Verbal Systems on the 44th Meridian

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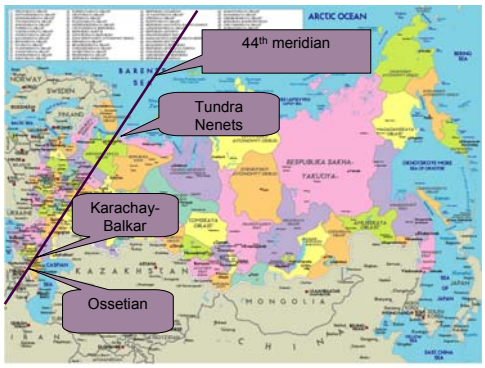


Tundra Nenets

Recursion in Derivational Morphology

Plot of this presentation

- 1. Introduction
- 2. Overview of the verbal system
- 3. Derivational morphology

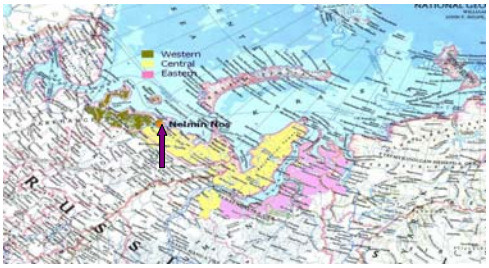
1. Introduction

- Tundra Nenets: genetic affiliation and location
- The project: goals, time, place, participants, informants, research strategy and techniques

Tundra Nenets: Genetic Affiliation

Uralic
- Samoyed
  - Enets
  - Selkup
  - Nganasan
  - Nenets
    - Forest Nenets
    - Tundra Nenets

Tundra Nenets: Location and dialects



The project

Time:	2004-current
Dialect:	Western
Location:	Nenets Autonomous District, Archangelskaya oblast
Source of data:	fieldwork
Goals:	determine semantic contribution of derivational morphology; identify and explain restrictions on its application
Current status:	activity, not (yet) an accomplishment

The project: Goals

Tundra Nenets: rich and productive derivational morphology

- What happens to the argument structure and eventuality type of a verb stem when it combines with a derivational morpheme?
- What are constraints on the application of derivational morphemes?

The project: example

√ jibʲeq 'think (that), be smart'
jibʲed-or
√-FREQ 'think'
jibʲed-or-pta
√-FREQ-CAUS 'make think', 'think'
jibʲed-or-pta-l
√-FREQ-CAUS-INCH 'start making think'
...
jibʲed-or-pa
√-FREQ-DUR 'reflect'
jibʲed-o-l
√-FREQ-INCH 'start thinking'
...

The project: Goals (cont.)

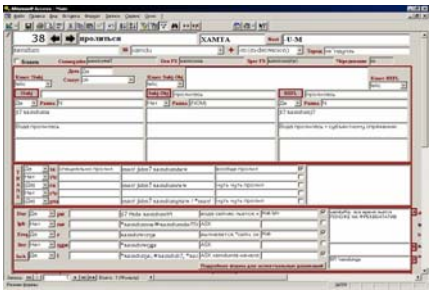
The project: Goals

- Given a stem *S* and a derivational moprheme *d* we have to predict if S+d is well-formed and interpretable. If yes, we want to know
  - ☞ Argument structure of S+d
  - ☞ Eventuality type of S+d

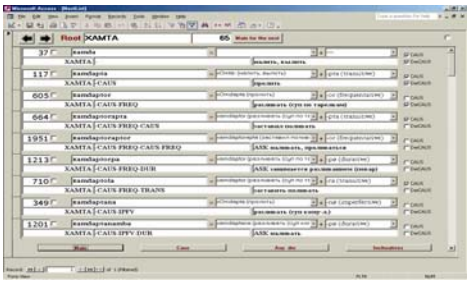
The project: Research strategy

- 1. Create a sample of non-derived verbs in which all major argument structure types and eventuality types are represented
- 2. For every item in the sample, determine its derivational potential, i.e., the set of derivational morphemes this item can combine with
- 3. For every item in the sample, produce all available derivatives
- 4. Add derivatives to the sample
- 5. Collect information about eventuality type and argument structure of the new items in the sample
- 6. Repeat steps 2-5 for those new items

The project: Database



The project: Database



Plot of this presentation

- 1. Introduction
- 2. Overview of the verbal system
- 3. Derivational morphology

2. Overview of the verbal system

Components of inflected finite verb forms (simplified; mood/modality markers not shown)

√	non-productive derivational morphology	productive derivational morphology	event structure modifiers	stem affixes	agreement	reference time
loxo	-m	-ba-l	-i		-q	-s
boil	-M	-DUR-INCH	RSE.SFS		3SGr	PST

M	M-derivation
DUR	durative
INCH	inchoative
RSE	result subevent
SFS	special finite stem
3SGr	3d person singular, reflexive conjugation
PST	reference time in the past

Background

- Tapani Salminen. 1997. *Tundra Nenets inflection.* Memoires de la Societe Finno-Ougrienne 227; Helsinki.
- *A morphological dictionary of Tundra Nenets.* Compiled by Tapani Salminen. Lexica Societatis Fenno-Ugricae 26; Helsinki 1998.
- http://www.helsinki.fi/~tasalmin/tn.html

Background

- Terminology and category labels are identical to Salminen's unless otherwise indicated
- Examples come in phonetic transcription rather than in Salminen's phonological representation.

Overview of the verbal system

Verb stems fall into two types: perfective and imperfective.

- Perfective stems yield forms that refer to a culmination in the past.

(1) maŝa xidʲa-mh xalta.
M. plate-ACC wash.GFS.3SGs
Masha washed a plate.

- Imperfective stems yield clauses that refer to a situation going on at the moment of speech.

(2) wasʲa maŝa-mh natʲe.
V. M.-ACC wait.GFS.3SGs
Vasja is waiting for Masha.

☞ (1)-(2) are morphologically identical

Overview of the verbal system

√	non-productive derivational morphology	productive derivational morphology	event structure modifiers	stem affixes	agreement	reference time

Reference time

Reference time in the past: the -sʲ morpheme

- -sʲ- in combination with imperfective stems/verb forms: past imperfective

(3) wasʲa maŝa-mh natʲe-sʲ.
V. M.-ACC wait.GFS.3SGs-PST
{When I saw him,} Vasja was waiting for Masha.

- -sʲ- in combination with perfective stems/verb forms: pluperfect

(4) maŝa xidʲa-mh xalta-sʲ.
M. plate-ACC wash.GFS.3SGs-PST
{When I came,} Masha had already washed a plate.

Overview of the verbal system

√	non-productive derivational morphology	productive derivational morphology	event structure modifiers	stem affixes	agreement	reference time

Agreement

- Three conjugations
  - ☞ Subjective
  - ☞ Objective
  - ☞ Reflexive

Agreement morphology (*me-* ‘take’ и *te-* ‘flow’)

Subjective conjugation			
	SG	**DU**	**PL**
I person	me=dm || me=mh	me=nɬih	me=waq
II person	me=n	me=dɬih	me=daq
III person	me	meNa=xh	me=q
Objective conjugation; singular object			
I person	me=w	me=mɬih	me=waq
II person	me=r	me=rɬih	me=raq
III person	me=da	me=dɬih	me=doh
Objective conjugation; dual object			
I person	meNa=xju=n	meNa=xju=nɬih	meNa=xju=naq
II person	meNa=xju=d	meNa=xju=dɬih	meNa=xju=daq
III person	meNa=xju=da	meNa=xju=dɬih	meNa=xju=doh
Objective conjugation; plural object			
I person	meja=n	mej=nɬih	mej=naq
II person	meja=d	mej=dɬih	mej=daq
III person	mej=da	mej=dɬih	mej=doh
Reflexive conjugation			
I person	teja=wq	tej=nɬih	tej=naq
II person	teja=n	tej=dɬih	tej=daq
III person	tej=q tey°=q	teja=xh teyø=x°h	teja=dq teyø=d°q

Agreement: Conjugations

- Subjective conjugation

(5) weneko madar-Na.
dog bark-GFS.3SGs
The dog is barking.

- Objective conjugation

(6) weneko Naciki-mh madar-Na-da.
dog boy-ACC bark-GFS-3SGo
The dog barked at the boy.

- Reflexive conjugation

(7) weneko madar-j-q.
dog bark-SFS-3SGr
The dog started barking.

Agreement: Conjugations

“Conjugation forms” differ in terms of argument structure and aspectual characteristics

- (5), subjective conjugation: intransitive, imperfective
- (6), objective conjugation: transitive, perfective
- (7), reflexive conjugation: intransitive, perfective

Subjective forms: trivial and non-trivial

- Trivial subjective forms are identical to objective forms in terms of aspectual properties and/or argument structure.

(8) wasɬa petɬa-mh juta.
V. P.-ACC beat.GFS.3SGs
Vasja beat Petja up.

(9) wasɬa petɬa-mh juta-da.
V. P.-ACC beat.GFS-3SGo
Vasja beat Petja up.

Subjective forms: trivial and non-trivial

- Non-trivial subjective forms differ from objective forms in aspectual properties and/or argument structure

(10) weneko madar-Na.
dog bark-GFS.3SGs
The dog is barking.

(11) weneko Naciki-mh madar-Na-da.
dog boy-ACC bark-GFS-3SGo
The dog barked at the boy

Subjective forms: trivial and non-trivial

- Any clause that comes with “objective” morphology always have a trivial “subjective” counterpart

(11) weneko Naciki-mh madar-Na-da. **OBLECTIVE**
dog boy-ACC bark-GFS-3SGo
The dog barked at the boy.

(12) weneko Naciki-mh madar-Na. **SUBJECTIVE**
dog boy-ACC bark-GFS.3SGs
The dog barked at the boy.

- **We only look at non-trivial subjective forms.**

Overview of the verbal system

√ non-productive derivational morphology | productive derivational morphology | event structure modifiers | **stem affixes** | agreement | reference time

Stem affixes

- General finite stem (GFS)
- Special finite stem (SFS)
- Dual object stem (DOS)

….

See Salminen 1997 for further detail

Overview of the verbal system

√ non-productive derivational morphology | productive derivational morphology | **event structure modifiers** | stem affixes | agreement | reference time

Event structure modification: the -yo- morpheme

xona-sʃ

fall.asleep.GFS-INF

fall asleep

xona + yo → xonʃ-o-sʃ

fall.asleep RSE fall.asleep-RSE.GFS-INF

sleep

Event structure modification: the -yo- morpheme

- Entry into a state of sleeping; perfective

(13) wasʃa xone-j-q.
V. fall.asleep-SFS-3SGr
Vasja fell asleep.

- A state of sleeping; imperfective

(14) wasʃa xon-i.
V. fall.asleep-RSE.GFS.3SGs
Vasja is sleeping.

☞ The –yo- morpheme externalizes the result subevent

Event structure modification: the -yo- morpheme

The –yo- morpheme attaches on top of derivational morphemes:

(15) wasʃa jid-mh xamda-la.
V. water-ACC pour-INCH.GFS.3SGs
Vasja started pouring water.

(16) a. jiq xamda-l-i.
water pour-INCH-**RSE**.GFS.3SGs
The water is pouring.

b.* wasʃa jid-mh xamda-l-i.
V. water-ACC pour-INCH-**RSE**.GFS.3SGs
Vasja started pouring / is pouring water.

Overview of the verbal system

√ | non-productive derivational morphology | productive derivational morphology | event structure modifiers | stem affixes | agreement | reference time

Non-productive derivational morphology

Non-productive derivational morphology: -m-; -s-; -n-.

- **Phonology**: one segment
- **Semantics**: non-compositional
- **Argument structure**: not predictable

(17) wasɬa jid-mh xamd-a.
V. water-ACC pour-GFS.3SGs
Vasja poured water (in a cup).

(18) jiq xamdu-m-a.
water pour-M-GFS.3SGs
The water splashed.

Overview of the verbal system

√ | non-productive derivational morphology | productive derivational morphology | event structure modifiers | stem affixes | agreement | reference time

Productive derivational morphology

- Inchoative
- Durative
- Imperfective
- Frequentative
- Iterative
- Causative

Productive derivational morphology

Inchoative

(19) a. wasɬa wark-xad pɬina.
V. bear-ABL fear.GFS.3SGs
Vasja fears the bear.

b. wasɬa wark-xad pɬina-**l**-Na.
V. bear-ABL fear-**INCH**-GFS.3SGs
Vasja got frightened of the bear.

Productive derivational morphology

Durative

(20) a. wasɬa xidɬa-mh xalta.
V. plate-ACC wash.GFS.3SGs
Vasja washed a plate.

b. wasɬa xidɬa-mh xalta-**mbɬ**-i.
V. plate-ACC wash-**DUR**-GFS.3SGs
Vasja is washing/ washes a plate.

Productive derivational morphology

Imperfective

(21) a. wesako xa.
old.man die.GFS.3SGs
The old man died.
b. wesako xa-**na**.
old.man die-**IPFV**.GFS.3SGs
The old man is dying.
Old men die.

Productive derivational morphology

Frequentative

(22) a. jaxadlej sallе-q.
female.deer return.SFS-3SGr
The deer came back.
b. jaxadlej salu-**r**-Na.
female.deer return-**FREQ**-GFS.3SGs
The deer is walking in and out.

Productive derivational morphology

Iterative

(23) a. jaxadlej sallе-q.
female.deer return.SFS-3SGr
The deer came back.
b. jaxadlej sal-Nga.
female.deer return-ITER.GFS.3SGs
The deer comes back from time to time.

Productive derivational morphology

Causative

- Causative of unaccusative

(24) a. jimbit Nadara.
dress tear.GFS.3SGs
The dress tore.
b. manJ jimbit-mh Nadara-**pta**-w.
I dress-ACC tear-**CAUS**.GFS-1SGo
I tore the dress.

Productive derivational morphology

Causative

- Causative of transitive

(25) a. wasla nleranzla-mh ji-xana panda.
V. bucket-ACC water-PROS fill.GFS.3SGs
Vasja filled a bucket with water.
b. manJ nleranzla-mh ji-xana wasla-nh panda-**pta**-w.
I bucket-ACC water-PROS V.-DAT fill-**CAUS**.GFS-1SGo
I made Vasja fill a bucket with water.

Plot of this presentation

- 1. Introduction
- 2. Overview of the verbal system
- 3. Derivational morphology

3. Derivational morphology

- Classes of non-derived verb stems
- Productive derivational morphology: causativization

Non-derived verbs

- Classification is based on argument structure and aspectual interpretation of a given stem combined with subjective, objective and reflexive morphology

Non-derived verbs

Abbreviations

- **S**: non-trivial subjective conjugation
- **SO**: objective and trivial subjective conjugation
- **R**: reflexive conjugation

Classes of non-derived verbs: Intransitives

- Telic S-intransitives
- Atelic S-intransitives
- R-intransitives
- Ingressive-telic S-R-intransitives
- Ingressive-atelic S-R-intransitives

Classes of non-derived verbs

Telic S-intransitives

Conjugation	S	SO	R
Aspect	*Perfective*	—	—

Members of the class: 'come', 'enter', 'die', 'cook, be boiled', 'start boiling', 'break', 'get lost'

(26) wasʲa xa.
V. die.GFS.3SGs
Vasja died.

(27) wasʲa ʂkola-nh to.
V. school-DAT come.GFS.3SGs
Vasja came to the school.

Classes of non-derived verbs

Atelic S-intransitives

Conjugation	S	SO	R
Aspect	*Imperfective*	—	—

Members of the class: 'be scared, fear', 'be visible', 'be audible', 'be smart, clever', 'be sleeping', 'walk', 'itch', 'eat soup'

(28) wasʲa Nadʲi.
V. be.visible.GFS.3SGs
Vasja is visible.

Classes of non-derived verbs

R-intransitives (telic only)

Conjugation	S	SO	R
Aspect	—	—	*Perfective*

Members of the class: 'sit down', 'start flying', 'start swimming', 'catch fire', 'become glad', 'blow out', 'fill', 'exit', 'go to bed', 'rise'

(29) nʲeranzʲa pani-q.
bucket fill.SFS-3SGr
The bucket filled.

Classes of non-derived verbs

Ingressive-telic S-R-intransitives

Conjugation	S	SO	R
Aspect	*Perfective*	—	*Perfective*

- **S-forms refer to a culminating process**
- **R-forms refer to the inception of that process**

Members of the class: 'rot', 'pour', 'tear', 'get tired', 'get cold, freeze', 'dry', 'deepen', 'lengthen'

(30) a. tecʲa tira.
towel dry.GFS.3SGs
The towel dried.

b. tecʲa tire-j-q.
towel dry-SFS-3SGr.
The towel started drying.

Classes of non-derived verbs

Ingressive-atelic S-R-intransitives

Conjugation	S	SO	R
Aspect	*Imperfective*	—	*Perfective*

- **S-forms refer to a non-culminating eventuality**
- **R-forms refer to the inception of that eventuality**

Members of the class: 'be scared, fear', 'be glad, happy', 'talk', 'fly', 'swim', 'wave', 'sit', 'listen', 'laugh', 'shoot', 'be on display', 'be hidden'

(31) a. wasʲa sarmika-xad pʲina.
V. wolf-ABL be.scared.GFS.3SGs
Vasja is scared of a wolf.

b. wasʲa sarmika-xad pʲin-i-q.
V. wolf-ABL be.scared-SFS-3SGr
Vasja got frightened of a wolf.

Classes of non-derived verbs: Transitives

- Telic SO-transitives
- Atelic SO-transitives
- Telic S-SO-transitives
- Telic SO-R-transitives
- Ingressive-atelic SO-R-transitives
- S-SO-R-transitives

Classes of non-derived verbs

Telic SO-transitives

Conjugation	S	SO	R
Aspect	—	*Perfective*	—

Objective and trivial subjective forms refer to a culminating eventuality

Members of the class: 'receive', 'take', give', 'find', 'lose', 'beat', 'scratch', 'break', 'tear'

(32) wasʲa slanako-mh malʲa-da.
V. toy-ACC break.GFS-AOR.3SGo
Vasja broke his toy.

Classes of non-derived verbs

Atelic SO-transitives

Conjugation	S	SO	R
Aspect	—	*Imperfective*	—

Objective and trivial subjective forms refer to a non-culminating eventuality

Members of the class: 'wait', 'know', 'love', 'herd deers in the night'

(33) wasʲa maʂa-mh natʲe.
V. M.-ACC wait.GFS.3SGs
Vasja is waiting for Masha.

Classes of non-derived verbs

Telic S-SO-transitives

Conjugation	S	SO	R
Aspect	*Perfective*	*Perfective*	—

- **SO-forms refer to a change of state of the internal argument induced by (the activity of) the external argument**
- **S-forms refer to the change of state only**

Members of the class: 'leave'

(34) a. manl xaru xar-danan xaji-w.
I knife.ACC home-LOC leave.GFS-1SGo
I left the knife at home.
b. wasla xar-danan xaji.
V. home-LOC leave.GFS.3SGs
Vasja stayed home.

Classes of non-derived verbs

Telic SO-R-transitives

Conjugation	S	SO	R
Aspect	—	*Perfective*	*Perfective*

- **SO-forms refer to a change of state of the internal argument induced by (the activity of) the external argument**
- **R-forms: two types of verbs**
  - Agent preserving R-forms: change of state of the external argument; various types of middle interpretations
  - Patient preserving R-forms: change of state of the internal argument

Classes of non-derived verbs

Telic SO-R-transitives: Agent preserving verbs

- **SO-forms refer to a change of state of the internal argument induced by (the activity of) the external argument**
- **R-forms refer to the change of state of the external argument**

Members of the class: 'throw', 'eat', 'drink', 'read', 'bite', 'kiss', 'bark', 'dress', 'smear'

(35) a. wasla pe-mh mo.
V. stone-ACC throw.GFS.3SGs
Vasja threw a stone.
b. wasla (tluq-udq) mo-j-q.
V. height-from throw-SFS-3SGr
Vasja threw himself from the height.

(36) a. pida jabloko-mh Nam-a.
he apple-ACC eat-GFS.3SGs
He ate an apple.
b. pida Nam-j-q.
he eat-SFS-3SGr
He ate his full.

Classes of non-derived verbs

Telic SO-R-transitives: Patient preserving verbs

- **SO-forms refer to a change of state of the internal argument induced by (the activity of) the external argument**
- **R-forms refer to the change of state of the internal argument**

Members of the class: 'pour, pour out', 'rock, move', 'hide, disappear', 'hear', 'hit, get hit', 'pinch'

(37) a. wasla jid-mh xamda-da.
V. water-ACC pour.GFS-3SGo
Vasja poured the water out.
b. jiq xamde-j-q.
water pour-SFS-3SGr
The water poured out.

Classes of non-derived verbs

Ingressive-atelic SO-R-transitives

Conjugation	S	SO	R
Aspect	—	*Imperfective*	*Perfective*

Members of the class: 'want'

(38) a. Nacleki slanako-mh xarwa.
child toy-ACC want.GFS.3SGo
The child wants a toy.
b. Nacleki slanako-nh xarwe-j-q .
child toy-DAT want-SFS-3SGr
The child started wanting a toy.

Classes of non-derived verbs

S-SO-R-transitives

Conjugation	S	SO	R
Aspect	*Imperfective*	*Perfective*	*Perfective*

Members of the class: 'bark', 'rain', 'wash'

(39) weneko madar-Na. **SUBJECTIVE**
dog bark-GFS.3SGs
The dog is barking.

(40) weneko Naciki-mh madar-Na-da. **OBLECTIVE**
dog boy-ACC bark-GFS-AOR.3SGo
The dog barked at the boy.

(41) weneko Naciki-nh madar-j-q. **REFLEXIVE**
dog boy-DAT bark-SFS-3SGr
The dog started barking at the boy.

Classes of non-derived verbs

S-SO-R-transitives

Conjugation	S	SO	R
Aspect	*Imperfective*	*Perfective*	*Perfective*

Members of the class: 'bark', 'rain', 'wash'

(42) sarlu xawna. **SUBJECTIVE**
rain rain.GFS.3SGs
It is raining.

(40) num sarlo-mh xawna-da. **OBLECTIVE**
god rain-ACC rain.GFS-AOR.3SGo
The god poured rain.

(41) sarlu xawni-q. **REFLEXIVE**
rain rain.SFS-3SGr
It started raining.

Causativization

Causatives: Direct vs. indirect

- Direct (monoeventive) vs. indirect (bieventive)

(42) a. ja loxom-a.
soup boil-GFS.3SGs
The soup boiled.

b. manJ jedmh loxom-**pta**-w.
I soup.ACC boil-**CAUS**.GFS-1SGo
I boiled the soup.

(43) a. waslja jewejn-Na.
V. eat.soup-GFS.3SG
Vasja is eating soup.

b. manJ waslamh jewejn-**pta**-w.
I V.ACC eat.soup-**CAUS**.GFS-1SGo
I made Vasja eat soup.

Causatives: Direct vs. indirect

- Direct (monoeventive) vs. indirect (bieventive)

(44) a. petlja waslja-mh lada.
P. V-ACC hit.GFS.3SGs
Petja hit Vasja.

b. manJ petlja-nh waslja-mh lada-**pta**-w.
I P-DAT V-ACC hit-**CAUS**.GFS-1SGo
I made Petja hit Vasja.

Causatives: Scope of adverbials

- Monoeventive: unambiguous

(45) manJ slidlja minut-xana jed-mh loxom-pta-w.
I two minutes-LOC soup-ACC boil-CAUS-GFS.1SGo
1. *I boiled the soup in two minutes.*
2. **I did something in two minutes so that the soup boiled.*
3. **I did something so that the soup boiled in two minutes.*

Causatives: Scope of adverbials

- Bieventive: adverbials can take scope over causing and caused events independently

Scope over the causing event

(46) manJ slidlja minut-xana waslja-mh jewejn-pta-w.
I two minutes-LOC V.-ACC eat.soup-CAUS.GFS-1SGo
What I did in two minutes was make Vasja eat up (the) soup.

Scope over the caused event

(47) manJ slidlja minut waslja-mh jewejn-pta-w.
I two minutes V.-ACC eat.soup-CAUS.GFS-1SGo
What I did was make Vasja eat soup for two minutes.

Causatives: Direct vs. indirect

For intransitives, semantic characteristics of the causative (mono- vs. bi-eventive) are not generally predictable from the class membership of the non-derived stem

- Atelic S-intransitives

Indirect causative

(48) a. wasʲa jada.
V. walk.GFS.3SGs
Vasja is walking.

b. manʲ petja-mhᵒᵏ(sʲidʲa minut) jada-pta-w.
I P.-ACC two minute walk-CAUS.GFS-1SGo
I made Petja walk (for two minutes).

Causatives: Direct vs. indirect

- Atelic S-intransitives

Direct causative

(49) a. wasʲa (maŝa-xana) Nadʲi.
V. M.-LOC be.visible.GFS.3SGs
Vasja is visible (to Masha).

b. manʲ wasʲa-mh (maŝa-xana) Nadʲi-pta-w.
I V.-ACC M.-LOC be.visible-CAUS.GFS-1SGo
I showed Vasja (to Masha).

c. *manʲ wasʲa-mh (maŝa-xana) sʲidʲa minut Nadʲi-pta-w.
I V.-ACC M.-LOC two minute be.visible-CAUS.GFS-1SGo
I caused Vasja to be visible (to Masha) for two minutes.

Causatives: Class membership

- Class membership of a causative ***is*** predictable
- Causatives are all patient-preserving telic SO-R transitives

Causatives: Class membership

Telic SO-R-transitives: Patient preserving

Conjugation	S	SO	R
Aspect	—	*Perfective*	*Perfective*

- **SO-forms refer to a change of state of the internal argument induced by the external argument**
- **R-forms refer to the change of state of the internal argument**

Members of the class: 'pour, pour out', 'rock, move', 'hide, disappear', 'hear', 'hit, get hit', 'pinch'

(50) a. wasʲa jid-mh xamda-da.
V. water-ACC pour.GFS-3SGo
Vasja poured the water out.

b. jiq xamde-j-q.
water pour-SFS-3SGr
The water poured out.

Causatives: Class membership

Direct causative:

- SO-form

(51) manʲ jedmh loxom-pta-w.
I soup.ACC boil.intr-CAUS.GFS-1SGo
I boiled the soup.

- R-form

(52) jaq loxom-pte-j-q.
soup boil.intr-CAUS-SFS-3SGr
The soup started boiling.

Causatives: Class membership

Direct causative:

- SO-form

(53) manʲ wasʲa-mh jewejn-pta-w.
I V.-ACC eat.soup-CAUS.GFS-1SGo
I made Vasja eat soup.

- R-form

(54) wasʲa jewejn-pte-j-q.
V. eat.soup-CAUS-SFS-3SGr
Vasja started eating soup.

Causatives: R-forms

- R-forms cancel out the effect of causativization?

(55) wasʲa xarda-xa-nda xaji.
V. home-LOC-3SG leave.GFS.3SGs
Vasja left home.

(56) wasʲa xar-daxa-nda xaju-pte-j-q.
V. home-LOC-3SG leave-CAUS-SFS-3SGr
Vasja left home because of something.

(57) wasʲa sarʲo-jekad xarda-xa-nda xaju-pte-j-q.
V. rain-because.of home-LOC-3SG leave-CAUS-SFS-3SGr
Vasja left home because of the rain.

- In the event structure of causative forms there still is a causing subevent

Causatives: R-forms

R-form of causatives from transitives

(58) manʲ petʲa-nh wasʲa-mh lada-pta-w.
I P.-DAT V.-ACC hit-CAUS.GFS-1SGo
I made Petja hit Vasja.

(59) wasʲa petʲa-nh lada-pte-j-q.
V. P.-DAT hit-CAUS-SFS-3SGr
Vasja got hit by Petja, since Petja had some reason to do so.

- Theme is a subject
- Causee (Petja) retains Dative case marking
- Causal factor: "some reason"

Causatives: Further derivation

- Causative undergoing further derivation
  - Durative
  - Frequentative
  - Causative

Causatives: Further derivations

Causative + Durative

- Monoeventive causative

(60) wasʲa tecʲa-mh tira-pta.
V. towel-ACC dry-CAUS.GFS.3SGs
Vasja dried the towel.

(61) wasʲa tecʲa-mh tira-pta-mbʲi.
V. towel-ACC dry-CAUS-DUR.GFS.3SGs
1. *Vasja is drying the towel.*
2. *Vasja dries the towel.*

Causatives: Further derivations

Causative + Durative

- Bi-eventive causative

(62) manʲ petʲa-nh wasʲa-mh lada-pta-mbʲi-w.
I P.-DAT V.-ACC hit-CAUS-DUR.GFS-1SGo
I am making Petja hit Vasja.
1. OK Petja is hitting Vasja.
2. OK Petja is not yet hitting Vasja.

- 1: Durative takes scope over both events
- 2: Durative only takes scope over the causing event

Causatives: Further derivations

Causative + Frequentative

Frequentative resembles Durative as to the range of possible scope ralations

(63) manʲ kniga-mh petʲa-nh pada-pta-w.
I book-ACC P.-DAT write-CAUS.GFS-1SGo
I made Petja write a book.

(64) manʲ kniga-mh petʲa-nh pada-pt-or-Na-w.
I book-ACC P.-DAT write-CAUS-FREQ-GFS-1SGo
1. *Repeatedly, I made Petja write a book.*
2. *What I did repeatedly was make Petja write a book.*

- 1: Frequentative takes scope over both events
- 2: Frequentative only takes scope over the causing event

Causatives: Further derivations

Causative + Frequentative

Peculiarity of Frequentative: unlike for Durative, non-trivial S-forms are systematically available

- Causative

(65) manʃ Nacʃiki-mh manza-pta-w.
I kid-ACC joggle.intr-CAUS.GFS-1SGo
I joggled the kid.

(66) *manʃ manza-pta-m.
I joggle.intr-CAUS.GFS-1SGs

(67) *Nacʃiki manza-pta.
kid joggle.intr-CAUS.GFS.3SGs

Causatives: Further derivations

Causative + Frequentative

Peculiarity of Frequentative: unlike for Durative, non-trivial S-forms are systematically available

- Causative + Durative

(68) manʃ Nacʃiki-mh manza-pta-mbʃi-w.
I kid-ACC joggle.intr-CAUS-DUR.GFS-1SGo
I joggled the kid.

(69) *manʃ manza-pta-mbʃi-m.
I joggle.intr-CAUS-DUR.GFS-1SGs

(70) *Nacʃiki manza-pta-mbʃi.
kid joggle.intr-CAUS-DUR.GFS.3SGs

Causatives: Further derivations

Causative + Frequentative

Peculiarity of Frequentative: unlike for Durative, non-trivial S-forms are systematically available

- Causative + Frequentative

(71) manʃ Nacʃiki-mh manza-pt-or-Na-w. **OBJECTIVE**
I kid-ACC joggle.intr-CAUS-FREQ-GFS-1SGo
Repeatedly, I joggle the kid.

(72) Nacʃiki manza-pt-or-Na. **SUBJECTIVE**
kid joggle.intr-CAUS-FREQ-GFS.3SGs
The kid joggles.

Causatives: Further derivations

Causative + Frequentative

S-form cancels out the effect of causativization?

(73) manʃ kniga-mh petʃa-nh pada-pt-or-Na-w.
I book-ACC P.-DAT write-CAUS-FREQ-GFS-1SGo
1. *Repeatedly, I made Petja write a book.*
2. *What I did repeatedly was make Petja write a book*.

(74) waslʲa pada-pt-or-Na.
V. write-CAUS-FREQ-GFS.3SGs
Vasja is writing repeatedly.

Causatives: Further derivations

Causative + Frequentative

- Non-derived stem -FREQ vs. …-CAUS-FREQ

(75) Namza xanʃim-bt-or-Na.
meat freeze.intr-CAUS-FREQ-GFS.3SGs
The meat is slightly freezing.

(76) Namza xanʃiw-or-Na.
meat freeze.intr-FREQ-GFS.3SGs
The meat is slightly freezing.

Scenario 1: The meat was put in the freezer:
both OK

Scenario 2: The meat was unintentionally left in the frost:
CAUS-FREQ is odd

Causatives: Further derivations

Causative + Frequentative

- Non-derived stem -FREQ vs. …-CAUS-FREQ

- In a context denying explicitly external causation, frequentatives derived from causatives are systematically awkward.
- In the event structure of non-trivial S-forms there still is a causing subevent.

Causatives: Further derivations

Causative + Causative

(77) petja mal|ca-mh tira-**pta**.
P. shirt-ACC dry.intr-**CAUS.GFS.3SGs**
Petja dried his shirt.

(78) *man| petja-nh mal|ca-mh tira-**pta-pta**-w.
I P.-DAT shirt-ACC dry.intr-**CAUS-CAUS.GFS**-1SGo
I made Petja dry his shirt.

(79) man| petja-nh mal|ca-mh tira-**pta-l-pta**-w.
I P.-DAT shirt-ACC dry.intr-**CAUS-*INCH*-CAUS.GFS**-1SGo
I made Petja dry his shirt.

Causatives: Further derivations

Causative + Causative

(80) was|a xarad-mh maser-pta-da.
V. house-ACC paint-CAUS.GFS-3SGo
Vasja painted (his) house.

(81) *man| was|a-nh xarad-mh maser-pta-pta-w.
I. V.-DAT house-ACC paint-CAUS-CAUS.GFS-3SGo
I made Vasja paint the house.

(82) man| was|a-nh xarad-mh maser-pt-or-pta-w.
I. V.-DAT house-ACC paint-CAUS-FREQ-CAUS.GFS-3SGo
I made Vasja paint the house.

- Two causative morphemes have to be 'mediated' either by Frequentative or by Inchoative

- Much work is still to be done…