Causative Constructions in Halkomelem

I. Summary of major points:

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)
4) The initial downstairs is an upstairs in the stratum of CCU.
5) Due to 2) and 4), Antipassive (but not Passive) occurs in downstairs transitive strata.
6) Causative structures that cannot meet the above requirements are expressed periphrastically (with the predicate 'tell s.o. to do sthg'.)

II. Data.

A. Downstairs Initial Intransitives.

7)a. ọm? 'go'
   b. ṭöm? 'come'
   c. ọ̄ī 'drink'
   d. ọ̄lta 'eat'

8)a. ni ọ̄lta tọ ọ̄m?' (Intransitive)
   b. ni ṭom? ọ̄lta tọ ọ̄m? (Causative)
   c. ni ṭom? ọ̄lta tọ ọ̄m? (Passive)

B. Downstairs Initial Transitives.

a. transitive
b. antipassive
c. causative
d. upstairs passive

9) a. ni ọ̄m?' (Passive)
10) a. ㄱ� 알으 ㄱ�와 qa
asp 1-sub pour-tr det water
'I poured the water.'
b. ㄱ� 알으 ㄱ�와 qa
asp 1-sub pour-in obl det water
(same gloss)
c. ㄱ� 알으 ㄱ�와 qa
asp pour-in-cs-tr-1-obj-3-erg obl det water
'He gave me the job of pouring the water.'
d. ㄱ� 알으 ㄱ�와 qa
asp pour-in-cs-tr-1-pas obl det water
'I was given the job of pouring the water.'

11) a. *
b. ㄱ� 알으 ㄱ�와 qa
asp 1-sub eat obl det salmon
'I ate the salmon.'
c. ㄱ� 알으 ㄱ�와 qa
asp 1-sub eat-cs-tr-3-obj det dog obl det salmon
'I fed the dog the salmon.'
d. ㄱ� 알으 ㄱ�와 qa
asp eat-cs-tr-1-pas obl det salmon
'I was fed the salmon.'

12) a. ㄱ� 알으 ㄱ�와 qa
asp 1-sub search for-tr det canoe
'I looked for the canoe.'
b. ㄱ� 알으 ㄱ�와 qa
asp 1-sub search for obl det canoe
(same gloss)
c. ㄱ� 알으 ㄱ�와 qa
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

13a. ən iʔ ə kʷətət cθəmʔə? ʔə kʷ t.
asp 2-sub pour-ind-1-obj obl det tea
    'You poured the tea for me.'

b. cəəθəmə can ceʔ ə kʷətət cθəmʔə?əxʷ ʔə kʷ t.
    tell-2-obj 1-sub asp 1nk pour-ind-1-obj 2-ssub obl det tea
    'I will tell you to pour the tea for me.'

c. cəəθəmə can ceʔ ə kʷətət cθəmʔə?əxʷ ʔə kʷ t.
pour ind-in
    (same gloss)

d. cəəθəmə can ceʔ ə kʷətət cθəmʔə?əxʷ ʔə kʷ t.
tell-2-obj 1-sub asp 1nk pour-ind-tr 2-ssub obl det tea
    'I will tell you to pour the tea for him.'

14a. ə niʔ cəʔ pəkʷətəcθəmʔə? ʔə kʷəθə səpəlη
    asp 2-p-sub bake-ind-1-obj obl det bread
    'You baked bread for me.'

b. cəəθəcə ən ceʔ ə kʷətət cθəmʔə?ələp ʔə kʷəθə səpəlη
tell-2-p-obj 1-sub asp 1nk bake-ind-1-obj 2-p-ssub obl det tea
    'I will tell you to bake bread for me.'

c. cəəθəcə ən ceʔ ə kʷətət cθəmʔə?ələp ʔə kʷəθə səpəlη
    (same gloss)

bake-ind-in

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 \( ?\gamma ^{\gamma } \) 'like' and \( q^{\gamma } \) 'hate' from \( ?\gamma ^{\gamma } \) 'good' and \( q^{\gamma } \) '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
- **lnk**: linker
- **tr**: transitive
- **cs**: causative
- **in**: intransitive
- **ind**: indirect
- **sub**: subject
- **ssub**: subordinate clause sub.
- **obj**: object
- **pas**: passive subject (?)

References:


