

On Instances of Causative/Passive Homonymy

Some comments on answers of the LingTyp community
to my query from September 16, 2011 (second revised and augmented version - 20.9.2011)

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This brief *memo* is based on a query that I have posted on the LingTyp discussion list September 16, 2011. It includes reference towards contributions by other members of this list. However, all possible errors and false interpretations are in my own responsibility, only. I would like to use the opportunity to thank all participants in this discussion. These are: *Andrej Malchukov, Dan Everett, David Gil, Foong Ha Yap, Françoise Rose, Geoffrey Haig, Igor Nedjalkov, Jess Tauber, Johanna Laakso, Johanna Nichols, Marcel Erdal, Paul Hopper, Prashant Pardeshi, and Stephen Matthews*. Many thanks to *Andi Hölzl* (Munich) who helped me with the Tungus and Chinese data and who corrected some flaws...

My original question concerned the full homonymy of passive/causative marking as given in e.g. the Manchu examples:

Passive:

tere inenggi mi-ni jakân morin hûlha-bu-fi
that day 1SG-GEN eight horse:NOM steal-PASS-PFV:CNV
'On that day my eight horses were stolen (by bandits).'

Causative:

bi morin be ule-bu-me
1SG:NOM horse ACC drink-CAUS-IPFV:CNV
'I let the horse drink (water).'

Here the morpheme *-bu-* serves both functions (passive and causative). The corresponding case frame shows up in the 'canonical' way (Manchu having an accusative pattern S=A;O - agreement is not present in Manchu):

Passive:	NP-NOM (O>S)	NP-DAT/LOC (A>LOC)	VERB- <i>bu</i> -TAM
Causative:	NP-NOM (A)	NP-ACC (S/A>O)	VERB- <i>bu</i> -TAM

[O>S means: NP in original O function behaving as if in S function; S/A>O (= embedded subject) means: NP in original S or A function behaving as if in O function; A>LOC (reflecting the backgrounded agent in the passive reads: Original NP in A function shows up in a Locative function (LOC), see Schulze 2000, Schulze 2011].

The first relevant discussion of this issue can be found in v.d. Gabelentz 1861:516-529 (= § 15 "Passivum durch das Causativum") (Marcel Erdal). The corresponding passage reads as follows (p. 518):

"Vielmehr ist in diesem *bu* die Wurzel *bu*, geben, nicht zu verkennen, mit dem es auch der Verfasser des *Thsing-wen-ki-meng* [...] zusammenstellt; tantabume würde also eigentlich »zu schlagen geben«, dann »schlagen lassen« (Causativum) und »sich schlagen lassen, geschlagen werden« (Passivum) ausdrücken. Hieraus erklärt sich auch, dass dem Passivum der Dativ vorausgeht, gleichsam: sich Einem zu schlagen geben, während das Causativum der Accusativ bei sich hat."

Note that Gabelentz has addressed this topic already in his "Éléments de la grammaire mandchoue" (Gabelentz 1832). He writes (p. 49):

"§74 La forme passive s'emploie encore dans un autre sens, que l'on pourroit nommer transitif ou factitif lorsqu'elle marque, que quelqu'un fait faire une chose par un autre [...]."

Foong Ha Yap and Shoichi Iwasaki (2003) have summarized the subsequent discussion showing that the underlying strategy stems from the grammaticalization of GIVE (**bu-*), having first developed into a causative (quite expectable). The path would have been:

Permissive causative > unwilling permission > reflexive permission > reflexive passive > passive.

Note that some northern Tungus languages have retained an alternative strategy to mark passives, e.g. Udihe Passive *-u/-wu/-wō* (= Manchu *-bu-*), Causative *-wAn*. Benzing 1956: 122f. reconstructs Proto-Tungus **-bu-* as the underlying passive/causative (hence Udihe *-u/-wu/-wō* and Manchu *-bu-*) and a causative **-bu-kān* (hence Udihe *-wAn*). I'm not sure about the correctness of this reconstruction given the fact that the nature of **-kān* remains obscure to me. One may likewise assume that **-wAn* once was a concurrent causative marker expressing "cause/coercion".

In Chinese (here: Mandarin), the same pattern shows up, cf. Yap & Iwasaki 2003:421f., based on the verb *gěi* 'give'. Let me quote three examples they give:

- (1) *gěi wǒ chī le yī jīng*
 give I eat ASP one shock
 '(S/he) gave me a chock' (lit. (s/he) caused me to have (eat) a fright.)
- (2) *wǒ gěi nǐ cāi ge míyǔ*
 I give you:SG guess CL riddle
 'I (will) let you guess a riddle.'
- (3) *fángzi gěi tǔfēi shaō le*
 house give hooligan burn ASP
 'The house was burned down by the hooligans.'

Note that in (3), there is no marker signaling the backgrounding of the agent (except *gěi* is treated as a case marker, see below). Andi Hölzl additionally mentions the Chinese verbs *ràng* 让 ('give up?') and *jiào* 叫 'call' said to encode both causatives and passives, too. It may be speculated to which extent (if ever) the Mandarin model is initiated or influenced by the Tungus model, see Norman 1982, Wadley 1996, and Dan 2006:112-145.

There seems to exist a controversy whether (3) really is the standard form. An informant of Andi Hölzl seems to prefer *bèi* instead of *gěi*. In addition, it is argued that *gěi* takes another position in passive constructions than in causative constructions: In passives, it is said to occur mainly preverbally (as some kind of passive marker):

NP_{O>S} (*bèi, jiào, ràng*) NP_{A(>LOC)} (*gěi*) Verb

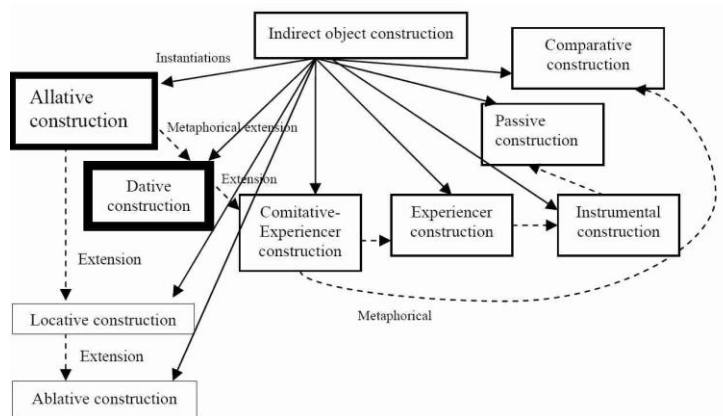
Hence, it may be disputed whether we have full homonymy with *gěi* (including the interpretation of its positional constraints in terms of a grammatical sign). In fact, the informant mentions the following alternatives for (3):

土匪把房子烧了 *tǔfēi bǎ fángzi shaō le*
 土匪把房子给烧了 *tǔfēi bǎ fángzi gěi shaō le*
 房子给土匪烧了 *fángzi gěi tǔfēi shaō le*
 房子被土匪烧了 *fángzi bèi tǔfēi shaō le*
 房子被土匪给烧了 *fángzi bèi tǔfēi gěi shaō le*
 房子叫土匪给烧了 *fángzi jiào tǔfēi gěi shaō le*
 房子让土匪给烧了 *fángzi ràng tǔfēi gěi shaō le*

gěi also functions in terms of a dative marker, as in:

wǒ sòng-le yī-bēn shū gěi tā
 I give-PERF one:CL book to him
 'I gave a book to him (as a present).' [Liu 2007:1]

Here, I do not consider the alternative position of *gěi*, namely NP (A) V-*gěi* (ASP) NP (O) NP (IO). Hence, (3) could also be read *the house has burnt (down) for/to the hooligans*. The overall pattern seems to have been present already in Old Chinese, based on the constructional pattern V+*yú*+IO. Phua 2009:812 summarizes the corresponding semantic network as follows:



If we interpret *gěi* as a dative case marker in (3), we might think of a simple passive syntax, changing O to S and A to some kind of LOC (> dative):

O>S	A>LOC		→		
<i>fángzi</i>	[<i>gěi</i> <i>tǔfēi</i>]			<i>shaō</i>	<i>le</i>
house	give hooligan			burn	ASP

'The house was burned down by the hooligans.'

The use of the dative to encode the background agent is exactly what we have in Manchu

<i>i</i>	<i>bata-be</i>	<i>va-bu-ha</i>
he:NOM	enemy-DAT	kill-PASS-PAST

'He is/was killed by the enemy.' (Yap & Iwasaki 2003:420)

and Korean:

<i>Mia-ka</i>	<i>Inho-eykey</i>	<i>mac-ass-ta.</i>
Mia-NOM	Inho-DAT	be=hit-PAST-DC

'Mia was hit by Inho.' (Song and Choe 2007)

Also see the Turkish example in (9). If Mandarin *gěi* is seen as a dative marker, the verb would be labile (have an unaccusative variant) lacking any derivational element for passivization. Again, this would speak against a causative/passive homonymy. Else, we should expect that the labile nature of verbs not only concerns the active/passive dimension, but also the active/causative dimension, compare:

<i>Zhāngsān</i>	<i>gěi</i>	<i>Lisi</i>	<i>kàn</i>
Zhangsan	give	Lisi	look

'Zhangsan let Lisi look.' (Thepkanjana and Uehara 2008: 631).

I do not want to repeat the broad discussion concerning the passive/causative homonymy in Korean - let me give just two examples (Sohn 1999:367):

- (4) *ai-tul* *eykey* *pihayngki* *ka* *po-y-ess-ta*
 child-PL to plane NOM see-PASS-PAST-DECL
 'The plane was seen by (lit. 'to') the children.'
- (5) *na* *nun* *ai-tul* *eykey* *kulim* *ul* *po-y-ess-ta*
 I TOP child-PL to picture ACC see-CAUS-PAST-DECL
 'I showed a picture to the children.'

Sohn (l.c.) quotes speculations concerning the very nature of the relevant suffix that is said to have developed from **-key ha(y)* (adverbial marker + 'do'), hence reflecting an original causative strategy.

All three languages are marked for full homonymy. There are no differences in the verbal complex: In order to distinguish the passive reading from the causative one, either different case frames apply (as in Manchu) or the issue is context-dependent (as in Korean). The Korean passive is of special interest because it marks the backgrounded (animate) agent with the help of a directive/dative case (formal style: *eykey*, informal style *hanthey*). Maybe that this case is motivated by an earlier reading of the passive in (4) as **the plane showed itself (< made itself seen) to the children.*

The world of Turkic languages has been addressed by Marcel Erdal and Geoff Haig. Geoff said in his posting:

Turkish is a case in point: the causative morpheme (with various allomorphs, some irregular) is open to both 'cause', but also to 'let happen, be unable to prevent' readings. Thus the causative verb *kaç-ır-mak* (go away-caus-inf) can mean both 'kidnap, abduct (a person)', or 'miss (an opportunity, a train etc.)'.

He gives the following example (glossed slightly modified):

- (6) *Şule el-i-ni makina-ya kap-tır-dı*
 Şule hand-POSS:3SG-ACC machine-DAT take=away-CAUS-PAST:3SG
 'Şule got her hand caught in/by the machine'

Another example is (Kozak 2010:49):

- (7) *para-lar-ım-ı bir dolandırıcı-ya kap-tır-dı-m.*
 money-PL-POSS:1SG-ACC:DEF INDEF betrayer-DAT take=away-CAUS-PAST-1SG
 'I got my money stolen by a betrayer.'

This structure clearly represents a permissive (reflexive) causative, as can be seen from (8-10) which have the same structure, but a more coercive reading:

- (8) *oğlu-m-a bilgisayar-ı tamir et-tir-di-m.*
 son-POSS:1SG-DAT computer-ACC:DEF fix do-CAUS-PAST-1SG
 'I had my son fix the computer.'
- (9) *Mehmed-e haber-i bil-dir-di-k*
 Mehmet-DAT news-ACC:DEF know-CAUS-PAST-1PL
 'We made the news known to Mehmet'
- (10) *Mehmed-e çanta-sı-nı unut-tur-du-k*
 Mehmet-DAT bag-POSS:3SG-ACC:DEF forget-CAUS-PAST-1PL
 'We've let Mehmet forget his bag.'

In fact, it is difficult for me to understand why (6-7) should be termed 'passive-like' structures. This interpretation mainly stems from the translation (*got ... caught, got... stolen*). According to my informants, the Turkish sentences in (6) and (7) are ambiguous, at least in a context-free sense (*Şule let the machine catch her hand, I let the betrayer steal my money.*). As far as I can see, there is no morphosyntactic means that would help to disambiguate these two readings (but I may err). In fact, standard passives are clearly distinguished from causatives, at least in Turkish, e.g.

- (11) *Ali tarafından pencere kap-an-dı*
 Ali by window close-PASS-PAST:3SG
 'The window was closed by Ali.'

The Turkish causative morphemes are *-tır*, *-t-*, and *-r*, based on two basic causative morphemes in Old Turkic (*-(X)t* and *-r*). Marcel Erdal notes:

Two important points concerning Old Turkic are that one gets the passive meaning only with transitive bases, and that, among the various causative suffixes, only derivatives formed with *-(X)t-* are really prone to this interpretation. So the different causative suffixes appear originally not to have been identical in content and function.

Marcel's claim is convincing if we start from the assumption that the standard Turkic causative *-tır* has developed from the fusion of these two underlying morphemes (**-ti-r*). Given the agglutinative character of Turkic, these two morphemes must have had at least minimally different functions. Note that **-ti* is sometimes seen as an element that is said to go back to 'Trans-Eurasian' (including Japanese, Korean, Tungus, Mongolian, and Turkic: proto-Japanese **-ta-*, proto-Korean **-ti-*, proto-Tungus **-ti-*, proto-Mongolian **-ti-* and proto-Turkic **-ti-*), compare Robbeets 2007).

The notion of permissiveness/unwillingness obviously is related to an inherent semantic component that is related to the world of benefactives/malefactives. Peng & Chappell (2011:141) (alluded to by Foong Ha Yap in her posting) have shown for Jinghpo (Tibeto-Burman) that a malefactive interpretation may depend from the presence of a possessive structure, compare (I have kept the original glossings):

- (12) *Ngai*³³ *Ma*³¹ *Ko*²⁵⁵ *hpe*²⁵⁵ *u*³¹ *sat*³¹ *ya*³³ *sa*³³ *ngai*³³.
 1SG Ma Ko DPM chicken kill give 1SGAG;PFV
 'I killed the chicken for/instead of Ma Ko.' [benefactive]
- (13) *Ngai*³³ *Ma*³¹ *Ko*²⁵⁵ *a*²³¹ *u*³¹ *sat*³¹ *ya*³³ *sa*³³ *ngai*³³.
 1SG Ma Ko POSS chicken kill give 1SGAG;PFV
 'I killed Ma Ko's chicken to his detriment.' [malefactive]

In fact, the causatives mentioned above that are translated with the help of a passive-like construction (6-7) are marked for a possessive relation between the syntactic 'subject' (Possessor) and the 'object' of the embedded clause:

- (14) NP_{Por}-NOM (A) NP-CASE (AO) NP_{Pum}-(ACC) (O) Verb-CAUS

[Por = Possessor, Pum = Possessum, AO = 'Embedded Agent']

Geoff has also referred to the relevance of Possession:

[T]he possessor of the affected entity here winds up as the subject, while in your passive example it's a genitive attribute.

It should be noted that in Manchu, presence of a possessive construction is not compulsory, cf. the example given by Nedjalkov 1993:194 [I quote from Yap & Isawaki 2003:420]:

- (15) *i* (*bata-be*) *va-bu-ha*
 he:NOM (enemy-DAT) kill-PASS-PAST
 'He is/was killed (by the enemy).'

Obviously, the Turkish pattern is different from that in Manchu. The presence of a possessive construction seems to be central for the pseudo-passive reading of the Turkish causative. Possession thus (with the possessor in A-function) yields some kind of affective reading, especially if the verbal semantics entails the notion of malefactivity. The same holds e.g. for the following example from Japanese (Wunderlich 2001, also cf. Washio 1993):

- (16) *Kyoko-ga/wa* *sono* *hanasi-ni* *kokoro-o* *kumor-ase-ta*.
 Kyoko-NOM/TOP that story-DAT heart-ACC dark-CAUS-PAST
 'Kyoko got her heart spoiled by that story.'

The literal meaning would be: *Kyoko had (her) heart spoiled through/by that story*. The standard causative does not differ from a morphosyntactic point of view:

- (17) *John-ga* *Mary-ni* *tokei-o* *nusum-ase-ta*.
 John-NOM Mary-DAT watch-ACC steal-CAUS-PAST
 'John had Mary steal a watch.'

So, I wonder about the reason why to term such constructions as (6), (7), or (16) a 'passive'. From a morphosyntactic point of view, they are simply causatives, semantically loaden by the possessive construction and the malefactive 'trigger' of the verb. In this sense, the patterns completely differs from that of Manchu, Korean, and Chinese.

Obviously, one reason is that the translation of such sentences yields a passive-like structure in some European languages. However, the instances mentioned by some of you are not fully in correspondence to what I had been looking for. Have a look at the examples given by David Gil:

- (18) On that day my eight horses got stolen. (Passive)
 I got the horse to drink. (Causative)

Sure, the auxiliary is the same. However, the sentences are not marked for full homonymy because the verb itself shows diathesis: We have two different patterns: 'get + PPP' (→ Passive), 'get + INFINITIVE' (→ Causative). Hence the passive interpretation mainly results from the passive diathesis present with the lexical verb:

Passive: get + PPP: "get indicates a change in status or condition"

Causative: get + INF "to convince to do something" or "to trick someone into doing something."

Now have a look at those translations that suggest a passive reading of e.g. the Turkish example given by Marcel:

- (19) (a) Şule got her hand caught in/by the machine.
(b) Kyoko got her heart spoiled by that story.

Obviously, the get-passive seems to be the best way to account for the 'malefactive-reflexive causative'. I do not know much enough about English, but I'm left with the impression that the get-passive is a secondary 'paraphrasis' (I do not have a better word) of an original structure that came close to German:

- (20) Der Kyoko wurde das/ihr Herz durch jene Geschichte gebrochen.

Here, Kyoko is marked for the Dative (in fact a malefactive). *get* corresponds to German *bekommen*, the normal auxiliary used to encode a dative diathesis, e.g.

- (21) *Du gibst mir das Buch* [you give me the book]
Ich bekomme das Buch von dir gegeben [I am given the book by you]

Hence, *get* may have conditioned the same type of subject assignment (dative -> nominative) as does German *bekommen*. In other words: *Kyoko* in (19) is a dative (malefactive) from a semantic point of view (placed in subject position).

Nota: The origin of the English *get*-passive has been discussed at length in the relevant literature. Fleisher (2006) recapitulates the main assumptions and adds a strongly 'semantic' perspective (based on the hypothesis that the *get*-passive has emerged from an inchoative, not from a reflexive-passive use of *get*). Unfortunately, this illuminating paper does not take into consideration the obvious semantic and functional resemblance between English *get* and German *bekommen*. Both share the meaning of 'obtain, reach'. English *get* (probably a loan from Old Norse) goes back to Indoeuropean **g^hend-* 'seize, take', whereas German *bekommen* is a motion verb (OHG *bi-queman* 'come towards' etc.) having turned into a light verb. In Middle English, the corresponding verb *become* has replaced the Old English auxiliary *weorðan* (= German *werden*), whereas in German, this process seems to have been blocked. Instead, *bekommen* (in parts) developed into a marker for the dative-diathesis. This process again did not apply for English *become*. However, the near synonym *get* took over this role probably because *become* turned into a strong auxiliary. This type of replacement tends to happen with German *bekommen*, too: Today, it is occasionally replaced by *kriegen* 'get' (< **(er)kriegen* 'to get s.th. by warfare'), cf.:

Sie bekommt/kriegt das/ihr Haar geschnitten.
'She gets her hair cut.'

Hence, we may assume that the *get*-passive is based on the same functional potential as German *bekommen*. Accordingly, the *get*-passive has resulted from an original dative-passive (IO-passive in my terms), in its very beginnings restricted to certain aspectual and semantic features (see Fleisher 2006).

I guess that it is the malefactive function of the semantic 'Dative' (> subject function) that conditions the preference to interpret the above-mentioned sentences from Turkish and Japanese in terms of passive-like structures in English. Let me just give a quote from Fleisher 2006:249:

"Chappell (1980: 440) contends that passive *get* involves either adverse or beneficial (i.e. non-neutral) consequences for the subject of the expression or for some human participant understood to be affected, as in *Jane's bike got stolen/fixed*. Though the adversative/beneficial semantics of *get* plays no significant role in the diachronic development of the passive, the pathway of change identified here may explain in part how passive *get* came to have this semantic profile. Inchoative *get*, the ancestor of the passive, often has adversative or beneficial semantics along the lines described for passive *get*. This seems to be due to its development from motion *get*: many of the pivotal complements in the motion-to-inchoative change (as identified by Gronemeyer, 1999) were adverbs or adjectives describing events of escape or loss."

[References in the quote:

Chappell, H. 1980. Is the get-passive adversative? *Papers in Linguistics* 13: 411-52.

Gronemeyer, C. 1999. On deriving complex polysemy: the grammaticalization of *get*. *English Language and Linguistics* 3: 1-39.]

The relevance of the 'Dative' model for Turkic, Tungus etc. has also been described by Robbeets 2007:

The transition between the permissive and the passive probably went over a benefactive construction as in German 'lieben lassen' ('Y lets X love someone') > 'sich lieben lassen' ('Y lets X love Y') > 'geliebt werden' ('Y is loved by X') (Johanson 1974: 532-533). The benefactive interpretation of the suffix in Even and its common use to derive passives from intransitive verbs, expressing the state resulting from motion in the majority of the Tungusic languages, support a semantic development along these lines. Lexicalizations in Turkic verbs on final *-t-* meaning 'stand' or 'lie' are reminiscent of the Tungusic derivations. Although Mongolic lacks a passive interpretation, it is interesting to note that the causative derivation is restricted to verb bases that represent a change of state, lack agent-oriented meaning components and can be conceived as occurring spontaneously.

Paul Hopper's examples are different:

- (22) (a) Gwendoline had her necklace stolen during the break-in (Passive)
 (b) Gwendoline had her necklace stolen in order to defraud the insurance company (Causative)

(22a) corresponds to (19a and b), except for the fact that the passive auxiliary is *have* instead of *get*. (22b) looks alike, but seems to have a different origin. I assume that it is based in a diathetic process *within* the embedded clause. Schematically, we can describe this process as follows:

- (23) (a) A CAUS [A → O]
 (b) A CAUS [O>S →/PASS [A>LOC]]

In (23a) the causee is the NP that has A function in the embedded clause, as in German:

- (24) *Ich ließ ihn den Hund schlagen*
 I:NOM let:PAST:1SG he:ACC DEF::M:SG:ACC dog hit
 'I had him hit the dog.'

In (23b), a diathetic process (passivization) applies to the embedded clause. Now the 'causee' is the original O (of the embedded clause):

- (25) *ich ließ den Hund von ihm geschlagen werden*
 I:NOM let:PAST:1SG DEF:M:SG:ACC dog ABL he:DAT PASS:hit become
 'I had the dog hit by him.'

Paul's examples would show up in German as follows:

- (26) (a) *Der Gwendoline (DATIVE!) wurde das/ihr Halsband während eines Einbruchs gestohlen*
 (b) *Gwendoline ließ ihr Halsband gestohlen werden (um die Versicherung zu betrügen.)*

Hence, Paul's parallelism does seem to be grounded in a polysemy of a *have X + PPP*-construction, but rather in the merger of two different constructions.

Let me finally turn to the Italian example given by Silvia Luraghi. I'm not quite sure whether we have to deal with a causative-passive homonymy. Her first example is:

- (27) *ha commesso un errore incredibile: si è fatto rubare la palla*
 he-has committed a mistake terrible refl he-is made steal(INF) the ball

e la Germania ha pareggiato.
 and the Germany has drawn
 "he did a terrible mistake: he had the ball taken away and Germany drew the match"

The Italian construction *si e' fatto rubare la palla* seems to be a simple reflexive causative (German: *er ließ sich den Ball wegnehmen*), a literal translation of the Italian example would be: *he is (> has) made to himself take away the ball*. A passive interpretation (in English) seems to be provoked by *si* that again plays the role of a dative (→ malefactive or *dativus incommodi*). Just as Silvia says:

Note further that the reflexive particles 'si' and 'mi' in the Italian sentences are also used in external possession constructions.

The element *mi* refers to the example in (28a):

- (28) (a) *Quel giorno mi (refl.1sg) sono fatto (caus) rubare otto cavalli (dai banditi)*
'On that day my eight horses were stolen (by bandits).'
- (b) *Ho fatto (caus) bere il cavallo.*
'I let the horse drink (water).'

The constructional pattern is just the same as in German, except for the fact that the causative auxiliary is *fare* 'do' and not *lassen* 'let', compare:

- (29) *Ti fai tagliare i capelli dal barbiere.*
dir lässt schneiden die Haare vom Frisör
⇒ 'Du lässt dir die Haare vom Frisör schneiden'
'You are having your hair cut by the barber.'

There is no need (in my eyes) to interpret (28a) as a passive. I'm not an expert of Italian, but my guess is that the standard passive version of (28a) would something like

- (30) *Quel giorno sono stati rubati i miei otto cavalli (dai banditi)* [please correct in case I'm wrong!]

Maybe that the possessive structure motivates a preference for (28a). But then we would expect a slightly different translation into English, based on the reflexive(-causative) semantics of *far-si*. In German, we would get something like:

- (31) An jedem Tag ließ ich mir die acht Pferde stehlen.

Again, the malefactive component plays the central role.

I do not want to finish this brief overview of what has been discussed in connection with my query without quoting from a mail sent to me by Igor Nadjalkov (I hope that I'm allowed to do so):

If we consider that a 'reflexive-permission' semantic bridge really exists for both causative and passive than we have polysemy, but if later on no semantic bridge is there, then (it is my present opinion) we have not polysemy but homonymy.

Personally, I would go a little bit further: The Manchu case (matched by Mandarin etc.) represents just what I Igor alludes to: A former polysemy seems to have been split based on different case frames (the passive being the innovative part of the story). Korean is just 'in between' with respect to this functional split. The Turkish and Italian (and most likely English) structures are different: We do not have a polysemy, but a single structure (reflexive causative) that may show up with a malefactive notion emerging from possessives and verb semantics.

A final remark: Johanna Nichols (hopefully, I'm allowed to quote) drew my attention to the possibility to discuss the whole issue in terms of

"syncretism or deponence in the sense of Grev Corbett and his colleagues, e.g.:

Baerman, Matthew, Dunstan Brown, and Greville G. Corbett. 2005. *The Syntax-Morphology Interface: A Study of Syncretism*. Cambridge UP.
---, ---, ---, and Andrew Hippisley. 2007. *Deponency and Morphological Mismatches*. (Proceedings of the British Academy, 145.) Oxford UP.

Causative/passive homophony, or anything like it, is much more striking than things like Latin deponent verbs, but they do all involve some kind of morphology-syntax mismatch and/or "wrong" morphology."

According to my opinion such assumptions about a possible "morphology-syntax mismatch" sound very reasonable from a descriptive/analytic point of view. But I'm not sure whether the notion of 'mismatch' really helps if we start from e.g. (cognitive) semantics. For doing so, you need some kind of 'canonical' form/function pairing, e.g. (for the issue of Latin deponent verbs), a model of transitive and passive case/agreement alignment (+ verb stem formation). But what are the criteria to propose this model allowing to claim that deponent verbs

deviate therefrom? Sometimes I'm left with the impression that data are interpreted according to expectations derived from the translation (and hence assumed 'sense') of a phrase. Hence the model stems from implicit and tacit assumptions expressed by the given translation. For instance, it is rather unclear to me, why a sentence like Turkish *paralarımı bir dolandırıcıya kapırdım* 'I got my money stolen by a betrayer' should be a (functional/semantic) passive at all (see above). This hypothesis is not derived from Turkish-internal criteria, but mainly from hypotheses and models expressed by the translation.

But all this is very, very preliminary !

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