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Languages and Peoples of the Eastern Himalayan Region (LPEHR)

Causatives in Liangmai

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ABSTRACT

Liangmai, a Tibeto-Burman language spoken in Manipur and Nagaland, has causative constructions as one of its morpho-syntactic aspects. The purpose of this paper is to examine the morphological processes involved in causative constructions in the language. Liangmai have a productive strategy for forming causatives from all kinds of non-causative verbs. All verbs, intransitive and transitive, form their corresponding morphological causatives by prefixing the causative marker *pi-*. Another productive causative prefix used in the language is *kám-*, which causativises intransitive verbs. Besides these two morphological prefixal causative constructions, causative is also expressed lexically by suppletion in the language. The occurrence and the form of double causation is also discussed in the paper.

KEYWORDS

Liangmai, Western Naga, Tibeto-Burman, causative

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*Causatives in Liangmai*¹

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1 Introduction

Liangmai is a Tibeto-Burman (henceforth TB) language spoken in Manipur and Nagaland. In the classification of TB languages in the Linguistic Survey of India (LSI) (Grierson 1903), Liangmai was treated as belonging to either ‘Naga-Bodo’ or ‘Naga-Kuki’ subgroup.² However, in the more recent classification of the TB languages of North East India, Burling (2003) grouped Liangmai, together with Zeme and Rongmei, under the Zeme group. This Zeme group is referred to as Western Naga in Post and Burling (2017). A pejorative term ‘Kacha Naga’ was used to refer to Liangmai speaking people along with Zeme speakers in Manipur till the Constitution (ST) Order (Amendment) Bill, 2011³ modified the term and replaced with Liangmai and Zeme respectively. In Nagaland, Zeme and Liangmai speakers are clubbed together and known by the term ‘Zeliang’. Its major population concentration is located in Tamei sub-division of Tamenglong, and extends towards Kangpokpi and Senapati districts in the east, as well as Tening sub-division of Peren district, Nagaland in the north. The total Liangmai population as per the census report of India, 2011, was 49,469, of which 45,546 were in Manipur and 3923 in Nagaland.

The main purpose of this paper is to provide a descriptive study of the causative constructions in Liangmai. The language is severely underdescribed. Though the language has translated Bible, Hymnals and few books under its name, scholarly linguistic works are minimal. Some linguistic studies conducted on the language are: an unpublished project report titled *A Preliminary sketch of Liangmai Phonology and Morphology* (Moita 2007),

¹We are extremely grateful to the anonymous reviewers and editors of this paper for their constructive comments and suggestions. We want to thank Linda Konnerth for her helpful comments and corrections on the earlier versions of this work. Any mistake or shortcoming in the study is ours alone.

²In regard to Liangmai, Grierson was slightly hesitant as to whether Liangmai (mentioned as Kwoireng or Liyang in LSI) be placed under Naga-Bodo group or Naga-Kuki group. ‘...we may insert Kwoireng or Liyang of which we have vocabularies by Brown and McCulloch. The tribe which speaks it inhabits the country north of Manipur town, and just south of the great Barail Range which forms the north western boundary of the State. Immediately to their south lie the Kabui Nagas, whose speech belongs to the Naga-Bodo sub-group, and their language is intermediate between that and Naga-Kuki. The forms taken by Kwoireng pronouns agree best with the latter, and therefore it is mentioned here, though the geographical position of its speakers would incline one to place it among the Naga-Bodo languages’ (Grierson 1903:70).

³The Bill amended the Constitution (Scheduled Tribes) Order, 1950, to modify the scheduled tribes in the states of Manipur and Arunachal Pradesh. It substituted ‘Kacha Naga’ with Liangmai and Zeme respectively in Manipur. For details see <http://www.prsindia.org/billtrack/the-constitution-scheduled-tribe-order-amendment-bill-2011-2096/>.

Liangkhun Ketibu Khuang: A Learner's Book of the Liangmai Language (Charengna 2017) and *Classifiers in Liangmai: with brief grammar outline* (Daimai 2020). Recently, few Ph.D. theses were written on Liangmai language and few linguistic papers have been published too. The present study intends to discuss the morphosyntactic processes underlying causativization and also to motivate further research on the language to curb its endangerment. This work is divided into five sections: §1 provides a general introduction to the study; §2 discusses some major typological properties and phenomena of the language. Section §3 reviews the causative literature, §4 presents the data and analysis of causative constructions in the language and §5 concludes the study with summary and findings. Liangmai is a tonal language⁴ and it has three contrastive lexical tones; namely high, mid and low. In the present analysis, these tones are indicated by diacritics (´) for high tone, (◉) for low tone and mid tone is left unmarked. A comprehensive phonological analysis of tone in Liangmai has not been done yet and in the present study the diacritics are used to merely indicate noticeable patterns of pitch differences.

2 Relevant aspects of Liangmai grammar

To back up the discussion on causative constructions, some relevant typological properties and phenomena are presented in this section.

In elicitation the default word order in Liangmai is AOV as is evident in the sentences (1) to (3) below.

- | | A | O | V |
|-----|--|------------------------|-------------------------------------|
| (1) | <i>əkapiú</i>
1SG.friend.M | <i>əriak</i>
book | <i>ken-bam-e</i>
read-PROG-DECL |
| | 'My friend (male) is reading a book.' (elicited) | | |
| (2) | <i>pə-niu</i>
3SG-AGT | <i>tsərsi</i>
fruit | <i>tiu-mide</i>
eat-PERF |
| | 'S/he has eaten the fruit.' (elicited) | | |
| (3) | <i>i-niu</i>
1SG-AGT | <i>pə-tù</i>
3SG-PO | <i>kám-nui-e</i>
CAUS-laugh-DECL |
| | 'I made him/her laugh.' (elicited) | | |

⁴ Examples of minimal triplets of Liangmai tone are shown below:

<u>High</u>	<u>Mid</u>	<u>Low</u>
<i>sáj</i> 'thousand'	<i>saj</i> 'dry'	<i>sàj</i> 'to dye'
<i>táj</i> 'reach'	<i>taj</i> 'stick'	<i>tàj</i> 'break'
<i>tsámí</i> 'meat'	<i>tsami</i> 'marriage'	<i>tsàmi</i> 'fire'
<i>raó</i> 'backbite'	<i>rao</i> 'to write'	<i>ràò</i> 'respect'

The A argument (more agent-like argument) of a transitive clause is typically marked with agentive *-niu* as in (2) and (3) and the O argument (less agent-like argument) of a transitive clause may carry a primary object marker *-tù* as in (3).

OAV word order is also permissible in the language and in elicitation; such order is produced in the constructions that involve emphasis on the O argument as in the following sentences.

- | | | | |
|-----|--|---------------|------------------|
| | O | A | V |
| (4) | <i>t̪ərasɨ-sí</i> | <i>pə-niu</i> | <i>tiu-mide</i> |
| | fruit-EMP | 3SG-AGT | eat-PERF |
| | 'S/he has eaten the fruit.' (elicited) | | |
| | | | |
| (5) | <i>pə-tù-sí</i> | <i>i-niu</i> | <i>kám-nui-e</i> |
| | 3SG-PO-EMP | 1SG-AGT | CAUS-laugh-DECL |
| | 'I made him/her laugh.' (elicited) | | |

All verbal roots are bound and they become free forms only when verbal inflectional suffixes are attached to them, as in, *tiu-* 'eat' > *tiu-e* 'eats', *tiu-bam* 'is eating', *tiu-mide* 'has eaten', *tiu-né* 'will eat', and so on. Verbal nouns and adverbs can also be derived from the verbal roots by addition of derivative suffixes, such as nominalizer *-bo* and adverbial *-ziú*. For example, a verbal root *tat* 'go' becomes *tatbo* 'to go or going'; and *mat^há* 'be happy' becomes *mat^háziú* 'happily'. A modifying adjectival is derived by prefixing an attributive *kə-* to a verbal noun, as in *wibo* 'be good' becomes *kəwibo* 'good'; thus, we have *kəwibo piú* 'a good man'. This prefix *kə-* also nominalized verb, as in *tiu* 'eat' > *kə-tiu* 'eatables', *tat* 'go' > *kə-tát* 'mission, journey' (Daimai 2019:37-39). The nominalizing function of this prefix shows similar pattern with the pan-Tibeto-Burman *gV nominalizing velar prefix mentioned in Konnerth (2012, 2016).

Liangmai verbal morphology is predominantly suffixing. Tense, aspect and mood categories are marked on the verb as suffixes as well as negation, prohibitive, hortative, imperative, etc. There is no overt agreement system in Liangmai in case of number, gender and person.

In our elicitation, the only verbal prefixes found in the language are *pí-* and *kám-* which both function as causative markers. A verb may have multiple affixes as in example (6). Thus, the morphological structure is agglutinating.

- | | | |
|-----|---|-------------------------------|
| (6) | <i>pí-sak-k^hai-tai-mak</i> | <i>bam-rabo-e⁵</i> |
| | CAUS-drink-COMPL-INT-NEG | EXIST-IRR-DECL |
| | 'must have not make (him) drink (at all).' (elicited) | |

⁵ This phrase can be uttered as an answer (negative) to a question like *pá pəná-tù zaó pí-sak-k^hai mí ma?* 'Has she made her child drink wine?' The one who answered was not sure but assumed that she must have not.

The data in this study are mostly collected from introspect and mutual elicitation; both authors are native speakers of Liangmai. We have chosen verbs that in the literature are often used to express causative relationship such as break, eat, cry, laugh, die, kill, etc. and have provided Liangmai equivalents. In addition, we have also extracted relevant data from available written Liangmai sources, such as the Holy Bible. We also refer to our old field notes for relevant data.

3 Theoretical background

A causative construction represents a situation where two events are involved; a preceding causing event and a subsequent caused event. They occur in such a way that if there were no causing event, the caused event could not follow (Shibatani 1976). This situation is called macrosituation, which thus comprises two microsituations; a causing microsituation or antecedent and a caused microsituation or consequent (Comrie 1989; Shibatani 1976). For example, in an English sentence such as ‘I was late for the meeting because the car broke down’, the causing microsituation is ‘the car breaking down’, as a result of which ‘I was late for the meeting’. It can be asserted that if the car had not broken down, the person would have been on time for the meeting.

Shibatani (1976:1) characterizes this phenomenon as a relation between two events such that the occurrence of one event, the “caused event”, has been realized at t_2 , which is after t_1 , the time of the “causing event”.

There are three types of causative constructions (Comrie 1989; Kroeger 2005). They are:

(i). Periphrastic or analytic, which refers to a causative construction that uses two verbs. For example, in English ‘the mayor caused my cat to die’ (Kroeger 2005).

(ii). Lexical causative, where the relation between the expression of causative macrosituation is so unsystematic as to be handled lexically. For example in English, the suppletive pair ‘kill’ as the causative of ‘die’ (Comrie 1989: 168).

(iii). Morphological causative, which refers to a causative meaning formed through a morphological process.

Syntactically, causativization introduces an additional argument, the causer, and therefore modifies the argument structure of the clause. For instance, an intransitive (single argument) verb becomes transitive (two arguments), or a transitive verb becomes ditransitive (three arguments). (Comrie 1976, 1989; Lyons 1977). For example,

(7) *ben nui-e* (intransitive, non-causative clause)

Ben laugh-DECL
‘Ben laughs.’ (elicited)

(8) *i-niu ben-tù kám-nui-e* (transitive, causative clause)

1SG-AGT Ben-PO CAUS-laugh-DECL
‘I made Ben laugh.’ (elicited)

An intransitive clause with a single S argument (*Ben*) in (7) is turned into a transitive clause in (8) with two arguments, A (*i* 'I', the added causer) and an O (*Ben*, the former S) because of causativization. Similarly, a non-causative transitive clause in (9) with two arguments can be turned into a causative ditransitive clause with three arguments as in (10).

(9) *ben tsəgan láŋ-e*
 Ben curry cook-DECL
 'Ben cooks curry.' (elicited)

(10) *i-niu ben-tù tsəgan pí-láŋ-e*
 1SG-AGT Ben-PO curry CAUS-cook-DECL
 'I make Ben cook curry.' (elicited)

The added causer (*i* 'I') becomes the new A argument, and the former A (*Ben*) becomes the new R argument, and the former O argument (*tsəgan* 'curry') becomes the new T argument.

The data above showed us the changes in the non-causative constructions, both intransitive and transitive in (7) and (9), become causative constructions in (8) and (10) by putting the causative marker. The impact of adding these causative markers is the addition of argument that functions as causer.

4 Causative in Liangmai

Different types of causatives mentioned in §3 can be found within a single language, often with semantic differences.

In Liangmai, the causative is expressed in two ways: a) morphologically by adding a prefix to the root verb and b) lexically, by suppletion.

There are two preverbal prefixes which mark causativization: *pí-* and *kám-*. For both causative prefixes, there are homophonous lexical verb roots, *pí* 'give' and *kám* 'make, do' respectively, which are still used as such modernly and could be diachronically connected to the prefixes.

In §4.1 we present causation with *pí-*, §4.1.1 deals with intransitive constructions and §4.1.2 discusses transitive constructions. In §4.2 we present causation with *kám-*, §4.3 discusses lexical causatives in Liangmai, §4.4 discusses double causatives.

4.1 Causation with *pí-*

Labial causative prefixes are common in TB languages of Northeast India and are even found to occur elsewhere in TB (Jacques 2019). The prefix *pí-* is fully productive in Liangmai. It can causativize both intransitive and transitive verbs. This prefix also regularly expresses permissive meaning (to let someone do something) in the language. As such, Liangmai does not distinguish between *pí-* causative and permissive constructions in (11) and (12). Both the examples can be interpreted as either causative or permissive. This is

true for all examples of *pí-* causatives that follow, even if the translation does not indicate this.

- (11) *i-niu* *pə-tù* *tsəki-ga* *pí-gut-e*
 1SG-AGT 3SG-PO house-LOC CAUS-enter-DECL
 'I let him/her enter the house.' Or 'I made him/her enter the house.' (elicited)
- (12) *ə-pui-niu* *naʔmai-duŋ-tù* *TV* *pí-pʰui-e*
 1SG-mother-AGT child-PL-PO tv CAUS-watch-DECL
 'My mother let the children watch TV.' Or 'My mother made the children watch TV.' (elicited)

4.1.1 Intransitive Construction

Syntactically, intransitive constructions are transitivized through the use of the causative. A causer is added and assigned the A role, while the causee receives different syntactic roles in different languages. Most commonly it is demoted to O position and receives formal object marking (Comrie 1989:165).

- (13) *əriakna-duŋ* *tsap-e*
 student-PL stand-DECL
 'The students stand.' (elicited)
- (14) *kətipao-niu* *əriakna-duŋ-tù* *pí-tsap-e*
 teacher-AGT student-PL-POCAUS-stand-DECL
 'The teacher made the students stand.' Or 'The teacher let the students stand.' (elicited)
- (15) *pa* *pak-e*
 3SG run-DECL
 'S/he runs.' (elicited)
- (16) *i-niu* *pə-tù* *pí-pak-e*
 1SG-AGT 3SG-PO CAUS-run-DECL
 'I made him/her run.' Or 'I let him/her run.' (elicited)

The non-causative constructions in (13) and (15) differ from the causative constructions in (14) and (16), in that the S (Single argument of an intransitive verb) argument in the non-causative or transitive construction becomes the O argument in the causative construction, marked by the primary object marker *-tù*. The added causer argument in the causative construction receives the agentive marking *-niu*. One has to note here that the agentive case marking is not obligatory in Liangmai. It is typically found on A arguments of transitive clauses and on the A argument of a causative clause formed with

an intransitive verb. However, it can sometimes be omitted from a highly agentive A arguments (see Maitina 2018, for more details in Liangmai case marking).

Causative *pí-* is fully productive in Liangmai. It is employed to transitivize intransitive verbs, and it is also used in causative construction with stative verbs. See the lists of verbs examined for the study in appendix 1 and 2. Examples of *pí-* causativizing stative verbs are illustrated in (17) and (18) with *wi* ‘be good’ and *si* ‘know’, respectively.

- (17) *zisu-niu* *əp^henmai-tù* *pí-wi-khai-e*
 Jesus-AGT leper-PO CAUS-good-COMPL-DECL
 ‘Jesus made the leper well.’ (the Bible, Matthew 8)

- (18) *ben-niu* *pə-tù* *tətsam pí-si-k^hai-e*
 Ben-AGT 3SG-PO news CAUS-know-COMPL-DECL
 ‘Ben made him know the news.’ (elicited)

4.1.2 Transitive Construction

All transitive verbs examined so far can be causativized by *pí-*.

Verb root (transitive)	Causative verb
<i>tiu</i> ‘eat’	<i>pí-tiu</i> ‘cause to eat’
<i>sak</i> ‘drink’	<i>pí-sak</i> ‘cause to drink’
<i>ken</i> ‘read’	<i>pí-ken</i> ‘cause to read’
<i>gí</i> ‘chew’	<i>pí-gí</i> ‘cause to chew’
<i>zon</i> ‘sell’	<i>pí-zon</i> ‘cause to sell’
<i>kətsai</i> ‘arrange’	<i>pí-kətsai</i> ‘cause to arrange’
<i>kə^hak</i> ‘wash’	<i>pí-kə^hak</i> ‘cause to wash’
<i>tsəruí</i> ‘stitch’	<i>pí-tsəruí</i> ‘cause to stitch’
<i>məsìŋ</i> ‘compose’	<i>pí-məsìŋ</i> ‘cause to compose’
<i>mərai</i> ‘love’	<i>pí-mərai</i> ‘cause to love’

The A arguments of transitive clauses that act wilfully or have control over the action are usually marked with the agentive case *-niu*. In Liangmai causative constructions that are formed with transitive verbs, the original A argument becomes the R argument (cf. Comrie’s (1976) ‘paradigm case’). It is marked with the morpheme *-tù* used in Liangmai for primary object. This is illustrated with (19) and (20).

- (19) *pə-niu* *tsəp^hai* *kə^hak-e*
 3SG-AGT cloth wash-DECL
 ‘S/he washes the cloth.’ (elicited)

- (20) *i-niu* *pə-tu`* *tsəp^hai* *pí-kə^hak-e*
 1SG-AGT 3SG-PO cloth CAUS-wash-DECL
 ‘I caused her/him to wash the cloth.’ (elicited)

The A argument of a causative clause (causer) formed with a transitive verb is prototypically human and the causee is usually animate and is always marked with *tù*. However, in a causative clause formed with an intransitive verb, an inanimate subject is possible, as in (21) and (22) below.

- (21) *tiŋkai-niu tiŋ pi-riu-e*
 wind-AGT rain CAUS-fall-DECL
 'The wind causes the rainfall.' (elicited)
- (22) *naimik-niu kəbun kám-nuŋ-mide*
 sun-AGT ice CAUS-melt-PERF
 'The sun caused the ice to melt.' (elicited)

It is evident from the data that animacy is not relevant in Liangmai causative constructions. Both animate and inanimate subjects can be found as causers in the language and they are both marked with agentive *-niu*. However, the inanimate O remains unmarked as seen in (21) and (22).

4.2 Causation with *kám-*

In addition to *pi-*, the morpheme *kám-* is also used as a causative in Liangmai. By contrast with *pi-*, the prefix *kám-* mainly causativizes intransitive verbs. We have not come across an example of using *kám-* with a transitive verb. Unlike *pi-*, this prefix never gives a permissive meaning.

Verb Root (intransitive)		Causative Verb	
<i>sa</i>	'be bad'	<i>kám-sa</i>	'make bad or spoil'
<i>dí</i>	'be big'	<i>kám-dí</i>	'make big'
<i>saŋ</i>	'be dry'	<i>kám-saŋ</i>	'make dry'
<i>zi</i>	'sleep'	<i>kám-zi</i>	'make to sleep'
<i>nui</i>	'laugh'	<i>kám-nui</i>	'make to laugh'
<i>ba</i>	'break'	<i>kám-ba</i>	'make to break'
<i>təniá</i>	'dirty'	<i>kám-təniá</i>	'make dirty'
<i>məsan</i>	'clean'	<i>kám-məsan</i>	'make clean'

The prefix *kám-* increases the valency of the verb, adding an agentive marked argument (causer). The animate causee is marked with the primary object marker *-tù*, while it is left unmarked in a patient causee with inanimate referent.

- (23) *pə-pui-niu ŋena-tù kám-kap-e*
 3SG-mother-AGT baby-PO CAUS-cry-DECL
 'The mother made the baby cry.' (elicited)

- (24) *i-niu* *ben-tù* *kám-nui-e*
 1SG-AGT Ben-PO CAUS-laugh-DECL
 'I made Ben laugh.' (elicited)
- (25) *əpe-niu* *kətsa kám-t^hiú-e*
 grandma-AGT tea CAUS-hot-DECL
 'Grandma made the tea hot/warmed the tea.' (elicited)
- (26) *naʔmai-niu* *tsəpiaŋ* *kám-ba-e*
 child-AGT cup CAUS-break-DECL
 'The child broke the cup.' (elicited)

The original animate intransitive S argument becomes the O argument and it is marked with the primary object marker, as in (23) and (24). By contrast, the original inanimate intransitive S argument remains unmarked when becoming the O argument, as in (25) and (26).

4.3 Lexical Causatives

There are several Liangmai bare verbs which express a causative meaning. The most widely cited example of lexical causatives in the typological literature is the pair, 'kill' vs 'die'. It is also expressed by lexical means in Liangmai, with the verb *kámsát*⁶ 'kill' vs *sai* 'die'. Some suppletive lexical causative pairs in Liangmai are listed below⁷.

Non-causative Verb		Causative Verb (Lexical)	
<i>sai</i>	'die'	<i>kámsát</i>	'kill'
<i>tiu</i>	'eat'	<i>p^hè</i>	'feed'
<i>toú</i>	'burn'	<i>t^hou</i>	'to set fire'
<i>tat</i>	'go'	<i>laŋ</i>	'send'
<i>p^huí</i>	'see'	<i>lian</i>	'show'
<i>su</i>	'awake'	<i>məkiaŋ</i>	'awaken'
<i>zi</i>	'lie'	<i>məzi</i>	'lay'

⁶ The verb *kamsat* 'kill' looks like it is formed with causative prefix *kam-*, but the verb root *sat* has no meaning in the language without *kam-*. The root for die is *sai* in Liangmai. Other than *kamsat* 'kill', we have not found lexicalized verbs that start with *kam-* so far. However, we found words (interjection) like *kamsi* 'well done', *kamui* 'well done', *kamsəriu* 'thanks'. However, this needs further research.

⁷ For those pairs, it is still possible to form morphological causatives of the roots with non-causative meaning. The entire non-causative verb root in the list, except for *sai* 'die' can have *pí-* causative but not *kám-*. For example

pí-tiu 'make to eat' and *p^hè* 'feed'

There is no meaning difference but *pí-* causation can have permissive interpretation while the lexically causative verb does not.

The Liangmai verb forms *sai* 'die' / *kámsát* 'kill', *toú* 'burn' / *t^hou^s* 'set fire' and *tiu* 'eat' / *p^hè* 'feed' are illustrated through (27) to (32) as examples of lexical causatives.

- (27) *kəbui sai-mide*
 cow die-PERF
 'The cow has died.' (elicited)
- (28) *tsəkui-niu kəbui-tù kámsat-mide*
 tiger-AGT cow-PO kill-PERF
 'The tiger has killed the cow.' (elicited)
- (29) *tsəki toú-mide*
 house burn-PERF
 'The house has burned.' (elicited)
- (30) *zon-niu tsəki t^hou^s-e*
 john-AGT house set fire-DECL
 'John burned the house/set the house on fire.' (elicited)
- (31) *naʔmai-niu tərua tiu-e*
 child-AGT bread eat-DECL
 'The child eats bread.' (elicited)
- (32) *maipui-niu naʔmai-tù tərua p^hè-e*
 woman-AGT child-PO bread feed-DECL
 'A woman fed bread to the baby.' (elicited)

4.4 Double Causative

In Liangmai, *pi-* CAUS can be added to all the *kám-* causative of the intransitive verbs in appendix 1 to form double causation. Such causation refers to a situation where the agent does not directly cause the event, but let the event happens through an intermediate agent. The causative verbs formed with *kám-* can be prefixed by *pi-* to result double causation. It is worth noting here that the order of *pi-kám-* prefixes cannot be reversed. Also it is not possible to have *kám-kám-* or *pi-pi* double causation. The occurrence of double causation is illustrated in (33) and (34).

- (33) *i-niu naʔmai-tù kám-kap-e*
 1SG-AGT child-PO CAUS-cry-DECL
 'I made the child cry.' (elicited)

⁸ This is an example of the common pan-Tibeto-Burman causative construction based on aspiration, which is assumed to go back to a reconstructed *s- causativizer (Matisoff 2003).

- (34) *i-niu* *naʔmai-tù* *pí-kám-kap-e*
 1SG-AGT child-PO CAUS-CAUS-cry-DECL
 'I let (someone) make the child cry.' (elicited)

In (33), the agent *i* 'I' directly caused the event, that is, 'make the child cry'. In (34), where there is a double causative the meaning is different. The agent *i* 'I' does not directly cause the event. It means that the agent *i* 'I' made another agent cause the event.

The causative marker *pí-* can also be used with suppletive lexical causative pairs. The resulting meaning differs when *pí-* is prefixed to plain verb and when it is prefixed to causal verb. This difference is illustrated in the following.

- (35) *maipui-niu* *naʔmai-tù* *tərúa* *pí-tiu-e*
 woman-AGT child-PO bread CAUS-eat-DECL
 'A woman made the child eat bread.' (elicited)

- (36) *maipui-niu* *naʔmai-tù* *tərúa* *pí-p^hè-e*
 woman-AGT child-PO bread CAUS-feed-DECL
 'A woman made someone feed bread to the child.' (elicited)

In example (35) with the verb *tiu* 'eat', the noun phrase *maipui* 'woman' is the causer. An argument that makes the child eat bread, whereas in the case of (36) the causal verb *p^hè* 'feed' prefixed with the causative *pí-*, the woman made someone feed the child, which means that another 'agent' is involved in feeding the child.

In Liangmai, double causation introduces another 'agent' in the sentence. Though that 'agent' is not expressed through a noun-phrase, the involvement of another 'agent' is marked by the presence of both *pí-* and *kám-*. The causative *pí-* can be prefixed to *kám-* causative verbs and lexical causative verbs to form double causation.

5 Conclusion

Through the analysis carried out on the causatives in Liangmai, it was found that the language expressed causation two ways: (a) morphologically by prefixing the root verb and (b) lexically, by suppletion. In morphological causative, two preverbal prefixes, *pí-* and *kám-* function as causative marker. The Liangmai permissive causative prefix *pí-* is attested to the very common *pV-* causative prefixes found in many TB languages of Northeast India. This prefix is very productive, occurring with both intransitive and transitive verbs. The other causative prefix *kám-*, causativized intransitive verbs. For lexical causative, its formation uses verbs with causative meaning. Syntactically, causative constructions transitivized intransitive verb and added new argument to the construction and triggers remapping of the syntactic roles of the arguments. Causative formation from intransitive results by moving the original S to O position and marked by primary object marker *-tù*. A new A argument (causer) is added with agentive marking. Causation of transitive added causer to become a new A argument, and the original A becomes new R argument and the former O argument becomes the new T argument. Both animate and inanimate subjects

can be found as A argument and they are marked with agentive *-niu*. Animate O argument is marked while inanimate ones are unmarked. Double causation of *pí-kám-* and *pí-*causative verb (lexical) introduces another ‘agent’, though not overtly expressed in the phrase structure.

ABBREVIATIONS

1	first person	LOC	locative
3	third person	M	male
A	more agent-like argument of a transitive clause	NEG	negation
AGT	agentive	O	less agent-like argument of a transitive clause
COMPL	completive	PERF	perfective
CAUS	causative	PL	plural
DECL	declarative	PO	primary object
EMP	emphatic	PROG	progressive
EXIST	existential	S	Single argument of an intransitive clause
INT	intensifier	SG	singular
IRR	irrealis	V	verb

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APPENDIX 1

Causation of Intransitive verb

<i>pí-waŋ</i>	'cause to arrive/come'	<i>pí-mək^hiu</i>	'cause to cough'
<i>pí-tat</i>	'cause to go'	<i>pí-/kam-zi</i>	'cause to sleep'
<i>pí-təsi</i>	'cause to sneeze'	<i>pí-k^huan</i>	'cause to wait'
<i>pí-tsap</i>	'cause to stand'	<i>pí-p^huí</i>	'cause to look'
<i>pí-su</i>	'cause to rise'	<i>pí-taó</i>	'cause to sit'
<i>pí-pak</i>	'cause to run'	<i>kám-kap</i>	'cause to cry'
<i>kám-kaó</i>	'cause to fall'	<i>kám-nui</i>	'cause to laugh'
<i>kám-sa</i>	'cause to be bad or spoil'	<i>kám-dí</i>	'cause to be big'
<i>kám-saŋ</i>	'cause to dry'	<i>kám-ba</i>	'cause to break'
<i>kám-təniá</i>	'cause to be dirty'	<i>kám-məsan</i>	'cause to be clean'
<i>kám-tsəren</i>	'cause to startle'	<i>kám-məŋám</i>	'cause to be shy'

APPENDIX 2

Causation of Stative verb

<i>pí-māsen</i>	'cause to like'
<i>pí-māreŋ</i>	'cause to dislike/hate'
<i>pí-lúŋsa</i>	'cause to love'
<i>pí-kim</i>	'cause to satisfy'
<i>pí-luni</i>	'cause to want'
<i>pí-si</i>	'cause to know'
<i>pí-māniŋ</i>	'cause to think'
<i>pí-mālum</i>	'cause to believe'
<i>pí-māniŋtao</i>	'cause to remember'
<i>pí-māŋai</i>	'cause to forget'
<i>pí-tsiu</i>	'cause to hear'
<i>pí-ŋgou</i>	'cause to see'
<i>pí-mānám</i>	'cause to smell'
<i>pí-mātsan</i>	'cause to taste'
<i>pí-t^hin</i>	'cause to hold'
<i>pí-kāhi</i>	'cause to touch'
<i>pí-bam</i>	'cause to have'
<i>pí-zaò</i>	'cause to participate'