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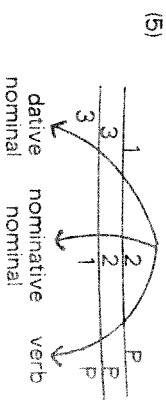
## Passive and inversion in Kannada

Matthew S. Driver  
University of Alberta

In a number of recent papers, Sridhar (1976a, 1976b, 1979) has described a construction in Kannada, a Dravidian language of south India involving dative subjects, as in (1) to (4):

- (1) aVal-ige iBbaru mak-kalu idd-aare.  
she-dat two child-plur nom be-3p<sup>i</sup>  
She has two children.
- (2) nan-age nin-na dhvani keelis-itu  
I-dat you-gen voice nom hear-past.3sg neut  
I heard your voice.
- (3) aVal-ige uttara-galu gottaad-avu  
she-dat answer-plur nom learn.past-3pl neut  
She learned the answers.
- (4) candra-nige avalu iShTa  
Chandra-dat she/nom like  
Chandra likes her

Similar constructions in various other languages have been analysed in Relational Grammar as involving a rule of inversion, as in (5):



This analysis is proposed for Kannada by Perlmutter (1978b) on the basis of the data in Sridhar (1976a, 1976b). This analysis has also been proposed for similar clauses in the following languages: Georgian (Harris, 1981), Choctaw (Davies, 1981), Italian, Japanese and Quechua (Perlmutter, 1979), and Russian (Perlmutter, 1978b). I will argue here that data from passive sentences provides additional evidence for an inversion analysis of the dative subject construction in Kannada. I will also propose an analysis for the passive versions of dative subject sentences. Sridhar has shown that the dative nominal in this construction possesses the syntactic properties in (6), which are otherwise associated only with nominative subjects in Kannada.

- (6) a. Controller of Reflexivization.
- b. Controller of Participial Equi.
- c. Victim of Participial Equi.
- d. Occurs in clause-initial position in unmarked word order.

These properties are illustrated by the examples in (7) to (9).

- (7) candra-nige tan-na taayi iShTa  
Chandra-dat refi-gen mother/nom fond  
Chandra is fond of his mother.
- (8) i0 bisili-nalli tirugi sureeSa-nige baayaarike aay-itu  
0 sun-in wander.ptcp1 Suresha-dat thirst happen-3sg neut  
Having wandered in the sun, Suresha became thirsty.

- (9) ⑩ heNdati-ye jnaapaka bandu] raama  
 ⑩ wife-gen remembrance.nom come.picpl Rama.nom  
 vivalanaad-a  
 go.berserk-3sg.masc  
 Remembering his wife, Rama went berserk

Sridhar also claims that the dative nominal can be an Equi victim, citing (10) and (11), with the dative subject sentences corresponding to the subordinate clauses in (10) and (11) given in (12) and (13).

- (10) aval-ige ⑩ maduve aaga-lu] iShTa-villa  
 she-dat ⑩ marriage happen-inf desire-not  
 She does not want to get married
- (11) avanu ⑩ koppa-kke varga-vaag-alu] iShTapad-uvud-illa  
 he.nom ⑩ Koppa-dat transfer-happen-inf want-pres-not  
 He doesn't wish to be transferred to Koppa
- (12) aval-ige maduve aay-itu  
 she-dat marriage become-past.3sg.neut  
 She got married
- (13) avan-ige koppa-kke varga-vaay-itu  
 he-dat Koppa-to transfer-happen-past.3sg.neut  
 He was transferred to Koppa

These examples are exceptional in that the dative nominal cannot otherwise be an Equi victim, as in (14) and (15).

- (14) \*candra-nige ⑩ utara-galu gottag-alu] iShTa-villa  
 Chandra-dat ⑩ answer-pl.nom learn-inf want-not  
 Chandra doesn't want to learn the answers.
- (15) \*avanu ⑩ candra iShTa-vaag-alu] pravatnis-id-a  
 he.nom ⑩ Chandra.nom like-become-inf try-past-3sg.masc  
 He tried to like Chandra

Significantly, the Equi clauses in (10) and (11) also allow nominative subjects, as in (16) and (17).

- (16) avalu maduve aad-alu  
 she.nom marriage become.past-3sg.fem  
 She got married
- (17) avanu koppa-kke varga-vaad-anu  
 he.nom Koppa-to transfer-become-3sg.masc  
 He got himself transferred to Koppa

Since the examples in (10) and (11) can be analysed as involving a nominative subject as the Equi victim, the natural conclusion is that the dative nominal cannot be an Equi victim.

Sridhar further argues that the nominative nominal in inversion clauses, e.g. *makkalu* 'children' in (1), behaves as a subject only in its nominative case marking and in controlling verb agreement. Note, for example, the plural verb agreement with *makkalu* 'children' in (1). He argues that the nominative nominal fails to behave as subject in the following ways.

- (18) a. Cannot control Participial Equi.  
 b. Cannot be a victim of Participial Equi.  
 c. Cannot be a victim of Equi.

These properties are illustrated by the following examples

- (19) \*⑩ nann-annu cennaag: maataDisi] nan-age avalu  
 ⑩ I-acc nicely talk.picpl I-dat she.nom  
 iShTa aad-alu  
 fond become.past-3sg.fem  
 Having talked to me nicely, I liked her
- (20) \*candra-nige ⑩ keelisi] nannu hood-e  
 Chandra-dat ⑩ hear.picpl I.nom go.past-1sg  
 Chandra having heard me, I left
- (21) \*raama laval-ige ⑩ iShTa aag-alu] pravatnis-id-a  
 Rama.nom she-dat ⑩ like become-inf try-past-3sg.masc  
 Rama tried to be liked by her

Sridhar also argues that the nominative nominal cannot control Reflexivization, on the basis of the example in (22).

- (22) \*tan-age soomanu tumba iShTa  
 self-dat Soma.nom much like  
 Soma is very fond of himself

The unacceptability of (22) seems to be due, however, not to the nominative nominal controlling Reflexivization, but rather to the dative nominal being reflexive. \* Thus contrast (22) with the acceptable (23).

- (23) tan-na taayi-ge soomanu tumba iShTa  
 refi-gen mother-dat Soma.nom much like  
 His (=Soma's) mother likes Soma very much.

In (23), the nominative nominal is controlling Reflexivization. Thus both nominals in the dative subject construction are potential controllers of Reflexivization.

Sridhar's papers are primarily devoted to showing that the dative nominal in the dative subject construction behaves as subject with respect to various rules, and that the nominative nominal does not. His evidence thus shows that the dative nominal is a subject at some level. His evidence does not show at what level the dative nominal is subject. Nor does it show that the nominative nominal is a direct object at some level. Evidence of this sort is provided by passive clauses which correspond to inversion clauses. Observe first normal passivization, illustrated in (24) and (25).

- (24) ravi nann-annu nooD-id-a  
 Ravi.nom I-acc see-past-3sg.masc  
 Ravi saw me
- (25) nannu ravi-yinda nooD-alpaTT-e  
 I.nom Ravi-instr see-passive.past-1sg  
 I was seen by Ravi.

In passive clauses, the initial direct object is the final subject: it occurs in the nominative case and controls verb agreement. As shown below, it also functions as subject with respect to other rules. The subject chomour in passive clauses occurs in the instrumental case and does not behave as subject with respect to any rules.

Consider now the following examples of inversion sentences.

- (26) candra-nige nan-na dhvani keelis-itu  
 Chandra-dat I-poss voice.nom hear-past.3sg.neut  
 Chandra heard my voice

- (27) ravi-ge uttara-galu gottaad-avu  
Ravi-dat answer-pl.nom learn-past-3pl.neut  
Ravi learned the answers
- (28) gurugal-ige pustaka-galu beekaa-ittu  
gurugal-ige book-pl.nom need-past-3sg.neut  
teacher-dat book-pl.nom need-past-3sg.neut  
The teacher needed the books.
- (29) aval-ige eradu kivi-galu i-ve  
she-dat two ear-pl.nom be-3pl.neut  
She has two ears

Corresponding to each of the inversion sentences in (26) to (29) are two passive versions, one with the initial subject in the instrumental case, the other with the initial subject in the dative case. The passive versions of (26) to (29) with the initial subject in the instrumental case are given in (30) to (33):

- (30) candra-ninda nan-na dhvani keelis-alpaTT-itu  
Chandra-inst l-gen voice.nom hear-passive,past-3sg.neut  
My voice was heard by Chandra.
- (31) ravi-yinda uttara-galu gottaa-ge-alpaTT-ive  
Ravi-inst answer-pl.nom learn-passive,past-3pl.neut  
The answers were learned by Ravi.
- (32) gurugal-inde pustaka-galu beekaa-ge-alpaTT-avu  
gurugal-inde book-plur.nom need-passive,past-3pl.neut  
teacher-inst book-plur.nom need-passive,past-3pl.neut  
The books are needed by the teacher.
- (33) eradu kivi-galu aval-inde ir-alpaTT-ive  
two ear-pl.nom she-inst be-passive,past-3pl.neut  
Two ears are had by her. (*literally*)

The passive versions of (26) to (29) with the initial subject in the dative case are given in (34) to (37):

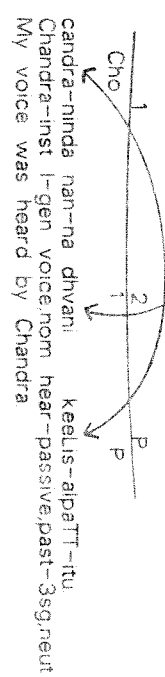
- (34) candra-nige nan-na dhvani keelis-alpaTT-itu  
Chandra-dat l-gen voice.nom hear-passive,past-3sg.neut  
My voice was heard by Chandra.
- (35) ravi-ge uttara-galu gottaa-ge-alpaTT-avu  
Ravi-dat answer-pl.nom learn-passive,past-3pl.neut  
The answers were learned by Ravi.
- (36) gurugal-ige pustaka-galu beekaa-ge-alpaTT-ive  
gurugal-ige book-plur.nom need-passive,past-3pl.neut  
teacher-dat book-plur.nom need-passive,past-3pl.neut  
The books are needed by the teacher.
- (37) eradu kivi-galu aval-nige ir-alpaTT-ive  
two ear-pl.nom she-dat be-passive,past-3pl.neut  
Two ears are had by her. (*literally*)

These examples are important in two ways. First, the version with the initial subject in the instrumental case provides additional evidence for the subjecthood of dative subjects. More specifically, it provides evidence that these nominals are *initial* subjects, since otherwise only initial subjects can occur in the instrumental case in passive clauses. Second, since the nominative nominal in passive clauses is otherwise always a direct object which has advanced to subject, these examples provide convincing evidence that the nominative nominal in the dative subject construction is a direct object at some level, and hence strong evidence for the inversion analysis of dative subject clauses in Kannada.

In the remainder of this paper, I will focus on two questions about these passive clauses. First, what is the relational structure of these clauses? Second, what are the syntactic properties of the

Consider first how these two kinds of passive clauses might be analysed in the passive version in (30): the initial subject occurs in the instrumental case, the normal case for subject chomeurs in passive clauses. Such clauses are most naturally analysed as not involving inversion at all: they simply involve Passive and thus have the relational structure in (38).

(38) Relational structure of (30):

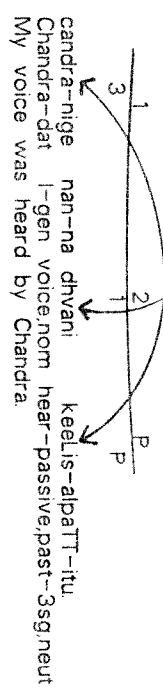


Such examples show that inversion is not obligatory for the verbs that govern it. Rather, most of the verbs that govern inversion exhibit a constraint that the initial subject not be the final subject (or perhaps that the initial direct object be the final subject). This constraint is satisfied by either Inversion or Passive. Some verbs are not governed by this constraint. For example, *tiliyu* 'learn' can occur in any of the forms in (39) to (42).

- (39) ravi uttara-gal-annu tiliy-utt-aane  
Ravi.nom answer-pl-acc learn-fut-3sg.masc  
Ravi will learn the answers.
- (40) ravi-ge uttara-galu tiliy-utt-ave  
Ravi-dat answer-pl.nom learn-fut-3pl.neut  
Ravi will learn the answers.
- (41) uttara-galu ravi-yinda tiliy-alpaD-utt-ave  
answer-pl.nom Ravi-inst learn-passive-fut-3pl.neut  
The answers will be learned by Ravi.
- (42) uttara-galu ravi-ge tiliy-alpaD-utt-ave  
answer-pl.nom Ravi-dat learn-passive-fut-3pl.neut  
The answers will be learned by Ravi.

(39) is the active (monostatal) version; (40) involves inversion; (41) and (42) are the passive versions of (39) and (40) respectively. Clauses like (34), in which the verb is passive and in which the initial subject occurs in the dative case, apparently involve both inversion and Passive. Such clauses might be analysed as in (43).

(43) Relational structure of (34):



Johnson and Postal (1980) propose an analogous analysis for similar clauses in Sinhalese. Although this analysis violates the Chomeur Condition of Perlmutter and Postal (1977), Johnson and Postal's arguments are applicable here. Employing a two-level analysis (as in (43)) for (34), but a three-level analysis for (26), provides an account of the presence of passive morphology in (34) but the lack of passive morphology in (26): only in (34) is there a nominal which is accusative (a transitive direct object) on one level and a subject on the succeeding level. Thus

this analysis accounts for both the dative case marking on the initial subject and the passive morphology. Further arguments for analysing these two kinds of passive clauses as suggested here are provided by an examination of the properties of the nominals in these clauses.

Consider first basic passive clauses, i.e. ones corresponding to clauses not involving inversion, like (44).

- (44) ravi-yinda naanu nooD-alpaTT-e  
Ravi-instr l.nom see-passive-past.1sg  
I was seen by Ravi.

The nominative nominal in such passive clauses behaves as subject with respect to various rules. It controls Reflexivization, as in (45).

- (45) candra tan-na taavi-yinda nooD-alpaTT-a  
Chandra.nom refi-gen mother-instr see-passive-past.3sg.masc  
Chandra was seen by his mother.

It can be a Equi victim, as in (46).

- (46) candra i0 ravi-yinda nooD-alpaD-alu iShTapad-uuvud-illa  
Chandra.nom i0 Ravi-instr see-passive-inf want-pres-not  
Chandra doesn't want to be seen by Ravi.

And it can a victim of Participial Equi, as in (47).

- (47) i0 maaya-Linda nooD-alpaTT-u candra hood-a  
i0 Maya-instr see-passive-picpl Chandra.nom go-past-3sg.masc  
Having been seen by Maya, Chandra left.

Conversely, the instrumental nominal in passive clauses lacks these various subject properties. This is illustrated for Reflexivization, Equi and Participial Equi in (48), (49), and (50) respectively.

- (48) \*naanu ravi-yinda tan-na mane-yalli nooD-alpaTT-e  
l.nom Ravi-instr refi-gen house-in see-passive-past.1sg  
I was seen by Ravi in his house.

- (49) \*nanage i ravi i0 nooD-alpaD-alu aase.  
l.dat Ravi.nom i0 see-passive-inf want  
I want Ravi to be seen by i (=me).

- (50) \*i maaya i0 nooD-alpaTT-u candra hood-a  
Maya.nom i0 see-passive-picpl Chandra.nom go-past.1sg  
Maya having been seen by him, Chandra left.

How then do the nominals in the passive clauses corresponding to inversion clauses behave with respect to the various subject properties? Regardless of whether the initial subject is in the instrumental case or the dative case, the nominative nominal behaves as subject with respect to both various rules. It occurs in the nominative case and controls verb agreement, as in (30) to (37) above. That it behaves as subject with respect to various syntactic rules is illustrated for Reflexivization in (51), for Equi in (52), and for Participial Equi in (53).

- (51) ravi tan-na taavi-yinda / taavi-ge  
Ravi.nom refi-gen mother-instr / mother-dat  
beekaag-alpaTT-idd-aane.  
need-passive-pres-3sg.masc  
Ravi is needed by his (=Ravi's) mother.

- (52) ravi i0 aaSa-Lige keelis-alpaD-alu pravatnis-idd-a  
Ravi.nom i0 Asna-dat hear-passive-inf try-past-3sg.masc  
Ravi tried to be heard by Asna.

- (53) i0 aaSa-Linda keelis-alpaTT-u ravi hood-a  
i0 Asna-instr hear-passive-picpl Ravi.nom go-past.3sg  
Having been heard by Asna, Ravi left.

The instrumental nominal in these passive clauses behaves like the instrumental nominal in regular passive clauses (i.e. those passive clauses corresponding to active clauses that do not involve a dative subject). This is illustrated for Reflexivization in (54) for Equi in (55) and for Participial Equi in (56).

- (54) \*ravi-yinda tan-na taavi-ya dhvani keelis-alpaTT-itu  
Ravi-instr refi-gen mother-gen voice.nom hear-passive-3sg.neut  
His (=Ravi's) mother's voice was heard by Ravi.

- (55) \*nanage i ravi i0 keelis-alpaD-alu aase.  
l.dat Ravi.nom i0 hear-passive-inf want  
I want Ravi to be heard by i (=me).

- (56) \*i maaya i0 keelis-alpaTT-u candra hood-a  
Maya.nom i0 hear-passive-picpl Chandra.nom go-past-3sg.masc  
Maya having been heard by him, Chandra left.

In short, passive clauses with the initial subject in the instrumental case corresponding to active inversion clauses behave like regular passive clauses, in that the nominative nominal behaves as subject with respect to various rules, while the instrumental nominal does not. This provides support for analysing such passive clauses like regular passive clauses, as in (38) above.

When the initial subject in passive clauses appears in the dative case, however, it does behave as subject at least with respect to controlling Reflexivization, as in (57).

- (57) ravi-ge tan-na taavi-ya dhvani keelis-alpaTT-itu  
Ravi-dat refi-gen mother-gen voice.nom hear-passive-3sg.neut  
His (=Ravi's) mother's voice was heard by (literally) to Ravi.

Compare (57) to the ungrammatical (54), with *ravi* in the instrumental case instead of the dative case. The contrast between (57) and (54) shows that the difference between the two kinds of passive clauses, one with the initial subject in the dative case, the other with the initial subject in the instrumental case, differ, not only in the case marking of the initial subject, but also in terms of the syntactic properties of the initial subject. This provides support for providing distinct syntactic analyses for the two kinds of clauses, as proposed here.

The dative nominal in such passive clauses does not seem, however, to behave as subject with respect to other rules. In particular, it cannot be a victim of either Equi or Participial Equi, as illustrated by (55) and (56) above.

In summary, the nominative nominal in passive clauses which correspond to inversion clauses always behaves as subject. The initial subject in such clauses never behaves as subject if it is in the instrumental case; it does, at least with respect to Reflexivization, if it is in the dative case.

Passive inversion clauses are significant in that the case marking is the same as in the corresponding active inversion clauses, but the distribution of syntactic properties is different. Thus, in both (26) and (34), repeated below, the initial subject occurs in the dative case while the initial direct object occurs in the nominative case.

- (26) candra-nige nan-na dhvani keelis-id-e  
Chandra-dat 1-poss voice:nom hear-past-1sg  
Chandra heard my voice
- (34) candra-nige nan-na dhvani keelis-alpaTT-ittu  
Chandra-dat 1-gen voice:nom hear-passive,past-3sg:neut  
My voice was heard by Chandra.

(26) and (34) differ, however, in at least two ways. First the nominative nominal can be an Equi victim in (34) but not in (26). Second, the dative nominal can be a victim of Participial Equi in (26) but not in (34). In general, more rules treat the nominative nominal as subject in (34) than in (26), while more rules treat the dative nominal as subject in (26) than in (34). This difference in the distribution of syntactic properties despite the identity in case marking between the two sentences adds to the evidence that case marking is not a reliable guide to syntactic function.

I proposed above that, while active inversion clauses involve three levels, as in (5), passive inversion clauses involve only two levels, as in (43). From a morphological point of view, these two clauses differ only in that the verb in (43) is passive. As noted above, the proposed analysis would account for this difference, since only in (5) is there an accusative nominal (a transitive direct object) at one level which is a subject at the next level. There are various other facts which the proposed difference would also account for.

There are a number of instances in which certain rules treat neither nominal in inversion clauses as subject. Although the nominative nominal frequently controls verb agreement, as in (1) to (3), there are two types of inversion clauses in which it fails to control verb agreement. The first type involves a verb not inflected for agreement at all, as in (58) to (60).

- (58) nan-age ninu gottu  
I-dat you:nom know  
I know you
- (59) ravi-ge avalu ishta  
Ravi-dat she:nom fond  
Ravi is fond of her.
- (60) avan-ige ii pustaka beeku  
he-dat this book:nom want  
He wants/needs this book.
- (61) ravi-ge avalu beek-ittu  
Ravi-dat she:nom need-past-3sg:neut  
Ravi needed her.
- (62) nan-age avanu gott-ittu  
I-dat he:nom know-past-3sg:neut  
I knew him.

The second type involves a verb bearing third singular neuter agreement, despite the fact that the nominative nominal is not third singular neuter, as in (61) and (62).<sup>9</sup>

The failure of the nominative nominal to control agreement in these clauses can be interpreted as indicating that the rule of verb agreement is sometimes sensitive to levels other than the final level. In such clauses the rule is apparently sensitive to the intermediate level at which the dative nominal is a 3 (an indirect object) and the nominative nominal a 2 (a direct object). The verb fails to agree with any nominal since there is no subject at that level.<sup>10</sup> In contrast, in sentences involving both Passive and Inversion, the verb *a/ways* agrees with the

A similar argument can be given, based on Equi. As described above, Equi is generally constrained as follows: A nominal can be an Equi victim if and only if it is a final subject. Inversion clauses not involving Passive provide apparent exceptions to this constraint. In such clauses, neither nominal can be an Equi victim. For example, given an inversion clause like (63), neither nominal can be an Equi victim, as illustrated in (64) and (65).

- (63) candra-nige ravi ishta  
Chandra-dat Ravi:nom like  
Chandra likes Ravi.
- (64) \*candra [0 ravi ishta-vaag-alu] prayatinis-id-a  
Chandra:nom 0 Ravi:nom like-become-inf try-past-3sg:masc  
Chandra tried to like Ravi.
- (65) \*ravi [0 candra-nige ishta-vaag-alu] prayatinis-id-a  
Ravi:nom 0 Chandra-dat like-become-inf try-past-3sg:masc  
Ravi tried to be liked by Chandra.
- (66) aaSa-Lige ravi keelis-alpaTT-a  
Asna-dat Ravi:nom hear-passive,past-3sg:masc  
Ravi was heard by Asna.
- (67) ravi [0 aaSa-Lige keelis-alpaD-alu] prayatinis-id-a  
Ravi:nom 0 Asna-dat hear-passive-inf try-past-3sg:masc  
Ravi tried to be heard by Asna.

Note that in clauses involving both Passive and Inversion, the nominative nominal can be an Equi victim, as shown in (66) and (67).

The difference in acceptability between (65) and (67) can be accounted for in terms of the intermediate level posited for clauses like (63). For such clauses, Equi is defined on that intermediate level. Since there is no subject at that level, there is no possible Equi victim.

The two arguments just given can be summarized as follows. There are various instances in which a given rule treats neither nominal as subject in active inversion clauses, but there are no instances in which a rule treats neither nominal as subject in passive inversion clauses. The proposed analysis would account for this difference since according to that analysis, active inversion clauses involve a level at which no nominal is subject while passive inversion clauses do not involve such a level. The Kannada data thus provide a new kind of evidence for the intermediate level posited for inversion clauses.

In summary, evidence from passive clauses provides additional evidence for an inversion analysis of dative subject clauses in Kannada. Such clauses provide evidence that the dative nominal is the initial subject and that the nominative nominal is the initial direct object. Kannada also provides evidence that clauses can involve both Passive and Inversion, and that the Chomeur Condition must be weakened somewhat to allow that possibility. In addition, the differences between active inversion clauses and passive inversion clauses provide evidence for the intermediate level postulated for active inversion clauses. Finally, Kannada provides additional evidence for a universal Inversion construction and for multiple syntactic levels.

#### Footnotes

<sup>1</sup> /N/, /T/, /D/, and /L/ are retroflex sounds, /S/ is a voiceless alveopalatal fricative, and /C/ is a voiceless alveopalatal affricate.

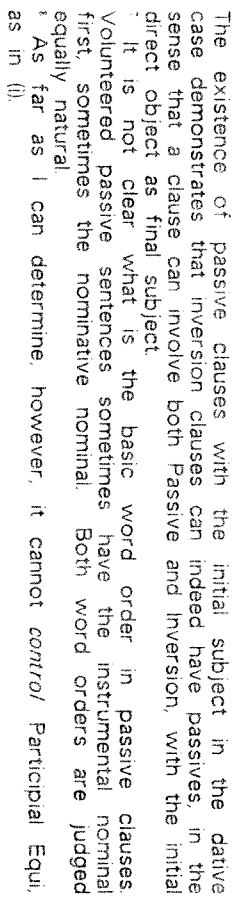
<sup>2</sup> /r/ is equivalent to *subject*; 2 is equivalent to *direct object*; 3 is equivalent to *indirect object*.

<sup>3</sup> Sridhar refers to this rule as *Coreferential Subject Deletion*. The rule

<sup>4</sup> Note, however, that the dative nominal can be reflexive when the controller is in a higher clause, as in (i).

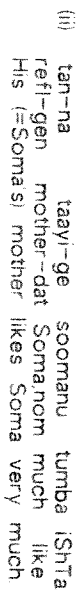
- <sup>3</sup> A number of speakers, including Strickard (personal communication), do not find the passive sentences in (30) to (37) acceptable. Among those that do, there is some variation as to which inversion clauses passivize. Most of the judgments in this paper are those of a single speaker. The source of the variation in judgments is not clear, but even those that judge them acceptable say that such sentences are rarely used. Passive sentences of any sort are generally not used in speech and are uncommon even in the written language.

<sup>6</sup> Permutt (1978a) claims that the 1-Advancement Exclusiveness Law predicts that inversion clauses cannot have passives. The possibility excluded by the 1-Advancement Exclusiveness Law is that of the initial subject readvancing to subject, as in (i).



- <sup>9</sup> Note that (61) would also be acceptable with the verb agreeing with the nominative nominal, as in (i).

- <sup>10</sup> An alternative analysis for such sentences would be to posit a null dummy as final subject as in (i).



(iii) shows that it is the final subject, even though it does not control Reflexivization in general, only working subjects (final terms which are subjects at some level) can control Reflexivization

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