
Examining the Function of the Oblique across the Tsimshianic Continuum: Causatives and Applicatives

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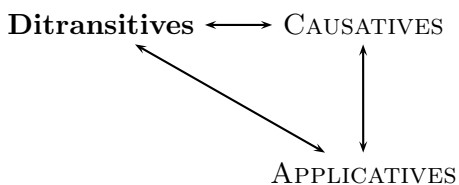
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1 Introduction

- There is a well known, three-way functional connection between ditransitives, causatives and applicatives:

(1)



- Morphological causatives and applicatives are typically responsible for increasing the valency of a predicate, often with syntactic consequences: the addition of a ‘third element’ into the structure.
- In languages that allow the morphological causativization of a transitive verb, the result is commonly a monoclausal, ditransitive-like construction:

(2) English: “[Bill had [Gwen frighten Clara]]”

(3) Gitksan¹

<i>gunsixpts'axwis</i>	<i>Billt</i>	<i>Clara 'as</i>	<i>Gwen</i>
gwin-si-xpts'axw-i-(t)=s	Bill=t	Clara 'a=s	Gwen
CAUS-CAUS-fear-TR-3=PN.DET	Bill=PN.DET	Clara OBL=PN.DET	Gwen

“Bill had Gwen frighten Clara.”

(4) Tarascan (Maldonado & Nava 2002: 181)

<i>Eratzini ché-ra-tara-s-Ø-ti</i>	<i>Yuyani-ni</i>	<i>Adrianu-ni</i>
Eratzini fear-CAUS-CAUS-PERF-PRES-IND.3	Yuyani-OBL	Adrian-OBL

“Eratzin had Yuyani frighten Adrian.”

(5) Matses (Panoan, Amazonian Peru; Fleck 2002: 380)

¹Tsimshianic languages are spoken in northwestern British Columbia and consist of the four languages: Sinalgyax, Nisgha'a, Gitksan (and Sgüüxs, which is extinct). Examples not cited are from fieldwork, and given in the Gitksan practical orthography (k = [q]; g = [G]; x = [χ]; j = [dz]). Special thanks to my Gitksan consultants Fern Weget (FW), Leiwa Weget (LW), Gwen Simms (GS); Holly Weget (HW); Sheila Campbell (SC), Barbara Harris (BH) and Doreen Jensen (DJ). This research was made possible from a grant from *The Endangered Languages Documentation Program*, SOAS. All errors are my own.

bacuë-bo-n *cachita-∅* *cachina-∅* *pe-me-o-sh*
 child-COLL-ERG caiman-ABS chicken-ABS eat-CAUS-PAST-3
 “The kids fed a chicken to the caiman.”
 “The kids fed a caiman to the chicken.”

Objective: The Tsimshianic languages make productive use of all of the points on this functional/conceptual ‘triangle’, but to differing degrees and functions across the language family. Thus, three of these links are examined:

1. Causatives and Ditransitives:

- Indirect causativization in the Tsimshianic languages is morphological: the causative prefix *kwin-* is attached to an unergative or transitive verb.
- *kwin-V* results in an indirect causative construction (in a.), which is syntactically identical to a ditransitive construction (in b.):

(6) Gitksan

- a. *gunhlo’oxsis* *John-hl* *hlit* (*’as Tony*)
kwin-hlo’oxs-i-(t)=s John=hl hlit **’a=s Tony**
 CAUS-kick-TR-3=DET John=CN.DET hlit OBL=PN.DET
 “John had Tony kick the ball.”
 “John had the ball kicked by Tony.”
- b. *hlo’oxsis* *John-hl* *hlit* (*’as Tony*)
 hlo’oxs-i-(t)=s John=hl hlit **’a=s Tony**
 kick-TR-3=DET John=CN.DET hlit OBL=PN.DET
 “John kicked the ball to Tony.”

- The Recipient of a ditransitive is marked by the ‘generic’ OBLIQUE marker *’a*.
- In indirect causative constructions in Tsimshianic (typically achieved by the causativization of a transitive verb), the causee argument is ‘demoted’ to an oblique position, and also marked by the ‘OBLIQUE’ marker *’a*.
- In both the causative and ditransitive constructions, the obliquely marked nominals are optional.

2. Causatives/Applicatives and Ditransitives:

- In Nisgha’*a*, extra morphology accompanies sentences causativized by *kwin-*:

(7) Nisgha’*a*

- a. *gungojis* *Mary-hl* *gest*
 kwin-kots-ə-(t)=s Mary=hl ges-t
 CAUS-cut-TR-3-PN.DET Mary=CN.DET hair-3
 “Mary had her hair cut.”
- b. *gungotdis* *Mary-hl* *gest* *’as Lucy*
 kwin-kots-t-ə-(t)=s Mary=hl ges-t **’a=s Lucy**
 CAUS-cut-APPL-TR-3-PN.DET Mary=CN.DET hair-3 OBL=PN.DET
 “Mary had her hair cut by Lucy.”
 “Mary had Lucy cut her hair.” (Adapted from Tarpent 1987: 652)

- A verbal suffix *-t*, which appears to index the oblique appears when *kwin-* attached.
- This minimal pair suggests that this indexation refers to the oblique nominal, and is possibly historically 3p agreement.
- While the *-t* suffix is also present in Gitksan, its function appears to have been frozen or grammaticalized, and preliminary evidence suggests it has been lost in Sm̓algyax.

3. Directional Applicatives:

- *kwin-* has another function: when attached to an intransitive, a locative meaning emerges in all of the Tsimshianic dialects:

(8) Gitksan/Nisgha'a

a. *t'ahl* *gyet* (*go'ohl* *lakw*)
 t'a=hl *gyet* *k'o'o=hl* *lakw*
 sit.down=CN.DET man LOC=CN.DET fire

“The man sat down (by the fire).”

b. *gunt'ahl* *gyet* *go'ohl* *lakw*
kwin-t'a=hl *gyet* *k'o'o=hl* *lakw*
 CAUS-sit.down=CN.DET man LOC=CN.DET fire

“The man sat down close to the fire.”

(9) Smałgyax

a. *t'aa* *łguwileeks*
 t'a-a *łguwileeks*
 sit.down-CN.DET old.man

“The man sat down.”

b. *gun-t'aa* *łguwileeksda* *ndzooga* *aks*
kwin-t'a-a *łguwileeks-da* *n-dzoog-a* *aks*
 CAUS-sit.down-CN.DET old.man-OBL:CN.DET POSS-edge-CN.DET water

“The man sat down at the water's edge.”

- In Gitksan/Nisgha'a a location can be added, but when *kwin-* is attached to the verb, that location is obligatory.
- It appears that this type of locative in Smałgyax requires *kwin-*, and that locative is instead marked with the OBLIQUE suffix *-da*.

2 Ditransitives and the ‘Oblique’ in Gitksan

- Dative-like arguments (recipients/goals), instruments, places, times, circumstantials etc. are distinguished by their lexical content and word order rather than by morphological marking (Rigsby 1986: 421).
- Tsimshianic word order is rigidly VSO, and there are two morphemes that formally mark peripheral syntactic relations which follow this complex: the generic oblique *'a*, and the general locative *go'o*.

2.1 The Oblique *'a*

- The Oblique morpheme *'a* combines with the determiner of the nominal it marks to form ‘general’ preposition that can mark a beneficiary, goal, instrument, or any type of dative-like role (including some complement clauses).

(10) a. *'as*
 'a=s
 OBL=PN.DET
 “to/for PROPER NOUN.”

b. *'ahl*
 'a=hl
 OBL=CN.DET
 “to/for COMMON NOUN.”

(11) *gi'namis* *Walter=hl* *smax* (*'as* *Bruce*)
 kə'nam-ə-(t)=s Walter=hl smax 'a=s Bruce
 give-TR-3=PN.DET Walter=CN.DET meat OBL=PN.DET Bruce
 “Walter gave meat (to Bruce).”
 “Walter gave Bruce meat.” (based on Rigsby 1986: 289)

(12) *gi'namis* *Mark=hl* *daala* (*'ahl* *gimxtit*)
 kə'nam-ə-(t)=s Mark=hl daala 'a=hl kimxt-t
 give-TR-3=PN.DET Mark=CN.DET money OBL=CN.DET sister-3
 “Mark gave money (to his sister).”
 “Mark gave his sister money.”

- There is a specialized form of the oblique for pronouns:

(13) *looy̓*, *loon*, *loot*, *loom̓*, *loosim̓*, *loodiit*
 loo-y̓, loo-n, loo-t, loo-m̓, loo-sim̓, loo-tiit
 OBL-1sg, ...-2sg, ...-3sg, ...-1pl, ...-2pl, ...-3pl
 “to/for me, you, she/he/it, us, them etc.”

- Consultants report no difference in meaning between the two types of pronominal oblique marking:²

(14) a. *mahldis* *James-hl* *andamaahasxw* *'as* *ñiiy̓*
 mahlt-ə-(t)=s James=hl andamaahasxw 'a=s ñiiy̓
 tell-TR-3=DET James=DET traditional.story OBL=PN.DET 1sg
 “James told a story to me.”
 “James told me a story.”

b. *mahldis* *James-hl* *andamaahasxw* *looy̓*
 mahlt-ə-(t)=s James=hl andamaahasxw loo-y̓
 tell-TR-3=DET James=DET traditional.story OBL-1sg
 “James told a story to me.”
 “James told me a story.”

2.2 The Locative *go'o*

- There is a morpheme that is slightly more specialized than the OBLIQUE *'a* for marking a location: the LOCATIVE *go'o*
- *go'o* has the same morphosyntactic properties as *'a*: it combines with the determiner of the nominal it marks:

(15) a. *go'os*
 ko'o=s
 LOC=PN.DET
 “to/for PROPER NOUN.”

²However, this difference in flagging between full NPs and pronouns requires closer examination more thoroughly, especially because animacy/NP/pronoun distinctions are relevant in other areas of Tsimshianic grammar.

- b. *go'ohl*
ko'o=hl
 LOC=CN.DET
 “to/for COMMON NOUN.”
- c. *go'oý, go'on, go'ot, etc.*
ko'o-ý, go'o-n, go'o-t, etc.
 OBL-1sg, ...-2sg, ...-3, etc.
 “to/for me, you, she/he/it etc.”

(16) *gunyee níiý go'os John*
 kwin=yee níiý ko'o=s John
 CAUS=go 1sg LOC=PN.DET John
 “I walked up to John.”

(17) *yee níiý go'ohl spagaytgan*
 yee níiý ko'o=hl spagaytgan
 go 1sg LOC=CN.DET forest
 “I walked to the forest.”

(18) *yee níiý go'oý*
 yee níiý ko'o-1sg
 go 1sg LOC=CN.DET
 “I walked to my place.”

2.3 A Survey of Ditransitive constructions

- There appear to be no lexical ditransitive verbs in Gitksan – they are either:
 - i. Regular transitives with the addition of an optional oblique nominal that is interpreted as a recipient/goal/instrument, or
 - ii. Causativized verbs with the inclusion of an optional recipient/goal/instrument.
- In both cases, the optional recipient/goal/instrument is marked with the OBLIQUE *'as* or *ahl*:

<i>se-wat</i>	‘X names Y (‘a Z)’	<i>tawitsxw</i>	‘X brings Y (‘a Z)’
<i>ki'nam</i>	‘X gives Y (‘a Z)’	<i>kiikw</i>	‘X buys Y (‘a Z)’
<i>ginis</i>	‘X provides Y (‘a Z)’	<i>hets</i>	‘X sends Y (‘a Z)’
<i>kots</i>	‘X cuts Y (‘a Z)’	<i>halalt-in</i>	‘X throws Y (‘a Z)’
<i>ihlagan</i>	‘X breaks Y (‘a Z)’	<i>kwin-gya'at</i>	‘X shows Y (‘a Z)’
<i>wott</i>	‘X sells Y (‘a Z)’	<i>sut</i>	‘X fetched Y (‘a Z)’
<i>wo'otrxw</i>	‘X offers/invites Y (‘a Z)’	<i>wal</i>	‘X carried Y (‘a Z)’
<i>mahl</i>	‘X tells Y (‘a Z)’	<i>t'is</i>	‘X pushed Y (‘a Z)’
<i>hlo'oxs</i>	‘X kicked Y (‘a Z)’	<i>lumakt</i>	‘X donated Y (‘a Z)’

(19) *siwatdihl gyethyl 'os ('ahl Sammy)*
 si-wat-i-(t)=hl gyet=hl 'os ('a=DET Sammy)
 CAUS-name-TR-3-CN.DET man=CN.DET dog OBL=CN.DET Sammy
 “The man named his dog Sammy.”

(20) *sudis Tyler-hl aks ('as Barbara)*
 sut-i-(t)=s Tyler=hl water 'a=s Barbara
 fetch-?-TR-3=PN.DET Tyler=CN.DET aks OBL=PN.DET Barbara
 “Tyler fetched water for Barbara.”

- (21) *gi'namis* *Walter=hl* *smax* ('*as* *Bruce*)
 ki'nam-i-(t)=s Walter=hl smax 'a=s Bruce
 give-TR-3=PN.DET Walter=CN.DET meat OBL=PN.DET Bruce
 “Walter gave meat (to Bruce).”
 “Walter gave Bruce meat.” (based on Rigsby 1986: 289)
- (22) *gi'namis* *Mark=hl* *daala* ('*ahl* *gimxtit*)
 ki'nam-i-(t)=s Mark=hl daala 'a=hl kimxt-t
 give-TR-3=PN.DET Mark=CN.DET money OBL=CN.DET sister-3
 “Mark gave money (to his sister).”
 “Mark gave his sister money.”
- (23) *ginis* *Mark=hl* *wineex* ('*ahl* *gimxtit*)
 gin-i-(t)=s Mark=hl wineex 'a=hl kimxt-t
 feed/provide-TR-3=PN.DET Mark=CN.DET food OBL=CN.DET sister-3
 “Mark fed food (to his sister).”
 “Mark fed his sister food.”
- If the oblique marks an inanimate NP, it is generally interpreted as an instrument:
- (24) a. *kojis* *Tom=hl* *smax* ('*ahl* *t'uuts'xw*)
 kots-i-(t)=s Tom=hl smax 'a=hl t'uuts'xw
 cut-TR-3=PN.DET Tom=CN.DET meat OBL=CN.DET knife
 “Tom cut the meat (with a knife).”
- b. *kojis* *Tom=hl* *smax* ('*ahl* *gimxtit*)
 kots-i-(t)=s Tom=hl smax 'a=hl kimxt-t
 cut-TR-3=PN.DET Tom=CN.DET meat OBL=CN.DET sister-3
 “Tom cut the meat (for his sister).”
- (25) *ihlagans* *John=hl* *gu-gan* ('*ahl* *k'uba* *tk'ihlxw*)
 ihlagan-(t)=s John=hl ku-gan 'a=hl k'uba tk'ihlxw
 break-3-PN.DET John=CN.DET PL-wood OBL=CN.DET little child
 “John broke the sticks (for the little boy).”
- (26) *wotdiyh*l *kartxw^ɣ* ('*as* *Bruce*)
 wott-i-^ɣ=hl kartxw-^ɣ 'a=s Bruce
 sell-TR-1sg-CN.DET car-1sg OBL=PN.DET Bruce
 “I sold my car (to Bruce).”
- (27) *wo'otxwt* *Bill* '*as* *John* '*ahl* *smax*
 wo'o-txw=t Bill 'a=s John 'a=hl smax
 invite/offer-ANTIPASS=DET Bill OBL.=DET John OBL.=DET meat
 “Bill offered to John meat.” (lit.: ‘Bill invites at Bill to meat.’)
- (28) *mahldis* *James=hl* *andamaahlasxw* ('*as* *Tony*)
 mahlt-i-(t)=s James=hl andamaahlasxw 'a=s Tony
 tell-TR-3=PN.DET James=CN.DET traditional.story OBL=PN.DET Tony
 “James told a (traditional) story to Tony.”
- (29) *dawitsxwis* *Tyler=hl* *aks* ('*as* *Barbara*)
 tawitsxw-i-(t)=s Tyler=hl aks 'a=s Barbara
 bring-TR-3=PN.DET Tyler=CN.DET water OBL=PN.DET Barbara
 “Tyler brought water to Barbara.”

- (30) *giigwis* *Tyler-hl* *wilp* (*'as* *Barbara*)
 kiikw-i-(t)=s Tyler=hl wilp 'a=s Barbara
 buy-TR-3=DET Tyler=DET house OBL.=DET Barbara
 “Tyler bought a house for Barbara.”
- (31) *hejis* *Walter-hl* *daala* (*'as* *Bruce*)
 hets-i-(t)=s Walter=hl daala 'as Bruce
 send-TR-3=DET Walter=DET money OBL.=DET Bruce
 “Walter sent money to Bruce.”
- (32) *halaldins* *Tyler-hl* *hlit* (*'as* *Barbara*)
 halalt-in-(t)=s Tyler=hl hlit 'a=s Barbara
 throw-CAUS-3=PN.DET Tyler=CN.DET ball OBL=PN.DET Barbara
 “Tyler threw the ball to Barbara.”
- (33) *gungya'adis* *Billhl* *kartxwt* (*'as* *John*)
 kwin=gya'a-t-i-(t)=s Bill=hl kartxwt (*'a=s* *John*)
 CAUS-see-t-TR-3=PN.DET Bill=CN.DET car-?-3 OBL=PN.DET John
 “Bill showed his car to John.”
- (34) *walis* *Tyler-hl* *dihlxw* (*'as* *Barbara*)
 wal-i-(t)=s Tyler=hl dihlxw 'a=s Barbara
 carry-TR-3=DET Tyler=DET bag OBL.=DET Barbara
 “Tyler carried the bag for Barbara.”
- (35) *t'isis* *Tyler-hl* *kartxw* (*'as* *Barbara*)
 t'is-i-(t)=s Tyler=hl kartxw 'a=s Barbara
 push-TR-3=DET Tyler=DET car OBL.=DET Barbara
 “Tyler pushed the car for/to Barbara.”
- (36) *lumakdis* *Walter=hl* *daala* (*'as* *Bruce*)
 lumakt-i-(t)=s Walter=hl daala 'a=s Bruce
 donate-TR-3=PN.DET Walter=CN.DET money OBL=PN.DET Bruce
 “Walter donated/contributed/put in money (to/for Bruce).” (BS)

3 Causative Morphology in Tsimshianic (an introduction)

- Causative morphology in the Tsimshianic is complex and productive: there are three morphemes dedicated to causativization which are sensitive to the argument structure (and/or event type) of the predicate they attach to.

3.1 State (Direct) causativization: **si-*

- The Tsimshianic causative **si-* is a verbal prefix which adds one argument to intransitive, (mostly) stative predicates.
- *si-* added to a nominal means to cause X to be in state of existence, process or procure by ones action the affected object signified by the nominal. (Peterson *to appear*; Belvin 1997; Rigsby 1986: 350, 351).
- The outcome of this direct causativization:

- (37) a. *si-'anaax* CAUS-bread “to make bread.”
 b. *si-hon* CAUS-fish “to prepare fish.”

(38) Gitksan/Nisgha'a

- a. *'alakt* *Gwen*
 'alak=t Gwen
 anger=PN.DET Gwen
 "Gwen is angry."
- b. *si'alagis* *Gwen*
 si-'alak-ə-(t)=s Gwen
 CAUS-anger=PN.DET Gwen
 "Clara made Gwen angry."

(39) Smalgyax

nah di sidaawyu ksit'ax'oogm dzapan
nah di si-daaw-u ksit'ax'oog=m dzapan
 PAST EMPH CAUS-freeze-1 orange=ATTR Japan
 "I froze some Japanese oranges."

(40) *yagwa sana'axsas ndzi'itsn*
yagwa si-na-axs-a-(t)=s n-dzi'its-n
 PROG CAUS-dress-TR-3=PN.DET POSS-grandmother-2sg
 "Your grandmother is dressmaking."

(41) *yagwa sits'ooxsagama'asu*
yagwa si-ts'ooxsa-ga-ma'as-u
 PROG CAUS-shoe-PL-knit-1sg
 "I'm knitted-slipper-making."

3.2 Event (Direct/Indirect) causativization: *-in

- In Gitksan the verbal causative suffix *in* adds one argument to unergative (and some transitive) predicates, functioning to make someone X through ones one hand or action, though usually through direct contact.
- This has the effect of deriving either direct or indirect causation.

(42) a. *kuxwhl kyuwatan*
 kuxw=hl kyuwatan
 run=CN.DET horses
 "The horses ran away."

b. *kuxwinjhl kyuwatan*
 kuxw-'in-ŷ=hl kyuwatan
 run-CAUS-1sg=CN.DET horses
 "I chased the horses run away."

(43) a. *xsit tGwen*
 xsit t=Gwen
 vomit PN.DET=Gwen
 "Gwen vomited."

b. *xsidints Billt Gwen*
 xsit-in-t=s Bill=t Gwen
 vomit-CAUS-3=PN.DET B.=PN.DET Gwen
 "Bill made Gwen vomit."

- *-in* can attach to transitive predicates:

- (44) a. *hooyis* *Gwenhl* *haaks*
 hooy- \emptyset -(t)=s Gwen=hl haaks
 use-TR-3=PN.DET Gwen=CN.DET bucket
 “Gwen used a bucket.”
- b. *hooyints* *Clarahl* *ha’aks* *’as* *Gwen*
 hooy-’in-t=s Clara=hl ha’aks ’a=s Gwen
 use-CAUS-3-PN.DET C.=CN.DET bucket OBL=PN.DET Gwen
 “Clara made Gwen use a bucket.”

- It’s in these causativized cases that we start seeing the parallels with ditransitives:

- (45) *sudis* *Clarahl* *ha’aks* *’as* *Gwen*
 sut-i-(t)=s Clara=hl ha’aks ’a=s Gwen
 fetch-TR-3-PN.DET Clara=CN.DET bucket OBL=PN.DET Gwen
 “Clara fetched a bucket for Gwen.”

3.3 ‘Action’ (Indirect) causativization: **kwin-*

- *kwin-* is the third causative in Gitksan, which adds one argument to a transitive or unergative predicate.

- (46) Gitksan/Nisgha’a

- a. *ts’inhl* *hanak*
 ts’in=hl hanak
 enter=CN.DET woman
 “The woman entered.”

- b. *guntsinis* *Gwen=hl* *hanak*
 kwin-tsin- \emptyset -(t)=s Gwen=hl hanak
 CAUS-enter-TR-3=PN.DET G.=CN.DET woman
 “Gwen had the woman come in.”

- (47) *gungotsdis* *Mary=hl* *gest* *’as* *Lucy*
 kwin-kots-t-i-(t)=s Mary=hl ges-t ’a=s Lucy
 CAUS-cut-APPL-TR-3-PN.DET Mary=CN.DET hair-3 OBL=PN.DET Lucy
 “Mary had her hair cut by Lucy.” (Adapted from Tarpent 1987: 652)

- (48) *gunwo’otxwis* *Bill-t* *John* *’as* *Tyler*
 kwin-wo’otxw-i-(t)=t Bill-t John ’a=s Tyler
 invite/offer-TR-3=PN.DET Bill=PN.DET John OBL=PN.DET Tyler
 “Bill had Tyler invite John.”

- (49) *gunbahldiyhl* *skana* *loot*
 kwin-pahl-t-i- \dot{y} =hl skana loo-t
 CAUS-spread.out-t-TR-1sg-CN.DET cedar.mat OBL-3
 “I made him/her spread out the cedar mat.”

- (50) *gunt’amdiyh* *letter* *loos* *Barbara*
 kwin-t’am-t-i- \dot{y} =hl letter loo=s Barbara
 CAUS-mark-t-TR-1sg-CN.DET letter LOC=PN.DET Barbara
 “I had/told Barbara to write a letter.”

- When attached to a transitive predicate, the causee is demoted to an oblique, while the direct object remains and the causer assumes the subject position.
- The oblique causee is optional, but when expressed, it must act with a high degree of volitionality.
- Thus, *kwin-* cannot be used with unaccusative predicates:

- (51) a. *t'ugwantxwhl ts'ak'*
t'ugwantxw=hl ts'ak'
 fall=CN.DET plate
 “The plate fell.” (adapted from Belvin 1997: 40)
- b. **gun-t'ugwantxwis Gwenhl ts'ak'*
kwin-t'ugwantxw-i-t=s Gwen=hl ts'ak'
 CAUS-fall-TR-3=PN.DET G.=CN.DET plate
 “Gwen had the plate fall.”

- By comparing *kwin-* to *si-* and *-in*, we see that *kwin-* can only link a subject to a state or event through an intermediary agent, thus deriving a clear case indirect causation similar to English *have* (Peterson *to appear*; Belvin 1997).
- This ‘linking’ between causer and states seems to match up with speaker’s intuitions and translations of *kwin-* sentences:

- (52) a. *kojis Mary-hl gest*
kots-i(t)=s Mary=hl ges-t
 cut-TR-3-PN.DET Mary=CN.DET hair-3
 “Mary cut her hair.”
- b. *gungojis Mary-hl gest*
kwin-kots-i(t)=s Mary=hl ges-t
 CAUS-cut-TR-3-PN.DET Mary=CN.DET hair-3
 “Mary had her hair cut.”

- The optional causee marked by the OBLIQUE in indirect causative constructions (using either *-in* or *kwin-*) is almost always interpreted as an instrumental:

- (53) *gungojis Mary-hl gest ('as Barbara)*
kwin-kots-i(t)=s Mary=hl ges-t 'a=s Barbara
 CAUS-cut-TR-3-PN.DET Mary=CN.DET hair-3 OBL-PN.DET Barbara
 “Mary had her hair cut by Barbara.”
 “Mary had Barbara cut her hair.”

- This is a natural parallel with regular OBLIQUE-marked instrumentals and goal/beneficiary ditransitives:

- (54) *kojis Tom=hl smax ('ahl t'uuts'xw)*
kots-i(t)=s Tom=hl smax ('a=hl t'uuts'xw)
 cut-TR-3=PN.DET Tom=CN.DET meat OBL=CN.DET knife
 “Tom cut the meat (with a knife).”

- (55) *hejis Walter-hl daala ('as Bruce)*
hets-i(t)=s Walter=hl daala 'as Bruce
 send-TR-3=PN.DET Walter=CN.DET money OBL=PN.DET Bruce
 “Walter sent money to Bruce.”

- What distinguishes these? The volitionality of the causee:

(56) **gungojis* *Mary-hl* *gest* (*'ahl* *t'uuts'xw*)
 kw_{in}-kots-i-(t)=s Mary=hl ges-t ('a=hl t'uuts'xw)
 CAUS-cut-TR-3-PN.DET Mary=CN.DET hair-3 OBL=CN.DET knife
 “Mary had her hair cut by the knife/scissors.”
 “Mary had the knife/scissors cut her hair.”

- OBLIQUE-marked arguments of a ditransitive may or may not be volitional/animate, where as OBLIQUE-marked instruments introduced by causatives must be.

3.4 Multiple Causative Sequences

- The three causatives can be combined in order to derive more complex causative constructions.
- Volitionality interacts with eventivity in a non-trivial fashion, as both converge on the semantic characteristics of the subject: Both *kwi-* and *-in* can attach to events derived by *si-* (see Peterson *to appear* for details).
- Again, these constructions form minimal pairs with ditransitive constructions.

(57) a. *sixpts'axwins* *Gwen=t* *Bill* (*'as* *Mary*)
 si-xpts'axw-'in-(t)=s Gwen=t Bill 'a=s Mary
 CAUS-fear-CAUS-3=PN.DET G.=PN.DET Bill OBL=PN.DET Mary
 “Gwen made Bill afraid of Mary.” (lit.: ‘Gwen put Bill into a state of fear using Mary.’)
 b. *gwinsixpts'axws* *Gwen=t* *Bill* (*'as* *Mary*)
 kw_{in}-si-xpts'axw-(t)=s Gwen=t Bill 'a=s Mary
 CAUS-CAUS-fear-3=PN.DET J.=PN.DET Bill OBL=PN.DET Mary
 “Gwen had Mary frighten Gwen.”

- *-in* attaches to the transitive predicate use, forming a suitable stem for the extra ‘layer’ of indirect causation, achieved by *kw_{in}-* which introduces an external causer:

(58) *gwin-si-wilaa-in-t=s* *Bill=hl* *Gitksan-imx* '*as* *Gwen*
 gw_{in}-si-wilaa-in-t=s Bill=hl Gitksan-imx 'a=s Gwen
 CAUS-CAUS-know-CAUS-3=PN.DET B.=CN.DET Gitksan-lang. OBL=PN.DET Gwen
 “Bill had Gwen teach the Gitksan language.” (lit.: ‘Bill made Gwen cause someone to be in the state of knowing Gitksan.’)

(59) *gunhooyins* *Bill=hl* *k'utaats'=hl* *hlkutk'ihlkw* '*as* *Mary*
 kw_{in}-hooy-in-(t)=s Bill=hl k'utaats'=hl hlkutk'ihlkw 'a=s Mary
 CAUS-use-CAUS-3=PN.DET BCN.DET coat=CN.DET child OBL=PN.DET M.
 “Bill had Mary make the child use a coat.” (adapted from Belvin 1995: 41)

- (59) is a special construction because it appears, on the surface at least, that the verb *use* has three arguments, each marked by determiners. Added to this is the ‘instrument’ *Mary*.
- This is also where causative constructions diverge slightly from ditransitives:

(60) a. *hlo'oxsis* *John-hl* *hlit* (*'as* *Tony*)
 hlo'oxs-ə-(t)=s John=hl hlit 'a=s Tony
 kick-TR-3=DET John=CN.DET hlit OBL=PN.DET Tony
 “John kicked the ball to Tony.”

- b. *gunhlo'oxsis* *John-hl* *hlit* ('as *Tony* 'as
 kwin-hlo'oxs-ə-(t)=s John=hl hlit 'a=s Tony 'a=s
 CAUS-kick-TR-3=DET John=CN.DET hlit OBL=PN.DET Tony OBL=PN.DET
Gwen)
 Gwen
 Gwen
 “John had Tony kick the ball to Gwen.” (BS)

- In these cases both the ‘instrument’ and goal are marked with the OBLIQUE.³

(61) *Smalgyax*

gwinsiyek *nagats'ooxs* *dp* *awaan*
 gwin-si-yek na-ga-ts'ooxs dp awaan
 CAUS-CAUS-polish POSS-PL-shoe DET:PL people
 “Tell those people to shine their shoes.”

4 A Comparative-Diachronic Perspective

4.1 The Ditransitive-Causative Link

- The ditransitive-causative patterns found in Tsimshianic are not uncommon in languages that allow the causativization of a transitive verb:

(62) *Matses* (Panoan, Amazonian Peru; Fleck 2002: 380)

- a. *cachita-n* *cachina-∅* *pe-o-sh*
 caiman-ERG chicken-ABS eat-PAST-3
 “The caiman ate the chicken.”
- b. *bacuë-bo-n* *cachita-∅* *cachina-∅* *pe-me-o-sh*
 child-COLL-ERG caiman-ABS chicken-ABS eat-CAUS-PAST-3
 “The kids fed a chicken to the caiman.”
 “The kids fed a caiman to the chicken.”

(63) *Shipibo-Konibo* (Panoan, Amazonian Peru; Valenzuela 2002: 422)

pena-n-ra *ranon* *jawen* *xontako* *bi-ma-ke*
 pena-ERG-EV young.man:ABS POSS.3 unmarried.girl:ABS get-CAUS-COMPL
 “Pena married her daughter to the young man.”
 (Lit.: made her unmarried daughter get the young man.)

(64) *Olutec* (Zavala 2002: 246)

- a. *ya[?]ay* *?i=kay-pe* *pu:ro* *tzu[?]ch+i* *pu[?]tz+[?]aj*
 this 3.ERG=eat-INCI.T only meat rotten
 “This one (the buzzard) only eats rotten meat.”
- b. *tan=ta:k-kay-u* *ja[?]* *chipin+tzü:p[?]+i*
 1.ERG=CAUS-eat-COMI 3.ANIM edible.green
 “I made her eat *chipile* (type of edible green).”

³Consultants comment that these types of constructions (causativized transitives interpreted as ditransitives with an expressed goal) are marked.

(65) Tarascan (Maldonado & Nava 2002: 168)

- a. *yuyani urhu-s-Ø-ti tsíri-ni*
yuyani grind-PERF-PRES-IND.3 corn-OBL
“Yuyani ground the corn.”
- b. *valeria urhu-ra-s-Ø-ti tsíri-ni yuyani-ni*
valeria grind-PERF-PRES-IND.3 corn-OBL yuyani-OBL
“Valeria made Yuyani grind the corn.”

(66) a. *valeria hawa-ta-s-Ø-ti yuyani-ni*
valeria stand-CAUS-PERF-PRES-IND.3 yuyani-OBL
“Valeria lifted Yuyani (from the ground).” (Maldonado & Nava 2002: 179)

- b. *adrianu hawa-ta-tara-s-Ø-ti yuyani-ni valeria-ni*
valeria stand-CAUS-CAUS-PERF-PRES-IND.3 yuyani-OBL valeria-OBL
“Adrian made Yuyani lift Valeria (from the ground).”
(Maldonado & Nava 2002: 179)

4.2 The Causative-Applicative Link

- Like causatives, applicatives also increase the valency of a clause.
- In many languages causative morphemes are associated with the applicative function of introducing a comitative, instrumental, or benefactive argument (Dixon 1977; Shibatabi & Pardeshi 2002: 116).

(67) Yidiny (Dixon 1977: 293-322)

- a. *bimbi:ng nganyany wudingalnyu* (CAUSATIVE)
father.ERG 1.ABS bring.up.ngal.PAST
“Father brought me up.”
- b. *wagudanggu wagal nyina:ngal* (COMITATIVE)
man.ERG woman.ABS sit.ngal
“The man is sitting with (his) wife.”
- c. *gini buyal bama:l dumba:dingal bunya-nda* (INSTR.)
penis.ABS strong.ABS person.ERG swive.di.ngal woman.DAT
“The man will swive (copulate with) the woman with [his] strong penis.”

(68) Malay (Yap 1996: 4-5)

- a. *dia beli kereta baru*
3sg buy car new
“S/he bought a new car.”
- b. *dia beli-kan saya kereta baru*
3sg buy-APPL 1sg car new
“S/he bought me a new car.”
- c. *bilek itu besar*
room the large
“The room is large.”
- d. *dia besar-kan bilek itu*
3sg large-CAUS room the
“S/he enlarged the room.”

(69) Bella Coola (Saunders & Davis 1982)

- a. *tx-is* *?aleks ti-qls^w-tx* (TRANSITIVE)
 cut-he/it Alex ...-rope-...
 “Alex cut the rope.”
- b. *tx-a-∅* *?aleks x-ti-qls^w-tx* (ANTIPASSIVE)
 cut-INTR-he Alex PREP-...-rope-...
 “Alex cut at the rope.”
- c. *tx-a-tus* *?aleks mat x-ti-qls^w-tx*
 cut-INTR-he/him Alex Matt PREP-...-rope-...
 (i) “Alex cut the rope for Matt.”
 (ii) “Alex made/let Matt cut the rope.”

(70) Kinyarwanda (Kimenyi 1988)

- a. *umugóre a-ra-andik-iish-a* *ibarúwa íkarámu*
 woman she-PRES-write-INST-ASP letter pen
 “The woman is writing a letter with a pen.”
- b. *umwáalímu a-ra-som-eesh-a* *abányéeshuúri ibitabo*
 teacher he-PRES-read-CAUS-ASP students books
 “The teacher is making the students read books.”

(71) Olutec (Zavala 2002: 249)

- a. \emptyset -[?]*etz-pa=k* *je?* *majaw*
 3.ABS=dance-INCI.T=ANIM that woman
 “That woman is dancing.”
- b. \emptyset =*küj*-[?]*etz-ü-pa* *ja?* *je?* *majaw*
 3.ABS=APPL-dance-INV-INCI.I 3.ANIM that woman
 “He is making that woman dance.”

(72) a. *ka:=na?[?]kxej tax=kay-i* *pak*
 NEG=when 1.ERG=eat-INCD bone
 “I never eat bone.” (Zavala 2002: 249)

- b. *fri:to* *tan=tomo-kay-pe=k* *pro:we-nak*
 fired.blood 1.ERG=INST+ASSOC-eat-INCI.T=ANIM poor-DIM
 “I am eating fried blood with the poor little woman.” (Zavala 2002: 249)

- In addition to these alternations, Gerdts (2004 and in other papers) describes a subtype of te applicative, or the ‘directional applicative’:

(73) Halkomelem (Salish; Gerdts 2004: 3)

- a. *ni?* *neṁ* *k^wθə* *swiṽləs*
 AUX go DET boy
 “The boy went.”
- b. *ni?* *nə?[?]em-nəs-əs* *k^wθə* *John*
 AUX go-APPL:TR-3.ERG DET boy
 “He went up to John.”

- A similar pattern in Olutec: when the morpheme *mü:-* precedes motion verbs a causative/locative reading emerges:

(74) Olutec (Zavala 2002: 247)

- a. *jeʔ+mü: tax=mü:-mi:nʔ-aʔn-ek*
 there 1.LOCAL=APPL-come-IRR-INV.LOCAL
 “You are going to bring me there.”
- b. *jeʔ+mü:=ak tax=mü:-nax-e ʔala:mure-paʔt-pi*
 there=ANIM 1.LOCAL=APPL-cross-INC wire-under-LOC
 “I passed (my child) there, under the wire.”

- These cross-linguistic phenomena may shed light on two things in Tsimshianic:
 1. The productive indexation of the oblique in Nisgha’a, its grammaticalize counterpart in Gitksan and its loss in S̓malgyax.
 2. The ‘directional’ use of causative **kwin-* across Tsimshianic.

4.2.1 The indexation of the oblique

- In Nisgha’a, causative morphology is often accompanied by the suffixation of *-t* to the verb. Recall:

(75) Nisgha’a

- a. *gungojis Mary-hl gest*
kwin-kots-i-(t)=s Mary=hl ges-t
 CAUS-cut-TR-3-PN.DET Mary=CN.DET hair-3
 “Mary had her hair cut.”
- b. *gungotsdis Mary-hl gest ʔas Lucy*
kwin-kots-t-i-(t)=s Mary=hl ges-t ʔa=s Lucy
 CAUS-cut-APPL-TR-3-PN.DET Mary=CN.DET hair-3 OBL=PN.DET
 “Mary had her hair cut by Lucy.”
 “Mary had Lucy cut her hair.” (Adapted from Tarpent 1987: 652)

- Tarpent (1987: 652) reports that this is a fairly productive (if occasionally unpredictable) process, and reports that it occurs with ditransitive clauses as well, indexing an indirect object or circumstantial complement.
- However, in Gitksan this *-t* suffix is either unproductive, or grammaticalized to the verb. Some potential candidates:

<i>wat</i>	wa-t	‘X name Y (‘a Z)’	<i>tawitsxw</i>		‘X brings Y (‘a Z)’
<i>ki’nam</i>		‘X gives Y (‘a Z)’	<i>kiikw</i>		‘X buys Y (‘a Z)’
<i>ginis</i>		‘X provides Y (‘a Z)’	<i>hets</i>		‘X sends Y (‘a Z)’
<i>kots</i>		‘X cuts Y (‘a Z)’	<i>halalt-in</i>	halal-t-in	‘X throws Y (‘a Z)’
<i>ihlagan</i>	ihlag-in	‘X breaks Y (‘a Z)’	<i>kwin-gya’at</i>		‘X shows Y (‘a Z)’
<i>wott</i>	wot-t	‘X sells Y (‘a Z)’	<i>sut</i>	su-t	‘X fetched Y (‘a Z)’
<i>wo’otxw</i>	wo’o-txw	‘X offers/invites Y (‘a Z)’	<i>wal</i>		‘X carried Y (‘a Z)’
<i>mahl</i>	mahl-t	‘X tells Y (‘a Z)’	<i>t’is</i>		‘X pushed Y (‘a Z)’
<i>hlo’oxs</i>		‘X kicked Y (‘a Z)’	<i>lumakt</i>	lumak-t	‘X donated Y (‘a Z)’

- Although *-t* may be plausibly isolated, minimal pair constructions lacking *-t* are ungrammatical:

(76) Gitksan

- a. *siwatdihl* *gyethyl* 'os ('ahl *Sammy*)
 si-wat-t-i-(t)=hl gyet=hl 'os ('a=hl Sammy)
 CAUS-name-t-TR-3-CN.DET man=CN.DET dog OBL=CN.DET Sammy
 “The man named his dog Sammy.”
- b. **siwadihl* *gyethyl* 'os
 si-wat-i-(t)=hl gyet=hl 'os
 CAUS-name-TR-3-CN.DET man=CN.DET dog
 “The man named his dog.”

(77) a. *wotdijhl* *kartxwǰ* ('as *Bruce*)
 wot-t-i-ǰ=hl kartxw-ǰ 'a=s Bruce
 sell-t-TR-1sg-CN.DET car-1sg OBL=PN.DET Bruce
 “I sold my car (to Bruce).”

- b. **wodijhl* *kartxwǰ*
 wot-i-ǰ=hl kartxw-ǰ
 sell-TR-1sg-CN.DET car-1sg
 “I sold my car.”

(78) a. *lumakdis* *Walter=hl* *daala* ('as *Bruce*)
 lumak-t-i-(t)=s Walter=hl daala 'a=s Bruce
 donate-t-TR-3=PN.DET Walter=CN.DET money OBL=PN.DET Bruce
 “Walter donated/contributed/put in money (to/for Bruce).” (BS)

- b. **lumagis* *Walter=hl* *daala*
 lumak-i-(t)=s Walter=hl daala
 donate-TR-3=PN.DET Walter=CN.DET money
 “Walter donated/contributed/put in money.” (BS)

- And in at least one case, the event causative *-in* can be isolated. However, its uncausativized counterpart counterpart is no longer interpretable:

(79) a. ?*halahl* *hlit*
 halal=hl hlit
 throw=CN.DET ball
 “?”

- b. **halalins* *Tyler-hl* *hlit*
 halal-in-(t)=s Tyler=hl hlit
 throw-CAUS-3=PN.DET Tyler=CN.DET ball
 “Tyler threw the ball.”

- c. *halaldins* *Tyler-hl* *hlit* ('as *Barbara*)
 halal-t-in-(t)=s Tyler=hl hlit 'a=s Barbara
 throw-t-CAUS-3=PN.DET Tyler=CN.DET ball OBL=PN.DET Barbara
 “Tyler threw the ball to Barbara.”

- There was only one case where the suffix *-t* could be isolated and removed, but with the predicted change in meaning: the beneficiary of the verb is not included:

- (80) a. *mahl^{dis}* *Mark* *'ahl* *gim^{xtit}* *dim* *wil* *saa* *daa'whlt*
 mahl-t-i-(t)=s Mark *'a=hl* **gimxt-t** tim wil saa taa'whl-t
 tell-t-TR-3-PN.DET Mark OBL=CN.DET sister-3 FUT COMP away leave-3
go'ohl *la^{xmo'on}*
ku'=hl *la^x-mu'n*
 LOC=CN.DET coast

“Mark told his sister that he would leave to go to the coast.” (Rigsby 1986: 324)

- b. *mahlis* *Mark* *dim* *wil* *saa* *daa'whlt* *go'ohl* *la^{xmo'on}*
 mahl-i-(t)=s Mark tim wil saa taa'whl-t *ku'=hl* *la^x-mu'n*
 tell-TR-3-PN.DET Mark OBL=CN.DET sister-3 FUT COMP away leave-3

“Mark said he would leave to go to the coast.”

4.2.2 The Directional Applicative

- Consultants quite often paraphrase the *kwin-* causative as ‘tell someone to do something’:

- (81) *Smalgyax*

gwinsiyek *nag^{ats'ooxs}* *dp* *awaan*
 gwin-si-yek na-ga-ts'ooxs dp awaan
 CAUS-CAUS-polish POSS-PL-shoe DET:PL people

“Tell those people to shine their shoes.”

- However, in all of the Tsimshianic languages, *kwin-* has another function: to introduce a location:

- (82) a. *gwindaalpk*
 gwin-daalpk
 CAUS-short

“to get close to, to be close by.”

- b. *la* *sm* *gwindalpga* *dm* *sabaa* *suwilaawksa*
 la sim gwin-daalpk-a dm sabaa su-wilaawksa
 INCEPT 1pl CAUS-short-CN.DET FUT finish CAUS-learn

“We’re near the end of school.”

- (83) a. *la* *tsiint* *dzon* *ada* *gwishalaayda* *hoyt* *wil* *tgumiilkda*
 la tsiin-t dzon ada gwis-halaayt-a hoy-t wil tgumiilk-da
 INCEPT enter-3 John and blanket-shaman-CN.DET use-3 COMP ?=CN.DET
wil ***sgüüs*** *wilyam*
 wil ***sgüü=s*** wilyam
 COMP lie.down=PN.DET William

“John came in wearing a shaman’s blanket and danced around William who was lying down.”

- b. *'ap* *smgwinsgüüa* *nakwduun* *ñlak*
 'ap sm-gwin-sgüü-a nakwduun ñlak
 ? very-CAUS-lie.down DEM fireplace.

“He laid really close to the fireplace.”

- (84) *gwinse'ika* *ha'lit'aa* *da* *awaayu*
 gwin-se'ik-a ha'lit'aa da awaay-u
 CAUS-pull-CN.DET chair LOC ?-1sg

“Pull the chair towards me.”

- (85) *gwinspilla ha'lit'aa da awaan*
 gwin-spill-a ha'lit'aa da awaan
 CAUS-pull-CN.DET chair LOC ?-2sg
 “Pull the chair towards you.”
- (86) *gwinse'ika gan a hase'ik'am gan*
 gwin-se'ik-a gan a ha-se'ik'a-m gan
 CAUS-pull-CN.DET wood OBL PL-pull-ATTR wood
 “Pull the tree with the log yarder (‘puller’).”
- (87) a. *yaa hang'a*
 ya-a hana'a
 go-CN.DET woman
 “The woman went.”
- b. *gwinyaa hana'a at k'aatga lguwoomlga wiihawtgit*
 gwin-ya-a hana'a at k'aat-ga lguwoomlga wiihawtgit
 CAUS-go-CN.DET woman PREP
 “The woman came over to pity the crying child.”
- (88) a. *t'aa lguwileeks*
 t'aa lguwileeks
 sit.down old.man
 “The man sat down (by the fire).”
- b. *gunt'aa lguwileeksda ndzooga aks*
 gwin-t'a-a lguwileeks-da n-dzoog-a aks
 CAUS-sit.down-CN.DET old.man-LOC POSS-edge-OBL water
 “The man sat down at the water’s edge.”
- (89) *gwinaliisgna gii k'ataanm wan*
 gwin-aliisgna gii k'ataan-m wan
 CAUS
 “Come close, brother-in-law deer.”
- This is also productive in Gitksan and Nisgha'a, where its use is normally obligatory when a locative is used with a motion verb:
- (90) a. *yee nit*
 yee nit
 go 3
 “He went.”
- b. *gunyee nit go'os John*
 kwin=yee nit ko'o=s John
 CAUS=go 3 LOC=PN.DET John
 “He went up to John.”
- c. **yee nit go'os John*
 yee nit ko'o=s John
 go 3 LOC=PN.DET John
- (91) *t'ahl gyet (laxts'ehl aks)*
 t'a=hl gyet lax-ts'ehl aks
 sit=CN.DET man GEO.LOC-edge water
 “The man sat down at the water’s edge.”

(92) *gunt'ahl* *gyet lax-ts'eehl* *aks*
 kwin-t'a=hl gyet lax-ts'eehl aks
 CAUS-sit=CN.DET man GEO.LOC-edge water
 “The man sat down close to the water’s edge.”

(93) *t'ahl* *gyet go'ohl* *lakw*
 t'a=hl gyet ko'o=hl lakw
 sit=CN.DET man LOC=CN.DET fire
 “The man sat by the fire.”

(94) *gunt'ahl* *gyet go'ohl* *lakw*
 kwin-t'a=hl gyet ko'o=hl lakw
 CAUS-sit=CN.DET man LOC=CN.DET fire
 “The man sat close to the fire.”

(95) *gunt'a* *niiy' go'ohl* *lakw*
 kwin-t'a niiy' ko'o=hl lakw
 CAUS-sit 1sg LOC=CN.DET fire
 “I sat down close to the fire.”

- As in Tsimshianic, Gerdts (2002) has noted for Salish that the directional applicative cannot attach to unaccusative verbs:

(96) Gitksan/Nisgha'a

a. *t'ugwantxwhl* *ts'ak'*
 t'ugwantxw=hl ts'ak'
 fall=CN.DET plate
 “The plate fell.” (adapted from Belvin 1997: 40)

b. **gunt'ugwantxwhl* *ts'ak'* *go'ohl* *lakw*
 kwin-t'ugwantxw=hl ts'ak' ko'o=hl lakw
 CAUS-fall=CN.DET plate LOC=CN.DET fire
 “The plate fell into the fire.”

5 Summary

- There are no dedicated ditransitives in the Tsimshianic languages: they are either derived
 - through causativization (and possibly applicativization), or
 - through the addition of another ‘argument’ into the clause, formally flagged by the all-purpose OBLIQUE *'as/'ahl*
- Considering that these two ways of forming ditransitives form syntactic minimal pairs, how do we know if a nominal flagged by *'as/'ahl* is an instrument or beneficiary?
 - Causatives are formally marked with causative morphology.
 - The formation of ditransitives is pragmatically determined.– they are regular transitive verbs that allow the interpretation of a dative-like element.
 - The OBLIQUE-marked argument of a causative must be volitional, while the OBLIQUE-marked argument of a ditransitive can either be volitional or non-volitional.

Outstanding questions/issues

- Many. The status of the Applicative, in particular the *-t* indexation of the oblique on verb, is still uncertain: what is the ultimate fate of the applicative?
- We would expect possible some systematic categorization of verbs with regards to the causative/applicative morphology (i.e. unaccusative vs. unergative verbs)
- Do the ditransitives that are derived from causatives form a class?
- Is there really any link between the causative constructions and ditransitives?

Abbreviations

CN.DET	common noun determiner	LOC	locative
PN.DET	proper noun determiner	GEO.LOC	fixed geographic location
CAUS	causative	APPL	applicative
PL	plural	TR	transitivizer
DEM	demonstrative	ATTR	attributive
INCEPT	inceptive	COMP	complementizer
FUT	future	POSS	possessive
OBL	oblique	PREP	preposition

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