

**Morphological Causatives in Korean:  
Problems in Grammatical Polysemy and Constructional Relations**

by

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## Abstract

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This dissertation is an analysis of the Korean morphological causative construction in comparison with a range of constructions related to it either formally or semantically. In previous work the causative marker (CM) used in the morphological causative has generally been treated as being homonymous with the marker used in the morphological passive, both variously surfacing as *i*, *ki*, *li*, or *hi* depending on context. It is instead argued here that the CM is a single polysemous grammatical morpheme, and that the various CM constructions (covering a wider semantic range than is usually cited, including middle as well as passive and causative uses) constitute a family of distinct but related constructions centered on the causative. The CM itself has a range of meanings, much like the polysemy patterns recognized for lexical items.

After a general introduction in Chapter 1, the substantial portion of the dissertation follows in Chapters 2 through 4. Chapter 2 discusses the morphological causative in comparison with the syntactic and lexical causatives, noting the multiple possibilities for case-marking the "causee" NP (including the "causee-case" *-(u)lo.hayekum* and the instrumental case, possibilities which

have been ignored in previous studies) and the change in function that the morphological causative has undergone since Middle Korean. The morphological causative has almost lost the function of expressing indirect causation, which has been taken over by the syntactic causative. Chapter 3 examines the clause structure of the syntactic and morphological causative constructions. It is proposed that the clause structures of the various syntactic causative constructions (distinguished by the case-marking of the causee--nominative, causee-case, dative, or accusative) and of the morphological causative construction form a gradual cline from fully biclausal to monoclausal, rather than a strict dichotomy. Chapter 4 explores the relationships existing among fourteen CM constructions, four of which have causative meaning, four passive, and six middle. As with all constructions, it is crucial to specify which formal and/or semantic properties each construction inherits from other constructions in the system to which it belongs, and which are particular to the individual construction. This is a central theme of Chapter 4.

Charles J. Fillmore  
11 May 1974

Eve E. Sweetser 11 May 1994

**To my mother  
and  
in memory of my father**

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## List of Abbreviations

|              |  |
|--------------|--|
| <b>Abl</b>   | <b>Ablative (-<i>eykeyse</i>)</b>  |
| <b>Acc</b>   | <b>Accusative (-(<i>l</i>)<i>ul</i>)</b>                                 |
| <b>Asp</b>   | <b>Aspect</b>  |
| <b>Ben</b>   | <b>Benefactive</b>   |
| <b>Caus</b>  | <b>Causative</b>   |
| <b>Cc</b>    | <b>Causee-case (-(<i>u</i>)<i>lo.hayekum</i>)</b>                        |
| <b>CM</b>    | <b>Causative Marker</b>  |
| <b>CMC</b>   | <b>Causative Marker Construction</b>                                     |
| <b>Comp</b>  | <b>Complementizer</b>  |
| <b>Dat</b>   | <b>Dative (-<i>eykey</i>, -<i>hanthey</i>, -<i>kkey</i>)</b>             |
| <b>DNI</b>   | <b>Definite Null Instantiation</b>                                       |
| <b>Fut</b>   | <b>Future</b>  |
| <b>Gen</b>   | <b>Genitive (-<i>uy</i>)</b>   |
| <b>Hon</b>   | <b>Honorific</b>   |
| <b>Imp</b>   | <b>Imperative</b>  |
| <b>Ind</b>   | <b>Indicative</b>  |
| <b>INI</b>   | <b>Indefinite Null Instantiation</b>                                     |
| <b>Ins</b>   | <b>Instrumental (-(<i>u</i>)<i>lo</i>)</b>                               |
| <b>Int</b>   | <b>Interrogative</b>   |
| <b>Loc</b>   | <b>Locative (-<i>ey</i>; -<i>eytaka</i> ~ -<i>eyta</i> ~ -<i>ey</i>)</b> |
| <b>MK</b>    | <b>Middle Korean</b>   |
| <b>Neg</b>   | <b>Negative</b>  |
| <b>Nom</b>   | <b>Nominative (-<i>i</i>, -<i>ka</i>, -<i>kkeyse</i>)</b>                |
| <b>Pass</b>  | <b>Passive</b>   |
| <b>Pl</b>    | <b>Plural</b>  |
| <b>Pres</b>  | <b>Present</b>   |
| <b>Rel</b>   | <b>Relative clause marker</b>  |
| <b>Req</b>   | <b>Request</b>   |
| <b>SC</b>    | <b>Syntactic Causative</b>   |
| <b>Tag.Q</b> | <b>Tag Question</b>  |
| <b>Top</b>   | <b>Topic (-(<i>n</i>)<i>un</i>)</b>                                      |
| <b>Vi</b>    | <b>Intransitive verb</b>   |
| <b>Vt</b>    | <b>Transitive verb</b>   |

## CHAPTER 1

# Introduction

This dissertation is an analysis of the Korean morphological causative construction in comparison with a range of constructions related to it either formally or semantically. On the one hand, we will contrast the morphological causative with other kinds of causative constructions--syntactic and lexical. On the other hand, we will examine the whole range of constructions which are headed by the same suffix that characterizes the morphological causative--a morpheme variously surfacing as *i*, *ki*, *li*, or *hi*, depending on context. The constructions belonging to the latter group cover a wide semantic range, including middle and passive as well as causative. In looking at all these constructions, we will focus on what is particular to the morphological causative construction, and on how it is related to the other constructions.

The morphological causative is exemplified in (1a, b).

- (1) a. *Inho-ka Mina-lul wus-ki-ess-ta.*  
Inho-Nom Mina-Acc laugh-Caus-Past-Ind

'Inho made Mina laugh.'

- b. *Inho-ka Mina-eykey/lul wuyu-lul mek-i-ess-ta.*  
Inho-Nom Mina-Dat/Acc milk-Acc eat-Caus-Past-Ind

'Inho fed Mina milk.' (i.e. 'Inho made Mina eat/drink milk.')

Here the causative verb *wus-ki-ta* 'make laugh' in (1a) is built on the intransitive root verb *wus-ta* 'laugh', and *mek-i-ta* 'feed, make someone eat' in (1b) on

the transitive root verb *mek-ta* 'eat/drink'.<sup>1</sup> The pivot nominal (the "causee", *Mina*) is marked by the accusative in (1a), and by either the dative or the accusative in (1b). The causative marker is *ki* in (1a) and *i* in (1b); in other environments it may also be *li*, or *hi*. These allomorphs are subject to morphophonemic conditioning, though the rules are not exceptionless.

An important aspect of this dissertation is its appeal to diachronic as well as synchronic modes of explanation for phenomena found in present-day Korean. By way of example and introduction, let us consider briefly the Middle Korean (MK) morphological causative clause (2) vis-a-vis several relevant present-day Korean examples:

- (2) "[DNI] *ai-lo hwenhi tung-ul kulk-hi-ko*,"<sup>2</sup>  
 [ I ] child-Ins cool back-Acc scratch-Caus-and  
 [MK: *Twu.si.en.hay* 15:4]

'I made my child scratch my back "cool" (i.e. relieving the itch),'

Since in present-day Korean the derived verb form *kulk-hi(-ta)* in (2) cannot be used as a causative verb 'make someone scratch' but only as a passive verb 'get scratched', as illustrated in (3) and (4), respectively, one might think that it is also being used passively in the Middle Korean example (2). For two reasons, however, it is clear that *kulk-hi-ta* in (2) must be a causative: first, example (2) is taken from the translation of a Chinese poem, in which the corresponding expression is a causative; second, the causee (*ai* 'child') is marked by the instrumental case, which cannot mark passive-agents, as shown in (4).

<sup>1</sup> Verbs in citation form take a particle *-ta*, which simply indicates that the cited word is a verb.

<sup>2</sup> Here and throughout the dissertation, data that were actually attested (as opposed to data based on introspection) have been cited in double quotation markers. Natural Korean sentences frequently leave elements unexpressed where overt elements would be required in English. This occurs in almost all the attested data. In representing such elements I will use Fillmore and Kay's (ms) terms DNI ("definite null instantiation") and INI ("indefinite null instantiation"), as in example (2).

- (3) \**Inho-ka Mina-eykey/lo tung-ul kulk-hi-ess-ta.*  
 Inho-Nom Mina-Dat/Ins back-Acc scratch-Caus-Past-Ind

(Intended: 'Inho made Mina scratch his (i.e. Inho's) back.')

- (4) *Inho-ka Mina-eykey/\*lo tung-ul kulk-hi-ess-ta.*  
 Inho-Nom Mina-Dat/Ins back-Acc scratch-Pass-Past-Ind

'Inho got his back scratched by Mina.'

The intended meaning of (3) thus cannot be conveyed by the morphological causative in present-day Korean, but it can be expressed by the syntactic causative, as illustrated in (5).

- (5) *Inho-ka Mina-eykey/lo tung-ul kulk-key ha-yss-ta.*  
 Inho-Nom Mina-Dat/Ins back-Acc scratch-Comp Cause-Past-Ind

'Inho made Mina scratch his back.'

The above brief discussion of examples (1) through (5) raises a full complement of questions:

- Why cannot the derived verb *kulk-hi-ta* function as a causative verb in present-day Korean, while it could in Middle Korean (compare (2) and (3))?
- Is the obsolescence of the derived causative verb *kulk-hi-ta* idiosyncratic to this particular lexeme, or does it reflect changes which the morphological causative as a whole has undergone since Middle Korean?
- What differences between the syntactic and the morphological causative enable the former but not the latter convey the intended meaning of (3)? If this difference stems from semantic differences, what are these semantic differences? If it comes from syntactic differences (e.g. clause structure), what are the clause structures in question?
- What are the possibilities for case-marking the causee in the syntactic and

morphological causatives? Previous work on the Korean syntactic and morphological causatives has mentioned only the nominative, dative, and accusative as possibilities for causee case-marking. Has the instrumental possibility shown in the Middle Korean example (2) disappeared in present-day Korean? What of the instrumental possibility shown in the present-day syntactic causative example (5)? What further possibilities exist?

- Finally, is it a coincidence that the same derived verb form *kulk-hi-ta* 'scratch-*hi-ta*' can or could be used passively (see (4)) as well as causatively (see (2))?

This dissertation investigates all these questions.

The last-raised point requires further elaboration. The causative marker seen in the morphological causative has generally been treated as independent of and homonymous with the marker of the morphological passive, both allomorphically realized as *i*, *ki*, *li*, or *hi*. I will call this set of suffixes (*i*, *ki*, *li*, *hi*) the CM (= Causative Marker). In fact, constructions involving the CM suffix cover a wider semantic range than has usually been mentioned in the literature, including a range of middle as well as causative and passive constructions. This is illustrated in (6) through (8).

- (6) *Inho-ka Mina-eykey chayk-ul ilk-hi-ess-ta.* (Causative)  
 Inho-Nom Mina-Dat book-Acc read-CM-Past-Ind  
 'Inho made Mina read a book.'
- (7) *Inho-ka ku kay-eykey tali-lul mul-li-ess-ta.* (Passive)  
 Inho-Nom the dog-Dat leg-Acc bite-CM-Past-Ind  
 'Inho got his leg bitten by the dog.'
- (8) a. *ku mun-i cecello yel-li-ess-ta.* (Middle)  
 the door-Nom by.itself open[Vt]-CM-Past-Ind

'The door opened by itself.'

- b. *i chayk-un cal phal-li-n-ta.*  
 this book-Top well sell-CM-Pres-Ind

'This book sells well.'

- c. *manh.un salam.tul-i mo(u)-i-ess-ta.*  
 many people-Nom gather[Vt]-CM-Past-Ind

'Many people gathered.'

- d. *Inho-ka caki emma-eykey maytal-li-ess-ta.*  
 Inho-Nom his mother-Dat hang[Vt]-CM-Past-Ind

'Inho clung to his mother.' (Lit.: 'Inho hung (himself) to his mother.')

If the CM, as is assumed in the literature, truly consists of two homonymous markers of causative and passive, where does the CM in (8a-d) belong? Is it a causative marker or a passive marker? The sentences in (8) are neither. In fact, the types of events described in (8a-d) are typically expressed by middles in languages which have a middle marker (cf. Kemmer 1993). In light of sentences like those in (8), the traditional analysis in terms of homonymy would lead to the immediate corollary that the CM is in fact a *triplet* of homonymous markers, of causative, passive, and middle. It seems utterly implausible that three unrelated grammatical markers (causative, passive, middle) should have the same fourfold allomorphy (*i, ki, li, hi*) and that these allomorphs should be subject to the same morphophonemic conditioning (this point will be discussed in greater detail in Section 4.2). It is far more reasonable to analyze the CM as constituting a single polysemous suffix.

The main purpose of the dissertation is to demonstrate that the CM is indeed a single polysemous grammatical marker, displaying polysemy patterns much like those recognized for lexical items; and that the various CM con-

structions (covering a wide semantic range, including causative, passive, and middle) constitute a family of distinct but related constructions centered on the causative.

The investigation conducted in this dissertation is framed within Construction Grammar (cf. Fillmore 1988; Fillmore and Kay ms; Lakoff 1987; Fillmore, Kay and O'Connor 1988; Brugman 1988; Goldberg 1992; Kay and Fillmore ms; Lambrecht to appear). In Construction Grammar, *constructions* are defined as any pairing of form and meaning--that is, as any set of formal properties coupled with a set of associated semantic or pragmatic properties--and are taken as basic units of language. Constructions include morphemes (which constitute clear examples of form-meaning pairing) as well as larger form-meaning pairings such as the causative or passive construction, and they cover all regions on the continuum from the fully productive to the totally idiomatic. Constructions, moreover, can be related to one another by "inheritance" relationships. Finally, in Construction Grammar all facts of a language, whether "core" or "periphery", deserve equal consideration in the description of that language. Our investigation of the formal and semantic characteristics of each of the CM constructions and of their inter-relatedness will be carried out according to these tenets of Construction Grammar.

The organization of the dissertation is as follows. Chapter 2 examines the syntactic, morphological, and lexical causatives. Possibilities for case-marking the causee in the syntactic and morphological causatives are discussed: not only the well-known possibilities of nominative, dative, and accusative, but also the "causee case" *-(u)lo.hayekum* and the instrumental case *-(u)lo*, which have been ignored in previous studies. The change in function undergone by the morphological causative since Middle Korean will also be examined. The morphological causative has almost lost the function of expressing indirect causa-

tion, which has been taken over by the syntactic causative. I will argue that the lexical restrictions on the present-day morphological causative are mainly due to this change in function. A case study of child acquisition of morphological causative verbs will also be reported.

Chapter 3 examines the clause structure of the syntactic and morphological causatives. Basing the analysis on the behavior of the syntactic and morphological causatives with respect to a number linguistic phenomena (e.g. "subject honorification", passives, reflexives, adverbial scope, thematic roles), I propose that the clause structures of the various syntactic causative constructions (distinguished by the case-marking of the causee: nominative, causee-case, dative, or accusative) and of the morphological causative construction form a gradual cline from fully biclausal to monoclausal, rather than a strict dichotomy.

Chapter 4 explores the fourteen CM constructions, four of which have causative meaning, four passive, and six middle. I will argue that the CM is a single polysemous grammatical morpheme rather than a multiplicity of homonymous grammatical markers of causative, passive, and middle. The formal and semantic characteristics of each CM construction are explored, in particular those traits which distinguish it from the other CM constructions. Finally, relationships among the fourteen CM constructions will be investigated, and the CM constructions as a whole will be laid out as a "radial" category. Chapter 5, the conclusion, presents a brief summary and suggestions for future study.

## CHAPTER 2

# Causative Constructions

### 2.1 Introduction

Causation pervades our everyday life: in moving objects, breaking dishes, giving orders, and countless other activities. One instance of causation may differ from another in many ways--with respect to the directness of the connection between cause and effect, the intention of the causer, the willingness of the causee to do the caused action, and other factors. As in numerous other areas of linguistic conceptualization, the number of ways of expressing causation linguistically is much smaller than the number of ways we can experience causation in the real world. The infinitely varied situations of causation can be accommodated, by "family resemblance", to a small number of archetypal situations encoded in linguistic form.

There seem to be a number of archetypal ways of expressing the concept of causation in any given language. In English, for example, causation can be expressed, *inter alia*, by a monolexemic predicate that includes within itself the notion of cause (1a); by a causal predicate taking a bare infinitive complement (1b) or a *to*-infinitive complement (1c); or by causative or resultative conjunctions (1d, e).

(1) a. *Pat broke the window.*

b. *Pat made Bill walk.*

- c. *Pat caused Bill to walk.*
- d. *Because it rained, we could not have a picnic.*
- e. *It rained, so we could not have a picnic.*

Certain types of linguistic expressions of causation are of greater interest than others. Past scholarly work has focused on those types of causative expressions where the notion of causation is contained in the predicate: either with causation as one semantic component of the predicate, as in (1a), or with a separate predicate of causation, as in (1b, c). In general, these predicational causative constructions have certain shared properties:

- There are (semantically) two predicates: a predicate expressing the notion of causation (the "causal" predicate) and a predicate of effect (the "effected" predicate).
- The causal predicate often has some other independent lexical meaning and develops the grammaticalized function of expressing causation; its original lexical meaning may then be lost.
- One of the two predicates often lacks full aspect, tense, and agreement markings, compared to a normal tensed verb in the language.
- The causing event is less elaborated, compared to causative expressions involving a causative or resultative conjunction.

In the present chapter we will be concerned with Korean predicational causative constructions of this type.

I shall use, along with traditional terminology, some terms explicitly adopted from Kemmer and Verhagen (1994). Let me list a few of my basic terms. Take, for example, the causative sentence (2).

(2) *John had Bill cut the tree.*

The predicate of cause (*had*) and that of effect (*cut*) will be called the **causal** and the **effected** predicate, respectively. The subject of the causal predicate (*John*) will be called the **causer**, and that of the effected predicate (*Bill*) the **causee**. The direct object of the effected predicate (*the tree*), when such a constituent is present, is called the **affectee**. I prefer terms of this sort, which are based on semantic roles: *causer*, *causee*, and *affectee*. Syntactic terms such as "the subject of the lower verb" for the causee and "the object of the lower verb" for the affectee presuppose a biclausal causative structure--an assumption which, as we will see in Chapter 3, is not always true for Korean causative constructions. Accordingly, terms based on semantic roles will be used hereafter.

Causatives can be formally divided into three types according to the morphosyntactic relationship obtaining between the causal and effected predicates: "syntactic", "morphological", and "lexical" causatives (Comrie 1981, Chapter 8). A syntactic causative is one formed with separate causal and effected predicates, as in sentence (2). Causatives of this type are commonly called "analytic" causatives.

A morphological causative is one in which the causal predicate (the element expressing the notion of causation) and the effected predicate remain syntagmatically distinct entities, but are combined into a single word through such means as affixation or vowel alternation. The causal predicate does not have the characteristics of a verb in terms of its form; it is a bound morpheme, and functions only as the element expressing the notion of causation. The Turkish sentence (3b) is an example of a morphological causative corresponding to the non-causative sentence (3a) ((3a, b) from Zimmer 1976).

(3) a. *Adam kos-tu*  
 man run-Past

'The man ran.'

b. *Adam-i kos-tur-du-k*  
 man-Acc run-Caus-Past-1Pl

'We made the man run.'

In (3b), the notion of causation is expressed by the causative suffix *-tur*.

A lexical causative is one in which the causal and the effected predicate are conflated in a single lexeme. Here the form of the causative predicate is not systematically related to that of the corresponding non-causative. The English pair *die* and *kill* is a good example. The verb *kill* incorporates in its meaning both the notion of causation and that of the effected predicate *die*. In many languages, the verb *kill* has the form of *die*-CM (causative marker), as in Turkish: *öl* 'die' and *öl-dür* 'die-CM: kill'. English, however, does not have such a systematic morphological relation; instead, suppletive verbs such as *die* and *kill* function as a non-causative and causative pair.

In this three-way classification of causatives, we assume an idealized distinction between syntax, morphology, and lexical contrast. Causative constructions in natural language, however, form a continuum from the syntactic causative to the morphological causative to the lexical causative. At any given period of time, a particular causative construction may have characteristics of both the "ideal" syntactic and morphological causative, while another causative construction may have characteristics of both the morphological and lexical causative (cf. Comrie 1981, Chapter 8). These intermediate stages are rather natural, if we consider the crosslinguistically observed diachronic development of morphological causatives from syntactic causatives or of lexi-

cal causatives from morphological causatives (cf. Givón 1971, 1976, and Matisoff 1976).

This chapter describes the syntactic, morphological, and lexical causatives in Korean, paying special attention to the causal predicates, the multiple possibilities for case-marking the causee, and the change in function undergone by the morphological causative since Middle Korean.

## 2.2 Syntactic Causatives

### 2.2.1 The Causative Verb *ha-ta* 'Cause'

Sentence (4) is a typical example of the syntactic causative.

- (4) *Inho-ka Mina-eykey phyenci-lul ilk-key ha-yss-ta.*  
 Inho-Nom Mina-Dat letter-Acc read-Comp Cause-Past-Ind

'Inho made Mina read the letter.'

In (4), the causative verb is *ha-ta* 'Cause', the effected predicate is *ilk-ta* 'read', and the two are connected by the complementizer *-key*. In non-causative sentences, the verb *ha-ta* means 'to do', as in (5). It also functions as a "light" verb, as in (6).

- (5) *Inho-ka cikum swukcey-lul ha-ko.iss-ta.*  
 Inho-Nom now homework-Acc do-Asp-Ind

'Inho is doing homework now.'

- (6) *Inho-ka yenge-lul kongpu(-lul) ha-yss-ta.*  
 Inho-Nom English-Acc study(-Acc) do-Past-Ind

'Inho studied English.'

There are several additional uses of the verb *ha-ta* 'do'.<sup>1</sup> In the syntactic causative, the verb *ha-ta* has lost its independent lexical meaning and functions purely as an abstract causal predicate.<sup>2</sup>

The complementizer *-key* in the syntactic causative is used elsewhere in purposive subordinate clauses with the sense of 'in such a way that' or 'so that', as illustrated in (7).

- (7) *ay-tul-i* [DNI] *mos* *po-key* *ku.kes-ul* *kamchwu-ela.*  
 kid-Pl-Nom [it] cannot see-Comp it-Acc hide-Imp

'Hide it so that the kids cannot see it.'

The same particle also functions as a productive adverbializer when attached to certain adjectival predicates: e.g. *swip-ta* 'be easy' > *swip-key* 'easily', *kakkap-ta* 'be close' > *kakkap-key* 'closely'. The complementizer *-key* in the syntactic causative seems more closely related to the purposive subordinate complementizer *-key* than to the adverbializer *-key*, though probably all three are related to each other.<sup>3, 4</sup>

In the syntactic causative, the effected and causal predicates linked by the complementizer *-key* tend to occur with no intervening elements. Gerdtz (1986) states that about 40% of her Korean consultants did not accept sen-

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<sup>1</sup> For the various functions of the verb *ha-ta*, see C. Suh (1975), H. Ahn (1991:7-22), and K. Park (1992:15-19).

<sup>2</sup> In addition to the verb *ha-ta* 'Cause', the verb *mantul-ta* 'make' can also be used as the causal predicate in the syntactic causative.

<sup>3</sup> Based on the similarity of form and function between the complementizer *-key* in the syntactic causative and the complementizer *-key* in purposive subordinate clauses, J. Song (1988) claims that the syntactic causative arose from the purposive subordinate construction.

<sup>4</sup> In the syntactic causative, the complementizer *-key* can be replaced by the complementizer *-keykkum* 'so that indeed' or *-tolok* 'so that, to the point where' with a slight difference in meaning (cf. H. Sohn 1973:79). These two complementizers, like *-key*, can also be used in purposive subordinate clauses.

tences like (8b), in which the causer occurs between the complementizer *-key* and the causative verb *ha-ta*. In non-causative biclausal sentences, by contrast, the upstairs subject can easily intervene between the complementizer and the upstairs predicate, as illustrated in (9a, b).

- (8) a. *Inho-ka* *sensayngnim-kkeyse* *ttena-si-key* *ha-yss-ta*.  
 Inho-Nom teacher-Nom leave-Hon-Comp Cause-Past-Ind

'Inho made the teacher leave.'

- b. *sensayngnim-kkeyse* *ttena-si-key* *Inho-ka* *ha-yss-ta*.  
 teacher-Nom leave-Hon-Comp Inho-Nom Cause-Past-Ind

'Inho made the teacher leave.'

- (9) a. *Inho-ka* *Mina-ka* *ttena-ss-ta-ko* *mit-ko.iss-ta*.  
 Inho-Nom Mina-Nom leave-Past-Ind-Comp believe-Asp-Ind

'Inho believes that Mina left.'

- b. *Mina-ka* *ttena-ss-ta-ko* *Inho-ka* *mit-ko.iss-ta*.  
 Mina-Nom leave-Past-Ind-Comp Inho-Nom believe-Asp-Ind

'Inho believes that Mina left.'

In my dialect, sentence (8b) is acceptable, though less good than (9b). Sentences like (8b) place contrastive focus on the causer; thus (10) sounds much better than (8b), especially when the two contrasted causers are pronounced emphatically.

- (10) *sensayngnim-kkeyse* *ttena-si-key* ***Inho-ka*** *ha-yss-ci*  
 teacher-Nom leave-Hon-Comp **Inho-Nom** Cause-Past-Int

***nay-ka*** *ha-yss-ni?*  
**I-Nom** Cause-Past-Int

'It wasn't **me**, but **Inho**, who made the teacher leave, right?'

I am not sure whether Gerdt's consultants who rejected (8b) would reject sen-

tences like (10). At any rate, the causal and effected predicates in the syntactic causative, though they can be separated, do strongly tend to occur adjacent to one another.

## 2.2.2 Case-Marking of the Causee

### 2.2.2.1 Nominative, Dative, Accusative Case

It is well known that the causee of the Korean syntactic causative can be marked by the nominative (*-ka*, *-i*, *-kkeyse*), dative (*-eykey*, *hanthey*, *-kkey*), or accusative (*-(l)ul*) case, regardless of whether the effected predicate is intransitive, transitive, or ditransitive, as illustrated in (11-13).<sup>5</sup>

- (11) *apeci-kkeyse Mina*-{a. *ka*, b. *eykey*, c. *lul*} *ttena-key ha-si-ess-ta.*  
 father-Nom Mina-{ Nom Dat Acc} leave-Comp Cause-Hon-Past-Ind

'The father made Mina leave.'

- (12) *apeci-kkeyse Mina*-{a. *ka*, b. *eykey*, c. *lul*} *chayk-ul ilk-key*  
 father-Nom Mina-{ Nom Dat Acc} book-Acc read-Comp

*ha-si-ess-ta.*  
 Cause-Hon-Past-Ind

'The father made Mina read the book.'

- (13) *apeci-kkeyse Mina*-{a. *ka*, b. *eykey*, c. *lul*} *Inho-eykey chayk-ul*  
 father-Nom Mina-{ Nom Dat Acc} Inho-Dat book-Acc

*cwu-key ha-si-ess-ta.*  
 give-Comp Cause-Hon-Past-Ind

'The father made Mina give the book to Inho.'

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<sup>5</sup> The causee of the syntactic causative can also be marked by the "causee case" *-(u)lo.hayekum* or by the instrumental case *-(u)lo*. These two causee-markers will be discussed in Sections 2.2.2.2 and 2.2.2.3.

Depending on which case is chosen to mark the causee, the syntactic causative constructions differ in their meanings, though the differences are subtle. Here I will treat all three as if they had the same meaning, when the meaning differences are not relevant to the argument.

As first noted by Patterson (1974), inanimate causees cannot be marked by the dative case, as illustrated in (14) (= Patterson's example (83)).<sup>6</sup>

- (14) *kwahakca-ka pi-{a.ka, b.\*eyta, c.lul} o-key ha-yss-ta.*  
 scientist-Nom rain-{Nom Dat Acc} come-Comp Cause-Past-Ind

'The scientist caused rain to fall (come).'

This fact can easily be explained in semantic terms. The construction-specific semantics of syntactic causatives with a dative-marked causee typically conveys the notion that the causer induces the causee, through verbal communication, to perform the activity denoted by the effected predicate. But one does not normally speak to an inanimate object, nor can an inanimate object typically perform an activity. By the same token, when the effected predicate denotes a state or property rather than an act, the causee cannot be marked by the dative case even if it is animate, as illustrated in (15a).

- (15) *Inho-ka Mina-{a.\*eykey, b.lul} yeyppu-key ha-yss-ta.*  
 Inho-Nom Mina-{ Dat Acc} be.pretty-Comp Cause-Past-Ind

a. '\*Inho had Mina pretty.'

b. 'Inho made Mina pretty.'

But the accusative is acceptable, as in (15b).

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<sup>6</sup> Patterson uses *-eykey* instead of *-eyta* in (14b). Since the former can never be used for an inanimate goal anyway, I replace it here with the allomorph *-eyta*, which is specialized for inanimate goals. Sentence (14b) with *-eyta* is still unacceptable.

### 2.2.2.2 The Causee Case

The causee in the syntactic causative can also be marked by the marker *-(u)lo.hayekum*,<sup>7</sup> again regardless of whether the effected predicate is intransitive, transitive, or ditransitive, as illustrated in (16-18).

- (16) *Inho-ka Mina-lo.hayekum keki-ey ka-key ha-yss-ta.*  
 Inho-Nom Mina-Cc there go-Comp Cause-Past-Ind

'Inho made Mina go there.'

- (17) *Inho-ka Mina-lo.hayekum ku chayk-ul ilk-key ha-yss-ta.*  
 Inho-Nom Mina-Cc the book-Acc read-Comp Cause-Past-Ind

'Inho made Mina read the book.'

- (18) *Inho-ka Mina-lo.hayekum Toli-eykey ku chayk-ul cwu-key ha-yss-ta.*  
 Inho-Nom Mina-Cc Toli-Dat the book-Acc give-Comp Cause-  
 Past-Ind

'Inho made Mina give the book to Toli.'

The marker *-(u)lo.hayekum* only functions as a marker of the causee, so I will call it the "causee case" ("Cc"). The causee case *-(u)lo.hayekum* has been completely ignored in the linguistic literature as well as in traditional grammar. All the speakers I consulted accepted syntactic causative sentences such as (16-18), in which the causees are marked by the causee case.

The causee case *-(u)lo.hayekum* can plausibly be analyzed as in (19).

- (19) (Causee)-*(u)lo ha-i-e-kum*  
 -Ins do-Caus-so/by-*kum*

Here the form *ha-i-* in (19) is the obsolete morphological causative verb derived from the verb *ha-ta* 'do', which existed in Middle Korean (MK), as illustrated in

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<sup>7</sup> In standard Korean orthography, a space separates the two components of this marker: *-(u)lo hayekum*. Here I will treat it as a single entity.

(20a, b).

- (20) a. "wang-i [INI] tol-ey kak-ha-i-si-e"  
king-Nom [someone] stone-Loc engrave-do-Caus-Hon-and  
(MK: *Wel.in.sek.po* 2:49)

'The king made [someone] engrave on a stone.'

- b. "[DNI] yong-ul hangpok-ha-i-myen, . . ."  
[Buddha] dragon-Acc surrender-do-Caus-if, . . .  
(MK: *Wel.in.chen.kang.ci.kok* 99)

'if [Buddha] made the dragon surrender, . . .'

The particle *-(u)lo* in (19) would then be the instrumental case *-(u)lo*, which could mark the causee of the morphological causative in Middle Korean, as shown in (21):

- (21) "[DNI] ai-lo hwenhi tung-ul kulk-hi-ko"<sup>8</sup>  
[I] child-Ins cool back-Acc scratch-Caus-and  
(MK: *Twu.si.en.hay* 15:4)

'[I] made my child scratch my back "cool" [i.e. relieving the itch]'

The fixed combination "Causee-*(u)lo ha-i-*" would thus mean 'make Causee do'.

The particle *-e* in (19) appears to be related to the verbal linker *-e(se)*, which has various meanings such as 'and then, since, so, by', as illustrated in (22a-c).

- (22) a. *Inho-nun kkoch-ul sa-a(se) Mina-eykey cwu-ess-ta.*  
Inho-Top flower-Acc buy-and.then Mina-Dat give-Past-Ind

'Inho bought flowers and gave them to Mina.'

- b. *Inho-nun pay-ka aphu-a(se) hakkyo-ey an ka-ss-ta.*  
Inho-Top stomach-Nom hurt-since school-to not go-Past-Ind

'Since his stomach hurt, Inho didn't go to school.'

<sup>8</sup> In present-day Korean, the derived verb *kulk-hi-ta* 'scratch-Caus' is not used as a causative verb but as a passive verb. As mentioned in Chapter 1, however, *kulk-hi-ta* in the Middle Korean example (21) was used as a causative verb.

- c. *ku.salam-un puha-tul-ul sikhi-e(se) totwuk-ul cap-nun-ta.*  
 he-Top his.man-Pl-Acc make.do-by thief-Acc catch-Pres-Ind

'He catches thieves by making his men do so (i.e. by making his men do the thief-catching for him).'

Just as the English temporal and causal uses of the conjunction *since* are related senses of a polysemous lexeme (cf. Geis and Zwicky 1971, Traugott 1989), these various meanings of the verbal linker *-e(se)* likewise seem to be parts of a polysemy network. Among these various meanings, the function illustrated in (22c) appears to be most closely related to that of the particle *-e* in (19). The form "Causee-(u)lo *ha-i-e*" would thus originally have meant 'by making Causee do'.

The particle *-kum* in (19) is used elsewhere as an intensifier, as in *tasi* 'again' vis-a-vis *tasi-kum* 'again' (Martin 1992:657). Though the particle *-kum* is an obligatory concomitant of *haye-* in present-day Korean, it was optional in Middle Korean; this is shown in (23), which is taken from King Seycong's preface stating the reason for his promulgation of the *Hun.min.ceng.um* [the Korean alphabet] in 1446.

(23) (I have newly created twenty-eight letters)

"*salam-mata ha-i-e swipkey ikhi-e nallo ssum-ey*  
 person-every do-Cause-e easily learn-and every.day using-at

*pyenanha-key ha-(koca ha-l ttalum-i-nila).*"  
 be.comfortable-Comp Cause-(only because I wish)  
 (MK: *Hun.min.ceng.um*)

'(It is only because I wish to) make everyone learn them easily and be comfortable in using them every day.'

In (23) the causee *salam-mata* 'everyone' is marked by the causee case occur-

ring without the particle *-kum*. We can conclude, therefore, that the intensifier *-kum* in the causee case, which was optional in Middle Korean, has today become obligatory. And the entire phrase *-(u)lo.hayekum* is now used as a fixed marking of the causee in the syntactic causative.

In present-day Korean, in fact, a similar phenomenon occurs in the syntactic causative, as illustrated in (24).

- (24) *Inho-ka Mina-lul sikhi-e(se) sakwa-ul sa-key ha-yss-ta.*  
 Inho-Nom Mina-Acc make.do-so/by apple-Acc buy-Comp Cause-  
 Past-Ins  
 'Inho ordered Mina so that she bought apples.'

Here the verb *sikhi-ta* 'make do' replaces the obsolete derived causative verb *ha-i-ta* 'make do'. The bold-faced part *-lul sikhi-e(se)* in (24) is therefore similar in form and function to the causee case without the intensifier *-kum*, i.e. *-(u)lo ha-i-e(se)*--though the actual case is different (accusative versus instrumental). The two differ, however, in that the verb *sikhi-ta* maintains its lexical meaning, whereas the derived causative verb *ha-i-ta* does not, being obsolete in present-day Korean. While the phrasal form *-(u)lo.hayekum* can only be taken as a marker of the causee, therefore, the phrase *-lul sikhi-e(se)* looks very much like a true causative/resultative clause, similar to *ttayli-e(se)* 'beat-so/by' in (25).

- (25) *Inho-ka Toli-lul ttayli-e(se) wul-key ha-yss-ta.*  
 Inho-Nom Toli-Acc beat-so/by cry-Comp Cause-Past-Ind  
 'Inho beat Toli so that he cried.'

At this point, we may note the quasi-causative construction instantiated in (26), which involves the form *-lul sikhi-e(se)* seen in (24).

- (26) *Inho-ka Mina-lul sikhi-e(se) sakwa-lul sa-ss-ta.*  
 Inho-Nom Mina-Acc make.do-so/by apple-Acc buy-Past-Ind

'Inho bought apples by making Mina do so (by making Mina buy apples).'

This sentence looks like a causative sentence in that the subject *Inho* made another person *Mina* buy apples. What it really conveys, however, is the "proxy" causative interpretation: *Mina* acted as *Inho*'s agent in buying the apples. Note that an intransitive verb can occur in the construction exemplified in (24), as seen in (27), but not in the quasi-causative construction, as illustrated in (28).

- (27) *Inho-ka Mina-lul sikhi-e(se) wul-key ha-yss-ta.*  
 Inho-Nom Mina-Acc make.do-so/by cry-Comp Caus-Past-Ind

'Inho ordered Mina so that she cried.'

- (28) \**Inho-ka Mina-{lul, eykey} sikhi-e(se) wul-ess-ta.*  
 Inho-Nom Mina-{Acc, Dat} make.do-so/by cry-Past-Ind

(Intended: 'Inho cried by making Mina do so (by making Mina cry); i.e.

Inho cried by proxy.')

This is simply because the proxy causative interpretation does not work for things that cannot be done by proxy. One person can do another person's shopping, but each person cries alone.

### 2.2.2.3 The Instrumental Case

The causee in the syntactic causative can also be marked by the instrumental case *-(u)lo*, as illustrated in (29a, b).

- (29) a. *khun atul-lo keki-ey ka-key ha-psita.*  
 eldest son-Ins there go-Comp Cause-let's

'Let's make the eldest son go there.'

- b. *Kim-ssi-nun khun atul-lo kaep-ul*  
 Kim-Mr.-Top eldest son-Ins family.business-Acc

*is-key ha-yss-ta.*  
 take.over-Comp Cause-Past-Ind

'Mr. Kim had his eldest son take over the family business.'

The marking of the causee by the instrumental case has also been completely ignored in previous descriptions of the syntactic causative.

Context appears to affect the naturalness of syntactic causative sentences with instrumental causees. All the speakers I consulted accepted sentence (29b), but some said that (30) does not sound as natural as (29b).

- (30) *(?)Inho-ka Mina-lo ku phyenci-lul ilk-key ha-yss-ta.*  
 Inho-Nom Mina-Ins the letter-Acc read-Comp Caus-Past-Ind

'Inho had the letter read by Mina.'

When the causee is marked by the instrumental case *-(u)lo* as in (29-30), the situation is typically one in which (a) the causer's primary concern is more to bring about the caused event than to affect the causee, and (b) the causee is chosen from a set of two or more available candidates. As an illustration, let us compare the instrumental-marked causee (30) with its accusative-marked correspondent (31).

- (31) *Inho-ka Mina-lul ku phyenci-lul ilk-key ha-yss-ta.*  
 Inho-Nom Mina-Acc the letter-Acc read-Comp Caus-Past-Ind

'Inho made Mina read the letter.'

Sentence (30) would be appropriate in a situation in which the causer wanted the letter to be read--by anyone at all--so that the causer could learn its contents. By contrast, (31) would fit a situation in which the causer specifically

wanted the causee to know the contents of the letter.<sup>9</sup> In addition, (30) implies that there were other people besides the causee *Mina* whom the causer might have made read the letter, whereas (31) does not necessarily imply this.

These semantic differences between the instrumental- and the accusative-marked causee are not restricted to the syntactic causative, but apply more generally to the alternation between the accusative case and the instrumental case. In Korean, constituents which typically bear the accusative case may alternatively be marked by the instrumental case, as illustrated in (32) and (33).<sup>10</sup>

(32) *na-nun chengpaci*-{a. *lul*, b. *lo*} *ip-ul-lay*.  
I-Top blue-jeans-{ Acc Ins} wear-Fut-Ind

a. 'I will wear blue jeans.'

b. 'I will wear blue jeans (among possible choices).'

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<sup>9</sup> A similar meaning difference between instrumental-causee and dative- or accusative-causee is reported in other languages, too: Bolivian Quechua and Kannada (Cole 1983), and Hindi (Saksena 1981).

<sup>10</sup> The reverse also holds true: Constituents which typically bear the instrumental case can alternatively be marked by the accusative, as illustrated in (ia, b).

(i) *Inho-ka ku khal*-(a. *lo*, b. *ul*) *sakwa-lul ssel-ess-ta*.  
Inho-Nom the knife-( Ins Acc) apple-Acc slice-Past-Ind

a. 'Inho sliced an apple with the knife.'

b. 'What Inho did to the knife was to use it in slicing an apple.'

In (ia), where the instrumental *khal* 'knife' is marked by the instrumental case, the focus is on the activity of slicing an apple. In (ib), by contrast, where it is marked by the accusative, the focus is on what the subject did to the knife. Note too that when an instrumental is marked by the instrumental case, the patient and the instrumental can be "scrambled", as illustrated in (iia) (corresponding to (ia)). When it is marked by the accusative, however, no scrambling is possible, as illustrated in (iib) ( corresponding to (ib)).

(ii) a. *Inho-ka sakwa-lul ku khal-lo ssel-ess-ta*.  
Inho-Nom apple-Acc the knife-Ins slice-Past-Ind  
'Inho sliced an apple with the knife.'

b. \**Inho-ka sakwa-lul ku khal-ul ssel-ess-ta*.  
Inho-Nom apple-Acc the knife-Acc slice-Past-Ind  
(Intended: 'What Inho did to the knife was to use it in slicing an apple.')

(33) *Inho-ka sakwa-{a. lul, b. lo} sa-ss-ta.*  
 Inho-Nom apple-{ Acc Ins} buy-Past-Ind

a. 'Inho bought apples.'

b. 'Inho bought apples (among possible choices).'

The (b) sentences in (32-33), in which the patient is marked by the instrumental case, imply that there are other candidates besides the stated nominal which could serve as patient of the predicate. By contrast, the (a) sentences in (32-33), where the patient is marked by the accusative case, have no such implication. Use of the instrumental case instead of the accusative in effect lowers the transitivity of the verb; rather than (for example) "buying apples", the subject is instead conceived of as engaging in the activity of "buying", using apples as the "instrument".

In Korean there are basically two types of nominal markings: case markers, such as nominative and accusative, and the so-called "delimiters" such as *-(n)un* (the topic marker) and *-to* 'also'. It is interesting that the instrumental suffix *-(u)lo* resembles a case marker in some way and a delimiter in others.

As a rule, one and the same nominal cannot bear two case markers, as illustrated in (34c, d). On the other hand, a given nominal can bear both a case marker and a delimiter, as in (35).

(34) a/b *Inho-ka Mina-{a. eykey, b. lul} chayk-ul cwu-ess-ta.*  
 Inho-Nom Mina-{ Dat Acc} book-Acc give-Past-Ind

'Inho gave a book to Mina.'

c/d *\*Inho-ka Mina-{c. eykey-lul, d. lul-eykey} chayk-ul cwu-ess-ta.*  
 Inho-Nom Mina-{ Dat-Acc Acc-Dat} book-Acc give-Past-Ind

'Inho gave a book to Mina.'

(35) *Inho-ka Mina-eykey-to chayk-ul cwu-ess-ta.*  
 Inho-Nom Mina-Dat-also book-Acc give-Past-Ind

'Inho gave a book to Mina, too (as well as to other people).'

Like delimiters, the instrumental suffix *-(u)lo* can be attached to nominals which already bear a case marker, as in (36)--though (36) is not as natural as (35).

- (36) *(?)Inho-ka Mina-eykey-lo chayk-ul cwu-ess-ta.*  
 Inho-Nom Mina-Dat-Ins book-Acc give-Past-Ind

'Inho gave a book to Mina (among possible recipients).'

Sentence (36) would fit a situation in which there were other people besides *Mina* to whom *Inho* could have given the book. Here the particle *-lo* appears to be functioning as a delimiter rather than a case marker.

When delimiters are attached to nominals in contexts calling for the nominative or accusative case, the case marker is regularly deleted, as illustrated in (37a, b).<sup>11</sup>

- (37) a. *Inho>(\*ka)-to Mina-lul manna-ss-ta.*  
 Inho-(Nom)-also Mina-Acc meet-Past-Ind

'Inho, too, met Mina.'

- b. *Inho-ka Mina(\*lul)-to manna-ss-ta.*  
 Inho-Nom Mina-(Acc)-also meet-Past-Ind

'Inho met Mina, too.'

The particle *-(u)lo* in (32), repeated as (38), then might be regarded as functioning as a delimiter rather than as the instrumental case.

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<sup>11</sup> Among delimiters, only *-man* 'only' can co-occur with the nominative or accusative case marker. In this case, quite exceptionally, the sequence is [nominal-*man*-case], as in (i). Normally the delimiters would follow case marker, as in (35).

(i) *Inho-ka Mina-man-ul manna-ss-ta.*  
 Inho-Nom Mina-only-Acc meet-Past-Ind  
 'Inho met Mina only.'

- (38) *na-nun chengpaci*-{a. *lul*, b. *lo*} *ip-ul-lay*.  
 I-Top bluejeans-{ Acc Ins} wear-Fut-Ind
- a. 'I will wear blue jeans.'
- b. 'I will wear blue jeans (among possible choices).'

Here the nominal *chengpaci* 'blue jeans' is not an instrumental, but a patient. This argues that the particle *-(u)lo* in (38) is functioning as a delimiter rather than as a case marker: a patient is usually not marked by the instrumental case. The delimiter *-(u)lo* then would seem to have replaced the accusative case marker, just as the delimiter *-to* 'also' replaces the accusative case marker in (37b). If so, the same particle *-(u)lo*, when used as a marker of the causee in the syntactic causative sentence (39b), might likewise be regarded as a delimiter replacing the accusative case.

- (39) *khun atul*-{a. *ul*, b. *lo*} *keki-ey ka-key ha-psita*.  
 eldest son-{ Acc Ins} there go-Comp Cause-let's
- a. 'Let's make the eldest son go there.'
- b. 'Let's make the eldest son (among possible choices) go there.'

It should be noted, however, that the particle *-(u)lo* differs from other delimiters in that the latter can be attached to nominals having any grammatical functions, whereas the former cannot be attached to a subject. Thus, while the delimiter *-to* 'also' can be attached to the subject, as in (37a), *-(u)lo* cannot, as in the corresponding example (40).

- (40) \**Inho-lo Mina-lul manna-ss-ta*.  
 Inho-Ins Mina-Acc meet-Past-Ind
- (Intended: 'Inho met Mina.')

It is not clear where this restriction on the particle *-(u)lo* comes from in its

function as a delimiter.

To recapitulate, the causee in the syntactic causative can be marked by the instrumental case marker *-(u)lo*, which in this use, however, might better be considered as a delimiter rather than as the instrumental case. The same particle can also mark the causee in the morphological causative, as will be discussed in Section 2.3.3.1. Henceforth I will indeed treat the particle *-(u)lo* marking the causee as a delimiter rather than as the instrumental case marker; like the other delimiters, it will not be discussed in subsequent chapters.<sup>12</sup>

### 2.2.3 Multiple Applications

The syntactic causative construction can be embedded within itself, as in (41), but more than one such embedding is not acceptable, as shown in (42).

- (41) *Inho-ka Mina-eykey ku ai-lul ka-key ha-key ha-yss-ta.*  
 Inho-Nom Mina-Dat the kid-Acc go-Comp Cause-Comp Caus-Past-Ind  
 'Inho had Mina make the kid go.'

- (42) \**Inho-ka Mina-eykey Toli-eykey ku ai-lul ka-key ha-key*  
 Inho-Nom Mina-Dat Toli-Dat the kid-Acc go-Comp Cause-Comp  
*ha-key ha-yss-ta.*  
 Cause-Comp Cause-Past-Ind

(Intended: 'Inho had Mina have Toli made the kid go.')

It is not clear whether this unacceptability is an issue of grammaticality or of

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<sup>12</sup> The particle *-(u)lo* is in fact a lexeme exhibiting a very complex polysemy network. While doing fieldwork on Lithuanian, I realized that most of its functions are paralleled by the various functions of the instrumental case in Balto-Slavic (cf. J. Park in preparation). The function of the particle *-(u)lo* as a marker of the causee, I think, finds a place in this polysemy network.

processing. Sentence (42) is a multiple center-embedded sentence, which usually poses a processing problem. According to Bever and Langendoen (1971), multiple center-embedded sentences like (43a) were frequently given paraphrases like (43b) by subjects.

- (43) a. *The boy the men the girl liked hated laughed.*  
 b. *The boy, the man, and the girl liked, hated, and laughed.*

(Bever and Langendoen 1971:37)

If the effected predicate is ditransitive, even the doubling of the syntactic causative may sometimes be unacceptable, as illustrated in (44).

- (44) \**Inho-ka Mina-eykey Toli-eykey Inhi-eykey ku chayk-ul*  
 Inho-Nom Mina-Dat Toli-Dat Inhi-Dat the book-Acc  
*cwu-key ha-key ha-yss-ta.*  
 give-Comp Cause-Comp Cause-Past-Ind

(Intended: 'Inho had Mina have Toli give a book to Inhi.')

The unacceptability of sentence (44) may be due to the multiple occurrence of dative-marked nominals in sequence. If some of these dative-marked nominals are replaced by other forms allowed independently, the construction becomes acceptable, as in (45).

- (45) *Inho-ka Mina-eykey Toli-lo.hayekum ku chayk-ul Inhi-eykey*  
 Inho-Nom Mina-Dat Toli-Cc the book-Acc Inhi-Dat  
*cwu-key ha-key ha-yss-ta.*  
 give-Comp Cause-Comp Cause-Past-Ind

'Inho had Mina have Toli give the book to Inhi.'

Here the second causee *Toli* is marked with the causee case *-(u)lo.hayekum*

and the goal and patient of the effected predicate have been scrambled, thereby avoiding the problems of multiple dative-marked nominals in sequence.

The syntactic causative can have as its complement a morphological causative, as illustrated in (46). However, a morphological causative cannot be formed from either the causative verb *ha-ta* 'Cause' in the syntactic causative construction (see (47)) or a verb which is itself a morphological causative (see (48)).

- (46) *Inho-ka Mina-eykey Toli-lul wus-ki-key ha-yss-ta.*  
 Inho-Nom Mina-Dat Toli-Acc laugh-Caus-Comp Cause-Past-Ind

'Inho made Mina make Toli laugh.'

- (47) \**Inho-ka Mina-eykey Toli-lul wus-key ha-i-ess-ta.*  
 Inho-Nom Mina-Dat Toli-Acc laugh-Comp Cause-Caus-Past-Ind

(Intended: 'Inho made Mina make Toli laugh.')

- (48) \**Inho-ka Mina-eykey Toli-lul wus-ki-i-ess-ta.*  
 Inho-Nom Mina-Dat Toli-Acc laugh-Caus-Caus-Past-Ind

(Intended: 'Inho made Mina make Toli laugh.')

The reason that a morphological causative cannot be formed from a syntactic causative is simply that present-day Korean has no morphological causative form of the syntactic causative verb *ha-ta* 'do' (Middle Korean had such a form, *ha-i-ta* 'make do', which has since been lost). The ban on doubling the morphological causative (48) will be discussed in Section 2.3.1.

## 2.3 Morphological Causatives

### 2.3.1 Causative Suffixes

Sentences (49b) and (50b) are the morphological causative sentences de-

rived from the corresponding intransitive and transitive sentences (49a) and (50a), respectively.

- (49) a. *mul-i el-ess-ta.*  
water-Nom freeze-Past-Ind

'The water froze.'

- b. *Inho-ka mul-ul el-li-ess-ta.*  
Inho-Nom water-Acc freeze-Caus-Past-Ind

'Inho froze the water.'

- (50) a. *Mina-ka ku chayk-ul ilk-ess-ta.*  
Mina-Nom the book-Acc read-Past-Ind

'Mina read the book.'

- b. *Inho-ka Mina-eykey ku chayk-ul ilk-hi-ess-ta.*  
Inho-Nom Mina-Dat the book-Acc read-Caus-Past-Ind

'Inho made Mina read the book.'

The morphological causative is lexically restricted to a limited number of native Korean verbs. This lexical restriction will be discussed in greater detail in the next section.

In the morphological causative, the causal predicate is not a predicate in the usual sense, but a causative suffix. There are three types of causative suffixes used in the morphological causative: the *i*-type suffixes (*i*, *ki*, *li*, *hi*), the *wu*-type suffixes (*wu*, *kwu*, *hwu*), and the combination of these two types (*i.wu*), as illustrated in (51a-c).

- (51) a. *Inho-ka Mina-lul wus-ki-ess-ta.* (the *i*-type)  
Inho-Nom Mina-Acc laugh-Caus-Past-Ind

'Inho made Mina laugh.'

- b. *Inho-ka tam-ul nac-hwu-ess-ta.* (the *wu*-type)  
 Inho-Nom wall-Acc be.low-Caus-Past-Ind  
 'Inho lowered the wall.'
- c. *Inho-ka aki-lul ca-i.wu-ess-ta.*<sup>13</sup> (the doubling type)  
 Inho-Nom baby-Acc sleep-Caus-Past-Ind  
 'Inho put the baby to sleep.'

Which verbs take which of these three suffix types is strictly a lexical matter.

The selection of a particular form from among the *i*-type suffixes (*i*, *ki*, *li*, *hi*) is closely related to the final segment of the stem. In general (though with some exceptions), the morphophonemic environments for the *i*-type suffixes are as follows:<sup>14</sup>

(51) (a) *ki*: after *s* or a nasal (*m* or *n*)

|          |               |                |                  |                      |
|----------|---------------|----------------|------------------|----------------------|
| <i>s</i> | <i>wus-ta</i> | 'laugh'        | <i>wus-ki-ta</i> | 'make laugh'         |
|          | <i>pes-ta</i> | 'take off'     | <i>pes-ki-ta</i> | 'make take off'      |
| <i>m</i> | <i>nam-ta</i> | 'remain, ...'  | <i>nam-ki-ta</i> | 'make remain, leave' |
|          | <i>kam-ta</i> | 'close (eyes)' | <i>kam-ki-ta</i> | 'make close (eyes)'  |
| <i>n</i> | <i>an-ta</i>  | 'hold in arms' | <i>an-ki-ta</i>  | 'make hold in arms'  |

<sup>13</sup> In (51c) the two causative morphemes *-i* and *-wu* function jointly as a single causative suffix. This will be discussed later in this section.

<sup>14</sup> The morphophonemic characterizations presented below as (52) and (55) are based on Y. Kim (1984, Section 3.5), except as regards the form *li* in (52c). Kim does not treat *li* as an independent form, but as a form derived from *i* by the *l*-gemination rule. By contrast, I treat *li* as an independent form, for the following reason. In Middle Korean, derived causative verbs whose stems ended in *l* typically took the causative suffix *i*; *l*-gemination took place later, though some such derived causative verbs could already have an *l*-geminated form even in Middle Korean. Thus the causative verb derived from *nol-ta* 'play' was either *nol-i-ta* 'make play' or *nol-li-ta* in Middle Korean, but only *nol-li-ta* in present-day Korean. Today, although most such causative verbs have undergone the *l*-gemination, some have not (e.g. *cwul-ta* 'decrease [Vi]' and *cwul-i-ta* 'decrease [Vt]'). Thus the *l*-gemination process is not totally predictable. For this reason, I have chosen to represent derived causative verbs in their surface forms, for the sake of clarity of exposition, in order to directly display the relatedness between root verbs and their derived causative verbs. A derived causative verb such as *nol-li-ta* 'make play', accordingly, is represented as such, and not as *nol-i-ta*.

*sin-ta* 'put on (shoes)'      *sin-ki-ta* 'make put on (shoes)'

(b) *hi*: after a lenis stop (*p, t, k*, or *c*)

|          |                |                     |                   |                          |
|----------|----------------|---------------------|-------------------|--------------------------|
| <i>p</i> | <i>cop-ta</i>  | 'be narrow'         | <i>cop-hi-ta</i>  | 'make narrower'          |
|          | <i>ep-ta</i>   | 'carry on the back' | <i>ep-hi-ta</i>   | 'make carry on the back' |
| <i>t</i> | <i>kwut-ta</i> | 'be(come) hard'     | <i>kwut-hi-ta</i> | 'make harder'            |
|          | <i>pat-ta</i>  | 'receive'           | <i>pat-hi-ta</i>  | 'make receive, offer'    |
| <i>k</i> | <i>sik-ta</i>  | 'get cold'          | <i>sik-hi-ta</i>  | 'make cold'              |
|          | <i>ilk-ta</i>  | 'read'              | <i>ilk-hi-ta</i>  | 'make read'              |
| <i>c</i> | <i>anc-ta</i>  | 'sit'               | <i>anc-hi-ta</i>  | 'seat'                   |
|          | <i>enc-ta</i>  | 'place on'          | <i>enc-hi-ta</i>  | 'make place on'          |

(c) *li*: after *l*, a *t*-irregular verb, or a *lu*-irregular verb<sup>15</sup>

|           |                 |              |                   |                   |
|-----------|-----------------|--------------|-------------------|-------------------|
| <i>l</i>  | <i>nal-ta</i>   | 'fly'        | <i>nal-li-ta</i>  | 'make fly'        |
|           | <i>tul-ta</i>   | 'lift, hold' | <i>tul-li-ta</i>  | 'make hold'       |
| <i>t</i>  | <i>ket-ta</i>   | 'walk'       | <i>kel-li-ta</i>  | 'make walk'       |
|           | <i>sit-ta</i>   | 'load'       | <i>sil-li-ta</i>  | 'make load'       |
| <i>lu</i> | <i>kwulu-ta</i> | 'roll [Vi]'  | <i>kwul-li-ta</i> | 'roll [Vt]'       |
|           | <i>nwulu-ta</i> | 'press down' | <i>nwul-li-ta</i> | 'make press down' |

<sup>15</sup> The *t*-irregular verbs are verbs with stems ending in *t*, which changes into *l* before a vowel:

|               |                              |                   |                     |          |
|---------------|------------------------------|-------------------|---------------------|----------|
| <i>mut-ta</i> | 'bury' (regular)             | <i>mut-ess-ta</i> | > <i>mut-ess-ta</i> | 'buried' |
| <i>mut-ta</i> | 'ask' ( <i>t</i> -irregular) | <i>mut-ess-ta</i> | > <i>mul-ess-ta</i> | 'asked'  |

The *lu*-irregular verbs are verbs with stems ending in *lu*. If a suffix beginning with a vowel is suffixed to a *lu*-irregular verb, the verb undergoes *u*-deletion and *l*-gemination:

|               |        |                   |                     |        |
|---------------|--------|-------------------|---------------------|--------|
| <i>olu-ta</i> | 'rise' | <i>olu-ass-ta</i> | > <i>ol-lass-ta</i> | 'rose' |
|---------------|--------|-------------------|---------------------|--------|

Causative verbs derived from both the *t*- and *lu*-irregular verbs typically took *i* in Middle Korean, but take *li* in Modern Korean:

|               |        |                      |          |                         |
|---------------|--------|----------------------|----------|-------------------------|
| <i>tut-ta</i> | 'hear' | <i>tul-i-ta</i> [MK] | 'inform' | <i>tul-li-ta</i> [ModK] |
| <i>olu-ta</i> | 'rise' | <i>oli-ta</i> [MK]   | 'raise'  | <i>oli-li-ta</i> [ModK] |

For the same reason given in footnote 14, such causative verbs are treated here as taking *li* rather than *i*.

(d) *i*: elsewhere

## After vowels

|               |            |                 |                 |
|---------------|------------|-----------------|-----------------|
| <i>po-ta</i>  | 'see'      | <i>po-i-ta</i>  | 'show'          |
| <i>nwu-ta</i> | 'evacuate' | <i>nwu-i-ta</i> | 'make evacuate' |

## After other consonants

|                 |               |                   |            |
|-----------------|---------------|-------------------|------------|
| <i>kkakk-ta</i> | 'cut'         | <i>kkakk-i-ta</i> | 'make cut' |
| <i>tah-ta</i>   | 'get touched' | <i>ta-i-ta</i>    | 'touch'    |

Although the selection of an allomorph from among the *i*-type suffixes is generally governed by the morphophonemic characterizations just given, several comments are in order. Verbs ending in one of the lenis stops (*p*, *t*, *c*, *k*) usually take *hi*, as in (52b). However, some such verbs take suffixes other than *hi*: some verbs ending in a lenis stop take *ki*, as in (53a); some verbs ending in *k* take *i*, as in (53b); other verbs ending in *k* can take either *hi* or *i*, as in (53c). Though verbs ending in *l* usually take *li*, some such verbs instead take *i*, as in (54).

- (53) a. *ttut-ta* 'graze'      *ttut-ki-ta* 'make graze'  
           *ccic-ta* 'tear'      *ccic-ki-ta* 'make tear'
- b. *cwuk-ta* 'die'      *cwuk-i-ta* 'kill'  
       *mek-ta* 'eat'      *mek-i-ta* 'feed'
- c. *nok-ta* 'melt [Vi]'      *nok-hi-ta* ~ *nok-i-ta* 'melt [Vt]'  
       *sak-ta* 'be digested'      *sak-hi-ta* ~ *sak-i-ta* 'digest'
- (54) *cwul-ta* 'decrease'      *cwul-i-ta* 'make decrease'  
       *tul-ta* 'move-in'      *tul-i-ta* 'make move-in'  
       *kiwul-ta* 'incline [Vi]'      *kiwul-i-ta* 'incline [Vt]'

K. Lee (1972:94) suggests the possibility of reconstructing the proto-form \* $\gamma$ i for all the variants of the *i*-type suffix. Similarly, there are synchronic studies which have posited a single underlying form and derived the other three from it: *hi* is proposed by C. Kim (1973) and S. Bak (1982), and *ki* by Y. Kang (1991). I agree with Y. Kim's (1984:102) judgment that, from a synchronic point of view, it seems a hopeless task to derive all the surface variants from a single underlying form.

The morphophonemic environments for the *wu*-type suffixes (*wu*, *kwu*, *hwu*) are as follows:

(55) (a) *hwu*: after *c*

|               |           |                   |         |
|---------------|-----------|-------------------|---------|
| <i>nuc-ta</i> | 'be late' | <i>nuc-hwu-ta</i> | 'delay' |
| <i>nac-ta</i> | 'be low'  | <i>nac-hwu-ta</i> | 'lower' |

(b) *kwu*: after a coronal consonant (except *c*)

|               |           |                   |                |
|---------------|-----------|-------------------|----------------|
| <i>sos-ta</i> | 'soar'    | <i>sos-kwu-ta</i> | 'make soar'    |
| <i>tot-ta</i> | 'rise'    | <i>tot-kwu-ta</i> | 'make higher'  |
| <i>tal-ta</i> | 'get hot' | <i>tal-kwu-ta</i> | 'heat (metal)' |

(c) *wu*: elsewhere

|                |            |                   |              |
|----------------|------------|-------------------|--------------|
| <i>kkay-ta</i> | 'awake'    | <i>kkay-wu-ta</i> | 'make awake' |
| <i>pi-ta</i>   | 'be empty' | <i>pi-wu-ta</i>   | 'make empty' |

Although the allomorph *wu* was used productively in Middle Korean (most of the derived causative verbs having *kwu* in present-day Korean had *wu* in Middle Korean), it is difficult to find incontrovertible examples of derived causative verbs in *wu* in present-day Korean. For example, the derived causative verb *pi-wu-ta* 'make empty' could just as well be seen as an instance

of the doubling type (i.e. *pi-i.wu-ta*). Causative verbs in *kwu* and *hwu*, however, are unproblematical.

The doubling type *i.wu* consists of the *i*-type suffix *i* and the *wu*-type suffix *wu* in combination. There is no doubling of causative suffixes of the same type (i.e. two *i*-type or two *wu*-type suffixes). Although the doubling form *i.wu* consists of two causative morphemes, it functions as a single causative suffix in terms of meaning, as illustrated in (51c), repeated here as (56).

- (56) *Inho-ka aki-lul ca-i.wu-ess-ta.*  
 Inho-Nom baby-Acc sleep-Caus-Past-Ind

'Inho put the baby to sleep.'

Such a doubling of causative markers without a double causative meaning is also found in other languages, such as Oromo (Dubinsky et al. 1988) and Turkish (Pederson 1992). In Turkish, for example, the doubling of causative markers can be taken as marking either a double causative meaning (57a) or the intensification of a single causative meaning (57b).

- (57) *General asker-e cocug-u döv-dür-t-tür-dü.*  
 general soldier-Dat boy-Acc beat-Caus-Caus-Past.3Sg

- a. 'The general had [someone] have the soldier beat the child.'  
 b. 'The general really forced the soldier to beat the child.'

(Turkish: Pederson 1992:198)

Some examples of causative verbs with the doubling form *i.wu* are given in (58).

- (58) *se-ta* 'stop [Vi], stand [Vi]' *se-i.wu-ta* 'stop [Vt], stand [Vt]'  
*ca-ta* 'sleep' *ca-i.wu-ta* 'put to sleep'

|                               |  |
|-------------------------------|--|
| <i>kki-ta</i> 'be held'       | <i>kki-i.wu-ta</i> 'put something between' |
| <i>khu-ta</i> 'be tall, grow' | <i>kh(u)-i.wu-ta</i> 'rear'                |

The causative verbs derived from the verbs *se-ta* 'stop, stand' and *ca-ta* 'sleep' were *se-i-ta* 'make stop, make stand' and *ca-i-ta* 'make sleep' in Middle Korean, though in present-day Korean they occur only in the doubling forms *se-i.wu-ta* and *ca-i.wu-ta*. This suggests that, in derived causative verbs with the doubling causative suffix *i.wu*, the causative suffix *wu* was added to causative verbs which already had the *i*-type causative suffixes. The verb *khu-ta* 'be tall, grow' can take either the suffix *i* (*kh(u)-i-ta* 'rear') or the doubling form *i.wu* (*kh(u)-i.wu-ta* 'rear'), though the latter is preferred; likewise the verb *kki-ta* 'be held' can take either *i* (*kki-i-ta* > *kki-ta* by the vowel contraction rule) or *i.wu* (*kki-i.wu-ta* > *kki-wu-ta* by the vowel contraction rule).<sup>16</sup>

The *i*-type causative suffixes occur with both intransitive and transitive effected predicates. The *wu*-type suffixes and the doubling form *i.wu* occur predominantly (though not exclusively) with intransitive effected predicates. As already remarked, the choice among these types is ultimately a lexical matter.

### 2.3.2 Lexical Restrictions<sup>17</sup>

While the syntactic causative is fully productive, the morphological causative is lexically restricted to a limited number of native Korean verbs.<sup>18</sup>

<sup>16</sup> See Section 2.3.2.2 (Type A) for detailed discussion of these two derived causative verbs.

<sup>17</sup> This section includes considerable data from Middle Korean. I owe much of the data to C. Yu (1964) (a dictionary of Middle and Modern Korean) and W. Huh (1975) (who presents the Middle Korean data for the purpose of a morphophonemic analysis of derived causative verbs), though some of the data is from my own research on Middle Korean texts.

<sup>18</sup> O'Grady (1991:154) states that between 400 and 500 native Korean verbs have derived causative verbs. Since he does not specify how he arrived at these statistics, however, it is difficult to comment on his statement. Counting the number of causative verbs in the dictio-

In Middle Korean, by contrast, the morphological causative was much more productive and was not restricted to native Korean verbs. The synchronic situation seen today is a consequence of historical development of the morphological causative. In this section, I will examine the nature and development of these differences between the Middle and the Modern Korean morphological causative.

The first question is why the present-day morphological causative is restricted to native Korean verbs while the Middle Korean morphological causative was not. The Korean lexicon is basically divided into native Korean vocabulary and Sino-Korean vocabulary. The Sino-Korean component, which comprises more than half of the vocabulary, consists of words borrowed directly from Chinese or coinages in Korean based on the borrowed Chinese component of the Korean lexicon.

Borrowed words, including Sino-Korean words, do not independently function as verbs in Korean: they are made into Korean verbs by the addition of the verb *ha-ta* 'do', as illustrated below.<sup>19</sup>

|                  |                            |                        |                 |
|------------------|----------------------------|------------------------|-----------------|
| <i>yenkwu</i>    | 'research' (Sino-Korean)   | <i>yenkwu-ha-ta</i>    | 'to research'   |
| <i>silhem</i>    | 'experiment' (Sino-Korean) | <i>silhem-ha-ta</i>    | 'to experiment' |
| <i>sukheychi</i> | 'sketch' (English)         | <i>sukheychi-ha-ta</i> | 'to sketch'     |
| <i>khaphi</i>    | 'copy' (English)           | <i>khaphi-ha-ta</i>    | 'to copy'       |

In Middle Korean, the verb *ha-ta* 'do' had its derived causative *ha-i-ta* 'make do',

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nary would not be appropriate, because many verbs listed as causative verbs in the dictionary no longer actually function as causative verbs today. Furthermore, speakers appear to differ in their judgments as to whether a given derived verb should count as a causative or not.

<sup>19</sup> Borrowed words can also be made into Korean verbs by means of the verb *toy-ta* 'become'; the resultant verb then functions as an inchoative or passive, e.g. *yenkwu* 'research' > *yenkwu-toy-ta* 'be researched'.

as illustrated in the following Middle Korean examples (59a, b).

- (59) a. *wang-i* [INI] *tol-ey* *kak-ha-i-si-e*  
king-Nom [someone] stone-Loc engrave-do-Caus-Hon-and  
(MK: *Wel.in.sek.po* 2:49)  
'The king made [someone] engrave on a stone.'
- b. "[DNI] *yong-ul* *hangpok-ha-i-myen*, . . ."  
[Buddha] dragon-Acc surrender-do-Caus-if, . . .  
(MK: *Wel.in.chen.kang.ci.kok* 99)  
'if [Buddha] made the dragon surrender, . . .'

However, this derived causative verb *ha-i-ta* 'make do' is no longer extant in present-day Korean.

Since the verb *ha-ta* 'do' has no morphological causative form, borrowed or Sino-Korean verbs such as *kak-ha-ta* 'to engrave' or *hangpok-ha-ta* 'to surrender', which are verbs by virtue of the incorporated *ha-ta*, cannot be causativized by means of the morphological causative. It follows that the morphological causative is restricted to native Korean verbs. Considering the enormous role of the Sino-Korean component in the Korean lexicon, the extinction of the derived causative verb *ha-i-ta* 'make do' has thus resulted in a drastic reduction in the productivity of the morphological causative.

In present-day Korean, borrowed verbs can be causativized either by the syntactic causative or by the suppletive causative verb *sikhi-ta* 'make do' (which has replaced the obsolete *ha-i-ta* 'make do'), as illustrated in (60a, b), respectively.

- (60) a. *Inho-ka* *Mina-eykey* *hangpok-ha-key* *ha-yss-ta*.  
Inho-Nom Mina-Dat surrender-do-Comp Cause-Past-Ind  
'Inho had Mina surrender.'

- b. *wuli-ka cek-ul hangpok-sikhi-ess-ta.*  
 we-Nom enemy-Acc surrender-make.do-Past-Ind

'We made the enemy surrender.'

The suppletive causative verb *sikhi-ta* 'make do' will be discussed in detail in Section 2.4.3.1.

A second factor contributing to the decline of the morphological causative is the fact that many causative verbs derived from native Korean verbs have become obsolete since Middle Korean. There are four types of situations that show differences between a Middle Korean causative/non-causative pair and its reflexes in present-day Korean. First, both the root verb and the corresponding derived causative may have become obsolete, e.g.:<sup>20</sup>

|                    |                 |                      |                   |
|--------------------|-----------------|----------------------|-------------------|
| <i>(kask-ta)</i>   | 'endeavor'      | <i>(kask-i-ta)</i>   | 'make endeavor'   |
| <i>(kisk-ta)</i>   | 'be glad'       | <i>(kisk-i-ta)</i>   | 'make glad'       |
| <i>(samach-ta)</i> | 'know well'     | <i>(samach-i-ta)</i> | 'make know well'  |
| <i>(ceh-ta)</i>    | 'be frightened' | <i>(ceh-hi-ta)</i>   | 'make frightened' |

The verb *kisk-ta* 'be glad' and its derived causative verb *kisk-i-ta* 'make glad', for example, both existed in Middle Korean, as seen in the Middle Korean examples (61a, b).

- (61) a. "*Chenlyongphalpu-ka . . . kisk-e.ha-te-ni*"  
 C.-Nom be.glad-do- . . .  
 (MK: *Wel.in.chen.kang.ci.kok* 22)

'Chenlyongphalpu . . . was glad'

- b. "*epei-lul kisk-i-m-ulosse*"  
 parents-Acc be.glad-Caus-Nominalizer-by  
 (MK: *So.hak.en.hay* 5:37)

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<sup>20</sup> Parenthesized verbs in the lists in this section indicate obsolete verbs.

'by making parents glad'

Neither exists today. When root verbs and their derived causative verbs are both obsolete, there is no way they can participate in the pattern of the present-day morphological causative.

Second, certain derived causative verbs have become obsolete, while the corresponding non-causative verbs are still extant, e.g.:

|                 |            |                     |              |
|-----------------|------------|---------------------|--------------|
| <i>etwup-ta</i> | 'be dark'  | <i>(etwu-i-ta)</i>  | 'make dark'  |
| <i>malk-ta</i>  | 'be clean' | <i>(malk-i-ta)</i>  | 'make clean' |
| <i>swi-ta</i>   | 'rest'     | <i>(swi-wu-ta)</i>  | 'make rest'  |
| <i>cec-ta</i>   | 'get wet'  | <i>(cec-i-ta)</i>   | 'make wet'   |
| <i>pili-ta</i>  | 'be fishy' | <i>(pili-wu-ta)</i> | 'make fishy' |

The verb *malk-ta* 'be clean' and its derived causative verb *malk-i-ta* 'make clean', for example, were used in Middle Korean, as in (62a, b). The Middle Korean example (62a) with the verb *malk-ta* 'be clean' can also be said in present-day Korean, but not (62b) with the derived causative verb *malk-i-ta* 'make clean'. The comparable meaning would be expressed today by the syntactic causative, as in (62c).

- (62) a. "*kalam-i malk-ani, . . .*"  
 river-Nom be.clean-because  
 (MK: *Twu.si.en.hay* 8: 24)

'Because the river is clean, . . .'

- b. "*maum-ul malk-i-ese*"  
 mind-Acc be.clean-Caus-by  
 (MK: *Twu.si.en.hay* 9: 20)

'by making one's mind clean'

- c. *maum-ul malk-key ha-yse*  
 mind-Acc be.clean-Comp Cause-by  
 'by making one's mind clean'

This type of change has resulted in a reduction in the productivity of the morphological causative even in native Korean verbs.

Third, certain derived causative verbs have been retained even though the corresponding non-causative verb has become obsolete, e.g.:

- |                   |               |                   |                 |
|-------------------|---------------|-------------------|-----------------|
| <i>(kuch-ta)</i>  | 'stop [Vi]'   | <i>kuch-i-ta</i>  | 'stop [Vi, Vt]' |
| <i>(tasal-ta)</i> | 'be governed' | <i>tasal-i-ta</i> | 'govern'        |
| <i>(tat-ta)</i>   | 'run [Vi]'    | <i>tal-li-ta</i>  | 'run [Vi, Vt]'  |

Thus the verb *tasal-ta* 'be governed' and its derived causative verb *tasal-i-ta* 'govern' were both used in Middle Korean, as in (63a, b).

- (63) a. "*manhun min-i tasal-a pyenanha-mye*"  
 many people-Nom be.governed-so be.peaceful-and  
 (MK: *Sang.wen.sa. kwen.sen.mun*)  
 'Many people are governed (well), so they are peaceful, and'
- b. "[DNI] *sachenha tasal-i-si-taka*"  
 [he] world be.governed-Caus-Hon-while  
 (MK: *Wel.in.sek.po 1:19*)  
 'While [he] was governing the world'

The non-causative verb *tasal-ta* 'be governed' in (63a) has become obsolete. The derived causative verb *tasal-i-ta* 'govern' survives, but has undergone phonological change, becoming *tasuli-ta* 'govern' in present-day Korean.

Originally, the derived causative verbs *kuch-i-ta* 'stop [Vi, Vt]'

and *tal-li-ta* 'run [Vi, Vt]'

were transitive verbs derived from the corresponding intransitives *kuch-ta* 'stop [Vi]'

and *tat-ta* 'run [Vi]'

, respectively. While the root verbs have

become obsolete, the derived causative verbs have taken over the meaning of their root verbs so that they now function as both intransitive and transitive verbs.

Strictly speaking, this kind of change does not count as a "loss" of derived causative verbs. But since the corresponding non-causatives have been lost, the once transparently derived causative verbs are no longer seen as derived causatives, but as non-derived simple verbs.

Fourth, many derived causative verbs have changed their functions. The Middle Korean morphological causative appears to have expressed indirect causation much more productively than does the present-day morphological causative, which is used almost exclusively to express direct causation. Consider the following Middle Korean morphological causative example.

- (64) "seng pakk-ey ilkop cel il-e, cwung sal-i-si-ko"  
 city.wall outside seven temple make-and monk live-Caus-Hon-and  
 [MK: *Wel.in.sek.po* 2:77]

[He] made seven Buddhist temples outside the city wall, and made  
 Buddhist priests live [there].'

Here the derived causative verb *sal-i-ta* 'make someone live in a place' in (64) (which became *sal-li-ta* later by *l*-gemination) clearly expresses indirect causation. In present-day Korean the derived causative verb *sal-li-ta* cannot express the same indirect causative situation, as illustrated in (65a), but it can express direct causation (*save someone's life*), as in (65b). For the intended meaning of (65a), the syntactic causative is used in present-day Korean, as in (65c).

- (65) a. \*Inho-ka Mina-lul L.A.-ey sal-li-ess-ta.  
 Inho-Nom Mina-Acc L.A.-in live-Caus-Past-Ind

(Intended: 'Inho made Mina live in L.A.')

- b. *Kim paksa-ka ku hwanca-lul sal-li-ess-ta.*  
 Kim Dr.-Nom the patient-Acc live-Caus-Past-Ind  
 'Dr. Kim saved the patient's life.' (Lit. 'made the patient live.')
- c. *Inho-ka Mina-lul L.A.-ey sal-key ha-yss-ta.*  
 Inho-Nom Mina-Acc L.A.-in live-Comp Cause-Past-Ind  
 'Inho made Mina live in L.A.'

Furthermore, many derived causative verbs listed in the contemporary dictionary--verbs which inherently express indirect causation, due to the meaning of the stem (i.e. the causee must be agentive)--are in fact not actively in the everyday vocabulary of present-day native speakers.<sup>21</sup> Take, for example, the derived causative *noh-i-ta* 'make put'. Since the verb is listed in the dictionary of Modern Korean, one might think that sentences like (66) should be possible.

- (66) \**Inho-ka Mina-eykey chayk-ul chayksang wi-ey noh-i-ess-ta.*  
 Inho-Nom Mina-Dat book-Acc desk on put-Caus-Past-Ind  
 (Intended: 'Inho made Mina put the book on the desk.')

Yet sentence (66) is not acceptable. Note that this verb *noh-i-ta* inherently expresses indirect causation, due to the meaning of the stem verb *noh-ta* 'put something on a place': in performing the action denoted by the stem verb, the causee must be agentive. This conflicts in function with the semantics of the present-day morphological causative construction, which is used almost exclusively to express direct causation.

The fact that the derived causative verb *ha-i-ta* 'make do' has become obso-

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<sup>21</sup> With effort, one can "force" a causative interpretation for some of these verbs, but it is not natural. Many such verbs do have a passive meaning, however.

lete, which was discussed at the beginning of this section, can be explained in the same way. The derived causative verb *ha-i-ta* 'make someone do something' inherently expresses indirect causation in that the causee is agentive. As explained, this meaning would not be functionally compatible with the modern morphological causative.

Examples (64-66) suggest that the Middle Korean morphological causative expressed indirect causation much more productively than does the present-day Korean construction, which is used almost exclusively to express direct causation. Because of this functional change of the morphological causative, derived causative verbs which inherently express indirect causation due to the meaning of the stem have become obsolete or marginal. Extant derived causative verbs therefore typically express direct causation, as illustrated in (67a, b).

- (67) a. *Inho-ka aki-eykey wuyu-lul mek-i-ess-ta.*  
 Inho-Nom baby-Dat milk-Acc eat-Caus-Past-Ind

'Inho fed milk to the baby.'

- b. *Inho-ka ku mal-hanthey caykal-ul mul-li-ess-ta.*  
 Inho-Nom the horse-Dat bit-Acc hold.with.lips-Caus-Past-Ind

'Inho put a bit in the horse's mouth.'

Another type of functional change which the morphological causative has undergone is illustrated by the following examples.

- (68) a. "[DNI] *ai-lo hwenhi tung-ul kulk-hi-ko*"  
 [I] child-Ins cool back-Acc scratch-Caus-and  
 [MK: *Twu.si.en.hay* 15:4]

'[I] had my child scratch my back "cool" [i.e. relieving the itch]'

- b. *Inho-ka Mina-eykey elkwul-ul kulk-hi-ess-ta.*  
 Inho-Nom Mina-Dat face-Acc scratch-Caus/Pass-Past-Ind

'Inho got his face scratched by Mina'

The derived verb *kulk-hi-ta* is used causatively in the Middle Korean example (68a), but passively in the present-day Korean example (68b). Since this derived verb cannot be used causatively in present-day Korean, as illustrated in (69), a modern speaker might think that the derived verb *kulk-hi-ta* in (68a) was also being used passively.

- (69) \**Inho-ka Mina-eykey Toli-uy tung-ul kulk-hi-ess-ta.*  
 Inho-Nom Mina-Dat Toli-Gen back-Acc scratch-Caus-Past-Ind

(Intended: 'Inho made Mina scratch Toli's back.')

For two reasons, however, it is clear that *kulk-hi-ta* is being used causatively in (68a). First, example (68a) is taken from the translation of a Chinese poem, in which the corresponding expression is indeed a causative. Moreover, the causee in (68a) is marked by the instrumental case *-lo*, which cannot mark the passive-agent of the morphological passive but does mark the causee in causative constructions. Thus *kulk-hi-ta* has lost its causative meaning but survives as a passive. A number of derived causative verbs have undergone various functional changes of this kind, which will be discussed in greater detail in Chapter 4.

In this section, we have examined lexical restrictions on the morphological causative construction. Many of these appear to follow directly from the changes in function undergone by the morphological causative: from a productive use as indirect causative in Middle Korean, it has become in present-day Korean almost exclusively an expression of direct causation. Accordingly, most older derived causative verbs that inherently expressed indirect causa-

tion due to the meaning of the stem have become obsolete or are not really usable in spoken Korean, even if they are still listed in the dictionary of Modern Korean. The derived causative verb *ha-i-ta* 'make someone do something', which inherently expresses indirect causation, has become obsolete for the same reason. Among the results of this shift is the lexical restriction of the morphological causative to native Korean verbs, since non-Korean verbs are formed with *ha-ta*, whose derived causative *ha-i-ta* has dropped out of use.

### 2.3.3 Case-Marking of the Causee

In the morphological causative, the causee can be marked by the accusative case if the effected predicate is intransitive, as in (70), and by either the dative or the accusative if the effected predicate is transitive as in (71a, b).

- (70) *Inho-ka Mina-lul wus-ki-ess-ta.*  
 Inho-Nom Mina-Acc laugh-Caus-Past-Ind

'Inho made Mina laugh.'

- (71) *Inho-ka Mina-{a. eykey, b. lul} wuyu-lul mek-i-ess-ta.*  
 Inho-Nom Mina-{ Dat Acc} milk-Acc eat-Caus-Past-Ind

'Inho fed milk to Mina.'

There is no controversy about these case-marking patterns of the causee in the morphological causative--as far as they go.

However, I. Yang (1972) has pointed out that the causee of the morphological causative with intransitive effected predicate can also be marked by the dative case. And I have mentioned elsewhere (J. Park forthcoming b) that the causee can also be marked by the instrumental case, regardless of the transitivity of the effected predicate. In this section, I will discuss these two case-

marking patterns of the causee in the morphological causative.

### 2.3.3.1 The Instrumental Case

Consider the following morphological causative sentences, in which the causees are marked by the instrumental case.

- (72) *Inho-ka Mina-lo wul-li-ess-ta.*  
Inho-Nom Mina-Ins cry-Caus-Past-Ind

'Inho made Mina cry.' (as if: Inho made a crying sound by Mina.)

- (73) *Inho-ka Mina-lo chayk-ul ilk-hi-ess-ta.*  
Inho-Nom Mina-Ins book-Acc read-Caus-Past-Ind

'Inho made Mina read a book.' (as if: Inho had a reading taken place by Mina.)

As these examples show, the causee in the morphological causative can be marked by the instrumental case regardless of whether the effected predicate is intransitive (72) or transitive (73).

When I first asked other native speakers about the acceptability of sentences like (72) and (73), taken out of context, some speakers accepted them while others did not. But the acceptability improved markedly when appropriate contexts were provided. I gave my consultants the following context for the intransitive morphological causative (cf. (72)): A group of kidnappers have taken several children and are about to make a threatening phone call; one of them asks (74a), and their leader answers with (74b).

- (74) a. *etten ai-lo wul-li-l-kkayo?*  
which child-Ins cry-Caus-Fut-Int

'Which child shall I make cry?' (By which child shall I make a crying

sound?)

- b. *ce ai-lo wul-li-e.*  
that child-Ins cry-Caus-Imp

'Make that child cry.' (Make a crying sound by that child.)

All the consultants accepted (74a, b). For the transitive morphological causative (cf. (73)) the following context was given: A school principal is visiting a class to see how good the students are in reading; the teacher asks the principal the question in (75a), and the principal answers with (75b).

- (75) a. *etten haksayng-ulo ilk-hi-l-kkayo?*  
which student-Ins read-Caus-Fut-Int

'Which student shall I make read?' (By whom shall I have a reading taken place?)

- b. *ce haksayng-ulo ilk-hi-e.po-si-eyo.*  
that student-Ins read-Caus-Try-Hon-Imp

'Please make that student read.' (Please have a reading taken place by that student.)

Here again, all the consultants accepted (75a, b).

Because of the very special semantics of instrumental-causee morphological causative sentences, native speaker acceptability judgments seem to depend on a subtle ability to imagine appropriate contexts. Like the syntactic causative with an instrumental-marked causee discussed in section 2.2.2.3, the morphological causative with an instrumental-marked causee fits situations in which (a) the causer's primary concern is to bring about the caused event rather than to affect the causee and (b) the causee is chosen from a set of two or more available candidates. These characteristics explain why the

sentences in (74) and (75) were accepted even by speakers who had rejected sentences like (72-73). Since (72) and (73) were presented to the consultants without any context, they had to imagine possible contexts in which such sentences could be used appropriately, which seems to have led to their rejection by some speakers. On the other hand, the consultants accepted the sentences in (74-75) because they were given contexts in which such sentences could be used appropriately: the causee is explicitly chosen from a larger group of possible candidates.

In Middle Korean, too, the causee of the morphological causative could be marked by the instrumental case for both intransitive and transitive effected predicates, as in (76a, b).

- (76) a. "onswu      nayngswu-**lo**      cwawu-ey      **nali-o-a**,  
hot.water    cold.water-Ins    left.right-Loc    fall-Caus-and  
  
*kwulyong-i*      *mota*      [DNI]      *sis-ki-sap-ani*"  
nine.dragon-Nom    together    [Buddha]    wash-Caus-Obj.Hon-Ind  
(MK: *Wel.in.chen.kang.ci.kok* 20)

'Making hot and cold water fall right and left of him, the nine dragons together washed Buddha.'

- b. "[DNI]    *ai-lo*      *hwenhi*    *tung-ul*      **kulk-hi-ko**"  
[I]      child-Ins    cool      back-Acc    scratch-Caus-and  
(MK: *Twu.si.en.hay* 15:4)

'[I] made my child scratch my back "cool" [i.e. relieving the itch]'

I have already mentioned, in section 2.2.2.2, that in the case marker *-(u)lo.hayekum* (causee case), the particle *-(u)lo* is the instrumental case marking the causee of the obsolete derived causative verb *ha-i-ta* 'make do'.

Even in the limited texts of Middle Korean that I have looked at, we can find instances of the morphological causative such as (76a, b) in which the causee

is marked by the instrumental case. In the present-day Korean texts I examined, by contrast, I could not find any instances of the morphological causative with an instrumental-marked causee. As noted above, some native speakers do not accept morphological causative sentences with an instrumental-marked causee in isolation, though they do accept it when presented with appropriate context. This suggests that the status of the instrumental case as a marking of the causee of the morphological causative is considerably more marginal in present-day Korean than in Middle Korean.

This change seems to be related to the functional change of the morphological causative discussed in section 2.3.2. As remarked, in present-day Korean the morphological causative is used almost exclusively to express direct causation, whereas in Middle Korean it could express indirect causation much more productively. Crosslinguistically, in languages where the causee can be marked by the instrumental case as well as by the dative or accusative case, the instrumental-marked causee is more agentive than the causee marked by the dative or the accusative case; hence the instrumental-marked causee is typically used to express indirect causation.<sup>22</sup> As the indirect-causative function of the morphological causative has waned in Korean, therefore, the use of the instrumental to mark the causee has waned along with it.<sup>23</sup>

### 2.3.3.2 Dative-Marked Causees in Intransitive Morphological Causatives

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<sup>22</sup> For discussion of this characteristic of the instrumental-marked causee, see Cole (1983), Saksena (1981), and Kemmer and Verhagen (1994), among others.

<sup>23</sup> In Section 2.2.2.3, I raised the question of whether the particle *-(u)lo*, which marks the causee of the syntactic causative, is the instrumental case marker or a delimiter. The same question can be raised for *-(u)lo* with the morphological causative.

There is some debate over the status of the dative case as a marking of the causee in intransitive morphological causatives. Most scholars reject it. I. Yang (1972:202-203), however, states that dative marking of the causee is possible, as in (77).

(77) *John-i Mary-eykey wus-ki-n-ta.* (Yang 1972:202)  
 John-Nom Mary-Dat laugh-Caus-Pres-Ind

'John causes Mary to laugh.'

Patterson (1974:38) states that sentence (77) is acceptable whereas sentence (78), in which the causee is also marked by the dative case, is not.

(78) *\*nay-ka ai-eykey wul-li-ess-ta.* (Patterson 1974:38)  
 I-Nom child-Dat cry-Caus-Past-Ind

'I caused (let) the child to cry.' (English translation mine, based on Patterson's discussion)

O'Grady (1991:164) reports that three of his six consultants considered (77) unacceptable, and asserts that (77) means *John is funny to Mary* rather than *John causes Mary to laugh*.

In my speech, the possibility of marking the causee in intransitive morphological causatives with the dative case depends on the effected predicate. Consider the following sentences:

(79) *Inho-ka na-hanthey-nun* {a. *wus-ki,* b. *\*ca-i.wu}-ten-tey,  
 Inho-Nom I-Dat-Top { laugh-Caus sleep-Caus}-Past-tey  
*ne-hanthey-nun an* {a. *wus-ki,* b. *\*ca-i.wu}-ti?  
 you-Dat-Top not { laugh-Caus sleep-Caus}-Past.Int**

a. 'Inho tried to make me laugh. Didn't he try to make you laugh?'

b. (Intended: 'Inho put me to sleep. Didn't he put you to sleep?')

- (80) *ne-nun amu-hanthey-na* {a. *wus-ki*, b. *\*ca-i.wu}-ni?*  
 you-Top anyone-Dat-na { laugh-Caus sleep-Caus}-Int

a. 'Are you trying to make anyone laugh? (Don't try to make me laugh!)

b. (Intended: 'Do you put anyone to sleep?')

In these sentences the causee is marked by the dative case. To me, sentences (79a) and (80a), where the effected predicate is *wus-ta* 'laugh', sound fine, whereas sentences (79b) and (80b), in which the effected predicate is *ca-ta* 'sleep', sound awkward. It is not clear which types of effected predicates allow the dative-marked causee and which do not, or why such a difference should exist.

One thing to note in relation to the dative-marked causee in intransitive morphological causatives is a functional extension observed with certain derived causative verbs. Sentence (79a) can also mean *Inho was funny to me. Wasn't he funny to you?* The examples in (81) provide further instances of such a functional extension of derived causatives.

- (81) a. *nalssi-ka cwuk-i-(e.cwu)-n-ta.*  
 weather-Nom die-Caus-(Ben)-Pres-Ind

'The weather is "killing" (gorgeous).'

- b. *ce yeca cengmallo kkuthna-i-cwu-n-ta.*  
 that woman really end-Caus-Ben-Pres-Ind

'She is really "finishing" (gorgeous, beautiful, . . .).'

- c. *ku kanguy-ka sensayngnim-kkey-nun col-li-si-nka.po-ciyo?*  
 the lecture-nom you-Dat-Top doze-Caus-Hon-seem-Tag

'The lecture seems to be soporific to you, isn't it?'

In these examples, the subject is the stimulus. The experiencer can be overtly expressed as in (81c), and if so it is marked by the dative, though more typi-

cally it is not expressed (81a, b); in the latter case, the experiencer is either the speaker or generic.

### 2.3.4 Acquisition of Derived Causative Verbs

It appears to be common across languages that children can use non-causative verbs causatively. Bowerman (1974) discusses this for English-speaking children, as illustrated in (82).

(82) a. *I come it closer so it won't fall.* (= make it come closer; bring it closer)

b. *I can't eat her!* (= make her eat; feed her)

(Bowerman 1974:143-144)

Berman (1982) also discusses the phenomenon in Hebrew:

(83) a. *ra'iti et ha ciyurim le aba* (cf. *her'éyti* 'I showed')  
I.saw OM the drawings to Daddy

'I saw the drawings to Daddy.' (= showed the drawings to Daddy)

b. *ani roca še aba yoxal oti axšav* (cf. *ya'axil* 'will feed')  
I want that Daddy will.eat me now

'I want that Daddy will eat me now.' (= feed me now)

(Berman 1982:173)

I observed that my own daughter, Ye-hwan, passed through a stage of using non-causative verbs where derived causative verbs would be used in adult speech. For example, she uttered (84a) in a situation where an adult would have said (84b).

(84) a. "appa, os ip-e.cwu-e"  
Daddy, clothes put.on-Ben-Req

(Adult standard: 'Daddy, put on clothes (for me/someone).')

- b. *appa*, [DNI] *os-ul* *ip-hi-e.cwu-e*  
 Daddy, [I-Dat] clothes-Acc put.on-Caus-Ben-Req

'Daddy, put clothes on me.'

Since the Korean verbs of donning and doffing are inherently reflexives, the non-causative verb *ip-ta* in (84a) can only mean *put clothes on oneself*. For the meaning *put clothes on others*, the derived causative verb *ip-hi-ta* is used, as in (84b).

Further examples of this sort are given in (85). Ye-hwan's utterances are in the left column, with their literal meanings as translated. What she intended to express, however, were not the meanings in the left column, but those in the right column.

(85) Examples of the causative use of non-causative verbs

Ye-hwan's speech

Adult speech

- a. She sat on a swivel chair and asked me to turn the chair around.

|  |   |
|--|---|
| <i>"pingping tol-a.cwu-e"</i><br>round turn.around-Ben-Req | <i>pingping tol-li-e.cwu-e</i><br>round turn.around-Caus-Ben- ... |
|--|---|

'Turn around repeatedly.'

'Turn me around repeatedly.'

- b. She asked me to lay her down on her bed.

|   |   |
|---|---|
| <i>"nwu(p)-e.cwu-e"</i><br>lie.down-Ben-Req | <i>nwup-hi-e.cwu-e</i><br>lie.down-Caus-Ben-Req |
|---|---|

'Lie down.'

'Lay me down.'

- c. She asked me to put her on the bed.

|  |   |
|--|---|
| <i>"appa, oll-a.cwu-e"</i><br>Daddy rise-Ben-Req | <i>appa, ol-li-e.cwu-e</i><br>Daddy rise-Caus-Ben-Req |
|--|---|

(?) 'Daddy, put me (on the bed).'

d. She asked me to seat her on my lap.

"*an(c)-a.cwu-e*"                      *anc-hi-e.cwu-e*  
sit.down- Ben-Req                      sit.down-Caus-Ben-Req

'Sit down for me/someone.'                      'Sit me down.'

e. She asked me to put her shoes on.

"*sin sin-e.cwu-e*"                      *sin sin-ki-e.cwu-e*  
shoe put.on-Ben-Req                      shoe put.on-Caus-Ben-Req

'Put on shoes.'                      'Put shoes on me.'

f. She asked me to show a picture to her.

"*po-a.cwu-e*"                      *po-i-e.cwu-e*  
see-Ben-Req                      see-Caus-ben-Req

'Look at it.'                      'Show it to me.'

g. She asked me to take her clothes off.

"*os pes-e.cwu-e*"                      *os-ul pes-ki-e.cwu-e*  
clothes take.off-Ben-Req                      clothes-Acc take.off-Caus- . . .

'Take off clothes.'                      'Take my clothes off.'

h. She asked me to wash her hair.

"*meli kam-a.cwu-e*"                      *meli-lul kam-ki-e.cwu-e*  
hair wash-Ben-Req                      hair-Acc wash-Caus-Ben-Req

'Wash your hair.'                      'Wash my hair.'

In all these examples, Ye-hwan used the benefactive construction. The utterance in (85c), *olla-cwu-e*, does not make sense in adult speech, while the other utterances have meanings as translated. For the utterance in (85c) to be meaningful, it needs an additional deictic verb *o-ta* 'come' or *ka-ta* 'go': *oll-a.o-a.cwu-e* 'come up' or *oll-a.ka-cwu-e* 'go up'. The utterance in (85h) is often ob-

served even in adult speech: "*meli kam-a.cwu-e?*" 'Shall I wash your hair?'

When I realized that Ye-hwan was using non-causative verbs causatively, her age was about 2;4, and she used only non-causative verbs in contexts in which derived causative verbs are appropriate in adult speech. When her age was around 2;8, she began to use both forms (non-causatives and derived causatives) where derived causative verbs are appropriate in adult speech. Sometimes, shortly after using a non-causative verb, she used the causative verb corresponding to the non-causative, or vice versa. For example, she said both (86a, b) within a couple of minutes.

(86) "*appa, papi os {a. ip, b. ip-hi}-e.cwu-e*"  
 Daddy Barbie clothes put.on.self put.on.self-Caus}-Ben-Req

a. (Adult standard: 'Daddy, put on Barbie's clothes.')

b. 'Daddy, put clothes on Barbie (doll).'

By the age of three, she was using derived causative verbs more than non-causative verbs; by age 3;2 to 3;3, she was using derived causative verbs almost exclusively. Although I did not observe other children directly, several consultants told me that their children had also used or were using non-causative verbs in contexts where causative verbs would be appropriate in adult speech.<sup>24</sup>

## 2.4 Other Causative Constructions

### 2.4.1 Causative/Inchoative Alternation

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<sup>24</sup> A more comprehensive discussion of this acquisition issue and its theoretical implications would require further systematic observations, which I leave for future study.

Causative/inchoative alternations, as exemplified in (87a, b), appear to be common across languages.<sup>25</sup>

(87) a. *John broke the stick.* (Causative)

b. *The stick broke.* (Inchoative)

Causative/inchoative alternations can be manifested in various ways. In English, the alternation does not employ any special verb morphology, as illustrated in (87). In Lithuanian, it involves a change in the root: *lauz-ti* 'break (something)' <-> *luz-ti* 'become broken' (Nedyalkov and Silnitsky 1973). In Warlpiri, a change in the affix is involved, as illustrated in (88) (Guerssel et al. 1985).

(88) a. *Japanangka-rlu rdilyki-pu-ngu karli.*

'Japanangka broke the boomerang.'

b. *Karli rdilyki-ya-nu.*

'The boomerang broke.'

(Warlpiri: Guerssel et al. 1985:50. *rdilyki* 'break')

In Korean, some verbs exhibit causative/inchoative alternations similar to the Warlpiri type, as illustrated in (89).

(89) a. *Inho-ka maktayki-lul pul.e.ttuli-ess-ta.*  
Inho-Nom stick-Acc break-Past-Ind

'Inho broke the stick.'

b. *maktayki-ka pul.e.ci-ess-ta.*  
stick-Nom break-Past-Ind

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<sup>25</sup> For discussion of the causative/inchoative alternation, see Fillmore (1968), Nedyalkov and Silnitsky (1973), Keyser and Roeper (1984), and Guerssel et al. (1985).

'The stick broke.'

Here *pul-* is the root; *-ttuli* is the causative suffix; *-ci* is the inchoative suffix; and *-e* (alternating with *-a* according to vowel harmony rules) is an epenthetic vowel which is used in front of auxiliary verbs or between serial verbs. The inchoative suffix *-ci* is used elsewhere as an inchoative auxiliary or as the passive auxiliary in the syntactic passive, as illustrated in (90a, b) respectively.

- (90) a. *os-i*                      *cak-a.ci-ess-ta.*  
clothes-Nom    be.short-become-Past-Ind

'The clothes became short (i.e. I have grown up).'

- b. "*Hankul-un Seycong.taywang-ey.uyhay mantul-e.ci-ess-ta.*"  
Hankul-Top    Seycong.great.king-by    make-Pass-Past-Ind

'Hankul (the Korean alphabet) was invented by great king Seycong.'

On the other hand, the only function of *-ttuli-* is as the causative marker in causative/inchoative alternations.

In most of the verbs participating in the causative/inchoative alternation, the bare root cannot be used as an independent verb. Some examples of this type follow:

| <u>Causatives</u>      |                 | <u>Inchoatives</u>  |                           |
|------------------------|-----------------|---------------------|---------------------------|
| <i>mun-e.ttuli-ta</i>  | 'crumble'       | <i>mun-e.ci-ta</i>  | 'crumble'                 |
| <i>pul-e.ttuli-ta</i>  | 'break (stick)' | <i>pul-e.ci-ta</i>  | 'break'                   |
| <i>ssul-e.ttuli-ta</i> | 'make fall'     | <i>ssul-e.ci-ta</i> | 'fall'                    |
| <i>cappa-ttuli-ta</i>  | 'knock down'    | <i>cappa-ci-ta</i>  | 'fall on over one's back' |

Here there are no independent verbs like *mun-ta* and *cappa-ta*. In other such cases, however, the bare root can be used as an independent verb:

Causatives*kkay-ttuli-ta* 'break (dishes)'*kkunh-e.ttuli-ta* 'cut'*kk(u)-e.ttuli-ta* 'extinguish'Inchoatives*kkay-ci-ta* 'break'*kkunh-e.ci-ta* 'become cut'*kk(u)-e.ci-ta* 'become extinguished'

Here the roots *kkay-(ta)*, *kkunh-(ta)*, and *kku-(ta)* do exist as independent verbs; as such they are transitive, meaning 'break', 'cut', and 'extinguish' respectively.

In the latter type of alternating verbs, the roots are, as mentioned, transitive verbs. However, the transitive root and the derived causative verb sometimes show meaning differences. In the pair *kku-ta* 'extinguish' and *kk(u)-ettuli-ta* 'extinguish', for example, the former would fit a situation in which the subject extinguishes a fire with intention, whereas the latter would be appropriate if the subject does so unintentionally.

A final note about the alternation *kkunh-ta* 'cut (string-like objects intentionally)', *kkunh-e.ttuli-ta* 'cut (unintentionally)', and *kkunh-e.ci-ta* 'snap (cut-inchoative)'. Although the English verbs *break* and *cut* are both "change-of-state" verbs, the former participates in the causative/inchoative alternation (as seen in (87a, b) above) but the latter does not, as illustrated in (91a-c).

- (91) a. *John cut the bread.*  
 b. \**The bread cut.*  
 c. *The bread cuts well.* (Not inchoative, but middle)

As Guerssel et al. (1985) point out, this is typical across languages: the *break* class of verbs (*break, shatter, crumble, open, . . .*) typically exhibits the causative/inchoative alternation, whereas the *cut* class of verbs (*cut, slash, hit,*

*strike*, . . .) does not. In Korean, however, the verb *kkunh-ta* 'cut (string)' does exhibit the causative/inchoative alternation, as illustrated in (92a-c).

(92) a/b. *Inho-ka pascwul-ul* {a. *kkunh*, b. *kkunh-e.ttuli*}-*ess-ta*.  
 Inho-Nom rope-Acc { cut cut }-Past-Ind

'Inho cut the rope.'

c. *pascwul-i kkunh-e.ci-ess-ta*.  
 rope-Nom cut-become-Past-Ind

'The rope snapped.'

The verbs *kkunh-ta* 'cut (string-like objects intentionally)' and *kkunh-e.ttuli-ta* 'cut (string-like objects unintentionally)' in (92a, b) are causative verbs, and *kkunh-e.ci-ta* 'snap' in (92c) is the corresponding inchoative.

#### 2.4.2 Lexical Causatives

There are four types of lexical causative in Korean. First, the causative verb corresponding to the productive verb *ha-ta* 'do' is *sikhi-ta* 'make do'. Second, the causative verb corresponding to the inchoative verb *toy-ta* 'become' is also *sikhi-ta* 'make become'. I will call these the *sikhi-ta* lexical causative I and II, respectively. Third, the causative verb can be identical in form to the corresponding non-causative: e.g. *nayli-ta* 'get off' and *nayli-ta* 'bring down'. I will call this type the "identical" lexical causative. Fourth, the causative verb and its corresponding non-causative may form a suppletive pair, related only in meaning: e.g. *ka-ta* 'go' and *ponay-ta* 'send'. I will have nothing to say here about this fourth type. In the following three sections, I will discuss the first three types of lexical causative.

### 2.4.2.1 The *sikhi-ta* Lexical Causative I

The verb *ha-ta* means 'do' when it functions as the main verb, as illustrated in (93). Attaching the verb *ha-ta* to nominals or mimetics converts them into verbs or adjectival predicates, as illustrated in (94) and (95) respectively.

(93) *Inho-ka swukcey-lul ha-yss-ta.*  
 Inho-Nom homework-Acc do-Past-Ind

'Inho did homework.'

(94) *selkeci* 'dish washing'      *selkeci-ha-ta* 'do the dishes'

*mal* 'talk (N)'      *mal-ha-ta* 'talk (V)'

*swi* (mimetic)      *swi-ha-ta* 'piss'

*yenkwu* 'research (N)'      *yenkwu-ha-ta* 'research (V)'

(not available)      *kwu-ha-ta* 'seek'

*lisechi* 'research (N)'      *lisechi-ha-ta* 'research (V)'

(95) *thunthun* (mimetic)      *thunthun-ha-ta* 'be healthy'

*ccing* (mimetic)      *ccing-ha-ta* 'be touching'

*cengcik* 'honesty'      *cengcik-ha-ta* 'be honest'

*chincel* 'kindness'      *chincel-ha-ta* 'be kind'

(not available)      *sim-ha-ta* 'be extreme'

As discussed in section 2.3.2, borrowed words are made into Korean verbs by the addition of the verb *ha-ta*. Since more than half of Korean vocabulary is Sino-Korean, and Korean keeps borrowing foreign words, the number of *ha-ta* verbs is very large.

Most of these *ha-ta* verbs can be causativized by replacing *ha-ta* 'do' with the lexical causative verb *sikhi-ta* 'cause do', as illustrated in (96).

- (96) a. *cekkwun-i hangpok-ha-yss-ta.*  
 enemy.forces-Nom surrender-do-Past-Ind  
 'The enemy forces surrendered.'
- b. *akwun-i cekkwun-ul hangpok-sikhi-ess-ta.*  
 our.forces-Nom enemy.forces-Acc surrender-cause.do-Past-Ind  
 Our forces made the enemy forces surrender.'

However, there are two major sub-types of *ha-ta* verbs which cannot be causativized in this way. One such type comprises the adjectival predicates, like the *ha-ta* verbs in (95):

|                       |              |                           |
|-----------------------|--------------|---------------------------|
| <i>chincel-ha-ta</i>  | 'be kind'    | <i>*chincel-sikhi-ta</i>  |
| <i>cengcik-ha-ta</i>  | 'be honest'  | <i>*cengcik-sikhi-ta</i>  |
| <i>thunthun-ha-ta</i> | 'be healthy' | <i>*thunthun-sikhi-ta</i> |

The second sub-type, as noted by C. Lee (1973:147), includes those verbs whose roots are Sino-Korean monosyllabic bound morphemes, e.g.:

|                   |                       |              |                       |
|-------------------|-----------------------|--------------|-----------------------|
| <i>ko-ha-ta</i>   | 'tell (one's senior)' | <i>*ko</i>   | <i>*ko-sikhi-ta</i>   |
| <i>kwu-ha-ta</i>  | 'seek'                | <i>*kwu</i>  | <i>*kwu-sikhi-ta</i>  |
| <i>chwi-ha-ta</i> | 'choose'              | <i>*chwi</i> | <i>*chwi-sikhi-ta</i> |
| <i>tho-ha-ta</i>  | 'vomit'               | <i>*tho</i>  | <i>*tho-sikhi-ta</i>  |

In the above examples, the first column lists Sino-Korean *ha-ta* verbs having monosyllabic roots. As indicated in the second column, these roots are not free morphemes in Korean, though they are free words in Chinese. Finally, as shown in the third column, Sino-Korean *ha-ta* verbs of this type cannot be causativized with the verb *sikhi-ta*.

In Middle Korean, as mentioned in section 2.3.2, the verb *ha-ta* 'do' did have

a derived causative correspondent *ha-i-ta* 'make do', as illustrated in (97).

- (97) "[DNI] *yong-ul hangpok-ha-i-myen, . . .*"  
 [Buddha] dragon-Acc surrender-do-Caus-if, . . .  
 (MK: *Wel.in.chen.kang.ci.kok* 99)

'if Buddha made the dragon surrender, . . .'

When the derived causative verb *ha-i-ta* 'do-Caus' became obsolete, it was replaced by the lexical causative verb *sikhi-ta* 'cause do'.<sup>26</sup> The derived causative verb *hangpok-ha-i-ta* 'make surrender' in the Middle Korean example (97), for instance, is replaced by the lexical causative verb *hangpok-sikhi-ta* 'make surrender' in the present-day Korean example (96b).

#### 2.4.2.2 The *sikhi-ta* Lexical Causative II

Consider the following sentences:

- (98) a. *kyengchal-i Inho-lul kwusok-ha-yss-ta.*  
 police-Nom Inho-Acc restraint-do-Past-Ind  
 'The police restrained Inho.'
- b. *kyengchal-i Inho-lul kwusok-sikhi-ess-ta.*  
 police-Nom Inho-Acc restraint-cause.do-Past-Ind  
 'The police restrained Inho.' (i.e. The police made Inho become restrained.)

The verb *kwusok-ha-ta* 'restrain' in (98a) and the verb *kwusok-sikhi-ta* 'restrain' in (98b) have the same number of arguments. At first glance, the use

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<sup>26</sup> As discussed in section 2.3.2, the Middle Korean morphological causative was used to express indirect as well as direct causation, while its descendant is used almost exclusively to express direct causation. It is certain that *ha-i-ta* has also been replaced by the syntactic causative form *ha-key ha-ta* 'Cause do', especially when the *ha-i-ta* causative expressed indirect causation.

of *sikhi-ta* in (98b) might seem inappropriate, as explicitly stated in H. Choi (1961:416-7). However, there is a subtle meaning difference between (98a) and (98b): compared to (98a), sentence (98b) foregrounds the inchoative aspect, as suggested by the translation in parentheses in (98b).

This meaning difference between (98a, b) suggests that the non-causative sentence corresponding to the causative (98b) is not (98a)--with *ha-ta* 'do' mechanically converted to its causative counterpart *sikhi-ta*--but rather (99), in which the light verb is *toy-ta* 'become', as befits the inchoative aspect.<sup>27</sup>

- (99) *Inho-ka kwusok-toy-ess-ta.*  
Inho-Nom restraint-become-Past-Ind

'Inho became restrained.'

The verb *toy-ta* serves to recast nouns as inchoative verbs: e.g. *chatan* 'blocking' --> *chatan-toy-ta* 'become blocked' and *kwusok* 'restraint' --> *kwusok-toy-ta* 'become restrained'. Such inchoative verbs can be causativized by the verb *sikhi-ta*: e.g. *chatan-sikhi-ta* 'make become blocked' and *kwusok-sikhi-ta* 'make become restrained'.

When the verb *toy-ta* is used as a main verb, it can also be causativized, again with *sikhi-ta*, as illustrated in (100a, b).

- (100) a. *Inho-ka pancang-i toy-ess-ta.*  
Inho-Nom class.leader-Nom become-Past-Ind

'Inho became the class leader.'

- b. *sensayngnim-kkeyse Inho-lul pancang-ul sikhi-si-ess-ta.*  
teacher-Nom Inho-Acc class.leader-Acc cause.become-  
Hon-Past-Ind

'The teacher made Inho become the class leader (i.e., The teacher

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<sup>27</sup> I. Yang (1972:213-4) independently notes that the non-causative verb corresponding to the causative verb *sikhi-ta* can be *toy-ta* as well as *ha-ta*.

appointed Inho the class leader.')

Sentence (100b), with the causative verb *sikhi-ta* 'make become', might seem to be derivable from (101), with *ha-ta*, as well as from (100a), with *toy-ta*.

(101) *Inho-ka pancang-ul ha-yss-ta.*  
 Inho-Nom class.leader-Acc do-Past-Ind

'Inho did the job of class leader.'

But the meanings of (100b) and (101) are in fact not compatible. Sentence (100b) focuses on the inchoative aspect, i.e. Inho's becoming the class leader, whereas sentence (101) focuses on the fact that he was doing the job of class leader. Here (100a) is the semantically appropriate source, confirming that *sikhi-ta* can function as the causative of *toy-ta* 'become' as well as of *ha-ta* 'do'.

#### 2.4.2.3 The "Identical" Lexical Causative

Some verbs, such as those listed in (102), may be used both causatively and non-causatively without any morphological change. (The threefold division into subgroups will be explained below.)

|           |                   |                    |                           |
|-----------|-------------------|--------------------|---------------------------|
| (102) (a) | <i>nayli-ta</i>   | 'move down [Vi]    | 'move down [Vt]'          |
|           | <i>huli-ta</i>    | 'be muddy'         | 'make muddy'              |
|           | <i>kki-ta</i>     | 'get held between' | 'hold something between'  |
| (b)       | <i>talli-ta</i>   | 'run [Vi]'         | 'run [Vt] (e.g. a horse)' |
|           | <i>kuchi-ta</i>   | 'stop [Vi]'        | 'stop [Vt]'               |
| (c)       | <i>memchwu-ta</i> | 'stop [Vi]'        | 'stop [Vt]'               |

Causative/non-causative alternations of this type are restricted to a small number of verbs, including the examples in (102). Verbs of this type have been

regarded in the literature as cases of so-called "zero derivation" (cf. S. Lee 1970 and Patterson 1974). In a narrow sense, there is not a great deal that is technically "wrong" with this view. But it is significant that (unlike English; for example) this "zero derivation" is totally nonproductive and in fact numerically very restricted. Why then should such an alternation occur at all? Synchronically, no answer seems apparent. Rather, I suggest that a diachronic point of view can make a great deal of sense of the observed synchronic patterns.

I will argue that all these verb-pairs are historically linked to the morphological causative in various ways. On this view, they do not simply represent zero derivation of a causative verb from a non-causative verb, but rather are the historically contingent homonymy of a causative and a non-causative verb, or the extension of a causative verb to non-causative uses. The central fact is that all these verbs share one salient characteristic, namely, their stems all end in the same form as one of the *i*-type (*i*, *ki*, *li*, *hi*) or *wu*-type (*wu*, *kwu*, *hwu*) causative suffixes of the morphological causative, as indicated by the boldfaced letters in (102).

Furthermore, even if technically the causative verbs in (102) can be taken as synchronically zero-derived causatives, there are problematic cases for such a synchronic account. For example, if the causative verb *kki-ta* 'hold something between' in (102a) were zero-derived from the non-causative verb *kki-ta* 'get held between', the causative verb *kki-wu-ta* derived from *kki-ta* should mean both *hold something between* (corresponding to the non-causative *kki-ta*) and *make someone hold something between* (corresponding to the causative *kki-ta*). But the derived causative verb *kki-wu-ta* can only mean *hold something between*. This issue will be addressed in detail under Type A.

Verbs of this type can be separated into three groups, as in (102a-c). I will call these Type A, B, and C, respectively. The defining characteristics of each group will emerge in the course of the discussion.

**Type A:** e.g. *nayli-ta* 'get off, bring down', *huli-ta* 'be muddy, make muddy', and *kki-ta* 'get held between, hold something between'

The verb *kki-ta* can be used intransitively or transitively, as in (103) and (104a).

(103) *congī-ka munthum-ey kki-ess-ta.*  
paper-Nom door.crack-at get.held-Past-Ind

'A sheet of paper got held at the door crack.'

(104) *Inho-ka congī-lul munthum-ey {a. kki, b. kki.wu}-ess-ta.*  
Inho-Nom paper-Acc door.crack-at {a. hold b. hold }-Past-Ind

a/b. 'Inho held a sheet of paper at the door crack.'

As seen in (104a, b), not only *kki-ta* but also the derived causative verb *kki-wu-ta* can mean *hold something between*; but *kki-wu-ta* cannot mean *make someone hold something between*. That is, the stem *kki-* in *kki-wu-ta* can only function as an intransitive verb. This suggests that the transitive *kki-ta* in (104a) can be taken as a morphological causative verb derived straightforwardly from the intransitive *kki-ta* 'get held between'--i.e. *kki-i-ta* 'get.held.between-Caus', which becomes *kki-ta* by the standard vowel contraction rule that contracts two consecutive identical vowels into a single vowel. The derived causative verb *kki-wu-ta* will then belong to the type having a double causative suffix *i.wu*--i.e. *kki-i.wu-ta* with the identical consecutive vowels again contracted into a single vowel. This mirrors the highly probable historical scenario whereby *wu* was "superadded" to a form containing one

causative marker, *i*. As discussed in section 2.3.1, the double causative suffix *i.wu* functions as a single causative suffix in meaning; hence *kki-(i).wu-ta* can mean only *hold something between*, as is in fact the case.

If the causative *kki-ta* 'hold something between' were zero-derived from the non-causative *kki-ta* 'get held between', then the causative *kki-wu-ta* should, correspondingly, also have two meanings: *make someone hold something between* (corresponding to the former) and *hold something between* (corresponding to the latter). This is not the case. By contrast, the fact that *kki-wu-ta* can only mean *hold something between* is readily explained by the approach just outlined, whereby the causatives *kki-ta* and *kki-wu-ta* are *kki-i-ta* and *kki-i.wu-ta*, respectively. The reason the non-causative *kki-ta* 'get held between' and the causative *kki-i-ta* 'hold something between' appear to be a case of zero-derivation is that the two consecutive identical *i* vowels in *kki-i-ta* have merged by the vowel contraction rule.

For the verbs *nayli-ta* 'get off, bring down' and *huli-ta* 'be muddy, make muddy', the same argument applies. In Middle Korean these verbs had derived causatives (now obsolete) *nali-o-ta* 'bring down' (*Wel.in.sek.po* 10:68) and *huli-o-ta* 'make muddy' (*Wel.in.sek.po* 2:22-1).<sup>28</sup> The derived causative verb *nali-o-ta* meant *bring down*, but not *make someone bring down something*; similarly, *huli-o-ta* meant *make muddy*, but not *make someone make something muddy*. Therefore, just as the verb *kki-ta* represents the derived causative verb *kki-i-ta* (--> *kki-ta* by the vowel contraction rule) when used causatively, the verbs *nayli-ta* and *huli-ta* are the derived morphological causative verbs *nayli-i-ta* (--> *nayli-ta*) and *huli-i-ta* (--> *huli-ta*) when used causatively. And the Middle Korean derived causative verbs *nali-o-ta* and *huli-o-ta* represent derived

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<sup>28</sup> The causative suffix *o* in these derived causative verbs alternated in Middle Korean with the causative suffix *wu* according to vowel harmony rules.

causatives with the double causative suffix *i.o* (equivalent to modern *i.wu*), i.e. *nali-i.o-ta* (--> *nali-o-ta*) and *huli-i.o-ta* (--> *huli-ta*).

It should be noted that when a given root verb could historically form derived causatives of two types--one with a single causative suffix (e.g. *ca-i-ta* 'make sleep') and the other with a doubling causative suffix (e.g. *ca-i.wu-ta* 'make sleep'), it is usually the former that has dropped into disuse, and the latter that survives. In the words *nayli-ta* and *huli-ta*, by contrast, it is the form with the double causative suffix (*nali-i.o-ta* and *huli-i.o-ta*) that has become obsolete, and the form with the single causative suffix (*nayli-i-ta* --> *nayli-ta* and *huli-i-ta* --> *huli-ta*) that survives.

**Type B:** e.g. *talli-ta* 'run [Vi, Vt]' and *kuchi-ta* 'stop [Vi, Vt]'

The verb *talli-ta* can be used both causatively and non-causatively, as in (105a, b).

(105) a. *Inho-nun ppalli talli-ess-ta.*  
 Inho-Top fast run-Past-Ind

'Inho ran fast.'

b. *Inho-ka entek-ulo mal-ul talli-ess-ta.*  
 Inho-Nom hill-toward horse-Acc run-Past-Ind

'Inho ran the horse towards the hill, (riding on it).'

In Middle Korean, there existed a verb *tat-ta* 'run [Vi]' (*Wel.in.sek.po* 17:85). Though this verb is obsolete today, we can find its trace in the expression *tal-a.na-ta* 'run-out > run away'. The verb *tat-ta* 'run' was a *t*-irregular verb, so the root final *t* becomes *l* in front of a vowel, yielding *tal-a.na-ta* rather than *tat-a.na-ta*. The transitive verb *talli-ta* 'run' in (105b), then, can be analyzed as *tat-i-ta* 'run-Caus'. The stem-final *t* in *tat-i-ta* became *l* in front of the

causative suffix *i*, resulting in *tal-i-ta*; this form in turn underwent the *l*-gemination rule, resulting in the present-day form *tal-li-ta* 'run [Vt]'. Subsequently the derived causative verb *tal-li-ta* 'run [Vt]' extended its function to intransitive use: *talli-ta* 'run [Vi]'. As a result, the originally derived causative verb *tal-li-ta* can now mean both 'run [Vt]' and 'run [Vi]'. Since the older root verb *tat-ta* 'run [Vi]' is no longer extant, it is no longer possible to conceptualize the form *tal-li-ta* 'run [Vt]' as a derived morphological causative verb built on the verb *tat-ta* 'run [Vi]'. Rather, it counts as a non-derived verb. Thus, even though synchronically the verb *talli-ta* 'run [Vi, Vt]' appears to be a case of zero-derivation, historically its transitive meaning was the original one and the intransitive meaning has resulted from the functional extension of the derived causative.

The verb *kuchi-ta* 'stop [Vi, Vt]' has undergone a historical development similar to that of *talli-ta*. In Middle Korean, there was a verb *kuch-ta* 'stop [Vi]'; its derived causative verb was *kuch-i-ta* 'stop [Vt]', as in (106a, b).

- (106) a. "*saym-i kiph-un mul-un kamum-ey ani kuch-ulsey*"  
 fountain-Nom be.deep-Rel water-Top drought-Loc not stop-...  
 (MK: *Yong.pi.e.chen.ka* 2)

'The water from a deep fountain does not stop at a drought.'

- b. "[DNI] *chimsik-ul kuch-i-si-ni*"  
 [he] sleeping.eating-Acc stop-Caus-Hon-as  
 (MK: *Yong.pi.e.chen.ka* 116)

'as he stops eating and sleeping,'

Like the verb *tat-ta* 'run [Vi]', the intransitive verb *kuch-ta* 'stop' has become obsolete. And the derived causative verb *kuch-i-ta* has extended its function to the non-causative meaning 'stop [Vi]', just like the derived causative *tal-li-ta*. Thus the verb *kuchi-ta* can be used non-causatively as well as causatively, as

in (107a, b).

- (107) a. *pi-ka*      *kuchi-ess-ta.*  
rain-Nom stop-Past-Ind

'The rain stopped.'

- b. *Inho-nun ha-ten*      *iyaki-lul kuchi-ko . . .*  
Inho-Top do-Past.Rel story-Acc stop-and

'Inho stopped the story which he was telling,'

As with *tat-ta*, since the original stem *kuch-ta* 'stop [Vi]' is no longer extant, the verb *kuchi-ta* may be regarded as a case of zero-derivation. Indeed, synchronically both *talli-ta* and *kuchi-ta* could be treated in this way. But much more insight can be gained by seeing them as derived causative verbs which can also (for the historical reasons discussed above) be used non-causatively.

**Type C:** e.g. *memchwu-ta* 'stop [Vi, Vt]'

The verb *memchwu-ta* 'stop [Vi, Vt]' is historically related to *mec-ta* 'stop [Vi]'. The latter had its derived causative in the form *mec-hwu-ta* 'stop [Vt]' (*Yong.pi.e.chen.ka* 54). This derived verb seems to have been syllabically restructured into *me-chwu-ta*, which is a natural phonological process in Korean. An *m* was then inserted between *me* and *chwu*, resulting in *memchwu-ta*. Although it is not clear why this insertion took place, the same procedure occurred in other words, too: e.g. *ka-chwu-ta* 'hide [Vt]' (MK) (*Wel.in.sek.po* 1:45) > *kamchwu-ta* 'hide [Vt]'.

The derived causative verb *memchwu-ta*, while maintaining its causative function, has extended its function to the intransitive meaning 'stop', like the Type B verbs *talli-ta* 'run [Vi, Vt]' and *kuchi-ta* 'stop [Vi, Vt]' discussed above. Therefore, *memchwu-ta* means both 'stop [Vi]' and 'stop [Vt]'. Here, however--

unlike the Type B verbs, whose stems have become obsolete--the historical stem *mec-ta* 'stop [Vi]' underlying *memchwu-ta* is still extant, although the link between the two is not fully transparent. To be sure, of the two intransitive forms *mec-ta* 'stop [Vi]' and *memchwu-ta* 'stop [Vi]', the latter has much broader applicability than the former (*cha-ka memchwu-/\*mec-e se-ess-ta* 'The car stopped'), and in the contexts where both of them are usable, *mec-ta* is archaic.

In this section, we have examined a number of verbs which exhibit an intransitive/transitive alternation without any surface morphological change. Contrary to the traditional view that these verbs represent nothing more than unmotivated cases of zero derivation, I have argued that the transitive element of the pair in fact involves the morphological causative. For various historical and/or phonological reasons, discussed above, the derived causative verbs have come to look identical to their root verbs, or have taken on a non-causative sense while also maintaining their causative meaning.

## CHAPTER 3

# Clause Structure

### 3.1 Introduction

The clause structure of causative constructions has been one of the central issues in both Korean linguistics and modern linguistics in general. This chapter investigates the clause structure of the Korean syntactic and morphological causatives, as exemplified in (1) and (2), respectively.

- (1) *sensayngnim-kkeyse Inho-{ka / lo.hayekum / eykey / lul} chayk-ui*  
teacher-Nom Inho-{Nom/Cc/Dat/Acc} book-Acc  
*ilk-key ha-si-ess-ta.*<sup>1</sup>  
read-Comp Cause-Hon-Past-Ind

'The teacher made Inho read the book.'

- (2) *sensayngnim-kkeyse Inho-{eykey / lul} chayk-ul ilk-hi-si-ess-ta.*  
teacher-Nom Inho-{Dat/Acc} book-Acc read-Caus-Hon-Past-Ind

'The teacher made Inho read the book.'

Linguists have generally considered causative structures to fall into two types, monoclausal and biclausal. In Korean, in particular, it has generally (though not universally) been assumed that the syntactic causative is biclausal whereas the morphological causative is monoclausal.

My purpose is to propose an alternative type of account in which the clause structures of the causative constructions are described not in terms of the bi-

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<sup>1</sup> "Cc" in the gloss of (1) means the causee case (see Section 2.2.2.2).

nary notion of monoclausal vs. biclausal, but in terms of a gradient notion, a continuum of more monoclausal to more biclausal. The causative constructions will be examined with respect to various test frames for clause structure. Some of these test frames are applicable crosslinguistically (e.g. Binding and Passivization); others are particular to Korean (e.g. "Subject Honorification" and "Goal-markers"). The interaction between these test frames and the causative constructions raise puzzles for a neat either-or assumption regarding clause structure. Rather, the phenomena can be accounted for more insightfully when we assume a cline of clause structure with a full biclausal structure at one end of the cline and a full monoclausal structure at the other.

The remainder of the present section clarifies terminology and briefly discusses previous work on the clause structure of the causative constructions. Section 2 examines differences between the syntactic and morphological causative. Section 3 explores characteristics of clause structure exhibited by the syntactic causative, and argues that the syntactic causative constructions are distributed on a cline of clause structure. Section 4 examines characteristics of clause structure exhibited by the morphological causative, and provides an account for their behavior from a diachronic perspective.

### **3.1.1 Terminological Preliminaries**

In syntactic causatives, the causee can be marked by the nominative case (3a), causee case (3b), dative case (3c), or accusative case (3d).



Table 2.1 A list of proposals for clause structure of the Korean causative constructions

|                      |                                  | MCobv         | MCcaus     | SCnom                    | SCdat                        | SCacc                      |
|----------------------|----------------------------------|---------------|------------|--------------------------|------------------------------|----------------------------|
| S. Song (1967)       | DS<br>SS                         | bi<br>mono    | bi<br>mono | no discussion            |                              |                            |
| I. Yang (1972, 1976) | DS<br>SS                         | bi<br>mono    |            | bi<br>bi                 |                              |                            |
| Shibatani (1973a, b) | DS<br>SS                         | mono<br>mono  |            | bi<br>bi                 |                              |                            |
| Patterson (1974)     | DS<br>SS                         | mono<br>mono  | bi<br>mono | bi (cee:<br>agent)<br>bi | bi (cee:<br>recipient)<br>bi | bi (cee:<br>patient)<br>bi |
| K. Park (1986)       | DS<br>SS                         |               | bi<br>mono | bi<br>bi                 |                              |                            |
| Y. Kang (1986)       | DS<br>SS                         | no discussion |            | bi<br>bi                 | bi<br>bi                     | bi<br>mono                 |
| Gerdts (1986, 1991)  | initial<br>str.<br>union<br>str. | no discussion |            | bi<br><br>mono<br>wo/RV  | bi<br><br>mono<br>w/RV       | bi<br><br>mono<br>3-2Adv   |
| Y. Kim (1990)        | DS<br>SS                         | no discussion |            | bi<br>bi                 | bi<br>bi                     | bi<br>bi                   |
| O'Grady (1991)       |                                  |               | mono       | bi (cee:<br>agent)       | bi (cee:<br>recipient)       | mono                       |

*MCobv*: "obviative" morphological causatives (direct causation)

*MCcaus*: causative morphological causatives (indirect causation)

*SS*: s(urface) structure    *DS*: d(eep) structure    *str*: stratum    *bi*: biclausal

*mono*: monoclausal    *cee*: causee    *wo/RV*: without revaluation

*w/RV*: with revaluation    *3-2Adv*: 3-2 advancement

Although Table 2.1 is self-evident for the most part, some clarification is in order. Note that SC<sub>cc</sub> has been completely ignored in previous descriptions, and hence does not appear in Table 2.1 at all.

S. Song (1967) divides the morphological causative into two types--the "obviative" and the causative--based on agentivity of the causee. If the causee is agentive, as in (4a), he calls it the causative, whereas if the causee is non-agentive as in (4b), he calls it the obviative.

- (4) *emma-ka ku ai-eykey os-ul ip-hi-ess-ta.*  
 mother-Nom the child-Dat clothes-Acc put.on-Caus-Past-Ind

- a. 'The mother made the child put on clothes.'  
 b. 'The mother put clothes on the child.' (i.e. 'The mother dressed the child.')

Some linguists have disregarded this distinction, while others accept it. Among those belonging to the latter group, some assume that the two types have different clause structures (Patterson 1974); others assume a single clause structure (S. Song 1967); still others discuss only the causative type (O'Grady 1991).

I. Yang (1972), working within the Case Grammar framework, claims for the first time that the morphological and syntactic causatives are synonymous; hence they should have the same underlying biclausal structure. Shibatani (1973a, b), contra I. Yang (1972), assumes different underlying structures for the morphological and the syntactic causatives.

Patterson (1974) for the first time pays attention to semantic differences among the syntactic causative constructions and assigns them different clause structures. SC<sub>nom</sub> has a sentential complement; SC<sub>dat</sub> and SC<sub>acc</sub> involve an "Equi" construction, but differ in that the causee is the experiencer in

SCdat but the patient in SCacc.

Within the Government and Binding framework, K. Park (1986) claims that the syntactic causative is biclausal at both D- and S-structure whereas the morphological causative is biclausal at D-structure but monoclausal at S-structure. Y. Kang (1986) assumes two types of biclausal structures at D-structure for the syntactic causative constructions: SCnom has a sentential complement, while SCdat has an "Equi"-type clause structure. SCacc has the same clause structure at D-structure as SCnom and becomes a monoclausal structure in S-structure via "verb-raising", which is similar to Aissen's (1974) verb raising causatives. Y. Kim (1990) accepts Y. Kang's proposal about the two types of clause structures at D-structure for the syntactic causative constructions. But she treats SCacc as involving a "Raising"-type clause structure so that it is biclausal at S-structure.

Gerdtts (1986), working within the Relational Grammar framework, claims that all the syntactic causative constructions are biclausal in the initial stratum and monoclausal in the union stratum. O'Grady (1991), working within the monostratal Categorical Grammar framework, assumes that SCnom has a sentential complement, SCdat has an Equi-type biclausal structure, and SCacc has a Raising-type monoclausal structure.

All these proposals assume the mono- vs. biclausal binary notion in describing the clause structures of the causative constructions. It will become clear in the following sections that such binary characterizations of the clause structures of the causative constructions are unable to explain all the linguistic phenomena characteristic of these constructions.

### **3.2 Syntactic vs. Morphological Causatives**

With respect to the four test-frames to be discussed below, the syntactic causative behaves like a biclausal structure, whereas the morphological causative behaves like a monoclausal structure. These characteristics of the syntactic and morphological causatives will be examined in Sections 3.2.1 through 3.2.4.

### 3.2.1 Subject Honorification

In Korean, the speaker may express deference to the referent of the subject by attaching the subject honorific suffix *-(u)si* to the verb stem, as illustrated in (5a-c).

- (5) a. *wuli sensayngnim-kkeyse-nun ku chayk-ul ilk-usi-ess-ta.*  
 our teacher-Nom-Top the book-Acc read-Hon-Past-Ind

'Our/my teacher read (Hon) the book.'

- b. *na-nun ku chayk-ul ilk>(\*usi)-ess-ta.*  
 I-Top the book-Acc read-(Hon)-Past-Ind

'I read (\*Hon) the book.'

- c. *ney-ka ku chayk-ul ilk>(\*usi)-ess-ni?*  
 you-Nom the book-Acc read-(Hon)-Past-Int

'Did you read (\*Hon) the book?'

In (5a), the speaker expresses deference to the subject (his teacher) by attaching the subject honorific suffix *-(u)si* to the verb stem. By contrast, sentence (5b), in which the subject is the speaker, is unacceptable if the subject honorific suffix *-(u)si* is suffixed to the verb stem, because a first person subject cannot trigger Subject Honorification: one cannot express deference to oneself. Sentence (5c) is also unacceptable with the subject honorific suffix *-(u)si*, for

slightly more complex reasons. In Korean there are several second person singular pronouns--*ne*, *caney*, *caki*, and *tangsin*. Significantly, these second person pronouns can only be used to equal or junior addressees; if the addressee is senior to the speaker, terms of address are used in place of a pronoun, as illustrated in (6).<sup>2</sup>

- (6) *halapeci*, *halapeci-kkeyse-to sakwa-lul cohaha-si-eyo?*  
 grandfather grandfather-Nom-also apple-Acc like-Hon-Int

'Grandfather, do you also like apples?'

(Lit. Grandfather, does Grandfather also like apples?)

When the second person pronoun *ne* is the subject, as in (5c), it cannot trigger Subject Honorification because of the clash of implications: the second person pronoun *ne* implies that the addressee/subject is not senior to the speaker, whereas Subject Honorification implies that the addressee/subject is senior to the speaker.

In passives, too, the subject but not the passive-agent triggers Subject Honorification, as illustrated in (7a, b).

- (7) a. *wuli sensayngnim-kkeyse ne-eykey cap-hi-si-ess-ni?*  
 our teacher-Nom you-Dat catch-Pass-Hon-Past-Int

'Was our/my teacher caught (Hon) by you?'

- b. *ney-ka sensayngnim-kkey cap-hi-(\*si)-ess-ni?*  
 you-Nom teacher-Dat catch-Pass-(Hon)-Past-Int

'Were you caught (\*Hon) by the teacher?'

As explained, the second person pronoun *ne* in sentences (7a, b) may be used when the addressee is a junior or an intimate equal to the speaker. In (7a),

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<sup>2</sup> See J. Park (1992) for the system of Korean second person pronouns.

where the subject is a teacher of the speaker and *you* is the agent, Subject Honorification is allowed: the subject is senior to the speaker and the passive-agent is junior or equal. By contrast, Subject Honorification is not allowed in (7b), in which the subject is junior or equal to the speaker and the agent is senior. This shows that Subject Honorification is triggered not by the agent, but by the subject. Subject Honorification is therefore a kind of subject agreement.<sup>3</sup>

In biclausal structures, both the upstairs and the downstairs subjects can separately trigger Subject Honorification, as illustrated in (8).

- (8) *emenim-kkeyse apenim-kkey ttena-si-lako seltukha-si-ess-ta.*  
 mother-Nom father-Dat leave-Hon-Comp persuade-Hon-Past-Ind  
 'My mother persuaded (Hon) my father to leave (Hon).'

Here the upstairs Subject Honorification in *seltukha-si-* 'persuade-Honorific' is triggered by the upstairs subject *emenim* 'mother', and the downstairs Subject Honorification in *ttena-si-* 'leave-Honorific' by the downstairs subject *apenim* 'father'.

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<sup>3</sup> Although Subject Honorification is generally a valid test frame for subjecthood, there are some cases in which it can be triggered by elements other than subject. This is exemplified by sentences (ia, b).

- (i) a. *Kim kyoswunim-uy kanguy-nun cengmallo ilphumi-si-e.*  
 Kim professor-Gen lecture-Top really be.excellent-Hon-Ind  
 'Professor Kim's lecture is really excellent.'  
 b. *cey kanguy-ka cilwuha-si-nkapo-cyo?*  
 my(Humble) lecture-Nom be.boring-Hon-seem-Tag.Q  
 'My lecture seems to be boring, isn't it?'

In sentence (ia), Subject Honorification is not triggered by the head noun of the subject *kanguy* 'lecture' but by the possessor, *Kim kyoswunim* 'Professor Kim'. In sentence (ib), Subject Honorification is not triggered by the head noun of the subject *kanguy* 'lecture' nor by the possessor *cey* 'my (Humble)', but by the understood experiencer.

However, we may still safely say that the triggering of Subject Honorification is a necessary condition for subject, though not a sufficient condition. If a certain element is a subject and its referent is senior to the speaker, it may trigger Subject Honorification. K. Hong (1991) claims that Subject Honorification is a necessary and sufficient condition for subject. I defer discussion of her claim to another occasion.



ceptable, the trigger of Subject Honorification could only be the causee, but not the causer; as in (10a), a person (*Inho*) referred to by his first name cannot trigger Subject Honorification. The fact that sentence (10b) with the subject honorific suffix *-(u)si* is not acceptable, therefore, shows that the causee of the morphological causative cannot trigger Subject Honorification. The causee in the morphological causative, therefore, cannot be the subject of the effected predicate. This suggests that the morphological causative is monoclausal.<sup>4</sup>

### 3.2.2 Possessor Ascension

In Korean, the whole (*Bill*) in a part-whole relation (*Bill's hand*) may bear either the genitive case or the same case as the part (*hand*), as illustrated in (11a, b) and (12a, b).

- (11) *elum*-{a. *uy*, b. *i*}     *ilpu-ka*     *nok-ass-ta*.  
ice-{     Gen     Nom}     part-Nom     melt-Past-Ind

'Part of the ice melted.'

- (12) *Inho-ka*     *Mina*-{a. *uy*, b. *lul*}     *son-ul*     *cap-ass-ta*.  
Inho-Nom     Mina-{     Gen     Acc}     hand-Acc     hold-Past-Ind

'Inho held Mina's hand.'

The case-marking pattern, in which the whole bears the same case as the part, is referred to as "Possessor Ascension".

With respect to Possessor Ascension, the syntactic and morphological

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<sup>4</sup> In the syntactic causative, the subject honorific suffix is attached to the effected predicate if the causee is honorified (see (9)). One might then think that the reason (10b) is unacceptable is because the subject honorific suffix *-(u)si* is not attached to the effected predicate *ilk-ta* 'read' but to the derived causative verb *ilk-hi-ta* 'read-Caus-'. However, the sequence [effected.predicate-subject.honorific.suffix-causative.suffix] (e.g. *ilk-usi-i* 'read-Hon-Caus-') is not allowed: in the morphological causative nothing can intervene between the effected predicate and the causative suffix. Derived causative verbs behave like single words.

causatives behave differently, as will be evident upon comparing Possessor Ascension in the syntactic causative (13b, c) and the morphological causative (14b, c).

- (13) a. *Inho-ka elum-uy ilpu-lul nok-key ha-yss-ta.*  
 Inho-Nom ice-Gen part-Acc melt-Comp Cause-Past-Ind

'Inho made part of the ice melt.'

- b/c. *Inho-ka elum-ul ilpu-{b. lul, c. ka} nok-key ha-yss-ta.*<sup>5</sup>  
 Inho-Nom ice-Acc part-{ Acc Nom} melt-Comp Cause-Past-Ind

'Inho made part of the ice melt.'

- (14) a. *Inho-ka elum-uy ilpu-lul nok-i-ess-ta.*  
 Inho-Nom ice-Gen part-Acc melt-Caus-Past-Ind

'Inho melted part of the ice.'

- b/c. *Inho-ka elum-ul ilpu-{b. lul, c.\*ka} nok-i-ess-ta.*  
 Inho-Nom ice-Acc part-{ Acc Nom} melt-Caus-Past-Ind

'Inho made part of the ice melt.'

In the non-Possessor Ascension sentences (13a) and (14a), the whole of the causee is marked by the genitive case and the part by the accusative case. In the Possessor Ascension sentences (13b) and (14b), the whole of the causee bears the accusative case. Since the part *ilpu* 'part' also bears the accusative case, the case-marking pattern here is a straightforward instance of Possessor Ascension. So far there is no difference between the syntactic and morphological causatives.

A difference between these two types of causatives lies in the case-marking patterns illustrated in the Possessor-Ascension sentences (13c) and (14c). In

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<sup>5</sup> Gerds (1986) notes these two types of case-marking patterns (13b, c) in the syntactic causative. She presents this phenomenon as evidence that the syntactic causative is biclausal in the "initial stratum".

the syntactic causative sentence (13c), the part of the causee *ilpu* 'part' bears the nominative case while the whole *elum* 'ice' bears the accusative case. The nominative case of the part in (13c) would not be possible in "canonical" Possessor Ascension, where the whole and the part have to bear the same case. The only plausible explanation for the unexpected nominative is that the causee is the subject of the effected predicate. In the morphological causative sentence (14c), by contrast, the part of the causee *ilpu* 'part' cannot bear the nominative case, suggesting that the causee is not the subject of the effected predicate. It bears the grammatical relation of the object only with respect to the causative predicate as a whole, *nok-i-ta* 'melt[Vi]-Caus'. Possessor Ascension thus provides another piece of evidence that the syntactic causative is biclausal whereas the morphological causative is monoclausal.

### 3.2.3 Negation

The syntactic and the morphological causatives also behave differently with respect to Negation. In the syntactic causative, the causal and the effected predicates can each be negated independently, as illustrated in (15).

- (15) a. *Inho-ka Mina-lul mos ca-key ha-yss-ta.*  
 Inho-Nom Mina-Acc cannot sleep-Comp Cause-Past-Ind  
 'Inho brought it about that Mina could not sleep.'
- b. *Inho-ka Mina-lul ca-key mos ha-yss-ta.*  
 Inho-Nom Mina-Acc sleep-Comp cannot Cause-Past-Ind  
 'Inho could not make Mina sleep.'
- c. *Inho-ka Mina-lul ca-key ha-ci.mosha-yss-ta.*  
 Inho-Nom Mina-Acc sleep-Comp Cause-cannot-Past-Ind  
 'Inho could not make Mina sleep.'

In (15a) the negative element *mos* negates the effected predicate, whereas in (15b) the negative element *mos* negates the causal predicate. In the syntactic causative, though the complementizer *-key* and the causal predicate *ha-* can be separated as in (15b), they preferentially occur with no intervening elements between them. For this reason, in the negation of the causal predicate, the so-called long form negation (15c) is preferred to the so-called short form (15b).

In the morphological causative, by contrast, only the causal predicate can be negated regardless of the position of the negative element, as seen in the following sentences:

- (16) a. *Inho-ka Mina-lul mos ca-i.wu-ess-ta.*  
Inho-Nom Mina-Acc cannot sleep-Caus-Past-Ind

'Inho could not make Mina sleep.'

- b. \**Inho-ka Mina-lul ca-mos-i.wu-ess-ta.*  
Inho-Nom Mina-Acc sleep-cannot-Caus-Past-Ind

(Intended: 'Inho could not make Mina sleep.')

- c. *Inho-ka Mina-lul ca-i.wu-ci.mosha-yss-ta.*  
Inho-Nom Mina-Acc sleep-Caus-cannot-Past-Ind

'Inho could not make Mina sleep.'

The morphological causatives (16a, b, c) correspond to the syntactic causatives (15a, b, c), but they differ in their interpretations. Sentence (16b) is unacceptable because, in the morphological causative, nothing can intervene between the effected predicate and the causative suffix. The syntactic causative sentences (15a) and (15c) differ in their interpretations in that in (15a) the effected predicate is negated whereas in (15c) the causal predicate is negated. By contrast, the corresponding morphological causative sentences (16a) and (16c) are interpreted identically: in both sentences the derived causative verb

is negated as a whole, whether with short-form negation (16a) or long-form negation (16c).

This behavior of syntactic causatives is exactly like that of biclausal structures. In a biclausal structure, the upstairs and downstairs predicate can each be negated separately, as illustrated in (17).

- (17) a. *na-nun nay-ka kekiey an ka-n.kes-ul hwuhoyha-n-ta.*  
 I-Top I-Nom there not go-Comp-Acc regret-Pres-Ind

'I regret that I did not go there.'

- b. *na-nun nay-ka kekiey ka-n.kes-ul hwuhoyha-ci.anh-nun-ta.*  
 I-Top I-Nom there go-Comp-Acc regret-not-Pres-Ind

'I do not regret that I went there.'

In (17a), which corresponds to the syntactic causative sentence (15a), the negative element *an* occurs downstairs and negates the downstairs predicate. In (17b), which corresponds to the syntactic causative sentence (15c), the negative element occurs upstairs and negates the upstairs predicate. This suggests that the causal and effected predicates of the syntactic causative are independent predicates, each independently negatable, which in turn implies that the syntactic causative is biclausal.

By contrast, the morphological causative behaves like a monoclausal structure with respect to Negation. The monoclausal sentences (18a, b) convey identical meanings, just as the morphological causative sentences (16a, b) do.

- (18) a. *na-nun Inho-lul mos manna-ss-ta.*  
 I-Top Inho-Acc cannot meet-Past-Ind

'I could not meet Inho.'

- b. *na-nun Inho-lul manna-ci.mosha-yss-ta.*  
 I-Top Inho-Acc meet-cannot-Past-Ind

'I could not meet Inho.'

Unlike the causal and effected predicates of the syntactic causative, those of the morphological causative do not behave as independent predicates but rather as a single predicate, so that they cannot be negated separately. This suggests that the morphological causative is monoclausal.

### 3.2.4 Reflexivization

Reflexivization is a frequently employed test frame for subjecthood in Korean, in that a reflexive element in general takes a subject as its antecedent. In sentence (19), the subject, but not the object, can be the antecedent of the reflexive element *caki*. (Note that *Inho* is a male name and *Mina* a female name.)

- (19) *Inho-nun Mina-lul caki cip-eyse manna-ss-ta.*  
 Inho-Top Mina-Acc self house-in meet-Past-Ind

'Inho met Mina in his/\*her house.'

Moreover, the reflexive element can take as its antecedent not only the clausemate subject, but also the subject of a higher clause, as shown in (20).

- (20) *Inho-nun Mina-ka caki cip-ey ka-nun kes-ul po-ass-ta.*  
 Inho-Top Mina-Nom self house-to go-Pres Comp-Acc see-Past-Ind

'Inho saw Mina go to his/her house.'

Shibatani (1973a, b) states that the causee of the Korean syntactic causative (21a), but not that of the morphological causative (21b), can be a valid

antecedent of the reflexive element *caki*.

- (21) a. *Inho-ka Mina-eykey caki os-ul ip-key ha-yss-ta.*  
 Inho-Nom Mina-Dat self clothes put.on-Comp Cause-Past-Ind

'Inho made Mina put on his/her clothes.'

- b. *Inho-ka Mina-eykey caki os-ul ip-hi-ess-ta.*  
 Inho-Nom Mina-Dat self clothes-Acc put.on-Caus-Past-Ind

'Inho dressed Mina with his/\*her clothes.'

(Grammaticality judgment per Shibatani.)

This in turn argues that the causee of the syntactic causative, but not that of the morphological causative, is the subject of the effected predicate, since the reflexive element *caki* generally takes a subject as its antecedent. The syntactic causative is therefore biclausal, whereas the morphological causative is monoclausal.

Some speakers agree with the grammaticality judgments cited by Shibatani (e.g. Y. Kang 1986 and K. Park 1986). Others, however, find referential ambiguity in morphological causative sentences with a reflexive element, like (21b), with respect to the antecedent of the reflexive element (e.g. Patterson 1974 and I. Yang 1976). For the latter group of speakers, the Reflexivization argument for the difference in clause structure between the syntactic and morphological causative would appear to be invalid. In what follows, however, I will argue that Reflexivization nevertheless does provide evidence for the difference in clause structure between the two types of causative constructions.

In my own speech, it is possible for the causee of the morphological causative to be a valid antecedent of the reflexive element in sentences like (21b). However, the causee of the morphological causative is different from

that of the syntactic causative in the ease with which they can serve as antecedents of a reflexive element. In the syntactic causative, the causer antecedent reading and the causee antecedent reading are equally available, unless the context forces one reading over the other. This is just what happens in an ordinary biclausal structure, as illustrated in (22).

- (22) *Inho-ka Mina-eykey caki pang-ey iss-ulako puthakha-yss-ta.*  
 Inho-Nom Mina-Dat self room-in be-Comp ask-Past-Ind

'Inho asked Mina to be in his/her room.'

In (22) either the upstairs subject *Inho* or the downstairs subject *Mina* can equally be antecedent of the reflexive element *caki*.

In the morphological causative, by contrast, the causer antecedent reading is much more easily available than the causee antecedent reading, unless other aspects of Korean grammar force the causee antecedent reading. Taken out of context, the causer antecedent reading in (21b) is available with no reservations, while the causee antecedent reading is strained though not impossible. Other aspects of Korean grammar can force the causee antecedent reading, however, and if so this reading is readily available, as in (23).

- (23) *emenim, Inho-lul ci pang-eyta ca-i.wu-si-eyo.*  
 mother Inho-Acc self's room-in sleep-Caus-Hon-Imp

'Mother, please make Inho sleep in his/\*your room.'

In (23), the causer cannot be a valid antecedent of the reflexive element *ci*, for two reasons. First, in Korean an independent reflexive element is impossible with first and second persons, and hence the unexpressed addressee causer cannot be an antecedent of the reflexive element *ci*. Second, the reflexive element *ci* is the "humble" variant of the reflexive element *caki*, and may be used

only when its referent is (roughly) junior to the speaker.<sup>6</sup> Since in (23) the causer is senior to the speaker, it cannot therefore serve as antecedent to the humble reflexive element *ci*.

The same pattern seen in morphological causatives in the interpretation of a reflexive element also occurs in ordinary monoclausal sentences. In the monoclausal sentence (24), for example, either the subject or the dative-marked NP can be the antecedent of *caki*.

- (24) *Inho-ka Mina-eykey caki apeci-uy iyaki-lul ha-y.cwu-ess-ta.*  
 Inho-Nom Mina-Dat self father-Gen story-Acc told

'Inho told his/her father's story to Mina.'

However, just as in the morphological causative sentence (21b), the subject antecedent reading is definitely preferred to the Goal antecedent reading. Furthermore, in (25) only the object antecedent reading is available, as in the morphological causative sentence (23).

- (25) *emenim, ku ai-lul cey cip-eyta teilyeta-cwu-si-eyo.*  
 Mother the child-Acc self's home-to take (Hon)

'Mother, please take the child to his/\*your home.'

Here *cey* is the genitive form of the humble reflexive element *ci* in (23). The understood subject in this example cannot serve as antecedent of *cey*, because the subject is senior to the speaker while the humble reflexive element *cey* requires its antecedent to be junior to the speaker. The only available reading is therefore the object antecedent reading. This parallel in reflexive interpretation between morphological causative sentences and monoclausal sentences suggests that the morphological causative is monoclausal.

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<sup>6</sup> See J. Park (forthcoming a) for the reflexive status of *ci*, though most studies on the Korean reflexive mention only *caki* as the reflexive.

Speakers vary in their grammaticality judgments regarding the interpretation of a reflexive element in the "downstairs" clause of causative constructions. For those who do not get the causee antecedent reading in the morphological causative, Reflexivization provides strong evidence for a difference in clause structure between the syntactic and the morphological causative, as discussed above. But even for those who do get the causee antecedent reading in the morphological causative, Reflexivization can still be a valid piece of evidence for a difference in clause structure between the two types of causative constructions, if one focuses on the availability of the causee antecedent reading: in this respect the syntactic causative behaves like a typical biclausal structure, while the morphological causative behaves like a monoclausal structure.

In summary, we have examined four test frames with respect to which the syntactic and morphological causatives behave differently from each other. Three of the test frames--Subject Honorification, Possessor Ascension, and Reflexivization--suggest that the causee of the syntactic causative functions as the subject of the effected predicate, while that of the morphological causative does not. The Negation test frame suggests that the causal and effected predicates behave as two independent predicates in the syntactic causative, but as a single predicate in the morphological causative. Though no single test frame may be considered conclusive, their cumulative testimony argues strongly that the syntactic causative is biclausal whereas the morphological causative is monoclausal.

### **3.3 Problems with the Strict Division of Clause Structure,**

#### **I: Syntactic Causatives**

The various syntactic causative constructions (SC<sub>nom</sub>, SC<sub>cc</sub>, SC<sub>dat</sub>, and SC<sub>acc</sub>) all behave the same with respect to the four test frames discussed in Section 3.2; all appear biclausal, and there would seem to be no reason not to assign them one and the same structure. In this section, however, we will examine other test frames with respect to which the different syntactic causative constructions do behave differently. These differences suggest that the various syntactic causative constructions do not all have the same clause structure. This section presents the relevant facts, and proposes clause structures that are compatible with these results.

### 3.3.1 Adverbial Scope

Adverbials are generally associated with the event represented by the clause in which they occur. This is illustrated in (26a, b).

- (26) a. *na-nun* [*Inho-ka pang-eyse ca-nun kes-ul*] *po-ass-ta.*  
 I-Top Inho-Nom room-in sleep-Pres Comp-Acc see-Past-Ind  
 'I saw Inho [sleep in the room].'
- b. *na-nun* [*Inho-ka ca-nun kes-ul*] *pang-eyse po-ass-ta.*  
 I-Top Inho-Nom sleep-Pres Comp-Acc room-in see-Past-Ind  
 'In the room I saw Inho sleep.'

The locative adverbial *pang-eyse* 'in the room' in (26a) occurs in the embedded clause and can only be associated with the event denoted by the embedded predicate. By contrast, the locative adverbial *pang-eyse* 'in the room' in (26b) unambiguously occurs in the main clause and can only be associated with the event denoted by the main predicate.

Ambiguous cases exist, however, when the adverbial is situated at the boundary between matrix and embedded clause, as illustrated in (27a, b).

- (27) a. *na-nun* [*pang-eyse Inho-ka ca-nun kes-ul*] *po-ass-ta.*  
 I-Top room-in Inho-Nom sleep-Pres Comp-Acc see-Past-Ind

'I saw Inho [ sleep in the room ].'

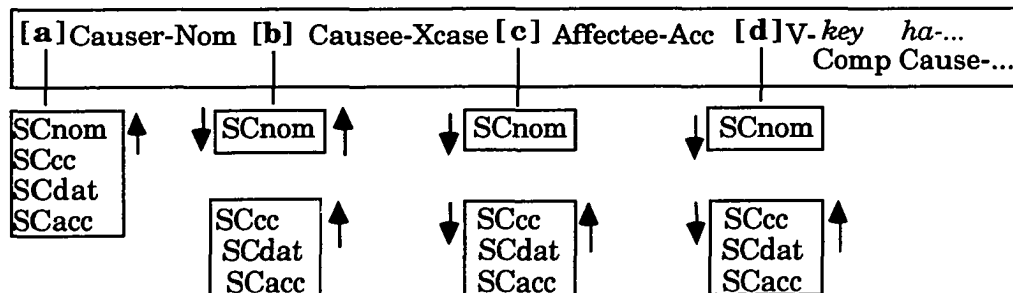
- b. *na-nun pang-eyse* [*Inho-ka ca-nun kes-ul*] *po-ass-ta.*  
 I-Top room-in Inho-Nom sleep-Pres Comp-Acc see-Past-Ind

'I saw Inho [ sleep ] in the room.'

Sentences (27a, b) (and their English translations) are identical in linear form, but differ with respect to the scope of the locative adverbial *pang-eyse* 'in the room': the adverbial can be bracketed either with the downstairs clause (27a) or with the upstairs clause (27b), producing readings synonymous with (26a) and (26b), respectively.

The scope of adverbials occurring in the syntactic causative is interpreted differently depending both on the syntagmatic position of the adverbial and on the type of syntactic causative in which it occurs. This is represented schematically in Figure 3.1.

(28) Figure 3.1 Adverbial Scope in Syntactic Causative Constructions



Here the top box lays out the components of a syntactic causative sentence in their normal left-to-right order; "[a], [b], [c], [d]" represent different possible insertion sites for an adverbial. *Xcase* is a cover-symbol for nominative (SCnom), causee (SCcc), dative (SCdat), or accusative (SCacc). The figure is to be read as follows: If an adverbial occurs in position [a], it always belongs to the upstairs predicate in all four syntactic causative constructions; this is symbolized by the up-arrow. If an adverbial occurs in position [b], it may be interpreted as belonging either to the upstairs (up-arrow) or to the downstairs (down-arrow) predicate in SCnom, whereas in SCcc/dat/acc it can only belong to the upstairs predicate. Finally, if an adverbial occurs in position [c] or [d], it must belong to the downstairs predicate in SCnom, but may belong to either predicate in SCcc/dat/acc. These different cases will now be examined in detail.

With respect to the interpretation of an adverbial occurring in position [a] in Figure 3.1, there is no difference among the syntactic causative constructions (SCnom/cc/dat/acc), as illustrated in (29).

- (29) *ecey*            *Inho-ka*    *Mina-{ka/lo.hayekum/eykey/lul}*    *chayk-ul*  
 yesterday    Inho-Nom    Mina-{Nom/Cc/Dat/Acc}                    book-Acc
- ilk-key*            *ha-yss-ta.*  
           read-Comp    Cause-Past-Ind

'Yesterday Inho made Mina read the book.'

The time adverbial *ecey* 'yesterday' is always associated with the causing event and never with the caused event. That an adverbial occurring in position [a] can only be associated with the causing event is easily accounted for on almost any form of biclausal analysis. In particular, we may assume either a biclausal structure with a "S(entential)-comp(lement)" as in (30a), or with a "VP-comp(lement)" as in (30b); in either case, the adverbial in position [a] will

not be associated with the downstairs predicate.

- (30) a. 

|                |              |              |       |        |
|----------------|--------------|--------------|-------|--------|
| [a] Causer-Nom | Causee-Xcase | Affectee-Acc | V-key | ha-... |
| Upstairs       | S-comp       |              |       |        |
- b. 

|                |              |              |         |        |
|----------------|--------------|--------------|---------|--------|
| [a] Causer-Nom | Causee-Xcase | Affectee-Acc | V-key   | ha-... |
| Upstairs       |              |              | VP-comp |        |

This is because adverbials can in general be shifted only within their own clauses; an adverbial in the downstairs clause in (30a or b) thus cannot be shifted to position [a].

When an adverbial occurs in position [b] in Figure 3.1, its interpretation is ambiguous in SCnom; that is, it may belong either to the upstairs or to the downstairs clause, as illustrated in (31).

- (31) *Inho-ka ecey Mina-ka chayk-ul ilk-key ha-yss-ta.*  
 Inho-Nom yesterday Mina-Nom book-Acc read-Comp Cause-Past-Ind

a. 'Inho made Mina [read the book] yesterday.'

b. 'Inho made Mina [read the book yesterday].'

In the (31a) reading, I feel that in natural speech some pause occurs between the time adverbial *ecey* 'yesterday' and the causee *Mina*. In the (31b) reading, however, there is no pause between the adverbial and the causee, but rather a pause between the causer and the adverbial. In SCcc/dat/acc, by contrast, an adverbial in position [b] is always associated with the causing event, as illustrated in (32).

- (32) *Inho-ka ecey Mina-{lo.hayekum / eykey / lul} chayk-ul*  
 Inho-Nom yesterday Mina-{Cc/Dat/Acc} book-Acc

*ilk-key*      *ha-yss-ta.*  
 read-Comp   Cause-Past-Ind

'Yesterday Inho made Mina read the book.'

This difference between SCnom and SCcc/dat/acc can be accounted for by assuming two different clause structures for the two subtypes. If we assume that SCnom involves S-comp (cf. 30a), then an adverbial in position [b] in SCnom will naturally be associated with either the upstairs or the downstairs predicate, as represented schematically in (33a, b).

- (33) a. 

|                |  |            |              |       |        |  |  |        |
|----------------|--|------------|--------------|-------|--------|--|--|--------|
| Causer-Nom [b] | <table style="border: none;"><tr><td style="padding: 2px;">Causee-Nom</td><td style="padding: 2px;">Affectee-Acc</td><td style="padding: 2px;">V-key</td></tr><tr><td style="padding: 2px;">S-comp</td><td></td><td></td></tr></table> | Causee-Nom | Affectee-Acc | V-key | S-comp |  |  | ha-... |
| Causee-Nom     | Affectee-Acc   | V-key      |              |       |        |  |  |        |
| S-comp         |  |            |              |       |        |  |  |        |
- b. 

|            |   |              |            |              |       |        |  |  |  |        |
|------------|---|--------------|------------|--------------|-------|--------|--|--|--|--------|
| Causer-Nom | <table style="border: none;"><tr><td style="padding: 2px;">[b]</td><td style="padding: 2px;">Causee-Nom</td><td style="padding: 2px;">Affectee-Acc</td><td style="padding: 2px;">V-key</td></tr><tr><td style="padding: 2px;">S-comp</td><td></td><td></td><td></td></tr></table> | [b]          | Causee-Nom | Affectee-Acc | V-key | S-comp |  |  |  | ha-... |
| [b]        | Causee-Nom  | Affectee-Acc | V-key      |              |       |        |  |  |  |        |
| S-comp     |   |              |            |              |       |        |  |  |  |        |

That an adverbial in position [b] can only be associated with the upstairs predicate in SCcc/dat/acc would be explained if we assume that these causative constructions involve not S-comp but VP-comp, as in (30b). This is represented schematically in (34).

- (34) 

|                |                     |   |              |       |         |  |        |
|----------------|---------------------|---|--------------|-------|---------|--|--------|
| Causer-Nom [b] | Causee-{Cc/Dat/Acc} | <table style="border: none;"><tr><td style="padding: 2px;">Affectee-Acc</td><td style="padding: 2px;">V-key</td></tr><tr><td style="padding: 2px;">VP-comp</td><td></td></tr></table> | Affectee-Acc | V-key | VP-comp |  | ha-... |
| Affectee-Acc   | V-key               |   |              |       |         |  |        |
| VP-comp        |                     |   |              |       |         |  |        |

In (34), since position [b] is outside the VP-comp, it cannot be associated with the downstairs predicate, and accordingly no ambiguity in the interpretation of the adverbial *ecey* 'yesterday' in sentence (32) is possible. This analysis, it should be noted, is fully compatible with our discussion of adverbial-insertion in position [a].

When an adverbial occurs in position [c] in Figure 3.1, SCnom is again distinguished from SCcc/dat/acc, as shown in (35) and (36), respectively.

- (35) *Inho-ka Mina-ka ecey chayk-ul ilk-key ha-yss-ta.*  
 Inho-Nom Mina-Nom yesterday book-Acc read-Comp Cause-Past-Ind

'Inho made Mina [read the book yesterday].'

- (36) *Inho-ka Mina-{lo.hayekum/eykey/lul} ecey chayk-ul*  
 Inho-Nom Mina-{Cc/Dat/Acc} yesterday book-Acc

*ilk-key ha-yss-ta.*  
 read-Comp Cause-Past-Ind

a. 'Yesterday Inho made Mina read the book.'

b. 'Inho made Mina [read the book yesterday].'

In (35) (SCnom), the adverbial *ecey* 'yesterday' is only associated with the caused event; in (36) (SCcc/dat/acc), by contrast, it can be associated with either the causing or the caused event.

We have assumed, in our discussion of position-[a] and position-[b] adverbials, that SCnom has a biclausal structure with S-comp and SCcc/dat/acc have a biclausal structure with VP-comp. These assumptions account straightforwardly for the interpretation of adverbials in position [c] discussed above. Since SCnom involves S-comp, adverbials in position [c] cannot be associated with the upstairs predicate, as represented schematically in (37).

- (37) 

|            |                                   |        |
|------------|-----------------------------------|--------|
| Causer-Nom | Causee-Nom [c] Affectee-Acc V-key | ha-... |
|            | S-comp                            |        |

No possibility for ambiguity exists; the adverbial can only belong to the downstairs clause, as illustrated in (35). For SCcc/dat/acc, we have assumed a structure with VP-comp. Here adverbials in position [c] are situated at the

boundary between matrix and embedded clause, and can therefore belong either to the upstairs predicate (38a) or to the downstairs predicate (38b).

- (38) a. 

|            |                   |     |                               |        |
|------------|-------------------|-----|-------------------------------|--------|
| Causer-Nom | Causee-Cc/Dat/Acc | [c] | Affectee-Acc V-key<br>VP-comp | ha-... |
|------------|-------------------|-----|-------------------------------|--------|
- b. 

|            |                   |     |                               |        |
|------------|-------------------|-----|-------------------------------|--------|
| Causer-Nom | Causee-Cc/Dat/Acc | [c] | Affectee-Acc V-key<br>VP-comp | ha-... |
|------------|-------------------|-----|-------------------------------|--------|

The ambiguity in the interpretation of adverbials is thus to be expected.

It should be noted that there is a subtle difference between SCcc and SCdat/acc in this regard. In SCdat/acc an adverbial in position [c] can easily be associated with either the causing or the caused event, whereas in SCcc it is much more readily associated with the caused than the causing event. This fact suggests that, with respect to position-[c] adverbials, SCcc behaves partly like SCnom (in which it is only associated with the caused event) and partly like SCdat/acc (in which it is associated with both the causing and the caused event).

The interpretation of adverbials in position [d] exhibits the same patterning as with position [c]: in SCnom, adverbials can only be associated with the caused event, as illustrated in (39), whereas they may be associated with either the causing or the caused event in SCcc/dat/acc, as illustrated in (40).

- (39) *Inho-ka Mina-ka chayk-ul ecey ilk-key ha-yss-ta.*  
 Inho-Nom Mina-Nom book-Acc yesterday read-Comp Cause-Past-Ind  
 'Inho made Mina [read the book yesterday].'

- (40) *Inho-ka Mina-{lo.hayekum/eykey/lul} chayk-ul ecey*  
 Inho-Nom Mina-{Cc/Dat/Acc} book-Acc yesterday

*ilk-key*      *ha-yss-ta.*  
 read-Comp   Cause-Past-Ind

- a. 'Yesterday Inho made Mina read the book.'  
 b. 'Inho made Mina [read the book yesterday].'

Among the ten or so speakers I consulted, only one speaker had difficulty getting the (40a) reading of SCcc/dat/acc, in which the adverbial in position [d] is associated with the causing event. When I replaced *ecey* 'yesterday' with the interrogative adverbial *encey* 'when', as in (41), both readings became acceptable for this speaker: the adverbial *encey* 'when' could be associated either with the causing or the caused event.

(41) *Inho-ka*      *Mina-{lo.hayekum / eykey / lul}*      *chayk-ul*      *encey*  
 Inho-Nom      Mina-{Dat/Acc}                      book-Acc      when

*ilk-key*      *ha-yss-ni?*  
 read-Comp   Cause-Past-Int

'When did Inho make Mina read the book?'

Note that the ambiguity noted here is quite different from what we see in the English translation of (41), where the ambiguity arises from the Wh-fronting rule which is part of English question-formation. By contrast, the Korean ambiguity has nothing to do with fronting, since the Wh-interrogative remains in situ. This is further evidenced by the SCnom sentence (42), which is identical to (39) except that the adverbial *ecey* 'yesterday' is replaced with the interrogative adverbial *encey* 'when'; here there is no ambiguity, and *encey* 'when' can only be associated with the caused event.

(42) *Inho-ka*      *Mina-ka*      *chayk-ul*      *encey*      *ilk-key*      *ha-yss-ni?*  
 Inho-Nom      Mina-Nom      book-Acc      when      read-Comp      Cause-Past-Int

'When did Inho make Mina [read the book ("t") ]?'

The two readings in (41), then, clearly show that adverbials in position [d] can be associated either with the causing or the caused event in SC<sub>cc/dat/acc</sub>.

It is noteworthy that if the causal and effected predicates in SC<sub>cc/dat/acc</sub> are separated, as in (43), a position-[d] adverbial cannot be associated with the causing event, but only with the caused event.<sup>7</sup>

- (43) *Mina*-{*lo.hayekum / eykey / lul*} *chayk-ul* *encey* *ilk-key* *Inho-ka*  
 Mina-{Cc/Dat/Acc} book-Acc when read-Comp Inho-Nom  
  
*ha-yss-ni?*  
 Cause-Past-Int

'When did Inho make Mina [read the book ("t")]?'

In (43), where the causal predicate *ha-* 'Cause' and the effected predicate *ilk-key* 'read-Comp' are separated by the causer, the adverbial *encey* 'when' can only be associated with the caused event. This stands in contrast to the corresponding sentence (41), in which the causal and effected predicates are adjacent; here the adverbial *encey* 'when' can be associated either with the causing or the caused event. This suggests that the causal and effected predicates in SC<sub>cc/dat/acc</sub> are behaving like a single complex predicate when adverbials in position-[d] are associated with the causing event.

Since we have assumed that all four SC's involve biclausal structure (SC<sub>nom</sub> involves S-comp and SC<sub>cc/dat/acc</sub> VP-comp), no problem arises from the fact that adverbials in position [d] in SC<sub>nom/cc/dat/acc</sub> can be associated with the caused event (see (39) and (40b)): such adverbials are embedded within a downstairs clause and hence should not be associable with the upstairs clause. What is problematic is the case in which adverbials in position

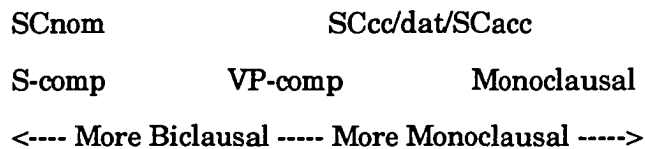
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<sup>7</sup> Sentences like (43), in which some element intervenes between the complementizer and the causal predicate, do not in general sound fully natural, though they are not unacceptable. See Section 2.2.1 for a discussion of this point.

[d] are associated with the causing event in SCcc/dat/acc (see (40a)): in order for position-[d] adverbials to be associated with the causing event, SCcc/dat/acc would have to have some sort of monoclausal structure. With respect to adverbials in position [d], then, SCcc/dat/acc appear to exhibit both biclausal (40b) and monoclausal (40a) behavior. This paradoxical situation would appear to be self-contradictory.

The key to resolving this paradox lies in the specious yes/no opposition between the categories "biclausal" and "monoclausal". In fact, a strict division between biclausal and monoclausal structures provides no account for the conflicting behaviors of SCcc/dat/acc in the interpretation of adverbials. Given the above observations, it is more insightful to assume instead a cline of clause structure from fully biclausal to fully monoclausal. With respect to the interpretation of adverbials, SCnom always behaves like a fully biclausal structure involving S-comp. SCcc/dat/acc typically behave like a biclausal structure involving VP-comp, but sometimes like a monoclausal structure. The VP-comp is a "reduced" complement compared to the S-comp: in the former the subject is not within the clause, whereas in the latter it is. And of course a monoclausal structure is even further reduced. Accordingly, I propose a cline of clause structures for syntactic causative constructions, as in Figure 3.2 (version I).

(44) Figure 3.2 Clause structure of the syntactic causative constructions



In Figure 3.2, SC<sub>cc</sub>/dat/acc are represented as non-distinctive. As noted several pages earlier, however, SC<sub>cc</sub> differs from SC<sub>dat/acc</sub> with respect to the interpretation of adverbials in position [c]: it behaves as if it is between SC<sub>nom</sub> and SC<sub>dat/acc</sub>. In the following sections, moreover, we will see that the clause structure of SC<sub>acc</sub> is further reduced towards monoclausal structure than SC<sub>dat</sub>.

### 3.3.2 Syntactic Passives

Passivization has often been used as a test frame for the clause structure of causative constructions (e.g. Aissen 1974, Marantz 1984, and Baker 1988). If the causee, but not the affectee (the downstairs object), is passivizable in a causative construction, the construction is regarded as biclausal. By contrast, if the affectee can be passivized but not the causee, the construction is generally regarded as monoclausal (Spencer 1991:268). The reasoning is straightforward: passivization does not normally affect elements outside the clause in which it applies.

There are two types of passives in Korean, morphological and syntactic, as illustrated in (45) and (46), respectively.

- (45) *Inho-ka Mina-eykey cap-hi-ess-ta.*  
 Inho-Nom Mina-Dat catch-Pass-Past-Ind

'Inho got caught by Mina.'

- (46) "*Hankul-un Seycong taywang-ey.uyhay mantul-e.ci-ess-ta.*"  
 Hankul-Top Seycong great.king-by make-Pass-Past-Ind

'Hankul (the Korean alphabet) was invented by the great king Seycong.'

The morphological passive is lexically restricted. Since the causal predicate

*ha-ta* 'Cause' of the syntactic causative has no corresponding derived passive verb, the morphological passive cannot apply to the syntactic causative. Nor can the morphological passive apply to the morphological causative, because the relevant morphemes cannot co-occur (see Section 4.2.1). The discussion in this section, therefore, will be limited to the syntactic passive, which can indeed apply to the causative construction.

In the syntactic passive, the passive-agent is marked by the phrase *-ey.uyhay* and the verb stem takes the passive suffix *-e.ci*, as in (46).<sup>8</sup> The syntactic passive construction is totally productive in formal terms, inasmuch as the passive suffix *-e.ci* can be attached to any transitive verb stem. However, for most verbs the resultant passive does not sound quite natural (especially when the subject is animate), though there are instances such as (46) which sound totally normal. It is often said that many syntactic passive sentences sound like unrefined translations of English passive sentences; indeed, the syntactic passive appears to be an emerging grammatical construction.<sup>9</sup>

We now turn to the interaction between the syntactic passive and the causative constructions. Gerdts (1986) argues that sentence (48) is the passive counterpart of the SCnom sentence (47).

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<sup>8</sup> There are three forms of the passive-agent marker: *-ey.uyhayse*, *-ey.uyhay*, and *-ey.uyhaye*. The alternation marked in boldface is not restricted to the passive-agent marker, but recurs commonly in other morphemes (e.g. *uykehayse* ~ *uykehay* ~ *uykehaye* 'based on'; *panhayse* ~ *panhay* ~ *panhaye* 'against'). The allomorphs are in free variation.

The passive morpheme *-e.ci* can be analyzed into the epenthetic element *-e*, which alternates with *-a* according to vowel harmony, and the inchoative morpheme *ci*. I will treat these two elements as a single passive morpheme, though they may be separated by "delimiters", e.g. *man* 'only', as in (i).

(i) *na-eykey kihoy-ka cwu-e-man ci-nta-meyn, . . .*  
 I-Dat chance-Nom give-e-only become-Pres-if  
 'If a chance is only given to me, . . .' (i.e. 'If I only got a chance,')

<sup>9</sup> In my dialect, passivized syntactic causative sentences like (48) do not sound quite natural, but they are not unacceptable. Even though such sentences are not marked in this text by a question mark indicating that they are not fully natural, readers should be aware of their partial or debatable acceptability.

- (47) *Mina-ka Inho-ka ku chayk-ul ilk-key ha-yss-ta.*  
 Mina-Nom Inho-Nom the book-Acc read-Comp Cause-Past-Ind

'Mina made Inho read the book.'

- (48) (*Mina-ey.uyhay*) *Inho-ka ku chayk-ul ilk-key ha-ye.ci-ess-ta.*<sup>10</sup>  
 Mina-by Inho-Nom the book-Acc read-Comp Cause-Pass-  
 Past-Ind

'It was caused (by Mina) that Inho read the book.'

(Gerdt's translation would be: 'Inho was caused/made (by Mina) to read the book.')

On her analysis, the entire downstairs clause in (47) is passivized and then the downstairs subject (the causee) becomes the upstairs subject by "Subject-to-Subject Raising". By contrast, O'Grady (1991:191-193) claims that the active sentence corresponding to the passive sentence (48) is not the SCnom sentence (47), but the SCacc sentence (49).

- (49) *Mina-ka Inho-lul ku chayk-ul ilk-key ha-yss-ta.*  
 Mina-Nom Inho-Acc the book-Acc read-Comp Cause-Past-Ind

'Mina made Inho read the book.'

As will be argued in detail below, I agree with Gerdt's that the SCnom sentence (47), and not the SCacc sentence (49), is the active correspondent of the passive sentence (48). I also agree with Gerdt's that the entire downstairs clause of the SCnom is passivized. However, I do not agree with her claim that passivization is followed by Subject-to-Subject Raising in (48). Furthermore, it will be shown that the syntactic passive may apply not just SCnom but to SCcc and SCdat as well--though not to SCacc (contra O'Grady). In what fol-

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<sup>10</sup> Gerdt's states that passivized syntactic causative sentences such as (48) are accepted only by a sub-group of Korean speakers. This speaker variation in grammaticality judgments will be discussed later in this section.

lows, the passive-agent will be omitted, since syntactic passives generally sound better without it.

In the passivized causative (48), the causee is marked by the nominative case. However, the causee in passivized causative sentences can also be marked by the causee case or the dative case, as illustrated in (50a, b).

- (50) *Inho*-{a. *lo.hayekum*, b. *eykey*} *ku chayk-ul ilk-key ha-ye.ci-ess-ta.*  
*Inho*-{ Cc Dat } the book-Acc read-Comp Cause-Pass-Past-Ind  
 'It was caused that Inho read the book.'

The active version of the passive sentences (50a, b) would then not be the SCnom sentence (47), but the SCcc and SCdat sentences (51a, b).

- (51) *Mina-ka Inho*-{a. *lo.hayekum*, b. *eykey*} *ku chayk-ul ilk-key ha-yss-ta.*  
*Mina*-Nom *Inho*-{ Cc Dat } the book-Acc read-Comp Cause-Past-Ind  
 'Mina made Inho read the book.'

The reason for this is simply that nowhere in Korean grammar can it be shown that a nominative-marked NP ever becomes a causee case-marked or a dative-marked NP under syntactic passivization.

Is the causee in the passivized SCnom/cc/dat (*Inho* in (48) and (50a, b)) the subject of the entire passive sentence or just of the downstairs clause? If the causee were the upstairs subject in this type of passive sentence, an honored (senior) causee should trigger Subject Honorification in the upstairs clause. But this does not occur, as illustrated in (52).

- (52) *sensayngnim*-{*kkeyse/ulo.hayekum/kkey*} *ku chayk-ul ilk-key*  
 teacher-{Nom/Cc/Dat} the book-Acc read-Comp

*ha-ye.ci-(\*si)-ess-ta.*  
Cause-Pass-Hon-Past-Ind

It was caused (\*Hon) that the teacher read the book.'

By contrast, a senior causee does trigger Subject Honorification in the downstairs clause, as illustrated in (53).

- (53) *sensayngnim-{kkeyse/ulo.hayekum/kkey} ku chayk-ul*  
teacher-{Nom/Cc/Dat} the book-Acc
- ilk-usi-key ha-ye.ci-ess-ta.*  
read-Hon-Comp Cause-Pass-Past-Ind

'It was caused that the teacher read (Hon) the book.'

The fact that the senior causee can trigger Subject Honorification in the downstairs but not the upstairs clause in the passivized SC<sub>nom/cc/dat</sub> suggests that the subject of the passivized SC<sub>nom/cc/dat</sub> is not the causee but the entire downstairs clause. It is therefore wrong to propose, as Gerdts does, that "Subject-to-Subject Raising" should apply to passivized SC<sub>nom</sub> sentences like (48). And the fact that the entire downstairs clause in SC<sub>nom/cc/dat</sub> serves as the subject in passives implies that SC<sub>nom/cc/dat</sub> behave like a biclausal structure with respect to the syntactic passive.

With respect to the syntactic passive, SC<sub>acc</sub> differs from SC<sub>nom/cc/dat</sub> in that application of the syntactic passive results in unacceptable sentences, as illustrated in (54b) (compare (54b) with (48) and (50a, b)).

- (54) a. *Mina-ka Inho-lul ku chayk-ul ilk-key ha-yss-ta.*  
Mina-Nom Inho-Acc the book-Acc read-Comp Cause-Past-Ind
- 'Mina made Inho read the book.'
- b. *\*Inho-lul ku chayk-ul ilk-key ha-ye.ci-ess-ta.*  
Inho-Acc the book-Acc read-Comp Cause-Pass-Past-Ind

(Intended: 'Inho was made to read the book.')

This suggests that, with respect to the syntactic passive, the linguistic entity expressing the caused event in SCacc is not a clause: if it were a clause, it should be passivizable just like the downstairs clause of SCnom/cc/dat, which is not the case. These facts argue that SCacc is behaving in this regard as a monoclausal structure, in contrast to biclausal SCnom/cc/dat.

With respect to the syntactic passive, accordingly, SCacc patterns with the morphological causative, for which we have assumed a monoclausal structure. In the morphological causative the causee also cannot be passivized, as illustrated in (55b).

- (55) a. *Inho-ka Mina-{eykey/lul} wuyu-lul mek-i-ess-ta.*  
 Inho-Nom Mina-{Dat/Acc} milk-Acc eat-Caus-Past-Ind

'Inho fed milk to Mina.' (or 'Inho fed Mina milk.')

- b. \**Mina-ka wuyu-lul mek-i-e.ci-ess-ta.*  
 Mina-Nom milk-Acc eat-Caus-Pass-Past-Ind

(Intended: 'Mina was fed milk.')

The morphological causative in turn patterns with the ditransitive construction. Here the goal, as noted by Shibatani (1977), cannot be passivized, as illustrated in (56b).

- (56) a. *Inho-ka Mina-{eykey/lul} ku chayk-ul cwu-ess-ta.*  
 Inho-Nom Mina-{Dat/Acc} the book-Acc give-Past-Ind

'Inho gave a book to Mina.'

- b. \**Mina-ka ku chayk-ul cwu-e.ci-ess-ta.*  
 Mina-Nom the book-Acc give-Past-Ind

(Intended: 'Mina was given the book.')

Just as the causee and the goal in the monoclausal morphological causative and ditransitive constructions, respectively, cannot be passivized, so too the causee in SCacc cannot be passivized.

These three constructions exhibit another parallel. The affectee (the "downstairs" object) and the patient in the morphological causative and ditransitive constructions, respectively, can be passivized if the causee and the goal are marked by the dative case, but not if they are marked by the accusative:

- (57) *ku wuyu-nun Mina-{a. eykey, b.\*lul} mek-i-e.ci-ess-ta.*  
 the milk-Top Mina-{ Dat Acc} eat-Caus-Pass-Past-Ind

'The milk was fed to Mina.'

- (58) *ku chayk-un Mina-{a. eykey, b.\*lul} cwu-e.ci-ess-ta.*  
 the book-Top Mina-{ Dat Acc} give-Pass-Past-Ind

'The book was given to Mina.'

The same constraint holds for SCacc, where the causee by definition is in the accusative case: again the affectee cannot be passivized:

- (59) *\*ku wuyu-nun Mina-lul mek-key ha-ye.ci-ess-ta.*  
 the milk-Top Mina-Acc eat/drink-Comp Cause-Pass-Past-Ind

(Intended: 'The milk was made to be drunk by Mina.')

That is, in all three constructions the affectee/patient cannot be passivized when another argument (causee, goal) is marked by the accusative case. Hence the fact that SCacc is parallel to the morphological causative, which in turn is parallel to the ditransitive construction--both monoclausal--argues that SCacc is itself behaving monoclausally with respect to the syntactic passive.

SCacc has thus been shown to differ from SCnom/cc/dat with respect to the

syntactic passive: the former behaves like a monoclausal structure, the latter like a biclausal structure. This difference of clause structure with respect to the test frame of the syntactic passive is represented in Figure 3.3 (version II).

(60) Figure 3.3 Clause structure of the syntactic causative constructions

|  |       |
|--|-------|
| SCnom/SCcc/SCdat                                   | SCacc |
| <---- More Biclausal ----- More Monoclausal -----> |       |

As mentioned earlier, syntactic passive sentences do not in general sound quite natural. Gerdts (1986) states that passivized syntactic causative sentences are accepted only by a sub-group of the Korean speakers surveyed.<sup>11, 12</sup> In my own informal survey, too, some but not all of the Korean speakers re-

<sup>11</sup> With regard to one particular example of a passivized SCnom sentence, according to Gerdts (1986:169), 9 out of 30 Korean speakers surveyed accepted it, 16 speakers rejected it, and 5 speakers were undecided. Other sentences of this type yielded similar results in her study.

<sup>12</sup> Given the fact that all speakers accept sentences like (ia), which is quite similar in meaning to passivized SCnom sentences like (ib), Gerdts (1986) claims that *toy-* in (ia) and *ha-ye.ci-* in (ib) are identical in syntactic structure.

- (i) a. *Inho-ka Mina-ey.uyhay ku chayk-ul ilk-key toy-ess-ta.*  
 Inho-Nom Mina-by the book-Acc read-Comp become-Past-Ind  
 'Inho was made by Mina to read the book.'
- b. *Inho-ka Mina-ey.uyhay ku chayk-ul ilk-key ha-ye.ci-ess-ta.*  
 Inho-Nom Mina-by the book-Acc read-Comp Cause-Pass-Past-Ind  
 'Inho was made by Mina to read the book.'

Some linguists (e.g. Y. Choi 1988 and O'Grady 1991) have agreed with this claim.

However, Gerdts' claim cannot be tenable in that *toy-* cannot replace *ha-ye.ci-* in passivized SCcc/dat sentences, as illustrated in (iia) and (iib).

- (ii) a. *Inho-{lo.hayekum/eykey} ku chayk-ul ilk-key ha-ye.ci-ess-ta.*  
 Inho-{Cc/Dat} the book-Acc read-Comp Cause-Pass-Past-Ind  
 'Inho was made to read the book.'
- b. *\*Inho-{lo.hayekum/eykey} ku chayk-ul ilk-key toy-ess-ta.*  
 Inho-{Cc/Dat} the book-Acc read-Comp become-Past-Ind  
 (Intended: 'Inho was made to read the book.')

The *toy-* construction, therefore, cannot be treated as identical to the passivized syntactic causative construction.

jected passivized syntactic causative sentences (in which, it will be recalled, the entire downstairs clause is passivized). However, sentences like (61), where a downstairs object appears in initial position, were more readily accepted.

- (61) *ku chayk-un Inho-{ka/lo.hayekum/eykey} ilk-key ha-ye.ci-ess-ta.*  
 the book-Top Inho-{Nom/Cc/Dat} read-Comp Cause-Pass-Past-Ind
- a. 'The book was made to [be read by Inho].'  
 b. 'As for the book, it was caused that Inho read it.'

Two interpretations for sentences like (61) appear to be tentatively available as indicated in the English translations. At first glance, (61a) would appear to be an appropriate translation of sentence (61), as if the affectee (lower object) were being passivized. However, I will argue that the affectee in (61) is actually the topic of a passive sentence in which the entire downstairs clause is passivized, as suggested in (61b).

For the sake of argument, let us assume that the (a) reading of (61) is actually the correct one--that is, the affectee is passivized. On this view, sentences like (61) would appear to suggest that SC<sub>nom/cc/dat</sub> are monoclausal, because passivization does not normally affect elements outside the clause in which it applies. This would then conflict with the above conclusion (Figure 3.3) that SC<sub>nom/cc/dat</sub> behave like a biclausal structure with respect to the syntactic passive.

This conflict, however, arises only under the assumption that what is passivized in (61) is the affectee. As remarked, there is an alternative way to interpret sentences like (61), which is still compatible with the earlier conclusion. This is to assume that the affectee *ku chayk* 'the book' in (61) is not itself passivized, but is rather topicalized out of the passivized syntactic causative--i.e.

the syntactic passive is first applied to the syntactic causative, and topicalization is then applied to the result.

To see whether this alternative interpretation is possible, let us first consider sentences (62a-c). The biclausal sentence (62a) can be passivized as in (62b), in which the entire downstairs clause becomes the subject.

- (62) a. *salamtul-un Inho-ka ku chayk-ul ss(u)-ess-ta-nun*  
 people-Top Inho-Nom the book-Acc write-Past-Ind-Rel  
*kes-ul cengsel-lo mit-e.o-ass-ta.*  
 Comp-Acc established.theory-as believe-Asp-Past-Ind  
 'People have believed it as an established theory that Inho wrote the book.'

- b. *Inho-ka ku chayk-ul ss(u)-ess-ta-nun kes-i*  
 Inho-Nom the book-Acc write-Past-Ind-Rel Comp-Nom  
*cengsel-lo mit-e.ci-e.o-ass-ta.*  
 established.theory-as believe-Pass-Asp-Past-Ind  
 'It has been believed as an established theory that Inho wrote the book.'

The downstairs object *ku chayk* 'the book' in (62b) can be topicalized, as illustrated in (62c).

- (62) c. *ku chayk-un Inho-ka ss(u)-ess-ta-nun kes-i*  
 the book-Top Inho-Nom write-Past-Ind-Rel Comp-Nom  
*cengsel-lo mit-e.ci-e.o-ass-ta.*  
 established.theory-as believe-Pass-Asp-Past-Ind  
 'As for the book, it has been believed as an established theory that Inho wrote it.'

In just the same vein, (61) can be interpreted as topicalization from the

corresponding passive sentences in (63).

- (63) *Inho*-{*ka*/*lo.hayekum/eykey*} *ku chayk-ul ilk-key ha-ye.ci-ess-ta.*  
*Inho*-{Nom/Cc/Dat} the book-Acc read-Comp Cause-Pass-  
 Past-Ind  
 'Inho was made to read the book.'

Intuitively, the sentences in (61) do not involve two passivizations (as suggested by the translation (61a)), but only one passivization (as in (61b)).

In summary, the sentences in (61) might have appeared to suggest that SCnom/cc/dat behave like a monoclausal structure with respect to the syntactic passive, because the affectee appeared to be passivized. Upon closer examination, however, they prove to be instances of topicalization out of the passive sentences in (63), in which the entire downstairs clause is passivized. SCnom/cc/dat thus continue to behave as biclausal structures with respect to the syntactic passive.

### 3.3.3 Goal Markers

This section examines the differential behavior of the different syntactic causative constructions with respect to the inanimate goal markers *-ey* and *-eytaka*.<sup>13</sup> The choice between these two markers depends on the valence of the predicate. When the predicate is bivalent, the inanimate goal is marked by *-ey*, not *-eytaka*, as illustrated in (64).

- (64) *Inho-ka hakkyo*-{*ey*/*\*eytaka*} *ka-ss-ta.*  
*Inho*-Nom school-{Goal} go-Past-Ind  
 'Inho went to school.'

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<sup>13</sup> When the referent of a goal is animate, it is marked either by the honorific dative case particle *-kkey* or by the plain dative case particle *-eykey* or *-hanthey*.

The theme co-occurring with a goal marked by *-ey* is always the subject. (By the terms theme and goal I mean "thing in motion or being located" and "its endpoint", respectively; cf. Jackendoff 1990, Chapter 7.)

When the predicate is trivalent, by contrast, the inanimate goal is marked by the particle *-eytaka*, as illustrated in (65).

- (65) *Inho-ka ku kapang-{eytaka/eyta/ey} chayk-ul neh-ess-ta.*  
 Inho-Nom the bag-{Goal} book-Acc put.in-Past-Ind

'Inho put books into the bag.'

The particle *-eytaka* can be abbreviated into *-eyta* or further into *-ey*, as also illustrated in (65). This kind of abbreviation is a common procedure in Korean.<sup>14</sup> Since the particle *-ey* in (65) is an abbreviated form of the particle *-eytaka*, it is different from the particle *-ey* in (64), though they are homonymous; if they were the same, the particle *-eytaka* would be acceptable in (64). To distinguish these two goal markers, I will henceforth use *-eyta* for the trivalent type of goal marker seen in (65), and *-ey* for the bivalent type of goal marker in (64).

In clauses where the goal is marked by the particle *-eyta*, the agent is typically the subject and the theme the object as seen in (65); H. Sohn (1977) in fact claims this is always the case. In the passive version of such clauses, however, the subject can be the theme, not the agent, as illustrated in (66).<sup>15</sup>

<sup>14</sup> See S. Song (1988, Chapter 5) for various abbreviation phenomena in Korean, and S. Song (1988, Chapter 16) for the abbreviation of the goal marker *-eytaka*.

<sup>15</sup> I owe this example to Clare You. Although (66) sounds fine, in general passive sentences of the same type do not sound quite natural. When I asked her about sentences of this type, she first said that such sentences did not sound natural. Later she thought of sentence (66), which sounds natural to both of us. It is not clear whether such an effect is due to the goal marker *-eyta* or to general restrictions on the syntactic passive. As discussed in Section 3.3.2, there are many cases where syntactic passive sentences do not sound quite natural.

- (66) *ku kapang-eyta ku manhun chayk-i ta neh-e.ci-ni?*  
 the bag-Goal so many book-Nom all put-Pass-Int

'Are so many books all put into the bag?'

Let us now consider the behavior of causative constructions with respect to inanimate goal markers. In the morphological causative with intransitive (bivalent) effected predicates, the goal is marked by the particle *-eyta*, as illustrated in (67).

- (67) *Inho-ka Mina-lul uyca-eyta anc-hi-ess-ta.*  
 Inho-Nom Mina-Acc chair-Goal sit-Caus-Past-Ind

'Inho seated Mina on the chair.'

The fact that the goal *uyca* 'chair' in (67) is marked by the particle *-eyta* shows that the causee *Mina* is not an agent, but a theme. The morphological causative sentence (67) thus behaves like a trivalent monoclausal sentence in that the causee is simply the theme of the derived causative verb *anc-hi-ta* 'sit-Caus=seat' rather than the agent of the effected predicate *anc-ta* 'sit'.

In the corresponding SCnom sentences (68a, b), by contrast, the goal cannot be marked by the particle *-eyta* (68a), but only by the particle *-ey* (68b).

- (68) *Inho-ka Mina-ka uyca-{a. \*eyta, b. ey} anc-key ha-yss-ta.*  
 Inho-Nom Mina-Nom chair-{Goal} sit-Comp Cause-Past-Ind

'Inho made Mina sit on the chair.'

This suggests that the causee in these sentences is not the theme of the whole causative predicate *anc-key ha-ta* 'make someone sit', but the agent of the effected predicate *anc-ta* 'sit'. Since a theme co-occurring with a goal marked by the particle *-ey* must be the subject of its clause, the causee in (68) is the sub-

ject of the downstairs clause. Therefore, SC<sub>nom</sub> behaves like a biclausal structure with respect to the goal markers.

In the corresponding SC<sub>acc</sub> sentence (69), however, the goal can be marked by the particle *-eyta*,<sup>16</sup> just as in the morphological causative sentence (67).

- (69) *Inho-ka Mina-lul uyca-eyta anc-key ha-yss-ta.*  
 Inho-Nom Mina-Acc chair-Goal sit-Comp Cause-Past-Ind

'Inho made Mina sit on the chair.' (Inho seated Mina on the chair.)

The fact that the goal *uyca* 'chair' in (69) is marked by the particle *-eyta* suggests that the causee *Mina* is the theme of the whole causative predicate *anc-key ha-ta* 'make someone sit=seat someone' and accordingly its object, rather than the subject of the effected predicate *anc-ta* 'sit'. With respect to the goal markers, SC<sub>acc</sub> (like the morphological causative) therefore behaves like a monoclausal structure.

SC<sub>cc/dat</sub> differ from both SC<sub>nom</sub> and SC<sub>acc</sub> with respect to the goal markers. In the SC<sub>nom</sub> sentence (68) the goal cannot be marked by the goal marker *-eyta*, whereas in the corresponding SC<sub>acc</sub> sentence (69) it can be. In the corresponding SC<sub>cc/dat</sub> sentences (70), the goal can be marked by the particle *-eyta*, but these sentences do not sound as natural as the corresponding SC<sub>acc</sub> sentence (69).

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<sup>16</sup> Note that the goal can also be marked by *-ey*, as illustrated in (i).

- (i) *Inho-ka Mina-lul uyca-ey anc-key ha-yss-ta.*  
 Inho-Nom Mina-Acc chair-on sit-Comp Cause-Past-Ind  
 'Inho made Mina sit on the chair.' (Inho seated Mina on the chair.)

The goal marker in (i) could be interpreted either as the particle *-ey* abbreviated from *-eyta*, or as the unabbreviated particle *-ey*. The latter interpretation might seem paradoxical to those who assume that clause structure is either monoclausal or biclausal, because it suggests that SC<sub>acc</sub> can behave biclausally as well as monoclausally with respect to goal markers. To me, however, this interpretation does not pose any problems. In Section 3.3.1 we already saw that SC<sub>dat/acc</sub> sometimes behave like a biclausal structure and sometimes like a monoclausal structure. Here, too, SC<sub>acc</sub> exhibits properties of both the mono- and biclausal structures. We will see more cases of this sort in the following sections.



- (72) *nay-ka Inho<sub>i</sub>-eykey Inho<sub>i</sub>-ka mul-ul kkulhi-key seltukha-yss-ta.*  
 I-Nom Inho-Dat Inho-Nom water-Acc boil-Comp persuade-Past-Ind

'I persuaded Inho to boil water himself.'

This emphatic element is always marked by the nominative case, and is coreferential with the logical subject of the embedded predicate.<sup>17</sup> It is similar in meaning to the English emphatic reflexive pronoun seen in sentences such as *John did it himself*. One crucial difference between the languages, however, is that the prototypical use of the English construction is impossible in Korean: the Korean emphatic element cannot occur where it is coreferential with the subject in the same minimal clause, as illustrated in (73) and (74).

- (73) *Inho<sub>i</sub>-ka (\*Inho<sub>i</sub>-ka) mul-ul kkulhi-ess-ta.*  
 Inho-Nom Inho-Nom water-Acc boil-Past-Ind

'Inho boiled the water (himself).'

- (74) *na-nun Inho-ka (\*Inho-ka) mul-ul kkulhi-ess-ta-ko mit-ess-ta.*  
 I-Top Inho-Nom Inho-Nom water-Acc boil-Past-Ind-Comp believe-Past-Ind

'I believed that Inho boiled the water (himself).'

The various syntactic causative constructions behave differently with respect to the emphatic element, which in these constructions is always coreferential with the causee, as illustrated in (75a-c).

a. *\*ka* (Nom)

- (75) *nay-ka Inho<sub>i</sub>-{ b. lo.hayekum/eykey (Cc/Dat) } Inho<sub>i</sub>-ka*

c. *%lul* (Acc)

I-Nom Inho-

Inho-Nom

<sup>17</sup> The emphatic element was first noted by Patterson (1974:35); in her thesis, the pronoun *ku* 'he' appears as the emphatic element. I replace it with referential expressions, as in (72), because the pronoun *ku* 'he' is used only in written Korean (see J. Park (forthcoming a) for this restriction on the use of *ku*). In spoken Korean, if such an emphatic element is called for, referential expressions are used, as in (72).

*mul-ul       kkulhi-key ha-yss-ta.*  
 water-Acc boil-Comp Cause-Past-Ind

'I made Inho boil water himself.'

That is, SC<sub>nom</sub> does not allow such an emphatic element, as in (75a), whereas SC<sub>cc/dat</sub> do allow it, as in (75b). As for SC<sub>acc</sub>, speakers vary in their grammaticality judgments: some speakers accept sentences like (75c) (e.g. Patterson 1974:35 and O'Grady 1990:193), while others do not (e.g. Y. Kang 1986:60 and Y. Kim 1990:164). In my own speech, sentences like (75c) are acceptable, though less natural than sentences like (75b).

Assuming that SC<sub>nom</sub> has a biclausal structure with an S-comp now yields a ready explanation of the fact that the emphatic element cannot occur in SC<sub>nom</sub>. The causee is the subject of the embedded S-comp; it is coreferential with the emphatic element and occurs in the same minimal clause. As remarked, emphatic elements cannot occur in such an environment, as seen in (73-74). On the other hand, the fact that the emphatic element can occur in SC<sub>cc/dat</sub> can be explained if we assume that these constructions involve a VP-comp: just as the emphatic element can occur in the Equi construction involving a VP-comp (see (72)), so too it can occur in SC<sub>cc/dat</sub>.

As noted above, speakers vary in their grammaticality judgments for SC<sub>acc</sub> with the emphatic element. For those who do not accept the SC<sub>acc</sub> with the emphatic element, SC<sub>acc</sub> appears to behave like a monoclausal structure. This is because, in comparable monoclausal morphological causative sentences, such an emphatic element is not allowed, as illustrated in (76).

(76) \**nay-ka Inho<sub>i</sub>-{eykey/lul} Inho<sub>i</sub>-ka chayk-ul ilk-hi-ess-ta.*  
 I-Nom Inho-{Dat/Acc} Inho-Nom book-Acc read-Caus-Past-Ind

(Intended: 'I made Inho read the book himself.')

We have already seen that SCacc displays monoclausal behavior in various respects; here the monoclausal analysis would account naturally for the nonoccurrence of the emphatic.

For those who do accept such sentences, on the other hand, SCacc appears to behave like a biclausal structure with a VP-comp, like SCcc/dat. Note that in the Equi construction, the experiencer (controller) can be marked by the accusative case (77) as well as by the dative case (72).

- (77) *nay-ka Inho-lul mul-ul kkulhi-key seltukha-ss-ta.*  
 I-Nom Inho-Acc water-Acc boil-Comp persuade-Past-Ind

'I persuaded Inho to boil water.'

In such Equi constructions with an accusative-marked experiencer, an emphatic element can indeed occur, as illustrated in (78); it does not, however, sound as natural as a sentence like (72), where the experiencer is marked by the dative case.

- (78) *nay-ka Inho<sub>i</sub>-lul Inho<sub>i</sub>-ka mul-ul kkulhi-key seltukha-ss-ta.*  
 I-Nom Inho-Acc Inho-Nom water-Acc boil-Comp persuade-Past-Ind

'I persuaded Inho to boil water himself.'

This "intermediacy" is analogous to what we saw with the SCacc sentence (75c). For those who accept the SCacc with the emphatic element, such sentences fall into the same pattern as (78), which involves a VP-comp. But the fact that the emphatic element is less natural with SCacc than with SCcc/dat argues that the clause structure of SCacc is further reduced toward monoclausal structure than is that of SCcc/dat.

In conclusion, with respect to the test frame of the emphatic element, SCnom behaves like a structure with an S-comp, and is fully biclausal.

SCcc/dat behave like a biclausal structure with a VP-comp, which suggests that they are less fully biclausal than SCnom. The clausal structure of SCacc is either fully monoclausal or further reduced toward a monoclausal structure than that of SCcc/dat. This is represented schematically in Figure 3.5 (version IV).

(79) Figure 3.5 Clause structure of the syntactic causative constructions

|  |            |             |
|--|------------|-------------|
| SCnom  | SCcc/SCdat | SCacc       |
| S-comp   | VP-comp    | Monoclausal |
| <---- More Biclausal ----- More Monoclausal -----> |            |             |

### 3.3.5 Scrambling

In Korean, except for the strict constraint that the verb must occur at the end of the clause, constituent word order is fairly free. For a trivalent predicate, for example, the constituents can occur in six different orders, as illustrated in (80). All the sentences in (80) convey basically the same meaning.

- (80) a. *Inho-ka Mina-eykey ton-ul cwu-ess-ta.*  
 Inho-Nom Mina-Dat money-Acc give-Past-Ind  
 'Inho gave money to Mina.'
- b. *Inho-ka ton-ul Mina-eykey cwu-ess-ta.*
- c. *Mina-eykey Inho-ka ton-ul cwu-ess-ta.*
- d. *Mina-eykey ton-ul Inho-ka cwu-ess-ta.*
- e. *ton-ul Inho-ka Mina-eykey cwu-ess-ta.*
- f. *ton-ul Mina-eykey Inho-ka cwu-ess-ta.*

This phenomenon has been called "Scrambling".

It has often been observed that different syntactic causative constructions behave differently with respect to Scrambling (e.g. H. Sohn 1973 and O'Grady 1991). In SC<sub>cc/dat/acc</sub> the causer and the causee can be scrambled, as in (81b), while in SC<sub>nom</sub> they cannot, as in (81c).

- (81) a. *nay-ka* *apenim-~~{kkeyse / ulo.hayekum / kkey / ul}~~* *ttena-si-key*  
 I-Nom father-{Nom/Cc/Dat/Acc} leave-Hon-Comp  
*ha-yss-ta.*  
 Cause-Past-Ind  
 'I made my father leave (Hon).'
- b. *apenim-~~{ulo.hayekum / kkey / ul}~~* *nay-ka* *ttena-si-key* *ha-yss-ta.*  
 father-{Cc/Dat/Acc} I-Nom leave-Hon-Comp Cause-  
 Past-Ind  
 'I made my father leave (Hon).'
- c. \**apenim-kkeyse* *nay-ka* *ttena-si-key* *ha-yss-ta.*  
 father-Nom I-Nom leave-Hon-Comp Cause-Past-Ind  
 (Intended: 'I made my father leave (Hon).')

Note that in (81c) the second nominative-marked nominal *nay-ka* 'I-Nom' cannot be the causee (*My father made me leave* (Hon)) because first-person subjects cannot trigger Subject Honorification (see Section 3.2.1); the first and second nominative-marked nominals in (81c) could only be causee and causer, respectively. But in fact (81c), the result of scrambling the causer and causee in the SC<sub>nom</sub> sentence in (81a), is unacceptable. Given this difference between SC<sub>nom</sub> and SC<sub>cc/dat/acc</sub> with respect to Scrambling, it has been claimed that the causee is a downstairs constituent in SC<sub>nom</sub> but an upstairs constituent in SC<sub>cc/dat/acc</sub> (e.g. H. Sohn 1973 and O'Grady 1991). Underlying

this claim is the assumption that Scrambling across clause boundaries is in general quite restricted.

Scrambling, however, appears not to provide evidence for the hypothesis that SCnom differs from SCcc/dat/acc in clause structure. Consider the sentences in (82).

(82) *ku chayk-ul na-nun apenim-{kkeyse/ulo.hayekum/kkey/ul}*  
 the book-Acc I-Top Inho-{Nom/Cc/Dat/Acc}

*ilk-usi-key ha-yss-ta.*  
 read-Hon-Comp Cause-Past-Ind

'I made my father read the book.'

In (82), the affectee *ku chayk* 'the book' is scrambled across the causer *na-nun* 'I-Top' in all four syntactic causative constructions. If Scrambling between causer and causee in SCnom were not allowed (see (81c)) simply because Scrambling is not allowed across clause boundaries, then the affectee should also not be "scramblable" over the causer in SCnom, which is not the case (see (82)). The ban on Scrambling between the causer and the causee in SCnom, therefore, must be due to some other factor.<sup>18</sup>

### 3.3.6 Clause Structure of Syntactic Causatives

So far we have examined the clause structure of the syntactic causative constructions. With respect to adverbial scope, first of all, SCnom behaves like a biclausal structure with an S-comp; SCcc/dat/acc behave typically like a

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<sup>18</sup> Charles Fillmore has suggested to me that the ban on Scrambling between the causer and the causee in SCnom might be a phenomenon similar to the ban on Scrambling in Russian. In Russian, the order of constituents is quite free. However, when the subject and the object are not distinguished by their case forms due to case-syncretism, they cannot be scrambled--that is, the subject precedes the verb and the object follows it. Since the causer and the causee in SCnom are both marked by the nominative case, Korean seems to keep them in their canonical order to avoid possible confusion.

biclausal structure with a VP-comp, but sometimes like a monoclausal structure. If we assume a binary notion of clause structure, i.e. either monoclausal or biclausal, these facts cannot be explained, especially because SCcc/dat/acc exhibit properties of both mono- and biclausal structures. We therefore adopt instead a *gradient* notion of clause structure, i.e. more biclausal or more monoclausal. Assuming that a biclausal structure with a VP-comp is less fully biclausal than a biclausal structure with an S-comp, we have represented the clause structure of the syntactic causative constructions as in Figure 3.2 (version I), repeated here:

(Figure 3.2)            SCnom                            SCcc/dat/SCacc  
                           S-comp                    VP-comp                    Monoclausal  
                           <---- More Biclausal ----- More Monoclausal ----->

With respect to the syntactic passive, SCnom/cc/dat behave like a biclausal structure, whereas SCacc behaves like a monoclausal structure. This was represented in Figure 3.3 (version II).

(Figure 3.3)            SCnom/SCcc/SCdat                            SCacc  
                           <---- More Biclausal ----- More Monoclausal ----->

With respect to the goal markers, SCnom behaves like a biclausal structure; SCacc behaves like a monoclausal structure; and SCcc/dat behave like SCacc but are less fully monoclausal than SCacc. This was represented as in Figure 3.4 (version III).

(Figure 3.4)            SCnom                            SCcc/SCdat            SCacc  
                           <---- More Biclausal ----- More Monoclausal ----->

Finally, with respect to emphatic elements, SCnom behaves like a biclausal structure with an S-comp; SCcc/dat behave like a biclausal structure with a VP-comp; and SCacc behaves either like a biclausal structure with a VP-comp or like a monoclausal structure, depending on the speaker. This was represented as in Figure 3.5 (version IV).

(Figure 3.5)      SCnom              SCcc/SCdat      SCacc  
                          S-comp              VP-comp              Monoclausal  
                          <---- More Biclausal ----- More Monoclausal ----->

In addition, all the syntactic causative constructions behave like a biclausal structure with respect to the test frames discussed in Section 3.2-- Subject Honorification (Section 3.2.1), Possessor Ascension (Section 3.2.2), Negation (Section 3.2.3), and Reflexivization (Section 3.2.4).

What is consistent throughout the above discussion of the clause structure of syntactic causative constructions is their ordering in all the schematic representations, Figures 3.2 through 3.5. That is, in the cline from biclausal (on the left) to monoclausal (on the right), SCnom, SCcc/dat, and SCacc always occur in that order.<sup>19</sup> This leads to the conclusion that the clause structure of SCnom, SCcc/dat, and SCacc is gradually reduced from full biclausal structure to monoclausal structure, in that order. This is represented schematically in Figure 3.6 as the final version.

                         SCnom                      SCcc/dat                      SCacc  
                          <---- More Biclausal ----- More Monoclausal ----->

Fig. 3.6 Clause structure of the syntactic causative constructions

<sup>19</sup> I could not find test frames which clearly distinguished SCcc from SCdat, though SCcc behaves more biclausally than SCdat in a subtle way with respect to adverbial scope (see Section 3.3.1).

Except for the SCnom, which consistently behaves like a biclausal structure with an S-comp, the other syntactic causative constructions behave differently with respect to the different test frames. For example, SCacc behaves like a biclausal structure with respect to the four test frames in Section 3.2; like a bi/monoclausal structure with respect to adverbial scope; and like a monoclausal structure with respect to the other test frames. Furthermore, SCcc/dat/acc can behave differently even with respect to the same test frame. With respect to the test frame of adverbial scope, for example, SCcc/dat/acc sometimes behave like a biclausal structure with a VP-comp and sometimes like a monoclausal structure. Given a strict binary division of clause structures into monoclausal vs. biclausal, it would seem impossible to provide a clearcut, definitive clause structure for any of the syntactic causative constructions except SCnom, which consistently behaves like a biclausal structure with an S-comp. It is for this reason that we have adopted a gradient notion of clause structure, that is, more monoclausal or more biclausal, an approach which allows us to describe in a more meaningful way the facts about clause structure of the syntactic causative constructions discussed in Sections 3.2 and 3.3.

### **3.4 Problems with the Strict Division of Clause Structure,**

#### **II: Morphological Causatives**

The morphological causative behaves like a monoclausal structure with respect to all the relevant test frames discussed so far in this chapter. However, it also exhibits some properties of a biclausal structure. In the following three sections, I will examine such biclausal properties of the morphological causative; in Section 3.4.4 I will discuss, from a diachronic perspective, why

the morphological causative exhibits properties of both mono- and biclausal structures.

### 3.4.1 Instrumental Adverbials

Shibatani (1973a:23-24) states that in the syntactic causative sentence (83), the instrumental adverbial *twu son-ulo* 'with both hands' can be associated with either the causing or the caused event, whereas in the corresponding morphological causative sentence (84) it can only be associated with the causing event .

- (83) *Inho-ka ai-lul twu son-ulo namu-ey olu-key ha-yss-ta.*  
 Inho-Nom child-Acc two hand-Ins tree-to go.up-Comp Cause-Past-Ind

'Inho made the child go up the tree with both hands.'

- (84) *Inho-ka ai-lul twu son-ulo namu-ey ol(u)-li-ess-ta.*  
 Inho-Nom child-Acc two hand-Ins tree-to go.up-Caus-Past-Ind

'Inho lifted the child up the tree with both hands.'

I agree with his interpretation of these particular sentences. In (83) the causee acts like the logical subject of the effected predicate *olu-ta* 'go up', whereas in (84) it functions as the object of the derived causative verb *ol(u)-li-ta* 'raise, lift'. This is further supported by the fact that the causee *ai* 'child' in the syntactic causative sentence (83) cannot be replaced by an inanimate entity, as shown in (85), whereas such a replacement is allowed in the morphological causative, as in (86).

- (85) \**Inho-ka chayk-ul two son-ulo namu-ey olu-key ha-yss-ta.*  
 Inho-Nom book-Acc two hand-Ins tree-to go.up-Comp Cause-Past-Ind

(Intended: 'Inho made the book go up the tree with both hands.')

- (86) *Inho-ka chayk-ul twu son-ulo namu-ey ol(u)-li-ess-ta.*  
 Inho-Nom child-Acc two hand-Ins tree-to go.up-Caus-Past-Ind

'Inho lifted the book up the tree with both hands.'

If the causee in the morphological causative sentence (86) were really the logical subject of an effected predicate *olu-ta* 'go up', then an inanimate entity like *chayk* 'book' would be impossible for the same reason as in the corresponding syntactic causative sentence (85): an inanimate entity cannot be the agent of the verb *olu-ta* 'go up'. These observations appear to suggest that the morphological causative is straightforwardly monoclausal, since the causee is interpreted as the object of the derived causative verb rather than the subject of the effected predicate.

However, there are instances of the morphological causative in which an instrumental adverbial can indeed be associated with the caused event, as illustrated in (87).

- (87) *Lee kwukcang, way wuli-eykey kemun peyn-ulo seyakse-lul*  
 Lee Director why we-Dat black pen-Ins pledge-Acc

*ss(u)-i-nun-keyo?*  
 write-Caus-Pres-Int

'Director Lee, why do you make us write the pledge with a black pen?'

Sentence (87) is potentially ambiguous just like the English translation. That is, the instrumental adverbial can in principle be associated with either the causing or the caused event. When the instrumental adverbial is associated with the caused event, the causee should then be the agent of the effected predicate, because only an agent can use an instrument. A sentence like (87) would then have two agents, that is, the causer and the causee. Since each thematic role occurs only once in a single clause (Fillmore 1968:21), sentences

like (87), which have two agents, suggest that the morphological causative can sometimes behave like a biclausal structure with respect to the interpretation of instrumental adverbials.<sup>20</sup>

An instrumental adverbial can in principle always be associated with the causing event in both the syntactic and morphological causatives. The two causatives differ, however, with regard to an instrumental adverbial associated with the caused event. In the syntactic causative, an instrumental adverbial can always be associated with the caused event; the causative thus behaves like a biclausal structure with respect to the interpretation of instrumental adverbials. In the morphological causative, on the other hand, an instrumental adverbial sometimes can be associated with the caused event and sometime cannot. This in turn suggests that with respect to the interpretation of instrumental adverbials the morphological causative sometimes behaves like a monoclausal structure and sometimes like a biclausal structure.

This kind of "conflicting" behavior of the morphological causative is not restricted to the interpretation of instrumental adverbials, but can also be found in other types of adverbials, as we will see in the next section.

### 3.4.2 Locative Adverbials

Fillmore (in class) has discussed two types of locatives, "frame-internal" and "frame-external". These two types of locative are illustrated in (88).

(88) *John boiled eggs in a pot in the garden.*

The locative *in a pot* differs from the locative *in the garden*. The locative *in the garden* specifies a location at which the event of John's boiling eggs takes

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<sup>20</sup> See also Fodor (1970) for discussion of instrumentals in causative constructions.

place. By contrast, the locative *in a pot* is a part of the boiling frame, and this type of locative is dependent on the particular verb used. Fillmore calls the type of locative exemplified by *in the pot* "frame-internal", and the type exemplified by *in the garden* "frame-external".

In Korean, frame-internal and frame-external locatives are marked by different locative markers, as illustrated in (89).

- (89) *Inho-ka puekh-eyse naympi-eytaka kyeylan-ul salm-ass-ta.*  
 Inho-Nom kitchen-in pot-in egg-Acc boil-Past-Ind

'Inho boiled eggs in a pot in the kitchen.'

The frame-external locative *puekh* 'kitchen' is marked by the particle *-eyse*, whereas the frame-internal locative *naympi* 'pot' is marked by the particle *-eytaka*.<sup>21</sup> The frame-external locative cannot be marked by *-eytaka* and the frame-internal locative cannot be marked by *-eyse*, as illustrated in (90a, b).

- (90) a. \**Inho-ka puekh-eytaka naympi-eytaka kyeylan-ul salm-ass-ta.*  
 Inho-Nom kitchen-in pot-in egg-Acc boil-Past-Ind

(Intended: 'Inho boiled eggs in the pot in the kitchen.')

- b. \**Inho-ka puekh-eyse naympi-eyse kyeylan-ul salm-ass-ta.*<sup>22</sup>  
 Inho-Nom kitchen-in pot-in egg-Acc boil-Past-Ind

(Intended: 'Inho boiled eggs in the pot in the kitchen.')

The frame-internal locative marker *-eytaka* is homonymous with the goal marker *-eytaka* discussed in Section 3.3.3. Both can occur in the abbreviated forms *-eyta* and *-ey*, as illustrated in (91) and (92).

<sup>21</sup> In Korean, "predicational locatives" (e.g. *on the table* in *The book is on the table*) are marked by different particles. If the locative's referent is inanimate, it is marked by *-ey*; if animate, it is marked by the dative case markers (*-kkey*, *-eykey*, or *-hanthey*).

<sup>22</sup> Sentence (90b) is acceptable if Inho himself was in the pot. In this reading, however, the pot is not a frame-internal locative.

- (91) *Inho-ka naympi-{eytaka, eyta, ey} kyeylan-ul salm-ass-ta,*  
 Inho-Nom pot-{in} egg-Acc boil-Past-Ind

'Inho boiled eggs in the pot.'

- (92) *Inho-ka namu-{eytaka, eyta, ey} mul-ul cwu-ess-ta.*  
 Inho-Nom tree-{to} water-Acc give-Past-Ind

'Inho gave water to the tree.'

Just as the three variants of the goal marker *-eytaka* are in free variation, the three variants of the frame-internal locative marker *-eytaka* are also in free variation. Henceforth, I will denote the frame-internal locative with the abbreviated marker *-eyta*.

The frame-internal locative marker *-eyta* and the goal marker *-eyta* are also similar in that they can only be associated conceptually with the patient. That is, a locative marked by *-eyta* indicates where the patient is located (a point to be discussed shortly) and a goal marked by *-eyta* indicates where the patient/theme is moved to (see Section 3.3.3). However, they differ in that an event with a goal must involve a theme, i.e. a moving entity, whereas in an event with a frame-internal locative it is irrelevant whether there is a theme or not. When one boils eggs in a pot, as in (91), it is typical to first put the eggs into the pot and then to boil them. The first part of this boiling scenario thus does involve a theme, with the frame internal-locative in (91) apparently functioning partly as goal and partly as locative. However, a frame-internal locative can easily occur in a scenario in which there is no theme at all, as illustrated in (93).

- (93) *Inho-ka pyek-eyta Mina-uy elkwul-ul kuli-ess-ta.*  
 Inho-Nom wall-on Mina-Gen face-Acc draw-Past-Ind

'Inho drew Mina's face on the wall.'

In (93) there is no theme, i.e. no moving entity. This fact indicates that the frame-internal locative marker *-eyta* is different from the goal marker *-eyta*, though they share many properties.<sup>23</sup>

Frame-external locatives specify the place in which the sententially denoted event takes place, and they can occur regardless of the transitivity of the predicate. By contrast, frame-internal locatives marked by the particle *-eyta* may only occur with a transitive predicate, and specify the location specifically of the patient, not of the agent. Thus the frame-internal locatives *naympi* 'pot' in (91) and *pyek* 'wall' in (93) specify where the patients, *kyeylan* 'egg' and the drawing of Mina's face, are located. But they do not specify where the agents are located. In the passive sentence (94) corresponding to the active sentence (93), the frame-internal locative *pyek-eyta* 'on the wall' also specifies the location of the patient.

- (94) *Mina-uy elkwul-i Inho-ey.uhay ku pyek-eyta kuli-e.ci-ess-ta.*<sup>24</sup>  
 Mina-Gen face-Nom Inho-by the wall-on draw-Pass-Past-Ind  
 'Mina's face was drawn on the wall by Inho.'

Now let us examine how causative constructions behave with respect to locatives. In the SCnom sentence (95), the locative which specifies the location of the causee is marked by the frame-external locative marker *-eyse*, but not by the frame-internal locative marker *-eyta*.

<sup>23</sup> These two homonymous markers have heretofore been regarded as a single marker, i.e. a goal marker (cf. H. Sohn 1977 and S. Song 1988, Chapter 16). In arriving at the conclusion that theme is irrelevant in the case of frame-internal locative, I have benefited from discussions with Eve Sweetser, Jim Long, and Ju Namkung. The fact that the two share many properties in non-trivial ways, however, suggests that one form could have been grammaticalized from the other. I leave this issue for future research.

<sup>24</sup> Passive sentences containing frame-internal locatives like (94) do not in general sound quite natural, though in my speech they are not unacceptable. Some speakers apparently reject sentences like (94) completely; for such speakers, we can safely say that frame-internal locatives may only specify the location of the object. The latter position does not affect the following arguments.

- (95) *Inho-ka Mina-ka chimtay-{eyse/\*eyta} ca-key ha-yss-ta.*  
 Inho-Nom Mina-Nom bed-in sleep-Comp Cause-Past-Ind

'Inho made Mina [sleep in the bed].'

In the corresponding morphological causative sentence (96), by contrast, the location of the causee can be specified by the frame-internal locative *chimtay-eyta* 'in the bed'.

- (96) *Inho-ka Mina-lul chimtay-eyta ca-i.wu-ess-ta.*  
 Inho-Nom Mina-Acc bed-in sleep-Caus-Past-Ind

'Inho put Mina to [sleep in the bed].'

The frame-internal locative, *chimtay-eyta* 'in the bed', in (96) can only specify the causee's location.

The effected predicate *ca-ta* 'sleep' in (95) and (96) can only take the frame-external locative, as illustrated in (97).

- (97) *Mina-ka chimtay-{eyse/\*eyta} ca-ss-ta.*  
 Mina-Nom bed-{in} sleep-Past-Ind

'Inho slept in the bed.'

The pattern of locative-marking corresponds exactly in the two sentences, (95) and (97). This suggests that the causee of the SCnom sentence (95) is the agent (hence the subject) of the effected predicate *ca-ta* 'sleep' rather than the patient (hence the object) of the whole causative predicate *ca-key ha-ta* 'make someone sleep'. SCnom therefore behaves like a biclausal structure with respect to locatives. On the other hand, the causee of the morphological causative sentence (96) is not the agent of the effected predicate *ca-ta* 'sleep', but the patient (hence the object) of the derived causative verb *ca-i.wu-ta*. 'put to sleep'; otherwise, the locative in (96) could not be marked by the frame-in-

ternal locative marker *-eyta*. Therefore, the morphological causative behaves like a monoclausal structure with respect to locatives.

In the morphological causative, however, the location of the causee can also be specified by the frame-external locative, as illustrated in (98).

- (98) *ai-tul-ul matang-eyse nol-li-lass-eyo.*  
 child-Pl-Acc garden-in play-Caus-Imp

'Make the children play in the garden.'

The frame-external locative *matang-eyse* 'in the garden' in (98) can be associated with either the causing or the caused event, as in the English translation.<sup>25</sup> Since the syntactic causative (95) is biclausal, sentences like (98) suggest that the morphological causative, too, can behave like a biclausal structure with respect to locatives: the causee in (98) is the subject of the effected predicate *nol-ta* 'play', just like the causee in the SCnom sentence (95).

With respect to locatives, then, the morphological causative can behave either monoclausally or biclausally, just as with the interpretation of instrumental adverbials. More typically, however, it behaves monoclausally. Consider the sentences in (99).

- (99) *Inho-ka Mina-lul chimtay-{a. eyta, b. eyse} ca-i.wu-ess-ta.*  
 Inho-Nom Mina-Ass bed-(in) sleep-Caus-Past-Ind

a. 'Inho put Mina to [sleep in the bed].'

b. 'Inho made Mina sleep in the bed.'

In (99a), with the frame-internal locative marker *-eyta*, the locative specifies only the location of the causee. In (99b), with the frame-external locative

<sup>25</sup> Shibatani (1973a, b) claims that in sentences like (98) the locative can only be associated with the causing event. Many native linguists (e.g. I. Yang 1976 and S. Song 1988) have disputed this, contending that the locative can be associated with the caused event as well as the causing event.

marker *-eyse*, it can specify the location of either the causer or the causee, though the former is definitely the preferred reading. Some speakers, such as Shibatani's consultants, may not even accept (99b) with the reading in which the frame-external Locative is associated with the caused event. These facts suggest that the morphological causative typically behaves like a monoclausal structure, though it exhibits properties of both mono- and biclausal structures.

### 3.4.3 Thematic Role of the Causee

Consider the following sentences.

- (100) {a. *Inho*, b. \**sikyey*}-*ka cha twi-lo swum-ess-ta.*  
 { Inho watch}-Nom car behind hide-Past-Ind  
 a. 'Inho hid behind the car.'  
 b. '\*The watch hid behind the car.'
- (101) *Mina-ka* {a. *Inho*, b. \**sikyey*}-*lul cha twi-lo swum-key ha-yss-ta.*  
*Mina*-Nom { Inho watch}-Acc car behind hide-Comp Cause-  
 Past-Ind  
 a. 'Mina made Inho hide behind the car.'  
 b. '\*Mina made the watch hide behind the car.'
- (102) *Mina-ka* {a. *Inho*, b. *sikyey*}-*lul cha twi-lo swum-ki-ess-ta.*  
*Mina*-Nom { Inho watch}-Acc car behind hide-Caus-Past-Ind  
 a. 'Mina hid Inho behind the car.'  
 b. 'Mina hid the watch behind the car.'

Sentence (100a) is fine because an agentive subject can indeed hide, while sentence (100b) is unacceptable unless the subject *sikyey* 'watch' is personified: an inanimate entity cannot hide. The same selectional restrictions apply to the corresponding syntactic causative sentences in (101). By contrast, these

selectional restrictions do not apply to the corresponding morphological causatives in (102).

The difference between the syntactic and morphological causatives with respect to selectional restrictions suggests that the causee in the syntactic causative and in the morphological causative do not bear the same thematic relationship to the effected predicate *swum-ta* 'hide'. The causee in the syntactic causative sentence (101) bears the same thematic relationship as does the subject in (100) to the verb *swum-ta* 'hide'. This suggests that in the syntactic causative the effected predicate can assign thematic roles to its arguments independent of the causal predicate. This in turn implies that the syntactic causative is biclausal.

By contrast, the causee in the morphological causative sentences in (102) does not bear the same thematic relationship as does the subject in (100). Its thematic role, patient, is assigned by the derived causative verb *swum-ki-ta* 'hide [Vt]'. This suggests that in the morphological causative the effected predicate cannot assign thematic roles to its arguments independent of the causal predicate; in other words, the causal and effected predicates behave as a single unit. This in turn implies that the morphological causative is monoclausal.

As noted in the interpretation of instrumental adverbials (Section 3.4.1), however, the causal and effected predicates of the morphological causative do not always behave as a single unit with respect to thematic role assignment. An instrumental adverbial in the morphological causative can sometimes be associated with the caused event, arguing that the causee is an agent. In such cases, the causee is assigned its agent thematic role by the effected predicate. This is in clear contrast to sentences like (102), where the causee is a patient and is assigned its thematic role by the derived causative verb as a whole.

This suggests that the effected predicate in the morphological causative can sometimes be an independent predicate with respect to thematic role assignment. The morphological causative thus behaves biclausally in this case.

#### **3.4.4 Clause Structure of Morphological Causatives**

We have seen that the morphological causative behaves like a monoclausal structure with respect to almost all the test frames discussed in this chapter--Subject Honorification, Possessor Ascension, Negation, and Reflexivization. On the other hand, it may behave like a biclausal structure with respect to the interpretation of certain adverbials: instrumental or locative adverbials can be associated with the caused event in the morphological causative. Such an association, however, is not always possible, but is restricted to cases in which the morphological causative expresses indirect causation. And even in such cases, the association of adverbials with the caused event is not as easily available as in the syntactic causative.

Several different approaches to the clause structure of the morphological causative have been proposed. The morphological causative has generally been assumed to be monoclausal. Some linguists (e.g. I. Yang 1972, 1976 and C. Lee 1973), however, have assumed that it is underlyingly biclausal, so that the syntactic and the morphological causative would have the same underlying structure. Both assumptions can be partially, but not fully, supported by the facts about the morphological causative discussed so far.

Working within a GB framework, K. Park (1986) claims that the morphological causative is biclausal in D-structure and monoclausal in S-structure while the syntactic causative is biclausal in both D- and S-structures, and argues that the bi- and monoclausal properties which the morphological

causative exhibits are phenomena of D- and S-structures, respectively. Even within the GB framework, however, this approach does not work fully. In his "uniformity of theta assignment hypothesis", Baker (1988:46) states that "[I]dentical thematic relationships between items are represented by identical structural relationships between those items at the level of D-structure." In Section 3.4.3 we saw that, in certain cases of corresponding syntactic and morphological causative sentences, the causee of the syntactic causative and that of the morphological causative bear different thematic relationships to their respective effected predicates. Accordingly, the syntactic and morphological causative do have different syntactic representations from each other at D-structure, contradicting K. Park's claim (above) that the two causatives have the same biclausal structure at D-structure.

Patterson (1974) assumes two different underlying structures for the morphological causative: biclausal structure when expressing indirect causation, and monoclausal structure when expressing direct causation. The fact that she treats the two types of clause structure assumed for the morphological causative as having equal status, however, misrepresents the facts about the morphological causative. For one thing, the morphological causative is typically used to express direct causation, though it can also express indirect causation. Furthermore, the morphological causative behaves like a monoclausal structure with respect to many test frames, even when it expresses indirect causation. Patterson's assumptions about the clause structure of the morphological causative, accordingly, do not account well for its behavior.

In the following, I will first examine the functional characteristics of the morphological causative, and then provide an account of its behavior from a diachronic perspective.

In present-day Korean, the morphological causative typically expresses direct causation, whereas the syntactic causative typically expresses indirect causation. Take, for example, an indirect causative situation in which the causer makes/has the causee put something somewhere. The derived causative verb *noh-i-ta* 'put-Caus' is listed in the dictionary, so one might expect the morphological causative sentence (103) to be possible.

- (103) \**Inho-ka Mina-eykey chayksang wi-ey chayk-ul noh-i-ess-ta.*  
 Inho-Nom Mina-Dat desk on book-Acc put-Caus-Past-Ind

(Intended: 'Inho made/had Mina put the book on the desk.')

However, sentence (103) is not acceptable in my speech. For such an indirect causative situation, the syntactic causative is used, as illustrated in (104).

- (104) *Inho-ka Mina-eykey chayksang wi-ey chayk-ul noh-key ha-yss-ta.*  
 Inho-Nom Mina-Dat desk on book-Acc put-Comp Cause-  
 Past-Ind

'Inho made/had Mina put the book on the desk.'

The majority of the derived causative verbs listed in the dictionary which can only express indirect causation (due to the meaning of the root verb) are not part of the active vocabulary of present-day Korean. The derived causative verbs which do belong to the active vocabulary typically express direct causation. This is well illustrated by a conversation between a mother and her daughter which I heard while watching a T.V. drama. In the relevant scenes, a friend of the daughter forcibly puts a gift into her hands, though she resists accepting it. She brings it home, and the daughter (D) and her mother (M) engage in the exchange shown in (105).

(105) M: "*ilen kes-ul mwe hale kaciko-o-ass-e?*"

'Why did you bring this home? (Implication: We do not need this kind of thing even though we are poor.)

D: "*chinkwu-ka ekcilo cey son-ey tul-li-e.cwu-ese*  
friend-Nom forcibly my hand-into hold-Caus-give-since

'Since my friend forcibly gave [it] to me by putting [it] into my hands

*ha-l.swu eps-i kaciko-o-ass-eyo.*"

I could not help but bring it home.

The derived causative verb *tul-li-ta* 'hold-Cause' in (105) conveys a direct causative situation--*putting something into someone's hands so that he holds it*. The corresponding syntactic causative expression *tul-key ha-ta* is not acceptable in the same context as (105D), as illustrated in (106).

(106) \**chinkwu-ka [ku.kes-ul] cey son-ey tul-key ha-yss-eyo.*<sup>26</sup>  
friend-Nom [it-Acc] my hand-onto hold-Comp Cause-Past-Ind

\*'My friend made/had my hands hold it.'

Examples (103) through (106) demonstrate clearly that the morphological causative expresses direct causation while the syntactic causative expresses indirect causation.

Compared to the present-day Korean morphological causative, the morphological causative in Middle Korean appears to express indirect causation much more productively (see Section 2.3.2). Take, for example, the derived causative verb *sal-li-ta* 'live-Caus'. It could express an indirect causative situation (*make*

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<sup>26</sup> (106) is acceptable if the causee is not the hands, but the speaker, as in (i).

(i) *chinkwu-ka ce-ka [ku.kes-ul] cey son-ey tul-key ha-yss-eyo.*  
friend-Nom I-Nom [it-Acc] my hand-in hold-Comp Cause-Past-Ind  
'My friend made/had me hold it in my hands.'

someone live somewhere) in Middle Korean, as in (107).

- (107) "seng pakk-ey ilkop cel il-e, cwung sal-i-si-ko"  
 city.wall outside seven temple make-and monk live-Caus-Hon-and  
 [MK: *Wel.in.sek.po* 2:77]

'[He] made seven Buddhist temples outside the city wall, and made  
 Buddhist priests live [there].'

In present-day Korean, by contrast, it cannot express the same indirect causative situation, as shown in (108a), but only direct causative situations (*save someone's life*), as in (108b). For the intended meaning of (108a), the syntactic causative sentence (108c) is used.

- (108) a. \**Inho-ka Mina-lul L.A.-ey sal-li-ess-ta.*  
 Inho-Nom Mina-Acc L.A.-in live-Caus-Past-Ind  
 (Intended: 'Inho made Mina live in L.A.')
- b. *Kim paksa-ka ku hwanca-lul sal-li-ess-ta.*  
 Kim Dr.-Nom the patient-Acc live-Caus-Past-Ind  
 'Dr. Kim saved the patient's life (i.e. made the patient alive).'
- c. *Inho-ka Mina-lul L.A.-ey sal-key ha-yss-ta.*  
 Inho-Nom Mina-Acc L.A.-in live-Comp Cause-Past-Ind  
 'Inho made Mina live in L.A.'

The examples in (107-108) suggest that (a) the Middle Korean morphological causative expressed indirect causation much more productively than does the present-day Korean morphological causative (see Section 2.3.2); (b) the syntactic causative has replaced the morphological causative in the function of indirect causative; and (c) the present-day morphological causative typically expresses direct causation.

As discussed in Section 2.3.2, the majority of derived causative verbs which

can only express indirect causation (due to the meaning of the root verb) have become extinct or are not, though still listed in the contemporary dictionary, actively in the everyday vocabularies of present-day native speakers. Those surviving derived causative verbs which do remain in active use typically express direct causation.

In Section 3.4.3, we saw that when the morphological causative expresses direct causation, the "causee" does not bear a thematic relationship to the effected predicate independently, but to the derived causative verb as a whole. This implies that such derived causative verbs are lexicalized in their own right, though of course the derived and root verbs are phonologically related.

The event expressed by the morphological causative is typically conceived as a single event. Consider the following sentences:

- (109) *Inho-ka mul-ul naympi-{a. eyta, b.\*eyse} kkulh-i-ess-ta.*  
 Inho-Nom water-Acc pot-(in) boil-Caus-Past-Ind

'Inho boiled water in a pot.'

Here the location of the causee can only be specified by the frame-internal locative *naympi-eyta* 'in a pot' (109a), and not by the frame-external locative *naympi-eyse* (109b). This suggests that the caused event (water-boiling [Vi]) does not constitute an independent event because it cannot be specified by event-setting frame-external locatives.

To recapitulate, the present-day morphological causative has been drastically reduced in its productivity because many derived causative verbs have become either extinct or "inactive". It has almost lost its erstwhile function of expressing indirect causation. A derived causative verb typically behaves like a single lexical verb. The event it expresses is also typically conceived as a single event. All these facts suggest that the morphological causative has al-

most changed into a finite set of lexicalized causatives. This explains why it behaves like a monoclausal structure with respect to almost all the test frames discussed in this chapter.

However, the morphological causative has not yet completely "frozen" into the status of lexical causative. It can still express indirect causation, though such a function is drastically reduced compared to the Middle Korean morphological causative. Accordingly, it can behave like a biclausal structure, as discussed in relation to the interpretation of certain adverbials. All this supports the view presented here: the morphological causative has almost become a monoclausal lexical causative, but still retains a few properties of the biclausal structure which the Middle Korean morphological causative appears to have exhibited.

It is often reported that in certain languages syntactic causatives diachronically change into morphological causatives, which in turn change into lexical causatives. Matisoff (1976) and Givón (1976) discuss such processes in Lahu and in Bantu languages, respectively.<sup>27</sup> Comrie (1981, Chapter 8) also states that the three-way subdivision of causatives--syntactic, morphological, and lexical--is an idealization, and that causative constructions in many languages show "intermediate" behavior between these three ideal types. From a diachronic perspective, then, the seemingly conflicting patterns of behavior of the Korean morphological causative seen in this chapter are not really conflicting. Because the construction has almost changed into a lexical causative, it typically exhibits characteristics of monoclausal structure. The fact that it still exhibits some properties of biclausal structure, however, suggests that the change has not yet been completed.

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<sup>27</sup> See Givón (1971) and Hopper and Traugott (1993) for the general diachronic evolution from syntax to morphology to lexicon.

## CHAPTER 4

# CM Constructions

### 4.1 Introduction

This chapter explores a family of related constructions, all characterized as being headed by a suffix realized allomorphically as any one of the set of suffixes (*i*, *ki*, *li*, *hi*)--the same morpheme we have already seen in the morphological causative. These constructions are exemplified below:<sup>1</sup>

#### [A] Causative type CMC's

##### (1) Causative CMC

- a. *Inho-ka Mina-lul wus-ki-ess-ta.*  
Inho-Nom Mina-Acc laugh-CM-Past-Ind

'Inho made Mina laugh.'

- b. *Inho-ka Mina-eykey chayk-ul ilk-hi-ess-ta.*  
Inho-Nom Mina-Dat book-Acc read-CM-Past-Ind

'Inho made Mina read the book.'

##### (2) Transitive CMC (I)

- Inho-ka elum-ul nok-i-ess-ta.*  
Inho-Nom ice-Acc melt[Vi]-CM-Past-Ind

'Inho melted the ice.'

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<sup>1</sup> The terms CM and CMC stand for "Causative Marker" and "CM Construction", respectively; CM refers to the whole allomorphic set (*i*, *ki*, *li*, *hi*). It will be explained below why I have chosen to call these suffixes CM.

## (3) Ditransitive CMC

*Inho-ka aki-eykey/lul wuyu-lul mek-i-ko.iss-ta.*  
 Inho-Nom baby-Dat/Acc milk-Acc eat-CM-Asp-Ind

'Inho is feeding milk to the baby.'

## (4) Transitive CMC (II)

*Inho-ka Mina-uy meli-lul kam-ki-ko.iss-ta.*  
 Inho-Nom Mina-Gen hair-Acc wash[Vt]-CM-Asp-Ind

'Inho is washing Mina's hair.'

[B] Passive type CMC's

## (5) Affective CMC (I)

*Inho-ka kay-hanthey tali-lul mul-li-ess-ta.*  
 Inho-Nom dog-Dat leg-Acc bite-CM-Past-Ind

'Inho got his leg bitten by a dog.'

## (6) Affective CMC (II)

*Inho-ka Mina-eykey cap-hi-ess-ta.*  
 Inho-Nom Mina-Dat catch-CM-Past-Ind

'Inho got caught by Mina.'

## (7) Part-Whole Passive CMC

*Inho-ka kay-hanthey tali-ka mul-li-ess-ta.*  
 Inho-Nom dog-Dat leg-Nom bite-CM-Past-Ind

'Inho was bitten on the leg by a dog.' (Inho's leg was bitten by a dog.)

## (8) Agentive Passive CMC

*ku chayk-i Inho-ey.uyhay phal-li-ess-ta.*  
 the book-Nom Inho-by sell-CM-Past-Ind

'The book was sold by Inho.'

[C] Middle type CMC's

## (9) Caused-Passive CMC

*Inho-ka Mina-eykey an-ki-ess-ta.*  
 Inho-Nom Mina-Dat embrace-CM-Past-Ind

'Inho got (himself) embraced by Mina.'

## (10) Reflexive CMC

*Inho-ka emma-eykey maytal-li-ess-ta.*  
 Inho-Nom mother-Dat hang[Vt]-CM-Past-Ind

'Inho clung to his mother.' (Lit.: Inho hung (himself) to his mother.)

## (11) Reciprocal CMC

*mul-kwa kilum-un sekk-i-ci.anh-nun-ta.*  
 water-and oil-Top mix[Vt]-CM-Neg-Pres-Ind

'Water and oil do not mix (with each other).'

## (12) Stimulus-Experiencer CMC

*san-i po-i-n-ta.*  
 mountain-Nom see-CM-Pres-Ind

'The mountain is visible (to me).'

## (13) Facilitative CMC

*i chayk-un cal phal-li-n-ta.*  
 this book-Top well sell-CM-Pres-Ind

'This book sells well.'

## (14) Spontaneous Event CMC

*mun-i cecello yel-li-ess-ta.*  
 door-Nom by.itself open-CM-Past-Ind

'The door opened by itself.'

All the suffixes in the above examples are glossed as CM (Causative Marker).

This does not mean, however, that they all function as causatives in the above

constructions. They in fact have a variety of functions, as indicated by the names of the sub-constructions. Because I will be claiming, however, that these suffixes are allomorphs of a single polysemous suffix whose central function is the causative one, I refer to them all in terms of this central function, i.e. CM (Causative Marker).

Definitionally, all constructions referred to as CMC's (CM Constructions) are headed by the CM (*i, ki, li, hi*). In the Reflexive CMC, for example, the CM-derived verb functions as semantically reflexive while its corresponding root verb is semantically non-reflexive. The Reflexive CMC differs from the ordinary reflexive construction, which exists independent of the Reflexive CMC and which employs reflexive pronouns such as *caki* and *ce*.

Among the CMC's (1) through (14), some have been discussed in the literature under the headings of causatives ((1) through (4)) and passives ((5) through (7)). Some, but not all, middle type CMC's have been discussed as well, and are regarded simply as passives. Furthermore, the CM has generally not been regarded as a single morpheme, but as two distinct and even unrelated homonymous grammatical markers of causative and passive. Contrary to this traditional view, I will argue that the CM is a single polysemous suffix and that all the CMC's form a family of distinct but related constructions centering on causatives.

The CMC's (1) through (14) have been grouped here into three semantically based types: causative, passive, and middle. In causative type CMC's, the subject functions as the causer; in passive type CMC's, it is the patient; in middle type CMC's, it is both the "initiator" and the "endpoint" of the sententially denoted event.<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>2</sup> This characteristic of middle type CMC's will be discussed in Section 4.5.

This chapter is organized as follows: Section 4.2 argues for the single-suffix hypothesis, that is, that the CM (*i, ki, li, hi*) is a single polysemous suffix rather than three unrelated suffixes (causative, passive, and middle) which are homonymous. Sections 4.3, 4.4, and 4.5 describe the syntax and semantics of the causative, passive, and middle type CMC's, respectively, and discuss how these CMC's are related to one another. Section 4.6 presents a constructional network for the CMC's, which graphically suggests the inter-relatedness of these constructions and presents them as subconstructions within a larger whole.

## 4.2 The Single-Suffix Hypothesis

The CM (*i, ki, li, hi*) used in causative type CMC's and the CM (*i, ki, li, hi*) used in passive type CMC's have generally been regarded as distinct and even unrelated homophones. Proper attention has not been paid to middle type CMC's, some of which have been subsumed under passives. In this section, I will argue for a single-suffix hypothesis, that is, that the CM (*i, ki, li, hi*) used in the fourteen CMC's (see (1) through (14)) all represent a single polysemous suffix rather than three unrelated homonymous suffixes (causative, passive, and middle). Section 4.2.1 examines several pieces of evidence supporting this view. Section 4.2.2 argues that certain phenomena which would appear to be counterevidence against the hypothesis are not in fact counterevidence.

### 4.2.1 Positive Evidence

The first piece of positive evidence for the single-suffix hypothesis is that all fourteen CMC's employ exactly the same set of suffixes (*i, ki, li, hi*) under

identical allomorphic conditioning. In causative type CMC's, as discussed in Section 2.3.1, the selection of an allomorph among the suffixes (*i*, *ki*, *li*, *hi*) is loosely related to the root-final segment: in general (though with some exceptions), *ki* appears after a nasal or [s], *hi* after a lenis stop [p, t, k, c], *li* after [l], and *i* elsewhere. The same morphophonemic conditions apply to the selection of an allomorph among the suffixes (*i*, *ki*, *li*, *hi*) in passive type CMC's, as illustrated below (C = causative and P = passive).

(a) *ki*: after [s] or a nasal [m, n]

|     |                  |                    |                     |                         |
|-----|------------------|--------------------|---------------------|-------------------------|
| [s] | <i>wus-ta</i>    | 'laugh'            | <i>wus-ki-ta</i>    | 'make laugh' (C)        |
|     | <i>ppayas-ta</i> | 'deprive'          | <i>ppayas-ki-ta</i> | 'be deprived' (P)       |
| [m] | <i>kam-ta</i>    | 'wash self's hair' | <i>kam-ki-ta</i>    | 'wash other's hair' (C) |
|     | <i>tam-ta</i>    | 'put into'         | <i>tam-ki-ta</i>    | 'be put into' (P)       |
| [n] | <i>an-ta</i>     | 'embrace'          | <i>an-ki-ta</i>     | 'make embrace' (C)      |
|     |                  |                    | <i>an-ki-ta</i>     | 'be embraced' (P)       |

(b) *hi*: after a lenis stop [p, t, k, c]

|     |                |           |                   |                    |
|-----|----------------|-----------|-------------------|--------------------|
| [p] | <i>cap-ta</i>  | 'catch'   | <i>cap-hi-ta</i>  | 'make catch' (C)   |
|     |                |           | <i>cap-hi-ta</i>  | 'be caught' (P)    |
| [t] | <i>pat-ta</i>  | 'receive' | <i>pat-hi-ta</i>  | 'make receive' (C) |
|     | <i>pat-ta</i>  | 'butt'    | <i>pat-hi-ta</i>  | 'be butted' (P)    |
| [k] | <i>ilk-ta</i>  | 'read'    | <i>ilk-hi-ta</i>  | 'make read' (C)    |
|     | <i>kulk-ta</i> | 'scratch' | <i>kulk-hi-ta</i> | 'be scratched' (P) |
| [c] | <i>anc-ta</i>  | 'sit'     | <i>anc-hi-ta</i>  | 'seat' (C)         |
|     | <i>enc-ta</i>  | 'put on'  | <i>enc-hi-ta</i>  | 'be put on' (P)    |

(c) *li*: after [l]

|     |                |        |                   |                |
|-----|----------------|--------|-------------------|----------------|
| [l] | <i>wul-ta</i>  | 'cry'  | <i>wul-li-ta</i>  | 'make cry' (C) |
|     | <i>phal-ta</i> | 'sell' | <i>phal-li-ta</i> | 'be sold' (P)  |

(d) *i*: elsewhere (vowels and other consonants)

|     |                   |         |                     |                |
|-----|-------------------|---------|---------------------|----------------|
| [a] | <i>kkuthna-ta</i> | 'end'   | <i>kkuthna-i-ta</i> | 'finish' (C)   |
|     | <i>pha-ta</i>     | 'dig'   | <i>pha-i-ta</i>     | 'be dug' (P)   |
| [o] | <i>po-ta</i>      | 'see'   | <i>po-i-ta</i>      | 'show' (C)     |
|     | <i>sso-ta</i>     | 'sting' | <i>sso-i-ta</i>     | 'be stung' (P) |
| [k] | <i>kkakk-ta</i>   | 'cut'   | <i>kkakk-i-ta</i>   | 'make cut' (C) |
|     |                   |         | <i>kkakk-i-ta</i>   | 'be cut' (P)   |

CM middle verbs have not been listed here because they are difficult to pin down lexically out of context (i.e. at the word level) in both Korean and English. At the sentence level, however, examples can easily be produced, as in (15a-d).

- (15) a. *nwun-i cakkwu cecello kam-ki-n-ta.*  
 eye-Nom repeatedly by.itself close[Vt]-CM-Pres-Ind  
 'My eyes keep closing on their own.' (i.e. I cannot keep my eyes open.)
- b. *mun-i cecello tat-hi-ess-ta.*  
 door-Nom by.itself close[Vt]-CM-Past-Ind  
 'The door closed by itself.'
- c. *ku os-un cal ppal-li-n-ta.*  
 the clothes-Top easily wash-CM-Pres-Ind  
 'The clothes wash easily.'
- d. *manh.un salam.tul-i mo(u)-i-ess-ta.*  
 many people-Nom gather[Vt]-CM-Past-Ind  
 'Many people gathered.'

In the CM middle verbs *kam-ki-ta*, *tat-hi-ta*, *ppal-li-ta*, and *mo(u)-i-ta* in (15a-

d), the suffixes are *ki*, *hi*, *li*, and *i* because the root-final segments are *m*, *t*, *l*, and *u*, respectively (compare these with (a) through (d) in the above list). These show that the same morphophonemic conditions apply to CM-derived middle verbs.

Although CM-derived verbs are in general subject to these morphophonemic conditions, there are exceptions to these conditions (see Section 2.3.1). But even in the case of exceptions, CM-derived causative, middle, and passive verbs behave alike. Take, for example, the verb *ttut-ta* 'pluck, fleece'. In general, a root verb ending in [t] selects the *hi* suffix (see (b) in the above list). However, the causative CM verb derived from *ttut-ta* takes *ki* rather than *hi*, i.e. *ttut-ki-ta* 'make pluck'. The passive CM verb derived from *ttut-ta* also takes *ki* rather than *hi*, i.e. *ttut-ki-ta* 'be plucked/fleeced'. Furthermore, the above-mentioned morphophonemic conditions on allomorphy are unique to CM-derived verbs. In fact, as discussed in Section 2.3.1, it seems a hopeless project to attempt to derive all the allomorphs (*i*, *ki*, *li*, *hi*) by rule from a single underlying form. All this implies that although the suffixes (*i*, *li*, *li*, *hi*) are at least partially in morphophonemic complementary distribution, nonetheless each of the suffixes has to be treated as being somewhat independent from the others (at least from a synchronic point of view).

If the CM, as is generally assumed in the literature, were to be treated as two unrelated homonymous suffixes (causative and passive), on the grounds that constructions employing them are different syntactically and/or semantically from each other, the corollary (using exactly the same logic) would be that three unrelated homonymous suffixes would have to be posited (causative, passive, middle) because all three differ syntactically and/or semantically from each other. However, it seems utterly implausible that three unrelated grammatical markers (causative, passive, middle) should have the same fourfold

allomorphy (*i, ki, li, hi*) and that these allomorphs should be subject to just the same morphophonemic conditions. It is far more reasonable to analyze the CM as constituting a single polysemous suffix.

Another piece of positive evidence for the single-suffix hypothesis is that all the CMC's behave in the same way with respect to the "doubling" constraint: two or more CMC's cannot occur in a single clause regardless of whether the CMC's are of the same kind or not. Doubling of causative type CMC's is not allowed, as illustrated in (16).

- (16) \**Inho-ka Mina-eykey Toli-lul wul-li-i-ess-ta.*  
 Inho-Nom Mina-Dat Toli-Acc cry-CM(Caus)-CM(Caus)-Past-Ind

(Intended: 'Inho made Mina make Toli cry.')

But a sequence of a causative type CMC and a passive type CMC is also not allowed (in either order), as illustrated in (17) and (18).

- (17) \**ku umsik-un Inho-eykey mek-i-i-ess-ta.*  
 the food-Top Inho-Dat eat-CM(Caus)-CM(Pass)-Past-Ind

(Intended: 'The food was fed to Inho.')

- (18) \**Inho-ka Mina-eykey Toli-eykey cap-hi-i-ess-ta.*  
 Inho-Nom Mina-Dat Toli-Dat catch-CM(Pass)-CM(Caus)-Past-Ind

(Intended: 'Inho had Mina caught by Toli.')

In fact, a CMC can never apply to another CMC.

It is not uncommon crosslinguistically that certain combinations of causative and passive are prohibited. In Chichewa (Hyman and Mchombo 1992) and Turkish (Erguvanli 1979), for example, the morphological sequence causative-passive is allowed, but passive-causative is not. It is unusual, however, to find a language that completely bans all combinations of the morpho-

logical causative with the morphological passive.

In Korean, while a sequence of a causative type CMC and a passive type CMC is not allowed in either order, certain combinations of causative and passive of other types are allowed. That is, Korean allows a combination of syntactic causative and syntactic passive, and of morphological causative and syntactic passive, as illustrated in (19) and (20), respectively.

- (19) *Inho-eykey ku chayk-ul ilk-key ha-ye.ci-ess-ta.*  
 Inho-Dat the book-Acc read-Comp Cause-Pass-Past-Ind

'Inho was made to read the book.'

- (20) *ku umsik-un Inho-eykey mek-i-e.ci-ess-ta.*  
 the food-Top Inho-Dat eat-CM(Caus)-Pass-Past-Ind

'The food was fed to Inho.'

The question then arises: why is a sequence of causative type CMC and passive type CMC not allowed in either order? We may find the answer in the prohibition on doubling the causative type CMC, as seen in (16). If we identify the two types of CMC, then the ban on a sequence of causative type CMC and passive type CMC and that on doubling of causative type CMC's are not two distinct restrictions, but just one restriction.

Still another piece of positive evidence for the single-suffix hypothesis emerges from certain characteristics of particular passive type CMC's, which can be better explained in terms of causatives than in terms of passives. First of all, the Transitive Causative CMC and the Affective CMC (I) share formal properties such as the number of complements and the surface case-frame, as illustrated in (21).

- (21) *emma-ka aki-eykey cec-ul mul-li-ess-ta.*  
 mother-Nom baby-Dat breast-Acc bite/hold.with.lips-CM-Past-Ind

- a. 'The mother made the baby hold her breast with his lips.'  
(Idiomatically: 'The mother breast-fed the baby.')
- b. 'The mother got her breast bitten by the baby.'

The same sentence (21) can be interpreted either causatively (21a) or passively (21b). If the Affective CMC (I) were not related to the Causative CMC, these shared properties would be a puzzle, especially in that in the Affective CMC (I), which is a passive type CMC, the valence of the root verb *mul-ta* 'bite' is increased by one. This is a typical property of causatives, but certainly not of passives.

Another "odd" characteristic of certain passive type CMC's, (namely the Affective CMC's (I) and (II)), is that the subject can control the event denoted by the sentence, which is in general not expected in passives. This is illustrated in the following examples.

- (22) a. *Inho-ka Mina-eykey ilpule son-ul cap-hi-ess-ta.*  
Inho-Nom Mina-Dat on.purpose hand-Acc catch-CM-Past-Ind  
'Inho on purpose got his hand caught by Mina.'
- b. *ku.aytul-un Kim hyengsa-eykey-man cap-hi-e.cwu-n-ta.*  
they-Top Kim Officer-Dat-only catch-CM-Ben-Pres-Ind  
'They got caught only by Officer Kim for his benefit.' (They let only Officer Kim catch (them).)
- c. *Kim hyengsa-eykey-man cap-hi-ela.*  
Kim Officer-Dat-only catch-CM-Imp  
'Get caught only by Officer Kim.'

Whenever there is an intentional adverbial in an Affective CMC, as in (22a), the intention belongs to the surface subject, and never to the passive-agent. In

(22b), with the benefactive element *-e.cwu*, it is the subject who is the benefactor, while the passive-agent is the beneficiary. Example (22b) appears to be a passive sentence, because the subject is affected by virtue of being caught. However, the subject can also be regarded as a causer by virtue of having *allowed* only Officer Kim to do the catching. In (22c) the affective clause is an imperative--and imperative mode is frequently used as a test frame for agenthood of the subject. All these facts show that the subject of Affective CMC's can indeed control the sententially denoted event. This causative-like characteristic of Affective CMC's would remain a puzzle if the Affective CMC's were not related to causative type CMC's.

The identical allomorphy, the constraint against two cooccurring CMC's, and the causative-like properties of the passive type CMC's all suggest strongly that the various types of CMC are in fact closely related to each other.

#### 4.2.2 Apparent Counterarguments

The first apparent argument against the single-suffix hypothesis is the fact that CM-derived causative and passive verbs are distinguished by tone in dialects of Kyengsang province, in the southeastern part of Korea. Middle Korean had a tone system; in dialects around Seoul this changed into a vowel-length distinction, which in turn has been almost completely lost in younger speakers of present-day Korean (cf. J. Park 1994). In these dialects, CM-derived causative and passive verbs are not distinguished by either segmental or supra-segmental features. By contrast, Kyengsang dialects have preserved tone, and here CM causative and passive verbs are distinguished tonally: a CM causative verb bears a high tone on the root-final syllable, whereas a CM pas-

sive verb bears a high tone on the suffixes, as illustrated in (23) (data from S. Lee 1970:213-214).

| (23) <u>Root verbs</u> | <u>Causative Verbs</u>               | <u>Passive verbs</u>                | <u>Area</u>              |
|------------------------|--------------------------------------|-------------------------------------|--------------------------|
| <i>po-ta</i> 'see'     | <i>pí-i-ta</i>                       | <i>po-í-ta</i>                      | Kimhay                   |
|                        | <i>pí-i-ta</i> (or <i>po'-i-ta</i> ) | <i>pí-i-ta</i> (or <i>po-í-ta</i> ) | Yangsan                  |
|                        | <i>pí-ta</i>                         | <i>pí-ta</i>                        | Taykwu                   |
|                        | <i>po-i-tá</i>                       | <i>po-i-tá</i>                      | ( <u>Middle Korean</u> ) |
| <i>tut-ta</i> 'hear'   | <i>túl-li-ta</i>                     | <i>tul-lí-ta</i>                    | Yangsan                  |
|                        | <i>tul-lí-ta</i>                     | <i>tul-lí-ta</i>                    | ( <u>Middle Korean</u> ) |
| <i>cap-ta</i> 'catch'  | <i>cáyp-hi-ta</i>                    | <i>cayp-hí-ta</i>                   | Taykwu                   |
|                        | <i>cap-hí-ta'</i>                    | <i>cap-hí-ta'</i>                   | ( <u>Middle Korean</u> ) |

This difference would appear to suggest that CM causative verbs are different from CM passive verbs. Note, however, that the two types were not distinguished by tone in Middle Korean, as seen in (23). This fact argues that the tone distinction between the CM causative and passive verbs in Kyengsang dialects is a secondary innovation in the dialects during the period between Middle Korean and present-day Korean.

The fact that CM causative and passive verbs are distinguished by tone in Kyengsang dialects, at first glance, would appear to be counterevidence against the single-suffix hypothesis. At best, however, this argument applies only to certain dialects. It cannot be interpreted as indicating that the causative type CM was different from the passive type CM from the beginning: it is simply an innovation that has taken place in certain dialects subsequent to the Middle Korean period. In these Kyengsang dialects, this tone innovation does seem to reflect speakers' awareness of the development of a new

function of the CM, i.e. the passive function, which is quite distinct from the causative function.

Another difference between CM causative and passive verbs--and probably the one most frequently mentioned--concerns the non-identical CM verbs derived from the root *mek-ta* 'eat': *mek-i-ta* 'eat-CM, make eat' vs. *mek-hi-ta* 'eat-CM, be eaten'. This difference is illustrated in (24a, b).

- (24) a. *emma-ka aki-eykey wuyu-lul mek-{i, \*hi}-ess-ta.*  
 mother-Nom baby-Dat milk-Acc eat-{CM(Caus)}-Past-Ind  
 'The mother fed milk to the baby.'
- b. *ku cwi-ka koyangi-eykey capa.mek-{hi, \*i}-ess-ta.*  
 the mouse-Nom cat-Dat catch.eat-{CM(Pass)}-Past-Ind  
 'The mouse got caught and eaten by a cat.'

In Middle Korean, however, both *mek-i-ta* and *mek-hi-ta* could be used as CM causative verbs, as illustrated in (25a, b).

- (25) a. "[DNI] *ne-lul mek-i-kocye.ha-nani*"  
 you-Acc eat-CM-intend.to-as  
 (MK: *So.hak.en.hay* 4:4)  
 'as [he/she] intends to feed you'
- b. "[DNI] [DNI] *umsik mek-hi-ke-si-tun*"<sup>3</sup>  
 [he/she] [you] food eat-CM-ke-Hon-if  
 (MK: *So.hak.en.hay* 2:46)  
 'if he/she makes you eat food,'

Moreover, the alternation between *i* and *hi* for CM verbs built on the same root verb is not restricted to *mek-ta* 'eat'. Some CM verbs whose root ends in *k* also

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<sup>3</sup> In present-day Korean there is a single unitary morpheme *-ketun* 'if'. In Middle Korean, however, *-ke* and *-tun* could be split by the honorific suffix *-si*, as in (25b). The present-day Korean form corresponding to Middle Korean *-ke-si-tun* in (25b) would be *-si-ketun*.

show this alternation:

*nok-ta* 'melt [Vi]            *nok-i-ta* or *nok-hi-ta* 'melt [Vt]  
*sak-ta* 'be digested'        *sak-i-ta* or *sak-hi-ta* 'digest'.

Among these alternating forms, only *mek-i-ta* 'feed' and *mek-hi-ta* 'be eaten' have come to be distinguished according to their meaning. And this distinction must have arisen after Middle Korean. The difference between *mek-i-ta* 'feed' and *mek-hi-ta* 'be eaten' cannot therefore be regarded as representing an original difference between the two types. And even synchronically, the formal distinction is a matter of free variation except for the single verb *mek-ta* 'eat'.

Another piece of seemingly negative evidence against the single-suffix hypothesis is the fact that the inventory of CM causative verbs differs from that of CM passive verbs. Not every CM verb can occur in all fourteen CMC's; a particular CM verb will occur in some CMC's but not others. The inventory of CM causative verbs is thus not the same as that of CM passive verbs, which in turn is not the same as that of CM middle verbs. This might appear to argue that the CM's used in causative, middle and passive type CMC's differ fundamentally from each other. However, the similarities among these inventories are more salient than the differences. Of the 100 CM verbs, examined by D. Yang (1979), 12 are used only passively and 19 only causatively, but 69 can be used both passively and causatively. It should be noted that judgments on whether a certain CM verb can be used causatively or passively do not appear to be shared by everyone; moreover, Yang does not consider the middle function of CM verbs. The point, however, is that the similarity is more salient than the difference: the majority of the CM verbs derived from transitive roots

can be used both causatively and passively.<sup>4</sup>

The difference between the inventory of CM causative and passive verbs is partly due to the obsolescence of some CM causative verbs (see Section 2.3.2). Take, for example, the CM verb *kulk-hi-ta* 'scratch-CM'. In present-day Korean, this CM verb is used only as a passive verb (D. Yang (1979) also classifies it in this way). As discussed in Section 2.3.2, however, the CM verb was used causatively in Middle Korean. In general, most CM causative verbs like *kulk-hi-ta* 'make scratch', which inherently express indirect causation due to the meaning of the root verb, have either become obsolete or are not actively in the everyday vocabulary of present-day native speakers. This diachronic change in the use of CM causative verbs underlies the difference in inventories noted above.

The difference also seems partly due to the emergence of new CM verbs which fit CMC's other than the causative type CMC's. Take, for example, the CM verb *yel-li-ta* 'open-CM'. In present-day Korean, the verb *yel-ta* 'open[Vt]' can only function as a transitive verb, as illustrated in (26a, b). In Middle Korean, by contrast, it functioned as either a transitive or an intransitive, as illustrated in (27a, b).

- (26) a. *Inho-ka mun-ul yel-ess-ta.*  
 Inho-Nom door-Acc open-Past-Ind

'Inho opened the door.'

- b. *\*mun-i yel-ess-ta.*  
 door-Nom open-Past-Ind

(Intended: 'The door opened.')

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<sup>4</sup> CM verbs built on intransitive roots do not participate in passive CM constructions, because Korean does not allow passives of intransitive verbs.

- (27) a. "mun-ul yel-la ha-yss-teni"  
 gate-Acc open-Imp say-Past-as  
 [MK: *Wel.in.sek.po* 10:25]

'as I said, *Open the gate.*'

- b. "tat-on iph-i yel-enul"<sup>5</sup>  
 close-Rel leaf-Nom open-while  
 [MK: *Wel.in.chen.kang.ci.kok* 178]

'while the closed leaf opens' (while the leaf which has closed opens)

The intransitive function of the Middle Korean verb *yel-ta* has today been replaced by the CM verb *yel-li-ta*, so that in present-day Korean the equivalent of (27b) would be (28).

- (28) *tat-hi-n iph-i yel-li-kenul*  
 close-CM-Rel leaf-Nom open-CM-while

'while the closed leaf opens'

In C. Yu (1964), the best-known dictionary of Middle Korean, the CM verb *yel-li-ta* is not listed. Nor is it mentioned in other studies of Middle Korean CM verbs, such as W. Huh (1975) and H. Pay (1988), in which lists of Middle Korean CM verbs are given. This suggests that the CM verb *yel-li-ta* 'open-CM' came into existence after the Middle Korean period. And this new CM-derived verb has replaced the intransitive function of the corresponding non-derived verb *yel-ta* 'open'. The CM verb *yel-li-ta* can be used in middle type CMC's, as in (28) (the Spontaneous Event CMC), or in passive type CMC's, as in (29) (the Agentive Passive CMC)--but not in causative type CMC's, as illustrated in (30).

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<sup>5</sup> The verb *tat-ta* 'close' in (27b) has undergone the same historical change as the verb *yel-ta* 'open'.

- (29) *ku mun-i Inho-ey.uyhay yel-li-ess-ta.*  
 the door-Nom Inho-by open-CM-Past-Ind

'The door was opened by Inho.'

- (30) \**Inho-ka Mina-eykey ku mun-ul yel-li-ess-ta.*  
 Inho-Nom Mina-Dat the door-Acc open-CM-Past-Ind

(Intended: 'Inho made Mina open the door.')

These facts may be interpreted as follows. During the evolution from Middle to Modern Korean, as discussed in Section 2.3.2, the CM (*i, ki, li, hi*) gradually lost its productive causative function, especially in those CM verbs which inherently express indirect causation due to the meaning of the root verb. At the same time, it was taking on middle and passive functions. Thus the CM was becoming less productive in its causative function, but gaining in productivity in the middle and passive functions. If the CM verb *yel-li-ta* 'open-CM' came into existence during a period of such change, it could not easily function as a causative: such a causative verb would inherently express indirect causation, in that the causee must be agentive in opening something, and it was precisely this function which was being lost. However, it could function as a middle or a passive, functions in which the CM was becoming productive. Thus new CM verbs like *yel-li-ta* 'open-CM' would bring about a further distinction between the inventories of CM causative and middle/passive verbs.

In this section we have examined several pieces of positive evidence for the single-suffix hypothesis. We also considered several pieces of apparent counterevidence against the hypothesis. However, it is not very strong counterevidence, for the differences between CM causative and passive verbs are geographically and/or lexically restricted, and are clearly the result of sporadic diachronic changes of CM verbs in form and function. The issue then is not *whether* the fourteen CMC's are related to each other, but *how* they are related

to each other. I will address this question in the following three sections.

### 4.3 Causative Type CMC's

This section examines the four causative type CMC's: Causative, Transitive (I), Ditransitive, and Transitive (II). In previous chapters, these constructions were indiscriminately called "morphological causatives" without distinguishing one from the other. In this section, I will discuss the formal and/or semantic differences and relationships among these constructions.

#### 4.3.1 Causative CMC

The Causative CMC has two schematic forms, as in (31a, b), depending on whether the root verb is intransitive or transitive.

(31) a. Intransitive Causative CMC

|        |        |                           |
|--------|--------|---------------------------|
| NP-Nom | NP-Acc | Vi-{i, ki, li, hi}- . . . |
| Causer | Causee | Vi-{CM}- . . .            |

b. Transitive Causative CMC

|        |               |          |                           |
|--------|---------------|----------|---------------------------|
| NP-Nom | NP-{Dat, Acc} | NP-Acc   | Vt-{i, ki, li, hi}- . . . |
| Causer | Causee        | Affectee | Vt-{CM}- . . .            |

The Intransitive and Transitive Causative CMC's are exemplified in (32a, b).

(32) a. *Inho-ka Mina-lul wul-li-ess-ta.*  
 Inho-Nom Mina-Acc cry-CM-Past-Ind

'Inho made Mina cry.'

- b. *Inho-ka Mina-eykey, lul} ku chayk-ul ilk-hi-ess-ta.*  
 Inho-Nom Mina-(Dat, Acc) the book-Acc read-CM-Past-Ind  
 'Inho made Mina read the book.'

The case-marking patterns of the causee in the Causative CMC were discussed in Section 2.3.3.

The Causative CMC is distinguished from the other causative type CMC's in that in the former the causee is agentive whereas in the latter the corresponding entity is not agentive, but a patient or goal. In the Causative CMC sentences (32a, b), for example, the causee *Mina* is agentive in performing the acts of crying and reading.

As discussed in Section 2.3.3, though the Causative CMC is not productive today, it appears to have been quite productive in Middle Korean. The syntactic causative has almost replaced it functionally in present-day Korean.

#### 4.3.2 Transitive CMC (I)

The Transitive CMC (I) has the schematic form (33), exemplified in (34a, b).

- (33) Transitive CMC (I)

|        |         |                           |
|--------|---------|---------------------------|
| NP-Nom | NP-Acc  | Vi-(i, ki, li, hi)- . . . |
| Agent  | Patient | Vi-{CM}- . . .            |

- (34) a. *Inho-ka elum-ul nok-i-ess-ta.*  
 Inho-Nom ice-Acc melt[Vi]-CM-Past-Ind  
 'Inho melted the ice.'

- b. *Inho-ka cwi-lul cwuk-i-ess-ta.*  
 Inho-Nom rat-Acc die-CM-Past-Ind

'Inho killed a rat.'

In sentences (34a, b), the accusative-marked nominal is simply a patient.

The distinction between the Transitive CMC (I) and the Intransitive Causative CMC depends primarily on the semantic role of the accusative-marked nominal: in the former it is simply a patient, whereas in the latter it is an agent. A manner adverbial can be associated with the caused event in the Intransitive Causative CMC, as illustrated in (35a). In the Transitive CMC (I), by contrast, such an adverbial is only associated with the whole causative event, as illustrated in (35b).

- (35) a. *Inho-ka ai-lul ppalli kel-li-ess-ta.*  
 Inho-Nom child-Acc fast walk-CM-Past-Ind

'Inho made the child [walk fast].'

(as well as, 'Inho made the child [walk] fast.')

- b. *Inho-ka elum-ul ppalli el-li-ess-ta.*  
 Inho-Nom ice-Acc fast melt[Vi]-CM-Past-Ind

'Inho melted the ice fast.'

The two types also differ with respect to locative adverbials. In the Intransitive Causative CMC the location of the causee may be specified by a frame-external locative marked by *-eyse*, whereas in the Transitive CMC (I) the location of the patient can only be specified by a frame-internal locative marked by *-eyta*, as illustrated in (36a, b).<sup>6</sup>

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<sup>6</sup> See Section 3.4.2 for discussion of the clause structure of causative constructions in relation to the frame-internal and the frame-external locative.

- (36) a. *nay-ka ai-tul-ul matang-eyse nol-li-ess-ta.*  
 I-Nom child-Pl-Acc yard-in play-CM-Past-Ind  
 'I made the children [play in the yard].'  
 or 'In the yard I made the child play.'
- b. *nay-ka elum-ul naympi-eyta/\*-eyse nok-i-ess-ta.*<sup>7</sup>  
 I-Nom ice-Acc pot-in(fr.-internal)/-in(fr.-external) melt-CM-Past-Ind  
 'I melted the ice in a pot.'

Sentences like (35b) and (36b) are instances of the Transitive CMC (I) and express direct causation, while sentences like (35a) and (36a) exemplify the Intransitive Causative CMC and express indirect causation.

#### 4.3.3 Ditransitive CMC

The Ditransitive CMC has the schematic form (37), instantiated in (38).

(37) Ditransitive CMC

|        |                     |         |                           |
|--------|---------------------|---------|---------------------------|
| NP-Nom | NP-{Dat, Acc, Goal} | NP-Acc  | Vt-{i, ki, li, hi}- . . . |
| Agent  | Goal                | Patient | Vt-{CM}- . . .            |

- (38) a. *Inho-ka aki-{eykey, lu} wuyu-ul mek-i-ko.iss-ta.*  
 Inho-Nom baby-{Dat, Acc} milk-Acc eat-CM-Asp-Ind  
 'Inho is feeding the baby milk.'
- b. *Inho-ka ai-uy pal-{eyta, ul} yangmal-ul sin-ki-ko.iss-ta.*  
 Inho-Nom child-Gen foot-{Goal, Acc} socks-Acc put.on-CM-Asp-Ind  
 'Inho is putting socks on the child's feet.'

In this construction, the goal can be marked by the dative case if its referent is

<sup>7</sup> Sentence (36b) with frame-external *-eyse* is acceptable, if the subject is himself in the pot.

animate, or by the goal marker *-eyta* if inanimate;<sup>8</sup> it can also be marked by the accusative case regardless of whether its referent is animate or inanimate. This pattern agrees with the case-marking of the goal in the ordinary (non-CM) ditransitive construction; compare (38a, b) and (39a, b):

- (39) a. *Inho-ka Mina-eykey, lul mul-ul cwu-ess-ta.*  
 Inho-Nom Mina-{Dat, Acc} water-Acc give-Past-Ind  
 'Inho gave water to Mina.'
- b. *Inho-ka namu-eyta, lul mul-ul cwu-ess-ta.*  
 Inho-Nom tree-{ Goal, Acc} water-Acc give-Past-Ind  
 'Inho gave water to the tree.'

Here the animate goal *Mina* in (39a) can be marked by the dative case, the inanimate goal *namu* 'tree' in (39b) by the goal marker *-eyta*, and both by the accusative case.

To see how the Ditransitive CMC differs from the Transitive Causative CMC (see Section 4.3.1), compare the following sentences:

- (40) *Inho-ka Mina-eykey ku phyenci-lul ilk-hi-ess-ta.*  
 Inho-Nom Mina-Dat the letter-Acc read-CM-Past-Ind  
 'Inho made Mina read the letter.'
- (41) *Inho-ka Mina-eykey senmul-ul an-ki-ess-ta.*<sup>9</sup>  
 Inho-Nom Mina-Dat gift-Acc hold.in.arms-CM-Past-Ind  
 'Inho gave a gift to Mina.'
- (42) *Inho-ka Mina-eykey senmul-ul an-key ha-yss-ta.*  
 Inho-Nom Mina-Dat gift-Acc hold.in.arms-Comp Cause-Past-Ind

<sup>8</sup> See Section 3.3.3 for the goal marker *-eyta*.

<sup>9</sup> The CM verb *an-ki-ta* in (41) is usually pronounced as *ayng-ki-ta*. The change from *an-ki-ta* to *ayng-ki-ta* can be explained by normal Korean phonological rules (*i*-regression and consonant assimilation).

'Inho made Mina hold the gift in her arms.'

Since the CM ditransitive sentence (41) has the same morphology and the same case-frame (Nom-Dat-Acc) as the CM causative sentence (40), one might have expected (41) to convey transparently causative semantics, i.e. to have the same meaning as the corresponding syntactic causative sentence (42). But it does not; it means *Inho gave a gift to Mina*, which is a ditransitive event.

Some CM ditransitive verbs and their root verbs are given in (43).

| (43) <u>Root Verbs</u>               | <u>CM-derived Ditransitive Verbs</u>           |
|--------------------------------------|--|
| <i>ip-ta</i> 'put on self's body'    | <i>ip-hi-ta</i> 'put on other's body'          |
| <i>ssu-ta</i> 'put on self's head'   | <i>ss-i.wu-ta</i> 'put on other's head'        |
| <i>sin-ta</i> 'put on self's feet'   | <i>sin-ki-ta</i> 'put on other's foot'         |
| <i>ep-ta</i> 'put s.o. on the back'  | <i>ep-hi-ta</i> 'put s.o. on other's back'     |
| <i>an-ta</i> 'hold in self's arms'   | <i>an-ki-ta</i> 'put into other's arms, give'  |
| <i>mek-ta</i> 'eat'                  | <i>mek-i-ta</i> 'feed'                         |
| <i>po-ta</i> 'see'                   | <i>po-i-ta</i> 'show'                          |
| <i>al-ta</i> 'realize, know'         | <i>al-li-ta</i> 'inform'                       |
| <i>mul-ta</i> 'hold with lips, bite' | <i>mul-li-ta</i> 'put in other's lips to hold' |
| <i>cap-ta</i> 'hold'                 | <i>cap-hi-ta</i> 'pledge'                      |

One salient feature of the root verbs in (43) is that they are semantically reflexive verbs. The Korean verbs of donning (*ip-ta*, *ssu-ta*, and *sin-ta* 'put something on self's body, head, and foot', respectively), for example, are semantically reflexive in that they can only be used when one puts something on one's own body, as illustrated in (44a, b). When one put something on others, CM verbs

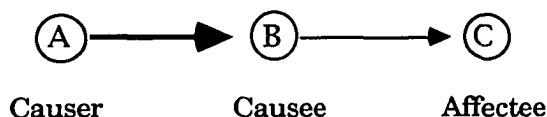
are used, as shown in (44c).

- (44) a. *Inho-ka os-ul ip-ess-ta.*  
 Inho-Nom clothes-Acc put.on-Past-Ind  
 'Inho put on clothes.'
- b. \**Inho-ka Mina-eykey os-ul ip-ess-ta.*  
 Inho-Nom Mina-Dat clothes put.on-Past-Ind  
 (Intended: 'Inho put clothes on Mina.')
- c. *Inho-ka Mina-eykey/-lul os-ul ip-hi-ess-ta.*  
 Inho-Nom Mina-Dat/Acc clothes-Acc put.on-CM-Past-Ind  
 'Inho put clothes on Mina.' (Inho dressed Mina.)

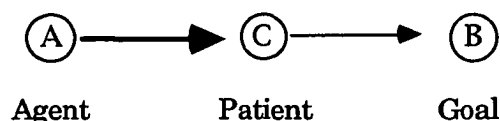
While each of the CM verbs in (43) has its own richly idiosyncratic frame semantics, all involve an agent acting to cause transfer of an entity to a goal. This is the skeletal meaning of prototypical ditransitive verbs such as *give* and *send* (cf. Goldberg 1992).

There are basically two situation types for the three-participant event of "A causes B to possess C": either A induces B to take C, or A acts to cause transfer of C to B. The former situation type is indirect causation in that B is agentive. The latter situation type is direct causation in that B is not agentive, but a goal. These two situation types are schematically represented in (45a, b).

- (45) a. Indirect Causation



## b. Direct Causation



In both (45a, b), the heavy arrow indicates the causing event, and the thin arrow the caused event; A is the initiator of the whole causative event, C is the possessee, and B is the possessor.

These two scenarios have direct linguistic reflexes in Korean. Indirect causation of the type (45a) is typically expressed by the syntactic causative, whereas direct causation of the type (45b) is expressed by the Ditransitive CMC (when relevant CM verbs are available; otherwise, simple ditransitive verbs are used). This is illustrated by the syntactic causative sentence (46a) and the Ditransitive CMC sentence (46b).

- (46) a. *Inho-ka Mina-eykey chima-lul ip-key ha-yss-ta.*  
 Inho-Nom Mina-Dat skirt-Acc put.on-Comp Cause-Past-Ind

'Inho had Mina put on a skirt.'

- b. *Inho-ka Mina-eykey chima-lul ip-hi-ess-ta.*  
 Inho-Nom Mina-Dat skirt-Acc put.on-CM-Past-Ind

'Inho put a skirt on Mina.'

The causee in the syntactic causative is agentive (at least when the effected predicate is transitive or ditransitive) and hence cannot be an inanimate entity, as illustrated in (47a). By contrast, the goal in the Ditransitive CMC can be inanimate, as seen in (38b) (repeated here as (47b)).

- (47) a. *\*Inho-ka ai-uy pal-{eyta, ul} yangmal-ul sin-key*  
 Inho-Nom child-Gen foot-{Goal, Acc} socks-Acc put.on-Comp

*ha-yss-ta.*  
Cause-Past-Ind

(Intended: 'Inho made the child's feet put on socks.')

- b. *Inho-ka ai-uy pal-(eyta, ul) yangmal-ul sin-ki-ko.iss-ta.*  
Inho-Nom child-Gen foot-{Goal, Acc} socks-Acc put.on-CM-Asp-Ind

'Inho is putting socks on the child's feet.'

Those CM verbs (derived from transitive root verbs) which fit the event schema (45b) are in active use in present-day Korean. By contrast, most such CM verbs which fit the event schema (45a) have become obsolete or are not actively in the everyday vocabulary of present-day native speakers, even if listed in the contemporary dictionary (see Section 2.3.2). Take, for example, the CM verb *mul-li-ta* derived from the root verb *mul-ta* 'hold with lips, bite'. It can be used in the sense of *put something in other's mouth*, but not in the sense of *make someone bite something*, as illustrated in (48a, b).

- (48) a. *Inho-ka mal ip-eyta caykal-ul mul-li-ess-ta.*  
Inho-Nom horse mouth-Goal bit-Acc hold.with.lips-CM-Past-Ind

'Inho put a bit in the horse's mouth.'

- b. \**Inho-ka Mina-eykey Toli-lul mul-li-ess-ta.*  
Inho-Nom Mina-Dat Toli-Acc bite-CM-Past-Ind

(Intended: 'Inho made Mina bite Toli.')

Another instructive example is the CM verb *pes-ki-ta* built on the verb *pes-ta* 'take off'. While there are several donning verbs used for particular body-parts, doffing involves only the single all-purpose verb *pes-ta* 'take off'. Like the donning verbs, *pes-ta* 'take off' is semantically reflexive in that it can only be used for oneself, as illustrated in (49). When one takes off something from others, the CM verb *pes-ki-ta* is used, as in (50).

- (49) *Inho-ka* (\**Toli-eykeyse*) *os-ul* *pes-ess-ta*.  
 Inho-Nom Toli-Abl clothes-Acc take.off-Past-Ind

'Inho took clothes (off Toli).'

- (50) *Inho-ka* *Toli*-{a. *eykeyse*, b. \**eykey*} *os-ul* *pes-ki-ess-ta*.  
 Inho-Nom Toli-{ Abl, Dat} clothes-Acc take.off-CM-Past-Ind

a. 'Inho took clothes off Toli.'

b. (Intended: 'Inho made Toli take off clothes.')

Note that (50a), in which the pivot nominal *Toli* is marked by the ablative case, sounds natural, whereas (50b), in which it is marked by the dative, is not acceptable. In Middle Korean, where the morphological causative was still able to express indirect causation productively, sentence (50b) might well have been acceptable in the intended meaning, like the corresponding syntactic causative sentence (51).

- (51) *Inho-ka* *Toli-eykey* *os-ul* *pes-key* *ha-yss-ta*.  
 Inho-Nom Toli-Dat clothes-Acc take.off-Comp Cause-Past-Ind

'Inho made Toli take off clothes.'

In present-day Korean, however, morphological causatives almost exclusively express direct causation, so that a sentence with the CM verb *pes-ki-ta* conveys the image of an agent himself taking off something *from* someone else. Thus *pes-ki-ta* demands a source argument but excludes a goal argument. Accordingly (50a), in which the source *Toli* is marked by the typical source marker (the ablative case), is acceptable, while (50b), in which the source *Toli* is marked by the typical goal marker (the dative case), is not.

The fact that (50b) is not acceptable suggests that the Ditransitive CMC differs from the Transitive Causative CMC, though they might appear to be the same construction by virtue of sharing the identical case-frame when the

referent of the goal in the Ditransitive CMC is animate, as seen in (52).

(52) a. Ditransitive CMC (with animate goal)

|        |               |         |                           |
|--------|---------------|---------|---------------------------|
| NP-Nom | NP-{Dat, Acc} | NP-Acc  | Vt-{i, ki, li, hi}- . . . |
| Agent  | Goal          | Patient | Vt-{CM}- . . .            |

b. Transitive Causative CMC

|        |               |          |                           |
|--------|---------------|----------|---------------------------|
| NP-Nom | NP-{Dat, Acc} | NP-Acc   | Vt-{i, ki, li, hi}- . . . |
| Causer | Causee        | Affectee | Vt-{CM}- . . .            |

This identical case frame, however, is due to the fact that the goal in (52a) and the causee in (52b) can both be marked by the dative case, which thus serves two different functions in the two types. In instances where the nominal corresponding to the causee is not a goal but a source (as in (50a, b)), it cannot be marked by the dative case, as seen in (50b). This justifies distinguishing the Ditransitive CMC from the Transitive Causative CMC, even though they generally have the same case frame.

#### 4.3.4 Transitive CMC (II)

The Transitive CMC (II) differs from the Transitive CMC (I): though the CM verb is transitive in both constructions, in the former it is built on a transitive root verb, whereas in the latter it is built on an intransitive. The Transitive CMC (II) has the schematic form (53), exemplified in (54).

(53) Transitive CMC (II)

|        |         |                           |
|--------|---------|---------------------------|
| NP-Nom | NP-Acc  | Vt-{i, ki, li, hi}- . . . |
| Agent  | Patient | Vt-{CM}- . . .            |

- (54) *Inho-ka Mina-uy meli-lul pis-ki-ko.iss-ta.*  
 Inho-Nom Mina-Gen hair-Acc comb.self's.hair-CM-Asp-Ind

'Inho is combing Mina's hair.'

A causative sentence in general has one more argument (the causer) than the corresponding non-causative sentence. The number of arguments of CM verbs participating in the Transitive CMC (II), however, is the same as for the corresponding root verbs. The CM verb *pis-ki-ta* 'comb someone else's hair' in (54), for example, has two arguments just like its root verb *pis-ta* 'comb one's own hair', as shown in (55).

- (55) *Inho-ka meli-lul pis-ko.iss-ta.*  
 Inho-Nom hair-Acc comb-Asp-Ind

'Inho is combing his own hair.'

Some CM verbs participating in the Transitive CMC (II) are given in (56).

- | (56) <u>Root transitive verbs</u> | <u>CM-derived transitive verbs</u>    |
|-----------------------------------|---------------------------------------|
| <i>ssis-ta</i> 'wash self's body' | <i>ssis-ki-ta</i> 'wash other's body' |
| <i>kam-ta</i> 'wash self's hair'  | <i>kam-ki-ta</i> 'wash other's hair'  |
| <i>pis-ta</i> 'comb self's hair'  | <i>pis-ki-ta</i> 'comb other's hair'  |

The roots verbs in (56) are semantically reflexive grooming verbs; they can only be used when one takes care of his/her own body-parts. Thus *pis-ta* 'comb' can be used when one combs his/her own hair, as in (55) above, but not when one combs someone else's hair, as illustrated in (57).

- (57) \**Inho-ka Mina-uy meli-lul pis-ko.iss-ta.*  
 Inho-Nom Mina-Gen hair-Acc comb-Asp-Ind

(Intended: 'Inho is combing Mina's hair.')

When one tends to someone else's body part, the corresponding CM verb is used, as seen in (54).<sup>10</sup>

The CM verbs occurring in the Transitive CMC (II) are built on transitive root verbs; nevertheless, they are still (mono) transitive verbs. Let us now consider why this happens. Sentences (58a, b) are not acceptable in the intended *indirect* causative meaning.

- (58) \**Inho-ka Mina-{a. eykey, b. lul} meli-lul pis-ki-ess-ta.*<sup>11</sup>  
 Inho-Nom Mina-{ Dat Acc} hair-Acc comb-CM-Past-Ind

(Intended: 'Inho made Mina comb her (Mina's) hair.')

Of course, it would not be unreasonable to assume that in Middle Korean, where the morphological causative was able to express indirect causation productively, sentences (58a, b) could convey the intended indirect causative meaning just like the corresponding syntactic causatives (59a, b).

- (59) *Inho-ka Mina-{a. eykey, b. lul} meli-lul pis-key ha-yss-ta.*  
 Inho-Nom Mina-{a. Dat b. Acc} hair-Acc comb-Comp Cause-Past-Ind

'Inho made Mina comb her (Mina's) hair.'

Today this is no longer possible. Sentence (60b) (= (58b)) can, however, convey

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<sup>10</sup> The verb *ssis-ta* 'wash' in (56) behaves differently from the other verbs in (56): it is a semantically reflexive verb when the referent of the object is a body-part, as illustrated by (ia, b), but not when the referent is not a body-part, as shown in (ic). The CM verb *ssi-ki-ta* can only be used when the referent of the object is someone else's body part, as illustrated in (iia-c).

- (i) *Inho-ka {a. son, b. \*Mina-uy son, c. sakwa}-lul ssis-ko.iss-ta.*  
 Inho-Nom { hand Mina-Gen hand apple}-Acc wash-Asp-Ind  
 'Inho is washing {a. his own hands, b. Mina's hands, c. apples}.
- (ii) *Inho-ka {a. \*son, b. Mina-uy son, c. \*sakwa}-lul ssis-ki-ko.iss-ta.*  
 Inho-Nom { hand Mina-Gen hand apple}-Acc wash-CM-Asp-Ind  
 'Inho is washing {a. his own hands, b. Mina's hands, c. apples}.

<sup>11</sup> (58b) is acceptable with the reading *Inho combed Mina's hair*, which will be discussed below.

a *direct* causative situation (*Inho combed Mina's hair*), though (60a) (= (58a)) cannot:

- (60) *Inho-ka Mina-{a. \*eykey, b. lul} meli-lul pis-ki-ess-ta.*  
 Inho-Nom Mina-{ Dat Acc} hair-Acc comb-CM-Past-Ind

'Inho combed Mina's hair.'

Synchronically, the key to the pattern is possessor ascension. In Korean, as discussed in Section 3.2.2, the whole in a part-whole relation may bear either the genitive case or (by possessor ascension) the same case as that of the part, as illustrated in (61a, b).

- (61) *Inho-ka Mina-{a. uy, b. lul} son-ul cap-ass-ta.*  
 Inho-Nom Mina-{ Gen Acc} hand-Acc hold-Past-Ind

'Inho held Mina's hand.'

Sentence (60b) (repeated here for an easy comparison) is thus the possessor ascension form of sentence (62).

- (62) *Inho-ka Mina-uy meli-lul pis-ki-ess-ta.*  
 Inho-Nom Mina-Gen hair-Acc comb-CM-Past-Ind

'Inho combed Mina's hair.'

- (60) b. *Inho-ka Mina-lul meli-lul pis-ki-ess-ta.*  
 Inho-Nom Mina-Acc hair-Acc comb-CM-Past-Ind

'Inho combed Mina's hair.'

Sentence (60a), however, is not acceptable because the whole in a part-whole relation must take either the genitive case or the same case that the part bears; in (60a) the whole (*Mina*) bears the dative case while the part (*hair*) takes the accusative, making the sentence ungrammatical.

From a synchronic point, of view we may legitimately say that (60b) derives from (62) by possessor ascension. Diachronically, by contrast, the relation could be interpreted quite differently. That is, the type represented by (60b)--the possessor ascension type--would be historically earlier than (62), its synchronic source. At a time when the morphological causative was still able to express indirect causation productively, (58a, b) would have been regular morphological causative sentences conveying the intended indirect causative situation (*Inho made Mina comb her hair*). The causative verb *pis-ki-ta* derived from the transitive verb *pis-ta* 'comb' would then have had one more argument than the root verb, just as in the syntactic causative. Over time, however, the function of the morphological causative became restricted to the expression of direct causation. Given this change, (60b) could not survive in its old meaning. It could, however, survive by being re-interpreted as a possessor ascension form--even though (62), the logical "source", did not exist. This reanalysis by analogy is plausible because combing someone else's hair is conceptually similar in transitivity to holding someone else's hand. That is, just as (61b) is interpreted as the possessor ascension form of (61a), (60b) could be interpreted as the possessor ascension version of some hypothetical base form, in the meaning *Inho combed Mina's hair*. This hypothetical base form, (62), would then have developed out of (60b) as a kind of "construction-level back-formation". The CM verb *pis-ki-ta* in (62) would now have two arguments, even though it derives from a transitive verb *pis-ta* 'comb'. Note that such a reanalysis is not possible for (60a); the fact that the whole (*Mina*) and the part (*hair*) have different case markers precludes any reinterpretation as a possessor ascension form.

It is quite unusual crosslinguistically that a causative verb built on a transitive verb should have only two arguments. The CM verbs in (56) are such

causative verbs. The diachronic scenario we have laid out--change in function of the morphological causative, reanalysis as a case of possessor ascension, and backformation--accounts for this unusual fact about CM verbs occurring in the Transitive CMC (II).

#### 4.4 Passive Type CMC's

This section examines the four passive type CMC's, exemplified in (63a-d).

(63) a. Affective CMC (I)

*Inho-ka Mina-eykey son-ul cap-hi-ess-ta.*  
 Inho-Nom Mina-Dat hand-Acc catch-CM-Past-Ind

'Inho got his hand caught by Mina.'

b. Affective CMC (II)

*Inho-ka Mina-eykey cap-hi-ess-ta.*  
 Inho-Nom Mina-Dat catch-CM-Past-Ind

'Inho got caught by Mina.'

c. Part-Whole Passive CMC

*Inho-ka Mina-eykey son-i cap-hi-ess-ta.*  
 Inho-Nom Mina-Dat hand-Nom catch-CM-Past-Ind

'Inho was caught by the hand by Mina.'

(i.e. 'Inho's hand was caught by Mina.')

d. Agentive Passive CMC

*mun-i Inho-ey.uhayse yel-li-ess-ta.*  
 door-Nom Inho-by open-CM-Past-Ind

'The door was opened by Inho.'

These four types will be discussed in Sections 4.4.1 through 4.4.4, respectively.

The defining characteristics of each construction, the distinctions between them, and the reasons for defining the four subtypes in just this way will emerge in the course of discussion. A minimal preliminary characterization of their differences, however, is in order. The formal difference between the Affective CMC's (I) and (II) is that the "active zone"--"those portions of a trajector or landmark that participate directly in a given relation" (Langacker 1991:190), e.g. *son* 'hand' in (63a)--is specified for the former but not the latter. The Affective CMC (I) differs from the Part-Whole Passive CMC in that the active zone bears accusative case in the former, but nominative in the latter. Unlike these three constructions (63a-c), in which the agent is marked by the dative case, the Agentive Passive CMC involves an agent marked by the particle *-ey.uyhayse* 'by'.

#### 4.4.1 Affective CMC (I)

##### 4.4.1.1 Syntax and Semantics of the Affective CMC (I)

The Affective CMC (I) has the schematic form (64), exemplified in (65).

###### (64) Affective CMC (I)

|          |         |             |                           |
|----------|---------|-------------|---------------------------|
| NPx-Nom  | NPy-Dat | NPx'-Acc    | Vt-(i, ki, li, hi)- . . . |
| Affectee | Agent   | Active Zone | Vt-{CM}- . . .            |

(65) *Inho-ka kay-hanthey tali-lul mul-li-ess-ta.*  
 Inho-Nom dog-Dat leg-Acc bite-CM-Past-Ind

'Inho got his leg bitten by a dog.'

In the Affective CMC (I), the affectee (NPx) is the subject and bears the nominative case; the passive-agent (NPy) is marked by the dative case; and the

"active zone" (NPx') (in the sense of Langacker (1991)) bears the accusative case, as seen in (64) and (65). The active zone is typically (though not necessarily) an inalienable part of the subject. Compare (65) and (66).

- (66) \**Inho-ka ku kay-hanthey Mina-lul mul-li-ess-ta.*  
 Inho-Nom the dog-Dat Mina-Acc bite-CM-Past-Ind

(Intended: 'Inho got Mina bitten by the dog.' i.e. Inho was affected by Mina's being bitten by the dog))

The only difference between (65) and (66) is that in the former the active zone is an inalienable part of the subject (*tali* 'leg'), whereas in the latter it is not. This difference affects their acceptability, showing that the active zone in this construction is normally an inalienable part of the subject.<sup>12</sup>

The Affective CMC (I) conveys the idea that the subject is adversely affected. Compare the following sentences:

- (67) a. #*Inho-ka ipalsa-eykey meli-lul kkakk-i-ess-ta.*<sup>13</sup>  
 Inho-Nom barber-Dat hair-Acc cut-CM-Past-Ind

'Inho got his hair cut by a barber (against his will).'

- b. *Inho-ka citocwuim-eykey meli-lul kkakk-i-ess-ta.*  
 Inho-Nom discipline.teacher-Dat hair-Acc cut-CM-Past-Ind

'Inho got his hair cut by the discipline teacher (against his will).'

Here the only difference concerns the involved agent: a barber in (67a) and a discipline teacher in (67b). However, (67a) sounds odd pragmatically, whereas (67b) is fully natural. The difference can easily be explained. A barber typi-

<sup>12</sup> In some instances of this construction, the active zone may fail to be an inalienable part of the subject. Such cases will be discussed below as instances of semantically motivated extension.

<sup>13</sup> The sign # indicates that the sentence is pragmatically odd.

cally cuts a customer's hair upon request; one is not normally expected to get his hair cut by a barber against his will, which is why (67a) sounds pragmatically awkward. Sentence (67b), by contrast, sounds fine, given the appropriate social background. When I was a middle/high school student in Korea, students were supposed to have their hair cut short. If not, the discipline teacher would give them an enforced haircut. In this social context, if a student got his hair cut by a discipline teacher, he would certainly be conceived as adversely affected.

A similar contrast is illustrated in (68a, b).

- (68) a. *ku.salam-i etten yeca-eykey swuyem-ul ta ppop-hi-ess-ta.*  
 he-Nom some woman-Dat beard-Acc all pluck-CM-Past-Ind

'He got his whole beard plucked out by some woman.'

- b. *#emma-ka nwuna-eykey huyn.meli-lul ta ppop-hi-ess-ta.*  
 mother-Nom sister-Dat white.hair-Acc all pluck-CM-Past-Ind

'My mother got all her white hairs plucked/pulled out by my sister.'

If a man got his beard plucked out, he would be conceived as adversely affected, and it is this adverse semantics that makes (68a) acceptable. By contrast, sentence (68b) is very odd pragmatically in the context of traditional Korean society. Korean people usually have black hair, which gradually turns white in old age. People sometimes have their child pull out such white hairs in order to make them look less old, or a child may volunteer for the task. Thus the expression *huyn.meli-lul ppop-ta* 'pull out white hairs' does not convey an adverse meaning in this context. The clash between the non-adverse implication of this expression and the adverse-semantics of the Affective CMC (I) makes (68b) very odd. Examples like (67a, b) and (68a, b) clearly show that the Affective CMC (I) has a construction-specific semantics that the subject is

adversely affected.

The adverse-affectedness of the subject is also illustrated in a different way by the following sentences.

- a. *tali* 'leg'
- (69) *Kim-ssi-nun kay-hanthey* { b. %*casik* 'child' }-(l)ul *mul-li-ess-ta*.  
 Kim-Mr.-Top dog-Dat { c. \**Inho* 'Inho' }-Acc bite-CM-Past-Ind  
 'Mr. Kim got {a. his leg, b. his child, c. Inho} bitten by a dog.'

All speakers accept (69a) and reject (69c). In (69a) the subject was clearly adversely affected because his own leg was bitten. Sentence (69c) includes no indication that the subject was adversely affected, so the sentence is not acceptable. As for (69b), speakers appear to differ in their grammaticality judgments: in my dialect the sentence is hard to accept, but for some speakers it appears to be acceptable (cf. S. Lee 1970, Section 3.1.3, and Washio 1993). As mentioned above, the active zone in this construction is typically an inalienable part of the subject. In (69b), the active zone *casik* 'one's own child' is not an inalienable part of the subject, which makes it unacceptable for some speakers. For those who do accept it, however, the extension of the active zone from an inalienable part to an alienable entity (here one's own child, but not *Inho*) seems quite reasonable: one could be taken to be affected adversely if it is his own child who is bitten by a dog.

Similarly, the extension of the active zone to an alienable entity shown in (70) and (71) can readily be explained in terms of an accommodation based on the adverse semantics characteristic of the Affective CMC (I).

- (70) *Inho-nun mayil manwula-hanthey* {a. *pakaci*, b. \**naympi*}-lul  
 Inho-Top everyday wife-Dat { gourd pot }-Acc

*kulk-hi-n-ta.*  
scratch-CM-Pres-Ind

a. 'Inho gets nagged everyday by his wife.'

(Lit.: Inho got a gourd scratched everyday by his wife.)

b. (Intended: 'Inho got a pot scratched everyday by his wife.')

(71) *Inho-ka Mina-eykey ton-ul ppays-ki-ess-ta.*  
Inho-Nom Mina-Dat money-Acc take.away-CM-Past-Ind

'Inho got his money taken away by Mina.'

In (70a, b), first of all, the active zones *pakaci* 'gourd' and *naympi* 'pot' are not an inalienable part of the subject. However, (70a) is acceptable whereas (70b) is not. This difference surely stems from the fact that the expression *pakaci-lul kulk-ta* 'to scratch a gourd' has the idiomatic meaning 'to nag', whereas the expression *naympi-lul kulk-ta* 'to scratch a pot' has only the literal meaning. If one is nagged by his wife, he would be regarded as affected adversely. This adverse-affectedness of the subject in (70a) motivates the extension of the active zone, so it is acceptable. By contrast, the analogous extension in (70b) cannot be accommodated because it does not convey the idea that the subject is affected adversely.

Sentence (71), too, sounds natural even though the active zone is an alienable entity. The CM-derived verb *ppays-ki-ta* 'get taken away' indicates that the subject is affected adversely because he gets his property taken away; the extension of the active zone to an alienable entity thus fits the construction. CM-derived verbs of this type are *thel-li-ta* 'get robbed', *ttut-ki-ta* 'get fleeced', and the like. The three situations discussed above, where the active zone is extended to an alienable entity, discussed above, confirms that the construction-specific semantics of the Affective CMC (I) is the semantics of the adverse-af-

affectedness of the subject.

Note that the Part-Whole Passive CMC, in which the active zone is also an inalienable part of the "subject" (see (72a)),<sup>14</sup> does not allow an extension of the active zone to an alienable entity in the situations discussed above:

- (72) a. *Inho-ka ku kay-hanthey tali-ka mul-li-ess-ta.*  
 Inho-Nom the dog-Dat leg-Nom bite-CM-Past-Ind  
 'Inho was bitten by the leg by the dog.' (cf. (69a))
- b. \**Inho-nun mayil manwula-hanthey pakaci-ka kulk-hi-n-ta.*  
 Inho-Top everyday wife-Dat gourd-Nom scratch-CM-  
 Pres-Ind  
 (Intended: 'Inho gets nagged everyday by his wife.') (cf. (70a))  
 (Lit. Inho was scratched everyday by the gourd by his wife.)
- c. \**Inho-ka Mina-eykey ton-i ppays-ki-ess-ta.*  
 Inho-Nom Mina-Dat money-Nom take.away-CM-Past-Ind  
 (Intended: 'Inho got/was his money taken away by Mina.') (cf. (71))

The only surface difference between the Affective CMC (I) and the Part-Whole Passive CMC is that the active zone is marked by the accusative case in the former, but by the nominative in the latter. However, they also differ with respect to non-surface, semantic properties--the ability to accommodate an extension of the active zone, and the notion that the subject is affected adversely.

There is another contrast between these two constructions, which also demonstrates how they differ in their construction-specific semantics. It has often been pointed out that an inanimate object can be the subject in the Part-Whole Passive CMC, but not in the Affective CMC (I) (cf. C. Lee 1973, Y. Kim

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<sup>14</sup> Here I provisionally call the whole the "subject" for purposes of comparison with the subject of the Affective CMC (I). In Section 4.4.3, I will argue that the subject of the Part-Whole Passive CMC is more properly the active-zone.

1990, and Maling and S. Kim 1992). This is illustrated in (73a, b) (= C. Lee's (1973:150) examples (55a, b)).

- (73) *ku cip-i kwunin-tul-eykey pyek-{a.\*ul, b. i }*  
 the house-Nom soldier-Pl-Dat wall-{ Acc Nom}  
*hel-li-ess-ta.*  
 demolish-CM-Past-Ind

- a. (Intended: 'The house got its wall demolished by soldiers.')
- b. 'The wall of the house was demolished by soldiers.'

With an inanimate subject, the Part-Whole Passive sentence (73b) is acceptable, but the Affective sentence (73a) is not. The unacceptability of (73a) can be readily explained by the adverse semantics of the Affective CMC (I): we do not normally attribute affectedness to an inanimate object. By contrast, in the Part-Whole CMC, which does not have the semantics of adverse affectedness, an inanimate object can occur as a subject. This confirms yet again the importance of adverse semantics for the Affective CMC (I).

Another salient semantic characteristic of the Affective CMC (I) is that the subject has the ability to control the sententially denoted event, as illustrated in (74a-b).

- (74) a. *Inho-ka Mina-eykey ilpule son-ul cap-hi-ess-ta.*  
 Inho-Nom Mina-Dat on.purpose hand-Acc catch-CM-Past-Ind  
 'Inho on purpose got his hand caught by Mina.'
- b. *Mina-eykey son-ul cap-hi-e-la.*  
 Mina-Dat hand-Acc catch-CM-Imp  
 'Get your hand caught by Mina.'

Whenever there is an intentional or volitional adverbial in the Affective CMC (I), such as *ilpule* 'on purpose' in (74a), it is always interpreted as indicating the

subject's intention, never the agent's. When the subject intentionally brings about an event, he clearly has a high degree of control over it. This construction can also occur in the imperative mode (as in (74b)), something which is often employed as a test frame for agenthood of the subject. That the Affective CMC (I) can take the imperative mode implies that this construction is highly "active" in its semantic properties, imparting to its subject a high degree of control.

Note that the Affective CMC (I) again differs from the Part-Whole Passive CMC with respect to the subject's potentiality for controlling the sententially denoted event: in the latter, the subject has no such property, as illustrated in (75a, b) corresponding to (74a, b).

- (75) a. \**Inho-ka Mina-eykey ilpule son-i cap-hi-ess-ta.*  
 Inho-Nom Mina-Dat on.purpose hand-Nom catch-CM-Past-Ind

(Intended: 'Inho on purpose was caught by the hand by Mina.')

- b. \**Mina-eykey son-i cap-hi-e-la.*  
 Mina-Dat hand-Nom catch-CM-Imp

(Intended: 'Be caught by the hand by Mina.')

The Part-Whole Passive CMC does not allow an intentional adverbial (75a), nor can it take the imperative mode (75b). In fact, among the passive type CMC's, only the Affective CMC's I and II have such a controllability property.

So far we have examined the semantics of the Affective CMC (I). It has the construction-specific semantic property of adverse-affectedness of the subject. And, unlike more "usual" passives, it can in certain ways behave like an "active" construction: it is even "active" enough in its semantic properties to take the imperative mode.

#### 4.4.1.2 From Causatives to Passives

Causatives and passives, at first glance, may not seem likely to be expressed by the same marker or construction, since in general they appear quite different from each other syntactically and/or semantically. However, certain subtypes of causatives and passives do share formal expression in a number of languages, as illustrated (76) through (79).<sup>15</sup>

(76) French (Koenig and Pederson 1992, example (1))

*Jean s'est fait tuer hier.*  
Jean refl.be.pr make.ppt kill.inf.act yesterday

a. 'Jean<sub>i</sub> made somebody kill him<sub>i</sub> yesterday.'

b. 'Jean was killed yesterday.'

(77) English

a. *I had my daughter kissed by the pope.* (Causative)

b. *I had my bike stolen (by a thief).* (Affective/Passive)

(78) Manchu (Nedyalkov and Silnitsky 1973:21)

*Bi inde gele-bu-xé.*<sup>16</sup>  
I-Nom he-Dat be.frighten-Caus/Pass-Past

a. 'I allowed him to frighten (me).'

b. 'I was frightened by him.'

(79) *Written Mongolian* (Poppe 1954:170-171)

a. *bi noqai-yi miqan-i ide-gül-be.*  
I-Nom dog-Acc meat-Acc eat-Caus-Past

'I let the dog eat meat.' (i.e. 'I purposely gave the dog meat.')

<sup>15</sup> See Nedyalkov and Silnitsky (1973) for further such cases in other languages.

<sup>16</sup> I owe the morpheme glosses to James Bosson.

- b. *bi miqan-i noqai-dur ide-gül-be.*  
 I-Nom meat-Acc dog-Dat/Loc eat-Caus-Past

'I could not help letting the dog eat the meat.' (i.e. 'I did not give it to the dog but the dog itself took it and I was unable to prevent it from doing so.')

French and English are genetically not related to Korean, while traditionally Mongolian and Manchu have been thought to be related to Korean, though it is a question of current debate whether Korean can really be affiliated with the Altaic family to which Mongolian and Manchu belong. That certain causatives and passives share formal expression in a number of languages suggests that these should not be totally unbridgeable functions.

Given (a) the shared formal expressions between the Transitive Causative CMC (80) and the Affective CMC (I) (81) and (b) the special semantic characteristics of the latter discussed in the preceding section, I will argue for the hypothesis that the Affective CMC (I) arose diachronically from the Transitive Causative CMC.

- (80) Transitive Causative CMC (80) = (31b)

|        |               |          |                           |
|--------|---------------|----------|---------------------------|
| NP-Nom | NP-{Dat, Acc} | NP-Acc   | Vt-{i, ki, li, hi}- . . . |
| Causer | Causee        | Affectee | Vt-{CM}- . . .            |

- (81) Affective CMC (I) (81) = (64)

|          |         |             |                           |
|----------|---------|-------------|---------------------------|
| NPx-Nom  | NPy-Dat | NPx'-Acc    | Vt-{i, ki, li, hi}- . . . |
| Affectee | Agent   | Active Zone | Vt-{CM}- . . .            |

The earliest substantial texts in Korean date from the 15th century, when the

Korean writing system *Hankul* was invented. Since instances of both constructions are easily found in these 15th century texts, the historical facts do not easily provide evidence for or against the hypothesis. I will therefore argue for the hypothesis on the basis of semantic reconstruction and shared formal properties of the two constructions.

These two constructions share (a) the same number of complements, (b) the surface case frames,<sup>17</sup> and (c) the same CM verb form (compare (80) and (81)). Thus the same CM sentence (82), for example, can be interpreted either causatively (82a) or passively (82b); and (83) is not a tautology, but a natural sentence.

(82) *emma-ka aki-eykey cec-ul mul-li-ess-ta.*  
 mother-Nom baby-Dat breast-Acc bite/hold.with.lips-CM-Past-Ind

a. 'The mother made her baby hold her breast with his lips.'

(Idiomatically: 'The mother breast-fed her baby.')

b. 'The mother got her breast bitten by her baby.'

(83) *emma-ka aki-eykey cec-ul mul-li-taka,*  
 mother-Nom baby-Dat breast-Acc bite/hold.with.lips-CM-while

(*aki-eykey*) *cec-ul mul-li-ess-ta.*  
 (baby-Dat) breast-Acc bite/hold.with.lips-CM-Past-Ind

'The mother got her breast bitten by her baby, while making her baby hold her breast with his lips (i.e. while breast-feeding her baby).'

As discussed in the preceding section, the Affective CMC (I) conveys the idea that the subject is affected adversely. To distinguish the Affective CMC (I) with its adverse semantics from more "usual" passives, I will henceforth avoid

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<sup>17</sup> In (80) the causee can be marked by either the dative or the accusative case, whereas in (81) the agent corresponding to the causee can only be marked by the dative. This difference will be discussed later in this section.

the term "passive" for this construction and call it only "affective".

Given the polysemy of the causative and affective senses of the same syntactic form, what would be the direction of the development between the two senses? Traugott, in a series of studies (e.g. 1982 and 1989), has convincingly shown that semantic-pragmatic change is unidirectional in the sense that the shift is "from meanings grounded in more or less objectively identifiable extralinguistic situations. . .to meanings grounded in the speaker's attitude or belief about what is said" (Traugott and König 1991:189). Traugott further claims that this mechanism of semantic change tends overwhelmingly to hold crosslinguistically so that, given a case of synchronic polysemy, one can carry out semantic internal reconstruction based on the above unidirectionality.

Consider the following sentences:

- (84) *Inho-ka Mina-eykey chayk-ul ilk-hi-ess-ta.*  
 Inho-Nom Mina-Dat book-Acc read-CM-Past-Ind

'Inho made Mina read a book.'

- (85) *Inho-ka citocwuim-eykey meli-lul kkakk-i-ess-ta.*  
 Inho-Nom discipline.teacher-Dat hair-Acc cut-CM-Past-Ind

'Inho got his hair cut by the discipline teacher (against his will).'

The causative meaning is one which presents causative situations objectively. The causative sentence (84), for example, objectively describes a causative situation in which a person called *Inho* made another person called *Mina* read a book. On the other hand, we have observed that the Affective CMC (I) conveys the idea that the subject is affected adversely. This is an inherently subjective notion, conveying the speaker's subjective judgment that the subject is affected adversely by the event happening to him. The affective sentence (85), for example, objectively describes an event in which a discipline teacher cut

*Inho's* hair; but it also subjectively conveys the speaker's evaluation that *Inho* was affected adversely by undergoing the unwanted haircut--a piece of context-dependent inference which was described in some detail in Section 4.4.1.1.<sup>18</sup> Based on Traugott's hypothesis of the unidirectionality of semantic change, we could plausibly conclude that the shift is from the objective causative meaning to the expressive affective meaning.

It is not uncommon for a causer to be construed as an undergoer in instances of causative constructions, especially when the causer is affected adversely in the sententially denoted situation. Compare the English sentences (86a, b):

(86) a. *The hapless fellow (by misfortune) broke his arm when he fell.*  
(Talmy 1976:89)

b. *John broke Sue's arm when he fell on her.*

Here (86a, b) both express causative events in that the caused events (the arm's breaking) would not have taken place without the causing events (the falling). However, they are construed differently. In (86b), the subject is construed as a causer. In (86a), by contrast, the subject is construed as an undergoer (who is affected by the event happening to him) rather than as a causer, though he is still the causer in the physical world. The salient difference between (86a, b), which leads to the difference in construal, is that in (86a) the subject is in a state of adverse-affectedness as a result of the causative event, whereas (86b) simply conveys the causative event.

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<sup>18</sup> Nedyalkov and Silnitsky (1973:21) observe in their crosslinguistic study that in "the use of causatives to express the passive, verbs designating various negative actions dominate". Most CM verbs which occur in the affective construction denote "unsought suffering" (cf. Martin 1992:221-222).

Much the same thing can occur in Korean. There are instances of the Korean intransitive morphological causative in which the subject is construed as an undergoer rather than a causer, as illustrated in (87b).

- (87) a. *Inho-ka ip-ulo namusiph-ul nal-li-ess-ta.*  
 Inho-Nom mouth-Ins leaf-Acc blow[Vi]-CM-Past-Ind  
 'Inho blew the leaf with his mouth.'
- b. *Inho-ka khacino-eyse ton-ul mongttang nal-li-ess-ta.*  
 Inho-Nom casino-at money-Acc all blow-CM-Past-Ind  
 'Inho blew all his money at a casino.'

The CM-derived verb *nal-li-ta* 'blow[Vi]-CM-' in (87a, b) is typically used as a causative verb, as illustrated in (87a), in which the subject is understood as a causer. In (87b), by contrast, the subject is understood as an undergoer rather than a causer. One would normally not want to lose money at casinos; thus the subject in (87b) could be construed as adversely affected. Seen in this way, the subject is understood as an undergoer affected by an event of losing money which he could not control.

The sentences in (88) also provide a contrast similar to that in (87).

- (88) a. *Inho-ka cwi-lul cwuk-i-ess-ta.*  
 Inho-Nom rat-Acc die-CM-Past-Ind  
 'Inho killed a rat.'
- b. *"i emi-ka casik-ul cwuk-i-ess-eyo."*  
 this mother-Nom child-Acc die-CM-Past-Ind  
 (Lit.: 'This mother (= I, the speaker) killed my child.')
- 'My child died because of me, (though not by my hand).'
- c. *na-nun tonglan-cwungey atul-ul twul ta cwuk-i-ess-tao.*  
 I-Top Korean.war-during son-Acc two all die-CM-Past-Ind

(Lit.: 'I killed my two sons during the Korean war.')

'I lost my two sons during the Korean war.'

Sentence (88a) is a regular causative sentence. According to a newspaper report, sentence (88b) was repeatedly shouted by a Korean-American woman when policemen came to her house to investigate her son's death. The newspaper stated that she did not kill her son but that he died accidentally. However, the literal translation of (88b) was adopted as a critical piece of evidence, and she was sentenced to twenty years' imprisonment. The woman would have uttered the sentence as Korean mothers sometimes do upon the death of a child, presenting themselves as responsible for not keeping him from accidents. In this context, the speaker of (88b) maximally foregrounds her responsibility for the accident. As for sentence (88c), finally, the speaker may intend to convey that he was responsible for not preventing his sons' death, as in (88b), or that his sons' death happened to him. In the latter case, the adverse-affectedness of the subject is foregrounded so that the subject is construed as an undergoer.

In a causative construction, the subject is typically an agent rather than an undergoer. Why then can an undergoer be linked to the subject in the English and Korean sentences discussed above, which instantiate causative constructions? Lakoff (1977:249) points out: "Of all the agent properties that typically pair with subjecthood . . . PRIMARY RESPONSIBILITY is the most central--it is a more important property for this match than others. In cases where CONTROL and VOLITION and other agent properties diverge from PRIMARY RESPONSIBILITY, it is the latter property that still pairs with SUBJECTHOOD" (emphases in the original). In the above sentences with an affective reading, the subject is (or is claimed by the speaker to be) responsible

for the sententially denoted event. Thus, as Lakoff argues, it is the responsible entity that is being linked to the subject in these sentences, even though he/she is an undergoer affected by the event happening to him/her.

It is possible, as stated in Grice (1975:58), "for what starts life . . . as a conversational implicature to become conventional." Traugott and König (1991) argue that polysemies of a linguistic form arise out of the conventionalization of conversational inferences of the linguistic form. As seen above, there are instances in which the subject is construed as an undergoer rather than a causer in the Causative CMC. In the Intransitive Causative CMC, an affective sense can be inferred from the context, but it is not conventionalized. Accordingly, there is no passive type CMC corresponding to the Intransitive Causative CMC.<sup>19</sup> In the Transitive Causative CMC, by contrast, the affective sense has been conventionalized and grammaticalized into an independent construction--what we have called the Affective CMC (I). In the preceding section, we saw that the Affective CMC (I) has the construction-specific semantic property that the subject is affected adversely. Here an affective sense conversationally inferable in particular instances of the Transitive Causative CMC has been conventionalized and grammaticalized as a construction-specific semantics of the built-in Affective CMC (I).

Now let us examine the formal characteristics of the Transitive Causative CMC and the Affective CMC (I) ((80) and (81), repeated from earlier in this section).

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<sup>19</sup> Traugott (1989:33) states that it holds true of all linguistic change that the tendencies characterized are possible but not necessary.

(80) Transitive Causative CMC

(80) = (31b)

|        |               |          |                           |
|--------|---------------|----------|---------------------------|
| NP-Nom | NP-{Dat, Acc} | NP-Acc   | Vt-(i, ki, li, hi)- . . . |
| Causer | Causee        | Affectee | Vt-{CM}- . . .            |

(81) Affective CM Construction (I)

(81) = (64)

|          |         |             |                           |
|----------|---------|-------------|---------------------------|
| NPx-Nom  | NPy-Dat | NPx'-Acc    | Vt-(i, ki, li, hi)- . . . |
| Affectee | Agent   | Active Zone | Vt-{CM}- . . .            |

In both constructions, the root verb is a transitive verb and takes two arguments, while the derived verb takes three complements. This valence change is typical of causatives but not of passives, since causatives typically increase valence by one, while passives typically decrease valence. This fact provides further support for the claim that the shift was from the Transitive Causative CMC to the Affective CMC (I), rather than the reverse.

In the Transitive Causative CMC (see (80)), if the causer and affectee are in a part-whole relation, the act of the causee on the affectee would inevitably affect the causer: one is affected when some part of oneself is affected. In the Affective CMC (I), the affectee and the active zone, which correspond to the causer and the affectee respectively in the Transitive Causative CMC (I) (compare (80) and (81)), are indeed in a part-whole relation, as discussed in Section 4.4.1.1. The constraint on the Affective CMC (I) that the affectee and the active zone are in a part-whole relation is therefore accounted for under the hypothesis that the Affective CMC (I) arose from the Transitive Causative CMC.

In the Transitive Causative CMC, the causee can be marked by the dative or the accusative case (see (80)). In the Affective CMC (I), by contrast, the

agent (corresponding to the causee) is only marked by the dative case (see (81)). This difference can be explained in terms of the general semantics of cases and the particular characteristics of the Korean dative. In Korean, the dative case can mark (inter alia) a goal, a source, or a passive-agent, as illustrated in (89a, b, c).

- (89) a. *Inho-ka Mina-eykey chayk-ul cwu-ess-ta.* (Goal)  
 Inho-Nom Mina-Dat book-Acc give-Past-Ind  
 'Inho gave a book to Mina.'
- b. *Inho-ka Mina-eykey chayk-ul sa-ss-ta.* (Source)  
 Inho-Nom Mina-Dat book-Acc buy-Past-Ind  
 'Inho bought a book from Mina.'
- c. *Inho-ka Mina-eykey mul-ul mek-ess-ta.*<sup>20</sup> (Passive-agent)  
 Inho-Nom Mina-Dat water-Acc eat-Past-Ind  
 'Inho was affected adversely by Mina.'  
 (Lit.: Inho drank water from Mina.)

Because of this functional multiplicity, the dative-marked causee in the Transitive Causative CMC could readily be reanalyzed as a passive-agent when the construction came to be construed passively/affectively, that is, when the subject was construed as an undergoer rather than as a causer. On the other hand, it would seem implausible for a passive-agent to be marked by the accusative case, because the accusative is crosslinguistically the prototypical case of the patient. It is not surprising, therefore, that the Transitive Causative CMC with the dative-marked causee, but not with the accusative-marked causee, should have developed into the Affective CMC (I).

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<sup>20</sup> In J. Park (forthcoming c), I have discussed sentences of this type as instances of the "lexical affective" construction. If (89c) is literally interpreted (*Inho drank water from Mina*), it is unacceptable.

Finally, I will consider the semantic property of the Affective CMC (I) that the subject can control the sententially denoted event, as illustrated in (90a, b) (see also Section 4.4.1.1).

- (90) a. *na-nun Mina-eykey kkok elkwul-ul kulk-hi-e.ya-kess-ta.*  
 I-Top Mina-Dat certainly face-Acc scratch-CM-have.to-Fut-Ind  
 'I will certainly have to get my face scratched by Mina.'
- b. *Mina-eykey elkwul-ul kulk-hi-ela.*  
 Mina-Dat face-Acc scratch-CM-Imp  
 'Get your face scratched by Mina.'

In terms of syntax, as we have argued, sentences (90a, b) can properly be considered CM affective rather than causative sentences: the passive-agent (*Mina*) can only be marked by the dative case (compare (90a) and (91a)), and the active zone (*elkwul* 'face') must be an inalienable part of the subject (compare (90a) and (91b)).<sup>21</sup>

- (91) a. \**na-nun Mina-lul kkok elkwul-ul kulk-hi-e.ya-kess-ta.*  
 I-Top Mina-Acc certainly face-Acc scratch-CM-have.to-Fut-Ind  
 (Intended: 'I will certainly have to get my face scratched by Mina.')
- b. \**na-nun Mina-eykey kkok Toli-lul kulk-hi-e.ya-kess-ta.*  
 I-Top Mina-Dat certainly Toli-Acc scratch-CM-have.to-Fut-Ind  
 (Intended: 'I will certainly have to get Toli scratched by Mina.')

In terms of semantics, on the other hand, sentences (90a, b) in some ways look like instances of the Transitive Causative CMC. In (90a) the speaker makes

<sup>21</sup> In Middle Korean, however, the CM verb *kulk-hi-ta* was used as a causative verb (see Section 2.3.2):

(i) "[DNI] *ai-lo hwenhi tung-ul kulk-hi-ko*"  
 [I] child-Ins cool back-Acc scratch-CM-and  
 [MK: *Twu.si.en.hay* 15:4]  
 '[I] had my child scratch my back "cool" [relieving the itch]'

sure to himself that he will cause the event of being scratched in the face by Mina; in (90b) he orders the addressee to cause the same event. At the same time, however, (90a, b) still maintain the adverse semantics of the Affective CMC (I); (90a), for example, conveys the idea that the speaker intends to bring about a malefaction on himself for a certain purpose. Thus they are similar but not identical to the Transitive Causative CMC sentences.

In the above discussion of the development of the Affective CMC (I) from the Transitive Causative CMC, I argued that a sentence instantiating the causative construction could be construed as an affective sentence in cases where the subject was affected by the sententially denoted event; and that this affective sense was conventionalized and thus grammaticalized into an independent construction, i.e. the Affective CMC (I). Such an affected subject would typically lack volition and/or the ability to control the event happening to him, though he might be responsible for what happens. However, if volition and/or the ability to control what happens is after all attributed to such a subject (see (90a, b)), then it would regain an important attribute of a causer rather than remaining simply an undergoer. This is in a sense a partial synchronic reanalysis of an affective sentence as a causative sentence, a conceptual "backsliding" vis-a-vis the diachronic development. Such a synchronic reanalysis seems to be possible precisely because of the shared formal expression between the Affective CMC (I) and the Transitive Causative CMC.

#### **4.4.2 Affective CMC (II)**

The Affective CMC (II) has the schematic form (92), exemplified in (93).

(92) Affective CMC (II)

|          |        |                        |
|----------|--------|------------------------|
| NP-Nom   | NP-Dat | Vt-{i, ki, li, hi}-... |
| Affectee | Agent  | Vt-{CM}-...            |

- (93) *Inho-ka Mina-eykey cap-hi-ess-ta.*  
 Inho-Nom Mina-Dat catch-CM-Past-Ind

'Inho got caught by Mina.'

The Affective CMC (II) differs from the Affective CMC (I) in its degree of specificity: in the latter the active zone is specified, in the former it is not (compare (93) and (94)).

- (94) *Inho-ka Mina-eykey son-ul cap-hi-ess-ta.*  
 Inho-Nom Mina-Dat hand-Acc catch-CM-Past-Ind

'Inho got his hand caught by Mina.'

While the Affective CMC (I) does not allow an inanimate subject (see Section 4.4.1.1), the Affective CMC (II) does, though only in a limited way: an inanimate subject can occur with some CM verbs but not with others. As long as the subject is animate, the Affective CMC's (I) and (II) exhibit the same semantic properties. I will first examine these semantic properties, and then discuss the Affective CMC (II) with an inanimate subject.

### Animate Subjects

The subject of the Affective CMC (II), like that of the Affective CMC (I), can control the sententially denoted situation, as illustrated in (95a-c).

- (95) a. *Inho-ka Mina-eykey ilpule cap-hi-ess-ta.*  
 Inho-Nom Mina-Dat on.purpose catch-CM-Past-Ind

'Inho on purpose got caught by Mina.'

- b. *Inho-ka Mina-eykey-man cap-hi-e.cwu-ess-ta.*  
 Inho-Nom Mina-Dat-only catch-CM-Ben-Past-Ind

'Inho got (himself) caught only by Mina for her [Mina].'

- c. *ne-nun Mina-eykey cap-hi-e.la!*  
 you-Top Mina-Dat catch-CM-Imp

'As for you, get (yourself) caught by Mina!'

Just as with the Affective CMC (I), the intentional adverbial in (95a) can only be interpreted as the subject's intention, never as the agent's. When the subject brings about an event, he has a high degree of control over it. In (95b), the affective clause occurs with the benefactive element *-e.cwu*; the benefactor is the subject and the beneficiary is the agent. Here the delimiter *-man* 'only' conveys the idea that the subject *Inho* chose *Mina* (among all possible candidates) as the one to do the catching. The fact of choosing a particular person, and the fact of doing something for that person's benefit, both indicate a degree of control over the situation. In (95c), the affective clause is an imperative, again suggesting that the subject could control the event of his being caught.

When there is no element indicating that the subject is volitional or can control what happens, the subject of this construction is typically conceived as being adversely affected. Compare the active and affective pair (96a, b).

- (96) a. *tongsayng-i hyeng-ul [ccoc-a.tani]-ess-ta.*  
 younger.brother-Nom elder.brother-Acc [follow-around]-Past-Ind

'The younger brother followed his elder brother around (e.g. to play with him).'

- b. *hyeng-i tongsayng-eykey [ccoc-ki-e.tani]-ess-ta.*  
 elder.brother-Nom younger.brother-Dat [follow-CM-around]-Past-Ind

'The elder brother got chased around by his younger brother.'

Sentence (96a) would typically be appropriate in a situation where the younger brother follows his elder brother in order to (say) play with him or work together with him, though it may simply mean *The younger brother chased his elder brother*. By contrast, the corresponding affective sentence (96b) corresponds to a situation in which the elder brother runs away from his younger brother because his younger brother tries to catch him in order to (say) collect loans or otherwise harass him. The verb *ccoc-ta* can mean 'chase/run after' (*totwuk-ul ccoc-ta* 'run after a thief'), 'follow' (*yuhayng-ul cccc-ta* 'follow the fashion'), 'drive away' (*phali-lul ccoc-ta* 'drive away flies'), etc. The CM verb built on it, *ccoc-ki-ta*, can mean 'get run after' or 'get driven away', but not 'be followed'.

The same principle can easily be extended to other similar pairs. In the pair *puthcap-ta* and *puthcap-hi-ta*, for example, the root verb *puthcap-ta* can mean 'arrest, seize, catch, hold', etc., but the derived verb *puthcap-hi-ta* conveys the idea that the subject wants to go/run away but gets arrested or held against his volition; compare (97a, b) and (98a, b).

- (97) a. *Kim swunkyeng-i ku totwuk-ul puthcap-ass-ta.*  
Kim Officer-Nom the thief-Acc seize-Past-Ind

'Officer Kim seized the thief.'

- b. *ku totwuk-i Kim swunkyeng-eykey puthcap-hi-ess-ta.*  
the thief-Nom Kim Officer-Dat seize-CM-Past-Ind

'The thief got seized by Officer Kim.'

- (98) *Inho-ka nemeci-lye.ko.ha-nun.tey,*  
Inho-Nom fall-be.about.to-as

- a. *Mina-ka Inho-lul puthcap-ass-ta.*  
Mina-Nom Inho-Acc hold-Past-Ind

'As Inho was about to fall, Mina held him [Inho] (so that he did not fall).'

- b. *?Inho-ka Mina-eykey puthcap-hi-ess-ta.*  
 Inho-Nom Mina-Dat hold-CM-Past-Ind

(Intended: 'As Inho was about to fall, he was held by Mina (so that he did not fall).')

In (97a, b), the verb *puthcap-ta* means 'seize', and a thief would indeed be adversely affected by being caught by an Officer. In (98a, b), the verb *puthcap-ta* means 'hold', and (98b) sounds awkward in the intended sense. To be sure, (98b) sounds fine if it means *As Inho was about to fall, he get arrested / seized by Mina*; more typically, though, someone who is held as he is about to fall is felt to be affected positively, not adversely.

The following sentences exhibit a similar difference:

- (99) a. *Hyundai-ka Kia-hanthey catongcha.sicang-eyse mek-hi-ess-ta.*  
 Hyundai-Nom Kia-Dat car.market-Loc eat-CM-Past-Ind

'Hyundai (Co.) got defeated in the car market by Kia (Co.)'

(Lit.: 'Hyundai got/was eaten in the car market by Kia.')

- b. *ku cwi-ka koyangi-hanthey cap.a.mek-hi-ess-ta.*  
 the mouse-Nom cat-Dat catch.eat-CM-Past-Ind

'The mouse got caught and eaten by a cat.'

- b. *\*sakwa-ka Inho-eykey mek-hi-ess-ta.*  
 apple-Nom Inho-Dat eat-CM-Past-Ind

(Intended: 'The apple got/was eaten by Inho.')

Groups composed of humans (e.g. a company) can easily be conceived metonymically as having human properties (e.g. *Our company intends to sell*

*cars in Japan*), and thus affectedness can readily be attributed to such an entity. Similarly, if a mouse is caught and eaten by a cat, it would be regarded as affected adversely. By contrast, an inanimate object (e.g. apples) can hardly be conceived as "affected" by anything. These examples are typical. Martin's (1992:221-222) reference grammar of Korean states that most of the affective CM verbs denote "unsought suffering".<sup>22</sup>

In summary, as long as the subject is animate, the Affective CMC (II) is very similar to the Affective CMC (I) in its semantic properties: (a) the subject can control the sententially denoted situation, and (b) the subject is typically conceived as affected adversely. In Section 4.4.1.2, I argued that the Affective CMC (I) arose from the Transitive Causative CMC, and thus essentially has three complements, as illustrated in (100).

- (100) *Inho-ka kay-hanthey tali-lul mul-li-ess-ta.*  
 Inho-Nom dog-Dat leg-Acc bite-CM-Past-Ind

'Inho got his leg bitten by a dog.'

Once the Affective CMC (I) became an independent construction, the inalienable part of the subject (*tali* 'leg' in (100)) was recast as an active zone. Depending on the level of specificity, this active zone may be further specified, as in (101), or completely suppressed, as in (102). When it is suppressed, as in (102), the resultant construction is the Affective CMC (II).

- (101) *Inho-ka kay-hanthey tali-lul twiccok-ul mul-li-ess-ta.*  
 Inho-Nom dog-Dat leg-Acc back.side-Acc bite-CM-Past-Ind

'Inho got the back of his leg bitten by a dog.'

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<sup>22</sup> The Affective CMC's (I) and (II) are quite similar to the English *get* passive: "The *get* passive in English, unlike the *be* passive, is frequently used to reflect the attitude of the speaker toward the events described in the sentence: whether he feels they are good or bad, or reflect well or poorly on him or the superficial subject of the sentence" (R. Lakoff 1971:154). See also Chappell (1980) for discussion of the characteristics of the English *get*-passive.

- (102) *Inho-ka kay-hanthey mul-li-ess-ta.*  
 Inho-Nom dog-Dat bite-CM-Past-Ind

'Inho got bitten by a dog.'

This kind of shifting in level of specificity is in fact very common in language: one and the same situation can readily be described either as *The dog bit John*, or as *The dog bit John's leg*, or further as *The dog bit the back of John's leg's*.

### Inanimate Subjects

While the Affective CMC (I) does not allow an inanimate subject, such a subject might occur in the Affective CMC (II), as in (103).

- (103) *ku chayk-i manhun salam.tul-eykey ilk-hi-ess-ta.*  
 the book-Nom many people-Dat read-CM-Past-Ind

'The book was read by many people.'

Interestingly, if the agent in (103) is replaced by a specific person, the resultant sentence is less natural than (103), as illustrated in (104):

- (104) *?ku chayk-i Inho-eykey ilk-hi-ess-ta.*  
 the book-Nom Inho-Dat read-CM-Past-Ind

'The book got/was read by Inho.'

In (104) there is a subtle nuance that the book is affected (adversely) as if it were an animate entity, while (103) conveys no such a nuance.

Compare the following sentences:

- (105) a. *Inho-ka ku namuskaci-lul kkek-ess-ta.*  
 Inho-Nom the tree-branch-Acc break-Past-Ind

'Inho broke the tree-branch.'

- b. ?*ku namuskaci-ka Inho-eykey kkek-i-ess-ta.*  
 the tree-branch-Nom Inho-Dat break-CM-Past-Ind  
 'The tree-branch got broken by Inho.'
- c. *ku namuskaci-ka Inho-ey.uyhay kkek-i-ess-ta.*  
 the tree-branch-Nom Inho-by break-CM-Past-Ind  
 'The tree-branch was broken by Inho.'

The active sentence (105a) simply describes the event of Inho's breaking a tree-branch. Sentence (105b), by contrast, conveys a subtle nuance that the tree-branch is affected, which is what makes this sentence somehow odd. Sentence (105c), in which the agent is marked by the passive-agent marker *-ey.uyhay* 'by', does not convey such a nuance.<sup>23</sup> Thus the Affective CMC (II) sentences (104) and (105b)--though not (103)--exhibit the same characteristic as the Affective CMC (I): the subject is affected (adversely).<sup>24</sup>

Sentences (104) and (105b), though less than perfect, are not unacceptable. Sometimes, however, an inanimate subject is not accepted in the Affective CMC (II), as illustrated in (106a, b).

- (106) a. \**ku mun-i Inho-eykey yel-li-ess-ta.*  
 the door-Nom Inho-Dat open[Vt]-CM-Past-Ind  
 (Intended: 'The door got opened by Inho.')
- b. \**ku kisa-ka Lee kica-eykey ssu-i-ess-ta.*  
 the article-Nom Lee Reporter-Dat write-CM-Past-Ind  
 (Intended: 'The article got written by Reporter Lee.')

On the other hand, if the dative case in (106) is replaced by the passive-agent

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<sup>23</sup> The *-ey.uyhay(se)* passive will be discussed in Section 4.4.4.

<sup>24</sup> That (103) fails to have adverse semantics seems to involve the fact that the agent is multiple and nonspecific, hence less "personal".

marker *-ey.uyhay(se)*, the resultant Agentive Passive CMC sentences become acceptable, as in (107a, b).

- (107) a. *ku mun-i Inho-ey.uyhayse yel-li-ess-ta.*  
 the door-Nom Inho-by open[Vt]-CM-Past-Ind

'The door was opened by Inho.'

- b. *ku kisa-ka Lee kica-ey.uyhay ssu-i-ess-ta.*  
 the article-Nom Lee Reporter-by write-CM-Past-Ind

'The article was written by Reporter Lee.'

The Affective CMC (II) sentences with inanimate subject show a range of acceptability from fine, to somehow odd, to unacceptable. In the case of odd affective sentences, the oddness stems from the fact that (adverse) affectedness is being attributed to an inanimate entity. This fact argues that the Affective CMC (II) still preserves adverse semantics, but in attenuated form; the adverse semantics constraint of the Affective CMC (II) is not as strong as that of the Affective CMC (I).

#### 4.4.3 Part-Whole Passive CMC

The Part-Whole Passive CMC has the schematic form (108), exemplified in (109).

- (108) Part-Whole Passive CMC

|         |         |             |                           |
|---------|---------|-------------|---------------------------|
| NPx-Nom | NPy-Dat | NPx'-Nom    | Vt-{i, ki, li, hi}- . . . |
| Patient | Agent   | Active Zone | Vt-{CM}- . . .            |

(The active zone is an inalienable part of the patient.)

- (109) *Inho-ka kay-hanthey tali-ka mul-li-ess-ta.*  
 Inho-Nom dog-Dat leg-Nom bite-CM-Past-Ind

'Inho's leg was bitten by a dog.' (Inho was bitten on the leg by a dog.)

This construction appears similar to the Affective CMC (I) (see (110) = (64)): there are three complements, and the active zone is an inalienable part of the patient/affectee, though the case marking differs: the nominative in (108), but accusative in (110).

- (110) Affective CMC (I)

|          |         |             |                           |
|----------|---------|-------------|---------------------------|
| NPx-Nom  | NPy-Dat | NPx'-Acc    | Vt-{i, ki, li, hi}- . . . |
| Affectee | Agent   | Active Zone | Vt-{CM}- . . .            |

(The active zone is typically an inalienable part of the affectee/subject.)

In section 4.4.1.1, however, we have already observed that they differ from each other in the following aspects:

- (111) a. The Affective CMC (I): The active zone is typically an inalienable part of the subject. But it can be extended in a very restricted way to an alienable entity when such an extension is semantically motivated, i.e. where the subject can be taken as affected adversely.
- b. The Part-Whole Passive CMC: Such an extension of the active zone is not allowed.
- (112) a. The Affective CMC (I): The subject can control the sententially denoted situation.
- b. The Part-Whole Passive CMC: There is no such a semantic property.

- (113) a. The Affective CMC (I): An inanimate subject is not allowed, unless it is personified so that affectedness is attributable to it.
- b. The Part-Whole Passive CMC: An inanimate subject can occur.

Thus the difference goes much deeper than a superficial matter of surface case marking. The two constructions really are quite different in their semantic properties.

In the following, I will suggest that the Part-Whole Passive CMC is related more closely to the Affective CMC (II) than to the Affective CMC (I). More particularly, I argue that the Part-Whole Passive CMC represents a kind of possessor ascension construction based on the Affective CMC (II).<sup>25</sup>

In Korean, as discussed in Section 3.2.2, the whole in a part-whole relation may bear either the genitive case (see (114a) and (115a)) or the same case which the part bears in the clause (see (114b) and (115b)).

- (114) a. *Inho-uy son-i khu-ta.*  
 Inho-Gen hand-Nom be.big-Ind  
 'Inho's hands are big.'
- b. *Inho-ka son-i khu-ta.*  
 Inho-Nom hand-Nom be.big-Ind  
 'Inho's hands are big.'
- (115) a. *Inho-ka Mina-uy son-ul cap-ass-ta.*  
 Inho-Nom Mina-Gen hand-Acc hold-Past-Ind  
 'Inho held Mina's hand.'
- b. *Inho-ka Mina-lul son-ul cap-ass-ta.*  
 Inho-Nom Mina-Acc hand-Acc hold-Past-Ind  
 'Inho held Mina's hand.'

---

<sup>25</sup> This idea has also been proposed by C. Lee (1973, Section 2.1 of Chapter 3).

It is generally assumed that in possessor ascension clauses the part bears a grammatical relation such as subject or object: in (114b) and (115b), the part (hand) is subject and object, respectively.

Now compare the following sentences:

- (116) *Inho-uy tali-ka kay-hanthey mul-li-ess-ta.*  
 Inho-Gen leg-Nom dog-Dat bite-CM-Past-Ind

'Inho's leg was bitten by a dog.'

- (117) a. *Inho-ka tali-ka kay-hanthey mul-li-ess-ta.*  
 Inho-Nom leg-Nom dog-Dat bite-CM-Past-Ind

'Inho's leg was bitten by a dog.' (Inho was bitten on the leg by a dog.)

- b. *Inho-ka kay-hanthey tali-ka mul-li-ess-ta.*  
 Inho-Nom dog-Dat leg-Nom bite-CM-Past-Ind

'Inho's leg was bitten by a dog.' (Inho was bitten on the leg by a dog.)

Sentence (117a) is the possessor ascension version of the Affective CMC (II) sentence (116), just as in (114b, a). In general, in naturally uttered possessor ascension clauses there is typically some pause between the whole and the part, and the part receives emphatic stress; we indeed find these phenomena in (117a). In Korean, as discussed in Section 3.3.5, constituents can be scrambled relatively freely within the clause:

- (118) a. *Inho-ka ku chayk-ul ilk-ess-ta.*  
 Inho-Nom the book-Acc read-Past-Ind

'Inho read the book.'

- b. *ku chayk-ul Inho-ka ilk-ess-ta.*  
 the book-Acc Inho-Nom read-Past-Ind

'Inho read the book.'

In (117a), accordingly, the part can be scrambled with the agent, resulting in (117b).<sup>26</sup> Both (117a, b) are thus instantiations of the Part-Whole Passive CMC, though (117b) is a more canonical form, and both are the product of possessor ascension. If the passive-agent is not expressed, which often happens in passives, the two variants fall together and there is no difference.

Under this analysis, the subject in the Part-Whole Passive CMC is the part rather than the whole.<sup>27</sup> If so, this naturally provides one salient semantic difference between the Part-Whole Passive CMC and the other passive type CMC's, a difference which can immediately be put to good explanatory use. In the other passive CMC's, the subject can control the sententially denoted situations. The Part-Whole Passive CMC alone has no such semantic property. This is illustrated in (119) and (120).

- (119) *Inho-ka Mina-eykey ilpule son-{a. ul, b. \*i }*  
 Inho-Nom Mina-Dat on.purpose hand-{Acc Nom}

*cap-hi-ess-ta.*  
 catch-CM-Past-Ind

- a. 'Inho on purpose got his hand caught by Mina.'  
 b. (Intended: 'Inho's hand on purpose was caught by Mina.')

- (120) *Mina-eykey son-{a. ul, b. \*i } cap-hi-e.la.*  
 Mina-Dat hand-{Acc Nom} catch-CM-Imp

<sup>26</sup> In a possessor ascension clause, the part cannot precede the whole. Thus neither (i) nor (ii) is acceptable.

- (i) *\*son-i Inho-ka khu-ta.*  
 hand-Nom Inho-Nom be.big-Ind  
 (Intended: 'Inho's hands are big.')
- (ii) *\*tali-ka Inho-ka kay-hanthey mul-li-ess-ta.*  
 leg-Nom Inho-Nom dog-Dat bite-CM-Past-Ind  
 (Intended: 'Inho's leg was bitten by a dog.')

<sup>27</sup> Scholars differ regarding which NP they consider the subject in the Part-Whole Passive CMC. Some (e.g. Y. Kim 1990) have taken the subject to be the whole, while others (e.g. K. Hong 1991) assume it is the part.

- a. 'Get your hand caught by Mina.'
- b. (Intended: '\*Your hand, be caught by Mina.')

The (a) and (b) versions are instances of the Affective CMC (I) and the Part-Whole Passive CMC, respectively; the (a) sentences are acceptable, but the (b) sentences are not. If the active zone (hand) is not specified in (119) and (120), the sentences become instances of the Affective CMC (II), and again are acceptable; the meanings are *Inho on purpose got caught by Mina* (119) and *Get caught by Mina* (120). As stated above, then, only the Part-Whole Passive CMC lacks the semantic property that the subject can control the sententially denoted situation. The proposed possessor ascension analysis explains this very naturally. Under this analysis, the subject in the Part-Whole Passive CMC is the part, to which neither volition (119b) nor controllability (120b) can be attributed. Accordingly, such a subject cannot control the sententially denoted situation.

#### 4.4.4 Agentive Passive CMC

In the passive type CMC's discussed so far, the agent is marked by the dative case. In the Agentive Passive CMC, by contrast, the agent is marked by the particle *-ey.uyhay(se)* 'by', as illustrated in (121).

(121) *Inho-ka Mina-ey.uyhay cap-hi-ess-ta.*  
*Inho-Nom Mina-by catch-CM-Past-Ind*

'Inho was caught by Mina.'

The particle *-ey.uyhay(se)* 'by' is also used to mark the agent in the syntactic passive, as illustrated in (122) (see Section 3.3.2 for the syntactic passive).

- (122) *i tongsang-un yumyenghan cokakka-ey.uyhay mantul-e.ci-ess-ta.*  
 this statue-Top famous sculptor-by make-Pass-Past-Ind

'This bronze statue was made by a famous sculptor.'

The element *uyha* in *-ey.uyhay(se)* has a transparent lexical meaning: NP-*ey uyha-ta* means 'be based on NP', 'be due to NP', 'depend on NP', etc.

In fact, the particle *-ey.uyhay(se)* can mark the agent in all the passive type CMC's, as illustrated in (123a-c).

- (123) a. *Inho-ka Mina-eykey/-ey.uyhay son-ul cap-hi-ess-ta.*  
 Inho-Nom Mina-Dat/-by hand-Acc catch-CM-Past-Ind

'Inho got his hand caught by Mina.'

- b. *Inho-ka Mina-eykey/-ey.uyhay cap-hi-ess-ta.*  
 Inho-Nom Mina-Dat/-by catch-CM-Past-Ind

'Inho got/was caught by Mina.'

- c. *Inho-ka Mina-eykey/-ey.uyhay son-i cap-hi-ess-ta.*  
 Inho-Nom Mina-Dat/-by hand-Nom catch-CM-Past-Ind

'Inho was caught by the hand by Mina.'

Intuitively, a passive-agent marked by the particle *-ey.uyhay(se)* has much stronger agentivity than a dative-marked passive-agent. This intuition is supported by the fact that the Agentive Passive CMC differs from the Affective CMC's (I) and (II) with respect to the ability to control the sententially denoted situation. In the latter constructions, as noted in Sections 4.4.1.1 and 4.4.2, the subject can control the sententially denoted situation. In the Agentive Passive CMC, by contrast, such a potentiality of the subject is much weaker. This difference is illustrated in the following sentences.

- (124) a. *Inho-ka Mina-eykey/!-ey.uyhay ilpule elkwul-ul kulk-hi-ess-ta.*  
 Inho-Nom Mina-Dat/-by on.purpose face-Acc scratch-CM-  
 Past-Ind  
 'Inho on purpose got his face scratched by Mina.'
- b. *Mina-eykey/?\*-ey.uyhay elkwul-ul kulk-hi-e.la*  
 Mina-Dat/-by face-Acc scratch-CM-Imp  
 'Get your face scratched by Mina.'
- (125) a. *Inho-ka Mina-eykey/?-ey.uyhay ilpule cap-hi-ess-ta.*  
 Inho-Nom Mina-Dat/-by on.purpose catch-CM-Past-Ind  
 'Inho on purpose got caught by Mina.'
- b. *Mina-eykey/??-ey.uyhay cap-hi-e.la.*  
 Mina-Dat/-by catch-CM-Imp  
 'Get caught by Mina.'

In the Affective CMC sentences (124a, b), in which the agent is marked by the dative case, an intentional adverbial indicating the subject's intention can naturally occur. The corresponding Agentive Passive CMC sentences (124a, b), in which the agent is marked by the particle *-ey.uyhay* 'by', do not sound quite right, though they are not unacceptable. In the imperative mode (see (125a, b)), the Affective CMC sentences sound fine, whereas the Agentive Passive CMC sentences again are odd, though still not unacceptable.

As noted in Section 4.4.2, in certain passive clauses (belonging to the Affective CMC (II), with inanimate subject) the agent can be marked by the particle *-ey.uyhay(se)* 'by', but not by the dative case:

- (126) a. *ku mun-i Inho-ey.uyhay/\*eykey yel-li-ess-ta.*  
 the door-Nom Inho-by/Dat open-CM-Past-Ind  
 'The door was opened by Inho.'
- b. *sinhotung-i swunkyeng-ey.uyhay/\*eykey pakkwu-i-ess-ta.*  
 signal-Nom policeman-by/Dat change-CM-Past-Ind

'The signal was changed (manually) by a policeman.'

Examples like (126a, b) raise two related questions: where did the Agentive Passive CMC come from, and why is it acceptable in these sentences? A partial answer may emerge if we can consider sentences like the following:

- (127) a. *ku mun-i cecello yel-li-ess-ta.*  
the door-Nom by.itself open[Vt]-CM-Past-Ind

'The door opened by itself.'

- b. *sinhotung-i cecello pakkwu-i-ess-ta.*  
signal-Nom by.itself change[Vt]-CM-Past-Ind

'The signal changed by itself.'

These sentences show a close formal and semantic link to (126a, b). They are not, however, instances of passives, but rather of the Spontaneous Event (middle type) CMC, which will be discussed in detail in Section 4.5.6. That is, the subject in (127a, b) is conceived as undergoing the denoted change of state spontaneously, as indicated by the adverbial *cecello* 'by itself'.

The following sentences pattern in just the same way:

- (128) a. *i chayk-un cal phal-li-n-ta.*  
this book-Top well sell-CM-Pres-Ind

'This book sells well.'

- b. *\*ku chayk-i Inho-eykey phal-li-ess-ta.*<sup>28</sup>  
the book-Nom Inho-Dat sell-CM-Past-Ind

(Intended: 'The book was sold by Inho.')

---

<sup>28</sup> Sentence (128b) can mean *The book was sold to Inho*. If a second dative-marked nominal is added, however, the resultant sentence is again unacceptable:

- (i) *\*ku chayk-i Inho-eykey Mina-eykey phal-li-ess-ta.*  
the book-Nom Inho-Dat Mina-Dat sell-CM-Past-Ind  
(Intended: 'The book was sold to Inho by Minε.')

- c. *ku chayk-i Inho-ey.uyhay phal-li-ess-ta.*  
 the book-Nom Inho-by sell-CM-Past-Ind

'The book was sold by Inho.'

Sentence (128a) is an instance of the Facilitative (middle type) CMC (see Section 4.5.5). In the corresponding passive sentence, the agent can be marked by *-ey.uyhay(se)* 'by' (see (128c)), but not by the dative case (see (128b))--just as in (126) vis-a-vis (127).

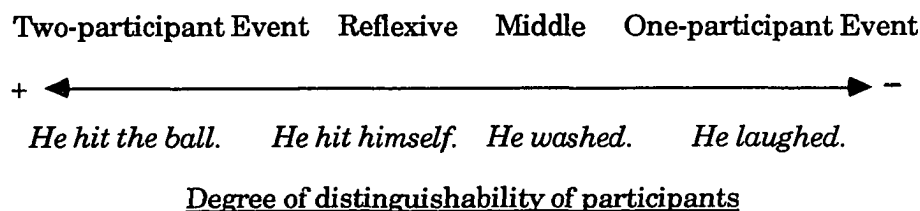
The key to the above patterning is the fact that the Spontaneous Event and the Facilitative CMC are middle type constructions. According to Lehmann (1974:129, 183), in Proto-Indo-European an agentive passive arose as a late development from the middle voice, by the inclusion of the agent. Such cases are not unusual. Thus it does not seem unreasonable to speculate that in Korean, too, the Agentive Passive CMC could have arisen from middle type CMC's by the inclusion of the *-ey.uyhay(se)*-marked passive-agent. On this analysis, the sentences with *-ey.uyhay(se)* 'by' in (126) and (128) would not be closely linked to the Affective CMC, but rather would in essence be middle type CMC's with an added agent. It would seem, too, that the *-ey.uyhay(se)*-marked passive-agent is quite likely to have been adopted in all the passive type CMC's precisely to reinforce the agentivity of the passive-agent. This is simply because *-ey.uyhay(se)* is more specialized for the passive-agent than the dative case, which has much broader semantics.

#### 4.5 Middle Type CMC's

The term "middle" in middle type CMC's refers to "middle voice", for which I adopt Kemmer's (1993:243) characterization:

The middle is a semantic area comprising events in which (a) the Initiator is also the Endpoint, or affected entity and (b) the event is characterized by a low degree of elaboration. The first property is a subspect of the second.

Property (a) subsumes a frequently proposed semantic characteristic of the middle, that is, subject-affectedness (cf. Lyons 1969, Barber 1975, and Klaiman 1991): "The implications of the middle (when it is in opposition with the active) are that the 'action' or 'state' affects the subject of the verb or his interests" (Lyons 1969:373). Lyons' characterization of the middle distinguishes it from the active. Kemmer's property (a) above distinguishes the middle from both the active and the passive: in neither of the latter is the initiator the endpoint. Property (b) in turn serves to distinguish the middle from the reflexive (or from the reciprocal). Kemmer's concept of "relative elaboration of events" crucially relies on the notion of distinguishability of participants in events. On this view the middle differs from the reflexive (and the reciprocal) in that distinguishability of participants is lower in the middle than in the reflexive (or reciprocal), as represented in the diagram below (Kemmer (1993:73), with examples added based on her discussion).



In both the reflexive and the middle, the initiator is also the endpoint; in the reflexive, however, the endpoint is typically encoded separately from the initiator,

as its own distinct object (pro)nominal, whereas in the middle a single nominal typically represents both initiator and endpoint.

In this section, I will examine middle type CMC's. In all the events expressed by these CMC's, the initiator is indeed the endpoint, and the initiator and the endpoint are linguistically encoded as a single entity.

#### 4.5.1 Caused-Passive CMC

The Caused-Passive CMC has the schematic form (129), instantiated in (130).

(129) Caused-Passive CMC

|                    |        |                           |
|--------------------|--------|---------------------------|
| NP-Nom             | NP-Dat | Vt-(i, ki, li, hi)- . . . |
| Initiator/Endpoint | Causee | Vt-{CM}- . . .            |

(130) *Inho-ka Mina-eykey an-ki-ess-ta.*  
 Inho-Nom Mina-Dat embrace-CM-Past-Ind

'Inho got (himself) embraced by Mina.'

(i.e. 'Inho moved close to Mina to get embraced by her.')

In the Caused-Passive CMC, the subject is the initiator (or the causer) of the whole event denoted by the CM verb, and also the endpoint affected by the action of the causee. That is, the subject gets himself affected by the causee. Sentence (130), for example, would fit a situation in which Inho moves close to Mina so that he gets embraced by her. Sentence (130) has often been cited as a passive sentence, and translated into English as *Inho was /got embraced by Mina*. This passive reading, in which the subject is simply a patient, is only marginal, if possible at all, in my dialect.

The Caused-Passive CMC has the same case-frame and number of complements as the Affective CMC (II): [NP-Nom NP-Dat Vt-{CM}]. Since the Caused-Passive CMC has not been recognized as an independent construction, I will first show that this construction is different from the Affective CMC (II), despite their apparent surface identity.

Consider example (131), in which the first conjunct is the caused-passive clause (130):

- (131) *Inho<sub>i</sub>-ka Mina<sub>j</sub>-eykey an-ki-ca,*  
 Inho-Nom Mina-Dat embrace-CM-as  
  
*Mina<sub>j</sub>-ka Inho<sub>i</sub>-lul milenay-ss-ta*  
 Mina-Nom Inho-Acc push.away-Past-Ind

'As Inho<sub>i</sub> (tried) to get (himself) embraced by Mina<sub>j</sub>, she<sub>j</sub> pushed him<sub>i</sub> away.' (i.e., As Inho moved close to Mina to get embraced, she pushed him away.)

If the caused-passive clause were really an instance of the passive (*Inho was embraced by Mina*), (131) should be semantically anomalous: Mina would be actively embracing Inho and at the same time pushing him away. The sentence, however, sounds fully natural.

If the caused-passive clause is instead an instance of the (morphological) causative, the naturalness of example (131) can be explained by the "non-implicative" semantics characteristic of the morphological causative. The Korean morphological causative is not implicative in the sense of Karttunen (1971): it does not entail that the caused event has taken place, as illustrated in (132a, b).<sup>29</sup>

<sup>29</sup> The Korean morphological causative has generally been considered to be implicative (see e.g. C. Lee 1973:140 and Haiman 1983:799). As illustrated in (132a, b), however, this cannot be right.

(132) a. *Inho-ka Mina-eykey chayk-ul ilk-hi-ess-nuntey*  
 Inho-Nom Mina-Dat book-Acc read-CM-Past-but

*Mina-ka kkuthnay ilk-ci.anh-ass-ta.*  
 Mina-Nom persistently read-not-Past-Ind

'Inho (tried to) make Mina read the book, but she persistently didn't read it (i.e. she persisted in not reading it).'<sup>30</sup>

b. *nay-ka mul-ul sip pun tongan-ina kkulh-i-ess-nunthey*  
 I-Nom water-Acc ten minute as.long.as boil-CM-Past-but

*mul-i an kkulh-ess-ta.*  
 water-Nom not boil-Past-Ind

'I (tried to) boil the water as long as ten minutes, but it didn't boil.'

The morphological causative is not implicative, as seen in (132a, b). If we then take the Caused-Passive CMC as "derived" in some sense from the morphological causative, the non-implicative semantics will carry over from one construction to the other. Now the canceled implicature in (131) becomes motivated and reasonable. Inho tried to get himself embraced by Mina, but the event did not take place; and the second conjunct explicitly says why. The caused-passive clause in (131) is therefore not a passive; hence its subject is not just a patient (endpoint), but also an initiator.

A caused-passive clause can take the imperative, as in (133)

(133) *"emma-hanthey an-ki-ci com ma!"*<sup>31</sup>  
 Mom-Dat embrace-CM-ci please Neg.Imp

'Please, don't lean against me!'

<sup>30</sup> In the English translations of (132a, b), *tried to* has been added though the Korean sentences have no comparable expression, because English causative verbs like *make* and *cause* do imply that the caused event has taken place.

<sup>31</sup> I heard *ayng-ki-ta* instead of *an-ki-ta*, when (133) was uttered. For the phonological change from *an-ki-ta* to *ayng-ki-ta*, see footnote 9.

(Lit.: 'Don't get (yourself) embraced by Mom!')

The attested example (133) was said by a mother whose child was annoying her by leaning against her persistently. If (133) were a passive sentence in which the mother was the agent (*Don't get embraced by Mom!*), it would not be an appropriate utterance in such a context: the mother did not actually embrace her child, the child merely leaned against her. Furthermore, example (133) is in the imperative mode, which is a common test-frame for agenthood of the subject. The subject in (133) should thus be an agent.

Sentence (134), too, shows that the subject of the Caused-Passive CMC is an agent (initiator) as well as a patient (endpoint).

(134) *Inho-ka Mina-uy tonguy-to epsi Mina-eykey an-ki-ess-ta.*  
 Inho-Nom Mina-Gen consent-even without Mina-Dat embrace-CM-  
 Past-Ind

'Inho got (himself) embraced by Mina even without her (Mina's) consent.'

(i.e. 'Inho leaned against Mina even without her consent.')

If the dative-marked nominal were only a passive-agent, (134) should be odd semantically: Mina embraced Inho without her own (Mina's) consent. Sentence (134), however, is fully natural. It describes a situation in which Inho, without Mina's consent, moved toward her to get embraced by her. Again, (134) indicates that the subject is the initiator though he is also an affected entity.<sup>32</sup>

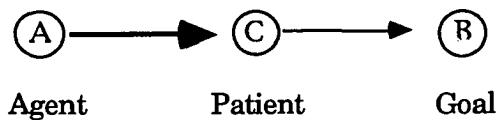
It should now be clear that the Caused-Passive CMC is not a passive construction; its subject, rather, is the initiator of the whole event denoted by the CM verb. In the following, I will consider the relationship between the Caused-Passive CMC and the morphological causative, a connection I have already

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<sup>32</sup> I owe this test frame and example (134) to In-Seok Yang.

appealed to in discussing example (131). As discussed in Sections 2.3.2 and 4.3, the function of the morphological causative is almost completely restricted to the expression of direct causation. Most extant causative CM verbs derived from transitive root verbs have become ditransitive verbs (see Section 5.3.2). The skeletal meaning of prototypical ditransitive verbs is that the agent acts to cause the transfer of an object to the goal. This was represented schematically in (45b), repeated here as (135).

(135) Direct causation (ditransitive) event schema



The caused-passive event schema appears to be closely related to the direct causation (ditransitive) event schema. To see this, let us compare the following two sentences involving the CM verb *an-ki-ta*, derived from the root verb *an-ta* 'hold.in.arms, embrace'.

(136) *Inho-ka Mina-eykey senmul-ul an-ki-ess-ta.*  
 Inho-Nom Mina-Dat gift-Acc hold.in.arms-CM-Past-Ind

'Inho gave a gift to Mina.'

(137) *Inho-ka Mina-eykey an-ki-ess-ta.*  
 Inho-Nom Mina-Dat hold.in.arms/embrace-CM-Past-Ind

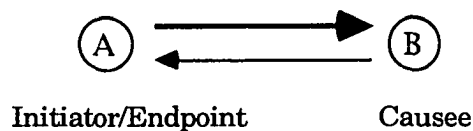
'Inho got (himself) embraced by Mina.' (i.e. 'Inho moved close to Mina, resulting in his being embraced by her (Mina).')

In the Ditransitive CMC sentence (136), the transferred entity is a gift, i.e. an entity which differs from the agent. In the Caused-Passive CMC sentence (137), by contrast, the transferred entity is the subject itself. That is, the

subject causes the transfer of the self from one location to another. Such self-agentive "translational" motions are coded crosslinguistically either by intransitive verbs or by derived middle verbs: the transferred entity is not separately coded as an object (pro)nominal (Kemmer 1993, Section 3.2). In (137), too, the transferred entity, which is the agent himself, is not coded separately as an object (pro)nominal.<sup>33</sup>

This self-agentive translational motion (Inho's getting close to Mina) naturally leads to the caused event (Mina's embracing Inho), though the caused event does not have to take place, as seen in example (131) (Mina's pushing Inho away). The dative-marked nominal *Mina* in (137) thus functions as the causee, and the subject *Inho* is in turn affected by the action of the causee. The subject in the Caused-Passive CMC sentence (137), therefore, is both the initiator of the whole event denoted by the CM verb *an-ki-ta*, and also the endpoint, the affected entity. The caused-passive event type is represented schematically in (138).

(138) The caused-passive event schema



CM verbs (in the Caused-Passive CMC) indicating that the subject *physically* transfers the self as a whole to another person are lexically quite restricted. In fact, I can think only of *an-ki-ta* in (137) and *ep-hi-ta* in (139).

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<sup>33</sup> We will see more such cases in the following two sections, where the CM verb alone expresses self-agentive translational motion, and the transferred entity, which is the subject itself, is not coded as a separate object (pro)nominal.

- (139) *Inho-ka Mina-eykey ep-hi-ess-ta.*  
 Inho-Nom Mina-Dat carry.on.the.back-CM-Past-Ind

'Inho got (himself) carried on the back by Mina.' (i.e. Inho got on Mina's back, resulting in his being carried on the back by her.)

A more frequent use involves *metaphorical* transfer of the self. As we have seen in Section 4.4.2, under certain grammatical circumstances (e.g. intentional adverbial; imperative) the subject of an Affective CMC (II) is understood to be volitional, as in (140a), or to be able to control the sententially denoted event, as in (140b). Such an Affective CMC (II) sentence can in fact be regarded as an instance of the Caused-Passive CMC rather than a "real" passive.

- (140) a. *Inho-ka Mina-eykey ilpule cap-hi-ess-ta.*  
 Inho-Nom Mina-Dat on.purpose catch-CM-Past-Ind

'Inho on purpose got (himself) caught by Mina.'

- b. *Mina-eykey cap-hi-e.la.*  
 Mina-Dat catch-CM-Imp

'Get (yourself) caught by Mina.'

The subject in (140a, b) is not simply an affected entity, but is also understood as the initiator of the event denoted by the CM verb; the subject gets himself into the resultant state in which he is the affected entity. Lakoff (1993) shows that states are metaphorically understood as locations. In examples like (140a, b), then, the subject metaphorically gets the self from one location to another. Such examples, accordingly, fit the caused-passive event schema in (138).

#### 4.5.2 Reflexive CMC

A certain number of CM verbs derived from either intransitive or transitive root verbs are used as semantically reflexive verbs, that is, the subject acts on himself, as illustrated in the (b) examples below.

- (141) a. *Inho-nun entek-ccok-ulo mal-ul tal-li-ess-ta.*  
 Inho-Top hill-direction-toward horse-Acc run-CM-Past-Ind  
 'Inho ran the horse toward the hill (riding on it).'
- b. *Inho-nun entek-ccok-ulo (\*cakicasin-ul) tal-li-ess-ta.*  
 Inho-Top hill-direction-toward ( self-Acc ) run-CM-Past-Ind  
 'Inho ran toward the hill.'
- (142) a. *Inho-ka koyangi-uy mok-ey pangwul-lul maytal-ass-ta.*  
 Inho-Nom cat-Gen neck-Loc bell-Acc hang-Past-Ind  
 'Inho hung a bell on the cat's neck.'
- b. *Inho-ka emma-uy chima-ey (\*cakicasin-ul) maytal-li-ess-ta.*  
 Inho-Nom mother-Gen skirt-Loc ( self-Acc ) hang-CM-Past-Ind  
 'Inho clung to his mother's skirt.'  
 (Lit. 'Inho hung (himself) to his mother's skirt.')

The CM verb *tal-li-ta* in (141a), as mentioned in Section 2.4.2.3, is a CM causative verb derived from the obsolete intransitive root verb *tat-ta* 'run'. The identical CM verb is also used when the subject "runs himself" from one location to another, i.e. gets himself from X to Y by running, as in (141b). In this case, an overt reflexive element is not allowed. The CM verb *maytal-li-ta* in (142b) is derived from the transitive root verb *maytal-ta* 'hang' in (142a). This CM verb is also used, when the subject hangs himself onto something, as in (142b); again, a reflexive element is not allowed.

Another example of a reflexive CM verb built on an intransitive root is given in (143b).

- (143) a. *Inho-ka ecey wuli cip-ey tull(u)-ess-ta.*  
 Inho-Nom yesterday our/my house-Loc drop.by-Past-Ind  
 'Inho dropped by my house yesterday.'
- b. *Inho-ka ecey wuli cip-ey tull(u)-i-ess-ta.*  
 Inho-Nom yesterday our/my house-Loc drop.by-CM-Past-Ind  
 'Inho dropped by my house yesterday.'

Here the CM verb *tull(u)-i-ta*, derived from the intransitive root verb *tullu-ta* 'drop by', cannot be used as a causative verb but occurs in the Reflexive CMC, as in (143b). I cannot find any meaning difference between (143a) and (143b).

Another example of a reflexive CM verb built on a transitive root appears in (144b).

- (144) a. *Inho-ka kapang-ul chayksang mith-ey chepak-a.twu.ess-ta.*  
 Inho-Nom bag-Acc desk under throw-Asp-Ind  
 'Inho has thrown the bag under the desk.'
- b. *Inho-ka chayksang mith-ey chepak-hi-e.iss-ta.*  
 Inho-Nom desk under throw-CM-Asp-Ind  
 'Inho has gotten ( lit. thrown (himself) ) under the desk.'

The CM verb *chepak-hi-ta*, derived from the transitive root verb *chepak-ta* 'throw [something hard into a corner]', is used as a reflexive CM verb in (144b). Sentence (144b) would fit a situation in which Inho has gone under the desk on his own and is still there as if he had been thrown there.

All the Reflexive CMC examples above involve self-translational motion in one way or another. Translational motion is "self-causation" in that one acts on the self to propel the self. A Caused-Passive CMC sentence, as discussed in the preceding section, also involves the subject's self-translational motion, either physical or metaphorical. In this latter case, however, there is another

available entity (the causee) that can perform the action denoted by the root verb on the subject. In a reflexive CMC clause, no such entity is involved.

### 4.5.3 Reciprocal CMC

Some CM verbs derived from transitive root verbs are used to express reciprocal situations, as illustrated in (145b).

- (145) a. *Inho-ka mul-kwa kilum-ul sekk-ess-ta.*  
 Inho-Nom water-and oil-Acc mix-Past-Ind  
 'Inho mixed the water and oil.'
- b. *mul-kwa kilum-un sekk-i-ci.anh-nun-ta.*  
 water-and oil-Top mix[Vt]-CM-not-Pres-Ind  
 'Water and oil do not mix.'

Here the CM verb *sekk-i-ta* is derived from the transitive root verb *sekk-ta* 'mix', and is used in the CM reciprocal example (145b). Some CM verbs used in the Reciprocal CM Construction are given in (146).

| (146) | <u>Transitive root verbs</u> | <u>Intransitive CM-derived verbs</u> |
|-------|------------------------------|--------------------------------------|
|       | <i>sekk-ta</i> 'mix'         | <i>sekk-i-ta</i> 'mix'               |
|       | <i>elk-ta</i> 'intertwine'   | <i>elk-hi-ta</i> 'be entangled'      |
|       | <i>kko-ta</i> 'twist'        | <i>kko-i-ta</i> 'twist'              |
|       | <i>phul-ta</i> 'untie'       | <i>phul-li-ta</i> 'untie'            |

The Reciprocal CMC differs from the ordinary reciprocal construction: in the former, the CM verb alone expresses a reciprocal situation (see (145b)), whereas in the latter the reciprocal element *selo* 'each other' is required, as in (147).

(147) *Inho-wa Toli-ka selo ppyam-ul ttayli-ess-ta.*  
 Inho-and Toli-Nom each.other face-Acc slap-Past-Ind

'Inho and Toli slapped each other on the face.'

If (147) did not have the reciprocal element *selo* 'each other', it would fit a situation in which Inho and Toli slapped someone else's face.

In the ordinary reciprocal example (147), the two involved actions may be either simultaneous or sequential. This is a characteristic of ordinary reciprocal constructions (cf. Haiman 1980 and Lichtenberk 1985). Reciprocal situations expressed by CM verbs, on the other hand, are "naturally reciprocal"--processes such as mixing and twisting, as seen in (146). In these naturally reciprocal events, as pointed out by Kemmer (1993, Section 4.1.3), the two involved relations are inherently simultaneous.

Similar to reciprocal situations are "collective" and "chaining" situations, which are exemplified in (148a, b), respectively.

(148) a. *They gathered in the hall.*

b. *The soldiers followed one another.*

In a collective situation, "two or more participants are jointly involved . . . in identical roles" (Lichtenberk 1985:28). Each participant in a collective situation has a dual role: that of performer of the activity and that of a companion of the other participants. What constitutes the collective situation is not the separate activity of each participant, but the ensemble of such activities. A chaining situation consists of events involving a chain of paired relations in an ordered series of participants. In the event described in (148b), for example, each participant, except the first and last, both follows and is followed by some other participant. These situation types are encoded by reciprocal (or reflex-

ive) constructions in many languages (cf. Lichtenberk 1985, Kemmer 1993, and Pederson 1991)--including Korean, in which some CM verbs can express collective and chaining situations, as illustrated in (149a-c) and (150a, b), respectively.

- (149) a. *salam.tul-i han ccok-ulo mol-li-ess-ta.*  
 people-Nom one side-toward drive/chase-CM-Past-Ind

'People crowded to one side.'

- b. *manhun salamtul-i mo(u)-i-ess-ta.*  
 many people-Nom gather[Vt]-CM-Past-Ind

'Many people gathered.'

- c. *haksayng-tul-i tases phay-lo nanwu-i-ess-ta.*  
 student-Pl-Nom five group-into divide[Vt]-CM-Past-Ind

'The students divided into five groups.'

- (150) a. *i sikan-ey-nun cha-ka mil-li-n-ta.*  
 this time-at-Top car-Nom push-CM-Pres-Ind

'Around this time cars are congested.' (Lit. 'Around this time cars push (back) one another.')

- b. *menci-ka ssah-i-ko.iss-ta.*  
 dust-Nom pile[Vt]-CM-Asp-Ind

'Dust is piling up.'

The examples in (149a-c) bring out an important point: collective situations expressed by CM verbs involve *naturally* collective notions such as gathering and dividing. And in both chaining and collective situations where CM verbs are used, the multiple actions are inherently simultaneous. This is just what we saw above for CM reciprocals. Indeed, as Kemmer points out, such inherent simultaneity (or natural cooccurrence) is characteristic of reciprocals that are

expressed by middle verbs.

It has repeatedly been pointed out that the reciprocal situation is similar to the reflexive situation (cf. Faltz 1977, Geniūšiene 1987, Kemmer 1993, and Lichtenberk 1985). In both, one participant plays the dual role of actor and undergoer, and the participants are less individuated than the participants in typical non-reflexive or non-reciprocal transitive situations. Lichtenberk (1985) argues that reciprocal and reflexive situations are often encoded by the same means in numerous genetically as well as geographically diverse languages, because of the similarity between the two types of situations. Korean is one such language: CM middle type verbs provide a means for expressing both reciprocal and reflexive situations.

#### 4.5.4 Stimulus-Experiencer CMC

Variation in coding the stimulus and the experiencer in a mental event is found both across languages and within a single language (cf. Croft 1991, Section 5.5.1). An experiencer may be coded either as subject or as (indirect) object, as illustrated in (151a, b), respectively.

(151) a. *Chris fears the police.*

b. *The police frighten Chris.*

In Korean, mental events may be expressed by CM verbs with a stimulus subject and experiencer indirect object. I will call this the "Stimulus-Experiencer" CMC, exemplified in (152a, b).

(152) a. *ku san-i (na-eykey-nun) po-i-n-ta.*  
           the mountain-Nom ( I-Dat-Top ) see-CM-Pres-Ind

'The mountain is visible (to me).'

- b. *ku san-i ne-eykey-to po-i-ni?*  
 the mountain you-Dat-also see-CM-Int

'Is the mountain visible to you, too?'

Here the subject is a stimulus which causes the dative experiencer to enter a visual perception (see below for further discussion). Sentences like (152) have generally been regarded as passive sentences in the literature. In the following, I will argue that the Stimulus-Experience CMC is not a passive type, but a middle type, construction.

The root verb *po-ta* of the CM verb *po-i-ta* 'be visible' in (152a, b) can mean 'look' or 'see', depending on context; moreover, the Affective CMC (II) has the same schematic form as the Stimulus-Experiencer CMC, i.e. [NP-Nom NP-Dat Vt-{CM}-]. One might think, therefore, that (152a), for example, ought to also have a true passive meaning, *The mountain is looked at by me*. This, however, is not the case. It is clearly shown in (153) that sentences like (152a, b) are not passive sentences.

- (153) *Inho-uy tapanci-ka po-i-ciman, na-nun po-ci.anh-ass-ta.*  
 Inho-Gen answer.sheet-Nom see-CM-though I-Top look-not-Past-Ind

'Though Inho's answer sheet was visible, I did not look at it.'

If the concessive clause in (153) were truly an instance of passive, (153) would be semantically anomalous and self-contradictory (*Though Inho's answer sheet was looked at [by me], I did not look at it*). However, (153) is a fully natural sentence: one may refrain from looking at someone else's answer sheet, even when it is visible.

Sentences like (154) provide another argument that the dative-marked nominal in the Stimulus-Experiencer CMC is not a passive-agent, but an experiencer. The salient fact about such sentences is that the "seer" is not first-person but third-person.

- (154) \**san-i*                      *Inho-eykey* *po-i-n-ta.*  
           mountain-Nom    Inho-Dat        see/look-CM-Pres-Ind

(Intended: 'The mountain is visible to Inho.')

If the dative-marked nominal (*Inho*) in (154) were really a passive-agent (*The mountain is looked at by Inho*), (154) should be acceptable, like the Affective CMC (II) sentence (155).

- (155) *Inho-ka*    *Mina-eykey* *cap-hi-ess-ta.*  
           Inho-Nom    Mina-Dat        catch-CM-Past-Ind

'Inho got caught by Mina.'

This contrast between (154) and (155) suggests that the dative-marked nominal in (154) is not a passive-agent. If it is an experiencer, on the other hand, the unacceptability of (154) can be accounted for by the following important characteristic of Korean grammar.

In Korean, another person's mental events (perception, cognition, etc.) cannot be reported directly; an evidential marker must accompany the report.<sup>34</sup> This is illustrated in the following examples:

- (156) a. *ce-nun* *chwu-e.yo.*  
           I-Top    be.cold-Ind

'I am cold.'

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<sup>34</sup> A similar phenomenon is discussed for Japanese in Kuroda (1973).

- b. \**Inho-ka chwu-e.yo.*  
 Inho-Nom be.cold-Ind

(Intended: 'Inho is cold.')

- c. *Inho-ka chwu-un kes kath-ta.*  
 Inho-Nom be.cold-Pres Comp seem-Ind

'It seems that Inho is cold.'

One can directly report one's own mental experience, as in (156a). By contrast, someone else's mental experience is inherently inaccessible and hence cannot be reported directly, as seen in (156b).<sup>35</sup> It can, however, be reported with an evidential marker, as in (156c). These sentences are analogous to those involving CM perception verbs. Just as in (156b), Inho's visual perception in (154) cannot be directly reported. However, as in (156c), his visual perception can be reported with an evidential marker, as illustrated in (157):

- (157) *san-i Inho-eykey po-i-nun kes kath-ta.*  
 mountain-Nom Inho-Dat see-CM-Pres Comp seem-Ind

'It seems that the mountain is visible to Inho.'

Since the acceptability of passive sentences is not in general affected by an accompanying evidential marker, (155) and (157) should not differ in acceptability if (155) were a passive sentence. The fact that there is a difference in acceptability, and that it depends on the presence of an accompanying evidential marker, argues strongly that the dative-marked nominal in the Stimulus-Experiencer CMC is indeed not a passive-agent, but an experiencer.

In the Stimulus-Experiencer CMC, the default experiencer is the speaker, as in (152a); in general, a first-person experiencer need not be explicitly coded

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<sup>35</sup> Another person's mental experience may be reported directly if an omniscient point of view is assumed, in literary genres such as the novel. I explicitly exclude such an omniscient viewpoint in this section.

(see (153)). For an experiencer other than the speaker, an evidential expression is required, as in (157). In the interrogative mode, by contrast, the default experiencer is the hearer, as in (152b): one can ask the hearer directly whether he/she is experiencing a mental event.

CM verbs derived from non-perception root verbs can also appear in the Stimulus-Experiencer CMC:

- (158) a. *i nonmun-un swipkey ilk-hi-ney!*  
 this paper-Top easily read-CM-Retrospective

'My! This paper is easy to read!' (i.e. 'I've noticed that I am reading this paper easily.')

- b. *yocum swul-un mek-hi-e.to,*  
 these.days liquor-Top drink-CM-though,  
*pap-un totaychey mek-hi-ci.l.anh-a.*<sup>36</sup>  
 food-Top at.all eat-CM-not-Ind

'These days, liquor goes down, but food does not at all.'

Such sentences are parallel in every way to those involving verbs of perception and mental experience. Sentence (158a) does not report the fact that *This paper was read easily by me*, but conveys the speaker's own experience of reading the paper easily--as if the paper were in a sense causing the speaker to experience an easy reading.<sup>37</sup> Similarly, sentence (158b) does not present a factual

<sup>36</sup> The Korean verb *mek-ta* 'eat' can be used for both solid food and liquids, though the verb *masi-ta* 'drink' is specialized for the latter.

<sup>37</sup> The retrospective ending *-ney* in (158a), which is pronounced on a level intonation, is used to vividly express a sudden perception of the speaker, rather than to inform the hearer. Compare the following sentences:

- (i) a. *na-nun sakwa-lul mek-ko.iss-ta.*  
 I-Top apple-Acc eat-Asp-Ind  
 'I am eating an apple.'  
 b. *nay-ka sakwa-lul mek-ko.iss-ney!*  
 I-Nom apple-Acc eat-Asp-Retrospective  
 '(I notice that) I am eating an apple.'

report that *These days, though (a lot of) liquor is consumed (by me), food is not at all*, but rather conveys the speaker's experience that liquor, but not food, is getting consumed these days. That is, liquor, but not food, in effect impels the speaker to consume.

In the Stimulus-Experiencer CMC, as mentioned above, a third-person experiencer cannot occur without an evidential marker. In sentence (158b), too, a third-person experiencer cannot occur without an evidential marker, as shown in (159a); but it can occur with an evidential, as in (159b).

- (159) a. \**onul-un Inho-eykey pap-i mek-hi-n-ta.*  
 today-Top Inho-Dat food-Nom eat-CM-Pres-Ind

(Intended: 'Today food goes down for Inho.')

- b. *onul-un Inho-eykey pap-i mek-hi-nun kes kath-ta.*<sup>38</sup>  
 today-Top Inho-Dat food-Nom drink-CM-Pres Comp seem-Ind

'It seems that food goes down for Inho today.'

(i.e. It seems that Inho can take food today.)

As noted in Section 4.4.2, an inanimate subject cannot occur with the CM verb *mek-hi-ta*, when it is used as an affective/passive verb:

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Sentence (ia) with the indicative ending *-ta* may be used to inform the addressee of the fact that the speaker is eating an apple. Sentence (ib) with the retrospective ending *-ney*, by contrast, may be said to oneself as an expression of surprise, when the speaker suddenly realizes that he is eating an apple.

<sup>38</sup> Sentence (159b) sounds better if the dative case is replaced by the nominative case, as in (i).

- (i) *onul-un Inho-ka pap-i mek-hi-nun kes kath-ta.*  
 today-Top Inho-Nom food-Nom drink-CM-Pres Comp seem-Ind  
 'It seems that food goes down for Inho today.'  
 (i.e. It seems that Inho can take food today.)

It is not clear why this happens.

- (160) \**ku sakwa-ka Inho-eykey mek-hi-ess-ta.*  
 the apple-Nom Inho-Dat eat-CM-Past-Ind

(Intended: 'The apple got/was eaten by Inho.')

This argues that (159b) is not a passive. Furthermore, as remarked in connection with (155) and (157), presence vs. absence of an evidential marker should have nothing to do with the grammaticality of *passive* sentences. Yet (159b) is acceptable and (159a) is not. This again argues that (159b) is not a passive sentence, but an instance of the Stimulus-Experiencer CMC.

In the Stimulus-Experiencer CMC, the subject is a patient. At the same time it also functions as the stimulus-causer of the whole event denoted by the CM-predicate, for it causes the experiencer to enter a mental state. Take, for example, the CM stimulus-experiencer sentence (161).

- (161) *san-i po-i-n-ta.*  
 mountain see-CM-Pres-Ind

'The mountain is visible (to me).'

Here the subject (*mountain*) is a patient/endpoint in the event of seeing. It is also a stimulus-causer in that it causes the experiencer to enter a mental state: the perception relation is *attributed* to some inherent properties of the stimulus-subject. The subject of the Stimulus-Experiencer CMC thus has a dual role, as initiator (stimulus) and endpoint of the event denoted by the root verb. This kind of dual role of the subject is a defining property of the middle voice.

#### 4.5.5 Facilitative CMC

The Facilitative CMC, in its two subtypes, is exemplified in (162) and

(163).<sup>39</sup>

(162) *i chayk-un cal phal-li-n-ta.*<sup>40</sup>  
 this book-Top well sell-CM-Pres-Ind

'This book sells well.'

(163) *i ppaltay-nun cal ppal-li-n-ta.*  
 this straw-Top well suck-CM-Pres-Ind

'This straw sucks well.'

In (162) an entity which is normally a patient in the event denoted by the root verb shows up as the subject, and the implicit agent (understood to exist) is not coded. This subtype of Facilitative CMC will be discussed under Type A below. In (163) the subject is an entity which normally bears the instrumental thematic role in the event denoted by the root verb, and neither the patient nor agent (both understood to exist) is coded. This subtype of Facilitative CMC will be examined under Type B below.

Facilitative CMC sentences typically include an expression indicating the ease/difficulty with which the event denoted by the root verb takes place, as seen in (162) and (163). Other means of conveying this notion can also be used, as in (164a, b).

(164) a. *i swul-un mul kathi mek-hi-pnita.*  
 this liquor-Top water like drink-CM-Pres.Ind

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<sup>39</sup> I use Faltz's (1977) term *facilitative* here rather than the more traditional term *middle*, since the latter is used in this study as a cover term for several middle type CMC's; and moreover, sentences of this type typically indicate ease/difficulty of occurrence of the event, which the term *facilitative* explicitly suggests. The *book sells well* construction has been called by other names as well: *activo-passive* (Jespersen 1928) and *patient-subject* (Van Oosten 1977 and Lakoff 1977).

<sup>40</sup> In (162) and (163), the subject is marked by the topic marker rather than the nominative case. This is normal: though the subject of the Facilitative CMC can be marked by the nominative case, it is more typically marked by the topic marker. This point will be discussed below.

'This liquor drinks like water.'

- b. *ku chayk-un [nalkay-ka tohi-n-tusi] phal-li-n-ta.*  
 the book-Top [wing-Nom sprout-Pres-as.if] sell-CM-Pres-Ind

'The book sells as if wings sprouted (i.e. as if it had wings).'

### **Type A: Patient-Subject**

Consider the following sentences:

- (165) a. *i os-un cal ppal-li-n-ta.*  
 these clothes-Top easily wash[Vt]-CM-Pres-Ind

'These clothes wash easily.'

- b. *i wusan-nun cal cep-hi-n-ta.*  
 this umbrella-Top easily fold[Vt]-CM-Pres-Ind

'This umbrella folds up easily.'

It is noteworthy that the subject in these sentences is marked with the topic marker. This is no accident. These Facilitative CMC sentences are used to indicate some property/quality of the subject that is relevant to the event denoted by the root verb, rather than to express an actual event. When a property is predicated of an entity, the entity is typically marked by the topic marker. This applies to CMC sentences, but also to sentences with simple verbs. Compare the following sentences:

- (166) a. *kay-nun cic-nun-ta.*  
 dog-Top bark-Pres-Ind

'Dogs bark.'

- b. *kay-ka cic-nun-ta.*  
 dog-Nom bark-Pres-Ind

'A certain dog (or some dogs) bark(s).' (i.e. A dog is barking.)

or 'It is a dog (but not, say, a cat) that barks.'

Sentence (166a) with the topic marker conveys a property that is true of all dogs. By contrast, (166b) with the nominative case typically expresses some actual situation in which a certain dog (or dogs) barks. Sentence (166b) can also express a property of all dogs; if so, it has a focus reading, as suggested in the second English translation.

The subject of the Facilitative CMC in fact usually takes the topic marker. When it takes the nominative, the sentence has a focus reading.

(167) *i os-i cal ppal-li-n-ta.*  
these clothes-Nom easily wash-CM-Pres-Ind

'It is these clothes (but not, say, those clothes) that wash easily.'

In the following examples, the subject of the Facilitative CMC will consistently be marked by the topic marker, since such a sentence represents the "neutral" facilitative reading.

In the events described in the Facilitative CMC sentences, an agent is understood to exist, but not coded:

(168) *?\*i wusan-un Inho-eykey cal cep-hi-n-ta.*  
this umbrella-Top Inho-Dat easily fold-CM-Pres-Ind

(Intended: 'This umbrella is easily folded up by Inho.'

or 'This umbrella folds up easily for/by Inho.')

If (168) is acceptable at all, it seems to convey the idea that the umbrella (always) makes Inho (but not others) fold it up easily, as suggested in the second English translation. Under this second reading, Inho in (168) is a kind of beneficiary. When such a beneficiary is generic, as in (169), the sentence is fully acceptable.

- (169) *i wusan-un nwiƙwu-eykeyna cal cep-hi-n-ta.*  
 this umbrella-Top anybody-Dat easily fold-CM-Pres-Ind

'This umbrella folds up easily for anybody.'

This difference between generic and specific beneficiary seems to be related to the function of the Facilitative CMC. This construction is used, as mentioned above, to describe some inherent property or quality of the subject's referent. Such an inherent property or quality of an object is in general not restricted to any specific user, but holds true for anyone: an umbrella, for example, is not typically made to function in a certain way for one specific user, but for everybody. The Facilitative CMC thus naturally favors a generic but not a specific beneficiary.

As pointed out by Van Oosten (1984) in relation to the English construction *The book sells well*, in Facilitative CMC sentences the agent is irrelevant from the speaker's point of view. In this type of sentence, responsibility for what happens is attributed to a property/quality of the entity undergoing the denoted process, i.e. the patient-subject.<sup>41</sup> In other words, it is some inherent quality of the subject's referent that enables the event denoted by the root verb to take place in the manner indicated by the qualifying expression (e.g. *easily*). In this sense, the subject in the Facilitative CMC is not simply a patient, but is also conceived as a responsible, though not a volitional, causer.

The Facilitative CMC is in many ways closely related to the Stimulus-Experiencer CMC discussed in Section 4.5.4; the two are exemplified and juxtaposed in (170a, b), respectively.

- (170) a. *i swul-un mul kathi mek-hi-pnita.*  
 this liquor-Top water like drink-CM-Ind

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<sup>41</sup> See Van Oosten (1984) for detailed discussion of this point.

'This liquor drinks like water.'

- b. *san-i po-i-n-ta.*  
 mountain see-CM-Pres-Ind  
 'The mountain is visible (to me).'

In both examples, the patient appears as the subject, and responsibility for what happens is attributed to an inherent quality of the subject rather than to the agent or experiencer. In the CM stimulus-experiencer sentence (170b), an inherent quality of the subject causes the experiencer to enter a mental state while engaging in a visual perception. Similarly, the CM facilitative sentence (170a) can be paraphrased in stimulus-experiencer terms: *If anybody tries this liquor, he/she will experience the fact that it goes down like water.* The two constructions, however, differ in several respects. First, the Facilitative CMC is used to express a property/quality of the subject, whereas the Stimulus-Experiencer CMC is used to express the speaker's (or experiencer's) actual experience; second, the default marker of the subject is the topic marker in the Facilitative CMC, but the nominative case in the Stimulus-Experiencer CMC; and finally, the Facilitative CMC typically involves a qualifying adverbial, whereas the Stimulus-Experiencer CMC may or may not do so.

### **Type B: Instrumental-Subject**

The subject in the Facilitative CMC can also be an instrumental, as in (171a, b):

- (171) a. *i ppaltay-nun cal ppal-li-n-ta.*  
 this straw-Top well suck-CM-Pres-Ind

'This straw sucks well.'

- b. *i pi-nun cal ssul-li-n-ta.*  
 this broom-Top well sweep-CM-Pres-Ind

'This broom sweeps well.'

Here a straw is an instrument in the act of sucking, and a broom is an instrument in the act of sweeping. In the Type A Facilitative CMC the subject is a patient; in Type B it is an instrumental.

As in Type A, sentences of this type too are typically not used to describe an actual event, but to express some property/quality of the subject's referent that is relevant to the event denoted by the root verb. In uttering a sentence of this type, it is irrelevant from the speaker's point of view who uses the instrument (e.g. the straw in (171a)). If an understood agent is expressed, such the sentence is normally unacceptable or at best marginal, as illustrated in (172).

(172) *?\*i pi-nun Inho-eykey cal ssul-li-n-ta.*  
 this broom-Top Inho-Dat well sweep-CM-Pres-Ind

(Intended: 'This broom sweeps well for/by Inho.')

With respect to the dative-marked nominal, the Type B Facilitative CMC is similar to Type A. If (172) is acceptable at all, it conveys the idea that the broom somehow makes Inho use it well. When the dative-marked nominal is generic, however, the sentence is acceptable, as in (173).

(173) *i pi-nun nwukwu-eykeyna cal ssul-li-n-ta.*  
 this broom-Top anybody-Dat well sweep-CM-Pres-Ind

'This broom sweeps well for anybody.'

As in Type A, the dative-marked nominal appears to be closer to a beneficiary than an agent. The explanation offered above in connection with the Type A Facilitative CMC examples (168) and (169) also provides an account for the difference in acceptability between specific and generic beneficiary seen in

(172) and (173): in the Type B Facilitative CMC, too, a generic beneficiary works better than a specific one because an inherent property or quality of a broom is not restricted to one specific user, but holds true for anyone.

In Type B Facilitative sentences, the role of patient, like that of agent, is pragmatically deemphasized to a large degree. An understood patient is not typically expressed at all. However, it can be expressed, and if so it is marked by the nominative case, as illustrated in (174).

- (174) *i pi-nun/ka matang-i cal ssul-li-n-ta.*  
 this broom-Top/Nom yard-Nom well sweep-CM-Pres-Ind  
 'This broom yard-sweeps well.'

In sentences like (174), where the patient surfaces as a nominative, the CM facilitative sentence looks quite similar to a double-nominative sentence of the sort exemplified in (175a, b).

- (175) a. *Inho-nun/ka ton-i com iss-ta.*  
 Inho-Top/Nom money-Nom some exist/be-Ind  
 'Inho has some money.'
- b. *Inho-nun/ka ton-i philyoha-ta.*  
 Inho-Top/Nom money-Nom need-Ind  
 'Inho need money.'

It is not clear, however, what structural configuration a sentence like (174) should have. Another puzzle is this: even though a generic beneficiary and a patient can occur individually and separately in this construction (see (173) and (174)), they cannot occur together, as illustrated in (176).

- (176) \**i pi-nun matang-i nwukwu-eykeyna cal ssul-li-n-ta.*  
 this broom-Top yard-Nom anybody-Dat well sweep-CM-Pres-Ind

(Intended: 'This broom yard-sweeps well for anybody.')

The Type B Facilitative CMC is functionally very similar to Type A: such sentences are used to indicate some inherent property/quality of the subject's referent, a property which is relevant to the event denoted by the root verb. It is this inherent property/quality which enables the event denoted by the root verb to take place in the way indicated by the qualifying adverbial (e.g. *well*) that typically occurs in such sentences.

#### 4.5.6 Spontaneous Event CMC

CM verbs built on transitive root verbs can be used to express events construed as taking place spontaneously. Two subtypes can be distinguished, illustrated in (177) and (178).

(177) *hay-ka pakkwu-i-ess-ta.*  
year-Nom change[Vt]-CM-Past-Ind

'The year has changed.'

(178) *nwun-i cakkwu kam-ki-n-ta.*  
eye-Nom again.and.again close[Vt]-CM-Pres-Ind

'My eyes keep closing.' (i.e. 'I cannot keep my eyes open.')

The event described in (177) is a natural phenomenon, i.e. something which is typically conceived as taking place by itself. Not only such natural phenomena, but also events such as *The door opened by itself*, can be expressed by CM verbs built on transitive root verbs. Sentences of this type will be examined under Type A below. Such sentences have sometimes been regarded as passives (e.g. K. Lee 1987 and K. Hong 1991). In the discussion below, I will argue

that they are not passive, but middle, sentences.

Sentence (178) conveys the idea that speaker feels that his eyes keep closing regardless of his intention (because, for example, he is so sleepy). A number of CM verbs built on transitive roots can be used to express this kind of involuntary/uncontrollable bodily motion. Sentences of this type will be considered in Type B below.

### Type A: Changes of State

CM verbs built on transitive root verbs can be used to express situations designating a change of state of some entity. In such CM sentences, no agent entity is coded. Some examples are given in (179).

- (179) a. *ku catongmun-i catongulo yel-li-ess-taka*  
 the automatic.door-Nom automatically open[Vt]-CM-Past-and.then

*tat-hi-ess-ta.*  
 close[Vt]-CM-Past-Ind

'The automatic door opened automatically and then closed.'

- b. *haswukwu-ka cecello mak-hi-ess-ta.*  
 drainage-Nom by.itself block[Vt]-CM-Past-Ind

'The drainage blocked up by itself.'

- c. *kwutwukkun-i cecello phul-li-ess-ta.*  
 shoestring-Nom by.itself unlace-CM-Past-Ind

'The shoestring became unlaced by itself.'

Here all the sentences describe situations in which an inert entity undergoes a change of state. For any such situation, there are two modes of conceptualization that are reflected in human language: "The event can be treated as having a direct cause, or, alternatively, as occurring autonomously, without reference

to a causer" (Kemmer 1993:142). The events described in sentences (179a-c) are cases of the latter type.

Some natural phenomena are also expressed by CM verbs built on transitive root verbs:

- (180) a. *hay-ka pakkwu-i-ess-ta.*  
 year-Nom change[Vt]-CM-Past-Ind

'The year has changed.'

- b. *nalssi-ka phul-li-ess-ta.*  
 weather-Nom (untighten(?))-CM-Past-Ind

'The weather has gotten warm.'

For such natural phenomena, it is hard to even imagine what the cause might be. Such phenomena are simply conceived as taking place by themselves.

As remarked, sentences of this types have been regarded as passives (e.g. K. Lee 1987 and K. Hong 1991). Appealing in particular to sentences of this type, K. Lee (1987) claims that the Korean morphological passive in general is used to denote spontaneous processes. First of all, this claim is too strong to cover all the passive type CMC's that were discussed in Section 4.4; rather, much more salient feature of passive type CMC's (especially Affective CMC's) is that the subject is affected adversely. In addition, the sentences in (179) and (180) cannot be argued to be instances of passives. In these sentences, an agent is not assumed, nor can one be expressed. For an event where no entity is readily identifiable that might play a causal role as in (179a-c), or where such an entity "impossible" to identify as in (180a-b), the entity undergoing the change can properly be construed as undergoing the change autonomously. Events of this type differ from events expressed by true passives, which assume an explicit agent. Events of the type described in the above sentences

are expressed crosslinguistically either by middle-marked verbs or by intransitive verbs (cf. Kemmer 1993, Section 4.3.1).

**Type B: Involuntary/Uncontrollable Bodily Motion**

CM verbs built on transitive root verbs can also be used to express involuntary bodily motions, such as falling of eyelids or trembling. Consider the following sentences:

- (181) a. *na-nun nwun-ul kam-ass-ta.*  
 I-Top eye-Acc close-Past-Ind  
 'I closed my eyes.'
- b. *nwun-i cakkwu kam-ki-n-ta.*  
 eye-Nom repeatedly close[Vt]-CM-Pres-Ind  
 'My eyes keep closing.' (i.e. I cannot keep my eyes open.)

Sentence (181a) would typically fit a situation in which the speaker controls the action of eye-closing. By contrast, (181b) conveys the idea that the speaker's eyes are falling shut regardless of his intention: the eye-closing takes place spontaneously and is beyond his control. Sentences of this type typically involve a further implication of some sort. For example, (181b) typically implies that the speaker is sleepy.

Sentence (182) is another example of an involuntary bodily motion.

- (182) *mom-i cecello pipi kko-i-n-ta.*  
 body-Nom by.itself [mimetic for a twisting form] twist[Vt]-CM-Pres-Ind  
 'My body is twisting/squirming by itself (because of, say, boredom).'

Sentence (182) may be said when one feels that his body is squirming involuntarily because, for example, he has been sitting on a chair listening to a boring

lecture for a long time. Even when actual bodily motion is not observable, the speaker can say (182) to convey the idea of boredom. If one observes such a motion taking place in someone else's body, he can say (183).

- (183) *Inho-uy mom-i pipi kko-i-ko.iss-ta.*  
 Inho-Gen body-Nom [mimetic for a twisting form] twist[Vt]-CM-Asp-Ind  
 'Inho's body is twisting.'

By saying (183), the speaker asserts that the described bodily motion is an involuntary one. Sentence (184), by contrast, makes no such assertion, but simply describes the subject's bodily motion in a neutral manner.

- (184) *Inho-ka mom-ul pipi kko-ko.iss-ta.*  
 Inho-Nom body-Acc [mimetic for a twisting form] twist-Asp-Ind  
 'Inho is twisting his body.'

The following sentences demonstrate that the bodily motions under discussion here are not just involuntary, but also uncontrollable.

- (185) a. *Inho-ka tali-lul ttel-ko.iss-ta.*  
 Inho-Nom leg-Acc shake-Asp-Ind  
 'Inho is shaking his leg.'
- b. *son-i ttel-li-n-ta.*  
 hand-Nom shake[Vt]-CM-Pres-Ind  
 'My hand shakes/is shaking (uncontrollably).'

Sentence (185a) may convey the idea that Inho is shaking his leg voluntarily, but can also be used to describe a situation where Inho is shaking his leg in a classroom without realizing it. In this case, Inho is shaking his leg involuntarily. By contrast, (185b) conveys the idea that the speaker's hand shakes regardless of his intention. If one's hands shake because of, for example, alco-

holism, he cannot stop the shaking of his hands regardless of his wishes or volition. Sentence (185b) would fit this kind of situation.

One can also use CM verbs indicating involuntary bodily motion to express emotion, as illustrated in (186a, b).

- (186) a. *kongsantang-i.la.myen i-ka (cecello) kal-li-n-ta.*  
 communist-if teeth-Nom (of.itself) grind[Vt]-CM-Pres-Ind

(Lit.: If communist, my teeth grind (by themselves).)

'If (someone is a) communist, I feel anger/indignation.'

- b. *tali-ka hwutulhwutul ttel-li-n-ta.*  
 leg-Nom [mimetic for a shaking form] shake[Vt]-CM-Pres-Ind

'My legs are shaking.' or 'I feel fear.'

Sentence (186a) does not mean that the speaker actually grinds or gnashes his teeth, but rather that the anger or indignation arises by itself. Sentence (186b) can express the notion that one's legs are shaking uncontrollably; it may also be used figuratively, as an expression of fear.

In conclusion, in this section we have examined two types of spontaneous events expressed by CM-verbs. In Type A, we discussed events where an inert entity undergoes a change of state which is construed as taking place spontaneously: door-opening, drainage-blocking up, etc. To be sure, there might actually exist some causal force which could bring about such a event. For an event of door-opening, for example, the causal force might be the wind, the breaking of the door lock, and so forth. However, the responsibility for what happens is attributed to the entity undergoing the change of state rather than to such a causal force; accordingly, an adverbial such as *cecello* 'by itself, of its own accord' can readily occur in such CM sentences. In Type B, we discussed involuntary/uncontrollable bodily motions. Here, too, there might be a causal

force: sleepiness for eye-closing, boredom for body-squirming, etc. However, the events described in such CM sentences are conceived as taking place spontaneously rather than as being caused by such a force. As indicated by an adverbial like *cecello* 'of itself, of one's own accord', which again can occur in such CM sentences, the responsibility for what happens is attributed to the body-part undergoing the denoted motion rather than to any extrinsic force. Sentences of these two types are therefore not passives. They are instances of the middle in that the subject is not just a patient undergoing the event in question, but is also conceived as the initiator.

#### 4.6 A Network of Inter-Relatedness of CMC's

We have explored in some detail how the CM (*i, ki, li, hi*) is used in fourteen syntactically and/or semantically distinct constructions. Some CMC's are causative type constructions; others are middle type constructions; still others are passive type constructions. In Section 4.2.1, several pieces of positive evidence were presented in support of the hypothesis that the CM (*i, ki, li, hi*) found in all these CMC's is a single polysemous suffix rather than several different, multiply homonymous grammatical markers. All four allomorphs (*i, ki, li, hi*) of the CM are subject to the same morphophonemic conditions in all the CMC's. In Section 4.2.2, several pieces of apparently negative evidence against the hypothesis were considered; for example, in Kyengsang dialects a causative CM verb bears high tone on the final syllable of the root verb, whereas a passive CM verb takes high tone on the suffix. However, this difference is a comparatively recent development; in 15th-century Middle Korean no such tonal distinction existed. Thus considerable positive evidence supports the single-suffix hypothesis, while the negative evidence is quite weak. Under

this hypothesis, I have examined the fourteen CMC's and discussed their relations in Sections 4.3 through 4.5. Based on the discussion in those sections, I lay out the inter-relatedness of these constructions graphically in Diagram 1. Each box in the network represents a CMC; each line segment represents the relatedness between the two linked CMC's. A vertical line-up of constructions is iconic for a semantic commonality among the given constructions.

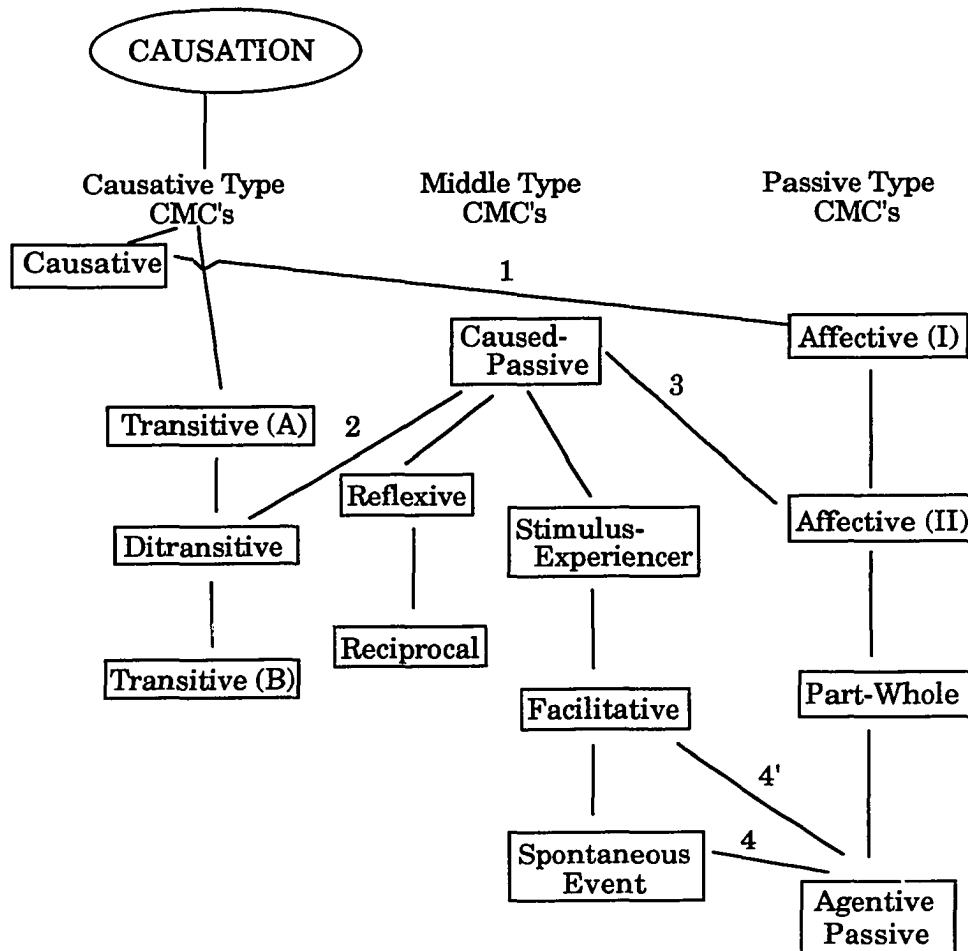


Diagram 1: Network of inter-relatedness of CMC's

The various *cross-category* links in the diagram--the non-vertical lines--have been explained and motivated over the course of this chapter. The connection (#1 on the diagram) between the (Transitive) Causative CMC and the Affective CMC (I) arose from a conventionalization or grammaticalization of an affective sense attached to the causative which was originally only inferred from context (see Section 4.4.1.2); the Affective CMC (I) usually loses the property of control (characteristic of the causative), but under appropriate grammatical circumstances (e.g. with volitional adverbials, or in imperatives) can regain control and thereby "backslide" toward the (Transitive) Causative CMC. The link between the Ditransitive and Caused-Passive CMC's (#2) involves self-translational motion (Section 4.5.1); instead of transferring some outside entity to the goal (as in the Ditransitive), the agent causes himself to be transferred to the goal (in the Caused-Passive).

The link between the Affective (II) and Caused-Passive CMC's (#3) is analogous to the one from the Affective CMC (I) to the (Transitive) Causative CMC; the subject regains a degree of control (absent in Affective (II)), and the construction thereby is recast as a Caused-Passive (Section 4.5.1). These two analogous links are motivated by the similarity in formal structure between the two constructions involved: [NP-Nom NP-Dat NP-Acc Vt-{CM}] in the link from the Affective (I) to the (Transitive) Causative, and [NP-Nom NP-Dat Vt-{CM}] in the link from the Affective (II) to the Caused-Passive. As for the last two cross-category links (#4, #4'), which link the middle type with the Agentive Passive, the shift in type from middle to passive came about by introducing an explicit agentive phrase (see Section 4.4.4).

It should be noted that, of the three types of CMC's, the middle and the passive type appear to be closer to one another than the other possible pairs (causative-passive, causative-middle). In Kyengsang dialects that have a tone

system, as discussed in Section 4.2.2, CM verbs are tone-marked differently depending on the constructions employing them. I examined this tonal phenomenon in all the CMC's with two native speakers of a Kyengsang dialect. In all the causative type CMC's, a CM verb bears a high tone on the final syllable of the root verb. In all the middle and passive type CMC's, by contrast, the high tone comes on the suffix. That is, the tonal distinction sets up a split between causative vs. middle/passive.

In conclusion: In this chapter, we have examined fourteen CMC's, which are all headed by the CM (*i, ki, li, hi*). Traditionally, the CM has been regarded as embracing distinct and even unrelated homonymous grammatical markers of causative and passive. The puzzle for this traditional view lies in the non-trivial properties of both form and meaning shared between the CM causative and passive. Moreover, some middle type CMC's, if studied at all, have been treated as passives; and sometimes properties of such middle type CMC's have been invoked to characterize CM passive constructions as a whole. Contrary to this traditional approach, I have argued for the hypothesis that all fourteen CMC's are interrelated. I first showed, in Section 4.2, that the CM is a single polysemous suffix rather than a homophony of unrelated grammatical markers of causative, middle, and passive. In Section 4.3 through 4.5, the syntax and semantics of the fourteen CMC's were examined. Based on the shared properties of form and meaning of these constructions, I have interrelated the fourteen CMC's, as represented graphically in Diagram 1. Seen from this perspective, the non-trivial commonalities of form and meaning among the fourteen CMC's cease to be a puzzle, and "unusual" semantic properties of the so-called morphological passive--the adverse-semantics, the subject's potentiality for controlling the sententially denoted situation, and the spontaneity of the event described in the morphological passive--for the first time begin to make

sense. The spontaneity semantics is in fact a property of certain middle type CMC's; the control semantics can be attributed to shared formal properties of passives and causatives or of passives and middles; and the adverse semantics is a construction-specific semantic property of the Affective CMC's, conventionalized in the process of grammaticalization from causatives to passives.

## CHAPTER 5

# Conclusion

I began this work with a comparison between a Middle Korean morphological causative example and several present-day Korean expressions showing partial similarities to the Middle Korean example. The comparison raised many questions, which I have investigated in detail in Chapters 2 through 4.

One question was why the CM (*i, ki, li, hi*)-derived verb *kulk-hi-ta* 'make someone scratch' could function as a causative verb in Middle Korean, but not in present-day Korean. In Chapter 2, I argued that the obsolescence of the derived causative verb *kulk-hi-ta* is not a lexical idiosyncrasy, but reflects a general change that the morphological causative has undergone since Middle Korean. In Middle Korean the morphological causative could be used quite productively to express indirect causation. In present-day Korean, by contrast, it is used almost exclusively to express direct causation. What became obsolete were typically those derived causative verbs which inherently express indirect causation due to the meaning of the root verb, such that the causee must be agentive. These derived causative verbs could not survive because their inherent semantics (indirect causation) conflicted with the new semantics of the morphological causative (direct causation). Thus the present-day Korean morphological causative is heavily restricted in its lexical inventory. What the morphological causative has lost--the function of expressing indirect causation--has been taken over by the syntactic causative. This pattern provides another example in the crosslinguistic roster of diachronic changes in causative

constructions: starting as a syntactic causative, developing into a morphological causative, ending as a lexical (or "fossilized") causative, and introducing a new syntactic causative to the language somewhere in the cycle (cf. Givón 1971, 1976, and Matisoff 1976).

A second question involved the possibilities available for case-marking the causee. In the Middle Korean morphological causative example just mentioned, the causee was marked by the instrumental case. Previous work on Korean causative constructions has discussed only the nominative, dative, or accusative as possible markers of the causee. In Chapter 2, it was shown that in present-day Korean, too, the instrumental case *-(u)lo* can mark the causee; and that there is in fact one further possibility for marking the causee, viz. the "causee" case *-(u)lo.hayekum*. In connection with this last morpheme, I proposed that the causee case developed from a combination of the instrumental case (marking the causee) and the obsolete derived causative verb *ha-i-ta* 'make do'.

What remains uncertain is the precise status of *-(u)lo* as a marker of the causee. It is identical in form to the "standard" instrumental case, and similar in meaning (the causee is seen metaphorically as the instrument whereby the action is carried out). Yet there is also a delimiter *-(u)lo*, and it is not always clear which usage is involved in a given case. Past analyses have generally regarded the particle *-(u)lo* as a set of homonymous suffixes. The fact that almost all of its various functions pattern with the various polysemous functions of the instrumental case in Balto-Slavic, however (cf. J. Park in preparation), suggests that the Korean particle *-(u)lo*, like its Balto-Slavic counterpart, is a multiply polysemous suffix, rather than an instance of homonymy (cf. "[P]olysemy may be defined as recurrent homonymy" (Haiman 1985:26)). Its function as a marker of the causee finds a place in this polysemy network.

A third question concerned the clause structure of the syntactic and morphological causative constructions. In Chapter 3, I argued that causative clause structure cannot be defined rigidly as either biclausal or monoclausal, but exhibits prototype effects. That is, a certain causative construction typically behaves like a biclausal structure with respect to various linguistic phenomena, but also exhibits monoclausal properties (or vice versa).

The SCacc (the syntactic causative with the accusative-marked causee) will serve by way of example. SCacc behaves like a biclausal structure with respect to subject honorification (agreement) and reflexives (binding), but like a monoclausal structure with respect to syntactic passives. Non-monostatal theories might seek to distribute its different behaviors across different strata (or levels), rather than recognizing prototype effects of clause structure. SCacc, however, can sometimes show either monoclausal or biclausal behavior with respect to one and the same test frame. Depending on the positioning of adverbials it behaves either monoclausally or biclausally. It can also take either a frame-internal locative (an indication of monoclausal structure) or a frame-external locative (an indication of biclausal structure). Given these phenomena, the idea of assigning different behaviors to different levels appears to be unworkable. Such prototype effects on clause structure are not surprising, since prototype categorization has been shown to be the norm in study after study (cf. Wittgenstein 1953; Rosch 1973, 1977; Berlin and Kay 1969; Lakoff 1982, 1987; Fillmore 1977, 1985; Coleman and Kay 1975; Kay and McDaniel 1978; Ross 1972, 1975; Sweetser 1987, 1990; Van Oosten 1984, *inter alia*). In light of these considerations, I proposed that the clause structures of the syntactic causative constructions (distinguished by the case-markings of the causee--nominative, causee-case, dative, accusative) and of the morphological causative construction form a cline from fully biclausal to monoclausal.

The last question was whether the CM (*i, ki, li, hi*) should best be analyzed as a polysemous grammatical marker or as a set of homonymous grammatical markers of causative, passive, and middle. The literature has generally treated the CM as a case of homonymous markers of causative and passive, and its middle function has not been recognized. Based on Kemmer's (1993) characterization of the middle, I argued that the CM also functions as a marker of the middle. I examined fourteen CM constructions--four having causative meaning, four passive, and six middle--and showed how they are related to one another: they form a family of distinct but related constructions centered on the causative.

A number of questions merit further investigation. A description and analysis of the internal syntax and semantics, only minimally undertaken in this study, would be essential for a complete understanding of the constructions. The area of aspect requires thorough investigation, especially because the passive/affective appears to be closely related to resultant aspect. In this study I have examined particular diachronic features of the CM constructions, but an in-depth diachronic investigation is needed in order to understand their inter-relationships better. Contrary to the traditional twofold opposition between causative and passive CM constructions, I have proposed a threefold opposition between causative, middle, and passive. This identification of a middle function for CM constructions itself calls for diachronic study, and in turn will surely be instrumental in improving our diachronic understanding of the CM construction as a whole.

There is clearly a close semantic link within each of the above-mentioned three domains; thus (for example) all the constructions I have called "middle" are connected to each other as a polysemy network. A close link between the domains of middle and passive as a whole also seems highly likely. What is less

clear is the link between the causative and the passive/middle. There are surely links--but are they truly strong enough to justify calling the causative "polysemous" with the other two? This type of question is a classical problem in the study of polysemy, and deserves to be looked at in much closer detail for the CM constructions.

The extension of a grammatical marker from one semantic domain to other domains is common across languages (cf. Traugott 1982, 1989, Fleischman 1982, Sweetser 1990, Kemmer 1993, and Pederson 1992, *inter alia*). Certain causatives and passives have the same formal expressions in many languages, and such passives typically convey some sort of affective semantics. The directionality from causative to passive which I have proposed in this study in relation to the causative and passive type CM constructions thus appears to hold promise for the general linguistic study of links between causatives and passives. I also proposed that the causative type CM constructions are the developmental source of the middle type CM constructions. In Kemmer's (1993) diachronic typological study of the middle, causatives are not discussed as a source of middles; in future diachronic typological investigation of middles, causatives should thus be kept in mind as a possible source.

This work, in conclusion, has demonstrated the usefulness of two particular analytical perspectives in dealing with a "difficult" linguistic phenomenon such as the Korean CM constructions. The first is Construction Grammar with its fundamental notion of relatedness of constructions, as embodied in constructional networks expressing radial categories. The second is an insistence on the importance of diachrony when analyzing partially productive partially overlapping constructions. Applied together, these two perspectives have enabled us to make a good deal of sense of many puzzling aspects of the CM constructions, and to show how they cohere in a unified whole.

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