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The Andi causative adds and removes agents

Nakh-Daghestanian; 20,000 speakers in Daghestan

• Unmarked causative:

- (1) a. *derzik'a b-ez.a.*
pumpkin(IN1) IN1-fry.ACP
'The pumpkin fried.'
- b. *den-ni derzik'a b-ez.a.*
I-ERG pumpkin(IN1) IN1-fry.ACP
'I fried the pumpkin.'

• Marked causative:

- (2) a. *tłurtła ruts'.o-j*
butter melt-PF
'The butter has melted.'
- b. *sakinati-di tłurtła ruts'-oł.i-j*
PN-ERG butter melt-CAUS-PF
'Sakinat has melted the butter.'

Research question & method

What are the underlying functions of CAUS?

Corpus = 150 causative vs. non-causative pairs elicited via translation, + systematic testing of marked causative: grammaticality and difference judgements, e.g.:

- (3) *den-ni derzik'a b-ez.oł.i*
I-ERG pumpkin(IN1) IN1-fry-CAUS.ACP
Intended: 'I fried the pumpkin.'

Result 1

The causative marker may apply to any **transitive** (5) or **agentive ITR** verb (6), + some **more patientive ITR**:

- **self-propelled movement** ('blink', 'wave', 'shake', 'rattle', 'go away, emanate', 'fall', 'sink', etc.);
 - **change-of-state processes** ('burn', 'get cold', 'rot', 'become insane', 'get old', 'come undone', 'come unravelled', 'change', 'tan', 'fill up' etc.).
- (7) a. *ališhab-di hajman riq.i*
PN-ERG sheep slaughter.ACP
'Ali slaughtered the sheep.'
- b. *den-ni ališhabi-bo hajman riq-oł.i*
ERG PN-AFF sheep slaughter-CAUS.ACP
'I made Ali slaughter the sheep.'
- (8) a. *q'urban girzir zubu hell.i-r*
PN(M) every day run-PROG
'Qurban runs everyday.'
- b. *uť'itelf-di motf'il hell-oł.i-r*
teacher-ERG child.PL run-CAUS-PROG
'The teacher makes the kids run.'
- (9) a. *hints'o bʷanq'u-mado*
stone sink-PROG
'The stone is sinking.'
- b. *motfi-di gama bʷanq'-oł.i*
wind-ERG boat sink-CAUS.ACP
'The wind has made the boat sink.'

Result 2

• The unmarked causative applies to all **patientive ITR** + some more **agentive ITR**. It always exhibits direct causative semantics:

- (10) a. *ingur arχ.on*
window open.ACP
'The window (was) opened'
- b. *den-ni ingur arχ.on*
I-ERG window open.ACP
'I opened the window.'

Result 3

- Some ITR verbs can form both an unmarked and a marked causative:
 - **selabellef-propelled movement** ('blink', 'wave', 'shake', 'rattle', 'come', 'go away') or **contact** ('bathe / be immersed', 'touch', 'stick');
 - **change-of-state processes** ('burn', 'tan', 'fill up', 'change', 'come 'unravelled'/ 'undone');
- In these cases, the two causatives contrast in **directness**:

- (4) a. *k'otu b-u?on* (5) a. *den du-?a ob.i* (6) a. *milki ts'at.o*
horse(ZO) ZO-go.ACP I thou-SUP touch.ACP house burn.ACP
'The horse went away.'
- b. *den-ni k'otu b-u?on* (5) b. *den-ni du-?a [OKre?a / *besun] ob.i* (6) b. *den-ni milki ts'at.o*
I-ERG horse(ZO) I-ERG thou-SUP hand knife touch.ACP house burn.ACP
'I carried the horse away.'
- c. *den-ni k'otu b-u?-oł.i* (5) c. *den-ni du-?a besun ob-oł.i* (6) c. *den-ni milki ts'at-oł.i*
I-ERG horse(ZO) I-ERG thou-SUP knife touch-CAUS.ACP I-ERG house burn-CAUS.ACP
'I made the horse go away.'

Analysis 1

- The **distribution** of marked vs. unmarked CAUS reflects **fuzzy divide between agentive & patientive** verbs, with interlap = ambiguous verbs, all implying concrete or abstract self-propelled movement of potentially/relatively autonomous S. → **UNERG vs. UNACC partition is a fluid continuum** (NASH & BHATT to appear, NASH 2020, LABELLE 1992, DOWTY 1991).
 - Andi CAUS-*oł* requires Agent(oid) (aka holder of process, internal causer, originator) in original construction. → It is NOT a transitivity NOR an incorporated causative verb akin to Romance *fa(i)re* (which selects for anticausative VP, e.g. It. *fa dissipare*, CAUS-*oł* does not).
- Andi CAUS-*oł* spells out the double function of **transitivity + deagentivizer**, i.e. both **introducing a Causer** and **deagentivizing** the initial Agent. → *CAUS-*oł* + VP; *CAUS-*oł* + VoiceP.
- Preference for **indirect causation type II** (NASH & BHATT 2024).

Result 4

- When the CAUS suffix applies to TR verbs, the Causee may be absent with indefinite reading (11) or marked in the **affective** (12).

- (11) *den-ni arkom buχ-oł.i*
I-ERG spoon take-CAUS.ACP
'I made [sb] take the spoon.'
- (12) *den-ni jofu-bo arkom buχ-oł.i*
I-ERG girl-AFF spoon take-CAUS.ACP
'I made the girl take the spoon.'

Analysis 2

- **Causee of -oł causatives derived from ITR verbs** remains **argument** = Undergoer/Holder.
- **Causee of causativized TR verbs** = **optional** + role of Beneficiary/Facilitator/Associate (NASH 2020). → **Adjunct**: 'I made [Ø/you] take the spoon' = 'I had the spoon taken [by you]' → *-CAUS-*oł* + VoiceP → The Andi CAUS suffix -*oł* only selects vP.

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