

Causatives in Agul*

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The paper considers morphology, morphosyntax and semantics of causative formation in Agul, a Lezgic language of Southern Daghestan (Russia). In Agul, the two most frequent causative patterns, periphrastic and compound causatives, apparently share one source of grammaticalization. The former are combinations of 'do' with the infinitive of the lexical verb, while the latter put them together as two bound stems. However, semantically 'do'-compounds belong with non-productive causatives (labile verbs and lexical causatives) and are opposed to fully productive periphrastic causatives. All non-productive causatives – only available for intransitive verbs – have parallel periphrastic 'do'-causatives, the distinction between the parallel forms conveys the semantic contrast of direct vs. indirect causation. The paper makes an attempt at decomposing these typological categories into simpler components (intentionality, physical interaction, event structure), and provides a detailed semantic analysis of labile verbs and semantically irregular causatives. Periphrastic causatives are peculiar in their own way: they may introduce locative or ergative Causee, the choice depending on the degree of the Causee's control over the caused situation. Basing on this morphosyntactic variability, we argue that periphrastic causatives are intermediate between bi- and monoclausal constructions.

1. Introduction

This paper deals with causativization in Agul, a Lezgic language of Southern Daghestan, and is the first systematic account of causativization patterns in this

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language. It describes formal properties of the attested causativization patterns and reviews the semantics of Agul causatives and the contrasts between them.

The structure of the paper is as follows. The present section includes a brief introduction to the sociolinguistic situation of Agul, its genetic affiliation and an overview of the relevant fragments of its grammar. Section 2 describes formal properties of causative verbs and constructions, starting from the productive pattern and proceeding to non-productive models. Section 3 describes semantic features of Agul causatives and contrasts between the attested patterns. Section 4 contains some typological background; against this background, we discuss what is common and what is uncommon about Agul causatives.

Agul belongs to the Lezgic group of the Nakh-Daghestanian, or East Caucasian family. Together with Lezgian and Tabassaran it forms the East Lezgic subgroup, as opposed to other branches such as Tsakhur – Rutul and Budukh – Kryz subgroups and ‘aberrant’ members such as Archi and Udi.

Agul is spoken in 15 villages of the Agul district (*Agul'skij rajon*) and five villages of the Kurakh district (*Kuraxskij rajon*) in the south of the Republic of Daghestan, Russia. The number of ethnic Agul in Russia is about 30,000 (28,297 according to the 2002 census, 23,314 – or 82% – of them living in Daghestan). Though the language is relatively widely spoken, it became written only in 1990; Agul is taught at school only in the Agul district. The vast majority of Aguls are bilingual in Russian (the exceptions are young children before they go to school and some old women). The Aguls living in the Kurakh district (where the Lezgians are a majority) are also bilingual in Lezgian, and are often officially ‘registered’ as Lezgians.

Agul has several dialects, most of them mutually understandable. This study is based on the Huppuq' dialect (spoken in a village in the north of the Kurakh district), the mother tongue of one of the authors of the present study; her introspection is the source of our examples.¹

So far no comprehensive general description of Agul grammar has been compiled, although a considerable effort was made by (Shaumyan 1941; Magometov 1970), later continued by (Sulejmanov 1993; Tarlanov 1994). Recently a number of publications have appeared dealing with various aspects of Agul grammar specifically, in a more detailed way, e.g. (Maisak & Merdanova

1. Solmaz Merdanova lived in Huppuq' as a child and is trilingual in Agul, Lezgian and Russian. She is the source of all elicited examples. Examples that are not marked as elicited are natural utterances coming from the Agul Electronic Corpus of spontaneous narratives and dialogues collected in 2004–2008 in Huppuq' and Makhachkala by Dmitry Ganenkov, Timur Maisak and Solmaz Merdanova.

2002; Ganenkov & Merdanova 2002; Maisak & Merdanova 2003; Dobrushina & Merdanova 2004; Maisak & Merdanova 2004; Ganenkov, Maisak & Merdanova 2006, 2008) and others; this paper continues this line. Currently, Dmitry Ganenkov, Timur Maisak and Solmaz Merdanova are working on a comprehensive grammatical description of the Huppuq' dialect.

Agul nominal categories are typical of the Daghestanian languages, including ergative alignment and a rich set of spatial forms. The latter combine two categories, that of localization, or position of the trajector with respect to the landmark, and the direction of movement or absence of movement (orientation). Examples are apudessive ('apud'+‘essive’: location near the landmark), apudelative ('apud'+‘elative’: movement away from location near the landmark) or superlative ('super'+‘lative’: movement onto the landmark), etc.

Agul verbs may be derived or non-derived. Presently about 130 non-derived verbs are known to us, which is approximately ten percent of the verbal vocabulary. Derived verbs are typically produced by combining a noun or an adjective with a verb into a more or less close-knit compound or by prefixation. Prefixation is either locative, often irregular semantically and not fully productive (by means of one of a number of prefixes with more or less clear spatial origin) or “refactive” (‘do again’), which is productive and semantically regular (by means of prefix *qa-/qu-* ‘do again’ or ‘go back’), for details see (Maisak & Merdanova 2002). Another important class of predicates comprises a few stative verbs (as opposed to regular, dynamic verbs), the only verbal class that is not subject to regular causative derivation; they are discussed below in Section 2.2.3 in more detail.

A rich set of TAM categories combines synthetism and analyticism (using auxiliary verbs), but there is no person or number agreement of any kind on the verb; the category of noun class (gender) typical of most Lezgic and other East Caucasian languages has been completely lost in Agul. There is also no valency reducing derivation, and there is only one major type of valency increasing derivation – causativization.² Agul thus clearly belongs to the transitivizing type in terms of (Nichols et al. 2004), who argue the same for another East Caucasian language – Ingush.

One last preliminary point concerns the approach to transitivity adopted in this paper. We understand transitivity in a discontinuous way, as opposed to the functional semantic prototype approach in the tradition of (Hopper & Thompson

2. There is only one, and rather peculiar, valency increasing pattern in addition to causativization, the *verificational construction* introducing the participant who verifies whether the situation described by the verb does actually take place (coded by ergative). For details on the latter see Maisak and Merdanova 2004.

1980). Namely, in Agul, we call transitive a clause which, in an addition to a nominative Patient (obligatory in virtually any Agul clause - see Footnote 8 on ‘nominative requirement’), also has an ergative Agent. Intransitive clause is a clause which does not have an ergative Agent, either explicit or understood. Transitive (intransitive) are the verbs that under normal conditions – i.e. outside special syntactic contexts – form transitive (intransitive) clauses, respectively. Agul has a rich set of labile verbs ambiguous in this respect, discussed in detail in Section 2.3.

As is the case in all languages and especially in prodrop languages such as East Caucasian, this definition is not unproblematic. Both Patient and Agent NPs may be absent from a clause headed by a transitive clause. In this case, they are understood from the context. By adopting this approach, we dismiss many problematic cases (such as non-referential Agent); though one problematic case, that of the Agent present in or absent from a clause headed by a labile verb is discussed (see 2.3.1). These problems however do not seem to be directly relevant to the issue of morphosyntactic and lexical transitivity which is the focus in this paper, as Agul belongs to those languages where the category of transitivity is more associated with specific lexical items than with the properties of the context.

2. Formal types

Agul has several devices of causativization (causativization patterns). Only one of them is productive: combination of the infinitive with the verb *aq'as* ‘do’, or periphrastic ‘do’-causatives, which are discussed in Section 2.1. Other, non-productive patterns include compound ‘do’-causatives, labile verbs and lexical causatives. These are discussed in Sections 2.2 through 2.4.

2.1 Periphrastic ‘do’-causatives

2.1.1 Lexical distribution

The only productive pattern of causativization is combining the infinitive of the lexical verb with *aq'as* (*q'as*) ‘do’³ – periphrastic ‘do’-causatives (or simply periphrastic causatives) below. Periphrastic causatives are formed from intransitive ((1), (2), (3)), transitive (4) and ditransitive (5) verbs. Multiple periphrastic causatives (periphrastic causatives based on periphrastic causatives) are structurally

3. Apparently, the first vowel of the verb is always optional, both when it is used ‘lexically’ and in causative constructions. In Agul, dropping the first (unstressed) vowel is also characteristic of some other verbs, as (*a)b'as* ‘say’ (imperfective stem) ~ (*u)pune* ‘said’ (perfective stem), (*i)c'as* ‘give’, (*a)lik'as* ‘put on’ etc.

possible ((6), (7)), although the actual use of a more-than-double causative is highly improbable (cf. Nedjalkov & Silnickij 1969; Kulikov 1993a; Dixon 2000 on causative recursion; on structural availability of double causatives in Daghestanian see Kibrik 1996: 131 ff.; Comrie 2000: 369; Lyutikova 2001: 393–394 for Godoberi, Tsez and Bagvalal, respectively).

(1) Intransitive (one argument)

<i>šünük:-ar</i>	<i>quk:a-j -</i>	<i>zat'</i>	<i>q'.a-guna,</i>
child-PL	chase.IPF-CVB	thing	do.IPF-TEMP
<i>res</i>	<i>fatt.a-j</i>		
stick	throw.IPF-CVB		
<i>hiš.a-s</i>	<i>aq'.a-je-f-e</i>		<i>te-wur...</i>
run.away.IPF-INF	do.IPF-PART-NMLZ-PRS		that-PL

'When children are teasing him, doing all sorts of things to him, he throws his stick, makes them run away.'

(2) Intransitive (two arguments), elicited

<i>malla</i>	<i>nesredin.a</i>	<i>p:ač:ah</i>	<i>gada.ji-q</i>
Mullah	Nasreddin(ERG)	king	boy-POST
<i>quχ.a-s</i>	<i>q'.u-ne</i>		

believe.IPF-INF do.PF-PFT
'Mullah Nasreddin made so that the king believed the boy'
(e.g. confirmed the boy's words)

(3) Intransitive (experiencer verbs), elicited

<i>baw.a-s</i>	<i>agʷ.a-s</i>	<i>q'.u-ne-wa</i>	<i>wun</i>	<i>jarhun?</i>
mother-DAT	see.IPF-INF	do.PF-PFT-Q	you.SG(ERG)	wound

'Why, you let your mother see your wound?'

(the addressee was not supposed to let his/her mother see the wound in order not to make her upset)

(4) Transitive

<i>...uč.i</i>	<i>alčat.u-na</i>	<i>sara-t:i-w</i>
self(ERG)	set.on.PF-CVB	other-NMLZ-APUD
<i>ruk:a-s</i>	<i>aq'.u-naje-f-e...</i>	

slaughter.IPF-INF do.PF-PART-NMLZ-COP

'He talked someone into killing him'

(5) Ditransitive, elicited

<i>me</i>	<i>šqaq'.i-w</i>	<i>malla</i>	<i>nesredin.a-ra</i>	<i>saj</i>	<i>kasib-ar.i-s</i>
this	niggard-APUD	Mullah	Nasredin(ERG)-and	even	poor-PL-DAT
<i>sadaq'a</i>	<i>ic'.a-s</i>	<i>q'.a-s-t:awa</i>			

sadaqa give.IPF-INF do.IPF-INF-COP:NEG

'Even Mullah Nasreddin wouldn't make this niggard give alms to the poor.'

- (6) Double causative, elicited

wun gi-w dad.a-s wuri
 you.SG(ERG) that-APUD father-DAT all
 un-x.a-s q'.a-s q'.u-ne.
 sound-become.IPF-INF do.IPF-INF do.PF-PFT
 'You forced him to make Dad hear everything.'

- (7) Double causative, elicited

hadad.a zun gada.ji-w habaw.a-s
 grandfather(ERG) I(ERG) son-APUD grandmother-DAT
 kęž lik'.a-s q'.a-s q'.u-ne
 letter write.IPF-INF do.IPF-INF do.PF-PFT
 'Grandfather made me make my son write a letter to the grandmother.'

The only class of verbs that do not form periphrastic 'do'-causatives are locative statives, including *aa* 'be inside', *aldea* 'be above', *qaa* 'be behind' etc. (with various locative prefixes) and experiencer statives *k:andea* 'love, want, need', *haa* 'know', *it:aa* 'ache, be ill', *gučaa* 'be afraid'. Statives form no infinitives. Experiencer statives produce inchoative 'become'-compounds and 'do'-compounds as respective causatives (see below Section 2.2.3).

2.1.2 Case assignment

As one can see in the examples (2) through (7), periphrastic causatives always code the Causer by ergative, while the Patient of the causativized transitive verb is coded by nominative.⁴ As to the Causee, in the examples above intransitives take Causee (intransitive Causee below) in nominative, while transitives mark the Causee (transitive Causee below) with apudessive. Although this is indeed the dominant pattern, the case may be assigned differently. First, transitive Causees may be ergative, as in the following example:

- (8) Transitive Causee: ergative, elicited

baw.a ruš.a jak: sut'.a-s q'.u-ne
 mother(ERG) daughter(ERG) meat eat.IPF-INF do.PF-PFT
 'The mother made her daughter eat meat.'

Note that in (8) the Causee may also be apudessive (*rušaw*); apudessive marking is even more expected. Some intransitive Causees, conversely, may also be marked by apudessive:

4. Below, capital letters mark morphosyntactic arguments (S, A, P); labels with the first capital letter stand for semantic roles and functions (Causee, Recipient etc.), while non-capitalized labels designate morphological cases (nominative, ergative etc.).

- (9) Intransitive Causee: apudessive, elicited

<i>dad.a</i>	<i>uč.i-n</i>	<i>uq:ub-ar.i-l-di</i>	<i>gada.ji-w</i>
father(ERG)	self-GEN	beating-PL-SUP-LAT	son-APUD
<i>χul.a-as</i>	<i>hiš.a-s</i>	<i>q'.u-ne</i>	
house-IN.ELAT	run.away.IPF-INF	DO.PF-PFT	

‘Father’s beating made his son run away from home.’ (lit. “by his beating father made son run away from home”)

Contrary to (8), in (9) apudessive marking is less expected; normally, the intransitive Causee is marked by nominative.

In other words, both intransitive and transitive Causees may preserve their original nominative/ergative marking as former A or S or follow a causative-specific strategy and be marked by apudessive (with different preferences for intransitive and transitive Causees).

These options pose obvious morphosyntactic problems concerning the syntactic structure of a causative predication (presence of two ergative arguments in (8) and absence of the nominative argument in (9)). Their morphosyntax will be discussed in Section 2.1.4. We will now focus on the variation of the case assignment for the Causee.

Not all intransitives may take apudessive Causees. The first thing to note is that the availability of apudessive marking depends on the verb. Apudessive is possible with *hišas* ‘run away’ (9), but impossible with *it:arxas* ‘become ill’ (10) or *alurq'as* ‘fall down’ (11).

- (10) Intransitive Causee: apudessive impossible, elicited

<i>čun</i>	<i>šünük:</i>	(* <i>šünük:.i-w</i>)
you.PL(ERG)	child	child-APUD
<i>it:a-r-x.a-s</i>		<i>q'.u-ne</i>
be.ill-CMP-become.IPF-INF		DO.PF-PFT

‘Your child fell ill because of you.’

- (11) Intransitive Causee: apudessive impossible, elicited

<i>čun</i>	<i>šünük:</i>	(* <i>šünük:.i-w</i>)	<i>alurq'.a-s</i>	<i>q'.u-ne</i>
you.PL(ERG)	child	child-APUD	fall.IPF-INF	DO.PF-PFT

‘You child fell down because of you.’

More generally, the condition licensing apudessive marking seems to be the control the Causee exerts over the situation. (Note again that this is a condition for availability of apudessive marking; the less marked option for these verbs remains nominative.) The Agul intransitive (dynamic) verbs thus fall into two classes. This is a realization of the typological distinction between patientive intransitives (apudessive marking unavailable) and agentive intransitives (apudessive marking available).

Now consider experiencer verbs. In Agul they are typically intransitive, the Experiencer being marked by dative, while the Stimulus is nominative. Periphrastic causatives of these verbs preserve the case assignment of the lexical verb, adding ergative for the Causer. The dative Experiencer cannot be coded as apudessive Causee; cf. (12), identical to (3), where apudessive is ungrammatical. One way to account for this is to say that the Experiencer has no control over the situation in which (s)he participates; in other words, all experiencer verbs in Agul, as expected, are P-intransitives.

- (12) Experiencer verb, elicited

<i>baw.a-s</i>	(* <i>baw.a-w</i>)	<i>ag^w.a-s</i>	<i>q'.u-ne-wa</i>
Mother-DAT	mother-APUD	see.IPF-INF	do.IPF-PFT-Q
<i>wun</i>	<i>Jarħun?</i>		
you.SG(ERG)	wound		

'Why, you let your mother see the wound?!"

There is additional evidence for introducing the parameter of control for intransitive Causees. The apudessive marking is combined mainly with human intransitive Causees, for non-human intransitive Causees it varies from acceptable or questionable (non-human animate intransitive Causee (13) and (14)) to highly questionable or ungrammatical (inanimate intransitive Causees in (15), where only the original, nominative marking is possible).

- (13) Animate intransitive Causee, elicited

<i>dad.a</i>	<i>uč.i-n</i>	<i>haraj-ar.i-l-di</i>	<i>ħajwan.i-w</i>
father(ERG)	self-GEN	shout-PL-SUP-LAT	horse-APUD
(^{better} <i>ħajwan</i>)	<i>hiš.a-s</i>	<i>q'.u-ne</i>	
horse	run.IPF-INF	do.IPF-PFT	

'Father's yelling made the horse run away.'

- (14) Animate intransitive Causee, elicited

<i>dad.a</i>	? <i>pež-er.i-w</i>	(^{OK} <i>pež-er</i>)	<i>q:ir.i-l-as</i>
father(ERG)	hen-PL-APUD	hen-PL	perch-SUP-ELAT
<i>latk.i-na</i>	<i>beſt'ur.i-ſ-di</i>	<i>ſ^w.a-s</i>	<i>q'.a-a</i>
chase.away.PF-CVB	mud-INTER-LAT	go.IPF-INF	do.IPF-PRS

'Having chased the chickens away from their perch, father makes them walk in the mud.'

- (15) Inanimate intransitive Causee, elicited

<i>ſünük.i</i>	* <i>tup:.u-w</i>	(^{OK} <i>tup!</i>)	<i>beſt'ur.i-ſ-as</i>
child(ERG)	ball-APUD	ball	mud-INTER-ELAT
<i>ačč.a-s</i>		<i>q'.a-a</i>	
bounce.IPF-INF	do.IPF-PRS		

'The child makes the ball bounce in the mud.'

The situation with transitive verbs is similar but not identical. Here, apudessive marking seems to be equally available and even preferable (less marked) for human and non-human animate Causees, as in (16) and (17) (in the latter example, the Causee is within the comparative phrase but preserves apud marking; the original, ergative marking is possible in both cases), but as with intransitive verbs, it is ungrammatical for inanimate Causees, as in (18) and (19), and even in (20), where the inanimate transitive Causee is metaphorically recategorized as animate by combining with the verb *facas* ‘catch’.

- (16) Transitive human Causee

... ja jak: qa-*buž.a-s* aq'.u-ndawa, ja
 nor meat RE-take.IPF-INF do.PF-PFT:NEG nor
ča-w p'ap'ruc qa-*buž.a-s* aq'.u-ndawa
 we.EXCL-APUD cigarette RE-take.IPF-INF do.PF-PFT:NEG
me kas.ti...
 this person(ERG)

‘He didn’t let us any more buy meat, buy cigarettes.’

- (17) Transitive animate Causee

degi-w suman ač.a-j-e, sanf-ra
 donkey-APUD as.if say.IPF-CVB-COP bark(NOM)-and
jarħ.a-s q'.u-na, sar-ra jarħ.u-na ač.a-j...
 beat.IPF-INF do.PF-CVB roar and beat.PF-CVB say.IPF-CVB
me wa-s tūhmet-ar hat.a-je
 this you.SG-DAT reproach-PL send.IPF-PART
zurba p:ač:ah e.
 strong king COP

‘I made him, he said, bark, yelling, like a donkey, he said... this mighty king who was laughing at you.’

- (18) Transitive inanimate Causee, elicited

ruš.a rak: da-qik'.i-na kulak.i
 girl(ERG) door NEG-close.PF-CVB wind(ERG)
 (???)kulak.i-w) rak: daq.a-s q'.u-ne
 wind-APUD door open.IPF-INF do.PF-PFT

‘Because the girl did not close the door, the wind made it open.’ (i.e. the door was thrust open by a blast of wind)

- (19) Transitive inanimate Causee, elicited

gada,ji tup:.u (*tup:.u-w) zaghʷ^w
 boy(ERG) ball(ERG) ball-APUD mirror(NOM)
 arf.a-s q'.u-ne
 break.IPF-INF do.PF-PFT

‘The boy broke the mirror with a ball.’ (For instance, the boy kicked the ball and broke the mirror.⁵)

- (20) Transitive inanimate Causee (metaphorically extended to animate), elicited
 zun *k'ur-ar.i* *c'aj* (**c'i-w*) *fac.a-s*
 I(ERG) wood-PL(ERG) fire fire-APUD catch.IPF-INF
q'.u-ne *naft:* *sat'.u-na.*
 do.PF-PFT kerosine pour.in.PF-CVB
 ‘I made the wood catch fire by pouring some kerosene’

There are thus the following hierarchies controlling availability of apudessive marking for the Causee:

Verb class:	Transitivity:	transitive <i>preferable</i> > A-intransitive <i>available</i> > P-intransitive <i>ungrammatical</i>
Causee type:	Intransitive Causee:	human <i>available</i> > animate <i>acceptable</i> > inanimate <i>ungrammatical</i>
	Transitive Causee:	animate <i>preferable</i> > inanimate <i>ungrammatical</i>

These three hierarchies may be summarized in the following Table 1.

Table 1. Availability of apudessive marking

	P-intransitive	A-intransitive	transitive
Human		available	
Animate		acceptable	preferable
Inanimate	ungrammatical		

Two comments about Table 1 should be made. First, it is not clear why apudessive marking is preferable on transitive animate Causees but only available or acceptable with intransitive animate Causees. One solution could be that all transitive predicates are conceived as more controllable as compared to intransitive A-predicates. This is a plausible approach; however, in 2.1.5 we argue for a different solution.

Second, the table shows that a straightforward lexical categorization of intransitives into agentive vs. patientive is not enough to explain the Agul data. To account for the availability of apudessive marking in terms of transitivity, we need to distinguish between patientive vs. agentive ‘intransitive situations’ or at least between patientive vs. agentive intransitive constructions rather than just between patientive vs. agentive intransitive verbs. Indeed, whether apudessive is possible

5. In (19) the instrumental marking (superlative) would be more natural for ‘ball’.

depends not only on the category of the verb but also on the category of the Causee. In other words, Table 1 illustrates Hopper and Thompson's claim that transitivity is not a lexical property of the verb but a cluster of properties (Hopper & Thompson 1980) or, in other terms, a property of the predicative construction.

To sum up, there are two options of case assignment for transitive and A-intransitive animate Causees. They may preserve the original S/A marking or apply causative-specific marking. The semantic contrast between the two patterns is not always salient, but it seems that an apudessive Causee has a reduced control over the event and often suggests a coercive type of causation. A more detailed discussion of the contrast is provided in Section 3.

2.1.3 A note on apudelative

There is also a third, marginal and dispreferred option of case assignment for the Causee: apudelative; cf. (21). Note that apudelative is also used for Agent marking outside causative construction. It marks Agent in involuntary Agent constructions, available only for intransitive verbs denoting change of state (Ganenkov, Maisak & Merdanova 2006, 2008); including labile verbs, as in (22).

- (21) Apudelative: intransitive Causee, elicited
- | | | | |
|---|-------------------|------------------|---------------|
| <i>ildeš.i</i> | <i>ruš.a-f-as</i> | <i>(ruš.a-w)</i> | <i>lak-ar</i> |
| friend(ERG) | girl-APUD-ELAT | girl-APUD | foot-PL |
| <i>kur.a-s</i> | <i>q'.a-s</i> | <i>q'.u-ne</i> | |
| become.dirty.IPF-INF | do.IPF-INF | do.PF-PFT | |
| 'A friend made the girl make her feet dirty.' | | | |
- (22) Apudelative: involuntary Agent
- | | | | |
|--|-------------------|------------------|--------------|
| <i>wallah</i> | <i>ha-j-dewa,</i> | <i>za-f-as</i> | <i>insan</i> |
| by.god | know-CVB-COP:NEG | I-APUD-ELAT | person |
| <i>k'.i-na-a</i> | <i>p.u-na,</i> | <i>fiš</i> | |
| kill.PF-RES-PRS | say.PF-CVB | who | |
| <i>e-j-či-na</i> | <i>ha-j-dewa</i> | <i>p.u-na-a.</i> | |
| COP-CVB-COND-and | know-CVB-COP:NEG | say.PF-RES-PRS | |
| 'I swear, I don't know; I killed someone, he said, but I don't know who it was.' | | | |

Although, unlike apudessive, apudelative is not a dedicated causative Agent marker, it has apparently been grammaticalized in this function. Indeed, when marking involuntary Agents, apudelative is limited to intransitive predicates, while in periphrastic causatives it may be used for marking Agent (Causee) in transitive contexts, too, even if just apud(essive), as in (16) and (17) above, is a less marked choice.

- (23) Apudelative tr. Causee, involuntary Agent impossible, elicited
- a. *baw.a gada.ji-f-as k'ildi šurpa sut'.a-s q'.u-ne.*
mother(ERG) boy-APUD-ELAT whole broth
eat.IPF-INF do.PF-PFT
'Mother made the boy eat the soup.' (e.g. by threats)
 - b. **gada.ji-f-as k'ildi šurpa sut'.u-ne.*
boy-APUD-ELAT whole broth eat.PF-PFT
'The boy ate all the soup (unintentionally)'.

The semantic contrast between apudelative and apudessive Causees is minimal, if any. It seems that, at least in some contexts with non-human A-intransitive Causees, apudessive is more acceptable than apudelative, so apudelative may be even more sensitive to the Agent's animacy or control.

- (24) Apudessive and apudelative Causee: contrast unclear, elicited
- baw.a kitan (? kitan.i-w/ *kitan.i-f-as)*
mother(ERG) cat cat-APUD cat-APUD-ELAT
hiš.a-s q'.u-ne.
run.away.IPF-INF do.PF-PFT
'Mother made the cat run away.'

But this contrast is extremely vague, and the apudelative construction is otherwise identical to the apudessive construction; below we use a cover term of 'apud marking' of the Causee without distinguishing apudessive and apudelative Causees.

2.1.4 Syntax and morphosyntax

As we mentioned in Section 2.1.2, some of the case marking patterns in periphrastic 'do'-causatives pose problems as to the status of the construction and its argument structure. Cf. the possibility of two ergatives in (8), repeated here as (25).

- (25) Two ergatives, two clauses? elicited
- [baw.a [ruš.a jak: [sut'.a-s]VP2]S2 [q'.u-ne]VP1]S1*
mother(ERG) daughter(ERG) meat eat.IPF-INF do.PF-PFT
'Mother made her daughter eat meat.'

Combining two ergatives in one clause is not always ungrammatical in Agul; but one of the ergatives must be used in a non-agentive function, e.g. instrumental or temporal. Here, however, both ergatives are obviously agentive, one marking the Agent of the causative situation, i.e. the Causer, and the other the Agent of the situation being caused, i.e. the Causee. The fact that both are marked by ergative could suggest that the combination of the infinitive of the lexical verb with 'do' is in this

case a biclausal construction. Presumably, the Causer's ergative belongs to the main clause and is assigned by *aq'as* 'do', while the Causee's ergative belongs to the subordinate clause and is assigned by the lexical verb.

On the contrary, periphrastic causatives with transitive Causees marked by *apud* are naturally considered as monoclausal, with *aq'as* 'do' being a causative auxiliary. Indeed, if we admit a biclausal structure for (26), which is an *apud* counterpart to (25), it is unclear which of the verbs ascribes apudessive marking to the Causee. The apudessive is ascribed by the construction as a whole.

- (26) Ergative and *apud*, one clause?

<i>χalid.a</i>	[<i>lik'.a-s</i>	<i>aq'.a-j-e</i>]	_{VP}	<i>me gada.ji-w,</i>
Khalid(ERG)	write.IPF-INF	do.IPF-CVB-COP		this boy-APUD
<i>me ramazan κ.a</i>		<i>gada.ji-w...</i>		
this Ramazan	say.IPF	boy-APUD		

'Khalid forces this boy to write it, this boy called Ramazan'

The problem is that the apudessive is also possible in (9), repeated here as (27):

- (27) *apud* in intransitive: failure of nominative requirement, elicited

<i>dad.a</i>	<i>uč.i-n</i>	<i>uq:ub-ar.i-l-di</i>	<i>gada.ji-w</i>
father(ERG)	self-GEN	beating-PL-SUP-LAT	son-APUD
<i>χul.a-as</i>	<i>hiš.a-s</i>	<i>q'.u-ne.</i>	

house-IN.ELAT run.away.IPF-INF do.PF-PFT

'Father's beating made his son run away from home.' (lit. "by his beating father made son run away from home")

This sentence contains no nominative argument, otherwise obligatory in Agul.⁶ A syntactic solution that preserves the obligatory status of the nominative is to argue that (27) is biclausal, too, where the S-Causee belongs to the main clause, is assigned apudessive marking and coreferentially deleted from the subordinate clause. If this is true, the presence of an *apud* Causee in (26) is not an argument in favor of monoclausal interpretation. Case marking patterns thus seem to support the biclausal interpretation of periphrastic causatives.

6. Exceptions to the nominative requirement are extremely rare. One is an A-labile verb *ruxas* 'read', which, with omitted nominative Patient, means 'study'; the Agent may preserve ergative marking (alternatively, it may be marked by nominative): cf. *gadaji kitab ruxaa* 'the boy (ERG) reads the book (NOM)' and *gada* (NOM)/*gadaji* (ERG) *iže ruxaa* 'the boy studies well'. Interestingly, the same A-lability pattern with this meaning is observed in Godoberi (Kibrik 1996). Another important exception is *jarhas* 'hit' that typically lacks nominative. Cf. *gadaji* [*χurd*] *jarhune degis* 'the boy (ERG) hit his donkey (DAT) [with a fist (NOM)]' (literally *the boy hit (his) fist on (=against) the donkey*) and other similar verbs of physical contact.

Let us now consider other evidence. The first argument against biclausal interpretation of periphrastic ‘do’-causatives comes from a comparison with an indisputably polypredicative construction. The word order in Agul is rather free, so, although the forms of *aq'as* ‘do’ prefer to stay in contact with the lexical infinitive, various material may come between them. However, if we compare how free the word order is in periphrastic causatives with constructions with e.g. the complement-taking verb *ħazur-xas* ‘get ready, intend’ (lit. “become ready”), the difference is obvious. The verb *ħazur-xas* can easily occur in the position before the subordinate clause, while the verb *aq'as* ‘do’ placed in front of the predication it causativizes is extremely unnatural.

- (28) Word order in a subordinate construction, elicited

- a. *dad šünük:-ar χul.a-?*
father child-PL house-IN
at.a-s ħazur-x.u-ne
leave.IPF-INF ready-become.PF-PFT
- b. OK *dad ħazur-x.u-ne šünük:-ar χul.a-? at.a-s*
father ready-become.PF-PFT child-PL house-IN leave.IPF-INF
'Dad prepared to leave the children at home.'

- (29) Word order in a periphrastic causative, elicited

- a. *dad.a šünük:-ar/ šünük:-ar.i-w χul.a-?*
father(ERG) child-PL child-PL-APUD house-IN
uq'.a-s q'.u-ne
sit.IPF-INF do.PF-PFT
- b. ?? *dad.a q'.u-ne šünük:-ar šünük:-ar.i-w*
father(ERG) do.PF-PFT child-PL child-PL-APUD
χul.a-? uq'.a-s
house-IN sit.IPF-INF
'Dad made the children stay at home.'

Second, consider the evidence from negative constructions in Table 2.

Table 2. Expression of negation

Negation in the causative construction	Negation in the complement construction
<i>ʃʷ.a-s q'.u-n-dawa</i> go.IPF-INF do.PF-PFT-NEG 'did not let go'	<i>ʃʷ.a-s ħazur-x.u-n-dawa</i> go.IPF-INF ready-become.PF-PFT-NEG 'did not decide to go'
?? <i>da-ilgʷ.a-s q'.u-ne</i> NEG-remain.IPF-INF do.PF-PFT 'made not to stay'	<i>da-ilgʷ.a-s ħazur-x.u-ne</i> NEG-remain.IPF-INF ready-become.PF-PFT 'decided against staying'

Any finite form of *hazur-xas* ‘get ready’ and *aq'as* ‘do’ may form negatives, like the negative of perfective past in the Table 2 above (here, negation is expressed in the former auxiliary, *dawa*). In non-finite forms, negation is marked with a prefix *da-*, cf. the infinitive *da-ilgʷas* ‘not to stay’. This form is perfect in combination with the verb *hazur-xas* ‘get ready’, but very odd in the periphrastic causative. In other words, the negation only applies to the periphrastic causative as a whole, again indicating that lexical infinitive plus the verb *aq'as* ‘do’ is not a free combination of two verbs. Negative causation, i.e. causing something not to happen, cannot be expressed in Agul by a causative construction; subordination is necessary. Cf. (30) with a negative form of a special purposive converb in *-χildi* used with the verb ‘do’:

- (30) Negative causation: subordination required, elicited
- | | | | | |
|--------------|------------------|---------------|------------------------|----------------|
| <i>dad.a</i> | <i>šünük:-ar</i> | <i>χul.a?</i> | <i>da-ilgʷ.a-χildi</i> | <i>q'.u-ne</i> |
| father(ERG) | child-PL | house-IN | NEG-stay.IPF-PURP | do.PF-PFT |
- ‘Father made the children not stay at home.’

Third, the monoclausal nature of the periphrastic causatives is manifested in their interaction with adverbs.

- (31) Adverbial scope, elicited
- | | | | | | |
|----------------|-----------------|--------------|-------------------|-------------|---------------------|
| <i>me</i> | <i>šqaq'i-w</i> | <i>malla</i> | <i>nesredin.a</i> | <i>naq'</i> | <i>kasib-ar.i-s</i> |
| this | niggard-APUD | Mullah | Nasreddin(ERG) | yesterday | poor-PL-DAT |
| <i>sadaq'a</i> | <i>ic'.a-s</i> | | <i>q'.u-ne</i> | | |
| sadaqa | give.IPF-INF | | do.PF-PFT | | |
- ‘Yesterday, Mullah Nasreddin made this niggard give alms to the poor.’

If the construction contained two separate lexical verbs and consisted of two separate clauses, one of the interpretations of this sentence would be that Mullah Nasreddin yesterday talked to the niggard and convinced him to do the right thing – without the “*sadaqa*” being already distributed by the moment of speech. Another, on the contrary, would be that Mullah talked to him few days ago, while the distribution took place yesterday. However, the Agul sentence may only mean that the causation and the following distribution of *sadaqa* took place yesterday, which means the scope of *naq'* ‘yesterday’ cannot be limited either to the verb *aq'as* ‘do’, or to the infinitive *ic'as* ‘give’. The act of causation and the caused situation are conceived as one single event.

Finally, only to repeat the argument already mentioned, the very fact that some periphrastic causatives allow apud marking of the Causee is an indication that something is going on between the two verbs, they form a construction – indeed, none of them may assign apud in isolation, and the Causee is never apud-marked except in periphrastic causatives.

These tests do not exhaust evidence for monoclausal interpretation of periphrastic causatives in Agul, but they are already a strong counterevidence against a straightforwardly biclausal analysis. There is an obvious clash between these tests and case properties of the Causee exemplified in (25) (presence of two agentive ergatives) and (27) (the violation of the nominative requirement), both of which could be explained by adopting biclausal structure. We have to admit that periphrastic ‘do’-causatives in Agul are intermediate between two separate clauses and one single clause, providing an example of the clause union phenomenon (Noonan 1985).

On the other hand, there is an apparent correlation between accessibility of apud marking for the Causee and (in)transitivity of the non-causative verb. Apud seems to be the default, unmarked pattern for a transitive Causee, while ergative is a marked choice. Apudessive marking is an accessible but peripheral choice for an intransitive agentive Causee. Apudessive non-human animate Causees are more acceptable for transitive than intransitive verbs. This evidence is probably an indication that the periphrastic causative is gradually drifting towards straightforwardly monoclausal syntax.

2.1.5 *More on case marking of the Causee*

To sum up, we can isolate two different factors in availability of the original vs. apud marking of the Causee in periphrastic causatives. First, there is a semantic factor of control of the Causee in the situation being caused. If the Causee exerts some control, the choice between original and apud marking is available for some Causees.

The second factor is that the periphrastic causative seems to be developing from a clause union structure into an auxiliary causative construction. This reduces the availability of original marking for a transitive Causee (because one clause would then have two agentive ergatives) and the availability of apud marking for an intransitive Causee (because that would leave us with a nominative-less clause). On the contrary, apud transitive Causee and nominative intransitive Causee are more than compatible with monoclausal syntax. These two factors satisfactorily explain the distribution of case assignment in various contexts.⁷ Cf. Table 3.

7. There is no indication the ban on apudessive inanimate Causee is weaker for transitive than intransitive predicates; so the semantic factor apparently prevails.

Table 3. Factors of case assignment (black – original marking only; deep gray – apud questionable; light grey – apud available; white – apud preferable)

			Intr	Tr
		semantic factor	syntactic factor	
		control	monoclausal tendency	
P-Intr		original only	original	apud
A-Intr	Inanimate			
or	Animate			
Tr	Human	apud available		

2.2 Compound ‘do’-causatives

A large number of causative verbs in Agul are formed by joining an adjectival, nominal or verbal stem with *aq'as* ‘do’ into a kind of ‘loose compound’ (see below Section 2.2.5 on evidence for its ‘looseness’). We will call these causatives compound causatives as opposed to periphrastic causatives, also formed with *aq'as* ‘do’.

2.2.1 Adjectives

Many ‘do’-compounds are formed from adjectives which also form a ‘become’-compound, an inchoative correlate to the causative one; cf. (32).

- (32) Adjectival compound (*hazur* ‘ready’)
- a. *x.u-ne* *χam-ra* *hazur-x.u-ne*.
 become.PF-PFT skin-and ready-become.PF-PFT
 ‘All is well, and the skin is ready.’
 - b. *degi-s* *q:u-^wa-st:i* *lisa* *muχ* *hazur-aq'.a-a*.
 donkey-DAT RE-go/come.IPF-TERM there barley ready-DO.IPF-PRS
 ‘There he is preparing barley for the donkey when it returns back
 (home).’

Further examples are given in Table 4.

Table 4. Adjectives. Derivation of ‘do’- and ‘become’-compounds

Adjective	‘do’-compound	‘become’-compound
šad ‘glad’	šad- <i>q'as</i> ‘make glad’	šad- <i>xas</i> ‘become glad’
züsse ‘old’	züsse- <i>q'as</i> ‘make old’	züsse- <i>xas</i> ‘get old’
hüt:e ‘sharp’	hüt:e- <i>q'as</i> ‘sharpen’	hüt:e- <i>xas</i> ‘become sharp’

2.2.2 Nouns and bound stems

Some nominal stems also form pairs of ‘become’- and ‘do’-compounds. The meaning of the compound is not necessarily predictable from the meaning of the noun; cf. (33) and (34).

- (33) Nominal compounds: transparent, elicited

- a. *šur kildi χarž-x.u-ne*
paint fully expense-become.PF-PFT
‘There’s no paint left (=The paint is fully used up)’
- b. *zun šur kildi χarž-q’.u-ne*
I(ERG) paint fully expense-do.PF-PFT
‘I used up all the paint.’

- (34) Nominal compounds: lexicalized

- a. *aχp:a bajs.i-na un-aq’.a-j-e gi*
then stand.up.PF-CVB sound-do.IPF-CVB-COP that(ERG)
direkt:ur.di-s-ra zawič.i-s-ra.
director-DAT-and deputy.director-DAT-and
‘Then he stood up and called the head teacher and the deputy head
teacher (lit. “sound-makes to them”).’
- b. *za-s hak’ un-x.u-naje-f-e le,*
I-DAT just sound-become.PF-PART-NMLZ-COP that
gada-jar.i qat:aq’.a-j.
boy-PL(ERG) tell.IPF-CVB
‘I just heard that, when the boys were talking.’

These compounds are formed from the nominal stems *χarž* ‘expense’ and *un* ‘sound’. The clause structure in these examples is not identical. In (33a), (33b) and (34b) the nominal stem is integrated into the verbal stem so that the Patient slot with nominative marking is free for *šur* ‘paint’. In (34a) the nominal stem apparently occupies this position itself. This parameter of ‘integratedness’ shows that the relation between the noun and the verb may be more or less loose (and incidentally that ‘become’- and ‘do’-compounds with the same lexical root do not have to behave in the same way in this respect – cf. (34a) and (34b)). A similar morphosyntactic difference is observed in e.g. *čir-xas* ‘become bad, unusable’ and *čir-q’as* ‘make bad, spoil’ from *čir* ‘harm, effect of evil eye’, which both take a nominative Patient, and *χabar-xas* ‘become known’ (< dative: Experiencer; sentential complement: Theme>), *χabar-q’as* ‘inform’ (< ergative: Agent; dative: Experiencer; sentential complement: Theme>), which take no nominative in addition to *χabar* ‘news’.

Some of the nouns only form a ‘become’-compound (e.g. *čümel-xas* ‘become damp’ from *čümel* ‘humidity’) or a ‘do’-compound (e.g. *šubul-q’as* ‘rat (on

somebody)' from *šubbul* 'instance of ratting'), which means that the inchoative ~ causative correlation is not always present.

The status of many stems is disputable, because they are not or almost not used outside inchoative/causative derivation. There is a scale of 'boundness' of the assumedly nominal stem to the compound-forming verb. Outside compounds, the noun *čir* 'harm' is used almost exclusively in formulaic curses; cf. (35).

- (35) Limited use outside compounds, elicited
- | | | |
|----------------------------|-------------------|-------------|
| <i>čir</i> | <i>larh.u-raj</i> | <i>wa-l</i> |
| harm | fall.PF-JUSS | you.SG-SUP |
| 'May bad luck strike you.' | | |

Similarly, the nominal stem *k:üteh* 'end', present in *k:üteh-xas* 'finish, end (INTR)' and *k:üteh-qas* 'finish, end (TR)', is only used in isolation as a full utterance (meaning *that's all* or *end of story*). The stem *gunt'* used in verbs *gunt'-xas* 'gather (INTR)' and *gunt'-qas* 'collect, gather (TR)' is close to the noun *k'unt'* which means 'heap, pile'; however, synchronically the stem of the assumedly nominal compound cannot be identified with any noun.

There are also some non-nominal, fully bound stems. Clear examples are predicative stems that have been adopted from Turkic or Russian, such as *išlemiš-qas* 'use' and *başlamiš-qas* 'begin' or *organizovat'-xas* 'become organized' ~ *organizovat'-qas* 'organize (TR)'.

There is no necessary correlation between semantic transparency and integratedness of the nominal stem. Indeed, the relationship in (33), which is morphosyntactically more tight, is less lexicalized (more transparent) than the more loose relation in (34). Another correlation seems more powerful: the more bound a nominal stem is, the more likely the compound will have a regular nominative argument. Thus, a highly frequent noun *χabar* 'news' in *χabar-qas* 'inform' excludes patientive nominative, while the rarely used *čir* 'harm' in *čir-qas* 'make bad, spoil' requires it. The compounds whose stems are never used freely also tend not to be used without a nominative.

2.2.3 *Statives*

As was mentioned above, the only class of predicates that cannot form periphrastic 'do'-causatives are stative verbs. Statives are morphologically different from other Agul verbs in that they have a reduced paradigm. They do not distinguish perfective and imperfective stems and do not form imperatives; one of the forms they lack is the infinitive, used in 'do'-causatives. However, the experiencer statives *ħaa* 'know' and *it:aa* 'ache; be ill' form pairs of 'become'- and 'do'-compounds from the stem suffixed with *-r*.

(36) Causative compound: stative

- a. *wun* *şünük:* *it:a-r-q'.u-ne*
 you.SG(ERG) child be.ill-CMP-do-PF-PFT
 'The child fall ill because of you.' (elicited)
- b. ...*raħmat* *x.u-raj* *abraš.a* *māħamad.a*
 peace become.PF-JUSS Abrash(GEN) Mohammad(GEN)
 xir.a-s, *gi* *ħa-r-q'.u-f-e* *za-s*
 wife-DAT that(ERG) know-CMP-do.PF-NMLZ-COP I-DAT
 għiexen-ar *ruħ.a-s.*
 sock-PL knit.IPF-INF
 'God bless the soul of the wife of Mohammad, the son of Abrash; she
 taught me to knit socks.'

The stative *k:ande-a* 'love, want' behaves differently; this verb also forms both 'become'- and 'do'-compounds, but in an irregular way (from the stem *k:an-* and without -(r) – cf. *k:an-xas* 'fall in love, start wanting', *k:an-q'as* 'make fall in love, want'. The stative *gučaa* 'be afraid' does not form 'become'- or 'do'-compounds; instead, these compounds are formed from the nominal stem *guč* 'fear' (*guč-xas* 'become afraid', *guč-q'as* 'frighten'). Locative statives (like *aa* 'be inside', *amea* 'stay inside' etc.) do not form 'become'- or 'do'-compounds at all.

Compound derivation for experiencer statives is summarized in Table 5.

Table 5. Derivation of 'become'- and 'do'-compounds from statives

Stative	'do'-compound	'become'-compound
1. <i>it:a-a</i> 'ache; be ill'	<i>it:a-r-q'as</i> 'feel pain; make ill'	<i>it:a-r-xas</i> 'start aching; fall ill'
2. <i>ħa-a</i> 'know'	<i>ħa-r-q'as</i> 'teach (smb smth); learn'	<i>ħa-r-xas</i> 'learn'
3. <i>k:ande-a</i> 'love, want'	<i>k:an-q'as</i> 'make fall in love, make want'	<i>k:an-xas</i> 'start loving, wanting'

Note that the forms with causative morphology are not always straightforward causatives from a semantic point of view. Indeed, *ħar-q'as* in the second meaning 'learn (by heart)' is not a causative of *ħaa* 'know', but its inchoative, thus being parallel to the same stative's 'become'-compound. Irregular causatives are discussed in more detail in Section 2.5.

2.2.4 Non-stative verbs

The number of 'do'-compounds where the lexical stem is a non-stative verbal stem is very limited. As statives, all these verbs form causatives from the imperfective stem (in -a) followed by -r, cf. (37).

- (37) Causative compound: dynamic verbs

- a. *ħajwan buz.u-ne*
horse stop(INTR).PF-PFT
'The horse stopped.'
- b. *tp:rrr aq'.u-na buza-r-aq'.u-ne-kaj ħajwan.*
IDEOPH do.PF-CVB stop-CMP-do.PF-PFT-QUOT horse
He brought his horse to a stop by saying "tpru".

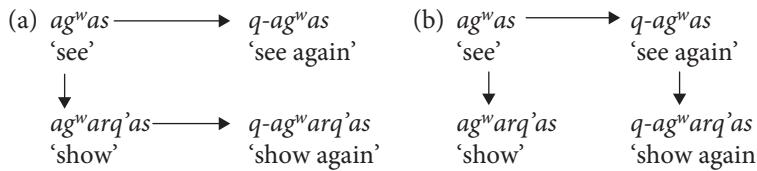
Table 6. Compound derivation for non-stative verbs

Original verb	Compound causative
1. <i>q'əšas</i> 'soak (INTR), get wet'	<i>q'əša-r-qəs</i> 'soak (TR), make wet'
2. <i>küsüq:as</i> 'go stale (of bread)'	<i>küsüq:a-r-qəs</i> 'let go stale (of bread)'
3. <i>Ruq:as</i> 'become dry'	<i>ruq:a-r-qəs</i> 'make dry'
4. <i>rūzas</i> 'become cold, cool down (INTR)'	<i>rūza-r-qəs</i> 'make cold, cool down (TR)'
5. <i>ugas</i> 'burn (TR, INTR); make hot'	<i>uq'a-r-qəs</i> 'make hot'
6. <i>buzas</i> 'stop (INTR); wait'	<i>buzə-r-qəs</i> 'stop (TR), cause to wait'
7. <i>buťas</i> 'stand upright'	<i>buťa-r-qəs</i> 'make upright'
8. <i>aluq:as</i> 'stick (e.g. of a stamp, INTR)'	<i>aluq:a-r-qəs</i> 'stick (to smth, TR)'
9. <i>Küq:as</i> 'stick (e.g. of a hair, INTR)'	<i>küq:a-r-qəs</i> 'stick (to smth, TR)'
10. <i>t'ušas</i> 'stir (INTR), be loose (e.g. a tooth), move away; be displaced'	<i>t'uša-r-qəs</i> 'make move away; displace'
11. <i>agʷas</i> 'see'	<i>agʷa-r-qəs</i> 'show'
12. <i>žik'as</i> 'find (occasionally)'	<i>žik'a-r-qəs</i> 'find (intentionally, after looking for)'
13.	<i>uga-r-qəs</i> 'make hot'

The verb in (37(b)) is derived from the verb used in (37(a)) by adding *-r-* and the verb *aq:as* 'do' to the stem of the lexical verb; no correlative 'become'-compound exists. So far, we are aware of thirteen verbs that follow this pattern, which are listed in Table 6.

The verbs that form compound causatives include physical processes (1 through 5), position verbs (including the verbs 'stick to, be stuck to') and the verb 'move' (6 through 11) and experiencer verbs (12 and 13). It seems that forming a compound causative is a lexical property rather than the property of the stem, because there are verbs that use the stem present in Table 6 but do not form compound causatives. Examples are the prefixed verbs *q-uq:as* 'be caught' (as of a dress occasionally caught by a nail in the wall; cf. (8) and (9) with the same stem but a different prefix), *al-agʷas* 'pretend to do something' (cf. the same stem in unprefixed (11)). All other verbs in the table, however, are non-derived verbs

that do not combine with prefixes, so that evidence for our claim is limited. The refactive prefixation (*qa-/qu-* ‘do again’; see Section 1) preserves availability of the compound causative; and the same is true of refactive prefixation with statives. Cf. *q-agʷas* ‘see again’ ~ *q-agʷarq'as* ‘show again’ (cf. 11 in Table 6); *qa-it:aa* ‘be ill again’ ~ *qa-it:arq'as* ‘make ill again’ (cf. 1 in Table 5). However, it may be argued that the refactives are derived later than causatives (refactives are formed from non-causatives and causatives independently) – i.e. (a) rather than (b):



2.2.5 Morphosyntax

We have now considered two types of ‘do’-causatives in Agul. Periphrastic ‘do’-causatives are formed by combining the infinitive of the lexical verb with the forms of *aq'as* ‘do’. Compound ‘do’-causatives are similar in that the same forms are ‘suffixed’ to the lexical stem (sometimes with *-r* between them). These terms suggest the two patterns are clearly distinguished as syntactic vs. morphological. In fact, they are closer to each other than it might seem.

We have discussed above that the (morpho)syntactic status of periphrastic ‘do’-causatives seems to be that of clause-union, intermediate between mono- and biclausal, with *aq'as* ‘do’ being in some ways similar to an auxiliary.

Although most of the ‘do’-compounds are more close-knit units than periphrastic causatives,⁸ the lexical stem preserves a certain degree of autonomy, which varies depending on the lexical item. Some compounds, especially those based on adjectives, are close to verbal phrases. For nominal ‘do’-compounds, looseness apparently differs depending on the degree of how bound/integrated into the verb the nominal stem is, as discussed in Section 2.2.2.

But even in the case of the least loose ‘do’-compounds – those formed from statives and non-stative verbs and the compounds with bound stems – the stem may be separated from the form of *aq'as* ‘do’ by other material, especially when the compound is topicalized; the stem is fronted, as in (38), (39) and (40). Typically, the material that may come between the lexical stem and the conjugated verb are

8. For instance, in that the variant with dropped initial vowel (*q'as*) is more natural with most of ‘do’-compounds than the full variant (*aq'as*), while the two variants are equally natural for periphrastic causatives. This is, however, not true of all compounds; e.g. *žin-aq'as* ‘hide (TR)’ is clearly preferred to *žin-q'as* (the same meaning).

pronouns; in (38) also a modal particle *k:anči*. Note that the separation of the stem is possible even for the stems followed by -r ((38) and (39)) and for bound stems in (40), even though -r-stems do not occur outside compounds.

- (38) Loose compounding: stem separation (stative), elicited
 $\begin{array}{lllll} \textit{\text{ha}-r} & \textit{ge-wur.i-s} & \textit{k:an-či} & \textit{aq'-e}, & \textit{k:an-či} \\ \text{know-CMP} & \text{that-PL-DAT} & \text{want-COND} & \text{do-IMP} & \text{want-COND} \\ \textit{m-aq'.a}, & \textit{fira} & \textit{degiš-x.a-s-t:awa} & & \\ \text{PROH-do.IPF} & & \text{nothing change-become.IPF-INF-COP:NEG} & & \\ \text{‘Teach them or not, nothing will change.’ (lit. ‘teach them, teach them not...’)} & & & & \end{array}$
- (39) Loose compounding: stem separation (dynamic verb), elicited
 $\begin{array}{lllll} \textit{buz.a-r} & \textit{zun} & \textit{ge} & \textit{q'.a-s-e}, & \\ \text{stand.IPF-CMP} & \text{I(ERG)} & \text{that} & \text{do.IPF-INF-COP} & \\ \textit{amma mus aq'.aj-či}, & & \textit{\text{ha}-j-dewa}. & & \\ \text{but} & \text{when} & \text{DO.IPF:PRS-COND} & \text{know-CVB-COP:NEG} & \\ \text{‘I’ll stop him for sure, but I don’t know when.’} & & & & \end{array}$
- (40) Loose compounding: stem separation (nominal stem), elicited
 $\begin{array}{lllll} \textit{gunt' gi} & \textit{aq'.u-ne}, & \textit{amma xul.a-7} & \textit{qačix.i-ndawa} & \textit{sara}. \\ \text{gather} & \text{that(ERG)} & \text{do.PF-PFT} & \text{but} & \text{house-IN bring.PF-PFT:NEG PTCL} \\ \text{‘He did gather it, but he did not bring it into the house.’} & & & & \end{array}$

Thus, not only periphrastic causatives are close to analytical forms; compound causatives are also ‘loose’ compounds. Both types of causatives belong to the same ‘typological stock’ of the extremely widespread ‘do’-based causatives, and are results of similar grammaticalization processes that occurred in Agul twice, at different time.

However, the two causatives, similar from the typological and diachronic points of view, are distinct causativization patterns. Together with labile verbs and lexical causatives discussed below in sections 2.3 and 2.4, compound causatives form a group of what we call below non-productive causatives. Even the largest class of non-productive causatives, ‘do’-compounds based on adjectives, are lexical items rather than a fully productive category, and their parts have only a limited degree of mutual autonomy in terms of separability. All non-productive causatives are opposed to periphrastic causatives in a uniform way. With non-productive causatives an apud Causee is completely ungrammatical. All predicates that form non-productive causatives are intransitive. All non-productive causatives form the same semantic opposition to the periphrastic causatives of the same verbs (roughly, that of direct vs. indirect causation; see Section 3).

Another important point that concerns compound causative formation is the status of the ‘suffix’ *-r*. Within Agul, this suffix is not related to causativization. Indeed, statives use this suffix to form not only causative ‘do’-compounds, but also inchoative ‘become’-compounds, so it is a ‘compound forming’ element (see Table 4); this is the reason why we gloss it as *-CMP-*, for ‘compounding’, rather than *-CAUS-*). However, in some other Lezgic languages, a formally identical suffix is a non-productive causative suffix (Lezgian, Budukh) or a ‘redundant’ transitivity marker (Lezgian); see (Klimov, Alekseev 1980: 189; Shejkhov 1980: 147–149; Haspelmath 1993a: 163–164, 358). It seems quite plausible that its generalization with statives in Agul is secondary, although further comparative analysis is necessary.

2.2.6 ‘Do’-compounds: an overview

As we have seen, ‘do’-compounds, although much less productive than ‘do’-causatives, play an important role in causative formation in Agul. These compounds are loose in the sense that in some contexts the lexical stem and ‘do’ may be separated by some other material; however, such separation only happens under special conditions. The following table sums up the properties of ‘do’-compounds based on different lexical categories.

Table 7. ‘Do’-compounds based on different lexical categories

	Nouns	Adjectives	Statives	Non-stative verbs
productive	–	+	± (three statives)	– (a dozen of verbs)
compounding	direct	direct	suffix <i>-r</i>	suffix <i>-r</i>
‘become’-compound (inchoative correlate)	±	+	+	–

As this table shows, the ‘do’-compounds of statives share properties both with ‘do’-compounds of adjectives (they have the inchoative ‘become’-compound as a correlate) and of other verbs (they use *-r* suffix for compounding), which reflects their mixed nature (intermediate part-of-speech status). The fact that the statives and the adjectives form inchoative ~ causative pairs in a regular way while other, non-stative verbs form only ‘do’-compounds, and only irregularly, is understandable. Adjectives and statives do not form periphrastic ‘do’-causatives considered in 2.1; other verbs have a regular way to convey causative meaning. Both statives and qualificative adjectives denote a state; their ‘become’-compounds designate change of state (inchoative). Non-stative verbs may designate both the state and change of state by means of the TAM marking system, so they do not require a ‘become’-compound as inchoatives.

2.3 Labile verbs

Some verbs do not distinguish morphologically between non-causative and causative meanings; the only difference is the presence of the agentive argument in the latter case. These are labile (or, more specifically, P-labile) verbs, or syntagmatic conversive verbs in terms of (Nedjalkov & Silnickij 1969) and ambitransitive verbs in terms of (Dixon 2000). We will call these verbs labiles for short, because A-labile verbs are not typical for East Caucasian, very few in Agul (cf. Footnote 7) and constitute a phenomenon clearly distinct from P-lability and of no direct relevance to the issue of causativization. For some approaches, P-labiles are in fact the ‘true’ labile verbs as opposed to A-labiles (cf. e.g. Letuchiy 2006).

Compare (41) and (42): in (a) the verb ‘break’ ('go round') is used intransitively; in (b) the same verb ('lead round', respectively) is used transitively. In (a) the other core argument (ergative) is missing.

- (41) a. *t'arq' aq'.u-na ars.u-ne-ṣaj lak.*
 IDEOPH do.PF-CVB break.PF-PFT-QUOT leg
 They say, his leg broke with a crack!
- b. *...gisə-l l-e t'uł ars.u-ne*
 ere-SUP be.on-PART stick break(TR).PF-PFT
če ruš-ar.i ... dak'ar.i-k-ti fatx.i-ne.
 our.EXCL girl-PL(ERG) window-SUB/CONT-LAT throw.PF-PFT
 ‘And our girls broke the stick that was there... and threw it under the window.’
- (42) a. *ze k'il aldark.a-a mašin.i-? ix.i-na.*
 my head go.round(INTR).IPF-PRS car-IN put.in.PF-CVB
 ‘I feel dizzy when they put me in a car.’
- b. *hate p:ament.i-l aldark.a-je-f-e*
 hat monument-SUP go.around(TR).IPF-PART-NMLZ-COP
čin hage k'are uq'ar-ra xibu q'un-na.
 we.EXCL(ERG) that black ram-and three goat-and
 ‘We make this black ram and three he-goats go round the monument.’

Below we will call occurrences of labile verbs in contexts like (a) intransitive labile verbs, and in contexts like (b) transitive labile verbs, respectively.

2.3.1 Intransitive labile or prodrop?

In a prodrop language like Agul, the surface structure does not always make it obvious whether we deal with an intransitive labile or with a transitive verb with a prodropped or impersonal Agent, as in (43a) and (43b), respectively.

- (43) Prodrop, elicited

sal.a? *mal-ar* *ruk:.a-a*
cattle.shed-IN cattle-PL slaughter.IPF-PRS

- a. ‘Elliptic’ prodrop (Where is dad?) ‘He’s butchering cattle in the cattle-shed.’
- b. ‘Impersonal’ prodrop (What’s going on?) ‘They are butchering cattle in the cattle-shed.’ (i.e. it’s butchering time)

Various tests can be used to distinguish between the two cases, including e.g. interpretations available for the imperative of the verb in question (Haspelmath 1993a; Kibrik 1996; Lyutikova 2001; see also Letuchiy 2008 for discussion). For instance, the imperative of the Agul verb *k’es* ‘die ~ kill’ may be interpreted both as ‘die!’ and ‘kill!’. However, an imperative of the intransitive meaning of most if not all labile verbs is problematic because they typically designate uncontrollable states and processes (cf. *Mirror*, *break!*). Even in the case of ‘die ~ kill’ the intransitive imperative is less natural (and probably more expressive) than the transitive one.

Tests that verify the use of a verb in specifically transitive and specifically intransitive contexts may be language specific.⁹ In Agul, it is the availability of the involuntary Agent construction; Haspelmath (1993a) uses the same test for Lezgian. This construction is only available to intransitive predicates; thus, if a verb combines both with regular Agent marked by ergative and involuntary Agent marked by apudessive, it means that the verb is a labile.

- (44) Lability test: standard vs. involuntary Agent opposition, elicited

- a. *ruš.a* *xed* *at:uz.u-ne*
girl(ERG) water pour.out.PF-PFT
‘The girl poured the water out.’
- b. *ruš.a-f-as* *xed* *at:uz.u-ne*
girl-APUD-ELAT water pour.out.PF-PFT
‘The girl by chance poured some water.’

Indeed, if the verb *at:uzas* ‘spill ~ pour’ were an intransitive, it would not combine with ergative Agent; if it were transitive, it would not combine with apudelative (involuntary) Agent. Therefore, the verb is labile, used transitively in (a) and intransitively in (b).

Lability tests are a useful *formal* means to prove the verb in question is labile. However, a native speaker of Agul (and probably more broadly of other

9. Thus, in Bagvalal, an Andic language of Daghestan, verbs distinguish between transitive and intransitive imperatives morphologically; the verbs that possess both are thus labile (Lyutikova 2001).

Daghestanian languages) is always absolutely positive in answering the question whether the verb is strictly transitive (i.e. the omitted Agent is understood from the context) or labile (i.e. the situation is conceptualized as Agent-less); cf. the appeal to the native perception of syntactic completeness in (Comrie 2000: 368, Footnote 6).

2.3.2 Semantics

The following labile verbs have been identified so far:

Table 8. Labile verbs in Agul

No.	Verb	Transitive meaning	Intransitive meaning
(1)	<i>čurχas</i>	'tear (paper, tissue)'	'tear (INTR)'
(2)	<i>čut'as</i>	'crush (eggs, vegetables), crease (paper, clothes)'	'become creased'
(3)	<i>c'akas</i>	'make deviant from the correct position (picture on the wall), uneven (drawing a line)' (transitive use is rare)	'become curved (as a person getting old); be deviant from the correct position or uneven'
(4)	<i>arʃas</i>	'break (of wood, stone, glass, bone)'	'break (INTR)'
(5)	<i>čurqas</i>	'burst (as of ball, jar, tyre, heart)'	'burst (INTR); chap (of skin)'
(6)	<i>durʃas</i>	'wear out, frazzle' (of clothes)	'become worn out'
(7)	<i>ruħas</i>	'grind, reduce to particles, to powder' (turn corn into flour; break crackers into pieces)	'be reduced to particles, to powder'
(8)	<i>uqas</i>	'reduce to homogeneous mass, dough' (mash potatoes; turn pieces of raw clay into "clay dough")	'be reduced to homogeneous mass'
(9)	<i>at'usas</i>	'put out (fire)'	'go out, die out'
(10)	<i>ugas</i>	'burn; scratch'	'itch'
(11)	<i>alugas</i>	'burn on the surface' (meat when cooking; skin in a fire accident)	'be burnt'
(12)	<i>uc'as</i>	'melt (TR)' (butter, ice, snow)	'melt (INTR)'
(13)	<i>rüxes</i>	'boil (TR)' (meat, water)	'boil (INTR)'
(14)	<i>užas</i>	'bake (bread), fry (grains)'	'be baked, fried'
(15)	<i>daqas</i>	'open (TR); untie'	'open (INTR); become untied'
(16)	<i>alčaq'as</i>	'close (TR)'	'close (INTR)'
(17)	<i>qik'as</i>	'lock'	'become locked' (intransitive probably innovation, cf. below);
(18)	<i>at:uzas</i>	'pour'	'spill, be spilled'
(19)	<i>ičas</i>	'splash' (of liquids)	'be splashed, scattered'

(Continued)

Table 8. Labile verbs in Agul (Continued)

No.	Verb	Transitive meaning	Intransitive meaning
(20)	<i>dikas</i>	'strew, scatter' (various powders; crowd);	'be strewn, scattered'
(21)	<i>qusas</i>	'strew a quantity, part of something' (about powders)	'be strewn'
(22)	<i>dalzas</i>	'throw all around, scatter around in disorder' (belongings, people);	'be scattered around'
(23)	<i>ruχas</i>	'give birth'	'be born'
(24)	<i>kes</i>	'kill'	'die'
(25)	<i>at'as</i>	'cut (finger, tablecloth)'	'be cut, get a cut'
(26)	<i>dazas</i>	'stretch out' (of limbs or e.g. stick)	'become stretched' (of limbs but not e.g. stick)
(27)	<i>čirħas</i>	'drag on the ground' (bag or clothes)	'drag behind, trail (INTR)'
(28)	<i>aldarkas</i>	'spin (TR)'	'spin (INTR), loop around'

The number of labile verbs in Agul is high as compared to other Daghestanian languages (from a couple of dozens attested for Archi (Kibrik et al. 1977:75), some dozen attested for Lezgian (Haspelmath 1993a), Godoberi (Kibrik 1996) or Bagvalal (Lyutikova 2001), or none in Tsez (Comrie 2000); in Tabassaran, on the other hand, the reported number of labile verbs exceeds forty (Kibrik et al. 1982).

A purely semantic motivation is not enough to make a verb labile; there are cases of verbs that are close semantically, some of them being labile, others transitive, and yet others intransitive; cf. illustrative examples of this kind for Godoberi in (Kibrik 1996) and (Kulikov 1993b on Vedic). However, there are semantic classes that contain verbs *likely* to be labile cross linguistically (or, more specifically, in Daghestanian languages), while verbs that do not belong to these classes are *unlikely* to be labile (Haspelmath 1993b; Letuchiy 2010b). Agul labile verbs fit relatively well into several semantic groups typical of Daghestanian (cf. Lyutikova 2002), including:

- the verbs of deformation and destruction (1 through 8)
- fire events (9 through 11)
- water processes and cooking verbs (12 through 14)
- 'open', 'close' and 'lock' events (15 through 17)
- dispersion verbs (18 through 22)
- birth and death events (23 and 24)
- and some additional verbal meanings that do not form any clear group ('cut', 'be stretched ~ stretch', 'drag', 'spin').

The set of labile verbs, thought different in different languages, has a nucleus which recurs cross-linguistically. In his typological study of inchoative/causative alternation, Martin Haspelmath comes to the following conclusion: “A verb meaning that refers to a change of state or a going on may appear in an inchoative/causative alternation unless the verb contains agent-oriented meaning components or other highly specific meaning components that make the spontaneous occurrence of the event extremely unlikely” (Haspelmath 1993b: 92–93). This definition is made more precise by indicating that events like ‘cook’ or ‘boil’ do require an Agent, but they require an initiating Agent who may then leave the process on its own. After being initiated by an Agent, the process develops autonomously (cf. e.g. Lyutikova 2002).

In this respect, most of the Agul labile verbs are typical and do occur in other languages of the world, including verbs of deformation ('break', 'tear') and destruction ('blow'), fire events, 'boil', 'melt', cooking verbs. The idea of spontaneous change of state or autonomous process is in fact so important that marginally some new intransitive labile verbs emerge, like in (45), which may occur among Aguls living in larger towns and is made possible by starting to use washing machines that allow conceptualizing the process of washing as autonomous; same is probably true of *qik'as* 'lock', though intransitive 'lock' is less peripheral.¹⁰

- (45) Occasional lability, elicited
berhem mašin.i-? *suč:.a-a*
 shirt machine-IN wash.IPF-PRS
 (Where is my shirt?) 'The shirt is being washed in the washing machine.'

However, some groups and verbs pose problems to Haspelmath's model. This is the case of *at'as* 'cut', used intransitively in the following example:

- (46) 'cut': presence of Agent-oriented component of meaning, elicited
ze t'ub at'.u-ne
 my finger cut.PF-PFT
 'I got my finger cut.' (unintentionally)

The verb 'cut' is explicitly ruled out by Haspelmath as a candidate to lability because of the presence of an Agent-oriented component of meaning, some sort of sharp object used as an instrument. The transitive use of this verb also has meanings 'dig (ground)' and 'saw (wood)', but these meanings are impossible for the intransitive contexts. Note that the presence of an instrument seems to be equally obligatory for 'cut', 'dig' and 'saw'. The obvious reason is that intransitive *at'as* in (46) is used

10. This seems to be the only evidence we have for Agul that a situation may be ambiguous between strictly transitive and labile; cf. discussion in (Kibrik 1996).

for an unintentional cutting, while unintentional digging or sawing are far less probable. In this case, the fact that the event is spontaneous overrules the presence of an Agent-oriented meaning component.

It is also unclear how the lability of ‘birth’ and ‘die’ predicates is compatible with the idea that an intransitive labile must designate a spontaneous situation. It is obvious that any child-bearing includes the mother participant (although she may be conceptualized as more or less agentive depending on the speaker, the language and the culture). Still, in Agul (47) is a perfectly complete sentence.

- (47) Intransitive ‘birth’ event

... <i>ażzur-na</i>	<i>jarčw'a</i>	<i>s'wərš-na</i>	<i>c'ejri-d-pu</i>	<i>is.a</i>
thousand-and	nine	hundred-and	seven-NMLZ-ORD	year(TMR)
<i>rux.u-f-ij</i>		<i>če</i>	<i>baw.</i>	
be.born.PF-NMLZ-COP:PST		our.EXCL	mother	

‘Our mother was born in 1917.’

The ‘die ~ kill’ lability may seem less problematic as ‘die’ does not necessarily involve an Agent (fortunately, some deaths are natural), and thus seems similar to e.g. ‘break’ or ‘go out (of a fire)’. However, an important point is that, in Agul, even an Agent-caused death may be described by an intransitive labile.¹¹ Cf. (48), where the intransitive labile is used both in (a) which suggests death at the battlefield and (b) which may refer to a peaceful death at home.

- (48) Intransitive ‘kill’ event, elicited

- a. *ze ḥadad desü.ji-?* *k'.i-f-e*
my grandfather war-IN die.PF-NMLZ-COP
‘My grandfather was killed in the war.’
- b. *ze ḥadad desü.ji-n wayt:una k'.i-f-e*
my grandfather war-GEN time(ERG) die.PF-NMLZ-COP
‘My grandfather died during the war.’

This is an important indication. The relation between dying and killing events is probably similar for speakers of different languages. It is true that dying can sometimes happen without killing (i.e. spontaneously), just as an object may break without any human Agent or at least without the Agent’s intention to achieve that result. However, the verb ‘break’ is a typical labile verb cross-linguistically, while ‘kill’ and ‘die’ are typically expressed by different lexical stems.

Haspelmath’s claim that to be designated by a labile verb a change of state (or a going on) must be conceived as occurring spontaneously is neither necessary

11. Which is in a way opposite to the English use of *kill* in passives like *He was killed in a crash* where no Agent is present in the situation.

nor sufficient. The important thing is that the event of such spontaneous change of state must be conceived as basically the same event as its non-spontaneous correlate (essentially the same claim is made in Letuchiy 2006, 2010a), and whether it is or not is language specific. Both in birth and killing events Agents are present in the real-world situation, but, in Agul, they may be absent from the frame of linguistic conceptualization, which is then Patient-focused. Cf. the transitive and intransitive labile *ruxas* in (49).

- (49) 'Be born': transitive (elicited) and intransitive
- a. *zun gada rux.u-ne*
I(ERG) son bear.PF-PFT
'I gave birth to a son.' (the speaker is a woman)
 - b. *baw.a-s rux.a-j-e zun awgust.i*
mother-DAT be.born.IPF-CVB-COP I(NOM) August(GEN)
waz.alā, k:and-e p.u-na rux.u-na.
month(TMR) love-COP say.PF-CVB be.born.PF-CVB
'My mother had me in the month of August, when she (still) thought
she was loved.'

The situations described in (a) and (b) are the same, however the expression used in (a) is avoided as being too physiological. This is a natural effect if we admit that the frame in (a) includes the mother and the process of childbearing she and the baby are involved in, while in (b) mother is construed as a beneficiary or prospective possessor (dative). In (49) above the focus is on the Patient; but if we have to put more emphasis on the Agent, a transitive labile is used:

- (50) Focus on the Agent: transitive childbearing, elicited
- gi wa-s xibu gada rux.u-ne*
that(ERG) you.SG-DAT three son bear.PF-PFT
(How can you treat her in that way), 'she bore you three sons!'

An important distinction is that between those processes that can both start and develop spontaneously and those that require an Agent. However, the approach that focuses on the initial phase cannot provide a fully satisfactory explanation of the phenomenon of lability. According to this approach, situations like cooking or frying or boiling require an Agent who intentionally starts the process – hence the transitive use of the corresponding verbs. As to the intransitive construction, presumably they may be used intransitively because the process itself does not require control by this Agent after the process has started. But then the transitive use is supposed to be associated with entry into the process while the intransitive use describes the process itself.

Consider now the meaning mismatch between transitive and intransitive uses of *ucas* 'melt' in Table 8. It is labile when it means 'melt' but intransitive only when

it means ‘dissolve’. However, ‘dissolve’ seems to require an initiating Agent at least as strongly as ‘melt’. Snow may melt under the sun in the absence of any human being, while any circumstances where the sugar or salt finds its way into water all by itself are less usual. Why then is ‘melt’ labile and ‘dissolve’ not?

Melting requires a constant inflow of external energy which is typically controlled by an Agent, e.g. melting butter or fat. There may or may not be an Agent controlling this situation – hence ‘melt’ is labile. The process of sugar dissolution is construed as fully independent of any human Agent. This is why the meaning ‘dissolve’ in Agul is strictly intransitive – the Agent cannot be incorporated into the situation of dissolving except in its initial phase. So far, this is in conformity with the argument of (Haspelmath 1993).

But this explanation is not sufficient, either. Just as the construal of ‘die’ vs. ‘kill’ depends on the language, the construal of a situation that includes an Agent depends on the speaker:

- (51) Agent within vs. outside the speaker’s focus, elicited
- a. *zun χink’-ar q:a minut.i rüx.e-a,*
I(ERG) dumplings-PL twenty minute(TMR) boil.IPF-PRS
ara at’.a-j sadark.a-j.
period cut.IPF-CVB stir.IPF-CVB
'I cook dumplings for twenty minutes, stirring them from time to time.'
 - b. *χink’-ar q:a minut.i*
dumplings-PL twenty minute(TMR)
rüx.e-je-f-e, amma wun ara
boil.IPF-PART-NMLZ-COP but you.SG(ERG) period
at’.a-j gi-ɾ sadark.
cut.IPF-CVB that-INTER stir(IMP)
'It takes twenty minutes to cook dumplings (lit. the dumplings cook in twenty minutes), just stir them from time to time.'

In both cases, there is an Agent who participates in the cooking event by stirring in the pot. However, in the first example ‘cook’ is transitive, while in the second it is intransitive. In the first case the focus is on the speaker’s own experience of how dumplings are cooked, while in the second it is considered to be the property of the dumplings. The Agent is always there, but it may be present or absent in the speaker’s construal of the situation (cf. Paducheva 2001 for Russian).

2.3.3 Labile derivation

An important question concerning the labile verbs is whether intransitive and transitive uses of the same labile verb are equally important or one of them may be considered as secondary (cf. Kibrik 1996 for Godoberi). Dixon notes that

speakers of English consider *spill*, *smash* and *extend* as primarily transitive and only secondarily intransitive, while *melt* or *dissolve* or *walk* are primarily intransitive and only secondarily transitive (Dixon 2000). In other words, in English at least some P-labile verbs are ‘anticausative labiles’ (intransitive is derived from transitive), while at least some other are ‘causative labiles’ (transitive is derived from intransitive).¹²

This fails to apply to many if not most labile verbs in Agul: native intuition does not discriminate the two meanings of e.g. *arʃas* ‘break’ as primary/secondary. One could call them equipollent labile verbs. In fact, native speakers do not seem to distinguish intransitive and transitive ‘break’ as two different meanings at all. The ergative Agent is not perceived as a core argument of these verbs, its ‘optionality’ (availability of intransitive construction) makes it similar to adjuncts.

However, for some labile verbs there are grounds to argue that one of the uses is secondary. One type of evidence is the semantic structure of the verb. As mentioned above, *at'as* ‘cut ~ be cut’ has transitive meanings ‘saw’ and ‘dig’ that are impossible for the intransitive labile. Moreover, only a situation of unintentional cutting of a body part or, more rarely, of another object normally not intended for cutting (e.g. tablecloth), may be described intransitively; intransitive labile would be strange if the object being cut were meat or bread. This is an indication that the lability of *at'as* is of the anticausative type. The autonomous process interpretation is also obviously secondary for the verb *suč:as* ‘wash’ in (45) above.

On the other hand, *ut'as* ‘rot’, whose transitive is only applied to humans and means ‘maltreat someone, leave to rot’; or *cakas* ‘become curved, uneven’ which is used transitively very rarely, its periphrastic causative being used instead, may both be argued to be causative labile verbs.

Yet, the evidence from polysemy may be ambiguous. The verb *čurχas* ‘tear’ also has another meaning, ‘slide’, but has no transitive use in this meaning; *čurχas* ‘slide’ is perceived as homophonous to *čurχas* ‘tear’. The verb *aldarkas* has two meanings in transitive contexts ‘spread (butter on the bread)’ and ‘spin (TR)’; its only intransitive meaning is ‘spin (INTR)’. It is not clear whether the two transitive meanings are polysemous (then the intransitive labile is anticausative) or homonymous (then *aldarkas* ‘spread butter’ is a different verb and *aldarkas* ‘spin TR ~ INTR’ is equipollent), and native perception is more liberal than in the case of *čurχas* ‘tear’ ~ ‘slide’. The same argument may be applied to the three meanings of *at'as* ‘cut’, ‘dig’ and ‘saw’; however, the semantic connection between these three meanings seems more obvious. Finally, consider again *uc'as* ‘melt, dissolve’ whose

12. Or transitivity-decreasing and transitivity-increasing labiles in terms of (Kibrik 1996), respectively.

transitive only means ‘melt (TR)’ but not ‘dissolve (TR)’. Formally, this is opposite to the case of *at'as* ‘cut’; but while ‘be cut’ as of a bodypart is probably a peripheral usage of the verb, transitive ‘melt’ is a typical cooking process. Intransitive ‘dissolve’ is, on the contrary, peripheral. The verb *uc'as* is more likely equipollent. Examining further examples would probably uncover additional intermediate cases.

Another important typological issue is what happens to labile verbs that undergo morphological derivation (prefixation in case of Agul). May a labile non-derived verb become strictly transitive or intransitive through prefixation or, vice versa, a non-labile verb acquire lability? Productive and semantically regular refactive prefixation preserves lability: cf. *ugas* burn(TR, INTR)’ ~ *qa-ugas* ‘burn again (TR, INTR)’; this is natural because refactive only designates repetition of the situation without changing its construal in any significant way. On the contrary, locative prefixation is formally less productive and semantically more complex and may considerably modify the original (‘non-prefixed’) situation. Thus, we would expect that locative prefixes may both preserve or change (non-)lability of the verbal stem. Most of the labile verbs do not combine with prefixes, so this expectation is only rarely verifiable. However, there are some examples that corroborate it. Labile *al-darkas* ‘spin, turn around’ uses the bound stem also present in *za-darkas* ‘turn over (e.g. of the hay)’ and *ki-darkas* ‘take a stroll, wander’ that are strictly transitive and intransitive, respectively. On the other hand, both *ugas* ‘burn’ and *al-ugas* ‘burn from outside’ are labile; this is possible because the two situations are similar and share lability-licensing properties. Cf. another prefixed verb from the same stem, *k-ügas* ‘aspire, burn with desire, be eager to’ which is strictly intransitive (it takes a clause complement).

2.4 Lexical causatives

Lexical causatives are pairs of morphologically unrelated verbs that are admitted to be in a causative relation. Whether they are or not is often hard to decide. An example is the English *go* – should either (or both) of the verbs *send* or *lead* be admitted to be its lexical causative?

One criterion for establishing lexical causativity is a typological one and discussed in e.g. (Dixon 2000). If one meaning is cross-linguistically often derived from another by a clearly causative pattern, as in the case of Agul *adas^was* ‘roll (INTR)’ ~ *adad^was* ‘roll (TR)’, the transitive verb is considered to be a lexical causative.¹³

However, we have argued above that lability is a matter of language-dependent construal of specific situations. Language-internal evidence for lexical causatives is

13. In this verb, as with the other lexical causatives below, the common material that may catch one's eye comprises prefixes; the roots are different.

then more important. Here belong systemic parallels in the polysemy or metaphorical extensions of the two verbs. Thus, in Agul, *baʃas* ‘stand up’ ~ *baħadʷas* ‘raise (TR)’ are used as ‘wake up (INTR), get out from bed’ and ‘wake up (TR), make get out from bed’. One of the reasons to admit that *hatas* ‘send’ is a causative of *fʷas* ‘go’ is that *kʷalas hatas* ‘forget, let yourself forget about something’, lit. “send away from heart”, is a causative of *kʷalas fʷas* ‘become forgotten’, lit. “go away from heart”.

There are very few Agul verbs that seem to be lexical causatives: *ketas* ‘wake up (INTR)’ ~ *kebkas* ‘wake up (TR)’; *baʃas* ‘stand up’ ~ *baħadʷas* ‘raise’; *kürqas* ‘touch (of inanimate)’ ~ *kerħas* ‘make touch’ (as in ‘the dress’s fringe touched the wall’ ~ ‘I made the dress’s fringe touch the wall’); *fʷas* ‘go’ ~ *hatas* ‘send’;¹⁴ *adafʷas* ‘roll (INTR)’ ~ *adadʷas* ‘roll (TR)’; probably also *ilgʷas* ‘stay, remain’ ~ *atas* ‘leave’. Again, as with availability of compound causatives and lability, refactive prefixation preserves lexical causative relations: *qa-baʃas* ‘stand up again’ ~ *qa-baħadʷas* ‘raise again’.

2.5 Semantically irregular causatives

With lexical causatives discussed in the previous section, one verb is a semantic causative of another without being its causative morphologically. In Agul (as in many other languages) one sometimes encounters the converse situation. Two verbs are related to each other formally by a causative pattern, but their semantic relation is not causative, at least not straightforwardly. In this section we will discuss all cases of what we consider to be semantically irregular causatives in Agul, including labile verbs *ugas* ‘itch, scratch’ (also ‘burn’) and *at̚as* ‘be cut, cut’; ‘do’-compounds *ħar-qas* ‘learn by heart’ (from *ħaa* ‘know’, cf. *ħar-xas* ‘learn’) and (*qa)žikar-qas* ‘find intentionally, after looking for’ (from (*qa)žikas* ‘find occasionally’); and, finally, the special case of *it:ar-qas* ‘ache; feel pain’ (from *it:aa* ‘ache, be ill’, cf. *it:ar-xas* ‘start aching; fall ill’); cf. also (75) for a causative of ‘go stale’. The verb *ugas* ‘burn’, a labile, has two meanings, apparently secondary, ‘itch’ and ‘scratch’, intransitive and transitive respectively; cf. (52).

- (52) ‘Itch’ and ‘scratch’, elicited
- a. ze k'il ug.a-a
my head itch.IPF-PRS
‘My head itches.’
 - b. šünük:.i k'il ug.a-a
child(ERG) head itch.IPF-PRS
‘The child is scratching his (the child’s) head.’

14. The verbs *χas* ‘lead’ and *baʃas* ‘cause to go, make hurry’ are not perceived as causatives of *fʷas* ‘go’. The ‘native perception’ of causative relation may thus be language specific and does not always go with the cross-linguistic typology of causatives.

- c. *zun šünük.i-n k'il ug.a-a*
 I(ERG) child-GEN head itch.IPF-PRS
 'I scratched the child's head.'

The meanings 'itch' and 'scratch' are obviously strongly related, but this relation is not a causative one. To scratch does not mean to cause to itch (whatever the doctors say); scratching is first of all a natural reaction to itching, not its cause. From the point of view of the argument structure of the two predicates, 'scratch' introduces a new argument corresponding to the participant who does the scratching (the Agent). However, the participant may scratch his or her own body part; this type of context is at least as natural as the other when the Scratcher and the Scratchee are not the same person. When the Agent scratches his/her own body part, he/she is not a new participant. The same participant has been necessarily present already in the 'itching' situation as the possessor of the body part and thus, indirectly, as the Experiencer.¹⁵ In 'I scratch my foot' there is no new participant as compared to 'my foot itches'. It is the possessor of the body part and simultaneously the Experiencer who becomes an Agent, is 'promoted' to the Agent role.

This situation is similar to another labile, *at'as* 'cut', whose intransitive use is exemplified above in (46) – 'I got my finger cut' (lit. "my finger got cut") vs. 'I (intentionally) cut my finger'. The only difference is that the intransitive use here seems to be secondary, so that it is not the experiential possessor of the intransitive construction that acquires agentive status in the transitive construction but the Agent that loses his or her agentivity in the intransitive construction.

- (53) 'know'-CAUS = 'learn'
hal qatq'.a-a, zun iže har-aq'.u-na-a dars, qat:q'.a-a
 now tell.IPF-PRS I(NOM) good know-do.PF-RES-PRS lesson tell.IPF-PRS
 'Well now, I'm telling (it) (...) I learned (it) well, so now I'm telling the
 lesson.'

A stative-based compound 'do'-causative *har-q'as* (from *haa* 'know', cf. *har-xas* 'come to know, learn'), in addition to a straight causative meanings 'let know, inform; teach', has a meaning 'learn by heart' (e.g. a poem). This case corroborates the hypothesis of Agent-'promotion' in a more unambiguous way. Learning a text by heart is a more transitive (+ control) situation than typically experiential 'know', and unlike the other, regular causative meanings ('let know' and 'teach'), the meaning 'learn by heart' has only one human participant which, again, combines experiential and agentive properties.

15. An important difference from other labiles is the obligatoriness of the experiential possessor's presence – if not overt, at least notional: the same relation holds between 'my mirror broke' and 'I broke the mirror', but the possessor is not obligatory and, if present, less involved and thus less 'typically experiential'.

Similar are *žik'ar-qas* 'find' and its refactive *qa-žik'ar-qas* 'find something that has been lost' or 'find again (for the second time)'. The original, non-causative (*qa*)*žik'as* 'find' may have one or two arguments. When the lost item is found all by itself, e.g. a person or animal comes back home after being missed for some time, or when the focus is not on the person who discovered the object but on the fact that the lost object has been found, the verb may have only one argument. In this situation, refactive *qa-žik'as* 'find again' is much more natural and means something like 'to be there again; not to be lost anymore' or 'come back again (of an animate)'; cf. (54a), (54b). All uses of the non-derived *žik'as* 'find' are perceived as elliptical of the dative Experiencer argument (cf. Comrie 2000: 368, Footnote 6 on perceived completeness of 'find' predictions in Tsez).

- (54) 'Find', one argument: refactive, inanimate and animate, elicited

- a. *ze t'ubal qa-žik'.i-ne*
my ring RE-find.PF-PFT
'My ring is there again.' (lit. "was found again")
- b. *šünük:-ar qa-žik'.i-ne*
child-PL RE-find-PF-PFT
'The children came back.' (lit. "were found again")

- (55) 'Find', two arguments: refactive and non-derived, elicited

- a. *za-s sad qa-žik'.i-ne*
I-DAT one-NMLZ RE-find.PF-PFT
'I found another one.' (e.g. one more bullet, coin or mushroom)
- b. *za-s pul žik'.i-ne*
I-DAT money find.PF-PFT
'I found money.' (e.g. occasionally found money someone put in a cache, or it suddenly occurred to me from whom I could borrow it)

If, however, the person who discovered an object is in focus, it is coded by the dative;¹⁶ cf. (55a) and (55b). In (55b) the verb *žik'as* 'find' refers to a situation when

16. Although the verb 'find' can be used with or without dative argument, the dative here is a core argument, Experiencer, rather than a peripheral benefactive argument. Indeed, a benefactive dative (*dadas* 'for (my) father') may be introduced in (55), even though it is more natural with the causative *žik'ar-qas* (cf. (56) below. In (Lyutikova 2001) similar uses of 'find' in Bagvalal are qualified as non-canonical lability with two alternative case-assignment patterns ⟨nominative: Patient⟩ and ⟨dative: Experiencer; nominative: Patient⟩. Without arguing for or against grouping *žik'as* 'find' with other, canonical labiles discussed above in 2.3, we would like to indicate that the pattern of conceptualization here is in a way similar to that of e.g. 'die' ~ 'kill'. The monovalent *žik'as* 'find' may refer to both situations when the needed item is found all by itself (54b) or when it is irrelevant who is the person who found it (54a); cf. the intransitive labile *k'es* 'die, perish' that may refer either to a natural death, as in (48b), or to a death in a battle when it is irrelevant who is the person who did the killing, as in (48a). When the second

someone unexpectedly finds the lost or hidden money. Its causative correlate *žik'arqas* ‘find’ designates a situation of intentional discovery, i.e. the act of finding as a result of a purposeful search:

- (56) Intentional ‘find’, elicited

<i>zun</i>	<i>dad.a-s</i>	<i>pul</i>	<i>žik'.a-r-q'.u-ne</i>
I(ERG)	father-DAT	money	find.IPF-CMP-DO.PF-PFT
'I found money for my father.'			

Cf. also the following examples from a text, where the situation is more complicated. Although the children were intentionally looking for the bulls in (57a), they were unable to find them, which apparently decreases this intentionality – the important thing is that the children did not happen to find the lost bulls. When the mother answers ‘Go and look for them again’ (57b), she can only use the intentional causative form:

- (57) ‘Find’, two arguments: refactive and non-derived, elicited

a.	<i>šünük:-ar</i>	<i>zaš.a-ji-baj,</i>	<i>wa?</i>	<i>ča-s</i>
	child-PL	cry.IPF-PST-QUOT	no	we:EXCL-DAT
	<i>qa-žik'.i-na-dawa</i>	<i>jac-ar,</i>		
	RE-find.PF-RES-PRS:NEG	bull-PL		
	<i>qa-žik'.i-ndawa-baj,</i>	<i>zaš.a-ji-baj</i>	<i>žu-d-ra.</i>	
	RE-find.PF-PFT:NEG-QUOT	cry.IPF-PST-QUOT	two-NMLZ-and	

‘The children cry: no, we did not find the bulls, we didn’t find them; both children were crying, they say.’

b.	<i>axp:a</i>	<i>baw.a</i>	<i>p.u-na-a,</i>	<i>wa?</i>	<i>p.u-na-a,</i>
	then	mother(ERG)	say.PF-RES-PRS	no	say.PF-RES-PRS
	<i>š.u-na</i>	<i>jac-ar</i>	<i>žik'ar-q'e,</i>	<i>qa-žik'ar-q'e</i>	
	go.PF-CONV	bull-PL	find.IPF-CMP	-do-IMP	RE-find.IPF-CMP-do-IMP
	<i>naj-sa-as</i>		<i>k:an-či-ra,</i>	<i>jac-ar</i>	
	which-LOC-(IN)ELAT		want-COND-AND	bull-PL	
	<i>fa-dawa-j</i>		<i>χul.a-s</i>	<i>ma-qu-f^w.a</i>	<i>p.u-na-a.</i>
	{APUD}be-NEG-CONV	house-DAT	PROH-RE-GO.IPF	say.PF-RES-PRS	

‘Then the mother told them: no, you go and find the bulls, find them wherever they are, and don’t come back without them.’

Note that this semantic shift from ‘find by chance; come across’ to ‘find as a result of search’ under causativization occurs elsewhere in Daghestanian; cf. (Kibrik 1996) for Godoberi, (Comrie 2000) for Tsez, (Lyutikova 2001) for Bagvalal.

participant moves into the focus, the second argument – dative in the case of *žik'as*, ergative in the case of *k'es* – is introduced.

Finally, consider a special case of another stative-based ‘do’ -compound *it:ar-q’as* ‘ache; make ill’. Stative *it:aa* means ‘be ill’ – of a person, as in (58a), or specifically of a recurring painful sensation or disease localized in his or her body part, as in (58b). Its ‘become’-compound *it:ar-xas* conveys respective inchoative meanings (‘fall ill (of a person), start aching (of a body part)').

- (58) ‘Ache’, non-causative, elicited

- a. *zun it:a-a*
I(NOM) be.ill-PRS
'I am sick.'
- b. *ze χil it:a-a*
my hand be.ill-PRS
'My hand is hurting me.' (i.e. aches sometimes; lit. "my hand is ill")

In addition to the regular causative meaning ‘make ill’ (indirect causation as in ‘The child fell ill because of you’), the ‘do’-causative *it:ar-q’as* also has meanings of ‘ache (of a body part)’, ‘feel pain (of a person)’, with an unexpected dative argument marking that breaks two morphosyntactic rules at the same time (first, there is no nominative as required by any Agul verb; second, there is no ergative as required by the causative morphology); cf. (59a), (59b). An ergative Agent may be added to both sentences with the effect of ‘you’re hurting my hand’ and ‘you hurt me’, respectively; cf. (59c). However, the ergative argument is clearly optional, so the causative verb is in a way labile.

- (59) ‘Ache’, morphologically causative, elicited

- a. *ze χil.i-s it:a-r-q’.a-a*
my hand-DAT be.ill-CMP-do.IPF-PRS
'My hand aches.'
- b. *axp:a ḥabaw.a uč.i-as sa zaji šüt’ at:u-ne-βaj uč.i-s ha-ge gaf p.u-f, in.take.out.PF-PFT-QUOT self-DAT self-DAT ha-DEMg word say.PF-NMLZ uč.i-s sa zaji it:ar-aq’.u-ne-βaj, ḥabaw.a.*
self-DAT one very ache-do.PF-PFT-QUOT, granny(ERG)
'Then Granny says, she pinched her so much, when she was told, it hurted (her) so much, the Granny (says)'
- c. *wun za-s it:a-r-q’.a-a*
you.SG(ERG) I-DAT be.ill-CMP-do.IPF-PRS
'You're hurting me.'

We have no explanation for the semantic effect the causative morphology takes with this verb.

To sum up, the semantic irregularity of *ħar-q'as* ‘learn by heart’ and *žik'ar-q'as* ‘find’ is clearly produced by agentivization of the original Experiencer (promoting the would-be Causee, Experiencer, into the Agent’s role). The rearrangement of the semantic roles and arguments with the labile verbs *at'as* ‘cut, be cut’ and *ugas* ‘itch, scratch’, at least in some contexts, may be explained by the same process (*ugas* also manifests additionally an irregular semantic development). The irregularity of another stative-based causative, *it:ar-q'as* ‘ache, hurt’, on the contrary, does not match any other irregular pattern we are aware of for Agul.

All of the original, non-causative situations have at least one property in common. With ‘know’, ‘find’, ‘itch’, ‘be cut (of a body part)’ and ‘be ill’ the only human participant, the would-be Causee, is an Experiencer who has no control over the situation. Moreover, with exception of ‘know’, the original situation suggests no default way of direct causation that some other experiential situations suggest (cf. ‘know’ ~ ‘learn’, ‘see’ ~ ‘show’). Of course, indirect (non-default) causation is always available, but this tends to be associated with periphrastic ‘do’-causatives (see discussion in Section 3). In other words, these are situations for which there is no natural way to introduce an additional agentive participant, which is the basic function of causativization, while the non-periphrastic causatives are available. The language is forced to re-conceptualize the original situation. In doing so, it tries to keep as close to the prototype of causativization as possible. The result is that some of the ‘derived’ situations do feature a new Agent without adding a new participant; they merely change the role of the original human participant from Experiencer to Agent.¹⁷ The causativization of *it:aa* ‘be ill’ into *it:ar-q'as* ‘ache’ is the case where this mechanism of finding an alternative causative-like interpretation apparently fails.¹⁸

Semantically irregular causatives are the fragment of language structure where causativization develops into a more general morphosyntactic device of transitivity. Common to all instances of causative derivation is adding an Agent. Language looks for a new, agentive scenario of the same situation, to interpret it as transitive. In most cases it fits into straightforwardly causative semantics and adds

17. This also applies to *at'as* ‘be cut’, only the direction of the derivation changes. In other words, it is not the original Experiencer (possessor of the body part) that is moved into the Agent slot by causativization, but rather the former Agent is moved into the Experiencer slot by decausativization.

18. Reinterpretation of an existing participant instead of introduction of a new one under causativization is also attested in Godoberi (Kibrik 1996). However, in Godoberi this applies to causatives from transitive verbs and results in intensification of the verbal meaning, assumedly caused by the Agent’s increased agentivity (‘X splashed water’ causativizes into ‘X splashed water repeatedly’). Interestingly, the causative of the meaning ‘be ill, hurt’ is also reported to be idiosyncratic (though not as irregular as in Agul; it simply develops an additional intensifying meaning: ‘cause to be ill’ develops into ‘beat up’).

an extra participant. But sometimes a human participant is already present and is forced ('find') or allowed ('itch') to take on the new agentive guise. This participant is typically an ex-Experiencer simply because intransitive predicates with two arguments one of which is animate are most often experiential.

3. Semantic contrasts

The only fully productive pattern of causativization in Agul is periphrastic 'do'-causatives. Periphrastic causatives cover a wide range of causative meanings, including direct and indirect, coercive ('forced to') and non-curative ('failed to prevent') and other types of causation. Below are various examples; some of them repeat the examples in Section 2.1.

- (60) Direct causation, elicited

šünük: *ket'.a-s* *q'-e.*
child wake.up.IPF-INF do-IMP
'Wake up the child.'

- (61) Direct causation, elicited

baw.a *šünük:* *barx.a-s* *q'.u-ne.*
mother(ERG) child sleep.IPF-INF do.PF-PFT
'Mother made the child fall asleep.'
(e.g. put him/her to bed, or lulled him/her to sleep, etc.)

- (62) Indirect causation, elicited

we *dallaj-ar.i* *baw* *barx.a-s* *q'.u-ne.*
your.SG talking-PL(ERG) mother sleep.IPF-INF do.PF-PFT
'Your (endless) conversations made mother fall asleep.'

- (63) Coercive, elicited

malla.ji *gada.ji-w* *q'urzan* *ruχ.a-s* *q'.a-a.*
mullah(ERG) boy-APUD Koran read.IPF-INF do.IPF-PRS
'The priest forces the boy to read the Koran.'

- (64) Indirect (non-curative), elicited

baw.a-s *agʷ.a-s* *q'.u-ne-wa* *wun* *jarhun?*
mother-DAT see.IPF-INF do.PF-PFT-Q you.SG (ERG) wound
'Why, you let your mother see the wound?!" (the addressee was not supposed to let his/her mother see the wound not to upset her)

- (65) Indirect (assistive), elicited

baw.a *gad.a* *hiš.a-s* *q'.u-ne.*
mother(ERG) boy(ERG) run.away.IPF-INF do.PF-PFT
'Because of what mother did, the boy escaped.'
(e.g. she helped him by unlatching the window)

- (66) Direct or indirect (non-curative), elicited

ruš.a šünük: kur.a-s q'.u-ne.
girl(ERG) child become.dirty,IPF-INF do.PF-PFT

- I. ‘The girl made the child dirty.’
(on purpose, as e.g. being angry with the child)
- II. ‘The girl let the child get dirty.’ (she didn’t want to, but was diverted and did not prevent him from falling in the mud)

In Sections 2.2 through 2.4 we considered several irregular causative patterns for verbs (compound causatives, labile verbs, lexical causatives) as well as more regular but still not fully productive causatives based on adjectives, nouns and statives (compound ‘do’-causatives), which we call non-productive causatives. For every non-productive causative there exists a parallel periphrastic causative (for causative compounds of adjectives, statives and nouns it is formed by adding ‘do’ to the corresponding ‘become’-compound). The two causatives contrast semantically.

- (67) Compound vs. periphrastic causative: bound root, elicited

a. *gada.ji žinaba kun-ar degiš-q'.u-ne.*
boy(ERG) secretly clothes-PL change-do.PF-PFT
‘The boy has secretly changed the clothes.’ (e.g. he hid away some clothes and planted some other clothes instead)

b. *zakʷ at'us.u-na, kun-ar*
light put.out.PF-CVB clothes-PL
degiš-x.a-s q'.u-ne wun.
change-become,IPF-INF do.PF-PFT you.SG(ERG)
‘Accidentally turning off the lights, you caused the clothes to be changed.’ (e.g. the guests put on wrong coats because it was dark)

- (68) Compound vs. periphrastic causative: bound root, elicited

a. *ču pijan-di qaj.i-či, šünük:-ar*
brother drunk-ADV RE:come.PF-COND child-PL
žin-aq' gi-q-as.
hide-DO.IMP that-POST-ELAT
‘If the brother is drunk when he comes home, hide the children from him.’

b. *ču pijan-di qaj.i-či, šünük:-ar.i-w*
brother drunken-ADV RE:come.PF-COND child-PL-APUD
žimu-x.a-s q'-e.
hide-become,IPF-INF do-IMP
‘If the brother is drunk when he comes home, make the children hide’
(e.g. tell them to go away to another room).

- (69) Compound vs. periphrastic causative: dynamic verb, elicited
- a. *gi zun req.ü-n jaž.anı-l buz.a-r-q'.u-ne.*
that(ERG) I(NOM) road-GEN middle-SUP stand.IPF-CMP-do.PF-PFT
'He stopped me (right) in the middle of the street.'
 - b. *gi zun ɻu sežet.i rab.una-l buz.a-s q'.u-ne.*
that(ERG) I(NOM) two hour(TMR) sun-SUP
stand.IPF-INF do.PF-PFT
'Because of him I had to stand in the sun for two hours.'
- (70) Compound vs. periphrastic causative: dynamic verb, elicited
- a. *ruš.a kun-ar q'ěš.a-r-q'.u-ne.*
girl(ERG) clothes-PL soak(INTR).IPF-CMP-do.PF-PFT
'The girl let the clothes soak.'
(e.g. by putting them in a bowl of water to wash them later).
 - b. *ruš.a lak-ar q'ěš.a-s q'.u-ne.*
girl(ERG) foot-PL soak.IPF-INF do.PF-PFT
'The girl's feet got wet.'
(e.g. she walked carelessly on the stepping stones)
- (71) Compound vs. periphrastic causative: dynamic verb, elicited
- a. *gada.ji dad.a-s pul žik'.a-r-q'.u-ne.*
son(ERG) father-DAT money find.IPF-CMP-do.PF-PFT
'The son managed to find money for his father.'
 - b. *gada.ji dad.a-s pul žik'.a-s q'.u-ne.*
son(ERG) father-DAT money find.IPF-INF do.PF-PFT
'The son helped his father to find the money.'
(e.g. by helping him to get in touch with rich people)
- (72) Transitive labile vs. periphrastic causative of the intransitive labile, elicited
- a. *zun ɻakʷ at'us.u-ne.*
I(ERG) light put.out.PF-PFT
'I turned off the lights.'
 - b. *sin-ar.i-k kerh.a-j wun ɻakʷ at'us.a-s q'.u-ne.*
wire-PL-SUB/CONT touch.IPF-CVBJ you.SG(ERG) light
put.out.IPF-INF do.PF-PFT
'Because you meddled with the wires, the light is gone.'
- (73) Lexical causative vs. periphrastic causative of the non-causative correlate, elicited
- a. *dad.a zun waxtuna kešk.i-ne.*
father(ERG) I on.time wake.up(TR).PF-PFT
'Father woke me up on time.'

- b. *dad.a-n haraj-ar.i šüniük:*
 father-GEN shout-PL(ERG) child
ket'.a-s q'.u-ne.
 wake.up(INTR).IPF-INF do.PF-PFT
 ‘Because of his father’s yelling the child woke up.’
- (74) Lexical causative vs. periphrastic causative of the non-causative correlate, elicited
- a. *baw.a alurq’.u šünük: zahad.u-ne.*
 mother(ERG) fall.PF child put.upright.PF-PFT
 ‘Mother helped the child (who fell) to get back to his feet.’
- b. *baw.a šünük:-ar.i-w žil.i-l-as bajš.a-s q’.u-ne.*
 mother(ERG) child-PL-APUD earth-SUP-ELAT stand.up.IPF-INF
 do.PF-PFT
 ‘Mother made the children get up from the floor.’
 (e.g. by starting to wash the floor).

The contrast between non-productive and productive periphrastic causatives is clearly related to the so-called direct vs. indirect (or contact vs. distant) causation distinction, as predicted by the approach in (Nedjalkov & Silnickij 1969: 32).

It is worth noting that in another Nakh-Daghestanian language, Godoberi, the direct vs. indirect contrast is observed between the transitive use of labile verbs and the morphological causative of intransitive labiles (Kibrik 1996) – cf. (72). The reason why what is expressed by labile vs. periphrastic causative distinction in Agul is expressed as labile vs. morphological causative in Godoberi is that morphological causativization in Godoberi, unlike Agul, is a productive pattern functionally parallel to Agul periphrastic causatives.

This opposition is considered to be basic for the semantic typology of causative constructions; the contrast between direct and indirect causation is probably a universal distinction of human language (Shibatani & Pardeshi 2001). At the same time, the categories of direct vs. indirect causation are examples of construct categories, i.e. they have no immediate semantic interpretations but represent clusters of features that may, in principle, vary from language to language. We need to investigate what exactly this opposition means in Agul, looking into examples in more detail.

In (67a) the Causer (the boy) is intentional and directly manipulates the Causee/Patient (clothes); in (67b) the result is not necessarily anticipated by the Causer and he does not physically deal with the Patient. In (68a) the Causer deals with the Causees (Patients) in a more direct way, probably bringing them to another room, leading them by hand or pushing them by force, but could also

mean asking them to leave; in (68b) the Causer merely asks or urges them to move to another room or more indirectly arranges so that they leave. In (69a) the Causer is present in the situation, he stops the Causee by barring his way, starting to talk to him or grabbing his hand; in (69b) the Causer is not necessarily present and makes the Causee remain outside by for instance not leaving him the key to the door. In (70a) the Causer puts the clothes into the water intentionally by a direct manipulation, as e.g. intending to wash them later; in (70b) the negative effect on the Causer makes it clear she simply did not prevent her feet from getting wet, probably by not being cautious enough. In (71a) the Causer tries and finds the money and gives it to his father; in (71b) he makes it possible for his father to collect the money, without dealing with the money directly. In (72a) the Causer turns the light off intentionally and in a regular, default way, using the switch; while in (72b) he achieves the same result unintentionally, as a side effect of his manipulations with the wiring. In (73a) the Causer wakes up the Causee, again, intentionally, by direct manipulation or address, in the regular way children are woken up; in (73b) he does so inadvertently, his yelling being caused by some other reasons. Finally, in (74a) the Causer intentionally puts a child upright or helps it to stand up from the floor or picks up the baby who fell down, by taking it in his hands or by the hand; in (74b) the mother probably did not have making the children stand up as her main goal, but her activities made it impossible for the children to stay seated on the floor.

Let us now generalize these distinctions.

- a. **Intentionality.** The causation is always intentional with non-productive causatives, while not so with periphrastic causatives: it may be intentional (68), (71), unintentional and not envisaged (69), (70) and even undesirable for the Causer (70); or allow both interpretations (72).
- b. **Causer's control after change of state.** Periphrastic causatives often describe situations where the Causer, after the change of state took place, does not control the situation and cannot (easily) revert to the previous state; non-productive causatives describe those situations where the Causer's control is preserved after the change of state: cf. (68), (74).
- c. **Manipulation.** Non-productive causation suggests a physical interaction, direct contact with the Causee, while periphrastic causation tends to designate non-contact situations, as creating intermediate situations for which the caused situation is but an effect. Typically for instance, with non-productive causatives the Causer changes the state of the Causee, while with periphrastic causatives he or she changes the world so that this leads to a change of the state of the Causee.

- d. **Default way of achieving the result.** If it is an intentional periphrastic causation, non-productive causation is often a more regular, direct and easy (default) way to achieve the needed result, cf. (73a) and (73b). Note that, although speech causation is not a physical manipulation, this interpretation may be available for non-productive causatives, as in (68a); most likely because speech interaction is the default way of interpersonal causation.
- e. **Single (vs. multiple) event.** Indirect causation in Agul clearly correlates with the multiple event model of indirect causation discussed in (Shibatani & Pardeshi 2001); unlike non-productive causatives that tend to consider the causing and caused situations as a single event, periphrastic causatives are perceived as a combination of two events. With periphrastic causatives the cause event often needs to be specified, while with non-productive causatives the cause is the default way to get the effect and is indivisible from the caused situation. Linguistically, this is reflected in explicit description of the cause by a converbial clause as in (67b), (72b) or action nominal as in (73b), hardly possible for non-productive causatives.

The distinctions are summed up in Table 9.

Table 9. Non-productive vs. periphrastic causatives: Typical components of the contrast

Non-productive causatives	Periphrastic causatives
Intentional	Unintentional, undesirable
Causer's control preserved after the change of state	No control after the change of state
Physical interaction with the Causee	No physical interaction with the Causee
Default way of causing the change of state or process	Non-default, specific way of causing the change of state or process
Single event, no need to make the cause explicit	Two events, often necessary to make the cause explicit

But even this cluster approach is not enough to explain some distinctions where non-productive causatives are far from being prototypical direct causations.

- (75) Direct vs. indirect causation: interpreting the opposition, elicited
- a. *wun guni kiisuq:a-r-q'u-ne.*
 you.SG(ERG) bread go.stale.IPF-CMP-do.PF-PFT
 ‘The bread went stale because of you.’ (e.g. you were supposed to clear the table but forgot to take away and cover the bread).
- b. *wun guni küsuq:a-s q'u-ne.*
 you.SG(ERG) bread go.stale.IPF-INF do.PF-PFT
 ‘Your bread went stale.’ (e.g. you did not finish it).

The process of going stale can only be initiated by an external Causer, but cannot be controlled by him or her (cf. dissolving discussed above); it is very rarely intentional or desirable; no direct manipulation with bread can be done to achieve this result faster than in the natural course of events. If leaving bread uncovered is to be considered as default way of going stale, then both (a) and (b) follow it. And it is not obvious that the event structure in (a) is simpler than it is in (b). Thus, none of the typical parameters discussed above allows us to distinguish between non-productive and productive causation in (75). Both seem to be instances of non-curative causation.¹⁹ And yet, this contrast uses the same formal opposition. The native speaker distinguishes the causatives in (75a) and (75b) by suggesting the Causer is respectively more vs. less responsible for what is happening; probably, in (75a) the Causer was responsible for removing the bread to keep it from going stale, while in (75b) he/she simply did not finish his/her bread. The distinction in (75a) and (75b) is however another manifestation of direct vs. indirect causation, adapted for the situational semantics of the verb.

Similarly, no direct interpretation is available for the non-productive causative in (76).

(76) Direct vs. indirect causation: interpreting the opposition, elicited

- a. *haraj, zun le kʷalas hat.u-ne χi*
oh I(ERG) that from.heart send.PF-PFT PTCL
'Oh, I forgot all about that!'
- b. *šünük:.i le düšüš za-s kʷalas fʷ.a-s q'.u-ne.*
child(ERG) that sorrow I-DAT from.heart go.IPF-INF do.PF-PFT
'Because of the child I forgot my troubles.' (e.g. by the child's being nice to me, or because the child fell ill and this problem took my mind away from my own troubles)
- c. *za-s le kʷalas š.u-ne.*
I-DAT that from.heart go.PF-PFT
'I forgot about that.'

The periphrastic causative in (b) is clearly an indirect causation. The question is, in what sense (a) is a more direct causation. With the lexical causative of 'forget', it is always the person who forgets that is conceptualized as the Causer, the Causer being also the Experiencer, as in (a). The Causer here has a more direct access to his own memory than an external Causee in (b), and this seems to be the way in which the category of direct causation is realized with this verb.

19. Note that the more prototypically direct interpretation is also available for (74a), as in a situation where someone takes some bread and leaves it to go stale intentionally, so as to get crumbs to feed birds. What is important, however, is that this is not the only interpretation.

The question is then why the causative is used in (a), in the first place. The difference from (c) is that in (a) the speaker assumes responsibility for forgetting, he admits he was supposed to and could have remembered about some important issue; unlike (c), he assumes some level of control over his memory.

Thus, the distinction between direct vs. indirect causation depends on the situation designated by the verb. Situations, even those that seem to be close to each other, may be compatible with prototypical direct causation to very different extents. Cf. for instance ‘fall asleep’ and ‘wake up’. It is harder to make someone fall asleep if he/she does not want to sleep than to wake up someone who doesn’t want to wake up. That is why direct causation with ‘wake up’ means that you shake someone or yell at him/her (i.e. direct manipulation), while direct causation with ‘fall asleep’ may mean lulling the child or singing to it, i.e. creating an environment that would induce sleep – something which would be typically indirect causation with other verbs. In other words, the non-productive causative chooses the more (or the most) direct causation, while the periphrastic causative is left with some kind of less direct causation than that chosen by the non-productive causative.

Some periphrastic causatives further distinguish two patterns of case marking for the Causee, discussed in Section 2.1.2: original (ergative for transitive Causees and nominative for intransitive Causees) vs. apudessive, or, more rarely, apudelative marking. Although the relative plausibility of the original vs. apud marking seems to be different for different verbs and different Causees, there are minimal contexts where both types of marking are available.

- (77) Original vs. apudessive Causee marking, elicited
 - a. *gi šünük:-ar.i wak:a-n jak: sut'.a-s q'.u-ne.*
that(ERG) child-PL(ERG) pig-GEN meat eat.IPF-INF do.PF-PFT
'He let children eat pork.' (e.g. he forgot that they are Muslims, or he neglected the dietary restrictions)
 - b. *gi šünük:-ar.i-w wak:a-n jak: sut'.a-s q'.u-ne.*
that(ERG) child-PL-APUD pig-GEN meat eat.IPF-INF do.PF-PFT
'He made children eat pork.' (e.g. although, being Muslims, they didn't want to)
- (78) Original vs. apudessive Causee marking, elicited
 - a. *q:unši χurur.i ze k:el fac.a-s q'.u-ne.*
neighbour(ERG) dog.PL(ERG) my lamb catch.IPF-INF do.PF-PFT
'Due to my neighbor's negligence the dogs attacked the lamb.' (e.g. he carelessly left them off their leads, or did not close the gate)
 - b. *q:unši χurur.i-w ze k:el fac.a-s q'.u-ne.*
neighbour(ERG) dog:PL-APUD my lamb catch.IPF-INF do.PF-PFT
'The neighbor set the dogs on the lamb.'

- (79) Original vs. apudessive Causee marking, elicited
- a. *dad.a ruš raz.una-k but'.a-s q'.u-ne.*
father(ERG) girl sun-SUB/CONT stand.IPF-INF do.PF-PFT
I. ‘Father let the girl stand in the sun.’
II. ‘Because of Father the girl had to stand in the sun.’ (e.g. he forgot to leave her the keys)
 - b. *dad.a ruš.a-w raz.una-k but'.a-s q'.u-ne.*
father(ERG) girl-APUD sun-SUB/CONT stand.IPF-INF do.PF-PFT
‘Dad made the girl stand in the sun.’ (e.g. as a punishment)
- (80) Original vs. apudessive Causee marking, elicited
- a. *ruš.a gada.ji k'arab alhat.a-s q'.u-ne.*
girl(ERG) boy(ERG) bone swallow.IPF-INF do.PF-PFT
‘Because of the girl the boy swallowed a bone.’
(e.g. she did not take bones out of the fish and he got one of them stuck in his throat)
 - b. *ruš.a gada.ji-w k'arab alhat.a-s q'.u-ne.*
girl(ERG) boy-APUD bone swallow.IPF-INF do.PF-PFT
‘The girl helped the boy swallow the bone.’ (e.g. she gave him some dried bread to help him swallow the bone stuck in his throat).

The semantic distinctions between the (a)'s and (b)'s are close to those considered above in that the Causers in the (a)'s at least tend to be less intentional than in the (b)'s. However, this contrast is more specific than between direct and indirect causation; in 2.1.2 we suggested that it focuses specifically on the Causee's control, which is higher in the (a)'s and lower in the (b)'s. The subtlety of contrast is aggravated by the fact that transitive and intransitive Causees behave differently.

For intransitive Causees, original marking is an unmarked option associated with a regular level of control, it does not add anything in particular to the causative meaning. An apud-intransitive Causee, on the contrary, does not control the situation the way he or she normally does. This marking is strongly associated with coercive causation; the Causee is forced to do what he/she does by the Causer, against his/her own will. In (79b), it is clear that the girl would prefer to avoid standing in the sun and run away, but has to do that because she is being punished. In (79a) standing in the sun is much more volitional – she could have chosen to go to a friend's, but she preferred to stay near home waiting for her father to get inside as soon as possible.

For transitive Causees apud is unmarked, while the use of ergative puts some focus on an increase in control. In (77a) it is absolutely excluded that the Causer forced the children to eat pork against their will, they ate the pork themselves. It is most likely an instance of non-curative causation. More control on behalf of the Causee means here less control and probably unintentionality on behalf of the

Causer, so that the whole causative situation is similar to a non-curative indirect causation. In (77b) unmarked case assignment is used. The coercive reading is quite probable, but not as obligatory as with an intransitive *apud* Causee; it could as well mean the Causer let the children eat pork or allowed them to do so. Out of context, the type of causation is not very clear here; this is a situation where a specifying question is possible (*He forced them to eat it, or what?*).

The example in (78) is very similar. In (78a), again, the Causees (dogs) act on their own account, the Causee just being too careless, while in (78b) the Causee orders the dogs to attack, sets them on the lamb, which is also the default way of causing dogs. The whole opposition is again, similar to that of indirect vs. direct causation.

The example (80) is different. It is true that the Causer, again, acts non-curatively in (80a). But, unlike other cases, the ergative Causee in (80a) acts unintentionally, his control is not full, which apparently contradicts our claim. However, cf. (80a) and (80b). In (80a) it is he who swallows a fish bone all by himself, while in (80b) the control has further decreased; he was unable, even intentionally, to swallow the fish bone that stuck in his throat and needed help that was provided by the girl (assistive causation).

In general, the marked, original marking for the transitive Causee gives the semantic effect that is indeed close to indirect causation. This is in conformity with our claim that *apud* vs. ergative marking deals with less or more control on behalf of the transitive Causee, respectively. Giving more control to the Causee the speaker naturally takes this control away from the Causer, especially making him or her unintentional, which naturally leads to indirectness, e.g. non-curative effects.

Another factor also corroborating the indirect reading of the ergative marking is the following. Transitive verbs do not have non-productive causatives, so the only variable parameter of the causative construction available to them is the marking of the Causee, which is then likely to be used as conveying the indirect vs. direct causation opposition, the fundamental semantic contrast in causatives. This factor alone however would be unable to explain the data.

First, this approach (decrease vs. increase of the Causee's control) explains why the marking is used this way and not vice versa (not by analogy with the distribution of control properties in original vs. special marking of the intransitive Causee but in exactly the opposite way). Second, it seems important that *apud* marking to some extent (though not obligatorily) implies coercion, which is by no means a necessary correlate of direct causation. And third, as was already mentioned, there is an apparent correlation between *apud* marking and control outside causative constructions, *apudelative* being used to mark involuntary Agent.

The model of the semantic contrast connected to the Causee marking is shown in Table 10. White and gray areas indicate original and apud marking, respectively.

Table 10. Semantic interpretation of the causee marking options

	Marked control increased	Unmarked regular control	Marked control decreased
Intransitive Causee		nominative	apud (coercive)
Transitive Causee	ergative (indirect, especially non-curative)	apud (coercive, but not necessarily)	

Thus, we argue that the semantic contrasts between different Causee case assignments, on the one hand, and between non-productive vs. periphrastic causatives, on the other, are not identical. The difference between the two choices becomes visible when we compare verbs for which all three choices of causativization are available – non-productive causative, periphrastic causative with original marking of the Causee and periphrastic ‘do’-causative with an apud-marked Causee. These contrasts are only available for intransitive verbs, because transitive verbs form no non-productive causatives. Cf. (81) and (82):

- (81) Triple contrast for ‘stand’, elicited

- a. *dad.a ruš rak.una-k but'.a-r-q'.u-ne.*
father(ERG) girl sun-SUB/CONT stand.IPF-CMP-do.PF-PFT
 - I. ‘Father put the girl in the sun.’
(e.g. to get her dry and warm after she fell in water)
 - II. ‘Father told the girl to stay outside in the sun’
(while he himself went inside)
- b. *dad.a ruš rak.una-k but'.a-s q'.u-ne.*
father(ERG) girl sun-SUB/CONT stand.IPF-INF do.PF-PFT

‘Because of the father, the daughter had to stay in the sun.’ (e.g. he locked the door and forgot to leave her the keys)
- c. *dad.a ruš.a-w rak.una-k but'.a-s q'.u-ne.*
father(ERG) girl-APUD sun-SUB/CONT stand.IPF-INF do.PF-PFT

‘Father made the girl stand in the sun.’ (as a punishment, or sent her to work when the sun was hot)

- (82) Triple contrast for ‘go’, elicited

- a. *dad.a gada dukan.i-s hat.u-ne.*
father(ERG) son shop-DAT send.PF-PFT

‘Father sent the boy to the shop’

- b. *dad.a gada dukan.i-s f^w.a-s q'.u-ne*
 father(ERG) boy shop-DAT go.IPF-INF do.PF-PFT
 I. ‘Father allowed the boy to go to the shop.’
 II. ‘Because of the father the boy had to go to the shop.’
 (e.g. the father would not let him drink, so that the son had to go
 to the shop himself)
 c. *dad.a gada.ji-w dukan.i-s f^w.a-s q'.u-ne*
 father(ERG) boy -APUD shop-DAT go.IPF-INF do.PF-PFT
 ‘Father ordered the boy to go to the shop.’

In (81a), the father could have put his small daughter under the sun to make her warm by a direct manipulation, or ordered her to stay out of the house. In (82a), all we know is that the son is told to go to the shop; this is a natural interpretation of a direct causation in combination with the situation of going to the shop. In both cases the control of the Causee is not in question in any way. In the (b)’s, the Causee is much more free in his/her choices, the Causer being unintentional or at least not directly interested in the result; these are typical instances of indirect causation. Finally, in the (c)’s, the focus is on the loss of the control by the Causee, and the causation is clearly coercive.

Table 11. Semantic interpretation of formal contrasts with different classes of predicates

		Productive (periphrastic)	Non-productive
		Original	Apud
P-intransitive	indirect		direct
A-intransitive	unmarked	decreased Causee control <i>coercive</i>	
Transitive	increased Causee control (indirect?) <i>non-curative, permissive</i>	unmarked (direct?) <i>coercive?</i>	

4. Overview and East Caucasian perspective

This section first summarizes the data presented in the paper, and then proceeds to a very brief characterization of Agul causatives against the typological background of causativization.

We have considered various aspects of causative formation in Agul, a Lezgic language of the East Caucasian family, focusing on formal properties

of causative constructions and semantic contrasts between different causatives of the same verb (when several causatives are available). There is only one fully productive model available for all verbs except for a few statives. This is the periphrastic ‘do’-causative, a combination of the infinitive of the lexical verb with the verb *aq'as* ‘do’ (Section 2.1). There are also several less productive models, including numerous causative ‘do’-compounds (combining an adjectival, nominative, stative or verbal stem and the verb *aq'as* ‘do’) considered in Section 2.2, over thirty labile verbs (Section 2.3) and a few lexical causatives (Section 2.4). All verbs that have non-productive causative correlates also form periphrastic causatives; the contrast between a non-productive causative and periphrastic ‘do’-causative clearly lies in the domain of direct vs. indirect causation (Section 3).

In periphrastic causatives, some of the Causees (animate Causees with A-intransitive and transitive verbs) may be marked either as they were marked in the original, non-causative construction (i.e. by nominative for intransitive Causees or ergative for transitive Causees) or by apudessive (or, more rarely, apudelative). Apud marking is more readily available to human and transitive Causees and is completely ungrammatical with inanimate or P-intransitive Causees or Experiencers (Sections 2.1.2 and 2.1.5). In addition, the default options are different in transitive vs. intransitive clauses. The contrast between original and apud marking is intertwined with indirect vs. direct causation opposition. Still, it seems that the primary factor behind the choice of the case is the degree of the Causee's control; it is higher with original marking and lower with apudessive marking, the latter often resulting in coercive causative semantics with intransitive Causees (Section 3).

‘Do’-causativization is probably the most widespread causativization mechanism, cross-linguistically. The most regular and productive causative pattern of Agul, periphrastic causativization, is also based on the use of *aq'as* ‘do’. The interesting point about ‘do’-causativization in Agul is that the same ‘do’-pattern is also present in the second most frequent model, that of ‘do’-compounds. It seems that grammaticalization of ‘do’ as a means of causativization occurred twice in Agul, apparently at different times. The two ‘do’-causatives have different morphosyntactic status. Periphrastic causatives are intermediate between two clauses and a monoclausal construction (Section 2.1.4); ‘do’-compounds are clearly monoclausal constructions, though, speaking in terms of morphological autonomy of lexical stems, they are rather ‘loose’ words (Section 2.2.5). Periphrastic causatives are treated differently by different East Caucasian languages; cf., on the one hand, Haspelmath (1993a: 358) who, although quoting some other points of view on Lezgian ‘do’-causatives, assigns them biclausal structure, or similar solution argued for in Kibrik et al. (1982) for Tabassaran

'let'-causatives, and, on the other hand, Lyutikova (2001: 384–386), who argues that Bagvalal 'let'-causatives are analytical rather than biclausal, or Kibrik et al. (1977: I, 98–107), who view lexical verb plus 'do' combinations in Archi as complex verbs.

The derivational pattern with pairs of inchoative ~ causative verbs produced from the same stem (Section 2.2), so widespread in Agul, occurs elsewhere in East Caucasian. These are numerous as 'do'/*kes* 'become' complex verbs in Archi (Kibrik et al. 1977: I, 98–107). Another, even more interesting parallel is with Tsez, where a structurally similar pattern of inchoative ~ causative derivation involves affixes which are not synchronically related to 'become' and 'do' verbs; similarly to Agul, in Tsez this derivation is typical of non-verbal stems (Comrie 2000: 366). A more distant analogy is *-li* or *-di* vs. *-ē* patterns in Bagvalal (Lyutikova 2001: 394).

There is a universal morphosyntactic dilemma of marking transitive Causees. On the one hand, there are two claimants to A-marking, the Causer and the Causee; on the other, there is a strong cross-linguistic tendency not to use agentive (or any other core argument) marking twice in the same clause. In this conflict, the Causer is always preferred by the languages of the world, so that the Causee has to come up with some other, construction-specific (constructional) marking. In the most general terms, the choice is usually between the experiential/beneficiary/goal (dative marking) and some clearly locative form. Agul, as well as most other East Caucasian languages, opts for the latter. The choice of a specific locative form, however, varies greatly across the languages of the family – *apud* (essive and elative) marking in Agul, cont-essive in Bagvalal (Lyutikova 2001), super-essive in Godoberi (Kibrik 1996), poss-essive in Tsez (Comrie 2000), or in-lative (illa-tive) in Icari Dargwa (Sumbatova & Mutalov 2003). *Apud* marking of the Causee in Agul tends to grammaticalize in this conflict-resolving function: it is an unmarked choice for transitive Causees. But it is also available for intransitive Causees. And it is this function which probably presents the most typologically controversial fact about causativization in Agul.

We suggest that *apud* vs. original (nominative for intransitive, ergative for transitive verbs) marking correlates with the degree of control the Causee exerts over the caused situation. Correlation between Causee marking and degree of the Causee's control is a well known phenomenon. However, Comrie (1981) notes that the Causee's demotion into oblique correlates with increasing his or her control over the causative situation, while *apud* Causee in Agul has less control than its alternative.

The apparent conflict disappears once we admit that the hierarchy nominative – dative – instrumental (control increases leftwards) is not a syntactic hierarchy of

accessibility, from core to peripheral case, with a semantic side effect on control, but is essentially role-based (see discussion in Kulikov 2001). Nominative marks a patientive role, dative marks a beneficiary/experiential role, and instrumental marks causer/agentive role. Movement from patient through beneficiary to cause goes together with increase in agentivity and thus correlates with increase in control. In Agul, changing from the default nominative marking to the marked *apud* option as a means to decrease control is also role-based, even if the direction is opposite. This use of *apud* may be associated with the role of involuntary Agent, a very non-agentive, control-lacking human role. It is probably not a coincidence that in Tsez, too, the marking of (transitive) Causees is identical to that of involuntary Agent marking (Comrie 2000: 367). With transitive verbs, changing from the default *apud* marking to the marked ergative option increases the Causee's agentivity and control because ergative is the most agentive marking available in the language.

The interplay between semantics and syntax (Section 2.1.5) can be accounted for by combining semantic and 'paradigm case' approaches to causative syntax (cf. Kulikov 2001). Why do they interact? Probably, the periphrastic causative is halfway from two clauses (semantic choice still available) to an auxiliary construction (paradigm case already at work).

Interestingly, North Tabassaran, a close relative of Agul, displays important differences from the causative profile of Agul. An analysis of agreement patterns leads (Kibrik et al. 1982) to consider the causative 'let'-constructions as biclausal (sentential complement) structures rather than causative auxiliary constructions. They also show that in North Tabassaran (Dyubek dialect), just as in Agul, there is a competition between the original (nominative/ergative) and constructional (dative) marking of the Causee. Formally, dative marking here is an analogue of Agul *apud* marking, but there its semantic interpretation is different. Kibrik et al. (1982) suggest that the Tabassaran original vs. dative marking opposition conveys the direct vs. indirect causation contrast, which in Agul is conveyed by non-productive vs. productive causative formation. Increasing the Causee's control and changing from direct to indirect causation in Agul are closely related, especially under causativization of transitive clauses, and it would be interesting to consider non-productive causatives in Tabassaran. The meaning of coercive causation to which *apud* marking often amounts in Agul, especially for intransitive Causees, in Bagvalal is reported to be associated with the productive periphrastic vs. less productive morphological causative opposition (which also conveys the direct vs. indirect causation contrast).

Even for a Daghestanian language, Agul is rich in P-labile verbs; so far, a higher number of labile verbs is reported only in Tabassaran. There are no

strong indications that labile verbs split into clearly distinct classes of primarily transitive and primarily intransitive labile verbs (as Kibrik 1996 argues for Godoberi); the situation is more similar to that of Bagvalal labile verbs (Lyutikova 2001:381–383). Only some verbs can be argued to prefer transitive or intransitive usage, based first of all on an analysis of their lexical meaning. Considering some situations that require an Agent but can still be labile in Agul, such as ‘kill’ or ‘give birth’, we extend the cognitive foundations of lability from situations that may be both agentless and agentive (as e.g. Haspelmath 1993b argues) to, more generally, situations where the Agent may either be present in the real-world situation but out of focus of its conceptualization by the speaker.

Typical of Daghestanian languages is special treatment of Experiencers. Indeed very few experiential verbs use transitive alignment, most Experiencers are marked by one of the spatial forms or by a dative, and in some languages by a dedicated case marker (affective). This tendency is the reason why studies of causativization in Daghestanian pay special attention to causativization of experiential verbs (Kibrik 1996; Comrie 2000:368; Lyutikova 2001:387–388). From the point of view of causativization, Agul experiential verbs group together with intransitives in at least two ways: some of them form non-productive causatives and they do not allow *apud* marking of the Causee (the latter property groups them more specifically with patientive intransitives).

Non-productive causativization of experiential verbs is further interesting in that it produces semantically irregular causatives, having recourse, at least in some of them, to the mechanism of Experiencer-to-Agent shift (2.5). The causative formation is thus interpreted as a transitivity increase process in a broader sense. The language inserts an additional agentive role into the situation, by either introducing a new agentive participant, the Causer (semantically regular causatives such as ‘eat’ ~ ‘feed’) or ascribing agentive properties to an already present human Experiencer (semantically irregular causative such as ‘find (occasionally)’ ~ ‘find (intentionally)').

Competition of non-productive vs. productive causatives of the same verb is typologically widespread. (Nedjalkov & Silnickij 1969) suggest that such competition, when it occurs in a language, typically amounts to the direct vs. indirect causation contrast, and this holds perfectly for Agul. An analysis of various interpretations of this contrast, however, shows very clearly that the notions of direct and indirect causation are construct typological categories rather than cognitive primitives and include many parameters; in Agul, the most prominent parameters are default means of causation, intentionality and multiple event model; cf. (Shibatani and Pardeshi 2001).

Abbreviations

ADV	adverbial	NOM	nominative (case)
APUD	localization: near the landmark	ORD	ordinal numeral
CMP	“empty” derivational suffix used in compounds; see Section 2.2.5	PART	(marked) participle
COND	conditional	PFT	perfective (verbal stem category)
COP	copula	PL	plural
CVB	converb	POST	localization: behind the landmark
DAT	dative (case)	PROH	prohibitive
ELAT	elative (direction)	PRS	present (tense marker)
ERG	ergative (case)	PTCL	particle
EXCL	exclusive (1PL pronoun)	PURP	purposive converb
GEN	genitive (case)	Q	question marker
IDEOPH	ideophone	QUOT	quotative
IMP	imperative	RE	refactive (verbal prefix)
IN	localization: inside hollow landmark	RES	resultative
INF	infinitive	PST	past (tense marker)
INTER	localization: inside homogeneous (compact) landmark	SG	singular
IPF	imperfective (verbal stem category)	SUB/CONT	localization: under or in contact with the landmark
JUSS	jussive	SUP	localization: on the landmark
LAT	lative (direction)	TEMP	temporal converb
NEG	negative	TERM	terminative converb
NMLZ	nominalizer used in adjectives, numerals and participles	TMR	temporal (case)

First person singular pronoun does not distinguish between ergative and nominative; the case is determined by the context and the label is given in parentheses: I(NOM) vs. I(ERG). The oblique stem marker is not glossed but delimited by a dot (case markers are added to the oblique stem). Ergative is formally identical to the oblique stem and is glossed following the same principle as glossing nominatives, e.g. father(ERG). Verbal stem markers are also separated by dots.

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