



- (4) we se wə-\*(q'e)-z-o-že.  
 you I 2SG.ABS-INV-1SG.IO-DYN-wait  
*You are waiting for me.*

With causativized 2-place intransitives an inersive morpheme occurs only when both the new subject and the Causee are lower than the indirect object on the person hierarchy:

- (5) abə w-\*(q'ə)-z-jə-ke-ž-a-š  
 he.ERG 2SG.DO(causee)-INV-1SG.IO-3SG.A-CAUS-wait-PF-IND  
*He made you wait for me.*

- (6) abə sə-w-jə-ke-ž-a-š  
 he.ERG 1SG.DO(causee)-2SG.IO-3SG.A-CAUS-wait-PF-IND  
*He made me wait for you.*

- (7) abə wə-z-ke-ž-a-š  
 he.ERG 2SG.IO-1SG.A-CAUS-wait-PF-IND  
*I made him wait for you.*

When a 2-place transitive verb is causativized, there is no need for an inersive morpheme when the Causer is lower than the Causee on the person hierarchy:

- (8) se aslen sə-b-o-ke-lex<sub>w</sub>  
 I Aslan 1SG.IO-2SG.A-DYN-CAUS-see  
*You showed me (lit.: made me see) Aslan.*

When a 3-place transitive verb is causativized, an inersive can only occur when the Causee (but not the Causer) is lower than the original indirect object:

- (9) se txəł-ər \*(q'ə)-w-e-z-ke-t-a-š  
 I book-ABS INV-2SG.IO-3SG.IO-1SG.A-CAUS-give-PF-IND  
*I made him give you the book.*

- (10) aslen se txəł-ər w-z-tjə-ke-t-a-š  
 Aslan I book-ABS 2SG.IO-1SG.IO-3SG.A-CAUS-give-PF-IND  
*Aslan made me give you the book.*

Analysis. The different properties of causativized verbs with respect to their transitivity may be explained by different mechanisms of causativization. In the case of intransitives the external agent (the Causer) does not affect the existing argument structure (the Causee and the initial object preserve their case marking and agreement slots). Causative constructions of this type show monoclausal properties: the inersive is sensitive both to the Causer and the Causee. In the case of transitives the Causer suppresses the initial agent (S → IO) and appears to be external to the whole causativized clause. The inersive is thus insensitive to the Causer.

Conclusion. The transitivity asymmetries in polysynthetic languages may differ from language to language. These asymmetries may consist not only of the fact that morphological causatives can be derived only from intransitive verb stems, but also in different syntactic properties of causativized transitive and intransitive clauses.

Notes:

1. This study is the result of the fieldwork in the Karachay-Cherkessian Republic of Russia in 2004, 2005 and 2006.

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