

**Salience in causative constructions: evidence from Adyghe****1. Introductory****General remarks**

Salience is particularly important for causative constructions:

- two subevents
- (for causatives of transitives) two agentive arguments: the causer and the causee.

In the literature only fragmentary remarks can be found:

(Kulikov, Sumbatova 1993): “the caused event is more salient, because its semantics is designated by the base verb”.

(Shibatani 2002): analytic causatives often emphasize the causing event, whereas morphological ones highlight the caused event.

Adyghe material is particularly interesting, because this language has some **formal** tests for salience of sub-events.

**Important features of Adyghe grammar**

- **Polysynthetic language:** noun phrases are not obligatory, arguments of the verb (absolutive direct object or subject, ergative agent and indirect objects) are cross-referenced in the verb form. Each derivational and personal marker has its slot in the verb form:

ABS + DIR + LOC + BEN/MAL/COM + ERG (IO) + ERG (AG) + CAUS + NEG + R + TENSE/ASP etc.

- **Increasing language:** a lot of increasing derivations: causative, benefactive, malefactive, locative derivations; no productive markers of decreasing derivations. By means of increasing derivations valency of the verb can be increased up to six arguments.
- **Ergative language,** but the ergative is rather the “oblique” case: it marks not only agents of transitive verbs, but also indirect objects and some peripheral participants: in (1), both the agent and the indirect object are marked with oblique:

- (1)   č’ale-m            pšaše-m            txəłə-r                            r-jə-tə-ɣ  
 boy-OBL            girl-OBL            book-ABS                            3SG.IO-3SG.AG-give-PST  
 ‘The boy gives the girl the book’.

**2. The pattern of causativization**

Causative meaning is designated by the prefix *ɣe-*. This prefix is added immediately before the root:

- (2)   č’ale-r            Ø-ma-ɣ<sub>w</sub>e  
 boy-ABS            3SG.S/O-DYN-go  
 ‘The boy goes’;
- (3)   a-š’            a-r            Ø-j-e-ɣa-ɣ<sub>w</sub>e  
 (S)HE-OBL            (S)HE-ABS            3SG.S/O-3SG.AG-DYN-CAUS-go  
 ‘He makes him go’.

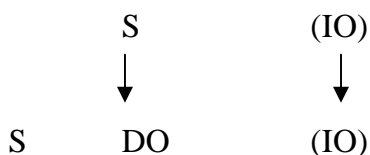
Causativization applies both to intransitive (2-3) and transitive verbal stems:

- (4)   č’ale-m            g<sub>w</sub>əčə-r            j-e-wəfe  
 boy-OBL            iron-ABS            3SG.AG-DYN-bend  
 ‘The boy bends the iron’.
- (5)   pšaše-m            č’ale-m            g<sub>w</sub>əčə-r            r-j-e-ɣe-wəfe  
 girl-OBL            boy-OBL            iron-ABS            3SG.IO-3SG.AG-DYN-CAUS-bend  
 ‘The girl makes the boy bend the iron’.

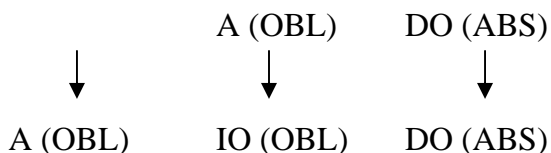
Causative is highly productive and can be attached to almost all groups of verbs, including ditransitives.

The syntactic pattern is as follows:

Intransitive verbs:



Transitive verbs:



In (5) the indirect object marker *r-* corresponds to the causee and is attached before the agentive marker *je-* which corresponds to the causer. The absolutive singular argument is cross-referenced with a zero marker. We will return to the syntactic pattern in 3.

We do not find any violations of this pattern, irrespectively of semantic properties of participants or semantic types of causation.

Adyghe admits recursive causativization, which will be discussed once more in 4:

- (6) se    šež'əje-r    z-ke-čan-əḄ  
 I    knife-ABS    1SG.AG-CAUS-sharp-PST  
 'I sharpened the knife' (literally 'made the knife be sharp');
- (7) se    s-jə-thamatə    šež'əje-r    s-jə-ke-ke-čan-əḄ  
 I    1SG.POSS-boss    knife-ABS    1SG.S/O-3SG.AG-CAUS-CAUS-sharp-PST.  
 'My boss made me sharpen the knife'.

### 3. Properties of the participants: high salience of the causee

#### 3.1. Reciprocalization

As a rule, in Adyghe reciprocals are built in the following ways:

- with prefix *zere-* in the agentive slot when the agent of a transitive verb is co-referential with the direct object:

- (8) te    te-zere-λeḄ<sub>w</sub>ə-Ḅ  
 we    1SG.S/O-REC-see-PST  
 'We saw each other';

- with prefix *ze-/zə-* in all other cases (sometimes also in the same cases as *zere-*):

- (9) č'ale-m-re    pšaše-m-re    ze-bewə-ke-x  
 boy-OBL-AND    girl-OBL-AND    REC-kiss-PST-PL  
 'The boy and the girl kissed each other'.

- with reciprocal pronouns, which are rarely used in texts.

See Letuchiy 2007 for details.

Peculiarity of causative constructions: reciprocals of causatives of transitives like (10) are built by means of *zere-*, not *ze-*:

- (10) ʔ<sub>w</sub>efšak<sub>w</sub>e-xe-m    čəg<sub>w</sub>ə-r    ja-zere-ke-pχə  
 worker-PL-OBL    field-ABS    3PL.IO-REC-CAUS-plough  
 'The workers make each other plough the field'.

The agent is co-referent with the indirect object (the causee) and **not** to the direct object! In the same time, reciprocals of the same type from non-causative trivalent verbs are coded with *ze-*:

- (11) te    š<sub>w</sub>əhaftən-xe-r    ze-te-tə-ž'ə-x  
 we    gift-PL-ABS    REC-1PL.AG-give-RFC-PL

‘We present gifts to each other’.

Therefore, the causee is not a canonical indirect object. It is rather a syntactically higher argument (a “second subject”), which is, of course, related to its high saliency.

### 3.1. Constructions with inchoative verbs

Normally, in Adyghe the subject of the inchoative verb is co-referent to the subject of the embedded predicate:

- (12) se we wə-s-š'e-n-ew je-s-e-ka.ž'e  
I you 2SG.S-1SG.A-lead-MSD-CONV 1SG.AG-DYN-begin  
‘I began to lead you’ (Saj 2004).

The sole exception is causative constructions. The “canonical” construction is possible:

- (13) sjate meʔerəse-xe-r qə-s-jə-ke-šəpə-n-ew r-jə-ke-ž'a-κ  
1SG.father apple-PL-ABS DIR-1SG.IO-3SG.AG-CAUS-gather-MSD-CONV INS-3SG-CAUS-begin-PAST  
‘My father began to make me gather apples’,

But alongside with it another one is possible:

Abdzakh dialect:

- (14) sjate meʔerəse-xe-r qə-s-jə-ke-šəpə-n-ew je-z-ke-ž'a-κ  
1SG.father apple-PL-ABS DIR-1SG.IO-3SG.AG-CAUS-gather-MSD-CONV 3SG.IO-1SG.AG-CAUS-begin-PAST  
‘I began to gather apples, because my father makes me’.

In (11), the subject of the inchoative verb is **I**, whereas the subject of the matrix clause is **father**.

In Shapsug dialect, this situation goes even further: the canonical construction is used rarely, the main type is shown in (15):

- (15) sjate xate qə-s-jə-ke-kaχ-ew rə-s-jə-ke-ž'a-κ  
1SG.father garden DIR-1SG.IO-3SG.A-CAUS-plough-MSD-CONV INS-1SG.IO-3SG.AG-CAUS-begin-PAST  
‘The father began to make me plough the garden’.

Note the structure of the inchoative verb in (15): the slot of the indirect object is occupied by the **1sg** prefix. The causative verb ‘begin’ in Adyghe takes only third person singular indirect object (lit. ‘begin in the situation P’).

In (15), **the double causative** (‘make sb. begin sth’) is presented – but the second causative prefix is often omitted in Adyghe (see Smeets 1984 and Letuchiy in press on the conditions of this omission): ‘He makes me begin (in the situation)’.

Therefore, in Shapsug the phase verb requires **double agreement**:

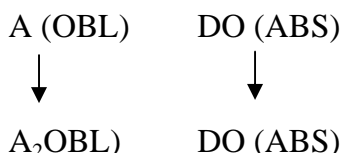
**Causer of phase verb** → **Causer of matrix verb**

**Causee of phase verb** → **Causee of matrix verb**

This cannot be regarded in purely syntactic terms, since the canonical construction is odd, but not fully ungrammatical. However, this shows that **the causee is very salient**, not less than the causer. The construction is “replaced” by another one (with a double causative), because the latter corresponds to high salience of the causee.

**NB: the pattern of causativization can be re-interpreted:**

Transitive verbs:



The subject does not become a new indirect object – it rather remains agent – the construction has two oblique agents: the causee and the causer.

Note that in Fleck 2002 we have another example of salient causees:

Matses:

- (16) aden matses-n nēishamë-∅ pe-quid tiante-n se-me-shun  
 like.that Matses-ERG tapir-ABS eat-HAB bamboo-INS pierce-CAUS-AFTER  
 ‘Matses eat tapirs like that, after making them get pierced by a bamboo blade’.

Therefore, in Matses, the causative construction serves to make the instrument more salient, although its marking does not change.

#### 4. Properties of the events: high salience of the caused situation

As we could see, the causee is focused in Adyghe causative constructions. In this case it is very natural to speak also about high salience of the caused situation.

**Is it true that if the agent of the caused situation is salient, this situation itself is also salient? Or can it be the case that the causee is salient and the caused situation itself is not?**

Typologically, these two characteristics are not always related to each other:

- Khakas (Turkic): highly salient causees (pronouns, proper names) are often marked with the accusative case, not highly salient with the dative case. However, it does not seem to affect salience of the caused situation.

On the other hand, even if the caused situation is salient, it does not obligatorily leads to salience of the causee (especially if the causee is inanimate, not volitional etc.).

However, in Adyghe the caused situation is focused. This reflects in interpretation of modifiers, deletion of one of causative markers and compatibility with causative verbs.

#### 4.1. Temporal modifiers

In a language, where the causing and the caused situation are equally salient, we can expect both of them to behave similarly with modifiers. E.g., in Balkar (Ljutikova et al 2006) both situations can equally be modified by adverbial modifiers:

‘I made my brother plough the field’ + ‘quickly’ =

- I made him quickly (maybe he did not plough the field quickly)
- I made him plough the field quickly (but maybe I was making him for a long time)
- The whole situation took place quickly.

In Adyghe, the situation is more complex: in many cases only the caused situation can be modified by temporal modifiers:

##### 4.1.1. Modifiers of temporal localization

Abdzakh:

- (17) se a-š' newəš' ?of je-se-ke-š'e  
 I (s)he-OBL tomorrow WORK 3SG.IO-1SG.AG-CAUS-do

‘He will work for me tomorrow’, literally ‘I will make him work tomorrow’ =

- Tomorrow I will made him work (i.e. will say him smth.) and he will work
- Tomorrow he will work for me, but I have already made him to do so
- \*Tomorrow I will made him work, but he will work after this, not tomorrow

Impossibility of (iii) shows that the modifier must affect the caused situation, but not obligatorily the causing one.

Shapsug:

- (18) azamat-e nəpe fatime məje-xe qə-r-jə-ke-šəpə  
 Azamat-OBL today Fatima apple-PL DIR-3SG.IO-3SG.AG-CAUS-gather

‘Fatima makes Azamat gather apples today’ = (i) both events take place today, (ii) only the caused event takes place today, but not (iii) \*only the causing event takes place today.

In typological research, interpretation of modifiers often is said to be related to biclausality/monoclausality. However, this is not the case for Adyghe, since the causative construction cannot include two temporal markers of the same type

- (19) \*njepe se a-š' newəš' ?of je-se-ke-š'e  
 today I (s)he-OBL tomorrow work 3SG.IO-1SG.AG-CAUS-do  
 'Today I make him work tomorrow'.

But semantically two situations can take place in different time, as in (17) and (18). Therefore, neither purely syntactic, nor purely semantic, but pragmatic characteristics (salience of situations) are important.

The situation in (17) and (18) is very typologically uncommon: the syntactically highest situation (the causation) is not privileged in the sense that it cannot be affected by the modifiers. Therefore, we can propose two explanations:

- Syntactically the causation is the highest situation, but semantically it is not
- The causation is not the highest neither semantically nor syntactically.

Note that causatives of intransitive verbs behave a bit differently in this respect:

- (20) šjate nepe s-je-ka-če  
 1SG.father today 1SG.S/O-3SG.AG-CAUS-run  
 'My father makes me run today'.

- (i) 'My father makes me run today, and I run today'  
 (ii) ?'I run today, but the father made me before';  
 (iii) \*'My father makes me run today, but I will run not today'

Some native speakers do not allow the interpretation (ii) (though some do). This is not surprising, since causatives of transitive verbs, more than causatives of intransitive ones, have complex structure, including two different subevents.

Even with unaccusative emotional verbs, the same effects occur:

- (21) azamate nepe s-j-e-ke-<sub>w</sub>əbžə tek<sub>w</sub>ase mə-thač'ə-ke-m-g'e  
 Azamat(ERG) today 1SG.IO-3SG.AG-DYN-CAUS-surprise yesterday NEG-wash-PST-ERG-INS  
 'Azamat surprises me today, because he did not wash the dishes yesterday'.

The modifier *today* and the present tense of the verb are applied only to the caused situation (the causation took place yesterday).

#### 4.1.1. Modifiers of temporal interval

Modifiers like *bere* 'for a long time; often' do not behave so strictly; however, they also prefer to modify the caused situation: cf. ungrammatical:

- (22) #čale-m pšaše bere čaške r-jə-ke-q<sub>w</sub>əta-<sub>κ</sub>  
 boy-OBL girl-OBL long cup 3SG.IO-3SG.AG-CAUS-break-PST

Not in the meaning 'The boy was making a girl break the cup for a long time'! Only in the meaning 'The boy often made a girl break the cup'.

Therefore, the caused situation is more salient and "full-fledged" than the causing one: it can be modified by all groups of modifiers. This does not mean that the semantics of causative situation does not include the causing situation: however, the caused situation has reduced aspectual properties. **Salience of situations influences grammatical properties of predications.**

#### 4.2. Causative marker + causative verb

The causative marker can be combined in one sentence with the causative verb *kezən* 'make'. Either of the verbs can be finite:

- (23) še čale-r je-z-ke-zə-<sub>κ</sub> mə?arəse q-je-z-ke-wə<sub>w</sub>ejən-ew  
 I boy-ABS 3SG.IO-1SG.AG-CAUS-make-PAST apple DIR-3SG.IO-1SG.AG-CAUS-gather-CONV  
 'I made the boy gather apples' (the causative verb is finite).

- (24) s-jane wəcə-m sə-rjə-ke-z-jə sə-r-je-ke-š<sub>w</sub>a-<sub>κ</sub>  
 1SG-mother medicin-OBL 1SG.S-3SG.A-CAUS-ROOT-& 1SG.S-LOC-3SG.A-CAUS-drink-PAST  
 'My mother made me drink the medicin' (the main verb is finite).

The construction (24) is not so important: the causative verb in the converbial form can

be regarded as an adverbial modifier:

‘My mother made me drink the medicin (by force)’

Much more important is (23): the causative verb here embeds the verb, which also contains the causative affix, which is literally:

‘My mother made me (to made me drink the medicin)’.

However, this fact is not typologically unique: analogous examples occur in Warihío:

(25) *hustína*      *isi-ré*      *kukuči*      *ko.koči-te-ka*  
 Agustina      move.SG-PFV      children      pl.sleep-CAUS-PTCP

‘Agustina made the children to go sleep’ (Armendariz 2005).

In Warihio, the caused event also carries non-finite marking. However, the author does not give other information about salience of events.

We can interpret it in terms of salience:

- in morphological causative construction, the caused event is salient;
- in “lexico-morphological” construction, the speaker wants to make the causation salient, using a causative verb.

Although we do not know anything about salience in Warihio, one fact makes us guess that the caused situation can also be not salient in this language:

“**adjective causatives**”: cf. *čipú* ‘bitter’:

(26) a. *tapaná*      *kahpé čipú-re*  
 yesterday      coffee bitter-PFV  
 ‘Yesterday the coffee was bitter’;

b. *tapaná*      *kahpé no’ó čipu-te-re*  
 yesterday      coffee 1SG.NS bitter-CAUS-PFV

‘Yesterday the coffee was bitter for me’ (lit. ‘Yesterday the coffee made me (perceive bitter)’).

Warihio has a lot of uses of causative without an agentive causee and causative semantics (in (26), no causative proper is present). Therefore, perhaps the role of causative is just to add an argument to the base verb but **not** make this participant salient.

### 4.3. Elimination of the second causative marker

In Adyghe, as noted in Smeets 1984, an unusual type of haplology occurs: though semantically causativization can be recursive, one of the causative markers can be eliminated: alongside with (6), (27) is also possible:

(27) *se*      *s-jə-thamatə šež’əje-r*       $\emptyset$ -*s-jə-ʁe-čan-əʁ*  
 I      1SG-POSS-boss      knife-ABS      3SG.S/O-1SG.IO-3SG.AG-CAUS-sharp-PERF.

‘My boss made me sharpen the knife’.

In (27) the verb has only one causative marker, although it is semantically a double causative (‘My boss made me made the knife be sharp’). However, personal markers show that the verb has three participants.

This omission of the causative marker is restricted: if the external causer is highly salient/focused, i.e., in the focus construction, both causative markers must be present:

(28) *thamate-r*      *arə*      *haw-m-jə*      *jə-š<sub>w</sub>əz-a*  
 boss-ABS      this:PRED      or      3SG.POSS-wife-Q  
                  *raboči-m*      *pχexə-r*      *je-z-ʁe-ʁe-čanə-ʁe-r*  
                  worker-OBL      saw-ABS      3SG.IO-REL.AG-CAUS-CAUS-sharpen-PST-ABS

‘Was it the boss or his wife who made the worker sharpen the saw?’

We, therefore, regard this process as evidence of **low salience** of the causing situation, because this situation is not obligatorily designated by a separate causative prefix. When the causer and, correspondingly, the situation, is focused, it must be designated by a prefix.

### 4.3. Other uses of causative marker

The causative marker has other uses, which also proves that the causing situation is not highly salient.

#### 4.3.1. Hortative

In imperative, causative forms can have the hortative reading:

- (29) tə-ʒ<sub>w</sub>ə-ke-psew  
1PL.S/O-2PL.AG-CAUS-live  
'Let's live together!' (literally, 'you (pl) let us live').
- (30) a-xe-m fatagrafije-xe-r ja-te-∅-ke-ke-λe<sub>w</sub>ə  
(s)he-PL-OBL photograph-PL-ABS 3PL.IO-1PL.IO-2SG.AG-CAUS-CAUS-see  
'Let's show them the photographs!' (literally, 'you (sg) let us show the the photographs').

The causing situation is not present in the meaning of such constructions: semantically, there is only the caused situation: the speaker only suggests the causee to make smth. together and not asks him to cause this situation.

#### 4.3.1. Switch-reference (see Nichols 1985 for Chechen and Ingush)

The causative constructions can sometimes designate only that the subject argument of the embedded verb is not co-referent with the subject of the main verb:

- (31) se sə-faj sə-čəje-n-ew  
I 1SG.S-want 1SG.S/O-sleep-MSD-CONV  
'I want to sleep'.
- (32) se sə-faj we we-z-ke-čəje-n-ew  
I 1SG.S-want you 2SG.S/O-1SG.AG-CAUS-sleep-MSD-ADV  
'I want you to sleep'.

The causative marker is not obligatory.

Here also, the causative meaning is irrelevant: the meaning of (32) includes only the caused, but not the causing situation.

Therefore, in non-causative uses only the caused situation is preserved, which shows that it is generally more salient than the causing situation.

### 4.4. Order of derivations

In Adyghe, causativization almost always takes place **after** reflexivization and reciprocization. See (33) (intransitive verb + causative + reflexive) and (34) (transitive verb + causative + reflexive):

Abdzakh:

- (33) a. se zə-s-λe<sub>w</sub>ə-ž'ə-ɸ  
I REFL-1SG.A-see  
'I saw myself';
- b. s-jate ɸ<sub>w</sub>ənž'e-m-č'e zə-qə-s-jə-ke-λe<sub>w</sub>ə-ž'ə-ɸ  
1SG-father mirror-ERG-INS REFL-INV-1SG.IO-3SG.A-CAUS-see-RFC-PAST  
'The father<sub>i</sub> showed me<sub>j</sub> (made me see) myself<sub>j</sub> in the mirror';
- (34) a. ɸ<sub>w</sub>ənž'e-m-č'e s-jə-ze-pλə-ž'ə-ɸ  
mirror-ERG-INS 1SG.S-LOC-REFL-look-ITER-PAST  
'I looked at myself in the mirror';
- b. s-jate ɸ<sub>w</sub>ənž'e-m-č'e sə-ze-r-jə-ke-pλə-ž'ə-ɸ  
1SG-father mirror-ERG-INS 1SG.S-REFL-LOC-3SG.A-CAUS-look-RFC-PST  
'The father<sub>i</sub> made me<sub>j</sub> look at myself<sub>j</sub> in the mirror'.

In (33) the reflexive marker occupies the direct object slot (as with transitive verbs). In (34) it occupies the indirect object slot (as with intransitive verbs).

If reflexivization applied **after** causativization, the patterns in (33) and (34) would be identical: in both cases reflexivization would bind the direct and the indirect object.

However, it is not identical, therefore, reflexivization applies to the transitive verb  $\lambda\epsilon\kappa_w\epsilon n$  ‘see’ and intransitive  $p\lambda\epsilon n$  ‘look’, and the reflexive verbs are causativized.

We think that Adyghe makes it to increase the status of the causee with transitive verbs like (33), where it is reflexivized as a subject and not an indirect object.

### 5. A small remark about labile verbs

In Adyghe, there is a large group of labile verbs ( $q_w\epsilon ten$  ‘break’,  $zeb\epsilon r\epsilon teq_w\epsilon n$  ‘spill’,  $w\epsilon\hat{s}_w\epsilon j\epsilon n$  ‘soil’ and so on).

Some of them (mainly momentary destruction verbs) do not take the causative marker in intransitive uses:

- (35)  $\check{c}\acute{a}\check{s}ke-r$              $q_w\epsilon ta-\epsilon$   
 cup-ABS                break-PST  
 ‘The cup broke’;
- (36) \* $se$      $\check{c}\acute{a}\check{s}ke-r$              $Z-\epsilon-q_w\epsilon ta-\epsilon$   
 I            cup-ABS                1SG.AG-CAUS-break-PST  
 ‘I broke a cup’.

The explanation can be that the causative constructions with all verbs in Adyghe create a new structure with two subevents: the caused and the causing one. Verbs like ‘break’ in transitive uses cannot have complex structure: the causing and the caused events are indistinguishable. This can be the reason why such meanings can only be designated by labile verbs.

### 6. Typological parallels?

We do not have similar data from “classical causative” languages. However, European languages have similar constructions with salient causees and not salient causers:

Russian:

- (37)  $po\check{c}emu$              $ja$              $tebe$              $et-o$              $ob\check{c}asnjaj-u$   
 why                    I.NOM    you.DAT            this-NOM.N.SG    explain-1SG.PRS  
 ‘Why do I have to explain it to you’ (lit. ‘Why do I explain it to you’).

In (37), the causation is backgrounded but present in the semantics: the speaker asks why the addressee **makes** him explain obvious things.

### 7. Conclusions: why do they need such causatives?

Therefore, Adyghe causative construction has a non-standard structure in the sense that the causation is not salient, whereas the caused situation has high degree of salience.

Question: **why** do we need this construction?

Generally, in all research on causatives, beginning from Shibatani 1976 and Nedjalkov, Sil’nitskij 1969 the causing situation is regarded as the “main” one. This would be natural, because it is the causing situation which is introduced by the causative marker, and, therefore, is semantically and syntactically the main situation.

Moreover, the causer is more agentive than the causee: it initiates the situation, whereas actions of the causee are forced by the causer.

**See (Peterson 2007) on other derivations:** in applicative constructions, the introduced argument tends to be more salient than the base one, since the “goal” of the construction is to introduce a new object or raise its status.

In the languages of the world we almost do not have any example of “inverse causative construction” where the causee is the subject and not the object (literally ‘He opened the door because of me’, not ‘I made him open the door’) (see, however, one use of benefactive marker in Toba, Cinsabella 2007). This fact shows that the causee and the causing situation is, indeed, more privileged than the caused one.



However, the verb designates precisely actions of the causee, and not the causer. This characteristics conflict with syntactic characteristics and semantic agentivity of the causer: in the languages of the world there are no causatives, for example, of the verb ‘open’ which would mean ‘opening the door, I made him perform some actions’.

In Adyghe, salience of the causee became more important than agentivity of the causer. This lead to syntactic privilegedness of the causee.

The main peculiarity of Adyghe constructions is that in most languages the causee compete with the base direct object (see Comrie 1976). In Adyghe the status of the causee is so high that it competes with the causer, whereas the direct object is much lower.

If the causer is not salient, why do we need to use the causative construction?

**Maybe Adyghe causative construction is a type of “reason construction”: causative includes the causer as a reason of the situation.**

See real “reason causatives” in Adyghe:

(38) ruslane            jə-tetež            žəke-m            jə-ke-λa-κ  
 Ruslan.ERG            3SG-grandfather    old.age-ERG            3SG.AG-CAUS-die-PST  
 ‘Ruslan’s grandfather died, because he was too old’, lit. ‘The old age made Ruslan’s grandfather die’.

(39) azamat gwəxeçə-m    jə-ke-κə-κ  
 Azamat    grief-ERG            3SG.AG-CAUS-cry-PST  
 ‘Azamat cried with grief’, lit. ‘The grief made Azamat cry’.

According to Txarkaxo 1991, such constructions are really widespread in Adyghe. We can say that we meet the same type of causative in causative constructions of transitive verbs.

Therefore, salience of arguments is indeed an important parameter for studies in causative constructions.

Another important issue: status of the causee among types of Adyghe arguments:

- indirect object? But see inchoative constructions
- agent? It requires us to say that causative verbs can have two agents.

We must rather choose the second answer. Note that this does not agree with Adyghe morphology (morphologically causee occupies the same slot as an indirect object), but lets us explain syntactic and semantic processes.

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