

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 *-t*, the limited control suffix *-nəx^w*, and the causative suffix *-stəx^w*.¹

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|-----|-----------------------------|--------------------------|-------------------|----------------------|----|--------------------|
| (1) | ni [?] | čew-ət-əs | k ^w θə | swəy̓qe [?] | lə | stəni [?] |
| | AUX | help-TR-3ERG | DT | man | DT | woman |
| | ‘The man helped the woman.’ | | | | | |
| | | | | | | |
| (2) | ni [?] | ləm-nəx ^w -əs | k ^w θə | swəy̓qe [?] | lə | stəni [?] |
| | AUX | look-LCTR-3ERG | DT | man | DT | woman |
| | ‘The man saw the woman.’ | | | | | |

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¹ The following abbreviations are used in glossing the data: ACT: activity, AUX: auxiliary, BEN: benefactive applicative, COMP: complementizer, CONJ: conjunction, CS: causative, DAT: dative applicative suffix, DT: determiner, ERG: ergative, FUT: future, IMPF: imperfective, INQU: inquisitive, LCTR: limited control transitive, LNK: linker, NM: nominalizer, OBJ: object, OBL: oblique, PL: plural, POS: possessive marker, PRO: pronoun, Q: interrogative, REC: reciprocal, REFL: reflexive, RES: resultative, SER: serial, STA: stative, SUB: subject, TR: transitive.

- (3) niʔ ʔxiləš-stəx^w-əs k^wθə swəyqeʔ ʔə steniʔ.
 AUX stand-CS-3ERG DT man DT woman
 ‘The man had the woman stand.’

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.

- (4) niʔ ʔə č čew-əθamš
 AUX Q 2SUB hit-TR:1OBJ
 ‘Did you help me?’
- (5) niʔ ʔə č ləm-naṁšʔ
 AUX Q 2 SUB look-LCTR:1OBJ
 ‘Did you see me?’
- (6) ʔxiləš-stamš ʔə č ceʔʔ
 stand-CS:2OBJ Q 2SUB FUT
 ‘Will you have me stand?’

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

	SINGULAR		PLURAL	
FIRST PERSON	- <i>stamš</i>	‘me’	- <i>stalx^w</i>	‘us’
SECOND PERSON	- <i>stamə</i>	‘you’	- <i>stalə</i>	‘you people’
THIRD PERSON	- <i>stəx^w</i> ‘her/him/it/them’			

Table 1. Object suffixes with causative -*stəx^w*

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.

	ROOT		486	100%
	TRANSITIVE	-t	398	81.9%
LIMITED CONTROL TRANSITIVE		-nəx ^w	398	81.9%
	CAUSATIVE	-stəx ^w	276	56.8%

Table 2. Halkomelem transitive suffixes

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) ni[?] lək^w-əlc-t-əs t^θə swiwləs ʔə k^wθə sčəšt.
 AUX break-BEN-TR-3ERG DT young.man OBL DT stick
 ‘She broke the stick for the boy.’

- (8) ni[?] cən θəy-θət-stəx^w t^θə swawlwəs
 AUX 1SUB make-REFL-CS DT young.man(PL)
 ʔə t^θə tim-əls k^ws ʔiʔšəls.
 OBL DT do.hard-ACT COMP.NM paddle(IMPF)-3POS
 ‘I had the young men train themselves for paddling hard.’

- (9) nem ʔəyaʔq-təl-stəx^w ʔə t^θə kəpu-s t^θəñ meməñə.
 go exchange-REC-CS OBL DT coat-3POS DT:2POS offspring(PL)
 ‘Go get your children to trade their coats.’

We have discussed the combinatorial properties of causative suffixes elsewhere (see especially Gerds 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 (10b) where the corresponding non-causative form (10a) is an intransitive clause with a verb that has a single semantic argument.

- (10) a. ni[?] ʔiməš t^θə swiwləs.
 AUX walk DT young.man
 ‘The young man walked.’
 b. ni[?] cən ʔiməš-stəx^w t^θə swiwləs.
 AUX 1SUB walk-CS DT young.man
 ‘I made the young man walk.’

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? ʔaɪ-ət-əs tʰə swiwləs tʰə təχʷaʔc!
 AUX stretch-TR DT bow DT young.man
 'The young man bent the bow.'
- b. nem ʔaɪ-stəxʷ tʰə swiwləs ʔə tʰə təχʷaʔc!
 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 activity², the subject of the corresponding intransitive clause is the object of the causative and the causer is the subject.

- (12) a. ni? yays tʰə swəyqe?
 AUX work DT man
 'The man worked.'
- b. ni? cən yays -stəxʷ tʰə swiwləs.
 AUX ISUB work-CS DT young.man
 'I put the young man to work.'
- (13) a. ni? ʔəmət lə sɛni?
 AUX sit DT woman
 'The woman sat down.'
- b. ni? cən ʔəmət-stəxʷ lə sɛni?
 AUX ISUB sit-CS DT woman
 'I had the woman sit down.'

² This is the class of verbs that we often refer to as unergative. For evidence for the unergative/unaccusative distinction in Halkomelem, see Gerds (1991), Gerds and Hukari (1998, 2001).

- (14) a. niʔ cʰəm tʰə sqʷəmeɣ.
 AUX jump DT dog
 'The dog jumped.'
- b. niʔ cən cʰəm-stəxʷ tʰə sqʷəmeɣ.
 AUX 1SUB jump-CS DT dog
 'I made the dog jump.'

We give additional examples of verbs of this type in Table 3.

BASIC VERB		-stəxʷ CAUSATIVE	
ʔənəxʷ	'stop'	ʔənəxʷstəxʷ	'stop it', 'make him/her stop'
ʔitət	'sleep'	ʔitəstəxʷ	'put him/her to sleep'
ʃʷčənəm	'run'	ʃʷčənəməstəxʷ	'make him/her run', 'run it'
l̥x̥iləʃ	'stand'	l̥x̥iləʃstəxʷ	'make him/her stand'
q̥ʷəyiləʃ	'dance'	q̥ʷəyiləʃstəxʷ	'have him/her dance'
ʔicəm	'swim'	ʔicəməstəxʷ	'make him/her swim'
nəqəm	'dive'	nəqəməstəxʷ	'make him/her dive'
ʔiləm	'sing'	ʔiləməstəxʷ	'have him/her sing'
yənəm	'laugh'	yənəməstəxʷ	'make him/her laugh'

Table 3. Activity verbs with causatives

In addition, there is a large class of motion verbs that form causatives.³ 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.'

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.⁴ That is, the object expresses the person or thing that is taken or brought along during the performance of the motion.

- (17) niʔ cən həyeʔ-stəx^w k^wθə sq^wəmeý.
 AUX 1SUB leave-CS DT dog
 'I took the dog along.'
- (18) ʔaɫ-stəx^w-əs səw̃ ʔəšəl ɬak^w θəwniɫ.
 get.on.board-CS-3ERG NM:LNK paddle go.home DT:PRO
 'She put it on board and she paddled home.'
- (19) mi ɬe:l-stəx^w t^θə snəx^wəɬ!
 come go.ashore-CS DT canoe
 'Beach the canoe!'
- (20) neim cən ɬəx^w-stəx^w k^wθə-nə syaɫ.
 go 1SUB go.downhill-CS DT-1POS firewood
 'I am going to take my firewood down.'

Other examples are given in Table 4.

BASIC VERB		-stəx ^w CAUSATIVE	
neim	'go'	neməstəx ^w	'take it'
mi	'come'	mi-stəx ^w	'bring it'
cam	'go uphill'	cəməstəx ^w	'take it uphill'
ʔeli	'go away'	ʔeliyəstəx ^w	'take it away'
ɬak ^w	'go home'	ɬək ^w -stəx ^w	'take it home'
x ^w əʔaləim	'return'	x ^w əʔaləim-stəx ^w	'return it', 'make him/her return'
k ^w iʔ	'climb'	k ^w iʔ-stəx ^w	'lift/raise it', 'make him/her climb'
ɬəw̃	'run away, flee'	ɬəw̃-stəx ^w	'run away with him/her'
šaq ^w əl	'cross to the other side'	šq ^w il-stəx ^w	'bring him/her/it across to the other side'
təyəl	'go upstream'	təyəl-stəx ^w	'take it upstream'

Table 4. Motion verbs with associative causatives

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.⁵ The derived meaning is to make, get, have, keep, or find something in that condition or state.⁶

- (21) a. ʔəw̃ həli k̃wəñ šxʷʔaɰʷaʔ-ələp.
LNK alive DT:2POS sibling(PL)-2POS.PL
'Your brother is alive.'
- b. ʔəw̃ yə-həli-stəxʷ cən ceʔ θə stəwət.
LNK SER-alive-CS 1SUB FUT DT herring
'I will keep the herrings alive.'
- (22) a. təqʷ tə sɰis-s t̃ə ʃʷiləm.
tight DT knot-3POS DT rope
'The knot in the rope is tight.'
- b. neñ č ʃim̃ ʔəw̃ təqʷ-stəxʷ t̃əñ s-ɰp=ələʔc-t
go 2SUB really LNK tight-CS DT:2POS NM-tie=fibre-TR
t̃ə ləqʷə.
DT suitcase
'Tie the suitcase really tightly when you tie it.'
- (23) a. ...k̃wəw̃ ʃət̃ p̃eʔ nə-ʃqʷaləwən...
COMP:LNK hurt indeed 1POS-feelings
'...my feelings are very hurt...'
- b. niʔ cən ʃət̃-stəxʷ.
AUX 1SUB hurt-CS
'I felt bad for him.'

Further examples are given in Table 5.

⁵ Beck (1996) notes causatives based on statives in Lushootseed, although it is not clear that he views these as a separate category of causatives.

⁶ As Gerdts (1991) notes, stative-resultative forms of verbs are especially common in this construction. For example, the root $\sqrt{\text{nəw}}$ forms the stative-resultative səñiʷ 'inside' and the causative səñiʷstəxʷ 'keep it inside'.

STATE		CAUSATIVE	
ləx̌	‘spaced apart’	ləx̌stəx ^w	‘space it apart’
neč	‘different, strange’	nečstəx ^w	‘find it strange’
pəł	‘sober up’	pəłstəx ^w	‘sober him/her up’
qəl	‘bad’	qəlstəx ^w	‘dislike it’
qəx̌	‘much, lots’	qəx̌stəx ^w	‘get lots of it’
q̣ ^w aṗ	‘wrinkled, pleated’	q̣ ^w aṗstəx ^w	‘put pleats in it’
təq ^w	‘tight’	təq ^w stəx ^w	‘get it tight’
xəł	‘hurt, ache’	xəłstəx ^w	‘feel bad for him/her’
ʔəsəṗ	‘finished’	ʔəsəṗstəx ^w	‘get it finished’
ʔəw̌k ^w	‘finished’	ʔəw̌k ^w stəx ^w	‘get it finished’
lec	‘dark’	lecstəx ^w	‘make it dark’
ləq	‘sold’	ləqstəx ^w	‘get it sold’
ləx̌ ^w	‘hard’	ləx̌ ^w stəx ^w	‘make it hard’
ləq ^w	‘wet’	ləq ^w stəx ^w	‘wet it’
čəq̣	‘astonished’	čəq̣stəx ^w	‘astonish him/her’
nas	‘fat’	nasstəx ^w	‘put fat in it’
ləaʔ	‘soothed’	ləaʔstəx ^w	‘get him/her soothed’
ləč	‘close together’	ləčstəx ^w	‘get them close together’
ləḳ ^w əṇ	‘extinguished’	ləḳ ^w əṇstəx ^w	‘extinguish it’
ləp	‘deep’	ləpstəx ^w	‘get it deep’
θi	‘big’	θistəx ^w	‘make it big’
ʔəx ^w iṇ	‘little’	ʔəx ^w iṇstəx ^w	‘make it a little bit’, ‘add a little bit’

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.

3 Causatives on transitive bases

Next we turn to examples of causatives where the corresponding non-causative clause is transitive.⁷ For example, the verb root $\sqrt{m\acute{a}k}$ has a transitive form $m\acute{a}k^w\acute{e}t$ 'pick it up off the ground, gather' and a causative form $m\acute{a}k^wst\acute{a}x^w$ 'have him/her pick it up off the ground, gather', and the root $\sqrt{?il\acute{a}q}$ has a transitive form $?il\acute{a}q\acute{e}t$ 'buy it' and a causative form $?il\acute{a}qst\acute{a}x^w$ 'have him/her buy it', as illustrated in the following:⁸

- (24) $m\acute{a}k^w\acute{e}t$ \check{c} $ce?$ $t^{\theta}\acute{a}$ $sy\acute{a}t$.
 pick.up-TR 2SUB FUT DT firewood
 'You will gather firewood.'

⁷ Previously, we have claimed that causatives in Halkomelem are formed only on intransitive bases (Gerds 1988, 2004). Evidence for that claim came from the fact that a transitive form such as (ia) 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:

- (i) a. $ni?$ $\check{q}^w\acute{a}l\text{-}\acute{e}t\text{-}\acute{a}s$ $t\acute{a}$ $sleni?$ $k^w\theta\acute{a}$ $s\acute{a}plil$.
 AUX bake-TR-3ERG DT woman DT bread
 'The woman baked the bread.'
- b. $*ni?$ $c\acute{a}n$ $\check{q}^w\acute{a}l\text{-}(\acute{e}t)\text{-}st\acute{a}x^w$ $(?)\acute{a}$ $t\acute{a}$
 AUX 1SUB bake-TR-CS OBL DT
 $sleni?$ $(?)\acute{a}$ $k^w\theta\acute{a}$ $s\acute{a}plil$.
 woman OBL DT bread
 'I had the woman bake the bread.'

We show here that some transitive bases do form causatives, and in this case, the transitive suffix does not appear inside the causative suffix.

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.

⁸ 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>.

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 $\sqrt{m\acute{a}k^w}$ or $\sqrt{?il\acute{a}q}$, the root is not possible as a free-standing word and thus we posit it to be a transitive root.

- (25) *neṃ cən məkʷ-stəxʷ tʰə sʰiʔʰqəʔ ʔə tʰə*
 go 1SUB pick.up-CS DT child OBL DT
 qəyemən, neṃ ʔə tʰə kʷaʰkʷa cəwmən.
 shell go OBL DT salt.water seashore
 ‘I’m going to get the boy to pick up sea shells by the seashore.’
- (26) *ni: č ʔiləq-ət kʷ sʰkʷawəsʔ*
 AUX:Q 2SUB buy-TR DT bucket
 ‘Did you buy a bucket?’
- (27) *ʔiləqstəxʷ tʰə sʰiʔʰqəʔ ʔə kʷəw stem ʔəl ʔə*
 buy-CS DT child OBL DT:LNK what just OBL
 θə telə niʔ kʷəne-t-əs.
 DT money AUX take(STA)-TR-3ERG
 ‘Have the boy buy something with the money he has.’

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.

- (28) *niʔ ʔam-əs-t-əs kʷθə swiwləs kʷθə sqʷəmeʔ*
 AUX give-DAT-TR-3ERG DT young.man DT dog
 ʔə kʷθə siθam.
 OBL DT bone
 ‘The boy gave the dog the bone.’

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:

- (29) *stem kʷθə niʔ s-ʔam-əs-t-s kʷθə swiwləs*
 3PRO DT AUX NM-give-DAT-TR-3POS DT young.man
 kʷθə sqʷəmeʔ?
 DT dog
 ‘What did the boy give the dog?’

The oblique-marked NP in a causative formed on a transitive tests to be an oblique object, since it extracts with *s*-nominalization:

- (30) stem ʔaɭə kʷə niʔ ʔəñ s-məkʷ-stəxʷ tʰə sʕiʔʕqəɭʔ
 what INQU DT AUX 2POS NM-pick.up-CS DT child
 ‘What did you have the child pick up?’
- (31) stem ʔaɭə kʷə niʔ ʔəñ s-ʔiləq-stəxʷ tʰə sʕiʔʕqəɭʔ
 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 xʷəwʕəst ‘show someone how to do something (with the hands)’.

- (32) ʔi:č wəɭ səɭ-ət kʷθə s-tʕeɭqəñ ʔəñ ləmətuɭqəñʔ
 AUX:Q:2SUB then spin-TR DT STA-card(RES)2POS wool
 ‘Have you spun your carded wool?’
- (33) xʷəwʕəst-t θə qəmiʔ səɭ-stəxʷ ʔə tʰə ləmətuɭqəñ.
 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.

TRANSITIVE		CAUSATIVE	
kʷukʷt	‘cook it’	kʷukʷstəxʷ	‘teach him/her to cook’
ɭeʔʕt	‘dish it up’	ɭeʔʕstəxʷ	‘have him/her dish it up’
ɭqəɭ	‘baste it on’	ɭəqstəxʷ	‘show him/her how to baste it on’
ɭiət	‘flip it’	ɭəɭstəxʷ	‘show him/her how to flip it’
ɭəñət	‘weave it’	ɭəñstəxʷ	‘show him/her how to weave it’
ʕiɭəɭ	‘sneak up on it’	ʕəɭstəxʷ	‘show him/her how to sneak up on it’
maɭət	‘splay/prop it’	maɭstəxʷ	‘show him/her how to splay/prop it’
məɭɭt	‘roll it’	məɭɭstəxʷ	‘have him/her roll it’
pəkʷət	‘dust/sprinkle it’	pəkʷstəxʷ	‘show him/her how to dust/sprinkle it’
pʕət	‘spit it’	pəʕstəxʷ	‘show him/her how/where to spit it’
qəwəɭ	‘hang it’	qəwstəxʷ	‘have him/her hang it’
taʔt	‘pull it apart’	taʔstəxʷ	‘teach him/her to pull it apart’
təməɭ	‘pound/beat on it’	təməstəxʷ	‘show him/her how to pound/beat on it’
ɭəʔt	‘pull it off’	ɭəʔstəxʷ	‘show him/her how to pull it off’
ɭəkʷət	‘shine a light on it’	ɭəkʷstəxʷ	‘have him/her shine a light on it’

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.⁹

- (34) θil-t č t^θə stəwən yəweñ ?i yet ?əñ-s
 spread-TR 2SUB DT mat first CONJ next 2POS-NM
 ləq-ət tə ləχ^wtən.
 lie-TR DT blanket

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

- (35) nem č ce? θil-stəx^w θəñ silə ?ə θə?i ləχ^wtən.
 go 2SUB FUT spread-CS DT:2POS grandparent OBL this blanket
 ‘You will go and open this blanket for your grandma.’

TRANSITIVE		CAUSATIVE	
lemət	‘look at it’	ləmstəx ^w	‘show it to him/her’
θəyt	‘fix it’	θəystəx ^w	‘fix it for him/her’
taləχ ^w ət	‘chase it away’	taləχ ^w stəx ^w	‘chase it away for him/her’
θələqt	‘divide it’	θələqstəx ^w	‘divide it with him/her’

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) nił łwet k^wə ni? qe?ən-t t^θəñ silə ?ə
 3PRO who DT AUX steal-TR DT:2POS grandparent OBL
 k^wθə sewən-s?
 DT lunch-3POS

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

⁹ Gerds and Hukari (to appear) note that the causative suffix added to a denominal verb yields a benefactive reading: *tx^w-səplil* ‘buy bread’, *tx^w-səplil-stəx^w* ‘buy bread for him/her’.

- (37) nem č ceʔ qəh-stəx^w tʰəh səlsilə ʔə k^wθə
 go 2SUB FUT steal-CS DT:2POS grandparent(PL) OBL DT
 sciya.
 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) calaʔt-t č tʰəh men ʔə θəh snəx^wəl.
 borrow/lend-TR 2SUB DT:2POS father OBL DT:2POS canoe/car
 ‘Lend your father your car.’
- (39) niʔ ʔə č calaʔt-stəx^w k^wθə John ʔə k^w teləʔ
 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 *-stəx^w*. Some examples are given in Table 8.¹⁰

¹⁰ The roots marked with √ in fact do not occur as free-standing forms. Most require the middle suffix in their simplest forms. See Gerds and Hukari (1998).

k ^w an	'be born'
wəʔəc̣	'stumble'
i ^θ em	'go out (tide)'
čal	'turn'
√cətχ ^w	'bewilder'
√ləiŋ ^w	'snore'
√pəh	'swell up'
√pəʔ	'smoke'
√ʔaw	'be quick'
√i ^θ ex ^w	'purple'
√liχ ^w	'slippery'
√ləmχ ^w	'rumble'
qal	'put water in a container'
heŋ	'build a canoe, make bread'

Table 8. Verbs that do not take the transitive or the causative suffix

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.

BASIC VERB		-t TRANSITIVE	
ʔak ^w	'get hooked'	ʔak ^w ət	'hook it'
čəx ^w	'increase'	čəx ^w at	'add more to it'
k ^w əʔ	'spill'	k ^w əʔt	'pour it'
lək ^w	'break in two'	lək ^w at	'break it in two'
čəŋx ^w	'get dry'	čəŋx ^w t	'dry it'
ləč	'(container) get full'	ləčət	'fill it'
ləq ^w	'get wet'	ləq ^w ət	'wet it'
čəŋ ^w	'get pierced'	čəŋ ^w at	'pierce it'
səŋ	'get torn'	səŋt	'tear it'
ʔəx ^w	'get covered'	ʔəx ^w at	'cover it'
k ^w es	'burn', 'get hot'	k ^w esət	'burn it', 'sing it', 'scorch it'

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.

	-stəx ^w YES	-stəx ^w NO	TOTAL
-t YES	221 (48%)	170 (36%)	391 (84%)
-t NO	50 (11%)	22 (5%)	72 (16%)
TOTAL	271 (59%)	192 (41%)	463 (100%)

Table 10. Occurrence of roots with the transitive suffixes *-t* and *-stəx^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) ni[?] cən ʔiməʃ-stəx^w t^θə swiwləs.
 AUX 1SUB walk-CS DT young.man
 ‘I made the young man walk.’

- (41) nem ʔaʔ-stəx^w t^θə swiwləs ʔə t^θə təʃ^wa[?]c!
 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. *íak* “stəx” ‘take/bring home’, cf. *íak* “go home”) or applicative (e.g. *íaləx* “stəx” ‘chase it away for him/her’, cf. *íaləx* “ət” ‘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 state or finds 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 *qəxstəx* “get lots of it’ from *qəx* ‘much, lots’ versus *nečstəx* “find it strange’ from *neč* ‘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.

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