Assistive

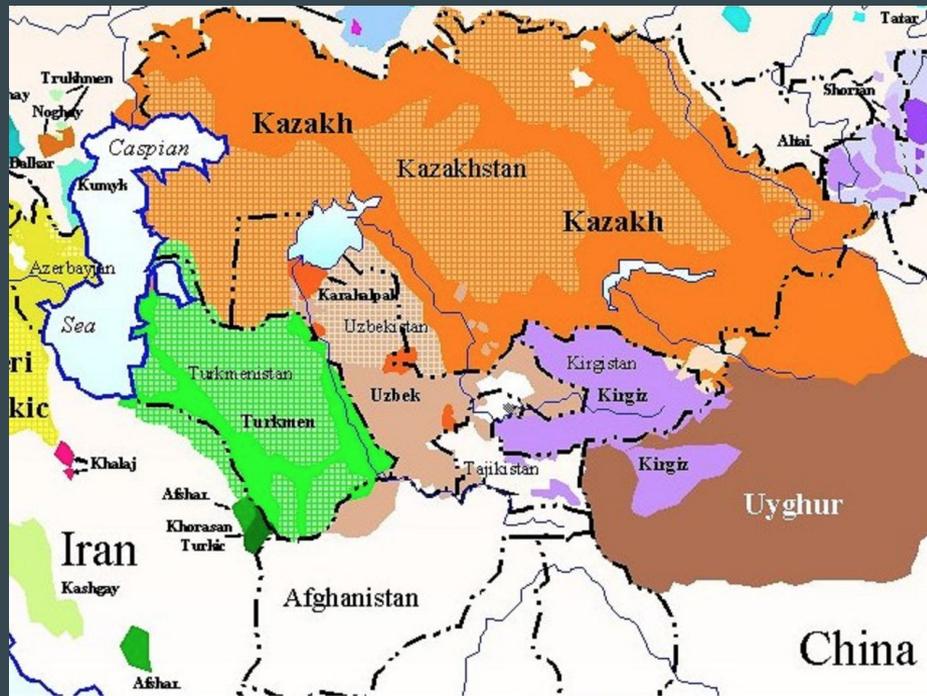## A new type of argument introducing head

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Eszter Ótott-Kovács
Cornell University
eo264@cornell.edu

Assistives in Kyrgyz: Introduction (1)

- Kyrgyz (Turkic)
- Also found in Kazakh and Turkmen (Turkic)

- Very little work: Nedjalkov 2003, Rentzsch 2005

- Data based on my elicitations

I'm very grateful for my consultants: Kanykei Kurbanova (Kyrgyz) and Arailym Raikhankyzy (Kazakh).
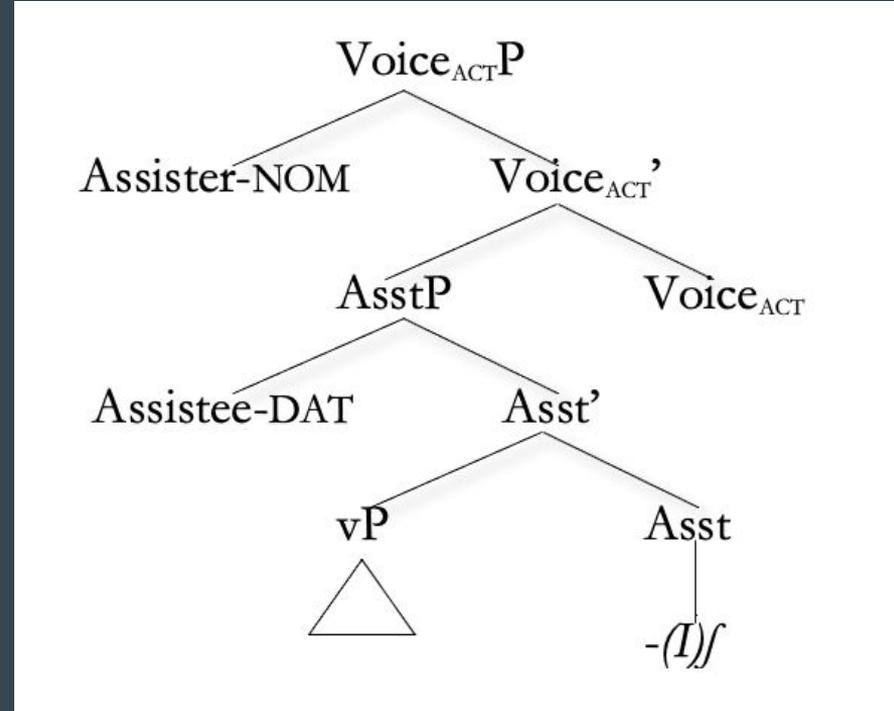
Assistives in Kyrgyz: Introduction (2)

- The Assistive is a verbal category, it is spelled out by *-(I)ʃ*

- Assister = subject (nominative)

- Assistee = dative argument

(1)   [assister Men-∅]   [assistee apam-a]   yj-dy   tazala-ʃ-tɯ-m.

         I-nom   my.mother-dat   house-acc clean-asst-pst-1sg

         'I helped my mother clean the house.'

Main claims

- Assistives are not Causatives (Sociative Causatives: 'X assisted to/ supervised Y's action')
  Guillaume & Rose 2010, Lyutikova & Tatevosov 2018, Myler & Mali 2021, Shibatani & Pardeshi 2002, Tatevosov 2018
- Assistives are not Applicatives (Comitative Applicatives: 'X performed the action with Y')
  Peterson 2004, 2007
- Assistives are distinct from both of these: the dative-marked Assistee is introduced in Spec,AsstP

Properties of Kyrgyz Assistives (1)

- Both Assister and Assistee have to be involved in the event

(2)   My mother is bed-bound with a broken leg. She asked me to clean the house.

\# Men apam-a   yj-dy   tazala-ʃ-tɯ-m.
I   my.mother-dat house-acc clean-asst-pst-1sg
'I helped my mother clean the house.' (I cleaned alone.)

Properties of Kyrgyz Assistives (2)

- Both Assister and Assistee have to be present at the same time

(3) My mother started cleaning the house but she had to leave home. I cleaned the rest of the house after I got home.

Men apam-a yj-dy tazala-ʃ-tɯ-m.
I my.mother-dat house-acc clean-asst-pst-1sg
'I helped my mother clean the house.' (We didn't clean together.)

Properties of Kyrgyz Assistives (3)

- But there are restrictions on Assistives that distinguish them from either Sociative Causatives or Comitative Applicatives

(4)   *   Azim   bala-ga   <u>tʃurka</u>-ʃ-tɯ.   (cf. Sociative Causative is OK)
         Azim   child-dat <u>run</u>-asst-3pst
         Intended: 'Azim helped the child <u>run</u>.'

(5)   *   Azim   bala-ga   <u>ket</u>-iʃ-ti.   (cf. Comitative Applicative is OK)
         Azim   child-dat <u>leave</u>-asst-3pst
         Intended: 'Azim helped the child <u>leave</u>.' / 'Azim <u>left</u> with the child.'

Properties of Kyrgyz Assistives (4)

- Assistives can only be used with events that have stages (i.e., dynamic events)
  - (?) Activities (*push a cart, sing*) and Accomplishments (*clean the house, build a house*)
  - *Statives (*understand, love*), *Achievements (*recognize, find*)

- → The event has to be divisible to subevents

- The subevents of one event have to be performed by two agents (Assister, Assistee)

Properties of Kyrgyz Assistives (5)

- A revealing example:

(6) Men Maksat-ka maʃina ajda-ʃ-tɯ-m.
     I   Maksat-dat car   drive-asst-pst-1sg
   * 'I helped Maksat drive the car (e.g., by giving advice, navigating).' (SC)
   * 'I drove the car with Maksat (while Maksat was there with me).' (CA)
   ✓   'Me and Maksat took turns driving the car./ We both drove the car.'

- The Assister and the Assistee have to participate in the same event (driving the car)

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Conclusions

- In Kyrgyz Assistives:

    - Assister and Assistee have to present at the same time

    - Assister and Assistee have to perform subevents of the same event

- Sociative causatives or Comitative Applicatives have different properties

- Kinande (Bantu) has a construction that has the same properties as Kyrgyz assistives (Schneider-Zioga & Mutaka 2019)

Thank you!

Selected references

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