## Causatives in Surgut Khanty and beyond

The syntax of causatives has been a marginal topic in studies on Surgut Khanty (but see Csepregi 2023). However, the discussion of causative morphology is a part of previous grammatical descriptions (cf. Honti 1984). Our aim is to provide a morphosyntactic profile of Surgut Khanty causatives with a brief comparison to other Ob-Ugric languages. The talk consists of two parts; first we will introduce the valence-changing strategies used with different verb pairs in Surgut Khanty following existing classifications (Nichols et al. 2004, Grünthal et al. 2021) then we will focus on the encoding of verbs and arguments in causative constructions.

Uralic languages are known for preferring transitivizing strategies over detransitivizing ones and Surgut Khanty doesn't seem to be an exception. In a set of 20 verb pairs including meanings like 'to laugh' – 'to make laugh' or 'to sleep' – 'to make sleep' 14 are instances of valence increase where a transitivizing (causative) suffix is attached to the stem: pyt- 'to become angry' – pyt- $\Lambda t$ e 'to make angry'. Data also show some instances of less frequent strategies including detransitivisation ( $\check{c}ewi$ - $\Lambda$ e- 'to go into hiding' –  $\check{c}ewi$ - 'to hide') and the usage of suppletive (wu- 'to see' –  $\Lambda eje\Lambda$ -te- 'to show') or ambitransitive ( $k\check{o}s$ - 'to break (intr. and tr.)') forms. It is important that there are several verb pairs where we found variation; the latter meanings can also be expressed by using a causative suffix for instance. We will discuss these competing examples in more details.

Following the above results, one would expect that causative constructions contain verbs formed with transitivizing, i. e. causative suffixes, but our data provided by two native informants reveal a different picture. Causative constructions denote a macro-situation consisting of two microsituations: "(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). Intransitive verbs do indeed take the causative suffix -pt, -At as in example (1) but transitive verbs almost exclusively appear in a periphrastic construction (2):

(1) kön-nam qonanta-nay ńewrem aŋki-n word-APR listen-PTCP.NEG child mother-POSS.3SG pyt-anta-n. be\_angry-CAUS-PRS.3SG 'The misbehaving child makes his/her mother angry.' (elicited)

(2) aŋki järnas jont-taɣə part-əʌ.
mother dress sew-INF order-PRS.3SG
'The mother is having a dress made.' (Csepregi 2015)

This pattern is well-known cross-linguistically and can also be found in other Uralic languages. However, the question arises whether it is a result of language contact or language-internal development. In our talk, we will discuss this issue as well as some other questions concerning argument marking and the status of the auxiliary/light verb *part*- 'to order'.

## References

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