

Causative Constructions in Halkomelem¹

I. Summary of major points:²

- 1) (at least some) causative constructions are syntactic (i.e., not lexicalized)
- 2) Causative Clause Union requires downstairs intransitivity
- 3) Initial downstairs intransitive stratum are unergative (and not unaccusative)³
- 4) The initial downstairs 1 is an upstairs 2 in the stratum of CCU.⁴
- 5) Due to 2) and 4), Antipassive (but not Passive) occurs in downstairs transitive strata.⁵
- 6) Causative structures that cannot meet the above requirements are expressed periphrastically (with the predicate csét 'tell s.o. to do sthg.')

II. Data.⁷

A. Downstairs Initial Intransitives.⁶

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|------|------------------|---------|--------------------------------------|----------------|
| 7)a. | ném [?] | 'go' | nə [?] éməstəx ^w | 'take' |
| b. | ʔəm [?] | 'come' | ʔəm [?] stəx ^w | 'bring' |
| c. | qā [?] | 'drink' | qā [?] qā [?] stəm | 'give a drink' |
| d. | ʔəttən | 'eat' | ʔəttənəstəx ^w | 'feed' |

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|------|--------------------|---------------|--------------------------|----------------------|----------------------------------|
| 8)a. | ni [?] | ʔəttən | tə | səwəməy [?] | (Intransitive) |
| | asp | eat | det | dog | |
| | 'The dog ate.' | | | | |
| b. | ni [?] | ən | ʔəttənəstəx ^w | tə | səwəməy [?] (Causative) |
| | asp | 1-sub | eat-cs-tr-3-obj | det | dog |
| | 'I fed the dog.' | | | | |
| c. | ni [?] | ʔəttənəstəm | tə | səwəməy [?] | (Passive) |
| | asp | feed-cs-tr-in | det | dog | |
| | 'The dog was fed.' | | | | |

B. Downstairs Initial Transitives.

- a. transitive
 - b. antipassive
 - c. causative
 - d. upstairs passive
- 9) a. ni[?] qwalatəs tə stem[?] tə səplil
 asp bake-tr-3 erg det woman det bread
 'The woman baked the bread.'

- b. ni[?] áwalam θa steni[?] ?a t^θa saplíl
asp bake-in det woman obl det bread
(same gloss)
- c. ni[?] cən áwalamstax^w ta steni[?] ?a t^θa saplíl
asp 1-sub bake-in-cs-tr-3-obj det obl det bread
'I had Mary make the bread.'
- d. ni[?] áwalamsté.lam ?ax' Dad ?a t^θa saplíl
asp bake-in-cs-tr-1-pas obl obl det bread
'Dad had me bake the bread.'
- 10) a. ni[?] cən k'wtét kwθa qa[?]
asp 1-sub pour-tr det water
'I poured the water.'
- b. ni[?] cən k'wtéls ?a kwθa qa[?]
asp 1-sub pour-in obl det water
(same gloss)
- c. ni[?] k'wtélstám[?]šas ?a kwθa qa[?]
asp pour-in-cs-tr-1-obj-3-erg obl det water
'He gave me the job of pouring the water.'
- d. ni[?] k'wtélsté.lam ?a kwθa qa[?]
asp pour-in-cs-tr-1-pas obl det water
'I was given the job of pouring the water.'
- 11) a. *
b. ni[?] cən ?áttan ?a kwθa scéttan
asp 1-sub eat obl det salmon
'I ate the salmon.'
- c. ni[?] cən ?áttanastax^w kwθa s^wamáy[?] ?a kwθa scéttan
asp 1-sub eat-cs-tr-3-obj det dog obl det salmon
'I fed the dog the salmon.'
- d. ni[?] ?áttanasté.lam ?a kwθa scéttan
asp eat-cs-tr-1-pas obl det salmon
'I was fed the salmon.'
- 12) a. ni[?] cən sáw[?]át kwθa snáxwat
asp 1-sub search for-tr det canoe
'I looked for the canoe.'
- b. ni[?] cən sáw[?]a ?a kwθa snáxwat
asp 1-sub search for obl det canoe
(same gloss)
- c. ni[?] cən sáw[?]átámá ?a kwθa snáxwat
asp 1-sub search for-cs-tr-2-obj obl det canoe
'I had you look for the canoe.'

C. Downstairs Initial Ditransitives.

- a. transitive (dative)
- b. causative
- c. causative + obj equi

13)a. ni? ɛ kwatətəθámʔsʔə kʷ ti.
asp 2-sub pour-ind-1-obj obl det tea

'You poured the tea for me.'

b. csəθámə cən cé? ɹu kwatətəθámʔsʔəxʷ ʔə kʷ ti.
tell-2-obj 1-sub asp lnk pour-ind-1-obj 2-ssub obl det tea

'I will tell you to pour the tea for me.'

c. csəθámə cən cé? ɹu kwatətəcamʔəxʷ ʔə kʷ ti.
pour ind-in
(same gloss)

d. csəθámə cən cé? ɹu kwatətət ʔəxʷ ʔə kʷ ti.
tell-2-obj 1-sub asp lnk pour-ind-tr 2-ssub obl det tea

'I will tell you to pour the tea for him.'

14) a. ni? cé?ə áwəlatəθámʔsʔə kʷə səplil
asp 2-p-sub bake-ind-1-obj obl det bread

'You baked bread for me.'

b. csətála cən cé? ɹu áwəlatəθámʔsʔə ʔələp ʔə kʷə səplil
tell-2-p-obj 1-sub asp lnk bake-ind-1-obj 2-p-ssub obldet tea
'I will tell you to bake bread for me.'

c. csətála cən cé? ɹu áwəlatəcam ʔələp ʔə kʷə səplil
bake-ind-in
(same gloss)

Footnotes:

1 The Halkomelem data herein are from Arnold Guerin, of Musqueam, B.C., who speaks a Kuper Island dialect of the language. The research for this paper was supported by a grant from the Melville and Elizabeth Jacobs Research Fund.

Any errors in data or analysis are my own.

2 This paper is written within the framework of Relational Grammar, cf Perlmutter 1978, and Perlmutter and Postal 1978. For an analysis of Halkomelem in this framework, cf Hukari 1979.

According to RG, the universal characterization of Causative Clause Union is as follows: a downstairs ABS is upstairs 2; a downstairs ERG is an upstairs 3.

3 Notice the similarity of this statement and one concerning Sliammon by Davis: '..those predicates whose intransitive forms take agents as subjects are made causative by the suffix /-sxw/ . . . and those predicates whose intransitive forms take patients as subjects are made transitive by the suffix /-t/..'

Possible exceptions to this proposal are Halkomelem forms such as ʔəyʔstəx^w 'like' and qəʔstəx^w 'hate' from ʔəyʔ 'good' and qəʔ 'bad' respectively.

4 A similar proposal has been put forth for Portuguese by E. Raposo.

5 Similar restrictions exist in the causative constructions of other languages; e.g. S. Tiwa (Allen and Gardiner) and Ilokano (Gerdts, in preparation).

6 A long list of such forms can be found in Galloway 1978.

7 Abbreviations used here are as follows:

asp	aspect	sub	subject
lnk	linker	ssub	subordinate clause sub.
tr	transitive	obj	object
cs	causative	pas	passive subject (?)
in	intransitive		
ind	indirective		

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