Halkomelem directional applicatives

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The Halkomelem directional applicative suffix -nas allows the endpoint of an unergative motion verb to be expressed as an object argument. The applicative construction is an alternative to expressing the endpoint as an oblique phrase, usually in a serialized motion verb construction with the verb nem ‘go’. Though only a half dozen verbs commonly appear with -nas, many other verbs form directional applicatives if there is an additional implication that the action was directed by the agent toward the endpoint for a purpose. Directional applicatives are limited to unergative verbs where the action is a motion for which an endpoint can be expressed.

1 Halkomelem applicatives

Halkomelem is a Central Salish language spoken by around one hundred elders in southwest British Columbia. The data in this paper are from original fieldwork on Island Dialect (holqmí∫µ). Like other Salish languages, Halkomelem is polysynthetic—many affixes referencing nominals appear in the verb complex, including agreement markers, transitive suffixes, applicative suffixes, and lexical suffixes. This paper addresses one of the applicative suffixes –nas, which is used to allow the expression of an endpoint as an applied object.

As posited by Kiyosawa (1999, 2000, 2002) Salish languages have two types of applicatives—REDIRECTIVE and RELATIONAL. In a redirecitive applicative the direct object role is redirected to a non-theme nominal—the applied object. The verb stem is transitive. The semantic role of the applied object is usually a goal, benefactive/malefactive, or possessor. Halkomelem has two redirecitive applicative suffixes:2

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The syntactic effect of adding an applicative suffix can be seen by comparing the simple transitive in (3a) with the applicative in (3b). In the applicative, the benefactive is cast as the direct object and the patient as an oblique NP.³

(3) a. ni? lɔk*-梳理@ k*θo sέεšt.
   AUX break-TR-3ERG DET stick
   ‘She broke the stick.’

   b. ni? lɔk*-梳理-t@ sω sω wεl¿as k*θo sέεšt.
   AUX break-BEN-TR-3ERG DET boy OBL DET stick
   ‘She broke the stick for the boy.’

The second type of applicative is the relational applicative. Here the verb stem is generally intransitive and the direct object role is assigned to a notional oblique. Halkomelem has two relational applicatives. The suffix -me⁴ is the general relational applicative. As discussed in Gerdts and Kiyosawa (2004, to appear), this suffix is used to express a variety of semantic roles including: stimulus of psychological or cognitive predicates, source of verb of motion, goal of speech or expressive act, adversative (often in passive), and benefactive of an intransitive verb.

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³ Gerdts (2000) and Gerdts and Hinkson (2004 to appear) provide evidence that the dative applicative suffix developed from the lexical suffix -as ‘face’.

⁴ More precisely this is an “oblique object”. See Gerdts and Hukari (to appear) for discussion.
-me? general relational applicative
si?si? ‘afraid’ si?si?me?t ‘afraid of him/her’
low ‘run away’ lowmat ‘run away from him/her’
qu’al ‘say, speak’ q’almot ‘lecture to, bawl out him/her’
θe?c ‘get dark’ θe?cme?t ‘get dark on him/her’
k’uk ‘cook’ k’ukme?t ‘cook for him/her’

A second relational suffix -nəs forms a directional applicative allowing the expression of the endpoint as an applied object.

-nəs directional
neim ‘go’ nəmənəs ‘go toward him/her/it’
qewə ‘come’ qewnəs ‘come toward him/her/it’
x’enəm ‘run’ x’enəmənəs ‘run toward him/her’
x’oni ‘get there’ x’oniəs ‘get there to him/her’

The syntactic effect of this type of applicative can be seen by comparing the intransitive clause in (6a) with the directional applicative in (6b), where the endpoint of the motion is expressed as an applied object.

(6) a. ni? neim k’tho swiwləs.
AUX go DET boy
‘The boy went.’

b. ni? nəem-əs k’tho John.
AUX go-DIR:TR-3ERG DET John
‘He went up to John.’

In intransitive clauses, oblique NPs, such as the stimulus in (7) are expressed by the catch-all preposition ?',ə.

(7) ni con si?si? ?ə k’tho sk’əleš.
AUX lSUB frighten OBL DET gun
‘I was frightened of the gun.’

But in applicative constructions, the semantically oblique NP is expressed as a direct object:

(8) ni con si?si?me?-t k’tho sq’oməy.
AUX lSUB frighten-REL-TR DET dog
‘I was frightened of the dog.’

Gerds (1988) discusses the syntactic properties of applicative constructions in great detail. Suffice it to say that the applied object is clearly the
direct object because it appears as a direct case NP (6b, 8) or as an objective pronominal suffix (9), and furthermore can passivize (10).

(9)  ámbwe-ñas-saimš!
  AUX  come.here-DIR-2OBJ
   ‘Come here to me!’

(10)  ñe?qo te³m-ñas-ñom  ñe-ñi
       again hearsay already go-DIR-PAS OBL-DET seagull
       t³m  ñθom.
       DET  box
       ‘And the seagull went to the box again.’
       literally: ‘And the box was gone up to again by the seagull.’

In this paper, I address two issues concerning directional applicatives. First, given that there are two different ways of expressing an oblique (as a prepositional phrase in an intransitive clause or as the direct object in an applicative), what semantic difference, if any, exists between these two paraphrases? This topic is taken up in sections 2 and 3.

The second issue I address concerns the verbs to which the suffixes attach. The general applicative –meʔ attaches to a wide variety of psychological and cognitive verbs. To date, we have found twenty-seven verbs taking this suffix (Gerdt and Kiyosawa 2003, to appear) and no verbs clearly of this class that do not. In the case of the directional applicative, only a half dozen verbs commonly appear with the suffix –ñas in data from texts. However, many more (twenty-nine out of approximately sixty motion verbs tested to date) have been found to take –ñas in elicited data. The question thus arises: why do only half of the motion verbs form directional applicatives?

2  Applicative versus oblique

Directionals, like other obliques such as locatives, instrumentals, and stimuli, can be expressed as oblique case PPs, as seen in the following examples:

(11)  ne³m  ca³  kθo  šalq-ñls.
       go  ISUB  OBL  DET  dabbing
       ‘I’m going to bingo.’

(12)  ñi  yθo-ew³  t³m  John  ñ³  t³m  ñθ-le³m³n.
       AUX  SER-com.e.here  DET  John  OBL  DET  POSt-house
       ‘John is coming to my house.’
However, except for a small handful of motion verbs meaning ‘come’ and ‘go’, directional PPs must be preceded by a serialized motion verb, usually *neµ ‘go’.5

(13)  neµ  cæn  ðałal  neµ  ð-š  snænymæ.  
go  go  paddle  OBL  DET  Nanaimo  
‘I paddled to Nanaimo.’

(14)  neµ  çtem  neµ  ð-øh  men,  qeq.  
go  crawl  go  OBL  DET:2POS  father  baby 
‘Come crawl to your dad, baby.’

As seen by comparing (14) and (15), motion verbs generally require a serialized motion verb in order to express the endpoint as a directional phrase.

(15)  *neµ  çtem  ð-øh  men,  qeq!  
go  crawl  OBL  DET:2POS  father  baby  
‘Come crawl to your dad, baby!’

What is notable about the directional applicative suffix is that it allows the expression of a directional without the necessity of a serialized motion verb.

(16)  neµ  çtem-næs  ð-øh  men,  qeq!  
go  crawl-DIR  DET:2POS  father  baby  
‘Go crawl to your father, baby!’

Another example of this pattern is given in (17–19). The endpoint cannot appear simply as an oblique phrase of the verb ðałal ‘paddle’ in (17), but it can appear as an oblique phrase in a serialized verb construction in (18) or as the object of the directional applicative in (19).

(17)  *neµ  cæn  ðałal  ð-øh  snænymæ.  
go  go  paddle  OBL  DET  woman  AUX  be.at  Cowichan.Bay 
‘I’m going to paddle toward the lady who is at Cowichan Bay.’

(18)  neµ  cæn  ðałal  neµ  ð-øh  snænymæ.  
go  go  paddle  go  OBL  DET  woman  AUX  be.at  Cowichan.Bay  
‘I’m going to paddle toward the lady who is at Cowichan Bay.’

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5 Montler (2004) makes the same point for Klallam.
Thus the applicative morphology clearly adds directional semantics.

Many verbs, for examples the ones in (20a), take oblique directional phrases and also form directional applicatives. On the other hand, verbs such as those in (20b) do not allow the expression of an endpoint as a serialized motion verb with an oblique directional and also do not occur with -n:s.

(20) a. some verbs forming directional applicatives:

b. some verbs that do not form directional applicatives:

If the verbs in (20b) express an endpoint at all, they do so through other means, for example with transitive or causative morphology, rather than with applicative morphology (see Gerds and Hukari 2000).

3 The directional applicative as a “purposive”

In addition to the directional meaning, the applicative often adds a sense of purpose. All of the following examples were judged incomplete without the inclusion of the explanation of why the action was directed toward the object; the explanation usually takes the form of a modifying or a complement clause.

(21) ?i ?o c wa1 tecol-n:s k=10 s=q:omey
    AUX INT 2SUB already arrive-DIR DET dog
    ‘i:š	s-ti:m?
    AUX:2POS NOM-ask
   ‘Are you here for the dog that you are asking for?’

When I gave a version of this paper (Gerds 2004), Tim Montler pointed out to me that Saanich is very similar to Halkomelem in this respect. Montler (1986:167) calls the Saanich suffix –n:s ‘purposive’. He says: it “adds the implication that the subject has a specific purpose in its action. It often, but not always, carries an implication of malevolent intent.” The Halkomelem suffix does not seem to imply malevolence, however.
‘I’m going up the mountain for the deer that I killed.’

Note that the parallel clause with a stated purpose but without applicative morphology was judged ungrammatical:

‘I’m going up some mountains for the deer that I killed.’

When asked to provide an example with a stated purpose but without applicative morphology, the following sentence with the serialization of two verbs (the first providing the motion and the second providing the event) was suggested:

‘I’m going up some mountains to pick up the deer that I killed.’

Here are some additional examples of the purposive use of the applicative.

‘I’m going to cross the road because my grandmother is across there.’ literally: ‘I’m going to cross to my grandmother who is on the other side of the road.’

‘You will all go in and see your uncle who is sick.’ literally: ‘You people will go in toward your uncle who is sick.’
(27) neṁ con xʷʔaləm-ʔas kʷθə-্nə xθəm ni?  
go 1SUB return-DIR DET-1POS drum AUX  
nə-ʔs-melq.  
1POS-NOM-forget  
‘I went back for the drum I forgot.’

(28) ní c ce? tiʔ̑xʷ-ʔas-səm̕ən̕ ęw-ʔəm̕ən̕  
come 2OBJ FUT go.downhill-DIR-1OBJ help-TR:1OBJ  
ʔə kʷθə sə:mmən̕ ní əm̕-stəxʷ-ən̕.  
OBL DET salmon come go.downhill:CS:3OBJ-1SSUB  
‘You will come down to the beach and help me bring up the fish that  
I’m bringing up.’
literally: ‘You will come down to me...’

(29) neṁ ʔə c ce? tíc̕əm-ʔas ʔə qʷələʔ əp̕ət.  
go Q 2SUB FUT swim-DIR DET log tie-TR  
‘Are you going to swim to the log and tie it?’

(30) neṁ ʔə c ce? c̕əm-ʔas ʔə səwən ʔəw  
go Q 2SUB FUT jump-DIR DET blanket LNK  
niʔ-əs ce? ən̕-s-əm?  
AUX-3SSUB FUT throw-TR-PAS  
‘Are you going to jump for a blanket when they are thrown out?’

(31) níʔ wał neṁ həyeʔ-ʔas-əs kʷθə səyił-s  
AUX already go depart-DIR-3ERG DET o.sibling-3POS  
ʔəʔəs-ʔəs níʔ ʔəʔ əm̕atuliyeʔ.  
pick.up-TR-3ERG AUX OBL-DET Victoria  
‘He has departed to go and get his brother at Victoria.’
literally: ‘He has departed to his brother to pick him up at Victoria.’

(32) neṁ ʔə c ce? ʔəim-ʔas ʔən̕ səʔəʔʔ ʔəw  
go 2SUB FUT disembark-DIR DET:2POS grandparent LNK  
niʔ-ʔəxʷ təs ʔəʔ əʔəʔələʔəs níʔ ʔəʔ:stəxʷ.  
AUX-2SSUB arrive OBL-DET Kuper I. come board-CS:3OBJ  
‘You will go and get your grandmother when you get to Kuper and  
bring her aboard (on the ferry).’
literally: ‘You will disembark to your grandmother ....’
In sum, we see that directional applicatives, especially with verbs with meanings other than ‘come’ and ‘go’, require purposive semantics: the agent must be directing the action toward the endpoint for a purpose.

4 Agent control and the unaccusative ban on directional applicatives

Given the above observation, it is not surprising that unergative verbs but not unaccusative verbs can form directional applicatives. Unergative verbs are intransitive verbs in which the subject argument is semantically an agent in control of an event. Unaccusative verbs are intransitive verbs, usually processes, in which the subject argument is semantically a patient/undergoer that is not in control. Since directional applicatives require an agent to direct the action in a controlled, purposive manner, only unergative verbs are compatible with directional applicatives.

Several tests for the unergative/unaccusative distinction have been developed for Halkomelem (Gerds 1991, Gerds and Hukari 1998, 2000). Unergative verbs are compatible with the desiderative suffix -lm; and the limited control suffix –nam; while unaccusative verbs are not. As we see in Table 1, motion verbs that take the directional applicative suffix also take the desiderative and limited control suffixes.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>verb</th>
<th>directional</th>
<th>‘want to’</th>
<th>‘manage to’</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>‘go’</td>
<td>ŋ̕u̕n̕</td>
<td>ŋ̕u̕n̕̕n̕̕</td>
<td>ŋ̕u̕n̕m̕</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘come’</td>
<td>ŋ̕u̕n̕n̕̕</td>
<td>ŋ̕u̕n̕n̕̕̕</td>
<td>ŋ̕u̕n̕m̕</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘run’</td>
<td>ŋ̕u̕n̕m̕</td>
<td>ŋ̕u̕m̕m̕</td>
<td>ŋ̕u̕m̕m̕</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘climb’</td>
<td>ŋ̕u̕n̕m̕</td>
<td>ŋ̕u̕m̕m̕</td>
<td>ŋ̕u̕m̕m̕</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘go home’</td>
<td>ŋ̕u̕n̕m̕</td>
<td>ŋ̕u̕m̕m̕</td>
<td>ŋ̕u̕m̕m̕</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘paddle’</td>
<td>ŋ̕u̕n̕m̕</td>
<td>ŋ̕u̕m̕m̕</td>
<td>ŋ̕u̕m̕m̕</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘swim’</td>
<td>ŋ̕u̕n̕m̕</td>
<td>ŋ̕u̕m̕m̕</td>
<td>ŋ̕u̕m̕m̕</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘wade out’</td>
<td>ŋ̕u̕n̕m̕</td>
<td>ŋ̕u̕m̕m̕</td>
<td>ŋ̕u̕m̕m̕</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 1: Unergative verb paradigms

In contrast, verbs that do not take the directional applicative suffix, fail to take the desiderative and limited control suffixes as well, as illustrated in Table 2.
Table 2: Unaccusative verb paradigms

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verb</th>
<th>Directional Suffix</th>
<th>'Want to' Suffix</th>
<th>'Manage to' Suffix</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>'disappear'</td>
<td>p̓əw̓</td>
<td>p̓əw̓m̕ən̓</td>
<td>p̓əw̓m̕ən̓m̕ət</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'drop'</td>
<td>kʷə</td>
<td>kʷəm̕ən̓</td>
<td>kʷəm̕əm̕ən̓m̕ət</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'fade away'</td>
<td>əx̣</td>
<td>əx̣m̕ən̓</td>
<td>əx̣m̕əm̕ən̓m̕ət</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'fall'</td>
<td>hil̓m̕</td>
<td>hil̓m̕m̕ən̓</td>
<td>hil̓m̕m̕əm̕ən̓m̕ət</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'move'</td>
<td>t̓ outcry</td>
<td>t̓ outcrym̕ən̓</td>
<td>t̓ outcrym̕əm̕ən̓m̕ət</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'tilt'</td>
<td>p̓əl̓q̓</td>
<td>p̓əl̓q̓m̕ən̓</td>
<td>p̓əl̓q̓m̕əm̕ən̓m̕ət</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'stumble'</td>
<td>w̓əl̓k̓</td>
<td>w̓əl̓k̓m̕ən̓</td>
<td>w̓əl̓k̓m̕əm̕ən̓m̕ət</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

While the semantic forces at work are obscured by the English translations of these verbs, the results from a Halkomelem perspective are clear: some motion verbs are unergative while others are unaccusative.7

5 Conclusion

The directional applicative suffix -m̕əs allows the expression of an endpoint without a serialized motion verb. Furthermore, the directional applicative often adds the implication that the action was directed by the agent toward the endpoint for a purpose. Unaccusative verbs, because they do not have agents, do not form directional applicatives. Unergative verbs, however, are good candidates for directional applicatives, so long as the action is a motion for which an endpoint can be expressed. Given these two conditions, only a portion (approximately one half) of motion verbs form directional applicatives, and most of these only occur when purposive semantics is present.

References

Gerdts, Donna B., and Mercedes Q. Hinkson. To appear. The grammaticalization of Halkomelem ‘FACE’ into a dative applicative suffix, IJAL.

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7 The situation is made complicated by the fact that, as Gerdts and Hukari (2000) note, some motion verbs exhibit properties of both unergative and unaccusative verbs.


