EVENT (DE)COMPOSITION AND FAKE CAUSATIVIZATION

EKATERINA LYUTIKOVA AND SERGEI TATEVOSOV
Lomonosov Moscow State University

1 Fake causative

In this paper, we examine the phenomenon of *fake causativization*, illustrated in (1) from Tatar[1]:

(1)   trener marat-nı   jeger-t-ter-de.[2]
        trainer M.-ACC   run-CAUS-CAUS-PST
        'The trainer made Marat run.'

Morphologically, (1) involves *a double causative* of the unergative verb 'run', shown in (2).

(2)   marat   jeger-de.
        M.   run-PST
        'Marat ran.'

Syntactically, (1) is a transitive clause where the causer appears in the nominative, and the causee, the argument of the non-derived verb stem, receives the accusative case marking. What is surprising about (1) is that one of the two occurrences of the causative morpheme (TYR henceforth) makes no visible contribution to the structure and interpretation of the clause. The unergative verb in (2) gets effectively causativized by exactly one instance of TYR, as shown in (3):

(3)   trener marat-nı   jeger-t-te.
        trainer M.-ACC   run-CAUS-PST
        'The trainer made Marat run.'

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[2] The causative morpheme *tır* appears in two variants, *-t-* and *-tır-*. Their distribution is conditioned phonologically: the *-t-* allomorph appears after sonorants in multisyllabic stems, *-tır-* is used elsewhere.