Periphrastic causative constructions in Patani Malay

Jakrabhop IAMDANUSH and Pittayawat PITTAYAPORN

Chulalongkorn University
jakrabhop@gmail.com, Pittayawat.P@chula.ac.th

This paper discusses periphrastic causative constructions in Patani Malay, which is a Malay dialect spoken in Thailand's Deep South. The result shows that Patani Malay has three types of periphrastic causative constructions, namely *waʔ* 'do' construction, *wi* 'give' construction and *waʔwi* construction. Compared to Indonesian, Malaysian Colloquial Malay and Eastern Malay varieties, the constructions in Patani Malay are quite different from those in its sister languages, but they are more similar to the Thai *tham[1]* 'do', *haj[3]* 'give' and *tham[1]haj[3]* constructions with respect to the choice of causative verbs, syntax and semantics. Given the history of the Patani Malay language and its speakers, the similarity between periphrastic causative constructions in Patani Malay and Thai is likely to be a result of long-term asymmetrical language contact, as Thai has been and is still the more prominent language in the area.

1. Introduction[1]

Although Malay is one of the best-studied Austronesian languages, some of its varieties have not been sufficiently investigated. Among the least understood dialects is Patani Malay[2] (PM) spoken in the four southernmost provinces of Thailand, namely Pattani, Yala, Narathiwat and part of Songkhla. Genetically, it is closely related to Kelantan and other Malay dialects spoken in north-eastern peninsular Malaysia.

Being on the margin of the Austronesian world, the dialect finds itself in a unique contact situation on the Southeast Asian Mainland. While most Malay varieties have come in contact with other Austronesian languages, the languages of European colonists and the languages of later migrants, PM has been influenced by Thai, a member of the Tai branch of Kra-Dai, formerly known as the Tai-Kadai family, since at least the 16th century. Though not as isolating as its Chamic cousins in Central Vietnam and Southern China, it shows many features typical of Mainland languages but is uncommon among its agglutinative sisters in Insular Southeast Asia, e.g. 8-way contrast in the vowel system (compared to typical 5- or 6-way contrast in other Malay dialects), aspiration contrast in voiceless stops, monosyllabicity and less use of affixation (Smalley 1994:172; Uthai 1993; Uthai 2011). PM is especially similar to Thai in its syntactic structure. The syntactic similarity is most clearly observed in the morpheme-by-morpheme correspondence between PM and Thai sentences as illustrated by the examples in PM (1a) and in Thai (1b) compared to its Standard Malay equivalent in (2).

---

[2] The term *Patani Malay* is used here instead of *Pattani Malay* which is found in many scholarly works (e.g. Smalley 1994), as the term *Patani* refers to an ancient Malay state including the whole Patani Malay-speaking area, while the term *Pattani* refers to a province in southern Thailand which is only a part of the Malay-speaking area in Thailand.

---

(1)   a.   *jɔ   adɔ   anɔʔ ɟatɛ   duwɔ   ɔɣɛ*
      b.   *khaw⁵ mi:¹ lu:k³ phu:³cha:j¹ sɔ:ŋ⁵ khon¹*
           3SG   have child male   two   CLF

      'He has two sons.'   (adapted from Mana 1979)

(2)   *Dia ada   dua orang anak lelaki.*
      3SG have   two CLF   child male

      'He has two sons.'

While the numeral and classifier precede the noun phrase in the Standard Malay example,[3] they follow it in the PM and Thai sentences. This syntactic resemblance makes PM an important case study of language contact in which a language is shifting its typological characteristics to fit the structural profile common in the linguistic area.

Among the isolating features that PM has adopted, the periphrastic causative construction illustrated by (3) is particularly revealing. First of all, it differs from the same construction in other Malay varieties with respect to the etymological origins of the causative verbs. Although it seems like all Malay varieties introduce causative clauses with markers developed from verbs meaning 'do' and 'give', causative verbs in each variety originated from different verb forms in the proto-language. This suggests that periphrastic causative constructions in PM may be an innovation unique to the language. Data regarding the periphrastic causative construction in some Malay varieties is available, as well as data from other languages of the area. This allows for a systematic comparison between PM and other languages, including the dominant language of the area, Thai.

(3)   a.   *jɔ   waʔ   adeʔ   tijɔʔ*
           3SG CAUS younger.sibling cry

           'He made the brother cried.'

      b.   *jɔ   wi   adeʔ   gi kəda*
           3SG CAUS younger.sibling go market

           'He made the brother go to the market.'

      c.   *jɔ   waʔwi adeʔ   mureh*
           3SG CAUS   younger.sibling angry

           'He made the brother angry.'

This paper argues that periphrastic causative constructions in PM are more similar to the correspondent constructions in Thai than to those in its sister languages due to interference from Thai caused by language contact. After giving a brief historical background of the Malay-speaking area (section 2), it provides general information about causative construction (section 3). An explanation of PM periphrastic causative constructions based on fieldwork data collected by the first author and additional data from various sources, such as grammatical descriptions, textbooks for non-native speakers and phrasebooks can be found in section 4. Most importantly, the paper compares the PM constructions to their correspondents in Thai and other varieties of

---

[3] Although one may argue that post-nominal numerals and classifiers also exist in Standard Malay, it is likely to be caused by influence from non-standard variants and clearly marked in comparison with pre-nominal ones.

Malay (section 5), showing that the constructions in PM are more similar to those in Thai than to those in its sister languages. The conclusion (section 6) is given at the end.

2. Historical background of the Patani Malay-speaking area

To understand the PM periphrastic construction from a contact perspective, it is necessary to take into account the history of its speakers. Unfortunately, few works dedicated specifically to Patani history are available, the best known being Syukri (1985). Therefore, this brief historical introduction is based mainly on Andaya & Andaya's (2001) work on the history of Malaysia and Wyatt's (2004) work on the history of Thailand. Information from non-historical works, such as Smalley (1994), Uthai (2011) and Denudom (2013) is also included.

The current PM-speaking area was once a small but flourishing trading state that descended from ancient Indianised kingdoms that emerged in the first millennium. In the 16th century, under the rule of the Inland dynasty, the kingdom became a vassal state of Siam (Thailand), but still retained a high degree of autonomy. The relationship between Patani and Siam during this period was largely turbulent as attested to by the number of wars fought during the 17th and 18th centuries. After the foundation of Bangkok, the newly established Chakri dynasty of Siam asked for tributes and obeisance from the northern Malay states. Patani refused and was invaded by Siamese troops. As a consequence, Patani was divided into seven smaller vassal states under the control of Songkhla, then a city firmly under Siamese suzerainty.

In the late 19th and early 20th centuries Bangkok started to take full control of its vassal states. In 1906, the seven states were merged into a single administrative unit called *Monthon Pattani* administered by a commissioner appointed by Bangkok. Later, the system was abolished, and the *monthon* was divided into four PM-speaking *changwat*, namely Pattani, Yala, Narathiwat and part of Songkhla. Since the introduction of these reforms, people in the area have suffered from centralization policies, especially under the rule of King Vajiravudh (1910–1925) and Field Marshal Plaek (1938–1944), during which assimilation based on nationalist ideology was attempted. Although compulsion from the Siamese/Thai government might have caused many ethnic groups to assimilate, PM speakers have successfully retained their ethnic identity.

Despite the tremulous political relationship between Patani and Siam/Thailand, historical sources seem to suggest that the migration of Tai speakers[4] into the current PM-speaking area started in the 16th century. According to *Hikayat Patani*, sixty prisoners (of unknown origin, but possibly non-Tai-speaking) from Pegu (Bago, in current Burma) and one hundred prisoners from Lan Xang (roughly present-day Lao PDR and northeastern Thailand), possibly Tai-speaking, were given to King Mudhaffar Syah of the Inland dynasty as gifts during his visit to Ayutthaya before the second siege of Ayutthaya by Bayinnaung (a Burmese king) in 1564 (Teeuw & Wyatt 1970:81, 157). In addition, Thai chronicles also record a migration of approximately five hundred families from Songkhla, Phatthalung and Chana to Patani after the sultanate was broken down into the seven vassal states (Prachum phongsawadan1914:5; Suthasat 1976:120).

As well as these pre-modern migrations, Tai speakers have moved into the area in recent decades. During Field Marshal Sarit's regime (1959–1963), the Bangkok

---

[4] Tai refers to the language family as a whole, while Thai is reserved for the language or people of Thailand.

government started a forced migration of about 200,000 ethnic Lao[5] from north-eastern provinces to the three southern provinces through the "Self Developing Community" programme. Approximately 100,000 more people also migrated into the area in 1970s (Denudom 2013:28–29).

As a result of the political history mentioned above, the present-day PM-speaking area is a multilingual society. Not only are Thai and PM spoken, a number of Muslims from other ethnic groups such as Arabs and Pakistanis have also lived there for centuries (Joll 2012). Similar to other Malay states of Malaysia, the Chinese form an important part of the population. Although the Thai language has been gaining prominence due to the spread of education and the role of the mass media, PM is still spoken by the majority of the population as part of their ethnic maintenance. Compared to other minority groups of Thailand, PM ethnicity is still relatively strong.

According to the latest (2010) census (National Statistical Office 2012d), 1,467,369 people aged five and over countrywide were listed as using Malay/Yawi[6] as their home language. In the three provinces alone,[7] there are 1,365,452 PM speakers (National Statistical Office 2012a, 2012b, 2012c). However, language shift among PM speakers has been reported especially in urban areas. As most Muslims in the area are ethnic Malay, the existence of non-Malay-speaking Muslims suggests that a language shift is currently taking place. Figure 1 shows that the percentage of Malay speakers has always been lower than the percentage of Muslim in the area. One interpretation is that a significant portion of the non-Malay speaking Muslims have shifted to the Thai language. However, the ratio has not changed in a decade, with 96.47% of PM-speaking Muslim in 2000 compared with 96.08% in 2010. This suggests that though a language shift has occurred, it has not increased as the percentage of PM speakers has not decreased. Therefore, PM is still in a healthy condition.

Like most ethnolinguistic minorities in Thailand, these PM speakers are bi- or multilingual. They use PM among themselves and use Thai, the official language and lingua franca of the country, to communicate with people from other ethnic groups.[8] However, younger generations and some older people are reported to use their language less but speak a mixture of PM and Thai increasingly. Revealingly, these bilingual speakers also exclusively use Thai among ethnic Malays in certain situations, especially outside the home or the village and when speaking on topics relating to the outside world (Salaemae 2000; Masor 2012). In summary, most PM speakers use more than one language in their daily life.

---

[5] Lao is a close relative of Thai, spoken roughly in the area of former Lan Xang.

[6] In Thai, this word, pronounced /jaː¹wiː¹/, is one of the terms referring to the PM dialect, but in Malay the term *Jawi*, pronounced /ɟawi/, actually refers to the Arabic-based script used for writing Malay prior to the arrival of the Malaysian and Indonesian Latin-based writing system.

[7] The census does not provide data of each amphoe in Songkhla province, four of which are PM-speaking areas. Therefore, only data from the three provinces are included here.

[8] In the past, as PM speakers were (and still are) the majority of the area, many ethnic Thai and Chinese were able to speak Patani Malay. Nowadays, although older Thai and Chinese are still able to communicate in the language, the younger generation solely uses Thai.
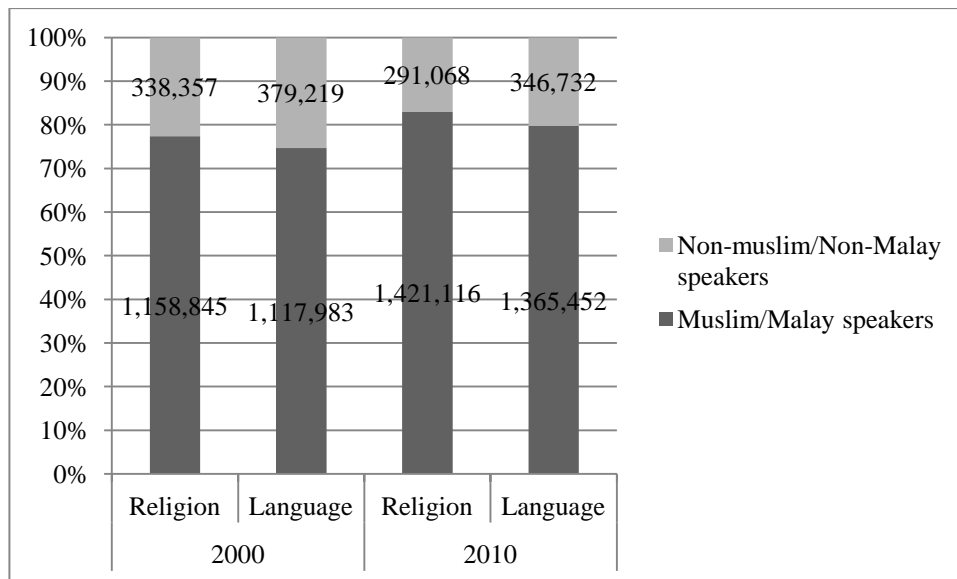
Figure 1. Ratio between Muslim vs. non-Muslim and Malay speakers vs. non-Malay speakers in Pattani, Yala and Narathiwat provinces from 2000 (National Statistical Office 2001a, 2001b and 2001c) and 2010 censuses[9]

3. Causative construction

The causative construction has been studied for decades from various perspectives. However, previous studies do not agree on the exact definition of the construction. This paper adopts Song's (2013) definition of the causative construction as a linguistic expression referring to a macro-situation consisting of two micro-situations, namely *causing* and *caused events*. A causing event is carried out by a *causer*. And the caused event is carried out by a *causee* as a result of the causer's action. An example of a causative construction is illustrated in (4).

(4)   *Mary made John apologise for what he had said.*

In this sentence, Mary's action is the causing event, and the apologising is the caused event. Mary is the causer, as she is an agent of the causing event. Similarly, John is considered the causee, as he is the agent of the caused event. Note that it is unknown what action Mary takes exactly to make John apologise, as this paper discusses only periphrastic causative construction where the causing event is not clearly specified.

Pioneering works on causative constructions (e.g. Nedjalkov & Sil'nickij 1969a cited in Kulikov & Sumbatova 1993; Comrie 1985) classify causative constructions by morphological criteria into three types: lexical, morphological and syntactic (or periphrastic) causatives. A lexical causative is the use of different verbs to denote a causative event, e.g. *to die* and *to kill*, as killing someone is causing someone to die. In many languages, labile verbs, which can be both intransitive and transitive (with causative meaning), e.g. *to break*, are also counted as lexical causatives. Lexical causatives are characteristically unpredictable and unproductive. In contrast, a morphological causative is the derivation of causative verbs by means of morphological processes usually affixation, e.g. *öl* 'die' and *öl-dür* 'kill' in Turkish. Lastly, a syntactic causative is the use of separate verbs to denote the causing event and the caused event.

---

[9] The raw numbers of speakers from both censuses are not comparable statistically, as in 2000 census the data were collected from speakers aged five and above, while in 2010 census, numbers of speakers below age of five are also collected.

However, a syntactic causative can also be classified into two types depending on the number of clauses in the sentence, i.e. monoclausal (nonperiphrastic) and biclausal (periphrastic). In monoclausal or nonperiphrasitic causative, the verb denoting caused event immediately follows the causative marker. While in biclausal or periphrastic causatives, noun denoting causee immediately follows the causative verb. The following examples in Spanish exhibit both types of syntactic causative.

(5)   a.   *María   hizo*   *sal-ir*   *a Pedro.*
           María   make.PST.PFV.IND.3SG   go.out-INF   to Pedro

           'María made Pedro leave.'

      b.   *María   hizo*   *que Pedro sal-ga.*
           María   make.PST.PFV.IND.3SG   that Pedro go.out-PRS.SBJV.3SG

           'María made Pedro leave.'   (adapted from Rangponsumrit 2005:95)

While in (5a) *salir* in its infinitive form follows *hizo* immediately and forms a single clause, (5b) is biclausal since the verbs *hizo* and *salga* have different subjects. It is the latter type as in (4) and (5b) that is the subject of this paper.

A sizeable body of literature on causative constructions (including the work mentioned above and Talmy 1976; Dixon 2000; Shibatani & Pardeshi 2002) focuses on the relation between forms and meaning. According to these works, many parameters seem to determine the type of linguistic forms denoting different causative events. These include properties of verbs (e.g. transitivity and lexical meaning of verbs) and the nature of an event (e.g. directness of the causing event, intention of the causer, control over the caused event by the causee, etc.). Following this tradition, this paper analyses the periphrastic causative constructions in PM, in terms of how the semantic properties of different causative events affect the linguistic expressions that speakers use.

4. Patani Malay periphrastic causative constructions

Although there is no previous work focusing on periphrastic causative constructions in PM, many works on the language mention the topic. In her thesis on the grammar of PM based on a dialect of Taba village on the Kolok (Golok) river in Narathiwat province, Doomkum (1984:136) states that there are three causative verbs in the dialect, namely *buwaʔ* (the word *waʔ* is used in this paper) 'do', *bui* (or *wi*) 'give' and *buwaʔ bui* (*waʔwi*). These verbs are consistent with the typological survey by Heine & Kuteva (2002) which claims that causative markers can develop from lexical verbs meaning 'do', 'give' and 'take' through grammaticalisation. Similarly, Uthai (1993:112) states that, although the use of the prefix *pəɣ-* (cognate to Standard Malay *per-*) and the use of initial gemination are found as means of deriving causatives, the causative verb *waʔ wi* is also used in the language.

The syntax of all the constructions in PM is identical. The causer (X) is the first element of the construction. It is followed by the causative verb (V_{CAUS}). The second clause begins with the causee (Y) which is followed by the verb denoting the caused event (V). This [X V_{CAUS} Y V] pattern is illustrated by (3).

The primary data used in the current analysis are elicited from native PM speakers aged 20–30 from the three PM-speaking provinces in Southern Thailand. Additional data from existing materials include academic works, textbooks and phrasebooks. Therefore, the data is a fair representative of PM spoken by various generations of speakers and different speech registers.

Note that causation can also be expressed in PM using verbs with lexical meaning to denote more concretely what the causer does, as in the following examples. However, this type of expression is not considered a causative construction here according to Song's (2013) defenition adopted here.

(6) *ləpah   ɣəbuh buwi masɔʔ*
     after.that boil   PURP cooked

     'Then boil (fish balls) until cooked.'   (adapted from Pannara 1994:358)

(7) *ulɛ   hidoʔ kənɔ basoh buwi cuci*
     vegetable live   must wash PURP clean

     'Fresh vegetables must be washed clean.'   (adapted from Intarachat 1984:97)

In (6) which is explaining how to cook a certain food, the fish balls must be cooked by boiling. And in (7) which is a suggestion from doctor, fresh vegetables must be cleaned by washing before consuming. However, as the causing event is already expressed using an ungrammaticalised verb, the morpheme *wi* (*buwi*) here is used to denote purpose, i.e. boiling is done to make fish balls cooked and washing is done to make vegetable cleaned respectively.

4.1 *waʔ* 'do' construction

The first periphrastic causative construction in PM is the *waʔ* construction. The causative verb *waʔ* is sometimes pronounced as *buwaʔ*, which looks more similar to its cognate *buat* in Standard Malay. They both mean 'do' and can be traced back to Proto-Austronesian (Wolff's **búsat* 'do, make'; Blust's **buhat* 'do, make' and Dempwolff's **bu'at* 'do, create' (Wolff 2010:789)). Examples of this construction are given below.

(8) *adɔ s-ɔɣɛ   **waʔ**   pasu ɟatoh*
     have INDF-man CAUS vase fall

     'Someone caused the vase to fall.'

(9) *sah **waʔ**   kitɔ ɣusiŋ*
     Sah CAUS 1SG sad

     'Sah made me sad.'   (Doomkum 1984:137)

The two examples above show the semantics of this construction. The causers of both sentences are animate, while the causees can be either animate or inanimate. And although it cannot be understood from the examples without knowing the context of the events, the causers in both examples do not have an intention to make the events occur. Moreover, the causees in both examples lack control over the caused events, i.e. the vase in (8) cannot control its falling and "me" in (9) cannot control the sadness that was caused by Sah. The following example is ungrammatical as the causer is inanimate. Compare to example (8) above.

(10) **aŋiŋ **waʔ**   pasu ɟatoh*
      wind CAUS vase fall

4.2 *wi* 'give' construction

The second construction is the *wi* construction. The causative verb *wi* is sometimes pronounced as *w:i* (with a long initial or geminate consonant possibly due to word shortening) or *buwi*. It is possibly cognate to *beri* 'give' in Standard Malay, as the pair is similar to many other cognate pairs, e.g. *w:apɔ–berapa* 'how much, how many',

w:aniŋ–berani 'brave', etc. The proto forms of the causative verb are Wolff's **beɣay* 'give', Blust's **beRay* 'give' and Dempwolff's **bəɣaj* 'give' (Wolff 2010:762). Examples of the *wi* construction are as follows:

(11) *alloh **wi** krəbɛ anɔʔ jɔ tu   la   namɔ ismaʔɛ*
      Allah CAUS sacrifice child 3SG DEF EMPH name Ismail

      'Allah has (Ibrahim) sacrifice the son of him named Ismail.'

(12) *kalu nɔʔ **wi**   am^bɔ tuloŋ apɔ kɔjaʔ buleh*
      if   FUT CAUS 1SG help what tell can

      'If you want me to help, you can tell.'   (*Phasa Malayu* 2008)

Doomkum (1984:136) states that the causative verb *wi* is used when a causer makes a command. Thus the causer must be animate, as supported by the examples above. Both Allah and the listener in (12) are animate entities. Moreover, those who do as commanded must also be animate, as Ibrahim in (11) and "me" in (12) are in the examples. And as they are commands, the causers certainly have the intention to command. Lastly, both Ibrahim and "me" have control over their action, i.e. Ibrahim can control or choose whether he will sacrifice his son or not, and the "me" can also choose to help or not to help. The following examples are ungrammatical, as in (13) the cause is inanimate and in (14) the causee cannot control the caused event.

(13) **adɔ s-ɔɣɛ   **wi**   pasu ɟatoh*
      have INDF-man CAUS vase fall

(14) **sah **wi**   kitɔ ɣusiŋ*
      Sah CAUS 1SG sad

Although it is not of concern within the scope of this research, it should be noted that this construction has more than one reading. The first reading is as mentioned above, while in the other reading, example (11) may mean Allah allowed Ibrahim to sacrifice his son in a permissive sense, especially when the example is heard with no context given. The following example also has two readings.

(15)   *pɔʔ **wi** kitɔ ɟadi   sədadu*
         father give 1SG become policeman

      a.   'Father had me be a policeman.'

      b.   'Father let me be a policeman.'   (Doomkum 1984:187)

In example (15a), the father forced or commanded his child to be a policeman, while in example (15b) the child wanted to be a policeman and the father allowed him/her to do so.

4.3 *waʔwi* construction

Unlike the previous two constructions, the causative verb *waʔwi* in this construction is bimorphemic, i.e. consists of the morphemes *waʔ* 'do' and *wi* 'give'. Examples of this construction are as below.

(16) *aŋiŋ **waʔwi** ɣumɔh punɔh*
      wind CAUS house collapse

      'The storm made the house collapsed.'

(17) *jɔ* ***waʔwi*** *tali putuh*
      3SG CAUS   rope tear

'He made the rope torn (intentionally).'

(18) *jɔ* ***waʔwi*** *saɣɛmadu ɟatoh bɔwɔh səlɛgoʔ*
      3SG CAUS   bee.hive   fall   down   disperse

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

(19) *jɔ* ***waʔwi*** *pɔʔ tɛ adeʔ*
      3SG CAUS   father hit younger.sibling

'He caused father to hit younger sibling.'

While the previous two constructions have restrictions on the animacy of the causer, as the causer must be animate in both constructions, this construction allows for both animate causers as in (17), (18) and (19) and inanimate ones as in (16). Also, the causee in this construction can be animate as in (19) or inanimate as in (16), (17) and (18), unlike the *wi* construction, in which only animate causees are allowed. Causers may either have intention as in (17) and (18) or not have one as in (16) and (19). And lastly, causees may either have control over caused events as in (19) or not have one as in (16), (17) and (18). This is consistent with Doomkum (1984:136) who states that this construction is found denoting general causation other than causation that can be expressed by the previous constructions.

The semantics of the three constructions can be summarised as in the table below.

Table 1. Semantics of periphrastic causative constructions in Patani Malay

	Animate causer	Animate causee	Intention of causer	Control of causee
waʔ construction	+	±	−	−
wi construction	+	+	+	+
waʔwi construction	±	±	±	±

From the information in Table 1 above, it seems that the *waʔwi* construction can be used to denote every causative event. From the data collected by asking informants to perform grammatical judgement, the causative verbs *waʔ* and *waʔwi* can occur in identical contexts but seem to convey different meanings, as in the examples below.

(20) *mohamaʔ* ***waʔ*** *khɔdiɟɔh tijɔʔ*
      Mohammad CAUS Khadijah cry

'Mohammad made Khadijah cry.'

(21) *mohamaʔ   **waʔwi** khɔdiɟɔh tijɔʔ*
Mohammad CAUS   Khadijah cry

'Mohammad (intentionally?) made Khadijah cry.'

From the four parameters used in this analysis, only the intention of the causer can differentiate between these two examples, as the agents of both clauses are obviously animate entities and the event of "crying" cannot be controlled. While in example (20), the causer has no intention, the causer in (21) has intention to do the causing event, i.e. Mohammad does something intentionally to make Khadijah cry.

Although the causative verbs *waʔ* and *waʔwi* can occur in identical contexts, the causative verbs *wi* and *waʔwi* are not likely to occur in identical contexts, as shown by the examples below.

(22) *mɔʔ   **wi**   adeʔ   tubeʔ gi bəli baɣɛ*
mother CAUS   younger.sibling leave go buy thing

'Mother made younger sibling go out to buy something.'

(23) *ʔmɔʔ   **waʔwi** adeʔ   tubeʔ gi bəli baɣɛ*
mother CAUS   younger.sibling leave go buy thing

While example (22) is certainly grammatical, example (23) is counted as ungrammatical by some informants, but just "strange" by others. As with the comparison between (20) and (21) above, the only parameter among those used here that is different in (22) and (23) is the intention of the causer, since both causer and causee are animate and the causee can obviously control his/her action. However, there may be other parameters, such as volition of the causee, that can distinguish between these constructions in similar contexts. But as this kind of *waʔwi* construction never occurs outside an elicitation session, the question cannot currently be answered.

5. Patani Malay periphrastic causative constructions as a result of contact

The three periphrastic causative constructions in PM are revealing from the point of view of language contact. Its analytical nature strongly suggests a drift from the agglutinating to the isolating type. While Malay varieties such as Indonesian and Standard Malaysian make greater use of morphological causatives, PM predominantly uses periphrastic constructions to convey causative meaning. This is similar to its Thai neighbour. More importantly, the PM system as a whole is likely to appear more Thai than Malay. More specifically, the PM periphrastic causative constructions depart from the correspondents in their Malay sisters with respect to etymological origins of causative verbs, word order, and meaning of causative verbs.

5.1 Comparison with other Malay varieties

A considerable amount of work has been done on causative constructions in Malay varieties but unfortunately little focuses on periphrastic causative constructions or provides a sufficiently detailed description for comparative study. Therefore, the discussion in this paper is severely restricted. However, a preliminary comparison suggests that the periphrastic causative constructions in other Malay varieties differ markedly from PM.

Indonesian, the official language of Indonesia, is perhaps the best-studied of Malay varieties as evidenced by the data and description available. Winarti (2009), whose work focuses on morphological causative constructions and the *membuat* 'do' periphrastic causative construction, states that three verbs in Indonesian are used as

causative verbs, namely *membuat* 'do', *membikin* 'do' and *menyebabkan* 'cause'. Unfortunately, to the best of our knowledge, no discussion of the latter two is available. Therefore, only the *membuat* construction is compared to the PM *waʔ* construction in this paper.

The causative verb *membuat* is an inherited Proto-Austronesian word and a cognate to the PM *waʔ*. It is the most common causative verb used in Indonesian periphrastic causatives. In addition to the shared etymology, the 'do' constructions in the two languages also have the same word order. Sentences (24) and (25) illustrate the pattern [X V$_{CAUS}$ Y V] of the Indonesian *membuat* construction which is similar to one in PM.

(24) *Angin kencang **membuat** daun pepohonan rontok.*
      wind   strong   CAUS   leaf tree   fall

      'A strong wind made the leaves of the trees fall off.'
                    (*SEAlang Library* http:// sealang.net/indonesia/bitext.htm)

(25) *Ali **membuat** orang itu   datang.*
      Ali CAUS   man   DEF   come

      'Ali made the man come.'   (Arka 1993:1)

Despite the superficial similarity in form, the semantics of the *membuat* construction is markedly different from that of the *waʔ* construction in PM. In particular, the causer of the *membuat* construction can be either animate or inanimate, unlike PM, which restricts the causers of the *waʔ* construction to animate nouns. While Ali in (25) is animate, the wind in (24) is inanimate. This contrasts with the corresponding construction in PM, in which the causer must be animate.

Furthermore, the 'do' constructions in the two languages also differ with respect to the control of the causee. To illustrate, the man in (25) does have control over the caused event, while the causee in the *waʔ* construction in PM does not have control. In summary, the *membuat* construction seems to denote general causation, while the meaning of the *waʔ* construction is more specific. Table 2 is a comparison between the *waʔ* construction in PM and the *membuat* construction in Indonesian.

Table 2. Semantics of the *waʔ* construction in Patani Malay and the *membuat* construction in Indonesian

	Animate causer	Animate causee	Intention of causer	Control of causee
PM *waʔ* construction	+	±	−	−
Indonesian *membuat* construction	±	±	±	±

In addition to the *membuat* construction in Indonesian, Malaysian Colloquial Malay, more often referred to simply as Colloquial Malay, is another Malay variety that uses superficially similar syntactic constructions that are semantically quite different from

their PM correspondents. The language is defined as the non-regional Malay variety spoken in everyday life among ethnic Malays in Malaysia (Koh 1990). Koh (1990:175–176) mentions two causative verbs that are used in the constructions in this variety of Malay, namely *kasi* 'give' and *bagi* 'give, allow'. Both forms are not cognates to any of the PM causative verbs and cannot be reconstructed in Proto-Austronesian (Wolff 2010). With respect to word order, Malaysian Colloquial Malay shows a [X V$_{\text{CAUS}}$ V Y] pattern as illustrated in (26) and (27). Therefore, the constructions in both languages may have developed separately.

(26) *... gua   mau   **kasi**   lupa   itu   sedih-sedih   punya   cerita*
            1SG   want   CAUS   forget   that   sad   POSS   story

      '… I wanted to (make myself) forget those really sad stories.'
                                                                (adapted from Koh 1990:175)

(27) *Saja   nak   **bagi**   nampak   baik   sikit.*
            only   want   CAUS   see   good   little

      '(I) just wanted to look nice.'   (Koh 1990:176)

While in PM the pattern is [X V$_{\text{CAUS}}$ Y V], the pattern of the construction in Malaysian Colloquial Malay is different, i.e. the verb denoting the causing event is immediately followed by the verb denoting the caused event in both *kasi* and *bagi* constructions. However, the causees are omitted in examples (26) and (27) above. Therefore, it cannot be said with certainty where actually the nouns denoting the causee should be.

Koh (1990:175–176) reports that the *kasi* construction occurs often with non-stative verbs, while the verb denoting the caused event in the *bagi* construction may be stative. The distinction between the constructions in Malaysian Colloquial Malay is quite different from the distinction between PM constructions, as in PM, where the semantic properties of the verb, such as stativity or transitivity, are not crucial parameters.

As shown by the comparison with the Malay varieties just mentioned, PM is clearly different with respect to the form and meaning of its periphrastic causative constructions. An interesting observation is that neither Indonesian nor Malaysian Colloquial Malay uses a bimorphemic causative verb similar to the PM *waʔwi*. Only some dialects spoken in Peninsular Malaysia have been reported to use a bimorphemic causative verb *buat bagi* 'do-give' (Foong-Ha Yap, p.c.). Unfortunately, no description of this construction is available. Note that these dialects are geographically adjacent to Malaysia and very close to the Thai border. In summary, the periphrastic causative constructions seem to set PM apart from other Malay varieties further away from the Southeast Asian mainland.

Apart from the two Malay varieties spoken in the western part of the Malay world just discussed, a group of Malay varieties known collectively as Eastern Malay dialects included in this discussion are Manado Malay, North Moluccan Malay, Ambon Malay, Kupang Malay, Larantuka Malay, Ternate Malay and Papuan Malay, which are contact varieties developed as a result of Malay's role as lingua franca throughout the archipelogo (Paauw 2008). These varieties rely largely on the use of auxiliaries or verbs when expressing causation. They use verbs which are cognates to Standard Malay *bikin* 'make' and *kasi* 'give' as causative auxiliaries/verbs. The examples below show use of cognates of *bikin* in (28) and of *kasi* in (29) in Eastern Malay varieties.

(28) a.   Manado Malay

*Dia so **beking** bodok pa torang*
3SG ASP CAUS   stupid at 1PL

'He made a fool of us.'
                    (adapted from Stoel 2005:34, 2.34 cited in Paauw 2008:226)

      b.   North Moluccan Malay

*Satu saat ada **bikin** rame.*
one   time ASP CAUS merry

'One time (they) were making merry.'
        (adapted from Voorhoeve 1983:10, Text IV cited in Paauw 2008:227)

      c.   Ambon Malay

*Dolo   orang tatua dong itu   mau **bikin** bodo   ana~ana itu…*
before people old   3PL DEM want CAUS stupid child~PL DEM

'In the old days, parents liked to fool their children…'
                              (adapted from Paauw 2008:227)

      d.   Kupang Malay

*Dong **bekin** mati tikus   pake batu.*
3PL   CAUS die   mouse use   stone

'They killed the mouse with stone.'
                    (Jacob & C. Grimes 2007:4 cited in Paauw 2008: 228)

      e.   Ternate Malay

*baru ngana **biking** dabu-dabu   manta…*
then 2SG   CAUS spicy.condiment raw

'And then you make a raw spicy sauce.'
                              (adapted from Litamahuputty 2012: 119)

      f.   Papuan Malay

*yo, dong dua deng Wili tu   **biking** pusing   mama*
yes 3PL   two with Wili D.DIST CAUS be.dizzy/confused mother

'Yes! He and Wili there worried their mother.'
                              (adapted from Kluge 2014:235)

(29) a.   Manado Malay

*Untung le ngana da **kase** inga   pa kita*
luck   DP 2SG   ASP CAUS remember at 1SG

'He made a fool of us.'
                    (adapted from Stoel 2005:34, 2.34 cited in Paauw 2008:226)

      b.   North Moluccan Malay

*Tərus si   paitua   ini tərus **kasi** tau   bilang sama si   laki itu.*
then ADD old.man DEM directly CAUS know say   to   ADD man DEM

'Then the old man told that man strightaway.'
        (adapted from Voorhoeve 1983:9, Text IV cited in Paauw 2008:226)

    c.   Ambon Malay

*Lalu antua **kasi** pulang   kembali itu   anak.*
then 3SG.F CAUS go.home return   DEM child

'Then she returned the children to their homes.'
(adapted from Paauw 2008:227)

    d.   Kupang Malay

*Andia   ko   sampe di   Kupang, dapa **kasi** barana   Yeni dan Febi.*
therefore so.that arrive LOC Kupang get   CAUS give.birth Yeni and Febi

'After arriving in Kupang, we were given two more children, Yeni and Febi.'
(adapted from Paauw 2008:228)

    e.   Ternate Malay

*kita **kase**   nae   barang, ...*
1SG CAUS go.up thing

'I loaded the goods, …'   (adapted from Litamahuputty 2012:121)

    f.   Papuan Malay

*ko **kasi** sembu   sa   punya ana ini*
2SG CAUS be.healed 1SG POSS   child D.PROX

'You healed this child of mine!'   (adapted from Kluge 2014:234)

Although the examples above show the use of syntax to denote causation, the *bikin* and *kasi* constructions are different from the PM ones in many aspects. First, all the examples are in [X V$_{CAUS}$ V Y] pattern, unlike PM [X V$_{CAUS}$ Y V]. Second, although it is not discussed in the sources, the semantics of the constructions seems to be different from the corresponding constructions in PM. In the *bikin* construction, the unintentionality restriction is not applied as suggested in (28), compared to the *waʔ* construction in PM in which the causer does not intend to perform the causing event. Moreover, in the [X *kasi* V Y] construction the causee does not have control over the caused event as in (29), in contrast to the *wi* construction in PM. Some of the causees, such as in (29e), are even inanimate. Lastly, the auxiliaries in the Eastern Malay varieties are also not cognates of causative verbs in PM. The difference just mentioned is that the causative auxiliaries/verbs in Eastern Malay varieties and PM represent separate development.

An interesting case is Larantuka Malay, which, unlike other Eastern Malay varieties, uses a verb *bua* 'make', possibly cognate to *buat* in Standard Malay, as causative auxiliary/verb. Although the causative auxiliary is from the same etymological sources as PM *waʔ*, the pattern is still [X V$_{CAUS}$ V Y] which is not the same pattern as in PM. The grammaticalisation of *buat* as the causative markers in PM and Larantuka Malay thus seems to be a parallel innovation.

(30) *Kita ni   kua, kita ni   bisa **bua** rubo   poN~poN kaju.*
    1SG DEM strong 1SG DEM can   CAUS fall.down tree~PL   wood

'I am strong, I can make trees fall down.'   (adapted from Paauw 2008:229)

However, there are also Eastern Malay varieties that use the pattern [X V$_{CAUS}$ Y V] similar to PM. The example (31) in Ternate Malay and (32) in Papuan Malay below illustrate such a pattern.

(31) *paitua **kase** paitua   pe   kaka   sana di Tobelo pegang pulo   itu.*
     old.man give old.man POSS older.sibling there in Tobelo hold   island that

     'He let his older brother in Tobelo manage the island.'
                                                    (adapted from Litamahuputty 2012:123)

(32) a. *kalo de   minta kesembuang, setan   **kasi** de   sembu*
        if   3SG ask   recovery   evil.spirit give 3SG be.healed

        'When he/she asks for recovery, the evil spirit has her healed.'
                                                    (adapted from Kluge 2014:458)

     b. *de pu   swami **biking** de   sakit   hati to?*
        3SG POSS husband make   3SG be.sick liver right?

        'Her husband made her feel miserable, right?'   (Kluge 2014:458)

Although the examples (31) and (32) above show a pattern similar to PM, their semantics are rather different. The example (31) in Ternate Malay, unlike the *wi* construction in PM which can be read either as causative or permissive senses as in (15), can be only read with a permissive sense, i.e. it can only mean 'He let his older brother in Tobelo manage the island', not 'He had his older brother in Tobelo manage the island'. In Papuan Malay, although Kluge does not provide an explanation for the examples (32), it is still obvious that the construction is different from the PM one in terms of the etymological origin of causative verbs and the semantics of the constructions. The caused events, i.e. being sick and being healed, cannot be controlled by the causees. And as in most Eastern Malay varieties, the causative verbs are not cognates to ones in PM. This superficial similarity does not indicate a shared historical development between PM and Ternate or Papuan Malay.

To summarise, the similarity, i.e. employing the syntactic domain to denote causation, between Eastern Malay dialects and PM is superficial and common among many other languages. Moreover, the etymological origins of most of the causative auxiliaries/verbs, syntactic patterns and semantics of the constructions are different and show nothing in common. The so-called similarity, therefore, is not due to the fact that the languages are related, but parallel development in each language.

5.2 Comparison with Thai

An explanation for the divergence of periphrastic causative constructions in PM from other Malay varieties is possibly language contact. When compared to causative constructions in Thai, the three PM periphrastic causative constructions show striking similarities to Thai constructions marked by causative verbs that have been grammaticalised from semantically-equivalent morphemes.

Pothipath (1999) identifies three periphrastic causative constructions in Thai, namely *tham^1* 'do', *haj^3* 'give' and *tham^{1}haj^3* constructions. The causative verbs correspond to *waʔ*, *wi*, and *waʔwi* in PM respectively. This striking correspondence is suggestive of a Thai influence on PM. More importantly, the word orders and meanings of corresponding constructions are too similar to be due to chance. With respect to word order, Thai shares with PM the [X V$_{CAUS}$ Y V] pattern as illustrated in (33). The similarity, however, is not clear evidence for Thai influence because it can be argued to be a universal tendency. More specifically, Durie (1997) points out that when a language employs the syntactic domain to express causation, there are only two patterns available either monoclausal [X V$_{CAUS}$ V Y] or biclasusal [X V$_{CAUS}$ Y V].

(33) *khwa:m[1]rak[4] tham[1]haj[3] khon[1] ta:[1]bɔ:t[2]*
 love CAUS human blind

 'Love makes us blind.'

More conclusive evidence comes from the semantics. The three constructions in Thai are restricted by the animacy of the causer, the animacy of the causee, the intention of the causer, and the control of causee, exactly like PM. The first periphrastic causative construction to be discussed is the *tham[1]* construction, exemplified in (34) and (35).

(34) *khaw[4] **tham[1]** kɛ:w[3] tɛ:k[2]*
 3SG CAUS glass break

 'He broke the glass.'

(35) *khaw[4] **tham[1]** chan[5] tok[2] na:m[4]*
 3SG CAUS 1SG fall water

 'He caused me to fall into water.'

Sentences (34) and (35) above are semantically similar to (8) with the animate causers having no intention to cause the caused events and with the causees having no control over the caused events. Sentences (36) and (37) are ungrammatical because in (36) the floor is inanimate and because the causee has control over the caused event in (37).

(36) **phɯ:n[4] lɯ:n[3] **tham[1]** chan[5] tok[2] na:m[4]*
 floor slippery CAUS 1SG fall water

(37) **khaw[4] **tham[1]** chan[5] ʔa:n[2] naŋ[5]sɯ:[5]*
 3SG CAUS 1SG read book

The second periphrastic causative construction is the *haj[3]* 'give' construction, which consists of two types.[10] In the first type, illustrated by (38), the mother as the causer is animate and has an intention to make the causee go to the market. In addition, the causee is also animate and has control over the caused event, i.e. going. Example (39) is ungrammatical because the causee does not have control over the falling into the water. This restriction is similar to the PM *wi* construction in (11) and (12).

(38) *mɛ:[3] **haj[3]** nɔ:ŋ[4] paj[1] tala:t[2]*
 mother CAUS younger.sibling go market

 'The mother told younger sibling to go to market.'

(39) **khaw[4] **haj[3]** nɔ:ŋ[4] tok[2] na:m[4]*
 3SG CAUS younger.sibling fall water

The second type of *haj[3]* construction is further classified into three types according to the meaning of the verbs. However, they will be discussed here as a single type as they are still similar according to the parameters used here. The construction is as in the following example.

---

[10] Pothipath (1999) distinguishes altogether five types of the 'give' construction but three of them are not periphrastic causative construction according to the definition adopted in this paper. Pothipath's third type seems to have a permissive rather than causative meaning. As for the fourth and the fifth types, they occur without causer and occur with the particle *kɔ:[3]* 'then, so', respectively.

(40) *caʔ² **haj³** miː¹ faj¹ sɔŋ² ʔɔːk² maː¹ caːk² taː¹ daːj³ duaj³*
     FUT CAUS have light shine out   come from eye POT   also

     'I will have (the robot's) eyes light up.'   (adapted from Pothipath 1999:78)

This type is different from the first type as the robot is inanimate. Therefore, it also does not have control over the caused event.

The last periphrastic causative construction in Thai is the *tham¹haj³* construction. It differs from the other two by being unmarked with respect to animacy, intention and control as illustrated in the following examples.

(41) *naːj¹thanaː¹khaːn¹ jaj² phuː³ niː⁴ ʔeːŋ¹ thiː³ **tham¹haj³***
     banker   great CLF   this EMPH REL CAUS
     thanaː¹khaːn¹kasiʔlkɔːn¹thaj¹ pen¹ keːˈlɔːˈriː³ jaj¹
     kasikorn.bank   become   gallery   big

     'It is this important banker that made Kasikorn Bank into a big gallery.'
                                        (adapted from Pothipath 1999:78)

(42) *khwaːm¹rak⁴ **tham¹haj³** chan⁵ miː¹ lom¹haːj⁵caj¹*
     love   CAUS   1SG have breath

     'Love makes me continue breathing.'

(43) *chan⁵ khoŋ¹ maj³ ʔaːt² **tham¹haj³** thɤː¹ plian² caj¹*
     1SG   CONJC NEG POT CAUS   2SG change mind

     'I may not be able to make you change your mind.'

The examples above show that in the *tham¹haj³* construction the semantic restrictions associated with the other constructions do not apply. The causers, i.e. the banker in (41), love in (42) and "I" in (43) and the causees, i.e. Kasikorn Bank in (41), the world in (42) and "you" in (43), can be either animate or inanimate. Furthermore, the causer may have intention as in (41) and (43), or have no intention as in (42). Moreover, the causees may have control over the caused event as in (43) or may not have such control as in (41) and (42). The construction is extremely similar, if not identical, to the *waʔwi* construction in PM.

The semantics of periphrastic causative constructions in Thai and in PM is compared in the Table 3.

The similarity between the periphrastic causative constructions in these two languages is thus too striking to be due to chance but must be explained as a result of language contact. This interpretation is consistent with the asymmetrical contact situation PM speakers find themselves in. PM and Thai have been spoken in adjacent and overlapping areas for centuries. And as the PM-speaking area has been under Siamese/Thai control, PM speakers are bilinguals using PM among people of the same ethnic group and using Thai with people of other ethnic groups. Moreover, PM speakers are exposed to Thai in many aspects of their lives, such as formal education and the mass media. In contrast, Thai speakers in the area, especially of recent generations, can pass a day without knowing a single word of PM. Therefore, the fact that PM sides with Thai rather than its Malay sisters is most likely a result of interference from the dominant Thai language.

Table 3. Comparison of periphrastic causative constructions in Patani Malay and Thai

	Animate causer	Animate causee	Intention of causer	Control of causee
PM *waʔ* construction	+	±	−	−
Thai *tham¹* construction	+	±	−	−
PM *wi* construction	+	+	+	+
Thai *haj³* construction₁	+	+	+	+
Thai *haj³* construction₂	+	−	+	−
PM *waʔwi* construction	±	±	±	±
Thai *tham¹haj³* construction	±	±	±	±

6. Conclusion

From the data and discussion above, it can be seen that PM is more similar to its Mainland neighbour than to its Insular relatives and that the periphrastic causative constructions in PM and Thai are very similar in terms of both syntax and semantics, while the PM constructions are quite different to corresponding constructions in the other Malay varieties, such as Indonesian, Malaysian Colloquial Malay and Eastern Malay dialects. This similarity may be due to the convergence of PM toward Thai caused by the asymmetrical language contact that have existed in the history of the PM-speaking area. However, more studies need to be done in order to gain a more complete understanding. For a more complete picture, more comprehensive data on this construction in PM is needed. Moreover, data from people of different generations and linguistic repertoires may also show changes and variation brought by the progression of the language toward the Mainland Southeast Asian model. Moreover, to discuss the language contact phenomenon in general, other aspects of the language, such as other constructions, may also need to be investigated in order to clarify the effects of interference from other languages on PM.

Abbreviations

1	first person		LOC	locative
2	second person		PERM	permissive
3	third person		PL	plural
ADD	address		POT	potential
ASP	aspect		PRS	present
CAUS	causative		PURP	purposive
CLF	classifier		FUT	future
CONJC	conjectural		INDF	indefinitive
D	deictic		NEG	negative
DEF	definite		PFV	perfective
DEM	demonstrative		POSS	possessive
DIST	distal		PROX	proximate
DP	discourse particle		PST	past
EMPH	emphatic		SBJV	subjunctive
F	female		SG	singular
IND	indicative			

References

Andaya, Barbara & Andaya, Leonard Y. 2001. *A history of Malaysia*, 2nd edn. Hampshire: Palgrave.

Arka, I Wayan. 1993. *Morphological aspects of the* -kan *causative in Indonesian*. University of Sydney Master's thesis.

Comrie, Bernard. 1985. Causative verb formation and other verb-deriving morphology. In Timothy Shopen (ed.), *Language typology and syntactic description, volume III Grammatical categories and the lexicon*, 309–348. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Denudom, Tengku Ismail Chamroen. 2013. *Politics, economy, identity or religious striving for the Malay Patani: A case study of the conflicts: Thailand-Patani*, 2nd edn. Lund: The Centre for Languages and Literature, Lund University.

Dixon, Robert Malcolm Ward. 2000. A typology of causatives: Form, syntax and meaning. In Robert Malcolm Ward Dixon & Alexandra Aikhenvald (eds.), *Changing valency: Case studies in transitivity*, 30–83. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Doomkum, Lakhana. 1984. *A syntactical study of the Malay dialect in Taba village*. Mahidol University Master's thesis.

Durie, Mark. 1997. Grammatical structures in verb serialization. In Alex Alsina, Joan Bresnan & Peter Sells (eds.), *Complex predicates*, 289–354. Stanford: CSLI Publication.

Heine, Bernd & Kuteva, Tania. 2002. *World lexicon of grammaticalization*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Intarachat, Pitsamai. 1984. *Rian phasa Malayu thongthin chak botsonthana satharanasuk phuenthan [Learning local Malay language from primary health care conversations]*. Bangkok: Mahidol University.

Joll, Christopher M. 2012. *Muslim merit-making in Thailand's Far-South*. Dordrecht: Springer.

Kluge, Angela. 2014. *A grammar of Papuan Malay*. Leiden University Ph.D dissertation.

Koh, Ann Sweesun. 1990. *Topics in Colloquial Malay*. University of Melbourne Ph.D dissertation.

Kulikov, Leonid I. & Sumbatova, Nina R. 1993. Through the looking-glass, and how causatives look there. In Bernard Comrie & Maria Polinsky (eds.), *Causatives and transitivity*, 327–339. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

Litamahuputty, Betty. 2012. *Ternate Malay: Grammar and texts*. Leiden University Ph.D dissertation.

Mana, Amporn. 1979. *The acquisition of Thai by Malay speaking children*. Mahidol Unversity Master's thesis.

Masor, Rusdee. 2012. *Sathanakan kanponphasa rawang phasa Malayu Patani lae phasa Thai khong khon Thai mutsalim chueasai Malayu nai changwat Pattani [The situation of code-mixing between Patani Malay and Thai by Patani Malay-speaking people in Pattani province]*. Mahidol University Master's thesis.

National Statistical Office. 2001a. *The 2000 population and housing census: Changwat Narathiwat*. Bangkok: National Statistical Office.

National Statistical Office. 2001b. *The 2000 population and housing census: Changwat Pattani*. Bangkok: National Statistical Office.

National Statistical Office. 2001c. *The 2000 population and housing census: Changwat Yala*. Bangkok: National Statistical Office.

National Statistical Office. 2012a. *The 2010 population and housing census: Changwat Narathiwat*. Bangkok: National Statistical Office.

National Statistical Office. 2012b. *The 2010 population and housing census: Changwat Pattani*. Bangkok: National Statistical Office.

National Statistical Office. 2012c. *The 2010 population and housing census: Changwat Yala*. Bangkok: National Statistical Office.

National Statistical Office. 2012d. *The 2010 population and housing census: Whole kingdom*. Bangkok: National Statistical Office.

Paauw, Scott H. 2008. *The Malay contact varieties of Eastern Indonesia: A typological comparison*. The State University of New York at Buffalo Ph.D dissertation.

Pannara, Narawadee. 1994. *Kansueksa khamsap kiaokap phruettikam kankin khong chao Thai Mutsalim Changwat Narathiwat [A study of the vocabulary concerning eating habits among the Muslims in Narathiwat province]*. Mahidol University Master's thesis.

Phasa Malayu thongthin phuea kantittosuesan borikan lae khaothueng prachachon [Malay dialect for communication, service and access to people]. 2008. Yala: Bureau of Personnel Development, Southern Border Provinces Administrative Centre.

Potipath, Vipas. 1999. *Nuaisang karit baep wikhro nai phasa Thai [Analytic causative constructions in Thai]*. Chulalongkorn University Master's thesis.

Prachum phongsawadan phak thi 3 [Collected chronicles part 3]. 1914. Bangkok: Rongphim Thai Na Saphan Yotse.

Rangponsumrit, Nunghatai. 2005. *Karit nuaikham lae karit klumkham nai phasa Sapen: Kansueksa thang wakkayasamphan lae atthasat [Morphological and analytic causatives in Spanish: A syntactic-semantic study]*. Chulalongkorn University Ph.D dissertation.

Salaemae, Nureeda. 2000. *Pemilihan bahasa di kalangan wanita Melayu Patani: Satu kajian kes di Narathiwat, Thailand*. Universiti Malaya Master's thesis.

Shibatani, Masayoshi & Pardeshi, Prashant. 2002. The causative continuum. In Masayoshi Shibatani (ed.), *The grammar of causation and interpersonal manipulation*, 85–126. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

Song, Jae Jung. 2013. Periphrastic causative constructions. In Matthew S. Dryer & Martin Haspelmath (eds.), *The world atlas of language structures online*. Leipzig: Max Planck Institute for Evolutionary Anthropology. URL http://wals.info/chapter/110

Suthasat, Arong. 1976. *Panha khwamkhatyaeng nai si changwat phak tai [Conflicts in four provinces of the South]*. Bangkok: Phithak Pracha.

Syukri, Ibrahim. 1985. *History of the Malay kingdom of Patani*. Athens: Ohio University, Center for International Studies.

Talmy, Leonard. 1976. Semantic causative types. In Masayoshi Shibatani (ed.), *Syntax and semantics: The grammar of causative constructions*, 43–116. New York: Academic Press.

Teeuw, Andries & Wyatt, David K. 1970. *Hikayat Patani: The story of Patani*. The Hague: Koninklijk Institut Voor Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde.

Uthai, Ruslan. 1993. *Kanpriapthiap kansangkham nai phasa Malayu Mattrathan lae Malayu Thin Pattani [A comparison of word formation in Standard Malay and Pattani Malay]*. Chulalongkorn University Master's thesis.

Uthai, Ruslan. 2011. *Keistimewaan dialek Melayu Patani*. Bangi: Penerbit Universiti Kebangsaan Malaysia.

Winarti. 2009. *Konstruksi kausatif morfologis dan perifratis dalam bahasa Indonesia*. Universitas Indonesia Master's thesis.

Wolff, John U. 2010. *Proto-Austronesian phonology with glossary*. Ithaca: Cornell Southeast Asia Program Publications.

Wyatt, David K. 2004. *Thailand: A short history*, 2nd edn. Chiang Mai: Silkworm Books.