# Some remarks on reflexives in Upriver Halkomelem[1]

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For sentences where the object is coreferent with the subject of the clause (i.e. reflexive sentences), Upriver Halkomelem uses either a special reflexive suffix, or the regular object suffix. From a theoretical point of view this is unexpected, given what we know about the distribution of dedicated reflexive forms. In this paper it is argued that the special reflexive forms of Upriver Halkomelem are lexicalized and as a consequence they cannot block the occurrence of regular object suffixes in a reflexive environment.

## 1 The Problem

### 1.1 Pronouns and reflexives in English

It is a well-known fact that in English as well as in many other languages reflexive pronouns are in complementary distribution with regular pronouns:

(1) a. John saw himself.
    b. *John saw him.

(2) a. *John said that Mary saw himself.
    b. John said that Mary saw him.

In Chomsky's Government and Binding Theory (Chomsky 1981), this complementarity is accounted for by the following principles of Binding Theory:

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(3)  Principle A:  Anaphors have to be bound in their binding domain.
     Principle B:  Pronouns have to be free in their binding domain.

Taking the clause as the binding domain, the contrast between pronouns and reflexives is accounted for in the following way. In a sentence like (1) the pronoun cannot be coreferent with *John* because it would be bound within the clause (i.e. its binding domain). The reflexive is well-formed in exactly this configuration. In a sentence like (2) on the other hand the reflexive is ill-formed because it is not bound within its clause. Consequently, in this context the pronoun can be coreferent with *John*. This complementarity between pronouns and reflexives in English is summarized below:

(4)  Binding properties of pronouns and reflexives in English

|  | local binding | non-local binding |
|---|---|---|
| Reflexive pronoun | ✓ | ✗ |
| Pronoun | ✗ | ✓ |

### 1.2    Pronouns and reflexives in Upriver Halkomelem

In Halkomelem the situation is considerably different, posing a problem for standard binding theory. First, we observe that Halkomelem does not have "reflexive pronouns" rather the reflexive relation is expressed by one of two special reflexive suffixes on the verb (*-lomet, -thet*):[2]

(5)  a.  kw'em-**ló:met**    tsel
         raise-refl         1sg.s
         'I raised myself.'
     b.  ló:s-**thet**   te     spáth
         fat-refl       det    bear
         'The bear made himself fat.'

The distribution of reflexives in Halkomelem is similar to English, in that the reflexive has to be locally bound. That is, if the reflexive suffix occurs in an embedded clause it cannot be bound by the matrix subject as shown below:[3]

(6)  sqwálewel-s      te Martina    kw'-s-es      máy-thet  te      Strang
     thought-3poss    det Martina   det-nom-3s    help-refl det     Strang
     'Martina thinks that Strang can help himself/*herself.'

Thus, the reflexive suffix in Halkomelem is subject to the same locality constraints as the reflexive pronouns in English.

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[2] In this paper I am not discussing the properties of reciprocals, which show a similar behavior as reflexives.
[3] Gerdts 2000 observes the same effect in Downriver Halkomelem.

Let us now turn to pronouns. Upriver Halkomelem is a head-marking language. This means that the arguments of the verb are coded on the predicate by means of clitics or affixes. For example, a sentence like *"I saw you"* is translated as follows:

(7)     kw'ets-l-óme-tsel
        see-trans-2obj-1sg.s
        'I saw you.'

The subject and object suffixes are somehow pronominal in nature.[4] If Upriver Halkomelem was like English, and would obey the binding principles introduced in (3) we would expect that the object suffix cannot be used to corefer to a clause-mate subject, i.e. it should not be locally bound. This prediction is however not borne out. Object suffixes can be used even in contexts of local binding:

(8)     a.  tsel    kw'ets-th-óx      li     te skw'echó:stel
            1sg.s   see-trans-1sg.o   prep   det mirror
            'I looked at myself in the mirror.'
        b.  li-chexw   kw'ets-l-óme      li    te      skw'echó:stel?
            aux-2sg.s  see-trans-2sg.o   prep  det     mirror
            'Did you see yourself in the mirror?'
        c.  kw'éts-lexw-es    tú-tl'ò
            see-trans-3s      det-3Indep
            'He saw himself.'

Thus, in Halkomelem object suffixes do not have to be locally bound (7) like in English, but they can be locally bound unlike in English:

(9)  Binding properties of pronouns and reflexives in Upriver Halkomelem

| | local binding | non-local binding |
|---|---|---|
| Reflexive suffix | ✓ | ✗ |
| Object suffix | ✓ | ✓ |

In sum, in Upriver Halkomelem reflexive suffixes are not in complementary distribution with object suffixes (which correspond to English pronouns). This is an interesting empirical fact, which differs significantly from other languages including the other Salish languages. In addition, it seems to pose a serious problem for standard binding theory.

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[4] Note that this issue is independent of the question as to whether or not the object suffix itself is the argument (see Jelinek 1984) or whether there is an empty *pro* in argument position (see Davis 1997).

## 1.3     Reformulating the problem: A blocking view of binding

To solve the problem introduced above, I will assume that the complementary distribution between reflexives and pronouns is best analyzed as an instance of blocking (see Burzio 1989, Déchaine & Manfredi 1994, Déchaine & Wiltschko 2002). For concreteness I will adopt the following version of the blocking principle:

(10)    The Blocking Principle (adapted from Williams 1997)
            Select the most specified form.
            (x is more specified than y iff x has more features than y).
                                                    Déchaine & Wiltschko 2002

Under this assumption, the contrast between pronouns and reflexives is accounted for in the following way. Pronouns are the more general forms (with less features) and thus function as the elsewhere case. For the reflexive relation (which is the clause-bound one) a more specified form is available, namely the reflexive pronoun. Consequently, pronouns are ungrammatical if they are locally bound, accounting for the contrast in (1) repeated below for convenience.

(11)    a.  John saw himself.
        b.  *John saw him.

Under this view, there is no such thing as principle B of the binding theory. Rather the distribution of pronouns is predicted to be unrestricted, unless there is a competing more specialized form, i.e. the reflexive. The latter can only appear in a local domain, and thus blocks the use of the pronoun in the configuration of local binding.

Evidence for this view comes from Haitian Creole, as discussed in Déchaine and Manfredi 1994. Here, the same pronominal form appears no matter whether local binding is involved or not:

(12)    Jean wè li.
        Jean see 3sg
        (i) 'Jean sees him/her'
        (ii) 'Jean sees himself'          Déchaine & Manfredi 1994

In other words, if a language does not have a special form to express reflexivity, it is predicted that the general pronoun can be used in the context of local binding. Evidence from Haitian Creole confirms this prediction:

(13) Binding properties of pronouns in Haitian Creole:

|            | local binding | non-local binding |
|------------|---------------|-------------------|
| Reflexives | non existent   |                   |
| Pronouns   | ✓             | ✓                 |

With this in mind let us turn back to Upriver Halkomelem and its properties repeated below for convenience:

(14) Binding properties of pronouns and reflexives in Upriver Halkomelem

|  | local binding | non-local binding |
|---|---|---|
| Reflexive suffix | ✓ | ✗ |
| Object suffix | ✓ | ✓ |

Assuming that there is no inherent restriction on the distribution of pronouns, the equivalent of the object suffixes in Upriver Halkomelem, makes it less surprising that they can be used in environments of local binding.

However, we have seen above that Upriver Halkomelem has a special form to express reflexivity, namely the reflexive suffixes *–thet* and *–lomet*. Consequently, we would expect that the special forms (ie. the reflexive suffixes) block the use of the more general form (i.e. the object suffixes). This is not the case and we are still facing a puzzle: why do reflexive suffixes in Upriver Halkomelem not block local binding of object suffixes?

## 2 The proposal

To solve the puzzle we ended up in the last section, we have to address the question as to what can block blocking. For two elements (X and Y) to enter into a relation of blocking we must be able to compare X and Y. If X cannot be compared with Y, then X cannot block Y.

Turning now to the present problem, I propose that reflexive suffixes and object suffixes in Upriver Halkomelem cannot be compared because they are formed in different components: object suffixes are attached syntactically whereas reflexive suffixes are attached in the lexicon. In other words, reflexive forms in Halkomelem are lexicalized and thus cannot block the form with the regular syntactic object suffix. Thus, both forms coexist. Note in passing that this is similar to the English data below:
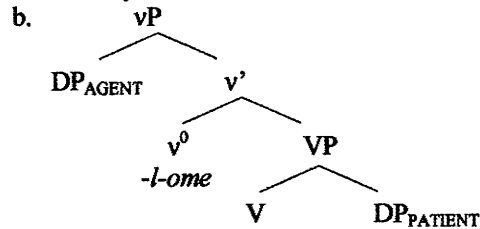
(15)    a.  syntactic:    not even
          b.  lexical:       uneven

The data in (15) show that lexical negation with the prefix *un-* does not block syntactic negation with the negative marker *not*, i.e. the two forms do not enter into a relation of blocking because they are not formed in the same component and consequently cannot be compared.

Turning back to the reflexive relation in Halkomelem, I will assume the following. For sentences with object suffixes like (7) repeated below as (16)a, I follow Wiltschko (2001) in assuming that the transitive suffix heads its own projection (vP) and introduces the external argument (i.e. AGENT). I further

assume that the object suffix is realized in the same position as the transitivizer, namely in v.[5]

(16)  a.  kw'ets-l-óme-tsel
          see-trans-2obj-1sg.s
          'I saw you.'
      b.

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                    vP
                   /  \
          DP_AGENT      v'
                       /  \
                     v⁰      VP
                   -l-ome   /  \
                          V     DP_PATIENT
```

Crucially, under this view the transitivizer along with the object suffix are added in the syntactic component, i.e. they are hosting their own syntactic projection.

Let us now turn to reflexive verb forms as in (5) repeated below as (17):

(17)  a.  kw'em-ló:met    tsel
          raise-refl          1sg.s
          'I raised myself.'
      b.  ló:s-thet    te  spáth
          fat-refl     det bear
          'The bear made himself fat.'

Assuming that the reflexive suffixes are attached in the lexicon amounts to saying that they do not head their own syntactic phrase. Rather they are attached directly to the verb as in the following structure:

(18)

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            V
           / \
         V     -thet
               -lomet
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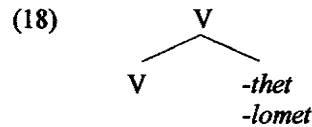
The resulting structure is a complex verb which behaves like a syntactic atom, once inserted in the syntactic component.

Note that independent evidence for the claim that reflexive predicates in Upriver Halkomelem are lexicalized comes from the fact that they are far less productive than the form with the object suffix.[6]

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[5] This is consistent with Gerdts 1989 claim that the transitive suffix and the object suffix form a morphological unit.

[6] Strang Burton (p.c.) informs me that native speakers of Upriver Halkomelem would often correct a given reflexive form to the equivalent form with an object suffix.

This proposal allows us to account for the binding properties of pronouns and reflexives in Upriver Halkomelem as summarized in the table in (9) repeated below for convenience:

(19) Binding properties of pronouns and reflexives in Upriver Halkomelem

| | local binding | non-local binding |
|---|---|---|
| Reflexive suffix | ✓ | ✗ |
| Object suffix | ✓ | ✓ |

First, reflexive suffixes are restricted to local binding because they operate on the argument-structure of a given verb. Consequently, the binder has to be a co-argument of the bindee, which is only possible in the configuration of local binding.

Second, the mere existence of the more special form (i.e. the reflexive) does not suffice to block the more general form (i.e. the object suffix) in the configuration of local binding. This is so, because the special reflexive suffix is added in the lexicon and the object suffix is added in the syntactic component. Thus the two cannot enter into the relation of blocking and consequently the two forms co-exist.[7]

In the remainder of this paper I will discuss further predictions and consequences of this proposal.

## 3        Consequences

### 3.1        Reflexives and event control

As we have seen in section 1, Upriver Halkomelem has two reflexive suffixes:

(20)    Reflexive suffixes:
        a.  kw'em-**ló:met**     tsel
            raise-refl          1sg.s
            'I raised myself.'
        b.  ló:s-**thet**   te      spáth
            fat-refl     det     bear
            'The bear made himself fat.'

The difference between these two suffixes has to do with the degree of control the subject has over the event (see Galloway 1993 for Upriver Halkomelem and Gerdts 2000 for Downriver Halkomelem). This is of course reminiscent of the meaning difference between the two kinds of transitive suffixes of Upriver Halkomelem:

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[7] Unfortunately, at this time I do not know how other Salish languages as well as the other dialects of Halkomelem behave in that respect (i.e. whether they allow object suffixes in a reflexive construal).

(21)  a.  –*t* = full control

    x̲lh-et          'to hurt so on purpose'
    kw'ats-et       'to look at sthg/sbdy'
    íkw'-et         'to throw sthg away'

b.  -l(exw) = limited/no control

    x̲elh-lexw       'to hurt so by accident'
    kw'ets-lexw     'to see sthg/sbdy'
    ákw'-lexw       'to lose sthg'          Galloway 1993: 245f.

Similar examples can be found for reflexives as shown below:

(22)  a.  -*thet* = full control

    ló:sthet        'make oneself fat'
    q'oythet        'kill oneself'
    qw'íyx̲thet       'shake oneself'
    iyó:qthet       'change oneself'

b.  -*lómet* = limited/no control

    x̲éyx̲eló:met      'shame oneself, be embarrassed'
    kw'emló:met     'raise oneself, pull through'
    tel-lomet       'understand'            Galloway 1980: 17

This suggests that the transitive suffix is actually present in the reflexive suffix. This conclusion has also been reached by Gerdts 2000 for Downriver Halkomelem. She argues that the reflexive suffix can be decomposed into the transitive suffix and a "referential" element.

Under the present proposal this conclusion is rather surprising, given that we have said about the difference between the reflexive suffix and the object suffix. We argued that the former is added in the lexicon whereas the latter occupies a syntactic head (v), along with the transitive suffix. Thus we are forced to conclude that the transitive suffixes do not always occupy a syntactic head, but can also combine with the verb at the lexical level. The full structure of reflexive verbs is given below:

(23)

```
            V
          /   \
        V       V
              /   \
          trans-   refl
        [+/-control]
```
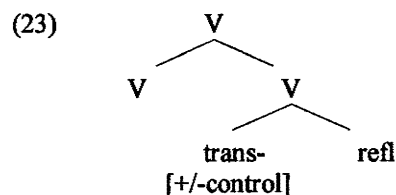
Thus, we are dealing with a derived verb, which contains the root, the transitive suffix and the reflexive ending. The complex verb in (23) is then interpreted as follows:

(24)   x causes y to undergo V (where x = y)

The transitive suffix can be analyzed as a predicate meaning "cause" and introducing an argument (AGENT) (see Wiltschko 2002). Furthermore the transitive suffixes encodes the degree of control the subject has over the event. The reflexive element stipulates that x = y. Finally, a verbal root in Halkomelem is always unaccusative (see Davis 1998). Thus it can be translated as "undergo V" and consequently introduces the THEME argument.

One consequence of the assumption that the reflexive/transitive suffix is introduced at the lexical level, rather than as a syntactic head, is the fact that the transitive suffix seems to lose its transitivizing properties. Rather the complex verb ends up a derived intransitive. I will turn to this property in the next subsection

## 3.2   Reflexives as intransitives

In this subsection I will discuss the argument properties of the derived reflexives. Consider what happens to the argument-structure of the verb in case a reflexive suffix is added:

(25)        V <x>
           /      \
        V          -thet
      <y>          -lomet
                    <x>
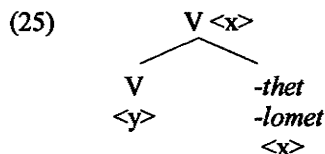
As argued above, I follow Davis 1998 in assuming that all roots are unaccusative. Thus they introduce only an internal argument (i.e. a PATIENT or THEME). I further assume that transitive suffixes introduce an external argument (i.e. an AGENT or CAUSE). Recall that the reflexive suffix contains the transitive suffix and consequently, it will introduce an external argument when it is attached to the verb. In the structure in (25) the reflexive suffix is the head of the complex verb and as such it will determine the argument structure. Consequently the verb will only have one argument, namely the external argument. (In addition the reflexive part of the reflexive suffix stipulates that the external argument equals the internal argument, which can however not be assigned. Consequently, reflexive predicates are analyzed as derived intransitives and thus we predicts intransitive properties. This prediction is borne out as I will discuss now (see also Gerdts 2000 for the same conclusion in Downriver Halkomelem).

First, in transitive but not in intransitive predicates 3rd person subjects trigger "ergative" agreement:

(26) a. may-th-óx-es            *"transitive" 3^{rd} subject*
       help-trans-1sg.o-3s
       'He helps me.'
    b. yó:ys   tú-tl'ò            *"intransitive" 3^{rd} subject*
       work   det-3Indep
       'He works.'                   Galloway 1980: 126

      No such agreement is found in reflexive predicates, which indicates that we are dealing with intransitive subjects:

(27) a. ló:s-thet-(*es)      te       spáth
       fat-refl-3s          det      bear
       'The bear made himself fat.'
    b. kw'em-ló:met-(*es)   tú-tl'ò
       raise-refl-3s          det-3Indep
       'He raised himself.'

      Note that if an object suffix is used rather than the reflexive suffix, the ergative agreement appears, as expected:

(28) kw'éts-l-exw-es   tú-tl'ò
     see-trans-3o-3s    det-3Indep
     'He saw himself.'

      Second, in Upriver Halkomelem the determiner *tl'* is restricted to transitive subjects as shown below:

(29) a. q'ó:y-t-es     **tl'**       Strang    te     sqelá:w
       kill-trans-3s   det.obl    Strang    det    beaver
       'Strang killed the beaver.'
    b. *q'ó:y-t-es    te     spá:th    **tl'**      Strang
       kill-trans-3s   det    bear      det.obl   Strang
       'The bear killed Strang.'
    c. *í:mex     **tl'**      Strang
       walk       det.obl    Strang
       'Strang is walking.'        Wiltschko 2000: 262 ex 52/53

      Again, in reflexive environments this determiner is not possible if the reflexive suffix is used:

(30) a. may-thet   te     Strang
       help-refl   det     Strang
       'Strang helped himself.'
    b. *may-thet tl'      Strang
       help-refl   det.obl    Strang
       'Strang helped himself.'

However, if the object suffix is used rather than the reflexive marker, then *tl'* can reappear again:

(31)  kw'éts-l-exw-es  **tl'**  Strang
      see-trans-3o-3s  det.obl  Strang
      'Strang saw himself.'

We can thus conclude that reflexive sentences are only transitive if they use the regular object suffix. They are syntactically intransitive if they are marked with the special reflexive suffix. Under the present proposal this follows from the difference in attachment site. If the transitive suffix is accompanied by the object suffix it is attached in the syntax. As a consequence its own argument can be assigned along with the argument of the verb. If however the transitive suffix is accompanied by the reflexive suffix it is attached in the lexicon and consequently the argument of the verb can no longer be assigned: an intransitive predicate is derived.

Note that Gerdts 2000 comes to the same conclusion with a different analysis for Downriver Halkomelem. Under her analysis the transitive suffix is present but no longer signals a transitive predicate: the predicate is syntactically intransitive. The present proposal differs in a significant way when we look at the template that Gerdts 1988 assigns to account for the morpheme order:

(32) Template for Halkomelem verb morphology (Gerdts 1988):

| -1 | 0 | +1 | +2 | +3 | +4 |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| prefixes | root +aspect | applicative suffixes lexical suffixes | transitivity suffixes | object suffixes reflexive suffixes | subject suffixes |

In the template above, reflexive suffixes are in the same position as object suffixes. Under our proposal, this would imply that they have the same structure. However, we have argued that reflexive suffixes are added in the lexicon whereas object suffixes are added in the syntax. This means that they cannot occupy the same position. If we were to translate our analysis of Upriver Halkomelem into a templatic analysis we would end up with the following template:

(33) Template for Upriver Halkomelem verb morphology:

| -1 | 0 | +1 | +2 | +3 | +4 |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| prefixes | root +aspect | applicative suffixes lexical suffixes [transitive + reflexive] | transitivity suffixes | object suffixes | subject suffixes |

Under this approach the transitive suffix occupies a different position if it is accompanied with the reflexive suffix: it occupies a position closest to the root. Under this approach, the complementary distribution of object suffixes and reflexive suffixes is not a matter of them occupying the same position. Rather, the lack of object suffixes in the presence of a reflexive suffix follows from the fact that the reflexive suffix derives an intransitive predicate, which never allow for an object suffix.

In addition the template in (33) predicts that reflexive suffixes should be in complementary distribution with applicative suffixes and lexical suffixes. This prediction is indeed borne out as shown in the next subsection (see also Gerdts 2000 for the same generalization in Downriver Halkomelem).

### 3.3 Complementarity distribution with lexical suffixes and applicative suffixes

Gerdts 1988, 2000 observes that reflexive suffixes are in complementary distribution with applicative and lexical suffixes in Downriver Halkomelem. The same generalization holds for Upriver Halkomelem.

First, consider applicative constructions. If a verb is suffixed by an applicative suffix (*-elhts*), then the indirect object (i.e. the benefactive) appears as the direct object and the original direct object (i.e. the THEME) is realized as an oblique.

(34)  lhíts'-elhts-th-omé-tsel-cha    **te  sméyeth**
      cut-appl-trans-2sg.o-1sg.s-fut    det  meat
      'I'll cut off the meat for you.'          Galloway 1993: p.260

Note that the new direct object cannot (i.e. the BENEFACTIVE) cannot trigger the appearance of a reflexive suffix (35)a, rather the regular object suffix has to be used (35)b:

(35)  a.  *tsel    qw'el-elhts-thet
          1sg.s    bake-appl -trans-refl
          'I barbecued for myself.'
      b.  tsel    qw'el-elhts-th-ox
          1sg.s    bake-appl-trans-1sg.o
          'I barbecued for myself.'

Under our analysis, this fact follows if we assume that only one suffix can be added in the lexicon. Applicative suffixes are attached in the lexicon as well (Wiltschko 2002) and consequently, reflexive suffixes are in complementary distribution with applicative suffixes.

Note that Gerdts' 1988, 2000 accounts for the complementary distribution with a special constraint which states that the reflexive -*thet* can only refer to a THEME nominal (Gerdts, 2000 p.144).[8]

Similarly, lexical suffixes are attached in the lexicon and therefore we expect them to be in complementary distribution with reflexive suffixes. Again this prediction is borne out:

(36)   \*th'e<u>x</u>-xál-thet    te       Strang
        wash-foot-refl    det Strang
        'Strang washed his feet.' (lit. Strang self-foot-washed)

To express the intended meaning, the Upriver Halkomelem (like Downriver) makes use of the "intransitive" suffix –*em* in the position following the lexical suffix:

(37)   th'e<u>x</u>-xál-em       te     Strang
        wash-foot-intrans    det     Strang
        'Strang washed his feet.'

Gerdts and Hukari 1998 analyze such instances of –*em* as another reflexive marker, which is historically related to the middle marker. Note however that the use of –*em* as a reflexive marker is restricted to this environment, i.e. following lexical suffixes. The present proposal makes an alternative analysis available, which I will outline in the next section.

## 4    The "other reflexive": -*em*

As noted above, a lexical suffix followed by the "intransitive" suffix –*em* results in a reflexive interpretation. In order to account for this, I propose the following constraint:
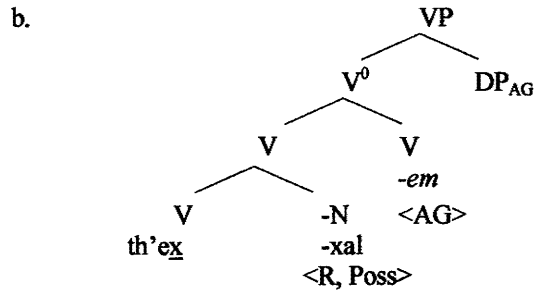
(38) The possessor argument of the lexical suffix is bound by the closest available binder.

With this in mind consider the structure of the example under consideration

(39)    a.   th'e<u>x</u>-xál-em      te     Strang
            wash-foot-intrans    det     Strang
            'Strang washed his feet.'

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[8] Gerdts' restricts this constraint to the reflexive –*thet* because in Downriver the other reflexive suffix –*námet* can cooccur with applicative suffixes as well as lexical suffixes. At this time, I do not know whether the same is true for Upriver Halkomelem and thus I leave this as a matter of future research.
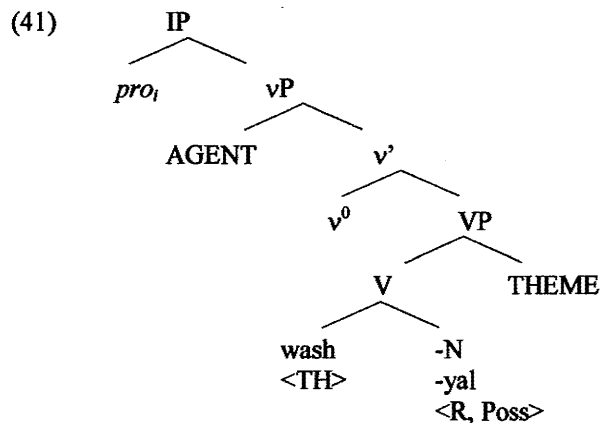
b.

```
                          VP
                         /  \
                       V⁰    DP_AG
                      /  \
                     V    V
                         -em
                   /  \
                  V    -N   <AG>
                th'ex  -xal
                       <R, Poss>
```

Wiltschko (2001) argues that *–em* is a suffix which introduces the external argument in the lexicon. Consequently it derives unergative intransitives. If we further assume that the lexical suffix comes with a referential (R) argument and a possessor argument (see Vergnaud & Zubizaretta 1992) we derive the reflexive interpretation in interaction with the assumption in (38) in the following way. The R-argument of the lexical suffix is identified with the argument of the verb (i.e. the THEME). According to (38), the possessor argument has to be bound by the closest available binder, which happens to be the subject of the intransitive verb, i.e. the AGENT.

This proposal can also explain why in the presence of a transitive suffix, the reflexive interpretation is excluded:

(40)   th'ex-xál-t-es          te      Strang
       wash-foot-trans-3s      det     Strang
       'Strang washed somebody's feet.
       '*Strang washed his own feet'

Consider the structure of a sentence like (40)

(41)

```
          IP
         /  \
      pro_i   vP
            /  \
        AGENT   v'
               /  \
              v⁰    VP
                   /  \
                  V    THEME
                 /  \
              wash   -N
              <TH>   -yal
                     <R, Poss>
```

Like in the case of intransitives, the R-argument of the lexical suffix is identified with the argument of the root (i.e. the THEME). Again, the possessor

argument has to be bound by the closest available binder. Consequently, the possessor argument has to be bound by the object, i.e. the argument of the root. This immediately predicts that the possessor cannot be bound by the subject (i.e. the AGENT), as in (40).

In order to account for the grammatical interpretation of (40), we have to assume that there is a phonetically empty object DP which corresponds to the THEME argument of the root. Of course this predicts that if an overt object DP is present, it must function as the binder. This is indeed the case as shown below:

(42) th'e<u>x</u>w-xál-t-es    te     Strang   te    Konrad
       wash-foot-trans-3s  det    Strang   det   Konrad
       'Strang washed Konrad's feet.'

Note that this analysis presupposes that the lexical suffix is not the object, i.e. that it is not incorporated. Rather, the possessor DP must function as the direct object (contra Gerdts 1999). Note that Upriver Halkomelem provides us with independent evidence to this effect. Apart from transitive subjects, the determiner *tl'* can also introduce possessor DPs as shown in the example below:

(43) th'e<u>x</u>w-at-es  te  s<u>x</u>éle-s   **tl'**    **Konrad**  the     Martina
       wash-trans-3s  det  foot-3poss  det.obl  Konrad  det.fem  Martina
       'Martina washed Konrad's foot.'

Under Gerdts' analysis, the apparent transitive object in a sentence like 0 is analyzed as a possessor DP. If this was the case, then it is predicted that the determiner *tl'* should be possible. This prediction is however not borne out:

(44)  a.  tsel    th'e<u>x</u>w-xál-t    te Strang
           1sg.s  wash-foot-trans  det Strang
           'I washed Strang's foot.'
      b.  *tsel   th'e<u>x</u>w-xál-t        **tl'**   **Strang**
           1sg.s  wash-foot-trans       det.obl Strang
           'I washed Strang's foot.'

The ungrammaticality of (44)b remains unexplained if the underlined DP was indeed a possessor. However, if the DP is analyzed as a transitive object as in the analysis presented here, we expect *tl'* to be ungrammatical in this context: transitive objects do not allow for *tl'* (see section 3.1). Under this analysis, the fact that the object has to be interpreted as the possessor derives from the fact that otherwise the possessor argument of the lexical suffix would remain unbound (the closest DP has to function as the binder).

In sum, the apparent reflexive nature of *–em* following lexical suffixes is just a byproduct of its morphosyntax in interaction with the assumption that the possessor argument of lexical suffixes has to be bound by the nearest available binder.

**5    Conclusion**

In this paper I have argued that reflexives in Halkomelem are lexicalized. As such they do not block the appearance of regular object suffixes in reflexive environments. This analysis makes it possible to derive some of the properties of reflexives: they derive intransitive predicates, they are in complementary distribution with applicatives and lexical suffixes. Finally, I have shown how one can derive the apparent reflexive reading of the "intransitive" suffix *–em* in the presence of a lexical suffix.

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