1 Introduction

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

(1)

\[
\text{Ditransitives} \quad \rightarrow \quad \text{CAUSATIVES} \quad \downarrow \quad \text{APPLICATIVES}
\]

- 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 monoclausal, ditransitive-like construction:

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

(3) Gitksan

\[
\begin{align*}
gunsi\text{-xpts'axwis} & \quad \text{Bill} \quad \text{Clara} \quad \text{Gwen} \\
g\text{win-si-xpts'axw-i-(t)=s} & \quad \text{Bill}=t \quad \text{Clara} \quad \text{a}=s \quad \text{Gwen} \\
\text{CAUS-CAUS-fear-TR-3=PN.DET} & \quad \text{Bill}=\text{PN.DET} \quad \text{Clara OBL=PN.DET} \quad \text{Gwen}
\end{align*}
\]

“Bill had Gwen frighten Clara.”

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

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Eratzini} \quad \text{ché-ra-tara-s-Ø-ti} & \quad \text{Yuyani-ni} \quad \text{Adrianu-ni} \\
\text{Eratzini} \quad \text{fear-CAUS-CAUS-PERF-PRES.IND.3} & \quad \text{Yuyani-OBL} \quad \text{Adrian-OBL}
\end{align*}
\]

“Eratzini had Yuyani frighten Adrian.”

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1Tsimshianic languages are spoken in northwestern British Columbia and consist of the four languages: Siłalgyax, Nisg̱a’a, Gitksan (and Sgiitx̱s, which is extinct). Examples not cited are from fieldwork, and given in the Gitksan practical orthography (k = [q]; ł = [g]; x̌ = [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, awarded to Tyler Peterson and John Wynne. All errors are my own.
Matses (Panoan, Amazonian Peru; Fleck 2002: 380)

bacuê-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’oxisis*    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’oxisis*    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-ø-(t)=s    Mary=hl    ges-t
      CAUS-cut-TR-3-PN.DET    Mary=CN.DET    hair-3
   “Mary had her hair cut.”
b. *gun'gotsdis*  
Mary-\text{hl}  
gest  
*'as Lucy*  
\text{kwin-}kots-t-\text{a}\text{-}(t)=s  
Mary=\text{hl}  
\text{ges-t}  
*'a=s Lucy*  
\text{CAUS-cut-APPL-TR-3-PN.DET}  
Mary=\text{CN.DET}  
\text{hair-3 OBL=PN.DET}  

“Mary had her hair cut by Lucy.”  
“Mary had Lucy cut her hair.” \(^{(\text{Adapted from Tarpent 1987: 652})\}}\)

– 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\'malgya*.

### 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  
ko’o=hl lakw  
sit.down=\text{CN.DET} man \ LOC=\text{CN.DET} fire  

“The man sat down (by the fire).”

b. *gun't'ahl*  
gyet  
\text{go’ohl lakw}  
\text{kwin-}t’a=hl  
gyet  
ko’o=hl lakw  
\text{CAUS-sit.down=CN.DET} man \ LOC=\text{CN.DET} fire  

“The man sat down close to the fire.”

(9) *S\'malgya*

a. *t'aa*  
lguwileeks  
t’a-a  
lguwileeks  
sit.down-\text{CN.DET} old.man  

“The man sat down.”

b. *gun-t’aa*  
lguwileeks*da*  
dnzooga aks  
\text{kwin-t’a-a}  
lguwileeks*da*  
n-dzoog-a aks  
\text{CAUS-sit.down-\text{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\'malgya* requires *kwin-*; and that locative is instead marked with the \text{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 \((\text{Rigsby 1986: 421})\).
• 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)
    ko’nam-3(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-3(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, loon’h, loo’sim, loodii’t
    loo-y, loo-n, loo-t, loo-sim, 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:

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

2 However, 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. mahldis James-hl andamaahlasxw loo'y
mahlt-ω(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 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'o's
\[\text{k}o'o=s\]
LOC=PN.DET
“to/for PROPER NOUN.”

b. go'o'hl
\[\text{k}o'o=hl\]
LOC=CN.DET
“to/for COMMON NOUN.”

c. go'o'y, go'o'n, go'o't, etc.
\[\text{k}o'o'y, \text{go'o-n, go'o-t, etc.}\]
OBL-1sg, ...-2sg, ...-3, etc.
“to/for me, you, she/he/it etc.”

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

(17) yee niiy go'o'hl spagaytgan
yee niiy k'o'o=hl spagaytgan
go 1sg LOC=CN.DET forest
“I walked to the forest.”

(18) yee niiy go'o'y
yee niiy k'o'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:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verb</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
<th>Example</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><code>se-wat</code></td>
<td>X names Y ('a Z)'</td>
<td><code>tawitsxw</code> X brings Y ('a Z)'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><code>ki'nam</code></td>
<td>X gives Y ('a Z)'</td>
<td><code>kiikw</code> X buys Y ('a Z)'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><code>ginis</code></td>
<td>X provides Y ('a Z)'</td>
<td><code>hets</code> X sends Y ('a Z)'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><code>kots</code></td>
<td>X cuts Y ('a Z)'</td>
<td><code>halalt-in</code> X throws Y ('a Z)'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><code>ihlagan</code></td>
<td>X breaks Y ('a Z)'</td>
<td><code>kwin-gya'at</code> X shows Y ('a Z)'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><code>wo'otxw</code></td>
<td>X offers/invites Y ('a Z)'</td>
<td><code>tawt</code> X fetched Y ('a Z)'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><code>mahlt</code></td>
<td>X tells Y ('a Z)'</td>
<td><code>t's</code> X pushed Y ('a Z)'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><code>hlo'oxs</code></td>
<td>X kicked Y ('a Z)'</td>
<td><code>lumak</code> X donated Y ('a Z)'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(19) `siwatdihl` gyethl '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 wíneex ('ahl gimxtit)
`gin-i-(t)=s` Mark=hl wíneex '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'uwts'xw)
`kots-i-(t)=s` Tom=hl smax ('a=hl t'uwts'xw)
cut-TR-3=PN.DET Tom=CN.DET meat OBL=CN.DET knife
“Tom cut the meat (with a knife).”
b. **køjis**  
\(\text{Tom}=\text{hl} \quad \text{smax} \quad (\text{‘ahl} \quad \text{gimxtit})\)

\(\text{kōts}-\text{t}=\text{s} \quad \text{Tom}=\text{hl} \quad \text{smax} \quad (\text{‘a}=\text{hl} \quad \text{kimxt}=\text{t})\)

\(\text{cut-TR}=\text{PN}.\text{DET} \quad \text{Tom}=\text{CN}.\text{DET} \quad \text{meat} \quad \text{OBL}=\text{CN}.\text{DET} \quad \text{sister}=\text{3}\)

“Tom cut the meat (for his sister).”

(25) **ihlagans**  
\(\text{John}=\text{hl} \quad \text{gu-gan} \quad (\text{‘ahl} \quad \text{k’uba} \quad \text{tk’ihlxw})\)

\(\text{ihlagan}=\text{t}=\text{s} \quad \text{John}=\text{hl} \quad \text{ku-gan} \quad (\text{‘a}=\text{hl} \quad \text{k’uba} \quad \text{tk’ihlxw})\)

\(\text{break-3}=\text{PN}.\text{DET} \quad \text{John}=\text{CN}.\text{DET} \quad \text{pl-wood} \quad \text{OBL}=\text{CN}.\text{DET} \quad \text{little} \quad \text{child}\)

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

(26) **wortdjhil**  
\(\text{kartxwij}=\text{t} \quad (\text{‘as} \quad \text{Bruce})\)

\(\text{wott}-\text{t}=\text{yl} \quad \text{kartxw}=\text{t} \quad \text{‘a}=\text{s} \quad \text{Bruce}\)

\(\text{sell-TR-1sg}=\text{CN}.\text{DET} \quad \text{car-1sg} \quad \text{OBL}=\text{PN}.\text{DET} \quad \text{Bruce}\)

“I sold my car (to Bruce).”

(27) **wo’otxwt**  
\(\text{Bill}=\text{t} \quad \text{‘as} \quad \text{John} \quad \text{‘ahl} \quad \text{smax}\)

\(\text{wo’otxw}=\text{t} \quad \text{Bill}=\text{t} \quad \text{‘a}=\text{s} \quad \text{John} \quad \text{‘ahl} \quad \text{smax}\)

\(\text{invite/offer-ANTIPASS}=\text{DET} \quad \text{Bill} \quad \text{OBL}=\text{DET} \quad \text{John} \quad \text{OBL}=\text{DET} \quad \text{meat}\)

“Bill offered to John meat.” (lit.: ‘Bill invites at Bill to meat.’)

(28) **mahldis**  
\(\text{James}=\text{hl} \quad \text{andamaahlasxw} \quad (\text{‘as} \quad \text{Tony})\)

\(\text{mahlt}=\text{t}=\text{s} \quad \text{James}=\text{hl} \quad \text{andamaahlasxw} \quad \text{‘a}=\text{s} \quad \text{Tony}\)

\(\text{tell-TR}=\text{PN}.\text{DET} \quad \text{James}=\text{CN}.\text{DET} \quad \text{traditional}.\text{story} \quad \text{OBL}=\text{PN}.\text{DET} \quad \text{Tony}\)

“James told a (traditional) story to Tony.”

(29) **dawitsxwis**  
\(\text{Tyler}=\text{hl} \quad \text{aks} \quad (\text{‘as} \quad \text{Barbara})\)

\(\text{tawits}=\text{xw}=\text{t} \quad \text{Tyler}=\text{hl} \quad \text{aks} \quad \text{‘a}=\text{s} \quad \text{Barbara}\)

\(\text{bring-TR}=\text{PN}.\text{DET} \quad \text{Tyler}=\text{CN}.\text{DET} \quad \text{water} \quad \text{OBL}=\text{PN}.\text{DET} \quad \text{Barbara}\)

“Tyler brought water to Barbara.”

(30) **giigwis**  
\(\text{Tyler}=\text{hl} \quad \text{wilp} \quad (\text{‘as} \quad \text{Barbara})\)

\(\text{kiik}=\text{wilp}=\text{t} \quad \text{Tyler}=\text{hl} \quad \text{wilp} \quad \text{‘a}=\text{s} \quad \text{Barbara}\)

\(\text{buy-TR}=\text{DET} \quad \text{Tyler}=\text{DET} \quad \text{house} \quad \text{OBL}=\text{DET} \quad \text{Barbara}\)

“Tyler bought a house for Barbara.”

(31) **hejis**  
\(\text{Walter}=\text{hl} \quad \text{daala} \quad (\text{‘as} \quad \text{Bruce})\)

\(\text{hets}=\text{t}=\text{s} \quad \text{Walter}=\text{hl} \quad \text{daala} \quad \text{‘a}=\text{s} \quad \text{Bruce}\)

\(\text{send-TR}=\text{DET} \quad \text{Walter}=\text{DET} \quad \text{money} \quad \text{OBL}=\text{DET} \quad \text{Bruce}\)

“Walter sent money to Bruce.”

(32) **halaldins**  
\(\text{Tyler}=\text{hl} \quad \text{hlit} \quad (\text{‘as} \quad \text{Barbara})\)

\(\text{halalt}=\text{t}=\text{s} \quad \text{Tyler}=\text{hl} \quad \text{hlit} \quad \text{‘a}=\text{s} \quad \text{Barbara}\)

\(\text{throw-CAUS-TR}=\text{PN}.\text{DET} \quad \text{Tyler}=\text{CN}.\text{DET} \quad \text{ball} \quad \text{OBL}=\text{PN}.\text{DET} \quad \text{Barbara}\)

“Tyler threw the ball to Barbara.”

(33) **gungya’adis**  
\(\text{Bill}=\text{hl} \quad \text{kartxw} \quad (\text{‘as} \quad \text{John})\)

\(\text{kwin}=\text{gya’i-t}=\text{s} \quad \text{Bill}=\text{hl} \quad \text{car-txw}=\text{t} \quad (\text{‘a}=\text{s} \quad \text{John})\)

\(\text{CAUS-SEE-T}=\text{TR}=\text{PN}.\text{DET} \quad \text{Bill}=\text{CN}.\text{DET} \quad \text{car}-\text{?}=\text{3} \quad \text{OBL}=\text{PN}.\text{DET} \quad \text{John}\)

“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)
    lumak-t-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 one's 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-o-(t)=s  Gwen
        CAUS-anger=PN.DET  Gwen
        “Clara made Gwen angry.”
(39) Simalgyax

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 sī-na’ōxs-a-(t)=s n-dzi’its-n
PROG CAUS-dress-TR-3=PN.DET POSS-grandmother-2sg
“Your grandmother is dressmaking.”

(41) yagwa sits’ooxsaqama’asu
yagwa sī-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. kuxwin’hl kyuwatan
kuxw-’in-y’=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-ā-(t)=s Gwen=hl haaks
use-TR-3=PN.DET Gwen=CN.DET bucket
“Gwen used a bucket.”
b. _hooyints_  
Clara=hl  ha’aks ‘a= Gwen

hooy-‘ín-t=s  ha’aks ‘a=s  Gwen

“Clara made Gwen use a bucket.”

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

(45) _sudis_  
Clara=hl  ha’aks ‘a= Gwen

sud-is  Clara=hl  ha’aks ‘a= 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-a-(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 ‘a= Lucy

kwin-kots-t-i-(t)=s  Mary=hl  ges-t ‘a= 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 ‘a= Tyler

kwin-wo’otxw-i-(t)=t  Bill-t  John ‘a= 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-‘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’amdiyhl_  
letter  loos  Barbara

kwin-t’am-t-i-‘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)
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’axus  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  hlktk’ihlkw  'as  Mary
kwin-hooy-in-(t)=s  Bill=hl  k’utaats’=hl  hlktk’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-∅ (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-∅ (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

gwinskiyelk 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-∅ cachina-∅ pe-o-sh
caiman-ERG chicken-ABS eat-PAST-3
“The caiman ate the chicken.”

b. bacuë-bo-∅ 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.”

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

Olutec (Zavala 2002: 246)

a. ya?ay i=kay-pe pu:ro tzu?ch+i pu?tz+i aj
   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=p+i
   1.ERG=CAUS-eat-COMI 3.ANIM edible.green
   “I made her eat chipile (type of edible green).”

Tarascan (Maldonado & Nava 2002: 168)

a. yuyani urhu-s∅-ti tsirí-ni
   yuyani grind-PERF-PRES-IND.3 corn-OBL
   “Yuyani ground the corn.”

b. valeria urhu-ra-s∅-ti tsirí-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; Shibatabi & Pardeshi 2002: 116).

Yidiny (Dixon 1977: 293-322)

a. bimbì: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-gls[w]-tx (TRANSITIVE)
   cut-he/it Alex ...-rope-...
   “Alex cut the rope.”

b. tx-a-∅ ?aleks x-ti-gls[w]-tx (ANTIPASSIVE)
   cut-INTR-he Alex PREP-...-rope-...
   “Alex cut at the rope.”

c. tx-a-tus ?aleks mat x-ti-gls[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. umugöré a-ra-andik-iish-a íbarúwa ńkarárnu
   woman she-PRES-write-INST-ASP letter pen
   “The woman is writing a letter with a pen.”

b. umwálámú a-ra-som-eesh-a abányéeshwúri 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 \( je^2 \) majaw
   3.ABS=dance-INCL.T=ANIM that woman
   “That woman is dancing.”

b. \( \emptyset \)=kjuj-etz-ü-pa \( ja^2 \) \( je^2 \) majaw
   3.ABS=APPL-dance-INV-INCL.1 3.ANIM that woman
   “He is making that woman dance.”

(72) a. \( k\text{-}a:\neq n\text{-}k\text{x}e\)\- tax=kay-i \( \text{pak} \)
   NEG=when 1.ERG=eat-INCD bone
   “I never eat bone.” (Zavala 2002: 249)

b. fri:to \( \text{tan=tom}o\text{-}kay\text{-}pe=k \) \( \text{pro:we-nak} \)
   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 the applicative, or the ‘directional applicative’:

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

a. \( ni^? \) ne\m k\text{w}θa swi\text{w}kos
   AUX go DET boy
   “The boy went.”

b. \( ni^? \) na\text{-}em\text{-}nas-\text{os} \( k\text{w}θa \) John
   AUX go-APPL:TR-3.ERG DET boy
   “He went up to John.”

- A similar pattern in Olutec: when the morpheme \( m\text{ü}:-\) precedes motion verbs a causative/locative reading emerges:

(74) Olutec (Zavala 2002: 247)

a. \( je^2+m\text{ü}: \) tax=m\text{ü}:-mi:n \( -a^2n\text{-}ek \)
   there 1.LOCAL=APPL-come-IRRD-INV.LOCAL
   “You are going to bring me there.”

b. \( je^2+m\text{ü}:=ak \) tax=m\text{ü}:=nax-e \( ?a\text{lak}wre\text{-}pa?t\text{-}pi \)
   there=ANIM 1.LOCAL=APPL-cross-INCD 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 Nisg̱áa’a, its grammaticalize counterpart in Gitksan and its loss in Smalgyax.
  2. The ‘directional’ use of causative *\( k\text{w}i:\)n- 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

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{a. } & \text{gungojis} & \text{Mary-hl} & \text{gest} \\
& \text{kwin-kots-i-(t)=s} & \text{Mary=hl} & \text{ges-t} \\
& \text{CAUS-cut-TR-3-PN.DET} & \text{Mary=CN.DET} & \text{hair-3} \\
& \text{“Mary had her hair cut.”}
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{b. } & \text{gungotdsdis} & \text{Mary-hl} & \text{gest} & \text{’as Lucy} \\
& \text{kwin-kots-t-i-(t)=s} & \text{Mary=hl} & \text{ges-t} & \text{’a=s Lucy} \\
& \text{CAUS-cut-APPL-TR-3-PN.DET} & \text{Mary=CN.DET} & \text{hair-3} & \text{OBL=PN.DET} \\
& \text{“Mary had her hair cut by Lucy.”} \\
& \text{“Mary had Lucy cut her hair.” (Adapted from Tarpent 1987: 652)}
\end{align*}
\]

- 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:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>wat</th>
<th>wa-t</th>
<th>‘X name Y (’a Z)’</th>
<th>towitsxw</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>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ginis</td>
<td>‘X provides Y (’a Z)’</td>
<td>hets</td>
<td>‘X sends Y (’a Z)’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kots</td>
<td>‘X cuts Y (’a Z)’</td>
<td>halalt-in</td>
<td>halal-t-in</td>
<td>‘X throws Y (’a Z)’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ihlagan</td>
<td>ihlag-in</td>
<td>‘X breaks Y (’a Z)’</td>
<td>kwin-gya’at</td>
<td>‘X shows Y (’a Z)’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wott</td>
<td>wot-t</td>
<td>‘X sells Y (’a Z)’</td>
<td>sut</td>
<td>‘X fetched Y (’a Z)’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wo’otzw</td>
<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>mahl-t</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>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

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{a. } & \text{siwatdihl} & \text{gyethl} & \text{’os} & \text{’a=hl Sammy} \\
& \text{si-wat-t-i-(t)=hl} & \text{gyet=hl} & \text{’os} & \text{’a=hl Sammy} \\
& \text{CAUS-name-t-TR-3-CN.DET} & \text{man=CN.DET} & \text{dog} & \text{OBL=CN.DET Sammy} \\
& \text{“The man named his dog Sammy.”}
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{b. } & \text{*siwadihl} & \text{gyethl} & \text{’os} \\
& \text{si-wat-i-(t)=hl} & \text{gyet=hl} & \text{’os} \\
& \text{CAUS-name-TR-3-CN.DET} & \text{man=CN.DET} & \text{dog} \\
& \text{“The man named his dog.”}
\end{align*}
\]
(77) a.  *woti’hl  kartwx’y  (’as Bruce)
wot-t-i-ŷ=hl kartwx-ŷ ’a=s Bruce
sell-t-TR-1sg-CN.DET car-1sg OBL=PN.DET Bruce
“I sold my car (to Bruce).”
b.  *woti’hl  kartwx’y
wot-i-ŷ=hl kartwx-ŷ
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 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.  halaldis  Tyler=hl  hlit (’as Barbara)
halal-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.”

• 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.  mahldis  Mark  ’ahl  gimxtit  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  lagmo’on
ku’=hl  lax-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  lagmo’on
mahl-i-(t)=s Mark tim wil saa taa’whl-t ku’=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

\[
\begin{align*}
g\text{winisiyelk} & \quad \text{nagats’ooxs} \quad \text{dp} \quad \text{awaan} \\
g\text{win-si-yelk} & \quad \text{na-ga-ts’ooxs} \quad \text{dp} \quad \text{awaan} \\
\text{CAUS-CAUS-polish} & \quad \text{POSS-PL-shoe} \quad \text{DET:PL} \quad \text{people} \\
\end{align*}
\]

“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*

\[
g\text{win-daalpk} \quad \text{CAUS-short} \\
\text{“to get close to, to be close by.”}
\]

b. *la*  *sm*  *gwindalpga*  *dm*  *sabaa*  *suwilaawksa*

\[
l\text{a} \quad \text{sm} \quad \text{gwin-daalpk-a} \quad \text{dm} \quad \text{sabaa} \quad \text{su-wilaawksa} \\
\text{INCEPT} \quad \text{1pl} \quad \text{CAUS-short-CN.DET} \quad \text{FUT} \quad \text{finish} \quad \text{CAUS-learn} \\
\text{“We’re near the end of school.”}
\]

(83)

a. *la*  *tsiint*  *dzon*  *ada*  *gwishalaayda*  *hoyt*  *wil*  *tgumiilkda*

\[
l\text{a} \quad \text{tsiin-t} \quad \text{dzon} \quad \text{ada} \quad \text{gwis-halaayt-a} \quad \text{hoy-t} \quad \text{wil} \quad \text{tgumiilk-da} \\
\text{INCEPT} \quad \text{enter-3} \quad \text{John and blanket-shaman-CN.DET} \quad \text{use-3} \quad \text{COMP} \quad \text{?=CN.DET} \\
\text{wil} \quad \text{sgüüs} \quad \text{wilyam} \\
\text{wil} \quad \text{sgüü=s} \quad \text{wilyam} \\
\text{COMP} \quad \text{lie.down=}\text{PN.DET} \quad \text{William} \\
\text{“John came in wearing a shaman’s blanket and danced around William who was lying down.”}
\]

b. ‘*ap*  *smgwinsgüüa*  *nakwduun*  *iłak*

\[
’\text{ap} \quad \text{sm-gwin-sgüü-a} \quad \text{nakwduun} \quad \text{iłak} \\
\text{?=very-CAUS-lie.down} \quad \text{DEM} \quad \text{fireplace.} \\
\text{“He laid really close to the fireplace.”}
\]

(84) *gwinse’ika*  *ha’lit’aa*  *da*  *awaayu*

\[
g\text{win-se’ik-a} \quad \text{ha’lit’aa} \quad \text{da} \quad \text{awaay-u} \\
\text{CAUS-pull-CN.DET} \quad \text{chair} \quad \text{LOC} \quad \text{?-1sg} \\
\text{“Pull the chair towards me.”}
\]

(85) *gwinspilla*  *ha’lit’aa*  *da*  *awaan*

\[
g\text{win-spilla} \quad \text{ha’lit’aa} \quad \text{da} \quad \text{awaan} \\
\text{CAUS-pull-CN.DET} \quad \text{chair} \quad \text{LOC} \quad \text{?-2sg} \\
\text{“Pull the chair towards you.”}
\]

(86) *gwinse’ika*  *gan*  *a*  *hase’ik’am*  *gan*

\[
g\text{win-se’ik-a} \quad \text{gan} \quad \text{a} \quad \text{ha-se’ik’a-m} \quad \text{gan} \\
\text{CAUS-pull-CN.DET} \quad \text{wood} \quad \text{OBL} \quad \text{PL-pull-ATTR} \quad \text{wood} \\
\text{“Pull the tree with the log yarder (‘puller’).”}
\]
”The woman went.”

b. \textit{gwinyaa} \textit{hana}'a at \textit{k'aatga} lguwoom\textit{la} wihi\textit{t}g\textit{it}
\textit{gwin-ya-a} \textit{hana}'a at \textit{k'aat-ga} lguwoom\textit{la} wihi\textit{t}g\textit{it}
\textit{CAUS-go-CN.DET} \textit{woman} \textit{PREP}

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

(88) a. \textit{t'aa} lguwileeks
\textit{t'aa} lguwileeks
\textit{sit.down} \textit{old.man}

”The man sat down (by the fire).”

b. \textit{gunt'aa} lguwileeks\textit{da} ndzooga \textit{aks}
\textit{gwin-t'a-a} lguwileeks\textit{da} n-dzoog-a \textit{aks}
\textit{CAUS-sit.down-CN.DET} \textit{old.man-LOC} \textit{POSS-edge-OBL} \textit{water}

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

(89) \textit{gwinaliisgna} gii \textit{k'alaanm} \textit{wan}
\textit{gwin-aliisgna} gii \textit{k'alaan-m} \textit{wan}
\textit{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. \textit{yee} \textit{nit}
\textit{yee} \textit{nit}
\textit{go} 3

”He went.”

b. \textit{gunyee} \textit{nit} \textit{go'os} \textit{John}
\textit{kwin}=\textit{yee} \textit{nit} \textit{ko'o}=s \textit{John}
\textit{CAUS}=\textit{go} 3 \textit{LOC}=\textit{PN.DET} \textit{John}

”He went up to John.”

c. *\textit{yee} \textit{nit} \textit{go'os} \textit{John}
\textit{yee} \textit{nit} \textit{ko'o}=s \textit{John}
\textit{go} 3 \textit{LOC}=\textit{PN.DET} \textit{John}

(91) \textit{t'ahl} \textit{gyet} (laxts'eehl} \textit{aks}
\textit{t'a}=hl \textit{gyet} lax-ts'eehl \textit{aks}
\textit{sit}=\textit{CN.DET} \textit{man} GEO.LOC-edge \textit{water}

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

(92) \textit{gunt'ahl} \textit{gyet} lax-ts'eehl \textit{aks}
\textit{kwin-t'a}=hl \textit{gyet} lax-ts'eehl \textit{aks}
\textit{CAUS-sit}=\textit{CN.DET} \textit{man} GEO.LOC-edge \textit{water}

”The man sat down close to the water’s edge.”
(93)  
\[ t'ahl \quad gyet \quad go'ohl \quad lakw \]
\[ t'a=hl \quad gyet \quad \overline{\text{ko'o}=hl} \quad lakw \]
\[ \text{sit}=\text{CN.DET} \quad \text{man} \quad \text{LOC}=\text{CN.DET} \quad \text{fire} \]
“The man sat by the fire.”

(94)  
\[ gunt'ahl \quad gyet \quad go'ohl \quad lakw \]
\[ \text{kwin-t'a=hl} \quad gyet \quad \overline{\text{ko'o}=hl} \quad lakw \]
\[ \text{CAUS-sit}=\text{CN.DET} \quad \text{man} \quad \text{LOC}=\text{CN.DET} \quad \text{fire} \]
“The man sat close to the fire.”

(95)  
\[ gunt'a \quad ni\text{iiy} \quad go'ohl \quad lakw \]
\[ \text{kwin-t'a} \quad \text{ni\text{iiy}} \quad \overline{\text{ko'o}=hl} \quad lakw \]
\[ \text{CAUS-sit} \quad 1\text{sg} \quad \text{LOC}=\text{CN.DET} \quad \text{fire} \]
“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)  
\[ \text{Gitksan/Nisgha’a} \]

a.  
\[ t'ugwantxw\overline{hl} \quad ts'ak' \]
\[ t'ugwantxw=hl \quad ts'ak' \]
\[ \text{fall}=\text{CN.DET} \quad \text{plate} \]
“The plate fell.” (adapted from Belvin 1997: 40)

b.  
\[ *gunt'ugwantxw\overline{hl} \quad ts'ak' \quad \overline{\text{go'o}=hl} \quad lakw \]
\[ \text{kwin-t'ugwantxw}=hl \quad ts'ak' \quad \overline{\text{go'o}=hl} \quad lakw \]
\[ \text{CAUS-fall}=\text{CN.DET} \quad \text{plate} \quad \text{LOC}=\text{CN.DET} \quad \text{fire} \]
“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 OB LIQUE ’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 OB LIQUE-marked argument of a causative must be volitional, while the OB LIQUE-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

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<tr>
<th>Abbreviation</th>
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<tr>
<td>CN.DET</td>
<td>common noun determiner</td>
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References


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