

What we Think we Know about Inner and Outer Causatives

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1 Properties of inner vs. outer causatives

(1)

		INNER	OUTER
A	Restrictions on the base:	High (e.g. unaccusative, intransitive, listed, low on the Haspelmath scale)	Low (highly productive)
Bi	Morphology [i]:	Less regular, opaque	Regular, transparent
Bii	Morphology [ii]:	Subset of outer	Superset of inner
C	Expression of the causee:	Obligatory direct object	Optional and/or oblique
D	Type of causation:	Direct	Possibly indirect (permissive, assistive, etc.)
E	Iteration:	None	Possible; Outer cause can sometimes be formed on an inner-causativized base
F	Animacy:	No restrictions	Causee animate
G	Adverbial scope:	Unambiguous	Potentially ambiguous
H	Passive:	Unrestricted	Restricted

(2)

	SÁMI		HINDI		NIVKH		AMHARIC		KITHARAKA		MALAGASY	
	<i>In</i>	<i>Out</i>	<i>In</i>	<i>Out</i>	<i>In</i>	<i>Out</i>	<i>In</i>	<i>Out</i>	<i>In</i>	<i>Out</i>	<i>In</i>	<i>Out</i>
A	yes	yes	NO	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes
Bi	yes	yes	NO	yes	yes	yes	NO	yes	NO	yes	yes	yes
Bii	NO	NO	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes
C	yes	yes	yes?	yes		yes?	yes	yes	yes	yes		
D	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes
E	yes	yes	yes	NO	yes	yes	yes	?	yes	?		yes
F	yes	yes	NO	NO	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes		
G	yes							yes?				
H	yes	yes					NO	yes	yes	NO		

*With annotations and adjustments following seminar on February 1st, 2005.

2 Northern Sámi

Cf. presentation 07.09.04 by Marit Julien; examples here are copied from her handout, but generally also appear in Julien (to appear).

2.1 A. Restrictions on the base vs. productivity (well-behaved)

- (3) Inner causative *-d* is stem selective, Julien (to appear)
- áiba-t ‘be delayed’ áiba-d-it ‘delay’
 - buorre ‘good’ buori-d-it ‘improve’
 - vearju ‘weapon’ vearju-d-it ‘arm’
- (4) Outer causative *-h*, *-htt* is more productive, Julien (to appear), Vinka (2002)
- bassa-t ‘wash’ basa-h-it ‘make wash’
 - buori-d-it ‘improve’ buori-d-ahtt-it ‘cause to improve’
 - vearju-d-it ‘arm’ vearju-d-ahtt-it ‘cause to arm’

2.2 Bi. Morphological irregularity vs. regularity (well-behaved)

- (5) The *-d* form is just one of many different manifestations of inner causatives. Outer causatives are formed with *-h* or *-htt*, the choice being determined phonologically.

2.3 Bii. Morphological relation of the two (ill-behaved)

- (6) There is no obvious morphophonological relation between *-h* and *-d*, even taking consonant gradation into account

2.4 C. Obligatory vs. optional expression of the Causee (well-behaved)

- (7) The causee is expressed as a direct object if there isn’t one already
- Son stuori-d-ii gova.
s/he big-CS-PST3SG picture.ACC
‘S/he enlarged the picture’
 - Biret viega-h-a Máhte.
Biret run-O.CS-PRS3SG Máhte.ACC
‘Biret makes Máhte run’
- (8) If the base verb is transitive, the causee is optionally expressed as an indirect object (illative case in Eastern dialects; cf. Julien to appear, Vinka 2002)
- Eadni bora-h-ii mánná-i láibbi.
mother eat-O.CS-PST3SG child-ILL bread.ACC
‘The mother fed the child bread/made the child eat bread’
 - Eadni bora-h-ii láibbi.
mother eat-O.CS-PST3SG bread.ACC
‘The mother made bread be eaten’

2.5 D. Direct vs. Indirect Causation (well-behaved)

- (9) a. Inner causative appears to be direct
b. Outer causative can be indirect, at least when Causee is omitted

2.6 E. Impossibility vs. possibility of iteration (well-behaved)

- (10) An inner causativized verb can be affected by outer causativization (no iteration of inner causative)
a. *buori-d-it* ‘improve’ *buori-d-ahtt-it* ‘cause to improve’
b. *vearju-d-it* ‘arm’ *vearju-d-ahtt-it* ‘cause to arm’

2.7 F. Absence vs. presence of animacy restrictions (well-behaved)

- (11) The causativized verb must be agentive (Vinka 2002)
a. **Mon gula-h-i-n* *máná* *bajána.*
I *hear-O.CS-PST-1SG* *child.ACC* *thunder.ACC*
 ‘I made the child hear the thunder’
b. **Mon oainni-h-i-n* *máná* *bohccuid.*
I *see-O.CS-PST-1SG* *child.ACC* *reindeer.ACC*
 ‘I made the child see the reindeer’

2.8 G. Ambiguous vs. unambiguous adverbial scope (not enough data)

- (12) Julien: Unambiguous with inner causative
a. *Šadda-d-i-n* *buđeh-i-id* *hirbmadit.*
grow-CS-PAST-1SG *potato-PL-ACC* *enormously*
 ‘I cultivated potatoes intensively’
b. *Liekka-d-in* *gáfe* *jođánit.*
warm-CS-PAST-1SG *coffee.SG.ACC* *quickly*
 ‘I heated the coffee quickly’

2.9 H. Normalcy vs. restrictedness of Passive (well-behaved)

- (13) Vinka: Outer causative can be passivized only if illative causee is not present
a. *Máná* *bora-h-uvvu-ii.*
child.SG.NOM *eat-O.CS-PASS-PST3SG*
 ‘The child was fed’
b. *Láibi* *bora-h-uvvu-ii.*
bread.SG.NOM *eat-O.CS-PASS-PST3SG*
 ‘Bread was fed’
c. **Láibi* *bora-h-uvvu-ii* *máná-i.*
bread.SG.NOM *eat-O.CS-PASS-PST3SG* *child-SG.ILL*
 ‘Bread was fed’

3 Hindi/Urdu

Cf. presentation 14.09.04 by Gillian Ramchand, with handout.

3.1 A. Restrictions on the base vs. productivity (mixed results)

- (14) Both *-aa* and *-vaa* seem to be quite productive

3.2 Bi. Morphological irregularity vs. regularity (mixed results)

- (15) Both *-aa* and *-vaa* are fairly regular and transparent, with some stem selection in both cases

3.3 Bii. Morphological relation of the two (well-behaved)

- (16) *-aa* is a proper subset of *-vaa*

3.4 C. Obligatory vs. optional expression of the Causee (well-behaved, on a certain interpretation)

- (17) Butt (1998): Causee with *-vaa* is either D.O. or instrumental, can be omitted

- a. *Saddaf-ne masaalaa cakh-aa.*
Saddaf-ERG seasoning taste-PRF.M.SG
'Saddaf tasted the seasoning'
- b. *Anjum-ne Saddaf-ko masaalaa cakh-vaa-yaa.*
Anjum-ERG Saddaf-ACC seasoning taste-O.CS-PRF.M.SG
'Anjum had Saddaf taste the seasoning'
- c. *Anjum-ne (Saddaf-se) masaalaa cakh-vaa-yaa.*
Anjum-ERG Saddaf-INSTR seasoning taste-O.CS-PRF.M.SG
'Anjum had the seasoning tasted (by Saddaf)'

- (18) The *-aa* causative usually has an accusative Causee, if present; a few verbs allow an animate instrumental Causee (inanimate instrumentals are presumably thematic instrumentals, not causees)

- (19) The *-aa* causative may have only two overt arguments, even if the root would translate into English as transitive; if *-aa* is an Inner Causative, and if the root is transitive, then this violates the generalization that Inner Causatives have obligatory causees; but if the root is not actually transitive, then there is no violation of the generalization.

3.5 D. Direct vs. Indirect Causation (well-behaved)

- (20) Inner is ‘direct,’ Outer is ‘indirect’ (though see Saksena 1982 for complications)
- a. Makaan ban-aa.
house make-PRF.M.SG
‘The house was built’
 - b. Anjum-ne makaan ban-aa-yaa.
Anjum-ERG house make-CS-PRF.M.SG
‘Anjum built a house’
 - c. Anjum-ne (mazdurō-se) makaan ban-vaa-yaa.
Anjum-ERG laborers-INSTR house make-O.CS-PERF
‘Anjum had a house built (by the laborers)’

3.6 E. Impossibility vs. possibility of iteration (mixed results)

- (21) Saksena (1982) argues that *-vaa* forms do not embed *-aa* forms on the basis of meaning; (b) does not entail (a)
- a. kisii-ne laṛke-ko do baje khil-aa-yaa.
someone-ERG boy-ACC two o'clock eat-CS-PERF
‘Someone fed the boy at two o’clock’
 - b. mǎĩ-ne laṛke-ko do baje khil-vaa-yaa.
I-ERG boy-ACC two o'clock eat-O.CS-PERF
‘I had the boy eat at two o’clock’

3.7 F. Absence vs. presence of animacy restrictions (ill behaved)

- (22) a. *-aa* causative requires *inanimate* or ‘controllable’ causee (including children but not birds)
b. *-vaa* places no such restriction

4 Nivkh

Eugenia Romanova, personal communication 16.09.04; Nedjalkov et al. (1995)

4.1 A. Restrictions on the base vs. productivity (well-behaved)

- (23) a. Inner causative restricted to a small number of intransitive roots only
b. Outer causative more general

4.2 Bi. Morphological irregularity vs. regularity (well-behaved)

- (24) a. Inner causative *-u*, sometimes consonant mutation also or instead; unpredictable
- | | | |
|-------|-------------------------|------------------------|
| (i) | nok-t’ ‘be narrow’ | nok-u-d’ ‘make narrow’ |
| (ii) | vaxt’-t’ ‘tear’ (intr.) | vaxt-u-t’ ‘tear’ (tr.) |
| (iii) | lǎrk-d’ ‘swim’ | lǎrk-u-d’ ‘float’ |

- (iv) t'o-d' 'bend' (intr.) zo-d' 'bend' (tr.)
- (v) p^haz-d' 'undress' (intr.) faz-u-d' 'undress' (tr.)
- b. Outer causative *-gu/-ku*; predictable from voicing
 - (i) vi-d' 'go' vi-gu-d' 'make go, send'
 - (ii) pol-d' 'fall' pol-gu-d' 'cause to fall'
 - (iii) p^haz-d' 'undress' p^haz-gu-d' 'make undress'

4.3 Bii. Morphological relation of the two (well-behaved)

- (25) *-u* is a proper subset of *-gu*

4.4 D. Direct vs. Indirect Causation (well-behaved)

- (26) Inner causative is direct causation, outer causative is indirect causation
- a. If pol-d'.
he fall-FIN
'He fell'
 - b. If p^hatik vol-u-d'.
he his.younger.brother fall-CS-FIN
'He knocked down his younger brother'
 - c. If p^hatik əxtr, j-ax pol-gu-d'.
he his.younger.brother nudge.ADV 3-DAT/ACC fall-O-CS-FIN
'By nudging his younger brother, he caused him to fall'
- (27) Outer causative also has 'permissive' meaning, another 'indirect' causation type
- a. ətək n'-ax p^h-su-gu-d'.
father I-CSEE RFX-wash-O-CS-FIN
'Father told me to wash myself/him'
 - b. N'i j-ax p^h-χoni-gu-d'.
I 3-CSEE RFX-save-O-CS-FIN
'I asked him to escape'/'I asked him to save me'

4.5 E. Impossibility vs. possibility of iteration (well-behaved)

- (28) Outer causative may attach outside inner causative
- a. vaχt'-t' 'break' (intr.) vaχt'-u-d' 'break' (tr.) vaχt'-u-gu-d' 'make/let break'
 - b. kuku-d' 'be scattered' yuku-d' 'shake' (tr.) yuku-gu-d' 'make/let shake'

4.6 F. Absence vs. presence of animacy restrictions (well behaved)

- (29) "Causative constructions with an inanimate subject are felt to be ungrammatical" (Nedjalkov et al. 1995:76)

*Čələ n'əŋax təvoin lav-gu-d'
mist we.CSEE this.village.LOC stay-O-CS-FIN
(('The mist caused us to stay in this village')

- (30) “If the causative verb is formed from an intransitive base, then the causee may be either animate or inanimate. If, on the other hand, the verb has a transitive base, then the causee must as a rule be animate; an inanimate causee is extremely rare, and must be something which is activated by a human being” (Nedjalkov et al. 1995:76–77)

K^hu nik hagin t^ha p^hra-gu-ja!
a single bullet NEG REFL.hit-O.CS-IMPER
 ‘Do not let a single bullet hit you!’

- (31) It is also reported that verbs meaning ‘get wet’ and ‘dampen’ allow inanimate causees.

5 Amharic

Cf. presentation 28.09.04 by Patrycja Jabłońska, with handout

5.1 A. Restrictions on the base vs. productivity (well-behaved)

- (32) a. *a-* is restricted to unaccusatives
 b. *as-* is more general

5.2 Bi. Morphological irregularity vs. regularity (mixed results)

- (33) Both seem to be regular

5.3 Bii. Morphological relation of the two (well-behaved)

- (34) *a-* is a proper subset of *as-*

5.4 C. Obligatory vs. optional expression of the Causee (well-behaved)

- (35) Causee can often be omitted with *as-*
- a. Läm^{ma} Aster-in yə-agərbet čiffärä as-čäffärä-at.
Läm^{ma} Aster-ACC POSS-country dance O.CS-dance.PF.3MS-3FO
 ‘Läm^{ma} made Aster dance a folk dance’
- b. Läm^{ma} yə-agərbet čiffärä as-čäffärä.
Läm^{ma} POSS-country dance O.CS-dance.PF.3MS
 ‘Läm^{ma} had a folk dance danced’

5.5 D. Direct vs. Indirect Causation (well-behaved)

- (36) Inner causative is direct, outer causative indirect (Hetzron 1976)
- a. Ləğ^u səga bälla.
boy meat ate
 ‘The boy ate meat’

- b. Abbat ləğun səga a-bälla.
father boy meat CS-ate
 ‘The father fed the boy meat’
- c. Abbat ləğun səga baškär as-bälla.
father boy meat servant O.CS-ate
 ‘The father had the servant make the boy eat meat’
- (37) *as-* can be used for other kinds of marked causation, e.g. coercive, permissive.
- a. Abbat ləğun səga as-bälla.
father boy meat O.CS-ate
 ‘The father forced the boy to eat meat’
- b. Abbat səgawn bawre as-bälla.
father meat beast O.CS-ate
 ‘The father let the beast eat the meat’

5.6 E. Impossibility vs. possibility of iteration (mixed results)

- (38) Neither seems to be iterable; cf. §6.6

5.7 F. Absence vs. presence of animacy restrictions (well behaved)

- (39) Causee with *as-* must be animate
- *Aster dıngäy-u-n meskot as-säbbär-č-i-w.
Aster stone-DEF-ACC window O.CS-break-PF-3FS-3MO
 (‘Aster made the stone break the window’)

5.8 G. Ambiguous vs. Unambiguous adverbial scope

- (40) Reports of at least one example showing ambiguous scope with *as-*

5.9 H. Normalcy vs. restrictedness of Passive (mixed results)

- (41) No passives of either causative
- a. *lij-u tä-a-mät’tä
boy-DEF PASS-CS-come.PF.3MS
 (‘The boy was brought’)
- b. *Kässa tərmas tä-as-säbbärä-w
Kässa bottle PASS-O.CS-break.PF.3MS-3MO
 (‘Kassa was made to break the bottle’)

6 Kitharaka

Peter Muriungi, personal communication 14.10.04 and 13.11.04

6.1 A. Restrictions on the base vs. productivity (well-behaved)

- (42) *-i* is mostly used with intransitive verbs and unaccusatives; applied to the Haspelmath list (Haspelmath 1993), the verbs most likely to transitivize (as opposed to detransitivize) do so with *-i*
- (43) Most likely to transitivize, in Haspelmath's list (intrans. ~ trans.):
- camuka ~ camukia 'boil'
 - uuma ~ umia 'dry'
 - uka ~ ukia 'wake up'
 - ora ~ oria 'go out/put out' (lights)
 - riama ~ riamia 'sink'
- (44) Least likely to transitivize, in Haspelmath's list (intrans. ~ trans.):
- ruguka ~ rugura 'open'
 - ithirana ~ ithirania 'gather'
 - garuka ~ garura 'change' OR binduka ~ bindura 'change'
 - gwatana ~ gwatania 'connect'

6.2 Bi. Morphological irregularity vs. regularity (mixed results)

- (45) Both seem relatively morphologically transparent and regular

6.3 Bii. Morphological relation of the two (well-behaved)

- (46) *-i* is a subset of *-ithi*
- ring-ithi-a ~ ring-ith-aan-i-a
hit-O.CS-FV *hit*-O-RCP-CS-FV
'cause to hit' — 'cause to hit each other'

6.4 C. Obligatory vs. optional expression of the Causee (well-behaved)

- (47) Causee can be suppressed only with Outer Causative (obligatoriness of causee with Inner Causative is surprising, given relative freedom of pro-drop, cf. (b))
- Victor n-a-ku-rim-ithi-a (aritwa) munda.
Victor FOC-SUBJ-INF-*cultivate*-O.CS-FV *students garden*
'Victor is making (the students) cultivate the garden'
 - N-a-ku-rim-ithi-a.
FOC-SUBJ-INF-*cultivate*-O.CS-FV
'He is having it cultivated'
 - Munene a-ku-rir-i-a *(mwana).
Munene SUBJ-INF-*cry*-CS-FV *child*
'Munene has caused the child to cry'

6.5 D. Direct vs. Indirect Causation (well-behaved)

(48) Indirect causation can be had from outer causative by omitting the causee

- a. Munene a-ku-buruk-i-a icia.
Munene SUBJ-INF-*fly*-CS-FV *dove*
'Munene has made the dove fly'
- b. Munene a-ku-buruk-ithi-a (Victor) icia.
Munene SUBJ-INF-*fly*-O.CS-FV *Victor* *dove*
'Munene has made (Victor) make the dove fly'

6.6 E. Impossibility vs. possibility of iteration (depends)

- (49)
- a. *-i* may not iterate
 - b. *-ithi* appears to contain *-i* as a subpart (cf. (46)). So on one interpretation, *-ith* is always stacked on top of *-i* (unlike the case in Hindi, cf. §3.6, but possibly like Amharic). On the other hand, clearly different from Nivkh and Sámi where the outer causative can optionally be added to the inner causative with two arguments added (at least notionally).

6.7 F. Absence vs. presence of animacy restrictions (well behaved)

(50) Causee of Outer Causative must be animate

- a. Kaburi n-a-rugur-ith-ir-i-e Munene murango.
Kaburi FOC-SUBJ-*open*-O.CS-ASP-FV *Munene* *door*
'Kaburi made Munene open the door'
- b. *Kaburi n-a-rugur-ith-ir-i-e ruo murango.
Kaburi FOC-SUBJ-*open*-O.CS-ASP-FV *wind* *door*
'(Kaburi made the wind open the door)'
- c. *Makia n-a-rugur-ith-ir-i-e rucabi murango.
Kaburi FOC-SUBJ-*open*-O.CS-ASP-FV *key* *door*
'(Makia made the key open the door)'

- (51)
- a. Kaburi n-a-ring-ith-ir-i-e Munene ruthingo
Kaburi FOC-SUBJ-*hit*-O.CS-ASP-CS-FV *Munene* *wall*
'Kaburi made Munene hit the wall'
 - b. *Kaburi n-a-ring-ith-ir-i-e jüiga ruthingo
Kaburi FOC-SUBJ-*hit*-O.CS-ASP-CS-FV *stone* *wall*
'(Kaburi made the stone hit the wall)'

(52) Causer need not be

- Ruo i-ru-un-ith-ir-i-e iguna ruthambu.
wind FOC-SUBJ-*break*-O.CS-ASP-FV *monkey* *branch*
'The wind caused the monkey to break the branch'

6.8 H. Normalcy vs. restrictedness of passive (mixed results)

- (53) Both causatives appear to allow passive formation; only the causee can be promoted if the base is transitive

7 Malagasy

7.1 A. Restrictions on the base vs. productivity (well-behaved)

(54) Many lexical restrictions on (inner) *an-* prefixation, Keenan (1991), Travis (2000)

- a. m-i-hisatra — m-an-[h]isitra
PRS-*v-move.slowly* PRS-*v_{tr}-move.slowly*
'X moves slowly' — 'Y moves X slowly'
- b. m-i-lahatra — m-an-^{da}la[ha]tra
PRS-*v-be.in.order* PRS-*v_{tr}-be.in.order*
'X is in order' — 'Y arranges X'
- c. m-i-lona — m-an-^d[l]ona
PRS-*v-soak* PRS-*v_{tr}-soak*
'X soaks' — 'Y soaks X'
- d. m-i-sitrika — m-an-[s]itrika
PRS-*v-hide* PRS-*v_{tr}-hide*
'X hides' — 'Y hides X'
- e. *m-i-vono — m-am-[v]ono
PRS-*v-die* PRS-*v_{tr}-die*
'X dies' — 'Y kills X' (Travis 2000:156)

(55) "In Malagasy, the productive causative is formed by adding *m-amp-* to the stem."
(Travis to appear)

- a. m-i-hisatra ~ m-an-f-i-hisatra
T-INTR-move.slowly *T-CS-E-INTR-move.slowly*
'X move slowly' — 'Z make X move slowly'
- b. m-an-hisatra ~ m-an-f-an-hisatra
T-CS-move.slowly *T-CS-E-CS-move.slowly*
'Y move X slowly' — 'Z make Y move X slowly'

7.2 Bi. Morphological irregularity vs. regularity (well-behaved)

(56) Inner *an-* shows irregularity; outer *an-* appears to be morphologically regular

7.3 Bii. Morphological relation of the two (well-behaved, sort of)

(57) Outer *an-* is identical to inner *an-*

7.4 D. Direct vs. Indirect Causation

(58) At least the inner *an-* appears to refer to direct causation

7.5 E. Impossibility vs. possibility of iteration (well-behaved)

(59) The outer *an-* can be added on top of the inner *an-*

8 *Faire-infinitive* and *Faire-par*

- (60) *faire-infinitive* is biclausal; causee is subjectlike
- Causee is obligatory
 - Causee binds reflexives
 - Causee expressed as a direct object (Chichewa) or dative (Turkish)
 - Wide variety of verbs can be embedded
- (61) *faire-par* involves a VP complement; causee is an adjunct
- Causee is optional
 - Causee cannot bind reflexives
 - Causee expressed as an adjunct, if at all
 - Non-agentive verbs cannot be embedded
- (62) Northern Sámi, Vinka (2002)
- Causee is optional (FP) (cf. (8))
 - Causee can bind reflexives (FI)
 - Causee is accusative or illative (FI); but no promotion under passive (FP)
 - Only non-agentive verbs can be embedded (FP) (cf. (11))

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