Typology of Verbal Categories

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Transitivity Increasing Operations in Tariana

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This paper is offered to Professor Vladimir P. Nedialkov in homage, and in appreciation of his manifold contributions to our understanding of the nature of language.

1. Introduction

I investigate here different types of causative construction in Tariana, a North Arawak language from North West Amazonia. There is a morphological causative typically used with intransitive verbs, a serial causative construction, and two types of periphrastic causative. All these causative constructions are functionally and formally distinct, and show intricate interrelations as to the role of the causer, that of the causee, and the properties of predicate classes.

The use of the morphological causative with transitive verbs correlates with the promotion of an oblique argument into the core. Thus, the causative morpheme, when added to a transitive verb, marks a kind of argument-adding derivation.

The typological characteristics of Tariana are described in §2. The four different kinds of causative constructions are analyzed in §§3-5. Morphological causatives are considered in §3; serial causative constructions in §4, and periphrastic causatives in §5. These distinct causative mechanisms are compared in §6. The argument-adding derivation used with transitive verbs is discussed in §7. Transitivity increasing operations in Tariana are viewed in a typological perspective in §8.

I use standard abbreviations for syntactic functions (Dixon 1994): A for transitive subject, O for transitive object and S for intransitive subject. In addition, S_q is used for the subject of an active intransitive verb, and S_o for the subject of a stative intransitive verb, in Tariana’s split-S system.

2. Typological characteristics of Tariana

Typologically Tariana is predominantly head-marking with a few elements of dependent-marking.

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1 Tariana is a North Arawak language spoken by around 100 people in the region of the river Vaupes, Upper Rio Negro (Brazil). It is the only Arawak language spoken in the multilingual context of the Vaupes linguistic area (see Sorensen 1967, Aikhenvald 1996), and it has suffered a heavy areal impact from Tucanoan languages.

I am extremely grateful to my teachers of Tariana - Cândido, Olivia, Graciliano, Jovino and José, Brito. I owe thanks to R.M.W. Dixon for useful discussion and comment.
Tariana combines elements of morphological ergativity and accusativity, depending on discourse structure (Aikhenvald 1994a). Personal pronouns with animate referents distinguish subject case and non-subject case; the latter is used for any non-A/S constituent. Any topically marked NP in non-A/S function takes enclitic -nuku. Focalized subjects are marked with a suffix -ne 'agentive' (homophonous with the instrumental marker) (see Aikhenvald 1994b on case marking in Tariana).

Tariana inherited a morphological distinction between active and stative intransitive verbs from Proto-Arawak. Active intransitive and transitive verbs obligatorily take cross-referencing prefixes to mark the A/S constituent (examples 1 and 2).

An important property of Tariana verbs is their transitivitv value. In some languages every, or almost every verb is strictly transitive or intransitive; in other languages at least some verbs can have either transitivitv value. These verbs are called ambitransitive, or labile (Dixon 1994:18, 54). All transitive verbs in Tariana are A=S ambitransitive. This means the object NP can always be optionally omitted, as in English 'eat' ('he eats dinner' or 'he eats'), or 'kuit'2. Example (1) illustrates an ambitransitive verb, and (2) an active (S,A-type) intransitive.

(1) (a:si) nu-hyä-ka
   (pepper) 1sg+eat-DECL
   'I eat/am eating (pepper)'

(2) nu-nuku nu-a
   1sg+n=go down 1sg+S-go
   'I am going downstream'

Stative (or S_o-type) intransitive verbs do not take any cross-referencing markers:

(3) nuha keru-nha
    I    angry-NON VIS PRES
    'I am angry'

Constituent order is free, with a strong tendency towards verb-final order3.

Abbreviations used throughout the paper are: ANIM - animate; APPR - approximative; CAUS - causative; CL - classifier; DECL - declarative; DEM - demonstrative; DEP - dependency marker; f, FEMA - feminine; FR - frustrative; INF - inferred; INS - instrumental; m, MASC - masculine; NEG - negative; nf - non-feminine; NOM - nominalizing; NON VIS - non-visual; OBJ - object case; PART - participle; PL - plural; REC - recent; REM - remote; sg - singular; TOP NON A/S - topical non-subject.

2 Tariana ambitransitives, i.e. verbs similar to English break ('I broke the glass vs The glass broke') are rare. Some of them are definitely due to loan translations from Portuguese.

3 Tariana has a very complicated verb structure, which is typical for North Arawak languages. Simple predicate structure is as follows:
   Prefix + root (+ optional thematic syllable)
   + valency changing causative -Ita
   + reciprocal kuita
   + modals and valency changing: negative -ka-de or purposive mood -hyu or generic objective -karu or -ni
   'focus' or -kara 'passive'
   + verb-incorporated classifier
3. Morphological causatives

Morphological causatives are regularly formed on active intransitive verbs (S_A type). They are marked with a suffix -ita which follows the thematic suffix.

(4) ʧinu-nuku nu-musu-ita-ka
    dog-TOP NON A/S 1sg-go out-CAUS-DECL
    'I drove the dog out'

Younger speakers tend to replace morphological causatives of some intransitive active (S_A) verbs with periphrastic causatives with an obligatory dependency marker -lz. Thus, younger speakers rejected -wereta, a morphological causative of the verb -wera 'fall (of trees, fruit or hair); however, an older speaker insisted on using this.

Morphological causatives can be formed on stative (S_0) verbs if the meaning of the verb presupposes a state changeable through the intervention of a causer. Verbs of physical state belong to this class, e.g. sakamu 'luke-warm', causative -sakamu-ita 'to warm up'; hiwiri 'cool', causative -hiwiriketsa 'cool down (e.g. by stirring); makara 'dry', causative -makareta 'to dry'; -pusa 'wet', causative -pusita 'wetten, moisten'. So also do S_0 verbs which imply a transiton from one state to another, e.g. kawhi 'awake, wake up', causative -kawheta 'to wake somebody up'; hiku 'appear', causative -hilowetsa 'create, make come into being'.

Verbs which refer to an inherently unchangeable state cannot form a morphological causative. Thus, no morphological causative can be formed on verbs describing physical states such as colour: hae 'white', kada 'black', iri 'red'; physical properties: hamu 'hot', hape 'cold'; size: hamu 'big', tiwa 'small'; taste: hipisi 'bitter'; value: maffa 'good'. Note that in Tariana stative verbs which denote such concepts as COOL and LUKE-WARM belong to a different system from COLD and HOT.

Morphological causatives are also formed on few transitive verbs. Almost all of these refer to traditional actions performed during rituals. The only exception is -ira 'drink' with the corresponding causative -ireta 'make drink, make drunk'. Other verbs are: -sita 'smoke a traditional cigar', causative -siteta 'get one's partner to smoke in the cigar-smoking ritual'; -eme 'sniff snuff', causative -emeta 'get someone to sniff snuff'; -hapa 'bless', causative -hapeta 'get a shaman, or an older man, to bless someone'; -peru 'lick tobacco from partner's tongue in the

+ benefaive -pata
+ relativizing and nominalizing affixes (relative and converb -i, etc).
These are followed by aktionsart + tense-aspect-mood + complementizers + discourse enclitics (all 'optional').

Tariana also has productive verb serialization (Aikhenvald ms).

4 There are regular phonological processes on the boundary between the root and the suffix, e.g. a+i > e.

5 In closely related languages the morphological causative is usually formed on intransitive verbs only. The only exception is 'drink' (Buniwa -iqa, Bare -dia, Warekana -kula). Cross-linguistically, verbs describing digestive processes often display abnormal behaviour with regard to their transitivity (Ken Hale, p.c.).
cigar-smoking ritual; causative -perita 'get someone to lick tobacco from partner's tongue'. (5) is an example of -ame 'sniff'.

(5) yatu neme
snuff 3pl+sniff
'They were sniffing sniff'

(6) diha kui-se-sina diha nawiki-nuku
he Kui-CONTRAST-NON VIS REM PAST he person-TOP NON A/S
yatu di-emeta
snuff 3sgnf-sniff+CAUS
'Kui (the mythical 'Master of Shamans') made the man sniff the sniff'

That morphological causatives are only used with verbs which describe highly ritualized traditional activities suggests that they are archaic.

The same suffix, -ta, is used as a marker of argument-adding with transitive verbs. In §7, we will look at how different meanings of this morpheme interact.

4. Causative serial verb constructions

Characteristics of serial verb constructions in Tariana are briefly described in §4.1. Then, in §4.2, causative serial constructions are analyzed as a subtype of serial constructions.

4.1 Properties of serial verb constructions in Tariana

The following properties are used to define serial verb constructions (Foley and Olson 1985; Durie forthcoming).

1. A serial construction has the properties of a single predicate:
   (a) it refers to a single event, or several events closely knit together;
   (b) it functions as a part with monoverbal clauses in discourse;
   (c) it has shared tense/aspect, modality and, often, polarity marking;
   (d) it has a single subject;
   (e) verbs in a serial construction often share other arguments.

2. A serial construction has the intonational properties of a monoverbal clause, and not of a sequence of clauses.

3. A serial construction can be distinguished from subordination or coordination, or complex predicates; it contains no markers of syntactic dependency.

4. A serial construction may consist of several morphological words. The whole serial construction occupies one core functional slot in the sentence or clause structure.
Serial constructions in Tariana are known to contain up to seven verbs. Each of these verbs is an independent phonological word, since it has an independent stress and enclitics can attach to it. Each of them receives a separate inflection for person/number/gender and a transitivity marker. Each can be used by itself and receives an independent stress, and can be considered an independent phonological and morphological word.

The verbs in a serial construction must have the same subject. This implies identical cross-referencing on all the components.

Serial constructions in Tariana are strictly contiguous. This means that no constituent can be inserted between the components of a serial verb construction. Serial verb constructions are widely used to express aspectual, directional, and modal meanings (for a further analysis of serial verb constructions in Tariana, see Aikhenvald ms). (7) is an example of a serial verb construction which has a directional meaning. The construction is underlined.

(7) na-musu na-nu nema diha-pua-nuku
    3pl-go out 3pl-come 3pl-stand he-CL:RIVER 6 TOP NON A/S
"They (the ancestors of Tarianas) were coming out towards (lit. go out-come-stand) this (river)"

4.2 Causative serial verb constructions

Causative constructions in serializing languages require 'that the object of one verb and the subject of another be coreferential' (Foley and Olson 1985: 25; Crowley 1987: 38-39). They can be of two types. Some languages put independent inflection on the components of a serial construction to cross-reference the two different semantic subjects. Such a construction in Paamese (called 'switch-subject' serial constructions: Crowley 1987) is shown in (8).

(8) kaiko ko-mmasi-nau nau-vaा netano
    2sg 2sg-real-hit-1sg 1sg-real-go down
"You hit me down (lit. you hit-I fall)" (Crowley 1987: 48, ex. 27)

The other technique, labelled 'concordant dependent inflection' (Durie forthcoming) involves putting the same subject marking inflection on all the components of a serial verb construction. Such a construction in Akan is shown in (9) (Schachter 1974: 258: 9):

(9) međe aburow migu msim
    I-take corn I-flow water-in
"I pour corn into water (lit. I take corn I flow in water)."

In this case, the two predicates, 'take' and 'flow', have different underlying subjects ('I' and 'corn' respectively), but they receive the same surface subject marker which corresponds to the

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6 Classifiers are given in caps.
subject of the verb of causation, in this case, 'take'. That is, in languages with concordant dependent inflection the components of a causative serial verb construction have different underlying semantic subjects which get marked as the same surface syntactic subject via cross-referencing on both verbs. This technique is rather rare in the languages of the world.

Serial syntactic causatives in Tariana have concordant dependent inflection. The components of a serial syntactic causative construction have different underlying subjects, realized as the same subject in the surface form. The subject of the verb of causation is cross-referenced on the two verbs which form a causative serial verb construction.

The semantic subject of the causativized verb, if expressed with an NP or a personal pronoun, is marked with the object case, e.g. i-na (2pl-OBJECT CASE) 'you' in (12).

The serial syntactic causative can be used with transitive or active intransitive verbs and is in fact the only productive mechanism to causativize transitive verbs. Causative serial verb constructions with concordant dependent inflection can be formed with almost any transitive verb. The most frequent ones are -a 'let', as in (10); -wana 'call', as in (11); -ira 'order', and -matara 'allow, give permission'.

(10) ka:ru-ka nuha nu-sa-mahaha nu-lyi-lyi
    fear-DEP I 1sg-let-NON VIS REC PAST 1sg-eat-COMPLETED
    piri-nuku
    2sg+son-TOP NON A/S
    'Being afraid, I let (the fish) eat (lit. I let-I eat) your son'

(11) na-wana na-wheta-pidana
    3pl-call 3pl-stay+CAUS-INFN REM PAST
    'They called (him) to stop (his canoe)'

This list of verbs is by no means exhaustive. (12) illustrates a transitive verb 'bring' used in a causative serial verb construction. The same surface subject (T) is cross-referenced on the verb of causation ('bring') and the sequence of other verbs ('enter' · 'come'). Their underlying subjects are different: it is T for the verb of causation 'bring', and 'you' for the 'enter-come'. A causative serial verb construction can contain aspectual serial verb. (12) contains an aspectual (habitual) serial verb construction with the verb -yl 'stay'.

(12) i-na nfluha nfluue nnu-nu nnyu-yl-yl
    2pl-OBJ 1sg+bring 1sg+enter 1sg-come 1sg-stay-DECL
    'I usually get you to come in'

Serial causative constructions satisfy the criteria used for serial verb constructions. They have the following properties of a single predicate:
• They have shared tense/aspect, modality, evidentiality and polarity marking, i.e. verbs which form a serial construction cannot receive independent marking for these categories.
They have the intonational properties of a monoverbal clause, and not of a sequence of clauses. They can be distinguished from subordination or coordination, or complex predicates, since they contain no markers of syntactic dependency.

5. Periphrastic causatives

There are two kinds of periphrastic causatives — those with an optional dependency marker (§5.1), and those with an obligatory dependency marker (§5.2). The reasons why periphrastic causatives are not serial verb constructions are given in §5.3.

5.1 Periphrastic causatives with an optional dependency marker

Verbs which refer to an inherently unchangeable state (colour, physical properties such as size or taste, etc; see §3) can not form a morphological causative. Periphrastic causatives formed with the verb of causation -mi ‘make’ are used to causativize these stative verbs. The dependency marker -ko can be optionally used on the causativized stative verb, with no semantic difference. (13) is an example of a periphrastic causative without a dependency marker; (14) is an example with one. Both come from traditional stories. In each case periphrastic causatives are underlined.

(13) di-na na-boleta-pidana thui-niki
    3sgnf-OBJ 3pl-defeather-INFR REM PAST all-COMPLETED
    ne-na-smale-da na-ni-pidana
    NEG-NEG-hair-CL-ROUND 3pl-make-INFR REM PAST
    ‘They (people) took all his (eagle's) feathers from him, they made (his head) bald’

(14) nawiki ka-da-ka-naka pi-ni phia
    person black-DEP-EYEwITNESS PRES 2sg-make you
    ‘You make people black’ (said the Moon to the Sun)

5.2 Periphrastic causatives with an obligatory dependency marker

Periphrastic causatives with the verb of causation -mi ‘make’ can also be formed on intransitive active and transitive verbs. These periphrastic causatives imply a special effort and/or unwillingness of the causee to bring about the activity. This is illustrated with (15). Here the subject (father) has to make a special effort to achieve the result. The dependency marker -ko on the causativized verb is obligatory. Its omission results in an ungrammatical sentence.

(15) diha emi-peni-nuku nemt-ka
    he child-PL:ANIM-TOP NON A/S 3pl+close eyes/sleep-DEP
di-ni-mahka
3sgn-T-DO-NON VIS REC PAST
'The children sleep (with special effort and actions)'

In (16) the result is achieved naturally, with the help of the magic power of the cigar. The corresponding morphological causative of the verb -ima 'close eyes/sleep' is used here.

(16) di-na maqia yema-ne nemeta
3sgn-OBJ good cigar-INS 3pl+close eyes/sleep+CAUS
'They made him really asleep with a cigar'

5.3 Why periphrastic causatives are not serial verb constructions

Periphrastic causatives do not qualify as serial constructions for the following reasons.
(i) Every verb in a periphrastic causative construction is marked for its surface and underlying subject independently, as in (15) and (17). In a causative serial verb construction the subject of the verb of causation is cross-referenced on both verbs.
(ii) The two components of a periphrastic causative may have an independent tense/aspect/aktionsart value, and get independent marking. For example, in (17) -mha 'nonvisual present' goes on -jona 'feel', and -yha 'approximative' characterizes the verb of causation -ni 'do, make':

(17) nu-na ma:qi nu-jona-ka-mha i-ni-yha
1sg-OBJ bad 1sg-feel-DEP-NON VIS PRESENT 2pl-do-APPR
'You made me feel miserable a little bit', i.e. 'you did a little bit for me to feel miserable'
(said the mother to the young man who had gone to live with snakes)'

(iii) periphrastic causatives do not have the intonational properties of a monoverbal clause; a pause marker can be inserted after every verb\(^7\). Periphrastic causatives are found more frequently in texts and other data from younger speakers, so some sort of influence from Portuguese can not be excluded.

6. Causative constructions in Tariana: a comparison

The properties of the four types of causative constructions in Tariana are summarized in Table 1.

\(^7\) Unlike serial causative constructions, some periphrastic causatives are not one predicate, since they consist of -ni 'make' plus a complement clause with a dependency marker -ka. See (14) and (15).
TABLE 1. Properties of causative constructions in Tariana

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Properties</th>
<th>Morphological causatives</th>
<th>Serial causative constructions</th>
<th>Periphrastic causatives with an optional dependency marker</th>
<th>Periphrastic causatives with an obligatory dependency marker</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Verb types</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>transitive verbs</td>
<td>a few</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>no</td>
<td>yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S(_a) verbs</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>no</td>
<td>yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S(_o) verbs (changeable properties)</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>no</td>
<td>no</td>
<td>no</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S(_o) verbs (unchangeable properties)</td>
<td>no</td>
<td>no</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Causée</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>causee is in control</td>
<td>optional</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>no</td>
<td>optional</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>causee does the action willingly</td>
<td>no</td>
<td>optional</td>
<td>no</td>
<td>optional</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Causer</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>causer acts directly</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>optional</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>causer achieves the result intentionally</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>optional</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>action requires an effort</td>
<td>no</td>
<td>no</td>
<td>no</td>
<td>yes</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The differences between four types of causative constructions in Tariana are:
- Morphological causatives are productively formed on intransitive active (S\(_a\)) and stative (S\(_o\)) verbs which refer to changeable qualities and states. There are just a few instances of morphological causatives on transitive verbs describing traditional activities.
- Serial causative constructions are used to form causatives of intransitive active and transitive verbs using a number of verbs of causation.
- Periphrastic causatives formed with the verb of causation -\(n\) 'make' with an optional dependency marker on the causativized verb, are used to causativize stative verbs which refer to unchangeable properties and states.
- Periphrastic causatives with an obligatory dependency marker are used to form causatives of intransitive active and transitive verbs which imply a special effort on the part of the causer.
- Unlike in other causative constructions, in serial causative constructions the causee is always in control; the causer may act indirectly; the causer may achieve the result unintentionally. Un-
like periphrastic causatives with an obligatory dependency marker, the action does not require
an effort on the part of the causee.

7. Argument-adding derivation

As described in §2, when -ita is added to intransitive verbs and a limited number of transitive
verbs, it has causativizing effect. When added to the majority of transitive verbs, it has two,
quite different effects.
(i) It was mentioned in §2 that all transitive verbs in Tariana are A=S ambitransitives. When a
transitive verb receives the transitivizer -ita, it becomes obligatorily transitive.
(ii) -ita on a transitive verb also indicates that a peripheral constituent has to be obligatorily
stated in the clause. This constituent may be locative, purpose, or comitative. Its choice de-
pends on the semantics of a verb.
The following examples illustrate this.
The transitive verb -paša means 'get, put'; when -ita is added, -pašeta means 'put in a par-
ticular location', as in (18).

(18) ita-whyा hi-nuku pi-pašeta
canoe-CL:CANOE DEM-TOP NON A/S 2sg-put+CAUS
'Put the canoe here'.

The addition of -ita marks the obligatoriness of a purpose with other verbs. The transitive verb
-wana means 'call, emit sound', as in (19).

(19) ne di-sado-nuku di-wana-tha-pidana hāwa
then 3sgfn-spouse-FEM-TOP NON A/S 3sgfn-call-FR-IMFR REM PAST eagle
'Then the eagle called his wife(s name) (in vain).'

With -ita, -waneta means 'call for something', as illustrated in (20).

(20) na-waneta-pidana diha yaka:l e-peni diha
3pl-call+CAUS-IMFR REM PAST he village-PL:ANIM he
katu-nuku na-hāa-kasu
piraiba fish-TOP NON A/S 3pl-eat-INTENTIONAL
'The villagers called him to eat piraiba fish'.

The verb -wapa means 'wait'; and -wapa(ita) means 'wait with something, or for a particular
purpose'. These meanings are illustrated in (21) and (22).
(21) wasā dapa wa-wapa di-a-pidana
  let's pacak 1pl-wait 3sgf-say-INFREM PAST
  'Let sit and wait for a pacak (a large rodent) (to come along)'.

(22) nu-wapeta nu-kesi-ni-nuku
  1sg-wait+CAUS 1sg-friend-NOM-TOP NON A/S
  pa-ira-nipe pumeni-peri-ne
  IMPERSONAL-drink-NOM sweet-COLLECTIVE-INS
  'I am waiting for my friend with drinks and sweet things (as an offering)'.

Thus, the morpheme which marks the causative of intransitive verbs is used to mark a kind of argument-adding derivation when used with transitive verbs.

In §3 we mentioned five transitive which allow formation of a morphological causative with the same formative -ita. The argument-adding or causative reading of -ita derivation in these cases depends on which constituent is present in the surface structure.

A transitive verb -flapa 'bless', without -ita, is illustrated in (23). The O is omitted.

(23) diha-kuma khema-kai na-flapa-sina
  he-CL:RITE REL+understand-PAST PART 3pl-bless-NON VIS REM PAST
  'Those who understand the ritual, bless (do the blessing)'

If just an O constituent is present, the -ita derivation has a causative reading, as in (24).

(24) waha haniri-nuku Kose
  wc father-TOP NON A/S Concessão
  du-flapeta-sina duri-nuku
  3sgf-bless+CAUS-NON VIS REM PAST 3sgf+son-TOP NON A/S
  'Concessão made our father bless her son (to cure him)'

It has an argument-adding reading if there is an overt instrumental constituent (25).

(25) maini-ne na-flapeta
  tar-INS 3pl-bless+CAUS
  'They blessed (the game) with tar'

In everyday speech argument-adding readings (as in 25) are much more frequent than causative (as in 24).
8. Transitivity increasing operations in Tariana in typological perspective

It is not unusual for a language to have more than one mechanism for forming causatives. Most often, languages have two mechanisms - one morphological, and the other periphrastic, or 'syntactic' (there are also lexical causatives which we are not discussing here).

A typologically unusual property of Tariana is that there are four mechanisms for marking causatives: one morphological, two periphrastic, and a causative serial verb construction.

It is not very unusual for a language to use different techniques of causative marking techniques depending on the transitivity value of a verb (see Dixon forthcoming).

There is a cross-linguistic tendency among languages of the world for periphrastic causatives to express both (a) indirect, rather than direct, causation and (b) causation which involves a special effort on the part of a causer (Dixon forthcoming; cf. also Haiman 1983). Morphological causatives tend to express direct causation. Tariana conforms to this tendency.

In many languages, if a causative derivation has another meaning, this is most likely to be applicable. Such is the case in the Australian language Yidiny (Dixon 1977: 215), and in a number of South American languages of the Arawak family (see Wise 1990).

A very unusual property of Tariana is that the same morpheme (-ite) is used to mark causatives with intransitive and a few transitive verbs, and also to specify that an ambitransitive verb is obligatorily transitive and that a peripheral constituent must be stated. This argument-addition derivation is extremely rare cross-linguistically.

There is one typological analogy to it. A few Campa languages, from the South Arawak subgroup, have a number of applicable derivations (see Dixon and Aikhenvald 1997) which affect the argument structure of the predicate by putting a benefactive, or an instrumental, or a 'presentential' (meaning 'in the presence of') constituent into the O slot. One verb can have more than one derivational suffix of this sort. In this case one of the derivational suffixes just shows that a peripheral constituent is obligatory. See (26), from Pajonal Campa (Shaler 1971:45).

This sentence contains an applicative derivation, -ako 'benefactive; with reference to'; there is another suffix -imo 'in the presence of' which just indicates that a peripheral constituent (in this case, Irene) has to be overtly expressed.

(26) no-p-ako-ts-im-imo-tsi-ro-ri

1sg-give-REFERENCE TO-EPENTHETIC-IN PRESENCE OF-ASPECT-3sgf-3sgm

Irena  Irocaro  paño
Irene  Richard  scarf

'I gave Richard the head scarf in Irene's presence' (Shaler 1971: 45)

The argument-addition derivation in Tariana is a special subtype of valency increasing mechanisms distinct from both causatives and applicatives. This deserves more study with a typological perspective.
References

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