Causativization in Meiteilon

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A causative construction denotes (expresses) a situation in which two events are involved, a preceding causing event and a subsequent caused event, such that if there had been no causing event, the caused event could not have followed (Shibatani 1976). This situation, called a "macrosituation," is thus comprised of two microsituations, a causing microsituation or antecedent, and a caused microsituation or consequent (Nedjalkov and Silnickij 1969). If there is no antecedent, there can be no consequent.



Macrosituation

The causing microsituation is "your silence," as a consequence of which "he was angry." It can be asserted that had you not been silent he would not have been angry.

Causative forms are of two types: morphologically regular and productive forms, and non-productive forms which are morphologically irregular. Productive causative constructions involve either the use of auxiliary causative verbs or the use of affixes. Languages of the isolating type have a tendency to use auxiliary causative verbs, while agglutinative languages tend to use affixes.

Meiteilon is an agglutinative language, and has both productive and non-productive types of causatives.

Lexical causatives.

Meiteilon has some suppletive pairs of simplex/causative verbs, e.g., si-die' and hat-'kill':

la.	ucek	əma.	si-re
	bird	one	die-PERF ASP
	A bird ha	is died.	

1b.	əy-ne	ucek	əma	hat-le
	I + NOM	bird	one	kill-PERF ASP
	I have killed a bird.			

Although the two roots si- 'die' and hat- 'kill' have no phonological similarity, they can be easily related by means of the Generative Semantic approach¹: the causation is not overtly marked in the surface structure, but it is there at the abstract semantic level. The verb hat- 'kill' contains in its underlying semantic structure the verb si- 'die'. Hence the semantic interpretation for hat- can be stated as CAUSE DIE, even though the verb si- never actually appears in the surface structure of the sentence. Thus, a sentence like $m \Rightarrow hak-n \Rightarrow k \Rightarrow y \Rightarrow ma hat-1i$ "He kills a tiger", in which the element of CAUSE is not present in the surface structure, can still be viewed in terms of a causing event and a caused event. It thus makes no sense to say:

*məhak-nə kəy əma hat-li əubu kəy -du si-de he- NOM tiger one kill-ASP but tiger that die-NEG *He killed a tiger, but that tiger didn't die.

In fact, both lexical and productive causatives share semantic properties. This can be accounted for in a unified way if some common predicate is posited for both of them at the abstract level.

The underlying semantic representation for məhak-nə kəy əma hat-li "He kills a tiger" is shown in Figure 1.

By means of predicate raising we now have the semantic predicate (CAUSE higbə oi-da-ba) - CAUSE si-ba [DIE]: the lexical item hat-pa 'kill' can then be inserted to arrive at the surface structure.

Morphological Causatives.

Meitellon has a uniform strategy for forming causatives from all kinds of non-causative verbs. All verbs (intransitive and transitive) form their corresponding morphological causatives by adding the causative particle /-hen/-/-hel/ directly:

Stage I: Root² + causative marker = Stem cət + hən = cət-həngo

See McCawley 1968.

² All verbal roots in Meiteilon are bound; after the suffixation of appropriate markers they become particular free forms.



Figure 1

ca- cat	+ hən	= ca-hən-
thək drink	+ hən	≖ thək-hən-
pa read	+ hən	= pa-hən-
pi glve	+ hən	= pi-h∂n-

Stage II: Suffixation of aspect markers.

Aspectual markers can then be added to the causative stem:



cət	+ hən	+ li = cət-həl-li	[cause to go]
ca	+ hən	+ li = ca-həl-li	(cause to eat)
thək	+ hən	+ li = thək-hən-li	[cause to drink]
pa	+ hən	+ li = pa-hən-li	[cause to read]
pi	+ hən	+ li = pi-hən-li	[cause to give]

Note that the causative marker -hən is suffixed directly to the root. Some illustrative sentences: 2. əv-nə məhak-pu cak ca-həl-li

- əy-nə məhak-pu cak ca-həl-li l-NOM he- ACCUS meal eat-CAUS-ASP l make him eat his meal.
- məhak-nə tombə-bu shillong-da cət-hən-khi he- NOM Tomba-ACCUS -LOC go- CAUS-ASP He made Tomba go to Shillong.
- 4. məkhoy-nə ma-bu yu thək-həl-li they- NOM he-ACCUS liquor drink-CAUS-ASP They make him drink liquor.
- 5. əy-nə anan-sin-bu layrik pa-həl-li I- NOM child- PL- ACCUS book read-CAUS-ASP I make the children read their book.
- əy-nə məhak-pu Principal-da cithi əma pi-həl-li
 I- NOM he-ACCUS -DAT letter one give-CAUS-ASP I make him hand over a letter to the principal.

Notice that the causative marker $/-h \ge n/ - /-h \ge 1/$ can be added to all categories of verbal base. From an intransitive base:

7a. cəysu tak-le stick broke-ASP The stick has broken.

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7b. məhak-nə cəysu tek-həl-le he- NOM stick broke-CAUS-ASP He has broken the stick.

From a transitive base:

- 8a. məhak-nə va yal-li he- NOM bamboo cut- ASP He cuts bamboo.
- 8b. tombə-nə məhak-pu va yal-həl-li Tomba-NOM he- ACCUS bamboo cut-CAUS-ASP Tomba makes him cut bamboo.

Hence the morphological causative is the same for all categories of verbal bases. Still, on the subject of transitivity, it seems desirable to view the situation in terms of "paradigm cases."

Causatives of Intransitives.

In the paradigm case, causatives of intransitives should have the embedded subject as the direct object. This is the case in Meltellon also, as in the following sentences:

9a.	tombə-nə Tomba- NOM Tomba has made	məhak-pu he- ACCUS him go.	cət-hən-khre go- CAUS-ASP
9b.	tombə-nə Tomba- NOM Tomba makes Ibo	Ibo-bu Ibo- ACCUS run.	cel-həl-li run-CAUS-ASP
9c.	məhak-nə hc- NOM He makes the ch	əŋaŋ-bu child- ACCUS ild cry.	kəp-həl-li cry- CAUS-ASP

Causatives of Transitives.

In the case of causatives of transitive verbs, the paradigm case predicts that the embedded subject should appear as an indirect object in the derived structure. What happens in Meiteilon can be seen in the following sentences:

- 10a. məpa-nə daktər-bu magi məcanupi(du) layeŋ-həl-li his-father- doctor- DO his daughter- DET treat-CAUS-ASP NOM His father makes the doctor treat his daughter.
- 10b. əi-nə ma-bu həynəw-du ca-həl-li I- NOM he-DO mango-CLASSIF eat-CAUS-ASP I make him eat the mango.
- 10c. tombə-nə chavba-bu yu thək-həl-li Tomba- NOM Chaoba- DO liquor drink-CAUS-ASP Tomba makes Chaoba drink liquor.

Sentences 10a-c show that the expected and predicted results are nowhere in sight. That is, the embedded sentence (ES) which was expected to become the Indirect Object (IO) has occupied the Direct Object (DO) position. Thus, the already existing DO remains as DO. This amounts to Comrie's concept of syntactic doubling (the case markers for the direct objects hey new-du [10b] and yu [10c] are not overtly present).

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An interesting point here is that when the case marker -bu (accusative) that is added to daktər 'doctor' (DO) in sentence 10a is replaced by the dative case marker -da [daktər-da] and simultaneously the case marker -bu is added to məcanupi [məcanupi-bu], a new causative phenomenon comes up, as in sentence 11:

11. məpa-nə daktər-da magi məcanupi-bu layeŋ-həl-li her-father-NOM Her father makes the doctor have his (sick) daughter treated.

What must be looked into carefully is that this sentence is different from 10a, even though they have the same constituents except for the case marker -da present in sentence 11. In sentence 10a, dakter-bu is the agent (i.e., this doctor and not any other doctor has to give treatment to the daughter), but sentence 11 has no agent. Dakter is not the agent in this structure: instead, the sentence has the sense of a "double causative," i.e., "Father" and "Doctor" cause somebody else, say Mr. X, to give treatment to the daughter. For further clarification, consider sentence 12:

12. məpa-nə tombə-da magi məcanupi-bu layeŋ-həl-li her-father-NOM -DAT his daughter-ACCUS treat-CAUS-ASP Her father makes Tomba have his (the father's) daughter treated.

Here also "Tomba" is not the agent. The meaning of the sentence is "The father causes Tomba to cause somebody else to give treatment to the patient (daughter)."

In this context, let us compare this double causative construction to an ordinary simplex transitive verb with two objects:

12a.	əy-nə	tombə-da	phurit	əma	pi-li
	I- NOM	-DAT	shirt	one	give-ASP
	I give a shir	t to Tomba.			

12b. əy-nə Ibo-bu tombə-da phurit əma pi-həl-li 1- NOM -ACCUS -DAT shirt one give-CAUS-ASP 1 make Ibo give a shirt to Tomba.

Sentence 12a is a non-causative construction, while 12b is a causative construction with two direct objects (Ibo-bu and phurit). Another is sentence 13, with the two direct objects Tombə-bu and layrik:

13. məhak-nə tombə-bu məcanupə layrik təmbi-həl-li he- NOM -ACCUS son book teach-CAUS-ASP He makes Tomba teach his son.

Another type of causative construction is illustrated in sentence 14:

14. məhak-nə tombə-bu məcanupə-na layrik təmbi-həl-li he- NOM -ACCUS son- INST book teach-CAUS-ASP He makes his son teach Tomba. (i.e., He causes Tomba to be taught a lesson by his son.)

In this sentence, the -na suffix on $m \ge canupa$ is the instrumental marker. It appears that the embedded subject has been demoted down to an oblique position. Sentence 15 is another such sentence:

15.	miyam-nə	ma-bu	tombe-na	phu-həl-li
	people-NOM	he-ACCUS	S Tomba-INST	beat-CAUS-ASP
	People cause 7			
	(I.e., People m			

There is a slight grammatical difference between 13 and 14. Sentence 13 has no instrumental marker, while 14 has the instrumental marker -na added to $m \ge canupa$ - and in addition the nominative marker -n \ge added to $m \ge hak$. On the other hand, sentences 14 and 15 are different from sentences 12 and 13 (and others of this type) if the nature of the caused event is considered. The kind of causation in 14 and 15 appears to coincide with what Shibanati (1973) refers to as "ballistic causation," which involves an action, as against "continuous causation" where a state or process is depicted (as in sentences 12 and 13).

Another sentence of the same type as 12 and 13 is sentence 16, in which the process of causation is continuous:

16. A-nə B-bu phu-həl-li A- NOM B-ACCUS beat-CAUS-ASP A causes B to beat some one.

Contrasting with this continuous causation is sentence 17. Here the current of the action is running against the normal continuous causation seen in sentences 12, 13, and 16:

17. A-nə B-bu C-na phu-həl-li A-NOM B-ACCUS C-INST beat-CAUS-ASP A causes C to beat B. (or, A causes B to be beaten by C.)

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Here the insertion of the new constituent "C" with a case marker has completely changed the direction of causation. The constituent "C" with the case marker -na cannot be placed anywhere except after the direct object. It cannot, for example, be placed between the subject and the object. In other words, the two case markers -n ϑ and -na cannot immediately occur after one another when both are attached to animate nouns (sentences 18a-c):

18a. *A-nə C-na B phu-həl-li

18b. *miyam-na Tomba-nə phu-həl-li 18c. *məhak-na məcanupa-nə tomba-bu layrik təmhəl-li

Factitives and Permissives.

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Generally, morphological causatives are accompanied by two meanings: one is factitive (to make someone do something) and the other is permissive (to let someone do something) (Shibatani 1973).

Meiteilon makes no distinction between the factitive and the permissive. For example:

19.	məhak-nə	ma-bu	ka-da	cəŋ-həl-li
	he-NOM	he-ACCUS	room-LOC	enter-CAUS-ASP
,	He makes/let	s him enter th	e room.	

20. əy-nə məhak-pu hospital-da cət-həl-li I-NOM he-ACCUS hospital-LOC go-CAUS-ASP I make/let him go to the hospital.

Sentences 19 and 20 show that Meitellon does not make any semantic distinction between factilities and permissive.

Volition.

Another important semantic factor is that of volition. The causative verbs that signify volitional events cannot occur with inanimate causers (see Wachowicz 1976). In other words, inanimate causers can occur only with non-volitional verbs in Meitellon, as sentences 21 and 22 show:

21.	miyam-nə	ma-bu	huranbə-du	phu-həl-li
	people-NOM	he-ACCUS	thief-CLASSIF	beat-CAUS-ASP
	People make I	im beat the t	hief.	

22. saoninmendu-na ma-ne huranbe-du phu-y anger- INST he-NOM thief-CLASSIF beat-ASP He beats the thief out of anger.³

Sentence 22 cannot be changed into sentence 23, which is ungrammatical.

23. *əsavbə-nə ma-bu huranbə-du phu-həl-li -NOM -ACCUS Anger makes him beat the thief.

The difference between 21 and 23 is that the former has an animate causer while the latter sentence has an inanimate causer. Sentence 22 does not have a causer at all, and has no causative particle on the verb.

However, a non-volitional event can take an inanimate causer, as in 24a and 24b.

24a.	P. C. Sarkar-gi	megik-na	miyam-bu	nək-həl-li
	P. C. Sarkar-GEN	magic-INST	people-ACCUS	surprise-CAUS-ASP
	P. C. Sarkar's magic	surprises the	people.	

24b. tombi-gi phagi-na ətabə-siŋ-bu nok-həl-li Tombi-GEN. joke-INST listener-PL-ACCUS laugh-CAUS-ASP Tombi's joke makes the listener laugh.

Extension of Double Causation.

The last causative construction we shall discuss is "quotative causatives." In this construction, Meiteilon uses a bound morph hai - (hai-ba) 'to say', along with the morphological causative -hal, as in sentences 25a and 25b.

- 25a. əy-nə tombə-da jina-bu isəy ta-hən-nəbə hai I-NOM Tomba-DAT Jina-ACCUS song hear-CAUS-SFX say I tell Tomba to make Jina hear the song.
- 25b. Mr. X-nə Mr. Y-da əŋaŋ-du para pa-hən-nəbə hai -NOM -DAT child-CLASSF lesson read-CAUS-SFX say Mr. X tells Mr. Y to make the child read the lesson.

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³ Here we find two consecutive NP's with -na and -na, but one of them is inanimate, so the . condition formulated above (18) is not violated. [Ed.]

Notice that this construction includes another derivational suffix following the causative marker $-h \ge n$ which is not found in the construction of morphological causatives, that is, $-n \ge b \ge$. Without this suffix $(-n \ge b \ge)$, the quotative causative construction is ungrammatical, as in sentence 26:

26. *əy-na tombə-da jina-bu isəy ta-hən hal

Lexical causatives can also occur in this quotative causative construction, as in sentence 27:

 ay-na tomba-da ucek-tu hat-naba hai I-NOM Tomba-DAT bird-CLASSIF kill-SUFFIX say I tell Tomba to kill the bird.

In this construction the suffix $-n \partial b \partial$ is added directly to the lexical causalive, e.g., hat- in sentence 27.

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