CAUSATIVES IN RABHA

U. V. Joseph
Don Bosco, Umswai, Assam

This paper is a discussion of the form and function of three causative structures found in the Róngdani (or Rongdani or Rongdania) dialect of Rabha, a Tibeto-Burnan language (Bodo-Garo branch) spoken mainly in the Goalpara District of Assam in Northeast India. One of the three structures, the Active or Direct causative takes the form of a prefix, and is no longer productive. The other two are suffixes transparently derived from verbs in analytical constructions: the Directive causative (*-tak* < *tak* 'make'), and the Manipulative causative (*-tan* < *tan* 'put').

1. THE LANGUAGE AND THE LANGUAGE AREA

Rabha (pronounced by native speakers as *rába*) is a Tibeto-Burnan language belonging to the Boro-Garo branch. It is very closely related to Garo, Boro, and Tiwa (earlier known as Lalung). Burling (1959:439) makes a further branching within what he then called the Bodo group: a Bodo-Garo branch and a Koch branch. Phoneme correspondences would require that Rabha be placed along with Koch (Joseph 1988:646).

The Goalpara District of Assam, lying between the Brahmaputra to the north and the State of Meghalaya to the south, is the present homeland of the Rabhas. It is here that speakers of the Róngdani (spelt usually as Rongdani or Rongdania) dialect, to which the data presented here belongs, live. Besides this area, Rongdani speakers are found in the contiguous areas in Meghalaya, where the Garo Hills meet the Brahmaputra valley or the plains of Assam. Rabha

people are also found to the east of this territory, in the Kamrup District. However, these people, called Pati Rabhas, have completely given up their language in favour of Assamese. This process of language shift is occurring in more and more villages. There is another group of Rabhas, known generally as Mayturi (sometimes spelt also as Maituri or Maituria) Rabhas, who are found in a few villages along the southern bank of the Brahmaputra. There exists yet another group of Rabhas, called the Kocha or Koch Rabhas, on the northern bank of the Brahmaputra, almost directly opposite to the Rabha area to the south of the Brahmaputra. While Róngdani and Mayturi are mutually intelligible, and in fact merge into each other, neither Róngdani nor Mayturia is mutually intelligible with Kocha Rabha.

2. RABHA PHONOLOGY

2.1   *The Rabha phonemic inventory*

I present below, in summary, the Rabha phoneme inventory.

2.1.1   *Consonants*

p	t	c	k
ph	th		kh
b	d	j	g
m	n		e
	r		
	l		
	s		h

2.1.2   *Vowels*

i	ɨ	u
e		o
	a	

The symbols <c> and <j> represent voiceless and voiced affricates, respectively, that can be realized as alveolar or alveo-palatal segments. Among the consonant phonemes /e/ alone does not occur as syllable initial. The syllable finals form a much smaller set, and they are /p, t, k, m, n, e, r, l, s/. Aside from the monophthongs given, Rabha has the following diphthongs: *ai, ao, au, ɨi, ui, eo, eu,* and *oi.*

2.1.3   Tones

Rabha has two tones: a high tone and a low tone. In polysyllabic words the high tone can occur on any of the syllables of the word. The low tone, on the other hand, occurs always on the last syllable of polysyllabic words, making all the preceding syllables neutral with regard to tone. This situation allows us to leave the low tone unmarked in all instances, as done in this paper. An acute accent marks the high tone. Suffixes and prefixes do not have any inherent tone.

2.2   *A rule of progressive consonant assimilation in Rabha*

The dative /-na/, the past /-nata/, the infinitive /-na/ and the future /-no/ morphemes of Rabha have a set of allomorphs. The distribution of the allomorphs of all these morphemes is phonologically conditioned in a uniform manner. The above forms occur following a vowel or /r, l, s/; the initial /n-/ of the above morphemes becomes /m-/ and /e-/ following the stops /p/ and /k/ respectively; and all of them drop the initial /n-/ following a nasal (-m, -n, -e). The question of being preceded by /t/ does not occur because when a root that has a final /t/ is followed by a suffix having an initial consonant, as is the case with any of these morphemes, the /t/ is deleted (see 4.2b). In order to make the reading of Rabha examples closer to the actual spoken Rabha the actually occurring allomorphs have been used in each instance.

3. FORMAL ANALYSIS OF THE RABHA CAUSATIVES

Causative formations "add a new argument that represents a notional causer" (Palmer 1994:214), and "there is (i) marking on the verb (whether morphological or periphrastic), (ii) the addition of a Causer in the subject position, (iii) demotion of other arguments, and (iv) a causal meaning" (Palmer 1994:218).

Analyzed on these criteria Rabha has three types of causatives, all of which are morphologically marked. Two of these are suffixal morphemes: (1) *-tak*, and (2) *-tan*. The forms *tak* and *tan* are also lexical verb roots meaning 'make' and 'put' respectively. That the causative suffixes are related to and have been grammaticalized from verb roots is a normal process of grammaticalization, although the lexical meaning is greatly altered in the suffixes. Leaving aside the semantic differences, which will be treated later, the suffixes are glossed CAUS (for causative) in the interlinear translation and as 'caused' in the free translation in this section. In later sections, however, the free translation will be given accurately according to the semantic nuance of each causative formation.

(1)   u-be   ae-o   hat-ina
         3sg-DEF 1sg-ACC   market-ALL

         rée-tak-eata
         go-CAUS-PAST
         'He caused me to go to the market.'

(2)   cae   oroe-o   cusar   khó-tak-eata?
         who   3pl-ACC   well   dig-CAUS-PAST
         'Who caused them to dig the well?'

(3)   isor   sam-o   dɨm-tan-a
         God   grass-ACC   grow-CAUS-PRES
         'God causes the grass to grow'

(4)   makkra-be   kaimɨtrae-o   mini-tan-ata
       monkey-DEF   children-ACC   laugh-CAUS-PAST
       'The monkey caused the children to laugh'

The third causative morpheme has a large set of allomorphs, all of them having a CV phonemic composition. When the root is monosyllabic, this causative morpheme is prefixed to the root. When the root is disyllabic, it is infixed between the two syllables.

(5)   a.   sá   >   khɨ-sá
             'eat'   'cause to eat, feed'

       b.   dáe   >   gɨ-dáe
             'enter'   'cause to enter, insert, accept or
                                receive into'

       c.   bukhi   >   bu-thi-khi
             'be hungry'   'cause to be hungry, to starve'

       d.   buebae   >   bue-da-bae
             'lose way'   'cause to lose way, mislead'

There is evidence to show, at least in some cases, that such disyllabic verbs developed, by contraction at an earlier stage, from two free monosyllabic roots, and that the infixed causative morpheme was actually a prefix to the second syllable. We can analyze *bukhi* 'be hungry' as being composed of *bo* (becoming *bu* through regressive vowel assimilation, which is a very common assimilation process in Rabha) and *khi* 'be sour'. We can assign the meaning 'stomach' to *bo*, based on the forms *bódom* ~ *bokdom* ~ *bokdam* 'stomach', where *dam* means 'place'. Etymologically, then,

in Rabha 'be hungry' is related to 'stomach turns sour'. A similar
analysis, however, is not possible for *buebae* 'lose way'.

While trisyllabic verb roots are quite plentiful in Rabha, the
only trisyllabic verb that was found to accept the infixed causative
morpheme is the one given in (6):

(6)   si-tran-ki ~ su-tran-ki ~ si-tran-ki   >
        'remember'

        si-tran-ti-ki ~ su-tran-ti-ki ~ si-tran-ti-ki
        'remind, cause to remember'

However, this probably is not an exception, because *ki-* is a free
lexical verb meaning 'fall', *ti-ki* 'drop, cause to fall' being its
causative form. It is also possible for the emphatic suffix *-an* to
intervene between *si-tran-* ~ *su-tran-* ~ *si-tran-* and *ki-*, as in *si-tran-
an ki-* ~ *su-tran-an ki-* ~ *si-tran-an ki-*.

(7)   si-tran-an   ki-ca-nata
        memory-EMPH   fall-NEG-PAST
        'just did not (or could not) remember'

Thus probably si–tran ki ~ su-tran ki ~ si-tran ki is a compound
verb, *si-tran ~ su-tran ~ si-tran* being a noun which we may gloss as
'memory'. In both *bukhi* and *si-tran-ki ~ su-tran-ki ~ si-tran-ki* only
the last part is a verb root.

The suffixal causative morphemes *-tak* and *-tan* are very
productive, while the CV prefixal causative morpheme is not
productive at all (see 5.3). Probably prefixation is an older process
that has largely been replaced by suffixation. In a few very restricted
situations, these prefixed CV causative morphemes may be
reduplicated (see 5.4).

4. PHONOLOGY OF THE CAUSATIVE MORPHEMES

The suffixal causative morphemes *-tak* and *-tan* are unchanged in their phonemic composition in all instances. The phonemic composition of the prefixal causative morpheme varies according to the phonemic composition of the syllable to which it is prefixed. Both the C and the V of these prefixal morphemes, all of which are of the CV type, can be derived from the C and the V of the following syllable according to a particular pattern.

4.1   The consonant component of the causative prefix

The rule governing the form of the onset of the causative prefix, based on the onset of the following syllable in the verb root, can be summarized as in Table 1:

onset of the verb root	onset of the causative prefix
p, k, m, n, r	t
ph, kh	th
t, c	k
th, s	kh
b, g	d
d, j	g

Table 1: The relationship between verb onset and prefix onset

There is a somewhat regular dissimilation of the place of articulation of the initial of the causative prefix and the initial of the verb root in terms of grave vs. acute segments. Verb root initials /n/ and /r/ do not fit this rule as they choose /t/ for the causative prefix initial. In general if the onset of the syllable following the causative prefix is voiceless, voiced or aspirated, then the onset of the causative prefix is also voiceless, voiced or aspirated as the case may be, but there are exceptions. When /m, n, r/, which are phonetically voiced, occur as the onset of the syllable following the

causative prefix, the causative prefix has voiceless /t/ as onset. When the verb root syllable has the sibilant /s/ as onset, then the causative prefix has the aspirated /kh/ as onset. I did not come across instances of monosyllabic verb roots that either lack an onset or have /h/ or /l/ as onset and that take a causative formation with the prefixed causative morpheme. If the onset of the verb root syllable is a cluster, only the initial consonant is considered in forming the causative prefix. Examples are provided at the end of section 4.2.

4.2   *The vowel component of the causative prefix*

The rule governing the form of the vowel of the causative prefix, based on the vowel of the initial syllable of the verb root, can be summarized as in Table 2:

vowel of the causative prefix	vowel of the verb root
i	i, í
e	e, é
u	u, ú
o	o, ó
ɨ (a)	a, á, ɨ

Table 2: The relationship between the vowels of
the verb and the prefix

The vowel harmony is more straightforward than is the case with the consonants. The vowel of the verb root syllable following the causative prefix is reduplicated in the causative prefix. The only exception is when the verb has /a/, in which case the causative prefix has /ɨ/. It is noteworthy that when the causative morpheme is infixed within a disyllabic verb root whose second syllable has /a, á/, the causative infix has /a/, and not /ɨ/. The consecutive presence of /ɨ/ in two syllables sometimes, certainly not always, gives way to

optional dissimilation: CɨCɨ > CɨCa. This creates some homophones, as in (8):

(8)   a.   bar   >   dɨ-bar
             'return (intr.)'   'give back, send back'

        b.   bɨr   >   dɨ-bɨr ~ dɨ-bar
             'descend'   'lower, let down'

The vowel of the causative prefix never has the high tone even if the verb root has a high tone. If the verb root syllable has a complex nucleus, only the first member appears in the causative prefix following the rule of vowel harmony for simple vowels. Examples incorporating all the rules discussed in 4.1 and in this section are given below:

Monosyllabic verb roots

(9)   /p/
        a.   páe   >   tɨ-páe
             'be plenty'   'increase, cause to be plenty'

        b.   proe   >   to-proe
             'float, rise   'be carried off (by wind,
             and fly'   water)'

(10)   /k/
        a.   ki   >   ti-ki
             'fall'   'drop, cause to fall'

        b.   kói   >   to-kói
             'bend (intr.)'   'bend (tr.)'

(11) /m/

    a.   mɨn   >   tɨ-mɨn
        'be ripe'   'cause to ripen'

    b.   mar   >   tɨ-mar
        'be friendly'   'cause to be friendly, domesticate'

(12) /n/

    a.   nu   >   tu-nu
        'sit'   'make to sit, seat, erect, establish'

    b.   nuk   >   tu-nuk
        'see'   'show'

(13) /r/

    a.   rán   >   tɨ-rán
        'be dry'   'make dry'

    b.   ró   >   to-ró
        'be long'   'lengthen'

(14) /ph/

    a.   phel   >   the-phel
        'be low'   'lower'

    b.   phor   >   tho-phor
        'be open'   'reveal'

(15) /kh/

    a.   khee   >   the-khee
        'be alive, live'   'keep alive, bring back to life'

    b.   khrɨk   >   thɨ-khrɨk
       'be sufficient'   'make to be sufficient'

(16)   /t/
    a.   túe   >   ku-túe
       'be hot'   'heat, make hot'

    b.   tao   >   kɨ-tao
       'ascend'   'make to go up'

(17)   /c/
    a.   cu   >   ku-cu
       'be high, be tall'   'make tall or high'

    b.   cue   >   ku-cue
       'be big'   'make big'

(18)   /th/
    a.   thar   >   khɨ-thar
       'be clean'   'make clean, cleanse'

    b.   thɨr   >   khɨ-thɨr
       'bounce off'   'cause to bounce off'

(19)   /s/
    a.   soe   >   kho-soe
       'be short'   'shorten'

    b.   sɨm   >   khɨ-sɨm
       'be wet'   'make wet'

(20)   /b/

    a.   bí   >   di-bí
    'break (intr.)'   'break (tr.)'

    b.   bam   >   di-bam
    'submit oneself'   'subdue'

(21)   /g/

    a.   gom   >   do-gom
    'bend or droop'   'cause to bend or droop'

    b.   gre   >   de-gre
    'be in excess'   'cause to be in excess'

(22)   /d/

    a.   dúe   >   gu-dúe
    'climb, ascend'   'cause to ascend'

    b.   dik   >   gi-dak (*gi-dik)
    'subside'   'cause to subside, console'

(23)   /j/

    a.   jar   >   gi-jar
    'run away'   'cause to run away, drive away'

    b.   jok   >   go-jok
    'escape'   'save'

Disyllabic verb roots

Among the disyllabic verb roots there are some instances that involve some segmental changes besides those covered by the rules discussed above, and others that do not involve any further segmental changes. In either case the roots that end in /t/ have an

allomorph without the final /t/. With the loss of the final /t/, the preceding low tone syllable becomes a high tone syllable. The allomorph with the final /t/ occurs when a suffix begins with a vowel; in all other instances the allomorph without the final /t/ occurs.

(24)   a.   dagá-jo   b.   dagat-eta
              fall-PAST   fall-CONT
              'fell off'   'is falling off'

Examples of formations that do not involve any segmental changes besides the final /t/ deletion:

(25)   a.   dagat ~ dagá   'to come off and fall'
        b.   da-da-gat ~ da-da-gá 'cause to come off and fall'
        c.   le-kok 'be shaky (as something that is loose)'
        d.   le-to-kok 'to shake (something loose)'
        e.   phakhat ~ phakhá 'snap, break off (intr.)'
        f.   pha-tha-khat ~ pha-tha-khá 'snap, break (tr.)'

Following are examples of formations that involve segmental changes besides the final /t/ deletion. In (26) the nucleus of the second syllable of the root is changed in the causative form.

(26)   a.   bo-khot ~ bo-khó
              'stomach be full and not hungry'

        b.   bo-tho-khat ~ bo-tho-khá
              'make stomach full, appease hunger'

        c.   du-gut ~ du-gú
              'sink, drown'

    d.   du-du-gat ~ du-du-gá
        'cause to sink'

    e.   do-got ~ do-gó
        'come out, appear'

    f.   do-do-gat ~ do-do-gá
        'cause to come out, cause to appear'

In the examples in (27) the coda of the initial syllable is dropped in the causative.

    (27)   a.   par-kek
              'split, burst'

          b.   pa-ta-kek
              'split open, cause to burst'

In (28) and (29) there is metathesis between the onset of the causative morpheme and the onset of the second syllable of the root.

    (28)   a.   gir-cuk
              'feel ticklish'

          b.   gir-cu-kuk
              'to tickle' (expected *gir-ku-cuk)

    (29)   a.   sun-thut ~ sun-thú
              'shift, move a little'

b. sun-thu-khut ~ sun-thu-khú
'align or adjust by moving or pushing a little
(burning logs of firewood etc.)' (expected *sun-
khu-thut ~ *sun-khu-thú)

Rabha *a-suk* 'be ill at ease, be bored' is a completely naturalized borrowing from Assamese *ohukh* (Bengali *oshukh*) 'discomfort of mind or body'. Its causative form is *a-su-kuk* 'irritate, disturb'. The expected form would have been *a-khu-suk*.

In the example given below there is metathesis between the onset of the second syllable of the verb root and that of the causative morpheme as well as a vowel change.

(30) a. die-die
          'stand (intr.)'

      b. die-di-gae
          'stand (tr.)' (expected *die-gi-die)

5. SEMANTIC DIFFERENCES AMONG THE THREE CAUSATIVE FORMATIONS

Although the three causative morphemes identified for Rabha are here called causative morphemes, there are specific semantic differences.

5.1 *Directive causative suffix -tak*

The form *-tak* is used when the causation is effected by the verbal intervention or mediation of the causative agent. The causing has to be intentional. The causative agent asks, advises, requests or orders the causee, who consents (willingly or unwillingly) and carries out the activity. Consequently only verb roots that have an agent-subject can take the suffix *-tak*. The agent subject is demoted to direct object and bears the accusative marker. Using a term employed by

Shibatani (1976, quoted in Palmer 1994:225), I call *-tak* the Directive Causative suffix.

(31) kɨtrɨekai kai kaimɨtrang-o diedie-tak-eata
teaching person children-ACC stand-CAUS-PAST
'The teacher made the children stand up.'

A more exact translation of this sentence into English would be 'the teacher asked (whether it be just a gentle request, a mild persuasion or a stern command) the students to stand'. It is not necessary that the students actually stood up. They could just have heard the plea, the request or the command and ignored it totally as in (32):

(32) ae u-o pancak rɨe-tak-eata,
1sg 3sg-ACC medicine drink-CAUS-PAST

natai u-be rɨe-ca
but he-DEF drink-NEG
'I asked him to take the medicine, but he doesn't take (it).'

The meaning generated by the suffix *-tak* can also be generated by using lexical verbs like *kani* 'say', *kɨ-cak* 'command' or *tostai* 'request', but such sentences are complement clause constructions, and not morphological constructions.

(33) kɨtrɨekai kai kaimɨtrang-o diedie-a
teaching person children-ACC stand-INF

kani-nata
say-PAST
'The teacher asked the children to stand up.'

5.2 *Manipulative Causative -tan*

The form *-tan* is used when the causative agent acts or does something which results in the causative event. The causing need not be intentional, but the causee is totally affected. It can arise from a mere confluence of events. Once again, using a term employed by Shibatani (1976, quoted in Palmer 1994:225), such a causative may be called the Manipulative Causative, as it involves some manipulative role of the causative agent. Here the conscious or willing involvement of the original subject is not necessary. Its role is patientive. Morphologically the original subject is demoted to the status of direct object and bears the accusative marker. Causative formations with *-tan* are not restricted by the nature of the verb, unlike the situation with the suffix *-tak*, which can not be used with verbs that do not have an agent subject.

(34)   ang   orong-o   hat-ina   rée-tan-ata
       1sg   3pl-ACC   market-ALL go-CAUS-PAST
       'I made them go to the market.'

(35)   marikai   budakai-o   prún   kaka
       old.woman old.man-ACC   goat   meat

       sá-tan-ata
       eat-CAUS-PAST
       'The old woman caused the old man to eat mutton.'

The manipulative causative shows indirect causation, effected by manipulation of the accompanying situation or events. Because of its versatile nature and high productivity, when a verb does not have a direct causative formation (see 5.3 below) *-tan* steps in to generate the direct and active causative nuance. Thus, *ak-tan* (*ak* 'be black') can mean either 'cause to turn black' by indirect causation or 'blacken' by direct action. Such semantic widening is made

necessary by the restricted nature of the direct and active causative formation discussed below.

5.3   *Active or Direct Causative*

As discussed above, the prefixal causative has a set of allomorphs, all of them having CV phonemic composition. When this causative form is used, direct and intentional causation is involved. Causation, in this case, involves neither the verbal mediation of the Directive Causative *-tak*, nor the indirect manipulative mediation of the Manipulative Causative *-tan*. The causing action originates from the causative agent, i.e. the new subject. It acts on the original subject. The causee is thus totally affected. This may be called the Active or Direct Causative. In these instances the original subject of an intransitive verb root comes to be marked with the accusative marker, while that of a transitive verb root comes to be marked with the dative marker. In (36) *ae* '1sg' is the subject of the transitive *sá* 'eat'; in (37), where *khɨsá,* the causative form of *sá* is used, the original subject is marked with the dative suffix. In (39), where causative form of the intransitive *ki* 'fall' (38) is used, the original subject *ae* '1sg' is marked with the accusative.

(36)   ae   mai sá-nata
         1sg rice eat-PAST
         'I ate rice.'

(37)   ae-i   dadabrae   ae-a   mai
         1sg-GEN   elder brother   1sg-DAT   rice

         khɨ-sá-nata
         CAUS-eat-PAST
         'My elder fed me rice.'

(38)   ae   ki-nata
       1sg fall-PAST
       'I fell.'

(39)   ae-i   dadabrae   ae-o
       1sg-GEN   elder brother   1sg-ACC

       ti-ki-nata
       CAUS-fall-PAST
       'My elder brother dropped me (or made me fall).'

The Manipulative and the Directive causative morphemes discussed above are very productive. Active causative formations are not productive at all, and are restricted to certain verbs. Apart from the phonological restrictions discussed in 4.0, this restriction appears to be a lexical phenomenon rather than based on any semantic criteria. Lexicalization of the semantic content is present to varying degrees in different verb roots, about which it is difficult to make any general statement. Most instances involve restriction and narrowing or analogical widening of the semantic field of the verb root in the causative formation, as will be evident from the few examples provided below:

(40)   a.   bok   >   do-bok
            'white'   'to polish (rice) brighter'

       b.   kak   >   tɨ -kak
            'bite'   'to fix, to lock (cause to bite)'

       c.   bóe   >   do-bóe
            'to meet'   'to go (intent) to meet'

| d. | nu | > | tu-nu |
| | 'to sit' | | 'to seat, to place erect, to establish' |

| e. | dɨk | > | gɨ -dak |
| | 'to subside' | | 'to console, to make quiet' |

| f. | jar | > | gɨ -jar |
| | 'to run away' | | 'to chase away' |

5.4   Reduplicated prefixal causative morpheme

In some cases the prefixal causative morpheme can be totally reduplicated, generating a disyllabic prefix of the form CV-CV-. There are several restrictions on the possibility of such an extension by reduplication. Only verb roots that have /p, ph, k/ as onset allow their prefixes to be reduplicated, and so only causative prefixes with /t/ or /th/ as onset can be reduplicated. Also, the pattern is in no way uniform. In certain cases both the monosyllabic as well as the disyllabic causative prefixes are possible. In other cases only one or the other is possible. Semantically, both the monosyllabic and the disyllabic prefixes have the same effect except that greater completeness or intensity is indicated by the disyllabic prefixes. All the instances encountered are reproduced below.

(41)	krop	>	to-krop
	'to split open, intr.'		'to split open, tr.'
		>	toto-krop
			'to split open, tr.'

| (42) | krɨ ~ krɨt | > | tɨtɨ –krɨ ~ tɨtɨ -krɨt |
| | 'to break, intr.' | | 'to crush into into pieces, bits and pieces' |

(43)   phé ~ phet   >   the-phé ~ the-phet
        'be over'   'to finish up, to complete'

                                >   thethe-phé ~ thethe-phet
                                        'to finish up, to complete'

(44)   por   >   to-por
        'breed, multiply'   'to rear and multiply, to
                                        cause to increase'

                                >   toto-por
                                        'to cause to increase in
                                        number'

(45)   pré ~ pret   >   tete-pré ~ tete-pret
        'to burst out'   'to cause to burst out'

(46)   pró^1 ~ prot^1 >   to-pró^1 ~ to-prot^1
        'to come out at   'to pierce through, to
        the opposite end'   penetrate'

(47)   pró^2 ~ prot^2 >   toto-pró^2 ~ toto-prot^2
        'be prominent,   'reveal, bring out in the
         be conspicuous'   open'

(48)   pruk   >   tu-pruk
        'be uprooted'   'to pull down, cause to be
                                        uprooted'

                                >   tutu-pruk
                                        'to pull down violently'

(49)   pur^1 >   tu-pur^1
        'to fly, intr.'   'to set flying'

(50)   pur^2 >   tu-pur^2
        'to burst open'   'to prick and cause to burst open'

                            >   tutu-pur
                                         'to open (things tied in bundle, like paddy)'

5.5   *Double causative marking and verbs that take all three causatives*

While triple-marked causative verb forms were not encountered, it is possible for a verb to bear two causative markers.

(51)   a.   jar
             'to run way'

        b.   gɨ-jar
             'to chase away'

        c.   gɨ-jar-tak
             'to ask or advise someone to chase a third party away'

        d.   gɨ-jar-tan
             'to indirectly make someone chase another away'

(52)   okai   kí   jar-nata
        that   dog   run-PAST
        'That dog ran (away).'

(53) oroe   okai   kí -o   gɨ-jar-nata
      3pl   that   dog-ACC   CAUS-run-PAST
      'They chased that dog (away).'

(54) kai-tang   orong   tokoro okai   kí-o
      person-PL   3pl   PER   that   dog-ACC

      gɨ-jar-tan-ata
      CAUS-run-CAUS-PAST
      'The people caused (or, made use of) them (indirectly)
      chase the dog.'

(55) kai-tang   orong-o okai   kí-na-neke
      person-PL   3pl-ACC   that dog-DAT-EXT

      gɨ-jar-tak-eata
      CAUS-run-CAUS-PAST
      'The people asked them to chase the dog.'

In deriving (53) from (52) the rules discussed in 5.3 are adhered to. In (54) and (55) a third argument is introduced as a second causative is added. In (54), which has the manipulative causative form, the original subject takes the perlative (PER) marker *tokoro* having the meaning 'through', which is a postposition in Rabha. In (55), which has the directive causative form, the original subject is marked with the accusative, while *kí* 'dog', the original subject of (52), is marked with an extended form of the dative (DAT-EXT) marker. The extended dative case, having a postposition *neke,* has the force of the accusative elsewhere in Rabha, and is sometimes used to encode the object of a transitive verb.

When any of the demoted arguments can be understood from context, as is usually the case in a conversational situation, it is usually omitted. In both (54) and (55) the prefixed causative *gɨ-* is

the first causative marker. The directive causative marker -*tak* and
the manipulative causative marker -*tan* are added to *gi-jar*. The
combination of -*tak* and -*tan* is still rarer than the combinations
discussed above, but is not totally absent. The rules discussed above
apply also for the combination of -*tak* and -*tan*. The dissimilation of
two accusative-marked arguments with the help of an extended
dative case form is employed when the directive causative
morpheme is the second in order.

(56)   okai   kai   jar-nata
        that   person   run-PAST
        'That person ran (away).'

(57)   oroe   okai   kai-o   jar-tak-eata
        3pl   that   person-ACC   run-CAUS-PAST
        'They caused (by verbal intervention) that person to run
        away.'

(58)   oroe   okai   kai-o   jar-tan-ata
        3pl   that   person-ACC   run-CAUS-PAST
        'They caused (indirectly) that person to run away.'

(59)   ae   oroe   tokoro   okai   kai-o
        1sg   3pl   PER   that   person-ACC

        jar-tak-tan-ata
        run-CAUS-CAUS-PAST
        'I caused (indirectly) them to ask (cause) the person to
        run away.'

(60)   ae   oroe-o   okai   kai-na-neke
        1sg   3pl-ACC   that   person-DAT-EXT

jar-tan-tak-eata
run-CAUS-CAUS-PAST
'I asked (caused) them to cause that person to run away.'

Some verbs can take all three causative forms separately to signal the different semantic contents of the causatives discussed above:

(61)   a.   jar
              'run away'

           b.   jar-tak
              'to ask or advise to run away'

           c.   jar-tan
              'to indirectly cause another to run away'

           d.   gɨ-jar
              'to chase away'

(62)   a.   sá
              'eat'

           b.   sá-tak
              'to ask or advise to eat'

           c.   sá-tan
              'to indirectly make someone to eat'

           d.   khɨ-sá
              'to feed'

(63)   a.   diedie
             'stand'

       b.   diedie-tak
             'to ask or advise to stand up'

       c.   diedie-tan
             'to indirectly cause to stand up'

       d.   die-di-gae
             'stand (tr.)'

5.6   *Causatives of transitive verbs with indirect objects*

I did not come across any transitive verbs with indirect objects on which the prefixal direct or active causative can be used. However, the directive causative marker *-tak* and the manipulative causative marker *-tan* can be used on transitive verbs with indirect objects. In such cases transitive verbs with indirect objects behave the same way as transitive verbs without indirect objects.

(64)   ae   u-na   mai   rákhu-nata
       1sg   3sg-DAT   rice   give-PAST
       'I gave him rice.'

(65)   okai   kai   ae-o   u-na
       that   man   1sg-ACC   3sg-DAT

       mai   rákhu-tak-eata
       rice   give-CAUS-PAST
       'That man (caused) asked me to give him rice.'

(66)   okai   kai   ae-o   u-na
       that   man   1sg-ACC   3sg-DAT

> mai   rákhu-tan-ata
> rice   give-CAUS-PAST
> 'that man caused me (indirectly) to give him rice'

In Rabha the accusative marker is usually deleted when the object is generic or not emphatically specified. In all three sentences given above the accusative marker of the direct object *mai* 'rice' is left out. In (65) and (66) the original subject *ae* '1sg' of (64), from which they are derived, is marked with the accusative marker.

6. CONCLUSION

Morphologically and semantically, Rabha has three causatives: the Directive (*-tak*), the Manipulative (*-tan*) and the Active or Direct (CV- or -CV-). The Directive Causative, while being a morphological causative, has a very weak causative nuance. The Active or the Direct Causative is lexically conditioned. In all probability this is the older form, and is giving ground to the Manipulative Causative, which is more versatile and is not lexically conditioned. It steps in to fill the gaps left by the Active and the Direct Causative.

The situation found in the related languages Boro, Garo and Tiwa confirms the idea that the prefixal Direct or Active Causative is older. Boro (Bhattacharya 1977:177) has a prefixal causative morpheme ^0phV- ~ ^2bV- ~ ^0sV- (the raised numbers stand for Boro tones in Bhattacharya 1977). Besides this, Boro also has a causative suffix -$^1hɨ$ (which is also a lexical verb meaning 'give'). As expected, the suffix is more productive, while the prefixes are lexically conditioned. Garo does not have a prefixed causative form. It has just one causative suffix -*at* (Burling 1961: 22). A recent survey (unpublished) of Tiwa reveals that Tiwa builds the causative periphrastically using the lexical verb *os* 'give'. However, there are a handful of verbs in Tiwa that have prefixed causative forms, the causative prefix being *mV*- ~ *phV*- in all the instances that I

encountered. A more detailed comparative analysis of the causative morphemes in all these four languages (Rabha, Boro, Garo and Tiwa) and other closely related languages would certainly make an interesting and revealing study.

REFERENCES

Bhattacharya, Promod Chandra. 1977. *A Descriptive Analysis of the Boro Language.* Gauhati University Department of Publication.

Burling, Robbins. 1959. "Proto-Bodo." *Language* 35: 433-453.

Burling, Robbins. 1961. *A Garo Grammar.* Poona: Deccan College Post-Graduate and Research Institute.

Joseph, U. V. 1998. *Correlative Linguistics: A Case-study of Rabha.* Ph.D. Dissertation (unpublished) Pune: Deccan College Post-Graduate and Research Institute.

Palmer, F.R. 1994. *Grammatical Roles and Relations.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Shibatani, Masayoshi. 1976. "The grammar of causative constructions: a conspectus." *The Grammar of Causative Constructions,* ed. by M. Shibatani. New York: Academic Press.