Causative constructions in the Udmurt language

1. Aims: In this talk, I propose an analysis for Udmurt causative constructions that can account for their apparently contradictory syntactic properties. I claim that causative constructions in Udmurt are monoclausal, bi-eventive and they are formed in syntax.

The framework of the analysis is that proposed by Bartos (2011), who argues for a non-lexicalist treatment of Hungarian external causatives, as opposed to Horvath and Siloni's (2010) lexicalist approach.

2. Crucial causative properties: In Udmurt, complex causative predicates are marked by a causative morpheme *-t-*, which can be attached both to intransitive and transitive verbs (Kozmács 1994) (1a-b). This morpheme is the same that we find in lexicalized causative verbs selecting a theme and an agent argument (2a-b).

Causative complex predicates in Udmurt exhibit some special syntactic properties listed here:

- Duble-object ditransitives: in the case of transitive base predicates, the addition of the causative suffix yields a duble-object argument structure (1b). This structure is not well-formed in the case of a non-derived predicate, even it is a ditransitive verb (e.g. *give*) (3). The order of the two accusative-marked objects is non-variable - at least in neutral sentences.
- Case-marking patterns: the causee of the complex predicate displays an ACCUSATIVE - OBLIQUE (INST) case-alternation (4a-b), which appears to be semantically motivated. This alternation is based on the argument of the embedded predicate of the causatives.
- Neutralisation of the case-marked/non-case-marked object alternation: in Udmurt non-specific objects are morphologically unmarked, and specific ones are marked by the accusative morpheme *–ez/jez-* (5), but in duble-object causative constructions this characteristic of Udmurt disappears: the original argument of the base predicate is always case-marked, even if it is a non-specific object, regardless of the embedded verb being intransitive (6a) or transitive (6b). The alternation still holds for the internal argument of the base predicate.

3. Bartos's Approach to Hungarian: The typological classification of morphologically marked causatives is based on whether they are mono- or biclausal, and whether they involve two events or just a single one.

Tests for mono-versus biclausality:
- Negation: if the basic event and the causation can be negated separately we talk about biclausality
- Condition B: in monoclausal causation the personal pronoun cannot be bound by any intended antecedent

Tests for mono- versus bi-eventity:
- subjects of participials: if the causation contains two subject roles it means that the clause involves two different events
- low adverbial modifiers: the basic event and the causation event can be modified separately in bi-eventive causation

4. Causative construction in Udmurt: I assume here that causatives in Udmurt are monoclausal as negation cannot scope over the embedded verb of the construction (negation in Udmurt is performed by a negation verb) (7), and a personal pronoun argument of the internal predicate cannot be bound by the causer (8). Using Bartos's diagnostics for testing bi-eventity in causative construction we find that Udmurt causatives also involve too events – the core event and the causing event: both events can be modified by low adverbials, like *kik pol* 'twice' (9). The causative constructions with participals result in ambiguous: the causer and the causee both can be subject of participals, like *muzem vilin killica* 'lying on the ground' (10). Note that object cannot control the participal subject (Bartos 2011). Based on the data I assume the following structure of the causatives in Udmurt: the embedded

verb/event's position is vP or VP – depending on the transitivity of the verb – and the vP/VP has its own external argument (causee). The structure contains CausP for the causation event, which takes the vp/VP as its complement, and has also an external argument (causer). This yields the ambiguity of the constructions with participles. The negation as functional projection is on the left periphery, higher than the CausP – affixal projection – and cannot intervene between the CausP and the vp/VP. The low adverbial modifier can be attached both to the vP/VP and the CausP.

Empirical evidence for the syntactical derivation of the causative is the duble-object argument structure. In the assumed structure of the causatives (11) the CAUS head agrees with the ACC/INST case of the causee. The alternation of the encoding comes from the Affectedness hypotheses (Ackerman & Moore 1999): the most affected argument of the base predicate is encoded by ACC and the less one by INST.

1. a) *Maša*   *Saša-jez*   *uža-t-iz.*
      Masha-NOM   Sasha-ACC   work-CAUS-PAST
   b) *Maša*   *Saša-jez*   *kńiga- jez*   *lị̆dži̧-t-iz.*
      Masha-NOM   Sasha-ACC   book-ACC   read-CAUS-PAST

2. a) *berga-ni̧*   b) *berga-ti̧-ni̧*
      'roll'   'rotate'

3. *Saša*   *Maša-lị̆/ *Maša-jez*   *kńiga-jez*   *šot-iz.*
   Sasha-NOM   Masha-DAT/ Masha-ACC   book-ACC   give-PAST

4. a) *Saša*   *Maša-jez/*Maša-en*   *ji̧rśi-jez*   *kvaś-t-iz.*
      Sasha-NOM   Masha-ACC/*-INSTR   hair-ACC   dry-CAUS-PAST
   b) *Saša*   **šundi̧-jez/šundi̧-en*   *ji̧rśi-jez*   *kvaś-t-iz.*
      Sasha-NOM   sun-*ACC/-INSTR   hair-ACC   dry-CAUS-PAST

5. *Saša*   *kńiga/kńiga-jez*   *lị̆dž-iz.*
   Sasha-NOM   book-NOM/book-ACC   read-MÚLT

6. *a) Saša*   **pinal/pinal-ez*   *uža-t-iz.*
   Sasha-NOM   child-NOM/child-ACC   work-CAUS-PAST
   b) *Saša*   **pi/pi-jez*   *kńiga-jez*   *lị̆dži̧-t-iz.*
      Sasha-NOM   boy-NOM/boy-ACC   book-ACC   read-CAUS-PAST

7. *Mon   pinaljos-ti   öj   kirža-t-i.*
   I   (the) kids-ACC   not-PAST   sing-CAUS-PAST

8. *Dị̆šetis   pinaljos-ti   gožtet   gožti̧ -t-iz   *cooc-leś/aśseleś.*
   teacher-NOM   (the)kids-ACC   letter-NOM   write-CAUS-PAST   they-ABL/of-themselves

9. *Dị̆šetis   Saša-jez   odig   kiržan-ez   kik pol   kir̆ža-t-iz.*
   teacher-NOM   Sasha-ACC   one   song-ACC   twice   sing-CAUS-PAST

10. *Saša   muzjem vị̆lị̆n kị̆llị̆ca   kir̆ža-t-iz   Masa-jez.*
    Sasha-NOM   ground on   lying   sing-CAUS-PAST   Masha-ACC

11. NPcauser [CausP [Caus NPcausee [vp [v NPintarg [VP […]]]]]]

References:

Ackerman, Farrell & **Moore**, John. 1999. Syntagmatic and Paradigmatic Dimensions of Causee Encodings: *Linguistics and Philosophy* 22 (1):1-44.; **Bartos** Huba. 2011. Hungarian external causatives: Monoclausal but bi-eventive. In: Laczkó, Tibor and Catherine O. Ringen (eds.), *Approaches to Hungarian: Volume 12: Papers from the 2009 Debrecen Conference*. 1-38. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.; **Horvath**, Julia & **Siloni**, Tal. 2011. Causatives across components. *Natural Language & Linguistic Theory* 30:1-48.; **Kozmács** István. 1994. A votják műveltető szerkezetekről. *Folia Uralica Debreceniensia* 3:41-46.