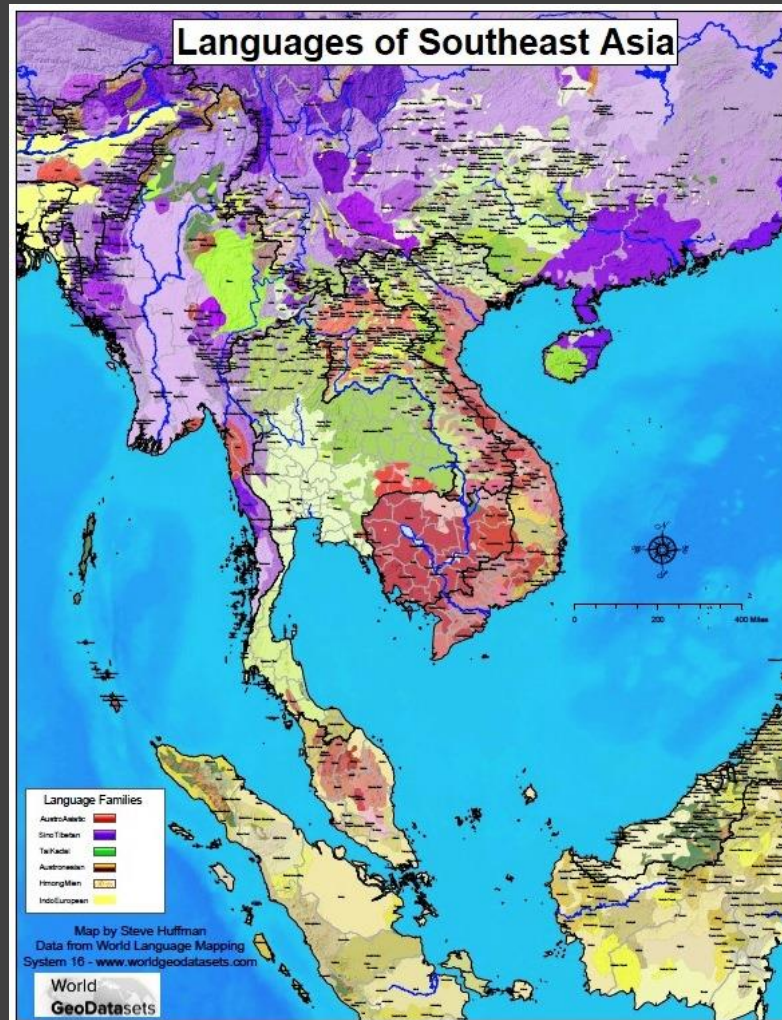


# Periphrastic causative constructions in Patani Malay

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# Southeast Asia



# Austronesian vs. other language family

- Austronesian languages are agglutinative.
- Many languages on the mainland are analytic

# Agglutinative vs. analytic

## Agglutinative

- Malay

*ber-bunga*

VR-flower

- Javanese

*ngembang*

VR\flower

## Analytic

- Thai

*ʔ̀̀:k d̀̀:k*

go.out flower

- Vietnamese

*ra hoa*

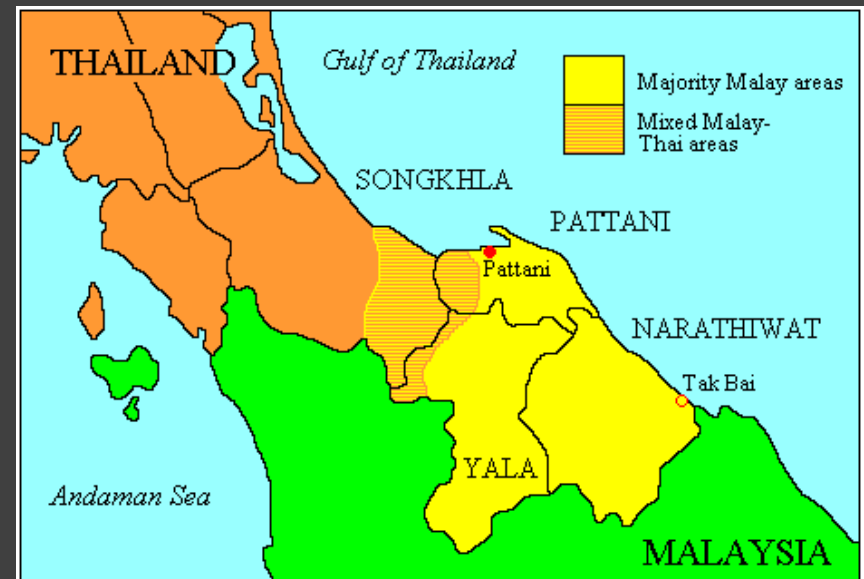
go.out flower

# Austronesian languages of the mainland

- AN languages of the mainland is interesting as they are different from insular languages, becoming more analytic.
- 3 subgroups
  - Chamic
  - Moken-Moklen
  - Malayic

# Patani Malay

- A Malay dialect spoken in 4 southernmost provinces of Thailand
- Similar to Kelantan Malay.



# Patani Malay

- Has some mainland features rarely found in other Malay dialects
  - Aspiration contrast: /p<sup>h</sup>/ /t<sup>h</sup>/ /c<sup>h</sup>/ /k<sup>h</sup>/
  - Less use of affixes
  - More use of some analytic construction, e.g. serial verb construction and auxiliary verb construction

# Linguistic repertoire of PM speakers

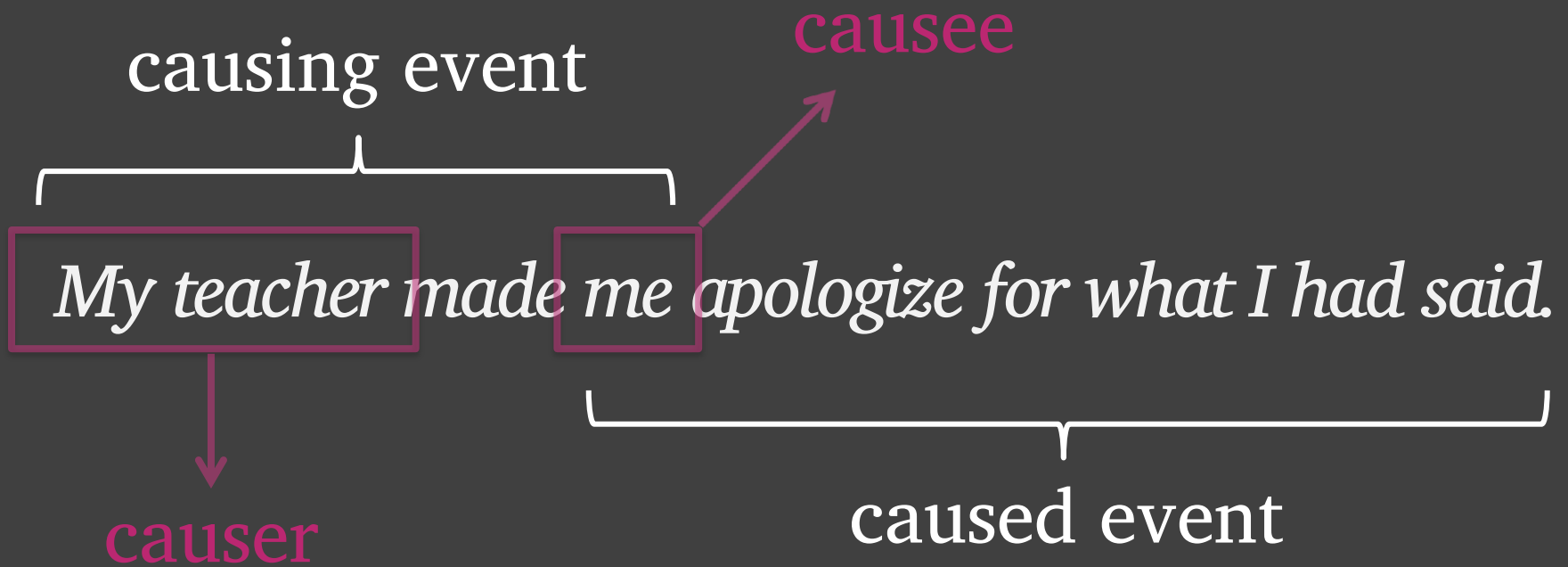
- Patani Malay with family and malay friends
- Standard and/or Southern Thai with people outside community, in formal education and mass media



# Causative constructions

- “A linguistic expression which denotes a complex macro-situation consisting of two micro-situations or component events.”  
(Comrie 1989: 165-166)
- Causing event & caused event
- Causer & causee

# Causative constructions



# Causative constructions

- Types of CC
  - Lexical causative

*The terrorist died.*

*The policewoman killed the terrorist.*

# Causative constructions

- Types of CC
  - Morphological causative

*Hasan öl-dü*

Hasan die-PST

‘Hasan died.’

*Ali Hasan-ı öl-dür-dü*

Ali Hasan-DO die-CAUS-PST

‘Ali killed Hasan.’

# Causative constructions

- Types of CC
  - Periphrastic causative

# Why?

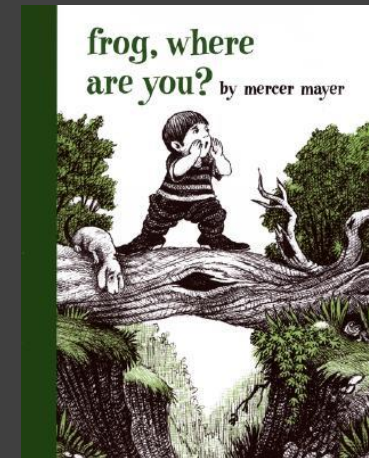
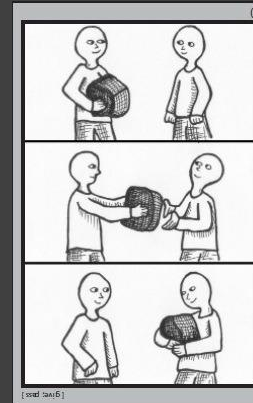
- Why Patani Malay?
  - Good example for linguistic convergence
  - Language contact in PM is less studied.
- Why causative construction?
  - Causative construction can be expressed both analytically and agglutinatively.
- Only periphrastic construction will be mentioned here.

# Data collection

- The informants are 5 PM speakers.
- Most of them are of younger generation (in their 20's).
- Data were reexamined with older speaker

# Data collection

- Using non-elicitation method (story-telling) and elicitation method (stimuli and grammatical judgement)





# Data collection



- Additional data from documents and other existing materials (video clips)



# Morphological CC of PM

- *ʔaŋiŋ*  
‘wind’

prefix

- *pəʔaŋiŋ*  
‘to cause wind’

- *ɣəbɔh*  
‘to fall’

- *pəɣəbɔh*  
‘to cause to fall’

- *tido*  
‘to sleep’

initial  
lengthening

- *tido*  
‘to cause to sleep’

- *malu*  
‘shy’

- *m:alu*  
‘to cause to be shy’

# Periphrastic CC of PM

- *wa?* 'do' construction
- *wi* 'give' construction
- *wa? wi* 'do-give' construction

# *wa?* 'do' construction

- Cognate to SM *buat* 'do'
- Direct causation
- Unintentional
- No control over caused event

# *wa?* 'do' construction

- *sah wa? kita yusiŋ*  
Sah do 1SG sad  
'Sah made me sad.'
- *adɔ s-ɔyɛ wa? pasu ʃatoh*  
have INDF-man do vase fall  
'Someone caused the vase to fall.'

# *wi* 'give' construction

- Pronounced as *wi* or *wi*
- Correspond to SM *beri* 'give'
- Indirect causation
- Control over caused event
- \**adɔ s-ɔyɛ wi pasu ʃatoh*  
have INDF-man give vase fall

# *wi* 'give' construction

- wi krəbɛ anɔʔ jɔ tu la namɔ ismaʔɛ  
give qurban child 3SG DEF FOC name Ismail  
'(Allah) have (Ibrahim) sacrifice his son  
named Ismail.'
- kalu nɔʔ wi ambɔ tuloŋ apɔ kɔjaʔ buleh  
If FUT give 1SG help tell can  
'If you want me to help, you can tell.'

# *wi* 'give' construction

- *dijɔ wi kitɔ kɛcɛʔ*  
3SG give 1SG speak  
'He had me speak.'
- *nɔʔ wi budɔʔ ʔakeʔ nasi magi*  
FUT give child lift.up rice come  
'I will tell the servant to bring the food.'



# *wa?* *wi* 'do-give' construction

- *wa?* 'do' + *wi* 'give'
- Unique to PM (not found in other Malay dialects)
- General causation
- Unanimated causer allowed

# *wa? wi* 'do-give' construction

- *aŋin wa? wi yumɔh punɔh*  
wind do give house collapse  
'The storm made the house collapsed.'
- *jo wa? wi tali putuh*  
3SG do give rope tear  
'He made the rope torn (intentionally).'

# *wa? wi* 'do-give' construction

- *jɔ* *wa? wi* *sayε-madu*

3SG do give bee.hive

*ʃatoh bɔwɔh səleɣo?*

fall down disperse

'The dog made the beehive fall dispersedly  
(by shaking).'

# PCC in other Malay dialects

- ✿ Indonesian
- ✿ Ambonese Malay
- ✿ Colloquial (Malaysian) Malay

# PCC in Indonesian

- ✿ 3 causative auxiliaries (Winarti 2009)
- *membuat* ‘to do’
  - *menyebabkan* ‘to cause’
  - *membikin* ‘to make’

# PCC in Indonesian

- *Angin kencang mem-buat*

wind strong do

*daun pe-pohon-an rontok.*

leaf tree fall

‘A strong wind made the leaves of the trees fall off.’

# PCC in Indonesian

- *Apa pula yang mem-buat*

What also REL do

*ayah begitu marah?*

father like.that angry

‘What could possibly have made father so angry?’

# PCC in Indonesian

- *Ini rekor baru yang mem-buat*

*DEF record new REL do*

*Garuda ter-pontang-panting.*

*Garuda run.around.like.crazy*

‘This new record is something that made Garuda run around like crazy (trying to meet the demand).’



# PCC in Ambonese Malay

- ✿ (Possibly) 2 causative auxiliaries  
(Litamahuputty 1994)
  - *biking* ‘to make’
  - *kasi* ‘to give’

# PCC in Ambonese Malay

✿ *Biking* is used with static intransitive verbs.

✿ [*biking* + V<sub>INTR</sub> + N] or [*biking* + N + V<sub>INTR</sub>]

ose *biking* malu beta

2SG make ashamed 1SG

‘You embarrassed me.’

# PCC in Ambonese Malay

✿ *Kasi* is used with dynamic intransitive verbs.

*ontua kasi turun satu bungkus*

3SG give go.down one package

‘She let down a package.’

# PCC in Colloquial Malay

- 2 (additional) causative auxiliaries (Koh 1990: 175-176)
  - *kasi* 'to give'  
[*kasi* + V + N]
  - *bagi* 'to give'  
[*bagi* + V + N]

# CC in other Malay dialects

- ✿ Not correspond to CC in other Malay dialects
- ✿ Causative auxiliaries found indicated that each language/dialect has developed its own PCCs.

# Convergence to Standard Thai

## Patani Malay

- *wa?* ‘do’  
construction
- *wi* ‘give’  
construction
- *wa? wi* ‘do-give’  
construction

## Standard Thai

- *thām* ‘do’  
construction
- *hâj* ‘give’  
construction
- *thām hâj* ‘do-give’  
construction

# Convergence to Standard Thai

✿ *adɔ s-ɔyɛ wa? pasu ʃatoh*

*mīː khōn thām cē:kān tòk*

have INDF-man do vase fall

‘Someone caused the vase to fall.’

# Convergence to Standard Thai

✿ *kalu nəʔ wi ambəʔ tuləŋ əpəʔ*  
*thâː càʔ hâj phǒm chûaj ʔàʔrāj*  
If FUT give 1SG help

*kəjəʔ buleh*

*bəːk dâːj*

tell can

‘If you want me to help, you can tell.’



# Convergence to Standard Thai

✿ *aŋin*                    *wa?* *wi*    *yumɔh* *punɔh*  
*phā:jú?*                    *thām* *hâj*    *bâ:n*    *phāŋ*  
wind/storm do            give house collapse  
‘The storm made the house collapsed.’

# Convergence to Standard Thai

- The pattern looks similar to calquing
- Bilingualism
- Interference from dominant language

# Thanks to

- Center of Excellence Program in Language, Linguistics, and Literature, Faculty of Arts, Chulalongkorn University  
(CU Centenary Academic Development Project)
- Pittayawat Pittayaporn and Nureeda Hayiyakoh
- All informants

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# Q&A