

A Contrastive Study of Korean and Malay Morphological Causatives

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CHAPTER 1

1.1. Purpose and Necessity of the Study

Morphological causatives are linguistic constructions that express causal relationships between two events, where one event (the cause) brings about another event (the result). In many languages, these constructions are formed morphologically by adding specific affixes to verb stems, altering the verb's argument structure to indicate that an agent causes another participant to undergo a change or perform an action. For example, in some languages, verbs are morphologically modified to convey not only that the subject performs an action but also that another entity is made to carry out the action or experience a change. Understanding morphological causatives is crucial for linguists, as it reveals syntactic and semantic frameworks of different languages and sheds light on cognitive processes in language comprehension and production.

Causatives, in particular, are a more specific concept within Korean grammar that denotes causality through verb morphological changes. In Korean, causative structures are formed by attaching suffixes such as *-오*, *-히*, *-리*, *-기* or *-우*, *-구*, *-추* to a verb, transforming a non-causative verb into one that implies making someone perform a certain action. For instance, *먹다* ("to eat") becomes *먹히다* ("to make someone eat"), and *서다* ("to stand") becomes *세우다* ("to make someone stand"). The term "causative construction" is a broader concept used to explain causal relationships through sentence structures, whereas "causative" (사동) is a more specific grammatical concept in Korean that focuses on changes in verb morphology. While causative constructions appear in many languages to express causality, Korean causatives specifically highlight morphological modifications of verbs.

On the other hand, Asmah Haji Omar (2008) states that causative expressions in Malay are realized through both morphological and syntactic means. The most common morphological causative structure in Malay is formed using the prefix *meN-* and the suffix *-kan*, resulting in a *meN-...-kan* construction. Compared to languages like Korean, Malay causative expressions are relatively straightforward, as Malay relies on consistent prefixes and auxiliary verbs rather than complex verb inflections or affix alternations.

Studying the morphological causatives of Korean and Malay is essential for understanding how different languages encode causality through morphology. Korean employs a rich system of bound morphemes that modify the argument structure of verbs to express causative relationships. Sato (2023) highlights this complexity by discussing the morphosyntactic behavior of Korean morphological causative constructions and explaining how these structures are derived through lexical and morphological processes. Jo (2021) emphasizes the importance of choice and argument structure in Korean morphological causatives, arguing that the interaction between morphology and syntax is crucial for comprehensively understanding causative constructions in Korean. By analyzing these features, this study aims to contribute to the broader field of linguistic typology and deepen our understanding of how different languages encode causality.

Conversely, Malay presents a distinct morphological strategy for forming causative constructions by modifying verb stems with affixes, offering valuable insights into cognitive processes involved in language acquisition and use. According to Jaafar & Hilmi (2019), phonological influences can affect how Malay speakers learn and produce morphological structures in other languages, such as Korean. The interaction between phonology and morphology in Malay suggests that studying its morphological causatives can provide

significant information about cognitive mechanisms related to language processing and acquisition. By comparing the morphological causatives of these two languages, this study seeks to uncover fundamental principles underlying causative constructions.

In the process of learning Korean as a foreign language, causative expressions are among the most complex and difficult topics. Korean causatives involve various affixes and grammatical structures, making them challenging for learners to use naturally. In particular, Malay speakers may struggle to acquire causative expressions, which can serve as a major obstacle in learning Korean. A clear analysis of the differences between the causative expressions in these two languages is necessary to develop methods that can reduce learners' difficulties.

(1)

a. 언니는 동생에게 수박을 먹였다.

b. *Abang men-yuap-kan adik lelaki tembikai. (meN-...-kan)*

→ "The older brother fed the younger brother a watermelon."

c. 엄마는 아기를 방에서 재웠다.

d. *Kakak men-idur-kan anaknya di dalam bilik. (meN-...-kan)*

→ "The older sister put the child to sleep in the room."

Both Korean and Malay use causative expressions to indicate that the subject causes another person to perform a specific action. However, the way causative constructions are formed in each language differs. In (1a-b), both sentences convey the meaning "X made Y eat watermelon." In Korean, the causative form 먹였다 is derived by adding a causative suffix (-오/-하/-리/-기/-우/-구/-추) to the verb 먹다 ("to eat"). In Malay, the verb *menyuapkan* is formed with the *meN-...-kan* structure, where *meN-* denotes an active verb and *-kan* marks the causative function. Similarly, in (1c-d), both sentences mean "X made Y sleep in the room." In Korean, 재웠다 is the causative form of 자다 ("to sleep"), created by adding a causative suffix. In Malay, *menidurkan* is derived from *tidur* ("to sleep") by adding *meN-...-kan*, which conveys the causative meaning.

Korean and Malay exhibit clear structural and grammatical differences in causative expressions, which pose challenges for Malay native speakers learning Korean. As the global demand for Korean language education increases and the number of Malay-speaking learners grows, comparative studies on causative expressions in both languages become essential. Such studies not only help identify specific difficulties faced by Malay speakers when learning Korean causatives but also contribute to developing effective instructional strategies tailored to their needs. Furthermore, contrastive analyses of these expressions can deepen our understanding of the cultural, historical, and social contexts embedded in each language. Language is not merely a tool for communication; it reflects the values, traditions, and worldviews of its speakers. By examining the differences in causative expressions between Korean and Malay, we can enhance awareness of linguistic and cultural diversity, ultimately improving language education for learners from diverse backgrounds. Understanding these differences is crucial for designing teaching methods that help Malay learners grasp and use Korean causatives effectively, thereby improving overall comprehension and raising the quality of Korean language education.

The significance of this comparative study extends beyond linguistic insights to include implications for second-language acquisition and pedagogy. Montrul (2000) highlights the challenges faced by learners whose native language employs clear morphological causative

markers when acquiring a second language that lacks similar features. Understanding the similarities and differences in morphological causatives between Korean and Malay provides valuable information for teaching these languages to speakers of other languages, particularly in cases where learners struggle with morphological complexity.

Thus, this study aims to analyze the morphological causative expressions in Korean and Malay to identify their commonalities and differences, promoting cross-cultural understanding and mutual appreciation. By helping learners understand both the language and its cultural context, this study also contributes to fostering respect for linguistic diversity in a globalized society. Ultimately, the goal is to support Malay-speaking learners in acquiring Korean causative expressions more easily.

1.2. Previous Studies

Research on morphological causative expressions in Korean and Malay provides fundamental knowledge necessary for understanding the unique structures and meanings conveyed by each language. This study analyzes the concepts and forms of causatives in Korean and Malay, focusing on their morphological causative constructions. By doing so, it aims to identify the similarities and differences between the two languages.

Korean employs various verb endings to form causative expressions, offering multiple ways to express causation. In contrast, Malay uses causative structures that explicitly distinguish the relationship between the subject and the verb. This study will review existing research on Korean and Malay causative expressions and examine the morphological categories of Korean causative suffixes (-오/-호/-리/-기/-우/-구/-추) and Malay *meN*...-*kan*. Through this comparative analysis, it seeks to deepen our understanding of linguistic approaches to causative constructions in each language and their functional meanings. Ultimately, this study aims to contribute to comparative linguistic research by providing a comprehensive understanding of morphological causatives in Korean and Malay.

1.2.1. Previous Studies on Korean Morphological Causatives

Causatives are a cross-linguistic phenomenon and an essential instructional item in Korean language education. Yoo Hyunkyung et al. (2018) generally define causatives as "making someone other than oneself perform a certain action." However, in cases where an inanimate object appears as the object, such as in the sentence "성벽을 높이디" ("to raise the fortress wall"), the subject "성벽" cannot perform an action itself, making it difficult to categorize as a causative structure. Nevertheless, as commonly discussed (Yoo Hyunkyung et al., 2018), causatives should include not only instances where a person is made to act but also cases where an action or event is caused to occur in an object or a specific entity.

Koo Bonkwan et al. (2015) categorize causatives into two main types: lexical causatives (causative verbs) and "-게 하디" periphrastic causatives. They take a broad view of lexical causatives by including predicates formed with "-으키-" and "-오키-", in addition to "시키디". Yoo Hyunkyung et al. (2018) classify causative sentences into morphological causatives and syntactic causatives. Morphological causative sentences include those derived using existing causative suffixes, as well as those formed with "시키디". For instance, in words like "진정시키디" ("to calm down") and "복직시키디" ("to reinstate"), there is no pause between

"진정", "복직", and "시킴" in pronunciation, making "시킴" function similarly to a causative suffix. The *Standard Korean Grand Dictionary* by the National Institute of the Korean Language also considers "시킴" a causative affix, which justifies its inclusion in morphological causative sentences. Nam Kisik et al. (2019) classify causatives into "*causation by causative verbs*" and "*causation by -게 하-*". Unlike Koo Bonkwan et al. (2015) and Yoo Hyunkyung et al. (2018), they do not include "(X)시킴" in morphological causatives.

Kim Sungju (2003) divides Korean causatives into four types: morphological causatives, lexical causatives, "-시킴" causatives, and syntactic causatives. Morphological causatives include causative suffixes such as "-오-", "-히-", "-리-", "-기-", "-우-", "-구-", "-추-", "-이-", "-으-". Korean morphological causatives belong to a category called dependent-form tight causatives (morphological causatives). There are two main types:

1. **Productive causative suffixes**, where knowing the base verb allows for easy derivation of causative verbs according to regular rules, making their meanings predictable.
2. **Non-productive or lexicalized causatives**, where the derived causative meanings are not easily predictable, similar to Korean morphological causatives.

In Korean, the causative suffix "-오-" cannot attach to "-히-" verbs to derive causatives, and morphological causative suffixes do not simply add causative meaning to a base verb's lexical meaning but instead function as independent lexical items. This makes them somewhat distinct from typical morphological causatives and closer in nature to lexical causatives.

Yeon Jae-hoon (2011) provides significant insights through an in-depth analysis of Korean causative constructions. The study emphasizes that Korean causative expressions are formed through morphological suffixes such as *-i*, *-hi*, *-ri*, *-gi*, and so on, highlighting that these morphological changes are not merely grammatical transformations but rather involve complex cognitive processes. In other words, the study points out that causative expressions cannot simply be understood by applying grammatical rules; instead, they require consideration of the semantic elements involved in how speakers perceive and describe particular events. From this perspective, it suggests that Korean language learners should not merely memorize causative expressions as grammatical rules but should develop a deeper understanding of their semantic contexts.

Additionally, Yeon Jae-hoon (2011) emphasizes that Korean causative constructions share functional similarities with passive constructions and locative alternation constructions, analyzing the interrelationship between these structures. Specifically, the study notes that causative expressions often carry passive-like meanings or involve spatial movement, indicating that when learning these structures, Korean language learners must consider not only morphological changes but also semantic distinctions and functional similarities. Therefore, it underscores the necessity of an educational approach that goes beyond simple grammatical explanations and adopts a more complex and meaning-oriented teaching method. The findings of this study serve as essential foundational data for designing tailored educational strategies for learners of Korean as a foreign language, particularly those who are native speakers of Malay. Since there are structural differences between Malay and Korean in the formation of causative expressions, it is crucial to help learners clearly understand these differences and acquire the structures effectively. Thus, this research makes a significant

contribution to exploring more systematic and meaning-centered methods for teaching causative constructions in Korean language education.

1.2.2. Previous Studies on Malay Morphological Causatives

Ab. Rahman & Yap Kim Fatt (1999) state that before analyzing Malay causative verbs in detail, an understanding of morphemes is necessary. There are two types of morphemes: **free morphemes** and **bound morphemes**. Free morphemes can exist independently and function as words in a sentence, while bound morphemes appear only as affixes and must attach to a root. For example, "*baca*" ("to read") is a free morpheme, whereas "*mem-*" (a prefix meaning "to do-" when attached to verbs) is a bound morpheme. Bound morphemes cannot exist independently and are classified into prefixes (*awalan*), suffixes (*akhiran*), infixes (*sisipan*), and circumfixes (*apitan*).

Malay has a variety of affixes, each serving a unique role. According to Ab. Rahman & Yap Kim Fatt (1999) and *Tatabahasa Dewan* (2008), the prefixes include "*peN-*, *ke-*, *juru-*, *pra-*, *meN-*, *beR-*, *teR-*, *di-*, *diper-*", while suffixes include "*-kan*, *-i*, *-an*, *-wan*, *-man*, *-wati*, *-in*, *-at*". Infixes include "*-el-*, *-er-*, *-em-*, *-in-*", and circumfixes include "*peN-...-an*, *-ke-...-an*, *meN-...-kan*, *me-...-i*, *-diper-...-kan*, *-memper-...-i*". Affixes cannot appear independently in a sentence and must attach to base words. Based on their position, affixes are categorized into prefixes (before the base), suffixes (after the base), circumfixes (at both the beginning and end of the base), and infixes (inserted within the base). These affixes create meaningful grammatical units and change the grammatical function of base words. Among them, the prefix *meN-* plays a crucial role in forming Malay causative verbs, particularly when combined with "*-kan*". The *N* in *meN-* represents a nasal consonant that assimilates to the initial sound of the base.

Malay grammar allows for various affix combinations that alter meaning. *Tatabahasa Bahasa Malaysia* (1981) notes that *meN-* can combine with different suffixes to modify a verb's meaning. For instance, "*-kan*" forms "*meN-...-kan*", "*-i*" forms "*meN-...-i*", "*-per-*" forms "*memper-...*", and combinations such as "*memper-...-kan*" and "*memper-...-i*" also exist. Some of these are called **discontinuous affixes**, as they surround the base word. Asmah Haji Omar (2008) states that while *meN-* has five forms, *meN-...-kan* specifically conveys causative meaning.

Yusuf & Mulyadi (2021) explain that Malay causative constructions are formed through specific morphological processes, particularly by adding the suffix "*-kan*" to verbs with the *meN-* prefix. This transformation introduces an agent performing the action while shifting the original subject to the object position. This morphological causative structure effectively expresses causation by linking an initiating event (cause) with its effect (result). The suffix "*-kan*" not only marks causation but also clarifies the relationship between the agent and the action. By expanding verb functions and incorporating causative semantics, this affix contributes to a broader understanding of causative structures in human language.

1.2.3. Previous Studies on Affixes in Korean and Malay

There are not many contrastive studies on causatives in Korean and Malay, and even fewer studies specifically comparing causative expressions. However, some studies have examined affixes in Malay that may be related to causatives. In Korean, causative expressions are considered suffixes because the morphemes that indicate causation attach to the end of verb stems. In contrast, Malay causative expressions appear as prefixes attached to the front of verb stems or as a combination of prefixes and suffixes.

He Hwejeong (2010) states that, unlike in Korean, Malay affixes are clearly distinguished from root words, and the criteria for their classification are consistent. The distinction between prefixes and root words is evident, making it easy to identify whether an element is a prefix. Therefore, it is widely accepted that Malay prefixes represent a consistent concept. However, scholars may have differing views on how affixes change the word class of root words through derivation and inflection. The categorization of derived words varies among scholars, leading to different analyses of how affixes combine with root words and affect their classification.

Hwang Yirin (2020) conducted a contrastive analysis of derivational affixes in Korean and Malay from morphological, functional, and semantic perspectives. Although both Korean and Malay are agglutinative languages with well-developed affixation systems, there have been few studies comparing the two languages in this regard. Using the list of native Korean affixes provided in the *Standard Korean Grand Dictionary* and the list of native Malay affixes from the *Tatabahasa Dewan* (Standard Malay Grammar), the study aimed to identify similarities and differences between the derivational affixes in both languages. Most native Malay affixes are productive, but enclitics (접효사) have already lost their productivity and can no longer form new words synchronically.

Additionally, Hwang examined Korean and Malay affixes in terms of morphology, function, and meaning, analyzing their similarities and differences. The study discussed aspects of Malay circumfixes (접환사) and also highlighted the semantic similarity between the Korean suffix "-스킴-" and the Malay adjective-deriving circumfix "ke-...-an". Among the native Malay affixes, some adjective-deriving prefixes have only restrictive functions (e.g., *teR-*, *se-*), while certain enclitics (*-er-*, *-in-*) have exclusively dominant functions. However, most other affixes possess both restrictive and dominant functions. The circumfix *ke-...-an*, which can derive nouns, verbs, and adjectives, was found to be the most frequently observed among them.

Korean primarily uses suffixes to modify verb stems and nouns, while prefixes are relatively less common. On the other hand, Malay employs a wider variety of affixes—including prefixes, suffixes, infixes, and circumfixes—to create new words, resulting in a more diverse word formation system. While both languages use affixes in derivational processes, Malay exhibits a more complex system with a greater variety of affixes.

1.3. Research Subject and Methodology

This study focuses on the morphological causatives in Korean and Malay, discussing the causative expressions in both languages. First, definitions of causatives in Korean and Malay will be presented, followed by an analysis of their respective characteristics. A contrastive analysis will be conducted using various example sentences to identify similarities and differences between the two languages. Additionally, to analyze the morphological structure of causative constructions, various literature sources will be reviewed, and the position and role of causative markers as key elements in sentence structure will be examined.

This study consists of five chapters, structured as follows:

Chapter 1 establishes the research objectives and significance while reviewing previous studies on morphological causatives in Korean and Malay. It also discusses the research subject and methodology.

Chapter 2 focuses on the theoretical background of causatives and morphological causatives, covering the general concept and types of causatives.

Chapter 3 discusses morphological causatives in Korean, primarily examining their concepts and classification. In Korean, causative expressions are formed using suffixes such as -*o*/, -*h*/, -*el*/, -*go*/, -*eu*/, -*geu*/, -*chu*/, which must attach to specific words to function as causatives. This chapter provides a detailed explanation of this phenomenon.

Chapter 4 explores morphological causatives in Malay, focusing on their concepts and classification. In Malay, causative expressions are formed using prefixes and suffixes such as *meN*-...-*kan*, which must attach to specific words to indicate causative meaning.

Chapter 5 presents a contrastive analysis of morphological causatives in Korean and Malay.

Chapter 6 summarizes the discussions from Chapters 2 to 5 and presents the conclusions.

Through this study, the specific similarities and differences in causative expressions between Korean and Malay will be identified using various example sentences. This research aims to enhance the understanding of causative features in both languages and is expected to contribute to the learning of Korean by Malay speakers and the learning of Malay by Korean speakers.

CHAPTER 2

2. Theoretical Background

2.1. Concept and Definition of Causative

Causative refers to a grammatical expression in which one entity induces or influences another to perform a specific action. In other words, causative denotes the process or state in which an action is brought about by someone or something other than the agent of the action. It is realized through morphological and syntactic means across various languages, and the manner of expression can differ depending on the language.

Causatives are generally contrasted with passives. While passive constructions focus on the entity that undergoes an action rather than the agent, causatives focus on the relationship between the *causer* (the one who causes the action) and the *causee* (the one who performs the action). Causative constructions are particularly important in the study of event structure and causation.

As mentioned above, causatives allow the subject to induce a specific action by another entity (person or object) without performing the action directly. The sentence structure indicates how a certain event is brought about. This contrasts with direct causatives, in which the subject performs the action themselves. For example, the English sentence "I went to school." can be transformed into "She made me go to school." In the latter, the subject "me" did not go to school of their own accord, but was caused or ordered to do so by "she." Causative constructions tend to emphasize the causer or the cause over the direct agent.

Comrie (1989) emphasized the importance of distinguishing between "cause" and "agent" in linguistic analysis. According to his research, the causative structure plays a crucial role in clarifying the difference between the subject's intention and the actual action performed. Comrie, through comparative studies of causative structures in various languages, argued that causatives are not merely about morphological change but carry significant semantic implications regarding how intention and action are conveyed. His findings suggest that analyzing causative structures provides important insights into linguistic diversity and universality.

Meanwhile, Song (1996) proposed a classification of causatives that offers a useful framework for understanding subtle semantic differences in causative constructions. Song did not categorize causatives solely based on form but focused on the relationship between the "causative event" and the "caused event," dividing them into three types: COMPACT, AND, and PURP.

- **COMPACT causatives** represent the most integrated form, in which the causative and caused events are fused into a single unified action. Lexical causatives such as "kill" are representative of this type.
- **AND causatives** involve two independent events occurring in sequence: the causative event happens first, followed by the caused event. This type exhibits a certain distance between the two events and forms an indirect causal relationship.
- **PURP causatives** highlight the intentionality of the agent, where the causative event is performed with a clear purpose of bringing about the caused event. This type strongly reflects the agent's deliberate control.

Such classifications allow linguists to explore in greater depth the degrees of integration, event sequencing, and intentionality within causative expressions, and contribute to uncovering how different languages encode causativity.

2.2. Formal Types of Causatives

Causative verbs indicate that someone or something causes an action to occur. Languages employ various strategies to express causation, and these strategies can be categorized into a few main types. It's important to note that while these categories provide a general framework, the way causative constructions function can be complex and vary significantly across languages. The primary types include lexical, morphological, and periphrastic causatives, each with distinct characteristics and examples across different language families.

2.2.1 Lexical

Lexical causatives represent a fundamental way languages encode causation, where the causative meaning is embedded within the verb's core meaning, rather than added through separate morphological or syntactic means. There's no additional affix or auxiliary verb needed. This results in a single verb form that inherently expresses the causing of an event.

For instance, in English, the verb "kill" implies causation (someone causes someone else to die), contrasting with "die," which does not. Many languages have such lexical pairs or sets. For examples, Korean has verbs like “죽이다”, meaning "to kill," which inherently carries the causative meaning. Malay uses verbs like "membunuh" (to kill). Japanese employs verbs such as "korosu" (殺す), also meaning "to kill." Turkish has "öldürmek" (to kill) as a lexical causative. The causative element is inseparable from the verb's definition, meaning that when a verb has a causative form, the causative meaning becomes a core part of what the verb conveys, rather than just an additional layer.

Dixon(2000) highlighted the importance of lexical causatives in the broader spectrum of how languages express causation. He discusses how different languages vary in the degree to which they rely on lexical causatives versus other strategies. Some languages may have a rich set of lexical causatives, while others primarily use morphological or periphrastic constructions. Dixon's research emphasizes the cross-linguistic diversity in causative expression and the role of lexicalization in encoding causative relationships. He often contrasts languages that, for example, might express "cause to break" with a single word, versus those that use a more complex phrase.

Levin and Rappaport Hovav (1995) have also contributed significantly to the understanding of lexical causatives, particularly in the context of verb classes and argument structure. Their work explores how the inherent meaning of verbs, including lexical causatives, determines their syntactic behavior. They delve into the causative alternation, where some verbs can appear in both causative and non-causative forms (e.g., "The window broke" vs. "John broke the window"). Their research shows that the behavior of lexical causatives is constrained by underlying semantic properties of the verbs. They explore the semantic constraints that govern which verbs can participate in causative alternations and how those constraints vary across languages.

1. 가. The window broke.

ㄴ. John broke the window.

Both sentences use "broke", each of them convey a different meaning. (1 가)의 "The window broke" is non-causative, describing a change of state where the window's integrity was lost, but it does not specify an agent responsible for the action; the focus is solely on the event itself. In contrast, (1 나)의 "John broke the window" is causative, explicitly identifying "John" as the agent who caused the window to break, highlighting the action and its perpetrator rather than simply the resulting state. This distinction centers on whether the verb "broke" is used intransitively (without a direct object, as in the first sentence) or transitively (with a direct object, as in the second sentence), indicating the presence or absence of a causal agent, respectively.

2.2.2 Morphological

Morphological causatives are formed by adding morphemes to a non-causative verb stem, deriving a causative verb without introducing a separate word. This process includes various morphological modifications such as prefixation, suffixation, infixation, vowel alternation, and others. As a result, the argument structure of the verb changes, making the causer the new subject while the original subject is demoted to a direct or indirect object. Additionally, the meaning of morphological causatives extends beyond mere 'making someone do something' to include various nuances, such as whether the causer directly manipulates the causee or merely permits the action. These distinctions depend on the specific morphological markers used. This is a very common strategy across languages and represents a systematic way to expand the lexicon and express causative relationships. Unlike lexical causatives, where the causative meaning is inherent in the verb root, morphological causatives build the causative meaning through word formation processes. This often involves changes to the verb's valency (the number of arguments it takes), typically increasing it by introducing a causer argument.

The structure and function of morphological causatives vary across languages. Comrie (1985) argued that morphological causatives are more prominent in languages with developed inflectional morphology, as they allow for a wide range of causative expressions through affixation. Shibatani (1976) explained that languages like Japanese and Turkish employ causative affixes to construct causative structures, expressing the degree of control the subject has over the action. This type of causative is prevalent in agglutinative languages such as Korean, Turkish, and Japanese, and also appears in Malay, which exhibits some agglutinative features.

Languages like Turkish are famous for their productive use of morphological causatives. This is achieved through the addition of specific suffixes, primarily "-Dİr" and "-t", to the verb stem. The selection of these suffixes is determined by the phonological structure of the verb; "-Dİr" is generally used after most verb stems, while "-t" is often preferred after polysyllabic stems ending in a vowel or a liquid (l,r). It's crucial to note that the "D" in "-Dİr" undergoes voicing assimilation, and vowel harmony affects the vowels within the suffix, resulting in variations like "-tİr," "-dİr," "-tUr," "-dUr," and also "-İr," "-er," "-ur," "-ür". For example, the verb "yapmak" (to do) can be transformed into "yaptırmak" (to make someone do). This process is highly regular and can apply to a wide range of verbs.

A key aspect of the causative is the change in argument structure. The original subject of the verb may become the direct object, marked with the accusative case, or the indirect object, marked with the dative case, depending on the transitivity of the original verb. For instance, "çocuk uyudu" (the child slept) becomes "anne çocuğu uyuttu" (the mother made the child

sleep), where the child, the original subject, becomes the direct object. Similarly, "köpek kediyi kovaladı" (the dog chased the cat) becomes "çocuk köpeğe kediyi kovalattı" (the child made the dog chase the cat), with the dog becoming the indirect object. This ability to manipulate argument structure makes the Turkish causative a highly productive feature, applicable to a wide range of verbs. Understanding the phonological rules governing suffix selection and the changes in argument structure is essential for accurately interpreting and constructing causative sentences in Turkish.

Similarly to Turkish, Japanese also expresses morphological causatives by adding suffixes which is a fundamental aspect of Japanese grammar. Japanese employs suffixes like "-saseru" or "-raseru" to derive causative verbs depending on the verb's conjugation class. The use of suffixes depends on the causative formation. For Godan (consonant-stem) verbs, the final "-u" sound is changed to an "-a" sound before adding "-seru" (or "-saseru"), as seen in "yomu" (to read) becoming "yomaseru" (to make/let read). For Ichidan (vowel-stem) verbs drop the "-ru" and add "-saseru," exemplified by "taberu" (to eat) transforming into "tabesaseru" (to make/let eat). Lastly, for irregular verbs like "suru" (to do) and "kuru" (to come) have specific causative forms, "saseru" and "kosaseru," respectively.

The causative construction can express a range of meanings, from forcing someone to do something to simply allowing them to do it or causing a situation to occur. For instance, "Tarou wa Hanako ni hon o yomaseta" (Taro made Hanako read the book) illustrates forceful causation, while "Sensei wa seito o kyoushitsu ni hairaseta" (The teacher let the students enter the classroom) implies permission. Thus, understanding the nuances of case marking and the various interpretations of the causative is essential for accurate comprehension and use of this grammatical feature.

Korean also utilizes a set of causative suffixes which attach to verb stems to indicate causation. These suffixes, such as "-이/-히/-리/-기/-우/-구/-추", transform verbs like "먹다" into "먹이다", "울다" into "울리다". For instance, in the sentence "엄마가 아이에게 밥을 먹였어요", the verb "먹이다" signifies that the mother caused the child to eat rice. Similarly, "그가 아이를 울렸어요" uses "울리다" to convey that he caused the child to cry. However, the choice of suffix for morphological causatives is not always predictable, often influenced by the verb stem's phonological environment and lexicalization, requiring learners to memorize common verb transformations.

In Malay which is mostly analytic but has some agglutination. Malay primarily relies on word order and function words such as auxiliary verbs, prepositions rather than extensive affixation. However, it does have a productive affixation system, especially in verb morphology. For example, the "meN-...-kan" construction in Malay resembles morphological causative marker in agglutinative languages, but Malay is not fully agglutinative like Korean and Turkish. Other agglutinative languages such as Mongolian, Finnish, Hungarian and Uzbek also frequently use suffixes or affixes to form causatives. Also, Indonesian, Tagalog, Quechua, Swahili, Georgian and Sanskrit uses prefixes, infixes, circumfixes, suffixes for causative formation. 아래에는 형태적 원인 구조를 사용하는 언어의 예시가 제시되어 있다.

(3) 가. 튀르키예어: gitmek (가다) → gittirmek

나. 일본어: 食べる (먹다) → 食べさせる (먹이다)

다. 한국어: 먹다 → 먹이다

라. 말레이어: tidur (자다) → men-idur-kan (재우다)

마. 몽골어: унших (*unshikh*, "읽다") → уншуулах (*unsh-uulah*, "읽게 하다")

바. 핀란드어: syödä (*syödä*, "먹다") → syöttää (*syö-ttää*, "먹이다")

사. 헝가리어: olvas (*olvas*, "읽다") → olvastat (*olvas-tat*, "읽게 하다")

아. 우즈베크어: o'qimoq (*o'qimoq*, "읽다") → o'qitmoq (*o'qi-t-moq*, "읽게 하다")

자. 타갈로그어: kain (*kain*, "먹다") → pakainin (*pa-kain-in*, "먹이다")

차. 케추아어: miku (*miku*, "먹다") → mikuchi (*miku-chi*, "먹이다")

카. 스와힐리어: lala (*lala*, "자다") → lalisha (*lala-sha*, "재우다")

타. 산스크리트어: gam (*gam*, "가다") → gamayati (*gam-ayati*, "가게 하다")

Yining (2020) has explored the syntactic structures associated with morphological causatives. Yining proposes analyses that involve configurations of Voice heads to account for cross-linguistic variations. These investigations delve into how causative morphology interacts with syntactic operations and how different languages encode causative relationships within their grammatical systems. The study of morphological causatives provides valuable insights into the relationship between morphology, syntax, and semantics, and how languages create and manipulate verb meanings.

2.2.3 Periphrastic

Periphrastic causatives involve the use of separate words, typically auxiliary verbs or other verbs, to express causation. This contrasts with lexical causatives, where the causative meaning is inherent in a single verb, and morphological causatives, where affixes are added to a verb to derive a causative form. Periphrastic causatives often result in more complex syntactic structures, typically involving multiple clauses or verb phrases. Shibatani & Pardeshi (2002) analyzed syntactic causatives, discussing how the use of causative auxiliary verbs contributes to syntactic productivity. The syntactic causatives are more common in languages with less morphological complexity, where causation is expressed syntactically rather than morphologically.

These causative constructions involve verbs such as "*make*," "*cause*," and "*let*" in English, which indicate that one entity compels another to act. This contrasts with morphological causatives, where affixes directly encode the causative meaning. English periphrastic causatives involve using auxiliary-like verbs to express that someone or something causes an action to occur. These constructions typically consist of a causative verb followed by an object (the causee) and another verb that describes the caused action. The choice of causative verb in English often reflects subtle differences in meaning, such as the degree of control or the nature of the causation.

The most common causative verbs in English include “make”, this verb often implies that the causer exerts a degree of force or control over the causee. The verb “have” can indicate that the causer delegates responsibility or arranges for someone else to do something. The verb “get” often suggests persuasion or inducement, and it can also be used similarly to “have” for arranging services. Also, “let” indicates permission or allowing someone to do something. The following examples illustrate English periphrastic causatives:

1. 가. She **made** him clean his room.

나. I **had** my car repaired.

다. He **got** his friend to help him with the project.

마. My parents **let** me stay out late.

The syntax of English periphrastic causatives varies depending on the specific verb. For instance, “make” is followed by the base form of the verb (without “to”), while “get” and sometimes “have” are followed by the infinitive (“to” + verb). These variations contribute to the nuances in meaning and usage.

Korean employs both morphological and periphrastic causative constructions, with the periphrastic form typically involving the verb “하다” or “시키다”. The periphrastic causative construction in Korean generally follows the pattern of “-게 하다”. In this construction, “-게” functions as a complementizer, linking the embedded clause (the caused event) to the main clause (the causing event).

1. 가. 어머니가 아이에게 밥을 먹게 했다.

(1 가)의 문장에서, “먹게” is derived from the verb 먹다, and “-게” links this action to the causative verb “하다”. The subject of the main clause “어머니” is the causer, and the object of the embedded clause “아이” is the causee. Korean periphrastic causatives are notable for exhibiting interesting case-marking variations on the causee. The causee can be marked with dative “-에게”, accusative “-을/를”, or even nominative “-이/가” case, depending on the transitivity of the embedded verb and the nuances of causation. The following examples illustrate Korean periphrastic causatives:

1. 가. 나는 그를 가게 했다.

나. 나는 동생에게 밥을 먹게 했다.

다. 나는 아이를 자게 했다.

In these constructions, the causative is formed by using “하다” or “시키다” with the base verb, expressing the causation in a periphrastic manner than through a morphological suffix.

Malay, the primary language spoken in Malaysia, employs periphrastic causative constructions to express causation. These constructions typically involve using auxiliary-like verbs in conjunction with a main verb to indicate that a causer brings about a certain event or action.

The use of the verb “suruh” in Malay to form periphrastic causatives by expressing causation through an order or instruction, often in a way that does not involve morphological changes to the base verb. It is more about ordering someone to do something rather than directly affixing causative markers to the verb. Other than “suruh”, Malay involves the use of verbs like “buat” (to do/make) to form periphrastic causatives. The following examples illustrate Malay periphrastic causatives:

2. 가. Dia **suruh** saya pergi.

 나. Saya **suruh** dia makan.

 다. Saya **buat** dia menangis.

In conclusion, causatives are grammatical structures that induce another entity to act, making them crucial for understanding a language’s semantic and morphological properties. The concept of causatives manifests in various forms depending on the grammatical characteristics of a language and plays a significant role in communication. Research on causatives intersects with multiple linguistic fields, offering profound insights into the nature and use of language.

CHAPTER 3

3.1. The Concept of Korean Morphological Causatives

In Korean, morphological causatives are formed by attaching specific suffixes to verb stems in order to express the meaning that the subject causes someone or something else to perform an action or undergo a change of state. These causative suffixes include -이, -히, -리, -기, -우, -구, -추, and their use is largely dependent on the phonological and morphological characteristics of the original verb. For example, the verb 죽다 (to die) becomes 죽이다 (to kill), and 먹다 (to eat) becomes 먹이다 (to feed), where the subject is not performing the action directly but is instead causing it to occur. In 3.2. Section, it will discuss the Korean causative markers formation.

These suffixes enable the subject to cause an action to take place. Such morphological constructions are frequently used in everyday language and play a significant role in Korean sentence structure. Korean morphological causatives are a fascinating subject in the broader field of linguistics as they exemplify how causation is expressed morphologically.

Morphological causatives typically transform intransitive verbs into transitive ones by increasing the number of participants in the sentence — specifically, by adding a causee who is affected by the causation. These constructions are monoclausal, meaning that the causative meaning is embedded within a single clause, unlike periphrastic causatives such as “-게 하다”, which involve two verbs and often a subordinate clause.

According to Sato (2023) and Chung & Shibatani (2018) emphasize that Korean's morphological causative system, which employs suffixes to transform verbs and denote causation, distinguishes it from many other languages. Unlike those that rely on complex syntactic structures and auxiliary verbs to express similar meanings, Korean achieves causation within a single, modified verb, showcasing a unique and efficient grammatical mechanism. This characteristic highlights the language's ability to encode causal relationships compactly, making it a subject of significant linguistic interest.

Korean morphological causatives extend beyond their grammatical function, intricately reflecting sociocultural dynamics. The language's emphasis on interpersonal relationships, particularly the expression of respect through honorifics, is often manifested in causative constructions, which can convey nuances of authority and social standing. Furthermore, these causatives frequently delineate the causee's agency and capacity, similar to their usage in languages like Turkish and Japanese. They often appear in contexts where the causee's autonomy is perceived as limited, and the action is either facilitated or compelled by the subject, as illustrated by the sentence, 'I made the child eat,' which implies the child's dependence or lack of independent volition. This interplay between grammatical structure and sociocultural implication underscores the significant role of morphological causatives in Korean, making them a crucial element in understanding the language's expression of causation and interpersonal dynamics.

The study of morphological causatives is also important in Korean language education. Morphological causatives are among the most challenging grammar items for foreign learners. Learners often struggle with selecting the appropriate causative suffix and understanding the semantic differences among them. Therefore, it is important to clearly explain the principles of morphological causatives in educational settings and provide diverse examples to help

learners understand them more easily. This facilitates more effective Korean language acquisition.

In conclusion, Korean morphological causatives present a sophisticated system that transcends mere grammatical manipulation. Through the addition of specific suffixes, the language efficiently encodes causal relationships, distinguishing itself from many others that rely on more complex syntactic structures. This system is deeply interwoven with Korean sociocultural norms, reflecting the language's emphasis on interpersonal dynamics and respect. Beyond their function in expressing causation, these causatives offer insights into the perceived agency and capacity of the causee, often highlighting scenarios where autonomy is limited. Their intricate interplay between morphology, semantics, and sociocultural context solidifies their position as a crucial element in understanding the nuances of Korean language and its expression of human interaction

3.1.1. Types of Korean Morphological Causatives

Korean morphological causatives are an important aspect of the language's syntactic structure, especially characterized by specific morphemes such as -이, -히, -리, -기, -우, -구, -추. These morphemes form causative verbs that allow the speaker to express actions that someone or something causes to happen. According to Ayu & Pratomo (2019), the system of morphological causatives in Korean is very rich and complex, reflecting the agglutinative nature of the language. Morphemes are added to verb stems to modify meaning and grammatical function. Each morpheme carries its own semantic implications and usage contexts, contributing to the overall diversity of Korean causative constructions.

Yi (2014) states that the morpheme *-i* is typically used to form causative verbs from transitive verbs. For example, *kkaeda* (to break) can become *kkaeida* (to make [something] break), illustrating how the causative morpheme alters the meaning of the verb to indicate that one entity causes another to perform the action. Similarly, Lee (2012) points out that *-hi*, when used with verbs, forms causatives that express a less direct or less forceful cause. For example, when creating a causative form of *hada* (to do), *-hi* conveys a meaning closer to enabling rather than forcing the action.

Li (2023) explains that *-li* and *-ki* also play important roles in forming causative verbs. The morpheme *-li* usually indicates a more direct or stronger causative action, while *-ki* conveys a more general causative meaning. For instance, *anjda* (to sit) can become *anjhida* (to make [someone] sit) using *-li*, and *gada* (to go) can become *gage hada* (to make [someone] go) using *-ki*. These distinctions in morpheme use reflect the nuanced ways Korean expresses causation and allow speakers to convey varying degrees of agency and control over others' actions.

In addition, morphemes like *-wu*, *-ku*, and *-chu* also contribute to the morphological causative system. *-wu* is often used with verbs that imply changes of state or condition, while *-ku* and *-chu* are used in specific contexts to express causative actions related to movement or transformation. The use of these morphemes showcases the flexibility of Korean in expressing complex causative relationships, allowing speakers to convey subtle distinctions in meaning and intent.

한국어 형태적 사동 표지	동사
-이	녹다 → 녹이다
-히	앉다 → 앉히다
-리	돌다 → 돌리다
-기	웃다 → 기다
-우	깨다 → 깨우다
-구	숫다 → 숫구다
-추	맞다 → 맞추다

Table 1 showed the types of Korean morphological causatives.

The interplay of these morphemes not only enriches the Korean morphological causative system but also poses an intriguing challenge for learners whose native languages lack similar structures. Montrul (2000) points out that learners from languages without explicit causative morphology may find it difficult to grasp these subtle differences in Korean, underscoring the importance of understanding these morphemes for effective communication. Thus, the Korean morphological causative system represents a significant area of research for both linguists and language educators, offering important insights into the complexity of Korean syntax and semantics.

In conclusion, the Korean morphological causative system, composed of morphemes like *-i*, *-hi*, *-li*, *-ki*, *-wu*, *-ku*, and *-chu*, reflects the richness of Korean's agglutinative nature and its capacity to express causation. Each morpheme provides unique semantic nuances, enabling a wide range of expressions related to causative actions. Understanding these morphemes is essential for grasping the structure and meaning of Korean and is a key task for both native speakers and learners alike.

3.2. The Formation of Korean Morphological Causatives

The formation of Korean morphological causatives represents a complex and subtle aspect of grammar, primarily characterized by the use of specific morphemes such as *-i*, *-hi*, *-li*, *-ki*, *-wu*, *-ku*, and *-chu*. These morphemes create causative verbs that allow the speaker to express the act of causing someone or something to perform a specific action. According to Sato (2023) and Yap & Ahn (2019), this morphological system is particularly significant due to Korean's

agglutinative nature, wherein morphemes are systematically added to verb roots to modify their meaning and grammatical function.

According to Jo (2021), each suffix has phonological and morphological implications depending on the final consonant of the verb stem and the suffix used. Certain suffixes are preferred in specific contexts due to ease of pronunciation or historical usage patterns. When these causative suffixes are applied to verb stems, phonological changes often occur. For example, if the verb stem ends in a vowel, the causative suffix may be added without much alteration. However, if the stem ends in a consonant, various phonological rules such as assimilation or elision may be applied to ensure smooth connection between the verb and the suffix. For example, when the verb *ikda* (to read) takes the causative suffix *-hi*, it becomes *ikhida*. In this case, the final consonant of the stem undergoes changes to accommodate the suffix. These phonological adjustments are essential for maintaining the natural flow and rhythm of Korean and reflect the phonological constraints inherent to the language. Understanding this process is especially important for Korean language learners, as it highlights the interaction between morphology, phonology, and syntax in Korean (Sato, 2023).

(7) 가. 언니가 동생에게 밥을 먹였다. (먹+이+었+다)

나. 언니가 의자에 동생을 앉혔다. (앉+히+었+다)

다. 언니가 동생을 울렸다. (울+리+었+다)

라. 언니가 동생에게 양말을 신겼다. (신+기+었+다)

마. 언니가 동생을 깨웠다. (깨+우+었+다)

바. 그 농부는 밭을 일구었다. (일+구+었+다)

사. 선생님이 학생들에게 시험 날짜를 맞추었다. (맞+추+었+다)

In morphological causatives, the *-i* suffix is mainly added to transitive verbs to indicate that the subject causes the object to perform the action of the verb. In example (6a), *meokida* (to feed) is the causative form of *meokda* (to eat). When changed to *meogyeotda* (fed), it means “to make someone eat” or “to feed someone.” This indicates that the older sister is not merely eating by herself but is encouraging or allowing her younger sibling to eat. This example not only illustrates the causative structure in Korean but also reflects cultural dynamics such as family roles. It shows how the causative suffix modifies the verb’s meaning to express a direct causative relationship between subject and object. Meanwhile, the *-hi* suffix is often used to express less direct or forceful causation. In example (6b), *anjhida* is the causative form of *anjda* (to sit). When changed to *anjhyeotda* (made [someone] sit), it means “to have someone sit” or “to make someone sit.” This implies that the older sister is not just sitting herself but is causing her younger sibling to sit.

The *-li* suffix expresses a more direct or forceful causative action, while *-ki* indicates a more general causative meaning. In example (6c), *ullida* is the causative form of *ulda* (to cry). When changed to *ullyeotda* (made [someone] cry), it conveys the meaning “to make someone cry.” This suggests that the sister’s actions or words caused the sibling to cry. In example (6d), *singida* is the causative form of *sinda* (to wear [socks or shoes]). When changed to *singyeotda* (put [something] on someone), it means “to make someone wear” or “to help someone put on”

socks or shoes. This causative construction emphasizes that the sister actively helps the sibling to put on socks, reflecting different degrees of initiative and control over others' actions.

Additionally, the suffix **-우** is mainly used with verbs that denote a change of state or condition, while the suffixes **-구** and **-추** can be used in certain contexts to express causative actions related to movement or transformation. In example (6ma), *kkaeuda* means "to wake someone up." The form *kkaewotda* is the past tense of this verb, indicating that the act of waking someone up has already been completed. This verb refers to a situation where the older sister causes the younger sibling to wake up.

In Korean, the causative suffix **-구** is relatively rare compared to more common causative suffixes such as **-이**, **-히**, **-리**, **-기**, and **-우**. This suffix is found only in a few verbs, such as *ilguda*, which means "to cultivate" or "to develop." It carries a causative meaning of making something grow or progress. In example (6ba), *ilguda* is a derived verb from *ilda*. *Ilguda* refers to a farmer's action of cultivating a field to make it productive or suitable for farming. It reflects that the farmer is actively guiding the field to change into a state suitable for agriculture.

Like **-구**, the causative suffix **-추** is also rarely used compared to other common causative suffixes. In example (6sa), *matchuda* is the causative form of *matda*, where *matda* means "to be suitable" or "to be correct." In the causative form, *matchuda* conveys meanings like "to adjust," "to make suitable," or "to align." It refers to a situation where the teacher is actively adjusting the test date to make it suitable for the students. The use of such suffixes emphasizes the flexibility of Korean in expressing complex causative relationships, allowing the speaker to convey subtle differences in intention and meaning.

Montrul (2000) states that the interaction of these morphemes not only enriches the morphological causative system of Korean but also presents a fascinating challenge to learners whose native languages do not use similar morphological structures. Studies suggest that learners whose native languages lack explicit causative morphology may find it difficult to grasp the subtle distinctions in Korean causatives, indicating the importance of understanding these morphemes for effective communication in Korean. Therefore, the Korean morphological causative system is an important area of study for both linguists and language educators, providing significant insight into understanding the complexity of Korean syntax and semantics.

Furthermore, the formation of causative constructions in Korean involves not just the addition of morphemes, but also a deeper syntactic restructuring that reconfigures the roles of participants in the action. **Yap & Ahn (2019)** note that causative morphemes can change the argument structure of base verbs, leading to various interpretations of agency and responsibility. **Sato (2023)** highlights that this complexity is especially prominent in the interaction between causative and passive constructions, where certain morphemes can serve dual functions depending on the context.

3.3. Characteristics of Korean Morphological Causatives

One of the characteristics of Korean morphological causatives, using suffixes like **-이**, **-히**, **-리**, **-기**, **-우**, **-구**, **-추**, is their notably low degree of morphological productivity in causative formation, a characteristic that distinguishes it from languages with more expansive causative

systems. This low productivity is evident in the limited applicability across diverse verb classes and the lack of extension to non-verbal categories, contrasting sharply with the flexibility observed in more productive causative morphologies.

Korean morphological causatives are characterized by their low productivity, a defining feature stemming from several factors. Unlike languages with regular causative formation, Korean utilizes a variety of suffixes -이, -히, -리, -기, -우, -구, -추 with unpredictable distributions, limiting their application to a restricted set of verbs. Furthermore, many existing morphological causatives have undergone lexicalization, functioning as independent lexical items rather than transparently derived forms, thus diminishing the productive role of the suffixes. The availability of highly productive syntactic causative constructions, primarily using "시키다" (sikida), further reduces the need for morphological causatives. Compounding this, historical linguistic changes indicate a decline in the productivity of morphological causatives over time, making their limited and irregular nature a central characteristic of this linguistic phenomenon.

A significant characteristic of Korean morphological causatives is their strong lexical constraint, meaning the selection of a specific causative suffix -이, -히, -리, -기, -우, -구, -추 is primarily determined by the individual verb's lexical properties rather than any predictable, overarching rule. This constraint results in an arbitrary distribution of suffixes, requiring learners to memorize which suffix attaches to which base verb. For instance, while "-이" is used to form "높이다" from "높다", it cannot be applied universally to all adjectives or intransitive verbs to create causatives. Similarly, "-기" created "숨기다" from "숨다", but this pattern does not extend predictably to other verbs. This lexical specificity means that the choice of suffix is not semantically transparent or predictable, often necessitating rote learning and highlighting the irregular nature of Korean morphological causative formation. In essence, Korean morphological causatives are not systematically derived through general grammatical rules, but rather are closely associated with the lexical properties of individual verbs in the mental lexicon. For foreign learners of Korean, understanding and using causative forms is essential to grasp Korean grammar and semantics. Therefore, clearly explaining the concept and usage of morphological causatives helps learners acquire Korean more effectively.

(8) 가. 농부가 소를 먹인다.

(9) 가. 농부가 소를 기른다.

(8 가)의 문장에서 the verb "먹인다" can also imply the meaning of the verb "기른다" in sentence (9 가) illustrates a fascinating characteristic of Korean morphological causatives. This demonstrates how the causative form can extend beyond the immediate act of causing an action (feeding) to encompass a broader sense of care and responsibility (raising). The use of "먹이다" in this context signifies not just the act of providing food, but also the ongoing commitment and effort involved in nurturing and maintaining the cow's well-being. This broader interpretation highlights how Korean causatives can encapsulate a range of related actions and implications, moving beyond a simple cause-and-effect relationship to encompass a more holistic view of the interaction between the subject and the object. This semantic flexibility is

a distinctive feature of Korean causatives, showcasing their capacity to convey nuanced meanings within a single verb form.

The interaction of Korean morphological causatives with honorifics presents a complex linguistic phenomenon, adding layers of politeness and formality to causative expressions. Unlike syntactic causatives, which can relatively straightforwardly incorporate honorific markers, morphological causatives often require nuanced adjustments. When a causative suffix is attached, the resulting verb inherits the potential for honorific marking, but the specific form and its interpretation can vary. For instance, the causative verb may take on honorific suffixes directly, or the honorificity may be conveyed through the choice of auxiliary verbs or sentence-ending particles. Furthermore, the level of politeness expressed can depend on the social relationship between the speaker, the causee (the person affected by the causation), and the subject of the causative action. This interaction highlights how the causative process is not merely a grammatical transformation but also a sociolinguistic act, where the speaker carefully manages the expression of power, respect, and social distance through the intricate interplay of causative morphology and honorific marking.

For instance, in a basic sentence like "아이가 밥을 먹었어요.", the causative form "어머니가 아이에게 밥을 먹였어요." can be further elevated to "어머니께서 아이에게 밥을 먹이셨어요." Here, the subject marker "가" is replaced with the honorific "께서", and the verb stem is modified with the honorific suffix "-시-". This exemplifies how causative verbs, when used to describe actions involving individuals deserving of respect, undergo morphological changes to reflect the appropriate level of politeness, showcasing the intricate interplay between causative formation and honorific marking in Korean. Unlike Malay, which relies primarily on lexical choice and context for honorifics, Korean encodes respect grammatically. When a causative verb is formed using suffixes like -이, -히, -리, -기, -우, -구, or -추, the resulting verb inherits the potential for honorific marking.

Korean morphological causatives exhibit a unique set of characteristics, notably their low degree of productivity, marked by irregular suffix application and competition with syntactic causatives. This is compounded by a strong lexical constraint, where suffix selection is verb-specific and unpredictable, demanding rote memorization. Despite these limitations, Korean causatives display semantic flexibility, allowing for nuanced distinctions as illustrated by examples like "농부가 소를 먹인다" vs. "농부가 소를 기른다", showcasing varying degrees of causation. Furthermore, the interaction of causative morphology with the intricate Korean honorific system adds layers of social meaning, requiring careful consideration of speaker-listener relationships and subject status, thus making causative usage a complex interplay of grammatical derivation and sociolinguistic expression. These characteristics collectively define Korean morphological causatives as a system rich in detail but limited in general applicability.

CHAPTER 4

4.1. The Concept of Malay Morphological Causatives

The concept of morphological causatives in Malay is an important element in its grammatical structure, allowing speakers to express causation through specific verb forms. This involves the alteration of a verb's meaning, shifting it from a simple action to one of causation. Malay causative constructions generally involve affixes that modify the meaning of a verb, indicating that one entity induces another to perform a specific action or undergo a change. These affixes attach to base verbs to create new causative verbs, which are essential for conveying causation.

According to Yusuf & Mulyadi (2021), the most common morphological causative marker in Malay is the prefix *meN-* (where *N* represents a nasal consonant that assimilates to the initial sound of the base verb). This prefix is usually combined with the suffix *-kan*, forming the circumfix *meN-...-kan* construction that alters the meaning of the verb.

For example, the verb 'pakai' (to wear) combines with *meN-...-kan* to form 'memakaikan', which means causing someone to wear something. Another example is the verb *tidur* (to sleep), which can transform into *menidurkan* (to put someone to sleep). This transformation indicates an action where the subject induces another person to sleep, clearly expressing causation.

Below are the sample sentences for Malay morphological causatives, especially using the verb 'pakai' and 'tidur'.

(8) 가. Ibu mem-akai-kan baju itu kepada adik.

엄마 사동-입히-사동 옷 그 에게 동생

엄마는 동생에게 그 옷을 입혔다.

나. Ali men-idur-kan anaknya di dalam bilik.

알리 사동-재우-사동 아이 에서 방

알리는 아이를 방에서 재웠다.

Also according to Yusuf & Mulyadi (2021), these causative markers are versatile, attaching not only to verbs but also to adjectives, nouns, and even numerals. The application of the *meN-...-kan* to numerals, as seen in words like "menyatukan" (to unite) and "menduakan" (to duplicate/betray), presents a unique aspect of the language's flexibility. While less common than with verbs or adjectives, this usage demonstrates the causative marker's ability to transform numerals into verbs that express the act of causing a quantity to be realized. In 4.3. Section, it will discuss the *meN-...-kan* causative markers with the numerals.

In conclusion, the concept of Malay morphological causatives focuses on expressing causation by modifying verb meaning and grammatical structure through affixation, particularly the *meN-...-kan* construction. This emphasizes the role of the subject in causing a specific action or change. Such morphological processes enhance Malay's ability to explain the complex relationships between subjects and objects, expanding the expressive potential of

the language. The ability to apply these morphemes to verbs, adjectives, and nouns demonstrates Malay’s flexibility, while the social implications of causative structures reflect the dynamics of interpersonal communication. Understanding these aspects provides deep insights into Malay’s structure and communicative functions, which hold significance for both native speakers and learners. Although morphological causatives are prominent in the language, they are often used alongside syntactic strategies, showcasing Malay’s flexibility and richness in expressing causation.

4.1.1. Types of Malay Morphological Causatives

The Malay circumfix meN-...-kan is the most common and crucial morphological tool for creating causative verbs. The "meN-" prefix, which varies in form depending on the initial consonant of the root word, initiates the verbalization process, while "-kan" adds the causative dimension.

Consider the example "duduk" (to sit). By applying "meN-...-kan," we get "mendudukkan," which translates to "to seat someone." This illustrates how the circumfix transforms a simple verb into a causative one, clearly showing that the subject is actively causing someone or something to be seated. Similarly, "kumpul" (to gather) becomes "mengumpulkan" (to gather something for someone), emphasizing the action of collecting and directing items to a specific recipient or purpose.

동사	meN-...-kan
lihat (보다)	(me-) me-lihat-kan
baca (읽다)	(mem-) mem-baca-kan
tulis (쓰다)	(men-) me-nulis-kan
ajar (가르치다)	(meng-) meng-ajar-kan
sebab (원인/이유)	(meny-) meny-ebab-kan
kejut (깨다)	(menge-) menge-jut-kan

Table 2 showed the types and classification of Malay morphological causatives.

Therefore, "meN-...-kan" consistently conveys a sense of causation, where the subject actively initiates and directs an action concerning an object or person. This grammatical structure is a fundamental tool in Malay for expressing transitive causative actions, highlighting the subject's role in bringing about a specific outcome for the object.

4.2. The Formation of Malay Morphological Causatives

The formation of the circumfix *meN-...-kan* in Malay is unique because when the prefix *meN-* is attached to the beginning of a base verb and the suffix *-kan* is added at the end, it can create a causative meaning. The role of 'N' in *meN-* undergoes nasalization, changing based on the initial consonant of the base verb. 접사 *meN-*은 여섯 가지 이형태를 가지고 있다: {*mə-*}, {*məm-*}, {*mən-*}, {*məŋ-*}, {*məŋə-*}, {*mən-*}. 이들은 다음과 같은 상황에서 나타날 수 있다.

1. **{*mə-*}** – The affix {*məN-*} appears as ***mə-*** when attached to words beginning with /i/, /r/, /m/, /w/, or /y/. Examples include *melawat*, *merebus*, *merawat*, *memusuhi*, *mewangi*, *menganga*, *menanti*, and *menyanyi*.
2. **{*məm-*}** – The affix {*məN-*} appears as ***məm-*** when attached to words beginning with /b/, /p/, or /f/. Examples include *membuat*, *membawa*, *memakai*, *memberi*, *memproses*, and *memprotes*.
3. **{*mən-*}** – The affix {*məN-*} appears as ***mən-*** when attached to words beginning with /c/, /y/, or /z/. Additionally, when the prefix *me-* combines with root words starting with *t* or *d*, it transforms into *men-*.
 - For root words beginning with *t*, the *t* sound is omitted. Examples include *mendaki* (to climb), *mendakwa* (to accuse), *menari* (to dance), *menanam* (to plant), and *menuai* (to harvest).
 - However, in specific words like *tertawa* (to laugh), *terjemah* (to translate), *tafsir* (to interpret), and *tenteram* (to be at peace), the *t* sound remains, resulting in forms like *mentertawa* (to laugh), *menterjemah* (to translate), *mentafsir* (to interpret), and *mententeramkan* (to pacify). Other words of a similar type may exist.
4. **{*məŋ-*}** – The affix {*məN-*} appears as ***məŋ-*** when attached to words beginning with /a/, /e/, /i/, /o/, /u/, /g/, or /k/.
 - When the root word begins with *k*, the *k* sound is omitted, except in loanwords or words with multiple meanings.
 - For example, *kaji* can transform into *mengaji* (to recite the Quran) or *mengkaji* (to study).
 - Other examples of words that take the *meng-* form include *menggali* (to dig), *mengutip* (to collect), *menggulung* (to roll), *mengkhususkan* (to specialize), *mengail* (to fish), *mengekor* (to follow), *mengambil* (to take), *mengkritik* (to criticize), *mengeram* (to incubate/ferment), and *mengkoordinasi* (to coordinate).
5. **{*məŋə-*}** – The affix {*məN-*} appears as ***məŋə-*** when attached to monosyllabic words.

- When the root word consists of a single syllable, the *me-* prefix transforms into *menge-*.
 - Examples include *bom* (bomb) → *mengebom* (to bomb), *cap* (stamp) → *mengecap* (to stamp), *cat* (paint) → *mengecat* (to paint), *sah* (valid) → *mengesahkan* (to validate), and *lap* (wipe) → *mengelap* (to wipe).
6. **{məŋ-}** – The affix {məŋ-} appears as **məŋ-** when attached to words beginning with /s/.
- When the root word starts with *j*, *c*, *sy*, or *s*, the *men-* prefix changes to *meny-*.
 - Examples include *mencari* (to search), *menjalar* (to creep), *menyahut* (to respond), *menyara* (to support), and *mensyaratkan* (to set conditions).

The meN- prefix can be easily modified into its causative form by simply adding the suffix *-kan* to verbs, adjectives, or nouns that already contain the *meN-* prefix.

4.3. Characteristics of Malay Morphological Causatives

One of the characteristics of Malay morphological causatives is the meN-...-kan circumfix exhibits a notably high degree of morphological productivity in causative formation, a characteristic that distinguishes it from languages with more constrained causative systems. This productivity is evidenced by the construction's broad applicability across diverse verb classes, and even extends to non-verbal categories, demonstrating a flexibility rarely observed in causative morphology.

Despite the six phonologically conditioned variations of the 'meN-' prefix (*me-*, *mem-*, *men-*, *meng-*, *meny-*, *menge-*), which are governed by predictable phonological rules ensuring a systematic and transparent process, the 'meN-...-kan' circumfix construction maintains a high degree of morphological productivity. Therefore, while there are multiple forms, the choice of form is governed by clear phonological rules, making the process predictable. Despite the variations, the core function of "meN-" remains consistent: to indicate the active involvement of the subject in the action. The suffix "-kan" also maintains its consistent causative function. This consistency in function, even with phonological variations, contributes to the overall productivity of the construction.

Crucially, the core causative function, indicating the subject's active instigation of an action, remains consistent across all variations and applications of the circumfix. This regularity, coupled with the construction's capacity to transitive verbs and introduce nuanced layers of agentivity and control, underscores its robust and productive nature within Malay grammar. Such productivity facilitates the generation of a wide array of causative forms, enhancing the language's expressive capacity and reflecting a highly regular and systematic morphological process.

To further reinforce the claim that Malay exhibits higher morphological productivity, the circumfix *meN-...-kan* can even be applied to numerals. Yusuf & Mulyadi (2021) highlight a unique characteristic of Malay causatives, specifically the meN-...-kan construction, which sets it apart from other languages. One notable feature is its ability to be applied to numerals, a

phenomenon not commonly observed in many other linguistic systems. However, this application is not unrestricted; rather, it is constrained to only two specific numerals, namely *satu* (one) and *dua* (two). This suggests that while Malay allows numerical causativization, it does so in a highly selective manner. The limitation raises questions about the underlying linguistic principles governing the use of numerals in causative constructions, such as whether it is influenced by cognitive constraints, frequency of usage, or syntactic restrictions. Further exploration into this phenomenon could provide deeper insights into the interaction between morphology, syntax, and semantics in Malay.

The following are examples of sentences that combine *meN-...-kan* with numerals.

(9) 가. Projek ini bertujuan untuk menyatukan data dari berbagai sumber.

프로젝트 이 목표 -로 통합 데이터 의 다양한 출처

이 프로젝트는 다양한 출처의 데이터를 통합하는 것을 목표로 한다.

나. Abu telah menduakan isterinya dengan wanita lain.

아부 -했다 사동-바람을 피우-사동 아내 과/와 여자 다른

아부는 아내를 두고 다른 여자와 바람을 피웠다.

다. Janganlah kita menduakan Allah dengan sesuatu pun.

-지 말자 우리 동등하다 하나님 과/와 어떠

우리는 하나님께 어떠한 것도 동등하게 여기지 말자

(9 가)의 문장에서 states that the project's objective is to unify data from various sources. "Menyatukan" derived from "*satu*" (one), signifies the action of making multiple entities become one, highlighting a process of unification.

"Menduakan," from "*dua*" (two), indicates the act of making something into two or signifies an action that violates the trust given by another person. (9 나)의 문장에서 conveys the meaning of betrayal or breach of trust where Abu is having an affair and making his girlfriend second to his wife.

In a religious context, (9 다)의 문장에서 particularly within Islamic theology, "menduakan" refers to the act of *shirk*, which is associating partners with Allah. This sentence emphasizes the absolute oneness of God and warns against any form of polytheism or idolatry. The use of "menduakan" in this context highlights the act of treating something else as equal to or alongside God, which is strictly forbidden.

Thus, the meaning of *menduakan* depends on its context, as it can convey different interpretations. One meaning is to make someone second, as seen in example 9 다, while another is to place someone in a secondary position, often implying betrayal, particularly in romantic relationships, as shown in example 9 나.

Though these forms are not as frequent, they illustrate the productive nature of Malay affixation and its capacity to extend causative meaning even to numerical concepts, showcasing a distinct characteristic of Malay morphology when compared to languages like Korean.

As mentioned in another section, the uniqueness of Malay morphological causatives is using circumfix *meN-...-kan* form that effectively expresses causation. This circumfix structure is essential for understanding how causative meaning is formed in Malay and reflects the language's rich morphological system (Yusuf & Mulyadi, 2021).

One of the key characteristics of the *meN-...-kan* construction is its ability to convey varying degrees of agentivity and control. The prefix *meN-* often implies that the subject is actively involved in the action, while the suffix *-kan* can indicate a more direct and intentional causative relationship. For example, the verb *buat* (to make) can be transformed into *membuatkan* (to cause someone to make), where the subject is regarded as the instigator of the action. This structure reflects different levels of subject involvement, allowing for a nuanced expression of causation.

The circumfix *meN-...-kan* construction in Malay exhibits key characteristics such as its morphemic structure, flexibility across various verb types, and the ability to convey nuanced meanings related to agentivity and control. Its interaction with other grammatical elements further enriches the Malay language, while its cultural implications reflect the social dynamics of Malay-speaking communities. Understanding this construction is essential for grasping the complexities of Malay syntax and semantics, ultimately enhancing the ability to communicate effectively in the language.

In conclusion, Malay's morphological causatives, primarily formed through the *meN-...-kan* circumfix, demonstrates a high degree of productivity and systematicity. While the *meN-* prefix exhibits phonologically conditioned variations, these are governed by predictable rules, ensuring transparency and consistency. The circumfix's capacity to transitive verbs, introduce nuanced agentivity, and its broad applicability across verb classes, and even extending to non-verbal categories, underscores its robust and flexible nature. This productive system enhances the language's expressive power, allowing Malay speakers to convey complex causative relationships with precision and regularity.

CHAPTER 5

5. Similarities and Differences between Korean and Malay Morphological Causatives

Korean and Malay morphological causatives reflect their respective linguistic structures and cultural contexts, yet they also share notable similarities and differences. Understanding these aspects provides deeper insight into how causation is expressed in each language. Below are the similarities and differences between Korean causative suffixes (-이, -히, -리, -기, -우, -구, -추) and Malay morphological causatives (meN-...-kan).

5.1. Similarities

Korean and Malay morphological causative constructions exhibit remarkable similarities in several respects. Functionally, both languages possess systems that produce verbs expressing the concept of causing an action. In other words, simple verbs such as “먹다 (to eat)” or “자다 (to sleep)” can be transformed into causative verbs like “먹이다 (to feed)” or “재우다 (to put to sleep),” indicating that one subject causes another to perform an action. This capacity is especially notable in that both languages are able to express both direct and indirect causation.

Morphologically, both Korean and Malay use affixes—prefixes and suffixes—to modify verb meanings and derive causative forms. In Korean, causatives are primarily formed by adding suffixes to the verb stem, while Malay employs both prefixes and suffixes. The key similarity is that in both languages, affixes systematically alter the meaning of the verb and effectively encode the concept of causation within the verb itself. This shared feature of manipulating verb meanings through affixation reveals a fundamental structural similarity in how the two languages express causative relationships.

5.2. Differences

1) The Meaning of Causative Verbs

When examining the semantic differences between Korean and Malay, Korean demonstrates a certain flexibility where a single causative verb form like *먹인다* can express both a direct causative meaning (“to make [someone] eat”) and a broader or more indirect causative meaning (“to raise/feed” in the sense of nurturing).

In contrast, Malay avoids the semantic ambiguity of a single causative form by using separate verbs for each distinct action. Malay does not employ morphological causatives in the same way as Korean. Instead, it tends to express causation through verb phrases or by using different root verbs altogether.

For instance, in the Korean sentence *농부가 소를 먹인다* (“The farmer feeds the cow”), the causative suffix *-이* is used to indicate a morphological causative, meaning that the farmer performs an action that causes the cow to eat. This expression can be extended to a more abstract interpretation—as in *농부가 소를 기른다* (“The farmer raises the cow”)—where the causative form implies that the farmer is involved in the cow’s growth or maintenance. This demonstrates a conceptual link between the acts of feeding and raising.

In Malay, however, expressing the idea of “raising” a cow requires a more specific phrase. To convey the meaning of “to raise” or “to nurture,” one would use constructions like *Petani itu membela lembu itu* or *Petani itu menternak lembu itu*. Here, *membela* and *menternak* inherently carry the meaning of caring for an animal so it can grow well.

The Korean verb 먹다 shows that a single causative form can acquire a broad semantic range by being linked to the base action. In contrast, Malay clearly distinguishes between the acts of feeding and raising by using separate verbs, reflecting a difference in how the two languages encode semantic relationships. In short, while Korean causative verbs can be lexically extended, such usage is not possible in Malay, where distinct vocabulary must be employed.

2) Characteristics of Causative Suffixes

Korean utilizes a set of suffixes (-이, -히, -리, -기, -우, -구, -추) to form morphological causatives. However, their application is restricted and not universally productive. The choice of suffix is often lexically determined, meaning it's tied to specific verbs and not predictable based on general rules. Notice that there is no clear rule that can determine which suffix should be added to each verb. Many verbs do not have corresponding causative forms created by these suffixes, necessitating the use of periphrastic constructions.

For Malay, it is different from Korean because Malay mainly uses the circumfix form meN-...-kan (where “meN-” represents variations like “me-”, “mem-”, “men-”, “meng-”, “meny-”, and “menge-”) to express morphological causatives with high productivity. The prefix (meN-) and the suffix (-kan) combine to add a causative meaning to the verb. The prefix “meN-” transforms the verb into an active form, and when combined with “-kan,” it forms a circumfix that adds a causative nuance.

This circumfix can be applied to a wide range of verbs, consistently creating causative forms with the meaning of “to cause to do” or “to make someone do”. This system creates a very regular and predictable causative formation.

3) Productivity of Morphological Causatives

Korean causative suffixes have low morphological productivity. Suffixes that form causative verbs -이, -히, -리, -기, -우, -구, -추 are limited in application and often restricted to specific verb stems, showing low productivity and predictability so learners often have to memorize them. The usage of -이, -히, -리, -기, -우, -구, -추 is often tied to specific verbs and can be unpredictable. This means that one can't simply take any verb and reliably create a causative form by adding a suffix. For example, while “먹다 (to eat)” becomes “먹이다 (to feed),” “자다 (to sleep)” becomes “재우다 (to put someone to sleep),” showing that different suffixes are used depending on the verb.

Meanwhile for Malay, exhibits a highly productive causative formation, primarily through the use of the circumfix meN-...-kan. This allows for the creation of causative form from various verb roots, adjectives, and even nouns. This prefix can be attached to many base verbs to create the meaning of “to cause something to happen” or “to make someone do something”. These causative formations are generally predictable and widely applicable, showcasing a high degree of morphological productivity.

Despite the six phonologically conditioned variations of the 'meN-' prefix (me-, mem-, men-, meng-, meny-, menge-), the 'meN-...-kan' circumfix construction maintains a high degree of morphological productivity. Therefore, while there are multiple forms, the choice of form is governed by clear phonological rules, making the process predictable.

To further reinforce the claim that Malay exhibits higher morphological productivity, the circumfix *meN-...-kan* can even be applied to numerals. It is constrained to only two specific numerals, namely *satu* (one) and *dua* (two). This suggests that while Malay allows numerical causativization, it does so in a highly selective manner.

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