

Causatives and reflexives in the languages of the Volga-Kama Region

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Aims and questions

Contact patterns between Turkic and Finno-Ugric languages has extensively been studied on the level of the lexicon (e.g. Wichmann 1903, Räsänen 1920; Räsänen 1923) and morphophonology (e.g. Saarinen 1997, Johanson 2000).

Contact phenomena of morphosyntactic properties are still understudied (but see Bereczki 2002).

Research questions:

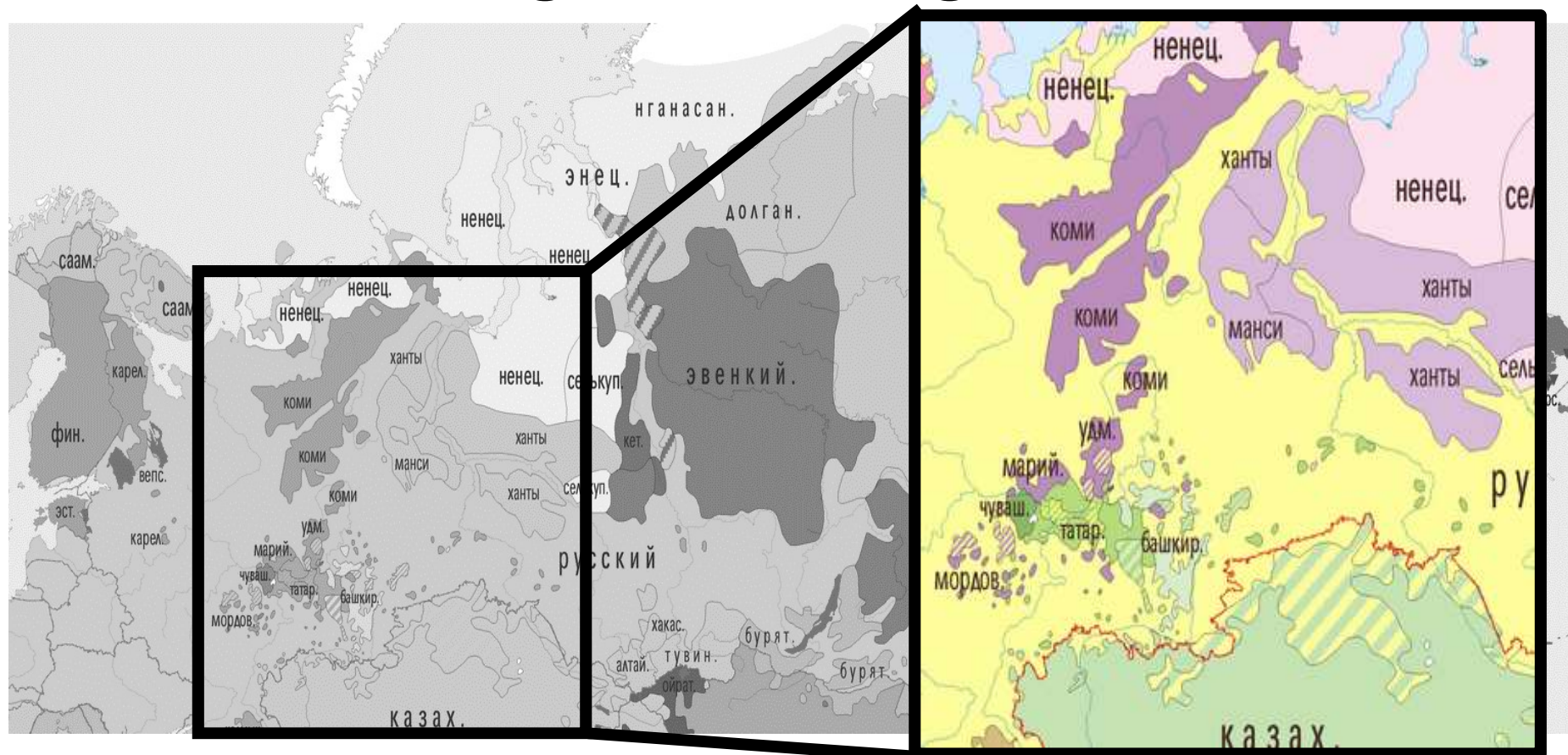
- Q1: How do causatives and reflexive constructions behave in terms of argument marking?
- Q2: Are there any lexical restrictions?
- Q3: What kind of areal patterns (if any) can be outlined?

The Volga-Kama linguistic area



(cf. Helimski 2003)

The Volga-Kama linguistic area



(cf. Helimski 2003)

The Volga-Kama linguistic area



Titular republics of associated languages

Turkic core members (diagonal lines):

- 1) Tatarstan (Tatar)**
- 2) Chuvashia (Chuvash)**
- 3) Bashkortostan (Bashkir)

Finno-Ugric core members (dark dots):

- 4) Mari El (Mari)**
- 5) Udmurtia (Udmurt)**

Finno-Ugric peripheral members (light dots):

- 6) Mordovia (Mordvin)
- 7) Komi (Komi)

(cf. Helimski 2003)

The Volga-Kama linguistic area

	Mari	Udmurt	Komi-Permyak	Chuvash	Tatar
Speakers (Russia 2010)	388,378	324,338	63,106	1,042,989	4,280,718
EGIDS	4 (Educational)	6b (Threatened)	6b (Threatened)	6b (Threatened)	2 (Provincial)

[www.perepis-2010.ru/results of the census/](http://www.perepis-2010.ru/results%20of%20the%20census/)
www.ethnologue.com/categories/endangerment

The Volga-Kama linguistic area

E.g. Lexicon

Tatar	Udmurt	Chuvash	Mari	Meaning
	śamen	> śeměň	> semêñ	PP 'in a manner'
matur <		mattur	> motor	beautiful
	jubo <	jupa		column
	pukon	> pukan	> püken	chair
		kătkă <	kutko	ant
taw	> tau	> tav	> tau	greeting/thanks
...	...	...	...	...

(cf. Wintschalek 1993:49–56)

The Volga-Kama linguistic area



Some areal features:

- Reduced vowels
- Auxiliary constructions denoting aktionsart, benefactives
- Possessive suffix 3rd person singular for whole-part relationship
- Derivational suffixes can follow case suffixes
- Reduplication to denote intensity
- Numerous borrowed morphemes

(cf. Bereczki 1984, Bradley 2016)

Data

- Reference materials (descriptive grammars, lexica)
- Elicited data
- Corpora

Valence orientation

Mari

	Intransitive	Transitive	Method
1. laugh-make laugh	voštyl-	vostyl to -	causative
2. die-kill	kolo-	pušt-	suppletion (lexical)
3. sit-seat	šinč-	šynd d -	causative
4. eat-feed	koč-	pukšo-	suppletion (lexical)
5. learn-teach	tun em -	tun ykt o-	both derived from same stem
6. look-show	ončo-	onč ykt o-	causative
7. be_angry-make_angry	syre-	syr ykte -	causative
8. fear-scare	lüd-	lüd ykt ö-	causative
[...]			

(cf. Nichols et al. 2004)

Valence orientation

Tatar

	Intransitive	Transitive	Method
1. laugh-make laugh	kölü	köl der ü	causative
2. die-kill	ülü	ül ter ü	causative
3. sit-seat	utıru	utır t u	causative
4. eat-feed	aşaw	aşat u	causative
5. learn-teach	uqu	uqı t u	causative
6. look-show	kürü	kür sät ü	causative
7. be_angry-make_angry	açulanu	açuland ıru	causative
8. fear-scare	qurqu	qurqı t u	causative
[...]			

(cf. Nichols et al. 2004)

Causatives

Causative suffixes

Mari	Udmurt	Permyak	Chuvash	Tatar
-kt	-ty	-t	-t	-t
-t/-d		-d	-(t)tAr	-Vr,
-ar ←			-Ar	-DVr, -GVr, -GVz, -sät
-Dar ←				-Vz

Valency +1 (intr. > tr.)

Mari

(1) Üdyr mal-a.

girl sleep-PRS.3SG

‘The girl is sleeping.’

(2) Vospitatel' üdyr-ym mal-**t**-a.

kindergarten_teacher girl-ACC sleep-**CAUS**-PRS.3SG

‘The kindergarten teacher makes the girl sleep.’

Valency +1 (intr. > tr.)

Udmurt

(3) Nylaš iž-e.

girl sleep-PRS.3SG

‘The girl is sleeping.’

(4) Vospitaťel’nica nylaš-ez ižy-**t**-e.

kindergarten_teacher girl-ACC sleep-**CAUS**-PRS.3SG

‘The kindergarten teacher makes the girl sleep.’

Valency +1 (intr. > tr.)

Komi-Permyak

- (5) Peslalöm paśköm kośm-ö ötöryn.
washed clothes dry-PRS.3SG outside
'The washed clothes are drying outside.'

- (6) Nasta koś-**t**-ö peslalöm paśköm ötöryn.
Nastya dry-**CAUS**-PRS.3SG washed clothes outside
'Nastya is drying the washed clothes outside.'

Valency +1 (intr. > tr.)

Chuvash

- (7) Xěr śivăr-at'.
girl sleep-PRS.3SG
'The girl is sleeping.'

- (8) Anne xěr-e śivăr-**ttar**-at'.
mother girl-DAT.ACC sleep-**CAUS**-PRS.3SG
'The mother makes the girl sleep.'

Valency +1 (intr. > tr.)

Tatar

- (9) Qız yoqlı-y.
girl sleep-PRS.3SG
'The girl is sleeping.'

- (10) Ana qız-nı yoqla-**t**-a.
mother girl-ACC sleep-**CAUS**-PRS.3SG
'The mother makes the girl sleep.'

Valency +1 (tr.)

Mari

(11) Ava-že üdyr-žy-lan kočkyš-ym pogy-**kt**-yš.
mother-3SG daughter-3SG-DAT food-ACC gather-**CAUS**-PST1.3SG

‘Mother made her daughter lay the table.’

Animacy effect with *-kt*: causee can be implicit but referent is **human**.

-kt and *-t/-d* in Mari-English dictionary (dict.mari-language.com):

- 383 verbs derived by *-kt*
- 334 verbs derived by *-d/-t* after the translative *-aŋ* and *-em* denominal suffixes
- 50 verbs derived by *-d/-t* in other situations

Corpus survey, elicitations: *-kt* clearly productive, *-d/-t* only productive after denominal suffixes.

Valence +1: Argument structure

Mari

(12a) Myj joča-**m** jü-**kt**-em.

1SG child-**ACC** drink-**CAUS**-PRS.1SG

‘I give the child to drink.’

(12b) Myj čaj-**ym** jü-**kt**-em.

1SG tea-**ACC** drink-**CAUS**-PRS.1SG

‘I give tea to drink.’

(12c) Myj joča-**lan** čaj-**ym** jü-**kt**-em.

1SG child-**DAT** tea-**ACC** drink-**CAUS**-PRS.1SG

‘I give the child tea to drink.’

> Double accusatives in Mari?? (cf. Alhoniemi 1993: 52; corpus)

Valence +1: Argument structure

Udmurt

(13a) Dyšetíš stud'ent-**ez** kńiga-**jez** lydžy-**t**-e.
teacher student-**ACC** book-**ACC** read-**CAUS**-3SG
'The teacher makes the student read the book.'

(13b) Naś'a miśkem diśkut-**ez** šundy-**jen** kuaśty-**t**-e.
Nastya washed cloth-**ACC** sun-**INST** dry-**CAUS**-PRS.3SG
'Nastya lets the sun dry the clothes.'

- Double accusatives (cf. Tánczos 2015)

Valence +1: Argument structure

Komi-Permyak

- No morphological causation with transitive verbs

(14a) Maša Öndi-**sö** čökt-ö sój-ny kaša-**sö**.
Masha Andrey-**ACC** order-PRS.3SG eat-INF porridge-**ACC**
'Masha makes Andrey eat the porridge.'

(14b) Petra koś-**t**-ö peslalöm pašköm(**0**) šondi-**ön**.
Peter dry-**CAUS**-PRS.3SG washed cloth(**ACC**) sun-**INST**
'Peter makes the clothes dry with the sun.'

- Double accusatives

Valence +1: Argument structure

Chuvash

(15a) Věrenteken Pěter-**e** kěneke-**ne** vula-**ttar**-at'.
teacher Peter-**DAT.ACC** book-**DAT.ACC** read-**CAUS**-PRS.3SG
'The teacher makes the student read the book.'

(15b) Amă-šě Pěter-**na** kofe(**0**) ěś-**ter**-et.
mother-3SG Peter-**DAT.ACC** coffee(**ACC**) drink-**CAUS**-PRS.3SG
'The mother makes Peter drink coffee.'

- Accusative-dative syncretism impede classification

Valence +1: Argument structure

Tatar

(16a)

Eni-se qız-ı-**n** yoqla-**t**-tı.
mother-3SG girl-3SG-**ACC** sleep-**CAUS**-PST.3SG
'The mother made her girl sleep.'

(16b)

Uqıtuçı bala-**ga** kitap-**nı** uqı-**t**-tı.
teacher child-**DAT** book-**ACC** read-**CAUS**-PST.3SG
'The teacher made the child read the book.'

(16c)

Uqıtuçı bala-**nı** uqı-**t**-tı.
teacher child-**ACC** read-**CAUS**-PST.3SG
'The teacher made the child read.'

Quasi-causatives (A-impersonals)

Mari

- (17) Ača-m vaky-**kt**-a.
father-ACC vomit-**CAUS**-PRS.3SG
'Father feels sick.'

Only with psych-verbs

Quasi-causatives (A-impersonals)

Udmurt

(18) Mone ösky-**t**-e.

I.ACC vomit-**CAUS**-PRS.3SG

‘I feel sick.’

Komi-Permyak

(19) Menö kyn-**t**-ö.

I.ACC freeze-**CAUS**-PRS.3SG

‘I’m cold.’

Quasi-causatives (A-impersonals)

Chuvash

- (20) Man-a süßen-**ter**-et.
I-DAT.ACC shiver-**CAUS**-PRS.3SG
'I'm shivering.'

Tatar

- (21) Min-e qaltıra-**t**-a.
I-ACC tremble-**CAUS**-PRS.3SG
'I'm trembling.'

Only with psych-verbs

Double Causation

Mari

- (22) tudo vaty-ž-lan vüd-ym yry-**kt-ykt**-en.
3SG wife-3SGPX-DAT water-ACC heat-**CAUS-CAUS**-3SG.PST2
'He made his wife heat water.'

Tatar

- (23) trener marat-nı yeger-**t-ter**-de
trainer Marat-ACC run-**CAUS-CAUS**-PST.3SG
'The trainer made Marat run.'

Reflexives

Valence -1: Reflexive

Mari

(24a) Balerine-vlak čüčkydyn vis-**alt**-yt, šon-em.
ballerina-PL often weigh-**REFL**-3PL think-1SG

‘Ballerinas weigh themselves often, I think.’

(24b) Üdyr-vlak teatr-yške kaj-aš jamdyl-**alt**-yt.
girl-PL theatre-ILL go-INF prepare-**REFL**-PRS.3SG

‘The girls are getting (themselves) ready to go to the theatre.’

Valence -1: Reflexive

Udmurt

(25a) Maša diś-jos-ty miśk-e.

Masha cloth-PL-ACC wash-PRS.3SG

‘Masha washes the clothes.’

(25b) Maša miśki-**śk**-e.

Masha wash-**REFL**-PRS.3SG

‘Masha washes herself.’

Valence -1: Reflexive

Komi-Permyak

(26a) Maša synal-ö jurśi-sö.
Masha comb-PRS.3SG hair-ACC.3SG
‘Masha combs her hair.’

(26b) Maša syna-**ś**-ö.
Masha comb-**REFL**-PRS.3SG
Lit.: ‘Masha combs herself.’

Valence -1: Reflexive

Chuvash

(27a) Maša all-i-ne śăv-at'.
Masha hand-3SG-DAT.ACC wash-PRS.3SG
'Masha washes her hands.'

(27b) Maša śăv-**ăn**-at'.
Masha wash-**REFL**-PRS.3SG
'Masha washes herself.'

Valence -1: Reflexive

Tatar

(28a) Maşa qul-ı-n yu-a.
Masha hand-3SG-ACC wash-PRS.3SG
'Masha washes her hands.'

(28b) Maşa yu-**in**-a.
Masha wash-**REFL**-PRS.3SG
'Masha washes herself.'

Valence -1: Middle

Mari

(29a) Omsa-m poč!
door-ACC open.IMP.2SG
'Open the door!'

(29b) Omsa poč-**y**lt-eš.
door open-**REFL**-PRS.3SG
'The door opens.'

Valence -1: Middle

Udmurt

(30a) Ös-ez ušt-o.
door-ACC open-PRS.3PL
'The door is opened.'

(30b) Ös ušti-**śk**-e.
door open-**REFL**-PRS.3SG
'The door opens.'

Valence -1: Middle

Komi-Permyak

(31a) Yböš-sö ošt-ö.
door-ACC.3SG open-PRS.3PL
'The door is opened.'

(31b) Yböš oš-**ś**-ö.
door open-**REFL**-PRS.3SG
'The door opens.'

Valence -1: Middle

Chuvash

(32a) Alăk-a uś-at-ăp.
door-DAT.ACC open-PRS-1SG
'I open the door.'

(32b) Alăk uś-**ăl**-at'.
door open-**REFL**-PRS.3SG
'The door opens/is opened.'

Valence -1: Middle

Tatar

(33a) Işek-ne aç-a-m.
door-ACC open-PRS-1SG
'I open the door.'

(33b) Işek aç-ı-a.
door open-REFL-PRS.3SG
'The door opens/is opened.'

Valence -1: Passive

Mari

(34a) Ola-šte kok u škol čon-**alt**-eš.
city-INE two new school build-**REFL**-PRS.3SG
'Two new schools are being built in town.'

(34b) Joškar-Ola-šte šuko teatr festival' ert-**ar-alt**-eš.
Yoshkar-Ola-INE many theatre festival pass-**CAUS-REFL**-PRS.3SG
'Many theatre festivals are carried out in Yoshkar-Ola.'

Valence -1: Passive

Mari

- (35a) Mlande jür dene mužk-**ylt**-eš.
land rain with wash-**REFL**-PRS.3SG
'The land is being washed by the rain.'

- (35b) ?Tyn-eš pur-**ty**-maš akušerka dene yšt-**alt**-yn.
faith-LAT enter-**CAUS**-NMLZ midwife with do-**REFL**-PST2.3SG
'The baptism was done by a midwife.' (< Mari Wikipedia)

Valence -1: Agentless passive

Mari

- (36) Ala-kunam ožno suas jylmy-m=at tunem-**alt**-yn.
sometime earlier Tatar language-ACC=and study-**REFL**-PST2.3SG
'Sometime in the past, Tatar was studied as well.'

Valence -1: Agentless passive

Udmurt

- (37) Perepeč-ez ší-**iśk**-i-z.
perepech-ACC eat-**REFL**-PST-3SG
'The perepech [Udmurt food] was eaten.'

Valence -1: Agentless passive

Tatar

- (38) Monda zur öj(**0**) töz-**el**-ä.
here big house(**ACC**) build-**REFL**-PRS.3SG
'A big house is being built here.'

Not in Chuvash, Komi-Permyak, (?Hill Mari?)

Valence -1: Agentless passive

- Denoting lack of volition

Mari

(39a) Sar godym šüjšö pareŋgy-m=at kočk-**alt**-yn.
war during rotten potato-ACC=and eat-**REFL**-PST2.3SG
'During the war, (we) had to eat rotten potatoes as well.'

(39b) Joča-m yšty-meke, šagal mal-**alt**-yn.
child-ACC make-CVB.PRI little sleep-**REFL**-PST2.3SG
'After having the child, (I) [!] hardly slept.'

Valence -1: A-impersonals non-volitional

Komi-Permyak

(40a) Me yst-i eľektronnöj poćta pyr gižöt.

1SG send-PST.1SG electronic post through letter

‘I sent an e-mail.’

(40b) Menam (kažavtög) ysti-**śś**-i-s eľektronnöj poćta pyr gižöt.

1SG.GEN accidentally send-**REFL**-PST.3SG electronic post through letter

‘I sent an e-mail by accident.’

Valence -1: A-impersonals non-volitional

Komi-Permyak

(41a) Menam onmöśśi-**ś**-öma.

1SG.GEN fall_asleep-**REFL**-PTCP.PST

‘I fell asleep (unintentionally).’

(41b) Menam śyv-**ś**-öma.

1SG.GEN sing-**REFL**-PTCP.PST

‘I broke out in song (without planning to).’ (Cf. F. Gulyás 2016)

Summary

	Mari	Udmurt	Komi-Permyak	Chuvash	Tatar
Double causatives	+	+	-	+	+
Double accusatives	-?	+	+	?	-
Quasi-causatives	+	+	+	+	+
Impersonal passive	+?	+	-	-	+
A-impersonal	-	+	+	-	-

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