

## Non-prototypical use of causatives in Bezhta

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A crosslinguistically unusual non-causative effects are found in Bezhta, the East Caucasian language. Proper causativization, which is a valency increasing derivation in Bezhta, is possible with intransitive, transitive and affective verbs [Comrie et al 2015]. However, the causative morphology does not always form a construction with a new argument. When the valency does not reflect the productive pattern of causative derivation, the verb gets lexicalized. Such lexicalization is common in not only affective verbs, as Comrie et al [2018] notes, but also in transitive verbs. Causativization of affective verbs in contrast to other two-place verbs does not necessarily result in a three-place verb. It is not always possible to detect a clear difference in the semantics between a non-derived affective verb and a causativized affective verb. A few affective verbs simply change the case marking from lative for the more prominent argument to ergative, without changing the meaning or adding another argument to the valence frame. Some affective verbs become canonical transitive verbs. They undergo a slight change in the meaning, by becoming more agentive, e.g. ‘want, like’ > ‘love, cuddle’ (example 1). Such example is a clear case of agentivization, where the agent is affected, becoming more prominent [Kittilä 2009]. Other affective verbs become ditransitive verbs, e.g. *ega*: - ‘see’ > *-ega:l* ‘show’, *kezi*<y>*aq*- ‘meet’ > *kezi*<y>*ow* ‘introduce’.

Causativization of some transitive verbs does not derive a ditransitive construction, i.e. the number arguments is not changed, for example, the verbs *-eže-* ‘take’. In the text corpus, the causative of ‘take’ is consistently used in the context where the patient either is an animal or has no control of its actions and wills. For examples, the causative of ‘take’ often denotes ‘to drive’ with animals; it is also used in the context with small children who barely can walk; or in contexts like ‘to take a prisoner or an enemy with’. In (2) the khan takes the boy, who acts on its own will. In (3) the bandits take the wolf, after killing its owner. Here the causer is physically involved in the action and carries the action together with the patient. Therefore, this construction expresses sociative causation [Shibatani and Pardeshi 2002:148].

Thus, causativization in Bezhta shows typologically unusual functions. With some affective verbs, the causativization results in agentivization of the construction. With some transitive verbs,

the causativization expresses sociative causation. The work will also discuss other non-causative effects not only in morphological causatives, but also in lexical and periphrastic causatives.

### Examples

(1)

a. kibba-l                      iyo                      **y-at'-ca**  
 daughter.obl-lat          mother(ii)          ii-love-prs  
 ‘The daughter loves the mother.’

b. kibba                                      iyo                      **y-at'-il-ca**  
 daughter.obl.erg                      mother(ii)          ii-love-caus-prs  
 ‘The daughter cuddles with the mother.’ [not ‘make mother love’]

(2) xanli              huli      **Ø-eže-š**              hinyoy              šahar      b-ega-l-al  
 khan-erg          he          i-take-prs          self.comit          city          iii-see-caus-inf  
 tuplil  
 Tbilisi.in.ess

‘The khan takes the boy with him to show Tbilisi.’ [K'et'atl'as.346]

(3) boc'i=na          **b-eže-lli-na**                      b-öčo-š                      holloom              q'ačayal  
 wolf(iii)=encl      iii-take-caus-cvb          hpl-go.away-prs          these              bandits  
 ‘Taking the wolf, the bandits go away.’ [Bezhta2.170]

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