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CAUSATIVE AND PASSIVE IN SAKHA: FOCUSING ON DOUBLE-ACCUSATIVE CAUSATIVE AND IMPERSONAL PASSIVE¹

This paper examines Sakha causative and passive, focusing on double-accusative causative and impersonal passive. With regard to Sakha causatives, it is pointed out that the case-marking of causee is related to the type of causation meant. Double-accusative causatives are possible in Sakha. Additionally, Sakha allows impersonal passives, which are derived from both transitive and intransitive clauses. The unexpressed agent in impersonal passives must be human.

Double-accusative causative is impossible in most Turkic languages other than Sakha, but possible in almost all Tungusic languages. Therefore, it is highly probable that Sakha double-accusative causative has developed through contact with Tungusic languages. In contrast to double-accusative causatives, impersonal passives are not possible in Tungusic languages but found in other Turkic languages. Thus, it is unlikely that Sakha impersonal passives have developed through language contact.

Key words: *Sakha, valence, double-accusative causative, impersonal passive, language contact.*

1. Introduction

Sakha has four types of voice suffixes, causative, reflexive, reciprocal-cooperative, and passive, as Turkic languages do. All are derivational suffixes attached to verb stems. The aims of this paper are as follows:

- to describe the Sakha causative and passive, based on an analysis of case-marking and animacy;
- to examine the Sakha double-accusative causative and impersonal passive; and
- to provide genetic and areal accounts for these cross-linguistically interesting constructions.

In this paper, Sakha verb stems are classified as either transitive or intransitive. A verb that can take an accusative object is considered to be transitive, though this criterion can be challenged in some respects. For example, the verbs *tuol* ‘be full’ and *ylelee* ‘work’ are semantically intransitive-like, but they may take an accusative object, as in (1) and (2), respectively.

(1) *bu oko biir saah-u-n tuol-ar*
this child one year-POSS.3SG-ACC be.full-PRES:3SG
‘This baby is going to reach the age of one’.

(2) *uaraxan yle-ni ylelee-bit žon*
heavy work-ACC work-VN.PAST people
‘the people who have done hard work’.

Because these verbs, *tuol* ‘be full’ and *ylelee* ‘work’, can take very few nouns as accusative objects, they are tentatively considered to be intransitive².

¹ Sakha, also known as Yakut, is a Turkic language spoken in Sakha Republic, Russia. The number of speakers is estimated to be approximately 450,000. This paper is a revised version of my previous papers read at the annual meeting of Consortium of Studies of Eurasian Languages, 144th meeting of the Linguistic Society of Japan, and the meeting of the research project Universals and Cross-linguistic Variations in the Semantic Structure of Predicates.

² Vinokurova (2005: 337) suggests that intransitive verbs take *xaal* ‘remain’ as a perfective auxiliary in auxiliary verb constructions whereas transitive verbs take *kebis* ‘throw’ instead. The choice of auxiliaries may be another criterion for distinguishing transitives from intransitives.

2. Voice suffixes

2.1 Causative suffix

There are several causative morphemes. Among them, vowel stems take the suffix *-t*.³ Consonant stems take one of the seven morphemes shown in Table 1. The choice of suffix is lexically determined, but the condition is roughly predictable. Sakha causatives are discussed in detail in Section 3.

Some verb stems may take either of two causative suffixes, and the choice yields two stems of different semantics. For example, *tnn-ær* ‘return’ and *tænyñ-ner* ‘make sb go back’ are derived from *tænyñ* ‘go back’ by addition of the suffix *-ER* (B) and *-LER* (A), respectively, and both *uj-ut* ‘ask’ and *uj-dar* ‘make sb show’ are formed from *uj* ‘show’ by addition of the suffix *-it* (E) and *-LER* (A), respectively⁴.

Table 1

Causative suffixes

Morpheme	Productivity	Condition		Examples
(A) <i>-LER</i>	productive	consonant stems		<i>xaal-lar</i> ‘leave’ < <i>xaal</i> ‘be left’
(B) <i>-ER</i>	25 examples		monosyllabic ⁵	<i>byt-er</i> ‘finish’ < <i>byt</i> ‘end’
(C) <i>-IER</i>	7 examples		monosyllabic	<i>ir-ier</i> ‘melt’ < <i>ir</i> ‘melt’
(D) <i>-ERT</i>	4 examples		monosyllabic	<i>ih-ert</i> ‘make sb drink’ < <i>is</i> ‘drink’
(E) <i>-it</i>	10 examples		monosyllabic	<i>tej-it</i> ‘make sb get away’ < <i>tej</i> ‘get away’
(F) <i>-t</i>	productive		/r/	<i>itir-t</i> ‘make sb be drunk’ < <i>itir</i> ‘be drunk’
			/j/	<i>uo-t</i> ‘make sb be fat’ < <i>uoj</i> ‘be fat’
(G) <i>-TER</i>	productive		voiceless obstruents	<i>aax-tar</i> ‘make sb read’ < <i>aax</i> ‘read’
		/r, l, j/	<i>suruj-tar</i> ‘make sb write’ < <i>suruj</i> ‘write’	
(H) <i>-t</i>	productive	vowel stems	<i>aha-t</i> ‘make sb eat’ < <i>ahaa</i> ‘eat’ <i>tæræ-t</i> ‘<’ < <i>tærææ</i> ‘be born’	

2.2 Reflexive suffix

The Sakha reflexive suffix is *-(i)n*.⁶ This suffix creates a new verb stem meaning ‘V oneself’ or ‘V for oneself’. As is evident from (3) and (4), the reflexive suffix does not necessarily reduce verb valency.

- (3) *aruguu-nuu kut-tu-m*
 alcohol-ACC pour-PAST-1SG
 ‘I poured some vodka [in someone’s glass]’.

- (4) *aruguu-nuu kut-un-nu-m*
 alcohol-ACC pour-REFL-PAST-1SG
 ‘I poured some vodka in my glass’.

2.3 Reciprocal-cooperative suffix

The Sakha reciprocal-cooperative suffix is *-(i)s*.⁷ This suffix creates a new verb stem meaning ‘V each other’ or ‘V together’. As is evident from (5) and (6), the reciprocal-cooperative suffix does not necessarily reduce verb valency.

- (5) *aruguu-nuu is-ti-m*
 alcohol-ACC drink-PAST-1SG
 ‘I drank some vodka’.

³ The suffix *-t* replaces stem-final long vowels with short ones.

⁴ Small capital letters are used for suffixes that have several allomorphs conditioned by morphophonological alternation. For example, the causative suffix *-LER* has 16 allomorphs: *-ler, -lar, -lær, -lor, -ter, -tar, -tær, -tor, -der, -dar, -dr, -dor, -ner, -nar, -nær, and -nor*.

⁵ Some are bisyllabic in situ and become monosyllabic in suffixation: e.g., *oxt-or* ‘make sth fall’ from *oxsun* ‘fall’.

⁶ Stem-final /j/ may be dropped when the suffix is added: e.g., *suru-n* ‘write down for oneself’ from *suruj* ‘write’.

⁷ Stem-final /j/ may be dropped when the suffix is added: e.g., *suru-s* ‘write to each other’ from *suruj* ‘write’.

- (6) *arugui-nuu* *xampaañña-nuu* *kutta* *ih-is-ti-m*
 alcohol-ACC company-ACC with drink-RECP-PAST-1SG
 ‘I drank some vodka with my company’.

2.4 Passive suffix

The Sakha passive suffix is *-ilm*. The suffix is attached only to consonant stems, never to vowel stems: e.g., *et-ilin* ‘be said’ < *et* ‘say’ and *ul-uhlun* ‘be taken’ < *ul* ‘take’⁸. Sakha passives are discussed in detail in Section 4.

3. Sakha causative

In this paper, the causative clause is defined as a clause whose verbal predicate contains a causative suffix (Section 2.1).

3.1 Causative from an intransitive

In Sakha causatives formed from (underlying) intransitive clauses, the original subject goes into the position of object NP and is always marked as accusative, as seen in (7) and (8)⁹.

- (7) *ejigin* *ylele-t-e-bin*
 2SG:ACC work-CAUS-PRES-1SG
 ‘I make you work’.
- (8) *tual* *xaar-uu* *tyh-er-er*
 wind snow-ACC fall-CAUS-PRES:3SG
 ‘The wind makes the snow fall’.

Other causative verbs formed from intransitives include *æl-ær* ‘kill’, *yær-t* ‘make sb be glad’, and *uta-t* ‘make sb cry’. We may also regard these as simple transitive stems; as Stachowski and Menz (1998: 432) remark, “Causatives of intransitive stems become transitives”.

3.2 Causative from a transitive

In causatives formed from transitive clauses, either the original subject (causee) becomes the accusative NP or the original accusative NP remains accusative. In the latter case, the causee is marked either in the dative, accusative, or instrumental¹⁰. In addition, there are causative clauses that have no accusative NPs. Thus, the Sakha causative formed from a transitive has five case-marking patterns.

[Pattern 1]

The causee is marked as accusative. A few verbs, such as *aha-t* ‘feed’¹¹, *miin-ner* ‘make sb ride [on a horse]’¹², and *ulla-t* ‘make sb sing’, allow Pattern 1. Examples (9) and (10) show this pattern.

⁸ Stem-final /r/ sometimes changes to /s/: e.g., *oŋoŋ-ulun* ‘be made’ < *oŋoŋ* ‘make’. Stem-final /j/ may be dropped when the suffix is added: e.g., *suru-lun* ‘be written’ < *suruj* ‘write’.

⁹ This is one of Dixon’s (2010: 169) four basic characteristics of a prototypical causative derivation applying to an intransitive clause.

¹⁰ Stachowski and Menz (1998: 432) remark that “the causee [is] in the dative” in causative sentences, which is not suitable for all the causative clauses.

¹¹ Food, if expressed, has instrumental case-marking. The original verb *ahaa* ‘eat’ does not take “food” as an accusative NP but takes abstract nouns, such as *sarswardaannju* ‘morning’ or *elbex* ‘much’.

¹² “Horse” is in the accusative with the original stem *miin* ‘ride [a horse]’ but in the dative with the causative verb *miin-ner* ‘make sb ride [on a horse]’.

- (9) *kim =da kini-ni aha-p-pat*
 who =CLT 3SG-ACC eat-CAUS-NEG:PRES:3SG
 ‘No one feeds him’.

- (10) *lekies urua-lar-u aj-ar žon-u ulla-t-ar*
 PSN song-PL-ACC create-PRES:3SG people-ACC sing-CAUS-PRES:3SG
 ‘Lekies makes songs and lets people sing [them]’.

[Pattern 2]

The original accusative NP is maintained as accusative, and the causee is marked as dative. We can regard Pattern 2 as the default pattern of the Sakha causative from a transitive, considering both its frequency and productivity. Verbs such as *bil-ler* ‘make sb know’, *uj-dar* ‘make sb show’, *kær-dær* ‘make sb see’, *bul-lar* ‘make sb find’, *tal-lar* ‘make sb choose’, *umun-nar* ‘make sb forget’, *uur-dar* ‘make sb put sth’, and *ih-ert* ‘make sb drink’ are used in the Pattern 2 construction. See (11) and (12) for examples.

- (11) *bihixxe sonun-u bil-ler-el-ler*
 1PL:DAT news-ACC know-CAUS-PRES-3PL
 ‘They let us know the news’.

- (12) *sergej-ge son-u-n ket-erd-e-bin*
 PSN-DAT coat-POSS.3SG-ACC put.on-CAUS-PRES-1SG
 ‘I make Sergej put on his coat’.

When the accusative NP in a causative clause is the possession of the subject, the Pattern 2 causative may have some implicature of (dis)advantage. In (13), the 1SG subject (not expressed overtly) receives a benefit by letting Sargy cut his/her hair. A similar situation can be expressed by verbs such as *yytte-t* ‘have sb pierce [his/her ears]’ and *ul-lar* ‘have sb take away [bad teeth]’.

- (13) *sargu-ga battax-pu-n kuruj-tar-du-m*
 PSN-DAT hair-POSS.1SG-ACC cut-CAUS-PAST-1SG
 ‘I had Sargy cut my hair’.

In (14), by contrast, the subject suffers a disadvantage by unintentionally allowing the horse to kick his/her knee. This sentence is morphologically causative but semantically passive-like. Japanese people would translate this Sakha causative sentence into a Japanese passive such as *uma=ni ker-are-ta* (horse=DAT kick-PASS-PAST)¹³. In (15), there are no overt dative NPs but we can add one. Other verbs, *ykte-t* ‘have sth stepped on’ or *utur-tar* ‘have sth bitten’, can be used in the same way.

- (14) *sulgu-ga tobuk-pu-n tep-ter-di-m*
 horse-DAT knee-POSS.1SG-ACC kick-CAUS-PAST-1SG
 ‘I had my knee kicked by the horse’.

¹³ Most Turkic languages, such as Old Turkic, Turkish, Kirghiz, Kazakh, Uzbek, Uyghur, and Tyvan, and Mongolic languages have similar morphological causative that has a passive sense (Johanson 1998: 56; Kuribayashi 2008; Ohsaki 2006: 130, 186; Ščerbak 1981; Umetani 2008; Kurebito 2008). In Korean and Tungusic languages the same suffix is used for both causative and passive (Chung 2008; Kazama 2002).

- (15) *bu kihi xarčuu-tuu-n uor-dar-but*
 this person money-POSS.3SG-ACC steal-CAUS-PAST:3SG
 ‘This man had his money stolen’. (Ubrjatova *et al.* 1982: 255)

[Pattern 3]

The original accusative NP is maintained in the accusative, and the causee is in the instrumental. In Pattern 3 causative, the causee is always human and the causation is always intentional and manipulative. The verb *ælær-tær* ‘make sb kill’ is also used in Pattern 3.

- (16) *miša maša-nan tynnyk-ter-i alžat-tar-da*
 PSN PSN-INST window-PL-ACC break-CAUS-PAST:3SG
 ‘Misha made Masha break windows’.

- (17) *bil-bet kihi-ti-nen suhal kæmæ-ny uŋjur-tar-but*
 know-NEG:VN.PRES person-POSS.3SG-INST quick help-ACC call-CAUS-PAST:3SG
 ‘[(S)he] made a strange person call for quick help’.

[Pattern 4]

The original accusative NP is maintained in the accusative and the causee is also in the accusative. That is, Pattern 4 yields a double-accusative. See (18) and (19) for examples. In Sakha, a double-accusative construction is possible only in causative clauses.

- (18) *kuuuh-uu-n oskuola-tuu-n byter-ter-bit*
 daughter-POSS.3SG-ACC school-POSS.3SG-ACC finish-CAUS-PAST:3SG
 ‘[(S)he] made his/her daughter graduate from school’.

- (19) *miša maša-nuu xoh-u xomuj-tar-da*
 PSN PSN-ACC room-ACC clean-CAUS-PAST:3SG
 ‘Misha made Masha clean up the room’. (Vinokurova 2005: 359)

Other verbs used in Pattern 4 are *aax-tar* ‘make sb read’, *aruuj-tar* ‘make sb open’, and *oŋor-tor* ‘make sb make’. All these causative verbs express forced (directive) causation. What has not been said in the previous studies is that, among the several causative suffixes shown in Table 1, only the suffix *-ter* allows Pattern 4, i.e., double-accusative.

[Pattern 5]

Though the original transitive stem can take an accusative NP, the newly derived causative verb does not. Namely, the causative suffix reduces verb valency. From the perspective of semantics, the causative verbs of Pattern 5 are either contact/impact or interpersonal verbs. Both types of verbs imply unintentional action, and the sentence is again passive-like.

Firstly, I provide examples with contact/impact verbs. The transitive stem *tap* ‘hit [the target]’ can take an accusative NP, but its causative derivative *tap-tar* ‘be hit’ cannot take an accusative NP, as in (20). The same applies to verbs like *batta-t* ‘be caught’ in (21) and *utuur-tar* ‘be bitten’. What is noteworthy is that in these two examples the English translations employ a passive construction for a Sakha (morphological) causative.

(20) *toxučar ox-xo tap-tar-an æl-byt*
 PSN arrow-DAT hit-CAUS-CV die-PAST:3SG
 ‘Toxuchar was hit by an arrow and he died’.

(21) *kuobax soxso-ko batta-p-puut*
 rabbit trap-DAT clip-CAUS-PAST:3SG
 ‘The rabbit was caught in a trap’. (Xaritonov 1963: 64)

Secondly, I give examples with interpersonal verbs, that is, where both the agent and patient are humans. The transitive stem *kuaj* ‘win’ takes an accusative NP, but its causative derivative *kuaj-tar* ‘lose’ cannot take an accusative NP, as seen in (22). The same applies to (23) and (24). In these examples also, the English translations employ a passive construction for a Sakha causative. The original subject must be in the dative if expressed. Verbs such as *xot-tor* ‘lose’, *xajka-t* ‘be praised’, *alka-t* ‘be celebrated’, *sæbyle-t* ‘be liked’, and *tapta-t* ‘be loved’ show similar behavior.

(22) *keskil žulus-ka kuaj-tar-da*
 PSN PSN-DAT win-CAUS-PAST:3SG
 ‘Keskil got lost by Zhulus’.

(23) *ikki-s-tee-n albunna-t-um-aaru kini-tten tej-bit-im*
 2-ORD-VBLZ-CV deceive-CAUS-PRES:3SG 3SG-ABL go.away-PAST-1SG
 ‘In order not to be deceived again, I went away from him/her’.

(24) *xajdax er žoŋ-ŋo tapta-t-a-but*
 how men-DAT love-CAUS-PRES-1PL
 ‘How [we ladies] are loved by men?’

3.3 Case-marking patterns and semantics

As we have seen in the discussion so far, Sakha causatives have six case-marking patterns, one based on intransitives and the others on transitives. Table 2 shows the case-marking and semantic characteristics of Sakha causatives (Here, the causative from an intransitive stem is called “Pattern 0”). Now let us examine animacy and case-marking/meaning interrelationships in more detail.

Table 2

Case-marking and meaning of the Sakha causative

CAUS from	ACC NP	Causee	Semantics, etc.	Pattern
intransitive	original S	ACC	inanimate subject (8)	0
	original A	ACC	inanimate subject (25)	1
transitive	original P	ACC	forced causation, double-accusative	4
		INST	intentional	3
		DAT	default, (dis)advantage implicature	2
	—	DAT	unintentional, valency reduction	5

S: intransitive subject, A: transitive subject, P: transitive object

(A) Animacy of the subject (causer)

The subject of the Sakha causative clause (causer) is prototypically human. This is because there are no examples with inanimate subjects in Patterns 2, 3, 4, and 5 (Also, sentences I constructed with inanimate subjects were all rejected by native speakers)¹⁴. In the causative from an intransitive

¹⁴ A similar situation is reported in Nivkh. According to Nedjalkov et al. (1995), a causer must be animate in Nivkh causative.

(Pattern 0), an inanimate subject is possible, as in (8). This is perhaps due to the fact that a causative verb from an intransitive stem can be regarded as a simple transitive verb (Section 3.1). Pattern 1 sometimes allows an inanimate subject, as in (25). Pattern 1 is parallel to Pattern 0, causative from an intransitive, in that the causee is marked as accusative and allows an inanimate subject.

- (25) *saxa sir-in kulgas sajuun-a*
 Sakha land-POSS.3SG short summer-POSS.3SG
uhun kuhun-u aha-t-ar
 long winter-ACC eat-CAUS-PRES:3SG
 ‘The short summer of Sakha Republic feeds its long winter’.

(B) Case-marking/meaning interrelationships

There is a strong correlation between the case-marking of the causee and the meaning of causative clauses. When the causee is in the accusative or instrumental case (Patterns 0, 1, 3, and 4), the causation is intentional. On the other hand, when the causee is in the dative (Patterns 2 and 5), the causation is not always intentional. This is seen in (14) and (15) of Pattern 2, when the subject suffers some disadvantage, and in (20) to (24), when there are no accusative NPs in a causative clause. Passive sentences may be employed in the Japanese or English translations of these examples.

The next pair of examples shows that the same causative verb can be used for different meanings depending on the case-marking of the causee. When the causee is in the dative (Pattern 2), as in (26), the sentence indicates that the subject is deceived without intention. Contrastively, when the causee is in the instrumental (Pattern 3), as in (27), the sentence indicates the subject intentionally made his son deceive someone.

- (26) *ol kihi uol-u-gar albunna-p-puut*
 that person son-POSS.3SG-DAT deceive-CAUS-PAST:3SG
 ‘That man was (unintentionally) deceived by his son’.

- (27) *ol kihi uol-u-nan albunna-p-puut*
 that person son-POSS.3SG-INST deceive-CAUS-PAST:3SG
 ‘That man (intentionally) made his son deceive [somebody]’.

3.4 Summary

- The causer in the Sakha causative is prototypically human, because a non-human subject is not possible in Patterns 2, 3, 4, and 5.
- The causee in the Sakha causative is marked either by accusative, instrumental, or dative case.
- The choice of case-marking is related to the meaning: When the causee is marked by accusative or instrumental case, the causation is intentional; when the causee is marked by dative, the causation can be unintentional. When the causation is unintentional, Japanese or English translations may employ a passive sentence for a Sakha morphological causative.
- Only the causative suffix *-ter* yields a double-accusative causative (Pattern 4), which will be viewed later in Section 5 from a genetic/areal perspective.

4. Sakha passive

In this paper, a passive clause is defined as a clause whose verbal predicate contains the passive suffix *-ilm* (Section 2.4). In most cases, (underlying) transitive stems take the passive suffix, but as is discussed in Section 4.2, some intransitive stems also take the passive suffix. Previous studies, such

as Stachowski and Menz (1988: 432), point out that the agent of a passive clause is, if overtly expressed, marked with instrumental case. Surely, there are examples of Sakha passives whose agent is in the instrumental, as in (28).

- (28) *xallaan bulut-unan byry-lly-byt*
 sky cloud-INST cover-PASS-PAST:3SG
 ‘The sky is covered by clouds’.

However, according to my consultants, human agents cannot be overtly expressed in the Sakha passive. For example, native speakers do not employ passive for sentences such as “I was hit by my brother” or “This house was built by my friend”. In such cases, they tend to use active sentences like “My brother hit me”¹⁵. Only unspecific humans can be overtly expressed as the agent of a Sakha passive. Both (29) and (30) are taken from Sakha newspapers, though Nadya Vinokurova (p.c.) comments that (29) is very unnatural.

- (29) *min policija-lar-unan tut-ulun-nu-m*
 1SG policeman-PL-INST catch-PASS-PAST-1SG
 ‘I was caught by policemen’.

- (30) *žie-m saxa uus-tar-u-nan tut-ullu-but*
 house-POSS.1SG Sakha craftsman-PL-POSS.3SG-INST build-PASS-PAST:3SG
 ‘My house was built by Sakha craftsmen’.

The subject of the passive clause in (32) is in the accusative in the corresponding active clause in (31). In this paper, however, we are not concerned with these “canonical” Sakha passives.

- (31) *aan-u ah-ar*
 door-ACC open-VN.PRES
 ‘to open the door’.

- (32) *aan ah-uhlun-na*
 door open-PASS-PAST:3SG
 ‘The door was opened’.

4.1 Impersonal passive from a transitive

The original accusative NP in active clauses can remain in the accusative in passive clauses, as in (33). This type of passive is called the “impersonal passive” in the cross-linguistic literature¹⁶. The fact that Sakha allows impersonal passives has already been pointed out by previous studies such as Vinokurova (2005: 336).

- (33) *aan-u ah-uhlun-na*
 door-ACC open-PASS-PAST:3SG
 ‘The door was opened’.

¹⁵ Stachowski and Menz (1998: 432) remark that “the agent, if expressed, is in the instrumental” but give no examples. Ubrjatova *et al.* (1982: 266) show several passive examples with an overt agent in the instrumental. All the overt agents are inanimate nouns. A similar situation is observed in Khalkha Mongolian. According to Nukushina (2009), human agents cannot be overtly expressed in Khalkha Mongolian passives.

¹⁶ Impersonal passives from transitives are possible in other languages including Welsh, Finnish, and Ainu (Shore 1988; Siewierska 2008; Bugaeva 2011).

In Sakha impersonal passives from transitives, the person/number marking in the predicate is always 3SG, and we cannot posit an overt subject. The accusative NP is not promoted to the subject position, as is obvious from (35), in which the accusative NP is marked as plural but the person/number marking in the predicate remains 3SG.

(34) *turnir onus tægyl-y-n uuut-uluun-na*
 cup tenth time-POSS.3SG-ACC send-PASS-PAST:3SG
 ‘The tenth cup was held’.

(35) *sonun-nar-uu aav-uluun-na*
 news-PL-ACC read-PASS-PAST:3SG
 ‘Some news was read’. (Vinokurova 2005: 336)

The Sakha impersonal passive from a transitive is used for describing both a specific event, as in (34) and (35), and a state of affairs, as in (36) and (37). We cannot express an overt agent in examples (34) to (37), but the implied agent of an impersonal passive is always human.

(36) *orgut-ullu-but uu-ga yyt-y kut-ull-ar*
 boil-PASS-VN.PAST water-DAT milk-ACC pour-PASS-PRES:3SG
 ‘Milk is poured into the boiled water’.

(37) *aruguu-nuu ih-ill-ie suox-taax*
 alcohol-ACC drink-PASS-FUT not-PROP:COP.3SG
 ‘One must not drink alcohol [here]’.

4.2 Impersonal passive from an intransitive

Sakha passive suffix *-ilm* can be attached to some intransitive stems. In this case also, the person/number marking in the predicate is always 3SG, and we cannot posit an overt subject. Namely, the resultant is also an impersonal passive. Unlike passives from transitives, Sakha impersonal passives from intransitives are used only for describing a state of affairs, as in (38) and (39).

(38) *onnuk sir-ge meene kiir-illi-bet*
 such place-DAT aimlessly enter-PASS-NEG:PRES:3SG
 ‘One cannot easily go into such a place’.

(39) *massuuuna-nan ikki suukka-nan tiij-ill-er*
 car-INST two whole.day-INST reach-PASS-PRES:3SG
 ‘One can get [there] by a car in two whole days’.

The attested intransitive stems that can take a passive suffix are as follows: *bar* ‘go’, *syyr* ‘run’, *kuot* ‘run away’, *takus* ‘go out’, *olor* ‘sit’, *surruut* ‘stay’, *sut* ‘lie down’, *ajdaar* ‘be noisy’, and *sohuj* ‘be astonished’. All these verbs express an action that humans perform intentionally, except for *sohuj* ‘be astonished’¹⁷. Intransitive stems that take an inanimate subject, such as *xarajar* ‘get dark’ or *kieher* ‘become dusk’, or intransitive stems that express an unintentional action, such as *uuruuj* ‘be sick’ or *sulaj* ‘be tired’ do not take a passive suffix.

¹⁷ Most of these are verbs of movement. However, there is at least one verb of movement *kel* ‘come’ that does not take a passive suffix.

4.3 Summary

- The agent of the Sakha passive is not expressed overtly when it is a specific human noun.
- The impersonal passive from a transitive is used for describing both a specific event and a state of affairs, and the implied agent must be human.
- The impersonal passive from an intransitive is used for describing a state of affairs, the implied subject must be human, and the action is intentional.

5. Concluding remarks and comments on the genetic/areal situation

This paper describes Sakha causatives and passives with a particular focus on case-marking, animacy, and intentionality. Lastly, I would like to make some remarks on the double-accusative causative and impersonal passive from viewpoint of genetics and areal linguistics.

The double-accusative causative is impossible in other Turkic languages, as is pointed out by Ohsaki (2000: 68) on Kyrgyz (Kirghiz) and by Letuchiy (2006) on Khakas¹⁸. Umetani (2004) shows that Khalkha Mongolian does not allow a causative clause to contain two accusative NPs¹⁹. Contrastingly, double-accusative causatives are possible in almost all Tungusic languages, such as Even (Malchukov 1995: 14), Evenki (Nedjalkov 1997: 231), Udihe (Nikolaeva and Tolskaya 2001: 586), Ul'chi (Kazama 2010b: 135), Nanay (Kazama 2010a: 248), Hezhen (Linjing Li p.c.), Uilta (Petrova 1967: 90), Literary Manchu (Tsumagari 2001: 76), and Sibe (Norikazu Kogura p.c.). An example from Evenki is provided in (40). It is highly probable that the Sakha double-accusative causative developed through language contact with Tungusic languages.

[Evenki] Nedjalkov (1997: 231)

(40) *alagumni bejetken-me unta-l-va-n olgi-vkon-e-n*
 teacher boy-ACC fur.boot-PL-ACC-POSS.3SG dry-CAUS-NFUT-3SG
 ‘The teacher made the boy dry his fur boots’.

On the other hand, impersonal passives are possible also in other Turkic languages. According to Johanson (1998: 55), the impersonal passive from a transitive is possible in Chagatay, Uzbek, and Modern Uyghur²⁰. An example from Uzbek is provided in (41). There are two types of intransitive-based passives in Turkic languages. One is a passive without a subject, which is possible in Turkish (Göksel and Kerslake 2005: 151), Azerbaijani, Kyrgyz (Ohsaki 2006: 60), Bashkir (Juldašev 1981: 246), and Balkar (Lyutikova and Bonch-Osmolovskaya 2006: 400)²¹. The Sakha intransitive-based passive (impersonal passive) is of this type. An example from Balkar is provided in (42). The other type is a passive with a subject, and it is possible in Old Turkic (Erdal 1991: 691) and Kirghiz (Ohsaki 2006: 60). An example from Kyrgyz is provided in (43).

[Uzbek] Johanson (1998: 55), glossed by the author

(41) *čaj-ni ič-il-di*
 tea-ACC drink-PASS-PAST:3
 ‘The tea was drunk’.

¹⁸ Letuchiy (2006: 421) shows an example of a causative with double-accusative, which some of his language consultants consider possible though highly improbable.

¹⁹ According to Umetani (2004), Comrie (1976: 275) presents an example from Mongolian as a double-accusative causative, to which he gives a wrong morphological analysis. Actually, the sentence does not contain a double-accusative.

²⁰ Chagatay is defined as some stages of written Turkic in Central Asia. Among modern languages, Uzbek and Modern Uyghur are the most closely related to Chagatay.

²¹ According to Ohsaki (2006), there is no impersonal passive construction in Tyvan or Tofa, which are supposedly the languages most closely related to Sakha.

[Balkar] Lyutikova and Bonch-Osmolovskaya (2006: 400)

(42) *ekinči etaž-de igi zuqla-n-a-dī*
 second floor-LOC good sleep-PASS-PRES-3
 ‘It is good to sleep on the first floor’.

[Kyrgyz] Ohsaki (2006: 60)

(43) *bul it žat-īl-ba-y-t*
 this dog lie-PASS-NEG-PRES-3
 ‘This dog doesn’t want to lie down’.

Khalkha Mongolian also has an intransitive-based passive with a subject. Among the Tungusic languages, only Even allows the intransitive-based passive, which is different from the impersonal construction (see (44)). It contains an overt subject and has an adversative meaning. Given these facts, it seems unlikely that Sakha impersonal passives (from both transitives and intransitives) have developed through language contact.

[Even] Malchukov (1995: 22)

(44) *mut arisag-du eme-w-re-p*
 1PL(INCL) ghost-DAT come-PASS-NFUT-1PL
 ‘A ghost came to us; we were negatively affected’.

Table 3

Genetic/areal distribution of causative/passive constructions

	Double-accusative causative	Impersonal passive from transitive	Intransitive-based passive with a subject	Intransitive-based (impersonal) passive without a subject
Sakha	Yes	Yes	No	Yes
Turkic	No	Chagatay, Uzbek, Modern Uyghur	Old Turkic, Kirghiz	Azerbaijani, Turkish, Balkar, Kirghiz, Bashkir,
Mongolic	No	No	Yes	No
Tungusic	Yes	No	Even (adversative)	No

Abbreviations

ACC – accusative	LOC – locative	PRES – present
CAUS – causative	NEG – negative	PSN – person name
CV – converb	NFUT – non-future	RECP – reciprocal- cooperative
DAT – dative	PASS – passive	REFL – reflexive
FUT – future	PAST – past	SG – singular
INCL – inclusive	PL – plural	VN – verbal noun
INST – instrumental	POSS – possessive	

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Фуюки Эбата

КАУЗАТИВ И ПАССИВ В ЯЗЫКЕ САХА: ИССЛЕДОВАНИЕ КАУЗАТИВОВ С ДВОЙНЫМ АККУЗАТИВОМ И НЕЛИЧНЫХ ПАССИВОВ

Рассматриваются каузативные и пассивные конструкции в языке саха, в частности каузативы с двойным аккузативом и неличные пассивы. Относительно каузативов в языке саха утверждается, что падежное оформление каузируемого участника зависит от типа каузатива. В языке саха возможны каузативы с двойным аккузативом. В языке саха также имеются неличные пассивы, образованные от транзитивных и нетранзитивных глаголов. Референтом невыраженного агенса в конструкциях с неличным пассивом обязательно является человек.

В отличие от языка саха каузативы с двойным аккузативом не характерны для большинства тюркских языков, однако распространены в тунгусских языках. Следовательно, с большой степенью уверенности можно утверждать, что каузатив с двойным аккузативом в языке саха появился в результате контакта с тунгусскими языками. С другой стороны, неличные пассивы не встречаются в тунгусских языках, но характерны для других тюркских языков. Развитие неличных пассивов в языке саха вряд ли можно объяснить языковым контактом.

Ключевые слова: язык саха, валентность, каузативы с двойным аккузативом, неличные пассивы, языковой контакт.

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