

# 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  $n+1$

# Non-canonical causatives (causatives that are not $n+1$ )

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# Causatives that are not n+1

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As has been shown previously, causatives typically increase the valency of verbs by adding an Agent. In addition, there are causatives that do not have valency-increasing functions and may even decrease valency. The non-prototypical functions can be divided into four (Kittilä 2009, 2013):

1. Covert causativization
2. Agentivization
3. Transitivity
4. Valency/transitivity-decreasing causatives
5. Others (unclassified)

# Covert causativization

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- ❧ Covert causativization comprises cases, where the verb may be causativized, but this has no consequences for the number of arguments (Causer is introduced, but Causee is left out)
- ❧ Covert causativization thus clearly follows from formal requirements of languages.

## Example: covert causativization

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Songhai

(77a) *alinga-nditasudimusase*

Ali<sub>eat</sub>-CAUS<sub>ricethe</sub>PN<sub>IO</sub>

‘Ali made Mousa eat the rice’

(77b) *Garbaneere-ndibaridimusase*

garbasell-CAUS<sub>horsethe</sub>Musa<sub>IO</sub>

(\**alise*)

(Ali<sub>IO</sub>)

‘Garba had Musa sell the horse’ OR ‘Garba had the horse sold to Musa’

## Example 2

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Finnish

(78a) *rakennu-t-i-n*                      *talo-n*                      *Kalle-lla*  
build-CAUS-PST-1SG house-ACC PN-ADESS  
'I made Kalle build the house'

(78b) *rakennu-ta-t-i-n*                      *talo-n*                      *Kalle-lla*  
build-CAUS-CAUS-PST-1SG house-ACC PN-ADESS  
'I made Kalle build the house'

(78c) *rakennu-tu-ta-t-i-n*                      *talo-n*                      *Kalle-lla*  
build-CAUS-CAUS-CAUS-PST-1SG house-ACC PN-ADESS  
'I made Kalle build the house'

- The number of arguments does not increase after first CAUS

# Agentivization

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- ⌘ Agentivization refers to cases, where causativization underlines a high degree of agency associated with the agent, but where the number of arguments (and participants is not affected).
- ⌘ Agentivization is also rather frequently expressed by causatives across languages.

## Example (agentivization)

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Godoberi

(79a) *mak'i-diłeničibi*

child-ERGwatersplash.PAST

‘The child splashed the water (perhaps involuntarily)’

(79b) *mak'i-diłeničib-ali*

child-ERGwatersplash-CAUS.PAST

‘The child splashed the water (purposefully and repeatedly)’

## Example 2

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Tsez (Comrie 2000: 365)

(80a) *uži-q*            *č'ikay*            *y-exu-s*  
boy-POSS    glass.ABS    II-break-PAST.WIT  
'The boy accidentally broke the glass'

(80b) *už-ā*            *č'ikay*            *y-exu-r-si*  
boy-ERG    glass.ABS    II-break-CAUS-PAST.WIT  
'The boy broke the glass'

## Example 3

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Finnish

(81a) *Henkilö laihtu-i 4,86 kiloa*

person lose.weight.3SG.PRS 4,86 kg

'A person lost 4,86 kilos of his/her weight'

(81b) *Henkilö laihtu-tt-i 4,86 kiloa*

person lose.weight-CAUS-3SG.PST 4,86 kg

'A person lost 4,86 kilos of his/her weight  
(intentionally)'

# Rationale

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- ✎ In both typical causativization and agentivization, the result is the same, i.e. a highly transitive event instigated by a volitional and controlling agent.
- ✎ The two types differ from each other in the nature of the original event; does it have some kind of causer or not.

# Transitivity

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- ❧ Transitivity comprises cases, where causativization increases the overall transitivity of the affected event without having any direct consequences for agency.
- ❧ Transitivity can also be accounted for by the association between causation and high transitivity (the result is a highly transitive event in both cases).

## Example 1

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Kwaza (van der Voort 2004)

(82a) *'we-da-kijere'xwa*

fear-1SG-DECLjaguar

'I am afraid of jaguars (in general)'

(82b) *we-'tja-da-kijerexwa-'wã*

fear-CAUS-1SG-DECLjaguar-AO

'I am afraid of (this) jaguar'

## Transitivity (intensification)

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Chichewa (Hopper & Thompson 1980: 264)

(83a) *mwana-‘yuw-a-dy-a*

child-thishe-TENSE-eat-IND

‘The child has eaten’

(83b) *mwana-‘yuw-a-dy-ets-a*

child-thishe-TENSE-eat-CAUS-IND

‘This child has eaten too much’

## Example 3

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Finnish

(84a) *minä pelkään hän-tä*  
1SG.NOM be.afraid.1SG.PRS 3SG-PRT

'I am afraid of him/her'

(84b) *hän pelo-tt-aa minu-a*  
3SG.NOM be.afraid-CAUS-3SG.PRS 1SG-PRT

'S/he scares me'

# De-transitivization

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- ✎ In typical cases, causativization increases the valency and/or transitivity of verbs/clauses.
- ✎ However, there are also cases, where causativization has the opposite effect in that it decreases the transitivity of the affected construction.

## Example 1

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Mangap-Mbula (Bugenhagen 1995: 175)

(85a) *aŋ-kaagakataama*

1SG-opendoor

‘I opened the door’

(85b) *aŋ-**pa**-kaagakataama*

1SG-CAUS-opendoor

‘I managed to get the door open’

The control by the agent is lower in the second case

## Example 2

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Finnish (p.k.)

(86a) *Aino laulaa*

PN sing.3SG.PRS

'Aino is singing'

(86b) *Aino-a laula-tt-aa*

PN-PRT sing-CAUS-3SG.PRS

'Aino feels like singing'

The latter example may also have the reading 'Aino is singing', but the normal reading is that she feels an uncontrollable urge to sing.

## Example 3

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Kambera (Klamer 1998: 180, 186)

(87a) *Tila-nanyananjara.*

kick-3SG.CONTARThorse

‘The horse is kicking (now).’

(87b) *Rimang,na-pa-tila na njara.*

look.out3SG.NOM-CAUS-kickART horse

‘Be careful, the horse kicks.’ (i.e. it is her character)

In Kambera, causativization changes a concrete event to a habitual (non-concrete) event.

# Rationale

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✂ De-transitivizing functions of causatives can be explained via indirect causation (repeated on the next slides), direct causation does not alone suffice for this.

# Types of causation

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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]

# Types of causation

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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]

## Others

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Cora

(88a) *ihám<sup>w</sup>ezitízi-cezi*

DETtortillaPL-hard

‘The tortillas are hard’

(88b) *ihám<sup>w</sup>ezitízi-u-cezi-re-kaza*

DETtortillaPL-CMP-hard-CAUS-PAST

‘The tortillas got hard’

- The adding of the causative morpheme makes the event denoted dynamic

## Others (mainly syntactic functions)

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Latvian (Holvoet 2015: 162f)

(89a) *mun*        *sāp*                    *tav-a*  
1SG.DAT hurt.3.PRS    your-NOM.SG.F

*nodevīb-a*

betrayal-NOM

(89b) *mani*        *sāpina*                    *tav-a*  
1SG.DAT hurt.CAUS.3.PRS    your-NOM.SG.F

*nodevīb-a*

betrayal-NOM

'Your betrayal hurts me'

## Others

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Latvian (temporal/spatial co-occurrence)

(90) *mēs*                      *nomirdinājām*                      *vien-u*  
1PL.NOM    die.CAUS.PST.1PL    one-ACC.SG

*nabadzīt-i*

beggar-ACC.SG

'We were present at the death of the poor beggar'