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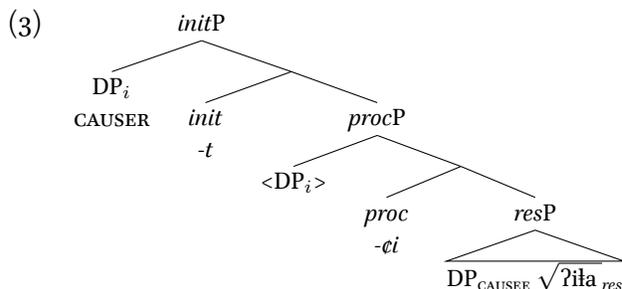
**Introduction.** Ktunaxa’s causative morpheme, which is non-valency increasing, has a restricted distribution. Curiously, this distributional restriction is lifted when additional valency-increasing morphemes are added in order to introduce a causer argument. I present novel elicitation-based data illustrating the restriction and propose that it falls out of a syntactic representation of event descriptions.

**The puzzle.** The causative in Ktunaxa is composed of a verb root and the causative morpheme *-ci*. Alone, the causative morpheme introduces causative semantics. The CAUSEE is expressed with subject morphology, just as in the non-causative counterpart in (1a). Specifying a CAUSER is not permitted, as seen in (1b). Causers require a general valency increasing *-t*, illustrated in (1c). The *-ci* morpheme is **restricted to a subset of stems** which occur with the full *-ci-t* construction: while the full triplet is available for *qumni* ‘to sleep’ (1), other stems lack the bare causative (2). Despite the translations, the (b) examples are not syntactically passive: they can be passivized as any other transitive stem in Ktunaxa. In fact, to express the intended meaning of (2b), Ktunaxa instead opts to passivize the *-ci-t* form in (2c).

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| <p>(1) a. hu=qumni-ni<br/>1SG.SBJ=sleep-IND<br/>‘I sleep/I slept.’</p> <p>b. hu=qumni-ci-ni (*C<sub>an</sub>)<br/>1SG.SBJ=sleep-CAUS-IND (*John)<br/>‘I was made to sleep (*by John).’</p> <p>c. hu=qumni-ci-t-i ħkamu<br/>1SG.SBJ=sleep-CAUS-VAL-IND child<br/>‘I made the child sleep’</p> | <p>(2) a. hun=ʔiħa-ni<br/>1SG.SBJ=cry-IND<br/>‘I am crying/I cried.’</p> <p>b. *hun=ʔiħa-ci-ni<br/>1SG.SBJ=cry-CAUS-IND<br/>Intended: ‘I was made to cry.’</p> <p>c. hun=ʔiħa-ci-t-i C<sub>an</sub><br/>1SG.SBJ=cry-CAUS-IND (*John)<br/>‘I made John cry’</p> |
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Two questions arise: (i) *what underlies this restriction on -ci*, and (ii) *why does the introduction of causers obviate this restriction?*

**Proposal.** The main insight is whether the CAUSEE is interpreted part of the causing event, or as part of the description of the result state. I implement this in Ramchand’s (2008) first-phase syntax. This translates to whether the causee is a RESULTEE-UNDERGOER or a plain RESULTEE, letting us state the restriction in terms of the causee’s role in the complex event. As these roles correspond to different syntactic positions, I propose that the distinct configurations result in distinct licensing of arguments, deriving the requirement of additional functional material (*-t*) in (2), illustrated in (3). I argue that the CAUSER, if introduced in Spec,*procP* requires *initP* for licensing. If the causee moves Spec,*procP*, the causer is optionally introduced in the *initP* projection.



- (4) a. hun=ciħ=haq-ni  
1SG.SBJ=fast=swim-IND  
‘I swam quickly.’
- b. hun=ciħ=haq-ciʔ-ti C<sub>an</sub>  
1SG.SBJ=fast=swim-IND C<sub>an</sub>  
‘I [quickly made] John swim’

This predicts that all predicates, including those whose semantics do not include a stative component, are coerced into a stative reading as a result of causativization. This prediction is supported by the inability of manner adverbials to target the caused event (4) and independent aspectual modification.

## References

Ramchand, Gillian. 2008. *Verb meaning and the lexicon: A first-phase syntax*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.