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臺灣南島語役使句與應用句研究 [2/2]

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Causative and Applicative: Their Split and Syncretism in Formosan Languages

1. Introduction

The grammar of causative and applicative constructions has been an object of intensive linguistic research over the last twenty years or so and rightly so, since causation is a fundamental cognitive category and is thus an ideal target of serious investigation for insights into language universals and probable limits of linguistic variation. The nature of the grammar of causatives and applicatives in Formosan languages has, however, remained largely underexplored. A primary goal of the present study represent an attempt to undertake a cross-linguistic investigation of all types of causatives in five Formosan languages(Kavalan, Tsou, Saisiyat, Squliq Atayal and Bunun) and at least two Philippine languages (Tagalog and Cebuano) , hoping thereby to fill in the lacuna in our understanding of causative constructions in Formosan languages and thus contribute to a general theory of linguistic typology of causatives and applicatives.

A causative construction is a valence-augmenting construction that brings an extra participant into the agent (A) role. An applicative is a valence increasing operation that ascribes a peripheral participant to the direct object (O). These and other valence-changing processes can be schematized as follows:

-A: passive and other A-removing or A-demoting processes
+A: causatives (both direct and indirect)
-O: antipassive or other O-removing or O-demoting processes
+O1: transitivization by addition of first object
(as in English laugh:mock)
+O2: applicatives: addition of second object

The first two can be termed A-affecting processes and the others O-affecting processes. The frequencies of these processes vary, but A-affecting processes have been known to be much more common than o-affecting processes. Of the latter, transitivation is much less frequent than antipassive or applicatives.

Although both causativization and applicativization increase verbal valence, they have very different syntactic consequences. In this paper we assume that non-Agent focus clauses in Formosan languages are a species of the applicative construction, since they can be used to promote a peripheral argument into the core argument role, namely the nominative. A major goal of this paper is to investigate the complex coding patterns for causative and applicative in three Formosan languages and to trace out the changing nature of the interaction between causative and applicative. Along the way we will also consider how putatively universal discourse patterns such as Preferred Argument Structure (PAS) (Du Bois 2003) play out in our narrative data involving causative and applicative constructions.

When a new argument is added to a clause, how does this affect the grammatical coding of the other arguments? There is crosslinguistic variation in the way causer and causee are case-marked and this variation has been much discussed in the literature (e.g. Comrie 1976, 1989, Polinsky 1995). Comrie (1976) proposes that the causer functions as the 'subject' of the causative sentence and that the grammatical relation of the causee is usually predictable based on the base verb type. If the base verb is intransitive, then the causee tends to assume DO properties. If the base verb is transitive, the causee tends to assume IO properties. If the base verb is a ditransitive, the causee is usually treated as an oblique. In other words, the causee takes the highest available position on the causee accessibility hierarchy in Figure 1.

Subj > DO > IO > Obliq

Figure 1 The Causee Accessibility Hierarchy

But Comrie's hierarchy was based on data from accusative languages, especially Hungarian. The question is, does the hierarchy apply to ergative languages as well. All of the Formosan languages examined here have a split case marking system. That is, there is more than one case-marking pattern in the language. In Tsou and Squliq, if the (base) verb to which the causative morpheme attaches is AF, it follows one case marking pattern; if the verb is NAF, it follows another case marking pattern. There are also exceptional case marking subpatterns in these languages, particularly with lexicalized causative verbs. In Tsou, when the causer, the new argument, is introduced into the sentence, it always takes the genitive/oblique case while the case assignment patterns for the causee and other arguments basically are not affected. In Squliq, the causer is assigned depending on the transitivity of the base verb. Thus, the causer always takes the genitive/oblique in NAF clauses, but the nominative in the AF clause. The causee is not affected in the AF clause, but is assigned a case depending on the transitivity of the base verb. In Saisiyat, transitivity of the base verb determines the case assignment for both the causer and the cause. Furthermore, lexicalized causative verbs often require a different coding assignment than regularly formed causative verbs. Directness of causation also bears on the choice of a coding pattern. These and other details will be discussed further in the following sections. In any event, such cross-linguistic differences mean that no general case assignment rules for the Formosan ergative languages can be formulated. What is clear is that the coding patterns for causatives in Squliq, Tsou and Saisiyat and in ergative languages generally violate Comrie's causee accessibility hierarchy.

To redress the balance, Van Valin and LaPolla (1997:368) have proposed the following case assignment rules for (morphologically) ergative languages:

2. Case assignment rules for ergative pattern
   a. Assign absolutive case to the lowest-ranking macrorole argument
   b. Assign ergative case to the other macrorole argument
   c. Assign dative case to non-macrorole arguments (default)

We will show below that (2) is seriously flawed and cannot accommodate the Formosan data and that the coding patterns for causer and causee in the Formosan languages studied here are much more complex than those specified in (2).

2. Causative and applicative in Tsou

2.1 Coding types

We first consider the data of a language with a coding pattern that seems to us to be most neat and straightforward. This language is Tsou. Tsou, a rigid verb-initial language, has an elaborate and vibrant case marking system, with a set of nominative markers indicating 'subject', depending on the visibility and/or psychological distance of the subject NP in relation to the speaker, and another set of oblique markers indicating non-subjects and genitive NPs. Tsou has no distinct locative case markers.

In Tsou there are two types of causative affix that attach to verbal stems in morphological causatives: *p(o)a-*V_{AF}*(-a)* , where the optional –a is, interestingly, probably a PF suffix, and *p(o)a-*$V_{PF/LF}$*-neni*, where *–neni* is a marker for BF verbs. *P(o)a- (-a)* occurs with AF vergbs, and *p(o)a- -neni* with NAF verbs. In Tsou, PF focus marker *–a* defines its nominative as the patient of the verb, and the BF marker *–neni* defines its nominative as either a transported theme, or a beneficiary, or a cause.

Now consider the following data on Tsou causatives.

(3)Tsou

a. i-si na’na pa-yonghu(-a) to ino-si ’o paicU
NAF-3S.Gen very.NAF Cau-pretty.AF-a Obl mom-3S.Gen Nom PN
“PaicU’s mother made her very pretty.”

b. os-’o poa-bonU(-a) to ave’u ’o fokunge
NAF-1S.Gen Cau-eat.AF(-a) Obl rice Nom frog
“I made the frog eat rice.”

c. i-si poa-ana-neni to pasuya to voyu ’o f’ue
NAF-3S.Gen Cau-eat.PF-BF Obl PN Obl PN Nom yam
“Voyu made Pasuya eat the yam.”

d. os-’o pa-sii-neni to naveu to paicU ’o cavang-’u
NAF-1S.Gen Cau-put.LF-BF Obl rice Obl PN Nom bowl-1S.Gen
‘Mo’o caused his mother to be pleased about him.’

e. i-si poa-aveoveoeni to ino-si ’o mo’o
NAF-3S.Gen Cau-pleased about.BF Obl mom-3S.Gen Nom PN
“Mo’o caused his mother pleased about him.”

f. os-’o pa-siisneni to tonhivza to ’o’oko ’o hapuyu
NAF-1S.Gen Cau-smear.BF Obl wall Obl children Nom lime
“I made children smear a wall with lime.”

g. ’o mo’o, i-si pa-toUsvUsvUtneni to haah’o ho hucma
Nom PN NAF-3S.Gen Cau-discuss.BF Obl all tomorrow
na te hia mayasvi
Nom Fut how Mayasvi
“Mo’o had everyone discuss how (to prepare for) mayasvi tomorrow.”

h. mi-‘o p’onU to naveu to av’u
Aux.AF-1S. Nom feed.AF Obl rice Obl dog
“I fed dogs with rice.”

i. mi-ta pa’hi-cocvo ‘e pasuya
Aux.AF-3S.Nom Cau-laugh.AF Nom PN
“ Pasuya joked.” (Lit.: Pasuya caused people to laugh.).”

In non-causative AF clauses in Tsou, nominative is assigned to the only core argument of the clause. In causative clauses, the causer is always in the genitive/oblique, except for rare exceptions like lexicalized causatives in (h) and (i). In (3a) where the verb is in AF, the Causer is in the genitive and the Causee in the oblique. In (3b) where the verb is semantically transitive, the Causer is in the genitive, the Causee in the nominative and the patient nominal takes the oblique. In (3c), where the base verb is in PF, the causer nominal is in the oblique, the causee is also in the oblique and the patient takes the nominative. In (3d), where is the base verb is in LF, the causer is in the genitive, the cause in the oblique, the patient in the oblique and the goal nominal is in the nominative. In (3e), where the base verb is in BF form, the nominative NP *mo'o* is the cause for as well as the beneficiary of his mother's happiness. The experiencer nominal is in the oblique. Since the sentence describes the trigger for and the experiencer of, an emotion, no causer or causee is involved. In (3f), where the base verb is also in BF form, the causer is in the genitive, the causee in the oblique, and the transported theme (the lime) is in the nominative. In (3g), another clause with a BF base verb, the cause is in the oblique and 'direct object' nominal (*te hia mayasvi*) is in the nominative.

Case marking in Tsou is thus assigned on the basis of a distinction between AF clauses, which are lower in transitivity and NAF clauses, which are higher in transitivity:

(4)

A. In intransitive causative AF clauses, the causer is assigned the oblique, and the causee is assigned the nominative.
B. In causative NAF clauses, the causer is assigned the oblique, the causee and the 'direct object' are also assigned the oblique. The nominative NP goes to the benefactee, transported theme or the goal of an action or event, depending on the nature of the lexical verb semantics.

Table 1 below provides a comprehensive list of all of the elicited coding types for causer and causee.

Table 1 Coding patterns for causatives in Tsou

	non-causative verb	Causatives	Causer	Causee	Patient	Benefactee/ Transported theme/ Goal	examples
A	$V_{AF(i)}$	p(o)a-$V_{AF(i)}$ (-a)	Obl	**Nom**	--	--	(1)(2)
B	$V_{AF(ii)}$	p(o)a-$V_{AF\ (ii)}$(-a)	Obl	**Nom**	(Obl)	--	(3)(4)
C	V_{PF}	p(o)a-V_{PF}-neni	Obl	Obl	**Nom**	--	(5)(6)
D	$V_{LF(i)}$	p(o)a-$V_{LF(i)}$-neni	Obl	Obl	--	**Nom**	(7)(8)(9)
E	$V_{LF(ii)}$	p(o)a-$V_{LF(ii)}$-neni	Obl	Obl	Obl	**Nom**	(10)
E	$V_{BF(i)}$	p(o)a-$V_{BF(i)}$	Obl	Obl	Obl	**Nom**	(11)???
F	$V_{BF(ii)}$	p(o)a-$V_{BF(ii)}$	Obl	Obl	--	**Nom**	(12) (13)
G	$V_{BF(iii)}$	p(o)a-$V_{BF(iii)}$	Obl	Obl	**Nom**	--	(14)
H	Lexicalized causative Verb (V_{AF})		**Nom**	--	Obl	Obl	(15)(16) (17)
I	Lexicalized Causative verb (V_{LF})		Obl	--	Obl	**Nom**	(18)(19) (20)

2.2 Exceptional coding patterns

Three coding types stand out from the rest and these are types G, J and K. Type G is unusual in that the causer is in the nominative rather than in the more expected oblique case, as exemplified in (5). (5) contains an emotion verb and describes an indirect causation where something about the nominative NP Mo'o causes his mother to be proud of him. In indirect causation, the causer takes the nominative case as opposed to more direct causation in which the causer is in the oblique.

(5) isi poa-aveoveoeni to ino-si ‘o mo’o
NAF-3S.Gen CAu-pleased about.BF Obl mother-3S.Gen Nom PN
“ (What)Mo’o (did) made his mother proud of him.”

Types J and K each contain a lexicalized causative verb. Lexicalized causative verbs often require a distinct coding pattern from their non-lexicalized counterparts. In Type J the causer also takes the nominative case and the causee the oblique. As illustrated in (6) and (7), the main verbs *p’onU* ‘ to feed” / *pa’hi-cocvo* ‘ to be funny; to make people laugh’, are lexicalized causatives, but are construed as intransitives. The object noun phrase *av’u* in (6) is not specific or definite, and in (7) the causee NP can only be implicit.

(6) mi’o p’onU to naveu to av’u
Aux-1S.Nom feed. AF Obl rice Obl dog
‘ I fed dogs with rice.”
(7) mi-ta pa’hi-cocvo ‘e Pasuya
Aux-3S. Nom Cau-laugh. AF Nom PN
‘ Pasuya was being funny’

Type K, where the causer is in the expected oblique and the causee is in the nominative, rather than in the more expected oblique, is illustrated in (8) and (9). The main verbs in these two sentences are the same as those in (6) and (7), except that they are now in NAF form. What is also unusual about Type K is that the verb is in NAF, and yet it does not take the BF ending *–neni* characteristic of morphosyntax of NAF clauses in the language, as can be seen by comparing Type K with Types D and E.

(8) Lexicalized causative verb (V_{LF})
os-’o p’ani to naveu ’o av’u
Aux.NAF-1S.Gen feed.LF Obl rice Nom dog
‘I fed the dog with rice.’

(9) Lexicalized Causative verb (V_{LF})

i-ta	pa' hi-cocvi	ta	pasuya	'o	yangui	
Aux.NAF-3S.Gen	cause-laugh.LF	Obl	PN	Nom	PN	

'Pasuya made Yangui laugh.'

(8), (9) along with other sentences illustrated in Table 1 strongly suggest that Tsou uses different coding strategies to signal degree of the control or volitionality of the causee. It is common for a causee with little control or volitionality to appear in a core case (e.g. nominative) and a causer with greater control to appear in an oblique. In both (8) and (9), the causee may be interpreted as not acting volitionally, while the causees in Types C through I may be interpreted as acting volitionally. In other words, a nominative causee exhibits less control or volitionality than an oblique causee.

Coding types C through I share the commonality that both the causer and the causee are marked by the oblique and the verb takes a 'compound' causative marker *p(o)a-… -neni* where *p(o)a-* is the regular causative morpheme, and *-neni* is the applicative BF marker. *–neni* serves a range of diverse functions. The nominative NP in Type F refers to the goal of the associated activity; in Type G to the cause of the associated emotion; in Type H to the transported theme of the associated action; in Type I to what may be termed sociative causation involving multiple agents in the execution of the caused event. Thus, these coding types with compound causative markers suggest that the causative *p(o)a-* and the applicative *–neni* are converging in their functions on these various clause types. So what we have here represents a case of partial causative/applicative overlap or syncretism. Shibatani and Pardeshi (2001) suggest that the applicative meanings of comitative, instrumental and benefactive can be connected to sociative causation. Huang (2005) shows that a distinct majority of the nominative arguments in BF or RF clauses in our Formosan language corpus are primarily used to encode transported theme, an entity that undergoes movement,

physically or metaphorically, from one location to another. Other RF/BF clause functions of indicating an instrument, cause, beneficiary or sociative action (commitment) can be shown to be derivable from the basic meaning of indicating transported theme. It is the sociative causation function of the marker –*neni* that figures in the compound causative marker *p(o)a-….-neni,* and moreover it is the absence of this element of sociative causation that explains the absence of the applicative marker –neni from Types A. B, J and K. We will show further below that it is sociative causation that leads to causative/applicative overlap in the Formosan languages studied here.

2.2 Indirect causation

Unlike Squliq and Saisiyat, Tsou does not use the regular RF applicative morpheme (*si-) to indicate indirect causation. Rather it uses the grammatical morpheme *koa* or n*omzo* for this purpose. The *koa* and *nomzo* constructions are schematized in (10) and sentences in (11) are illustrations.

(10)

a. [ ] $_{cause}$ [koa] e_{ffect}

b. [nomzo]$_{cause}$ [ ]$_{effect/nmz}$

(11)

a. ‘a no tmacongo taini na koa mita o’te meelU
Evi PF sick. 3S.Gen Nom KOA Aux-3S. Neg can
uh tan’e maintan’e
come here today
“ He could not come today because he was sick.”

b. mi’o nomzo to ino-‘u ho miski ne vioyin
Aux-1S. because.of Obl mother-1S.Gen Conj stay Loc hospital
“ Because of my mother, I stayed in the hospital.”

3. Causative and applicative in Squliq

We turn next to look at the structures of causative and applicative constructions in Squliq, a language which exhibits an even more complex, even tantalizing, interplay between causative and applicative. Squliq is one of the two major dialects of the Atayal language. It is verb-initial, has a focus system similar to that of Tsou and a set of oblique markers (squ'/sa/te/I') whose functional differences from each other have yet to be sorted out. Unlike Mayrinax, the other Atayal dialect, but like Tsou, Squliq has no 'purely' locative case markers.

Consider first the following Squliq data.

(12) Squliq

a. hera' ga', m<s>hilaw-ku' squ' raNi'-mu'
yesterday Top AF<s>energetic-1S.Nom Obl friend-1S.Gen
"I enlivened my friends yesterday."

b. nyux p-kita' squ' yumin sa inluNan-nya' qu' mit qani.
Asp Cau-see Obl PN Obl feeling-3S.Gen Nom ass Det
" The ass let Yumin see its feelings."

c. wal-mu p-kut-un i' yumin qu' paris-ta'
Asp-1S.Gen Cau-kill.PF Obl PN Nom enemy-1PI.Gen
"I made Yumin kill our enemy."

d. p<in>qniq-an-maku' na' qulih qu ngyaw qa.
Cau<Perf>eat-LF-1S.Gen Obl fish Nom cat this
' I had this cat eat fish.'

e. p-in-nbw-an-maku' na' qwox qu' yumin
Cau-PF-drink-LF-1S.Gen Obl wine Nom PN
'I let Yumin drink wine.'

f. ini' puN-i ke'-mu' qu' lagi'-mu' ru
Neg hear-LF.Neg word-1S.Gen Nom Child-1S.Gen Conj
s-p-htuy-mu' i' mlikuy-mu' qu' hya'
RF-Cau-block-1S.Gen Obl man-1S.Gen Nom 3S.Nom
"My child didn't obey me, so I let my husband bar him (from going out)."

g. wal biq-an ni' ciwas sa huzil qu' laqi' qa.
Asp give-LF Gen PN Obl dog Nom child this
' Ciwas gave the child a dog.'

h. s-un-nya' squ' ciwas, "biq-i huzil laqi' hya'."
Say.thus.-PF-3S.Gen Obl PN give-LF dog child 3S. Nom.F
'He told Ciwas, ' Give a dog to the child."

In (12a), where the verb is in AF, the Causer is in the nominative and the Causee in the oblique. In (12b), where the verb is also in AF, the Causer is in the nominative and the Causee in the oblique. In (12c), where the verb is in PF, the Causer is in the genitive, the Causee in the oblique and the 'direct object' is in the nominative. In (12d) and(12e), the verb is in LF, and the causer is in the genitive, the causee in the nominative and the direct object in the oblique. Note that the verbs 'eat' and 'drink' in (12d) and (12e) are syntactically intransitive. In (12e), the verb is in RF, the Causer goes to the genitive, the Causee goes to the oblique and the 'direct object' the nominative.(12g) is a normal ditransitive clause and, apparently to avoid the use of too many obliques, the causative event of a ditransitive is brought about by verbal commands, as in (12h).

Based on the data in (12), case marking in Squliq causatives seems to be assigned on the basis of the following considerations:

(13)

A. In causative AF clauses, the verb is intransitive, the nominative case is assigned to the only core argument and the oblique is assigned to the non-core argument.

B. In causative NAF clauses, the Causer is always assigned the genitive/oblique; the Causee is assigned the oblique, if the base verb is transitive; nominative, if the base verb is intransitive. The 'direct object' takes the nominative if it is referentially definite; oblique if referentially indefinite.

A comprehensive listing of all of the elicited coding types for Squliq

causatives is given in Table 2.

Table 2. Coding types in Squliq Causatives (based on discourse data)

Type	Causer	Causee	Object/Others	Example
A. AF (1): (a). s-…	Nom	Obl		Intransitives 1. *s-hilaw* “enliven”
(b). s<k>…				2. *s<k>btunux* “make sb. beautiful”
B. AF (2): p-…	Nom	Obl		Intransitives
				4. *p-kita’* “cause to see”
C. PF (1): (a) –un (b)p-..<in> (lexicalized)	Gen/Obl	Nom		Intransitives *6.kox-un* “frighten”
				Transitives 7.*p<in>cbaq”*train; teach” (lit. “cause to know”)
D. PF (2): p-…	Gen/Obl	Obl	Nom	Transitives *8.p-baq* “cause to know”
				9. *p-kut* “cause to kill; cause to cut”
E. PF (3): p-…-un	Gen/Obl	Nom		Intr. 10. *p-lk -un* “cause to fly” *p-lNiq-un* “cause to swim”
F. PF (4): p- … -un	Gen/Obl	Nom		Tr. 13. *p-qbaq-un* “ introduce”(lit.: cause to know)
G. LF (1): -an	Gen/Obl	Nom		Intr. *qlyux-an* “lengthen”
H. LF (2): p-…-an	Gen/Obl	Nom	Obl	Intr. 16. *p-nbw-an* “cause to drink (wine/water)”

				17. *p-brw-an* “cause to write (letters)” Transitive 18. p<in>qniq-an ‘ make sb eat st’
I. RF-LF s-…-an	Gen/Obl	Nom		Intr. 19. *s-bliq-an* “amuse”
J. RF (1): s-… (indirect causation)	Obl/Gen	Nom		Intr. 20. *s-trahu’* “praise; admire” 21. *s-pge’* “leave because of”
K. RF (2): s<p>… (indirect causation)	Gen/Obl	Nom		Intr. 22. *s<p>yaqih* “sadden” *23. s<p>hgaw* “make sb. rest” 24.*<p>yugi’* “make sb. dance”
L. RF (3): s<p>… (indirect causation)	Gen	Obl	Nom	Tr. 25.*s<p>kut* “make sb./sth. kill” 26.*s<p>htuy* “make sb./sth. block”
M. RF (4): s<p>…-an/-un (indirect causation)	Gen/Obl	Nom		Intr. 27.*s<p>qih-an* “make sb. angry” 28. *s<p>qnyat-un* “make sb. diligent”

Table 2 presents an array of the formal devices used to form causative costructions. It also reveals a number of interesting differences in the way argument NPs in causatives in Squliq and Tsou are coded. Causative AF clauses in Squliq, unlike those in Tsou, have a Causer-Nom, Causee-oblique coding pattern. In Squliq NAF clauses, the causee may be in the nominative or in the oblique, apparently

depending on the volitionality or control of the causee NP. In (14a), for example, the main verb *p<in>cbaq* ‘ train’ , which comes from a transitive base verb, is a lexicalized causative that takes just two arguments, namely causer-oblique, causee-nominative ,while the main verb in (14b) is a regularly formed causative and takes three arguments, causer-oblique, causee-oblique and direct object-nominative. An object of training, such as dogs in (14a), certainly involves less volition and less control than Yumin, the causee in (14b). Verbs like p<*in*>*cbaq* “ train” and *p-baq-un* ‘ introduce’ in Type F suggest that morphological causativization in a language may reduce the number of arguments through lexicalization, without necessarily resorting to strategies like detransitivization, as in Blackfoot, or object incorporation, as in Southern Tiwa (cf.Song 2001).

(14) Squliq

a. baq *p<in>cbaq* na’ yumin qu’ huzil.
can P<PF>teach Gen Yumin Nom dog
“Yumin was good at training dogs.”

b. *p-baq*-mu’ i’ yumin qu’ zyaw qa.
P-know-1S.Gen Obl Yumin Nom thing Det
“I let Yumin know the thing.”

3.2 Indirect causation

An examination of Table 2 also shows a number of interesting ways in which the applicative RF morpheme *s*- and the causative *p*- interact in causative constructions in Squliq. First, the prefix *s*- has an applicative and a causative function. The prefix *s*- has evolved into a causative marker, via its basic function of indicating a transported theme, especially when it occurs with stative verbs, as seen in Types A and I. This is another case of the partial applicative/causative syncretism. If the *s*- occurs with an activity verb in a sentence, it functions as a benefactive applicative marker, as

illustrated in (15).

(15)

a. s-usa'-mu' qu' huzil qa.
RF-go-1S.Gen Nom dog this
" I went (to someplace) for the dog."

b. s-paqut misu' tali suhan
RF-ask 1S.Gen-2S.Nom PN tomorrow
" I'll ask Tali (about something) for you tomorrow."

Squliq and Tsou differ in the degree to which they allow the construal of intransitive events in terms of the benefactive schema. Shibatani (1996) suggests that benefactives are based on the schema of 'give' constructions. This is probably why intransitives in Tsou are difficult to be construed in terms of the benefactive *–neni* construction. The only intransitive verbs allowed in the *–neni* construction are emotion verbs; other intransitive verb types are prohibited. Squliq appears to be more tolerant in this respect, as (15) shows.

A second way in which the applicative *s-* and the causative *p-* interact is that the applicative prefix *s-* and the causative prefix *p-* can occur on the same verb root in a fixed order, with *s-* expressing an indirect causation for the caused event signaled by the following *p-* and the verb root, as seen in (16)[Type K], (17)[Type L] and (18)[Type M]. In our corpus data, this indirect cause always appears in a preceding clause, followed by a caused event in the second clause, as exemplified below.

(16) ini' swal m-agal squ' kneril qa qu' yumin ru *s<p>yaqih*
Neg agree AF-take Obl woman Det Nom PN Conj S<P>bad
qu' hya'.
Nom 3S.Nom.F
"Yumin didn't agree to marry the girl, so he made her sad."

(17) m-usu' qu' pnaNa'-mu' qaya' qani ru
AF-heavy Nom carry.on.back-1S.Gen object Dem Conj

s<p>hgaw-mu' kun nanak.
S<P>rest-1S.Gen 1S.Nom.F only
"My bag was so heavy that I let myself take a rest."

(18) ini' puN-i ke'-mu' qu' laqi'-mu' ru
Neg hear-LF.Neg word-1S.Gen Nom child-1S.Gen Conj
s<p>htuy-mu' i' mlikuy-mu' qu' hya'.
S<P>block-1S.Gen Obl husband-1S.Gen Nom 3S.Nom.F
"Because my child didn't listen to me, I asked my husband to bar him (from going out)."

Indirect causation may be signaled by *s*- alone and does not require the presence of the causative morpheme *p*-. This indirect causation signaling function of *s*- may appear in either of the following schematic forms and the sentences in (20) are illustrations.

(19)

a. [s-] effect [ ] cause

b.[s-] cause [s-] effect/NMZ

(20)

a. nanu qu' s-wah-nya' qani' ga', m-wah qsyuw pila'
what Nom RF-come-3S.Gen Top AF-come borrow money
" The reason he came here was because he wanted to borrow money."

b. s-qsyuw-nya' sa' pila' qu' s-wah-nya' qani.
" The reason he came here was because he wanted to borrow some money."

4. Causative and applicative in Saisiyat

We turn next to Saisiyat, a demonstrably split-ergative language in which there

are two types of transitive clauses, those that occur in AF and those that occur in NAF, with the former co-occurring mostly with imperfective aspect markers and the latter almost exclusively with perfective markers. Thus, Saisiyat provides a good case study of how argument NPs in a split-ergative language are encoded may differ from that in a non-split-ergative language such as Tsou or Squliq. Causatives in Saisiyat are indicated by any of the following causative or applicative prefixes: *pa-, pak-, si-, sik*, *si-pa-, si-pak.* It turns out that of the three languages examined in this study, Saisiyat has the most complex system of coding patterns, in part because of the causative/applicative syncretism conditioned by lexically specific verb classes. Consider first the following Saisiyat data.

(21) Saisiyat

a. sia pak-tikot
3S.Nom Cau-be.afraid
" He is frightening."

b. 'obay pak-boe:oe' iyakin
PN Cau-be.angry 1S.Acc
" Obay made me angry."

c. yao am pak-hayza' 'ini' 'obay ka kaShaw
1S.Nom Asp Cau-exist Dat PN Acc drinks
" I am preparing drinks for Obay (because he is coming)."

d. ma'an pak-hayza' ka ralom 'ini' 'obay
1A.Gen Cau-exist Acc water Dat PN
" I am preparing water for Obay."

e. 'Obay pa-ra:iw noka mingkoringan
PN Cau-leave Gen woman
" Obay's wife left on him."

f. noka wae'ae' pak-sahae'en ray 'atas ila hini kamasal
Gen deer Cau-fall.PF Loc cliff pfv here below
" The deer threw (them) over the cliff."

g. in-kakhayza'-an-a ma'an si-pak-baz' ka korkoring
past 1s.Gen RF-Cau-hear Nom child

" I told the children stories about the past."

h. ma'an sik-pa-ki'noya' ka korkoring
1S.Gen RF-CAu-be starved Nom child
" The child was starved (because of) me.

In (21a), the verb is in AF, the causer is in the nominative, but the causee is not overtly expressed. In (21b), the causer is in the nominative and the causee in the accusative. In (21c) and (21d), the main verb *pak-hayza*' 'to prepare" is a lexicalized transitive, but interestingly it has two case marking patterns. In (21c), the causer (the agent) is in the nominative and the causee (the recipient) in the dative. However, in (21d), the causer is in the genitive and the causee (the recipient) is in the dative. In (26e), the verb is in AF, but the causer is in the genitive and the causee in the nominative. In (21f), the verb is in PF, and the causer is in the genitive, the causee in the nominative. In (21g) and (21h), the verb is in RF, the causer is in the genitive and the causee in the nominative. Thus, case marking in Saisiyat causatives and applicatives seems to be assigned on the basis of the following stipulations:

22.

A. In causative AF clauses, the causer is assigned the nominative, the causee the accusative and the direct object is in the accusative.
B. In causative NAF clauses, the causer is assigned the genitive, the causee the nominative and the 'direct object' the accusative.

There are exceptions to the case assignment rules given in (22). One type of exception is verbs like *pa-hangal* and *pa-'a'apol*, which require the causer to be in the genitive and the causee in the nominative. These verbs belong to Type C in Table 3 below. A second type of exception is verbs like *pa-ra:iw,* which require the causer to be in the genitive, and the cause in the nominative. These verbs belong to Type E in Table 3 and have exactly the same coding and interpretation as Types N and P. In each case, an indirect causation interpretation is intended: the genitive NP does something

and the nominative NP is affected as a result. This is an instantiation of causative/applicative syncretism, but one which is lexically conditioned. Other instances of the syncretism will be noted below. A third type of exception is the verb *pak-hayza*', which strangely has either a causer-nominative, causee-dative, or a causer-genitive, causee-nominative coding pattern, as if the native speaker has not yet decided on which coding pattern to opt for. This is represented as Type U in Table 3. Type U together with other coding types suggest that the oblique has the highest degree of control by the causee, followed by the nominative, which is in turn followed by the accusative.

Table 3 Saisiyat Causative Coding Patterns (based on corpus data)

Pattern	**Base verb**	**Causer**	**Causee**	**Object /others**	**Goal/ benefaciary**	**(Examples)**
A	AF- $V_{tr.}$ *pa-*	Nom	Acc	Acc		Transitive verbs: e.g. (1), (2)
B	AF- $V_{intr.}$ *pa-*	Nom	Acc	X		Intransitive verbs: e.g. (3), (4)
C	AF- $V_{tr.}$ *pa-* (=V-en)	Gen	Nom	X		Transitive verbs : e.g. (5), (6) (lexicalized causatives)
D	PF *pa-* $V_{tr.}$-en	Gen	Nom			Transitive verbs: e.g. (7), (8)
E	AF- $V_{intr.}$ (=*sik*-V)	Gen	Nom	X		Intransitives e.g. (9), (10) (indirect cause ; Nom is affected ; Gen is non-agentive)
F	PF *pa-* $V_{intr.}$-en	Gen	Nom			Intransitives e.g. (11), (12)
G						none
H	AF- $V_{intr.}$ *pak-*	Nom	Acc			Intransitives e.g. (13), (14)
I						none
J						none
K						none
L	PF *pak*-V_{intr}-en	Gen	Nom			Intransitives e.g. (15), (16)
M	*si*-$V_{tr.}$	Gen	Nom			Transitive verbs : e.g. (17), (18)

N	*si*-V$_{intr.}$	Gen	Nom			Intransitive verbs : e.g. (19), (20)	
O	*sik*- V$_{tr.}$					none	
P	*sik*- V$_{intr.}$	Gen	Nom			Intransitive verbs : e.g. (21), (22)	
Q	*si-pa*- V$_{tr.}$	Gen	Nom			Transitive verbs : e.g. (23), (24)	
R	*si-pa*- V$_{intr.}$	Gen	Nom			Intransitive verbs : e.g. (25)	
S	*si-pak*- V$_{tr.}$	Gen	Nom			none	
T	*si-pak*- V$_{intr.}$	Gen	Nom			Intransitive verbs : e.g. (26)	
U	AF pak- si-pak-	Nom	Dat	Acc		(27a)	Verb ‘to have’
		Gen		Nom		(28a)	
		Gen	Nom	Acc		(28b)	
V	AF-	Nom	Acc	Acc	Dative	di-transitives e.g. (29), (30)	

Note: All of the coding types except for the last two types (U and V) are based on corpus data.

Elsewhere in Table 3 we also find other instances of the causative/applicative syncretism beyond the functional overlap between Types E, N and P just noted.. For example, the four coding types, namely Type C, with a causative *pa*- prefix, Type M , with an applicative *si*- , Type Q, with both an applicative *si*- and a causative *pa,* and Type T, which also contains both an applicative si- and a causative pak-, have the same coding pattern and the same interpretation: the nominative NP in each case is a transported theme. In functional overlap involving Types E, N and P, the syncretism develops when there is a benefactive/malfactive reading associated with the causative construction. In functional overlap involving Types C, M, Q, and T, the syncretism develops when there is a causative reading (moving an entity from one locale to another) associated with the applicative *si-/sik*- .

5. Interim summary

In the preceding sections we looked at the case assignment rules in Tsou,

Squliq and Saisiyat, and pointed out that there are exceptional coding patterns in each of the languages. In Tsou, the causer is always assigned the oblique; the cause is assigned the nominative or the oblique, depending on its degree of control or volitionality. A causee with little control appears in the nominative and a cause with a greater degree of control appears in the oblique. This observation also applies to Squliq. Saisiyat has the most complex set of case assignment rules, partly because of a lexically conditioned causative/applicative syncretism. Thus *pa*-causatives frequently have the same coding patterns and interpretations as *sik*-causatives. Saisiyat also makes a finer three-way contrast in degree of control.

Language	no control	less control	greatest control
Tsou		nominative	oblique
Squliq		nominative	oblique
Saisiyat	accusative	nominative	oblique

6. Causative and Preferred argument structure

Although Tables 1,2 and 3 present an astonishing array of formal devices for coding argument NPs in causatives and applicatives, these coding types are basically based on elicited data (Saisiyat data excepted). But elicited data are just that. They tell us preciously little about how language responds to the demands placed on it by its users (Du Bois 2003:11), or how discourse pressure might shape the argument structure and hence the morphosyntax of a language. Moreover, Table 1 shows that in Tsou causative NAF clauses, the causee NP always doubles up on the oblique case that is already taken up by at least one of the other core argument NPs. The doubling up of grammatical relation was addressed briefly in Comrie(1989:178), his conclusion being that all languages allow such a possibility. It is precisely because of such forced and pervasive doubling up on the oblique in the elicitation that native speakers often

have problem with determining the ‘acceptability’ of transitive or ditransitive causative sentences when they are asked to. But what do causatives look like in natural discourse data? In this section we examine natural discourse data in order to understand the interaction between argument structure and discourse pragmatics.

When natural narrative data are examined, what we find is a radically different picture of how causative and applicative clauses are deployed by the language users.

The doubling up of grammatical relation turns out to be a non-issue, since there is simply no doubling up of grammatical relation in the discourse data. It is true that the coding patterns given in the preceding tables for causatives provide structural facilitation for a given function, but they do not really tell us whether certain argument realizations in certain argument positions are preferred, while defining others as dispreferred.

The hypothesis of preferred argument structure (PAS) proposed by Du Bois (1987) has a grammatical and a pragmatic dimension. In the grammatical dimension, there is a constraint that limits the lexical core argument to no more than one and a second constraint that excludes the lexical argument from appearing in A role. In the pragmatic dimension, there is a constraint that limits the new argument to no more than one per clause, and a second constraint that excludes the new argument from the A role. PAS has been investigated in numerous studies extending across a typologically and genetically diverse array of languages and there is now enough crosslinguistic evidence to suggest that PAS can be considered a discourse universal (Du Bois 2003:33).

If we look at causatives with transitive base verbs in natural discourse data, with their three structural positions for lexical argument realization, we nevertheless find that the same PAS constraints are observed as for ordinary transitives. Table 4 shows that causative clauses in Tsou with zero argument are vastly more frequent

(68.2%) than clauses with one or more arguments. This means that the preferred argument structure pattern for the causatives in Tsou is for the causative verbs to occur alone. This result seems to say something unusual about the behavior of causatives in discourse, since an investigation of non-causative clauses based on the same discourse data shows that only 31.4% of the clauses are verbs alone, as presented in Table 5.

Table 4 PAS in Tsou causatives

verb type	**all core arguments present**		**1 argument covert**		**2 arguments covert**		**Verb alone**		**sum**		**total**
	corpus	elicited	corpus	elicited	corpus	elicited	corpus	elicited	corpus	elicited	
A p(o)a-$V_{AF(i)}$-a	**3**	**8**	**4**	**5**	**0**	**0**	**14**	**1**	**21**	**14**	**35**
%	13.64%	25%	18.18%	15.62%	0	0	63.63%	3.32%	95.45% 38.89%	43.75% 25.92%	64.81%
B p(o)a-$V_{AF(ii)}$-a	**0**	**1**	**0**	**7**	**0**	**1**	**0**	**1**	**0**	**10**	**10**
%	0	3.12%	0	21.87%	0	3.13%	0	3.33%	0 0	31.25% 18.52%	18.52%
C p(o)a-V_{PF}-neni	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	1
%	0	0	0	3.13%	0	0	0	0	0	3.13% 1.85%	1.85
D p(o)a-$V_{LF(i)}$-neni	**0**	**4**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**1**	**2**	**1**	**6**	**7**
%	0	12.5%	-	0	0	0	4.55%	6.65%	4.55% 1.85%	20% 11.11%	12.96%
F p(o)a-$V_{BF(i)}$	**0**	**0**	**0**	**1**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**1**	**1**
%	0	0	0	3.13%%	0	0	0	0	0 0	3.13% 1.85%	1.92%
Total	3	13	4	14	0	1	15	4	22	32	54
%	13.64%	40.62%	18.18%	43.75%	0	3.13%	68.18%	12.5%	100%	100%	

									40.74%	59.26%	100%

Table 5 Non-causative clauses and PAS

	Full arg	1 arg om'ed	2 arg om'ed	Verb alone	total
natural	207	147	10	167	531
	39%	27.7%	1.9%	31.5%	100%
elicited	43	39	1	24	107
	40.2%	36.5%	0.9%	22.4%	100%

Causative sentences in Tsou tend to appear toward the end in the description of an episode, with the causer and the causee having been introduced or identified earlier in the discourse. (23) is typical.

(23) (Snake:268-272)

268 …(1.6)mio 'sio=.. maezo na'no taso 'e ba'efkoi hoci cu
AF actually also very strong.AF Nom snake if Perf
kahkUmnU
thick
"Actually, the snake is also very strong if it is already thick."

269 …i'o mo c'o eu'vavhongU
Nom AF onlythin.AF
270 …(1.1)te c'o sonU ho te boemi ta hpongU ho
Fut. easy when Fut use.AF Obl stick and
271 …(1.0)zohpongi ho=
pinch.LF and
→ 272 …(2.6) o'te ***poa-aut'ou-a*** ho ta cu tUtpUta
NEG Cau-move.AF-PF when Fut ADV catch.PF
"As for the thin one, it is rather easy to pinch it with a forked stick. Then when it is caught, it won't move."

Tsou is also known to exhibit a strong tendency to avoid the use of complementation and choose instead to use a coordination strategy for the expression of complex ideas. In (24), a causative event is split into two clauses where one could

have said it with one single clause.

(24) i-si skuna ‘o voyu ho poa-sochipi-(a) to ‘oko
Aux.-3S.Gen order.PF Nom PN Conj Cau-take_care.AF(-PF) Obl child

Table 4 also shows that of all the verb types, intransitives in Tsou are far and away the most preferred targets for causative derivation. 95.4% (21 out of 22) of the causative sentences in our corpus have intransitives as base verbs, which of course explains in part the total absence of the doubling up on grammatical relation in the corpus data.

The Squliq data given in Table 6 gives a somewhat less striking picture , but the general thrust of the PAS of the causative sentences in the language remains basically valid. 26.7% of all causative clauses in the data contained just the verbs only and nothing else. This together with the 37.8% of the clauses with two arguments omitted means that 64.5% of all the causative clauses had at least one or two or three of their argument NPs not realized. Thus, the PAS of the language is to allow a maximum of one argument per clause, or just the verbs alone. By comparison, just 5.3% of the elicited data had verbs alone.

Table 6. PAS in Squliq Atayal causatives

verb type	**all core arguments present**		**1 argument covert**		**2 arguments covert**		**Verb alone (0 argument)**		**sum**		**total**
	corpus	elicited	corpus	elicited	corpus	elicited	corpus	elicited	corpus	elicited	
A AF (Vt.)	**0**	**0**	**0**	**1**	**1**	**2**	**0**	**0**	**1**	**3**	**4**
%	0	0	0	5.26%	2.22%	10.53%	0	0	2.22% 1.56%	15.79% 4.69%	6.25%
B AF (Vi.)	**0**	**0**	**2**	**1**	**2**	**2**	**0**	**0**	**4**	**3**	**7**

%	0	0	4.44%	5.26%	4.44%	10.53%	0	0	8.88% 6.25%	15.79% 4.69%	10.94%
CPF	**1**	**0**	**8**	**7**	**6**	**3**	**6**	**1**	**21** (Vt.: 11/ Vi.: 10)	**11**	**32**
%	2.22%	0	17.77%	36.84%	13.33%	15.79%	13.33%	5.26%	46.66% 32.81%	57.89% 17.19%	50%
DLF	**1**	**1**	**3**	**0**	**4**	**0**	**6**	**0**	**14** (Vt.:6/ Vi: 8)	**1**	**15**
%	2.22%	5.26%	6.66%	0	8.88%	0	13.33%	0	13.11% 21.88%	5.26% 1.56%	23.45%
ERF	**0**	**0**	**1**	**0**	**4**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**5** (Vt.:2/ Vi: 3)	**1**	**6**
%	0	0	2.22%	5.26%	8.88%	0	0	0	11.1% 7.81%	5.26% 1.56%	9.38%
Total	**2**	**1**	**14**	**10**	**17**	**7**	**12**	**1**	**45** (Vt.: 20/Vi. :25)	**19**	**64**
%	4.44%	5.26%	31.11%	52.63%	37.77%	36.84%	26.66%	5.26%	100% 70.31 %	100% 29.69%	100%

Notes: Narrative data in this table is based on 20 Squliq Atayal narratives in an electronic database(website: http://formosan.sinica.edu.tw/).Elicited data are based on three elicited narratives (A Story of Rimuy) . Bound pronouns on the auxiliaries are considered as instances of core arguments.

Table 5 also shows that, as expected, more intransitives than transitives (25 vs. 20, or 55% vs. 45%) enter into causative formations in the narrative data in Squliq, a result consistent with the universal preference for intransitives to form morphological cauativization.

Turning to the PAS results in Saisiyat, given in Table 6, we can see once again

that the PAS of the causatives in this language is to have just verbs alone (50%). Again, causatives that allow the full complement of argument NPs to be present are vanishingly rare (4%).

Table 6 PAS in Saisiyat Causatives

	verb type	**all core arguments present**	**1 argument omitted**	**2 arguments omitted**	**Verb alone**	**total**
A	AF- $V_{tr.}$ *pa-*	1 (1%)	3 (3%)	1 (1%)	2 (2%)	7 (7%)
B	AF- $V_{intr.}$ *pa-*	0	2 (2%)	0	6 (6%)	8 (8%)
C	AF- $V_{tr.}$ *pa-* (=V-en)	1 (1%)	3 (3%)	0	1 (1%)	5 (5%)
D	PF *pa-* $V_{tr.}$-en	0	1 (1%)	1 (1%)	0	2 (2%)
E	AF- $V_{intr.}$ (=*sik*-V)	0	1 (1%)	0	2 (2%)	3 (3%)
F	PF *pa-* $V_{intr.}$-en	0	2 (2%)	0	0	2 (2%)
H	AF- $V_{intr.}$ *pak-*	0	1 (1%)	0	1 (1%)	2 (2%)
L	PF *pak*-V_{intr}-en	1 (1%)	6 (6%)	0	2 (2%)	9 (9%)
M	*si*-$V_{tr.}$	0	12 (12%)	2 (2%)	19 (19%)	33 (33%)
N	*si*-$V_{intr.}$	0	10 (10%)	0	9 (9%)	19 (19%)
P	*sik*- $V_{intr.}$	0	0	0	1 (1%)	1 (1%)
Q	*si-pa*- $V_{tr.}$	1 (1%)	0	1 (1%)	1 (1%)	3 (3%)
R	*si-pa*- $V_{intr.}$	0	0	0	5 (5%)	5 (5%)
T	*si-pak*- $V_{intr.}$	0	0	0	1 (1%)	1 (1%)
		4 (4%)	41 (41%)	5 (5%)	50 (50%)	100

The distribution of transitives and intransitives in Saiyat causatives, based on corpus data, is given in Table 7. Numbers in the table are dominated by the presence of *si-* causatives, in both intransitives and transitives, which are in turn dominated by

a single verb, *si-'oe'oe* ' RF-call". If we remove tokens of this particular verb from the count, it is easy to see that Saisiayt causatives prefer to occur with intransitives.

Table 7 Verb type and Saisiyat causative type

Base Verb / Cau-pattern	Transitive	Intransitive
pa-	14	13
pak-	0	11
si-	33(3)*	19
sik-	0	3
si-pa	3	3
si-pak	0	1
Total	50	50

* Of the 33 tokens of *si-* transitives, three are di-transitive verbs *(to give*).

7. Conclusions

a. Case marking of the causee (and thus the causer as well) is sensitive to the causee's degree of control or volitionality in the caused event. Lexicalized causative verbs often show distinct coding patterns.

b. Causatives in split-ergative languages (e.g. Saisiayt) seem to exhibit both features of case marking for ' regular' ergative languages and features of case marking for accusative languages.

c. Partial causative/applicative syncretism develops in these languages, but each via a different route. In Tsou, the applicative morpheme *-neni* has developed the function of sociative causation and it is this function that converges with the causative *p(o)a-* on causative PF and LF clauses. In Squliq, the applicative *s-* has evolved into a causative marker, via its basic function of indicating a transported theme. In the compound morpheme sequence *s-p-*, the applicative *s-* represents an indirect causation for the caused event signaled by the causative *p-*. In Saisiyat, the causative morphemes *pa-*, *pak-* have developed the applicative function of indicating benefactive argument.

Appendix

A. Example sentences for the causative coding patterns in Tsou

(1) p(o)a-$V_{AF(i)}$ (-a) (Nom is the Causee)

i-si na'na pa-yonghu(-a) to ino-si 'o paicU

NAF-3S.Gen very.PF Cau-pretty.AF-a Obl mom-3S.Gen Nom PN

'PaicU's mother made her very pretty.'

(2) p(o)a-$V_{AF(i)}$ (-a) (Nom is the Causee)

pa-coni(-a) to yUsU a'o, mi-'o na'no soyUmU

Cau-one(-a) Obl cloth 1S.Nom Aux.AF-1S.Nom very.AF cold

'Give me one item of clothing, (because) I (feel) very cold.'

(3) p(o)a-$V_{AF\ (ii)}$(-a) (Nom is the Causee)

os-'o poa-bonU(-a) to ave'u 'o fokunge

Aux.NAF-1S.Gen Cau-eat.AF(-a) Obl rice Nom frog

'I made the frog eat rice.'

(4) p(o)a-$V_{AF\ (ii)}$(-a) (Nom is the Causee)

os-'o pa-cmofu(-a) to naveu to te-si ana 'o pasuya

Aux.NAF-1S.Gen Cau-wrap.AF(-a) Obl rice Obl Fut-3S.Gen eat.PF Nom PN

'I made Pasuya wrap up the rice he wanted to eat.'

(5) p(o)a-V_{PF} -neni (Nom is a action patient)

i-si poa-ana-neni to pasuya to voyu 'o f'ue

Aux.NAF-3S.Gen Cau-eat.PF-neni Obl PN Obl PN Nom yam

'Voyu made Pasuya eat the yam.'

(6) p(o)a-V_{PF} -neni (Nom is an action patient)

os-'o pa-cfu(a)-neni to paicU 'o i-si o-ngacvi

Aux.NAF-1S.Gen Cau-wrap.PF-neni Obl PN Nom NAF-3S.Gen eat-left.PF

'I made PaicU wrap up (the leftover) which she had eaten.'

(7) p(o)a-V_{LF}-neni (Nom is a goal)

os-'o p(o)a-cohiv-neni ta 'oko 'o 'a'ausna ne noana'o

Aux.NAF-1S.Gen Cau-know.LF-neni Obl child Nom matters Obl long_ago

'I made the child know the history.'

(8) p(o)a-V_{LF}-neni (Nom is a goal)

Os-’o pa-cap(i)-neni ta pasuya si evi

Aux.NAF-1S.Gen cau-climb.LF-neni Obl PN Nom tree

‘I made Pasuya climb the tree.’

(9) p(o)a-V_{LF}-neni (Nom is a goal)

os’o poa-pom(i)-neni ta mamespingi ’o zoyu-’u

Aux.NAF-1S.Gen Cau-weed.LF-neni Obl female Nom field-1S.Gen

‘I made female worker(s) weed my field.’

(10) p(o)a-$V_{LF(ii)}$-neni

os-’o pa-sii-neni to naveu to PaicU ’o caving-’u

Aux.NAF-1S.Gen Cau-put.LF-neni Obl rice Obl PN Nom bowl-1S.Gen

‘I made PaicU fill my bowl with rice. ’

(11) p(o)a-$V_{BF(i)}$ (Nom is a benefactee)

os-’o poa-teaineni no s’ofu ta pasuya na a’o

Aux.NAF-1S.Gen Cau-make.BF Obl cane Obl PN Nom 1S

‘I made Pasuya make a cane for me.’

(12) p(o)a-$V_{BF(ii)}$ (Nom is a cause)

i-si poa-aveoveoeni to ino-si ’o mo’o

Aux.NAF-3S.Gen Cau-delight_in.BF Obl mother-3S.Gen Nom PN

‘Mo’o made his mother delighted in Mo’o. ’

(13) p(o)a-$V_{BF(ii)}$ (Nom is a transported theme)

os-’o pa-siisneni ta tonhivza to ’o’oko ’o hapuyu

Aux.NAF-1S.Gen Cau-smear.BF Obl wall Obl children Nom lime

‘I made children smear a wall with lime’

(14) p(o)a-$V_{BF(iii)}$

’o mo’o, i-si pa-toUsvUsvUtneni to haah’o ho hucma

Nom PN Aux.NAF-3S.Gen Cau-discuss.BF Obl all tomorrow

na te hia mayasvi

Nom Fut how Mayasvi

‘Mo’o made them discuss how (to prepare for) the Mayasvi tomorrow. ’

(15) Lexicalized causative Verb (V_{AF}) (Nom is the Agent)

mi-ta ma'cohio pasunaeno to 'o'oko 'e ino

Aux.AF-3S.Nom teach.AF sing.AF Obl Red-child Nom Mother

'The mother taught children to sing.'

(16) Lexicalized causative Verb (V_{AF}) (Nom is the Agent)

mi-'o p'onU to naveu to av'u

Aux.AF-1S.Nom feed.AF Obl rice Obl dog

'I fed the dog with rice.' Or 'I fed rice to the dog.'

(17) Lexicalized causative Verb (V_{AF}) (Nom is the Agent)

mi-ta pa'hi-cocvo 'e pasuya

Aux.AF-3S.Nom cause-laugh.AF Nom PN

'Pasuya joked.' (People laughed because Pasuya said something or did something).

(18) Lexicalized Causative verb (V_{LF}) (Nom is the Goal)

os-'o pa'cohivi to 'a'ausna ne noana'o 'e 'oko

Aux.NAF-1S.Gen teach.LF Obl matter in_the_past Nom child

'I taught history to the child.'

(19) Lexicalized Causative verb (V_{LF}) (Nom is the Goal)

os-'o p'ani to naveu 'o av'u

Aux.NAF-1S.Gen feed.LF Obl rice Nom dog

'I fed the dog with rice.'

(20) Lexicalized Causative verb (V_{LF}) (Nom is Goal)

i-ta pa'hi-cocv-i ta pasuya 'o yangui

Aux.NAF-3S.Gen cause-laugh-LF Obl PN Nom PN

'Pasuya made Yangui laugh.'

B. Example sentences for the causative coding patterns in Squliq

1. hera' ga', *m<s>hilaw*-ku' squ' raNi'-mu'
   yesterday Top AF<S>energetic-1S.Nom Obl friend-1S.Gen
   "I enlivened my friend yesterday."

2. qutux k'man qani ga', thoyay *s<k>btunux* na' rimuy.
   one grass Det Top able S<K>beautiful Obl female.name
   "The kind of grass was capable of making Rimuy beautiful."

3. musa'-ku' *p-wah* squ' hoNu' na' yaqih kira'.
   Asp-1S.Nom P-come Loc bridge Lig bad later
   "I will pass that bad bridge later.

4. nyux *p-kita'* squ' yumin sa inluNan-nya' qu' mit qani.
   Asp P-see Obl Yumin Obl emotion-3S.Gen Nom ass Det
   "The ass let Yumin see its mind."

5. nyux-nya' *thzy-un* qu' sswe'-mu'.
   Asp-3S.Gen tease-PF Nom brother-1S.Gen
   "He is teasing my young brother."

6. *kox-un*-mu' kwara' qu' pzit.
   frighten-PF-1S.Gen all Nom sparrow
   "I frightened all the sparrows (away)."

7. baq *p<in>cbaq* na' yumin qu' huzil.
   can P<PF>teach Gen Yumin Nom dog
   "Yumin was good at training the dog(s)."

8. *p-baq*-mu' i' yumin qu' zyaw qa.
   P-know-1S.Gen Obl Yumin Nom thing Det
   "I let Yumin know the thing."

9. wal-mu *p-kut* i' yumin qu' paris-ta'.
   Asp-1S.Gen P-kill Obl Yumin Nom enemy-1PI.Gen
   "I have made Yumin kill our enemies."

10. wal-mu’ *p-lk-un* qu’ qhniq.
Asp-1S.Gen P-fly-PF Nom bird
“I let (the) bird fly (away).”

11. *p-lNiq-un*-maku’ qu’ yumin.
P-swim-PF-1S.Gen Nom Yumin
“I made Yumin swim.”

12. wal *p-qihl-un* ni’ yumin qu’ mqu’.
Asp P-die-PF Obl Yumin Nom snake
“I made Yumin cause the snake dead.”

13. *p-qbaq-un*-maku’ qu’ ciwas kin yumin.
P-know-PF-1S.Gen Nom Ciwas Com Yumin
“I let Ciwas and Yumin know each other.”
“ I introduced Ciwas and Yumin to each other.”

14. *htag-an* squliq kryax qu’ hoNu’ qa.
fall-LF person often Nom bridge Det
“The bridge often makes people fall.”

15. *qlyux-an*-mu qu’ snyuw qa.
long-LF-1S.Gen Nom rope Det
“I had the rope lengthened.”

16. *p<in>nbw-an*-maku’ na’ qwox qu’ yumin.
P<Perf>drink-LF-1S.Gen Obl Obl wine Nom Yumin
“I let Yumin drink wine.”

17. *p<in>brw-an*-maku’ na’ tegami qu’ yumin.
P<Perf>write-1S.Gen Obl letter Nom Yumin
“I let Yumin write a letter.”

18. p<in>qniq-an-maku’ na’ qulih qu’ ngyaw qa.
Cau<Perf>eat-LF-1S.Gen Obl fish Nom cat this
‘ I had this cat eat fish.’

19. cyux *s-bliq-an* ni? yumin qu? kneril-nya?.
Asp S-good-LF Gen Yumin Nom woman-3S.G
"Yumin is amusing his wife."

20. blaq na' laqi' qu' rimuy qani; nanu_yasa_qu', s-trahu?
good Poss child Nom Rimuy Det therefore S-praise
kwara' squliq qu' hya'.
all person Nom 3S.Nom.F
"Rimuy was a good child , so all of the people praised her."

21. *s<in>pge'* ni' lawa' qu' mlikuy-nya'.
S<Perf>leave Gen Lawa' Nom husband-3S.Gen
"Lawa' left (her family) because of her husband."

22. ini' swal m-agal squ' kneril qa qu' yumin ru *s<p>yaqih*
Neg agree AF-take Obl woman Det Nom Yumin Conj S<P>bad
qu' hya'.
Nom 3S.Nom.F
"Yumin didn't agree to marry the girl, so he made her sad."

23. m-usu' qu' pnaNa'-mu' qaya' qani ru
AF-heavy Nom carry.on.back-1S.Gen object Det Conj
s<p>hgaw-mu' kun nanak.
S<P>rest-1S.Gen 1S.Nom.F only
"My bag was so heavy that I let myself take a rest."

24. baq m-yugi' qu' sayun ru *s<p>yugi'*-maku' qu' hya'.
can AF-danceNom Sayun ConjS<P>dance-1S.Gen Nom 3S.Nom.F
"Sayun was good at dancing so I let her dance."

25. *s<p>kut*-mu' i' yumin qu' Nta' qasa.
S<P>cut-1S.Gen Obl Yumin Nom chicken Det
"I made Yumin kill that chicken."

26. ini' puN-i ke'-mu' qu' laqi'-mu' ru
Neg hear-LF.Neg word-1S.Gen Nom child-1S.Gen Conj
s<p>htuy-mu' i' mlikuy-mu' qu' hya'.
S<P>block-1S.Gen Obl husband-1S.Gen Nom 3S.Nom.F

"Because my child didn't listen to me, I let my husband bar him (from going out)."

27. wal-mu' hriq-an tuboN ni' yumin; nanu_yasa_qu'
Asp-1S.Gen break-LF window Gen Yumin therefore
s<p>qih-an-mu' qu' hya'.
S<P>bad-LF-1S.Gen Nom 3S.Nom.F
"I broke Yumin's window, so I made him angry."

28. m-qilaN balay qu' yumin qa ru *s<p>qnyat-un*-mu'
AF-lazy true Nom Yumin Det Conj S<P>hard-PF-1S.Gen
qu' hya'.
Nom 2S.Nom.F
Yumin was so lazy that I made him work hard.

C. Example sentences for causative coding patterns in Saisiyat

Pattern A

(1) 'oya pa-si-ael ka korkoring (ka 'alaw)
mother Cau-eat Acc child (Acc fish)
'Mother fed the child (fish). (Lit.: Mother caused the child to eat (fish).)'

(2) yao pa-bok hi 'obay ka walisan
1S.Nom Cau-kill Acc PN Acc boar
'I made Obay kill (the) boar (for me).'

Patter B

(3) Flood

76 …(0.8) komosa hawaeh iniya'om ka=
say open 1stPl Acc
77 .. palono' **pa-kas'aboe** iniya'om
boat Cau-enter 1stPl
"Open your boat; let us get in."

(4) Frog 6

147 … la-langoy ila ray=
Red-swim Pfv Loc
148 … ralom
water
"They swam in the water."
149 …(0.8) hiza ahoe nisia mari'-in pa-hangal
there dog 3S.Gen take-PF Cau-carry
150 …(2.4) XXX **pa-lalangoy** ila
Cau-swim Pfv
"The boy took the dog and carried it up. He made it swim."

Pattern C

(5) pa-hangal = (PF) hangal-en

5a. yao hangal ka talka'
1S.Nom AF-lift Acc table
'I lifted (the) table.'

5b. talka' ma'an pa-hangal
table 1S.Gen Cau-lift
'I lifted the table.'

5c. talka' ma'an hangal-en
table 1S.Gen lift-PF
'I lifted the table.'

(6) pa-'a'apol='a'apol-on

6a. yao 'a'apol ka korkoring
1S.Nom distribute Acc child
'I sent out (distributed) (my) children (to others).'

6b. yao pa-'a'apol ka korkoring
1S.Nom Cau-distribute Acc child
'I was (also) given a child.'

Pattern D

(7) Kathethel

26. … 'æhæ' tatini'
one elder
一 老人

27. …e= …**pa-kit-kita'-en** ri'sa' isa= 'æhæ' ima
Cau-Red-see-PF there there one Asp
使役-重疊-看-受事 在那裡 一 進行貌
rœhan-an ila sa'œwaz
evening-Loc Pfv indeed
晚上-AN 完成貌 真

(8) Pear 4

42. ...(2.4) kasna'- ima=

43. ...(1.6) nia ka-papama'-an **pa-kalben-en** k-om-ita'
3rdGen KA-ride-Loc PA-lay.down-PF see-AF
sisil-in 'aehae' kala' 'askan-en ray=
lift-PF one basket put-PF Loc

44. ...(0.9) ka-papama'-an nisia karma'-en 'aras-en ila
KA-ride-Loc 3rdGen steal-PF take-PF Pfv

"(He) put down his bike and (I) saw (him) lift one basket on (his) bike. (And then) he (rode) his bike and left."

Pattern E

(9) pa-ra:iw = sik-ra:iw

9a. 'obay pa-ra:iw noka minkoringan
PN Cau-leave Gen woman
'Obay was home alone, (because) his wife left.'

9b. = 'obay sik-ra:iw noka minkoringan
PN RF-leave Gen woman
'Obay was home alone, (because) his wife left.'

9c. ma'an ka ahoe' si-pak-ra:iw
1S.Gen Nom dog RF-Cau-leave
'My dog left on me.'

(10) **Frog 8**

80 …(0.8) komita' somaksaakaw
see softly
81 …(0.8) raiw ila
leave Pfv
82 …(1.2) **pa-raiw** ila ila hato noka=
Cau-leave Pfv go there Gen
83 … ahoe ki=
dog and
84 … korkoring
child

"The boy and the child left slowly."

Pattern F

(11) Flood

45 … pazay ma' nonak
rice too a_space_for_each
46 .. ralom ma' nonak
water too a_space_for_each
47 .. ahoe' ma' nonak ma'iaeh ma' nonak
dog too a_space_for_each man too self

"There was room for putting the rice and water, as well as for the animals and the family members."

48 …(0.9) pak-'isaza **pa-kas-'aboe-en** ka=
Cau-there Cau-into-inside-PF Nom
49 …(1.2) simpan-an maybiil ila ka ma'iaeh
raise-LF later Pfv Nom man

"The animals were brought first into the boat. The people entered last."

(12) Frog 8

71 …(1.0) ahoe' **pa-langoy-on** amaray horokam ka babaw
dog **Cau-swim-PF** through flatland Fut top

"The dog swam and moved over the ground."

Pattern H

(13) Flood

45 … pazay ma' nonak
rice too a_space_for_each
46 .. ralom ma' nonak
water too a_space_for_each
47 .. ahoe' ma' nonak ma'iaeh ma' nonak
dog too a_space_for_each man too self

"There was room for putting the rice and water, as well as for the animals and the family members."

48 …(0.9) **pak-'isaza** pa-kas-'aboe-en ka=
Cau-there Cau-into-inside-PF Nom
49 …(1.2) simpan-an maybiil ila ka ma'iaeh
raise-LF later Pfv Nom man

(14) Frog 4

74. …(1.5) hini' ahoe' ma=
this dog too
75. …(1.6) h-om-ahli ka **pak-sahae'** ka boya'
shake-AF Acc Cau-fall Acc beehive
76. … sowaw-en ila noka boya'
chase-PF Pfv Gen beehive

"The dog was also shaking the beehive (until it) fell (to the ground), and the bees chased (the dog)."

Pattern L

(15) Frog 1

91. ...(1.0) korkoring kayni' aras-en
child Neg take-PF
92. ...(0.9) pa-taaes ka=
Cau-separate Acc
93. ... b-in-ilis kah'oeng
hold-Pfv antler

"The child, not wanting to be taken away, let go (of the deer), of which the antler he held with hands."

94. ...(2.1) sahae' ila hiza ra-
fall Pfv that
"The child fell."
95. ...(0.8) hiza ila ahoe'
there Pfv dog
"There went the dog."
96. ...(4.7) hiza korkoring
that child
97. ... **pak-sahae'-en** ila hao ray ralom'i'izo'
Cau-fall-PF Pfv there Loc water inside

(16) kathethel

67. ... papnabih komosa hini kabinao'
say say-AF this lady
談論 說-主事 這個 小姐
68. .. hayza ka 'al'alak
Exist Nom youth
男孩子 主格 年輕
69. ...e= ..pak-ray'aboe ila lasia
Cau-wed Pfv 3rdP.Nom
致使-結婚 完成貌 他們_主格

The hunters wanted a young man to marry the young lady.
「打獵的人回來，談論說，這個小姐和年輕的男生，要讓他們結婚。」

70. ...a= ..'in'alay isaza
from there
從 那時
71. ... somiwa' hayzaeh 'aehae' 'al'alak
agree Exist one youth
同意 有 一 年輕
72. ... ima= 'i'ini'rwaseki isaa lasia **pak-rwaseken** ila
Asp Neg live that 3rdP **Cau-live-PF** Pfv
進行否定詞 結婚 那個 他們 允許 完成貌

The young man who has not yet married agreed to get married with her.
「允許他們的婚事。」

Pattern M

(17) Frog 1

118.	...	**si-mari'**	'aehae'	ka	takem	ila-hao
		RF-take	one	Nom	frog	go_there

"He took one frog and went there."

(18) Frog 3

136 .	noka=			
	Gen			
137 .	wae'ae'	sowaw-en	ila	
	deer	chase-PF	Pfv	
138 ...(0.9)	e-	**si-'osa**		
		RF-throw		
139 ..	ta	lasia	hini	
		3P.Nom	here	

"The deer chased them, and tossed them (into the water)."

Pattern N

(19) Molaw

78	(1.6)	samiyan	a=	kano'	k-om-ita'
		god		what	see-AF
		神明		什麼	主焦-看

Then one day there appeared a god from another place."

「不知道是神還是什麼，」

79	**si-'olaw**	
	RF-molt	
	主焦-蛻皮	

"A Saisiyat molting had been seen."

(20) Frog 2

73	(1.0)	**si-panra:an**	ila	'aras-en	ila	hiza	ahoe'
		RF-walk	Pfv	take-PF	Pfv	that	dog
74	tanisowaw	tanisowaw	ka	korkoring			
	follow	follow	Acc	child			
75	noka	wae'ae'					
	Gen	deer					
76 …	'aras-en						
	bring-PF						

"The dog followed the child being taken away by the deer."

Pattern P

(21) Frog 3

17.	...(0.9)	s-om-isil	ma=		
		lift-AF			
18.	..	pa-kalben	ka	ka-papama-an	
		Cau-lay.down	Acc	KA-ride-Loc	
19 ..	s-om-isil	ka	boway		
	lift-AF	Acc	fruit		
20.	...(1.3)	mari-in	'in'alay	ra:i'	ka-papama-an
		take-PF	from	ground	KA-ride-Loc
21.	..	**sik-ra:iw**	ila		
		leave-RF	Pfv		

"(The boy) lay down his bike, lifted (the basket of fruits, put them) on his bike and left."

(22) Kathethel 2

342 (0.9) kayni'
Neg

343 k-om-ita' a hisia ka ima 'aehae' **sik-ra:am** hara
AF-see 3S.Acc Asp one RF-know

344 … **sik-ra:am** atomalan nisia saii'
RF-know very 3S envy

"She did not teach her on purpose."

Pattern Q

(23) Kathethel 2

55 (1.4) nasia pazay
3P.Gen rice

56 mari'-in si-boeloe
take-PF RF-toss

57 …(1.2) **si-pa-si'ael** ka ahoe'
RF-Cau-eat Acc dog

58 …(0.8) noka 'ahoe' iyo si'ael-en kayzaeh 'okay=
Gen dog eat-PF good Neg

「他們把飯拿起來扔掉，(覺得)餵給狗吃也不錯。」

(24) Kathethel 2

285 hiza kakhayza'an tatini'ma so: kayzaeh ka pinahraehrangan
that before old.man good

286 ma'iaeh ma' **..si-pa-'araS** ila
person also RF-Cau-take Pfv

287 …(0.8) ka= ..hiza
that

288 … nom tomo ma'iaeh
bride-to-be person

"After they have discussed about the wedding, the boy took his bride-to-be away."

Pattern R

(25) Anhi

4 ...(2.0) talek-en
heat-PF

5 ...(1.3) aroma' pal'apeh-en **si-pa-hila**
some dry-PF dry_(<Cau-sun-RF)

6 ...(1.1) aroma' ma
some

7 ... pilosnaw-en
heat-PF

"Some are dried; some are heated."

Pattern T

(26) Frog 2

134 **si-pak-sahae'** ila ray haw- hahoer ray ba:la'
RF-Cau-fall Pfv Loc below Loc river

"And threw (him) into the river."

Pattern U

(27) a. yao (a-)pak-hayza' 'ini' 'obay ka kaShaw
1S.Nom Cau-Exist Dat PN Acc drinks
'I'm preparing drinks for Obay (because he will come soon.)'

(27) b. yao pak-hayza' inisia
1S.Nom Cau-Exist 3S.Dat
'I left (the things) for him.'

(28) a. ma'an pak-hayza' ka rarom
1S.Gen Cau-Exist Nom water
'I prepare water (because later there will be guests coming).'
(待會有客人來), 我準備水
(28) b. ma'an 'obay si-pak-hayza' ka ka:a'
1S.Gen PN RF-Cau-Exist Acc pen
'I prepare pens for Obay (because he is coming later).'
(待會 Obay 要來), 我替 Obay 準備筆

Patter V Ditransitives

(29) *pa-satel* can be used as transitive 'escort' or di-transitive 'send'
a. yako hasa ka ra:an pa-satel hi iban ila
1S.Nom Neg Acc road Cau-escort Acc PN Pfv
'I did not know the road (to my destination). I had Iban escort (me) (to the place). 我不知道路我叫 Iban 送我去那裡
b. yako wakik ka lalege: pa-satel hi iban ka kina:at 'ini' 'obay
1S.Nom wind Acc telephone Cau-send Acc PN Acc book Dat PN
'I phoned Iban having him send a/the book to/for Obay.
= c. yako pa-satel hi iban ka kina:at 'ini' 'obay
1S.Nom Cau-send Acc PN Acc book Dat PN
'I had Iban send a/the book to/for Obay.'

(30) *pa-ba:iw*
yako pa-ba:iw hi 'obay ka kina:at 'ini' iban
1S.Nom Cau-buy Acc PN Acc book Dat PN
'I had Obay buy a/the book for Iban.'

Causative Constructions in Kavalan

1. Introduction

In terms of morphosyntax, there are two major types of causative constructions in Kavalan. One is morphological, where a causative morpheme *pa* is prefixed to a verbal (*pa*-V subtype) or nominal stem (*pa*-N subtype) to result in causative meanings. The other is syntactic, where either a defective utterance verb *zin* 'say' in construction with a direct speech (DS + *zin*-Gen subtype) or manipulative verbs followed by their verbal complements (ManiV + *pa*-V subtype) are employed as an alternative to morphological causative constructions.

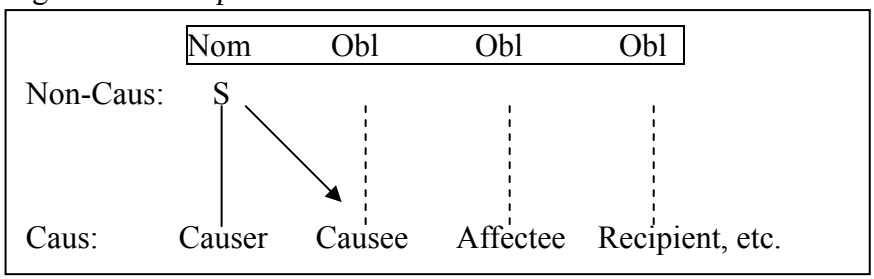
2. Morphological Causative Construction

2.1 pa-V Subtype

When prefixed to a verbal stem, the causative morpheme *pa* would initiate a readjustment in the case assignment by introducing an extra argument, that is, the causer. For illustration, examples paired between causative clauses and their non-causative counterparts will be provided, and explained where necessary.

On one hand, as Figure 1 reveals, in non-causative clauses in Agent Focus (AF) there is an obligatory subject (S) marked by nominative case (Nom) with other optional arguments marked by oblique case (Obl). When the verb is causativized, the newly-introduced causer would occupy the nominative case (indicated by the vertical line), thus forcing the original subject, that is, the current causee, to be marked by oblique case (indicated by the arrow) while adjuncts are kept unchanged. Examples (1~3) illustrate the correspondence between causative and non-causative clauses in AF with varying number of arguments.

Figure 1: *Correspondence between causative and non-causative clauses in AF*



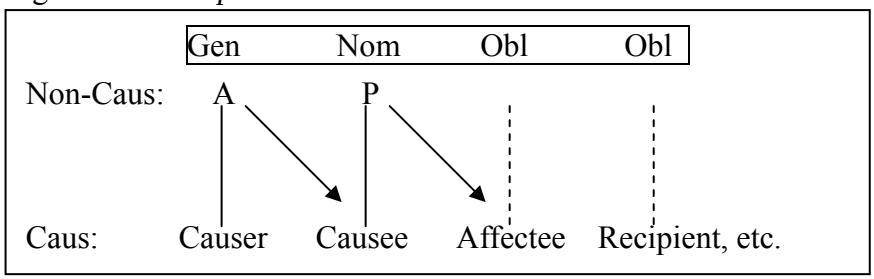
(1) a. me-suRaw Φ ci utay
AF-fall Nom CI PN
'Utay fell down.' [Non-Cau]
b. pa-suRaw Φ ci buya ci utay(-an)
CAU-fall Nom CI PN CI PN(-Loc)
'Buya made Utay fall down.' [Cau]

(2) a. kaibasi tu qulus Φ ci buya
(AF)wash Obl clothes Nom CI PN
'Buya did the laundry.' [Non-Cau]
b. pa-kaibasi tu qulus Φ ci imuy ci buya(-an)
CAU-wash Obl clothes Nom CI PN CI PN(-Loc)
'Imuy made Buya do the laundry.' [Cau]

(3) a. bula timaiku(-an) Φ ci utay tu u-'siq babui
(AF)give 1st.Sg(-Loc) Nom CI PN Obl Class-one pig
'Utay gave me a pig.' [Non-Cau]
b. pa-bula Φ ci siulan ci utay(-an) tu u'-siq babui timaiku(-an)
CAU-give Nom CI PN CI PN(-Loc) Obl Class-one pig 1st.Sg(-Loc)
'Siulan had Utay give me a pig.' [Cau]

As diagramed in Figure 2, on the other hand, in non-causative clauses in Locative Focus (LF) there are at least an agent (A) marked by genitive case (Gen) and a patient (P) marked by nominative case. When the verb is causativized, the causer takes over the genitive case, thus compelling the original agent and current causee to be marked by nominative case, which in turn drives the original patient and current affectee to be marked by oblique case. Examples (4~5) would suffice in illustrating the point.

Figure 2: *Correspondence between causative and non-causative clauses in LF*



(4) a. qaway-an-ku Φ beRas
carry-LF-1st.Sg.Gen Nom rice
'I carried (a bag of) rice.' [Non-Cau]
b. pa-qaway-an-na-iku ni siulan tu beRas
CAU-carry-LF-3rd.Gen-1st.Sg.Nom Gen PN Obl rice
'Siulan had me carry [a bag of] rice.' [Cau]

(5) a. bul-an-na-iku ni buya tu u-'siq babui
give-LF-3rd.Gen-1st.Sg.Nom Gen PN Obl Class-one pig
'Buya gave me a pig.' [Non-Cau]
b. pa-bula-an-na ni siulan Φ ci buya tu u-'siq babui timaikuan
CAU-give-LF-3rd.Gen Gen PN Nom CI PN Obl Class-one pig 1st.Sg.Loc
'Siulan had Buya give me a pig.' [Cau]

2.2 pa-N Subtype

When the causative morpheme is prefixed to a nominal stem, the construction can be schematized as in Figure 3. The general meaning of this subtype is that X causes the referent of the nominal, usually a transported theme, to be directed toward, attached to, or contacted with Y, an affected patient. To put it more comprehensibly, the construction expresses that X does something to Y by means of the referent of the nominal which is to be used for its typical functions. Examples (6~7) exemplify the characteristic causative episodes encoded in this construction.

Figure 3: *pa-N construction in AF and LF*

AF: pa-N	(ya)$_{[Nom]}$ X	tu$_{[Obl]}$ Y
LF: pa-N-LF	na/ni$_{[Gen]}$ X	(ya)$_{[Nom]}$ Y

(6) a. pa-burukun-iku tu paniusan-ku
Cau-hook-1st.Sg.Nom Obl stick-1st.Sg.Gen
b. pa-burukun-an-ku paniusan-ku
Cau-hook-LF-1st.Sg.Gen stick-1st.Sg.Gen
'I fasten a hook onto the stick.'

(7) a. pa-Ra'is-iku tu paRin
Cau-rope-1st.Sg.Nom Obl tree
b. pa-Ra'is-an-ku paRin
Cau-rope-LF-1st.Sg.Gen tree
'I tie up a rope around the tree.'

In fact, these two constructions are still to a certain degree productive. We however also find other *pa-* + N examples which are lexicalized, as exemplified below.

(8)pa-kunku: tell a story (<PA-story)
pa-toRoz : turn back (<PA-back)

The prefix *pa-* might still code causative in the past, but now lost its causative meaning and become lexicalized with the root due to conventionalization.

2.3 pa-V-an

The final causative construction of *pa-* is related to the nominalization process of transforming a verb form to a noun which expresses the meaning 'the who does V.' This is achieved by both prefixing *pa* and suffixing *an* (nominalizer) to a verb root. The following are some instances.

(9)pa-tul-an: teacher (<pa-teach-Nmz)
pa-taqsi-an: student (<pa-study-Nmz)
pa-qelawqaway-an: worker (<pa-work-Nmz)
pa-Ri-baut-an: fisherman (<pa-catch-fish-Nmz)

While English *–er* or *–or* directly nominalizes a verb to derive the meaning of the one who does V, Kavalan seems to have a more complex formation process. These examples suggest that the same concept of 'the one who does V' is conceptualized as 'the one who has oneself to do V.' For example, a teacher, i.e. *pa-tul-an*, is the one who makes him/herself to teach. This derivation process deserves further study in that it might shed light on the extent of the notion of causativization in Kavalan.

3. Syntactic Causative Construction

3.1 DS + zin-Gen Subtype

Characteristic of this subtype is a defective utterance verb *zin* 'say' suffixed by a genitive marker and preceded by a direct speech in imperative mood, as shown in Figure 4. The verb is defective in the sense that although it requires genitive case for its agent, i.e., the utterance-giver the verb is inflected neither for Agent focus nor for Locative focus. The literal meaning of this subtype is 'X says to Y "Do something,"' which may be rendered as 'X tells Y to do something,' as illustrated in (8) and (9).

Figure 4: *DS + zin-Gen Construction*

Direct speech (Imp.) + zin-$X_{[Gen]}$ $Y_{[Obl]}$

(10) qan-ka tu baut zin-na tina-ku timaizipana
eat-Imp(AF) Obl fish say-3rd.Sg.Gen mother-1st.Sg.Gen 3rd.Sg.Obl
'My mother tells him to eat fish.'

(11) si-paninguan-ka zin-ku ci buya(-an)
SI-glasses-Imp(AF) say-1st.Sg.Gen CI PN(-Loc)
'I tell Buya to wear glasses.'

3.2 ManiV+ pa-V Subtype

This subtype is the most typical syntactic causative construction, that is, a manipulative verb followed by a verbal complement, so it is quite straightforward. What's worth pointing out, however, is that the verbal complement is obligatorily prefixed by the causative morpheme, thus making this construction actor-sensitive, as born out in both (10) and (11).

(12) qeRas-an na acim-na ci Aki pa-baba' tu suani-na
require-LF Gen aunt-3rdGen Class PN Cau-carry(on back) Obl brother-3rdGen
'Aki's aunt required her to carry her brother on the back.'

(13) pawRat-an-na ni abas aiku pa-'tung tu taquq
force-LF-3S.Gen Gen PN 1S.Sg.Nom Cau-kill Obl chicken
'Abas forced me to kill a chicken.'

4. Direct/Indirect Causation Continuum in Kavalan

Figure 5 demonstrates the causative continuum from direct to indirect causation in Kavalan. According to Shibatani and Pardeshi (2002), direct causation involves an agentive causer and a patientive causee and is usually coded in lexical or manipulative verbs. On the other hand, in an indirect causation, the causee is an agentive entity performing an active task, in which a causer is not physically involved. This distinction between direct and indirect causation on a continuum is also found in Kavalan via certain morphological and syntactic strategies.

The most direct causation type in Kavalan is also coded in a lexical item, e.g. *'tung* 'kill (cause to die)'. Such lexical causatives well correspond to the typical direct causation. In the example sentence in the figure, *ku* '1stGen' is the agentive causer while *sipes* 'cockroach' is the patientive causee. The agentive causer is physically involved in directly causing the patientive causee to die.

The second most direct causation in Kavalan is illustrated by the

causativization of an inactive intransitive verb, e.g. *Robatang* ‘beautiful.’ There are two types of morphological processes that can be utilized. The first one is to attach *sa-* and *qa-* to the intransitive verb root. The combination of *sa-* and *qa-* roughly codes the process of becoming a certain state. Thus, *sa-qa-Robatang* can be interpreted as ‘to have one self be in the process of becoming beautiful.’ The other type is to attach *pa-* to the intransitive verb root, e.g. *pa-Robatang*. This example thus means ‘to make someone beautiful.’ Regardless of which type, the causer and the causee could be the same person and the causee is less patientive than that in lexical causatives.

Figure 5. Direct/Indirect Causative Continuum In Kavalan

DIRECT CAUSATIVES

Lexical:

‘tung-an-ku usiq sipes
kill-LF-1stGen one cockroach
‘I killed one cockroach.’

Morphological:

Causer and Causee: the same person (inactive intransitive verbs)

sa-qa-Robatang
SA-QA-beautiful
‘to make oneself beautiful’

pa-Robatang-iku timayku(an)
Cau-beautiful-1stNom 1stAcc.
“I made myself beautiful”

Causer causes somebody to do something to benefit Causer

pa-salekiaw-an-ku pa-tita timaykuan
Cau-dance-LF-1stGen Cau-see 1stLoc
‘I have (him) dance for me. (Lit. I have him dance to make me see.)’

pa-morpheme in AF/NAF verbs: productive

Causatives by means of Imperatives

etung-ika zin-ku sipes ‘nay
kill-Imp. say-1stGen cockroach that
“ ‘Kill the cockroach,’ I said.”

Synthetic: very productive

pawRat ‘force’/ tuluz ‘instruct’

INDIRECT CAUSATIVES

Pa- can also be attached to an active intransitive verb, e.g. *salekiaw* ‘dance.’ This is more indirect than the case of inactive intransitive verbs because the causee in a causativized active intransitive verb is more agentive than that of a causativized inactive intransitive verb. This is illustrated by the example listed in the figure. In this example, the causee is agentive in that he is the one who dances while the causer is not physically involved in this dancing event. In fact, this example also reveals a particular causative construction in Kavalan. If the beneficiary of a causativized active intransitive verb is to be specified, the prefix *pa-* has to be utilized again to pinpoint what the beneficiary is caused to do due to the original causativized event. As in the example listed in the figure, to express ‘I have him dance for me to see,’ Kavalan has to specify that *tita* ‘see’ is also caused by the original event and thus *pa-* is also attached to *tita* ‘see’. Therefore, the rendering in Kavalan is approximately ‘I have him dance to make me see.’

The affixation of *pa-* is a very productive causativization process in Kavalan. It can be prefixed to both AF and NAF verbs although our informants tend to use NAF forms instead of AF forms. The following are two examples for illustration.

(14)pa-kaibasi tu qulus ci imuy ci buya-an
Cau-wash Obl clothes CI PN CI PN-Loc
‘Imuy made Buya do the laundry.’

(15)pa-qaway-an-na-iku ni siulan tu beRas
Cau-carry-LF-3rdGen-1st.sg.Nom Gen PN Obl rice
‘I was made to carry (a bag of) rice by Siulan.’

As these two examples demonstrate, the prefixation of *pa-* approximates English ‘make somebody to do something.’ In this case, the causer is not as agentive as that in lexical causatives so this type belongs to less direct causation.

In addition to the prefixation of *pa-*, causative construction can be expressed as in an imperative construction with direct speech (*zin* 'say' +1st/2nd/3rdGen) in Kavalan, i.e. *DS + zin-Gen Subtype* explained in section 3, as exemplified in the figure. Instead of saying 'I had him kill the cockroach', Kavalan renders ' 'Kill the cockroach,' I said.' This imperative strategy, though expressing similar meaning with the prefixation of *pa-*, is more indirect due to the imperative form used. That is, the causer is conceived as more removed from the caused event than that in *pa-* construction. This type is in fact much closer to the more indirect causation, i.e. the synthetic directive type of causation, because the use of imperatives imply that the causer is giving directives or orders but is not physically involved in the caused event. This imperative strategy with direct speech deserves more investigation so as to uncover the correlation between causation, imperative, and direct/indirect speech in Kavalan.

The most direct type of causation in Kavalan involves the use of directive verbs such as *pawRat* 'force' and *tuluz* 'instruct'. The following are two examples for illustration.

(16)pawRat tina-ku pa-qan tu esi-na-babiw
force mother-1stGen Cau-eat Obl meat-of-pig
"My mother forced me to eat pork."

(17)tuluz-an-na tina-ku aiku pa-kapaR tu mutun
instruct-LF-3rd mother-1st sg gen. 1stNom. Cau-catch Obl. mouse
"My mother instructed me to catch mice."

Such instructive verbs usually involve the so-called object-control in English. Kavalan, however, exhibits a very different coding strategy in the embedded clauses of such matrix verbs. This construction is *ManiV+ pa-V Subtype* explicated in section 3. As can be seen from the two examples listed above, the verbs in the embedded

clauses are prefixed by *pa*-. This phenomenon is called ‘Actor-Sensitivity’ by Chang & Tsai (2001). Therefore, a more literal translation of the two examples should be ‘My mother forced me so that she made me eat pork’ and ‘My mother instructed me so that she made me catch mice.’ Nevertheless, in addition to ‘Actor sensitivity’ construction, nominalization of the embedded clause can also be utilized to express this type of causation, as illustrated below.

(18)pupuk-an-na ni buya tu kawy-an ni utai
demand-LF-3rd gen. buya Obl. leave-Nmz gen. utai
“Buya demanded utai’s leaving.”

It is believed that different causativization strategies distinguish nuances of causative meanings (Valenzuela 2002). These two strategies, i.e. ‘Actor sensitivity’ and nominalization of embedded clauses, thus need more investigation in the future.

Syntactic Coding in Kavalan Causative/Non-causative sentences

Non-causative	A/S	P	others	(Examples)
AF (intransitve)	Nom	X	X	(1)
AF (transitive)	Nom	Obl.	X	(2)
AF (ditransitve)	Nom	Obl.	IDO: Acc/Loc	(3)
LF (intransitive)	Gen	X	X	(4)
LF (transitive)	Gen	Nom	X	(5)
LF (ditransitive)	Gen	Obl	IDO: Nom	(6)
Causatives	Causer	Causee	Object /others	
AF (intransitve)	Nom	Obl	X	(7)
AF (transitive)	Nom	Obl	Obl	(8)
AF (ditransitve)	Nom	Obl	DO:Obl IDO: Obl	(9)
LF (transitive)	Gen	Nom	Obl	(10)
LF (ditransitive)	Gen	Nom	DO:Obl IDO: Obl	(11)

(1) me-suRaw Φ ci utay
AF-fall Nom Ncm PN
'Utay fell down.'

(2) kaibasi tu qulus Φ ci buya
(AF)wash Obl clothes Nom Ncm PN
'Buya did the laundry.'

(3) bula timaiku(-an) Φ ci utay tu u-'siq babui
(AF)give 1st.Sg(-Loc) Nom CI PN Obl Class-one pig
'Utay gave me a pig.'

(4) qatiw-an-ku
go-LF-1stGen
'I went.'

(5) qaway-an-ku Φ beRas
carry-LF-1st.Sg.Gen Nom rice
'I carried (a bag of) rice.'

(6) bul-an-na-iku ni buya tu u-'siq babui
give-LF-3rd.Gen-1st.Sg.Nom Gen PN Obl Class-one pig
'Buya gave me a pig.'

(7) pa-suRaw Φ ci buya ci utay(-an)
CAU-fall Nom Ncm PN Ncm PN(-Loc)
'Buya made Utay fall down.'

(8) pa-kaibasi tu qulus Φ ci imuy ci buya(-an)
CAU-wash Obl clothes Nom Ncm PN Ncm PN(-Loc)
'Imuy made Buya do the laundry.'

(9) pa-bula Φ ci siulan ci utay(-an) tu u'-siq babui timaiku(-an)
CAU-give Nom Ncm PN Ncm PN(-Loc) Obl Class-one pig 1st.Sg(-Loc)
'Siulan had Utay give me a pig.'

(10) pa-qaway-an-na-iku ni siulan tu beRas
CAU-carry-LF-3rd.Gen-1st.Sg.Nom Gen PN Obl rice
'Siulan had me carry [a bag of] rice.'

(11) pa-bula-an-na ni siulan Φ ci buya tu u-'siq babui timaikuan
CAU-give-LF-3rd.Gen Gen PN Nom Ncm PN Obl Class-one pig 1st.Sg.Loc
'Siulan had Buya give me a pig.'

Complex sentences with causal clauses

1. manan-ti aizipna, Ranaw mai tazian
   return-Pfv 3rdNom, so Neg here
   'He went home, so he is not here.'
2. mana mai tazian zin-ku wanai manan-ti aizipna
   why Neg here say-1stGen ?? return-Pfv 3rdNom
   ' 'Why isn't he here,' I said, (because) he went home.'
3. mana m-tutun lepaw-na zin-ku maqalinun-na m-uzep tu Ramaz
   why AF-burn house-3rdGen say-1stGen forget-3rdGen AF-put_out Obl fire
   ' 'Why is his house on fire,' I said, (because) he forgot to put out the fire.'
4. t-em-abaku mai uzep-an-na tebaku-na matemaq-ti
   smoke-AF Neg put_out-LF-3rdGen cigarette-3rdGen burn-Pfv
   'He smoked, (but) did not put out his cigarette, (so) it burned.'

➔ Causal/Resultative clauses in Kavalan can be connected with or without Ranaw 'so' as in (1) and (4). The order is causal clause first and resultative clause second. Another way of expressing such clauses is to utilize direct speech with zin-ku, in which a why question is raised and then followed by the answer, i.e. a causal clause, as in (2) and (3). This expression again indirectly evidences the correlation between causative construction and direct/indirect speech in Kavalan.

Questions about causative constructions in Kavalan

Q1: Compared to cases where the causative morpheme *pa* is prefixed to a verb (*pa*-V subtype), those where *pa* is prefixed to a noun (*pa*-N subtype) is much more unclear. The general meaning of this subtype is, as shown in Figure 1, that X causes the referent of the nominal, usually a transported theme, to be directed toward, attached to, or contacted with Y, an affected patient, To put it more comprehensibly, the construction expresses that X does something to Y by means of the referent of the nominal which is to be used for its typical functions, as illustrated in (1) and (2).

Figure 1: *pa-N construction in AF and LF*

AF: pa-N	$(ya)_{[Nom]}$ X	$tu_{[Obl]}$	Y
LF: pa-N-LF	$na/ni_{[Gen]}$ X	$(ya)_{[Nom]}$	Y

(1) a. *pa-burukun-iku* *tu* *paniusan-ku*
Cau-hook-1st.Sg.Nom Obl stick-1st.Sg.Gen
b. *pa-burukun-an-ku* *paniusan-ku*
Cau-hook-LF-1st.Sg.Gen stick-1st.Sg.Gen
'I fasten a hook onto the stick.'

(2) a. *pa-Ra'is-iku* *tu* *paRin*
Cau-rope-1st.Sg.Nom Obl tree
b. *pa-Ra'is-an-ku* *paRin*
Cau-rope-LF-1st.Sg.Gen tree
'I tie up a rope around the tree.'

In spite of this tentative generalization, not all nominal stems are congruent with this construction. Consider (3), where the intended meaning of (3a) should be rendered as (3b), in which the AF marker is infixed into the nominal stem *pani* 'arrow'. Thus, it remains further research what the motivation is that distinguishes the distinction between the construction in (1)~(2) and (3b).

(3) a. * *pa-pani-iku* *tu banur*
Cau-arrow-1st.Sg.Nom Obl pigeon
b. *p-em-ani-iku* *tu* *banur*
arrow-AF-arrow-1st.Sg.Nom Obl pigeon
'I arrowed a pigeon.'

Another related problem about this construction is that the presence of the

causative morpheme sometimes seems not to bear a causative meaning. Compare (4a) with (4b). Although they make use of the same construction and differ only in argument numbers, the causative meaning is present in (4b) but weak in (4a), if not absent altogether.

(4) a. *pa-pisa-an-na-iku* *ni* *ulau*
Cau-gun-LF-3rd.Sg.Gen-1st.Sg.Nom Gen PN
'Ulau shot me.'
b. *pa-pisa-an-ku* *tu* *pengauiR* *aizipna*
Caus-gun-LF-1sg.Gen Obl rabbit 3rd.Sg.Nom
'I have him shoot the rabbit.'

Q2: Given the data shown in (5), the notion of "the one who does V" might be conceptualized as "the one who has oneself to do V." For example, a teacher, i.e. *pa-tul-an*, is the one who makes him/herself to teach. This derivation process deserves further study in that it might shed light on the extent of the notion of causativization in Kavalan and perhaps the interaction between causativization and reflexivization in general.

(5) *pa-tul-an*: teacher (<pa-teach-Nmz)
pa-taqsi-an: student (<pa-study-Nmz)
pa-qelawqaway-an: worker (<pa-work-Nmz)
pa-Ri-baut-an: fisherman (<pa-catch-fish-Nmz)

Q3: As can be seen in (6), the verb in the embedded clause is prefixed by *pa-*. This phenomenon is called 'Actor-Sensitivity' by Chang & Tsai (2001). In other words, a more literal translation of this example would be that 'My mother instructed me so that she made me catch mice.' Nevertheless, in addition to 'Actor sensitivity' construction, nominalization of the embedded clause can also be utilized to express this type of causation, as illustrated in (7). It is hoped that the hidden motivation of the choice betwen these two causativization strategies that denote the same causatiave episode can be gleaned out in the future research, in a similar spirits assumed by Keenan and Comrie (1977), who successfully relate relativization strategies to explicitness.

(6) *tuluz-an-n* *tina-ku* *aiku* *pa-kapaR* *tu* *mutun*
instruct-LF-3rd mother-1st sg gen. 1stNom. Cau-catch Obl. mouse
'My mother instructed me to catch mice.'

(7) *pupuk-an-na* *ni* *buya* *tu* *kawy-an* *ni* *utai*
demand-LF-3rd Gen buya Obl leave-Nmz Gen PN
'Buya demanded utai's leaving.'

Q4: Some verbs can take *pa-* affix without changes in meaning, as in the following pairs of sentences.

(7) qamay-an-ku Rayban-ku
pa-qamay-an-ku Rayban-ku
Cau-lose-LF-I.Gen thing-I.Gen
"I lost my thing."

(8) m-RaRiw-ti
pa-RaRiw-an-ku
Cau-run_away-LF-I.Gen
"I ran away."

However, we do find a pair of examples that make a distinction between the two:

(9) m-qara aiku tu wasu nay 我撿到那隻狗
pa-qara aiku tu wasu nay 我找到那隻狗

How can pa- contribute to such a meaning distinction is still unclear. More pairs of data like this are required to shed light on this issue and on the extent of pa- affixation in Kavalan in general.

A story of Aki (Kavalan version) (Transcribed by Haowen)

masang yau usiq qazuzus-an ay tazungan ci Aki nangan-na
long-ago Exis one poor-LF Rel girl Class PN name-her
“很久以前有一個可憐的女孩名叫 Aki”

seqau tita-an zayis-na. sunis pama, may-ti tama-na atu tina-na
bad look-LF face-her child still Neg-Perf father-her and mother-her
“長的很醜,沒有爸爸媽媽”

qulu-an na ta-kinil-an ay aci’-na acim-na
nurture-LF 3rd.Gen Loc-neighboring-Loc Rel uncle-her aunt-her
“被隔壁的叔叔和嬸嬸扶養”

pataz-an na acim-na pa-qerawqaway tu qerawqawayan na repaw
often-LF 3rd.Gen aunt-her Cau-work Obl work 3rd.Gen house
“她嬸嬸常常讓她幫做家事”

Roq-asuwat taRbabi qeRas-an-na ti na acim-na ci Aki
just now-get up morning call_for-LF-3rd.Gen Perf 3rd.Gen aunt-her Class PN

pa-qan tu taqo. punti pa-qan tu taqo
Cau-eat Obl chicken after Cau-eat Obl chicken
“Aki 早上剛起來就被嬸嬸叫去餵雞,餵完雞”

sa-’may ti tu sa-taRbabi-an na sa-repaw-an
SA-rice (cook) Perf Obl SA-morning-AN (breakfast) 3rd.Gen SA-home-AN (family)
“煮飯給全家人”

zumma m-taRau suani-na qeRas-an na acim-na ci Aki
sometimes AF-sick brother-her call_for-LF 3rd.Gen aunt-her Class PN

pa-baba’ tu suani-na m-atiw pa ising
Cau-carry_on_the_back Obl brother-her AF-go ?? doctor

raul lazan ‘nay (sa-qatiw-an ta ising-an)
far road Dem (SA-go-AN Loc doctor-Loc; the way to the doctor’s place)
“有時候,弟弟生病了,嬸嬸還要 Aki 背著弟弟,走很長的路,帶弟弟去給醫生看”

(azu) yau rawal nani, m-lizaq ci Aki q-em-Ras tu ta-kinil-a n ay
if Exis time DM AF-like Class PN call-AF-call Obl Loc-neighboring Rel

baqian pakunku timaizipana
old_man tell_stories 3rd.Acc
“有空的時候,Aki 最喜歡做的事就是叫隔壁的老爺爺講故事給她聽”

Raya ti ci Aki, yau usiq Rabi-an Raputuy ci Aki
grow (n.b. rising tone) Perf Class PN Exis one night-AN dream Class PN

sanu-an na quwit
say-LF 3rd.Gen god
“Aki 長大了,有一天晚上,她夢到神告訴她”

qatiw-ka q-em-irim tu gaRabu ay suway q-em-an zin-na
go-Imp look_for-AF Obl PN Rel grass eat-AF-eat say-3rd.Gen
“去找一種叫做 suway 的草來吃”

s-em-anu quwit ‘nay qan-an-su nazaw ay suway
say-AF-say god that eat-LF-2nd.Sg.Gen this_kind Rel grass

qa-Robatang-isu Aki zin-na
QA-beautiful-3rd.Sg.Nom PN say-3rd.Gen
“天神說吃這種草可以使 Aki 變漂亮”

taRbabi ci Aki maqen ti ma-qara-an-na nazaw ay suway
night Class PN indeed Perf MA-find_out-LF-3rd.Gen this-kind Rel grass
“晚上,Aki 真的找到這種草”

qan-an-na nani, maqen Robatang ti
eat-LF-3rd.Gen DM indeed beautiful Perf
“吃下去後,果真變漂亮了”

m-raziu may m-tenes acim-na q-em-irim ti tu bayiberan
AF-pass Neg AF-long aunt-her look_for-AF Perf Obl old_woman

panmu ci Aki-an q-em-irim tu si-qerisiw ay lazat
help Class PN-Loc look_for-AF Obl SI-money (rich) Rel person

tu sa-qa-napawan-an-na
Obl SA-QA-spouse-AN-her (her husband-to-be)
“過了不久,嬸嬸就要村裡的老人家幫 Aki 找村裡的有錢人要當她的老公”

munna ay ni-qirim-an ci Iban nani
first Rel NI-find-AN (what’s found) Class PN DM
“第一個是 Iban”

qautu-an-na ni Iban sa repaw relan ‘nay
come-LF-3rd.Gen PN to house day Dem (on the day Iban came to the house)
“他來家裡的那一天”

ta kinil-an ay wasu m-ru’tiaq tu rineng saperiq-an-na taqo ‘nay
Loc neighboring-Loc Rel dog AF-jump Obl wall tread-LF-3rd.Gen chicken Dem

tu m-patay
?? AF-die (so that the chicken was dead)
“隔壁的狗跳過圍牆來,把雞給壓死了”

qasianem-an na acim-na seqau zin-na
think-LF 3rd.Gen aunt-her bad say-3rd.Gen
“她嬸嬸覺得不吉利”

may ti pa-qautu-an-na ci Iban sa repaw
Neg Perf Cau-come-LF-3rd.Gen Class PN to house
“不讓 Iban 來家裡”

saqa-zusa ci Obay, ngil qautu ci Obay relan ‘nay, Raya uzan tu
SAQA-two (second) Class PN want come Class PN day Dem large rain ??

mezengzeng. masebang ti razan tu Rayngu ti m-autu ci Obay
thunder mudslide Perf raod ?? cannot Perf AF-come Class PN
“第二個是 Obay,Obay 要來那一天,下大雷雨,土石流把路給沖壞了,obay 也不能來了”

quwit s-em-anu tu bayaberan ‘nay wama qasiR ay m-RaReu qeseR ay
god say-AF-say Obl old_woman Dem only fast Rel AF-run powerful Rel

pa-saraw-an qauqa sin-napawan ci Aki-an
PA-hunt-AN (hunter) only_can Recip-spouse (marry) Class PN-Loc
“天神告訴老人家說,只有跑得快又有力氣的好獵人才能娶 Aki”

bayiberan ‘nay qasianem-an-na qangima qeRas-an kin-nausa ay ‘nay
old_woman Dem think-LF-3rd.Gen 乾脆 call_for-LF Class-two Rel Dem

pa-peRaReu-iqa mannumbi-pa kin-nausa
Cau-run-Imp race-?? Class-two
“老人家想,乾脆讓這兩個人賽跑”

tinu qasiR ay aizipna qauqa nengi sin-napawan ci Aki-an
which fast Rel 3rd.Sg.Nom only_can good Recip-spouse (marry) Class PN-Loc
“誰快,誰就可以娶 Aki”

munna, babyberan ‘nay pa-peReRau-an-na ci Iban atu ci Obay mannumbi
at first old_woman Dem Cau-run-LF-3rd.Gen Class PN and Class PN race
“首先,老人家讓 Iban 和 Obay 賽跑”

saqa-zusa ay nani, pa-uzung-an-na qaniaw tu bayiberan
SAQA-two (second) Rel DM Cau-shoulder-LF-3rd.Gen 3rd.Pl.Nom Obl old_woman

‘nay m-nangui m-raziu tu iRoR
Dem AF-swim AF-pass Obl river
“第二項要他們扛著老人家過河”

u-zusa niz-u ci Iban ta ngayaw ay
Class-two all-?? Class PN Loc front Rel
“前兩項都是 Iban 贏了”

nazau qasianem-an na babyberan ‘nay may pama maseq ci Iban
due_to_this think-LF 3rd.Gen old_woman Dem Neg not_yet reach Class PN

tu maqen ay pa-saraw-an
Obl real Rel PA-hunt-AN (hunter)

“老人家想這樣還不能證明 Iban 是個好獵人”

Rariquz, babyberan ‘nay ngil-an-na kin-nausa pa-linsiw tu wasu
at_last old_woman Dem want-LF-3rd.Gen Class-two Cau-train Obl dog

m-atiw m-saraw tu babuy na nangung
AF-go AF-hunt Obl pig 3rd.Gen mountain
“最後,老人家要他們訓練狗去獵山豬”

Rariquz nani, Obay ay wasu supaR m-ipir
finnally DM PN Rel dog know AF-listen
“最後,是 Obay 能叫狗聽話”

qasianem-an na babyberan ‘nay
think-LF 3rd.Gen old_woman Dem

ci Obay qauqa maqen ay pa-saraw-an nani
Class PN already real Rel PA-hunt-AN (hunter) DM
“老人家認爲 Obay 是個好獵人”

pa-sin-napawan-an-na ti ci Aki-an
Cau-Recip-spouse-3rd.Gen Perf Class PN-Loc
“就把 Aki 嫁給他”

(Note: m-asuwat 起床)
(Note: punti-iku q-em-an nani, qauqay-iku m-anan 我吃飽後才回家)
(Note: m-qara aiku tu wasu nay 我撿到那隻狗
pa-qara aiku tu wasu nay 我找到那隻狗)
(Note: m-raziu-iku tu repaw-na 我經過他家
panmu-an-na-iku s-em-inap 她幫我掃地)
(Note: munna aiku ma’seq tu repaw 我第一個回到家
=munna ma’seq-iku tu repaw
=munna-iku ma’seq tu repaw)
(Note: pa’tu-an-na-iku ni Imuy tu izip-na Imuy 用身體壓我
patez-an-na-iku ni Imuy tu rima-na Imuy 用手壓我
saperiq-an-ku sipes 我踩扁/壓扁蟑螂)
(Note: sin-napawan-an-ku aizipna 我娶她)

Causative Constructions in Cebuano

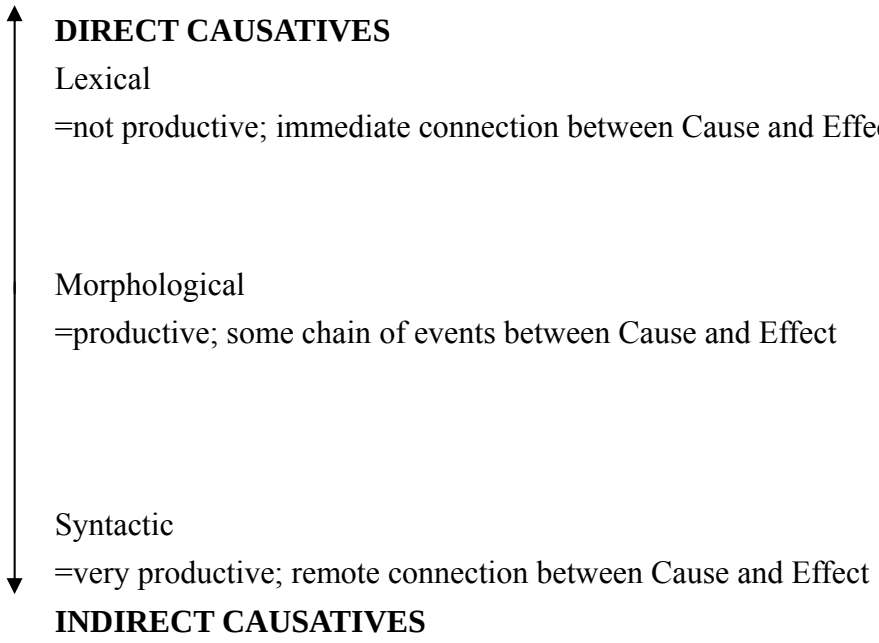
1. Introduction

Causative constructions involve 'a causing event' and 'a caused event' (Shibatani 1976), specifying an additional argument, a Causer, onto a basic clause (Dixon 2000). According to Comrie (1985), there are three basic forms to express a causative situation, namely, lexical, morphological (synthetic), and analytic (or syntactic). Lexical causatives are words which in themselves convey causation. It seems to be difficult to find purely lexical causatives in Cebuano. The words that can be said to be closest to being lexical causatives are the *gi-* verbs, which by the volitional nature of the prefix, convey deliberate intention of directly causing something to happen. Aside from the *gi-* verbs, this category also includes the other various transitive verb forms. We can also call them morphological causatives, but compared to the more productive *pa-* causatives, they seem to behave more like lexical causatives. These are discussed in section 2.

A more productive way of expressing causatives, especially in many Philippine and Formosan languages, is through the prefixation of a causative morpheme *pa-*. It is further observed in our data that in the process of causativization in Cebuano, AV clauses follow a particular pattern while NAV clauses follow another one. The causativization of an AV clause does not necessarily increase the number of arguments, and it also produces a benefactive reading. These AV constructions are examined in section 3. On the other hand, in NAV clauses a causer argument is added in a causativized construction where the causee is relegated to the oblique slot. It is also further observed that these oblique nominals are non-obligatory arguments. These NAV constructions are investigated more fully in section 4.

By an analytic causative construction, we mean that regular syntactic devices that are available in a language are used to form sentences that convey causation. This will be examined in section 5. These three ways form a continuum like that shown in Figure 1.

Figure 1. The causative continuum.



The three ways mentioned above form a causative continuum. They are distinct from each other in terms of productivity and immediacy of effect. In terms of productivity, lexical causatives are the least productive and synthetic causatives are the most productive, while morphological causatives are less productive than synthetic causatives. According to Shibatani and Pardeshi (2002), this notion of productivity is a better predictor of the form-meaning correlation of certain cusatives than the purely formal classification advocated by Dixon (2000). By immediacy of effect, we mean the distance between the Cause and Effect of a causative event. Lexical causatives convey the most immediate connection between Cause and Effect; this is illustrated by *John killed the man* in English, where it is *John* who

accomplished the action and *the man* was directly affected by such an action. In contrast, a causative form making use of certain syntactic devices, like *John allowed the police to kill the man* in English, suggests a more loose connection between *John* and the effect of *kill* on the man, as the causing event and the caused event composing such an indirect causative situation may have distinct spatio-temporal profile, as suggested by Shibatani and Pardeshi (2002)..

Furthermore, in section 6, we deal with the causative forms of cognition verbs and examine those of other verbs that have lexicalized. In section 7, we show that directional morphemes must originate from the causative morpheme *pa-*. In section 8, we make a conclusion.

2. Lexical causatives in Cebuano

In English, we say *kill* is the lexical causative of *die*, and both words do not have any mutual (morphological) resemblance with each other. In Cebuano, there is a set of verbs that can be categorized somewhere between lexical and morphological causatives. These are the *gi-* prefixed verbs shown in Table 1. In terms of distance between the Causer and the Effect, these *gi-* verbs have the most direct connection between cause and effect among the various forms of causatives in Cebuano, and are similar to the morphological causatives in Marathi (a new Indo-Aryan language) which align with pure lexical causatives in expressing direct causation (Shibatani and Pardeshi 2002). Moreover, they are not as productive as the other morphological means of prefixing *pa-* to verbs. In addition, this causativization process deviates a bit from the general tendency described in Comrie (1985) (see also Figure 3) that the Causee (Patient/Undergoer) occupies the slot that is not already filled by some argument (Causer) of the causative verb. In Cebuano, the additional Causer argument in a causative clause always occupies the Genitive slot; therefore, the Nominative

argument in the basic clause remains Nominative-marked in the causative clause.

Table 1. intransitive *na-* verbs and causative *gi-* verbs

	gi-V (causative verbs)	*na*-V (inactive intransitive)
Physical (bodily)	*gi-banhaw* 'to cause to rise from the dead' *gi-buak* 'to cause to break' *gi-daot* 'to cause to get bad; destroyed' *gi-hagbong* 'to cause to fall' *gi-hubog* 'to cause to be drunk' *gi-hulog* 'to cause to fall' *gi-lumos* 'to cause to drown' *gi-matay* 'to cause to die' *gi-sangit* 'to cause to be hooked' *gi-sunog* 'to cause to burn'	*na-banhaw* 'rise from the dead' *na-buak* 'to break' *na-daot* 'get bad; get destroyed' *na-hagbong* 'fall' *na-hubog* 'be drunk' *na-hulog* 'fall' *na-lumos* 'drown' *na-matay* 'die' *na-sangit* 'be hooked' *na-sunog* 'burn'

(1)

gi-buʔak=niya *ang* *baso* (transitive)
pfv-break-3s.gen ang glass
'She broke the glass.' ('She caused the glass to break.')

(2)

na-buʔak *ang* *baso* (inactive intransitive)
intr-break ang glass
'The glass broke.'

Intransitive *na-* verbs in may also be called anticausative based on Comrie's (1985) description. In the intransitive *na-* construction, the undergoer or patient nominal occupies the nominative slot (similar to the anticausative *The door opened* in English). The anticausative is also very similar to the passive; there is no wonder therefore that Cebuano employs a similar marker for both passive and anticausative. In passive instances, there can be a person or thing bringing about the situation but which is suppressed; in anticausative instances, the situation comes about spontaneously.

Wolff mentions of causative verbs without causative *pa-* (1962: 353). We believe he is referring to the kind of verbs discussed in this section, which can be placed between the categories of lexical causatives and morphological causatives. Aside from

the *gi-* causatives mentioned here, he gives examples of verbs marked by other prefixes (3) and (4). That means, most transitive verbs in Cebuano, which are marked for voice, have the potential of being a lexical causative, as transitive verbs entail some change of state in the Patient argument, which is what causative verbs do.

(3)

unsa=y	***naka-daʔutan***	*niya*
what=indef	abil-be.wrong	3s.gen

'What went wrong with him?' (caused him to be bad'

(4)

i-layoʔ	*ang*	*tanan-g*	*maka-daʔut*	*kaniya*
i-layoʔ	*ang*	*tanan-nga*	*maka-daʔut*	*kaniya*
iv-keep.away	ang	all-lk	abil-be.wrong	3s.dat

'Keep all things which can harm him away.'

3. AV causative constructions

The AV causative verbs referred to in this section are the AV-marked verbs prefixed with the causative morpheme *pa-*. There are three types of AV causative constructions in Cebuano in terms of their relation to their basic "non-causative" counterpart. Examples of the first type of AV causative constructions are shown in (5a) and (6a); their non-causative counterparts are shown in (5b) and (6b).

(5a)

nag-pa-*guwapa=ko*

av-cau-beautiful=1s.nom

'I made myself beautiful.'

(5b)

guwapa	*=ko*
beautiful	1s.nom

'I am beautiful.'

(6a)

nag-pa*-dako?=ko*	*ug*	*lawas*
av-cau-grow.big=1s.nom	obl	body

'I made myself grow big.'

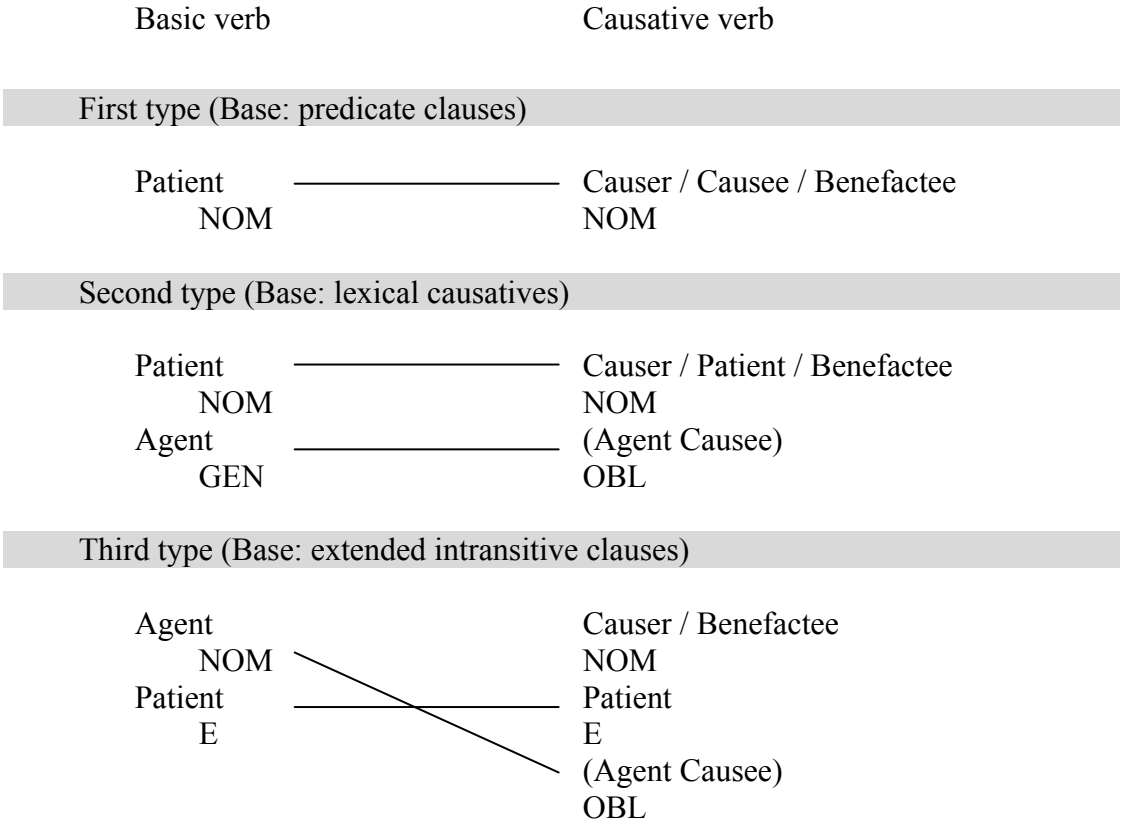
(6b)

dako?=ko	*ug*	*lawas*
big=1s.nom	lk	body

'I have a massive body.'

In the minimal pairs above, the AV causative clauses have a benefactive reading, where the Causer and Causee refer to the same person. In this way, there are no more arguments in the causative clauses than in the non-causative ones, and the causative clauses remain intransitive. The difference between both of them is that, the basic verb, being predicate, indicates a state, while the causative verb contains a dynamic element, a change of state, or an entry into a state. This is illustrated clearly in Fig. 2. The types of verbs that are involved here are usually but not necessarily predicate-type verbs. More examples are given in (7) and (8).

Figure 2.



(7)

huna?huna?=nila,	*daghan=ka?ay*	***mag-pa**-rehistro*
huna?huna?=nila,	*daghan=ka?ayo*	***mag-pa**-rehistro*
think=3p.gen	many=very	av.fut-cau-register

'They thought (that) many (people) will (come to) register.'

(8)

ma?o=man	*ato-ng*	*kunswelo*	*mga babayi*
ma?o=man	*ato?a-nga*	*kunswelo*	*mga babayi*
that=par	1ip.poss-lk	enjoyment pl	girl

ganahan=ta	***mag-pa-gwapa***
like=1ip.nom	av-cau-beautiful

'It's our enjoyment, as girls; we like to make ourselves beautiful.'

The second type of AV causative clauses involves activity verbs. Like the first type, they also possess a benefactive reading where the Causer benefits from the action caused to be performed by a Causee. In the examples shown, the basic

counterparts of the AV *pa-* verbs are *gi-* verbs, which we earlier termed lexical causatives (see section 2). However, the *pa-* verbs are less direct than the *gi-* verbs in terms of immediacy of effect. In addition, as shown in Figure 2, the prefixation of the causative morpheme *pa-* actually reduces the number of core arguments by one despite the addition of a causer argument (which conflates with the undergoer role of the basic clause), since the Agent in the *gi-* clause becomes an oblique causee in the *pa-* clause. The nominative Patient in the *gi-* clause retains the nominative marker as causer in the *pa-* clause.

(9a)

nag-pa-*kuha?=ko*	*kang*	*Juan*
av-cau-get=1s.nom	obl	pn

'I made Juan (come and) pick me up.'

(9b)

gi-*kuha?=ko*	*ni*	*Juan*
pfv-get=1s.nom	gen	pn

'Juan picked me up.'

(10a)

nag-pa-*luto?*	*si*	*Pedro*	*kang*	*Juan*
av-cau-cook	si	pn	obl	pn

'Pedro$_x$ asked Juan to cook for him$_x$.'

(10b)

gi-*lutu-an*	*ni*	*Juan*	*si*	*Pedro*
pfv-cook-lv	gen	pn	si	pn

'Juan cooked for Pedro.'

More examples are given in (11) and (12).

(11)

T *ngano=wa?=pa=man=ka* *na-mabdos*
why=neg=cau=par=2s.nom av.intr-be.pregnant

L *@@ma?o=gani?@@* [*gusto=na=namo?*]
exactly=par like=pfv=1ep.g

T **[*mag-pa*-tan?aw]** ***mag-pa*-tan?aw** *kang doktora*
av.fut-cau-see av.fut-cau-see dat doctor

L ***nag-pa*-tan?aw=na=mi**
av.nfut-cau-see=pfv=1ep.nom

T: 'Why aren't you pregnant yet?'
L: 'Exactly, [we like to have a baby now]'
T: '[See the doctor]'
L: 'We have been to the doctor.'

(12)

pananglitan *larga=siya* *sa* *kaohsiung* *sa* *pingtung*
for.instance leave=3s.nom loc pn loc pn

***mag-pa*-destino=siya** *didto*
av.fut-cau-assign=3s.nom there

mag-gukod-gukod=ka/
av.fut-chase-redup=2s.nom
'For instance, if he leaves for Kaohsiung or Pingtung, he wants to get assigned there, are you going to chase after him?'

So far, it has been observed that AV constructions mainly serve to highlight and focus on the A nominal. To illustrate this in another way, say, if only the Causer or only the Causee of a scene or an event were to be highlighted (each without regard for the other argument), then either the causative AV construction (13a) or the intransitive AV construction (13b) is employed, respectively. If both are to be highlighted, where in such an instance, one of the "Agents" becomes a Patient, the transitive PV construction (13c) is recruited (see also 4.1).

(13) a. *pa*-V_{AV} *si* *Juan* (causative AV clause)
b. V_{AV} *si* *Pedro* (intransitive AV clause)
c. V_{PV} *ni* *Pedro* *si* *Juan* (transitive PV clause)

The third type of AV causative clauses is based on an extended intransitive construction (EIC). This causative type has one more argument, namely, the Causer argument, than the basic EIC. The extended argument E remains the oblique argument in the causative clause, while the Agent in the EIC becomes an optional oblique argument in the causativized clause. As attested by our data (see 14 and 12), the Causee argument is always optionally omitted. The optional Causee argument in a causativized clause is always marked by the dative *kang* (see 11).

(14)

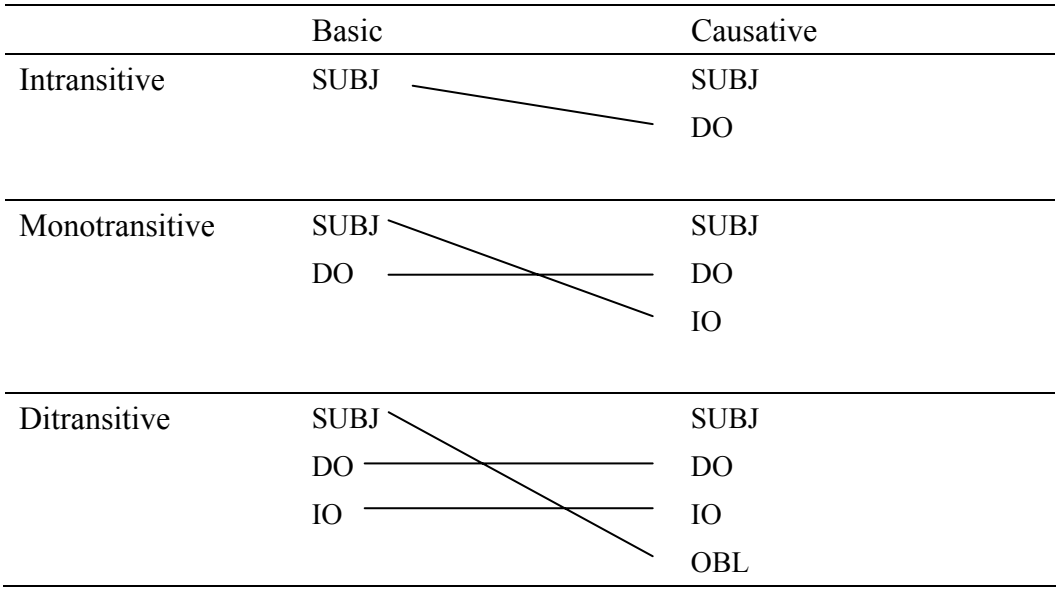
***pa**-palit=ka* *ana-ng* *high tech*
***pa**-palit=ka* *ana?-nga* *high tech*
cau-buy=2s.n that-lk high.tech
'You have (somebody) buy you (that) high-tech (gadget).'

4. Morphological causatives

It is always the causee that has to change its syntactic relation in order to fit in with the increased valency of the causative verb; the cause, or the A argument, is the subject of the basic verb, but cannot remain as subject of the causative verb, this position being usurped by the causer. In Cebuano, the Causee moves out of the core and takes peripheral marking, except in NAV causative constructions derived from intransitive basic clauses (cf. table 4).

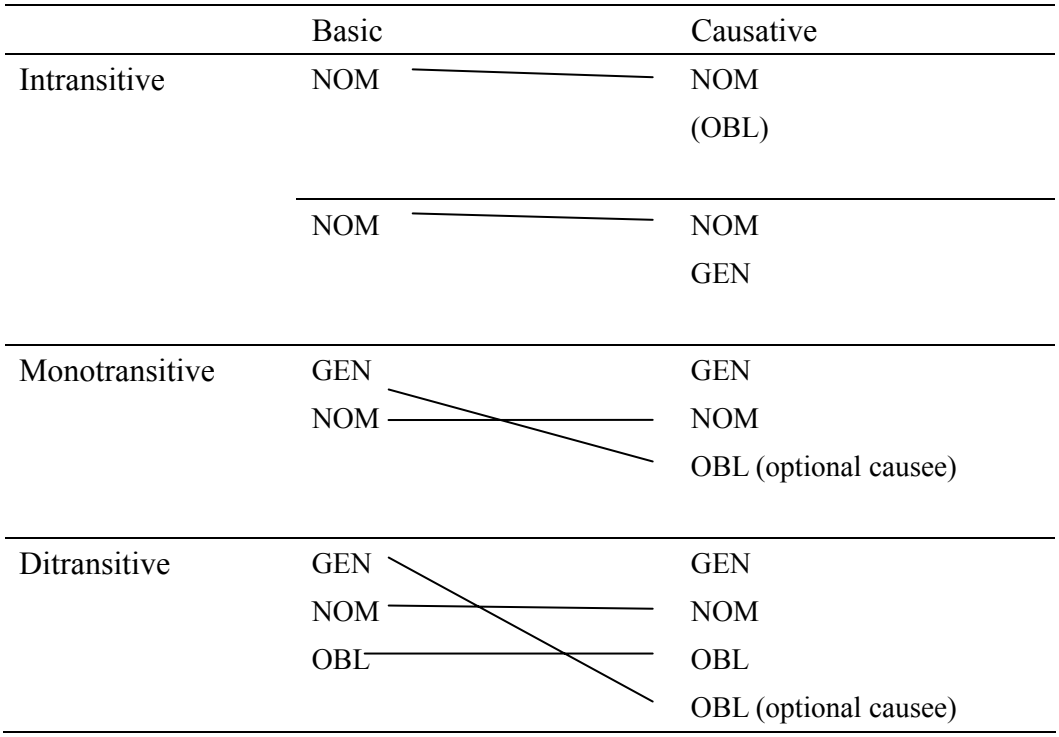
Figure 3.

Typical valency relations between basic and causative verbs (Comrie 1985: 342).



As we have mentioned, Figure 3 is slightly modified in Cebuano (see Figure 4). In the case of intransitive clauses, the additional Causer argument in the causative clause may either be encoded as Nominative (Causer and Causee are conflated) and the resulting construction remains intransitive, or it is encoded as Genitive, and the resulting construction becomes transitive. In both processes, the Nominative argument in the basic clauses remains Nominative-marked in the causative clauses.

Figure 4. Valency relations between basic and causative verbs.



In the case of the causativization of monotransitives and ditransitives in Cebuano, Bunye and Yap (1971) came up with the formulae shown in Table 3. However, we wish to introduce some revisions as it fails to capture certain aspects of Cebuano syntax that recent studies have already uncovered. For example, the type of AV causative clause that they describe is one that is based on an extended intransitive clause (EIC), which used to be treated as transitive constructions. This has to be clearly distinguished from the purely intransitive causative clauses. Hence, their description also fails to capture the fact that AV clauses in Cebuano can also serve to function as valency-reducing constructions as these constructions focus on the Agent and its actions. Therefore in some causative AV clauses, the number of arguments may stay the same as that of the basic clauses, as there is no additional argument that results from the causative process. In addition, the Causer in AV causative clauses is at the same time a Benefactee, so that AV causative clauses actually have a Benefactive reading. Our revision is shown in Table 4, which reflects the various types of AV

causative clauses that we have described earlier in section 3.

Table 3. (Bunye and Yap 1971: 104-109)

Case roles	Nominative	Genitive	Oblique	(Oblique)
AF *mag-pa-V*	Causer		Receiver	Secondary Agent
PF *gi-pa-V*	Agent	Causer	Receiver	Beneficiary
LF *gi-pa-V-an*	Receiver	Causer		Secondary Agent
BF *(g)i-pa-V-an*	Beneficiary	Causer	Receiver	
IF *(g)i-pa-V*	Instrument	Causer	Receiver	Secondary Agent

As for the transitive constructions, as is the general situation in many other languages, there is one more additional causer argument in the causative clauses than in the basic clauses. When the causer takes the slot occupied by the Causee argument in the basic clause, the cause argument becomes an optional argument marked oblique.

Table 4.

Case roles	Valence change	Basic clause	Nominative	Genitive	Oblique	(Oblique)	Verbs
AV *mag-pa-V*	0	Predication	Benefactee Causer				*guapa* 'be beautiful'
	0	Lexical causative	Benefactee Causer			Causee	See Table 9-1
	+1	EIC	Benefactee Causer		Patient	Causee	*kuha* 'take' *himo* 'make'
PV *gi-pa-V*	+1	Intransitive	Causee	Causer			*tindog* 'stand'
	+1	EIC	Causee	Causer	Patient		*kaon* 'eat' *himo* 'make'
	+1	Transitive	Patient	Causer		(Causee)	*kaon* 'eat'
	+1	Ditransitive	Patient	Causer	Goal	(Causee)	*hatag* 'give'
LV *gi-pa-V-an*	+1	Transitive	Locative Patient	Causer		(Causee)	*lingcod* 'sit'
	+1	Ditransitive	Recipient Goal	Causer	Patient	(Causee)	*himo* 'make' *hatag* 'give'
IV *i-pa-V*	+1	Transitive	Theme	Causer		(Causee)	*buhat* 'make'

In our revision in Table 4, we actually find construction subtypes of each

causative verb form. PV causatives are derived from four types of basic clause constructions, and LV causatives from two types of basic clause constructions. In the following subsections, we will discuss PV causatives (4.1), LV causatives (4.2), and IV causatives (4.3).

4.1 PV causative constructions

PV causative constructions are derived from four types of basic clauses. The first two types are AV constructions, namely, intransitive clauses and EICs. Intransitive clauses have an Agent or an Undergoer that becomes a Causee when causativized; the EIC has the same situation but there is an extended argument that retains its oblique marking in the resulting causative clause. The excerpts below show the resulting causative clauses of EICs (15) and intransitive clause (16).

(15)

*gi-hold, wa? **gi-pa-larga**, kay ni-layas=kuno sa ilaha*
pfv-detain neg pfv-cau-leave because av-leave=evid loc 3p.poss
'(The officials) detained (him) and did not let (him) leave, because it was said that (he) left their (place) (without notifying anybody).'

(16)

*daghan=man=ko-g dala, **gi-pa-dala**=ko*
*daghan=man=ko-ug dala, **gi-pa-dala**=ko*
many=par=1s.nom-obl bring pfv-cau-bring=1s.nom

nila marilou
nila marilou
3p.gen pn
'I brought many things. Marilou and others asked me to bring (them).'

As for the basic clauses that are transitive, the Patient nominal remains nominative-marked while the Agent Causee argument becomes an optional oblique. As can be observed from Table 4, PV causatives can have either a Causee or a Patient

as the argument taking the nominative case; this difference is actually brought about by the kind of basic clause the causative construction is derived from. If the basic clause is intransitive where the nominative-marked nominal is Agent, the nominative argument in the causative clause is the Agent turned Causee; if the basic clause is transitive where the nominative-marked nominal is Patient, the nominative argument in the causative clause remains the Patient. Therefore in PV causative clauses where the nominative nominal is zero like (18), it can either be an animate Causee or a Patient. In (18), the nominative nominal is either 'them' or 'the food.'

(17)

pa-kit-a*=ko*	*sa*	*iyaha-ng*	*litrato*	*be*
pa-kita?-a*=ko*	*sa*	*iyaha-nga*	*litrato*	*be*
cau-see-pv=1s.nom	obl	3s.poss-lk	picture	imper

'Let me see his picture!'

(18)

ako-ng	***gi-pa-ka?on***	*tunga?-tunga?*	*sa*	*dagat*
ako?a-nga	***gi-pa-ka?on***	*tunga?-tunga?*	*sa*	*dagat*
1s.poss-lk	pfv-cau-eat	middle-redup	loc	sea

'I made (them) eat (the food) in the middle of the sea.'

4.2 LV causative constructions

LV causative constructions have two types of basic clauses, namely, transitive LV clauses and ELCs. The causer occupies the genitive slot, while the Agent causee is relegated to oblique position that is optional.

(19)

layo?=pa,	*iya-ng*	***pa-kit-an,***	*wa=y*	*abri*
layo?=pa,	*iyaha-nga*	***pa-kita?-an,***	*wa?=y*	*abri*
far=still	3s.poss-lk	cau-see-lv n	eg=indef	open

'(When she's) still far (away from the baggage inspection area), she'll show (some money inserted inside her passport). (They) won't open (her bags).'

4.3 IV causative constructions

The IV causative construction is based on an IV clause, with the Agent causee, as always, relegated to oblique position. (20) shows an IV causative construction; (21) is a modifier of a nominal in an equational clause; and (22) is a nominalized form.

(20)

T: *selos-o=ba=siya*
jealous-person=q=3s.nom

L: *ambot=lang=kaha?, basi-g di?=lang=niya* ***i-pa-kita?***
ambot=lang=kaha?, basi-ug di?=lang=niya ***i-pa-kita?***
dunno=only=evid maybe-sub neg=only=3s.gen iv-cau-see

T: 'Does he like to get jealous?'
J: 'No idea. Maybe he just doesn't want to show (it).'

(21)

upat=ra ang computer nga ***i-pa-gawas***
four=only ang computer lk iv-cau-move.out
'There will only be four computers that are to be taken out.'

(22)

unsa=y ***i-pa-buhat,*** *di?=gyud=ko maka-balibad*
what=indef iv-cau-do neg=emph=1s.nom av-refuse
'Whatever (he) asks me to do, I really cannot refuse.'

In English, it has been claimed that patient arguments of causative verbs can be omitted (Goldberg 2001). In Cebuano, this is hardly surprising as the language allows for zero anaphora. However, just as what has been claimed for Patient arguments in English, we have repeatedly indicated in previous sections in this chapter that the oblique-marked Causee in causative clauses is optional. We conjecture two reasons for this phenomenon. First, in Table 4, we have shown that there are various ways of argument assignment in PV causative clauses. Either the Patient or the Causee is

marked nominative. If the basic clause is intransitive, the focus is on the Agent; therefore, the Agent is highlighted in the derived causative clause; if the basic clause is transitive, the focus is on the Patient; therefore, the Patient argument is highlighted in the derived causative. In other words, there are choices available so that only the argument that needs to be highlighted is expressed through an appropriate construction. Thus, the second reason is obviously derived from the first: the choices are made available to avoid the mentioning of too many arguments in a single clause.

5. Syntactic causatives

Syntactic causatives in Cebuano are theoretically very productive, but they are actually very rare in frequency. The causativizers *make* and *cause* in English are neutral in meaning; in contrast, the devices for syntactic causativization in Cebuano express a kind of attitude on the part of the Causer. These devices include *gi-pugos* 'to force,' *gi-sugo* 'to instruct,' and *gi-tugt-an* 'permitted,' just to name a few. In terms of frequency, the causative markers *to allow*, *to permit*, and *to force* should also have lower frequency than *make* and *cause*. The morphological morpheme *pa-* is actually the equivalent of *make* and *cause* in English, so there is no wonder we rarely find examples of syntactic causatives in Cebuano, although in theory they are relatively more productive. In (23a), the causation process contains an element of force, while that in (23b) is more neutral.

(23a)

…(2.1)	***gi=pugos****=niya*	*ang*	*iya-ng*	*ulo*	*nga=*	
	gi=pugos*=niya*	*ang*	*iyaha-nga*	*ulo*	*nga=*	
	pfv-force=3s.gen	ang	3s.poss-lk	head	lk	

ma-sulod	*sa*	*maʔo-ng*	*garapa*
ma-sulod	*sa*	*maʔo-nga*	*garapa*
intr-put.inside	loc	ident-lk	container

'(The dog) forced its head inside the container.'

(23b)

*gi-**pa-sulod**=niya* *ang* *iya-ng* *ulo* *sa* *garapa*

*gi-**pa-sulod**=niya* *ang* *iyaha-nga* *ulo* *sa* *garapa*

pfv-cau-put.inside=3s.gen ang 3s.poss-lk head loc container

'It put its head inside the container.'

6. Causativization of cognition verbs

Causative forms of cognition verbs like *hibalo* 'to know' and *sabot* 'to understand' seem to violate Table 4, as the arguments in their causative clauses do not follow the regular pattern. The causativized *pa-hibalo* in (24) takes a complement clause.

(24)

amiga *nako?,* *wala?=siya* *na-dawat*

friend 1s.gen neg=3s.nom intr-accept

siya *ang* *nag-ano,* ***nag-pa-hibawo*** *nga* *na?a=y* *nag-*

3s.nom ang av-what av-cau-know comp exist=indef av

'My friend, she was not accepted (for this job). She was (the one who) informed (me) that there was a…'

As for *pa-sabot*, the Nominative nominal of its AV form can only be an abstract situation and can never be an animate entity (e.g., *kini nag-pa-sabot nga …* 'this means that …') where *kini* refers to a situation or an event described in previous discourse. The PV form *gi-pa-sabot* seems also to be used as a nominal (e.g., *ang gi-pa-sabot=niya (nga)…* 'what he means (is that) …'). However, such cases like these are not restricted to cognition verbs. Another good example would be *salamat* 'thank.' The causative form *pa-salamat* 'to thank' is now being used "nominal-ly" as a single word, as in the first line in (25). When used as a verb meaning 'to thank (somebody),' it is *pa-salamat* and not *salamat* that serves as the root form (cf. 4th line in 25).

(25)

…(1.1) *sa* *ka-tapus-an* *n-angayo-g* ***pa-salamat*** *ang* *bata*
sa *ka-tapus-an* *m-pangayo-ug* ***pa-salamat*** *ang* *bata*
temp nmz-end-lv av-ask-obl cau-thanks ang child

.. *nga* *na-kita?=na=nila* *ang=*
comp pv-see=pfv=3p.gen ang

… *ila-ng* *gi-pangita* *nga* *ma?o-ng* *baki?*
… *ilaha-nga* *gi-pangita* *nga* *ma?o-nga* *baki?*
3p.poss-lk pv-find lk ident-lk frog

.. *nag-**pa-salamat**=siya* *sa* *ma?o-ng* *grupo*
.. *nag-**pa-salamat**=siya* *sa* *ma?o-nga* *grupo*
av-cau-thank=3s.nom dat ident-lk group

'And in the end, the child thanked them. The child thanked the frogs that they found the frog they were looking for.'

Other verbs prefixed with *pa-* has lexicalized in varying degrees into nominals. I will discuss five more of these lexicalized *pa-* nominals, namely, *pa-salubong*, *pa-dala*, *pa-na?ad*, *pa-to?o*, and *pa-agi*. The word *pa-salubong* '*pa*-meet,' which has come to refer to a present that is given upon the return of somebody from a faraway place, is actually a Tagalog word that has come to be borrowed in many other Philippine languages, since travel overseas or even to other parts in the Philippines became a fad.

In some other lexicalized words, the prefix *pa-* is now inseparable with the root. One such word *pa-dala* '*pa*-bring' refers to something that is entrusted to be given to somebody in another place. When somebody travels, people would always request the person traveling to take something to be given to another person residing at the place of destination. Now the word has come to mean something that is sent via the post or a delivery agency, or even money remitted through the bank; it could also refer to the action of sending. The prefix *pa-* has become part of the word, so that even if the causative sense can still be detected, it would be possible to add another *pa-* to further

express the action of causing something to be sent to another person, *pa-padala*.

Another word would be *pa-na?ad* '*pa*-promise,' which is something that refers to a promise made to a godly being. However, the original root *sa?ad* is still used to talk about a promise made to ordinary people in ordinary occasions; *pa-na?ad* has acquired some mysterious element and would result in unfortunate consequences if broken. The word *pa-to?o* '*pa*-believe' has lost its meaning of "belief" and has come to mean 'to obey.' Another word is *pa-agi* '*pa*-pass.by' which has lexicalized to mean 'means; way.'

(26)

bo?otan=man=siya *pero di?* ***pa-to?o***
behaved=par=3s.nom but neg cau-believe
'He behaves, but (he) doesn't listen.'

7. Directional morphemes

The directional morpheme *pa-* occurring in motion clauses may have originated from the causative morpheme *pa-*. This is a very productive process, where the *pa-* attaches to a locative noun, a demonstrative, or a "path" word to mean, 'toward the direction of.' In (28), *pa-uli?* has lexicalized and now there is no difference between the words, *uli?* and *pa-uli?*. In (29), the verb root prefixed by *pa-* is a proper noun, literally meaning, 'to cause to be in Cebu (or in the place denoted by the root)' which highlights the destination of a movement. In (30), it is the movement toward a destination that is highlighted.

(27)

pa-do?ol 'to come clause; approach' < 'to cause to be near' < 'near'
pa-ngadto 'to go there' < 'to cause to be there' < 'there'
pa-states 'to the U.S.' < 'to cause to be in the U.S.'
pa-gawas 'outward' < 'to cause to be outside' < 'outside'

(28)

kwarto=ra	*amo-ng*	*gi-abang-an,*	*panagsa=ra=man=siya*
kwarto=ra	*amoʔa-nga*	*gi-abang-an,*	*panagsa=ra=man=siya*
room=only	1ep.poss.lk	pfv-rent-lv	rarely=only=par=3s.nom

pa-uli
pa-uli
cau-return

unya	*usahay*	***mo-pa-uli**=man=sab=mi*	*didto*
dm	sometimes	av-cau-return=par=also=1ep.nom	there

'We only rented a room, since he comes home rarely. And sometimes we also go there (to his parents' house).'

(29)

*mag-**pa-Cebu**=ko*	*ugma?*	*sayo*	*sa*	*buntag*
av-cau-pn=1s.nom	tomorrow	early	temp	morning

'I'm going to Cebu early morning tomorrow.'

(30)

mag-ipit=na	*si*	*Josie*	*ug*	*kwarta*
av-insert=that	si	pn	obl	money

*pag-**pa-dulong**=na=siya*	*sa*	*customs*
temp-cau-toward=pfv=3s.nom	loc	customs

'Josie will insert money (into her passport) when she's on her way to customs.'

8. Conclusion

In this chapter we have taken a look at the various forms of causative expressions in Cebuano. First, we introduced the causative continuum and discussed the ways in which the forms that occupy both ends of the continuum differ from each other in terms of productivity and the immediacy of effect between the cause and the effect. In section 2 we looked at lexical causatives in Cebuano, where the verbs marked for voice belong. In terms of immediacy of effect, they are highly transitive, which means that the Patient entity is directly affected by the action of some Agent. In section 3 we

examined AV causative constructions. As valency reducing constructions, the Causer almost always conflates with another entity, namely, the Causee, the Patient, or the Benefactee, such that the number of arguments stays the same. In section 4, we looked at the various forms of the morphological *pa-* causatives in interaction with the different voice types. Relative to their basic clause, causative clauses always have one more nominal, namely Causer, in their argument structure. In section 5, we explained that although syntactic causatives are theoretically very productive, they are actually rare in Cebuano, as they also convey speaker attitude in addition to causation. In section 6, we discussed various causative verbs that have lexicalized such that the affixed *pa-* is now inseparable from the original root. In section 7, we suggested that the directional morpheme in motion clauses actually originated from the causative morpheme *pa-*.

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Appendix 1: Bunun (Isbukun) causatives

Type	Causer	Causee	Object/Others	Example
A. AF (1): (a). ma-…				[State(St.) & Transitive (Tr.)] 1. *ma-pataz* “kill”
B. AF (2): (a). ma-pa-…		Obl Obl		[Tr./Noun(N.)/Intransitive(Intr.)] 2. *ma-pa-kaun* “cause to eat, feed” 3. *ma-pa-sadu* “to cause to see” 4. *ma-pa-sapal* “to lay hide as a mat” 5. *ma-pa-’iu* “to cause to medicate” 6. *ma-pa-snav* “to cause to learn” 7. *ma-pa-sabah* “to cause to sleep”
C. AF (3): (a). ma-pa-…	Nom			[Tr./ N.] 8. *ma-pa-sahal* “to cause to know each other” 9. *ma-pa-haungun* “to cause to quarrel with each other” 10. *ma-pa-tupa* “say to each other; discuss” 11. *ma-pa-labatu* “throw stone at each other” 12. *ma-pa-kuniv* ‘boast to each other” 13. *ma-pa-unghuma* “exchange fieldwork”
D. AF (4): (a). ma-pi-…		(Obl)		[Tr.] 14. *ma-pi-husbu* “to emphasize”

E. AF (5): (a). ma-pu-…	Nom			[Tr.] 15. *ma-pu-sais* “replace each other; alternate”
F. AF (6): (a). ma-pin-…				[St.] 16. *ma-pin-nau’az* “to cause to become beautiful” 17. *ma-pin-vai* “defeat, win over”
G. AF (7): (a). ma-pu-…			Loc.	[Location(Loc.)] 18. *ma-pu-ngadah* “put into” 19. *ma-pu-asu* “to train a dog (to hunt)”
H. AF (8): (a). ma-pun-…			Loc.	[Loc.] 20. *ma-pun-huma* “to cause to go farming
I. AF (9): (a). pa				[Loc.] 21. *pa-av-cin* “cause to done”
J. AF (10): (a). pa-…				[Emotion (Em.)/Intr./N./ Possessive(Poss.)/Tr.] 22. *pa-hahainan* “cause to be happy, please” 23. *pa-cisdadan* “to cause to ran/race” 24. *pa-tus* “to make a fire 25. *pa-isu* “give you” 26. *pa-tahu* “cause to tell” 27. *pa-ta’aza* “to cause to listen”

K. AF (11): (a). pa-ka…				[St.] 28. *pa-ka-haitas* “hate”
L. AF (12): (a). pan-…				[Loc./ St.] 29. *pan-tudip* “cause to reach” 30. *pan-tustus* “hit right into”
M. AF (13): (a). pun-…				[Loc.] 31. *pun-sia* “cause to be at”
N. PF (1): (a). un	Obl	Nom		[St. & Tr.] 32. *un* “cause to be (disposed)”
O. PF (2): (a). …-un	Obl Obl	Nom		[St. & Tr.] 33. *pataz-un* “kill” 34. *hud-un* “drink” 35. *saak-un* “smell”
				[Determiner(Det.)/Loc.] 36. *sia-un* ‘cause to be at/in’ 37. *nastu-un* ‘to cause to be down’
P. PF (3): (a). pin-…-un	Obl	Nom		[St. & Loc.] 38. *pin-dadu-un* “cause to be well, heal” 39. *pin-ngadah-un* ‘cause to be put into”

Q. PF (4): (a). pa-un		Nom		[Det.] 40. *pa-un-cia* "to cause that to be done"
R. PF (5): (a). pa-…-un		Nom Nom		[St.&Tr.] 41. *pa-ihdi-un* "to make difficult, to cause to suffer" 42. *pa-kuzakuza-un* "cause to work" 43. *pa-'ama-un* "to cause to carry st. on back" 44. *pa-dusa-un* "to cause to become two; to split in two" 45. *pa-lansan-un* "to cause to move/walk along"
S. PF (6): (a). pi-…-un		Nom		[St.&Tr.] 46. *pi-szang-un* "to cause to resemble/to like" 47. *pi-humis-un* "to cause to live; to spare one's life" 48. *pi-sansan-un* "to cause to become straight; to straighten" 49. *pi-madia-un* "to cause to become many/much; to multiply" 50. *pi-kua-un* "to cause to become how; to deal with" 51. *pi-sia-un* "to cause to be here/there; to put"
T. PF (7): (a). pu-…-un		(Nom)		[Loc.] 52. *pu-lumah-un* "cause to visit" 53. *pu-haz'av-un* 'to dry (in a pan)" 54. *pu-sais-un* "to alternate"

U. LF (1): (a). …-an	Obl			[Tr.] 55. *hud-an* “drink”
V. LF (1): (a). pa-…-an				[Tr.] 56. *pa-hud-an* “to cause to drink” 57. *pa-kaun-an* “to cause to eat” 58. *pa-ci-ngan-an* “give name to; name”
W. RF (1): ’is-pa-…	Nom Obl	Obl		[Tr.] 59. *’is-pa-hud* “to be drunk” 60. *’is-pa-liba* “to be held” 61.*’is-pa-siza* “to cause to take/marry” 62. *’is-pa-padangi* “to cause to marry” 63. *’is-pa-kaun* “to cause to eat”
X. RF (2): si-…-an		Nom		64. *si-kakaun-an* “to be fed”

1. habasang hai mala'la' kaviaza tupa tu,
habas-an hai ma-la'la kaviaz-a tupa tu
old:times-AN TOP AF-shout friend-Det.(Nom.) say COMP
"sima tangha'iu 'inak tu 'uvaz?"
sima tangha'iu 'i-nak tu 'uvaz
who steal Poss.-1S TU child
tupa 'isbabanal bunun tu, "zaku siza 'uvaz mapataz."
tupa 'is-babanal bunun tu zaku siza 'uvaz ma-pataz
say 'IS-Bananal human COMP 1S.S. AF-take child AF-die
'Once upon a time, shouted the Kaviaz snake, "Who stole my child?" A man of the Isbananal linage said, "I took the child and killed (him)."

2. ali hai kaupa ka hani'an mapakaun mas tulkuk.
ali hai kaupa ka hani'an ma-pa-kaun mas tulkuk
Ali Top all day AF-Caus-eat Obl. chicken
'Each morning, Ali fed the chickens.'

3. dumanan masinauba hai madahpa
dumanan masinauba hai ma-dahpa
sometimes younger:brother Top. AF-sick
asa'ang tu Alicia mama mas masinaubacia
asa'ang tu ali-cia 'ama<m> mas masinauba-cia
have:to-ANG Ali-Det.Acc. carry:on:back<AF> Obl. brother-Det.Acc.
mudadan madulu tu daan
mu-dadan ma-dulu tu daan
AF-walk AF-long/far road
madas masinauba kusia 'ising mapadadu dahpa
'adas<m> masinauba ku-sia 'ising ma-pa-sadu dahpa
take<AF> brother go-there doctor AF-Caus-see illness
'Sometimes, (her) brother was sick, (she was) demanded to (bring him to) see a doctor far away.'

4. munghuma tama mas tina,
   m-ung-huma tama mas tina
   AF-go-field father Conj mother
   nastuun sia dalah,
   nastu-un sia dalah
   beneath-PF Loc. ground
   mapasapal sia hasipan, pasabahan ’uvaz. (Ogawa and Asai, 654)
   ma-pa-sapal sia hasipan pa-sabah-an ’uvaz
   AF-Caus-hide Det. goat:hide Caus-sleep-LF child
   ‘A couple went to farm (in the field); (they) put down (something) onto the ground and spread a goat hide to make (the) child a bed to sleep on.”

5. mais madahpa masinauba
   mais ma-dahpa masinauba
   if AF-ill younger:brother/sibling
   musasu ’ama’-un kudahbi’an mapa’iu ’ising.
   mu-sasu ’ama’-un ku-dahbi’-an ma-pa-’iu ’ising.
   AF-immediate carry:on:back-PF go-afar -LF AF-Caus-medicine doctor
   ‘If (her) brother was sick, (she) immediately carried him on (her) back and went a long way to (bring him to) see a doctor.’

6. kinuz-in hai, madadaingaz hai
   last-TNS/ASP(-IN) Top. old:man Top.
   ma-skalun nai-cia ma-pa-snava asu ma-damu vanis.
   AF-command Pron.-Det. AF-CAU-learn dog AF-catch boar
   ‘Finally, the old man asked them to train a dog to (help) hunt boars.’

7. habas hai dasa vali.
habas hai dasa vali
ancient Top two sun
’aiza tas tu mapadangi kusia huma.
’aiza tas tu ma-pa-dangi ku-sia huma.
exist one TU AF-Rec.Cause-enter(couple) go-there(AF) field
mabahis vali, ’aupa dusa vali.
ma-bahis vali, ’aupa dusa vali.
AF-hot sun because two sun
mapasapal haspan padangi'an ’uvaz mapasabah.
ma-pa-sapal haspan pa-dangi-an ’uvaz ma-pa-sabah.
AF-Caus-hide goat:hide Caus-there-LF child AF-Caus-sleep
“Once upon a time, there existed two suns. There was a couple went farming. It was hot because there were two suns. They covered (the child) with a goat hide, and the child was put (there) to sleep.”

8. nitu talpia hai,
ni-TU tal-pia hai
NEG-TU TAL-many(form many times) Top.
saipuk mas alitan tu tais’an hai
saipuk mas ali-tan tu other:one hai
adopt(AF) Obl. Ali-Det.Acc TU original:one Top.
masi’aupa ’asangcin tu madaingaz
ma-si-’aupa ’asang-cin TU ma-daingaz
opposite:to village-Det.Acc. TU AF-old/old:man
mindangaz alitan kilim ’asangcin
’indangaz<m> ali-tan kilim ’asang-cin
help<m> Ali-Det(Acc) look:for(AF) village-Det.Acc.
’isuian tu bunun mapasahal.
’i-sui-an TU bunun ma-pa-sahal
Poss-money-LF /rich TU man AF-Recp.Caus-know
“Not long after (that), the one who adopted Ali asked elders from the other village to help Ali find someone (who is) rich in the village to get them acquainted with each other.”

9.a. mis'avin dau hai,
m-is-av-in dau hai
AF-banquet-TNS/ASP Part Top
mapahaungun bananaza mas pingaz tu bununcia. (Li 349)
ma-pa-haungun bananaz-a mas pingaz tu bunun-cia
AF-Recp.Caus-angry man-Det.Nom Conj woman TU man-Det.Acc
'At the banquet, the male ghost and the women's people/family quarreled (with each other)."

b masa laning'avanin hai,
masa la-ning'av-an-in hai
when LA-sea-LF-TNS/ASP(flooded) Top
minsauhzangin kaupa mihumis,
ma-sauhzang<in>-in kaupa mihumis
AF-hungry<TNS/ASP>-TNS-ASP all creature
maupa sia kakalang mas ivut mapahaungun. (Ogawa and Asai, 652)
'aupa<m> Det kakalang mas ivut ma-pa-haungun
such<m> Det crab Conj snake AF-Recp.Caus-angry
"During (the ancient) flood, all creatures were starved (because of the famine), the crab and the snake, thus, fought with each other."

10. tumaz mas 'uknav habasan hai, maibunun,
tumaz mas 'uknav habas-an hai, ma-bunun<i>
bear Conj leopard ancient-LF Top AF-man<TNS/ASP>
'aupa masa min'uni tumaz mas 'uknav hai,
'aupa masa MIN-uni tumaz mas 'uknav hai
such when AF-become bear Conj leopard Top
mapa-tupa dau tu,
ma-pa-tupa dau tu
AF-Recp.Caus-say dau Comp
'sima tangus madanav.' (Ogawa and Asai, 660)
sima tangus ma-danav
who first AF-wash:face

“Once upon a time, the bear and the leopard were once human. They became the bear and the leopard, and (they) told each other, “(Let’s see) who (could) first (finish) wash the face.”

11. habasan dau madadaingaz hai,
habas-AN dau ma-da-daingaz hai
old:times-AN Part. AF-RDP-big Top
tastu lumah, munghuma, mapalabatu kukulpa,
tasa-tu lumah, ’ung-huma<m>, ma-pa-la-batu kukulpa,
one-TU family go-field<AF> AF-Recp.Caus-LA-stone giant:toad
pahahainan pataibasbas, mapalabatu. (Ogawa and Asai, 664)
pa-ha-hainan pa-tai-bas-bas, ma-pa-la-batu.
Caus-RDP-laugh Caus-TAI-RDP-back AF-Caus-LA-stone
“Once upon a time, a family went farming (in the field), and (they) stoned each other with (a kind of) giant toads. They had (great) fun by (exchanging) toad-stoning (at) each other.”

12. habasanang dau hai,
habas-an-ang dau hai
old-LF-ANG Part Top
luvluv mas hudan pa’av hai,
luvluv mas hudan pa’av hai
wind Conj rain snow Top
maitas’an tatau,
ma-tas’an<i> RDP-tau
AF-one-AN<TNS/ASP> three[+human]
’aupa mapakuniv dau tu,
’aupa ma-pa-kuniv dau tu
such AF-Recp.Caus-proud Part Comp
‘sima mastan matamasaz kata tatau.’ (Ogawa and Asai, 661)
sima ma-stan ma-tamasaz kata RDP-tau
who AF-more/best AF-strong 1pl.incl three[+human]
“In the ancient times, wind, rain, and snow, the three of them, used to be (members) of a family. They boasted one another, “(Let’s see) who’s the

strongest among us?"

13. muskun dau bunun mapa'unghuma. (Ogawa and Asai, 666)
mu-skun dau bunun ma-pa-'ung-huma
AF-together Part man AF-Recp.Caus-go-field
"People exchanged labors by farming together."

14.a. 'isia habasan tu patasan hai
'isia habasan tu patasan hai
Loc-there old-LF TU write-LF(book) Top
mapihusbu 'amin mas mapidadu tu sinkuzakuzacin.
ma-pi-husbu 'amin mas ma-pi-dadu tu sin-kuza-kuza-cin.
AF-Caus-heavy all Obl AF-Caus-heal TU SIN-RDP-work-Det.Acc.
"The Old Testment all emphasizes on the jobs/ways of healing."

b. 'isia bahlu sinpatumantuk tu patasan hai
'i-sia bahlu sin-pa-tu-mantuk tu patas-an hai
Loc-there new SIN-Caus-TU-real(real speech) TU write-LF(book) Top
mastanin mapihusbu.
ma-stan-in ma-pi-husbu.
AF-very-TNS/ASP AF-Caus-heavy
"The New Testament emphasizes more (on ways of healing)."

15.a. maluspingaza hai mihaipu sadu maduh.
maluspingaz-a hai mi-haipu sadu maduh.
woman-Det.Nom Top AF-take:care see(AF) millet
bananaz hai tupa tu,
bananaz hai tupa tu,
man Top say(AF) Comp
“nazaku sadu maduh musais mihaipu.”
“na-zaku sadu maduh mu-sais mi-haipu.”
Fut-1s see millet AF-replace AF-take:care
unghai pingaza hai nitustala mapusais.
ung-hai pingaz-a hai ni-tu-stala ma-pu-sais.
Conj woman-Det.Nom Top Neg-TU-answer AF-Caus-replace
“The wife was taking care of the millet (by staring at it). The husband said, “I will look after the millet to replace (you) to take care (of it). Yet, the wife was not answering/agreeing (to the request) to replace.”

16. dihanin hai tupa tu
dihanin hai tupa tu,
heaven Top. say Comp
“sai-in tu ’ismut hai
“sia-in tu ’ismut hai
3s. Det. Nom TU herb Top
namahtu mapinnau’az alitan.”
na-mahtu ma-pin-nau’az ali-tan.”
FUT-can(AF) AF-Caus-beautiful Ali-Det.Acc.
Heaven said, “This kind of herb will make Ali beautiful.’

17. ciban ’amin mapinvai (mas dahu).
ciban ’amin ma-pin-vai (mas dahu)
Ciban all AF-pin-short (Obl. Dahu)
‘Ciban won (both contests over Dahu).’

18. ’uvaz hai sadu ’at,
’uvaz hai sadu ’at
child Top see(AF) Conj.
musasu ’indangaza duma nai-cai,
mu-sasu ’in-dangaz+a duma nai-cai,
AF-immdeiate help+Nom other 3pl-Det.Acc
mindia mapungadah sia palangancia.
’india<m> ma-pu-ngadah sia palangan-cia
pick:up<AF> AF-Caus-inside Loc. basket-Det.Acc
‘The children saw (it/that) and some of them immediately helped by picking up (the scattered pears) and put (them) into the basket.’

19. tupa madadaingaz tu
tupa ma-da-daingaz tu,
say(AF) AF-RDP-old/old:man Comp.
namapu’asu mas babu
na-ma-pu-asu mas babu.
Fut-AF-Caus.-dog Obl. pig/boar
‘The old man said, “You train a dog (to see) whose dog is better at hunting.”’

20. tupa dau ’isia cina tu,
tupa dau ’i-sia cina tu,
say Part Poss-3s mother Top
“namapunghuma’ik.
“na-ma-pun-huma-ik.
Fut-AF-PUN-field-1s.Nom(bound)
na’iskalunanku kamu.” (Li, 348)
na-’iskalun-an-ku kamu.”
Fut-command-LF-1s.Acc(bound) 2pl.Nom(free)
‘Her mother said, “I will send you to the farm (to work). You will be commanded (by me).”

21. tupa ali tu, “pa-av-cin!”
tupa Ali tu, “pa-av-cin!”
say Ali Comp Caus-IMP.PF-this.Acc.
“Ali said, “Do this./Let this be done.”

22. habasan dau madadaingaz hai,
habas-AN dau ma-da-daingaz hai
old:times-AN Part. AF-RDP-big Top
tastu lumah, munghuma, mapalabatu kukulpa,
tasa-tu lumah, ’ung-huma<m>, ma-pa-la-batu kukulpa,
one-TU family go-field<AF> AF-Caus-LA-stone giant:toad
pahahainan pataibasbas, mapalabatu. (Ogawa and Asai, 664)
pa-ha-hainan pa-tai-bas-bas, ma-pa-la-batu.
Caus-RDP-laugh Caus-TAI-RDP-back AF-Caus-LA-stone
“Once upon a time, a family went farming (in the field), and (they) stoned each other with (a kind of) giant toads. They had (great) fun by (exchanging) toad-stoning (at) each other.”

23. ungat una(’u) madadaingaza ciban mas dahu pa-cisdadan.
ungat una(’u) ma-da-daingaz-a ciban mas dahu pa-cisdadan.
Conj. inform AF-RDP-old-Det.Nom Ciban Conj. Dahu Caus-run
‘(First) The old man put Ciban and Dahu in a race.’

24. pingaza hai savais bananazcia tupa pingaz tu,
pingaz-a hai savai-an+mas bananaz-cia tupa pingaz tu,
woman-Det.Nom Top defeat-LF+Obl man-Det.Acc. say woman Comp
"patus! patus!"
pa-tus pa-tus
Caus-flint Caus-flint
“The woman was defeated by the man, and said, “Build a fire! Build a fire!”

25. tupa dau mabananaz, “pisu bungu.” (Li, 341)
tupa dau ma-bananaz, “pa-isu bungu.”
say Part MA-man Caus-2s head
‘ The man said, “(I will) give you the head (to eat).”

26. mai'uka palkadan hai ali-an hai
mai'uka pal-ka-dan hai ali-an hai
AF-if:no something:to:do Top. Ali-Det.Nom. Top.
mazima dudaniv andi'ngalan tu hudas
ma-zima dudaniv andi'-ngal-an tu hudas
AF- enjoy call/ask(AF) next:to TU grandpa
patahu palihabasan tu sinkuzakuza pata'aza sai-cia
pa-tahu pali-habas-an tu sin-kuza-kuza pa-ta'aza sia-cia
Caus.-tell talk:about-old-LF TU SIN-RDP-work Caus-listen 3s-Det.Acc.
"If there was nothing to do/If she was not busy, she'd love to ask the neighbor granduncle to tell her stories about ancient times to entertain her."

27. mai'uka palkadan hai ali-an hai
mai-'uka pal-ka-dan hai ali-an hai
AF-if:no something:to:do Top. Ali-Det.Nom. Top.
mazima dudaniv andi'ngalan tu hudas
ma-zima dudaniv andi'-ngal-an tu hudas
AF- enjoy call/ask(AF) next:to TU grandpa
patahu palihabasan tu sinkuzakuza pata'aza sai-cia
pa-tahu pali-habas-an tu sin-kuza-kuza pa-ta'aza sia-cia
Caus.-tell talk:about-old-LF TU SIN-RDP-work Caus-listen 3s-Det.Acc.
"If there was nothing to do/If she was not busy, she'd love to ask the neighbor granduncle to tell her stories about ancient times to entertain her."

28. mais duma tu takbanuaz tu bunun hai
mais duma tu takbanuaz tu bunun hai
If other TU TAK(I)-Banuaz TU man Top
masmuav pakahaitas naicia.
ma-smuav pa-ka-haitas nai-cia.
AF-very Caus-KA-ill:treat 3pl-Det.Acc
"If they were other people such as those of the Takbanuaz, they would make fun of them(the Kaviaz snakes)."

29. tupa dau apinga dau tu,
tupa dau aping-a dau tu
say Part Aping-Det.Nom Part Comp
“ka’unia bakal hailia. piszangun haili.
ka-’uni-a bakal haili-a pi-szang-un haili
make-Imp wooden knife-Det.Nom Caus-resemble-PF knife
pantudipin dau saia upatazan.” (Li, 349)
pan-tu-dip-in dau sia-a u-pataz-an
Caus-to-yonder-TNS/ASP Part sia-Det.Nom can-die-LF
‘Aping said, “Make a wooden knife. Make it resemble/look like a real knife to the degree that she could kill the ghost.”

30. isia daan hai maupacia tu,
i-sia daan hai ’aupa-cia<m> tu
on-that road Top such<AF> Comp
palan tu tacini tu ’uvaz amin tu pingaz, at
pa-la-an tu tacni tu ’uvaz amin tu pingaz Conj
Caus-leave:behind-LF tu one/human tu child all tu woman
’adu pantustus ’adu..
‘adu pan-tustus ’adu
maybe Caus-straight maybe
pav ’aiza batu,
’apav ’aiza batu
over exist stone
mucinkulas a-di’ lidensia.
mu-cinkul+as a-di’ lidensia.
AF-roll+Nom a-this bike
“On the road, such was it that he ran across a girl, and he seemed to ran over a stone—there was a stone (on the road)—the bike thus fell.”

31. mindia sia nastu mahalhal-in ’amin tu lapat,
’india<m> sia nastu ma-halhal-in ’amin tu lapat,
pick:up<AF> Loc down AF-fall-TNS/ASP all TU guava
’indiun nanaicia punsia kalala.
’indi-un ma(?)-nai-cia pun-sia kalala.
pick:up-PF Obl(?)-3pl-Det.Acc Caus-there basket
“(They) picked up all the scattered guavas/pears on the ground, and they put them into the basket.”

32. amin tu maisna ’uvaz,sain tama cina hai matazin,
amin tu maisna ’uvaz sia-in tama cina hai pataz<m>-in
all TU from child 3s-Det.Nom. father mother Top die<AF>-TNS/ASP
un mas andi’ngalan tu tais’an saipuk
un mas andi’-ngal-an tu tais’an saipuk
UN Obl. next:door original:one adopt
“(When she was) very young, her father and mother died. She was taken care of by her neighbor.”

33. maismuh dau uvaza hai,
ma-smuh<i> dau uvaz-a hai
AF-fat<TNS/ASP Part. child-Det.(Nom.) Top.
patazun daus mababanaz maun. (Li, 341)
pataz-un dau+mas AF-babanaz kaun<m>
die-PF Part.+Obl. man eat<AF>
‘The child that was chubby was killed and eaten by the man.’

34. hudun tama davuscia. (Li, 327)
hud-un tama davus-cia
drink-PF father win-Det.Acc.
“Father was choked by the wine.”

35. amus mudanin saia malansan mas ’aul
amus mu-dan-in sia-a ma-lansan mas ’aul
therefore go(AF)-road-TNS/ASP 3s.Nom. AF-walk:along Obl brook/stream
tungnangadah sia halipusung.
tungna-ngadah sia halipusung
toward(AF)-inside Loc. stalactite:cave
’at lasuksukan dau ngadahi sakun hau daui.
’at lasuksuk-an dau ngadah+i saak-un hau dau+i
Conj thrust-LF Part. inside+Part. smell-PF
lasuksukan ngadah hai ’at minsuma hazam. (Li 342)
lasuksuk-an ngadah hai ’at <m>’insuma hazam
thrust-LF inside Top Conj. AF-appear bird
‘Therefore she left and walked along the brook to reach the cave (to hide herself), and then (she) thrust the cave, and smelled (to find that something was inside the cave). She thrust the cave (again), and there appeared a bird.”

36. cina hai siaun tukban andan cilas tu baizuan. (Li, 339)
cina hai sia-un tukban andan ci-las tu bazu-an<i>
motherTop Det.-PF winnower carry cereals/millet hull-LF<TNS/ASP>
“(The) mother put the hulled millet in the winnower.”

37. munghuma tama mas tina,
m-ung-huma tama mas tina
AF-go-field father Conj mother
nastuun sia dalah,
nastu-un sia dalah
beneath-PF Loc. ground
mapasapal sia hasipan, pasabahan uvaz. (Ogawa and Asai, 654)
ma-pa-sapal sia hasipan pa-sabah-an uvaz
AF-Caus-hide Det. goat:hide Caus-sleep-LF child
‘A couple went to farm (in the field); (they) put down (something) onto the ground and spread a goat hide to make (the) child a bed to sleep on.”

38. ’isaicia tais’an hai
’i-sia-cia tais’an hai
3s.Poss other-AN/other:brother Top
maisna sia nastu dalah
maisna sia nastu dalah
from Loc. below ground
mala’ala tatangis.
ma-la’ala ta-tangis
AF-shout RDP-cry
naua dalahin tu na’asa pindadun.
nau+a dalah-in tu na-’asa pin-dadu-un.
true+Nom ground-Det.Nom Comp Fut-must Cause-well-PF
‘The other brother of his, from the underground, cried (aloud), “Really, this ground/world needs to be cured.”

39. nitu makua i,
ni-tu ma-kua i
Neg-TU/Comp(?) AF-how Conj
napingngadahun sia davaz inam bungu. (Ogawa and Asai, 650)
na-pin-ngadah-un sia davaz inam bungu
Fut-Caus-inside-PF Loc net:sack 1pl.Excl.Poss head
‘It’s alright; our head will be fallen into the net-sack.’

40. nanii a kasu pauncia. (Nihira, 245)
na-nii a kasu pa-un-cia.
Fut-Neg Nom 2s.Nom Caus-PF-Det.Acc.
‘You will never do that./Never do.”

41. kutunkutun saia pihdi-un pakuzakuzaun lumah tu sinkuzakuza
kutunkutun sia-a pa-ihdi-un pa-kuzakuza-un lumah tu sinkuzakuza
everyday 3s-Nom force-PF Caus.-work-PF house work
‘She was tortured to work (on) the house chores.’

42. kutunkutun saia pihdi-un pakuzakuzaun lumah tu sinkuzakuza
kutunkutun sia-a pa-ihdi-un pa-kuzakuza-un lumah tu sinkuzakuza
everyday 3s-Nom force-PF Caus.-work-PF house work
'She was tortured to work (on) the house chores.'

43. muhna hai,
again Top.
pa'ama'un naia madadaingaz
pa-'ama'-un nai-a ma-da-daingaz
Caus-carry:on:back-PF 3pl-Det.Nom AF-RDP-old
sunghal lahaib mas vahlas.
sunghal lahaib mas vahlas.
swim through Obl. river
"Second, they were asked to swim across the river with the old men on their back."

44. ka'aun dau saivan,
ka'a-un dau saiv-an
Neg-PF Part give-LF
'aupa siza 'asik, 'islinsup sia tuhu,
thus take(AF) bloom insert Loc anus
pa-dusa-un tukban. (Ogawa and Asai, 659)
Caus-two-PF winnower
"(He was) denied of what was (promised to be) given; therefore, he took a broom, inserted it into the anus, and cut the winnower in two halves."

45. mais saivan cici hai,
mais saiv-an cici hai
IF give-LF meat Top
pa-lansan-un haili cici-a 'ima. (Li, 339)
Caus-move:along-PF knife meat hand
"If the meat was to be given (to him), the meat was given through the edge of the knife to (reach his) hand."

46. tupa dau apinga dau tu,
tupa dau aping-a dau tu
say Part Aping-Det.Nom Part Comp
“ka’unia bakal hailia. piszangun haili.
ka-’uni-a bakal haili-a pi-szang-un haili
make-Imp wooden knife-Det.Nom Caus-resemble-PF knife
pantudipin dau saia upatazan.” (Li, 349)
pan-tu-dip-in dau sia-a u-pataz-an
Caus-to-yonder-TNS/ASP Part sia-Det.Nom can-die-LF
‘Aping said, “Make a wooden knife. Make it resemble/look like a real knife to the degree that she could kill the ghost.”

47. ’aiza takisdahuan namakavas pais tu civula.
’aiza takis-dahu-an na-ma-kavas pais tu civula
exist TAKIS-Dahu-LF Fut-AF-man:hunt enemy TU Cou
kulumah tu namakavas hai
ku-lumah tu na-ma-kavas hai
go-home(AF) TU Fut-AF-man:hunt Top
sadu mas pingaz tu civula hai
sadu mas pingaz tu civula hai
see(AF) Obl woman TU Cou Top
nitu patazun,
ni-tu pataz-un
Neg-TU die-PF
kaz pihumisun kuzakuza'un.
kaz pi-humis-un RDP-kuza-PF
“There existed/was a man of the TakisDahuan family who went man-hunting. On the way home from the man-hunting, he saw a Cou woman. He did not kill her. Instead, he spared her life, and raped her.”

48. mais mapatnu’ hanivalval hai,
mais ma-patnu’ hanivalval hai
if AF-point:at rainbow Top
masamu pisansanun tanuduh. (Ogawa and Asai, 663)
ma-samu pi-sansan-un tanuduh
AF-taboo Caus-straight-PF finger
“If (one) points at the rainbow, it is tabooed (to point at it) with one’s straightened fingers.”

49. pimadiun dau pu-haz’av-un cilas. (Ogawa and Asai, 665)
pi-madia-un dau pu-haz’av-un cilas
Caus-many-PF Part Caus-dry(in:a:pan) rice
“The rice cooked multiplied.”

50. napiku’unku kamu.
na-pi-kua-un-ku kamu.
Fut-Caus-how-PF-1s 2pl.Nom
“What do you want me to do?” (Nihira, 142)

51. pi'isa'unsu luup?
pi-isa-un-su luup?
Caus-where-PF-2s bag
'Where have you put your bag?'

52.a. tais’an hai, miliskin tu
tais-an hai ’iliskin<m> tu
other-AN Top think<AF> Comp.
masamu sain tu sinkuzakuza,
ma-samu sia-in tu sin-kuza-kuza,
AF-taboo 3s. Det.Nom. SIN-RDP-work
ungat nii a ciban mahtu pulumahun
ung-’at nii a ciban m-ahtu pu-lumah-un
Conj Neg Nom Ciban AF-can Caus- home-PF
“The neighbor felt bad luck [about this kind of thing/event], (and) did not allow

Ciban to visit.'

b. miliskin bunun tu masamu
'iliskin<m> bunun tu ma-samu
think<AF> man Comp AF-taboo
ungat nitu pulumahun ciban.
ung-'at ni-tu pu-lumah-un Ciban.
Conj Neg-TU Caus-house-PF Ciban
"People think that it is a taboo; therefore, Ciban was not (allowed) to visit."

53. pimadiun dau pu-haz'av-un cilas. (Ogawa and Asai, 665)
pi-madia-un dau pu-haz'av-un cilas
Caus-many-PF Part Caus-dry(in:a:pan) rice
"The rice cooked multiplied."

b. kaimin laupakadau bunun,
kaimin laupakadau bunun
1pl.excl now man
mais tasa pikatunul puhaz'avun sia ngula hai,
mais tasa pi-ka-tunul pu-haz'av-un sia ngula hai,
if one Caus-KA-measure Caus-dry(in:a:pan) Loc cooker Top
nitu minsusi. (Ogawa and Asai, 666)
ni-tu min-susi
Neg-TU AF-increase
"Nowadays, we, the Bunun people, if (we) put a scoop (of rice) in the cooker (to cook it), it will not be increased (spontaneously)."

54. pusaisun 'ima mapatala hai,
pu-sais-un 'ima ma-pa-tala hai
Caus-replace-PF hand AF-Caus-receive Top
makuang haulus minsuma sia tuhu (Ogawa and Asai, 656)
ma-kuang haulus 'insuma<m> sia tuhu
AF-bad necklace appear<AF> Loc anus
"When it turned to the next one to receive (it) with hands, bad necklace appeared from the anus."

55. hudan davus tamacia. (Li, 327)
hud-an davus tama-cia
drink-LF wine father-Det.Acc.
'Father drank the wine. = Lit. The wine was drunk by Father."

56. munghuma bunun hai,
'unghuma<m> bunun hai,
go-field<AF> man Top
'aizin maduh hai,
'aiza-in maduh hai,
exist-TNS/ASP millet Top
saia hai pahudan davus,
sia-a hai pa-hud-an davus,
3s-Nom Top Caus-drink-LF wine
'amin pakaunan cici-cia. malatpu' takisdahuan.
'amin pa-kaun-an cici-cia. ma-latpu' takis-dahu-an.
all Caus-eat-LF meat-Det.Acc AF-extinct TAKIS-Dahu-LF
"If one went farming, and had (a good harvest) of millet, the one (i.e. the landlord Takisdahuan lineage at Tumpu) had to be paid tribute with wine, and meat. The Takisdahuan family was (thus) extinct (at Tumpu because of such wrong-doing to be paid with tribute)."

57. munghuma bunun hai,
'unghuma<m> bunun hai,
go-field<AF> man Top
'aizin maduh hai,
'aiza-in maduh hai,
exist-TNS/ASP millet Top
saia hai pahudan davus,
sia-a hai pa-hud-an davus,
3s-Nom Top Caus-drink-LF wine
'amin pakaunan cici-cia. malatpu' takisdahuan.
'amin pa-kaun-an cici-cia. ma-latpu' takis-dahu-an.
all Caus-eat-LF meat-Det.Acc AF-extinct TAKIS-Dahu-LF

"If one went farming, and had (a good harvest) of millet, the one (i.e. the landlord Takisdahuan lineage at Tumpu) had to be paid tribute with wine, and meat. The Takisdahuan family was (thus) extinct (at Tumpu because of such wrong-doing to be paid with tribute)."

58. ma:z sia tupaun tu <M fu-ci duan-ya M>_-a? (hai)
ma:z sia tupa-un tu <M fu-ci duan-ya_M>-a? (hai)
what 3s call-PF Comp father-sun cliff -Det.Nom. Top
mavia tu pacinganan tu tama 'uvaz tu tunuh?
mavia tu pa-ci-ngan-an tu tama 'uvaz tu tunuh?
AF-why Comp Caus-CI-name-LF TU father child TU cliff
"The so-called Fu-ci Duan-ya, why was it named the Father-and-Sun Cliff?"

59. kadavus cina'a 'ispahud mas hanitucia. (Li, 348)
ka-davus cina-a 'is-pa-hud mas hanitu-cia
make-wine moter RF-Caus-drink Obl ghost-Det.Acc.
"Mother made/brewed wine to entertain the ghost."

60. 'is-paliba daus cina uvaz hai, kaaz kitda'. (Li, 349)
'is-pa-aliba dau+mas cina uvaz hai kaaz kitda'
RF-Caus-hold Part.+Obl mother child Top only brunt:twig
'The child was carried/held by the mother, and it turned out to be burnt twig."

61. madaingaz tu sinsadu hai
ma-daingaz tu sinsadu hai
AF-old:man TU SIN-see(viewpoint) Top
dahucia mamangan tu bananaz, ungat 'ispasiza ali-tan.
dahu-cia ma-mangan tu bananaz, ungat 'is-pa-siza ali-tan.
Dahu-Det.Acc AF-able TU man Conj. BF-CAU-take Ali-Det.Acc.
'Old men's view, (thus) was that Dahu was an able man, and (therefore) marry him to Ali.'

62. nitu tailpia
ni-tu tal-pia<i>
Neg-TU TAL-how:many(long:time)
’aiza bunun masingav tu
’aiza bunun ma-singav tu
exist man/people AF-request Comp.
na’ispapadangi mas ’isui’an tu bananaz.
na-’is-pa-pa-dangi mas ’i-sui-an tu bananaz.
Fut-BF-Caus.-marry Obl. Poss-money-LF TU man
‘Not long (after it), there existed someone proposing that Ali be married (Ali) to the rich.’

63. ungat pit’ia’ang haising ’is-pa-kaun tastu lumah (tu bunun)
ungat pit’ia’ang haising ’is-pa-kaun tas-tu lumah (tu bunun)
Conj. cook-ANG(AF) rice BF-Caus.eat one-TU house
‘[After (she) fed the chickens], (she thus) cooked (rice) for the family (to eat).’
[pit’ia-ang = ma-pit’ia-ang, AF marker ma- in a certain cases is omitted.]

64. mataz uvaza.
pataz<m> uvaz-a
die<AF> child-Det.Nom.
minduduaz a mataz dau saia,
ma-duduza<in> pataz<m> sia-a
AF-young<TNS/ASP> die<AF> 3s-Det.Nom.
aupa sikakaunan. (Li, 339)
aupa si-ka-kaun-an
because RF-RDP-eat-LF
“The child was said to die at a young age, because he was (the one that was) adopted.”

ma-pa-…

mapahaungun minatau takitudu takibaka takivatan, minadusa takibunuaz mas isbukun, mapakavas mas nai-cia(?) dau hai, savai-an takivatan, takibaka, takitudu, savai as taki-banuaz mas isbukun. (Ogawa and Asai, 651)

habasanang dau hai, luvluv mas hudan pa'av hai, maitas'an tatau, auppa mapa-kuniv dau to, 'sima mastan matamasaz kata tatau.' (Ogawa and Asai, 651) [ma-kuniv 'proud']

ma-pi-…

ma-pi-naskal/pi-naskalun 'please, to make happy'

pin-…-un

'uvaz hai matidu 'asik pin'uni'un 'ikul; takban hai pin'uni'un pani.

'is-pa-…

nii nai-a haiap tu namaaz dau 'is-pa-kaun. (Li, 341)

'They don't know what will be used to feed them.' [is-pa-kaun, nominalized?]

ma-pa-… [ma-pa-i-… <past tense>]

mai-pa-kaun mas uvuaz-cia hai, panahun daus uvaz-cia sia mailaspah. (Li, 339)

[mai-pa-kaun mas uvuaz-cia, 'the one who once fed/grew the child' <nominalized?>]

pa/pa-

pa-itu uvaz tu pang ma-kauna sia asu.

'make children's bread dog's > throw children's bread to a dog.(Nihira:115)

pa+[itu 'uvaz tu pang] 'lit. to cause the bread that belongs to the dog' [pa+NP, also see pa-av-cin; pa in such a case a prefix?]

pa-(…)-av [-av, PF IMP]

tupaun dau dadusa tu, “pa-tala-av taki.” (Ogawa and Asai, 656)

tupa Ali tu, “pa-av-cin!” “Ali said, “Do this./Let this be done.”

pun-Loc.-an/ pun-Loc.-av [pun- + -av ‘PF IMP’]

pun-zaku-an-av ‘cause to be at my place’ [zaku-an ‘1s.-LF]

ma-pun-…

tupa dau isia cina tu, “namapunghuma-ik. na-’iskalun-an-ku kamu.”
‘Her mother said, “I will send you to the farm (to work). You will be commanded (by me).” [ma-pun-huma vs. ma-pa-ung-huma, au > u, ref. ma-pa-ung-huma (Ogawa and Asai, 666)]

pa-…-un

na-nii a kasu pa-un-cia. ‘You will never do that./Never do.” (Nihira, 245)

pa-…-an

masa tilukis dau tama isia hai, pu’akazan uvaz pingaz to, na-saiv-an katkat davus, na-pa-kaun-an haising. (Ogawa and Asai, 659) [pu-akaz-an ‘deceive PF’]

savanan-in dau hai, maun hai, pakaunan hai, ik-amin-un haising-a. (Li, 349)
‘(It fell the) night, and eat, the rice to entertain (the ghost) was all eaten (by the ghost).’ [pa-kaun-an, nominalized?]

pu-…-un

madi-in a cinapul inastu sia laas.., iNadah pu-Nadah-un sia palangan.
‘The picked pear underneath was many, and was put into the basket.’

pi-…-un

tupa dau apinga dau tu,
tupa dau aping-a dau tu
say Part Aping-Det.Nom Part Comp
“ka’unia bakal hailia. piszangun haili.
ka-’uni-a bakal haili-a pi-szang-un haili
make-Imp wooden knife-Det.Nom Caus-resemble-PF knife
pantudipin dau saia upatazan.” (Li, 349)
pan-tu-dip-in dau sia-a u-pataz-an
Caus-to-yonder-TNS/ASP Part sia-Det.Nom can-die-LF
‘Aping said, “Make a wooden knife. Make it resemble/look like a real knife to te degree that she could kill the ghost.”

kaimin laupakadau bunun,
kaimin laupakadau bunun
1pl.excl now man
mais tasa pikatunul puhaz’avun sia ngula hai,
mais tasa pi-ka-tunul pu-haz’av-un sia ngula hai,
if one Caus-KA-measure Caus-dry(in:a:pan) Loc cooker Top
nitu minsusi. (Ogawa and Asai, 666)
ni-tu min-susi
Neg-TU AF-increase
“Nowadays, we, the Bunun people, if (we) put a scoop (of rice) in the cooker (to cook it), it will not be increased (spontaneously).” [pi-ka-tunul < pa-i-ka-tunul (?)]

pana-… [causative? or a lexical prefix meaning “to go downward to …”]
habasan inam bunun masa laupang mihumis hai, sia bitahul asi muhalhal misnadaza dihanin, pananasitu maupa muazuazu bitahul tingbusngal, aupa minsuma bunun dusa iningadah. (Ogawa and Asai, 648) [pana-nastu ‘to fall down to …’]

Appendix II: Amis causatives

Amis Case marker

X. Amis

The Case Marking in Amis

		nominative	Accusative	genitive	Neutral
Common noun		ku	tu	nu	u
Personal	Singular	ci	ci…an	ni	ci
Personal	Plural	ca	ca…an	na	ca

The Personal Pronominal System in Amis

Number	person	genitive	possessive	nominative	Accusative
Singular	1st	Aku	maku	*k*aku	takun*an* takuw*an* takuwan*an*
	2nd	Isu	misu	*k*isu	tisun*an* tisuwan*an*
	3rd	Ira *ni*ra *ni*ngra	*n*ingra	*c*ingra	*ci*ngran*an* *ci*ngran*an*
Plural	1st(inclusive)	ita	mita	*k*ita	kitan*an* kitaan*an* titan*an* titaan*an*
	1st(exclusive)	*ni*yam	*ni*yam	*k*ami	kamin*an* kamiyan*an* tamin*an* tamiyan*an*
	2nd	*na*mu	*na*mu	*k*amu	tamuan*an*
	3rd	*na*ngra	*na*ngra	*ca*ngra	cangraan*an*

Table 1. Coding types for Amis Causatives

Type	Causer	Causee	Object/Others	Example
A. AF (1): pa-…	Nom	Obl	Obl.	[Activity/Perception & Transitive (Tr.)] 1. *pa-kuskus* “cause sth to be scratched” 2. *pa-tengil* “cause to hear”
B. AF (2): pa-…	Nom.	Obl.	(Loc.)	[Act.& Intr.] 3. *pa-danguy* “enable sth to swim” 4. *pa-nukay* “accompany sb. home”
		Nom.	Obl.	[State/Emotion& Intr.] 5. *pa-ruray* “cause to be tired” 6. *pa-lipahak* “makes sb. happy”
C. AF (3): paka-…	Nom.	Obl.		[Act. / Emotion &Intr.] 7. *paka-tayal* “cause to work” (Note: many [Act. & Intr.] verbs

					have no paka- causatives) 8. *paka-furaw* “cause to be angry”
D. AF (4): papi-…	Nom.	Obl.	Obl.		[Activity/Perception & Transitive] 9. *papi-palu* “cause to hit” 10. *papi-sanek* “cause to smell”
E. AF (5): papi-	Nom.	Obl.			[Activity & Intr.] 11. *papi-nukay* “make sb. go home”
F. AF (6): papi-pa-	Nom.	Obl.			[Activity & Intransitive] 12. *papi-pa-cikay* “cause to speed” (cikay: speed (Noun))
G. AF (7): papi-paka-…	Nom.	Obl.			[Emotion & Intr.] 13. *papi-paka-furaw* “irritate”
H. AF (8): paka- …<um>	Nom.	Obl.			[Activity & Intr.] 14. *paka-t<um>angic* “cause to cry”
I. PF (1): pa-…-en	Gen.	Nom.	(Loc.)		[Act. & Tran.] *15. pa-tangtang-en* “cause to be cooked”
J. PF (2): pa-…-en	Gen.	Nom.	Obl.		[Percept. & Tran] 16. *pa-sanek-en* “cause to smell”
L. PF (3): pa-…-en	Gen.	Nom.			[Activity/State & Intr.] 17. *pa-(sa)-kero'-en* “teach sb. how to dance” 18. *pa-nginguy-en* “bathe” *19. pa-cahiw-en* “cause to stay hungry”
M. PF (4): paka-…-en	Gen.	Nom.			[St. /Act. & Intr.] 20. *paka-cahiw-en* “cause to stay hungry” 21. *papi-(sa)-kero'-en* “cause to dance”
N. PF (5): papi-…-en	Gen.	Nom.	Obl.		[Activity / Perception. & Trans.] 22. *papi-laup-en* “cause to chase” *23. papi-nengneng-en* “make sb. look/see”
O. PF (6): papi-…-en	Gen.	Gen.	Nom.		[state & Intr.] 24. *papi-cahiw-en* “cause sb. to make sb. stay hungry”
		Gen.	Nom.	Obl	25. *papi-lasang-en* “make sb1. make sb.2 drunk”
		Gen.	Nom.		26. *papi-lasang-en* “cause to be drunk”
P. PF (7): papi-…-an	Gen.	Nom.	Obl.		[Act. & Tr.] 27. *papi-takaw-an* “allow sb. to steal”
Q. PF (8): papi-…-an	Gen.	Nom.			[Act. & Intr.] 28. *papi-nukay-an* “allow sb. to go home”

R. PF (9): papi-pa-…-en	Gen.	Nom.	Obl.	[Activity & Intr.] 29. *papi-pa-nukay-en* “make sb1. accompanies sb.2 home”
S. PF (10): papi-paka…-en	??	Nom.	Obl.	[Act. & Intr.] 30. *papi-paka-tawa-en* “cause sb to amuse”
T. PF (11): paka-…<um>…-en	Gen.	Nom.	Obl.	[Activity & Transitive] 31. *paka-k<um>a'en-en* “allow sb. to eat”
U. PF (12): paka-…<um>…-en	Gen.	Nom.		[Activity & Intransitive] 32. *paka-s<um>uwal-en* “make sb. speak”

Examples:

1. **pa-kuskus** ho kaku tu korod i hecek
   pa-scratch ho 1Sg.Nom Obl back Loc pillar
   ‘I caused my back to be scratched against the pillar.’
   a. pa-pi-kukus-en ho aku ci aki tu korod aku
      pa-pi-scratch-pf ho 1sg.gen nom pn obl back 1sg.gen
      ‘I made Aki scratch my back.’
   b. padang-en ho aku ci aki mi-kukus
      help-pf ho 1sg.gen nom pn af-scratch
      ‘I made Aki help me scratch.’
   c. mi-kukus ho kaku ci-aki-an
      af-scratch ho 1sg.nom ncm-pn-obl
      ‘I scratched Aki.’
   d. pa-kukus ku wacu i suta
      pa-scratch nom dog loc ground
      ‘The dog is scratching (itself by) against the ground.’
   e. mi-kukus ku wacu tu korod nira
      af-scratch nom dog obl back 3sg.gen
      ‘The dog is scratching its (own) back.’

2. pa-tengil ku singsi tu ladiw takuwanan
   pa-hear nom teacher obl song 1sg.obl
   ‘Teacher plays a song to us.’

3. pa-danuy kaku tu takula aku i fanaw
   pa-swim 1sg.nom obl forg 1sg.gen loc pond
   “I let my frog swim in the pond.”= “I release my frog into the pond.”
   a. mi-danuy ku takula i fanaw
      af-swim nom frog log pond
      ‘The frog is swimming in the pond.’
   *b. pi-danuy ku takula i fanaw
   c. pi-danuy i riya
      ‘(Imperative) Go swim in the sea.’
   d. pi-danuy i fanaw
      ‘(Imperative) Go swim in the pond.’
   e. pa-pi-danuy kaku tu wawa i fanaw
      pa-pi-swim 1sg.nom obl child loc pond

'I allow the child(ren) to swim in the pond.'

f. pa-pi-danuy-en ku wawa i fanaw
pa-pi-swim-pf nom child loc pond
'Made the child(ren) swim in the pond.'
(Note: 陳金龍老師認爲pa-danuy 跟pa-pi-danuy 的差別在於, pa-danuy用來指本身就有游泳習性的動物)

4. pa-nukay ku singsi takuwanan
pa-go home nom teacher 1sg.obl
'Teacher accompanies me home.'
a. pa-pi-nukay
讓我回家, 參照第 (11)句

5. pa-ruray ku wawa ni Panay takuwawan
pa-tired nom child gen pn 1sg.obl
"Panay's child makes me tired."
a. ma-ruray kaku
af-tired 1sg.nom
'I am very tired.'
b. mi-ruray kaku tu faluco' ni ina
af-tired 1sg.nom obl heart gen mother
'I make my mother's heart tired.' = 'I make my mother sad, upset.'

6. pa-lipahak ci Panay takuwanan
pa-happy nom pn 1sg.obl
"Panay makes me happy."
a. ma-lipahak ci panay
af.-happy nom pn
'Panay is happy.'
b. ma-hemek ci panay takuwanan
af-praise nom pn 1sg.obl
'Panay is happy about me. Panay praised me.'

7. paka-tayal ci ina ci-Ofad-an
paka-work nom mother Obl. Ofad
'Mother makes Ofad work.'
a. pa-tayal-en ni ina ci-ofad
pa-work-pf gen mother nom pn
'Mother makes Ofad work.'
(Note: 陳老師認爲paka-tayal跟pa-tayal之差別, 前者是ofad沒有工作, 媽媽叫他去(找)工作, 後者是媽媽有事要ofad去工作
c. pa-tayal-en ni ina ci-ofad tu tapila
d. ka-tayal ho kisu
ka-work ho 1sg.nom
'(You have to) work. Do something (since everyone is busy).
'大家都在忙你也要做些事啊'
e. pi-tayal ho kisu to no misu a demak
pi-work ho 1sg.nom part no 1sg.poss lnk thing;job
作你自己該做的事情

8. paka-furaw ku demak nira tu arumanay
   paka-angry Nom behavior 3sg.gen obl a lot
   'His behavior upsets everyone.'
   a. pa-furaw-an saan ku faluco' nira
      pa-angry-lf seem nom heart 3sg.gen
      他好像很生氣的樣子'
   b. ka-furaw-an ku demak nira
      ka-angry-lf nom behavior 3sg.gen
      '他的行爲很討人厭'
   c. ma-furaw ku faluco' nira takuwanan
      af-angry nom heart 3sg.gen 1sg.obl
      'He is angry with me.'
   d. ma-furaw kaku cingranan
      af-angry 1sg.nom 3sg.obl
      'I am angry with him.'
   *e. pa-ma-furaw

9. papi-palu ci panay ci-Ofad-an tu wawa (ni Aki)
   papi-hit nom pn ncm.pn-obl obl child (Gen. Aki)
   'Panay makes Ofad hit the child.'
   a. ma-pa-palu ci ofad atu ci aki
      af-red-hit ncm pn and ncm pn
      'Ofad and Aki hit each other.'
   b. pa-ka-palu kisu ci-ofad-an
      你打得過Ofad嗎?
   c. pa-palu-en ni ofad ci aki
      red-hit-pf gen pn ncm pn
      'Ofad本來要打Aki的 .'
   d. palu-en ni ofad ci aki
      hit-pf gen pn ncm pn
      'Ofad 本來要打 Aki'
   e. pi-palu kisu ci-ofad-an haw
      pi-hit 2sg.nom ncm-pn-obl q
      你去打Ofad好不好?'
   *f. ka-palu
   g. ka-ka-palu atu ci ofad paka-filu kisu
      ka-ka-hit and ncm pn paka-win 2sg.nom
      你跟Ofad 打打看哪, 你能贏嗎'

10. papi-sanek kaku ci-Panay-an tu fansis-ay siraw
    papi-smell 1sg.nom ncm-pn-obl obl fragrant=ay salted.meat
    "I make Panay smell the fragrant salted meat."

11. papi-nukay kaku ci-Panay-an
    papi-go.home 1sg.nom ncm-pn-obl
    "I make Panay go home"
    (Note: 參照 (4).)

12. papi-pa-cikay ku singsi tamiyanan
papi-pa-speed nom teacher 1epl.obl
"Teacher makes us speed (up)."
a. papi-cikay 老師讓我們跑步
b. pa-cikay 加速
c. *pi-cikay
d. *ka-cikay

13. papi-paka-furaw cingra tu arumanay
papi-paka-angry 3sg.nom obl a lot
"He irritates everybody"
a. paka-furaw 參照(8) 此句加上papi有強調, 要壞就壞到底, 讓每一個人都徹底的討厭我
?b. papi-furaw cingra tu arumanay saan

14. paka-t<um>angic kaku tu wawa
paka-<AF>cry 1sg.nom obl child
"I make the child cry."
a. t<um>angic kaku
<af>cry 1sg.nom
'I cried.'
b. pa-pi-pa-tangic kisu tu wawa
pa-pi-pa-cry 2sg.nom obl child
'你讓小孩哭'
c. pa-t<um>angic kisu tu wawa
pa-<af>cry 2sg.nom obl child
'你很無聊很討厭ㄟ，讓小孩子哭了'
d. pa-tangic kisu tu wawa
pa-cry 2sg.nom obl child
你讓小孩哭
e. pa-tangic saan takuwanan mi-calin tu paysu
pa-cry seem 1sg.obl af-lend obl money
'他苦苦哀求要我借錢給他'

15. pa-tangtang-en aku ku hemay i mahod
pa-cook-PF 1sg.gen nom rice loc steamer
"I make the rice cooked in the steamer."
a. pacaengar kaku tu hemay (i mahod)
我把米洗好放到蒸籠上炊煮'
b. mi-tangtang kaku tu hemay
af-cook 1sg.nom obl rice
'I cook rice.'
c. pa-pi-tangtang kaku ci-panay-an tu hemay
pa-pi-cook 1sg.nom ncm-pn-obl obl rice
我叫Panay去煮飯'
d. pa-ka-tangtang satu isu sa matenger
pa-ka-cook part. 2sg.gen sa over.cooked
你煮太久了所以煮爛了'
e. paka-tangtang kisu

你能煮嗎 你煮得了嗎

f. pa-pi-tangtang kisu takuwanan
pa-pi-cook 2sg.nom 1sg.obl
你叫我去煮嗎

16. pa-sanek-en aku ci Aki tu fangsis-ay siraw.
pa-smell-PF 1sg.gen nom pn obl fragrant-ay salted.meat
"I cause Aki to smell the fragrant salted meat."
(Note: 參照 (10).)

17. pa-(sa)-kero'-en ni Panay ku arumanay
pa-(sa)-dance-PF Gen. Panay Nom. a lot
"Panay teaches everyone how to dance."
(Note: 陳老師認爲sa應該要有, 且這一句有邀請的意味.)

18. pa-nginguy-en ni ina ku safa
pa-bathe-PF gen mother nom brother
"Mother is bathing brother"
a.= pa-nginguy ci ina ci-aki-an
pa-bathe ncm mother ncm-pn-obl
'Mother is bathing Aki.'
b. pa-pi-nginguy ci ina ci-aki-an
pa-pi-bathe ncm mother ncm-pn-obl
'Mother made Aki bathe. 媽媽叫Aki去洗澡.'
c. pa-ka-nginguy kisu tu kietec-ay a nanom
pa-ka-bathe 2sg.nom obl cold-ay lnk water
'你有辦法洗冷水浴嗎? 你能洗冷水浴嗎?'

19. pa-cahiw-en aku ci Aki
pa-hungry-PF 1sg.gen ncm pn
"I (will) make Aki stay hungry."
a. *pa-cahiw kakuci-aki-an
b. ?pa-ka-cahiw
c. pa-ka-cahiw-en saan ku ising
'(對當事人說)醫生說要空腹'
d. pa-pi-cahiw-en saan ku ising
'(我轉述醫生的吩咐給我姐聽)醫生說(媽)要空腹'

20. paka-cahiw-en aku ci Aki
paka-hungry-PF 1sg.gen ncm pn
"I (will) make Aki stay hungry."

21. papi-(sa)-kero'-en ni Sawma kaku
papi-(sa)-dance-PF gen pn 1sg.nom
'Sawma makes me dance.'
(Note: 陳老師認爲要有sa, 有邀請的意味)

22. papi-laup-en ni Aki ku wacu tu safa aku
papi-chase-PF gen pn nom dog obl brother 1sg.gen

"Aki makes the dog chase my brother"

a. pa-pi-laup ci aki tu wacu ci-panay-an
pa-pi-chase ncm pn obl dog ncm-pn-obl
'Aki makes the dog chase Aki.'

b. pa-ka-laup ku wacu ni aki ci-panay-an
'Aki 的狗追的上Panay嗎?'

23. papi-nengneng-en nu ising ci Panay tu fulad
papi-see-PF Gen. doctor Nom. Panay Obl. moon
"The doctor makes Panay watch her period."

24. papi-cahiw-en ni Panay aku ci Aki
papi-hungry-PF Gen. Panay 1Sg. Gen. Nom. Aki
"Panay makes me make Aki stay hungry."

25. papi-lasang-en (ha)ni Ofad kaku ci-Aki-an
papi-drunk-PF gen pn 1sg.nom ncm-pn-obl
"Ofad makes me make Aki drunk"

a. ma-lasang kaku
我喝醉了, 我暈船

b. mi-lasang kuni epah'
af-drunk this wind
'這個酒會讓人醉'

c. *pa-lasang-en (ha)ni ofad kaku ci-aki-an

d. lasang-en ci ofad
(我一定要)把 Ofad 灌醉

e. sa-pi-lasang ni ofad ku epah'
if-pi-drunk gen pn nom wine
'Ofad借酒澆愁'

26. papi-lasang-en ni Ofad kaku
papi-drunk-PF gen pn 1sg.nom
Ofad makes me drunk.

27. papi-takaw-an aku ci Aki tu 'icep
papi-steal-lf 1sg.gen ncm pn obl betel.nut
"I allow Aki to steal betel nut(s)."

a. papi-takaw-en aku ci Aki tu 'icep
papi-steal-pf 1sg.gen ncm pn obl betel.nut
"I made Aki steal betel nut(s)."

28. papi-nukay-an aku ci Panay
papi-go.home-lf 1sg.gen ncm pn
"I allow Panay to go home."

a. papi-nukay-en aku ci Panay
papi-go.home-pf 1sg.gen ncm pn
"I made Panay go home."

29. papi-pa-nukay-en aku ci Panay ci-Aki-an
papi-pa-go.home-PF 1sg.gen ncm pn ncm-pn-obl
"I make Panay accompany Aki home."

30. papi-paka-tawa'-en ci Panay tu aroman-ay
papi-paka-laugh-PF nom pn obl a.lot
"(We) make Panay amuse everyone"
a. pa-ka-tawa'-en ci panay
pa-ka-laugh-pf ncm pn
'叫Panay 笑.'
b. *papi-tawa'-en
c. *papi-tawa'

31. pa-ka-k<um>a'en-en ni ina tu waneng ci Aki
pa-ka-<AF>eat-PF gen mother obl candy nom pn
"Mother treats Aki (eat) candy (candies)"
a. pa-pi-k<um>a'en-en ni ina tu waneng ci Aki
pa-pi-<AF>eat-PF gen mother obl candy nom pn
"Mother makes Aki eat candy (candies)"

32. paka-s<um>uwal-en aku cingra
paka-talk<AF>-PF 1sg.gen 3sg.nom
"I (will) make him speak (for sure)."
a. pa-pi-suwal kaku cingranan tuayl demak
pa-pi-speak 1sg.nom 3sg.obl that thing
'I made him tell that thing.'
b. pa-ka-suwal kaku 我敢說
c. pa-ka-suwal kisu 你敢說嗎

Exceptions and problematic sentences:

[Act. & Tr.]

AF: pa- (under the meaning of "cause sb. to do something")

1. *pa-laup* ci Aki tu wacu takuwanan
   pa-chase Nom. Aki Obl. dog 1Sg. Obl
"Aki causes the dog to chase me."
2. *pa-ka'en* ci ina tu kowa' tamiyanan
   pa-eat Nom. mother Obl papaya 1Pl.Obl.
   "Mother feeds us papaya(s)"
3. *pa-ka'en* kaku tu kulong
   pa-eat 1Sg.Nom. Obl. cow
"I herd the cow(s)."
4. *pa-tarakar* kaku i lutuk tu fafuy
   pa-trap 1Sg.Nom. Loc. mountain Obl. pig
"I set up traps in the mountain for pig(s)."
(tarakar "trap": Noun)
5. *pa-asik* kaku tu mi-asik-ay tu ruma'
   pa-clean 1Sg.Nom. Obl. sweeper Obl. house
"I make the sweeper clean the house."
6. *pa-to'or* ci Ofad tu pa-kimad ni Panay
   pa-follow Nom. Ofad Obl. speech Gen. Panay
"Ofad supplements Panay's speech."
7. *pa-suwal* kaku tu demak ni Aki ci-Mayaw-an
   pa-talk 1Sg.Nom. Obl. behavior Gen. Aki Obl. Mayaw
"I tell Mayaw about Aki's behaviors."

PF: pa-…-en

8. *pa-laup-en* aku ku wacu tu safa aku
   pa-chase-PF 1Sg.Gen. Nom. dog. Obl. brother 1Sg.Gen.
"I make the dog chase my little brother."

PF: paka-…-en

9. *paka-tangtang-en* ku hemay
   paka-cook-PF Nom. rice
   "Cook the rice thoroughly."
10. *paka-uta'-en* cingra
    paka-vomit-PF 3Sg.Nom.
"Let him vomit up."
11. *paka-uta'-en* ni Aki ci Ofad i paputal
    paka-vomit-PF Gen. Aki Nom. Ofad Loc. outside
    "Aki brings Ofad to vomit outside."
12. p*aka-uta'-en* ni Aki ci Ofad i paputal
    paka-vomit-PF Gen. Aki Nom. Ofad Loc. outside
"Aki brings Ofad to throw up outside."

[State & Intr.]

13. *paka-culah-en* ku asisiw a mi-culah
    paka-burn-PF Nom. straw Link mi-burn
"Burn up the straw when "

Note:

ma-culah: (naturally) burn; mi-curah "set sth. on fire"

14. *paka-culah* tu luma ci Aki
    "Aki

(mi-curah ci Aki tu ruma' =Aki?
[Act. &Intr.]

AF: paka-

15. *paka-(sa)-kero'* tu arumanay ci Aki
paka-(sa)-dance Obl. a lot Nom. Aki
"Aki makes everyone dance."
16. *paka-cacijaw* cingra tu arumanay
paka-language 3Sg.Nom. Obl. a lot
"He makes everyone gossip endlessly."

PF: paka-…-en

17. *paka-cacijaw-en* ita cingra
paka-language-PF 1Pl.Gen.Inc. 3Sg.Nom.
"We let him talk."
[St. & Tr.]

AF: pa- (only example of such coding)

18. *pa-tala* kaku ci-Panay-an tu sa-ka-lafi
pa-wait 1Sg.Nom. Obl.Panay Obl. lunch
"I prepare dinner for Panay."
[Em. & Intr.]

AF: papi-…

19. *papi-keter* ci Mayaw ci-Aki-an takuwanan
papi-angry Nom. Mayaw Obl.Aki 1Sg.Obl.
"Mayaw makes me scold Aki."
Note: ("papi-pa-keter" is not allowed)
20. *papi-adada* (saca) tu falucul ku demak kisu
papi-ache (Link) Obl. heart Nom. behavior 2Sg.Gen.
"Your behavior saddens (my) heart."

PF: papi-…-en

21. *papi-(pa)-keter-en* ni Panay ci Ofad ci-Aki-an
papi-(pa)-angry-PF Gen. Panay Nom. Ofad Obl. Aki
"Panay makes Ofad scold Aki"
22. *papi-adada-en* ku tiad ni Mayaw
papi-ache-PF Nom. stomach Gen. Mayaw
"Make sure Mayaw's stomach aches"
(Note: used as an appeal to the wizard to curse Mayaw)

PF: pa- (only example)

23. *pa-cekok* kaku tura takula'
pa-frighten 1Sg.Nom. that frog
"That frog frightens me."

[Em. & Tr.]

AF: papi-…

24. *papi-olah* ku ina aku ci-Ofad-an
papi-like Nom. mother Gen. Obl. Ofad
"My mother makes (me) like Ofad." (causee is absent)

PF: papi-…-en

25. *papi-olah-en* ni Lakaw ci Ofad i takuwanan
papi-like-PF Gen. Lakaw Nom. Ofad Loc.(Link?) 1Sg.Obl.
"Lakaw makes Ofad like me."
[St. & Intr.]

AF: paka- (causative meaning usually only occurs with PF “paka-…-en”)

26. *paka-ruray* ci Panay takuwanan
paka-tired Nom. Panay 1Sg.Obl.
“Panay makes me tired”

A Report on ICLC -10 Aug 2,2007

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The 10th International cognitive linguistics conference (ICLC-10 第十屆國際認知語言學會) was held in Krakow, Poland from July 16-20 on the campuses of both Jagaellonian University and AGH university. It was the largest conference I had ever attended in terms of the number of speakers and papers presented. There were in addition to six keynote lectures, a total of 284 regular papers in the general sessions, 20 special theme sessions, each consisting of a minimum of 10 presentations in some themes and a max of 20 or more presentations in other theme sessions. There were also about 20 poster papers on the second day of the conference. Judging from the size and the scope of the conference and the topics covered by the papers it seems quite clear that cognitive linguistics as a research area is thriving and is here to stay for a long time.

Cognitive linguistics has been around for about 30 years, and is now in the midst of period of fast international expansion. The various stages in the development of cognitive linguistics involve a gradual recovery of the various types of context that were discarded by generative grammar. These involve embodied context of meaning in language; the pragmatic context of actual language use; the social and cultural context of language as a shared code. The recovery of a recontexetualized grammar requires a methodology that goes beyond the traditional reliance on introspection, and an advancedquantitative analysis that is able to capture the multivariate nature of language use. We can say that most of the papers presented at the conference are directed toward these goals. The following papers are some of the interesting presentations that I went to during the conference.

Evans gave a paper on ‘ Is time structured in terms of space? In which she argues that figurative language acts as a function of integration of lexical concepts that provides access to non-linguistic simulators (ie. cognitive models). While spatial information is activated when reasoning about durational experiences, the reason for activating spatial structures is in order to provide access to experiences relating to affordances associated with motion events of particular kinds. In other words, we reason about time using the affordances rather than spatial content per se.

Work on the structure of motion events has shown that this domain can be described by a limited set of underlying universal patterns. In spite of the important distinction between verb-framed and satellite-framed languages made by Talmy (2000), Ibarretxe- Antunano (Lexicalization patters in motion events) argues that a cline of

path salience can be distinguished that cuts across languages between two ends of high path-salient languages and low-path salient languages.

Keenan and Comrie's (1977) NP accessibility has been known to be a good example of a typological universal. Fox (1987) suggested an amendment to the AH, arguing that all languages with relativization should relativize on at least S and P. This amendment naturally captures Du Bois 's preferred argument structure constraint, and therefore argued for a discourse-based treatment of relativization. Recently Gordon and Hendrick (2005) argued against this discourse-based treatment, suggesting robust subject-object asymmetry in both adult and child corpora, and concluded that the AR reflected a cognitive constraint that is insensitive to discourse factors. Evan Kidd et all in their paper present results from two corpus studies of child acquisition and two experimental studies testing children aged 3-4 years that suggest Gordon and Hendrick's conclusion may be premature.

Cognitive grammar explains much of its structure in perceptually motivated terms. On e important example of this is how different grammatical classes may construe different lexical categories in different ways. It is usually argued that the semantics of the grammatical class are based on generalization of perceptual experience. D . Glynn argues in his paper (Perception and grammatical profiling) seeks to understand the constraints on the perceptual motivation for grammatical class-lexeme pairing. In many instances where one would expect as given class to profile a given lexical concept, productivity is in fact limited or impossible. Inspection of the exceptions shows the need to underline the importance of genetic motivation within the cognitive paradigm.

Spatial representation and reasoning is an issue of interest to many disciplines The inherent complexity of space explains the difficulty of reducing it all to a small number of primitive spatial concepts. M. Mioduszeska in his paper (On perceptual space) tries to show that language structure is motivated by perception. It is true that non-linguistic cognition, even perception, involves conceptualization in the same way as linguistic cognition does.
Slobin(1997) gives evidence of thinking for speaking. We need more evidence for perceiving for speaking since using language involves some kind of visual cognition beyond basic processes of vision. In those cases, perception and conception are not clearly distinguishable.
As pointed above, an important new strand of research is quantitative approach to cognitive sematnics. Corpus data respect the complexity of language, and enable

generalizations about language structure that other methods cannot. An important feature of this approach is that it facilitates attempts to reveal the interaction between different parameters of language simultaneously. D .Glynn and K. Fisher show in their paper (Usage-based cognitive semantics) that the study of lexical semantic structures includes their collocational behavior. This approach also concerns itself with extralinguistic factors as they surface in register and dialect an the role of contextual information. An interesting application of this line of research is the idea that frequency must have some relevance for cognition (the so-called From corpus to cognition principle). Some recent studies have emphasized the discrepancy between frequently attested items and cognitively salient ones. Thus G. Guilquin in his paper (The cognitive reality of frequent verb-noun combinations) showed that the most frequent senses of a word does not necessarily correspond to the sense that comes first to mind when prompted for this word. Similarly highly polysemous verbs such as take or give are mostly used in their delexical sense in a corpus of spontaneous conversation. Lemmens also argues in his paper (A collostructional analysis of the causative alternations in English) that the alignment of specific lexemes and constructions is much stronger than is often assumed in the literature, which is taken in suppor t of the ‘surface generalization’ approach as an alternative to an approach based on alternations..