

ЛИНГВИСТИКА

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CAUSATIVE SUFFIXES IN TATYSHLY UDMURT: HOW NATIVE AND BORROWED MORPHEMES CO-EXIST

The paper deals with morphological causatives in the Tatyshly subdialect of the Udmurt language (Republic of Bashkortostan). Surrounded by the Turkic languages (Tatar and Bashkir), Tatyshly Udmurt developed a more complex system of causative markers than Standard Udmurt. It consists of two suffixes: *-t*, of Uralic origins, and a Turkic borrowing *-ttâr* absent in Standard Udmurt. In this article, the properties of the suffixes are reviewed regarding the morphosyntax and semantics of verbal forms. It is demonstrated that the two suffixes apply different restrictions on deriving stems. The main one is that *-t* but not *-ttâr* can serve as a verbalizer and be attached to nominal stems. Another crucial difference is that *-ttâr* can be interpreted as either a single or double causative, and *-t* does not. Meanwhile, the patterns of causee marking are the same for both Tatyshly and Standard Udmurt: the causee gets accusative regardless of the verb's argument structure, contrary to Comrie's hierarchy. The suffixes can express all range of typologically attested semantics (factitive, mediated, rogative) except for permissive. In addition to that, in some idiolects, *-ttâr* introduces the interpretation of intensification or deliberance, which is typical of double causatives. Given its morphosyntactic properties and evidence from other languages, I argue that it was a configuration of two causative morphemes in the early stages of borrowing, but it functions as a single morpheme on the synchronic level. Thus, the suffixes *-t* and *-ttâr* exhibit differences not only between each other but also in comparison to their counterparts in Standard Udmurt and Turkic.

Ключевые слова: *morphological causative, double causative, affix borrowing, dialectal morphology, Udmurt language, Turkic languages*

1. Introduction

The Tatyshly subdialect of the Udmurt language (Permic < Finno-Ugric) is a part of the Peripheral-Southern dialect and is spoken mainly in Bashkortostan Republic and Perm Krai. Due to the long and tight connections with surrounding Turkic languages, namely Bashkir and Tatar, Tatyshly Udmurt developed unique features that distinguish it from Standard Udmurt on each level: phonetic and phonological, morphological, syntactic, and lexical. The borrowed innovations include the causative suffix *-ttâr*. Along with the native Udmurt suffix *-t*, they form an inventory of causative verbal markers. This paper aims to give the grammatical and semantic characteristics of these suffixes and to elucidate the differences they have from the respective morphemes of Standard Udmurt, Bashkir, and Tatar. Some features of the suffixes in question are given in grammars and descriptions of the Udmurt dialects (Kelmakov, 1998: 142; Baidoullina, 2003: 97–98), but there has been no detailed targeted research hitherto.

The data for this research come from elicitation during fieldwork in the Tatyshly district of the Bashkortostan Republic (the villages of Nizhnebaltachevo, Staryj Kyzyl-Yar, Ivanovka, Novye Tatyshly, and Starokalmiyarovo) in 2021–2023 and from the corpus of Tatyshly texts¹. Examples from the Tatyshly subdialect are given in the phonological transcription based on the system of (Baidoullina, 2003).

The paper is organized as follows. Section 2 addresses the diachrony of each causative marker. In Section 3, morphological properties such as Causee marking and derivation restrictions are discussed. In Section 4, I focus on semantics. Section 5 analyzes the morphemic status of *-ttâr*. Section 6 provides conclusions.

¹ <http://udmurt.web-corpora.net/tatyshly/index.html>

2. Diachrony

The suffix *-t* is shared with Standard Udmurt (GSUYa, 1962: 228–231; Kondratjeva, 2009; Kostina, 2022). Its cognates are found all across the Uralic family, including such languages as Hungarian, Khanty, Komi, and Nenets (Dolovai, 2006). It is believed to be traced back to the Proto-Uralic morpheme **-tt* or **-kt* (Tánczos, 2015: 98).

In turn, one finds less consistency in descriptions of the suffix *-ttâr*. Kelmakov (1998: 142) allocates two groups of subdialects within the Peripheral-Southern dialect. The first one consists of Buy-Tanyp, Kukmor, and Bavlin Udmurt. In these subdialects, “verbs of Turkic origin form the causative voice with the use of the borrowed suffix *-dyry/-tyry*, i.e., Kukm. *azy-ny* ‘get inflamed, ache’ – *az-dyry-ny* ‘inflame, make ache’². The second group includes “certain” southern dialects, in which there are “parallel formations with the use of the native suffix *-ty* and the borrowed *-tyry/-ttryr/-dyry*”³. The author does not explicitly classify the Tatyshly subdialect as a member of one or another group. Baidoullina (2003: 97–98) proposes, specifically for Tatyshly Udmurt, to divide the formant *-ttâr* into *-t-târ* and states that it is borrowed from Tatar. However, *tVr*-like causatives are typical of the Turkic languages; cf. (1) from Bashkir and (2) from Mishar Tatar. Thus, there is no plausible argument in favor of the Tatar source of borrowing and not the Bashkir one. In general, borrowing of Turkic derivational morphology into Finno-Ugric languages is not a rare phenomenon (Seifart, 2015: 520; Bradley et al. 2022).

(1) BASHKIR

Rifat došman-ə-n ü-l-ter-gän.

Rifat enemy-3-ACC die-CAUS-PC.PST

‘Rifat killed his enemy’. (Perekhvalskaya, 2017: 236)

(2) MISHAR TATAR

renat zexrä-dän išek-ne jap-tyr-a.

Renat Zuxra-ABL door-ACC close-CAUS-ST.IPFV

‘Renat asks Zuxra to close the door’. (Bonch-Osmolovskaya, 2007: 147)

In Tatar and Bashkir, the causative suffixes *-t* and *-tVr* are in complement distribution with each other (so they can be called allomorphs). The choice of an allomorph is determined by lexical and/or phonological principles (cf. Bonch-Osmolovskaya, 2007; Perekhvalskaya, 2017). The formant *-ttVr* can also be found in descriptions of the Turkic languages. For example, in Yakut, the causative suffixes *-t* and *-tar* in one verb form a double-causative (Kharitonov, 1963: 71): *umaj* ‘to burn (intr.)’ – *uma-t* ‘to burn (tr.)’ – *uma-t-tar* ‘to make burn (tr.)’. In Chuvash, according to (Symulov, 2005: 11, 13), there is a single morpheme with two *t*’s: *vula* ‘read’ – *vulattar* ‘to make read’.

In Tatyshly Udmurt, the suffix *-ttâr* can be attached to both Udmurt and borrowed Turkic verbal stems. The verb *užanâ* ‘work’ in (3a) has a cognate in Komi (see the noun *už* ‘work’ and its derivatives) and is considered to originate from a Proto-Permic **už* (Lytkin, Gulyaev, 1970: 295). The verb *č’erlanâ* ‘become sick’ in (3b) is believed to be derived from the Tatar root *č’ir* ‘illness’ (Tarakanov, 1982: 69, 72). These examples also demonstrate that a verbal stem can attach both *-t* and *-ttâr*. In other words, they are not complementary. All these facts lead to the conclusion that the Tatyshly subdialect belongs to the second of Kelmakov’s dialect groups.

² Original text in Russian: “В буйско-таныпском, кукморском, бавлинском говорах глаголы тюркского происхождения образуют понудительный залог посредством заимствованного суффикса *-дыры /-тыры*, напр. кукм. *азь-нь* ‘воспалиться, разболеться’ – *аз-дъръ-нь* ‘вызвать воспаление, воспалить’”.

³ Original text in Russian: “В отдельных южных говорах встречаются параллельные образования с помощью исконного *-ты* и заимствованного *-тыры/-ттыры/-дыры*, не характерные для средних говоров и северного и бесермянского наречий”.

- (3) a. *uža-nâ* ‘work-INF’ – *uža-tâ-nâ* ‘work-CAUS-INF’ / *uža-ttârâ-nâ*⁴
 b. *č'erla-nâ* ‘become_sick-INF’ – *č'erla-tâ-nâ* ‘become_sick-CAUS-INF’ / *č'erla-ttârâ-nâ*

3. Morphosyntactic properties

To give a thorough morphosyntactic description of the system of causative affixes in a language, one should bring up case marking of a Causee and restrictions on derivation.

The typological pattern of the Causee case was set out by (Comrie, 1981) in the form of a hierarchy. During the process of causativization, a new participant, namely the Causer, is added to the caused situation. It usually takes the subject position. The former subject that becomes the Causee is dislocated, typically moves to the very first vacant syntactic position, and takes the corresponding morphological form according to the scheme: Subject > Direct Object > Indirect Object > Oblique. One prediction of Comrie's hierarchy is that the Causee marking depends on the argument structure of a producing verbal stem. If a verb undergoing causativization has nothing but a subject, then the new Causee becomes a direct object. In Tatyshly Udmurt and the surrounding Turkic languages, this syntactic role is encoded by the accusative case. If a verb is transitive, then the DO position is not available, so the Causee takes the IO position and obtains dative.

Tatyshly Udmurt, as well as Standard Udmurt (Tánczos, 2015: 100; Kostina, 2022: 87), demonstrates an exception to this principle. Both *-t* and *-ttâr* suffixes can be attached to stems with any argument structure, cf. intransitive non-agentive (4), intransitive agentive (5), and transitive (6). Regardless of the arguments of the producing stem, the Causee gets an accusative case marker, even if there already is an accusative Patient. Inanimate Causees act as Patients and can be unmarked (4b) in accordance with the principles of differential object marking⁵.

- (4) a. *vas'a s'as'ka-jez ús't-is'kâ-t-i-z / ús't-is'kâ-ttâr-i-z.*
 Vasya flower-ACC open-DETR-CAUS-PST-3SG open-DETR-CAUS-PST-3SG
 ‘Vasya made the flower blossom’.
 b. *vas'a kagaz-les' samol'ot loba-t-i-z / loba-ttâr-i-z.*
 Vasya paper-GEN2 plane fly-CAUS-PST-3SG fly-CAUS-PST-3SG
 ‘Vasya launched a paper airplane {made an airplane fly}’.
- (5) *tren'er ruslan-*(ez) biz'â-t-i-z / biz'â-ttâr-i-z.*
 coach Ruslan-ACC run-CAUS-PST-3SG run-CAUS-PST-3SG
 ‘The coach made Ruslan run’.
- (6) *anaj-ez maša-*(jez) kn'iga-(jez) lâ'ž'â-t-i-z / lâ'ž'â-ttâr-i-z.*
 mother-POSS.3SG Masha-ACC book-ACC read-CAUS-PST-3SG read-CAUS-PST-3SG
 ‘Mother made Masha read a book’.

The suffix *-ttâr*, but not *-t*, can mean either single (7a) or double causation (7b). Two Causees and a Patient in one clause are all marked by accusative suffixes.

- (7) a. *ataj-ez maša-jez (gožtet) lâ'ž'â-ttâr-i-z.*
 father-POSS.3SG Masha-ACC letter read-CAUS-PST-3SG
 ‘Father made Masha read (a letter)’.

⁴ When *-t* and *-ttâr* are followed by a suffix starting with a consonant, such as the infinitive marker, there is a vowel *â* between. In the glosses, I attribute it to the causative suffixes and consider the forms with and without *â* to be allomorphs.

⁵ About DOM in Standard Udmurt, see (Kondratyeva, 2002).

- b. *ataj-ez* *maša-jez* *ekog-ze*
 father-POSS.3SG **Masha-ACC** **younger_brother-ACC.POSS.3SG**
 (*gožtet*) *lâʒʹâ-ttâr-i-z* / **lâʒʹâ-t-i-z*.
letter read-CAUS-PST-3SG read-CAUS-PST-3SG
 ‘Father made Masha make her younger brother read (a letter)’.

One small class of perception verbs deviates from this marking pattern. Their Causees can take dative case markers (8). The same shift in strategy occurs, for example, in Mishar Tatar (Bonch-Osmolovskaya, 2007: 151–152). In this case, the participant plausibly combines the roles of Causee and Experiencer, the dative marking being standard for the latter (9).

- (8) *vas'a* *anaj-ze* / *anaj-ez-lâ* *kârž'a-n*
 Vasya **mother-ACC.POSS.3SG** **mother-POSS.3SG-DAT** sing-VN
kâld-is'kâ-t-i-z.
 listen-DETR-CAUS-PST-3SG
 ‘Vasya made his mother listen to a song’.
- (9) *mânâm* *s'ekât* *öz* *lû* *perevod*.
I.DAT hard NEG.PST.3 become translation
 ‘It was not hard for me to translate’ (Tatyshly Udmurt corpus: “Dialogue”).

Neither *-t* nor *-ttâr* has any semantic limitations on producing stems (but the resulting verbs have different semantics; I will discuss it in Section 4). However, there are some morphophonological restrictions. To the best of my knowledge, the causative suffix in Standard Udmurt has not been described in light of this question. Firstly, the suffix *-t* can be attached to both verbal and nominal stems. Contrarily, the suffix *-ttâr* does not serve as a verbalizer. For example, there are two ways in which a verb can be formed with *-t* from a nominal stem *s'is'* ‘rotten’: attaching the suffix directly to a root or to a verbalizing morpheme *-mâ*. With *-ttâr* there is only one way, and *-mâ* cannot be omitted.

- (10) *s'is'* ‘rotten’ — *s'is'-tâ-nâ* ‘rotten-CAUS-INF’ / *s'is'-mâ-tâ-nâ* ‘rotten-VB-CAUS-INF’ /
 **s'is'-ttârâ-nâ* / *s'is'-mâ-ttârâ-nâ*

Secondly, all Tatyshly Udmurt verbal stems end with a vowel *-â* or *-a*. They form two classes based on whether this thematic vowel remains or drops in the course of derivation. The main idea here is that *-ttâr* cannot be attached directly to a consonant and needs a thematic vowel, while *-t* behaves differently depending on a verb. In my verb sample, the *a*-stems always keep the vowel (11a), except for the verb *šuna-nâ* ‘melt-INF’ (11b).

- (11) a. *šoka-nâ* ‘breath-INF’ — *šoka-tâ-nâ* ‘breath-CAUS-INF’ / **šok-tâ-nâ* / *šoka-ttârâ-nâ* /
 **šok-ttârâ-nâ*
 b. *šuna-nâ* ‘melt-INF’ — *šun-tâ-nâ* ‘melt-CAUS-INF’ / ??*šuna-tâ-nâ* / **šun-ttârâ-nâ* /
 %*šuna-ttârâ-nâ*

The verbs with the *â*-vowel have more pattern variation. If the vowel is preceded by a consonant cluster, it always remains, and *-t* or *-ttâr* suffixes are attached after: *lâʒʹâ-nâ* ‘read-INF’ — *lâʒʹâ-tâ-nâ* ‘read-CAUS-INF’ / *lâʒʹâ-ttârâ-nâ*. If there is a single consonant, the vowel can be either present or absent. The former group contains such verbs as *mânâ-nâ* ‘go-INF’, *pâžâ-nâ* ‘bake-INF’, *žutâ-nâ* ‘lift-INF’, etc. The stems from this group attach both *-t* and *-ttâr* after the vowel (12).

- (12) *kat'a fat'ima-jez perepeč' pâžâ-t-i-z /*
 Katya Fatima-ACC perepech bake-CAUS-PST-3SG
**pâžâ-t-i-z / pâžâ-ttâr-i-z / *pâžâ-ttâr-i-z.*
 bake-CAUS-PST-3SG bake-CAUS-PST-3SG bake-CAUS-PST-3SG
 'Katya made Fatima bake some perepeches'.

The latter group is represented by the verbs *pârâ-nâ* 'enter-INF', *pôz'â-nâ* 'stew-INF', *potâ-nâ* 'go_out-INF', etc. These stems omit the vowel *-â* and can attach the *-t* suffix (but not *-ttâr*) directly to the last consonant (13a). The only way *-ttâr* is added to this kind of stem is after *-t*, creating a second causation (13b).

- (13) a. *pet'a pûni-jez korka pâr-t-i-z /*
 Petya dog-ACC home enter-CAUS-PST-3SG
**pârâ-t-i-z / *pâr-ttâr-i-z / ??pârâ-ttâr-i-z.*
 enter-CAUS-PST-3SG enter-CAUS-PST-3SG enter-CAUS-PST-3SG
 'Petya let/brought the dog in'.
- b. *pet'a pûni-jez korka pâr-tâ-ttâr-i-z.*
 Petya dog-ACC home enter-CAUS-CAUS-PST-3SG
 'Petya asked someone to let/bring the dog in'.

It seems that belonging to a certain group is an intrinsic property of each verbal stem. One argument in favor of this hypothesis comes from the pair of causative verbs derived from *pukâ-nâ* 'sit-INF'. This stem produces two verbs, with and without the thematic vowel, which have different meanings (14a-b). As one will see later in Section 5, these differences in the properties of *-t* and *-ttâr* are crucial for the question of the synchronic morphemic structure of the latter suffix.

- (14) a. *anaj-ez maša-jez pukon vâl-e*
 mother-POSS.3SG Masha-ACC chair surface-ILL
*puk-t-i-z / *puk-ttâr-i-z.*
 sit-CAUS-PST-3SG sit-CAUS-PST-3SG
 'Mother sat Masha on a chair'.
- b. *anaj-ez maša-jez pukon vâl-ân*
 mother-POSS.3SG Masha-ACC chair surface-LOC
*pukâ-t-i-z / *pukâ-ttâr-i-z.*
 sit-CAUS-PST-3SG sit-CAUS-PST-3SG
 'Mother made Masha sit on a chair {for a while}'.

4. Semantic properties

The suffixes *-t* and *-ttâr* demonstrate some differences in their semantics. While *-t* does not specify the means of causation ('make or get X done somehow'), *-ttâr* can be interpreted as 'make someone do X with force, against their will' (15).

- (15) a. *anaj-ez fat'ima-jez kêrž'a-t-i-z.*
 mother-POSS.3SG Fatima-ACC sing-CAUS-PST-3SG
 'Mother made/asked/helped Fatima (to) sing'.
- b. *anaj-ez fat'ima-jez kêrž'a-ttâr-i-z.*
 mother-POSS.3SG Fatima-ACC sing-CAUS-PST-3SG
 '{Fatima didn't want to, but} mother forced Fatima to sing'.

When attached to a patientive verbal stem with a non-agentive Causee, *-ttâr* can also obtain a close meaning of a deliberate action, cf. (16).

- (16) a. *vas'a n'an'-ez vuž-mâ-t-i-z.*
 Vasya bread-ACC stale-VB-CAUS-PST-3SG
 'Vasya {forgot to eat the bread and} got the bread stale'.
 b. *vas'a n'an'-ez vuž-mâ-ttâr-i-z.*
 Vasya bread-ACC stale-VB-CAUS-PST-3SG
 'Vasya intentionally did something to make the bread stale'.

This kind of additional semantic component is peculiar to double-causative constructions. The typology of interpretations conveyed by the second causative morpheme has been thoroughly investigated in (Kulikov, 1993). The author provides a list of interpretations of double-causative verbal forms. It includes, among others, compositional (the second affix introduces the second causation), intensive, and deliberate (as opposed to accidental) semantic components.

However, nearly half of our consultants see no difference in interpretations between verbs with *-t* and *-ttâr* (when used as a single causative). Example (17) illustrates the lack of volitive semantic element, as *-ttâr* is used quite freely in constructions with non-human non-agentive Causers:

- (17) *šundâ jablok-ez gord-ektâ-ttâr-i-z.*
 sun apple-ACC red-VB-CAUS-PST-3SG
 'The sun made apples redden'.

For comparison, double-causative verbs with the *-t* suffix never have any additional interpretations apart from the compositional one:

- (18) *pet'a maša-jez vas'a-jez sireda-tâ-t-i-z.*
 Petya Masha-ACC Vasya-ACC draw-CAUS-CAUS-PST-3SG
 'Petya made Masha draw Vasya'.

The semantics of morphological causatives across languages may embrace a range of nuanced meanings (Kulikov, 2001). Both Tatyshly Udmurt suffixes have the following: factitive (physical) causation (19), indirect (mediated) causation (20), including verbal causation (21). As far as I know, there is no detailed research on this question considering Standard Udmurt; however, my data does not contradict the descriptions in (Kondratyeva, 2009; Kostina, 2022).

- (19) *vas'a pet'a-jez bič'atâ-sa s'ere'ž'a-t-i-z / s'ere'ž'a-ttâr-i-z.*
 Vasya Petya-ACC tickle-CVB laugh-CAUS-PST-3SG laugh-CAUS-PST-3SG
 'Vasya made Petya laugh by tickling him'.
 (20) *vas'a pogâra-sa pet'a-jez s'ere'ž'a-t-i-z / s'ere'ž'a-ttâr-i-z.*
 Vasya fall-CVB Petya-ACC laugh-CAUS-PST-3SG laugh-CAUS-PST-3SG
 'Vasya made Petya laugh by falling'.
 (21) *vas'a an'ekdot vera-sa pet'a-jez s'ere'ž'a-t-i-z / s'ere'ž'a-ttâr-i-z.*
 Vasya joke tell-CVB Petya-ACC laugh-CAUS-PST-3SG laugh-CAUS-PST-3SG
 'Vasya made Petya laugh by telling him a funny story'.

In those idiolects, in which there is no intensificational semantics, the *-t* and *-ttâr* suffixes can also express rogative meaning (22):

- (22) *pet'a dâš-et-is'-ez ôs-ez vorsat-i-z / %vorsattâr-i-z.*
 Petya study-CAUS-PTCP.ACT-ACC door-ACC close-CAUS-PST-3SG close-CAUS-PST-3SG
 ‘Petya asked / %forced the teacher to close the door’.

Permissive meaning, though typologically common, has its limitations and needs further research. For example, in sentences like (23), they are considered pragmatically infelicitous. The speakers use the verb *lez'ânâ* ‘let, allow’ instead of morphological causatives in contexts implying a voluntary act of permission.

- (23) *maša anaj-ez-les' d'iskot'eka-je mânâ-nâ ž'ua-ø-z=no*
 Masha mother-POSS.3SG-GEN2 nightclub-ILL go-INF ask-PST-3SG=ADD
anaj-ez so-je lez'-i-z / #mânâ-t-i-z /
 mother-POSS.3SG that-ACC let-PST-3SG go-CAUS-PST-3SG
#mânâ-ttâr-i-z.
go-CAUS-PST-3SG
 ‘Masha asked her mother if she could go to a nightclub, and her mother forced her to go’.

Interestingly, verbs with the suffix *-t* can be used in contexts where the Causer unintentionally allows something to happen. As for *-ttâr*, those speakers who strongly accept intensificational semantics, unsurprisingly, reject it (24).

- (24) *vas'a pi-ze ž'angâš zor ul-ân*
 Vasya son-ACC.POSS.3SG wrongfully rain bottom-LOC
*kot-mâ-t-i-z / *kot-mâ-ttâr-iz.*
 wet-VB-CAUS-PST-3SG wet-VB-CAUS-PST-3SG
 ‘Vasya accidentally let his son get wet under the rain’.

To conclude, the suffix *-t* expresses a semantically unspecified causation and has therefore the widest use. The suffix *-ttâr* can either behave the same as *-t* or introduce semantic elements of intensification or intentionality, which is typical of double causatives.

5. The formative *-ttâr*: one or two suffixes?

Two questions about *-ttâr* remain unclear: in what form the suffix was borrowed and what its current morphemic structure is. Let us recall that, unlike *-t*, it can express either single or double causation. One possible way of treating this fact is to postulate two different morphemic configurations: *-ttâr* in the former case and *-t-târ* in the latter, so that the number of causations matches the number of causative suffixes. However, there is an argument against this approach. As we have seen in example (10), *-ttâr* cannot be attached directly to nominal stems. If it contained *-t* on the synchronic level, we would not expect this constraint.

While *-ttâr* shows properties of a single causative from the morphological point of view, it behaves like a double causative semantically and has the intensificational interpretation that the “ordinary” causative suffix *-t* lacks.

Let us take a look at the data of Turkic languages, especially Bashkir and Tatar, to check whether the properties of *-ttâr* are connected to its source. The typology of double causatives in Turkic is investigated in (Kulikov, 1999). Kulikov claims that iteration of causative morphology exists in most Turkic languages; moreover, such iteration is grammatically unrestricted. Verbal forms with more than two causative affixes are certainly hard to process and rare in real speech, but there are no

structural bans on causative chains of any length, and forms with any amount of causative affixes can potentially be interpreted and given a suitable context. The intensificational semantics of the *ttVr*-like formants is also attested, for example, in Tuvan, Turkish, Azerbaijani (Kulikov, 1999: 52), and Balkar (Lyutikova et al., 2006: 162).

In Bashkir, two productive suffixes *-(ə)t* and *-dər* can appear in one verb recursively in sequences like *-dər-(ə)t-dər...* or *-(ə)t-dər-(ə)t-...* (Juldašev, 1958; Dmitriev, 2008; Salyakhova, 2011; Perekhval'skaya, 2017). Yet, the only semantics expressed by double (multiple) causatives is claimed to be compositional: each causative suffix represents a link in a causative chain⁶.

In Mishar Tatar, according to (Lyutikova, Tatevosov, 2014: 4), a second causative morpheme can be “fake” in the sense of adding not another causation but rather a sociative meaning. The verbal form in (25) is only acceptable in the provided contexts, where the Causer is actively participating in the caused event from the beginning to the end.

(25) MISHAR TATAR

trener marat-nr jeger-t-ter-de.

trainer Marat-ACC run-CAUS-CAUS-PST

‘The trainer made Marat run’ {The trainer follows Marat, telling him how to run / helps Marat run by removing obstacles out of his way in the course of running / supervises Marat’s running}. (Lyutikova, Tatevosov, 2014: 4)

In (Tatevosov, 2018: 35), the intensificational semantics of double causatives in Mishar Tatar is mentioned, but there is no specification of how widespread it is. The author argues that two kinds of interpretation in (25) and (26) are related to one mechanism, namely incremental relations between the causing and the caused events. It means that there is an instance of causation for every time segment of a caused event. Hence, the Causer must be present all along. The intensification is due to a chain of implications: ‘the choice of two causative suffixes rather than a single one’ → ‘indicating that ensuring the causer’s participation in a situation requires constant effort’ → ‘effort goes beyond normal’.

(26) MISHAR TATAR

marat kerim-ni aša-t-tyr-dx.

Marat Kerim-ACC eat-CAUS-CAUS-PST

‘Marat fed Kerim by force’. (Tatevosov, 2018: 35)

Despite apparent similarities between double causatives in Mishar Tatar and the *-ttâr* suffix, they demonstrate some crucial differences. First of all, according to Tatevosov, the intensificational semantics in Mishar Tatar is only available with agentive Causees and never appears, for example, when the Causee is inanimate. As we have seen in (16), it is not the case for Tatyshly Udmurt. Second, the verbs with *-ttâr* cannot have sociative interpretation and are freely used in contexts where the Causer performs the causative act once and then leaves, such as (27).

(27) *uč'kâ-ø, ataj-ez maša-jez lâ'ž'â-ttâr-e!*

look-IMP father-POSS.3SG Masha-ACC read-CAUS-PRS.3SG

‘Look, father is making Masha read!’ {Mother and I are entering the room and see Masha reading alone. Father is not here, but I know for sure that Masha would not have read if father had not forced her}.

⁶ I want to express my gratitude to Sergey Say, Boris Orekhov, Zarema Ekba, and Sofiya Urmancheeva for their expertise and help in finding Bashkir speakers for my research.

It is important to mention that the Mishar dialect seems to differ in this regard from other varieties of Tatar. In particular, several speakers of Kazan Tatar reject any interpretations of double-causative verbs except for the compositional one during an informal survey⁷. However, considering the fact that the Mishar dialect is widely spoken in Bashkortostan (Bulatova, 2021), this only makes the hypothesis about the Tatar borrowing source of *-ttâr* quite plausible.

Let us bear in mind that, according to Kulikov, intensification is the second most common meaning of the double causative. It means that this semantics did not necessarily enter Tatyshly Udmurt from the source language but rather developed inside the subdialect as an innovation. It does not exclude the possible influence of Mishar Tatar, and even if the semantics was inherited from Mishar Tatar, in Tatyshly Udmurt it obviously widened. Given all that, we must assume that, in the first stages of its permeation into the subdialect, *-ttâr* consisted of two causative markers, presumably *-t* and *-târ*, and was later reanalyzed as a single morpheme. Typologically, there is no requirement for a one-to-one correspondence between the number of causations and causative markers (cf. (Nie, 2022) where the author argues that in Turkish, a single causative marker can convey a double causation, and any amount of causative suffixes, even up to five, can serve as a single causation semantically). It is also not uncommon for causative morphemes to fuse together and then develop into a single affix, preserving or not the traces of their double-causative nature. In Siraiki (Indo-Aryan, Pakistan), one finds a very close situation to Tatyshly Udmurt: it has two etymologically related suffixes, *-āv* and *-vāv*; the latter can express both single and double causation (Lowe, Birahimani, 2019). Similar etymologies are proposed for suffixes in Andi (Nakh-Daghestanian, Daghestan (Rochant, 2019)) and Konso (East Cushitic, Ethiopia (Mous, 2004)). Moreover, it seems to be an accepted argument amongst turkologists that the formative *-tVr* itself is an amalgamation of *-t* and *-Vr*; see (Majtczak, 2010) for discussion.

6. Conclusion

In this article, I addressed the morphosyntactic and semantic properties of causative markers in Tatyshly Udmurt. These are the suffix *-t*, Uralic by origins, and the formant *-ttâr* borrowed from Turkic. The *-t* suffix serves as a universal causative marker with no specified manner of causation and no constraints over a producing verbal stem. It meets the expectations based on the Standard Udmurt causative suffix.

In turn, the *-ttâr* suffix is not similar either to *-t* or to its Turkic counterparts. It exhibits ambiguous properties. It can be used in contexts with a single causation just like *-t*. At the same time, it can also express a double causation and behave like a double causative semantically, adding a component of intensification. I assume that, at the time of borrowing, the morphemic complex consisted of two productive affixes *-t* and *-tVr* which were then reinterpreted as a unified morpheme.

List of abbreviations

3 – 3rd person, ABL – ablative, ACC – accusative, ADD – additive particle, CAUS – causative, CVB – converb, DAT – dative, DETR – detransitive, ILL – illative, INF – infinitive, IPFV – imperfective, GEN2 – second genitive, LOC – locative, NEG – negation, PC.PST – past participle, POSS – possessive, PRS – present, PST – past, PTCP.ACT – active participle, SG – singular, ST – stem, VB – verbalizer.

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Каузативные суффиксы в татышлинском удмуртском: как сосуществуют исконные и заимствованные морфемы

Статья посвящена морфологическим каузативам в татышлинском говоре удмуртского языка (Республика Башкортостан). В результате долгого интенсивного контакта с окружающими тюркскими языками – татарским и башкирским – татышлинский удмуртский выработал более сложную систему каузативных показателей, чем литературный. Она включает два суффикса: общеудмуртский *-t*, а также *-ttâr*, который является тюркским заимствованием и отсутствует в литературном удмуртском. В статье рассматриваются семантические и морфосинтаксические свойства суффиксов. Показано, что два суффикса накладывают разные ограничения на производящие основы, главное из которых заключается в том, что *-t* в отличие от *-ttâr* может служить вербализатором и присоединяться к именным основам. Еще одно важное различие состоит в том, что *-ttâr* может обозначать как одинарную, так и двойную каузацию. Между тем принципы маркирования каузируемого одинаковы для дериватов с обоими суффиксами и совпадают с литературным удмуртским: каузируемый маркируется аккузативом вне зависимости от аргументной структуры производящего глагола, что противоречит иерархии Комри. Суффиксы могут выражать весь спектр типологически засвидетельствованных частных каузативных значений (фактивное, опосредованное, рогативное), за исключением пермиссивного. Кроме того, в некоторых идиолектах *-ttâr* вводит дополнительную семантику интенсификации или намеренности, что характерно для двойных каузативов. Учитывая его морфосинтаксические свойства и данные других языков, мы предполагаем, что на этапе заимствования этот формант представлял собой две каузативные морфемы, но на синхронном уровне он функционирует как единый суффикс. Таким образом, суффиксы *-t* и *-ttâr* демонстрируют отличия не только друг от друга, но и от соответствующих суффиксов литературного удмуртского и тюркских языков.

Ключевые слова: *морфологический каузатив, двойной каузатив, заимствование аффиксов, диалектная морфология, удмуртский язык, тюркские языки*

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