The morphosyntax of causatives and affix multifunctionality

Morphosyntactically, Hungarian causatives fall into two major types: i-causatives (inner/root-level affixation, single-event of direct causation, with semantic idiosyncrasies) and e-causatives, a.k.a. factitives (outer/word-level affixation, multiple subevents with indirect causation, fully transparent semantics). Morphologically, though, the forms realizing the two types are often indistinguishable, with causativity marked by the very same affix exponent (*-(t)At*). This paper proposes **(i)** to analyse this duality in terms of the inner/outer affixation difference in a Marantzian antilexicalist framework (Halle & Marantz 1993, Marantz 1997, 2001, 2005), **(ii)** to account for the patterns of the various known subtypes of i-causatives (Komlósy 1994, 2000) by the syntactic make-up of the relevant words, and **(iii)** to place the account in the context of a wider pattern of affix multifunctionality (inner vs. outer use) in Hungarian, drawing parallels with the dual use of 'participle' affixes, such as *-Ó* (*ír-ó* 'writer$_N$' vs. '[being in the process of] writing$_{Ptcp}$') or *-Ás* (*ír-ás* '[piece of] writing$_N$' vs. '[act of] writing$_{Ger}$').

(i) In Marantz's model, where syntactic and morphological assembly are non-distinct ('single generative engine'), word structure is formed in syntax, with category-neutral roots turned into category-specified words, by merging with appropriate affixal heads (*v, n, a*). The core idea is that i-causatives arise by inner affixation, e-causatives by outer affixation, hence the systematic differences between them. The latter is invariably represented by the affixal sound-form *-(t)At*, which also occurs as the exponent of i-causativity in many cases. The (morpho)syntactic structure underlying all of the constructions discussed is in (6), *v* is a verbalizer, introducing eventivity, C-INT introduces agentivity, hence direct causation, *Voice* projects any external argument (EA), Caus represents e-causation. Factitives describe situations with two closely related subevents: the causee brings about the base event by some act, which constitutes one subevent (Bartos 2011). Syntactically: VoiceP = base subevent, CausP domain = inducing subevent; Caus selects an agentive and EA-projecting Voice. (In the subsequent derivation, only Caus's own EA can raise to clausal subject, by standard locality.)

(ii) Two major subtypes of i-causatives must be accounted for: 'causative derivation' (CD): (1), and 'anticausative derivation' (AD): (2). In CD, either the root, or its adjectivized derivative merges first with *v*, yielding an unaccusative verb (*kék*$_A$ 'blue' + *v* → *kék-ül*$_V$ 'turn blue') then optionally with C-INT, turning into a causative one ([*kék*$_A$ 'blue' + *v*] + C-INT → *kék-ít*$_V$ 'make blue'): (4). Late vocabulary insertion (VI) inserts a 'transitive/causative' suffix to the fusion of *v*+C-INT, and an 'unaccusative' suffix to *v* not in the context of C-INT. In the AD subtype, where the unaccusative variant is morphologically more complex than the causative one (*emel-kedik* 'raise + refl' → 'rise' vs. *emel* 'raise') the root is either verbalized (*v*) and i-causativized (C-INT), with or without any overt exponent provided by VI (*emel-**0*** 'raise' vs. *sér-**t*** 'hurt/offend' (cf. *sér-ül* 'gets hurt' and *sér-t-ődik* 'gets offended'), to yield the i-causative form. Voice then adds the actor EA. Alternatively, after verbalization, Voice with a special feature make-up (non-agentive, non-EA-projecting) merges in to create the anticausative forms, marked by 'reflexive' morphology, precisely as proposed by Alexiadou (2010) for Greek, Hindi, etc.: (5). C-INT is the encoder of causation, thus responsible for the emergence of agentivity, and its absence vs. presence is instrumental in capturing the 'no agent' effect observable in Hungarian, as well as in Greek or Hindi: (3). Given the unpredictability of these forms, and the fact that the alternate suffixes directly attach to the bare roots in the morphological make-up (e.g., *√fak-* → *fak-<u>ad</u>* 'burst$_{intr}$', *fak-<u>aszt</u>* 'burst$_{tr}$'), the inner-affixation domain must be understood to include at least the C-INT projection (*pace* Marantz's original view that the category specifying heads (such as *v*) delimit this zone.) Two predictions that are borne out by the data: ***p1:*** i-causation may feed factitive causation, and if

Caus itself is [+EA, +AG], the iterability of Caus is predicted, too; ***p2:*** e-causation does not feed i-causation, anticausatives do not feed e-causation.

(iii) On the side of overt morphology, various affix forms can represent i-causation, the choice being contextually determined at VI, while a single exponent (*-tAt*) represents e-causation, which happens to be one of the available exponents for i-caus, as well. This is the result of *-tAt* being the least specific option, with the most general featural specification, to be inserted wherever context won't require another one. The affixal head Caus contains just the minimal specifications for VI. Such multiple availability of certain exponents is widely attested in Hungarian, precisely in the domain of productive (de)verbal morphology, as mentioned above. It is always the more productive and transparent 'outer' use that displays invariability vs. the variable, more idiosyncratically bound exponents for the 'inner' counterpart, cf. participles formed by outer affixation *ír-ó* 'writing', *dolgoz-ó* 'working', *futó* 'running', as opposed to deverbal nouns (of occupation names): *ír-ó* 'writer', *fut-ó* 'runner' vs. *fut-ár* 'courier', *firk-ász* 'scribbler', etc.

(1a) A kúra meg-gyógy-***ít***-otta Pétert.
the treatment prf-cure-***caus***-past-3sg P.-acc
'The treatment cured Peter.'

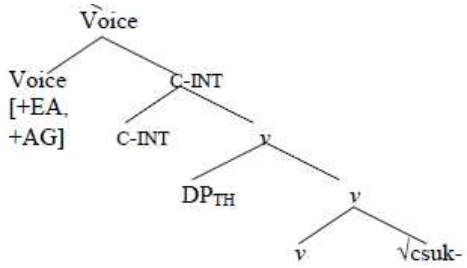
(1b) Péter meg-gyógy-***ul***-t.
Peter prf-cure-erg-past.3sg
'Peter got cured.'

(2a) A szél be-csap-ta az ajtót.
The wind in-shut-past3sg.def the door-acc
'The wind shut the door.'

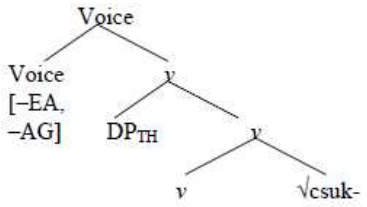
(2b) Az ajtó be-csap-***ód***-ott.
the door in-shut-***refl***-past.3sg
'The door [got] shut.'

(3) Az ajtó magától / a széltől / *Lacitól csapódott be.
the door self-from / the wind-from / L.-from shut-past.3sg in
'The door got shut by itself / from the wind / *from Laci.'

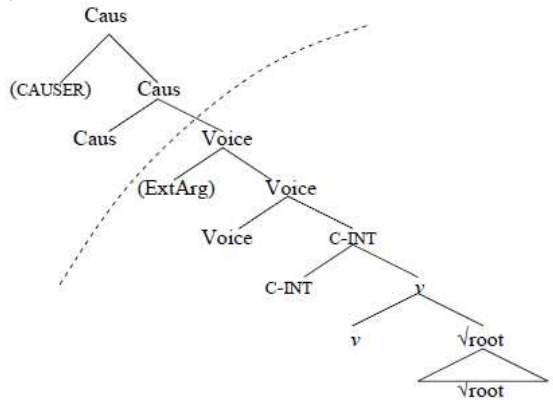
(4)



(5)



(6)



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