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THE MODALIS CASE IN IÑUPIAT

Wolf Seiler

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0. Eskimo has a set of six post-positions which traditionally have been called a "case system" by Eskimologists. It is my purpose to demonstrate the uses of one of these, the modalis case, and to interpret them within the framework of Relational Grammar.¹ Before doing so, however, I devote the remainder of this section to a brief explication of how certain grammatical relations are indicated in Eskimo clauses.

Relational Grammar (RG) claims that there exists a fixed, universal set of 'pure' primitive grammatical relations (GR) between a verb and its nominal dependents, such as Subject-of (1), Direct-Object of (2), and Indirect-Object-of (3); nominals which have these relationships to the verb are called terms. It claims furthermore that there exists a set of 'impure' GR's, such as Instrument, Locative, Temporal, etc.; nominals which have these impure relationships to the verb are called non-terms (NT). Unlike the 'pure' GR's, these relations have independent semantic content.

The notion of termhood will become clearer through the following examples of Eskimo sentences; note that the GR's of nominals have been indicated below them:²

- (1) Anuti-m umiaq qiñig-aa tirraḡ-mi.
man-E boat see-3:3 beach-at³
1 2 V LOC
The man sees the boat at the beach.

- (2) Anun savak-tuq tirrag-mi.
 man work-3 beach-at
1 V LOC
The man works at the beach.

These examples exemplify a fact of Eskimo grammar: the predicate and its 'nuclear' terms (1 and 2) are positioned in a basic word order 1 2 V. All other dependents seem to be less rigidly ordered, i.e. their appearance seems to be allowed anywhere in the sentence, so long as they do not break up lower level constituents.

Eskimo is an ergative language with respect to the marking of terms. An ergative is the 1 of a verb that governs the GR's of 1 and 2. In Eskimo, unpossessed ergatives in singular are marked with -m~-(n)um (This suffix is glossed 'E' and will be referred to as 'ergative case.'). Ergatives in dual and plural are unmarked. Absolutes (2's, and 1's of verbs without 2's) are unmarked also.

Verb inflection is not characterized as ergative. The verb agrees in number and person with its subject in intransitive sentences; in transitive sentences the verb agrees with both subject and direct object, as marked by a portmanteau suffix which simultaneously indicates person and number of both 1 and 2.

1. Basic uses of the modalis case.

1.1 Instrumental. All clear cases of Instrument are marked with the modalis case:

- (3) I|aalugru-ich akutuq nigl-gaat aluuta-mik.
 child-pl Eskimo-ice cream eat-3:3 spoon-mod:sg
1 2 V INSTR
The children eat Eskimo ice cream with a spoon.

- (4) Qaḡrupia-mik Uularaḡaura-m Saityak siḡ-niḡ-aa.
 bow+arrow-mod:sg U.-E S. shot-rs-3:3
 INSTR 1 2 V
Uularaḡauraq shot Saityak with bow and arrow.

1.2 Topical. Verbs of communication that translate 'speak', 'sing', 'preach', and even 'hear' and 'think' occur with non-terms which I will call their Topic. This Topic is marked with the modalis case, whether an indirect object is specified, as in (5), or not, as in (6).⁴

- (5) John uqaq-tuq Mary-mik Bill-mun.
 J. talk-3 M.-mod:sg B.-to
John talks to Bill about Mary.

- (6) John uqaq-tuq Mary-mik.
John talks about Mary.

2. The extended use of the modalis.

In the previous section, what could be called semantic functions of the modalis case were demonstrated. However, the Eskimo post-positions also have purely syntactic functions. The syntactic function of the modalis will be discussed in this section. But first it is necessary to introduce an important concept of RG: the chômeur. In Relational Grammar, a clause (at any given level) consists basically of a predicate and a number of dependents. Each of these bears a grammatical relation (GR) to the governing verb. We need to distinguish initial GR's and final GR's which correspond roughly to relations in underlying structure and surface structure, respectively, in transformational grammar. Let us again consider a basic transitive sentence in Eskimo:

- (7) Mary-m John qiñig-aa.
M.-E J. see-3:3
1 2 V
Mary sees John.

It is possible to change the relations of this sentence by 2 - 1 "advancement" to give (8):

- (8) John qiñi-kkau-ruq Mary-miñ_s
J. see-psv-3 M.-from
1 V 1
John was seen by Mary.

In (8) the initial 2 has been advanced to assume the GR of 1; at the same time the initial 1 was demoted according to the Relational Annihilation Law (RAL) to assume the special GR of Subject-Chômeur (1). In other words, a chômeur is a nominal that has had its termhood usurped by another nominal.

Within RG, linear order is introduced after all GR's are determined. As is seen in (8), 1's follow the verb.

The same advancement evident in (8) can take place in ditransitive clauses; compare (10), in which the initial 2 'monies' is final 1, with (9), in which the initial 1 is final 1:

- (9) Mari-m mani-ich pangaliq-mun qaitch-ai.
Mary-E money-pl P.-to give-3:3pl
Mary gave the monies to Pangalik.

- (10) Mani-ich Paḡaliḡ-mun qaitchi-kkau-rut Maḡi-miñ.
 money-pl P.-to give-psv-3pl Mary-from
The monies were given by Mary to Paḡalik.

2.1 Indirect object advancement. Another paraphrase for (9) is seen in (11):

- (11) Maḡi-m Paḡalik maḡiḡ-ñik qaitchu-uti-gaa.
 Mary-E P. money-mod:pl give-ben-3:3
Mary gave Paḡalik (the) monies.

In (11), Paḡalik, the initial 3, is final 2, as evidenced by verb agreement and lack of case marking on Paḡalik as absolutive. As further evidence, observe that as a 2, Paḡalik is eligible for advancement to 1, i.e. can be subject of (12), the passive counterpart to (11):

- (12) Paḡalik maḡiḡ-ñik qaitchu-uti-kkau-ruḡ Maḡi-miñ.
 P. money-mod:pl give-ben-psv-3 Mary-from
Paḡalik was given (the) monies by Mary.

The morpheme -uti, glossed 'ben(efactive)', functions here to register the advancement of a 3 to 2.

Observe that in (11) and (12) the initial 2 *monies* is, by the RAL, a final 2, having been put "en chômage" as a result of advancement of the 3 to 2. And in both of these sentences, *monies* is marked with the modalis case. It is the major claim of this paper that direct object chômeurs (2's) are marked by the modalis case in Iñupiat. Subsequent sections present additional evidence for this claim, which I will refer to as the object-chômeur hypothesis (OCH).

2.2 Benefactee advancement. Most activity verbs which do not take an initial 3 can optionally occur with a Benefactee (Ben) marked by the same suffix ("terminalis") as 3's. Consider the following examples:

- (13) Siḡupsira-m taiyuaḡ Paḡaliḡ-mun mumik-kaa.
 S.-E verse P.-for translate-3:3
1 2 3 V
Siḡupsiraḡ translates a verse for Paḡalik.
- (14) Siḡupsira-m Paḡalik mumi-uti-gaa taiyua-mik.
 S.-E P. translate-ben-3:3 verse-mod:sg
1 2 V 2
Siḡupsiraḡ translates a verse for Paḡalik.

- (14a) Siqupsira-m qitunga-ich mumi-uti-gai taiyua-mik.
 S.-E child-pl translate-ben-3:3pl verse-mod:sg
Siqupsiraq translates a verse for the children.
- (15) Anausu-um Miiyuk killaiya-uti-gaa atigi-mik.
 A.-E M. sew-ben-3:3 parka-mod:sg
Anausuk sews a parka for Miiyuk.

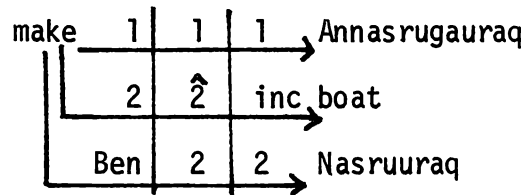
Comparing (14) to (13), we see that the Ben *Pangalik* of (13) is the final 2 of (14), as evidenced by word order, lack of case suffix on *Pangalik*, and verb agreement (cf.(14a)). Here again we see that the verb is marked with suffix -uti. We can account for this nicely if we say that Ben's are obligatorily advanced to 3's in Ifupiat; then we need only say that -uti marks advancement of 3 to 2. Observe that the statement about obligatory advancement of Ben to 3 also accounts for the fact that Ben's in a sentence such as (13) are marked with the same suffix as 3's. But more important, the fact that in (14) and (15) the initial Ben is final 2 requires, by the RAL, that the initial 2 be a final *chômeur*. And we see that in (14) and (15) the initial 2 is marked with the modalis case, as predicted by the OCH. (For these benefactive sentences, the advanced form is by far the most common, that is, it is possible to use (13), but (14) is much preferred.) Consider also (16) - (18):

- (16) Annasrugauraq umia-yyi-ruq.
 A. boat-make-3
Annasrugauraq builds a boat.
- (17) Annasrugaura-m Nasruuraq umia-yyi-gaa.
 A.-E N. boat-make-3:3
Annasrugauraq builds a boat for Nasruuraq.
- (18) Annasrugaura-m Nasruuraq anj-rau-mik umia-yyi-gaa.
 A.-E N. big-atv-mod:sg boat-make-3:3
Annasrugauraq builds a big boat for Nasruuraq.

In (17) and (18) *Nasruuraq* has become a 2 by Ben -2 advancement and *boat* has been incorporated. Observe that in (18) the remainder of the initial 2, an attributive, is marked with the modalis case. This again is as predicted by the Object *Chômeur* Hypothesis. (The verb suffix -uti is not used when the initial 2 is noun-incorporated.) In sentences which noun-incorporate from the initial 2, the advancement of the initial Ben is preferred, as in (17) and (18).

In the subsequent discussion, I will use relational networks to illustrate the grammatical relations involved in a given sentence.

As I have said, in RG nominals are said to have particular relationships to the verb (e.g. Subject-of, Object-of). Therefore, I will indicate the relationships of nominals to the governing verb with labelled arrows pointing to the dependent. The relational 'strata', which are the RG analogue of derivational steps, are separated in my network by vertical lines. The following relational network shows the relationships of (17):



2.3 Comitative advancement. Consider the following examples:

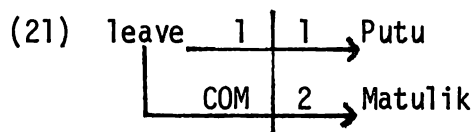
(19) Putu aullaq-tuq.

P. leave-3
Putu went away.

(20) Putu-m Matulik aullaq-qatigi-gaa.

P.-E M. leave-com-3:3
Putu went away together with Matulik.

(19) involves an intransitive predicate. However, in (20) the verb appears inflectionally as transitive, but in connection with -qatigi 'comitative'. The transitivity is also evident in the marking of the subject as ergative. The following network shows the grammatical relations for (20):



That is, (20) appears to involve obligatory Comitative advancement.

Now, consider a basically transitive verb, such as that of (22) when it takes a Comitative as in (23):

(22) Mary-m kuvraq amu-gaa.

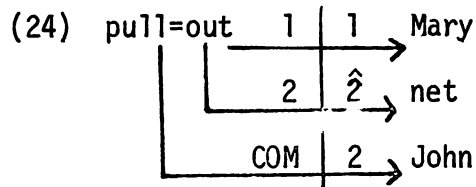
M.-E net pull=out-3:3
Mary pulls out the net.

(23) Mary-m kuvra-mik amu-qatigi-gaa John.

M.-E net-mod:sg pull=out-com-3:3 J.
Mary together with John pulls out the net.

Again, the network for (23) involves Comitative advancement, as the

networks in (24) shows:



Initially, *net* was the 2 of *Mary's* activity. When the Comitative *John* is present, it obligatorily advances to 2; consequently, *net* is demoted by the RAL. As the OCH predicts, *net* (the $\hat{2}$) is marked with the modalis case. Here are two further examples:

(25) Putu-m Matulik iriq-qatigi-gaa.

P.-E M. hide-com-3:3
Putu hides together with Matulik.

(26) Putu-m Matulik agliqi-qatigi-gaa makpiġaa-nik.

P.-E M. read-com-3:3 book-mod:pl
Putu reads a book together with Matulik.

Note that the verb of (26) agrees with *Matulik* (the 2) rather than with *book* (the 2) (*book* in Eskimo is plural).

3. Antipassive.

3.1 Semantically governed. Most discussions of Eskimo grammar say that there are two patterns for transitive clauses, as exemplified by (27) and (28):

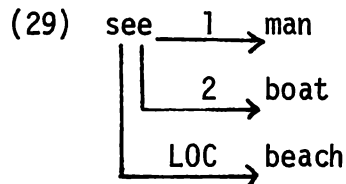
(27) Aṅuti-m umiaq qiñiġ-aa tirraġ-mi.

man-E boat see-3:3 beach-at
The man sees the boat at the beach.

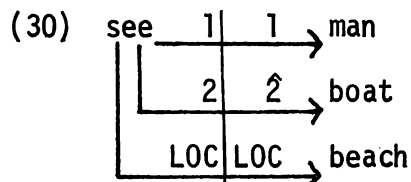
(28) Aṅun umiaġ-mik qiñiq-tuq tirraġ-mi.

man boat-mod see-3 beach-at
The man sees a boat at the beach.

Because of its use in sentences such as (28), Eskimologists have referred to the modalis case as an 'object marker.' However, in section 2 I argued that the main grammatical function of the modalis is to mark the 2. This claim can be extended to cover sentences such as (28). Because *qiñiq-* of (28) is otherwise a transitive verb, I claim that *boat* was an initial 2 but that it is not a final 2. The above examples (27) and (28) both have this initial structure:



I propose that just in case the 2 is non-particular, a change in relations takes place so that the network for (28) is as in (30):



So rather than saying, as is traditional in Eskimo linguistics, that the 2 of (32) is marked with the modalis case because the verb is inflected as if it were intransitive, I claim that the initially transitive verb is inflectionally intransitive because it has no final 2, the initial non-particular 2 having become a 2̂. (Johnson (1976) defines antipassive in just these terms.) And as predicted by the OHC, the 2̂ is marked with the modalis case.⁷

The verb stem for *see* in (28) is the same as that of transitive clauses such as (27). But many verbs have a slightly different form in antipassive clauses. Compare transitive (31) and antipassive (32):

(31) Mary-m taapkua kamŋ-ich tuni-gai Saityak-mun.
 M.-E those boot-pl sell-3:3pl S.-to
Mary sold those boots to Saityuk.

(32) Mary kamŋ-nik tunisi-ruq Saityak-mun.
 M. boot-mod:pl sell(antip)-3 S.-to
Mary sold boots to Saityuk.

Non-particularity is probably not the only semantic trigger for antipassive. I have seen evidence that a difference in aspect can be realized by antipassive, but have not had opportunity to investigate this as yet.

3.2 Syntactically governed antipassive.

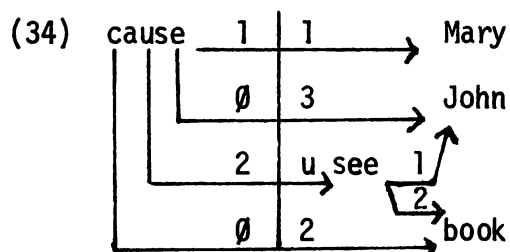
3.2.1 Causative clauses. Various causatives exist in Eskimo. Here I will deal with two sub-types which are of particular interest to the discussion. RG posits a universal rule of Causative Clause Union (Aissen/Perlmutter, 1976:21) which states:⁸

- a. The predicate of a downstairs (ds) clause becomes dead and a dependent of the upstairs (us) predicate.

- b. The downstairs absolutive becomes a 2 of CAUSE.
 c. The downstairs ergative becomes a 3 of CAUSE.

This universal formulation accounts nicely for example (33), in which the initial ds ergative is final us 3, as indicated in network (34):

- (33) Mary-m makpiḡaat qiñiq-tit-kai John-mun.
 M.-E book see-caus-3:3p1 J.-to
1 2 V 3
Mary shows the book to John.



And (35) shows that what is the final 3 of (33) can be final 2 by 3 - 2 advancement⁹ (in causatives, this advancement is evidently never registered by -uti 'ben'):

- (35) Mary-m John qiñiq-tit-kaa makpiḡaa-nik,
 M.-E J. see-caus-3:3 book-mod:p1
Mary shows John the book.

As additional evidence for the correctness of termhood identification in these causatives, we note in passing that there are two passives possible, (36) and (37), corresponding to (33) and (35), respectively:¹⁰

- (36) Makpiḡaat qiñiq-tit-kau-rut John-mun Mary-miñ.
 book see-caus-psv-3p1 J.-to M.-from
The book is being shown to John by Mary.

- (37) John makpiḡaa-nik qiñiq-tit-kau-ruq Mary-miñ.
 J. book-mod:p1 see-caus-psv-3 M.-from
John is shown the book by Mary.

There are also causatives for which the final GR's of (33) are not possible, but only those of (35). Thus (38) is bad, while (39) is fine:

- (38) *John-ḡum taapkua kamḡ-ich tunisi-pkaḡ-ai Mary-mun.
 J.-E those boot-pl sell(antip)-caus-3:3p1 M.-to
John made Mary sell the boots.

- (39) John-nun Mary taapku-niŋa kamiŋ-ñik tunisi-pkaġ-aa.
 J.-E M. those-mod:pl boot-mod:pl sell(antip)-caus-
John made Mary sell the boots. 3:3

We might account for the unacceptability of (38) by saying that for such causatives 3 - 2 advancement is obligatory. But notice that, in this case at least, the causative is added to the antipassive form of *sell*, *tunisi-* seen also in (40):

- (40) Mary kamiŋ-nik tunisi-ruq tauqsiġ-ñiaġ-viŋ-mun.
 M. mukluk-mod:pl sell(antip)-3sg buy-incpt-place=
 where-to
Mary sells muklukuks to the store.

The use of *tunisi-* in (39) can be explained if we say that causative union involving *-pkaq-* 'cause' requires that the ds clause be intransitive, and that antipassive is the mechanism used by the language to accomplish this. Under this analysis, the initial ds 2 is marked with modalis case in causative clauses because it was made a 2 down-stairs. This eliminates the necessity of saying that 3 - 2 advancement is obligatory on the output of causative union in order to explain the necessary modalis case in certain causatives of transitive verbs.¹¹

3.2.2 Relative clauses. Generally, a relative clause is defined as one which helps identify an index of the matrix clause. Eskimo forms a relative clause by nominalizing the verb of the relative clause. I will discuss only those relative clauses which are relevant to the topic of this paper. A subject-relative (i.e. one in which the 1 of the relative clause is coreferential with the head) which employs the modalis case is found in (41) (I have enclosed the relative clause in brackets in each example):

- (41) Putu-m akka-ŋa [supput-mik tauqsiq-sau-q] iñuuniaq-tuq.
 P.-E uncle-his:3d gun-mod:sg buy-NOM-sg live-3
 Noorviŋ-mi
 N.-in
Putu's uncle who bought a gun lives in Noorvik.

- (42) Putu-m akka-ŋa [uu-miŋa supput-mik tauqsiq-sau-q]
 P.-E uncle-his:3d this-mod:sg gun-mod:sg buy-NOM-sg
 iñuuniaq-tuq Noorviŋ-mi.
 live-3 N.-in
Putu's uncle who bought this gun lives in Noorvik.

In (41) the 2 of the relative clause is non-particular in reference. Consequently, we expect the 2 to be demoted to become a 2̂ as discussed in 3.1, and therefore marked with the modalis case, according to my OCH. In contrast, it would be expected that a 2̂ might be unmarked in a relative clause if it is particular in reference as in (42). But surprisingly, the modalis case is found there also. This leads me to hypothesize that subject relatives are intransitive regardless of initial transitivity. Here is an additional example:

- (43) Qicha-m Kuugauraq uqauti-gaa aṅut-mik
 Q.-E K. tell-3:3 man-mod:sg

(umia-tchia-mi-ñik siṅit-chi-rau-q).

boat-new-his-mod launch-antip-NOM-sg

Qichaq tells Kuugauraq about the man who launched his new boat.

In the relative clause of (43), we again find a particular initial 2̂ marked with the modalis in a subject relative. If I say that there is a constraint against transitive subject relatives in Eskimo, and that antipassive functions to satisfy this constraint, then I can account for (41) - (43).

3.2.3 Participial groups. A participial group consists of a verb participle, its modifiers and its object (if it has one). It functions as an attribute to an object of a transitive verb, describing the completion of a process leading to a state. It must be noted, too, that the initial 1 of the participial group is unspecified.

- (44) Tigumi-giga qallun ima-lik kuukpia-mik.
 hold-1sg:3 cup fill-ptc:sg coffee-mod:sg
I hold the cup filled with coffee.

- (45) John-ṅum qifñig-ai qilḡich usria-lgich suluuti-nik.
 J.-E see-3:3pl sleds load-ptc:pl box:pl-mod:pl
John sees the sleds loaded with boxes.

The above examples involve an initial non-term which would in an independent clause be marked with 'terminalis' case -mun. All participial groups must involve an initial non-term. Therefore, a sentence such as (46) is unacceptable, for it has no such initial non-term:

- (46) *Mary-m atug-ai puyal-ṅanik-sima-lgich asria-t.
 M.-E use-3:3pl clean-already-state=of-ptc:pl berry-pl
Mary uses cleaned berries.

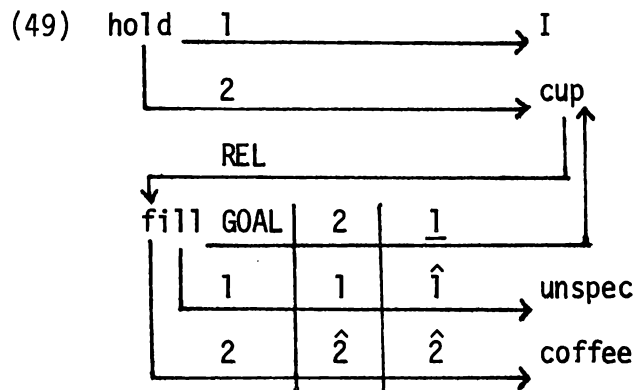
So far it appears that the object of the participial group must be non-particular in reference. Consider now (47) and (48):

- (47) Tigumi-giga qallun ima-lik uutinnaq-tau-mik
 hold-1sg:3 cup fill-ptc:sg hot-atv-mod:sg
 kuukpi-rrii-kka-k-nik¹⁰.
 coffee-make-NOM-your-mod:sg
I hold the cup filled with hot coffee you made.

- (48) John-nuna qinĩg-ai qilgich usria-lgich
 J.-E see-3:3pl sleds load-ptc:pl
 uku-nuna aqi-rau-nik suluuti-nik.
 this:pl-mod:pl big-atv-mod:pl box-mod:pl
John sees the sleds loaded with these big boxes.

The last two examples clearly demonstrate a particular 2 in the participial group.

If I say that non-term relatives with an unspecified 1 change GR by NT-2 advancement, subsequent passivization (because the 1 is unspecified), and are made into verbal participial groups, then I can account for examples (44) - (48). As predicted by the Object Chômeur Hypothesis, the 2 is marked with the modalis case. The following diagram shows the relational network I propose for (44):



3.2.4 Reflexives.

- (50) Il-vich ilip-nik qinĩq-pich taggaqtuut-mi.

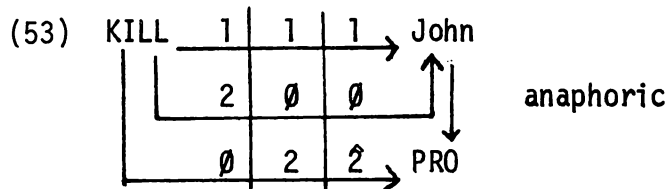
PRO:2-2sg PRO:2sg-mod:sg see-2sg mirror-at
Do you see yourself in the mirror?

- (51) Uvaᅇ-a uvam-nik qinĩq-tuna taggaqtuut-mi.

PRO:1-1sg PRO:1sg-mod:sg see-1sg mirror-at
I see myself in the mirror.

- (52) Ila-a inmi-nik tuqu-t-tuq.
 PRO:3-3 PRO:3-mod:sg die-cs-3
He kills himself.

These three sentences have the following in common: the logical 1 and logical 2 are coreferential; the verb agrees only with a final 1; and in addition to the unmarked pronoun in each, there is a pronoun which apparently is marked with modalis case. All of these facts can be accounted for by two rules: insertion of a pronoun to take on the 2 relation, and antipassive to put this inserted pronoun en chômeage. The network for (52) will then be (53):



In (53), *John* is both initial 1 and initial 2. Eskimo deals with this by inserting as 2 a pronoun which bears the anaphoric relation to *John*. This pronoun is subsequently put en chômeage.

4. The main thesis of this paper was that a major function of the modalis case in Inupiat is to mark direct object chômeurs. This is clearest in cases where an indirect object has advanced to direct object, putting the initial direct object en chômeage. The marking of 2's was also pointed out in the cases where an initial Benefactee or Comitative was final 2. This hypothesis, in conjunction with a rule of antipassive, accounts nicely for case marking and verb agreement in logically transitive clauses which are superficially intransitive. Networks were proposed to account for presence of the modalis as 2̂ marker in certain causative clauses, participial groups, and reflexive clauses.

It should be observed that the explanation offered here for one of the major functions of the modalis case, that it marks 2's, is possible only within RG, for only that theory defines the concept of chômeur. Thus in all versions of transformational grammar, for example, the appearance of the modalis case in paraphrases of distransitive clauses, in certain causative clauses, in antipassive clauses, and in reflexive clauses, would simply be unrelated facts.

FOOTNOTES

¹I wish to express my sincere thanks to Donald G. Frantz for valuable discussions on this topic in general and for extensive help in the revision of an earlier draft of this paper. It was originally written in 1976. Relational Grammar has changed a good deal since that time, so despite some terminological revision in this draft, vestiges of this paper's vintage remain.

I also wish to express deepest thanks to my Eskimo friends, without whose help I could not have conducted this research. I received help from a large number of people, among them I want to mention by name especially Pauline Harvey, Violet Pungalik, Hannah Wells, Mildred Sampson, Ethel Mills, Billy Black, and Robert Patterson.

²Abbreviations used in this paper:

atv - attributive, ben - benefactive, caus - causative, com - comitative, ds - downstairs, E - ergative, imper - imperative, inc - noun-incorporation, instr - instrumental, loc - locative, mod - modalis case, NOM - nominalization, PRO - pronominal base, psv - passive, ptc - participle, REL - relativization, rs - reported speech, tr - transitive, us - upstairs, 1 - subject, 2 - direct object, 3 - indirect object, 1 - first person, 2 - second person, 3 - third person (singular unless otherwise indicated), 3d - third person:different, 3s - third person:same (has also been called "fourth person"), sg - singular, du - dual, pl - plural.

³Case suffixes have both a sg and a pl form, but when attached to a possessed noun, the 'pl' case form is used for both singular and plural; this is true for all "cases", and will not be mentioned again.

⁴It could well be that the "topic" is initial 2 for such verbs, but that for some reason they require that it not be a final 2; if so, examples (5) and (6) belong under section 3. These verbs also allow the 3 to advance to 2; see 2.1.

⁵In the case system, -miñ and -niñ (sg and pl, respectively) is called 'ablative case'. It marks the impure GR, 'source', and I gloss it *from*. In addition, this post-position is used to mark 1 - chômeurs (1) which result from 2 -1 advancement (see below); in such cases I will still gloss it *from*.

⁶The so-called 'terminalis case' has the sg. -mun and the pl. -nun and is usually glossed *to*, *into*.

⁷Since this paper was written, Postal (1977) has proposed that anti-passive involves demotion of the initial 1 to put the initial 2 en chômage, followed by advancement of the new 2 to again become a 1. So I have deleted a suggestion that "spontaneous demotion" is possible.

⁸The use of the terms 'ergative' and 'absolutive' in this rule is borrowed from Rhodes (1976).

⁹As evidenced by word order, case marking, and verb agreement.

¹⁰Actually, passives with specified initial 1 are rare, though grammatical. (36) and (37) would be much more natural if the last word in each were omitted.

¹¹Ds antipassive provides an alternative analysis for sentences such as (35) above. This alternative, as opposed to 3-2 advancement, automatically accounts for the absence of -uti in the verb of (35).

¹²The alert reader may notice that -kka, glossed NOM in (46) is suspiciously like the morpheme glossed 'psv' of passive examples. It may well be that such object relatives are nominalized passive clauses, with the initial l as final possessor (E marks possessor as well as ergatives).

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