

## Single Predicate Causatives in the Udmurt Language

Orsolya Tánčos

**Claims:** Across languages causative constructions have two different types: the periphrastic (in English or in French) and the nonperiphrastic causatives (in Hungarian or in Japanese). The morphological (affixal) causative constructions (nonperiphrastic) also have two different alternatives: 1. causatives involving one predicate, like Hungarian; 2. causatives involving two predicates, like Japanese (Horvath & Siloni 2011). In this paper I will argue that the causative constructions in the Udmurt language are also single predicate constructions constructed in the lexicon by the means of a lexical arity operation (Reinhart & Siloni 2005).

**Background:** In Udmurt causativization is a productive operation, marked by the causative morpheme *-t/-at-* (GSzUJa 1962). The morpheme can be attached to intransitive and transitive verbs as well (Kozmács 1994).

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| 1) a. <i>Saša uža-j.</i><br>Sasha work-PAST<br>'Sasha worked.'                    | b. <i>Saša Maša-jež uža-t-iž.</i><br>Sasha Masha-ACC work-CAUS-PAST<br>'Sasha made Masha work.'                                 |
| 2) a. <i>Saša kéniga lidž-iž.</i><br>Sasha book read-PAST<br>'Sasha read a book.' | b. <i>Saša Maša-jež kéniga-jež lidž-t-iž.</i><br>Sasha Masha-ACC book-ACC read-CAUS-PAST<br>'Sasha made Masha read the/a book.' |

**Theoretical framework:** Here I adopt the following approaches: 1. Semantically causative morpheme is a three-place predicate (CAUSER<ag pt PRED>, which is formed in the argument structure (Alsina 1992), appearing in the syntax as a causative head merged to the VP (Chomsky 1995); 2. According to Reinhart & Siloni (2005) lexicon is an active lexicon, which allows arity operations. Due to the Lexicon-Syntax Parameter (thematic arity can apply in the syntax or in the lexicon) and The lexicon interface guideline (the syntactic component cannot manipulate  $\Phi$ -grids) causative operation can apply only in the lexicon. The causative head merged with the base-verb creates a new predicate, and the arity operation adds an Agent role to the  $\Phi$ -grid of the base-verb. 3. Thematic roles have two atomic features: c(lause change) and m(ental state relevant) (Reinhart 2002), and the +/- clusters of the [c] can differ the original Agent from the Causer.

**Analysis:** Analysing the Udmurt data with the negation and the VP-ellipsis tests, the data show the same pattern as in Hungarian. Negation test in Udmurt unambiguously scopes over the causative (3), it cannot scope over the base-verb. The same is true the VP-ellipsis, it cannot affect the base-verb.

- 3) *Mon pinaljosti öj kiržati.*  
I (the) kids-ACC not-PAST.1SG sing  
'I didn't make the kids sing.' (Impossible: 'I made the kids not sing.')

The outputs of the causative (arity) operations in Udmurt – in the case of transitive verbs – are ditransitive constructions with two direct objects (4), which are not allowed in Udmurt in any other cases. The subject (causee) of the base-verb gets an accusative case and its thematic role (patient) from the output of the causative operation. The order of the objects is non-variable.

- 4) *Mon pinaljosti ta kiržajež kiržati.*  
I (the) kids-ACC this song-ACC sing-CAUS-PAST.1SG  
'I made the kids sing a song.'

The lexical derivation of the operations makes new verbs in the lexicon. The base-verb, under the derivation, gets a new [+c+m] argument – Agent (causer) of the causative verb. The original external argument became to the internal argument and its +c feature is revaluated to –c.

### **Selected references**

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