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# Causatives which do not cause: Refining the typology with the case of Andi (Nakh-Daghestanian)

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ALT 2019

## o Perilinguistic data

≈ 20,000 speakers in Russian Federation > Republic of Dagestan > Botlikh district • Unwritten • Trilingualism Avar & Russian

Figure 1: Andi within Nakh-Daghestanian

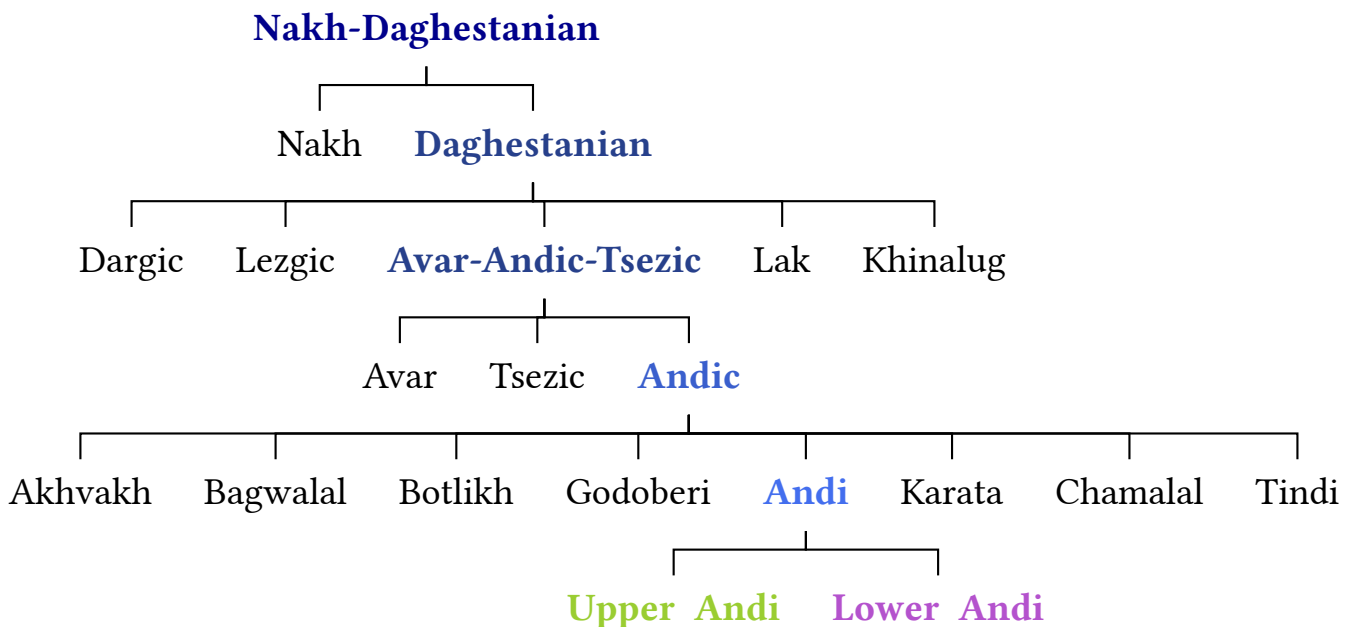
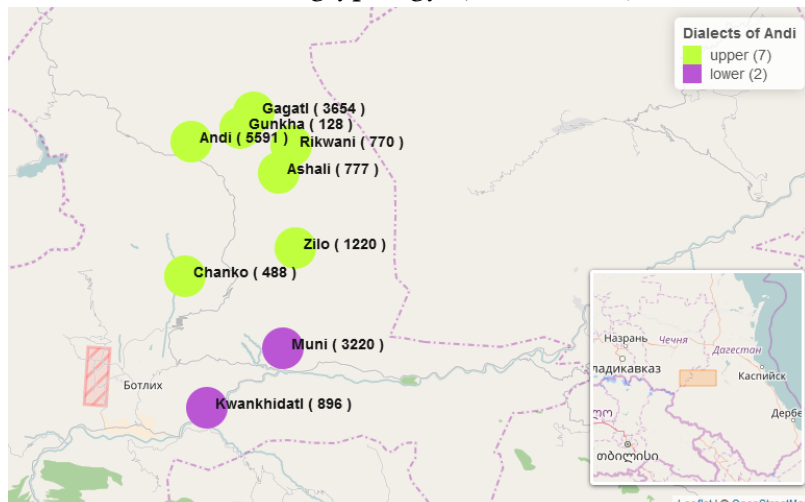


Figure 2: The Andi villages and dialects © S. Verhees with Lingtypology (Moroz 2018)



## Grammar sketches: Andi:

Dirr (1906), Cercvadze (1965); Rikwani: Sulejmanov (1957); Gagatl: Salimov ([1968] 2010). Zilo: Moroz, Rochant, Verhees, Zakirova (in progress).

## Lexical resources:

Alisultanova (2009).  
No dictionary.

# 1 Basic morphosyntax and causativity in Andi

- Ergative alignment
- Noun class system (5-6 classes)
- Syntactic roles indicated through case-marking and (in many verbs, adverbs, etc.) agreement in class and number with S/P (absolutive).

- Causative suffix *-ol(l)* / *-oł* increases valency of any **intransitive** (1) or **transitive** (2) construction
- Recursive causative suffix can causativize twice (3)
- Global semantics → factitive [‘make’] / permissive [‘let’] (2, 3)

- (1) a. *ritt'i* *zary-uj.*  
meat[INAN<sub>2</sub>][NOM] freeze-PF  
‘The meat has frozen.’
- b. *zadaj-di ritt'i* *zary-oł-ij.*  
PN-ERG meat[INAN<sub>2</sub>][NOM] freeze-CAUS-PF  
‘Zaday has frozen the meat.’
- (2) a. *den-ni ingur* *k'amm-i.*  
I-ERG pancake[INAN<sub>1</sub>][NOM] eat-AOR  
‘I ate a pancake.’
- b. *di- <b>o* *ali-di ingur* *k'amm-oł-i*  
I-AFF<INAN<sub>1</sub>> PN-ERG pancake[INAN<sub>1</sub>][NOM] eat-CAUS-AOR  
‘Ali made/let me eat a pancake.’
- (3) *den-ni men* *wofu- <w>o* *buz-oll-oł-i.*  
I-ERG thou[NOM] boy-AFF<M> believe-CAUS-CAUS-AOR  
‘I made/let the boy deceive you [lit. ‘make you believe’].’

## 2 Causatives which do not cause in typology

**Definition** Causatives which do not imply causation = Constructions with causative marker which is not associated with a valency increase

Possible effects in typology (Aikhenvald 2011: 101)

- Increased manipulative effort, intentionality, volitionality or control on the part of A
- Intensive or iterative action
- Complete affectedness of P, or multiple or large P

→ **Increased agentivity of A**

- (4) Manambu [Sepik, Aikhenvald (2011: 106), modified gloss]

*ya:n*            *kə-di*            *ya:p* *a-rali*            *a-kay-rali*  
come+SEQ    DEM.PROX-PL    rope    IMPV-untie    IMPV-CAUS-untie

‘Come and untie these ropes; untie them **with special effort** (since they are entangled)’

A non-causing causative may be a **second** causative in the construction

Possible effects of non-causing second causatives (Kulikov 1993: 128-134)

- (a) All of the above
- (b) Distant causation
- (c) Permissive causation
- (d) Assistive causation

→ **Increased agentivity of CAUSER OR CAUSEE**

- (5) Čini Svan [Kartvelian, Kulikov (1993: 133), modified gloss]

- a. *anaq'-e*  
**simple verb**  
‘X bakes’
- b. *xanaq'-n-e*  
**CAUS**  
‘X causes Y to bake’
- c. *xanaq'-nun-e*  
**CAUS+CAUS**  
‘X helps Y to bake’

### **3 The semantics of non-causing single causatives in Andi: a majority of extratypological cases**

#### **3.1 Exceptional intratypological cases: complete affectedness of P**

When causativized without increasing their valency, transitive verbs involving an action that affects an object with scalar intensity acquire agentivization-like semantics: P is affected completely (6, 7)

- (6) a. *toχturf-di di-r reʔa tʔann-i.*  
 doctor-ERG I-INAN<sub>2</sub>(GEN) arm[INAN<sub>2</sub>][NOM] pull-AOR  
 ‘The doctor pulled my arm.’
- b. *toχturf-di di-r reʔa tʔann-ot-i*  
 doctor-ERG I-INAN<sub>2</sub>(GEN) arm[INAN<sub>2</sub>][NOM] pull-CAUS-AOR  
 (i) ‘The doctor made someone pull my arm.’  
 (ii) ‘The doctor dislocated my arm.’
- (7) a. *den-ni gurdo rajtf-o.*  
 I-ERG shirt[INAN<sub>1</sub>][NOM] unstitch-AOR  
 ‘I unstitched the shirt.’ [so that some of it is left]
- b. *den-ni gurdo rajtf-ot-i.*  
 I-ERG shirt[INAN<sub>1</sub>][NOM] unstitch-CAUS-AOR  
 ‘I completely unstitched the shirt.’ [so that what is left is only thread]

### 3.2 Extratypological cases: focus on the subject

Non-causing causativization of all other verbs translates on the pragmatic level by expressing focus on the subject.

- (8) a. *jusupi-di hark’u qχ’ab-un.*  
 PN-ERG eye[INAN<sub>1</sub>][NOM] blink-AOR  
 ‘Yusup blinked.’
- b. *jusupi-di hark’u qχ’abf-ont-i*  
 PN-ERG eye[INAN<sub>1</sub>][NOM] blink-CAUS-AOR  
 [Who blinked?] ‘It’s Yusup who blinked.’
- (9) a. *den du-ʔa ob-i.*  
 I[NOM] thou.OBL-SUP touch-AOR.  
 ‘I touched you.’
- b. *den-ni du-ʔa ob-ot-i.*  
 I-ERG thou-SUP touch-CAUS-AOR  
 [Who touched me?] ‘It’s me who touched you.’

## 4 The diverse semantic values of of non-causing second causatives in Andi

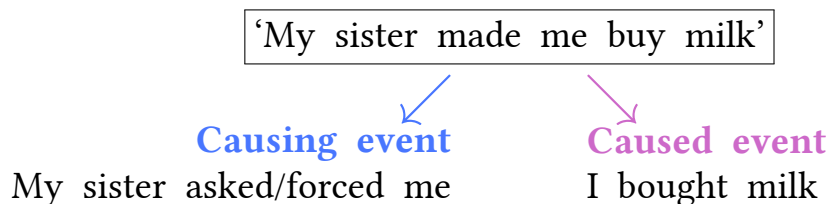
### 4.1 Explanatory pragmatics

- (10) a. *den-ni wofo ufkulu-ʔa-kru w-ed:ot-i zetəl.*  
 I-ERG boy[M][NOM] school-SUP-EL M-leave-CAUS-AOR today  
 ‘I got to keep my son at home today.’ [lit. ‘I made X leave my son

- at out of school today.']
- b. *den-ni wofo uskulu-ʔa-kʔu w-ed:oll-oʔ-i*  
 I-ERG boy[M][NOM] school-SUP-EL M-leave-CAUS-CAUS-AOR  
*ʒeʔal.*  
 today  
 [‘– Why wasn’t your son at school today?’] ‘– I got the permission  
 [e.g. of the headmaster] to keep my son at home today.’

## 4.2 Focus on the causing event

Figure 3: The two events constitutive of a causative situation (c.f. Nedyalkov and Silnitsky 1973; Shibatani 2002)



- (11) a. *jots:u-di wots:i w-ek'uʔ-oʔ-i.*  
 sister-ERG brother[M][NOM] M-cry-CAUS-AOR  
 ‘The girl made her brother cry.’
- b. *jots:u-di wots:i w-ek'uʔ-oll-oʔ-i.*  
 sister-ERG brother[M][NOM] M-cry-CAUS-CAUS-AOR  
 ‘The girl did something that made her brother cry.’
- (12) a. *ilu-di di-<w>o tʃegu saatil-di wofo*  
 mother-ERG I-AFF<M> two hour-INST boy[M][NOM]  
*w-etʔelt-oʔ-i ref-tʔi.*  
 M-let-CAUS-AOR wood-INTER  
 ‘Mother made me let my son go to the wood for two hours.’
- b. *ilu-di di-<w>o tʃegu saatil-di wofo*  
 mother-ERG I-AFF<M> two hour-INST boy[M][NOM]  
*w-etʔelt-oll-oʔ-i ref-tʔi.*  
 M-let-CAUS-CAUS-AOR wood-INTER  
 ‘Mother exhorted me during two hours to let my son go to the wood.’

## 4.3 Explicitly coercive causation

- (13) a. *wots:u-di di-<b>o padamil*  
 brother-ERG I-AFF<INAN<sub>1</sub>> socks[INAN<sub>1</sub>].PL[NOM]

*b-os-~~o~~-i.*

INAN<sub>1</sub>-PL \find-CAUS-AOR

‘[My] brother made/helped me find the socks.’

- b. *wots:u-di di- <b> o padamil*  
brother-ERG I-AFF<INAN<sub>1</sub>> socks[INAN<sub>1</sub>].PL[NOM]

*b-os-~~onn~~-i.*

INAN<sub>1</sub>-PL \find-CAUS-CAUS-AOR

‘[My] brother forced me to find the socks.’

- (14) a. *imu-di wots:u-χo χutfa itf-~~o~~-i*  
father-ERG brother-AD.LAT book[INAN<sub>2</sub>][NOM] give-CAUS-AOR  
*wots:u- <r> o.*  
brother-AFF<INAN<sub>2</sub>>

‘The father made/let his son give the book to his brother.’

- b. *imu-di wots:u-χo χutfa*  
father-ERG brother-AD.LAT book[INAN<sub>2</sub>][NOM]  
*itf-~~oll~~-i wots:u- <r> o.*  
give-CAUS-CAUS-AOR brother-AFF<INAN<sub>2</sub>>

‘The father forced his son to give the book to his brother [as he was reluctant to do it].’

## 5 Extracting the common denominator between all extratypological values of non-causing causatives

Reminder: non-causing single causatives express focus on the subject.

### 5.1 The values of most subject focus morphemes in the typology of Robert (1993)

Robert (1993) “Structure et sémantique de la focalisation” [Structure and meaning of focus]: most subject focus morphemes have the following semantic values:

1. **Identification or contrastive designation of the subject (core value):** -  
*Who hit you? - It is John [and no one else] who hit me.*
2. **Definition or explanation of the situation (= focus on the whole event rather than on the subject)**
  - a) **Definition:** - *What happened? - “It is John who hit me” ⇒ what happened is that John hit me.. c.f. French. On entendit un bruit. C’était le chat qui voulait rentrer.*

b) **Explanation:** - *Why are you mad?* - “*It is John who hit me*  $\Rightarrow$  *I am mad because John hit me.* c.f. French.

3. **Exclamation with an intensive value of the verb:** “*It is Mary who is tall!*”  $\Rightarrow$  *Mary is so tall!..* c.f. French: *C’est Pierre qui va être content!*

Robert’s explanation within Culioli’s framework:

Subject focus statement =

**Assertion:** contrastive identification of the subject

+ ‘**Preconstruct**’: effectivity of the predicative relation and existence of its subject.

E.g. *It is John who hit me.*

**Assertion:** ‘Out of all possible subjects, the person who hit me is John.’

+ ‘**Preconstruct**’: ‘someone hit me.’

With the core value of subject focus (contrastive identification of the subject), the preconstruct is known from preceding context: - X [knows that Y was hit]: *Who hit you?* - Y: *It is John who hit me.*

But the preconstruct is not necessarily known by the hearer nor even effectively realized in preceding context: it is only posited as such by the speaker.

→ The other values of subject focus are obtained when the preconstruct has not been set by the context: the speaker skips this link in the discursive chain and directly connects the focalized stance to a context where the preconstruct is not mentioned: - *What’s going on?* - *It is John who hit me.* [skipped link: *someone hit me*]. → Definition or explanation of the situation, with argumentative effects of accusation and exculpation.

## 5.2 Comprehensive analysis of non-causing causative cases in Andi in light of Robert (1993)

1. Value Non-causing single causatives (default value, ex 8 & 9) = Contrastive identification of the subject (core value of subject focus).

2. Value of non-causing second causatives = **Focus on the event**, and more specifically the **causing event**, due to the specificity of causative situations (c.f. *fig. 3*): subject = causer → subject focus transfers on event where subject is involved = causing event.

→ **focus on the causing event**

a) Ex. 10: explanation of the situation by focus on the causing event (explanation = causing event)

b) Ex. 11 & 12: simple focus on the causing event



- c) The ‘explicitly coercive causation’ value (ex. 13 & 14) could be obtained by either of the following chains of semantic derivation :

Focus on the causing event → focus on the act of causation → coercivity

**OR**

Focus on the causing event → disconnection of the two events constitutive of the causative situation → the causee does not perform the caused action automatically following the causing action → reluctance of the causee → coercivity

⇒ The coercive value might result either directly from focus on the causing event or indirectly through the disconnection of the two events of the causative situation induced by it.

## 6 Conclusion

- Core value of non-causing causatives in Andi = subject focus
- The values of non-causing second causatives are all derived from the subject focus value, with a specificity induced by the semantic structure of causative situations (causing event + caused event)

→ Subject Focus should be added to the typology of non-causing causatives as one of their possible semantic values.

- Verbs of a restricted class (transitive verbs involving an action that affects the object with scalar intensity) show semantics that are described in the current typology: complete affectedness of P. It is tempting to connect this value to the ‘exclamation with an intensive value of the verb’ value of Robert’s typology, but the latter excludes verbs of action.
- C.f. focus expressed by verbal noun + ‘do’ in Tuareg (Leguil 1987: 1166), *do* + infinitive in English

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