

## Origin of inchoative / causative apophonic derivation in Budugh

Budugh is spoken by a few hundred speakers in the Quba region of Northern Azerbaijan. Within the Lezgian branch of the Nakh-Daghestanian family, it forms with neighbouring Kryz a separate group; both languages share an anticausative derivation, productive as a full-fledged voice with most transitive verbs in Kryz, while marginal in Budugh. This is a rare feature in Daghestanian languages, but comparison with remotely related (Tsezic and Avar) languages supports the hypothesis that it could be an inherited feature. Budugh has also a very original and regular causativizing device for change of state and movement verbs, involving morphological operations other than mere affixation (of the apophonic type, cf. Nichols 2004), which has no equivalent in any related language and is probably recent. Our presentation shows how both morphological derivations (causative and anticausative) are related.

A large part of Budugh intransitive verbs - mainly those which involve a change of state or movement - have alternant synthetic causative stems characterized by a suprasegmental palatalizing / heightening vowel feature, and adding or removing *-r*, *-l*, *-n* affixes, either in both perfective and imperfective aspects:

perfective	imperfective	
<i>sa'a</i>	<i>sar'ar</i>	dry intr.
<i>se'ir</i>	<i>ser'i</i>	dry tr.
<i>aq'ul</i>	<i>alq'al</i>	sit
<i>eq'il</i>	<i>elq'i</i>	seat

or in the imperfective aspect only, the perfective stem being “labile”, unmarked as to the diathesis:

labile perfective	imperfective	
<i>exir</i> <	<i>arxar</i>	sleep
	<i>erxi</i>	make sleep

The direction of these derivations is all but clear, rather “equipollent” - with only one root consonant. Crosslinguistically, the inchoative term of such pairs is usually basic morphologically (outside Europe, where detransitivizing derivations are unusually frequent) and Daghestanian languages are overall predominantly transitivizing languages. However, comparison with the neighbouring Kryz language leads us to think that such pairs appeared by borrowing and semantically reversing this apophonic - morphologically equipollent - scheme from another, semantically anticausative alternation.

In a few instances in Budugh, the transitive verb is, for semantic reasons, to be considered the source of derivation of the intransitive verb. These verbs have a labile perfective:

perfective	imperfective	
<i>yot'u</i> <	<i>yorat'ar</i>	be cut, stop intr.
	<i>yort'u</i>	cut tr.

Matches to these verbs in Kryz are medio-passive forms (originally anticausative) of transitive

verbs characterized by a postradical segment *-ar* in the imperfective. In most cases a secondary analytical intransitive (resultative) perfective was coined involving the imperfective stem and a perfective auxiliary “to be”:

Perfective	imperfective	
<i>yat'-i</i>	<i>yart'-i</i>	cut tr.
<i>(yat'-i) / yart'ara xhiyi</i>	<i>yart'-ar-i</i>	be cut, stop intr.

Budugh, using the same morphological alternation, reversed the direction of the originally anticausative derivation to a causative one with intransitive verbs whose basic meaning does not imply any agent oriented meaning component (Haspelmath 1993). With such verbs as “dry”, “sit”, or “wake up”, identical in Budugh and Kryz, the simplest stems are intransitive perfectives, from which intransitive imperfectives are derived through insertion of *-r/l* and vowel alternation:

perfective	imperfective	
<i>aq'ul =&gt;</i>	<i>alq'al</i>	sit
<i>exir =&gt;</i>	<i>arxar</i>	sleep
<i>sa'a =&gt;</i>	<i>sar'ar</i>	dry intr.

The transitive imperfective is a new form, analogical to the reverse transitive => anticausative alternation model.

imperfective	compare	imperfective
	in Kryz	
<i>erxi</i> make sleep		<i>yart'-i</i> cut
↑↑		↓
<i>arxar</i> sleep		<i>yart'-ar-i</i> be cut

The transitive perfective either remains labile:

perfective	imperfective
<i>exir</i> <	<i>arxar</i> sleep
	↓
	<i>erxi</i> make sleep

or another new form emerges, analogical to the perfective => imperfective transitive alternation rule (the inserted sonorant becomes suffixed):

perfective	imperfective
<i>sa'a=&gt;</i>	<i>sar'ar</i> dry intr.
	↓
<i>se'ir=&gt;</i>	<i>ser'i</i> dry tr.

The forms cited so far show (minimal, zero) human masculine gender-number agreement. A full paradigm of an intransitive Budugh verb along with its causative looks like this :

genders	perfective	imperfective	genders	perfective	imperfective
I, IV	<i>uzoq'ul</i>	<i>uzaq'al</i>	I, IV	<i>üzeq'il</i>	<i>üzelq'i</i>
		“cry”		“make cry”	
II	<i>uzolq'ul</i>	<i>uzalq'al</i>	II	<i>üzelq'il</i>	<i>üzelq'i</i>
III	<i>uzobq'ul</i>	<i>uzoq'ol</i>	III	<i>üzöq'ül</i>	<i>üzölq'ü</i>
V	<i>ubazaq'al</i>	<i>ubazalq'al</i>	V	<i>üzebq'i</i>	<i>l</i> <i>üzöbülq'ü</i>

These intricate but very regular - rather apophonic-inflectional (Indo-European, Semitic type) than segmental-derivational (Daghestanian, Turkic type) - causative paradigms are independent innovations of Budugh, with no equivalent in Kryz, or in any other Lezgian language, which use only auxiliaries for valence increasing operations. Given the close proximity of Kryz and Budugh, we may conclude that 1) synthetic voices can appear in a relatively short time in a given language; 2) a recent morphological causative voice need not be the result of grammaticalization of an auxiliary into a valence increasing morpheme.

#### References

1. Dixon, R. M. W. & Aikhenvald, A. Y., 2000 *Changing valency* Cambridge
2. Haspelmath, M., 1993 *More on typology of inchoative/causative verb alternations* in B. Comrie & M. Polinsky (eds) *Causatives and transitivity*. Amsterdam
3. Haspelmath, M. & Müller-Bardey, T., 2005 *Valence change* In: Booij, G. & Lehmann, C. & Mugdan, J. (eds.) *Morphology: A Handbook on Inflection and Word Formation*, Berlin
4. Nichols, J., Peterson, D. A. & Barnes, J., 2004 *Transitivizing and detransitivizing languages* in *Linguistic Typology* 8-2