Passive in Halkomelem and Squamish Salish[1]

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In the empirical part of this paper it is shown that there is strong evidence that the underlying object in Halkomelem passives does not act like a surface subject. Consequently, we expect object agreement in a passive sentence. Furthermore, preliminary evidence is presented that in Squamish passives the underlying object remains an object as well. If true, this is a surprising result given that agreement in Squamish passives appears to be subject agreement.

In the theoretical part we adopt the principles and parameters view according to which there is no such thing as a construction. Consequently, there is no such thing as a "passive construction". This means that the question as to whether passives in Halkomelem or Squamish are really instances of passives is meaningless. We will show that the language specific properties of passives follow from the properties of the "passive" suffix (–em) in interaction with the fact that there is no Case.

1 Passive in Halkomelem Salish

The question I am interested in concerns the grammatical function of the underlying object of passive sentences in Halkomelem (a Coast Salish language):[2]

(1) a. máy-t-es   te   Konrad
         help-TRANS-3S   DET   Konrad
         'He/She helped Konrad.'

[2] Original Halkomelem data as well as Galloway's data are from the Upriver dialect. Gerdts' and Hukari's data are from the Island (Cowichan) dialect. For data in the Upriver dialect, I make use of the practical orthography (see Galloway 1980 for a key). Gerdt's and Hukari's data are cited as they appear in their work (see relevant references for a key). For ease of exposition, I have unified all abbreviations used in glosses in the followig way: 1= 1st person, 2 = 2nd person, 3 = 3rd person, AG = agent, AUX = auxiliary. BEN = benefactive, CAUS = causative, CONT = continuative, DET = determiner, EM = passive and middle marker, FEM = feminine, FUT = future, INDEP = independent pronoun, LNK = linker, NEG = negation, NOM = nominalizer, O = object, OBL = oblique, PASS = passive object agreement, PAT = patient, PL = plural, POSS = possessive, PRT = particle, Q = question marker, RL = realis, S = subject, SG = singular, SS = subjunctive subject, ST = stative, TRANS = transitive suffix

b. máy-t-em   te   Konrad
    help-TRANS-EM   DET   Konrad
    'Somebody helped Konrad.'/'Konrad was helped.'

In the active clause the NP *te Konrad* functions as the direct object. The question arises as to whether in the passive counterpart in (1)b this argument remains the direct object or whether it becomes the surface subject. Thus, the question boils down to whether or not the underlying object in a passive acts as a subject or as an object. From now on I will refer to the two alternatives as the "O(bject)=O-analysis" as opposed to the "O=S(ubject)"-analysis. Note that both views are found in the literature (see for example Gerdts 1989 for the O=S-analysis and Hukari 1980 for the O=O-analysis).

1.1 Agreement

Like in most Salish languages, pronominal agreement in the Halkomelem passive is (a kind of) object agreement (see Gerdts 1988; Galloway 1980, 1993; Kroeber 1999; Kinkade 1988, among others).

(2)   a. máy-th-àl-èm
        help-TRANS-1SG.PASS-EM
        'Somebody helped me.'/'I was helped.'
    b. máy-th-ò:-m
        help-TRANS-2SG.PASS-EM
        'Somebody helped you.'/'You were helped.'   (Galloway 1980: 127)

Evidence that the passive agreement is indeed a kind of object agreement stems from several considerations. First, the passive agreement bears some resemblance to object agreement, but not to subject clitics.

(3)   The agreement paradigm

	Subject clitics	object suffixes	passive suffixes
1sg	tsel	-óx	-àl-èm
2sg	chexw	-óme	-ò-m
3	--	--	-em
1pl	tset	-ó(l)xw[3]	--
2pl	chap	-óle	-òl-èm

(from Galloway 1980)

Second, matrix subject agreement consists of a set of clitics whereas object agreement is suffixal. Again, passive agreement patterns with object agreement in this respect: it is suffixal, immediately following the transitive marker. The fact that the passive is formed with object-like rather than subject-like agreement is immediately predicted by the assumption that passives do not involve promotion to subject. It is however rather unexpected under an analysis whereby the underlying object is promoted

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[3] In Galloway (1993) *–olxw* is found whereas my consultants use *–óxw*.

to subject.[4] Under such an analysis the immediate prediction is that we find subject agreement, like for example in English:

(4) a. They were found.
     b. *They was found.

Thus, from a morpho-syntactic perspective the O=O-analysis is superior to the O=S-analysis:

	O=O	O=S
Agreement	✓	✗

1.2 Double agreement in negative sentences

Another crucial morpho-syntactic piece of evidence has to do with a peculiar property of negated sentences in Halkomelem. That is, in negative sentences we find two instances of agreement, a subject clitic and subjunctive agreement:

(5) a. éwe **tsel** lí-l   tl'íls-th-òmè
        NEG **1SG.S** AUX-1SG.SS want-TRANS-2SG.O
        'I don't like you.'
     b. éwe **chexw** lí-xw   tl'íls-th-òx
        NEG **2SG.S** AUX-2SG.SS want-TRANS-1SG.O
        'You don't like me.'   (Galloway 1993: p.186)

With this in mind, consider now negative passive sentences:

(6) a. éwe **í-s**   xwemékwathe-th-àl-em
        NEG AUX-**3SS**   kiss-TRANS-**1SG.PASS**-EM
        'Nobody kissed me.'/'I wasn't' kissed.'
     b. éwe **lí-s**   xwemékwath-eth-ò-m
        NEG AUX-**3SS**   kiss-TRANS-**2SG.PASS**-EM
        'Nobody kissed you.'/'You weren't kissed.'

We observe that in addition to the 1st and 2nd person passive agreement on the main verb we also find 3rd person subject agreement on the auxiliary. Under the O=S analysis the occurrence of a 3rd person agreement marker in examples like (6) is quite mysterious given that the underlying object would correspond to be the surface subject. Consequently, if double agreement occurs it would be predicted to be 1st or 2nd person, respectively.[5]

However, under the O=O analysis, the negative pattern is completely expected. That is, if the underlying object does not get promoted to subject, there must be some

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[4] This is not to say that the O=S analysis is impossible. See Gerdts (1989). However, the O=O analysis captures the facts without further assumptions and is thus simpler.

[5] This argument presupposes that negative sentences in Halkomelem are mono-clausal (see Wiltschko 2000a for evidence to this effect).

other subject because every sentence has to have a subject. If no thematic subject is available we expect that an expletive element (which is not pronounced in Halkomelem) is inserted. This expletive element is formally 3rd person and thus we expect 3rd person subject agreement in passive clauses. This is what we find in negative sentences like (6). Thus, negative sentences provide us with another important piece of evidence for the O=O analysis:

	O=O	O=S
Agreement in negative sentences	✓	✗

1.3 Other instances of double agreement

The pattern seen in negative clauses raises an important issue. If the O=O analysis is on the right track, why don't we find 3rd person subject agreement more generally:

(7) a. máy-th-àl-èm
        help-TRANS-1SG.PASS-EM
        'Somebody helped me.'/'I was helped.'
     b. máy-th-ò:-m
        help-TRANS-2SG.PASS-EM
        'Somebody helped you.'/'You were helped.'   (Galloway 1980: 127)

If there is a 3rd person (expletive) subject in sentences like **Error! Reference source not found.**, why does it not manifest itself by means of 3rd person subject agreement? There is a simple answer to this question. On the one hand, there is no 3rd person subject clitic as seen in the table in (3). Note however that Halkomelem appears to have 3rd person subject agreement for transitive subjects (i.e. the so called ergative marker). Now, if passive sentences contain a 3rd person subject, then why does this 3rd person agreement not show up? I think the answer to this lies in the fact that *–es* might not be a 3rd person marker at all but rather a morpheme (restricted to 3rd person) that marks subjects as topics. As such it is predicted to be in complementary distribution with the passive marker *–em* which marks objects as topics.[6] The complementary distribution of *-es* and *–em* is most evident in Squamish. Here we find subject rather than object agreement in passives. Nevertheless, there is no 3rd person *-es* in passive sentences:

(8) na   ílhens-t-em   t-kwa   síyay'-s
     RL   feed-TRANS-EM   OBL-DET friends-3POSS
     'His friends fed him.'   (Jacobs 1992: 14 ex. 8d)

The relevant property of negative sentences is that there is 3rd person subjunctive agreement (which happens to be *–s* as well), which is independent of the "ergative agreement". It is thus expected that in other environments of subjunctive agreement we do get the 3rd person agreement in passives as well. This prediction is indeed borne out:

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[6] See for example Davis (1994) and Kinkade (1990) for such an approach to *–es* and *–em*.

(9) a. éy   te-l   sqwálewel   lí-**s**   cha   xwmékwàth-eth-**àl-èm**
       good DET-1SG.POSS thoughts   AUX-**3SS**   FUT   kiss-TRANS-**1SG.PASS**-EM
       'I'm happy if someone kisses me.''I'm happy if/when I will be kissed.'

     b. éy   te-l   sqwálewel   lí-**s**   cha   xwmékwàth-eth-**ò-m**
       good DET-1SG.POSS thoughts   AUX-**3SS**   FUT   kiss-TRANS-**2SG.PASS**-EM
       'I'm happy if someone kisses you.'/'I'm happy if you will be kissed.'

The sentences above show 3rd person subjunctive subject agreement in addition to the 1st and 2nd person passive object agreement. Similarly in nominalized clauses with possessive subject agreement we find the same phenomenon: passive clauses with 1st or 2nd person underlying objects nevertheless show 3rd person possessive agreement:

(10) a. éy   kw'-s-**es**   xwmékwàth-eth-**àl-èm**
       good DET-NOM-**3POSS**   kiss-TRANS-**1SG.PASS**-EM
       'It's good that somebody kissed me.''It's good that I got kissed.'

     b. éy   kw'-s-**es**   xwmékwàth-eth-**ò-m**
       good DET-NOM-**3POSS**   kiss-TRANS-**2SG.PASS**-EM
       'It's good that somebody kissed you.' 'It's good that you got kissed.'

     c. éy   kw'-s-**es**   xwmékwàth-eth-**òl-èm**   talhwélep
       good DET-NOM-**3POSS**   kiss-TRANS-**2PL.PASS**-TRANS 2PL.INDEP
       'It's good that somebody kissed you folks.' 'It's good that you folks got kissed.'

(11) a. éw   iyólem   kw'-s-**es**   kw'éts-l-**àl-èm**
       PRT   alright   DET-NOM-**3POSS**   see-TRANS-**1SG.PASS**-EM
       'It's alright that somebody saw me.' 'It's alright that I was seen.'

     b. éw   iyólem   kw'-s-**es**   kw'éts-l-**ò-m**
       PRT   alright   DET-NOM-**3S**   see-TRANS-**2SG.PASS**-EM
       'It's alright that somebody saw you.' 'It's alright that you were seen.'

Again, this pattern is straightforwardly predicted under the O=O analysis, since there has to be a 3rd person (expletive) subject. It is however not clear how the O=S analysis would account for this pattern:[7]

	O=O	O=S
Agreement in embedded clauses	✓	✗

[7] The O=S analysis predicts that the subjunctive and possessive agreement matches the person of the object passive agreement. According to Gerdts (1989) some speakers of the Cowichan dialect allow for this pattern:

i) sk'wey   k'^{w} [nə-s   [-c'ew-əθe.lt
   impossible   DET   1POSS-NOM   -help-TRANS+1OBJ+ST
   'It's impossible for me to get helped.'   (Gerdts 1989: 195 ex. 29)
   Upriver Halkomelem does not allow this pattern. I have nothing to say about the data in i).

1.4 The distribution of *tl'*

Wiltschko (2000b) observes that in Upriver Halkomelem the determiner *tl'* can only precede transitive subjects (12)a, but it can neither be used with objects (12)b nor with intransitive subjects (12)c:

(12) a. q'ó:y-t-es   te/**tl'**   Strang te   sqelá:w
       kill-TRANS-3S DET/DET.OBL Strang DET beaver
       'Strang killed the beaver.'

    b. q'ó:y-t-es   te   spá:th   te/***tl'**   Strang
       kill-TRANS-3S DET bear   DET/DET.OBL Strang
       'The bear killed Strang.'

    c. í:mex   te/***tl'**   Strang
       walk   DET/DET.OBL   Strang
       'Strang is walking.'   (Wiltschko 2000b: 262 ex (52-54))

The distribution of *tl'* thus provides us with an empirical test concerning the grammatical function of an argument. With this in mind consider the passive example below:

(13) q'éykw'-et-em   the/***tl**   Martina
     bite-TRANS-EM   DET.FEM/DET.OBL   Martina
     'Something bit Martina.'/'Martina got bitten.'

(13) shows that the underlying object of a passive cannot be preceded by *tl'*. This provides evidence that the underlying object does not function like a transitive subject. Of course this is immediately accounted for by the O=O analysis, under which the underlying object remains a syntactic object. It is thus expected to behave like any other object in not being able to occur with *tl'* (12)b. Under the O=S analysis the restriction on *tl'* in (13) is not immediately expected since *the Martina* is analyzed as a subject:

	O=O	O=S
Distribution of tl'	✓	✗

Excursion: The formal transitivity of the passive predicate

Note that the last argument only goes through, if we assume that the passive predicate functions as a transitive predicate. If one adopts the view that passive predicates formally function as intransitives (see Gerdts 1988) the data in (13) would not conclusively show that the underlying object remains an object. In that case one could argue that the underlying object functions as an intransitive subject, which does not allow for *tl'* either. Thus, in order for the argument to go through, we have to show that the passive predicate formally functions as a transitive predicate. There are a number of arguments to that effect.

    First, the data involving double agreement (§1.2 - 1.3) would be unaccounted for if we would view the passive as an intransitive predicate. In this case one and the same

argument (i.e. the alleged intransitive subject) would simultaneously trigger 1st and 3rd person agreement in examples like (6)a repeated below for convenience:

(6) a. éwe í-s   xwmékwathe-th-àl-èm
        NEG AUX-**3SS**   kiss-TRANS-**1SG.PASS**-EM
        'Nobody kissed me.'/'I wasn't' kissed.'

Second, assuming that the passive predicate is formally intransitive, seems problematic, given the fact that the predicate is necessarily suffixed by one of the transitive markers –*t*, or –*l*, respectively:

(14) a. ó-**th**-àl-èm   ó-**t**-em
        call-TRANS-1SG.PASS-EM   CALL-TRANS-EM
        'I was called.'   'He was called.'
     b. kw'éts-**l**-àl-èm   kʷ'éts-**l**-em
        see-TRANS-1SG.PASS-EM   see-TRANS-EM
        'I was seen.'   'He was seen.' (from Galloway 1993: 187f.)

If we assume that all and only predicates which are marked with a transitive suffix are in fact formally transitive then passive predicates are included. Such a definition is maximally simple and captures the correlation between transitive marking and object agreement.

If passive predicates should not be included in the set of transitive predicates, then we would have to find another definition of transitivity. One way to do this would be to say that a predicate is transitive if it allows for two direct arguments. This would exclude passives along with intransitives. However, if we use this definition, then we cannot account for the correlation between transitive marking and object agreement. All this definition does is make sure passives are excluded from the set of transitive predicates. Since there is no independent motivation for such a definition it runs into the danger of being circular.

I will thus continue assuming that all and only transitive marked predicates are transitive and consequently passive predicates are included. Once we acknowledge the transitivity of the predicate there are (at least) two more arguments for the O=O analysis.

1.5 The One Nominal Interpretation (ONI)

It is a well-known fact that there is a restriction on transitive sentences with two 3rd person arguments. If only one argument is overtly realized as a DP, it is necessarily interpreted as the object rather than the subject.

(15) ni   q'ʷáqʷ-ət-əs   kʷθə swəy?qe?
     AUX club-TRANS-3S   DET man
     'He clubbed the man.'
     *'The man clubbed him.'   (Gerdts 1988: 58 (104))

The restriction exemplified by (15) is called the "one nominal interpretation" (ONI; see Gerdts 1988). Now consider the passive examples below:

(16) a. xwmékwàth-et-em   the   Martina
       kiss-TRANS-EM   DET   Martina
       'Somebody kissed Martina.'/'Martina was kissed.'
   b. la   máy-t-em   te   swíyeqe
       AUX   help-TRANS-EM   DET   man
       'Somebody helped the man.'/'The man got helped.'

If the underlying object in the passive would be a surface subject, then the sentences in (16) would violate the ONI. Again, the O=O analysis makes the right prediction: the only argument realized in (16) is the object, thus obeying the ONI:

	O=O	O=S
ONI	✓	✗

For completeness, note that the O=S analysis could be saved by assuming that the ONI is a restriction that affects underlying and not surface grammatical functions. In that case the passive data in (16) would not violate the ONI because the overt argument is in fact an underlying object. That this approach to the ONI is not on the right track can be seen by looking at "ditransitive" predicates. The predicates below contain an applicative suffix (-elhts) which has the effect of turning a BENEFACTIVE argument into a direct object (the underlying direct object can only be realized as an oblique; see for example Gerdts 1988, Hukari 1979 for discussion). Crucially, if there is only one overt argument realized it has to correspond to the BENEFACTIVE, which corresponds to the surface but not the underlying direct object:

(17) a. qwélém-elhts-et-es   te   pús
       barbecue-BEN-TRANS-3S   DET   cat
       'He barbecued it for the cat.'
       *'He barbecued the cat.'
   b. qwélém-elhts-et-es   te   sthóqwi
       barbecue-BEN-TRANS-3S   DET   fish
       'He barbecued it for the fish.'
       *'He barbecued the fish.'

This provides evidence that the ONI is really a restriction affecting surface objects rather than underlying objects, which is an important conclusion for the argument concerning passives to go through.

1.6 Possessor and quantifier extraction

Assuming that passive predicates are transitive turns an observation made by Gerdts (1988) into an argument for the O=O analysis. The argument concerns possessor and quantifier extraction. Gerdts (1988) shows that there is a restriction on possessor and

quantifier extraction in Halkomelem. Extraction is only possible out of transitive objects ((18)a, (19)a.i) and intransitive subjects ((18)b, (19)b) but not out of a transitive subjects ((18)c, (19)a.ii)):

(18) a. státəl-stəx^w cən   łə   słéni?   ni   q'^{,w}əl-ət-əs   k^{w}θə scé.łtən-s

     know-CAUS   1SG.S DET   woman   AUX   bake-TRANS-3S   DET   salmon-3POSS
     'I know the woman whose salmon he baked.'   (Gerdts 1988: 75 (168b))

   b. státəl-stəx^w cən   łə   słéni?   ni   x̌čénəm   k^{w}θə sqé?əq-s

     know-CAUS   1SG.S DET   woman   AUX   run   DET   younger.brother-3POSS
     'I know the women whose younger brother ran.'   (Gerdts 1988: 74 (162b))

   c. *státəl-stəx^w cən   łe   słéni?....

     know-CAUS   1SG.S DET   woman...

     ...ni   q'^{,w}əl-ət-əs   k^{w}θə sqé?əq-s   k^{w}θə scé.łtən

     ...aux   bake-TRANS-3SUB   DET   younger.brother-3POSS   DET   salmon
     'I know the woman whose younger brother baked the salmon.'

                                          (Gerdts 1988: 74 (165b)

(19) a. ni   mək'^{w} ?u   łəyx̌-t-əs   t^{θ}ə   słənłéni?   k^{w}θə scé.łtən

     AUX all   LNK   eat-TRANS-3S   DET   woman.PL   DET   salmon
     i) 'The women ate all the salmon.'
     ii) *'All the women ate the salmon.'   (Gerdts 1988: 81 (189b))

   b. ni   mək'^{w} ?u   ?əłtən   t^{θ}ə   słənłéni?

     AUX all   LNK   eat   DET   women.PL
     'All the women ate.'   (Gerdts 1988: 80 (186b))

Crucially extraction out of the underlying object in the passive is also possible:

(20) státəls-stəx^w ?ə č   k^{w}θə x^{w}ənítəm   ni   q'á.y-t-əm   k^{w}θə šx^w?áq'^{,w}a-s

     know-CAUS   Q   2SG.S DET   white.man   AUX   kill-TRANS-EM DET   brother-3POSS
     'Do you know the white man whose brother was killed.'   (Gerdts 1988: 203 (22))

(21) ni . mək'^{w} ?u   q'^{,w}əl-ət-əm   t^{θ}ə   sθəqi?   ?ə   t^{θ}ə   słənłéni?

     AUX all   LNK   bake-TRANS-EM   DET   sockeye OBL   DET   woman.PL
     'All the sockeye (salmon) were baked by the women.'
     *'All the women baked the sockeye.'   (Gerdts1988: 204 (25))

     The data in (20) and (21) clearly establish that the underlying object in a passive behaves like an object and not like a subject, thus supporting the O=O analysis:

	O=O	O=S
Possessor and quantifier extraction	✓	✗

1.7 The "pronominal-predicate-argument" (Hukari 1980)

For completeness, I will discuss another argument for the O=O analysis which is due to Hukari (1980). He observes that if an independent pronoun is used clause-initially as a predicate, subject agreement (i.e. the subject clitic) is lost: 327

(22) a. nəwə   ʔe ceʔ   xʷt'ᶿəx̌ʷwíls.
      2SG.INDEP   Q   FUT   wash-dishes
      'Is it you that is going to wash the dishes?'   (Hukari 1980: 16 (39))
    b. ʔénʔθə   ceʔ   kʷələšt   kʷθə   sməyəθ
      1SG.INDEP   FUT   shoot-TRANS   DET   deer
      'It is me that will shoot the deer.'   (Hukari 1980: 16 (40))

      If the clause-initial independent pronoun functions as the object of the predicate, the corresponding object agreement is still found:

(23) a. ʔénʔθə   ʔi   ʔáməs-θ-ámʔs̓-əs   ʔə   ɬə   télə
      1SG.INDEP   AUX   give-TRANS-1SG.O-3S   OBL   DET   money
      'It was me that he gave the money to.'   (Hukari 1980: 18 (46))
    b. ʔénʔθə   ʔə ʔi   cəsə-θ-ámʔš-əxʷ   ʔuʔ-xʷt'ᶿəx̌ʷwíls-ənʔ
      1SG.INDEP   Q   AUX   telling-TRANS-1SG.O-2SG.S wash-dishes-1SG.S
      'Is it me that you are asking to wash the dishes.'   (Hukari 1980: 17 (45))

      Crucially, if the clause-initial pronoun functions as the underlying object in a passive predicate, object agreement is still retained:

(24) ʔénʔθə   ʔi   ʔáməs-θ-él-əm   ʔə   ɬə   télə
    1SG.INDEP   AUX   give-TRANS-1SG.PASS-EM   OBL   DET   money
    'It was me that was given the money.'   (Hukari 1980: 18 (47)

      This is consistent with the O=O analysis. It is however not clear as to whether (24) is expected under the O=S analysis:

	O=O	O=S
Pronominal predicates and agreement	✓	✗

1.8 The Translation

A final piece of evidence for the O=O analysis has to do with the English translation of Halkomelem passive sentences. It is a striking fact about Halkomelem passives that native speakers consistently translate them into English active sentences with 3rd person subjects (which can but need not be specified, depending on the discourse context). Consider for example the sentence in (25):

(25) xwmékwàth-et-em   the   Martina
      kiss-TRANS-EM   DET   Martina

      When asked to translate this sentence, speakers would usually give the English sentence in (26)a and not the one in (26)b:

(26) a. Somebody kissed Martina.
     b. Martina was kissed.

·This fact has been noted by authors working on the Halkomelem passive (see for example Galloway 1993, Gerdts 1988, Hukari 1980). It is a striking fact, which I suggest can be used as an argument for the O=O analysis under which it is expected. It would however be a quite surprising fact under the O=S analysis:

	O=O	O=S
Translation	✓	✗

1.9 Conclusion

In this section, we have seen a number of arguments for the O=O analysis. The following table summarizes our findings:

	O=O	O=S
Agreement	✓	✗
Agreement in negative sentences	✓	✗
Agreement in embedded clauses	✓	✗
Distribution of *tl'*	✓	✗
ONI	✓	✗
Possessor and quantifier extraction	✓	✗
Pronominal predicates and agreement	✓	✗
Translation	✓	✗

All of the phenomena discussed so far can immediately be accounted for if we assume that the underlying object in a passive remains a surface object. The facts do not fall out in any straightforward way if one assumes that the underlying object surfaces as the subject of the clause. On basis of this evidence, I conclude that the O=O analysis is indeed on the right track: underlying objects remain syntactic objects in Halkomelem passives.

Excursion: The "raising to object construction"

At this point, we have to discuss one remaining issue. It has to do with the "raising to object construction" which is often cited as a piece of evidence for the O=S analysis in the literature (see for example Gerdts 1988). Davis (1980) observes that in Mainland Comox only the subject but not the object of an embedded clause can appear as a matrix. object. The phenomenon is found in Halkomelem as well (Hukari 1980, Gerdts 1988):

(27) a. ʔi   cən   x̌éc-t   [ʔu   ni-ʔəs   ceʔ   ʔu…
        AUX 1SG.S wonder-TRANS   LNK AUX-3S FUT   LNK…
        …c'ew-ət-ál?x^w-əs   t^{θ}ə   swəyʔqeʔ]
        …help-TRANS-1PL.O-3S   DET   man
        'I'm checking out the man if he will help us.'

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b. ʔi   cən   x̌éc-t   t̪ᶿə   swəyʔqeʔ   [ʔu   ni-ʔəs   ceʔ   ...
   AUX   1SG.S wonder-TRANS   DET   man   LNK   AUX-3S   FUT   ...
   ...ʔu   c'ew-ət-ál̕ʔx̌ʷ-əs]
   ...LNK   help-TRANS-1PL.O-3S
   'I'm checking out the man if he will help us.'   (Gerdts 1988: 206 (31))

In (27)b, the subject of the embedded clause (in boldface), appears in a position preceding the complementizer. Davis (1980) argues that the position of the NP is a result of movement (hence the name "raising to object").

Crucially, the same is not possible for the underlying object of the embedded clause as shown in (28):

(28) a. ʔi   ʔə č   ʔu   x̌éc-t...
        AUX   Q   2SG.S just wonder-TRANS ...
        ...[k'ʾʷə   ne-s-c'ew-ət   kʷθə xʷənítəm]
        ... DET   1POSS-NOM-help-TRANS   DET   white.man
        'Are you wondering if I helped the white man?'
     b. *ʔi   ʔə č   ʔu   x̌éc-t   kʷθə xʷənítəm...
        AUX   Q   2SG.S just   wonder-TRANS   DET   white.man...
        ...[k'ʾʷə   ne-s-c'ew-ət]
        ...DET   1POSS-NOM-help-TRANS
        'Are you wondering if I helped the white man?'   (Gerdts 1988: 208 (37))

Consequently, the "raising to object construction" is taken as a diagnostic for subjecthood. If we turn to passive sentences, we observe that the underlying object can in fact participate in the raising to object construction:

(29) a. ʔi   cən   x̌eʔx̌cí-t ...
        AUX   1SG.SUB   wonder-TRANS...
        ...[ʔu   ʔiʔ-əs   léʔləm-ʔət-əm?   ʔə-ƛ̕'   John kʷθə Bob]
        ...LNK   AUX-3S   look(CONT)-TRANS-EM   OBL-DET John   DET   Bob
        'I'm wondering if Bob is being watched by John.'
     b. ʔi   cən   x̌eʔx̌cí-t   kʷθə Bob...
        AUX   1SG.S   wonder-TRANS   det   Bob...
        ...[ʔu   ʔiʔ-əs   léʔləm-ʔət-əm?   ʔə-ƛ̕'   John]
        ...LNK   AUX-3S   look(CONT)-TRANS-EM   OBL-DET John
        'I'm wondering if Bob is being watched by John.'   (Gerdts 1988: 209 (40))

Without further assumptions the data in (29) seem to favor the O=S analysis over the O=O analysis:

	O=O	O=S
"Raising to object"	×	✓

In the previous section I have argued for the O=O analysis. Consequently, the pattern in (27)-(29) needs to be accounted for in some other way. Blake (1997) suggests an alternative to the raising analysis. She presents a number of arguments that the so called raised object is really the underlying object of the matrix predicate. The relation between the matrix object and the embedded object is further argued to be an instance of control.[8] Here, I will adopt Blake's analysis without further discussoin and add a few more arguments from Halkomelem against the assumption that the NP in boldface in (29) is really an argument of the embedded clause.

The first argument has to do with the distribution of the determiner *tl'*. We have seen in §1.4 that *tl'* is restricted to transitive subjects. For the present discussion, this means that if the apparent object was indeed an underlying subject of the embedded clause, we·would expect that it can be preceded by *tl'*. This prediction is however not borne out:

(30) *tsel kw'éts-lexw <u>tl'</u>   <u>Martina</u> kw'-s-es   xwmékwàth-et-es te Konrad
     1SG.S see-TRANS   DET.OBL M.   DET-NOM-3S   kiss-TRANS-3S   DET K.
     'I saw Martina kissing Konrad.'

The second argument has to do with a restriction on transitive sentences with a 3rd person subject and a 2nd person object (see for example Galloway 1993: 179). Such a sentence is not possible in Halkomelem. Rather a passive paraphrase has to be used:

(31) a. *kw'éts-l-óme-s
        see-TRANS-2SG.O-3S
        'He sees you.'
     b. kw'éts-l-ò-m
        see-TRANS-2SG.PASS-EM
        'He/somebody sees you.'/'You were seen.'

Whatever the reason for this restriction, it probably has to do with the interaction of a person hierarchy and a hierarchy of grammatical functions (see Jelinek & Demers 1983). With this in mind let us turn to the "raising to object construction":

(32) a. *kw'éts-l-òme-s   te   Linda   kw'-a-s   yóyes
        see-TRANS-2SG.O-3S DET   Linda   DET-2SG.S-NOM working
        'Linda saw you working.'
     b. kw'éts-l-ò-m   te   Linda   kw'-a-s   yóyes
        see-TRANS-2SG.PASS-EM   DET   Linda   DET-2SG.S-NOM working
        'Linda saw you working.''You were seen by Linda working.'

(32) establishes that the same restriction is found in the raising to object construction, that is a sentence with a 3rd person subject and a 2nd person "raised" object is ungrammatical. Instead the passive paraphrase has to be used.

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[8] For details, the reader is referred to Blake's paper.

Now, if the restriction on sentences with 3rd person subjects and 2nd person objects really depends on the grammatical function, then it would be rather unexpected that it would apply in (32) if the matrix object is not really the matrix object. Rather, if the NP would be an argument of the embedded predicate, the sentence would be predicted to be perfectly grammatical, contrary to facts. Thus, (32) provides evidence against the movement analysis of the "raising to object construction".

A third argument has to do with Condition C effects. It is a known fact that in Salish Condition C does not hold across clauses but just within clauses (see among others Davis 1993, Matthewson 1993, Matthewson, Davis, Gardiner 1993, Demirdache 1997 for a discussion on Condition C in other Salish languages). Consider now the example below:

(33) *q'éykw'-et-em   te   Konrad_i te   swá-s   pús   tú-tl'ò_i
       bite-TRANS-EM DET   Konrad DET   own-3POSS cat   3INDEP
       'Konrad was bitten by his own cat.'

(33) establishes that coreference between the independ

ent pronoun in the possessor construction of the agent and the object (*Konrad*) is not possible. If the raising to object construction was indeed an instance of movement of the embedded argument to the matrix position, then we would not expect that it alters the coreference possibilities. However, if the argument was an argument of the matrix predicate we would expect the situation to be different. That is, we would expect coreference to be possible, since Condition C does not hold across clauses. As shown above the latter view makes the right prediction. Coreference between the matrix object and the embedded possessor is perfectly grammatical:[9]

(34) tsel kw'éts-l-exw te   Konrad kw'-s-es...
      1SG.S see-TRANS-3O DET   Konrad DET-NOM-3S   ...
      ...q'éykw'-et-em te   swá-s   pús   tútl'ò
      ...bite-TRANS-EM DET   own-3POSS cat   3INDEP
      'I have seen Konrad when he was bitten by his own cat.'

This concludes the discussion of the "raising to object construction": we have seen evidence against the view that the argument in matrix object position gets there as a result of movement. Rather we adopt Blake's (1997) control analysis of this construction. Consequently, we can conclude that the underlying object in Halkomelem passives does indeed remain a syntactic object.

2 Passive in Squamish Salish

In this section, we will turn our attention to passive in Squamish (another Coast Salish language). Again, what I am interested in is the grammatical function of the underlying object in passive sentences:

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[9] Note crucially that the argument only goes through if Condition C is subject to reconstruction in Halkomelem. See Wiltschko (to appear) for arguments to that effect.

(35) na   melh lhich'-it-em   <u>ta   sitn</u>
     RL   then cut-TRANS-EM   DET   basket
     'Then he cut the basket.'/'Then the basket was cut.' (Jacobs 1994: 124 (5b))

Unfortunately, for independent reasons many of the arguments we have used for Halkomelem do not apply in Squamish. Unfortunately, at this point the evidence I will present is preliminary, but it is at least suggestive.

2.1 Agreement

From a morphosyntactic point of view, we observe the following similarities and differences between Halkomelem and Squamish passives:

Halkomelem:
(36) a. máy-th-àl-èm
        help-TRANS-**1SG.PASS**-EM
        'Somebody helped me.'/'I was helped.'
     b. máy-th-ò:-m
        hel-TRANS-**2SG.PASS**-EM
        'Somebody helped you.'/'You were helped.'   (Galloway 1980: 127)

Squamish:
(37) a. **chen**   tsún-t-em
        1SG.S   tell-TRANS-EM
        'He told me.'/'I was talked.'
     b. **chap**   ch'áw-at-em
        2PL.S   help-TRANS-EM
        'He helped you (PL)'/'You (PL) were helped.'   (Jacobs 1994: 129 (14))

In both types of languages we find a verb with a transitive marker followed by the "passive" marker –*em*. The crucial difference between Squamish and Halkomelem is that in Halkomelem the underlying object triggers object-like agreement whereas in Squamish it triggers regular subject agreement.[10] In (37) the 1st person underlying object triggers the occurrence of a 1st person subject clitic. Thus, from a morphosyntactic point of view the evidence points into the direction of an O=S analysis. That is, it looks like the underlying object of a passive surfaces as a syntactic subject:

	O=O	O=S
Agreement	✗	✓

As I will show in the remainder of this section, this conclusion does not hold up against a number of syntactic arguments.

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[10] From a cross-Salish perspective, the Squamish pattern is less common. The only other Salish languages which show subject agreement in passives are Straits, Lushootseed and perhaps Twana (see Kroeber 1999) as well as Upper Chehalis (see Kinkade 1988).

2.2 The one nominal interpretation (ONI)

The first argument has to do with the ONI. Like in Halkomelem, Squamish transitive constructions obey the ONI (see Kuipers 1967, Jacobs 1992):

(38)　na　ílhens-t-as　　　kwa　síyay'-s
　　　 RL　feed-TRANS-3S　 DET　friends-3POSS
　　　 'He fed his friends.'
　　　 *'His friends fed him.'　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　(Jacobs 1992: 14 (8c))

Now consider again the passive example in **Error! Reference source not found.**:

(39)　na　melh　lhich'-it-em　　ta　　sitn
　　　 RL　then　cut-TRANS-EM　 DET　basket
　　　 'Then he cut the basket.'/'Then the basket was cut.'　　(Jacobs 1994: 124 (5b))

If the underlying object would be a surface subject, the sentence in **Error! Reference source not found.** would violate the ONI.[11] This suggests that the O=O analysis is on the right track, just like in Halkomelem:

	O=O	O=S
ONI	✓	✗

2.3. Word order

Another piece of evidence to the effect that the underlying object of a passive remains a surface object has to do with word order.

First, Jacobs (1994) observes that word order in passive clauses is typically the same as in an active clause, i.e. V-AG-PAT:

(40)　a. na　 ch'em'-t-as　　 ta　 Tam ta　 Pita
　　　　　 RL　 bite-TRANS-3S　 DET　Tom DET　Peter
　　　　　 'Tom bit Peter.'　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　(Jacobs 1994: 123 (1))
　　　 b. s-es　　 men　lhích'-it-em　 tl'a　　T'it'kí7tsten
　　　　　 NOM-GEN　just　cut-TRANS-EM　 DET.OBL T.(name)
　　　　　 'Then T. cut the basket.'　　　　　　　　　　　　(Jacobs 1994: 124 (4))

This fact is at least suggestive of an O=O analysis. A more compelling argument has to do with SVO order, which Squamish allows in active sentences (see for example Jacobs 1992):

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[11] Note that the argument concerning the transitivity of passive predicates (see §1) goes through in Squamish as well: Squamish passives necessarily contain a transitive suffix (see Jacobs 1994):

i)　chen　kw'ách-t-em　　　　　 ii)　na kw'ách-n-em　　 ta　　swí7qa
　　1SG.S　see-TRANS-EM　　　　　　　 RL see-TRANS-EM　 DET　man
　　'He saw me.'/'I was seen.'　　　　　　 'He saw the man.'/'The man was seen.'
　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　(Jacobs 1994: 129 (13))

(41) tay' sqwemáy' na ch'em-t-es ta swi7qa
DET dog RL bite-TRANS-3S DET man
'The dog bit the man.' (Jacobs 1992: 14 (10))

If the underlying object of a passive would become the subject of the clause, we would expect that it can also appear in sentence initial position. This is however not the case as shown below:

(42) a. *ta Peter na oxw-et-em
DET Peter RL give-TRANS-EM
'Somebody gave Peter a fish.'/'Peter was given a fish.'
b. na oxw-et-em ta Peter
RL give-TRANS-EM DET Peter
'Somebody gave Peter a fish.'/'Peter was given a fish.'

(43) a. *ta swi7qa na ch'em-t-em ta sqwemáy'
DET man RL bite-TRANS-EM DET dog
'The dog bit the man.'/'The man was bitten by the dog.'
b. ta sqwemáy' na ch'em-t-es ta swi7qa
DET dog RL bite-TRANS-3S DET man
'The dog bit the man.'/'The man was bitten by the dog.'

The speakers either corrected the word order (42) or the word order and the voice (43) of the ungrammatical sentence.

These facts are expected by the O=O analysis but they are rather unexpected by the O=S analysis:

	O=O	O=S
Word order	✓	✗

2.4 Translation

Finally, it is quite striking that in Squamish, too, native speakers consistently translate a passive sentence into an English active sentence with an unspecified subject. Consider for example Jacobs' translation of the sentence in (44):

(44) s-es men lhích'-it-em tl'a T'it'kí7tsten
NOM-GEN just cut-TRANS-EM DET.OBL T.(name)
'Then T. cut the basket.' (Jacobs 1994: 124 (4))

Again this fact has been noted by authors who have worked on the Squamish passive (see for example Jacobs 1994 and Kuipers 1967): *"These forms are often found in contexts where English would have an active verb with 3rd person actor ('he helps me, thee, him, etc.')"* (Kuipers 1967: 89).

Note that the translation is even more striking in Squamish than in Halkomelem, since we find subject (as opposed to object) agreement. The translation we get is again expected under the O=O analysis, it would however be quite surprising under the O=S analysis:

	O=O	O=S
Translation	✓	✗

2.5 Conclusion

The results of the present section are summarized in the table below:

	O=O	O=S
Agreement	✗	✓
ONI	✓	✗
Word order	✓	✗
Translation	✓	✗

As evident from the table above, we get mixed results. The agreement facts argue for an O=S analysis, whereas evidence from the ONI, word order and translation argue for an O=O analysis. Given that the majority of arguments favor the O=O analysis, I tentatively conclude that the underlying object in Squamish passives - just like in Halkomelem - remains a surface object. Of course this conclusion leaves us with the question as to why we find subject agreement. This question will be addressed in the remainder of this paper, which consists of a theoretical analysis.

3 Deriving O=O in Halkomelem and Squamish

In a passive sentence in English, the underlying object becomes a surface subject:

(45) a. She helps him.
      b. He was helped.

In fact, the English-type passive seems to be a common type of passive across languages. It is so common that the syntactic subjecthood of the underlying object is often taken as a criterion for the definition of a passive as for example in the one given by Perlmutter & Postal (1983):

(46) a. A direct object of an active clause is the (superficial) subject of the "corresponding" passive.
      b. The subject of an active clause is neither the (superficial) subject nor the (superficial) direct object of the "corresponding passive. (Perlmutter & Postal 1983: 9)

We have seen in the first part of the paper that Halkomelem and Squamish passives only show the second but not to the first property of (46). That is, even though

the underlying subject cannot be realized as a direct argument ((46)b) the underlying object is not realized as a surface subject (contra (46)a). Consequently, if we want to treat the Halkomelem and Squamish constructions under consideration as passives we have to ask why the underlying object is not realized as a surface subject.

In order to answer this question, let us briefly review the standard analysis of passive in the principles and parameters framework (see Chomsky 1981 and subsequent work), which I adopt in this paper. A sentence like (45)b receives the following analysis:

(47)　a.　The passive morphology suppresses the external (AGENT) theta-role
　　　　　i)ʼ help　　　<AG, PAT>
　　　　　ii) help-pass　<AG, PAT>
　　　b.　An verb which does not assign an external argument does not assign accusative Case (qua Burzio's generalization; Burzio 1986))

$$VP \rightarrow V' \rightarrow V^0 \xcancel{\rightarrow}_{ACC} \ NP_{PAT}$$
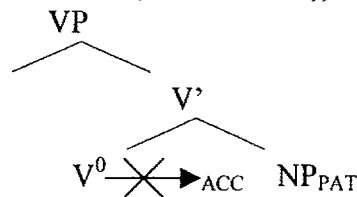
　　　c.　Every NP needs Case (qua Case filter). Consequently the underlying object (NP$_{PAT}$) moves to a position where Case can be assigned (qua move α). The underlying object ends up as a surface subject:

$$IP$$

NP$_{PAT}$ ... I' ... I^0 ... VP ... V' ... V$^0 \xcancel{\rightarrow}_{ACC} \ t_i$

move α, NOM
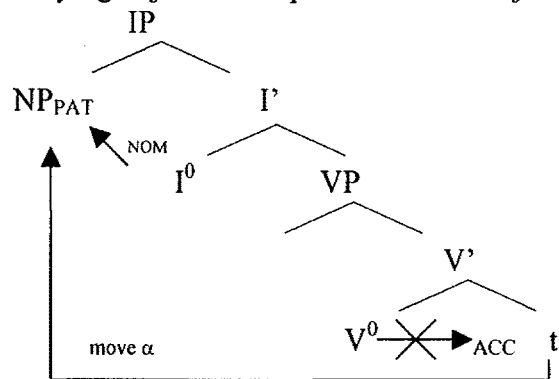
In sum, the underlying object of an English passive surfaces as a syntactic subject because it needs Case.

This is where the cross-linguistic difference between Halkomelem and Squamish on the one hand and English on the other hand comes into play. Wiltschko (2000c) argues that there is no Case in Halkomelem. If true, the sole trigger for movement to subject position is missing in Halkomelem. Consequently, it is expected that the underlying object remains a surface object. Consequently, a Halkomelem passive sentence like (48) receives the analysis in (49):

(48)　　máy-t-em　　　te　　Konrad
　　　　help-TRANS-EM　DET　Konrad
　　　　'Somebody helped Konrad.'/'Konrad was helped.'

(49) a. The passive morphology suppresses the external (AGENT) theta-role:
  i) *máy-t*   <u>AG</u>, PAT>
  ii) *máy-t-em*$_{pass}$ <~~AG~~, PAT>

b. Given that there is no Case, neither Burzio's generalization nor the Case-filter are effective. Consequently, there is no movement to subject position:
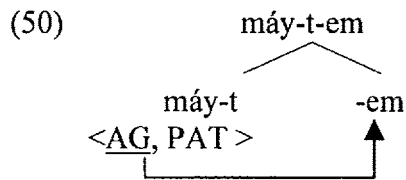
$$\begin{array}{c} VP \\ \diagup\diagdown \\ V' \\ \diagup\diagdown \\ V^0 \quad NP_{PAT} \end{array}$$
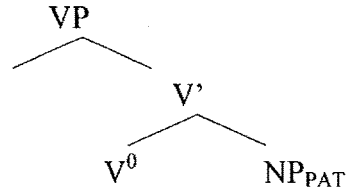
Thus, assuming that Halkomelem does not have Case, the O=O analysis of passives is entirely expected. Consequently, it does not suggest that the passive is not really a passive or that it is more akin to an impersonal construction (see Kinkade 1988 for an overview of this discussion about passive in Salish).

4 Towards an analysis of *-em*

4.1 The proposal

In this section, I will discuss the question as to how the external (AGENT) argument is suppressed in Halkomelem and Squamish passives. Consider again the standard analysis of English passives. It is generally assumed that the passive morphology binds the external argument in some way, for example by means of theta-assignment (see for example Baker, Johnson & Roberts 1989). Therefore it can no longer be assigned to a direct argument but it can surface as an adjunct. We could simply adopt this view for Halkomelem and Squamish and argue that the suffix *–em* does exactly what passive morphology does in English: it binds the external argument in such a way that it is impossible to assign it directly:

(50)   máy-t-em

$$\begin{array}{c} \text{máy-t-em} \\ \diagup\diagdown \\ \text{máy-t} \qquad \text{-em} \\ <\underline{AG}, PAT > \end{array}$$

This would derive the properties of Halkomelem passives. However, there are two problems with such an analysis. First, there is no straightforward way to account for the cross-Salish alternation between subject and object agreement in the passive.

Secondly, it excludes the possibility for a unified analysis of the passive *–em* and the so called middle use of *–em*, which is exemplified below:

(51) ni   cən   q̓ʷəl-əm   (ʔə   tˢəsceeɬtən)
      AUX   1SG.S   barbecue-EM   OBL   DET   salmon
      'I barbecued the salmon'   (Hukari 1976: 106f. (59))

In this construction, the underlying object (i.e. the PATIENT/THEME) can only be realized as an oblique, similarly to the AGENT argument in a passive construction. We could thus claim that in (51) *-em* binds the internal argument preventing it from being assigned directly:

(52)   q'ʷəl-əm

         q'ʷəl   -əm
      <AG, PAT >
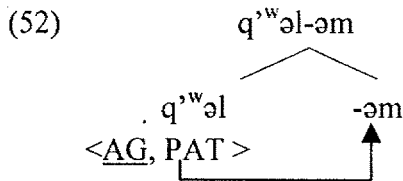
Note, that under this analysis, the so called middle *-em* suppresses the internal argument whereas the passive *-em* suppresses the external argument. It is not easy to see how a unified analysis of *-em* could capture this dual behavior.

Note also that having a "passive" morpheme along with a "middle" morpheme amounts to having two construction specific morphemes, which is not an option in the principles and parameters framework.

In what follows, I will provide a preliminary analysis of *-em* that simultaneously accounts for all its properties. In particular, I will assume (53):

(53)   a. *-em* is suffixed in the morphological component
       b. transitive suffixes (*-t/-l/-st*) are suffixed in the syntactic component

In the remainder of this section, I will show how this assumption is sufficient to derive the properties of middles (§4.2), passives (§4.3) and the distribution of subject and object agreement in Halkomelem and Squamish passives, respectively (§4.4).

4.2 The middle use of *-em*

Assume with Davis (1998) that all roots in Salish are unaccusative. This means that all roots have one and only one argument, which corresponds to the PATIENT or THEME (i.e an underlying direct object). Assume further that the middle marker *-em* introduces its own argument, which corresponds to the AGENT (i.e. the external argument):

(54)   Root <y>   where y = PAT
       -em <x>   where x = AG

Given this assumption we arrive at the following representation:

(55)   The representation of derived intransitives
                        V
                       <x>

              Root   -em$_V$
              <y>   <x>
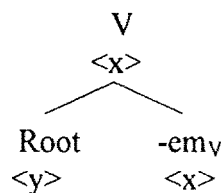
According to (55), *-em* lexically derives a verb with one argument. That is, by means of the right hand head rule the category and the argument structure of the suffix determine the category and the argument structure of the derived verb. This has the effect that the argument of the root can no longer be assigned directly. Note that under this analysis the suppression of the internal theta role is not a primitive property of *–em* but rather a byproduct of its morphosyntax.

Moreover, the analysis predicts that the internal argument (i.e. the argument of the root) is not completely lost. Rather, derived intransitives behave like English derived nouns like in (56):

(56) a. Peter baked the bread.
      b. Peter is a baker.
      c. *Peter is a baker bread
      d. Peter is a baker of bread   (diSciullio & Williams 1987)

The direct object of a verb can no longer be assigned directly if the verb is suffixed by the nominal suffix *–er*. However, the "suppressed" argument can be re-introduced by a preposition (*baker of bread*). This is entirely parallel to the "middle" examples in Halkómelem where the underlying object can only be realized as an oblique object:

(57) ni cən   q̓ʷəl-əm   (ʔə   t̓əsceeɬtən)
      AUX 1SG.S barbecue-EM OBL DET salmon
      'I barbecued the salmon'   (Hukari 1976: 106f. ex. 59)
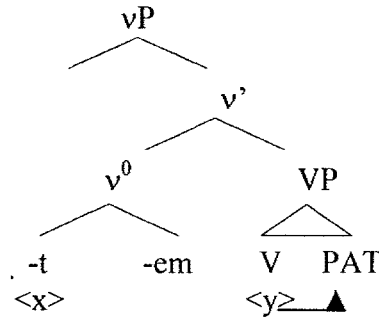
4.3. The passive use of *–em*

The crucial component of the analysis I propose is the interaction between *-em* and the transitive suffixes. Recall from above that I propose that the two kinds of suffixes are attached in different components of the grammar: the transitive suffix is a syntactic suffix (and therefore a syntactic head) whereas *–em* is suffixed in the morphological component.

With this in mind, let us look at the passive example below:

(58) la   máy-t-em
      AUX help-TRANS-EM
      'He was helped.'   (Galloway 1993: 188)

In a passive sentence, we find the predicate followed by a transitivizer followed by *–em*. If the transitivizer is a syntactic head and if *–em* is suffixed in the morphological component, then it has to be the case that *–em* is suffixed to the transitivizer in the morphological component. It then follows that the argument of the transitivizer can no longer be assigned directly because *–em* becomes the head of the complex predicate and the argument structure of the transitivizer is no longer available for direct assignment (just like in the middle use of *–em*). Compare the representation of passive and active sentences below:

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(59)   a. passive transitive   b. active transitive
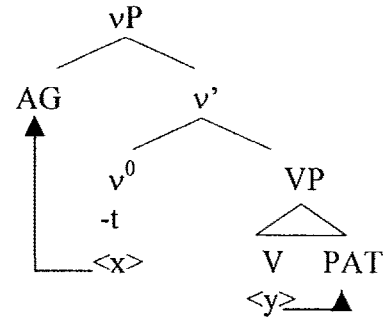
Only if the transitivizer is the head of v can its argument be assigned directly as in the active transitive (59)b (see Wiltschko 2001).

If the transitive suffix is suffixed by –*em* its argument can no longer be assigned directly, but it can reappear as an oblique:

(60) a. ni   ləm-əθ-él-əm   ʔə   ɬə   sɬéniʔ
          AUX   look-TRANS-1OBJ-EM   OBL   DET   woman
          'I was looked at by the woman.'
      b. ni   ləm-əθ-á.m   ʔə   ɬə   sɬéniʔ
          AUX   look-TRANS-2OBJ-EM   OBL   DET   woman
          'You were looked at by the woman.'   (Gerdts 1989: p. 186, (2/3))

Again, the apparent suppression of the "external" (AGENT) argument is a byproduct of the assumption that –*em* is attached in the morphological component.[12]

4.4 Why subject agreement in Squamish passives?

Recall from §2 that we have seen evidence that the underlying object in Squamish passives does not surface as a subject. If correct, it is rather surprising that we find subject agreement in Squamish passives:

(61) a. **chen**   tsún-t-em
          1SG.S   tell-TRANS-EM
          'He told me.'/'I was told.'

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[12] Note, that there is still a problem with this analysis. For the middle –*em* we have assumed that it is associated with its own argument and thus in derived intransitives the AGENT argument is realized. If the passive –*em* is indeed the same as the middle –*em* we would expect that in a configuration like (59) the argument of –*em* can be assigned directly, and thus the suppression of the external argument is still unexpected. At the moment, I see two ways out of this problem: first we could assume that the two instances of –*em* are not really two instances of the same lexical item, in which case we would assume that the passive –*em* is not associated with an argument. The second more interesting possibility would be to say that an argument of a secondary predicate (v) can only be introduced by means of event-identification (see Kratzer 1994). We would then have to make the assumption that –*em* is not associated with an event argument and thus its argument cannot be assigned because it cannot be introduced by means of event identification. Whether or not this assumption makes the right predictions has to be determined by future research.

b. **chap** ch'áw-at-em
   2PL.S help-TRANS-EM
   'He helped you (PL)'/'You (PL) were helped.'   (Jacobs 1994: 129 (14))

The analysis presented above can account for this puzzling phenomenon in a straightforward way. Recall from above that we argue that the passive *–em* is suffixed to the transitive marker in the morphological component. Consequently, we expect the complex suffix to act as a syntactic atom:

(62) a. morphological structure: [-t[em]]
     b. syntactic structure: [-tem]

Given this assumption, we expect that agreement cannot intervene between the transitivizer and the passive *–em* because agreement is a syntactic relation but syntax cannot see inside the complex suffix [-tem]. This has the consequence that object agreement cannot be used unless the object agreement morpheme is part of the transitive suffix.[13] And this is exactly what we find in Halkomelem. Gerdts (1989) argues that in Halkomelem object agreement is fused with the transitive marker: they form a morphological unit.[14] In Squamish, object agreement is not fused with the transitivizer, and consequently subject agreement has to be used as a last resort strategy.

In principle, there is another possible reason why languages might make use of the 'object-agreement'-strategy in passives without having the transitivizer fused with the object agreement. That is, if the passive morpheme is a syntactic suffix then it would not form a syntactic unit with the transitive suffix. In that case one would still expect object agreement even when object agreement is not fused with the transitive suffix. A possible candidate for such an analysis would be one of the Upper Chehalis passive suffixes discussed in Kinkade (1989). Upper Chehalis has four passive markers which differ in whether they trigger subject or object agreement, respectively. It would be very unlikely that object agreement is fused with the transitive suffix depending on which passive suffix was used.[15] It is however plausible to assume that the passive suffixes differ in whether they are attached in the morphological or in the syntactic component. Whether or not this analysis makes the right predictions for Upper Chehalis is left as a question for future research.

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[13] At the moment, I cannot exclude the possibility to use object agreement in a position following *–em*. That is I do not know whether or not the serialization "trans-*em*-object agreement" is excluded on principled grounds or whether it has to be stipulated since it is not attested.

[14] Note that under Gerdts O=S analysis of Halkomelem passives she ends up with the reverse puzzle, namely why does Halkomelem use object agreement. She assumes that the fusion between the transitivizer and the object agreement is responsible. Under our O=O analysis we have turned the argument around. That is, we do not say that fusion forces object agreement, but rather that fusion makes object agreement possible.

[15] Note, that Gerdts analysis discussed in Footnote 14 would be forced to assume that object agreement is fused iff it is used in passives.

5 Conclusion

The main goal of this paper was to show evidence to the effect that the underlying object of Halkomelem and Squamish passives remains a surface object. In the theoretical part a preliminary analysis of the passive was presented, adopting the principles and parameters framework (Chomsky 1981 and subsequent work). In this framework there are no such things as constructions and consequently, the question whether or not the Salish passive is a real passive is misleading. The purpose of our analysis was to show that the properties of passives follow entirely from the properties of the suffix *-em* in interaction with the assumption that Halkomelem lacks Case (see Wiltschko 2000c). Consequently, there is no trigger of movement of the underlying object to the position of the surface subject.

In addition it was shown that the morpho-syntactic properties of *-em* result in the apparent absorption of the external theta-role, which can no longer be assigned directly. It was also shown that a unified analysis of the "middle" *-em* and the "passive" *-em* is possible under this approach. Furthermore, it was argued that the distribution of subject and object agreement in the two types of passives is predicted by the analysis.

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