

A typology of tritransitives: alignment types and motivations

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Alignment types

- | | | | | | |
|----|---------------------------------------|----|---------------------------------------|----|---------------------------------------|
| 1. | A T R_{ditr}
A T R_{tritr} B/C | 2. | A T R_{ditr}
A T R_{tritr} B/C | 3. | A T R_{ditr}
A T R_{tritr} B/C |
| 4. | A T R_{ditr}
A T R_{tritr} B/C | 5. | A T R_{ditr}
A T R_{tritr} B/C | | |

Figure 1

A= Agent, T=Theme, R=Recipient, B=Beneficiary, C=Causee

Languages lacking tritransitives

Sesotho (Peterson 1998:59, cited from Machobane 1989:111)

- (1a) ntate o-f-a bana lijo
father AGR-give-FV children food
>My father gives food to the children=
- (1b) *ntata o-f-el-a morena bana lijo
father AGR-give-APPL-FV chief children food
(My father gives food to the children for the chief)

Halkomelem Salish (Gerds 1998:308, 314)

- (2a) ni♣ ♣a:m-χs- ám♣š-χs ♣χ k^w χ puk^w
AUX give-ADV-TR.1OBJ-3ERG OBL DET book
>He gave me the book=
- (2b) ni♣ q=^wχl-χ|c- ám♣š-χs ♣χ k^w χ see:|tχn
AUX bake-BEN-TR.1OBJ-3ERG OBL DET salmon
>He baked me the salmon=
- (2c) *ni ♣am-χs-|c-t-χs |χ s|eni♣ k^w χ sq^wχméy♣
AUX give-ADV-BEN-TR-3ERG DET woman DET dog
♣χ k^w χ s =am♣
OBL DET bone
(He gave the dog the bone for the woman)

Awa Pit (Curnow 1997:72, 162)

- (3a) Na=na kuzhu piya kwa-nin-ta-w
1SG:NOM=TOP pig corn eat-CAUS-PAST-LOCUT:SUBJ
>I let the pig eat corn=
- (3b) demetrio=na carmen=ta pala kwín-tϖ-zi
PN=TOP PN=ACC plantain give-PAST-NONLOCUT
>Demetrio gave Carmen a plantain=
- (3c) na=na demetrio=ta pala kwín-nin-ta-w
1SG.NOM=TOP PN=ACC plantain give-CAUS-PAST-LOCUT:SUBJ
>I made Demetrio give a plantain=
- (3d) na=na carmen=ta pala kwín-nin-ta-w
1SG.NOM=TOP PN=ACC plantain give-CAUS-PAST-LOCUT:SUBJ
>I made a plantain be given to Carmen=

Abkhaz (Hewitt 1989:82)

- (4a) dχ-sχ-r-gχ+la-yt=
him/her-I-CAUS-stand-AOR
>I made him/her stand up=
- (4b) yχ-s-lχ-r-šχ-yt=
it/them-me-she-CAUS-kill-AOR
>She made me kill it/them=
- (4c) sarà barà a-p^oχs à-∞gab dχ-bχ-l-ta-r+t
I you.FEM the-woman the-girl her-to-you.FEM-she-give
(ø-)q=a-s-c=à-yt=
it-PREV-I-make-AOR
>I made the woman give the girl to you=

Tukang Besi (Donohue 1999:220)

- (5a) *no-pa-hu=u te ana te iai-no te
3R-CAUS-give CORE child CORE younger.sibling-3POSS CORE
ana u riirii
child GEN duck
(She made the child give the duckling to his brother)
- (5b) no-tumpu->e na ana oko na-[m]o=u te
3R-order-3OBJ NOM child COMP 3I-give.SI CORE
iai-no te ana u riirii
younger.sibling-3POSS CORE child GEN duck
>She told the child to give the duckling to his brother=

Yimas (Foley 1991:372)

- (6a) yara ya-ka-kra-Ŷ a-r-akn
tree V.PL.T-1SG-cut-BEN-PERF-3SG.D
>I cut trees for him= (Yimas, Foley 1991:309)
- (6b) *anti i-ka-pul-Ŷ a-ak-m-pn
ground.VIII.SG VIII.SG.O-1SG.A-rub-BEN-PERF-3SG.D-3DL.D
(I rubbed ground on him for them)
- (6c) anti i-ka-pul-c-akn mpu-nampan
ground VIII.SG.O-1SG.A-rub-PERF-3SG.D 3PL-toward
>I rubbed ground on him for them=

The formal typology

Type 1

Ditransitive clauses	(A T)	R	
Tritransitive clauses	(A T)	R	BEN/CAUS

Lokono Dian (Pet 1987:56)

- (7a) da-siki-fa no ly-myn
I-give-FUT it he-BEN
>I will give it to him=
- (7b) da-soka to ada ly-myn
I-chop the tree he-BEN
>I chopped the tree for him=
- (7c) da-siki-fa no ly-myn by-myn
I-give-FUT it he-BEN you-BEN
>I will give it to him for you=

Kinyarwanda (Kimenyi 1980:31f)

- (8a) umugabo y-a-haa-ye umugóre igitabo
 man he-PAST-give-ASP woman book
 >The man gave a book to the woman=
- (8b) umugóre a-rá-kor-er-a umugabo
 woman she-PRES-work-BEN-ASP man
 >The woman is working for the man=
- (8c) umukoóbwa a-rá-hé-er-a umugóre ábáana ibíryo
 girl she-PRES-give-BEN-ASP woman children food
 >The girl is giving food to the children for the woman=

Type 2

- Ditransitive clauses (A T) **R**
 Tritransitive clauses (A T) **R** *BEN/CAUS*

Inherent type

Maori (Bauer et al 1993:272)

- (9a) kei te whakamaarama ia i ngaa koorero pakitara ki
 T/A explain 3SG PREP the.PL talk fiction PREP
 ngaa tamariki
 the.PL children
 >She is explaining the stories to the children=
- (9b) kua mahi-a e pani he kapu tii maa raatou
 T/A make-PASS by Pani a cup tea PREP 3PL
 >Pani has made them a cup of tea=
- (9c) i hoatu ahau i te maaripi ki tana hoa
 T/A give 1SG DO the knife PREP SG.GEN.3SG friend
 maa hone
 PREP John
 >I gave the knife to John=s friend for John=

Godoberi (Kibrik 1996:121)

- (10a) im-u-di jaš-u- =u hamaXi =inn-ali
 father-OBL-ERG girl-OBL-CONT donkey beat-CAUS.PAST
 >Father made the girl beat the donkey=
- (10b) wac-u-di di-≈i arsi iki
 brother-OBL-ERG 1SG.OBL-DAT money give.PAST
 >The brother gave me the money=
- (10c) im-u-di wac-u- =u di-≈i arsi ik-ali
 father-OBL-ERG brother-OBL-CONT 1SG.OBL-DAT money give-CAUS.PAST
 >Father made the brother give the money to me=

Bote (examples courtesy of Balaram Prasain)

- (11a) bχcca↔ macho k^ha-ik
 child-ERG fish eat-3SG.PAST
 >The child ate the fish=
- (11b) ama↔ bχcca-ke macho k^hw-a-ik
 mother-ERG child-DAT fish eat-CAUS-3SG.PAST
 >The mother fed the child fish=
- (11c) aite↔ gita-ke ciT^hi lek^h--ik
 Aite-ERG Gita-DAT letter write-3SG.PAST
 >Aite wrote a letter to Gita=

- (11d) aite-↔ sita-b^{hi} gita-ke ciT^{hi} lek^h-a-ik
 Aite-ERG Sita-ABL Gita-DAT letter write-CAUS-3SG.PAST
 >Aite made Sita write a letter to Gita=

Vietnam (Bisang 1992:314f)

- (12a) tôi πi cho cho me
 I go market >give= mother
 >I go to the market for mother=
 (12b) tôi mua cho giúp guyên sách này
 I buy >give= PN CLASS book DEM
 >I buy this book for Giap=
 (12c) bà πua hình tôi cho ban giùm tôi
 you.HON bring photo I >give= friend >help= I
 >Would you (Sie) please give this photo to my friend for me=

Type 3

- Ditransitive clauses (A T) **R**
 Tritransitive clauses (A T) *R* **BEN/CAUS**

Direct type

Svan (Sumbatova 1993:256f)

- (13a) dede-d katak=ärne dena-s k=or
 mother-ERG open.CAUS.AOR girl-DAT door.NOM
 >Mother made the girl open the door=
 (13b) dena-d kalaxwem mare-s diar
 girl-ERG give.AOR man-DAT bread
 >The girl gave bread to the man=
 (13c) e∞e-m kalaxawodnune dena-s diar mare-š-t=
 he-ERG give.CAUS.AOR girl-DAT bread.NOM man-GEN-for
 >He made the girl give bread to the man=

Kabardian (Colarusso 1989:333, 338)

- (14a) sa a-bχ wa wχ-q=χ-y-a-s-ga-a-|aag<-n-s
 I 3-OBL you you-HOR-3-DAT-I-CAUS-CON-see-FUT-AFF
 >I might show you to him/her=
 (14b) sa a-bχ wa a-ha-r ø-q=χ-w-a-y-a-s-ga-a-t-ag-ha-s
 I 3-OBL you 3-PL-ABS 3-HOR-you-DAT-3-DAT-I-CAUS-CON-give.PAST-PL-AFF
 >I made him/her give them to you=

Indirect type

Lango (Noonan 1992:120f)

- (15a) lócχ òmŷyò búk bòt dákô
 man 3SG.give.PERF book to woman
 >The man gave the book to the woman=
 (15b) lócχ òmŷyò dákô búk
 man 3SG.give.PERF woman book
 >The man gave the woman the book=
 (15c) án àd]kkiì dákô
 1SG 1SG.go back.BEN.PERF woman
 >I went back for the sake of the woman=
 (15d) lócχ òmŷyì àtîn búk bòt dákô
 man 3SG.give.BEN.PERF child book to woman
 >The man gave the book to the woman for the child=

Type 4

Ditransitive clauses	(A	T)	R	
Tritransitive clauses	(A	T)	R	<u>BEN/CAUS</u>

Tukang Besi (Donohue 1999:259)

- (16a) ku-hu=u-ke na iai-su te sede
 1SG-give-3OBJ NOM younger.sibling-1SG.POSS CORE taro
 >I gave my sister some taro=
- (16b) ku-hu=u-ako->e na ina-su te sede
 1SG-give-APPL-3OBJ NOM mother-1SG.POSS CORE taro
 di iai-su
 OBL younger.sibling-1SG.POSS
 >I gave my sister some taro for my mother=

Motivations

Alambak (Bruce 1984:232)

- (17a) na yima-r yemrë-m nëngay-t këmbri-hay-më-an-r
 1SG person-3SG.M meat-3PL plate-3SG.F put.into-BEN-REC.PAST-1SG-3SG.M
 >I put meat into a plate for a man=
- (17b) *na yifem-r yën-r gëbrërna-hay-më-an-r hëhrampa-m
 1SG father-3SG.M child-3SG.M rub-BEN-REC.PAST-1SG.3SG.M medicine-PL
 (I rubbed a child (with) medicine for the benefit of his father)
- (17c) *na yifem-r yën-r hay/ha/kagëbrërna-hay-më-an-r hëhrampa-m
 1SG father-3SG.M child-3SG.M CAUS-REC.PAST-1SG.3SG.M medicine-PL
 (I caused father to rub the child (with) medicine)
- (17d) *na yifem-r yën-r gëbrërna-hay/nho-më-an-r hëhrampa-e
 1SG father-3SG.M child-3SG.M rub-BEN-REC.PAST-1SG.3SG.M medicine-INSTR
 (I rubbed a child with medicine for the benefit of his father)

Tukang Besi (Donohue 1999:259)

- (18) ku-simbi-ako te tuha-su te sede (te kabali)
 1SG-slash-APPL CORE family-1SG.POSS CORE taro (CORE machete)
 >I slashed at the taro (with a machete) for my family=

Evenki (Nedjalkov 1997:231f):

- (19a) alagumni bejetken-me unta-l-va-n olgi-vkon-e-n
 teacher boy-ACC.DEF fur.boot-PL-ACC.DEF-3SG.POSS dry-CAUS-NONFUT-3SG
 >The teacher made the boy dry his fur boots=
- (19b) etyrken min-du uluki-l-ve ga-pkan-e-n
 old.man 1SG-DAT squirrel-PL-ACC.DEF take-CAUS-NONFUT-3SG
 >The old man let/made me take the squirrels=
- (19c) nungan min-du oron-mo bu:-re-n
 3SG.M 1SG-DAT reindeer-ACC.DEF give-NONFUT-3SG
 >He gave me a/the reindeer=
- (19d) nungan (beje-ve) min-du oron-mo bu:-vken-e-n
 3SG.M (man-ACC.DEF) 1SG-DAT reindeer-ACC.DEF give-CAUS-NONFUT-3SG
 >He made the man give me a/the reindeer=

Punjabi (Comrie 1975:12, Bhatia 1993:239)

- (20a) alii ne suniiti nüü kataab ditti
 PN ERG PN DAT book give.PAST.SG.FEM
 >Ali gave a book to Suniti=

- (20b) shaam ne ramesh nüü kataab paRààii
 PN ERG PN DAT book.SG.FEM read.CAUS.PAST.SG.FEM
 >Sham caused Ramesh to read the book=
- (20c) bχnde ne mastχr nüü kàni mwyndyā nüü swv-vā-i
 man ERG teacher IO story boys IO tell-CAUS-PAST
 >The man made the teacher tell the story to the boys=
- (20d) bχnde ne mastχr nal kàni mwyndyā nüü swv-vā-i
 man ERG teacher by story boys IO tell-CAUS-PAST
 >The man made the teacher tell the story to the boys=

Kikuyu (Blansitt 1973:11)

- (21a) m@thuri @ri~ muk@r@ n♣anengerire m@tum♣a ih@a
 man ? old gave woman flower
 >The old man gave the woman the flower=
- (21b) m@tum♣a n♣anengerire mwar♣ wake gw♣ kah♣♣
 woman gave daughter her to boy
 >The woman gave her daughter to the boy=

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