SOME ERGATIVE PHENOMENA IN HALKOMELEM[*]

Donna B. Gerdts
University of California-San Diego

The terms <u>subject</u> and <u>object</u> are often referred to in grammars of Salish languages. In this paper, I suggest that the terms <u>ergative</u> and <u>absolutive</u> are also relevant in the grammar of Halkomelem, a Salish language spoken in southwestern British Columbia.[1]

First, drawing upon data from Island Halkomelem, I show four rules that are best formulated in terms of <u>ergative</u> and <u>absolutive</u> -- 3rd person agreement marking, one-nominal interpretation, quantifier assignment, and possessor extraction. I point out the interaction of the latter two rules with the antipassive.

Second, I discuss split ergativity. Of three common types of split ergativity -- based on person, clause-type, and aspect-- Halkomelem exhibits the first two types.

The following definitions are used in this paper:

a) <u>Transitive</u>: a clause with both a subject and an object.

b) <u>Intransitive</u>: a clause which is not transitive.

c) <u>Ergative</u>: the subject of a transitive clause.

d) <u>Absolutive</u>: the subject of an intransitive clause and the object of a transitive clause.

The relationship among these terms can be summarized in the following diagram:

1)

INTRANS: SBJ   (ABSOLUTIVE)

TRANS: SBJ   OBJ

(ERGATIVE)

In Halkomelem, verbs in transitive clauses are suffixed with one of a set of transitive markers.[2] Throughout this paper, transitive verbs are suffixed with -t, the marker of controlled transitivity. The sentences in 2-4) are examples of transitive sentences:

		ERGATIVE	ABSOLUTIVE

2) ni q'ʷə́lətəs θə słéni? tθə scé·łtən
   aux bake-tr-erg det woman det salmon
   'The woman baked the salmon.'

3) ni q'ʷáqʷətəs tθə swə́y?qe? tθə spé?əθ
   aux club-tr-erg det man det bear
   'The man clubbed the bear.'

4) ni łíc'ətəs łə słéni? kʷθə səplíl
   aux cut in two-tr-erg det woman det bread
   'The woman cut the bread.'

The subjects of the above transitive sentences are ergatives while the objects are absolutives, as labelled above the nominals in 2).

Sentences 5-7) are examples of intransitive sentences:

ABSOLUTIVE

5) ni ʔímə̌š   ɫə sɫéni?
    aux walk   det woman
    'The woman walked.'

6) ni ʔə̌ɫtən   kʷθə sqʷəmɛ́y?
    aux eat   det   dog
    'The dog ate.'

7) ni q'ʷə́l   kʷθə scɛ́.ɫtən
    aux bake   det   salmon
    'The salmon baked.'

In 5-7), there is a subject nominal but no object. The
subject nominal is the absolutive, as labelled above the
nominal in 5).

1. Rules referring to ergative/absolutive.

    In this section, I discuss four rules of Halkomelem which
are stated most simply by making reference to the terms
ergative and absolutive rather than to subject and object.
These rules are: 3rd person agreement marking, one-nominal
interpretation, quantifier assignment, and possessor extraction.
The data on which the first two rules are formulated have been
discussed by Hukari (1976) (and others) although reference was
not made to ergative and absolutive in these discussions.
The data concerning quantifiers have been discussed in Gerdts
(1980).

1.1 3rd person agreement marking.

    There is an important contrast between 2-4) and 5-7) above--
while the verbs in 2-4) are suffixed with -əs, the 3rd person

agreement marker, the verbs in 5-7) lack this suffix.
Here, I discuss the formulation of the rule for 3rd person
agreement marking.

The suffix -əs in 2-4) is signalling the presence of a
3rd person subject. Notice in 8-9) below, the object is
1st person sg. and pl. respectively while the subject is 3rd
person. Notice the presence of the suffix -əs.

8) ni kʷənəθám?šəs   kʷθə   swə́y?qe?
    aux grab-tr-1-obj-erg det   man
    'The man grabbed me.'

9) ni kʷənətál?xʷəs   kʷθə   swə́y?qe?
    aux grab-tr-1-pl-obj-erg det man
    'The man grabbed us.'

Thus, whenever the subject of a transitive clause is 3rd person,
the verb is suffixed with -əs.

In contrast, verbs in intransitive clauses, e.g. 5-7), with
3rd person subjects do not have the suffix -əs. Furthermore,
as can be seen in 10-11), this suffix does not occur in sentences
in which the only 3rd person is object.

10) ni cən kʷə́nət   tθə   swə́y?qe?
     aux 1-sbj grab-tr det   man
     'I grabbed the man.'

11) ni č   kʷə́nət   tθə   swə́y?qe?
     aux 2-sbj grab-tr det   man
     'You grabbed the man.'

These data concerning the occurrence versus the absence
of the suffix -əs, the 3rd person agreement marker, can be
summarized in 12).

12)

	-əs	Ø
	subject of transitives	object of transitives subject of intransitives

It is clear from 12) that the relevant distinction is ergative versus absolutive, as given in 13).

13)

	-əs	Ø
	ergative	absolutive

Thus, -əs, the 3rd person agreement marker, is suffixed to all verbs in clauses with 3rd person ergatives.

1.2 One-nominal interpretation.

In the examples given in 2-4) above, both the subject and the object were expressed by nominals. Note that in Halkomelem, subject and object nominals are not differentiated by case marking. That is, both subjects and objects are preceded by one of a set of determiners. As can be seen in 2-4), these determiners are the same for subject and object.

The question arises: In sentences where only one nominal is expressed, is that nominal interpreted as the subject or the object?

Observe the following transitive sentences:

14) ni q'wə́lətəs   t$^\theta$ə scə́·łtən
    aux bake-tr-erg det   salmon
    'He baked the salmon.'
    *'The salmon baked him.'

15) ni q'ʷáq'ətəs   tθə   swə́y?qe?
    aux club-tr-erg   det   man
    'He clubbed the man.'
    *'The man clubbed him.'

16) ni kʷə́nətəs   ɬə sɬéni?
    aux grab-tr-erg   det woman
    'He grabbed the woman.'
    *'The woman grabbed him.'

In each example, only one 3rd person nominal is expressed.
In each case, the nominal is unambiguously interpreted as
the object.

In intransitive sentences, e.g. 5-7), only one inter-
pretation is available for the nominal, i.e. subject. A
generalization can be made concerning the interpretation of
3rd person nominals. In transitive sentences, the 3rd person
nominal is interpreted as object; in intransitive sentences,
it is interpreted as subject. Thus, in the absence of other
person marking, a single 3rd person nominal is interpreted
as absolutive.

1.3 Quantifier Assignment.

One way of expressing quantification in Halkomelem
involves the quantifier mə́k'ʷ 'all' as a higher predicate
followed by a complement clause.   In the examples in
17-19), the clause following the quantifier is intransitive
and the quantifier refers to the subject of the intransitive
clause.

17) mə́k'ʷ   niw x̌ʷələnčénəm   kʷθə sƛ̓əl̓ʔíqəɫ
    all   aux-comp run-pl   det   children
    'All the children ran.'

18) mə́k'ʷ   niw   wəwá̓ʔəs   kʷθə   sqʷəmqʷəmə́y̓?
    all   aux-comp bark   det   dogs
    'All the dogs barked.'

19) mə́k'ʷ   niw   ʔə́ɫtən   tθə sɫənɫéni̓ʔ
    all   aux-comp eat   det women
    'All the women ate.'

In the sentences in 20-22), the clause following the quantifier

is transitive. Note in 20-22) that the quantifier unambiguously

refers to the object of the transitive clause.

20) mə́k'ʷ niw   q'ʷə́lətəs tθə sƛ̓əl̓ʔíqəɫ kʷθə səplíl
    all   aux-comp bake-tr-erg det children det   bread
    'The children baked all the bread.'
    *'All the children baked the bread.'

21) mə́k'ʷ niw   qá̓ʔqa̓ʔtəs kʷθə səwwə́y̓qe? kʷθə   qá̓ʔ
    all   aux-comp drink-tr-erg det men   det   water
    'The men drank all the water.'
    *'All the men drank the water.'

22) mə́k'ʷ niw   ɫə́yx̌təs   tθə sɫənɫéni̓ʔ   kʷθə   scé·ɫtən
    all   aux-comp drink-tr-erg det women   det   salmon
    'The women ate all the salmon.'
    *'All the women ate the salmon.'

In formulating a rule for quantifier assignment the

relevant notion is absolutive, i.e. subject of intransitive

and object of transitive. When the quantifier mə́k'ʷ 'all'

is a higher predicate, it refers to the absolutive of the

complement clause.

1.4 Possessor Extraction.

A fourth rule in Halkomelem where the ergative/absolutive distinction is relevant is possessor extraction. I am using extraction as a cover term for three parallel processes: relativization, **clefting**, and focus. An example of each process follows:

23) ni kʷə́nətəs   kʷθə swə́y?qe?   ɬə sɬéni?
    aux grab-tr-erg det   man   det woman
    'The man grabbed the woman.'

24) Relativization:
    státəlstəxʷ   cən   ɬə sɬéni? ni kʷə́nətəs kʷθə swə́y?qe?
    know   l-sbj det woman aux grab-tr-3- det man
    'I know the woman who the man grabbed.'   ssbj

25) Clefting:
    níɬ θə sɬéni? ni kʷə́nətəs   t^θə swə́y?qe?
    be-3 det woman aux grab-tr-3- det   man
                                     ssbj
    'It's the woman who the man grabbed.'

26) Focus:
    sɬéni? ɬə ni kʷə́nətəs kʷθə swə́y?qe?
    woman   det aux grab-tr-3- det   man
                              ssbj
    'A woman is who the man grabbed.'

In each of the above examples, the object is extracted; that is, it is the head of the relative clause, cleft, or focus construction. An exposition of the above processes is beyond the scope of this paper; relevant to this discussion is the condition placed on the extraction of possessors.

In certain cases it is possible for a possessor to be extracted. Observe the following sentences; in the a) sentences, the possessive phrase is the subject of an intransitive clause; in the b) sentences, the possessor is extracted.

27 a) ni x̌čénəm   kʷθə sqéʔəqs   łə słéniʔ
       aux run   det y. brother- det woman
                               3-pos
       'The woman's younger brother ran.'

   b) státəlstəxʷ cən łə słeniʔ ni x̌čénəm kʷθə sqéʔəqs
       know   1-sbj det woman aux run   det y. brother-
                                                           3-pos

       'I know the woman whose younger brother ran.'

28 a) ni t'íləm   kʷθə sqéʔəqs   łə słéniʔ
       aux sing   det   y. brother- det woman
                               3-pos
       'The woman's younger brother sang.'

   b) státəlstəxʷ cən łə słeniʔ   ni t'íləm kʷθə sqéʔəqs
       know   1-sbj det woman   aux sing   det y. brother-
                                                           3-pos

       'I know the woman whose younger brother sang.'

29 a) same as 28a)

   b) níł θeyʔ słéniʔ ni t'íləm   kʷθə sqéʔəqs
       be-3 det woman   aux sing   det   y. brother-3-pos
       'It's that woman whose younger brother sang.'

Note in the above examples that, although the possessor is
extracted, the possessed nominal is suffixed with a possessive
suffix.

   Extraction of the possessor is also possible in the following
examples; as can be seen in the a) sentences, the possessive
phrase is the object of a transitive clause.

30 a) ni q'ʷálətəs kʷθə scé·łtəns łə słéniʔ
       aux bake-tr-erg det salmon-3- det   woman
                               pos
       'He baked the woman's salmon.'

   b) státəlstəxʷ cən łə słéniʔ ni q'ʷálətəs kʷθə scé·łtəns
       know   1-sbj det woman aux bake-tr-   det   salmon-3-
                                            3-ssbj   pos
       'I know the woman whose salmon he baked.'

31 a) ni č q'á·yt kʷθə sqéʔəqs ɬə sɬéniʔ
    aux 2-sbj kill-tr det y. brother-3- det woman
                                       pos
    'You killed the woman's younger brother.'

  b) státəlstəxʷ cən ɬə sɬéniʔ ni q'á·ytəxʷ kʷθə sqéʔəqs
     know   1-sbj det lady aux kill-tr- det y. brother-
                                     2-ssbj   3-pos
    'I know the woman whose younger brother you killed.'

32 a) same as 31a)

  b) sɬéniʔ ɬə ni q'á·ytəxʷ kʷθə sqéʔəqs
     woman   det aux kill-tr- det y. brother-3-pos
                       2-ssbj
    'A woman is whose younger brother you killed.'

    In contrast, the possessor in the following examples cannot
be extracted; note that the possessive phrase is the subject of
a transitive clause.

33 a) ni q'ʷélətəs kʷθə sqéʔəqs ɬə sɬéniʔ kʷθə scé·ɬtən
    aux bake-tr-erg det y. brother- det woman det salmon
                              3-pos
    'The woman's younger brother baked the salmon.'

  b) *státəlstəxʷ cən ɬə sɬéniʔ ni q'ʷélətəs kʷθə sqéʔəqs
     know   1-sbj det woman aux bake-tr- det y. brother-
                                 3-ssbj   3-pos

     kʷθə scé·ɬtən
     det   salmon

    'I know the woman whose younger brother baked the salmon.'

34 a) ni q'á·ytəs kʷθə sqéʔəqs ɬə sɬéniʔ kʷθə sqʷəméyʔ
    aux kill-tr-erg det y. brother- det woman det dog
                        3-pos
    'The woman's younger brother killed the dog.'

  b) *státəlstəxʷ cən ɬə sɬéniʔ ni q'á·ytəs
     know   1-sbj det woman aux kill-tr-3-ssbj
      kʷθə sqéʔəqs   kʷθə sqʷəméyʔ
      det y. brother-   det dog
           3-pos
    'I know the woman whose younger brother killed the dog.'

35 a)   same as 34a)

   b) *níɬ θə sɬéni? ni qá·ytəs kʷθə sqé?əqs
       be-3 det woman aux kill-tr- det y. brother-
                            3-ssbj   3-pos
       kʷθə sqəméy?
       det   dog
       'It's the woman whose younger brother killed the
       dog.'

In formulating the condition on Possessor Extraction
the relevant notion is <u>absolutive</u>; that is, when the possessive
phrase is the subject of an intransitive clause or the object
of a transitive clause, the possessor can be extracted. When
the possessive phrase is the subject of a transitive clause,
i.e. an <u>ergative</u>, the possessor cannot be extracted.

1.5 The Antipassive in Functional Perspective.

In the discussion above, I have pointed out four rules
that are formulated in terms of ergative and/or absolutive.
First, third person agreement marking is <u>-əs</u> for ergatives
and Ø for absolutives. In the other rules discussed--one-
nominal interpretation, quantifier assignment, and possessor
extraction--the rule in each case makes reference to <u>absolutives</u>
to the exclusion of <u>ergatives</u>.

That absolutives are preferred over ergatives in these
three rules suggests that absolutives in some sense <u>outrank</u>
ergatives; in other words, absolutives are more accessible than
ergatives, as represented by the following hierarchy:

36)   ↑ Absolutive

                           Ergative

As is often the case in languages where the ergative/ absolutive distinction is relevant, Halkomelem has a process whereby a logically transitive sentence (i.e. a sentence with an 'agent' and a 'patient') can be expressed in a grammatically intransitive construction--called the antipassive or middle [cf Gerdts (1980) and references therein].   In Halkomelem, the logical object (if it appears) is expressed by an oblique phrase, introduced by the oblique marker <u>ʔə</u> . Examples of transitive sentences (37-38a) and their antipassive counterparts (37a-b) follow:

37 a) ni q'ʷə́lətəs   ɬə sɬéniʔ   kʷθə scé·ɬtən
        aux bake-tr-erg det woman   det   salmon
        'The woman baked the salmon.'

    b) ni q'ʷə́ləm   ɬə sɬéniʔ   ʔə kʷθə   scé·ɬtən
        aux bake-intr det woman   obl det   salmon
        'The woman baked the salmon.'

38 a) ni qá́ʔqaʔtəs   ɬə sɬéniʔ   kʷθə qá́ʔ
        aux drink-tr-erg det woman   det   water
        'The woman drank the water.'

    b) ni qá́ʔqaʔ   ɬə sɬéniʔ   ʔə kʷθə qá́ʔ
        aux drink   det woman   obl det   water
        'The woman drank the water.'

Because the antipassive is an intransitive construction, the subject nominal is not an ergative but rather an absolutive. I suggest here that antipassive in Halkomelem has the function of making subjects accessible to rules which apply only to absolutives. This function is clearly seen in the interaction of antipassive with two of the rules discussed above--quantifier assignment and possessor extraction.

As discussed in §1.3 above, when the quantifier <u>mə́k'ʷ</u> is a higher predicate, it refers to the absolutive of the complement clause. In sentences like 20-22) where the complement clause is transitive, the quantifier refers to the object and not the subject. Example 20) is repeated here as 39).

39) mə́k'ʷ   niw   q'ʷə́lətəs   t^θə   sƛ̓ə1ʔíqəɬ   kʷθə   səplíl
    all   aux-comp bake-tr- det children   det   bread
                    erg
    'The children baked all the bread.'
    *'All the children baked the bread.'

In contrast, the complement clause in 40) is an antipassive; in this case the quantifier refers to the subject, which is the absolutive of the clause. (cf. 21-22)

40) mə́k'ʷ   niw   q'ʷə́ləm   t^θə   sƛ̓ə1ʔíqəɬ   ʔə   kʷθə   səplíl
    all   aux-comp bake-intr det children obl det   bread
    'All the children baked the bread.'
    *'The children baked all the bread.'

Additional examples of quantification of the subject of an antipassive complement are given below:

41) mə́k'ʷ   niw   qáʔqaʔ   kʷθə   səwwə́y̓ʔqeʔ   ʔə   kʷθə   qáʔ
    all   aux-comp drink det   men   obl det   water
    'All the men drank the water.'
    *'The men drank all the water.'

42) mə́k'ʷ   niw   ʔə́ɬtən   t^θə   sɬənɬéniʔ   ʔə   kʷθə   scé·ɬtən
    all   aux-comp eat   det   women   obl det   salmon
    'All the women ate the salmon.'
    *'The women ate all the salmon.'

A function of the antipassive, then, is to make subjects accessible to quantifier assignment.

As discussed in §1.4 above, when the possessive phrase is an <u>ergative</u>, the possessor cannot be extracted. Example 33b) is repeated here as 43).

43)   * státəlstəxʷ cən ɫə sɫéni? ni q'ʷə́lətəs kʷθə
          know   1-sbj det woman aux bake-tr-   det
                                      3-ssbj

         sqé?əqs kʷθə scé·ɫtən
        y. brother- det salmon
          3-pos

         'I know the woman whose younger brother baked the salmon.'

However, when the possessive phrase is subject of an antipassive, and thus an absolutive, the possessor can be extracted, as seen in 44).

44)   státəlstəxʷ cən ɫə sɫéni? ni q'ʷə́ləm kʷθə
         know   1-sbj det woman aux bake-intr det

         sqé?əqs   ?ə kʷθə scé·ɫtən
        y. brother- obl det   salmon
          3-pos

         'I know the woman whose younger brother baked the salmon.'

An additional example of possessor extraction from the subject of an antipassive follows:

45)   státəlstəxʷ cən ɫə sɫéni? ni qá?qa? kʷθə
         know   1-sbj det woman aux drink   det

         sqé?əqs ?ə kʷθə qá?
       y. brother- obl det water
         3-pos
         'I know the woman whose younger brother drank the water.'

Thus, the antipassive allows subjects to be accessible to possessor extraction.

1.6 Summary.

In this section, I have shown four rules that are best formulated in terms of ergative and absolutive-- 3rd person agreement marking, one-nominal interpretation, quantifier assignment, and possessor extraction. The presence of such phenomena suggests that the terms ergative and absolutive are relevant in the grammar of Halkomelem.

In the latter three rules, the rule makes reference to absolutives to the exclusion of ergatives. This suggests that absolutives are more accessible to grammatical processes than ergatives are. I have briefly discussed the interaction of the latter two rules with antipassive. Because the antipassive is an intransitive construction, the subject of an antipassive is an absolutive. Thus, antipassive has the function of making subjects accessible to rules referring to absolutives.

2. Split Ergativity in Halkomelem.

In the linguistic literature, it is common to divide languages into two types: nominative/accusative and ergative.[3] The assignment of a language to one type or the other is based on person agreement, pronominal forms, and/or nominal case marking.

In English, a nominative/accusative language, pronouns are chosen according to the distinction subject/object. Subjects of transitives and subjects of intransitives are expressed by the same pronominal set. Objects of transitives, however, are expressed by a distinct set of object pronouns. Observe the following English sentences:

46) I ran.

47) I hit John.

48) John hit me.

The subject form of the 1st person pronoun is I while the object form is me .

	subject	object
	I	me

In contrast, in Quiche, an ergative language, person marking is chosen according to the distinction ergative/ absolutive. Subjects of intransitive sentences and objects of transitives, i.e. absolutives, are expressed by the same person marker.

Subjects of transitives, i.e. ergatives, are expressed by a distinct person marker. Observe the following Quiche sentences: [4]

50) K - ox - kan - ik.

   aspect-1 Pl. -die-punctual

   'We die.'

51) K - ox - a cuku - x.

   aspect- 1 Pl.- 2 Sg.-seek- actual

   'You seek us.'

52) K - at - ka - cuku - x.
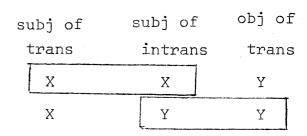
   aspect- 2 Sg.- 1 Pl. - seek -actual

   'We seek you.'

The absolutive form of the 1st person plural agreement marker is ox while the ergative form is ka.

53)   ergative   absolutive

    1st person pl.   ka   ox

   Thus, the crucial difference between a nominative/accusative and an ergative agreement system is in the patterning of the subject of intransitives. As is seen in the chart in 54), in a nominative/accusative system, the subject of an intransitive patterns with the subject of a transitive; in an ergative system, the subject of an intransitive is the same as the object of a transitive.

54)

	subj of trans	subj of intrans	obj of trans
nominative/accusative:	X	X	Y
ergative:	X	Y	Y

ERGATIVE   ABSOLUTIVE   ABSOLUTIVE

Some languages, referred to as split ergative, do not fall consistently into one of the two types—nominative/accusative or ergative. In split ergative languages, some person marking, pronominal forms, and/or nominal case marking may refer to subject/object while others refer to ergative/absolutive. There are three common types of split ergative systems—based on person, clause-type, and aspect. Below, I discuss each of these with respect to Halkomelem.

2.1 Person.

In §1.1 above, I pointed out that 3rd person marking is formulated in terms of ergative/absolutive; -əs marks 3rd person ergative, and Ø marks 3rd person absolutive. Interestingly, 1st and 2nd persons do not distinguish ergative/absolutive but rather subject/object. Observe the following sentences; 55-56) are transitive while 57-58) are transitive:

55) ni cən ɬəyx̌t kʷθə scé·ɬtən
     aux 1-sbj eat-tr det   salmon
     'I ate the salmon.'

56) ni cən kʷə́nət
     aux 1-sbj grab-tr
     'I grabbed it.'

57) ni cən   ʔíməš
     aux 1-sbj walk
     'I walked.'

58) ni cən t'íləm
     aux 1-sbj sing
     'I sang.'

In each case the 1st person subject is expressed by the
subject clitic cən. In contrast, the 1st person object of
a transitive is expressed by an object suffix, as seen in 59-
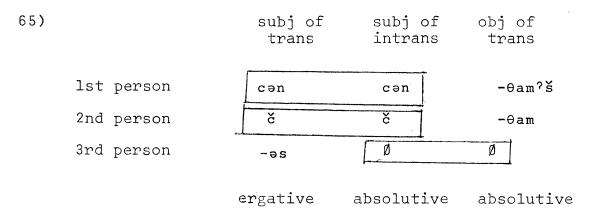60):

59) ni ʔə č q'ʷaqʷəθám?š
     aux int 2-sbj club-tr-1-obj
     'Did you club me?'

60) ni č   kʷənəθám?š
     aux 2-sbj grab-tr-1-obj
     'You grabbed me.'

Thus, the relevant distinction for 1st person is subject/
object and not ergative/absolutive. As can be seen in 61-
62), which are intransitive, and 59-60) above, which are
transitive, the 2nd person subject is also expressed by
a subject clitic, while a 2nd person object, as in 63-64),
is expressed by an object suffix.

61) ni ʔə č ʔíməš
     aux ni 2-sbj walk
     'Did you walk?'

62) ni č t'íləm
     aux 2-sbj sing
     'You sang.'

63) ni cən q'ʷàqʷəθámə
     aux 1-sbj club-tr-2-obj
     'I clubbed you.'

64) ni cən kʷənəθámə
     aux 1-sbj grab-tr-2-obj
     'I grabbed you.'

Thus, 1st and 2nd persons distinguish subject/object, while 3rd persons distinguish ergative/absolutive, as summarized in the following chart:

65)

	subj of trans	subj of intrans	obj of trans
1st person	cən	cən	-θam?š
2nd person	č	č	-θam
3rd person	-əs	Ø	Ø
	ergative	absolutive	absolutive

Because the person system is neither completely nominative/accusative nor ergative, we must recognize Halkomelem as a split ergative language.

2.2 Clause Type.

In the data involving person marking discussed above, all examples were taken from main clauses. In these examples, we have seen that 3rd persons distinguish ergative/absolutive while 1st and 2nd persons distinguish subject/object. In subordinate clauses, however, this is not the case. All persons distinguish subject/object, regardless of the transitivity of the clause.

Observe the following sentences; the subordinate clauses in 66-67) are intransitive while they are transitive in 68-69):

66) lə́ʔləmʔ ʔə č ce̓ʔ ʔu x̌čénəmʔəs
   look-cont int2-sbj fut lnk run-3-ssbj
   'Will you be watching when/if he runs?'

67) lə́ʔləmʔ ʔə č ce̓ʔ ʔu t'íləmʔəs
   look-cont int 2-sbj fut lnk sing-3-ssbj
   'Will you be watching when/if he sings?'

68) lə́ʔləmʔ ʔə č ce̓ʔ ʔu q'ʷaqʷəθámʔšəs
   look-cont int 2-sbj fut lnk club-tr-1-obj-3-ssbj
   'Will you be watching when/if he clubs me?'

69) lə́ʔləmʔ ʔə č ce̓ʔ ʔu kʷənəθámʔšəs
   look-cont int 2-sbj fut lnk grab-tr-1-obj-3-ssbj
   'Will you be watching when/if he grabs me?'

The 3rd person marked is -<u>əs</u> in each case. In contrast, 3rd person objects in subordinate clauses are unmarked, as can be seen in 70-71):

70) leʔləmʔ ʔə č ce̓ʔ ʔu q'ʷàqʷət?é.nʔ
   look-cont int 2-sbj fut lnk club-tr-1-ssbj
   'Will you be watching when/if I club him?'

71) lə́ʔləmʔ ʔə č ce̓ʔ ʔu kʷənət?é.nʔ
   look-cont int 2-sbj fut lnk grab-tr-1-ssbj
   'Will you be watching when/if I grab him?'

Thus, in subordinate clauses, 3rd person marking distinguishes subject/object.

The contrast between 3rd person marking in main clauses and in subordinate clauses is summarized in the chart in 72):

72) <u>3rd person marking</u>

	subj of trans	subj of intrans	obj of trans
main clause:	-əs	Ø	Ø
subordinate clause:	-əs	-əs	Ø
	ergative	absolutive	absolutive

Thus, Halkomelem exhibits a 2nd type of split ergativity. All subjects of subordinate clauses pattern alike regardless of person or transitivity.

2.3 Aspect.

In a third type of split ergativity, the choice of ergative/absolutive versus subject/object is affected by aspect or tense.   It seems that Halkomelem lacks this type of split ergativity. In 73-74), the a) sentences are in the completive aspect while the b) sentences are in the continuative.

73 a)   ni ɬəyx̌təs   ɬə sɬéni?   kʷθə   scé·ɬtən
       aux eat-tr-erg det woman   det   salmon
       'The woman ate the salmon.'

   b)   ?i ɬéy?x̌təs θə sɬéni? t^{θ}ə scé·ɬtən
       aux eat-cont- det woman   det   salmon
          tr-erg
       'The woman is eating the salmon.'

74 a)   ni ?əɬtən   ɬə sɬéni?
       aux eat   det   woman
       'The woman ate.'

   b)   ?i ?í·?ɬtən   θə sɬéni?
       aux eat-cont   det woman
       'The woman is eating.'

In the transitive sentences in 73) the third person agreement marker occurs. It does not occur in the intransitive sentences in 74).

We can conclude from such examples that the completive/ continuative aspectual distinction has no affect on the patterning of the ergative/absolutive distinction in main clauses in Halkomelem.

2.4 <u>Summary</u>.

One of the ergative phenomena disucssed in §1 was
person agreement. Because person agreement serves as a
diagnostic for nominative/accusative versus ergative
languages, I have disccussed it further in §2.
Looking at person marking in terms of person, clause-type, and
aspect, I have pointed out that the ergative/absolutive
distinction is relevant only to 3rd persons in main
clauses. It appears that aspect does not affect 3rd
person marking in Halkomelem.

Because person marking in Halkomelem does not behave
consistently as nominative/accusative or ergative, we
can conclude that Halkomelem is a split ergative
language.

3. <u>Conclusion</u>.

In this paper, I have shown four rules that are best
formulated in terms of <u>ergative</u> and <u>absolutive</u>--
3rd person agreement marking, one-nominal interpretation,
quantifier assignment, and possessor extraction. Person
agreement was discussed in terms of split ergativity.

The presence of such phenomena suggests that the
terms <u>ergative</u> and <u>absolutive</u> are relevant in the grammar
of Halkomelem. I am not implying that the description of
all phenomena in the language should refer to the ergative/

absolutive distinction. There are certainly a few
phenomena that should be described in terms of subject
and object (e.g. 1st and 2nd person pronominal forms, c.f.
§2.1). In addition, there are some phenomena in the language
where subjects and objects are alike to the exclusion of
other nominals (e.g. nominal case marking, c.f. §1.2) and
other distinctions are, of course, possible.

However, there appear to be more ergative phenomena
than I had suspected. Perhaps this explains in part the
apparent paucity of rules referring to subject and object.
Certainly, the presence of ergative phenomena in Halkomelem
leads to interesting speculation concerning the frequency
of ergative phenomena in earlier stages of this and other
Salish languages.

These abbreviations are used in the glosses of the Halkomelem:

aux	auxiliary
comp	complementizer
cont	continuative
det	determiner
erg	ergative
intr	intransitive
lnk	linker
obj	objective pronominal suffixes
obl	oblique marker
pos	possessive pronominal affixes
pl	plural
sbj	subjective pronominal clitics
ssbj	subordinate subject suffixes
tr	transitive

1	1st person
2	2nd person
3	3rd person

[1]At least a couple of other people have made mention of the term ergative in discussing Salish languages--Davis (1974) and Kuipers (1967, p. 173).

[2]The transitive marker -t is probably best described as the unmarked form. Some of the other transitive markers are: -nəxʷ, -nəs, and -š. Data with these suffixes parallels the data discussed here.

[3]For discussion of ergativity, cf. Dixon (1979), Silverstein (1976), and the sources therein.

[4]These data are from Dixon (1979).

References.

Davis, John H. 1974. Case and Function in a Coast Salish
        Language. Paper presented at the AAA, Mexico City.

Dixon, R.M.W. 1979. Ergativity. Language 55.1, pp. 59-138.

Gerdts, Donna B. 1980. Antipassives and Causatives in
        Halkomelem. Proceedings of the 6th Annual Meeting
        of the Berkeley Linguistics Society.

Hukari, Thomas E. 1976. Transitivity in Halkomelem.
        Working Papers for the XI International Conference
        on Salishan Languages.

Kuipers, Aert H. 1967. The Squamish Language. Mouton.

Silverstein, Michael. 1976. Hierarchy of Features and
        Ergativity. in R.M.W. Dixon, ed. Grammatical Categories
        in Australian Languages, pp. 112-171. Canberra:
        Australian Institute of Aboriginal Studies.