

Causative and benefactive suffix *-sàk* in Tiddim Chin

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1. INTRODUCTION

The purpose of this study is to examine the verb derivational suffix *-sàk* in Tiddim Chin¹, a Tibeto-Burman language spoken in northwestern Myanmar (Burma) and northeast India², and to support Iwasaki's (1998) theory that there is a close relationship between causatives and benefactives. *-sàk* is a productive suffix, which functions mainly as a causative and benefactive marker.

¹ Tiddim Chin is a north variety of Kuki-Chin, which belongs to Tibeto-Burman languages. According to Grimes ed. (1996: 717), Tiddim Chin is spoken by a total of around 344,000. From a typological point of view, Tiddim Chin is a verb-final language, and it has a dominant constituent order, AOV (transitive clauses) and SV (intransitive clauses) in both main and dependent clauses, like many other Tibeto-Burman languages except Karen. (A: transitive subject, O: transitive object, S: intransitive subject, V: verb) In this paper, the phonological symbols are almost the same as IPA except that /o:/, /oʔ/, /e:/ and /eʔ/ in this paper correspond to [ɔ:], [ɔʔ], [ɛ:] and [ɛʔ] in IPA.

² In this paper, I will deal with Tiddim Chin language which is spoken on the side of Myanmar. Tiddim Chin speakers in India use slightly different vocabulary.

2. GRAMMATICAL FEATURES

Before we examine *-sàk*, it will be useful to note some grammatical features of Tiddim Chin. This section presents the three essential features for discussing causatives and benefactives in Tiddim Chin, i.e. styles (§2.1), verb stems (§2.2), and an inverse construction (§2.3) in Tiddim Chin.

2. 1. STYLES

Tiddim Chin has an orthography developed by an American priest - Rev. Joseph Herbert Cope (1882-1931), during the early part of the twentieth century - which has recently been used extensively by its speakers. The written style differs from the colloquial style in verb clause structure, as Henderson (1965) described, therefore it is necessary to distinguish these two styles. This study focuses on the colloquial style of Tiddim Chin, whereas almost all the previous studies dealt with the written style.

The colloquial text data (dialogue: free conversation, monologue: folklore, interview: elicitation through Burmese, etc.) used for this paper was collected by the author at Yangon and Kalay in Myanmar between 2007 and 2009³.

2. 2. VERB STEMS

Each Tiddim Chin verb has two stems, referred to as Form I and Form II, as can be seen in the the following quotation:

Verbs are distinguished from all other classes of words by their formal scatter. All verbs have two alternating forms, dependent upon grammatical context. In the great majority of the verbs recorded one of these forms, hereafter referred to as Form II, can always be predicted from the other, hereafter referred to as Form I. Such verbs may be termed *regular*. All other verbs are *irregular*. The formal scatter of regular verbs is correlated with the phonological structure of the last syllable of Form I. (Henderson 1965: 72)

Diachronically, Form I seems to have been the morphologically simplex form, while Form II was derived from Form I by a process of suffixation. Nishida (1989: 999)

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suggested that Form II was derived originally from the unmarked verb stem, Form I, by affixing the Proto Tibeto-Burman suffix **-d* (perfect marker), as we can see from (1).

Over the past few decades, several studies have been made on the genesis of Chin verb stems, but it is no longer clear which stem is morphologically derived from the other. As far as the purpose of this paper is concerned, it is unnecessary to discuss such a diachronic process any further.

(1) **tún(Form I) > *tún -d > tùn(Form II) ‘to arrive’**

(Nishida 1989: 999)

Synchronically, this verb stem alternation, Form I and Form II, is formed by the alternation of a single final phoneme and the tonal alternation, as shown in Table 1 below. For some verbs, Form I and Form II are formally homophonous, as shown in (5).

Table 1: Morphological alternation of Form I and Form II

	Form I	Form II	Meaning
(2)	paì	pài	‘to go’
(3)	sám	sàp	‘to call’
(4)	né:	né:k	‘to eat’
(5)	hòi?	hòi?	‘to be good’

This verb stem alternation is not linked in any simple way to a single parameter of variation such as tense and aspect. Henderson (1965: 84) mentioned that the final predicative phrase of every conclusive sentence contains a verb or verbs in Form I, while the final predicative of every inconclusive sentence contains a verb or verbs in Form II. The definition of “conclusive sentences” and “inconclusive sentences” becomes unclear when it comes to analyzing colloquial text data, as it is difficult to set a grammatical unit “sentence” in colloquial style⁴. If the inconclusive sentence he referred to indicates the subordinate clause, then what he suggested may hold true for the most part, as in (6), but not every final predicative phrase of the subordinate clause contains a verb or verbs in Form II, as in (7). As space is limited, I will not list all the intricate

⁴ Halliday (1994: 216) insisted that a sentence is a constituent of writing, while a clause complex is a constituent of grammar. Chafe (1994: 145) also noted that sentences are not always easy for speakers to produce in such a way that they are both prosodically and syntactically well formed.

functions of the two stems here; however, I will take up the two crucial functions for discussing the causatives and the benefactives in Tiddim Chin, i.e., [1] Transitivity and [2] Relativization.

- (6) **guà?** **á** **zùk** **kéi** **lè?** **óη-** **pai** **níη**
rain 3 fall^{II} NEG CONJ INV- go^I 1SG.IRR
‘If it doesn’t rain, I will follow you.’

- (7) **kéi** **náη** **hì** **lè:η** **tua** **nú:** **tò?** **pai** **xò:m** **níη**
1SG 2SG COP^I CONJ.1SG that woman COM go^I together^I 1SG.IRR
‘If I were you, I would go along with her.’

[1] Transitivity

(a) Lexicalized transitive verbs

For some verbs, we can observe a transitive/intransitive relationship between the two stems, as shown in Table 2. Let us take the examples in (8) and (9). The intransitive verb *dim* (Form I) in (8) means “to be full” and its Form II is *dìm*. The transitive verb *dim* in (9) means “to fill”, which is formally identical to Form II of the intransitive verb *dim* (Form I). However, the transitive verb *dim* has its own Form II morpheme, *dìp*. We could probably say that Form II has a transitivity function for certain verbs, but this morphological process is no longer productive and each verb has its own Form II stem (Table 2). (The identical morphemes are shown in bold in the table.) Therefore, I will consider these kind of lexicalized verbs to be independent from each other, although I admit Form II might have functioned diachronically as a transitivity in some way.

Table 2: Transitivity and verb stems

Form I	Form II	Meaning
ta:η	tà:n	‘to be bright’
tà:n	tàt	‘to flash a light at’
nam	nàm	‘to smell (intransitive)’
nàm	nàp	‘to smell (transitive)’
dím	dìm	‘to be full’
dìm	dìp	‘to fill’

(8) **tua hà:i suŋ á? niaŋtú:i dím** ‘That cup was full of tea.’
 that cup inside LOC tea **full^I**

(9) **tua hà:i suŋ á? liàn ìn niaŋtú:i dìm** ‘Lian filled that cup with tea.’
 that cup inside LOC LianERG tea **fill^I/full^{II}(?)**

[2] Relativization

There is no morpheme which functions as a relativizer in Tiddim Chin. See (10) and (11) below. If an actor⁵ or an instigator NP is relativized, a Form I verb is employed in a relative clause. On the other hand, a Form II verb is employed in a relative clause if an undergoer or a non-instigator NP is relativized. I schematized this alternation in Figure 1. The linear order in the figure represents the constituent order in the figure below.

(10) **liàn a ŋa:i nùmèi** ‘the woman who loved Lian’
 Lian 3 **love^I** woman

(11) **liàn ìn á ŋàì? nùmèi** ‘the woman whom Lian loved’
 Lian ERG 3 **love^{II}** woman

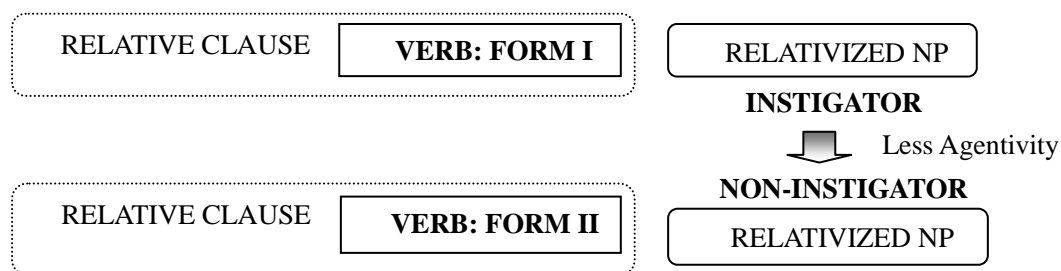


Figure 1: Verb stems in relative clauses

⁵ Foley and Van Valin (1984: 29-30) defined the *actor* and the *undergoer* as the macroroles which subsume particular groups of Fillmorean case roles or Gruberian thematic relations such as agent, patient, or theme. Then he provisionally characterized the actor as the argument of a predicate which expresses the participant which performs, effects, instigates, or controls the situation denoted by the predicate, and the undergoer as the argument which expresses the participant which does not perform, initiate, or control any situation but rather is affected in some way.

2.3. INVERSE CONSTRUCTION

The directional prefix *óη-*, which indicates mainly a deictic spatial direction and a change of state toward the speech-act participant (1st person or 2nd person), functions as an inverse marker in the transitive clauses in Tiddim Chin. It is obligatory to affix the inverse marker *óη-* to a transitive verb if either a patient or a recipient (an ‘undergoer’ in semantic macro-roles) indicates a speech-act participant, as shown in (13) and (15). (Compare each example with (12) and (14).) The inverse construction in Tiddim Chin shows the linguistic diversity of Chin languages, as the inverse marker cannot be found in Haka Lai, another Chin language spoken mainly in the central part of Chin state in Myanmar (Peterson 2003).

[1] PATIENT

- (12) **kèn liàn mù:**
 1SG.ERG Lian see^I
 ‘I saw Lian.’

- (13) **liàn ìn kái / náη óη - mù:**
 Lian ERG 1SG/2SG INV- see^I
 ‘Lian saw me / you.’

[2] RECIPIENT

- (14) **nàη mòi? liàn piá mò:**
 2SG.ERG snack Lian give^I PTCL
 ‘You gave the snack to Lian, didn’t you?’

- (15) **liàn ìn mòi? kái / náη óη- piá**
 Lian ERG snack 1SG/2SG INV- give^I
 ‘Lian gave me / you the snack.’

3. PREVIOUS STUDIES

Before proceeding to my own observations, let us devote some space to introduce the previous studies about *-sàk*. Henderson (1965: 83-85) categorizes *-sàk* as a verb and argues that *-sàk*, following a Form I verb, means “to let or cause to be done”, whereas

-sàk following a Form II verb can be translated as “to do on someone else’s behalf” in English. In other words, *-sàk* following a Form I verb forms a causative construction, while *-sàk* following a Form II verb forms a benefactive construction in Tiddim Chin. See (16) and (17)⁶.

(16) **pai -sák ìn** ‘Let him go!’ (Henderson 1965: 85)
 go^I -SAK IMP

(17) **kónj - màt -sàk hì:** ‘I’ve caught it for you.’ (Henderson 1965: 85)
 1.INV- catch^{II} -SAK COP^I

4. MORPHOLOGICAL FEATURES

4.1. GRAMMATICAL CATEGORY

What is the grammatical category of *-sàk*? I suggest that *-sàk* should be classified as a bound morpheme or a suffix, as it does not have any lexical meaning, and it always occurs immediately after a verb. The morpheme *-sàk* is not a verb, because it does not have a verbal feature such as two alternative verb stems (§2.2).

It could be possible to consider the benefactive suffix *-sàk* and the causative suffix *-sàk* to be different from each other and treated as coincidentally homophonic morphemes, but the causative and benefactive suffix *-sàk* should be classified as an identical suffix for the following reasons. First, the benefactive suffix *-sàk* and the causative suffix *-sàk* never co-occur⁷, while the suffix *-sàk* can occur with various other verb suffixes such as *-pìʔ* (commitative) and *-sàn* (relinquitive), as in (45) and (48). Second, the benefactive and causative marker often occurs as an identical morpheme in other languages as well (ex. Indonesian *-kan* as in Sneddon (1996: 70-84)). Therefore, it would be more logical to consider either *-sàk* to be identical.

⁶ The example sentences here are given in written style or in extremely formal way of speaking.

⁷ Looking through a running text, though, the suffix *-sàk* is reduplicated as shown in (A) below. The reduplication of *-sàk* functions as a double causative or indicates frequent actions, but it is quite rare to use. As for a double causative, assumably three participants (A ‘the causer to B’, B ‘the causee to A and causer to B’, and C ‘the causee to B’) are involved.

(A) **pai -sák -sàk òu** ‘Make B ask C to go!’ (The person A as a listener)
 go^I -SAK -SAK IMP ‘Let B often go!’

4. 2. FOSSILIZED BENEFACTIVE VERBS

The suffixation of *-sàk* to Form II verbs is optional for some verbs, to convey benefactive sense, as shown in (18) - (20). As far as I can gather, most of these type of verbs are fossilized or lexicalized so it cannot be predicted which Form II verbs have benefactive meaning without the suffixation of *-sàk*. Henderson (1965: 83) also noted that this process did not appear to be a living process any longer, and his informant was of the opinion that people tended to use *-sàk* to replace the lexicalized verbs. Therefore, we do not fully deal with such verbs in this paper.

- | | | |
|-------------------------|--------|--------------------------------------|
| (18) gò? | (-sàk) | ‘to slaughter something for someone’ |
| slaughter ^{II} | -SAK | |
| | | |
| (19) dèt | (-sàk) | ‘to light something for someone’ |
| lighten ^{II} | -SAK | |
| | | |
| (20) zòn | (-sàk) | ‘to search something for someone’ |
| search ^{II} | -SAK | |

For a small number of verbs, we can see a pragmatic difference between the Form II verb with *-sàk* and the one without *-sàk*. Compare (21) with (22) below.

- | | | | | |
|-----------------------------|-------------|-----------------|--------------------|-------------|
| (21) kèn | liàn | niaŋtú:i | bò:l | -sàk |
| 1SG.ERG | Lian | tea | make ^{II} | -SAK |
| ‘I made some tea for Lian.’ | | | | |

- | | | | |
|-------------------------------------|-------------|-----------------|--------------------|
| (22) kèn | liàn | niaŋtú:i | bò:l |
| 1SG.ERG | Lian | tea | make ^{II} |
| ‘I entertained Lian with some tea.’ | | | |

4. 3. INVERSE MARKING

Let us return to the inverse marking again, which we have discussed in Section 2.3. It is mandatory to affix the inverse marker *óŋ-* to the transitive verb, if either the patient or the recipient is a speech-act participant. Likewise, the inverse marker *óŋ-* must be prefixed to a causative and benefactive verb with *-sàk*, if a causee or a beneficiary (‘benefactee’) is a speech-act participant. Observe (23) and (24).

- (23) **nú hà:u ìn kèi / náŋ án óŋ- huán -sàk [CAUSEE]**
 aunt Hau ERG 1SG/2SG meal INV- cook^I -SAK
 ‘Aunty Hau made me / you cook a meal.’

- (24) **nú hà:u ìn kèi / náŋ án óŋ- huán -sàk [BENEFICIARY]**
 aunt Hau ERG 1SG/2SG meal INV- cook^{II} -SAK
 ‘Aunty Hau cooked a meal for me / you.’

5. SYNTACTIC FEATURES

Matisoff (1976: 423) pointed out that the verb is king in the Tibeto-Burman languages. NPs are deletable when they are clear from the context. We may say that the suffixation of *-sàk* to verbs in Tiddim Chin indicates the addition of another participant in the event. However, the added participant NPs are often deleted in discourse.

5.1. FORM I + *-sàk*

As illustrated in (25) below, the use of *-sàk* following a Form I verb often indicates the addition of another participant, which is semantically a causee. The causee argument allows not only an animate noun, but also an inanimate noun, as in (26).

- (25) **liàn ìn kì:kìm ú:i béŋ -sàk**
 Lian ERG Kikim dog drive out^I -SAK
 ‘Lian made Kikim drive out the dog.’

- (26) **(po:l xát ìn) tua kammál zòŋ óm -sàk la:i vè: ù? ò:**
 (group one ERG) that word also exist^I -SAK still PTCL PL PTCL
 ‘Some people still make the word exist (=> they are still using that word), too.’

In Tiddim Chin, a causee and a patient are both marked with absolutive case (zero marking), so it is difficult to causativize transitive verbs such as *ká:p* ‘to shoot’, because it is difficult to tell the causee from the patient if causativized. The informant commented that an example like (27) could be used, however, it is so complicated that speakers would avoid using it.

(27)? hí? pà:n tua nú: hua pá: t^hà:u tò? ká:p -sàk
 this man.ERG that woman that man gun COM shoot^I -SAK

If the three-place verbs⁸ such as “ask” and “give” are causitivized by suffixing *-sàk*, the recipient argument is obliquely expressed with the particle *kiàŋ* “around”, which indicates vicinity. Compare (28) with (29).

(28) liànpí: ìn tua t^hú: kì:kìm dòŋ
 Lianpi ERG that matter Kikim ask^I
 ‘Lianpi inquired that matter of Kikim.’

(29) liànpí: ìn tua t^hú: huáikim kiàŋ kì:kìm dòŋ -sàk
 Lianpi ERG that matter Huaikim.GEN around.LOC Kikim ask^I -SAK
 ‘Lianpi made Kikim inquire that matter of Huai Kim’

There is an interesting use of the causative marking *-sak* together with the middle prefix *kì-*, which mainly functions as a reciprocal, reflexive, and impersonal marker. If intransitive verbs or verbs of one participant events are used with a middle and causative marker, then the clause means “X does or pretends to do something as a pretext”, as in (30). Haka Lai, another Chin language, also has a similar construction. As for this matter, see Smith (1998: 45-46).

(30) sà:nnù: kì- hòì? -sàk
 Sannu MDL- good^I -SAK
 ‘Sannu pretends to be beautiful.’

5. 2. FORM II + *-sàk*

The use of *-sàk* following a Form II verb often indicates the addition of another participant, which is semantically the beneficiary, as shown in (31).

⁸ For the present, I cannot find any three-place verbs of which all the participants are human beings.

- (31) **liàn ìn kì:kìm ú:i bèn -sàk**
 Lian ERG Kikim dog drive out^{II} -SAK
 ‘Lian drove out the dog for Kikim.’

According to Shibatani (1996: 161), the intransitive-based benefactives tend to be ungrammatical in the benefactive constructions, which take dative (absolute) NP for the beneficiary. Even though some languages, such as Japanese, Korean and Nepali, allow the intransitive-based benefactives, the beneficiary is not overtly coded. Tiddim Chin allows the intransitive-based benefactives in Shibatani’s (1996) terms, but the beneficiary is not coded overtly as in (32).

- (32) **nú hà:u ìn (*kèi) zùm à? óŋ - pài -sà**
 aunt Hau ERG 1SG office LOC INV- go^{II} -SAK
 ‘Aunty Hau went to the office for me.’

As we have already discussed in Section 5.1, the causee and the patient are both marked with absolute case (zero marking) in Tiddim Chin, so it is difficult to causativize transitive verbs such as *ká:p* ‘to shoot’, which requires three human participants (the agent, patient and causee) if cautivezed. The example (33) could be used, although it is so complicated that speakers would avoid using it. Instead, my informant presented the substitutive clause, which contains a purposive phrase, as shown in (34).

- (33)? **hí? pà:n tua nú: hua pá: t^hà:u tò? kà:p -sàk**
 this man.ERG that woman that man gun COM shoot^{II} -SAK

- (34) **tua nù: á: dí:ŋ a:**
 that woman.GEN thing PUR CONJ
hí? pà:n hua pá: t^hà:u tò? kà:p -sàk
 this man.ERG that man gun COM shoot^{II} -SAK
 ‘For the sake of that woman, this man shot that man with a gun.’

If the three-place verb is benefactivized with *-sàk*, the recipient argument occurs with oblique case postposed by the particle *kiàŋ* “around”.

- (35) **liànpí: ìn tua t^hú: huáikim kiàŋ kì:kìm dòt -sàk**
 Lianpi ERG that matter Huaikim.GEN around.LOC Kikim ask^{II} -SAK
 ‘Lianpi asked that matter to Huai Kim for Kikim.’

The benefactive suffix *-sàk* can also co-occur with the middle voice prefix *kì-*, which functions as a reflexive, reciprocal and impersonal marker.

- (36) **i lu: kì- èt -sàk nì:**
 1PL.INC head MDL- look^{II} -SAK 1PL.INC.IRR
 ‘Let’s see each other’s head (for each other).’

6. SEMANTIC FEATURES

Through our discussion in Section 5, we have observed that the causative construction is formed by suffixing *-sàk* to a Form I verb, while the benefactive construction is formed by suffixing *-sàk* to a Form II verb. In both the benefactive and causative constructions, the ergative NPs are restricted to animate ones, and the effected events must be controllable by human beings. (37) and (38) are ungrammatical in that the effected event, “raining”, is not controllable by the human being.

- (37)* **guà? zù -sàk**
 rain fall^I -SAK

- (38)* **guà? zùk -sàk**
 rain fall^{II} -SAK

The added participant by suffixing *-sàk* to a Form II verb denotes not only a beneficiary, but also a person that is supposed to be involved in the effected event as in (39), and the maleficiary as in (41). Peterson (1989: 96-97) referred to the former function as “substitutive” in Haka Lai, another Chin language. The two clauses below, (39) and (40), are semantically different because (39) focuses on the non-actor’s

intention, whereas (40) does not. The “substitutive” function is similar to the benefactive function in that the added participant has some sort of intention toward the effected event. The added participant is often expressed by a genitive argument or a clitic pronoun as in (39) and (41). Both indicate a possessor and they are interchangeable.

- (39) **ámàn kèi / kà án óŋ- né:k -sàk**
 3SG.ERG 1SG.GEN / 1 meal INV- eat^{II} -SAK
 ‘He ate my meal (that I was supposed to eat).’

- (40) **ámàn kèi / kà án né:**
 3SG.ERG 1SG.GEN / 1 meal eat^I
 ‘He (just) ate my meal.’

- (41) **ka sial máŋ kuàn óŋ - gú:k -sàk hì: -àm t^hèi**
 1 Mithan lost^I who.ERG INV- steal^{II} -SAK COP^I-QST know^I
kéŋ
 NEG.1SG.RLS
 ‘I wonder who stole my Mithan (Indian bison) on me.’

Altogether, it seems to depend simply on context whether the suffix *-sàk* affixed to a Form II verb functions as a benefactive, substitutive, or malefactive marker.

7. AMBIGUITY

7.1. RELATIVE CLAUSE

As discussed in Section 2.2, a Form I verb is employed in a relative clause if an actor NP is relativized. On the other hand, a Form II verb is employed in a relative clause if a non-actor NP is relativized. Therefore, if a non-actor NP is relativized, *-sàk* can function either as a causative or as a benefactive marker so it is ambiguous without a context, as in (42) and (43) below.

- (42) **liàn ìn liànpi: á huàn -sàk án óm la:i**
 Lian ERG Lianpi 3 cook^{II} -SAK meal exist^I still
 ‘The meal Lian made Lianpi cook was still left.’
 ‘The meal Lian cooked for Lianpi was still left.’

- (43) **liàn ìn án á huàn -sàk liànpi: óm la:i**
 Lian ERG meal 3 cook^{II} -SAK Lianpi exist^I still
 ‘Lianpi whom Lian made cook a meal was still there.’
 ‘Lianpi, for whom Lian cooked a meal, was still there.’

7.2. TRANSITIVIZING SUFFIXES

-sàk can co-occur with other transitivizing suffixes such as [1] *-piʔ* (commitative) and [2] *-sàn* (relinquitive). The transitivizing suffixes *-piʔ* and *-sàn* are always suffixed to a Form II verb so the verb with *-sàk* here functions ambiguously; therefore, it depends on the context to tell whether it functions as a causative marker or a benefactive marker.

[1] COMMITATIVE

The commitative suffix *-piʔ* signals the addition of another participant that semantically indicates an equal participant with the agent in the event⁹, as in (44).

- (44) **kèn áamáʔ xósuŋ dóŋ và:k -piʔ**
 1SG.ERG 3SG downtown upto go out^{II} -COM
 ‘I went downtown with him.’

-piʔ is always suffixed to a Form II verb so that *-sàk* in (45) functions either as a benefactive or a causative marker. Without a context, we cannot tell whether it functions as a causative or a benefactive marker.

⁹ The construction with *-piʔ* here is more or less the same as the construction with the commitative case marker *tòʔ* below. Thus, the suffix *-piʔ* is regarded as an applicative suffix.

● **kèn áamáʔ tòʔ xósuŋ dóŋ và:k**
 1SG.ERG 3SG COM downtown upto go out^I
 ‘I went downtown with him.’

- (45) **nú hà:u ìn liànpí: pài -pì? -sək**
aunty Hau ERG Lianpi go^{II} -COM -SAK

‘Aunty Hau went with Lianpi (on behalf of someone else).’

‘Aunty Hau made Lianpi go (with someone else).’

[2] RELINQUITIVE

The transitivising suffix *-sàn* is similar to the relinquitive suffix *-taak* in Haka Lai in its grammatical function. Peterson (1998: 117-118) noted that the clause with the relinquitive suffix in Haka Lai is interpreted as the subject of the verb leaving the added object and verb as shown in (47). Compare (47) with its counterpart without *-sàn* (46).

- (46) **nú cìŋ tà:i**
aunt Cing run^I

‘Aunty Cing ran.’

- (47) **nú cìŋ ìn liàn tà:i -sàn**
aunt Cing ERG Lian run^{II} -RLNQ

‘Aunty Cing ran leaving Lian behind.’

-sàn is suffixed to a Form II verb at all times so *-sək* in (45) can function either as a causative marker or as a benefactive marker. It depends on the context to tell which function *-sək* has.

- (48) **liàn ìn pá t^hàŋ kiaŋ á? nú hà:u tà:i -sàn -sək**
Lian ERG uncle Thang.GEN place LOC aunt Hau run^{II} -RELQ -SAK

‘Lian made Uncle Thang run away, leaving Aunty Hau behind.’

‘Lian ran to Uncle Thang’s place, leaving Aunty Hau behind (for someone else).’

7. 3. HOMOPHONES

Some Tiddim Chin verbs are formally homophonous as described in section 2.2 so that the meaning of (49) depends on a context whether *-sək* functions as a benefactive marker or as a causative marker.

(49) **ámàn nà puán óŋ- sɪl^c -sàk**
 3SG.ERG 2 clothing INV- wear^{III} -SAK

‘He made me wear your clothing.’

‘He wore your clothing (that you were supposed to wear / for you).’

8. CONCLUSION

Comrie (1989: 182) mentioned that the same morphology as is used to indicate causative construction in many languages is also same as general indicator of increase in valency, without any necessary connection with the semantic parameters of causative constructions.

Even so, Matisoff (1976: 430) suggested that the notion of benefaction and transitivity/causativization are more closely related than is generally realized. According to Iwasaki (1998: 201), the causative and benefactive constructions in English have not been discussed commonly as related phenomena, as both constructions are syntactically different from each other¹⁰. However, he pointed out that both constructions are valency-increasing clauses with a complex predicate in some languages such as Japanese and Korean. In other languages such as colloquial Burmese (Okano 2007), Khmer (Iwasaki and Yap 1998), Chinese (Newman 1993) and Indonesian (Sneddon 1996), the same morpheme is employed in both constructions.

Iwasaki (1998: 201) investigated this crosslinguistical relationship between causatives and benefactives by analyzing the two constructions in Thai. In Thai, both constructions employ the same morpheme meaning *hâi* “give”. The morpheme appears as an adjunct after a clause in the benefactive sentence, while it appears before a clause in the causative sentence, as in (50) and (51) The use of two constructions, causatives and benefactives, is reminiscent of voice alternation between active and passive constructions.

(50) **dɛɛŋ hâi nók sw̃w nãŋsw̃w** (Iwasaki 1998: 201)

Daeng GIVE Nok buy book

‘Daeng let Nok read a book.’

¹⁰ Still, we can observe a potential relationship between causatives and benefactives in English as well. Compare the following sentences; ‘And, can you believe it? I **got** to go to college, too! (Forrest Gump)’ [Benefactives?] and ‘I **got** him to go to college.’ [Causatives?]

- (51) $d\epsilon\epsilon\eta$ $sw\check{\omega}$ $na\check{\eta}sw\check{\omega}$ $h\grave{a}i$ $n\acute{o}k$ (Iwasaki 1998: 202)
 Daeng buy book GIVE Nok
 ‘Daeng read a book for Nok.’

Iwasaki (1998) demonstrated that the two constructions in Thai consist of a verb clause which depicts the effected event, and an NP which refers to the person (“the trigger” or someone who is the ultimate incentive for the effected event) that triggers an event with different degrees of agentivity.

It is possible to represent the clause structure of the two constructions in Thai as follows. In the representation below, the linear order represents the constituent order and the arrow ‘→’ represents the direction of the cause to the effect. Iwasaki (1998: 204) also noted in his paper that causatives and benefactives are semantic as well as structural mirror images of each other, or that the benefactives are characterized as the reversed causatives.

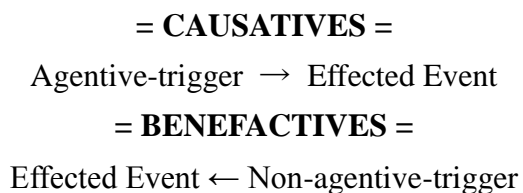
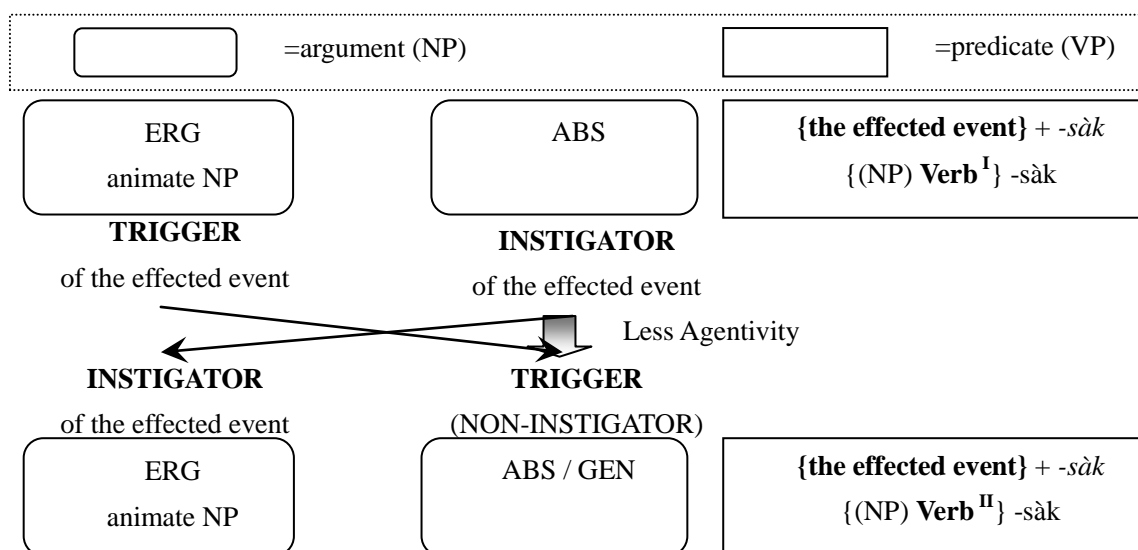


Figure 2: Causative and benefactives in Thai¹¹ (Iwasaki 1998: 203)

Let us attempt to extend the idea above to causatives and benefactives in Tiddim Chin. In a similar way to Thai, both of the constructions in Tiddim Chin employ the same morpheme *-sàk*, and they are valency-increasing clauses as well. The benefactives and the causatives with *-sàk* in Tiddim Chin present a mirror image of each other as schematically presented in Figure 3. The mirror image in Tiddim Chin is not presented by word order as in Thai, but by alternation of the verb stems (§2.2). What is more, we can observe the verb stems function similarly in relativization and causatives/benefactives, by comparing Figure 3 with Figure 1 (§2.2). Form II lessens the agentivity of the core NP in both cases.

¹¹ The agentive trigger exercises various degrees of control over the instigator of the effected event. On the other hand, the non-agentive-trigger exerts no active control over the instigator of the event, but the instigator of the effected event voluntarily anticipates the trigger's wishes.

Figure 3: Basic syntactic structure of *-sàk* in Tiddim Chin

In contrast to Tiddim Chin, the benefactive suffix and the causative suffix are formally different from each other in many of the other Chin languages such as Haka Lai (Central Chin), Daai Chin (Southern Chin) and Thado Kuki (Northern Chin), in which both of the constructions are suffixed to the Form II verb as shown in [1] - [3] below. It may be interesting to investigate other languages surrounding Tiddim Chin and speculate whether this feature involving *-sàk* is influenced by languages in Southeast Asia other than Chin languages.

[1] Haka Lai, Central Chin language (Peterson 1998: 96-100)

(1-a) Causative: V^{II} *-ter* (*-tsiʔ*)

(1-b) Benefactive, Malefactive, and Substitutive: V^{II} *-piak* / Malefactive: V^{II} *-hnoʔ*

[2] Daai Chin, Southern Chin language (So-Hartmann 2008)

(2-a) Causative: V *-shak*

(2-b) Benefactive, Malefactive: V *-pe:t* or *-pe*

[3] Thado Kuki, Northern Chin language (Cover 2006)

(3-a) Causative: V^{II} *-sàk*

(3-b) Benefactive: V^{II} *-pèq*

ABBREVIATIONS

1	1st person	2	2nd person	3	third person
COM	committative	CONJ	conjunctive	COP	copula
ERG	ergative	GEN	genitive	IMP	imperative
INC	inclusive	INV	inverse	IRR	irrealis
LOC	locative	MDL	middle voice	NEG	negative
PL	plural	PTCL	particles	PUR	purposive
QST	question	RLNQ	relinquitive	RLS	realis
SAK	<i>-sàk</i>	SG	singular	I	Form I
II	Form II	.	and	-	affix

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「ティディム・チン語における使役・裨益の接尾辞 *-sək*」

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要旨

本論文では、ティディム・チン語（チベット・ビルマ語派クキ・チン語支北部チン語群）の使役または裨益を示す動詞接尾辞 *-sək* について論じる。

Matisoff (1976) や Iwasaki (1998) の記述によると、言語によって、使役と裨益が相互に強く関係している事がある。例えば、タイ語等、東南アジア大陸部には、使役と裨益のマーカ―が同一の形態素であり、文中の構成素の順序によって使役か裨益かを判断する言語が多い。

ティディム・チン語でも、接尾辞 *-sək* を動詞に付加する形で使役または裨益を示す。但し、構成素の順序ではなく、接続する動詞語幹の種類（形式Ⅰと形式Ⅱ）によって両者を使い分ける。節の種類によって使役と裨益の表現は全く同一の形式で現れ、Inverse marker の付き方は両者で類似している。一方、関係節構造との比較や名詞句項の取り方を見ると、使役または裨益の構造が相互対称的である事が分かる。