Classifying Halkomelem causatives

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Halkomelem has three main transitive suffixes—the general transitive, the limited control transitive, and the causative. This paper focuses on the causative. We address two questions: what classes of verb roots take the causative suffix? and what are the syntactic and semantic properties of the resulting causative constructions? Although we have discussed causatives in our previous work, our on-going research into verb classes allows us to give a more thorough picture of this construction. For instance, our research has revealed one robust class of causatives not previously noted: causatives built on transitive bases.

1 The Halkomelem causative suffix

In all syntactically transitive constructions in Halkomelem, i.e. those with two direct arguments (or their pronominal equivalents), the verb is inflected with a transitive suffix. There are three transitive suffixes in Halkomelem: the general transitive suffix -r, the limited control suffix -nax”, and the causative suffix -stax”.

1) ni? cew-at-as kʷθə swəʔyeʔ ta stəniʔ.
AUX help-TR-3ERG DT man DT: woman
'The man helped the woman.'

2) ni? lam-naxʷ-as kʷθə swəʔyeʔ ta stəniʔ.
AUX look-LCTR-3ERG DT man DT woman
'The man saw the woman.'

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All three transitive constructions are identical in terms of their surface syntax. Subject and object noun phrases are direct arguments, and third-person main-clause subjects determine ergative agreement. The transitive suffixes fuse with the object suffixes which follow.

For example, the paradigm for the causative + object forms are given in the following table:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>SINGULAR</th>
<th>PLURAL</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>FIRST PERSON</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-stamš</td>
<td>-stalx &quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-stamä</td>
<td>-stalä</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>SECOND PERSON</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-stamä</td>
<td>-stalä</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>THIRD PERSON</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-stax &quot;</td>
<td>-stamš</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-stamä</td>
<td>-stalä</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 1. Object suffixes with causative -stax "

The transitive suffixes are ubiquitous, appearing frequently in both natural and elicited data. One project that we have been undertaking for the last twenty years is to test Halkomelem verb roots in combinations with the various suffixes. So far we have identified 486 verb roots and tested them in combination with twelve suffixes (transitive, causative, reflexive, desiderative, etc.). We checked with speakers to see if forms were acceptable and asked for illustrative sentences. We also took materials from our elicitations, texts, dictionaries, etc., and composed a database coded for argument realization and semantic nuances. Totals for acceptable root + transitive suffix combinations are given in Table 2.
The causative, while not as frequent as the other transitive suffixes, nevertheless occurs on over fifty percent of Halkomelem roots.

The transitive suffixes are also used on bases that consist of more than a root. For example, the general transitive suffix -t follows the benefactive suffix (7), and the causative follows the reflexive (8) and reciprocal (9) suffix.

(7) niʔ lækʷ-əlc-t-əs tə swiwləs ?ə kʔə scešt.
   AUX break-BEN-TR-3ERG DT young.man OBL DT stick
   ‘She broke the stick for the boy.’

(8) niʔ cən əqay-əqat-stəxʷ tə swaawləs
   AUX ISUB make-REFL-CS DT young.man(PL)
   tə tə tim-əls kʷs ?iʔsəš. OBL DT do.hard-ACT COMP.NM paddle(IMPF)-3POS
   ‘I had the young men train themselves for paddling hard.’

(9) nem ?əyaʔ-q-əqat-stəxʷ ?ə tə kəpu-s tən meʔənə.
   go exchange-REC-CS OBL DT coat-3POS DT:2POS offpring(PL)
   ‘Go get your children to trade their coats.’

We have discussed the combinatorial properties of causative suffixes elsewhere (see especially Gerdts 1980, 1988, 2004) and limit the discussion here to cases where the causative suffix is attached directly to the root.

In this paper we address the issue of which verbs take the causative suffix, drawing on data from our verb class database. We seek to answer two questions: what classes of verbs allow the causative suffix? and what are the syntactic and semantic properties of the resulting causative construction? We divide our discussion into two parts. In section 2, we discuss causatives formed on intransitive bases, that is, causatives like (10a) where the corresponding non-causative form (10a) is an intransitive clause with a verb that has a single semantic argument.

(10) a. niʔ əqiməq tə swiwləs.
    AUX walk DT young.man
    ‘The young man walked.’

b. niʔ cən əqiməq-stəxʷ tə swiwləs.
   AUX ISUB walk-CS DT young.man
   ‘I made the young man walk.’

Table 2. Halkomelem transitive suffixes

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Suffix Type</th>
<th>ROOT</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Transitive</td>
<td>-t</td>
<td>81.9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Limited Control Transitive</td>
<td>-nəxʷ</td>
<td>81.9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Causative</td>
<td>-stəxʷ</td>
<td>56.8%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
In section 3, we discuss a type of causative that has previously gone undiscovered—causatives formed on transitive bases. For example, in causatives like (11b), the corresponding non-causative form (11a) is a transitive clause with a verb that has two semantic arguments.

(11) a. ni? ?a{l-št-αs tθœ swiwlæs tθœ tαxαc!  
   AUX stretch-TR DT bow DT young.man  
   ‘The young man bent the bow.’

   b. nem ?a{l-stαx* tθœ swiwlæs tθ c tαxαc!  
   go stretch-CS DT young.man OBL DT bow  
   ‘Go show the young man how to pull the bow!’

In section 4, we briefly contrast the causative suffix with the general transitive suffix -t. We give our summary and conclusions in section 5.

2 Causatives on intransitive bases

We start our discussion with causatives that are built on intransitive bases. We divide them into two types, those based on active verbs and those based on states.

2.1 Causatives on active verbs

When the causative suffix is added to an intransitive verb denoting an activity, the subject of the corresponding intransitive clause is the object of the causative and the causer is the subject.

(12) a. ni? yays tθœ swəyqe?  
   AUX work DT man  
   ‘The man worked.’

   b. ni? cæn yays-stαx* tθœ swiwlæs.  
   AUX ISUB work-CS DT young.man  
   ‘I put the young man to work.’

(13) a. ni? ?əmət tə sλenĩ?  
   AUX sit DT woman  
   ‘The woman sat down.’

   b. ni? cæn ?əmət-stαx* tə sλenĩ?  
   AUX ISUB sit-CS DT woman  
   ‘I had the woman sit down.’

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2 This is the class of verbs that we often refer to as unergative. For evidence for the unergative/unaccusative distinction in Halkomelem, see Gerdts (1991), Gerdts and Hukari (1998, 2001).
We give additional examples of verbs of this type in Table 3.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>BASIC VERB</th>
<th>-stəxʷ CAUSATIVE</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>‘stop’</td>
<td>‘stop it’, ‘make him/her stop’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘sleep’</td>
<td>‘put him/her to sleep’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘run’</td>
<td>‘make him/her run’, ‘run it’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘stand’</td>
<td>‘make him/her stand’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘dance’</td>
<td>‘have him/her dance’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘swim’</td>
<td>‘make him/her swim’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘dive’</td>
<td>‘make him/her dive’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘sing’</td>
<td>‘have him/her sing’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘laugh’</td>
<td>‘make him/her laugh’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 3. Activity verbs with causatives

In addition, there is a large class of motion verbs that form causatives. They behave like typical activity verbs in that the agent of motion is the causee of the causative.

(15) niʔ ʰəyeʔ kʷθə John.
      AUX leave DT John
‘John left.’

(16) niʔ ct ʰəyeʔ-stəxʷ kʷθə John.
      AUX 1PL.SUB leave-CS DT John
“We made John leave.”

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3 See Gerdts and Hukari (2001) for a treatment of the properties of Halkomelem motion verbs.
However, the more common use of causatives of motion verbs is with an associative meaning. That is, the object expresses the person or thing that is taken or brought along during the performance of the motion.

(17) ni? cən həye?-stəxʷ kʷθə sqʷəmey.  
AUX I SUB leave-CS DT dog  
‘I took the dog along.’

(18) ?əl-stəxʷ-əs səw ?əxəl əkʷəənəl.  
get.on.board-CS-3ERG NM:LNK paddle go.home DT:PRO  
‘She put it on board and she paddled home.’

(19) ném əl-stəxʷ təŋ stəxʷəl!  
come go.as.hore-CS DT canoe  
‘Beach the canoe!’

(20) nem cən lixʷ-stəxʷ kʷθə-ə stəxʷəl.  
go I SUB go.downhill-CS DT-IPOS firewood  
‘I am going to take my firewood down.’

Other examples are given in Table 4.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>BASIC VERB</th>
<th>-stəxʷ CAUSATIVE</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ném</td>
<td>‘go’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mí</td>
<td>‘come’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cam</td>
<td>‘go uphill’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>?əli</td>
<td>‘go away’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>əkʷ</td>
<td>‘go home’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>xʷə?aləm</td>
<td>‘return’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kʷiʔ</td>
<td>‘climb’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>əlew</td>
<td>‘run away, flee’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>šaqʷəl</td>
<td>‘cross to the other side’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>təxal</td>
<td>‘go upstream’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 4. Motion verbs with associative causatives

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4 In previous research, including Gerdts and Hukari (2001), we have referred to these as comitative causatives. Suttles (2004) also uses this term. However, since the objects are often inanimate, and comitative is more appropriately used for an active participant, associative may be a more appropriate term. Several other Salish languages have causatives of this type. For example, Beck (1996) and Hess and Bates (1998) note causatives on verbs of motion in Lushootseed, and Watanabe (2003) notes them in Sliammon.
2.2 Causatives on states

Many verbs describing states can take the causative suffix. The subject of the intransitive clause is the object of the corresponding causative. The derived meaning is to make, get, have, keep, or find something in that condition or state.

(21) a. ?əw həl̓i kʷən sxʷʔəqʷəʔ-ələp.
   LNK alive DT:2POS sibling(PL)-2POS.PL
   ‘Your brother is alive.’

b. ?əw ya-əl̓-stəxʷ cən ceʔ əə sləwəl.
   LNK SER-alive-CS LSB FUT DT herring
   ‘I will keep the herrings alive.’

(22) a. təqʷ tə sqis-s təxʷƛ̓ələm.
   tight DT knot-3POS DT rope
   ‘The knot in the rope is tight.’

b. nem ə x̣im ?əw təqʷ-ələxʷ tən s-əqʷələʔ-c-t
   go 2SUB really LNK tight-CS DT:2POS NM-tie=fibre-TR
   tə ələqʷə.
   DT suitcase
   ‘Tie the suitcase really tightly when you tie it.’

(23) a. ...kʷəx̣ʷəl̓ peʔ na-šqʷaɬəwən...
   COMP:LNK hurt indeed 1POS-feelings
   ‘...my feelings are very hurt...’

b. niʔ cən x̣əl-ələxʷ.
   AUX LSB hurt-CS
   ‘I felt bad for him.’

Further examples are given in Table 5.
Table 5. Causatives based on states

In sum, we have noted three types of causatives formed on intransitive bases: 1) those in which the base is an activity and the causative object is the causee; 2) those in which the base is a motion verb and the object is associative (brought along); 3) those in which the base is a state and the construction denotes getting or keeping the object in that state.
Causatives on transitive bases

Next we turn to examples of causatives where the corresponding non-causative clause is transitive. For example, the verb root $\sqrt{mək}$ has a transitive form $mək^{\text{at}}$ 'pick it up off the ground, gather' and a causative form $mək^{\text{stax}}$ 'have him/her pick it up off the ground, gather', and the root $\sqrt{?iləq}$ has a transitive form $?iləq^{\text{at}}$ 'buy it' and a causative form $?iləq^{\text{stax}}$ 'have him/her buy it', as illustrated in the following:

\begin{equation}
\text{(24)} \quad mək^{\text{-at}} \text{ pick.up-TR 2SUB FUT DT firewood 3SUB FUT firewood}'
\end{equation}

\begin{verbatim}
\text{pick.up-TR 2SUB FUT DT firewood}'
\end{verbatim}

Previously, we have claimed that causatives in Halkomelem are formed only on intransitive bases (Gerdts 1988, 2004). Evidence for that claim came from the fact that a transitive form such as (i-a) cannot serve as a base for a causative. This is true regardless of the presence or absence of the transitive suffix, the word order, or the case marking of the nominals:

\begin{enumerate}
\item \text{i-a.} ni\text{'}? $q^{\text{al-4at-as}}$ to $sleni$? k*$θ$ $səplil$. \\
\text{AUX bake-TR-3ERG DT woman DT bread}
\end{enumerate}

\begin{verbatim}
\text{AUX bake-TR-3ERG DT woman DT bread}
\end{verbatim}

\begin{enumerate}
\item b. *ni\text{'}? $q^{\text{al-4at-as}}$ to $sleni$? k*$θ$ $səplil$. \\
\text{AUX 1SUB bake-TR-CS OBL DT}
\end{enumerate}

\begin{verbatim}
\text{AUX 1SUB bake-TR-CS OBL DT}
\end{verbatim}

\begin{enumerate}
\item b. *ni\text{'}? $q^{\text{al-4at-as}}$ to $sleni$? k*$θ$ $səplil$. \\
\text{AUX 1SUB bake-TR-CS OBL DT}
\end{enumerate}

\begin{verbatim}
\text{AUX 1SUB bake-TR-CS OBL DT}
\end{verbatim}

\begin{enumerate}
\item We show here that some transitive bases do form causatives, and in this case, the transitive suffix does not appear inside the causative suffix.
\item Watanabe (2003) notes causatives of transitives in Sliammon. The causative suffix stacks on the transitive suffix. However, they are used only as imperatives and the object of the corresponding transitive clause remains a direct argument in the causative.
\item An in-depth discussion of our current thinking about underlying transitivity in Halkomelem is beyond the scope of this paper, but we assume that Halkomelem exhibits the usual range of verb types—unergative, unaccusative, and transitive, represented in standard argument-structure notation as follows: Unergatives NP, Unaccusatives <NP>, Transitives NP <NP>.
\item Most roots in Halkomelem may appear in a more than one argument structure frame. Some of the roots on which causatives are based appear not only as transitives, but also as unaccusatives or unergatives with an oblique patient. However, in other cases, such as $\sqrt{mək}$ or $\sqrt{?iləq}$, the root is not possible as a free-standing word and thus we posit it to be a transitive root.
\end{enumerate}
In these causatives, the agent of the transitive verb corresponds to the object of the causative and the patient of the transitive verb corresponds to an oblique object in the causative. Cross-linguistically, a causative based on a transitive replicates the structure of a ditransitive clause in a language (Gerdts 1992). In Halkomelem ditransitive clauses, the goal NP is the direct object and the patient/theme is an oblique object.

As we have noted elsewhere (Gerdts 1988, Gerdts and Hukari 1998), oblique objects can be differentiated from other oblique-marked NPs by the way they extract, for example in WH-questions. The predicate is nominalized with the prefix s- and the subject of the nominalization appears as a possessor:

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(30) stem \(\text{ŋa}\) k\(^*\)a ni\(\text{ŋ}\) s-mak\(^*\)-st\(\text{a}\)x\(\text{ŋ}\) t\(\text{ə}\) s\(\text{ŋi}\)\(\text{x}\)qət\?  
what INQU DT AUX 2POS NM-pick.up-CS DT child  
‘What did you have the child pick up?’

(31) stem \(\text{ŋa}\) k\(^*\)a ni\(\text{ŋ}\) s-\(\text{ŋi}\)laq-st\(\text{a}\)x\(\text{ŋ}\) t\(\text{ə}\) s\(\text{ŋi}\)\(\text{x}\)qət\?  
what INQU DT AUX 2POS NM-buy-CS DT child  
‘What did you have the child buy?’

Causatives formed on transitives get a range of translations including to get, have, make, show, or teach someone to do the transitive action. Often the causative verb is chained with the verb \(x\) \(\text{ŋ}\)w\(\text{c}\)ə\(\text{s}\)t ‘show someone how to do something (with the hands)’.

(32) \(\text{ŋi}\)\(\text{c}\) wət sə\(\text{l}\)-\(\text{ŋ}\)t k\(\text{\text{ŋ}}\)\(\text{θ}\)a s-t\(\text{ŋ}e\)l\(\text{ŋ}\)qan t\(\text{ə}\) l\(\text{ŋ}m\)a\(\text{t}\)u\(\text{ŋ}\)an?  
AUX:Q:2SUB then spin-TR DT STA-card(RES)2POS wool  
‘Have you spun your carded wool?’

(33) \(x\) \(\text{ŋ}\)w\(\text{c}\)ə\(\text{s}\)t \(\text{\text{ŋ}}\) \(\text{θ}\)a \(\text{ŋ}\)em\(\text{i}\)?  
sə\(\text{l}\)-\(\text{ŋ}\)t\(\text{a}\)x\(\text{ŋ}\) t\(\text{ə}\) te\(\text{ŋ}\)m\(\text{a}\)t\(\text{u}\)l\(\text{ŋ}\)an.  
teach-TR DT young.woman spin-CS OBL DT wool.  
‘Teach the girl how to spin the wool.’

Additional verbs that show this sort of transitive/causative alternation are given in Table 6.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>TRANSITIVE</th>
<th>CAUSATIVE</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>k(^<em>)uk(^</em>)t</td>
<td>k(^<em>)uk(^</em>)-st(\text{a})x(\text{ŋ})</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lə(\text{ŋ})xt</td>
<td>lə(\text{ŋ})xt(\text{ŋ})st(\text{a})x</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lq(\text{ŋ})t</td>
<td>lq(\text{ŋ})st(\text{a})x</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>l(\text{ŋ})xt</td>
<td>l(\text{ŋ})xt(\text{ŋ})st(\text{a})x</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lə(\text{ŋ})xt</td>
<td>lə(\text{ŋ})xt(\text{ŋ})st(\text{a})x</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(\text{ŋ})(\text{i})(\text{c})xt</td>
<td>(\text{ŋ})(\text{i})(\text{c})xt(\text{ŋ})st(\text{a})x</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mə(\text{ŋ})xt</td>
<td>mə(\text{ŋ})xt(\text{ŋ})st(\text{a})x</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mə(\text{ŋ})(\text{c})xt</td>
<td>mə(\text{ŋ})(\text{c})xt(\text{ŋ})st(\text{a})x</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>p(\text{k})(\text{ŋ})xt</td>
<td>p(\text{k})(\text{ŋ})xt(\text{ŋ})st(\text{a})x</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>p(\text{s})xt</td>
<td>p(\text{s})xt(\text{ŋ})st(\text{a})x</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>qi(\text{ŋ})(\text{i})(\text{w})xt</td>
<td>qi(\text{ŋ})(\text{i})(\text{w})xt(\text{ŋ})st(\text{a})x</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ta(\text{ŋ})xt</td>
<td>ta(\text{ŋ})xt(\text{ŋ})st(\text{a})x</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lə(\text{ŋ})m(\text{ŋ})xt</td>
<td>lə(\text{ŋ})m(\text{ŋ})xt(\text{ŋ})st(\text{a})x</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lə(\text{ŋ})(\text{ə})(\text{ŋ})(\text{ŋ})xt</td>
<td>lə(\text{ŋ})(\text{ə})(\text{ŋ})(\text{ŋ})xt(\text{ŋ})st(\text{a})x</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lə(\text{ŋ})(\text{e})(\text{k})(\text{\text{ŋ}})xt</td>
<td>lə(\text{ŋ})(\text{e})(\text{k})(\text{\text{ŋ}})xt(\text{ŋ})st(\text{a})x</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 6. Causatives based on transitives
All of the above examples have the standard causative meaning of the causer causing the causee (i.e. the agent of the corresponding non-causative cause) to do something. However, there are also cases in which the object of the causative construction is not a causee. Rather it plays some kind of oblique role such as dative, benefactive, or comitative. We refer to these as applicative causatives. Thus, we see that the agent of the transitive clause in (34) is also the agent in the applicative causative in (35) and the object in (35) has the semantics of a benefactive, not a causee.  

(34) \( \theta i^t-t \) \( \text{ spread-TR } \) \( \text{ 2SUB } \) \( \text{ DT } \) \( \text{ mat } \) \( \text{ first } \) \( \text{ CONJ } \) \( \text{ next } \) \( \text{ 2POS-NM } \)  
\( \text{ leq-\text{at } t e \ la\text{akh-t\text{en}.} } \)  
\( \text{ lie-TR } \) \( \text{ DT } \) \( \text{ blanket } \)  

‘Put the mat down first, then spread out the blanket on top.’

(35) \( \text{ nem } \) \( \text{ 2SUB } \) \( \text{ go } \) \( \text{ 2SUB } \) \( \text{ FUT } \) \( \text{ spread-CS } \) \( \text{ DT:2POS } \) \( \text{ grandparent } \) \( \text{ OBL } \) \( \text{ this blanket } \)  
\( \text{ ‘You will go and open this blanket for your grandma.’ } \)

\[
\begin{array}{|c|c|}
\hline
\text{TRANSITIVE} & \text{CAUSATIVE} \\
\hline
\text{lemat} & \text{‘look at it’} & \text{lamst\text{ax} } \text{w} & \text{‘show it to him/her’} \\
\text{\( \theta \text{\text{ayt} } \)} & \text{‘fix it’} & \text{\( \theta \text{\text{ayst\text{ax} } w} \)} & \text{‘fix it for him/her’} \\
\text{tal\text{ax\text{st\text{at} } \)} & \text{‘chase it away’} & \text{tal\text{ax\text{st\text{ax} } w}} & \text{‘chase it away for him/her’} \\
\text{\( \theta \text{\text{alq\text{t} } \)} & \text{‘divide it’} & \text{\( \theta \text{\text{alq\text{st\text{ax} } w} \)} & \text{‘divide it with him/her’} \\
\hline
\end{array}
\]

Table 7. Applicative causatives

In other cases, there seems to be no accumulative relationship between the transitive and the causative constructions. The agent in (36) and (37) remains constant, but the object in the transitive construction in (36) is a source, while the object in the causative construction in (37) is a benefactive.

(36) \( \text{ nil } \) \( \text{ 3PRO } \) \( \text{ lwet } \) \( \text{ 3w } \) \( \text{ who } \) \( \text{ DT } \) \( \text{ AUX } \) \( \text{ steal-TR } \) \( \text{ DT:2POS } \) \( \text{ grandparent } \) \( \text{ OBL } \)  
\( \text{ k\text{w }\( \theta \text{\text{a } \)} \) \( \text{ se\text{\text{w\text{on-s}}} } \) } \) 
\( \text{ DT } \) \( \text{ lunch-3POS } \)  

‘Who stole your grandfather’s lunch from him?’

---

9 Gerdt and Hukari (to appear) note that the causative suffix added to a denominal verb yields a benefactive reading: \( \text{ tx }^* \text{-s\text{ap\text{il}}} \) ‘buy bread’, \( \text{ tx }^* \text{-s\text{ap\text{il-st\text{ax} }}* \) ‘buy bread for him/her’.
nem č ceʔ qən-stəxʷ təʔn ʃəlšiʔə ʔə kʷʔə
go 2SUB FUT steal-CS DT:2POS grandparent(PL) OBL DT
sciʔə.
strawberry

‘You’re going to steal some strawberries for your grandparents.’

The agent in (38) and (39) remains constant, but the object in the transitive construction in (38) is a goal, while the object in the causative construction in (39) is a benefactive.

(38) caləʔ-t č təʔn men ʔə ʔən snəxʷəl.
borrow/lend-TR 2SUB DT:2POS father OBL DT:2POS canoe/car
‘Lend your father your car.’

(39) niʔ ʔə č caləʔ-stəxʷ kʷʔə John ʔə kʷ telə?
AUX Q 2SUB borrow/lend-CS DT John OBL DT money
‘Did you borrow some money for John?’

4 Contrasting transitives and causatives

Our research has shown that the causative suffix gets added to several types of bases, resulting in causative constructions with a wide variety of functions. In fact, the causative suffix can be attached to over half of the verb roots in our corpus. This brings up the question: why do some verb roots not take the causative suffix? We leave a precise answer for future research, though we can make some preliminary remarks here.

First, 22 roots (5%) do not transitivize at all. That is, they take neither the general transitive suffix –t nor the causative suffix –stəxʷ. Some examples are given in Table 8.10

The roots marked with √ in fact do not occur as free-standing forms. Most require the middle suffix in their simplest forms. See Gerdts and Hukari (1998).
Second, it is useful to examine the roots that take the general transitive suffix \(-t\) but not the causative. One major class of verbs of this type shows an “inchoative/causative” alternation. In Halkomelem, the inchoative alternant is the bare root while the causative alternate is suffixed with \(-t\). Around 125 (25%) of verbs show this sort of alternation, though the actual degree of external force implied in the case of the intransitive alternate varies. Some examples are given in Table 9.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>BASIC VERB</th>
<th>(-t) TRANSITIVE</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>?ak*</td>
<td>‘get hooked’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>čax*</td>
<td>‘increase’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>k*-əl</td>
<td>‘spill’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lək*</td>
<td>‘break in two’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>čəyx*</td>
<td>‘get dry’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ləč</td>
<td>(container) get full’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ləq*</td>
<td>‘get wet’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>čəq*</td>
<td>‘get pierced’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>səq*</td>
<td>‘get torn’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ʃəx*</td>
<td>‘get covered’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>k*es</td>
<td>‘burn’, ‘get hot’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 9. Some verb roots that take \(-t\)

These process roots thus contrast with the active roots and the stative roots discussed in section 2 above, which take the causative suffix, and usually not the transitive suffix. We have found 50 roots (11%) to be of this type.
Roots that take just the transitive or just the causative suffix, or neither, account for around half of the roots of the language. In fact, 221 roots (48%) can take either suffix. See Table 10 for an overall summary of the occurrence of verbs roots and the transitive suffixes.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>-stox* YES</th>
<th>-stox* NO</th>
<th>TOTAL</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>-t YES</td>
<td>221 (48%)</td>
<td>170 (36%)</td>
<td>391 (84%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-t NO</td>
<td>50 (11%)</td>
<td>22 (5%)</td>
<td>72 (16%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL</td>
<td>271 (59%)</td>
<td>192 (41%)</td>
<td>463 (100%)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 10. Occurrence of roots with the transitive suffixes \(-t\) and \(-stox^w\)

In the vast majority of roots that can appear with either the transitive or the causative (cf. section 3), the transitive construction usually indicates a simple event involving an agent and a patient, while the causative construction involves an extra NP associated with the event—usually the causer.

5 Conclusion

We have discussed two types of causatives: those based on intransitives, which yield transitive constructions (40), and those based on transitives, which yield ditransitive constructions (41):

(40) `niʔ cən ?iməʔ-stox* təʔ swiʔwəs.
AUX lSUB walk-CS DT young.man
‘I made the young man walk.’

(41) `nem ?ai-stox w təʔ swiʔwəs ʔə təʔ təʔ̄aʔc!
go stretch-CS DT young.man OBL DT bow
‘Go show the young man how to pull the bow!’

However, it is also useful to summarize the properties that are common to these two types.

We can look at causative constructions along two dimensions based on the role of the NPs that occupy the subject and object positions in the surface structure. First, in a classic causative, e.g. (40) and (41), one where the causative means ‘make/have/show/teach someone to do something’, the subject of the causative is the causer that instigates the event described by the base verb. The object of the causative is a causee and actually serves as the agent of the event under the supervision or direction of the causer. The agent is a higher animate (or sentient) nominal. Thus, this nominal plays a dual function in the clause—it is both the causee of the causative event and the agent of the event described by the base. Of course, the degree of participation in the event on the part of the causer and causee varies along a continuum. With the ‘make’ meaning, the causee may be the sole participant in the event, but in the case of ‘teach’ and
'show', the causer may be the more active participant, with the causee simply observing the action.

At the far end of the dimension of object participation, we encounter a second type of causative robustly attested in our data—the ones we label associative (e.g. *i*k*st*ax* 'take/bring home', cf. *i*k* 'go home') or applicative (e.g. *i*l*ax*st*ax* 'chase it away for him/her', cf. *i*l*ax*st* 'chase it away'). In this construction, the subject of the causative plays a dual role—as the initiator of the causation and also the agent of the event described by the base verb. The object lacks agency but rather takes the role of something associated with the event. In the case of a motion verb, it refers to the thing moved, and in the case of a transitive verb, it refers to someone to whom, for whom, or with whom the action is done.

We also find causatives based on states. Here the subject advances or fosters the object in the state along a continuum of participation, translated as 'make', 'get', 'have', 'keep', or 'find' depending on the base and the context. For example, we have *q*stex* 'get lots of it' from *qtok* 'much, lots' versus *nec*stax* 'find it strange' from *nec* 'different, strange. The object is whatever animate or inanimate nominal can appropriately be in that state.

So we see that the Halkomelem causative suffix appears in a wide range of constructions, which nevertheless seem to radiate from the properties of a classic causative. In future research, we hope to elucidate more precisely how these constructions relate to each other and also how they differ from constructions marked by other transitive suffixes.

References


