

11 Causatives

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11.1 Background Information and Observation

Causativization is a valency-increasing strategy which derives a transitive verb from a base intransitive or a ditransitive verb from a base transitive. With causativization, a new participant (the causer) is introduced in an event, who acts upon another participant (the causee) to make them perform the event described by the verb. The causer of a causative event is marked as the subject while languages differ in how they formally encode the causee, but most commonly it is expressed either as an oblique or as an indirect object.

In Ainu, causative verb forms are derived via suffixation. The causee is expressed as an indirect object which may appear as a separate noun, if the causee is a third person like in (2), or as marked via person agreement on the verb, if it is a first, second, or fourth person like in (1). Since Ainu is a zero-anaphora language, it is very common that one or more of the participants in a causative event be omitted and retrievable only on the basis of context or that the canonical order causer-causee-(patient) be scrambled due to pragmatic needs (see again example (2)). Example (1), from HA, shows the causative form of the base transitive verb *e* ‘eat’, *ere* ‘make eat, give to eat’ – the causer is an indefinite person marked by fourth person subject agreement *a-*, the causee is an indirect object that references to the speaker marked again by fourth person agreement *i-*, and the direct object is the noun *pirka uske* ‘good parts’. Example (2), from

SA, shows a causative form of the base transitive verb *ampa* ‘bring, take’ derived via the same suffix *-re* that appears in (1), but in this case the causee is a third person.

- (1) *Pirka uske a-i-e-re katu ka isam.*
 be.good place 4A-4IO-3S.O/eat-CAUS looks even 3S.S/not.exist
 ‘There was no sign that I was given to eat the good parts [of the food].’ (Tamura 1985, 2)
- (2) *Tu ikoro[...] poo-ho-hcin sine-h ranke [...]*
 two sword 3.PSR/child-POSS-COLL one-CLN DISTR
 ‘*ampa-re-hci*.
 3S.A/3P.IO/3P.O/bring-CAUS-COLL
 ‘[The old man] made his sons take the two swords, one each.’ (Dal Corso 2021, 258)

→ Consider this additional information...

In both HA and SA there exists a number of verbal roots that cannot be used grammatically as they are but need to be suffixed with *-i*, which derives a transitive verb form. This suffix surfaces as one of the five vowels following a rule of vowel harmony similar to that discussed for possessives in Lesson 4. For example, from the root *pun** we have *puni* ‘rise up’ or from the root *tuy** we have *tuye* ‘cut’. In HA, a small class of intransitive verb also derive their transitive form this way. The verb forms so obtained are singular/paucal forms used when the subject and object are singular/paucal. The plural form of these verbs is obtained by substituting the suffix *-i* with the plural/collective suffix *-pa*: *puni* > *punpa/pumpa*, *tuye* > *tuypa*. The meaning of *-pa* appears to be slightly different in HA and SA. In the former variety, the presence of *-pa* can indicate 1) plurality of subject, 2) plurality of object, or 3) plurality of action (i.e. the event is performed many times in a row). Usually, on the verbs taken as an example here and on transitive verbs in general, *-pa* indicates either plurality of object or plurality of action. In SA, the only function of *-pa* seems to be that of indicating plurality of action. In both varieties, there are several lexicalized verb forms featuring *-pa* in which, however, the semantic input of the suffix is not clear.

→ *Dataset 1 - Causative suffixes*

The following examples feature all causative suffixes present in HA and SA besides *-re*, which was presented above. Non-causative examples are also included to help you extrapolate the meaning of verbs. How many causative suffixes are there? Make a list of them. On what factors does the choice of the suffix depend? Is there any difference between HA and SA?

Set 1.1 (Hokkaidō Ainu)

1. *Hoku ka akore.*
'I give her a husband too.' (Tamura 1985, 70)
2. *Nep ka aep kor wa ek nankor.*
'He may have some food and come [bringing it].' (Bugaeva 2004, 122)
3. *Aahunke yak pirka ya?*
'Is it good if (= may) I make him come in?' (Bugaeva 2004, 265)
4. *Paye ayne ekimne ahup.*
'They went on and eventually entered the mountain [area].' (Bugaeva 2004, 241)
5. *Akor kotan orun eekte.*
'He made you come to my village.'
6. *Amip kamure.*
'He made her put clothes [over herself to hide].' (Tamura 1985, 48)
7. *Pon menoko [...] nepka ye siri ka anukar.*
'I even saw the looks that (= that) the young girl said something.' (Bugaeva 2004, 277)
8. *Soyne oka utar ahupte.*
'She made the people who were outside enter.'
9. *Petaruorun ran'an.*
'I descended to the riverside.' (Bugaeva 2004, 154)
10. *Apoutari aporore.*
'We made our children be big (= we raised our children).' (Bugaeva 2004, 285)

11. *Ahun rusuy kusu ...*

‘Because he wanted to enter ...’ (Bugaeva 2004, 394)

12. *Kamuyutara nisorowa rap.*

‘The gods descended from the sky.’

13. *Panake un nispa sine matnepo kor.*

‘The noble man who lived downstream had one young daughter.’ (adapted from Tamura 1985, 58)

14. *Nerok sikehe rapte.*

‘They made come down (= took off their shoulders) those loads of theirs.’

15. *Pirka uske aiere katu ka isam.*

‘There was no sign that I was given to eat the good parts [of the food].’ (Tamura 1985, 2)

16. *Kotansoy akus wa ...*

‘I passed by the outer part of the village and ...’ (Bugaeva 2004, 255)

17. *Orowa pista san’an.*

‘Afterwards, I went down to the sea shore.’ (Bugaeva 2004, 217)

18. *Poro hawe sanke.*

[The creature] made go down (= let out) a loud cry. (Bugaeva 2004, 299)

19. *Kamuy ewak siri kamuy inukare.*

‘The gods have shown me the land where gods live.’ (Tamura 1985, 56)

20. *Cikuy pas akuste.*

‘Someone had made crushed ashes go over it (= had covered it with crushed ashes).’ (Bugaeva 2004, 190)

21. *Nea sikehe ranke.*

‘He made come down (= took off his shoulders) that load of his.’ (Tamura 1985, 38)

Set 1.2 (Sakhalin Ainu)

1. *Suu'orowa annukara.*
'I looked into the pot.' (Dal Corso 2021, 406)
2. *Poropopo israphu anikontehci.*
'I am given the gift of big offerings.' (Pilsudski 1912, 214)
3. *Kunne aynuutara asipahci.*
'In the night time, the people went out [of their houses].' (Pilsudski 1912, 96)
4. *Nanunko tupohnakotan eiomante.*
'You almost made me go (= sent me) to the underworld.' (Pilsudski 1912, 175)
5. *Tomi pirikay emuyke anasihte.*
'I made come out (= took out) all the nice swords.' (Pilsudski 1912, 210)
6. *Iwan ohko imirehci.*
'They made me wear six silk dresses.' (adapted from Pilsudski 1912, 232)
7. *Tekihi [...] 'ururu'empoketa 'ahun.*
'The paw [of the mouse spirit] [...] entered under under the bank [of the river].' (Dal Corso 2021, 334)
8. *Emusihi asinke ike ...*
'He made his sword come out (= he took out his sword).' (Pilsudski 1912, 78)
9. *Orakata ciseonne makapahci.*
'The Orok tribe went up to the house.' (Pilsudski 1912, 67)
10. *Anhoskiramhu ciseonne anahunke.*
'I let my older brother enter the house.' (Pilsudski 1912, 240)
11. *Ruu kaari makan.*
'He went uphill along the trail.' (Dal Corso 2021, 402)
12. *Horokewpo ahun aysam.*
'A young men entered [my house and] I married him.' (Majewicz 1998, 291)
13. *Cinkewhe ope kanne horahte!*
'Dig [around] its roots and make it fall!' (Majewicz 1998, 301)

14. *Yoitahkaene makahte.*

‘He made them go up (= put them back) on top of the shelf.’

15. *Wen kaya mi aynu.*

‘A person who wore a poor fish-skin garment.’ (Pilsudski 1912, 99)

16. *Rihta numare.*

‘He made him stand high up.’ (Pilsudski 1912, 85)

17. *Neya ururihi tani ‘aynu ‘emuyke [...] wente.*

‘Eventually, all the people made that river shore bad (= they destroyed it).’
(Dal Corso 2021, 333)

18. *Ruroosota ‘oman.*

‘He went to the main seat.’ (Dal Corso 2021, 377)

19. *Kumatakhi ecisamte kusu ...*

‘To make you marry my daughter ...’ (Pilsudski 1912, 227).

20. *Utara ramatu nukante.*

‘The people made see (= showed) her soul [around].’ (Pilsudski 1912, 179)

21. *Pu tuntuhu mukara ani tohpa puhe horah.*

‘He chopped the beams of the storehouse with an axe an their storehouse collapsed.’ (adapted from Pilsudski 1912, 48)

22. *Kam suke ike anhokho ere.*

‘She cooked the meat and gave it to my husband to eat.’ (Pilsudski 1912, 118)

23. *‘Esinnisahta ‘enuma ike ...*

‘This morning you got up and ...’ (Dal Corso 2021, 167)

24. *Yoitahkaene makanke.*

‘He made it go up (= put it back) on top of the shelf.’ (Pilsudski 1912, 234)

11.2 Research

Now look at this other dataset and also read the examples from other languages given after it, which you will need for the third and last activity of this lesson.

→ Dataset 2 - Types of causation

In this second set, two more causative suffixes are introduced in addition to those that appeared in Set 1: *-ka* and *-yar*. Only HA examples are provided in this dataset and non-causative examples are included to help you extrapolate the meaning of words. Compare the sentences in which different suffixes are used. Does their distribution depend only on morphophonological factors or do they encode different kinds of causation? How would you distinguish them? Pay attention also to the meaning of verbs that employ the different suffixes and to the participants involved.

Set 2 (Hokkaidō Ainu)

1. *Kuye wa ecinure kusu ne.*

‘I will say it and make you listen to it (= tell it to you).’ (Tamura 1984, 18)

2. *Kucaotta arpaan wa rewsian.*

‘I went to the hut and spent the night.’ (Bugaeva 2004, 245)

3. *Matnepo su sesecka.*

‘The young girl made the pot hot (= heated up the pot).’

4. *Akotanu un utar asikasuyre.*

‘I had the people of my village help me.’

5. *Teeta ekasi huci utar newaan pe nuyar.*

‘Old men and old women from the past let [people] hear such story.’

6. *Opitta atuye wa arayke.*

‘We cut and killed all of them.’ (Bugaeva 2004, 178)

7. *Cikuy pas akuste.*

‘Someone had made crushed ashes go over it (= had covered it with crushed ashes).’ (Bugaeva 2004, 190)

8. *Apoutari aporore.*

‘We made our children be big (= we raised our children).’ (Bugaeva 2004, 285)

9. *Nispa arpa wa hok wa isamka.*

‘The noble man went, bought [the clothes] and made them disappear.’

10. *Akor kotan orun eekte.*

‘He made/forced you (to) come to my village.’

11. *Sesek usey enkore yan!*

‘Please give me hot water.’

12. *Ahokuhu ka ray.*

‘My husband too died.’ (Bugaeva 2004, 198)

13. *Poro sike aseyar wa aarpare.*

‘I had them carry big loads and made them go.’

14. *Tan ukuran teta irewsire!*

‘Let me spend the night here tonight!’ (Bugaeva 2004, 246)

Examples from Other Languages...

Hindi (Indo-Aryan, India)
(data from Bhatia 2016, 110-11)

Ghar jal-aa.

house burn-PFV

‘The house burned.’

Zamindaar-ne ghar jal-aa-yaa.

landlord-ERG house burn-**CAUS**-PFV

‘The landlord burned the house.’

*Zamindaar-ne ghar jal-**vaa**-yaa.*

landlord-ERG house burn-**CAUS**-PFV

‘The landlord had the house burned.’

One way to derive a causative verb in Hindi is with the suffixes *-aa* and *-vaa*. These two suffixes express different types of causation. On the one hand, *-aa* indicates that **the causer directly acts** upon the causee or the patient and causes it to participate in the event – that is, *-aa* encodes **direct causation**. On the other hand, *-vaa* expresses that **the causer acts in a way to create the circumstances** for the causee or the patient to be involved in the event without intervening directly – that is, *-vaa* encodes **indirect causation**. Direct and indirect causation need not be distinguished via inflectional affixes, but can be encoded analytically or lexically with dedicated verb forms. Also, direct and indirect causation need not be expressed by the same morphosyntactic strategy, and therefore appear even more differentiated on the formal side.

11.3 Analysis and Description

Discuss, in no less than 300 words, the distribution and use of causative suffixes in Ainu with specific reference to how they are employed in HA.

- On what does the choice of the causative suffix depend?
- Do some of the suffixes seem to have limitations in terms of the kind of verbs they can be used with? How would you describe these limitations?
- What are the differences between HA and SA?
- What aspects of causative constructions remain dubious?

