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Causatives in Maring
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Abstract

Causatives are valence increasing operations where another core argument, a causal agent (causer), is added for expressing a semantic or logical effect of causation on the non-causative verb. Causative constructions comprise of the causer – the agent of the predicate of cause, and the causee – the agent of the caused event (Payne 1997: 176). This paper describes the formation of causatives in Maring, a lesser-known Tibeto-Burman language spoken in the southeastern part of Manipur, India. Maring has three causatives, *tǝu-*, *-kjǝr* and *pi-*. While *tǝu-* is used for direct causation and for deriving causatives from adjectives, *kjǝr-* is used for indirect causation. On the other hand, *pi-* is a benefactive marker that also gives causative interpretation. This paper will discuss and analyse the three causatives found in Maring – their origin, characteristics and productivity among others.

Keywords

Causatives, Maring, Kuki-Naga, Tibeto-Burman

Causatives in Maring[1]

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1 Introduction

Maring is a Tibeto-Burman language spoken in the south-eastern part of Manipur. As per the Census of India 2011, Maring has a population of about 26,424, concentrated mainly in the Tengoupal district and sparely in and around other districts such as Chandel, Thoubal and Kangpokpi. The classification of Maring within Tibeto-Burman is still uncertain as the language have similarities to both Kuki-Chin and Tangkhul languages and sometimes with Meitei. For Grierson (1903) Maring comes under the Naga group of the Naga-Kuki subgroup. For Benedict (1972:10), Maring is a transitional Tangkhul-Kuki type language. Mortensen (2003:8) reiterating Grierson's opinion, states that Maring acts like a bridge between the Tangkhul languages and the Kuki-Chin languages, as Maring has more lexical similarity with Kuki-Chin than with Tangkhul, but lacks stem alternation and pronominal clitics marking subject agreement which are the characteristic features of Kuki-Chin. Burling (2003:187) claims that Maring is closer to Tangkhul, but later on suggests that it might probably be a result of contact, and thus Maring can be aligned with the languages of Northwest Kuki-Chin (Post and Burling 2017:232).

Maring is a lesser-known and under-described language. Despite the implementation of mother-tongue education in the recent years, Maring is still is not taught in schools and colleges.[2] Some of the few linguistic works done in Maring are Nigomba (1976), Yumnam (1990) and Kanshouwa (2020). Apart from these, Maring has the Holy Bible translated by Rev. Kansou Moses Maring, and the Hymnal book, a basic grammar by M. Moshining Kansou and another grammar booklet by M. Kodaarkhum. This paper describes the formation of causatives in Maring. The data for this paper are mostly from the author's fieldnotes. However, some references are taken from the Maring Bible.

2 Theoretical background

A causative construction is a "macrosituation" comprising of two microsituations, a causing microsituation or antecedent and a caused microsituation or consequent (Nedjalkov and Silnickij

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[2] The initiative to teach Maring at primary level has not been so successful yet for various reasons. One reason in particular was due to the lack of well-trained teacher.

1969). It is a valence-increasing operation with an additional assignment of core argument, a causal agent for expressing a semantic or logical effect of causation on the non-causative verb (Klaiman 1991:51, Payne 2007:176). It involves two events, 'a preceding causing event', without which 'a subsequent caused event' could have not followed (Shibatani 1976). A causative construction will have 'a precipitating event' and 'a result' (Frawley 1992:159).

There are three types of causative construction: Lexical, Morphological and Analytical. In lexical causatives, the notion of cause is wrapped in the lexical meaning of the verb itself rather than employing an additional operator to express the causative meaning. Lexical causatives can again be of three types – isomorphism, weak suppletion and strong suppletion. In isomorphism, there is no difference between non-causative and causative verb. In weak suppletion, some idiosyncratic difference exists between the verbs. In strong suppletion, a completely different verbs are used, e.g. 'die' vs 'kill'. As for morphological causatives, explicit derivational affixes are employed to increase the valency of a verb, such as a productive suffix which creates a change in the form of the verb. For example, Turkish *-dur* (and its related allomorphs) (see Payne 2006: 259) can be applied to any intransitive verb to form a causative. Analytical causative on the other hand requires separate causative verbs for expressing the causation process, e.g. English verbs – *make, cause, allow, compel, force* etc. A causative construction usually comprises of an effect, a cause, a causee and a causer (Payne 2006: 258). For example, in the English sentence, 'Mother made grandmother eat food', the action of eating food is the effect; made (something happen) is the cause; grandmother, who is the agent of the effect, is the causee; and mother, the agent of the cause, is the causer.

Dixon (2000:62) lists nine parameters for verifying different types of causative constructions. The first two parameters relate with lexical verbs helps identify whether they are

(1) stative or active
(2) intransitive, transitive or ditransitive.

The next three parameters relating to the causee observed whether the subject or agent

(3) has or lacks control [over the caused microevent],
(4) acts willingly or unwillingly and
(5) is affected by the activity partially or completely.

The remaining four parameters relating to the causer checks whether the causer involved in the event is

(6) acting directly or indirectly,
(7) acting accidentally or intentionally,
(8) acting naturally or with some effort, and
(9) whether the causer is involved or not involved in the activity.

3   Causatives in Maring

Maring is an agglutinative language that predominantly use suffixation in its verb morphology. However, in case of causative constructions, Maring uses both prefixes and suffixes. While causative *tǝu-* is used as a prefix, the causative *-kjǝr* is used as suffix, and *pi* is used both as a prefix and suffix. These causative markers are used differently depending upon structural and conceptual integration (Payne 2007:181).

3.1. Lexical Causatives

  Maring has the third type of lexical causatives mentioned above, wherein the verb of non-causative structure is different when it is becomes the causer. In other words, these are simple verbs expressing causative meaning. Some of the lexical causatives in Maring are 'kill' vs 'die', 'see' vs 'show', 'eat' vs 'feed' (see 61–63), 'drink' vs 'made to drink' (see 64).

(1) *əŋdun* *hi-wur-ra*   (non-causative)
    angdun die-PRF-REAL
    'Angdun is dead.'

(2) *kodun-ne* *əŋdun-ja*   **hat**–*kur*   (causative)
    Kodun-ERG Angdun-ACC   kill-PRF
    'Kodun killed Angdun.'

(3) *əŋtu* *niŋsun* *tʰlaini-tʰuk* *kəi* *mu-kʰəu*   (non-causative)
    today morning   sun-out   1SG see-PRF
    'I saw the sunrise this morning.'

(4) *əŋtu* *nuwi-ne* *jul-ra*   *kai-jəi* *ləu* **mut**–*pi* (causative)
    today mother-ERG village-LOC 1PL-GEN field show-BEN
    'Today mother shows our field in the village.'

  In examples (2) and (4) the change in the verb caused by the suffix *-t* might possibly be a reflex of the transitive/ causative **-t* attested in many Tibeto-Burman languages such as Bahing-Vayu, Jinghpaw, Written Burmese (WB), see (5)-(7). However, since there are not many lexical items with similar construction, it cannot be ascertained. The lexical causative pair of 'die' vs 'kill' and 'see' vs'show' is also found in Meitei, Laingamei and Tangkhul, (8)-(10).

(5) *khu* 'steal'   **khut** 'cause to steal' (Bahing-Vayu, Matisoff 2003:457)
    muś(-tśe) 'sit'   **mut** 'cause to seat'

(6) *mədi* 'moist, wet' **mədît** 'moisten; wet sth' (Jinghpaw, Matisoff 2003:458)
    mənī 'laugh'   **mənît** 'laugh at'

(7) *pan* 'go round'   **pat** 'wind around;encircle' (WB, Matisoff 2003:473)
    pwan 'be rubbed off' **pwat** 'rub, grind; lathe'

(8) *si* 'die'   *hat* 'kill'   (Meiteilon, Chungkham 1992:133)
    u 'see'   **ut** 'show'

(9)   *saĭ* 'die'   *kámsát* 'kill'   (Laingmai, Daimai and Raguibou 2020:38)

(10)   *tʰi* 'die'   *sa-tʰat* 'kill'   (Tangkhul: elicited)

3.2.   Causative tǝu-

Dixon (2000:34) talks about how a number of languages have 'serial verb constructions', i.e., two verbs in one predicate sharing the same subject, and how it can have causative-type meaning. In Maring the verb *tǝu* 'do' can be added before another verb to derive causative construction from intransitive verbs.

(11)   *tete   cǝp-lǝi*   (non-causative)
        Tete   cry-PROG
        'Tete is crying.'

(12)   *kʰǝmba-ni   tete-ja   **tǝu**-cǝp*   (causative)
        Khamba-ERG   Tete-ACC   CAUS-cry
        'Khamba made Tete cry.'

(13)   *nao   ip-lǝi*   (non-causative)
        child   sleep-PROG
        'The child is sleeping.'

(14)   *nuwi-ni   nao-ja   **tǝu**-ip*   (causative)
        mother-ERG   child-ACC   CAUS-sleep
        'Mother made the child sleep.'

(15)   *modun   kǝlni   lao-lǝi*   (non-causative)
        Modun   strongly   laugh-PROG
        'Modun is laughing loudly.'

(16)   *pawa-ni   modun-ja   **tǝu**-lao-kur*   (causative)
        father-ERG   Modun-ACC   CAUS-laugh-PRF
        'Father made Modun laugh.'

From the above examples, we see that *tǝu-* is used for deriving transitives from intransitive verbs, and is used for direct causation wherein the causers themselves are the cause, meaning they are directly, instantly, and even physically responsible for the caused events. Since the causer of (12), (14) and (16) retains a high degree of control over the caused event, it appears with the ergative case *-ni*. The causees on the other hand appear in a case normally associated with patients, e.g., the

accusative *-ja*, and has little or no control over the event. But in case of (18), (20) and (22), since the bottle, the tree and the banana are all inanimate objects, they don't acquire any case marking.

(17) *likli   bai-jur-ra*   (non-causative)
     bottle   break-PRF-REAL
     'The bottle broke.'

(18) *nao-ni   likli   tәu-bai-kur*   (causative)
     child-ERG   bottle   CAUS-break-PRF
     'The child broke the bottle.'

(19) *hiŋ   dik-kur-ra*   (non-causative)
     tree   break-PRF-REAL
     'The tree has fallen.'

(20) *koko-ne   hiŋ   tәu-dik*   (causative)
     Koko-ERG   tree   CAUS-break
     'Koko made the tree fall.'

(21) *muthәi   min-nur-ra*   (non-causative)
     banana   ripe-PRF-REAL
     'Banana is ripe'

(22) *nutәr-ni   muthәi   tәu-min*   (causative)
     mother-ERG   banana   CAUS-ripe
     'Grandmother made the Banana ripe.'

tәu- is also used for deriving causativized adjective.

(23) *jui-bai   tәu-sa-lo*
     water-some   CAUS-hot-REQ
     'Make some water hot'

(24) *ca-ħәi   tәu-sim-mәk*
     tea-DET   CAUS-sweet-NEG
     'Don't make the tea sweet'

(25) *nәi-mәsa   tәu-rәi-mәk*
     2SG -body   CAUS-cold-NEG
     'Don't make your body cold (lit: Don't get cold).'

(26) *ən   mitti **təu-jak-kur-ra***
     curry salt   do-salty-PRF-REAL
     'The curry is (made) salty.'

However, *təu-* by itself cannot be used for indirect causation, as it makes the construction ungrammatical, see (27). For example, imagine a situation where the mother is cooking food and her sleeping child suddenly woke up. However, since the mother is occupied, she had to make the grandmother try to make the baby fall sleep again. Thus, the mother is indirectly making the baby go to sleep with the help of the grandmother. In such case, using *təu-* will not give the desired interpretation, as *təu-* is used only for direct causation (see 14). So, in (28) another causative suffix -*kjər* (see 3.3 for more detail) is added to the main verb for rendering indirect causation, as the mother is no longer the agent who directly cause the event, but rather she made another agent cause the event. Likewise, (29) is the ungrammatical equivalent of grammatical example for indirect causation given in (30). More examples of such indirect or double causation are given in (41)-(43).

(27) **uwi-ni   nutər-ja   nao   **təu-ip***
     mother-ERG   gradmother-ACC   child CAUS-sleep
     'Mother let grandmother made the baby sleep.'

(28) *nuwi-ni   nutər-ja   nao   **təu-ip-kjər***
     mother-ERG gradmother-ACC   child CAUS-sleep-CAUS
     'Mother let grandmother made the baby sleep.'

(29) **nao-ni   əŋdun-ja   likli-həi   **təu-bai***
     child-ERG   Angdun-ACC   glass-DET   CAUS-break
     'The child made Angdun break the glass.'

(30) *nao-ni   əŋdun-ja   likli-həi   **təu-bai-kjər***
     child-ERG   Angdun-ACC   glass-DET   CAUS-break-CAUS
     'The child made Angdun break the glass.'

Also, *təu-* cannot be used with transitive verbs (31)-(33). Thus, *təu-* is used only for stative and intransitives.

(31) **nuwi-ni   kəi-ja   cak   **təu-t^{h}uŋ***
     mother-ERG   1SG-ACC   food   CAUS-cook
     'I made mother cook food in the earthen pot.'

(32) **pawa-ni   modun-ja   kari   **təu-t^{h}əu***
     father-ERG   modun-ACC   vehicle   CAUS-ride
     'Father allows Modun to ride the vehicle.'

(33) **nuwi-ni   temui-ja   p^{h}i   **təu-su***
     mother-ERG Temui-ACC cloth   CAUS-wash

'Mother made Temui wash the clothes.'

This causative construction using *təu-* is also exhibited in Khoibu (see Laishram 2014)[3].

(34)   *a*   *nəsən-sa-ti*   **təu-kə-cəp**   *(Laishram 2014:179–80)*
      3SG   child-DEM-ACC   CAUS-V.PRX-cry
      'He makes the child cry.'

(35)   *ŋei*   *tom-ti*   **təu-kou-ŋəla**
      1SG   Tom-ACC   CAUS-V.PRX-laugh
      'I make Tom laugh.' (lit: I cause Tom to laugh.)

3.3.   *Causative -kjər*

Causative '-*kjər*' is derived from the word '*kəja*' meaning 'to agree', 'allow' and 'possible'. The addition of the suffix -*r* to *kəja* brought about a change giving the meaning 'made to agree', 'made to be allowed', and 'made possible'. Thus, '*kəja*' + -*r* gives '*kəjar*' which overtime must have changed to '*kjər*', and further to '*kjər*' or '*jər*'[4]. *kjər-* is used for indicating an event where the causative agent does something indirectly or intentionally, through someone, but nevertherless affects the causee to do something. It is also by far the most regular and productive causative as it can be suffixed to any verb to express causation and permission.

(36)   *kəi-ni*   *nuwi-ja*   *tʰələi-pʰu-ra*   *cak*   *tʰuŋ-**kjər***
      1SG-ERG   mother-ACC   earthen.pot-LOC   food   cook-CAUS
      'I made mother cook food in the earthen pot.'

(37)   *kəi-ni*   *soriŋ-ja*   *bəmtʰo*   *tontʰəi-**kjər***
      1SG-ERG   Soring-ACC   room   clean-CAUS
      'I made Soring clean the room.'

(38)   *pawa-ni*   *modun-ja*   *kari*   *tʰəu-**kjər***
      father-ERG   modun-ACC   vehicle   drive-CAUS
      'Father allows Modun to drive the vehicle.'

(39)   *nuwi-ni*   *temui-ja*   *pʰi*   *su-**kjər***
      mother-ERG   Temui-ACC   cloth   wash-CAUS
      'Mother made Temui wash the clothes.'

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[3] Laishram transcript theKhoibu causative prefix as *tou-* but it should actually be *təu-*.

[4] The causatives in the Maring Bible are mostly recorded as –*yer* (orthography of –*jər*), but there are some instances where it is recorded as –*kyer*. However, in the data I obtained it is recorded as –*kjər* as per my informant's articulation.

In addition, the suffix *-kjər* involves some manipulative role of the causative agent (Shibatani 1976) in that the conscious involment of the original subject is not necessary and so rather ends up playing the role of a patient.

(40) *meruŋ-ni*   *doctor-nuŋ*   *əi-canəpui-jəi*   *kəna tʰi-kjər*
      Merung-ERG doctor-DAT   3GEN-daughter-GEN illness treat-CAUS
      'Merung let the doctor treat his daughter's illness.'

Thus, *-kjər* is also used for forming doubling causation where the agent does not physically cause the event, but manipulates it through an intermediate agent, i.e. X made Y performed by Z. It can form double causation both for transitive and intransitive verbs. In case of intransitive verb, it will be along with the prefix *təu-*, as shown in (41)-(43), i.e., *təu* + V + *kjər*. The construction can never be CAUS^1 + CAUS^2 + V, or V + CAUS^1 + CAUS^2.

(41) *pawa-ni*   *modun-ja*   *məl-rəb-həi*   **təu-lao-kjər**
      father-ERG   Modun-ACC   guest-PL-DET   CAUS-laugh-CAUS
      'Father let Modun made the guest laugh.' (lit: father let Modun entertain the guests)

(42) *nuter-ni*   *koko-ja*   *hiŋ*   **təu-dik-kjər**
      grandmother-ERG   Koko-ACC   tree   CAUS-break-CAUS
      'Grandmother made Koko cut the tree.'

(43) *kəi-ni*   *nuwi-ja*   *ca*   **təu-sim-kjər**
      1SG-ERG   mother-ACC   tea   CAUS-sweet-kjər
      'I made mother sweeten the tea.'

kjər- also has permissive interpretation, i.e., to allow someone do something (44)-(46) and sometimes a desiderative interpretation too (47)-(48).

(44) *pawa-ni*   *kəi-ja*   *delhi-ra*   *wa-kjər*
      father-ERG   1SG-ACC   Delhi-LOC   go-CAUS
      'Father allows me to go to Delhi.'

(45) *kəi-ni*   *tomui-ja*   *kəi-jəi*   *liŋlit* *na-kjər*
      1SG-ERG   Tomui-ACC   1SG-GEN   shirt   wear-CAUS
      'I allow Tomui to wear my shirt.'

(46) *nuwi-ni*   *momo-ja*   *tʰiŋni ip-kjər*
      mother-ERG   Momo-ACC   lately   sleep-CAUS
      'Mother allows/permit Momo to sleep lately.'

In case of a desiderative construction, the suffix *-ni* always follow the causative marker *-kjər* and can never precede it, nor can it precede the verb it modifies. If *-ni* precedes *-kjər* the construction will become ungrammatical, see (49) and (50).

(47) *kəi   a–ja   tʰlaini–ser   curc   ka-**kjər**-ni*
      1SG   he-ACC   sunday-every   church   go-CAUS-want
      'I want him to go to church every Sunday.'

(48) *kəi   a–ja   munde–nəŋ   cim–arəu–wəi   sal-**kjər**-ni*
      1SG   he-ACC   Monday-TLOC   house-here-from   leave-CAUS-want
      'I want him to get out of the house by Monday.'

(49) **kəi   a–ja   tʰlaini–ser   curc   ka-ni-**kjər***
      1SG   he-ACC   sunday-every   church go-want-CAUS
      ' I want him to go to church every Sunday.'

(50) **kəi   a–ja   munde–nəŋ   cim–arəu–wəi   sal-ni-**kjər***
      1SG   he-ACC   Monday-TLOC   house-here-from   leave-want-CAUS
      'I want him to get out of the house by Monday.'

Likewise, even in a negative construction, the causative suffix is attached directly to the verb and the negative maker *-mək* follows it, see examples (51)-(53). If *-mək* comes in between the main verb and the causative suffix as shown in (54)-(56), the sentence become ungrammatical.

(51) *kəi–ja   cim–arəu–wəi   sal-**kjər**-mək*
      1SG-ACC   house-here-from   leave-CAUS-NEG
      'I was not allowed to go out of the house.'

(52) *koko–ni   kəi–ja   cak   ca-**jər**-mək*
      Koko-ERG   1SG-ACC   food   eat-CAUS-want-NEG
      'Koko did not allow me to eat food.'

(53) *nao–ni   kəi–ja   ip-**jər**-mək*
      child-ERG   1SG-ACC   sleep-CAUS-NEG
      'The baby didn't make me sleep.' (lit: made me to not sleep)

(54) **kəi–ja   cim–arəu–wəi   sal-**mək**-jer*
      1SG-ACC   house-here-from   leave-NEG-CAUS
      'I was not allowed to go out of the house.'

(55) **koko–ni   kəi–ja   cak   ca-**mək**-jer*
      Koko-ERG   1SG-ACC   food   eat-NEG-CAUS

‘Koko did not allow me to eat food.’

(56)   **nao–ni*   *kəi-ja*   **ip-mək-jer**
       child-ERG   1SG-ACC   sleep-NEG-CAUS
       ‘The baby didn’t make me sleep.’ (lit: made me to not sleep)

3.4.   Causative ‘pi’

        Labial causatives are found in many Tibeto-Burman languages of Northeast India and its neighbouring areas such as Bodo-Garo, Karbi, Kuki-Chin, Angami, Tangkhulic and Mru (see Jacques 2019), Liangmai (Daimai and Raguibou 2020). The verb *pi* in its lexical means ‘give’. It has been grammaticalized to give the meaning ‘made to do’ or ‘caused to do’ for or by someone. While language such as Laingmai does not make a distinction between *pi-* causative and permissive construction, in Maring, *pi* can be used as both prefix *pi-* and suffix *-pi*. So, a distinction is made between the prefix causative *pi-*, and the benefactive and permissive suffix *-pi*.
        In examples (57) through (60), the suffix *-pi* has benefactive reference, and shows that the agent is performing activity for the benefit of someone else. Thus, the agent is marked by the ergative case *-ni*, and the patient either by the genitive case *-jəi* or the dative case *-nuŋ*. The use of postverbal ‘give’ for introducing a beneficiary is prevalent in many Southeast Asian languages (see Jenny 2015).

(57)   *koko–ni*   *kəi-jəi*   *cak*   *ca-pi-kʰur*
       Koko-ERG   1SG-GEN   food   eat-BEN-PRF
       ‘Koko ate my food.’

(58)   *a–ni*   *kəi-jəi*   *jui-kʰi*   *məŋ-pi*
       3SG-ERG   1SG-GEN   water-too   drink-BEN
       ‘He drank my water too.’

(59)   *nuwi–ni*   *kəi-nuŋ-ŋəi*   *cimkʰar*   *lat-pi*
       mother-ERG   1SG-DAT-GEN   door   open-BEN
       ‘Mother open the door for me.’

(60)   *oja–ni*   *ka-nuŋ-ŋəi*   *lailik*   *pa-pi*
       teacher-ERG   1PL-DAT-GEN   book   read-BEN
       ‘Teacher read book for us.’

In examples (61)-(64), the prefix *pi-* is used for deriving causative expression, where the causer is indirectly acting upon the cause to perform the action. Here, the causer, marked by *-ni*, must have either brought or given food or drinks for the causee, marked by *-ja*, to eat/drink. So, the causee must have ate/drank. Hence, this is a case of indirect causation for the causer, but a direct causation for the causee.

(61) *ɟisu-ni*   *tʰimi lising-pʰəŋa-ja*   *pi-ca-kʰur*
      Jesus-ERG   man   thousand-five-ACC   CAUS-eat-PRF
      'Jesus feeds the five thousand.' (Matthew 14:13-21)

(62) *patər-ni*   *əŋtu ka-ja*   *wa-ən*   *pi-mai*[5]
      grandfather-ERG   today PL-ACC   chicken-curry CAUS-eat
      'Today grandfather fed us chicken curry.'

(63) *nini-ni*   *kəi-ja*   *kəkciŋ-ra*   *sinju-le-bora*   *pi-sai*[6]
      aunty-ERG   1SG-ACC   Kakching-LOC   sinju-CONJ-bora   CAUS-eat
      'Aunty feed me sinju and bora (local snacks) at Kakching.'

(64) *modar-ni*   *meruŋ-ja*   *tul*   *pi-məŋ*
      Modar-ERG   Merung-ACC   alcohol   CAUS-drank
      'Modar made Merung drink alcohol.'

Thus, 'give' in Maring is used for both causative and benefactive reference. However, the usage of *pi-* as a causative prefix is rather limited to eating and drinking, and somehow this construction has been fused to give the lexicalized meaning 'feed' and 'made to drink'. Similar lexical causatives construction also occurs in Meitei for the word *pi-ca* 'feed', *pi-tʰək* 'made to drink'. While the benefactive suffix *-pi* can occur with both transitives and intransitives, the usage of causative *pi-* only takes place with the transitives 'eat' and 'drink', and cannot occur with intransitives as given in (65)-(67).

(65) **nuwi-ni*   *nao-nuŋ-ŋəi*   *pi-ip*
      mother-ERG   child-DAT-GEN   CAUS-sleep
      'Mother made was to sleep for the baby.'

(66) **modar-ni*   *kəi-ja*   *pi-lao*
      Modar-ERG   1SG-ACC   CAUS-laugh
      'Modar was made to laugh at me.'

(67) **pawa-ni*   *nutər-nuŋ-ŋəi*   *pi-cəp*
      father-ERG   grandmother-DAT-GEN   CAUS-laugh
      'Father was made to cry for grandmother.'

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[5] The word *mai* is another form of the word the *ca* 'eat'. While *ca* is used specifically for eating rice, *mai* is used for eating semi-liquid food that has gravy.

[6] *sai* is used for eating anything that is not rice and does not have gravy, such as fruit, vegetables, snacks or eatables etc.

4   Discussion and Conclusion

From the overall analysis we found that Maring employs causative construction in two ways, lexically using different causative verbs and morphologically by using both prefix and suffix. The prefix *təu-* is used for direct causation by the causer himself and also for deriving transitive verbs from adjectives and intransitive verbs. It is productive only with intransitive verbs and cannot be used with transitives. Whereas prefix *pi-* is used for indirect causation, and is limited to the eating and drinking and cannot be used with any intransitive verbs. On the other hand, the suffix *-kjər*, though used for indirect causation is versatile and have multiple functions and interpretations. It is productive with all types of verbs, be it stative, transitives and intransitives or ditransitives. In all the above constructions, the causer is always marked by the ergative case *-ni*. However, the causee can either be marked with an accusative case *-ja*, if animate, or remains unmarked in case of an inanimate object. A table highlighting the features of the causatives are given below (see Table 1). While the causative *pi-* is attested in many neighbouring Tibeto-Burman languages, the causatives *təu-* and *-kjər* are uniquely developed in Maring and Khoibu (see Laishram 2014:179-80). As for the lexical causatives discussed in (§3.1), it would be an interesting topic to further research whether or not the suffix *-t* used is actually a reflex of the transitive/ causative **-t* attested in many Tibeto-Burman languages.

Parameters	Lexical CAUS	CAUS *təu-*	CAUS *-kjər*	CAUS *pi-*
Stative	+	+	+	-
Active	+	-	+	-
Transitive	+	-	+	+
Intransitive	-	+	+	-
Diatransitive	+	+	+	+
Have control	+	+	-	+
Lack control	-	-	+	-
Act willingly	+	+	+/-	+ / -
Act unwillingly	-	-	+/ -	+ / -
Partially affected	-	-	+	+ / -
Completely affected	+	+	-	+ / -
Acting directly	+	+	-	-
Acting indirectly	-	-	+	+
Acting accidentally	-	-	+	-
Acting intentionally	+	+	+	+
Acting naturally	-	-	-	-
Acting with effort	+	+	+	+
Involved in the activity	+	+	-	+
Not involved in the activity	-	-	+	-

Table 1 – Features of Maring causatives based on Dixon's (2000) parameters.

ABBREVIATIONS

1	first person	LOC	locative
2	second person	NEG	negative
3	third person	NOM	nominative
ACC	accusative	PL	plural
BEN	benefactive	PFV	perfective
CAUS	causative	PRF	perfect
CONT	continuation	PROG	progressive
CONJ	conjunction	REAL	realis
DAT	dative	REQ	request
DEM	demonstrative	SG	singular
DET	determiner	TLOC	temporal locative
ERG	ergative	V.PRX	verbal prefix
GEN	genitive		

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