A NOTE ON THE MORPHOLOGY OF THE CAUSATIVE IN NANCOWR

R. Radhakrishnan

University of Calgary

The causative function is marked in Nancowry[*] by two affixes which are in near complementation: ha- and -um-.

The element ha- is prefixed to monosyllabic roots. In such forms as ha-káh 'to cause to know', ha-míh 'to cause to rain', ha-mí? 'to cause to be soaked', and ha-suáh 'to cause to burn', it is prefixed directly to the root that follows it.

The form -um-, on the other hand, is infixed into dissyllabic roots. For example, consider the following words: p-um-?ữy 'to cause to have a bad smell', p-um-rẽ 'to cause to be flat', and p-um-ló? 'to cause to lose'. These forms are derived by infixing -um- into, respectively, pa?ữy 'bad smell' pîrẽ 'flat', and paló? 'to lose'.

The only morphophonemic rule involved is: CV- -um- > Cum, in which CV represents any of the

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[*] Nancowry is a language spoken by about six hundred people on Nancowry Island in the Nicobar group; related dialects are spoken by about a thousand people on the neighboring islands of Katchal, Camorta, and Trinket. The fieldwork on which the present note is based was carried out for some six months in 1962-3 under the Munda Project directed by Dr. Norman H. Zide. A detailed analysi of the Nancowry word is to be found in my disser-tation submitted to the University of Chicago.

called root-prefixes and ha-, the prefix just
tioned.

Affix -um- is to be interpreted as an infix as
g as dissyllabic roots are taken as indivisible
ts. On the other hand, if such roots are treated
made up of root-prefix + root, -um- may be re-
ded as a second prefix standing before a simpli-
d (or more primitive) root; that is to say, in the
e of dissyllabic wordbases this causative -um- is
fixed to the root proper, and is not infixed into
 root-prefix. The vowel change is accounted for
the morphophonemic rule VumC > umC. Note that if
- is treated as an infix the order of affixation
t be specified to account for cases in which the
sative and the agentive occur in the same word,
avoid generating nonexistent forms; this step is
ided if -um- is treated as a prefix.

Instances of both causative affixes occurring
ether in the same word are common. Such forms are
ays based upon monosyllabic roots. Certain mono-
labic roots, in other words, undergo causative
mation recursively: prefix ha- is attached first,
 resulting form then undergoing causative forma-
n again, this time taking affix -um-, as if it
e a dissyllabic root. The following forms illus-
te this recursive formation; either of the morpho-
nemic rules given above is applicable.

ha-káh	>	h-um-káh	'to cause to know'
ha-míh	>	h-um-míh	'to cause to rain'
ha-ʔuáh	>	h-um-ʔuáh	'to cause to cough'
ha-sɵ́ɩ	>	h-um-sɵ́ɩ	'to frighten'

It may be observed parenthetically that the reduplicative root-prefix never occurs with forms which have already undergone causative affixation.

The fact that derivatives formed with ha- may undergo further derivation with -um- whereas dissyl-labic roots never take affix ha- probably indicates that the latter is no longer productive. It is even more likely that the dissyllabic structure of ha-derivatives and their structural identity with dis-syllabic roots has encouraged analogical causative formation by means of -um-, and hence double causati formation in some cases. This view is confirmed by the circumstance that there are numerous causative forms having only prefix ha-.

A third possibility, namely that double causati formations really have double causative meaning, cou not be verified in the term of my fieldwork--though dissyllabic roots do not undergo any manner of doubl causative formation.

Further examples (with glosses assigned only to the roots) of causatives are:

cák	'to ache'	>	ha-cák
cál	'to burn (as fire)'	>	ha-cál
cím	'to cry'	>	ha-cím
kóh	'to fall'	>	ha-kóh
kéŋ	'to float'	>	ha-kéŋ
tuák	'to complete'	>	ha-tuák
túŋ	'to smell'	>	ha-túŋ
té?	'to touch'	>	ha-té?
pút	'to come out'	>	ha-pút
ŋúŋ	'to finish'	>	ha-ŋúŋ

ciyáw	'to leak (as pot)'	>	c-um-yáw
calán	'to spread out'	>	c-um-lán
cayán	'to be damaged'	>	c-um-yán
tacál	'to be dark'	>	t-um-cál
takuác	'to be scratched'	>	t-um-kuác
payów	'to be broken'	>	p-um-yów

As has been mentioned, the causative and the [age]ntive may occur together in the same word. The [age]ntive is formed by infixation of -am- into mono-[syl]labic and dissyllabic roots or by prefixation of [m]- to root reduplicatives. These affixes mark the [doe]r or possessor of whatever is indicated by the [roo]t, as in

tún	'to smell'	> t-am-ún	'one who smells'
cíc	'to be evil'	> c-am-íc	'evil person'
?ití	'to laugh'	> m-ití	'one who laughs'

When causative and agentive co-occur, the caus-[at]ive affix must precede the agentive affix. For [ex]ample, root cím 'to cry' yields ha-cím 'to cause [to] cry', which in turn yields ma-hacím 'one who [ca]uses (someone else) to cry'. In the same way, [kĩ]a 'to close an eye' > ha-kĩa 'to aim' > ma-hakĩa ['o]ne who aims'. A dissyllabic root such as pahuá? ['t]o be afraid' yields first p-um-huá? 'to frighten', [th]en p-am-umhuá? 'one who frightens'; likewise, pucíp ['t]o be sharp' > p-um-cíp 'to sharpen' > p-am-umcíp ['o]ne who sharpens'.

The causative may also co-occur with the instru-[men]tal within the same word. Instrumental nominals

are formed by infixation of -an- or prefixation of
in-, or sometimes by both processes. For example,
sák 'to spear' yields s-an-dák 'spear', while ?ihí
(reduplicative + root) 'to clear (a field) for culti-
vation' yields h-an-i? 'implement for clearing (a
field)'. Prefix in- occurs both with dissyllabic
roots and with derived monosyllabic roots with caus-
ative ha-; thus takuác 'to trace' yields the instru-
mental derivatives t-in-kuác and, by double formatio
t-an-in-kuác 'marking or tracing implement'. It is
to be noted here that -an- is not infixed in the
strict sense (*i.e.*, into the root) but is inserted
into the pre-root sequence tin-. Examples of the
co-occurrence of the causative and instrumental are:

ha-kiãk	'to inflate'	> h-in-kiãk	'pump'
ha-cúh	'to encour- age'	> h-in-cúh	'words of en- courag ment'
ha-hét	'to make holes'	> h-in-hét	'strain er'

It should be mentioned that it is always the
causative ha- affix that is present when instrumenta
and causative occur together in the same word; I hav
no data attesting to the causative -um- co-occurring
with instrumental -an- in dissyllabic roots. This
circumstance suggests that my interpretation of ha-
and -um- as having identical causative function may
be of doubtful validity.

The causative may also occur, finally, with the
"objective" (I regret the use of this infelicitous
term here) within the same word. The objective,
marked by the suffix -a, refers to the objective or
goal which suffers the action indicated by the root.
For example, wí? 'to make' yields the objective

ivative wí?-a 'thing made', while the root rák or
 reduplicative form ?urák 'to cut into pieces'
lds the objective murak-a 'caterpillar'. With the
sative affix, ha-réŋ 'to paint' yields ha-réŋ-a
ject painted' and ha-láw 'to buy' yields ha-láw-a
ing(s) bought'.

The causative, instrumental and objective all
ur together in some words: one such form is
n-rúy-a (causative + instrumental + root + objec-
e) or its double instrumental counterpart
n-in-rúy-a, both meaning 'the causing of shade'.
see again that causative -um- does not appear with
h derivatives indeed, only roots taking causative
· seem to be capable of yielding forms of the kind
t illustrated. This circumstance, in conjunction
h the near complementary distribution that exists
ween ha- and -um- elsewhere, suggests that the two
fixes have to a large extent an overlapping function
hough not an identical one. A better understand-
g of the grammatical roles associated with root
duplicatives and the root-prefixes of dissyllabic
ots should enable the function of ha- and -um- to
 defined more sharply.