

**APPLICATIVE AND
CAUSATIVE SYNCRETISM
IN SINITIC LANGUAGES:**

A CROSSLINGUISTIC VIEW

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Crosslinguistic view

- examine a recurring pattern whereby applicative and causative morphology is identical across a large number of unrelated languages
- nonetheless the grammatical constructions so formed at clause-level involve **different** verb classes
- attested in languages Australia, the Americas, Africa and Oceania
- so far only a few studies specifically address this pattern crosslinguistically and none for Sinitic

Target construction

What is recognized as an applicative construction is V=GEI in Sinitic

➤ typically used with transfer verbs in one of the Standard Mandarin ditransitive constructions

他送给老师一束花。 but

Tā sòng-gei lǎoshī yī-sù huā

‘He gave the teacher a bouquet
of flowers.’

?他烤给老师一个蛋糕。

? Tā kǎo-gei lǎoshī yī-ge dàngāo

? ‘He baked a cake for the teacher.’

By contrast, in Lan-Yin 藍銀官話 and Central Plains Mandarin

中原官話, and some of the Jin dialects 晉語

- a striking extension of Verb=GEI to a much larger group of volitional verbs can be seen, including ‘correct’, ‘sweep’, ‘engrave’, ‘roast’ and so on.

甘溝話 Gangou lexical ‘give’ and applicative <‘give’

Gangou ditransitive clause with **lexical** verb ‘give’

V₁ ni-ha fu yi- pən **kei-liao**.

1SG 2SG-ACC/DAT book one-CLF **give**-PFV

‘I gave you a book.’ (Zhu et al 1997: 444) 我你哈书一本书了。

Gangou **benefactive applicative** with enclitic =*gei* 給

ata ai-tɕia tʂɿ vava-a ɕinli ʂouʂɿ-**kei**-tʂɿ li
father 3P MOD son-DAT luggage pack-**give**-PROG PRT

‘Father is packing the bags for his son.’ (Yang 2014: 231)

阿大暖傢的娃娃啊行李收拾给着哩。

Previous research on Sinitic applicatives

- In generative grammar, the debate has been how to model the constituent structure with both **high and low applicatives** being postulated to account for different kinds of data.
- See *inter alia* Tsai Wei-tien (2018), Paul & Whitman (2010), Sun Tianqi (2009) and Cheng Jie & Wen Binli (2008).
- In functional linguistics, there is very little detailed work on applicatives in Chinese languages, apart from the recent work of Xiao Lin on Standard Mandarin (2019)

Argumentation

- This new function of enclitic =GEI corresponds to an applicative function which allows an **increase in valency** by one argument in the clause.
- Importantly for this talk, in some of the Northern Sinitic languages, a further causative use of **V=GEI** can be identified
- I will argue that
 - (i) the applicative extensions of **V=GEI_{APP}** is launched from a ditransitive base which is common in serializing Asian languages (Creissels 2014)
 - (ii) the causative reanalysis as **V=GEI_{CAUS}** develops by analogy with the applicative construction

Presentation

1. Introduction
2. Applicative and causative syncretism in Northern Sinitic
3. Two competing hypotheses
4. Conclusion



PART I: INTRODUCTION

DEFINITION OF APPLICATIVIZATION

- Applicativization is viewed as a valency-increasing device in early **studies** on this topic:
- an oblique constituent is promoted or added as a core argument in a **non-subject, non agentive role**
- there is overt marking of the applicative on the verb
- typical **applied nouns** are those originally in an oblique role (Benefactive/Dative, Instrument, Locative, Possessor of Patient....)
- crosslinguistically, **benefactive applicatives** are the most common subtype (cf Peterson 2007, Creissels 2024)

Geographical distribution of applicatives

Creissels (2010 :40) and Polinsky (2013) indicate that the following areas and language families have attested **applicative constructions**:

- (i) West Africa: Bantu languages (Niger-Congo); Atlantic
- (ii) Serializing languages of Southeast Asia
- (iii) New Guinea and Austronesian languages of the western Pacific
- (iv) Salish (North America) ;
- (v) Mayan and Uto-Aztecan languages of Meso-America

Indonesian benefactive applicative

Basic construction (**two arguments**)

Ali mem-buka pintu [untuk guru]_{PP}

Ali TR-open door for teacher

‘Ali opens the door for the teacher.’

Applicative construction (**three arguments**) :-**kan**

Ali mem-buka-**kan** guru pintu

Ali TR-open-**BEN** teacher door

‘Ali opens the door **for the teacher.**’

(Song 2001 :192)

Applicatives as pan-Sinitic?

From the angle of typology, the **VERB=gei** applicative construction appears to be mainly a Northern Sinitic feature.

For example:

VERB-GEI IO DO ditransitive construction simply does not exist in a majority of Southern Sinitic languages, including the Keqiao dialect of Shaoxing Wu (see 盛益民 2021: 259-263).

The following example becomes grammatical, once =**peʔ⁵⁻³³** ‘give’ is omitted.

Shaoxing Wu

Shaoxing Wu (Keqiao dialect) VERB-**GEI** IO DO

*son⁵⁵⁻³³=**pe?**⁵⁻³³ hi¹³¹⁻³³khue⁵⁵⁻³³ pu⁵⁵

offer=**give** 3SG CLF cloth

(Attempted: ‘Give her some cloth.’) *送**拔**渠块布。 (Sheng 2021:260)

> son⁵⁵⁻³³ hi¹³¹⁻³³ khue⁵⁵⁻³³ pu⁵⁵ 送_└渠块布
offer 3SG CLF cloth

Optional versus obligatory applicatives

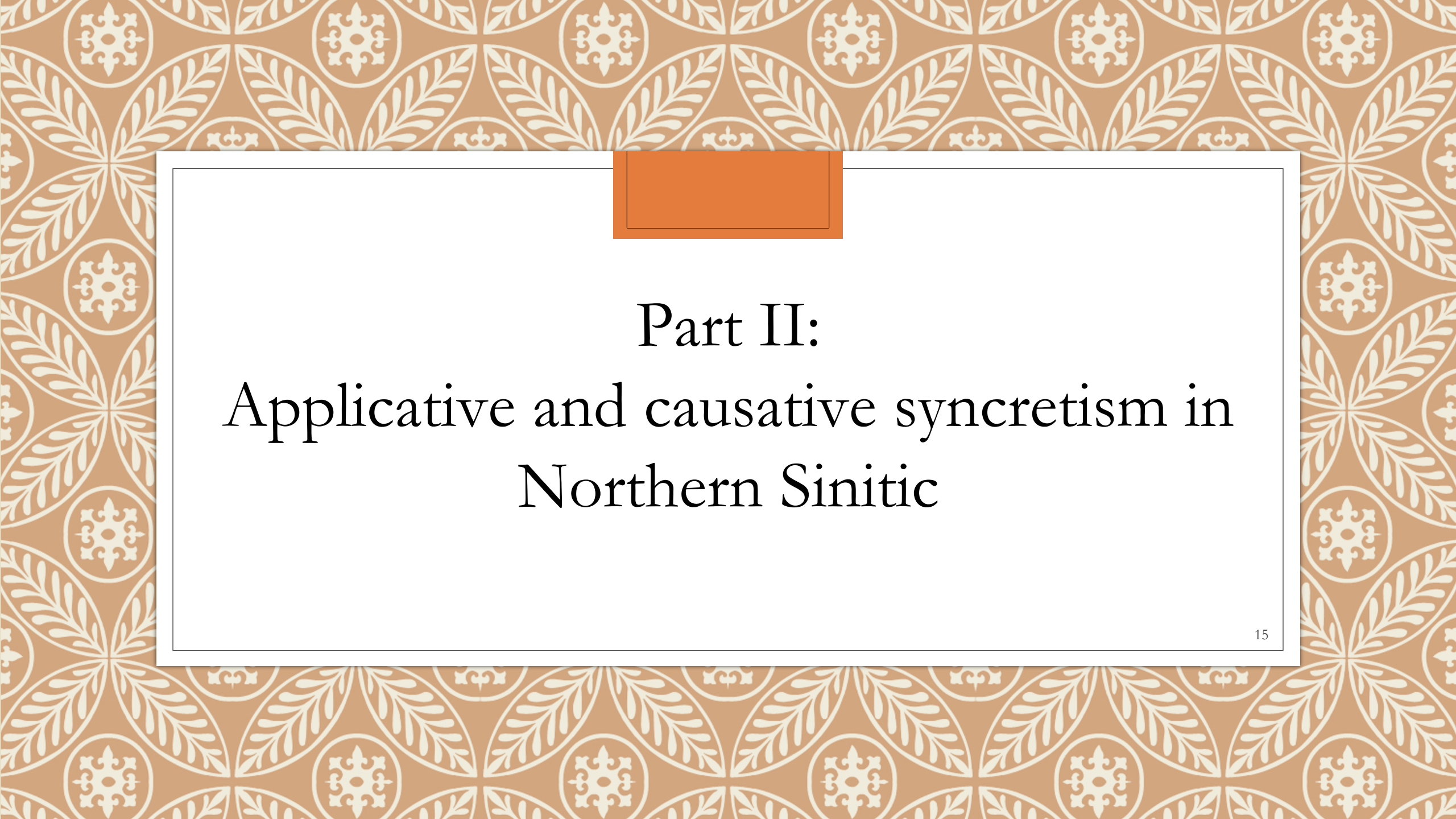
➤ A very important point is made in Peterson's analyses on this topic (2007: 45) is to allow for both **optional** and **obligatory** types of applicative :

➤ **optional** applicatives occur with trivalent verbs – they are an alternative construction to the basic double object ditransitives.

他送(给)我一束花。

➤ In the case of **obligatory** applicatives, the applicative construction is the *only* means of coding the applicative noun.

我寫*(给)她一封信。



Part II:
Applicative and causative syncretism in
Northern Sinitic

Northwestern China & the Qinghai-Gansu Sprachbund

- Mandarin languages of the Lan-Yin and Central Plains groups form a small Sprachbund that straddles the border between Gansu and Qinghai provinces. Under the impact of long-term contact with Turkic, Mongolic and Tibetic languages, their evolution has diverged quite radically from other Mandarin dialect areas.
- These include languages such as Gangou, Linxia (Hezhou), Tangwang, and Xining, all included in my survey.
- Wealth of literature on this fascinating example of language contact and convergence

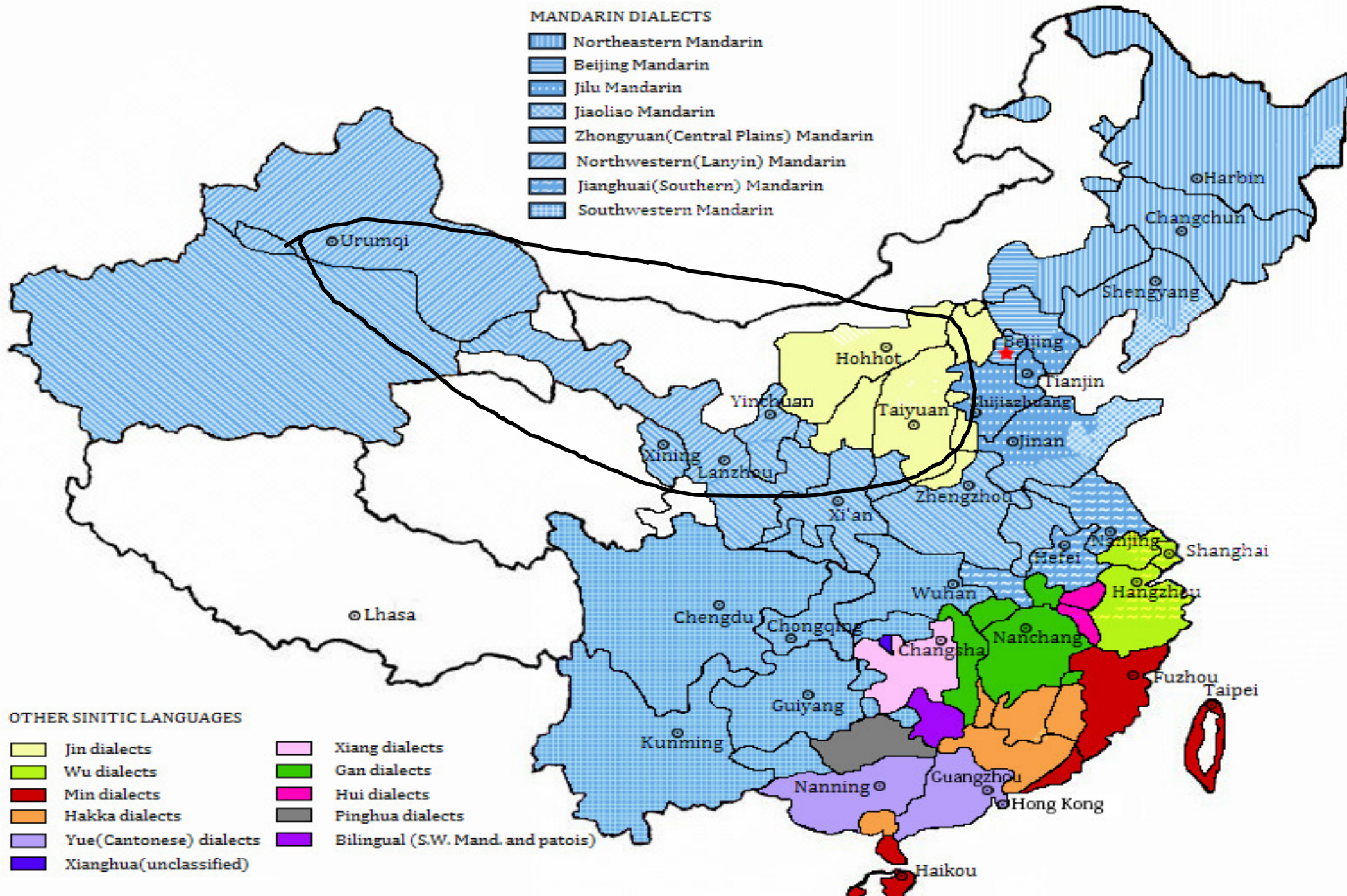
Case marking Mandarin varieties

The case systems, aspect markers, and atypical subject-object-verb SOV word order of these languages, as well as the many functions of the verb GIVE in this language area, have been widely described, but rarely as ‘applicative markers’.

Notable exceptions are Yang Yonglong (2014), Djamouri (2015), and more recently Zhao Lüyuan (2021, forthcoming), who also observe this feature.

Wider distribution in Northern China

- However, GIVE applicative markers are not just a feature of the Ganqing Sprachbund.
- Their range of use extends from the Urumqi dialect in northwest Xinjiang, to the Xining dialect in Qinghai, to the Lanzhou dialect in southeastern Gansu, to the Yinchuan dialect in Ningxia, in neighboring Inner Mongolia,
- and even as far away as the Jin dialects in Shanxi province, such as Taiyuan.



Languages in survey 语言的调查范围

甘肃 GANSU

Lanzhou

Tianshui

Tianzhu

Minqin

Tangwang

Linxia

兰州

天水

天祝

民勤

唐汪

临夏

青海 QINGHAI

Gangou

Wutun

Xining

Zhoutun

Liutun

甘沟

五屯

西宁

周屯

刘屯

新疆 XINJIANG

Urumqi

Dungan

乌鲁木齐

東干語

宁夏 NINGXIA

Yinchuan

Pingluo

Tongxin

银川

平罗

同心

山西 SHANXI

Taiyuan (Jin Chinese)

Pingding (Jin Chinese)

Xinjiang (Jin Chinese)

太原

平定

新绛

河南 HENAN

Linzhou (Jin Chinese)

林州

Distinguishing characteristics of Northern Sinitic applicatives

- In this area, the applicative function of enclitic =GEI shows an unusual extension to a much broader range of verb classes, for these languages located in former frontier areas of China.
- The difference is the extension to *any volitional verb*, to **intransitive verbs** and even to the verb ‘give’ itself (all impossible in the standard language).
- The enclitic appears to be cognate with Standard Chinese [kɛi] in most of these languages, although some scholars adduce language contact influences
(cf. Song Jinlan 1991, Zhu et al 1997, Sandman 2016 & Zhao Lüyuan (forthcoming) on the possible influence of Mongolic).

2.1. Zhoutun, Qinghai 周屯话: ki = 给

(i) Lexical ditransitive verb 「**ki**」 『给』

ŋɣ kua fu i pɿ̃ **ki**_给 lo. 我郭啊书一本给了。
1SG 3SG:DAT book one-CLF give PFV
‘I gave him/her a book.’ ‘我给了她一本书。’

(ii) Applicative marker on a transitive verb – **ki**

tɕaɕi ylĩ xa iɕã tshu- **ki**_给. 扎西玉林哈衣裳取给。
PN PN DAT coat take-give
‘扎西为玉林拿了一件外套’

kua = 3P DAT/ACC xa 哈 = DAT/ACC

(Data from Zhou Chenlei 周晨磊 2019: 431-432)

周屯话: ki = 给 Causative of intransitive verbs

ŋɣ kua mi tɕĩle = ki. 1 3:DAT NEG come = **ki**_{CAUS}

‘I did not let him/her in.’ (Zhou 2019: 32)

我箇啊没进来给。

ni kua i = tũ uɣ = ki ta.

2 3:DAT one=CL hungry=**ki**_{CAUS} PART

‘You starve him/her for a meal.’ (Zhou 2019: 54)

你箇啊一顿饿给塔。

2.2. Linxia Mandarin (Hezhou), Gansu 临夏话 (河州话)

- In Linxia, we can observe the same recurring pattern as in Zhoutun and Xining:
- There are at least two dialects of Linxia, one which uses KI 给 (Hezheng) and the other which uses TI (Linxia City) whose source is unknown:

ʃifu	tɕe-χa	zi-kə	tʃaŋtsi	k ^h ə = ti	liɔ
master	3SG-DAT	one-CLF	seal	carve=APPL	PFV

‘The master carved a seal for her.’

ŋə-ti	mama	va-mã	taŋ	tuotuoti	tʃ ^h i = ti	liɔ
1SG-POSS	mother	children-PL	candy	a.lot.of	eat=CAUS	PFV

‘(At New Year), my grandmother **let** the children eat lots of candy.’

Causative use of enclitic =ti in Linxia

ηə-ti laobã tɕe-χα tɕia-ŋi tsaotsaoti χui = ti liɔ
1SG-POSS boss 3SG-DAT home-LOC early return=**CAUS** PFV

‘His boss made him go home early.’

ηə-ti liãʂu ηə-ti χua-mã jaŋ-si = ti liɔ
1SG-POSS friends 1SG-POSS plant-PL grow-dead=**CAUS** PFV

‘My friend just let my plants die.’

(Data from Dr LI Hao, University of Mainz)

2.3. Tangwang 唐汪话, Gansu

For Tangwang: Djamouri (2015: 261) describes the similar phenomenon of the applicative use of the verb ‘give’ **ki** 给 in Tangwang.

The suffix **-ki** is optional with transfer verbs and may also be used together with its verbal function:

Mətə nə-xa jã-xa ki-(**ki**)-tʂɛ

Mətə 3SG-XA sheep-XA give-(**APP**)-IMPF

‘Mətə gives him the sheep.’ (Djamouri 2015:261)

麦德那*(哈)羊 *(哈) 给(给)寨。

Tangwang applicatives

Suffix **-ki** may be used with non-transfer verbs such as **tsu** ‘make’ 做, **tshɿ** ‘eat’ 吃 or **wẽ** ‘knit’ 绾.

Predictably in this case, **-ki** is an obligatory suffix on the main verb. The next example uses the verb ‘roast’ with the applicative.

wɔ	nə-a	jãzɰ-xa	thẽ-la	khi- ki -tɕɛ
1SG	3SG-DAT	mutton-ACC	coal-INSTR	roast- APPL -IMPF

‘I roast mutton for him with coal.’ (Djamouri 2015:257)

Causative of an intransitive verb in Tangwang 唐汪话中不及物动词的致使化

wɣ nə-xa lɛ = ki-ljo. 我那哈来给寮。

1SG 3SG-XA come-CAUS-PERF

‘I brought him.’ (‘I made him come.’) (Djamouri 2015:262)

2.4. Lanzhou Mandarin 兰州话

The applicative enclitic =kw “给” in Lanzhou Mandarin has also a very wide use:

fʃ¹³ =kw “说给”, io¹³ =kw “要给”, k‘ʃ¹³ =kw “刻给”,
tʃŋ¹³ =kw “指出给”

It may even be used as a suffix on its lexical verb use:

la⁵¹ pa¹³ ye¹³tʃ‘ŋ kw¹³ vʃ⁴⁴ kw¹³ =kw lo. 他把钥匙给我了。
3SG OM key to 1SG give = give_{APP} PFV

(Examples from Wang & Wang 2003)

and there is also a applicative usage:

Lanzhou Mandarin 兰州话的施用用法

lo⁴⁴-ʂɿ⁵³fu kw¹³ vɿ⁴⁴ k'ɿ¹³ = kw kɿ¹³ tɕoŋ⁵³tsɿ.

old-master for 1SG carve = give_{APPL} CL seal

老师傅为我刻了一个印章。

‘The master craftsman carved a seal for me.’

(data from Wei Xingzhou, Zhejiang University)

tɕia⁰ pa⁴⁴ lɛ⁵⁵-kɿ¹³ tũn³¹ɕi²¹ kw¹³ vɿ⁴⁴ tɕhy⁴⁴ = kw

INT OM that = CL thing for 1SG get = APPL

i²¹ xa²¹ ʂa²¹

one VCL PRT

‘Just get me that thing!’ 嘉把那个东西给我取给一下吵。

(Wang & Zhao 1997: 32)

Lanzhou causative examples 兰州话 致使的用法

乘客： 师傅买票！我要下车了！

司机对售票员： 那人家就下呢， 快些**买给**致使 啻。

‘Hurry up and let him buy the ticket.’ (你) 快点使他买上 (车票) 呀。

药亮下了， 快些**喝给**致使 。

‘The medicine has cooled down, hurry up and have (the person) drink it.’

(你快些叫某人喝。)

(examples from Wang Sen & Wang Yi 2003:213, my translations)

2.5. Xining Mandarin, Qinghai: Applicative uses

Xining 西宁话

电影票给他**买给**霎?

DIÀNYǐNG PIÀO GĒI TĀ MǎI-GĒI SHÀ?

‘Are you buying a film ticket for him?’

我给你**打给**一件毛衣。

Wǒ GĒI Nǐ Dǎ-GĒI YĪ JIÀN MÁOYĪ.

‘I’m knitting a sweater for you.’

阿妈给客人把饭**做给**了。

ĀMĀ GĒI KÈRÉN Bǎ FÀN ZUÒ-GĒI LE.

‘Mother made a meal for the guest.’

Standard Mandarin 普通话

给他**买**不买电影票?

我**给你**织件毛衣。

妈**给**客人把饭做好了。

(Song 1990: 47)

Xining causative uses 西宁话V-**给**的致使用法

Xining 西宁话

他想说了就**说给**。

TĀ XIǎNG SHUŌLE JIÙ **SHUŌ-GĚI**.

‘Let him say what he wants to say!’

他哈回**来给**。

TĀ HĀ **HUÍLÁI-GĚI**.

Let him come back!

这个书给我**看给**一挂。

ZHÈGE SHŪ GĚI WŌ **KÀN-GĚI** YĪ GUÀ.

‘Let me read this book.’

compare:

Standard Mandarin 普通话

他想说就让他说吧!

Tā xiǎng shuō jiù ràng tā shuō.

让他回来吧!

Ràng tā huílái ba!

这本书让我看看。

Zhè běn shū ràng wǒ kàn kàn.

(Song 1990: 47)

2.6. Xinjiang Dungan 新疆东干语施用语与致使的用法

Data from Dr. Sami Honsalenko, Helsinki University (pers.comm.)

你给我把吃的不舀**给**吗？

nì *kə = və* *pa = tʃ^hə = ti* *pə* *jò = kə = ma?*

2SG DAT=1SG ACC=eat=NOM NEG scoop=**BEN**=Q

‘Don’t you give me some food?’ (recorded conversation)

你给我也买**给**，你买啥呢。

nì *kə = və* *jà* *mè = kə,* *nì* *mè* *sā = ni.*

2SG DAT=1SG also buy=**BEN** 2SG buy what=PROSP

‘Buy also for me too what you buy for yourself.’ (constructed)

你给我看**给**哪个丫头去呢。

nì *kə = və* *k^hān = kə* *nà = kə* *ját^hu* *tɕ^hī = ni.*

2SG DAT=1SG see=CAUS which=CLF girl go=PROSP

‘Show me which girl will go.’ (constructed)

BEN = BENEFACTIVE APPLICATIVE 施用标记

2.7. Gangou Mandarin, Qinghai 青海的甘沟话

Yang (2014: 232) describes the applicative construction in Gangou which he calls *zēngyuán gōushì* 增元构式:

Gangou deputative ~ benefactive applicative

ada	ai-tɕie tʂɿ	wawa-a	xingli	shoushi-kei-tʂɿ	li
father	3P MOD	son-DAT	luggage	pack-give-PROG	PRT

‘Father is packing the bags for his son.’ (Yang 2014: 231)

阿大暖傢的娃娃啊行李收拾给着哩。

Applicative uses of =**kei in** Gangou Mandarin
青海的甘沟话 的施用用法

Gangou ditransitive clause with lexical verb ‘give’

V_ɣ ni-ha fu yi- pən **kei-liao.**
1SG 2SG-ACC/DAT book one-CLF **give**-PFV

‘I gave you a book.’ (Zhu et al 1997: 444)

Gangou applicative with enclitic =*gei*

ni v_ɣ-a tʂɿ-pən fu k^han = **kei.**
2SG 1SG-ACC/DAT this-CLF book read = **APPL** < **GIVE**

‘You read this book for me.’ (Yang 2014 :232)

你我啊这本书看给。

Causative affix : V=GEI 给 in Gangou

Ai, Laotian, kuo duo-xiar ha-lai=**gei**
EXCL old.heaven another more-some down-come=**CAUS**

‘Ai, Old-Heaven God, send some more down.’ 一下來**給**

(Zhu et al 1997: 438-439) (« The value of daughters », example without 汉字)

Gangou coercive causatives V=*gei*

Zhao Lüyuan (2021) points out that the derivational causatives V=*gei* with intransitive verbs

form the semantic type of **coercive** or directive causative constructions, including manipulation (cf. Shibatani & Pardeshi 2002).

kou	sɿ-tiau	liau	>	t ^h a	kou-a	sɿ-tiau = kei liau
dog	die-ACH	CRS		3SG	dog=ACC	die-ACH= CAUS CRS ‘The dog died.’
						‘S/He caused the dog to die.’
						他狗啊死掉给了。

Gangou causatives

The intransitive verb class includes predicative adjectives such as ‘happy’, ‘angry’, ‘worried’, ‘full (satiated)’, and ‘dry’.

By contrast, Zhao (2021) explains that the causativization of transitive verbs is rare with the **coercive** meaning, but possible with **a permissive ‘let’ reading**.

Most examples I observed in the data are specifically **labile** verbs: ‘drink’ 喝, ‘eat’ 吃, ‘sleep’ 睡, ‘sing’ 唱 ...

- also a few **unergative** verbs: ‘come’ 来, ‘go out’ 出去 ‘return’ 回 .

Crucially, the interpretation is moreover ambiguous between the permissive and the benefactive applicative readings:

Labile 变价 or ambitransitive verbs 歧价动词

lauʂŋ meimei-xa gə tɕʰaŋ=**kei** tɕŋ
teacher girl-ACC/DAT song sing=**CAUS**/**APPL** PRT

老师妹妹啊歌唱给着。

Causative: ‘The teacher lets the girl sing (a song).’

Applicative: ‘The teacher sings a song for/on behalf of the girl.’

(data from Zhao Lüyuan 2019: 219)

cf. Yang Yonglong’s example of 看

(158) 哎! 老汉哈 做给 两 碗 是就, 吃给 是就,
 ε lɔxɛ̃-xa tsuki lã wɛ̃ ʂɿtɕʰɤ ʈɕʰɿ-ki ʂɿtɕʰɤ
 Euh homme⁹²-BEN faire-CAUS deux bol alors manger-CAUS alors

哈哈底 高兴着, 弄哈寮 满。
 xaxatɕi kɔɕĩ-tɕə nũxa-lʋ mɛ̃
 ONOM-SUB content-SUB_v faire-RES-PERF PF

Tangwang: Labile verb – causativization

唐汪话中歧价动词的致使化

‘When she made the good man two bowls of wheat flour noodles and **fed** them to him, he was ecstatic...’ **‘feed’ = ‘caused him to eat’**

Data from Djamouri (2022:33-34)

Permissive causatives with labile verbs

Hence, there is a clearly defined semantic division of labour between

- (i) the productive **coercive causatives** based on **unaccusative** intransitive verbs,
- and
- (ii) **applicatives** with **volitional** verbs of all valency types.
- (iii) **permissive 'let' causatives** with **labile** verbs lie in an **intermediate position** and so do not challenge this basic division,
 - their meaning is distinct.

Interim summary

- This small survey reveals a clear areal division in the use of clitics among Chinese languages and dialects.
- In Standard Mandarin, the applicative use of **VERB=GIVE** is mainly limited to TRANSFER verbs and a class of verbs that, once used in this structure, are interpreted as indicating transfer in the direction of the indirect object, such as 卖 ‘sell’, 扔 ‘throw’, 写 ‘write’.
- The Mandarin dialects in the north and northwest of China extend the use of **VERB=GIVE** to a broader class of volitional verbs. Essentially, these verbs do not *originally* involve any form of transfer, including
- ‘seal’, ‘walk’, ‘roast’, ‘run’, ‘sing’, ‘eat’, ‘chop’, ‘prepare’, ‘arrange’ and other verbs : 印章、走、烤、跑、唱、吃、砍、准备，安排 等动词

- In addition, we presented data for seven of the Mandarin dialects in which applicative marking has been extended to causative usage, mainly with intransitive verbs of the **unaccusative** class.
- The relationship between causative and applicative marking in other languages is the subject of Part 3 which presents the crosslinguistic view.



PART III

TWO COMPETING HYPOTHESES

Causatives of applicatives

The further morphologization of APP_{<GIVE} to a CAUSATIVE enclitic

= a striking phenomenon

- contrary to the traditional strict distinction in typology made between applicativization and causativization (cf. Payne 1997, Comrie 1981, Dixon 2012).
- notably both processes increase the valency of the clause by one

Morphosyntactic processes - similarities

* In **APPLICATIVIZATION**, an oblique is added or promoted to a non-subject and non-agent role. The S remains the subject.

[**The writer**]_S is composing a poem. > [**The writer**]_S is composing a poem **for her mother**.

* In **CAUSATIVIZATION** (both analytic and morphological types), a causer argument is added to the valency and the former subject/agent is demoted to a causee role.

Hence, the causer becomes the new agentive subject and the former subject becomes the causee.

[**The ice**]_S melts. > **The girl** melts [**the ice**]_P.

Let's look at this type of syncretism in other language families to try to identify the direction of diachronic change that is produces this outcome.

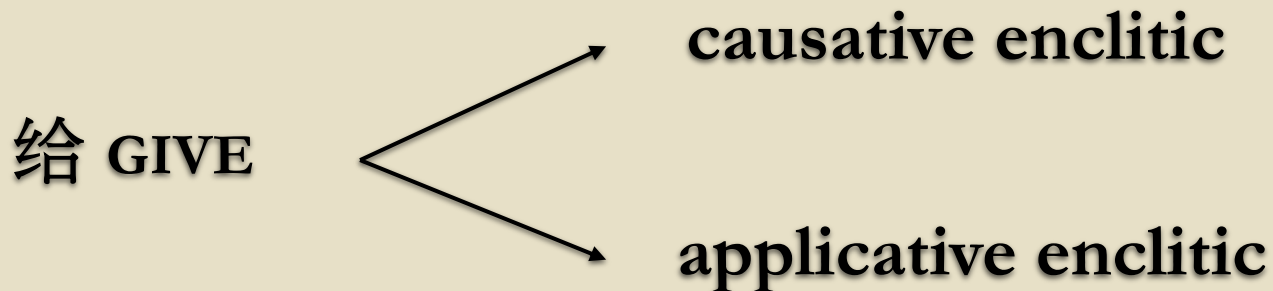
There are three possibilities:

Grammaticalization pathways

(i) GIVE verb > applicative enclitic > causative enclitic

(ii) GIVE verb > causative enclitic > applicative enclitic

(iii) two separate pathways:



N.B. There is also an intermediate stage from a GIVE verb > DAT/BEN adposition > applicative/causative

Australian languages: Pama-Nyungan family: transitivizing affixes

A similar division of labour between causatives and applicatives is evident in Australian languages for **transitivizing affixes** which increase valency:

Sample of intransitive verbs in Austin's survey of 17 Australian Pama-Nyungan languages (1997) shows the following pattern upon the use of transitive affixes:

These affixes form EITHER **causative constructions** with Type A **unaccusative** verbs OR **applicative constructions** with Type B **unergative** verbs:

Pama-Nyungan verb classes

Type A verbs (basically unaccusative):

fall, burst, split, burn, die, drown, be immersed, be closed, be frightened, be pleased, be sick

(=change of state, non-controlled location, internal states)

Type B verbs (basically unergative):

laugh, cry, play, come, go, sit, lie, speak, call, enter, come, go, jump

Pitta-Pitta, Pama-Nyungan, Queensland:

Pitta-Pitta (Blake 1979, cited in Austin 1997)

a. causative *-la-*

kathi- 'to climb up'

kathi-la- 'to put up'

kurra- 'to fall'

kurra-la- 'to drop'

tharka- 'to stand'

tharka-la- 'to stand it up'

yanthi- 'to burn'

yanthi-la- 'to burn it up'

b. applied *-la-*

mirnti- 'to play'

mirnti-la- 'to play with'

tiwa- 'to be jealous'

tiwa-la- 'to be jealous of'

wiya- 'to laugh'

wiya-la- 'to laugh at'

Causative and applicative syncretism: Applicative > Causative

Shibatani and Pardeshi (2002:116) observe this pattern of syncretism. They refer to Austin's survey and point out that "in a fair number of languages, causative morphemes are associated with the applicative function that introduces a **comitative, instrumental, or benefactive** argument".

They describe the uses of the suffix **-wo ~ -o** in **Hualapai** for both benefactive applicatives and causatives, the constructional meaning being determined by the verb class :

(i) applicatives with volitional verbs :

'sing', 'work', 'make', 'tell'

as opposed to

(ii) causatives with state and emotion verbs :

'be mad', 'be mean', 'cry'.

Hualapai (Yuman, Arizona)

a. Causativization of 'be angry': V_{INTR}

bos nya nyi-háda-chwà-nyi-miye:-**wo**-k-wi

cat 1SG RELATIVIZER-pet-SUBJ-3/1-be/angry:**CAUS**-3-AUX

“My cat makes me mad.” < ‘I am mad.’

b. Applicativization of 'make': V_{TR}

nya-ch he' nyi-yo:v-**ò**-wi-ny

1SG-SUBJ clothes 1/2-make-**APPL**-AUX-PST

“I'll make **you** a dress.” < ‘I made a dress.’

Sociative causative > applicative

Shibatani & Pardeshi (2002 :119) propose that it is their sociative type of causative rather than verb classes which lays the basis for the evolution of the applicative meanings of **benefactive**, **comitative** and **instrumental**.

SOCIATIVE CAUSATIVE > APPLICATIVE

According to their analysis, this can be explained in terms of **co-participation** of causer and causee in a causative event in the case of the benefactive applicative:

Japanese sociative causative:

Hahaoya-ga kodomo-o asoba-**se**-te i-ru.

mother-NOM child-ACC play-**CAUS**-CONJ be-PRES

‘The mother had the child play by playing with her.’

< ‘The mother played **with** her child.’ (Shibatani & Pardeshi 2002:100)

→ sociative causative contains an « **joint action** » meaning, & entails the causative meaning in their view

Marathi (Indo-Iranian, India) sociative causatives: **Verb-aw**

Shaam-ne Raam-laa don kilomiTar paL-aw-l-a

PN -ERG PN-DAT two kilometer run-CAUS-PERF-N

‘Sham made Ram run two kilometers.’

➤ implies that Sham ran along with Ram in order to make him run.

- *not defeasible*:

*paN Shaam Raam-barobar paL-l-aa naahi

but PN PN-with run-PERF-M not

‘but Sham did not run with him.’ (Shibatani & Pardeshi 2002:97-98)

Shibatani & Pardeshi's hypothesis

By contrast, Guillaume & Rose (2010) suppose that **both** directions of change are possible

Their data from South American languages clearly points to

APPLICATIVE > **SOCIATIVE CAUSATIVE**

such as in Jarawara, Paumari, Yine, Movima, Yurakare and Sikuani.

An example of Sikuani follows:

Sikuani (Guahibo, Colombia & Venezuela) cited in Guillaume & Rose (2010:393)

Sikuani (Queixalós 2002, p. 320-321)

instrument applicative

<i>Mahalu</i>	<i>computadora</i>	<i>Ø-ka-yakina-Ø</i>	<i>baharpaliwaisianü</i>
Mahalu	computer	3OBJECT-APPL-Carve-3SUBJECT	ThoseStories

‘Mahalu wrote these stories with the computer’

sociative causative

<i>Kuwainü</i>	<i>Ø-ka-nawiata-Ø</i>	<i>pihawa</i>
God	3-CAUS.soc-GoBack-3SUBJECT	HisWife

‘God took his wife back home’

Syncretism of causatives and applicatives

- Syncretism of causatives and applicatives
- extremely common across West Austronesian languages (see Hemmings 2013)
- Javanese has two **applicative**-*cum*-**causative** markers: **-i** and **-aké**
- examples for **-aké** follow which forms coercive causatives with unaccusative and labile verbs, particularly ingestive verbs

Javanese (Western Austronesian)

ès nyair

ice(S) AV.melt

‘The ice melted.’

aku

nyair-**aké**

ès

1SG(A)

AV.melt-**CAUS**

ice(O)

‘I melted the ice.’

aku

masak-**aké**

Karolina

jajan

1SG(A)

AV.cook-**APPL**

PN

cake

‘I baked Karolina a cake.’ (< I baked a cake [for Karolina]_{pp.})

(data from Hemmings 169-170)

Enclitic =GEI > causative marker

Evolution of enclitic **=GEI > causative marker** in Northern Sinitic

- probably represents a similar case to Amerindian, Australian and Austronesian languages in that the causative use applies mainly to intransitive unaccusative verbs, adjectives and a handful of unergative verbs of motion
- producing coercive and directive causatives

Causativization of GIVE verbs

- What about the third possible pathway? (2 separate chains)
- Causativization of GIVE verbs is a common grammaticalization pathway crosslinguistically, particularly West Africa and it is an areal feature in East and SE Asia .
- Significantly, in the Asian linguistic area, **GIVE**-causatives belong to the permissive type, occurring in the **V1** slot of a SVC but *not* as an enclitic derived from a V2, as for the applicative

GIVE > analytic permissive causative

NP_{AGENT} V_{GIVE} NP_{RECIPIENT} X

➤ NP_{CAUSER} **V₁ GIVE >LET** NP_{CAUSEE} V₂ X

Central Thai example

hâj = ‘give’, benefactive particle, purposive causative verb

mê: hây lû:k kin khənǒm.

mother give child eat sweets

‘The mother lets the child eat sweets.’ (Jenny 2015)

- GIVE causatives which emerge from the V1 slot combine freely with any kind of V2 in analytic causatives
- transitive and intransitive – for both unergative and unaccusative classes
- as such, they are not restricted to unaccusative verbs as for the V=GEI enclitics in V2 position $V1-V2 > V1=GEI$
- they are typically permissive causatives across the board & not coercive causatives as for V=GEI

Hakka GIVE causatives: all verb classes

gi voi bun ngai **hi** Toibed
3SG would BUN 1SG go Taipei
'He would let me go to Taipei.' (Lai 2015: 373)

佢會分我去台北。

a¹sug⁴me¹ tin¹cog⁸ voi³ bun¹ ng⁵ **to²** se³po⁵.
mother definitely will BUN 2SG marry concubine

'Mother will definitely let you marry a concubine.' (Lai 2015: 380)

阿叔姆定著會分你討細婆。

mo² bun¹ a¹mei¹ **siid⁴mong³**
NEG BUN mother disappointed

'Don't let mother down.' (Lai 2015: 383)

無分阿姆失望。



CONCLUSION

Conclusion

The causative-applicative syncretism in northwestern China arises from the extended use of

benefactive applicatives with volitional verbs

via analogy with $V=GEI >$

causatives of (unaccusative) intransitives and adjectives.

triggered by an intermediate bridging stage of

unergative and labile verbs

- as these can be ambiguous for the two meanings

Shibatani & Pardeshi's hypothesis (2002)

- Applied to Northern Sinitic languages, it does not seem at all semantically plausible to accept Shibatani and Pardeshi's hypothesis, that the directionality could be

sociative causative > **benefactive applicative**

- even moreso given the source in **GIVE-verbs** > **dative markers**
- The verbs in Northern Sinitic derivational causative constructions do not generally form the sociative type of causative of the type:
'I ran with X to make him run'

- The causative use of $V=GEI$ is restricted to mainly unaccusatives
- as such, the causative use could not have been the basis for the applicative use which is used with volitional transitive verbs

Benefactive
applicatives

$V_{tr}=kei$; $V_{ditr}=kei$

BRIDGING CONTEXT :
Permissive causatives

$V_{intr [+unerg]}=kei$

$V_{[+labile]}=kei$

Coercive
causatives

$V_{intr [+unacc]}=kei$

Adj=kei

Thank you for your attention!
Comments are very welcome

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GIVE verb serialization in V_2 position of a ditransitive construction

(i) NP_{AGENT} $V_1 - V_2$ GIVE $NP_{RECIPIENT}$

(ii) GIVE > dative preposition

NP_{AGENT} V_1 [PREPOSITION_< GIVE $NP_{RECIPIENT}$]PP

Syntactic reanalysis of PP constituents and their reconfiguration

(iii) dative preposition > applicative enclitic

NP_{AGENT} [$V_1=APPLICATIVE_{<}$ GIVE] $NP_{RECIPIENT}$ Applied N)

Semantic change by analogy

(iv) applicative enclitic > coercive causative enclitic

NP_{CAUSER} NP_{CAUSEE} [$V_1=CAUSATIVE_{<}$ GIVE]