

## The Double Functions of Korean Benefactive Suffix

**Introduction.** This paper provides new evidence that the benefactive suffix *-(e)cwu* in Korean serves two different functions in syntax. Depending on whether it heads an applicative phrase or functions as a co-head of *v*, *-(e)cwu* exhibits distinct behaviors with respect to argument licensing, types of compatible roots, and the interaction with causative morphology.

**Puzzle.** Korean benefactive suffix *-(e)cwu* can appear either after the verb (1), or a causative suffix (2):

(1) Yenghi-ka            tongsayng-ekey    ppang-ul    kwu-\*(**ecwu**)-ess-ta.  
 Yenghi-Nom        brother-Dat        bread-Acc    bake-\*(**BEN**)-Past-Decl  
 ‘Yenghi baked bread for brother.’

(2) Yenghi-ka            ai-ekey                os-ul            ip-**hi**-(**ecwu**)-ess-ta.  
 Yenghi-Nom        child-Dat            clothes-Acc    wear-**LEX.CAUS**-(**BEN**)-Past-Decl  
 ‘Yenghi dressed the child (for the child’s benefit).’

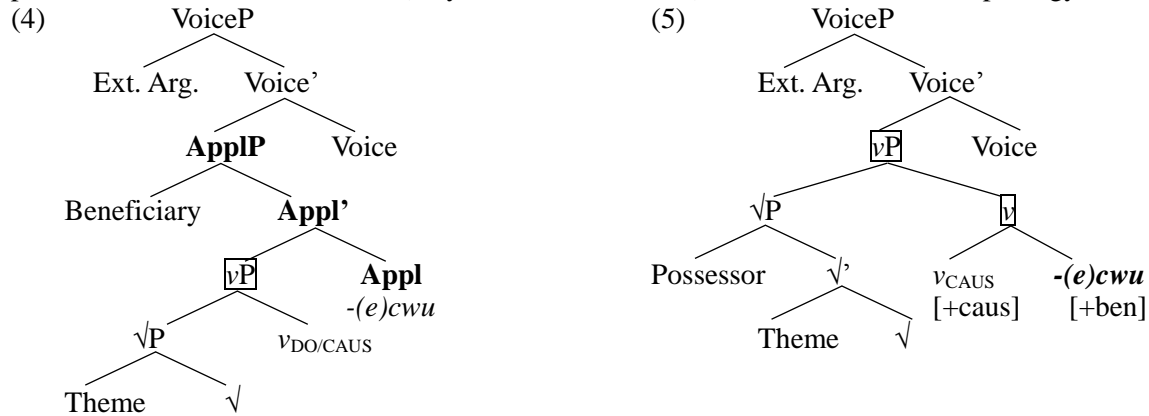
However, (1) and (2) behave differently in the omissibility of the benefactive suffix. (1) becomes ungrammatical without *-(e)cwu*. In contrast, leaving out *-(e)cwu* in (2) merely results in the modification of the semantics – that is, the benefactive interpretation disappears.

Note that the contrast in (1)-(2) is not due to the presence/absence of the causative suffix. (3), which involves a lexical causative suffix, patterns with (1), rather than (2):

(3) Yenghi-ka            tongsayng-ekey    lamyen-ul    kkul-**i**-(**ecwu**)-ess-ta.  
 Yenghi-Nom        brother-Dat        noodle-Acc    boil-**LEX.CAUS**-(**BEN**)-Past-Decl  
 ‘Yenghi cooked noodle for brother.’

The question, then, is: what is the source of the disjunction between (1)/(3) and (2)?

**Proposal.** I argue that the contrast in the grammaticality between (1)/(3) and (2) is due to the distinct syntactic functions of the relevant benefactive suffix. Specifically, in (1) and (3) *-(e)cwu* projects its own maximal Appl projection, as in (4). The ApplP is in turn selected for by Voice, which hosts an external argument (Kratzer 1994). In contrast, in (2) the terminal node *v* is split into two pieces (i.e., the verbalizing *v* with the causative feature and *-(e)cwu* with the benefactive feature), as in (5) – a phenomenon known as “fission” (Noyer 1997, Halle 1997) within Distributed Morphology.



**Evidence.** The two roles of *-(e)cwu* depicted in (4)-(5) are evidenced by the ability to introduce its own argument. In (4) the relationship between Appl and the Beneficiary is obligatory, since Appl is a functional category introducing an applied argument (Pylkkänen 2002). The fact that the simple transitive counterpart of (1) in (6) is acceptable, whereas (1) is allowed only when the dative argument and *-(e)cwu* co-occur, shows that the dative argument in (1) is a Beneficiary introduced by Appl as in (4).

(6) Yenghi-ka            ppang-ul        kwu-ess-ta.  
 Yenghi-Nom        bread-Acc        bake-Past-Decl  
 ‘Yenghi baked bread.’

On the other hand, in (5) *-(e)cwu* is not responsible for introducing the Possessor argument because it is

an internal argument of the root. This is why in (2), leaving out *-(e)cwu* does not incur ungrammaticality.

**Consequences.** The present proposal makes several predictions. #1 First, according to (4), Korean Appl is a high applicative (Pylkkänen 2002), located higher than the verbalizing layer. High applicatives are cross-linguistically attested to be compatible with unergative roots (Pylkkänen 2002). This prediction is borne out in (7), where *-(e)cwu* is required in the presence of a dative Beneficiary argument:

- (7) Yenghi-ka Chelswu-ekey wus/nolayha-\*(**ecwu**)-ess-ta.  
 Yenghi-Nom Chelswu-Dat smile/sing-\*(**APPL**)-Past-Decl  
 ‘Yenghi smiled/sang for Chelswu.’

#2 On the other hand, ditransitive roots, which require two internal arguments, are predicted to be associated with the structure in (5), not (4). In other words, when *-(e)cwu* occurs with a ditransitive root, it is expected to be optional like (2). This is confirmed in (8):

- (8) Yenghi-ka Chelswu-ekey pyenci-lul ponay-(**ecwu**)-ess-ta.  
 Yenghi-Nom Chelswu-Dat letter-Acc send-(**BEN**)-Past-Decl  
 ‘Yenghi sent Chelswu a letter.’

**Extension.** This proposal can be extended to account for the interaction of *-(e)cwu* and Korean productive causative *-keyha*. It is known that *-keyha* is Voice-selecting (Jung 2013). That is, in a productive causative construction, the whole VoiceP structure in (4) is selected for by *-keyha* as a complement. This predicts that when *-(e)cwu* is followed, thus is scoped over, by *-keyha* like (9), *-(e)cwu* functions as the Appl head as in (4). In that case, *-(e)cwu* must be present with the Beneficiary argument, as is shown in (9):

- (9) Emma-ka Yenghi-ekey tongsayng-ekey ppang-ul kwu-\*(**ecwu**)-**keyha**-ess-ta.  
 mother-Nom Yenghi-Dat brother-Dat bread-Acc bake-\*(**APPL**)-**SYN.CAUS**-Past-Decl  
 ‘Mother made Yenghi bake bread for brother.’

In contrast, when *-(e)cwu* follows *-keyha* like (10), it adds a permissive interpretation and is omissible.

- (10) Emma-ka Yenghi-ekey ppang-ul kwup-**keyha**-(**ecwu**)-ess-ta.  
 mother-Nom Yenghi-Dat bread-Acc bake-**SYN.CAUS**-(**BEN**)-Past-Decl  
 ‘Mother let Yenghi bake bread.’

This is expected if *-(e)cwu* in (10) is the co-head of  $v_{\text{SYN.CAUS}}$ , similar to (5). This way *-(e)cwu*, together with *-keyha*, can select for the inner caused event (i.e., VoiceP) in (10). (11) is ungrammatical, where a separate Beneficiary is added to (10), hypothesizing that *-(e)cwu* is an Appl:

- (11) \*Emma-ka tongsayng-ekey Yenghi-ekey ppang-ul kwup-**keyha-ecwu**-ess-ta.  
 mother-Nom brother-Dat Yenghi-Dat bread-Acc bake-**SYN.CAUS-APPL**-Past-Decl  
 Intended: ‘Mother, for brother, made Yenghi bake bread.’

The ungrammaticality confirms the fact that *-(e)cwu* in (10) is indeed the co-head of  $v$ , not an Appl head.

**Typology.** Interestingly, Turkish has a similar usage of co-heads. In Turkish, unlike Korean, reduplicating the causative suffix produces a permissive causative. Note that the reduplicated causative in (12) does not introduce a new argument, just like its Korean counterpart in (10):

- (12) Can-ı çalış-**tır-(t)**-ma-dı-m. [Turkish]  
 Can-Acc work-**CAUS**-(**CAUS**)-Neg-Past-1sg  
 ‘I didn’t let Can work.’

Turkish causative in (12) supports the present analysis of *-(e)cwu* in (5). Since reduplication targets the root level, it suggests that Korean *-(e)cwu* in (10)/(5) is a head, rather than is adjoined to  $v_{\text{CAUS}}$  as a phrase.

**Conclusions.** This paper has shown that Korean benefactive suffix *-(e)cwu* has a double life as an applicative head or as a co-head of  $v$ . The results of this study imply that the distributions of the benefactive *-(e)cwu* in Korean are determined by syntactic conditions.

**References.** [1] Halle, M. 1997. Distributed morphology: Impoverishment and fission. *MITWPL 30: Papers at the Interface*, 425–449. Cambridge, Mass. [2] Jung, H. 2013. Syntactic Constraints on Morpheme Ordering. *Paper presented at WCCFL 31*. [3] Kratzer, A. 1994. *On external arguments*. In *Functional Projections*, 103-130. Amherst MA: GLSA. [4] Noyer, R. 1997. Features, positions and affixes in autonomous morphological structure. New York: Garland. [5] Pylkkänen, L. 2002. Introducing arguments. PhD dissertation, MIT.