11 Valency-Changing Constructions

The previous chapter outlines the basic argument structure of verbs. It is possible to change this structure by inserting an additional core argument in a clause. This may be done through two separate strategies, the applicative construction and the causative constructions. The applicative, which adds a third argument that may be interpreted as a recipient, beneficiary or a causee, is described in § 11.1. The three causative constructions, in which agents cause an activity to occur involving other arguments, are discussed in § 11.2. Unlike the prototypical passive found in other languages, the pseudo-passive construction in Khatso does not alter the valency of verbs and so is not included here (see § 10.5.)

11.1 Applicative Construction

As mentioned in § 8.3, there are a handful of verbs in Khatso that are inherently ditransitive — they may take three core arguments without additional marking of any sort. Transitive verbs outside of this small group require an applicative construction to add a third argument. This construction places the verb ku^{31} 'to give' after the matrix verb in a specialized serial verb construction; the new argument is placed between A and P:

$$\text{A} \quad \text{3RD.ARGUMENT} \quad \text{P} \quad \text{VERB} \quad ku^{31}$$

This is the same word order found in clauses headed by lexically ditransitive verbs. But in this case, the construction is semantically ambiguous. The new argument may be interpreted as a recipient, a beneficiary or a causee. Given this flexibility, the construction is more properly defined as applicative. In discourse, the ambiguity is resolved through the semantics of individual verbs as well as discourse context and real-world knowledge, but routinized use also seems to play a role.

Verbal semantics often differentiates recipients from beneficiaries. For example, with the verb η^{31} 'to sell' the third argument is usually interpreted as a recipient, as (778) shows. But in (779) with vx^{323} 'to buy', it is a typically seen as a beneficiary, though it may mean either 'for my benefit' or 'in my place' — a difference clarified in context. Semantically, these senses are not far apart — buying clothes for me, whether in my stead or not, implies that I receive the clothing purchased; I am simultaneously recipient and beneficiary.

(778) i³³ **ŋa³³** sʏ̩⁵⁵ ko⁵⁵ ŋ̍³¹ kɯ³¹
     3SG 1SG book CL:PL sell give
     她   我   书   些   卖   给
     'She sold books to me.'
     她卖书给我了。
     (KL-Elicitation)

(779) i³³ **ŋa³³** tʰo³³ vɤ³²³ kɯ³¹ wa³²³.
     3SG 1SG clothes buy give PFV
     她   我   衣服   买   给
     'She bought clothes for me.'
     她买给我衣服了。
     (KL-Elicitation)

The same pattern may also be interpreted as an indirect causative construction, as (780) illustrates. That is, instead of recipient or beneficiary, the third argument is the causee who is allowed to perform the action by the agent. In fact, the phrase in (778) above may also be understood as the causative phrase 'she lets me sell books', but without context this reading is dispreferred for the phrase in (779). Applicative constructions modifying intransitive and stative verbs also tend to be analyzed as causatives, as demonstrated by (781) and (782) below. Such differences among individual verbs suggest that routinized use plays a role in using this construction. Speakers may turn to an alternate but more complex construction to specify that the third argument is not a causee; it is discussed in § 14.6. The causative constructions that feature *kɯ³¹* are described further in § 11.2.2.2 and § 11.2.2.3.

(780) i³³ ŋa³³ tsa³²³ m̍³³ **kɯ³¹**.
     3SG 1SG rice make INDR.CAUS
     她   我   饭   做
     'She lets me cook.'
     她让我做饭。
     (KL-Elicitation)

(781) ŋa³³ i³³ kɤ³¹ **kɯ³¹**.
     1SG 3SG run INDR.CAUS
     我   他   跑
     'I let him run.'
     我让他跑。
     (KL-Elicitation)

(782) i³³   ŋa³³   tɕi³¹   **kɯ³¹**.
     3SG   1SG   be.fast   INDR.CAUS
     他   我   快
     'He lets me (go) fast.'
     他让我快。
     (KL-Elicitation)

Another way to highlight the benefactive nature of an activity is to use *pa³²³* 'to help' instead of the *kɯ³¹* construction, as in (783). However, this verb presents a different sort of ambiguity, since it may imply that one does something *with* someone else as well as *for* that person. As a result, the phrase in (783) may mean either that the speaker sold books in place of a friend or that she worked alongside the friend selling books. Again, context largely resolves the ambiguity. In addition, there is a clause-combining construction that also creates a benefactive sense (see § 14.6).

(783) ŋa³³   i³³   sa²⁴kɛi³³   sʏ̩⁵⁵   ŋ̍³¹   **pa³²³**.
     1SG   3SG   just   book   sell   help
     我   他   刚   书   卖   帮
     'I sell books for him (in his stead).' / 'I help him sell books (alongside him).'
     我帮他买书。
     (KL-Elicitation)

The applicative construction is negated by modifying the matrix verb rather than *kɯ³¹*, as shown in (784) and (785). Polar questions are formed by reduplicating *kɯ³¹* and not the matrix verb, as (786) illustrates.

(784) i³³   kɛi³³   ŋa³³   tʰo³³   **ma³¹   vʏ³²³   kɯ³¹**.
     3SG   AGT   1SG   clothing   NEG   buy   give
     她   我   衣服   不   买   给
     'She is not buying clothes for me.'
     她不买给我衣服。
     (KL-Elicitation)

(785) ŋa³³   nɛi³³   sʏ̩⁵⁵   tɕi³³   pɛi³¹   **ma³¹   ŋ̍³¹   kɯ³¹**.
     1SG   2SG   book   this   CL:VOL   NEG   sell   give
     我   你   书   这   本   不   卖   给
     'I am not selling you this book.'
     我不卖给你这本书。
     (KL-Elicitation)

(786) nɛi³³   i³³   tsa³²³   m̥³³   **kɯ³¹**   **kɯ³¹**?
      2SG   3SG   rice   make   INDR.CAUS   INDR.CAUS
      你   他   饭   做
      'You let him cook?'
      你让不让他做饭？
      (KL-Elicitation)

The exact syntactic nature of this construction is difficult to assess. The verb *kɯ³¹* 'to give' retains its general meaning here — though it may convey the figurative transmittal of assistance or permission instead of the literal movement of goods — so it cannot be viewed as a grammatical particle. Nor is it an auxiliary (see § 8.7); *kɯ³¹* is a stand-alone verb that is not deontic, nor is it ever negated in this construction. Syntactically, the *kɯ³¹* construction most closely resembles two-event verb serializations (see § 8.8.2). Both negation and the formation of polar questions pattern like those involving two-event constructions. And, when functioning ditransitively and benefactively, the two events can be seen as separate but closely linked by both time and purpose. For example, if one cooks for someone else, the making not only precedes the giving but it is done expressly for that purpose. But, this temporal logic does not extend to the causative reading, where the permission (instantiated by *kɯ³¹*) occurs after the verb describing the allowed activity. And although the two verbs share aspect markers, they do not share the same arguments. The cook is separate from the person who receives the food, and the authority is not the causee. Thus, the construction does not neatly fit the two-event verb serialization pattern, suggesting that it evolved separately, perhaps as a metaphoric extension of the ditransitive *kɯ³¹* clause, without regard to the other multi-verb structures in the language.

11.2 Causative Constructions

Causative constructions add an argument to clauses by introducing a causer who controls the state or action specified. Typically the causer is human, but animal or inanimate causers are also possible in Khatso, depending on the semantics of the verb. There are two basic types of causative construction formation in Khatso. The first involves a handful of lexical causatives, described in § 11.2.1. The second, and by far the most productive type, involves periphrastic constructions, of which there are three. They are examined in § 11.2.2.

11.2.1 Lexical Causatives

As both Dai, Liu and Fu (1987: 155–56) and Mu (2002: 86) note, there are only a few verbs in Khatso that intrinsically carry a causative meaning. Those identified to date

are listed in Table 12.1. Each differs from its non-causative counterpart in lexical tone; examples of their use are shown in (787) and (788). Note that, unlike the other verbs, *mo³³* can only be used in compounds with other verbs. The earlier sources include another pair, *kʰo⁵³* 'to be bent' and *ko⁵³* 'to bend', but the latter is an intransitive verb and cannot form a causative phrase without *kɣ³³* 'to make, do', one of the periphrastic constructions discussed below (see § 11.2.2.2).

Table 11.1: Lexical causatives in Khatso

Non-Causative			Causative		
Khatso	**English**	**Chinese**	**Khatso**	**English**	**Chinese**
mo³²³	'to see'	见	mo³³	'to show'	给见
tsa³¹	'to eat'	吃	tsa⁵⁵	'to feed'	喂
to³²³	'to drink'	喝	to³³	'to give to drink'	使喝
tɕo⁵³	'to be afraid'	害怕	tɕo³⁵	'to scare'	吓唬

(787) i²⁴tsɣ²⁴ ko⁵⁵ kɛi³³ tɛi³¹ xuɛi³²³ vɣ³²³ **tsa⁵⁵**.
man CL:PL AGT one CL:TMP buy feed
男 些 一 回 买 喂
'(And) the men (would) buy (some to) feed (everyone) one time.'
男孩子们买一回来吃。
(PYX-Performing)

(788) tʰo³³tso⁵³ma³³ tɛi³¹ ma²⁴ la⁵³ **mo³³** i³³ ta³²³ ta³²³?
button one CL:GEN wrap show go be.acceptable be.acceptable
纽扣 一 个 绕 给看 去 行 行
'Wrap a button knot to show (him), okay?'
去绕一个纽扣看看，行不行？
(KL-Sewing)

These verbs do not differentiate between force and permission, a distinction found in the periphrastic constructions. Thus, a phrase such as (787) above may be interpreted as either 'give to eat' or 'force-feed'; context makes the intended meaning clear. In addition, they are incompatible with all but the *la³³ta⁵⁵...mo⁵⁵* periphrastic causative construction.

These kinds of pairs are a typological feature of the Tibeto-Burman language family (e.g. Bradley 1979: 238–239; Gerner 2007; Matisoff 1976: 414–419), although the process is more productive in some languages than others. In Khatso it is not

productive at all; it is not possible to use tone change to create more pairs beyond these four clearly lexicalized forms.

11.2.2 Periphrastic Causative Constructions

In modern Khatso, causatives are primarily created through periphrastic constructions. There are three such patterns and each differs from the other, although their uses overlap in some cases. The $la^{33}ta^{55}$... mo^{55} construction indicates inescapable force or compulsion, the $k\gamma^{33}$ construction refers to "hands on" force, and ku^{31} denotes permission and accidental results. In addition, there is an auxiliary verb $w\varepsilon i^{323}$ 'to allow' that expresses causation, but it is rare in the corpus. Other verbs, such as $t\varepsilon^{h}\varepsilon^{35}$ 'to urge' and $p^{h}ai^{35}$ 'to send, dispatch', may also convey a causative meaning, but they require complementation (see § 15.1).

11.2.2.1 Causative Construction with $la^{33}ta^{55}$...mo^{55}

The causative construction that entails the causee being forced or compelled to action is formed with the nominal postposition $la^{33}ta^{55}$ and the verb mo^{55}, which means both 'to want' and 'to require'. As the matrix verb in this construction, mo^{55} sits in the phrase-final position, which indicates that the causer and the causee are different individuals. As mentioned in § 8.7, mo^{55} functions as an auxiliary only if it precedes another verb. The postposition $la^{33}ta^{55}$ marks the causee, and the clausal caused event occurs between it and mo^{55}. A schematic is shown below; examples are provided in (789) and (790).

CAUSER CAUSEE $la^{33}ta^{55}$ CAUSED.EVENT mo^{55}

(789) ηa^{33} i^{33} **$la^{33}ta^{55}$**   [ka^{323}]   **mo^{55}** wa^{323}.
       1SG   3SG   CAUS   walk   require   PFV
       我   他   走   要
       'I made him leave.'
       我让他走了。
       (KL-Elicitation)

(790) $i^{33}ts^{h}\gamma^{33}$ **$la^{33}ta^{55}$**   [$t\varepsilon^{h}\varepsilon^{55}$]   **$mo^{55}$** ni^{31}
       3PL   CAUS   dance   require   TOP
       他们   跳   要
       '(when they) made them dance'
       要让他们跳呢
       (PYX-Performing)

Because of the polysemy inherent in *mo*^{55}, this construction has two meanings, one causative and one desiderative. As a causative, it indicates that the causer acts deliberately and the causee has little or no control over the matter. The implied force is not necessarily physical; it may refer to a threat of force, parental or governmental authority, rules and customs, or even a request that cannot easily be refused. As a desiderative construction, it signals that the ultimate agent wants the causee to perform an action, but there is no force or compulsion involved. The causee has complete control over the action in this case and, in fact, may not even be aware of the desire of the agent. Context primarily resolves the ambiguity in discourse. Since the focus here is on causative constructions, possible desiderative interpretations are not discussed beyond this point; desiderative clauses are discussed in § 8.7 and § 15.2.

The causative construction may be used with verbs of any valency, and in each case an additional nominal argument is introduced. Already shown in the examples above are phrases involving intransitive verbs. Stative verbs may also be made causative, as (791) and (792) illustrate, in which case the meaning is that the causee is deliberately compelled to achieve a new state. Transitive and ditransitive verbs may also take part in this construction, as (793) and (794) respectively demonstrate.

(791) ŋa^{33} i^{33} **la^{33}ta^{55}** [tɕi^{31}] **mo^{55}**.
      1SG 3SG CAUS be.quick require
      我 他 快 要
      'I make him go faster.'
      我让他快。
      (KL-Elicitation)

(792) ŋa^{33} i^{33} **la^{33}ta^{55}** [si^{33}si^{33}] **mo^{55}**.
      1SG 3SG CAUS be.happy require
      我 他 高兴 要
      'I make him put up a happy front.', literally 'I make him be happy.'
      我勉强他高兴。
      (KL-Elicitation)

(793) ŋa^{33} sɛi^{44} pa^{31} ŋa^{33} **la^{33}ta^{55}** [m̩^{323} tɤ^{24}] **mo^{55}**.
      1SG family father 1SG CAUS field plant require
      我 家 爸爸 我 田 种 要
      'My father makes me plant (the) fields.'
      我的爸爸让我种田。
      (KL-Elicitation)

(794) ŋa³³ sɛi⁴⁴ mo³³ ŋa³³ **la³³ta⁵⁵** [n̠ɛ³²³ jo³⁵ tɕʰɛ³²³ kɯ³¹]
1SG family mother 1SG CAUS younger.brother CL:HUM money give
我 家 妈妈 我 弟弟 位 钱 给

mo⁵⁵.
require
要
'My mother makes me give (my) younger brother money.'
我妈妈让我给弟弟钱。
(KL-Elicitation)

Because the *la³³ta⁵⁵* construction indicates that the causer deliberately controls the causee, often against the will of the latter, the causer must be human. Situations in which a non-human causer forces a human to act tend to be expressed through other means, such as the *kɯ³¹* construction described below (see § 11.2.2.3) or with a reason construction, as in (795). This sentence is the semantic equivalent of the English phrase 'the changing weather made me run home', although causation is only implied through pragmatics.

(795) m̩³¹ma²⁴ mɛi⁴⁴ piɛ⁵³ ta³¹ ni³²³, ŋa³³ kɤ³¹ kɯ³³ i³³ wa³²³.
weather CL:GEN change after BKGD 1SG run enter go PFV
天气 个 变 以后 我 跑 回 去
'Because the weather changed, I ran home.' / 'The changing weather made me run home.'
天气变了呢，我跑回家了。
(KL-Elicitation)

Negation in these clauses occurs on the matrix verb *mo⁵⁵*, just as in non-causative clauses featuring this verb, as (796) illustrates. This occurs regardless of whether one describes a lack of causation or a lack of desire to prevent the caused event. In other words, because of the polysemy of *mo⁵⁵*, the phrase in (796) may be interpreted two ways depending on the context. It may mean 'I don't make him cry' or 'I make him (stop) crying', literally 'I make him not cry'. Context generally resolves the ambiguity.

(796) ŋa³³ i³³ **la³³ta⁵⁵** [ŋ³²³] **ma³¹ mo⁵⁵**.
1SG 3SG CAUS cry NEG require
我 他 哭 不 要
'I don't make him cry' / 'I make him (stop) crying'.
我不让他哭。／我让他不哭。
(KL-Elicitation)

Polar questions are formed by reduplicating the verb *mo⁵⁵*, as shown in (797). The basic nature of reduplication tends to emphasize the verb here, heightening the ambiguity created by its polysemy.

(797)   nɛi³³   i³³   **la³³ta⁵⁵**   [ka³²³]   **mo⁵⁵**   **mo⁵⁵**?
       2SG   3SG   CAUS   walk   require   require
       你   他   走   要   要
       'Are you making him go?' / 'Do you want him to go?'
       你让不让他走？/ 你要不要他走？
       (KL-Elicitation)

The categorial status of *la³³ta⁵⁵* is unclear. It is not a verb; it cannot be negated nor can it support aspectual particles. Morphologically it may be a combination of the comparative postposition *la³³* and *ta⁵⁵* 'be a type, manner, style', which suggests it might carry an adverbial meaning such as 'in this manner'. However, it cannot be used productively in clauses headed by verbs other than *mo⁵⁵*; the demonstrative adverbs *tɕi³³ni³³* 'this way' and *a³³ni³³* 'that way' are used for that purpose. Because it has a clear-cut function but its status is not obvious, it is considered a grammatical postposition in this analysis.

The nature of the postposition also has a bearing on the syntactic analysis of this construction. In some languages, caused event phrases are considered subordinate clauses, but this does not seem to be the case in Khatso. Instead, the causee is an additional argument in the *mo⁵⁵* clause, marked by *la³³ta⁵⁵* — which is unlike any other clause-combining mechanism in the language. It occurs in no other embedding process, not even with semantically similar verbs like *tɕʰɛ³⁵* 'to urge' and *sʔ³³wa³⁵* 'to wish, hope'. Its only function is to mark the causee, thereby disambiguating it from the other arguments in this particular construction, just as *kɛi³³* highlights A wherever it may not be clear (see § 10.4).

11.2.2.2 Causative Construction with *kɣ̩³³*

The verb *kɣ̩³³* 'to do, make' is found in a separate causative construction. Because the verb conveys purposeful action, this construction is mainly used to describe situations in which the causer directly impacts the causee, often with a "hands on" sense, although the impact need not literally be physical in nature. To form the construction, *kɣ̩³³* is placed before the verb expressing the caused event, and the causer and causee precede it. Usually, the construction also includes *kɯ³¹* 'to give' at the end of the phrase, mirroring the indirect causative (see § 11.2.2.3), but this is not obligatory. A schematic of the construction is shown below; an example is provided in (798).

CAUSER   CAUSEE   kɣ̩³³   CAUSED.EVENT   (kɯ³¹)

(798) i³³   ŋa³³   **kʏ̩³³**   [ŋ³²³]   **kɯ³¹**.
     3SG   1SG   make   cry   INDR.CAUS
     他   我   弄   哭
     'He makes me cry.'
     他把我弄哭。
     (KL-Elicitation)

This construction is frequently used with stative verbs, and it is thus similar to a resultative serial verb construction (§ 8.8.1.2). The second verb describes the new state that arises as a result of the causer's action. For example, the phrase in (799) describes the preparation of straw so that it may be woven into a stool. Note that the "hands on" connotation is often literal in these cases.

(799) tʏ³¹   tʰʏ⁵⁵   **kʏ̩³³**   to³³.
     one   CL:TMP   make   be.flat
     一   下   弄   平
     'Make (it) flat.'
     弄平一下。
     (WYF-Stools)

With the presence of *kɯ³¹*, these phrases mirror the syntax of the applicative construction (see § 11.1) and thus they often have multiple meanings. For example, the phrase in (800) may be interpreted as a causative construction referring to force-feeding, or as a benefactive construction describing aiding someone who is too ill to eat without assistance. Likewise, the phrase in (801) may be translated as 'she forces me to wear (it)' or 'she makes (it) for me to wear'. Again, context helps point to the most relevant meaning.

(800) i³³   kɛi³³   ŋa³³   tsa³²³   **kʏ̩³³**   [tsa³¹]   **kɯ³¹**.
     3SG   AGT   1SG   rice   make   eat   INDR.CAUS
     他   　　　我   饭   让   吃
     'He forces me to eat.' / 'He helps me eat.'
     他做饭给我吃。 / 他给我做饭吃。
     (KL-Elicitation)

(801) i³³   kɛi³³   ŋa³³   **kʏ̩³³**   [vi⁵³]   **kɯ³¹**.
     3SG   AGT   1SG   make   wear   INDR.CAUS
     她   　　　我   让   穿
     'She forces me to wear (it) .' / 'She makes (it) for me to wear.'
     她给我穿衣服。 / 她做衣服给我穿。
     (KL-Elicitation)

If the caused event is represented by a verb other than a stative verb, then only ky^{33} is modified by the negative marker ma^{31}, as (802) shows. But if the caused event is stative, then the construction may be negated in two ways, mirroring negation in resultative serializations (see § 8.8.1.2). Thus, when ma^{31} modifies ky^{33}, it means that neither the action nor the result occurs, as shown in (803). Placing ma^{31} between the verbs negates only the result, as in (804), indicating that the action is attempted but the result does not occur or is not possible.

(802) i³³ ŋa³³ **ma³¹ ky̥³³** [ŋ³²³] **kɯ³¹**.
3SG 1SG NEG make cry INDR.CAUS
他 我 不 让 哭
'He didn't make me cry.'
他没有把我弄哭。
(KL-Elicitation)

(803) i³³ tɛi³³ ma⁴⁴ **ma³¹ ky̥³³** [to³³].
3SG that CL:GEN NEG make be.flat
她 这 个 不 弄 平
'She does not make that one flat.'
她不把这个弄平。
(KL-Elicitation)

(804) i³³ tɛi³³ ma⁴⁴ **ky̥³³ ma³¹** [to³³] ŋɛi³³.
3SG that CL:GEN make NEG be.flat ASRT
她 这 个 弄 不 平
'She is not able to make that one flat.'
她弄不平这个。
(KL-Elicitation)

Polar questions are formed by either reduplicating the second verb or, if present, the verb $kɯ^{31}$, as shown in (805) and (806) respectively.

(805) **ky̥³³** [**to³³ to³³**]?
make be.flat be.flat
弄 平 平
'Are (you) making (it) flat?'
弄不弄平？
(KL-Elicitation)

(806) i³³   nɛi³³   **kɣ³³**   ŋ³²³   **kɯ³¹**   **kɯ³¹**   la³¹?

       3SG 2SG make cry   INDR.CAUS INDR.CAUS IRR.Q

       他   你   弄   哭

       'Did he make you cry?'

       他有没有把你弄哭？

       (KL-Elicitation)

Because of the variable nature of this construction, it straddles several syntactic categories. Technically, it is a serial verb construction since it combines two or more verbs together in a single clause. Without *kɯ³¹*, and when the second verb is stative, it patterns much like a resultative serialization, especially with regard to negation (see § 8.8.1.2). When the second verb is not stative, it more closely resembles a two-event serialization (see § 8.8.2). And although the verbs share the same aspect markers, the arguments of the verbs are not identical, as they must be in serial verb constructions. When *kɯ³¹* is present, the formulation also resembles the applicative construction which, as described in § 11.1, similarly evades neat categorization. Here again the arguments are not fully shared. And, in addition, the imperfect aspect markers *tsɣ³¹* and *tso²⁴* may modify the caused-event verb as well as *kɯ³¹*, which is not possible in a verb serialization.

11.2.2.3 Causative Construction Formed Only with *kɯ³¹*

In contrast to the two constructions described above, causative phrases formed only with the verb *kɯ³¹* 'to give' describe situations of indirect causation, in which the causer does not exert deliberate force on the causee. This encompasses scenarios in which the causer grants permission or inadvertently triggers an action or state to come about. In this construction, *kɯ³¹* is placed behind the verb expressing the caused event, and the causer and causee precede it. A schematic is shown below, and an example in (807). Syntactically, this is the general construction employed to add a third core argument, and it is thus identical in structure to the applicative construction, which may convey recipient and benefactive interpretations in addition to the causative sense (see § 11.1).

<div align="center">CAUSER   CAUSEE   CAUSED.EVENT   kɯ³¹</div>

(807) ŋa³³ i³³   [ka³²³] **kɯ³¹**   wa³²³.

       1SG 3SG walk   INDR.CAUS PFV

       我   他   走

       'I let him leave.'

       我同意他走了。

       (KL-Elicitation)

The causative *kɯ³¹* may be used with all types of verbs, except for the lexical causatives. In (807) above it co-occurs with an intransitive verb, in (808) it is used with a stative verb, and (809) it modifies a transitive verb. In the latter, the phrase *ŋ²⁴ka³³ kɯ³¹*, which literally means 'let see', has become a lexicalized way to express the concept 'to show'. *kɯ³¹* also features a tone change to mark an imperative use (see § 12.2.5).

(808) tsa²⁴ to³³ ma³¹ tsa⁵⁵, [mi⁵³ tsɤ³¹] **kɯ³¹** ŋɛi³³.
      rice also NEG feed be.hungry CONT INDR.CAUS ASRT
      饭 也 不 吃 饿
      '(They) didn't feed (us) either, making (us) hungry.'
      饭也不给吃，给饿着。
      (GCS-Dance Parties)

(809) nɛi³³ tʰɤ⁵⁵ la⁵³ tɤ⁴⁴ i³³ tʰɤ⁵⁵ [ŋ²⁴ka³³] **kɯ²⁴**.
      2SG CL:TMP wrap CLNK 3SG CL:TMP see INDR.CAUS.IMP
      你 下 绕 他 下 看
      'Wrap (some) for a while (to) show him.'
      你绕一下给他看一下。
      (KL-Sewing)

This construction also describes an event indirectly or inadvertently triggered by the causer, as in (810) below. If the causee is inanimate, there is no permission implied but rather the idea that it may be left unattended — the 'let boil' sense in (811). Because deliberate control is not implied, animals or inanimate objects may be causers in this construction. Monkeys, of course, have a will of their own, but the human causee in (812) still retains some control over her own actions. And because the causers are inanimate in (813) and (814), and thus the least prototypical of agents, they are marked by *kɛi³³* — which may be interpreted as either the agent or instrument marker in these examples, blurring the line between the two (see § 10.4 and § 10.6.1 respectively). Note that in (811) and (813) *kɯ³¹* changes tone due to the following particle *wa³³* (see § 3.2.4.3). Given these varied uses, it is clear that the *kɯ³¹* construction allows for greater semantic latitude in describing caused events than the other two causative constructions described above.

(810) ŋa³³ kɛi³³ tsʰɭ³¹ mɛi⁴⁴ [mi⁵³ si⁵³] **kɯ³¹** wa³²³.
      1SG AGT dog CL:GEN be.hungry die INDR.CAUS PFV
      我 狗 个 饿 死
      'I let the dog die of hunger (by accident).'
      我把一只狗给饿死了。
      (KL-Elicitation)

(811) kɣ̩³³ tɣ⁴⁴, [a³³n̩a⁵³ ti⁴⁴ xa⁵⁵] **kɯ²⁴** wa³³ tsɛi³¹.
make STAT.EMP there in boil INDR.CAUS CRS HSY
做 那里 里 煮
'Making (it), they say (you) let (it) boil there.'
说是放在那里给煮了。
(ZRF-Grandfather)

(812) a²⁴n̩o⁵³ mɛi⁴⁴ kɛi³³ ŋa³³ [i³²³sa³³] **kɯ³¹**.
monkey CL:GEN AGT 1SG smile INDR.CAUS
猴子 个 我 笑
'The monkey makes me smile.'
猴子让我笑。
(KL-Elicitation)

(813) no⁵³ma³³ mɛi⁴⁴ kɛi³³ ŋa³³ [pʰa³⁵ to³¹ lɣ³³] **kɯ²⁴** wa³³.
rock CL:GEN AGT 1SG mix fall fall INDR.CAUS CRS
石头 个 我 拌 摔 倒
'The rock made me trip.'
石头让我摔倒了。
(KL-Elicitation)

(814) na³²³ta³²³mo³²³ mɛi⁴⁴ kɛi³³ ŋa³³ [si³³si³³] **kɯ³¹** wa³²³.
Naadam CL:GEN AGT 1SG be.happy INDR.CAUS PFV
那达慕 个 我 高兴
'(The) Naadam (Festival) made me happy.'
那达慕节让我高兴了。
(KL-Elicitation)

In this construction, negation occurs on the verb expressing the caused event rather than on the causative *kɯ³¹*, as (815) shows.

(815) "ma³¹ tsʰo³¹ mo³³ ma³¹ tɕʰɛ⁵⁵ mo⁴⁴ ni³¹ **ma³¹** [ka³²³] **kɯ³¹**."
NEG sing perceive NEG dance perceive TOP NEG walk INDR.CAUS
不 演 见 不 跳 见 不 走
' " (If you) don't sing or dance (for us), (we) won't let (you) go." '
"不唱不跳不让你们走。"
(PYX-Performing)

Reduplicative polar questions are formed by repeating the causative marker *kɯ³¹*, as shown in (816).

(816) na³²³ta³²³mo³²³tɕɛ³²³   mɛi⁴⁴   kɛi³³   nɛi³³   [si³³si³³]   **kɯ³¹**   **kɯ³¹**   wa³¹?
Naadam.Festival   CL:GEN   AGT   2SG   be.happy   INDR.CAUS   INDR.CAUS   PFV.Q
那达慕节   个   你   高兴
'Did (the) Naadam Festival make you happy?'
那达慕节让你高兴了吗？
(KL-Elicitation)

As already mentioned, this construction also has recipient and benefactive interpretations, as (817) illustrates. The phrase may refer to permission to eat soup, being given soup to eat or being fed soup. Context generally clarifies the meaning. Syntactically, this construction does not neatly fit any other category in the language. As discussed in § 11.1, it resembles a two-event verb serialization (see § 8.8.2), but does not fully follow the pattern. Instead, the construction seems to have evolved separately, perhaps modeled on the ditransitive clause.

(817) i³³   ŋa³³   o³¹tsa²⁴i³²³   [to³²³]   **kɯ³¹**.
3SG   1SG   soup   drink   give/INDR.CAUS
他   我   汤   喝   给
'He lets me eat soup.' / 'He gives me soup to eat.' / 'He feeds me soup.'
他让我喝汤。 / 他给我汤喝。
(KL-Elicitation)

There is a lexical verb *wɛi³²³* 'to allow' that can be used in place of the permissive sense of the *kɯ³¹* construction. The verb appears before the matrix verb, patterning like a borrowed auxiliary, as shown in (818). There are no examples of this verb in the corpus, suggesting that the *kɯ³¹* construction is preferred by most speakers.

(818) [ŋa³³   sɛi⁴⁴   pa³¹]   [ŋa³³]   [sɣ̩⁵⁵   ko⁵⁵]   wɛi³²³   vɤ³²³   wa³²³.
1SG   family   father   1SG   book   CL:PL   allow   buy   PFV
我   家   爸爸   我   书   些   允许   买
'My father allowed me to buy books.'
我爸爸允许了我买书。
(KL-Elicitation)

11.2.2.4 Multiple Causation
The causative constructions do not lend themselves to endless recursion. The *la³³ta⁵⁵* postposition may only appear once in a clause, and reduplicating *kɯ³¹* creates a polar question (§ 12.4.1). As a result, if there are two semantic causers in a clause, the *la³³ta⁵⁵* and *kɯ³¹* constructions are combined, as shown in (819). Such a clause may also include *kɣ̩³³*, as in (820). The differences in meaning between the various causative constructions, however, create ambiguity about the wishes of the ultimate causee. For

example, the phrase in (819) may mean either 'he makes you make me go' or 'he makes you let me go'. Situations involving more than two causers — semantically possible but a rarity in natural speech — are typically described using separate clauses in discourse.

(819) i³³   nɛi³³   **la³³ta⁵⁵**   [ŋa³³   ka³²³]   **kɯ³¹**   **mo⁵⁵**.
       3SG   2SG   CAUS   1SG   walk   INDR.CAUS   require
       他   你   我   走   要
       'He makes you make me go.' / 'He makes you let me go.'
       他让你让我走。
       (KL-Elicitation)

(820) i³³   ŋa³³   **la³³ta⁵⁵**   [tɛi³³   ma⁴⁴   **kv̩³³**   to³³]   **kɯ³¹**   **mo⁵⁵**.
       3SG   1SG   CAUS   this   CL:GEN make   be.flat INDR.CAUS   require
       他   我   这   个   弄   平   要
       'He makes me make this one flat.' / 'He lets me make this one flat.'
       他让我把这个弄平。
       (KL-Elicitation)