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ANTIPASSIVES AND CAUSATIVES IN HALKOMELEM*

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1. Antipassives.

In Halkomelem, a Salish language spoken in southwestern British Columbia, many sentences with an action of an 'agent' on a 'patient' can be expressed in two ways: a) as an active transitive clause; b) as an antipassive clause: ¹

1. a. ni q'wólətəs θə sʰéni? t^θə səplíl
 asp bake-tr-erg det lady det bread
 'The lady baked the bread.'
- b. ni q'wóləm θə sʰéni? ?ə t^θə səplíl
 asp bake-mid det lady obl det bread
 'The lady baked the bread.'
- a. ni pónətəs k^wθə swáy?qe? k^wθə sqéwθ
 asp plant-tr-erg det man det potatoes
 'The man planted potatoes.'
- b. ni pón'əm? k^wθə swáy?qe? ?ə k^wθə sqéwθ
 asp plant-mid det man obl det potatoes
 'The man planted potatoes.'
- a. ni cən k'wʰéét k^wθə qá?
 asp l-sbj pour-tr det water
 'I poured the water.'
- b. ni cən k'wʰééls ?ə k^wθə qá?
 asp l-sbj pour-intr obl det water
 'I poured the water.'

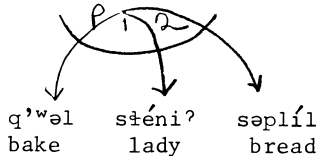
The morphological differences between these two types of sentences is apparent. In the transitive constructions in a), the predicate is suffixed with -t, a transitive marker; the b) sentences lack this suffix. Second, in 1a) and 2a) the final subject is a third person nominal or pronoun. Thus, the predicate is suffixed with -s, the 3rd person ergative marker. This marker is present when a 3rd person is subject of a transitive clause. However, the predicates in the b) sentences lack this suffix, suggesting that these clauses are intransitive. Finally, the predicates in the b) sentences are suffixed with -m, the middle voice marker, or -els, an intransitive suffix.² The verbal morphology suggests then that the a) sentences are transitive while the b) sentences are intransitive.

A second apparent difference between the a) and b) sentences is the case marking of the 'patient'. In the a) sentences the 'patient' is in the straight case; i.e., the nominal is preceded only by a determiner.³ However, in the b) sentences, the 'patient' is in the oblique case; i.e., the nominal is preceded by an oblique marker as well as a determiner. Assuming that the 'patient' is an object of a transitive in the a) sentences, it appears that the

'patient' is not an object in the b) sentences, suggesting again that the b) sentences are intransitive.⁴

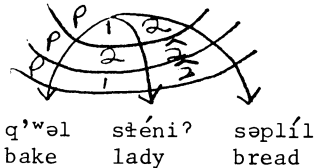
Arguing within the theory of Relational Grammar⁵, I analyze the above sentences as follows: the a) sentences are assumed to be active transitive and can be represented by relational networks as the network for 1a) in 4).

4. Transitive:



The b) sentences have the same initial stratum as the a) sentences, thus accounting for the identity of semantic roles.⁶ In the b) sentences, however, Antipassive places the initial 2 en chomage, as represented by the relational network for 1b) in 5).⁷

5. Antipassive:



Although they share the same initial stratum, the a) and b) sentences differ in a crucial respect: the a) sentences are transitive at the final level [i.e., the final stratum contains both a 1 and a 2]; the b) sentences are intransitive at the final level [i.e., the final **stratum** contains a 1 but no 2].

In § 1, I give evidence from Quantifiers and Focus Constructions for an analysis involving Antipassive for the b) sentences above. I discuss two restrictions on the rule of Antipassive.

In § 2, I discuss Causatives, showing that while Causative Clause Union is possible in the case of downstairs Antipassive, it is not possible in the case of downstairs transitives. Also, I discuss Causatives in constructions where Antipassive is not possible.

1.1 Quantifiers.

As discussed above, the crucial difference between the a) and b) sentences is final transitivity; while the former are transitive the latter are intransitive at the final level. Thus, the final 1 in the a) sentences differs from the final 1 in the b) sentences; while the former is an ergative [the 1 in a transitive stratum] the latter is an absolutive [the 1 in an intransitive stratum or the 2 in a transitive stratum].

Thus, rules distinguishing ergatives from absolutes, as, for example, the rule of 3rd person ergative marking discussed above, provide evidence that the b) sentences are detransitized

by Antipassive. In this section, I discuss another such rule in Halkomelem--Quantifiers.

Observe the following sentences in which the Quantifier mək'w 'all' is a higher predicate. Note that the clause following the Quantifier is introduced by the complementizer ?u.⁸

6. a. mək'w niw? x̣wələnčén?əm kʷθə sʰəl'íqəʃ
 all asp-cmp run-pl det children
 'All the children ran.'
- b. mək'w niw? wə?wá?əs kʷθə sqʷəmɬwəméy?
 all asp-cmp barked det dogs
 'All the dogs barked.'
7. a. mək'w niw? q'wələtəs t^θə sʰəl'íqəʃ kʷθə səplíl
 all asp-cmp bake-tr-erg det children det bread
 'The children baked all the bread.'
 *'All the children baked the bread.'
- b. mək'w niw? qəlá?qa?təs kʷθə səwwáy?qe? kʷθə qá?
 all asp-cmp drink-pl-tr-erg det men det water
 'The men drank all the water.'
 *'All the men drank water.'

In the sentences in 6), the clause following the complementizer is intransitive; the Quantifier is interpreted as modifying the 1 of this intransitive clause. Of more interest are the sentences in 7), in which the clause following the complementizer is transitive. In these sentences, the Quantifier is unambiguously interpreted as modifying the 2 of the transitive clause.⁹

Thus the rule for interpretation of Quantifiers must be stated in terms of absolute.

Observe the sentences in 8); here the clause following the complementizer is an Antipassive.

8. a. mək'w niw? q'wələm t^θə sʰəl'íqəʃ ?ə t^θə səplíl
 all asp-cmp bake-mid det children obl det bread
 'All the children baked the bread.'
 *'The children baked all the bread.'
- b. mək'w niw? pén'əm? kʷθə səwwáy?qe? ?ə kʷθə sqéwθ
 all asp-cmp plant-mid det men obl det potatoes
 'All the men planted potatoes.'
 *'The men planted all the potatoes.'

In these sentences the Quantifier is unambiguously interpreted as modifying the 1 of the Antipassive, **suggesting** that it is an absolute. Thus, Quantifiers support the analysis of Antipassives given in 5).

1.2 Focus Constructions.

A second crucial difference between the a) and b) sentences in 1-3) is in the final grammatical relation of the initial 2. As you can clearly see in 4) and 5), the initial 2 in the a) sentences is a final 2 while the initial 2 in the b) sentences is a final 2 chomeur. Thus, rules distinguishing 2s from 2 chomeurs,

such as case marking discussed above, provide evidence for an Antipassive analysis of the b) sentences.

Thus, a second argument for Antipassive is based on deletion rules, which operate in at least three sentence types in Halkomelem--Relative Clauses, Clefts, and Focus Constructions. I discuss only the latter here; the rules are parallel in all three constructions.

As you can see in 1-3) above, the basic word order in Halkomelem is: 10

9. Predicate Final Subject Final Object Non-terms.

If a nominal is especially emphasized, flagged, or contrasted, it is placed before the predicate; the predicate is marked for the grammatical relation of the nominal being focussed.¹¹

Observe the sentences in 10), which are Focus Constructions based on final 1s.

10. a. s̄éni? θə ni q'w̄éləm ?ə t^θə səplíl
 lady det asp bake-mid obl det bread
 'A lady is the one who baked the bread.'
- b. s̄éni? θə ni q'w̄élət t^θə səplíl
 lady det asp bake-tr det bread
 'A lady is the one who baked the bread.'

In these cases, the predicate is unaffected. Notice in 10b) that when a final 3rd person ergative is being focussed, the ergative marker is deleted. To clearly see the disambiguating function of this deletion, contrast 10b) with 11):

11. səplíl t^θə ni q'w̄élətəs θə s̄éni?
 bread det asp bake-tr-erg det lady
 'Bread is what the lady baked.'

In 11) the final 2 of a transitive is focussed. The predicate is unaffected and the ergative marker is suffixed to the predicate. It is clear that the 2 and not the 1 is focussed in 11).

In 12), the 'patient' of an Antipassive is focussed.

12. səplíl t^θə ni sq'w̄éləms θə s̄éni?
 bread det asp nom-bake-mid-3pos det lady
 'Bread is what the lady baked.'

The predicate must be prefixed with the nominalizer s-.

Therefore, the 'patients' of the b) sentences in 1-3) do not behave like final 2s of the a) sentences; the former require that the nominalizer s- be prefixed to the predicate, while the latter cannot have this prefix. This can be accounted for in an analysis positing Antipassive for the b) sentences.

It is important to note that Focus Constructions based on the 'patients' in Antipassives are like those based on 2 chomeurs of sentences involving 3-2 [13] or Ben-2 [14] Advancement. 12

13. a. ni ʔáməstəs kʷə swíwʔləs ʔə kʷə ʃəptən
asp give-tr-erg det boy obl det knife
'He gave the boy the knife.'
b. ʃəptən kʷə ni sʔáməsts kʷə swíwʔləs
knife det asp nom-give-tr-erg det boy
'A knife is what he gave the boy.'
14. a. ni ləkʷəictəs t^θə swíwʔləs ʔə kʷə sc'éšt
asp break-ben-tr-erg det boy obl det stick
'He broke the stick for the boy.'
b. sc'éšt kʷə ni sləkʷəictəs t^θə swíwʔləs
stick det asp nom-break-ben-tr-erg det boy
'A stick is what he broke for the boy.'

Notice in the unfocussed examples (13-14 a)) that the 2 chomeur is in the oblique case. In the Focus Constructions in 13-14b), the predicate is prefixed with the nominalizer s-.

Furthermore, other nominals in the oblique case (15a)) which are initial and final Obliques (e.g. Instrument, Locative) can also be focussed, in which case the predicate is prefixed with the nominalizer š-, as in 15 b). 13

15. a. ni θ'íq'wəts t^θə John ʔə kʷə ʃəptən
asp stab-tr-erg det boy obl det knife
'He stabbed John with the knife.'
b. ʃəptən kʷə ni šθ'íq'wəts t^θə John
knife det asp nom-stab-tr-3pos det
'A knife is what he stabbed John with.'

Thus the data from Focus Constructions argue for an analysis involving Antipassive for the b) sentences in 1-3). The 'patients' in these sentences do not behave like 2s of transitive sentences. Neither do they behave like Obliques. Rather they behave like the 2 chomeurs of constructions involving 3-2 or Ben-2 Advancement. This supports the Antipassive analysis given in 5) where the initial 2 is a final 2 chomeur.

1.3 Restrictions on Antipassives.

In the above sections, I have argued for a rule of Antipassive for sentences like those in 1-3b). Here, I discuss two restrictions on the rule of Antipassive in Halkomelem.

First, we have seen in 1-3b) that 3rd person nominals can be placed in chomage by a rule of Antipassive. In Halkomelem there is a general constraint against placing 1st and 2nd persons [Speech Act Participants] in chomage. 14 Thus, Antipassive counterparts for the following sentences do not exist:

16. a. ni cən pənəθámə
asp lsbj plant-2-obj
'I buried you.'
- b. *ni cən pən'əm? ?əλ' néwə
2-pron
17. a. ni pənəθám?šəs
asp plant-1-obj-erg
'He buried me.'
- b. *ni pən'əm? ?é.nθə?
1-pron

Second, only initial 2s are placed en chomage in Antipassives. Non-initial 2s, advanced to 2 by the rules of 3-2 or Ben-2 Advancement, are never placed en chomage. Thus, there are no Antipassive counterparts for the following:

18. a. ni cən ?amést kʷθə swéy?qe? ?ə kʷθə səplíl
asp l-sbj give-tr det man obl det bread
'I gave the man the bread.'
- b. **ni cən ?áməsəm/?áməséls kʷθə swéy?qe? ?ə kʷθə səplíl
19. a. ni cən q'wéləict ?ə kʷθə səplíl
asp l-sbj bake-ben-tr obl det bread
'I baked him the bread.'
- b. **ni cən q'wéləicəm ?ə kʷθə səplíl

I should point out that the two restrictions here are language specific constraints on the rule of Antipassive in Halkomelem. These restrictions do not follow from any universal predictions concerning Antipassive.

2. Causatives.

In the sections above, I have given arguments for an analysis involving Antipassive for the sentences in 1-3b), and I have given two restrictions on Antipassive in Halkomelem. In this section, I discuss an area of Halkomelem syntax where Antipassives play an important role--Causatives.

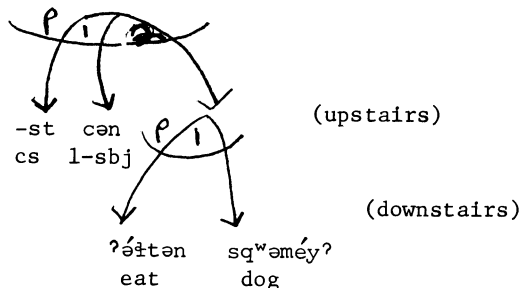
I assume here that Causatives like those in 21) below are examples of Causative Clause Union [CCU]. That is, Causatives consist of two clauses at initial level; -st 'cause' is the predicate of the upstairs clause, the 'causer' is the upstairs 1, and the corresponding non-causative sentence (20) is upstairs 2.

20. a. ni ?éitən t^θə sqʷəméy?
asp eat det dog
'The dog ate.'
- b. ni ném? kʷθə swíw?ləs
asp go det boy
'The boy went.'

- c. ʔi ʔəmʔí t̪^θə swiwʔləs
 asp come det boy
 'The boy came.'
21. a. ni cən ʔə́t̪ənə́stəx^w k^wθə sq^wəméy^ʔ
 asp 1-sbj eat-cs-3obj det dog
 'I feed the dog.'
- b. ni cən nəʔéməstəx^w k^wθə swiwʔləs
 asp 1-sbj go-cs-3obj det boy
 'I took the boy.'
- c. ʔi cən ʔəmʔístəx^w k^wθə swiwʔləs
 asp 1-sbj come-cs-3obj det boy
 'I brought the boy.'

Thus the relational network representing the initial level for Causatives like 21a) would be:

22.

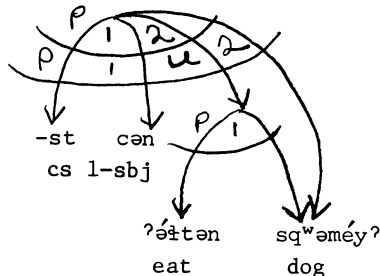


In CCU, the upstairs and downstairs clauses are merged; the downstairs nominals are assigned grammatical relations in the upstairs clause. The universal prediction concerning grammatical relations in CCU made by Relational Grammar is: 15

23. a) Downstairs Absolutive is Upstairs 2.
 b) Downstairs Ergative is Upstairs 3.

If the Causatives in 21) met this prediction, they could be represented in relational networks like the following one for 21a).

24.



The 1 of the downstairs intransitive clause is an absolutive; thus that nominal is an upstairs 2 in CCU. I briefly give two arguments that the downstairs absolutive is upstairs 2 in Causatives like those in 21).

2.0.1 Pronominal Case. In Halkomelem, there are three cases of pronouns: subject clitics (used for final 1s), object suffixes (used for final 2s) and independent pronouns (used for emphatics and Obliques). In CCU, if a downstairs pronominal absolutive is upstairs 2, we would expect a pronominal object suffix. As can be seen in 25), this prediction is borne out.

25. a. ni ?əttənəstámʔšəs
asp eat-cs- 1-obj-erg
'He fed me.'
- b. ni nəʔəməstámʔšəs
asp go-cs-1-obj-erg
'He took me.'
- c. ?i ?əmʔistámʔšəs
asp come-cs-lobj-erg
'He brought me.'

2.0.2 Passive. In Halkomelem, there is a rule of Passive, which advances a 2 to 1 placing the initial 1 en chomage. In 26), I have given examples of Passives of simple transitive sentences.

26. a. ni q'wələtəm kʷθə səplíl ?ə t̩ə s̩éniʔ
asp bake-tr-mid det bread obl det lady
'The bread was baked by the lady.'
- b. ni q'wáqʷətəm t̩ə spéʔəθ ?ə t̩ə swéyʔqeʔ
asp club-tr-mid det bear obl det man
'The bear was clubbed by the man.'

The predicate is suffixed with -m, the middle voice marker. The initial 2, which is the final 1, occurs in the position immediately following the predicate. The initial 1, which is final 1 chomeur, occurs at the end of the sentence preceded by the oblique marker.

In CCU, if the downstairs absolutive is upstairs 2, we would predict that this 2 could advance to 1 via Passive. In 27), we see that this is the case.

27. a. ni ?əttənəstəm kʷθə sqʷəméyʔ ?ə kʷθə swíwʔləs
asp eat-cs-mid det dog obl det boy
'The dog was fed by the boy.'
- b. ni nəʔéməstəm kʷθə səplíl ?ə kʷθə swíwʔləs
asp go-cs-mid det bread obl det boy
'The bread was brought by the boy.'

- c. ?i ?əm?ístəm k^wθə qá?
 asp come-cs-mid det water
 'The water was brought.'

Thus, Pronominal Case and Passive provide evidence that Causatives like those in 21) are single clauses at final level.

2.1 Downstairs Initial Transitives.

Finding evidence for the initial bi-clausal structure of Halkomelem Causatives is more difficult; for this, I turn to cases of Causatives with downstairs initial transitive clauses.

According to the prediction concerning CCU, if the downstairs clause of a Causative is transitive, e.g. 28), the downstairs absolutive (t^θə səplíl 'the bread') is upstairs 2 and the downstairs ergative (θə sténi? 'the lady') is upstairs 3.

28. ni q^wələtəs θə sténi? t^θə səplíl
 asp bake-tr-erg det lady det bread
 'The lady baked the bread.'

In 29), I have tried various possibilities in Halkomelem of forming a Causative on a downstairs transitive. In 29a), I have tried CCU and 3-2 Advancement; I have argued elsewhere that 3-2 Advancement is obligatory in Halkomelem. But just in case, I have tried CCU without 3-2 Advancement in 29b). Neither of these constructions are grammatical, regardless of case marking and word order.

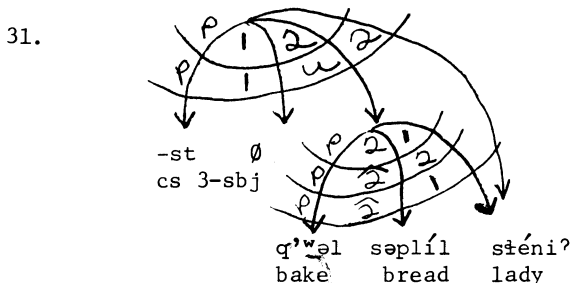
29. a. * ni q^wələtəstəx^wəs θə sténi? (?ə) t^θə səplíl
 asp bake-tr-cs-3obj-erg det lady obl det bread
 'He had the lady bake the bread.'
- b. * ni q^wələtəstəx^wəs t^θə səplíl (?ə) θə sténi?
 asp bake-tr-cs-3bj-erg det bread obl det lady
 'He had the bread baked by the lady.'

However, if the downstairs initial transitive is an Antipassive construction, CCU is possible, as can be seen in the examples in 30).

30. a. ni q^wələstəx^wəs θə sténi? ?ə t^θə səplíl
 asp bake-mid-cs-3obj-erg det lady obl det bread
 'He made/had the lady bake the bread.'
- b. ni k^wəlstəxəs ?ə k^wθə qá?
 aso pour-intr-cs-3obj-erg obl det water
 'He made him pour the water.'

- c. ni c'ək'w̄x̄élstəx̄w̄əs ?ə kʷθə scé.ítən
 asp fry-intr-cs-3obj-erg obl det salmon
 'He had him fry the salmon.'

The relational network for 30a) is as follows:



In these constructions, the downstairs final absolutive is upstairs 2. Again, evidence for the upstairs 2-hood of the downstairs absolutive can be given from the Passive counterparts of the sentences in 30:

32. a. ni q'w̄ələmstəm θə s̄éni? ?ə t̄ə səplíl
 asp bake-mid-cs-mid det woman obl det bread
 'The woman was made to bake the bread.'
- b. ni k'w̄íélstəm ?ə kʷθə qá?
 asp pour-intr-cs-mid obl det water
 'He was made to pour the water.'
- c. ni c'ək'w̄x̄élstəm ?ə kʷθə scé.ítən
 asp fry-intr-cs-mid obl det salmon
 'He was made to fry the salmon.'

To account for the impossibility of CCU in the case of downstairs final transitives and to account for the possibility of CCU in the case of downstairs Antipassive, I propose the following restriction on CCU in Halkomelem:

33. CCU is possible only if the downstairs clause is finally intransitive. 16

On the basis of the Causatives in 30), I can now form arguments that at initial level Causatives in Halkomelem are bi-clausal. In formulating an analysis of Antipassives, I crucially maintained the assumption that the semantic role of nominal is encoded at the initial level of syntax. [cf f.n. 6] I claimed that Antipassives and transitives share the same initial stratum; in both cases there is an 'agent' and a 'patient'. Under this assumption, Antipassive is a syntactic rule.

If this assumption is to be maintained in the case of Causatives, then I am forced to posit θ_e síéni? 'the lady' in 30a) as a 1 and t^θ_e sēplí1 'the bread' as a 2 at some initial level with the predicate q^w_{əl} 'bake' since these nominals have the semantic roles of 'agent' and 'patient' respectively. This assumption can be maintained only in a bi-clausal analysis of Causatives.

Furthermore, in the Causatives in 30), Antipassive, as marked by -m or -els, detransitivizes the downstairs clause. Thus the 1 is absolutive at the final level downstairs and behaves as such in CCU. [cf. 31] If the claim that Antipassive is a syntactic rule is maintained, CCU (which is possible in the case of downstairs Antipassive) must also be a syntactic rule.

2.2 Periphrastic Causatives.

I argued in the previous section that only downstairs final intransitive clauses could participate in CCU. In the case of downstairs initial transitives, detransitivization is accomplished via Antipassive. This raises the question as to how Causatives are formed in cases where Antipassive is not possible. [cf §1.3]

Besides Causatives formed with the suffix -st, as exemplified above, there is a construction with causative force based on the predicate csét 'tell someone to do something' followed by a complement clause. This construction I call a Periphrastic Causative. We get examples like the following:

34. a. ni cən csét ?u šák^wəm[?]əs
asp 1-sbj tell-tr cmp bathe-3sbsbj
'I told him to bathe.'
- b. ni cən cseθámə ?u íéyxtəx^w k^wθə scé.ítən
asp 1-sbj tell-2obj cmp eat-tr-2sbsbj det salmon
'I told you to eat the salmon.'
- c. ni cən csét ?u q^wáq^wəθám[?]šəs
asp 1-sbj tell-tr cmp hit-lobj-3sbsbj
'I told him to hit me.'
- d. cseθámə cən ce? ?u k^wíəicəám[?]s[?]əx^w ?ə k^wθə tí
tell-2obj lsbj asp cmp pour-ben-lobj-2sbsbj obl det tea
'I will tell you to pour the tea for me.'
- e. csetálə cən ce? ?u q^wələíct ?ələp ?ə k^wθə sēplí1
tell-2pl-objlsbjasp cmp bake-ben-tr-2plsbsbj obl det bread
'I will tell you pl. to bake the bread for him.'

Note that in the case of 34c-e), only Periphrastic Causatives are possible, because it is impossible due to the restrictions noted in §1.3 to have Antipassive in the complement clause.

3. Conclusion.

I have argued here for a rule of Antipassive in Halkomelem. I gave evidence from verbal morphology, case marking, Quantifiers, and Focus Constructions that Antipassives (1-3b) are finally intransitive, the initial 2 being placed en chomage. I discussed

two restrictions on the rule of Antipassive in Halkomelem. First, Antipassive could not place 1st or 2nd persons en chomage. Second, Antipassive could only place initial 2s en chomage. Thus, sentences with 3-2 or Ben-2 Advancement have no Antipassive counterparts.

Second, I gave examples of Causatives formed with the suffix -st. I proposed that such Causatives are initially bi-clausal. In such Causatives, in accordance with universal predictions concerning Causative Clause Union, the downstairs absolutive is the upstairs 2, as is evidenced by pronominal morphology and Passive. I gave examples of Causatives with downstairs initial intransitive clauses and with downstairs initial transitive clauses which are detransitivized via Antipassive. Pointing out that downstairs final transitive clauses could not participate in CCU, I suggested a restriction on CCU in Halkomelem: CCU is possible only if the downstairs clause is finally intransitive.

Finally, I discussed Periphrastic Causatives, formed with the predicate csét, 'tell someone to do something.' I pointed out that in cases where it was impossible to form Causatives with CCU, it was possible to form Periphrastic Causatives.

Footnotes.

*This data on Halkomelem is from Arnold Guerin, Musqueam Reserve, Vancouver, B.C. Mr. Guerin, who is a teacher and researcher of the Halkomelem language, speaks a dialect from Kuper Island, B.C. I sincerely thank him for his patience and understanding as well as his critical comments concerning the present analysis.

Any errors in data or analysis are my own responsibility.

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A preliminary version of this paper was presented at the 14th International Conference on Salishan Languages, Bellingham, Washington, August, 1979. Portions of this paper are in an earlier unpublished ms. 'Oblique Objects in Halkomelem Salish.' Dr. Thomas E. Hukari of the University of Victoria has also come to the same conclusions concerning Antipassive. In Hukari (1979), he points out the similarities of 2 chomeurs in Antipassives and 3-2 Advancement constructions using data from relativization.

Several scholars [Davis, Kuipers, Mattina, Thompson] working on other Salish languages have discussed Antipassive, calling this construction by various names including pseudo-transitive and pseudo-intransitive.

Frantz has pointed out similar data concerning Antipassives

and Causatives in Blackfoot.

Abbreviations used in glossing the Halkomelem sentences are:

asp	aspect	obl	oblique marker
ben	benefactive marker	pos	pronominal possessive affixes
det	determiner	sb	subordinate clause pronominal forms
erg	ergative	sbj	pronominal subject clitics
mid	middle voice marker	tr	transitive complementizer
obj	pronominal object suffixes	pl	plural
intr	intransitive	cs	causative
pron	independent pronouns	nom	nominalizer
1	1st person		
2	2nd person		
3	3rd person		

1. I am using 'agent' and 'patient' as an expedient means for introducing the data. I make no claims as to the usefulness or definability of such notions.

2. The choice of suffixes is lexically governed.

3. The determiners used in the data herein are:

t ^θ	plain visible definite
k ^w θ ^ə	plain invisible definite
θ ^ə	feminine visible definite
t ^ə	feminine invisible definite
k ^{'w}	indefinite

4. In Gerds 1979a, I give a more precise analysis of case marking: Final nuclear terms are in the straight case; non-terms are in the oblique case.

5. For precise definitions of the terms and for explanation of the networks used in Relational Grammar, cf Perlmutter and Postal (1977). Briefly, 1 is subject, 2 is direct object, and 3 is indirect object. 1 is a 1 chomeur; 2 is a 2 chomeur.

Ben is Benefactive (an Oblique relation). In an advancement a nominal assumes a grammatical relation that is higher on the relational hierarchy: 1 2 3 Oblique

6. On semantic roles in RG, Perlmutter and Postal (1977, p. 402) say: 'Our ultimate claim is that the justification for [the assignment of grammatical relations at initial level] is universally determined by principles referring to the semantic role of the nominal. Thus . . . agent nominals are initially 1s . . . patients 2, etc.'

7. I use here the formulation of Antipassive as proposed in Postal 1977.

8. I cannot argue at this time if such constructions arise through movement, deletion, or neither. What is essential to the argument, however, is the nominal in the complement clause which the Quantifier modifies.

9. Notice that the Quantifier refers to the 2 of a transitive even though the 1 is more proximate.

10. For evidence that Word Order is stated on final level, observe the Passive constructions in 26-7) and the 3-2 and Ben-2 Advancement constructions in 13-14).

11. I will not argue for a deletion analysis of Focus Constructions here, but note that these constructions are in the form of a predicate nominative construction, i.e. NP Det NP. In this case the second NP is a clause, marked for aspect.

12. I have argued for these rules in Gerdts 1979a.

13. The difference between the two nominalizers s- and š- is not due to a phonological rule. Observe i) and ii) below:

- | | | |
|--------|-----------|-------------------------------|
| i. a. | yáys | 'to work' |
| b. | syáys | 'work, job' |
| c. | šyáyʔəs | 'tool' |
| ii. a. | xiʔxeʔ | 'to be ashamed' |
| b. | sxiʔxeʔs | 'his shame' |
| c. | šxi.ʔxeʔs | 'that which he is ashamed of' |

14. The constraint against 1st and 2nd person chomeurs is a general one. Thus, Passive counterparts of sentences with 1st and 2nd person initial 1s do not exist.

- | | | | | | | |
|-----|------|------------|-------------------------------|--------|-------|----------------|
| i. | * ni | q'w'életəm | kʷθə | səplíl | ʔəλ' | ʔé.nʔθə |
| | | asp | bake-tr-mid | det | bread | obl det 1-pron |
| | | | 'The bread was baked by me.' | | | |
| ii. | * ni | q'w'életəm | kʷθə | səplíl | ʔəλ' | néwə |
| | | | | | | 2-pron |
| | | | 'The bread was baked by you.' | | | |

15. Universal predictions concerning CCU are from Perlmutter, Class Lectures, UCSD.

16. It is notable that CCU is not possible in the case of downstairs Passive. Thus, the restriction on CCU would have to be refined:

- i. CCU is possible only when downstairs initial 1 is downstairs final absolutive.

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