Not so high

The case of causee in South Asian Languages (Hindi, Kashmiri, Punjabi & Manipuri)

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The status of the causee argument in Hindi and other South Asian Languages has been contentious in recent literature as it takes instrumental/ablative Case marker and hence, seems comparable to an instrumental/ablative adjunct (*-se* in Hindi, *athi* in Kashmiri, *tō:* in Punjabi, and *-nə* in Manipuri). The question is whether the instrumental/ablative Case marker appearing on the causee and on an instrumental adjunct should only receive an analysis of accidental homophony or a more principled analysis between the two is possible? The paper here argues that such an analysis is certainly possible. The instrumental/ablative is an adjunct and in causatives, the causee argument is merged to the Voice head as its specifier (the position involving *-se/athi/tō:/nə* being valued as a *structural,* rather than a lexical, Case). It is further argued that though, this position is υP-external, i.e. 'high' but not 'high' enough to count as the subject.

Keywords: causative alternation; voice; υP-external; argument/adjunct

1. Introduction

The present paper scrutinizes the status of causee in Hindi and other three South Asian languages – Kashmiri, Punjabi and Manipuri. Its marking by the instrumental/ablative marker has led to some analyses of the causee as an adjunct. Here it is illustrated that the causee in Hindi and in other three languages too is not an adjunct but an argument that occupies a subject-like position outside the υP by Spell-out, merged in the Specifier of VoiceP.

The paper is organized in five sections. The first section provides a brief description of the causative alternation phenomenon in Hindi and other languages. The second section examines the status of causee. The third section analyses the status of instrumental/ablative marked causee vs. pure instruments. The fourth section argues for a Voice analysis of the causative alternation. The fifth and last section concludes the paper with final remarks on the analysis.

1.1 Causative alternation

The causative alternation is a productive morphological construction in South Asian languages (SALs). It is derived by the addition of a suffix to the verb. The causee is introduced and surfaces as instrumental/ablative case marked.[1]

In Hindi, one of the modern Indo-Aryan languages, the causative alternation is a regular morphological process adding the *-wa* suffix to the transitive base and also introduces a causee. The Hindi causee surfaces as instrumental/ablative *-se*[2] marked. It shows reduced 'affectedness'/ little or diminished control over the action:

(1) *somi ru:na-se vanka-ko hə̃swaṯ̲a hɛ*
Somi Runa-INS Vanka-ACC laugh-CAUS-HAB be-PRS
'Somi makes Runa make Vanka laugh.'

Here, though *Runa* is 'making Vanka laugh' but *Somi* is in direct control and *Runa* is only a sort of intermediary. Moreover, the causee can also be left unexpressed.

(2) *somi vanka-ko hə̃swaṯ̲a hɛ*
Somi Vanka-ACC laugh-CAUS-HAB be-PRS
'Somi makes Vanka laugh (through somebody).'

In Kashmiri, another Indo-Aryan language and one of the most prominent Dardic languages, *-nA:v* suffix is added to the intransitive base either to form transitive

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1. Though, Saksena (1982) and Khokholova (1997) attest the presence of *-ko* causee in Hindi (as raised by a reviewer, too, regarding the study of *-ko* causee), the present paper does not deal with it as it is far too controversial. Consider the following examples,

(1) *maine makaan ko banwaayaa*
I-ERG house ACC make-CAUS-PRF
'I had a house built.' Saksena (1982)

(2) *maine larke ko darwaazaa khulwayaa*
I-ERG boy ACC door open-CAUS-PERF
'I helped the boy to open the door.' Khokholova (1997)

In the above Example (1), the *-ko* marked nominal is not the causee but the object as we can add the actual causee here – maine mohan se makaan ko banwaayaa 'I made Mohan make this house.' Here, the *-se* marked nominal is the causee. For majority of Hindi native speakers, sentence (2) is very awkward. The correct sentence should be with the *-se* causee again – 'maine larke-se darwaazaa khulwaayaa' where the meaning is 'I made the boy open the door.'

2. There does exist a historical reason for the homophonous nature of the relevant suffix (for causees and instrumental adjuncts). Traditionally, Hindi *-se* originally comes from Sanskrit *-səm* which meant 'with.' Generally, it is used as an ablative/instrumental in Hindi, meaning 'with/from' and so, marks the source or means of an action, as in many languages. Moreover, we can find this kind of homophony over and over again cross linguistically. (Miriam Butt, p.c.).

or to the pure transitive base to form the causative. To form causative from the already derived transitive as well as to form the double causative from the already derived causative, the suffix – *nA:v* is added again. The causee surfaces as instrumental marked -*ə̪ʈʰi* and can be left unexpressed too. For example,

(3) a. *ram-ən kərɪ-nA:v mili ə̪ʈʰi gʰənʈi*
Ram-ERG do-CAUS-PFV Mili INS bell
'Ram made Mili ring the bell/did the bell.'

b. *somi chu mohən-əs əsɪ-nA:v-an*
Somi be-PRS Mohan-DAT laugh-CAUS-PROG
'Somi makes Mohan laugh.'

c. *somi chu* (*jokər-əs ə̪ʈʰi*) *mohən-əs əsɪ-na:v-an*
Somi be-PRS Jokar-DAT INS Mohan-DAT laugh-CAUS-PROG
'Somi makes the joker make Mohan laugh.'

In Punjabi, an Indo-Aryan language, the causative suffix is -*wa* and the causee is marked by the ablative marker *tõ:*.

(4) *runa-ne mili-tõ: kənʈi: vaj-vA-yi:*
Runa-ERG mili-ABL bell ring-CAUS-PRF
'Runa made Mili ring the bell.'

Manipuri, a Tibeto-Burman language, employs a uniform strategy for forming causatives by suffixing a morphological causative suffix- hɔn\-hɔl to the transitive base. -nɔ marker is used as an agent as well as an instrumental marke (i.e. thaŋ-nɔ 'with sword').

(5) *runa-nɔ mili-nɔ bell khiŋ-hɔl-le*
Runa-AG Mili-INS bell ring-CAUS-PRF
'Runa made Mili ring the bell.'

These facts have prompted a discussion about the grammatical status of the causee as argument or adjunct.

2. The status of the causee

As pointed out in the earlier section, the causee is marked by the instrumental/ablative marker. According to Indian traditional grammarian Panini, there are instances when a *karaka*[3] other than an agent is treated as an agent due to any

3. *Karaka* is a term used to denote a thing which brings about an action and *apAdAna* denotes point of departure. There are six *karakas* (apadana, sampradana, karana, adhikarana, karman and kartr).

additional meaning it expresses. This can also be equated to the concept developed by DeLancey (1989a) indicating that instrumental marker may be used as an agentive marker through a metaphorical extension of its primary meaning. Hence, we may infer that the instrumental (karana)/ablative (apAdAna) in causative constructions has such a status. It can express the usual meaning of 'instrument/source' or an additional meaning of 'agent' as well. It can denote manner too.[4] The agentive meaning is expressed in causatives and inabilitative constructions[5] too.

Now we look at the agentive meaning of instrumental/ablative marker in different SA languages.

2.1 Hindi

-se, the instrumental/ablative marker in Hindi appears on the causee as well as the inabilitative passive[6] agents apart from its instrumental and ablative meaning. For example,

(6) a. *ram mili-se sonu-ko khilwaṯ̲a hɛ*
Ram Mili-INS Sonu-ACC eat-CAUS-HAB be-PRS
'Ram makes Mili feed Sonu.'

b. *ram-se sonu-ko mara nə̃ɦĩ gəja*
Ram-INS Sonu-ACC beat-PRF not PASS-PRF
'Ram was not able to beat Sonu.'

c. *ram caku-se kek kaṯ̲a hɛ*
Ram knife-INS cake eat-HAB be-PRS
'Ram cuts cake with a knife.'

d. *ram ghar-se bAhar jAtA hɛ*
Ram home-ABL outside go-HAB be-PRS
'Ram goes out of home.'

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4. Ahmed (2011) attests that this is not a fluke of Urdu/Hindi, but that other South Asian languages also use the instrumental for this range of meanings. It seems to be an areal feature in the South Asia *Sprachbund*.

5. The agentive meaning can also be seen in middles (in Sanskrit).

raːmeɳ aːmram kʰaːḏ̲jəṯ̲e
Ram-INS mango eat-MID-PRS
'Ram eats mango.'

6. Hindi and several SALs have another passive construction which conveys the inability of an agent/initiator to initiate the event denoted by the predicate – inabilitative passive (Pandharipande 1979). Other terms for this are – capabilitative passive (Balachandran 1973), passive of incapacity (Hook 1979), inability passive (Davison 1982) and capacity passive (Rosen & Wali 1989).

In the above Example (6a), though *-se* marked, *Mili* is behaving as an intermediate agent to accomplish the particular action of feeding *Sonu* and the causer is *Ram*. (6b) is an example of inabilitative construction where *Ram* is an agent. In Example (6c), the usual meaning of 'instrument' is expressed by *-se* and it denotes the point of departure in (6d).

2.2 Kashmiri

In Kashmiri, there are three instrumental markers – *zaryi/athi* and *sI:t'* but there is clear cut distinction between them. The use of the instrumental *athi/zaryi* is restricted to the animate set as there is the other instrumental marker *sI:t'* that is exclusively used for instruments. For example,

(7) a. *farooq chu shrapch-i sI:t' tsuunth tsaTaan*
Farooq be-PRS knife-OBL with apple cut-HAB
'Farooq cuts the apple with the knife.'

b. *farooq-an karI-nA:v reyaz-as athi/*sI:t' ka:m*
Farooq-ERG do-CAUS reyaz-DAT by /*with work
'Farooq made Reyaz do the work/Farooq did the work through Reyaz (literal).'

In (in)abilitative passives, the agent is marked by the instrumental too.

c. *farooq-ni zaryi aav-nI shong-nI*
Farooq-GEN by came-not sleep-INF.OBL
'Farooq was not able to sleep/It was not slept by Farooq (literal).'

2.3 Punjabi

In Punjabi, there is a clear-cut distinction as far as the instrumental and dative are concerned and the important thing to note here is that the causee and the inabilitative passive agents are marked by the ablative marker *tõ:*. For example,

(8) a. *sarbi-ne rAm-tõ: kam kar-vA-yA*
Sarbi-ERG Ram-ABL work do-CAUS-PRF
'Sarbi made ram do the work.'

b. *sarbi-tõ: kam nai kitA gayA*
Sarbi-ABL work not do-PRF go-PRF
'Sarbi was not able to do the work.'

c. *rAm ghar-tõ: bAhar nikalyA*
Ram ghar-ABL outside come-PRF
'Ram came out of/from (literal) the house.'

2.4 Manipuri

In Manipuri, too, the extended use of the instrumental marker *-nə* is attested. For example,

(9) a. *oja-nə* *angang-nə* *telangga* *pai-hal-lam-mi*
teacher-AG child-INS kite fly-CAUS-EVI-DECL
'The teacher made the child fly the kite.'

b. *rAm-nə* *thabaktu* *touba* *ngam-lam-de*
Ram-AG work do-to able- EVI-NEG
'Ram was not able to do the work.'

c. *ai-nə* *heijrAng-nə* *kek kAk-le*
I-AG knife-INS cake cut-PRF
'I cut the cake with the knife.'

2.5 Previous analyses of Hindi causative: Causee as an adjunct

Bhatt & Embick (2003) analyze Hindi causatives within the Distributive Morphology framework. They assume that there is no lexicon where the transitive verb could be derived from an intransitive as the basic one and vice-versa. Hence, the verbal alternation for them is syntactic and the existing differences between transitivization and causativization are only due to locality considerations.

Bhatt & Embick (2004) argue that the Hindi causatives involve a passive substructure that is based on the corresponding transitive. In their causative structure, there is an addition of an agent-licensing head *v*[AG] with an external argument in its specifier. This head *v*[AG] takes a passive *v*P as its complement. The passive υP complement is a υP containing a υ[AG] without a Case feature and thus, no DP in the specifier of this head) (see Embick 1997). The reason they state is that since Hindi causee is not obligatory, i.e. not explicitly realised in the embedded event, the embedded *v*[AG]P lacks an external argument. Furthermore, when overt, it has the same case marker that is found in passive agents and hence, it is a passive υP complement.

Bhatt & Embick (2004)'s analysis invites comparisons of Hindi causee with the demoted agent analysis of English *by*-phrases. It also resonates with the earlier view of Hindi causee as an instrumental *se*-marked adjunct that is licensed with an 'intermediate agent/causee' interpretation in the indirect morphological causative using the suffix *-wa* (Masica 1991; Saksena 1982b; Kachru 1980; Hook 1979).

Though Ramchand (2008, 2011) too suggests that Hindi causee is an adjunct as it is interpreted as an intermediate agent and is always optional, she argues against the demoted agent analysis of *-se* marked causee in Hindi. She states that in Hindi passive the *-se* phrase does not express the intermediate agent intrepretation and hence, is independent of passivization. According to her, "instrumental

marked adjuncts are actually nearly always possible with all verbal forms (interpreted as instruments), it is just their interpretation as intermediate agents that is at stake" in causatives. Ramchand (2011) further refines her analysis of *-se* causee in Hindi and equates it with the standard interpretation of other adverbial modifiers. She claims that "the *-se* adjunct is linguistically always a subevent modifier which introduces a direct, non-volitive cause, the different interpretations it gets is a matter of semantics: implicit encyclopaedic content from a root verb provides conceptual information that makes an intermediate agent interpretation possible/felicitous."

3. Position of the causee

The position of the causee would naturally depend on the fact whether it is considered as an adjunct or an argument. If it is considered as an adjunct, it must not have any role in the argument structure but if it is an agrument, it is present in the argument structure of the causative. As seen above, Bhatt & Embick (2004) and Ramchand (2008, 2011) consider the Hindi causee as an adjunct, hence, no place in the argument structure. Contrary to the previous analysis of Hindi causee, I argue that it is an argument, not an adjunct, occupying a subject-like position in the specifier of VoiceP. Zeroing in to this point, we first examine the control diagnostic by Mohanan (1994) based on her observation that "participial adjuncts in Hindi require their controllers to be grammatical subjects":

(10) A nominal that can control a participial adjunct clause with an obligatory control must be a SUBJ.

(11) *rAm-ne* *mohan-ko* [$PRO_{i/*j}$ *muskurAte* *hue*] *mArA*
Ram-ERG Mohan-ACC laugh-HAB be-PRF hit-PRF
'Ram_i hit $Mohan_j$ while $_{i/*j}$ smiling.'

In the above sentence, the obligatory control is with the subject 'Ram' and not the object 'Mohan.'

Now, let us consider the following example:

(12) *ram-ne* *ravi-se* *vijay-ko* [___ *muskurate* *hue*] *bitḤvaya*
Ram-E Ravi-I Vijay-A smile-IMPERF be-NF sit-C-C-PERF
'Ram_k made $Ravi_i$ seat $Vijay_j$ while $_{k/*i/*j}$ smiling.' (Mohanan 1994: 128)

As seen in the above example, the *-se* marked causee cannot control into the participial adjunct clause and hence, one can argue that it is an adjunct not an argument according to the Control Diagnostic by Mohanan. But if we probe deeper we find that this inference is erroneous. I will provide evidence that though, the

objects cannot control into the participial adjunct clause, it is not only the subject that can control into it, the causee in the causative constructions can also control into the participial adjunct clause:

(13) a. *ram$_i$-ne* *mina$_j$-se* *mohən$_k$-ko* [*PRO$_{i/j/*k}$* *k^{h}aṯ̲e*
Ram-ERG Mina-INS Mohan-ACC eat-PRS.PTCP
hue] *piɽwaja* Hindi
be-PFV hit-CAUS-PRF
'Ram$_i$ made Mina$_j$ hit Mohan$_k$ while PRO$_{i/j/*k}$ eating.'

b. *ram$_i$-ən* *layɪ-nov* *mohən$_k$-əs* *mina$_j$* *əṯ̲^{h}i*
Ram-ERG hit-CAUS-PRF Mohan-DAT Mina INS
[*PRO$_{i/j/*k}$* *k^{h}eyvan* *k^{h}eyvan*] Kashmiri
eat-PROG eat-PROG
'Ram$_i$ made Mina$_j$ hit Mohan$_k$ while PRO$_{i/j/*k}$ eating.'

c. *Ram-ne$_i$* *mina-tõ:$_j$* *mohan-nũ:$_k$* [*PRO$_{i/j/*k}$* *khandya:$_{i/k}$*
Ram-ERG mina-ABL mohan-ACC eating.PTCP
hoya:] *kut-va-yaa* Punjabi
be-PRF beat-CAUS – PRF
'Ram$_i$ made Mina$_j$ hit Mohan$_k$ while PRO$_{i/j/*k}$ eating.'

d. *ram-nə* *mina-nə* *mohan-bu*
Ram-ERG Mina-ERG Mohan-ACC
[*PRO$_{i/j/*k}$* *ca-ri-ngaida* *phu-hal-lam-mi* Manipuri
eat-PROG-PTCP beat-CAUS-EVI-DECL
'Ram$_i$ made Mina$_j$ hit Mohan$_k$ while PRO$_{i/j/*k}$ eating.'

(14) a. *masʈər ne* *bəcce se* *pəṯ̲əŋg* [*PRO$_{i/j}$* *muskuraṯ̲e*
teacher-ERG child-INS kite smile-PRS.PTCP
hue] *uɽwai* Hindi
be-PRF fly-CAUS-PRF
'The teacher$_i$ made the child$_j$ fly the kite while PRO$_{i/j}$ smiling.'

b. *masʈər$_i$-ən* *vɨɽɨ-nA:v-nav* *bəccəs$_j$* *əṯ̲^{h}i* *ganʈɨ* *brar*
teacher-ERG fly-CAUS-CAUS-PRF child INS kite
[*PRO$_{i/j}$* *əsan* *əsan*] Kashmiri
smile-PROG smile-PROG
'The teacher$_i$ made the child$_j$ fly the kite while PRO$_{i/j}$ smiling.'

c. *ti:car-ne$_i$* *bacce-tõ:$_j$* [*PRO$_{i/j}$* *muskura:nde* *hoya:*]
teacher-ERG child-ABL smiling.PTCP be-PRF
pəṯ̲əŋg *ud-va:-yi:* Punjabi
kite fly-CAUS-PRF
'The teacher$_i$ made the child$_j$ fly the kite while PRO$_{i/j}$ smiling.'

d. *oja-du-nɔ̀ ɔ̀ŋaŋ-du-nɔ̀ telɔ̀ŋga-du-bu*
teacher-ERG child-INS kite-DST-ACC
[*PRO*$_{i/j}$ *nok-li-ŋɔ̀idɔ̀ pai-hɔ̀l–lɔ̀m-mi* Manipuri
smile-PROG-PTCP fly-CAUS-EVI-DECL
'The teacher$_i$ made the child$_j$ fly the kite while PRO$_{i/j}$ smiling.'

Hindi

(15) a. *ram-ne kəmre mẽ gʰusʈ̪e hue somi-se hãsʈ̪e*
Ram-ERG room in enter-PTCP be-PFV Somi-INS smile-PTCP
hãsʈ̪e məheʃ-ko piʈwaja
smile-PTCP Mahesh-ACC hit-CAUS-PRF
'Ram$_i$ made Somi$_j$ hit Mahesh$_k$ while PRO$_{i/j/*k}$ entering the room while PRO$_{i/j/*k}$ smiling.'

Kashmiri

b. *ram$_i$-ən layɪ-nA:v-nov* [*PRO*$_{i/j/*k}$ *əsan əsan*]
Ram-ERG hit-CAUS-PRF smile-PROG smile-PROG
somi$_j$-əs ət̪ʰi məheʃ$_k$-s kəmbrəs mənz ət̪ sit̪ʰɨy
Somi-DAT INS Mahesh-DAT room-DAT in enter-PTCP
'Ram$_i$ made Somi$_j$ hit Mahesh$_k$ while PRO$_{i/j/*k}$ entering the room while PRO$_{i/j/*k}$ smiling.'

Punjabi

c. *ram-ne$_i$ kamre-vicc* [*PRO$_i$ vaRdeya: hoya:*] *somi-tõ:$_j$*
ram-ERG room-in entering.part be-PRF somi-ABL
[*PRO$_i$ hasde hasde*] *Mahesh-nũ: kut-va-yaa*
smile-PTCP smile-PTCP Mahesh-ACC beat.CAUS.PERF.M.SG
'Ram$_i$ made Somi$_j$ hit Mahesh$_k$ while PRO$_{i/j/*k}$ entering the room while PRO$_{i/j/*k}$ smiling.'

In all the sentences above (13–15), both subject and causee can control into the participial adjunct clause. Furthermore, if we passivize (14), the sentence turns out to be ambiguous – on one interpretation it is the implicit agent which is the controller and on the other, it is the implicit causee:

(16) a. *pət̪ əŋg* [*PRO$_{i/j}$ muskuraʈ̪e hue*] *uʈwai gəji* Hindi
kite smile-PRS.PTCP be-PFV fly-CAUS-PFV PASS-PFV.F
'The kite was made to fly while PRO$_{i/j}$ smiling.'

b. *ganʈɨ brar ayi vɨʈɨ-nA:v-nA:v–nɨ*
kite come-PST fly-CAUS-PASS
[*PRO$_{i/j}$ əsan əsan*] Kashmiri
smile-PROG smile-PROG
'The kite was made to fly while PRO$_{i/j}$ smiling.'

c. [$PRO_{i/j}$ *muskura:nde hoya:*] *pəʈ̪əŋg ud-va:-yi: gayi*: Punjabi
smiling.PTCP be-PRF kite fly-CAUS-PRF go-PRF
'The kite was made to fly while $PRO_{i/j}$ smiling.'

Now, I will illustrate that in Hindi as well as in Kashmiri, Punjabi and Manipuri causative constructions, there are three mutually distinct theta positions – agent, causee and patient/theme. Note here that the instrumental/ablative marked causee can *only* be licensed when there is a causative morphology on the verb.

(17) a. **runa-ne mili-se gʰənʈi bəʄa-i* Hindi
Runa-ERG Mili-INS bell ring-TR-PRF.F
'Runa made Mili ring the bell.'

b. *runa-ne mili-se gʰənʈi bəʄ-wa-i*
Runa-ERG Mili-INS bell ring-CAUS-PRF.F
'Runa made Mili ring the bell.'

(18) a. **farooq-an reyaz-as athi khuul kuluf* Kashmiri
Farooq-ERG Reyaz-DAT by open-PRF lock
'Farooq made Reyaz open the lock.'

b. *farooq-an kholI-nov reyaz-as athi kuluf*
Farooq-ERG open-CAUS Reyaz-DAT by lock
'Farooq made Reyaz open the lock.'

(19) a. **runa-ne mili-tõ: k̃ənʈi: vaj-a-yi:* Punjabi
Runa-ERG mili-ABL bell ring-TR-PRF
'Runa made Mili ring the bell.'

b. *runa-ne mili-tõ: k̃ənʈi: vaj-va-yi*:
Runa-ERG mili-ABL bell ring-CAUS-PRF
'Runa made Mili ring the bell.'

(20) a. **runa- nə mili-nə bell khiŋ-le* Manipuri
Runa-ERG Mili-INS bell ring-PRF
'Runa made Mili ring the bell.'

b. *runa-nə mili-nə bell khiŋ- həl-le*
Runa-ERG Mili-INS bell ring-CAUS-PRF
'Runa made Mili ring the bell.'

In all the (a) sentences in (17–20) above, there is the transitive suffix on the verb and a causee as an intermediate agent. These sentences are ungrammatical. On the contrary, all the (b) sentences in (17–20) have a causative suffix on the verb and also a causee, but the sentences are prefectly grammatical. This contrast in grammaticality and the absence/presence of causative morphology on the verb shows that given the dependence of the causee on causative morphology, it does not seem to be an adjunct but actually a part of the argument structure. In other words, the causee is attested only in the presence of the causative suffix, not in the presence

of the transitive suffix. The causee is essential as it is needed for the intermediate agent interpretation in the causative construction.

Next, the elision of the causee is not sufficient to guarantee its adjunct status as arguments can also be omitted in Hindi. As (21) shows, the object of the verb 'pəɽ^{h}na' *study* can also be omitted.

(21) *ram (kiṭ̪abē) pəɽ^{h}ṭ̪a hɛ*
Ram books study-HAB be-PRS
'Ram studies/reads (books).'

Therefore, Mohanan (1994)'s observation that "participial adjuncts in Hindi require their controllers to be grammatical subjects" is attested to be incorrect; at the same time, as we have seen, objects cannot be the controllers. Hence, the diagnostic in (10) should be as below:

(22) A nominal that can control a participial adjunct clause with an obligatory control must be a high argument.

High argument, here, is an argument that is "high" in position, occupying a subject-like position outside the υP but below TP.

Now, let us ponder over the agent-like properties of the causee.[7] Dowty (1991) introduced some proto-agent properties of 'agents' –

→ volitional involvement in the event or state
→ sentience (and/or perception) causing an event or change of state in another participant
→ movement (relative to the position of another participant)
→ exists independently of the event

If we consider the above properties, the causee has at least first three properties. Let us consider the following sentences:

(23) *rAm ne mohan se sohan ko marwAyA*
Ram ERG Mohan INS Sohan ACC kill-CAUS-PRF
'Ram made Mohan kill Sohan.'

(24) *rAm ne mohan se sohan ko zabardasti marwAyA*
Ram ERG Mohan INS Sohan ACC unwillingly kill-CAUS-PRF
'Ram made Mohan unwillingly kill Sohan.'

7. Richa (2003, 2008) compares Hindi causee agent to Manning (1994)'s 'a-subject.' Manning suggests that we need a class of all arguments that are first on some level of argument structure – he terms these 'a-subjects.' All logical subjects are 'a-subjects', but the compound argument structures that result from derivational operations, like passive and causative, yield additional 'a-subjects.'

If we compare both the sentences above, we will observe that in (23) though the causee is not completely volitional as the matrix subject, there does exist some extent of volitionalty on causee's part. Otherwise, the meaning of the sentence (24) and the sentence (23) will not have much difference as in (24), the causee is 'unwilling' to do the action of 'killing.' Hence, we can infer that the volitionality may not be complete but to a great extent it is present in the event. The causee 'Sohan' also changes the state of the other participant 'Mohan' as 'Sohan' does the action of killing 'Mohan.'

Moreover, the role of the causee in the event is integral (though not always overtly present) and its thematic role is very much needed to the interpretation of the event.

4. The status of instrumental/ablative marked causee vs. instrument

4.1 Hindi

It is also essential to make a distinction between instrumental/ablative marked causee and instrument. Consider the following examples:

(25) *ram-ne caku-sẽ mina-ko mara*
Ram-ERG knife-INS Mina-ACC kill-PRF
'Ram killed Mina with a knife.'

(26) **ram-ne mohən-sẽ mina-ko mara*
Ram-ERG Mohan-INS Mina-ACC kill-PRF
'Ram killed Mina through Mohan.'

(27) *ram-ne mohən-sẽ mina-ko mərwaja*
Ram-ERG Mohan-INS Mina-ACC kill-CAUS-PRF
'Ram made Mohan kill Mina.'

(28) *ram-ne mohən-sẽ caku-sẽ mina-ko mərwaja*
Ram-ERG Mohan-INS knife-INS Mina-ACC kill-CAUS-PRF
'Ram made Mohan kill Mina with a knife.'

The *-se* marked instrument is possible with all verbal forms, whereas the *-se* marked causee is possible only with causatives and (in)abilitatives. Apparently, it seems that the distinction between *-se* marked causee and *-se* marked instrument is along the lines of [± animate], but it is not, as Examples (29–33) below confirm:

(29) *t̪um-ne kəmpjuʈər-se əpni ãnkʰẽ pʰuɽwa lĩ*
You-ERG computer-INS self's eyes break-CAUS take-PRF
'You spoiled your eyes because of the computer.' (Khokhlova 1997: 12)

(30) *t̪um-ne ram-se əpni ãnk^{h}ẽ p^{h}uɾwa lĩ*
You-ERG Ram-INS self's eyes break-CAUS take-PRF
'You got your eyes spoiled through Ram.'

But we cannot say,

(31) **t̪um-ne kəmpjuʈər-se əpni ãnk^{h}ẽ p^{h}oɾ lĩ*
You-ERG computer-INS self's eyes break-TR take-PRF
'You spoiled your eyes through the computer.'

Neither,

(32) **t̪um-ne ram-se əpni ãnk^{h}ẽ p^{h}oɾ lĩ*
You-ERG Ram-INS self's eyes break-TR take-PRF
'You spoiled your eyes through Ram.'

At this juncture, we can envisage that if we place *-se* marked instrument in place of the *-se* marked causee, it would render the causative construction ungrammatical, not the transitive one.

(33) a. **t̪um-ne sui-se əpni ãnk^{h}ẽ p^{h}uɾwa lĩ*
You-ERG needle-INS self's eyes break-CAUS take-PRF
'You got your eyes spoiled because of/through the needle.'[8]

b. *t̪um-ne sui-se əpni ãnk^{h}ẽ p^{h}oɾ lĩ*
You-ERG needle-INS self's eyes break-TR take-PRF
'You spoiled your eyes with the needle.'

This undoubtedly proves that despite having the same marker *-se*, the causee and the instrument[9] in Hindi are different interpretively, one is an argument and the other is an adjunct. Reflexive binding in Hindi provides syntactic evidence in favour of this argument. It is known that an adjunct cannot bind the reflexive:

(34) *zu:bi-ne [ram-se milkər] əpni kit̪ab li:*
Zoobi-ERG Ram-INS meet-CONJ.PTCP self's book take-PRF.F
'Zoobi took her/*his book after she met Ram.'

---

8. Ungrammatical only under a causee reading of *sui-se*.

9. The true instrumentals should be the first merge after ʋ is merged, though the actual surface evidence will be tricky to find. We need to go by the semantic considerations i.e. if an adverb makes reference to agents, it should come in after the agent has been introduced syntactically by the right kind of ʋ head. But due to so much scrambling present in Hindi, it is trickier to find it (Rajesh Bhatt, p.c.).

On the other hand, the causee can bind the possessive reflexive:

(35) a. *mina$_i$-ne miku$_j$-se əpna$_{i/j}$ ḍ̪ərwaza k^{h}ulwaja*
Mina-ERG Miku-INS self's door open-CAUS-PRF
'Mina made Miku open her/his door.'

b. *ʃivani$_i$-ne rica$_j$-se əpna$_{i/j}$ kəmra saf kərwaja*
Shivani-ERG Richa-INS self's room clean-CAUS-PRF
'Shivani$_i$ made Richa$_j$ open self$_{i/j}$ room.'

This behaviour is not entirely unexpected. It has been observed that arguments that originate in the VP are unable to bind the possessive reflexives – only subjects/external arguments may (Kidwai 1995, 2000; Richa 2003).

(36) *ram$_i$-ne moni$_j$-ko əpni$_{i/j}$ kiṯ̪ab lɔʈai*
Ram-ERG Moni-ACC self's book return-TR.PRF.F
'Ram returned Moni his/*her book.'

As the causee can also bind the possessive reflexive,[10] it appears that these arguments must also be "high" in position. But, the interesting point is that the anti-subject orientation does not hold with the causee arguments, suggesting that it is not really in the "subject" position.

(37) *sara$_i$-ne moni$_j$-se mili$_k$-ko uske$_{*i/j/k}$ g^{h}ər mẽ mərwaja*
Sara-ERG Moni-INS Mili-ACC her house in kill-CAUS-PRF
'Sara$_i$ made Moni$_j$ kill Mili$_k$ in her$_{*i/j/k}$ house.'

This provides substantive evidence that though the causee is in the "high" position, it is not as high as the subject position. In other words, it occupies a "subject-like" position outside the υP by Spellout.

4.2 Kashmiri

As discussed in Section 2.2. Kashmiri has three instrumental markers and one of them (*sI:t'*) is restricted to be used only with instruments and the other two *zaryi/athi* are used exclusively with animate agents. The only difference between *zaryi* and *athi* is that in the passive of a causative construction, the causee agent is marked by *athi* and the matrix subject is marked by *zaryi*.

(38) *reyaaz-ni zaryi aav (farooq-as athi) kuluf khol-na:v-nI*
Reyaz-GEN by came Farooq-DAT by lock open-CAUS-INF.OBL
'The lock was made to open by Reyaz through Farooq.'

---

10. This sensitivity of binding domain to argument structure is somewhat similar to languages like Inuit (one of the Eskimo-Aleut languages) and Turkish, where both causer and causee can bind the reflexive. In these languages too, first, the transitive stem is causativized and the causee is expressed via some oblique role (See Manning 1994).

Though, the instrument vs agent distinction is present there in Kashmiri, the oblique phrase and its optionality renders its status doubtful as the causee in other languages.

4.3 Punjabi

In Punjabi, the instruments are marked with *na:l* and the ablative can be used for the extended agentive meaning. For example,

(39) a. *ram-ne mina-nũ: cakku-na:l ma:r-ya:*
ram-ERG mina-ACC knife-INS kill-PRF
'Ram killed Mina with a knife.'

b. *ram-ne mohan-tõ: mina- nũ: cakku-na:l mar-va:-ya:*
ram-ERG mohan-ABL mina-ACC knife-INS kill-CAUS-PRF
'Ram made Mohan kill Mina with a knife.'

4.4 Manipuri

In Manipuri, the problem is complex as *-nə* is the ergative marker as well as the intrumental marker. Beside this it can be used with causee too.

(40) a. *ram-nə mina-bu həijraŋ-nə hat-khi*
Ram-ERG Mina-ACC knife-INS kill-CERT
'Ram killed Mina with a knife.'

b. *ram-nə mina-nə mohan-bu hat-həl–ləm-mi*
Ram-ERG Mina-ERG Mohan-ACC kill-CAUS-EVI-DECL
'Ram made Mohan kill Mina.'

Hence, we cannot have

c. **ram-nə mohan-nə mina-bu hat-khi*
Ram-ERG Mohan-ERG Mina-ACC kill-CERT
'Ram killed Mina through Mohan.'

Like Hindi, adjuncts in Manipuri, too cannot bind the reflexives but the causee can.

(41) a. *zoobi-nə məsa-gi lairik-tu ram-bu*
Zoobi-ERG self-GEN book-DST Ram-bu
unə-rəgə lau-rəm-mi Manipuri
meet-CONJ.PTCP take-EVI-DECL
'Zoobi took her/*his book after she met Ram.'

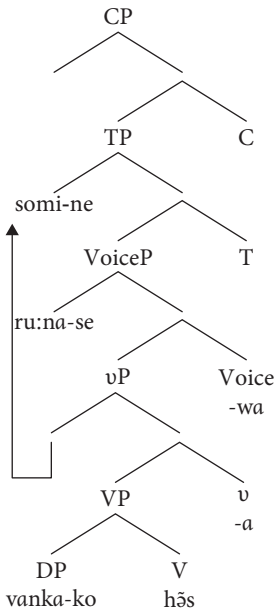
b. *ram-nə moni-nə məsa-gi məmə-bu phu-həl–ləm-mi*
Ram-ERG Moni-INS self-GEN his mother-ACC beat-CAUS-EVI-DECL
'Ram made Moni hit his/her mother.'

5. Voice in the analysis of causative

In the present analysis of the causative configuration, the Voice-based transfer/inheritance proposals of Roberts (2008) has been adopted. Capturing traditional insights (Whorf 1945; Authier 1996; Nikolaeva & Tolskaya 2001; Yeon 2002) that hold causative to be a Voice, and assuming the arguments of Pylkkänen (2002) that causativization adds an event layer as well as another argument, it is proposed that causatives like (42) instantiate the configuration in (43) where the Voice head takes a υP as its complement. As argued above, the causee is not an adjunct but an argument in Hindi causatives, and in (43) it is licensed by Voice head in Spec, VoiceP – i.e. an argument position (see Richa 2008):

(42) *somi-ne* *ru:na-se* *vanka-ko* *hə̃swaja*
Somi-ERG Runa-INS Vanka-ACC laugh-CAUS-PRF
'Somi made Vanka make Runa laugh.'

(43)



Under this analysis, Voice has two kinds of features: argumental features and Case (i.e. an uninterpretable φ-set). As argumental features, it has not only the [AG] feature, which licenses the external argument, but also that of causee, i.e. the *-se* argument. In actives, both the accusative Case feature as well as the [AG] feature are transferred to υ; however, the Causee is systematically licensed in the specifier of Voice.

This analysis predicts that in a passive of a causative, the *-se* argument should remain unaffected, as it is not Case-marked by υ but by the Voice head. This is

true, given that in (44b), passivisation affects the external argument, not the *-se* argument:

(44) a. *somi-ne ru:na-se vanka-ko piʈwaja*
Somi-ERG Runa-INS Vanka-ACC hit-CAUS-PRF
'Somi made Runa hit Vanka.'

b. *ru:na-se vanka-ko piʈwaja gəja*
Runa-INS Vanka-ACC hit-CAUS-PFV PASS-PRF
'Vanka was hit (through Runa).'

Moreover, if we form inabilitative passives of causatives, the prediction is that the *-se* argument of the causative should remain unaffected, and it is indeed true:

(45) *somi-se runa-se vanka-ko piʈwaja nə̃hi gəja*
Somi-INS Runa-INS Vanka-ACC hit-CAUS-PRF not PASS-PRF
'Somi was not able to make Runa hit Vanka.'

Here, inability is on the part of the external argument *Somi* and not the *-se* causee as predicted.

6. Conclusion

With this analysis, the *-se* marked cause argument must be υP-external, and it is this property that explains the perplexing binding properties of the causee. As shown above, though Hindi (see also Richa 2003) causee can bind possessive reflexives in lower categories, anti-subject orientation does not hold in this position. Following Mahajan (1990) and Kidwai (2000) in analysing anti-subject orientation as holding of arguments in [Spec, TP], this indicates that though the causee is in a subject-like position, it cannot be the specifier of TP. [Spec, Voice P] is indeed such a position. Hence, this is a 'high' argument but not 'high' enough to count as the subject (while possessive reflexive binding makes reference just to height in terms of υP-externality, anti-subject orientation refers to height alone).

The fact that causee argument can act as binder for possessive reflexives suggests that when Voice is Causative, a higher head, other than υ, may serve to value the j-set of possessive reflexives. In the present proposal above, Voice transfers its features to υ in actives, identifying υP as a phase. For reflexives embedded in arguments lower than the external argument, the only available binder that is υP-external and it is the subject that has raised to [Spec, TP]. In causative Voice, on the other hand, Voice withholds its features from υ – in other words, the category headed by υ is j-incomplete. Consequently, just like other defective categories, it is transparent to Agree Probes from higher heads in the clause, such as Voice and T.

Thus, feature transfer is always from a phase head to a non-phase head. Now, let us compare Voice-υ feature-inheritance with C–T feature inheritance. In the present proposal, where the insights of Roberts (2008) have been followed, just as TP cannot appear in isolation without C, υP cannot appear without Voice. Therefore, in cases where υ appears to be the phase head, it must be the case that Voice has transferred the relevant features to υ. This proposal, therefore, takes issue with Collins' (2005) conclusion that Voice head is present only in the passives, and through the analysis of causatives that has been built here, lends support to Roberts' (2008) claim that Voice is uniformly present.

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