

Causatives in Surgut Khanty and beyond

Márta Csepregi (HUN-REN Hungarian Research Centre for Linguistics)

Nikolett F. Gulyás (Eötvös Loránd University)

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Outline

- **Background**
- Valence-orientation in Surgut Khanty
 - Verb pairs
 - Ambiguous cases
- Causative constructions in Surgut Khanty...
 - Transitivity
 - Argument marking
- ... and beyond
 - Ob-Ugric
 - Hungarian and other Finno-Ugric
- Conclusion

Introduction

Our knowledge on causation in Surgut Khanty is still limited, however, the topic has been mentioned in previous sources in terms of morphology:

- derivational suffixes *-t*, *-pt*, and *-ʌt* have causative or transitivizing function (cf. Honti 1984: 54, Abondolo 1998: 381-382, Gugán & Schön 2022: 620)
- Csepregi (2023: 719) assumes that these suffixes are used for increasing valence; they form
 - transitives from intransitive verbs: *kiʌ-* ‘to get up’ – *kiʌ-tə-* ‘to cause to get up’
 - causatives from simple transitive ones: *ʌǒmət-* ‘to put on (e. g. clothing)’ – *ʌǒmtə-ptə-* ‘to dress someone’

Introduction

Other transitive verbs do not allow for morphological causation:

(1) Aŋki järnas jont-tayə part-əΛ.
mother dress sew-INF order-PRS.3SG

‘The mother is having a dress made.’ (Csepregi 2015)

- Morphological causation is a strategy used for transitivization that is typical for Finno-Ugric languages (cf. Dolovai 2006, Grünthal et al. 2021, Bradley et al. 2022)

Valence orientation

Due to the results of their cross-linguistic study Nichols et al. (2004) found that languages tend to show preference for a certain type of encoding valence orientation:

- 18 pairs of semantic cognates consisting of an intransitive (i. e. *plain*) and a transitive (i. e. *induced*) verb
- ! morphological marking on transitive verbs do not necessarily involve causation

Valence orientation (Nichols et al. 2004)

Plain	Induced	Plain	Induced
'to laugh'	'to make laugh, to ridicule'	'to come to boil'	'to boil'
'to die'	'to kill'	'to catch fire, to burn (intr.)'	'to set fire', to burn (tr.)
'to sit'	'to seat'	'to break (intr.)'	'to break (tr.)'
'to eat'	'to feed'	'to open (intr.)'	'to open (tr.)'
'to learn'	'to teach'	'to dry'	'to make dry'
'to look'	'to show'	'to be/become straight'	'to straighten'
'to be angry'	'to make angry'	'to hang'	'to hang (up)'
'to fear'	'to scare'	'to turn over (intr.)'	'to turn over (tr.)'
'to go into hiding'	'to hide'	'to fall'	'to drop, to let fall'

Valence orientation: strategies

Main strategies used cross-linguistically (Nichols et al. 2004)

- transitivizing (augmented): Hu. *mos* ‘to wash’ – *mos****at*** ‘to make wash’
- detransitivizing (reduced): Ru. *učit’sja* ‘to learn’ – *učit’* ‘to teach’
- suppletion: *to die* – *to kill*
- ambitransitives: *to break* (intr.) – *to break* (tr.)
- same stem (double derivation): Hu. *tanul* ‘to learn’ – *tanít* ‘to teach’

Valence orientation: causation in Uralic

Uralic languages tend to prefer transitivity strategies to other means of encoding

- based on a sample covering 22 languages
- and six verb pairs:
- ‘eat’ – ‘feed’; ‘see’ – ‘show’, ‘fear; be afraid’ – ‘frighten, scare’ (**animate**)
- ‘burn (intr.), catch fire’ – ‘burn (tr.), set afire’; ‘dry (intr.) – get dry’ / ‘dry (tr.), dry out’; ‘be straight, straighten out’ – ‘straighten; make straight’ (**inanimate**)
- strong tendency towards transitivity/causative marking (more than 60% of data)

Surgut Khanty clusters with other FU languages spoken in the area but differs from Northern Khanty (Grünthal et al. 2021)

Aims

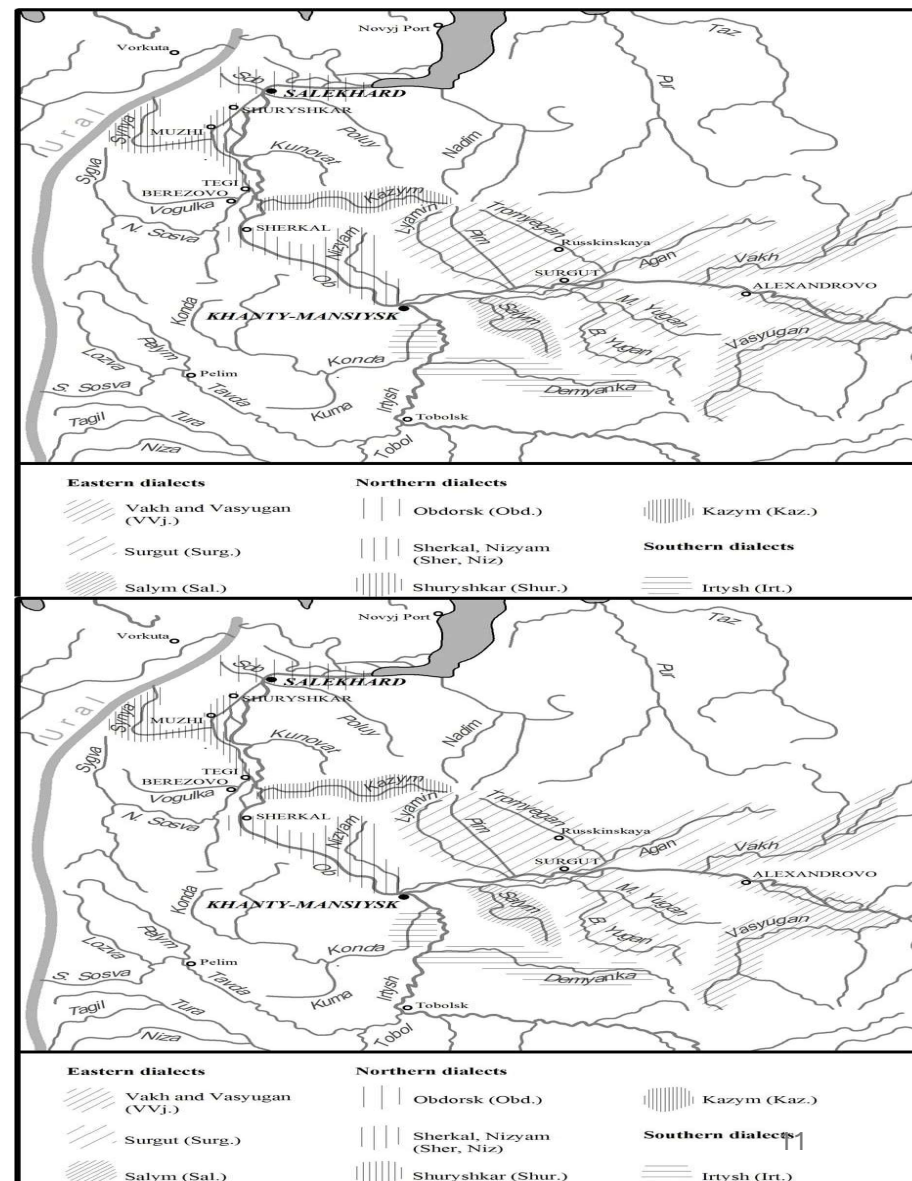
- To provide a brief overview on some morphological and syntactic aspects of causatives in comparison with other (Finno-)Ugric languages
- To get a better understanding on valence orientation and causation in Surgut Khanty

Aims

- Q1: What is the main type of valence orientation in Surgut Khanty?
- Q2: Is morphological causation productive in terms of transitivity?
- Q3: Does Surgut Khanty allow for having double (or several) causative suffixes?
- Q4: How the arguments are marked in the causative construction: does Surgut Khanty use double accusatives?

Surgut Khanty

- Khanty: Northern, Eastern, and Southern (†)
- Eastern Khanty: Surgut, Vakh and Vasyugan (and Salym)
- Surgut: Pim, Agan, Tromagan, Yugan sub-dialects



Map created by Szilvia Németh (Csepregi 2023: 705)

Data and methods

- collected for former projects including the UTDB (Havas et al. 2015)
- previous sources: dictionaries (DEWOS, Teryoshkin 1981, Volkova & Solovar 2016)
- elicitation
- 3 native informants:
 - N1: woman, 30+, Tromagan
 - N2: woman, 40+, Yugan
 - N3: woman, 50+, Yugan
- 200 example clauses

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Valence orientation: Surgut Khanty

Verb pairs	Intransitive	Transitive	Method
1. 'laugh' – 'make laugh'	ńǎγ-	ńǎγ- attə-	transitivizing
2. 'die' – 'kill'	qǎλ-	wäλ-	suppletion
3. 'sit' – 'seat'	ǎməs-	ǎmət-	derived from the same stem
4. 'eat' – 'feed'	λi-	λa- pət-	transitivizing
5. 'learn' – 'teach'	ǒnəλtə- γəλ-	ǒnəλtə-	detransitivizing
6. 'look' – 'show'	wu-	λejəλ-tə-	suppletion
7. 'be angry' – 'make angry'	pyt-	pyt- λtə-	transitivizing
8. 'fear' – 'scare'	pəλ-	pəλ- taptə-	transitivizing
9. 'go into hiding' – 'hide'	qǎńa- γtə-	qǎńi- tə-	derived from the same stem
10. 'come to boil' – 'boil'	kewər-	kewər- tə-	transitivizing

Valence orientation: Surgut Khanty

Verb pairs	Intransitive	Transitive	Method
11. 'catch fire' – 'set fire'	wət'-əγΛə-	wət'-əytə-	derived from the same stem
12. 'break (intr.)' – 'break (tr.)'	åri-	åri-tə-	transitivizing
13. 'open (intr.)' – 'open (tr.)'	punč-	punč-	ambitransitive
14. 'dry' – 'make dry'	sår-	sårə-Λtə-	transitivizing
15. 'be/become straight' – 'straighten'	nörəkkə jə-	nörəkkə wär-	suppletion
16. 'hang' – 'hang (up)'	Λojəγ-	iyyət-	suppletion
17. 'turn over (intr.)' – 'turn over (tr.)'	kari-	kari-tə-	transitivizing
18. 'fall' – 'drop, let fall'	körəγ-	körəγ-	ambitransitive

Valence orientation: main strategies

Main methods for expressing valence orientation in Surgut Khanty:

- Transitivity (causative): **8/18**
- Suppletion: 4/18
- Derivation from the same stem: 3/18
- Ambitransitive verbs: 2/18
- Detransitivizing: 1/18

Ambiguous cases: ‘to die’ and ‘to kill’

Parallel examples:

- *sura*λ- and *sura*λ-*tə*- transitivity
- *qǎ*λ- ‘to perish’ and *qǎ*λ-*tiptə*- ‘to destroy’ transitivity

Originally, *wä*λ- ‘to kill’ referred to the killing of animals

Ambiguous cases: ‘to sit’ and ‘to seat’

Parallel examples:

- *yməɬ*- ‘to sit down’ and *yməɬ-ptə*- ‘to make sit down’
transitivizing

Ambiguous cases: 'to see' and 'to show'

Parallel examples:

- $\lambda e j \partial \lambda$ - 'to look' and $\lambda e j \partial \lambda$ - $t\partial$ - 'to show' transitivizing

Ambiguous cases: ‘to go into hiding’ – ‘to hide’

Parallel examples:

- *čewi-aə* - ‘to go into hiding’ and *čewi-* ‘to hide’ detransitivizing

Ambiguous cases: ‘catch fire’ – ‘set fire’

Parallel examples:

- *najnə* $\lambda i-$ (fire.LOC eat-) ‘burn (intr.)’ and *naja* $\lambda a p \theta t-$ (fire.LAT feed-) ‘burn (tr.)’ transitivizing

Ambiguous cases: ‘to break (intr.)’ and ‘to break (tr.)’

Parallel examples:

- *kös-* ‘to break (intr.)’ and *kös-* ‘to break (tr.)’ ambitransitive
- *kös-əγ-* ‘to break (intr.)’ and *kös-əλtə-γəλ-* ‘to break (tr.)’
transitivizing

Ambiguous cases: ‘to turn over (intr.)’ and ‘to turn over (tr.)’

Parallel examples:

- *kir-əyʌə*- ‘to turn over (intr.)’ and *kir-əytə*- ‘to turn over (tr.)’
derived from the same stem

Valence orientation: Surgut Khanty revisited

Verb pairs	Intransitive	Transitive	Method
1. 'laugh' – 'make laugh'	ńǎγ-	ńǎγ- attə-	transitivizing
2. 'die' – 'kill'	suraλ-	suraλ- tə-	transitivizing
3. 'sit' – 'seat'	yməλ-	yməλ- ptə-	transitivizing
4. 'eat' – 'feed'	λi-	λa- pət-	transitivizing
5. 'learn' – 'teach'	ǒnəλtə- γəλ-	ǒnəλtə-	detransitivizing
6. 'look' – 'show'	λejəλ-	λejəλ- tə-	transitivizing
7. 'be angry' – 'make angry'	pyt-	pyt- λtə-	transitivizing
8. 'fear' – 'scare'	pəλ-	pəλ- taptə-	transitivizing
9. 'go into hiding' – 'hide'	čewi- λə-	čewi-	detransitivizing
10. 'come to boil' – 'boil'	kewər-	kewər- tə-	transitivizing

Valence orientation: Surgut Khanty revisited

Verb pairs	Intransitive	Transitive	Method
11. ‘catch fire’ – ‘set fire’	najnə ʌi-	naja ʌa-pət-	transitivizing
12. ‘break (intr.)’ – ‘break (tr.)’	åri-	åri-tə-	transitivizing
13. ‘open (intr.)’ – ‘open (tr.)’	punč-	punč-	ambitransitive
14. ‘dry’ – ‘make dry’	sår-	sårə-ʌtə-	transitivizing
15. ‘be/become straight’ – ‘straighten’	nörəkkə jə-	nörəkkə wär-	suppletion
16. ‘hang’ – ‘hang (up)’	ʌojəγ-	iyyət-	suppletion
17. ‘turn over (intr.)’ – ‘turn over (tr.)’	kari-	kari-tə-	transitivizing
18. ‘fall’ – ‘drop, let fall’	körəγ-	körəγ-	ambitransitive

Valence orientation: main strategies revisited

Main methods for expressing valence orientation in Surgut Khanty:

- Transitivity (causative): **12/18**
- Suppletion: 2/18
- Ambitransitive verbs: 2/18
- Detransitivizing: 2/18
- Derivation from the same stem: 0/18

Valence orientation elsewhere

Language	eat / feed	see / show	fear / scare	burn	dry	straight
Kamas	S	S	S	R	C	C
Selkup	C	C	C	S	C	
Tundra Nenets	C	C	C	C	C	C
Nganasan	C	C		C	C	
East Khanty	C	S	C	C	C	A
North Khanty	C	S	C	A	A	A
(North) Mansi	C	C	C	S	C	A
Hungarian	C	S	S	C	C	C
Udmurt	S	C	C	C	C	C
Komi	S	S	C	R	R	C
Mari	S	S	C	C	R	C
Erzya	S	C	S	O	R	O
Livonian	C	C	S	S	O	A
South Estonian	C	C	S	C	R	C
Estonian	C	C	S	C	C	C
...	-	-	-	-	-	-

Grünthal et al. (2021: 215)

Valence orientation elsewhere

- Russian: strongly detransitivizing
- Turkic: strongly transitivizing
- Volga-Kama region:
 - core FU: Udmurt, Mari > Turkic patterns
 - margin: Komi-Permyak: ambiguous (Bradley et al. 2022)

Valence orientation: interim summary

Q1: What is the main type of valence orientation in Surgut Khanty?

- Surgut Khanty shows clear preference for transitivizing strategies

What is the motivation for the usage of alternate strategies?

- animacy?
- agentivity?
- None of them seem to be plausible.

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Causative constructions: background

Causative constructions denote a macro-situation consisting of two micro-situations:

- “(i) the causing event, in which the causer does or initiates something;
- and (ii) the caused event, in which the causee carries out an action, or undergoes a change of condition or state as a result of the causer’s action.” (Song 2001: 257)

Causative constructions: types of encoding

There are four main types of marking for causatives (cf. Nedyalkov & Silnitsky 1973, Dixon 2000, Song 2001, 2013)

Lexical: for expressing certain meanings, the language uses suppletive forms

(2) Peter died.

(3) Jack killed Peter. i. e. Jack made Peter die.

Ambitransitives: the same form expresses both causative and non-causative meanings

(4) The vase broke.

(5) Jane broke the vase.

Causative constructions: types of encoding

Morphological: causatives verbs take a bounded morpheme

(6) Dávid kutyá-k-at rajzol.
Dávid dog-PL-ACC draw.PRS.3SG
'Dávid is drawing dogs.'

(7) Pisti kutyá-k-at rajzol-tat Dávid-dal.
Pisti dog-PL-ACC draw-CAUS.PRS.3SG Dávid-INST
'Pisti makes Dávid draw dogs.'

Causative constructions: types of encoding

Periphrastic: also known as analytic or syntactic causatives contain a noun phrase that together with the predicate of the causing event appear in a higher grammatical position than the caused event.

- the agent of the causing event appears as the grammatical subject of the sentence; or
- the predicate referring to the caused event is marked as subordinate, with the verb appearing in a non-finite form or as a finite verb in the tense, aspect, or mood triggered by its subordinate position (cf. Havas 2015, Song 2001).

(8) Elizabeth made the chef eat the leftovers. (Song 2001: 257)

Causation and transitivity: intransitives

(9) Miša náγ-tə jasəŋ iɫti náγ.

Misha laugh-PTCP.PRS speech from laugh-PST.3SG

‘Misha laughed at the joke.’ (elicited)

(10) Miša náŋi-Λ mánt'-nat náγ-əɫtə-Λ.

Misha sister-POSS.3SG story-COM laugh-CAUS-PRS.3SG

‘Misha made his sister laugh with the story.’ (elicited)

Causation and transitivity: transitives

- periphrastic: *part-* ‘to order’ + INF

(11) Ma järnas jōnt-Λ-əm.
I dress sew-PRS-1SG

‘I’m sewing a dress.’ (elicited)

(12) Aṅki järnas jōnt-tayə part-əΛ.
mother dress sew-INF order-PRS.3SG

‘The mother is having a dress made.’ (Csepregi 2015a)

Causation and transitivity: transitives

- morphological causation is very limited

(13) Ma sup nǒq ʌiw-əm.
I soup up eat-PST.1SG
'I ate the soup.' (elicited)

(14) Aŋki ńewrem ʌapət-ʌ.
mother child feed-PRS.3SG
'The mother is feeding the child.' (elicited)

Causation and transitivity: ditransitives

- only periphrastic constructions

(15) tētāŋki mōqmuq-əΛ-a posylka kit-Λ.
grandmother grandchild-POSS.3SG-LAT package send-PRS.3SG

‘The grandmother sends a package to her grandchild.’ (elicited)

(16) tētāŋki počtaljon posylka kit-tayə
grandmother postman package send-INF
pārt-əΛ mōqmuq-əΛ-a.
order-PRS.3SG grandchild-POSS.3SG-LAT

‘The grandmother sends a package to her grandchild by the postman.’
(elicited)

Causation and transitivity

Q2: Is morphological causation productive in terms of transitivity?

- Surgut Khanty uses morphological causation with intransitive verbs
- with a very limited set of transitive ones ('to eat' – 'to feed', 'to steal' – 'to make steal')
- with (di)transitives periphrastic constructions are used
- this pattern is common cross-linguistically (Song 2001) and it is also known in other FU languages, in Synya Khanty (F. Gulyas 2015a, b) and in Komi-Permyak (Bradley et al. 2022)

Q3: Does Surgut Khanty allow for having double (or several) causative suffixes?

- no examples in our data

Argument marking

General pattern:

- intransitive: S/A > DO
- transitive: S/A > IO or oblique

Subject > Direct object > Indirect object > Other oblique (Comrie 1976: 263)

- many counterexamples

Argument marking

Instrumental (instructive-final):

(17) Aŋki ńewrem ʌapət-ʌ.
mother child feed-PRS.3SG

‘The mother is feeding the child.’ (elicited)

(18) Aŋki-nə ńewrem sup-at ʌipt-i.
mother-LOC child soup-INST feed-PASS.PST.3SG

‘The mother fed the child with the soup.’ (elicited)

Argument marking

Q4: How the arguments are marked in the causative construction: does Surgut Khanty use double accusatives?

- only one example but the informant didn't find it neutral

(19) tētāŋki počtaljon posylka kit-tayə
grandmother postman package send-INF
pārt-əΛ mōqmuq-əΛ-a.
order-PRS.3SG grandchild-POSS.3SG-LAT
'The grandmother sends a package to her grandchild by the postman.'
(elicited)

Argument marking

Due to case-marking asymmetry, Surgut Khanty speakers seem to have a strong preference for passive constructions with causatives

- (20) Stud'ent kəńika ʌoŋət-tayə
student book read-INF
onəʌtə-tə qō-nə pārt-ʌ-i.
teach-PTCP.PRS man-LOC order-PRS-PASS.3SG
'The teacher made the student read the book.' (elicited)

Interim summary

- No examples for the usage of double causative suffixes
- No examples (only one example) for the usage of double accusative suffixes
- Morphological causation with intransitive verbs only
- The status of the causative verb used with (di)transitives is debatable: is it an auxiliary?
- Russian influence?

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Zooming out: Synya Khanty

Similar usage and restrictions as in Surgut Khanty

- no double causation; morphological causation with intransitives; no double accusatives (?)

(21) Aše-l ope-l pox-al-a uli
father-POSS.3SG sister-POSS.3SG boy-POSS.3SG-LAT reindeer
ma-ti pārlə-l-li.
give-INF order-PRS-OBJ.3SG

‘The father made his sister give a reindeer to his son.’ (F. Gulyás 2015a)

Zooming out: Ugric

- North Mansi and Hungarian share some similarities:
 - double causation is allowed: Hu. *olvas-tat-tat* ‘make one make read’
 - morphological causation with intransitives and (di)transitives
 - Mansi also employs periphrastic constructions with the latter type (Németh 2015, Dolovai 2001)
- Differences in argument marking:
 - Mansi: Lative
 - Hungarian: Instrumental

Zooming out: Finno-Ugric

Dolovai (2001, 2006), Tánczos (2015),
Grünthal et al. (2021), Bradley et al. (2022)

	Surgut Khanty	Synya Khanty	North Mansi	Hungarian	Udmurt	Komi- Permyak
Morphological causation with intransitives	+	+	+	+	+	+
Morphological causation with transitives	-	-	+/-	+	+	-
Morphological causation with ditransitives	-	-	-	+	+	-
Double causation	-	-	-	+	+	-
Double accusatives	+/-	+/-	-	-	+	+/-

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Conclusion

Surgut Khanty seems to

- prefer transitivizing strategies to non-transitivizing ones,
- use transitivizing suffixes expressing causative functions,
- apply these suffixes with intransitive verbs,
- use periphrastic causation for (di)transitive ones,
- avoid overt marking of double accusatives,
- use passive constructions more often to express causation where more arguments are marked with distinct cases (or postpositions).

Further research is needed to gain a better understanding of these preferences.

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Pasipa!

Thank you for your
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csepregi.marta@nytud.hun-ren.hu

nikolett.fgulyas@btk.elte.hu

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