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

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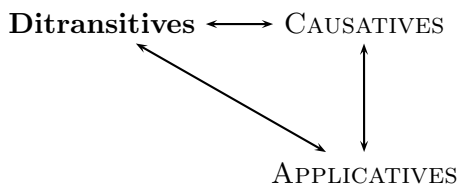
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## 1 Introduction

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

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- 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<sup>1</sup>

<i>gunsixpts'axwis</i>	<i>Billt</i>	<i>Clara 'as</i>	<i>Gwen</i>
<b>gwin-si-xpts'</b> 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.”

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<sup>1</sup>Tsimshianic languages are spoken in northwestern British Columbia and consist of the four languages: S̓malgyax, Nisgha'a, Gitksan (and Sgiüüxs, 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, awarded to Tyler Peterson and John Wynne. All errors are my own.

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

*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. *gungotsdis*                      *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 S̓malgyax.

### 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=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    ko'o=hl                      lakw  
 CAUS-sit.down=CN.DET    man    LOC=CN.DET    fire  
 “The man sat down close to the fire.”

#### (9) S̓malgyax

a. *t'aa*                      *lguwileeks*  
 t'a-a                      lguwileeks  
 sit.down-CN.DET    old.man  
 “The man sat down.”

b. *gun-t'aa*                      *lguwileeksda*                      *ndzooga*                      *aks*  
**kwin-t'a-a**                      lguwileeks-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 S̓malgyax 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*            *gimx̄tit*)  
       *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) *loōȳ,*    *loon,*    *loot,*    *loom̄,*    *loosim̄,*    *loodiit*  
       *loo-ȳ,*    *loo-n,*    *loo-t,*    *loo-m̄,*    *loo-sim̄,*    *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:<sup>2</sup>

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

<sup>2</sup>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*    *looʔ*  
 mahlt-ə-(t)=s   James=hl    andamaahlasxw   **loo-ʔ**  
 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.”
- b. *go’ohl*  
       ko’o=hl  
       LOC=CN.DET  
       “to/for COMMON NOUN.”
- c. *go’oyʔ*,    *go’on*,    *go’ot*,    *etc.*  
       ko’o-ʔ,    go’o-n,    go’o-t,    *etc.*  
       OBL-1sg,    ...-2sg,    ...-3,    *etc.*  
       “to/for me, you, she/he/it etc.”

- (16) *gunyee*    *niiyʔ*    *go’os*          *John*  
 kwɪn=yee    niiyʔ    **ko’o=s**          **John**  
 CAUS=go    1sg    LOC=PN.DET    John  
 “I walked up to John.”

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

- (18) *yee*    *niiyʔ*    *go’oyʔ*  
 yee    niiyʔ    **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:
  - 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'otxw</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*                      *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*                      *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. *kojīs*                      *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*)  
       ihlgan-(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) *wotdiyhl*              *kartxw'y* ('*as*              *Bruce*)  
       wott-i-y=hl              kartxw-y '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              car-txw-t ('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*      *dilhɔw*    ('*as*            *Barbara*)  
wal-i-(t)=s            Tyler=hl      dihlɔw    'a=s            Barbara  
carry-TR-3=DET    Tyler=DET    bag        OBL.=DET    Barbara  
“Tyler carried the bag for Barbara.”
- (35) *t'isis*                      *Tyler-hl*      *kartɔw*    ('*as*            *Barbara*)  
t'is-i-(t)=s            Tyler=hl      kartɔw    '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*)  
lumaḳt-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. *'alaḳt*                      *Gwen*  
'*alaḳ*=t                      Gwen  
anger=PN.DET    Gwen  
“Gwen is angry.”
- b. *si'alagis*                      *Gwen*  
si-'*alaḳ*-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'ooxsaqama'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. *kuxwin'ihl 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-ə-(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-ə-(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-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'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-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.<sup>3</sup>

- (61) *Smalgyax*

*gwinsiyetk*      *nagats’ooxs*    *dp*      *awaan*  
 gwin-si-yetk      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.”

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

(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<sup>?</sup>ay <sup>?</sup>i=kay-pe pu:ro tzu<sup>?</sup>ch+i pu<sup>?</sup>tz+<sup>?</sup>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<sup>?</sup> chipin+tzü:p<sup>?</sup>+i*  
 1.ERG=CAUS-eat-COMI 3.ANIM edible.green  
 “I made her eat *chipile* (type of edible green).”

(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<sup>w</sup>-tx* (TRANSITIVE)  
 cut-he/it Alex ...-rope-...  
 “Alex cut the rope.”
- b. *tx-a-∅ ?aleks x-ti-qls<sup>w</sup>-tx* (ANTIPASSIVE)  
 cut-INTR-he Alex PREP-...-rope-...  
 “Alex cut at the rope.”
- c. *tx-a-tus ?aleks mat x-ti-qls<sup>w</sup>-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.  $\emptyset$ -<sup>?</sup>*etz-pa=k*                      *je?*    *majaw*  
 3.ABS=dance-INCL.T=ANIM    that    woman  
 “That woman is dancing.”
- b.  $\emptyset$ =*küj*-<sup>?</sup>*etz-ü-pa*                      *ja?*        *je?*    *majaw*  
 3.ABS=APPL-dance-INV-INCL.I    3.ANIM    that    woman  
 “He is making that woman dance.”

(72) a. *ka:=na<sup>?</sup>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?*    *nen*    *k<sup>w</sup>θə*    *swiwłəs*  
 AUX    go        DET    boy  
 “The boy went.”
- b. *ni?*    *nə<sup>?</sup>em-nəs-əs*                      *k<sup>w</sup>θə*    *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. *je<sup>?</sup>+mü:*    *tax=mü:-mi:n<sup>?</sup>-a<sup>?</sup>n-ek*  
 there        1.LOCAL=APPL-come-IRR-INV.LOCAL  
 “You are going to bring me there.”
- b. *je<sup>?</sup>+mü:=ak*    *tax=mü:-nax-e*                                      *<sup>?</sup>ala:mwre-pa<sup>?</sup>t-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 Nisgha’a, its grammaticalize counterpart in Gitksan and its loss in Sinalgyax.
  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*                      *'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:

<i>wat</i>	<b>wa-t</b>	‘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>	<b>halal-t-in</b>	‘X throws Y (‘a Z)’
<i>ihlagan</i>	<b>ihlag-in</b>	‘X breaks Y (‘a Z)’	<i>kwin-gya'at</i>		‘X shows Y (‘a Z)’
<i>wott</i>	<b>wot-t</b>	‘X sells Y (‘a Z)’	<i>sut</i>	<b>su-t</b>	‘X fetched Y (‘a Z)’
<i>wo'otxw</i>	<b>wo'o-txw</b>	‘X offers/invites Y (‘a Z)’	<i>wal</i>		‘X carried Y (‘a Z)’
<i>mahl</i>	<b>mahl-t</b>	‘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>	<b>lumak-t</b>	‘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. *wotdiɣhl*                      *kartxwɣ*    ('as                      Bruce)  
wot-t-i-ɣ=hl                      kartxw-ɣ    'a=s                      Bruce  
sell-t-TR-1sg-CN.DET    car-1sg    OBL=PN.DET    Bruce  
“I sold my car (to Bruce).”
- b. \**wodiɣhl*                      *kartxwɣ*  
wot-i-ɣ=hl                      kartxw-ɣ  
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. *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*                      *laxmo'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*    *laxmo'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) *Smalgyax*

*gwinsiyetk*            *nagats'ooxs*    *dp*            *awaan*  
 gwin-si-yetk            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 hana'a*  
 ya-a hana'a  
 go-CN.DET woman  
 "The woman went."
- b. *gwin<sup>w</sup>yaa 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'alaanm wan*  
 gwin-aliisgna gii k'alaan-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*  
 kw<sup>w</sup>in=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 (lax<sup>w</sup>ts'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<sup>w</sup>ts'eehl aks*  
 kw<sup>w</sup>in-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*  
 kwint-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*  
 kwint-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'ugwantxw'hl*    *ts'ak'*  
 t'ugwantxw=hl ts'ak'  
 fall=CN.DET plate  
 "The plate fell." (adapted from Belvin 1997: 40)

b. \**gunt'ugwantxw'hl*    *ts'ak'* *go'ohl*            *lakw*  
 kwint-t'ugwantxw=hl ts'ak' go'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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