

CAUSATIVE CONSTRUCTIONS IN PERSIAN AND AZARI

Yavar Dehghani

Abstract

This study aims at investigating the causative construction in Persian and Azari. There is both syntactic and morphological causativisation in these languages. In Azari, double causativity is possible just by using a morphological strategy, but in Persian both syntactic and morphological strategies are used to form double causative constructions. In Persian, causativisation and passivisation interact with each other in a sentence both syntactically and morphologically, while in Azari they cannot co-occur when a morphological strategy is used for both. It seems that the behaviour of instrumental and benefactive cases is different from other cases in causative constructions. The rich case systems of both languages as used in the causative construction are examined and the findings support the accessibility hierarchy, proposed by Comrie (1989).¹

1. Introduction

This paper deals with the causative construction in Azari and Persian. No such studies have been done for these languages, although extensive research has been conducted for Turkish, a language genetically related to Azari, and geographically close to both languages (e.g. Lewis 1967; Underhill 1976; Zimmer 1976; Aissen 1979; Comrie 1989). I introduce both syntactic and morphological causativisation strategies in these languages along with their constraints, and I examine the data against the accessibility hierarchy theory (Comrie 1989). In Sections 6, 7 and 8, double causativity, causativisation of compound verbs, and the interaction of causativisation and passivisation will be explored.

Typologically, Azari is an agglutinative language with SOV word order, mainly spoken in the north western parts of Iran. Persian, mainly spoken in Iran, is a member of the Indo-Iranian language group. Typologically, it too has SOV word order, and is considered to be an inflectional language. Azari, as a minority language in Iran, has borrowed a lot of phonological, morphological, and syntactic elements from Persian.

2. Syntactic causatives

All verbs in Persian can be causativised syntactically, where the verb to be causativised occurs in a complement clause preceded by the compound verb *baʔes šodän* ‘to cause’. Consider the following examples:

PERSIAN

(1) a. *Ali Xab -id*
Ali(NOM) sleep -PAST.3SG2
‘Ali slept.’²

b. *män baʔes šo -däm (ke) Ali be³- Xab -äd*
1SG(NOM) cause -PAST.1SG (COMP) Ali(NOM) INFI- sleep -3SG
‘I caused Au to sleep.’

¹ I would like to thank Dr. Peter Kipka for his help with this paper.

² See appendix for a list of abbreviations used in the data presented.

³ This suffix usually acts as a mood suffix, and denotes probability. However, when it is affixed to the verb in the embedded clause, it acts like an infinitive suffix as the verb has no tense, though it has agreement.

Here the causativity is expressed in the form of an untensed complement clause, where the NP, Ali, which is the causee, becomes the subject of the embedded clause, and the subject position of the main clause is occupied by the causer, *man*. The verb of the embedded clause has person and number agreement but no tense.

This causativisation strategy has been borrowed by Azari, and is used by educated people in the Azari speaking areas, such as Tabriz and Ardabil. In the Persian speaking areas, such as Tehran, both educated and uneducated people use this type of causativisation, undoubtedly because of the Persian influence. Consider the following sentences:

AZARI

- (2) a. *Ali yat -di*
 Ali(NOM) sleep -PAST.3SG
 ‘Ali slept.’
- b. *män bayıs ol -du -m (ci) Ali yat -a⁴*
 1SG(NOM) cause -PAST -1SG (COMP) Ali(NOM) sleep -INFI.3SG
 ‘I caused Au to sleep.’
- (3) a. *män yat -di -m*
 1SG(NOM) sleep -PAST -1SG
 ‘I slept.’
- b. *o bayıs ol -du (ci) män yat -a -m*
 3SG(NOM) cause -PAST.3SG (COMP) 1SG(NOM) sleep -INFI -1SG
 He caused me to sleep.’

Like the Persian sentence in (1b), the Azari causative sentences *in* (2b) and (3b) occur with embedded clauses preceded by the compound verb *bayıs ol*. The word *bayıs* ‘cause’ can also occur separately as a noun.

3. Morphological causatives

In Persian, some verbs have a lexical causative counterpart. Those verbs which do not have a lexical causative counterpart are causativised by affixing the causative suffix *an*. This suffix was productive in older Persian,⁵ and could be affixed to any verb. However, in modern Persian, this productive strategy has gradually been replaced by syntactic causativisation. Some examples are:

PERSIAN

<i>Xab-id</i>	‘he slept’	<i>Xab-an-id</i>	‘he made someone sleep’
<i>däv-id</i>	‘he ran	<i>däv-an-id</i>	‘he made someone run’
<i>pär-id</i>	‘he jumped’	<i>pär-an-id</i>	‘he made someone jump’

As mentioned above, there is a constraint on Persian morphological causativisation: when the verb has a lexical causative counterpart, it cannot be causativised by the causative suffix. The following examples illustrate some such verbs with their lexical causative counterparts:

PERSIAN

<i>amä-d</i>	‘he came’	<i>avär-d</i>	‘he brought’	<i>*amä-an-d</i>
<i>mor-d</i>	‘he died’	<i>koš-t</i>	‘he killed’	<i>*mor-an-d</i>
<i>bärXas-t</i>	‘he stood up’	<i>boländ kiärd</i>	‘he made someone stand’	<i>*bärXas-an-t</i>

⁴ This suffix has the same function as the Persian suffix *be*; that is, *it* usually denotes probability, when *it* is affixed to the main verb.

⁵ This suffix is productive in Persian texts written in the period between 1200-1500 AD.

There is a semantic difference between morphological and lexical causatives on the one hand, and syntactic causatives on the other: in the latter, the causer may not be involved directly in the process, whereas in the former, the causer is involved. For example, in *mān Ali ra avārdām* ‘I brought Ali’, the causer, *mām*, is directly involved in the process of bringing Ali; that is, he may come along with Au. In *mām baʔes šodām ke Ali be ayād* ‘I caused Ali to come’, the causer does not have a direct role in the process of bringing Au. He either causes Au to come alone or causes someone else to bring Ali. Therefore, in syntactic causatives, the causer puts some force on the causee to do something, while there is no such force in morphological causatives.

In Azari, there is also a causative morpheme *dir*⁶ which, unlike that of Persian, is productive, and can be affixed to any verb stem to form a causative verb. Some examples of causative verbs in Azari are illustrated below:

AZARI

<i>ač-di</i>	‘he opened’	<i>ač-dir-di</i>	‘he made someone open’
<i>ye-di</i>	‘he ate’	<i>ye-dirt-di</i>	‘he made someone eat’
<i>yaz-di</i>	‘he wrote’	<i>yaz-dir-di</i>	‘he made someone write’

In a causative sentence in Azari, the causer takes the subject position, and the causee occurs either as the direct or nondirect object, as illustrated in the following sentence:

AZARI

(4)	<i>Ali</i>	<i>citab</i>	<i>-i</i>	<i>Hāsān</i>	<i>-ā</i>	<i>oxu</i>	<i>-t</i>	<i>-du</i>
	Ali(NOM)	book	-ACC	Hasan	-DAT	read	-CAUS	PAST.3SG
	‘Ali made Hasan read the book.’							

When the object of the non causative clause is nondirect, it remains nondirect in the causative clause, and the causee becomes the direct object, as the following examples illustrate.

AZARI

(5)	<i>Ali</i>	<i>citab</i>	<i>-i</i>	<i>Hāsān</i>	<i>-ā</i>	<i>oxu</i>	<i>-t</i>	<i>-du</i>
	Ali(NOM)	book	-ACC	Hasan	-DAT	read	-CAUS	-PAST.3SG
	‘Ali made Hasan read the book.’							
(6)	<i>Ali</i>	<i>Hāsān</i>	<i>-i</i>	<i>bag</i>	<i>-da</i>	<i>yat</i>	<i>-irt</i>	<i>-di</i>
	Ali(NOM)	Hasan	-ACC	garden	-LOC	sleep	-CAUS	-PAST.3SG
	‘Ali made Hasan sleep in the garden.’							

In other words, when the direct object position is already occupied, the causee takes the nondirect object position, as in (5), and if the direct object position is not occupied, the causee takes the direct object position as in (6).

4. Case assignment and the accessibility hierarchy

It seems that the case assigned to subject NPs in causative clauses can be predicted using Comrie’s case hierarchy (Comrie 1989). Accordingly, the hierarchy of grammatical categories is: subject > direct object > indirect object > oblique object, with the causee occupying the leftmost position not already filled (Comrie 1989:176).

Persian, like Azari, seems to exhibit the same hierarchy for grammatical categories. Consider the following examples:

⁶ The vowel in this morpheme is affected by vowel harmony, while the *dir* ~ *dirt* ~ *t* alternation is conditioned by other factors, not to be dealt with here. For details on the allomorphic distribution of this suffix see Dehghani (in preparation).

PERSIAN

- (7) a. *Ali be- bag däv -id*
 Ali(NOM) DAT- garden run -PAST.3SG
 ‘Ali ran to the garden.’
- b. *män Ali -ra be- bag däv -an -id -äm*
 1SG(NOM) Ali -ACC DAT- garden run -CAUS -PAST -1SG
 ‘I made Ali run to the garden.’
- (8) a. *Ali sib -ra Xor -d*
 Ali(NOM) apple -ACC eat -PAST.3SG
 ‘Ali ate the apple.’
- b. *män sib -ra be- Ali Xor -an -id -äm*
 1SG(NOM) apple -ACC DAT- Ali eat -CAUS -PAST -1SG
 ‘I made Ali eat the apple.’

In (7b), the causee, Au, occurs in the direct object position, which has not been filled previously, and takes accusative marking. However, in (8b), the direct object position is already filled; thus, the causee cannot occur in this position. Instead, it takes the dative object position.

5. Constraints on causativisation

5.1 A constraint on the expression of causees in Persian

There is a constraint on the expression of the causee in causative sentences. When both accusative and dative object positions are already filled, as in (9a), the causee cannot be expressed in the causative sentence, as in (9b). This is shown by the ungrammaticality of (9c).

PERSIAN

- (9) a. *Ali sib -ra be- Häsän baXš -id*
 Ali(NOM) apple -ACC DAT- Hasan give -PAST.3SG
 ‘Ali gave the apple to Hasan.’
- b. *män sib -ra be- Häsän bāXš -an -id -din*
 1SG(NOM) apple -ACC DAT- Hasan give -CAUS -PAST 1SG
 ‘I made (someone) give the apple to Hasan.’
- c. * *män sib -ra be- Ali be- Häsän baXš -an -id -am*
 1SG(NOM) apple -ACC DAT- Ali DAT- Hasan give -CAUS -PAST -1SG

On the other hand, when the dative object position is not filled, the causee can either be unexpressed, as in (10b) and (11b), or it can occur as the dative object, as in (10c) and (11c), below.

PERSIAN

- (10) a. *Ali aks -ra ba- medad keš -id*
 Ali(NOM) picture -ACC INST- pencil draw -PAST.3SG
 ‘Ali drew the picture with the pencil.’
- b. *män aks -ra ba- medad keš -an -id -am*
 1SG(NOM) picture -ACC INST- pencil draw -CAUS -PAST -1SG
 ‘I made (someone) draw the picture with the pencil.’
- c. *män aks -ra ba- medad be- Ali keš -an -id -äm*
 1sg(NOM) picture -ACC INST- pencil DAT- Ali draw -CAUS PAST -1SG
 ‘I made Ali draw the picture with the pencil.’

- (11) a. *Ali aks -ra bāraye- Hāsān keš -id*
 Ali(NOM) picture -ACC BEN- Hasan draw -PAST.3SG
 ‘Ali drew the picture for Hasan.’
- b. *mān aks -ra bāraye- Hāsān keš -an -id -ām*
 1SG(NOM) picture -ACC BEN- Hasan draw -CAUS -PAST -1SG
 ‘I made (someone) draw the picture for Hasan.’
- c. *mān aks -ra bāraye- Hāsān be- Ali keš -an -id -am*
 1SG(NOM) picture -ACC BEN- Hasan DAT- Ali draw -CAUS -PAST -1SG
 ‘I made Ali draw the picture for Hasan.’

5.2 Constraints on the causativisation of ditransitive clauses and lexical verbs in Azari

There is a constraint on the causativisation of ditransitive clauses (i.e. clauses having a direct object and one or more nondirect objects) in Azari:⁷ when these clauses are causativised, the causee must be deleted to form a grammatical sentence, as shown by the following examples.

AZARI

- (12) a. *Hāsān citab -i Ali -ā ver -di*
 Hasan(NOM) book -ACC Ali -DAT give -PAST.3SG
 ‘Hasan gave the book to Ali.’
- b. *mān citab -i Ali -ā ver -dir -di -m*
 1SG(NOM) book -ACC Ali -DAT give -CAUS -PAST -1SG
 ‘I made (someone) give the book to Ali.’
- c. * *mān citab -i Hāsān -ā Ali -ā ver -dir -di -m*
 1SG(NOM) book -ACC Hasan -DAT Ali -DAT give -CAUS -PAST -1SG
- (13) a. *Hāsān cirab -i bag -da goy -du*
 Hasan(NOM) book -ACC garden -LOC put -PAST.3SG
 ‘Hasan put the book in the garden.’
- b. *mān citab -i bag -da goy -dur -du -m*
 1SG(NOM) book -ACC garden -LOC put -CAUS -PAST -1SG
 ‘I made (someone) put the book in the garden.’
- c. * *mān citab -i Hāsān -ā bag -da gay -dur -du -m*
 1SG(NOM) book -ACC Hasan -DAT garden -LOC put -CAUS -PAST -1SG

We may say that since the direct object position is already filled in (12b) and (13b), the causee, Hasan, must take the nondirect object position; but this position is already occupied and two NPs can not occur in the nondirect object position in the same clause. Thus, (12c) and (13c) are ungrammatical.

However, it seems that the behaviour of instrumental and benefactive cases is somewhat different; that is, when there is an instrumental or a benefactive object, the causee can take the position of the dative object. Consider the following examples:

AZARI

- (14) a. *Hāsān citab -i Ali -ičīn oxu -du*
 Hasan(NOM) book -ACC Ali -BEN read -PAST.3SG
 ‘Hasan read the book for Ali.’

⁷ This constraint is harder to test for Persian ditransitive clauses, as the causative suffix, *an*, is not productive, though see (9).

- b. *män citab -ı Ali -için oxu -t -du -m*
 1SG(NOM) book -ACC Ali -BEN read -CAUS -PAST -1SG
 ‘I made (someone) read the book for Ali.’
- c. *män citab -ı Häsän -ä Ali -için -oxu -t -du -m*
 1SG(NOM) book -ACC Hasan -DAT Ali -BEN read CAUS -PAST -1SG
 ‘I made Hasan read the book for Ali.’
- (15) a. *Häsän citab -ı mıdad -män yaz -dı*
 Hasan(NOM) book -ACC pencil -INST write -PAST.3SG
 ‘Hasan wrote the book with the pencil.’
- b. *män citab -ı mıdad -ınan yaz -dir -dı -m*
 1SG(NOM) book -ACC pencil -INST write -CAUS -PAST -1SG
 ‘I made (someone) write the book with the pencil.’
- c. *män citab -ı Häsän -ä mıdad -ınan yaz -dir -dı -m*
 1SG(NOM) book -ACC Hasan -DAT pencil -INST write -CAUS -PAST -1SG
 ‘I made Hasan write the book with the pencil.’

As shown in the above sentences, where the nondirect object NP is in the benefactive case, as in (14), or in the instrumental case, as in (15), the causee, Hasan, can occupy the dative position in the causative clause.

There is another constraint on the morphological causative construction of Azari: when there is a lexical causative counterpart for a verb, it cannot be causativised by affixing the causative morpheme. This sort of lexical causative verb is not morphologically related to the non-causative verb. However, unlike in Persian, there are only a few verbs in Azari which have a lexical counterpart, and hence cannot be causativised morphologically. These verbs are:

AZARI

<i>gäl</i>	‘come’	<i>gätir</i>	‘bring’	* <i>gäl-dir</i>
<i>get</i>	‘go’	<i>apar</i>	‘take’	* <i>get-dir</i>
<i>gör</i>	‘see’	<i>görsät</i>	‘show’	* <i>gor-dur</i>

Interestingly, these lexical causatives can themselves be causativised by affixing the causative morpheme, as illustrated below:

AZARI

<i>gätir</i>	‘bring’	<i>gätir-t</i>	‘make someone bring it’
<i>apar</i>	‘take’	<i>apar-t</i>	‘make someone take it’
<i>görsät</i>	‘show’	<i>görsät-dir</i>	‘make someone show it’

Morphological causativisation in Azari, unlike in Persian,⁸ is blocked by passivisation; that is, when the verb is in the passive form, it cannot be causativised, as shown below.

AZARI

<i>iç</i>	‘drink’	<i>iç-il</i>	‘be drunk’	* <i>iç-il-dir</i>
<i>vir</i>	‘beat’	<i>vir-il</i>	‘be beaten’	* <i>vir-il-dir</i>
<i>yaz</i>	‘write’	<i>yaz-il</i>	‘be written’	* <i>yaz-il-dir</i>

⁸ See Section 8 for discussion of the interaction between causativisation and passivisation in Persian.

6. Double causatives

In Azari, two causative suffixes can be affixed to verb stems sequentially to form double causatives. Consider the following examples:

AZARI

<i>geč</i> ‘pass’	<i>geč-irt</i> ‘make him pass’	<i>geč-irt-dir</i> ‘make someone make him pass’
<i>gač</i> ‘run’	<i>gač-ır</i> ‘make him run’	<i>gač-irt-dir</i> ‘make someone make him run’
<i>ye</i> ‘eat’	<i>ye-dirt</i> ‘make him eat’	<i>ye-dirt-dir</i> ‘make someone make him eat’

The encoding of the causer and causee in the double causative construction is illustrated in the following sentences.

AZARI

- (16) a. *at* *gač* *-di*
horse(NOM) run -PAST.3SG
‘The horse ran.’
- b. *Ali* *at* *-ı* *gač* *-irt* *-di*
Ali(NOM) horse -ACC run -CAUS -PAST.3SG
‘Ali made the horse run.’
- c. *män* *at* *-ı* *Ali* *-ä* *gač* *-irt* *-dir* *-di* *-m*
1SG(NOM) horse -ACC Ali -DAT run -CAUS -CAUS -PAST -1SG
‘I made Ali make the horse run.’
- (17) a. *mašin* *išlä* *-di*
machine(NOM) work -PAST.3SG
‘The machine worked.’
- b. *Ali* *mašin* *-ı* *išä* *-t* *-di*
Ali(NOM) machine -ACC work -CAUS -PAST.3SG
‘Ali made the machine work.’
- c. *män* *mašin* *-ı* *Ali* *-ä* *išlä* *-t* *-dir* *-di* *-m*
1SG(NOM) machine -ACC Ali -DAT work -CAUS -CAUS -PAST -1SG
‘I made Ali make the machine work.’

The causee, Ali, can be omitted from the double causative sentences, as shown below.

AZARI

- (18) *män* *at* *-ı* *gač* *-irt* *-dir* *-di* *-m*
1SG(NOM) horse -ACC run -CAUS -CAUS -PAST -1SG
‘I made (someone)⁹ make the horse run.’
- (19) *män* *mašin* *-ı* *išlä* *-t* *-dir* *-di* *-m*
1SG(NOM) machine -ACC work -CAUS -CAUS -PAST -1SG
‘I made (someone) make the machine work.’

In (18) and (19), though the causee has been deleted, double causativity is still conveyed. If we omit the second causative suffix, *dir*, from these sentences, they will still be grammatical, but no longer convey the double causative meaning.

There is a constraint on double causativisation: ditransitive verbs cannot undergo such a process, as shown in the following table.

⁹ This omitted causee can also be translated as ‘something’ when it refers to an inanimate NP.

AZARI

<i>ver</i> ‘give’	<i>ver-dir</i>	‘make him give’	* <i>ver-dir-t</i>
<i>al</i> ‘get’	<i>al-dir</i>	‘make him get’	* <i>al-dir-t</i>

7. Causativisation of compound verbs

In Persian, there are a number of compound verbs formed from a noun or an adjective followed by an auxiliary verb, such as *šo* ‘become’, and *kon* ‘do’. Compound verbs with the auxiliary verb *šo* are in the non-causative form, and those with the auxiliary *kon* are their corresponding causatives. Some examples are:

PERSIAN

<i>sāvar šo</i>	‘get on’	<i>sāvar kon</i>	‘make someone get on’
<i>bidar šo</i>	‘wake up’	<i>bidar kon</i>	‘make someone wake up’
<i>gārm šo</i>	‘heat something’	<i>gārm kon</i>	‘make someone heat something’

Azari has borrowed some of these compound verbs by retaining the noun or the adjective component and by changing the auxiliary to a native equivalent (e.g. *an* ‘get off’). The same strategy as that used in Persian is applied in order to causativise these verbs, as illustrated in the following examples:

AZARI

<i>xarab ol</i>	‘be destroyed’	<i>xarab elä</i>	‘destroy’
<i>piyadä ol</i>	‘get off’	<i>piyadä elä</i>	‘make someone get off’
<i>pac ol</i>	‘be clean’	<i>pac elä</i>	‘make it clean’

These borrowed verbs are used by educated people, and are increasing in number, in spite of the existence of corresponding non-compound native verbs. They are gradually replacing their equivalent native verbs in the conversation of non-educated people, too, especially in those areas where Persian is the dominant language.

8. The interaction between causativisation and passivisation in Persian and Azari

Passive verbs in Persian are formed by affixing the participial marker *e* to the verb stem followed by the auxiliary verb *šodän* ‘to become’ (Windfuhr 1979:105). The auxiliary verb is inflected for tense and agreement. The agent can be expressed with a by-phrase *be-väsile-ye* in the passive clause. However, in Modern Persian, the agent usually remains unexpressed, as illustrated in the following examples.

PERSIAN

- (20) a. *Ali mašin -ra dār- garaž gozaš -t*
 Ali(NOM) car -ACC LOC- garage put -PAST.3SG
 ‘Ali put the car in the garage.’
- b. *mašin (be-väsile-ye Ali) dār- garž gozašt -e¹⁰ šo -da*
 car(NOM) (by Ali) LOC- garage put -PRT become -PAST.3SG
 ‘The car was put in the garage (by Ali).’

In Azari, verbs are passivised by the affixation of the passive suffix *II*. As in Persian, the agent is usually not expressed in the passive clause, although it can be expressed with a by-phrase *väsilä-si-nän*.

¹⁰ Since in Persian the verb is passivised by affixing the participial marker *e* and the auxiliary verb *šod* this morpheme is glossed as a participial, which can also be interpreted as a passive marker in such passive constructions.

AZARI

- (21) a. *Au mašin -t garaž -da goy -du*
 Ali(NOM) car -ACC garage -LOC put -PAST.3SG
 ‘Ali put the car in the garage.’
- b. *mašin (Ali -nin vāsīlā-si-nān) garaž -da goy -ul -du*
 car(NOM) (Ali -GEN.3SG by) garage -LOC put -PASS -PAST.3SG
 ‘The car was put in the garage (by Au).’

There are different syntactic and morphological ways of causativising the passive construction in Persian. The first possibility is syntactic, as illustrated in the following examples:

PERSIAN

- (22) a. *Ali sib -ra Xor -d*
 Ali(NOM) apple -ACC eat -PAST.3SG
 ‘Ali ate the apple.’
- b. *mān baʔes šo -d -ām ke Ali sib -ra be- Xor -ad*
 1SG(NOM) cause -PAST -1SG COMP Ali(NOM) apple -ACC INFI -eat -3SG
 ‘I caused Ali to eat the apple.’
- (23) a. *sib Xor -d -e -d*
 apple(NOM) eat -PAST -PRT become -PAST.3SG
 ‘The apple was eaten.’
- b. *mān baʔes šo -d -ām ke sib Xor -d*
 1SG(NOM) cause -PAST -1SG COMP apple(NOM) eat -PAST -PRT
-e be -sāv -ad
 -PRT INFI- become -3SG
 ‘I caused the apple to be eaten.’

Sentence (22b) is formed by syntactic causativisation of sentence (22a); here, the non-causative clause occurs as an embedded clause. In (23a) there is a passive clause which is causativised syntactically as an embedded clause given in (23b). In this case, the same strategy as for the active clause is used; that is, the passive clause is embedded and the main clause contains the verb *baʔes o* ‘cause’ followed by the complementiser *ke*. Note that, in examples (23a-b), the agent, Au, is not expressed. However, in these sentences, the agent can be expressed by the compound preposition *be-vāsīle-ye* ‘by’. This order is not reversible; that is if we first syntactically causativise and then passivise the sentence, it will be ungrammatical.

The same syntactic strategy is available in Azari to causativise the passive construction.

AZARI

- (24) a. *Ali alma -ni ye -di*
 Ali(NOM) apple -ACC eat -PAST.3SG
 ‘Ali ate the apple.’
- b. *mān bayīs ol -du -m (ci) Ali alma -ni ye -ā*
 1SG(NOM) cause -PAST -1SG (COMP) Ali(NOM) apple -ACC eat -INFI.3SG
 ‘I caused Ali to eat the apple.’
- (25) a. *alma ye -il -di*
 apple(NOM) eat -PASS -PAST.3SG
 ‘The apple was eaten.’

- b. *män bayıs ol -du -m (ci) alma ye -il -ä*
 1SG(NOM) cause -PAST -1SG (COMP) apple(NOM) eat -PASS -INFI.3SG
 ‘I caused the apple to be eaten.’

The sentence given in (24b) is the result of a syntactic causativisation of (24a). In (25b), the passive clause is causativised syntactically as an embedded clause. As in Persian, the agent, Au, is not expressed after causativisation, although it can be expressed with the by-phrase. In Azari, like Persian, the order is not reversible; that is, syntactically it is not possible to causativise and then passivise the sentence. In Persian, another possibility is that the embedded passive clause in a syntactically causative sentence like (26) can also be morphologically causativised.

PERSIAN

- (26) *man ba?e šo -d -äm ke sib*
 1SG(NOM) cause -PAST -1SG COMP apple(NOM)
be- Ali Xor -an -d -e be- šäv -äd
 DAT- Ali eat -CAUS -PAST -PRT INFI become -3SG
 ‘I caused someone to make the apple be eaten by Ali.’

This structure can be considered an instance of a double causative, where someone else is involved in causing Au to eat the apple, but the apple is in the subject position of the embedded sentence due to passivisation. In this structure, it is obligatory for the causee of the embedded clause, Au, to be expressed; otherwise, the sentence will be ungrammatical, as in (27), below.

PERSIAN

- (27) *män ba?e šo -d -äm ke sib Xor -an -d -e be-*
 I cause -PAST -1SG COMP apple(NOM) eat -CAUS -PAST -PRT INFI-
šäv -äd
 become -3SG

However, the type of morphological causativisation shown in (26) is not possible in Azari, as we see in the following ungrammatical sentence:

AZARI

- (28) * *män bayıs ol -du -m (ci) alma*
 1SG(NOM) cause -PAST -1SG (COMP) apple(NOM)
Ali -ä ye -dirt -il -ä
 Ali -DAT eat -CAUS -PASS -INFI.3SG

In Persian, there is also a morphological possibility of causativisation where the causative suffix, *an*, can simply be added to the verb stem to passivise it.; that is, the sentence is first causativised and then passivised, as in the following example.

PERSIAN

- (29) a. *Ali sib -ra Xor -d*
 Ali(NOM) apple -ACC eat -PAST.3SG
 ‘Ali ate the apple.’
 b. *män sib -ra be- Ali Xor -an -d -am*
 1SG(NOM) apple -ACC DAT- Ali eat -CAUS -PAST -1SG
 ‘I made Ali eat the apple.’
 c. *sib be- Ali Xor -an -d -e šo -d*
 apple(NOM) DAT- Ali eat -CAUS -PAST -PRT become -PAST.3SG
 ‘Ali was made to eat the apple.’
 (lit. ‘The apple was made to be eaten by Ali.’)

- d. * *sib* *Ali -ra* *Xor -an* *-d* *-e* *šo* *-d*
 apple(NOM) Ali -ACC eat CAUS -PAST -PRT become -PAST.3SG

Here, the declarative sentence in (29a) is causativised in (29b), and then passivised, in (29c). The causee, Au, occurs in the dative case in (29b), since the accusative case position is occupied by *sib* ‘apple’. In (29c), Au remains in the dative case after passivisation, and cannot occur in the accusative case as shown by the ungrammaticality of (29d).

It seems that if we change the order, that is, first passivise and then causativise the sentence, it will not be grammatical, because morphological causativisation is no longer productive in Persian, and hence the verb which is being passivised cannot be causativised morphologically.

The order also seems to be crucial for intransitive verbs. Since the passivisation of intransitive verbs is only possible after causativisation, they must be causativised first.

PERSIAN

- (30) a. *Ali* *Xab -id*
 Ali(NOM) sleep -PAST.3SG
 ‘Ali slept.’
- b. * *Ali* *Xab -id* *-e* *šo* *-d*
 Ali(NOM) sleep -PAST.3SG -PRT become -PAST.3SG
- c. *män* *Ali -ra* *Xab -an* *-id* *-äm*
 1SG(NOM) Ali -ACC sleep -CAUS -PAST -1SG
 ‘I made Ali sleep.’
- d. *Ali* *Xab -an* *-id* *-e* *šo* *-d*
 Ali(NOM) sleep -CAUS -PAST.3SG -PRT become -PAST.3SG
 ‘Ali was made to sleep.’

As shown in (30b), it is not possible to passivise the intransitive verb, given in (30a). However, if we causativise it first, as in (30c), then we can passivise it, as in (30d).

In Azari, there is no such possibility; that is, causativisation and passivisation cannot co-occur morphologically, as illustrated by the ungrammatical sentence given in (31d):

AZARI

- (31) a. *Ali* *alma -ni* *ye -di*
 Ali(NOM) apple -ACC eat -PAST.3SG
 ‘Ali ate the apple.’
- b. *alma* *ye -il* *-di*
 apple(NOM) eat -PASS -PAST.3SG
 ‘The apple was eaten.’
- c. *män* *alma -ni* *Ali -ä* *ye -dirt* *-di* *-in*
 1SG(NOM) apple -ACC Ali -DAT eat -CAUS -PAST -1SG
 ‘I made Ali eat the apple.’
- d. * *alma* *Ali -ä* *ye -dirt* *-il* *-di*
 apple(NOM) Ali -DAT eat -CAUS -PASS -PAST.3SG

Based on the data presented so far, we can conclude that passive forms in both Persian and Azari can be causativised syntactically, but syntactic causative forms cannot be passivised. Morphologically, in Persian, it is possible to passivise the causative form, but the passive form cannot be causativised. However, in Azari, causative forms cannot be passivised, and nor can passive forms be causativised morphologically. To form double causative passive constructions

in Persian, both syntactic and morphological strategies of causativisation are involved, where the morphological causatives occur as embedded clauses in the syntactic causative sentences. In Azari, on the other hand, double causativisation takes place only morphologically.

9. Conclusion

Syntactic causativisation is more productive than morphological causativisation in both Azari and Persian, while the morphological strategy in Azari, an agglutinative language, is more productive than in Persian, an inflectional language. The syntactic strategy in Azari plays a complementary role to the morphological one; that is, it is applied when there is a constraint on the application of morphological causativisation.

Case assignment in the causative construction in both languages is predictable using the accessibility hierarchy proposed by Comrie (1989). It seems that it is not possible for two NPs to occur in the nondirect object position; accordingly, the causee in the causativisation of ditransitive clauses must be deleted. However, the behaviour of the instrumental and benefactive cases differs in this respect.

In Azari, those verbs which have lexical counterparts cannot be causativised morphologically. Double causativisation is possible in Azari morphologically, but in Persian it is only possible with the use of both syntactic and morphological strategies. The causativisation of compound verbs in both languages is possible by changing the auxiliary component of the verb. There are different possibilities in both Persian and Azari for the causativisation of passive clauses.

APPENDIX

The following abbreviations are used in the data presented in this paper:

ACC = accusative

GEN = genitive

PASS = passive

BEN = benefactive

INFI = infinitive

PAST = past tense

CAUS = causative

INST = instrumental

PRT = participial

COMP = complementiser

LOC = locative

1SG = first person singular

DAT = dative

NOM = nominative

3SG = third person singular

(NB. (NOM) indicates that the nominative marker has zero realisation; otherwise brackets are used to indicate an optional element.)

REFERENCES

- Aissen, T. 1979. *The syntax of causative constructions*. New York: Academic Press.
- Comrie, B. 1989. *Language universals and linguistic typology*. Oxford: Basil Blackwell.
- Dehghani, Y. (in preparation). *The grammar of Iranian Azari*. Ph.D dissertation. Melbourne: La Trobe University.
- Lewis, G. L. 1967. *Turkish grammar*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- Underhill, R. 1976. *Turkish grammar*. Cambridge: MIT Press.
- Zimmer, K. 1976. Some constraints on Turkish causativisation. In: M. Shibatani (ed.), *Syntax and semantics 6: The grammar of causative constructions*, 399-412. New York: Academic Press.
- Windfuhr, O. L. 1979. *Persian grammar*. The Hague: Mouton.