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

Tyler Peterson (tylerrp@interchange.ubc.ca)
University Of British Columbia

Conference on Ditransitive Constructions
November 23-25, 2007; Max Planck Institute, Leipzig, Germany

1 Introduction

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

\[(1)\]

\[
\text{Ditransitives} \quad \leftrightarrow \quad \text{Causatives} \quad \leftrightarrow \quad \text{Applicatives}
\]

• 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 monoclusal, ditransitive-like construction:

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

(3) Gitksan

\[
gunsixpts’axwis \quad Billt \quad Claras’as \quad Gwen
\]

\[
gwin-si-xpts’axw-i-(t)=s \quad Bill=t \quad Claras’a=s \quad Gwen
\]

\[
\text{CAUS}-\text{CAUS}-\text{fear-TR-3=PN.DET} \quad \text{Bill=PN.DET} \quad \text{Clara OBL=PN.DET} \quad \text{Gwen}
\]

“Bill had Gwen frighten Clara.”

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

\[
\text{Eratzini} \quad \text{ché-ra-tara-s-∅-ti} \quad \text{Yuyani-ni} \quad \text{Adrianu-ni}
\]

\[
\text{Eratzini} \quad \text{fear-CAUS-CAUS-PERF-PRES-IND.3} \quad \text{Yuyani-OBL} \quad \text{Adrian-OBL}
\]

“Eratzin had Yuyani frighten Adrian.”

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

\[\text{Tsimshianic languages are spoken in northwestern British Columbia and consist of the four languages: S̱íłalgyax, Nisga’a, Gitksan (and Sgiux, which is extinct). Examples not cited are from fieldwork, and given in the Gitksan practical orthography (k = [q]; g = [q]; x = [χ]; j = [dz]). Special thanks to my Gitksan consultants Fern Weget (FW), Leiwa Weget (LW), Gwen Simms (GS); Holly Weget (HW); Sheila Campbell (SC), Barbara Harris (BH) and Doreen Jensen (DJ). This research was made possible from a grant from The Endangered Languages Documentation Program, SOAS. All errors are my own.}\]
bacu-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. gunogojis Mary-hl gest
      kwin-gots-∅-(t)=s Mary=hl ges-t
      CAUS-cut-TR-3-PN.DET Mary=CN.DET hair-3
      “Mary had her hair cut.”
   b. gunogotsdis Mary-hl gest ’as Lucy
      kwin-gots-t-∅-(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 S’ümalgígíx.
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. \( t’a=hl \) \( gyet \) (go’ohl) lakw
   sit.down=CN.DET man LOC=CN.DET fire
   “The man sat down (by the fire).”

b. gun\( t’a=hl \) \( gyet \) go’ohl lakw
   CAUS-sit.down=CN.DET man LOC=CN.DET fire
   “The man sat down close to the fire.”

(9) S’algyca

a. \( t’a-a \) lguwileeks
   sit.down-CN.DET old.man
   “The man sat down.”

b. gun\( t’a-a \) lguwileeks\( da \) ndzooga 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 S’algyca 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. \( \grave{a}s \)
   \( \grave{a}=s \)
   OBL=PN.DET
   “to/for PROPER NOUN.”
b. 'ahl
'ahl
OBL=CN.DET

"to/for COMMON NOUN."

(11) gi'namis Walter=hl smax (´as Bruce)
ko'nam-Ø-(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)
ko'nam-Ø-(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) loo'y, loon, loot, loom, loosim, loodiit
looy, loo-n, loo-t, loo-iin, loo-tit
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:

(14) a. mahldis James-hl andamaahlasxw 'as niiy
mahlt-Ø-(t)=s James=hl andamaahlasxw 'a=s niiy
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 andamaahlasxw loo'y
mahlt-Ø-(t)=s James=hl andamaahlasxw loo-y
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 OBLLIQUE '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
   Ḳ̓o’o=hl
   LOC=CN.DET
   “to/for COMMON NOUN.”

c. go’oŋ, go’on, go’ot, etc.
   Ḳ̓o-oɣ, Ḳ̓o-o’n, Ḳ̓o-o-t, etc.
   OBL-1sg, -2sg, -3sg, -3, etc.
   “to/for me, you, she/he/it etc.”

(16) gunyee ʔiɪiy  Ḳ̓o’os  John
   kwin=yee ʔiɪiy  Ḳ̓o’o=s  John
   CAUS=go 1sg LOC=PN.DET John
   “I walked up to John.”

(17) yee ʔiɪiy  Ḳ̓o’ohl  spagaytgan
    yee ʔiɪiy  Ḳ̓o’o=hl  spagaytgan
    go 1sg LOC=CN.DET forest
    “I walked to the forest.”

(18) yee ʔiɪiy  Ḳ̓o’oŋ
    yee ʔiɪiy  Ḳ̓o’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 ʔas or ahl:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>se-wat</th>
<th>‘X names Y (‘a Z)’</th>
<th>tawitszw</th>
<th>‘X brings Y (‘a Z)’</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ki’nam</td>
<td>‘X gives Y (‘a Z)’</td>
<td>kiikw</td>
<td>‘X buys Y (‘a Z)’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ginis</td>
<td>‘X provides Y (‘a Z)’</td>
<td>hets</td>
<td>‘X sends Y (‘a Z)’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kots</td>
<td>‘X cuts Y (‘a Z)’</td>
<td>halalt-in</td>
<td>‘X throws Y (‘a Z)’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ihlagan</td>
<td>‘X breaks Y (‘a Z)’</td>
<td>kwin-gya’at</td>
<td>‘X shows Y (‘a Z)’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wolt</td>
<td>‘X sells Y (‘a Z)’</td>
<td>sut</td>
<td>‘X fetched Y (‘a Z)’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wo’otxw</td>
<td>‘X offers/invites Y (‘a Z)’</td>
<td>wal</td>
<td>‘X carried Y (‘a Z)’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mahlt</td>
<td>‘X tells Y (‘a Z)’</td>
<td>t’is</td>
<td>‘X pushed Y (‘a Z)’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hlo’oxs</td>
<td>‘X kicked Y (‘a Z)’</td>
<td>lumakt</td>
<td>‘X donated Y (‘a Z)’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(19) siwatdihl  gytghl  ʔos  (ʔas  Sammy)
    si-wat-i-(t)=hl  gyt=hl  ʔos  (ʔas=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-ʔ-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  
'ginxtit) 

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  
'ginxtit) 

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: 

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  
'ginxtit) 

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-qan  'a=hl  
k’uba  tk’ihlxw 
brake-3-PN.DET  
John=CN.DET  
PL-wood  OBL=CN.DET  
little  child 

“John broke the sticks (for the little boy).” 

(26) wotdiyhl  
kartxwiy  ('as  
Bruce) 

wott-i-ŷ=hl  
kartxw-ŷ  'a=s  
Bruce 
sell-TR-1sg-CN.DET  
car-1sg  OBL=PN.DET  
Bruce 

“I sold my car (to Bruce).” 

(27) wo’otxwut  
Bill  'as  
John  'ahl  
smax 
wo’ot-lwx=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 me at.’) 

(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 cartxw-t ('a=s John)
    CAUS-see-T-TR-3=PN.DET Bill=CN.DET cart?-3 OBL=PN.DET John
    “Bill showed his car to John.”

(34) walis Tyler-hl dilhxw ('as Barbara)
    wal-i-(t)=s Tyler=hl dilhxw '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:
  a. si-'anaax CAUS-bread “to make bread.”
  b. si-hon CAUS-fish “to prepare fish.”
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. kuxw=hl kyuwatan
    kuxw=hl kyuwatan
    run=CN.DET horses
    “The horses ran away.”

b. kuxwin’ih=hl kyuwatan
    kuxw-’in-ÿ=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 Bill tGwen
    xsid-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-ә-(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-ә-(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) gunbahldiįh
    skana   loot
    kwin-pahl-t-i-ỹ=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) gun’tamdiįh
    letter   loos   Barbara
    kwin-t’am-t-i-ỹ=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:

\[(51)\]
\[
a. \ t’ugwantxw\ h \ ts’ak’ \\
\quad \text{t’ugwantxw=hl ts’ak’} \\
\quad \text{fall=CN.DET plate} \\
\quad \text{“The plate fell.” (adapted from Belvin 1997: 40)}
\]
\[
b. \ *\text{gun-}t’ugwantxwis \ Gwenh\ ts’ak’ \\
\quad \text{kwin-‘t’ugwantxw-i-t=s Gwen=hl ts’ak’} \\
\quad \text{CAUS-fall-TR-3=PN.DET G.=CN.DET plate} \\
\quad \text{“Gwen had the plate fall.”}
\]

• 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:

\[(52)\]
\[
a. \ kojis \ Mary=hl \ gest \\
\quad \text{kots-i-(t)=s Mary=hl ges-t} \\
\quad \text{cut-TR-3-PN.DET Mary=CN.DET hair-3} \\
\quad \text{“Mary cut her hair.”}
\]
\[
b. \ gun-kojis \ Mary=hl \ gest \\
\quad \text{kwin-kots-i-(t)=s Mary=hl ges-t} \\
\quad \text{CAUS-cut-TR-3-PN.DET Mary=CN.DET hair-3} \\
\quad \text{“Mary had her hair cut.”}
\]

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

\[(53)\]
\[
gun-kojis \ Mary=hl \ gest \ (’as \ Walter=hl) \\
\quad \text{kwin-kots-i-(t)=s Mary=hl ges-t ʼa=s Barbara} \\
\quad \text{CAUS-cut-TR-3-PN.DET Mary=CN.DET hair-3 OBL-PN.DET Barbara} \\
\quad \text{“Mary had her hair cut by Barbara.”}
\]
\[
\quad \text{“Mary had Barbara cut her hair.”}
\]

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

\[(54)\]
\[
kojis \ Tom=hl \ smax \ (’ahl t’uuts’xw) \\
\quad \text{kots-i-(t)=s Tom=hl smax ʼa=hl t’uuts’xw} \\
\quad \text{cut-TR-3-PN.DET Tom=CN.DET meat OBL=CN.DET knife} \\
\quad \text{“Tom cut the meat (with a knife).”}
\]
\[
hejis \ Walter=hl \ daala \ (’as \ Bruce) \\
\quad \text{hets-i-(t)=s Walter=hl daala ʼas Bruce} \\
\quad \text{send-TR-3-PN.DET Walter=CN.DET money OBL=PN.DET Bruce} \\
\quad \text{“Walter sent money to Bruce.”}
\]
What distinguishes these? The volitionality of the causee:

(56) *gungojis Mary=hl gest (’ahl t’uuts’xw)
      kwin-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)
   kwin-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 kwin- which introduces an external causer:

(58) gwin-si-wilaa-in-t=s Bill=hl Gitksan-imx ’as Gwen
    gwin-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
    kwin-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-o-(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-ô-(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.

(61) Sinalgyax

gwinsiyelk nagats’ooxs dp awaan
gwin-si-yelk 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. bacu¨e-bo-n cachita-∅ cachina-∅ pe-m-e-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 ʔi=kay-pe pu:ro tzu?ch+i pu’tz+aʔ
this 3.ERG=eat-INCL.T only meat rotten
“This one (the buzzard) only eats rotten meat.”
b. tan=ta:k-kay-u ja” chipin+tzü:p²+i
1.ERG=CAUS-eat-COMI 3.ANIM edible.green
“I made her eat chipile (type of edible green).”

Consultants 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-∅-ti tsíri-ni yuyani grind-PERF-PRES-IND.3 corn-OBL
       “Yuyani ground the corn.”
    b. valeria urhu-ra-s-∅-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-∅-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-∅-ti yuyani-ni valeria-ni
    adrianu 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; Shibatani & Pardeshi 2002: 116).

(67) Yidiny (Dixon 1977: 293-322)
    a. bimbi:ng nganyany wudingalnyu (CAUSATIVE)
       father.ERG 1.ABS bring.up.ingal.past
       “Father brought me up.”
    b. wagudanggu wagal nyina:ngal (COMITATIVE)
       man.ERG woman.ABS sit.ingal
       “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.ingal 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.”
Bella Coola (Saunders & Davis 1982)

a. tx-is ʔaleks ti-qlswtx (Transitive)
cut-he/it Alex ...-rope...

“Alex cut the rope.”

b. tx-a-O ʔaleks x-ti-glswx (Antipassive)
cut-INTR-he Alex PREP-...-rope...

“Alex cut at the rope.”

c. tx-a-tus ʔaleks mat x-ti-glswx

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. umug`ore a-ra-andik-iish-a îtrebar`uwa îtrekar`amu
woman she-PRES-write-INST-ASP letter pen

“The woman is writing a letter with a pen.”

b. umuw`al`umu a-ra-som-ee-sh-a ab`anyeeshu`iri ibitabo
teacher he-PRES-read-CAUS-ASP students books

“The teacher is making the students read books.”

(71) Olutec (Zavala 2002: 249)

a. ʔ=etz-pa=k 3.abs=dance-INCL.T=ANIM that woman

“That woman is dancing.”

b. ʔ=küj=etz-ü-pa 3.abs=APPL-dance-INV-INCL.1 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-INCL.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” nehm  kwôs swiislas
AUX go DET boy

“The boy went.”

b. ni” no”enm-nas-os  kwôs John
AUX go-APPL:TR-3.ERG DET boy

“He went up to John.”

• A similar pattern in Olutec: when the morpheme m`i:- precedes motion verbs a causative/locative
  reading emerges:
Olutec (Zavala 2002: 247)

a. je²+mü: tax=mü:-mi:n²-a²n-ek
   there 1.LOCAL=APPL-come-IRR-LOC
   “You are going to bring me there.”

b. je²+mü:=ak tax=mü:-nax-e
   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 S̱alkálxw.
  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:

Nisgha’a

(75) a. gungojis  Mary-hl  ges
tkwin-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 ges  ‘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
“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 a indirect object or circumstantial complement.

- However, in Gitksan this -t suffix is either unproductive, or grammaticalized to the verb. Some potential candidates:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Word</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>wat</td>
<td>‘X name Y (’a Z)’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ki’nam</td>
<td>‘X gives Y (’a Z)’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ginis</td>
<td>‘X provides Y (’a Z)’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kots</td>
<td>‘X cuts Y (’a Z)’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ihlagan</td>
<td>‘X breaks Y (’a Z)’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wott</td>
<td>‘X sells Y (’a Z)’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wo’otxw</td>
<td>‘X offers/invites Y (’a Z)’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mahlt</td>
<td>‘X tells Y (’a Z)’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hla’ozs</td>
<td>‘X kicked Y (’a Z)’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Word</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>tawitszw</td>
<td>‘X brings Y (’a Z)’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kiikw</td>
<td>‘X buys Y (’a Z)’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hets</td>
<td>‘X sends Y (’a Z)’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>halal-t-in</td>
<td>‘X throws Y (’a Z)’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kwin-gya’at</td>
<td>‘X shows Y (’a Z)’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>su-t</td>
<td>‘X fetched Y (’a Z)’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wal</td>
<td>‘X carried Y (’a Z)’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>t’is</td>
<td>‘X pushed Y (’a Z)’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lumak-t</td>
<td>‘X donated Y (’a Z)’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
• Although -t may be plausibly isolated, minimal pair constructions lacking -t are ungrammatical:

(76) Gitksan

a. siwatdihl   gyethl   ’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   gyethl   ’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. wotdį’hl   kartzwyį  (’as  Bruce)
wot-t-i-į=hl   kartzwx-į  ’a=s  Bruce
sell-t-TR-1sg-CN.DET  car-1sg  OBL=PN.DET  Bruce
“I sold my car (to Bruce).”

b. *wodiį’hl   kartzwyį
wot-i-į=hl   kartzwx-į
sell-TR-1sg-CN.DET  car-1sg
“I sold my car.”

(78) a. lumakdį’s   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. *lumagį’s   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. ?halalhl   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:
“Mark told his sister that he would leave to go to the coast.” (Rigsby 1986: 324)

“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’:

4.2.2.2 The Directional Applicative

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

(80) a. mahlis Mark 'ahl gimxtit dim wil saa daa'whlt
mahlt-i-(t)=s Mark 'a=hl gimxt-t tim wil saa taa'whlt-t
tell-t-TR-3-PN.DET Mark OBL=CN.DET sister-3 FUT COMP away leave-3
go'ohl lagmo'on
\[ k'u'=hl \] lax-mu'n
LOC=CN.DET coast

“Mark told his sister that he would leave to go to the coast.”

b. mahlis Mark dim wil saa daa'whlt go'ohl lagmo'on
mahlt-i-(t)=s Mark tim wil saa taa'whlt-t \[ k'u'=hl \] lax-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) Sinalgyax

\textbf{gwinsiylk nagats'ooxs dp awaan}
gwin-si-ylk na-ga-ts'ooxs dp awaan
\textbf{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
\textbf{CAUS-short}

“to get close to, to be close by.”

b. la sm gwindaalpga dm sabaa suwilaawksa
la sim gwin-daalpk-a dm sabaa su-wilaawksa
\textbf{INCEPT 1pl CAUS-short-CN.DET FUT finish CAUS-learn}

“We’re near the end of school.”

(83) a. la tsint dzon ada gwishalaayda hoyt wil tgumiilkda
la tsin-t dzon ada gwis-halaayt-a hoy-t wil tgumiilk-da
\textbf{INCEPT enter-3 John and blanket-shaman-CN.DET use-3 COMP ?=CN.DET}
wil \textbf{sgüüis wilyam}
wil \textbf{sgüüis=s wilyam}
\textbf{COMP lie.down=PN.DET William}

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

b. ’ap smgwin.sgüüa nakwduun ŋlak
’ap sm-gwin-sgüü-a nakwduun ŋlak
\textbf{very-CAUS-lie.down DEM fireplace}.

“He laid really close to the fireplace.”

(84) gwinse’ika ha’lit’aa da awaayu
\textbf{CAUS-pull-CN.DET chair LOC ?-1sg}

“Pull the chair towards me.”
“Pull the chair towards you.”

“Pull the tree with the log yarder (‘puller’).”

“The woman went.”

“The woman came over to pity the crying child.”

“The man sat down (by the fire).”

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

“This is also productive in Gitksan and Nisg̱a’a, where its use is normally obligatory when a locative is used with a motion verb:

“He went.”

“He went up to John.”

“The man sat down at the water’s edge.”
The man sat down close to the water’s edge.

The man sat by the fire.

The man sat close to the fire.

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

The plate fell.

The plate fell into the fire.

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Abbreviation</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>CN.DET</td>
<td>common noun determiner</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PN.DET</td>
<td>proper noun determiner</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CAUS</td>
<td>causative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PL</td>
<td>plural</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DEM</td>
<td>demonstrative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>INCEPT</td>
<td>inceptive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FUT</td>
<td>future</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>OBL</td>
<td>oblique</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LOC</td>
<td>locative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GEO.LOC</td>
<td>fixed geographic location</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>APPL</td>
<td>applicative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TR</td>
<td>transitivizer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ATTR</td>
<td>attributive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>COMP</td>
<td>complementizer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>POSS</td>
<td>possessive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PREP</td>
<td>preposition</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

References


Yap, F.H. 1996. “Causative and benefactive ‘give’ constructions in Malay, Thai, and Chinese” Unpublished ms., UCLA

*Tyler Peterson*

*Department of Linguistics, University of British Columbia*

*1866 Main Mall, Buchanan E270*

*Vancouver, British Columbia V6T 1Z1*

*Canada*