

CAUSAL TO OBJECT ADVANCEMENT IN HALKOMELEM

Donna B. Gerdtz
University of California-San Diego

1. Causals in Halkomelem.*

In Halkomelem, a Salish language spoken in southwestern British Columbia, there are several ways of expressing psychological events. In cases involving a causal--an indirect cause of a psychological state, the nominal playing the role of causal can be expressed in two ways.¹ First, it can be an oblique in an intransitive clause, as exemplified in 1-3):

- 1) ?i cən sɪciwʔs ʔə kʷθə ni ʔəl nə syayʔəs
asp 1-sub asp-tired obl det asp pst 1-pos work
'I am tired from working.'
- 2) ni cən q'elʔ ʔə kʷθə ʃməθ'ənqinəms
asp 1-sub believe obl det lies-3-pos
'I believed his lies.'
- 3) ni cən c'əq' ʔə kʷθə scʰ'əms
asp 1-sub astonished obl det jump-3-pos
'I was astonished at his jump.'

Second, the causal can be the object of a verb suffixed with meʔ,² as exemplified in 4-6):

- 4) ni cən wəl ɪciwsmət tə John
asp 1-sub already tired-adv-tr det
'I am already tired of John.'
- 5) ni cən q'elʔméʔt kʷθə ləplít
asp 1-sub believe-adv-tr det priest
'I believed the priest.'
- 6) ni θ'əyʔk'w'méʔtəs kʷθə sqʷəméyʔ
asp startle-adv-tr-erg det dog
'The dog was startled at him.'

In 7), I have listed other verbs which can occur with the suffix meʔ. In all, there are about 30 verbs occurring with this suffix. They are of a consistent semantic class--psychological predicates.

- 7)
- | | | |
|----------|--------------|-----------------|
| ʃiʔʃéʔ | 'ashamed' | |
| hiləkʷ | 'be happy' | |
| siwəl | 'sense' | |
| siʔsiʔ | 'frightened' | |
| wistənəq | 'be jealous' | |
| c'iwəlʔ | 'be annoyed' | (Musqueam only) |
| ʔəlyə | 'dream' | (Musqueam only) |
| həʔk'w | 'remember' | (Musqueam only) |

In Halkomelem, causals as in 1-6) contrast syntactically and semantically with agents. In the transitive constructions given in 8) and 9), the agent is the direct, purposeful inducer of the psychological state and appears as subject.³

- 8) ni cən θ'áy?k' w't k^wθə sq^wəméy? ?ə k^wθə títin
 asp 1-sub startle-tr det dog obl det bell
 'I startled the dog with the bell.' (on purpose)
- 9) ni cən c'q'ət
 asp 1-sub astonish-tr
 'I astonished him.' (with my skill, etc.)

The purpose of this paper is to give an analysis for sentences like those in 4-6), where the causal is the object of a verb suffixed with me?. Making use of the concepts available in Relational Grammar,⁴ I argue that these sentences involve the advancement of an Oblique (the causal) to object (2), as represented in the sub-network in 10):



As this advancement is marked by the verbal suffix me?, I refer to these sentences as me? constructions.

To motivate an analysis involving Obl-2 advancement for me? constructions, I first give evidence for the 2-hood of the causal on the basis of Case Marking and Passive. Second, I propose an animacy constraint on causal-2 advancement in Halkomelem. Third, I argue on the basis of Nominalizations that all nominals that are semantically causals are initial Obliques.

In the second section of this paper, I discuss me? constructions in light of the Unaccusative Hypothesis, as proposed by Perlmutter (1978) and Perlmutter and Postal (to appear b). I give evidence from Causatives for initial unaccusative strata. After demonstrating that me? constructions are initially unaccusative, I show that their Passive counterparts constitute a counterexample to a law proposed as a universal by Perlmutter and Postal--the 1 Advancement Exclusiveness Law.

1.1 Arguments for the 2-hood of the Causal.

As was discussed above, the analysis I propose here for me? constructions involves the advancement of the causal to 2, as represented in the sub-network in 10) above. I give arguments for the 2-hood of the causal based on Case Marking and Passive.

1.1.1 Case Marking.

The first argument for Obl-2 advancement is based on Case Marking in Halkomelem. For nominals, two cases are distinguished: the straight case, in which the nominal is preceded only by a determiner, and the oblique case, in which the nominal is preceded by an

oblique marker and a determiner, as exemplified in 11):⁵

11)	Straight Case		Oblique Case
	lə sléni?		ʔə lə sléni?
	det lady		obl det lady

Observe the active transitive sentence in 12).

12)	ni pənətəs	lə sléni?	k ^w θə	sqéwθ
	asp plant-tr-erg	det lady	det	potato
	'The woman planted the potatoes.'			

In this sentence, both the final 1 and the final 2 are in the straight case. Final 1s in intransitive clauses are also in the straight case, as seen in 13).

13)	ni ʔíməš	lə sléni?
	asp walk	det lady
	'The woman walked.'	

In contrast, nominals bearing final Oblique relations, such as the locative in 14) and the instrument in 8) are in the oblique case:

14)	ni cám	k ^w θə	ník ^w	ʔə t ^θ ə smént
	asp go up	det	uncle	obl det mountains
	'Uncle went up into the mountains.'			

On the basis of this data, Case Marking in Halkomelem can be formulated informally as in 16):

- 16) a. Final 1s and final 2s are in the straight case.
 b. Final Obliques are in the oblique case.

Returning to the me? constructions in 4-6), the causal 1s in the straight case. This follows from Case Marking as formulated in 16) and the analysis proposed here--Obl-2 advancement.

Additional evidence for this analysis comes from the pronominal system, which distinguishes four cases--subjective, objective, oblique, and possessive. For expediency, I will limit the discussion to 1st and 2nd person singular pronouns; the forms of the pronouns for each case are given in 17).⁶

17)	subjective	objective	oblique	possessive
1st sg	cən	-θámʔš	ʔəʔ'ənθə	nə-
2nd sg	č	-θám	ʔəʔ' nəwə	ʔən-

The subjective set of pronouns are clitics and follow the first element of the clause. The objective set is suffixed to the predicate. The oblique pronouns consist of independent pronouns preceded by the oblique marker and a determiner. The possessive set are affixes.

Observe the active transitive sentence in 18):

- 18) ni č kʷənəθámʔš
 asp 2-sub grab-1-obj
 'You grabbed me.'

The final 1 is expressed by a subjective clitic and the final 2 by an objective suffix. In intransitive sentences, such as 19), the subject clitic set is used for the final 1.

- 19) ni cən ʔiməš
 asp 1-sub walk
 'I walked.'

In meʔ constructions, where the causal is a 1st or 2nd person pronoun, as in 20-21), the causal is expressed by an objective suffix.

- 20) ni hiləkʷmèʔθámʔšəs lə sléniʔ
 asp be happy-adv-1-obj-erg det lady
 'The lady was happy on account of me.'
- 21) ni cən iciwsməθámə
 asp 1-sub tired-adv-2-obj
 'I am tired of you.'

That the objective case is used for causals in meʔ constructions can be accounted for automatically in the analysis proposed here; the causal is a final 2 via Obl-2 Advancement.

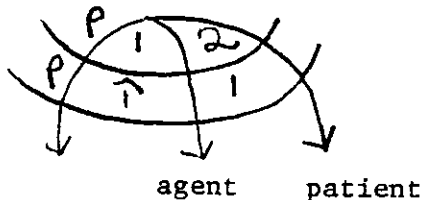
1.1.2 Passive.

Another argument for the 2-hood of the causal comes from Passive. In Halkomelem, there are Passive constructions like that given in 22b) which involve the advancement of a 2 to 1; the 2 in advancing to 1 places the initial 1 en chomage, as represented in the network in 22c). I have argued for Passive elsewhere and I am assuming it here.⁷

Contrast the active transitive clause in 22a) and the Passive clause in 22b):

- 22) a. ni pənətəs lə sléniʔ kʷθə sqéwθ
 asp plant-tr-erg det lady det potato
 'The lady planted the potatoes.'
- b. ni pənətəm kʷθə sqéwθ ʔə lə sléniʔ
 asp plant-tr-intr det potato obl det lady
 'The potatoes were planted by the lady.'

22) c.



In 22a), the 1 precedes the 2 and both are marked in the straight case. The verb is suffixed with the transitive marker -t.⁸
 In 22b), the final 1 (semantically the patient) precedes the 1 chomeur (semantically the agent). The final 1 is in the straight case while the chomeur is in the oblique case. The verb is suffixed with both the transitive marker -t and an intransitive marker, -m.⁹

Passive, as universally characterized by Perlmutter and Postal (1977), advances the 2 of a transitive stratum to 1. Passive in Halkomelem follows this characterization; only 2s advance to 1 in Passive; Obliques cannot advance directly to 1 via Passive as seen in 23) and 24).

- 23) * ni caməm t^θ ə smént ?ə k^wθə ník^w
 asp go up-intr det mountains obl det uncle
 'The mountains were gone up into by Uncle.'
 24) * ni pənətəm k^wθə šápəl k^wθə sqéwθ
 asp plant-tr-intr det shovel det potato
 'The shovel was planted potatoes with.'

In me? constructions, we find that the causal can be final 1 in a Passive construction, as exemplified in 25-27). The a) sentences are active transitive--the causal is a 2. In the b) sentences, the causal is advanced to 2 and from 2 to 1 via Passive, as represented in the sub-network given in 27c).

- 25) a. ni lciwsmətəs k^wθə swíw?ləs k^wθə sq^wəméy?
 asp tired-adv-tr-erg det boy det dog
 'The boy is tired of the dog.'
 b. ni lciwsmətəm k^wθə sq^wəméy? ?ə k^wθə swíw?ləs
 asp tired-adv-tr-intr det dog obl det boy
 literally: 'The dog was gotten tired of by the boy.'
 26) a. ni ši?šé?mé?təs t^θə swəy?qe? θə siéni?
 asp ashamed-adv-tr-erg det man det lady
 'The man as ashamed in front of the lady.'
 b. ni ši?šé?mətəm k^wθə Bob ?ə λ' John
 asp ashamed-adv-tr-intr det obl det
 literally: 'Bob was gotten ashamed in front of by John.'

- 27) a. ni si?si?mé?təs k^wθə spé?əθ
 asp frightened-adv-tr-erg det bear
 'He was frightened of the bear.'
- b. ni si?si?me?təm k^wθə spé?əθ
 asp frightened-adv-tr-intr det bear
 literally: 'The bear was frightened of.'

c.



causal

That 25-27b) are Passives can be seen by Word Order, Case Marking, and verbal morphology. The causal, immediately following the verb, is in the straight case, while the 1 chomeur, following the causal, is in the oblique case. The verbs in 25-27b) are suffixed with both the transitive marker and the intransitive marker, as was the verb in the Passive in 22b). 10

I have argued above that only 2s can advance to 1 in Passives. That the causal is final 1 in the Passive of a me? construction follows from the analysis of causal to 2 advancement posited here.

1.2 An Animacy Constraint on Causal-2 Advancement.

I have shown in 1-6) two ways of expressing a causal in Halkomelem. First, in 1-3) it is an oblique in an intransitive clause. Second, in 4-6), the causal advances to 2 and the verb is suffixed with me?. I maintain here that the distribution of these two patterns is regular and predictable.

Observe the sentences in 28) and 29).

- 28) a. ni cən c'əq' ?ə k^wθə sxt'ék'w_s
 asp 1-sub astonished obl det carving-3-pos
 'I was astonished at his carving.'
- b. ?* ni cən c'əq'mí?t k^wθə sxt'ék'w_s
 asp 1-sub astonished-adv-tr det carving-3-pos
 'I was astonished at his carving.'
- 29) a. ?? ni cən c'əq' ?ə k^wθə sq^wəméy?
 asp 1-sub astonished obl det dog
 'I was astonished at the dog.'
- b. ni cən c'əq'mí?t k^wθə sq^wəméy?
 asp 1-sub astonish-adv-tr det dog
 'I was astonished at the dog.'

In 28a) the causal is an oblique and the sentence is grammatical. However, in 28b) the causal is a 2 in a me? construction and the sentence is ungrammatical. The opposite pattern holds for 29a) and b). In 29a), the causal is an oblique; in 29b) it is a 2 in a me? construction. The latter is much preferred. This pattern is paralleled in 30) and 31):

- 35) a. ni cən pənət k^wθə sqéwθ
 asp l-sub plant-tr det potato
 'I planted the potatoes.'
- b. *ni nə špənət k^wθə sqéwθ
 asp l-pos nom-plant-tr det potato
 literally: 'My planting was the potatoes.'

As can be seen in 36-39), all causals regardless of animacy can head Nominalizations.

- 36) a. ni cən q'él? ?ə k^wθə šməθ'əndqínəms
 asp l-sub believe obl det lies-3pos
 'I believed his lies.'
- b. ni nə šq'él? k^wθə šməθ'əndqínəms
 asp l-pos nom-believe det lies-3-pos
 literally: 'My believing was his lies.'
- 37) a. ?ni cən q'él? ?ə k^wθə ləplít
 asp l-sub believe obl det priest
 'I believed the priest.'
- b. ni nə šq'él? k^wθə ləplít
 asp l-pos nom-believe det priest
 literally: 'My believing was the priest.'
- 38) a. ni cən lciws ?ə k^wθə q^wélmən
 asp l-sub tired obl det talk
 'I am tired of the talk.'
- b. ni nə šlciws k^wθə q^wélmən
 asp l-pos nom-tired det talk
 literally: 'My tiring was the talk.'
- 39) a. ??ni cən lciws ?ə λ' John
 asp l-sub tired obl det
 'I was tired of John.'
- b. ni nə šlciws tə John
 asp l-pos nom-tired det
 literally: 'My tiring was John.'

Since the relevant generalization is that only an initial Oblique can be the head of a Nominalization in which the predicate is prefixed with š-, the fact that causals can be the heads of such Nominalizations provides evidence that they are initial Obliques.

2. me? Constructions and the Unaccusative Hypothesis.

In the second portion of this paper, I discuss me? constructions in light of the Unaccusative Hypothesis, proposed by Perlmutter (1978) and Perlmutter and Postal (to appear b). According to this hypothesis, initially intransitive clauses are of two types: those whose initial stratum is unergative, which contain a 1-arc but no 2-arc, and those whose initial stratum is unaccusative, which contain a 2-arc but no 1-arc. These are represented in 40) and 41) respectively.

40) Unergative



41) Unaccusative



Perlmutter and Postal assert that initial unergativity vs. unaccusativity is largely predictable from the semantics of the clause. Verbs in unergative clauses are active, often willed and volitional actions, e.g. 'speak', 'walk', 'dance', and 'knock'. In contrast, verbs in unaccusative clauses are verbs of existing, happening, or undergoing, e.g. 'melt', 'fall', 'drown', and 'die'. This semantic contrast can be seen clearly in an intransitive verb such as 'fall' which appears in either initially unergative clauses, as in 42a), or in initially unaccusative clauses, as in 42b).

- 42) a. John fell right on cue in the third act.
b. John fell from the second-story window.

While 'fell' is a volitional act in 42a), it is not in 42b).

The unaccusative stratum in 41) is not a well-formed final stratum, as it violates the Final 1 Law (Perlmutter and Postal to appear a). Informally stated, the Final 1 Law requires every basic clause to have a final 1. Thus, in unaccusative clauses, some nominal must advance to 1.

It is possible for the initial 2 to advance to final 1, as represented in 43); this is called Unaccusative Advancement by Perlmutter and Postal.

43)



Notice that there is a crucial difference between Unaccusative Advancement and Passive, given in 44).

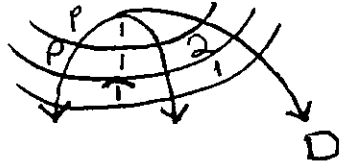
44)



Although they both involve advancements of a 2 to 1, in the case of Passive, the 2 is in a transitive stratum, while in the case of Unaccusative Advancement, the 2 is in an intransitive stratum.

Perlmutter (1978) provides syntactic evidence for unergativity versus unaccusativity from Impersonal Passives in Dutch. In an Impersonal Passive, a dummy inserted as a 2 advances to 1. Impersonal Passives of initial unergatives are possible in Dutch. Perlmutter gives examples like 45) and 46), as represented in 47).

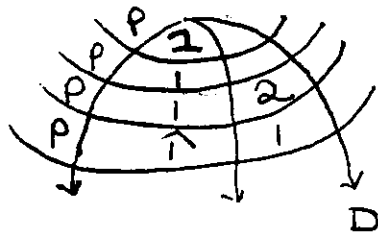
- 45) Er wordt hier veel geskied.
 'It is skied here a lot.'
 46) Er wordt hier door de jonge lui veel gedanst.
 'It is danced here a lot by the young people.'



However, Perlmutter claims that Impersonal Passives of initial unaccusatives are not possible. The ungrammatical sentences in 48) and 49) are represented by the network in 50).

- 48) *Er werd door de bloemen binnen een paar dagen verflenst.
 'The flowers had wilted in a few days.'
 49) *Er werd door het water uit de rots degrippeld.
 'The water dripped out of the rock.'

50)



Perlmutter attributes the impossibility of Impersonal Passives in the case of initial unaccusatives to the fact that they would violate the 1 Advancement Exclusiveness Law. (Perlmutter and Postal, to appear b). The 1 AEX is stated informally in 51).

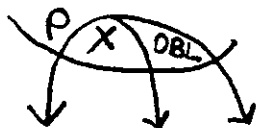
- 51) (Perlmutter 1978, p. 166) No clause can involve more than one advancement to 1.

As can be seen in the relational network in 50), Impersonal Passives of initial unaccusatives involve both Unaccusative Advancement and Passive. Hence the violation of the 1 AEX.

Thus, Perlmutter has motivated the distinction between two types of initially intransitive clauses on semantic and syntactic grounds. ¹³

In the analysis of me? constructions proposed above, the causal is an initial Oblique; me? constructions are intransitive at initial level, as seen in 52) where X represents an unknown grammatical relation.

52)



The question arises--Are me? constructions initially unergative or initially unaccusative? Here, I give two arguments, one semantic and one syntactic, for the initial unaccusativity of me? constructions.

2.1 Unaccusatives and 2s of Transitives.

It has been claimed that the assignment of initial grammatical relations is determined by the semantic role of the nominals. In 53) I have quoted Perlmutter and Postal on this subject.

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

One of the facets of the Unaccusative Hypothesis is that it would allow the butter in 54) and 55) to have the same initial grammatical relation.

- 54) The butter melted.
55) John melted the butter.

In each case the butter is semantically the patient, undergoing the act of melting. The Unaccusative Hypothesis allows the butter in 54) to be initial 2, bearing the same initial grammatical relation as the butter in 55), the 2 of a transitive.

By positing initial unaccusativity for me? constructions, a similar parallelism in semantic roles can be captured. Contrast the me? construction in 6) with the transitive sentence in 8). In the latter, the experiencer is the initial 2 in a transitive. By positing 6) as an initially unaccusative stratum, the experiencer in me? constructions is also a 2. Thus, nominals having the same semantic role with respect to the same verb would be assigned the same initial grammatical relations.

2.2 Causative Clause Union and Unaccusativity in Halkomelem.

Syntactic evidence for the initial unaccusativity of me? constructions comes from Causatives in Halkomelem. One way of forming Causatives is through Causative Clause Union. In these cases, the predicate is suffixed with the causative suffix -st. I have argued elsewhere that two constraints are placed on CCU in Halkomelem.¹⁴ First, notice the Causative in 56).

- 56) * ni q'w'élətəstəx^{wəs} lə sléni? (?ə) k^wə səplíl
asp bake-tr-cs-erg det lady obl det bread
'He had the lady bake the bread.'

The complement is a transitive clause as is seen by the transitive suffix -t following the verb root. CCU is impossible in 56), regardless of word order or case marking of the nominals. In contrast, CCU is possible if the complement clause is detransitivized by Antipassive. ¹⁵ In 57), note that the verb root is immediately followed by -m, an intransitive suffix, which in this case marks downstairs Antipassive.

- 57) ni q'wələmstəx^{wəs} ɬə sléni? ?ə k^wθə səplíl
 asp bake-intr-cs-erg det lady obl det bread
 'He made the lady bake the bread.'

On the basis of the impossibility of CCU in 62), where the complement is a final transitive, and the possibility of CCU in 63), where the complement is a final intransitive, I formulate a constraint on CCU given in 58).

- 58) CCU in Halkomelem is possible only if the complement is intransitive in the final stratum.

However, such a constraint could not account for the ungrammaticality of 64). Here, the complement is a Passive construction. Following the verb root is the transitive suffix -t and the intransitive suffix -m, which mark Passive in Halkomelem. Although the complement in 59) is intransitive via Passive, CCU is not possible.

- 59) *ni q'wələtəmstəx^{wəs} k^wθə səplíl
 asp bake-tr-intr-cs-erg det bread
 'He had the bread baked.'

On the basis of the impossibility of CCU in 59) and the possibility of CCU in 57), I formulate a constraint on CCU given in 60).

- 60) CCU in Halkomelem is possible only if the final 1 of the complement is the initial 1 of the complement.

Thus, a sentence like 59), where the initial downstairs 2 is advanced to 1 via Passive), CCU is not possible.

This constraint on CCU in Halkomelem taken together with the Unaccusative Hypothesis accounts for the contrast between 61-63), in which CCU is possible, and 64-66), in which CCU is not possible.

- 61) ni cən ?əlténəstəx^w k^wθə sq^wəméy?
 asp 1-sub eat-cs det dog
 'I let the dog eat.' / 'I fed the dog.'
- 62) ni cən ?iməštəx^w tə John
 asp 1-sub walk-cs det
 'I made John walk.'
- 63) ni cən ?əmətsθámə
 asp 1-sub sit-cs-2-obj
 'I had you sit down.'

In 61-63), the predicates would be classed on semantic grounds as unergative. In the complement, the final 1 is initial 1 and CCU is possible.

However, if the predicate would be classed on semantic grounds as unaccusative, CCU is not possible, as exemplified in 64-66).

- 64) *ni cən wəc'əλ'stəx^w k^wθə sc'ěšt
 asp 1-sub fall-cs det stick
 'I made the stick fall.'
- 65) *ni cən k^wəlstəx^w k^wθə tí
 asp 1-sub spill-cs det tea
 'I made the tea spill.'
- 66) *ni cən q^wəlstəx^w k^wθə səplíl
 asp 1-sub bake-cs det bread
 'I made the bread bake.'

By positing initially unaccusative strata for the complements in 64-66), the impossibility of CCU is accounted for by constraint 60). The complement is unaccusative; thus the nominal participating in CCU is the initial 2.

Thus, CCU in Halkomelem provides a test for distinguishing initially unaccusative from initially unergative clauses. Applying this test to the psychological predicates that appear in me? constructions, we find that CCU is not possible, as exemplified in 67-70).

- 67) *ni cən c'əq'əstəx^w tə John
 asp 1-sub astonish-cs det
 'I caused John to be astonished.'
- 68) *ni cən hílək^wstəx^w tə John
 asp 1-sub happy-cs det
 'I made John happy.'
- 69) *ni cən c'íwəl'ʔstəx^w tə John
 asp 1-sub annoy-cs det
 'I caused John to be annoyed.'
- 70) *ni cən θ'əy[?]k^wstəx^w tə John
 asp 1-sub startle-cs det
 'I caused John to be started.'

This follows automatically from constraint 60) if the initial intransitive strata in 67-70) are unaccusative.

2.3 2-1 Advancement.

I argued above that the experiencer in me? constructions is an initial 2 in an unaccusative stratum. Here, I will briefly give evidence that the initial 2 in these constructions advances to 1 via Unaccusative Advancement as represented in 71).

71)



experiencer

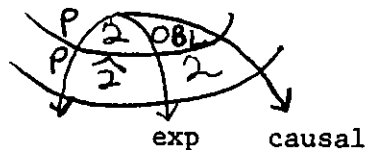
First, note that in the me? construction in 72a), the experiencer is a pronoun from the subjective set, used for final 1s. If the experiencer were a final 2, we would expect it to be in the objective set of pronouns, as given in 72b).

- 72) a. ni cən si?si?mé?t k^wθə spəpəlq^wiθə?
 asp 1-sub frighten-adv-tr det screech owl
 'I was frightened at the screech owl.'
 b. ni si?si?mè?θám?šəs k^wθə spəpəlq^wiθə?
 asp frighten-adv-1-obj-erg det screech owl
 'The screech owl was frightened at me.'

That the experiencer is in the subjective set follows from an analysis involving 2-1 advancement.

Second, it can be shown that the experiencer in me? constructions is not a final chomeur. I have argued above that the initial Oblique advances to 2 in me? constructions. If the experiencer, an initial 2, is not advanced to 1, then Obl-2 advancement would place it en chomage, resulting in the clause represented in 73).¹⁶

73)

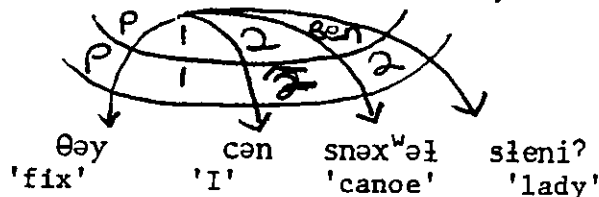


exp causal

In Halkomelem 2 chomeurs are in the oblique case, e.g. the 2 chomeur in a clause involving Ben-2 advancement as in 74), represented in the relational network in 75).¹⁷

- 74) ni cən θəyɛlcət lə sléni? ?ə k^wθə snəx^wəl
 asp 1-sub fix-ben-tr det lady obl det canoe
 'I fixed the canoe for the lady.'

75)



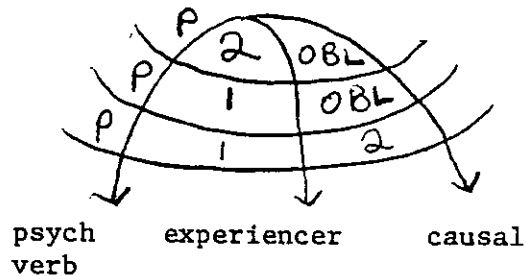
However, the experiencer is in the straight case as in 26a). Thus it is not a 2 chomeur. Since the experiencer is not a final chomeur and the causal is the final 2, the experiencer must be the final 1.

Thus, the pronominal and nominal case marking of the experiencer give evidence for the advancement of the initial 2 to 1 in me? constructions.

2.4 Summary of the Analysis of me? Constructions.

The relational network for me? constructions can now be given in 76).

76)



At initial level, the experiencer is a 2 and the causal is an Oblique; me? constructions involve both the advancement of the initial 2 to 1 and the advancement of the Oblique to 2.

At this point, I would like to summarize the evidence for this analysis.

That the causal is an initial Oblique is evidenced by:

- 1) the appearance of causals, when they are inanimate, as Obliques;
- 2) the behavior of all causals regardless of animacy as Obliques in Nominalizations.

That the causal advances to 2 in me? constructions is evidenced by:

- 1) pronominal marking from the objective set of pronouns;
- 2) the ability of the causal to advance to 1 via Passive.

That the experiencer is initial 2 is evidenced by:

- 1) the parallelism of semantic role with experiencers that are 2s in transitive strata;
- 2) the inability of experiencers to participate in CCU.

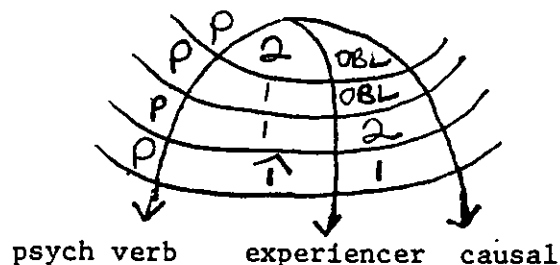
That the experiencer is final 1 is evidenced by:

- 1) pronominal marking from the subjective set of pronouns;
- 2) case marking as a term, not as a 2 chomeur.

2.5 Passives of me? Constructions and the 1 AEX.

The final point of this paper concerns the Passive of me? constructions, exemplified in 25-27b) above. In these constructions, the 2, which is the initial causal, advances to 1 via Passive, placing the 1, the experiencer, en chomage. The relational network for this construction is given in 77).

77)



Notice that in this construction there are two advancements to 1. First, the initial 2 advances to 1 via Unaccusative Advancement. Second, the 2, the initial Oblique, advances to 1 via Passive. Thus, such constructions constitute a counterexample to the 1 Advancement Exclusiveness Law, given in 51).¹⁸

Contrasting the representation of the Passives of me? constructions in 77) with the analysis of Impersonal Passives of unaccusatives proposed for Dutch by Perlmutter in 50) above, it is clear that the Halkomelem example is exactly the kind of structure that the 1 AEX is supposed to rule out. Furthermore, if the 1 AEX as a universal constraint is invalid, as the Halkomelem data suggest, then the syntactic arguments from Dutch for the Unaccusative Hypothesis must be re-examined.

3. Conclusion.

From the discussion of me? constructions, several interesting conclusions can be drawn concerning the grammar of Halkomelem. First, the nominal having the semantic role of causal is an initial Oblique. Second, the initial causal can advance to object. In this case, the verb is suffixed with the advancement marker me?. Third, causal to 2 advancement in Halkomelem is subject to an animacy constraint. Whereas inanimate causals are preferably Oblique, animate causals are preferably advanced to 2. Fourth, initially intransitive strata with psychological predicates behave as unaccusatives.

In addition, the discussion of me? constructions has led to several conclusions for universal grammar. First, there exist languages, e.g. Halkomelem, in which agent and causal differ semantically and syntactically. While agents are initial 1s, causals are initial Obliques. Second, I have argued here that the behavior of me? constructions is best analyzed as involving an initial unaccusative stratum and causal to 2 advancement. Because Passives of me? constructions are possible, they constitute a counterexample to a law proposed as a universal--the 1 Advancement Exclusiveness Law.

Footnotes.

*These data on Halkomelem are from Mr. Arnold Guerin, Musqueam Reserve, Vancouver, B.C. I thank him for his patience in working with me on this construction. I would also like to thank Wayne Suttles for discussing this data with me and Margaret Langdon and David Perlmutter for commenting on the present analysis.

Any errors in data or analysis are my own responsibility.

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These abbreviations are used in the glosses of the Halkomelem:

adv	marker of causal-2 advancement
asp	aspect (locative and temporal)
cs	causative
det	determiner
erg	ergative
intr	intransitive
nom	nominalizer
obj	objective pronominal suffixes
obl	oblique marker
pos	possessive pronominal affixes
sub	subjective pronominal clitics
tr	transitive
1	1st person
2	2nd person
3	3rd person

1. The term 'causal' as used here originates with the work of Eduardo Raposo on Portuguese Causatives.

2. Data from two dialects of Halkomelem are given here: in the Cowichan dialect, the causal to object advancement marker is me?, in the Musqueam dialect, this marker is mi?, and in either dialect, the stressed form alternates with an unstressed variant me.

3. In the examples in 8) and 9), the agent is the purposeful inducer of the psychological state. This does not imply that all agents are performing purposeful actions. Observe the following sentences:

- 1) ni cən siwəlnəx^w
asp 1-sub sense-tr
'I happened to make him sense me.'
- ii) ni cən siwəlt
asp 1-sub sense-tr
'I got his attention.'

I would claim that in both sentences, 'I' is the agent semantically and the initial 1 syntactically. In the former sentence, the action is accidental as marked by the transitive -n; in the latter sentence, the action is purposeful as marked by the transitive -t. In both, the action is directed by the agent toward the experiencer.

4. For precise definitions of the terms and for explanation of the networks used in Relational Grammar, cf. Perlmutter and Postal 1977 and Perlmutter to appear. Briefly, 1 is subject, 2 is direct object, 3 is indirect object, 1 is 1 chomeur, and 2 is 2 chomeur. Oblique relations are locative, instrumental, benefactive, etc. In an advancement, a nominal assumes a grammatical relation that is higher on the relational hierarchy:

1 2 3 Obl.

5. The determiners used in these data are:

t ^θ	plain visible definite
k ^w θ	plain invisible definite
θ	feminine visible definite
ɪθ	feminine invisible definite

In the oblique case, the determiner λ is always used before pronouns and proper nouns.

6. Halkomelem is a split ergative language. For 1st and 2nd persons, subject and object are marked. For 3rd persons, ergatives are marked but absolutes are generally unmarked.

7. Cf. Gerdts 1979c.

8. The suffix -t can only appear in clauses that have a transitive stratum.

The suffix -m, sometimes referred to as the marker of middle voice, can only appear in final intransitive clauses.

9. Thus, in passives in Halkomelem, both the initial transitive stratum and the final intransitive stratum are marked.

10. Transitive marking, which occurs only on clauses with a transitive stratum, gives evidence against an analysis in which the Oblique advances directly to 1. In such an analysis, there would be no transitive stratum.

11. Other advancements in Halkomelem are governed by animacy constraints, e.g. 3s and benefactives are always animate in Halkomelem and they obligatorily advance to 2. Cf. Gerdts 1979a.

12. Nominalizations of this type are used in Relativization, Focus, and Clefting of Obliques. They can also be independent sentences, as the examples in 33-39b). I do not argue for the structure of sentences like 33b) here. They appear to be predicate nominative constructions with the possessed nominalized predicate as complement and the oblique nominal as subject. In the absence of evidence for this analysis at present, I am idiosyncratically using the term 'head' to refer to the oblique nominals.

13. For further research on the Unaccusative Hypothesis, cf. Hubbard 1979, Perlmutter in preparation, Postal to appear, Rosen in preparation, and Williamson 1979.

14. Cf. Gerdts 1979b and 1980.

15. Cf. Gerdts 1980.

16. I am assuming here the Stratal Uniqueness Law; cf. Perlmutter and Postal to appear a.

17. For analysis and arguments for Ben-2 advancement in Halkomelem, cf. Gerdts 1979a.

18. Notice that Passives of me? constructions also violate various alternative formulations of the 1 AEX, e.g. the 1-Advancee Preservation Law (Wachtel 1979).

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