

Assistive

A new type of argument introducing head

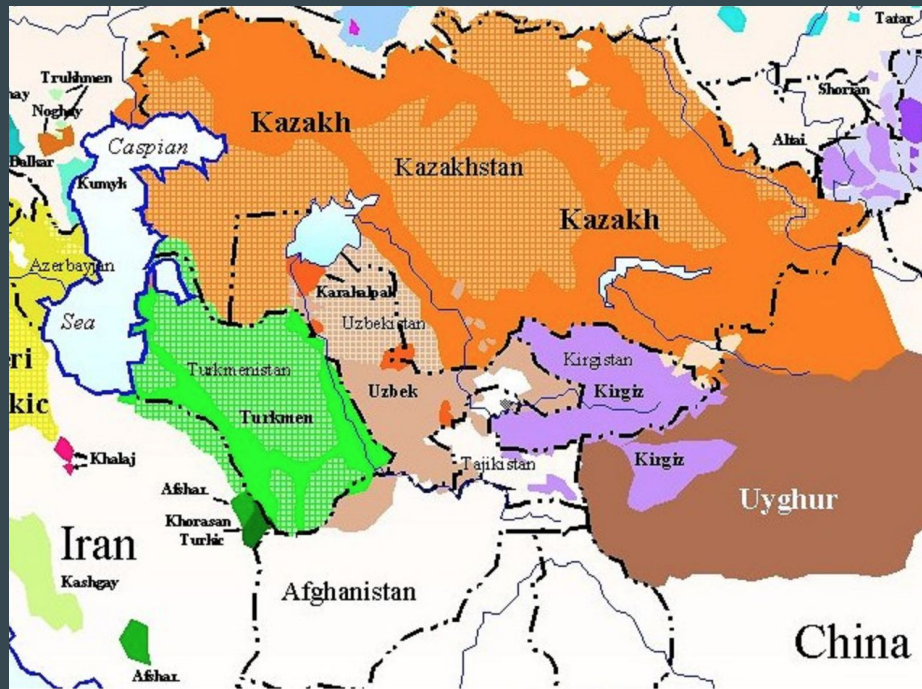


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Assistives in Kyrgyz: Introduction (1)

- 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)f**
- **Assister** (in (2)) = subject (nominative)
- **Assistee** (in (2)) = dative argument

(1) **Apam- \emptyset** yj-dy tazala-du- \emptyset .
my.mother-nom house-acc clean-pst-3sg
'My mother cleaned the house.'

(2) [_{assister} **Men- \emptyset**] [_{assistee} **apam-a**] yj-dy tazala-**f**-tu-**m**.
I-nom **my.mother-dat** house-acc clean-**asst**-pst-**1sg**
'I helped my mother clean the house.'

Assistives in Kyrgyz: Introduction (3)

- The **Assistee** is an argument
 - The Assistee is always **reconstructible from the context**

(3) Men **pro** yj-dy tazala-ʃ-tu-m.

I **pro** house-acc clean-asst-pst-1sg

‘I helped **her/him/them (*someone)** clean the house.’

- The Assistee **can bind the *pro* subject of a purpose clause**

(4) [**pro**_{i/j} Erte zat-uʃ yʃjyn] **Kanukej**_i **Ajgyl**_j-gœ yj-dy tazala-ʃ-tu.

[**pro**_{i/j} early lie.down-nf in.order.to] **K**_i **A**_j-dat house-acc clean-asst-3pst

‘K. helped A. clean the house [in order for **K./A.** to go to bed early].’

Constructions with similar meanings (1)

- Sociative causatives (ex. from Lyutikova & Tatevosov 2018)

- (5) **Trener Marat-ny** jeger-**t-ter**-de. (Tatar, Turkic)
trainer Marart-acc run-**caus-caus-3pst**
‘The trainer assisted in M.’s running, e.g., **advice, removing obstacles**)
- The ‘trainer’ (subject) is a **causer**
 - The ‘trainer’ has to be **present for the event** (~ Assistive)
 - The ‘trainer’ **does not have to participate in the running event** (unlike the Assistive)

Guillaume & Rose 2010, Lyutikova & Tatevosov 2018, Myler & Mali 2021, Shibatani & Pardeshi 2002, Tatevosov 2018

Constructions with similar meanings (2)

- Comitative applicative (ex. from Peterson 2004)

(6) làwthlawpaa=ni? hñaaktsiapaa ʔa-kál-pìi (Lai, Sino-Tibetan)
farmer=erg boy 3sS-go₂-com.appl
‘The farmer left with the boy.’

- The subject and the applicative argument **perform the event together** (~ Assistive)
- There are **two events** (of the same kind) here performed at the same time, at the same place (unlike the assistive)

Constructions with similar meanings (3)

- The Kyrgyz (and Kazakh) Assistive ($-(I)f$) can co-occur with the Applicative ($-(I)p\ ber$)

(7) Men $apam_i$ -a pro_i yj-dy tazala- f - uup ber-di-m.
I my.mother-dat pro house-acc clean- $asst$ - $appl$ -pst-1sg
'I helped **my mother** clean the house **for her benefit**.'

- The Assistive is **not a type of Applicative**

Properties of Kyrgyz Assistives (1)

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

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

Men **apam-a** yj-dy tazala-ʃ-tur-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** (~ Sociative Causative, (presumably) Comitative Applicative)
- (9) My mother started cleaning the house but she had to leave home. I cleaned the rest of the house in the afternoon after I got home.

Men **apam-a** yj-dy tazala-ʃ-tu-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

(10) * Azim bala-ga ƒurka-ƒ-tu. (cf. **Sociative Causative in Tatar**)

Azim child-dat run-**asst**-3pst

Intended: ‘Azim helped the child run.’

(11) * Azim bala-ga ket-ij-ti. (cf. **Comitative Applicative in Lai**)

Azim child-dat leave-**asst**-3pst

Intended: ‘Azim helped the child leave.’ / ‘Azim left with the child.’

Properties of Kyrgyz Assistives (4)

- A revealing example:

(12) **Men Maksat-ka** maʃina ajda-ʃ-tu-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.**’

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

Properties of Kyrgyz Assistives (5)

- 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, Assisatee)

Properties of Kyrgyz Assistives (6)

- The **number of subevents performed by the Assitee has to be higher** than the number of subevents performed by the Assister

(13) My mother cleaned (exactly) half of the house and I cleaned the other half of the house.

?? Men apam-a yj-dy tazala-ʃ-tu-m.

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

‘I helped my mother clean the house.’ Intended: **we did equal amount of work.**

(14) My cleaned the bathroom but then got a phone call from the hospital and left home. I did the rest of the cleaning.

Men apam-a yj-dy tazala-ʃ-tu-m.

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

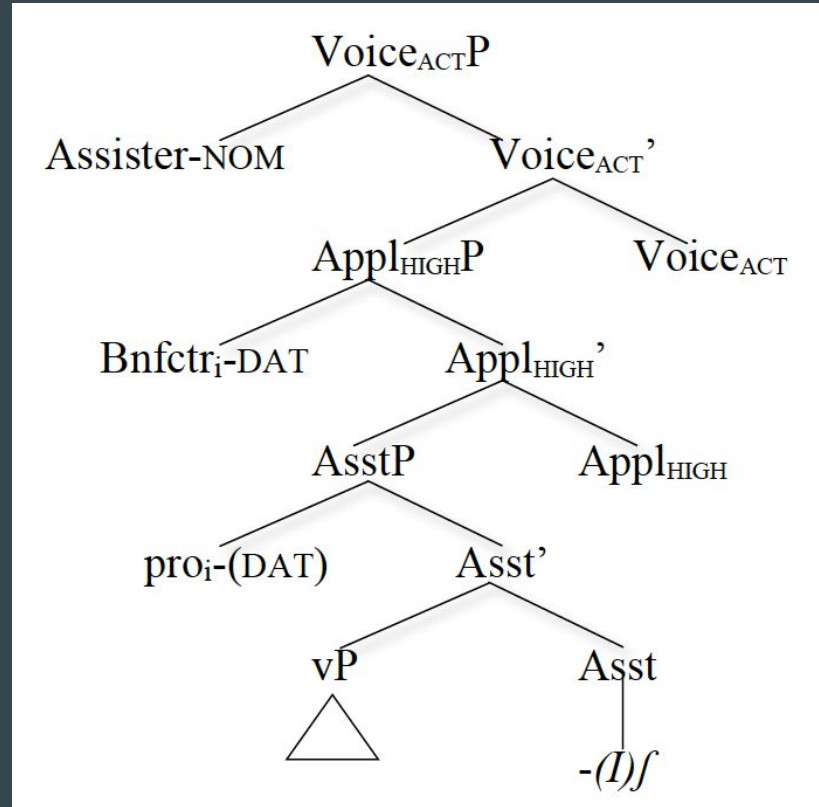
‘I helped my mother clean the house.’ Intended: **I did more than my mother.**

Assistive and other verbal categories (1)

Low ←		→ High	
vP	AsstP		✓
vCauseP	AsstP		✓
CauseP	AsstP		*
ApplP	AsstP		?
Voice _{PASS} P	AsstP		*
	AsstP	vCauseP	*
	AsstP	CauseP	*
	AsstP	ApplP	✓
	AsstP	Voice _{PASS} P	*

Proposal

- The Assistive is a distinct functional projection
- The Assitee is introduced in Spec,AsstP
- The Assister is introduced in Spec,VoiceP



Cross-linguistic parallels

- Kinande (Bantu) (Schneider-Zioga & Mutaka 2019)
 - The base event has to have **stages** (dynamic); **the subevents of the event are performed by the two agents** (Assister, Assistee)

(15) # erɪ-pɪnɔk-ɪk-y-â
5-run.away-asst-trans-fv
Intended: ‘help someone run away’

(16) Kávirá a-ká-swes-ek-a-y-a Maryá y' okó búlo
Kavira 3s-impf-grind-asst-aC-trans-fv 1Mary 1lk' 17loc 14millet
‘Kavira helps Mary grind the millet.’

Thank you!

Selected references

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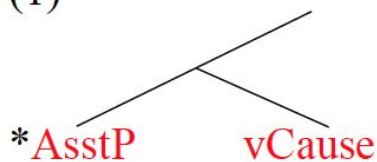
Appendix

Assistive and other verbal categories (2)

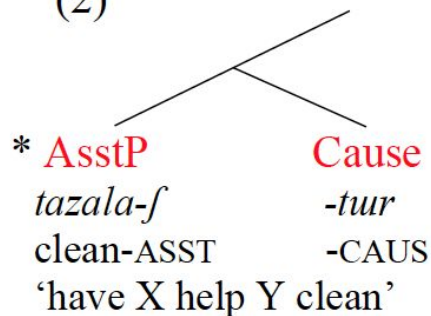
- (1)
-
- vP Asst
taza-la *-f*
 clean-V -ASST
 ‘help X clean’
- (2)
-
- vCauseP Asst
ætʃ-yr *-yf*
 go.out-VCAUS -ASST
 ‘help X turn off (lights)’
- (3)
-
- * **CauseP** **Asst**
tazala-t *-uf*
 clean-CAUS -ASST
 ‘help cause X to have Y clean’
- (4)
-
- ? **ApplP** **Asst**
tazala-p ber *-if*
 clean-APPL -ASST
 *‘help X clean for X’s benefit’
- (5)
-
- * **Voice_{PASSP}** **Asst**
tazala-n *-uf*
 clean-PASS -ASST
 ‘help (the house) to be cleaned’

Assistive and other verbal categories (3)

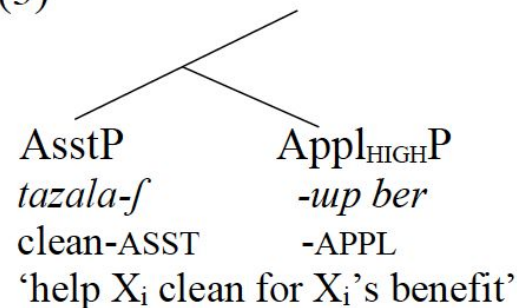
(1)



(2)



(3)



(4)

