

## A usage-based construction approach to Korean DO-causatives

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Cross-linguistically, DO-causative is a type of syntactic or periphrastic causative, which involves a DO-verb (Moreno, 1993). In Korean, DO-causative involves the combination of a lexical item, either *key* or *tolok*, with the DO-verb *ha*. (See (1) and (2)). Previous studies on Korean causatives have described the differences between the two forms from the traditional structural views. The known differences are that *key* occurs more frequently than *tolok*; the directness of causation is higher with *key* than with *tolok*; the causee NP is marked with the accusative case particle (*ul/lul*) with *key* while it is the nominative particle (*i/ka*) with *tolok* (Seo, 1987; Song, 2015; Yeon & Brown, 2011).

- (1) Mina-ka Yumi-lul mul-ul masi-key ha-es-ta.  
Mina-NOM Yumi-ACC water-ACC drink-CAUS-PST-DEC.  
'Mina had Yumi drink water.'
- (2) Mina-ka Yumi-ka mul-ul masi-tolok ha-es-ta.  
Mina-NOM Yumi-NOM water-ACC drink-CAUS-PST-DEC.  
'Mina had Yumi drink water.'

However, in naturally occurring language, the suggested syntactic and semantic features of each construction seem to be inconsistent. Furthermore, previous studies of Korean syntactic causatives were largely based on sentence-level syntactic rules and researcher-generated sentences without considering the discourse and contexts. However, since Korean is a discourse-prominent language (Kim 1997; Clancy 1996), the indisputable relation of a syntactic form and its meaning must be captured through discourse (Strauss, Lee, & Ahn, 2006).

This study aims to examine different syntactic and semantic features of the Korean DO-causatives within the usage-based construction grammar framework (Bybee, 2006; Goldberg, 1995). The usage-based linguistics (Barlow & Kemmer 2000; Bybee and Hopper 2001) argues that the knowledge of a language is informed by the actual use of language and posits that utterances form the basis for constructions. Each construction, as a symbolic unit of form and meaning, carries its own meaning. Within this approach, the two Korean syntactic DO-causatives are considered as individual constructions, *-key HA* and *-tolok HA*.

This study focuses on exploring the prototypical form and meaning of each construction by using naturally occurring language a written corpus. The Sejong Corpus, provided by the National Institute of Korean Language, is used for the data collection. The Sejong Corpus, also known as the Korean National Corpus, is a general corpus, offering both contemporary written and oral Korean corpus data (Kim, 2006). Total 514,107<sup>1</sup>*ecel* was collected from the written corpus, which consists of newspapers and books from the year 2002 to 2003. The data was analyzed using a concordancing tool, *Hanmaru*.

A total of 224 tokens of the *-key HA* construction and 70 tokens of the *-tolok HA* construction were found from the corpus. As for the prototypical form of each construction, the causer and causee NPs along with causee NP's case marking were analyzed. The results showed that the prototype of each construction does not have explicit causer or causee NPs in the same clause. Furthermore, the causee NP's case marking in each construction varied. This result

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<sup>1</sup> *ecel* is similar to word unit but space-based.

suggests that the traditional approach based on sentences with fully realized causer and causee NPs do not reflect the real usages of the constructions and the pro-drop feature of Korean. When it comes to the meanings, verbs co-occurring with each construction were categorized, and further discourse analysis was conducted. The *-key HA* construction frequently co-occurred with verbs of action and states, while the *-tolok HA* construction frequently co-occurred with verbs of action. Furthermore, the discourse analysis showed that each construction delivers not only the causative meaning but also related senses, such as more purposive meaning for the *-tolok HA* construction and more resultative meaning for the *-key HA* construction. Thus, the different meanings of the two constructions can also be understood through the related senses, not just through the directedness of causation.

Example (3) from the corpus illustrates these findings. Previously in the discourse, reparations made by war crime countries were discussed. The ongoing topic was Germany, and their reparation efforts were discussed for victim countries. After reviewing Germany in the previous discourse context, in this example, the discourse topic now switches to Japan. Here, Japan is also the causee, which is morphologically marked with a topic particle *un*, occurring at the beginning of the sentence. Thus, we observe the topicality effect, which not only results in the scrambled order of causer and causee NPs but also no use of normative nor accusative particle for the causee's case marking. Further, even though *key* is used with the causative event, 'to maintain the emperor system,' the directedness of causation is not clear to be direct. Instead, the conveyed meaning is better understood as the final resultative state meaning.

- (3) panmyen, ilpon-un yenhapkwun-i ku-tul-uy chenhwang-cheycey-lul  
 whereas Japan-TOP Allied Force-NOM that-PUL-GEN emperor-system-ACC  
 kutaylo yuciha-key ha-y kwake-lul chengsanha-l swu eps-nun kil-ul  
 as it is maintain-CAUS-as past-ACC settle-FUT case CP:not exist-REL-path-ACC  
 kel-e wa-ss-ta.  
 walk-CONN come-PST-DEC.  
 'On the other hand, as for Japan, because the Allied Forces had/made (Japan) maintain  
 their system of emperorship, (Japan) has walked toward the path that cannot settle the  
 past.'

These findings reveal that the previous traditional formal approach to the DO-causatives in Korean does not adequately describe their usages in naturally occurring language. This study argues that the application of the usage-based construction grammar approach would provide an insightful theoretical framework and analysis for a discourse-prominent language, Korean.

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