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MORPHOLOGICAL CAUSATIVES IN ABAZA

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This paper deals with the productive morphological causative *r(ə)-* in Abaza (Northwest Caucasian), a highly polysynthetic ergative language. We discuss the causativization process in Abaza as well as the semantic properties of the construction and elaborate an analysis of the event structure of the Abaza morphological causatives based on the scope of adverbials.

JEL Classification: Z.

Keywords: Abaza, Northwest Caucasian, causative, event structure, polysynthesis.

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1. Introduction

Abaza (< Northwest Caucasian) is a highly polysynthetic language spoken mainly in the Karachay-Cherkes Republic in Russia and in Turkey. This paper has two major parts: first, it gives a brief description of the syntax and semantics of the Abaza morphological causative *r(ə)-*, and secondly, it tries to determine and explain some non-trivial grammatical properties of Abaza *r(ə)-* causatives.

It is known that in many languages morphological causatives sometimes exhibit behavior which makes them different from other constructions containing a single verb. Various patterns of such behavior were observed for causative constructions from all over the word, including, for example, Japanese (Alpatov et al. 2008: 145-159, Matsumoto 2000), Karachay-Balkar (Lyutikova et al. 2006), or Moksha (Nikiforova, forthcoming) to name a few. This behavior is attested in many different grammatical domains. For example, in Japanese, lexicalized and productive causatives show different behavior with respect to the reflexive pronoun binding:

(1) Japanese (Shibatani 1990: 312 cited by Alpatov et al. 2008: 145)
    a. Taroo   wa   Hanako ni jibun   no   shashin o
       T.   TOP   H   DAT himself   GEN photo   ACC
       mi-se-ta
       see-TR-PST
       'Taro has   shown Hanako   his photo [= a photo of Taro]'
    b. Taroo   wa   Hanako ni   jibun   no   shashin o
       T.   TOP   H   DAT   himself GEN   photo   ACC
       mi-sase-ta
       see-CAUS-PST
       'Taro has shown Hanako his/her photo'

In the example above, we can see the lexicalized causative construction in (1a), and the productive causative construction in (1b). (1a) and (1b) show crucial differences in the binding of reflexives: in (1a), the reflexive pronoun can only be bound by the subject of the verb (which is generally the case for Japanese reflexives), but in (1b), it surprisingly acquires the ability to be bound to the P-participant (Causee) as well. For Japanese, one can say that here the P-participant shows some unexpected subject properties.

Usually, some complex event structure containing several "component events" is postulated for a causative construction. In Song (2013), he author describes it as a "complex situation consisting of two component events <...>:(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". These two notions (i)—(ii), are crucial in understanding the patterns outlined above.

Another interesting pattern lies in adverbial modification:

(2) Kalmyk (Say 2009: 417):

Bagšə   Bajərta-gə xojər   däkčə   terzə   sek-ülə-v
The.teacher B.-ACC   two   times   window   open-CAUS-PST

    i.   'The teacher made Bajrta open the window twice [The teacher may have left the class, leaving Bajrta the task of opening the window twice]'

    ii.   'The teacher twice asked B. to open the window [and B. opened it twice]'

In example (2), a causative construction modified by an adverbial is provided. The scope of this adverbial can vary. As a result, two interpretations are possible in (2): example (i), in which only the caused event is modified by the adverbial *xojər däkčə* 'two times', and example (ii), in which both causing and caused events are modified. These properties are usually linked to the causative constructions' event structure, which is claimed to be different (see, e. g., Pylkkänen 2002) from the structures postulated for simple verbs.

The data used in this paper were collected during two fieldtrips to the Karachay-Cherkess Republic, in the village of Inzhich-Chukun in 2017 and 2018. The dialect of Abaza spoken in Inzhich-Chukun is Tapanta (see Chakdua 1970 for difference in TAM markers in Abaza dialects).

2. Basic syntax and semantics of Abaza causatives

2.1. Indexing

Abaza is a highly polysynthetic ergative language. It is characterized by consistent head marking. In other words, a verb's core arguments are indexed on the verb and do not bear any case markers. The indexing morphemes are presented in three series: Ergative, Absolutive and Indirect Object (IO); see Table 1.

		1	2M	2F	3M	3F	3N	Rel	Rfl	Rec
Sg	Abs	*s(ə)-*	*w(ə)-*	*b(ə)-*	*d(ə)-*		*j(ə)-*	*j(ə)-*	*č(ə)-*	–
	Erg/IO	*s(ə)-/z-*	*w(ə)-*	*b(ə)-/p-*	*j(ə)-*	*l(ə)-*	*a-/na-*	*z(ə)-*	–	*aj- / aba-*
Pl	Abs	*h(ə)-*	*ŝ(ə)-*		*j(ə)-*					
	Erg/IO	*h(ə)-/ʕ-*	*ŝ(ə)-/ẑ-*		*r(ə)-/d(ə)-*					

Table 1: indexing prefixes (Arkadiev 2018)

The indexing prefixes are in general obligatory (the only exception being the case when the verbal complex preceded by an absolutive nominal can lack an absolutive prefix), but the corresponding NPs can be freely dropped (thus yielding an anaphoric interpretation).

2.2. Causative derivation

2.2.1. Properties of non-causative verbs under derivation

The causative prefix *r(ə)-* is one of the many derivational morphemes that may occur in the Abaza verbal complex, which differ in productivity. The *r(ə)-* morpheme is very productive[3]. This prefix always directly precedes the root.

(3)　　Single-place　verbs:
　　　a. fatəjma　　　d-ʕa-čəχa-d
　　　　　F.　　　　　　3H.ABS-DIR-wake.up-DCL
　　　　　'Fatima wakes up'

　　　b. fatəjma　　　l-aba　　　d-ʕa-jə-r-čəχa-d
　　　　　F.　　　　　　3F.IO-father　3H.ABS-DIR-3M.ERG-CAUS-wake.up-DCL
　　　　　'Fatima was woken up by her father'

(4)　　Two-place transitive verbs:
　　　a. fatəjma　　　ӡə　　　j-lə-ẑ-əj-d
　　　　　F.　　　　　water　　3N.ABS-3F.ERG-drink-PRS-DCL
　　　　　'Fatima drinks water'

　　　b. án　　　　fatəjma　　ӡə　　lə-l-rə-ẑ-ṭ
　　　　　mother　F.　　　　water　3F.ABS-3F.ERG-CAUS-drink-DCL
　　　　　'Mother made Fatima drink water'

---

[3] The Abaza morphological causative was also described in Tabulova 1976: 178-182, Lomtatidze 1967: 182-184, O'Herin 2002: 125-165.

(5)　　Two-place intransitive verbs:
　　 a. a-pa　　　 aba　　　 d-jə-z-pš-ə́j-ṭ
　　　　 DEF-son　　 father　　 3H.ABS-3M.IO-BEN-wait-PRS-DCL
　　　　 'The son was waiting for his father'

　　 b. an　　　 l-pa　　　　 j-aba　　　　 d-jə-z-l-rə-pšə́-ṭ
　　　　 mother 3F.IO-son　　 3M.IO-father　 3H.ABS-3M.IO-BEN-3F.ERG-CAUS-wait-DCL
　　　　 'Mother asked her son to wait for his father'

(6)　　　 Three-place transitive verbs:
　　 a. aləj　　 tajzada　　 a-titrad'　　　 jə-lə-j-t-əj-ṭ
　　　　 A.　　　 T.　　　　 DEF-notebook　 3N.ABS-3F.IO-3M.ERG-give-PRS-DCL
　　　　 'Ali gives Tesada a notebook'

　　 b. sara　 aləj　 tajzada　　 a-titrad'
　　　　 I　　 A.　　 T.　　　　 DEF-notebook
　　　　 j-lə-j-s-rə-t-ṭ
　　　　 3N.ABS-3F.IO-3M.IO-1SG.ERG-CAUS-give-DCL
　　　　 'I made Ali give Tesada a notebook'

(7) Adjective
　　 a. sara　　　 sə-pšʒa-ṗ
　　　　 I　　　　　 1sg.abs-beautiful-npst.dcl
　　　　 'I am beautiful'

　　 b. sara ljuba　　 sə-l-rə́-pšʒa-ṭ
　　　　 I　 L.　　　 1SG.ABS-3F.ERG-CAUS-beautiful-DCL
　　　　 'Ljuba made me beautiful'

The causative prefix can be doubled, yielding a compositional interpretation (č'ara 'eat' — rč'ara 'make eat, feed' — rərč'ara 'make feed'):

(8) a-ʔahəʒ-ĉa　　　　 aməjr　 a-la　　　 j-də-r-r-č'a-ṭ
　　 DEF-relative-PLH　 A.　　 DEF-dog　 3M.IO-3PL.ERG-CAUS-CAUS-eat-DCL
　　 'His relatives made Amir feed the dog'

Noun phrases which encode the causer or the causee can be absent from the clause, but they must always be indexed on the verbal complex:

(9) j-ʕa-j-rə-g-ṭ
3N.ABS-DIR-3M.IO+3M.ERG-bring-DCL
'He made him bring it'

As it can be seen from examples (3–7), the *r(ə)-* causative attaches to both verbal and nominal bases. If the verb is static (as in (7a)), it becomes dynamic after causativization (7b). Table 2 demonstrates how the arguments of single and double causative construction are indexed:

	1-place	2-place, trans.	2-place, intrans.	3-place, trans.
Non-causative	Abs_i	$Abs\text{-}Erg_i$	$Abs_i\text{-}IO$	$Abs\text{-}IO\text{-}Erg_i$
Causative	$Abs_i\text{-}Erg_k$	$Abs\text{-}IO_i\text{-}Erg_k$	$Abs_i\text{-}IO\text{-}Erg_k$	$Abs\text{-}IO\text{-}IO_i\text{-}Erg$
Double causative	$Abs_i\text{-}IO\text{-}Erg$	$Abs\text{-}IO_i\text{-}IO_k\text{-}Erg$	$Abs_i\text{-}IO\text{-}IO_k\text{-}Erg$	-//-[4]

Table 2: Indexing shift in causativization

The highest Causer is indexed by the Ergative series and the former A-participant of the base verb is indexed by the IO series, but the former S/P argument is still indexed by the Absolutive series. This can be captured by the following case hierarchy (10):

(10)   IO < ABS < ERG

If the Causer replaces an argument in this hierarchy, the latter should be expressed by the closest free grammatical relation lower in this hierarchy.

2.2.2. Properties of the causer

The causer can belong to all 4 classes of indexes, not only human (masculine/feminine), but also non-human and plural:

(11) Non-human causer
a-pša   áljəj   a-bʒən   d-ʕa-ḳa-na-rə-ŝ-ṭ
DEF-wind   A.   DEF-wall   3H.ABS-DIR-LOC-3N.ERG-CAUS-fall-DCL
'The wind pushed Ali from the wall [Ali fell because of the wind]'

---

4 The indexes *i* and *k* are used to indicate the position of the causer and causee during the derivation.

(12)   Plural causer

a-ʔahəʤ-ĉa   aməjr   a-la   j-də-r-r.č'a-ṭ
DEF-relative-PLH   A.   DEF-dog   3M.IO-3PL.ERG-CAUS-CAUS.eat-DCL
'His relatives made Amir feed the dog'

(13)   Human causer
   a.   feminine
        mamadwə   ĉa   j-ʕa-jə-l-rə-qʷŝa-ṭ
        grandmother   apple   3PL.ABS-DIR-3M.IO-3F.ERG-CAUS-collect-DCL
        'Grandmother made him collect apples'

   b.   masculine
        j-ʕʷəza   áləj   χʷ-kilametr-ḳ
        3M.IO-friend   A.   five-kilometer-UNIT
        d-ʕa-j-rə-ʕʷ-ṭ
        3H.ABS-DIR-3M.ERG-CAUS-run-DCL
        'His friend made Ali run 5 kilometers'

2.3. Semantics of Abaza causatives

Following Kholodovich (1969: 28-29), we distinguish two types of causation, namely factitive – when the only source of change is the causer, and permissive – when the changes arise as a result of the causee's actions, and the causer just gives permission to act. The Abaza morphological causative is capable of expressing both of these types. Example (14) shows a pragmatically related pair of sentences – the first element of the pair will be a request for permission, and the second one is a proposition describing the positive result of this request.

(14) a. a-sabəj   sara   d-sə-r-r-č'á
         DEF-child I   3H.ABS-1SG.IO-CAUS-CAUS-eat.ITR(IMP)
         'Allow me to feed the child'

    b. awəj   a-sabəj   sara   d-s-jə-r-r-č'á-ṭ
        DIST   DEF-child   I   3H.ABS-1SG.IO-3M.ERG-CAUS-CAUS-eat.itr-DCL
        'He allowed me to feed the child'

This interpretation can also arise in certain contexts when the causation was unintentional (someone did not prevent an event from occurring), see (15):

(15) sara   a-ĉá   sə-r-bʕá-d
     I   DEF-apple   1SG.ERG-CAUS-rot-DCL
     i. #'I caused the apple to rot'
     ii. 'I allowed the apple to rot [by forgetting it on the table]'

In (15), a factitive interpretation (15i) is impossible. Instead, the only possible interpretation is permissive (15ii): the speaker was the cause of the possibility (rather than the necessity) of the apple rotting. The same can be observed in (16), where the standard factitive interpretation (16i) is also out: it is not necessary but merely possible to go swimming when the weather is good.

(16)   a-mš–bzəj   hara   č-h-na-rə-ḵʷaba-d
       DEF-day–good   we   RFL-1PL.IO-3N.ERG-CAUS-bathe-DCL
     i. #'Good weather made us bathe'
     ii. 'Good weather allowed us to bathe'

3. Event structure and causativization

Event structure of causatives has been the subject of study in many works (Ljutikova et al. 2006, Tatevosov 2015, Pÿlkannen 2002). One of the distinct features of causatives is the ability to receive different interpretations depending on the scope of different modifiers, especially adverbials. The differences in scope are usually tied to the fact that causative constructions denote two separate events: the causing and the caused events.

3.1. Adverbial modification

Abaza causatives can be combined with different types of adverbials:

(17)   Time span:
       awəj   sara   ʕʷ-sahát-ḳ-la   d-sə-r-gʷəẑ̂ḳ-ṭ
       DIST   I   two-hour-UNIT-INS   3H.ABS-3H.ERG-CAUS-be.angry-DCL
       'I irritated her for two hours'

(18)   Manner:
       sara   š'əbž'anč'ara   qagʷərĉʷála   sə-r-pχa-ṭ
       I   lunch   quickly   1SG.ERG-CAUS-hot-DCL
       'I quickly warmed up my lunch'

(19) Place

sara   s-aba   apχ'aga   h-pnə   s-a-j-rə-pχ'a-ṭ
I   1SG.IO-father DEF.book   1PL.IO-at 1SG.ABS-3N.IO-3M.ERG-CAUS-read-DCL
'My father made me read the book at home'

(20) Agent-oriented

j.zə.m.dər.ʒa.ḳʷa   a-bəqʷ-kʷa   d-sə-r-ba-ṭ
accidentally   DEF-mountain-PL   3PL.IO-1SG.ERG-CAUS-see-DCL
a-tʒə   d-sə-r-b-wə-šə-n
DEF-house   3PL.IO-1SG.ERG-see-IPF-FUT-PST
'I accidentally showed them the mountain, but I wanted to show the house'

For diagnosing different event-structural properties of causatives, refactive adverbials ('again', cf. von Stechow 1996, Ljutikova et al 2005) are used. In Abaza, the 'again' meaning is usually expressed using specific refactive morphology (see Panova 2018):

(21) a-samavar j-ata-ʕa-j-sə-r-ʁəč'-χ-ṭ
     DEF-samovar   3H.ERG-RE.EMP-DIR-3M.IO-1SG.ERG-CAUS-steal-RE-DCL
     'I tempted him into stealing the samovar again'

The time span and manner adverbials in Abaza can either have the Instrumental postfix *-la*, which induces a telic reading of the verb ('in three hours'), or not have it, which will result in a standard atelic type adverbial ('for three hours'):

(22) a. tjotja   tom   sojer   a-gʷara   χʷ-sahat-ḳ-la
        aunt   T.   S.   DEF-fence   five-hour-UNIT-INS
        j-lə-r-ŝə-ṭ
        3M.IO-3F.ERG-CAUS-paint-DCL
        'The aunt made Tom Sawyer paint the fence for 5 hours'

     b. tjotja tom   sojer   a-gʷara   χʷ-sahat-ḳ-la
        aunt   T.   S.   DEF-fense five-hour-UNIT-INS
        j-lə-r-ŝə-ṭ
        3M.IO-3F.ERG-CAUS-paint-DCL
        'It took the aunt 5 hours to get Tom Sawyer to paint the fence'

Thus, causative verbs can co-occur with both telic and atelic time span adverbials.

3.2. Differences in scope

Adverbial modification can affect the scope of Abaza causative constructions in one of three different ways:

- Wide scope: the whole macro-event (both the caused and the causing events) is modified by the adverbial (ADV[CAUSE[e1; e2]])
- Narrow scope, which can be of two types:
    - narrow scope with only the caused event modified (CAUSE[e1; ADV[e2]])
    - narrow scope with only the causing event modified (CAUSE[ADV[e1]; e2])

In some cases, all three possibilities are possible interpretations:

(23) a-sabəj-kʷa   r-an-dwə   ʕʷ-sahaṭ-ḳ   twərəχ
     DEF-children-PL   3PL.IO-mother-big   two-hour-UNIT   story
     l-də-r-hʷa-ṭ
     3F.IO-3PL.ERG-CAUS-say-DCL
     i. 'The children made their grandmother tell them the story, and the whole event took two hours'
     ii. # 'The children for two hours made their grandmother tell them the story [but she told the story for only 20 minutes]'
     iii. 'The children pledged that their grandmother tell them the story for two hours'

(24) h-an   aməjr a-la   ʕʷ-sahat-ḳ-la
    1PL.IO-mother A.   DEF-dog   two-hour-UNIT-INS
    də-l-rə-pšʕa-ṭ
    3H.ABS-3F.ERG-CAUS-search-DCL
    i. 'Mother made her son search for his dog, and the whole event took two hours'
    ii. 'Mother made her son search his dog for two hours'
    iii. # 'Mother asked for two hours that her son sought his dog [but he only searched for 10 minutes and found it]'

(25) a-maçawʕʷə   ajš'at   a-watrələc-kʷa   sahat-bža-ḳ-la
    DEF-cook   A.   DEF-greens-PL   hour-half-UNIT-INS

pə-l-jə-r-q̇ə-ṭ
DIR-3F.IO-3H.ERG-CAUS-cut-DCL

   i. 'The cook made Aishat cut the greens, and the whole event took half an hour'
  ii. 'The cook made Aishat cut the greens for half an hour'
 iii. 'It take the cook half an hour to get Aishat to cut the greens [but maybe she cut them slowly]'

Of course, some interpretations can be ruled out with pragmatic judgments: in (26), the process of buying toys in a shop never takes two hours (though the process of persuading a stubborn dad to buy a toy sometimes does):

(26) a-sabəj-kʷa   r-aba   qʷmarga   ʕʷ-sahat-ḳ-la
       DEF-children-PL 3PL.IO-father toy   two-hour-UNIT-INS
       j-d-rə-χʷʕa-ṭ
       3M.IO-3PL.ERG-CAUS-buy-DCL

  i.#'The children asked their father to buy a toy, and the whole event took two hours'
 ii. 'The children asked [for two hours] their father to buy a toy'
iii.#'The children asked [for x minutes] their father to buy a toy for two hours'

In examples (22–25) four different patterns of temporal adverbial modification can be observed. In (23), (23i) represents the wide scope, and (23ii) and (23iii) represent narrow scope with the causing and caused events, respectively. In (24), only the reading with a causing event in scope is forbidden. In (25) all readings are acceptable, but in (26) only a wide scope reading is possible
The differences in scope in Abaza are not caused by the position of the adverbial in the clause as it is in the case of Chiraq Dargwa (< Northeast Caucasian; see Ganenkov, submitted):

(27) a. dat:i-le   legal-le mark:ule   zarple   b-ert:-i
        father-ERG boy-ERG hayfield(ABS) quickly   N.SG-mow:PF-INF
        b-aq-ib
        N.SG-CAUS:PF-AOR
        'The father made his son quickly mow the hayfield'

     b. dat:i-le   zarple   gal-le   mark:ule   b-ert:-i
        father-ERG   quickly   boy-ERG   hayfield(ABS) N.SG-mow:PF-INF
        b-aq-ib
        N.SG-CAUS:PF-AOR
        'The father immediately made his son mow the hayfield'

In (27), the position of the adverbial can change the scope; in (27a), the narrow scope only affects the caused event, but in (27b) it applies to the causing event. In Abaza, the position of an adverbial in the clause does not have any effect on its scope:

(28) a. ʕʷ-sahat-ḳ   a-sabəj-kʷa   r-aba   qʷmarga
        two-hour-UNIT   DEF-child-PL   3PL.IO-father   toy
        j-d-rə-χʷʕa-ṭ
        3M.IO-3PL.ERG-CAUS-buy-DCL
        'The children made their father buy a toy for two hours'

    b. a-sabəj-kʷa   r-aba   qʷmarga   ʕʷ-sahat-ḳ
        DEF-child-PL   3PL.IO-father   toy   two-hour-UNIT
        j-d-rə-χʷʕa-ṭ
        3M.IO-3PL.ERG-CAUS-buy-DCL
        'The children made heir father buy a toy for two hours'

3.3. Modification by two adverbials

If the scope of an Abaza adverbial can vary, we might expect causative clauses to have several adverbials, each with a different scope, at the same time. It turns out, however, that morphological causatives in Abaza cannot be modified by two adverbials at the same time:

(29)   (*š'arda-ḳ-la) arəpχ'aʕʷ   sara   a-harəf-kʷa   lasə-ta
        long-INDF-INS DEF.teacher   I   DEF-character-PL   fast-ADV
        jə-s-jə-**r**-ʕʷə-ṭ
        3PL.ABS-1SG.IO-3M.ERG-write-DCL
        'The teacher (#for a long time) made me write (alphabetic) letters faster'

The same holds for modification afterwards; that is, cases when one of the events is modified in a separate clause:

(30) mama-dwə   jacə   ĉa   j-ʕa-jə-l-rə-qʷŝa-ṭ
      mother-big   yesterday   apple   3PL.ABS-DIR-3M.IO-3F.ERG-CAUS-collect-DCL
      (*awasa   jara   jaχ'ĉʷa j-ʕa-j-qʷŝa-ṭ)
      #but   he   today   3PL.ABS-DIR-3M.ERG-collect-DCL
      'Grandmother asked him yesterday to collect apples (# but he collected them only today)'

This feature may indicate that the two events which compose the macro-event of causativization are overlapping. In Shibatani's (2002: 85-126) terms, there is a spatio-temporal overlap between the causing and the caused events; that is, they cannot occur in different moments in time or in different places. Examples like (30) may indicate that in Abaza here is a spatio-temporal overlap, which results in a prohibition on events being placed in different moments in time (today and yesterday).

3.4. Scope of negation

The scope of negation is more consistent than that of temporal adverbials. It can be either wide or narrow. In (31i) the negation has wide scope (over both the caused and causing events), and in (31ii) the scope includes only the causing event. A scope over only the caused event is impossible (31iii).

(31) a-sabəj-kʷa   r-aba   qʷmarga
DEF-chlidren-PL   3PL.IO-father   toy
j-g'ə-j-də-m-rə-χʷʕa-ṭ
3N.ABS-NEG.EMP-3M.IO-3PL.ERG-NEG-CAUS-buy-DCL
  i.   'The children didn't allow their father to buy a toy [and he didn't buy it]'
  ii. 'The children didn't allow their father to buy a toy [but he bought it anyway]'
 iii. #'The children allow their father not to buy a toy '

The reading in (31ii) can be obtained in sentences with contexts such as in (32):

(32) a-sabəj-kʷa   r-aba   qʷmarga
DEF-child-PL   3PL.IO-father   toy
j-g'ə-j-də-m-rə-χʷʕa-ṭ
3N.ABS-NEG.EMP-3M.ABS-3PL.ERG-NEG-buy-DCL
awasa   awəj   jə-χʷʕa-ṭ
but   DIST   3M.ERG-buy-DCL
'The children didn't allow their father to buy a toy, but he bought it anyways'

There is another reading attested, where all three possible varieties of scope are possible:

(33) aba   j-pa   a-nəŝq̇ʷara
father   3M.IO-son   DEF-garbage

j-g'-ǯəl-m-j-jə-r-ga-ṭ
3N.ABS-NEG.EMP-DIR-NEG-3M.IO-3M.ERG-CAUS-carry-DCL

  i.   'A father didn't allow his son to throw the garbage out [and he didn't]'
  ii. 'A father didn't allow his son to throw the garbage out [but he threw it out anyway]'
  iii. 'A father allowed his son not to throw the garbage out [and he didn't]'

Our consultants' first reaction to the stimulus is to produce sentences where the caused event is within the scope; in order to elicit a reading like the one in (31ii) or (33ii), special context is needed (as in 32).

3.4.1. Negation in a separate clause

The caused event cannot be negated in a separate clause:

(34) aχmat sakəjnat lə-ʕʷza   d-ʕa-lə-j-rə-d-ṭ
     A.   S.   3F.IO-friend   3H.ABS-DIR-3F.IO-3H.ERG-CAUS-invite-DCL
     *(awasa   lara   də-g'-ʕa-lə-m-d-ṭ)
     but   she   3H.ABS-NEG.EMP-DIR-3F.ERG-NEG-invite-DCL
     'Akhmat made Sakinat invite her friend over (# but she didn't invite him)'

The same holds for double causatives:

(35) a-ʔahəl-ĉa   am.jr   a-la   j-də-r-r-č'a-ṭ
     DEF-relative-PLH A.   DEF-dog   3M.IO-3PL.ERG-CAUS-CAUS-eat-DCL
     *(awasa   am.jr a-la   g'ə-j-mə-r-č'a-ṭ)
     but   A.   DEF-dog   NEG.EMP-3M.ERG-NEG-CAUS-eat-DCL
     'Relatives made Amir feed the dog (#but he didn't feed the dog)'

4. Conclusion

In this paper we have discussed the main properties of Abaza morphological causatives and their nontrivial properties related to adverbial modification and the scope of negation. We have found that the Abaza causative contains two events – the caused and causing, and that the caused event is always within the scope of adverbial modification, but that the scope properties may vary from verb to verb. For negation, we have found that the causing event is almost always in its scope, but that the caused event can have wide scope with respect to negation. Scope range according to the features of the verb undergoing derivation should be studied separately using a wider selection of Abaza verbs.

List of abbreviations

1 – first person; 2 – second person; 3 – third person; ABS — Absolutive; CAUS — causative; DCL — declarative; DEF — definite; DIR — directive; DIST — undefinite; REF — refactive; EMP — emphatic; ERG — Ergative; F — feminine; FUT — future tense; H — human; INS — Instrumental; IO — Indirect Object; LOC — locative; PST — past tense; M — masculine; NEG — negation; RFL — reflexive; REF – refactive; SG — singular; PL — plural; UNIT — counting suffix.

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