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 –*nəxʷ*, and the causative suffix –*stəxʷ*:[1]

(1)   niʔ   ċew-ət-əs   kʷθə swəy̓qeʔ   łə sɫeniʔ.
         AUX   help-TR-3ERG   DT   man   DT woman
         'The man helped the woman.'

(2)   niʔ   ləm-nəxʷ-əs   kʷθə swəy̓qeʔ   łə sɫeniʔ.
         AUX   look-LCTR-3ERG   DT   man   DT woman
         'The man saw the woman.'

[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   łx̌iləš-stəxʷ-əs   kʷθə swəýqeʔ   łə   słeniʔ.
          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   ċew-əθaṁš
          AUX   Q   2SUB   hit-TR:1OBJ
          'Did you help me?'

(5)   niʔ   ʔə   č   ləm-naṁš?
          AUX   Q   2 SUB look-LCTR:1OBJ
          'Did you see me?'

(6)   łx̌iləš-staṁš   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	*-staṁš*	'me'	*-stal̓xʷ*	'us'
SECOND PERSON	*-stamə*	'you'	*-stalə*	'you people'
THIRD PERSON	*-stəxʷ*		'her/him/it/them'	

Table 1. Object suffixes with causative *-stəxʷ*

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	-nəxʷ	398	81.9%
CAUSATIVE	-stəxʷ	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)   niʔ   ləkʷ-əɫc-t-əs   tᶿə swiẃləs   ʔə   kʷθə sc̓ešt.
            AUX   break-BEN-TR-3ERG DT young.man OBL   DT   stick
            'She broke the stick for the boy.'

(8)   niʔ   cən   θəy-θət-stəxʷ   tᶿə   swaw̓ləs
            AUX   1SUB make-REFL-CS   DT   young.man(PL)

                ʔə   tᶿə tim-əls   kʷs   ʔiʔšəĺs.
                OBL   DT   do.hard-ACT   COMP.NM   paddle(IMPF)-3POS

            'I had the young men train themselves for paddling hard.'

(9)   nem̓ ʔəyaʔq-təl-stəxʷ ʔə   tᶿə kəpu-s   tᶿən̓   mem̓ən̓ə.
            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 (10b) where the corresponding non-causative form (10a) is a intransitive clause with a verb that has a single semantic argument.

(10)   a. niʔ   ʔiməš   tᶿə   swiẃləs.
            AUX   walk   DT   young.man
            'The young man walked.'

        b. niʔ   cən   ʔiməš-stəxʷ   tᶿə   swiẃləs.
            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.   niʔ   ʔaƛ̓-ət-əs   tᶿə   swiw̓ləs   tᶿə   təx̌ʷaʔc!
                AUX   stretch-TR   DT   bow   DT   young.man
                'The young man bent the bow.'

        b.   nem̓   ʔaƛ̓-stəxʷ   tᶿə   swiw̓ləs   ʔə   tᶿə   təx̌ʷaʔc!
                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[2], the subject of the corresponding intransitive clause is the object of the causative and the causer is the subject.

(12)   a.   niʔ   yays   tᶿə   swəy̓qeʔ.
                AUX   work   DT   man
                'The man worked.'

        b.   niʔ   cən   yays -stəxʷ   tᶿə   swiw̓ləs.
                AUX   1SUB   work-CS   DT   young.man
                'I put the young man to work.'

(13)   a.   niʔ   ʔəmət   łə   słeniʔ.
                AUX   sit   DT   woman
                'The woman sat down.'

        b.   niʔ   cən   ʔəmət-stəxʷ   łə   słeniʔ.
                AUX   1SUB   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).

(14)   a.   niʔ   cƛ̓əm   t^θə   sqʷəmeẏ.

AUX	jump	DT	dog

           'The dog jumped.'

(14)   b.   niʔ   cən   cƛ̓əm-stəxʷ   t^θə   sqʷəmeẏ.

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'	ʔitətstəxʷ	'put him/her to sleep'
x̌ʷčenəm	'run'	x̌ʷčenəmstəxʷ	'make him/her run', 'run it'
łx̌iləš	'stand'	łx̌iləšstəxʷ	'make him/her stand'
q̓ʷəyiləš	'dance'	q̓ʷəyiləšstəxʷ	'have him/her dance'
ṫicəm	'swim'	ṫicəmstəxʷ	'make him/her swim'
nəqəm	'dive'	nəqəmstəxʷ	'make him/her dive'
ṫiləm	'sing'	ṫiləmstəxʷ	'have him/her sing'
yənəm	'laugh'	yənəm stəxʷ	'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.'

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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.[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-stəxʷ   kʷθə   sqʷəmeẏ.
      AUX   1SUB   leave-CS   DT   dog
      'I took the dog along.'

(18) ʔał-stəxʷ-əs   səẇ   ʔəšəl   t̕ak̕ʷ   θəẇniɫ.
      get.on.board-CS-3ERG   NM:LNK   paddle   go.home DT:PRO
      'She put it on board and she paddled home.'

(19) m̓i   łe:l-stəxʷ   t̓θə   snəxʷəł!
      come   go.ashore-CS   DT   canoe
      'Beach the canoe!'

(20) nem̓   cən   t̓əxʷ-stəxʷ   kʷθə-nə   syał.
      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		-stəxʷ CAUSATIVE	
ṅem	'go'	ṅeməstəxʷ	'take it'
m̓i	'come'	m̓istəxʷ	'bring it'
cam	'go uphill'	cəmstəxʷ	'take it uphill'
ʔeli	'go away'	ʔeliyəstəxʷ	'take it away'
t̓ak̓ʷ	'go home'	t̓ək̓ʷstəxʷ	'take it home'
xʷəʔaləm̓	'return'	xʷəʔaləm̓stəxʷ	'return it', 'make him/her return'
k̓ʷiʔ	'climb'	k̓ʷiʔstəxʷ	'lift/raise it', 'make him/her climb'
łeẇ	'run away, flee'	ləẇstəxʷ	'run away with him/her'
šaqʷəl	'cross to the other side'	šqʷilstəxʷ	'bring him/her/it across to the other side'
təyəl	'go upstream'	təyəlstəxʷ	'take it upstream'

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

(21) a. ʔəẃ   həli   k̓ʷəṅ   šxʷʔaq̓ʷaʔ-ələp.
          LNK   alive   DT:2POS   sibling(PL)-2POS.PL
          'Your brother is alive.'

      b. ʔəẃ   yə-həli-stəxʷ   cən   ceʔ   θə   sɬewəɫ.
          LNK   SER-alive-cs   1SUB   FUT   DT   herring
          'I will keep the herrings alive.'

(22) a. təqʷ   tə   sq̓is-s   tθə   x̌ʷiɬəm.
          tight   DT   knot-3POS   DT   rope
          'The knot in the rope is tight.'

      b. neṁ   č   ƛ̓iṁ   ʔəẃ   təqʷ-stəxʷ   tθəṅ   s-q̓p=əleʔc-t
          go   2SUB really LNK   tight-CS   DT:2POS NM-tie=fibre-TR

              tθə   ləqʷə.
              DT   suitcase

          'Tie the suitcase really tightly when you tie it.'

(23) a. …k̓ʷəẃ   x̌əɬ   p̓eʔ   nə-šqʷaləwən…
           COMP:LNK hurt   indeed 1POS-feelings
          '…my feelings are very hurt…'

      b. niʔ   cən   x̌əɬ-stexʷ.
          AUX   1SUB   hurt-CS
          'I felt bad for him.'

Further examples are given in Table 5.

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[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 √nəẃ forms the stative-resultative səṅiẃ 'inside' and the causative səṅiẃstəxʷ 'keep it inside'.

STATE		CAUSATIVE	
ləx̌	'spaced apart'	ləx̌stəxʷ	'space it apart'
nec̓	'different, strange'	nec̓stəxʷ	'find it strange'
p̓əɬ	'sober up'	p̓əɬstəxʷ	'sober him/her up'
qəl	'bad'	qəlstəxʷ	'dislike it'
qəx̌	'much, lots'	qəx̌stexʷ	'get lots of it'
q̓ʷap̓	'wrinkled, pleated'	q̓ʷap̓stəxʷ	'put pleats in it'
təqʷ	'tight'	təqʷstəxʷ	'get it tight'
x̌əɬ	'hurt, ache'	x̌əɬstexʷ	'feel bad for him/her'
ʔəsəp̓	'finished'	ʔəsəp̓stəxʷ	'get it finished'
ʔəw̓k̓ʷ	'finished'	ʔəw̓k̓ʷstəxʷ	'get it finished'
ɬec	'dark'	ɬecstəxʷ	'make it dark'
ləq	'sold'	ləqstəxʷ	'get it sold'
ƛ̓əx̌ʷ	'hard'	ƛ̓əx̌ʷstexʷ	'make it hard'
ɬəqʷ	'wet'	ɬəqʷstəxʷ	'wet it'
c̓əq̓	'astonished'	c̓əq̓stəxʷ	'astonish him/her'
nas	'fat'	nasstəxʷ	'put fat in it'
ƛ̓aʔ	'soothed'	ƛ̓aʔstəxʷ	'get him/her soothed'
ƛ̓əc̓	'close together'	ƛ̓əc̓stəxʷ	'get them close together'
ƛ̓ək̓ʷən̓	'extinguished'	ƛ̓ek̓ʷən̓stəxʷ	'extinguish it'
ƛ̓əp	'deep'	ƛ̓əpstəxʷ	'get it deep'
θi	'big'	θistəxʷ	'make it big'
ʔəxʷin̓	'little'	ʔəxʷin̓stəxʷ	'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 √mək̓ʷ has a transitive form mək̓ʷət 'pick it up off the ground, gather' and a causative form mək̓ʷstəxʷ 'have him/her pick it up off the ground, gather', and the root √ʔiləq has a transitive form ʔiləqət 'buy it' and a causative form ʔiləqstəxʷ 'have him/her buy it', as illustrated in the following:[8]

(24) mək̓ʷ-ət　　č　　　ce⁷　t^θə　syał.
　　　pick.up-TR　2SUB　FUT　DT　firewood
　　　'You will gather firewood.'

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[7] 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 (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.　ni⁷　　q̓ʷəl-ət-əs　　　łə　　słeni⁷　　kʷθə　　səplil.
　　　　　AUX　bake-TR-3ERG　　DT　　woman　　DT　　bread
　　　　　'The woman baked the bread.'

　　　b.　*ni⁷　　　cən　　　q̓ʷəl(-ət)-stəxʷ　　(⁷ə)　　łə
　　　　　　AUX　　1SUB　　bake-TR-CS　　　　OBL　　DT

　　　　　słeni⁷　　(⁷ə)　　kʷθə　　səplil.
　　　　　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 (2004) 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 √mək̓ʷ or √ʔiləq, the root is not possible as a free-standing word and thus we posit it to be a transitive root.

(25)　nem̓　cən　mək̓ʷ-stəxʷ　t^θə　sx̌i?x̌qəł　?ə　t^θə
　　　　go　1SUB　pick.up-CS　DT　child　　　OBL　DT

　　　　q̓əyem̓ən,　nem̓　?ə　t^θə　k̓ʷax̌k̓ʷa　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　　?iləq-ət　　k̓ʷ　sk̓ʷaw̓əs?
　　　　AUX:Q　2SUB　buy-TR　　DT　bucket
　　　　'Did you buy a bucket?'

(27)　?iləqstəxʷ　t^θə　sx̌i?x̌qəł　?ə　　k̓ʷəw̓　stem　?əl̓　?ə
　　　　buy-CS　　　DT　child　　　OBL　DT:LNK　what　just　OBL

　　　　θə　telə　　ni?　　kʷən̓e-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)　ni?　?am-əs-t-əs　　　　kʷθə　swiw̓ləs　　kʷθə　sqʷəmey̓
　　　　AUX　give-DAT-TR-3ERG　DT　　young.man　DT　　dog

　　　　?ə　　kʷθə　st^θam̓.
　　　　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　ni?　　s-?am-əs-t-s　　　　　kʷθə　swiw̓ləs
　　　　3PRO　DT　　AUX　NM-give-DAT-TR-3POS　DT　　young.man

　　　　kʷθə　sqʷəmey̓?
　　　　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 ʔalə k̓ʷə niʔ ʔən̓ s-mək̓ʷ-stəxʷ tᶿə sx̌̌iʔx̌̌qəł?
what INQU DT AUX 2POS NM-pick.up-CS DT child
'What did you have the child pick up?'

(31) stem ʔalə k̓ʷə niʔ ʔən̓ s-ʔiləq-stəxʷ tᶿə sx̌̌iʔx̌̌qəł?
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 *xʷʔəẁcəst* 'show someone how to do something (with the hands)'.

(32) ʔi:č wəł səl̓-ət k̓ʷθə s-tšel̓qən̓ ʔən̓ ləmətul̓qən?
AUX:Q:2SUB then spin-TR DT STA-card(RES) 2POS wool
'Have you spun your carded wool?'

(33) xʷʔəẁcəs-t θə q̓emiʔ səl-stəxʷ ʔə tᶿə ləmətul̓qən.
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	
caxʷət	'give him/her artifical respiration'	cəxʷstəxʷ	'show him/her how to give artificial respiration to him/her'
k̓ʷuk̓ʷt	'cook it'	k̓ʷuk̓ʷstəxʷ	'teach him/her to cook'
łeʔx̌t	'dish it up'	łeʔx̌stəxʷ	'have him/her dish it up'
łqət	'baste it on'	ləqstəxʷ	'show him/her how to baste it on'
łt̓et	'flip it'	łət̓stəxʷ	'show him/her how to flip it'
łən̓ət	'weave it'	łən̓stəxʷ	'show him/her how to weave it'
x̌̓ič̓ət	'sneak up on it'	x̌̓əč̓stəxʷ	'show him/her how to sneak up on it'
mat̓ət	'splay/prop it'	mat̓stəxʷ	'show him/her how to splay/prop it'
məl̓c̓t	'roll it'	məl̓c̓stəxʷ	'have him/her roll it'
pk̓ʷət	'dust/sprinkle it'	pək̓ʷstəxʷ	'show him/her how to dust/sprinkle it'
pšət	'spit it'	pəšstəxʷ	'show him/her how/where to spit it'
q̓x̌ət	'insult him/her'	q̓əx̌stəxʷ	'teach him/her how to insult him/her'
q̓iẁət	'hang it'	q̓iẁstəxʷ	'have him/her hang it'
t̓aʔt	'pull it apart'	t̓aʔstəxʷ	'teach him/her to pull it apart'
t̓əm̓ət	'pound/beat on it'	t̓əm̓stəxʷ	'show him/her how to pound/beat on it'
t̓ᶿaʔt	'pull it off'	t̓ᶿaʔstəxʷ	'show him/her how to pull it off'
t̓ᶿek̓ʷət	'shine a light on it'	t̓ᶿek̓ʷstəxʷ	'have him/her shine a line 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) θiɫ̓-t   č   tᶿə   sɫewən   yəwen̓   ʔi   yeɫ   ʔən̓-s
      spread-TR   2SUB   DT   mat   first   CONJ   next   2POS-NM

      ɫeq̓-ət   tə   ɫəx̌ʷtən.
      lie-TR   DT   blanket

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

(35) nem̓ č   ceʔ   θiɫ̓-stəxʷ   θən̓   silə   ʔə   θəʔi ləx̌ʷtən.
      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'	ləmstəxʷ	'show it to him/her'
θəyt	'fix it'	θəystəxʷ	'fix it for him/her'
t̓aləx̌ʷət	'chase it away'	t̓aləx̌ʷstəxʷ	'chase it away for him/her'
θələqt	'divide it'	θələqstəxʷ	'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) niɫ   ɫwet   k̓ʷə   niʔ   qeʔən-t   tᶿən̓   silə   ʔə
      3PRO   who   DT   AUX   steal-TR   DT:2POS   grandparent   OBL

      kʷθə   sew̓ən-s?
      DT   lunch-3POS

      'Who stole your grandfather's lunch from him?'

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[9] Gerdts and Hukari (to appear) note that the causative suffix added to a denominal verb yields a benefactive reading: *txʷ-səplil* 'buy bread', *txʷ-səplil-stəxʷ* 'buy bread for him/her'.

(37) neṁ   č   ceʔ   qəṅ-stəxʷ   tᶿəṅ   səĺsiĺə   ʔə   kʷθə
      go   2SUB FUT   steal-CS   DT:2POS   grandparent(PL)   OBL   DT

      sciẏə.
      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) calaʔɬ-t   č   tᶿəṅ   men   ʔə   θəṅ   snəxʷəɬ.
      borrow/lend-TR   2SUB DT:2POS   father   OBL   DT:2POS   canoe/car
      'Lend your father your car.'

(39) niʔ   ʔə   č   calaʔɬ-stəxʷ   kʷθə   John   ʔə   ḱʷ   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]

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[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).

kʷan	'be born'
wəƛ̓əc̓	'stumble'
t̓θem	'go out (tide)'
c̓al	'turn'
√cətx̌ʷ	'bewilder'
√ɬət̓q̓ʷ	'snore'
√p̓ah	'swell up'
√p̓aƛ̓	'smoke'
√ʔaw̓	'be quick'
√t̓θexʷ	'purple'
√ɬix̌ʷ	'slippery'
√ləmxʷ	'rumble'
qal	'put water in a container'
hey̓	'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	
ʔak̓ʷ	'get hooked'	ʔak̓ʷət	'hook it'
c̓əxʷ	'increase'	c̓xʷat	'add more to it'
k̓ʷəɬ	'spill'	k̓ʷɬet	'pour it'
ləkʷ	'break in two'	ləkʷat	'break it in two'
c̓əy̓xʷ	'get dry'	c̓əy̓xʷt	'dry it'
ləc̓	'(container) get full'	ləc̓ət	'fill it'
ɬəqʷ	'get wet'	ɬqʷət	'wet it'
c̓əq̓ʷ	'get pierced'	c̓q̓ʷat	'pierce it'
səq̓	'get torn'	sq̓et	'tear it'
ƛ̓əxʷ	'get covered'	ƛ̓xʷat	'cover it'
k̓ʷes	'burn', 'get hot'	k̓ʷesət	'burn it', 'singe 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.

	-*stəxʷ* YES	-*stəxʷ* 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 –*stəxʷ*

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   ʔiməš-stəxʷ   tᶿə   swiẃləs.
      AUX   1SUB   walk-CS   DT   young.man
      'I made the young man walk.'

(41) nem̓   ʔat̓-stəxʷ   tᶿə   swiẃləs   ʔə   tᶿə   təx̌ʷaʔc!
      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. *ƛ̓ək̓ʷstəxʷ* 'take/bring home', cf. *ƛ̓ak̓ʷ* 'go home') or applicative (e.g. *ƛ̓aƛ̓əx̌ʷstəxʷ* 'chase it away for him/her', cf. *ƛ̓aƛ̓əx̌ʷət* '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 *qəx̌stexʷ* 'get lots of it' from *qəx̌* 'much, lots' versus *nec̓stəxʷ* 'find it strange' from *nec̓* '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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