

## Doubling Phenomena of Casusative and Passive Constructions

Passive and causative constructions involve the grammatical changes of subject and object. Causative constructions show changes in grammatical relations and morphological reformation. For intransitive predicates, a new subject is introduced and the subject is changed to the direct object in the causative construction. For transitive predicates, a new subject is introduced and the object is changed to the indirect object. For the morphological change, a causative predicate is introduced. In forming passive sentences, there are two major steps in syntactic and morphological reformation. For syntactic change, the subject in the active sentence is downgraded as the ‘by phrase’, and the object is upgraded as the subject in the passive construction. For morphological change, the verb becomes ‘be’ plus a past participle. The Korean active and passive constructions follow the similar changes in grammatical relations, but they show many differences from English in the process (Comrie 1976, Siewierska 1984).

Since Yang (1974) and Shibatani’s (1975) debate on synonymy of morphological and syntactic causative constructions, there have been many theoretical approaches including cognitive, generative and typological ones. In this paper, I will show three major debating issues relating to causative and passive constructions in Korean. First, I will describe a semantic difference between morphological and syntactic causatives with the grammatical relations and case marking of the causee NP (Bickel 2011), as shown in (1). In particular, I will demonstrate how the different causee NPs affect a semantic difference in (1B) and (1C).

Second, I will show a major difference between morphological and syntactic passives as shown in (2), not only based on spontaneity (Yeon 2015) but also based on perception (Lee 1987, 1993). Third, I will demonstrate doubling phenomena on the interaction of causative and passive constructions into two different categories, one for doubling between morphological causative/passive and syntactic causative/passive, and another for mixed doubling between morphological causative and syntactic passive, or morphological passive and syntactic causative, as shown in (3) and (4). This has been ongoing issues from many researchers (Lee 1991, Park 1992 and so on). In this doubling phenomenon of the causative construction, I will show how the structure is different from Korean and Turkish, since the latter does allow double or recursive morphological causatives, while the former does not allow this iteration (Ko and Ku 2008, Song 2015).

## References

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#### (DATA)

(1) Morphological and syntactic causative

A. Morphological versus syntactic (Intransitive)

어머니가 아이를 재운다	emeni-ka	ai-lul	chay-wu-n-ta
	Mother-Nom	baby-Acc	sleep-CAUS-Pre-Dse
“A mother makes a baby sleep.”			

어머니가 아이를 자게 한다	emeni-ka	ai-lul	cha-key ha-n-ta
	Mother-Nom	baby-Acc	sleep-CAUS-Pre-Dse
“A mother makes a baby sleep.”			

B. Cases of Causee NP in morphological causative (Transitive)

어머니가 아이에게 밥을 먹인다	emeni-ka	ai-eykey	pap-ul	mek-i-n-ta
	Mother-Nom	baby-Dat	cooked rice-Acc	eat-CAUS-Pres-Dse
“A mother makes a baby eat cooked rice.”				

어머니가 아이를 밥을 먹인다	emeni-ka	ai-lul	pap-ul	mek-i-n-ta
	Mother-Nom	baby-Acc	cooked rice-Acc	eat-CAUS-Pres-Dse
“A mother makes a baby eat cooked rice.”				

*어머니가 아이가 밥을 먹인다	emeni-ka	ai-ka	pap-ul	mek-i-n-ta
	Mother-Nom	baby-Nom	cooked rice-Acc	eat-CAUS-Pres-Dse
“A mother makes a baby eat cooked rice.”				

C. Cases of Causee NP in syntactic causative (Transitive)

어머니가 아이가 밥을 먹게 하였다	emeni-ka	ai-ka	pap-ul	mek-key ha-yess-ta
	Mother-Nom	baby-Nom	cooked rice-Acc	eat-CAUS-Past-Dse
“A mother makes a baby eat cooked rice.”				

어머니가 아이에게 밥을 먹게 하였다	emeni-ka	ai-eykey	pap-ul	mek-key ha-yess-ta
	Mother-Nom	baby-Dat	cooked rice-Acc	eat-CAUS-Past-Dse
“A mother makes a baby eat cooked rice.”				

어머니가 아이를 밥을 먹게 하였다			
emeni-ka ai-lul pap-ul			mek-key ha-yess-ta
mother-Nom baby-Acc cooked rice-Acc			eat-CAUS-Past-Dse

“A mother makes a baby eat cooked rice.”

## (2) Morphological and syntactic passive

Morphological passive

밥이 어머니에 의해서 아이에게 먹힌다			
pap-i emeni-ey uyhayse ai-eykey			mek-hi-n-ta
cooked rice-Nom mother-by baby-Dat			eat-PASS-Pres-Dse

“Cooked rice is eaten to a baby by a mother.”

## 아이가 어머니에 의해서 밥이 먹힌다

ai-ka emeni-ey uyhayse pap-i			mek-hi-n-ta
baby-Nom mother-by cooked rice-Nom			eat-PASS-Pres-Dse

“Cooked rice is eaten to a baby by a mother.”

Syntactic passive

밥이 어머니에 의해서 아이에게 먹여 진다			
pap-i emeni-ey uyhayse ai-eykey			mek-ye ci-n-ta
cooked rice-Nom mother-by baby-Dat			eat-PASS-Pres-Dse

“Cooked rice is eaten to a baby by a mother.”

## 아이가 어머니에 의해서 밥이 먹여 진다

ai-ka emeni-ey uyhayse pap-i			mek-ye ci-n-ta
baby-Nom mother-by cooked rice-Dat			eat-PASS-Pres-Dse

“Cooked rice is eaten to a baby by a mother.”

## (3) Doubling of causative and passive

Morphological causative + syntactic causative

## 존이 아이에게 밥을 먹이게 한다

John-i ai-eykey pap-ul			mek-i-key ha-n-ta
John-Nom baby-Dat cooked rice-Acc			eat-PASS-CAUS-Pres-Dse

“John makes a baby eat cooked rice.”

## 존이 아이를 밥을 먹이게 한다

John-i ai-lul pap-ul			mek-i-key ha-n-ta
John-Nom baby-Acc cooked rice-Acc			eat-PASS-CAUS-Pres-Dse

“John makes a baby eat cooked rice.”

Morphological passive + syntactic passive

## 아이가 밥이 먹히어 졌다

ai-ka pap-i			mek-hi-e ci-ess-ta
baby-Nom cooked rice-Nom			eat-PASS-PASS-Past-Dse

“Cooked rice was eaten by a baby.”

## 아이에게 밥이 먹히어 졌다

ai-eykey pap-i			mek-hi-e ci-ess-ta
baby-Dat cooked rice-Nom			eat-PASS-PASS-Past-Dse

“Cooked rice was eaten by a baby.”

## (4) Mixed doubling of causative and passive

Morphological causative + syntactic passive

## 아이가 엄마에게 무릎에 앉히어 졌다

ai-ka emma-eykey mwulup-ey			anc-hi-e ci-ess-ta
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baby-Nom      mother-Dat      lap-at      sit-CAUS-PASS-Past-Dse  
 “A baby was sat on mother’s lap.”

아이가 엄마에게 밥을/이 먹여 졌다  
 ai-ka      emma-eykey pap-ul/i      mek-i-e ci-ess-ta  
 baby-Nom      mother-Dat      cooked rice-Acc/Nom      eat-CAUS-PASS-Past-Dse  
 “A baby was eaten cooked rice by a mother.”

Morphological passive + syntactic causative

존이 아이를 엄마에게 업히게 한다

John-i      ai-lul      emme-eykey      ep-hi-key ha-n-ta  
 John-Nom      baby-Acc      mother-Dat      put on-PASS-CAUS-Past-Dse  
 “John makes a mother put on a baby.”

존이 아이를 엄마에게 안기게 한다

John-i      ai-lul      emma-eykey      an-ki-key ha-n-ta  
 John-Nom      baby-Acc      mother-Dat      embrace-PASS-CAUS-Past-Dse  
 “John makes a mother embrace a baby.”