

THEORETICAL
PERSPECTIVES
ON
NATIVE AMERICAN
LANGUAGES

Edited by

Donna B. Gerdts

and

Karin Michelson

State University of New York Press

RELATIONAL PARAMETERS
OF REFLEXIVES:
THE HALKOMELEM EVIDENCE

Donna B. Gerdts

INTRODUCTION

Although reflexives have been given significant attention in all syntactic theories, studies generally have shared a common focus: the statement of appropriate constraints on possible antecedents. Various binding parameters intended as cross-linguistic generalizations have been posited: for example, Chomsky's Binding Conditions and Perlmutter and Postal's Reflexive Rank Law. However, these are un insightful for languages like Halkomelem, a Salish language spoken in southwestern British Columbia, which have morphological reflexives with the antecedent limited to subject.

The line of research pursued in this paper takes as its focus an entirely different approach to the problem: the Relational Structure of reflexives, that is, the relations borne by the nominals at each level of structure. In order to control for the binding problem, I limit the class of constructions under consideration to cases of reflexives where, as in Halkomelem, the antecedent is the *subject* and the reflexive is the *direct object* at the appropriate level of structure. Within this limited class of data, it is easy to see that reflexives differ with respect to final transitivity and to the exhibition by the subject of properties customarily associated with nominals that head an object arc in an earlier stratum. Two concepts have been proposed within Relational Grammar

to deal with these facts: *Cancellation* and *Multiatachment*. These concepts are defined and illustrated in section 1, where I also consider a proposal regarding their interaction.

Section 2 discusses two Halkomelem reflexive constructions, one of which provides evidence for a type of reflexive that has not been noted previously.¹ On the basis of the Halkomelem evidence, I propose that Cancellation and Multiatachment are independent parameters of Universal Grammar: taken together, they predict that *four* types of reflexive constructions occur in natural language, as discussed in section 3. That concepts available in Relational Grammar allow for the parametrization of reflexives, as empirically justified herein, provides support for this theory, especially since, as section 4 discusses, other theories, because they have dwelt on a two-way dichotomy of reflexives (e.g. lexical versus syntactic reflexives), do not provide the mechanisms for an adequate account of the various reflexives. In particular, I consider the analysis of reflexives posited by Marantz (1984), which comes closest to mirroring the relational account. On the basis of data from Halkomelem, I show that the relational grammar approach is superior to Marantz's approach.

1. BACKGROUND

1.1. Cancellation

It is a well-noted phenomenon that reflexives are finally transitive in some languages but finally intransitive in others. This is seen most clearly in ergative languages, where the case marking/verb agreement of the clause will differ depending upon whether the final subject is an *ergative* (subject in a transitive stratum) or an *absolutive* (subject in an intransitive stratum or object in a transitive stratum).²

For example, in Tzotzil (Aissen 1982) subjects of reflexives determine ergative agreement as seen in [1]:

- [1] ʔi-s-nak' s-ba 'He hid himself.'
 cp-E3-hide his-self

Ergative(-)agreement is used for final 1s in a transitive stratum, as seen in [2], while Absolutive(-) agreement is used for final 2s and final 1s in an intransitive stratum, as seen in [2] and [3].

- [2] L-i-s-maj
 cp-A1-E3-hit

'He hit me.'

- [3] Ch-i-bal 'I'm going.'
 inf-A1-go

That the reflexive clause in [1] exhibits E-agreement provides evidence for its final transitivity.

In contrast, in Halkomelem, the subject of a reflexive determines absolutive rather than ergative agreement, as seen in [4]:³

- [4] ni kʷəʃləʃ-θ-ət kʷθə swəýʔqe?
 aux shoot-tr-self det man
 'The man shot himself.'

In terms of agreement, Halkomelem is a split ergative language (Gerdts 1981a); ergative versus absolutive is distinguished only for 3rd persons in nonsubordinate clauses. A third person final 1 in a transitive stratum determines the agreement suffix -əs (cf. [5] while a third-person final 1 in an intransitive stratum has Ø agreement, (cf. [6]).

- [5] ni kʷəʃləʃ-θ-əmʔ-əs kʷθə swəýʔqe?
 aux shoot-tr-lobj-3erg det man
 'The man shot me.'

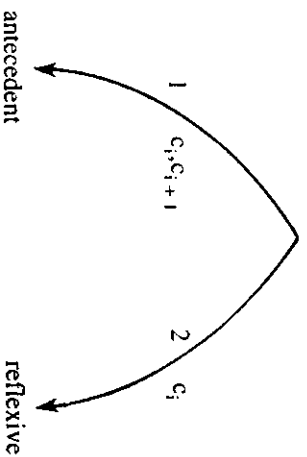
- [6] ni ʔiməʃ kʷθə swəýʔqe?
 aux walk det man
 'The man walked.'

That the ergative agreement suffix is *not* possible in a reflexive, as [7] shows, gives evidence for the final intransitivity of the clause: further evidence will be discussed in section 2.

- [7] * ni kʷəʃləʃ-θ-ət-əs kʷθə swəýʔqe?
 aux shoot-tr-self-3erg det man
 ('The man shot himself.')

Given the assumption that reflexives in Tzotzil and Halkomelem have equivalent initial structures—the antecedent is an initial 1 and the reflexive is an initial 2—then the final transitivity of Tzotzil is expected, whereas the final intransitivity of Halkomelem requires some explanation.⁴ Aissen (1982), citing data from several languages, argues that what is involved is Cancellation: a nominal, which bears a relation at one level, does not bear any relation at the subsequent level, as represented in the relational network in [8].⁵

[8]



Although the reflexive heads a 2-arc in the c_i -stratum it heads no arc in the c_{i+1} -stratum, in contrast to the antecedent, which heads a 1-arc in both strata. Note that the arc itself is cancelled; therefore, the structure in [8], although it is initially transitive, is finally intransitive.

Taking the presence or absence of Cancellation as a parameter of variation, we see that there are two types of reflexives: those like the Halkomelem reflexives that involve Cancellation, and those like the Tzotzil reflexives that do not.

1.2. Multiatachment

Reflexive constructions in many languages exhibit some unexpected properties. Rather than patterning with constructions involving 'straight' subjects (that is, subjects at all levels of structure), reflexives sometimes pattern with passive or unaccusative constructions. As discussed in Perlmutter (forthcoming) and Rosen (1981), the Italian *si* reflexive, when occurring in the past tense, selects the auxiliary *essere* 'be' rather than *avere* 'have', as seen in [9].

[9] Ugo *si* è difeso.

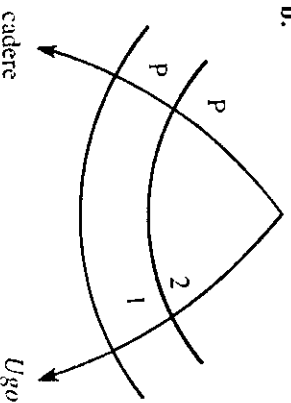
'Ugo defended himself.'

Unaccusatives like [10a] as represented in [10b] and passives like [11a] as represented in [11b], also select *essere*.

[10] a. Ugo è caduto.

'Hugo fell.'

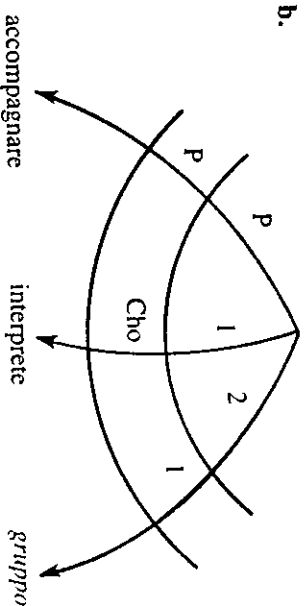
b.



[11] a. Il gruppo sarà accompagnato da un interprete.

'The group will be accompanied by an interpreter.'

b.

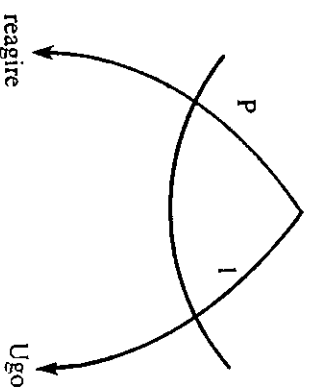


In contrast, unergatives like [12] and active transitive clauses like [13] select *avere*.

[12] a. Ugo ha reagito.

'Hugo reacted.'

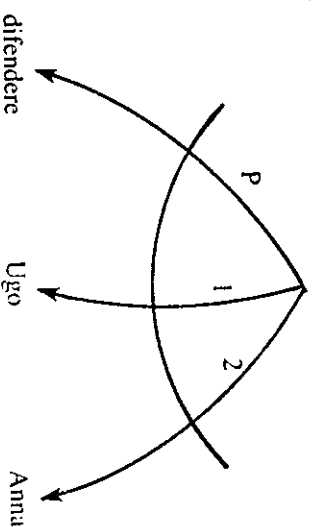
b.



[13] a. Ugo ha difeso Anna.

'Hugo defended Anna.'

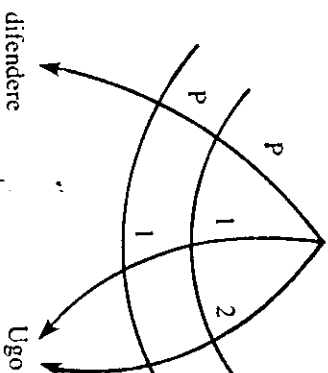
b.



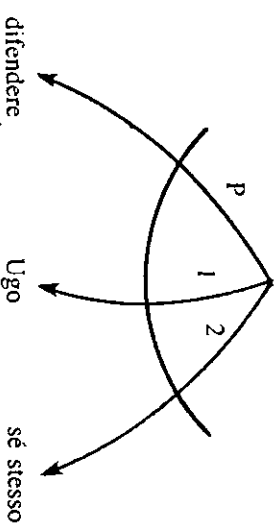
This distribution follows from the rule of Auxiliary Selection given in Rosen (1981):

In summary, *si* reflexives involve both Multiattribution and Cancellation, as represented in [23], while *sé stesso* reflexives involve neither, as represented in [24].

[23] *si* Reflexives:



[24] *sé stesso* Reflexives:



The same conclusion can be reached regarding Albanian reflexives (Hubbard 1980). One reflexive, e.g. [25], marked by "Neopolitan" morphology (which also occurs on passives and unaccusatives) involves both Multiattribution and Cancellation.

[25] Burrat lahen.

men-the wash

N 3ppRNACT

'The men wash themselves.' / 'The men are washed.'

A second reflexive, e.g. [26], which involves an anaphoric pronoun and "active" morphology, has neither Multiattribution nor Cancellation.

[26] Aginit lan veten.

N wash self-Ac

3sACT

'Agim washes himself.'

Thus, previous work on the topic leads to the suggestion that the parameters Multiattribution and Cancellation are linked. However, I argue on the basis of Halkomelem reflexives that these, in fact, are independent parameters.

2. HALKOMELEM REFLEXIVES

As in Italian and Albanian, there are two means of forming reflexives in Halkomelem. However, both are morphological in the sense that they involve verbal morphology rather than an anaphoric pronoun. The *-θar* reflexive, the segmentation of which will be discussed presently, is illustrated in [27]–[28]:

[27] ni q'wāq'w-θθ-at t̄ə st̄eni?

aux club-tr-self det woman

'The woman clubbed herself with the paddle.'

ʔə k'wθə sq̄əmə?

obl det paddle

[28] ni can l̄əx'w-θθ-at

aux lsub blanket-tr-self

'I covered myself with a blanket.' (literally: 'I blanketed self.')

Second, the *-əm* reflexive, is illustrated in [29]–[30]:⁷

[29] ni t̄s̄i -q'w²-əm t̄ə st̄eni?

aux comb-hair-intr det woman

'The woman combed her own hair.'

[30] c̄sé-t can ce? t̄ə st̄eni? ʔu q'w̄šl-ətc-əm-əs

tel-tr lsub fut det woman lnk bake-adv-intr-3ssub

ʔə k'wθə sc̄é:ʔian

obl det salmon

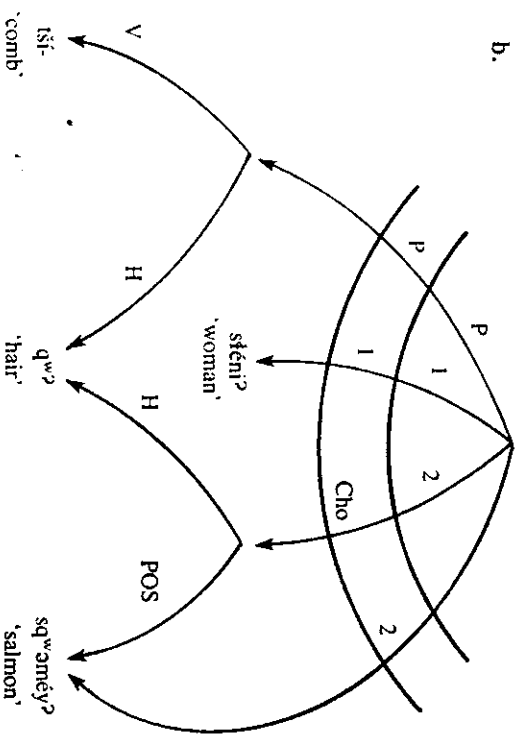
'I'm telling the woman to bake the salmon for me.'

The two reflexive constructions have different distributions. The *-θar* reflexive is used only to reference initial objects: the reflexive refers to the patient nominal in [27]–[28].⁸ In contrast, the *-əm* reflexive is used only when a non-initial object is involved. For example, I have argued in Gerdts (1981b; 1981c) that clauses like [29] involve possessor ascension and lexical suffixation (the Salish equivalent of noun incorporation), so that the reflexive is an initial possessor that ascends to object; thus, examples like [31a], represented in [31b], are taken to be the non-reflexive counterpart of [29].

[31] a. ni t̄s̄i -q'w²-t-əs t̄ə st̄eni? k'wθə sq̄'w̄əny?

aux comb-hair-tr-3erg det woman det dog

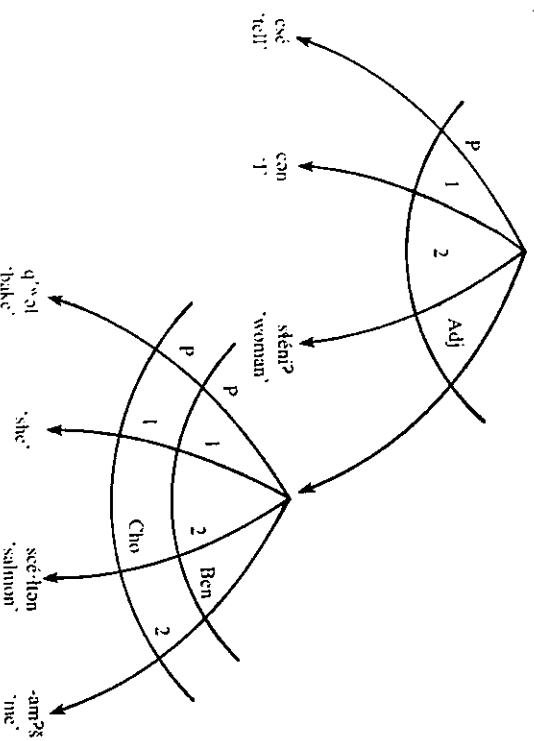
'The woman combed the dog's hair.'



The *-əm* reflexive clause in [6] involves Ben-2 advancement (see Gerdts (1981a) for discussion). The reflexive references an initial Ben that is advanced to 2, as evidenced by the presence of the advancement suffix *-fc* and the oblique case (used to mark nonterms) of the initial object. The non-reflexive counterpart is given in [32]:

- [32] a. *csé-1 can ce² tʰa sténí² ʔu qʷal-ʃfc-θ-ámʔs-as*
 tell-tr |sub fut det woman |nk bake-adv-tr-|obj-ʃsub
 ʔə kʷθə scé:ʃtan
 obl det salmon
 'I, m telling the woman to bake the salmon for me.'

b.



Thus, *-θət* reflexives reference initial 2s, while *-əm* reflexives reference non-initial 2s.

2.1. Cancellation

Turning now to the relational properties of the two Halkomelem reflexives, both reflexives involve Cancellation; that is, they are finally intransitive. Evidence for this comes from the lack of third person ergative agreement in reflexives like [27] and [29] (see section 1.1). Furthermore, Halkomelem, as discussed in Gerdts (1981a) bans clauses where the final ergative is a proper noun, hence* [33].

- [33] *ni qʷál-at-as tʰə Mary kʷθə scé:ʃtan
 aux bake-tr-intr det det salmon
 ('Mary baked the salmon.')

However, a proper noun can serve as a final absolutive, as in the intransitive clause in [34] and the antipassive clause in [35].

- [34] ni ʔiməš tʰə Mary
 aux walk det
 'Mary walked.'
- [35] ni qʷál-em tʰə Mary ʔə kʷθə scé:ʃtan
 aux bake-intr det obl det salmon
 'Mary baked the salmon.'

As seen in [36] and [37], proper nouns can serve as final 1s in reflexive clauses; thus, they are final absolutives and the clauses are finally intransitive.

- [36] ni kʷáləš-θ-ət tʰə Mary
 aux shoot-tr-self det
 'Mary shot herself.'
- [37] ni tʃí-qʷ²-em tʰə Mary
 aux comb-hair-intr det
 'Mary combed her own hair.'

Further evidence for the intransitivity of *-θət* reflexives comes from causatives, which will be discussed in section 4.

2.2. Multiattachment

Thus, both Halkomelem reflexives involve Cancellation of a 2-are and therefore are finally intransitive. However, I claim that the two reflexives differ with respect to Multiattachment: *-θət* reflexives involve Multiattachment, whereas *-əm* reflexives do not. Evidence for this comes from the rule of

transitive marking in Halkomelem. The reflexive suffix *-θai* actually is a complex form, composed of the transitive suffix *-t* and a reflexive object suffix *-swi*.⁹ Evidence that the reflexive form *-θai* involves a transitive suffix comes from limited control marking. Transitive suffixes in Halkomelem appear in two forms: the general transitive suffix *-t* and the limited control suffix *-n*.¹⁰ The latter is used in situations where the agent is not in full control of his actions as illustrated in [38b] and [39b].¹¹

[38] a. ni k^wəɬaʃ-θ-əmʔs-əs k^wθə swəy^ʔqeʔ
 aux shoot-tr-lobj-3erg det man
 'The man shot me.' [on purpose]

b. ni k^wəɬaʃ-n-əmʔs-əs k^wθə swəy^ʔqeʔ
 aux shoot-l.c.tr-lobj-3erg det man
 'The man shot me accidentally.'

[39] a. ni k^wəɬaʃ-θ-ət k^wθə swəy^ʔqeʔ
 aux shoot-tr-ref det man
 'The man shot himself.' [on purpose]

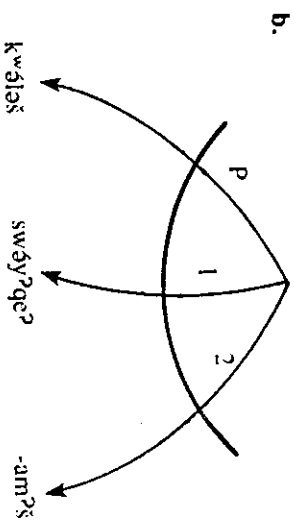
b. ni k^wəɬaʃ-n-əm-ət k^wθə swəy^ʔqeʔ
 aux shoot-l.c.-ref det man
 'The man managed to shoot himself.'
 / 'The man shot himself accidentally.'

Thus, the morphological evidence supports the claim that the *-θai* reflexive contains transitive marking, whereas it is clear that the *-əm* reflexive does not. Gerdts (1981a) formulates a rule for transitive marking to account for the distribution of the transitive suffix *-t*: [40] is an updated version of this rule:¹²

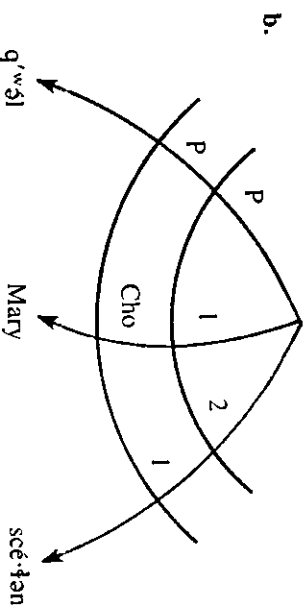
[40] Transitive marking occurs in clauses where there is a nominal that heads both
 (i) an Acc-arc (i.e. the 2-arc in a transitive stratum) and
 (ii) a final nuclear term arc (i.e. final 1-arc or 2-arc).

This rule accounts for transitive marking on monoclausal transitives like [41a], as represented in [41b], and passives like [42a], as represented in [42b].

[41] a. ni k^wəɬaʃ-θ-əmʔs-əs k^wθə swəy^ʔqeʔ
 aux shoot-tr-lobj-3erg det man
 'The man shot me.'

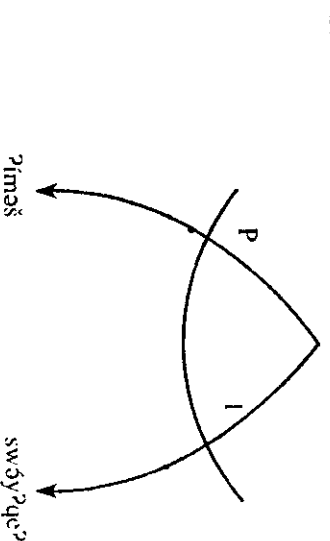


[42] a. ni q^wəɬ-ət-əm k^wθə sce:ʔan ʔax^ʔ Mary
 aux bake-tr-intr det salmon obl-det
 'The salmon was baked by Mary.'



Furthermore, [40] accounts for the impossibility of transitive marking on monoclausal intransitives (cf. [43]) and antipassives (cf. [44]).¹³

[43] a. ni ʔimaʃ k^wθə swəy^ʔqeʔ
 aux walk the man
 'The man walked.'



[47]

Cancellation	No Cancellation
No Multiattachment	Halkomelem (-am reflexive)
	Italian (<i>sé stresso</i>)
Multiattachment	Italian (<i>sr</i>)
	Halkomelem (- <i>θar</i> reflexive)
	K'ekchi (Mayan)

3.1 Multiattachment Without Cancellation: The Mayan Reflexive

In K'ekchi, as in Tzotzil (discussed in section 1.1), the reflexive clause is finally transitive as evidenced by the fact that the final 1 determines ergative agreement (=A3), as [48] exemplifies.

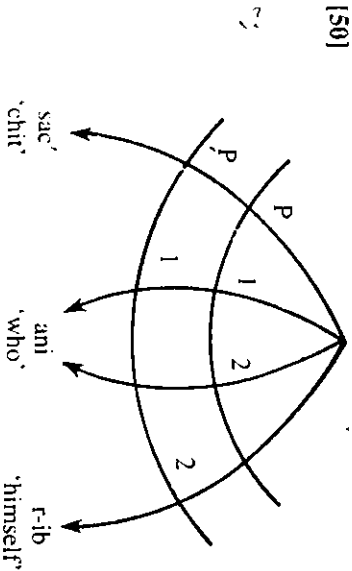
- [48] Ani x-Ø-x-sac' r-ib?
 who tns-B3-A3-hit A3-self
 'Who hit himself?'

However, as Berinstein shows, subjects in reflexive clauses exhibit one property—extraction—generally reserved for final absolutes. In non-reflexives, only the final 2 and not the final 1 can extract in a finally transitive clause, as seen in [49].¹⁴

- [49] Ani x-Ø-x-sac' ?
 who tns-B3-A3-hit
 'Who did he hit? / *Who hit him?'

In contrast, final 1s in reflexive clauses (even though they determine ergative agreement) can extract, for example, in [48]. This would follow under the analysis posited by Berinstein which involves Multiattachment (thus, the final 1 would head an Abs-arc in the initial stratum) but not Cancellation (the arc 'unattaches' through the *birth* of a nominal 2-arc, as originally suggested then rejected for Italian in Rosen 1981), as represented in [50]:

[50]



Under this analysis, K'ekchi provides the fourth type of reflexive and again, as Berinstein points out, gives evidence that Multiattachment and Cancellation are independent parameters.

3.2. The Morphology of Reflexives

This discussion has led to the conclusion that, as far as relational parameters are concerned, there are (at least) four types of reflexives in Universal Grammar. In contrast, when the form of the reflexive is considered, only two patterns exist cross-linguistically: either the reflexive is an independent pronoun or the reflexive is morphological, i.e. a verbal affix or clitic. This raises the question: Are the relational parameters in any way linked to the form of the reflexive?

Although this discussion of reflexives lacks a broad enough data base to answer this question conclusively, there nevertheless appears to be a correlation between Cancellation and the form of the reflexive. As evidenced by Italian, Albanian, and K'ekchi, the presence of an anaphoric pronoun seems to correlate with the absence of Cancellation. Furthermore, morphological reflexives seem to correlate with the presence of Cancellation, as evidenced by Italian, Albanian, and the two Halkomelem reflexives.

In contrast, Multiattachment is not correlated with the form of the reflexive, since the two Halkomelem reflexives are morphological but differ with respect to Multiattachment: conversely, both K'ekchi and Italian have constructions with anaphoric pronouns but the K'ekchi reflexive involves Multiattachment although the Italian *sé stresso* reflexive does not.

4. REFLEXIVES IN OTHER THEORIES

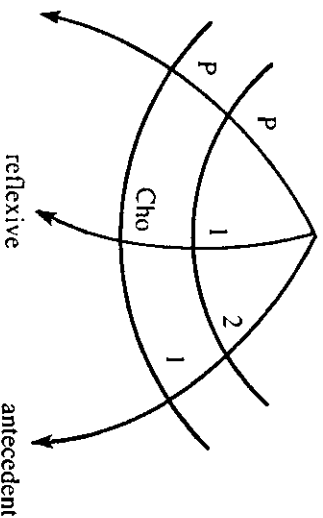
In the discussion, it was argued that the relational parameters Multiattachment and Cancellation accommodated four types of reflexives in Universal Grammar and it was posited that, although Multiattachment is independent of the form of the reflexive, Cancellation reflexives are morphological whereas non-Cancellation reflexives involve anaphoric pronouns. This section briefly discusses analyses of reflexives in two other theories from the perspective of the relational analysis of the data.

Lexical Functional Grammar easily accommodates two types of reflexives: lexical (marked morphologically and exhibiting intransitive properties) and syntactic (with an anaphoric pronoun and exhibiting transitive properties). Furthermore, the LFG account offered by Grimshaw (1982) gives an insightful account accommodating the Multiattachment and the Cancellation properties of the Romance clitic reflexives. However, it is not clear how her account could be extended to the Halkomelem -am reflexive, which is 'lexical' but lacks Multiattachment properties, or to the K'ekchi reflexive, which

is 'syntactic', but nevertheless exhibits Multiatachment properties. The data thus present a challenge to an LFG account of reflexives.

Marantz (1984), in a theory designed to incorporate grammatical relations into a transformational analysis, also falls short of accommodating four types of reflexives. Again, he basically divides reflexives into lexical and syntactic. He posits that lexical passives actually are instances of passive (with the reflexive pronoun in a deleted *by* phrase); this analysis is cast in relational terms as follows:¹⁵

[51]



Under this analysis, it is no accident that reflexives pattern like passives in many languages: thus, Multiatachment 'effects'—such as Auxiliary Selection in Italian, Neopolitan morphology in Albanian, and transitive marking in Halkomelem—*-θal* reflexives—are easily accounted for, since these phenomena also are exhibited by passives in these languages.

However, Marantz's analysis fails to account for the syntactic properties of reflexives in Halkomelem because in this language reflexives and passives are not parallel in several respects. For example, as mentioned in section 2, the *-θal* reflexive only references initial 2s, thus, possessor ascension constructions, like [52] are incompatible with *-θal* reflexives, since a non-initial 2 is referenced by the reflexive.

- [52] *ni ʔiʔi-qʷ-θ-θ-θl ʔa sʔénʔ
 aux comb-hair-tr-self det woman
 ('The woman combed her own hair.')

However, 2s in possessor ascension constructions can advance to 1 in a passive clause, as exemplified in [53]:

- [53] ni ʔiʔi-qʷ-θ-t-am ʔa-xʔ Mary kʷθa sqʷaméyʔ
 aux comb-hair-tr-int obl-det det dog
 'The dog's hair was combed by Mary.' (literally: 'The dog was hair-combed by the woman.')

The data in *[52] versus [53] shows that reflexives and passives do not share the same domain.

Reflexives and passives also differ with respect to causatives. As discussed in Gerdts (1981a), Clause Union causatives in Halkomelem require the downstairs final 1 to be the initial 1; that is, only constructions with a 'straight' 1 (the same nominal is the 1 in every strata) allow causative clause union. Thus, causatives like [54], which involve a downstairs *qnegative* clause, are possible although causatives like [55], which involve a downstairs unaccusative clause, are not.

- [54] ni can ʔiməš-stəxʷ kʷθa swəyʔqeʔ
 aux 1sub walk-cs det man
 'I made the man walk.'

- [55] *ni can qʷ-əl-stəxʷ ʔa scé:ʔtan
 aux 1sub bake-cs det salmon
 'I made the salmon bake.'

Downstairs passives, since they involve 2-1 advancement, also are banned in causatives, as *[56] shows.

- [56] *ni can qʷ-əl-θl-əm-stəxʷ kʷθa scé:ʔtan ʔa ʔa sʔénʔ
 aux 1sub bake-tr-int-cs det salmon obl det woman
 'I made the salmon be baked by the woman.'

Marantz's proposal concerning reflexives and the relational account make opposite predictions regarding causatives with downstairs reflexives. Under Marantz's analysis, since passive is involved, reflexives should be banned from causatives; under the relational account, since there is a nominal—the antecedent—which is a 1 in all strata, downstairs reflexives should be allowed in causatives. The data in [57] and [58] show that the relational account makes the correct prediction.

- [57] ni can laxʷ-əθ-əl-stəxʷ kʷθa John
 aux 1sub blanket-tr-self-cs det
 'I had John cover himself with a blanket.'

- [58] ni can lem-əθ-əl-stəxʷ kʷθa John
 aux 1sub look-tr-self-cs det
 'I had John look at himself.'

Thus, Marantz's suggestion that lexical reflexives are passives is compatible with some of the properties of Halkomelem reflexives but not with others.

5. CONCLUSION

This study has explored the relational structure of reflexives from a cross-linguistic viewpoint. I have argued that Cancellation and Multiatachment are not linked but rather independent parameters of universal grammar. Taken together, they accommodate four types of reflexives cross-linguistically. My

evidence for this hypothesis was based on the two Halkomelem reflexives; since both involve Cancellation but only one involves Multitachment, the independent status of these constructs was established.

Furthermore, I speculated on the linking of the form of a reflexive and the Cancellation parameter. Morphological reflexives—that is, reflexives that involve a verbal affix or clitic—appear to involve Cancellation (as do the two Halkomelem reflexives), although independent pronoun reflexives do not. Conversely, Multitachment is not linked to the form of the reflexive; although both of the Halkomelem reflexives are morphological, only one involves Multitachment.

That concepts available within Relational Grammar allow for the parameterization of reflexives provides support for this theory, especially since proposals regarding reflexives in other theories have been shown to be inadequate. Thus, the Halkomelem data, besides having significance to the Relational theory of reflexives, also provides a challenge to the analysis of reflexives in other frameworks.

NOTES

I would like to thank Guy Carden for his comments on the draft of this paper. Earlier versions were presented at the 1983 RG Festival, Cornell University, CLA 1983, NVSCOL 1983, and ESCOL '84; I appreciate the questions and comments I received from participants in those conferences.

1. For an introduction to the basic concepts of Relational Grammar, see Perlmutter (1980) and the papers in Perlmutter and Postal (1983).
2. A transitive stratum is one that contains both a 1-arc and a 2-arc; an intransitive stratum is one that is not transitive.
3. The Halkomelem data are from the late Arnold Guerin of the Musqueam Reserve, Vancouver, British Columbia. My work on Halkomelem has been supported by the Elizabeth and Melville Jacobs' Fund and the National Museum of Man, Ottawa. The following abbreviations are used in the glosses of the Halkomelem data:

adv	advancement suffix
aux	auxiliary
cs	causative
det	determiner
erg	ergative
intr	intransitive
l.c.	limited control suffix
lnk	linker
obj	object
obl	oblique marker
ref	reflexive
sub	subject

ssub	subordinate clause subject
tr	transitive
1	first person
2	second person
3	third person

4. Postal (1977) suggested that final intransitivity in reflexives was due to anti-passive; for arguments against this proposal, see Aissen (1982) and Gerdts (1981a).
5. Aissen concentrates on the cancellation of 2s, giving evidence from Tzotzil and Georgian, and discusses the cancellation of 2s, citing data from French, Turkish, and Dyrhbal, only briefly.

6. See Rosen (1981) for a discussion of the acceptability of downstairs *si* reflexives in Causative Clause Union.

7. This intransitive suffix also is used in main clause passives, some antipassives, and some initially unergative clauses.

8. A second difference between the two reflexives is that *-θar* reflexives refer to clausemate antecedents but *-am* reflexives may refer to the subject of the next higher clause, as seen in [30].

9. The transitive suffix *-r* regularly combines with an object suffix beginning with *-s* giving *-θ*; this is seen with the first person objective suffix in [5].

10. After the limited control suffix *-r*, the initial *-s* of the pronominal affixes is deleted.

11. I have no account to offer of the allomorphy of the limited control marker: *-nar^w* ~ *-nam* ~ *-n*.

12. This rule resembles the rule of Auxiliary Selection in Italian, given in [14], in that it is stated conjunctively.

13. I am assuming a spontaneous demotion version of antipassive; see Postal (1977) for discussion.

14. Bernstein (1984) points out that a 2-3 retreat construction is used when the notional 'subject' of a transitive is extracted; since this construction is finally intransitive, the final 1 is a final absolutive.

15. In 'deep' ergative languages, reflexives would have the form of an antipassive. However, this analysis is not tenable for Halkomelem reflexives; see Gerdts (1981a) for evidence that Halkomelem reflexives do not involve antipassive.

REFERENCES

- Aissen, J. 1982. Valence and Coreference. In *Syntax and Semantics 15: Studies in Transitivity*, P. Hopper and S. Thompson, eds. New York: Academic Press.

- Berinstein, A. 1984. *Evidence for Multiattachment in K'ekchi Mayan*. Ph.D. Diss., University of California, Los Angeles.
- Gerdis, D. 1981a. *Object and Absolutive in Halkomelem Salish*. Ph.D. Diss., University of California, San Diego.
- Gerdis, D. 1981b. Possessor Ascension and Lexical Suffixation in Halkomelem. Paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the Canadian Linguistic Association, Halifax, Nova Scotia.
- Gerdis, D. 1981c. A Syntactic Analysis of Lexical Suffixes in Halkomelem Salish. Paper presented at the Seventh Annual Meeting of the Berkeley Linguistics Society, Berkeley, California.
- Grimshaw, J. 1982. On the Lexical Representation of Romance Reflexive Clitics. In *The Mental Representation of Grammatical Relations*, J. Bresnan, ed., pp. 87-148. Cambridge: MIT Press.
- Hubbard, P. 1980. *The Syntax of the Albanian Verb Complex*. Ph.D. Diss., University of California, San Diego.
- Marantz, A. 1984. *On the Nature of Grammatical Relations*. Cambridge: MIT Press, Cambridge, Mass.
- Perlmutter, D. 1980. Relational Grammar. In *Syntax and Semantics 13: Current Approaches to Syntax*, E. Moravcsik and J. Wirth, eds., pp. 195-230. New York: Academic Press.
- Perlmutter, D. Forthcoming. Multiattachment and the Unaccusative Hypothesis: The Perfect Auxiliary in Italian.
- Perlmutter, D., and P. Postal. 1974. Lectures from the Linguistic Society of America Summer Institute, Amherst, Massachusetts.
- Perlmutter, D., and P. Postal, eds. 1983. *Studies in Relational Grammar 1*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Postal, P. 1977. Antipassive in French. *Linguisticae Investigationes* 1, 333-74.
- Rosen, C. 1981. *The Relational Structure of Reflexive Clauses: Evidence from Italian*. Ph.D. Diss., Harvard University.

INDEX

A

- Abnakew, F., 256
- Absorption, of theta-roles, 207; *see also*
Case absorption
- Adjacency requirement, for vowel deletion in Slave, 125
- Advanced Tongue Root (ATR) feature, xi, 133, 135-136
- Advancements, Ben-2 in Halkomelem, 268;
see also Passives, Unaccusatives
- Agreement, in Dogrib, xii, 149-162; in Eskimo, 210-211, 215-218; in Halkomelem, 261, 269-273; in K'ekchi (Mayan), 274; in Ojibwa, xii, 177, 192-206; 'rich' agreement, 161; in Tzotzil, 260-261
- Aissen, J., 260, 279
- Akan, 135
- Albanian, 265-267, 276; 'Neopolitan' morphology in, 266, 276
- Algonquian, xii, 231-239, 242-244, 252, 254
- Allophone, lexical, 71
- Alphabet Formation, 95
- Anaphoric pronouns, 267, 275
- Anaphors, 150; disjoint, 160; empty, 157-159; lexical, 150-151; in Ojibwa, 167-168, 173; pure, 152; reflexive-type, 152; true, 158; *see also* Reciprocals; Reflexives; Binding conditions
- Anderson, S., 3, 35, 143, 149, 154, 159, 161
- Antecedent, 259
- Antipassive, 209; in Eskimo, xii, 219-225, 227; in Halkomelem, 269, 271-272, 279; *see also* Pseudo-transitive
- Archangeli, D., 15, 34-35, 38, 52, 60, 67, 68, 70-71, 92, 94-99, 101
- Argument, 150, 156, 234; absorption, 201; dummy, 201; external, 225; externalized, 215; identified, 200, 206; internalized, 215; linking, 187-188; non-subject, 159; obligatory, 171; A-positions, 158; unidentified, 200, 206
- Argument Identification, 192-198
- Argument Structure, xii, 185-186; specification, 187
- Aronoff, M., 32, 35, 195, 208
- Aspect, 153; in Ojibwa, 184
- Aspirates, in Autosegmental Phonology, 15-30; in Dakota, xi, 3-37
- Aspiration, in Babine, 141
- Autonomous syntax, 231
- Autosegmental Phonology, 15-30, 137
- Auxiliary, in Eskimo, 216
- Auxiliary Selection, in Italian, 262-264, 276, 279
- B**
- Babine, xi, 134, 139-143; phonemic inventory, 139; vocative alternation, 140
- Bailin, A., 174, 175
- Baker Luke, 226
- Baker, M., 159, 161, 199, 208, 227