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. 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 -as, as in (2).

(1) nem̓ č ?exʷeʔ-t tᶿə pilʔə tᶿə lapat!
go 2s.SUB give-TR DT Bill OB DT cup

'Go give Bill the cup!'

(2) niʔ ?am-as-t-as kʷθə swiwləs kʷθə sqʷameyʔə kʷθə siʔəm. AUX give-DAT-TR-3ERG DT boy DT dog OB DT bone

'The boy gave the dog the bone.'

1 Halkomelem is a Central Salish language spoken in British Columbia, Canada. The Island dialect is spoken in southeastern Vancouver Island and neighbouring islands. Ditransitive phenomena are also treated in descriptions of the two other dialects of Halkomelem: Downriver (Suttles 2004) and Upriver (Galloway 1993).
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) škʷ=əyəɬ-əɬc-θam̓šʔə-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 go cən makʷ-staxʷ tᶿə sƛ̓iʔƛ̓qəɬ q̓əyem̓ən, nem̓ ʔə go 1S.SUB pick.up-CS DT child OB DT shell go OB
tᶿə kʷaƛ̓kʷa salt.water 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 an ʔexʷeʔ-t to sleniʔ ?o tᶿə sʔəxʷaʔ.

AUX 1.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 tᶿəniʔ men ?o thoʔə snəxʷəɬ!

borrow/lend-TR 2.S.SUB DT.2.S.POS father OB DT.2.S.POS canoe

‘Lend your father your car!’

(7) nil ṭwet kʷo niʔ qeʔən-t tᶿən̓iʔ sɪlə ?o kʷθə

3PRO DT AUX steal-TR DT.2.S.POS g.parent OB DT

sewən-s? lunch-3POS

‘Who stole your grandfather’s lunch from him?’

(8) nem̓ či tᶿəniʔ men ?o kʷ telə!

go IMP beg.TR DT.2.S.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:

(9) nem̓ č ?am-as-t tᶿə swəʔqeʔ? ?o kʷθə telə!

go 2.S.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 Gerds & 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) ʔiw̓-əs-t  ‘show it to him/her’
     yəθ-as-t  ‘tell him/her about it’
     sam̓-əs-t  ‘sell it to him/her’
     xʷəyəm-as-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) nem̓  cən  sem̓-ət  θə-na  snəxʷəɬ.
go 1S.SUB  sell-TR  DT-1S.POS  canoe
‘I’m going to sell my car.’

(12) nem̓  cən  sam̓-əs-t  tə  sleniʔ  θə-na  snəxʷəɬ.
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  kʷθə  səplil.
AUX  cook-TR-3ERG  DT-1S.POS  mother  DT  bread
‘My mother baked the bread.’

(14) niʔ  q̓ʷəl-əɬc-t-əs  kʷθə  səplil.
AUX  cook-BEN-TR-3ERG  DT-1S.POS  mother  DT  woman  OB  DT  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.

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.
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-əɬc-θamə
can ceʔ ṣə k̓ʷ sce:ɬtən.  
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 ḳ̓əl-əɬc-ət-əs  kʷθən kʷθə-pə-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

Table 1: Transitives and benefactive applicatives

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>TRANSITIVE</th>
<th>BENEFATIVE</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>kʷəʔat</td>
<td>‘take it’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kʷəʔəcət</td>
<td>‘take it for him/her’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>p̓et̓ʼət</td>
<td>‘sew it’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>p̓et̓ʼəɬcət</td>
<td>‘sew it for him/her’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>θəyt</td>
<td>‘fix it’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>θəyəɬcət</td>
<td>‘fix it for him/her’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lakʷat</td>
<td>‘break it’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lakʷəɬcət</td>
<td>‘break it for him/her’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yakʷat</td>
<td>‘smash it’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yakʷəɬcət</td>
<td>‘smash it for him/her’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ṭilaqat</td>
<td>‘buy it’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ṭilaqəɬcət</td>
<td>‘buy it for him/her’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ʔəx̌ʷat</td>
<td>‘wash it’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ʔəx̌ʷəɬcət</td>
<td>‘wash it for him/her’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>panat</td>
<td>‘bury it’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>panəɬcət</td>
<td>‘bury it for him/her’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tanat</td>
<td>‘pound/beat on it’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tanəɬcət</td>
<td>‘pound/beat on it for him/her’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
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). However, I continue to refer to -əɬc 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. 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) níʔ ʔəshə paddle tᶿə swəy̓qeʔ.
aux paddle det man

“The man (in view) paddled.’

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.

Halkomelem does not allow bare NPs in argument positions, though bare NPs appear as predicate nominals, appositives, vocatives, etc.
Table 2: Halkomelem Determiners

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Masculine</th>
<th>Feminine</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Proximal</td>
<td>tᶿə</td>
<td>ʔə</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Distal</td>
<td>kʷθə</td>
<td>tᶿə</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Remote</td>
<td>kʷə kʷsə</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Non-deictic</td>
<td>kʷ, kʷ</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(18) niʔ qʷəɬ tᶿə səplil.
AUX cook DT bread
‘The bread (in view) baked.’

(19) niʔ qʷaqʷ-ət-əs tᶿə swɑ́ʔqəʔ tᶿə 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 can qʷaqʷ-ət ʔə kʷθən̓ təp̓əɬ-əɬ.
AUX 1s.SUB club-TR OB DT shovel-PST
‘I hit him with your shovel.’

(21) niʔ can siʔsiʔ ʔə kʷθə sən̓xʷəɬ.
AUX 1s.SUB frighten OB DT canoe
‘I was frightened at the car.’

(22) kʷin=əs telə ʔə niʔ ʔəni-s-naɬəc x̌ʷteʔ ʔə
how.much=round money DT AUX 2s.POS-N-send go.toward OB
tən mən̓əʔ? 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 telə nem̓ ʔə-ƛ̓ nəpəɬəs!
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-as-t-ʔs kʷθə swiwləs kʷθə sqʷəmeʔʔ ʔə kʷθə stl̓aʔən.

‘The boy gave the dog the bone.’

(25) niʔ qʷəl-əɬc-t-ʔs to-na ten ʔə stlenʔ ʔə kʷθə səpl̓il.

‘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:

(26) *niʔ ʔam-as-t-ʔs kʷθə swiwləs kʷθə sqʷəmeʔʔ kʷθə stl̓aʔən.

‘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 ʔč cse-t kʷθən̓ memən̓ə kʷʔə xʷəʔʔ ʔitət-s?

‘Did you manage to tell your children to go to bed early?’

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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.
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. nem̓ can sam̓-as-t ʔə ʔə-nə sna̓xʷəɬ.  
aux 1s.sub sell-dt-tr dt woman ob dt-1s.pos canoe  
'I'm going to sell my car to the woman.'

b. * nem̓ can se̓m̓-ət ʔə-nə sna̓xʷəɬ ʔə ʔə-nə sna̓xʷəɬ.  
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. nem̓ can sam̓-as-t ʔə ʔə-nə sna̓xʷəɬ ʔə ʔə-nə sna̓xʷəɬ.  
aux 1s.sub sell-dt-tr ob dt-1s.pos canoe dt woman  
'I'm going to sell my car to the woman.'

b. * nem̓ can sam̓-as-t ʔə ʔə-nə sna̓xʷəɬ.  
aux 1s.sub sell-tr ob dt woman dt-1s.pos canoe  
'I'm going to sell my car to the woman.'

(31) a. niʔ ʔam̓-as-t-əs kʷθə swih̓̓ləs ʔə kʷθə pukʷ.  
aux give-dt-tr-3erg dt boy ob dt book  
'He gave the boy the book.'

b. * niʔ ʔam̓-as-t-əs kʷθə swih̓̓ləs kʷθə pukʷ.  
aux give-dt-tr-3erg dt boy dt book  
'He gave the boy the book.'

(32) a. niʔ əx̌əl-əc-ət-əs kʷθən̓ men ʔə kʷθə pipə-s.  
aux write-ben-dt-3erg dt.2s.pos father ob dt letter-3pos  
'He wrote the letter to/for your father.'
b. * niʔ x̌əl̓-əɬc-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 can wəɬ sem̓-ət nem̓-əstəxʷʔə-ƛ̓ čan θə-na
   AUX 1s.SUB PERF sell–TR go–CS OB–DT John DT–1s.POS
   sweta.
   sweater
   ‘I sold John my sweater.’

(34) q̓ʷəl-ət cook–TR cən 1
   AUX can ceʔ k̓ʷ sce:ɬtən x̌ʷteʔʔə-ƛ̓ nəwə.
   ‘I will barbecue some salmon for you.’

(35) q̓ʷəl-ət cook–TR cən 1
   AUX can ceʔ k̓ʷ sce:ɬtən n̓iʔ s-weʔ-stamə (ceʔ).
   ‘I will bake some salmon and it will be for you.’

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

(36) niʔ can ?əm-as-t tən̓ ten ʔə kʷθə pukʷ niɬ
   AUX 1s.SUB give–DAT–TR DT.2s.POS mother OB DT book 3PRO
   s-weʔ-stamə.
   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) nem č qeməq-t ṭə səptən-s tən sayəl.
   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) nil ceʔ tən̓a xʷoneʔəmt ʔi nanəm ct xʷteʔ ʔə
   3PRO FUT DEM evening AUX discuss-MID 1PL.SUB go.toward OB
   kʷθə səʔəɬtən-s təʔə 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). Extraction constructions provide additional evidence for the difference between objects and non-objects in ditransitive constructions. The extracted NP appears before the host clause, as seen by comparing the monotransitive clause in (39a) with its cleft counterpart in (39b):

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

b. nil kʷθə swəy̓qeʔ [niʔ lem-at-əx'].
   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) swiwəs kʷθə [niʔ ?am-əs-t-as ʔə kʷθə pukʷ].
   boy DT AUX give-DAT-TR-3ERG OB DT book
   ‘It’s a boy that he gave the book to.’

10 These constructions are discussed extensively in Gerdts (1988: 59–83).
11 All three constructions behave identically with respect to conditions on NP extraction.
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 ?am-as-t-əs kʷθə swiwiłəs ʔə kʷθə pukʷ.
      AUX give-DAT-TR-3ERG DT boy OB DT book
      'He gave the boy the book.'

  b. niɬ kʷθə pukʷ [niʔ sʔam-as-t-s kʷθə swiwiłəs].
     3PRO DT book AUX N-give-DAT-TR-3POS DT boy
     'It's a book that he gave the boy.'

(43)  a. niʔ niw̓-ət-əs kʷθə ʔiməθ-s ʔə tᶿə s-teʔə-s kʷs t̓iləm-s.
      AUX give.advice-TR-3ERG DT g.child-3POS OB DT
      N.OB-like-3POS DT.N sing-3POS
      'He gave his grandson advice about how to sing.'

  b. stem ʔal̓ə ʔiməθ-s [niʔ sʔam-as-t-s kʷθə swiwiłəs]?
       what INQU DT AUX N-give.advice-TR-3POS DT g.child-3POS
       'What did he give his grandson advice about?'

(44)  a. niʔ ʔəy-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 sʔəy-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 ?am-as-t-əs kʷθə swiwiłəs].
      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 can qʷaqʷ-ət ?ə kʷθən̓ ŝapəl-əɬ.
    AUX 1s.SUB club-TR OB DT.2S.POS shovel-PST
    ‘I hit him with your shovel.’

(47) yaθ ʔəw̓ yə-xʷaničənəm̓ ?ə taʔa ʔəw̓
    always LNK DYN-run(IMPF) OB DEM road
    ‘He always ran on that road.’

And they are extracted via nominalization.

(48) nil kʷθən̓ ŝapəl-əɬ [niʔ nə-š-qʷaqʷ-ət].
    3PRO DT.2S.POS shovel-PST AUX 1s.POS-N.OB-club-TR
    ‘It’s your shovel that I clubbed it with.’

(49) nil taʔa ʔəw̓ [yaθ ʔəw̓ š-xʷaničənəm̓-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.-

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).

12 More precisely, there is an oblique prefix xʷ- preceded by the nominalizing prefix š-. 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>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Case Marking</th>
<th>Objects</th>
<th>Oblique Objects</th>
<th>Obliques</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ø</td>
<td>preposition ?ə</td>
<td>preposition ?ə</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Extraction</td>
<td>direct</td>
<td>via nominalization with s-</td>
<td>via nominalization with š(xʷ)-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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) \(niʔ\) can \(ʔiməš\).
\(\text{AUX 1S.SUB} \text{ walk}\)
‘I walked.’

(52) \(niʔ\) can \(q̓ʷaqʷ-ət \ tᶿə speʔəθ\).
\(\text{AUX 1S.SUB} \text{ club-TR DT bear}\)
‘I clubbed the bear.’

(53) \(niʔ\) \(q̓ʷaqʷ-əθam̓š-əs \ tᶿə swəyqeʔ\).
\(\text{AUX club-TR.1S.OBJ-3ERG DT man}\)
‘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).

¹³ Most of the transitive data in this paper have the general transitive suffix -t, with the exception of the causatives discussed in §4.
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 q̓ay inflected for transitivity and object:

(57) q̓ay-θam̓š 'kill me'
    q̓ay-θamə 'kill you'
    q̓ay-təc ‘kill us’
    q̓ay-tə ‘kill you (plural)’
    q̓ay-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) ʔexʷeʔ-θam̓š təʔtə sq̓əw!
give-TR.1S.OBJ 2S.SUB OB DT native.bread
‘Give me the native bread!’

(59) q̓sw-əɬc-θamə cən keʔšə sqəw!
cook-BEN-TR.2S.OBJ 1S.SUB FUT OB DT salmon
‘I will barbecue some salmon for you.’

(60) niʔ  xʷayəm-as-t-áxʷ-as.
aux sell-DAT-TR-1PL.OBJ-3ERG
‘He sold it to us.’

(61) ʔiw̓-əs-talʔə cən keʔšə sqəw!
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:

   AUX help-TR-3ERG DT woman DT man
   ‘The woman helped the man.’

b. *niʔ c̓ew-ət-am tᶿə swəyqeʔ ?ə θə sleniʔ.
   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. c̓ew-stalə ct ceʔ.
   help-TR.2PL.OBJ 1PL.SUB FUT
   ‘We will help you (PL).’

b. c̓ew-stalam 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) q̓ay-θələm ‘I was killed’
q̓ay-θəm ‘you were killed’
q̓ay-təlam ‘we were killed’
q̓ay-təlam ‘you (plural) were killed’
q̓ay-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:

\( (65) \)

\begin{align*}
\text{a.} & \quad \text{niʔ} \quad \text{ʔexʷeʔ-θam̓š-əs} \quad ? \quad t\′ \quad \text{sqw.} \\
& \quad \text{AUX give-TR.1S.OBJ-3ERG OB DT native.bread} \\
& \quad \text{‘She gave me some native bread.’} \\
\text{b.} & \quad \text{niʔ} \quad \text{ʔexʷeʔ-θeləm} \quad ? \quad t\′ \quad \text{sqw.} \\
& \quad \text{AUX give-TR.1S.PAS OB DT native.bread} \\
& \quad \text{‘I was given some native bread.’}
\end{align*}

\( (66) \)

\begin{align*}
\text{a.} & \quad \text{niʔ} \quad \text{ʔam-əs-θam̓š-əs} \quad ? \quad \text{stəniʔ} \quad ? \quad k"θə \quad \text{pukʷ}. \\
& \quad \text{AUX give-DAT-TR.1S.OBJ-3ERG DT woman OB DT book} \\
& \quad \text{‘The woman gave me the book.’} \\
\text{b.} & \quad \text{niʔ} \quad \text{ʔam-əs-θeləm} \quad ? \quad \text{meli} \quad ? \quad k"θə \quad \text{pukʷ}. \\
& \quad \text{AUX give-DAT-TR.1S.PAS OB-DT Mary OB DT book} \\
& \quad \text{‘I was given the book by Mary.’}
\end{align*}

\( (67) \)

\begin{align*}
\text{a.} & \quad \text{qʷəl-əɬc-talə} \quad \text{can ceʔ} \quad ? \quad k"θə \quad \text{sce:ɬtən}. \\
& \quad \text{cook-BEN-TR.2PL.OBJ 1S.SUB FUT OB DT salmon} \\
& \quad \text{‘I will barbecue the salmon for you (pl).’} \\
\text{b.} & \quad \text{qʷəl-əɬc-talam} \quad \text{ceʔ} \quad ? \quad k"θə \quad \text{sce:ɬtən}. \\
& \quad \text{cook-BEN-TR.2PL.PAS FUT OB DT salmon} \\
& \quad \text{‘Someone will barbecue the salmon for you (pl).’} \\
& \quad \text{(lit. ‘You will be barbecued the salmon.’)\(^{14}\)}
\end{align*}

\( (68) \)

\begin{align*}
\text{a.} & \quad \text{niʔ} \quad \text{ʔəy-əɬc-θam̓š-əs} \quad ? \quad k"θə-ʔnə \quad \text{snəxʷ-əɬ}. \\
& \quad \text{AUX fix-BEN-TR.1S.OBJ-3ERG OB DT-1S.POS canoe} \\
& \quad \text{‘He fixed my canoe for me.’}
\end{align*}

\(^{14}\) Halkomelem passives are often translated as active clauses.
b. niʔ ʔəy-əɬc-əelam ʔə ʔə-əna snəxʷəl.  
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 ʔəm-as-t-am kʷθə pukʷ ʔə-ƛ̓ 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 ʔəm-as-t-am kʷθə pukʷ kʷθə swiw̓s 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 swiw̓s.  
AUX walk DT boy  
‘The boy walked.’

(72) niʔ ɨw-ət-əs kʷθə swiw̓s.  
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. In a ditransitive construction, the sole NP is interpreted as the recipient or benefactive:

(73)  a. niʔ ʔam-as-t-as kʷʔə sqʷəmey̓ kʷʔə smʷam̓.  
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-əɬc-t-as ʔə st̓ɬeniʔ kʷʔə 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-as-t-as kʷʔə sqʷəmey.  
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-əɬc-t-as ʔə st̓ɬeniʔ.  
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-as-t-as kʷʔə sqʷəmey.  
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 *məkʷ ‘all’, like other modifiers, can appear immediately

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 ʔəw̓, as in (76b) and (77b):

(76)  
a. niʔ xʷələnčenəm (ʔəw̓) məkʷ kʷθə sƛ̓əl̓iqəɬ.16  
AUX run(pl) LNK all DT child(pl)  
‘All the children ran.’  
b. niʔ məkʷ all ʔəw̓ xʷələnčenəm kʷθə sƛ̓əl̓iqəɬ.  
AUX all LNK run(pl) DT child(pl)  
‘All the children ran.’

(77)  
a. niʔ wəwaʔəs məkʷ kʷθə sqʷəmqʷəmey.  
AUX bark all DT dog(pl)  
‘All the dogs barked.’  
b. niʔ məkʷ ʔəw̓ wəwaʔəs kʷθə sqʷəmqʷəmey.  
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 məkʷ ʔəw̓ qaʔqaʔ-ət-əs kʷθə səw̓əy̓qeʔ kʷθə qaʔ.  
AUX all LNK drink-3ERG DT man(pl) DT water  
“The men drank all the water.”/*“All the men drank the water.”

(79)  
niʔ məkʷ ʔəw̓ təy̓-t-əs tʼa slənten̓iʔ kʷθə sce:ɬtən.  
AUX all LNK eat-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:

16 The use of the linker ʔəw̓ is not obligatory in this construction, but it seems to be preferred.
The sentence-initial adverbial quantifier məkʷ ‘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 məkʷʔəw̓ yəθ-as-t-ət kʷθə sənlenʔəʔə kʷə 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 məkʷʔəw̓ʔiləq-əɬc-t-ʔe:n̓ niʔ kʷθə-nəqʷɬəy̓šən.
AUX all LNK buy-BEN-TR-1S.SUB DT-1S.POS child(PL) OB DT

'shoes

'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 xʷčenəm kʷθə sqeʔəq-s sənlenʔ.
AUX run DT y.sibling-3POS DT woman

'The woman’s younger brother ran.'

b. statəl-stəxʷ can sənlenʔ niʔ xʷčenəm kʷθə sqeʔəq-s.
know-CS 1S.SUB DT woman AUX run DT y.sibling-3POS

'I know the woman whose younger brother ran.'
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) * statəl̓-stəxʷ can 1s.sub DT woman aux cook-tr-3erg DT sqeʔəq-s kʷθə y.sibling-3pos DT salmon

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

(86) * nəwə 2s.pro DT spouse

You are the one whose wife called me.'

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

(87) statəl̓-stəxʷ can 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 2s.pro DT spouse

You are the one whose wife I called.'

The kin term sqeʔəq means younger sibling or cousin. The gender of the determiner contributes to the meaning.
Gerdes (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:n̓θə 1niʔ xʷəɬ̓ə-ɬəɬc-ət-əs piɬə-s. sell-DAT-TR-2sSUB sell-DAT-TR-3ERG
1s.PRO AUX DT DT
kʷθə 1ʔə kʷθə-nə
y.sibling y.sibling
leləm̓. house
‘I’m the one whose younger brother you sold the house to.’

(91) nəwə 2niʔ ʔəm-əs-t-əs sqʷəmeyʔ st̓ɬám. give-DAT-TR-3ERG give-DAT-TR-3ERG
2s.PRO AUX DT DT
kʷθən̓ ʔə kʷθə
father y.sibling
men house
‘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:n̓θə 1niʔ xʷəɬ̓ə-ɬəɬc-ət-əs xʷənitəm̓ 1kʷθə-nə
1s.PRO AUX sell-DAT-TR-2sSUB white.man y.sibling
kʷθə 1ʔə
tleləm̓. y.sibling house
‘I’m the one whose house you sold to the white man.’

(93) * nəwə 2niʔ ʔəm-əs-t-əs sqʷəmeyʔ st̓ɬám. give-DAT-TR-3ERG give-DAT-TR-3ERG
2s.PRO AUX DT DT
kʷθən̓ ʔə kʷθə
father y.sibling
ʔə sqʷəmeyʔ dog 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:
Similarly, to extract the possessor of the theme, the theme must first be nominalized.

\[(95)\]
\[
\text{nəwə niʔ s-ʔam-əs-θan̓-s kʷθə pukʷ.}
\]
\[
\text{2s.PRO AUX N\text{-}give\text{-}DAT\text{-}1s.OBJ\text{-}3POS DT.2s.POS book}
\]
\[
\text{‘You’re the one whose book he gave to me.’}
\]

### 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):

\[(96)\]
\[
a. \text{niʔ qʷəl-ət-əs tᶿə sce:ɬtən.}
\]
\[
\text{AUX cook-TR\text{-}3ERG DT salmon}
\]
\[
\text{‘He/she barbecued the salmon.’}
\]
\[
b. \text{niʔ qʷəl-əm ʔə tᶿə sce:ɬtən.}
\]
\[
\text{AUX cook-MID OB DT salmon}
\]
\[
\text{‘He/she barbecued the salmon.’}
\]

\[(97)\]
\[
a. \text{naʔət qʷəs-t-əs tᶿə ƛ̓eɬəm sce:ɬtən.}
\]
\[
\text{AUX go.in.water-TR\text{-}3ERG DT salted salmon}
\]
\[
\text{‘He/she put the salted fish in water.’}
\]
\[
b. \text{naʔət qʷs-els ʔə tᶿə ƛ̓eɬəm sce:ɬtən.}
\]
\[
\text{AUX go.in.water\text{-}ACT OB DT salted salmon}
\]
\[
\text{‘He/she soaked the salted fish.’}
\]
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). 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 ̒kʷə niʔ ?əm-s-qʷəl-əm?  
what DT AUX 2s.POS-N-cook-MID  
‘What did you cook?’

(99) stem ̒kʷə niʔ s-qʷs-els-s ə stəniʔ?  
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:

(100) a. nem̓ ʔə č ʔəy-t ̒kʷə ̒snauxʷəɬ-s?  
go Q 2s.SUB fix-TR DT canoe-3POS  
‘Are you going to fix his canoe?’

b. nem̓ ʔə č ʔəy-əɬc-t ̒kʷə ̒snauxʷəɬ-s?  
go Q 2s.SUB fix-MID OB DT canoe-3POS  
‘Are you going to fix his canoe?’

(101) a. nem̓ ʔə č ʔəy-əɬc-t ̒kʷə-əɬ ̒mən̓ə 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 ʔəy-əɬc-əm is possible, but the middle suffix here is used as a speaker-oriented reflexive, so this means ‘fix it for me’.
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 -as 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)  ne mh qa tʰə ni men!  
go  call.tr  DT.2S.POS  father  
‘Go call your father!’

(103)  tʰə-θama  can  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)  ne mh  qa  tʰət  tʰə ni  men  qa  kʷ  telə!  
go  imp  beg-tr  DT.2S.POS  father  ob  DT  money  
‘Go ask your father for money!’
The oblique-marked NP is an oblique object, as evidence from extraction shows; the NP is extracted via nominalization with the prefix 

\[(106)\quad \text{stem}\ ?\ddot{a}\dot{o} \ k^{w} \ ni\dot{i} \ ?\ddot{a}\ddot{n}-s-t\ddot{i}t \ t\ddot{o}\ddot{n} \ men?\]

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 \(-m\).

\[(107)\quad \text{ANTIPASSIVE} \quad \text{(DI)TRANSITIVE}\]

\begin{align*}
?\ddot{a}m & \quad \text{‘ask/call for’} & ?\ddot{a}t & \quad \text{‘call/ask him/her for s.t.’} \\
t\ddot{i}m & \quad \text{‘beg/ask for’} & t\ddot{i}t & \quad \text{‘beg/ask him/her for s.t.’} \\
y\ddot{a}m & \quad \text{‘place an order for’} & y\ddot{a}t & \quad \text{‘warn him/her about s.t.’}
\end{align*}

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

\[(108)\quad ?\ddot{e}\ddot{o}\ddot{t} \ ?\ddot{a}m \ t\ddot{o}\ddot{n} \ s\ddot{i}\ddot{b} \ ?\ddot{o} \ k^{w} \ q\ddot{a}\ddot{?}.
\text{AUX call.MID DT.2S.POS g.parent OB DT water}

‘Your grandfather is calling for water.’

\[(109)\quad ne\ddot{m} \ c\ddot{a}n \ y\ddot{a}m \ ?\ddot{o} \ k^{w} \ q^{*}\ddot{a}y\ddot{\ddot{s}}\ddot{\ddot{\ddot{\ddot{s}}}n} \ ne\ddot{m} \ ?\ddot{o} \ t\ddot{o}
\text{go 1S.SUB order.MID OB DT shoe go OB DT}\]

\[q^{*}\ddot{a}y\ddot{\ddot{s}}\ddot{\ddot{\ddot{\ddot{s}}}n} = e\ddot{w}\ddot{\ddot{x}}^\ddot{w}.
\text{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)\quad \text{stem}\ ?\ddot{a}\ddot{\ddot{a}} \ k^{w} \ ?\ddot{a}\ddot{n}-s-\ddot{p\ddot{t}}e\ddot{m}-\ddot{a}t \ k^{\ddot{\ddot{\ddot{\ddot{\ddot{\ddot{\ddot{\ddot{s}}}n}}}n}} \ men?
\text{what INQU DT 2S.POS-N-ask-TR DT.1S.POS father}

‘What did you ask my father?’
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.

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

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) nem̓ cən sem̓-ət θə-na 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’
    ʔəłəmθət  ‘cover self’
    ləx̌ʷəθət  ‘look after self’
    ləx̌ʷəθət  ‘cover self’
    ʔəłəmθət  ‘cover self’
    x̌iq̓əθət  ‘scratch self’
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.  

\[ \text{niʔ kʷələš-θət kʷθə swəyqeʔ.} \]  
\[ \text{AUX shoot-REFL DT man} \]  
\[ 'The man shot himself.' \]

b.  

\[ * \text{niʔ kʷələš-θət-əs kʷθə swəyqeʔ.} \]  
\[ \text{AUX shoot-REFL-3ERG DT man} \]  
\[ 'The man shot himself.' \]

(122) a.  

\[ \text{ʔi haːqʷə-təl̓ to sqʷəmqʷəmey.} \]  
\[ \text{AUX smell(IMPF)-RECIP DT dog(PL)} \]  
\[ 'The dogs are smelling one another.' \]

b.  

\[ * \text{ʔi haːqʷə-təl̓-əs to sqʷəmqʷəmey.} \]  
\[ \text{AUX smell(IMPF)-RECIP-3ERG DT dog(PL)} \]  
\[ 'The dogs are smelling one another.' \]

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

(123)  

\[ * \text{niʔ cən cas-əθət ?əw nem-ən iəkʷ.} \]  
\[ \text{AUX IS.SUB tell-REFL LNK go-IS.SUB go.home} \]  
\[ 'I told myself to go home.' \]

(124)  

\[ * \text{niʔ cən ?am-əs-θət.} \]  
\[ \text{AUX IS.SUB give-DAT-REFL} \]  
\[ 'I gave it to myself.' \]
19. Halkomelem Salish

(125) * nič napəc-θət ʔə kʷ tela?
aux.q.2s.sub send-refl ob dt money
‘Did you send yourself some money?’

(126) * niʔ q̓ʷəl-əɬc-θət ʔə kʷθə sapil.
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 ə-νə sqeʔəq ʔə kʷθə leləm
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 tə yeysəb qələməʔ 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 napəc-təl ʔə kʷθə pəʔa?
aux q 2pl.sub send-recip ob dt letter
‘Did you send each other letters?’

(130) ʔəm̓-as-təl̓
give(impf)-dat-recip
‘giving it to each other’

(131) ?i ʔasəm̓-as-təl̓ təʔ qəmoʔəʔən-ct ʔə tə
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.].’
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 tª ᵑƛ̓əl̓iqəɬ ᵀº tº ᵑƛ̓əl̓iqəɬʔə.
     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 tº ᵑƛ̓əl̓iqəɬ ᵀº tº ᵑƛ̓əl̓iqəɬʔə.
     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 ᵑƛ̓əl̓iqəɬ ‘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 tº ᵑƛ̓əl̓iqəɬ ᵀº tº ᵑƛ̓əl̓iqəɬʔə.
     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) naʔət xʷiʔ tqʷə-t-əs tº ᵑƛ̓əl̓iqəɬ ᵀº ᵑƛ̓əl̓iqəɬʔə.
     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.
19. Halkomelem Salish  

(138) * nem̓ can sem̓-ət əs-na sveta.
go 1s.sub sell-tr dt-1s.pos sweater  
‘I am going to sell my sweater.’

(139) * θəy-t təni ˈkpiwən, ʔəʔət qəl=as.
fix-tr dt.2s.pos shirt aux.dt bad=face  
‘Fix your shirt; it is on backwards.’

(140) niʔ can qəl-naxʷ to qəniʔ niʔ ət kʷs neʔ-s
aux 1s.sub bad-lctr dt y.woman aux say dt.n go-3pos
sam̓-əət.
sell-refl  
‘I got mad at the young lady who said she was going to sell herself.’

(141) * θəy-əət can kʷənas xʷčenəm.
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) * sam̓-əət-əs-t
sell-refl-dat-tr  
‘sell herself to him’

(143) * θəy-əət-əɬc-t
fix-refl-ben-tr  
‘fix oneself for him’

Nor can the reflexive suffix follow an applicative suffix:

(144) * sam̓-əs-əət.
sell-dat-refl  
‘sell herself to him’/‘sell it to oneself’

(145) * θəy-əɬc-əət
fix-ben-refl  
‘fix oneself for him’/‘fix it for oneself’
Table 4: Properties of objects and obliques in Halkomelem

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Objects in Monotransitive</th>
<th>Objects in Ditransitive</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Direct case marking</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Direct extraction</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Agreement</td>
<td>✓</td>
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<tr>
<td>Passive</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sole NP interpretation</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Quantifier interpretation</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Possessor extraction</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Antipassive</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>no</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Reflexive</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>no</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Reciprocal</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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)  ne̓m̓  can  ṭqʷ̓=e:n-t.
       go  1s.sub  cut.off=plant-tr

‘I’m going to cut down plants.’

(147)  ne̓m̓  can  ṭałq=ət̓ʔeʔ-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)  ne̓m̓  can  ṭqʷ̓=e:n-t  t̓ô  st̓eqən.
       go  1s.sub  cut.off=plant-dt  bulrush

‘I’m going to cut down the bulrushes.’

(149)  ne̓m̓  can  ṭałq=ət̓ʔeʔ-t  t̓ô  lo̓mətulqən.
       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)  ne̓m̓  can  ṭqʷ̓=e:n.
       go  1s.sub  cut.off=plant

‘I’m going to cut down (plants).’

---

21 See Gerdts & Hinkson (2004a) for a discussion of lexical suffixes used as numeral classifiers in Salish languages.
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) \begin{align*}
\text{nei} & \quad \text{can} \quad t̓qʷ=e:n. \\
goe & \quad \text{1s.sub} \quad \text{cut.off=plant} \quad \text{ob} \quad \text{dt} \quad \text{bulrush} \\
\end{align*}

‘I’m going to cut down the bulrushes.’

(153) \begin{align*}
\text{nei} & \quad \text{can} \quad t̓lq = a̱lq? \\
goe & \quad \text{1s.sub} \quad \text{soak=fibre} \quad \text{ob} \quad \text{dt} \quad \text{wool} \\
\end{align*}

‘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) \begin{align*}
\text{nəč} & \quad \text{t̓qʷ=e:n} \quad \text{ʔi} \quad \text{nə-s-t̓qʷ=e:n}. \\
3\text{pro} & \quad \text{dt} \quad \text{bulrush} \quad \text{aux} \quad \text{1s.pos-n-cut.off=plant} \\
\end{align*}

‘It’s the bulrush that I am cutting.’

(155) \begin{align*}
\text{nəč} & \quad \text{ceʔ} \quad \text{ʔoʔi} \quad \text{ləmətul̓qən} \quad \text{nə-s-t̓lq = a̱lq?}. \\
3\text{pro} & \quad \text{fut} \quad \text{dem} \quad \text{wool} \quad \text{1s.pos-n-soak=fibre} \\
\end{align*}

‘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:
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.

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

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:
3.3. Lexical suffixes and ditransitives

Ditransitive constructions may also contain lexical suffixes:

(165) *nei* can calaʔl = ənap-t kʷʔən šxʷəm̓nikʷ ?ə kʷʔə 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) *nei* can calaʔl = ũ-t kʷʔə-ŋə sqeʔəq ?ə kʷʔən
   go 1s.sub lend=foot-tr dt.1s.pos y.sibling ob dt.2s.pos
   *komput.*
   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* kʷʔə ləjəcas acre niʔ na-s-calaʔl = ənap-t kʷʔən
   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* kʷʔən *komput* niʔ na-s-calaʔl = ũ-t kʷʔə-ŋə
   3pro dt.2s.pos gumboot aux 1s.pos-n-rent=foot-tr dt.1s.pos
We also see lexical suffixes followed by the redirective suffix -əɬc, as discussed in Gerdts (2003).

(169) ʼt̓x̌ʷ=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-θəmə
bathe=child-BEN-TR.2S.OBJ
‘Bathe the baby for me!’

(172) səw̓q̓=iw̓s-əɬc-θəmə 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-θən̓ qeq.
bathe=child-BEN-TR.2S.OBJ 1S.SUB FUT OB DT.2S.POS baby
‘I will bathe your baby for you.’

(174) nem̓ č cam=əlcəp-əɬc-əθən̓ 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 *-c:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{(175)} \quad & \text{neim ce? thē-əlc = eyl-t} \\
& \text{go FUT fix-BEN=person-TR DT.2s.POS o.sibling(pl) OB DT} \\
& \text{sʔənam-s kʷθə šəšiyəɬ.} \\
& \text{spear-3POS DT children} \\
& \text{‘Your older brothers are going to fix spears for the children.’}
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{(176)} \quad & \text{niʔ can neim ?ilq-əlc = eyl-t kʷθə-na mənəʔa} \\
& \text{aux 1S.SUB go buy-BEN=child-TR DT-1S.POS child(pl) OB DT} \\
& \text{səwaləm.} \\
& \text{toy} \\
& \text{‘I went and bought toys for my children.’}
\end{align*}
\]

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

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{(177)} \quad & \text{stem kʷən} \\
& \text{what DT.2s.POS N-buy-BEN=child-TR FUT DT.2s.POS child(pl)} \\
& \text{‘What will you buy for your children?’}
\end{align*}
\]

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.

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{(178)} \quad & \text{̀t̓ɬxʷ = əlwət-əlc = eyl-at!} \\
& \text{wash=clothes-BEN=child-TR} \\
& \text{‘Wash clothes for the child!’}
\end{align*}
\]

---

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)  
\(a\). \(niʔ \walk tᶿə \swiw̓las.\)  
\(\text{AUX walk DT young.man} \)  
‘The young man walked.’  
\(b\). \(niʔ \can \timas-stəxʷ tᶿə \swiw̓las.\)  
\(\text{AUX 1S.SUB walk-CS DT young.man} \)  
‘I made the young man walk.’

(180)  
\(a\). \(niʔ \jump tᶿə \sqʷəmey.\)  
\(\text{AUX jump DT dog} \)  
‘The dog jumped.’  
\(b\). \(niʔ \can \cƛ̓əm-stəxʷ tᶿə \sqʷəmey.\)  
\(\text{AUX 1S.SUB jump-CS DT dog} \)  
‘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)  
\(niʔ \can \hayə-staxʷ kʷθə \sqʷəmey.\)  
\(\text{AUX 1S.SUB leave-CS DT dog} \)  
‘I took the dog along.’

(182)  
\(ʔαl-staxʷ-əs \swəw \ʔəšəl \t̓akʷ \θəw̓nəɬ.\)  
\(\text{get.on.board-CS-3ERG N.LNK paddle go.home DT.PRO} \)  
‘She put it on board and she paddled home.’

\(^{23}\) See Gerdts (2003) for examples of lexical suffixes appearing both before and after the causative suffix.
42  Donna B. Gerds

(183) m̓i ɬe:ɬ-staxʷ  tʰə  snaxʷəɬ!
come  go.ashore-CS  DT  canoe

‘Beach the canoe!’

(184) nem̓  go  nəc  tʰəxʷ- stəxʷ  kʷθə-na.  syəl.
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 ap-
pllicative suffix (Gerds & Kiyosawa 2007):

(185) nem̓ ʔənaxʷ-st-əɬc-θam̓š ʔə  θə  stič!
go  stop-CS-BEN-TR.1S.OBJ  O8  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 (Gerds 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  qʷəl-ət-əs  tə  steniʔ  kʷθə  sapli.
   AUX  cook-TR-3ERG  DT  woman  DT  bread

‘The woman baked the bread.’
b. * niʔ can qiʷal(-at)-staxʷ (ʔə) to sleniʔ? (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).

   AUX cook-MID OB DT salmon

   ‘He cooked the salmon.’

(188) niʔ can qiʷal-əm-staxʷ to sleniʔ? ?ə kʷθə sce:tlən.
   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 kʷən̓ s-qiʷal-əm?
   what FUT DT.2S.POS N-cook-MID

   ‘What are you going to cook?’

(190) stem ceʔ kʷən̓ s-qiʷal-əm-staxʷ to sleniʔ?
   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 √məkʷ has a transitive form məkʷət ‘pick it up off the ground, gather’ (191) and a causative form məkʷstəxʷ ‘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

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.
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:

(191) \( \text{makw}. \text{at} \ \text{ce? \ t'ə \ syat.} \)  
\( \text{pick.up-TR 2S.SUB FUT DT firewood} \)  
‘You will gather firewood.’

(192) \( \text{neəm \ can \ makw-staxw} \ \text{t'ə \ sk'ilqət \ ə \ t'ə \ qayemən, neəm \ ə} \)  
\( \text{go 1S.SUB pick.up-CS DT child OB DT shell go OB} \)  
\( \text{t'ə \ k'ałk'a \ cəwən.} \)  
\( \text{DT salt.water seashore} \)  
‘I’m going to get the boy to pick up sea shells by the seashore.’

(193) \( \text{ni: \ č \ ə \ ʔiləq-ət} \)  
\( \text{AUX.Q 2S.SUB buy-TR DT bucket} \)  
‘Did you buy a bucket?’

(194) \( \text{ʔiləq-staxw} \ \text{t'ə \ sk'ilqət \ ə \ k'əw} \)  
\( \text{stem \ əl \ ə \ tə \ tə \ k'əwən} \)  
\( \text{buy-CS DT child OB DT.LNK what MIT OB DT money AUX} \)  
\( \text{k'ənə-əx-əx.} \)  
\( \text{take(STA)-TR-3ERG} \)  
‘Have the boy buy something with the money he has.’

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:

(195) \( \text{twət \ ce? \ k'ə \ neəm \ makw-staxw-əxw \ ə \ t'ə \ qayemən?} \)  
\( \text{who FUT DT go pick.up-CS-2S.SUB OB DT shell} \)  
‘Who are you going to have pick up the shells?’

(196) \( \text{twət \ k'ə \ ni? \ ʔiləq-staxw-əxw \ ə \ k'əθə \ sqewə?} \)  
\( \text{who DT AUX buy-CS-2S.SUB OB DT potato} \)  
‘Who did you have buy the potatoes?’

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 √makw or √ʔiləq, the root does not occur as a free-standing word and thus we posit it to be a transitive root.
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 *xʷʔəw̓cəs-t* ‘show someone how to do something with the hands’. 

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.
### Table 5: Causatives based on transitives

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>TRANSITIVE</th>
<th>CAUSATIVE</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>t̓iet ɬt̓et</td>
<td>‘flip it’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tw̓at ɬət̓stəxʷ</td>
<td>‘show him/her how to flip it’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>x̌ǐčat ɬən̓stəxʷ</td>
<td>‘show him/her how to weave it’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>maʔat maʔstəxʷ</td>
<td>‘show him/her how to splay/prop it’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mal̓st ɬən̓ ɬən̓stəxʷ</td>
<td>‘have him/her roll it’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>p̓st ɬən̓stəxʷ</td>
<td>‘show him/her how/where to spit it’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>q̓x̌at q̓əx̌stəxʷ</td>
<td>‘teach him/her how to insult him/her’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>t̓aʔt t̓aʔstəxʷ</td>
<td>‘teach him/her to pull it apart’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>t̓əm̓st ɬən̓stəxʷ</td>
<td>‘show him/her how to pound/beat on it’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>t̓ᶿaʔt t̓ᶿaʔstəxʷ</td>
<td>‘show him/her how to pull it off’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

sweto?
sweater

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

(202) nem̓ go q̓əp̓k̓ʷ-t-əs sqʷəmey̓ st̓ᶿam̓. silə ?ə t̵ə sopəl!  
go IMP bite-MID-CS DT.2S.POS g.parent OB DT bread  
‘Go give your grandfather a bite of the bread!’

(203) nem̓ lěx̌ən̓-t qaʔqaʔ-stəxʷ ?ə thə slěx̌ən̓-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 qaʔq̓ʷ-t-əs sqʷəmey̓ t̵ə st̓ᶿam̓.  
AUX gnaw-TR-3ERG DT dog DT bone  
‘The dog gnawed the bone.’

b. nem̓ qaʔq̓ʷ-stəxʷ t̵ə sqʷəmey̓ ?ə t̵ə st̓ᶿam̓!  
go gnaw-CS DT dog OB DT bone  
‘Go and give the dog the bone to gnaw on!’
The causee/recipient in these constructions is the syntactic object, as evidenced by pronominal indexing in active and passive clauses:

(207) **mí** 棨?  dequeueReusableCellWithIdentifier **ʔə** kʷθən̓ ʔə s-qʷəl̓s!  
    come IMP DLM try-CS.1s.OBJ OB DT.2s.POS N-boil  
    ‘Give me a taste of what you have cooked!’

(208) **mí** ceʔ  dequeueReusableCellWithIdentifier **ʔə** kʷθən̓ ʔə s-qʷəl̓s.  
    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** ?alb  kʷθən̓ s-ʔaqʷ-staxʷ ʔə n̓eʔ ʔeq?  
    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 nem̓ 'go' and m̓i '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)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verb</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
<th>Causative</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ʔaːt</td>
<td>'call for, invite'</td>
<td><em>ʔaːstaxʷ</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yaːt</td>
<td>'warn someone, caution him'</td>
<td><em>yaːstaxʷ</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ʔaməst</td>
<td>'give it to him'</td>
<td><em>ʔaməstaxʷ</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>θəyəɬct</td>
<td>'make it for him/her'</td>
<td><em>θəyəɬctaxʷ</em></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verb</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
<th>Causative</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>nem̓ č ?exʷeʔ-t tʰo qeq ʔo tʰo sawalam-s!</td>
<td>'Go give the baby his toy!'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ʔexʷeʔ-stəxʷ tᶿən̓ ʔə qəx̌ many sawalam-s!</td>
<td>'Show your baby how to give away some of his many toys!'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(212)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verb</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
<th>Causative</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>niʔ  č napac-t ʔo kʷθə pipə.</td>
<td>'I sent him the letter.'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>niʔ  č napac-staxʷ ʔo kʷθə pipə?</td>
<td>'Did you tell him to go mail the letter?'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(213)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verb</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>niʔ niw-at-ʔas.</td>
<td>'They gave him advice.'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
b. niw-staxʷ č ceʔ kʷʔə sʔelaxʷʔəw m̓i:s tecəl.

give.advice-3S.SUB 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) \[ \text{subject} > \text{direct object} > \text{indirect object} > \text{oblique} \]

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) \[ \text{subject} > \text{primary object} > \text{secondary object} > \text{oblique} \]

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

\(^{25}\) 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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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

Thanks to speakers of Island Halkomelem who supplied data, especially Arnold Guerin, Margaret James, Ruby Peter, Bill Seward, and Theresa Thorne. Thanks to my co-researchers Tom Hukari, Sarah Kell, and Kaoru Kiyosawa. Thanks to Martin Haspelmath and Charles Ulrich for comments and corrections. Thanks to Luise Dorenbusch, Alexander Jahraus, Zoey Peterson, and David Potter for editorial assistance. SSHRC, SFU, and Jacobs Fund have provided funding.

Special abbreviations

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ACT</th>
<th>activity</th>
<th>NTW</th>
<th>noteworthy</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>AUX</td>
<td>auxiliary</td>
<td>OB</td>
<td>oblique</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BEN</td>
<td>benefactive applicative</td>
<td>OBJ</td>
<td>object</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>conjunction</td>
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<td>passive</td>
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<td>causative</td>
<td>PERF</td>
<td>perfect</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>dative applicative</td>
<td>PL</td>
<td>plural</td>
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<td>possessive</td>
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<td>PRO</td>
<td>independent pronoun</td>
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<td>delimiter</td>
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<td>determiner</td>
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<td>future</td>
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References


