Faka-Niue: Understanding cause in Niuean∗

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This paper examines the causative prefix faka- in Niuean, a Polynesian language. Faka- can attach to a noun, adjective or verb, to create a verb or adverb. Usually a verb formed with faka- is causative, though faka- can instead denote intention or distance, and it appears to provide a reflexive sense in many cases. Faka- can attach to transitive stems and when it does, either the internal argument of the stem verb is unexpressed or it is expressed as an instrumental applicative, and the stem is unergative. The paper discusses the causative typology of Pylkkänen (2002). It is argued that Niuean is not a voice-bundling language nor is it a voice-selecting causative, although the external argument of the stem verb can be expressed. Instead, Kim’s (2008) analysis of Korean is adopted, with modification, and it is posited that the complement of faka- can be either a verb phrase or an applicative phrase.

1. Introduction

In this paper we provide a partial description of the functions of the causative prefix faka- in Niuean, a Polynesian language of the Tongic subgroup, and we then discuss faka- in light of Pylkkänen’s (2002) typology of causative constructions. We show that it is possible to add faka- to adjectives, nouns, and both intransitive and transitive verbs. As well as its canonical causative use, faka- has several extended uses including adding a sense of deliberateness or intensity to an action, and sometimes even reflexivity. We see that the study of faka- uncovers some interesting problems in understanding the typology of causatives developed in Pylkkänen (2002). Our study is based on the examination of over 1200 sentences including faka- from the Niuean dictionary, Sperlich (1997), as well as some sentences from Niue: A History of the Island.

We can divide the uses of faka- in Niuean into three groups. The first of these uses is the most productive and frequent, in which it introduces causation. In this use, as a prefix, it fits into the typological classification of a morphological causative, as distinguished from other broad categories of causative types, such as fusional or syntactic constructions and isolating or analytic causatives, which rely on lexical suppletion (Song 2001).

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(1) is a clear example of a causative, with a causer \textit{ia} ‘3.SG’ (‘he/she’) causing an event \textit{tu} ‘stand up’ to happen to a causee \textit{tama} ‘child’.

(1) \textit{fakatū}—vt. to make stand:
Kua \textit{fakatū} e \textit{ia} e \textit{tama} tote.
PREF \textit{faka}-stand ERG.P 3.SG ABS.C child little
She made the small child stand up. (Sp)

cf. \textit{tu}—vi. to stand:
Ne \textit{tu} a \textit{ia} ki luga ke fakamatala.
PST stand ABS.P 3.SG GOAL.P above SBJV speech
He stood up to make a speech. (Sp)

The next use, although it could be grouped with the first because it shares aspects of the causation seen in (1), has enough idiosyncrasies to merit separate consideration. An idiosyncratic example is found in (2): a niggling baby and an enemy-maker are surely not worlds apart, but cannot be transparently linked solely by the causation in (1). In this second idiosyncratic group \textit{faka}- exhibits a range of functions, as will be discussed below.

(2) \textit{fakafi}—vt. to niggle:
Ne \textit{fakafi} e \textit{tama} muke \textit{he} mamahi e nifo.
PST \textit{faka}-enemy ABS.C child baby because ache ABS.C tooth
The baby niggled because he had a toothache. (Sp)

cf. \textit{fi}—n. enemy:
Ne \textit{mamate} oti e \textit{tau} \textit{fi} he \textit{tau}.
PST die all ABS.C PL enemy because war
The enemies all died in the war. (Sp)

The third use also retains a semantic relation with causation, but instead forms adverbials. (3) and (4) show \textit{faka}- attaching to \textit{Niue} and \textit{lahi}, a noun and adjective or stative verb respectively, with the meanings ‘in the Niuean way’ and ‘in a big way’ (translated here as ‘loudly’). In (3) \textit{faka-}\textit{Niue} is arguably a nominal since it appears with a locative preposition, but the entire PP serves an adverbial function.

(3) \textit{faka-Niue}—Niuean way:
Ko \textit{e} kupu “matua” \textit{he} \textit{faka-Niue}...

\textit{faka-Niue} is Niuean culture it does not mean only parents
[but includes other relatives too]) (NAH.13)

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1 The Niue Dictionary labels this verb, and many others herein, as transitive, although the dictionary example provided for the verb gives an intransitive use. We follow the dictionary labels here.
2 The dictionary does not have a separate entry for \textit{Niue}, instead noting that it is derived from \textit{niu}—coconut.
fakalahi—vt. to enlarge, to make bigger; adv. in a big way:
Liu e tama mohe mo e tugolo faka-lahi.
turn ABS.C child sleep and snore faka-big
The son pretended to be asleep again and snored loudly. (NAH.24)

cf. lahi—big:
Kua lahi nakai?
PERF big Q
Is it enough [in number or size]? (Sp)

Though such adverbial use is not uncommon, the rest of this paper will focus on faka- as a former of causative verbs (both productive and idiosyncratic) as seen in (1) and (2).

2. The Canonical Use of Faka-

We turn first to the productive causative faka-, and identify the three different types of stems it can attach to, namely adjectives or stative verbs, active verbs (intransitive and transitive), and nominals.3 Even as a productive causative, faka- still displays a range of meanings, but since these differences in meaning can be predicted by complement type, we explain them by positing faka- to be an independent head which can select various null light verbs with meanings such as ‘BE’, ‘DO’, or ‘HAVE’, which in turn select (or possibly actually determine) nominal, adjectival, or verbal phrasal complements. We assume that faka- prefixes to the stem post-syntactically (cf. Phillips 2000, Travis 2000).

(5) a. faka [BE [aP…]]
    b. faka [DO [vP…]]
    c. faka [HAVE [aP…]]

We will now turn to a close examination of these three types, starting with intransitive complements (whether stative or active), then moving to transitive verb complements, then nominal complements.

2.1. Faka- with Intransitive Complements

When faka- attaches to adjective or stative verb complements and active intransitive verb complements, we find the meanings in (6.a) and (6.b) below respectively, where x is the thematic argument of the stem adjective or verb, and the derived causee. (7) would then read as ‘He caused us to be embarrassed’; (8) would be ‘He caused the bird to fly’.

(6) a. Adjective: cause ‘x to BE Adjective’
    b. Intransitive: cause ‘x to DO Verb’

3 The distinctions between these complement types are not always clear, as will be further discussed below. Here, the distinction between adjectives and intransitive verbs can be particularly tricky; we will think of adjectives as being stative and similar to unaccusative verbs, and intransitives as unergative verbs.
(7) **fakafuafuakele**—vt. to cause embarrassment:
Kua fakafuafuakele e ia a mautolu.
PERF faka-embarrassed ERG.P 3.SG ABS.P 1.PL.EXCL
He caused us embarrassment. (Sp)

cf. **fuafuakele**—vi. to be embarrassed:
Fuafuakele au he tau mahani he tama.
Be=embarrassed 1.SG because PL behaviour GEN.C child
The behaviour of the child is embarrassing to me. (Sp)

(8) **fakalele**—vt. to cause to fly away:
Kua fakalele e ia e manulele.
PERF faka-fly ERG.P 3.SG ABS.C bird
He made the bird fly. (Sp)

cf. **lele**—vi. to fly:
Kua lele mamao e tau manulele.
PERF fly far ABS.C PL bird
The birds flew far away. (Sp)

A comparison between adjectives or stative verbs and active intransitive verbs shows that there is a much higher frequency of **faka**- attaching to adjectives or stative verbs than to active intransitives, a pattern often seen in causative structures cross-linguistically (Song 2001). Additionally, **faka**+Adj compounds by and large have a much higher rate of predictable compositionality, that is, they are not idiosyncratic.

### 2.2 Faka- with Transitive Complements

**2.2.1 The Resulting Verb is Transitive**

When **faka**- attaches to a transitive verb, usually the pattern in (9) emerges.

(9) cause 'x to DO V', where x = agent of stem

This is illustrated by the following examples (10) and (11).

(10) **fakateka**—vt. to make to bowl:
Kua fakateka nī e ia haana a tama he tā kilikiki.
PERF faka-bowl EMPH ERG.P 3.SG 3.SG.GEN.LIG child LOC.C match cricket
He made his own child bowl in the cricket game. (Sp)

cf. **teka**—vt. to bowl in cricket or similar games:
Kua teka e ia e polo.
PERF bowl ERG.P 3.SG ABS.C ball
He bowled the ball. (Sp)
(11) **fakatui**—vt. to dress someone:

Kua fakatui e ia e tama ke ō he tapu.

She dressed the child for church. (Sp)

cf. **tui**—vt. to wear, to put on, to get dressed:

Tui e tāpulu haau!

Put on your shirt! (Sp)

(10) can be viewed as meaning ‘He caused the child to bowl’, where ‘child’ can be considered the agent or external argument of the stem verb meaning ‘bowl’. The internal argument of the stem verb is not expressed.

Similarly, (11) can be looked at as ‘She caused the child to wear’, where again, the object of the causative construction ‘child’ is the agent or external argument of the stem verb meaning ‘wear’ and the internal argument of the stem verb is not expressed.

Another pattern that emerges in some cases, though it appears to be rare, is one where the internal thematic role of the stem verb is preserved in the causative construction, whereas the external argument is lost, giving the following form.

(12) cause 'V to be done to x', where x = theme/patient of stem

An example of this is given below in (13):

(13) Ne fakakite e fakafanau tama ke he motu.

…showed to the island…how to give birth to a child (NAH.21)

(i.e. ...showed the island how to cause giving childbirth.)

In (13) we see the stem verb **fanau** ‘to give birth’ embedded under the causative **faka**-. In this example, the theme of the stem verb (tama ‘child’), rather than the agent, has survived the causativization process. Note though, that the construction in (13) contains a nominalized form of the verb, appearing with the absolutive common case marker e, so it is not a true verbal construction. Furthermore, the theme argument **tama** ‘child’ appears to be incorporated since it is not preceded by a case marker. The correct translation is thus probably more like ‘showed childbirth’. In this case we can’t be sure that the role of the theme (tama—‘child’) is truly being preserved by **fakafanau**, and not being introduced by some other means. Further investigation will be needed to see if other, clearer examples of this can be found. (14) below shows that **fakafanau** can behave canonically as the pattern in (9), since in this example the agent of the stem verb (**fifi**—‘woman’) is preserved under causativization.

(14) **fakafanau**—vt. to assist in childbirth, to deliver:

Kua fakafanau he ekekafo e fifine.

The doctor assisted the woman in childbirth. (Sp)
cf. *fanau*—vt. to give birth to, to bring forth:
Kua fanau e ia e tama taane.
Packed give=birth ERG.P 3.SG ABS.C child male
She gave birth to a boy. (Sp)

The canonical pattern for *faka*- attached to a transitive verb is thus one where the agent is preserved as the causee and the original theme or patient is not expressed.

### 2.2.2 The Resulting Verb is Ditransitive

Niuean generally allows a regular verb to have only two direct arguments, so that double object verbs such as ‘give’ in English (as in ‘give Mary a book’) do not generally exist in the language. When *faka*- attaches to a transitive verb, it semantically introduces a new argument, namely the causer (though see discussion below). Since the new verb has three semantic arguments, one of them cannot be directly supported by the derived verb, and must remain unexpressed, as outlined in the previous section.

It is, however, possible in Niuean to preserve both original arguments as well as the added causer as direct arguments by the use of the applicative marker *aki*, which can combine with a verb to produce a complex verb that takes an extra argument.

We first present the standard instrumental use of applicative *aki*. (15.a) shows a transitive verb with a prepositional phrase expressing an instrument. (15.b) shows the same verb, followed by the applicative particle *aki* (which is identical to the instrumental preposition in (15.a)). In this sentence, the instrument appears as a direct absolutive argument, usually preceding the original patient direct object argument as in (15.b). Seiter (1980) argues that both the instrument and the patient in (15.b) exhibit the properties of a direct object.

> (15) a. Kua hele tuai e Sione e falaoa aki e titipi haana.
> PERF cut PERF ERG.P Sione ABS.C bread INSTR ABS.C knife 3.SG.ENG Sione has cut the bread with his knife. (Seiter, 243)
> b. Kua hele aki tuai e Sione e titipi haana e falaoa.
> PERF cut INSTR PERF ERG.P Sione ABS.C knife 3.SG.ENG ABS.C bread Sione has cut the bread with his knife. (Seiter, 244)

The instrumental applicative is used in Niuean causative constructions to licence the internal patient or theme argument of the transitive stem verb, if it is expressed. In the examples below, we see the causer argument in ergative case, similarly to the examples in (10) and (11) above, but in contrast to (10) and (11), there are two nominals marked with absolutive case.

> (16) a. *fakatotō*—vt. 1. to make to hold:
> Kua fakatotō aki e ia e kato e tama haaku.
> PERF faka-hold INSTR ERG.P 3.SG ABS.C basket ABS.C child 1.SG.ENG She made my child hold the basket. (Sp)
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b. fakatotō—vt. 2. to give:
Kua fakatotō aki e au e tau tupe a ia he
PERF faka-hold INSTR ERG.P 1.SG ABS.C PL money ABS.P 3.SG when
fano he vakalele.
go LOC.C plane
I gave him some money when he went on the plane. (Sp)

cf. totō—vt. to hold in the hand:
Ne totō e ia e kapiniu.
PST hold ERG.P 3.SG ABS.C cup
He held the cup [in his hand]. (Sp)

In (16.a) ia ‘she’, is the ergative subject and causer. And even though tama ‘child’ is the agent or external argument of the stem verb totō ‘hold’, and kato ‘basket’ is the internal argument or theme of that verb, in the causative construction both are marked with the absolutive case used for the objects of transitive verbs. Similarly, in (16.b) above, we see both ia ‘him’ and tupe ‘money’ marked with absolutive case and acting as arguments of the derived verb. In effect, the addition of the applicative aki has produced a ditransitive verb.

A question arises as to whether aki is introducing the embedded agent (the causee) or the embedded theme. Two things point to the embedded theme being the added argument. First, the theme normally comes first in the causative, before the agent/causee, and this position is the usual one for the instrument in instrument applicative constructions, as in (15b), although word order variation is possible between these two arguments (Massam 1998, Seiter 1980). Second, the theme is the argument usually left unexpressed in the non-ditransitive causatives, as in (10) and (11). This is interesting because in Korean, it is the agent/causee that is licensed by the applicative head, according to Kim (2008). It is also interesting because the instrumental applicative is a high applicative usually, introducing an agent-related instrument. If the embedded theme is being introduced by the applicative in (16.a) and (16.b), is the applicative still high? Theta theoretic questions also arise. For example, is the theme of the original verb now thematically an instrument or (also) a theme? Is the causee still an agent? There is no immediately evident difference in the syntax of the various sentences with aki, but more research is needed to determine this.

These examples also raise a question as to whether Niuean causatives follow the Case Hierarchy of Comrie (1981, 1985). Comrie predicts that in causatives of transitives, the causee will be encoded as the indirect object (with the causer as subject and the original theme as object). If we interpret the linearly second object in an applicative construction as indirect, this would make Niuean fit in with the Hierarchy, since in the causative construction the second absolutive argument is the causee. But we have argued that the linearly first argument is the applied argument, and also, Seiter argues that in Niuean applicatives both absolutive arguments behave identically for all objecthood tests. This would make Niuean follow the pattern of “doubling” of Comrie (1981, 1985) since both the original theme and the causee appear as absolutive arguments or as direct objects. (See Song 2001 for further discussion of argument mapping in causative constructions.)

2.3 Faka- with Nominal Complements

When faka- attaches to nouns, we observe two common types of meaning in the derived verbs. The example in (18) gives a good illustration of the first of these two types.

(17) a. cause ‘x to HAVE N’
b. cause ‘there to BE/EXIST N’
(18) *fakafefe*—vt. to sew on frills:
Fakafefe e taulima he tāpulu.

_faka-_frills ABS.C sleeves GEN.C dress

Sew the frills on the sleeves of the dress. (Sp)

cf. *fefe*—n. frill:
Kula e fefe he tāpulu haana.

red ABS.C frill GEN.C dress 3.SG.GEN

The frill of her dress is red. (Sp)

This can be read as “cause something to have frills”; so in the example above it is tāpulu ‘dress’ that acquires the frills. The next example illustrates the second type of verb derived by attaching *faka-* to a nominal, as in (17.b)

(19) *fakaveliveli*—vt. to form a circle:
Kua fakaveliveli a lautolū ke koli.

PERF _faka-_circle ABS.P 3.PL SBJV dance

They formed a circle to dance. (Sp)

cf. *velivali*—n. ring, circle:
Ne tō a ia ki fafo he velivali.
PST fall ABS.P 3.SG GOAL.C outside LOC.C circle

He fell out of the circle. (Sp)

This can be interpreted as ‘they caused there to be a circle’, in this case a circle of people. Note the reflexive nature of (19), where the people are both the causers and affected by the causation. We will return to this below.

The next example illustrates the difficulties that can be encountered in assigning Niuean words with _faka-_ to the meaning classes in (17). (20) might be seen as illustrating the reading in (17.a), but it equally might be seen as illustrating (17.b). Note in this example, _fakaalopaki_ ‘cause overhang’ appears after the verb _keli_ ‘dig’, in a manner adverbial function.

(20) *fakaalopaki*—vt. to make an overhang
Kua keli fakaalopaki e lautolū e luo makatea.

PERF dig _faka-_overhang ERG.P 3.PL ABS.C pit makatea (coral sand)

They dug an overhang into the makatea pit. (Sp)

cf. _alopaki*—n. overhang:
Ne fakamalu a lautolū he alopaki he feutu.
PST shelter ABS.P 3.PL LOC.C overhang LOC.C cliff

They sheltered under the cliff overhang. (Sp)

This could be considered to mean ‘to dig in such a way as to cause [the pit] to have an overhang’ as in (17.a), in parallel with (18). Alternatively, the meaning of the above sentence could be something such as, ‘They dug [the pit] in a such a way that there existed an overhang,’ illustrating instead the pattern of (17.b). It might also be possible to consider _fakaalopaki_ to be verbal, creating a complex verb rather than a modified verb. As we discuss below, it is difficult to assign words to lexical classes in Niuean.
3. Lexical Category: Telling the Difference in Niuean

Although we have tried to paint a clear picture of there being three distinct complement types to which faka- attaches (adjective, verb, noun), we have simplified matters somewhat. Since Niuean does not have much inflectional morphology, we often rely on translations\(^4\) to make these distinctions, but that does not resolve all the uncertainty. We saw in (20) that the distinction between a verb and an adverb is not fully clear. In addition, there are other groups in which most of the ambiguity lies: the nominal-adjective distinction as seen in (21), the adjective-verb (intransitive) distinction as seen in (22), and the noun-verb distinction as in (23).

Accordingly, in (21) the complement of faka- could have the nominal meaning ‘caused the trip to have a problem’ or the adjectival ‘cause the trip to be problematic/in the state of being a problem’; in (22) the complement of faka- could be adjectival as in ‘cause the froth to be swollen’ or verbal as in ‘cause the froth to swell’. This problem often exists independently of faka- prefixation, as in the non-causative example in (22). In (23) we see a possible noun-verb confusion, since fakaila could be parsed as having a nominal root, ‘cause to have spots’ or a verbal one, ‘cause to spot’.

(21) fakalekua—vt. to interrupt, to cause trouble:

\[
\text{Kua fakalekua haaku a fenoga ki tahi hā kua gagao e matua.}
\]

\text{PERF faka-problem 1.SG.GEN LIG trip GOAL.P fish because PERF sick ABS.C father}

My fishing trip was interrupted because my father was ill. (Sp)

\text{cf. lekua—n. trouble, problem; vi. to be in trouble, get into trouble, have a problem:}

\[
\text{Kua lekua e motu.}
\]

\text{PERF lekua ABS.C island}

The island is in trouble. (Sp)

(22) Kua fakafufua e ia e tauifo mai he haana a gutu.

\text{PERF faka-swell ERG.P 3.SG ABS.C PL froth from LOC.C 3.SG.GEN LIG mouth}

She blew bubbles from the froth in her mouth. (Sp)

\text{cf. fufua—vi. To blister, to bubble, to be blistered:}

\[
\text{Kua fufua e lima haana he vela he ahi.}
\]

\text{PERF fufua ABS.C hand 3.SG.GEN because heat LOC.C fire}

His hand was blistered due to a burn. (Sp)\text{22}

(23) fakaila—vt. to make or paint a spot:

\[
\text{Kua fakaila e ia haana a kauvehe aki e pene uli.}
\]

\text{PERF faka-spot ERG.P 3.SG 3.SG.GEN LIG cheek INSTR ABS.C pencil black}

She made a spot on her cheek with a black pencil. (Sp)

\text{cf. ila—vi. to be spotted:}

\[
\text{Kua ila kula haana a tāpulu he vali.}
\]

\text{PERF spot red 3.SG.GEN LIG shirt by painting}

He spotted his shirt with paint. (Sp)

\(^4\) A further difficulty that we encountered was the treatment of what appeared to be passive constructions, a topic discussed more in section 6.2. Again, matters are complicated by the lack of overt morphology and what could be called a ‘conspiracy of translation’.
Generally speaking, we set aside this problem in this paper, since it belongs to the much larger question of lexical category in Polynesian languages. (See for example, Biggs 1971, Broschart 1997, Massam 2005.)

4. Non-canonical Uses of Faka-

In this section we address the numerous idiosyncratic uses of faka-. These idiosyncratic uses contain varying degrees of the causation discussed above.

4.1 Deliberateness and Intensity

The first non-causative use of faka- is the introduction of a sense of deliberateness and/or intensity, as illustrated in (24). The deliberateness of the cheeky act in (24.a) is expressed by faka-alone and not any adverbial construction that might indicate purpose or intent. A more striking example is (24.b), in which we can contrast fakamanava and manava. Since for both, the act of hitting is not accidental, faka- likely adds emphasis to the intentional nature of the action in question. A further example is (24.c) where we see that the mourner has consciously taken it upon himself, as it were, to mourn or even increase the duration and perhaps intensity of the mourning.

(24)  a. **fakamakaka**—vt. to put on a deliberate act of being cheeky or smart:

Kua fakamakaka a ia ke he haana a matua.

He was deliberately cheeky to his parent. (Sp)

cf. **maka**—to be smart, to be cheeky:

Kua maka e hoana ke he taane.

The wife is being cheeky to her husband. (Sp)

b. **fakamanava**—vt. to hit intentionally:

Kua fakamanava aki e ia e moto haaku a mata.

He hit my eye with his fist. (Sp)

cf. **manava**—vt. to hit:

Ko e toka e koe mohā he manava aki e

Why don't you hit him on the mouth? (Sp)
c.  *fakamaanu*—vt. to mourn, to grieve (refers to prolonged and self-imposed mourning or grieving):
Kua fakamaanu agaia e taane he mate e hoana.
PERF faka-mourn still ABS.C husband since die ABS.C wife
He is still grieving since the death of his wife. (Sp)

cf. *maanu*—vi. to grieve, to mourn:
Kua maanu a lautolu ha kua mate e matua.
PERF grieve ABS.P 3.PL because PERF die ABS.P parent
They grieved because of the death of their parent. (Sp)

### 4.2 Reflexivity

*Faka-* can also add a sense of reflexivity. This was mentioned above for example (19), and it can also be seen with a body part in (24b) above. (25) provides a further example. The verb *ako* means ‘learn’ while *faka+ako*, means ‘teach’, which we expect to be transitive. In (25) the sentence with *faka+ako* is intransitive.

(25)  *fakaako*—vt. teach:
Ne fakaako fakahali ai a lau.
PST faka-learn well LOC.ANAPH.P 3.DU
…both sons trained hard. (NAH.41)

cf. *ako*—vi. to learn:
Ha ne ako a ia ke moua he iloilo.
While NFUT learn ABS.P 3.SG SBJV obtain LOC.C be=wise
He is learning to gain wisdom. (Sp)

Who is it, then, that the sons are teaching? There is no other argument, and from the context we know that there are no relevant dropped arguments. The sons have caused themselves to learn, and this sense of reflexivity seems to be attributable to the presence of *faka-* . There are many such examples (eg. see (27) below), raising questions about the conceptual relatedness of causativization and reflexivity.

### 4.3 Distancing

Another use of *faka-* is to add a sense of distance between the causer and the caused event itself. Compare the two acts of ‘changing’ in (26).

(26)  *fakahui*—vt. 1. to amend:
Kua fakahui e lautolu e tohi fakavē.
PERF faka-change ERG.P 3.PL ABS.C constitution
They have amended the constitution. (Sp)

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5 This can be determined from the context of the story in *Niue: a History of the Island*. 
cf. *huhui*—vt. to change, to alter, to amend:
Kua *huhui e ia hana higoa.
PERF change ERG.P 3.SG 3.SG.GEN name
He changed his name. (Sp)

Without *faka-* the causer is changing his name, which, although not an inherent property of the causer, is something intensely personal and subject to direct change by the person who carries it and who can undergo this change immediately. When it comes to amending a constitution though, we see that *faka-* is marking a situation that involves many participants and hence subject to indirect causation (proposals, discussions, exhortations) over an extended period of time.

### 4.4 Make-Like

Other cases of *faka-* can be called simulated causation, which is related to the idea of pretending or ‘making-like’ something. *Faka-* as it attaches to the intransitive verb *fuakau* in (27) would then roughly have the meaning of ‘make-like’ in English (eg. “make like a tree and stand still”) or causing ‘x to BE LIKE Verb’. Also of note is the reflexivity found here. A similar example is found with *fakapatuiki* (cause+king), which can either mean to crown someone as king or to treat someone like a king, with a negative connotation of spoiling them (Sperlich 1997).

(27) *fakafuakau*—vt. to make oneself look or feel old:
Ua *fakafuakau a koe.*
Do=not faka-grow=old ABS.P 2.SG
Do not make yourself look old. (Sp)

cf. *fuakau*—vi. to grow old; n. old person:
*Fuakau fakahaga a ia.*
Grow=old faka-turn=to ABS.P 3.SG
He is growing old. (Sp)

### 4.5 Pragmatics and Lexical Entries

There are many instances where *faka*+complement does indeed follow the patterns we have established for its canonical use, but where the meanings we have attributed to *faka-* do not fully account for the data, and leave a role for pragmatics or a native speaker’s knowledge of the language or culture. For example, when causing a wall to be white as in (28), it is reasonable to assume than the only practical way to go about doing this is to paint it.

(28) *fakahina*—vt. to whitewash:
Ne *fakahina e ia e tau kaupā fale.*
PST faka-white ERG.P 3.SG ABS.C PL wall house
He whitewashed the walls of the house. (Sp)

cf. *hina*—vi. to be white:
*Hina hana tāpulu.*
Be=white 3.SG.GEN shirt
His shirt is white. (Sp)
At times, though, the relationship is somewhat unpredictable (29.a) and far from transparent (29.b). We suspect that this non-compositionality is because of a process of lexicalization in which original meanings have been lost or have been extended, often to include abstract situations.

(29)  a. *fakaagaaga*—vt. to preen oneself
(refers to examining or admiring oneself):  
Ua fakaagaaga koa a koe ke he fakaata.  
Do=not preen EMPH ABS.P 2.SG GOAL LOC.C mirror (*ata*—shadow)  
Do not preen yourself too much before the mirror. (Sp)

cf. *aga*—n. habit, way of acting, behaviour:  
Ko e tu mo e aga he tagata ia ke kaihā.  
PRED C be=first and behaviour GEN.C person 3.SG SBJV steal  
It is the habit of that man to steal. (Sp)

b. *fakahemahema*—vt. to conceal something in the hand or beneath the arm:  
Kua fakahemahema e hana mena kai.  
PERF faka-left=hand ABS.C 3.SG GEN thing eat  
He concealed his food [in the hand/beneath the arm]. (Sp)

cf. *hema*—vi. to be left-handed  
Hema e tama kō.  
Be=left=handed ABS.C child that  
That boy is left-handed. (Sp)

Lastly there is a set of stems to which *faka* - attaches that do not show any apparent change in meaning, as in (30) and (31). Perhaps at least some of these examples can be explained by saying that *faka* - adds a sense of volition. This works for (30) since a ship cannot very well make up its mind to tilt and capsize, whereas a person can. But it is not fully clear from the translation that this is the case in other examples, such as (31).

(30)  *fakalifa*—vt. to tilt on one side:  
Kua fakalifa a ia he nofo he nofoa.  
PERF faka-tilt ABS.C 3.SG when sit LOC.C chair  
He tilted on one side as he sat on the chair. (Sp)

cf. *lifa*—vi. to capsize, to tilt sideways:  
Kua lifa e toga.  
PERF capsize ABS.C ship  
The ship tilted sideways. (Sp)

(31)  *fakaneinei*—vt. to be on the alert:  
Kua fakaneinei a ia ke tau.  
PERF faka-ready ABS.P 3.SG SBJV fight  
He is on the alert to fight. (Sp)
5. Further Topics

A topic for further research is the morpheme \textit{ma-}, which, generally described as a stativizer, intransitivizer, or adjective-formative, can be thought of, in contrast to the causativizing \textit{faka-}, as the anti-\textit{faka-} (Dhillon, Lee, and Massam 2009, this volume). This becomes all the more interesting and complex when we consider that the two morphemes, \textit{faka-} and \textit{ma-} can interact with each other, that is they can both attach to the same complement.

Taking the adjective/verb \textit{fiti} (31) as a clear example, we see more or less canonical uses of \textit{faka-} in (32) as well as in (33) for the reduplicated forms.

\begin{itemize}
\item \textbf{(31) fiti—vi.} 1. to flip over:
\begin{verbatim}
Kua fiti a ia ti to ki tahi.
PERF flip ABS.P 3.SG then fall GOAL.P sea
\end{verbatim}
He flipped over and fell into the sea. (Sp)

2. to be curly:
\begin{verbatim}
Ko ia ko e tagata ulu fiti.
PRED 3.SG PRED C person head be=curly
\end{verbatim}
He is a person with curly hair. (Sp)
\end{itemize}

\begin{itemize}
\item \textbf{(32) fakafiti—vt.1.} to somersault:
\begin{verbatim}
Kua fakafiti a ia hala tua.
PERF faka-flip ABS.P 3.SG somersault
\end{verbatim}
He did a backward somersault. (Sp)

2. to perm:
\begin{verbatim}
Kua fakafiti haana a ulu.
PERF faka-flip 3.SG GEN LIG hair
\end{verbatim}
She permed her hair. (Sp)
\end{itemize}

\begin{itemize}
\item \textbf{(33) fakafitifiti—vt.} 1. to remind someone of his/her dubious past:
\begin{verbatim}
Kua ita a ia ke he hoana ti fakafitifiti mai e tau mena
PERF angry ABS.P 3.SG GOAL LOC.C wife thus faka-flip back ABS.C PL thing
kua mole.
PERF past
\end{verbatim}
He was angry with his wife, so he reminded her of all the things of the past. (Sp)

2. to perm (frequentative):
\begin{verbatim}
Kua fakafitifiti tūmau e ia haana a ulu.
PERF faka-flip always ABS.P 3.SG 3.SG GEN LIG hair
\end{verbatim}
She always perms her hair. (Sp)
\end{itemize}

With \textit{ma-}, we see it acting as a stativizer (somehow equating the act of flipping with speed) in (34).
Finally, with *faka* and *ma-* together we get ‘hurry’ from ‘cause to be quick’ in (35) and reduplicated in (36) (The difference in meaning between the two, though, is not clear.) *Faka-* is still conveying some meaning of cause here, but the contributions and interactions of *faka-* and *ma-* need further exploration.

(35) *fakamafiti—vt. to hurry:*
Kua fakamafiti a iga ki kaina.
PERF faka-swift ABS.P 3.SG GOAL.P home
She hurried home. (Sp)

(36) *fakamafitifiti—vt. to hurry:*
Fakamafitifiti mai e tau hui haau ka e hoko fakaave ki kaina.
Faka-quick DIR ABS.C PL leg 3.SG.GEN so arrive quickly GOAL.P home
Be quick so that we can arrive home soon. (Sp)

Certainly *ma-* as it attaches to all complement types should be explored, as well as how *faka-* attaches to *ma-* especially with regards to how the two affect meaning and argument structure, and what sorts of constraints exist concerning the two.

6. Fitting *faka-* in

6.1 Pyllkänen’s (2002) system

In this section we will attempt to place *faka-* in the causative typology proposed by Pylkkänen (2002). Pylkkänen argues that while a causative morpheme (henceforth CAUS) adds a causing event to the sentence, it does not in itself add (assert) a causer or external argument. However, in some languages, it might appear that CAUS adds a causer argument because CAUS in these languages is voice-bundling, that is, CAUS necessarily merges in to the same head as Voice, which is the head that introduces the external argument. English null CAUS is voice-bundling, as can be seen in (37), where it is impossible to get a causative meaning independently of the addition of the external argument.

(37)  a. Mary broke the window.
     b. The window broke.
      (cannot mean there was a causing event such that the window broke.)

     In other languages, CAUS is not voice-bundling, and causative constructions can appear without a causer/agent external argument (eg. Finnish, Japanese). In such languages, unaccusative causative constructions are possible along the lines of (38). (See Pylkkänen for discussion.)

(38)  The window cause-broke
     (meaning there was a causing event such that the window broke.)
The second main claim made by Pylkkänen is that causatives vary cross-linguistically in their complement-taking properties. For Pylkkänen, there are three relevant types of complements: root, verbal, and phasal.

In some languages CAUS takes roots. In such cases the complement of CAUS is not a verb or adjective, but a non-categorial root. Unergatives and transitives cannot be causativized, since these necessarily consist of a root and the categorial head v, and no category-referring morphology can appear between CAUS and the root. An example is the Japanese lexical causative.

In other languages CAUS takes verbs, which for Pylkkänen are phrasal vP. In these languages, verb-categorial referring morphology and adverbs can appear between CAUS and the verb. The complement is only vP and not VoiceP, so no external-argument referring morphology can appear between CAUS and the verbal complement. An example of this is the Finnish –tta causative.

Finally, in yet other languages, CAUS takes phasal complements, presumably VoiceP. In these languages, any morphology, even that making reference to external arguments (e.g., agent oriented adverbs, high applicatives) can appear between CAUS and the root. Examples are found in Luganda and Venda.

6.2 Niuean Parameter Choices

We now discuss Niuean in light of the parameters discussed in 6.1. Although most of the examples presented in this paper so far have included a causer argument, it seems that Niuean is a non-voice-bundling language, since external arguments are not necessary in faka- sentences. Unaccusative causatives are fully possible, as in (39) and (40). It is important to note that the Niuean sentence in (39) is not passive, but rather it presents a caused state, with no causer expressed.

(39) fakaahu—vt. to fumigate, to smoke out:
    Kua fakaahu e tau koloa.
    PERF faka-smoky ABS.C PL goods
    The goods were fumigated. (Sp)

It might be argued that (39) contains an implied causer and thus could be analysed as including a null ergative argument. However, there are other examples where this cannot be the case. In (40) we see a sentence where the island is caused to be secure by the instrumental applicatively marked and relativized matapatu ‘foundation’, but no causer is expressed or implied. It seems then, that faka- does not necessarily introduce a causer argument by means of voice-bundling.

(40) fakavē—vt. to secure:
    Ko e matapatu ne fakavē aki e motu nei
    PRED C foundation NFUT faka-secure INSTR ABS.C island this
    liga ko e maka-uli he mouga vela...
    likely PRED C rock-black GEN.C mountain hot...
    The foundation that this island is secured with is probably a black volcanic stone... (NAH.1)

Although it is not necessary to encode an external argument with a faka- verb, if there is an external argument, it will always be understood as the causer. It will not necessarily be the original agent of the stem verb as well though, as we saw in examples such as (10) and (16) above, where faka- takes a transitive complement with an independent agent, expressed as an absolutive object of the causative verb.

We now turn to the second parameter of Pylkkänen’s typology. It is harder to establish Niuean’s typological position here. Niuean faka- is clearly not root-selecting, since unergative verbs
can have causative, and arguably, other suitably flavoured light verbs too, such as HAVE, EXIST, BE, DO as discussed above and represented in (5). In addition, category-defining morphology can intervene between the verb and CAUSE as in (41.a, b), as well as verbal modifiers as mai in (41.b).

\[(41)\]
\[\text{a. } \text{ Faka-ma-lipi-lipi ‘make (more than one thing) be broken’} \]
\[\text{b. } \text{ Kua fakaaloalo mai e ia e tama.} \]
\[\text{PERF faka-wave DIR ERG.P 3.SG ABS.C child} \]
\[\text{He made the child wave. (in direction of 1st person) (Sp)} \]

In (41.a) we see the morpheme ma- appearing between faka- and the stem verb. Recall that ma- attaches to verbs to transform them into participles. It does not attach to other parts of speech (putting aside the lexical category problems discussed above). In addition (41.a) and (41.b) include a reduplicated stem verb. The reduplication represents pluractionality (Haji-Abdolhosseini, Massam, and Oda 2002), which applies to verbs and not other parts of speech to indicate iteration or intensification of the event or state. Of course it is difficult to tell whether reduplication occurs between CAUS and the stem, since it is not a prefix, but since it modifies the stem and not CAUS, we assume it should be positioned between CAUS and the stem, in an aspect phrase.

In (41.b) we also see a verbal directional modifier mai appearing on the stem verb. Again, it is hard to be sure it occurs between CAUS and the stem, since, like reduplication, it is not a prefix, but since it modifies the stem verb and not CAUS, we assume it is merged lower than CAUS but higher than the verb.

If Niuean is not root-selecting, we must next determine whether it is vP (verb) or phase-selecting (i.e. voice). Note that we are considering unergative subjects to be merged into a different position than external arguments of transitive verbs. The former are merged in specifier of v, the latter in specifier of Voice. We assume internal arguments to be within VP, but (somehow) ruled out with unergative verbs. We are also considering that agents of normally transitive verbs that are rendered intransitive by being embedded under faka-, are merged in specifier of v also, that is, the complement of faka- in (10) and (11) is an unergative verb. Abstracting away from word order, the structure of (10) is as in (42).

\[(42) \quad \text{He cause [vP child [VP bowl]} \]

When causative faka- selects an unergative complement, then, the complement is a vP, and the single argument is expressed as an absolutive object of the derived causative verb in accordance with the ergative case system of the language.

In fact, it seems that Niuean faka- can additionally select a complement in between vP and VoiceP in size. Adopting the proposal of Kim (2008) we consider this intermediate-sized category to be an Applicative phrase. The complement is larger than a vP because it can contain an applied argument, but not as large as a VoiceP, since this argument is not a transitive ergative subject, but an applied theme acting as an instrument atop an unergative clause. The structure for (16) would thus be as in (43).

\[(43) \quad \text{She cause [AppP basket [vP child [VP hold]} \]

It is a bit tricky to establish that Niuean causatives do not take phasal complements. First, Pylkkänen does not discuss phase-selecting languages in detail so the full range of their properties is not clear. Second, as already mentioned, it is hard to know if any relevant morphology comes ‘between’ CAUS and root, because CAUS is a prefix, and the other relevant morphemes come after
the verb. Third, the available data is unclear on several points. In general, though, the data indicate that Niuean is neither vP nor phase-selecting. The solution to the conflict can be found by adopting Kim’s (2008) analysis of Korean causatives as selecting Applicative Phrases (ApplP). Let us turn to the issues.

The first argument that the complement of Niuean faka- is larger than vP is found in the examples in (16) above, where the stem verb can appear with its original external argument, hence we might want to posit that there is a Voice Phrase below CAUS. However, since such arguments are expressed as absolutive objects, and not as embedded ergative agents, it is not clear that they are merged in specifier of Voice Phrase. If they were, this phrase would appear to be problematically low, since the agents of the stem verb appear to the right of the applied theme of the stem verb.

If Niuean is phase-selecting, we expect to find all types of modification below CAUS, including types that make reference to the external argument of the stem verb. Niuean might appear to allow such modification. For example, high applicatives (instrumental applicatives) can appear with CAUS, and Pylkkänen argues that high applicative can appear only in case of a VoiceP complement. Indeed, in Niuean, instrumental applicatives can appear only on verbs with an external argument (or faka-) (Seiter 1980, Massam 1998, Ball in press). In (44) and (45) (repeated from (16)) we see faka- attaching to stem verbs with an applicative argument.

(44) fakaalaia—vt. to block:
Kua fakaalaia aki e ia e motokā e puhala.
PERF faka-obstruct INSTR ERG.P 3.SG ABS.C car ABS.C road
He blocked the road with his truck. (Sp)

(45) fakatotō—vt. 1. to make to hold:
Kua fakatotō aki e ia e kato e tama haaku.
PERF faka-hold INSTR ERG.P 3.SG ABS.C basket ABS.C child 1.SG.GEN
She made my child hold the basket. (Sp)

However, it is difficult to tell whether the instrumental applicative marker aki is indeed between CAUS and verb, or outside CAUS. It is plausible to claim that it is licenced by faka-, since, as discussed above, the use of aki is a strategy for the extension of the argument structure of a causative verb with a transitive stem. However, its morphemic position as a post-stem-verbal particle is such that it must be merged in the same position as it would be if faka- were not present, that is as a post-stem-verbal particle.

Another example of morphology appearing potentially below CAUS that makes reference to the external argument of the stem verb is subject-referring pluractional reduplication. With some Niuean verbs, the verb is obligatorily reduplicated if the external or internal argument (depending on the verb) of the verb is plural (Seiter 1980). The verb fakamagamaga is described by Sperlich as a verb meaning “to open one’s mouth”, with an obligatorily plural subject. The subject referred to in the example given in (46) is neither the causer nor the external argument of the stem, though, but the theme (‘mouthes’) of the stem verb instead. Note, however, that this is an example with no external argument expressed for the stem verb, and with a loosely reflexive reading. In all the examples studied, there are none where the obligatorily plural argument is an ergative causer, nor an applicative agent. Instead, they are all non-agentive arguments of the embedded verb. Thus, the reduplicative morphology does not argue that Niuean causative is phase-selecting.

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6 It might seem possible to interpret he tau maulele ‘birds’ as an ergative argument here, since ergative common and genitive common are both he. But the word order is more compatible with the interpretation of he tau maulele as a genitive argument.
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(46)  
\[fakamagamaga—vt.\ to\ open\ one’s\ mouth\ (subject\ plural):\]
Kua fakamagamaga e tau gutu he tau maulele
PERF faka-open-open(Sbj=Pl) ABS.C PL mouths GEN.C PL birds
i loto he fata.
LOC.P inside GEN.C nest
The birds opened their mouths in the nest. (Sp)

Finally, one other set of examples might argue that Niuean CAUS is phase-selecting. These are examples where the verb is modified by an agent-referring adverbial such as ‘deliberately’, as in (47). However, it is more likely that the deliberateness is referring to the matrix causal event (‘He deliberately caused [himself] to be slow.’) rather than to the stem verb (‘He caused [himself] to be deliberately slow.’). But here too, like with aki, the position of the modifier is the same as it would be if faka- were not present, that is, it is a post-verbal modifier appearing after the stem.

(47)  
\[fakaetoeto—vt\ to\ go\ slow\ deliberately:\]
Kua fakaetoeto pauaki a ia he fekau.
PERF faka-slow deliberately ABS.P 3.SG LOC.C errand
He deliberately went slowly on an errand. (Sp)

In summary, then, the results indicate that the external argument of the stem verb can be expressed, as in phase-selecting languages, but the fact that it is expressed as an internal argument, and that external-argument referring aspects of the sentence refer to the derived subject and not the embedded agent, lead us to reject a phase-selecting analysis. Instead, we adapt Kim’s (2008) analysis, proposing that faka- selects a vP or an Applicative Phrase as complement. In the latter case, the external argument of the stem is merged as an unergative argument in vP and the theme argument of the stem is an applied argument merged into specifier of ApplP. Interestingly, Kim argues that in Korean, the applicative argument is the external argument, which is more usual crosslinguistically (Song 2001), and not the theme, as it is in Niuean.

(48)  
\[a.\ Causativization\ of\ a\ Niuean\ Intransitive\]

\[
\text{faka-} \quad \text{vP} \\
\text{bird} \quad \text{DO} \quad \text{fly}
\]

\[b.\ Causativization\ of\ a\ Niuean\ transitive\]  
(cf. Kim 2008)

\[
\text{faka-} \quad \text{ApplP} \\
\text{basket} \quad \text{Appl} \quad \text{vP} \\
\text{child} \quad \text{DO} \quad \text{carry(-aki)}
\]
In (48), the verb undergoes predicate fronting within the embedded clause to derive the correct word order. We assume that the causer is merged above faka-, and the faka-V complex fronts further to the left of this causer.

7. Conclusion

This paper has examined the causative prefix faka- in Niuean. We have observed that this prefix can attach to a noun, adjective or verb, and that it generally creates a verb, though it can also create an adverb. The canonical meaning of a verb formed with faka- is causativity, though faka- can instead denote intention or distancing, and it appears to provide a reflexive sense in many cases. It can also result in idiosyncratic meanings. Faka- can attach to transitive stems and when it does, either the internal argument of the stem verb is unexpressed, or it is expressed as an instrumental applicative. The external argument of the stem verb is merged as an unergative argument. We discussed the causative typology of Pylkkänen (2002), and argued that Niuean is not a voice-bundling language. We showed that although the external argument of the stem verb can be expressed, Niuean faka- is not a voice-selecting causative. Instead, we followed Kim’s (2008) analysis of Korean, in positing that the complement of faka- can be an Applicative Phrase, although the argument structure of the embedded clause is different in Niuean than in Korean, since the applied argument is the theme and not the agent as it is in Korean. We also pointed out an avenue for future exploration in the interplay of faka- with other verbal affixes such as the detransitivizing prefix ma- and reduplication.

References


