The importance of causative data in syntactic studies

Hazel Mitchley
hazel.mitchley@rutgers.edu

RUTGERS
UNIVERSITY | NEW BRUNSWICK

Causatives Are Cool: You Should Care

Proposal for an investigation into morphological causatives in Bantu languages.

Data on causatives in Bantu languages would:

- assist in formulating & evaluating theories about causative constructions
- provide data about morphological interactions (under-represented in the Afranaph database)
- provide insight into the origins of the CARP template
- provide an understanding of asymmetries between causatives & applicatives
- provide an understanding of asymmetries between reflexive markers & reciprocal markers

Elicitation Methods

Translation tasks:
The questionnaire provides an English sentence, and asks the consultant to translate it

Translation task with template:
The consultant is given an English sentence, and asked to translate it using a template, and to give grammaticality judgement, e.g.:

Translate, using the morpheme order **SM-verb-APPL-CAUS** for the verb (including the tense/aspect markers where appropriate):

"Mother made the children eat with a spoon".

Is the translation grammatical with this morpheme order? If not, also provide a grammatical translation of the sentence.

Sentence modeling:
The questionnaire provides a sentence with the target construction in another language, and asks if a similar construction is possible in the consultant's language, e.g.:

In Kihema the causative construction can have an adversity reading, where the subject of the sentence is not the causer of the action, but rather is affected by the action, as the following example shows:

ente   e-ka-fw-is-a   enyana
cow SM-PST-die-CAUS-ASP calf   (Mugisa 2009)
'the cow's calf died.'

Is there a similar use of the causative construction in your language?

The Basics: Ways to Express Causation

How many morphological causatives does the language have?

Many Bantu languages have multiple causative morphemes:
- One from proto-Bantu *-ic-, and one from Proto-Bantu *-i.   (Good 2005)
- In some languages, the two causatives are in complementary distribution
   e.g. Bemba: -koma (be deaf) -> -komya (deafen); -nwa (drink) -> -nwisha (make drink)   (Kula 2000)
- In some languages, one of the suffixes is dependent on the other
   e.g. Kinande: -hitana (be annoyed) -> -hitania (to annoy), -saga (fear) -> -sagisya (frighten)

Aims: establish 1) how many causative morphemes there are, 2) how they interact (complementary distribution? dependency between them? Optionally cooccur?)

Morphological Interactions

What morphemes can intervene between the causative morpheme & root?

Pylkkänen (2002) argues that the Cause head can select one of three types of complements: an uncategorized root, a vP, or a VoiceP.

- root-selecting Cause: ✗ no morphology between root & causative
- vP-selecting Cause: ✓ morphology between root & causative, but not applicative / external argument introducing morphology
- VoiceP-selecting Cause: ✓ morphology between root & causative, including applicatives & external argument introducing morphology

Pylkkänen suggests 1) this difference might lie at the heart of the CA part of the CARP template & 2) that it correlates with scope of adverbials.   (CARP: cf Hyman 2002)

Aims: For each CAUSE morpheme, establish 1) whether APPL can precede CAUSE, 2) to what extent other CARP morphemes can be ordered wrt. CAUSE 3) how other, less studied morphemes are ordered wrt to CAUSE
   eg: purposive, reversive, intransitive reversive, neuter, durative, static, contactive   (cf Lodhi 1985)

As it stands: Afranaph has very few examples which show morpheme interactions.

This data would 1) shed light on the complement of the Cause head,
2) help to understand the differences between CAUSE morphemes
3) act as a basis for better understanding the CARP template.
4) Provide examples of lesser studied morphemes which are missing from the database

Adverbial Scope

What kind of adverbial scope is possible is causative constructions?

Pylkkänen's typology:
- root-selecting Cause: ✗ no VP-adverbials can modify caused event
   1. Alex woke Bill noisily   (cannot mean that Bill woke noisily)
- vP-selecting Cause: ✓ VP-adverbials can modify caused event   (2a)
   Except for agent-oriented adverbials (eg willingly, purposefully)   (2b)
   2. a) Naa-butwiish-y-a Mwape ulubilo   (Bemba, Givón 1976: 343 & 345)
      I.PAST-run-CAUS-fv Mwape fast
      'I made Mwape [run quickly]'
      b) Naa-butwiish-y-a umuana ukwiitemenwa
      I.PAST-run-CAUS-fv boy willingly
      Not: 'I made the boy [run willingly].'
      OK: 'I willingly made Mwape run'
- VoiceP-selecting Cause: ✓ VP-adverbials can modify caused event
   Including agent-oriented adverbials   (3)
   3. Omusomesa ya-wandi-s-a Katonga ne obunyikivu   (Luganda, Pylkkänen 2002:109)
      Teacher 3SG.PST-WRITE-CAUS-FV Katonga with dedication
      OK: 'The teacher made Katonga [write with dedication].'
      OK: 'The teacher, with dedication, made Katonga write.'

Aims: 1) Establish what adverbials can modify caused events
2) determine whether this really does line up with the causative-applicative ordering possibilities within the language in question

Reflexives, Reciprocals & Object Marking

1) **Can RFM, RCM and OM each refer to causee argument?**
   test with 1) applied object present, 2) DO present, and 3) if allowed, DO and applied object present
2) **How does this compare to arguments of applicatives?**

Object Marking: In languages with asymmetric object marking, usually only the highest object can be object marked.
- Do these languages treat causee argument or applicative argument as higher?
- Does CA vs AC order affect this?
- Does scope of CAUSE wrt APPL affect this?

Reflexives: applicatives and causatives may interact differently with the RFM.
In Lubukusu: i. Causee can be antecedent for RFM (1a), Applied Object cannot (1b).
      ii. Causee intervenes, preventing Causer being interpreted as antecedent for RFM (1a)
   1. a) a-a-ba-i-li-(is)-isy-a   bu-suma   (ID5021, Safir & Sikuku 2011:6)
      SM.C1-PST-OM.C2-RFM-eat-(CAUS)-CAUS-fv c14-maize.meal
      He made them feed *himself / themselves maize meal.
      b) Wekesa a-kh-ey-ir-ir-e   Wafula.
      Wekesa SM.C1-FUT-RFM-kill-APPL-SBJV Wafula   (Baker, Safir & Sikuku 2012:58)
      Not: 'Wekesa will kill Wafula for himself.' (a case of euthanasia)
      OK: 'Wekesa killed himself for Wafula' (suicide) or 'Wekesa will kill Wafula for self'

In Kinande: iii. Neither applied object nor causee object can antecede RFM,
      iv. Causee object nonetheless seems to cause intervention effects (2)
   2. *Kámbale a-a-yi-húm-is-i-a   Mukosa   (Mutaka, pc)
      Kambale SM.c1-TM-RFM-hit-CAUS1-CAUS2-fv Mukosa
      Not: Kambale made Mukosa hit himself   (must use periphrastic causative for this reading)
      Not: Kambale made Mukosa hit himself   (must use LOC 'oko' before 'Mukosa' for this reading)

Reciprocals: More asymmetries: applicatives vs causatives, and RCM vs RFM
In Lubukusu: i. Reportedly shows similar asymmetry as (i) above   (BSS,2012)
      ii. However: Causee doesn't intervene, RCM can have Causer as antecedent (3)
   3. ba-soleeli ba-a-mu-li-is-isy-an-a bu-suma   (ID5022, Safir & Sikuku 2011:6)
      c2-boy SM.C2-PST-OM.C1-eat-CAUS-CAUS-RCM-fv c14-maize.meal
      The boys made him feed each other maize meal

In Kinande: iii. Causee object can antecede RCM (4)   [no data re applied object & RCM]
      iv. Overt Causee object causes intervention effects (5)
   4. omu-galímu a-á-náb-is-an-á-i-a   abá-na   (Mutaka, pc)
      c1-teacher   SM.C1-PST-wash-CAUS1-RCM-aC-CAUS2-fv c2-child
      The teacher made the children wash each other
   5. ába-ná ba-á-náb-is-an-á-i-a   (*omú-lwana)
      c2-child SM.C2-PST-wash-CAUS1-RCM-aC-CAUS2-fv   boy
      Not: The children made the boy wash each other
      OK: The children made each other wash.

Aims: Establish 1) What patterns of coreference are possible
2) What asymmetries exist between CAUSE and APPL
3) What asymmetries exist between RFM and RCM

References

Baker, M., Safir, K., & Sikuku, J. (2012). Sources of (a)symmetry in Bantu double object constructions. WCCFL Proceedings: 54-64.
Givón, T. (1976). Bantu causatives. The Grammar of Causative Constructions: Syntax and Semantics, 6: 325-351.
Good, J. (2005). Reconstructing morpheme order in Bantu: The case of causativization & applicativization. Diachronica, 22(1): 3-57
Hyman, L. M. (2003). Suffix ordering in Bantu: A morphocentric approach. In Yearbook of morphology 2002:245-281.
Kula, N. C. (2000). Spirantisation in morphologically driven phonology: The causative in Bemba.
Lodhi, A. (1985). Verbal Extensions in Bantu: the Case of Swahili and Nyamwezi. Inst. för Afro-Asiatiska Sprak, Uppsala Universitet
Mugisa, J. M. (2009). The Kihema causative construction within Baker's theory of incorporation. Southern African Linguistics and Applied Language Studies, 27(1), 25-37.
Pylkkänen, L. (2002). Introducing Arguments (Doctoral dissertation, Massachusetts Institute of Technology).
Safir, K., & Sikuku, J. (2011). Lubukusu anaphora sketch. Ms. Rutgers University and Moi University

Many thanks to Philip Ngessimo Mutaka for providing Kinande Data