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


(DATA)

(1) Morphological and syntactic causative
A. Morohological versus syntactic (Intransitive)
어머니가 아이를 쾌운다
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-eyekey pap-ul mek-i-n-ta
mother-Nom baby-Dat cooked rice-Acc eat-CAUS-Pre-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-Pre-Dse
“A mother makes a baby eat cooked rice.”

*C어머니가 아이가 밥을 먹인다
emeni-ka ai-ka pap-ul mek-i-n-ta
mother-Nom baby-Nom cooked rice-Acc eat-CAUS-Pre-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-eyekey 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
emeri-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 의해 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 의해 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 의해 아이에게 먹여진다
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 의해 밥이 먹여진다
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 was eaten by a baby.”

(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 먹이어졌다
ai-ka pap-i mek-ey e ci-ess-ta
baby-Nom cooked rice-Nom eat-PASS-Caus-Past-Dse
“Cooked rice was eaten by a baby.”
아이에게 밥이 먹이어졌다
ai-eykey pap-i mek-ey e ci-ess-ta
baby-Dat cooked rice-Nom eat-PASS-Caus-Past-Dse
“Cooked rice was eaten by a baby.”

(4)  Mixed doubling of causative and passive
Morphological causative + syntactic passive
아이가 엄마에게 무릎에 앉히어졌다
ai-ka emeri-eykey mwulup-ey anc-hi-e ci-ess-ta
A baby was sat on mother’s lap.

아이가 엄마에게 밥을 먹여 졌다

A baby was eaten cooked rice by a mother.

Morphological passive + syntactic causative
존이 아이를 엄마에게 업히게 한다

John makes a mother put on a baby.

존이 아이를 엄마에게 안기게 한다

John makes a mother embrace a baby.