

TRANSITIVITY IN THE ORGANIZATION
OF HALKOMELEM SALISH

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ABBREVIATIONS

act	activity suffix
adv	advancement suffix
aux	auxiliary
cont	continuative
cs	causative
det	determiner
emph	emphatic pronouns
erg	ergative
fut	future
int	interrogative
intr	intransitive
lnk	linker
neg	negative
nom	nominalizer
obj	object
obl	oblique marker
pl	plural
pos	possessive affix
ser	serial
sub	subject
ssub	subordinate clause subject
tr	transitive
1	first person
2	second person
3	third person

INTRODUCTION

Halkomelem is one of the better explored Coast Salish languages; several M.A. Theses and Ph.D. Dissertations [Galloway 1977, Leslie 1979, Gerdts 1981] many articles, and a reference grammar (Suttles (to appear)) have explored various aspects of this language. That so much information is available concerning Halkomelem makes the writing of this report somewhat of a challenge, since my goal is to say something new and interesting about Halkomelem but at the same time something general enough to be understood by the larger linguistic community.

Much of my work on Halkomelem has been cast in the framework of Relational Grammar; many theoretical aspects of Halkomelem syntax were examined in my Ph.D. Dissertation (Gerdts, 1981). In this report, however, since I have a more general audience in mind, I back away from the issues and formalisms of Relational Grammar and present some aspects of Halkomelem that I consider to be essential in its clausal organization. These principles of organization, which became clear to me because of the Relational approach I was using, were nevertheless relegated to a minor role in syntactically-oriented discussions. The purpose of this report is to elucidate the principles of Halkomelem structure by pulling together the segments of the grammar that are organized by them.

Most research on Halkomelem has focussed on possible constructions. In contrast, this work discusses constructions, which given the general principles morphology and syntax of the language should be a priori possible but which nevertheless do not occur. Taken from this point of view, Halkomelem grammar clearly utilizes transitivity as a major organizational device. I show a number of constructions which have conditions placed upon them which refer to transitivity.

For example, in main clauses, subjects of transitives (i.e., ergatives) but not subjects of intransitives determine 3rd person agreement. Absolutes (i.e., objects of transitives and subjects of intransitives) are accessible to more constructions than are ergatives, e.g. One-Nominal Interpretation, Quantifier Interpretation, and Possessor Extraction. Furthermore, ergative is considered a special position in a clause as demonstrated by restrictions in terms of semantic features as to what kind of nominal can serve as an ergative.

Conditions like the above are shown to operate at the final or surface level of structure. Thus, they can be circumvented by constructions such as Antipassive or Clefting which realign the final or surface transitivity of the clause.

Intransitivity is also briefly discussed here. In particular a syntactic view of intransitivity--the Unaccusative Hypothesis--is shown to be inadequate as a means of classification. Lexico-semantic features such as State and Process are shown to play a role in the organization of intransitive verb classes.

Chapter 1 gives a summary of the basic constructions of Halkomelem. The phonology, morphology, and syntax of the Island dialect of Halkomelem is briefly introduced with a particular emphasis on the interaction of morphology and syntax.

Chapter 2 discusses Ergativity. Various phenomena which reference the Ergative/Absolutive distinction are described. Constructions which have the side-effect of realigning Ergativity in the clause are discussed.

Chapter 3 elucidates the role that Person and Animacy play in clausal organization. It is claimed that a hierarchy referencing person, animacy, and nominal type organizes clausal structure and accounts for the unacceptability of some otherwise expected clauses.

Chapter 4 shows the importance of semantics in the organization of derivational morphology. The co-occurrence of intransitive verbs with various affixes depends upon the categories Action, Process, and State.

Chapter 5, the conclusion, summarizes the results of this exploration into the organizational principles of Halkomelem clauses.

CHAPTER ONE

HALKOMELEM BASICS

Halkomelem, a Salish language, is spoken in southwestern British Columbia (from Malahat to Nanoose on Vancouver Island and from Vancouver 105 miles up the Fraser River to a point north of Yale) and in northern Washington state in the vicinity of Demming. As discussed in Elmendorf and Suttles (1960) and Gerds (1977), there are three major dialects of Halkomelem--Island, Downriver, and Upriver--which exhibit phonological and lexical differences. The data discussed here are largely from Arnold Guerin, a speaker of Island Dialect (Kuper Island) presently residing at the Musqueam Reserve in Vancouver, British Columbia.

At present only a couple hundred speakers--mostly 60 years of age or older--speak Halkomelem. There are several language projects involved in teaching Halkomelem, but nevertheless children and young adults, in general, do not speak the language.

Halkomelem shares some, but not all, of the properties discussed here with other Central Coast Salish languages--Comox (Sliammon), Sechelt, Pentlatch, Squamish, Nooksack, Straits (Northern Straits: Songish, Sooke, Saanich, Lummi; Clallam), Lushootseed, and Twana. However, this study is not intended to be comparative; thus other dialects of Halkomelem and other Salish languages are not discussed, this topic being left for future research.

1. PHONOLOGY

The consonant and vowel phonemes of Island Halkomelem are given in Table I. The symbols used here are standard for representing northwest languages with a few exceptions: / χ / rather than / χ / or / χ / is used for the uvular fricative and / θ '/ rather than / $t'\theta$ / for the glottalized dental affricate. Glottalized resonants are represented with / $ʔ$ / rather than / $'$ /.

As can be seen in Table I, Halkomelem, like other Coast Salish languages, has a distinction between velar and uvular stops and fricatives, between plain and labialized velars and uvulars, and between plain and glottalized stops and affricates. The phonemes / k / and / k' / are marginal occurring in borrowings and baby talk. The non-glottalized affricate / t^θ / has a very limited occurrence; it is basically found in determiners, such as / $t^\theta_\text{ə}$ / 'the (masculine, visible).'

	bilabial	dental	alveolar	lateral	palatal	velar	labialized velar	uvular	labialized uvular	laryngeal
voiceless stop	p	t				(k)	k ^w	q	q ^w	
glottalized stop	p'	t'				(k')	k' ^w	q'	q' ^w	ʔ
voiceless affricate		t ^θ	c		ç					
glottalized affricate		θ'	c'	ʔ'	ç'					
voiceless fricative		θ	s	ʃ	ʃ̣	x ^w	χ	χ ^w	ħ	
voiced resonants	m	n		l	y		w			
glottalized resonants	mʔ	nʔ		lʔ	yʔ		wʔ			

CONSONANTS

i u

e ə (. = length)

 a

VOWELS

TABLE I. PHONEMIC INVENTORY

2. BASIC INTRANSITIVE AND TRANSITIVE CLAUSES

The clauses in (1)-(4) are examples of basic intransitive and transitive clauses.

- (1) ni cən ?iməš
aux lsub walk

'I walked.'

- (2) ni cam kʷθə nikʷ ?ə kʷθə sment
aux go up det uncle obl det mountain

'Uncle went up into the mountains.'

- (3) ni cən ʔic'-ət kʷθə səplíl
aux lsub cut-tr det bread

'I cut the bread.'

- (4) ni q'wəl-ət-əs θə sʔeni? t^θə sce.ʔtən
aux bake-tr-3erg det woman det salmon

'The woman baked the salmon.'

As can be seen in these clauses, the word order in Halkomelem is basically VSO (verb subject object others); the verbal complex consisting of auxiliaries, subject clitics (in second position), various particles, the verb (including derivational morphology, objective suffixes, and the 3rd person agreement suffix [3erg]) precedes the other elements in the clause.

There is a basic difference between verbs in intransitive and transitive clauses; the latter require a suffix which overtly marks transitivity (cf. -t in (3) and (4)). The various transitive suffixes, their uses, and their syntactic restrictions are discussed in Chapter 4. The semantics and some of the morphological aspects of intransitive verbs are also discussed in Chapter 4. Intransitive and transitive clauses differ in another respect; while 3rd person subjects determine agreement in transitive clauses, e.g. 3erg in (4) above, they do not determine agreement in intransitive clauses, e.g. in (2) above. This difference can be captured in terms of Ergativity; 3rd person agreement and other phenomena which reference Ergativity are discussed in Chapter 2. There are some constraints on final transitivity in Halkomelem; these are discussed in Chapter 3.

As seen in the examples above, oblique nominals, e.g. the directional in (2), are preceded by the preposition ?ə, which

is the general purpose preposition in Halkomelem; in contrast, subject and object nominals are not preceded by prepositions nor do they mark case in any fashion.

3. ADVANCEMENTS TO OBJECT

In the transitive clauses above, the semantic agent is the subject while the semantic patient is the object. In clauses involving Advancements to object, a nominal which is semantically the recipient, benefactive, causal, or directional appears as the object, as exemplified in (5)-(8) respectively.

- (5) ni ʔam-əs-t-əs kʷθə swiwʔləs ʔə kʷθə pukʷ
 aux give-adv-tr-3erg det boy obl det book

'He gave the boy the book.'

- (6) ni cən ʔiləq-əfc-ət θə nə-mənʔə ʔə kʷθə qʷɬeyʔšənʔ
 aux lsub buy-adv-tr det lpos-child obl det shoe

'I bought my daughter shoes.'

- (7) ni θ'eyʔk'w-méʔ-t-əs kʷθə sqʷəméyʔ
 aux startle-adv-tr-3erg det dog

'He was startled at the dog.'

- (8) ʔi yə-ʔeʔwəʔ-n-əs-əs ɬə steniʔ
 aux ser-come-adv-tr-3erg det woman

'He's coming toward the woman.'

Gerdtz (1981) argues for an Advancement analysis: the relevant nominals are indirect objects or obliques at the initial level of structure which advance to objects at a later level; if there is an object at initial level (e.g. the patients in (5) and (6)) it is a chomeur (French for 'unemployed') at the final level of the Advancement clause--specifically an object-chomeur since its prior relation is object--and appears with the oblique preposition.

Various verbal morphology is associated with indirect object or oblique Advancement to object; this morphology is partially determined by semantics and partially by the initial intransitivity of the clause. Table II gives the Advancement marking suffixes with examples of the sort of verbs they are attached to.

(a)	ʔeʔəm	'give'	ʔam-əs-t	'give it to him/her'
	xʷayəm	'sell'	xʷayem-əs-t	'sell it to him/her'
			ʔiw-əs-t	show it to him/her'
			yəθ-əs-t	'tell him/her about it'
(b)	q'wəl-ət	'bake it'	q'wəl-ətɕ-ət	'bake it for him/her'
	θəy-t	'fix it'	θəy-ətɕ-ət	'fix it for him/her'
	ʃəlʔ-t	'write it'	ʃəlʔ-ətɕ-ət	'write it for/to him/her'
(c)	ʔciws	'tired'	ʔciws-méʔ-t	'tired of him/her'
	q'elʔ	'believe'	q'elʔ-méʔ-t	'believe him/her'
	siwəl	'sense'	siwəl-méʔ-t	'sense him/her'
	siʔsiʔ	'afraid'	siʔsiʔ-méʔ-t	'afraid of him/her'
(d)	ʔəmʔí	'come'	ʔəmʔí-n-s	'come to him/her'
	nemʔ	'go'	nəʔém-nəs	'go to him/her'

TABLE II. ADVANCEMENT SUFFIXES

In general, indirect object Advancement is marked by the verbal suffix -əs, benefactive Advancement by -ɛc, causal Advancement by -mɛʔ, and directional Advancement by -n; the directional suffix is odd in that, unlike the other suffixes it is not followed by -t (transitive) but rather what I suppose to be an -s transitive suffix.

The suffix mɛʔ can also be used in cases of benefactive Advancement, e.g. (10):

- (10) ni kwukw-mɛʔ-θ-ámʔš-əs
aux cook-adv-tr-lobj-3erg

'He cooked for me.'

Apparently, initial transitivity conditions the choice of -mɛʔ vs. -ɛc in benefactive Advancement clauses as seen by contrasting (10) and (11); the former is used in initially intransitive clauses while the latter is used in initially transitive clauses.

- (11) ni q'wəl-ɛc-θ-ámʔš-əs kwθə səplíl
aux bake-adv-tr-lobj-3erg det bread

'He baked the bread for me.'

Conditions on Advancements to object are discussed in Chapter 3.

4. PASSIVES

The Passive, as it appears in main clauses in Halkomelem, is illustrated in (12b)-(13b).

- (12) a. ni c'ew-ət-əs θə sɛniʔ t^θə swəyʔqeʔ
aux help-tr-3erg det woman det man

'The woman helped the man.'

- b. ni c'ew-ət-əm t^θə swəyʔqeʔ ʔə θə sɛniʔ
aux help-tr-intr det man obl det woman

'The man was helped by the woman.'

- (13) a. ni q'wəl-ət-əs θə sʔeni? t^θə sce.ʔtən
 aux bake-tr-3erg det woman det salmon

'The woman baked the salmon.'

- b. ni q'wəl-ət-əm ʔə θə sʔeni? t⁰ə sce.ʔtən
 aux bake-tr-intr obl det woman det salmon

'The salmon was baked by the woman.'

Verbs in Passives have several features which distinguish them from transitive clauses. First, while the (a) clauses above have a transitive suffix, the (b) clauses have a transitive suffix followed by an intransitive suffix-- əm in main clauses; Gerdts (1981) gives a rule for transitive marking which accounts for its appearance on both finally transitive and Passive clauses. Second, while the (a) clauses have agreement with the 3rd person subject [3erg], the (b) clauses lack agreement.

Gerdts (1981) presents evidence for an advancement analysis of Halkomelem Passives. At the pre-Passive level of structure, the clause is transitive; the object advances to subject, causing the pre-Passive subject to be a chomeur-- referred to here as a Passive chomeur. In Halkomelem, Passive chomeurs are marked with the oblique preposition ʔə. There are limitations on Passive chomeurs, as discussed in Chapter 3.

It is not entirely clear to me what determines word order in Passives; in some cases the final subject precedes the chomeur as in (12) but in other examples the chomeur precedes the subject as in (13). The relative status of the nominals does seem to be a factor. Thus (13) is judged to be more normal than (14) below because sʔeni? 'woman' has a higher status than sce.ʔtən 'salmon'.

- (14) ?? ni q'wəl-ət-əm t^θə sce.ʔtən ʔə θə sʔeni?
 aux bake-tr-intr det salmon obl det woman

'The salmon was baked by the woman.'

5. ANTIPASSIVES

In the section above, transitive clauses used to express the action of an 'agent' on a 'patient', such as (15a)-(17a) were presented; a second construction used to express these relations is discussed here--the Antipassive, as illustrated in (15b)-(17b).

- (15) a. ni qa?qa?-t-əs ɬə sɬeni? kʷθə qa?
 aux drink-tr-3erg det woman det water
 'The woman drank the water.'
- b. ni qa?qa? ɬə sɬeni? ?ə kʷθə qa?
 aux drink det woman obl det water
 'The woman drank the water.'
- (16) a. ni cən q'wəl-ət t^θə səplíl
 aux lsub bake-tr det bread
 'I baked the bread.'
- b. ni cən q'wəl-əm ?ə t^θə səplíl
 aux lsub bake-intr obl det bread
 'I baked the bread.'
- (17) a. ni k'wɬe-t-əs kʷθə qa?
 aux pour-tr-3erg det water
 'He poured the water.'
- b. ni k'wɬe-ls ?ə kʷθə qa?
 aux pour-act obl det water
 'He poured the water.'

In an Antipassive, there is no transitive suffix on the verb, rather there is one of several intransitive suffixes: \emptyset , -əm (intransitive) or -els (activity). The 'patient' in an Antipassive is in the oblique case. Furthermore, the 'agent', although it is a 3rd person subject does not cue verbal agreement (3erg). These properties of Antipassives follow from an analysis that posits that the Antipassive is finally intransitive. The 'patient' nominal, although it is an initial object, is demoted to object-chomeur at final level. Thus, the final structure of the clause, since it has a subject but no object, is intransitive.

Further evidence for the final intransitivity of Antipassives is given in Chapter 2. A constraint on Antipassives is discussed in Chapter 3.

6. EXTRACTIONS

This section discusses constructions involving Extraction in Halkomelem. In section 6.1., I illustrate four constructions involving Extraction--relative clauses, cleft sentences, pseudo-cleft sentences, and WH-questions. In section 6.2., I give examples of Extraction involving subjects, objects, obliques, and chomeurs.

6.1. Constructions Involving Extraction.

In relative clauses, a head (underlined) is modified by an embedded clause (in brackets), as illustrated in (18b)-(19b).

- (18) a. ni ʔiməš tə sʔeni?
 aux walk det woman
 'The woman walked.'
- b. statəl-stəx^w cən tə sʔeni? [ni ʔiməš]
 know-cs lsub det woman det walk
 'I know the woman who walked.'
- (19) a. ni t'iləm t^θə swəyʔqe?
 aux sing det man
 'The man sang.'
- b. ni cən lem-ət t^θə swəyʔqe? [ni t'iləm]
 aux lsub see-tr det man det sing
 'I saw the man who sang.'

In the above examples, the head nominal was preceded by a determiner. However, a nominal head is not necessary as seen in (20).

- (20) statəl-stəx^w-əs k^wθə [ni t'iləm]
 know-cs-3erg det aux sing
 'He knows the one who sang.'

In (20) there is simply a determiner which conveys information concerning the gender, number, and proximity of the nominal referred to.

Cleft sentences, illustrated in (21)-(22) consist of the 3rd person emphatic pronoun niʔ followed by a nominal plus relative clause construction.

- (21) niɬ t̩ s̩eniʔ [ni t'iləm]
 3emph det woman aux sing

'It's the woman who sang.'

- (22) niɬ kʷθə swəyʔqeʔ [ni qʷal]
 3emph det man aux speak

'It's the man who spoke.'

The structure I posit for cleft sentences involves the emphatic pronoun as predicate and the nominal modified by a clause as the subject.

I posit a similar structure for pseudo-cleft sentences, exemplified in (23) and (24).

- (23) s̩eniʔ t̩ [ni t'iləm]
 woman det aux sing

'The woman is the one who sang.'

- (24) swiwʔləs kʷθə [ni qʷal]
 boy det aux speak

'The boy is the one who spoke.'

The first nominal, which appears without a determiner, is the predicate, and is followed by a relative clause of the structure illustrated in (20) above.

A common construction, which I assume to be a type of pseudo-cleft, has as its predicate an emphatic pronoun which is not followed by a determiner, as seen in (25) and (26).

- (25) ʔe.nʔθə [ni t'iləm]
 1emph aux sing

'I am the one who sang.'

- (26) nəwə [ni kʷən-ət]
 2emph aux grab-tr

'You are the one who grabbed it.'

WH-questions, illustrated in (27)-(28), parallel pseudo-cleft structures.

- (27) wet k'wə [ni ?iməš]
 who det aux walk

'Who walked?'

- (28) stem k'wə [ni ləkʷ]
 what det aux break

'What broke?'

The WH-pronoun is the predicate, appearing in initial position, and is followed by a relative clause usually introduced by the hypothetical determiner k'wə.

6.2. Conditions on Extraction.

In the above examples, the extracted nominal bears the grammatical relation of subject in the embedded clause. Extraction of objects is also allowed, as (29)-(32) show.

- (29) statəl-stəxʷ č ɬə stəni? [ni ləm-ət-?é.n?]
 know-cs 2sub det woman aux look at-tr-lssub

'You know the woman that I looked at.'

- (30) niɬ kʷθə swiwʷləs [ni kʷən-ət-?é.n?]
 3emph det boy aux grab-tr-lssub

'It's the boy that I grabbed.'

- (31) sce.ɬtən kʷθə [ni q'wəl-ət-?é.n?]
 salmon det aux bake-tr-lssub

'Salmon is what I baked.'

- (32) stem k'wə [ni q'wəl-ət-əxʷ]
 what det aux bake-tr-2ssub

'What did you bake?'

However, when the nominal which is extracted bears an oblique relation in the corresponding simple clause, the type of Extractions discussed above are not possible.

- (33) a. ni ꞑic'-ət-əs ?ə kʷθə šəptən
aux cut-tr-3erg obl det knife

'He cut it with the knife.'

- b. *šəptən kʷθə [ni ꞑic'-ət-əs]
knife det aux cut-tr-3ssub

(A knife is what he cut it with.)

- (34) a. ni ꞑciws ?ə kʷθə sqʷal
aux tired obl det talk

'He's tired of the talk.'

- b. *stem k'w [ni ꞑciws]
what det aux tired

(What is he tired of?)

Thus, only subjects and objects extract in the fashion discussed above.

However, as Hukari (1977a) has pointed out, obliques can be extracted if the embedded clause is a nominalization. In (33)-(34), I give examples of plain clauses and their corresponding nominalizations.

- (35) a. ni cən q'wəqʷ-ət ?ə kʷθə ?ən?-šəpəl
aux lsub club-tr obl det 2pos-shovel

'I hit him with your shove.'

- b. ni nə - š - q'wəqʷ-ət kʷθə ?ən?-šəpəl
aux lpos-nom-club-tr det 2pos-shovel

'Your shovel was my hitting him with.'

- (36) a. yaθ ?u yə-šʷančənəm ?ə tənə? še.‡
always lnk ser-run obl det road

'He always ran on that road.'

- b. yaθ ?u š-šʷančənəm-s tená? še.‡
always lnk nom-run-3pos det road

'This road was always his running on.'

Nominalizations can stand as complete sentences, as seen above. I assume, following Hukari (1977a), that the above nominalizations are predicate nominal constructions; that is, the nominal which corresponds to the obliques in the (a) sentences is the subject in the nominalization; the subject nominal in the (a) sentences is represented as the possessor in the nominalization. Furthermore, a distinctive feature of nominalizations is the presence of a nominalizing prefix, e.g. -š- above, which is used when instruments, locatives, or other obliques are the subject of the nominalization.

Returning to Extractions, obliques may be extracted, but only if the embedded clause is a nominalization, as in (37)-(38):

- (37) ni‡ kʷθə ʔənʔ-šapəl ni nə-šʔqʷaqʷ-ət
 3emph det 2pos-shovel aux lpos-nom-club-tr

'It's you shovel that i clubbed it with.'

- (38) ni‡ tənaʔ še.‡ yaθ ʔu š-šʷančənəm-s
 3emph det road always lnk nom-run-3pos

'It's this road that he always runs on.'

Object-chomeurs are also extracted in this manner. The object-chomeurs in the Advancement constructions in (5)-(6) and the Antipassive in (15)-(17) are extracted from nominalizations, evidenced by the expression of the subjects in the (a) sentences as a possessor in the (b) sentences.

- (39) a. ni ʔam-əs-t-əs kʷθə swiwʔləs ʔə kʷθə pukʷ
 aux give-adv-tr-3erg det boy obl det book

'He gave the boy the book.'

- b. ni‡ kʷθə pukʷ ni s-ʔam-əs-t-s kʷθə swiwʔləs
 3emph det book aux nom-give-adv-tr-3pos det boy

'It's a book that he gave the boy.'

- (40) a. ni qʷəl-əm ‡ə sʔeniʔ ʔə kʷθə səplíl
 aux bake-intr det woman obl det bread

'The woman baked the bread.'

- b. səplíl kʷθə ni s-qʷəl-əm-s ‡ə sʔeniʔ
 bread det aux nom-bake-intr-3pos det woman

'Bread is what the woman baked.'

In this case the nominalizer prefix s- appears in the embedded clause.

In contrast, passive-chomeurs cannot be extracted at all.

- (41) a. ni ləm-ət-əm t^θə speʔəθ ʔə θə sɬeniʔ
 aux look at-tr-intr det bear obl det woman

'The bear was looked at by the woman.'

- b. *niɬ θə sɬeniʔ ni (s-/ʃ-) ləm-ət-əm(-s) t^θə speʔəθ
 3emph det woman aux nom look at-tr-intr-3pos det bear

(It's the woman who the bear was looked at by.)

In summary, subjects and objects are directly extracted, obliques and object-chomeurs are extracted via nominalization, and passive-chomeurs can not be extracted. Extraction of possessors is discussed in Chapter 2.

CHAPTER TWO

ERGATIVE PHENOMENA IN HALKOMELEM

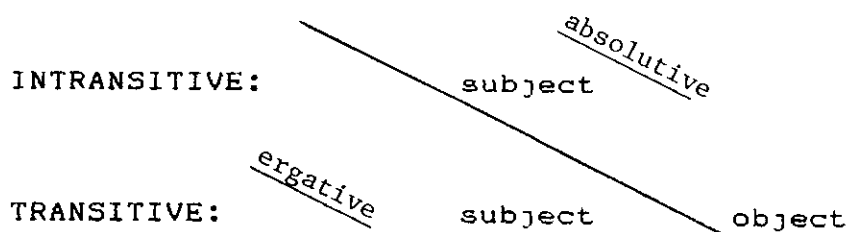
In grammars of Salish languages, the concepts subject and object have normally been considered adequate for discussing basic phenomena. However, I suggest in this chapter that the terms ergative and absolutive are also relevant to the grammar of Halkomelem. Four phenomena--3rd person agreement, one-nominal interpretation, quantifier interpretation, and possessor extraction--which make reference to the ergative/absolutive distinction are discussed here.

The following informal definitions are used in the discussion below:

- (a) Transitive: a clause with both a subject and an object.
- (b) Intransitive: a clause which is not transitive.
- (c) Ergative: the subject of a transitive clause.
- (d) Absolutive: the subject of an intransitive clause or the object of a transitive clause.

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

(1)



In Halkomelem, verbs in transitive clauses are suffixed with one of a set of transitive markers. Throughout this chapter, transitive verbs are suffixed with -t, the marker of controlled transitivity. Transitive sentences are exemplified in (2)-(4).

(2)

	<u>ergative</u>	<u>absolutive</u>
ni q'waqw-ət-əs	t ^θ ə sweyʔqeʔ	t ^θ ə sce.ʔton
aux club-tr-3erg	det man	det salmon

'The man clubbed the salmon.'

- (3) ni kʷən-ət-əs kʷθə swəyʔqeʔ kʷθə swiwʔləs
 aux grab-tr-3erg det man det boy

'The man grabbed the boy.'

- (4) ni ʔa.-t-əs ʔə sʔeniʔ kʷθə swiwʔləs
 aux call-tr-3erg det woman det boy

'The woman called the boy.'

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:

- (5) ni t'iləm kʷθə swəyʔqeʔ
 aux sing det man

'The man sang.'

- (6) ni ʔiməš ʔə sʔeniʔ
 aux walk det woman

'The woman walked.'

- (7) ni qʷal kʷθə swiwʔləs
 aux speak det boy

'The boy spoke.'

The subject nominal is the absolutive, as labelled above the nominal in (5).

1. THIRD PERSON AGREEMENT

There is an important contrast between (2)-(4) and (5)-(7) above: while the predicates in (2)-(4) are suffixed with -s, the 3rd person agreement marker, the predicates in (5)-(7) are not. This suffix also occurs when the object is pronominal, as in (8)-(9):

- (8) ni kʷən-əθ-ámʔš-əs kʷθə swəyʔqeʔ
 aux grab-tr-lobj-3erg det man

'The man grabbed me.'

- (9) ni ʔa.-tálʔxʷ-əs ʔə sʔeniʔ
 aux call-tr-lplobj det woman

'The woman called us.'

Thus, -s occurs when the 3rd person is subject of a transitive clause. Furthermore, as seen in (10)-(11), this suffix does not occur in sentences where the only 3rd person is the object.

(10) ni cən q'wəl-ət t^θə sce.ɬtən
 aux lsub bake-tr det salmon

'I baked the salmon.'

(11) ni ct k'wən-ət ɬə sɬeni?
 aux lplsub grab-tr det woman

'We grabbed the woman.'

These data concerning the occurrence of -s can be summarized as in (12):

(12) (a) 3rd person subjects of transitive determine agreement (the suffix -s).

(b) 3rd person subjects of intransitives and objects of transitives determine no agreement.

It is clear from (12) that the relevant distinction is not subject/object but rather ergative/absolutive as in (13):

(13) (a) 3rd person ergatives determine agreement.
 (b) 3rd person absolutives do not.

1.1. Split Ergativity.

In the linguistic literature, it is common to divide languages into two types: nominative/accusative and ergative. The assignment of a language to one type or the other is based on agreement and/or case marking. In nominative/accusative languages, person and case marking is determined by the distinction subject/object. Subjects of transitives and subjects of intransitives determine the same form while objects of transitives determine another. In contrast, in an ergative language, person or case distinguishes ergative/absolutive.

Some languages, referred to as split ergative, do not fall consistently into one of the two types. In split ergative languages, some agreement or case may be nominative/accusative while others may be ergative/absolutive. There are three common types of split ergative systems--based on person, clause-type, and aspect. Halkomelem, I claim, is a split ergative language: person and clause type but not aspect affect the choice of agreement types.

1.1.1 Person.

As discussed above, 3rd person agreement is determined only by ergatives. However, 1st and 2nd persons do not distinguish ergative/absolutive but rather subject/object, as seen in the following examples by contrasting the intransitive and transitive subjects in (14)-(15) and (16)-(17) respectively with the transitive objects in (8)-(9) above and (17) below:

(14) ni cən ʔiməš
aux lsub walk

'I walked.'

(15) ni č ʔəʔtən
aux 2sub eat

'You ate.'

(16) ni cən kʷən-əθ-ámə
aux lsub grab-tr-2obj

'I grabbed you.'

(17) ni č q'waqʷ-ət t^{θə} speʔəθ
aux 2sub club-tr det bear

'You clubbed the bear.'

The first and second person subjects in (14)-(17) are represented by subject clitics, regardless of the transitivity of the clause.

Thus, while 3rd person distinguishes ergative/absolutive, 1st and 2nd persons distinguish subject/object, and Halkomelem is a split ergative language with respect to pronominal forms.

1.1.2 Clause-Type.

In the data involving person marking above, all the examples were taken from main clauses where 3rd person determines ergative agreement but 1st and 2nd persons determine subject clitics/object suffixes. In subordinate clauses, however, all persons determine subject/object marking. Examples of 1st and 2nd person subordinate subject marking is given in section 1. above.

Observe the following examples; (18)-(19) involve intransitive subordinate clauses, while (20)-(21) involve transitive ones.

(18) leʔləmʔ ʔə ʧ ceʔ ʔu ʧʧenəmʔ-əs
 look(cont) int 2sub fut lnk run-3ssub

'Will you be watching when/if he runs?'

(19) leʔləmʔ ʔə ʧ ceʔ ʔu t'iləmʔ-əs
 look(cont) int 2sub fut lnk sing-3ssub

'Will you be watching when/if he sings?'

(20) leʔləmʔ ʔə ʧ ceʔ ʔu q'waqʷ-əθ-amʔʧ-əs
 look(cont) int 2sub fut lnk club-tr-lobj-3ssub

'Will you be watching when/if he clubs me?'

(21) leʔləmʔ ʔə ʧ ceʔ ʔu kʷən-əθ-amʔʧ-əs
 look (cont) int 2sub fut lnk grab-tr-lobj-3ssub

'Will you be watching when/if he grabs me?'

The 3rd person marked is s in each case. In contrast, 3rd person objects in subordinate clauses are unmarked, as seen in (22) and (23):

(22) leʔləmʔ ʔə ʧ ceʔ ʔu q'waqʷ-ət-ʔé.nʔ
 look(cont) int 2sub fut lnk club-tr-lssub

'Will you be watching when/if I club him?'

(23) leʔləmʔ cən ceʔ ʔu q'waqʷ-ət-əxʷ
 look(cont) lsub fut lnk club-tr-2ssub

'I will be watching when/if you club him.'

It is clear that, in subordinate clauses, 3rd person marking distinguishes subject/object. Thus, Halkomelem exhibits a second type of split ergativity. All subjects of subordinate clauses pattern alike regardless of person or transitivity.

1.1.3 Aspect.

In a third type of split ergativity, the choice of ergative/absolute versus subject/object is affected by aspect or tense. Halkomelem lacks this type of split. In (24)-(25), the (a) sentences are in the completive aspect while the (b) sentences are in the continuative.

(24) a. ni ʔəyʧ-t-əs ʔə sʔeniʔ t^θə sce.ʔtən
 aux eat-tr-3erg det woman det salmon

'The woman ate the salmon.'

- b. ni ʔeyʔx̣-t-əs ʔə sʔeniʔ t^θə sce.ʔtən
 aux eat(cont)-tr-3erg det woman det salmon

'The woman ate the salmon.'

- (25) a. ni ʔəʔtən ʔə sʔeniʔ
 aux eat det woman

'The woman ate.'

- b. ʔi ʔi.ʔʔtən ʔə sʔeniʔ
 aux eat(cont) det woman

'The woman is eating.'

We can conclude from such examples that aspectual distinctions have no effect on 3rd person marking since transitive clauses in both aspects (e.g. (24)) have s while intransitive clauses in both aspects (e.g. (25)) lack it.

1.1.4 Summary.

Halkomelem is thus a split ergative language with respect to person and clause type, but not aspect. Ergatives determine person marking only for 3rd person in main clauses. Subjects of all persons determine marking in subordinate clauses. Halkomelem has a very common type of ergative agreement phenomenon. In main clauses, ergatives are determine agreement while absolutes do not. Furthermore, the same agreement suffix used for the ergative agreement in main clauses is used as the subject agreement suffix in subordinate clauses, while 3rd person objects are unmarked. Third person agreement is summarized in the following chart:

(25) Third Person Marking

	-əs	∅
MAIN CLAUSES:	Ergative	Absolutive
SUBORDINATE CLAUSES:	Subject	Object

2. ONE-NOMINAL INTERPRETATION

Subject and object nominals in Halkomelem are undifferentiated by case marking, as seen in (26):

- (26) ni lem-ət-əs t^θə swəy^ʔqe^ʔ t^θə swiw^ʔlɔs
 aux look at-tr-3erg det man det boy

'The man looked at the boy.'

Since Halkomelem is a predicate initial language, the question arises: In clauses where only one nominal is expressed, is that nominal taken to be the subject or the object?

In intransitive clauses, of course, the problem does not arise; the single nominal will be taken as subject, e.g., (27):

- (27) ni ʔəɪtən k^wθə sq^wəméy^ʔ
 aux eat det dog

'The dog ate.'

But transitive clauses with a single nominal are potentially ambiguous. However, as seen in (28)-(30), a single nominal is taken to be the object--not the subject--of the transitive clause:

- (28) ni q^waq^w-ət-əs k^wθə swəy^ʔqe^ʔ
 aux club-tr-3erg det man

'He clubbed the man.'
 /*'The man clubbed him.'

- (29) ni k^wən-ət-əs ɬə sɬeni^ʔ
 aux grab-tr-3erg det woman

'He grabbed the woman.'
 /*'The woman grabbed him.'

- (30) !!ni q^wəl-ət-əs ɬə sɬeni^ʔ
 aux bake-tr-3erg det woman

!!'He baked the woman.'
 /*'The woman baked it.'

In conclusion, a condition can be placed on the interpretation of clauses:

- (31) One-nominal interpretation: In clauses without person marking other than 3rd person, a single nominal is interpreted as the absolutive--not the ergative.

3. QUANTIFIER INTERPRETATION

One way of expressing quantification in Halkomelem involves the quantifier in initial position followed by a complement clause. In the intransitive clauses in (31)-(32), since there is only a single nominal in the complement clause, the quantifier modifies it.

- (31) mək'w niw ʃwələnčənəm kʷθə sʰəl'íqəʃ
 all aux-lnk run(pl) det children

'All the children ran.'

- (32) mək'w niw ʔəitən t^θə sʰənʔéniʔ
 all aux-lnk eat det women

'All the women ate.'

In the transitive clauses in (33)-(34), however, there are two nominals in the complement clause; as seen by the glosses, the quantifier modifies the object, not the subject.

- (33) mək'w niw q'wəl-ət-əs t^θə s əl'íqəʃ kʷθə soplíl
 all aux-lnk bake-tr-3erg det children det bread

'The children baked all the bread.'

/*'All the children baked the bread.'

- (34) ni ʔəyʃ-t-əs t^θə sʰənʔéniʔ kʷθə sce.ʔtən
 aux eat-tr-3erg det women det salmon

'The women ate all the salmon.'

/*'All the women ate the salmon.'

Thus, the following generalization can be stated:

(35) Quantifier Interpretation:

A quantifier in initial position modifies the absolutive nominal--not the ergative.

4. POSSESSOR EXTRACTION

A fourth rule in Halkomelem where the ergative/absolutive distinction is relevant is Possessor Extraction. Extractions involving subjects, objects, obliques, and chomeurs were discussed in the preceding chapter. As seen in (36b)-(38b), possessors can also be extracted; Possessor Extraction, like the extraction of subjects and objects is a direct extraction in the sense that it does not require special verbal morphology--such as nominalization; however, the possessor is

represented in the embedded clause by possessive agreement on the head noun.

- (36) a. ni x̌cenəm kʷθə sqeʔəq-s ɬə sɬeni?
aux run det y.brother-3pos det woman

'The woman's younger brother ran.'

- b. ɬə sɬeni? ni x̌cenəm kʷθə sqeʔəq-s
det woman aux run det y.brother-3pos

'the woman whose younger brother ran'

- (37) a. ni t'iləm kʷθə sqeʔəq-s ɬə sɬeni?
aux sing det y.brother-3pos det woman

'The woman's younger brother sang.'

- b. ɬə sɬeni? ni t'iləm kʷθə sqeʔəq-s
det woman aux sing det y.brother-3pos

'the woman whose younger brother sang'

- (38) a. ni q'ay kʷθə nə-sqʷəméy?
aux die det lpos-dog

'My dog died.'

- b. ʔe.nʔəθə ni q'ay kʷθə nə-sqʷəməy?
lemph aux die det lpos-dog

'I'm the one whose dog died.'

Not all possessors can be extracted, however, as seen in the following examples:

- (39) a. ni q'wəl-ət-əs kʷθə sqeʔəq-s ɬə sɬeni? kʷθə sce.ɬtən
aux bake-tr-3erg det y.b.-3pos det woman det salmon

'The woman's younger brother baked the salmon.'

- b. *ɬə sɬeni? ni q'wəl-ət-əs kʷθə sqeʔəq-s kʷθə sce.ɬtən
det woman aux bake-tr-3erg det y.b.-3pos det salmon

('the woman whose younger brother baked the salmon')

- (40) a. ni q'a.y-t-əs kʷθə sqeʔəq-s ʔə sʔeni? kʷθə sqʷəméy?
 aux kill-tr-3erg det y.b.-3pos det woman det dog

'The woman's younger brother killed the dog.'

- b. *ʔə sʔeni? ni q'ay-t-əs kʷθə sqe-əq-s kʷθə sqʷəméy?
 det woman aux kill-tr-3erg det y.b.-3pos det dog

('the woman whose younger brother killed the dog')

- (41) a. ni ʔa.-θ-amʔš-əs θə ʔən -staʔləs
 aux call-tr-lobj-3erg det 2pos-spouse

'Your wife called me.'

- b. *nəwə ni ʔa.-θ-amʔš-əs θə ʔən-staʔləs
 2emph aux call-tr-iobj-3erg det 2pos-spouse

('You're the one whose wife called me.')

The crucial difference between cases where possessor extraction is possible and where it is not is the transitivity of the embedded clauses; it is intransitive in (36)-(38) but transitive in (39)-(41).

However, Possessor Extraction from transitive clauses is possible, as seen in (42)-(44) if the possessive phrase from which the possessor is extracted is the object of a transitive clause.

- (42) a. ni q'wəl-ət-əs kʷθə sce.ʔtən-s ʔə sʔeni?
 aux bake-tr-3erg det salmon-3pos det woman

'He baked the woman's salmon.'

- b. ʔə sʔeni? ni q'wəl-ət-əs kʷθə sce.ʔtən-s
 det woman aux bake-tr-3erg det salmon-3pos

'the woman whose salmon he baked'

- (43) a. ni č q'a.y-t kʷθə sqeʔəq-s ʔə sʔeni?
 aux 2sub kill-tr det y.b.-3pos det woman

'You killed the woman's younger brother.'

- b. ʔə sʔeni? ni q'a.y-t-əxʷ kʷθə sqeʔəq-s
 det woman aux kill-tr-2ssub det y.b.-3pos

'the woman whose younger brother you killed'

- (44) a. ni cən ?a.-t θə ?ən-sta?ləs
 aux lsub call-tr det 2pos-spouse
 'I called your wife.'
- b. nəwə ni ?a.-t-?e.n? θə ?ən-sta?ləs
 2emph aux call-tr-lssub det 2pos-spouse
 'You're the one whose wife I called.'

To summarize, Possessor Extraction is possible if the possessive phrases from which the possessor is extracted is a subject of an intransitive clause or the object of a transitive clause; but it is not possible if the possessive phrase is the subject of a transitive. Clearly, the relevant distinction for formulating a condition on Possessor Extraction is not subject vs. object but rather absolutive vs. ergative, as follows:

(45) Possessor Extraction:

A possessor can be extracted only if the possessive phrase from which it is extracted is an absolutive.

5. THE STATUS OF ERGATIVITY IN THE GRAMMAR

The above sections present four phenomena in Halkomelem where make use of the ergative/absolutive distinction: in main clauses, third person agreement is determined by ergatives; the rules of One-Nominal Interpretation, Quantifier Interpretation, and Possessor Extraction required conditions on absolutives.

In this section, I briefly show that these rules are determined by syntactic not semantic ergativity and that, furthermore, each of the above rules should be stated at the final level of syntax.

In the previous chapter, the Antipassive construction was exemplified; in Antipassives, such as (46), the object is demoted to chomeur; thus the final structure of an Antipassive is intransitive, hence the lack of transitive morphology.

- (46) ni q'wəl-əm tə sʔeni? ?ə k'θə sce.ʔtən
 aux bake-intr 'det woman obl det salmon
 'The woman baked the salmon.'

Since an Antipassive clause is finally intransitive, the subject of an Antipassive is an absolutive--not an ergative--in the final level of structure. Thus the subject of an Antipassive does not determine 3rd person agreement (which is limited to ergatives), as seen in (46) above.

Furthermore, the subject in an Antipassive, as a final absolutive, exhibits the phenomena discussed above. In sentences with initial quantifiers, the quantifier is interpreted as modifying the Antipassive subject, as in (47) and (48).

(47) ni mək'w ?u q'wəl-əm t^θə sʰəl'iqəʔ ?ə k'wəə səplíl
 aux all lnk bake-intr det children obl det bread

'All the children baked the bread.'
 /*'The children baked all the bread.'

(48) ni mək'w ?u ?əʔtən t^θə sʰənʔeni? ?ə k'wəə sce.ʔtən
 aux all lnk eat det women obl det salmon

'All the women baked the salmon.'
 /*'The woman baked all the salmon.'

Also a possessor can extract from a possessive phrase which is the subject of an Antipassive, as seen in (49) and (50).

(49) a. ni q'wəl-əm k'wəə sqe?əq-s ʔə sʰeni? ?ə k'wəə sce.ʔtən
 aux bake-intr det y.b.-3pos det woman obl det salmon

'The woman's younger brother baked the salmon.'

b. ʔə sʰeni? ni q'wəl-əm k'wəə sqe?əq?s ?ə k'wəə sce.ʔtən
 det woman aux bake-intr det y.b.-3pos obl det salmon

'the woman whose younger brother baked the salmon'

(50) a. ni k'wɛe-ls kʷθə nə-sqeʔəq ʔə kʷθə ti
 aux pour-act det lpos-y.b. obl det tea

'My younger brother poured the tea.'

b. ʔe.n θəʔ ni k'wɛe.lɪs kʷθə nə-sqeʔəq ʔə kʷθə ti
 lempɸ aux pour-act det lpos-y.b. obl det tea

'I'm the one whose younger brother poured the tea.'

The above data show that the rules for the above phenomena make reference to the final level of structure, since the Antipassive subject is a final--not an initial--absolute. The data also provide further evidence for the final intransitivity of Antipassive clause.

By showing the relevance to the grammar of Halkomelem of the distinction ergative vs. absolute, I have also provided, at least in part, a functional explanation of Antipassive structures. One role of the Antipassive in Halkomelem is to make the semantic 'agent' into an absolute in the syntax so that it may be accessed by rules such as Quantifier Interpretation and Possessor Extraction.

Other ergative properties (and the role which Antipassive plays with respect to them) are discussed in the following chapter.

CHAPTER THREE

A PERSON/ANIMACY HIERARCHY

It has been noted in the grammars of several languages that the person and animacy of a nominal can influence its presentation in the surface structure of the clause. For example, Southern Tiwa as discussed in Allen & Frantz (1978) shows an organization in terms of the following hierarchy:

- (1) 1st & 2nd persons
 ↓
 3rd person animate
 ↓
 3rd person inanimate

This hierarchy is manifested in the grammar according to the hierarchy of grammatical relations: subject - object. Clauses are acceptable in S. Tiwa only if the subject is equal to or superior to the object according to the hierarchy in (1). Thus, the sentences in (2)-(4) are grammatical because in each case the subject outranks or equals the object.

(2) ti-seuan-mu-ban
 1sg:3isg-man-see-pst
 'I saw the man.'

(3) men-seuan-mu-ban
 2sg:3isg-man-see-pst
 'You saw the man.'

(4) seuanide ∅-liora-mu-ban man
 3:3isg-lady-see-pst
 'The man saw the lady.'

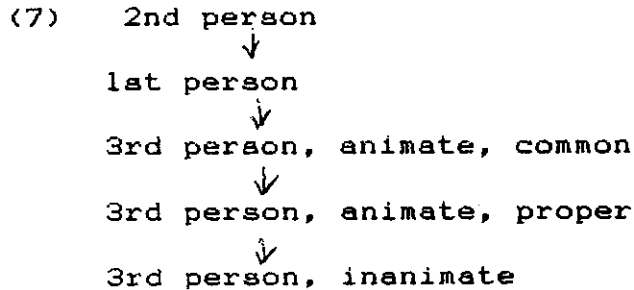
However clauses equivalent to 'The man saw me.' and 'The man saw you.' would be unacceptable because in this case the subject nominal (the third person inanimate 'man') would rank lower than the object nominal on the hierarchy in (1). In S. Tiwa, Allen and Frantz claim, these clauses would be rendered as Passives.

(5) seuanide-ba te-mu-che-ban
 man-instr 1sg-see-pass-pst
 'You were seen by the man.'

(6) seuanide-ba a-mu-che-ban
 man-instr 2sg-see-pass-pst
 'You were seen by the man.'

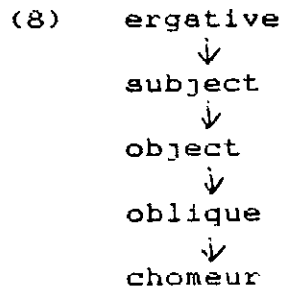
Since Passive is used as a means to circumvent the hierarchy in (1), it is clear that the hierarchy refers to final (rather than initial) grammatical relations.

In this chapter, I show that a similar hierarchy operates in Halkomelem grammar, specifically the hierarchy in (7):



Although a single construction can not be used to demonstrate the status of this hierarchy (unlike in Southern Tiwa, where the choice of active versus passive clauses demonstrates the relative status of each nominal), consideration of several clausal types leads to the above formulation.

In the following discussion, I am assuming the following hierarchy of grammatical relations:



I show that the hierarchies in (7) and (8) taken together with some constraints on Halkomelem structure account for the non-occurrence of clauses which would otherwise be predicted to be possible.

1. ADVANCEMENTS TO OBJECT

As discussed briefly in Chapter 1, Halkomelem allows several types of Advancements to object: indirect object-to-object, benefactive-to-object, causal-to-object, and directional-to-object Advancements. The latter two types of

Advancement provide evidence for the differentiation of animates from other nominals in Halkomelem.

While in principle it is possible to have a causal (the indirect cause of a state of mind or experience) as either a final oblique or a final object (in an oblique-to-object Advancement clause), in practice oblique causals tend to be inanimate while object causals tend to be animate, as seen in (9)-(12).

- (9) ni cən si?si? ?ə kʷθə tintin
 aux lsub frighten obl det bell
 'I was frightened of the bell.'
- (10) ?*ni cən si?si?-mé-t kʷθə tintin
 aux lsub frighten-adv-tr det bell
 ('I was frightened of the bell.')
- (11) ??ni cən si?si? ?ə kʷθə spəpəlqʷiθ'e?
 aux lsub frighten obl det screech owl
 ('I was frightened of the screech owl.')
- (12) ni cən si?si?-mé-t kʷθə spəpəlqʷiθ'e?
 aux lsub frighten-adv-tr det screech owl
 'I was frightened of the screech owl.'

The same generalization holds for directionals; inanimate directionals are expressed as obliques while animate directionals are expressed as objects in a directional-to-object advancement construction; the latter is signalled by the verbal suffix -n-.

- (13) ni nem? ?ə kʷθə sta?lɪ?
 aux go obl det river
 'He went to the river.'
- (14) *ni nə?em-n-əs-əs kʷθə sta?lu?
 aux go-adv-tr-3erg det river
 ('He went to the river.')

- (15) ??ni nem? ?ə^h John
 aux go obl-det
 'He went up to John.'

- (16) ni nə^həm-n-əs-əs k^wθə John
 aux go-adv-tr-3erg det
 'He went up to John.'

Assuming that objects are higher on a hierarchy of grammatical relations than obliques (including causals and directionals), then an explanation for the above distributions can be given. A nominal must be of sufficient rank before it can advance to object; Animates but not Inanimates meet this condition, therefore Animates must be of a higher rank than Inanimates.

This observation provides an explanation for why indirect object-to-object and benefactive-to-object Advancement appear to be obligatory in Halkomelem; that is, there are no clauses such as (17a) and (18a) which do not involve advancement which correspond to the object advancement clauses in (17b) and (18b).

- (17) a. *ni ?am-t-əs k^wθə sθ'am? ?ə k^wθə sq^wəméy?
 aux give-adv-tr-3erg det bone obl det dog
 ('He gave the bone to the dog.')
- b. ni ?am-əs-t-əs k^wθə sq^wəméy? ?ə k^wθə sθ'am?
 aux give-adv-tr-3erg det dog obl det bone
 'He gave the dog the bone.'
- (18) a. *ni q^wəl-t-əs k^wθə səplíl ?ə tə sθeni?
 aux bake-tr-3erg det bread obl det woman
 ('He baked the bread fore the woman.')
- b. ni q^wəl-ət̄c-t-əs t̄ə sθeni? ?ə k^wθə səplíl
 aux bake-adv-tr-3erg det woman obl det bread
 'He baked the bread for the woman.'

In the forms of (17a) and (18a) an Animate oblique nominal would occupy a lower position than would the Inanimate object nominal on the grammatical relation hierarchy in (8). If, however, the clause involves Indirect Object or Benefactive advancement, at the final level of structure the Animate object

would outrank the Inanimate chomeur on the hierarchy in (8). Thus, the Nominal hierarchy in (7) and the grammatical relation hierarchy in (8) conspire to prohibit final structures such as (17a) and (18a).

2. ANTIPASSIVES

Data from Antipassives provide a second argument for distinguishing Inanimate from Animate nominals in Halkomelem. As discussed in Chapters 1 and 2, Antipassive clauses involve intransitive verbal morphology; the notional object, if it is present, appears in the oblique case, as illustrated in (19) and (20).

- (19) ni cən q'wəl-əm ?ə kʷθə sce.ʔtən
 aux lsub bake-intr obl det salmon

'I baked the salmon.'

- (20) ni pənʔ-əm kʷθə swəyʔqeʔ ?ə kʷθə sqewθ
 aux plant-intr det man obl det potato

'The man planted the potatoes.'

In the Antipassives above (and those in Chapter 1 and 2 as well) oblique marked nominal is Inanimate. In contrast, Antipassives are not possible when an Animate nominal is involved, as seen in (22) and (24).

- (21) ni pən-ət-əs kʷθə swəyʔqeʔ ʔə sʔeniʔ
 aux plant-tr-3erg det man det woman

'The man planted (i.e., buried) the woman.'

- (22) *ni pənʔ-əm kʷθə swəyʔqeʔ ?ə ʔə sʔeniʔ
 aux plant-intr det man obl det woman

('The man buried the woman.')

- (23) ni səwʔq'-t-álʔxw-əs
 aux seek-tr-lpobj-3erg

'He looked for us.'

- (24) *ni səwʔq' ?ə-~~ʔ~~ ʔniməʔ
 aux seek obl-det lplemph

('He looked for us.')

This contrast provides evidence for distinguishing Animates from Inanimates in Halkomelem. Furthermore, such a condition

indicates that Animates are ranked higher than Inanimates. If only lower ranked--and not higher ranked--nominals are subject to demotion, then Inanimates are ranked lower than Animates since the latter but not the former can be demoted in an Antipassive.

By comparing the generalization concerning Advancement to object and Antipassive, we see that Animates--but not Inanimates--allow advancement while Inanimates--but not Animates--allow demotion. The higher ranked nominal seems to be preferring the higher grammatical relation and vice versa.

3. AN ERGATIVE CONSTRAINT

In Halkomelem, it is possible to have an inanimate nominal as final subject in an intransitive clause, for example, as in (25) and (26):

(25) ni q'wəl kʷθə sce.ɬtən
aux bake det salmon

'The salmon baked.'

(26) ni kʷəɬ kʷθə ti
aux spill det tea

'The tea spilt.'

However, an inanimate nominal cannot serve as the subject in a transitive clause, as *(27) and *(28) show.

(27) *ni q'waqʷ-ət-əs t^θə sment t^θə leʔləmʔ
aux hit-tr-3erg det rock det house

('The rock hit the house.')

(28) *ni θxə-θ-əs kʷθə spəhels
aux push-tr+lobj-3erg det wind

'The wind pushed me.'

This contrast leads to the following constraint:

(29) Intransitive nominals cannot be ergatives.

The same condition holds for Proper nouns; while Proper nouns can be subjects of intransitive clauses, e.g. (30) and (31), they do not appear as subjects in transitive clauses, e.g. (32) and (33).

- (30) ni t'iləm kwθə Arnold.
 aux sing det
 'Arnold sang.'
- (31) ni q'ay ɬə Mary
 aux die det
 'Mary died.'
- (32) *ni q'wəl-ət-əs t^θə Bob tθə sce.ɬtən
 aux bake-tr-3erg det det salmon
 ('Bob baked the salmon.')
- (33) *ni ləm-əθ-amʔs-əs ɬə Mary
 aux look at-tr-lobj-3erg det
 ('Mary looked at me.')

Thus, (29) can be expanded as follows:

- (34) Inanimate nor Animate Proper nominals cannot serve as Ergatives.

Furthermore, it can be demonstrated that (34) is a surface constraint in Halkomelem. There are several ways to circumvent constraint (34).

First, a notionally transitive clause can be presented as a Passive, as in (35)-(38); in this case the Inanimate nominal or the Animate Proper nominal is a final chomeur rather than a final ergative.

- (35) ni q'waq^w-ət-əm t^θə le?ləmʔ ʔə t^θə sment
 aux hit-tr-3erg det house obl det rock
 'The house was hit by the rock.'
- (36) ni q'wəl-ət-əm ʔəλ^ʔ Bob t^θə sce.ɬtən
 aux bake-tr-intr obl-det det salmon
 'The salmon was baked by Bob.'
- (37) ni ləm-əθ-el-əm ʔəλ^ʔ Mary
 aux look at-tr-lobj-intr obl-det
 'I was looked at by Mary.'

- (38) ni 0xə-0-el-əm ?ə kʷ0ə spəhels
 aux push-tr-lobj-intr obl det wind
 'I was pushed by the wind.'

Secondly, if the clause can be made finally intransitive by means of Antipassive (this is possible only if the object is inanimate (see section 2 above), then animate proper nominals are allowed, as in (39) and (40).

- (39) ni q'wəl-əm t^θə Bob ?ə t^θə sce.ʔtən
 aux bake-intr det obl det salmon
 'Bob baked the salmon.'
- (40) ni pən?-əm kʷ0ə Arnold ?ə kʷ0ə sqewθ
 aux plant-intr det obl det potato
 'Arnold planted the potatoes.'

Finally, the nominal can be presented as a head of a Cleft or Pseudo-Cleft, as exemplified in (41)-(44).

- (41) niʔ t^θə smənt ni q'waqʷ-ət t^θə le?ləm?
 3 emph det rock aux hit-tr det house
 'It's the rock that hit the house.'
- (42) niʔ t^θə Bob ni q'wəl-ət t^θə sce.ʔtən
 3emph det aux bake-tr det salmon
 'It's Bob who baked the salmon.'
- (43) niʔ kʷ0ə Arnold ni pən -ət kʷ0ə sqewθ
 3emph det aux plant-tr det potato
 'It's Arnold who planted potatoes.'
- (44) niʔ ʔə Mary ni ləm-əθ-am?ǂ
 3emph det aux look at-tr-lobj
 'It's Mary who looked at me.'

These data show that Constraint (34) is circumvented as long the last relation of the nominal is not an ergative; in the Cleft or Psuedo-cleft examples, although the nominal is the final ergative in the embedded clause, the last relation the nominal has in the entire sentence is head of the cleft of the psuedo-cleft. If we consider the surface relation of a nominal to be the very last relation that it holds, the nominal is a final but not a surface ergative. Thus constraint (34) can be

restated as follows:

- (45) An inanimate nominal or an animate Proper nominal cannot serve as a surface ergative.

What explanation can be offered for the reason why inanimate and animate Proper nominals cannot serve as surface ergatives while other nominals, such as the animate common nominals and the 1st and 2nd person nominals in (46)-(48) can?

- (46) ni q'wəl-ət-əs t^θ ə swəy'qe? t^θ ə sce.ɪtən
 aux bake-tr-3erg det man det salmon

'The man baked the salmon.'

- (47) ni cən q'wəl-ət t^θ ə sce.ɪtən
 aux lsub bake-tr det salmon

'I baked the salmon.'

- (48) ni č q'wəl-ət t^θ ə sce.ɪtən
 aux 2sub bake-tr det salmon

'You baked the salmon.'

If we place 3rd person proper nominals lower on the hierarchy in (7) than 3rd person common and 1st and 2nd person nominals, and, if we place ergatives higher than absolutive subjects in the hierarchy in (8), then an explanation is possible. Since ergative is the highest position on the grammatical relations hierarchy, only nominals of higher rank serve as ergatives. Inanimates and 3rd person proper nouns, because they are lower ranked nominals, cannot serve as ergatives.

4. A CHOMEUR BAN

Thus far we have seen that Inanimate nominals are distinguished from Animates and that furthermore 3rd person Proper nominals are distinguished from 3rd person common nominals as well as 1st and 2nd person nominals. In this section, it is shown that 1st and 2nd person nominals can be distinguished from all others because they cannot serve as chomeurs in Passive clauses.

As seen in (49)-(50), 3rd person common nominals can appear as chomeurs in Passives.

- (49) ni q'wəl-ət-əm ?ə ɬə sɬeni? kʷθə sce.ɬtən
 aux bake-tr-intr obl det woman det salmon

'The salmon was baked by the woman.'

- (50) ni pən-ət-əm ?ə kʷθə swəy?qe? kʷθə sqewθ
 aux plant-tr-intr obl det man det potato

'The potatoes were planted by the man.'

Examples of 3rd person Proper nominals and inanimate nominals serving as chomeurs were given in (37)-(38) above.

In contrast, 1st and 2nd person nominals cannot appear as chomeurs, as seen in *(51b)-(52b), the Passive counterparts of (51a)-(52a).

- (51) a. ni ɕən q'wəl-ət kʷθə sce.ɬtən
 aux lsub bake-tr det salmon

'I baked the salmon.'

- b. *ni q'wəl-ət-əm ?əʔ ?e.n?θə kʷθə sce.ɬtən
 aux bake-tr-intr obl-det lemph det salmon

('The salmon was baked by me.')

- (52) a. ni ɕ lem-ət ɬə sɬeni?
 aux 2sub look at-tr det woman

'You looked at the woman.'

- b. *ni ləm-ət-əm ɬə sɬeni? ?əʔ nəwə
 aux look at-tr det woman obl-det 2emph

('The woman was looked at by you.')

If we assume that 1st and 2nd persons out rank 3rd person nominals, and further, that chomeur is a low ranked position on the hierarchy of grammatical relations, then the ban on 1st and 2nd person chomeurs would follow from the strategy of keeping high ranked nominals in the higher grammatical relations.

In comparing the chomeur ban to the ergative constraint in the preceding section, it is interesting to note that three types of nominals are allowed to be ergatives: 1st persons, 2nd persons, and 3rd person common nominals. Three types of nominals are allowed as chomeurs in Passives: 3rd person common nominals, 3rd person proper nominals, and 3rd person inanimates. Notably, since 3rd person common nominals can appear as either ergatives or chomeurs, active/passive pairs,

such as (53)-(54) are possible.

- (53) ni ləm-ət-əs tə sʔeni? kʷθə swəyʔqe?
 aux look at-tr-3erg det woman det man

'The woman looked at the man.'

- (54) ni ləm-ət-əm kʷθə swəyʔqe? ?ə tə sʔeni?
 aux look at-tr-intr det man obl det woman

'The man was looked at by the woman.'

5. A TRANSITIVE CONSTRAINT

In the preceding section, 1st and 2nd person nominals were posited to be of a higher rank than 3rd person nominals. In this section, it is argued that of these two types of nominals, 2nd person outranks 1st person.

As mentioned above, only 1st, 2nd, and 3rd person common nominals can serve as subjects in a transitive clause. However, not all subject/object combinations involving these nominals are possible. It is possible to have a 1st person subject with either a 2nd person or 3rd person object, as seen in (55) and (56).

- (55) ni cən q'waqʷ-əθ-amə
 aux lsub club-tr-2obj

'I clubbed you.'

- (56) ni cən q'waqʷ-ət kʷθə Bob
 aux lsub club-tr det

'I clubbed Bob.'

It is also possible to have a 2nd person subject with either a 1st or 3rd person object, as (57) and (58) show.

- (57) ni č q'waqʷ-əθ-amʔš
 aux 2sub club-tr-1obj

'You clubbed me.'

- (58) ni č q'waqʷ-ət kʷθə Bob
 aux 2sub club-tr det

'You clubbed Bob.'

Also, it is possible to have a 3rd person subject with a 1st

person object, as shown in (59):

- (59) ni q'waq^w-əθ-am^ʔš-əs
 aux club-tr-lobj-3erg
 'He clubbed me.'

However, a transitive clause with a 3rd person subject and a 2nd person object is not permitted:

- (60) *ni ləm-əθ-amə-s ɬə sɬeni^ʔ
 aux look-at-tr-2obj-3erg det woman
 ('The woman looked at you.')

- (61) *ni q'waq^w-əθ-amə-s
 aux club-tr-2obj-3erg
 ('He clubbed you.')

- (62) *ni q'waq^w-ət-al-əs
 aux club-tr-2plobj-3erg
 ('He clubbed you pl..')

As was the case with other disallowed transitive clauses (discussed in section 3), the prohibit^{on} on 3rd person subject with 2nd person object can be circumvented by various devices. First, Passive can be used, as seen in (63) and (64).

- (63) ni q'waq^w-ət-al-əm ʔə k^wθə swəy^ʔqe^ʔ
 aux club-tr-2plobj-intr obl det man
 'You pl. were clubbed by the man.'

- (64) ni ləm-əθ-a.m ʔə ɬə sɬeni^ʔ
 aux look at-tr-2obj-intr obl det woman
 'You were looked at by the woman.'

Second, the third person nominal can serve as the head of a Cleft or a Psuedo-cleft, as in (65) and (66).

- (65) niɬ k^wθə swəy^ʔqe^ʔ ni q'waq^w-ət-alə
 3emph det man aux club-tr-2plobj
 'It's the man who clubbed you pl..'

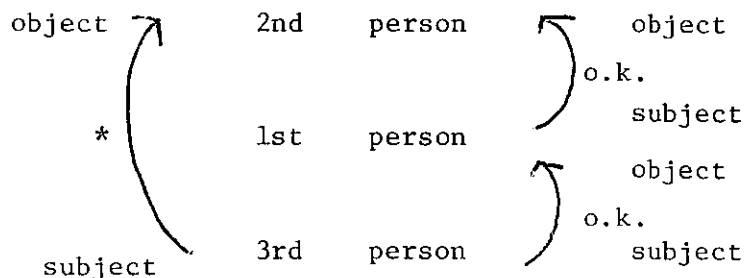
(66) niɬ ɬə sɛni? ni ləmə-əθ-amə
 3emph det woman aux look at-tr-2obj

'It's the woman who looked at you.'

The latter data shows that like the Ergative constraint stated in (45) above, the ban on third person subjects with second person objects must be stated as a surface constraint. In (65) and (66), the last grammatical relation that the 3rd person nominal has is head; thus although the nominal is a final subject (in a clause with a 2nd person object) it is not the surface subject. Thus, clauses like (65) and (66) are allowed.

A hierarchy of nominals together with the hierarchy of grammatical relations assumed can account for why transitive clauses with 1st person subject and 2nd person objects or clauses with 3rd person subject and 1st person objects are allowed while clauses with 3rd person subjects and 2nd person objects are prohibited. If we posit that 2nd person outranks 1st person in the nominal hierarchy of Halkomelem, and furthermore, that an object must not outrank its subject by more than one step on the hierarchy, then the correct pattern of transitive clauses is predicted. A transitive clause with a 3rd person subject and a 2nd person object is prohibited because 2nd persons are two steps higher in the nominal hierarchy than 3rd persons, as seen in the graphic summary in (67).

(67)



6. SUMMARY

The above sections offer an explanation for the non-occurrence of many clausal types which, given the morphological and syntactic characteristics of the language, would seem to be a priori possible. It is seen that the ergative (subject of a transitive) and accusative (object of a

transitive) positions are deemed favorable to certain nominals but not others. I have shown that the semantic features of Person, Animacy, and Proper/Common play a role in the organization of the Halkomelem clause.

I summarize the restrictions below:

- a. 1st and 2nd persons cannot be chomeurs in Passives.
- b. 3rd persons cannot be ergatives in the presence of a 2nd person object.
- c. 3rd person Proper nouns and inanimates cannot be ergatives.
- d. Animates cannot be chomeurs in Antipassives.
- e. Animates tend to advance to object but inanimates tend not to.

I have shown that the above conditions are formulated as surface conditions; e.g. the restriction against Proper noun ergatives can be circumvented in a variety of ways--via Passive, Antipassive, or Extraction--depending on other restrictions that may apply.

The restrictions play a major role in the organization of Halkomelem grammar.

CHAPTER FOUR

INTRANSITIVE VERB CLASSES

Many theories of grammar distinguish two classes of intransitive verbs --agent-oriented and patient-oriented. This distinction has played a central role in the development of Relational Grammar (Perlmutter (1980) and Perlmutter and Postal (1983a, b)) where it is claimed that the two classes of verbs, besides having different semantic structures, also have different syntactic structures. According to the Unaccusative Hypothesis (Perlmutter 1978), Unergative predicates, which denote active, volitional actions, involve only a subject nominal at the initial level of syntax while Unaccusative predicates, denoting non-volitional actions or states, involve only an object nominal at the initial level of syntax.

Furthermore, Perlmutter (1978) makes the claim that the class of verbs which are Unergative vs. Unaccusative can be universally predicted on the basis of semantics. A cross-linguistic study by Rosen (1985) has called this assumption into question, showing that there is some (although not much) disagreement among languages as to which verbs fall into each class. For example, syntactic tests show that sudare 'sweat' is initially Unergative in Italian but laksha 'sweat' is initially Unaccusative in Choctaw. Rosen also shows that, there might be differentiation within a semantic class: for example, some motion verbs in Italian (generally those expressing manner of motion) test to be Unergative while others (generally those expressing directionality or result of motion) test to be Unaccusative. Therefore, while lexical semantics may serve to suggest the class of a verb, syntactic evidence will be ultimately responsible for its class assignment.

This chapter presents evidence that the Unaccusative Hypothesis plays a role in the organization of the grammar of Halkomelem. I briefly show two constructions--Causatives and Desideratives--which are sensitive to the Unergative/Unaccusative distinction. Although many verbs fall into one class with respect to both of these constructions, other verbs are mismatched; that is, they pattern like Unergatives in Causatives but like Unaccusatives in Desideratives or vice versa. However, all of these problematic verbs would be considered to be Unaccusative on semantic grounds. Thus, there are three sub-classes of Unaccusative verbs in Halkomelem, yielding a more complicated intransitive verb system than expected.

1. CAUSATIVES AND DESIDERATIVES

Morphological Causatives are formed by the causative suffix -stəx^w as seen by in (1).

- (1) ni cən { ?əitón-əstəx^w } k^wθə swəy[?]qe[?]
 aux lsub { eat-cs det man
 ?iməš-stəx^w
 walk-cs
 ?əmət-stəx^w
 sit down-cs }

'I made the man eat/walk/sit down.'

As discussed in Gerdtz (1981), these Causatives, which may be analyzed as Clause Union Causatives, are only possible if the downstairs final subject is also the initial subject: thus while Unergative predicates can form Causatives (as seen in (1)), Unaccusative predicates, since they lack an initial subject, cannot (as seen in *(2)):

- (2) *ni cən { wəλ'éc'-stəx^w } k^wθə swəy[?]qe[?]
 aux lsub { fall-cs det man
 ?ik'^w-stəx^w
 get lost-cs
 ɬic'-stəx^w
 get cut-cs }

'I made the man fall/get lost/get cut.'

Desideratives, illustrated in (3), are formed with the suffix -?əlmən:

- (3) ?i cən { hənəm?-əl'mən?
 aux lsub { go(cnt)-want
 he.y[?]-əl'mən?
 build canoe(cnt)-want
 ?i?[?]tən?-əl'mən?
 eat(cnt)-want }

'I want to go/build a canoe/ eat.'

In general, the person doing the desiring corresponds to the initial subject of the clause; thus in the Passive in (4), the initial subject and not the final subject is the 'desirer'.

- (4) ?i c'éc'əw[?]-ət-əm?-əl'mən? ɬə steni? { ?ə-λ' John
 aux help-tr-intr-want det woman { obl-det John
 'John wants to help the woman.'
 (literally: The woman was want helped by John.)
 /*'The woman wants to be helped by John.'

Because of this condition, it is possible for Unergatives to form Desideratives, as seen in (3) above. However, Unaccusatives seem to be unable to form Desideratives, as *(5)

shows: *ʔawə cən ʔi.nʔ {papəs-ʔəlʔmənʔ
 neg ʔsub aux-ʔssub } get hit(cnt)-want
 (5) { iʔiʔəc'-ʔəlʔmənʔ
 get cut(cnt)-want
 ʔiʔ kʷ -ʔəlʔmənʔ
 get lost(cnt)-want
 } 'I don't want to get hit/get cut/get lost.'

In summary, Causatives and Desideratives provide two tests for distinguishing Unergative from Unaccusative verbs in Halkomelem. According to the evidence presented thus far, while Unergatives form both Causative and Desiderative constructions, Unaccusatives form neither.

2. VERB CLASSES IN HALKOMELEM

This section summarizes the results of a random survey of 100 intransitive verbs in Halkomelem with respect to Causatives and Desideratives. The first, noticeable result is that all the verbs which would be predicted on semantic grounds to be Unergative, since they denote willed, volitional actions or involuntary bodily processes, test to be syntactically Unergative (that is, they allow both Causatives and Desideratives); conversely, those which are suspected to be Unaccusative do not. The 42 Unergative verbs that appeared in this sample are listed in Table III; these verbs allow Causatives and Desideratives and the resulting forms usually have the predicted meanings (Causatives = 'make him V'; Desideratives = 'want to V').

ʔa:m	'call'
cam	'go up to the house', 'go in land', 'go up into the mountains'
cəmʔəm	'carry (on back or shoulders)'
cʰəm	'jump'
c'eɛəmʔ	'hear'
c'tem	'crawl'
ʔəɪtən	'eat'
ʔəmət	'sit down', 'rise out of bed'
ʔəmʔməš	'hunt'
ʔənɛx ^w	'stop'
ʔəšəl	'paddle'
ʔət'ənʔə	'carry (with arms extended)'
hesəm	'sneeze'
heθ'əm	'breathe'
heyʔ	'build a canoe'
ʔiməš	'walk'
ʔitət	'sleep'
ʔiʔwəs	'point', 'instruct'
k'wiʔ	'climb'
ɬak'w	'fly'
ɬəwʔ	'flee'
ɬxiliš	'stand'
ʰpil	'go down'
nemʔ	'go'
nəqəm	'dive down'
p'ək ^w	'come to the surface of the water'
q ^w al	'speak'
q'əp	'assemble', 'gather'
q'wəyíləš	'dance'
səw ^w q'	'seek'
siχ ^w əm	'wade'
šaq ^w əl	'go across to the other side'
taq ^w əm	'cough'
te:m	'call out', 'yell'
t'icəm	'swim'
t'iləm	'sing'
wəwáʔəs	'bark'
χəɬ	'ache'
χ ^w čənəm	'run'
yays	'work'
yeʔət	'vomit'
yənəm	'laugh'

TABLE III. UNERGATIVE VERBS

In contrast, the 22 verbs in Table IV form neither Causatives nor Desideratives, and thus test to be Unaccusatives; furthermore, they could be considered semantically Unaccusative, since they denote patient-oriented action, results, motion emphasizing the end-point, or description.

ʔik'w	'get lost'
ʔiǰ	'get scratched on surface'
ʔiyé'q	'change'
k'wan	'be born'
k'wes	'get burnt'
ʔic'	'get cut'
məs	'decrease in size'
məyaʔ	'get smaller', 'get cheaper'
pas	'get hit (by a thrown object)'
pən	'get buried'
q'wiǰ	'miss'
q'aq'iʔ	'be ill'
q'wap'	'be wrinkled'
scu'ət	'be adept, clever'
sliq'wəl	'be calm' (weather)
tecəl	'arrive here'
θ'as	'be bumped'
wəqət	'arrive after a long crossing'
x'wəniʔ	'get there'
ǰeǰ'	'be stormy'
ǰiq'	'scratch (an itch)'
yak'wəm	'smash up'

TABE IV. UNACCUSATIVE VERBS

The remaining 36 verbs, all of which could be considered to be Unaccusative on semantic grounds, divide evenly into two groups; those which allow Desideratives but not Causatives are given in Table V and those which allow Causatives but not Desideratives are given in Table VI. These two groups split semantically: the verbs in Table V denote patient-oriented action and results while the verbs in Table VI denote location and description; I use Process as a cover term for the former and State for the latter.

ʔak'w	'hang up', 'snag'
c'əq'	'be surprised', 'be astonished'
c'isəm	'grow'
hiləm	'tumble', 'topple', 'fall'
k'wəɬ	'spill'
lək'w	'break'
ɬəm'c'	'chip'
məq'	'get full of food'
q'waq'w	'get clubbed', 'get hit by something suspended'
q'wəl	'cook', 'ripen'
səq'	'tear'
θəx'w	'fade away'
θ'əlʔ	'lose everything gambling', 'be broke'
θ'əyk'w	'start', 'be startled'
wəx'əc'	'fall', 'stumble'
x'iwəl	'go upriver' (salmon)
yəq'w	'catch fire'
yəx'w	'come undone'

TABLE V. PROCESS VERBS

ʔayəm	'be slow'
ʔəya'θ	'be sharp'
həlɪ'ʔ	'be alive', 'live'
ʔilé'əq	'be aft'
ʔiyəs	'be happy'
k'we'ʔləs	'be hot'
ɬəq'w	'be wet'
x'əx'w	'be hard'
nec'	'be different, strange'
qəx	'be lots'
qi'qe'ʔ	'be soft'
q'ɬan	'be forward'
sc'əc'é'ʔ	'be on top of'
si'q	'be underneath a house, or table, etc.'
sɬel'p'	'be floppy'
sx'pal'we'ɬ	'be underneath something whose weight is bearing down'
šnə'á'θ	'across the way'
θi	'be big'

TABLE VI. STATES

If we leave aside the Unaccusative verbs in Table IV, which include Process, State, and Motion verbs, there are plausible explanations for the patterning of Causatives and Desideratives with respect to the verbs in Tables V and VI. The verbs in Table V all form Desideratives but not with the meaning that the subject 'desires' or 'wants' to do the verb; rather glosses such as 'almost', 'on the verge of', 'beginning to' or 'ready to' are supplied in every case, for example, (6) and (7).

- (6) ʔi cən ʔəyáʔθ-stəx^w
 aux lsub sharp-cs
 'I have it sharp.'
- (7) λ'əlím cən k^hwəʔləs-stəx^w
 very lsub warm-cs
 'I find it rather hot.'

Thus, the Desiderative in Halkomelem is taking on the meaning of a near or unavoidable future when it is used with a verb lacking an agent capable of 'wanting'. It makes sense that Processes rather than States should allow this meaning; Processes, since the action is spread across time, can be almost or just started, but the point of entering or leaving a State is less relevant than being in or out of it. Thus, 'to be ready to be sharp', 'to be almost different', or 'to be beginning to be aft' are in some respect contradictory--like being 'almost pregnant'.

On the other hand States are more compatible with Causatives than are Processes. The Causative forms for the verbs in Table VI are not glossed as 'make X V' but rather 'have it V', 'keep it V', and find it V', for example, (8) and (9).

- (8) ni cən tu wəʔ məq'-ʔəlmən
 aux lsub just already full-want
 'I am getting rather full.'
- (9) ʔi q^hwəq^hwəlʔ-əlʔmənʔ t^θə sθ'u.mʔ
 aux ripe(cnt)-want det berry
 'The (last of the) berries are almost ripe.'

The result of the Causative action is being stressed; States and not Processes are logical results of actions. Thus, 'find

it spill', 'keep it fade away', and 'have him astonished' seem anomalous.

3. CONCLUSION

We have seen that applying the tests for Unergative vs. Unaccusative verbs given in Section 2 to a sampling of Halkomelem intransitive verbs yields some interesting results. Unergative verbs faithfully allow both Causatives and Desideratives with the expected meanings but Unaccusative verbs allow either Causatives or Desideratives or neither but never both. Furthermore, Unaccusative Desideratives (limited to Processes) have a future rather than a desiderative meaning and Unaccusative Causatives (limited to States) have a resultative rather than a causative meaning. I have no explanation for why some Processes or States, those in Table IV, block Desideratives and Causatives altogether. I can only surmise that the use of Desiderative as a future and the use of Causative as a resultative has not yet spread to all Unaccusative verbs in Halkomelem.

CHAPTER FIVE

CONCLUSION

Halkomelem Salish, like many highly polysynthetic languages, present a unique problem to language description. Given that there are several possible paraphrases for any clause, why is one and not another chosen? The answer to this question, of course, requires a systemic look at Halkomelem texts and natural discourse to link the extra-linguistic factors to grammatical usage. Furthermore, there is a good possibility that the answers which would arise from such a study would strongly parallel results from research on other languages as their could be a strong cognitive basis for the organization of language at this level. This aspect of the problem has remained unexplored in the current work.

This work has provided a partial answer to the above question, but it has done so by formulating some language specific restrictions on Halkomelem grammatical organization. Of course, other languages exist with similar restrictions. However, there was no a priori means for predicting that the particular set of restrictions discussed here would be found in Halkomelem.

This study shows very clearly that transitivity serves as a basis of organization for Halkomelem grammar. The final transitivity of each clause is essential to its expression. The final transitivity is overtly marked in the morphology by transitive or intransitive suffixes. The ergative position (subject of a transitive) is reserved for a select group of nominals--1st person, 2nd person, 3rd person common animate (in the absence of a 2nd person object)--and the last of these cues a special ergative agreement suffix.

The absolutive (object of a transitive/subject of an intransitive) also plays a special role in Halkomelem grammar. The absolutive--but not the ergative--exhibits the following phenomena: One-Nominal Interpretation, Quantifier Interpretation, and Possessor Extraction.

Given the ban on certain types of ergatives and the special accessibility of absolutives, the function of several alternative clause types becomes clear. Antipassive serves a dual function of letting the subject by-pass ergative restrictions and access absolutive phenomena. The Passive and the Cleft both serve to by-pass ergative restrictions. Advancements to object serve to make a semantically oblique nominal absolutive accessible.

These interactions clearly show that it is the final or surface level of transitivity which is crucial to the organization of Halkomelem grammar.

Person plays a clear role in the organization of the grammar. Not only is verb agreement a split phenomena--only 3rd person ergatives cue agreement, but 1st and 2nd persons are banned a passive chomeurs. Furthermore, 1st and 2nd persons are differentiated since the former but not the latter may be an object in the presence of a 3rd person subject.

Animacy is also critical to clausal organization. Inanimates are banned from ergative position while animates are banned from demotion in an Antipassive. Furthermore, oblique animates advance to object whenever possible while inanimates do not.

Furthermore, third person nominals split into two types--common and proper. Interestingly, the latter cannot serve as ergative. Thus proper nominals in Halkomelem fall between animates and inanimates in terms of accessibility.

I have summarized the above patterns of organization in Table VII. The overall result is that there are more clausal patterns that are avoided than are allowed in Halkomelem greatly simplifying clausal organization.

PASSIVE ANTIPASSIVE

ACTIVE

subject	object	subject chomeur	by	subject	chomeur
1 / 2	1 / 2 / 3	1 / 2 / 3	1 / 2 / 3	1 / 2 / 3	1 / 2 / 3
3c / 3p / 3i	1 / 2 / 3	1 / 2 / 3		1 / 2 / 3	3c / 3p / 3i

-
- 1 = 1st person
 - 2 = 2nd person
 - 3 = 3rd person
 - 3c = 3rd person, common
 - 3p = 3rd person, proper
 - 3i = 3rd person, inanimate

TABLE VII. CLAUSE PATTERNS

Finally, I have briefly considered intransitivity in Halkomelem. In many languages it has been found that the Unaccusative Hypothesis plays a major role in organizing clausal structure (see Rosen 1985 and references therein). The Unaccusative Hypothesis posits that intransitive verbs fall into two patterns--those which subcategorize for subjects and those which subcategorize for objects. In Gerds (1981), I claimed that this difference was crucial for stating a generalization on which intransitive verbs could serve as a basis for Causatives. A second clause type--Desideratives--also appeared to reference this distinction.

However, upon closer examination of the verbs which formed Causatives and Desideratives, it was seen that more semantic based notions like Action, State, and Process affected the derivational potential of an intransitive stem.

In conclusion, the grammatical distinction of transitive/intransitive (and the ergative/absolute distinction derived from this) serves as a major factor in clausal organization. Further differentiation of types of intransitivity did not serve to organize Halkomelem clauses, though the semantic classes of intransitive verbs were seen to influence the morphological organization of the language.

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