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Permalink

Journal

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Publication Date

2024-12-31

DOI

Copyright Information

Peer reviewed

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Causative Derivations in Tenyidie

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ABSTRACT

The paper attempts to describe the different causative expressions in Tenyidie. Based on the process of derivation involved, they are divided into three different types. While the first type is derived from both intransitive and transitive verbs, the second and third types are derived from two different subclasses of intransitive verbs; the second type is associated with the 'move' class of verb and the third type is associated with the 'change' class of verb. The paper provides a glimpse of how phonology, morphology, syntax and semantics interact in the derivation of causative construction in Tenyidie.

KEYWORDS

Tenyidie, causative constructions, intransitive and transitive verbs, monosyllabic and disyllabic verbs, aspiration

Causative derivations in Tenyidie

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1 Introduction

A causative construction is generally understood as an expression describing a complex situation consisting of two sub-events: the causing event in which the causer does or initiates something in order to bring about a different event i.e., the caused event; and the caused event in which the causee carries out an action or undergoes a change of condition or state as a result of the causer's action (cf. Comrie 1989: 165, Song 2014: 257). The grammar of causative constructions involves the interaction of various components of the overall linguistic description, including morphology, syntax, and semantics, and as point out by Kemmer and Verhagen (1994: 115-16) it has inspired an 'extensive literatures in modern linguistics...motivated in part by the fascinating complexities of causatives both within particular languages and cross-linguistically'. Due to variations in their morphological and syntactic characteristics, and the implication those variations provide, many linguists consider the understanding of causative constructions important to an understanding of clause structure as a whole.

This paper aims to provide a description of those expressions that describe causative situations in Tenyidie. However, as the title suggests, the primary intent is to describe the different processes of derivation. The paper is organized as follows. In section 2, a brief description of causatives in some of the Tibeto-Burman languages is provided. Section 3 describes in detail the different kinds of causatives in Tenyidie. In section 3.1, causatives with the prefix *pè-* are described. In section 3.2, causatives that involve the replacement of the initial syllable of the non causative verbs are described. Section 3.3 is on causatives that are derived from a non-causation verb by aspirating the initial consonant. Section 3.4 describes the causativization of verbal adjectives and in section 3.5 some examples of lexical causatives and periphrastic causatives are presented.

Examples in this paper are drawn from three different sources. Those that are tagged as elicited are collected from the Masters students of the Tenyidie Department, Nagaland University. Others are from the *MKS Dieda* - a Tenyidie dictionary, and an unpublished Ph.D. thesis of the author which can be found archived in the IGM Library, University of Hyderabad.

2 Causative pattern in some of the Tibeto-Burman languages

Tenyidie is a Tibeto-Burman Language spoken in Nagaland, mostly in and around the district of Kohima. In the classification of Tibeto-Burman languages in the Linguistic Survey of India by Grierson (1903), it was classified as belonging to the Western sub-group of the Naga group of Tibeto-Burman languages. In Shafer (1955), it was placed within the Eastern sub-group of the

Kukis section within the Burmic division, and in Burling (2003) it was grouped together with Chokri, Mao, Poumai and others in the Angami-Pochury sub-group within the Kuki-Chin-Naga branch.

There is a similar causative pattern in languages such as Mao, Poumai and Liangmai. To show that causative expressions in Tenyidie also conform to the pattern, a brief description of the causative verbs in these languages is given below.

According to Veikho (2023: 249), Puomai uses the prefix *pai-* in the derivation of causativised constructions. This morpheme can occur before all types of verb stem, and when it is added to a verb, an argument (causer) is also added and the subject or agent of the non-causative clause becomes the second or the next oblique object. This morpheme can occur in monovalent clauses, bivalent clauses, trivalent clauses and in imperative clauses, and it can also be construed as 'let' or 'permit' in English, as it may code either voluntary (permitted) action or involuntary (forced) action in causativised clauses. Puomai also has monovalent verbs such as *pa* 'tear', *pe* 'break' etc. When these verbs occur in a transitive predicates, they are aspirated and attached to another bivalent verb. Veikho (2023: 256) says that the aspirated verb *-pha* can be suffixed to any free verb to form a logical compound verbs of a different phonetic structure: *khwŭ-pha* 'hit and tear', *lwĭpha* 'tangle and tear', *no-pha* 'press and tear', *swu-pha* 'do and tear' *lw-pha* 'roll and tear', *by-pha* 'sit and tear', *pó-pha* 'take and tear' and *tà-pha* 'walk and tear'.

In Liangmai (Daimai and Raguibou 2020) the causative is expressed in two ways: (a) morphologically by adding a prefix to the root verb and (b) lexically, by suppletion. In the former type, two preverbal prefixes: *pí-* and *kám-* are used to mark causativization. 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. The prefix *pí-* is fully productive, i.e., it can causativize both intransitive and transitive verbs, and 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. By contrast the prefix *kám-* mainly causativizes intransitive verbs, and it never gives a permissive meaning.

In Mao, according to Giridhar (1994: 272-281), morphological causatives appear in four different forms. They are:

    a) The intransitive marker *a* is dropped and either the generic manner marker is added or different specific manner marking verbs are preposed with the concomitant aspiration of the initial consonant of the verb. Thus, *ako* 'break' (intr.) becomes *sokho* 'break (generic as manner)' or *bi kho* 'break in terms of scissors-like action'.

    b) Phonologically conditioned alternant *ma/mo* replaces the intransitive marker *a* with the obligatory addition either of the generic manner marking verb *so* or a specific manner making. Thus *ahǐ* 'to go out (as fire)' (intr.) becomes *so-mahi* 'to cause to go out/ to extinguish (as fire) (generic as to manner)'.

    c) The morpheme *ko* replaces the intransitive marker *a* with either the generic manner – marking verb *so* 'to do' or manner /means marker being obligatorily preposed. Thus *atu* 'bounce (intr.)' becomes *he kotu* 'bounce an object by blowing; blow~bounce' (tr.), or *adzu* 'fall down' becomes *kodzu* 'to cause to fall down' (tr.).

    d) *ma/mo* is prefixed to the verb which may be either transitive or intransitive and *so* 'to do' is added to the verb obligatorily or optionally but redundantly and not to mark genericity. Thus *ta* 'to go away' becomes *mata* 'caused to go away' and *lo* 'to go/come down a reasonable distance' becomes *molo* 'caused to go/come down a reasonable distance'.

In Tenyidie, with the exception of Giridhar (1980), and Kuolie (2006), to my knowledge, no one has so far described the causative expressions in detail. According to Giridhar (1980) causatives in Tenyidie are of three different types: (a) causatives that do not morphologically differ from the non-causative or the intransitives but which have obligatory manners or instrument markers prefixed to them; (b) causatives which are morphologically different from the non causatives; (c) and causatives which form a syntactic category. Writing about the first type he says that when the manner marker is prefixed, the initial consonant of the verb is aspirated. Thus *pruó* 'to break glass/ pot (intr.)' becomes *biè phruò* 'to break glass (with hand) (tran.)' when causativised. On the second type, he says that some are derived from a non-causative by adding a prefix *pè-* as in *krä* 'cry' and *pè-krä* 'to cause to cry'; some are made causative by the replacement of the non-causative *rù* by the causative *kè-* as in *rùtoū* 'roll (intr.)' and *kètoū* 'to roll'; and some non causatives become causatives when the intransitive marker *rù* is deleted as in *rùzē* 'spin (a top)' and *zè* 'to spin'. On the third type, he says that the verbal element of cause does not have any surface realization but 'the verb acquires the causative meaning with the postposition of *bu* to the object' as shown in (1).

(1) *Á*   *à nuò*   *bű*   *mhà-tsü̈*   *liè*
    1SG   1SG.POSS.son by   thing-eat   VM
    'I made my son eat.' (Giridhar 1980: 68)

According to Kuolie (2006), the causative verb forms are derived from intransitive verbs by prefixing a causative marker *pe-*. He further mentions that this 'pattern is a very regular one'.

3 Types of causatives in Tenyidie

Based on the structural and/or semantic difference, causative constructions are often grouped into different dichotomous classifications such as Periphrastic vs. Non-periphrastic Causatives, Direct vs. Indirect Causation (Payne 1997), Contactive vs. Non-contactive Causation (Saksena 1982), Inchoative Causative Alternation (Haspelmath 1993) etc. In a typological study, they are often classified into '(a) lexical (synthetic), (b) morphological, and (c) syntactic (analytic or periphrastic) types' (Shibatani and Prashant 2002:85). However, in this paper, causative expressions are grouped into three different types based on the processes involved in the derivation of the causative verb-forms. Table 1 shows the different marker/elements involved in the process, the types of verbs associated with each process, and the kind of causation each process produces.

Marker/feature involved in the process of causativezation	Type of verbs involved in the process	Type of causation
Prefix *pè-*	Monosyllabic intransitive verbs (with the exception of those that are aspirated when causativised), monosyllabic verbal adjectives, and a few monosyllabic transitive verbs	Indirect causation

Prefix *kè-*	A subclass of disyllabic intransitive verbs that begins with the syllable *rü,* (and describe movement of some sort), and the disyllabic verbal adjectives	Direct causation
Aspiration of voiceless stop consonant	A subclass of intransitive verb (both monosyllabic and disyllabic) that describe a change of state.	Direct causation

Table 1. Different markers of Causatives

3.1 Causative constructions derived by adding the prefix *pè-*

One of the ways of deriving causative expressions in Tenyidie is by adding the prefix *pè-* to a non-causative verb. Referring to this process, Matisoff (2003: 132) says that it is 'extremely productive' as the prefix can occur with scores of verbs and adjectives. Kuolie (2006: 121) also mentions that this process is regular. However, unlike the causative morpheme *pi-* in Liangmai or *pai-* in Poumai, which can occur with all kinds of verb stem, *pè-* does not occur with all kinds of verbs in Tenyidie. As indicated in the table 1.1 above, the prefix can be added to a good number of monosyllabic intransitive verbs, to some transitive verbs, and to the monosyllabic verbal adjectives. Causatives derived in this manner get a sense close to *α causes β to do the action* where *α* and *β* correspond to the *causer* and the *causee* respectively. Causation here is indirect in the sense that the causer does not get physically involved in the execution of the caused event, and the causee has control over the performance of the caused event (Shibatani 2002: 89).

3.1.1 *pè-* with intransitive verbs

The syllabic structure of verbs in Tenyidie is predominantly monosyllabic, and the occurrence of the prefix *pè-* is restricted strictly to monosyllabic verbs and verbal adjectives. The disyllabic verbs – both intransitive and intransitive – either take other prefix or appear in the periphrastic construction when they describe a causative situation. Even among the monosyllabic intransitive verbs, not all the verbs occur with the prefix, i.e., some follow other process of causative derivation. Some of the verbs that take the prefix are shown in the table 2 below:

Non-causative intransitive verb	Causative verb-form
có 'be awake'	*pè-có* 'to wake up'
jǒ 'be guilty'	*pè-jǒ* 'to blame'
khě 'be without food'	*pè-khě* 'to starve'
krǘ 'fall'	*pè-krǘ* 'cause it to fall'
pǜ 'explode'	*pè-pǜ* 'make explode'
tú 'burn'	*pè-tú* 'to make it burn'
krä 'cry'	*pè-krä* 'to make it cry'

tă 'run'	*pè-tă* 'to make it run'
prő 'fly'	*pè-prő* 'to make it fly'
siě 'rise'	*pè-siě* 'to raise'
krű 'flow'	*pè-krű* 'cause to flow'
chù 'pain'	*pè-chū* 'to hurt'
rhì 'be alive'	*pè-rhī* 'to keep it alive'
sià 'die'	*pè-siā* 'cause it to die'
zè 'melt'	*pè-zē* 'cause to melt'

Table 2. Monosyllabic intransitive verbs that occur with the prefix *pè-*

The verbs *krä* 'cry' in (2) has only one argument. When it occurs with the prefix *pè-* in (3), another argument - the *causer* - is introduced. This is what the prefix *pè-* does in all the other causative sentences i.e., it increases the number of argument in the sentence.

(2) *Ùnuò-yő   vàkèniè krä   shū*
    child-DIM twice   cry   PFV
    'The child cried twice.'

(3) *Neíŭ   vàkèniè   ùnuò-yő   pè-krä   shū*
    Neiu   twice   child-DIM   CAUS-cry   PFV
    'Neiu caused the child to cry twice.' (elicited)

The causative sentence above simple means '*Neiù* caused the child to cry'. The causation here is indirect in the sense that the causee *ùnuòyő* has control over the performance of the caused event – the choice 'to cry' or 'not to cry'. There is no specification of the causing event i.e., the sentence does not say anything about how *Neiù* caused the child to cry. *Nieù* might cause the child to cry by hiding himself from the child, or by snatching away a toy from the child's hand, or by hitting him or her with a stick. This information can be added by adding another verb as in example (4) below. This process of specifying the causing event can be done in all the contexts. Here one can say that *vű pè-krä* 'beat caus-cry' appears as a serialized verb where *vű* 'beat' describes the causing event, and the bound morpheme *pè-* and *krä* 'cry' together describe the result. The verb *vű* 'beat' can be replaced by other verbs such *kèrhë* 'scold' *kèù* 'pinch' etc depending on the act involved as shown in (5).

(4) *Puó   únuó-yő   vű   pè-krä   shū*
    3SG   child-DIM   beat   CAUS-cry   PFV
    'S/he made the child cry by beating him/her.'

(5) *Può   ùnuòyő   kèrhë/keù   pè-krä   shū*
    3SG   child-DIM   scold/pinch   CAUS-cry   PFV
    'S/he made the child cry by scolding/pinching him/her.' (elicited)

3.1.2 *pè-* with transitive verbs

Among the transitive verbs, very few of them occur with the prefix. Others mostly appear in the periphrastic construction when they are causativised. Among the seventeen verbs Giridhar (1980: 66-67) lists as occurring with the prefix *pè-*, *sí* 'know' is the only transitive verb. Among the twelve verbs Matisoff (2003: 132-133) lists, *ngú* 'see' is the only transitive verb, and among the twenty two verbs Kuolie (2006: 121-122) lists, only three verbs (*cǎ* 'judge' *ciě* 'cross' and *sí* 'know') are transitive. Another transitive verb which occurs with the prefix is *chǜ* 'hear'. The non-causative transitive verb and their causative counterpart are shown in table 3.[1]

Non-causative transitive verb	Causative verb-form
si 'know'	*pe-si* 'cause to know/inform'
ngú 'see'	*pè-ngú* 'to show'
chǜ 'hear'	*pè-chǜ* 'cause it to hear'
cá 'judge'	*pé-cǎ* 'caused to judge'
cié 'cross'	*pé-ciě* 'cause to cross'

Table 3. Transitive verbs that occur with the prefix *pè-*

In (6), the verb *ngú* 'see' takes two arguments; the subject *Á* 'I' and the object *pera puo* 'a bird'. When it is prefixed with *pè-* in (7), it becomes a dintransitive verb requiring three arguments. Even though the sentence contains only two arguments, the presence of the second person or the addressee is understood from the context.

(6) *Á   seìbő   geì   pèrà   puǒ   ngú*
    1SG   tree   LOC   bird   one   see-PST
    'I saw a bird on a tree.' (elicited)

(7) *Puǒ   ziè   piè   à   pè-ngú   hiěciè*
    3SG.POSS   face   with   1SG   CAUS-see   PROH
    'Do not show me his/her face.' (Liezietsu et al. 2001: 318)

Among the monosyllabic intransitives, verbs such as *pró* 'break' *tě* 'break' and *tsě* 'break' do not occur with the prefix *pè-* but follow other process of modification when they describe a causative situation – they are explained in section 3.3 below. The disyllabic intransitive verbs such as *rùvē* 'rotate/spin', *rùlhoǔ* 'bounce' *rùtoǔ* 'roll' etc take other prefix when they are causativised – they are explained in section 3.2. Other such as such as *mhìté* 'blink' *rùkhù* 'cough' *rùthá* 'sneeze' *dzèdä* 'clap',

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[1] Bhatt (2003) says that in Hindi, a coherent set of transitive verbs take the morpheme *-aa* in the derivation of causative verb forms. He calls these verbs ingestives or ingesto-reflexives, because they, in typical case, refer to some sort of ingestion, whether literal or not so literal. Masica (1976:46), describes ingestive verbs as "a small set of verbs... having in common a semantic feature of taking something into the body or mind (literally or figuratively)." One can say that, in Tenyidie, the three transitive verbs which take the prefix *pè-* in the derivation of causative verb forms have the sense of taking something into the mind figuratively, however it will be incorrect to say that all the ingestive verbs take the prefix as the verbs like *cǜ* 'eat' and *kré* 'drink' do not occur with the prefix – these verbs are replaced by lexical causatives in a causative situation as described in section 3.5.

mèlɛ̌ 'move' do not occur with the prefix even when they are used to describe causative situations – they appear in the periphrastic construction, and therefore they do not undergo any morphological change. Among the Transitive verbs, only a few of them occur with the prefix. As such one can say that this process of causativization is restricted in productivity.

3.2   Causative constructions derived by adding the prefix ke-

The prefix *kè-* performs several different functions depending on the context in which it occurs. In some contexts, it functions as the nominalising prefix (Herring 1991). In some others, it functions as the reciprocal marker, relativizer, attributive marker and a causative morpheme (cf. Giridhar 1980: 67; Kuolie 2006:123; Linda 2012: 5-6).

As a causative morpheme, it occurs with a small subclass of intransitive verbs - those verbs that describe movement or motion of some sort. The verbs are: *rùvē* 'spin/rotate', *rùtoū* 'roll', *rùlä* 'fall', *rùlhoǔ* 'bounce' *rùnyiě* 'shake', *rùluō* 'swing'. All these verbs have, in common, the morpheme *rü* in the syllable-initial position, and they describe movement of an object or thing. As pointed by Giridhar (1980: 67) when these verbs occur in a causative sentence, the initial syllable *rù* is replaced by the prefix *kè-* as shown in (8) to (12) below.[2]

(8) *Á   hú   ú   rǔnyiě   bǎ   tɛ̌*
     1SG.POSS   tooth   DET   shake   CONT   PFT
     'My tooth is shaking (I have a loose tooth).'

(9) *Può   à   hù   ù   kènyiě   shū*
     3SG   1SG.POSS   tooth   DET   shake   PFV
     'He shook my tooth.'

(10) *Tsɯ̀thuò   ù   rùvē   bǎ*
     top   DET   spin   CONT
     'The top is spinning.'

(11) *Può   tsɯ̀thuò   ù   kèvē   shū*
     3SG   top   DET   spin   PFV
     'He spun the top.'

(12) *Bàll   ù   rǔtoǔ   tɛ̌*
     ball   DET   roll   PFT
     'The ball rolled (away).'

(13) *Può   bàll   ù   kètuö   shū*
     3SG   ball   DET   roll   PFV
     'He rolled the ball.' (elicited)

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[2] Giridhar (1980) calls the syllable *rù-* a non-causative marker and *kè-* a causative marker.

The intransitive verbs, *rùnyiế* 'shake/move', *rùvē* 'spin/rotate' and *rùtuö* 'roll' in (8), (10), and (12) respectively have only one argument each. After replacing the initial syllable *rü* with the prefix *kè-* in (9), (11), and (13), the verbs take two arguments each as expected. One also sees that in all the transitive sentences, there is an animate agent. If the agent role is assigned to an inanimate thing such as a natural force as in (14), it produces an ungrammatical sentence.

(14) **Dzû̌   ù   pē   ù   kèniế   shū*
       water   DET   bridge DET   shakemove   PFV
       'The water moved/shook the bridge.'

As Horvath and Siloni (2011) observed, a causer role is indifferent to animacy and thus realizable as human agent, natural force etc, and the causer role of the situations described in (11) and (13) there can be assigned to an inanimate thing such as a natural force. However when such events are described, another verb which expresses the notion of the causing event is added as in (15). Here, one can say that the transitive verbs are systematically equipped with a causer role, but when the causer role is assigned to an inanimate subject, it becomes necessary to overtly indicate the causing sub-event. The two verbs function together as a single complex unit and they resist separation by any other element.

(15) *Gari   ù   ketsie ù   thú-kèniế   shū*
       vehicle DET   stone   DET   hit-shake/move   PFV
       'The vehicle moved the stone by hitting it.' (Kraho 2016: 102)

Among the disyllabic verbs that begin with *rù*, there are some which do not follow the process discussed here. Verbs such as *rùkö*, 'crack' *rùzoù* 'fall out', *rùlä* 'fall down from a position' undergo a slightly different process of derivation when they occur as a causative expression. They are described in the section below.

3.3 Causative constructions derived through aspiration

There is a group of intransitives which typically describe changes in physical shape or appearance. When these verbs occur in a transitive sentence, they go through systematic modification. Unlike the other two derivational processes discussed above, these modification processes apply to monosyllabic as well as disyllabic verbs.

All the intransitive verbs in Table 4, begin with a voiceless consonant and they describe change in state or appearance of the object. When they occur in a transitive sentence, they are aspirated and added to another verb. The non-causative verbs have simple form, but their causative counterparts have two identifiable parts; the first component, represented by 'V', describes the causing event, and the second component, the aspirated form which occurs as a bound morpheme, describes the effect or the result. The process applies to a few items, and it produces direct causatives. Here, the marking of the causative verb is similar to the one found Puomai, Mao, and Hakha Lai (cf. Veikho 2023: 249; Giridhar 1994: 272-281; Peterson 2017: 267). Writing about the causatives in Hakha Lai, a Kuki-Chin language spoken in Burma, Peterson (2017) says something similar, and I quote him:

"There are two levels of derivation, one older and restricted in productivity, and the other of more recent origin and highly productive. The older system produces direct causatives. First, there are a few items showing a causative in *-sak* (e.g. *hmuʔ-sak* 'to show'). Next, a number of causatives involve non-causative/causative pairs (e.g. *tlaak* 'to fall', *thlaak* 'to fell') marking the causative member by aspiration (in the case of stop/affricate-initials) or voicelessness (in the case of sonorant-initials). These perhaps reflect the widely recognized Tibeto-Burman **s-* causative prefix. These **s-* causatives are restricted to occurrence with non-stative intransitive roots."

Intransitive verb	Causative verb-form
tsĕ́ 'break (stick)'	*V+tsʰĕ́* 'V+break'
tĕ̀ 'break (rope)'	*V+tʰĕ́* 'V+break'
pä̆ 'break (balloon)'	*V+pʰä̆* 'V+break'
pró 'break (glass)'	*V+pʰró* 'V+break'
ciĕ̀ 'be hollow'	*V+cʰiè* 'V+make hole'
tĭ́ 'be torn'	*V+tʰĭ́* 'V+tear'

Table 4. Monosyllabic verbs that undergo the process of aspiration

In all the causative verb-forms shown in table 4, the first verb slot represented by 'V' can be occupied by the verb *biè* 'touch' to mean different kinds of actions. This verb can be replaced by a more specific verb such as *dắ* 'cut', *vù* 'hit' etc., which can be taken as the specific extension of the more basic one.[3] The two components always function together as a unit, and they resist separation by any other element. Examples (16) to (19) illustrate these claims. The intransitive verb *tsĕ́* 'break' in (16) has only one argument. When it appears in a causative sentence such as (17), it is aspirated and is added to another verb. Since the two verbs function together as a single predicating unit, they do not allow any other element in between them, therefore (19) is ungrammatical. The verb *biè* 'touch' can be replaced by a more specific verb as in (20). The verb *tshĕ́* 'break' does not occur as an independent verb elsewhere.

(16) *Sìbŏ́   può   tsĕ́   tsūr   chă̆   khàpfǜ   zhǚ   tĕ́*
      tree   one   break   come   road   block   CONT   PFT
      'A tree broke, fell and block the road.'

(17) *Miä̆   può   rü̆zhū   bă̆   dī   può   phì   biè-tsʰĕ́   wà   tĕ́.*
      person   one   play   CONT   CP   3SG.POSS   leg   touch-break   PFV   PFT
      'A person was playing and broke his/her leg.' (Liezietsu et. al. 2001: 11)

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[3] When the verb *bié* 'touch' occur as independent verb in a sentence, it has the high tone (´), but when it occurs a constituent in a causative sentence it occurs with a low tone (`), and one can say that it functions like the Italian causative verb *fare* 'make', which according to Zubizarreta (1985) is morphologically a word but functions as a bound morpheme or as a "syntactic affix" morphosyntactically.

(18) **Può   sǐ   ù   bié   mhá/sè   tsʰě̃   wà   tě̃.*
      3SG   stick   DET   touch   quickly/EMP   break   PFV   PFT
      'She broke the stick quickly.'

(19) *Seǐ   può   tětsù   seǐ   kèkrī   può   vù̃-tsʰě̃   wà   tě̃.*
      tree   one   fall.down   tree   other   one   hit-break   PFV   PFT
      'A tree fell down and hit and broke another tree.' (Liezietsu et. al. 2001: 512)

The verb *tě* 'break' describes the snapping of rope, wire, thread and other similar objects. As an independent verb, it occurs only in intransitive sentences like (20). In transitive sentences such as (21), the aspirated form occurs with another verb which describes the causing event. Unlike *tsʰě̃* 'break' in (19), *tʰě* 'break' can occur as an independent verb in certain contexts, but when it does so, it gets a slightly different meaning as shown in (22). In both (21) and (22), there is a sense of detaching or disjoining something elongated, but as an independent verb *tʰě* 'break' gets a more specialised meaning, i.e., it is restricted to the plucking of things like leaves and flowers, and is not used to mean the breaking of ropes and wires.

(20) *Kèrő   kèwé   kò   sě̃   mhà   tēshù̃   cǔ   tě   mhá   tǎ   yà.*
      rope   old   PL   with   thing   pull   COMP   break   quickly   PFT   HAB
      'Pulling a thing with old rope breaks quickly.' (Liezietsu et. al. 2001: 427)

(21) *Sǐ   può   tětsùr   mǐkèmèla   rő   ù   vù̃-tʰě   wà   tě̃.*
      tree   one   fall.down   electricity   wire   DET   hit-break   PFV   PFT
      'A tree fell down and hit and broke the electric wire.'

(22) *Niékò   miä   nyiēpuù   tʰě   wà   suŏho*
      2PL   others   flower   pluck   PFV   PROH
      'You should not pluck others' flower.' (Liezietsu et. al. 2001: 438).

Another word for the verb 'break' in Tenyidie is *pà*, used to describe breaking of containers such as bags, sacks and balloon and ball-like objects. This verb is also used to describe events like the breaking of dams and ponds. In (23) and (24), *pà* and its aspirated counter-part *pʰà* describe the bursting of a balloon with the former occurring as an independent verb and the latter as a dependent verb. In (25) and (26), both *pà* and *pʰà* occur as independent verbs and they describe the breaking of pond, however if one closely looks at the meaning of *pʰà* in (27), it has a sense almost identical with 'break-open'. Like the verb *tʰě* in (23) described above, this verb also gets a restricted sense when it occurs as an independent verb.

(23) *Bǎlloòn   ù   pà   tě̃*
      Balloon   DET   break   PFT
      'The balloon popped.'

(24) *Può   bǎlloòn   ù   vù̃-pʰà   wà   tě̃.*
      3SG   balloon   DET   hit-break   PFV   PFT
      'He popped the balloon (by hitting it).'

(25) *À   khuóboù   ù   pä   tǎ   dī   khuó-kò   pètě   tǎ*
1SG.POSS   fish.pond   DET   break   PFT   CP   fish-PL   all   leave

chàzoū   pä-tě
outside   go-PFT
'My fishpond broke and all the fish went out of it.'

(26) *Hiékò   tsù   rùziē   ù   pʰä   liè   dī   khuō   tē   liě*
3PL   go   pond   DET   break-open   PFV   CP   fish   catch   PFV
'We broke the pond (and emptied the water) and caught fish.'   (elicited)

Another word for 'break' is *pró,* used to describe the breaking of things made of glass, clay and other breakable substance. When this verb occurs in a transitive sentence, a slightly different operation is seen as shown in the examples below. In (27), *prō* 'break' has a high tone (´), and it occurs as an independent verb. In (28), the aspirated form *pʰrò* 'break' has a low tone (`), and it occurs as a bound morpheme attached to another verb. When this aspirated form occurs as an independent verb in sentences such as (29), it has the same tone as that of the intransitive verb *pró* 'break' but it denotes a slightly different event – here it has a sense close to 'cut' or 'split' and describes an act of cutting the fruit into smaller pieces.

(27) *Rùnyòlǐ   hà   mènuò mòcǔsié   pró   mhái   tǎ   yà.*
earthen.pot   DM   careful if.not.   break   quickly   PFT   HAB
'Earthen pot breaks quickly if one is not careful with it.' (Liezietsu et. al. 2001: 354)

(28) *Può   dùthè   piè   rùnyōlǐ   ù   vǔ   dí   vù-phrò   wà   tě*
3SG   fist   with   earthen.pot   DET   hit   CP   hit-break   PFV   PFT
'With his fist he hit the earthen-pot and broke it.' (Liezietsu et. al. 2001: 511)

(29) *Niěnuò   nhǎsí   ù   phró   shū*
Neinuo   fruit   DET   cut   PFV
'Neinuo cut the fruit.' (elicited)

Among the verbs that describe change in the physical shape or appearance of objects, some are disyllabic, and they undergo the same process of aspiration when they occur in a causative sentence. They undergo the following changes:
- the first syllable *rü* is dropped;
- the second syllable is aspirated if it begins with a voiceless consonant;
- the second syllable - aspirated as well as non-aspirated form - is added to another verb which describes the causing event and the two components function as a single syntactic unit.

As can be seen from the table 5 below,[4] the initial syllable *rù* of the all the intransitive verb are dropped in their causative counter-part. The verb to which the second syllable is attached is represented by V. Since this verb describes the causing event, it is most often an action verb. The second syllable which describes the result or the effect occurs as a bound morpheme with the exception of *(V)+pʰreì* 'to loose' and *(V)+zoù* 'to remove something elongated'- the V in parenthesis indicates the optionality of the first verb.

Intransitive verb	Causative verb-form
rùkö 'crack'	*V+khö* 'to crack'
rùpreì 'loosen'	*(V)+phreì* 'to loosen'
rùpà 'fall (leave)'	*V+phà* 'to make it fall'
rùlä 'fall (stone)'	*V+là* 'to make it fall'
rùdë 'deform'	*V+dè* 'to deform'
rùwĭ 'bend'	*V+wi* 'to bend'
rùriè 'fall (fruit)'	*V+riè* 'to make it fall'
rùzoù 'fall (sword)'	*(V)+zoù* 'to remove something elongated'

Table 5. Disyllabic intransitive verbs that are aspirated

Examples (30) and (31) describe two similar situations, but they differ in specifying how the change of state happened. (30) has only one verb and it simply states that the stone has cracked. In (31), the verb *vù* 'hit' describes the causing event, and the resultant state is described by *khö* 'crack' which occurs as a bound morpheme. Just like the aspirated verb *-pha* in Poumai which can be suffixed to any free verb to form a compound verbs of a different phonetic structure (Veikho 2023: 256), the bound form *khö* 'crack' can occur with other verbs and form a compound such as. *tsà khö* 'trample crack', *kì khö* 'pull crack', *nè khö* 'push crack', *tà khö* 'bite crack' etc. When *khö* 'crack' occurs as an independent verb elsewhere, it means 'to separate' or 'take apart'. This is shown in (32).

(30) *Kètsiē   ù   rùkö   tĕ.*
      stone   DET   crack   PFT
      'The stone cracked.' (Kraho 2016: 84)

(31) *Può   kètsiē   ù   vù-khö   wà   tĕ.*
      3SG   stone   DET   hit-crack   PFV   PFT
      'He cracked the stone (by hitting it).' (Kraho 2016: 84)

(32) *Vùkrűpfű   può   nuònuō-kò   khö   wà   tĕ.*
      hen   3SG.POSS   chick-PL   separate/wean PFV   PFT
      'The hen weaned her chicks.' (Liezietsu 2001: 211)

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[4] The second syllable of some of the verbs does not begin with voiceless stop consonant and are therefore not aspirated when they occur in a causative sentence. They are however included here because they behave exactly like the aspirated form in other respects

In Poula, it is said that the aspirated forms have clear lexical sources of origin, i.e., they are derived from the non-aspirated univalent verbs (Veikho 2023: 256). However, in Tenyidie, due to the presence of independent verbs such as *khö* 'separate/wean' in (32), a better understanding of the derivation process will be required to identify whether the aspirated form or the non aspirated one is the root. A similar operation is seen in the examples below. The initial-syllable *rù* of the intransitive verb *rùpreï* 'loosen' in (33) is replaced by *tsà* 'push with leg', and the second syllable is aspirated in (34). In (35), the aspirated form *phreï* 'loosen' appear as an independent verb without the verb that specify the causing event.

(33) *Kèrő   ù   rùpreï   tẽ.*
       rope   DET   loose   PFT
       'The rope loosened.'

(34) *Può   kèrő   ù   tsà-phreï   shū*
       3SG   rope   DET   push with leg-loose   PFV
       'He loosened the rope (by pushing it with his leg).'

(35) *Può   kèrő   ù   phreï   shū*
       3SG   rope   DET   loose   PFV
       'He loosened the rope.' (elicited)

Example (36) and (37) represent a slightly different process i.e., the second syllable is added to another verb but it is not aspirated as it does not begin with a voiceless stop. The first syllable *rù* of the intransitive verb is replaced by an activity verb as (31) and (34) above. *wĭ* 'bend' does not occur as an independent verb elsewhere.

(36) *Thèzhű ù   rùwĭ   tẽ.*
       rod   DET   bend   PFT
       'The metal (rod) got bent.'

(37) *Può   thèzhű ù   kì-wĭ   wà   tẽ.*
       3SG   rod   DET   pull-bend   PFV   PFT
       'She bent the metal (rod) (by pulling it).' (Kraho 2016: 84)

The intransitive verb *rùzoù* 'come away' describes the separation of elongated substance from its cover, or the thing that contains it. In (38), it describes the coming away if the sword from its sheath. In transitive sentences such as (39), the first syllable *rù* is dropped, and the second syllable is added to another verb as it is, i.e., it is not aspirated. This verb can occurs as an independent verb without any change of meaning as shown in (40).

(38) *Zhièchā   ù   rùzoù   tẽ,*
       sword   DET   come.out   PFT
       'The sword came out (from its sheath).'

(39)   *Può*   *zhièchā*   *ù*   *kènyié̆-zoù*   *shū̄*
         3SG   sword   DET   shake-remove   PFV
         'Hedrew the sword (from its sheath) by shaking it.'

(40)   *Può*   *zhièchā*   *ù*   *zoù*   *shū̄*
         3SG   sword   DET   remove   PFV
         'He pull.out the sword (from its sheath).' (elicited)

What is clearly seen in the examples above is the absence of the syllable *rù* in all the causative sentences. One can therefore liken it to the anti-causative morpheme found in languages like Russian. All the transitive sentences describe a causative situation, involving two component situations, the cause and its effect, and in most cases, they are represented by two different words which function as a single syntactic unit. Unlike those causatives formed with the prefix *pè-*, the kind of causation seen here involves the physical manipulation of an object (causee) by an agent (causer), as such they come under the category of direct causatives.

3.4   *Causativization of adjectives*

The so-called 'adjectives' behave like verbs in occurring with the different verbal markers. For this reason some say that the language does not have a 'morphological form class of adjectives' (Giridhar 1980: 55). However, if one looks at their possibility of co-occurring with features associated with adjectives, and the way they interact with other elements in a causative construction, one can say that they behave differently from other word class. For instance, they freely occur with the comparative marker *kuò*, as in *ví kuò* 'better', *zhǎ̆ kuò* 'bigger', *zìví kuò* 'more beautiful', *chà kuò* 'longer', *mècié kuò* 'cleverer', *mèsí̆ kuò* 'heavier', etc. In causative constructions, the adjectives along with one of the prefixes *pè-/kè-* are added to another verb to describe both the caused event and the result or state as shown in table 6 and 7 below. Stative verbs or the verbs that describe emotions such as *mèhoú/mèngū* 'desire/want, *khrié* 'love' *pèsé* 'hate' also occur with marker *kuò* as in *mèhoú kuò* 'desire more' *khrié kuò* 'love more', *pèsè kuò* 'hate more' but unlike the adjectives, do not occur with any of the causative morphemes. One may therefore call adjectives in Tenyidie as verbal adjectives.

3.4.1   *Monosyllabic adjectives*

When the monosyllabic adjectives such as *chà* 'long', *dzū̆* 'short', *cū̆* 'small', *zhǎ̆* 'big' occur in a causative sentence, they are prefixed with *pè-* and added to another verb. And together as a unit they describe the causing event and the result as shown in table 6.

Adjective	Causative verb form
chà 'long'	*chú́ pè-chā*, 'make CAUS-long'
zhǎ̆ 'big'	*chú́ pè-zhǎ̆,* 'make CAUS-big'
dzū̆'short'	*chú́ pè-dzū̆,* 'make CAUS-short'
krǎ̆ 'white'	*chú́ pè-krǎ̆,* 'make CAUS-white'

Table 6. Causativization of monosyllabic adjectives

54

In (41) below, the verb *chǘ* 'make' which appears before the causative morpheme denotes the causing event, and the adjective along with the prefix denote the result or the state. The verb *chǘ* 'make' can be replaced by a more specific verb if one knows or want to be specific about the action or activity involved in bringing about the state or result as in (42).

(41) *Può   kèrő   ù   chǘ   pé-dzǘ   shū*
     3SG   rope   DET   make   CAUS-short   PFV
     'S/he made the rope short (shortened the rope).'

(42) *Può   kèrő   ù   dǎ   pè-dzǘ   shū*
     3SG   rope   DET   cut   CAUS-short   PFV
     'S/he cut the rope short (shortened the rope by cutting it).' (elicited)

3.4.2 Disyllabic adjectives

In table 5 above, it was shown that the disyllabic verbs that begin with *rù* are replaced by *kè-* when they are causativised. However with the adjectives, this does not happen, i.e., all the disyllabic adjectives - whether it begins with *rù* or not, take the prefix *kè-*, as shown in table 7 below.

Adjective	Causative verb form
rùnuő 'low'	*chǘkè-rùnuŏ* 'make CAUS-low/lower'
rùkriē 'high'	*chǘkè-rùkriē* 'make CAUS-high/higher'
shùrhō 'healthy'	*chǘkè-shùrhō* 'make CAUS-well/heal'
mènë 'soft'	*chǘkè-mènë* 'make CAUS-soft'
zìví 'beautiful'	*chǘkè-zìví* 'make CAUS-beautiful'
mèsǎ 'clean'	*chǘkè-mèsǎ* 'make CAUS-clean'
thèpfù 'brave'	*chǘkè-thèpfù* 'make CAUS-brave/embolden'

Table 7. Causativization of disyllabic adjectives

In a causative sentence these adjectives appear with another verb as shown in (44). In (43), *rùnuő* 'low' appears as a predicative adjective. In (44), the verb *chǘ* 'make' describes the causing event and the prefix *kè-* along with the adjective *rùnuő* 'low' describes the caused events.

(43) *Thèbá   haù   à   lǎ   rùnuő   tĕ*
     seat   this   1SG   for   low   PFT
     'This seat is low for me.'

(44) *Può   thèbá   haù   chǘ   kè-rùnuŏ   shū*
     3SG   seat   this   make   CAUS-low   PFV
     'S/he made this seat low (S/he lowered this seat).' (elicited)

In the causativization of adjectives, the distribution of the causative morphemes *pe-* and *ke-* is well defined - the former occurs with the monosyllabic words and the latter with the disyllabic words.

3.5 Lexical causatives and permissive constructions

In the lexical causatives, according to Song (2006: 265), "the formal fusion of the expression of cause and of effect is maximal, with the effect that the causative verb cannot be analysed into two morphemes". In English, for instance, verbs such as *kill*, and *feed*, express causative meanings in the sense that the agent's action brings about a particular process leading to a change of state in the referent of an object nominal. These verbs are not analysable into separate morphemes where the different morphemes would correspond to the meanings of *cause* and *result* of the action.

Tenyidie has a number of verb pairs whose members describe similar situations but have different argument structures; one verb describes a situation which can happen without a causer, and the other describes a similar event but which needs a causer and a causee. All the second verbs in the pair are considered as lexical causatives because they cannot be broken down into different identifiable parts. Some of the examples are given in Table 8.

Noncausative verb	Causative verb
cü 'eat'	*vàchú* 'feed'
kré 'drink'	*dié* 'feed with liquid'[5]
có 'awake'	*kèsū* 'wake'
tú 'burn'	*thě* 'burn

Table 8. Lexical Causatives

None of the causative verbs shown above have identifiable causative marking vis-a-vis their non-causative counterparts, and there is no formal relation between them, and they describe situations which can happen only in the presence of a causer and a causee.

As shown in Giridhar (1980:69), causation in the Permissive or syntactic causatives is indicated by marking the causee with *bǔ*. There is no overt morphological marking on the verb and causation has the meaning *x let y do the action*. This is shown (45).

(45) *John   Mary   bǔ   leshǔ   ù   thú   shū*
      John   Mary   let   letter DET   write   PFV
      'John let Mary wrote the letter.' (Kraho 2016: 106)

4. Conclusion

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[5] The verb *dié* is glossed as 'feed with liquid' as it requires a liquid substance as its indirect object. It is used to describe a causative situation where the causee is assigned a less active role. In other words, this verb generally chooses NPs such as a child, an invalid, a non-human or otherwise contextually controllable entity as its direct object.

In the light of the examples discussed above, one can call the prefixes *pè-* and *kè-* in Tenyidie as causative morphemes. They look like allomorphs of the same morpheme when they occur with adjectives; *pè-* occurs with the monosyllabic adjectives and *kè-* occurs with disyllabic adjectives. However a closer look at the kind of causation they bring about reveal that they perform different function – one produces indirect causation and the other produces direct causation.

The causative morpheme *pi-* in Maring (Kanshouwa 2021), *pai-* in Poumai (Veikho 2023), and *pi-* in Liangmai (Daimai and Raguibou 2020) have several things in common; they occur with different kinds of verbs, produce a permissive reading, and are diachronically related to the verb 'give'. The prefix *pè-* in Tenyidie also occurs with many of the verbs these prefixes occur with. However, it differs from them in that, it does not express permissive reading, and is not related to the verb 'give'. It is also more restricted in its occurrence as only monosyllabic verbs occur with it. The prefix *kè* in Tenyidie and *ko* in Mao seem related as they occur in the causativization of the same class of verbs – the 'move' class of verb. To describe these prefixes better, one will have to answer questions such as: what is the lexical source of the prefixes *pè-* and *kè-*? why does the prefix *pe-* occurs only with monosyllabic verbs, and why only some few transitive verbs occur with it?. However to address these issues, a further research will be required which is outside the scope of this paper, therefore they are not discussed here. On the choice of different causativization processes by the verbs of 'move' class and 'change' class, it is interesting to see all the verbs in the 'move' class occurring with the prefix *kè-*, and all verbs in the 'change' class that begins with voiceless stop are aspirated.[6] There are other Tibeto-Burman languages such as Burmese (Matisoff 2003; 90) where the verbs are aspirated when they occur in a causative sentence, but aspirating the transitive member in the intransitive/transitive verb pairs of the 'change' class alone in Mao, Poumai and Tenyidie is something unique about these languages.

Abbreviations

1	first person	ITR	intransitive
3	third person	LOC	locative
CAUS	causative	PFV	perfective
COMP	complementizer	PFT	perfect
CONT	continuous	PL	plural
CP	conjunctive participle	POSS	possessive
DET	determiner	PROH	prohibitive
DIM	dimunitive	PST	past
DM	demonstrativer	SG	singular
EMP	emphatic	TR	transitive
HAB	habitual	VR	verbal marker

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[6] Grouping of verbs into 'move' class and 'change' class is found in Levin and Rappaport Hovav (1995:93). Based on Jespersen's (1927) characterization, they called the verbs 'bounce', 'move', 'roll', 'rotate', 'spin' as 'move' class verbs, and verbs like 'bake', 'blacken', 'break', 'cook', 'cool', 'dry', 'freeze', etc., as 'change' class verbs.

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