Valence changing strategies in the Volga-Kama linguistic area

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BACKGROUND

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).

BACKGROUND

According to the valence orientation typology by Nichols et al. (2004), both Finno-Ugric and Turkic languages favour transitivising strategies.

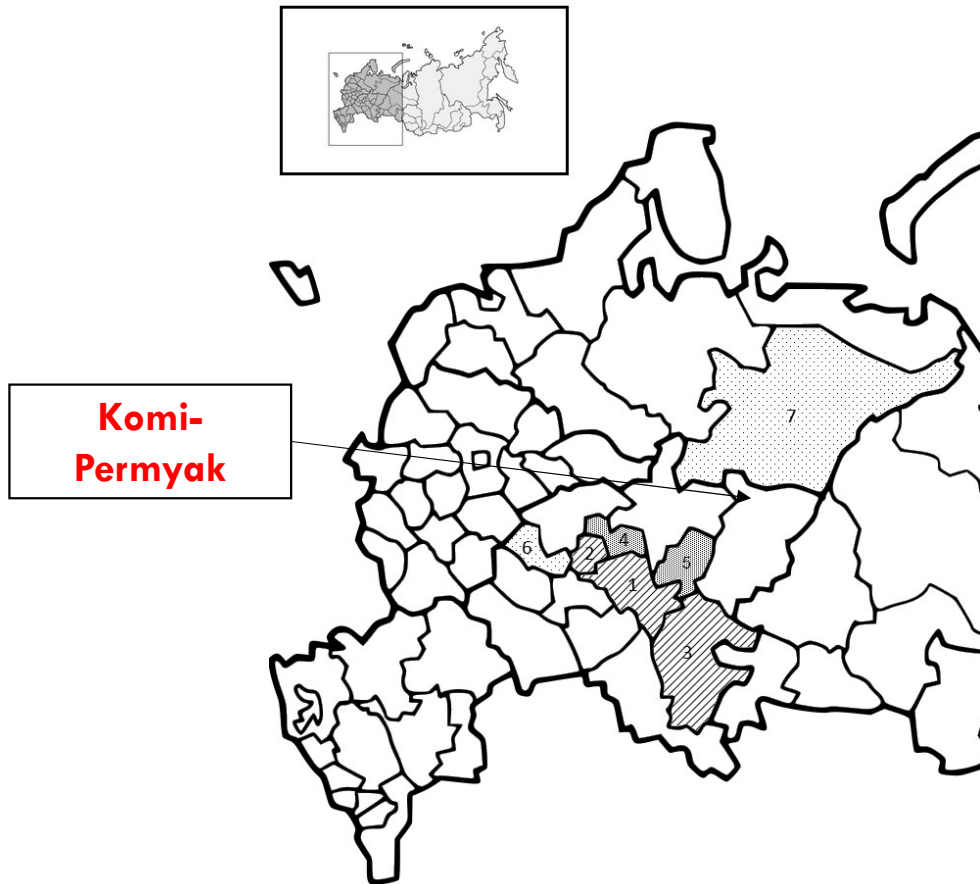Q1: Is this similarity of typological, areal, or historical origin?

A typology of causative constructions in order to outline possible microvariation

Q2: Does a variety allow for double accusative marking in a causative construction?

Q3: Does a variety allow for quasi-causatives?

Q4: Can more than one causative suffix be attached to a verbal stem in a variety?

THE VOLGA-KAMA LINGUISTIC AREA

Komi-Permyak

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 Republic (Komi)
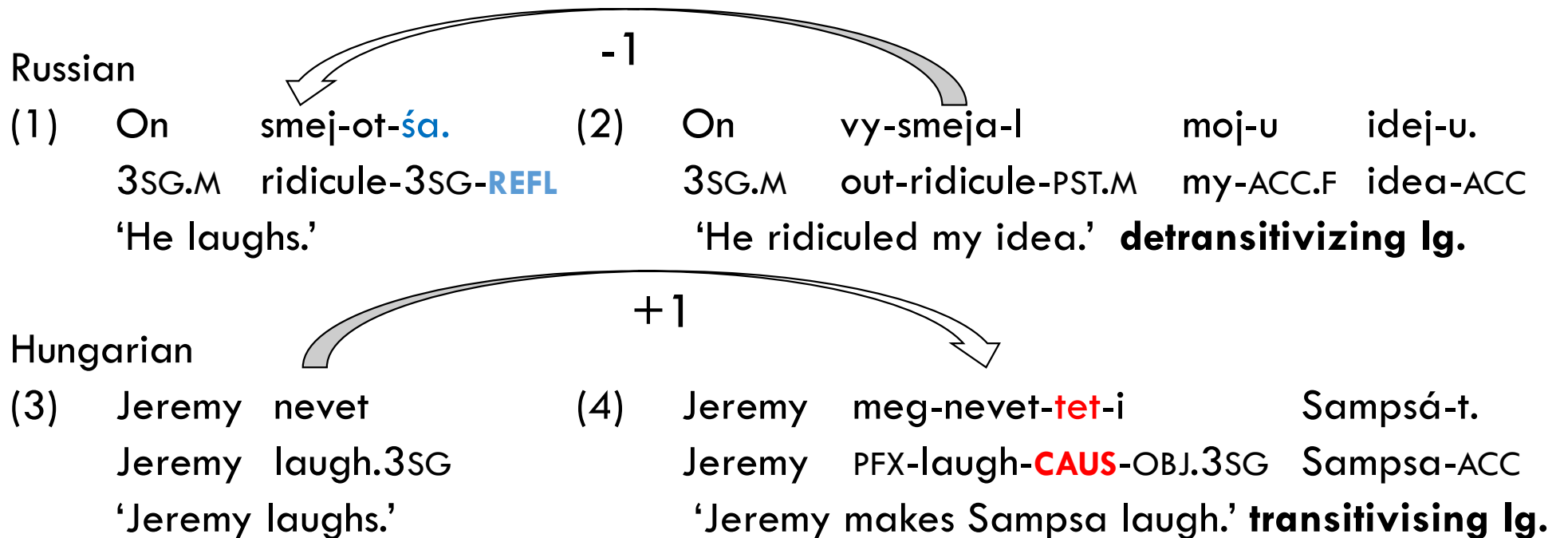- **8) Perm Region (Komi-Permyak)**

(cf. Helimski 2003)

DATA AND METHODS

- Reference materials (descriptive grammars, lexica)

- Elicited data (20–100 clauses / language)

- Corpora (cf. corp.mari-language.com, Borin et al. 2012)

VALENCE ORIENTATION

e.g.: 'to laugh' ↔ 'to ridicule' / 'to make laugh'

Russian

-1

(1) On smej-ot-śa.
3SG.M ridicule-3SG-**REFL**
'He laughs.'

(2) On vy-smeja-l moj-u idej-u.
3SG.M out-ridicule-PST.M my-ACC.F idea-ACC
'He ridiculed my idea.' **detransitivizing lg.**

Hungarian

+1

(3) Jeremy nevet
Jeremy laugh.3SG
'Jeremy laughs.'

(4) Jeremy meg-nevet-tet-i Sampsá-t.
Jeremy PFX-laugh-**CAUS**-OBJ.3SG Sampsa-ACC
'Jeremy makes Sampsa laugh.' **transitivising lg.**

VALENCE ORIENTATION

- using 8 pairs of semantic cognates (Nichols et al. 2004)

- data taken from dictionaries

- checked by native informants

VALENCE ORIENTATION

Mari	Intransitive	Transitive	Method
1. laugh-make laugh	voštyl-	vostyl**t**o-	transitivization
2. die-kill	kolo-	pušt-	suppletion (lexical)
3. sit-seat	šinč-	šyn**d**-	transitivization
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-	transitivization
7. be_angry-make_angry	syre-	syr**ykt**e-	transitivization
8. fear-scare	lüd-	lüd**ykt**ö-	transitivization

VALENCE ORIENTATION

Udmurt	Intransitive	Transitive	Method
1. laugh-make laugh	śerekja-	śerekja-**ty**-	transitivization
2. die-kill	kuly-	viy-	suppletion (lexical)
3. sit-seat	puky-	puk-**t**-	transitivization
4. eat-feed	śiy-	śudy-	suppletion (lexical)
5. learn-teach	dyšetsky-	dyšety-	detransitivization
6. look-show	ućkyny-	voźma**t**y-	suppletion (lexical)
7. be_angry-make_angry	vož poty-	vož pot-**t**y-	transitivization
8. fear-scare	kyška-	kyška-**t**y-	transitivization

VALENCE ORIENTATION

Komi-Permyak	Intransitive	Transitive	Method
1. laugh-make laugh	śerav-	śeröm-**t**-	transitivization
2. die-kill	kuv-	vij-	suppletion (lexical)
3. sit-seat	pukśy-	pukś-**öt**-	transitivization
4. eat-feed	šoj-	**čökt-** šojny	transitivization (periphrastic causation)
5. learn-teach	velötćy-	velö**t**-	detransitivization
6. look-show	viʒöt-	myććav-	suppletion (lexical)
7. be_angry-make_angry	löga**ś**-	löga**v**-	both derived from same stem
8. fear-scare	pov-	šardöt-	suppletion (lexical)

VALENCE ORIENTATION

Chuvash	Intransitive	Transitive	Method
1. laugh-make laugh	köl-	köl**dör**-	transitivization
2. die-kill	ül-	ü**ter**-	transitivization
3. sit-seat	ultïr-	ultïr-**t**-	transitivization
4. eat-feed	aša-	aša-**t**-	transitivization
5. learn-teach	öyrä-**n**-	öyrä-**t**-	both derived from same stem
6. look-show	kür-	kür-**hät**-	transitivization
7. be_angry-make_angry	üpkälä-	üpkälä-**t**-	transitivization
8. fear-scare	qurq-	qurq-**ït**-	transitivization

VALENCE ORIENTATION

Tatar	Intransitive	Transitive	Method
1. laugh-make laugh	kölü	köl**der**ü	transitivization
2. die-kill	ülü	ü**ter**ü	transitivization
3. sit-seat	utıru	utır**t**u	transitivization
4. eat-feed	aşaw	aşa**t**u	transitivization
5. learn-teach	uqu	uqı**t**u	transitivization
6. look-show	kürü	kür**sät**ü	transitivization
7. be_angry-make_angry	açulanu	açulan**dır**u	transitivization
8. fear-scare	qurqu	qurqı**t**u	transitivization

CAUSATIVES

Causative constructions, as defined by Song (2001), denote complex situations consisting of two component events: 1) **the causing event**, and 2) **the caused event.** The linguistic representations of that macro situation always involve two participants of the event. The **causer** does or initiates something in order for the **causee** to "carr[y] out an action or undergo a change of condition or state as a result of the causer's action" (Song 2001: 257).

- **morphological**, periphrastic, and lexical

- intransitive and transitive causation

- marking of the causer and the causee

CAUSATIVE MORPHEMES

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

(cf. Alhoniemi 1993: 149, 153)

CAUSATION (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.'

CAUSATION (INTR. > TR.)

Udmurt

(3)   Nylaš iź-e.

      girl   sleep-PRS.3SG

      'The girl is sleeping.'

(4)   Vospitaťeľńica   nylaš-ez   iźy-**t**-e.

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

      'The kindergarten teacher makes the girl sleep.'

CAUSATION (INTR. > TR.)

Komi-Permyak

(5)   Petra   jökt-ö.

        Peter   dance-PRS.3SG

        'Peter is dancing.'

(6)   Petra   jöktö-**t**-ö   Nasta-ös.

        Peter   dance-**CAUS**-PRS.3SG Nastya-ACC

        'Peter makes Nastya dance.'

CAUSATION (INTR. > TR.)

Chuvash

(7)   Xĕr   śıvăr-at'.

        girl   sleep-PRS.3SG

        'The girl is sleeping.'

(8)   Anne   xĕr-e   śıvăr-**ttar**-at'.

        mother   girl-DAT.ACC   sleep-**CAUS**-PRS.3SG

        'The mother makes the girl sleep.'

CAUSATION (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.'

CAUSATION IN MARI (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 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.

CAUSATION IN KOMI-PERMYAK (TR.)

Komi-Permyak

(12) Maša   Öndi-sö   čökt-ö   śoj-ny

      Masha   Andrey-ACC.3SG   order-PRS.3SG   eat-INF

      kaša-sö.

      porridge-ACC.3SG

      'Masha makes Andrey eat the porridge.'

with transitive verbs, periphrastic causative constructions are typical

cross-linguistically common phenomenon (Song 2001: 266)

DOUBLE ACCUSATIVES

Mari

(13) Myj joča-**m**   jü-**kt**-em.

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

'I give the child to drink.'

(14) Myj   čaj-**ym** jü-**kt**-em.

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

'I give tea to drink.'

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

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

'I give the child tea to drink.'

> No double accusatives in Mari – or are there?? (cf. Alhoniemi 1993: 52)

DOUBLE ACCUSATIVES

Udmurt

(16)   Dyšetiś   stuďent-**ez**   kńiga-**jez**   lydʒy-**t**-e.

       teacher   student-**ACC**   book-**ACC**   read-**CAUS**-3SG

       'The teacher makes the student read the book.'

- Double accusatives are allowed (cf. Tánczos 2015)

DOUBLE ACCUSATIVES

Komi-Permyak

- No morphological causation with transitive verbs

(17) Maša   Öndi-**sö**   čökt-ö   śoj-ny kaša-**sö**.

Masha Andrey-**ACC**   order-PRS.3SG eat-INF porridge-**ACC**

'Masha makes Andrey eat the porridge.'

- Double accusatives are allowed
- Russian influence?

DOUBLE ACCUSATIVES

Chuvash

(18)　Vĕrenteken　　Pĕter-**e**　　　kĕneke-**ne**　　vula-**ttar**-at'.
　　　teacher　　　　Peter-**DAT.ACC** book-**DAT.ACC** read-**CAUS**-PRS.3SG
　　　'The teacher makes the student read the book.'

(19)　Amă-šĕ　　　Pĕter-**na**　　kofe(**0**)　　　ĕś-**ter**-et.
　　　mother-3SG　Peter-**DAT.ACC** coffee(**ACC**)　drink-**CAUS**-PRS.3SG
　　　'The mother makes Peter drink coffee.'

- Accusative-dative syncretism impede classification

DOUBLE ACCUSATIVES

Tatar

(20) 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.'

> No double accusatives

QUASI-CAUSATIVES

- verbs denoting phisycal or mental state or change of state (cf. Stipa 1962, Sands & Campbell 2001, F. Gulyás 2016)

- the single argument marked as the direct object and denotes an Experiencer

Russian

(21)   meńa   tošn-it

      1SG.ACC   cause_nausea-3SG

      'I feel sick.'

Mari

(22)   Ača-m   vaky-**kt**-a.

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

      'Father feels sick.'

QUASI-CAUSATIVES

Udmurt

(23)   Mone   ösky-**t**-e.

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

      'I feel sick.'

Komi-Permyak

(24)   Menö   kyn-**t**-ö.

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

      'I'm cold.'

QUASI-CAUSATIVES

Chuvash

(25) Man-a   śüśen-**ter**-et.

    I-DAT.ACC   shiver-**CAUS**-PRS.3SG

    'I'm shivering.'

Tatar

(26) Min-e   qaltıra-**t**-a.

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

    'I'm trembling.'

MULTIPLE CAUSATIVE SUFFIXES

Mari

(27)   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

(28)   Trener   marat-nI   yeger-**t-ter**-de

         trainer   Marat-ACC   run-**CAUS-CAUS**-PST.3SG

         'The trainer made Marat run.'

- also attested in Udmurt and Chuvash (Bradley et al. 2022)

CAUSATIVE MORPHEMES

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

(cf. Alhoniemi 1993: 149, 153)

ORIGIN OF THE CAUSATIVE MARKER

- Permic *-t* suffix goes back to PU (cf. Bereczki 2003)

- Turkic *-t* causative suffix goes back to Proto-Turkic (Róna-Tas 1998: 78)

- Bereczki (2003) claims that Dative-marked arguments of causative verbs in Mari can be explained by code-copying from Turkic but our data contradict this claim
  - Dat-Acc syncretism in Chuvash, presence of double accusatives in Tatar

SUMMARY

	Mari	Udmurt	Komi-Permyak	Chuvash	Tatar
Morphological causation of tr. verbs	+	+	− (+)	+	+
Double accusatives	−?	+	(+)	?	+
Quasi-causatives	+	+	+	+	+
Multiple causative suffixes	+	+	−?	+	+

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REFLEXIVES

VALENCE DECREASE: REFLEXIVE

Mari

(29a) Balerine-vlak   čüčkydyn   vis-**alt**-yt,   šon-em.

       ballerina-PL   often   weigh-**REFL**-3PL think-1SG

    'Ballerinas weigh themselves often, I think.'

(29b) 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 DECREASE: REFLEXIVE

Udmurt

(30a) Maša   diś-jos-ty   miśk-e.

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

'Masha washes the clothes.'

(30b) Maša   miśki-**śk**-e.

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

'Masha washes herself.'

VALENCE DECREASE: REFLEXIVE

Komi-Permyak

(31a) Maša   synal-ö   jurśi-sö.

         Masha   comb-PRS.3SG   hair-ACC.3SG

         'Masha combs her hair.'

(31b) Maša   syna-**ś**-ö.

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

         Lit.: 'Masha combs herself.'

VALENCE DECREASE: REFLEXIVE

Chuvash

(32a) Maša   all-i-ne   śăv-at'.

        Masha   hand-3SG-DAT.ACC   wash-PRS.3SG

        'Masha washes her hands.'

(32b) Maša   śăv-**ăn**-at'.

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

        'Masha washes herself.'

VALENCE DECREASE: REFLEXIVE

Tatar

(33a) Maşa   qul-ɪ-n   yu-a.

        Masha   hand-3SG-ACC   wash-PRS.3SG

        'Masha washes her hands.'

(33b) Maşa   yu-**ın**-a.

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

        'Masha washes herself.'

VALENCE DECREASE: MIDDLE

Mari

(34a) Omsa-m   poč!

     door-ACC   open.IMP.2SG

     'Open the door!'

(34b) Omsa   poč-**ylt**-eš.

     door   open-**REFL**-PRS.3SG

     'The door opens.'

VALENCE DECREASE: MIDDLE

Udmurt

(35a) Ös-ez   uśt-o.

door-ACC   open-PRS.3PL

'The door is opened.'

(35b) Ös   uśti-**śk**-e.

door   open-**REFL**-PRS.3SG

'The door opens.'

VALENCE DECREASE: MIDDLE

Komi-Permyak

(36a) Ybös-sö   ośt-ö.

       door-ACC.3SG   open-PRS.3PL

       'The door is opened /They open the door.'

(36b) Ybös   oś-**ś**-ö.

       door   open-**REFL**-PRS.3SG

       'The door opens.'

VALENCE DECREASE: MIDDLE

Chuvash

(37a) Alăk-a   uś-at-ăp.

   door-DAT.ACC open-PRS-1SG

   'I open the door.'

(37b) Alăk   uś-**ăl**-at'.

   door   open-**REFL**-PRS.3SG

   'The door opens/is opened.'

VALENCE DECREASE: MIDDLE

Tatar

(38a) Işek-ne aç-a-m.

   door-ACC open-PRS-1SG

   'I open the door.'

(38b) Işek   aç-**ıl**-a.

   door   open-**REFL**-PRS.3SG

   'The door opens/is opened.'

PASSIVE

Mari

(39a) Ola-šte   kok   u   škol   čoŋ-**alt**-eš.

city-INE   two   new   school   build-**REFL**-PRS.3SG

'Two new schools are being built in town.'

(39b) Joškar-Ola-šte   šuko   teatr   festivalʹ   ert-**ar**-**alt**-eš.

Yoshkar-Ola-INE   many   theatre   festival   pass-**CAUS**-**REFL**-PRS.3SG

'Many theatre festivals are carried out in Yoshkar-Ola.'

PASSIVE

Mari

(40a) Mlande jür dene mušk-**ylt**-eš.

land rain with wash-**REFL**-PRS.3SG

'The land is being washed by the rain.'

(40b) ˀTyn-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 DECREASE: IMPERSONAL PASSIVE

Mari

(41) 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 DECREASE: IMPERSONAL PASSIVE

Udmurt

(42) Perepeć-ez   śi-**iśk**-i-z.

      perepech-ACC   eat-**REFL**-PST-3SG

      'The perepech [Udmurt food] was eaten.'

VALENCE DECREASE: IMPERSONAL PASSIVE

Tatar

(43) 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, Hill Mari [!]

Komi-Permyak: only in participial construction

PRELIMINARY OVERVIEW

	Mari	Udmurt	Komi-Permyak	Chuvash	Tatar
Double accusatives	-?	+	+	?	-
Quasi-causatives	+	+	+	+	+
Multiple causative suffixes	+	+	-	-	+
Impers. passive with obj.	+~	+	~	-	+

VALENCE DECREASE: NON-VOLUTIONALITY

Mari

(44a) Sar   godym   šüĵšö   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.'

(44b) 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 DECREASE: NON-VOLITIONALITY

Udmurt

(45a) Mon   stakan-ez   pil'-i.

      1SG   glass-ACC   break-PST.1SG

      'I broke the glass.'

(45b) Mon   stakan-ez   pil'-i-**śk**-em.

      1SG   glass-ACC   break-PST-**REFL**-1SG

      'I broke the glass (by accident).'

VALENCE DECREASE: NON-VOLITIONALITY

Komi-Permyak

(46a) Me   yst-i   el'ektronnöj   poćta   pyr   gižöt.

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

      'I sent an e-mail.'

(46b) Menam (kaźavtög)   ysti-**śś**-i-s   el'ektronnöj   poćta   pyr   gižöt.

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

      'I sent an e-mail by accident.'

VALENCE DECREASE: NON-VOLITIONALITY

Komi-Permyak

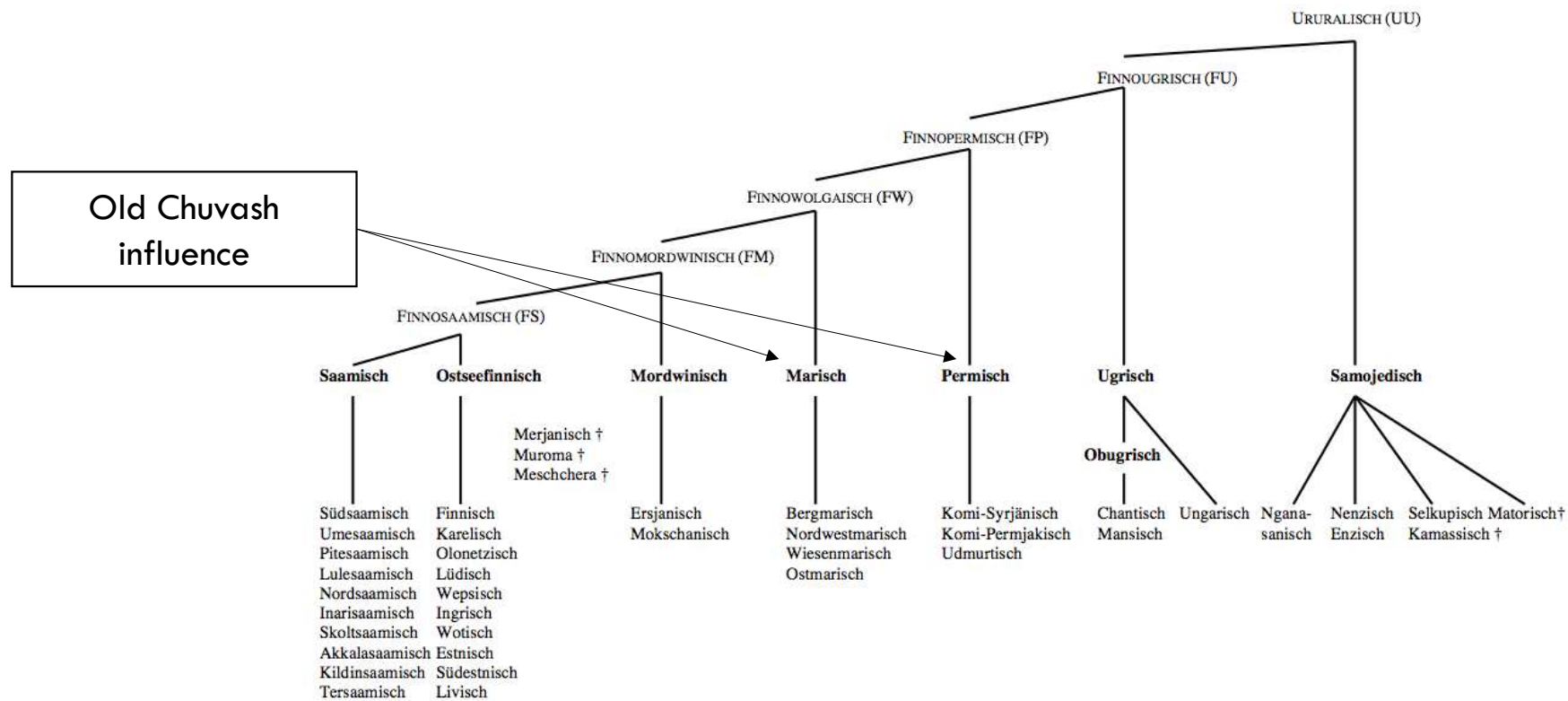(47a) Menam   onmöśśi-**ś**-öma.

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

      'I fell asleep (unintentionally).'

(47b) Menam   śyv-**ś**-öma.
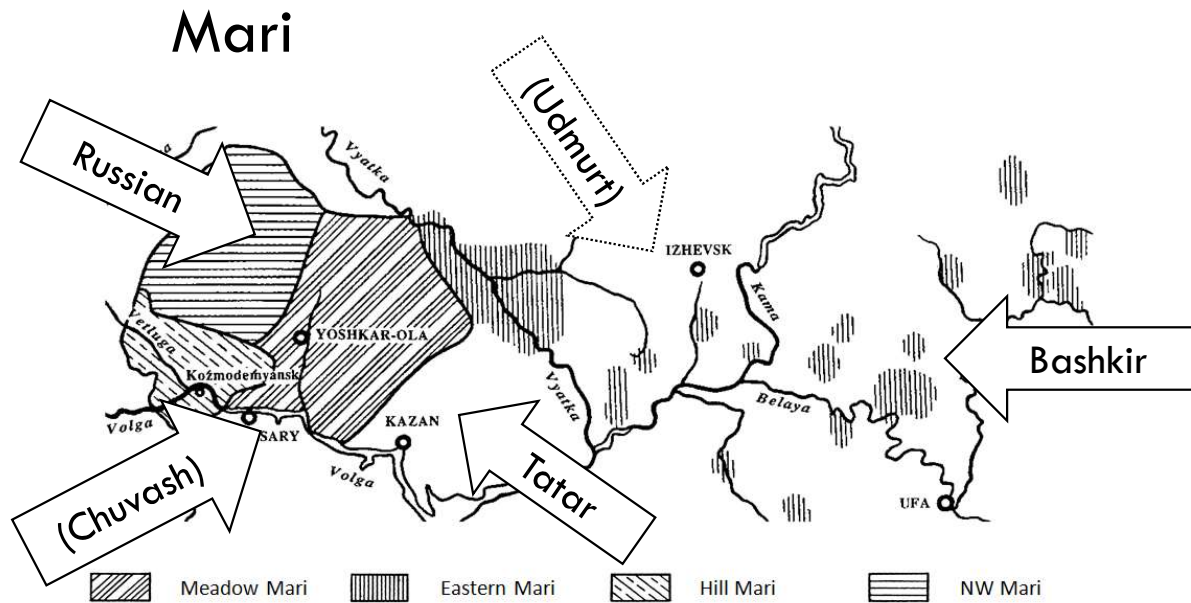
      1SG.GEN   sing-**REFL**-PTCP.PST

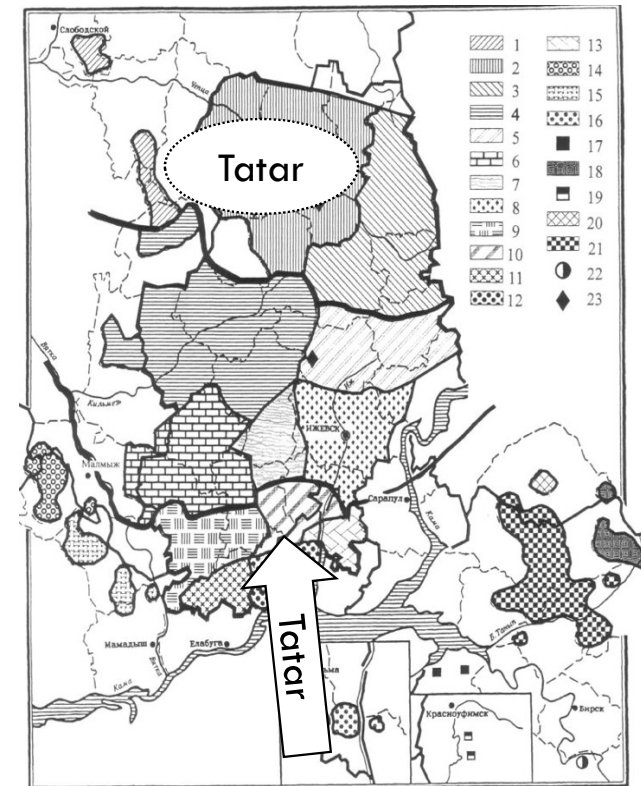   'I feel like singing ().' (Cf. F. Gulyás 2016)

THE VOLGA-KAMA SPRACHBUND: HISTORY

THE VOLGA-KAMA SPRACHBUND: DIALECTOLOGY

Udmurt

Mari

Russian

(Udmurt)

IZHEVSK

Bashkir

Tatar

(Chuvash)

| Meadow Mari | Eastern Mari | Hill Mari | NW Mari |

(< Luutonen 1997: 186)

Tatar

Tatar

(< Nasibullin 2000: 73)