

A Note on the Dependent Passive in Halkomelem

Wayne Suttles
Portland State University

Hukari (1976 fn. 8) says, "The dependent passive construction apparently occurs only in subordinate clauses." Certainly the most obvious difference between the "medio-passive" and the "dependent passive" is their occurrence in co-ordinate and subordinate clauses, as (the forms cited are in the Musqueam dialect).

k^wəcnéləm 'I am seen'
wək^wəcné·lt 'if I am seen'

But there is another common use-- in nominalizations.

A number of constructions require that predicates be nominalized and their subjects indicated by possessives. Compare

k^wəcnəx^w cən ce?. 'I will see him.'
see-him I future
sk^wéy k^wə n sk^wəcnəx^w. 'I can't see him.'
impossible the my seeing-him

When the predicate to be nominalized is a passive, the resulting form is a nominalized dependent passive, e.g.

sk^wéy qə k^w sk^wəcné·lt. 'I can't be seen!'
impossible ! the my-being-seen/some one's seeing me

There is also a sentence type occurring frequently in narratives that consists of a nominalized predicate, possibly (though often not) introduced by *ʔa* 'be it, it is the one that, he is the one who, etc.' and possibly followed by adjuncts. Typically, if the subject is 3rd person, the nominalization begins with *səw*, which consists of the nominalizer s-

and the clitic wə-/-əw 'then (?)', 'now(.)', followed by the first word of the predicate with the 3rd person possessive -s, as

Wayne Suttles
Portland State University

(ʔa) səw nəns. 'Then he went.'

səw kʷəcnəxʷs. 'Then he saw it.'

Hukari (1976 fn. 8) says, "The dependent passive construction Or it may begin with səsew or sisəw, which consists of the s- nominalizer, apparently occurs only in subordinate clauses." Certainly the most an empty stem (or a reduction of ʔi 'be here'), the -s possessive, and obvious difference between the "medio-passive" and the "dependent pas- the -əw clitic, followed by the form one would get in a usual predicate, as sive" is their occurrence in co-ordinate and subordinate clauses, as

səsew nəm. 'Then he went.'

(the forms cited are in the Musqueam dialect)
səsew kʷəcnəxʷəs. 'Then he saw it.'

The difference is that where we have səw it is the main verb that is nomi- kʷəcnələm 'I am seen'
nalized and possessed, while where we have səsew it is an element (an auxi- wəkwəcné·lt 'if I am seen'
liary) preceding the main verb that is nominalized and possessed. But there is another common use-- in nominalizations.

A number of constructions require that predicates be nominalized verb is passive, then we find the same relationship between the forms with and their subjects indicated by possessives. Compare səw and with səsew, as

kʷəcnəxʷ, con ce? 'I will see him.'
səw leqəti·t. 'Then he is laid down.'

see-him I future
səsew kʷənnəm. 'Then he is grabbed.'

With səw we find the dependent passive, which, with the s- nominalizer, skʷəy kʷə n skʷəcnəxʷ. 'I can't see him.'

impossible the my seeing-him
might be translated 'his being laid down', while with səsew we find the When the predicate to be nominalized is a passive, the resulting form is 'medio-passive, the possessive required by the nominalizer having preceded a nominalized dependent passive, e.g. the verb.'

skʷəy qə kʷ skʷəcné·lt. 'I can't be seen!'

The dependent passive also occurs in nominalizations with the compound prefix šxʷ- (s- plus xʷ-) 'locus of, means of, cause of', as in impossible ! the my-being-seen/some one's seeing me

There is also a sentence type occurring frequently in narratives
ʔa ni šxʷ kʷəqəti·t. 'That's what he got hit with.'

that consists of a nominalized predicate, possibly (though often not) in- be-it there means-of-his-being-hit
troduced by ʔa 'be it, it is the one that, he is the one who, etc.' and Compare Hukari's Cowichan (p. 45, 71a) nəspas 'means-of-my-being-hit', which contains a possessive, because pas 'get hit' is not passive in the grammatical sense that kʷəqətam 'be hit' is. possibly followed by adjuncts. Typically, if the subject is 3rd person, the nominalization begins with səw, which consists of the nominalizer s-

The dependent passive also occurs in negative constructions, but its occurrence there may be seen as a special sort of subordinate clause. In Halkomelem, when the negative (auxiliary) verb éwə is followed by a word it negates, the latter (unless it is a passive) must take one of the subordinate subject suffixes, as

ʔéwə	cən	néhè·n.	'I do not go.'
negate	I	that-I-go	
ʔéwə	cən	sáíqəłè·n.	'I am not a child.'
negate	I	that-I-am-child	
ʔéwə	cən	kʷəc̣nəxʷè·n.	'I do not see him.'
negate	I	that-I-see-him	

But when the word negated is passive, it is one of the subordinate (dependent) set, as

ʔéwə	ceʔ	m̩e	kʷəc̣nè·lt	'I will not be seen.'
negate (it)	future obs.		that-I-am-seen	
ʔéwə	ceʔ	m̩e	kʷəc̣nì·t é·łtən.	'They will not be seen.'
negate (it)	fut. observation		that-3rd-pers.-be-seen plural	

The absence of a co-ordinate subject particle following éwə implies that it has a 3rd person subject. Compare

ʔéwə	cən	ni·n	kʷəc̣nəxʷ.	'I did not see him.'
negate	I	that-I-there	see-him	
ʔéwə	ni·s	kʷəc̣nèləm.		'I am not (was not) seen.'
negate (3p)	that-3p-there	I-am-seen		

This 3rd person indicated (by zero) for the negative verb and (by -əs) for the auxiliary seems to support Hukari's identification of the "medio-passive" affixes as objects.

1 The materials used were dictated by Mrs. Christine Charles and Mr. James Point. Mrs. Charles was quite consistent in usage. Mr. Point less so