Causative constructions in Bezhta

© 2023   **Zaira M. Khalilova**

Institute of Linguistics, Russian Academy of Sciences, Moscow, Russia; zaira.khalilova@gmail.com

Abstract: The causative constructions of Bezhta, a Nakh-Daghestanian language, display a range of cross-linguistically unusual non-causative effects. Standard causativization in Bezhta is compatible with intransitive, transitive, and affective verbs. However, the addition of causative morphology does not always form a construction with a new argument. When the resulting valency does not reflect the productive pattern of causative derivation, the verb is lexicalized. Lexicalization of this kind is not only common in affective verbs, but also in transitive verbs. Along with the non-causative use of causative suffixes, Bezhta presents the use of a more complex doubled causative suffix in the sense of a simple causative suffix: although this is common in typological terms, it is rare in the area under discussion. The present paper takes the notion of transitivity as central for explaining the formation of causative constructions in the language.

Каузативные конструкции в бежтинском языке

Заира Маджидовна Халилова

Институт языкознания РАН, Москва, Россия; zaira.khalilova@gmail.com

Аннотация: В статье исследуются каузативные конструкции бежтинского языка (нахско-дагестанская семья), демонстрирующие непрототипические каузативные значения. Стандартная каузативная конструкция образуется от непереходных, переходных, аффективных глаголов. Однако в бежтинском языке представлены каузативные конструкции, которые не каузативизируют, а наделяют конструкцию определенными некаузативными семантическими эффектами, такими как лексикализация и агентивность. В бежтинском языке более сложный каузативный показатель используется в прототипических каузативных контекстах, тогда как простой каузативный показатель образует глаголы с лексикализованным значением.

1. Introduction

This paper describes non-prototypical causatives in Bezhta, one of the Tsezic languages of the Nakh-Daghestanian (a.k.a. East Caucasian) family. The Tsezic languages form a well-defined genetic group within Nakh-Daghestanian. They are spoken primarily in the west of the Republic of Daghestan in the Russian Federation, close to the border with Georgia, although there are also some recent settlements in lowland Daghestan and across the border in Georgia and Azerbaijan. Traditionally, five individual Tsezic languages are recognized, divided into two branches: West Tsezic (Khwarshi, Tsez, and Hinuq), and East Tsezic (Bezhta and Hunzib).

The Tsezic languages are mainly, though not rigidly, verb-final. Their nominal systems distinguish four or five genders (noun classes). The syntactic and/or semantic role of noun phrases in the clause is indicated primarily by case marking. In all languages of the group, some verbs index the gender and number of one of their arguments, nearly always the one in the absolutive case; in general, only (but not quite all) vowel-initial verbs show such agreement by means of prefixes, while in East Tsezic some verbs additionally index number or gender-number distinctions by means of internal alternations. The verbal morphology is rich in finite and non-finite forms. The most prominent valency-changing operations are antipassive [Comrie et al. 2021] and causative constructions.

The causative construction is taken to involve two components: a causing subevent and a resulting situation [Shibatani (ed.) 1976; Comrie 1989; Haspelmath 2017]. The causative construction is typically described as a valency-increasing device, which adds an Agent to the valency of the underlying verb [Comrie 1989; Kholodovich (ed.) 1969]. Causativization is also defined as involving the specification of an additional argument on a basic clause — a Causer, who initiates or controls the activity [Dixon 2000: 30]. In this paper, I adopt a basic definition whereby prototypical causatives involve a morphological process or lexical verb that has an abstract, causative meaning. Thus, the prototypical causative construction in Bezhta contains a verb that is marked with causative morphology, which increases the verbal valency by one, i.e., adds a new A (agentive) argument, the causer, to the basic clause: an intransitive clause becomes a two-argument transitive construction, while a transitive clause becomes a three-argument transitive construction.

There are several causativizing devices in Bezhta: morphological causatives, serial causatives, lexical causatives, and periphrastic causatives are all found, covering all prototypical causative functions.

My goal in this paper is to explain the distribution of causative suffixes as well as to illustrate non-causative effects in Bezhta causatives. Although Bezhta grammar is relatively well investigated, causative constructions remain understudied: existing papers on causatives mostly cover the morphology of causative constructions [Kibrik, Testelets 2004; Khalilova 2017], case assignment [Comrie et al. 2015], and semantics (mostly causatives of affective verbs) [Comrie 2001]. To add to the findings of these studies, I show here that causative derivation does not always add a new argument, but can instead produce non-causative effects, and that the use of a more complex causative marker (the recursive causative suffix, glossed as CAUS2) does not necessarily give rise to a more complex causative construction. The present paper describes for the first time the non-causative effects and non-canonical uses found in Bezhta.

The paper attempts to contribute to the discussion on causative constructions using data from a less-described minority Nakh-Daghestanian language, focusing on crosslinguistically unusual effects of causativization and on form–meaning mismatches in causative constructions.

The Bezhta data illustrated here is mostly drawn from a text corpus. Though corpus and text examples predominate [Khalilov 2020], there are also a few simple elicited examples. The data represents the Bezhta proper dialect (the dialect of the village of Bezhta itself). The paper is organized as follows. Section 2 gives an overview of all causative devices in Bezhta. Section 3 deals with causative formation from intransitive, affective, transitive, and labile verbs. Non-causative effects are illustrated in Section 4. An outline of the causative constructions presented comes in Section 5. The discussion in Section 6 sums up the paper.

2. Overview of causative formation in Bezhta

According to the classification given in Nichols et al. [2004], the Nakh-Daghestanian languages are 'transitivizing', i.e., verbal roots are typically intransitive with derived causative counterparts. Nakh-Daghestanian languages have various preferred ways of expressing causativization: morphological causatives (Tsezic, Andic, Dargwa languages), causative constructions with 'do' (Avar, Lak, Tsezic, Lezgic languages), and periphrastic causative constructions of other kinds (Tsezic, Andic languages).

Bezhta has several ways to express causative meaning — with affixes, causative serial verb constructions, compound causative verbs, and periphrastic causative constructions. The most productive means of causative formation are the morphological causatives, which can be further divided into 'causative' and 'equipollent' types: the former is productive and iterative, while the latter is more lexicalized and cannot be iterated. There are also lexical or suppletive causatives, as in English 'die' vs. 'kill'. Bezhta also has verb pairs, which are derived from a single adverbial-adjectival stem: the suffix -k'- derives transitive verbs alongside intransitives in -ł- based on the same stem, and taken together these represent inchoative-causative pairs. There are also pairs of compound verbs, formed with the intransitive light verb 'happen, become' and the transitive light verb 'do', resulting in inchoatives and causatives respectively.

In terms of the classification suggested by Comrie [1989] and Haspelmath [1993][1], some Bezhta causative constructions belong to the 'causative' subtype, where the causative is derived from the intransitive, and others belong to the 'equipollent' subtype, where both inchoative and causative are derived from the same base. Bezhta has various kinds of causatives (Table 1).

Table 1

Bezhta causative constructions

MORPHOLOGICAL CAUSATIVES		CAUSATIVE SERIAL VERB CONSTRUCTIONS		COMPOUND VERBS (EQUIPOLLENT SUBTYPE)	PERIPHRASTIC CAUSATIVES (CAUSATIVE SUBTYPE)
causative subtype	equipollent subtype	causative subtype	equipollent subtype		
-(i)l, -(i)ll	causative in -k'- / inchoative in -ł-	gul- 'put'	causative with -e^{n}j- 'send' / inchoative with -e$^n\lambda$'e- 'go'	causative with -o:- 'do' / inchoative with -aq- 'happen'	t'amzi-o:- 'force'
		tok'- 'make, force'			

There are serial[2] causatives, which fall into 'causative' and 'equipollent' subtypes. Serial causatives belonging to the 'causative' subtype are derived only from antipassive forms of onomatopoetic unergative verbs, as in (1), and a few intransitive verbs, as in (2). Serial causatives of the 'equipollent' subtype are derived by combining the same base with the intransitive -e$^n\lambda$'e- 'go' and the transitive -e^{n}j- 'send', e.g., -u^{n}co-j-e$^n\lambda$'e 'melt' [ABS] and -u^{n}co-j-e^{n}j- 'melt' [ERG, ABS]).

(1)   ʁäʔλ̌ö 'caw'
    a. ʁädi   ʁäʔλ̌ö-š
        raven.ERG caw-PRS
        'The raven is cawing.'

---

[1] Note that the terms 'causative' and 'equipollent' in quotes are employed in the sense of Haspelmath's [1993] typology, although Haspelmath himself acknowledges that there are problems with this use of 'causative' for one type, since it is also the cover term for the whole phenomenon.

[2] The terms 'serial verb' and 'serialization' are not common in scholarship on the Nakh-Daghestanian languages. However, for the Bezhta serial verb constructions they are introduced in Khalilova [2022].

b. ʁäde   ʁäʔ-dä-š
raven[3]   caw-ANTIP-PRS

'The raven is cawing.'

c. öždi   ʁäde   ʁäʔ-dä-gul-ca
boy.ERG   raven(IV)   caw-ANTIP-put\IV-PRS

'The boy makes the raven caw.'

(2)   *-ija-* 'cry' [Khalilova 2022: 98]
a. kɨd   j-ija-s
girl(II)   II-cry-PRS

'The girl cries.'

b. öždi   kɨd   j-ija-gil-ca
boy.ERG   girl(II)   II-cry-put\II-PRS

'The boy makes the girl cry.'

Compound causatives, also known as light verb constructions, which are of the equipollent type only, consist of two parts: the lexical verb, which is a borrowing from Avar or Russian, and a light verb, which is either the intransitive *-aq-* 'happen, become' or the transitive *-oˑ-* 'do'.[4]

(3)   *t'ubazi -aq-* / *t'ubazi -oˑ-* 'finish, accomplish'
a. jak'iʔis   murad   t'ubazi   b-aq-ijo
heart.IN.ABL   desire(III)   finish   III-happen-PST

'(His) heart's desire was realized.'

b. q'imatab   q'aʔidaliʔ   qohdaˑɬi=na   t'ubazi   j-oh-na   ∅-onq'o-s
excellent   way.IN   study.MSD(IV)=ENCL   finish   IV-do-CVB   I-come-PRS
äli   äλäʔ
Ali(I)   village.IN

'Ali returns to the village after finishing his studies excellently.'

The periphrastic causatives, which are of the causative subtype only, consist of the matrix borrowed compound verb *t'amzi -oˑ-* 'make, instigate, set against' and its infinitival complement.

(4)   kibba   ожо   jiλa   ∅-eⁿλ'-al   t'amzi   ∅-oˑ-jo
girl.ERG   boy(I)   fast   I-go-INF   force   I-do-PST

'The girl made the boy go fast.'

Morphological causatives, which are the most productive derivation, also come in 'equipollent' and 'causative' subtypes. In the equipollent morphological causatives, inchoative and causative are derived from the same base, with the corresponding suffixes *-ɬ-* and *-k'-*, as in (5).

(5)   *taba-ɬ* 'be tired' / *taba-k'* 'make tired'
a. öⁿt'ölä-nä   taba-ɬ-na   ∅-aⁿko   ∅-eⁿλ'e-na
dig-CVB   tired-INCH-CVB   I-down   I-go-CVB

'After digging, I became tired and then I rested.'

b. xisλ'abeqqas   do=na   taba-k'-na,   do=na   mučit   j-eh-na   naˑ-d
morning.day.ABL   1SG=ENCL   tired-CAUS-CVB   1SG=ENCL   torture   II-send-CVB   where-Q

---

[3] Absolutive case forms of nouns are not marked in the glosses; thus, hereinafter, nouns with no gloss for case should be interpreted as absolutive.

[4] Avar (of the Antsukh dialect) and Russian verbs are borrowed in their infinitive forms. Avar intransitive predicates when borrowed have intransitive and transitive counterparts in Bezhta (example 2), whereas Avar transitive predicates have only transitive counterparts. The majority of verbal borrowings are Avar intransitive verbs.

∅-eče-na   zuq'oː
ɪ-stay-ᴄᴠʙ   be.ᴘsᴛ

    'You made me tired from the early morning; you tortured me, where have you been?'

    In morphological causatives of the 'causative' subtype, the causative is derived from the intransitive by means of the productive suffix *-(i)l/-(i)ll*.[5] The rest of the paper is devoted to morphological causatives of the 'causative' subtype (i.e., those causatives that are formed by means of affixal derivation) as they exhibit the most challenging behavior in typological terms.

    Based on formal and semantic features, Bezhta causatives can be divided into the following types: those which are causatives both formally and semantically; those which are causatives formally but not semantically; those which are causatives semantically but not formally; fossilized causatives.

    Formal and semantic causatives are those whose formal marking with a causative suffix derives a proper causative construction: this is a very productive process in the language (cf. Section 3).

    Formal but not semantic causatives are those verbs for which the formal marking with the causative does not necessarily produce causative meaning (cf. Section 4). Such non-prototypical causative meanings appear even if a verb is formally marked with causative morphology, as described in Section 4. For example, the causative suffix leads to agentivization with some affective verbs, e.g., the formal causative of 'love' has the meaning 'hug, cuddle'.

    Fossilized causatives are verbs that appear to be derived with causative morphology, but are not causatives semantically. There are few such fossilized causative verbs in the language. The two transitive verbs *-oχol-* 'hang' and *-äλel-* 'beat, hit' have *-l* as their final consonant, but these verbal roots cannot be decomposed as there are no corresponding intransitives *-oχo-* and *-äλe-*. However, the 'missing' roots are in fact attested in certain derived forms accompanying these two verbs, namely accidental-potential *-oxo-jc'-* 'hang accidentally' and potential *-äλe-jł-* 'be able to beat, hit'. Additionally, the Tladal dialect of Bezhta does possess both intransitive and transitive variants of 'hang', which are *-oχo-* and *-oχol-* respectively.

    Semantic (or lexical) but not formal causatives are verbs that are not formally marked with causative morphology. Such lexical causatives come as suppletive verbal pairs with a straightforward inchoative-causative meaning. In Bezhta there is only one reasonably clear lexical causative pair, namely the suppletive verbs *-uʁo-* 'die' and *-iλ'e-* 'kill' (cf. Sections 3.1 and 3.2).

3. Single and double causative constructions

3.1. Causatives from intransitive and affective verbs

    Causatives of intransitive verbs introduce a new argument, an Agent in the ergative case, which can be inanimate or animate. The causative 1 suffix *-l-* occurs after vowel-final verbal stems, and the variant *-il-* with the epenthetic vowel *i* occurs after consonant-final stems (cf. Appendix).

    Causative morphology can be applied to agentive and patientive intransitive verbs. The S argument in an agentive intransitive clause becomes the causer in the resulting transitive clause and the new argument corresponds to the Patient. See example (6) with intransitive clause 'soldiers jump / attack' and transitive clause 'he makes the knife jump', the latter expressing indirect causation.

---

[5] See Appendix for the distribution of the causative suffixes and for phonological processes relevant to causative morphology.

(6)   *-ogic'-* 'jump'

    a. qona   hazaj   askar=na   žü=nä   ∅-ogic-ca   huli   k'aχetija-ʔlaλ'a:
       twenty thousand army=ENCL self=ENCL I-jump-PRS 3SG.ABS Kakheti-IN.TRANSL
       'He and the army of twenty thousand (soldiers) attack Kakheti.' (lit. 'jump into Kakheti')

    b. sidi   ko:-λ'a   k'obala=na b-äλ'en-na, ko:ʔos   c'it'   **j-ogic'-il-ca**
       one.ERG hand-SUP stick(III)=ENCL III-hit-CVB hand.IN.ABL knife(IV) IV-jump-CAUS1-PRS
       'Hitting the hand with the stick, one man makes the knife jump from the hand.'

The S argument in the patientive intransitive clause corresponds to the Patient argument in the transitive clause and the newly introduced argument corresponds to the Causer in the ergative case. See example (7) with intransitive clause 'become clean' and transitive clause 'make clean', (8) with intransitive 'burn' and transitive 'make burn'.

(7)   *-aⁿco-* 'become clean'

    a. łi:d=na   niza-na   ∅-aⁿca-a:hijo   χosda:jadojs
       water.INS=ENCL wash-CVB I-clean-REM.PST scabies.APUD.ABL
       'Washing with water, he cleanses himself of the scabies.'

    b. λ'uqijo mot'o häj-dä: **j-a\<a\>co-l-łol**   äⁿjdä: m-oq'o-s
       beautiful face(III) eye-PL NHPL-clean\<PL\>-CAUS1-IMM in.front III-come-PRS
       'When she rubs her eyes, a nice face appears.'

(8)   *-ek'e-* 'burn (intr.)'

    a. q'aj   λ'odo-s   b-ożo-l-łol,   ∅-ek'e-na iłna ∅-uʁo-na,
       thing(IV) above-ABL III-end-CAUS1-IMM I-burn-CVB six I-die-CVB
       hoⁿs   č'ago   m-i\<ja\>qo-s
       one   alive   HPL-find\<PL\>-NEG.PST
       'As soon as they removed things, they found six people burnt and no one alive.'

    b. c'o=na   **j-ek'e-n-na**   b-oχon-na   c'oλ'a šag=na
       fire(IV)=ENCL IV-burn-CAUS1-CVB III-hang-CVB fire.SUP pot(III)=ENCL
       b-eče-š   hollo:l
       HPL-be-PRS 3PL.ABS
       'Having lit the fire [= having made the fire burn], they put the pot on the fire.'

Bezhta allows an inanimate causer not only in exterior force constructions (e.g., 'the wind broke the tree') but also in causative constructions, e.g., (9b) features an inanimate Agent 'disease' in the ergative.

(9)   *k'ok'o-* 'ache'

    a. sidda-λ'a   maʁo   k'ok'o-s
       one.OBL-SUP body ache-PRS
       '(My) body aches on one side ⟨…⟩.'

    b. unti-la   **k'ok'o-l-lo**   maʁo
       disease-ERG ache-CAUS1-PST body
       'The disease made the body ache.'

In the case of a polysemous intransitive verb, all of its meanings are available to be causativized. For example, the intransitive verb *-üⁿχö-* 'turn, turn into smth, get out' has causative counterparts meaning 'turn (something)' and 'see off', as in (10b, c). The causative of *-üⁿχö-* can additionally have the extended meaning 'put', as in (10d).

(10)   *-üⁿχö-* 'turn (intr.)' > 'turn (tr.)'

    a. q'ilmaliłda:=na ∅-üⁿχö-nä
       south.DIR=ENCL I-turn-CVB
       'Turning (himself) to the south…'

b. q'ilmaliłda: miqa:=na **m-üχö-n-nä**
south.DIR back(III)=ENCL III-turn-CAUS1-CVB
'Turning his back to the south…'

c. häži=na ∅-oh-na ile **∅-üⁿχö-l-äl** dibo-la biλo-ʁa
pilgrim(I)=ENCL I-do-CVB 1PL.ERG I-turn-CAUS1-INF 2SG-GEN2 house-APUD
'Making him a pilgrim, we saw him off home.' (literally 'made him turn home')

d. do χeχłilaλ'a böʔö-li-ʔ eⁿdo **j-üⁿχö-l-lö**
1SG.ERG quickly bag-OBL-IN inside IV-turn-CAUS1-PST
'I quickly put it (the meat) inside the bag.' (not 'made the meat turn')

The intransitive verb *-uʁo-* has several meanings 'die' and 'get out of order, come to an end, end'. The morphological causative of *-uʁo-* derives a transitive construction with either inanimate or animate Patients: with the former, the verb denotes 'get out of order, come to an end, end', as in (11b, c), and with the latter, it denotes indirect causation with the meaning 'make someone die' (11d).

(11) a. haⁿ j-uʁo-jo hugi beta bejten
well IV-die-PST that then wedding(IV)
'Well, that wedding was a failure!'

b. želałaʔ wahli žo **j-uʁo-l-al** j-aq-aʔas
this.time this thing(IV) IV-die-CAUS1-INF IV-can-NEG.PRS
'This time you cannot ruin this thing (the wedding).'

c. mi sud saʔat **b-uʁo-l-lo**
2SG.ERG why clock(III) III-die-CAUS1-PST
'Why did you break the clock?'

d. do mi **∅-uʁo-l-ca**!
1SG.ERG 2SG.ABS I-die-CAUS1-PRS
'I will kill you (male)!' (indirect causation)

Bezhta affective verbs are easily causativized. There are both simple and compound affective verbs: the former are all indigenous, and the latter are based on loanwords. Simple affective verbs derive the causative by means of the suffix *-l*, whereas compound affective verbs are causativized by changing the intransitive light verb 'become' to transitive 'do'[6], e.g., *bidži -aq-* 'understand' and *bidži -o:-* 'make understand'. As the causative pattern for compound affective verbs is quite straightforward, below only simple affective verbs are considered. As a rule, the standard causative construction based on an affective verb results in a three-argument transitive construction. However, some affective verbs show non-standard effects under causativization, to be discussed in Section 4.

In the three-argument transitive construction from affective verbs, a new argument in the ergative case is added while the lative Experiencer and the absolutive Stimulus keep their cases. The relevant affective verbs are *č'ał-* 'feel', *čoq-* 'hear, be informed', *tuq-* 'hear', *-ega-* 'see', as in (12).

(12) *-ega-* 'see'
a. hogco-l raład b-ega:-jo
3SG.OBL-LAT sea(III) III-see-PST
'He saw the sea.'

b. hogco kibba-l raład **b-ega-l-ca**
3SG.ERG girl.OBL-LAT sea(III) III-see-CAUS1-PRS
'He shows the sea to the girl.'

---

[6] However, not all compound affective verbs have an equipollent transitive/causative pair, e.g., *häžät -aq-* 'need', *surzi -aq-* 'be annoyed'.

Another causative suffix *-ll*, which formally and diachronically looks like a doubled causative 1 suffix, is used with intransitive and affective verbs. The causative 2 suffix with patientive and agentive intransitive verbs derives an extended transitive construction introducing a Causee in the instrumental case. Example (13c) is a three-argument transitive construction based on the patientive intransitive verb 'break'.

(13)   a. χät'ä   b-iše-š
           plate(III)   III-break-PRS
           'The plate breaks.'

         b. kibba   χät'ä   **b-iše-l-ca**
           girl.ERG   plate(III)   III-break-CAUS1-PRS
           'The girl breaks the plate.'

         c. kibba   ijo-d   χät'ä   **b-iše-ll-is**
           girl.ERG   mother-INS   plate(III)   III-break-CAUS2-PRS
           'The girl makes her mother break the plate.'

The causative 2 suffix attached to an affective verb derives an extended transitive construction.

(14)   *-ega-* 'see'
         a. hogco-l   raład   b-egaː-jo
           3SG.OBL-LAT   sea(III)   III-see-PST
           'He saw the sea.'

         b. hogco   kibba-l   raład   **b-ega-l-ca**
           3SG.ERG   girl.OBL-LAT   sea(III)   III-see-CAUS1-PRS
           'He shows the sea to the girl.'

         c. hogco   kibba-l   öždid   raład   **b-ega-ll-ijo**
           3SG.ERG   girl.OBL-ERG   boy.INS   sea(III)   III-see-CAUS2-PST
           'He made the boy show the sea to the girl.'

3.2. Causatives from transitive verbs

Causative derivation with transitive verbs shows typologically unusual behavior. Transitive verbs can only be causativized with the help of the causative 2 suffix, i.e., the causative 2 suffix here corresponds to the meaning of a causative 1 suffix elsewhere. The causative 2 suffix with transitive verbs adds a new argument to the verbal valency. Thus, the causative 2 suffix *-(i)ll-* from non-extended transitive verbs derives an extended transitive construction with the Causer in the ergative case, the Causee in the instrumental case, and the Patient in the absolutive.

(15)   *-oː-* 'do'
         a. ijo   janq'o=na   j-oh-na,   b-es-aːhijo
           mother.ERG   soup(IV)=ENCL   IV-do-CVB   HPL-eat-REM.PST
           'When the mother cooked the soup, (we) ate.'

         b. dibija-d   łi-λ'a   döʔä=nä   **b-oj-ill-ina,**
           mullah-INS   water-SUP   prayer(III)=ENCL   III-do-CAUS2-CVB
           döʔä-li-la   łiː-d   niza-aːhijo   läq-lä
           prayer-OBL-GEN2   water.OBL-INS   wash-REM.PST   wound-PL
           'Making the mullah say a prayer over the water, (they) washed their wounds with the water of prayer.'

(16) hogo:ło   hoggo:l   maždik-la   **j-u\<wa>ʁo-l-lo,**
 that.time those   mosque-PL   NHPL-destroy\<PL>-CAUS1-PST

 kak-din   **b-oj-ll-eʔeš,**   šünä-λ'ä   q'ulhu
 prayer-religion(III) III-do-CAUS2-NEG.PST grave-SUP praying(III)

 b-oj-ll-eʔeš   q'urʔan-žo   **qoj-ll-eʔeš**
 III-do-CAUS2-NEG.PST Koran-thing read-CAUS2-NEG.PST

 'At that time they destroyed mosques, they did not allow (us) to perform our religion, they did not allow (us) to say prayers at the graveside, they did not allow (us) to read the Koran.'

(17) do   niso-jo   lamus   gej   du:-d=na
 1SG.ERG say-PST   shame   be.PRS 2SG.OBL-INS=ENCL

 ∅-eʁak'-ill-ina   hoλoʔ   ∅-ec-al
 I-take.care-CAUS2-CVB here   I-stay-INF

 'I said, it is a shame to stay here and let you take care of me.'

(18) xisaλ'a   q'ajλ'a-zu   qunna-λ'a   c'ixoda:laλ'a: got'
 in.morning early-FOC   farm-SUP   far.away.TRANSL smoke(III)

 b-ega-ł   λija\<ba>xo-s   iⁿq-la   **b-oʁo-ll-al**
 III-see-ANTR.CVB go\<PL>-PRS   bandit-PL HPL-feed-CAUS2-INF

 'When early in the morning they saw smoke from farms, the bandits went (there) to be fed.'

(19) k'et'a   χaballid,   m-üχö\<m>äχeja-d,   jak'o=na
 good   story.INS   HPL-behave.PTCP.OBL\<HPL>-INS heart(IV)=ENCL

 hideʔ   **j-eⁿj-ill-ina**
 self.PL.IN IV-send-CAUS2-CVB

 '(They) made them take their side by means of good words and kind behavior.' (literally, made them send their heart into themselves)

It is interesting to note that Bezhta exhibits a causee-instrument syncretism, unlike closely related languages. Bezhta diverges from the other languages in its group in that the Causee is marked with a non-spatial case, namely the instrumental, whereas in other Tsezic languages the Causee is marked with the ad-essive case. Thus the instrumental case in Bezhta is used to mark the Instrument in extended transitive constructions but also the Causee in causative constructions. Two identically marked arguments in a clause are differentiated by animacy, i.e., a prototypical Instrument argument is inanimate, while a prototypical Causee is animate. For example, the Causee–Instrument syncretism can be illustrated with the three-place verb *-üč'-* 'cut', which entails the use of an Instrument. Here the semantic roles of Instrument and Causee, both marked with the instrumental suffix *-d*, are distinguished by animacy: the animate Causee is *kibbad* 'girl' and the inanimate Instrument is *c'it'ad* 'with the knife'.

(20) *-üč'-* 'cut'
 a. öždi   c'it'ad   bäbä   b-üč'-ijo
  boy.ERG knife.INS bread(III) III-cut-PST
  'The boy cut the bread with the knife.'

 b. öždi   kibbad   bäbä   c'it'ad   **b-üč'-ill-ijo**
  boy.ERG girl.INS bread(III) knife.INS III-cut-CAUS2-PST
  'The boy made the girl cut the bread with the knife.'

Causatives from extended transitive verbs derive a construction with three and potentially even more arguments: the Causer, the Causee, the Patient, and other possible oblique adjuncts, such as Goal, Instrument, Beneficiary, Recipient, Source. Thus, verbs with four arguments are all derived causatives. Some of these arguments are easily omitted, as in (21b) where the Agent and the Instrument are absent.

(21) *č'äλe-* 'throw'

  a. öždi   łi   gedo-λ'a   č'äλe-š
     boy.ERG   water   cat-SUP   throw-PRS
    'The boy pours the water on the cat.'

  b. kibba   öždi-d   łi   gedo-λ'a   **č'äλe-ll-is**
     girl.ERG   boy.OBL-INS   water   cat-SUP   throw-CAUS2-PRS
    'The girl makes the boy pour the water on the cat.'

(22) *-i^{n}so-* 'sell'

  a. λijo   hiχło-jo   kel-li-s   žo   bet'erhal-li
     under   leave-PST.PTCP   food-OBL-GEN1   thing(IV)   host-ERG
    j-i^{n}so-s   bazaj-ja-ʔ
    IV-sell-PRS   market-OBL-IN
    'The master sells the leftovers in the market.'

  b. hogco   suk'o   malla-nasrudin-i-d   peč=na
     3SG.OBL   man.ERG   Malla-Nasrudin-OBL-INS   oven(IV)=ENCL
    j-i^{n}so-ll-ina   gej
    IV-sell-CAUS2-CVB   be.PRS
    'That man made Malla-Nasrudin sell the oven.'

(23) *guʔ-* 'pour'

  a. hollo   läq-li-λ   ca^n guʔ-na   šöš-ä:hijo
     3PL.ERG   wound-OBL-SUB   salt   pour-CVB   bandage-REM.PST
    'They put some salt on their wounds and bandaged (them).'

  b. tüšmäl-li-l   ʁuri   **guʔ-ill-al**   nuc'o-s
     enemy-OBL-LAT   destruction   pour-CAUS2-INF   must-PRS
    '(I) have to destroy the enemy.' (lit. 'pour destruction to the enemy')

The verb *-iλ'e-* 'kill' is a bivalent transitive verb with Agent and Patient (24a), but additionally the Instrument argument can also be expressed, as in (24b).

(24) *-iλ'e-* 'kill'

  a. hollo   ädäm-lä   b-i\<ja>λ'e-š   zuq'o:
     3PL.ERG   man-PL   HPL-kill\<PL>-PRS   be.PST
    'They were killing people.'

  b. hollo   do   o^{n}gi-d   ∅-iλ'e-š
     3PL.ERG   1SG.ABS   axe.OBL-INS   I-kill-PRS
    'They will kill me with an axe.'

The morphological causative of *-iλ'e-* 'kill' derives a construction with an animate Causee and an inanimate instrument argument, which are both expressed with the instrumental case. Given that the Causee and the Instrument argument are both in the instrumental case, one of the two is often omitted. Examples with both Causee and Instrument arguments are hardly found in the text corpus. Such omission of causees / oblique objects is quite common crosslinguistically [Comrie 1989: 175]. In example (25), the Causer is in the ergative, the Patient is in the absolutive, the Causee is in the instrumental, and the Instrument argument is not expressed.

(25) illas=na   hälikatab-la   öläb-lä   okko-mesed-li-dda:la
     1PL.GEN1=ENCL   malicious-PL   young-PL.ERG   money-gold-OBL-CAUSE
    qazaq-ba:-d   **b-i\<ja>iλ'e-ll-is**   illas   ädäm-lä
    Georgian-PL-INS   HPL-kill\<PL>-CAUS2-PRS   1PL.GEN1   man-PL
    'Our malicious young people make the Georgians kill our people for money and gold.'

In addition to such prototypical causation, a few transitive verbs allow causative 1 and causative 2 suffixes resulting in non-causative verbs (see Section 4).

Causative of transitive verbs

Transitive	Causative 1	Causative 2
č'äλe- 'throw, pour'	—	*č'äλe-ll*
-oχ- 'buy, keep'	—	*-oχ-ill*
t'ut'- 'shoot, throw'	—	*t'ut'-ill*
-eže- 'take, lead'	—	*-eže-ll* 'take, lead' [ERG, ABS]
-aʁo- 'take (off)'	—	*-aʁo-ll* 'play', 'shoot', 'sing' [ERG, ABS] *-aʁo-ll* 'climb' [ABS]
-üč'- 'cut'	*-üč'-il* 'wean (from breastfeeding)', 'define' [ERG, ABS]	*-üč'-ill* 'make cut' [ERG, INS, ABS]
niso- 'say'	*niso-l* 'ask' [ERG, POSS, ABS]	*niso-ll* 'make say' [ERG, POSS, INS, ABS]

3.3. Causatives from labile verbs

Bezhta is not rich in labile verbs, unlike, for example, some Lezgic languages. However, a few labile verbs are found: they are of the Patient-preserving type, with an intransitive S argument corresponding to a transitive P argument (S=P). There are at least three labile verbs, namely *hele-* 'cook', *χüžö-* 'change', and *ziza-* 'fry'. Bezhta labile verbs express autonomous situations, in which the Agent initiates the process and then lets it proceed on its own [Haspelmath 2017].

These labile verbs simultaneously possess some features proper to intransitives and others proper to transitives. Like intransitives, these labile verbs use the bare verb stem as the imperative, whereas transitive verbs attach a dedicated imperative suffix *-a*. But like transitive verbs, labile verbs use the more complex causative suffix in forming the standard causative construction. That is to say, labile verbs follow the causative formation pattern displayed by transitive verbs; accordingly, it is the transitive meaning of a labile verb that serves as the base for causativization.

(26) *hele-* 'cook'
    a. simindi   hele-jo
        maize   cook-PST
        'The maize cooked.'

    b. kibba   simindi   hele-jo
        girl.ERG maize   cook-PST
        'The girl cooked the maize.'

    c. kibba   isid   simindi   **hele-ll-ijo**
        girl.ERG sister.INS maize   cook-CAUS2-PST
        'The girl made her sister cook the maize.'

(27) *χüžö-* 'change, exchange'
    a. okko   χüžö-nä
        money   change-PST
        'The money was exchanged.'

b. öždi   okko   χüžö-nä
   boy.ERG   money   change-PST
   'The boy exchanged the money.'

c. öždi   kibbad   okko   **χüžö-ll-is**
   boy.ERG   girl.INS   money   change-CAUS2-PRS
   'The boy makes the girl exchange the money.'

3.4. Double and multiple causative constructions

Double and multiple causative constructions are compositional constructions with two or three Causees. Bezhta allows the two causative markers, causative 1 and causative 2, to be used in sequence, i.e., the second causative suffix attaches to an already causativized verb. The double causative construction with multiple causative suffixes involves two Causees, where the immediate Causee is marked with the instrumental and the more distant Causee is marked with the in-translative. Such double causatives are rare in the text corpus, but are readily produced by native speakers. Sentence (28) shows a double causative construction based on an intransitive verb.

(28) kibba   öždiʔλ'a: ijo-d   χät'ä   **b-iše-l-ill-is**
     girl.ERG   boy.IN.TRANSL   mother-INS   plate(III)   III-break-CAUS1-CAUS2-PRS
     'The girl makes the boy make the mother break the plate.'

Examples (29) and (30) are double causative constructions from transitive verbs.

(29) murad-i   öždiʔλ'a: kibbad   bäbä   **b-aq'o-l-ill-ijo**
     Murad-ERG   boy.IN.TRANSL   girl.INS   bread(III)   III-bring-CAUS1-CAUS2-PST
     'Murad made the boy make the girl bring the bread.'

(30) üštel-li   kibbaʔλ'a: öždid   t'ek   q'owa-l   **niλ-il-ill-ijo**
     teacher-ERG   girl.IN.TRANSL   boy.INS   book   children-LAT   give-CAUS1-CAUS2-PST
     'The teacher made the boy make the girl give the book to the children.'

Double causative constructions with the meaning 'X causes Y to cause Z to do smth' can also be expressed with the periphrastic causative construction.

(31) ijo   t'amzi   ∅-o:-jo   abo   öždid   q'urʔan   **qoj-ill-al**
     mother.ERG   force   I-do-PST   father(I)   boy.INS   Koran   read-CAUS2-INF
     'The mother made the father make the boy read the Koran.'

Multiple causative constructions with three Causees are almost impossible, but they are conceivable within the periphrastic causative construction.

(32) ijo   t'amzi   ∅-o:-jo   abo   kibbaʔλ'a: öždid   q'urʔan
     mother.ERG   force   I-do-PST   father(I)   girl.IN.TRANSL   boy.INS   Koran
     qoj-il-ill-al
     read-CAUS1-CAUS2-INF
     'The mother made the father make the girl make the boy read the Koran.'

4. Non-causative effects of Bezhta causatives

The standard causative construction in Bezhta is a valency-increasing derivation, i.e., in a pure causative construction a new argument is introduced. However, in Bezhta the use of a causative

marker does not always result in a construction with an additional argument. Such uses of a prototypically valency-increasing marker in non-causative contexts are a widespread phenomenon crosslinguistically. The most common non-causative effects are lexicalization (Section 4.1) and agentivization, which often occurs with affective verbs (Section 4.2). Less common non-causative effects are sociative (Section 4.3) and passive (Section 4.4) readings.

4.1. Lexicalization

The most common non-causative effect is the lexicalization of a specific meaning. The basic strategy for producing standard causatives from transitive verbs in Bezhta makes use of the causative 2 suffix (see Section 3.2). However, a few transitive verbs also allow the use of the causative 1 suffix, resulting in lexicalized meanings. For example, the transitive verb *-üč'-* 'cut' allows the standard causative construction with the causative 2 suffix but also gives rise to a lexicalized meaning with the causative 1 suffix. The causative 1 suffix *-il* with 'cut' does not increase the number of arguments but changes the verbal semantics from 'cut' to 'wean (from breastfeeding)', 'define, determine'.

(33) ijo öžö **∅-üč'-il-lo**
    mother.ERG boy(I) I-cut-CAUS1-PST
    'The mother weaned her son.'

(34) holcol tambih **b-üč'-l-äl** žamaʕat it'ino-uq'o
    3SG.LAT punishment(III) III-cut-CAUS1-INF Dzhamaat small-big
    q'ac'obak-ca majdal-li-ʔ
    gather-PRS square-OBL-IN
    'Dzhamaat gathered young and old on the square in order to decide on a punishment for him.'

(35) usman dibija **b-üč'-l-äːhijo** hökmö hinila
    Usman mullah(I) III-cut-CAUS1-REM.PST decision(III) self.GEN2
    ƛ'ibil-li-ɬ-daː=na ∅-üⁿχö-nä
    clan-OBL-CONT-DIR=ENCL I-turn-CVB
    'Mullah Usman made a decision in favor of his family.'

The transitive verb *niso-* 'say' also allows two causative suffixes: the addition of the causative 1 suffix results in the lexicalized meaning 'ask', also 'ask for a girl's hand in marriage', rather than 'make say' (36b), while the causative 2 suffix gives rise to both 'make say' and 'make ask', 'demand'. In the causative construction with the causative 2 suffix on *niso-* 'say', the Causer is marked with the ergative, the Causee is in the instrumental, and the Addressee argument remains in the poss-essive (36c–d).

(36) *niso-* 'say'
    a. ijo niso-s holco-qa, abo ∅-iƛ'e-ja-s
       mother.ERG say-PRS 3SG.OBL-POSS father(I) I-kill-PST.PTCP.OBL-GEN1
       äjib-zu gäč'el
       guilt-FOC be.NEG.PTCP
       'His mother told him that his father was killed without being guilty (of any wrongdoing).'

    b. do **niso-l-lo** holco-qa že beta hic'-aʔas-di
       1SG.ERG say-CAUS1-PST 3SG.OBL-POSS now then be.afraid-NEG.PRS-Q
       šäjt'äl-läː-qä
       devil-PL.OBL-POSS
       'Then I asked him if he was still afraid of devils.'

   c. kibba   öždid   ist'iqa   k'oχijo   jäže   **niso-ll-ina**
      girl.ERG boy.INS brother.POSS bad   word say-CAUS2-PST
      'The girl made the boy say a bad word to his brother.'

   d. kibba   öždid   ist'iqa   okko   **niso-ll-ina**
      girl.ERG boy.INS brother.POSS money say-CAUS2-PST
      'The girl made the boy ask his brother for money.'

The basic meaning of the verb *-aʁo-*[7] is 'take (off), remove', e.g., 'take off a hat; remove the skin of a vegetable'. This verb can only take the causative 2 suffix, resulting in a standard causative construction as well as forming lexicalized verbs. The verb *-aʁo-* with the causative 2 suffix is often used in contexts where an Instrument argument is presupposed, but remains unexpressed. In (37a) the causative verb *b-aʁo-ll-ina* has the direct object *λ'ahi* 'shot'. Although there is no overt Instrument argument, in context it can easily be identified as *topi* 'gun' or some other type of weapon. In (37b) the meaning 'play melodies' is expressed with the causative *j-aʁo-ll-is*, and the specific musical instrument used could have been mentioned explicitly in the instrumental case, e.g., 'play melodies on the flute, guitar, etc.'.

(37) *-aʁo-* 'take'
   a. **b-aʁo-ll-ina**   gej   hoco   λ'ahi
      III-take-CAUS2-CVB be.PRS 3SG.ERG shot(III)
      'He was shooting.' (lit. 'taking shots')

   b. šašat'o=na   b-äλ'en-na   nako-wa   **j-aʁo-ll-is**
      flute(III)=ENCL III-beat-CVB melody(IV)-PL NHPL-take-CAUS2-PRS
      'Taking the flute, he plays melodies.'

   c. raziłi-la-s   **b-aʁo-ll-ina**   keč'=na   gähijaʔ
      joy-OBL-GEN1 III-take-CAUS2-CVB song(III)=ENCL be.SIM.CVB
      'Singing a song of joy…'

Another non-prototypical causative usage with the causative 2 suffix is shown by inanimate Agents in exterior force constructions, illustrated here with the transitive verb *t'ut'-* 'throw'. When the Causer in the causative construction with *t'ut'-* 'throw' is inanimate, no causee is possible. In the exterior force construction seen in (38b) the inanimate Agent marked with the ergative expresses a natural force, the avalanche.

(38) *t'ut'* 'throw'
   a. di:qa   kisaʔ   bäbä-lä-š   röʔil   zuq'o-jo, t'ut'-ijo   do   hołol
      1SG.POSS pocket.IN bread-OBL-GEN1 piece be-PST   throw-PST 1SG.ERG 3SG.LAT
      'I had a piece of bread in my pocket, and threw it to her (the dog).'

   b. änjdä: j-onq'o-na   onowa-li   **t'ut'-ill-is**   hollos   biλo
      in.front IV-come-CVB avalanche(IV)-ERG throw-CAUS2-PRS 3PL.GEN1 house
      'The avalanche, which came right up to their door, destroyed their house.'

---

[7] The verb *-aʁo-* 'take, take off' often appears in set expressions, e.g., *müšo baʁal* 'breathe' (lit. 'breath take'), *yäh baʁal* 'bear, endure' (lit. 'conscience take'), *zaman baʁal* 'spend time' (lit. 'time take'), *xäbä baʁal* 'take a step' (lit. 'foot take'), *misal baʁal* 'give an example' (lit. 'example take'), *xabar baʁal* 'start talking' (lit. 'story take'), etc.

   b-uq'a: abo-la: hide-zu   b-aʁo-jo   χabar
     HPL-big.PL.OBL man-PL.ERG self.ERG-EMPH III-take-PST story(III)
     'The old men themselves started talking.'

4.2. Agentivization

Agentivization is the process of increasing the degree of agency, intentionality, volitionality or control of an Agent / Causer [Aikhenvald 2011; Kittilä 2009]. In the transitive construction from affective verbs, what was originally the lative Experiencer receives ergative case and the Stimulus retains the absolute case, i.e., the Experiencer is 'agentivized' and no new argument is added, meaning that these items remain two-place verbs. The relevant affective verbs are *-iqʼe-* 'know', *-at'-* 'love, want', *zoʁ-* 'find', *-iⁿqo-* 'receive, find', *šöʔ-* 'forget', *tuq-* 'hear', *čoq-* 'hear, be informed', *č'aɫ-* 'feel'. So causativization of these affective verbs does not change the number of arguments, but instead affects the argument coding [Comrie et al. 2018]. Such agentivization of affective verbs is quite common for Nakh-Daghestanian languages, e.g., Hinuq [Forker 2013: 468], Godoberi [Kibrik 1996: 120].

(39) *-iⁿqo-* 'find'

a. hidel   ∅-iλ'-al   q'urban   ∅-iⁿq-aʔa-ɫ
   self.LAT   I-kill-INF   Kurban(I)   I-find-NEG-CVB
   'Because they had not found Kurban to kill.'

b. že   χisaλ'a   hollo   na:s-di   mašina   **m-iqo-l-ca**
   now   in.the.morning   3PL.ERG   where.ABL-Q   car(III)   III-find-CAUS1-PRS
   'Now in the morning they find a car from somewhere.' (lit. 'They cause a car to be found').

The syntactic / semantic difference in example (39) is in terms of volition and control. In (39a) the Experiencer does not have control, but simply experiences the situation, while in (39b) the Causer has some control over the process of finding the car. The sentence is ambiguous between direct and indirect causation: the Causer may have found the car indirectly, e.g., by asking a friend to find one, or directly by going and looking for one in person.

Another example of agentivization under causativization is illustrated in (40). In (40a) the lative Experiencer lacks volition and agentivity. In (40b) the ergative Agent, Tagir, has more control over the situation: here he acts deliberately in order not to forget his beloved, e.g., by always keeping her in mind. Here the causative suffix in (40b–c) derives a transitive construction.

(40) *šöʔ-* 'forget'

a. hollo:l   b-öčöjoɫi   äλälä   ädäm-lä:-l   heχzu   šöʔ-nä
   3PL.ABS   HPL-go.MSD   village.OBL   man-PL.OBL-LAT   long.ago   forget-PST
   'The village people forgot long ago that the others had gone away.'

b. sid   lahzat-li-ʔ=na   j-akʼλ'as   **šöʔ-l-äʔä-š**
   one   moment-OBL-IN=ENCL   II-heart.SUP.ABL   forget-CAUS1-NEG-PRS
   t'ahir-i   holo
   Tagir-ERG   3SG.ABS
   'Tagir does not forget her for a single moment.'

c. wahla:la   pikro=na   m-eh-na   huli   q'erλ'ezi   ∅-aq-ca   holo
   so   thought(III)=ENCL   III-send-CVB   3SG.ABS   try   I-happen-PRS   3SG.ABS
   j-akʼλ'as   **šöʔ-l-äl**
   II-heart.SUP.ABL   forget-CAUS1-INF
   'By thinking this way, he was trying to forget her.'

Two affective verbs, meaning 'hear' and 'meet', allow both transitive and ditransitive usage in the causative form. The verb *tuq-* 'hear' illustrated in (41a) forms a ditransitive construction under causativization (41b), but also a transitive construction as in (41c), which requires the

absolute object 'ear' (lit. 'make ear hear'), and the latter gives the idiosyncratic meaning 'listen very attentively, keep an ear open'.

(41) *tuq-* 'hear'

    a. jiλa   hič'ejaqa   holłol   aⁿc-λ'a   q'öp'λöllözu   tuq-ca
       much   be.afraid.CAUSE 3SG.LAT door-SUP   knocking   hear-PRS

      'She hears knocking on the door because she is scared.'

    b. kibba   keč'   dil   **tuq-il-ca**
       girl.ERG song   1SG.LAT hear-CAUS1-PRS
      'The girl made me hear the song.'

    c. χöχdöj   hiⁿca=na   ∅-eⁿλ'e-na   äⁿʁä=nä   **tuq-in-na**   ∅-enekzi
       tree.APUD near=ENCL I-go-CVB   ear=ENCL   hear-CAUS1-CVB I-listen

      ∅-aq=λo
      I-happen.IMP=QUOT

      'Go near the tree, keep your ear open and listen!'

In addition to agentivization, under causativization some Bezhta affective verbs acquire various idiosyncratic meanings. The morphological causative of *-at'-* 'love', which requires the causative 1 suffix, is interpreted not as 'make (someone) love', but 'hug, cuddle' (42). Similarly, the causative 1 of *-iq'e-* 'know' means 'learn', in the sense of expending effort to master something rather than merely coming to know it (43).

(42) *-at'-* 'love'

    a. kibba-l   ijo   j-at'-ca
       girl.OBL-LAT mother(II) II-love-PRS
      'The daughter loves her mother.'

    b. kibba   ijo   **j-at'-il-ca**
       girl.ERG mother(II) II-love-CAUS1-PRS
      'The daughter hugs her mother.' (not 'makes her mother love')

(43) *-iq'e-* 'know'

    a. öždi-l   dars   j-iq'e-š
       boy.OBL-LAT lesson(IV) IV-know-PRS
      'The boy knows the lesson.'

    b. öždi   dars   **j-iq'e-l-ca**
       boy.ERG lesson(IV) IV-know-CAUS1-PRS
      'The boy learns the lesson.' (not 'makes the lesson know')

Adding the causative 2 suffix to such affective verbs derives a ditransitive construction.

(44) a. dil   t'ok'ab   unti-urʁel   q'aridłi=na   šöʔ-nä
       1SG.LAT more   illness-sorrow   difficulty=ENCL forget-CVB
      'I forgot about sorrow and difficulty.'

    b. dil   j-aq-ijo   šinab   q'aridłi,   zahmatłi=na   miže
       1SG.LAT IV-happen-PST.PTCP all   misery(IV)   difficulty(IV)=ENCL 2SG.ERG

      šöʔ-ill-ijo   diː-d
      forget-CAUS2-PST 1SG.OBL-INS

      'You made me forget all the misery and difficulties that befell me.'

Causatives from affective verbs

[LAT, ABS]	Causative 1	Causative 2
-at'- 'love'	*-at'-il* 'hug' [ERG, ABS]	*-at'-ill* 'make hug' [ERG, INS, ABS]
-iq'e- 'know'	*-iq'e-l* 'learn' [ERG, ABS]	*-iq'e-ll* 'make learn' [ERG, INS, ABS]
šöʔ- 'forget'	*šöʔ-il* 'forget' [ERG, ABS]	*šöʔ-ill* 'make forget' [ERG, INS, ABS]
-iⁿqo- 'find'	*-iⁿqo-l* 'find' [ERG, ABS]	*-iⁿqo-ll* 'make find' [ERG, INS, ABS]
zoʁ- 'find'	*zoʁ-il* 'find' [ERG, ABS]	*zoʁ-ill* 'make find' [ERG, INS, ABS]
č'aɬ- 'feel'	*č'aɬ-il* 'inform' [ERG, LAT, ABS]	*č'aɬ-ill* 'make inform' [ERG, LAT, INS, ABS]
čoq- 'be informed'	*čoq-il* 'inform' [ERG, LAT, ABS]	*čoq-ill* 'make inform' [ERG, LAT, INS, ABS]
tuq- 'hear'	*tuq-il* 'make hear' [ERG, LAT, ABS]	*tuq-ill* 'make hear' [ERG, LAT, INS, ABS]
-ega- 'see'	*-ega-l* 'show' [ERG, LAT, ABS]	*-ega-ll* 'make show' [ERG, LAT, INS, ABS]

4.3. Sociative

As presented in Section 3.2, the general rule for the causative 2 suffix is that it expresses indirect causation when deriving causative constructions from transitive verbs, whereas verbs derived with the causative 1 suffix generally express direct causation. But in addition to this fundamental distinction there is an intermediate category known as sociative causation, which is treated as an extension of causative meaning [Shibatani, Pardeshi 2002].

In Bezhta, the complex causative suffix also conveys sociative causation when used with one specific transitive verb, namely *-eže-* 'take, lead, buy'. In addition to the causative constructions presented in Section 3.2, causativization of this transitive verb does not change the number of arguments, but alters the verbal semantics, producing a sociative reading. The Bezhta sociative is mostly one of joint action, where the Agent and the Patient perform an action together.

In the text corpus, the verb 'take' with the causative 2 suffix is consistently used in contexts where the Patient is an animal or a human that has no control over its actions and intentions. For example, the causative of 'take' often denotes 'drive' with animals; it is also used in the context of small children who can barely walk, or with reference to capturing a prisoner or enemy. That is, when the causative construction is applied to 'take' it signals that the Agent has greater control over the causing process. Thus, the causative of 'take' has a sociative meaning. In example (45a) the khan takes the boy along, but the latter is acting of his own volition; meanwhile in (45b) the participant who is led into the room has a low degree of control, as he does not really want to go but is merely obeying the host. In (46c–d) the Causer is immediately / physically involved in the process of driving cattle / cows, for example, by using his hands.

(45) *-eže-* 'take, buy'

 a. χan-li huli Ø-eže-š hinʁoj šahar b-ega-l-al tupliɬ
   khan-ERG 3SG.ABS I-take-PRS self.COMIT city(III) III-see-CAUS1-INF Tbilisi.IN
   'The khan takes the boy with him to Tbilisi to show (him) the city.'

 b. ɬoⁿh=na t'ike-n-na biλo-ʔ-da: Ø-eže-ll-is   holɬo
   smile=ENCL drop-CAUS1-CVB house-IN-DIR I-take-CAUS2-PRS 3SG.ERG
   'Smiling, she leads (forces) him into the house.'

c. boc'i=na   **b-eže-ll-ina**   b-öčö-š   hollo:l   q'ačaʁ-al
   cattle(III)=ENCL   III-take-CAUS2-CVB   HPL-go.away-PRS   these   bandit-PL
   'These bandits go away, taking the cattle with them.'

d. hino-hi-d   reked=na   waja-s   **b-eže-ll-ina**
   road-OBL-INS   herd(III)=ENCL   cow-GEN1   III-take-CAUS2-CVB
   '(He) drove the herd of cows along the road.'

4.4. De-agentivization

Occasionally the causative morpheme can also function as a valency-decreasing device. The causative of -*aʁo-* 'take (off), remove' exhibits an unexpected non-causative effect of this kind: the Agent is demoted and marked with the absolutive case, and the verb expresses the meaning 'move (oneself), clamber', often combined with locative adverbs 'up' and 'down'.[8]

(46) -*aʁo*- 'take'
   a. öžö   λi:da: ∅-**aʁo-ll-is**
      boy(I)   down.DIR   I-take-CAUS2-PRS
      'The boy clambers down.'

   b. χöχλ'ä   λ'odok-al   äle=na   b-oχ-na   λ'odda: ∅-**aʁo-ll-icalaʔ**
      tree.SUP   climb-INF   branch(III)=ENCL   III-hold-CVB   above.DIR   I-take-CAUS2-SIM.CVB
      'Holding on to the branch in order to climb the tree and clambering up.'

A transitivity-decreasing function of causative derivation is not attested in many languages [Kittilä 2013]. It is quite rare for a causative derivation to have two roles, valency-increasing and valency-decreasing, even if this valency-decreasing effect occurs only in the context of one verb and the meaning is lexicalized, as is the case here.

5. Agentive-patientive verbs and causative derivation

5.1. Bezhta verbal classes

In order to describe the causative derivation and account for the distribution of causative morphology in Bezhta, one has to consider both syntactic and semantic parameters of (in)transitivity [Shibatani 2001; Kulikov 2013]. Bezhta verbs fall into two main groups, intransitive and transitive, while two further groups, affective and unergative, are more peripheral.

However, the group of intransitive verbs is not homogeneous. The majority of Bezhta intransitive verbs are prototypically intransitive, i.e., both semantically and syntactically: the intransitive subject is a single argument marked with the absolutive and it acts as a prototypical Patient (e.g., 'break', 'fall', 'burn', 'get clean', 'turn', 'ache', 'dry'). On the other hand, there exist many intransitive verbs that are only intransitive syntactically, but transitive in semantic terms: the intransitive subject, which is still a single argument marked with the absolutive, acts as Agent of the action (e.g., 'jump', 'sleep'). Given such 'split intransitivity', the majority

---

[8] The same meaning can also be expressed by the antipassive of -*aʁo*-:

öžö   λi:da: ∅-aʁo-la-s
boy(I)   down.DIR   I-take-ANTIP-PRS
'The boy clambers down.'

of Bezhta intransitive verbs are patientive intransitives contrasting with a smaller number of agentive intransitive verbs.

Prototypical agentive meaning is expressed with transitive verbs, which in Bezhta are two-argument verbs with an ergative Agent and absolutive Patient, the former performing the action and the latter undergoing it.

Agentive meaning is also expressed by unergative verbs. Bezhta unergatives constitute a small group of onomatopoetic verbs, for example, *ʁäʔλö-* 'caw', *hicλo-* 'sneeze', *öhλö-* 'cough', *hik'λo-* 'hiccup', *hahλo-* 'yawn'. The single S_A argument is in the ergative and does not control agreement. Diachronically these onomatopoetic verbs seem to have arisen through the incorporation of an onomatopoetic element into the verb *iλ-*, which synchronically means 'call' in Bezhta but has the more general meaning 'say' in some other Tsezic languages [Comrie et al. 2015: 542].

Another group of verbs with some degree of agentivity are affective verbs, which include verbs of perception, emotion, and cognition. The subject of affective verbs is an Experiencer and not an Agent. The Experiencer is in the lative, and the Stimulus in the absolutive. There are 11 affective verbs, namely *-ega-* 'see', *tuq-* 'hear', *č'aɫ-* 'feel', *-at'-* 'like, love, want', *-iⁿqo-* 'find', *-iq'e-* 'know', *zoʁ-* 'find', *čoq-* 'hear', *bidži -aq-* 'understand', *kezi -aq-* 'meet' (the latter two being light verb constructions), and *jak'λ'a -ec-* 'remember' (lit. 'be on heart').

5.2. Distribution of causative 1 and causative 2

As mentioned above in Section 2, Bezhta has several ways of expressing causative meaning, namely morphological causatives, compound verbs, periphrastic causatives, and serial causative constructions. The verbal classes presented all use at least one out of the morphological, suppletion and serial causative constructions, additionally combining with the analytic causative formation. The majority of Bezhta verbs can undergo morphological causative derivation, and the rest use either suppletion or causative serial constructions. So morphological causative derivation is the most productive of the causative processes in the language. Morphological causatives make use of two different suffixes, labelled causative 1 and causative 2. The causative 1 suffix is restricted in its use, as it is mainly compatible with patientive intransitive verbs and applies to only a few agentive intransitive verbs. Other agentive intransitive verbs form their causative by other means (the suppletive or causative serial constructions). By default, agentive meaning is primarily expressed by transitive verbs, and in addition it can be expressed by unergative verbs ('sneeze', 'cough', 'yawn', 'shout', etc.) and a small number of agentive intransitive verbs. All unergative verbs and a small number of agentive intransitive verbs, such as 'play', 'dress', 'be hungry', 'fear', 'look at', 'talk', 'cry', 'fall', derive their causative by means of the causative serial construction with 'put'. A few agentive intransitive verbs form causative variants by means of suppletion, e.g., *-uʁo-* 'die' and *-iλ'e-* 'kill', *-eⁿλ'e-* 'go' and *-eⁿj-* 'send'. Another class of agentive verbs is represented in inchoative-causative pairs where the suffix *-k'-* deriving transitive verbs corresponds to intransitives in *-ɫ-*, e.g., *-äčɫ-* 'be cold' vs *-äčk'-* 'make cold'. Additionally the causative 1 suffix occurs with some transitive verbs, resulting in idiomatic expressions (Section 4).

So the causative 1 suffix is mostly used with patientive intransitive verbs, which are numerous. The causative 1 suffix produces transitive verbs with a new argument functioning as a Patient. Thus, such derived verbs can be analyzed as **lexical causatives**, with a newly introduced Causee functioning as a Patient (examples are transitive verbs from intransitives, affective, examples of agentivization). Lexical causative verbs express direct causation, corresponding to a single-event causation with agentive Causer and patientive causee, e.g., *break a vase*. In contrast to these patientive intransitive verbs, a few agentive intransitive verbs (e.g., *jump*, *go*, *stand*) are also able to take the causative 1 suffix, but they express indirect causation (*make jump*).

As for the causative 2 suffix, which is clearly based on the reiteration of one and the same morpheme (i.e., is diachronically based on two causative 1 suffixes), this derives a causative

form with a Causee functioning as an Agent. The causative 2 suffix derives causative verbs from intransitive, affective and transitive verbs. Causative verbs derived with the causative 2 suffix express indirect causation, corresponding to a two-event causation with agentive Causer and agentive Causee. The verbs derived with the causative 2 suffix are *productive causative verbs*.

The Bezhta data supports Shibatani & Pardeshi's [2002: 137] proposal that lexical causatives are associated with inactive (patientive) intransitives, whereas productive causatives are associated with active (agentive) and transitive verbs. Causative 1 derives lexical causative verbs with idiomatic meanings whereas causative 2 is correlated with productive causative constructions introducing an agentive Causee. In a typological overview of double causatives Kulikov [1993; 1999] reports that the second causative is more regular and prototypical, while the first causative produces verbs with idiomatic meanings. The distribution of the first and second causative suffixes in Bezhta reflects Kulikov's typological research on the 'second causative'.

Bezhta causative constructions conform with a crosslinguistically observed pattern whereby specific parameters are correlated with the distinction between direct and indirect causation. The parameters involved are the productivity of the construction and the formal length of the morphological material employed.

The distinction between direct and indirect causation is correlated with the productivity of the causative construction, in line with the claim made by [Comrie 1989; Shibatani, Pardeshi 2002] that morphological causatives that are more productive often express indirect causation, and less productive causatives tend to express direct causation. Morphological causatives and analytical/periphrastic causative constructions in Bezhta are interchangeable, i.e., every morphological causative can be replaced by an analytic causative construction. Thus, analytic causatives are as productive as morphological causatives. Analytic causatives always express indirect causation. Morphological and analytic causative constructions can be used in tandem, for example in the formation of multiple causative constructions (Section 3.4.).

The formal length of the causative morpheme is clearly correlated with its directness, as direct causation is expressed with a shorter causative morpheme (-(*i*)*l*) whereas indirect causation is expressed with more complex causative morphology (-(*i*)*ll*). The complexity of the causative suffix is also correlated with transitivity, as Nedjalkov & Silnitsky [1973] note that causative markers deriving causative constructions from transitive verbs are more complex than those deriving causative constructions from intransitive verbs.

Thus, Bezhta morphological causative constructions that express indirect causation are more productive and longer than those expressing direct causation. This correlation between formal and semantic parameters is also present in other causative constructions in the language: causative serial verb constructions and periphrastic causative constructions are associated with indirect causation and are structurally more complex.

Furthermore, the semantic distinction between direct and indirect causation is enlarged by a third semantic distinction, sociative causation. The causative suffix -(*i*)*ll* not only expresses indirect causation, but it also has extended meanings, sociative causation being among them. Thus, there is a causative continuum from direct causation to sociative causation and from sociative to indirect causation [Shibatani, Pardeshi 2002].

Leaving aside some lexical exceptions, the Bezhta causative system can be presented as in the Table 4 below.

Table 4

Semantics of morphological causatives

	-(i)l CAUS1	-(i)ll CAUS2	-(i)l-ill CAUS1-CAUS2
Vi	cause to Vi	cause to cause to Vi	cause to cause to cause to Vi
Vt	—	cause to Vt	cause to cause to Vt

6. Conclusion

In this paper, I have given a detailed description of Bezhta causative constructions and explained the distribution of the less productive, simple causative 1 and more productive, complex causative 2 suffixes. The causative 1 suffix is restricted in its use: it is mainly used with patientive intransitive verbs, a few agentive intransitive verbs and a few affective verbs, giving rise to idiomatic expressions. The causative 2 suffix derives pure causative constructions, with an agentive causer and agentive causee. Therefore, the causative 1 suffix covers lexical causatives and the causative 2 suffix forms productive morphological causatives. In addition to their canonical function of valency increase, the simple and complex causative suffixes can show non-causative functions: the simple causative suffix applied to affective verbs agentivizes the construction involved, while the more complex causative suffix applied to some transitive verbs only alters the verbal semantics.

Further tasks are left for future research. One of these is to investigate formal and semantic parameters in serial and periphrastic causative constructions. To understand the stages of development and grammaticalization of causative constructions, all Bezhta dialects and other closely related sister languages should be investigated.

Appendix: Causative morphology / distribution / allomorphy

To break up consonant clusters which are disallowed in the language, the epenthetic vowel *i* is used [Comrie 2002]. Traditionally the epenthetic vowel is treated as belonging to the suffix rather than to the stem, and in a sequence of several suffixes the epenthetic vowel is assigned to the suffix to its right. The causative 1 and causative 2 suffixes themselves make use of the epenthetic vowel after a consonant, giving *-il-* and *-ill-* respectively, e.g., *ogic'-il-ca* 'jump-CAUS1-PRS', *gul-ill-ina* 'put-CAUS2-CVB', *gul-ill-ijo* 'put-CAUS2-PST', *gul-ill-is* 'put-CAUS2-PRS', *b-iše-l-ill-is* 'III-break-CAUS1-CAUS2-PRS', whereas *-l-/-ll-* is used with vowel-final verbal stems, e.g., *niso-ll-ijo* 'say-CAUS2-PST', *koko-l-ca* 'ache-CAUS2-PRS'.

The causative suffix *l* or a verbal stem ending in *l* is optionally assimilated to *n* before the nasal *n*, e.g., *ogic'-il-na* or *ogic'-in-na* 'jump-CAUS1-CVB'; *öl-nä* or *ön-nä* 'be.enough-CVB'. The past suffix *-ijo* has an alternative reduced form *-o:* after stems ending in *o*, as in *zuq'o-jo* 'be-PST' vs. *zuq'o:* 'be.PST', and a reduplicated variant after stems ending in *l*, as in *öl-ijo* 'be.enough-PST' and *öl-lö* 'be.enough-PST'; *äχe-l-ijo* 'tear-CAUS1-PST' and *-äχe-l-lo* 'tear-CAUS1-PST'; *niso-l-ijo* 'say-CAUS1-PST' and *niso-l-lo* 'say-CAUS1-PST'.

ABBREVIATIONS

I, II, III, IV, V — genders (noun classes) I–V
ABL — ablative
ABS — absolutive
ANTIP — antipassive
ANTR.CVB — anterior converb
APUD — location 'near'
CAUS — causative
CAUSE — cause marker
COMIT — comitative
CONT — cont-essive
CVB — converb
DIR — directive

EMPH — emphasis
ENCL — enclitic
ERG — ergative
FOC — focus marker
GEN — genitive
HPL — human plural
IMM — immediate converb
IMP — imperative
IN — in-essive, location 'in, inside'
INCH — inchoative
INF — infinitive
INS — instrumental

LAT — lative
MSD — masdar
NEG — negation
NHPL — non-human plural
PL — plural
POSS — poss-essive, location 'at'
PRS — present tense
PST — past tense
PTCP — participle

Q — question marker
QUOT — quotative
REM.PST — remote past
SG — singular
SIM.CVB — simultaneous converb
SUB — sub-essive, location 'under'
SUP — super-essive, location 'on, above'
TRANSL — translative

REFERENCES

Aikhenvald 2011 — Aikhenvald A. Y. Causatives which do not cause: Non-valency-increasing effects of a valency-increasing derivation. *Language at large: Essays on syntax and semantics*. Aikhenvald A. Y., Dixon R. M. W. (eds.). Leiden: Brill, 2011, 86–142.

Comrie 1989 — Comrie B. *Language universals and linguistic typology: Syntax and morphology*. 2nd edn. Oxford: Blackwell, 1989.

Comrie 2001 — Comrie B. 'Love your enemies': Affective constructions in two Daghestanian languages. *Perspectives on semantics, pragmatics, and discourse: A Festschrift for Ferenc Kiefer*. Kenesei I., Harnish R. M. (eds.). Amsterdam: John Benjamins, 2001, 59–72.

Comrie 2002 — Comrie B. Verb stems and verb inflection in Bezhta. *Philologie, Typologie und Sprachstructur / Philology, typology and language structure: Festschrift für Winfried Boeder zum 65. Geburtstag / Festschrift for Winfried Boeder on the occasion of his 65th birthday*. Wolfram Bublitz W., von Roncador M., Vater H. (eds.). Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang, 2002, 251–264.

Comrie et al. 2015 — Comrie B., Khalilov M., Khalilova Z. Valency and valency classes in Bezhta. *Valency classes*. Malchukov A., Haspelmath M., Comrie B. (eds.). Berlin: De Gruyter Mouton, 2015, 541–570.

Comrie et al. 2018 — Comrie B., Forker D, Khalilova Z. Affective constructions in Tsezic languages. *Non-canonically case-marked subjects. The Reykjavík-Eyjafjallajökull papers.* Barðdal J., Pat-El N., Carey S. M. (eds.). Amsterdam: John Benjamins, 2018, 55–82.

Comrie et al. 2021 — Comrie B., Forker D., Khalilova Z., van den Berg H. Antipassives in Nakh-Daghestanian languages: Exploring the margins of a construction. *Antipassive: Typology, diachrony, and related constructions*. Janic K., Witzlack-Makarevich A. (eds.). Amsterdam: John Benjamins, 2021, 515–548.

Dixon 2000 — Dixon R. M. W. A typology of causatives: Form, syntax and meaning. *Changing valency: Case studies in transitivity.* Dixon R. M. W., Aikhenvald A. Y. (eds.). Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press, 2000, 30–83.

Forker 2013 — Forker D. *A grammar of Hinuq.* Berlin: De Gruyter Mouton, 2013.

Haspelmath 1993 — Haspelmath M. More on typology of inchoative/causative verb alternations. *Causatives and transitivity.* Comrie B., Polinsky M. (eds.). Amsterdam: John Benjamins, 1993, 87–120.

Haspelmath 2017 — Haspelmath M. Universals of causative and anticausative verb formation and the spontaneity scale. *Lingua Posnaniensis*, 2017, 58(2): 33–63.

Khalilov 2020 — Khalilov M. Sh. *Na ustakh u bezhtintsev: legendy, predaniya, skazki i rasskazy* [Legends and tales of the Bezhta people]. Moscow: Institute of Linguistics, 2020.

Khalilova 2017 — Khalilova Z. Kauzativy v bezhtinskom yazyke [Causatives in Bezhta]. *Vestnik VGU. Seriya: Lingvistinka i mezhkul'turnaya kommunikatsiya*, 2017, 4: 111–115.

Khalilova 2022 — Khalilova Z. Serial'nye konstruktsii v bezhtinskom yazyke [Serial constructions in Bezhta]. *Rhema*, 2022, 3: 88–113.

Kholodovich (ed.) 1969 — Kholodovich A. A. (ed.). *Tipologiya kauzativnykh konstruktsii. Morfologicheskii kauzativ* [Typology of causative constructions: Morphological causative]. Leningrad: Nauka, 1969.

Kibrik (ed.) 1996 — Kibrik A. E. (ed.). *Godoberi*. Munich: Lincom, 1996.

Kibrik, Testelets 2004 — Kibrik A. E., Testelets Ya. G. Bezhta. *The indigenous languages of the Caucasus.* Vol. 3: *The North East Caucasian languages, part 1.* Job M. (ed.). Ann Arbor: Caravan Books, 2004, 217–295.

Kittilä 2009 — Kittilä S. Causative morphemes as non-valency increasing devices. *Folia Linguistica*, 2009, 43(1): 67–94.

Kittilä 2013 — Kittilä S. Causative morphemes as de-transitivizing mechanisms. What do non-canonical instances reveal about causation and causativization? *Folia Linguistica*, 2013, 47(1): 113–137.

Kulikov 1993 — Kulikov L. The "second causative": A typological sketch. *Causatives and transitivity*. Comrie B., Polinsky M. (eds.). Amsterdam: John Benjamins, 1993, 121–154.

Kulilov 2013 — Kulikov L. Constraints on the causative derivation in early Vedic: Evidence for a diachronic typology of transitivity. *Poznań Studies in Contemporary Linguistics*, 2013, 49(1): 79–101. https://doi.org/10.1515/psicl-2013-0003

Kulikov 1999 — Kulikov L. Remarks on double causatives in Tuvan and other Turkic languages. *Journal de la Société Finno-Ougrienne*, 1999, 88: 49–58.

Nedjalkov et al. 1973 — Nedjalkov V., Silnitsky G. The typology of morphological and lexical causatives. *Trends in Soviet theoretical linguistics*. Kiefer F. (ed.). Dordrecht: Reidel, 1973, 1–32.

Nichols et al. 2004 — Nichols J., Peterson D. A., Barnes J. Transitivizing and detransitivizing languages. *Linguistic Typology*, 2004, 8: 149–211.

Shibatani (ed.) 1976 — Shibatani M. (ed.). *The grammar of causative constructions*. New York: Academic Press, 1976.

Shibatani 2001 — Shibatani M. Introduction: Some basic issues in the grammar of causation. *The grammar of causation and interpersonal manipulation*. Shibatani M. (ed.). Amsterdam: John Benjamins, 2001, 1–22.

Shibatani, Pardeshi 2002 — Shibatani M., Pardeshi P. The causative continuum. *The grammar of causation and interpersonal manipulation.* Shibatani M. (ed.). Amsterdam: John Benjamins, 2002, 85–126.