

Three causative auxiliaries in Haitian Creole and interpersonal causation

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Three causative auxiliaries in Haitian

- Different types of causative relations

- ▶ factitive (make X V),
- ▶ permissive (let X V)
- ▶ negative causation (*prevent* X from V)
- ▶ enabling causation (*enable* X to V)

(Shibatani (2002); Shibatani and Pardeshi (2002); Wolff et al. (2002))

- Haitian has several causative constructions

- ▶ the *fè* 'make' causative (factitive)
- ▶ the *bay* 'give' causative (cognate of Fr. *bailler*) => ?
- ▶ the *kite* 'abandon; to let, permit, allow' causative (permissive)

- Antoine (2022) discusses *bay* 'give' and *voye* 'send' as causative constructions in Haitian

- ▶ Not clear that causative *voye* 'send' \neq *send sb to do sth*

Causatives in Haitian

(1) *fè* ‘make’ causative

Manman mwen **fè** Rito fouye twou a. (Haitian)
 mother 1SG MAKE R. dig hole DET

‘My mother made Rito dig a hole.’ (Govain, 2022, 38,ex4b)

(2) *bay* ‘give’ causative

Jan **bay** Mari koupe sak la.
 Jean GIVE Marie cut bag DET

‘J. made M. cut the bag.’ (Glaude, 2012, 169, ex.21b)

(3) *kite* ‘abandon; to let, permit, allow’ causative

M **kite** timoun nan jwe ak chat la.
 1SG LET child DET play with cat DET

‘I let the child play with the cat.’

Claims

- 1 The three causative constructions contrast with respect to the causative relationships allowed.
 - ▶ **Fè** is the neutral causative: obligation and trigger readings
 - ★ either **obligation** imposed on a human agent causee
 - ★ or **trigger** for human or inanimate causee
 - ▶ **kite** expresses general permissive:
 - ★ either **permission** to a human agent causee
 - ★ or **non-intervention** (animate or inanimate causee)
 - ▶ **bay** expresses an **authorisation / an instruction / an invitation** (to an animate causee) to perform an action;
 - ★ human intentional causee
 - ★ and cause a (latent) intention + allow the intention to be carried out
- 2 Look at **Interactional Causation**
 - ▶ Giving instructions
 - ▶ Offering possibilities
 - ▶ Inviting a reaction (in interaction)

Outline

- 1 Haitian - background
- 2 Causatives, implicativity, interpersonal verbs
- 3 Fè 'make' causatives in Haitian
- 4 Ba(y) 'give' causatives in Haitian
- 5 Kite 'let' causatives in Haitian

Haitian - background

Haitian

- Haitian - Background

- ▶ French lexifier creole
- ▶ emerged in the context of large scale slavery (plantation)
- ▶ spoken in Haiti on the island of Hispaniola
- ▶ 10 million speakers, main language in Haiti



Haitian

- Grammatical properties

- ▶ DP-final determiner
- ▶ O/w head initial:
 - ★ post-nominal genitive, post-nominal relative clauses
 - ★ Preverbal TAM marking + Negation
 - ★ Head-complement order for V + complement

(5) mwen suiv [konsèy dokte lazil la]. (Haitian)
 1SG follow recommendation doctor retirement-home DET
 'I followed the recommendation of the doctor of the retirement home.' (A. Camus *L'étranger*, Haitian translation by Frantz Gourdet)

(6) Li kouri. / Li ap kouri. / Li pa kouri. / Li vle kouri.
 3SG run / 3SG IMPFV run / 3SG NEG run / 3SG WANT run
 'S/he ran / is running / didn't run / wants to run.'

Haitian past marking

- Bare dynamic predicates

- ▶ are interpreted as past (or as habitual present)
- ▶ past marking *te* is interpreted as anterior in the past (not in the future, M. Michel 2024)

(7) Li kouri. / Li te kouri.

3SG run / 3SG PST run

‘S/he ran / had run (before some past event).’

- Bare stative predicates

- ▶ are interpreted as present
- ▶ past marking *te* as past

(8) Li malad. / Li te malad.

3SG sick / 3SG PST sick

‘S/he is sick / was sick.’

Causatives, implicativity, interpersonal verbs

Causatives: implicativity

- Causatives in the strict sense are **implicative**: they entail the occurrence of a result (see Shibatani 2002, 4)
- For an implicative causative the perfective past form implies that an event corresponding to the embedded predication
 - ▶ has taken place for positive causation (9)
 - ▶ hasn't taken place for negative causation (10)

(9) **Implicative causation**

- a. John made Bill read. => Bill read.
- b. John let Bill read. => Bill read.

(10) **Negative implicative causation**

John prevented Bill from reading. => Bill didn't read.

Causatives & interpersonal verbs

- Periphrastic causatives \neq interpersonal verbs
- Interpersonal verbs do not entail the occurrence of a result - but are common sources of causative markers (Shibatani 2002, 4)

(11) Causation

John made Bill read. \Rightarrow Bill read.

(12) Interpersonal verbs

a. John **told** Bill to read. \nRightarrow Bill read.

^{ok} *But Bill didn't read because he didn't have his glasses.*

b. John **sent** Bill to buy bread. \nRightarrow Bill bought bread.

^{ok} *But Bill didn't buy bread because the bakery was closed.*

(failed attempt)

^{ok?#} *But Bill didn't buy bread because he fell asleep. (no attempt, no movement component)*

Different causation relations

- Causative verbs can express different causation relations (e.g. Wolff et al. (2002) following Talmy 1988)

	Tendency of Affectee to Act	Opposition between Affector / Affectee	Result to Affectee Action
CAUSE	N	Y	Y
PREVENT	Y	Y	N
ENABLE	Y	N	Y

(Wolff et al., 2002, Table 2)

Fè 'make' causatives in Haitian

Fè 'make' causatives are implicative

- In the perfective past the event in the complement of the *fè* 'make' causative cannot be denied.

(13) Mari fè Jan lave rad yo. (Haitian)

Mari MAKE Jan wash clothes DET.PL

Men li pa lave rad yo.

but 3SG NEG wash clothes DET.PL

'M. made J. wash the clothes.

But he didn't wash the clothes.'

Fè 'make' causatives: causative relationships

- The *fè* 'make' causative is used for **coercion** and **triggers**
- **Coercion**: an animate causer intentionally forces an animate causee to carry out an action under the control of the causee
 - ▶ an animate causer
 - ▶ intentional causation
 - ▶ action under the control of the causee
 - ▶ + causee under the control of the causer

(14) Mari fè Jan lave rad yo (Haitian)
 Mari MAKE Jan wash clothes DET.PL
 'M. made J. wash the clothes.'

Fè 'make' causatives: causative relationships



- **Triggers** are the *Elsewhere* of Coercion:

- ▶ the causer need not cause intentionally (**inanimate causer** (15)-a)
- ▶ the event is **not under the control of the causee** (15)-b

- (15) a. Fim nan fè Mari ri.
 film DET MAKE M. laugh
 'The film made M. laugh.'
- b. Pwofesè a fè timoun yo renmen literati.
 professor DET MAKE children DET.PL love literature
 'The professor makes the children love literature.'

Fè 'make' causatives: causative relationships

- The *fè* 'make' causative is used for coercion and triggers.
- **Triggers** are the Elsewhere of Coercion:
 - ▶ the causer need not cause intentionally (**inanimate causer** (16)-a)
 - ▶ the event is not under the control of the causee
 - ★ due to the nature of the **predicate** (*laugh, not love literature* (16)-a/b)
 - ★ due to the nature of the **causee** (**inanimate causee** (16)-c)

- (16) a. Fim nan fè Mari ri.
 film DET MAKE M. laugh
 'The film made M. laugh.'
- b. Pwofesè a fè timoun yo pa renmen literati.
 professor DET MAKE children DET.PL NEG love literature
 'The professor makes the children not love literature.'
- c. Van an fè mi an tonbe.
 wind DET MAKE wall DET fall 'Le vent a fait tomber le mur.'
 'The wind made the wall come down.' (Govain 2022:40,ex 10b)

Fè causatives

	Coercion	Trigger
<hr/>		
Causer		
animate + intentional (<i>on purpose</i>)	+	+
animate - intentional (<i>accidentally</i>)	-	+
natural force/dynamic event <i>wind</i>	-	+
inanimate <i>the window/the weight</i>	-	+
<hr/>		
Causee		
animate + intentional <i>X runs</i>	+	+
animate - intentional <i>X laughs</i>	-?	+
natural force/dynamic event <i>sun shine in</i>	-	+
inanimate <i>plate break</i>	-	+
<hr/>		
Predicate		
voluntary: under control of animate causee <i>wash X</i>	+	
involuntary: not under control of animate causee <i>laugh</i>	-?	+
(not under control of) inanimate causee <i>crumble</i>	-	+
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Ba(y) 'give' causatives in Haitian

Bay causatives are not implicative

- In example (17) the event in the complement of the *bay* 'give' causative is implied, but not entailed.
- In the absence of evidence to the contrary, the event is assumed to have taken place.
- But: in the past the telic event in the complement of the *bay* 'give' causative can be denied.

(17) Mari bay Jan lave rad yo. (Haitian)
 Mari MAKE Jan wash clothes DET.PL

^{ok} Men li pa lave rad yo.
 but 3SG NEG wash clothes DET.PL

'M. invited J.to wash the clothes.
^{ok} But he didn't wash the clothes.'

Ba(y) 'give' causatives - causers

- The *ba(y)* 'give' causative is used for contexts of invitation to an action
- **Invitation:** a typically animate causer invites/ instructs an animate causee to carry out an action under the control of the causee
 - ▶ an animate causer
 - ▶ invitation, authorisation or instruction
 - ▶ action under the control of the causee

- (18) a. Mari bay Jan lave rad yo. (Haitian)
 Mari MAKE Jan wash clothes DET.PL
 'M. made J. wash the clothes.'
- b. M ap ba ou benyen avan nou sòti
 1SG ASP GIVE 2SG take.bath before 1PL go.out
 'I let you have a bath before we go out.'

Ba(y) causatives - interactional causers

- The *ba(y)* 'give' causative is used for invitations from the causer.
- Invitations are possible from **interactional machines**.
- **Invitations:**
 - ▶ the causer can be **animate** (19)-a
 - ▶ the causer can be **inanimate** (19)-b, if able of interaction
 - ▶ the causee has to be **in control** of the event

- (19) a. Jann ap bay sè mwenn an chwazi mizik la.
 Jan ASP give sister 1SG DET choose music DET
 'Jeanne invites [lit. give] my sister to **choose the music** (and she chooses the music).'
- b. Òdinatè a ba w met modpas la.
 computer DET give 2SG enter password DET
 '**The computer** invited you to **enter the password.**'

Ba(y) causatives - no natural forces as causers

- The *ba(y)* 'give' causative is used for invitations from the causer.
- **Invitations:**
 - ▶ *bay* causatives do not allow **inanimate dynamic causees/ natural forces** *van an* in (20)
- Donazzan et al. (2020): natural forces # in *laisser*-causatives in Fr

(20) # Van an / # Lapli a bay Mari kouri.
 wind DET / rain DET GIVE M. run
 '#**The wind** / **The rain** made M. run (for cover).'

Ba(y) causatives - no inanimate stative causers

- **Invitations:**

- ▶ *bay* causatives do not allow **inanimate dynamic causees/ natural forces** *van an* in (20)
- ▶ *bay* causatives do not allow **inanimate stative causees** (22)

- *kite* causatives + **inanimate stative causees**: literary texts (21)

- (21) [...] **pòt louvri a** te **kite** sant lannwit ak flè rantrè.
 [...] door open DET PST GIVE smell night and flower enter
 'The open door let a smell of night and flowers come in.'
 (*Yon nèg apa*, p. 24, translation by F. Gourdet of *L'Étranger*, A. Camus)

- Parallel examples with *bay* are not acceptable (22)

- (22) #**pòt louvri a** te **bay** sant lannwit ak flè rantrè.
 door open DET PST GIVE smell night and flower enter

Ba(y) causatives - predicates

- The *ba(y)* 'give' causative is used for invitations from the causer to perform an action.
- **Invitations:**
 - ▶ *bay* causatives do not allow **involuntary actions** (23)

- (23)
- a. #Jann bay Mari ri
 J. GIVE M. laugh
 #'J. made [lit gave] M. **laugh**.'
- b. #Jan bay Mari tonbe.
 J. GIVE M. fall
 'J. made M. **fall down**.'

Ba(y) causatives - types of causees

- The *ba(y)* 'give' causative is used for invitations from the causer to perform an action.
- **Invitations:**
 - ▶ *bay* causatives do not allow **inanimate causees** (24)

- (24) a. #Jann bay dlo bouyi.
 J. GIVE water boil
 #'J. made [lit gave] **the water boil.**'
- b. #Jan bay mi an tonbe.
 Jan give wall DEF fall
 'Jan made/allowed **the wall fall down.**'

Ba(y) causatives - restrictions on predicates

- The *ba(y)* 'give' causative is used for invitations from the causer.
- However, *bay* causatives do not allow all **voluntary actions** (25)
- Speaker variability: *vini* 'come' is problematic for many (but not all) speakers
- Not clear why - maybe a clash between centrifugal *give* and centripetal *come*

(25) # Jan bay Mari vini lekòl [la].
 J. GIVE M. come school
 #'J. made [lit *gave*] M. **come to school.**'
 (Antoine, 2022, 13,ex 8)

(26) Jan bay Mari pote liv.
 J. GIVE M. take book
 'Jean a fait apporter des livres à Marie'. (Glaude, 2012, 169)

Ba(y) causatives - negation in complement

- All speakers agree that the *ba(y)* 'give' causative does not allow **negation** in the complement (27)-a.
- \neq *fè* causatives
- The speakers proposed the alternatives in (28).

(27) #Maman m ba m **pa** ale lekòl la.
 mother 1SG give 1SG NEG go school DET
 Not 'My mother invites me **not** to go to school.'

- (28) a. Manman m **di** m **pa** ale lekòl la.
 mother 1SG **tell** 1SG NEG go school DET
- b. Manman m **konseye** m **pa** ale lekòl la.
 mother 1SG **recommends** 1SG NEG go school DET

Bay causatives - forces

- The causative auxiliaries express different causation relations

	Tendency of Affectee to Act	Opposition between Affector / Affectee	Result to Affectee Action
FÈ	Yes/No	Yes/No	Yes (entailed)
BAY	(?)	(?)	Yes (implied)
KITE	Yes	No	Yes (implied)

adapted from (Wolff et al., 2002, Table 2)

- so far: *bay* exs with causee willing or in principle disposed to act
- Open Q: does *bay* allow contexts (29) with
 - ▶ causee **unwilling** to act and
 - ▶ **no plausible presumption** that the causee may be **willing to act**?

Bay causatives - forces

- The causative auxiliaries express different causation relations

	Tendency of Affectee to Act	Opposition between Affector / Affectee	Result to Affectee Action
FÈ	No/Yes	Yes/No	Yes (entailed)
BAY	Yes/ (No)	No / (Yes)	Yes (implied)
KITE	Yes	No	Yes (implied)

adapted from (Wolff et al., 2002, Table 2)

- some speakers allow **unwilling/ coerced causee** with *bay* (29)
- speakers B: **accepted authority** (mother, police vs. bandit)?

(29) Bandi a bay Jan remèt lajan an.
 bandit DET GIVE J. hand-over money 3SG
 'The bandit made J. hand over the money.'

ok speakers A / # speakers B

(but *manman* / 'his mother' ok for both speaker A/B)

Fè causatives

? missing data

	fè coercion	fè trigger	bay
Causer			
animate + intentional (<i>on purpose</i>)	+	+	+
animate - intentional (<i>accidentally</i>)	-	+	(-)
natural force/dynamic event <i>wind</i>	-	+	(-)
inanimate <i>the window/the weight</i>	-	+	(-)
interactional machine <i>computer</i>	?	+	+
Causee			
animate + intentional <i>X runs</i>	+	+	+
animate - intentional <i>X laughs</i>	-?	+	-
natural force/dynamic event <i>sun shine in</i>	-	+	-
inanimate <i>plate break</i>	-	+	-
interactional machine <i>computer</i>	?	+	?
Predicate			
voluntary: under control of animate causee <i>wash X</i>	+	+	
involuntary: not under control of animate causee <i>laugh</i>	-?	+	-
(not under control of) inanimate causee <i>crumble</i>	-	+	n/a

Bay causatives summary

	FÈ	BAY
Implicativity	yes	no
Negation (Modals)	yes (yes)	no (no)
Causers		
Animate	yes	yes
Inanimate stative	yes	no
Natural force	yes	no
Interactional machine	yes	yes
Causees		
Animate	yes	yes
Inanimate	no	no
Predicates		
Involuntary	yes	no
Voluntary	yes	yes
Causative relationships	Coercion Trigger	Invitation

Kite 'let' causatives in Haitian

Kite 'let' causatives: causal relationships

- The *kite* 'let, allow' causative is used when the causer allows the embedded action either
 - ▶ by giving permission (**before** the action takes place) or
 - ▶ by not opposing/not stopping it (**while** the action is already taking place).

- (30) M ap kite timoun nan jwe avèk chat la
 1SG ASP LET child DET play with cat DET
 'I let the child play with the cat.'
 (i) permission before the event
 (ii) non-interference while the action takes place.

Kite causatives: animate or inanimate causees

- The causee of a *kite* causative need not be in control of the action (**involuntary actions** (31)).
- The causee of a *kite* causative can be **inanimate** (31)-b.

- (31)
- a. Jann kite Mari mouri.
 J. let M. die.
 'J. let M. **die**.'
- b. Jann kite mi an tonbe.
 J. let wall DEF fall
 'J. let **the wall fall down** (did nothing to prevent it falling down).'
- c. Ou kite dlo a bouyi.
 2SG let water DET boil
 'You let **the water boil** (from a recipe)'

Kite causatives: causers - interactional machines

- The causer of a *kite* causative with a permission reading
- can be a **machine capable of interaction** (computer, ticket-machine)
 - ▶ machines capable of interaction can give permission
 - ▶ This is not mind to mind causation, as e.g. the ticket machine does not have a choice in its actions.
 - ▶ Machines can give instructions: *Follow the instructions on the screen.*

- (32) Òdinatè a kite w chwazi modpas la.
 computer DEF let 2SG choose password DET
 'The computer let me choose a password.'
 % But: Certain speakers prefer an animate in this context.

Kite causatives: causers - natural forces

- The causer of a *kite* causative
- cannot be a **natural force**.
 - ▶ natural forces cannot give permission
 - ▶ natural forces cannot refrain from interference

- (33) a. Van an *kite mi an tonbe.
 wind DEF let wall DEF fall
 Not: 'The wind caused the wall to fall.'
 Ok: Van an **fè** mi an tonbe.
- b. Solèy *kite glason yo fonn.
 sun let ice-cube DET.PL melt
 Not: 'The sun caused the ice cubes to melt.'
 Ok: Solèy **fè** glason yo fonn.

Kite causatives and implicativity

- In the past the event in the complement of the *kite* 'let' causative in (34) can be denied.

(34) Mari kite Jan lave rad yo. (Haitian)
 Mari LET Jan wash clothes DET.PL

^{ok} Men li pa lave rad yo.
 but 3SG NEG wash clothes DET.PL

'M. let J. wash the clothes. ^{ok} But he didn't wash the clothes.'

Kite causatives and implicativity

- But: with an **animate causee that does not control the action** the *kite* 'let' causative in (35) cannot be denied.

(35) Mari kite Jan mouri. # Men li pa mouri.(Haitian)
 Mari LET Jan die but 3SG NEG die
 'M. let J. die. # But he didn't die.'

- But: with an **inanimate causee** the *kite* 'let' causative in (36) cannot be denied.

(36) Mari kite mi an tonbe. (Haitian)
 Mari LET wall DET fall.down
 # Men li pa tonbe.
 but 3SG NEG fall.down
 'M. let the wall fall down. # But it didn't fall down.'

Kite causatives and implicativity

- Question: what happens with interactional machines?
- Need to check control
 - ▶ control: *order the list alphabetically*
 - ▶ non control: *run out of battery*

Kite causatives - implicativity?

- Are *kite* causatives implicative?
- Hyp1:
 - ▶ The *kite* 'let, allow' causative is not implicative.
- Hyp2:
 - ▶ The *kite* 'let, allow' causative is implicative.
 - ▶ The *kite* 'let, allow' is ambiguous with a lexical verb similar to *allow*, an interpersonal verb related to a permission speech act (selectional restrictions: animate Causer & Causee and an event under the Causees control)
 - ▶ ⇒ with the right selectional restrictions: animate Causer & Causee and an event under the Causees control can have negative complements

- (37) a. Maman m kite m **pa** ale lekòl.
 mother 1SG let 1SG NEG go school
 'My mother lets me not go to school.'
 '(Elle permet que je n'y aille pas / elle ne me force pas d'y aller).'

Kite causatives - implicativity?

- Are *kite* causatives implicative?
- Hyp3:
 - ▶ The *kite* 'let, allow' causative is implicative.
 - ▶ But implicativity need not be absolute.
 - ▶ With the configuration animate Causer & Causee and an event under the Causees control have an interpersonal verb use
 - ▶ Non-culminating causation (~ non-culminating perfectives)
 - ▶ The permission part of the causative is fulfilled but the result is not fulfilled.
 - ▶ ⇒ have interactions with animacy of the Causer for non-culminating accomplishments
 - ▶ ⇒ explore if the restrictions on non-culminating accomplishments and kite-like causatives are parallel.

Causatives

- Periphrastic causatives \neq interpersonal verbs
- Interpersonal verbs do not entail the occurrence of a result (Shibatani 2002, 4)
- Periphrastic causative have uses as interpersonal verbs.

(38) Interpersonal verbs :

John sent Bill to Paris.

- But Bill went away but didn't make it to Paris. (process but no result)
- But Bill didn't go. (no process, no result)

(39) John **sent** Bill to buy bread. \nRightarrow Bill bought bread.

- ^{ok} *But Bill didn't buy bread because the bakery was closed.*
Bill didn't make it to bring about the result. ^{ok} *But Bill didn't buy bread because he fell asleep.* (no process, no result)

Kite causatives - implicativity?

- Hyp3:
 - ▶ The *kite* 'let, allow' causative is implicative.
 - ▶ But implicativity need not be absolute.
 - ▶ ⇒ Get lexical effects.
- Martin (2018) "[with an] agentive subject, [periphrastic *faire*-causatives] are not implicative; e.g. [(40)-a] does not entail (but rather strongly implies) that the students read your paper, while [(40)-b] does."

- (40) a. J'ai fait lire ton papier par les étudiants.
 1sg-have made read your paper by the students.
 'I made the students read your paper' \nRightarrow not implicative
 interpersonal use for a teacher: part of the teacher role to set readings
- b. La curiosité a fait lire ton papier par les étudiants
 det curiosity has made read your paper by the students
 'Curiosity made the students read your paper'

Kite causatives - implicativity?

- Why pursue graded implicativity?
- The meaning of *bay* 'give' causatives is of the interpersonal type.
- Caveat 1: Distinguish different types of predicates (voluntary/involuntary)
- Caveat 2: plurals introduce extra complexity with causatives because of "partially affected plurals" => vary syntactic types of causees I made the students read the paper vs. I made Bill read the paper.

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