Chapter 19

Ditransitive constructions in Halkomelem Salish: A direct object/oblique object language

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1. Introduction

This paper treats ditransitive constructions in the Salish language Halkomelem, drawing on field data from speakers of the Island dialect.[1] Much of what is said here has appeared in previous publications by myself and/or Tom Hukari (see references). In particular, Gerdts (1988) discusses Halkomelem applicative constructions from the perspective of Relational Grammar, and the data and analyses therein have been utilized in the comparative Salish (Kroeber 1999; Kiyosawa & Gerdts 2010b) and in the typological and theoretical literature (Farrell 2005; Peterson 2007). Here I compile information about Halkomelem ditransitive constructions and delve further into their characteristics.

  Halkomelem ditransitive constructions have both a theme and an additional non-subject argument such as a recipient, benefactive, source, or causee. Semantically ditransitive verbs of the 'give' type appear as simple predicates as in (1) or as applicative constructions, formed with a dative applicative suffix *-əs*, as in (2).

(1) *neṁ*   *č*   *ʔexʷeʔ-t*   *tᶿə* *pil*   *ʔə* *tᶿə* *ləpat!*
     go   2s.SUB   give-TR   DT   Bill   OB   DT   cup

     'Go give Bill the cup!'

(2) *niʔ*   *ʔam-əs-t-əs*   *kʷθə* *swiẇləs*   *kʷθə* *sqʷəmeẏ* *ʔə* *kʷθə* *sť̓ᶿaṁ.*
     AUX   give-DAT-TR-3ERG   DT   boy   DT   dog   OB   DT   bone

     'The boy gave the dog the bone.'

These two types of ditransitive clauses are the focus of the discussion in §2, where I examine their morphosyntax. In Halkomelem, there is a single object position, referred to here as the direct object, and in a ditransitive clause it is always the recipient, not the theme, that is linked to it. The direct object position is thus pivotal in Halkomelem. The theme in a ditransitive construction appears as an oblique-marked NP that shares some but not all of the properties associated with NPs that are semantically oblique. In arguing for the structure of ditransitives, I provide evidence from various aspects of Halkomelem grammar, including NP flagging, pronominal indexing, extraction, quantifier interpretation, passives, antipassives, reflexives, and reciprocals.

In §3, I delve into the interaction of ditransitivity with lexical suffixation, the Salish analog of noun incorporation. There are several types of lexical suffix constructions allowing the expression of a theme and an additional argument, such as a benefactive. For example, in (3), the benefactive is the object, while the theme is a lexical suffix that is doubled by the oblique-marked NP:

(3) *šk̓ʷ=əyəɫ-əɫc-θamš*   *ʔə*   *θə-nə*   *qeq!*
     bathe=child-BEN-TR.1s.OBJ   OB   DT-1s.POS   baby

     'Bathe my baby for me!'

In §4, I turn to a third type of semantically ditransitive clause in Halkomelem, causatives based on transitive predicates:

(4) *nem̓*   *cən*   *mək̓ʷ-stəxʷ*   *t^θə*   *sƛ̓iʔƛqəɫ*   *ʔə*   *t^θə*   *q̓əyem̓ən,*   *nem̓*   *ʔə*
     go   1s.SUB   pick.up-CS   DT   child   OB   DT   shell   go   OB
     t^θə   *k̓ʷaƛ̓k̓ʷa*   *cəwmən.*
     DT   salt.water   seashore

     'I'm going to get the boy to pick up sea shells by the seashore.'

The morphosyntax of these causatives parallels the ditransitive clauses above: the causee is cast as the direct object, and the theme of the transitive event as an oblique-marked NP.

I conclude in §5 by briefly situating Halkomelem in a typology of ditransitive constructions. Halkomelem is a head-marking language that makes use of verbal morphology, and not case or adpositions, to license arguments. Verbs in Salish languages have only two licensed argument positions. In a transitive clause, the recipient, benefactive, source, etc. always links to the direct object position. The semantic theme in ditransitive constructions is not linked to an argument position. In the Island dialect of Halkomelem, the theme in ditransitive constructions is flagged with the oblique preposition.

2.   The morphosyntax of Halkomelem ditransitives

2.1.   Introduction

Ditransitive constructions in Halkomelem express a variety of meanings. The verb root *ʔexʷeʔ* 'give' forms a ditransitive construction:

(5) *niʔ   cən   ʔexʷeʔ-t   ɬə   sɬeniʔ   ʔə   tᶿə   sʔax̌ʷaʔ.*
AUX   1s.SUB   give-TR   DT   woman   OB   DT   clam

'I gave the woman the clams.'

Ditransitive constructions are used to express recipients (6) and sources (7) of transfer verbs, and addressees of speech act verbs (8):

(6) *calaʔɬ-t   č   tᶿəṅ   men   ʔə   θəṅ   snəxʷəɬ!*
borrow/lend-TR   2s.SUB   DT.2s.POS   father   OB   DT.2s.POS   canoe

'Lend your father your car!'[2]

(7) *niɬ   ɬwet   k̓ʷə   niʔ   qeʔən-t   tᶿəṅ   silə   ʔə   kʷθə*
3PRO   who   DT   AUX   steal-TR   DT.2s.POS   g.parent   OB   DT
sewən-sʔ
lunch-3POS

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

(8) *neṁ   ɬə   ṫi:t   tᶿəṅ   men   ʔə   k̓ʷ   telə!*
go   IMP   beg.TR   DT.2s.POS   father   OB   DT   money

'Go ask your father for money!'

In the above examples, the verb root is immediately followed by *-t*, the general transitive suffix. In contrast, some verbs require an applicative suffix to form a ditransitive construction, for example the verb for 'give' in (9) takes the dative applicative suffix *-əs*:[3]

(9) *neṁ   č   ʔam-əs-t   tᶿə   swəẏqeʔ   ʔə   kʷθə   telə!*
go   2s.SUB   give-DAT-TR   DT   man   OB   DT   money

'Go give the money to the man!'

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[2] In Island Halkomelem, terminology referring to canoe culture has been transferred to automobiles.

[3] Gerdts & Hinkson (2004b) argue that the dative applicative suffix grammaticalized from =*as*, the lexical suffix for 'face'.

Besides *ʔa:m-əs-t*, there are four other verbs that form ditransitive constructions with this suffix:

(10) *ʔiẃ-əs-t*   'show it to him/her'
      yəθ-əs-t   'tell him/her about it'
      saṁ-əs-t   'sell it to him/her'
      xʷayəm-əs-t   'sell it to him/her'

We can see the effect of this suffix on the argument structure of the clause by comparing the monotransitive in (11), a two-place construction, with the dative applicative in (12), a three-place construction:

(11) *neṁ   cən   seṁ-ət   θə-nə   snəxʷəɫ.*
      go   1s.SUB   sell-TR   DT-1s.POS   canoe

      'I'm going to sell my car.'

(12) *neṁ   cən   saṁ-əs-t   ɬə   sɬeniʔ   ʔə   θə-nə   snəxʷəɫ.*
      go   1s.SUB   sell-DAT-TR   DT   woman   OB   DT-1s.POS   canoe

      'I'm going to sell my car to the woman.'

In (11) the theme is a direct argument. In (12) the recipient is the direct argument and the theme is an oblique-marked NP. The recipient in (12) is the direct object of a verb with applicative morphology; such direct objects are referred to as applied objects.

Paralleling the dative applicative construction, Halkomelem expresses benefactives by means of an applicative construction with the suffix *-əɬc*:

(13) *niʔ   q̓ʷəl-ət-əs   ɬə-nə   ten   kʷθə   səplil.*
      AUX   cook-TR-3ERG   DT-1s.POS   mother   DT   bread

      'My mother baked the bread.'[4]

(14) *niʔ   q̓ʷəl-əɬc-t-əs   ɬə-nə   ten   ɬə   sɬeniʔ   ʔə   kʷθə*
      AUX   cook-BEN-TR-3ERG   DT-1s.POS   mother   DT   woman   OB   DT
      səplil.
      bread

      'My mother baked the bread for the woman.'

 In (13) the theme is a direct argument. In (14) the benefactive is the direct argument and the theme is an oblique-marked NP.

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[4] The verb *q̓ʷəl* means to cook in an oven or on an open fire; speakers translate it variously as 'cook', 'bake', 'barbecue', 'roast', etc.

Table 1: Transitives and benefactive applicatives

TRANSITIVE		BENEFACTIVE	
kʷənət	'take it'	*kʷənəɫcət*	'take it for him/her'
ṗeťᶿət	'sew it'	*ṗeťᶿəɫcət*	'sew it for him/her'
θəyt	'fix it'	*θəyəɫcət*	'fix it for him/her'
ləkʷat	'break it'	*ləkʷəɫcət*	'break it for him/her'
yaḱʷət	'smash it'	*yaḱʷəɫcət*	'smash it for him/her'
ʔiləqət	'buy it'	*ʔiləqəɫcət*	'buy it for him/her'
ťᶿx̌ʷat	'wash it'	*ťᶿx̌ʷəɫcət*	'wash it for him/her'
pənət	'bury it'	*pənəɫcət*	'bury it for him/her'
ťəṁət	'pound/beat on it'	*ťəṁəɫcət*	'pound/beat on it for him/her'

The benefactive is a productive construction in Halkomelem; any transitive verb can form a benefactive so long as the meaning of benefaction is compatible with the event. A few examples are given in Table 1.

As discussed in Kiyosawa & Gerdts (2010a), benefactive constructions can be interpreted with either a beneficiary or delegative meaning. Take the benefactive in (15), for example.

(15)   *q̓ʷəl-əɫc-θamə*   *cən*   *ceʔ*   *ʔə*   *ḱʷ*   *sce:ɫtən.*
     cook-BEN-TR.2S.OBJ   1S.SUB   FUT   OB   DT   salmon

     'I will barbecue some salmon for you.'

One consultant commented, "You can use this for your benefit in whatever way: for you to eat, because you are unable to do it for whatever reason, because you are too busy to do it and it needs to be done, because I am being substituted to do your job, and so on." The precise meaning is determined by the context. However, the most normal or neutral reading in the absence of a context would be that the salmon is being cooked for the referent of the object to eat themselves rather than for the salmon to be cooked to give it to someone else to eat.

For some verbs, the applicative suffix forms a construction that is translated as either a dative or a benefactive applicative:

(16)   *niʔ*   *x̌əĺ-əɫc-ət-əs*   *kʷθəṅ*   *men*   *ʔə*   *kʷθə*   *pipə-s.*
     AUX   write-BEN-TR-3ERG   DT.2S.POS   father   OB   DT   letter-3POS

     'He wrote the letter to your father.'/'He wrote the letter for your father.'

In other words, the suffix indicates that the verb is semantically ditransitive, but the verb

semantics and the context of the situation contribute to the interpretation of the role of the applied object. Salishanists often use the term "redirective" for such applicative constructions; the force of the transitive verb is redirected toward the applied object in some way (Kiyosawa & Gerdts 2010b).[5] However, I continue to refer to *-əłc* as benefactive in my analysis of Halkomelem, since this is the meaning usually associated with this suffix.

Whatever the morphology, all the clauses discussed above are completely parallel in their behaviour with respect to the phenomena discussed in this section. I refer to them all collectively as ditransitive constructions and I refer to the additional argument, whatever its semantic role, as the object.

2.2.   Object properties

I begin the exploration of ditransitives with a survey of the morphosyntactic properties of objects. I contrast objects in monotransitives, objects in ditransitives, and themes in ditransitives with respect to flagging, extraction, and indexing in actives and passives.

2.2.1.   Flagging

NP arguments in Halkomelem are preceded by a determiner (from a set of articles or the demonstratives based on them) that registers features of gender and deixis.[6] The articles used by Cowichan speakers of Island Halkomelem are given in Table 2. For humans, feminine determiners are used to refer to singular female persons and masculine determiners are used elsewhere, including with plural females. For animals and inanimates, the situation is complicated by the fact that, although all can appear with masculine determiners, many can also appear with feminine determiners; these include large animals, small animals, money, vessels, dwellings, and small, round objects (Gerdts 2009).

The syntactic role of the NP argument is irrelevant: subjects and objects of active, stative, and transitive verbs in all tenses and aspects are preceded by determiners chosen from this set.

(17)   *niʔ   ʔəšəl   tᶿə   swəy̓qeʔ.*
      AUX   paddle   DT   man

      'The man (in view) paddled.'

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[5]   In addition to the two redirective applicatives, Halkomelem also has two relational applicative constructions – directional applicatives (Gerdts 2004b) and psych applicatives (Gerdts & Kiyosawa 2005). Relational applicatives are formed on intransitive bases to form transitive constructions and thus are not relevant to this paper.

[6]   Halkomelem does not allow bare NPs in argument positions, though bare NPs appear as predicate nominals, appositives, vocatives, etc.

Table 2: Halkomelem Determiners

	MASCULINE	FEMININE
PROXIMAL	$t^\theta \partial$	$\theta \partial$
DISTAL	$k^w\theta \partial$	$ɬ\partial$
REMOTE	$\dot{k}^w \partial$	$k^w s\partial$
NON-DEICTIC	$\dot{k}^w, k^w$	

(18) *niʔ   q̓ʷəl   t^θə   səplil.*
AUX   cook   DT   bread

'The bread (in view) baked.'

(19) *niʔ   q̓ʷaqʷ-ət-əs   t^θə   swəy̓qeʔ   t^θə   speʔəθ.*
AUX   club-TR-3ERG   DT   man   DT   bear

'The man (in view) clubbed the bear (in view).'

In contrast, semantically oblique NPs must be preceded by an oblique marker, the catch-all preposition *ʔə*. This preposition is used to mark a variety of semantic roles, including instrument (20), stimulus of a psychological event (21), goal (22), and location (23).

(20) *niʔ   cən   q̓ʷaqʷ-ət   ʔə   kʷθən̓   šapəl-əɬ.*
AUX   1s.SUB   club-TR   OB   DT.2s.POS   shovel-PST

'I hit him with your shovel.'

(21) *niʔ   cən   siʔsiʔ   ʔə   kʷθə   snəxʷəɬ.*
AUX   1s.SUB   frighten   OB   DT   canoe

'I was frightened at the car.'

(22) *k̓ʷin=əs   telə   ɬə   niʔ   ʔən̓-s-nəpəc   x̌ʷteʔ   ʔə*
how.much=round   money   DT   AUX   2s.POS-N-send   go.toward   OB
ɬən̓   mən̓ə?
DT.2s.POS   child

'How much money did you send to your daughter?'
(literally: 'How much money was transferred and went toward your daughter?')

(23) *nem̓   č   ceʔ   ɬe:l   nem̓   ʔə-λ̓   λ̓əlpaləs!*
go   2s.SUB   FUT   go.ashore   go   OB-DT   Cowichan.Bay

'Go ashore at Cowichan Bay!'

As seen in examples (22) and (23), oblique arguments are often expressed by serial verb constructions, with the oblique-marked phrase expressed as an adjunct of an intransitive serialized verb. Note that if the NP following the oblique marker is a proper noun or a pronoun, the oblique determiner ƛ̓ is used, for example with the place name in (23).

In ditransitive constructions, the subject and also the recipient (24) or benefactive (25) are direct arguments and thus are preceded only by a determiner.

(24) *niʔ* *ʔam-əs-t-əs*   *kʷθə swiw̓ləs kʷθə sqʷəmey̓ ʔə kʷθə st̓iθam̓.*
       AUX   give-DAT-TR-3ERG   DT   boy   DT   dog   OB DT   bone

      'The boy gave the dog the bone.'

(25) *niʔ* *q̓ʷəl-əłc-t-əs*   *łə-nə   ten   łə   słeniʔ ʔə kʷθə*
       AUX   cook-BEN-TR-3ERG   DT-1S.POS mother   DT   woman   OB DT
       səplil.
       bread

      'My mother baked the bread for the woman.'

The theme, on the other hand, is flagged by an oblique preposition; the clause is ungrammatical otherwise:[7]

(26) * *niʔ* *ʔam-əs-t-əs*   *kʷθə swiw̓ləs kʷθə sqʷəmey̓ kʷθə st̓iθam̓.*
         AUX   give-DAT-TR-3ERG DT   boy   DT   dog   DT   bone

        'The boy gave the dog the bone.'

The one exception is when the theme is a clause. Embedded clauses are not flagged with the oblique marker; this is true of both nominalized clauses introduced by a determiner (27) and non-nominalized clauses introduced by a linking particle (28).

(27) *niʔ* *ʔə* *č*   *cse-t*   *kʷθən̓   mem̓ən̓ə   kʷs   xʷən̓*
       AUX   Q   2S.SUB tell.do-TR DT.2S.POS child(PL) DT.N   still
       ʔitət-s?
       sleep-3POS

      'Did you manage to tell your children to go to bed early?'

_____

[7] This is true only of the Island dialect of Halkomelem. The oblique marker is optional in Downriver Halkomelem and not present at all in Upriver Halkomelem.

(28) ni?   cən   cse-t   łə   s�̓i?ƛ̓qəł   ?əẁ   nem-əs   ṫak̓ʷ.
      AUX   1s.SUB   tell.do-TR   DT   child   LNK   go-3SUB   go.home

      'I told the child to go home.'

Dative and benefactive applicative constructions are obligatory in the sense that there is no non-applicative equivalent in which the theme occurs as an object and the applied object occurs as an oblique NP. So, for example, the recipient in (29a) cannot be expressed as an oblique-marked NP, as in (29b):

(29) a.   neṁ   cən   saṁ-əs-t   łə   sɬeni?   ?ə   θə-nə   snəxʷəł.
           AUX   1s.SUB sell-DAT-TR   DT   woman   OB   DT-1s.POS   canoe

           'I'm going to sell my car to the woman.'

      b. *neṁ   cən   seṁ-ət   θə-nə   snəxʷəł   ?ə   łə   sɬeni?.
           AUX   1s.SUB sell-TR DT-1s.POS   canoe   OB   DT   woman

           'I'm going to sell my car to the woman.'

Word order is not a factor; either the recipient (30a) or the theme (31a) can appear first; (30b) is ungrammatical even if the word order is switched (31b).

(30) a.   neṁ   cən   saṁ-əs-t   ?ə   θə-nə   snəxʷəł   łə   sɬeni?.
           AUX   1s.SUB sell-DAT-TR   OB   DT-1s.POS   canoe   DT   woman

           'I'm going to sell my car to the woman.'

      b. *neṁ   cən   saṁ-ət   ?ə   łə   sɬeni?   θə-nə   snəxʷəł.
           AUX   1s.SUB sell-TR OB   DT   woman   DT-1s.POS   canoe

           'I'm going to sell my car to the woman.'

(31) a.   ni?   ?am-əs-t-əs   kʷθə   swiẁləs   ?ə   kʷθə   pukʷ.
           AUX   give-DAT-TR-3ERG   DT   boy   OB   DT   book

           'He gave the boy the book.'

      b. *ni?   ?am-əs-t-əs   kʷθə   swiẁləs   kʷθə   pukʷ.
           AUX   give-DAT-TR-3ERG   DT   boy   DT   book

           'He gave the boy the book.'

(32) a.   ni?   x̌əl̓-əłc-ət-əs   kʷθəṅ   men   ?ə   kʷθə   pipə-s.
           AUX   write-BEN-TR-3ERG   DT.2s.POS father   OB   DT   letter-3POS

           'He wrote the letter to/for your father.'

b. * *niʔ   x̌əl̓-ə́łc-ət-əs   kʷθən̓   men   kʷθə   pipə-s.*
   AUX   write-BEN-TR-3ERG   DT.2s.POS father   DT   letter-3POS

   'He wrote the letter to/for your father.'

However, it is possible to separate two aspects of the event – the effect on the theme and the transfer of possession or benefit – and express each as a separate predicate. This can be accomplished by means of a serial verb construction as in (33) and (34) or conjoined clauses as in (35).[8]

(33) *niʔ   cən   wəł   sem̓-ət   nem̓-əstəxʷ   ʔə-x̌̓   čan   θə-nə*
      AUX   1s.SUB   PERF   sell-TR   go-CS   OB-DT   John   DT-1s.POS
      swetə.
      sweater

      'I sold John my sweater.'

(34) *q̓ʷəl-ət   cən   ceʔ   k̓ʷ   sce:łtən   x̌ʷteʔ   ʔə-x̌̓   nəwə.*
      cook-TR   1s.SUB   FUT   DT   salmon   go.toward   OB-DT   2s.PRO

      'I will barbecue some salmon for you.'

(35) *q̓ʷəl-ət   cən   ceʔ   k̓ʷ   sce:łtən   ʔiʔ   nił   s-weʔ-stamə   (ceʔ).*
      cook-TR   1s.SUB   FUT   DT   salmon   CNJ   3PRO   N-own-CS.2s.OBJ   FUT

      'I will bake some salmon and it will be for you.'

Circumlocutions can also be used to accommodate a co-occurring recipient and bene-factive; Halkomelem does not allow more than one applicative suffix per verb.

(36) *niʔ   cən   ʔam-əs-t   łən̓   ten   ʔə   kʷθə   pukʷ   nił*
      AUX   1s.SUB   give-DAT-TR   DT.2s.POS   mother   OB   DT   book   3PRO
      s-weʔ-stamət.
      N-own-CS.2s.OBJ

      'I gave your mother the book that is for you.'

In (36), information about the benefactive is given as a relative clause modifying the theme. Another common circumlocution is to express the goal or benefactive as the possessor of the theme:[9]

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[8] Periphrastic constructions are also available for delegative and malefactive meanings.

[9] Thus, these examples show what Croft (1985) refers to as indirect object 'lowering'.

(37) neṁ   č   ʔeṁəq-t   tᶿə   šəptən-s   łəṅ   šəyəɫ.
      go   2s.SUB   return-TR   DT   knife-3POS   DT.2s.POS   o.sibling

      'Go return the knife to your sister.'/ 'Go return your sister's knife.'

(38) niɫ   ceʔ   təṅa   xʷəneʔənt   ʔi   nan-əm   ct   x̌ʷteʔ   ʔə
      3PRO   FUT   DEM   evening   AUX   discuss-MID   1PL.SUB   go.toward   OB

      kʷθə   s-ʔəłtən-s   tᶿə   məstiməxʷ.
      DT   N-food-3POS   DT   people

      'This evening we will have a discussion about the food for the people.'

2.2.2. Extraction

Extraction of an noun phrase is used in a variety of constructions including relative
clauses, wh-questions, and clefts (it-clefts, NP-clefts, and wh-clefts).[10] Extraction
constructions provide additional evidence for the difference between objects and non-
objects in ditransitive constructions.[11] The extracted NP appears before the host
clause, as seen by comparing the monotransitive clause in (39a) with its cleft coun-
terpart in (39b):

(39) a. niʔ   č   lem-ət   kʷθə   swəy̓qeʔ.
          AUX   2s.SUB   look.at-TR   DT   man

          'You looked at the man.'

      b. niɫ   kʷθə   swəy̓qeʔ   [niʔ   lem-ət-əxʷ].
          3PRO   DT   man   AUX   look.at-TR-2s.SUB

          'It's the man that you looked at.'

The host clause in (39b) is a dependent clause, as seen by subject indexing; first- and
second-person subject indexes appear as second position clitics in main clauses but as
verbal suffixes in complement clauses. As the following examples show, the object in
a ditransitive construction can also be extracted:

(40) swiw̓ləs   kʷθə   [niʔ   ʔam-əs-t-əs   ʔə   kʷθə   pukʷ].
      boy   DT   AUX   give-DAT-TR-3ERG   OB   DT   book

      'It's a boy that he gave the book to.'

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[10] These constructions are discussed extensively in Gerdts (1988: 59–83).

[11] All three constructions behave identically with respect to conditions on NP extraction.

(41)   *ɬwet   k̓ʷə   niʔ   [q̓ʷəl-əɬc-t-əxʷ   ʔə   kʷθə   səplil]?*
       who   DT   AUX   bake-BEN-TR-2S.SUB   OB   DT   bread

       'Who did you bake the bread for?'

The objects in (39b), (40), and (41) are directly extracted; that is, there is no overt morphology on the verb to mark the extraction of the object. In contrast, the theme can only be extracted via nominalization; the verb has a nominalizing prefix *s-* and the subject is expressed as a possessor:

(42)   a.   *niʔ   ʔam-əs-t-əs   kʷθə   swiẃləs   ʔə   kʷθə   pukʷ.*
            AUX   give-DAT-TR-3ERG   DT   boy   OB   DT   book

            'He gave the boy the book.'

       b.   *niɬ   kʷθə   pukʷ   [niʔ   s-ʔam-əs-t-s   kʷθə   swiẃləs].*
            3PRO   DT   book   AUX   N-give-DAT-TR-3POS   DT   boy

            'It's a book that he gave the boy.'

(43)   a.   *niʔ   niẃ-ət-əs   kʷθə   ʔiməθ-s   ʔə   t̓ə*
            AUX   give.advice-TR-3ERG   DT   g.child-3POS   OB   DT
            š-teʔə-s   kʷs   t̓iləm-s.
            N.OB-like-3POS   DT.N   sing-3POS

            'He gave his grandson advice about how to sing.'

       b.   *stem   ʔal̓ə   kʷθə   [niʔ   s-niẃ-ət-s   t̓ə   ʔiməθ-s]?*
            what   INQU   DT   AUX   N-give.advice-TR-3POS   DT   g.child-3POS

            'What did he give his grandson advice about?'

(44)   a.   *niʔ   θəy-əɬc-t-əs   kʷθə   swəy̓qeʔ   ʔə   kʷθə   snəxʷəɬ.*
            AUX   fix-BEN-TR-3ERG   DT   man   OB   DT   canoe

            'He fixed a canoe for the man.'

       b.   *snəxʷəɬ   kʷθə   [niʔ   s-θəy-əɬc-t-s   kʷθə   swəy̓qeʔ].*
            canoe   DT   AUX   N-fix-BEN-TR-3POS   DT   man

            'A canoe is what he fixed for the man.'

Direct extraction of the theme is ungrammatical:

(45)   * *niɬ   kʷθə   pukʷ   [niʔ   ʔam-əs-t-əs   kʷθə   swiẃləs].*
         3PRO   DT   book   AUX   give-DAT-TR-3SUB   DT   boy

         'It's the book that he gave the boy.'

Not only do themes in ditransitive constructions contrast with objects, they also contrast with true obliques. As mentioned above, obliques, like themes in ditransitives, are marked with the preposition *ʔə*:

(46) *niʔ   cən   q̓ʷaqʷ-ət   ʔə   kʷθəṅ   šapəl-əɬ.*
AUX   1s.SUB   club-TR   OB   DT.2s.POS shovel-PST

    'I hit him with your shovel.'

(47) *yaθ   ʔəw̓   yə-x̌ʷaṅčənəm̓   ʔə   təṅa   še:ɬ.*
always   LNK   DYN-run(IMPF)   OB   DEM   road

    'He always ran on that road.'

And they are extracted via nominalization.

(48) *niɬ   kʷθəṅ   šapəl-əɬ   [niʔ   nə-š-q̓ʷaqʷ-ət].*
3PRO   DT.2s.POS shovel-PST   AUX   1s.POS-N.OB-club-TR

    'It's your shovel that I clubbed it with.'

(49) *niɬ   təṅa   še:ɬ   [yaθ   ʔəw̓   š-x̌ʷaṅčənəm̓-s].*
3PRO   DEM   road   always   LNK   N.OB-run(IMPF)-3POS

    'It's this road that he always runs on.'

However, the nominalizing prefix used in oblique extraction is *š(xʷ)-*, not *s-*.[12]

   In summary, there are two types of extraction in Halkomelem – direct extraction and extraction through nominalization – the conditions on which extraction can be summarized as follows:

(50) a. Objects are directly extracted.

   b. Oblique-marked NPs are extracted via nominalization.

   c.   i. Nominalization with *s* is used to extract themes of ditransitives.

       ii. Nominalization with *š(xʷ)* is used to extract obliques (location, direction, instrument, manner, stimulus).

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[12] More precisely, there is an oblique prefix *xʷ-* preceded by the nominalizing prefix *s-*. The *s-* changes to *š-* before *xʷ*, and the *xʷ* is lost (in the Island Halkomelem dialect), except before glottal stop.

Following the terminology of Hukari (1979), I refer to themes of ditransitives as oblique objects, thus distinguishing them from semantically oblique NPs, which I refer to simply as obliques.

As summarized in Table 3, case marking and extraction taken together can be used to distinguish the three types of non-subject nominals in Halkomelem:

Table 3: Properties of objects and obliques in Halkomelem

	OBJECTS	OBLIQUE OBJECTS	OBLIQUES
CASE MARKING	Ø	preposition *ʔə*	preposition *ʔə*
EXTRACTION	direct	via nominalization with *s-*	via nominalization with *š(xʷ)-*

2.2.3. *Indexing*

First and second person indexing works on a nominative/accusative basis in Halkomelem. Main clause subject pronouns appear as second position clitics, while object pronouns appear as verb suffixes fused with a transitive marker:[13]

(51) *niʔ   cən   ʔiməš.*
       AUX   1s.SUB   walk

       'I walked.'

(52) *niʔ   cən   q̓ʷaqʷ-ət   t̓ə   speʔəθ.*
       AUX   1s.SUB   club-TR   DT   bear

       'I clubbed the bear.'

(53) *niʔ   q̓ʷaqʷ-əθamš-əs   t̓ə   swəy̓qeʔ.*
       AUX   club-TR.1s.OBJ-3ERG   DT   man

       'The man clubbed me.'

In contrast, third person indexing in main clauses works on an ergative/absolutive basis. Third-person is unmarked when the third person is the subject of an intransitive clause (54) or the object of a transitive clause (56), but marked with the agreement suffix *-əs* when the third person is the subject of a transitive clause (55).

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[13] Most of the transitive data in this paper have the general transitive suffix *-t*, with the exception of the causatives discussed in §4.

(54) *ni?   ?iməš-Ø.*
     AUX   walk-3SUB

     'He/she/it walked.'

(55) *ni?   q̇ʷaqʷ-əθaṁš-əs.*
     AUX   club-TR.1S.OBJ-3ERG

     'He/she clubbed me.'

(56) *ni?   cən   q̇ʷaqʷ-ət-Ø.*
     AUX   1S.SUB   club-TR-3OBJ

     'I clubbed him/her/it.'

First and second persons distinguish singular and plural, but third persons distinguish neither number nor gender. Here is the object paradigm for the verb root *q̇ay* inflected for transitivity and object:

(57) *q̇ay-θaṁš*   'kill me'
     q̇ay-θamə   'kill you'
     q̇ay-taɬx̣ʷ   'kill us'
     q̇ay-talə   'kill you (plural)'
     q̇ay-t   'kill him/her/it/them'

The recipient or benefactive is the grammatical object, as seen by the object inflection in the following examples:

(58) *?exʷe?-θaṁš   č   ?ə   t̓θə   sqəw!*
     give-TR.1S.OBJ   2S.SUB   OB   DT   native.bread

     'Give me the native bread!'

(59) *q̇ʷəl-əɬc-θamə   cən   ce?   ?ə   k̓ʷ   sce:ɬtən.*
     cook-BEN-TR.2S.OBJ   1S.SUB   FUT   OB   DT   salmon

     'I will barbecue some salmon for you.'

(60) *ni?   xʷayəm-əs-t-aɬx̣ʷ-əs.*
     AUX   sell-DAT-TR-1PL.OBJ-3ERG

     'He sold it to us.'

(61) *?iẇ-əs-talə   cən   ce?   ?ə   kʷθə-nə   qeq.*
     show-DAT-TR.2PL.OBJ   1S.SUB   FUT   OB   DT-1S.POS   baby

     'I will show you (plural) my baby.'

2.2.4. Passive

Passives in Halkomelem differ from their active counterparts in several ways. In a passive, for example (62b), the agent, if it appears, is expressed as an oblique NP:

(62) a. *niʔ   ċew-ət-əs   θə   słeniʔ   tᶿə   swəẏqeʔ.*
        AUX   help-TR-3ERG   DT   woman   DT   man

        'The woman helped the man.'

    b. *niʔ   ċew-ət-əm   tᶿə   swəẏqeʔ   ʔə   θə   słeniʔ.*
        AUX   help-TR-PAS   DT   man   OB   DT   woman

        'The man was helped by the woman.'

Because passives are intransitive, they do not take ergative agreement. Instead the verb in a passive adds intransitive morphology, labeled PAS, to the transitive suffix; in main clauses this is the suffix *-əm*, which is historically related to the middle suffix (Gerdts & Hukari 2006b). First- or second-person subjects in passives are indexed by a set of special passive suffixes that are historically related to the object suffixes (Gerdts 1989), as can be seen by comparing an active clause with a second-person plural object to its passive counterpart:

(63) a. *ċew-ətalə   ct   ceʔ.*
        help-TR.2PL.OBJ   1PL.SUB   FUT

        'We will help you (PL).'

    b. *ċew-ətaləm   ceʔ.*
        help-TR.2PL.PAS   FUT

        'You (PL) will be helped.' [also 'We will be helped.' cf (64)]

Thus, indexing for the sole argument in a passive is a portmanteau morph combining the general transitive suffix *–t*, a person suffix, and the passive suffix. This yields a paradigm such as that for the verb 'kill':

(64) *q̇ay-θeləm*   'I was killed'
      q̇ay-θa:m   'you were killed'
      q̇ay-taləm   'we were killed'
      q̇ay-taləm   'you (plural) were killed'
      q̇ay-təm   'he/she/it/they were killed'

Due to this quirkiness in the indexing of passive patients, a promotional analysis of the passive is not entirely straightforward, as discussed in Gerdts & Hukari (2001b,a). For our purposes here, suffice it to say that passive serves as a test to identify the NP that is the object in its active counterpart.

Passives in ditransitive constructions are also possible and the recipient or benefactive in the ditransitive clause behaves like the theme NP in a monotransitive clause. In a ditransitive construction, a first- or second-person recipient or benefactive is indexed on the verb in either an active or a passive clause:

(65) a. *niʔ   ʔexʷeʔ-θamš-əs   ʔə   tᶿə   sqəw.*
          AUX   give-TR.1s.OBJ-3ERG   OB   DT   native.bread

      'She gave me some native bread.'

      b. *niʔ   ʔexʷeʔ-θeləm   ʔə   tᶿə   sqəw.*
          AUX   give-TR.1s.PAS   OB   DT   native.bread

      'I was given some native bread.'

(66) a. *niʔ   ʔam-əs-θamš-əs   łə   sɬeniʔ   ʔə   kʷθə   pukʷ.*
          AUX   give-DAT-TR.1s.OBJ-3ERG   DT   woman   OB   DT   book

      'The woman gave me the book.'

      b. *niʔ   ʔam-əs-θeləm   ʔə-ƛ̓   meli   ʔə   kʷθə   pukʷ.*
          AUX   give-DAT-TR.1s.PAS OB-DT Mary   OB   DT   book

      'I was given the book by Mary.'

(67) a. *q̓ʷəl-əłc-talə   cən   ceʔ   ʔə   kʷθə   sce:ɬtən.*
          cook-BEN-TR.2PL.OBJ   1s.SUB   FUT   OB   DT   salmon

      'I will barbecue the salmon for you (PL).'

      b. *q̓ʷəl-əłc-taləm   ceʔ   ʔə   kʷθə   sce:ɬtən.*
          cook-BEN-TR.2PL.PAS   FUT   OB   DT   salmon

      'Someone will barbecue the salmon for you (PL).'
      (lit. 'You will be barbecued the salmon.')[14]

(68) a. *niʔ   θəy-əłc-θamš-əs   ʔə   kʷθə-nə   snəxʷəł.*
          AUX   fix-BEN-TR.1s.OBJ-3ERG   OB   DT-1s.POS canoe

      'He fixed my canoe for me.'

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[14] Halkomelem passives are often translated as active clauses.

b. *niʔ*   *θəy-əłc-θeləm*   *ʔə*   *θə-nə*   *snəxʷəł.*
   AUX   fix-BEN-TR.1S.PAS   OB   DT-1S.POS   canoe

'Someone fixed my canoe for me.' (lit. 'I was fixed my canoe.')

Passivization of the theme NP is not possible:

(69)   * *niʔ*   *ʔam-əs-t-əm*   *kʷθə*   *pukʷ*   *ʔə-ƛ̓*   *ʔe.ṅθə*   *ʔə-ƛ̓*   *meli.*
        AUX   give-DAT-TR-PAS   DT   book   OB-DT   1S.PRO   OB-DT   Mary

'The book was given to me by Mary.'

(70)   * *niʔ*   *ʔam-əs-t-əm*   *kʷθə*   *pukʷ*   *kʷθə*   *swiw̓ləs*   *ʔə-ƛ̓*   *meli.*
        AUX   give-DAT-TR-PAS   DT   book   DT   boy   OB-DT   Mary

'The book was given to the boy by Mary.'

These examples are ungrammatical regardless of the word order or the flagging of the recipient with the preposition *ʔə*.

2.3.   Absolutive properties

The previous section illustrated a variety of object properties in Halkomelem and showed that the object in a monotransitive and the object in a ditransitive shared these properties. In this section, I discuss three phenomena in Halkomelem that split along ergative/absolutive lines (Gerdts 1988). Here, again, objects in ditransitives behave like objects in monotransitives.

2.3.1.   Sole NP interpretation

In Halkomelem clauses that lack any indexing of first or second persons, a single post-verbal NP is interpreted as the absolutive NP; i.e. the subject of an intransitive clause but the object of a transitive clause:

(71)   *niʔ*   *ʔiməš*   *kʷθə*   *swiw̓ləs.*
        AUX   walk   DT   boy

'The boy walked.'

(72)   *niʔ*   *ċew-ət-əs*   *kʷθə*   *swiw̓ləs.*
        AUX   help-TR-3ERG   DT   boy

'He helped the boy.'/*'The boy helped him.'

As seen in the transitive clause in (72), the sole NP is interpreted as the object and not the subject.[15]

In a ditransitive construction, the sole NP is interpreted as the recipient or benefactive:

(73) a. *niʔ   ʔam-əs-t-əs   kʷθə sqʷəmeẏ ʔə kʷθə st̓ᶿaṁ.*
        AUX   give-DAT-TR-3ERG   DT   dog   OB   DT   bone

        'He gave the dog the bone.'/*'The dog gave him the bone.'

    b. *niʔ   q̓ʷəl-əłc-t-əs   łə   słeniʔ ʔə kʷθə səplil.*
        AUX   cook-BEN-TR-3ERG   DT   woman   OB   DT   bread

        'He baked the bread for the woman.'/*'The woman baked him the bread.'

This is true whether or not the theme is overtly expressed:

(74) a. *niʔ   ʔam-əs-t-əs   kʷθə sqʷəmeẏ.*
        AUX   give-DAT-TR-3ERG   DT   dog

        'He gave it to the dog.'/*'The dog gave it to him.'/
        *'He gave the dog to him.'

    b. *niʔ   q̓ʷəl-əłc-t-əs   łə   słeniʔ.*
        AUX   cook-BEN-TR-3ERG   DT   woman

        'He baked it for the woman.'/*'The woman baked it for him.'

To express the theme as the only overtly expressed NP, the oblique-marked phrase would be used:

(75) *niʔ   ʔam-əs-t-əs   ʔə kʷθə sqʷəmeẏ.*
      AUX   give-DAT-TR-3ERG   OB   DT   dog

     'He gave the dog to him.'/*'The dog gave it to him.'/*'He gave it to the dog.'

2.3.2. *Quantifier interpretation*

The interpretation of pre-verbal quantifiers also provides evidence for the status of the applied object. The quantifier *mək̓ʷ* 'all', like other modifiers, can appear immediately

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[15] See Gerdts & Hukari (2003, 2004) for further discussion of this constraint and its discourse motivation.

preceding the nominal it modifies, as in (76a) and (77a), or, it can appear before the verb, in an adverbial construction followed by the linker *ʔəẃ*, as in (76b) and (77b):

(76) a. *niʔ   x̌ʷələnčenəm   (ʔəẃ)   məḱʷ   kʷθə   sƛ̓əliqəł.*[16]
          AUX   run(PL)   LNK   all   DT   child(PL)

          'All the children ran.'

      b. *niʔ   məḱʷ   ʔəẃ   x̌ʷələnčenəm   kʷθə   sƛ̓əliqəł.*
          AUX   all   LNK   run(PL)   DT   child(PL)

          'All the children ran.'

(77) a. *niʔ   wəwaʔəs   məḱʷ   kʷθə   sqʷəmqʷəmeẏ.*
          AUX   bark   all   DT   dog(PL)

          'All the dogs barked.'

      b. *niʔ   məḱʷ   ʔəẃ   wəwaʔəs   kʷθə   sqʷəmqʷəmeẏ.*
          AUX   all   LNK   bark   DT   dog(PL)

          'All the dogs barked.'

In (76)–(77b), the quantifier is interpreted as modifying the subject of an intransitive clause. In the case of a transitive clause, the preverbal quantifier is interpreted as modifying the object:

(78) *niʔ   məḱʷ   ʔəẃ   qaʔqaʔ-ət-əs   kʷθə   səẃəẏqeʔ   kʷθə   qaʔ.*
      AUX   all   LNK   drink-TR-3ERG   DT   man(PL)   DT   water

      'The men drank all the water.'/*'All the men drank the water.'

(79) *niʔ   məḱʷ   ʔəẃ   łəyx̌-t-əs   tᶿə   słənłeniʔ   kʷθə   sce:łtən.*
      AUX   all   LNK   eat-TR-3ERG   DT   woman(PL)   DT   salmon

      'The women ate all the salmon.'/*'All the women ate the salmon.'

Furthermore, the quantifier cannot be interpreted as modifying the subject of a transitive clause, as shown by the rejected translations in (78) and (79).

Considering examples like the above, we see that the relevant concept for formulating a condition on quantifier interpretation is absolutive vs. ergative; that is, the quantifier can modify the subject of an intransitive clause or the object of a transitive clause, but not the subject of a transitive clause. Thus Gerdts (1988) formulates the following rule:

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[16] The use of the linker *ʔəẃ* is not obligatory in this construction, but it seems to be preferred.

(80)   The sentence-initial adverbial quantifier *mək̓ʷ* 'all' is interpreted as modifying the absolutive nominal.

In the case of ditransitives, the recipient or benefactive and not the theme is interpreted as being modified by the quantifier:

(81)   *niʔ   mək̓ʷ   ʔəẁ   yəθ-əs-t-ət   kʷθə   słənɫeniʔ   ʔə   kʷθə*
    AUX   all   LNK   tell-DAT-TR-1PL.SUB   DT   woman(PL)   OB   DT

    məstiməxʷ.
    people

    'We told all the women about the people.'/*'We told the woman about all the people.'

(82)   *niʔ   mək̓ʷ   ʔəẁ   ʔiləq-əɫc-t-ʔe:ṅ   kʷθə-nə   meʔməṅə   ʔə   kʷθə*
    AUX   all   LNK   buy-BEN-TR-1S.SUB   DT-1S.POS   child(PL)   OB   DT

    qʷłəẏšən.
    shoe

    'I bought shoes for all my kids.'/*'I bought all the shoes for my kids.'

Thus, the quantifier data provide evidence that the recipient or benefactive is the absolutive NP in the ditransitive construction.

2.3.3.   *Possessor extraction*

In §2.2.2, I discussed the extraction of direct versus oblique-flagged NPs. As Gerdts (1988) notes, it is also possible to extract possessors:

(83)   a.   *niʔ   x̌ʷčenəm   kʷθə   sqeʔəq-s   ɫə   słeniʔ.*
        AUX   run   DT   y.sibling-3POS   DT   woman

        'The woman's younger brother ran.'

    b.   *statəl̓-stəxʷ   cən   ɫə   słeniʔ   niʔ   x̌ʷčenəm   kʷθə   sqeʔəq-s.*
        know-CS   1S.SUB   DT   woman   AUX   run   DT   y.sibling-3POS

        'I know the woman whose younger brother ran.'[17]

(84)   a.   *niʔ   q̓ay   kʷθə-nə   sqʷəmeẏ.*
            AUX   die   DT-1s.POS   dog

       'My dog died.'

       b.   *ʔe:ṅθə   niʔ   q̓ay   kʷθə-nə   sqʷəmeẏ.*
            1s.PRO   AUX   die   DT-1s.POS   dog

       'I'm the one whose dog died.'

In the (b) examples, a nominal corresponding to the possessor in the (a) examples is extracted. The extracted nominal is doubled by possessive morphology in situ. Extraction is possible when the host is the subject of a intransitive clause, as above, but not if the host is the subject of a transitive clause:

(85)   * *statə́l-stəxʷ   cən   łə   słeniʔ   niʔ   q̓ʷəl-ət-əs   kʷθə*
         know-CS   1s.SUB   DT   woman   AUX   cook-TR-3ERG   DT

         sqeʔəq-s   kʷθə   sce:łtən.
         y.sibling-3POS   DT   salmon

       'I know the woman whose younger brother barbecued the salmon.'

(86)   * *nəwə   niʔ   ʔa:-θaṁš-əs   θəṅ   stalə́s.*
         2s.PRO   AUX   call-TR.1s.OBJ-3ERG   DT.2s.POS   spouse

       'You're the one whose wife called me.'

However, extraction of possessors is possible if the host is the object of a transitive clause:

(87)   *statə́l-stəxʷ   cən   łə   słeniʔ   niʔ   q̓a:y-t-əxʷ   kʷθə*
        know-CS   1s.SUB   DT   woman   AUX   kill-TR-2s.SUB   DT

        sqeʔəq-s.
        y.sibling-3POS

       'I know the woman whose younger brother you killed.'

(88)   *nəwə   niʔ   ʔa:t-ʔe:ṅ   θə   ʔəṅ-stalə́s.*
        2s.PRO   AUX   call.TR-1s.SUB   DT   2s.POS-spouse

       'You are the one whose wife I called.'

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[17] The kin term *sqeʔəq* means younger sibling or cousin. The gender of the determiner contributes to the meaning.

Gerdts (1988) thus formulates the condition on possessor extraction as follows:

(89)   A possessor can be extracted only if the possessive phrase from which it is extracted is an absolutive.

In ditransitive clauses, recipients and benefactives can host possessor extraction, providing evidence that the applied object is the absolutive:

(90)   *ʔe:ṅθə*   *niʔ*   *xʷayəm-əs-t-əxʷ*   *kʷθə-nə*   *sqeʔəq*   *ʔə*   *kʷθə*   *leləm̓.*
       1s.PRO   AUX   sell-DAT-TR-2s.SUB   DT-1s.POS   y.sibling   OB   DT   house

       'I'm the one whose younger brother you sold the house to.'

(91)   *nəwə*   *niʔ*   *x̌eⱡ-əⱡc-ət-əs*   *kʷθəṅ*   *men*   *ʔə*   *kʷθə*
       2s.PRO   AUX   write-DAT-TR-3ERG   DT.2s.POS   father   OB   DT

       pipə-s.
       letter-3POS

       'You're the one whose father he wrote the letter for.'

In contrast, the theme NP in a ditransitive clause cannot host possessor extraction:

(92)   * *ʔe:ṅθə*   *niʔ*   *xʷayəm-əs-t-əxʷ*   *kʷθə*   *xʷənitəm̓*   *ʔə*   *kʷθə-nə*
       1s.PRO   AUX   sell-DAT-TR-2s.SUB   DT   white.man   OB   DT-1s.POS

       leləm̓.
       house

       'I'm the one whose house you sold to the white man.'

(93)   * *nəwə*   *niʔ*   *ʔam-əs-t-əs*   *kʷθə*   *sqʷəmeyʔ*   *ʔə*   *kʷθəṅ*
       2s.PRO   AUX   give-DAT-TR-3ERG   DT   dog   OB   DT.2s.POS

       st̓θam̓.
       bone

       'You're the one whose bone he gave to the dog.'

Thus, possessor extraction provides evidence that the recipient or benefactive, and not the theme, is an absolutive NP.

It is possible to extract the possessor of a theme in a ditransitive construction, but this is accomplished via nominalization. Recall that the theme itself can only be extracted via nominalization; the verb has a nominalizing prefix *s-* and the subject is expressed as a possessor:

(94) *niɬ   kʷθə   pukʷ   niʔ   s-ʔam-əs-t-s   kʷθə   swiẃləs.*
      3PRO   DT   book   AUX   N-give-DAT-TR-3POS   DT   boy

      'It's a book that he gave the boy.'

Similarly, to extract the possessor of the theme, the theme must first be nominalized.

(95) *nəwə   niʔ   s-ʔam-əs-θaṁš-s   kʷθəṅ   pukʷ.*
      2S.PRO   AUX   N-give-DAT-TR.1S.OBJ-3POS   DT.2S.POS   book

      'You're the one whose book he gave to me.'

2.4.   Detransitivization and ditransitives

Halkomelem has three constructions – antipassive, reflexive, and reciprocal – that de-
transitivize the clause and so by definition target the object NP. However, only one of
these, reciprocals, combines with ditransitive constructions.

2.4.1.   *Antipassive*

Compare the transitive clauses with their antipassive counterparts (Gerdts & Hukari
2005):

(96) a. *niʔ   q̇ʷəl-ət-əs   tθə   sce:ɬtən.*
          AUX   cook-TR-3ERG   DT   salmon

          'He/she barbecued the salmon.'

      b. *niʔ   q̇ʷəl-əm   ʔə   tθə   sce:ɬtən.*
          AUX   cook-MID   OB   DT   salmon

          'He/she barbecued the salmon.'

(97) a. *naʔət   qʷəs-t-əs   tθə   λ̓eɬəṁ   sce:ɬtən.*
          AUX   go.in.water-TR-3ERG   DT   salted   salmon

          'He/she put the salted fish in water.'

      b. *naʔət   qʷs-els   ʔə   tθə   λ̓eɬəṁ   sce:ɬtən.*
          AUX   go.in.water-ACT   OB   DT   salted   salmon

          'He/she soaked the salted fish.'

The verbs in the transitive clauses are suffixed with transitive inflection, and, if the subject is third person, with ergative agreement. Verbs in antipassive clauses lack these suffixes. Instead they appear with the middle suffix (*-m*) or with the activity suffix (*-els*).[18] The agent is the subject in both types of clauses; however, the patient is the object in the transitive clause but an oblique object (if expressed at all) in the antipassive. Evidence for the status of the patient comes from extraction; parallel to themes in ditransitive clauses, patients in antipassive clauses are extracted via nominalization with the prefix *s-*:

(98) *stem   k̓ʷə   niʔ   ʔən̓-s-q̓ʷəl-əm?*
      what   DT   AUX   2s.POS-N-cook-MID

      'What did you cook?'

(99) *stem   k̓ʷə   niʔ   s-qʷs-els-s   ɬə   sɬeniʔʔ*
      what   DT   AUX   N-go.in.water-ACT-3POS   DT   woman

      'What did the woman put in the water/soak?'

Antipassive is productive in Halkomelem; most verb roots that form transitives also form antipassives, with either the middle suffix *-m* or the activity suffix *-els*. However, the oblique object of the antipassive corresponds only to the patient nominal of a monotransitive and never the recipient, goal, or benefactive of a ditransitive verb. So for example, the transitive clause in (100a) has the antipassive counterpart (100b), but the benefactive applicative in (101a) lacks an antipassive counterpart:[19]

(100) a. *nem̓   ʔə   č   θəy-t   kʷθə   snəxʷəɬ-s?*
           go   Q   2s.SUB   fix-TR   DT   canoe-3POS

           'Are you going to fix his canoe?'

       b. *nem̓   ʔə   č   θəy-əm   ʔə   kʷθə   snəxʷəɬ-s?*
           go   Q   2s.SUB   fix-MID   OB   DT   canoe-3POS

           'Are you going to fix his canoe?'

(101) a. *nem̓   ʔə   č   θəy-əɬc-t   kʷθə-na   mən̓a   ʔə   kʷθə*
           go   Q   2s.SUB   fix-BEN-TR   DT-1s.POS   child   OB   DT

---

[18] See Gerdts & Hukari (2005, 2006b) for a discussion of the similarities and differences in the use of the middle and activity suffixes.

[19] As discussed in Gerdts & Hukari (2006b), the verb form *θəy-əɬc-əm* is possible, but the middle suffix here is used as a speaker-oriented reflexive, so this means 'fix it for me'.

>   *snəxʷəɬ-s?*
>   canoe-3POS
>
>   'Are you going to fix his canoe for your son?'

b. * *neṁ   ʔə   č   θəy-əɬc-əm   ʔə   kʷθə-nə   məṅə   ʔə   kʷθə*
       go   Q   2S.SUB fix-BEN-MID OB   DT-1S.POS child OB   DT
    snəxʷəɬ-s?
    canoe-3POS

    'Are you going to fix his canoe for your son?'

2.4.2. *Verbs with antipassive/ditransitive frames*

Most Halkomelem verbs have paradigms as discussed in the previous section: they have monotransitive forms suffixed with *-t*, antipassive forms suffixed with *-m* or *-els*, and they have applicative forms, suffixed with *-əs* or *-əɬc*. The theme is the direct object in the monotransitive and an oblique object in the antipassive and applicative constructions. The applied object is the direct object in the applicative construction.

However, there is a small group of speech act verbs in which the goal (addressee) is expressed as the object when the verb is suffixed with *-t* (Gerdts & Hukari 2006b).

(102) *neṁ   ʔa:t   tᶿəṅ   men!*
        go   call.TR   DT.2S.POS father

       'Go call your father!'

(103) *ti:-θamə   cən   ceʔ.*
        beg-TR.2S.OBJ 1S.SUB   FUT

       'I will implore you.'

These verbs form ditransitive constructions without the addition of any applicative suffix. Also, as usual for ditransitive clauses, these verbs can take a theme, expressed as an oblique object or embedded clause.

(104) *neṁ   ɬə   ti:t   tᶿəṅ   men   ʔə   k̓ʷ   telə!*
        go   IMP beg.TR   DT.2S.POS father OB   DT   money

       'Go ask your father for money!'

(105) *səẁ*   *ƛe?-s*   *wəɬ*   *ptem̓-ət-əs*   *θə*   *ten-s*   *?əẁ*
       N.LNK   again-3POS   PERF   ask-TR-3ERG   DT   mother-3POS   LNK
       nəcim̓-əs   *?ə*   *šəs*   *k̓ʷəẏə-t-əm̓*   *?ə*   *t^θeẏ.*
       why-3SUB   OB   N.OB.AUX.3POS   forbid(IMPF)-TR-PAS   OB   DEM

       'So he asked his mother again why she forbade him to do it.'

The oblique-marked NP is an oblique object, as evidence from extraction shows; the NP is extracted via nominalization with the prefix *s-*:

(106) *stem*   *?aɬə*   *k̓ʷə*   *ni?*   *?ən̓-s-t̓i:t*   *t^θən̓*   *men?*
       what   INQU   DT   AUX   2s.POS-N-beg.TR   DT.2s.POS   father

       'What did you beg your father for?'

These verbs can also form an antipassive construction with the middle suffix *-m*.

(107) ANTIPASSIVE   (DI)TRANSITIVE
       ?a:m   'ask/call for'   *?a:t*   'call/ask him/her for s.t.'
       t̓i:m   'beg/ask for'   *t̓i:t*   'beg/ask him/her for s.t.'
       ya:m   'place an order for'   *ya:t*   'warn him/her about s.t.'

The antipassive allows only an agent and a theme, expressed as an oblique object, but not a goal:

(108) *?e?ət*   *?a:m*   *t^θən̓*   *siɬə*   *?ə*   *k̓ʷ*   *qa?.*
       AUX   call.MID   DT.2s.POS   g.parent   OB   DT   water

       'Your grandfather is calling for water.'

(109) *nem̓*   *cən*   *ya:m*   *?ə*   *k̓ʷ*   *qʷɬəẏšən*   *nem̓*   *?ə*   *t^θə*
       go   1s.SUB   order.MID   OB   DT   shoe   go   OB   DT
       qʷɬəẏšən=eẁtxʷ.
       shoe=building

       'I am going to order shoes from the shoe store.'

The theme nominal in the ditransitive or in the antipassive construction is an oblique object, as the evidence from extraction shows:

(110) *stem*   *?aɬə*   *k̓ʷə*   *?ən̓-s-ptem̓-ət*   *kʷθə-nə*   *men?*
       what   INQU   DT   2s.POS-N-ask-TR   DT-1s.POS   father

       'What did you ask my father?'

(111) *stem*   *ʔalə̓*   *k̓ʷə*   *niʔ*   *ʔən̓-s-ya:mʔ*
      what   INQU   DT   AUX   2s.POS-N-order

      'What did you order?'

The theme extracts via nominalization with the prefix *s-*.

    In sum, these speech act verbs differ from most semantically transitive verbs. Although they have an antipassive frame, in which the theme is expressed as an oblique object, and a ditransitive frame, in which the goal is the object, they lack a monotransitive frame in which the theme is the object. Thus, they differ from most two-argument verbs, which allow all three argument frames.

    Most verbs that take the dative applicative suffix also have a defective paradigm. The three verbs in (112) have antipassive forms and ditransitive forms.[20]

(112) ANTIPASSIVE   (DI)TRANSITIVE
      ʔeʔəm   'give'   *ʔaməst*   'give him/her s.t.'
      xʷayəm   'sell'   *xʷayəməst*   'sell him/her s.t.'
      sem   'sell'   *saməst*   'sell him/her s.t.'

In the antipassive, the theme is expressed as an oblique object (113)–(115) and extracted via nominalization with the prefix *s-* (116).

(113) *niʔ*   *ʔə*   *č*   *ʔeʔəm*   *ʔə*   *ɬən̓*   *qʷɬəy̓šən?*
      AUX   Q   2s.SUB   give   OB   DT.2s.POS   shoe

      'Did you give your shoes?'

(114) *nem̓*   *cən*   *xʷayəm*   *ʔə*   *kʷθə*   *šlələmelə*   *ʔi*   *wəɬ*   *qəx̌-θat.*
      go   1s.SUB   sell   OB   DT   bottle(PL)   AUX   PERF   many-REFL

      'I am going to go and sell all the bottles that have accumulated.'

(115) *nem̓*   *cən*   *p̓eʔ*   *wəɬ*   *sem̓*   *ʔə*   *θə-nə*   *snəxʷəɬ.*
      AUX   1s.SUB   indeed   PERF   sell   OB   DT-1s.POS   canoe

      'I'm going to sell my car.'

(116) *stem*   *ceʔ*   *k̓ʷə*   *ʔən̓-s-eʔəm*   *ʔə*   *kʷθə*   *skʷeyəl-s*   *kʷθən̓*   *ʔiməθ?*
      what   FUT   DT   2s.POS-N-give   OB   DT   day-3POS   DT.2s.POS   g.child

      'What are you going to give on your grandchild's birthday?'

---

[20] There is neither an antipassive nor a monotransitive form for the other two verb roots that take the dative applicative suffix.

However, only the third verb in (112) has a monotransitive form:

(117) neṁ   cən   seṁ-ət   θə-nə   snəxʷəɬ.
       AUX   1s.SUB   sell-TR   DT-1s.POS   canoe

       'I'm going to sell my car.'

Transitive forms of the other two verbs are rejected (*ʔeʔəmət, *xʷayəmət).

    In sum, Halkomelem ditransitive verbs with meanings like 'give', 'sell', and 'ask show' various behaviours. Based on whether or not they take applicative morphology and whether or not they have monotransitive and/or antipassive counterparts, they fall into several lexical classes consisting of a handful of verbs each. Future research on verb classes, both within Halkomelem and cross-linguistically, may shed some light on this subject. However, it appears that verbs with very similar semantics often fall into different classes. Furthermore, given that many ditransitive verbs do not appear in a monotransitive frame, a syntactically-driven model that proposes that antipassives and ditransitives are derived from monotransitives runs counter to the distributional evidence.

2.4.3.   Reflexives and reciprocals

Halkomelem forms reflexives and reciprocals by suffixing the reflexive suffix *-θət* or the reciprocal suffix *-təl*, instead of the transitive or object suffixes, to a semantically transitive verb (Gerdts 2000).

(118) a. k̓ʷesət   k̓ʷesəθət   k̓ʷestəl
           'burn it'   'burn self'   'burn each other'

       b. q̓ʷaqʷət   q̓ʷaqʷəθət   q̓ʷəqʷətəl
           'club it'   'club self'   'club each other'

       c. ʔak̓ʷət   ʔak̓ʷəθət   ʔak̓ʷtəl
           'hook it'   'hook self'   'get hung up with each other'

Additional examples of reflexives and reciprocals are as follows:

(119) q̓ayθət   'kill self'
       c̓əẏxʷθət   'dry self'
       ləx̌ʷəθət   'cover self'
       laləmθət   'look after self'
       x̌iq̓əθət   'scratch self'

(120) *ċawətəl*   'help each other'
      ʔikʼʷətəl   'separate from each other'
      maləqʷtəl   'mix with each other'
      łiċətəl   'cut each other'
      x̌iq̓ətəl   'scratch each other'

Like morphological reflexives and reciprocals in many languages of the world, the Halkomelem reflexive and reciprocal constructions are syntactically intransitive. Thus, reflexive and reciprocal constructions with third-person subjects do not allow ergative indexing:

(121) a.   *niʔ*   *kʷələš-θət*   *kʷθə*   *swəẏqeʔ.*
         AUX   shoot-REFL   DT   man

         'The man shot himself.'

    b. * *niʔ*   *kʷləš-θət-əs*   *kʷθə*   *swəẏqeʔ.*
         AUX   shoot-REFL-3ERG   DT   man

         'The man shot himself.'

(122) a.   *ʔi*   *ha:qʷə-təl̓*   *tə*   *sqʷəmqʷəmeẏ.*
         AUX   smell(IMPF)-RECIP   DT   dog(PL)

         'The dogs are smelling one another.'

    b. * *ʔi*   *ha:qʷə-təl̓-əs*   *tə*   *sqʷəmqʷəmeẏ.*
         AUX   smell(IMPF)-RECIP-3ERG   DT   dog(PL)

         'The dogs are smelling one another.'

Reflexives and reciprocals behave differently with respect to the objects in ditransitive verbs. The reflexive suffix cannot be used with ditransitive verbs.

(123) * *niʔ*   *cən*   *cəs-əθət*   *ʔəẇ*   *nem̓-ən̓*   *t̓akʼʷ.*
       AUX   1S.SUB   tell-REFL   LNK   go-1S.SUB   go.home

       'I told myself to go home.'

(124) * *niʔ*   *cən*   *ʔam-əs-θət.*
       AUX   1S.SUB   give-DAT-REFL

       'I gave it to myself.'

(125) * *ni:č*   *nəpəc-θət*   *ʔə*   *k̓ʷ*   *telə?*
       AUX.Q.2S.SUB   send-REFL   OB   DT   money

‘Did you send yourself some money?’

(126) * *niʔ*   *q̓ʷəl-əłc-θət*   *ʔə*   *kʷθə*   *səplil.*
       AUX   bake-BEN-REFL   OB   DT   bread

‘He baked the bread for himself.’

In contrast, reciprocals are compatible with ditransitives, and the reciprocal suffix refers to the recipient, goal, or benefactive:

(127) *niʔ*   *ct*   *nəwən-təl*   *ʔiʔ*   *θə-nə*   *sqeʔəq*   *ʔə*   *kʷθə*   *leləm̓*
       AUX   1PL.SUB   will-RECIP   CNJ   DT-1S.POS   sister   OB   DT   house
       ct.
       2PL.POS

‘My little sister and I willed each other our house.’

(128) *cəsə-təl̓*   *tᶿə*   *yeẏsəl̓ə*   *q̓eləmiʔ*   *kʷs*
       tell(IMPF)-RECIP   DT   two.people   y.woman(PL)   DT.N
       θqʷ=ənəq-s.
       tattle=person-3pos

‘The two girls are telling each other to go and tattletale.’

(129) *niʔ*   *ʔə*   *ce:p*   *nəpəc-təl*   *ʔə*   *kʷθə*   *pipə?*
       AUX   Q   2PL.SUB   send-RECIP   OB   DT   letter

‘Did you send each other letters?’

(130) *ʔa:m̓-əs-təl̓*
       give(IMPF)-DAT-RECIP

‘giving it to each other’

(131) *ʔi*   *sasəm̓-əs-təl̓*   *tᶿə*   *ʔiməšnetən-ct*   *ʔə*   *tᶿə*
       AUX   sell(IMPF)-DAT-RECIP   DT   neighbour-1PL.POS   OB   DT
       s-ya:ys-θ.
       N-work-3POS

‘Our visitors sold each other their work [baskets, knitting, etc.].’

(132)   *niʔ   ct   q̓ʷəl-əɬc-təl.*
      AUX   1PL.SUB   cook-BEN-RECIP

      'We cooked for each other.'

The difference between the range of occurrence between reciprocals and reflexives is not unexpected from a cross-linguistic viewpoint. For example, in English, reciprocals pronouns, but not reflexive pronouns, can function as possessives.

(133)   They looked at each other's pictures.

(134)   * He looked at himself's picture.

We see the same effect in Halkomelem (Gerdts 2007):

(135)   *naʔət   xʷiʔ   tqʷə-təl   tθə   sƛ̓əliqəɬ   ʔə   tθə   šyəm̓tən-s.*
      AUX.DT   NTW   tighten-RECIP   DT   child(PL)   OB   DT   belt-3POS

      'The children are tightening each other's belts.'

(136)   * *naʔət   xʷiʔ   tqʷə-θət   tθə   sƛ̓iʔƛ̓qəɬ   ʔə   tθə   šyəm̓tən-s.*
       AUX.DT   NTW   tighten-REFL   DT   child(PL)   OB   DT   belt-3POS

       'The child is tightening his (self's) belt.'

A possible analysis is that (135) is an external possession construction with *sƛ̓əliqəɬ* 'children'. One difficulty for this analysis is that lack for a non-reciprocal counterpart. Aside from lexical suffix constructions, discussed in §3.1 below, Halkomelem does not allow external possession, for example, in the following monotransitive clause:

(137)   * *naʔət   xʷiʔ   tqʷə-t-əs   tθə   sƛ̓əliqəɬ   ʔə   tθə   šyəm̓tən-s.*
       AUX.DT   NTW   tighten-TR-3ERG   DT   child(PL)   OB   DT   belt-3POS

       'He is tightening the children's belts.'

The analysis of (135) is thus problematic: either external possession is allowed only if the external object is reciprocal, or the reciprocal is targeting the possessor rather than a direct object.

In sum, ditransitive constructions have reciprocal, but not reflexive counterparts. It should be clarified that the failure of reflexives in ditransitive clauses is not a function of the verb base. The verb roots *sem̓* 'sell' and *θəy* 'fix', exemplified in monotransitive clauses in (138) and (139), can take reflexive suffixes (140) and (141):

(138) neṁ   cən   seṁ-ət   θə-nə   swetə.
       go   1s.SUB sell-TR   DT-1s.POS   sweater

       'I am going to sell my sweater.'

(139) θəy-t   tᶿəṅ   šƛ̓piẇən,   ʔeʔət   qəĺ=as.
       fix-TR   DT.2s.POS   shirt   AUX.DT   bad=face

       'Fix your shirt; it is on backwards.'

(140) niʔ   cən   qəl-nəxʷ   łə   q̇eṁiʔ   niʔ   θət   kʷs   neṁ-s
       AUX   1s.SUB bad-LCTR   DT   y.woman AUX   say   DT.N   go-3POS
       saṁ-əθət.
       sell-REFL

       'I got mad at the young lady who said she was going to sell herself.'

(141) θəy-θət   cən   kʷənəs   x̌ʷčenəm.
       fix-REFL   1s.SUB DT.1s.POS.N   run

       'I got ready to run.'

The reflexive suffix refers to the theme. However, the reflexive suffix is incompatible with ditransitivity and hence cannot be followed by an applicative suffix:

(142) * saṁ-əθət-əs-t
           sell-REFL-DAT-TR

           'sell herself to him'

(143) * θəy-θət-əłc-t
           fix-REFL-BEN-TR

           'fix oneself for him'

Nor can the reflexive suffix follow an applicative suffix:

(144) * saṁ-əs-θət.
           sell-DAT-REFL

           'sell herself to him'/'sell it to oneself'

(145) * θəy-əłc-θət
           fix-BEN-REFL

           'fix oneself for him'/'fix it for oneself'

Table 4: Properties of objects and obliques in Halkomelem

	OBJECTS IN MONOTRANSITIVE	OBJECTS IN DITRANSITIVE
Direct case marking	✓	✓
Direct extraction	✓	✓
Agreement	✓	✓
Passive	✓	✓
Sole NP interpretation	✓	✓
Quantifier interpretation	✓	✓
Possessor extraction	✓	✓
Antipassive	✓	no
Reflexive	✓	no
Reciprocal	✓	✓

Such forms are rejected whether the reflexive is interpreted as referring to the theme or to the recipient or benefactive.

Reflexive constructions thus parallel antipassives; transitive clauses have reflexive or antipassive passive counterparts, but ditransitive constructions do not.

2.5. Summary

As seen above, Halkomelem has a variety of semantically ditransitive clauses, i.e. clauses in which there is both a theme and an additional non-subject NP, such as a recipient, goal, benefactive, or source. The verbs in these constructions are of two types – with and without applicative morphology – but all ditransitives behave alike morphosyntactically. Halkomelem lacks syntactically ditransitive clauses; that is, it allows at most two direct arguments of the verb. The additional NP is the direct object in a ditransitive construction, and thus it behaves like objects in monotransitive clauses in many ways, as summarized in Table 4.

However, there are two ways in which ditransitive constructions behave differently from monotransitives: they do not allow antipassive or reflexive.

3.   Lexical suffixes and ditransitivity

3.1.   Introduction

This section explores the interaction of lexical suffixation, the Salish equivalent of noun incorporation, with ditransitivity. Lexical suffixes, which derive historically from nouns that have become bound forms, have meanings analogous to free-standing nominals. Salish languages have more than one hundred lexical suffixes expressing body

parts, flora and fauna, people, and cultural artifacts such as houses, garments, and instruments. The morphosyntax of lexical suffixes have been discussed elsewhere (e.g. Gerdts 2003; Gerdts & Hinkson 1996). For our purpose here, it is sufficient to note that one use of lexical suffixes is to refer to the nominal that plays the role of the theme in a transitive event:

(146) *nem̓   cən   t̓q̓ʷ=e:n-t.*
        go   1s.SUB   cut.off=plant-TR

        'I'm going to cut down plants.'

(147) *nem̓   cən   ɬəlq=ət̓ᶿeʔ-t.*
        go   1s.SUB   soak=fibre-TR

        'I'm going to dye wool.'

The construction is semantically transitive, and, if the lexical suffix is inflected with the transitive suffix, it is syntactically transitive as well.

The lexical suffix serves a classifying function on the theme, which can appear as the overt object NP of the clause.

(148) *nem̓   cən   t̓q̓ʷ=e:n-t   t̓ᶿə   st̓ᶿeqən.*
        go   1s.SUB   cut.off=plant-TR   DT   bulrush

        'I'm going to cut down the bulrushes.'

(149) *nem̓   cən   ɬəlq=ət̓ᶿeʔ-t   t̓ᶿə   ləmətuɫqən.*
        go   1s.SUB   soak=fibre-TR   DT   wool

        'I'm going to dye the wool.'

Often the semantics of such constructions involves a hyponymous relationship between the lexical suffix and the NP: the lexical suffix refers to the nominal's type, while the NP refers to a particular instantiation, elaborated through modification and anchored in space and time through the use of determiners, etc. Thus, we see that lexical suffixes play a classificatory function in Halkomelem.[21]

Transitive lexical suffix constructions like those illustrated above have intransitive counterparts:

(150) *nem̓   cən   t̓q̓ʷ=e:n.*
        go   1s.SUB   cut.off=plant

        'I'm going to cut down (plants).'

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[21] See Gerdts & Hinkson (2004a) for a discussion of lexical suffixes used as numeral classifiers in Salish languages.

(151) *nem̓ cən ɬəlq=ət̓ᶿeʔ.*
      go   1s.SUB soak=fibre

      'I'm going to dye (wool).'

The verb lacks transitive marking, and the lexical suffix can be doubled with a free-standing NP, which is flagged with the oblique marker:

(152) *nem̓ cən t̓q̓ʷ=e:n ʔə t̓ᶿə st̓ᶿeqən.*
      go   1s.SUB cut.off=plant OB DT bulrush

      'I'm going to cut down the bulrushes.'

(153) *nem̓ cən ɬəlq=ət̓ᶿeʔ ʔə t̓ᶿə ləmətulqən.*
      go   1s.SUB soak=fibre OB DT wool

      'I'm going to dye the wool.'

    The extraction evidence shows that the oblique-marked NP is an oblique object: it extracts via nominalization with the prefix *s-*.

(154) *niɬ t̓ᶿə st̓ᶿeqən ʔi nə-s-t̓q̓ʷ=e:n.*
      3PRO DT bulrush AUX 1s.POS-N-cut.off=plant

      'It's the bulrush that I am cutting.'

(155) *niɬ ceʔ təʔi ləmətulqən nə-s-ɬəlq=ət̓ᶿeʔ.*
      3PRO FUT DEM wool 1s.POS-N-soak=fibre

      'It's that wool that I will dye.'

Thus, as in antipassive constructions, such lexical suffix constructions provide another example of a semantically transitive clause that is syntactically intransitive in which the theme NP is an oblique object. The lexical suffix constructions are compatible with a variety of different ditransitive constructions. I discuss external possession constructions in section and the interaction of lexical suffixes and semantically ditransitive constructions in section

3.2.   Lexical suffixes and external possession

Lexical suffixes form an external possession construction; the object of the transitive verb is the semantic possessor of the theme expressed as the lexical suffix:

(156) *niʔ*   *tš=iʔqʷ-t-əs*   *łə*   *słeniʔ*   *kʷθə*   *sqʷəmeẏ.*
      AUX   comb=hair-TR-3ERG   DT   woman   DT   dog

      'The woman combed the dog's hair.'

(157) *nem̓*   *ləkʷ=ces-t*   *t^θə*   *t̓aʔxʷ.*
      go   break=hand-TR   DT   balsam

      'Go and break the balsam branch off.'

The external possession construction can be used to express part-whole relationships as above, or the relationship between the object and the theme can also be one of alienable possession.

(158) *nem̓*   *č*   *ʔəyeʔq=əlwət-t*   *θən̓*   *qeq!*
      go   2s.SUB   change=garment-TR   DT.2s.POS   baby

      'Go change your baby's clothes!'

(159) *yəqʷ=əẇtxʷ-t*   *č*   *ceʔ*   *kʷθə*   *səm̓səmaẏə.*
      burn=house-TR   2s.SUB   FUT   DT   bee

      'You will burn the beehive (literally: the bees' house).'

The external possessor is the object and thus can be inflected with a pronominal object suffix or passive suffix:

(160) *niʔ*   *ʔə*   *č*   *θəy=eʔł-θam̓š?*
      AUX   Q   2s.SUB   make=fabric-TR.1s.OBJ

      'Did you make my bed?'

(161) *niʔ*   *tš=iʔqʷ-t-əm*   *kʷθə*   *sqʷəmeẏ.*
      AUX   comb=hair-TR-PAS   DT   dog

      'The dog's hair was combed.'

In the above examples, the theme is expressed solely by the lexical suffix. It is also possible to double the theme with a free-standing NP flagged as an oblique:

(162) *ʔi:*   *č*   *łaq̓ʷ=əlwət-t*   *θə*   *słeniʔ*   *ʔə*   *θə*   *kəpu-s?*
      AUX.Q   2s.SUB   brush=garment-TR   DT   woman   OB   DT   coat-3POS

      'Are you brushing off the woman's coat?'

(163) ʔi: č   ṫᶿəx̌ʷ=əlwət-t   θə   sɬeniʔ   ʔə   θə   sʔiṫᶿəm-s?
       AUX.Q 2S.SUB wash=garment-TR DT woman OB DT coat-3POS

       'Are you washing the woman's clothes?'

The extraction test shows that the NP is an oblique object: it extracts via nominalization with the prefix *s-*:

(164) niɬ   ɬə   sʔiṫᶿəm-s   niʔ   nə-s-ṫᶿəx̌ʷ=əlwət-t   ɬə   sɬeniʔ
       3PRO DT clothes-3POS AUX 1S.POS-N-wash=garment-TR DT woman

       'It's her clothes that I'm washing of the woman's?'

3.3.   Lexical suffixes and ditransitives

Ditransitive constructions may also contain lexical suffixes:

(165) nem̓   cən   calaʔɬ=ənəp-t   kʷθən̓   šxʷəm̓nikʷ   ʔə   kʷθə   təməxʷ.
       go   1S.SUB lend=ground-TR DT.2S.POS uncle OB DT land

       'I'm going to rent some land to my uncle.'

(166) nem̓   cən   calaʔɬ=šə-t   kʷθə-nə   sqeʔəq   ʔə   kʷθən̓
       go   1S.SUB lend=foot-TR DT-1S.POS y.sibling OB DT.2S.POS
       kəmput.
       gumboot

       'I'm going to lend your gumboots to my younger brother.'

The recipient or source is the object and the lexical suffix refers to the theme. The theme can be doubled with an oblique object, which extracts via nominalization with the prefix *s-*.

(167) niɬ   kʷθə ɬq̓ecəs acre niʔ   nə-s-calaʔɬ=ənəp-t   kʷθən̓
       3PRO DT five acres AUX 1S.POS-N-lend=ground-TR DT.2S.POS
       šxʷəm̓nikʷ.
       uncle

       'It's five acres that I rented to my uncle.'

(168) niɬ   kʷθən̓   kəmput   niʔ   nə-s-calaʔɬ=šə-t   kʷθə-nə
       3PRO DT.2S.POS gumboot AUX 1S.POS-N-rent=foot-TR DT-1S.POS

sqeʔəq.
y.sibling

'It's your gumboots that I lent to my brother.'

We also see lexical suffixes followed by the redirective suffix *-əɬc*, as discussed in Gerdts (2003).

(169) *ƚᶿx̌ʷ = əlwət-əɬc-ət!*
wash=clothes-BEN-TR

'Wash clothes for him/her!'

(170) *q̓p̓ = əwəɬ-əɬc-ət!*
tie=vessel-BEN-TR

'Tie up the canoe for him/her!'

The benefactive is the object and thus is indexed with object inflection:

(171) *šk̓ʷ = əyəɬ-əɬc-θamš!*
bathe=child-BEN-TR.1S.OBJ

'Bathe the baby for me!'

(172) *səw̓q̓ = iw̓s-əɬc-θamš   č   ceʔ.*
seek=body-BEN-TR.1S.OBJ   2S.OBJ   FUT

'You will take my place in the search for the missing person.'

As in other lexical suffix constructions, the lexical suffix refers to the theme, which can also be expressed as an oblique object.

(173) *šk̓ʷ = əyəɬ-əɬc-θəmə   cən   ceʔ   ʔə   k̓ʷθəň̓   qeq.*
bathe=child-BEN-TR.2S.OBJ   1S.SUB   FUT   OB   DT.2S.POS   baby

'I will bathe your baby for you.'

(174) *neḿ   č   cam = əlcəp-əɬc-əθaṁš   ʔə   k̓ʷθə-nə   syəɬ   niʔ*
go   2S.SUB   go.up=wood-BEN-TR.1S.OBJ   OB   DT-1S.POS   firewood   AUX
cecəw̓!
be.on.beach

'Go bring up the wood that's on the beach for me!'

We have also found data in which the lexical suffix for 'child' appears after the redirective suffix *-ɬc*:

(175) *neṁ   ceʔ   θeẏ-əɬc=eyɬ-t   tᶿən   šəšiyəɬ   ʔə   kʷθə*
      go   FUT   fix-BEN=person-TR   DT.2s.POS   o.sibling(PL)   OB   DT

      sʔənəm-s   kʷθə   sƛ̓əliqəɬ.
      spear-3POS   DT   children

      'Your older brothers are going to fix spears for the children.'

(176) *niʔ   cən   neṁ   ʔiləq-əɬc=eyɬ-t   kʷθə-nə   meṁəṅə   ʔə   kʷθə*
      AUX   1s.SUB   go   buy-BEN=child-TR   DT-1s.POS   child(PL)   OB   DT

      səẇaləṁ.
      toy

      'I went and bought toys for my children.'

The NP that doubles the lexical suffix is the object in these examples, paralleling lexical suffix constructions based on monotransitive clauses. The theme of the benefactive applicative is expressed as an oblique object, and extracts via nominalization with the prefix *s-*:[22]

(177) *stem   kʷəṅ   s-ʔiləq-əɬc=eyɬ-t   ceʔ   kʷθəṅ   meṁəṅə?*
      what   DT.2s.POS   N-buy-BEN=child-TR   FUT   DT.2s.POS   child(PL)

      'What will you buy for your children?'

In sum, we see that lexical suffixes in benefactive applicatives can refer to themes or to applied objects. The order of the suffixes disambiguates the usage: a lexical suffix referring to the theme precedes the applicative suffix and a lexical suffix referring to the applied object follows the applicative suffix. Logically, it should also be possible to have examples where there are two lexical suffixes, one before and one after the applicative suffix. I have never encountered such data in texts or conversations. Speakers agreed that examples like the following made sense but said they would never use them.

(178) *ṫᶿx̌ʷ=əlwət-əɬc=eyɬ-ət!*
      wash=clothes-BEN=child-TR

      'Wash clothes for the child!'

---

[22] One consultant judged (176) to be better without the transitive suffix, but she offered (177) without hesitation.

The lack of such data may be due to a limitation on the number of lexical suffixes that can refer to objects per verb, or it may simply be due to the on-going loss of lexical suffix constructions in favor of their periphrastic counterparts.[23]

4.   Causatives and Ditransitivity

4.1.   Introduction

Halkomelem causatives are formed with the suffix *-stəxʷ*. When the base verb is an intransitive activity predicate, the causer is the subject and the causee is the direct object:

(179)   a.   *niʔ   ʔiməš   tᶿə   swiẃləs.*
           AUX   walk   DT   young.man

           'The young man walked.'

     b.   *niʔ   cən   ʔiməš-stəxʷ   tᶿə   swiẃləs.*
           AUX   1s.SUB   walk-CS   DT   young.man

           'I made the young man walk.'

(180)   a.   *niʔ   cƛ̓əm   tᶿə   sqʷəmeẏ.*
           AUX   jump   DT   dog

           'The dog jumped.'

     b.   *niʔ   cən   cƛ̓əm-stəxʷ   tᶿə   sqʷəmeẏ.*
           AUX   1s.SUB   jump-CS   DT   dog

           'I made the dog jump.'

The causative suffix is also added to motion verbs to yield an associative meaning. That is, the object expresses the person or thing that is taken or brought along during the performance of the motion.

(181)   *niʔ   cən   həyeʔ-stəxʷ   kʷθə   sqʷəmeẏ.*
        AUX   1s.SUB   leave-CS   DT   dog

        'I took the dog along.'

(182)   *ʔałstəxʷ-əs   səẃ   ʔəšəl   ṫakʷ   θəẃnił.*
        get.on.board-CS-3ERG   N.LNK   paddle   go.home   DT.PRO

        'She put it on board and she paddled home.'

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[23] See Gerdts (2003) for examples of lexical suffixes appearing both before and after the causative suffix.

(183) *ṁi   ɬe:l-stəxʷ   tᶿə   snəxʷəɬ!*
       come   go.ashore-CS   DT   canoe

       'Beach the canoe!'

(184) *neṁ   cən   ṫəxʷ-stəxʷ   kʷθə-nə.   syaɬ.*
       go   1s.SUB   go.downhill-CS   DT-1s.POS   firewood

       'I am going to take my firewood down.'

Causatives interact with ditransitivity in several ways. First, causatives based on intransitive verbs form transitive bases that can in turn be ditransitivized with an applicative suffix (Gerdts & Kiyosawa 2007):

(185) *neṁ   ʔənəxʷ-st-əɬc-θaṁš   ʔə   θə   sti:č!*
       go   stop-CS-BEN-TR.1s.OBJ   OB   DT   bus

       'Stop the bus for me!'

As in applicatives formed on underived transitives, the beneficiary is the direct object, and the theme is expressed as an oblique object.

Second, it is also possible to form causatives on semantically transitive verbs, as discussed in detail in this section. I divide causatives formed on transitive bases into two types: I discuss causatives with meanings like 'have, let, show, teach' in §4.1 and those with 'give' translations in §4.2. In addition, causative constructions are transitive and can themselves be ditransitivized, for example with an applicative suffix, as discussed in §4.3.

4.2.   Causatives with 'have, show, teach' meanings

Previously, I claimed that causatives in Halkomelem are formed only on intransitive bases (Gerdts 2004a). Evidence for that claim came from the fact that a transitive form such as (186a) cannot serve as a base for a causative. This is true regardless of the presence or absence of the transitive suffix, word order, or the case marking of the nominals:

(186) a.   *niʔ   q̇ʷəl-ət-əs   ɬə   sɬeniʔ   kʷθə   səplil.*
            AUX   cook-TR-3ERG   DT   woman   DT   bread

            'The woman baked the bread.'

b. * *niʔ   cən   q̓ʷəl(-ət)-stəxʷ   (ʔə)   łə   sɬeniʔ   (ʔə)   kʷθə   səplil.*
    AUX   1S.SUB   cook-TR-CS   OB   DT   woman   OB   DT   bread

    'I had the woman bake the bread.'

I noted that to form causatives of this meaning the event is expressed in an antipassive construction as in (187), to which the causative suffix is added, as in (188).

(187)   *niʔ   q̓ʷəl-əm   ʔə   kʷθə   sce:ɬtən.*
      AUX   cook-MID   OB   DT   salmon

      'He cooked the salmon.'

(188)   *niʔ   cən   q̓ʷəl-əm-stəxʷ   łə   sɬeniʔ   ʔə   kʷθə   sce:ɬtən.*
      AUX   1S.SUB   cook-MID-CS   DT   woman   OB   DT   salmon

      'I had the woman cook the salmon.'

The oblique-marked theme in the antipassive and in the causative based on the antipassive is an oblique object, as shown by the extraction data; the theme is extracted via nominalization with the prefix *s-*:

(189)   *stem   ceʔ   k̓ʷəṅ   s-q̓ʷəl-əm?*
      what   FUT   DT.2S.POS   N-cook-MID

      'What are you going to cook?'

(190)   *stem   ceʔ   k̓ʷəṅ   s-q̓ʷəl-əm-stəxʷ   łə   sɬeniʔ?*
      what   FUT   DT.2S.POS   N-cook-MID-CS   DT   woman

      'What are you going to have the woman cook?'

Forming causatives on antipassive bases is a productive process in Halkomelem, allowed by most semantically transitive verbs.

    However, additional research has revealed that in fact some causatives are formed directly on transitive bases, without the mediation of an antipassive construction (Gerdts & Hukari 2006a). For example, the verb root √*mək̓ʷ* has a transitive form *mək̓ʷət* 'pick it up off the ground, gather' (191) and a causative form *mək̓ʷstəxʷ* 'have him/her pick it up off the ground, gather' (192), and the root √*ʔiləq* has a transitive form *ʔiləqət* 'buy it' (193) and a causative form *ʔiləqstəxʷ* 'have him/her buy it' (194):[24]

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[24] An in-depth discussion of our current thinking about underlying transitivity in Halkomelem is beyond the scope of this paper, but see Gerdts (2006) and Gerdts & Hukari (2010+) for evidence that Halkomelem exhibits the usual range of verb types – unergative, unaccusative, and transitive.

(191) *mək̓ʷ-ət   č   ceʔ   t̓ᶿə   syaɬ.*
pick.up-TR   2s.SUB   FUT   DT   firewood

'You will gather firewood.'

(192) *nem̓   cən   mək̓ʷ-stəxʷ   t̓ᶿə   sƛ̓iʔƛ̓qəɬ   ʔə   t̓ᶿə   q̓əyem̓ən,   nem̓   ʔə*
go   1s.SUB   pick.up-CS   DT   child   OB   DT   shell   go   OB
t̓ᶿə   k̓ʷaƛ̓k̓ʷa   cəwmən.
DT   salt.water   seashore

'I'm going to get the boy to pick up sea shells by the seashore.'

(193) *ni: č   ʔiləq-ət   k̓ʷ   sk̓ʷaẁəs?*
AUX.Q   2s.SUB   buy-TR   DT   bucket

'Did you buy a bucket?'

(194) *ʔiləq-stəxʷ   t̓ᶿə   sƛ̓iʔƛ̓qəɬ   ʔə   k̓ʷəẁ   stem   ʔəl̓   ʔə   θə   telə   ni?*
buy-CS   DT   child   OB   DT.LNK   what   MIT   OB   DT   money   AUX
k̓ʷən̓e-t-əs.
take(STA)-TR-3ERG

'Have the boy buy something with the money he has.'

Cross-linguistically, causatives based on transitives replicate the structure of ditransitive clauses (Gerdts 1992), and Halkomelem is no exception to this generalization. The causee is the direct object and the theme of the transitive verb is an oblique object, as shown by extraction. The causee can be extracted with no additional morphology:

(195) *ɬwet   ceʔ   k̓ʷə   nem̓   mək̓ʷ-stəxʷ-əxʷ   ʔə   t̓ᶿə   q̓əyem̓ən?*
who   FUT   DT   go   pick.up-CS-2s.SUB   OB   DT   shell

'Who are you going to have pick up the shells?'

(196) *ɬwet   k̓ʷə   niʔ   ʔiləq-stəxʷ-əxʷ   ʔə   k̓ʷθə   sqewθ?*
who   DT   AUX   buy-CS-2s.SUB   OB   DT   potato

'Who did you have buy the potatoes?'

In contrast, the oblique-marked NP in a causative formed on a transitive tests to be an oblique object, since it extracts with *s-* nominalization:

Most roots in Halkomelem may appear in a more than one argument structure frame. Some of the roots on which causatives are based appear not only as transitives, but also as unaccusatives or unergatives with an oblique patient. However, in other cases, such as √*mək̓ʷ* or √*ʔiləq*, the root does not occur as a free-standing word and thus we posit it to be a transitive root.

(197)   *stem   ʔalə   k̓ʷə   niʔ   ʔən̓-s-mək̓ʷ-stəxʷ   tᶿə   sƛ̓iʔƛ̓qəɬ?*
      what   INQU   DT   AUX   2s.POS-N-pick.up-CS   DT   child

      'What did you have the child pick up?'

(198)   *stem   ʔalə   k̓ʷə   niʔ   ʔən̓-s-ʔiləq-stəxʷ   tᶿə   sƛ̓iʔƛ̓qəɬ?*
      what   INQU   DT   AUX   2s.POS-N-buy-CS   DT   child

      'What did you have the child buy?'

Causatives formed on transitives get a range of translations including to get, have, make, show, or teach someone to perform the transitive action. Often the causative verb is chained with the verb *xʷʔəẁcəst* 'show someone how to do something with the hands'.

(199)   *ʔi:č   wəɬ   səl̓-ət   k̓ʷθə   s-tšel̓qən̓   ʔən̓-ləmətul̓qən?*
      AUX.Q.2S.SUB   PERF   spin-TR   DT   STA-card(RES)   2s.POS-wool

      'Have you spun your carded wool?'

(200)   *xʷʔəẁ=cəs-t   θə   q̓emiʔ   səl-stəxʷ   ʔə   tᶿə   ləmətul̓qən!*
      teach=hand-TR   DT   y.woman   spin-CS   OB   DT   wool

      'Teach the girl how to spin the wool!'

Our fieldwork has revealed that not all transitive verbs form causatives, and more research is required to understand why. Typically, the verbs in this construction express prototypically transitive events involving an effect on the theme. Some of the verbs that show the transitive/causative alternation are given in Table 5.

4.3.   Causatives with 'give' meanings

The previous section exemplified causatives in which the subject is the causer and the object plays the semantic role of causee, which in turn is the agent of a transitive event that affects the theme, expressed as the oblique object. Many causatives also have an additional nuance that the causer is involved in an act of transfer of the theme to the causee, which plays the role of recipient.

    As expected, the recipient is the object in such causative constructions, and the theme is an oblique object.

(201)   *niʔ   ʔə   č   ceʔ   ʔət̓ᶿem-əstəxʷ   θə   q̓emiʔ   ʔə   θən̓*
      AUX   Q   2S.SUB   FUT   wear-CS   DT   y.woman   OB   DT.2s.POS

Table 5: Causatives based on transitives

TRANSITIVE		CAUSATIVE	
ɬtet	'flip it'	ɬaístəxʷ	'show him/her how to flip it'
ɬəṅət	'weave it'	ɬəṅstəxʷ	'show him/her how to weave it'
λ̓iċət	'sneak up on it'	λ̓əċstəxʷ	'show him/her how to sneak up on it'
maɫət	'splay/prop it'	maístəxʷ	'show him/her how to splay/prop it'
məl̓ċt	'roll it'	məl̓ċstəxʷ	'have him/her roll it'
pšət	'spit it'	pəšstəxʷ	'show him/her how/where to spit it'
q̓x̌ət	'insult him/her'	q̓ax̌stəxʷ	'teach him/her how to insult him/her'
i̓aʔt	'pull it apart'	i̓aʔstəxʷ	'teach him/her to pull it apart'
i̓əṁət	'pound/beat on it'	i̓əṁstəxʷ	'show him/her how to pound/beat on it'
tᶿaʔt	'pull it off'	tᶿaʔstəxʷ	'show him/her how to pull it off'

> *swetə?*
> sweater

'Are you going to give the young lady your sweater to wear?'

(202)   *neṁ   ɬə   q̓ik̓ʷ-əm-stəxʷ   tᶿəṅ   silə   ʔə   tᶿə   səplil!*
  go   IMP   bite-MID-CS   DT.2S.POS   g.parent   OB   DT   bread

'Go give your grandfather a bite of the bread!'

(203)   *neṁ   ɬex̌əṅ-t   qaʔqaʔ-stəxʷ   ʔə   θə   sɬex̌əṅ-s!*
  go   medicate-TR   drink-CS   OB   DT   medicine-3POS

'Go medicate him, give him a drink of his medicine!'

Frequently, the verbs on which these constructions are based are grammatically intransitive forms, as evidenced by antipassive or middle morphology. In some cases, however, the causative is based on a transitive verb root.

(204)   a.   *niʔ   q̓əp̓k̓ʷ-t-əs   tᶿə   sqʷəmey̓   tᶿə   si̓ᶿaṁ.*
    AUX   gnaw-TR-3ERG   DT   dog   DT   bone

   'The dog gnawed the bone.'

  b.   *neṁ   q̓əp̓k̓ʷ-stəxʷ   tᶿə   sqʷəmey̓   ʔə   tᶿə   si̓ᶿaṁ!*
    go   gnaw-CS   DT   dog   OB   DT   bone

   'Go and give the dog the bone to gnaw on!'

(205) a. *ni?   cən   ʔəẃ   ɬiš-ət   ʔaĺ.*
        AUX   1s.SUB LNK   tear.with.teeth-TR   MIT

       'I just kept biting at it and eating it that way.'

      b. *neṁ   ɬəš-stəxʷ   tᶿə   yəx̌ʷəleʔ   ʔə   θə   ɫiʔtq̇əs!*
        go   tear.with.teeth-CS   DT   eagle   OB   DT   cod(DIM)

       'Go give the eagle the raw cod to strip!'

(206) a. *neṁ   cən   ťᶿaqʷ-ət   ɬiṗťᶿiʔaːs   ʔə   tᶿə   k̇ʷsəc.*
        go   1s.SUB suck-TR   trout.eggs   OB   DT   trout

       'I'm going to suck the trout eggs.'

      b. *neṁ   ťᶿəqʷ-stəxʷ   tᶿə   qeq   ʔə   tᶿə   šləmelə-s!*
        go   suck-CS   DT   baby   OB   DT   bottle-3POS

       'Go and give the baby his bottle to suck on!'

The causee/recipient in these constructions is the syntactic object, as evidenced by pronominal indexing in active and passive clauses:

(207) *ṁi   ɬeʔ   təẃ   ťeʔəm-staṁš   ʔə   kʷθəṅ   s-qʷəĺs!*
     come   IMP   DLM   try-CS.1s.OBJ   OB   DT.2s.POS   N-boil

     'Give me a taste of what you have cooked!'

(208) *ṁi   ceʔ   ťeʔəm-steləm   ʔə   kʷθəṅ   s-qʷəĺs.*
     come   FUT   try-CS.1s.PAS   OB   DT.2s.POS   N-boil

     'I will be given a taste of what you have cooked.'

The theme is an oblique object and hence is extracted via nominalization with the prefix *s-*:

(209) *stem   ʔaĺə   k̇ʷəṅ   s-ťᶿəqʷ-stəxʷ   tᶿəṅ   qeq?*
     what   INQU   DT.2s.POS   N-suck-CS   DT.2s.POS   baby

     'What did you give your baby to suck on?'

In effect, such causatives are the ditransitive version of the associative causative illustrated above. One difference, however, is that associative verbs are formed on

motion verbs, while the class of transitive events forming 'give' type causatives includes non-motion verbs, though the event is frequently given a trajectory by means of the motion auxiliaries *neṁ* 'go' and *ṁi* 'come'.

4.4.   Causatives of ditransitives

The possibility of forming a causative construction on a transitive verb raises the question: can causatives also be formed on semantically ditransitive verbs? For the most part, we find that the verbs that appear in ditransitives do not form causatives and are in fact incompatible with the causative suffix:

(210) *ʔa:t*   'call for, invite'   **ʔa:stəxʷ*
       ya:t   'warn someone, caution him'   **ya:stəxʷ*
       ʔaməst   'give it to him'   **ʔaməsstəxʷ*
       θəyəłct   'make it for him/her'   **θəyəłcstəxʷ*

However, some of the verbs that appear in ditransitive clauses can form causatives. The causee corresponding to the agent of the transitive verb is the object, the theme is the oblique object:

(211) a. *neṁ   č   ʔexʷeʔ-t   tᶿə   qeq   ʔə   tᶿə   səẁaləṁ-s!*
          go   2s.SUB   give-TR   DT   baby   OB   DT   toy-3POS

          'Go give the baby his toy!'

       b. *ʔexʷeʔ-stəxʷ   tᶿəṁ   qeq   ʔə   tᶿə   qəx̌   səẁaləṁ-s!*
          give-CS   DT.2s.POS   baby   OB   DT   many   toy-3POS

          'Show your baby how to give away some of his many toys!'

(212) a. *niʔ   cən   nəpəc-t   ʔə   kʷθə   pipə.*
          AUX   1s.SUB   send-TR   OB   DT   letter

          'I sent him the letter.'

       b. *niʔ   ʔə   č   nəpəc-stəxʷ   ʔə   kʷθə   pipə?*
          AUX   Q   2s.SUB   send-CS   OB   DT   letter

          'Did you tell him to go mail the letter?'

(213) a. *niʔ   niẁ-ət-əs.*
          AUX   give.advice-TR-3ERG

          'They gave him advice.'

b. *niẃ-stəxʷ*   *č*   *ceʔ*   *kʷθə*   *sʔeləxʷ*   *ʔəẃ*   *m̓i:s*   *tecəl.*
give.advice-CS   2s.SUB   FUT   DT   elder   LNK   come.3SUB   arrive

'When the elder arrives, we will get him to lecture.'

Note, however, that these are causatives of transitive and not ditransitive events. The recipient is not expressed in these causative clauses.

5. Conclusion

I conclude with a brief discussion of Halkomelem ditransitive constructions from a typological and theoretical perspective. Halkomelem uses ditransitive constructions to express a range of meanings, including transfer, benefaction, external possession, and causation. From a language-internal viewpoint, the morphosyntax of ditransitive constructions is quite simple. Halkomelem allows one syntactic object per clause. In the case of ditransitives, the additional non-theme nominal – recipient, goal, source, benefactive, possessee, or causee – appears as the direct object. The theme is never the direct object in a ditransitive construction. Of the tests for objecthood reviewed in §2, the direct object in ditransitive constructions passed all except two – antipassive and reflexive. In contrast, a theme in a ditransitive clause is not a direct object but rather an oblique object, an NP that is flagged like an oblique with the all-purpose preposition *ʔə*, but which extracts with simple (not oblique) nominalization. Oblique objects are thus distinguished from both direct objects and true obliques.

The oblique object position accommodates not only themes in ditransitive constructions, where the direct object position is usurped by the additional NP, but also themes in various semantically transitive but syntactically intransitive constructions, including antipassive, intransitive lexical suffix, denominal verb, and cognate object constructions (Gerdts 2010). Thus Halkomelem makes extensive use of two frames for semantically transitive clauses: the ergative frame, in which the agent is the subject and the theme is the direct object, and an intransitive frame, referred to here as the antipassive frame, in which the agent is the subject and the theme is the oblique object.

Halkomelem ditransitive constructions are also morphosyntactically simple from a cross-linguistic perspective. There is only one frame that they appear in: the additional NP is the direct object and the theme is an oblique object. In some languages of the world, there are multiple frames for ditransitives: sometimes the theme is the direct object and sometimes the additional NP is the direct object. Furthermore, the status of the theme in constructions in which the additional NP is the direct object may be difficult to ascertain. In some languages, for example Kinyarwanda (Kimenyi 1980), there seem to be several object positions within a clause. In contrast, Halkomelem is quite simple in that it allows only one direct object per clause. Therefore, Halkomelem can accommodate only one additional nominal at a time, that is, it has di-transitive

but not tri-transitive constructions. Thus, Halkomelem does not have applicatives of ditransitive verbs, multiple applicative constructions, in which a verb would have more than one applicative suffix, nor causatives of dative or applicative constructions. The only way to express more than one additional nominal at a time is via periphrasis.

So, overall, Halkomelem ditransitive constructions are rather easy, and thus it is ironic that they seem to provide a challenge to various linguistic theories. Some theories, such as Relational Grammar, try to fit all ditransitive constructions into a single model. Many languages, especially those found in Europe, make use of both a direct object and an indirect object position in their grammars, and this has led to the following hierarchy of grammatical relations:

(214)   subject > direct object > indirect object > oblique

The job of the grammar is to administrate the placement of an NP on the hierarchy and the change of its relation as it moves up and down the hierarchy as specified by the rules for various constructions. For example, in Halkomelem ditransitive constructions, the indirect object or oblique NP moves up the hierarchy to occupy the direct object position. The theme, on the other hand would move down the hierarchy to occupy a non-direct object position. However, assigning it to the indirect object position is problematical because there are otherwise no surface indirect objects to compare it with, since recipients and goal NPs always align with the direct object position. Assigning it to the oblique position is also problematical because it differs from true oblique NPs with respect to the morphology that appears in nominalizations.[25] The Relational Grammar concept of "chômeur", a term nominal (subject, object, or indirect object) that is pushed aside by another NP that moves into its position on the hierarchy, is perhaps an insightful way of viewing the theme in ditransitive constructions. However, when we take other oblique objects into consideration, those that appear in the antipassive frame, we see no obvious motivation for the chômage of the theme (Gerdts 2010).

Many languages show the Halkomelem pattern, that is, the theme is the direct object in a monotransitive clause but the additional NP is always the object in a ditransitive. Thus, Dryer (1986) suggests that these two types of NPs be grouped together under the concept "primary" object and the theme in a ditransitive takes a lower position in the hierarchy, the "secondary" object:

(215)   subject > primary object > secondary object > oblique

At first glance, the primary/secondary object analysis appears to be a good fit for Halkomelem. The additional nominal is linked to the primary object without the

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[25] Furthermore, this would be a violation of the Oblique Law (Perlmutter & Postal 1983).

need of an across-the-board rule of advancement. The theme, the oblique object, is assigned to the next relation on the hierarchy – secondary object. However, Dryer's analysis suffers, as does the Relational Grammar analysis, from the lack of an insightful analysis of the antipassive frame, which would have a secondary object even though there is no primary object in the clause. Furthermore, primary objects are not a uniform class, since monotransitives form antipassives and reflexives, but ditransitives do not. However, Dryer's analysis seems to be insightful from a cross-linguistic viewpoint because he allows languages to differ: they can be direct object/indirect object languages and employ the hierarchy in (214) or primary/secondary object languages and employ the hierarchy in (215).

In response to the failure of Relational Grammar to capture the differences in ditransitive constructions among languages, Gerdts (1992) proposes Mapping Theory, in which languages are parameterized as to whether they have two, three, or four direct argument positions. Halkomelem has two direct argument positions: the second one is equivalent to the notion of direct object. In ditransitive clauses, the additional NP is mapped to this position. NPs that are not mapped, including themes in ditransitives and obliques, appear with oblique flagging. The antipassive frame, since it is syntactically intransitive, lacks a second direct argument position, and thus themes in these constructions are also not mapped.[26]

Whether chômage, retreat (i.e. the demotion of an NP to a position lower on the grammatical relations hierarchy), or (non-)mapping is the best analysis for themes in the ditransitive and antipassive frames in Halkomelem may not be an issue that can be resolved from a language internal viewpoint. More in-depth cross-linguistic research may shed some light on this. Nevertheless, the use in Halkomelem of an oblique object is intriguing because, other than this one little bit of dependent marking with ʔə, the sole preposition, the language is straightforwardly head-marking.[27] Furthermore, aside from a few ditransitive verbs that do not require additional verbal morphology, ditransitivity is registered in the verb complex. Due to its polysynthetic nature, Halkomelem requires an analysis in which the mapping of thematic relations to argument structure is mediated by verbal suffixes – lexical suffixes, applicatives, causative, reflexive, reciprocal, middle, etc. A thorough analysis of Halkomelem must accurately characterize the argument structure of verb classes and the effect of the addition of a suffix on that class. Once we know the lexical structure for a verb root and the effect of any suffixes that it combines with in a construction, mapping its arguments to the syntax and checking their inflection is simple. This puts the work of accommodating Halkomelem ditransitive constructions, and most of the constructions that they interact with, squarely in the domain of verb class semantics.

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[26] A Mapping Theory treatment of Halkomelem ditransitive clauses, including benefactive applicatives and causatives, is given in Gerdts (1993, 1998).

[27] As mentioned above, this preposition is obligatory only in the Island dialect of Halkomelem.

I have mentioned some of the complications encountered in Halkomelem. Ditransitive verbs fall into several classes. Some ditransitive verbs are formed with applicative or causative suffixes. Some, however, require no additional morphology other than inflection with the transitive suffix. Some of the verb roots that appear in ditransitive frames also appear in monotransitive and/or antipassive frames. Triangulating the relationship between the three frames remains a topic for further research.

Acknowledgments

Special abbreviations

ACT	activity		NTW	noteworthy
AUX	auxiliary		OB	oblique
BEN	benefactive applicative		OBJ	object
CNJ	conjunction		PAS	passive
CS	causative		PERF	perfect
DAT	dative applicative		PL	plural
DEM	demonstrative		POS	possessive
DIM	diminutive		PRO	independent pronoun
DLM	delimiter		PST	past
DT	determiner		Q	interrogative
DYN	dynamic		RECIP	reciprocal
ERG	ergative		REFL	reflexive
FUT	future		RES	resultative
IMP	imperative		S	singular
IMPF	imperfective		STA	stative
INQU	inquisitive		SUB	subject
LCTR	limited control		TR	transitive
LNK	linker		1	first person
MID	middle		2	second person
MIT	mitigative		3	third person
N	nominalizer		=	lexical suffix

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