A NOTE ON THE MORPHOLOGY OF THE CAUSATIVE IN NANCOWRY

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

The element ḥa- is prefixed to monosyllabic roots. In such forms as ḥa-káḥ 'to cause to know', ḥa-míḥ 'to cause to rain', ḥa-míʔ 'to cause to be soaked', and ḥa-suáḥ '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-ʔũy 'to cause to have a bad smell', p-um-rē 'to cause to be flat', and p-um-lóʔ 'to cause to lose'. These forms are derived by infixing -um- into, respectively, paʔũy 'bad smell' pĩrē 'flat', and paʔlóʔ '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 analysis of the Nancowry word is to be found in my dissertation submitted to the University of Chicago.
called root-prefixes and ha-, the prefix just mentioned.

Affix -um- is to be interpreted as an infix as long as disyllabic roots are taken as indivisible units. On the other hand, if such roots are treated made up of root-prefix + root, -um- may be read as a second prefix standing before a simplified (or more primitive) root; that is to say, in the case of disyllabic word bases this causative -um- is fixed to the root proper, and is not infixed into root-prefix. The vowel change is accounted for by the morphophonemic rule VumC > umC. Note that if - is treated as an infix the order of affixation must be specified to account for cases in which the causative 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 together in the same word are common. Such forms are based upon monosyllabic roots. Certain monosyllabic roots, in other words, undergo causative formation recursively: prefix ha- is attached first, resulting form then undergoing causative formation again, this time taking affix -um-, as if it were a disyllabic root. The following forms illustrate this recursive formation; either of the morphophonemic 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-sé) > h-um-sé) '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 dissyllabic 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 dissyllabic roots has encouraged analogical causative formation by means of -um-, and hence double causative 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 causative formations really have double causative meaning, cannot be verified in the term of my fieldwork—though dissyllabic roots do not undergo any manner of double causative formation.

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Root</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
<th>Causative Form</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>cák</td>
<td>'to ache'</td>
<td>ha-cák</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cál</td>
<td>'to burn'</td>
<td>ha-cál</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(as fire)'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cím</td>
<td>'to cry'</td>
<td>ha-cím</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kóh</td>
<td>'to fall'</td>
<td>ha-kóh</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kéŋ</td>
<td>'to float'</td>
<td>ha-kéŋ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tuák</td>
<td>'to complete'</td>
<td>ha-tuák</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tún</td>
<td>'to smell'</td>
<td>ha-tún</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>téʔ</td>
<td>'to touch'</td>
<td>ha-téʔ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pút</td>
<td>'to come out'</td>
<td>ha-pút</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ñúŋ</td>
<td>'to finish'</td>
<td>ha-ñúŋ</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
ciyáw 'to leak (as pot)'  >  c-um-yáw
calán 'to spread out'  >  c-um-láŋ
cayán 'to be damaged'  >  c-um-yáŋ
tacál 'to be dark'  >  t-um-cál
takuáč 'to be scratched'  >  t-um-kuáč
payów 'to be broken'  >  p-um-yów

As has been mentioned, the causative and the agentive may occur together in the same word. The agentive is formed by infixation of -am- into monosyllabic and disyllabic roots or by prefixation of -t- to root reduplicatives. These affixes mark the owner or possessor of whatever is indicated by the root, as in

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

When causative and agentive co-occur, the causative affix must precede the agentive affix. For example, root cím 'to cry' yields ha-cím 'to cause cry', which in turn yields ma-hacím 'one who causes (someone else) to cry'. In the same way, a 'to close an eye'  >  ha-kĩa 'to aim'  >  ma-hakĩa 'one who aims'. A disyllabic root such as pahuá? 'to be afraid' yields first p-um-huá? 'to frighten'; then p-um-umhuá? 'one who frightens'; likewise, púcíp 'to be sharp'  >  p-um-cíp 'to sharpen'  >  p-um-umcíp 'one who sharpens'.

The causative may also co-occur with the instrumental 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 cultivation' yields h-an-i? 'implement for clearing (a field)'. Prefix in- occurs both with dissyllabic roots and with derived monosyllabic roots with causative ha-; thus takuãc 'to trace' yields the instrumental derivatives t-in-kuãc and, by double formation, t-an-in-kuãc '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 t-in-. Examples of the co-occurrence of the causative and instrumental are:

- ha-kiãk 'to inflate' > h-in-kiãk 'pump'
- ha-cúh 'to encourage' > h-in-cúh 'words of encouragement'
- ha-hét 'to make holes' > h-in-hét 'strainer'

It should be mentioned that it is always the causative ha-affix that is present when instrumental and causative occur together in the same word; I have 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, wî? 'to make' yields the objective
ervative wi?-a 'thing made', while the root rák or reduplicative form ?urák 'to cut into pieces' yields the objective murak-a 'caterpillar'. With the sative affix, ha-róng 'to paint' yields ha-róng-a ject painted' and ha-láw 'to buy' yields ha-láw-a ng(s) bought'.

The causative, instrumental and objective all ur together in some words: one such form is n-rúy-a (causative + instrumental + root + objec- ve) 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 ut illustrated. This circumstance, in conjunction th the near complementary distribution that exists en ha- and -um- elsewhere, suggests that the two xes have to a large extent an overlapping function though not an identical one. A better understand- 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.