On the double -C*i–i*- form as a causative suffix in Gyeongbuk dialects of Korean

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Most of Korean dialects have only two types of morphemes as causative suffixes. For instance, Seoul dialect has -C*wu*- and -C*i*- (Here, C indicates the consonants Ø, h, l or k, which are not fully predictable with synchronic Korean phonology). However, Gyeongbuk dialects have three causative suffixes: -C*wu-wu*-, -C*i*-, and -C*i-i*-. The grammatical function of -C*wu*- in Seoul dialect is equal to the one of -C*wu-wu*- in Gyeongbuk dialects in essence, but the function of -C*i*- in Seoul splits to -C*i*- and -C*i-i*- in Gyeongbuk.

The author has done two presentations about this subject (Ito 2015, 2016), where he analyzes the data of Gyeongsang dialects collected from previous studies. In these presentations, three arguments have been presented as follows. (i) Categories of suffixes: Numerous forms of causative suffixes can be analyzed as allomorphs of three causative morphemes -C*wu-wu*-, -C*i*-, and -C*i-i*-. (ii) Syntactic and semantic conditions of connection: In principle, the suffix -C*wu-wu*- is attached to the verb stems whose subject is inanimate, -C*i*- is used to build direct causative, and -C*i-i*- combines with the verb stems whose subject is animate. (iii) Diachronic analysis: The hypothesis that -C*i*- and -C*i-i*- used to indicate direct and indirect causatives, respectively, in the earlier Gyeongbuk dialects can explain the synchronic irregularity between form and function of causative suffixes.

The goal of this presentation is a synchronic analysis of the function of suffixes based on the usage data in concrete sentences and contexts, which has been newly gathered through the fieldwork in Gyeongbuk Provinces, in order to supplement the lack of previous researches.

The suffix -C*i*- is used only in very typical direct causative situations. The causer must be a typical agent, who makes an effort to achieve the event. The causee also must be a typical patient, who is unconscious or not cooperative to the event even in a reluctant way. On the other hand, the suffix -C*i-i*- is used in less typical direct causative situations and all sociative causative situations. Here, sociative causative situation, the term introduced by Shibatani and Chung (2002), corresponds to a type of intermediate situation between direct and indirect causation.

The situation described by -C*i*- includes two subtypes of situations: (i) the causee is inanimate, as in (1a), or (ii) the causee is animate but unconscious or unwilling to take part in the event, as in (1b).

(1) a.   tam-ul noph-i-la!
          fence-ACC high-CAUS-IMP
          Raise the fence!

     b.   saram-ul cwuk-i-ss-ta
          person-ACC die-CAUS-PAST-DECL
          (He) killed a person

On the other hand, the situation described by -C*i-i-* includes situations: (i) where the causee is a patient, but is conscious and cooperative to the causer, as in (2a), and (ii) in sociative situations, both the causer and the causee are agents, and the causer actively participates in the execution of the caused event, as in (2b), unlike in indirect causatives.

(2) a.   aa-hanthey pap-ul tt-e mek-**i-i**-nta.
          child-DAT rice-ACC scoop-CONJ eat-CAUS-DECL
          (I) scoop rice and make children eat it.

     b.   meynwuri-hanthey patak-ul ttakk-**i-i**-ss-ta.
          daughter.in.law-DAT floor-ACC wipe-CAUS-PAST-DECL
          (I) made a daughter-in-law wipe the floor. (I = Supervisor)

In the type of situations like (2a), the suffix -C*i-i-* is basically used but -C*i-* is also used sporadically. This implies that sociative causative situations like (2b) typically induce the usage of -C*i-i-*, and its usage in direct causative situations like (2a) is an extended one.

In summary, the causative suffix -C*i-* is used only in very typical direct causative situations, and -C*i-i-* is used in other (non-typical) direct causative situations and sociative causative situations in Gyeongsang dialect. In other words, the boundary between -C*i-* and -C*i-i-* is sensitive to the participation degree of the causer and the causee. -C*i-* is used only when the participation degree of the causer is overwhelmingly higher than that of the causee.

References

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