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Suppletive passivization of *mac* 'to be hit' in Korean

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1 Introduction

This paper will focus on demonstrating that the Korean verb, *mac* 'to be hit', is the suppletive passive form of *ttayli* 'to hit' within the framework of Distributed Morphology (Halle & Marantz 1993, 1994). With the goal of explaining such suppletive correlation between the two verbs, we will make use of the postsyntactic morphological operation known as fusion. In further pursuit of analyzing the suppletive passivization, this paper will demonstrate that *mac* shows the same syntactic patterns as the *i/hi/li/ki*-type of passive form existing in Korean. Adopting the notion that the morphosyntactic feature, [+pass], is placed under the head, Voice, of VoiceP situated between VP and TP (Park 2010, 2013), we will provide compelling evidence indicating that the syntactic functionalities of *mac* and the *i/hi/li/ki*-type of passive form are identical. Following this string of logic, we will conclusively verify that there exists a morphology-syntax mismatch between *mac* and the *i/hi/li/ki*-type of passive form in the sense that they share identical syntactic patterns and functionalities even though the former undergoes the morphological operation known as fusion whereas the latter does not.

2 Overt passive morphemes & *mac*

Within Korean sentence structures, it is often believed that overt passive morphemes such as *i* and *eci* are attached onto the verbs to indicate passivization. In other words, the insertion of overt passive morphemes is the common way of forming passive sentences in Korean. However, there exist exceptions to this mechanism. When sentences baring the verb, *ttayli* 'to hit', are passivized, no overt passive morphemes appear. Rather, an unpredicted form, *mac*, substitutes the appearance of the predicted forms, *ttayli* and *i* or *ttayli* and *eci*.

(1)   a.   Cwunwu-ka   Inwu-lul   cap-ass-ta

                Cwunwu-NOM Inwu-ACC   grab-PST-DECL

                'Cwunwu grabbed Inwu.'

        b.   Inwu-ka   cap-hi-ess-ta

                Inwu-NOM   grab-PASS-PST-DECL

                'Inwu was grabbed.'

(2)   a.   Cwunwu-ka   Inwu-lul   ttayli-ess-ta

                Cwunwu-NOM Inwu-ACC   hit-PST-DECL

                'Cwunwu hit Inwu.'

        b.   Inwu-ka   mac-ass-ta   (*ttayli-i/eci-ess-ta)

                Inwu-NOM   be.hit-PST-DECL

                'Inwu was hit.'

Considering the prevalent idea that head movement is certainly possible in Korean sentence structures, we argue that the suppletive form, *mac*, is inserted in Phonetic Form (PF) after √HIT, which is initially situated under V, and [+pass], which is situated under Voice, undergo the postsyntactic morphological process of fusion proposed in Distributed Morphology (see Halle & Marantz 1993, Chung 2007, 2009). In this sense, during the phase of vocabulary insertion, *mac* is selected as the appropriate vocabulary item for the bundle of morphological features, [√HIT, +pass].

3   Syntactic patterns of *mac*

In further pursuit of analyzing the morphosyntactic characteristics of *mac*, we additionally argue that the given suppletive form behaves identically with the *i/hi/li/ki*-type of passive form in terms of syntax. When the agent-oriented adverb, *ilpwule* 'intentionally', is added in passivized sentences containing either *mac* or the *i/hi/li/ki*-type of passive form, they remain grammatical.

(3)   a.   Inwu-ka   ilpwule   cap-hi-ess-ta

                Inwu-NOM   intentionally   grab-PASS-PST-DECL

                'Inwu was intentionally grabbed.'

        b.   Inwu-ka   ilpwule   mac-ass-ta

                Inwu-NOM   intentionally   be.hit-PST-DECL

'Inwu was intentionally hit.'

Additional evidence for the syntactic similarity of *mac* and the *i*/*hi*/*li*/*ki*-type of passive form can be seen through passivized imperative sentences containing the *e*/*a la*-type of imperative morpheme used in Korean. Similar to the previous findings, the passivized imperative sentences containing either *mac* or the *i*/*hi*/*li*/*ki*-type of passive form remain grammatical.

(4)　　a.　　Inwu-ya,　　　Cwunwu-eykey　　　cap-hi-ela

　　　　　　　Inwu-VOC　　　Cwunwu-DAT　　　grab-PASS-IMP

　　　　　　　'Inwu, be grabbed by Cwunwu.'

　　　　b.　　Inwu-ya,　　　Cwunwu-eykey　　　mac-ala

　　　　　　　Inwu-VOC　　　Cwunwu-DAT　　　be.hit-IMP

　　　　　　　'Inwu, be hit by Cwunwu.'

The parallelism between *mac* and the *i*/*hi*/*li*/*ki*-type of passive form gains further significance when considering the notion that the *e*/*a ci*-type of passive form existing in Korean behaves differently in terms of syntax. No passivized sentence containing the *e*/*a ci*-type of passive form allows the agent-oriented adverb, *ilpwule*, or the *e*/*a la*-type of imperative morpheme to be incorporated within the same sentence structure.

(5)　　a.　　*Inwu-ka　　　ilpwule　　　Sewul-lo　　　ponay-eci-ess-ta

　　　　　　　Inwu-NOM　　　intentionally　　Sewul-GOAL　　send-PASS-PST-DECL

　　　　　　　'Inwu was intentionally sent to Seoul.'

　　　　b.　　*Inwu-ya,　　　Sewul-lo　　　ponay-eci-ela

　　　　　　　Inwu-VOC　　　Sewul-GOAL　　send-PASS-IMP

　　　　　　　'Inwu, be sent to Seoul.'

At this point, we postulate that *mac* and the *i*/*hi*/*li*/*ki*-type of passive form are able to coexist with the [+agentive] feature rooted within the agent-oriented adverb and the imperative marker whereas the *e*/*a ci*-type of passive form cannot. Thus, it can be pointed out that *mac* behaves identically to the *i*/*hi*/*li*/*ki*-type of passive form in terms of syntax whereas the *e*/*a ci*-type of passive form falls into a different set of category.

4　Conclusion

All in all, we have verified our assumption that the suppletive passive form, *mac*, and the *i*/*hi*/*li*/*ki*-

type of passive form behave identically in terms of syntax whereas a clear distinction can be made between the two forms in terms of morphology. In order to present a convincing explanation for this type of morphology-syntax mismatch, we have proven two crucial factors: (i) The morphological structures of *mac* and the *i/hi/li/ki*-type of passive form are dissimilar in the sense that the former undergoes the postsyntactic morphological operation known as fusion whereas the latter does not. (ii) Both *mac* and the *i/hi/li/ki*-type of passive form display the same syntactic patterns in terms of agentivity which lead to a syntactic parallelism between the two forms. In accordance with this string of logic, we have maintained our position that there is a clear morphology-syntax mismatch between the suppletive passive form, *mac*, and the *i/hi/li/ki*-type of passive form by using the mechanisms introduced in Distributed Morphology (Halle & Marantz 1993, 1994).

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