Karachay-Balkar:

- Spoken in Russia
- Region: Kabardino-Balkaria, Karachay-Cherkessia
- Number of speakers: about 400,000
- Genetic affiliation: Altaic Turkic Kypchak Kypchak-Cuman
- Writing system: Cyrillic alphabet

Event Structure of Causative and Passive Verbs

On the map

Field trip site

Modern Karachay-Balkar alphabet

А а Б б В в Г г Гъ гъ Д д Дж дж Е е Её Ё Ёе Ж ж З з И и Ы Ыы И й И й К к Къ къ Л л М м Н н Нг нг Нъ нъ О о П п Р р С с Т т У у Ў Ўў Щ щ Ш ш Ъ ъ Ыы ь Э э Ю ю Я я
Dialects

- Two dialects
  - Karachay: /ʧ/ and /ʒ/
  - Balkar: /ʨ/ and /z/
- Ex:
  Kar. Çɨ – Balk. Çɨ ‘go out’
  Kar. ʒɨ – Balk. ʒɨ ‘song’

Verbal system: an overview

- Basic verb forms
- Aspectual characteristics of verb forms
- Actional characteristics of verbs
- Valence changing derivations

Structure of verb forms

Stem – Negation – Tense/Aspect/Mood – Agreement

bar-Ran-byz ‘(we) went’
go-PFCT-1PL
da-r-sa ‘(you)’ll dig’
dig-FUT-2SG
ac-ma-dy-la ‘(they) didn’t open’
open-NEG-PST-3PL open’
Three stems

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>root</th>
<th>past stem</th>
<th>present stem</th>
<th>future stem</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>bar ‘go’</td>
<td>bar</td>
<td>bar-a</td>
<td>bar</td>
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<tr>
<td>qaz ‘dig’</td>
<td>qaz</td>
<td>qaz-a</td>
<td>qaz-a</td>
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<tr>
<td>boja ‘colour’</td>
<td>boja</td>
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Two sets of person/number markers

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<td>-lA</td>
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Building verb forms

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<th>prestit</th>
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Basic verb forms (agreement left out)

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Building verb forms:
the verb bar ‘go’, 1SG

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<tr>
<th>past stem</th>
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<tr>
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<td>+LS</td>
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<td>bar- uwcu-ma</td>
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Aspectual characteristics of verb forms

Preterite

(1) alim kel-gm-de kerim qaft
Alim come-PFCT-TEMP Kerim letter write-PST.3SG
When Alim came, Kerim wrote a letter.

(2) alim kel-gm-de kerim qaft
Alim come-PFCT-TEMP Kerim letter write-PFCT COP.3SG
Everytime Alim came, Kerim used to write a letter.

Imperfect

(1) alim kel-gm-de kerim qaft
Alim come-PFCT-TEMP Kerim letter write-PST.3SG
When Alim came, Kerim was writing a letter.

(2) alim kel-gm-de kerim qaft
Alim come-PFCT-TEMP Kerim letter write-PFCT COP.3SG
Everytime Alim came, Kerim used
to be writing a letter.

When Alim came, Kerim was writing a letter.
Aspectual characteristics of verbal forms

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<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Progressive</th>
<th>Habitual</th>
<th>Perfective</th>
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<tbody>
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<td>Present</td>
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<td>Imperfect</td>
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<td>Habitual</td>
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<td>Preterite</td>
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<td>Perfect</td>
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<td>Future</td>
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Grammatical aspect vs. actionality

- Conceptual distinction between grammatical aspect and actionality (a.k.a. lexical aspect, Aktionsart, aspectual class, eventuality type, situation type, …)
- Actionality is identified by a set of meaning labels assigned to basic aspectual forms of a verb
- All arguments of a verb are represented in the syntax; whenever possible arguments are quantized (e.g., singular or plural definite) NPs

Actional characteristics of verbs

Set of actional meanings

- **State (S)**: Johnson is ill; Johnson weighed 9 lbs. 6 oz.; Johnson lived in Edinburgh.
- **Process (P)**: Johnson was running; Johnson wrote letters for two hours.
- **Multiplicative process (MP)**: Johnson coughed for 5 minutes; Johnson is coughing.
- **Entry into a state (ES)**: Johnson died; Johnson saw a snake; Johnson wrote a letter; Johnson coughed (once).
- **Entry into a process (EP)**: The water started boiling; Johnson started singing.

Actional characteristics of the verb Q ‘die’ – preterite and present

Preterite:
(3) alim Q-dU
Alim die-PST.3SG
Alim died.
Entry into a state

Present:
(4) alim Q-e-di
Alim die-IPFV-3SG
Alim is dying.
Process
Q ‘die’: <Preterite: Entry into a state; Present: Process>

Actional characteristics of the verb Q ‘die’ – other perfective forms

Perfect:
(5) alim Q-gen-di
Alim die-PFCT-3SG
Alim died.
Entry into a state

Pluperfect:
(6) alim Q-gen-edi
Alim die-PFCT COP.3SG
Alim had died.
Entry into a state

Future:
(7) alim Qer-di
Alim die-FUT-3SG
Alim will die.
Entry into a state

Q ‘die’: <Perfective: Entry into a state; Present: Process>

Actional characteristics of the verb Q ‘die’ – other progressive forms

Imperfect
(8) alim Q-e-edi
Alim die-IPFV COP.3SG
Alim was dying.
Process
Q ‘die’:
<Perfective: Entry into a state; Progressive: Process>
Q ‘die’:
<Perfective: ES, Progressive: P>
Q ‘die’:
<Perfective: ES, P>
More complex verb: zat ‘lie, lie down’

Preterite
(9) alim zat-ty
   Alim lie-PST.3SG
1. Alim lied down.
2. Alim was lying (for some time).
3. Alim was lying down (for some time).

Present
(10) alim zat-a-dy
   Alim lie-IPFV-3SG
1. Alim is lying.
2. Alim is lying down.

zat ‘lie, lie down’ <ES,S,P; S,P>

Actional classification

- Balkar: an average Turkic system of actional classes.

Basic actional classes

1. Telic verbs
   1. Strong telic verbs: <ES; P>.
   1.1. Punctual verbs: <ES; – >.
      tap ‘find’
   1.2. Weak telic verbs: <ES,P; P>.

Basic actional classes (ctnd)

2. Process verbs
   2.1. Atelic verbs: <P; P>.
   2.2. Ingressive atelic verbs: <EP,P; P>.

Basic actional classes (ctnd)

3. Stative verbs
      ẓ̣ṣ̣ ‘live’, ḥ̣̣ṭ̣ ‘remember’
   3.2. Inceptive stative verbs: <ES,S; S>.
      ạẉṛ ‘ache’, bil ‘know’, ḅ̣ḷ ‘like’, eṢ̣ ‘hear’, ḳ̣ṛ ‘see’, q̣̣ṛ ‘be afraid’, ṣ̣ḷ ‘love’, uSa ‘resemble’, ỵ̣ṇ ‘believe’…

Basic actional classes (ctnd)

4. Complex verbs
   - <ES, S; P> ary ‘get tired’, bol ‘become’, q̣̣ḷ ‘stay’, tas bol ‘get lost’
   - <ES, P, S; P> ạṚ ‘whiten’, bat ‘sink’, urut ‘forget’, ẓ̣ḅ̣ ‘stick, glue’
Basic actional classes (ctnd)

5. Multiplicative verbs
5.1. Pure multiplicative verbs <ES,MP; MP>.
'aR 'drop', bulFa 'wave', cajqa 'rock', cyqyrda 'creak', qaq 'knock', sekir 'jump', zQfel et 'cough'…

5.2. Multiplicative-process verbs <ES,MP,P; MP,P>.
5efyr 'whistle', uppa et 'kiss', qab 'bite', fuBe 'meet'.

Valence changing derivations

An average Turkic system: 4 types of derivational affixes

Valency changing derivations

causative: fully productive
(11) a. butaq syn-dy
branch break_intr-PST.3SG
'The branch broke'.

b. alim butaq-ny syn-dy-dy
Alim branch-ACC break_intr-CAUS-PST.3SG
'Alim broke the branch'.

c. passive: fully productive
(12) a. alim qaRyt-ny zas-ty
Alim letter-ACC write-PST.3SG
'Alim wrote the letter'.

b. qaRyt alim-ni kUcU ble zazyl-dy
letter Alim-GEN by write_PASS-PST.3SG
'The letter was written by Alim'.

Valency changing derivations

reflexive: less productive, lexically restricted
(13) a. ana-sy madina-ny tara-j-dy
mother-3 Madina-ACC comb-IPFV-3SG
'The mother is combing Madina’s hair'.

b. madina tara-n-sa-dy
Madina comb-REFL-IPFV-3SG
'Madina is combing her hair'.

c. reciprocal: less productive, lexically restricted
(14) a. alim lejla-ny uppa et-e-di.
Alim Leila-ACC kiss-IPFV-3SG
'Alim is kissing Leila'.

b. alim ble lejla bla uppa et-iSe-di-le.
Alim and Leila and kiss-REC-IPFV-3PL
'Alim and Leila are kissing'.

6
In this talk

- causative
  - direct
  - indirect
- passive
  - promotional
  - “causal”
  - anticausative

Causative: direct/indirect

- Semantic difference:
  - manipulative / directive causation
  - causer / causee controlled action
  - cf. *feed* (direct) vs. *make eat* (indirect)
- Relevant phenomenon:
  - ambiguity of adverbials combined with indirect causatives cf. *feed quickly* (unambiguous) vs. *make eat quickly* (ambiguous)

Passive morpheme

- Promotional passive
  (15) ęšik alim-ni kükÜble ac-y-dy
        door Alim-GEN by open-PASS-PST.3SG
  ‘The door was opened by Alim.’
- Anticausative
  (16) ęšik (kes) ac-y-dy
        door (by itself) open-PASS-PST.3SG
  ‘The door opened (by itself).’
- Causal passive

Passive morpheme: causal passive

(17) a. ıllew (*alim-ni kükÜble) syn-dy
        toy.NOM Alim-GEN by break-PST.3SG
  ‘The toy broke (*by Alim).’
b. ıllew alim-ni kükÜble syn-y-dy
        toy.NOM Alim-GEN by break-PASS-PST.3SG
  ‘The toy was broken by Alim.’

Methodology

Derivational database:
- 171 non-derived verbal roots

Information collected:
- transitivity
- case frame
- valence changing derivations
- availability of recursive derivations

Database: nested form
Database: verb form

For every verb (non-derived or derived by causative and passive affixes):
- transitivity
- case frame
- actional class:
  - actional interpretations of perfective forms (perfect / preterite)
  - actional interpretations of progressive forms (present)

Database: Special case

Verb forms refer to more than one situation:
- indirect causatives

(18)a. ata-sy alim-ge terk hazca-syn sUr-dUr-dU
  father-3 Alim-DAT garden-3-ACC plough-CAUS-PST.3SG
  'The father made Alim plough the vegetable garden quickly (i.e., ploughing occurred quickly)'.

b. ata-sy terk alim-ge hazca-syn sUr-dUr-dU
  father-3 quickly Alim-DAT garden-3-ACC plough-CAUS-PST.3SG
  'The father quickly caused Alim to plough the vegetable garden (i.e., both causing and ploughing occurred quickly)'.

Database: Decision

Actional characteristics of the causing and caused events are identified independently.

Database: "bi-situational" form

Event Structure of Causative and Passive Verbs
- Non-derived verbs
- Causative verbs
- Passive verbs
Non-derived verbs

Parameters
- [± dynamic]
- [± transitive]
- [± external argument]
- [± manner specification]
- [± result state specification]

Characteristics to be determined

- Syntactic class
  - transitive/intransitive
  - agentivity
- Derivational potential
  - type of causative construction (direct/indirect)
  - type of passive construction (promotional passive, "causal" passive, anticausative)
- Actional meanings
  - availability of stative interpretation
  - availability of telic interpretation
  - availability of process interpretation

Causatives and passives

Telicity and atelicity
In this talk: four most significant classes

- [+ dynamic] [- trans] [- θ] [+] result state] (henceforth unaccusatives)
- [+ dynamic] [- trans] [+] result state] (henceforth unergatives)
- [+ dynamic] [+ trans] [- manner] [+] result state] (henceforth result verbs)
- [+ dynamic] [+ trans] [+] manner] [- result state] (henceforth manner verbs)

Unaccusatives

(19) cojun tol-du.
  pot fill.intr-PST.3SG
  ‘The pot filled.’

Unergatives

(20) alim cap-ty
  Alim run-PST.3SG
  ‘Alim ran.’

Manner verbs

(21) fatima alma-ny aSa-dy
  Fatima apple-ACC eat-PST.3SG
  ‘Fatima ate an/the apple.’

Result verbs

- ac ‘open.tr’, ọj ‘destroy’, zap ‘close.tr’, zyt ‘tear.tr’, ujat ‘wake’
(22) alim || zel eSk-ni ac-ty
  Alim || wind door-ACC open-PST.3SG
  ‘Alim || the wind opened a/the door.’

Evidence for subevental structure

scope of zaNdăn ‘again’

- Unaccusatives: zaNdăn ‘again’ takes scope over the whole change of state event (23.1) or over the result state only (23.2)
(23) cojun zaNdăn tol-du.
  pot again fill.intr-PST.3SG
  1. The pot filled again (the pot filled twice).
  2. The pot got filled again (the pot was full twice).
Evidence for subevental structure

Unergatives: zaNydan ‘again’ takes scope over the whole event:

(24) alim zaNydan cap-ty
    Alim again run-PST.3SG
    Alim ran again.

Manner verbs: zaNydan ‘again’ takes scope over the whole event or over the process undergone by the patient only:

(25) alim baxca-sy-n zaNydan sUr-dU
    Alim garden-3-ACC again plough-PST.3SG
    1. Alim ploughed the vegetable garden again (the vegetable garden has been ploughed twice).
    2. Again, Alim ploughed the vegetable garden (Alim ploughed the vegetable garden twice).

Result verbs: zaNydan ‘again’ can take scope over the result state, over the result state plus change of state or over the whole event:

(26) alim eSik-ni zaNydan ac-ty
    Alim door-ACC again open-PST.3SG
    1. Alim opened the door again (the door was open twice).
    2. Alim opened the door again (the door opened twice).
    3. Again, Alim opened the door (Alim opened the door twice).

Causatives

Causatives: Morphology

- Two regular and fully productive causative markers -t- and -tyr-.
- Distribution conditioned phonologically: -t- attaches after vowel and multisyllabic sonorant stems,
  -tyr- occurs after consonant and monosyllabic sonorant stems.
- -t- and -tyr- are morphological exponents of the same morpheme.

Evidence for subevental structure

Causatives: Morphology

Double or triple causatives are built with -t-tyr-t... or -tyr-t-tyr... accordingly:

cap ‘run’ → cap-ty ‘cause to run’ → cap-tyr-t ‘make cause to run’
eri ‘melt.intr’ → eri-t ‘melt.tr’ → eri-tyr ‘cause to melt’ → eri-t-tyr-t ‘make cause to melt’...
Causatives: Selection

Any verb, be it unaccusative, unergative, transitive or bitransitive, can be causativized by –ty.

Unaccusatives
(27) alim cojun-nu tel-dur-du.
    Alim pot-ACC fill.intr-CAUS-PST.3SG
    Alim filled the pot.

Unergatives
(28) ustaz alim-ge cap-tyr-dy.
    teacher Alim-ACC run-CAUS-PST.3SG
    The teacher made Alim run.

Causative: recursive

Double causatives and even triple causatives are readily available:
(31) direktor ustaz-dan alim-ge
    director teacher-ABL Alim-DAT
    The director caused the teacher to make Alim open the door.

(32) fatima ana-sy-dan madina-Ra et-ni
    mother-3-ABL Madina-DAT meat-ACC
    melt-CAUS-CAUS-CAUS-PST.3SG
    Fatima caused her mother to make Madina unfreeze the meat.

Causatives: Voice-bundling

(33) a. alim Uj-e-n zan-dyr-dy
    Alim house-3-ACC burn.intr-CAUS-PST.3SG
    1. Alim burnt his house.
    2. *Alim’s house burnt on him. <intended adversity reading>

b. alim-ge zyta-t-a-dyl-iq.
    Alim-ACC sing-CAUS-PRS-3(-PL)
    1. They make Alim sing.
    2. *Alim feels like singing. <intended desiderative reading>

Causatives: Case assignment

Case assignment obeys Comrie’s (1976) descriptive generalization: when the Causer is introduced, gaining a subject position, the Causee, ex-subject, is demoted to the highest available position at the hierarchy of grammatical relations:
(34) Comrie’s Paradigm Case

S > DO > IO > OBL
NOM ACC DAT ABL

The case assigned to Causee does not reflect its θ-role, cf. (35) with the causative of the unergative verb cap ‘run’:
(35) ustaz alim-ge cap-tyr-dy.
    teacher Alim-ACC run-CAUS-PST.3SG
    The teacher made Alim run.
Causatives: Evidence for event structure

- adverbial zaNydan ‘again’
- time-span adverbials
- manner adverbials
- agent-oriented adverbials
- binding phenomena

Causatives: Scope of ‘again’

Causatives of unaccusatives pattern with result verbs:

(36) alim cojun-nu zaNydan tol-dur-du
    Alim pot-ACC again fill.intr-CAUS-PST.3SG
    1. Alim filled the pot again (the pot was full twice).
    2. Alim filled the pot again (the pot filled twice).
    3. Again, Alim filled the pot (Alim filled the pot twice).

Causatives: Scope of ‘again’

Causatives of unaccusatives

- narrow scope (over result state)
- intermediate scope (over change of state+result state)
- wide scope (over activity+change of state+result state)

Causatives of unergatives have the same scope possibilities as non-derived unergatives plus the widest scope over a causing event:

(37) ustaz alim-ni zaNydan cap-ty-dy
    teacher Alim-ACC again run-CAUS-PST.3SG
    1. The teacher made Alim run again (Alim ran twice).
    2. Again, the teacher made Alim run (the teacher made Alim run twice).

Causatives: Scope of ‘again’

Causatives of transitives have the same scope possibilities as non-derived transitives plus the widest scope over a causing event:

(38) ata-sy alim-ge baxce-syn zaNydan sUr-dUr-dU
    father-3 Alim-DAT garden-3-ACC again plough-CAUS-PST.3SG
    1. Father made Alim plough the vegetable garden again (the vegetable garden has been ploughed twice).
    2. Father made Alim plough the vegetable garden again (Alim ploughed the vegetable garden twice).
    3. Again, father made Alim plough the vegetable garden (the father made Alim plough the vegetable garden twice).
Causatives: Scope of 'again'

Causatives of transitives

- narrow scope (over change of state) ☑
- intermediate scope (over activity + change of state) ☑
- wide scope (over causing event + caused event) ☑

Causatives of unaccusatives

- narrow scope (over result state) ☑
- intermediate scope (over process + result state) ☑
- wide scope (over activity + process + result state) ☑

Causatives: Scope of time-span adverbials

Causatives of unaccusatives: no scope ambiguity

(39) alim be5 minut-xa cojun-nu tol-dur-du.

1. Alim filled the pot in five minutes.
2. *Alim caused the pot [to fill in five minutes].

Causatives of unergatives/transitives: time-span adverbials modify either the caused event or the causing and the caused event:

(40) ata-sy alim-ge be5 saRat-xa baxca-sy-n sUr-dUr-dU.

1. The father made Alim plough the vegetable garden in five hours (i.e., ploughing event took five hours).
2. In five hours, the father made Alim plough the vegetable garden (i.e., both causing and ploughing took five hours).
Causatives: Scope of manner adverbials

Causatives of unaccusatives: no scope ambiguity
(41) alim terk cojun-nu tol-dur-du.
Alim quickly pot-ACC fill.intr-CAUS-PST.3SG
1. Alim filled the pot quickly.
2. *Alim caused the pot [to fill quickly].
   - narrow scope (over result state) ☒
   - intermediate scope (over process+result state) ☐
   - wide scope (over activity+process+result state) ☐

Causatives of unergatives/transitives: manner adverbials modify either the caused event or the causing and the caused event:
(42) ata-sy alim-ge terk baxca-sy-n sUr-dUr-dU.
father-3 Alim-DAT quickly garden-3-ACC plough-CAUS-PST.3SG
1. The father made Alim plough the vegetable garden quickly (i.e., ploughing event occurred quickly).
2. The father quickly caused Alim to plough the vegetable garden (i.e., both causing and ploughing occurred quickly).

Causatives: Event structure

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Interpretation of manner adverbials</th>
<th>Transitive: cause and result</th>
<th>Transitive: transitive cause</th>
<th>Unaccusative: result</th>
<th>Causatives of unaccusatives</th>
<th>Causatives of unergatives</th>
<th>Causatives of transitive: cause and manner</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Subevental structure: scope of ‘again’</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3/2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>4/3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Interpretation of time-span adverbials</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Interpretation of manner adverbials</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
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<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
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</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Causatives: Agent-oriented adverbials

Two interpretations with causatives of unergatives/transitives, a single interpretation with causatives of unaccusatives:

- Causatives of unaccusatives
  (43) fatima lejla Ra acuuRa butaq-ny syn-dyr-dy.
  Fatima Leila-DAT to.spite branch-ACC break.intr-CAUS-PST.3SG
  Fatima broke the branch to spite Leila.

- Causatives of unergatives
  (44) ustaz lejla Ra acuuRa fatima-ny cap-tyr-dy.
  teacher Leila-DAT to.spite Fatima-ACC run-CAUS-PST.3SG
  1. The teacher let Fatima run to spite Leila.
  2. To spite Leila, the teacher made Fatima run.
Karachay-Balkar possesses a compound reflexive pronoun *kesi-kesi-n* (‘self.3-self.3-ACC’). The first component has a fixed form, the second receives case marking.

- *kesi-kesi-n* is locally bound:

  (45) `ustaz, madina-Ra`, [PRO ]*kesi-kesi-n*, `maxta-rRa`

  teacher Madina-DAT self-self-ACC praise-INF

  bujrul ber-di.

  permission give-PST.3SG

  The teacher let Madina praise herself || *him.

- *kesi-kesi-n* is subject oriented:

  (46) `ustaz, madina-Ra`, `kesi-kesi-n`, `CONST`  `sin-dun`

  teacher Madina-DAT self-self-GEN about ask-PST.3SG

  The teacher asked Madina about himself || *herself.

  (47) `ustaz, alim-ACC`, `kesi-kesi-gen`, `CONST`

  teacher Alim-ACC self-self-GEN house-3-LOC look-for-PST.3SG

  The teacher looked for Alim in his own house.

- Causatives of unaccusatives: one antecedent available

  (48) `aman, adam-ACC`, `alim-ACC`, `kesi-kesi-gen`

  bad man Alim-ACC self-self-GEN

  `Uj-e-ne` Olu-ru-du

  house-3-DAT die-CAUS-PST.3SG

  The criminal killed Alim in his own house.

- Causatives of unergatives: two antecedents available

  (49) `aman, adam-ACC`, `alim-ACC`, `kesi-kesi-gen`

  bad man Alim-ACC self-self-GEN

  `Uj-e-ne` cap-ty-r-dy

  house-3-DAT run-CAUS-PST.3SG

  The criminal made Alim run to his own house.

- Causatives of transitives: two antecedents available

  (50) `ustaz, madina-ACC`, `kesi-kesi-gen`

  teacher Madina-DAT self-self-ACC praise-CAUS-PST.3SG

  The teacher made Madina praise him || herself.

Possible antecedents of *kesi-kesi-n*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Possible antecedents</th>
<th>Subject (Causer)</th>
<th>Possible antecedents</th>
<th>Causee</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>0/2</td>
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</table>


**Causatives: Event structure**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Subevental structure: scope of ‘again’</th>
<th>Interpretation of manner adverbials</th>
<th>Interpretation of time-span adverbials</th>
<th>Interpretation of agent-or. adverbials</th>
<th>Binding of the compound reflexive</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1S, 1BD</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1S, 2BD</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1B, 2BD</td>
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<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2S, 1BD</td>
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<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2S, 2BD</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Causativization: Semantics**

- Semantics of causative relation is different for causatives of unaccusatives and causatives of transitives/unergatives.
  - Causatives of unaccusatives: direct causation (no intermediate causes).
  - Causatives of transitives/unergatives: indirect causation (intermediate causes).

**Causativization**

- With unaccusatives, the causative morpheme adds an activity subevent to the event structure:
  - **Unaccusative**: Change-of-state
  - **Causative**: Activity

**Unaccusative: Accomplishment**

**Event structure and actionality**

With unaccusatives, causativization gives rise to an additional process interpretation (FAILED ATTEMPT):

- **syn 'break_intr': <ES, P>**
  - (51) *butaq ekimunut syn-dy
    - branch two minute break-PST.3SG
    - *‘The branch broke for two minutes.’*
- **syn-dy 'break_tr': <ES, P>**
  - (52) ailm butaq-ny ekimunut syn-dy-dy
    - Ailm branch-ACC two minute break-CAUS-PST.3SG
    - *‘Ailm tried to break the branch for two minutes.’*
Event structure and actionality

With unergatives and transitives, causativization creates a causing event with actional characteristics <ES,P; P>

Unergatives/Transitives:
Caused event
Actional class: <P; P>, <ES; P>, <ES,P; P>...

Causative: Causing event
Actional class: <ES,P; P>

Aspectual operator

Event structure and actionality

Actionality of the caused event remains intact

zar “write” <ES, P; P>

(55) utaz madina-DAT qaRyt-ny zaz-dyr-dy || zaz-dyr-a-dy
   teacher Madina-DAT letter-ACC write-CAUS-PST.3SG || write-CAUS-IPFV-3SG
1. The teacher made || is making Madina write a/the letter {in 10 minutes}. (perfective, ES)
2. The teacher made || is making Madina write a/the letter {for 10 minutes}. (perfective, P)
3. The teacher made || is making Madina be writing a/the letter {at 2 p.m.}. (progressive, P)

Event structure and actionality

Actionality of the causing event

Perfective

(56) utaz eki minut-xa alim-ni cap-tyr-dy
   teacher two minute-DAT Alim-ACC run-CAUS-PST.3SG
In two minutes, the teacher persuaded Alim to run.

Progressive

(57) utaz eki minut alim-ni cap-tyr-a-dy
   teacher two minute Alim-ACC run-CAUS-PRS-3SG
For two minutes, the teacher tried to persuade Alim to run {but didn’t succeed}.

Passives

Actionality of the causing event

Progressive

(58) utaz alim-ni cap-tyr-a-dy
   teacher Alim-ACC run-CAUS-PRS-3SG
The teacher is persuading Alim to run.

Perfective: ES, P
Progressive: P
TYRREVITIVE: <ES,P; P>
Passive morpheme
- -(I)l- / -(I)n- : phonologically conditioned distribution
- Ambiguous
  - promotional passive
  - anticausative
  - causal passive
- Recursive: second, third, etc. morpheme – causal passive only

Promotional passive
- Selection: transitives (also derived, e.g., causatives)
- DO occupies the Subject position
- Subject is optionally expressed in the PP headed by kUcU bطة ‘by’

(59) keriım kOlek-ni zyt-ty
  Kerim shirt-ACC tear-PST.3SG
  ‘Kerim tore a/the shirt.’

(60) kOlek (keriım-ni kUc-U bطة) zyt-yl dy
  shirt Kerim-GEN by tear-PASS-PST.3SG
  ‘A/the shirt was torn by Kerim.’

Promotional passive: Event structure
- Passivization does not affect event structure

| Subevental structure: scope of ‘again’ | 2 | 2 | 1 | 3 |
| Interpretation of time-span adverbials | 3 | 1 | 1 | 1 |
| Interpretation of manner adverbials | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 |
| Interpretation of agent-or. adverbials | 3 | 1 | 1 | 1 |

Promotional passive: Actionality
- Passivization does not affect actional characteristics of the verb
  zyt ‘tear’ <ES,P; P> - zyt-yl ‘be/get torn’ <ES,P; P>
  kOr ‘see’ <ES,S; S> - kOr-Un ‘be seen’ <ES,S; S>
  sUr-dUr ‘make plough’ <ES,P; P> <ES,P;P> -
  sUr-dUr-Ul ‘be caused to plough’ <ES,P; P> <ES,P;P>

Anticausative
Anticausative

- Selection: transitive [-manner] verbs (non-derived)
- DO occupies the Subject position
- Agent cannot be expressed

(61) kərɪm kQe̱k-ni zyrt-ty
    Kerim shirt-ACC tear-PST.3SG
    'Kerim tore a/the shirt.'

(62) kQe̱k (*kərɪm-ni kʊʔ-Us) zyrt-γ̃dy
    shirt Kerim-GEN by tear-ANTICAUS-PST.3SG
    'A/the shirt tore (*by Kerim).'

Anticausativization: Event structure

- Anticausativization affects Activity subevent:
  - Agent’s activity
  - Change-of-state
  - Anticausativization
  - Accomplishment

Anticausativization: Actionality

<ES,P; P> result verbs: Atelic interpretation

- Group 1: FAILED ATTEMPT and PARTIAL SUCCESS

- Group 2: FAILED ATTEMPT
  - zyrt ‘tear’, ac ‘open’, tʃi ‘untie’, uʃət ‘wake up’, zəb ‘close’

Anticausativization: Actionality

<ES,P; P> result verbs under anticausativization

- Group 1: FAILED ATTEMPT and PARTIAL SUCCESS
  - retain atelic interpretation
    <ES,P; P> => <ES,P; P>

- Group 2: FAILED ATTEMPT
  - lose atelic interpretation
    <ES,P; P> => <ES,P>
Causal passive

Unaccusative

(64) a. illew (*alim-ni kUcU ble) syn-dy
toy Alim-GEN by break-PST.3SG
‘The toy broke (*by Alim).’
b. illew alim-ri kUcU ble syn-yl-dy
toy Alim-GEN by break-PASS-PST.3SG
‘The toy was broken by Alim.’

Unaccusative

(65) a. alim (*farida-ny kUcU ble) bar-dy
Alim Farida-GEN by leave-PST.3SG
‘Alim left (*by Farida).’
b. alim farida-ny kUcU ble bar-yl-dy
Alim Farida-GEN by leave-PASS-PST.3SG
‘Alim left (because something was done) by Farida.’

Causal passive: Causative coercion

-1-PASS (Vintrans) → -1-PASS (CAUS(Vintrans))

Evidence:
Intransitives combined with the passive morphology pattern with (overt) causatives with respect to event structure
- semantic type of causation
- interpretation of agent-oriented adverbials
- interpretation of time-span and rate adverbials
- scope of negation

Causal passive: Event structure

Illustration: Agent-oriented adverbials

(66) butaq iqlija-Ra acuuRa syn-y-dy
branch Leila-DAT to.spite break.intr-PASS-PST.3SG
‘The branch was broken to spite Leila’.

Causatives of unaccusatives: unambiguous

(67) alim iqlija-Ra acuuRa butaq-ny syn-y-dy
Alim Leila-DAT to.spite branch break.intr-CAUS-PST.3SG
‘Alim broke the branch to spite Leila’.
Causal passive: Event structure

Passives of unergatives: ambiguous
(68) alim ileja-Ra acuuRa fatima-nykUuoble zUz-U-dU
A. L.-DAT to.spite F.-GEN by swim-PASS-PST.3SG
1. ‘Alim was allowed by Fatima to swim to spite Leila (it was Alim who wanted to spite Leila)’.
2. ‘Alim was allowed to swim by Fatima, who wanted to spite Leila’.

Causatives of unergatives: two-way ambiguous
(69) fatima alim-ni ileja-Ra acuuRa zUz-dUr-dU
F. A.-ACC L.-DAT to.spite swim-PASS-PST.3SG
1. ‘Fatima let Alim swim to spite Leila (it was Alim who wanted to spite Leila)’.
2. ‘In order to spite Leila, Fatima made Alim swim (it was Fatima who wanted to spite Leila)’.