Causal–Noncausal Verb Pairs in Gagauz

Yui SUZUKI

suzuki.yui.s.y@gmail.com

Abstract

Gagauz is a Turkic language, spoken mainly in Moldova (Eastern Europe). This paper analyzes the variation in the coding types of causal–noncausal verb pairs in Gagauz by examining 31 verb pairs proposed for crosslinguistic studies by Haspelmath (1993). This paper shows that Gagauz displays a great propensity for causative coding across different verb pairs. This is not surprising considering that Turkic languages have a synchronic preference and diachronic stability for causative coding (Comrie 2006, Ohsaki 2015). However, this coding preference of Gagauz makes this language an exception to the areal coding tendency for European languages to prefer anticausative rather than causative coding.

1. Introduction

This paper analyzes the variation in the coding types of causal–noncausal verb pairs in Gagauz. A causal verb is "a verb (or verbal expression) that includes a 'cause' meaning component" (Haspelmath et al. 2014: 590), whereas a noncausal verb is "a verb that has the same basic meaning as a causal verb but lacks the 'cause' component" (Haspelmath et al. 2014: 590). Haspelmath (1993: 90) illustrates these two types of verbs with the following examples (1) and (2).

(1)   *The girl broke the stick.*   (Haspelmath 1993: 90)

(2)   *The stick broke.*   (Haspelmath 1993: 90)

Broke in (1) is a causal verb because it means 'to cause to become broken' and includes the cause component, whereas *broke* in (2) is a noncausal verb because it means 'to become broken' and lacks the cause component.

Haspelmath (1993) and Haspelmath et al. (2014) classify coding strategies for causal–noncausal verb pairs into five types: anticausative, causative, equipollent, labile, and suppletive. Table 1 shows Japanese examples of each coding type adopted from Haspelmath (1993: 161).

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Table 1: Japanese examples of each coding type adopted from Haspelmath (1993)

Coding Types	Meaning	Noncausal Verb	Causal Verb
Anticausative	break	*or-er-u*	*or-u*
Causative	boil	*wak-u*	*wak-as-u*
Equipollent	improve	*nao-r-u*	*nao-s-u*
Labile	open	*hirak-u*	*hirak-u*
Suppletive	die/kill	*sin-u*	*koros-u*

Anticausative coding refers to cases where the causal verb is basic and the noncausal verb is derived, as in *or-er-u/or-u* 'break': the noncausal verb *or-er-u* is derived from the causal verb *or-u* with the suffix *-er*. Causative coding refers to cases where the noncausal verb is basic and the causal verb is derived, as in *wak-u/wak-as-u* 'boil': the causal verb *wak-as-u* is derived from the noncausal verb *wak-u* with the suffix *-as*. In equipollent coding, both the causal and noncausal verbs are derived from the same root that expresses the basic situation, as in *nao-r-u/nao-s-u* 'improve'. In labile coding, the same verb is used in both causal and noncausal senses, as in *hirak-u/hirak-u* 'open'. In suppletive coding, different verb roots are used for causal and noncausal verb pairs, as in *sin-u/koros-u* 'die/kill'.

Different languages have different preferences for coding strategies of causal–noncausal verb pairs. For example, Turkic languages prefer causative coding (Comrie 2006, Ohsaki 2015). Languages spoken in Europe prefer anticausative coding, regardless of the genetic relationship (Haspelmath 1993: 102-103). Haspelmath (1993: 103) points out that "among the Uralic and Altaic languages of the sample, those that are spoken in Europe (Hungarian, Finnish, Udmurt) show a higher proportion of anticausative than those that are spoken outside of Europe (Turkish, Mongolian)."

This paper thus explores the coding strategies of causal–noncausal verb pairs in Gagauz. Gagauz is a Turkic language that belongs to the Oghuz branch of the West Oghuz group (Johanson 1998: 82). The West Oghuz group also includes Turkish and Azerbaijani. Gagauz is so similar to Turkish that some even consider it as one of the Turkish dialects (Menz 2015).

Whereas other Turkic languages are mainly spoken in Asia, Gagauz is mainly spoken in Moldova (Eastern Europe). Map 1 shows its location and the surrounding countries. Due to the language contact with Slavic languages such as Russian and Bulgarian, Gagauz has been heavily influenced by these Slavic languages in terms of lexicon and syntax.
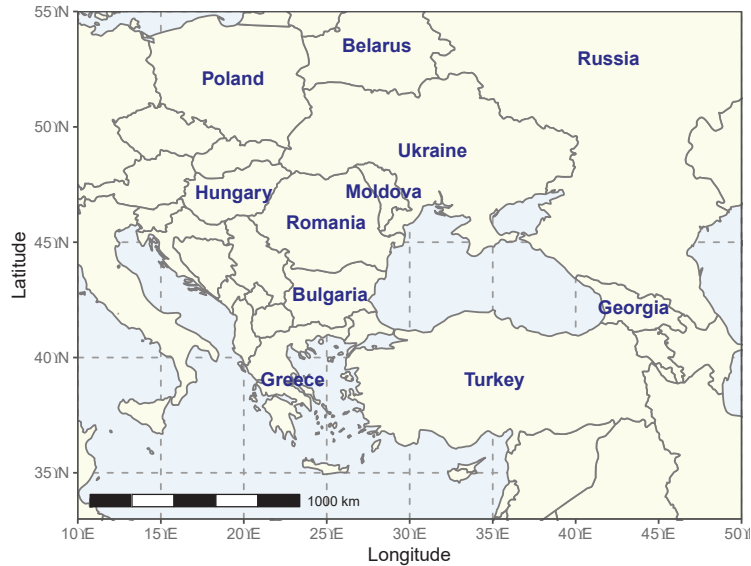
Map 1: Moldova and the surrounding countries

Since it is a Turkic language spoken in Eastern Europe, Gagauz is in a special position in terms of the typology of causal–noncausal verb alternations. That is, there are two conflicting predictions about the coding preference of Gagauz. From a genealogical perspective, Gagauz is expected to prefer causative coding, like many other Turkic languages. By contrast, from a geographical perspective, Gagauz is expected to prefer anticausative coding, like many European languages.

By examining the coding strategies of causal–noncausal verb pairs in Gagauz, this paper reveals the following. First, Gagauz prefers causative coding. Second, Gagauz uses almost the same coding strategies as Turkish. Thus, it can be concluded that Gagauz has a great propensity for causative coding commonly found in Turkic languages, but it does not comply with the areal tendency for European languages to prefer anticausative coding.

The rest of this paper is organized as follows: Section 2 offers an overview of Gagauz. Section 3 presents the methodology of this study. Section 4 analyzes the coding strategies of causal–noncausal verb pairs in Gagauz, and Section 5 compares causal–noncausal verb pairs in Gagauz and other Turkic languages. Section 6 concludes the paper.

2. Overview of Gagauz

This section gives an overview of Gagauz: background information (Section 2.1) and typological characteristics (Section 2.2).

2.1 What is Gagauz?

Gagauz is a Turkic language belonging to the Oghuz branch of the West Oghuz group (Johanson 1998:

82). This group also includes Turkish and Azerbaijani. Gagauz is so similar to Turkish phonologically and morphologically that it is often considered to be one of the Turkish dialects (Menz 2015).

Whereas other Turkic languages are mainly spoken in Asia, Gagauz is spoken in Eastern Europe. Gagauz is spoken in the Autonomous Territorial Unit of Gagauzia (*Gagauz yeri* 'Gagauz place' in Turkish), southern Moldova of Eastern Europe (Map 1). According to the 2014 census,[1] there are a total of 112,387 Gagauz speakers in the Autonomous Territorial Unit of Gagauzia. In addition, Gagauz is also spoken in other areas of Eastern Europe, such as the south western Ukraine, the Russian Federation, the northern Bulgaria, Romania, and Greece (Boeschoten 1998: 5).

There are many hypotheses about the origin of the Gagauz people. A widely accepted hypothesis is that they are the descendants of a mixture of Turkic peoples, such as the Pechenegs, the Uz, and the Qipchaq from the northern Black Sea, and the Seljuk–Turks from Anatolia (Özkan 1996: 12). Wherever their origin, they settled in the Balkan Peninsula. The Gagauz people moved from the Balkan Peninsula to Bessarabia (today's Moldova) during the Russo–Turkish War in 1801–1812 (Özkan 1996: 23). Bessarabia came under the control of Russia in 1947 by the Paris Peace Treaties (Özkan 1996: 23). After the dissolution of the Soviet Union, Moldova became independent. Then, the southern Moldova became an autonomous region called Gagauzia.

Due to this complex history, Gagauzia has become a multilingual region, and Gagauz speakers also speak languages other than Gagauz. The official languages of Gagauzia are Gagauz, Russian, and Romanian. As for education, Russian is used at school, and the Gagauz language is part of the curriculum in all schools in Gagauzia (Menz 2015: 141). Some Gagauz people in Gagauzia use Russian, Bulgarian, or other languages for daily communication. Table 2 shows languages used daily by Gagauz people in Gagauzia and the number of speakers. Moreover, some speak Russian, Bulgarian, or other languages as their mother tongue. Table 3 shows the mother tongue of the Gagauz people in Gagauzia, including the number of speakers. Table 2 and Table 3 are based on the 2014 census.

Table 2: Languages used for a daily communication by the Gagauz people in Gagauzia

Language	Total	Moldovan	Russian	Gagauz	Bulgarian	Others
Number of speakers	112,387	104	37,487	71,878	308	2,610

Table 3: Mother tongue of Gagauz people in Gagauzia

Language	Total	Moldovan	Russian	Gagauz	Bulgarian	Others
Number of speakers	112,387	58	4,868	106,273	94	1,094

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[1] See https://recensamint.statistica.md/ for the 2014 census (2020/07/04).

2.2 Typological characteristics of Gagauz

This section outlines the typological characteristics of Gagauz in terms of phonology, morphology, and syntax. Gagauz phonology and morphology are very similar to Turkish ones, while syntax has been influenced by Slavic languages such as Russian and Bulgarian.

Gagauz has 21 consonants: /b, v, d, g, j, c, z, y, k, l, m, n, p, r, s, t, f, h, ts, ç, ş/ (Özkan 1996: 66). As for vowels, it has 10 short vowel phonemes /a, e, i, o, u, á, ä, ı, ö, ü/ (Özkan 1996: 41) and corresponding 10 long vowel phonemes /aa, ee, ii, oo, uu, áá, ää, ıı, öö, üü/ (Özkan 1996: 44). Gagauz has vowel harmony, like other Turkic languages.

As for morphology, Gagauz is an agglutinative language, like other Turkic languages. It is rich in both inflectional and derivational morphology, as in (3).

(3) *Bekle-er-di-im*   *bän*   *sen-i.*
     wait-PRS-PST-1SG 1SG   2SG-ACC
     'I'm waiting for you.' (Özkan 1996: 205)

At the syntax level, Gagauz has interesting features that deviate from other Turkic languages, influenced by Slavic languages. Although the basic word order of Turkic languages is SOV, Menz (2015: 141) points out that "there is a clear tendency to SVO word order in Gagauz." This is due to language contact with Slavic languages (Johanson 1998: 118), whose basic word order is SVO. An example of the SVO sentence of Gagauz is shown in (4).

(4) *Onnar*   *bil-me-r-lar*   *aaçli-i.*
     they   know-NEG-AOR-3PL   famine-ACC
     'They don't know the famine.' (Menz 2015: 141) (Glossing is mine.)

3. Methodology

Data examined for this study are based on the two dictionaries: the Romanian–Gagauz dictionary (Angeli 2013) and the Gagauz–Turkish dictionary (Gaĭdarzhi, Kaynak, and Doğru 1991). First, I collected the data from the Romanian–Gagauz dictionary (Angeli 2013), looking for the translations of Romanian verbs listed in the Romanian *World Atlas of Transitivity Pairs* (WATP)[2] list (Caluianu 2014).

Second, I collected the data from the Gagauz–Turkish dictionary (Gaĭdarzhi, Kaynak, and Doğru 1991), looking for the translations of Turkish verbs listed in the Turkish WATP list (Dirik, Nitta, and Kuribayashi 2014).

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[2] The World Atlas of Transitivity Pairs (WATP) is a project conducted by the National Institute for Japanese Language and Linguistics (NINJAL) to build a database of causal–noncausal verb pairs and their alternation types in the world's languages based on Haspelmath (1993). The data I collected for this study are also included in the WATP database (Suzuki 2020).

4. Causal–noncausal verb pairs in Gagauz

This section discusses the coding types of causal–noncausal verb pairs in Gagauz in detail. The data of 31 causal–noncausal verb pairs in Gagauz are presented in Table 4. The numbers in the leftmost column correspond to those used in the WATP database. The numbers are put in square brackets when I refer to the data, for example, [1] *kayna/kayna-t* 'boil'. The coding types of each verb pair are also shown (A: anticausative, C: causative, E: equipollent). The sources of data are indicated in the rightmost column (Angeli: data from the Romanian–Gagauz dictionary [Angeli 2013], GKD: data from the Gagauz–Turkish dictionary [Gaĭdarzhi, Kaynak, and Doğru 1991]).

Table 4: Causal–noncausal verb pairs in Gagauz (Suzuki 2020)

No.	Meaning	Noncausal Verb	Causal Verb	Type	Reference
1	boil	*kayna*	*kayna-t*	C	Angeli: 249, GKD: 140,141
		piş	*piş-ir*	C	GKD: 197
2	freeze	*don*	*don-dur*	C	Angeli: 356, GKD: 80
3	dry	*kuru*	*kuru-t*	C	Angeli: 679, GKD: 156
4	wake up	*uyan*	*uyan-dır*	C	Angeli: 658, GKD: 250
		cannan	*cannan-dır*	C	GKD: 46
5	go out/put out	*süün*	*süün-dür*	C	Angeli: 613, GKD: 229
6	sink	*bat*	*bat-tır*	C	Angeli: 589, GKD: 31
		dal	*dal-dır*	C	GKD: 67
7	learn/teach	*üüre-n*	*üüre-t*	E	Angeli: 368, GKD: 252
8	melt	*eri*	*eri-t*	C	Angeli: 652, GKD: 91
9	stop	*dur*	*dur-gut*[3]	C	GKD: 84
10	turn	*dön*	*dön-dür*	C	Angeli: 364, GKD: 82
		çevir-il	*çevir*	A	GKD: 56
11	dissolve	*eri*	*eri-t*	C	GKD: 91
		çöz-ül	*çöz*	A	GKD: 64
12	burn	*ya-n*	*ya-k*	E	Angeli: 44, GKD: 255, 257
13	destroy	*yık-ıl*	*yık*	A	Angeli: 204, GKD: 260
14	fill	*dol*	*dol-dur*	C	Angeli: 673, GKD: 79
15	finish	*bit*	*bit-ir*	C	Angeli: 647, GKD: 37
		tamanna-n	*tamanna*	A	GKD: 238

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[3] There are conflicting data about this verb: *dur-dur* 'stop (tr.)' in Angeli (2013: 457) and *dur-gut* in Gaĭdarzhi, Kaynak, and Doğru (1991). I adopted the latter because the verb *dur-gut* is also attested in the Gagauz reference grammar (Özkan 1996: 116).

No.	Meaning	Noncausal Verb	Causal Verb	Type	Reference
16	begin	*başla*	*başla-t*	C	Angeli: 342, GKD: 30
17	spread	*daa-l*	*daa-t*	E	GKD: 65, 66
		yay-ıl	*yay*	A	Angeli: 549, GKD: 259
18	roll	*yuvarla-n*	*yuvarla*	A	Angeli: 574, GKD: 262
19	develop	*geliş*	*geliş-tir*	C	Angeli: 198
		genişle	*genişle-t*	C	GKD: 102
20	get lost/lose	*kayb-el*	*kayb-et*	E	Angeli: 491, GKD: 139
21	rise/raise	*üüsekle-n*	*üüsel-t*	E	Angeli: 570, GKD: 252
		art	*art-tır*	C	GKD: 17
22	improve	*iileş*	*iileş-tir*	C	Angeli: 351, GKD: 119
		düzel	*düzel-t*	C	GKD: 88
23	rock	*salla-n*	*salla*	A	Angeli: 382, GKD: 207
24	connect	*birleş*	*birleş-tir*	C	Angeli: 674, GKD: 37
		baala-ş	*baala*	A	Angeli: 674, GKD: 26
25	change	*diiş*	*diiş-tir*	C	Angeli: 586, GKD: 74
26	gather	*topla-n*	*topla*	A	Angeli: 23, GKD: 244
27	open	*aç-ıl*	*aç*	A	Angeli: 184, GKD: 4
28	break	*boz-ul*	*boz*	A	GKD: 40
		kır-ıl	*kır*	A	Angeli: 576, GKD: 147
		parçala-n	*parçala*	A	GKD: 192
29	close	*kapa-n*	*kapa*	A	Angeli: 344, GKD: 133
		tıka-n	*tıka*	A	GKD: 242
30	split	*yar-ıl*	*yar*	A	Angeli: 153, GKD: 258
		ayır-ıl	*ayır*	A	GKD: 23
		böl-ün	*böl*	A	GKD: 40
31	die/kill	*öl*	*öl-dür*	C	Angeli: 421, 455, GKD: 188

As shown in Table 4, three coding types are found in the 31 causal–noncausal verb pairs in Gagauz, that is, anticausative, causative, and equipollent. In Gagauz, causal–noncausal verb alternations are coded by suffixes, as in examples (5) and (6). The causal verb *öl-dür* 'kill' in (6) is derived from the noncausal verb *öl-* 'die' in (5) with the causative suffix *dür-*.

(5) *Keçi gicik-ten **öl-eer** (...).*   (Gagauz proverb) (adopted from Manov 2001: 148)
     goat   itch-ABL   die-PRS
     'A goat is dying because of itch (...).'

(6) *Ayı,* *(…)* *enciğ-i-ni* **öl-dür**-*müş.* (Gagauz proverb) (adopted from Manov 2001: 133)

    bear   kid-3SG-ACC   die-CAUS-PRF

    'A bear, killed its kid.'

In what follows, I look into the three coding strategies in detail: anticausative (Section 4.1), causative (Section 4.2), and equipollent (Section 4.3). These results show that Gagauz prefers causative coding across causal–noncausal verb pairs (Section 4.4).

4.1 Anticausative coding

Anticausative coding is found in 17 verb pairs from our data (Table 4). In anticausative coding, the causal verb is basic, and the noncausal verb is derived. Table 5 shows examples of anticausative coding.

Table 5: Examples of anticausative coding

No.	Meaning	Noncausal Verb	Causal Verb
10	turn	*çevir-**il***	*çevir*
15	finish	*tamanna-**n***	*tamanna*

As in Table 5, the suffixes *-il* (*-Il*)[4] and *-n* (*-In*) are used for anticausative coding in Gagauz. The suffix *-Il* has anticausative and passive functions, and the suffix *-In* has reflexive and passive functions (Özkan 1996: 117). The suffix *-In* is used for the verb stem ending with the consonant *l* or a vowel. Otherwise, the suffix *-Il* is used (Özkan 1996: 117).

4.2 Causative coding

Causative coding is found in 24 verb pairs from our data (Table 4). In causative coding, the noncausal verb is basic, and the causal verb is derived. Table 6 shows examples of causative coding.

Table 6: Examples of causative coding

No.	Meaning	Noncausal Verb	Causal Verb
2	freeze	*don*	*don-**dur***
9	stop	*dur*	*dur-**gut***
1	boil	*kayna*	*kayna-**t***
15	finish	*bit*	*bit-**ir***

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[4] Many suffixes in Gagauz have several allomorphs due to vowel harmony and consonant alternation. The segments that have alternatives are represented in capital letters.

As in Table 6, four causative suffixes are found: *-dur*, *-gut*, *-t*, and *-ir*. The choise of the suffix is lexically determined. The suffix *-dur* (*-DIr*) is more productive than the other causative markers (Özkan 1996: 116).

4.3 Equipollent coding

Equipollent coding is found in five verb pairs from our data (Table 4). In equipollent coding, both causal verb and noncausal verb are derived from the same root that expresses the basic situation. Table 7 shows examples of equipollent coding.

Table 7: Examples of equipollent coding

No.	Meaning	Noncausal Verb	Causal Verb
20	get lost/lose	*kayb-**el***	*kayb-**et***
7	learn/teach	*üüre-**n***	*üüre-**t***
30	spread	*daa-**l***	*daa-**t***

Two types of equipollent coding are found in my data. The first type involves the suffixes that originated from the auxiliaries: the suffixes *-el* and *-et*, as in [20] *kayb-**el*** 'get lost' and *kayb-**et*** 'lose'. In Gagauz, the auxiliaries *ol* 'be' and *et* 'do' form complex verbs with loan nouns from Arabic or Persian, for example, *kabul et* 'approve' (*kabul* 'assent') (Özkan 1996: 168–169). In some verbs, the vowel drops, and assimilation occurs (Özkan 1996: 168-169), e.g., *kaybel < kayıp ol* and *kaybet < kayıp et* (*kayıp* 'loss').

The second type is realized by anticausative and causative suffixes, as in [7] *üüre-n* 'learn' and *üüre-t* 'teach' and [30] *daa-l/daa-t* 'spread'. The suffixes *-n and -l* are anticausative suffixes (Section 4.1), whereas the suffix *-t* is a causative suffix (Section 4.2).

4.4 Preference for causative coding in Gagauz

Table 8 shows the number of verb pairs used for each coding strategy in Table 4. Note that when two synonymous verb pairs are listed for a specific meaning in Table 4, each of them is counted as 0.5 in Table 8. For instance, the two verb pairs *dön/dön-dür* (causative coding) and *çevir-il/çevir* (anticausative coding) are listed for [10] 'turn' in Table 4, and each verb pair is counted as 0.5 in Table 8. In addition, when three synonymous verb pairs are listed for a particular meaning in Table 4, each is counted as 0.33 in Table 8. The sum is rounded off to the first decimal place.

Table 8: Coding types in Gagauz

Type	A	C	E	L	S
Number of verb pairs	10.5	16.5	4	0	0

Haspelmath (1993) calculates the ratio of anticausative to causative types (A/C) and the percentage of non-directed types (% non-dir.) to examine languages' preference in coding strategies for causal–noncausal verb pairs. Table 9 shows the A/C ratio and the percentage of non-directed types in Gagauz. Non-directed types refer to the coding types where neither causal nor noncausal verb is derived from the other, namely, equipollent, labile, and suppletive coding.

Table 9: A/C ratio and % non-dir.

A/C	% non-dir.
0.64	13

Based on the A/C ratio, it can be concluded that Gagauz is characterized as a language that prefers causative to anticausative coding. The low percentage of non-directed types indicates that Gagauz prefers directed rather than non-directed alternations.

5. Comparison between Gagauz and other Turkic languages

This section argues that Gagauz displays the general preference for causative coding found in Turkic languages but that it does not comply with the areal tendency for European languages to prefer anticausative coding. To begin with, let us compare the causal and non-causal verb pairs in Gagauz with those in Turkish. Table 10 shows the list of causal–noncausal verb pairs in Turkish (Dirik, Nitta, and Kuribayashi 2014). Turkish uses almost the same coding strategies as Gagauz.

Table 10: Causal–noncausal verb pairs in Turkish (Dirik, Nitta, and Kuribayashi 2014)

No.	Meaning	Noncausal Verb	Causal Verb	Type
1	boil	*kayna*	*kayna-t*	C
		haşla-n	*haşla*	A
		piş	*piş-ir*	C
2	freeze	*don*	*don-dur*	C
3	dry	*kuru*	*kuru-t*	C
4	wake up	*uyan*	*uyan-dır*	C
		canlan	*canlan-dır*	C
5	go out/put out	*sön*	*sön-dür*	C
6	sink	*bat*	*bat-ır*	C
		dal	*dal-dır*	C
7	learn/teach	*öğre-n*	*öğre-t*	E
8	melt	*eri*	*eri-t*	C
		yumuşa	*yumuşa-t*	C

No.	Meaning	Noncausal Verb	Causal Verb	Type
9	stop	*dur*	*dur-dur*	C
		engelle-n	*engelle*	A
10	turn	*dön*	*dön-dür*	C
		çevr-il	*çevir*	A
		yönel	*yönel-t*	C
11	dissolve	*eri*	*eri-t*	C
		çöz-ül	*çöz*	A
		hall-ol	*hall-et*	E
12	burn	*ya-n*	*ya-k*	E
		tutuş	*tutuş-tur*	C
13	destroy	*mahv-ol*	*mahv-et*	E
		yık-ıl	*yık*	A
14	fill	*dol*	*dol-dur*	C
15	finish	*bit*	*bit-ir*	C
		tamamla-n	*tamamla*	A
16	begin	*başla*	*başla-t*	C
17	spread	*yay-ıl*	*yay*	A
		ser-il	*ser*	A
		dağ-ıl	*dağ-ıt*	E
18	roll	*yuvarla-n*	*yuvarla*	A
19	develop	*geliş*	*geliş-tir*	C
		genişle	*genişle-t*	C
20	get lost/lose	*kayb-ol*	*kayb-et*	E
		yit	*yit-ir*	C
21	rise/raise	*yüksel*	*yüksel-t*	C
		kaldır-ıl	*kaldır*	A
		art	*art-ır*	C
22	improve	*düzel*	*düzel-t*	C
		art	*art-ır*	C
		kıymetlen	*kıymetlen-dir*	C
23	rock	*salla-n*	*Salla*	A
24	connect	*bağla-n*	*bağla*	A
		birleş	*birleş-tir*	C
25	change	*değiş*	*değiş-tir*	C
26	gather	*topla-n*	*topla*	A

No.	Meaning	Noncausal Verb	Causal Verb	Type
27	open	*aç-ıl*	*aç*	A
28	break	*kır-ıl*	*kır*	A
		parçala-n	*parçala*	A
		boz-ul	*boz*	A
29	close	*kapa-n*	*kapa*	A
		tıka-n	*tıka*	A
30	split	*yar-ıl*	*yar*	A
		ayr-ıl	*ayır*	A
		böl-ün	*böl*	A
31	die/kill	*öl*	*öl-dür*	C

Let us compare the verb pairs in Gagauz and Turkish. There are only two differences between them. First, different suffixes are employed for causative coding of one verb pair [9] 'stop', as in Table 11. The causative suffix *-gut* is used for the causal verb 'stop' in Gagauz, whereas the suffix *-dur* is used in Turkish.

Table 11: Difference in causative coding between Gagauz and Turkish

Language	No.	Meaning	Noncausal	Causal	Type
Gagauz	9	stop	*dur*	*dur-**gut***	C
Turkish			*dur*	*dur-**dur***	C

Second, different suffixes are employed for anticausative coding of two verb pairs [6] 'sink' and [20] 'get lost/lose', as in Table 12. The suffix *-DIr* is used in Gagauz, whereas the suffix *-Ir* is used in Turkish.

Table 12: Difference in anticausative coding between Gagauz and Turkish

Language	No.	Meaning	Noncausal	Causal	Type
Gagauz	6	sink	*bat*	*bat-**tır***	C
Turkish			*bat*	*bat-**ır***	C
Gagauz	20	get lost/lose	*art*	*art-**tır***	C
Turkish			*art*	*art-**ır***	C

It is clear from this comparison that Gagauz uses almost the same coding strategies as Turkish. Moreover, Gagauz follows the general coding preference of Turkic languages. Turkic languages have a diachronic stability for causative coding, preferring causative coding synchronically and diachronically (Ohsaki 2015, Comrie 2006). Table 13 shows the numbers of verb pairs of each coding type, the A/C

ratio, and the percentage of non-directed types in the West Oghuz group of Turkic languages: Gagauz, Turkish, Azerbaijani, and Turkmen.

Table 13: Coding types in West Oghuz languages

Language	A	C	E	L	S	A/C	% non-dir.	Reference
Gagauz	10.5	16.5	4	0	0	0.64	13	Suzuki (2020)
Turkish	11	16.8	3.2	0	0	0.65	11	Dirik et al. (2014)
Azerbaijani	7.5	18.5	3.5	1.5	0	0.41	16	Ohsaki 2015
Turkmen	11	16	2	1	1	0.69	13	Oku 2014

Crucially, Gagauz does not comply with the areal features of European languages. Haspelmath (1993: 102–103) argues that languages in European prefer anticausative coding, regardless of the genetic affiliation. He states that "among the Uralic and Altaic languages of the sample, those that are spoken in Europe (Hungarian, Finnish, Udmurt) show a higher proportion of anticausatives than those that are spoken outside of Europe (Turkish, Mongolian)" (Haspelmath 1993: 103). Although it is spoken mainly in Eastern Europe, Gagauz prefers causative coding contrary to the areal tendency for European languages to prefer anticausative coding.

6. Conclusion

This paper analyzed the variation in the coding types of causal–noncausal verb pairs in Gagauz by examining 31 verb pairs proposed for crosslinguistic comparison by Haspelmath (1993). It was observed that Gagauz prefers causative coding across different causal–noncausal verb pairs. Moreover, Gagauz uses almost the same coding strategies as Turkish. This is expected from the diachronic stability of Turkic languages and the structural similarities between Gagauz and Turkish. Although it is a European language, Gagauz does not have a tendency toward anticausative coding. Rather it prefers causative coding like other Turkic languages.

Abbreviations

ABL	ablative		PRS	present
ACC	accusative		PST	past
AOR	aorist		SG	singular
CAUS	causative		1	first person
NEG	negation		2	second person
PL	plural		3	third person
PRF	perfect			

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ガガウズ語の自他交替

鈴木唯

suzuki.yui.s.y@gmail.com

キーワード：自他交替、使役型交替、地域特徴、通時的安定性、ガガウズ語

要旨

ガガウズ語はチュルク諸語の一つであり、東ヨーロッパにあるモルドバ共和国で主に話されている。本稿はHaspelmath (1993) が提示した31の自他交替の動詞のリストに基づいてガガウズ語の自他交替のコーディング方法について検討する。本稿では、ガガウズ語は使役型が優勢的であることを主張する。これはComrie (2006) と Ohsaki (2015) のチュルク諸語は系統関係内で安定して使役型を好むことを考えると驚くべきことではない。重要なことに、ガガウズ語は、ヨーロッパの言語は逆使役型を好むという地域特徴から外れている。

（すずき・ゆい　東京大学大学院）