

A Study of Prosodic Features of Causative and Passive Verbs in Kyungsang Dialect

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<국문 초록>

경상도말 피사동어휘의 운율 특징

박한상

한국어의 사동문과 피동문은 주로 사동사와 피동사에 의하여 실현된다. 한국어 통사론에서 특이한 점은 피동문과 사동문이 동일한 형태를 취함으로써 중의성이 있는 문장이 등장한다는 점이다. 피동사와 사동사는 형용사 및 동사 어간에 피동접미사가 붙어 파생된다. 이러한 사동사와 피동사의 파생에서 특이한 사항은 형용사에 사동접미사가 붙어서 사동사가 구성된다는 점과 자동사에 피동접미사가 붙어 피동사가 구성된다는 점이다.

사동사와 피동사가 갖는 이러한 통사적 형태적 특성이 경상도 말에서 어떠한 운율적 특징을 가지고 나타나는지를 살펴보는 것이 이 논문의 목적이다. 부산에서 태어나고 자란 20대 중반의 학생 5명에게 5쌍의 피사동문을 읽게 하여 그 결과를 살펴보았다.

경상도말의 사동사는 H+H(M)+L의 성조를 보이고 피동사는 M+H+L의 성조를 보인다. 이러한 특성과 아울러 경상도말의 피동접미사는 사동접미사에 비하여 상대적으로 길이가 길다. 이같은 특징은 피동사는 사동사에 피동접미가 붙은 것이라고 하여 피동과 사동을 하나로 묶어 설명하는 주장을 뒷받침한다. 그리고 동일한 형태를 보이는 문장의 중의성이 운율에 의해 해소된다는 점이 흥미롭다. 통시적으로는 중세국어에서 현대국어로의 성조변화, 공시적으로는 서울말과 경상도말의 피사동이 보이는 체계적 대응을 보이는지는 앞으로의 연구과제다.

1. Purpose of research

This paper aims at the specification of tonal regularity of causative and passive verbs of Kyungsang dialect, one of Korean dialects, and tries to solve the problems about Korean causative and passive verbs. My research is triggered by the fact that some causative and passive verbs have the same form derived from the same stem. These causative/passive verbs sometimes produce ambiguous sentences. Unlike standard Korean, Kyungsang dialect imposes different phonetic and phonological representation on these causative/passive sentences.

1.1 Syntax of Korean causative and passive

Korean has various types of causative and passive sentences, mainly represented by causative and passive verbs. (Lee 1984)

1.2 Morphology of Korean causative and passive verbs

Korean causative verbs are derived from the stem by adding to it prefinal suffixes {-i, -hi, -li, -ki, -u, -ku, -chu}. Korean passive verbs are derived from the stem by adding to it prefinal suffixes {-i, -hi, -li, -ki}. (Kwon 1992)

1.3 Morphological structure of Korean causative and passive verbs

- 1) adjective + causative prefinal suffix + ending:
ex) nop-hi-ta, nǽp-hi-ta
- 2) adjective + passive prefinal suffix + ending⁹⁾:
- 3) intransitive verb + causative prefinal suffix + ending:
ex) *nal-li-ta, *tol-li-ta, *ul-li-ta
- 4) intransitive verb + passive prefinal suffix + ending:
ex) *nal-li-ta, *tol-li-ta, *ul-li-ta
- 5) transitive verb + causative prefinal suffix + ending:
ex) mək-i-ta, *mul-li-ta,, *jap-hi-ta
- 6) transitive verb + passive prefinal suffix + ending:
ex) mək-hi-ta, *mul-li-ta, *jap-hi-ta

9) There is no verb which belongs to this pattern.

Verbs which belong to pattern 4) are not expected to appear. This point deserves a careful study. Italicized items in 3), 4), 5), and 6) are verbs which have the same form for causative and passive. I have selected data from Yoo(1985) and classified them according to the criterion mentioned above. All entries of Korean causative and passive verbs will be shown on Appendix I.

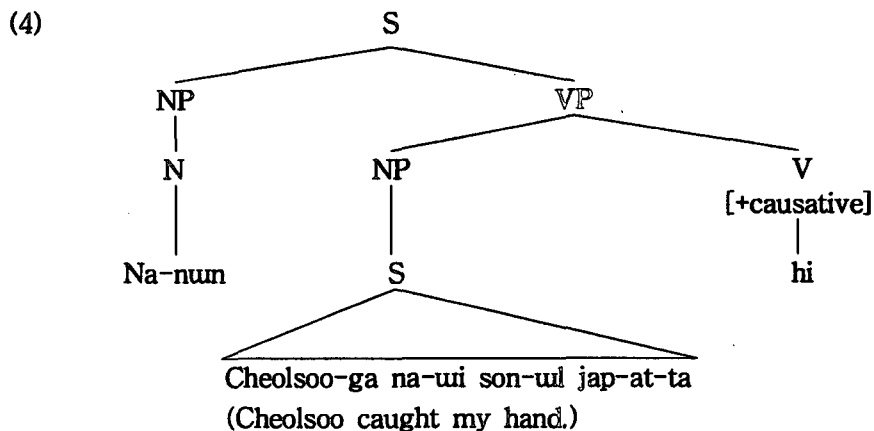
1.4 Korean Dialects

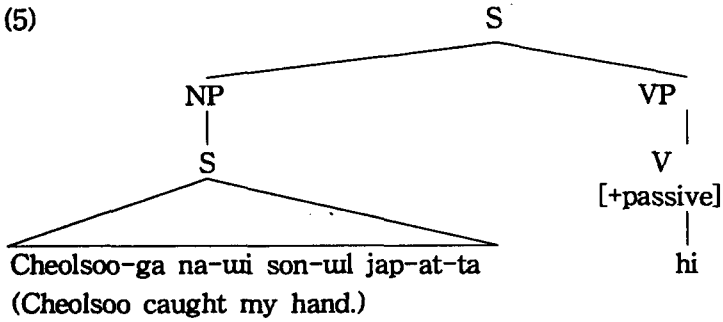
Korean Dialects comprise Kyunggi, Chungcheong, Kyungsang, Cheonla, Pyungan, Hamgyung. In the surface phonetic form, Kyungsang dialect differentiate causative from passive sentences of the same form.(Kim 1980)

In Kyunggi dialect, the sentence (1) has ambiguous meanings (2) and (3).

- (1) Na-num Cheolsoo-ege son-ul jap-hi-ət-ta
 I-Topic Cheolsoo-Dat. hand-Acc. catch-Caus./Pass.-Past-Dec.
 (2) I let Cheolsoo catch my hand.
 (3) I had my hand caught by Cheolsoo.

The sentence (1) has meanings (2), (3) respectively. It is represented like (4), (5)(Yang 1979)





Pitch distinguishes causative from passive sentence of the same form in Kyungsang dialect. This difference is shown in Fig. 1 and Fig. 2. Fig. 1. means (7) and Fig. 2. (8).

- (6) gwɔŋə-nun ai-ege jəj-ul mul-li-ət-ta
 She-Topic baby-Dat. tit-Acc. bite-Caus./Pass.-Past-Dec.
- (7) She fed her breast.
- (8) She had her tit bitten.

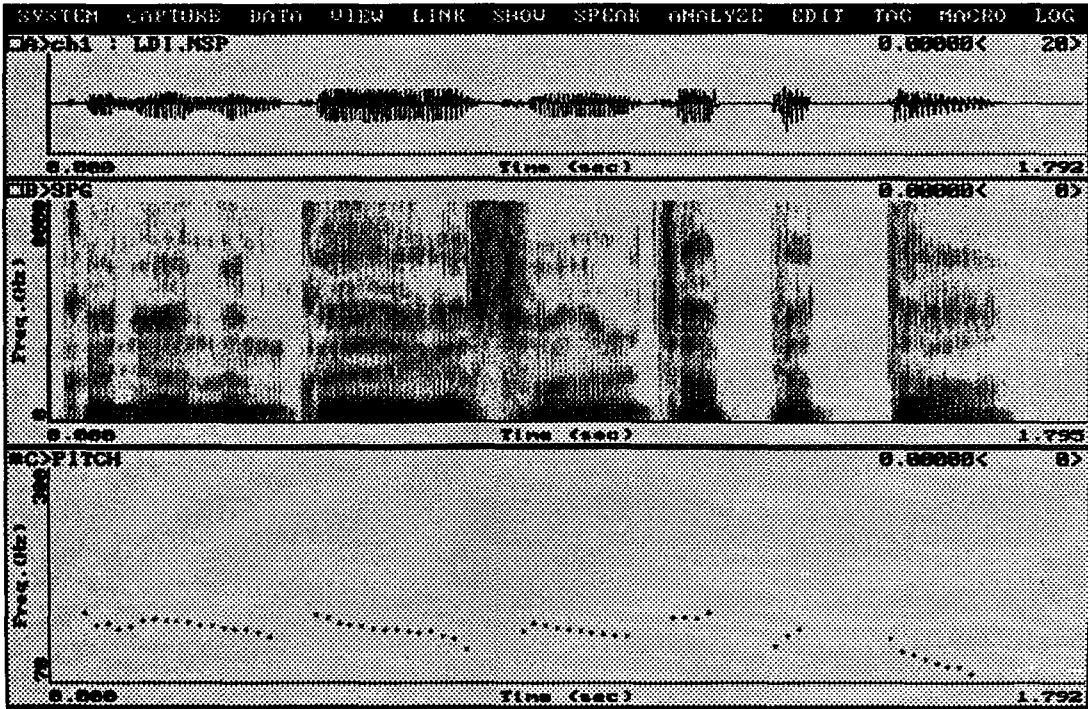


Fig 28. gwɔŋə-nun ai-ege jəj-ul mul-li-ət-ta(causative)

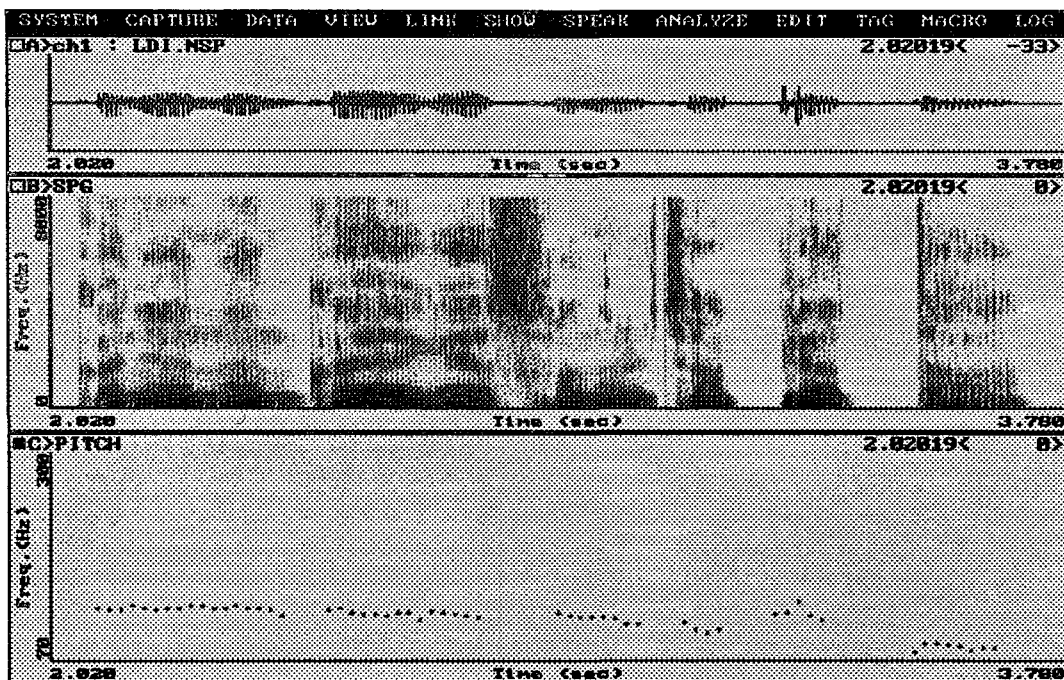


Fig. 29. gwɔnə-num ai-ege jəj-ul mul-li-ət-ta(passive)

2. Object

2.1. informants

I have collected phonetic forms from 5 men from Kyungsang province. They are born and brought up in Kyungsang dialect area. They read 10 sentences once. The followings are informations about imformants.

Name	Sex	Age	Birthplace	Remarks
Seo Young-Chan	Male	26	Pusan	brought up in Pusan
Lee Dong-Ik	Male	25	Pusan	brought up in Pusan
Lee Dong-Rak	Male	24	Pusan	brought up in Pusan
Kim Yong-Ho	Male	25	Pusan	brought up in Pusan
Oh Dong-Ook	Male	24	Pusan	brought up in Pusan

2.2. test sentences

The following are test sentences.¹⁰⁾

- | | | | | |
|-------|----------------|-----------|-----------|----------------------------------|
| 1) a. | gʷɔŋə-num | gu-ege | son-ul | <u>jap-hi-ət-ta</u> .(causative) |
| | She-Topic. | him-Dat. | hand-Acc. | catch-Caus-Past-Dec. |
| b. | gʷɔŋə-num | gu-ege | son-ul | <u>jap-hi-ət-ta</u> .(passive) |
| | She-Topic. | him-Dat. | hand-Acc. | catch-Pass.-Past-Dec. |
| 2) a. | gʷɔŋə-num | ai-ege | jəj-ul | <u>mul-li-ət-ta</u> .(causative) |
| | She-Topic | baby-Dat. | tit-Acc. | bite-Caus.-Past-Dec. |
| b. | gʷɔŋə-num | ai-ege | jəj-ul | <u>mul-li-ət-ta</u> .(passive) |
| | She-Topic. | baby-Dat. | tit-Acc. | bite-Pass.-Past-Dec. |
| 3) a. | yəsəssi-e | joŋ-ul | | <u>ul-li-ət-ta</u> .(causative) |
| | 6 o'clock-Loc. | bell-Acc. | | toll-Caus.-Past-Dec. |
| b. | yəsəssi-e | joŋ-i | | <u>ul-li-ət-ta</u> .(passive) |
| | 6 o'clock-Loc. | bell-Nom. | | toll-Pass.-Past-Dec. |
| 4) a. | aidul-i | yən-ul | | <u>nal-li-n-ta</u> .(causative) |
| | Children-Nom. | kite-Acc. | | fly-Caus.-Pres.-Dec. |
| b. | baram-e | yən-i | | <u>nal-li-n-ta</u> .(passive) |
| | Wind-Erg. | kite-Nom. | | fly-Pass.-Pres.-Dec. |
| 5) a. | pap-ul | | | <u>mək-i-n-ta</u> .(causative) |
| | Meal-Acc. | | | eat-Caus.-Pres.-Dec. |
| b. | pap-i | | | <u>mək-hi-n-ta</u> .(passive) |
| | Meal-Nom. | | | eat-Pass.-Pres.-Dec. |

(1a, b) and (2a, b) have exactly the same form respectively. The rest of sentences are distinguished by object marker and subject marker but the forms of the causative and passive verbs are the same. Underlined parts are causative or passive. Each of them consists of stem+causative/passive prefinal(+tense prefinal)+ending.

3. Discussion

Tonal structure of the underlined parts are presented as follows.

(9) Causative: H + H(M) + L

10) Figures of test sentences read by 5 informants will be shown on Appendix II.

(10) Passive: M + H + L

The prominent prosodic feature of the Kyungsang dialect is pitch. Pitch plays a key role in determining rhythm patterns in Kyungsang dialect while length does in other dialects. While I was hearing informants' reading the sample sentences, I paid attention to the length of the sounds matched for passive prefinal suffix. In most cases, the length of the passive prefinal suffix sounded longer than the other causative prefinal suffix. This deserves a careful examination. If the correlation between pitch and quantity of the passive prefinal suffix has been specified, I will be able to set up a hypothesis like the following.

(11) Passive: M + H + L
 [+long]

This is significant in two aspects. Firstly, this rule supports earlier arguments that the passive verbs which has the same causative verbs are derived by adding passive prefinal suffix to the causative prefinal suffix.

(12) Stem + causative prefinal + passive prefinal + ending

Causative prefinal suffix {-i, -hi, -li, -ki, -u, -ku, -chu} and passive prefinal suffix {-i, -hi, -li, -ki} usually have the same vowel [i] except for {-u, -ku, -chu}. Thus, it is natural that the vowels are lengthened when one is connected to the other. Secondly, It is plausible that this mechanism will be extended to the verbs which don't have counterpart of causative, or passive, or vice versa, when we apply this rule. I got many experiences which show this mechanism in Kyungsang dialect speakers.

4. Problems

We have difficulty in explaining why passive derivation rule does not apply to standard Korean while passive derivation rule is being applied systematically in Kyungsang dialect. Pitch is the salient prosodic feature in Kyungsang dialect. So it is the determining factor of the rhythm. In standard Korean quantity is the prominent prosodic feature determining the rhythm patterns. What makes this difference?

In the Middle Korean literature, dots are marked beside letters to indicate tone

difference. These dots are called "bangjeom." They represent tonal features systematically. Does the diachronic evolution have relation to the difference of prosodic feature of causative and passive morpheme among contemporary dialects? It is known that the number of the passive verbs was small and that passive and causative prefinal suffix was of the same form. Have dialects evolved independently? Literature with "bangjeom" is known to have been written and published in standard Korean area. But how can we explain the fact that tonal features have survived in Kyungsang dialect while such tonal features have died out in standard Korean area? Diachronic phonological process from the Middle Korean remains to be studied meticulously.

5. Conclusion

I confined my attention to causative and passive verbs. I reached the conclusion that pitch and length function systematically in causative and passive verbs of Kyungsang dialect. And I argue that passive is derived from causative by adding passive prefinal {-i} to causative prefinal.

In the course of discussion I encountered ambiguous sentences. Let's advance our discussion with regard to ambiguity. Ambiguity has many sources: lexical, syntactic, and scope ambiguity. These ambiguities occur when we stick to one linguistic level. Taking the upper linguistic level or another into account, ambiguity becomes clear. This paper shows an example that syntactic ambiguity becomes clear by referring to prosody.

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