

# SALOS lectures

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# The outline of the lectures

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1. Introduction to valency change: Differential argument marking
2. Introduction to valency change: decreasing and increasing valency
3. Causatives: Introduction and formal aspects
4. Causatives: Semantics
5. Causatives that are not  $n+1$

# Causatives

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# Preliminaries

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- ❧ Causativization adds an agent to the causativized construction thus increasing its valency by one.
- ❧ Causatives constitute one of the most studied topics in syntax, and numerous aspects of causatives (including their formal and semantic aspects) have been discussed in detail.
- ❧ Causativization can also be seen as the formal coding of causation.

# What does causation mean?

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- ❧ Causation refers to a clear cause-effect –relation obtaining between two events; A follows from B (in typical cases directly and immediately), e.g. John broke the vase with a hammer involves two sub-events, namely John's action and the breaking of the vase.
- ❧ The event that is caused to happen could have occurred spontaneously.

# What does causation mean?

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- ✎ In the previous case, causation is direct and salient. However, causation can also be less direct and salient.
- ✎ E.g., in 'John broke the vase (by opening the window, which let the wind in, which broke the vase)', John can be held responsible for the event, even though causation was not direct or intentional.

# What does causation mean?

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- ⌘ Moreover, causation comprises cases, where an external agent makes another agent act, as in 'John made Bill build the house'
- ⌘ Regardless of the exact nature of causation, all types have in common that the caused event could have happened also spontaneously.

# Basic definition

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Basic definition (Dixon & Aikhenvald 2000):

- a. Causative applies to an underlying intransitive clause and forms a derived transitive (SK: In case the underlying construction is intransitive).
- b. The argument in underlying S function (the causee) goes into O function in the causative.
- c. A new argument (the causer) is introduced, in A function.
- d. There is some explicit formal marking of the causative construction.

## More definitions

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✎ Dixon (2000: 30): [...] a causative construction involves the specification of an additional argument, a causer, onto a basic clause. A causer refers to someone or something (which can be an event or state) that initiates or controls the activity.

## Kittilä 2009: 72-73 (formal definition)

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1. The verb is overtly marked as a causativized verb by attaching a causative morpheme (such as an affix) to it.
2. The valency of the affected verb increases from 1 to 2. The introduced agent argument occupies the subject slot (i.e. the agent usually occurs in the nominative or the ergative case depending on the basic alignment of the language), while the subject of the underlying clause surfaces as a direct object (in the accusative or in the absolutive).
3. Prototypical causativization produces constructions that correspond formally to the basic transitive construction of the language in question. Depending on the language, the construction is usually either a NOM-ACC or an ERG-ABS-construction (or ERG-ACC in some cases).

# Example (morphological causative)

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Turkish

(35a) *Ali*                    *öl-dü*  
PN.NOM    die-PAST  
'Ali died'

(35b) *Ali*                    ***hasan-i***    *öl-dür-dü*  
PN.NOM    PN-ACC    die-CAUS-PAST  
'Ali killed Hasan'

(35c) *müdür*                    *mektub-u*    *imzala-di*  
director.NOM    letter-ACC    sign-PAST  
'The director signed the letter'

(35d) *diçi*    *mektub-u*    ***müdür-e***    *imzala-t-ti*  
dentist    letter-ACC    director-DAT    sign-CAUS-PAST  
'The dentist made the director sign the letter'

# Kittilä 2009: 74 (semantics of causatives)

1. In the causative prototype, an external causer (agent) is added to an intransitive event denoted by the underlying intransitive clause.
2. All features of agency are introduced into the causativized clause. This means that the agent's participation in the resulting event is volitional, controlled and purposeful, and the agent is clearly the primary cause of the event in question; the event would not have occurred if the agent had not induced it. The agent also targets its action directly at the patient and it is the aim of the agent to cause a change of state in the patient.
3. The agent introduction produces a prototypical transitive event involving a salient cause (agent) and a salient effect (patient). In canonical cases, the agent is fully unaffected by the event in which it partakes, while the patient is thoroughly affected and thus registers the effect of the described event. Causativization does not have any major consequences for the affectedness of the patient.

# Definitions

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☞ Therefore it is a good first approximation to define **direct causation** as a situation involving an agentive causer and a patientive causee and **indirect causation** as one involving two agentive participants, one an agentive causer and the other an agentive causee. (Shibatani & Pardeshi 2001)

# Semantics of causatives (1->2)

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## **Direct causation**

‘The vase broke’

The vase [-VOL] [-INST] [+AFF]

Caused event

‘**The child** broke the vase (on purpose)’

**The child**[+VOL][+INST] [-AFF]

The vase[-VOL] [-INST] [+AFF]

## Semantics of causatives (2->3)

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### **Indirect causation**

‘The bricklayer built the house.’

The bricklayer [+VOL] [+INST] [-AFF]

The house [-VOL] [-INST] [+AFF]

‘The teacher made the bricklayer build the house.’

The teacher [+VOL] [+INST] [-AFF]

The bricklayer [-VOL] [-INST] [+AFF]

The house [-VOL] [-INST] [+AFF]

# Semantics of causatives

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- ⌘ The two previously discussed types vary according to how total/perfect the agent introduction is.
- ⌘ In the first case, the introduction is total, because the original clause/event lacks an agent altogether.
- ⌘ In the second case, the result is rather a division of agentive properties, because two agents 'compete' for one slot.

# Causatives vs. inherently transitive events

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- ❧ Causatives basically denote events that have been somehow caused and that could have happened without an agent. Inherently transitive events (such as wash, paint, eat, drink), in turn, always require an agent and a patient.
- ❧ The distinction is also morphosyntactically relevant, and for example anticausatives Involuntary Agent Constructions (see slide XXX) can usually be derived from non-inherently transitive verbs.

# Formal coding of causation

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- ❧ All languages code direct and non-controversial instances of causation by causatives, but there is clear variation in less typical cases (the type of causatives may be different, or causatives are not possible at all).
- ❧ In other words, how direct does causation have to be in order that causative coding is possible.

# Formal coding of causation

- ✎ Basically, any construction that codes causation can be regarded as a causative.
- ✎ However, there are some important formal restrictions as well, for example labile verbs (e.g., *break* and *burn* in English), or unmarked transitive verbs of an intransitive/transitive pair, such as *rikkoa* (break.TR, as opposed to *rikko-utua*, break-ANTIC) are not formally seen as causatives, because they do not have a clear causative morpheme (even though their semantics is 'causative').

# Basic terminology

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- ❧ **Causer:** The argument introduced to a causative construction who initiates the event and/or is primarily responsible for it.
- ❧ **Causee:** the clausal constituent that refers to the participant that is primarily responsible for performing the action, or the participant that undergoes a change of state (corresponds to A or S of the original clause).
- ❧ **Causative morpheme:** the morpheme that renders the introduction of the causer possible.

# Example

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*John* melted the snow

*Causer* Causee

*John* **made**

*Causer* **Causative morpheme**

Bill build the house

Causee

# Formal aspects of causatives

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# Formal types of causatives

- ✎ In principle, causatives are formally divided into three types; lexical, morphological (synthetic) and periphrastic (syntactic) causatives (examples will follow)
- ✎ Many languages have multiple types of causatives (even though analytic languages usually lack morphological causatives), i.e. a typology of languages based on their causatives is not feasible.

# Formal typology of causatives

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☞ Examples of lexical causatives include English *die* vs. *kill* and German *sterben* vs. *töten* and the following (Yimas):

INTRTRANS

mal 'die'tu 'kill'

awa 'burn'ampu 'burn'

aypu 'lie down'ti 'lay down'

# Causatives

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☞ In morphological causatives an affix (or a similar element) is attached to a verb, which make the Agent introduction possible.

(36a) *Ali*                    *öl-dü*  
PN.NOM    die-PAST  
'Ali died'

(36b) *Ali*                    *hasan-i*            *öl-dür-dü*  
PN.NOM    PN-ACC            die-CAUS-PAST  
'Ali killed Hasan'

# Morphological causatives

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Tarascan

(37a) *anhatapuk'unti-s-Ø-ti*

treebend-PERF-PRES-IND.3

'The tree is bent to one side'

(37b) *Adrianu k'unti-**ku**-s-Ø-ti*

A. bend-**CAUS**-PERF-PRES-IND.3

*anhatapu-ni*

tree-OBJ

'Adrianu bent the tree'

# Morphological causatives

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Choapan Zapotec

(38a) *r-uti-bi' bεla*

HAB-kill-3FAM snake

'He is killing the snake.'

(38b) *r-u-g-uti-ndo'-bi' bεla*

HAB-**CAUS1-CAUS2**-kill-1PL.EX-3FAMsnake

'We are making him kill the snake.'

- In Zapotec languages, double causativization is sometimes necessary for introducing a single argument

# Periphrastic causative

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In periphrastic causatives a more independent element (such as auxiliary or verb particle) is used, as in *he made me go* and:

Kammu (Svantesson 1983: 103f)

(39a) *tráak háan*  
buffalo die  
‘The buffalo died’

(39b) *ke tòk háan múuc*  
3SG.M CAUS die ant  
‘He happened to kill an ant’

## Combination (both morph. and perip.)

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Chrau

(40) *ânhôpdăqta-khlâyh*

1SGCAUStrapCAUS-escape

'I made the trap spring (accidentally)'

This causative expresses involitional causation, and it is not the only causative available.

# Formal typology (Haspelmath)

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∞ Haspelmath (1993) has divided inchoative-transitive –pairs into four types according to their marking:

1. Causative (transitive verb marked, *sulaa* vs. ***sula-tt-aa***, melt/make melt)
2. Anticausative (intransitive verb marked, esim. *avata* vs. ***ava-utu-a***, open(TR)/open(INTR))
3. Non-directed (can be used both intransitively and transitively without any change in marking, ***break***)
4. Equipollent (both marked, Japanese: *atumaru* vs. ***atumeru***; gather)

# Form and meaning

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∞ The (in)directness of causatives correlate directly with the type of causatives employed: lexical causatives express direct instances of causation, while periphrastic causatives are related to less direct causation:

Direct causation

Indirect causation

Lexical > morphological > periphrastic causatives

# Form and meaning

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- ❧ Lexical causatives are (usually) attested only for causativized (unaccusative) intransitive verbs (such as die/kill, burn, break).
- ❧ They are very rarely attested for causativized transitive verb (e.g., the causative of *build* is not *pirish*, but note verbs such as *show* ('make see') and *send* ('make go').

## Example (Marathi)

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(41a) *kapDe waaL-l-e*  
clothes.N dry-PERF-N  
'The clothes dried'

(41b) *Raam-ne kapDe waal-aw-l-e*  
Ram-ERG clothes.N dry-CAUS-PERF-N  
'Ram dried the clothes' (direct causation)

(41c) *Mi kapDe waaL-u di-l-e*  
I clothes.N dry-PARTIC give-PERF-N  
'I let the clothes dry' (indirect causation)

## Example (Kammu)

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- (42a) *kee*      ***p-háan***      *tráak*  
3SG.M    CAUS1-die    buffalo  
'He slaughtered the buffalo' (direct causation)
- (42b) *kee*      ***tòk***      ***háan***      *múuc*  
3SG.M    CAUS2    die      ant  
'He happened to kill an ant' (indirect  
(involuntary) causation)

## Example

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Jinghpaw (Maran & Clifton 1976: 445)

(43a) *manawgawmatuhpeja-sanai*

MaNawTOPMaTuOBJCAUS-dieDECL

‘MaNaw killed MaTu’

(43b) *manawgawmatuhpesanshang*

MaNawTOPMaTuOBJdieCAUSE

ai

DECL

‘MaNaw caused MaTu to die’

# Form and meaning

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- ✎ In addition to directness, there is also other kinds of variation between different types of causatives (e.g., number of arguments is relevant here).
- ✎ For example, in Abkhaz, transitive verbs are causativized morphologically, while ditransitive verbs need to be causativized periphrastically (see next slide).

## Example

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Abkhaz (Hewitt 1989: 82)

(44a) *yə-s-lə-r-šə-yt'*

it/them-me-she-CAUS-kill-AOR

'She made me kill it/them'

(44b) *saràbaràa-ph<sup>o</sup>əsà-zgab*

Iyou.FEMthe-womanthe-girl

*də-bə-l-ta-r+t (ø-)q'a-s-c'à-yt'*

her-to-you.FEM-she-give it-PREV-I-make-AOR

'I made the woman give the girl to you'

# Double causatives

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- ✎ Kulikov (1993) calls these cases 'second causative'
- ✎ Many languages allow multiple causativization of a single verb.
- ✎ These cases display enormous variation according to the function of the second causative. They may either increase the valency (and/or transitivity) or decrease it.

## Example

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Hunzib (van den Berg 1995: 108)

(45a) *maduhan-li-l abu-g*

neighbour-OBL-ERG father-ADESS

*ʃi b-iλ'e-k'-er*

bear.44-kill-**CAUS**-PAST

'the neighbour made father kill the bear'

(45b) *maduhan-li-l abu-g*

neighbour-OBL-ERG father-ADESS

*ʃi b-iλ'e-k'e-k'-er*

bear.44-kill-**CAUS-CAUS**-PAST

'the neighbour forced father to kill the bear'

## Example 2 (Finnish)

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- (46a) *Henkilö laihtuu*  
person lose.weight.3SG.PRS  
'A person is losing weight (intentionally or not)'
- (46b) *Henkilö laih-dutt-aa*  
person lose.weight-CAUS-3SG.PRS  
'A person is losing weight (intentionally)'
- (46c) *Henkilö-ä*  
person-PART  
*laih-du-tutt-aa*  
lose.weight-CAUS-CAUS-3SG.PRS  
'A person feels like losing weight'

## Example 3

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Tuvan (Kulikov 1993: 53)

(47a) *Inekün-dür-t-ken*

cowgo.out-**CAUS-CAUS-PAST**

‘The cow was led out.’

(47b) *Inekün-dür-t-tür-ken*

cowgo.out-**CAUS-CAUS-CAUS-PAST**

‘The cow was led out (by force).’

In the latter case, the control by the agent is lower.

## Example 4 (repeated here)

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Choapan Zapotec

(48a) *r-uti-bi' bεla*

HAB-kill-3FAM snake

'He is killing the snake.'

(48b) *r-u-g-uti-ndo'-bi' bεla*

HAB-**CAUS1-CAUS2**-kill-1PL.EX-3FAM snake

'We are making him kill the snake.'

- In Zapotec languages, double causativization is sometimes necessary for introducing a single argument

# The coding of Causee

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# Background

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- ✂ In addition to variation in the coding of causation on the verb, there is massive variation in the coding of Causee (both semantic and formal).
- ✂ For example, transitivity and volitionality are central to this variation.
- ✂ Moreover, there is cross-linguistic variation in what form is used for coding the Causee.

# Formal variation

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- ✧ In causatives, the introduced Causer occupies the A slot, which almost always affects the form of the original A/S.
- ✧ Languages display massive variation in how the original S/A is treated.

## Causee = original A

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Trumai (Guirardello 1999: 353)

(49) *alaweru-khai-tsaxosdisi*

Alaweru-ERG1SG-ERGchild.ABSbeat

*ka*

CAUS

‘Alaweru made me beat the child’

## Causee = DAT

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Tuvan (Sumbatova 1993: 254)

(50a) *ašakool-duetteen*

old.man.NOM boy-ACC hit.PAST

‘The old man hit the boy’

(50b) *bajyrašak-kaool-du*

PN old.man-DAT boy-ACC

*ette-t-ken*

hit-CAUS-PAST

‘Bajyr made the old man hit the boy’

## Causee = ACC/DO

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Evenki

(51) *ynin-inxuty-wiawun-mi*

mother-hisson-**DO**cap-DO

*baka-pkan-yn*

find-CAUS-PST

'The mother made her son to find his cap'

The use of the accusative/direct object is very common for intransitive clauses.

# Causee = INSTR

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Quechua

(52) *nuqafan-wan rumi-taapa-ŋi-ni*

1SGAJuan-**INSTR** rock-ACCcarry-CAUS-1SGA

‘I had Juan carry the rock’

☞ Also accusative is possible in Quechua

# Causee = LOC

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Finnish (p.k.)

(53) *Villeraken-nutt-italo-n*

PNbuild-CAUS-3SG.PSThouse-ACC

*muurari-lla*

bricklayer-ADESS

'Ville made the bricklayer build the house'

## Causee = specific marker

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Nivkh (Nedjalkov et al 1995:78)

(54a) *ətəkola(-ax)vigud'*

fatherchild-CAUSEEgo.MC.FIN

'The father made/let the child go'

(54b) *ətəkola(-ax)lepn'igud'*

breadeat.MC.FIN

'The father made/let the child eat the bread'

(54c) *ətək **ola-ax** lepp<sup>h</sup>nanakximgud'*

his.older.sistergive.MC.FIN

'The father made/let the child give the bread to his older sister'

# Variation

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✂ As noted above, coding of Causee is far from being constant in all languages, but there is obvious variation in its coding, which may have semantic or formal reasons.

# Invariable marking

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Tarascan:

(55a) *Eratzinini Adrianu-nixana-ta-s-Ø-ti*

E.A-OBJwalk-CAUS-PERF-PRES-IND.3

'Eratzin made Adrian walk'

(55b) *Valeriaurhu-ra-s-Ø-ti*

V.grind-CAUS-PERF-PRES-IND.3

*tsíri-nieratzini-ni*

corn-OBJEratzin-OBJ

'Valeria made Eratzin grind the corn'

(55c) *Valeriaínts-ku-tara-s-Ø-ti*

V.give-CAUS-CAUS-PERF-PRES-IND.3

*Adrianu-nimatsitsikiYuyani-ni*

Adrian-OBJflowerYuyani-OBJ

'Valeria made Adrian give a flower to Yuyani'

# Formally determined variation

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Bote (examples courtesy of Balaram Prasain)

(56a) *ama-l**bccca**-kemachok<sup>h</sup>w-a-ik*

mother-ERGchild-DATfishheat-CAUS-3SG.PAST

‘The mother fed the child fish’

(56b) *aite-l**gita**-keci<sup>h</sup>ilek<sup>h</sup>-ik*

Aite-ERGGita-DATletterwrite-3SG.PAST

‘Aite wrote a letter to Gita’

(56c) *aite-l**sita**-b<sup>h</sup>igita-keci<sup>h</sup>i*

Aite-ERGSita-ABLGita-DATletter

*lek<sup>h</sup>-a-ik*

write-CAUS-3SG.PAST

‘Aite made Sita write a letter to Gita’

Turkish: SUBJ > OBJ > IO > OBL

# Semantic variation

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Japanese (Nobufumi Inaba, p.c.)

(57a) *piagaanssiokonsaato*

PNNOMPNAACCconcert

*eik-ase-ta*

togo-CAUS-PAST

‘Pia made Anssi go to a concert’

(57b) *piagaanssinibaa*

PNNOMPNDATbar

*eik-ase-ta*

togo-CAUS-PAST

‘Pia let Anssi go to a bar’

## Example 2

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Quechua

(58a) *nuqafan-tarumi-taapa-ŋi-ni*

1SGA Juan-ACC rock-ACC carry-CAUS-1SGA

‘I made Juan carry the rock’

(58b) *nuqafan-wanrumi-taapa-ŋi-ni*

1SGA Juan-INST rock-ACC carry-CAUS-1SGA

‘I had Juan carry the rock’

# Restrictions in coding

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✎ In addition to the variation in Causee coding illustrated previously, some languages place restrictions on Causee coding/expression.

## Semantic restrictions

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Korean (Hak-Soo Kim, p.c.)

(59a) *ku-kakunamcha-eketalli-ke*

3SG-NOM DET man-DAT run-CAUS

*ha-yess-ta*

do-PAST-DECL

‘He let the man run’

(59b)\**ku-kakutol-ekettele*

3SG-NOMDETstone-DATdrop.PASS.CAUS

*ha-yess-ta*

do-PAST-DECL

(He made the stone fall/he let the stone fall)

In the last case, inanimate Causee is not possible.

# Semantic restrictions (Marathi)

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(60a) *ShaambuD-l-aa*

Shamdrown-PERF-MASC

'Sham drowned'

(60b) *Raam-neshaam-laabu**D-aw-l-a***

Ram-ERGSham-DATdrown-CAUS-PERF-MASC

'Ram drowned Sham'

(60c)\* *Raam-neshaam-laabu**D-aaylaa***

Ram-ERGSham-DATdrown-PARTIC

***laaw-l-a***

make-PERF-N

(Ram made Sham drown)

In Marathi, the Causee is viewed as somehow active in periphrastic causatives, which rules the last example out.

# Formal restrictions

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Awa Pit (Curnow 1997: 72, 162)

(61a) *Na=nakuzhupiya*

1SG:NOM=TOPpigcorn

*kwa-nin-ta-w*

eat-CAUS-PAST-LOCUT:SUBJ

‘I let the pig eat corn’

(61b) *demetrio=nacarmen=tapala*

PN=TOPPN=ACCplantain

*kwin-tv-zi*

give-PAST-NONLOCUT

‘Demetrio gave Carmen a plantain’

## Formal restrictions

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(61c) *na=nademetrio=tapala*

1SG.NOM=TOPPN=ACCplantain

*kwin-nin-ta-w*

give-CAUS-PAST-LOCUT:SUBJ

‘I made Demetrio give a plantain’ (or: ‘I had a plantain given to Demetrio’)

In Awa Pit, the expression of four arguments is not possible, which excludes the expression of Causee (or the Recipient) in the last example.

# Rationale

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- ❧ The case forms languages code Causee with are in general easily accounted for.
- ❧ First, Causee and Recipient have features in common, and both of them are also quite natural 'third arguments'.
- ❧ The use of instrumental follows naturally, because both instruments are Causees are 'manipulated' in order to cause something to happen.

# Rationale

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- ✎ The use of the accusative can be explained by the fact that Causees are targets of manipulation.
- ✎ Locatives express an array of secondary functions, and it is no surprise that coding of Causee is among them.

# The coding of O

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- ✎ In contrast to S/A, the coding of O is much less frequently affected in causatives.
- ✎ This follows quite naturally, because causation does not have any consequences for the patient, while it always changes the role of the original agent somehow.
- ✎ But also this is attested.

# Example

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Kammu

(62a) *kɔɔntɛɛkmàhktón*

childNameeategg

'Teek's children eat eggs'

(62b) *tɛɛkpn-màhkɔɔntèe(ɣlaktón)*

NameCAUS-eatchildREFL(INSTegg)

'Teek made his children eat eggs'

In Kammu, the original O is usually omitted, but in case it is expressed, its coding is modified.