

## THE MEANINGS OF THE TWO PASSIVES IN KOREAN

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The present paper deals with distinguishing the meanings of the two passives in Korean, thereby revealing a systematic nature of the Korean verb system. One passive form is made with the infix and the other with the auxiliary verb *cita*. In productivity the two passives are different from each other. The auxiliary passive is productive whereas the infix passive is not. However, they have been regarded to be synonymous. It is claimed in this paper that the two passives have different meanings. The infix passive denotes spontaneous and accidental process whereas the auxiliary passive denotes processes which are carried out intentionally.

This present chapter deals with distinguishing the meanings of the two passives in Korean, thereby revealing the systematic nature of the Korean verb system. One passive form is made with the infix *-hi-* and the other with the auxiliary verb *cita*. In productivity the two passives are different from each other. The auxiliary passive is productive whereas the infix passive is not. However, they have been regarded to be synonymous. It is claimed here that the two passives have different meanings. The infix passive denotes spontaneous and accidental process whereas the auxiliary passive denotes processes which are carried out intentionally. Sentence (1) below means that the chimney was blocked naturally ; sentence (2) means that the chimney was blocked with some efforts.

- (1) 굴뚝이 막혀있다.  
Kwultwuki makhiessta.  
The chimney is stopped up.
- (2) 굴뚝이 막아 지었다.  
Kwultwuki maka ciessta.  
The chimney managed to be stopped up.

So natural phenomena and processes which are not and cannot be controlled by humans are expressed by the infix passive.

This suggests that the function of the intransitive verbs and that of the infix passives are very similar to each other. The processes denoted by the intransitive verbs are spontaneous and automatic just as those denoted by the infix passives are. In (3) and (4) an intransitive verb and an infix passive are used respectively.

- (3) 그 옷은 몸에 찌찌 붙는다.  
Ku osun momey ccekceek puthnunta.

The clothes cling to the body.

(4) 그 옷은 몸에 칭칭 감기이다.

Ku osun momey chingching kamkinta.

The clothes wind around the body.

Despite their morphological difference both intransitive verbs and infix passives denote spontaneous processes, whose occurrences are attributable to the nature of the subject noun phrase, rather than to the agent.

These functional similarities between the intransitives and the infix passives can account for the complementary distribution of the two: transitive verbs which are derived from intransitive verbs do not have the infix passives, and only transitive verbs which are not derived from intransitives have the infix passives. The verb *tol-li-ta* 'to turn' (Vt) is derived from *tol-ta* (Vi) and does not have an infix passive. The verb *mak-ta* 'to block' does not have an intransitive verb and it has an infix passive *mak-hi-ta*. This complementary distribution of the intransitive verbs and the infix passives seems to confirm the functional similarities between the two.

To summarize, there can be two kinds of processes: spontaneous and non-spontaneous. The former is expressed by intransitives and passives, and the latter by the auxiliary verb *cita* in Korean. This discovery helps us to account for the complementary distribution of the intransitive verbs and the infix passives. In what follows, the auxiliary passive and the infix passive will be compared and contrasted.

The auxiliary verb *cita* (지다) can be combined with transitives, intransitives and adjectives. In what follows we will examine what meanings the auxiliary verb adds to the words with which it combines. First, transitive verbs will be examined.

## 1. Transitive Verbs

To characterize some differences among the transitive verbs, the transitive verbs can be classified as in (1) in terms of derivation. The transitive verbs in (1a) have their corresponding passives. Those in (1b) are derived from their corresponding intransitive verbs, and those in (1c) are derived from adjectives. In (1d), the causative verbs are derived from transitive verbs. In (1e) some transitives verbs are listed, but they do not have any corresponding intransitive verbs.

### (1) a. Transitives with Passives

transitives

찍다

passives

찍히다

ccik-ta

집다  
cip-ta  
pick up

끌다  
kkul-ta  
draw

막다  
mak-ta  
block

ccik-hi-ta

집히다  
cip-hi-ta

끌리다  
kkul-li-ta

막히다  
mak-hi-ta

## b. Transitives derived from Intransitives

transitives

intransitives

굴리다  
kwul-li-ta  
roll

구르다  
kwulu-ta

끓이다  
kkulh-li-ta  
boil

끓다  
kkulh-ta

올리다  
ol-li-ta  
raise

오르다  
olu-ta

녹이다  
nok-i-ta  
melt

녹다  
nok-ta

## c. Transitives derived from Adjectives

transitives

adjectives

좁히다  
cop-hi-ta  
narrow  
넓히다  
nelp-hi-ta

좁다  
cop-ta  
넓다  
nelp-ta

widen	_____
굽히다	굽다
kwup-hi-ta	kwup-ta
bend	_____
낮추다	낮다
nuchwuu-ta	nuc-ta
lower	_____

## d. Causatives derived from Transitives

causatives	transitives
신기다	신다
sin-ki-ta	sin-ta
put on shoes	_____
입히다	입다
ip-hi-ta	ip-ta
put on clothes	_____
읽히다	읽다
ilk-hi-ta	ilk-ta
read	_____
씻기다	씻다
ssis-ki-ta	ssis-ta
wash	_____

## e. Other transitives with neither passives nor intransitives

닮다	좋아하다
talm-ta	cohahata
resemble	like
섬기다	달래다
semkita	tallayta
respect	soothe
다루다	
talwuta	
deal with	

### 1.1. Distribution

When we confine our attention to the first three transitive verbs, we can note the following distributional pattern.

(2)

	Vt	Vi	Passive	- <i>cita</i>
a	mak-ta	0	mak-hi-ta	mak-a-cita
b	kwul-li-ta	kwulu-ta	0	kwul-li-e-cita
c	cop-hi-ta	0	0	cop-hi-a-cita

From the above chart we can note that transitives with their corresponding passives do not have intransitives, while those derived from intransitives do not have passives. So the intransitives and the passives seem to have a complementary distribution. The transitive verb *mak-ta*, for example, has the passive form, but it does not have its corresponding intransitive verb. The transitive verb *kwul-li-ta*, for another, is derived from the intransitive verb *kwulu-ta* and it does not have its passive form. The transitive verb *cop-hi-ta* is derived from the adjective *cop-ta*. It has neither the intransitive verb nor the passive verb. (Later it will be pointed out that *cop-a cita* has the same function as the intransitive verb.) The auxiliary verb *cita*, however, can be combined with all the different kinds of transitive verbs.

With the distributional pattern in (2) we can ask the following question: does the distributional pattern reveal an underlying regularity or is it simply a random occurrence? My conclusion is that the distributional pattern reflects a hidden regularity, which will be made clear in what follows.

### 1.2. Two Kinds of Processes

The distributional pattern in (2) seems to reflect our categorization of processes into two classes: autonomous and nonautonomous processes. When a process takes place or is believed to take place *of itself*, it is an autonomous process. On the other hand, when a process does not take place of itself, but takes place due to an outside agent or force, it is a nonautonomous process. To see the distinction between the two kinds of processes, let us compare the two verbs *thu-ta* and *thu-e cita*.

- (3) a. 짝이 (트/\*터지)었다.  
 ssaki (thu-/\*thue ci) essta.  
 The bud broke open.
- b. 동이 (트/\*터지)었다.  
 tongi (thu-/\*thue ci) essta.  
 The day broke.
- (4) a. 종기가 (\*트/터지)었다.

congkika (\*thu-/thue ci) essta.

The boil broke open.

b. 수도관이 (\*트/터지)었다.

swutokwani (\*thu-/thue ci) essta.

The waterpipe broke.

In (3) we can see that *ssak* 'bud' and *tong* 'daybreak' can be used with *thu-ta*, but not with *thu-e ci-ta*. On the other hand, *congki* 'boil' and *swutokwan* 'water pipe' can be used with *thu-e cita*, but not with *thu-ta*. The ungrammatical combinations call for some explanation.

Both *thu-ta* and *thu-e cita* are derived from the verb *thu-ta* 'to break open'. Both denote that some things are in a broken state. Their difference lies in the processes leading to the result. The process denoted by *thu-ta* is autonomous or is thought to be autonomous. In this case, we attribute some force or responsibility to the subject itself which undergoes the process. Let us think of chapped hands. Biologically speaking, there must be some cause for having chapped hands. The hands must have been wet or they must have been exposed to cold weather. The conjunction of water on the hand with the cold weather makes the hand chapped. But this external cause is disregarded, and the hand itself is regarded as responsible for the process and result. We express this as *son-i thu-ess-ta* 'the hand is chapped.' The expression *son-i thu-e ci-ess-ta* 'the hand is broken open' implies that the result is brought about by some external force such as hitting.

In the case of the hand, both *thu-ta* and *thu-e cita* can be used. But in the case of *swutokwan* 'waterpipe', it is used only with *thu-e cita*. Then, why is this the case? How is the hand different from the waterpipe? There are things, mostly animate things and machines, which are responsible for processes, in which they are involved and they undergo or are thought to undergo processes without any external forces. As for inanimate things, they are not thought to be responsible for processes affecting them. Thus, without some external force the process cannot take place. The waterpipe, for example, is not animate and is not thought to be responsible for its break. In cold weather sometimes, the water inside the pipe freezes up and the ice exerts some force on the pipe and it breaks. This force is regarded as an external one.

### 1.3. A New Pattern

In the preceding section we observed that there are two processes in Korean. In light of this observation, we can account for the distributional pattern in (2): the gaps and the complementary distribution of the intransitives and the passives. Both the intransitives and the passives are used to denote autonomous processes. Thus, there is no need for a transitive verb to have both intransitive and passive. For the transitive verbs derived from adjectives, there is neither intransitive nor passive. But adjectives can be directly combined

with *cita* as in *cop-a cita*. This derived form is used to describe autonomous processes. On the basis of these observations, we can rearrange the distributional pattern presented in (2) into the following one.

(5)

<u>Transitives</u>	<u>Autonomous</u>	<u>Nonautonomous</u>
mak-ta	mak-hi-ta	mak-a cita
kwul-li-ta	kwulu-ta	kwul-li-e-cita
cop-hi-ta	cop-a cita	cop-hi-e cita
sinki-ta		sin-ki-e cita

Under the 'autonomous' heading in (5), there is the passive form *mak-hi-ta*, the intransitive form *kwulu-ta* and the compound form *cop-a cita*. But despite this formal difference, the three forms seem to have the same function of describing the autonomous process. The causative verbs derived from transitive verbs such as *sin-ki-ta* do not have their corresponding intransitive verbs nor passives. But they can be combined with *cita* as in (6) :

- (6) 그 신이 아이에게 신기어지었다.  
 ku sini aieykey sinkie ciessta.  
 The shoes could be put on the child.

## 2. Justification

In this section the simple passive form (using the infix) will be compared with the compound passive form (using the auxiliary verb *cita*) in terms of meaning, in order to justify the claim that the simple passives denote autonomous processes and that the intransitives and the simple passives, although different in form, have the same function of denoting autonomous processes.

### 2.1. Simple Passives and Compound Passives

When the auxiliary verb *cita* is used with transitive verbs, it is thought to turn transitives into passives. Thus, it has been regarded that Korean has two kinds of passives : one is expressed by the suffix and the other by the auxiliary verb *cita*. To take *mek-ta* as an example, its simple passive is *mek-hi-ta* and its compound passive is *mek-e cita*. Syntactically the two forms are very similar. The transitive verb *mek-ta* takes a subject and an object. The object of the transitive verb becomes the subject of the simple and compound passives as can be seen in (8) :

- (7) 우리는 굴뚝을 막았다.  
 wulinun kwultwukul makassta.

We blocked the chimney.

- (8) a. 굴뚝이 막히었다.  
kwultwuki makhiessta.  
The chimney is blocked.
- b. 굴뚝이 막아졌다.  
kwultwuki maka ciessta.  
The chimney managed to be blocked.

In (8) the chimney, which is the object of the transitive verb in (7), is the subject of the two sentences.

In what follows we will examine the semantic differences between the simple and compound passives. Traditionally, the two forms were regarded to be synonymous. However, in this paper it will be shown that there are systematic differences between the two. First, observe the following pairs of sentences.

- (9) a. 나무 가지에 얼굴이 긁히었다.  
namu kaciey elkwuli kulkhiessta.  
The face is scratched from the tree branch.
- b. 나무 가지에 얼굴이 긁어졌다.  
namu kaciey elkwuli kulke ciessta.  
The face managed to be scratched with the tree branch.
- (10) a. 가시가 손에 박히었다.  
kasika soney pakhiessta.  
A thorn penetrated into the hand.
- b. 가시가 손에 박아졌다.  
kasika soney paka ciessta.  
A thorn managed to penetrate into the hand.
- (11) a. 하수구가 막히었다.  
haswukwuka makhiessta.  
The drainage blocked up.
- b. 하수구가 막아졌다.  
haswukwuka maka ciessta.  
The drainage managed to be blocked.

In (9-11) the simple passives and their corresponding compound passives are contrasted. When contrasted in this way, no native speaker of Korean would say that the paired sentences are synonymous. The compound passives on the one hand imply that :

1. the speaker wants to have a process to take place ;
2. there is some difficulty for it to take place ; and
3. there is a hidden agent behind the process.

On the other hand, when the simple passives are used, their processes are



thought to take place spontaneously. There is no implication of a hidden agent nor that of difficulty.

More specifically, in (9a) the simple passive *kulk-hi-ta* is used and it denotes that the process took place spontaneously or accidentally. It is neither planned nor intended. Whereas *kulk-e cita* in (9b) implies that the process was intended (possibly by the speaker) and that some difficulty was expected. In (10a) *pak-hi-ta* denotes that the process was accidental whereas *pak-a cita* in (10b) denotes that the process was intended or planned. The difference between *mak-hi-ta* and *mak-a cita* in (11) can be similarly accounted for in terms of spontaneity.

## 2.2. Exemplification

In the preceding paragraphs we examined and found that one main characteristic of the simple passives is *spontaneity*. This semantic characteristic can account for the following grammatical (or acceptable) and ungrammatical (or unacceptable) sentences.

- (12) a. 음식이 목에 걸리었다.  
 umsiki mokey kelliesta.  
 A piece of food was caught in the throat.
- b. ? 음식이 목에 걸어졌다.  
 umsiki mokey kele ciessta.  
 A piece of food managed to be caught in the throat.
- (13) a. 연이 전기줄에 걸리었다.  
 yeni cenwicwuley kelliesta.  
 The kite was caught on the telephone line.
- b. 연이 전기줄에 걸어졌다.  
 yeni cenwicwuley kele ciessta.  
 The kite managed to be caught on the telephone line.

In (12), the simple passive sounds natural but the compound passive sounds very awkward. The awkwardness of (12b) comes from the fact that nobody will try or intend to make food get caught in his throat. When *kel-e ci-ta* is used, we feel that someone tried to make the food get stuck in the throat. The two sentences in (13) are both natural. A kite can be caught on a telephone line both by accident (13a) or on purpose (13b).

I have claimed that a hidden agent is involved in the compound passives. We will examine whether this is plausible or not by using the postposition *-ulo* and *-ey*. Let us compare the following two sentences.

- (14) a. 나는 숯불에 고기를 구웠다.  
 nanun swuchpuley kokilul kwuwessta.  
 I roasted the meat on the charcoal fire.

- b. 나는 숯불로 고기를 구웠다.  
 nanun swuchpullo kokilul kwuwessta.  
 I roasted the meat using the charcoal fire.

At first glance the two sentences in (14) seem to be synonymous. Yet a closer examination reveals that they are not. Both *swuchpul-ey* and *swuchpul-lo* serves as instrumental, but they are different in kind. *swuchpul-ey* can be regarded as a static instrumental in the sense that the agent makes use of it where it is. On the other hand, *swuchpul-lo* can be regarded as an active instrumental in the sense that the agent manipulates it while roasting the meat. This means that the instrumental phrase *NP-ulo* can be used only when an agent appears or is implied in a sentence. We can read a clear-cut difference between *NP-ulo* and *NP-ey* in the following pair.

- (15) a. ?우리는 모래주머니에 독을 막았다.  
 wulinun molaycwumeniey twukul makassta.  
 We blocked the dam with sand bags.  
 b. 우리는 모래주머니로 독을 막았다.  
 wulinun molay cwumenilo twukul makassta.  
 We blocked the dam with sand bags.

Sentence (15a) is anomalous, and its anomalousness can be accounted for in the following way: when a river is flooded because of its dam being broken, it is impossible to block it without moving sandbags to the dam. *NP-ey* in (15a) suggests that the sand bags were not moved. In (15b), on the other hand, it is implied that the agent moved sand bags to the dam.

On the basis of the above observation, we can predict that we can use *NP-ulo* with the compound passives, in which an agent is implied, whereas we cannot use *NP-ulo* with the simple passives, in which no agent is implied.

- (16) a. ?이 작은 글씨는 확대경으로 읽히었다.  
 i cakun kulssinun hwaktaykyengulo ilkhissta.  
 This small letter was read with a magnifying glass.  
 b. 이 작은 글씨는 확대경으로 읽어졌다.  
 i cakun kulssinun hwaktaykyengulo ilke cieszta.  
 This small letter was managed to be read with a magnifying glass.  
 (17) a. ?그 때는 기름으로 닦이였다.  
 ku ttaynun kilumulo ttakkieszta.  
 The dirt was cleaned onto the oil.  
 b. 그 때는 기름으로 닦아졌다.  
 ku ttaynun kilumulo ttakka cieszta.  
 The dirt managed to be cleaned with oil.

*NP-ulo* in (16-7) are more natural with the compound passives, whereas it is less natural with the simple passives, although not completely unacceptable.

This is due to the fact that an agent is implied in the compound passives. On the other hand, when *NP-ey* is used with the compound passives, it denotes not instrumentals, but goals or locations in some cases. In some other cases, it does not make any sense at all.

- (18) a. 그 돌은 지렛대에 밀어졌다.  
ku tolun cileystayey mile ciessta.  
The stone was managed to be pushed to the level.
- b. ?그 때는 기름에 닦아졌다.  
ku ttaynun kilumey ttaka ciessta.  
The dirt was cleaned onto the oil.
- c. ?그 글씨는 확대경에 읽어졌다.  
ku kulssinun hwaktaykyengey ilke ciessta.  
The letter was managed to be read onto the magnifying glass.

In (18a) *NP-ey* denotes a goal toward which the stone was moved. In (18b) *NP-ey* can denote a goal, although the interpretation is somewhat strained. In (18c) *NP-ey* also is a goal.

So far we observed some differences between the simple and compound passives and we can characterize the differences in the following way :

- (19) a. *simple passive* : denotes spontaneous process, and the subject is regarded as responsible for the process.
- b. *compound passive* : denotes non-spontaneous processes and some hidden agent is responsible for the process.

The above characterization can account for what has been generally regarded as idiosyncratic or idiomatic uses of the passives. That is, it can provide a more natural explanation in which an idiomatic use turns out to be not idiomatic but regular phenomena. Let us compare the following :

- (20) a. 운이 열리었다.  
wuni yelliessta.  
We are in fortune's way.
- b. ?운이 열어졌다.  
wuni yele ciessta.
- (21) a. 놀라서 기가 막히었다.  
nollase kika makhiessta.  
Frightened, I lost my breath.
- b. ?놀라서 기가 막아졌다.  
nollase kika maka ciessta.
- (22) a. 바람에 큰 나무가 뽑히었다.  
palamey khun namwuka ppophiessta.  
Because of the wind, the big tree was up-rooted.
- b. ?바람에 큰 나무가 뽑아졌다.

palamey khun namuka ppopa cieszta.

Normally we cannot control our fortune, nor natural phenomena. Thus it is natural that these should be expressed by the simple passives instead of the compound passives. When the compound passives are used as in (b) sentences in (20-22), it is implied that the processes were activated by some agents. This is incompatible with the autonomous or spontaneous processes of natural phenomena. Specifically, (20a) sounds natural but (20b) sounds very awkward, because we cannot control our fortune. Similarly (21a) sounds normal for describing our surprise, because we cannot control or plan our feelings such as surprise or amazement. (21b), however, sounds awkward: the first part (*nol-lase*) describes mental state but the second part (*ki-ka mak-a ci-ess-ta*) has something to do with voluntariness. That is, it implies that losing one's breath because of fright is something that can be controlled at will. In (22) the wind (*palam*) is a force that brought about the rooting out of the big tree and no other agent is necessary. That is the reason why (22b) is unacceptable.

Suppose the subject of the sentences in (20) is *mun* 'door' instead of *wun*, both simple and compound passives are possible.

- (23) a. 문이 열리었다.  
           muni yelliessta.  
           The door opened.  
       b. 문이 열어졌다.  
           muni yelle cieszta.  
           The door has managed to be opened.

It is because a door can be opened spontaneously or intentionally by an agent, whereas fortune cannot be intended at will.

Some additional examples of natural phenomena or processes follow:

- (24) a. 날씨가 풀리었다.  
           nalssika phulliessta.  
           The weather warmed.  
       b. ?날씨가 풀어졌다.  
           nalssika phule cieszta.  
       (25) a. 실이 풀리었다.  
           sili phulliessta.  
           The thread disentangled.  
       b. 실이 풀어졌다.  
           sili phule cieszta.  
           The thread has managed to be disentangled.

The subject in (24) is *nalssi* 'weather' which we cannot control. So in describing the change of weather, the simple passive can be used but not their corresponding compound passive. When science has advanced enough to control weather,

then sentence (24b) can be meaningfully used. The subject in (25) is *sil* 'string', which is tied or fastened and can be untied or disentangled without any external force. It can also be untied by an agent. So *sil* can be used with both passives.

Besides natural phenomena, natural environments are also described with the simple passives, which is predictable from the observation we have made above.

- (26) a. 우리 마을은 산으로 둘러쌓여 있다.  
wuli maulun sanulo twulle ssahie issta.  
Our village is surrounded with mountains.  
b. ?우리 마을은 산으로 둘러쌓아져 있다.  
wuli maulun sanulo twulle ssaha ciessta.  
Our village managed to be surrounded with mountains.
- (27) a. 우리나라는 삼면이 바다로 쌓여 있다.  
wuli nalanun sammyeni patalo ssahie issta.  
Our land is surrounded with the sea on three sides.  
b. ?우리나라는 삼면이 바다로 쌓아져 있다.  
wuli nalanun sammyeni patalo ssaha ciessta.  
Our land managed to be surrounded with the sea on the three sides.

In the (a) sentences above, the simple passives are used and the sentences sound natural, but in the (b) sentences, the compound passives are used and the sentences are not natural.

Similarly, we cannot control perception. That is, we cannot control what we see or hear. Whether we intend it or not, we hear or see what is heard or seen. Thus, it can be expected that the simple passives are to be used to describe perception.

- (28) a. 눈 앞에 큰 산이 보였다.  
nwun aphey khun sani poiessta.  
I saw a big mountain.  
b. ?눈 앞에 큰 산이 보아졌다.  
nwun aphey khun sani poa ciessta.  
A big mountain managed to be seen by me.
- (29) a. 구슬픈 피리소리가 들리었다.  
kwusulphun phili solika tulliessta.  
A melancholic flute sound was heard.  
b. ?구슬픈 피리소리가 들어졌다.  
kwusulphun phili solika tule ciessta.  
A melancholic flute sound managed to be heard.

In the (a) sentences in (28-29) the simple passives are used and they sound natural. But in the (b) sentences the compound passives are used and they sound very awkward.

However, the verbs *po-ta* and *tut-ta* can be ambiguous. In (28-29) they are used to describe perception, but they can also be used to describe conscious activity. In other words, they can be used agentively. In the following sentences the two verbs are used agentively :

- (30) a. 나는 그 책을 두 시간 동안 보았다.  
 nanun ku chaykul twu sikan tongan poassta.  
 I read the book for two hours.  
 b. 나는 그 음악을 열심히 들었다.  
 nanun ku umakul yelsimhi tulessta.  
 I listened to the music attentively.

Corresponding to the agentive use of the two verbs, there are compound passives as in (31).

- (31) a. 그 책은 두 시간 만에 다 보아졌다.  
 ku chaykun twu sikan maney ta poa ciessta.  
 The book managed to be read in two hours.  
 b. 그 음악은 십분 만에 다 들어졌다.  
 ku umakun sippun maney ta tule ciessta.  
 The music managed to be listened to in 10 minutes.

Lastly, there are certain adverbs that make the difference between the two passives clearer. The adverbs *cecello*, *ceyphul-ey*, and *ceymul-ey*, mean 'by itself', 'of its own accord', and 'spontaneously' respectively. These adverbs can occur with the simple passives, but not with the compound passives :

- (32) a. 굴뚝이 저절로 막히었다.  
 kwultwuki cecello makhiessta.  
 The chimney blocked by itself.  
 b. ? 굴뚝이 저절로 막아졌다.  
 kwultwuki cecello maka ciessta.  
 The chimney was managed to be blocked by itself.  
 (33) a. 못이 저절로 뽑히었다.  
 mosi cecello ppophiessta.  
 The nail was out by itself.  
 b. ? 못이 저절로 뽑아졌다.  
 mosi cecello ppopa ciessta.  
 (34) a. 그 사람의 기가 제풀에 꺾이었다.  
 ku salamuy kika ceyphuley kkekiessta.  
 The man's spirit is down of itself.  
 b. ? 그 사람의 기가 제풀에 꺾어졌다.  
 ku salamuy kika ceyphuley kkekke ciessta.

The adverbs in (32-34) do not affect the acceptability of the (a) sentences. But they make the (b) sentences unacceptable. Why is this the case? The simple

passives denote spontaneous and automatic processes and they are compatible with the meaning of the adverbs. But compound passives denote processes which are not spontaneous. Thus, they cannot co-occur with the adverbs. In the case of the compound passive of *adjective-e ci-ta*, which although it is formally compound, behaves like the simple passive.

So far we have observed that the processes denoted by the simple passives are spontaneous and automatic. This means that the subject of the simple passive is responsible for what takes place. This, in turn, can mean that the property or nature of the subject is responsible for the process. Compare the following two sentences.

- (35) a. 이 비누는 바닷물에 잘 풀린다.  
i pinwunun patas muley cal phullinunta.  
This soap dissolves well in the seawater.
- b. 이 비누는 바닷물에 잘 풀어진다.  
i pinwunun patas muley cal phule cinunta.  
This soap can be made to dissolve well in the seawater.
- (36) a. 그 연필은 잘 깎인다.  
ku yenphilun cal kkakkinunta.  
The pencil sharpens well.
- b. 그 연필은 잘 깎아진다.  
ku yenphilun cal kkakka cinunta.  
The pencil can be made to sharpen well.

Both sentences in (35) denote that a certain soap dissolves well in saltwater. But (35a) in addition denotes that the easy dissolution is due to the nature of the soap rather than to an external agent. Similarly, the two sentences in (36) denote that a certain pencil sharpens well. (36a), like (35a), denotes that sharpening well is due to the nature of the pencil.

### 3. Similarities between Passives and Intransitives

It is generally thought that the simple passives can be derived from their corresponding actives via transformation. And the agent of the active sentence can also be expressed in the corresponding passive. However, in the preceding sections ample evidence has been presented showing that this position is not tenable.

What I would like to do in this section is to show that the simple passives are closer to intransitives in their function and meaning. Below will be presented some similarities between the two. First, processes denoted by both passives and intransitives are spontaneous. Let us observe the following set of sentences:

- (37) a. 실이 얽히었다.

sili elkhissta.

The thread entangled itself.

b. 치마가 몸에 찢찢 감기었다.

chimaka momey chinchin kamkiessta.

The skirt wound itself on the body clammily.

c. 낙엽이 길에 깔리었다.

nakyepi kiley kkalliessta.

The dead leaves spread themselves over the road.

In (37) the past forms of the passives are used and the sentences denote that the processes took place, but their occurrence is not due to some external agent or force. Rather the subjects themselves are thought to be responsible for them. In (37a) the string became entangled but the entangling took place of itself. The same thing can be said of (b) and (c) sentences in (37). They all took place of themselves.

Now, let us compare the intransitive verb *puth-ta* 'to stick' and the passive form *kam-ki-ta* of *kam-ta* 'to wind'

(38) a. 그 옷은 몸에 찢찢 붙는다.

ku osun momey ccekcek puthnunta.

The dress sticks to the body clammily.

b. 그 옷은 몸에 찢찢 감긴다.

ku osun momey chinchin kamkinunta.

The dress winds itself on the body clammily.

The process denoted by *puth-ta* in (38a) is spontaneous. A shirt or dress can stick to the body by its own nature without any external force. In (38b) a passive verb is used, but no external agent or force can be read. In this respect, the two processes in (38) are both spontaneous.

Let us observe an additional pair :

(39) a. 전기불이 나갔다.

cenki puli nakassta.

The electric light went out.

b. 신호등이 바뀌었다.

sinhotungi pakkwiessta.

The traffic signal changed.

An electric light can come and go. Strictly speaking, the bulb is not responsible for the change. The current can be cut off somewhere other than in the bulb. Nevertheless, it is thought that and regarded as if the bulb is responsible for the change. Similarly, a traffic light changes from one color to another. The change is controlled by an external control device. However, the subject is regarded to be responsible for the change. So the adverb *cecello* 'of itself' can occur with *pakkw-i-ta* as well as *naka-ta*.



*Pakkwi-ta* is the passive form of the transitive verb *pakkwu-ta*. Being a passive verb, it cannot occur with an agent, just as the intransitive verb *naka-ta* cannot:

- (40) a. 전기불이 저절로 나갔다.  
 cenkipuli cecello nakaassta.  
 The light went out of itself.
- b. 신호등이 저절로 바뀌었다.  
 sinhotungi cecello pakkwiessta.  
 The signal went out of itself.

In (40) the intransitive verb *nakata* and the passive form *pakwita* are used in the same context in which there is no agent. Similarly, both cannot be used with *NP-eykey* which can be interpreted as agent. In (41) below, the *NP-eykey* makes the sentences unacceptable.

- (41) a. ?신호등이 순경에게 바뀌었다.  
 sinhotungi swunkyengeykey pakkwiessta.  
 The signal went out to the policeman.
- b. ?전기불이 순경에게 나갔다.  
 cenkipuli swunkyengeykey nakaassta.  
 The light went out to the policeman.

#### 4. Summary

Korean has two kinds of passives. One is expressed by the infix (-i, -hi, -ki, -li) and the other by the auxiliary verb *cita*. In this paper, the two kinds of passives are contrasted. The main difference between them is that the infix passives are used to denote spontaneous processes and the *cita* passives to denote non-spontaneous processes. It is also shown that the infix passives are close to intransitives in nature.

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