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Sprachenvielfalt in der Welt und für die Welt
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La diversité linguistique dans le monde et pour le monde

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Baltic causatives in the Circum-Baltic context

I discuss periphrastic and morphological causatives found in Old Prussian, Latvian, and Lithuanian in a wider areal context of Circum-Baltic languages. One sees non-trivial parallels in Finnic, Germanic, and Slavic languages that can be explained as contact-induced phenomena, genetically related tendencies, and independent parallel developments.

With respect to periphrastic constructions, I focus on: (1) paths of semantic development of bases of causative constructions, (2) areal context of these paths, (3) variation and development of causee marking, (4) influence of German *lassen*-constructions. For (1) and (2), I discuss the following paths with parallels in neighboring languages: 'give' > 'let'; 'let go, release' > 'let'; 'leave' > 'let' (> 'make'); 'put' > 'make'; 'push, press' > 'make'; 'get' > 'make', cf. (Levshina 2015), (Soares da Silva 2012), (von Waldenfels 2012). For (3), I provide explanations for the use of dative which is either inherited from the source construction ('give' + DAT > 'let' + DAT) or replaces original accusative to mark permissive manipulation (e.g., 'let go, release' + ACC > 'let, allow' + DAT). With respect to (4), I consider the influence of German *lassen*-constructions when the same construction has both permissive and factitive functions in Baltic.

The morphological suffixed causatives are no longer productive in the modern Baltic language, but play an important role in the lexicon and appear to have been actively formed in the past. When Finnic, Baltic, and Slavic languages are contrasted, morphological causatives in Baltic are not as common as in Finnic, but still much more frequent than in Slavic. It is tempting to explain this tendency as reflecting the influence of neighboring Finnic languages (Nau & Pakerys 2016). I begin by tracing the development of causatives from Proto-Indo-European to Balto-Slavic and discuss the parallels found outside the Circum-Baltic area when languages with productive morphological causatives may have stimulated the use of such causatives in the contacting languages, cf. (Matras 2002: 120–125), (Nichols 2018: 2–4).

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