

Causative Constructions and Control in Toba Batak

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1. General Remarks on Causative Constructions

According to Shibatani (1976) there are two conditions to have two events constitute a causative situation: the "caused event" is believed to be realized after the time of the "causing event". And the speaker believes that there is dependency of the caused event from the causing event; the caused event would not have taken place without the causing event.

Givón (1980) proposed a 'semantic binding scale' defined in terms of influence by the manipulator, independence on the part of the manipulee and the degree of manipulation. Higher binding on the binding scale comprises stronger influence by the manipulator, less independence on the part of the manipulee, and stronger manipulation.

One of the basic attempts to systematize causation is Comrie's (1981) concept of a causative continuum divided into analytic (periphrastic), morphological and lexical formations.

As Haiman (1983) illustrated for a number of languages, the formal distance between the expression of cause and the expression of effect—from least to greatest: synthetic or lexical, agglutinative or morphological, analytic, periphrastic—corresponds to the conceptual distance between cause and effect.

2. General Information on Toba Batak

Toba Batak is a West Austronesian and a West Indonesian language spoken in central North Sumatra by about 2 million speakers. They inhabit the area of the island of Samosir and the east, south and south-west of Lake Toba. They possess a script of their own which is influenced by the Devanagari alphabet since many religious and cultural terms are influenced by Sanskrit, but the language is now written only in Latin characters. The Hindu-Buddhist maritime empire of Srivijaya with its capital in southern Sumatra obviously had influenced the Toba Batak region too. Toba Batak is one of the important regional languages in Indonesia, and it is one of five Batak languages spoken in North Sumatra with five major subdialects of its own.

Phonologically, Toba Batak's Indian heritage can be seen as well in diverse sandhi-rules. There is a strong predominance of disyllabic lexemes; however, there are monosyllabic lexemes too. Morphologically Toba Batak is strongly agglutinative. It uses affixes to build verbs and nouns from simple bases. There is no basic verb-noun differentiation. About 20 affixes are known for verb formation, mostly prefixes and infixes. The intransitive verbs can be differentiated into stative and active verbs. Toba Batak is a predicate-initial language; the word order is VAO or VOA. It mainly uses object-orientated constructions like most Indonesian-Malay and most Austronesian languages.

3. Causative Constructions in Toba Batak

Here I try to show by which constructions Toba Batak expresses causative situations and explore if and how the formal distance between the expression of cause and the expression of effect represents the degree of semantic binding between cause and effect.

There exist morphologically irregular, nonproductive forms that are referred to as lexical causatives. These generally express manipulative causation: the causer physically manipulates a nonvolitional causee for the effect of the caused event.

As an agglutinative language Toba Batak uses affixes for the morphologically regular and productive forms of causation. The causee here is often but not always involved as a volitional entity directed by the causer. Morphological causative expresses directive causation. Toba Batak has analytic causatives too. They are formed by causatives verbs as *bahen* 'make'.

3.1 Transitive Constructions

The intransitive verb can be active or stative. A prefixed *ma-*, *mang-*, *mar-*, f.i., marks the active; a prefixed *m-*, *um-*, *tar-*, f.i., marks the stative intransitive verb in Toba Batak.

<i>mar=dalan ahu</i>	'I walk'
<i>mang=huling ho</i>	'you speak'
<i>m=odom naboru</i>	'aunt sleeps'
<i>tar=songgot ibana</i>	'he/she is terrified'

There are several derivational processes to form transitive verbs as *ha-*, *maN-*, *pa-*, *par-* + root, or root + *-hon*, *-i*. As Schachter (1984)

investigated for transitive verbs, there is an actor-trigger prefix *maN-* and a non-actor-trigger prefix *di-* on the basis of the semantic roles. With a *maN-* verbal construction the external NP is the actor, with a *di-* verbal construction the external NP is never the actor.

<u>Verb-Constr.</u>	<u>Participants</u>
<i>maN-</i> + Verb	UNDERGOER-ACTOR
<i>di-</i> + Verb	ACTOR-UNDERGOER

1a. *MaN=urat surat i si Tigor*
 +AT-write letter DEM PNM Tigor

1b. *Di=surat si Tigor surat i*
 -AT-write PNM Tigor letter DEM

Both versions read 'Tigor writes the letter'.

3.2 Causative Constructions

Causative constructions in Toba Batak are either lexical or morphological or analytic.

3.2.1 Lexical Causatives

There are lexical causative verbs such as *tipa* 'squeeze', *buha* 'open', *bunu* 'kill', *hona* 'be affected'.

2a. *di=tipa ibana lasina i*
 +AT-squeeze 3SG pepper DEM
 'he/she squeezes the pepper'

2b. *di=bunu halak i*
 -AT-kill man DEM
 'he/she kills the man'/'the man is killed'

2c. *hona udan boru i*
 be affected rain woman DEM
 'the woman is affected by the rain'

The lexical causatives show low interpersonality. Interpersonality is low when the participants or the affected one do not have volition or control or are not self-movable or not human.

<u>V Constr</u>	<u>Participants</u>	<u>CAUSE</u>	<u>PAT</u>	<u>CONTROL</u>
Verb	CAUSE-PAT	nat. force	+/-anim	+CAUSE
+AT-Vb	PAT-CAUSE	nat. force	+ human	+CAUSE
		or	or	
-AT-Vb	CAUSE-PAT	+ human	+/-anim	+CAUSE

3.2.2 Morphological Causatives

Grammars of Toba Batak generally regard the prefix *pa-* as the causative affix, 'to cause someone/something to be in a condition, place, posture, etc'. However, we find *pa-* in different functions:

pa- + intransitive verb means reciprocity or intensity;

pa- + numeral + *-hon* makes ordinal numbers;

pa- + numeral, *pa-* + noun means distribution;

pa- + imperative means explicit plural;

pa- is also possible in instrumental function as in *pa=si=eme* 'money to buy rice' compared to *ma=si=eme* 'to buy rice'

Besides, the intransitive verb with prefixed *pa-* is often used to represent a voluntary act as *pa=surut* 'to move oneself backward deliberately' in contradiction to *s=um=urut* 'to retreat unwillingly'. Or, as the following example shows, *pa-* serves to build a transitive verb: *donok* 'near', *pa=donok* 'to approach'. The original function of *pa-* is locative, indicating the movement to a final goal. This is altogether on the way to become a vehicle for causative constructions, as well as *pa-* indicating reciprocity and intensity is on the way to indicate a causative relation between two participants.

3. *di=pa=donok ma tu si Kondar*
 -AT-CADS-near EMPH DIR PNM Kondar
 'he/she approaches Kondar'

3.2.2.1 The Prefix *pa-* in Causative Function

pa- + adjective:

jinak 'tame', *pa=jinak* 'to tame'
hudus 'quick', *pa=hudus* 'to quicken'

4. *di=pa=jinak hoda i*
 -AT-CAUS-tame horse DEM
 'he/she tames the horse'
5. *di=pa=hudus hita mar=dalan*
 -AT-CAUS-quick 1PLIncl V-way
 'he/she quickens our steps'

pa- + intransitive verb:

masuk 'to enter' *pa=masuk* 'let enter'
ro 'to come' *pa=ro* 'to let come'
tuduk 'to pick' *pa=tuduk* 'to feed with grain'

6. *hu=pa=masuk tu bulu potong=an do i*
 1SG-CAUS-enter DIR bamboo take off-NR EMPH DEM
 'I put (it) into the bamboo savings-box'
7. *di=pa=ro udan tu tano i*
 -AT-CAUS-come rain DIR earth DEM
 'he/she lets rain come to the earth'
8. *hu=pa=tuduk manuk i*
 1SG-CAUS-pick hen DEM
 'I feed the hen with grain'

pa- + transitive verb:

boa 'show' *pa=boa* 'to announce', 'to communicate'
pillit 'choose' *pa=pillit* 'to let choose'

9. *laos di=pa=boa ma nipi=na i tu ale-ale=na*
 then -AT-CAUS-show EMPH dream-3SG DEM DIR friend-3SG
 'then he/she communicates his dream to his/her friend'

10. *hu=pa=pillit angka bua tu nasida*
 1SG-CAUS-choose PL fruit DIR 3PL
 'I let them choose the fruits'

pa- + noun:

11. *pa=di=ruma tondi datu i*
 CAUS-LOC-house soul priest DEM
 'the priest brings the soul into the house'
12. *pa=tu=aek gelleng i nasida*
 CAUS-DIR-water baby DEM 3PL
 'they bring the baby to the water'

3.2.2.2 Further Morphological Causative Constructions

The prefix *pa-* is not the only means of causativation in Toba Batak; the suffix *-hon* is used in causative function too. However, the first function of *-hon* is to indicate that a direct object is following. Originally *-hon* was a locative preposition, serving to indicate a movement to a goal. Thus, *-hon* affixed to a verb indicates a striving to reach what is represented in the verb.

We can try a tentative comparison of the affix *-hon* and the verb *hona* here which may be derived from a single stem. There is a verb *pa=hona=hon* 'to cause an affection' too. When the verb represents an action, the suffix *-hon* represents the object as affected by the action. In a causative construction we can find *pa-* together with *-hon*; here the suffix means that the transitive function is foregrounded in opposition to the causative function. Sometimes the suffix *-hon* is accompanied by the prefix *mangha-* which consists of *mang-*, a prefix to derive verbs from other words, and *ha-*, originally a derivational prefix to build nouns.

adjective + *-hon*:

mokmok 'fat', *mokmok=hon* 'to fatten'

13. *ringkot do halak mangha=mokmok=hon angka babi=na*
 eager EMPH man V-fat-CAUS PL-pig-3SG
 'eagerly the man fattens his pigs'

noun + -hon:

balu 'widow/er', *balu=hon* 'to become a widow/er'

14. *nan Ringgas na mangha=balu=hon si Burju*
 mother Ringgas REL V-widow/er-CAUS PNM Burju
 'Ringgas' mother makes Burju become a widower'

intransitive verb + -hon:

tading 'to stay back', *tading=hon* 'to leave back'

15. *hu=tading=hon ibana di huta i*
 1SG-leave-CAUS 3SG LOC village DEM
 'I leave him back in the village'

transitive verb + -hon:

mang=atur 'to put in order', *mang=atur=hon* 'to command'
mang=upa 'to reward', *pa=upa=hon* 'to pay wages for work'

In (16) some causative constructions with *pa-* and *-hon* are illustrated with the verb *minum* 'to drink'.

- 16a. *inum (ma)!*
 drink (EMPH)
 'drink!'
- 16b. *minum ibana*
 drink 3SG
 'he/she drinks'
- 16c. *di=pa=inum anak=na*
 -AT-CAUS-drink son-3SG
 'he/she lets his/her son drink'
- 16d. *di=pa=inum=hon anggur i tu ho*
 -AT-CAUS-drink-OT wine DEM DIR 2SG
 'he/she lets you drink the wine'

- 16e. *pa=inum=hon=on=g-hu anggur i tu ho*
 CAUS-drink-OT-MOD-S-ISG wine DEM DIR 2SG
 'I'll let you drink the wine'
- 16f. *si=pa=inum=hon=on=hon do anggur i tu ho*
 MOD-CAUS-drink-OT-MOD-CAUS EMPH wine DEM DIR 2SG
 'one should let you drink the wine'

Morphological causatives show stronger interpersonality than lexical causatives. The causator generally is human or +/-animated; the causee is nearly always animated. The subject of the cause-proposition, S /Pc/, controls the nominal of the causee-proposition. But the causator can be active or stative as the causee can be, too. Active on the part of S /Pc/ means a fully controlling agent; stative means a less controlling agent. This can be represented in the following scheme:

<u>V-Constr.</u>	<u>Participants</u>	<u>CAUSER</u>	<u>CAUSEE</u>	<u>CONTROL</u>
<i>pa</i> +V	Causer-Causee	+/-human	+/-anim	+S /Pc/
V + <i>-hon</i>	Causer-Causee	+/-human	+/-anim	+S /Pc/
<i>pa</i> +V+ <i>hon</i>	Causer-Causee	+human	+/-anim	+/-S /Pc/
<i>mangha</i> +V+ <i>-hon</i>		+human	+/-anim	+S /Pc/

3.2.3 Analytic Causatives

Analytic causativation is always complex. Here we have two verbs, thus two propositions with the "resulting event" syntactically subordinated. The "causing event" or the causator can be fully controlling or less controlling.

Horhon 'to effect', *bahen* 'to make' are the main verbs used in analytic causativation. *Bahen* is used with +/- animate and human causators and causees.

17. *sega ma hauma bahen=on ni ari logo*
 destroy EMPH field make-MOD POSS day dry
 'the field is destroyed from dry climate'
18. *mate hau na bolon di=bahen hau na rodop*
 die tree REL big -AT-make tree REL low
 'big trees die because of small undergrowth'

19. *di=bahen hata=m um=bahen m=ago hami*
 -AT-make word-2SG MOD-make +AT 1PLexcl
 'it is made by your word that we are ruined'
20. *na gabe pogos ibana h=in=or=hon ni pang=galang nasida*
 REL become poor 3SG effect-MOD-OT POSS NR-generous-3PL
 'his becoming poor was effected by their generosity'
21. *ala ni ibana mate ama=na si Ringgas*
 reason POSS 3SG die father-3SG PNM Ringgas
 'because of him Ringgas' father died'
22. *mar=gulut di huta=nami ala ni pa=nurbu=on nantuari*
 +AT-quarrel LOC village-1PL reason POSS recip-throw stones-
 NR yesterday
 'quarrel in our village resulting from throwing stones on each other
 yesterday'

<u>Verb</u>	<u>Relation</u>	<u>Causer</u>	<u>Causee</u>	<u>Control</u>
<i>bahen</i>	V Causee V Causer	-human	-human	+ S /Pc/
<i>bahen</i>	V Causer V Causee	+human	+human	+ S /Pc/
<i>horhon</i>	V Causee V Causer	+human	+human	+ S /Pc/
<i>ala</i>	N Causer V Causee	+human	+human	+/-S /Pc/
<i>ala</i>	V Causee N Causer	+human	+human	+/-S /Pc/

Analytic causatives show strong interpersonality.

4. The Factor of Control

Givón (1975) illustrated the social dimension of interpersonal manipulation.

The notion of control, direct or mediated, is closely bound to the way in which we tend to assign BLAME. Thus, consider the following, uttered by the accused in court in front of the judge:

Your honor, I'm innocent, I lost my balance and fell and that way I

- caused her to fall overboard and drown.
- made her fall overboard and drown.
- had her fall overboard and drown.

... only a) will be accepted as a legitimate plea of innocence, since in it the accused DISCLAIMS CONTROL (1975:86).

The intransitive sentence (23) in Toba Batak

23. *ma=dabu ibana sian hapal*
 AT-fall 3SG from ship
 'he/she falls overboard'

does not say anything about whether the action takes place controlled/willingly or not controlled/unwillingly. The sentence (24)

24. *par=dabu=na sian hapal songgot*
 NOM-fall-3SG- from ship suddenly
 'suddenly his/her fall overboard'

shows a rather non-intended action by *pardabuna* 'his/her falling' without a causer mentioned. When transforming this sentence into a causative construction, there will be either a causer controlling the causee (+C), or control can be ambiguous (+/-C), or control does not exist (-C). Different from the three English verbs for periphrastic causatives, *make* (+C), *have* (+/-C) and *cause* (-C), Toba Batak does not express the varying degree of control by different verbs. However, word order in the constructions make the varying degrees of control obvious.

Control is with the causer (+C):

25. *hu=dabu=hon ibana sian hapal*
 ISG-fall-CAUS 3SG from ship
 'I make him/her to fall overboard'

Control is mediated (+/-C):

26. *ha=ro=ro=nghu ibana lak ma=dabu sian hapal*
 Nom-come-come-1SG 3SG -C +AC-fall from ship
 'I have him/her to fall overboard'

The causer has no control (-C):

27. *ala ni ahu ma=dabu ibana sian hapal*
 cause POSS 1SG +AC-fall 3SG from ship
 'I cause him/her to fall overboard'

4.1 The Factor of Control with Verbs of Manipulation

By verbs of manipulation we can express variations from strongest to feeblest control, and from lessening control of the causer to growing control of the causee which show not only lexically but grammatically as well. With the causative verb 'to force' control is with the causer, with the causative verb 'to hinder' control is ambiguous as it is possible to hinder involuntarily. Verbs like 'to order', 'to urge', 'to persuade', 'to allow', 'to forbid' are ambiguous. The whole range of control requires us to understand control as causal relations between individuals.

- 28a. *hu=paksa ibana mang=allang indahan i*
 1SG-order 3SG +AT-eat rice DEM
 'I order him/her to eat the rice'
- 28b. *hu=suru ibana mang=allang indahan i*
 1SG-urge 3SG +AT-eat rice DEM
 'I urge him/her to eat the rice'
- 28c. *ala ni ahu di=allang ibana indahan i*
 reason Poss 1SG -AT-eat 3SG rice DEM
 'Because of me he/she eats the rice'
- 28d. *hu=dok allang=on ni ibana indahan i*
 1SG-say eat-MOD POSS 3SG rice DEM
 'I say he/she should eat the rice'
- 28e. *hu=dok tu ibana asa gabe di=allang ibana indahan i*
 1SG-say DIR 3SG CONJ become -AT-eat 3SG rice DEM
 'I tell him/her that s/he should eat the rice'
- 28f. *hu=pa=sombu ibana mang=allang indahan i*
 1SG-CAUS-let 3SG +AT-eat rice DEM
 'I allow him/her to eat the rice'

- 28g. *hu=pang=ido asa mang=allang ibana indahan i*
 1SG-+AT-ask CONJ +AT-eat 3SG rice DEM
 'I ask him/her to eat the rice'
- 29a. *hu=ora=i ibana mang=allang indhahan i*
 1SG-forbid-OT 3SG +AT-eat rice DEM
 'I forbid him/her to eat the rice'
- 29b. *hu=uji mang=ora=i ibana mang=allang indahan i*
 1SG-try +AT-forbid-OT 3SG +AT-eat rice DEM
 'I try to hinder him/her to eat the rice'
- 30a. *hu=suru ibana ro*
 1SG-order 3SG come
 'I order him/her to come'
- 30b. *di=pang=ido roha=ng=hu ingkon ro ibana*
 -AT-TR-ask heart-S-1SG must come 3SG
 'I want him/her to come'
- 30c. *di=pang=ido roha=ng=hu asa ro ibana*
 -AT-TR-ask heart-S-1SG CONJ come 3SG
 'I wish him/her to come'
- 30d. *hu=pa=loas ibana ro*
 1SG-CAUS-allow 3SG come
 'I allow him/her to come'
- 30e. *domu do tu roha=ng=hu ro ibana*
 content EMPH DIR heart-S-1SG come 3SG
 'I agree with his/her coming'
- 30f. *domu do tu roha=ng=hu pa=loas ibana ro*
 content EMPH DIR heart-S-1SG CAUS-allow 3SG come
 'I agree to allow him/her to come'

The examples in sentences (28) through (30) show lessening control of S/PC via word order and verb semantics. Strongest manipulation shows the manipulator-verb nearest to the manipulee, weaker manipulation shows growing distance between them.

4.2 Types of Control

From the sentences above a scheme can be drawn to show how the distance grows grammatically when the subject of the proposition (control) loses influence on the subject of the proposition (effect).

S /PC/+V	S /Pe/ V	+ Control Causer
S /PC/+V	V S /Pe/	+/-Control Causer
V/N S /Pc/ Prep	V S /Pe/	- Control Causer

5. Continuum of Causative Constructions in Toba Batak

From the illustration of various causatives and related constructions in Toba Batak it can be observed that they are hierarchally ordered analogous to terms of the formal distance between expressions of cause and effect. Among the causative constructions, lexical constructions in fact show the shortest grammatical way to express the causative relationship. Morphological causatives need an affix on the verb to express a more differentiated relation between causer and causee. As the causee mostly is human or animated the control the causer exerts is not as strong as in lexical causativation. Analytic causative sentences allow two verbs, and they allow the causee to exert more control on the action to become performed. The manipulation is done here by verbal means which are much weaker than the causative means involved in the lexical and morphological causatives. The semantic range which causative constructions can express is rather large and runs from an ineffective under-goer to a more independent causee.

Lexical	V	Cause	Undergoer	+ Control
Morphological	Aff + V	Causer	Causee	+ Control
Analytic	V	Causer	Causee V	+/- Control
	V	Causer	V Causee	- Control

Abbreviations

+AT	+Actor-trigger	+OT	Object-trigger
-AT	-Actor-trigger	PNM	Proper Noun Marker
CONJ	Conjunction	POSS	Possession
DEM	Demonstrative pronoun	REL	Relator
DIR	Direction	S	Sandhi-rule
EMPH	Emphatic particle	TR	Transitive affix
LOC	Locative	V	Verbal affix, Verb
MOD	Mode		

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