nominalization pattern supports the proposed account that non-idiomatic DPs appear above VP, namely in the specifier of ApplH, and that idiomatic DPs appear below VP, namely in the ApplL. Thus, the distribution of idioms in Japanese ditransitives is also captured by the phasal account proposed in this paper.

   Data from both Korean and Japanese confirm that the phase head ApplH can be a boundary that delimits idiomatic expressions, but the elements in the domain of the phase cannot. Rather, they can easily belong to an idiomatic expression; for instance, PP or ApplL in both Korean and Japanese are parts of the domain of the phase.

5. Idioms in other languages

In this section, I discuss how the proposed phase based account for idioms can be extended to other languages. I show how the proposed analysis fares better than an existing approach to idiomatic interpretations in English (Bruening 2010), and provide consequences of the proposed account for some cross-linguistics patterns of idioms.

5.1 Phases and idioms in English ditransitives

I show that phase may provide a better account for the distribution of idioms in English ditransitives than idiom-as-selection in Bruening (2010). Bruening (2010) classified English ditransives into four types as illustrated in (20) (idiomatic parts are in bold, X in brackets is a variant): Class I belongs to DOC, Class II and III to PD, and Class IV does not exist. I show that the distribution of idioms shown in (20) is in parallel to those of Korean and Japanese.

(20) a. Class I: **Verb** NP **NP** (*give X the creeps*)
      b. Class II: **Verb NP** to NP (*give rise to X*)
      c. Class III: **Verb** NP **to NP** (*send X to the showers*)
      d. Class IV: **V NP** NP (nonexistent; ***give the wolves*** X)

                                        (Bruening 2010)

Bruening (2010) proposed the principle of idiomatic interpretation as presented in (21). In order for two syntactic constituents, X and Y, to form an idiom, one must select the other.

(21) *The Principle of Idiomatic Interpretation*
      X and Y may be interpreted idiomatically only if X selects Y.
      (Bruening 2010)

Selection with respect to idiomatic interpretations in (21) is the same principle that governs general interpretation and composition. In other words, it is via selection that two elements combine together and are interpreted contextually. In addition to the principle in (21), the following constraints are proposed to hold:

(22) *Constraint on Idiomatic Interpretation*
      If X selects a lexical category Y, and X and Y are interpreted
      idiomatically, all of the
      selected arguments of Y must be interpreted as part of the idiom that
      includes X and Y.

(23) Lexical categories are V, N, A, and Adv.   (Bruening 2010)

Let us look at the examples in (24) in order to see how the principle in (21) and constraints in (22)-(23) can account for idiomatic interpretations in English. The idioms in (24) consist of a verb and a direct object. In accordance with the principle in (21), the verbs in (24) select direct objects, and together they can be interpreted idiomatically.

(24)   a. pull strings
   b. kick the habit
   c. kick the bucket
   d. take a powder

Now consider verb-theme idioms in English ditransitives. In what follows, I discuss how idiom-as-selection accounts for existing idiomatic expressions in Class I (20a) and non-existing idiomatic expressions in Class IV (20d), both of which involve ApplH. The other two classes will be discussed shortly. Idioms belonging to Class I are exemplified in (25). These idioms are proposed to have ApplHP as illustrated in (26) (Bruening 2010).

(25)   a. give NP the boot.
   b. give NP the sack.
   c. give NP the creeps.

(26)   [$_{ApplHP}$ NP   [$_{ApplH'}$ [**ApplH**   [$_{VP}$ **V theme**]]]] Class I (Bruneing 2010)

In (25), according to Bruening (2010), ApplH selects V ('give') and V selects the theme. Thus, by the constraints in (22)-(23), ApplH and V are interpreted idiomatically and all of the selected arguments of V (i.e., the theme) belong to the idiomatic interpretation.

 Class IV as in (20d) has the same ApplH structure as shown in (27). The difference from Class I (26) is that Class IV does not include a theme as idiomatic expressions but includes a specifier of ApplH: idioms of this class consist of ApplH, the specifier of ApplH, and the verb excluding the theme. However, in English, this type of idiom does not exist. As shown in Bruening (2010), they would be illustrated as in (28) if they were possible.

(27)   [$_{ApplHP}$ **NP** [$_{ApplH'}$ [**ApplH**   [$_{VP}$ [**V**] theme]]]] Class IV

(28)   a. *give the wolves NP
   b. *send the devil NP
   c. *throw the lions NP   (Bruening 2010)

In these non-existing idioms, ApplH selects its specifier (NP) and V, and thus the three can be interpreted as idioms via (21)-(23). However, V is a lexical category selected by ApplH, and thus by (22) the selected argument of V, the theme, must be included in the idiomatic expression, contrary to the fact. Thus, idiom-as-selection (21)-(23) can account for non-existing idioms as in Class IV type.

However, what is missing in idiom-as-selection is a principled account of when to include the specifiers of ApplH and when not to. In the explanation of the idioms in (25), the specifiers of ApplH — the NPs in (25) — are excluded from the idiomatic interpretations. It is not clear why the specifier of ApplH is excluded from idiomatic expressions, given that they are also *selected* by ApplH. In contrast, in the explanation of the non-existing idioms in (28), the ApplH *do* select its specifier and it is included in idiomatic expressions. The non-existence was because the theme of V is not included in the idioms, violating the constraint in (22). Thus, a puzzle is why ApplH selects its specifier in one case (26), but not in the other (27). It seems that the idiom-as-selection approach does not rule out the specifiers of functional heads in a principled manner, and they can be included in the idioms in unpredictable ways.

As an alternative, as I argued for Korean and Japanese, I propose an account in terms of phases: the phase-based account could capture the distribution of idioms in English ditransitives. Surprisingly, the distribution shown in (20) is parallel to those of Korean and Japanese discussed in the previous sections. Embedding the distribution of English ditransitive idioms (Class I-IV in (20)) into the current proposal, they are expressed schematically as in (29). Class I and IV in (29a) are DOCs that have ApplHP as a complement. Class II and III in (29b) are PDs that have a VP complement that embeds a PP.

(29) a.   ApplHP   Class I and IV   b.   VP   Class II and III
          /   \   /   \
        NP   ApplH'   **NP**   V'
              /   \   /   \
          ApplH   **VP**   **V**   PP
                   /   \   *give*   /   \
                  V   theme   **P**   **NP**
                give   *to*
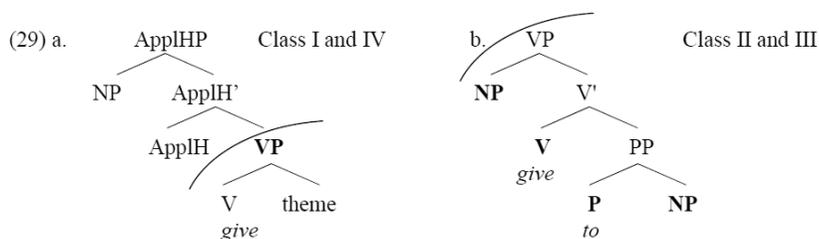
Like Korean and Japanese, in English, the specifier of ApplH is excluded from an idiomatic expression (29a), as it lies outside the domain of a phasal boundary, ApplH. This captures the existing idioms in (25) and rules out the non-existing idioms in (28). A PP as in Class III (29b) can be included in the idiomatic expressions, as predicted by the proposed phase-oriented account: as shown in (29b), PP appears in the VP domain under a phasal boundary. Therefore, it can belong to idiomatic expressions (Class III). Class II (29b) is also predicted, as the idiomatic parts consist of a verb and its object that appear in the domain of the VP phases. Thus, the distribution of idioms in English ditransitives can be accounted for by the phase-based approach proposed in this paper.[11]

5.2 Cross-linguistic distribution of idioms

The core of the proposed analysis is that a phase head such as ApplH can be a boundary for the idiomatic interpretations, but the elements, PP or ApplLP, inside the VP domain cannot, as those elements can easily belong to idiomatic interpretations (see (3)).[12] This view is schematically represented in (30).[13]

(30)

XP
DP   X'
X   VP — a boundary for idiomatic interpretation
... V ...
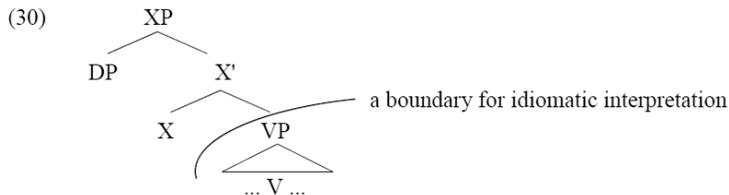
where X (potentially) can be a phase head

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[11] One can argue that some idioms in English may suggest that the specifier of ApplHP should be included for idiomatic interpretation; e.g., *give the devil his due.* Regarding this example, Bruening (2010) concludes that this idiom is *give X X's due*, where *the devil* does not belong to the idiom. This conclusion is based on the grammaticality of *You've got to give him his due* without *him* referring to the devil. I assume this conclusion.

[12] It is questionable whether other phase heads such as C or Voice can be a boundary for idiomatic interpretations. As shown in section 6, Voice appears to be so. As for C, I leave it for future research.

[13] The account in terms of phase proposed in this paper also captures the lack of a fixed recipient idiom in English and Korean/Japanese (Rappaport Hovav and Levin 2008, Levin 2010). Such recipients are always merged in the specifier of ApplH, and thus are expected to be excluded from idioms.

The pattern in (30) seems to appear in other languages, although whether X can be a phase head in those languages is not clear. I discuss idioms in Hebrew and Slavic languages, which show a similar boundary of idiomatic expressions as that argued in this paper. In addition, I show that idioms in simple transitives in Korean and Japanese behave in the same way as presented in (30).

In Hebrew, idioms in ditransitives appear to show a very similar pattern to those of Korean, Japanese, and English. In Hebrew, PD and DOC are not distinguished by the absence or presence of adpositions, but they are distinguished by a difference in word order. This is illustrated in (31).

(31) a. dani   natan   **perax**   **le-rina**   (theme-goal order)   PD
        Dani   gave   flower   to Rina
        'Dani gave a flower to Rina.'
     b. dani   natan   **le-rina**   **perax**   (goal-theme order)   DOC
        Dani   gave   to Rina   flower
        'Dani gave Rina a flower.'   (Yael and Siloni 2014)

In both PD (31a) and DOC (31b), the goal 'Rina' is marked by the preposition *le-*, but the goal in the different types of clauses appears in a different position with respect to the theme. The goal 'Rina' is preceded by the theme *perax* 'flower' in PD (31a), but it is followed by the theme in DOC (31b). Despite of the presence of the preposition in both PD and DOC, research into the distribution of idioms in PD and DOC in Hebrew (e.g., Yael and Siloni 2014) shows that the difference in word order between PD and DOC is related to idiomatic interpretation. To illustrate, consider the following Hebrew examples (32-33).

(32) a. hexzir   **atara**   **le-yošna**
        returned   crown   to-oldness
        'restored something to its previous good quality or condition.'
     b. *hexzir   **le-yošna**   **atara**
        returned   to oldness   crown

(33) a. hikdim   **trufa**   **la-**   **maka**
        preceded   medicine   to+the injury

'took preventive steps against expected trouble'

   b. *hikdim   **la-**   **maka**   **trufa**
      preceded   to+the   injury   medicine

The idioms in (32-33) consist of a theme, a goal and a verb. Importantly, they are found only in the order of theme-goal, which belongs to a PD, as illustrated in (a) examples. The idiomatic meaning is lost if there is a change in the order from theme-goal (PD) to goal-theme (DOC) as shown in (b) examples. In other words, a DOC in Hebrew does not allow an idiom that includes a goal as demonstrated by the (b) examples, which is similar to the languages discussed earlier. In Korean, Japanese, and English DOC, the goal is always excluded from an idiomatic expression.

Hebrew also shows idioms that are made up of a PP goal and V excluding a theme, as illustrated in PD (34a): the goal 'to the picture' and V 'put into/let in' form an idiom. An idiom consisting of a theme and V excluding a goal also exists, as shown in DOC (35a): verb 'gave' and the theme 'crumbs' make up an idiom. The observation made in (34a) and (35a) suggests that the language allows idioms that consist of materials inside VP (e.g., a theme and V), and excludes goals that appear outside VP from idiomatic expressions.

(34) a. netanyahu **hixnis**   šney sarim **la-**   **tmuna** PD
          Netanyahu put into/let in two   ministers to+the   picture
          'Netanyahu brought two ministers into the matter.'

      b. # netanyahu **hixnis**   **la-** **tmuna** šney   sarim DOC
          Netanyahu put into/let+in   to+the picture two   ministers

(35) a. netanyahu **natan** la-   moxim   **perurim**   DOC
          Netanyahu gave   to+the protesters   crumbs
          'Netanyahu deprived the protesters'

      b. netanyahu **natan perurim** la-   moxim   PD
          Netanyahu gave   crumbs   to+the protesters

This is further corroborated by the word order restriction with respect to idioms. The idiom consisting of the PP goal and V in PD (34a) has a fixed word order

disallowing the idiomatic meaning when the PP goal appears before the theme as in (34b). The consequence of the change in word order is that PD in (34a) becomes a DOC in (34b), which suggests that the goal appears outside VP in (34b). Thus, in (34b), having the goal, a material outside of VP, as a part of the idiomatic expression results in ungrammaticality. A similar pattern has been observed with goals in Korean, Japanese and English DOC (see section 3-5). Regarding the theme-V idiom in DOC (35a), it does not involve the goal in its idiomatic meaning. Thus, a word order difference is predicted not to affect the idiomatic interpretation, as is borne out by the data in (35b). The sentence in (35b) is now PD, as the theme 'crumbs' precedes the goal, 'to the protesters'. The sentence in (35b) is grammatical because the idiom in (35b) is a phrase consisting of the verb and the theme that appears in the domain of VP, as predicted by the account proposed in this paper (see (30)). Thus, the Hebrew case discussed in this section points out a similar dichotomy that cuts across VP with respect to idiomatic interpretations.

Slavic languages also show similar restrictions on idiomatic expressions. Although the relevant clauses are not DOC or PD, Slavic shows that there must be a boundary that cuts across VP as proposed in (30). The presence of the boundary is evidenced by two types of prefixes, lexical and superlexical, that are largely prepositional elements (see Svenonuis 2004 and references therein).[14] Examples of lexical and superlexical prefixes are illustrated with Russian *za-* in (36).

(36) a. Helder **za**-brosil mjač v   vorota angličan.
        Helder   into-threw ball in   goal   English
        'Helder kicked the ball into the English goal.'
     b. Ricardo nervno   **za**-brosal   mjač.
        Ricardo nervously incp-threw ball
        'Ricardo began to nervously throw the ball.'

The sentence in (36a) shows its use as a lexical prefix, and its meaning is *into,* while the sentence in (36b) shows its use as a superlexical prefix. In this use, the prefix has an aspectual meaning, *begin to*, thus the verbal complex has a meaning of 'starting throw'. Putting aside their other properties (see Svenonius 2004 for detail

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14 Preopositions in idioms in Blackfoot (an Algonquian language) also have been shown to behave in a similar way (Kim, K. 2014).

s)[15], lexical prefixes easily form idiomatic expressions. For instance, the prefix *za-* as a lexical prefix in (36a) can be used idiomatically as presented in (37a). This idiomatic use of a lexical prefix is productive, as illustrated in (37b-f) with more Russian lexical prefixes.

(37) a. David sovsem   **za-**brosil   futbol.
       David completely into-threw   soccer
       'David completely gave up soccer'
   b. vy-dumatj
      out-think
      'invent'; cf. English *think up*
   c. raz-jestj
      around-eat
      'corrode'; cf. English *eat away*
   d. vo-plotitj
      in-flesh
      'realize (e.g., a plan)'; cf. English *flesh out*
   e. is-korenitj
      out.of-root
      'root out (e.g., evil)'; cf. English *root out*
   f. pod-pisatj
      under-write
      'sign'; cf. Norwegian skrive under "write under" = 'sign'

On the other hand, it is rare that superlexical prefixes form idiomatic expressions (Svenonius 2004). The typical meanings of superlexical prefixes are transparent, as shown in (38).

(38) a. pere-kidatj dstr-throw 'throw one by one'
   b. pere-kusatj dstr-bite   'bite one by one'
   c. pere-bitj   dstr-beat   'beat one by one'

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15 I do not provide an analysis of the Slavic prefixes, which is beyond the scope of this paper.

Svenonius (2004) proposed that lexical prefixes appear inside VP, while superlexical prefixes appear outside VP, and this can capture their distribution with respect to idioms, as Marantz (1984) proposed. An interesting aspect of this proposal is that the division along the VP with respect to idioms is in parallel to those of Korean, Japanese, English, and Hebrew. That is, in all these languages, elements inside VP tend to belong to idioms, while the elements outside the VP may not.

   The patterns of idiomatic interpretations examined in various languages discussed in this paper indicate that this is not a coincidence, but strikingly regular and general cross-linguistically. Moreover, the proposal of Harley and Stone (2013) mentioned in section 1 can be subsumed under this generalization, which is pointed out by the authors. An agent introduced by a head above VP, namely Voice, tends to be excluded from idiomatic expressions, but a verb and an object inside VP tend to belong to idiomatic expressions. In fact, this tendency is also true in Korean and Japanese. For instance, in Korean, there are many idioms formed with a verb and an object without an agent (39), but, as observed by many others, e.g., Ko (2005; see references therein), it is rare to find idioms consisting of an agent and a verb (with or without an object).[16]

(39) a. Swuni-ka   (ecey   sihem-ey)   miyeykkuk-lul   mek-ess-ta
          Suni-nom   yesterday test-P   seaweed soup-acc   eat-past-dec
          'Suni failed the exam.'
      b. Minswu-ka   (cikcang-eyse)   os-lul   pes-ess-ta
          Minsu-nom   (work-at)   cloth-acc   take.off-past-dec
          'Minsu resigned.'   (Adapted from Ko 2005)
      c. Thim-i   han   nwun-ul   phal-ass-ta.
          Tim- nom   one   eye- acc   sell- past-dec
          'Tim got sidetracked (by something).' (Adapted from Kim, L. 2015)

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16 There are many idioms consisting of a theme and a verb, as illustrated in (i).
        (i) cakun   kochu-ka   map-ta
           small   pepper   hot-dec
           'Little men, despite their height, are strong.'
    This type of an idiom is also expected by the proposed account, as the theme 'small pepper' and the verb form a VP that appears below a boundary for an idiomatic interpretation. The theme is nominative-marked after checking and valuing matching case features on T.

For Japanese, Kishimoto (to appear) suggests that it is also a general pattern that an object of the verb tends to form an idiom easily, but an agent of the verb does not. Some of the Japanese examples are provided in (40):

(40)   a. me-o   tukeru
          eye-acc   attach
          'pay attention'
       b. keri-o   tukeru
          end-acc   attach
          'put an end to'   (Kishimoto, to appear)

The data presented in this section indicates that the distribution of idiomatic expressions are cross-linguistically similar. The proposed structure in (30) appears to be able to capture the cross-linguistic distribution. The cross-linguistic generalization appears to suggest that not only agents (of Voice) but also a non-agentive argument (of e.g., ApplH) that merge *outside* VP (i.e., spell-out domain) does not easily constitute an idiomatic expression.[17]

6. Consequences: Passivization and idioms

Ditransitives have two objects, an indirect object (goal) and a direct object (theme). Languages differ as to which object can undergo passivization. In symmetric languages, both objects are allowed to undergo passivization. In asymmetric languages, a goal is usually allowed to undergo passivization, but a theme is not. Although *ci*-passivization in Korean, to be discussed below, has a constraint on accusative case (see section 6.2), Korean and Japanese appear to be

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[17] One way of capturing this generalization can be in terms of phase as proposed in this paper (thus X in (30) being a phase head such as Voice or ApplH), which has also been suggested for Slavic (super-)lexical prefixes presented above (Svenonius 2005, X being Asp head where a superlexical prefix is realized). A remaining issue to be resolved is whether every head above VP can be a phase, which is beyond the scope of this paper. It seems that there is a clear boundary between external and internal arguments of VP regarding the distribution of idioms, as discussed in this paper. External arguments, whether agentive or not, are excluded from idioms, in contrast to internal arguments. However, it is still an open question whether any phrase above VP can be a phase that delimits an idiomatic expression.

symmetric languages. Goals in both languages seem to undergo passivization, as predicted by the proposal that ApplH is a phasal head. Moreover, themes in Korean are able to undergo passivization only if the constraint on case is satisfied (which will be discussed shortly). The main concern of this section is whether a theme of an idiomatic expression in the domain can undergo passivization. I do not discuss the passivization of goal DPs.

The phase-based account of idioms suggests that the phase head, ApplH, delimits idiomatic expressions. As the boundary is a phase head, it is expected that the head bears an EPP feature, as suggested in Chomsky (2000) (see section 2). An EPP feature on a phase head, ApplH, allows a direct object (DO) to undergo A-movement, e.g., passivization, (McGinnis 2001), as shown in (5). By contrast, a non-phase head such as ApplL does not bear an EPP feature; as a result, passivization of the direct object of ApplL is not allowed. As Voice is also a phase head, it bears an EPP feature that allows its object to undergo passivization. Thus, the proposed account for delimiting idiomatic interpretations has consequences for the passivization of idioms. The delimiting head is a phase head, and this predicts that the object in the idiomatic phrases can undergo passivization.

However, the prediction is not borne out in Korean and Japanese: as will be shown in section 6.2, the direct object in DOC cannot undergo passivization and retain its idiomatic meaning. I argue that this is because the ApplH is part of the idiom, as will be demonstrated in section 6.1, and is not because the ApplH is not a phase head. Moreover, I show that Voice, another phase head in simple transitives, may be part of an idiomatic expression in some cases like the ApplH, and this also could affect the availability of passivization.

6.1 ApplH constitutes a part of an idiomatic expression

Recent studies on argument structure in Korean suggest that in addition to DOC, there are other types of clauses that can be represented as ApplHP (Kim, K. 2011, 2012, Jung 2014). For instance, consider the adversity clause in (41), which has been traditionally known as a morphological passive.[18]   In (41a), the nominative DP

18   As shown in Kim, K. (2012), a sentence like in (41a) does not show properties typical of English type passives. To avoid confusion, I call this type of sentence an adversity *clause*, rather than an adversity passive. A dative DP in an adversity clause as in (42a) can be marked with accusative,

subject 'Suni' is adversely affected by the event complement phrase, 'Minsu's taking away money'. The dative DP 'Minsu' is the one who performs the event. Abstracting away from the details, following Kim, K (2012), I assume that a dative argument of an adversity clause merges in the specifier of ApplH. This is illustrated with a partial structure of an adversity clause (41b). In (41b), ApplH is realized by the adversity morpheme -I whose allomorphs are *-i*, *-hi*, *-li*, and *-ki*.

(41) a. Swuni-ka [$_{\text{ApplHP}}$ Minswu-eykey(-lul) ton-lul **ppay-ki]-ess-ta**
　　　 Suni-nom 　　　　 Minsu-dat-(acc) 　　 money-acc take away-i-past-dec
　　　 'Suni$_1$ had$_{\text{exp}}$ [Minsu take away her$_1$ money].'
　　 b. [$_{\text{ApplHP}}$ [**DP-dat** [$_{\text{VP}}$ theme V] ApplH]]] 　　　 (Kim, K. 2012)
　　　　　　　　　　　　　　 -I

Interestingly, the specifier of ApplH in an adversity clause is also excluded from idiomatic expressions (42), like ApplH in DOC. In (42), the idiom consists of the verb 'catch' and the object 'neck' and its meaning is '(something) is revealed' (the Korean Idiom Dictionary distributed by *The National Institute of the Korean language*). In (42), for example, Suni's mistake was revealed by Minsu. Crucially, the dative DP is excluded from the idiomatic expression.

(42) Swuni-ka (caki-uy 　　 silswuhan-kes-lul)
　　 Suni-nom (self-gen 　　 mistake-do-nominal-acc)
　　 [$_{\text{ApplHP}}$ **Minswu-eykey** [$_{\text{VP}}$ 　　 telmi-lul 　　　 cap]-hi]-ess-ta
　　　　　　 Minsu-dat 　　　　　 neck-acc 　　 catch-I-past-dec
　　 'Suni's mistake was revealed by Minsu (regarding the mistake that she did).'
　　 (Lit. 'Suni was caught by her neck by Minsu.')

The adversity clause thus provides more support to proposed analysis that in Korean the ApplH, can be a phase head that delimits an idiomatic expression. Another contribution of this data is that the ApplH seems to form a part of an idiomatic expression. The idiom in (42) includes the adversity morpheme -I that is realized

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like a goal in DOC, which supports the ApplHP account for an adversity clause.

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under ApplH. If this is true, then the idiomatic meaning cannot be retained without the morpheme. This is borne out by the data. The same V-Obj idiom in the adversity clause (42) without the ApplH (i.e., without the applicative morpheme -I) does not have the same idiomatic interpretation, as shown in (43). The sentence (43) is a simple transitive, and thus the ApplH is not present in the sentence. However, the same verb and object unit in (43) does not have the idiomatic meaning as in (42) with the ApplH, but a different one: 'have someone under one's control' (the Korean Idiom Dictionary distributed by *The National Institute of the Korean language*). This difference suggests that the ApplH contributes to the meaning of idiomatic expressions, and is therefore part of the idiom.

> (43) Minswu-ka   Swuni-uy   [telmi-lul   cap]-ass-ta
>   Minsu-nom   Suni-gen   neck-acc   catch-past-dec
>   *'Minsu caught Suni (regarding the mistake that she made).'
>   'Minsu had Suni under his control.'

The ApplH as a phase head can delimit idiomatic expressions as have argued in this paper, but it can also be a part of the idiomatic expressions as the contrast between (42) and (43) suggests. The fact that the ApplH can belong to the idiomatic interpretation will play an important role in the availability of passivization of idioms, as discussed in the following section: the absence of the ApplH will result in the ungrammaticality of passivization of a direct object in idioms.

6.2 Idioms and passivization in Korean

Among the passives in both Korean and Japanese, there are morphologically marked passives whose subject position is theta-marked. In Korean, morphological passives are marked with the same homophonous morpheme as morphological causatives (Lee 1986, Park, J. 1994, Kim, K.H. 1994, Kang 1997, Kim, K. 2011, among many others). In Japanese, they are direct and indirect passives (Kuroda 1965, 1979). As has been discussed in the literature (e.g., Hoshi 1994, 1999, Park and Whitman 2003), idioms lose their idiomatic meanings after these types of passivization. Thus, I only consider passives whose subject position is not theta marked, similar to English verbal passivization. In Korean, it is *ci*-passivization

where the morpheme *(e) ci-* is realized on the verb in passivization. An example of *ci*-passivization is illustrated in (44).

(44) chayksang-i   Yumi-ey uyhay   mantul-e.ci-ess-ta
     desk-nom   Yumi-by   make-pass-past-dec
     'A desk was made by Yumi.'

In Japanese, it is *niyotte* passive:

(45) John-ga   Mary-ni yotte   nagur-are-ta
     John-nom   Mary-by   hit-pass-past
     'John was hit by Mary.'

In both Korean and Japanese DOCs, as shown in section 3 and 4 respectively, an indirect object does not belong to idiomatic expressions. Indirect objects merge in the specifier of a phase head, ApplH, which excludes them from idiomatic expressions. Regarding passivization, then, an accusative marked direct object in the VP domain in Korean or Japanese DOC is predicted to be able to undergo passivization. This is because ApplH is a phase head that can bear EPP. As Japanese data is lacking, I discuss Korean only with respect to the issue of how direct objects in VP idioms in Korean DOC interact with passivization.[19]

It has been observed that *ci*-passivization of ditransitives is possible only if a direct object is nominative marked (e.g., Shibatani 1977, Kang 1986, Hong 1991, Whitman and Park S. 2003, Park S. 2005). Consider the examples in (46).

(46) a. Wuywenhoy-ka   Chelswu-lul   sang-ul   cwu-ess-ta.
        committee-nom   Chelswu-acc   prize-acc   give-past-dec
        'The committee gave Chelswu a prize.'
     b. Sang **i**   wuywenhoy-ey uyhay   Chelswu-eykey/***-ul**
        prize-nom   committee-by   Chelswu-dat/acc
   cwue-ci-essta.

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19 In Japanese, it seems that there are no idioms consisting of an indirect object and idiomatic VP (Hideki Kishimoto p.c.). Thus, the prediction cannot be tested for this language, and it is not clear whether the ApplH can belong to idiomatic expressions like Korean.

660   Kyumin Kim

give-pass-past-dec
'A prize was given to Chelswu by the committee.'   (Whitman and
Park S. 2003)

The sentence (46a) is a DOC and the verb is 'give'. In (46b), the direct object, *sang* 'the prize' undergoes passivization, and the sentence is grammatical only if the goal 'Chelswu' is marked with dative. When it is marked with accusative, the sentence is ungrammatical. Thus, a simple generalization regarding *ci*-passivization is that passivization is not possible with accusative marking (Kang 1986).[20]

Taking this generalization further, Park and Whitman (2003) proposed the following structure in (47) as a source structure of *ci*-passivization of the direct object (see Park and Whitman 2003 for further details).[21] The structure (47) captures the generalization that a direct object can undergo *ci*-passivization when the goal is not accusative-marked, as in (46b). The goal in the structure (47) is always a dative-marked PP.

(47)

```
              Voice'
             /      \
          VP          Voice
         /   \
   PP-DAT     V'
             /   \
        DO-ACC    V
```
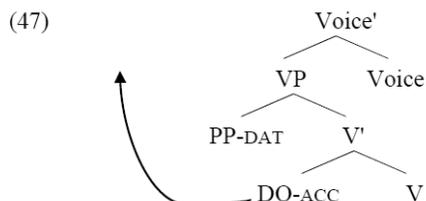
Equipped with this approach (47) to the passivization, let us consider the passivization of direct objects that are part of idioms in Korean DOC as given in (8b), repeated here as (48a). The passivization of DOC in (48a) is shown in (48b):

(48)   a. nwuna-un   (sopung   kacako maku)   [ApplHP tongsayng-lul
       elder sister-topic picnic   go   a lot   brother-acc
       [VP palam-ul   neh]]-ess-ta
       wind-acc   put.into-past-dec

[20] This constraint also holds when a goal DP undergoes passivization: the theme must be marked with nominative case.
[21] The source structure (47) is modified in accordance with the assumption in this paper; e.g. Voice head, instead of *v*.

'The elder sister instigated her brother to go on a picnic.'

b. *palam-i   [tongsayng-eykey   [_{VP} neh-eci]]-ess-ta

wind-nom   brother-dat   put.into-pass-past-dec

*'Brother was instigated.' (Lit. 'Wind was put into her brother')

As the ungrammaticality of (48b) suggests, the direct object *palam* 'wind' cannot undergo passivization. The ungrammaticality is not expected under the proposed approach in this paper.[22] As ApplH of DOC is phasal, an element of its domain (e.g., a direct object) is predicted to move out of its domain. This is because EPP on the phase head (ApplH) can be available. Contrary to this prediction, movement of the direct object in the idiomatic expression in (48a) is ungrammatical as in (48b). As discussed in section 5.1, however, if ApplH can belong to idiomatic expressions, this may capture the ungrammaticality. Suppose that ApplH in (48a) belongs to the idiomatic meaning. In (47), the source structure of *ci*-passivization of the direct object, there is no ApplHP. In other words, in (47), the ApplHP that forms a part of the idiomatic meaning is absent. As a result, the idiomatic meaning cannot be available in (48b), yielding an ungrammatical result. At the same time, the literal meaning of passivization is still possible, as ApplH is not required for this. Thus, the non-availability of passivization with idioms may not be because EPP is absent on the phase head, ApplH, but because the head that constitutes the part of the idiomatic meaning is not present in the source structure of passivization.

In the following, I show that the passivization of idioms in simple transitives behaves in a similar way to the ditransitive idioms discussed in this section.

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[22] It was pointed out by a reviewer that the inability to undergo passivization in (48a) may be due to some semantic constraints on direct objects. For example, the object 'wind' in (48) is a non-referential or non-affected argument (in the sense of Tenny 1994). In a non-idiomatic use, however, the object seems to be able to undergo passivization as exemplified in (i), which may suggest that the semantic constraints on passivization may not be relevant. The source of (i) would be the structure in (47). Being absent of idiomatic meaning, the passivization is predicted to be grammatical in accordance with the fact in (i).

(i) palam-i   pwungsen-ey   neh-eci-ess-ta

wind-nom   balloon-P   put.into-pass-past-dec

'Wind was put into the balloon.'

6.3 Passivization and idioms in simple transitive of Korean and Japanese

I turn to the passivization of idioms in simple transitives, and suggest that the same type of explanation proposed for ditransitives in the previous section may be possible. As in ditransitives, there are numerous verb-object idioms in simple transitives in Korean as shown in section 4, and in (49). (e.g., Ko 2005).

(49) a. Yumi-ka   (cek-eykey)   mulup-lul   kkulh-ess-ta
         Yumi-nom   (enemy-P)   knee-acc   kneel down-pass-dec
         'Yumi gave in.'
      b. Yumi-ka   katak-ul   cap-ass-ta
         Yumi-nom   thread-acc   catch-past-dec
         'Yumi understood (a problem).'/ 'Yumi got it.'

As proposed in this paper, agents are excluded from these idioms because Voice, which introduces those agents, is a phase head that delimits idiomatic interpretations. Moreover, those idioms are predicted to undergo passivization, as Voice can bear an EPP feature. This prediction is partly true in that some idioms in the literature are reported to undergo passivization. An example is shown in (50).

(50)   Cwuuy-ka   Chelswu-ey uyhay(e)   kiwulye-ci-ess-ta.
        attention-nom Chelswu-by   devote-pass-past-dec
        'Attention was devoted by Chelswu.' (S. Park and Whitman 2003)

However, there are also ungrammatical examples of passivization of idioms in transitives. The idioms in (50) cannot undergo passivization, as shown in (51):

(51) a. *(cek-eykey)   Yumi-ey uyhay   mulup-i
          (enemy-P)   Yumi-by   knee-nom
          kkulh-eci- ess-ta
          kneel.down-pass-past-dec
         *'Yumi was given in.'/ 'Yumi's knee was knelt down.'

  b. *Yumi-ey   uyhay katak-i   cap-a ci-ess-ta
     Yumi-by   thread-nom   catch-pass-past-dec
     'A problem was understood by Yumi.'

In Japanese, we can observe a similar pattern. It has long been observed that a direct object of idioms can undergo *niyotte* passivization as shown in (52) (Kuroda 1979, Hoshi 1999). The verb-object idiom in (52a) can undergo passivization without losing its idiomatic meaning, as in (52b).

(52) a. John-ga   tyuui-o   harat-ta
        John-nom   heed-acc   pay-past
        'John paid heed.'
      b. tyuui-ga   John-ni yotte   haraw-are-ta
        heed-nom   John-to owing   pay-pass-pst
        'Heed was paid by John.'

In fact, with some idioms, the direct object such as in (53a) can undergo *niyotte* passivization as in (53b) and its idiomatic meaning is retained (Kishimoto to appear).

(53) a. Ken-ga   giron-ni   mizu-o   sasi-ta
        Ken-nom   discussion-dat   water-acc   pour-past
        'Ken interrupted the discussion.'
      b. (Ken-ni yotte) giron-ni   mizu-ga   sas-are-ta
        Ken by   discussion-dat water-nom pour-pass-past
        'The discussion was interrupted (by Ken).'

However, there is another set of idioms that do not allow *niyotte* passivization, as shown in (54), and the idioms in (55) belong to this type.

(54) *Ken-ni yotte   mitikusa-ga   kuw-are-ta
       Ken-by   weed.on.road-nom   eat-pass-past
       'The weeds on the road were eaten.'

(55) a. abura-o   uru
         oil-acc   sell
         'idle away one's time.'
      b. taka-o   kukuru
         amount-acc   bind
         'think too lightly.'   (Kishimoto to appear)

The variable behavior of passivization in Korean and Japanese is in parallel to verb-object idioms in English simple transitives, as illustrated in (56) and (57) (e.g., Katz and Postal 1964, Nunberg, Sag, and Wasow 1994 among many others). The idiom in (56a) can undergo passivization keeping its idiomatic meaning as in (56b). On the other hand, the idiom in (57a) cannot undergo passivization as in (57b).[23]

(56) a. Spill the beans.   'divulge a secret'
      b. The beans were spilled.

(57) a. kick the bucket.   'die'
      b. *The bucket was kicked.

Regarding the variability of idiom passivization in English, it has been suggested that the ungrammaticality of passivization (57b) may be because the Voice head that introduces an agent in (57a) belongs to the idiomatic interpretation (Stone 2009).[24] When passivization takes place, as in (57b), only a passive Voice is present. That is, passivization causes the loss of agentive Voice, which is a part of the idiom. In contrast, the passivization shown in (56b) is grammatical, as Voice head in (56a) is not part of the idiomatic interpretation.

   Although this account is not expressed in terms of phase, the core idea is similar to the proposal for passivization of a direct object in DOC: a significant factor for passivizibility is whether a phase head, an external argument introducing head,

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[23] A semantic account of the contrast in (56b) and (57b) was proposed in Nunberg, Sag, and Wasow (1994). The idioms that are able to undergo passivization as in (56b) are semantically compositional idioms ('idiomatically combining expressions' in their terms). On the other hand, the idioms that are not able to undergo passivization as in (57b) are semantically not compositional idioms ('idiomatic phrases' in their terms).

[24] In Stone (2009), a relevant external argument introducing head is flavors of little v, e.g. v_{DO}

belongs to an idiomatic interpretation. I propose that this factor plays a crucial role in the passivization of simple transitives. Like ApplH, the Voice head in simple transitives may be a part of the idiomatic meaning in some idioms, and this results in the loss of idiomatic interpretation in passives in both Korean (51) and Japanese (54), giving rise to ungrammatical passives.[25] On the other hand, with grammatical passives as in Korean (50) or Japanese (52b) and (53b), the Voice head is not part of the idiom; as a result, its absence does not affect the grammaticality of passivization. Thus, it appears that a phase head can be flexible in being able to be part of some idioms, but not all.

There is morphological evidence in Korean that suggests that Voice as well can be a part of an idiomatic expression, like ApplH. Transitives in Korean can be derived by morphological causativization. For instance, in (58a), the verb 'fly' is an intransitive verb, and it can be transitivized by suffixing the causative morpheme as in (58b). As proposed by many scholars, a morphological causative morpheme is a realization of an external argument-introducing head (e.g., Harley 1995, Folli and Harley 2007, Lee 1986, Kim, K. 2011, Jung 2014). I assume that this head is Voice.

(58) a. pihayngki-ka   nal-ass-ta
        airplane-nom   fly-pass-dec
        'An airplane flew.'
     b. Yumi-ka   pihayngki-lul   nal-li-ess-ta
        Yumi-nom   airplane-acc   fly-caus-past-dec
        'Yumi flew an airplane.'

The transitivized verb can form an idiomatic meaning, as in (59a) below, when it merges with the direct object 'strong fast ball' that consists of *tol* 'stone' and *cikku* 'fast ball'. This is a recently coined Korean idiom that means 'say straightforwardly (something negative)'. The idiom consists of the VP and the causative morpheme under Voice. Importantly, the meaning is lost if the causative morpheme (i.e., Voice) is not present (59b). These data suggest that the Voice phase head in a simple transitive can be part of an idiomatic expression like the ApplH.[26]

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[25]   I do not pursue the question of what makes Voice part of some idioms but not others.

[26]   The passivization of (59a) is grammatical when the causative morpheme appears, but ungrammatical without it, which suggests that a phase head is present in the passivization.

(59) a. Yumi-ka   (Minswu-eykey) tol.cikku-lul   nal-li-ess-ta
        Yumi-nom (Minsu-P)   very fast ball-acc fly-caus-past-dec
        'Yumi said something negative straightforwardly (to Minsu).'
      b. *tolcciku-ka   nal-ass-ta
         very fast ball-nom   fly-past-dec
         '?? A very fast ball flew.'/
         Intended meaning: *'Something negative is said straightforwardly.'

    I conclude that the variable behavior of availability of passivization of idioms may depend on whether the phase Voice head can belong to the idiomatic interpretation.

7. Conclusion

I have provided a unified account of the structural restrictions on idiomatic interpretation across several languages, mainly focusing on Korean and Japanese. The phase head, ApplH or Voice, can be a structural boundary to delimit idiomatic interpretations, while non-phase heads, ApplL and P, cannot delimit idiomatic expressions. In general, in order to be interpreted as an idiom, each part of the idiomatic expression must be accessed in the domain of the phase, namely inside the VP, which is sent for PF and LF representations. After spell-out, the materials in the domain will not interfere with the elements outside the VP, which exactly predicts the exclusion of those elements from the idiomatic expressions. I also showed that this type of analysis may account for the distribution of idioms in English (and potentially Hebrew) ditransitives. Moreover, a phase based account may be able to capture cross-linguistic patterns of idiomatic expressions.

    The consequence of the proposed account is that an idiom cannot be passivized if the phase head is part of the idiom, as its absence affects the idiomatic interpretation. This indicates that the non-availability of passivization is not because a given head is not a phase head and thus lacks an EPP feature. The proposed account suggests that a phase head can be a part of LF interpretation, and as such, it plays a role in A-movement, e.g., passivization, resulting in non-interpretable idioms.

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