

## Abstract

### Variation in the morphosyntactic alignment of Uralic causative constructions

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Despite considerable work on valence and valence change in Uralic languages, there has been no overarching family-wide survey. Here we survey causal-noncausal pairs in 22 Uralic languages covering all branches thoroughly, using the typology of Nichols et al. (2004) and a somewhat larger verb list, with particularly close attention on North Saami, Finnish, Estonian, Erzya, Udmurt, Hungarian, Northern Mansi, Northern and Eastern Khanty and Tundra Nenets.

We raise these questions: (1) What is the relative preponderance of causativizing, decausativizing, and double (causativizing+decausativizing) derivations among these pairs in each language? Our hypothesis, supported in preliminary work, is that the frequency of decausativization increases with the length and intensity of Russian (or earlier Balto-Slavic) contact. (2) How are causees treated in morphological vs. analytical causativization? Specifically, are they coded the same as direct objects (in causativization of intransitives) or indirect objects (from transitives), or are they included as oblique adjuncts? Our hypothesis, supported by study done so far, is that the demotion of the causee to an oblique adjunct occurs most often with analytical causativization (as in the Estonian example (2b) below) and especially in causativized transitive sentences. This conference paper presents on one hand the first results on the patterns of causativization/decausativization in the Uralic languages based on data collected by means of dictionaries and other lexical sources, linguists specialized in individual languages and native informants, and on the other hand a preliminary survey of argument marking in causativization, with the aforementioned data augmented by information from grammatical descriptions and typological studies on the languages investigated here. Later, data on the grammatical marking of the causee in causative constructions will be further collected using corpora and specialists on individual languages.

Compare the difference in causee treatment in morphological vs. analytic causatives in closely related Finnish and Estonian, shown in (1) and (2). Finnish requires the causee to be in the case of the direct object (accusative or partitive), whereas in Estonian analytical causatives the causee can be demoted to an adjunct in the adessive case (2b; Kasik 2001). Note that Estonian has here an oblique causee (*uksekell*), although typologically, in causativized intransitive sentences the causee "will almost always go into O function in the new transitive clause" (Dixon 2000: 31). Hungarian can treat the causee as the regular direct object in a highly transitive construction, or it can be oblique when the original patient is included: see (3). In Khanty and Mansi, as a result of frequent use of passivization (and the ergative construction, in Khanty) in causal-noncausal pairs, it is the causer rather than the causee that receives oblique marking in causative constructions: see (4). The causee is marked in bold in the following examples.

(1) Finnish

- (a) *Mari soi-tt-i ovikello-a*  
Mari ring-CAUS-PST.3SG **doorbell-PART**

'Mari rang the doorbell'

- (b) *Mari antoi ovikello-n soi-da*  
Mari let.PST.3SG **doorbell-ACC** ring-INF  
'Mari let the doorbell ring'

(2) Estonian (translations same as above)

- (a) *Mari helis-ta-s uksekella*  
Mari ring-CAUS-PST.3SG **doorbell.PART**
- (b) *Mari laskis uksekella-l helise-da*  
Mari let.PST.3SG **doorbell-ADE** ring-INF

(3) Hungarian (Grünthal 2018)

- (a) *A gazdá-nak korán kell fel-ke-l-nie, hogy idejében*  
DEF host-DAT early must up-rise-INF.3SG REL in\_time  
*meg-e-tes-se és meg-i-tas-sa az állat-ok-at*  
PFV-eat-CAUS-SJV.3SG.OBJ and PFV-drink-CAUS-SJV.3SG.OBJ DEF **animal-PL-ACC**  
'The host must get up early so that he/she can feed and give drink to the animals.'

- (b) *A gazda káposztá-t e-tet a lova-i-val*  
DEF host cabbage-ACC eat-CAUS DEF **horse-PL.POSS.3SG-INSTR**  
'The host fed cabbage to his/her horse.'

(4) Synja Northern Khanty (Havas et al. 2015)

- Ānt'-em-n m̄ j̄ernas j̄ōt-ti p̄ār-l-ajm*  
mother-1SG-LOC **1SG** dress sew-INF ask-PRS-PASS.1SG  
'My mother made me sew a dress'

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