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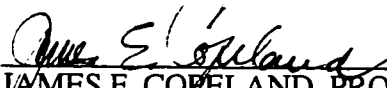
BY  
MIHYUN BAEK

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IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE  
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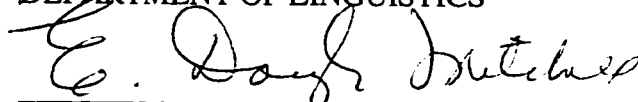
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# **ABSTRACT**

## **THE KOREAN *I*-SUFFIX: A FUNCTIONAL APPROACH**

by

**MIHYUN BAEK**

This dissertation treats a problem presented by Korean syntax. The suffix {-*i*}, realized variously as *-i*, *-hi*, *-li*, *-ki*, may be used to express (among others) prototypical passives, middle voice, and causatives. I attempt to provide an answer to the question 'How are these uses related?'

The semantic/conceptual configuration of an event is projected as an asymmetrical relation between the sentence initial and sentence middle positions. Sentence initial position is assigned a special semantic property, which I call EMPOWEREDNESS. The requirements of EMPOWEREDNESS can be met by a less than optimal participant (i.e., creating a mismatch between the semantics of the position and its filler) as long as the *I*-suffix is present on the verb.

The *I*-suffix reduces the EMPOWEREDNESS of the sentence-initial position. This reduction alters the relation between sentence initial position and the participant filler and may achieve either 'passive' or

'causative' effects. The so-called 'passive' emerges as a cluster of related constructions, which signify the reduced EMPOWEREDNESS of the sentence initial position. In 'causative' constructions, *I*-suffix projects decreased EMPOWEREDNESS to sentence initial position by removing some semantic portion from the sentence initial position, transferring it to the second position.

Thus, the semantic character of the event—the role properties it projects upon the sentence initial participant—provides the matrix for the *I*-suffix. The effect of the *I*-suffix varies widely in different events, even while the suffix accomplishes a common function across all these environments.

## ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I cannot find the proper words for thanking the director of my dissertation, Prof. Philip W. Davis. He has been a great mentor. Whenever I felt down and needed help, he never held back in his efforts to cheer me up, even sacrificing many of his lunch hours to work with me. He has been incredibly patient with me, all the way from fleshing out a primitive outline down to the mechanical details, including finding 'just right' English expressions. Without his support, it would never have been possible to complete my dissertation. But anything erroneous found herein is completely my own.

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I dedicate this dissertation to my parents, Yong-Ki Baek and Soon Boon Song. They have shown never-failing love during this unusually protracted period of graduate studies. I was able to enjoy great music with great audio and was able to travel around, thanks to their financial help. Finally, I want to express my thanks to my only brother, Young Kwon Baek, who has always stood with me.

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## **LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS**

The following abbreviations appear in the interlinear glosses:

ablat	ablative
acc	accusative
agnt	agentive
Cause	causative
comp	complementizer
conj	conjunct
cop	copular
dat	dative
dec	declarative
DO	direct object
excl	exclamation
gen	genitive
hon	honorific
instr	instrumental
int	interrogative
IO	indirect object
link	linker
loc	locative
nom	nominative
nomnlzr	nominalizer
Pass	passive
pl	plural
pres	present
prog	progressive
SU	subject
subj	subject
top	topic
1	First person
2	Second person
3	Third person

# Chapter 1

## Introduction

### 1.0. Purpose and scope of the study

The goal of this dissertation is to offer an explanation for the variety of functions associated with the Korean I-suffixed verb. The suffix {-i}, realized variously as *-i*, *-hi*, *-li*, *-ki*, may be used to express such functions (among others) as the prototypical passive (e.g., (1)), the middle (e.g., (2)), and the causative (e.g., (3)), as follows:

- (1)        John-i        Mary-eykey        cha-i-ess-ta  
              John-nom Mary-dat        kick-I-past-dec  
              'John was dumped by Mary'  
              'John was kicked by Mary (lit.)'
- (2)    a.    changmwun-i        tat-hi-ess-ta  
              window-nom        close-I-past-dec  
              'The window shut'
- b.    John-i        namwu-ey        maytal-li-ess-ta  
              John-nom tree-loc        hang-I-past-dec  
              'John hung on the tree'
- c.    i        chayk-un        cal        phal-li-n-ta  
              this book-top        well        sell-I-pres-dec

'This book sells well'

d. Yen-i      nal-li-n-ta

kite-nom fly-I-pres-dec

'The kite flies'

(3) a. John-i      Mary-eykey      kulus-ul      ssis-ki-ess-ta

John-nom Mary-dat      dish-acc      wash-I-past-dec

'John caused Mary to wash the dish'

b. John-i      Mary-eykey      sin-ul      sin-ki-ess-ta

John-nom Mary-dat      shoes-acc put on-I-past-dec

'John put the shoes on Mary'

c. John-i      Mary-uy      meli-lul      pis-ki-ess-ta

John-nom Mary-gen hair-acc comb-I-past-dec

'John combed Mary's hair'

d. John-i      elum-ul      nok-i-ess-ta

John-nom ice-acc melt-I-past-dec

'John melted the ice'

What we know as 'passive' emerges as a cluster of related constructions which all signify some common semantic/functional feature. Likewise, the 'causative' constructions of (3), the meanings of which are not absolutely identical, share some kind of semantic commonality.

My main concern here is to determine the conditions under which the I-suffix appears on the verb. And, I attempt to provide an answer to the question 'How are these constructions related?'

My assumption is that semantic/conceptual and functional motivation regulates morpho-syntactic realization. I cast the study in terms of the semantic and pragmatic functioning of language, showing that other approaches seem to miss generalizations which exist between the two major voices. Furthermore, the explanation advanced in this dissertation is more comprehensive and convincing for significant sets of data.

In this dissertation, I generally restrict my concern to the suffixed forms, but I mention the periphrastic forms whenever necessary in order to provide a better understanding of the suffixed forms. The main reason for excluding voice formation via the periphrastic auxiliaries is that they are a predictable and productive phenomenon. That is, the meaning of periphrastic forms are transparent, signaling a prototypical passive and a prototypical causative meaning.

### **1.1. Previous studies**

Since the inception of generative grammar, the Korean passive has been commonly treated in terms of transformational rules (H. Lee (1966), C. Lee (1973), etc.). The assumption is still widespread that the passive is but another way of expressing the active sentence. However, the approach

which derives the passive construction from a 'deep' active counterpart is faced with many problems of irregularity. K. D. Lee (1976) claims that the relation is not achieved by simple transformation of the passive, since the meaning of the passive is not derivable from the active transitive source. Because the meaning of the passive is unpredictable, K. D. Lee treats the active-passive relation in terms of derivational rules in the lexicon. Although there has been a recent assumption that the Korean passive is base-generated, grammatical comment has focused primarily on the relation between passive and active structures (cf. Shin 1982).

The impression of irregularity in the relationship between the active and passive expressions is based mostly on syntactic configurations, but the relationship is not completely without pattern.

Rather than seeking systematic syntactic rules to interrelate passive and active sentences, some linguists investigate why a certain voice is selected over the other. Kim (1988) performed a statistical analysis of English to discover the factors correlating with the selection of subject NPs and NPs of adjunct phrases (i.e. by phrase) using pragmatic concepts like definiteness, givenness, thematicity, and empathy relationships.<sup>1</sup> Topicality (or thematicity) as a factor in the choice of a passive or active construction has been discussed by many linguists. That is, if the Agent is

---

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Fries's (1952:173-83) 'identifiability', MacWhinney's (1977:155) 'old information', Halliday's (1968) 'givenness', Hockett's (1958) 'topicness', and Chafe's (1976:39-40) 'definiteness', etc., all cited in Kim (1988).

high in topicality, a speaker would select an active sentence in which the Agent appears as subject in the sentence initial position, whereas if the non-Agent is high in topicality, it acquires subjecthood and this leads to a passive construction (Givón 1979 and Kwak 1994).

H. Lee (1991) asserts that the passive is used "if topic [he equates it with subject] is Patient"<sup>2</sup>. That is, the active tells a story by taking Agent as topic, while passive tells a story by taking Patient as topic. According to him, syntactic structures are only a part of semantic structure, and the way of expressing the passive varies from language to language (i.e., case marking, verbal encoding, or word order) even if the passive meaning is universal. He states that universal grammar is based on semantic structure, which is dual in nature: a) argument-predicate b) topic-comment structure (cf. also Givón 1984).

Ultimately, voice selection reflects the speaker's viewpoint on situation of the utterance. That is, the choice of a subject determines sentence type.

In Korean, pragmatic motivation (i.e., topicality) is not the sole criterion to select a certain voice, since many constructions which contain the 'passive' suffix { -i } are not affected by relative topicality. For one thing, inanimates cannot occur as subject when they are followed by animates, whether Patient or Agent. Furthermore, we cannot underestimate

---

<sup>2</sup> He criticizes definitions of subject proposed by Keenan (1976).



the socio-cultural influence on voice phenomena. H. Song(1993) discusses passive usage in Korean and identifies two factors in the choice of active and passive constructions (cf. Jespersen 1924:167-68). First, for psychological reasons, a speaker may have a tendency to use the passive in order to avoid responsibility for his utterance or want to enhance its objectivity. Therefore, passive sentences are found more frequently in newspaper articles, in news broadcasts, in scientific articles and so on. Additionally, sociological factors like foreign language contact (interlingual transfer phenomena) influences speech style. Song refers to the influence of both Japanese and English on modern Korean passive sentences.

At any rate, the suffix {-i} added to a verb stem does not always produce a prototypical passive. What we mean by 'prototypical passive' is one that expresses an affected entity as subject and implies the existence of an Agent; it will stand in between a transitive construction and an intransitive one and be easily contrasted with so-called middle or medio-passive constructions.

As for causative constructions, which share the identical morpheme with passive constructions, there has been controversy regarding their scope and the definition, the degree of causation, and the role and the explanation of case marking of the causee. The question of synonymy between the morphological causatives and periphrastic causatives is often

discussed.<sup>3</sup> It is frequently claimed that in Korean suffixal causative forms are irregular and nonproductive and must be listed in the lexicon, unlike the periphrastic forms. However, we can find a pattern even in suffixal forms and their variety of meanings. First, regarding the difference between suffixed forms and periphrastic forms, the former signals direct causation and the latter, indirect causation. Second, the presence of the activity of the causee allows us to distinguish the subtypes of the suffixed forms (cf. Types I, II, and III in Chapter 3). Of course, there is a general correlation between the directness of causation and the absence of the activity of the causee.<sup>4</sup> Therefore, periphrastic forms deliver a more or less prototypical causation, while the suffixed forms are often taken simply as transitivizations. We will set aside the periphrastic forms from our main argument.

In many studies, causativization is treated as the combination of two procedures, adding an extra argument to the basic voice (i.e., causer) and demoting an original subject to direct or indirect object. However, if we explain this phenomenon by relating pairs of unmarked active and the causative forms, we face the same problems as in the passive.

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<sup>3</sup> The idea for synonymy is based upon generative semantics. However, this position was soon rejected by showing various syntactic and semantic differences between the two forms.

<sup>4</sup> In fact, it is very complicated to consider all the factors which are reflected in the form of causation as well as the case markers of the causee in Korean. For instance, even in the periphrastic form, which assumes the Agentive causee, the case marker of the causee is variable Cf. 'manipulative' vs. 'directive' in Shibatani (1976), 'coercive' vs. 'noncoercive' in Cole (1983).

Most research treats the causative construction as a combination of two subevents/clauses into a derived structure of clause union (cf. Comrie 1976). As a result, the grammatical relation or case realization of the causee has been the primary concern.

Comrie (1976) suggests that the superficial exponency of the embedded subject (i.e., causee) follows from two main syntactic principles: the Doubling constraint and the Case Hierarchy.<sup>5</sup> In the causative structure derived by clause union, the subject and object positions should not be present twice (i.e., the Doubling constraint). Consequently, in order to avoid doubling of the subject position, moving the embedded subject down the hierarchy to direct, indirect or oblique object position is necessary (i.e., the Case Hierarchy).

Cole (1983) also assumes a bisentential source of causative sentence and proposes a semantic account for the selection of the grammatical role of the causee.<sup>6</sup> That is, the semantic role of the complement subject (i.e., the degree of Agency) determines its derived syntactic role. However, the treatment of Agency in intransitive verbs requires caution, since we doubt that the complement subject of an intransitive verb, which is invariably marked by the accusative case, is non-Agentive, even though Cole claims

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<sup>5</sup> He admits his approach is not absolute.

<sup>6</sup> Both 'syntactic role' and 'grammatical role' are used by Cole to mean 'subject', 'direct object', etc.

that the subjects of intransitive verbs are prototypically Patients.<sup>7</sup> And Cole relates the degree of Agency inversely with the degree of coercion in transitive causative constructions. However, they do not necessarily coincide. In fact, the Korean causee is understood as Agent or Executor regardless of the case markers, as in *John-i Mary-lul/eykey chayk-ul ilk-hi-ess-ta* 'John caused Mary to read a book'. That is, the difference between the accusative and the dative causee can be attributed only to the degree of coercion. The periphrastic type of causation in Korean allows the causee to be marked by the nominative, dative, or accusative case: *ka/i~eykey~(l)ul*. However, again the choice of the causee's cases reflects the degree of coercion, rather than Agency. In short, Agency is not always in accord with voluntary action.

Kemmer and Verhagen (1994) have pointed out the failure of the purely formal account based on a derivational reduction hypothesis to explain the phenomena like 'skipping over' in the case hierarchy (i.e., not necessarily moving down to the next case in the hierarchy), the possibility of multiple cases of the causee (i.e., accusative~dative~instrumental), and even the causee-less causative construction. They claim that the causee-case choice is determined by the semantic difference and relate it to the simpler structure which shows (not absolute) semantic affinities.

---

<sup>7</sup> Cole (1983) maintains that there is a rough correlation between Agency and transitivity. And he further claims that the choice of the causee's case determined in terms of transitivity eventually comes from Agency.

That is, for instance, in choosing between the accusative and the dative, the causative construction takes the simple structure as its conceptual/structural model. If a participant is more integrated into the event, highly topical,<sup>8</sup> affected, then it is marked with the accusative. In contrast, if a participant shows a low degree of integration into the event, Agentive (or indirect), low topicality, low degree of affectedness, it is marked with dative. Thus, case marking is determined by semantic factors.

According to Kemmer and Verhagen, there exists a great cross-linguistic tendency for the causee of intransitive causatives to be almost always encoded by the accusative and that of transitive causative to be encoded by the dative/oblique and this is a result of grammaticalization of semantic motivation (cf. Cole). Compared with the rule-based derivational approach, this schema-based grammar, which explains that causative structures by building them from a simpler structural/conceptual model, provides a better explanation for the choice of causee.

E. Kim (1992) argues that the suffixal causative involves pragmatic defocusing of the unmarked voice subject (=subject of the noncausative root), and he relates this to the passive construction. Since E. Kim's main concern is the concept of demotion, he is not bothered with the problems of the choice of the case markers of the causee, simply saying that the

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<sup>8</sup> It is rather a pragmatic factor.

unmarked voice subject is demoted to the direct object (accusative case) or indirect object (dative case), depending upon the valency of the verb.

## 1.2. Discussion of terms

In this thesis, we will turn our attention first to the entity which interacts with the voice suffix {-i}. Although traditionally this entity has been regarded as the 'subject', we find it better to use positional terms such as 'sentence initial', instead of grammatical relational terms. First, Shibatani (1991) points out that western grammar has traditionally defined the grammatical concept of subjecthood in terms of pragmatic topicality and finds that this linguistic tradition arose due to the grammaticalization of topic into subject in Indo-European languages.<sup>9</sup> For one thing, many linguists define the active-passive voice phenomena as the result of a **topical** participant becoming a **subject**. This does not produce a problem in such languages as English at least, based on the diachronic hypothesis of grammaticalization of a pragmatic entity into a syntactic entity. In fact, most Korean grammars have treated the initial element 'John' in (4) as subject, without much consideration of the topic construction:

(4)            John-un/i            ka-ss-ta

                 John-top/nom   go-past-dec

                 'As for John, he went' or 'It is John who went'

---

<sup>9</sup> Mithun (1991) also views subject as grammaticalized clause topic.

('John went')

However, at least in Korean and in Japanese, the two entities do not always coincide. The topic is elephant and the subject is nose in the following well-cited example:

- (5)           khokkili-nun   kho-ka   kil-ta  
                  elephant-top   nose-nom long-dec  
                  'As for an elephant, its nose is long'

In (4) and (5), it is 'John' and 'nose' which are selected for by the predicates 'go' and 'long', respectively. And we establish a term 'sentence initial position' to cover the two entities 'John' and 'nose', keeping topic and subject separate in one side.

Consider now so-called 'double' nominative or 'double' subject constructions like (6)-(9), in which the identification of the 'real' subject has been problematic:

psyche-verbs construction

- (6) a.   **sensayngnim-i**   yengwha-lul   cohaha-si-n-ta<sup>10</sup>  
           teacher-nom           movie-acc   like-hon-pres-dec  
           'The teacher likes movies'
- b.   \***sensayngnim-i**   yengwha-ka   cohu-si-ta  
           teacher-nom           movie-nom   good-hon-dec

---

<sup>10</sup> I did not select the honorific nominative case *kkeyse* after *sensayngnim* 'teacher'.

'The teacher likes movies' <sup>11</sup>

'The teacher, movies are good (likeable) (lit.)'

part-whole construction

- (7) a. **sensayngnim-i**    kho-ka    khu-si-ta  
          teacher-nom           nose-nom    big-hon-dec  
          'The teacher, his nose is big'
- b. **sensayngnim-i**           malssum-i    olhu-si-ta  
          teacher-nom                words-nom    right-hon-dec  
          'The teacher's saying is right'  
          'The teacher, his saying is right (lit.)'
- (8) a. **sensayngnim-i**    son-ul    cap-hi-si-ess-ta  
          teacher-nom           hand-acc    catch-I-hon-past-dec  
          'The teacher was caught by the hand'
- b. **sensayngnim-i**    son-i    cap-hi-si-ess-ta  
          teacher-nom           hand-acc    catch-I-hon-past-dec  
          'The teacher was caught by the hand'

---

<sup>11</sup> Unlike Korean, the Japanese counterpart to (6b) seems acceptable (cf. Shibatani (1977:791)):

- a. Eiga    ga        suki    da  
    movie   nom    like    COPULA  
    '(Someone) likes movies'
- b. Sensei   ga        eiga    ga        suki    da  
    SU-       nom    movie   nom  
    'The teacher likes movies'  
    (gloss is Shibatani's)

And yet, Korean has sentence (c), in which *maumssi* 'disposition' is not an entity liked by teacher:

- c. sensayngnim-i            maumssi-ka            cohu-si-ta  
    teacher-nom            disposition-nom        good-hon-dec  
    'The teacher, his temper is good'



'The teacher, his hand was caught (lit.)'

existential and possessive construction

(9) a. **sensayngnim-i** ton-i philyo-ha-si-ta

teacher-nom money-nom need-do-hon-dec

'The teacher needs money'

'The teacher, money is needed (lit.)'

b. **sensayngnim-i** ton-i issu-si-ta

teacher-nom money-nom exist-hon-dec

'The teacher has money'

'The teacher, money exists (lit.)'

Shibatani (1977) claims that the grammatical relations and surface cases must be clearly distinguished, as there are distinct rules which pertain to each concept: the rule of Quantifier floating is defined in terms of surface cases, while the rules of Reflexivization and Subject Honorification are applicable in terms of grammatical relations.<sup>12</sup> That is, the subject is not necessarily the entity which occurs in the nominative case. Thus, if we apply honorification as a diagnostic test for the subjecthood in each sentence above, the first nominative noun phrases (i.e., in bold face) seem to show agreement with the honorific suffix *-si* on the verb and are perceived as subjects.

---

<sup>12</sup> According to S. K. Kim (1992), reflexivization is a necessary condition, but not a sufficient condition for the subjecthood. Therefore, we will not take this test into the account.

The identification of subjecthood in terms of honorification is not consistent. Compare (8b), in which 'teacher' was regarded as subject, with (10), where *kyesi-ta* is a lexicalized honorific version of *iss-ta* 'exist', and it agrees with the second nominative noun, not the first one:

- (10) a. \**apeci-ka*            *ton-i*            *keys-i-n-ta*  
           father-nom            money-nom exist (hon)-pres-dec
- b. *John-i*            *apeci-ka*            *keys-i-n-ta*  
       John-nom    father-nom        exist (hon)-pres-dec
- 'John has father'
- 'John, his father exists (lit.)'

Likewise, the pattern of honorific agreement identifies the second nominative noun as subject (cf. (7)):

- (11) a. *John-i*        ***apeci-ka***            *khu-si-ta*  
           John-nom father-nom        tall-hon-dec
- 'John, his father is tall'
- b. *John-i*        ***apeci-ka***            *tolaka-si-ess-ta*  
           John-nom father-nom        pass away-hon-past-dec
- 'John, his father passed away'

Moreover, the following unacceptable examples confirm that the entity which triggers the honorification is not 'teacher', but the second noun is subject:

- (12)            ??*sensayngnim-i*    ***aki-ka***            *ippu-si-ta*





It seems reasonable to say that the first nouns in the sentences above are more like sentence-external entities in certain respects (viz. topics or left-dislocated items). First of all, they do not (necessarily) have a selectional relation to verbs in sentences (cf. Li and Thompson (1976b)). Although we cited examples of double-nominative constructions, which give a reading of exclusive listing, these constructions are usually single nominative constructions, in which the first noun is marked with the topic particle *-nun*.

Now, we will turn to the issue of voice in this regard. When voice phenomena are discussed, pragmatic/discourse concepts are often used together with sentence-level concepts (e.g., the most **topical** participant of the clause is syntactically promoted to **subjecthood**). Consider the following active-passive pair, where the first nominals are easily regarded as subjects:

- (17) a. Mary-nun/ka      John-ul      cap-ass-ta  
          Mary-top/nom    John-acc    catch-past-dec  
          'Mary caught John'
- b. John-un/i        Mary-eykey      cap-hi-ess-ta  
          John-top/nom    Mary-dat        catch-I-past-dec  
          'John was caught by Mary'

And yet, it is not unusual to interpret the initial nominals as topics, as long as they are marked with the topic particle *-(n)un*. If a noun is the topic,

then it is also the subject, but not vice versa. That is, both discourse and sentence functions can be merged in the same position. Therefore, the claim that pragmatic topicality is reflected in the grammatical subject is valid in this construction, and in subject-prominent languages such as English. Meanwhile, in Korean, which is known as both a topic- and subject-prominent language (Li and Thompson 1976b), the two functions are not always correlated. Take a further example, the inversion of (18b), in which the preposed entity is object, but the entity which the verb selects for subject is 'John', not 'rice':

- (18) a. John-i pap-ul mek-ess-ta  
           John-nom rice-acc eat-past-dec  
           'John ate rice'
- b. pap-ul John-i mek-ess-ta  
           rice-acc John-nom eat-past-dec  
           'It is rice that John ate'  
           'Rice, John ate'

The preposed object has rather a discourse-pragmatic function, just like traditional 'topic': i.e., it is topical, giving a meaning of emphasis and exclusive listing, which are absent in the direct construction (18a).<sup>13</sup> To achieve a coherent treatment of the first nominals in the double nominative

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<sup>13</sup> We feel a slight pause after this pre-posed element. With the topic particle *-nun*, it delivers the meaning of contrast.

constructions mentioned above and in (18), we will employ the designation of pre-sentential participant instead of topic and pre-posed entity. Here is a brief summary of pre-sentential position and sentence initial position:

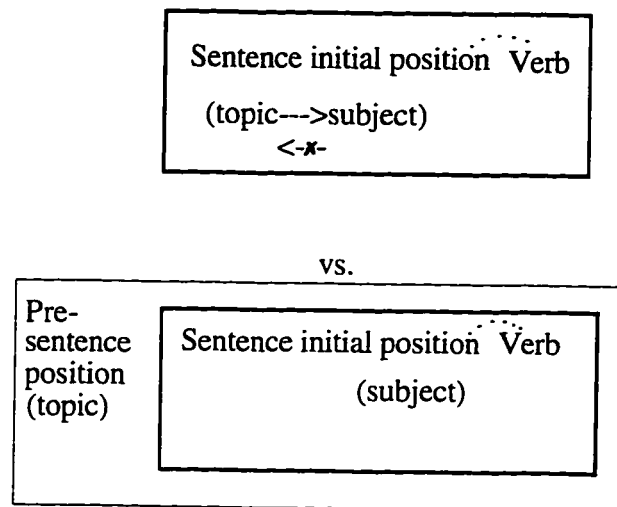


Fig1: Sentence initial position vs. pre-sentential position

Pre-sentential position stands outside the domain of subcategorization of verb; it does not necessarily have a semantic role; it is usually marked with topic particle *-(n)un*; <sup>14</sup> and it is not restricted to scene setting functions. On the other hand, sentence initial position is sentence internal; it is an essential element which is determined by the verb; it is marked with nominative case or topic particle; it has a semantic role. Most of all, sentence initial position is characterized by a special sense of EMPOWEREDNESS in relation to other sentence internal positions, especially when VOICE is taken into consideration. We will examine the

<sup>14</sup> Case markers also can occur.

EMPOWEREDNESS of the sentence initial position and how it is affected by the presence of the {-i} suffix.

The format of the dissertation is as follows. Chapters 2 explores the semantic property of the sentence initial position and the function of the I-suffix in both prototypical passive and middle constructions.

Chapter 3 examines the three types of causative constructions.

Chapter 4 reviews previous remarks and concludes with a discussion of the functional affinity of the suffix {-i} in various I-suffixed constructions, in relation to the sentence initial position.



## Chapter 2

### Passive

#### 2.0. Introduction

The distinction between the passive and active in Korean has been explained in terms of pragmatic motivation (E. Kim 1992, Kwak 1994, etc.).<sup>1</sup> That is, in a semantically transitive event, the selection of the passive over the active voice and vice versa signals the major pragmatic perspective of relative topicality of the Agent and the non-Agent (i.e., viewpoint of a given situation, following Givón (1984, 1994), and Kuno (1976)).<sup>2</sup> When the Agent participates centrally with respect to an event and is chosen for sentence initial position and the Patient has a more peripheral relation to the event, the active voice is used. Passive voice is used in the opposite circumstance. Consequently, the choice of which semantic role, Agent and Patient, is pragmatically more prominent determines which appears in sentence initial position, and leads to voice selection.

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<sup>1</sup> The Korean passive is traditionally asserted to have lexical, suffixal, and phrasal forms. My discussion will be centered on the suffixal type, which is formed with the addition of the affixes *-i/-hi/-li/-ki* to the verb root.

<sup>2</sup> Kuno (1976) has basically the same view that the subject takes first priority to be interpreted as a discourse topic. However, Kuno's claim that passive sentences signify speaker placement closer to the new entity than to the old is not always true, since thematically, importance is not necessarily related to a new information.

However, I will claim that the Korean suffix *-i-* does not necessarily function as the traditionally approved term 'passive' suggests. **First**, every active sentence is not paired with a passive turn, or vice versa. It has been noted that the active and the suffixal passive constructions do not preserve semantic identity, or that only one voice is possible in a certain situation. Voice selection interacts with a general semantic restriction on what may occur in sentence initial position. Meanwhile, periphrastic passives do not have such a condition. Thus, they can be treated as 'genuine' passives in that they keep the same meaning as their active counterparts, yet they usually sound unnatural or sound like translations of English passive sentences. **Second**, passive sentences do not necessarily start with the Patient, since other roles can appear in sentence initial position. **Third**, semantically/syntactically intransitive events can take the *-i* suffix. The focus here will **not** be on determining whether *-i/-hi/-li/-ki* is a 'passive' suffix, but on determining the senses it has and their coherence.

In 2.1., we will discuss the meaning of sentence initial position, which has special status in relation to the position which follows it. The degree of optimality of connection between the position and the filler (i.e., participant) affects the acceptability of a given sentence (and eventually, the selection of voice). We will then turn to see how the so-called passive suffix (I-suffix, hereafter) is incorporated into the event and how it

modifies the semantics of sentence initial position (eventually event) in 2.2. We will conclude this Chapter in 2.3.

### 2.1. The meaning of sentence initial position

The choice of semantic role for pragmatic prominence (i.e. sentence initial participant) is not so free as in English. Descriptively speaking, the pragmatic motivation for voice selection is constrained by a semantic condition that a sentence can very rarely start with an **inert inanimate** entity which is followed by animate entity. Korean voice has to function within this condition.<sup>3</sup> I will call this condition the 'EMPOWEREDNESS of sentence initial position' (ESI, hereafter).<sup>4</sup> This condition reflects speaker's bias in picking an entity as sentence initial participant in relation to others.

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<sup>3</sup> In fact, various grammatical phenomena are sensitive to animacy in Korean. Agent marking in the passive clause and recipient marking in the ditransitive clause are both by either dative *-eykey* or the locative *-ey*, depending on the animacy. The ablative or source case 'from' in Korean is *-eykeyse/-hantheyse/-lopwuthe* for a human entity and *-eyse* is for a non-human entity.

<sup>4</sup> This condition conforms to Langacker's (1991:304-321) two of four topicality factors for subjecthood: the Agentivity, and the empathy hierarchy, according to the potentials of entities to attract our empathy ('egocentric assessment') and Agentivity :

speaker>hearer> human> animal > physical object > abstract entity

Song (1987) hypothesizes cause-effect and reason-effect relations for the passive typology, respectively, for the English type (objective affectedness), which is not rigid in the selection of the passive subject, and the Korean-Japanese type (empathy-based affectedness), which is sensitive to the animacy relation of participants.

E. Kim (1992:55) claims that affectedness has a general meaning as well as the well formedness conditions for the Korean passive. Kim says that a) the unmarked voice subject (i.e., Agent) must be powerful enough to affect the grammatical subject, b) the speaker must feel empathy with the affected patient. His definition of affectedness includes inanimate passive subjects with animate Agents. But as he notices, this takes into account the 'prototypical' passive. When the Agency of the unmarked voice subject is low or when the unmarked voice subject is deleted, the passive need not have the affectedness meaning.

A lexical semantic condition such as that embodied in the **ESI** plays an important role in the selection of voice. That is, when there are both an Agent and a non-Agent in the same sentence, the one which is animate occurs in sentence initial position, and this is ultimately reflected in the selection of voice. The ESI condition is often referred as Animacy Hierarchy. In sentence (1), the abstract noun *sikan* 'time' cannot exert physical influence on human being. In order to depict this situation, only the passive form is acceptable. Here, I will call *sikan* 'time' 'pseudo-agent', since it never occurs in initial position in an active paraphrase:

- (1) a. \**sikan-i na-lul ccoch-nun-ta*  
           time-nom I-acc chase-pres-dec  
           'Time is chasing me'
- b. *Nay-ka sikan-ey ccoch-ki-n-ta*  
           I-nom time-loc chase-I-pres-dec  
           'I am pressed for time'  
           'I am chased by time (lit.)'

The same asymmetrical relation between sentence initial participant and non-initial participant allows us to understand why we never utter the passive sentence (2b). The inert and inanimate thing *pap* 'rice' is not acceptable in initial position with human agent in non-initial position:

- (2) a. *John-i pap-ul mek-ess-ta*  
           John-nom rice-acc eat-past-dec

'John ate rice'

- b. \*pap-i     John-eykey     mek-hi-ess-ta  
      rice-nom   John-dat       eat-I-past-dec

'Rice is eaten by John'

EMPOWEREDNESS of sentence initial position will restrict the participants in that position. The content which they bring to that function must be compatible with it. Inspection of the (in)compatibilities will allow us to understand more of the semantic nature of sentence initial position, i.e., EMPOWEREDNESS. When two participants (e.g. Agent and Patient) are competing for sentence initial position, generally the animate entity is chosen. In semantically transitive constructions, the initial participant is not outweighed by other participants in terms of the animacy hierarchy. However, this hierarchy is not one dimensional, since the sentence (3a), in with an inanimate, but motile entity *cha* 'car' in sentence initial position, is still acceptable with a human Agent *ai* 'child':

- (3) a. cha-ka     ai-lul     pat-ass-ta  
      car-nom   child-acc   run over-past-dec  
      'The car ran over the child'
- b. ai-ka         cha-ey     pat-hi-ess-ta  
      child-nom car-loc     run over-I-past-dec  
      'The child was run over by the car'

What seems to be relevant to occurrence in initial position when there are two participants is motility as well as animacy.

When two participants are both inanimate, but one is motile enough to affect the other entity, either active or passive is possible if we can feel sympathy for the affected object:

- (4) a.   thayphwung-i   on       maul-ul       whipssul-ess-ta  
           typhoon-nom   whole   village-acc   sweep-past-dec  
           'The typhoon swept away the whole village'
- b.   on       maul-i       thayphwung-ey   whipssul-li-ess-ta  
           whole   village-nom   typhoon-loc       sweep-I-past-dec  
           'The whole village was swept away by the typhoon'

The sentence of (4) are instantly in contrast with those in (5), in which the active-passive contrast is realized in lexical doublet *ttayli-ta* 'to hit' and *mac-ta* 'to be hit/to encounter':

- (5) a.   \*yakwukong-i   pyek-ul   ttayli-ess-ta  
           baseball-nom   wall-acc   hit-past-dec  
           'The baseball hit the wall'
- b.   John-i       yakwukong-ulo   pyek-ul   ttayli-ess-ta  
           John-nom   baseball-instr   wall-acc   hit-past-dec  
           'John hit the wall with a baseball'
- c.   pyek-i       yakwukong-ey   mac-ass-ta  
           wall-nom   baseball-loc       be hit-past-dec

'The wall was hit with a baseball'

- d. \*pyek-i John-eykey yakwukong-ulo mac-ass-ta  
 wall-nom John-dat baseball-instr be hit-past-dec

'The wall was hit by John with a baseball'

Unlike *thayphwung* 'typhoon', *yakwukong* 'baseball' is not recognized as motile enough to affect another entity. Failing to meet the demands of the ESI, inert instruments such as baseballs cannot be the transitive Agents in Korean, regardless of the nature of the intended Patient. Hence, sentence (5a) fails. The only difference between sentence (4a) and (5a) is whether the sentence initial participant is a potent Agent or not. Sentence (5a) indicates that it is more a matter of how well the participant satisfies the ESI than whether the participant in sentence initial position outranks the following participant. In (5), a human Agent is required. Cf.(5b). However unlikely it is for us to feel sorry for the wall, which might have some damage from the baseball, we can see the wall as central figure to the event in (5c).<sup>5</sup> From sentence (5d) above, we conclude that the participant

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<sup>5</sup> Instrumental *-lo* and locative *-ey* tend to cooperate with dynamic and static situation, respectively, which is directly related to whether Agent is assumed or not. Thus, in the choice of the case for the instrument, the active (5b) prefers the instrumental case and the Agent-less passive (5c) prefers the locative case. Likewise, periphrastic and suffixal passive forms (i.e., spontaneous events) go better with *-lo* and *-ey*, respectively:

- i. a. kwulttwuk-i tol-\*ey/lo mak-a-ci-ess-ta  
 chimney-nom stone-loc/inst block-link-CI-past-dec  
 'The chimney was blocked with the stones (Agented action)'  
 b. kwulttwuk-i tol-ey/\*lo mak-hi-ess-ta  
 chimney-nom stone-loc/inst block-I-past-dec  
 'The chimney blocked up with the stones (spontaneous, non-Agentive action)'

in initial position cannot be outranked in motility by the participant which follows.

Consistent with (5a), an inanimate and inert entity is not capable of affecting a human being:

- (6) a. \*yawkukong-i John-ul ttayli-ess-ta  
           baseball-nom John-acc hit-past-dec  
           'The baseball hit John'
- b. John-i yawkukong-ey mac-ass-ta  
      John-nom baseball-loc be hit-past-dec  
      'John was hit with the baseball'

The reversed examples of (6) confirm the presence of the ESI condition:

- (7) a. John-i yawkukong-ul ttyali-ess-ta  
      John-nom baseball-acc hit-past-dec  
      'John hit the baseball'
- b. \*yawkukong-i John-eykey mac-ass-ta  
      baseball-nom John-dat be-hit-past-dec  
      'The baseball was hit by John'

As we have observed, the participant in initial position cannot be outranked by a non-initial participant in terms of animacy. Hence, the active succeeds in (7), while the passive fails.



If the Agent is generic and non-specific, sentences with initial inanimate participants are improved so that they are marginally accepted. Compare (9c) with (9b) and (8):

- (8) ce kang-un salam-tul-eykey Han Kang-ilako pwulu-  
that river-top people-pl-dat Han river-as call-  
li-n-ta

I-pres-dec

'That river is called Han Kang by people'

- (9) a. wuli/salamtul/John-un ce san-ul ssangtongi  
we/people/John-top that mountain-acc twin  
pong-ilako pwulu-n-ta  
peak-as call-pres-dec

'We/people/John call that mountain 'Twin Peak'

- b. ce san-un wuli/salamtul-eykey ssangtongi  
that mountain-top we/people-dat twin  
pong-ilako pwulu-li-n-ta  
peak-as call-I-pres-dec

'That mountain is called 'Twin Peak' by us/people'

- c. \*ce san-un John-eykey ssangtongi pong-ilako  
that mountain-top John-dat twin peak-as  
pwulu-li-n-ta  
call-I-pres-dec

'That mountain is called 'Twin Peak' by John'

Sentences (8) and (9b) demonstrate that the extent to which an inanimate participant satisfies the demands of sentence initial position in functioning as focus of attention follows from a comparison of that participant with others in the sentence. The 'impersonality' of generics is insufficient to outweigh inanimates, and (8) and (9b) succeed.

The sentence initial participant tends to imply an emotional attachment of the speaker to it over other participants. Comparison of sentences (6a) and (7b) demonstrates that it is not only an ability of the participant to function as Agent that is at work. This is because an inanimate Patient fails in a passive expression (7b), just as an inanimate Agent fails in (6a). Emotional attachment will adhere preferably to an animate participant and because sentence initial position identifies the participant with which that attachment is felt, both (6a) and (7b) fail. This accords to the fact that we can feel empathy for a human entity more than for a non-human thing. This becomes more obvious in the passive construction, which is known to be easily associated with the meaning of adversity. In sentence (3b), we can feel sorry for a child who was run over, while in (3a) we simply report an event which happened to a child. Likewise, in sentence (4a), we are reporting of the typhoon destroying the village, while in sentence (4b), we can evoke empathy with the typhoon-struck village.<sup>6</sup> Sentence (10), in

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<sup>6</sup> My definition of empathy is used similar to sentence.

which an inanimate thing is in sentence initial position with a human agent in non-initial position, is thus acceptable(cf. example from E. Kim (1992)):

- (10) a. aitul-i            hwacho-lul palp-ass-ta  
          children-nom plants-acc stomp-past-dec  
          'Children stomped on the plants'
- b. hwacho-ka aitul-eykey palp-hi-ess-ta  
      plants-nom children-dat stomp-I-past-dec  
      'Plants were stomped on by children'
- c. hwacho-ka    palp-hi-ess-ta  
      plants-nom    stomp-pass-past-dec  
      'Plants were stomped on'

Such examples seem to violate the ESI, since the following oblique participant outranks the initial participant in animacy, yet inert entities like 'plants' are interpreted as sentient beings, which can evoke some emotion from the interlocutors. This shows that sympathy is a property of the initial position itself since none is experienced for the non-initial child in (3a), nor for the non-initial village in (4a). This behavior indicates again that the ESI is not unidimensional. When Agents appear initially, they must be adequate to that position, and motility is prominent. When Patients appear in initial position, they must bring with them a sentiency which is capable of sustaining the empathy which is attributed to them:

	Agent	Patient
Initial position	Motility	Sentiency

Now, we can summarize: the speaker tends to pick more animate, motile, and empathetic entities in sentence initial position in relation to non-initial position:

EMPOWEREDNESS of sentence initial position

i) Animacy: human>animate>inanimate>abstract

ii) Agentivity: motile > inert

iii) Empathy: sentient > non-sentient

Human beings embody the optimal candidate for sentence initial position, since they are maximally human, motile, and sentient.

EMPOWEREDNESS of sentence initial position is also observed in the fact that volitionality, purposefulness and responsibility is attributed only to the initial participant (when it is one that can have volition or purpose). In the active (11a), both the Korean expression and its English gloss agree in attributing the intentionality to Mary:

- (11) a. Mary-ka John-ul ilpwule cap-ass-ta  
 Mary-nom John-acc on purpose catch-past-dec  
 'Mary caught John on purpose'

But in (11b), the intentionality is attributed only to 'John' in the Korean expression, while the English gloss differs in associating intention with 'Mary':<sup>7</sup>

- b. John-i Mary-eykey ilpwule cap-hi-ess-ta  
 John-nom Mary-dat on purpose catch-I-past-dec  
 'John was intentionally caught by Mary'

Pragmatically, sentence initial position identifies the participant to which the speaker gives the greatest attention: i.e., topical.<sup>8</sup> That is, EMPOWEREDNESS of the sentence initial position is also confirmed by its

<sup>7</sup> A situation which topicalizes the inanimate Patient which is affected by the animate Agent is expressed in periphrastic passive form (see 2.2.2.3.1). Periphrastic passive constructions always assume the existence of an Agent, which occurs with the case marker *-eyuyhay* (which indicates Manner with inanimate entity and Agent with human beings), derived from the intransitive verb *uyha-ta* 'to be based (on)', 'to have recourse (to)', 'to be due (to)') signaling the Agent's active and intrusive involvement in an event. This sometimes creates a conflict with the sentence initial inanimate Patient, which tries to keep the EMPOWEREDNESS in relation to the following participant. This gives native Korean speakers the impression of marginal acceptability. And yet, suffixal passive constructions like (i) can be improved with the Agentive case:

- i. a. \*kwukki-ka kwunin-tul-eykey ccic-ki-ess-ta  
 flag-nom soldier-pl-dat tear-I-past-dec  
 b. kwukki-ka kwunin-tul-eyuyhay ccic-ki-ess-ta  
 flag-nom soldier-pl-agnt tear-I-past-dec  
 'The flag was torn by soldiers'

The dative *-eykey*, which designates a less active and less intrusive role, cannot accommodate the human being as in (ia), while the Agentive *-eyuyhay* can in (ib). For this reason, we treat the dative Agent as sentence internal participant, while the Agentive Agent as sentence external one (i.e., adjunct phrase).

However, when the sentence initial participant is a human Patient, Agentive Agent is not allowed, since a simple sentence allows one intentional entity:

- (11) c. \*John-i Mary-eyuyhay ilpwule cap-hi-ess-ta  
 John-nom Mary-agnt on purpose catch-I-past-dec  
 'John was caught intentionally by Mary'

<sup>8</sup> In Korean, the grammatical function, subject or object is marked explicitly by word order and case markers. As for word order, Korean is known as SOV. Therefore, we interpret two nouns in the order of subject and object, even if they are not marked with the cases. But the inverted order OSV is allowed in special contexts, in which case markers are not deletable, since the unmarked grammatical relation should be subject and then object. In unmarked contexts, the subject is clause-initial and topic/nominative case marked, and attracts the focal attention. Pragmatic prominence is realized as initial position by default.

pragmatic prominence as well as its role function.<sup>9</sup> Occurrence in sentence initial position identifies the participant with which the speaker has the greatest empathy. Various components of a Korean utterance align themselves with this sense and thereby confirm its presence. **First**, in confirmation of the primacy in EMPOWEREDNESS assigned to the sentence initial position, whatever participant is expressed in sentence initial position must not be lexically less capable of sustaining the EMPOWEREDNESS of that position than any which follow it. The fact that *\*Pap-i John-eykey mek-hi-ess-ta* 'Rice was eaten by John' is unacceptable, but *Pap-i mek-hi-ess-ta* 'Rice was eaten' is normal, illustrates that principle that the capacity for EMPOWEREDNESS of the participant in initial position (e.g. *pap* 'rice') is compared and ranked with the non-initial one (e.g. 'John'). *\*Sikan-i na-lul ccoch-nun-ta* 'Time is pressing me' fails because *na* 'I' is a better expression of EMPOWEREDNESS, but *sikan* 'time' occupies the sentence initial position which signals the greater EMPOWEREDNESS. Reversing the order with *Na-nun sikan-ey ccoh-ki-n-ta* accords the content of the lexical items with the grammatical mark of EMPOWEREDNESS, and the sentence succeeds. Comparing the pair composed by the acceptable *John-i* [Agent] *pap-ul mek-ess-ta* 'John ate rice' and the unacceptable *\*Pap-i John-eykey mek-hi-ess-ta*

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<sup>9</sup> However, the EMPOWEREDNESS does not overlap with the topicality in some cases like inversion, double-nominative constructions and/or non-volitional constructions.

(from above) with the pair \**Sikan-i na-lul ccoch-nun-ta* and *Na-nun* [Patient] *sikan-ey ccoch-ki-n-ta* shows that role is not the determining factor of what can or cannot appear initially. That is, where the participants themselves demonstrate a disparity in their ability to sustain EMPOWEREDNESS, regardless of the role they fill, it must be the case that the participant inherently most worthy of EMPOWEREDNESS finds itself in initial position. This confirms the connection between the content of EMPOWEREDNESS and the grammatical marker of initial position. **Second**, all things being equal, the Agent appears as the least marked role in sentence initial position. This is what gives the impression that Korean is S-initial (SOV). **Third**, any Agent participant which appears in sentence initial position (transitive or intransitive) must be at least motile. Cf. the failure of *sikan* 'time' in (1a) and the success of *cha* 'car' in (3a) and *thayphwung* 'typhoon' in (4a). **Fourth**, if the Patient appears in sentence initial position it must be capable of supporting the EMPOWEREDNESS of that position (cf. *maul* 'village' in (4a) and *hwacho* 'plants' in (10b)). The observations on the requirement of motility for Agents and of sentience for Patients in initial position again demonstrates the independence of the content of this grammatical signal from role. Whether Agent or Patient, it is the same requirement in each case, but a requirement adjusted for difference in the nature of the role, i.e. motility for Agents and sentience

for Patients. The result of this is that Korean conspires to associate the following properties with sentence initial position:

Sentence initial position  
Empathy  
Intentionality  
Unmarked Agent  
Motility(for Agents)  
Sentience(for Patients)

So far, we have examined how Patients in sentence initial position maintain the EMPOWEREDNESS in relation to 'demoted' Agent. Consider now the following passive-form only sentence. Sentence (12) is never paired with an active sentence, since it does not imply an Agent 'to be demoted' (i.e., 'Agent-less' passive):

- (12)      nalssi-ka      phwul-li-ess-ta  
             weather-nom solve-I-past-dec  
             'It got warm'  
             'The weather was resolved (lit.)'

In a word, it is a single-participant event. Sentence initial participants are not Agent or Patient. For the same reason, we cannot paraphrase sentence (12) into the phrasal counterpart, which always implies the existence of Agent.

On the other hand, the passive sentence (13a) can be expressed in the phrasal passive form of (13b), when it implies the existence of a hidden Agent:



- (13) a. komwucwul-i      kkunh-ki-ess-ta  
          rubberband-nom   cut-I-past-dec  
          'The rubberband broke in two'
- b. komwucwul-i      kkunh-e-ci-ess-ta  
          rubberband-nom   cut-link-CI-past-dec  
          'The rubberband was cut'

Sentence (13a) is appropriate when a rubberband breaks in an instant, due to its inherent state, such as being wornout. Therefore, the adverb *cecello* 'on its own accord' can be inserted in sentence (13a), but not (13b). By contrast, the phrasal passive form (13b) always implies the existence of some outer force and an intentional effort, which may hint at a time-lapse. The meaning of spontaneity is absent in the phrasal passive form.

The medio-passive English sentence 'The book sells well' is expressed in the I-form in Korean. We do not express the Agent phrase in this medio-passive event, since the quality of the book is sufficient to cause it to be a hot-seller:

- (14)      ku   chayk-un   cal   phal-li-n-ta  
          the   book-top   well   sell-I-past-dec  
          'The book sells well'

Now, note that sentence (7b) sounds suddenly improved if we omit the Agent, add the adverb of manner *cal* 'well', and switch the tense to present:

- (15)      yakwukong-i   cal   mac-nun-ta

baseball-nom well be.hit-pres-dec

'The baseball hits well'

But the meaning of (15) is not what (7a) or (7b) intends to express. Sentence (15) is true in a situation in which a baseball player (=speaker) is skilled at playing baseball and he hits every pitch safely. The event occurs without a player's volition, and the Agent-oriented intentional adverb *ilpwule* 'intentionally' is not compatible here.

Sentence (2) above has the same possibilities as (7):

(16) (na-nun) pap-i (cal/cecello/\*ilpwule)

(I-top) rice-nom (well/by itself/intentionally)

(\*na-eykey) mek-hi-n/ess-ta

(I-dat) eat-I-pres/past-dec

'(As for me) Rice is/was eaten (well/by itself/intentionally)

(i.e. , The speaker has/had a good appetite for rice)'

Even if sentence (17) appears to be the active counterpart of sentence (16), their meanings are not equivalent:

(17) na-nun pap-ul (cal/\*cecello/ilpwule) mek-

I-top rice-acc (well/by itself/intentionally) eat-

nun/ess-ta

pres/past-dec

'I eat/ate rice (well/by itself/intentionally)'

Sentence (16) describes a situation that a speaker was able to eat a meal with a good appetite regardless of his intention. In contrast, the event of sentence (17) happened with the speaker's own intention, as it is evidenced by the occurrence of *ilpwule*. E. Kim (1992) captures the major difference between (16) and (17) in terms of the volitionality of the participant 'eater' (i.e., 'passive voice' vs. 'non-volitional voice'). One of the characteristics of the non-volitional eating is that (16) is about the speaker, and no one else, while there is no such restriction on that of the active (17). In fact, however, the non-volitional reading of (16) ultimately stems from the sentence initial participant, which is incapable of maintaining volition. In other words, some inherent properties of 'rice' are responsible for such event to occur.<sup>10</sup>

There is one more thing to mention about the function of the topic noun in the passive form (16) and the active form (17). Two nouns are marked with the topic particle *-(n)un*, but they are given the different grammatical positions and semantic roles. *Na-nun* 'I-top' in sentence (16) is not a sentence-internal participant. In this pre-sentential position, a semantic role such as Agent is not assigned, and these participants have

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<sup>10</sup> The following pair shows the same pattern:

- |    |                                      |              |                 |
|----|--------------------------------------|--------------|-----------------|
| a. | (na-nun/*John-un)                    | papmas-i     | coh-ta          |
|    | (I/John-top)                         | appetite-nom | good-dec'       |
|    | 'As for me, my appetite is good'     |              |                 |
|    | *'As for John, his appetite is good' |              |                 |
| b. | (na-nun/*John-un)                    | pap-i        | mas-iss-ta      |
|    | (I/John-top)                         | rice-nom     | taste-exist-dec |
|    | 'As for me, rice tastes good'        |              |                 |
|    | *'As for John, rice tastes good'     |              |                 |

been often treated as Experiencers. But it needs a careful definition, since it is not like the prototypical Experiencer. The same noun in (17) is a sentence-internal participant, and it is straightforwardly an Agent. This interpretation stands in opposition to E. Kim (1992), according to whom, the 'object' will be differently case-marked, depending on the volitionality of the 'subject':<sup>11</sup>

i)	Position	Position	Position
a)	pre-sentential TOPIC top 1	[sentence-initial EMPOWERED nom	V+I/Stative Verb]
b)		[sentence-initial TOPIC AND EMPOWERED nom/top 1/2/3/	sentence-middle Eventive Verb] acc

vs.

ii) E. Kim's analysis

a.	subject [-vol]	object -->nom	Vint
b.	subject [+vol]	object -->acc	Vt

The phenomenon of (16) and (17) occurs with a couple of perception verbs *po-ta* 'to see' vs. *po-i-ta* 'to be seen' and *tut-ta* 'to hear' vs. *tut-li-ta* 'to be heard', and psychological verbs which have either active *coaha-ta* 'to like' vs. stative *coh-ta* 'likeable, and so on.

<sup>11</sup> Shibatani (1977:793) makes a similar claim that some verbs require an object in the Nom case, though Nom is normally reserved for a subject.

Generally, we can say that the sentence initial position indexes the **conceptual** originating point of an event, which is encoded with the nominative/topic marker. This status is usually in accord with the pragmatic primacy in topicality. Meanwhile, sentence middle position indexes the conceptual terminus of the event, which is marked with the accusative or dative marker. However, sentence initial and sentence non-initial position are unspecified with respect to particular roles. And the asymmetric relations between two positions are observed. Both in prototypical passives and non-prototypical ones (i.e., Agentive and Agent-less passive), the sentence initial participant Patient is not like the Patient in the active transitive constructions, in the sense that it can control the event. In a sense, the non-Agent role acquires Agent-like behavior in sentence initial position. The asymmetrical relation holds sentence internally; thus, pre-sentential elements and adjunct phrases like the Agentive case-marked element are excluded from this relationship.

## 2.2 The function of the I-suffix

So far, I have concentrated upon the meaning of the sentence initial position. Now, we turn our attention to the content of the I-suffix, and our contention will be that in its various uses it signals a diminished EMPOWEREDNESS of sentence initial position. The specific effect of this will vary depending upon the context in which the affix occurs.

The I-suffix marks a lessening of EMPOWEREDNESS of sentence initial position. For some participants in this position, the accommodation of EMPOWEREDNESS will be required, since without this adjustment, the content of the sentence-initial participant would fail to satisfy the function it is to fulfill in that position. A human Agent provides the optimal semantic match between syntactic position and its filler; and the verb appears in its unmarked form. When a mismatch (such as patient role or inanimate entity in sentence initial position) occurs, we find a special coding on the verb stem.

An example of the decrease of EMPOWEREDNESS in sentence initial position is given in (18b), i.e., the shift from Agent in (18a) to Patient:

- (18) a. Mary-ka John-ul cap-ass-ta  
           Mary-nom John-acc catch-past-dec  
           'Mary caught John'
- b. John-i Mary-eykey cap-hi-ess-ta  
           John-nom Mary-dat catch-I-past-dec  
           'John was caught by Mary'

Sentence (18b) gives the impression of being the Passive alternative to (18a), but given the functional characterization of *-i/-hi/-li/-ki*, which I propose above, we may expect the suffix to appear in other environments consistent with its meaning. If we keep this function in mind, we can

explain the I- marking on intransitive verbs and further go on to explain in a coherent way how *-i/-hi/-li/-ki* can express causation.

Figure 1 depicts that the less capable the participant is in the sentence initial position, the more reduced the EMPOWEREDNESS in this position, whereby the chance for the I-suffix to occur increases. And finally a sentence can end up being unacceptable, when the ESI cannot be maintained:

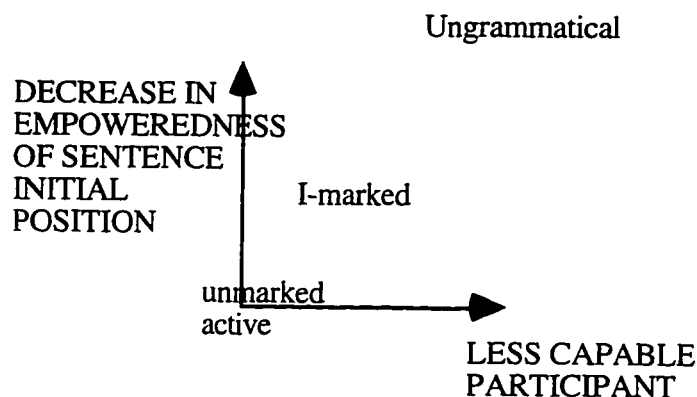


Fig 1: The interaction of sentence initial position and I-morpheme

In following sections, we will see how the sentence initial position sustains EMPOWEREDNESS, and what the I-suffix encodes.

### 2.2.1. The prototypical passive

In Korean, unlike Indo-European languages, the passive construction involves the empathy-based affectedness of the Patient (Song 1987). It is then easily related to the meaning of adversity. The Patient is both topical

and EMPOWERED. Pragmatically motivated Agent demotion expresses its lowered topicality by placing the Agent in non-initial position and by coding it with an oblique case--either marked with the dative or with locative case--or by simply leaving it unexpressed. However, this explanation obtains only in semantically transitive events. And this I-form fits what corresponds to the English passive, viz., the 'true-Patient passive' or 'prototypical passive'. Here, we will examine how the sentence initial participant in the passive form maintains the principle of EMPOWEREDNESS.

#### 2.2.1.1. Animate Agents and Patients

Semantically transitive events in which two participants are equal in Animacy are easily expressed with two alternate forms of the verbs:<sup>12</sup>

- (19) a. Mary-ka John-ul (ilpwule) cap-ass-ta  
           Mary-nom John-acc intentionally catch-past-dec  
           'Mary caught John'
- b. John-i Mary-eykey (ilpwule) cap-hi-ess-ta  
       John-nom Mary-dat (on purpose) catch-I-past-dec  
       'John was (intentionally) caught by Mary'

After the event structure is modified into (19b), the Agent in sentence middle position, *Mary-eykey*, which is now marked with dative, is

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<sup>12</sup> That is, the prototype describes two-participant event.



contrasted with *Mary-ka* in sentence initial position of (19a), which implies more motile and intrusive Agent role. Sentence middle position cannot accommodate an active/intrusive participant. The Patient participant in (19b), in contrast with Agent in (19a), is a less optimal candidate for sentence initial position, a condition which is encoded by the I-suffix on the verb. In the active version of (19a), *ilpwule* qualifies the sentence initial participant, the Agent 'Mary', and in (19b) the Patient 'John', now in sentence initial position of (19b), acquires sufficient EMPOWEREDNESS to be compatible with the intentional adverb *ilpwule* 'on purpose'. Of course, *ilpwule* 'on purpose' in (20b) is not permitted with a non-human animate subject like 'bear', since only human beings can have volition to do some action:<sup>13</sup>

- (20) a. John-i kom-ul ccoch-nun-ta  
           John-nom bear-acc chase-pres-dec  
           'John is chasing a bear'
- b. kom-i John-eykey ccoch-ki-n-ta  
           bear-nom John-dat chase-I-pres-dec  
           'The bear is being chased by John'

Anyway, the two sentences of (20) depict the same event from a different 'point-of-view'. When the speaker places himself with respect to Agent,

<sup>13</sup> The same account applies to the active sentence *kom-i John-ul \*ilpwule ccoch-nun-ta* 'A bear is intentionally chasing John'. Of course, we might say this sentence in a special context that a personified bear is treated equal to a human being.

he uses the active version. When the speaker views the event from the bear's viewpoint, the I-form is used. Prototypically, sentence initial position is filled with Agent, and the unmarked verb form is used. If a non-Agentive participant (i.e., Patient) is placed sentence initially, it requires a marked coding to indicate its less than optimal match with the demands of that position, which in turn provides the Patient with a sense of volition/intent and/or empathy that it lacked in non-initial position. Likewise, when two arguments are equally animate, the voice switch is relatively free, even in cases when the verb *pokk-ta* 'to fry' has undergone a semantic shift from 'fry' to 'annoy':

- (21) a. *emma-ka kKay-lul pokk-ass-ta*  
 mother-nom sesame-acc fry-past-dec  
 'Mother fried sesame'
- b. *\*kKay-ka emma-eykey pokk-i-ess-ta*  
 sesame-nom mother-dat fry-I-past-dec  
 'Sesame was fried by mother'
- (22) a. *John-i Mary-lul pokk-ass-ta*  
 John-nom Mary-acc fry-past-dec  
 'John annoyed Mary'  
 'John fried Mary (lit.)'
- b. *Mary-ka John-eykey pokk-i-ess-ta*  
 Mary-nom John-dat fry-I-past-dec

'Mary was annoyed by John'

'Mary was fried by John (lit.)'

Example (23a) shows the worst match between sentence initial position and the filler. An inanimate and inert entity like a stone cannot kick a child, and we can only use the *-i/-hi/-li/-ki* marked verb:

- (23) a. \*tol-i          ai-lul          cha-ss-ta  
          stone-nom   child-acc   kick-past-dec  
          \*'The stone kicked a child'

- b. ai-ka          tol-ey          cha-i-ess-ta  
      child-nom   stone-loc   kick-I-past-dec  
      'The child tripped on a stone'  
      'The child was kicked on a stone (lit.)'

Now, consider another example. The active sentence (24a), which has the inanimate Agent *cha* 'car' and the animate Patient *ai* 'child', is easily accepted, since 'the car' is an inanimate, but is a motile entity which is capable of triggering an action toward an animate, but inert entity 'the child': Cf. (23a)

- (24) a. cha-ka          ai-lul          chi-ess-ta  
          car-nom      child-acc   hit-past-dec  
          'The car ran over the child'
- b. ai-ka          cha-ey          chi-i-ess-ta  
      child-nom   car-loc      hit-I-past-dec

'The child was run over by the car'

Some (cf. Klaiman 1988) insist that sentence (24b) is preferable to (24a), due to the animacy condition in Korean. But both are equally well-formed, and any preference depends on a given discourse context (i.e., topicality), or existence of sympathy toward the child.

As we have already observed that EMPOWEREDNESS is not unidimensional, an inanimate Patient which is regarded as a sentient being may occur sentence initially and mark reduced EMPOWEREDNESS, e.g., (10b).

Now, I will enumerate some semantic and syntactic behaviors observed in the prototypical passive constructions.

First, the prototypical passive is limited to verbs of physically affecting action such as *mwul-li-ta* 'bite-I-dec', *cap-hi-ta* 'catch-I-dec', *palp-hi-ta* 'step-I-dec', *ppayass-ki-ta* 'take-I-dec', *ccic-ki-ta* 'tear-I-dec', *kkak-i-ta* 'cut-I-dec', and *ccal-li-ta* 'cut-I-dec', etc.<sup>14</sup> Thus, in the passive turn of the semantically transitive situation, the sense of adversity is usually expected. The sentence initial participant is a true-Patient and is physically affected by a non-initial participant. Complex sentences like (25), which involve a word order switch between the sentence initial participant 'government' and the heavy object clause, and complex sentences such as (26) and (27) all imply that the Patient is affected in an

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<sup>14</sup> Unless these verbs do not have an inanimate Patient.

unfavorable way. That is, the passive form is more appropriate when the affected entity is intended to elicit sympathy. The sense of adversity disappears in the active sentence:

- (25)      wuli   kwukmin-uy   pwukhayk   uysik-kwa  
              our   people-gen   north nucleus   awareness-conj  
              phantan-i  
              judgment-nom  
              oysin-kwa            oykwuk            cengpwu-eyuyhay  
              foreign news-conj   foreign country   government-agnt  
              ikkul-li-e-tani-koiss-um-ul<sup>15</sup>            cengpwu-nun  
              lead-I-link-go-prog-nomnlzr-acc   government-top  
              thongcelhi   nukki-eyaha-l-kes-i-ta  
              keenly            feel-should-comp-thing-cop-dec  
              'Our government should be aware of the fact that our  
              consciousness and judgment of the North nucleus are  
              led by foreign reports and foreign governments'
- (26)      komo-nun i   pen-eyto   ttal-ul   nah-umyen  
              aunt-top   this time-again   daughter-acc   deliver-if  
              sitayk elun-tul-eykey   ccoch-ki-e-na-l-kes-  
              parents-in-law-pl-dat   expel-I-link-come-comp-thing-

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<sup>15</sup> *ikkul-li-e tani-ta* 'to be led away' is a compound verb.

man kath-supni-ta  
only appear-hon-dec

'It seems that my aunt will be expelled by her parents-  
in-law if she gives birth to a daughter again'

- (27) tali-ka ccalpun talun chinkwu-nun cwuin-eykey  
leg-nom short other friend-top owner-dat  
tali-lul pwuthcap-hi-ess-ta  
leg-acc seize-I-past-dec

'The other friend whose leg is short was seized by the  
owner'

But, the semantics of adversity is not present with the verbs, *an-ta*  
'embrace' and *ep-ta* 'carry on the back'. Sentences (28b) and (29b) do not  
attribute any unfavorable effect on the sentence initial Patient:

- (28) a. enni-ka yetongsayng-ul an-ass-ta  
elder sister-nom younger sister-acc embrace-past-dec  
'The elder sister embraced her younger sister'
- b. yetongsayng-i enni-eykey an-ki-ess-ta  
younger sister-nom elder sister-dat embrace-I-past-dec  
'The younger sister was embraced by her elder sister'
- (29) a. enni-ka yetongsayng-ul ep-ess-ta  
elder sister-nom younger sister-acc carry-past-dec  
'The elder sister carried her younger sister on her back'

b. tongsayng-i enni-eykey ep-hi-ess-ta

younger sibling-nom elder sister-dat carry-I-past-dec

'The younger sister was carried on her elder sister's back'

Furthermore, non-true-Patient passive sentences (i.e., single participant events) never get adversative meaning, since their sentence initial participant is responsible for the success of the event and thus cannot be affected by another participant, which is the precondition for this unfavorable meaning.

Second, consider the construction illustrated in (30a) known as the 'multiple-accusative' construction.<sup>16</sup> Accusative marked nouns are in the

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<sup>16</sup> There is a possession relation between 'John' and 'money'. 'John' can take either ablative *eykeyse* 'from' or genitive case *uy*. In the latter case, this may be called 'possessor raising'. cf. Kang, Myung-Youn (1987). The multiple-accusative sentences are also found in causative and in ditransitive constructions, but the relation between two accusative nouns is not a whole-part one:

- |    |                        |                |           |                |
|----|------------------------|----------------|-----------|----------------|
| a. | John-i                 | Mary-eykey/lul | ton-ul    | cwu-ess-ta     |
|    | John-nom               | Mary-dat/acc   | money-acc | give-past-dec  |
|    | 'John gave Mary money' |                |           |                |
| b. | John-i                 | Mary-eykey/lul | pap-ul    | mek-i-ess-ta   |
|    | John-nom               | Mary-dat/acc   | rice-acc  | eat-I-past-dec |
|    | 'John fed Mary rice'   |                |           |                |

relation of whole-part/possessor-possessed.<sup>17</sup> The passive counterpart of (30a) is either (30b) or (30c):<sup>18</sup>

- (30) a. totwuk-i/nun John-ul ton-ul thel-ess-ta  
 thief-nom/top John-acc money-acc take-past-dec  
 'The thief took John's money'
- b. John-i/un totwuk-eykey ton-ul thel-li-ess-ta  
 John-nom/top thief-dat money-acc take-I-past-dec  
 'John had his money taken by the thief'

<sup>17</sup> The whole noun is either marked with *-(n)un* or *-ka/-i*, depending on the kind of information. The whole noun carries a non-contrastive meaning with *nun*. With the nominative morpheme, it designates who lost some money among possible candidates under discussion. When the part noun is marked with *-nun*, it carries contrastive meaning. John didn't lose anything but some money in sentence (b) below:

- a. John-un/i ton-ul/-i ppayass-ki-ess-ta  
 John-top/nom money-acc/nom steal-I-past-dec  
 'John was taken his money/ As for John, he was taken his money'  
 'It is John who was taken his money'
- b. John-un/i ton-un ppayass-ki-ess-ta  
 John-top/nom money-top steal-I-past-dec  
 'John had nothing but some money taken from him'  
 'It is John who had nothing but some money taken from him'

<sup>18</sup> The periphrastic passive does not show this pattern. Especially, the accusative-marked part noun turns out much worse:

- i. a. ?Mary-ka son-i John-eyuyhay cap-a-ci-ess-ta  
 Mary-nom hand-nom John-agnt hold-link-CI-past-dec  
 'Mary was held by John on the hand'
- b. \*Mary-ka son-ul John-eyuyhay cap-a-ci-ess-ta  
 Mary-nom hand-acc John-agnt hold-link-CI-past-dec

With the nominative *son* 'hand', 'Mary' is not the sentence initial participant, whereby the inanimate *son* 'hand' can allow the Agentive 'John'. Meanwhile, with the accusative *son* 'hand', 'Mary' is the sentence initial participant which might be in conflict with another fully Agentive participant 'John'. That is why the accusative sentence is never allowed.

The unacceptability of (ib) is confirmed by the fact that periphrastic passive forms hardly occur with an animate Patient:

- ii. a. ?Mary-ka John-eyuyhay cap-a-ci-ess-ta  
 Mary-nom John-agnt hold-link-CI-past-dec
- b. kwumeng-i John-eyuyhay mak-a-ci-ess-ta  
 hole-nom John-agnt block-link-CI-past-dec  
 'The hole was blocked by John'

This enables us to conjecture that the sentence initial Patient comes in conflict with the adjunct Agent, in the sense that this situation should endure with two intentional entities.



- c. John-i/un totwuk-eykey ton-i thel-li-ess-ta  
 John-nom/top thief-dat money-nom take-I-past-dec  
 'As for John, his money was taken by a thief'  
 'It is John whose money was taken by a thief'

The order switch of two nouns in the relations of possessor-possessed and whole-part is not allowed, as long as they are marked with the same case markers:

- (30) a'. \*totwuk-i ton-ul John-ul thel-ess-ta<sup>19</sup>  
 thief-nom money-acc John-acc take-past-dec  
 b'. ton-ul John-i totwuk-eykey thel-li-ess-ta  
 money-acc John-nom thief-dat take-I-past-dec  
 'Money, John was taken by a thief'  
 c'. \*ton-i John-i totwuk-eykey thel-li-ess-ta  
 money-nom John-nom thief-dat take-I-past-dec

We can experiment with the difference between sentence (30b) and (30c) by inserting the adverb *ilpwule* 'intentionally' in order to see where intention is imputed. The double nominative construction (30c") does not permit this adverb, while the so-called accusative passive construction (30b") does.<sup>20</sup> It is interesting why this quality disappears with the nominative part-noun in (30c"):

<sup>19</sup> Ditransitive and causative constructions with double accusative nominals allow the order switch. The relationship of two nominals is not whole-part.

<sup>20</sup> The position of the adverb and Agent phrase is flexible.

(30) b". John-i/un totwuk-eykey ton-ul  
 John-nom/top thief-dat money-acc  
 ilpwule thel-li-ess-ta  
 intentionally take-I-past-dec  
 'John intentionally had his money taken by a thief'

c". \*John-i/un totwuk-eykey ton-i ilpwule  
 John-nom/top thief-dat money-nom intentionally  
 thel-li-ess-ta  
 take-I-past-dec

The sentence initial participant in sentence (30c") is not 'John', but *ton-i*, which is incapable of having intention because it is inanimate. The first noun 'John' in sentence (30c") is not the entity which is responsible for the success of the event. 'John' is only the topic, semantically a pendant participant to the sentence. It is a non-argument, which cannot be associated with the semantics of intentionality. This topic noun does not control the event. In other words, it is a case in which EMPOWEREDNESS does not overlap with the topicality. In contrast, 'John' in sentence (30b") is the sentence initial participant to whom the responsibility/intention is attributed. Sentence (30b") is appropriate to a situation in which John gave his money to a thief to save his life.

Now, consider a whole-part relation between inanimate and inert things. Sentence (31a) cannot have the passive counterparts of (31b) and (31c):

- (31) a. John-i piano-lul ttwukkeng-ul yel-ess-ta  
           John-nom piano-acc lid-acc               open-past-dec  
           'John opened the lid of the piano'
- b. \*piano-ka John-eykey ttwukkeng-ul yel-li-ess-ta  
           piano-nom John-dat lid-acc               open-I-past-dec
- c. \*piano-ka John-eykey ttwukkeng-i yel-li-ess-ta  
           piano-nom John-dat lid-nom               open-I-past-dec

Instead, the form (32d) is allowed (see spontaneous processes in 2.2.2.3):

- d. piano-ka ttwukkeng-i (cecello) yel-li-ess-ta  
           piano-nom lid-nom               (by itself) open-I-past-dec  
           'The piano lid opened (by itself)'

The inert entity 'lid', by appearance in the position of EMPOWEREDNESS has sufficient internal energy imputed to it, to make the event happen. That is, it depicts a spontaneous event, allowing the adverb *cecello* 'by its own accord'. At the same time, the I-suffix is required in order to recognize the lessened degree of EMPOWEREDNESS inherent in 'lid', while sentence initial position augments the inertness of 'lid' enough to allow it to move by itself. The unacceptability of (31c) (cf. (30c)) lies in that the noun

*piano-ka* fails to compare favorably with the following *John-eykey* and is less able to support the demand of topic.<sup>21</sup> Cf. the discussion of (7) above.

It is interesting to see the following sentences, in which the whole-part relation is between the plant and its part:

- (32) a. John-i        namwu-lul    kaci-lul        cal-lass-ta  
                  John-nom   tree-acc        bough-acc   cut-past-dec  
                  'John cut the tree's boughs'

Unlike the morphosyntactically parallel (31b) and (31c), in which the passive is disabled, sentences (32b) and (32c) are well accepted:

- b.    namwu-ka John-eykey kaci-lul        cal-li-ess-ta  
                  tree-nom   John-dat        bough-acc   cut-I-past-dec  
                  'The tree bough was cut'
- c.    namwu-ka John-eykey kaci-ka        cal-li-ess-ta  
                  tree-nom   John-dat        bough-nom cut-I-past-dec  
                  'The tree bough was cut'

However, the intentionality is not compatible with plants, thus *ilpwule* is not possible in (32b). Cf. (30b). Like (31d), we can get a spontaneous reading if no Agent is present:

- d.    namwu-ka kaci-ka        (cecello)    cal-li-ess-ta

<sup>21</sup> If the speaker needs to inform the Agent, the phrasal passive can be used:

e.    piano-ka    John-eyuyhay    ttwukkeng-i/\*ul    yel-e-ci-ess-ta  
          piano-nom   John-agent        lid-nom/acc        open-link-CI-past-dec

As we already mentioned, the accusative case-marked part noun is not allowed, since the volitionality is attributed to the adjunct Agent phrase.

tree-nom bough-nom (by itself) cut-I-past-dec

'The tree, its bough broke (by itself)'

The same principle which renders (31b) and (31c) unacceptable allows (32b) and (32c). In (32c), the inanimate part noun *kaci* 'bough' is allowed in sentence initial position, since we can still sympathize with the whole noun 'tree' through its mutilated boughs. A similar observation was already made on sentence (10b), in which plant attracts the empathy and is followed by a human being Agent. Plants are easier to sympathize/empathize with than are purely inanimate things. Plants are capable of budding, growing, or dying, and are partially similar to animate entities. The acceptability of both (31d) and (32d) illustrates the dimension of EMPOWEREDNESS which is associated with strong Agency. Both *piano* and *namwu* can succeed in sentence initial position because they are compatible with 'spontaneity', a weaker Agency whose presence is marked by the I-suffix. At the same time, (31b) and (31c) fail while (32b) and (32c) succeed, because another dimension of EMPOWEREDNESS, namely, that the participant in sentence initial position must equal or exceed all others in its inherent attraction of empathy and interest.

The more inalienably the part noun is possessed by the human possessor, the more possible it is for the entity to occur in sentence initial position. That is, we have seen that a passive construction with an

inanimate Patient like 'rice' or 'wall' with an animate Agent is not permissible:

- (33) a. \*pap-i      John-eykey mek-hi-ess-ta  
              rice-nom John-dat      eat-I-past-dec  
              'Rice was eaten by John'
- b. \*pyek-i      John-eykey mac-ass-ta  
              wall-nom John-dat      be hit-past-dec  
              'The wall was hit by John'

These two inanimate entities contrast with an inanimate Patient 'money', since we allow sentence (33c). And yet, 'money' and 'hand' are different from 'rice' and 'wall', in the sense that they are possessed by human beings, through which they are able to sustain some kind of EMPOWEREDNESS:

- c. ton-i              totwuk-eykey      thel-li-ess-ta  
              money-nom thief-dat              take-I-past-dec  
              'Money was taken by a thief'
- d. son-i              Mary-eykey      cap-hi-ess-ta  
              hand-nom Mary-dat              catch-I-past-dec  
              'The hand was held by Mary'

That explains why sentences (31c) and (32c) have differing acceptabilities: boughs inalienably belong to plants, through which they are able to attract

the attention, while 'lid' fails to maintain EMPOWEREDNESS by being a part of inanimate whole 'piano', just like 'rice' and 'wall'.<sup>22</sup>

In sum, semantically transitive events can be expressed into two voices, depending on the relative topicality, as long as two participants are equal in animacy.<sup>23</sup> When the sentence initial position selects for a less optimal participant (i.e., Patient) than the corresponding one required by the unmarked verb (i.e., Agent), the I-suffix is recruited, and the sentence initial position maintains reduced EMPOWEREDNESS.

The point that the sentence initial position is EMPOWERED and maintains an asymmetrical relation with the middle position amounts to saying that the sentence initial position and the sentence middle position are conceptually referred to as the starting point of the event and terminating point of the event, respectively. The Patient in sentence initial position is conceived differently from that in sentence middle position of the active transitive construction, since it acquires a sort of EMPOWEREDNESS so that it controls the event. That is, intentionality and volitionality are

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<sup>22</sup> Interestingly, when a part is inalienably owned by a human being and it is marked with the accusative case, e.g., *son-ul* 'hand-acc' or *ces-ul* 'breast-acc', a causative interpretation also becomes available. However, it is not always possible for the passive form to have the causative reading. The possibility of getting the causative reading is related to the degree of inalienability between the part and the whole. That is, the causative reading is not always feasible when the part noun does not inalienably belong to a human entity. For instance, *John-un ton-ul totwuk-eykey thel-li-ess-ta* 'John was robbed of his money by a thief' is hardly interpreted as causative. In contrast, *John-un son-ul Mary-eykey cap-hi-ess-ta* can have two interpretations.

<sup>23</sup> In fact, the animate Agent and the inanimate Patient identifies the event as highly transitive (cf. Hopper and Thompson (1980)). But most of transitive events hardly form the standard suffixal passive constructions due to ESI. In this sense, Korean is frequently known as active-prominent or passive-free language.

attributed to the Patient in sentence initial position (when it is human) and not to the oblique Agent.

We now can see how the Agent gets its semantic status in different positions. When it occupies the sentence initial position, it shows unreduced semantics. It is marked with *-(n)un* or *-i/-ka* (i.e., both topical and maximally EMPOWERED). When it occurs in sentence middle position, its semantic/pragmatic status is different from that in the initial position. That is, it undergoes devaluation or underspecificity, and is less integral to the event and tends to be dispensable. Semantically, it cannot overrank the participant in the sentence initial position. Sometimes, the Agent can be marked with *eyuyhay*, which is relatively recent expression introduced by literal translation of the English 'by'. This usage usually sounds odd or exotic in colloquial casual speech. The conflict between *-eyuyhay* and the I-suffix is additional evidence for the description proposed here (cf. footnote 7). The main difference between dative and Agentive case lies in the presence of dynamicity and the remoteness of the Agent. Dative *-eykey* gets rids of intention and implies an participant who is more passively involved in the event. passively. In contrast, *-eyuyhay* implies a dynamic, intentional, but remote participant.<sup>24</sup> It occurs as an

<sup>24</sup> Sentence (a) describes an event in which John had to give his money to a thief because of a direct physical or verbal threat, while sentence (b) is more appropriate in a situation in which the theft takes place less directly-either the thief dupes John into handing over his money, or the thief employs a third party.

a.	John-un	ton-i	totwuk-eykey	ppayass-ki-ess-ta
	John-top	money-nom	thief-dat	take-I-past-dec
b.	John-un	ton-i	totwuk-eyuyhay	ppayass-ki-ess-ta
	John-top	money-nom	thief-agnt	take-I-past-dec





EMPOWEREDNESS of the sentence initial position is maintained in Motility or Empathy. Thus, sentence (35) is not allowed, since the sentence initial participant lacks sufficient Motility to be an unmarked form:

(35=5a) \*yawkukong-i pyek-ul ttayli-ass-ta  
 baseball-nom wall-acc hit-past-dec  
 'The baseball hit the wall'

Unlike typhoon, which is an inanimate, but motile entity, an inanimate and inert entity like baseball, which cannot generate its own energy to affect another entity, can hardly be in sentence initial position with unmarked verb form (i.e., no active form).

Now, the position of sentence (36) is rather ambiguous, depending on whether or not we can manage an emotional attachment to the wall:

(36=5c) pyek-i yawkukong-ey mac-ass-ta  
 wall-nom baseball-loc be shoot-past-dec  
 'The wall was hit by the baseball'

### 2.2.1.3. Participants not equal in animacy

We have seen how the EMPOWEREDNESS of sentence initial position is reduced when the participant is less satisfactory than the position requires and how this is encoded on the verb. The examples so far might

be taken as demonstrating pragmatic demotion or promotion. However, the following examples exist only in a certain voice, due to ESI.<sup>25</sup>

### 2.2.1.3.1. Passive-only form

In comparison with English, Korean 'passive' voice expressions are less frequently acceptable than are their 'active' counterparts. Thus, the

<sup>25</sup> In general, intransitive verbs and centripetal transitive verbs rarely have I-forms. Cf. Appendix II. Some transitive verbs are not associated with the I- suffix. First, a phonological reason can prevent the possible I-forms. When a verb has /i/ vowel in its stem, it does not form the passive form. It seems to avoid any possible phonological confusion: *pe-li-ta* 'to dump', *kkwuli-ta* 'to pack', *tenci-ta* 'to throw', *manci-ta* 'to touch', *kenci-ta* 'to pick', *kwuki-ta* 'to', etc. (cf. *chi-ta* 'to hit' > *chi-i-ta* 'to be hit').

Compound verbs do not undergo passive affixing: *po-ta* 'to see' > *po-i-ta* 'to be seen', but *hulki-e-po-ta* 'look askance' > *hulki-e-po-i-ta*, *tut-ta* 'to hear' > *tut-li-ta* 'to be heard', but *ete-tut-ta* 'pick up by hearsay' > *\*ete-tut-li-ta*, *mek-ta* 'to eat' > *mek-hi-ta* 'to be eaten', but *ete-mek-ta* 'beg' > *\*ete-mek-hi-ta*. By contrast, when an intensifying affix is attached to the verb stem, it is possible to have passive morphology: *may-tal-ta* 'to hang' > *may-tal-li-ta* 'to hang', *hut-nal-ta* 'to scatter' > *hut-nal-li-ta* 'scatter', *cic-palp-ta* 'to stamp down' > *cic-palp-hi-ta* 'be stamped down', *kki-enc-ta* 'to shower on' > *kki-enc-hi-ta* 'be showered on'.

Lexical passive verbs do not have passive forms, since they imply the passive situation: *mac-ta* 'to be beaten', *tut-ta* 'to hear', *pat-ta* 'to receive', *tangha-ta* 'suffer', *kyek-ta* 'to undergo', *mek-ta* 'to eat', etc. They are independent lexical items, and retain prototypical transitive constructions. However, they select a Patient in the sentence initial position and usually imply that some adversity affected this participant.

The benefactive/recipient verbs (i.e., ditransitive verbs) do not have I-form. Their sentence initial participants benefit, possess, lose/gain, or receive. If the recipient occurs sentence initially, their passive equivalents are thought to be already lexicalized: *cwu-ta* 'to give' vs. *pat-ta* 'to get', *kaluchi-ta* 'to teach' vs. *paywu-ta* 'to learn', *ilh-ta* 'to lose' vs. *et-ta* 'to acquire', *mwut-ta* 'to ask' vs. *tapha-ta* 'to answer'. While, the Patient occurs sentence initially, periphrastic forms are employed.

Reciprocal verbs (i.e., *man-na-ta* 'to meet') and Experiencer verbs (mental and possession) do not have the I-forms: *al-ta* 'to know', *paywu-ta* 'to learn', *nukki-ta* 'to feel', *alh-ta* 'to be sick', *kyekk-ta* 'to undergo', *cham-ta* 'to endure', *wonha-ta* 'to want', *culki-ta* 'to enjoy', *twulyewoha-ta* 'to be afraid', *kac-ta* 'to have', etc.

Irrealise mental verbs such as *pala-ta*, *wonha-ta*, *kitayha-ta* 'to want', and *chac-ta* 'to search, pursue' cannot form passive form.

*N-ha-ta* verbs have different passive formation, i.e., *N-toi-ta* (cf. the passive of *ha-ta* verb was reported in 15C text). But there is a restriction on the preceding noun. That is, its meaning varies as i) inchoative, ii) potential, and iii) passive meaning, depending on the preceding noun phrase. *Toi-ta* passive is mainly motivated by a socio-cultural need. *N-toi-ta* phrase over *N-ha-ta* is more frequent in texts which require objective description of a situation: e.g., newspaper, broadcasting texts, academic texts, etc. Furthermore, the speaker/writer's intention to avoid an overt expression of who is responsible for a certain event is shown in this passive construction.

The I-suffix does not attach to the prototypical transitive verbs like *pwuswu-ta* 'to destroy', *hemwul-ta* 'to demold', *mantul-ta* 'to make', *sam-ta* 'to adopt', *kip-ta* 'to patch', *cwup-ta* 'to pick', *is-ta* 'to link', *cis-ta* 'to build', *ulph-ta* 'to read', and *neh-ta* 'to put in', etc. They are only possible in the periphrastic passive forms.

In Korean, voice-duplication is not allowed. (cf. Japanese) Causative verbs which derive from intransitive verb roots do not combine with the I-suffix again.

active counterparts are not available for the following passive sentences. Since we can seldom expect a situation in which an abstract entity physically affects human being, such a combination requires the sentence initial participant to be the Patient:

- (37) a. \*il-i                      John-ul      ccoch-nun-ta  
    business-nom   John-acc   chase-pres-dec

‘Business is chasing John (lit.)’

- b. John-i              il-ey                      ccoch-ki-n-ta  
    John-nom   business-loc   chase-I-pres-dec

‘John is pressed with business’

‘John is chased by business (lit.)’

- (38) a. \*sikan-i      John-ul      ccoch-nun-ta  
    time-nom   John-acc   chase-pres-dec

‘Time is chasing John’

- b. John-i              sikan-ey      ccoch-ki-n-ta  
    John-nom   time-loc   chase-I-pres-dec

‘John is pressed for time’

- (39) a. \*kangpakkwanyem-i      John-ul      salochap-ass-ta  
    obsession-nom                      John-acc   catch-past-dec

‘Obsession held John’

- b. John-i              kangpakkwanyem-ey      salochap-hi-ess-ta  
    John-nom   obsession-loc                      catch-I-past-dec

'John suffered from an obsession'

'John is caught by obsession (lit.)'

- (40) a. \*choilki-ka      Lee Changhwun kisa-lul  
 countdown-nom Lee Changhwun chess player-acc  
 mol-ass-ta  
 push-past-dec  
 'The countdown pushed chess player Changhwun Lee  
 (lit.)'

- b. Lee Changhwun kisa-ka      choilki-ey  
 Lee Changhwun chess player-nom countdown-loc  
 mol-li-ess-ta  
 push-I-past-dec  
 'Chess player Changhwun Lee is pressed for time'  
 'Chess player Changwun Lee is pushed by  
 countdown (lit.)'

- (41) a. \*yawkukong-i John-ul      ttayli-ess-ta  
 baseball-nom John-acc hit-past-dec  
 'The baseball hit John'

- b. John-i      yawkukong-ey      mac-ass-ta  
 John-nom baseball-loc      be hit-past-dec  
 'John was hit by the baseball'

- (42) a. \*tol-i      John-ul      cha-ss-ta

stone-nom John-acc kick-past-dec

\*'The stone kicked John'

b. John-i tol-ey cha-i-ess-ta

John-nom stone-loc kick-I-past-dec

'John stumbled over the stone'<sup>26</sup>

'John was kicked by the stone (lit.)'

The inanimate and inert entities in initial position of the active form fare worse in satisfying the demands of the position. They are contrasted with sentences (43) and (44), which can be expressed in active forms, since the Agents 'Mary' and *cha* 'car' are acceptable in sentence initial position with the human Patients:

(43) John-i Mary-eykey cap-hi-ess-ta

John-nom Mary-dat catch-I-past-dec

'John was caught by Mary'

(44) ai-ka cha-ey pat-hi-ess-ta

child-nom car-loc hit-I-past-dec

'The child was run over by a car'

The requirement that the sentence initial position maintain EMPOWEREDNESS makes the active forms of (37)-(42) unacceptable. That is, a pragmatic motivation like topicality is constrained by the semantic requirement of sentence initial position.

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<sup>26</sup> (42b) depicts John's non-volitional act.

### 2.2.1.3.2. Active only forms

Reciprocally, requirement of maintaining the EMPOWEREDNESS of sentence initial position sometimes produces active only forms:

- (45) a. John-i      pap-ul      mek-nun-ta  
           John-nom   rice-acc   eat-pres-dec  
           'John eats rice'
- b. \*pap-i      John-eykey   mek-hi-n-ta  
           rice-nom   John-dat      eat-I-pres-dec  
           'Rice is eaten by John'
- (46) a. John-i      tol-ul      ssip-ess-ta  
           John-nom   stone-acc   chew-past-dec  
           'John chewed a stone'
- b. \*tol-i      John-eykey   ssip-hi-ess-ta  
           stone-nom   John-dat      chew-I-past-dec  
           'The stone was chewed by John'
- (47) a. John-i      moksoli-ul      ttel-ess-ta  
           John-nom   voice-acc      tremble-past-dec  
           'John trembled his voice'
- b. \*moksoli-ka   John-eykey   ttel-li-ess-ta  
           voice-nom      John-dat      tremble-I-past-dec  
           \*'Voice was trembled by John (lit.)'
- (48) a. John-i      tali-lul      ttel-ess-ta

John-nom leg-acc shake-past-dec

'John shook his leg'

b. \*tali-ka John-eykey ttel-li-ess-ta

leg-nom John-dat tremble-I-past-dec

'The leg was shaken by John'

(49) a. John-i nwun-ul kam-nun-ta

John-nom eye-acc close-pres-dec

'John closes his eyes'

b. \*nwun-i John-eykey kam-ki-n-ta

eye-nom John-dat close-I-pres-dec

'The eyes are closed by John (lit.)'

The passive forms of (45)-(49) become acceptable, if we omit the Agent phrase. However, they describe a one-participant event, unlike the prototypical passive. For instance, sentence (50), which is frequently referred to as the non-volitional and spontaneous reading of (49a):

(50) (na-nun) nwun-i kam-ki-ess-ta

(I-top) eye-nom close-I-past-dec

'I am sleepy'

'As for me, eyes are closed (lit.)'

In (50), the sentence initial position is filled with the Patient-like entity, *nwun* 'eye', which requires the reduction of EMPOWEREDNESS. This



inanimate and inert entity is not able to control the event of closing, which gives us an impression of spontaneity (non-volitionality) (see 2.2.2.3.2).

The same account applies to mental events. Likewise, if we omit the Agent phrase, sentences come to have a spontaneous (non-volitional) reading and the speaker himself/herself is now perceived as topical. Compare the (c)-sentences of the following:

- (51) a    John-i        san-ul            po-n-ta  
              John-nom mountain-acc see-pres-dec  
              'John looks at the mountain'
- b.    \*san-i            John-eykey        po-i-n-ta  
              mountain-nom John-dat        see-I-pres-dec  
              'The mountain is seen by John'
- c.    san-i            po-i-n-ta  
              mountain-nom see-I-pres-dec  
              'The mountain is visible'
- (52) a    John-i        umak-ul        tut-nun-ta  
              John-nom    music-acc    hear/listen to-pres-dec  
              'John listens to music'
- b.    \*umak-i        John-eykey        tut-li-n-ta  
              music-nom    John-dat        hear-I-pres-dec  
              'Music is heard by John'
- c.    umak-i        tut-li-n-ta

music-nom hear-I-pres-dec

'Music is audible'

There is no semantic equivalence between (51a) and (51c), and (52a) and (52c).

The unacceptability of the (a)-sentences in (37)-(42) and the (b)-sentences in (45)-(49) creates a gap in which certain participants cannot be the focus of pragmatic voice. Nevertheless, in each case, the inanimate entity can be the more topical and simultaneously meet the ESI by employing inversion.<sup>27</sup> That is, OSV and Obl.SV seem to compensate for the passive gap and the active gap, respectively:

- (53) a. sikan-ey John-i ccoch-ki-n-ta  
           time-loc John-nom chase-I-pres-dec  
           'By time, John is chased (lit.)'
- b. nwun-ul John-i kam-nun-ta  
           eye-acc John-nom close-pres-dec  
           'The eyes, John closes (lit.)'<sup>28</sup>

<sup>27</sup> Kwak (1994) illustrates several voice phenomena in Korean-i.e., active, passive, inversion, antipassive, and impersonal, using Givón's topicality measurement. Especially, the OSV inversion is assumed to have an effect similar to the passive in terms of relative topicality between two arguments. That is, inversion may be used in order to have the Patient in topic position, especially when the Patient is lower than the Agent in animacy hierarchy. However, even if the Patient has topicality, it is the Agent that maintains the EMPOWEREDNESS. Furthermore, with the accusative case, an exclusive listing meaning or emphatic meaning is added on the inverted Patient and with the topic marker, a contrastive meaning is found, which are absent in sentence middle position. And the verb is not specially coded, since the sentence initial position is still held by the Agent.

<sup>28</sup> For the Patient to be topical, without violating ESI, the periphrastic passive might be used as in (iib). However, it frequently produces unacceptable sentences as in (i) and (iia):

- i.       \**nwun-i*       John-eyuyhay   kam-a-ci-n-ta  
           eye-nom       John-agnt       close-link-CI-pres-dec
- ii. a.   \**kwulttwuk-i*   John-eykey       mak-hi-ess-ta

Eventually, the fronted element is considered thematically important and it does not override the sentence initial animate Agent. In other words, pre-sentence-initial 'time' and 'eye' are topical and the sentence initial participants 'John' maintains the demands of EMPOWEREDNESS.

### 2.2.2. Self-contained events

So far, we have considered primarily the semantically transitive passive construction, in which the Patient occupies the EMPOWERED position and topical position, and the Agent is still regarded as present. This is the 'true-Patient' passive. In that discussion, we touched up other uses of the I-suffix which we reprise and amplify in this section.

The following sentences are known as 'Agentless' passives, which never have the active turns. Therefore, a pragmatically motivated voice switch is meaningless:

#### i. Self-affected event

- (54)        John-i        chelpong-ey        maytal-li-ess-ta  
               John-nom bar-loc                háng-I-past-dec  
               'John hung on the bar'

#### ii. Medio-passive

- (55)        i        chayk-i        cal        phal-li-n-ta

- 
- b. chimney-nom    John-dat        block-I-past-dec  
    kwulttwuk-i    John-eyuyhay   mak-a-CI-ess-ta  
    chimney-nom    John-agnt       block-link-CI-past-dec  
    'The chimney was blocked by John'

this book-nom well sell-I-pres-dec

'This book sells well'

### iii. Spontaneous process

#### a) Change of state

(56) cwul-i cecello kkunh-ki-ess-ta

string-nom by itself cut-I-past-dec

'The string broke by itself'

#### b) Non-volitional event

(57) a. pap-i cal mek-hi-n-ta

rice-nom well eat-I-pres-dec

'I have an appetite for rice'

b. soli-ka cal tul-li-n-ta

sound-nom well hear-I-pres-dec

'The sound is easily audible '

### iv. Intransitive passive

(58) alarm sikey-ka wul-li-ess-ta

alarm clock-nom cry-I-past-dec

'The alarm clock rang'

### v. Diminished motility

(59) a. nwun-i kil-ey mahni teph-i-ess-ta

snow-nom road-loc a lot cover-I-past-dec

'Lots of snow was covered on the road (lit.)'

- b. John-i      tol-ey      cha-i-ess-ta  
      John-nom stone-loc kick-I-past-dec  
      'John stumbled over a stone'

In the previous sections, we have seen that semantically transitive events may disallow either the active or the passive because of the dictates of the EMPOWEREDNESS of sentence initial position. In contrast, the active forms of the passives in (54)-(59) do not exist at all, since these examples describe semantically single-participant events. Thus, the I-suffix is not creating a 'passive' alternative to an active construction. The sentence initial participants are not necessarily true-Patients in these examples.<sup>29</sup> The I-suffix is exploited when the inherent semantic content of the sentence initial participant is less than optimal.

I will consider events like self-affected events, medio-passives, spontaneous processes, intransitive passives, and diminished motility, and intransitive passives to share a property of 'self-containment', by which I mean events which do not go beyond their origin.<sup>30</sup> These events can be defined as 'middle' voice (cf. Davis's centripetal event; Kemmer's low distinguishability of participants in an event). Korean has been known to lack a distinct middle marking.<sup>31</sup> That is, unlike many of the Indo-

<sup>29</sup> The specification of the semantic role is not a well-definable matter. In fact, the Patient which occurs sentence initially acquires Agent-like quality.

<sup>30</sup> I prefer the term 'self-contained' to 'middle'.

<sup>31</sup> Cho (1995) claims that Korean does not have a middle category. He classifies the potential middle into K1 and K2, relying on the presence of the special marker, and concludes that neither of them belong to

European languages, the middle meaning has not developed its own marking. Most of the 'middle' meanings involving body actions and mental actions are expressed with unmarked intransitive or transitive forms. And, the I-suffix is associated with some 'middle' meanings in Korean. An event will be said to be self-contained/'middle' if it happens due to some of the internal properties of the sentence initial participant, while a prototypical passive event involves some external force. For instance, the English pair of sentences 'The door opened' and 'The door was opened' show the difference. Their corresponding Korean sentences are formed by the I-suffix and by the auxiliary *ci* verb, respectively. The former form is equivalent to a 'middle' event, while the latter form is for a passive event. Self-contained/middle events formed with *-i/-hi/-li/-ki*, which I will discuss here, never allow an Agent phrase, and have no active counterparts.

What we know as 'passive' will emerge as a cluster of related constructions which all signify the modified EMPOWEREDNESS of the sentence initial position.

#### 2.2.2.1. Self-affected events

Let's suppose that the root transitive verbs express events which necessarily extend their force outside their origins. When the events fail to

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middle, by showing that K1 and K2 do not meet generally accepted middlehood test: presence of an implicit argument, stativity, modality, adverb modification. He goes further to insist that K1 and K2 belong to the ergative unaccusative and the passive type, respectively. However, it is difficult to say that a certain construction belongs to particular voice type, based on the Indo-European middle criteria.

extend beyond the participant, the root transitive verbs require a special coding. Consider the following examples:

- (60)       aitul-i           sil-ul           kam-nun-ta  
               children-nom thread-acc spin-pres-dec  
               'The children spool the thread'
- (61)       aitul-i           emma-hanthey<sup>32</sup> kam-ki-n-ta  
               children-nom mother-dat           spin-I-pres-dec  
               'Children cling to their mother'  
               'Children were rolled on their mother (lit.)'

In (60), the root transitive verb *kam-ta* 'spool' has two distinct participants; a sentence initial participant acts upon a separate participant in non-initial position. Meanwhile, in (61) the sentence initial participant designates the eruption of event, but its force does not pass its point of origin, since movement of action is exhausted at the point where it has started. The target participant is contained in the source participant, which produces the effect of self-affectedness. 'Children' is interpreted as both Agent and Patient. As for 'mother' in (61), it is there simply to provide a location.<sup>33</sup> Note that the non-Agent participant in (61) is marked by the dative post-position and not the accusative as in (60). A centripetal event

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<sup>32</sup>*hanthey* is another dative case.

<sup>33</sup> I treat *an-ki-ta* 'be embraced' and *ep-hi-ta* 'be carried on someone's back' rather as prototypical passive, since sentence initial participants are Patients and sentence middle participants are Agents, even though the Patients are not affected in an unfavorable way.

such as *kam-ki-n-ta* in (61) implies a reduction of the EMPOWEREDNESS of the participant in sentence initial position, unlike its root transitive verb in (60), which depicts the centrifugal event, in which the sentence initial participant maintains the unreduced EMPOWEREDNESS.

Likewise, sentence (62) depicts the event of one participant acting upon the other participant:

- (62)      John-i          ton-ul          san-ey          mwut-ess-ta  
              John-nom    money-acc    mountain-loc    bury-past-dec  
              'John buried the money in the mountain'

When the event becomes self-contained, we need a special marker on the root verb. In fact, (63) is ambiguous between the true-Patient reading and the self-contained reading of (63b):

- (63)      John-i      san-ey          mwut-hi-ess-ta  
              John-nom    mountain-loc    bury-I-past-dec  
              a.    '(\*on purpose) John was buried in the mountains'  
              b.    '(on purpose) John secluded himself on the mountain'

The suffixed form *thulyepak-hi-ta* in sentence (64) indicates the sentence initial participant, which is not overtly expressed, gets affected by himself:

- (64)      coyonghi    thulyepak-hi-e    cip-uy          nongsa-na  
              calmly      thrust in-I-link    family-gen    farming-just  
              ketul-ciyo.  
              help-dec



'(I) will be isolated from the world and simply help my  
family's farming'

Here are more of self-contained events:

- (65) ai-tul-i        nay ekkey-ey        maytal-li-ess-ta  
child-pl-nom my shoulder-loc hang-I-past-dec  
'The children hung on my shoulder'  
'The children were hung on my shoulder (lit.)'
- (66) ney        sikkwu-ka    na hana-eykey    maytal-li-ess-ta  
four    family-nom I    one-dat        hang-I-past-dec  
'Four members of the family depended on me'  
'Four members of the family were hung on me (lit.)'
- (67) manhun salam-i        wun-ey    maytal-li-ess-ta  
many    people-nom luck-dat hang-I-past-dec  
'Many people counted on their luck'  
'Many people were hung on the luck (lit.)'
- (68) choykun yatang-i  
recently opposition party-nom  
pukhaykwiki-potanun  
North Korea Nuclear crisis-than  
kwukcengcosa                    mwunce-eyman  
parliamentary investigation matter-only  
maytal-li-nun    case-lul        wulye-hay        wass-ta

hang-I-comp    attitude-acc    worry-do    came-dec  
 'Recently, the opposition party has been worried about  
 the attitude of only clinging to the parliamentary  
 inspection rather than the North Korean  
 nuclear threat'

We can also notice that the sentence initial participants are contrasted with (69) and (70), which have the same morphosyntactic pattern as the sentences above, but the corresponding sentence initial roles have no sense of self-affectedness, and they are inanimate as well:

- (69)        chima-ka    tali-ey    kam-ki-n-ta  
               skirt-nom   leg-loc    cling-I-pres-dec  
               'The skirt clings to the leg'
- (70)        sakwa-ka    kaci-ey    maytal-li-e-iss-ta  
               apple-nom   branch-loc   dangle-I-link-prog-dec  
               'Apples dangle from branches'

The passive forms such as *mol-li-ta* 'gather-I-dec' and *mil-li-ta* 'push-I-dec' necessarily involve more than one participant in sentence initial position, which are conceived to initiate and terminate the event:

- (71)        salam-tul-i    sicang-ey    manhi    mol-li-ess-ta  
               person-pl-nom   market-loc   lot    gather-I-past-dec  
               'Lots of people gathered at the market'
- (72)        khunil-yeyyo,   kulssey   cenyek-mata   cangceng-

big thing-dec, well evening-each sturdy man-  
 tul-i mol-li-e-o-nundey...

pl-nom drive-I-link-come-conj...

'My goodness, well, every evening sturdy young men  
 rushed in, but..."

- (73) Macy-lo ka-nun-kil-ey cha-ka mil-li-n-ta  
 Macy's-goal go-rel-road-loc car-nom push-I-pres-dec  
 'Cars created congestion on the way to Macy's'

#### 2.2.2.2. Medio-passives

Korean expresses the equivalent events of the English sentences 'The flower sells well' with the I-suffix on the verbs:

- (74) i chayk-i cal phal-li-n-ta  
 this book-nom well sell-I-pres-dec  
 'This book sells well'

As was true of (61)-(73), the characteristic of this event is that there is no external source, but only an internal source of the selling. That is why (74) never allows an Agent phrase and has no active counterpart. "It is inherent in the nature of book that people want to buy" (Dixon 1992). The manner adverbs like *cal* 'well', *swipkey* 'easily', and the negator *an* induce this reading reliably, and the present tense is preferred (but not

obligatory). Again, sentence (75) demonstrates events which are inherently and internally designed:

- (75)        i    cong-i-nun        cal    cep-hi-n-ta  
               this paper-top        well   fold-I-pres-dec  
               'This paper folds well'

These events fail to extend beyond the Patient-like participant in sentence initial position (i.e., self-contained/centripetal event). We have observed that the Patient in a prototypical passive is responsible for the event's occurrence.<sup>34</sup> Here, we underscore the fact that sentence initial position designates the eruption of event and the sentence initial participant is both Agent and Patient. The Patient in sentence initial position comes to acquire the Agent-like qualities, thus responsibility or/and intentionality is attributed only to the sentence initial Patient. Let us contrast the above with (76) and (77), where the sentence initial position selects the Agent:

- (76)        Kim-un        cong-i-lul        cep-ess-ta  
               Kim-top        paper-acc        fold-past-dec  
               'Kim folded the paper'
- (77)        John-un    kkoch-ul    phal-ass-ta  
               John-top   flower-acc   sell-past-dec  
               'John sold a flower'

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<sup>34</sup> The relation that the Patient bears to the verb is the one that the Agent, the normal subject of the verb, usually bears, that is, that properties of the Patient bear the responsibility for the occurrence of the action of the verb (recited from Davis, et al. (1996), Van Oosten 1977:461)

The root transitive verbs *cep-ta* 'fold' and *phal-ta* 'sell' require the events go beyond the initiator and its effect reach the other participant. Thus, the event of 'folding' and 'selling' are triggered by the Agent, not by the Patient.

### 2.2.2.3. Spontaneous processes

#### 2.2.2.3.1. Change of state

The English sentence (78a) shows that the event occurred without direct initiation by an Agent, in contrast to the passive form (78b):

- (78) a. The door opened \*by John  
       b. The door was opened by John

Their Korean equivalents are as follows:

- (79) a. mwun-i    \*John-eykey    yel-li-ess-ta  
          door-nom   John-dat        open-I-past-dec  
          'The door opened (\*by John)'  
       b. mwun-i    yel-e-ci-ess-ta  
          door-nom   open-link-CI-past-dec  
          'The door was opened (by someone)'

We cannot express an Agent phrase in (78a) and in (79a), both of which depict an occurrence which is internally motivated and self-contained, without regard to any sense of outside Agency. The Patient can somehow initiate activity (i.e., acquire some of the EMPOWEREDNESS of sentence

initial position). Thus, the spontaneous event of (79a) can be modified by the adverb *cecello* 'by its own accord'.

The phrasal passives (80b) and (81b) are used when an external cause is assumed and an effort is made to make things happen; the sense of automaticity disappears. In addition, this form adds a sense of inchoativity:<sup>35</sup>

- (80) a. kwulttwuk-i mak-hi-ess-ta  
chimney-nom block-I-past-dec  
'The chimney stopped up'
- b. kwulttwuk-i mak-a-ci-ess-ta  
chimney-nom block-link-CI-past-dec  
'The chimney was blocked up (by someone)'
- (81) a. kkun-i phwul-i-ess-ta

<sup>35</sup> A full-fledged verb *ci-ta* 'to fall' has been grammaticalized over time. Pae (1988) illustrates the following four readings and generalizes their basic meanings into change of state (i.e., From Above To Below).

1. 'to fall': *hay-ka ci-ta* 'the sun sets'
2. 'to load': *cim-ul ci-ta* 'carry on the back', *pic-ul ci-ta* 'owe money'
3. 'to be defeated/lose': *ssawum-eyse ci-ta* 'lose in a battle'
4. 'to be under': *cangma-ka ci-ta* 'the rainy season sets in'

Furthermore, such verbs as *pwuleci-ta* 'to break', *ssuleci-ta* 'to fall down', *ppaci-ta* 'fall into', *tteleci-ta* 'fall', *kekkwuleci-ta* 'tumble down' can hardly be separable into a stem and *ci* part, behaving as a single verb unit, even if their transitive counterparts are formed with *ttuli-ta* in the place of *ci-ta*, e.g., *pwule-ci-ta* (vi) vs. *pwul-e-ttul-i-ta* (vt).

Frequently, *-ci-ta* is said to be a regular and productive passive marker, since *-ci-ta* does not have restrictions to a preceding element: it is bound to adjective: e.g., *yeppu-ta > yepp(u)-e-ci-ta* 'to become pretty', intransitive: *ka-ta > ka-ci-ta* 'become/is able to go', passive verb: *ppayass-ki-ta > ppayass-ki-e-ci-ta* 'to become taken away', and noun *kunul(-i)-ci-ta* 'be cast by shadow', as well as to transitive verbs. However, this statement is made on the inappropriate treatment of *-ci-ta* simply as passive auxiliary, ignoring inchoative and potential meaning. Usually, the passive reading accompanies the inchoative meaning. The major difference between the passive and the inchoative/potential reading lies in the existence of an Agent. Thus, *ci* with adjective and intransitive verbs has an inchoative meaning, while *ci* occurs with transitive verbs, the passive meaning becomes prominent.

string-nom loose-I-past-dec

'The string loosened'

b. kkun-i phwul-e-ci-ess-ta

string-nom loose-link-CI-past-dec

'The string was loosened'

(82) a. yen-i cenki-s-cwul-ey kel-li-ess-ta

kite-nom electric-'s-wire-loc hang-I-past-dec

'The kite hung on the electric wire'

b. yen-i cenki-s-cwul-ey kel-e-ci-ess-ta

kite-nom electric-'s-wire-loc hang-link-CI-past-dec

'The kite was hung on the electric wire'

The periphrastic passive forms are not equivalent to the suffixal forms. While the suffixal forms attribute responsibility only to the sentence initial Patient entity, the periphrastic passive forms can impute the responsibility to the Agent of adjunct phrase as well as to the sentence initial participant.<sup>36</sup>

<sup>36</sup> This is in accord with the presence of the Agent in the periphrastic passive constructions. There are several diagnostics for that. First, in the pair of periphrastic (i.e., standard passive event) and the suffixal passive forms (i.e., spontaneous event), the locative-*ey* and the instrumental -*lo* are usually preferred, respectively:

- |    |  |                |                      |
|----|--|----------------|----------------------|
| a. | kkun-i                                       | khal-ey/?lo    | kkun-hi-ess-ta       |
|    | string-nom                                   | knife-loc/inst | cut-I-past-dec       |
|    | 'The string cut on the knife'                |                |                      |
| b. | kkun-i                                       | khal-?ey/lo    | kkun-e-ci-ess-ta     |
|    | string-nom                                   | knife-loc/inst | cut-link-CI-past-dec |
|    | 'The string was cut with a knife by someone' |                |                      |

Second, the adverbs such as *cal* 'well', *chenchenhi* 'slowly', and *swipkey* 'easily' are imputed to 'string' in (a), but rather refer to some Agent, which is omitted, in (b). Of course, the intention adverb *ilpwule* can occur in the (b) sentence.

Third, we can have a different distribution of the two negators *an* and *mos*. When the failure of the event is attributed to the sentence initial participant, we use *an*, which is allowed in both (a) and (b).

Moreover, when an event does not assume an external force (i.e., natural phenomena), the periphrastic passive forms are never allowed:<sup>37</sup>

- (83)      kwurum-i      ket-hi-ess-ta  
                  cloud-nom      clear-I-past-dec  
                  'The cloud cleared off'
- (84)      kwurum-i      mol-li-ess-ta  
                  cloud-nom      gather-I-past-dec  
                  'The cloud grew'
- (85)      nalssi-ka      phwul-li-ess-ta  
                  weather-nom      solve-I-past-dec

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Meanwhile, the negator *mos* occurs only in (b), which implies that someone's effort to cut the string is frustrated.

<sup>37</sup> As K. D. Lee (1978) mentioned, the root intransitive verbs which denote the spontaneous process: i.e., a natural order like budding takes place by itself. It is still internal plan and intent, even if we can assume a natural environment like appropriate amount of sunshine and water for plant budding:

- i. a. ssak-i      th(u)-ess-ta  
                  bud-nom      shoot-past-dec  
                  'A bud sprouted'

However, the same verb cannot be associated with the CI-auxiliary verb:

- b. \*ssak-i      th(u)-e-ci-ta  
                  bud-nom      shoot-link-CI-dec

Meanwhile, we can imagine an internal or external cause for a water pipe splitting, due to its internal defect, or by an intentful effort of an Agent. We can utter the intransitive iia) or the periphrastic passive form iib):

- ii. a. swutokwan-i      th(u)-ess-ta  
                  water pipe-nom      break-past-dec  
                  'A water pipe split'
- b. swutokwan-i      th(u)-e-ci-ess-ta  
                  water pipe-i      break-link-CI-ess-ta  
                  'A water pipe was/became split'

The suffixal form also tends to be a semantic unit. For instance, *mos* means either a real nail or callus in (a), while it means only nail in (b):

- iii. a. son-ey      mos-i      pak-hi-ess-ta  
                  hand-loc      thorn-nom      thrust-pass-past-de  
                  'A hand got a nail thrust into it'  
                  'A hand got a callus'
- b. son-ey      mos-i      pak-a-ci-ess-ta  
                  hand-loc      thorn-nom      thrust-link-CI-past-dec  
                  'A hand got nailed'



'The weather got warm'

- (86) kil-i tul-lo kal-li-ess-ta  
road-nom two-into divide-I-past-dec

'The road divides in two.'

- (87) etwum-i kkal-li-ess-ta  
darkness-nom lay-I-past-dec

'Darkness fell'

- (88) wun-i yel-li-ess-ta  
luck-nom open-i-past-dec

'Luck is on its way'

- (89) umsik-i mok-ey kel-li-ess-ta  
food-nom throat-loc hang-I-past-dec

'A piece of food got stuck in someone's throat'

'The food was hung in the throat (lit.)'

- (90) nollase ki-ka mak-hi-ess-ta  
being shocked breath-nom block-I-past-dec

'My breath was taken away by the shock'

'I was stifled by being shocked (lit.)'

- (91) kincang-i phwul-li-ess-ta  
tension-nom solve-I-past-dec

'(Someone's) mind relaxed'

- (92) ne-uy sengkong-un ney son-ey tal-li-ess-ta

you-gen success-top your hand-loc hang-I-past-dec

'Your success is in your hands'

Now, consider the reduced EMPOWEREDNESS of sentence initial position coded by the I-suffix in these sentences. The root transitive verbs require the sentence initial position to be filled with Agent, the effect of which goes beyond the point of origin to reach the second participant. In contrast, the I-suffixed forms of (83)-(92) have less satisfactory participants in sentence initial position. Inanimate and Patient-like entities occupy the EMPOWERED position. This mismatch is alleviated by the special coding on the verb stem.

In addition to transitive verbs, which require some special coding when their requirements on the participants are not satisfactorily filled, many self-contained events are expressed by intransitive verbs (i.e., Agent-oriented intransitive (= 'unergative') verbs and Patient-oriented intransitive verbs (= 'unaccusative'). In addition, verbs such as *wumciki-ta* 'to move' and *memchwu-ta* 'to stop' are used either transitively or intransitively. As seen in the following, the (b)- and (c)-sentences depict a self-contained event (i.e., self-affected and spontaneous event, respectively), in contrast to the (a)-sentences:

(93) a. John-i        tol-ul        wumciki-ess-ta

John-nom    stone-acc    move-past-dec

'John moved a stone'

- b. John-i wumciki-ess-ta  
 John-nom move-past-dec  
 'John moved'
- c. tol-i (cecello) wumciki-ess-ta  
 stone-nom (by itself) move-past-dec  
 'The stone moved (by itself)'
- (94) a. John-i catongcha-lul memchwu-ess-ta  
 John-nom car-acc move-past-dec  
 'John moved a car'
- b. John-i memchwu-ess-ta  
 John-nom stop-past-dec  
 'John stopped'
- c. Catongcha-ka (cecello) memchwu-ess-ta  
 car-nom (by itself) stop-past-dec  
 'The car stopped (by itself)'

We have observed that the phrasal passive is taken to refer to the effort of some Agent. Sentences (93c) and (94c) can be passivized by the corporation of *ci* phrase, along with a sense of inchoative and potentiality.<sup>38</sup> They are not single-participant events:

- (95) a. tol-i John-eyuyhay wumcik-e-ci-ess-ta  
 stone-nom John-agnt move-link-CI-pasta-dec

<sup>38</sup> *Wumciki-i-ta* 'move-I-dec' and *memchwu-i-ta* 'stop-I-dec' do not exist.

'The stone was moved by John'

- b. catongcha-ka John-eyuyhay memchwu-e-ci-ess-ta  
 car-nom John-by stop-link-CI-past-dec

'The car was stopped by John'

Now, contrast (96) and (97), both of which may imply a reciprocal event:

- (96) a. John-kwa Mary-ka manna-ss-ta  
 John-conj Mary-nom meet-past-dec  
 'John and Mary met'

- b. John-i Mary-wa manna-ss-ta  
 John-nom Mary-conj meet-past-dec  
 'John met with Mary'

- c. John-i Mary-lul manna-ss-ta  
 John-nom Mary-acc meet-past-dec  
 'John met Mary'

- (97) a. milkalwu-wa sokum-i sekk-i-ko...  
 flour-conj salt-nom mix-I-conj...  
 'Flour and salt mix, and...'

- b. milkalwu-ka sokum-kwa sekk-i-ko...  
 flour-nom salt-conj mix-I-conj...  
 'Flour mixes with salt, and...'

- c. John-i milkalwu-wa sokum-ul sekk-ess-ko...

John-nom flour-conj salt-acc mix-past-conj...

'John mixed flour and salt...'

Usually, reciprocal verbs do not form the passive (e.g., \*meet-I, \*resemble-I, \*fight-I, etc.) and involve human participants. That is, unlike (96c), in which 'Mary' could meet 'John' non-voluntarily, 'John' and 'Mary' in (96a) and (96b) willfully meet each other. However, when an event of the reciprocal relation occurs between inanimate Patients, then the I-form *sekk-i-ta* 'be mixed' is used, as expected in (97a) and (97b). If flour and salt are easy to mix together, this comes from the inherent nature of two elements. When we assume the outer force in this situation, the periphrastic passive is used:

- (98)      milkalwu-ka      sokum-kwa      sekk-e-ci-ess-ko...  
                  flour-nom              salt-conj              mix-link-CI-past-conj.  
                  'Flour was mixed with salt by someone...'

#### 2.2.2.3.2. Non-volitional events

The active-passive pairs of the following have been discussed in terms of the presence of the volitionality (cf. E. Kim 1992):

- (99) a.    na/John-un    nwun-ul kam-nun-ta  
                  I/John-acc    eye-acc close-pres-dec  
                  'I/John closes my/his eyes'
- c.    (na-nun)    nwun-i              na-to    molu-key

(I-top) eye-nom I-even unaware of-comp

cakkwu kam-ki-n-ta

continuously close-I-pres-dec

'(My) eyes keep closing helplessly.'

c. \*nwun-i na/John-eykey kam-ki-n-ta

eye-nom I/John-dat close-I-pres-dec

'I am/\*John is sleepy'

'The eye is closed by me/John (lit.)'

(100) a. John-i (ilpwule) tol-ul ssip-ess-ta

John-nom on purpose stone-acc chew-past-dec

'John chewed a stone (on purpose)'

b. tol-i (\*ilpwule) ssip-hi-ess-ta

stone-nom (on purpose) chew-I-past-dec

'I bit down on a stone'

c. \*tol-i John-eykey ssip-hi-ess-ta

stone-nom John-dat chew-I-past-dec

'The stone was chewed by John'

(101) a. John-i sakwa-lul mek-ess-ta

John-nom apple-acc eat-past-dec

'John ate the apple'

b. (na/\*John-un) sakwa-ka (cal/\*ilpwule) mek-hi-n-ta

(I/John-top) apple-nom (well/ on purpose) eat-I-past-dec

'As for me/\*John, I have an appetite for apples'

- c. \*sakwa-ka John-eykey mek-hi-ess-ta  
apple-nom John-dat eat-I-past-dec

'The apple was eaten by John'

- (102) a. na-nun i-lul pam-mata kal-ass-ta  
I-top teeth-acc night-every grind-past-dec

'I ground my teeth every night'

- b. (na-nun) i-ka kal-li-ess-ta  
(I-top) teeth-nom grind-I-past-dec

'(As for me), my teeth ground' ('I gnashed my teeth in anger')<sup>39</sup>

39 The (b)-sentences always center about the speaker, as opposed to anyone else (i.e., topic). The speaker is usually not expressed or is shortened in its form to *nan* <*na-nun*.. In fact, Korean speakers prefer the sentence without the expression of the speaker in unmarked contexts, since the expression *na-nun* or *nay-ka* adds other discourse meanings. That is, this event is about the speaker, and the overt marking means something extra. That is, the topic marker *-(n)un* carries contrastive meaning, even slightly, while with nominative marker *-i/-ka*, it adds an exclusive listing or emphasis. As E. Kim (1992:87) and H. K. Kim (1982:192-193) note, the fact that this non-volitional reading is natural with the first-person is often explained by assuming that the speaker is not knowledgeable with the inner state of the other person. However, these sentences can have a third person topic noun when the putative aspect marker, e.g. *-na po-ta*, or *-ket kath-ta* 'to seem' is attached to the verb stem, given the speaker is able to make a guess about it from his action:

- i. John-un sakwa-ka mek-hi-na po-/nun ket-kath-ta  
John-top apple-nom eat-I-seem-dec  
'It seems that John has a good appetite for an apple'

Furthermore, the topic noun is not always inaccessible, since topic noun with some passive verb form can refer to other persons, as long as we can observe the state externally. Sentence (iib) allows either a first person or a third person in topic position:

- ii. a. na/John-un moksoli-ul ttel-ess-ta  
I/John-top voice-acc tremble-past-dec  
'I/John trembled my/his voice'  
b. na/John-un moksoli-ka ttel-li-ess-ta  
I/John-top voice-nom tremble-I-past-dec  
'As for me/John, the voice trembled'

It seems that sentence (iib) describes an observable situation. That is, we might imagine a situation that John feels so nervous that his voice is trembling and we can notice it. Sentence (iii) is comparable to the sentence (iib), since both expressions describe what the speaker observes externally:

- iii. na/ Mary-nun elkwul-i ippu-ta  
I/Mary-top face-nom pretty-dec

As we now expect, due to the ESI, the I-suffix turns of (99a)-(102a) are impossible when an Agent is expressed. Meanwhile, the Agent-less I-suffix forms (99c)-(102c) are allowed, but they are not alternative versions of the forbidden (99b)-(102b). Sentence initial position in (99b)-(102b) is filled with a less than satisfactory participants, i.e., Patient, and the verb form is modified with the I-suffix to reflect this. However, the Patient in this EMPOWERED position acquires Agent-like quality. That is, it is taken to constitute the event-Initiator. But, this inanimate being remains incompatible with a volitional reading. Meanwhile, the Agent in the active constructions (99a)-(102a) takes both topicality and EMPOWEREDNESS. However, there is no Agent role assignable in (99c)-(102c). The pre-sentence-initial participant in parentheses simply keeps topicality, but has nothing to do with the EMPOWEREDNESS.

Mental verbs such as perception, emotion, communication, cognition, and possession do not have their I-suffix forms, except for a couple of

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'As for me/Mary, the face is pretty'

Likewise, according to the degree of objectivity in viewing a given event, the first noun varies with the adjective *coh-ta* 'good':

objective

- iv.      nalssi-ka      coh-ta  
             weather-nom      good-dec  
             'Weather is good'

- v.        na-nun/John-un    sengcek-i    coh-ta  
             I-top/John-top    grade-nom    good-dec  
             'As for me/John, the grade is good'

- vi.        na-nun/\*John-un    Mary-ka      coh-ta  
             I-top/John-top    Mary-nom    good-dec  
subjective    'As for me/John, Mary is likable'



verbs such as *po-ta* 'see' vs. *po-i-ta* 'be seen/visible' and *tut-ta* 'hear' vs. *tut-li-ta* 'be heard/audible'.<sup>40</sup> Viewed from the perspective of Agency, the sentence initial participants of such verbs are at least volitional entities, even if they do not physically affect the second participant (i.e., Experiencer).<sup>41</sup> Their I-suffix forms are glossed as non-volitional versions of the active root forms. That is, I-formed verbs select for non-volitional, inanimate participants (i.e. Patient/Stimulus), the effect of which does not go beyond themselves.

Consider the following:

- (103) a.    *na/John-un*    *umak-ul*    *tut-nun-ta*  
                  I/John-top    music-acc    listen-pres-dec  
                  'I/John listen(s) to the music'
- b.    *na/\*John-un*    *umak-i*    *tut-li-n-ta*  
                  I/John-top    music-nom    listen-I-pres-dec  
                  'As for me/John, the music is audible'
- c.    *\*umak-i*    *na/John-eykey*    *tut-li-n-ta*  
                  music-nom    I/John-dat    listen-I-pres-dec  
                  'Music is audible to me/John'

---

<sup>40</sup> These two verbs can have a passive sense when they have objects (i.e., lexical passives). Moreover, *V+po-ta* is used for the sense of trial.

<sup>41</sup> Sentence initial participants in the active examples with the verbs like *kam-ta* 'to close' and *ssip-ta* 'to chew' above are highly Agentive participants, which are fully volitional and their physical effect reaches the other participants. Meanwhile, mental verbs like *po-ta* 'to see' and *coh-a-ha-ta* 'to like' require the sentence initial position to select a less Agentive participant, which is still volitional, but affects the other participant through a mental path.

- (104) a. *na/John-un san-ul po-n-ta*  
           I/John-top mountain-acc see-pres-dec  
           'I look at the mountain'
- b. *(na/\*John-nun) san-i po-i-n-ta*  
      (I/John-top) mountain-nom see-I-pres-dec  
      '(As for me/John,) The mountain is seen/visible'
- c. *\*san-i na/John-eykey po-i-n-ta*  
      mountain-nom I/John-dat see-I-pres-dec  
      '\*The mountain is seen by me/John'

The active sentences (103a) and (104a) are appropriate in a situation in which the sentence initial participants *na* 'I' and 'John' make their effort to watch a mountain/to listen to a music; while the passive forms (103b) and (104b) do not have this sense. That is, in the (a)-examples, the sentence initial participant *na/John-un* 'I/John' is volitional entity, which controls his own intention/volition toward the event. Meanwhile the (b)-examples lack volitionality, since volitionality is associated with human being in sentence initial position consistently as an aspect of EMPOWEREDNESS, and it is never associated with pre-sentence initial position.

Now, observe the following sentences, in which the Patient occurs in the EMPOWERED position, and no volitional reading is eligible:

- (105) a. *\*na-nun kwi-lul tut-nun-ta*  
           I-top ear-acc hear-pres-dec

\*‘I hear my ears’

- b. (na-nun/\*John-un) kwi-ka (cal) tul-li-n-ta  
(I/John-top) ear-nom (well) hear-I-pres-dec

‘As for me, my ear hears well’

‘As for me, ear is heard (well) (lit.)’

- (106) a. \*na-nun nwun-ul (cal) po-n-ta<sup>42</sup>

I-top eye-acc (well) see-pres-dec

‘I see my eyes’

- b. (na-nun/\*John-un) nwun-i (cal) po-i-n-ta

(I/John-top) eye-nom (well) see-I-pres-dec

‘As for me, my eyes see well’

Unlike the preceding examples, the speaker and the sensory faculties ‘ear’ and ‘eye’ do not form stimulus-experiencer relations, but whole-part relations. And the I-suffix forms do not have volitional active counterparts. These sentences describe good eye-sight and good hearing.

They are semantically approximate to (107):

- (107) a. na-nun kwi-ka coh-ta

I-top ear-nom good

‘As for me, my ears are good’

- b. na-nun nwun-i coh-ta

---

<sup>42</sup> This sentence is acceptable in the Experience-stimulus relation. That is, in the sense of watching the eyes in the mirror.

I-top eye-nom good-dec

'As for me, my eyes are good'

They are frequently discussed paired with the psyche-intransitive sentences (108b), (109b), and (110b):

(108) a. na/John-un Mary-lul coh-a-ha-n-ta<sup>43</sup>

'I/John-topic Mary-acc like-link-do-pres-dec

'I/John like(s) Mary'

b. na/\*John-nun Mary-ka coh-ta

I/John-nom Mary-nom likeable-dec

'As for me/ John, Mary is likeable'

(109) a. na-nun/\*John-un kohyang-ul kuli-we-ha-n-ta

I/John-top hometown-acc longing-link-do-pres-dec

'I miss my hometown'

b. na-nun/\*John-un kohyang-i kulip-ta

I/John-top hometown-nom longing-dec

'As for me, my home is missed'

---

<sup>43</sup> The adjective+*ha-ta* forms intransitive construction as well, but different from bare adjective phrase in terms of choice of sentence initial participant:

- i. a. \*John-i chwup-ta  
John-nom cold-dec  
'John is cold'
- b. nalssi-ka chwup-ta  
weather-nom cold-dec  
'It is cold'
- ii. a. John-i chwu(p)-e-ha-n-ta  
John-nom cold-link-do-pres-dec  
'John feels cold'
- b. \*nalssi-ka chwu(p)-e-ha-n-ta  
weather-nom cold-link-do-pres-dec  
\*'The weather feels cold'

- (110) a. *na-nun kay-lul mwuse-we-ha-n-ta*  
           I-top dog-acc scary-link-do-pres-dec  
           'I am afraid of dogs'
- b. *na-nun kay-ka mwusep-ta*  
      I-top dog-nom scary-dec  
      'As for me, dogs are scary'

According to E. Kim (1992), the case markers for the direct object are selected depending on whether 'the subject' is volitional or not, i.e., accusative *-ul* or nominative *-i/-ka*, respectively. However, the reason why the active versions have volitional reading and the passive versions have non-volitional reading can be explained in a coherent way, without assuming a third voice like 'non-volitional'. We have examined how the semantics of the sentence initial position and the I-suffix end up with such a contrast.

In conclusion, the first nominal *na-nun* 'as for me' in the active (a)-examples is both topical and EMPOWERED. That is, it is the sentence initial participant, which has an intention to trigger the event (i.e., Agent). In contrast, the same nominal in the passive (b)-examples does not occupy the position of EMPOWEREDNESS; it is pre-sentential, only topical, and only selects for the speaker:

- i. active form : volitional reading

X	Y	V
Agent	Patient	

topic  
EMPOWERED

ii. passive form : non-volitional reading

X	Y	VI
topic	Patient EMPOWERED	

As we have already discussed (section 2.1.), the first nominal *na-nun* 'as for me' in (ii) occupies the pre-sentence-initial position, in which no semantic role is specified. The Agency of sentence initial position in the (a)-examples is not found in this pre-sentence-initial position in the (b)-examples. The sentence initial position (i) selects for the Patient, (ii) which acquires EMPOWEREDNESS. Again, the Patient role in this position is enabled by the I-suffix on the verb, i.e., (i), and it behaves like an Agent in the sense that its inherent nature is the major factor in the success of event, i.e., (ii). Moreover, such inanimate Patient entities never carry out volitional performances. That is, there is no way for a volitional reading to exist in the (b)-examples. Consequently, variation in volitionality comes from the different qualities of the sentence initial position.

Lastly, concerning the absence of the corresponding English passive sentences *\*Pap-i John-eykey mek-hi-ess-ta* 'The rice was eaten by John' or *\*San-i John-eykey po-i-n-ta* 'The mountain was seen by John' in Korean, due to ESI, the inversions *Pap-ul John-i mek-nun-ta* 'Rice, John eats' and

*San-ul John-i po-n-ta* 'The mountain, John sees' are regarded as their pragmatic equivalents in terms of the topicalized Patient.

#### 2.2.2.4. Intransitive passives

The phenomenon of passive morphology appearing with intransitive verbs is reported cross-linguistically, but in a small number of languages and of varying types (cf. German, Dutch, Turkish, Latin). For a handy example, German passive phrase which is so-called 'impersonal' passives is given here:

(111)      gestern      wurde      getanzt  
              yesterday become danced  
              'Yesterday, there was a dancing'

Keenan's (1985) assumption that passives on intransitives are accounted for by zero-place predicates derived from one-place predicates is applicable to German case, if passivization is regarded as a way of deriving n-place predicates from n+1-place predicates. That is, the lack of any NPs in German produces subjectless passive constructions (even if some sentences allow dummy subjects)<sup>44</sup>. The Korean type of intransitive passive differs from the German, since it does not have an impersonal meaning. Macdonald (1976) discusses the fact that the Indonesian passive prefix *ter-*

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<sup>44</sup> Of course, the Agent phrase is not permitted.

with intransitive verbs has a connotation of lack of control, or of being the victim of circumstances:

- (112) *melayang* 'to fly/soar' > *terlayang* 'to float/wander (aimlessly)  
*berbatuk* 'to cough' > *terbatuk-batuk* 'to cough repeatedly  
 (uncontrollably)', etc.

The Korean usage is close to Indonesian in the sense that the function of the I-suffix is to signal that the sentence initial participant has diminished capacity. Active intransitive forms imply a volitional and fully conscious entity, while the passive suffix marks the absence of this feature. Because events are intransitive, there can be no pragmatic motivation for *-li/-hi/-li/-ki* (cf. Givón 1994). It is rather a semantic matter of how the sentence initial participant deviates from what is expected.

What I am concerned with is the small number of pairs illustrated in Table 1:

i) root	ii) I-form
A. <i>wul-ta</i> 'to cry' <i>nal-ta</i> 'to fly'	<i>wul-li-ta</i> 'to cry' <i>nal-li-ta</i> 'to fly'
B. <i>col-ta</i> 'to doze'	<i>col-li-ta</i> 'to be sleepy'
C. <i>kuul-ta</i> 'to tan' <i>yel-ta</i> '(lit.) to open (of fruit)'	<i>kuul-li-ta</i> 'to tan' <i>yel-li-ta</i> '(lit.) to open (of fruit)'

Table 1.



We will see again that the I-suffix does not necessarily select for the Patient in the sentence initial position. In fact, the I-suffix realizes the event in various aspects. There is not simply an animacy factor involved in this dichotomy. It suffices to say that the I-suffix recognizes the reduced EMPOWEREDNESS in the sentence initial position, compared with unmarked form.

The I-suffixed and non-I-suffixed forms of type A in Table 1 stand in contrast to each other in the animacy of the sentence initial participant. The unaffixed form takes an animate entity, whereas the I-suffix form takes an inanimate and inert entity:

- (113) a.   say-ka       na-n-ta  
               bird-nom   fly-pres-dec  
               ‘The bird is flying’
- b.   yen-i       palam-ey    nal-li-n-ta  
               kite-nom   wind-loc    fly-I-pres-dec  
               ‘The kite is flapping in the wind’<sup>45</sup>
- (114) a.   talk-i           wul-ess-ta  
               rooster-nom   cry-past-dec  
               ‘The rooster crowed’

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<sup>45</sup> Verb *nal-* ‘fly’ can be used with an inanimate being such as *yen* ‘kite’ by being modified with the I-suffix *nal-li* ‘fly-I’ or by being combined with the verb *ka* ‘go’ into *nal-a-ka* ‘fly-link-go’. The English expression ‘a baseball rolls on the ground’ does not have precisely the same Korean counterpart. We form a compound verb *kwul-le-ka* ‘roll-link-go’. Only animate beings can ‘roll’ on the ground. One interesting thing: when a person insults a heavy-weight person, he might say *John-i kwul-le-ka-n-ta* ‘John is going with rolling on the ground’. That is, a pejorative sense with the human being is linked with the inanimate thing.

- b. saybyek cong-i wul-li-ess-ta  
 dawn bell-nom cry-I-past-dec

‘The morning bell rang (lit. The morning bell was cried)’

There have been several explanations of the I-suffix marking on the intransitive verbs above. Choi (1971) does not believe intransitive verbs can be passive, and interprets the forms as resulting from a process of detransitivization of transitivization of the intransitive verb. According to Choi, for instance, the form *nal-li-ta* is supposed to be spelled *nal-li-hi-ta*. Choi argues that this process is theoretically possible, and the number of these verbs is very small in the actual life, due to the tendency for Korean speakers to prefer active verbs.<sup>46</sup> That is, intransitive roots are used instead of the double-derived forms. Pae (1988) shares Choi's idea, analyzing this passive form as having undergone zero-modification from a transitivized/causativized form. But neither says why the transitivized sentences (115b) and (116b), in which the causee is animate, do not further undergo passivization:

- (115) a John-i yen-ul nal-li-n-ta  
 John-nom kite fly-I-pres-dec  
 ‘John is flying the kite’  
 b. John-i say-lul nal-li-n-ta

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<sup>46</sup> Choi includes the passive markings of intransitive verbs *nol-ta* ‘to play’ and *tol-ta* ‘to turn’ in this list, but I don’t find actual usage of these verbs in current Korean.

John-nom bird-acc fly-I-pres-dec

'John frees the bird'

(116) a. John-i cong wul-li-n-ta

John-nom bell cry-I-pres-dec

'John tolls a bell'

b. John-i aki-lul wul-li-n-ta

John-nom baby-acc cry-I-pres-dec

'John makes a baby cry'

E. Kim (1992) explains these phenomena in terms of non-volitional reading of the subject entity. The solution of each is represented in summary below:

- |                   |                   |                  |   |
|-------------------|-------------------|------------------|---|
| i. Choi           | <i>nal-ta</i>     | <i>nal-li-ta</i> | <i>nal-li-hi-ta</i>                     |
| Pae               | <i>nal-ta</i>     | <i>nal-li-ta</i> | <i>nal-li-<math>\emptyset</math>-ta</i> |
| intransitive root | ----->            | transitive verb  | -----> passive verb                     |
|                   | $\Delta$          |                  | $\Delta$                                |
|                   | __causativization |                  | ___passivization                        |
| ii. Kim           | <i>nal-ta</i>     | <i>nal-li-ta</i> |   |
|                   | volitional        | non-volitional   |   |

If the function of the I-suffix is to project somehow a diminished EMPOWEREDNESS onto the sentence initial position as I have proposed above, then the selection of the inanimate entity in type A follows automatically:

- i) a. fly (bird)    b. \*fly+I (bird)

ii) a. \*fly (kite) b. fly+I (kite)

In the same vein, an inanimate entity such as *mwunphwungci* 'window paper' can take *wul-ta* or *wul-li-ta* 'to cry', depending on how it is conceived by the speaker. That is, when the speaker simply describes a window paper which is trembling in the wind, then he uses I-suffix form. The active verb is used in a metaphoric context in which a window paper is personified and regarded as animate being, which evokes a sorrowful feeling:

- (117) a.   yepcip      umak soli-ka      nemwu   kh(u)-e-se  
               next door   music sound-nom   very      big-link-because  
               mwunphwungci-ka   wul-li-n-ta  
               window paper-nom   cry-I-pres-dec  
               'The window paper is trembling due to a loud sound from  
               next door'
- b.   kaul      palam-ey   mwunphwungci-to   kwusulphi  
       autumn   wind-loc   windowpaper-as well mournfully  
       wu(l)-nunkwuna!  
       cry-excl  
       'The window paper is weeping in the fall wind!'

Here, the condition is again whether a given entity is inert or not (rather than simply inanimate or not), since an inanimate, but sufficiently motile entity like an airplane (not a toy) occurs only with the active form:<sup>47</sup>

- (118) a.   say-ka       hanul-ul nal-n-ta/\*nal-li-n-ta  
               bird-nom sky-acc fly-pres-dec/fly-I-pres-dec  
               'The bird is flying in the sky'
- b.   (cempo) pihayngki-ka hanul-ul nal-n-ta/\*nal-li-n-ta  
               (jumbo) airplane-nom sky-acc fly-pres-dec/fly-I-pres-dec  
               'The (jumbo) airplane is flying in the sky'
- c.   congi pihayngki-ka hanul-eyse \*nal-n-ta/nal-li-n-ta  
               paper airplane-nom sky-loc fly-pres-dec/fly-I-pres-dec  
               'The paper airplane is flying in the sky'<sup>48</sup>

Now, let us turn to types B and C in Table 1, which provide more problems for Choi's account. A primary problem with Choi's analysis is that the causative form *\*col-li-ta* 'to cause to doze' of *col-ta* 'to doze' from which the passive form is derived does not exist (cf. *wul-li-ta* 'to cause to cry'). The active form *col-ta* 'to doze' selects only an animate entity sentence initially, while the passive form *col-li-ta* 'sleepy/bored/boring' can select animate or inanimate entity as its sentence initial participant:<sup>49</sup>

<sup>47</sup> Eventually, it proves again that the ESI is not unidimensional, involving as it does animacy, sentience, and motility.

<sup>48</sup> Note that the postposition of the location 'sky' is marked differently: accusative vs. locative.

<sup>49</sup> *Ca-ta* 'sleep' is similar to *col-ta*, but it has no I-form, and it describes more dynamic and volitional event:

- (119) a    *na/John-nun*    (*ilpwule*)    *col-ass-ta*  
               I/John-top    (intentionally) doze-past-dec  
               'I/John dozed (intentionally)'
- b.    *na/\*John-nun*    (*\*ilpwule*)    *col-li-ess-ta*  
               I/John-top    (intentionally) doze-I-past-dec  
               'I/John was sleepy (\*intentionally)'
- c.    (*na-nun*) *ku*    *yengwha-ka*    *nemwu*    *col-li-ess-ta*  
               (I-top)    the movie-nom    so    doze-I-pres-dec  
               '(As for me), the movie was so boring'

Two sentences (119a) and (119b) are contrasted in terms of volitionality. The sentence initial participant, the speaker, in (119b) is put to sleep regardless of his intention; he is affected by his environment. And sentence initial participant in (119c) is a non-human entity which is unable to control the event by itself. The sentence initial participants in (119b) and (119c), *na-nun* and *ku yengwha-ka* are not volitional entities, which

dynamic<-----	----->stative/mental	
volitional<-----	----->non-volitional/environmental/	
<i>ca-ta</i>	<i>col-ta</i>	<i>col-li-ta</i>
'sleep'	'doze'	'sleepy'

Unlike, *col-li-ta*, *ca-ta* 'to sleep' and *col-ta* 'to doze' in present tense cannot occur with the speaker in sentence initial position:

- a.    *\*na-nun*    *ca-n-ta*  
       I-top    sleep-pres-dec  
       'I sleep'
- b.    *\*na-nun*    *col-n-ta*  
       I-top    doze-pres-dec  
       'I/you doze'
- c.    *na-nun*    *col-li-n-ta*  
       I-top    doze-I-pres-dec  
       'I am sleepy'

contrasts with the root intransitive verb (119a), and they are therefore encoded by the I-form *col-li-ta* 'to be sleepy'.<sup>50</sup>

Regarding the pair *kuul-ta>kuul-li-ta* 'to get tan', there is not difference explicit in the English glosses, and both forms select inanimate participants in their sentence initial position:<sup>51</sup>

- (120) a.    *namwuphanca-ka*    *pwul-ey*    *kuul-ess-ta*  
                  treeboard-nom       fire-loc       soot-past-dec  
                  'The treeboard got sooty in the fire (lit)'
- b.    *namwuphanca-ka*    *pwul-ey/lo*    *kuul-li-ess-ta*  
                  board-nom               fire-loc/inst    burn-I-past-dec  
                  'The treeboard got soot on it in/with the fire'

Here, the difference between (120a) and (120b) is captured in terms of whether the situation is interpreted as a natural process or not. The difference between the two sentences becomes clear with the instrumental *-lo*, which requires an entity by which it is manipulated (i.e., Agent). Between two sentences, the I-form (120b) goes better with the instrumental. That is, the I-suffixed (120b) with the instrumental case is interpreted as being caused by some intentional action by a hidden Agent.

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<sup>50</sup> Third person can occur in the passive form if an aspectual marking like 'seem' is added (cf. E. Kim 1992):

<i>ne-nun/ku-nun</i>	<i>col-li-n-kes-kath-ta</i>
you-top/he-top	doze-I-comp-thing-seem-dec
'It seems that you are/he is sleepy'	

<sup>51</sup> *Kuul-li-ta* also has causative meaning 'to tan'.

In contrast, the active form (120a) depicts a situation that a treeboard is naturally exposed to fire without being caused by external force. Thus, the sense of affectedness is absent in (120a).

The second set of examples confirms this conclusion:<sup>52</sup>

- (121) a.    elkwul-i    hayspyes-ey    kuul-ess-ta  
                  face-nom    sunshine-loc    tan-past-dec  
                  'The face was tanned in the sun'
- b.    elkwul-i    hayspyes-ey    kuul-li-ess-ta  
                  face-nom    sunshine-loc    tan-I-past-dec  
                  'The face got tanned in the sun'

In the unmarked form (121a), the face undergoes tanning naturally by being exposed to the sun. But, in the I-form (121b), we get the impression that the face is burned or tanned in spite of the speaker's effort to avoid getting tanned in the sun. The sun's effect in (121b) was stronger than expected/wanted, and the result could be fatal.

The intransitive usage of the verb *yel-ta* 'open' is also found when the sentence initial participant is fruit as in (122a).<sup>53</sup> Furthermore, we can add the I-suffix to this verb with the same participant in the initial position. Cf.(122b):

<sup>52</sup> In (121), the presence of the instrumental case is not a helpful tool to discriminate between the two sentences, since no Agent could use the sun as an instrument. Rather, the sun is assumed as Agent. Then, it looks as if (121b) may be a 'true passive'. However, its active counterpart does not exist.

<sup>53</sup> Contemporary Korean dictionaries treat transitive and intransitive *yel-ta* as homonyms.



- (122) a. yelmay-ka namwu-ey cwulengcwuleng yel-ess-ta  
 fruit-nom tree-loc in clusters open-past-dec  
 'The tree is laden with lots of fruits'  
 'Fruits have opened in clusters on a tree (lit.)'
- b. yelmay-ka namwu-ey cwulengcwuleng yel-li-ess-ta  
 fruit-nom tree-loc in clusters open-I-past-dec  
 'The tree is laden with lots of fruits'  
 'Fruits have opened in clusters on a tree (lit.)'

Now, the difference between the unsuffixed intransitive *yel-ta* '(fruit) open' and its I-suffixed form is not one of spontaneity, as in (123a) and (123b),

- (123) a. John-i mwun-ul yel-ess-ta  
 John-nom door-acc open-past-dec  
 'John opened the door;
- b. mwun-i yel-li-ess-ta  
 door-nom open-I-past-dec  
 'The door opened'

since both sentences (122a) and (122b) are examples of spontaneous natural phenomena. Instead, the choice between the two forms of (122) reflects the dynamic or static aspect of an event.

The apparent idiosyncratic behavior of intransitive verbs with the I-suffix has a consistent solution in the functional approach employed here,

without being treated as an irregular pattern. The I-suffix projects a reduction of EMPOWEREDNESS to the sentence initial position, which is filled with a less than optimally EMPOWERED participant. All examples from Type A, B and C follow this pattern.

### 2.2.3. Diminished motility

In this section, we handle patterns in which the sentence initial position is filled with a less motile Agent, which invites the I-suffix. In these, the event implies slow motion or a non-volitional event, while in the corresponding active sentences, the same participants are interpreted as more vigorous Agents.

The fact that the sentence initial position in the I-suffixed form does not specify a particular participant like Patient is confirmed in the following:

- (124) a.   nwun-i       on       san-ul       teph-ess-ta  
              snow-nom   whole   mountain-acc cover-past-dec

'Snow covered the whole mountain'

- b.   menci-ka   computer-lul   teph-ess-ta  
      dust-nom   desk-acc       cover-past-dec

'Dust covered the computer /dust got on the computer'

- (125) a.   nwun-i       on       san-ey       teph-i-ess-ta  
              snow-nom   whole   mountain-loc cover-I-past-dec

'Snow is covered on the whole mountain (lit.)'

- b. menci-ka    computer-ey    teph-i-ess-ta  
 dust-nom    computer-loc    cover-I-past-dec

'Dust got on the computer'

'Dust was covered on the computer (lit.)'

- (126) a. on    san-i    nwun-ey    teph-i-ess-ta  
 whole mountain-nom snow-loc cover-I-past-dec

'The whole mountain is covered by snow'

- b. computer-ka    menci-ey    teph-i-ess-ta  
 computer-nom dust-loc    cover-I-past-dec

'The computer was covered by dust'

The I-forms depict a less abrupt situation, compared with the un-affixed forms. And yet, the participants are realized differently. The prototypical passive sentences (126) have the Patient *san* 'mountain' and computer as sentence initial participants, and the Agents *nwun* 'snow' and *menci* 'dust' in middle position. Meanwhile, in sentences (125) the Agents continue to appear sentence initially, but the Patients are marked with the locative post-position, not the accusative case. The difference between the active and the I-suffix forms lies in the EMPOWEREDNESS of the sentence initial participant. Sentences (124) and (125), even if the same participants occur in the sentence initial position, are different in terms of the meaning of sentence initial position. For instance, sentence (124b) is more appropriate

when a sudden dust storm occurred or when someone stirred the dust up by cleaning. Meanwhile, sentence (125b) describes a gradual increment of dust on the computer. The speaker went back home after a long period of vacation and he found out the computer got dusty. Active and violent activity in (124b) is contrasted to this mild and time-taking activity in (125b). Consequently, the passive marking imposes a reduced EMPOWEREDNESS to the sentence initial position. Dust is less motile Agent. In other words, this sentence shows the reduction of the EMPOWEREDNESS by the I-marker: the Agent loses its Agentivity, which is readily compared with other type of passive constructions in which the Patient role acquires the Agent-like quality by virtue of occurring sentence initially.

To complement the reduced EMPOWEREDNESS of the Agents in (125), the second participants *kil* 'road', and computer are interpreted differently in proportion to the reduced EMPOWEREDNESS of sentence initial participants. This is confirmed by the alternative case marking of the Patients, accusative in (124) and locative in (125). The more actively and intrusively the sentence initial participant is involved in an event, the more inert and affected the non-initial participant becomes. And the more the sentence initial participant gets inert, the less the non-initial participant gets affected. That is, the case marker is realized as the accusative *-lul* with the more dynamic events of (124) and is realized as the locative *-ey*

with the less motile ones of (125).<sup>54</sup> Here are more illustrations of the less vigorous Agent:

- (127) kil yep-un kaychen-kwa cakalpath-i-ess-ko  
 road side-top rivulet-conj pebble field-cop-past-conj  
nwun-i han kkephwul teph-i-e-iss-ess-ta  
 snow-nom a layer cover-I-link-prog-past-dec  
 'By the road, there was a rivulet with pebbles, and a  
 layer of snow was covered (on the road) (lit.)'

- (128) maul-uy yulichang-mata sengey-ka  
 village-gen window-every frost-nom  
 twukkepkey teph-i-e-iss-ess-ko...  
 thick cover-I-link-prog-past-conj...  
 'Every window in the village was covered with a thick  
 frost...'

- (129) etieyna nwun-ey teph-i-e-iss-ese  
 anywhere snow-loc cover-I-link-prog-because

<sup>54</sup> This phenomenon is not possible with every verb. For instance, the verb pair *ssah-ta* 'pile up' vs. *ssah-i-ta* 'be piled up' have analogous meaning to *teph-ta* 'cover' vs. *teph-i-ta* 'be covered'. However, we do not have the active versions like (124):

- |    |  |                   |                    |
|----|--|-------------------|--------------------|
| a. | *nakyep-i                                | kil-ul            | ssah-ss-ta         |
|    | fallen leaves-nom                        | road-acc          | pile up-past-dec   |
| b. | kil-i                                    | nakyep-ey         | ssah-i-ess-ta      |
|    | road-nom                                 | fallen leaves-loc | pile up-I-past-dec |
|    | 'The road was piled up by fallen leaves' |                   |                    |
| c. | nakyep-i                                 | kil-ey            | ssah-i-ess-ta      |
|    | snow-nom                                 | road-loc          | pile up-I-past-dec |
|    | 'Fallen leaves piled up on the road'     |                   |                    |

The reason why (a) is ruled out is that the verb *ssah-ta* 'pile up' has a selectional restriction for animate entity.

kil-ul    cal    pwunkanha-l swu-ka    eps-ess-ta  
 road-acc well distinguish-can-nom not-past-dec  
 'We could not distinguish the roads, since everywhere  
 was covered with snow (lit.)'

The I-affixation implements a diminishing EMPOWEREDNESS of the sentence initial position. The sentence initial participants are not considered to affect the other participants, which are marked with the locative, instead of the accusative

Now, consider how the examples of (130a) and (130b), in which the sentence initial participant is now a human being, realize the semantic difference of (124) and (125):<sup>55</sup>

- (130) a. John-i    tol-ul    cha-ss-ta  
              John-nom stone-acc kick-past-dec  
              'John kicked the stone'
- b. John-i    tol-ey    cha-i-ess-ta  
              John-nom stone-loc kick-I-past-dec  
              'John stumbled over the stone' <sup>56</sup>

<sup>55</sup> Of course, (a) and (b) are not accepted:

- a. \*tol-i    John-eykey    cha-i-ess-ta  
      stone-nom John-dat    kick-I-past-dec  
      'The stone was kicked by John'
- b. \*tol-i    John-ul    cha-ss-ta  
      stone-nom John-acc    kick-past-dec  
      '\* The stone kicked the John'

<sup>56</sup> According to E. Kim (1992), it is second type of non-volitional voice.

'John was kicked by the stone (lit.)'

Sentences (130a) and (130b) are referred to as paired by volitional and non-volitional readings. (130b) is more appropriate when John is clumsy or someone intentionally put a stone in John's way so that John comes to stumble over the stone regardless his own intention. That is, John is regarded as victim of the event. On the contrary in (130a), John executes the event of kicking the stone with his own intention. Consequently, the explanation which applied to (124) and (125) extends to (130a) and (130b). That is, both 'John' in (130b) and 'snow/dust' in (125) exhibit reduced EMPOWEREDNESS. The reduced EMPOWEREDNESS of the inanimate Agent 'snow'/'dust' and the human Agent 'John' is realized as less motile and non-volitional Agency, respectively.

### **2.3. Conclusion**

Two kinds of information are intertwined in I-suffixed constructions: i) Sentence initial position identifies the participant occupying it as the locus of EMPOWEREDNESS (as characterized in 2.1.), and ii) the I-suffix modulates the EMPOWEREDNESS of the initial position, reducing it in the ways described in 2.2. The I-marker projects reduced EMPOWEREDNESS upon sentence initial position, which still maintains the asymmetrical relation with non-initial participants, while permitting less than optimal participants to occur in initial position.

The constant content which accompanies the I-suffix is reduced EMPOWEREDNESS, and 'passive' is only one component of this more general meaning. Viewing the I-suffix in this way allows us to see the coherency of its ranges of use, and in the next chapter, we shall see that this extends naturally to using the I-suffix to form causatives.



## Chapter 3

### Causative

#### 3.0. Introduction

Most discussions concerning the Korean causative voice<sup>1</sup> have been focused on the issue of synonymy between the suffixal and the periphrastic forms (Shibatani 1973, 1976b; Sohn 1978; Song 1977; Yang 1974), and the semantic or syntactic principle distinguishing the case marker of the causee (cf. Comrie 1976, Cole 1983, Kemmer and Verhagen 1994). A third issue in the discussion has been the causative-passive relation. Not only is there homophony among the suffixes (cf. Appendix I), but there are examples with both 'passive' and 'causative' readings (e.g., whole-part action physical events). And suffix-duplication is not allowed in Korean (cf. *al-li-ta* and *al-li-wu-ta* 'to inform'). These observations have supported an argument for the correlation between the two suffixes.

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<sup>1</sup> In Korean, three types of causative constructions are defined:

i) periphrastic: consists of two verbs

ii) suffixal: the causing and the caused events are expressed in a word composed of verb stem and a suffix {-i}

iii) lexical: semantically causative, but are not formally analyzable into two morphemes

They show some syntactic and semantic behavioral differences. Frequently, it has been noted that there is a general correlation between form and meaning. The more physical, manipulative, and the direct contact between two participants is, the more likely the form takes I-suffix. And when the causation is inductive and/or indirect, the form will be analytic. But in Korean, this generalization is not always true, since the suffixal form does not always designate physical, manipulative, direct contact.

At first glance, the two meaning constellations of 'passive' and 'causative' seem to stand at incompatible extremes. In this chapter, the function of the I-suffix, which was described in Chapter 2 for a range of 'passive'-looking constructions, is extended to cover the 'causative' constructions. However, I do not mean that passive constructions per se are identical to the causative constructions. Instead, they are cast in the same coherent functional explanation of the I-suffix.

Consider the following examples:

- (1) a. John-i wul-ess-ta  
       John-nom cry-past-dec  
       'John cried'

- b. John-i Mary-lul wul-li-ess-ta  
       John-nom Mary-acc cry-I-past-dec  
       'John caused Mary to cry'

- (2) a. John-i pap-ul mek-ess-ta  
       John-nom rice-acc eat-past-dec  
       'John ate rice'

- b. John-i Mary-eykey pap-ul mek-i-ess-ta  
       John-nom Mary-dat rice-acc eat-I-past-dec  
       'John fed Mary rice'

- (3) a. John-i meli-lul kam-ass-ta  
       John-nom hair-acc shampoo-past-dec

'John shampooed his hair'

- b. John-i      Mary- $\emptyset$     meli-lul      kam-ki-ess-ta  
      John-nom   Mary-gen   hair-acc      shampoo-I-past-dec

'John shampooed Mary's hair'

- (4) a. elum-i      nok-ass-ta  
      ice-nom      melt-past-dec

'Ice melted'

- b. John-i      elum-ul      nok-i-ess-ta  
      John-nom   ice-acc      melt-I-past-dec

'John melted ice'

- (5) a. kil-i      nelp-ta  
      road-nom   wide-dec

'The road is wide'

- b. John-i      kil-ul      nelp-hi-ess-ta  
      John-nom   road-acc   wide-I-past-dec

'John widened the road'

Comparing the sets of roots in the (a)-sentences and their I-suffixed constructions in the (b)-sentences, we might draw an easy conclusion that the function of the suffix is to increase the valency of the predicate. On the basis of this observation, the I-suffix is frequently said to introduce a 'new subject' or causer into a given sentence. However, the function of the I-suffix is not simply to introduce a new argument, or downgrade an original

subject to object-like status. My suggestion is that the I-suffix signals that some portion of the semantics of sentence initial position is absent. This effect may produce a condition in which an extra participant appears and it may enhance transitivity in comparison with an unsuffixed event.

Section 3.1. is concerned with the extended function of the I-suffix. We will attempt to describe the 'factoring out' effect of the I-suffix in 'causative' constructions. Here, we will set up three types of causatives, in each of which there is removed some portion or constraint, which was imposed on sentence initial position in the unaffixed forms (i.e., the underscored portion is taken away):<sup>2</sup>

Type I's expect sentence initial participant to EXECUTE.

Type II's expect sentence initial participant to ACT ON ITSELF.

Type III's expect sentence initial participant to EXEMPLIFY.

In this way, the I-suffixed events undergo DECREASED EMPOWEREDNESS of the sentence initial position. In addition, the two parameters of the animacy and semantic role of the second participant help to distinguish the three types of causation. Cf. Table 1.

---

<sup>2</sup> According to K. Park (1988), the three types are 'true causative', 'obviative', and 'transitivized' constructions, respectively.

	PARTICIPANT IN SECOND POSITION IS EXECUTOR	PARTICIPANT IN SECOND POSITION IS ENDPOINT
ANIMATE PARTICIPANT IN SECOND POSITION	I	II
INANIMATE PARTICIPANT IN SECOND POSITION		III

Table 1: Three types of causation

Some semantic tests make this classification reasonable, yet the classification is sometimes not clear-cut, since some verbs can belong to both types, depending on the semantics of the causee.

Section 3.2. will cover other related meanings from the semantics of the I-suffix. And Section 3.3. concludes this chapter.

### 3.1. The Function of the I-suffix

#### 3.1.1. Type I: causee as Executor

Consider the following examples:

(6) a. John-i wul-ess-ta

John-nom cry-past-dec

'John cried'

b. John-i Mary-lul wul-li-ess-ta

John-nom Mary-acc cry-I-past-dec

'John caused Mary to cry'

- (7) a. John-i wus-ess-ta  
       John-nom laugh-past-dec  
       'John laughed'
- b. John-i Mary-lul wus-ki-ess-ta  
       John-nom Mary-acc laugh-I-past-dec  
       'John caused Mary to laugh'
- (8) a. John-i ket-ess-ta  
       John-nom walk-past-dec  
       'John walked'
- b. John-i ai-lul ket-li-ess-ta  
       John-nom child-acc walk-I-past-dec  
       'John made the child walk'
- (9) a. ai-ka nol-ass-ta  
       child-nom play-past-dec  
       'The child played'
- b. emma-ka ai-lul pakk-eyse nol-li-ess-ta  
       mother-nom child-acc outside-loc play-I-past-dec  
       'Mother made the child play outside'

Agent-oriented centripetal events such as *wul-ta* 'cry', *wus-ta* 'laugh', *ket-ta* 'walk', and *nol-ta* 'play' are modified with the presence of the I-suffix. In the unaffixed (a)-examples, the sentence initial participants are volitional performers of actions (i.e., they have control over the event and perform an

action). But, in the suffixed (b)-examples, sentence initial position is left with only the semantics of control, and it is the sentence second participant that performs the action.<sup>3</sup> That is, the I-suffix informs us that the sentence

<sup>3</sup> These sentences of Type I can be paraphrased in a round-about way, in the sense that the causee's participation as Executor is required in order to accomplish the intended event:

- i. a. John-i Mary-lul wus-key ha-ss-ta  
 John-nom Mary-acc laugh-comp do-past-dec  
 'John caused Mary to laugh'  
 b. John-i ai-lul ket-key ha-ss-ta  
 John-nom child-acc walk-comp do-past-dec  
 'John caused a child to walk'  
 c. emma-ka ai-lul pakk-eyse nol-key ha-ss-ta  
 mother-nom child-acc outside-loc play-comp do-past-dec  
 'Mother caused a child to play outside'

However, the causation is made in a different fashion: through indirect verbal communication or through a physical contact. Moreover, they show differences in several aspects: delimiter incorporation, the referent of the honorific *si*, adverbial modification, negation of the causee's activity (cf. Shibatani 1973, 1976b). Syntactically, the periphrastic form is complex clause, with matrix and subordinated sentence initial positions, while the suffixal form is simple clause.

We illustrate some of differences between two forms. First, intention is attributed only to the causer 'John', not to the causee 'Mary' in the suffixal forms:

- ii. a. John-i Mary-lul ilpwule wul-li-ess-ta  
 John-nom Mary-acc intentionally cry-I-past-dec  
 'John (intentionally) caused Mary (\*intentionally) to cry'

But, it is either 'John' or 'Mary' to whom intention is attributed in the periphrastic form:

- b. John-i Mary-eykey ilpwule wul-key hay-ess-ta  
 John-nom Mary-dat intentionally cry-comp do-past-dec  
 'John (intentionally) caused Mary (intentionally) to cry'

The meaning of Type I is similar to that of its periphrastic form with respect to the Agentive causee, but the volitionality of the causee in the suffixal form is absent. Therefore, Dixon's (1992:294) statement that periphrastic causation implies permission or refers to overcoming impedance is in accord with the presence of the **volitional** Agentive causee.

In this vein, the second participant (i.e. causee) is not capable of refusing the causing action in the suffixal forms, unlike the causee in the periphrastic forms:

- iii. a. \*John-un Mary-lul wul-li-ess-ciman, Mary-  
 John-top Mary-acc cry-I-past-although, Mary-  
 nun wul-ci anh-ass-ta  
 top cry-link not-past-dec  
 'John caused Mary to cry, but she didn't cry'  
 b. John-un Mary-lul wul-key-hay-ss-ciman, Mary-nun  
 John-top Mary-acc cry-comp-do-past-although, Mary-top  
 wul-ci anh-ass-ta  
 cry-link not-past-dec  
 'John caused Mary to cry, but she didn't cry'

Third, the suffixal forms lack temporal distance between the causing and the caused action:

- iv. a. \*ece John-un onul Mary-lul wul-li-ess-ta  
 yesterday John-top today Mary-acc cry-I-past-dec  
 'Yesterday, John made Mary to cry today'  
 b. ece John-un onul Mary-ka wul-key hay-ss-ta

initial participant in the (a)-sentences undergoes the **loss of the performance** of the event, which is now vested in a separate entity in sentence second position.

This effect is clearer in the centrifugal roots of transitive construction:<sup>4</sup>

- (10) a. John-i chayk-ul ilk-ess-ta  
           John-nom book-acc read-past-dec  
           'John read the book'
- b. John-i Mary-eykey chayk-ul ilk-hi-ess-ta  
           John-nom Mary-dat book-acc read-I-past-dec  
           'John caused Mary to read the book'
- (11) a. John-i kulus-ul takk-ass-ta  
           John-nom dish-acc wash-past-dec

---

yesterday John-top today Mary-nom cry-comp do-past-dec  
 'Yesterday, John made Mary to cry today.'

The distance between the two participants bring about these differences.

<sup>4</sup> As for the expression of N-*ha* 'N-do', this verb phrase has a prototypical transitive semantics. This verb also composes phrases by means of noun incorporation:

- i. a. John-i kongpwu-lul ha-n-ta  
       John-nom study-acc do-pres-dec  
       'John is doing study'
- b. John-i kongpwu-ha-n-ta  
       John-nom study-do-pres-dec  
       'John is studying'

Its causative form is realized as N-*sikhi*, which is attributed to the Type I:

- ii. a. John-i Mary-eykey kongpwu (-lul) sikhi-n-ta  
       John-nom Mary-dat study (-acc) make-pres-dec  
       'John made Mary study'

The second participant 'Mary' is Executor, but the effect of the initial participant 'John' is more forceful on 'Mary' (cf. its periphrastic form implies permission or enablement).

In fact, suffixal forms were more frequent at an earlier period. Now the auxiliary verb occurs to fill out the gap of the suffixal forms (S. Kim 1979). For instance, it is reported that *hata* verb was combined with the suffix in Middle Korean.



'John washed dishes'

- b. John-i Mary-eykey kulus-ul takk-i-ess-ta  
 John-nom Mary-dat dish-acc wash-I-past-dec

'John caused Mary to wash the dishes'

- (12) a. John-i phyenci-lul ssu-ss-ta  
 John-nom letter-acc write-past-dec

'John wrote a letter'

- b. John-i Mary-eykey phyenci-lul ssu-i-ess-ta  
 John-nom Mary-dat letter-acc write-I-past-dec

'John caused Mary to write a letter'

- (13) a. John-i kapang-ul tul-ess-ta  
 John-nom bag-acc hold-past-dec

'John held the bag'

- b. John-i Mary-eykey kapang-ul tul-li-ess-ta  
 John-nom Mary-dat bag-acc hold-I-past-dec

'John caused Mary to hold the bag'

As in (6)-(9), in the unmarked (a)-examples of (10)-(13), the actual performance of reading a book, washing a dish, writing a letter, and holding a bag is done by the sentence initial participant, which is both an instigator and a performer of an action. In contrast, it is done by the second participant in the I-suffixed (b)-examples.

Here is a diagram of the difference between (i) the condition before and (ii) the condition after the I-suffix is attached to these verbs:

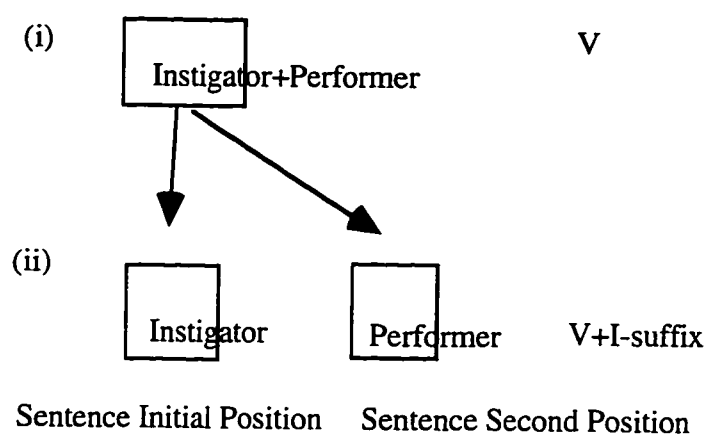


Fig1: I-suffix with Type I

In (i), the whole event is accomplished by the sentence initial participant itself. While in (ii), it is effected by the second participant, and the involvement of the sentence initial participant is lessened. The fact that the second participant is capable of carrying out an action designated by a verb conforms to this type of causation, which has a fully conscious human being as causee.

This line of interpretation allows us to explain a couple of things. First, we can explain why the ESI does not rule out constructions with an asymmetric relation between initial and non-initial participants. Thus, examples (16)-(18) contrast with the unacceptable sentences (14a) and (15b), in which the sentence initial participant is overpowered by the second participant:

- (14) a. \*sikan-i     John-ul     ccoc-nun-ta  
          time-nom   John-acc   chase-pres-dec  
          'Time is chasing John'
- b. John-i         sikan-ey     ccoc-ki-n-ta  
          John-nom   time-loc   chase-I-pres-dec  
          'John is pressed for time'
- (15) a. John-i         san-ul             po-n-ta  
          John-nom   mountain-acc   see-pres-dec  
          'John sees the mountain'
- b. \*san-i             John-eykey po-i-n-ta  
          mountain-acc John-dat   see-I-pres-dec  
          'The mountain is visible to John'
- (16) ku   yengwha-ka   John-ul     wul-li-ess-ta  
          the   movie-nom   John-acc   cry-I-past-dec  
          'The movie made John cry'
- (17) ku   khomeydian-i   na-lul     wus-ki-ess-ta  
          the   comedian-nom   I-acc     laugh-I-past-dec  
          'The comedian made me laugh'
- (18) Houston Rockets-ka         salam-tul-ul     hungpwun-  
          Houston Rockets-nom     person-pl-acc   excitement-  
          sikhi-ess-ta<sup>5</sup>

---

<sup>5</sup> *N-sikhi* is the causative counterpart of *N-ha*. *N-sikhi*- form corresponds to Type I, since it imposes an Executor role on the sentence second participant. In other words, this phrase requires the causee's activity.

let-past-dec

'The Houston Rockets made people excited'

Sentences (16) through (18) show that the second participant is regarded as a performer of the action which is designated by the verb, therefore the ESI condition does not filter out the cases in which an inanimate entity precedes a human being. That is, in an ordinary simple event clause, Executor/Agent role occurs in the sentence initial position as Instigator and Patient or Recipient role is expressed by the second participant as Endpoint, thus maintaining the ESI condition. But, in the sentences above, the sentence initial participant is no longer interpreted as Executor, which is transferred to the second participant. To wit, the second participant is an Agent-like being, by which the initial participant can be outranked. This fact recalls the difference between the dative *-eykey* and the Agentive case *-eyuyhay* for the Agent in I-constructions.<sup>6</sup>

Second, the fact that the second participant is Executor is further indicated in its incompatibility with an auxiliary verb 'give'. The verb *cwu-ta* 'give' is used as main verb when a concrete thing is transferred from one participant to another:

- |      |          |            |          |               |
|------|----------|------------|----------|---------------|
| (19) | John-i   | Mary-eykey | chayk-ul | cwu-ess-ta    |
|      | John-nom | Mary-dat   | book-acc | give-past-dec |

---

<sup>6</sup> While the dative Agent is regarded as the Endpoint of the event, the Agentive Agent is regarded as another starting point of the event. See Chapter 2.

'John gave Mary a book'

On the other hand, *cwu-ta* is a helping verb when it is combined with another verb, and it signals an abstract effort or service, not a physical concrete gift that moves between two participants:

- (20) a. John-i chayk-ul ilk-ess-ta  
           John-nom book-acc read-past-dec  
           'John read a book'
- b. John-i Mary-eykey chayk-ul ilk-e cwu-ess-ta  
           John-nom Mary-dat book-acc read-link give-past-dec  
           'John read a book for Mary'

Furthermore, the entity which a concrete object 'book' reaches is John in (21b) and is Mary (21c), while it is Mary to whom John's favor is directed. In other words, Mary in (21b) is not a Recipient of the book itself, but of the John's concern, and *cwu-ta* is used:

- (21) a. John-i Mary-eykeyse chayk-ul sa-ss-ta  
           John-nom Mary-ablat book-acc buy-past-dec  
           'John bought a book from Mary (for himself)'
- b. John-i Mary-eykeyse chayk-ul sa cwu-ess-ta  
           John-nom Mary-ablat book-acc buy give-past-dec  
           'John bought a book from Mary (for Mary's sake)'
- c. John-i Mary-eykey chayk-ul sa cwu-ess-ta  
           John-nom Mary-dat book-acc buy give-past-dec

'John bought a book for Mary'

Of note here is that this verb phrase designates a single event and is allowed when the role of the second participant is conceived as Endpoint.<sup>7</sup>

*Cwu-ta* seems to occur with any verb as long as the sentence initial participant is a human Agent. Thus, the following sentences imply that John did the actions of eating and catching for some unspecified Recipients or Beneficiaries:

(22) a. John-i pap-ul mek-ess-ta

John-nom rice-acc eat-past-dec

'John ate rice'

b. John-i pap-ul mek-e cwu-ess-ta

John-nom rice-acc eat-link give-past-dec

'John ate rice for someone'

(23) a. John-i thokki-lul cap-ass-ta

John-nom rabbit-acc catch-past-dec

'John caught a rabbit'

b. John-i thokki-lul cap-a cwu-ess-ta

<sup>7</sup> Sometimes, a bad sense can be implied with certain verbs, e.g., *ttayli-e-cwu- hit-link-give* 'hit someone'. Besides, *cwu-ta* can occur in complex clause like periphrastic causative constructions, which adds the meaning of permission:

John-i	Mary-ka/eykey/lul	ket-key	hay-cwu-ess-ta
John-nom	Mary-nom/dat/acc	walk-comp	do-give-past-dec

'John allowed Mary to walk'

The other forms like *V-ko-cwu*, *V-eta-cwu*, and *V-ese-cwu* imply two actions. The entity who receives a favor is a sentence internal participant which is marked with the dative *-eykey*, or is a sentence external participant which is not overt or is marked with postpositions like *-lul wihay* 'for' or *-taysin* 'on behalf of'. See further in K. D. Lee (1979).

John-nom rabbit-acc catch-link give-past-dec

'John caught a rabbit for someone'

- (24) a. John-i ka-ss-ta

John-nom go-past-dec

'John went'

- b. John-i ka cwu-ess-ta

John-nom go give-past-dec

'John went for someone'

- (25) a. John-i wul-ess-ta

John-nom cry-past-dec

'John cried'

- b. John-i wul-e cwu-ess-ta

John-nom cry-link give-past-dec

'John cried for someone'

I will restrict discussion to the case when the second participant is specified sentence internally, since it is meaningful to discuss Type I verbs regarding the role of the sentence second participant. That is, if the second participant in the following I-suffixed sentences can be interpreted as Endpoint, this verb phrase should be allowed. Thus, as we expected, the I-suffixed verbs of Type I are not compatible with *cwu-ta*, because they impose an Executor interpretation on the second participant:<sup>8</sup>

<sup>8</sup> An action is carried out for a third participant which is not specified in the sentence. And yet, such a reading is marginal.

- (26) a. \*John-i Mary-lul wul-li-e cwu-ess-ta  
 John-nom Mary-acc cry-I-link give-past-dec  
 'John offered to cause Mary to cry'
- b. \*John-i Mary-lul ket-li-e cwu-ess-ta  
 John-nom Mary-acc walk-I-link give-past-dec  
 'John offered to cause Mary to walk'
- c. \*John-i Mary-eykey chayk-ul ilk-hi-e cwu-  
 John-nom Mary-dat book-acc read-I-link give-  
 ess-ta  
 past-dec  
 'John offered to cause Mary to read a book'

Here, it is the sentence second participant who performs an action. The second participant is not interpreted as Endpoint; and as Executor of the verb, the second participant cannot simultaneously perform and benefit from performance by another. The meaning of service is possible only when the **whole** event is completed by a sentence initial participant and the activity of the second participant is none or minimal.

So far, we have seen the second participant's role is Executor. Such an interpretation is further confirmed in the fact that the I-suffixed forms of Type I are easily paraphrased by *-key ha* forms,<sup>9</sup> even though they are not

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<sup>9</sup> When I asked informants about the meaning of the examples of Type I, they readily gave me *-key ha* as their equivalents. But, they did not regarding the other two Types.



exact semantic equivalents: i.e., the I-suffixed forms retain all the characteristics of the simple clause, while the periphrastic forms display the semantics of complex clause.<sup>10</sup>

There is one more property which distinguishes Type I verbs from Types II and III. It is only with Type I verbs that we find 'homophony' between the 'passive' and the 'causative' suffixes. That is, some of Type I can be read as 'true passive'. Because of this, causative constructions are often referred to as the source of the passive development (cf. Keenan 1985, Haspelmath 1990, H. Lee 1991, and many others). We have briefly mentioned in Chapter 2 that true passive constructions of whole-part or possession relations (e.g., the I-suffixation to prototypical transitive events like 'hold', 'rip off', and 'bite', and so on) participate in the dual readings:<sup>11</sup>

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<sup>10</sup> see 3.

<sup>11</sup> When a causative arises, the affected meaning of the sentence initial participant is minimal and there is no sense of adversity.

Interestingly, when some transitive verbs have a body part as object and roughly mean 'to remove (body part)', e.g., *ppop-ta* 'pluck', *calu-ta* 'cut (hair, nail)', *kkakk-ta* 'cut (hair, nail, mustache)', and *mil-ta* 'shave', etc. their root forms can be used passively without any sense of adversity:

i.	a.	John-i	(chikwauysa-eykey)	i-lul	ppop-(*)hi-ass-ta
		John-nom	dentist-dat	tooth-acc	remove-(I)-past-dec
		'John had his tooth removed (by a dentist)'			
	b.	John-i	(ipalsa-eykey)	meli-lul	kkakk-(*)i-ess-ta
		John-nom	barber-dat	hair-acc	cut-(I)-past-dec
		'John had his hair cut (by a barber)'			

But, if the sentence initial participant is affected in a unfavorable way, we need to put the I-suffix on the verb and select a different Agent:

ii.	a.	John-i	kkangphay-eykey	i-lul	ppop-hi-ess-ta
		John-i	gangster-dat	tooth-acc	remove-I-past-dec
		'John had his tooth removed by a gangster'			
	b.	John-i	kyuyul-sensayngnim-eykey	meli-lul	kkakk-i-ess-ta
		John-nom	discipline-teacher-dat	hair-acc	cut-I-past-dec
		'John had his hair cut by a discipline teacher'			

- (27) a. John-i Mary-eykey son-lul cap-hi-ess-ta  
 John-nom Mary-dat hand-acc hold-I-past-dec  
 'John was held by Mary by the hand'  
 'John made Mary hold his hand'
- b. John-i kay-eykey os-ul ccic-ki-ess-ta  
 John-nom dog-dat clothes-acc tear-I-past-dec  
 'John had his clothes ripped off by the dog'  
 'John had his dog rip off the clothes'
- c. emma-ka aki-eykey ces-ul mwul-li-ess-ta  
 Mother-nom baby-dat breast-acc bite-I-past-dec  
 'Mother was bitten by the baby on the breast'  
 'Mother made the baby bite the breast'

When the I-suffix signals the removal/absence of performance from the sentence initial participant, it is left vague whether the initial participant has reduced EMPOWEREDNESS that is realized by its being a Patient, or whether the reduction arises from the initial participant's ceding the

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The difference between (i) and (ii) lies in the degree of Patiency/Agency of the sentence initial participant, John. That is, John in (i) is conceived more Agent-like being than in (ii), which is also reflected in the verb morphology, i.e., root verb vs. I-suffixed verb.

Moreover, we can induce causative readings from the same verbs after I-suffixation, in which case the body part does not belong to the sentence initial participant:

- iii. a. John-i chikwauysa-eykey Mary-uy i-lul ppop-hi-ass-ta  
 John-nom dentist-dat Mary-gen tooth-acc remove-I-past-dec  
 'John had a dentist remove Mary's tooth'
- b. John-i ipalsa-eykey Mary-uy meli-lul kkakk-i-ess-ta  
 John-nom barber-dat Mary-gen hair-acc cut-I-past-dec  
 'John had a barber cut Mary's hair'

performance to another. The initial participant then may be involved as an intentionally affected Patient or as the intentional causer of the event.

The verb 'give' is compatible with the passive reading, while it cannot prompt the causative reading:

- (28)      John-i      Mary-eykey son-ul      cap-hi-e      cwu-ess-ta  
              John-nom Mary-dat      hand-acc      catch-I-link      give-past-dec  
              'John was willing to be caught by the hand by Mary'  
              \*'John was willing to cause Mary to catch his hand'

Such a contrast seems to imply that the semantic interpretation of 'Mary' is different in the two readings. The passive reading, in which the Agent 'Mary' is conceived as Endpoint of the event, allows *cwu-ta*, while the causative reading, in which the Agent 'Mary' is not considered as Endpoint (and hence is viewed as having capability to initiate action), does not satisfy the requirement for *cwu-ta*.<sup>12</sup> In the passive reading, we can add *cwu-ta* to the verb with passive meaning as long as the sentence initial participant is not unfavorably affected. In this regard, the Agent in the passive reading has a semantic affinity with the second participant in Type II causation.

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<sup>12</sup> While Agent role normally signals prototypical properties of Initiator, and Patient/Recipient role is usually reserved for Endpoint, these relations do not always coincide.

When the part/possessed is marked by the nominative, or is not expressed at all, then only passive reading is possible. Compare (27a) with (29):

- (29) a. John-i Mary-eykey son-i cap-hi-ess-ta  
 John-nom Mary-dat hand-nom catch-I-past-dec  
 'As for John, his hand was caught by Mary'  
 \*'John caused Mary to catch his hand'
- b. John-i Mary-eykey cap-hi-ess-ta  
 John-nom Mary-dat catch-I-past-dec  
 'John was caught by Mary'  
 \*'John caused Mary to catch something/someone'

Sentences (29a) and (29b) do not mean 'John caused Mary to catch something/someone'.

Now, consider sentence (30):

- (30) John-i Mary-eykey pascwul-ul cap-hi-ess-ta  
 John-nom Mary-dat rope-acc catch-I-past-dec  
 'John caused Mary to hold the rope'

Sentence (27a) is ambiguous, (29b) is read only passive, and (30) has only a causative reading.<sup>13</sup> Here, the notion of coreference between the sentence initial participant and the following entity plays a crucial role in the

<sup>13</sup> The following example is not spoken (Cf. Chapter 2):

*John-i	Mary-eykey	pascwul-i	cap-hi-ess-ta
John-nom	Mary-dat	role-nom	catch-I-past-dec

patterning of the two readings. That is, the more the affected participant is separated, e.g., rope, from John, the more likely it is that a sentence will have a causative reading and vice versa. The presence of such participants forces the interpretation that the loss of EMPOWEREDNESS by the initial participant involves its being Patient and not merely the loss of performance. The less there is an association between the sentence initial participant and the affected participant, the greater the tendency to hear the initial participant as having reduced EMPOWEREDNESS from lost performance, and not by being Patient. Thus, in (29b), we can infer John's whole body is caught, which hints at a complete coreference with John, and only a passive reading is valid. Meanwhile, a non-body part entity like rope in (30) is not necessarily possessed by John; he is not associated with it, seen as Patient, and a passive reading is not available. Hence, the part noun 'rope' in (30) is rather conceived as Endpoint.

In the causative reading, the Executing part is factored out of the sentence initial position and transferred to a second participant which now carries out the action. The I-suffix allows a given event have dual readings because, by lessening the optimal EMPOWEREDNESS which roots require of the sentence initial positions, it does not further specify how that reduction is achieved. The semantics of the verbs and the participants conspire to fix the specific sense of each combination.

To summarize the behavior of Type I verbs, the I-suffix marks a change of the EMPOWEREDNESS of sentence initial position. The Executor role is factored out of the initial participant and transferred to the next position, which carries out an action.

### 3.1.2. Type II: causee as animate Endpoint

When the I-suffix is applied to a self-affected event (i.e., centripetal intransitive verbs like *nwup-* 'lie' and centripetal transitive verbs like *kulm-* 'skip'), it signals that the **self-affected** portion of the sentence initial participant is absent, thus allowing it to be associated with a second participant. Consequently, the I-suffix designates that the locus of the terminus of the event is a separate participant: Initiator and Endpoint are no longer lodged in the same participant.

As long as an event is self-contained/self-affected, in which either the whole body or body part is involved, it does not matter whether a verb is intransitive or transitive, morphosyntactically. In the intransitive (a)-clauses, the sentence initial participant 'John' is conceived to involve his own body to carry out an action, and the I-suffix designates an event in which the affected part is realized in the second position:<sup>14</sup>

- (31) a. John-i            nwu-ess-ta

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<sup>14</sup> In fact, the I-suffixation to the intransitive centripetal verbs may imply Type I, namely, that 'John caused Mary to do (something)'. That is, Mary is now Executor and the verb 'give' is not compatible with this interpretation any more.

John-nom      lie-past-dec

'John lay down'

b. John-i      Mary-lul      nwup-hi-ess-ta

John-nom Mary-acc      lie-I-past-dec

'John laid Mary down'

(32) a. John-i              malwu-ey              anc-ass-ta

John-nom      floor-loc              sit-past-dec

'Mary sat down on the floor'

b. John-i      Mary-lul      malwu-ey      anc-hi-ess-ta

John-nom      Mary-acc      floor-loc      sit-I-past-dec

'John sat Mary down on the floor'

(33) a. John-i      cha-ey      tha-ss-ta

John-nom      car-loc      get on-past-dec

'John got in the car'

b. John-i      Mary-lul      cha-ey      thay-wu-ess-ta

John-nom Mary-acc      car-loc      get on-I-past-dec

'John got Mary in the car'

The (a)-sentences are centripetal intransitive events, and the suffixed (b)-sentences are centrifugal events in which the effect goes beyond the sentence initial participant and reaches the second participant.

Likewise, with the I-suffix, centripetal transitive events such as 'starving', 'eating', and 'dressing' become centrifugal events:

- (34) a. John-i      pap-ul      kulm-ess-ta  
          John-nom   rice-acc   skip-past-dec  
          'John skipped a meal'
- b. John-i      Mary-eykey      pap-ul      kulm-ki-ess-ta  
          John-nom   Mary-dat      rice-acc   skip-I-past-dec  
          'John starved Mary'
- (35) a. John-i      pap-ul      mek-ess-ta  
          John-nom   rice-acc   eat-past-dec  
          'John ate rice'
- b. John-i      Mary-eykey      pap-ul      mek-i-ess-ta  
          John-nom   Mary-dat      rice-acc   eat-I-past-dec  
          'John fed Mary rice'
- (36) a. John-i      os-ul      ip-ess-ta  
          John-nom   clothes-acc   put on-past-dec  
          'John put on clothes'
- b. John-i      Mary-eykey os-ul      ip-hi-ess-ta  
          John-nom   Mary-dat      clothes-acc   put on-I-past-dec  
          'John put clothes on Mary'

The difference between Type II and Type I events is apparent in the different semantic interpretation of the second participant Mary in (31)-(36) and in (6)-(9), that is, according to which portion of EMPOWEREDNESS is factored out from the sentence initial position. Even though the



occurrences of Mary are marked with the accusative case, which is normally for the Patient role, Mary is Executor in Type I, but the Endpoint (i.e., Patient or Recipient) in Type II, and activity of the second participant is absent or minimal. The sentence initial participant in Type I is not the actual performer, while the same initial participant in Type II is the actual performer, directly involved in the event. The contrast can be seen clearly in the diagnostic use of the auxiliary verb *cwu-ta* 'give'. Compare the following three with (40=26c):

- (37)      John-i      Mary-lul      nwup-hi-e cwu-ess-ta  
             John-nom Mary-acc      lie-I-link give-past-dec  
             'John laid Mary down as a favor'
- (38)      John-i      Mary-eykey os-ul      ip-hi-e      cwu-ess-ta  
             John-nom Mary-dat      clothes-acc wear-I-link give-past-dec  
             'John offered to put the clothes on Mary'
- (39)      John-i      Mary-eykey pap-ul      mek-i-e      cwu-ess-ta  
             John-nom Mary-dat      rice-acc eat-I-link give-past-dec  
             'John offered to feed Mary a meal'
- (40=26c) \*John-i      Mary-eykey chayk-ul      ilk-hi-e      cwu-ess-ta  
             John-nom Mary-dat      book-acc read-I-link give-past-dec

The beneficiary auxiliary verb *cwu-ta* is employed when the second participant is conceived as the non-performer, and this is reflected in its different behavior with Type I and Type II verbs. That is, sentences (37)-

(39) allow this auxiliary verb to cooccur, while the Agentive causee of (40), which contains a Type I verb *ilk-ta* 'read', does not.<sup>15</sup>..The causer is directly involved in bringing about the action, while the causee's action is absent and is interpreted as affected Endpoint. In other words, there is a direct physical contact between two participants and the effect on the second participant is immediate.

While sentences (31)-(36) contain an affected area which is the whole body, the following example (41b) contains an affected area which is a body part. The I-suffix is used when the affected body part belongs to someone **other** than the non-initial participant, unlike the unsuffixed form (41a):

- (41) a.    John-i            i-lul            takk-ass-ta  
              John-nom        teeth-acc       wash-past-dec  
              'John brushed his teeth'
- b.    John-i            Mary-ø/uy       i-lul            takk-i-ess-ta  
              John-nom       Mary-gen        teeth-acc       wash-I-past-dec  
              'John brushed Mary's teeth'

Kemmer (1993) treats verbs involving actions of change in overall body posture (e.g., 'stand (up)', 'sit (down)', and 'lie (down)', etc.) and verbs of grooming (e.g., 'comb', 'washing', 'getting dressed', 'shaving',

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<sup>15</sup> In fact, the test is meaningful only in the monoclausal construction. The periphrastic causative forms can be combined with the same auxiliary verb, but the meaning of allowance is dominant.

'bathing', etc.) as middle situations. In Korean, unlike the Indo-European languages, these are not identified with a special marker, but their 'middle' or 'self-affective' properties are evinced when they are combined with the I-suffix. The I-suffix removes ON ITSELF as a component of the EMPOWEREDNESS attributed to the affected aspect from the sentence initial participant with these verbs, leaving the sentence initial participant to perform the action on the second entity. The subsequent event becomes a prototypical transitive one. Therefore, native speakers do not paraphrase this type with periphrastic causative forms.

### 3.1.2.1. Whole body

Body actions of intransitive forms, and transitive verbs of eating and of dressing, and mental verbs involve centripetal (self-affected) events. The sentence initial participant initiates an action and completes the action ON ITSELF. The presence of the I-suffix marks an event that devolves upon an external entity.

In fact, as far as the intransitive centripetal events are concerned, we should note that they can be also interpreted as Type I, depending upon which portion is perceived as removed from the sentence initial participant. Thus, we find two possible glosses for the following sentence:

- (42)        John-i        Mary-lul    cha-ey    tay-wu-ess-ta  
               John-nom   Mary-acc   car-loc   get on-I-past-dec

i. 'John put Mary in the car' Type II

ii. 'John caused Mary to get in the car' Type I

As for (i), John used his own hands to get Mary in the car, while in (ii), he let her get in the car.

Consider sentence (43), in which the mother is no longer a point of effect because of the presence of the I-suffix:

(43) emma-nun aki-eykey wuyu-lul mek-i-ess-ta  
mom-top baby-dat milk-acc eat-I-past-dec

i. 'Mom fed her baby milk (by putting the milk bottle in  
its mouth) Type II

ii. '?Mom caused her baby to eat milk (by ordering or  
instructing the baby)' Type I

In this context, *mek-i-ess-ta* is more appropriate to a causee that is an unconscious and inert entity, to whom volition is not imputed. The causee's activity is excluded in (43) and does not take the role of performing the event. The causer must be directly involved in carrying out the event. Thus, the Type I (b)-reading does not fit the suffixed form.<sup>16</sup> At the same time, the beneficiary auxiliary verb can be further combined

<sup>16</sup> In the periphrastic causative, the causee is fully conscious and Agentive. Thus, entities such as dolls, dead bodies, or new-born babies sound odd in periphrastic constructions.

a. John-un inhyeng-eykey os-ul ip-hi-ess-ta  
John-top doll-dat clothes-acc wear-I-past-dec  
'John put the clothes on the doll'  
b. \*John-un inhyeng-i/-eykey/-ul os-ul ip-key ha-ss-ta  
John-top doll-nom/dat/acc clothes dress-comp do-past-dec  
'\*John caused the doll to put on the clothes

with the Type II gloss. Unlike *kulm-ta* 'starve' and *mek-ta* 'eat', verbs like *masi-ta* 'drink' and *ssip-ta* 'chew', which require more conscious and coordinated action of the causee, do not participate in this type of variation. *Ssip-ta* 'chew' rather belongs to Type I causation, and *masi-ta* 'drink' is possible only in the periphrastic form:

- (44) a. John-i Mary-eykey kkem-ul ssip-hi-ess-ta  
           John-nom Mary-dat gum-acc chew-I-past-dec  
           'John caused Mary to chew the gum'
- b. John-i Mary-eykey mwul-ul masi-key hay-ss-ta  
           John-nom Mary-dat water-acc drink-comp do-past-dec  
           'John caused Mary to drink the water'

Regarding dressing verbs like *ip-ta* 'put on (clothes)', *kki-ta* 'put on (ring or gloves)', and *sin-ta* 'put on (shoes)', *cha-ta* 'put on (watch)', and *pes-ta* 'take off', all of which mark both Initiation and Endpoint of the event in the sentence initial participant, when they are associated with the I-suffix, the locus of Endpoint is factored out and exists as an individual entity in second position:

- (45) a. John-i os-ul ip-ess-ta  
           John-nom clothes-acc wear-past-dec  
           'John dressed himself'  
           'John got dressed'
- b. John-i Mary-eykey os-ul ip-**hi**-ess-ta

John-nom Mary-dat clothes-acc wear-I-past-dec

'John put the clothes on Mary'

- (46) a. John-i moca-lul pes-ess-ta

John-nom hat-acc take off-past-dec

'John took off a hat from himself'

- b. John-i moca-lul pes-**ki**-ess-ta

John-nom hat-acc take off-I-past-dec

'John took off a hat from someone'

- (47) a. John-i sin-ul sin-ess-ta

John-nom shoes-acc wear-past-dec

'John put on the shoes'

- b. John-i Mary-eykey sin-ul sin-**ki**-ess-ta

John-nom Mary-dat shoes-acc wear-I-past-dec

'John put the shoes on Mary'

With the unaffixed verb *ip-ta* 'put on' in (45a), the one who puts on the clothes is 'John' and the one who wears the clothes is also 'John'. Put another way, the one who does an action and the one who is affected by the action are identical in reference. On the other hand, with the I-suffix, the one who dresses is no longer identical to the one on whom the clothes are put. The one who does an action and the one who is affected by the action are not identical.

Of note here is the semantics of the sentence initial position. When the I-suffix occurs with centripetal transitive roots, the constraint of ON ITSELF on the sentence initial participant is taken away, now the sentence initial participant is left with the remaining portion of ACT. A secondary result of factoring out a semantic composite from the sentence initial participant is separate expression of the affected entity. Thus, grammatically, an original middle situation becomes like a prototypical transitive construction. The I-suffix can produce opposite effects, depending on the content imputed to the sentence initial participant by the verb. The following were introduced in the previous chapter as examples in which the I-suffix reduced transitivity by producing self-affective events:

- (48) a. John-i kulim-lul namwu-ey maytal-ass-ta  
           John-nom picture-acc tree-loc hang-past-dec  
           'John hung the picture on the tree'

- b. John-i namwu-ey maytal-li-ess-ta  
      John-nom tree-loc hang-I-past-dec  
      'John hung on the tree'

- (49) a. John-i ton-ul ttang-ey mwut-ess-ta  
          John-nom money-acc ground-loc bury-past-dec  
          'John buried money in the ground'

- b. John-i sikol-ey mwut-hi-ess-ta

John-nom      country-loc    bury-I-past-dec

'John is isolated in the country'

The I-suffix alters centrifugal roots of (48) and (49) so that the events describe centripetal effects. Hence, the sentence initial participants in (48b) and (49b) do not act on another, unlike those in prototypical transitive (a)-sentences. These provide dramatic illustration of the fact that the semantic character of the event—the role properties it projects upon the sentence initial participant—provides the matrix for the I-suffix, and that the effect of its use can vary widely in the context of different events, while it continues to accomplish a common function across all these environments.

Now, consider the verbs of mental experience, which have also a centripetal effect, i.e., the effect remains within the sentence initial participant. One difference from verbs like eating and dressing is that the relation between two participants is made through mental contact. As a matter of fact, the verbs of mental experience which are compatible with the I-suffix are very small in number: e.g. *po-ta* 'see': *po-i-ta* 'show', *al-ta* 'know': *al-li-ta* 'inform', *sok-ta* 'be deceived': *sok-i-ta* 'deceive':

(50) a. John-i              sacin-ul      po-ass-ta

John-nom      picture-acc    see-past-dec

'John saw the picture'

b. John-i      Mary-eykey    sacin-ul      po-i-ess-ta



John-nom Mary-dat picture-acc see-I-past-dec

'John showed the picture to Mary'

- (51) a. John-i ku sasil-ul al-ass-ta

John-nom the fact-acc know-past-dec

'John knew the fact'

- b. John-i Mary-eykey ku sasil-ul al-li-ess-ta

John-nom Mary-dat the fact-acc know-I-past-dec

'John informed Mary of the fact'

- (52) a. John-i sok-ass-ta

John-nom be deceived-past-dec

'John was deceived'

- b. John-i Mary-lul sok-i-ess-ta

John-nom Mary-acc be deceived-I-past-dec

'John deceived Mary'

With these roots of mental contact, the I-suffix again factors out the Endpoint from the sentence initial participant. Some I-suffixed forms can occur with the benevolent auxiliary verb: e.g., *po-i-e-cwu-ta*, *al-li-e-cwu-ta*. And yet, *\*sok-i-e-cwu-ta* does not exist, while *sok-a-cwu-ta* does. It seems that *cwu* tends to occur with verbs naming positive actions. Interestingly, the verb *tut-ta* 'hear' cannot take the I-suffix by itself (cf.

*tut-li-ta* 'be heard'), but *tut(>l)-li-e-cwu-ta* 'tell, read to, sing for (a person)' is possible:<sup>17</sup>

- (53) a. \*Mary-ka aki-eykey cacangka-lul tul-li-ess-ta  
 Mary-nom baby-dat lullaby-acc hear-I-past-dec
- b. Mary-ka aki-eykey cacangka-lul tul-li-e-cwu-ess-ta  
 Mary-nom baby-dat lullaby-acc hear-I-link-give-past-dec  
 'Mary sang a lullaby to a baby'

There is one peculiar behavior of the mental verbs with respect to the case marking of the sentence second participant. Morphosyntactically, the second participant in ditransitive constructions shows a case alternation between the dative and the accusative. That is, the Recipient role is realized both as dative and as accusative. Thus, a prototypical ditransitive verb of giving in (54) shows an alternation between the dative and the accusative case for Mary:

- (54) a. John-i Mary-eykey senmwul-ul cwu-ess-ta  
 John-nom Mary-dat gift-acc give-past-dec  
 'John gave a gift to Mary'
- b. John-i Mary-lul senmwul-ul cwu-ess-ta  
 John-nom Mary-acc gift-acc give-past-dec  
 'John gave Mary a gift'

<sup>17</sup> A Korean dictionary cites an example of this expression, but again it is formed with an extra verb:  
 sinwui-eykey tul-li-e-tangpwu-ha-ta  
 sister in law-dat hear-I-link-ask-do-dec  
 'to ask a sister in law by causing her to listen'

Type II verbs involving whole body have a second participant with the dative case, which is always conceived as the Endpoint. And the dative case can be replaced by the accusative, without altering the basic meaning:

- (55) a. John-i Mary-eykey sin-ul sin-ki-ess-ta  
 John-nom Mary-dat shoes-acc wear-I-past-dec  
 'John put the shoes on Mary'
- b. John-i Mary-lul sin-ul sin-ki-ess-ta  
 John-nom Mary-acc shoes-acc wear-I-past-dec  
 'John put the shoes on Mary'
- (56) a. John-i Mary-eykey pap-ul mek-i-ess-ta  
 John-nom Mary-dat rice-acc eat-I-past-dec  
 'John fed Mary a meal'
- b. John-i Mary-lul pap-ul mek-i-ess-ta  
 John-nom Mary-acc rice-acc eat-I-past-dec  
 'John fed Mary a meal'

In the examples of (54), (55), and (56), Mary is interpreted as Endpoint (i.e., Recipient) constantly.

Moreover, Type I causatives allow both cases, which identify Mary with Executor:

- (57) a. John-i Mary-eykey chayk-ul ilhk-hi-ess-ta  
 John-nom Mary-dat book-acc read-I-past-dec  
 'John caused Mary to read the book'

- b. John-i Mary-lul chayk-ul ilhk-hi-ess-ta  
 John-nom Mary-acc book-acc read-I-past-dec  
 'John caused Mary to read the book'
- (58) a. John-i Mary-eykey kulus-ul takk-i-ess-ta<sup>18</sup>  
 John-nom Mary-dat dish-acc wash-I-past-dec  
 'John caused Mary to wash the dishes'
- b. John-i Mary-lul kulus-ul takk-i-ess-ta  
 John-nom Mary-acc dish-acc wash-I-past-dec  
 'John caused Mary to wash the dishes'

The dative case alternates with the accusative case, which reflects the different manner of participation of the causee in event.<sup>19</sup> Thus, in both Type I and II, when there are two possible ways to mark the causee, it is generally assumed that the accusative case marked participant is more involved, affected, forced, and manipulated in comparison with the dative participant.<sup>20</sup> Consistent with this, the I-suffixed mental verbs do not allow the second participant to be marked with the accusative case:

<sup>18</sup> Verbs such as *ssis-ta*, *takk-ta*, and *ppal-ta* are glossed as 'wash' or 'clean' in English alike, but their occurrence is restricted with the preceding nouns: *ssis-ta* and *takk-ta* for the body and inanimate things, and *ppal-ta* for clothes. Thus, *ssis-ta* and *takk-ta* can occur in Type I and II, while *ppal-ta* does in Type I.

<sup>19</sup> Kang, Y. S. (1984) discusses semantic and pragmatic differences between *-eykey-* causative and *-lul-* in periphrastic causative forms by adopting Kuno (1972)'s hypothesis that *-eykey-* causative contains Direct Discourse of an imperative sentence as a complement clause in the D-structure. That is, the fact that the *-eykey* type requires optionality, self-controllability, and resultativity, while the *-lul* type does not require these features. And only the *-eykey* type allows human causees (cf. i vs. ii), and allows only self-controllable verbs (cf. i. vs. iii), which can be postulated as addressee in the imperative structure such as:

i. John caused Mary, "(you) go out"  
 ii. \*John caused the electric light, "(you) go out"  
 iii. \* John caused Mary, "(you) faint"

<sup>20</sup> Besides, the accusative in place of the dative delivers a reading of focus, exclusive listing, or emphasis.

- (59) John-i Mary-eykey/\*lul cohun sosik-ul  
 John-nom Mary-dat/acc good news acc  
 al-li-ess-ta  
 know-I-past-dec  
 'John informed Mary of a good news'

Now, consider how the I-suffix yields a different result from the same root:

- (60) a. John-i san-ul po-ass-ta  
 John-nom mountain-acc see-past-dec  
 'John saw the mountain'
- b. San-i po-i-ess-ta  
 mountain see-I-past-dec  
 '(As for me), the mountain was visible'
- c. John-i Mary-eykey san-ul po-i-ess-ta  
 John-nom Mary-dat mountain-acc see-I-past-dec  
 'John showed Mary the mountain'

The I-suffix adjusts the sentence initial position by imputing a less than optimally EMPOWERED semantic role on it as in (60b) (i.e., non-volitional reading. Cf. Chapter 2), or by taking away the ON ITSELF constraint from the sentence initial participant and leaving the ACT portion to it as in (60c). Accordingly, with respect to the root event (60a), the I-suffix marks a different transitivity on (60b) and (60c).

Summing up, when the I-suffix is combined with an event of Type I, the sentence initial participant does not perform an action which is designated by root verb. It is the second participant who performs an action. But when the I-suffix combines with centripetal events of Type II, it requires that the sentence initial participant perform all of the activities involved, just like a prototypical Agent. That is, in the act of seating, feeding, clothing, showing, and informing, the sentence initial participant is somehow more intimately involved with the second participant in bringing about the desired result. The sentence initial participant is losing part of what makes it EMPOWERED with those events, whereby a centripetal event becomes a prototypical centrifugal one.

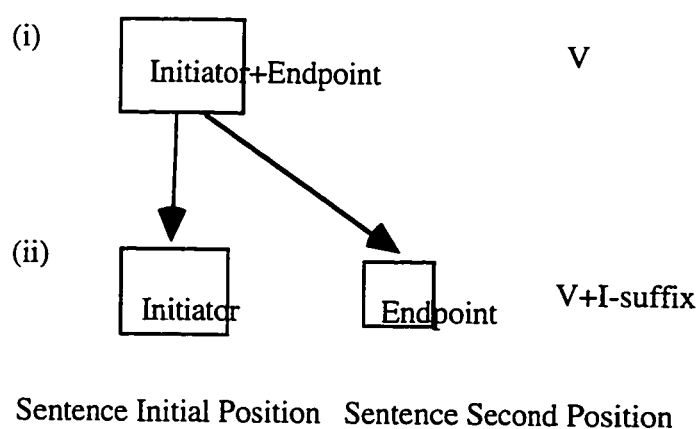


Fig 2: I-suffix with overall body affected event

### 3.1.2.2. Body part

When a person performs an action on his/her own body part (i.e., grooming, body care actions), such that the event fails to extend beyond himself/herself, in Korean it is still expressed in a transitive verb form.<sup>21</sup> But when the action is carried out on other person's body part we find a new configuration of the event, namely that Initiator and Endpoint are not coreferential. For example, the events such as *kam-ta* 'close' and *kam-ta* 'shampoo', occur with the body parts *nwun* 'eye' and *meli* 'hair', respectively, which belong inalienably to the sentence initial participant. On the other hand, when a sentence initial participant performs an action on a different entity's body part, the I-suffix is recruited:<sup>22</sup>

<sup>21</sup> In body actions, body parts are expressed as objects. That is, body actions are transitive in form. In fact, all the body part constructions do not show this pattern. The following verbs do not combine with the I-suffix:

- |      |    |                              |           |                  |                    |
|------|----|------------------------------|-----------|------------------|--------------------|
| i.   | a. | John-i                       | palmok-ul | ppi-ess-ta       |                    |
|      |    | John-nom                     | ankle-acc | strain-past-dec  |                    |
|      |    | 'John strained his ankle'    |           |                  |                    |
|      | b. | *John-i                      | Mary-ø    | palmok-ul        | ppi-I-ess-ta       |
|      |    | John-nom                     | Mary-gen  | ankle-acc        | strain-I-past-dec  |
|      |    | 'John strained Mary's ankle' |           |                  |                    |
| ii.  | a. | John-i                       | tali-lul  | cel-ess-ta       |                    |
|      |    | John-nom                     | leg-acc   | limp-past-dec    |                    |
|      |    | 'John limped'                |           |                  |                    |
|      | b. | *John-i                      | Mary-ø    | tali-lul         | cel-I-ess-ta       |
|      |    | John-nom                     | Mary-gen  | leg-acc          | limp-I-past-dec    |
|      |    | 'John made Mary limp'        |           |                  |                    |
| iii. | a. | John-i                       | tali-lul  | ttel-ess-ta      |                    |
|      |    | John-nom                     | leg-acc   | tremble-past-dec |                    |
|      |    | 'John trembled his leg'      |           |                  |                    |
|      | b. | *John-i                      | Mary-ø    | tali-lul         | ttel-li-ess-ta     |
|      |    | John-nom                     | Mary-gen  | leg-acc          | tremble-I-past-dec |
|      |    | 'John trembled Mary's leg'   |           |                  |                    |

<sup>22</sup> Body parts like lip, nose, hair, leg, etc. cannot have autonomous existence, and they always stand in coreference relation to some entity. Usually, the possessive pronouns are not coded unless the speaker intends to put emphasis or contrast on the possessor. When the possessor is a third person, reflexive possessive pronoun *caki* can be used.

- (61) a. John-i      meli-lul      kam-nun-ta  
           John-nom   hair-acc      shampoo-pres-dec  
           'John shampoos his hair'
- b. John-i      Mary-ø      meli-lul   kam-ki-n-ta  
           John-nom   Mary-gen   hair-acc   shampoo-I-pres-dec  
           'John shampoos Mary's hair'
- (62) a. John-i            nwun-ul      kam-nun-ta  
           John-nom      eye-acc      close-pres-dec  
           'John closes his eyes'
- b. John-i      Mary-uy    nwun-ul      kam-ki-n-ta  
           John-nom    Mary-gen   eye-acc      close-I-pres-dec  
           'John closes Mary's eyes'
- (63) a. John-i            ip-ul            tamwul-ess-ta  
           John-nom      mouth-acc   close-past-dec  
           'John closed his mouth'
- b. John-i      Mary-ø      ip-ul            tamwul-li-ess-ta  
           John-nom   Mary-gen   mouth-acc   close-I-past-dec  
           'John closed Mary's mouth'
- (64) a. John-i            mwulup-ul      kkwul-ess-ta  
           John-nom    knee-acc      bend-past-dec  
           'John knelt down'
- b. John-i      Mary-ø      mwulup-ul   kkwul-li-ess-ta



John-nom Mary-gen knee-acc bend-I-past-dec

'John bent Mary's knee'

(65) a. John-i son-ul ssis-ess-ta

John-nom hand-acc wash-past-dec

'John washed his hands'

b. John-i Mary-ø son-ul ssis-ki-ess-ta

John-nom Mary-gen hand-acc wash-I-past-dec

'John washed Mary's hands'

(66) a. John-i meli-lul pis-ess-ta

John-nom hair-acc comb-past-dec

'John combed his hair'

b. John-i Mary-ø meli-lul pis-ki-ess-ta

John-nom Mary-gen hair-acc comb-I-past-dec

'John combed Mary's hair'

Even though I will not consider the meanings of the case markers in detail, it is worthy to note the choice of the case markers. Thus, for Type II events occurring with body parts, the accusative case can replace the genitive as in (67a), in which Mary is read as Possessor (i.e., Endpoint).<sup>23</sup>

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<sup>23</sup> Some informants read this sentence ambiguous, i.e., Mary is interpreted as Agentive as well as Patientive.

The second participant Mary can also be marked by dative case marker, in which circumstance the role Mary fills is the Executor:<sup>24</sup>

- (67) a. John<sub>i</sub>-i Mary<sub>j</sub>-ø/lul son\*<sub>i/j/k</sub>-ul ssis-ki-ess-ta  
 John-nom Mary-gen/acc hand-acc wash-I-past-dec  
 'John washed Mary's hand'
- b. John<sub>i</sub>-i Mary<sub>j</sub>-eykey son<sub>i/j/k</sub>-ul ssis-ki-ess-ta  
 John-nom Mary-dat hand-acc wash-I-past-dec  
 'John<sub>i</sub> caused Mary<sub>j</sub> to wash a hand<sub>i/j/k</sub>'

Dative *-eykey* in (67b) can mark an extra participant, unlike the genitive and accusative cases in (67a). To wit, (67b) is Type I as in (68):

- (68) John-i Mary-lul/eykey kulus-ul ssis-ki-ess-ta  
 John-nom Mary-acc/dat dish-acc wash-I-past-dec  
 'John caused Mary to wash the dishes'

Likewise, examples of (61b)-(66b) show Type I causatives when Mary is marked with the dative.

Nevertheless, if *cwu-ta* beneficiary aux verb is present in (67b), the dative Mary is **not** conceived as Executor. John's action of washing is carried out for Mary's sake: Cf. (70)

- (69) John-i Mary-eykey son-lul ssis-ki-e cwu-ess-ta  
 John-nom Mary-dat hand-acc wash-I-link give-past-dec

<sup>24</sup> The dative case *-eykey* marks Agent or Recipient, while the accusative *-ul* marks Patient, Agent, Recipient, Possessor, and Instrument.

'John washed Mary's hand as a favor' (Type II)

(70) \*John-i Mary-eykey kulus-ul ssis-ki-e cwu-ess-ta<sup>25</sup>

John-nom Mary-dat dish-acc wash-I-link give-past-dec

(Type I)

In (69) and (70), the different interpretations of Mary are systematic. They arise according to the thing that is washed. An **alienable** thing like dish makes the action of washing behave like a Type I, while an **inalienable** thing like hand makes the action of washing a Type II. In fact, the verb 'wash' behaves differently according to the object. Interestingly, *cwu-ta* can be associated with root verbs as well as with I-suffixed forms in Type II events with body parts, while it ought to be attached to I-forms in Type II involving with whole body:

(71) a. John-i Mary-ø son-ul ssis-**ki**-e **cwu**-ess-ta

John-nom Mary-gen hand-acc wash-I-link give-past-dec

'John washed Mary's hand as a favor'

b. John-i Mary-ø son-ul ssis-e **cwu**-ess-ta

John-nom Mary-gen hand-acc wash-link give-past-dec

'John washed Mary's hand as a favor'

(72) a. \*John-i Mary-eykey sin-ul sin-e **cwu**-ess-ta

John-nom Mary-dat shoes-acc wear-link give-past-dec

<sup>25</sup> Verbs such as *ssis-ta*, *takk-ta* and *ppal-ta* are glossed as 'wash' or 'clean' in English alike, but their occurrence is restricted with the preceding nouns: *ssis-ta* and *takk-ta* for body and inanimate thing, and *ppal-ta* for clothes. Thus, *ssis-ta* and *takk-ta* can occur in Type I and II, while *ppal-ta* does in Type I.

- b. John-i Mary-eykey sin-ul sin-ki-e cwu-ess-ta  
 John-nom Mary-dat shoes-acc wear-I-link give-past-dec  
 'John put the shoes on Mary as a favor'

That is, *cwu-ta* has a similar effect with the I-suffix as long as Type II events occur with body parts. Cf. (65b), (67a)

In sum, when the I-suffix occurs, coreference between the Initiator and the Endpoint fails to hold for these verbs. The second entity is conceived as Endpoint, and the action is completed by the sentence initial participant, unlike the root event. That is, Type II verbs expect sentence initial participant to ACT ON ITSELF, but the I-suffix removes the constraint of ON ITSELF from the sentence initial participant. Now, the sentence initial position is left with ACT portion which is performed on the non-initial participant.

Again, a traditional explanation that the I-suffix increases the transitivity or is a transitivizer is expected as well in Type II occurring with body parts: the unsuffixed forms identify events which arise within some locus and which are played out affecting that site. With the I-suffix, the events extend their force outside their origins by establishing a separate affected participant.

The following diagram summarizes the pattern in which Type II events expect the sentence initial participant to ACT ON ITSELF, and the I-suffix

leaves ACT in initial position by itself. The initial participant is now able to perform on the other entity, after the constraint ON ITSELF is removed:

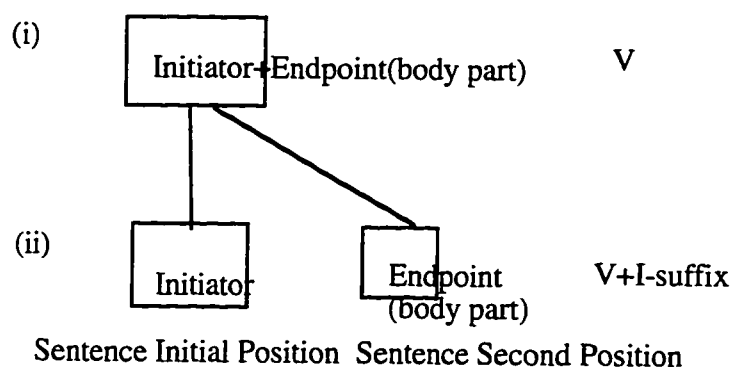


Fig 3: I-suffix with body part affected event

### 3.1.3. Type III: causee as inanimate Endpoint

In the previous section, we have seen centripetal roots in examples where the sentence initial participants are human beings. In addition, a large number of centripetal roots with inanimate and/or Patient-like sentence initial participants combine with the I-suffix, namely, the root is either a Patient-oriented intransitive (i.e., unaccusative construction or spontaneous events) or an adjective:

- (73) a. elum-i      el-ess-ta  
          ice-nom    freeze-past-dec  
          'Ice melted'
- b. John-i      elum-ul      nok-i-ess-ta

- John-nom ice-acc freeze-I-past-dec  
'John melted ice'
- (74) a. mwul-i kkulh-ess-ta  
water-nom boil-past-dec  
'Water boiled'
- b. John-i mwul-ul kkulh-i-ess-ta  
John-nom water-acc boil-I-past-dec  
'John boiled the water'
- (75) a. payngi-ka tol-ass-ta  
top-nom spin-past-dec  
'The top spun'
- b. John-i payngi-lul tol-li-ess-ta  
John-nom top-acc spin-I-past-dec  
'John spun the top'
- (76) a. kil-i cop-ta  
road-nom narrow-dec  
'The road is narrow'
- b. John-i kil-ul cop-hi-ess-ta  
John-nom road-acc narrow-I-past-dec  
'John narrowed the road'
- (77) a. hangali-ka pi-ess-ta  
pot-nom empty-past-dec

'The pot is empty '

- b. John-i      hangali-lul      pi-wu-ess-ta<sup>26</sup>  
      John-nom pot-acc               empty-WU-past-dec

'John emptied the pot'

In the (a)-sentences, initial participants EXEMPLIFY melting, freezing, boiling, burning, being narrow, and being empty. With the occurrence of the I-suffix, the idea of EXEMPLIFY is removed from the initial position and is transferred to the second position. Now the sentence initial position is free to be filled by an Agent entity. As a result, all of the things which characterize EMPOWEREDNESS of sentence initial position emerge in the (b)-sentences which then exhibit all the asymmetries of EMPOWEREDNESS that characterize simple transitive sentences. Cf. Chapter 2.1. In that context, recall that the Patient in sentence initial position is an EMPOWERED participant, which is able to control the occurrence of an event in contrast to that in non-initial position (cf. Chapter 2). For example, the transitive root *mak-ta* 'block' comes to lack a distinct Agent after the I-suffix is attached, *mak-hi-ta* 'be blocked'. However, with intransitive/adjective roots, the I-suffix achieves a **reverse** effect. The I-suffix removes some constraint from the sentence initial position which is imposed by root predicates, and the sentence initial position projects an optimal semantic role to maintain the

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<sup>26</sup> Regarding *-wu*, see Appendix I.

EMPOWEREDNESS. Thus, events become like a prototypical transitive construction.

We have seen that the instrumental case presupposes the existence of an intrusive causer, a human Agent, while the locative does not. Thus, the instrumental case is not allowed in the spontaneous event (78b):

- (78) a. John-i kwulttwuk-ul tol-lo/\*ey mak-ass-ta  
           John-nom chimney-acc stone-instr/loc block-past-dec  
           'John blocked the chimney with the stones'
- b. kwulttwuk-i tol-\*lo/ey mak-**hi**-ess-ta  
      chimney-nom stone-instr/loc block-I-past-dec  
      'The chimney blocked up with the stones'

Now, the Type III verb in unaffixed (79a) produces an odd reading with the instrumental case, since its ergative semantics is not compatible with Agent-oriented instrumental case:

- (79) a. cwucenca-ka pwul-ey/\*lo tha-ss-ta  
           kettle-nom fire-loc/instr burn-past-dec  
           'The kettle was burned on the fire'
- b. John-i cwucenca-lul pwul-ey/lo tha-**wu**-ess-ta  
      John-nom kettle-acc fire-loc/inst burn-WU-past-dec  
      'John burned the kettle on the fire/with the fire'







sentence (80) selects different case markers for the instrument, depending on the manner in which the sentence initial participant John is involved in the action of cutting the string. In other words, how John handles with the instrument in order to achieve the action of cutting is realized in different manners:<sup>28</sup>

- (80) a. John-un cwul-ul khal-lo kkunh-ess-ta  
           John-top string-acc knife-instr cut-past-dec  
           'John cut the string with the knife'
- b. John-un cwul-ul khal-ey kkunh-ess-ta  
       John-top string-acc knife-loc cut-past-dec  
       'John cut the string on the knife'

Again, the I-suffixed forms of Type III verbs allow the occurrence of the instrumental case. Water is interpreted as the Endpoint of the event by being completely affected by John, an interpretation which is absent in the unsuffixed form:

- (81) a. mwul-i gas range-ey/\*lo kkwul-ess-ta  
           water-nom gas range-loc/instr boil-past-dec  
           'The water boiled on/\*with the gas range'
- b. John-i mwul-ul gas range-ey/lo kkulh-i-ess-ta  
       John-nom water-acc gas range-loc/instr boil-I-past-dec  
       'John boiled the water on/with the gas range'

---

<sup>28</sup> Cf. sentence (78a).

Consequently, the more intrusive and direct influence of the sentence initial participant upon the sentence second participant implies a more inert and affected entity in second position, which results in the compatibility with Agent-oriented instrumental case.

Taking the periphrastic causative constructions into consideration will help us to make more precise the characteristics of the suffixal causative forms. I-suffixed Type III verbs do not mediate between two participants, while the periphrastic form of a Type III verb implies a mediation between two participants and involves getting second participant into a new state (Dixon 1992:297):

- (82) a. John-i pwul-\*i/ul palk-hi-ess-ta  
           John-nom light-nom/acc bright-I-past-dec  
           'John brightened the light'
- b. John-i pwul-i/ul palk-key hay-ss-ta  
           John-nom light-nom/acc bright-comp do-past-dec  
           'John made the light bright'

Sentence (82a) implies no mediation between the two participants, while (82b) does. In the suffixal form of (82a), John may have struck a match, while sentence (82b) is appropriate to an indirect situation such as that John cleans dirt off on the bulb so that the light became brighter. Thus, the causee in the two forms participates in different ways: Endpoint vs. Initiator. This explains us why the periphrastic form (82b) allows the

nominative causee, while the suffixed form (82a) does not.<sup>29</sup> Anyway, periphrastic forms, which are morphosyntactically complex clauses and have two Initiators (even though the subordinated one is not full-fledged), are not synonyms to the suffixed forms in Type III. Furthermore, the inanimate Patient entities like ice and water fit into the prototypical characteristics of the sentence second position. Therefore, unlike the second participants of Type I and Type II verbs which may vary between Agentive and Patientive readings, those of Type III are invariably Patientive.

Lastly, Type III's do not occur with the verb *cwu-ta*:

- (83) a. \*John-i elum-ul nok-i-e cwu-ess-ta  
           John-nom ice-acc melt-I-link give-past-dec
- b. \*John-i mwul-ul kkulh-i-e cwu-ess-ta  
           John-nom water-acc boil-I-link give-past-dec

John's action does not direct toward inanimate entities like ice or water, since *cwu-ta* occurs when the second position is occupied by a human being.

The following diagram summarizes the Type III's verb before and after the suffixation:

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<sup>29</sup> When we take into the consideration of the degree of resistance or control retained by the causee, the difference is realized by varying the case markers of the causee in the periphrastic forms, and the variable of animacy also participates in the case selection of the causee. In causatives of intransitives and transitives, animate causees go into the nominative, dative, and accusative, and inanimate causees go into nominative or accusative, depending on the degree of control retained by the causee.

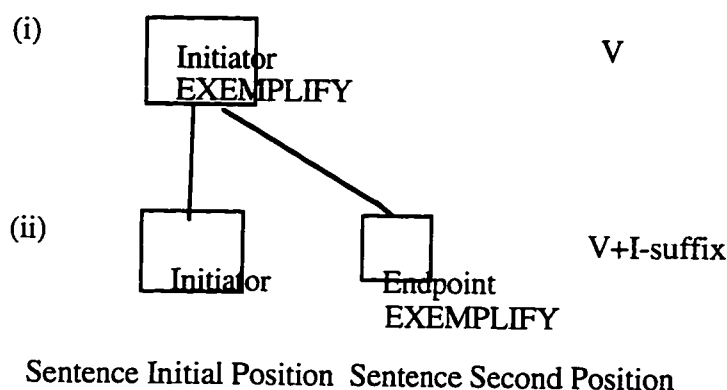


Fig 4: I-suffix with unaccusative verbs/adjective

### 3.2. Other expected phenomena from Direct causation

By signaling indirect involvement, periphrastic causative constructions do not exclude activity by the causee. In contrast, the suffixed forms characterize direct causation, which minimizes the causee's activity. In this regard, Type II and Type III verbs are not paraphrased by the periphrastic *-key ha-ta* forms, since the causee's action is not allowed by verbs of these types. Meanwhile, Type I verbs do have paraphrases in the form of periphrastic causative constructions with the sense of the causee's participation as Agent/Executor. However, Type I I-suffixed causatives still show the characteristics of a simple clause in terms of the modification scope of intentional, temporal and manner adverbs, and the honorific suffix, and the like, while these functions are ambiguously ascribed in the periphrastic forms. In addition, the causer's effect on the causee is rather

direct, and the meaning of permission is not available, just like other two suffixed types.

Relation between Causer and Causee	Periphrastic forms	I-forms		
		Type I	Type II	Type III
	indirect<----->	direct		
Activity of Causee	full<----->		null	

Fig 5: Direct causation and Types of verbs

Anyway, the I-suffixed forms behave like prototypical transitive (or ditransitive) constructions in the light of the manner of participation of participants in the event. We incorporate this idea into the explanation for the distribution among three types, semantic specialization, and volitional readings.

### 3.2.1. Distribution of the I-suffix

The general statement that the I-suffix may be attached to any predicate is not completely accurate. The I-suffix applies only to a limited set of predicates which do not seem to constitute a natural class. However, the distribution of the I-suffix is not totally accidental:

Root Event type	morphosyntactic form	S1 role	ex
centrifugal event	i. ditransitive	Agent-oriented	none <i>*cwu-i-ta</i> 'cause to give'
"	ii. transitive	A	<i>ilk-hi-ta</i> I 'cause to read'
centripetal event	iii. intransitive	A	<i>ket-li-ta</i> I

			'cause to walk'
"	iv. intransitive	A	<i>nwup-hi-ta</i> II/I 'lay down'
"	v. transitive	A	<i>mek-i-ta</i> II 'feed'
"	v'. transitive	A	<i>kam-ki-ta</i> II 'shampoo'
"	vi. intransitive	Patient-oriented	<i>el-li-ta</i> III 'melt'
"	vii. adjective	P	<i>nelp-hi-ta</i> III 'widen'

(see Appendix II)

Considering the relative abundance of centrifugal transitive roots, the percentage of their possible I-forms is low. Besides, it is suggestive that the I-suffix never occurs with the ditransitive verbs. Conversely, Patient-oriented centripetal events have a high percentage of I-forms.<sup>30</sup> Regarding the relatively unproductive suffixed causative forms of transitive verbs, we can refer to similar observations in other languages. Dixon (1992:295) states that almost all transitive verbs in English lack a simple causative use. K. Park (1988) also mentions that the transitivity alternation is cross-linguistically confined to a certain class of verbs.<sup>31</sup> Thus, verbs which imply change of state, such as 'open', 'melt', 'break', can form the transitive counterpart, while physical action verbs like 'hit', 'run',

<sup>30</sup> Of course, the I-form in 'passive' meaning shows a reverse ratio. But, ditransitive verb roots are not I-suffixed in this meaning either.

<sup>31</sup> K. Park (1988) states that the suffix *-i* mediates transitivity alternations with a certain class of intransitive verbs, as well as forming true causative, obviative usage, and passive sentences.



'destroy' cannot participate in this pattern. Y. Park (1978) observes that the possibility of creating a causative form is determined by the reflexivity of a given verb. That is, the function of the suffix is to convert reflexive verbs to nonreflexive ones. In fact, we have the impression that the I-suffix tends to apply to a centripetal event, yielding a centrifugal one (i.e., 'causative' sense). However, we can surmise that this explanation fails to cover Type I and Type III, since their root events are not treated as self-affected or reflexive events.

We aim at answering to why the root events of Type I represent relatively a small part of the I-suffixed verbs, in the light of the semantics of sentence second position. For instance, verbs such as *ttayli-ta* 'hit' and *tat-ta* 'close' are not associated with the I-suffix:

- (84)        \*John-i    Mary-eykey    Bill-ul        ttayli-li-ess-ta  
               John-nom Mary-dat        Bill-acc    batter-I-past-dec
- (85)        \*John-i    Mary-eykey    mwun-ul    tat-hi-ess-ta  
               John-nom Mary-dat        door-acc    close-I-past-dec

Now, we come to grips with the interesting behavior of the I-suffix with intransitive but centrifugal events like 'going' and 'coming' (i.e., verbs of movement), which are impossible in the suffixal causative forms in Korean: e.g. *\*ka-i-ta* and *\*o-i-ta*. I believe that verbs of involving movement toward a goal are treated as centrifugal events. This

interpretation is supported by the fact that the goal is marked with the accusative:

- (86) a. John-i     hakkyo-ey     ka-ss-ta  
          John-nom school-loc     go-past-dec  
          'John went to school'
- b. John-i     hakkyo-lul     ka-ss-ta  
          John-nom school-acc     go-past-dec  
          'John went to school'

We suggest that the Patient role maps easily onto the property of second position, which implies its minimal activity and reflects the more direct physical relation to a sentence initial participant. Thus, the relatively low ratio of Type I verbs in the I-form is related to the fact that the role of Executor is not an optimal candidate in the sentence second position. The role as Executor marks another (though lesser) Initiator in competition with the sentence initial participant. That is, this role does not fit well in the second position, which demonstrated some exceptional behavior like ESI violation and the absence of *cwu-ta*. This extends to passives as well. As we observed in Chapter 2.2.1, the sentence initial position is filled with the Patient role, which is endowed with the semantics of Initiator (i.e., intentional entity), while the dative/locative Agent occupies the second position, but it is inert enough to be conceived as Endpoint. In contrast,

the Agentive Agent *-eyuyhay* is construed as Initiator, which sometimes come in conflict with the Patient in the sentence initial position.

With respect to the I-suffixation on intransitive verbs, some verbs can belong variably to Type I or II, depending on which semantic portion is removed from the sentence initial position. This frequently happens with intransitive middle events. For examples, verbs like 'cry-I' and 'walk-I' have only Type I reading, but verbs such as 'sit-I' and 'stand-I' can be interpreted as Type II as well as Type I. In fact, compared with transitive verbs, intransitive verbs easily end up as Type II.

Almost all of morphologically transitive, but centripetal events have their I-forms. Once they are I-suffixed, the second participant serves as Endpoint on which an activity is effected. In a similar fashion, most of Patient or Theme-oriented events have I-forms.<sup>32</sup> When the I-suffix is associated with Patient-oriented events, the sentence initial position becomes to be filled with an Agentive role, which triggers the second participant to undergo a change of state. The Patient which originally occupied the sentence initial position of the root event is no longer interpreted as the locus of Initiator.

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<sup>32</sup> Conversely, they are hardly I-suffixed in a 'passive' sense.

And yet, it is not true that Type III causatives are possible with all unaccusative intransitive verbs. Events which occur spontaneously in the natural order cannot form an I-construction:<sup>33</sup>

- (87) a. hay-ka tot-ass-ta  
           sun-nom rise-past-dec  
           'The sun rose'
- b. \*hanunim-i hay-lul tot-wu-ta  
           God-nom sun-acc rise-WU-dec  
           \*'God raised the sun'

It is hard to imagine an entity powerful enough to control the sun's rise. In contrast, the I-form is possible with the same verb *tot-ta* 'rise'. In this case, ground is an affected entity on which the causer's action is performed:

- (88) a. ttang-i tot-ass-ta  
           ground-nom rise-past-dec  
           'The ground rose'
- b. John-i ttang-ul tot-wu-ess-ta  
           John-nom ground-acc rise-WU-past-dec  
           'John raised the ground' (i.e., John ploughed the ground)

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<sup>33</sup> Pae (1988) elaborates two more observations on the suffixal causative form. Some verb roots themselves died out and some causative verbs have undergone phonological change so that it is hard to link the current causative verb to the original verb root such as *hye-ta* > *hye-i-ta* > *kye-ta* 'to light'

Furthermore, Dixon (1992) observes that only a certain type of adjective can be modified with the *-en* suffix in English. In Korean, most of I-forms are found in two such semantic domains as DIMENSION and PHYSICAL PROPERTY. In these two semantic domains, it is relatively easy to project a certain physical force on a second participant making it undergo some change of state.

By and large, causation by means of the I-suffix is not productive in modern Korean. It is often said that the periphrastic forms came to fill the gap of the suffixed forms over time. However, this statement may not be completely accurate, since only Type I seems to resemble the periphrastic forms in that the second participant is construed as Executor. The other two types are rather closer to transitivization.

### 3.2.2. Semantic specialization

From the observation of the immediate influence of the sentence initial participant upon the second one (just like prototypical transitive event), it may be inferred that many I-suffixed verbs have become semantically specialized and are idiomatic in certain contexts. This phenomenon occurs in all three types. For example, the verb *nol-ta* 'play' creates different situations when it is incorporated with the I-suffix. Only in (89a), is the second participant interpreted as the Agentive entity, maintaining the 'let' type causation of original meaning 'play':

- (89) a. emma-ka ai-lul pakk-eyse nol-li-ess-ta  
 mommy-nom child-acc outside-loc play-I-past-dec  
 'Mommy had the child play outside'
- b. sacang-i congepwen-tul-ul halu nol-li-ess-ta  
 boss-nom employee-pl-acc one day play-I-past-dec  
 'The boss gave the employees a day off'
- c. John-i Mary-lul nol-li-ess-ta  
 John-nom Mary-acc play-I-past-dec  
 'John made fun of Mary'
- d. John-i ip-ul nol-li-ess-ta  
 John-nom mouth-acc play-I-past-dec  
 'John talked rubbish'
- e. John-i nophun ica-lo ton-ul nol-li-  
 John-nom high interest-instr money-acc play-I-  
 ess-ta  
 past-dec  
 'John loaned money at high interest'

*Mek-i-ta* means 'feed', 'apply', or 'raise', depending on the accompanying nouns:<sup>34</sup>

<sup>34</sup> The medio-passive meaning of the verb *mek-ta* 'to eat' is not possible in the suffixed forms, unlike (b):

i.	a.	i	os-un	phwul-i	cal	mek-nun-ta
		this	clothes-top	starch-nom	well	eat-pres-dec
		'These clothes starch well'				
	b.	i	mwul-un	pinwu-ka	cal	phwul-li-n-ta
		this	water-top	soap-nom	well	solve-I-pres-dec
		'As for this water, soap dissolves well'				

- (90) Mary-ka aki-lul mek-i-ess-ta  
 Mary-nom baby-acc eat-I-past-dec  
 'Mary fed a baby'
- (91) Mary-ka os-ey pwul-ul mek-i-ess-ta  
 Mary-nom clothes-loc starch-acc eat-I-past-dec  
 'Mary starched the clothes'
- (92) John-i so-lul mek-i-n-ta  
 John-nom cow-acc eat-I-pres-dec  
 'John raises a cow'

Semantic specialization is also found in Type III:

- (93) a. John-i pwul-ul palk-hi-n-ta  
 John-nom light-acc bright-I-pres-dec  
 'John lit up the light'
- b. John-i iyu-lul palk-hi-ess-ta

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This seems to explain why a verb like eating involves centripetal energy flow. We might utter sentence (c), but it is not preferred. Of course, (d) is impossible:

- c. i os-un phwul-ul cal mek-nun-ta  
 this clothes-top starch-acc well eat-pres-dec  
 'These clothes eat starch well'
- d. \*i mwul-un pinwu-lul cal phwul-n-ta  
 this water-top soap-acc well dissolve-pres-dec  
 'This water dissolves the soap well'

Such expressions as *yok-ul mek-i-ta* 'to insult someone', *kep-ul mek-i-ta* 'to scare someone', *cwumek-ul han pang mek-i-ta* 'to strike with one's fist' *noymwul-ul mek-i-ta* 'to bribe someone' are possible:

- ii. a. John-i Mary-eykey yok-ul mek-i-ess-ta  
 John-nom Mary-dat insult-acc eat-I-past-dec  
 'John insulted Mary'
- b. John-i Mary-eykey cwumek-ul han tay mek-i-ess-ta  
 John-nom Mary-dat fist-acc one strike eat-I-past-dec  
 'John struck Mary with his fist'
- c. John-i Mary-eykey noymwul-ul mek-i-ess-ta  
 John-nom Mary-dat bribe-acc eat-I-past-dec  
 'John bribed Mary'

John-nom reason-acc bright-I-past-dec

'John revealed the reason'

c. John-i yeca-lul palk-hi-n-ta

John-nom woman-acc bright-I-pres-dec

'John is a womanizer'

In (94b), *pwulk-hi-ta* 'red-I-dec' gives an extra information of emotion, that Mary was upset or nervous so that Mary's face reddened. The reddening is made volitionally, but internally, while the periphrastic (94c) implies that the face reddening is made volitionally and externally:

(94) a. Mary-nun elkwul-i pwulk-ta

Mary-top face-nom red-dec

'As for Mary, her face is red'

b. Mary-ka elkwul-ul pwulk-hi-ess-ta

Mary-nom face-acc red-I-past-dec

'Mary blushed'

c. Mary-ka elkwul-ul pwulk-key ha-ss-ta

Mary-nom face-acc read-link do-past-dec

'Mary made her face red' or 'Mary reddened her face'

(by putting on some make-up or by painting it a red color)

Of course, this semantic specialization does not occur in the periphrastic forms, which preserve the original meaning of the caused event.



### 3.2.3. Volitional events

In the Chapter 2, we saw that the contrast between volitional and non-volitional events may be encoded by a root and an I-suffixed form, respectively. Here, the I-suffix seems to achieve the opposite effect. Consider the following sets of sentences:

- (95) a. na-nun    nwunmwul-i    hulu-ess-ta  
           I-top    tears-nom        flow-past-dec  
           'As for me, tears were rolling down'

- b. na-nun    nwunmwul-ul    hulu-li-ess-ta  
           I-top    tears-acc        flow-I-past-dec  
           'I shed tears'

- (96) a. John-un    cohun    namsay-ka    na-ss-ta  
           John-top    good    smell-nom    produce-past-dec  
           'John smells good'

- b. John-un    cohun    namsay-lul    na-i-ss-ta  
           John-top    good    smell-acc    produce-I-past-dec  
           'John smells good' (by having put on fragrance)

- (97) a. na-nun    Mary-eykey    silhcung-i    na-ss-ta  
           I-top    Mary-dat    tiredness-nom    produce-past-dec  
           'I became fed up with Mary'

- b. na-nun    Mary-eykey    silhcung-ul    na-i-ss-ta  
           I-top    Mary-acc    tiredness-nom    produce-I-past-dec

'I got fed up with Mary (and showed it)'

(98) a. John-un hwa-ka na-ss-ta

John-top anger-nom produce-past-dec

'John became angered'

b. John-un hwa-lul na-i-ss-ta

John-top anger-acc produce-I-past-dec

'John got angry (and showed it)'

(For further examples of *X-na-ta* vs. *X-na-i-ta*, see Appendix II.) The unaffixed events in the (a)-sentences depict a situation in which things just happened in spite of the speaker's will and John's will. The sentence initial participants such as *nwunmwul* 'tears', *silhcung* 'tiredness', *namsay* 'smell', and *hwa* 'anger' cannot be intentional entities. Meanwhile, the I-formed (b)-sentences involve a sentence initial participant with intention. Thus, we can insert the intentional adverb *ilpwule* in the (b)-sentences. Consider the contexts of each pair. If the speaker pretends to cry, we utter sentence (95b). Sentence (96b) is uttered when John does something to make himself smell good, while (96a) fits into a situation that John simply smells good. In (97b) and (98b), we expect some action. That is, John might exhibit some repugnant behavior or attitude to Mary, which is not implied in (97a) and (98a). Likewise, the non-volitional version of (94b) is *Mary-nun elkwul-i pwulk-e-ci-ess-ta* 'As for Mary, her face blushed'. The fact that an event comes to attain prototypical transitive characteristics

after I-suffixation by filling the sentence initial participant with an intentional human being yields such a contrast.

### **3.3. Conclusion**

In the previous chapter, we have seen that the I-suffix marks reduced EMPOWEREDNESS of the sentence initial participant. The same spirit exists in so-called suffixed causative constructions. I-suffixation removes some portion of the sentence initial position which root events expect. Consequently, the suffixed forms may come to resemble prototypical transitive constructions. That explains why the I-suffix in a causative sense tends to occur with centripetal roots.

## Appendix I.

### Other suffixes with I-function

We will examine how other suffixes become associated with the semantics of I-suffixed forms. 'Causative' meaning is possible with other morphemes like {-*khi*}, {-*uli*}, {-*ay*}, {-*wu*}, and {-*ttuli*}, which have no 'passive' meaning. We will see how these suffixes come to have a similar function to the I-suffix.

First, Nam (1962:196,212) observes that *il-u-khi-ta* 'to raise (up)' and *tol-i-khi-ta* 'turn around, change, recover, undo' came from the old forms *il-u-hhye-ta* 'rise-linker-pull-dec' and *tol-a-hhye-ta* 'turn-linker-pull-dec', respectively:<sup>1</sup>

- (1) a.    cek-i            cencayng-ul    il-u-khi-ess-ta  
              enemy-nom war-acc            rise-link-KHI-past-dec  
              'The enemy started a war'
- b.    wuli-nun    kwake-lul    tol-i-khi-ess-ta  
              we-top        past-acc        turn-link-KHI-past-dec  
              'We retrieved the past'

The lexeme *hye* 'pull' is grammaticalized to function like the I-suffix. However, this suffix is found only in the two verbs above. Interestingly,

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<sup>1</sup> *Tol-li* 'turn (vt), change' exists.

Korean speakers often make a mistake in uttering the ill-formed \**al-u-khi-ta* in place of *kaluchi-ta* 'teach':

- (2)       ?John, na-eykey Yenge   com   al-u-khi-e  
               John, I-dat       English please know-link-KHI-link  
               cwu-lay?  
               give-int  
               'John, will you please teach me English?'

As for the current forms, *swukuli-ta* 'lower' and *kwupwuli-ta* 'bend', they seem to have developed from the I-variation of *swuk-ta* 'droop' and *kwup-ta* 'bent', after resyllabification. We have also *swuk-i-ta* and *kwup-hi-ta* in the same meaning:

- (3)   a.   kokay-ka       swuk-ess-ta  
               head-nom    droop-past-dec  
               'The head drooped'
- b.   John-i       kokay-lul   swuk-i-ess-ta  
               John-nom head-acc    droop-I-past-dec  
               'John lowered his head'
- a.   John-i       kokay-lul   swuk-u-li(>swukuli)-ess-ta  
               John-nom head-acc    droop-link-I-past-dec  
               'John lowered his head'
- (4)   a.   heli-ka       kwup-ess-ta  
               waist-nom   bent-past-dec

'The waist bent'

b. John-i heli-lul kwup-hi-ess-ta

John-nom waist-acc bent-I-past-dec

'John bent his waist'

c. John-i heli-lul kwup-u-li (>kwupwuli)-ess-ta

John-nom waist-acc bent-link-I-past-dec

'John bent his waist'<sup>2</sup>

Unlike Nam's (1962) claim of *uli* as a separate suffix for a causative meaning, this form seems to be a variation of the I-suffix.

Third, {-ay } is found only in the form of *eps-ay-ta* 'remove'. According to a Korean dictionary, *eps-ay-ta* 'remove' is the abbreviated form of more or less archaic expression *eps-i ha-ta* 'make not exist'.

Fourth, *ttuli* is not only known as an intensifier which applies to a certain set of transitive verbs, but it is also regarded as a 'causativizer' or 'transitivizer', which applies to a certain form of intransitive verbs. Although its two functions have been treated as unrelated (i.e., homonyms), it seems to us that the semantics of intensifying can be easily extended to overlap with transitivizer (cf. Song 1979:91).

When a root event is already centrifugal (i.e., transitive), this suffix adds an **intensified** effect of the sentence initial participant upon the

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<sup>2</sup> Its diminutive version, *kop-ta* 'bent' has only *kop-u-li-ta* > *kopwu-li-ta* 'bend', but not \**kop-hi-ta*.

second participant and has a sense that an action is carried out in perfect/complete way:

- (5) a. John-i yuli-lul kkay-ss-ta  
           John-nom glass-acc break-past-dec  
           'John broke the window'
- b. John-i yuli-lul kkay-**ttuli**-ess-ta  
           John-nom glass-acc break-TTULI-past-dec  
           'John smashed the window'

In (5b), glass was broken into small pieces by a strong force, while (5a) simply says that glass was broken without concern for how powerful a force was used. The more intrusive participation of the sentence initial participant implies a greater intensity of a given event. In (6), the adverb *sansani* 'in pieces' is more compatible with the *ttuli* form, while the accidental adverb *silswulo* 'by mistake' is more compatible with the unmarked (6b):

- (6) a. ?John-i ywuli-lul sansani pwuswu-ess-ta  
           John-nom glass-acc in pieces break-past-dec  
           'John smashed the glass to bits'
- b. John-i ywuli-lul sansani pwuswu-e-ttuli-ess-ta  
           John-nom glass-acc in pieces break-link-TTULI-past-dec  
           'John smashed the glass to bits'
- (7) a. John-i yuli-lul silswulo pwuswu-ess-ta

John-nom glass-acc by mistake break-past-dec

'John broke the glass by mistake'

b. ?John-i yuli-lul silswulo pwuswu-e-ttuli-ess-ta

John-nom glass-acc by mistake break-link-TTULI-past-dec

'John smashed the glass by mistake'

The I-suffixed verb is contrasted with the *ttuli* suffixed verb in the degree of force which is operated on the second participant:

(8) a. John-i pyeng-ul kiwul-i-ess-ta

John-nom bottle-acc slant-I-past-dec

'John tipped a bottle'

b. John-i pyeng-ul kiwul-e-ttuli-ess-ta

John-nom bottle-acc slant-link-TTULI-past-dec

'John almost tipped a bottle over'

(9) a. John-i maktayki-lul kwupwuli-ess-ta

John-nom stick-acc bend-past-dec

'John bent the stick'

b. John-i maktayki-lul kwupwul-e-ttuli-ta

John-nom stick-acc bend-link-TTULI-dec

'John bent the stick until it almost broke'

As seen in the further sets of examples, in comparison with the unsuffixed forms, *-ttuli* implies a more direct forceful physical effect on the second participant:



- (10) a. John-i cwul-ul kwunh-ess-ta  
 John-nom string-acc cut-past-dec  
 'John cut the string'
- b. John-i cwul-ul kwunh-e-ttuli-ess-ta  
 John-nom string-acc cut-link-TTULI-past-dec  
 'John cut off the string'
- (11) a. John-i sil-ul engkhul-ess-ta  
 John-nom thread-acc tangle-past-dec  
 'John tangled the thread'
- b. John-i sil-ul engkhul-e-ttuli-ess-ta  
 John-nom thread-acc tangle-link-TTULI-past-dec  
 'John snarled the thread'

However, *-ttuli* is different from the I-suffix in that it does not have the effect of 'factoring out' on transitive roots. For example, when this suffix is applied to the transitive roots above, it does not produce causation of Type I:

- (10') \*John-i Mary-eykey cwul-ul kwunh-e-ttuli-ess-ta  
 John-nom Mary-dat string-acc cut-link-TTULI-past-dec  
 '\*John caused Mary to cut off the string'
- (11') \*John-i Mary-eykey sil-ul engkhul-e-ttuli-ess-ta  
 John-nom Mary-dat thread-acc tangle-link-TTULI-past-dec  
 '\*John caused Mary to tangle the thread'

Now, *ttuli-* has an effect similar to that of the I-suffix with verbs of the form *X-ci-ta* ( the stem X does not stand in isolation):

(12) a. cangnankam-i      mangga-**ci**-ess-ta

toy-nom                  break-CI-past-dec

'The toy was broken'

b. \*cangnankam-i      mangga-ess-ta

c. John-i      cangnamkam-ul      mangga-ttuli-ess-ta

John-nom    toy-acc                  break-ttuli-past-dec

'John broke the toy'

(13) a. pyek-i      mwune-**ci**-ess-ta

wall-nom    collapse-past-dec

'The wall was collapsed'

b. \*peyk-i      mwune-ss-ta

c. Kangphwung-i      pyek-ul      mwune-**ttuli**-ess-ta

strong wind-nom    wall-acc    collapse-TTULI-past-dec

'The strong wind destroyed the wall'

(14) a. hwasal-i      pwule-**ci**-ss-ta

arrow-nom    break-CI-past-dec

'The arrow was broken'

b. \*hwasal-i      pwule-ss-ta

c. John-i      hwasal-ul      pwule-**ttuli**-ess-ta

John-nom    arrow-acc    break-TTULI-past-dec

'John broke the arrow'

- (15) a. *namwu-ka ssule-ci-ess-ta*  
           *tree-nom fall-CI-past-dec*

'The tree fell down'

- b. *\*namwu-ka ssule-ss-ta*

- c. *John-i namwu-lul ssule-ttuli-ess-ta*  
      *John-nom tree-acc fall-TTULI-past-dec*

'John felled the tree'

An intense physical involvement of the participants is realized by different values, depending on the event types. That is, when a given event is Type III, the sentence initial participant fills the Agent role in order to maintain a relation of direct causation with the second participant. Whereas, with the event of Type I, the more direct involvement of the participants in the event is revealed in the intensified action. As a consequence, the second participant is thoroughly affected. In fact, such a semantic extension is not an isolated case (Spitz (1997) and Mead (1997) in Austronesian languages).

Finally, {*-wu* } has allomorphs */-wu*, *kwu*, *chwu* /, and is hardly associated with transitive centrifugal events, which is consonant with the fact that it is used only in a 'causative' sense. However, {*-wu* } is attached to certain I-forms, and the double-suffixed forms do not deliver a 'passive-causative' or a double 'causative' meaning:

- (16) a. *pwulu-ta* 'call'

*pwul-li-ta* or *pwul-li-wu-ta* 'be called'

b. *al-ta* 'know'

*al-li-ta* or *al-li-wu-ta* 'inform'

In fact, this double-suffixed form is rather marginal, found only in colloquial speech or in a dialect in a deliberate effort to emphasize the meaning of the I-form<sup>3</sup>. In this regard, we claim that a 'causative' meaning added this extra morpheme to {-i} from the necessity of avoiding some confusion with 'passive' meaning or of a clear pronunciation (cf. Choi (1971:352,412)).

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<sup>3</sup> Nam (1962) gives more illustrations of the double-suffixed forms: *palp-hi-wu* 'be stepped', *cal-li-wu* 'be cut', *ppali-li-wu* 'be sucked', *mek-hi-wu* 'be eaten'. However, in the following examples, the vowel -i (>y) is not the -i suffix, but it appears to be inserted to avoid vowel clusters:

<i>tha-ta</i> > <i>tha-i-wu-ta</i> > <i>thay-wu-ta</i>	'burn (vi)' > 'burn (vt)'
<i>se-ta</i> > <i>se-i-wu-ta</i> > <i>sey-wu-ta</i>	'stand up (vi)' > stand up (vt)'
<i>ca-ta</i> > <i>ca-i-wu-ta</i> > <i>cay-wu-ta</i>	'sleep > put to sleep', etc.

## Chapter 4

### Conclusion

4.0. In this chapter, our major concern is the issue of how all the occurrences of the suffix {-i} can be accounted for in a coherent way: prototypical passive, middle, prototypical causative, and transitivizer, etc. At first glance, it seems hard to find a common thread of the wide semantic range which the suffix covers.

In fact, Korean linguists have argued over not only how to deal with the various meanings which are encoded with the so-called 'passive' suffix and the 'causative' suffix, respectively, but also the correlation between two suffixes. At least three observations indicate that the two suffixes are correlated or identical. First, two suffixes are overall identical in terms of their phonology.<sup>1</sup> Even cross-linguistically, the causative-passive correlation has been attested in terms of the same verbal morphology: Manchu, Evenki, Even, Older Hungarian, Greenlandic Inuit, Turkic languages, etc. (cited from Yeon 1991:337 and Haspelmath 1990:48). Second, whole-part constructions allow both passive and causative

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<sup>1</sup> Some forms are not always identical: the passive form of *mek* 'eat' is *mek-hi-* and the causative form is *mek-i-*. And the other morphemes like {-wu}, {-khi}, {-uli}, {-ttuli}, and {-ay} occur to imply the causative meanings. Even the causative forms of the same root verb are different, depending on the meaning: e.g., *nul* 'increase' is *nul-i* 'increase' and *nul-li* 'lengthen'. Furthermore, the phonological environments for allomorphs are not always identical.

readings. Third, voice-duplication is not allowed (cf. Japanese, which has different forms and allows suffix-stacking).

In 4.1. we will review previous studies. Section 4.2. will conclude that our semantic explanation gives more inclusive answer to such seemingly chaotic phenomena.

#### **4.1. Previous studies**

##### **4.1.1. "Passive has been developed from causative"**

The relation between two voices has been accounted for by assuming that a passive has developed from a causative.

Haspelmath (1990) claims several diachronic sources of passive markers through grammaticalization of lexical items. He assumes that causatives like (1b) (i.e., reflexive-causative) can be a possible source for passives (1c) after loss of agency in subject. That is, the subject in (1b) is Agentive, while that in (1c) is non-Agentive. However, he does not further explain how the subject in (1b) becomes to lose the Agency in order to get a passive reading (1c):

- (1) a. I have the barber shave me (causative)
- b. I have **myself** shaved by the barber (reflexive-causative)
- c. I am shaved by the barber (passive)

In support of this scenario, he mentions a couple of important similarities between the two constructions. First, they both involve the backgrounding

of the Agent, whereby it is either omitted or is marked in the same dative or instrumental case. Second, he alludes to the affectedness of the Patient in causatives as another important similarity to the passive. He also emphasizes cross-linguistic evidence that the identical morpheme serves a dual function and a unidirectional tendency of causatives to become passive, but not vice versa.

Keenan (1985) also points out that the same verbal morphology may sometimes have dual readings. He shows how a basically causative morphology could come to be associated with a passive meaning. He assumes that a passive reading (2b) arises from a causative (2a) by the deletion of the reflexive direct object *caki mom* 'self body', which is coreferential with the subject 'child', and reinterpretation of the subject 'child' as an Experiencer rather than an Agent:

- (2) a. ai-ka        emeni-eykey caki mom-ul an-ki-  
          child-subj mother-IO    self body-DO embrace-Cause-  
          ess-ta  
          past-dec  
          'The child had Mother embrace him'
- b. ai-ka        emeni-eykey    an-ki-ess-ta  
          child-subj mother-IO        embrace-Pass-past-dec  
          'The child was embraced by Mother'

And he adds a condition that (2a) is indirect or 'let' type causation, thereby the sentence naturally has a passive meaning with the 'Mother' interpreted as the Agent of the complex verb, whereby the subject comes to be reinterpreted as an Experiencer rather than An agent.

Keenan and Haspelmath share a common perspective in assuming that causatives (i.e., reflexive-causative) are the source for a passive meaning, and they both assume that a passive reading involves a loss of agency or reinterpretation.

H. Lee (1991) defines the passive voice as the topicalization of the Patient. Instead of relating the passive voice to the active voice, he hypothesizes that passive verbs did not exist in early Korean, and have developed from causative verbs of three place predicates, from three stages: i) middle-causative, ii) ordinary causative, iii) ordinary transitive.<sup>2</sup>

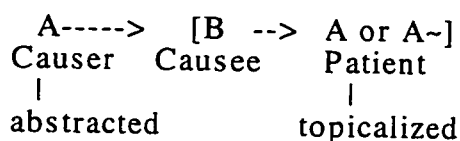
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<sup>2</sup> H. Lee (1991) illustrates the following arguments for his assumption:

- 1) They share the same morpheme.
- 2) Active sentences do not necessarily have their passive counterparts, or vice versa.
- 3) The causative is basic. There can be a language which has no passive verbs, but no language which has no causative verbs.
- 4) The passive suffix originates from the causative of ditransitive forms. That is, there are no passive verbs which correspond to the causative of transitive forms ( i.e., no Patient in reflexive relation to the causer).
- 5) The middle Korean texts shows the identical forms in most cases and the high frequency of the causative verbs. The suffix {-o } for the causative and {-i } for the passive are later developments in order to avoid semantic confusion between two verbs.
- 6) The hypothesis of middle verb to passive verbs in the Indo-European languages provides an indirect evidence for this argument in Korean. The passive verbs arise when subject both as Agent and as Patient comes to lose Agency and its role as Patient is brought into relief. This analogy is applied to the causer and the patient of the three-predicate place causative in Korean.
- 7) Furthermore, with the appearance of the reflexive pronoun, the middle meaning came to be replaced by the analytical form, while the given middle verbs came to have the passive meaning. Likewise, Korean developed the analytical *-ha-ta* for the causative and *-ci-ta* for the passive. They are the results of an effort to differentiate two meanings.
- 8) The East-southern dialect differentiates them by tone which was not found in the Middle Korean.



As for the first stage, his assumption is the basically the same as Keenan's and Haspelmath's in that the passive verb has been developed from the causative verbs on the basis of the reflexive relation between the causer and the Patient. That is, from causative verbs of three place arguments, in which the reflexive/coreferential relation maintains between the Causer and the Patient (i.e., A), and the semantic role of A as Causer becomes abstracted/weakened, and its Patient role becomes singled out and is topicalized (i.e., Patient role of A occupies the subject position). Thus, a passive interpretation arises:



For instance, the passive interpretation (3b) is possible after the identical referent is deleted from a reflexive-causative (3a), the Patient role is singled out and the Causer's role is weakened (gloss is mine):

- (3) a. Swuni-ka Toli-eykey caki-lul cap-hi-ess-ta  
       Swuni-nom Toli-dat self-acc hold-I-past-dec  
       'Swuni made Toli hold herself'
- b. Swuni-ka Toli-eykey cap-hi-ess-ta  
       Swuni-nom Toli-dat hold-I-past-dec  
       'Swuni was caught by Toli'

When the Patient is possessed alienably by the Causer (i.e., Patient = A~), we can get the passive reading in the same fashion:

- (4) Swuni-ka Toli-eykey koppi-lul cap-hi-ess-ta  
 Swuni-nom Toli-dat reins-acc hold-I-past-dec  
 'Swuni made Toli hold the reins of her horse'  
 'The reins of Swuni's horse were held by Toli'

Lee claims that his hypothesis is preferable since it explains the reason why three place predicates sometimes have the dual readings (e.g., (3) and (4)) and the non-reflexive relation between the Causer and the Patient in (5) does not achieve a passive reading:

- (5) Swuni-ka Toli-eykey **Toli-uy** malkoppi-lul cap-hi-  
 Swuni-nom Toli-dat Toli-gen horse reins-acc hold-I-  
 ess-ta  
 past-dec  
 'Swuni made Toli hold the reins of his horse'  
 '\*The reins of Swuni's horse were held by Toli'

He further says that the existence of the accusative Patient in the passive reading of (6) directly reflects the older causative of ditransitive forms:

- (6) Swuni-ka Toli-eykey sonmok-ul cap-hi-ess-ta  
 Swuni-nom Toli-dat wrist-acc hold-I-past-dec  
 a. 'Swuni had Toli hold her by the wrist'  
 b. 'Swuni was held by Toli by the wrist'

Here, if the part noun 'wrist' is marked with the nominative, only the passive meaning (6b) is accepted. With regard to this, he says that both

*Swuni* and *sonmok* 'wrist' are marked with the same case marker, since they are in the same semantic role, Patient. However, he does not explain how this reading arises from a causative verb.

Second, based on the fact that anything can be easily topicalized in Korean, Lee suggests that the passive sentence (7) occurs after the Patient in the ordinary causative construction is topicalized:<sup>3</sup>

- (7)            *Koppi-ka*    *Toli-eykey*    *cap-hi-ess-ta*  
                  *reins-nom*   *Toli-dat*        *hold-I-past-dec*  
                  'The reins were held by Toli'

Thus, Lee proposes that an ordinary causative construction of three arguments (i.e., not in coreference relation between the Causer and the Patient) serves as source for a passive construction (7). That is, according to him, unmarked causative constructions have the Causers as topic, while marked passive constructions have the Patient as topic. Hence, the passive (8e) is derived from the causative (8a), via topicalization of the Patient in (8b) and (8c), weakening and omission of the causer in (8d):

- (8)    a.    *Swuni-ka*    *Toli-eykey*   *koppi-lul*    *cap-hi-ess-ta*  
                  *Swuni-nom*   *Toli-dat*    *reins-acc*    *hold-I-past-dec*  
                  'Swuni caused Toli to hold the reins'
- b.    *koppi-lul*    *Swuni-ka*   *Toli-eykey*   *cap-hi-ess-ta*

<sup>3</sup> The part noun 'reins' may be used for a human being or an animal. Therefore this sentence does not sound odd with respect to the ESI condition. When the 'reins' is used for a human being, the expression 'a person's reins are being held by another' is interpreted metaphorically as meaning that person is in the other's control.

reins-acc      Swuni-nom Toli-dat      hold-I-past-dec

'The reins, Swuni caused Toli to hold'

- c. koppi-nun      Swuni-ka      Toli-eykey      cap-hi-ess-ta  
 reins-top      Swuni-nom Toli-dat      hold-I-past-dec

'As for the reins, Swuni caused Toli to hold them'

- d. koppi-nun nwukwunka-ka      Toli-eykey      cap-hi-ess-ta  
 reins-top      someone-nom      Toli-dat      hold-I-past-dec

'As for the reins, someone caused Toli to hold them'

- e. koppi-nun/ka      Toli-eykey      cap-hi-ess-ta  
 reins-top/nom      Toli-dat      hold-I-past-dec

'The reins were held by Toli'

He again emphasizes that sentence (8e) is not directly related to the active sentence (8f):

- f. Toli-ka      koppi-lul      cap-ass-ta  
 Toli-nom      reins-acc      hold-past-dec

'Toli held the reins'

Lee assumes that the passive formation from the middle-causative construction occurred side by side with its formation from the ordinary causative construction. He assumes that {-i } suffixed verbs came to acquire their independence status as passive verbs and that passivization became possible even from a simple transitive construction. For example, the passive (9h) derives from the simple transitive (9a), by the Patient

topicalization (9b and 9c), Agent suppression (9d and 9e), and Agent deletion (9f and 9g):

- (9) a. Toli-ka          koppi-lul          cap-ass-ta  
          Toli-nom          reins-acc          hold-past-dec  
          'Toli held the reins'
- b. koppi-lul          Toli-ka          cap-ass-ta  
          reins-acc          Toli-nom          hold-past-dec  
          'The reins, Toli held them'
- c. koppi-nun          Toli-ka          cap-ass-ta  
          reins-top          Toli-nom          hold-past-dec  
          'As for the reins, Toli held'
- d. koppi-lul          nwukwunka-ka          cap-ass-ta  
          reins-acc          someone-nom          hold-past-dec  
          'The reins, someone held'
- e. koppi-nun          nwukwunka-ka          cap-ass-ta  
          reins-top          someone-nom          hold-past-dec  
          'As for the reins, someone held them'
- f. koppi-nun          cap-ass-ta  
          reins-top          hold-past-dec
- g. koppi-ka          cap-ass-ta  
          reins-nom          hold-past-dec<sup>4</sup>

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<sup>4</sup> The English glosses are mine. However, we cannot give a proper English gloss to (9f) and (9h).

- h. *koppi-ka*      *cap-hi-ess-ta/cap-a-ci-ess-ta*  
      *reins-nom*      *hold-I-past-dec/hold-link-CI-past-dec*  
      'The reins were held'

And he claims that the passive forms like *cap-hi-* or *cap-a-ci-* arose to replace the active form *cap-* in order to indicate the Patient subject *koppi* 'reins' distinctively from the Agent subject (cf. (9f), (9g), and (9h)). However, such a procedure seems very arbitrary.

In sum, Haspelmath, Keenan, and H. Lee all make a similar assumption of the causative-based passive development. Such solutions fail to cover all the usages of the I-suffixed verbs.

#### 4.1.2. Other studies

Now, we will review the non-derivational approach. First, Y. K. Park (1978) bases his argument on the assumption that the suffix *{-i}* itself does not determine the passive or the causative meaning. That is, the suffix involves the introduction of a new subject in both meanings; and coreferentiality with an sentential constituent determines a passive or causative meaning:

- (10) a. Yengi-ka      (Yengi-eykey) Swuni-lul    ep-ess-ta  
          Yengi-nom (Yengi-dat)      Swuni-acc    carry on the back-past-dec  
          'Yengi<sub>i</sub> carried Swuni on her<sub>i</sub> back'
- b. Chelswu-ka      Yengi-eykey Swuni-lul

Chelswu-nom Yengi-dat Swuni-acc

ep-hi-ess-ta

Causative

carry on the back-I-past-dec

'Chelswu put Swuni on Yengi's back'

c. Swuni-ka Yengi-eykey (Swuni-lul) ep-hi-ess-ta Passive

Swuni-nom Yengi-dat (Swuni-acc) carry on the back-I-past-dec

'Swuni was carried on Yengi's back'

The old subject *Yengi* in (10a) is replaced by the new subjects *Chelswu* and *Swuni* in (10b) and (10c), producing a causative and a passive meaning, respectively, depending on whether the subject is coreferential with any participant or not.

Y. K. Park differentiates the passive verbs and the causative verbs in terms of the reflexivity of a given root verb. In relation to the gap of the suffixed causative forms, only reflexive verbs can be associated with the suffix, and the sense of reflexivity is absent from the causative verbs. He also mentions the non-application of the reflexivity to static verbs (or adjectives), with regard to which he proposes treating the suffix as a 'transitivizer'. Meanwhile, reflexivity is not a necessary condition to constitute a passive form, but the passive forms acquires the reflexivity. However, his definition of reflexivity as existing when 'the result of action returns to the Agent itself' is not consistent, since the subject in passive constructions is not necessarily Agent. Then, it is not clear how the sense

of reflexivity applies to the passive meaning. With regard to ambiguous sentences, Park claims that the {-i} suffixed verbs from reflexive verbs produce the ambiguity, depending on which part is coreferential or non-coreferential with the newly introduced subject:

- (11) a. Yengi<sub>i</sub>-ka ({Yengi<sub>i</sub>-uy, \*Yengswu-uy} → ∅) ip-ey  
 Yengi-nom ({Yengi-gen, Yengswu-gen}) mouth-loc  
 emeni-uy ces-ul mwul-ess-ta  
 mother-gen breast-acc bite-past-dec  
 'Yengi<sub>i</sub> bit Mother's breast in her<sub>i</sub> mouth'
- b. halmeni<sub>i</sub>-ka Yengi<sub>j</sub>-eykey (<-Yengi<sub>j</sub>-uy ip-ey)  
 grandmother-nom Yengi-dat (<-Yengi-gen mouth-loc)  
 emeni<sub>k</sub>-uy ces-ul mwul-li-ess-ta  
 mother-gen breast-acc bite-I-past-dec causative only  
 'Grandmother caused Yengi to bite Mother's breast'
- c. emeni<sub>i</sub>-ka Yengi<sub>j</sub>-eykey (<-Yengi<sub>j</sub>-uy ip-ey)  
 mother-nom Yengi-dat (<-Yengi-gen mouth-loc)  
 (emeni<sub>i</sub>-uy → ∅) ces-ul mwul-li-ess-ta  
 (mother-gen) breast-acc bite-I-past-dec  
 'Mother caused Yengi to bite her breast' causative  
 'Mother was bitten on the breast by Yengi' passive

(indexing is mine)



In (11c), the passive reading involves the reflexivization of the object *ces* 'breast', while the causative reading involves the de-reflexivization of the location *ip* 'mouth'. In (11b), which has only the causative meaning, the subject is not coreferential with any element.

Essentially, Y. K. Park attempts to explain the passive and the causative meanings as reflexivization or de-reflexivization of verb semantics consistently by way of introducing a new subject. However, like earlier explanations, his assumption fails to cover all the usages of the suffixed constructions. For example, the concept of reflexivity has no clear application to the so-called 'Agent-less' passive constructions.

H. K. Kim (1983) tries to comprehend the interrelation between the two voices by hypothesizing that the basic abstract meaning of the suffix {-*i*} is simply CAUSE.<sup>5</sup> He proposes the single-*i* semantic construction for the causative interpretation and the double-*i* for the passive interpretation:

- a. [X-ka [Y-ka [Z-ka (N-ul) V- i] Mod SE            causative

Mod=modality SE=sentence ending

- b. [X-ka [Y-ka [Z-ka (N-ul) V]<sub>i1</sub>]-i<sub>2</sub>] Mod SE        passive

According to him, from these arbitrary semantic structures, the 'causative' and 'passive' interpretations are achieved by inference based on the

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<sup>5</sup> He points out that this meaning CAUSE is not necessarily related to action [+A]. In other words, the subject is merely CAUSE of the state of affairs without any implication of the instigator of the action.

pragmatic conditions which consist of [ $\pm$ Volition], [ $\pm$ Intention], [ $\pm$ Action], and [ $\pm$ CAUSE].

E. Kim (1992) concludes that the function of the voice suffix is to defocus the unmarked voice subject, while admitting that there are two kinds of defocusing, i.e., pragmatic defocusing for causatives and passives, and semantic defocusing for non-volitionals. The concept of defocusing is also found in Shibatani (1985).

D. W. Yang (1979) insists the passive and the causative suffixes are single morpheme on the basis of similarity in usage, phonology, morphology, syntax, and semantics.<sup>6</sup> He treats the passive and the causative suffixes as a single lexical item in the lexicon, with unified phonological, morphological, syntactic, and semantic information, but with multiple lexical meanings (i.e., one lexeme with multiple lexical meanings).

K. Park (1988) explores the lexical representations of the Korean morphological causatives and passives and those of the verb stems to which the affixes may attach. He claims that the causative and the passive suffixes are the same morpheme (polysemy, not homophony), pointing out several pieces of evidence why they should be treated as such. According

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<sup>6</sup> Regarding their syntactic behavior, he perceives the passive and the causative readings both involve obligatory application of the subject-raising rule and predicate-raising rule. In regard to the semantic-functional aspect, he mentions the wide application of the meaning of the suffixed forms, in contrast to the periphrastic forms: i.e., the suffixed forms allow idiomaticized sense as in *so-lul mek-i-ta* 'to feed a cow or to raise a cow' vs. *so-lul mek-key ha-ta* 'to cause a cow to eat', and direct and indirect causation, while the only indirect causation in the periphrastic forms. With respect to the passive construction, only the suffixed form allows a neutral and adversative meaning in the suffixed passive forms, unlike the periphrastic forms which are neutral in meaning.

to him, the two suffixes are entered as a single entry in the lexicon with subentries, which can account for the syntax of the suffixed constructions, coupled with some independent principles.

#### 4.2. Connection of the I-suffixed constructions

In fact, attempts to view the suffix identical or related in both passive and causative constructions are relatively recent. The suffix has been traditionally treated simply as separate morphemes, which are homophonous. For instance, Lyu (1985) rejects the identity or correlation of the causative and the passive suffix from the diachronic study in the 18C Korean text. He rather insists that the suffixes have a passive and a causative meaning. According to him, the difference of the suffixes in two usages is reflected in several aspects. First, the very small number of the identical forms of two usages were found (cf. 69 out of 100 in modern Korean of D. W. Yang (1979)). Identical forms are due to analogy or lexical confusion over time. Second, the extra suffixes like { *o* / *wu* } and { *a* / *u* } existed for the causative verbs and double { *-i* } only in the passive verbs.<sup>7</sup> Such morphological differences reflect the differences between the two suffixes. There would be no such differences if they were the same morpheme. Third, the relation between active verbs and their passive

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<sup>7</sup> On the contrary, Nam (1962) observes in 15c Korean that the double suffix form as well as simple suffix form are found both in passive and in causative verbs.

forms, and that between static verbs, intransitive verbs, and transitive verbs and their causative forms indicate the difference. Fourth, native speakers are not confused between passive and causative readings.

However, it is not our aim here to insist on the absolute identity of the constructions which are realized with the suffix {-i }, since the two/or more usages of 'passive' and 'causative' seem to stand at incompatible extremes. Rather, we have explored an alternative semantic approach in relation to the reduced EMPOWEREDNESS of the sentence initial position by way of the suffixation. That is, the semantic character of the event—the role properties it projects upon the sentence initial participant—provides the matrix for the I-suffix, and that the effect of its use can vary widely in the context of different events, while it continues to accomplish a common function across all these environments. Therefore, the result after the suffixation may yield a different or opposite effect in two meaning constellations. To begin with, regarding transitivity, the 'passive' group tends to be marked with low in transitivity, while 'causative' group tends to be highly marked in transitivity. We already observed a given verb after the suffixation acquires different transitivity. We recall the opposite effect between the self-affected event with the suffix *maytal-li-ta* 'hang himself' and the non self-affected event with the same suffix *kam-ki-ta* 'shampoo some other self'. In addition, the suffix directs either a non-volitional or a volitional reading. The semantic role of the sentence initial participant is

reflected in the choice of negators *an* and *mos*. In a rough generalization, Agent-oriented events like unergative intransitive, transitive, and I-suffixed 'causative' constructions take both of negators, while non-Agent-oriented events like adjectives, unaccusative intransitives, I-suffixed 'passive' constructions consistently select only *an*.<sup>8</sup>

As we observed in the previous chapters, sentence initial position is endowed with special properties. But, if sentence-initial position is modified (i.e., reduced EMPOWEREDNESS), a special marker is encoded on the verb stem. The varieties of the suffix {-i} which range from medio-passive, true-patient passive, causative, even to transitive constructions can be related in the semantic-functional terms, otherwise, its occurrences are simply homophonous. The absence of the double suffixation is now explained. Even though the *-i-wu* form is found in a non-standard way or in a dialect and the *-i-i* form was reported in Middle Korean (cf. Nam 1962), the additional suffix does not modify the meaning of the already suffixed form. Besides, if the suffix has the inherent meanings of passive or causative, we might assume a procedure of

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<sup>8</sup> The following sentence takes *an* for the passive reading, but *an* or *mos* for the causative reading:

- |    |   |            |          |                      |                  |
|----|---|------------|----------|----------------------|------------------|
| a. | John-i  | Mary-eykey | son-lul  | an-cap-hi-ess-ta     | <u>passive</u>   |
|    | John-nom                                      | Mary-dat   | hand-acc | not-catch-I-past-dec |                  |
|    | John was not caught by Mary' by the hand      |            |          |                      |                  |
| b. | John-i  | Mary-eykey | son-lul  | an/mos-cap-hi-ess-ta | <u>causative</u> |
|    | John-nom                                      | Mary-dat   | hand-acc | not-catch-I-past-dec |                  |
|    | 'John did not cause Mary to catch his hand'   |            |          |                      |                  |
|    | 'John could not cause Mary to catch his hand' |            |          |                      |                  |

passivization after causativization, for example, in order to induce the 'passive' meaning on the intransitive verb *nal* 'fly':

*nal* 'fly (vi)'   *nal-li* 'fly (vt)'   *nal-li-hi* > *nal-li* 'be flown'

And yet, this formation is never productive. It appears that the I-suffix which encodes reduced EMPOWEREDNESS of the sentence initial position does not apply multiple times, even though its effect is realized in a different way depending on the environment, i.e., by a less than optimal participant in the sentence initial position or by taking away some semantic condition from the sentence initial participant. In fact, when we intend the causativization of the passive verb or vice versa, the periphrastic forms are used:<sup>9</sup>

- (12)      *kil-i*          *nelp-hi-e-ci-e-ss-ta*  
              road-acc   wide-I-link-CI-link-past-dec  
              'The road was widened (by someone)'

- (13)      *John-i*      *Mary-lul*   *Bill-eykey*   *cap-hi-key hay-ss-ta*  
              John-nom Mary-acc Bill-dat      catch-I-link do-past-dec  
              'John made Mary get caught by Bill'

In sum, the previous analyses will succeed in giving a good explanation as long as prototypical passive and causative constructions are concerned. On the other hand, by giving more general functional semantic

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<sup>9</sup> We do not deny a possibility that voice-duplication (i.e., double-suffix) is blocked due to a general phonological condition, since both has a high front vowel /i/, just as any verb which has the vowel /i/ in its stem does not have the suffixal passive/causative form.

explanation on the I-suffix, we can now see a motivated relation among all the occurrences of the I-suffixed constructions.

## Appendix II.

### Korean verb list

#### I. Non-sino Korean simple verbs and their I-forms<sup>1</sup>:

##### (Inanimate) Patient-oriented Intransitive

		Passive (or middle) sense	Causative sense
A	<i>alh-ta</i> 'be ill'	x	x
	<i>anc-ta</i> 'sit'	x	<i>anc-hi-ta</i>
C	<i>cci-ta</i> 'gain fat'	x	<i>cci-wu-ta</i>
	<i>cci-ta</i> 'be sultry'	x	x
	<i>ccitul-ta</i> 'get dirty'	x	x
	<i>cec-ta</i> 'lean back'	x	<i>cec-hi-ta</i>
	<i>cec-ta</i> 'get wet'	x	<i>cek-si-ta</i> <sup>2</sup>
	<i>cha-ta</i> 'be full'	x	<i>chay-wu-ta</i>
	<i>chi-ta</i> '(lightning) strike'	x	x
	<i>ci-ta</i> 'be beaten'	x	x
	<i>ci-ta</i> 'fall'	x	x
	<i>cisay-ta</i> 'the day breaks'	x	<i>cisay-wu-ta</i>
	<i>cilli-ta</i> 'get sick of'	x	x
	<i>col-ta</i> 'be boiled, dry'	x	<i>col-i-ta</i>
	<i>cwuk-ta</i> 'die'	x	<i>cwuk-i-ta</i>
	<i>cwul-ta</i> 'decrease'	x	<i>cwul-i-ta</i>
E	<i>el-ta</i> 'freeze'	x	<i>el-li-ta</i>
	<i>engkhi-ta</i> 'get tangled'	x	x
	<i>eps-ta</i> 'not exist'	x	<i>eps-ay-ta</i>
H	<i>hel-ta</i> 'get old'	x	x
	<i>hulu-ta</i> 'flow, spill'	x	<i>hul-li-ta</i>
I	<i>il-ta</i> 'happen, spring up'	x	<i>il-ukhi-ta</i>
K	<i>kalaanc-ta</i> 'sink'	x	<i>kalaanc-hi-ta</i>
	<i>kalonwup-ta</i> 'lie down across'	x	<i>kalowu-i-ta</i>
	<i>kasi-ta</i> 'disappear'	x	x
	<i>kay-ta</i> 'clear up'	x	x
	<i>kiltul-ta</i> 'get a polish, get tamed'	x	<i>kiltul-i-ta</i>
	<i>kiwul-ta</i> 'be slanted'	x	<i>kiwul-i-ta</i>
	cf. <i>kiwul-e-ttuli-ta</i> <sup>3</sup>		

<sup>1</sup> Some verb stems are conjugated irregularly. For instance, the final consonant /p/ is omitted from the stem *nwup-* > *mwu-* 'lie' when it is followed by a vowel (i.e., 'p'-irregular verb).

<sup>2</sup> Probably earlier *ces-ki*, present day *cek-si* via metathesis.

<sup>3</sup> *Kiwul-ta* 'bend' is a free stem, and the morpheme *-ttuli* adds a meaning of intensification. On the other hand, as follows, certain bound stems such as *\*cacil-* 'cower' are transitivity by the addition of *-ttuli*. Of course, such *-ttuli* transitive forms are accompanied by a sense of intensification:



	<i>kki-ta</i> 'smoke up'	x	x
	<i>kkulh-ta</i> 'boil'	x	<i>kkulh-i-ta</i>
	<i>koi-ta</i> '(liquid) stay'	x	x
	<i>kolh-ta</i> 'go bad'	x	<i>kolh-li-ta</i>
	<i>kontwuse-ta</i> 'stand on end'	x	<i>kontwusey-wu-ta</i>
	<i>kop-ta</i> 'bent'	x	x
			cf. <i>kopwuli-ta</i>
	<i>kuul-ta</i> 'be sooty'	<i>kuul-li-ta</i>	<i>kuul-li-ta</i>
	<i>kwuki-ta</i> 'grow bad'	x	x
	<i>kwulu-ta</i> 'roll'	x	<i>kwul-li-ta</i> 'roll'
	<i>kwup-ta</i> 'bent'	x	<i>kwup-hi-ta</i>
			cf. <i>kwupwuli-ta</i>
	<i>kwut-ta</i> 'save, go hard'	x	<i>kwut-hi-ta</i>
	<i>kwut-ta</i> 'get solid'	x	<i>kwut-hi-ta</i>
M	<i>mac-ta</i> 'fit'	x	<i>mac-chwu-ta</i> 'fit'
	<i>mec-ta</i> 'stop'	x	x
	<i>mel-ta</i> 'go blind'	x	x

		Passive sense	Causative sense
C	<i>cacil-e-ci-ta</i> 'cower'	x	x
			cf. <i>cacil-e-ttuli-ta</i>
	<i>ccikul-e-ci-ta</i> 'be crushed'	x	x
			cf. <i>ccikul-e-ttuli-ta</i>
	<i>ccokul-e-ci-ta</i> 'be crushed'	x	x
			cf. <i>ccokul-a-ttuli-ta</i>
	<i>ccwukul-e-ci-ta</i> 'be crushed'	x	x
			cf. <i>ccwulul-e-ttuli-ta</i>
H	<i>huth-e-ci-ta</i> 'be scattered'	x	x
			cf. <i>huth-ttuli-ta</i>
	<i>huthul-e-ci-ta</i> 'be scattered'	x	x
			cf. <i>huthul-e-ttuli-ta</i>
K	<i>kakwul-e-ci-ta</i> 'fall'	x	x
			cf. <i>kakwul-e-ttuli-ta</i>
	<i>kekkwul-e-ci-ta</i> 'fall'	x	x
			cf. <i>kekkwul-e-ttuli-ta</i>
	<i>kekwul-e-ci-ta</i> 'fall'	x	x
			cf. <i>kekwul-e-ttuli-ta</i>
	<i>kiwul-e-ci-ta</i> 'be slanted'	x	x
			cf. <i>kiwul-e-ttuli-ta</i>
	<i>kopwul-a-ci-ta</i> 'bend'	x	x
			cf. <i>kopwul-a-ttuli-ta</i>
	<i>kwupwul-e-ci-ta</i> 'bend'	x	x
			cf. <i>kwupwul-e-ttuli-ta</i>
M	<i>mangga-ci-ta</i> 'be broken'	x	x
			cf. <i>mangga-ttuli-ta</i>
N	<i>nwukul-e-ci-ta</i> 'get milder'	x	x
			cf. <i>nwukul-e-ttuli-ta</i>
P	<i>pwul-e-ci-ta</i> 'be broken'	x	x
			cf. <i>pwul-e-ttuli-ta</i>
S	<i>sakul-a-ci-ta</i> 'go down'	x	x
			cf. <i>sakul-a-ttuli-ta</i>
	<i>ssul-e-ci-ta</i> 'fall'	x	x
			cf. <i>ssul-e-ttuli-ta</i>

	<i>mey-ta</i> 'be chocked'	x	x
	<i>mwuk-ta</i> 'get old'	x	<i>mwuk-hi-ta</i>
	<i>mwut-ta</i> 'stick, be smeared'	x	<i>mwut-hi-ta</i>
	<i>mwultul-ta</i> 'dye, get dyed'	x	<i>mwultul-i-ta</i>
N	<i>na-ta</i> 'come into being' <sup>4</sup>	x	<i>na-(i&gt;)y-ta</i>
	<i>nam-ta</i> 'remain'	x	<i>nam-ki-ta</i>
	<i>nem-ta</i> 'exceed'	x	<i>nem-ki-ta</i>
	<i>nok-ta</i> 'melt'	x	<i>nok-i-ta</i>
	<i>nul-ta</i> 'increase'	x	<i>nul-i-ta</i>
			<i>nul-li-ta</i>
	<i>nwup-ta</i> 'lie down'	x	<i>nwul-hi-ta</i>
	<i>nwut-ta</i> 'get scorched'	x	<i>nwul-li-ta</i>
O	<i>olm-ta</i> 'be infected'	x	<i>olm-ki-ta</i>
P	<i>pat-ta</i> 'suit one's palate'	x	x
	<i>phi-ta</i> 'burn, bloom, smoke'	x	<i>phi-wu-ta</i>
	<i>pichi-ta</i> 'shine'	x	x
	<i>pichwu-ta</i> 'light'	x	<i>pichwu-i-ta</i>
	<i>pwul-ta</i> 'swell'	x	<i>pwul-li-ta</i>
	<i>pwul-ta</i> '(wind) blow'	<i>pwul-li-ta</i>	x
	<i>pwulu-ta</i> 'be full'	x	<i>pwul-li-ta</i>
	<i>pwus-ta</i> 'swell'	x	x
	<i>pwuth-ta</i> 'stick'	x	<i>pwuth-i-ta</i>
S	<i>sak-ta</i> 'ferment, wear thin'	x	<i>sak-i-ta</i>
	<i>say-ta</i> 'leak out'	x	x
	<i>say-ta</i> 'dawn'	x	x
	<i>se-ta</i> 'stand'	x	<i>sey-wu-ta</i>
	<i>sey-ta</i> 'whiten'	x	x
	<i>sok-ta</i> 'be deceived'	x	<i>sok-i-ta</i>
	<i>ssulli-ta</i> 'be leaning'	x	x
	<i>swui-ta</i> 'go bad'	x	x
	<i>swuk-ta</i> 'be bowed, be bent'	x	<i>swuk-i-ta</i>
			<i>swuku-li-ta</i>
T	<i>talli-ta</i> 'be short of'	x	x
	<i>tha-ta</i> 'burn'	x	<i>thay-wu-ta</i>

<sup>4</sup> X-na-ta form turns out X-na-(i>)y-ta in causative sense:

C	<i>cillyek-na-ta</i> 'be tiresome'	x	<i>cillyek-na-y-ta</i>
	<i>ccacung-na-ta</i> 'be embarrassing'	x	<i>ccacung-na-y-ta</i>
K	<i>kkuth-na-ta</i> 'come to an end'	x	<i>kkuth-na-y-ta</i>
	<i>kep-na-ta</i> 'be fearful'	x	<i>kep-na-y-ta</i>
	<i>ketelna-ta</i> 'go broke'	x	<i>ketelna-y-ta</i>
	<i>kol-na-ta</i> 'be angry'	x	<i>kol-na-y-ta</i>
	<i>kwang-na-ta</i> 'be glossy'	x	<i>kwang-na-y-ta</i>
	<i>kyelmal-na-ta</i> 'end'	x	<i>kyelmal-na-y-ta</i>
M	<i>mas-na-ta</i> 'be tasty'	x	<i>mas-na-y-ta</i>
N	<i>na-ta</i> 'come into being'	x	<i>na-y-ta</i>
	<i>nathana-ta</i> 'appear'	x	<i>nathana-y-ta</i>
P	<i>paksal-na-ta</i> 'be crashed'	x	<i>paksal-na-y-ta</i>
S	<i>silcung-na-ta</i> 'be tiring'	x	<i>silcung-na-y-ta</i>

<i>thu-ta</i> 'sprout, dawn'	x	x
cf. <i>the-ttuli-ta</i>		
<i>tol-ta</i> 'turn, spin'	x	<i>tol-li-ta</i>
<i>tot-ta</i> 'rise, sprout, come out'	x	<i>tot-wu-ta</i>
<i>tul-ta</i> 'be sharp'	x	x
<i>tul-ta</i> 'grow old'	x	x
<i>tul-ta</i> 'cost'	x	x
<i>ttu-ta</i> 'float'	x	<i>ttuy-wu-ta</i>
<i>ttu-ta</i> 'become sallow, turn bad'	x	<i>ttuy-wu-ta</i>
<i>ttu-ta</i> 'be detached, be disjoined'	x	<i>ttuy-wu-ta</i>
<i>thwi-ta</i> 'spring'	x	<i>thwi-ki-ta</i>
<i>yel-ta</i> 'open (bear fruit)'	<i>yel-li-ta</i>	x

(Animate) Agent-oriented Intransitive

A	<i>anc-ta</i> 'sit'	x	<i>anc-hi-ta</i>
C	<i>ca-ta</i> 'sleep'	x	<i>cay-wu-ta</i>
	<i>col-ta</i> 'doze'	<i>col-li-ta</i>	x
E	<i>eptuli-ta</i> 'lie flat'	x	x
			cf. <i>eptuli-e-ttuli-ta</i>
K	<i>kalonwup-ta</i> 'lie down across'	x	<i>kalowu-i-ta</i>
M	<i>memchwu-ta</i> 'stop'	x	x
	<i>mwuk-ta</i> 'stay'	x	x
N	<i>nal-ta</i> 'fly'	<i>nal-li-ta</i>	<i>nal-li-ta</i>
	<i>nam-ta</i> 'remain'	x	<i>nam-ki-ta</i>
	<i>nolla-ta</i> 'be surprised'	x	<i>nolla-(i&gt;)y-ta</i>
	<i>nwup-ta</i> 'lie down'	x	<i>nwup-hi-ta</i>
O	<i>oml-ta</i> 'move'	x	<i>oml-ki-ta</i>
S	<i>sal-ta</i> 'live'	x	<i>sal-li-ta</i>
	<i>se-ta</i> 'stand up'	x	<i>sey-wu-ta</i>
	<i>swi-ta</i> 'rest'	x	x
	<i>swum-ta</i> 'hide'	x	<i>swum-ki-ta</i>
T	<i>tat-ta</i> 'run' <sup>5</sup>	x	<i>tal-li-ta</i>
	<i>tha-ta</i> 'ride'	x	<i>thay-wu-ta</i>
	<i>tul-ta</i> 'come in'	x	<i>tul-i-ta</i>
W	<i>wul-ta</i> 'cry'	x	<i>wul-li-ta</i>
	<i>wus-ta</i> 'laugh'	x	<i>wus-ki-ta</i>

Verbs of translateral motion<sup>6</sup>

C	<i>cina-ta</i> 'pass'	x	x
I	<i>ilu-ta</i> 'arrive'	x	x
K	<i>ka-ta</i> 'go'	x	x
	<i>kenne-ta</i> 'go across'	x	<i>kenne-y-ta</i>
	<i>ket-ta</i> 'walk'	x	<i>kel-li-ta</i>
	<i>kenne-ta</i> 'cross, go across'	x	<i>kenne-y-ta</i>

<sup>5</sup> A diachronic relation between *tat-ta* 'run (vi)' and *talli-ta* 'run (vi,vt)' is examined in J. W. Park (1994).

<sup>6</sup> These verbs are used either intransitive or transitive way.

M N O	<i>ket-ta</i> 'walk'	x	<i>kel-li-ta</i>
	<i>memchwu-ta</i> 'stop'	x	x
	<i>nayli-ta</i> 'get off'	x	<i>nayli-wu-ta</i>
	<i>o-ta</i> 'come'	x	x
T	<i>olu-ta</i> 'climb'	x	<i>ol-li-ta</i>
	<i>o-ta</i> 'come'	x	x
	<i>talli-ta</i> 'run'	x	x
	<i>tol-ta</i> 'go around'	x	x
	<i>ttena-ta</i> 'leave'	x	x
	<i>ttu-ta</i> 'leave'	x	x

#### Centripetal Transitive Verbs

C	<i>cci-ta</i> 'wear (chignon)'	x	<i>cci-wu-ta</i>
	<i>cha-ta</i> 'wear (watch,gun)'	x	<i>chay-wu-ta</i>
I	<i>ip-ta</i> 'wear (clothes)'	x	<i>ip-hi-ta</i>
K	<i>kwulm-ta</i> 'go hungry'	x	<i>kwulm-ki-ta</i>
	<i>kkay-ta</i> 'wake up'	<i>kkay-i-ta</i>	<i>kkay-wu-ta</i>
	<i>kkwu-ta</i> 'borrow'	x	<i>kkwu-i-ta</i>
	<i>kki-ta</i> 'wear (ring)'	x	<i>kki-wu-ta</i>
	<i>kolh-ta</i> 'go hungry'	x	<i>kolh-li-ta</i>
	<i>kam-ta</i> 'close (eyes)'	<i>kam-ki-ta</i>	<i>kam-ki-ta</i>
	<i>kkwulh-ta</i> 'kneel down'	x	<i>kkwul-li-ta</i>
	<i>kki-ta</i> 'wear (glove)'	<i>kki-i-ta</i>	<i>kki-wu-ta</i>
	<i>mac-ta</i> 'be hit'	x	<i>mac-hi-ta</i>
	<i>mek-ta</i> 'eat'	<i>mek-hi-ta</i>	<i>mek-hi-ta</i>
M	<i>mey-ta</i> 'shoulder'	x	<i>mey-wu-ta</i>
	<i>mwul-ta</i> 'be charged'	x	<i>mwul-li-a</i>
O	<i>olm-ta</i> 'be infected'	x	<i>oml-ki-ta</i>
P	<i>paywu-ta</i> 'learn'	x	x
	<i>pis-ta</i> 'comb'	x	<i>pis-ki-ta</i>
S	<i>sin-ta</i> 'wear (shoes)'	x	<i>sin-ki-ta</i>
	<i>ssu-ta</i> 'wear (hat)'	x	<i>ssuy-wu-ta</i>
T	<i>tamwul-ta</i> 'close (mouth)'	x	<i>tamwul-li-ta</i>
	<i>tha-ta</i> 'ride'	x	<i>thay-wu-ta</i>
	<i>twicipessu-ta</i> 'cover'	x	<i>twicipessuy-wu-ta</i>

#### Verbs of possession

E	<i>et-ta</i> 'get'	x	x
I	<i>ilh-ta</i> 'lose'	x	x
K	<i>kaci-ta</i> 'have'	x	x
P	<i>pat-ta</i> 'obtain'	x	x
T	<i>tha-ta</i> 'get'	x	x

#### Verbs of perception and emotion

C	<i>cham-ta</i> 'endure'	x	x
	<i>chay-ta</i> 'sense'	<i>chay-i-ta</i>	x
I	<i>ic-ta</i> 'forget'	<i>ic-hi-ta</i>	x

K	<i>kyekk-ta</i> 'undergo'	x	x
	<i>kuli-ta</i> 'miss'	x	x
M	<i>math-ta</i> 'smell'	x	x
	<i>mit-ta</i> 'believe'	<i>mit-ki-ta</i> (?)	x
N	<i>nukki-ta</i> 'feel'	x	x
O	<i>oy-ta</i> 'learn by heart'	x	x
P	<i>po-ta</i> 'see'	<i>po-i-ta</i>	<i>po-i-ta</i>
T	<i>tut-ta</i> 'listen'	<i>tul-li-ta</i>	( <i>tul-li-ta</i> )

Centrifugal Transitive Agent-oriented Verbs

A	<i>an-ta</i> 'hold in arms'	<i>an-ki-ta</i>	<i>an-ki-ta</i>
C	<i>calu-ta</i> 'cut'	<i>cal-li-ta</i>	x
	<i>cap-ta</i> 'hold'	<i>cap-hi-ta</i>	<i>cap-hi-ta</i>
	<i>cay-ta</i> 'measure'	x	x
	<i>cca-ta</i> 'squeeze'	<i>cca-i-ta</i>	x
	<i>cci-ta</i> 'steam'	x	x
	<i>ccic-ta</i> 'tear'	<i>ccic-ki-ta</i>	<i>ccic-ki-ta</i>
	<i>ccih-ta</i> 'pound'	x	x
	<i>ccik-ta</i> 'imprint'	<i>ccik-hi-ta</i>	x
	<i>ccik-ta</i> 'shoot'	<i>ccik-hi-ta</i>	x
	<i>ccik-ta</i> 'chop'	<i>ccik-hi-ta</i>	x
	<i>ccikuli-ta</i> 'crush'	x	x
	cf. <i>ccikul-e-ttuli-ta</i>		
	<i>ccilu-ta</i> 'pierce'	<i>ccil-li-ta</i>	x
	<i>ccingkuli-ta</i> 'frown'	x	x
	<i>cciphwuli-ta</i> 'frown'	x	x
	<i>ccoch-ta</i> 'expel'	<i>ccoch-ki-ta</i>	x
	<i>ccokuli-ta</i> 'crouch'	x	x
	cf. <i>ccokuli-e-ttuli-ta</i> (T)		
	<i>ccwukuli-ta</i> 'crush'	x	x
	cf. <i>ccwululi-e-ttuli-ta</i> (T)		
	<i>cep-ta</i> 'fold'	<i>cep-hi-ta</i>	<i>cep-hi-ta</i>
	<i>ces-ta</i> 'stir'	x	x
	<i>cha-ta</i> 'kick'	<i>cha-i-ta</i>	x
	<i>chay-ta</i> 'snatch'	<i>chay-i-ta</i>	x
	<i>chi-ta</i> 'hit'	<i>chi-i-ta</i>	x
	<i>chi-ta</i> 'underline'	x	x
	<i>chi-ta</i> 'make'	x	<i>chi-i-ta</i>
	<i>chi-ta</i> 'put'	x	x
	<i>chi-ta</i> 'count'	<i>chi-i-ta</i>	x
	<i>chi-ta</i> 'cast'	x	x
	<i>chi-ta</i> 'remove'	x	<i>chi-wu-ta/chi-i-ta</i>
	<i>chi-ta</i> 'raise'	x	x
	<i>chwukhi-ta</i> 'lift up'	x	x
	<i>chwuli-ta</i> 'select'	x	x
	<i>cici-ta</i> 'stew, frizzle'	x	x
	<i>cikhi-ta</i> 'watch over'	x	x
	<i>cili-ta</i> 'wet one's pants'	x	x
	<i>cilu-ta</i> 'yell'	x	x
	<i>cilu-ta</i> 'set afire'	x	x

	<i>cip-ta</i> 'pick up'	<i>cip-hi-ta</i>	x
	<i>ciph-ta</i> 'touch'	<i>ciph-hi-ta</i>	x
	<i>cis-ta</i> 'build'	x	x
	<i>colu-ta</i> 'strangle, tighten'	<i>col-li-ta</i>	x
	<i>coch-ta</i> 'follow'	x	x
	<i>cwumwulu-ta</i> 'finger'	<i>cwumwul-li-ta</i>	x
	<i>cwuy-ta</i> 'grip'	x	x
E	<i>ecilu-ta</i> 'disarrange, scatter about'	x	x
	cf. <i>ecil-e-ttuli-ta</i>		
	<i>eknwulu-ta</i> 'press down'	<i>eknwul-li-ta</i>	x
	<i>enc-ta</i> 'place on'	<i>enc-hi-ta</i>	<i>enc-hi-ta</i>
	<i>engkhul-ta</i> 'tangle'	<i>engkhul-li-ta</i>	x
	cf. <i>engkhul-e-ttuli-ta</i>	cf. <i>engkhi-ta</i>	
	<i>ep-ta</i> 'carry on the back'	<i>ep-hi-ta</i>	<i>ep-hi-ta</i>
	<i>eph-ta</i> 'turn upside down'	x	x
	cf. <i>eph-e-ttuli-ta</i>	cf. <i>ephe-ci-ta</i>	
	<i>ephcilu-ta</i> 'spill'	x	x
	cf. <i>ephcil-e-ttuli-ta</i>		
H	<i>halkhwuy-ta</i> 'scratch, claw'	x	x
	<i>halh-ta</i> 'lick'	<i>halh-i-ta</i>	x
	<i>hel-ta</i> 'demolish'	<i>hel-li-ta</i>	<i>hel-i-ta</i> (archaic)
	<i>hengkhul-ta</i> 'tangle'	<i>hengkhul-li-ta</i>	x
	cf. <i>hengkhul-e-ttuli-ta</i>		
	<i>huli-ta</i> 'spill, flow'	x	<i>hul-li-ta</i>
	<i>huntul-ta</i> 'shake'	<i>huntul-li-ta</i>	x
	<i>huth-ta</i> 'scatter'	<i>huth-i-ta</i>	<i>huth-i-ta</i>
	cf. <i>huth-ttuli-ta</i>		
	<i>hwulh-ta</i> 'thresh, remove'	<i>hwulh-i-ta</i>	x
	<i>hwumchi-ta</i> 'steal'	x	x
	<i>hwupi-ta</i> 'pick nose/ear'	x	x
I	<i>iki-ta</i> 'win'	x	x
	<i>ikkul-ta</i> 'lead'	<i>ikkul-li-ta</i>	x
	<i>ilk-ta</i> 'read'	<i>ilk-hi-ta</i>	<i>ilk-hi-ta</i>
K	<i>kakkwu-ta</i> 'grow'	x	x
	<i>kal-ta</i> 'change'	<i>kal-li-ta</i>	x
	<i>kal-ta</i> 'grind'	<i>kal-li-ta</i>	x
	<i>kal-ta</i> 'plow'	<i>kal-li-ta</i>	x
	<i>kali-ta</i> 'hide, cover'	x	x
	<i>kali-ta</i> 'select'	x	x
	<i>kali-ta</i> 'pile up'	x	x
	<i>kalk-ta</i> 'scrape'	<i>kalk-hi-ta</i>	<i>kalk-hi-ta</i>
	<i>kalki-ta</i> 'beat'	x	x
	<i>kalochay-ta/kalocha-ta</i> 'seize'	<i>kalochay-i-ta</i>	x
	<i>kalomak-ta</i> 'block'	<i>kalomak-hi-ta</i>	x
	<i>kalu-ta</i> 'split'	<i>kal-li-ta</i>	x
	<i>kam-ta</i> 'wind'	<i>kam-ki-ta</i>	<i>kam-ki-ta</i>
	<i>kamchi-ta</i> 'hem'	x	x
	<i>kamssa-ta</i> 'protect'	<i>kamssa-i-ta</i>	x
	<i>kanwu-ta</i> 'control'	x	x
	<i>kasi-ta</i> 'wash'	x	x
	<i>katwu-ta</i> 'lock in'	x	x

<i>kay-ta</i> 'temper'	x	x
<i>kay-ta</i> 'fold (up)'	x	x
<i>kel-ta</i> 'hang, suspend'	<i>kel-li-ta</i>	x
<i>kelu-ta</i> 'omit, skip'	x	x
<i>kelu-ta</i> 'percolate'	x	x
<i>kenci-ta</i> 'save, take out of water'	x	x
<i>kentuli-ta</i> 'touch'	x	x
<i>kenuli-ta</i> 'lead, head'	x	x
<i>kesulu-ta</i> 'oppose, go against'	<i>kesul-li-ta</i>	x
<i>kesulu-ta</i> 'give change'	x	x
<i>ket-ta</i> 'roll up'	<i>ket-hi-ta</i>	x
<i>ket-ta</i> 'remove'	<i>ket-hi-ta</i>	x
<i>ket-ta</i> 'collect'	<i>ket-hi-ta</i>	x
<i>ket-ta</i> 'give up'	<i>ket-hi-ta</i>	x
<i>ketwu-ta</i> 'gather'	x	x
<i>kilu-ta</i> 'raise'	x	x
<i>kip-ta</i> 'patch'	x	x
<i>kkakk-ta</i> 'cut'	<i>kkakk-i-ta</i>	<i>kkakk-i-ta</i>
<i>kkekk-ta</i> 'break off'	<i>kkekk-i-ta</i>	x
<i>kko-ta</i> 'twist'	<i>kko-i-ta</i>	x
<i>kkoc-ta</i> 'insert'	<i>kkoc-hi-ta</i>	x
<i>kku-ta</i> 'put out'	x	x
cf. <i>kke-ttuli-ta</i>		
<i>kkul-ta</i> 'drag'	<i>kkul-li-ta</i>	<i>kkul-li-ta</i>
<i>kkunh-ta</i> 'cut'	<i>kkunh-ki-ta</i>	x
cf. <i>kkunh-e-ttuli-ta</i>		
<i>kkwuli-ta</i> 'wrap up'	x	x
<i>kkwumi-ta</i> 'decorate'	x	x
<i>kkwu-ta</i> 'dream'	x	x
<i>kkwuy-ta</i> 'release'	x	x
<i>koi-ta</i> 'support'	x	x
<i>kochi-ta</i> 'repair'	x	x
<i>kopwuli-ta</i> 'bend'	x	x
cf. <i>kopwul-a-ttuli-ta</i>		
<i>kuli-ta</i> 'paint'	x	x
<i>kulk-ta</i> 'scratch'	<i>kulk-hi-ta</i>	x
<i>kus-ta</i> 'draw, mark'	x	x
<i>kusulu-ta</i> 'oppose, go against'	<i>kusul-li-ta</i>	<i>kusul-li-ta</i>
<i>kwuki-ta</i> 'wrinkle'	x	x
<i>kwulu-ta</i> 'pound'	x	x
<i>kwup-ta</i> 'broil, grill'	x	x
<i>kwulpwuli-ta</i> 'bend'	x	x
cf. <i>kwupwul-e-ttuli-ta</i>		
<i>khye-ta</i> 'kindle'	x	x
<i>khye-ta</i> 'play a string instrument'	x	x
<i>kyenwu-ta</i> 'aim at'	x	x
<i>machi-ta</i> 'finish'	x	x
<i>mak-ta</i> 'stop'	<i>mak-hi-ta</i>	x
<i>mal-ta</i> 'roll (up)'	<i>mal-li-ta</i>	<i>mal-li-ta</i>
<i>mal-ta</i> 'drench'	x	x
<i>may-ta</i> 'tie'	<i>may-i-ta</i>	x

	<i>may-ta</i> 'weed'	x	x
	<i>maytal-ta</i> 'hang'	<i>maytal-li-ta</i>	x
	<i>memchwu-ta</i> 'stop'	x	x
	<i>meywu-ta</i> 'stop up'	<i>mey-i-ta</i>	<i>mey-i-ta</i>
	<i>mil-ta</i> 'push'	<i>mil-li-ta</i>	x
	<i>milwu-ta</i> 'put off'	x	x
	<i>mol-ta</i> 'drive'	<i>mol-li-ta</i>	x
	<i>mou-ta</i> 'collect'	<i>mo-i-ta</i>	x
	<i>mwul-ta</i> 'bite'	x	x
	<i>mwulli-ta</i> 'put away'	x	x
	<i>mwut-ta</i> 'bury'	<i>mwut-hi-ta</i>	x
N	<i>nakk-ta</i> 'fish'	<i>nakk-i-ta</i>	x
	<i>nanwu-ta</i> 'divide'	<i>namwu-(i&gt;)y-ta</i>	x
	<i>nayccoch-ta</i> 'drive out'	<i>nayccoch-ki-ta</i>	x
	<i>nayli-ta</i> 'take down, lower'	x	x
	<i>naymil-ta</i> 'thrust out'	<i>naymil-li-ta</i>	x
	<i>neh-ta</i> 'put in'	x	x
	<i>nel-ta</i> 'spread out, hang out'	<i>nel-li-ta</i>	x
	<i>nem-ta</i> 'go over, exceed'	x	<i>nem-ki-ta</i>
	<i>noh-ta</i> 'put on'	<i>noh-i-ta</i>	x
	<i>nwu-ta</i> 'discharge'	x	<i>nwu-i-ta</i>
	<i>nwulu-ta</i> 'press'	<i>nwul-li-ta</i>	x
O	<i>okuli-ta</i> 'curl up'	x	x
	cf. <i>okul-a-ttuli-ta</i>		
P	<i>pak-ta</i> 'thrust'	<i>pak-hi-ta</i>	x
	<i>pakkwu-ta</i> 'exchange'	<i>pakkwu-(i&gt;)y-ta</i>	x
	<i>palp-ta</i> 'step on'	<i>palp-hi-ta</i>	x
	<i>pat-ta</i> 'butt, hit head against'	<i>pat-hi-ta</i>	x
	<i>pele-ta</i> 'dump'	x	x
	<i>pha-ta</i> 'dig'	<i>pha-i-ta</i>	x
	<i>phamwut-ta</i> 'bury'	<i>phamwut-hi-ta</i>	x
	<i>phwu-ta</i> 'dip out'	x	x
	<i>phwul-ta</i> 'solve, loosen'	<i>phwul-li-ta</i>	x
	<i>phye-ta</i> 'spread'	<i>phye-i-ta</i> (?)	x
	<i>pichwu-ta</i> 'shed light on'	x	<i>pichwu-i-ta</i>
	<i>pokk-ta</i> 'fry, pester'	<i>pokki-i-ta</i>	x
	<i>ppal-ta</i> 'suck'	<i>ppal-li-ta</i>	<i>ppal-li-ta</i>
	<i>ppal-ta</i> 'wash (clothes)'	<i>ppal-li-ta</i>	<i>ppal-li-ta</i>
	<i>ppattuli-ta</i> 'drop'	x	x
	<i>ppay-ta</i> 'draw, take out'	x	x
	<i>ppayas-ta</i> 'snatch'	<i>ppayas-ki-ta</i>	x
	<i>ppop-ta</i> 'pull out, select'	<i>ppop-hi-ta</i>	x
	<i>pwul-ta</i> 'blow'	<i>pwul-li-ta</i>	x
	<i>pwulu-ta</i> 'call'	<i>pwul-li-ta</i>	x
	<i>pwus-ta</i> 'pour'	x	x
	<i>pwustul-ta</i> 'clatch'	<i>pwustul-li-ta</i>	x
	<i>pwuswu-ta</i> 'break'	x	x
	cf. <i>pwuswu-e-ttuli-ta</i>		
	<i>pwuswu-ta</i> 'wash (dishes)'	x	x
	<i>pwutcap-ta</i> 'grasp'	<i>pwutcap-hi-ta</i>	x
S	<i>sayki-ta</i> 'carve'	x	x



## T

<i>sayki-ta</i> 'carve'	x	x
<i>sayki-ta</i> 'interpret'	x	x
<i>sayki-ta</i> 'ruminant'	x	x
<i>sekk-ta</i> 'blend'	<i>sekk-i-ta</i>	x
<i>sey-ta</i> 'count'	x	x
<i>ssa-ta</i> 'wrap'	<i>ssa-i-ta</i>	x
<i>ssa-ta</i> 'discharge'	x	( <i>ssa-i-ta</i> )
<i>sit-ta</i> 'load'	<i>sil-li-ta</i>	<i>sil-li-ta</i>
<i>ssip-ta</i> 'bite'	<i>ssip-hi-ta</i>	<i>ssip-hi-ta</i>
<i>ssis-ta</i> 'wash'	<i>ssis-ki-ta</i>	<i>ssis-ki-ta</i>
<i>sso-ta</i> 'sting'	<i>sso-i-ta</i>	x
<i>ssu-ta</i> 'use'	<i>ssu-i-ta</i>	x
<i>ssu-ta</i> 'write'	x	<i>ssu-i-ta</i>
<i>ssul-ta</i> 'sweep'	<i>ssul-li-ta</i>	x
<i>ssul-ta</i> 'file'	<i>ssul-li-ta</i>	x
<i>swi-ta</i> 'breathe'	x	x
<i>swita</i> 'rest'	x	x
<i>takk-ta</i> 'clean, polish'	<i>takk-i-ta</i>	<i>kakk-i-ta</i>
<i>tal-ta</i> 'hang'	<i>tal-li-ta</i>	x
<i>talli-ta</i> 'drive'	x	x
<i>tat-ta</i> 'close'	<i>tat-hi-ta</i>	x
<i>tatum-ta</i> 'embellish'	x	x
<i>tel-ta</i> 'deduct'	<i>tel-li-ta</i>	x
<i>tep-ta</i> 'cover'	<i>tep-i-ta</i>	x
<i>tetum-ta</i> 'stammer, feel after'	x	x
<i>tha-ta</i> 'ride'	x	<i>thay-wu-ta</i>
<i>tha-ta</i> 'add'	x	x
<i>tha-ta</i> 'play an musical instrument'	x	x
<i>tha-ta</i> 'take advantage of'	x	x
<i>thel-ta</i> 'shake off, rob'	<i>thel-li-ta</i>	x
<i>thu-ta</i> 'open'	<i>thu-i-ta</i>	x
<i>thul-ta</i> 'turn, twist'	<i>thul-li-ta</i>	x
<i>tol-ta</i> 'turn'	x	x
<i>tta-ta</i> 'pick'	x	x
<i>tta-ta</i> 'pour'	x	x
<i>tta-ta</i> 'follow'	<i>ttal-li-ta</i>	<i>ttal-li-ta</i>
<i>ttel-ta</i> 'tremble'	<i>ttel-li-ta</i>	x
<i>ttel-ta</i> 'clear away, drop'	<i>ttel-li-ta</i>	x
cf. <i>ttel-e-ttuli-ta</i>		
<i>ttey-ta</i> 'take off'	<i>ttey-i-ta</i>	x
<i>tti-ta</i> 'wear'	x	x
<i>ttu-ta</i> 'scoop'	x	x
<i>ttu-ta</i> 'cut up'	<i>ttu-i-ta</i>	x
<i>ttu-ta</i> 'open'	<i>ttu-i-ta</i>	x
<i>ttu-ta</i> 'knit'	x	x
<i>ttu-ta</i> 'copy'	x	x
<i>ttut-ta</i> 'tear'	<i>ttut-ki-ta</i>	x
<i>ttuywu-ta</i> 'send'	x	x
<i>tul-ta</i> 'lift'	<i>tul-li-ta</i>	<i>tul-li-ta</i>
<i>twu-ta</i> 'put'	x	x

	<i>twuycip-ta</i> 'reverse,inside out, overturn'	<i>twuycip-hi-ta</i>	x
W	<i>wukuli-ta</i> 'dent' cf. <i>wukul-e-ttuli-ta</i>	x	x
	<i>wumchwuli-ta</i> 'contract' cf. <i>wumchwuli-e-ttuli-ta</i>	x	x
Y	<i>yel-ta</i> 'open'	<i>yel-li-ta</i>	x

Reciprocal verbs

K	<i>kyelwu-ta</i> 'compete'	x	x
M	<i>manna-ta</i> 'meet'	x	x
S	<i>ssawu-ta</i> 'fight'	x	x
T	<i>talm-ta</i> 'resemble'	x	x
	<i>tathwu-ta</i> 'fight'	x	x

Ditransitive verbs

C	<i>cwu-ta</i> 'give'	x	x
E	<i>et-ta</i> 'obtain'	x	x
K	<i>kalikhi-ta</i> 'point at'	x	x
	<i>kaluchi-ta</i> 'teach'	x	x
	<i>kap-ta</i> 'pay'	x	x
P	<i>phal-ta</i> 'sell'	<i>phal-li-ta</i>	x
	<i>ponay-ta</i> 'send'	x	x
S	<i>sa-ta</i> 'buy'	x	x

II. Non-sino Korean adjectives and their I-forms:<sup>7</sup>

## a. DIMENSION:

C	<i>cak-ta</i> 'small'	x	x
	<i>ccalp-ta</i> 'short'	x	x
	<i>cop-ta</i> 'narrow'	x	<i>cop-hi-ta</i>
K	<i>kakkap-ta</i> 'near'	x	x
	<i>khu-ta</i> 'big'	x	<i>khi-wu-ta</i>
	<i>kil-ta</i> 'long'	x	x
	<i>kip-ta</i> 'deep'	x	x
M	<i>mel-ta</i> 'far'	x	x
N	<i>nac-ta</i> 'low'	x	<i>nac-chwu-ta</i>
	<i>nelp-ta</i> 'wide'	x	<i>nelp-hi-ta</i>
T	<i>twukkep-ta</i> 'thick'	x	x
	<i>twungkul-ta</i> 'round'	x	<i>twungkul-li-ta</i>
Y	<i>yalp-ta</i> 'thin'	x	x

## b. PHYSICAL PROPERTY:

A	<i>aphu-ta</i> 'sick'	x	x
C	<i>cha-ta</i> 'cold'	x	x
	<i>chakap-ta</i> 'cold'	x	x
	<i>chwup-ta</i> 'cold'	x	x
E	<i>eps-ta</i> 'not exist'	x	<i>eps-ay-ta</i>

<sup>7</sup> This classification is based on Dixon (1992:78).

K	<i>kapyep-ta</i> 'light'	x	x
	<i>kel-ta</i> 'fertile'	x	x
	<i>kiwul-ta</i> 'stated'	x	<i>kiwul-i-ta</i>
	<i>kwo-ta</i> 'bent'	x	x
	<i>kwup-ta</i> 'bent'	x	cf. <i>kopwuli-ta</i> <i>kwup-hi-ta</i> cf. <i>kwupwuli-ta</i>
	<i>kwut-ta</i> 'hard, solid'	x	<i>kwut-hi-ta</i>
M	<i>malu-ta</i> 'dry'	x	<i>mal-li-ta</i>
	<i>mwukep-ta</i> 'heavy'	x	x
P	<i>palk-ta</i> 'bright'	x	<i>palk-hi-ta</i>
	<i>pi-ta</i> 'empty'	x	<i>pi-wu-ta</i>
S	<i>ssa-ta</i> 'cheap'	x	x
T	<i>tal-ta</i> 'sweet'	x	x
	<i>telep-ta</i> 'dirty'	x	<i>telep-hi-ta</i>
	<i>tep-ta</i> 'hot'	x	<i>tep-hi-ta</i>
W	<i>wukul-ta</i> 'dented'	x	<i>wukul-i-ta</i>
c. SPEED:			
C	<i>cay-ta</i> 'fast'	x	x
I	<i>ilu-ta</i> 'early'	x	x
N	<i>nuc-ta</i> 'late'	x	<i>nuc-chwu-ta</i>
P	<i>ppalu-ta</i> 'fast'	x	x
T	<i>ttu-ta</i> 'slow'	x	x
d. AGE:			
I	<i>ik-ta</i> 'ripe'	x	<i>ik-hi-ta</i>
M	<i>mwuk-ta</i> 'get old'	x	<i>mwuk-hi-ta</i>
N	<i>nalk-ta</i> 'old, worn'	x	x
	<i>nulk-ta</i> 'old'	x	x
S	<i>saylop-ta</i> 'new'	x	x
e. COLOR:			
C	<i>cith-ta</i> 'dark'	x	x
E	<i>etwup-ta</i> 'dark'	x	x
H	<i>huli-ta</i> 'be cloudy'	x	x
K	<i>kem-ta</i> 'black'	x	x
M	<i>malk-ta</i> 'clean, clear'	x	( <i>malk-hi-ta</i> )
N	<i>nolah-ta</i> 'yellow'	x	x
P	<i>phalah-ta</i> 'blue'	x	x
	<i>phwulu-ta</i> 'blue'	x	x
	<i>ppalkah-ta</i> 'red'	x	x
	<i>pwulk-ta</i> 'red'	x	<i>pwulk-hi-ta</i>
Y	<i>yelp-ta</i> 'light'		
f. VALUE			
C	<i>coh-ta</i> 'good'	x	x
N	<i>nappu-ta</i> 'bad'	x	x
g. DIFFICULTY			
E	<i>elyep-ta</i> 'difficult'	x	x

S	<i>swup-ta</i> 'easy'	x	x
h. QUALIFICATION:			
K	<i>kulu-ta</i> 'wrong'	x	x
O	<i>olh-ta</i> 'right'	x	x
T	<i>thuli-ta</i> 'wrong'	x	x
i. HUMAN PROPENSITY:			
A	<i>alumtap-ta</i> 'beautiful'	x	x
C	<i>cikyep-ta</i> 'tedious'	x	x
	<i>coh-ta</i> 'fond'	x	x
K	<i>kanchilep-ta</i> 'ticklish'	x	<i>kanchilep-hi-ta</i>
	<i>keyulu-ta</i> 'lazy'	x	x
	<i>kippu-ta</i> 'happy'	x	x
	<i>koylop-ta</i> 'be troublesome'	x	<i>koylop-hi-ta</i>
	<i>kwuyyep-ta</i> 'cute'	x	x
M	<i>michi-ta</i> 'crazy'	x	x
	<i>mwusep-ta</i> 'afraid'	x	x
O	<i>oylop-ta</i> 'lonesome'	x	x
A	<i>sanap-ta</i> 'wild'	x	x
	<i>sulphu-ta</i> 'sad'	x	x
T	<i>twulyep-ta</i> 'afraid'	x	x
Y	<i>yeppu-ta</i> 'pretty'	x	x
j. SIMILARITY			
K	<i>kat-ta</i> 'same'	x	x
T	<i>talu-ta</i> 'different'	x	x

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