Discourse functions of Salish applicatives

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Many syntactic analyses of applicative constructions concentrate on the argument structure associated with the applied object. But what these analyses fail to capture is the reasons that applicatives are used, especially in cases where a non-applicative counterpart is possible. In this paper, we examine one hundred examples of relational applicatives from Salish texts. What is obvious in most cases is that the applied object has discourse prominence. Either the outcome of the action affecting the object is central to the story or the applied object itself is highly topical. Thus, the NP is worthy of being cast as an argument rather than an oblique.

1 Salish relational applicatives

Salish languages have two types of applicatives: redirective and relational (Kiyosawa 1999, 2000, 2002). In redirective applicative constructions, the direct object role is redirected to a non-theme nominal—the applied object. The verb stem is usually transitive, and the semantic role of the applied object is usually goal, malefactive, possessor, or, as in (1b), benefactive.¹

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In relational applicative constructions, the verb stem is usually intransitive, and the semantic role of the applied object is usually goal or direction of motion as in (2b), stimulus of a psychological or perceptual event as in (3b), goal of a speech act, source, or undergoer of an adverse event.3

(2) a. ni? neµ k*θø swiwlø. \textit{Halkomelem} (f.n.)
AUX go DET boy
‘The boy went.’

AUX go-DIR-3ERG DET John
‘He went up to John.’

(3) a. ni cœn si?si? ?ø k*θø snøxøl. \textit{Halkomelem} (f.n.)
AUX 1SUB frighten OBL DET canoe
‘I was frightened at the car.’

b. ni cœn si?si?-me?-t k*θø sqøme\textsuperscript{y}.
AUX 1SUB frighten-REL-TR DET dog
‘I was frightened at the dog.’

In this paper we focus on relational applicatives. In most Salish languages, dative and benefactive constructions are obligatorily expressed as applicatives. However, as seen in (3) above, some semantic roles can be expressed as either oblique NPs or as applied objects. Thus, relational applicative constructions, since they often have non-applicative counterparts, are well suited for a study of applicative use.

Salish languages have from one to three relational applicative suffixes, given in Table 1.4


<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>BRANCH</th>
<th>LANGUAGE</th>
<th>RELATIONAL</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Bella Coola</td>
<td>Bella Coola</td>
<td>-m</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Central Salish</td>
<td>Sliammon</td>
<td>-mi, -ni</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Sechelt</td>
<td>-mí,-ni</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Squamish</td>
<td>-míñ,-ni</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Halkomelem</td>
<td>-me /-mi?,-nás</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Nooksack</td>
<td>-ni</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Saanich</td>
<td>-ŋiy,-nás</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Klallam</td>
<td>-ŋa,-nás</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Lushootseed</td>
<td>-bi,-di,-c/-s</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Interior Salish</td>
<td>Lilloet</td>
<td>-min/-miñ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Thompson</td>
<td>-mi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Shuswap</td>
<td>-m(i)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Southern Interior Salish</td>
<td>Okanagan</td>
<td>-min</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Spokane</td>
<td>-mi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Coeur d’Alene</td>
<td>-mi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Columbian</td>
<td>-mi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tsamosan</td>
<td>Upper Chehalis</td>
<td>-mis/-mn,-ni,-tas/-ts</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tillamook</td>
<td>Tillamook</td>
<td>-őwí,-əs</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 1. Salish relational applicatives

Relational applicatives are used to express psychological events, motions, speech acts, transfers, and adversatives, as seen in the following examples:

**Psychological Event**

(4) lháyel-mf-t ‘ashamed of’ Sechelt (Beaumont 1985:108)
(5) c-λš-č( Ġ )-wáš-š ‘angry at’ Tillamook (Egesdal & Thompson 1998:257)

**Motion**

(6) íkʰičilx-min-s ‘run to’ Shuswap (Kuipers 1992:50)
(7) kʰənəŋą́t-nos-ą́nəs ‘ran after’ Saanich (Montler 1986:168)

**Speech Act**

(8) qʰay-mi-t ‘scold’ Sliammon (Watanabe 2003:259)
(9) s-yáʔa-ni-t-n ‘tell’ Upper Chehalis (Kinkade 1991:170)

**Transfer-Source**

(10) kʰúln-ni-t ‘borrow from’ Squamish (Kuipers 1967:79)
(11) qáda-di-d ‘steal from’ Lushootseed (Bates et al. 1994:172)

**Adversative**

(12) θeʔc-meʔ-t ‘get dark on him/her’ Halkomelem (Gerds & Kiyosawa 2005)
(13) tékl-m-t-i-t ‘We get rained on.’ Thompson (Thompson & Thompson 1992:74)
Table 2 shows the distribution of the various Proto-Salish relational applicative suffixes according to their form and function in the modern languages.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>PSYCHOLOGICAL EVENT</th>
<th>MOTION</th>
<th>SPEECH ACT</th>
<th>TRANSFER-SOURCE</th>
<th>ADVERSATIVE</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>NIS</td>
<td>-*mi</td>
<td>Ø</td>
<td>*-mi</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SIS</td>
<td>-*mi</td>
<td>Ø</td>
<td>Ø</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nk</td>
<td>-*ni</td>
<td>Ø</td>
<td>Ø</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sq</td>
<td>-*ni</td>
<td>-*mi, *-ni</td>
<td>*-ni</td>
<td>Ø</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hl</td>
<td>-*mi</td>
<td>*-näs</td>
<td>*-mi</td>
<td>Ø</td>
<td>-*mi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ld</td>
<td>-*mi, *-näs</td>
<td>*-näs</td>
<td>-*mi, *-ni</td>
<td>*-ni</td>
<td>*-mi, *-ni</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other CS</td>
<td>-*mi, *-näs</td>
<td>*-mi</td>
<td>*-näs</td>
<td>*-ni</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ch</td>
<td>-*ni, *-näs</td>
<td>-*mi</td>
<td>*-ni</td>
<td>Ø</td>
<td>Ø</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ti</td>
<td>-*mi, *-näs</td>
<td>-*mi, *-näs</td>
<td>Ø</td>
<td>Ø</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 2. Distribution of the relational applicatives

The purpose of our paper is to shed some light on the functions of Salish applicatives in actual use. Relational applicatives are not all that common, but a search of texts in several languages from three branches of the Salish language family yielded one hundred examples. See Table 3.

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5 The proto-forms of verbal suffixes were reconstructed by Kinkade (1998).
Abbreviations are: NIS: Northern Interior Salish, SIS: Southern Interior Salish, Nk: Nooksack, Sq: Squamish, Hl: Halkomelem, Ld: Lushootseed, CS: Central Salish, Ch: Upper Chehalis, Ti: Tillamook.

We base the following discussion on these data.

2 Topicality

While the syntax of applicatives has received much attention, there have been few attempts to explain the reasons for choosing applicative constructions over intransitive oblique phrases. Two studies along these lines are Donohue’s (2001) examination of Tukang Besi (Austronesian) applicatives from the viewpoint of Givón’s (1983) theory of topicality and Peterson’s (1999) cross-linguistic study of applicatives in fifty languages. Apparently, a variety of semantic and discourse factors come into play in the use of applicatives. Gerdts and Kiyosawa (to appear) give a brief overview of some of these for Salish applicatives.

What is obvious is that in most cases the applied object has discourse prominence. The outcome of the action affecting the object or the applied object itself is often highly topical or central to the story. Thus, the NP is worthy of being cast as an argument NP rather than an oblique. In this section, we discuss the notion of discourse prominence in some detail. First, we discuss NPs that are topics in the traditional sense of the main character—what we refer to as primary topics. Then we expand our discussion to include other persons and things of interest to the discourse—what we refer to as secondary topics. Then we turn to a brief discussion of three ways applicatives are used to express topics, depending on their position relative to other occurrences of the same NP.

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Table 3. Relational applicatives in Salish texts

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>LANGUAGE</th>
<th>TEXTS</th>
<th>SENTENCES/LINES</th>
<th>APPLICATIVES</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Bella Coola</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>551S</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Columbian</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>42L</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Halkomelem</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>1687S + 741L</td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lillooet</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>158S</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nooksack</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>28L</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Okanagan</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>998S</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sechelt</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>168L</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shuswap</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>42S</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sliammon</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>293S</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Squamish</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>114S</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thompson</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>209S</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>TOTAL</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td><strong>100</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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7 See Darnell (1997) for a discussion of voice in Squamish texts from the point of Givón’s framework. He says little, however, regarding applicatives. Peterson’s sample includes one Salish language—Halkomelem, based on the data and analysis of Gerdts (1988b).
2.1 Primary topics

Primary topics in Salish languages are usually subjects (Beck 1996a, 1996b, 2000; Davis 1994; Kinkade 1990), and passive is the most common means for expressing non-agentive NPs that are topical (Kinkade 1987). The following two examples are passive applicative constructions. The person referred to as “the young man” and “him” (the young hunter left behind in the eagle’s nest) is the main character and on-going topic in the story, and appears as the subject of the passive applicative.

EAGLE (Halkomelem—Tom Hukari, p.c.)

(14) saw̓ n̓əm-ən-əm t̓əw̓n̓ił swi̊ləs, saw̓ NOM:LNK go-DIR-PASS that.one young.man NOM:LNK
θət-s-əm, “ʔam-əs-ʔamə ct ʔə kʷ” say-APPL-TR-PASS give-APPL-TR:2OBJ 1PL.SUB OBL DET
hay ʔəl qəx --̓q̓əl̓waʔət-- ʔəw-ḥəli-t-əxʷ t̓əy very just much blanket LNK-save-TR-2SSUB DET
sʔeləxʷ niʔ ʔəy-t-əxʷ." elder AUX kill-TR-2SSUB

“That young man was approached and they said to him, “We will give you many blankets if you help the elder you killed.” (771)”

EAGLE (Halkomelem—Tom Hukari, p.c.)

(15) ʔəwə kʷsəs ʔəʔeʔ ʔiʔsʔiʔ-?eʔ-əm t̓əw̓n̓ił ʔə Neg DET:3SSUB too be.afraid.of-REL-TR-PASS that.one OBL
t̓əwə ʔiʔə, niʔ ʔəl̓-n-əm kʷsəs ʔəw DET big-PL AUX know-LCTR-PASS DET:3SSUB LNK
ćeʔəw̓-ət-əs ʔəl̓ t̓eʔy ʔəməʔəł̓, ʔəsw̓-əs help(IMPF)-TR-3ERG just DET little(-PL) feed(IMPF)TR-3ERG

“The big adult eagles were not afraid of him anymore, they got to know him, that he was just helping them feed the young ones.” (176)

In our survey, 25% of the applicative constructions were passive.

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8 The number in parenthesis after the translation indicates the line or sentence number in the story.
Although topics are usually subjects, several languages have an object topic construction, which uses specialized morphology to mark a topical object (Davis 1994; Kinkade 1987, 1989, 1990). For example, in Lilooet a relational applicative (indicated by the suffix -min) can be used to promote an NP to object so that it can be topicalized (indicated by the suffix -talí).

**KAYÁM (Lilooet—Davis 2001:331)**

(16) ...nì’ýną̱was s-yq’yqa’̱ ni=naq’-min-talí=ha=tu̱

...two.human NOM-women(RDP) ABS.DET=steal-REL-TOP=EXIS=CMPL

ni=qáck-sw=á...
ABS.DET=older.brother-2SG.POSS=EXIS...

‘...it was two women who stole your older brother...’ (137)

Promotion to applied object also allows the NP to be the head of a cleft construction (17) or preverbal focus (18):

**PUSH-BACK-SIDES-OF-HIS-HAIR (Thompson—Thompson & Egesdal 1993:301)**

(17) ʔe s-cú-t-s "ʔe xeʔe x’uný nás-m-ne."
INT NOM-say-IM-3POSS INT nearby FUT take-REL-1SG.SUB

‘He said: “That’s the one I’m going to get.”’

**GHOST CATCHING (Nooksack—Galloway 2004:154)**

(18) te qó:y xočém(w)esn’ťch xw kwém Îh kw néch’o
[lo] qó:y xw’š má”nś-níł-t-ɛx” kwśm Îł k* náčo
ART dead meet-IND-2SG.SUB will PREP ART one

xonánat.
xonéné:at
night

‘the dead you will meet one night,’ (3b)
2.2 Secondary topics

While primary topics in Salish languages are usually subjects, applicative NPs that end up as objects, not subjects, also seem to exhibit some degree of discourse prominence. They often serve as secondary topics, that is, they may be the co-star of a story, or be an item or place of interest to the story.

For example, in the Halkomelem story “Wren”, it is established in the first line (19) that Wren’s grandmother is the co-star. She re-enters the story in (20) after 25 lines, and we see in example (21) that grandmother is the object of a directional applicative. She goes on to be of interest and, in fact, inspires Wren’s song, which is a standard feature of Wren stories in Coast Salish languages.9

**WREN** *(Halkomelem—Tom Hukari, p.c.)*

(19) ‘Little wren had a **grandma**.’ (1)

(20) ‘He [Wren] then headed for home. His **grandparent** was sitting down when he arrived home. “Do some knife-sharpening my dear grandmama; What I have caught is like a little island.” “Oh, what are you saying that for, to me that is hungry?” the **grandmother** says to him.’ (27–30)

(21) ‘

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>AUX</th>
<th>LNK</th>
<th>NEG</th>
<th>LNK</th>
<th>SER-go(IMPF)-DIR-3ERG</th>
<th>DET</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>siʔə-s</td>
<td>s-əw</td>
<td>yə-həʔəθ-əs-t-s</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**grandparent**-3POSS | NOM-LNK | SER-tell(IMPF)-APPL-TR-3POSS |

AUX | LNK |
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ʔi</td>
<td>ʔəw</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**grandparent**-3POSS | LNK | SER-tell(IMPF) |

‘But he continued and went closer to his **grandma** and told her in song.’ (31)

(22) ‘He was asking his dear **grandma** to do some sharpening. He was telling his **grandma** to sharpen a knife.’ (32–33)

(23) ‘

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>3-FOC</th>
<th>indeed</th>
<th>AUX</th>
<th>say(IMPF)-CS-3ERG</th>
<th>sharpen(IMPF)=end</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>níł</td>
<td>kʷə̥čə́l</td>
<td>níʔ</td>
<td>ñə̥čə-stxʷ-əs</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**grandparent**(DIM) |

‘This is why he was saying, “yəqɑʔəq̌ʷən sisəł̓á.”’ (34)

Secondary topics are added to and subtracted from the topics list as the story progresses, but they are central to the story at the point when they appear as applied objects.

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9 To save space, we usually give only the English translation, except for clauses in which applicatives appear.
2.3 Three types of topics

In sum, applicative constructions are used when a semantically oblique NP is prominent to the discourse, either as a primary or secondary topic, and thus is worthy to appear as an argument NP—the applied object or subject of the passive applicative. Applicative constructions relate to topicality in three ways, depending on when and how the NP is introduced into the text.

2.3.1 Continuing topics

A continuing topic is someone or something that has been established and will continue to be salient. The grandmother in the Wren story above is a good example of a continuing secondary topic: the NP gets established and then persists as topic through a segment of the text. Another example of this is “his relatives” in the Stoneheads story. This NP is established in example (24) as a transitive object and appears as the applied object in (26). His relatives are eventually massacred by the evil Stonehead. In fact, the storyteller, by bringing up “relatives” in example (24), but then detouring on to the subject of weaponry in example (25), is really teasing the audience just like the evil Stonehead toys with his relatives, visiting them before he goes back to slaughter them four days later.

STONEHEADS (Halkomelem—Tom Hukari, p.c.)

(24) səwʷ xʷʔałəm tə̃ʔənil, niʔ wə̱l tə̃ʔəxʷ-əs
   NOM:LNK return that.one AUX then know-LCTR-3ERG
   tə̃ʔə sə̃xʷə̃wəli-s.
   DET relatives-3POSS

‘He then went back home, he had found his relatives.’ (61)

(25) ‘When he got home he started preparing his weapons. He tried the hardest wood of what he’s going to use for a weapon from small trees. And when he hit them they just broke. He hit with them and they broke. Finally he found one that was very hard, he found one that didn’t break.’ (62–66)

(26) yələsə neʔ həyeʔ? nəm-nəs-əs tə̃ʔə sə̃xʷə̃wəli-s
   next go depart go-DIR-3ERG ART relatives-3POSS
   ‘He then finally went after his relatives.’ (67)

(27) ‘They were playing “qiʔʔənəs” (hockey), when he got there flying. They started rushing [scrambling to get away] but he just did that [to scare them] and he left to go back home. He didn’t hurt them.’ (68)

(28) ‘It was four days before he clubbed them all, clubbed all his relatives (object) on their heads.’ (71)
One way to show that an applied object is highly topical is to show that it continues to be salient across a segment of discourse.

2.3.2 Backward-looking topics

Often the applied object refers to a nominal that has already been established as salient. That is, it looks backwards for its reference. We see that this can happen within a single sentence, as in examples (29) and (30).

**PUSH-BACK-SIDES-OF-HIS-HAIR** *(Thompson—Thompson & Egenesdal 1993:301)*

(29) ṭe s-čixʷ-s teʔe kʷén-s ʃ
INT NOM-lie.PL-3POSS PART grasp-TR.3SUB EP
s-čəm-čëm ṭe s-áxʷ-m-s ʃ
NOM-RDP.AUG-small.bone INT NOM-throw-REL-3SUB to
lʔe.
EST.REM

‘He took the bones that were lying around and threw them over there.’
(197)

**KAYÁM** *(Lillooet—Davis 2001:331)*

(30) . . . qaším-[ən]s-as ti=waʔ ṭəmʔímn-əm s-kʷlátən . . .
hear-CS-3ERG DET=prog animal.noise-MDL NOM-woodpecker
nil=łʔuʔ aył náš-mi+n-as nìʔ=łʔuʔ s=číxʷ-mi+n-as
FOC=so then go-REL-3ERG FOC=so NOM=go-REL-3ERG

‘He heard a woodpecker calling, and he went towards it; then he came upon him...’ (138)

But sometimes the nominal referred to the applied object occurs several sentences prior, as in (31) and (32).

**A HUNTING INCIDENT** *(Squamish—Kuipers 1967:240ff.)*

(31) ‘Spring had arrived, and the time had come when the bears come out of hiding. And so we got hungry for bear-meat. We went upstream in a canoe and reached a place below Ash Slough. Then I spotted a bear. We approached and went up close, then I went ashore and sneaked up on it. It came within range, then I shot at it. Then it dropped.’ (1–7)
Then I returned to our canoe and told my wife:’ (8)

In most cases, the applied object is mentioned earlier in the story. That is, applied objects do not often occur in out-of-the-blue contexts.

### 2.3.3 Forward-looking topics

A systematic exception to NPs not appearing as applied object at first mention is when the applied object is used as a forward-looking topic. That is, the applied object sets up a new topic, which then is salient in the next section. We see this for example in (34). The hero dreams about “a girl”, which is both the applied object and a new secondary topic, and then goes on to talk about her looks, hair, etc. in the subsequent lines.

**PUSH-BACK-SIDES-OF-HIS-HAIR** (Thompson—Thompson & Egesdal 1993:301)

(33) ð*óyɪt e k* u ʃ u? ʔe s-*ik*1x*-s.
    sleep RPRT PER INT NOM-dream-3POSS
    ‘He slept and had a dream.’ (202)

(34) *ik*1x*-m-s k s-múlec ʔe
dream_image-REL-3SUB UNR NOM-woman INT
    n-ʃkəm ci-ʃ-s e s-cwé[-w]x*.
    LCL-body.surface=mouth DIR NOM-creek[-RDP.DIM]
    ‘He dreamed about a girl at the mouth of a creek.’ (203)

(35) ‘A good looking girl in his dream. Golden was the girl’s hair. It was golden hair. He said, “That’s the one I’m going to get.”’ (204–207)

This example also illustrates another common pattern that we see in applicatives: the intransitive verb is given without an object in (33), and then the same verb but with the applied object is given in the next line. Thus, it is the applied object that is the important new information and not the action of the verb itself in examples such as (34).

### 2.4 Summary

The examples given above are typical of the data we found in Salish texts: in the vast majority of cases, the applied object is central to the discourse,
often serving as either the primary or secondary topic and often as an on-going topic. The Salish results are thus consistent with what Donohue (2001) notes in his study of the Austronesian language Tukang Besi: “discourse-prominent references are more likely to appear as applied objects than as oblique phrases”.

3 NP type: person/animacy hierarchy

The high degree of topicality of the applied object ties in with the patterns we see regarding person and animacy hierarchies and applicative constructions. Higher animate arguments are more discourse-worthy and so are more likely to appear as applicative objects.

This would account for the person/animacy effects that Gerdt (1988a, 1988b) notes for Halkomelem psych applicatives. According to speaker judgments, animate NPs like ‘the priest’ in (36) are better applied objects than inanimate NPs like ‘the words of the priest’ in (37).

Halkomelem (Gerdt 1988a)

(36) ni? con qe?l-me?-t k*θø la?plit.
AUX 1SUB believe-APPL-TR DET priest
'I believed the priest.'

(37) *ni? con qe?l-me?-t k*θø sq*aq*ø¬-s k*θø la?plit.
AUX 1SUB believe-APPL-TR DET word-3POSS DET priest
'I believed the words of the priest.'

In contrast, inanimate NPs (38) are better obliques than animate NPs (39).

Halkomelem (Gerdt 1988a)

(38) ni? con qe?l ?ø k*θø sq*aq*ø¬-s k*θø la?plit.
AUX 1SUB believe OBL DET word-3POSS DET priest
'I believed the priest’s words.'

AUX 1SUB believe OBL DET priest
'I believed the priest’s words.'

However, as Gerdt and Kiyosawa (2005) show, if some context is provided, the acceptability of inanimate applied objects improves greatly. After all, a stimulus can play a central role, even if it is inanimate. For example ‘the fog’ is crucial in (40).

Halkomelem (Gerdt and Kiyosawa 2005)

(40) e?ø x*i? si?si? me?-t-øs tø spe?x*øm k*ø
AUX INCH frighten-REL-3ERG DET fog DET:NOM
nei-s ña?li-m-t-øs tø snax*ø¬-s.
go-3SUB steer-TR-3ERG DET canoe-3POSS

‘He’s scared of the fog when he drives his car.’ Halkomelem (Gerdt and Kiyosawa 2005)
Sometimes the applicative can be used to highlight a participant of a complement clause:

\[
\text{(41) } \begin{array}{cccccccc}
\text{AUX} & \text{SUB} & \text{PERF} & \text{think-REL-TR:REFL} & \text{DET-1POSS-NOM} & \text{finish} \\
\text{OBL} & \text{DET} & \text{1POSS-job} \\
\end{array}
\]

‘I was thinking about quitting my job.’ *Halkomelem* (Gerdzts and Kiyosawa 2005)

The importance to me of my quitting my job is highlighted by expressing ‘me’ as the applied object of the verb ‘think’, resulting in a reflexive.

Similarly, when an intransitive construction with an oblique NP is used even though the stimulus is animate (42), there is a downplaying of the participation of the stimulus.

\[
\text{(42) } \begin{array}{cccccccc}
\text{AUX} & \text{Q} & \text{2SUB} & \text{PERF} & \text{fed.up} & \text{OBL} & \text{DET} & \text{AUX} \\
\text{OBL} & \text{DET} & \text{1POSS-job} \\
\end{array}
\]

‘Are you fed up with the playing children?’ *Halkomelem* (Gerdzts and Kiyosawa 2005)

Presumably, it is the disturbance made by the playing children that is annoying, not the children themselves.

To quantify the effect the person and animacy of the applied object, we constructed a database of Halkomelem psych applicatives from elicited sentences, summarized in Table 5.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>APPLIED OBJECT</th>
<th>OBLIQUE</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1ST/2ND PERSON</td>
<td>40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PROPER NOUN</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>OTHER HUMAN</td>
<td>57</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ANIMAL</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>INANIMATE</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CLAUSE</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 5. Applied object vs. oblique NP

As the distribution in Table 6 shows, whether the NP appears as an applied object or an oblique correlates with its person and animacy.
Table 6. Applied object vs. oblique NP in Halkomelem psych constructions

We can see that, while there is no absolute grammatical condition on the expression of NPs in psych constructions, the higher the animacy of the NP, the more likely that it will appear as an applied rather than an oblique object. Gerdts and Kiyosawa (2005) speculate, however, that these results may simply be an artifact of other properties, for example topic-worthiness. So, for example, first and second persons are universally more central to the discourse, and animates generally outrank inanimates in their degree of importance in a conversation. Thus, the person/animacy effects could simply be a by-product of effort to make elicited data interesting.

The applicative data taken from Salish texts allows us to test this hypothesis. We classify the data with applied objects from the point of view of the person and animacy of the applied object, and give the results in Table 7.

Table 7. Person/animacy of applied object

At first glance, there are fewer animate NPs (69%) and more inanimate NPs (31%) than expected. Therefore, we discuss the examples in more detail in the subsequent sections.

---

10 In our analysis of the Salish text data, we do not study oblique NPs, only applied objects, so we cannot discuss their relative frequency, as we did in the elicited data.

11 Differences between the elicited data and the data from texts in the frequency of some types of NPs are immediately apparent. First and second persons figure more prominently in elicitations than texts. Also, in our Halkomelem database (Table 5), there are only 24 examples that have inanimate or clausal applied objects out of 150 sentences, i.e. 16% of the data. However, in the data from Salish texts, the percentage of inanimate applied
3.1 First and second persons

First and second person NPs are less common in texts than in our elicited data. We find that they do occur as both applied objects and oblique objects, sometimes even in the same sentence, as in example (43).

**WREN (Halkomelem—Tom Hukari, p.c.)**

(43) “o-o-o ṭay Ḳe’ Ḳ̣e’m Ḳ̣o’m-n-o-s-a-m Ḳ̣o’m
only 1SG.SUB indeed can go-DIR-2SG.OBJ can
con ṭe’? ne’m Ḳ̣o w ne’m Ḳ̣o’h ne’so
1SG.SUB indeed go LNK go OBL-DET you
’?i? Ḳ̣o w Ḳ̣i’ay-ʔam Ḳ̣o n.”

CONJ LNK kill-TR.2SG.OBJ 1SG.SUB

“‘O-o-oh, I can come to you, I can really come over to you and kill you.”’
(9)

Another example of a second-person applied object is given in (45).

**THE BEAVER (Sechelt—Beaumont 1985:187ff)**

(44) ‘He saw a snake-woman inside a house. She was a fine woman, a very pretty snake. Then the man said:’ (9–11)

(45) “ʔáłím Ḳ̣e q*áłíwan, we how 2SG.POSS heart if
yáqcuwam-ʔít-c-an?”
look.for.a.wife-REL-2SG.OBJ-1SG.SUB

“How would you feel if I married you?”’ (12)

(46) ‘Then the woman said: “Not me; It’s not you that I want. Your eyes are small, your belly is broad, your legs are short; I don’t like you.”’
(13–16)

3.2 Animate NPs

In the case of third person NPs, almost half of our examples have human applied objects (see (21), (26), (34)), though animals are also common, especially as personified characters. The examples in (48) and (50) illustrate personified animals:

objects is almost doubled: 31% of the applicative constructions have inanimate applied objects. Note also that the occurrence of animal applied objects is also low in elicited data (7% in our Halkomelem database). However, it jumps up to 13% in the texts. This is probably because animals are often personified characters in texts, as will be discussed below.

(47) ‘Raven was a bad man: a thief, clubbing people on the head, a boaster.
He had a lot of wives.’ (39–41)

(48) †i†áya†-m†-em †e† te †x†x†?áls.
got.angry-REL-PASS OBL DET Creator
‘The Creator was angry with him.’ (42)

MINK AND GRIZZLY (*Sliaammon*—Watanabe 2003:548ff)

(49) ‘Mink’s leftover fish bones were lying there. She found them on the
beach. “Oh, he’s poor. He must be hungry. He must have had a snack.”
Grizzly said. “It’s okay.” She kept on going. She kept on going (over
there). She reached another point. There was some more remains that
Mink left. Grizzly was getting angry.’ (92–99)

(50) †x†i†t †q†-á† †x†l†-m†-t†-as †qay†á
really come angry-REL-TR-3ERG Mink
‘She was getting angry at Mink.’ (100)

In some cases, actual animals also appeared as applied objects, but they always
played some central role in the story. For example, in “Eagle”, the young man
was left by his devious wife-stealing partner in the eagle’s nest. But he made
himself useful by helping to care for the baby eagles, and the eagles eventually
carried him back home. Thus, the eagles (and their extraordinary strength) are
central to the story and appear as the applied object in (52) even though they are
non-personified animals.

EAGLE (*Halkomelem*—Tom Hukari, p.c.)

(51) ‘I am leaving you all, I am going home.” He was thanking his
companions [the Eagles].’ (244–245)

(52) †x†l†áš †l†-w†n†-†-e†wat †l†-w†n†-†-á†
stand that.one NOM:LNK -go-DIR-3.SUB.PASS those.little.ones
‘He stood up and went to them and started patting them.’ (246)

Another case of this type is observed in “Lizard Chronicles”; the storyteller
warns the children that the *utscén*, ‘lizard’ will follow them and get them if they
are not careful.
LIZARD CHRONICLES (Shuswap—Gardiner and Compton 2004:132ff)

(53) re stsmé[m]elt me7 qex-p-qín. “ta7 penhén re r sčmef[m]ol t me7? qpñ-p-qín. “ta? pñnhén r
DET children EXP crazy-RES-head not ever DET s-qwen-m[n]-ø-en yeʔéne utscén re s-q”n-m[n]-ø-øn yəʔéñə učxén r
NOM-want-REL-3OBJ-1SUB this lizard DET s-kwe(n)-nwé[w’]en-t-sem-s.”
NOM-get-3CTR-1OBJ-3SUB

‘The children are going to go crazy. “I never want that lizard to get me.”’

In sum, we see that applied objects are animates of all types—humans, personified animals, and actual animals.

3.3 Things

As the data in Table 8 reveal, many cases of things expressed as applied objects were observed in our sample, many more than we expected, given our previous research on Halkomelem. We found two factors at work in these data. First, the line between living things and inanimate things is vaguely defined in the Salish story world. For example Mink was so prone to collecting wives, that he even married a cloud, tree pitch, and a salal bush.

MINK AND GRIZZLY (Sliammon—Watanabe 2003:548ff)

(54) ‘I’m going to tell you about Mink. What Mink was like when he was around. Mink was doing everything, being bothersome. He’s always looking for something to do.’ (2–5)

(55) hihiw say-sx*-as-ulʔaju k*sa-saltəg-əm
very like-CS-3ERG-PAST_CLT DET_RDP.IMPF-wife-MDL

(?a_)ku*utʔuwk*
OBL_CLT_all

‘He liked to get married to everything.’ (6)

(56) ?uwk* tam sa-saľt-g-am-(m)i-t-as
all what RDP.IMPF-wife-MDL-REL-3ERG

‘He was getting married to everything.’ (7)

(57) ‘Mink had lots of women.’ (8)

(58) ?uwk* taːm saľt-g-am-(m)i-t-as
all what wife-MDL-REL-3ERG

‘He got married to everything.’ (9)
Thus, the items are presumably personified. The data in this story alone skewed the numbers in our sample.

The second factor we observed is that items are often topic-worthy because they are associated with a central character. For example in "Seagull Steals the Sun", Seagull tricks Sun into a box, causing the world to go dark and everything to die. Raven sends the ants through the floorboards to spy to see if Seagull has Sun. The ants see Seagull, who has deluding himself into thinking he is actually the son of the Sun, talking to the box. So when mention is made of Seagull approaching the box, expressed as an applied object in (68), we know that he is also approaching the Sun.
SEAGULL STEALS THE SUN (*Halkomelem*—Hukari et al. 1977)

(68)  ŝeʔ  ča wəl naʔom-əm-əm ʔo-ʔi θqəni təθ  ʔəm.

too EVID then go-DIR-PASS OBL-DET seagull DET box

‘And the seagull went to the box again.’ (199)

(69)  “niʔ  ʔo  xʷʔiyəneʔ, ʔo  meʔ?”

AUX Q 2.SUB listen(IMPF) VOC dad

‘“Are you listening, Dad?”’ (200)

In the following Halkomelem example, the importance of the smoke, expressed as an applied object in (73), is that it is leading them to the house of Syaləcaʔ, the title character.

SYALUTSA’ (*Halkomelem*—Tom Hukari, p.c.)

(70)  ni-i-iʔ wačəʔ ʔo  kʷəʔinəl ʔiʔ niʔ wəl wił

AUX get.to.top OBL over.there CONJ AUX then appear

təθ səeyəqəm.

DET smoke

‘When they got to the mountain top they could see smoke.’ (21)

(71)  səw  təl-əx-əs  θəwənil “wəl nil təoy nʔə?

NOM:LNK think-LCTR-3ERG that.one now 3.FOC DET AUX

Ɂəeyəqəm.”

smoke(IMPF)

‘She thought, “That is the place where the smoke is coming from.”’ (22)

(72)  hay sis ʔəw wəl neʔə.

and so LNK then go

‘They started again.’ (23)

(73)  mi-i-i  ʔewə-əs-əs təθ  Ɂəeyəqəm.

come come-DIR-3ERG DET smoke(IMPF)

‘They walked towards the smoke.’ (24)

In the following example from Bella Coola, the knife, which appears as an applied object in (76), is noteworthy because, as we are told later, “It is the only reason the man reached the village.”

THE SPIDER AND TWO OTHER STORIES (*Bella Coola*—Davis & Saunders 1980:28ff)

(74)  ‘There was nothing the people could do to help themselves then. There was only one alive.’ (83–84)
(75) ʔas-tq̓l̓n-l̓xs-an-il-s-ʔ
LOC-knife-end-corner-genital-3SUB-QUOT
‘He had a knife on his hip.’ (85)

(76) ʔanu-l̓cma-m-i-s ʔa-tw̓la-tʃ
CONT-belt-REL-3OBJ-3SUB NPROX-knife-DIST
‘He was carrying the knife on his belt.’ (86)

(77) ‘He was the one whose legs began to feel heavy, and his arms, too. He would use the knife to cut them in half. The man would get lighter.’ (87–89)

(78) s-maw-kʷ ta-tq̓l̓a-tʃ si-ʔkt-s ta-ʔmsta-tʃ
DER-one-QUOT NPROX-knife-DIST DER-reach-he NPROX-person-DIST
ʔul-ta-apsul-tʃ ... ʔaʔ-ʔanuʔ-ximli:k.
PREP-NPROX-village-DIST ... PREP-Anaheim.Lake
‘The knife is the only reason the man reached the village, Anaheim Lake.’ (99)

In sum, though we find many more inanimate items appearing as applied objects than we were led to expect based on our experience with elicited data, in every case, the item is either directly linked to an animate character or crucial to the storyline. This leads us to conclude that centrality rather than animacy per se is the determining factor in the use of applied objects.

3.4 Locations

We find very few instances of places being expressed as applied objects, even though they are frequently referred to in stories. The locations that did occur as applied objects all seem to support the notion of centrality. What we find for Salish thus parallels what Donohue (2001:237) reports for Austronesian:

“Locations are much more commonly encountered in oblique coding strategies than as applicatives. This is because they are typically less important in the storyline, being neither active in the story nor destinations for action to more towards. This tendency can be over-ridden, however, when there is some degree of topicality assigned to the location.”

Places appear as applied objects only if they are linked to important characters. For example, in the Seal story, a man and his wife go out to hunt in the place where the seals gather. As the story unfolds, the man is captured by the seals and eventually turns into one. His relatives keep going back to the location of the seals to try to recapture him and bring him home.
**SEAL (Halkomelem — Tom Hukari, p.c.)**

(79) “‘We will get some food for our elders.’” (8)

(80) “o-o-o ʔū́ʔ-as neḿ ct kʷə̥ʔel neḿ ʔə ʔ* okay good-3SUB go 1PL.SUB indeed go OBL DET neḿ nis xʷcə̥ʔə̥cə̥k* ʔiʔ neḿ ct morning AUX:3SSUB low-tide CONJ go 1PL.SUB neḿ namə̥s kʷə̥ ʔū́ʔə̥mtə̥n-s tʰə ʔesx*,” go go-DIR DET landing.place-3POSS DET seal ə̥t-s ə̥ stə̥nə̥i’. say-3SSUB DET woman

‘“O-o-oh, okay, we will go in the morning, when the tide is low we’ll go; we’ll go to where the seals come out,” the wife said.’ (9)

(81) ‘And then, very early the next day, these young people get up.’ (10)

(82) kʷə̥ʔə̥tə̥l ʔə ə̥ staʔlə̥s-ʔə̥ saw hayeʔ together OBL DET spouse-3POSS NOM:LNK depart nə̥m-nə̥s-sə̥m tʰə̥ sə̥ ʔesx* kʷ-s go-DIR-PASS DET where-3POSS DET seal DET-NOM ʔʷiʔʷə̥m-s. emerge(IMPF)-3SSUB

‘With his wife he left, going to the place where the seals get out of the water.’ (11)

(83) ‘It was the breaking of dawn when they got there to hunt the seal (object). He saw a lot of seals (object) out of the water on the island. He said to his wife, “you wait here with the canoe.’ (12–14)

(84) neḿ cə̥ cə̥ʔə̥ nə̥m-nə̥s ʔū́ʔə̥ ʔi s-ʔʷiʔʷə̥m ʔesx*.” go 1SUB FUT go-DIR DEM AUX NOM-emerge(IMPF) seal “‘I am going to sneak up on the seals that are out of the water.’”

(85) ‘So the young man left. He walked and sneaked up on the seal (object).’ (16–17)

In the following example from a Bella Coola Raven story, “the surrounding area” is not only a location but also the object of Raven’s transformation skills.
Famine and a Story about the Raven (Bella Coola—Davis & Saunders 1980:67ff)

(86) ‘The raven came and did not like it to be an ocean from here upriver to Stuie. The raven then changed it around...he changed our ocean around. He changed it to where people could pass.’ (77–79)

(87) puž-s-k*-č  iačv
come-he-QUOT-PERF  that.one
s-ka-nu-almk-m-is-č  a:xa
DER-UNR-AGENT-pole.canoe-REL-he/it-PERF  surrounding.area
?u:l-a:xl-tu-č
PREP-upriver-CONF-PERF

‘He came here upriver again poling his canoe.’ (88)

(88) ‘He was playing with the canoe pole. Because there were going to be human beings is why he put good signs around here.’ (91–92)

3.5 Summary

In sum, what we see in our data overall is that it is not the person or animacy of the NP that determines whether it appears as an applied object or an oblique, but rather its topic-worthiness. Higher animates are inherently more topical, and things and places of interest to the storyline or to the main character are also topical and thus can appear as applied objects.

4 NP type

We have argued above that applied objects are topical. Peterson (1999:51), in his cross-linguistic study of applicatives, points out that topics are often associated with the first of several oppositions—animate/inanimate, pronominal/non-pronominal, specific/non-specific, (identifiable/non-identifiable, proper/non-proper,) long/short (phonetically). Thus, given our claim that applicative objects are generally topical, we should see a preference for these features. Although we have insufficient data to test many of these, we have seen, in fact, that there is a person/animacy effect in the use of applied objects. But what about the type of NP?

One way to organize a discussion on NP type is along the lines of the givenness hierarchy (Gundel et al. 1993) which links the degree to which an NP is central to the discourse to its type of expression. For example, research on English and other languages has revealed that topics are universally expressed in the weakest form available in a language, a weak pronoun (e.g. he in English), or, if possible, a zero NP. Strong pronouns, demonstratives, definite NPs, indefinite NPs, etc. can be organized as points along this hierarchy.

This leads us to examine the Salish applicative data from the viewpoint of the form of expression of the NP. The results are given in Table 8. The number in parentheses indicates how many applied NPs appear as subjects of passive applicatives.
Table 8. NP type of applied object

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>LANG</th>
<th>NON-OVERT NP</th>
<th>OVERT NP</th>
<th>TOTAL</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1ST/2ND PRO</td>
<td>ZERO</td>
<td>DEM</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Be</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>3 (1)</td>
<td>3 (3)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cm</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HI</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>4 (2)</td>
<td>3 (2)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Li</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nk</td>
<td>3 (3)</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ok</td>
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<td>10 (2)</td>
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<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sh</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sl</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2 (1)</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sq</td>
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<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Th</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Setting aside first- and second-person objects, which are always verb suffixes in Salish languages, we see that third-person NPs can be expressed in a variety of ways. They can be zero or overt. Overt NPs can consist of simply a demonstrative, a demonstrative phrase, or an article and a head noun. We see that zero NPs (35 examples) do not in fact outnumber overt NPs (totaling 57 examples), as would be expected from the association of topics with zero NPs, given our claim that applied objects are generally topical. However, NPs consisting simply of a demonstrative (12 examples), which is the closest thing that Salish languages have to a weak third-person pronoun, do outnumber demonstrative NPs with overt heads (3 examples). Nevertheless the high occurrence of NP phrases consisting of an article and a head (42 examples) bears comment.

Overall, what we find is that the NP types of applied objects closely resemble the NP types of objects in non-applicative constructions. Gerdts and Hukari (2003) note the tendency for subjects to be zero and objects to be overt. They examine 81 transitive sentences in which both the subject and object are third-person NPs and find the following distribution of zero versus overt NPs:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>ZERO SUBJECT</th>
<th>OVERT SUBJECT</th>
<th>TOTAL</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ZERO OBJECT</td>
<td>35%</td>
<td>4%</td>
<td>38%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>OVERT OBJECT</td>
<td>53%</td>
<td>9%</td>
<td>62%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL</td>
<td>88%</td>
<td>12%</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The data show that 88% of subjects are zero, compared to 38% of objects. When objects are zero, they are highly topical, or they appear in clauses that closely parallel clauses with the NP expressed as an overt object. Conversely, 62% of
objects are overt NPs, compared to 12% of subjects. Subjects are rarely overt because they are on-going topics, which, as expected cross-linguistically, are zero NPs. And, as Gerdt and Hukari (2003, 2004) note, overt subjects are used for “refreshing” a topic after a string of zero subjects, and that most often simple demonstratives are used for this purpose.

If we take only the third-person applied objects into account (setting aside first- and second-person applied objects and subjects of passive applicatives), 42% of applied objects are zero while 58% are overt. This is comparable to the 38% versus 62% of third-person objects found in the Gerdt and Hukari sample of simple transitive clauses. Thus, the type of the applied NP seems to relate more to the grammatical relation of the NP than to its topicality: the close link of topic to subject in Salish skews the results. In sum, the Salish facts deviate from the cross-linguistic pattern reported by Peterson (1999) and thus are worthy of further study.

5 Conclusion

The results of this study are somewhat preliminary since our data sample was small. Nevertheless, our research has revealed that in most cases the applied object has discourse prominence. Either the outcome of the action affecting the object is central to the story or the applied object itself is highly topical. Thus, the NP is worthy of being cast as an argument rather than an oblique. The function of applicatives thus parallels the function of passives, which are used in many languages to place a patient that is more central than the agent into the subject position.

Our study also shows that applied objects tend to rank high on the person/animacy hierarchy. When inanimate NPs, such as things or locations, are expressed as applied objects, they are important to the storyline or to the main character and are thus highly topical. We conclude that the person/animacy effects attested in our data sample are just a reflection of the centrality of the applied object.

Examination of the NP type of the applied object, along the lines of the givenness hierarchy, proved inconclusive. Linking topic to zero expression, while it may be useful in treating the subjects in Salish languages, seems uninsightful in the analysis of applied objects. Applied objects follow the pattern of general objects in Salish languages: they are expressed as overt NPs around 60% of the time.

The functions of the applicative are only revealed when the data are examined in their textual setting. As more texts from Salish languages become available, especially in electronic format, a more precise study will be possible.

References


Kinkade, M. Dale. 1998. Comparative Salish seminar, course notes, UBC.


