

Halkomelem directional applicatives

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The Halkomelem directional applicative suffix *-nəs* 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 *-nəs*, 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 applicatives¹

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 (*həlqəmínəm*). 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 *-nəs*, 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 redirective 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 redirective applicative suffixes:²

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² Abbreviations used in this paper are: AUX: auxiliary, BEN: benefactive applicative suffix, CONT: continuative (imperfective), CS: causative, DAT: dative applicative suffix, DET: determiner, DIR: directional applicative suffix, ERG: ergative, FUT: future, LCTR: limited control transitive, LNK: linker, NOM: nominalizer, OBJ: object suffix, OBL: oblique, PAS:

- (1) *-as* dative³
- | | | | |
|---------------------|------------|------------------------|-------------------------|
| ʔeʔəm | ‘give’ | ʔa·məst | ‘give it to him/her’ |
| x ^w ayəm | ‘sell’ | x ^w ayeməst | ‘sell it to him/her’ |
| ʔiŋ- | ‘instruct’ | ʔiwəst | ‘show it to him/her’ |
| yəθ- | ‘tell’ | yəθəst | ‘tell him/her about it’ |
- (2) *-əlc* benefactive
- | | | | |
|---------------------|-----------|------------------------|-----------------------|
| q ^w ələt | ‘bake it’ | q ^w ələlcət | ‘bake it for him/her’ |
| θəyt | ‘fix it’ | θəyəlçət | ‘fix it for him/her’ |
| k ^w ənət | ‘take it’ | k ^w ənəlçət | ‘take it for him/her’ |
| pət ^θ ət | ‘sew it’ | pət ^θ əlçət | ‘sew it for him/her’ |

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.⁴

- (3) a. niʔ lək^w-at-əs k^wθə sčəšt.
 AUX break-TR-3ERG DET stick
 ‘She broke the stick.’
- b. niʔ lək^w-əlc-t-əs t^θə swiŋləs ʔə k^wθə sčəšt.
 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 *-meʔ* is the general relational applicative. As discussed in Gerdtts 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.

passive object suffix, PL: plural, POS: possessive, Q: question particle, REL: relational applicative suffix, SER: serial, SSUB: subordinate subject, SUB subject, TR: transitive.

³ Gerdtts (2000) and Gerdtts 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 Gerdtts and Hukari (to appear) for discussion.

(4)	<i>-meʔ</i> general relational applicative			
	siʔsiʔ	‘afraid’	siʔsiʔ meʔ t	‘afraid of him/her’
	ləw̃	‘run away’	ləw̃ mət	‘run away from him/her’
	qʷal	‘say, speak’	qʷal mət	‘lecture to, bawl out him/her’
	θeʔc	‘get dark’	θeʔc meʔ t	‘get dark on him/her’
	kʷukʷ	‘cook’	kʷukʷ meʔ t	‘cook for him/her’

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

(5)	<i>-nəs</i> directional			
	neṁ	‘go’	nəṁ nəs	‘go toward him/her/it’
	ʔewə	‘come’	ʔewə nəs	‘come toward him/her/it’
	ʃʷčənəm	‘run’	ʃʷčənəm nəs	‘run toward him/her’
	xʷəniʔ	‘get there’	xʷəni ṁs	‘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.	niʔ	neṁ	kʷθə	swiʷləs.
		AUX	go	DET	boy
		‘The boy went.’			
	b.	niʔ	nəʔeṁ- nəs -əs	kʷθə	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 ʔə.

(7)	ni	cən	siʔsiʔ	ʔə	kʷθə	skʷəleʃ.
	AUX	1SUB	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	cən	siʔsiʔ- meʔ -t	kʷθə	sqʷəmeʔ.
	AUX	1SUB	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) m̄i ʔewə-nəs-sam̄š!
 AUX come.here-DIR-2OBJ
 ‘Come here to me!’
- (10) ʔeʔ c̄ə wəʔ nəʔəm-nəs-əm ʔə-ʔ̄ qʷəni
 again hearsay already go-DIR-PAS OBL-DET seagull
 t̄ə ʃθəm.
 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 (Gerdtts 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 *-nəs* in data from texts. However, many more (twenty-nine out of approximately sixty motion verbs tested to date) have been found to take *-nəs* 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) nəm̄ cən ə kʷθə ʔ̄aʔqʷəʔs.
 go 1SUB OBL DET dabbing
 ‘I’m going to bingo.’
- (12) ʔi yə-ʔewə t̄ə John ʔə t̄ə nə-leləm̄.
 AUX SER-come.here DET John OBL DET 1POS-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 *neṃ* ‘go’.⁵

(13) *neṃ cən ʔəʂəl neṃ ʔə-ʂ snəneyməxʷ.*
 go 1SUB paddle go OBL-DET Nanaimo
 ‘I paddled to Nanaimo.’

(14) *neṃ čtem neṃ ʔə tʰəṃ 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) **neṃ čtem ʔə tʰəṃ 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) *neṃ čtem-nəs tʰəṃ 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 *ʔəʂəl* ‘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) **neṃ cən ʔəʂəl ʔə ɬə sɬeniʔ niʔ niʔ ʂpaləs.*
 go 1SUB paddle OBL DET woman AUX be.at Cowichan.Bay
 ‘I’m going to paddle toward the lady who is at Cowichan Bay.’

(18) *neṃ cən ʔəʂəl neṃ ʔə ɬə sɬeniʔ niʔ niʔ*
 go 1SUB paddle go OBL DET woman AUX be.at
ʂpaləs.
 Cowichan.Bay
 ‘I’m going to paddle toward the lady who is at Cowichan Bay.’

⁵ Montler (2004) makes the same point for Klallam.

- (19) *neṃ cən ʔəʃəl-nəs ɬə steniʔ niʔ niʔ ʃəlpaləs.*
 go 1SUB paddle-DIR DET woman AUX be.at Cowichan.Bay
 ‘I’m going to paddle toward the lady who is at Cowichan Bay.’

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 *-nəs*.

- (20) a. some verbs forming directional applicatives:
kʷiʔ ‘climb’, *ciṃəl* ‘get near’, *ta:l* ‘go to the middle of the floor (in the longhouse)’, *te:l* ‘go ashore’, *ʃpil* ‘go down’, *wəqʷiləm* ‘go downstream’, *taḱʷ* ‘go home’, *ʔəʃəl* ‘paddle’, *tičəm* ‘swim’, *ʃtem* ‘swim underwater’, *siχʷəm* ‘wade out’
- b. some verbs that do not form directional applicatives:
təs ‘approach’, *xʷiwəl* ‘come forward’, *nəqəm* ‘dive down’, *pəkʷ* ‘float to the surface’, *taḱʷ* ‘fly’, *ca:ləc* ‘go over’, *člaqʷ* ‘go through’, *ɬxiləʃ* ‘stand’, *ʔiməʃ* ‘walk’

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 Gerdts and Hukari 2000).

3 The directional applicative as a “purposive”

In addition to the directional meaning, the applicative often adds a sense of purpose.⁶ 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) *ʔi ʔə č wəɬ tecəl-nəs kʷθə sqʷəmeɣ*
 AUX INT 2SUB already arrive-DIR DET DET dog
ʔi:ṃ s-ti:ṃ?
 AUX:2POS NOM-ask
 ‘Are you here for the dog that you are asking for?’

⁶ When I gave a version of this paper (Gerdts 2004), Tim Montler pointed out to me that Saanich is very similar to Halkomelem in this respect. Montler (1986:167) calls the Saanich suffix *-nəs* ‘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.

- (22) *neṁ cən wəɫ cam-nəs kʷθə sməyəθ*
 go 1SUB already go.uphill-DIR DET deer
niʔ ɟay-nəxʷ-e.ṅ.
 AUX die-LCTR:3OBJ-1SSUB
 ‘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:

- (23) **neṁ cən wəɫ cam ʔə kʷθə sməyəθ*
 go 1SUB already go.uphill OBL DET deer
niʔ ɟay-nəxʷ-e.ṅ.
 AUX die-LCTR:3OBJ-1SSUB
 ‘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:

- (24) *neṁ cən wəɫ cam ʃaʔəs-t kʷθə sməyəθ*
 go 1SUB already go.uphill pick.up-TR DET deer
niʔ ɟay-nəxʷ-e.ṅ.
 AUX die-LCTR:3OBJ-1SSUB
 ‘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.

- (25) *neṁ cən ʃaqʷəl-nəs θə-nə siṽ.*
 go 1SUB cross-DIR DET-1POS grandparent
naʔəθ ʃɫɟaʔθ ʔə tʰə ʃeɫ.
 AUX:DET other.side OBL DET road
 ‘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.’

- (26) *neṁ ce:p ceʔ nəwɪləm-nəs kʷθəṅ sxʷəmnikʷ*
 go 2PL:SUB FUT enter-DIR DET:2POS aunt/uncle
ʔiʔ ɟaɟiʔ.
 AUX sick
 ‘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) *neṃ cən x^wəʔaləṃ-nəs k^wθə-nə ʃθəm niʔ*
 go 1SUB return-DIR DET-1POS drum AUX
nə-s-melq.
 IPOS-NOM-forget
 ‘I went back for the drum I forgot.’
- (28) *ṃi č ceʔ ʔax^w-nəs-saṃš čew-əθaṃš*
 come 2OBJ FUT go.downhill-DIR-1OBJ help-TR:1OBJ
ʔə k^wθə sce:ʔtən ṃi cəm-stəx^w-əṃ.
 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) *neṃ ʔə č ceʔ ʔicəm-nəs t^θə q^wʔey ʔep-ət.*
 go Q 2SUB FUT swim-DIR DET log tie-TR
 ‘Are you going to swim to the log and tie it?’
- (30) *neṃ ʔə č ceʔ cʃəm-nəs t^θə stəwən ʔəw*
 go Q 2SUB FUT jump-DIR DET blanket LNK
niʔ-əs ceʔ wen-š-əm?
 AUX-3SSUB FUT throw-TR-PAS
 ‘Are you going to jump for a blanket when they are thrown out?’
- (31) *niʔ wət neṃ həyeʔ-nəs-əs k^wθə ʃəyət-s*
 AUX already go depart-DIR-3ERG DET o.sibling-3POS
ʃəʔas-t-əs niʔ ʔə-ʃ mətuliyeʔ.
 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) *neṃ č ceʔ ʔ^wim-nəs ʔəṃ silə ʔəw*
 go 2SUB FUT disembark-DIR DET:2POS grandparent LNK
ni-ʔəx^w təs ʔə-ʃ yəx^wəlaʔəs ṃiʔ ʔa:ʔ-stəx^w.
 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’

	verb	directional	‘want to’	‘manage to’
‘disappear’	tʰəw	*tʰəwnəs	*tʰəwəlmən	*tʰəwnamət
‘drop’	k ^w eʔ	*k ^w eʔnəs	*k ^w eʔəlmən	*k ^w eʔnamət
‘fade away’	θəx ^w	*θəx ^w nəs	*θəx ^w əlmən	*θəx ^w namət
‘fall’	hiləm	*hiləmnəs	*hiləməlmən	*hiləmnamət
‘move’	təyq	*təyqnəs	*təyqəlmən	*təyqnamət
‘tilt’	pəɫq ^w	*pəɫq ^w nəs	*pəɫq ^w əlmən	*pəɫq ^w namət
‘stumble’	wəɫəc	*wəɫəcnəs	*wəɫəcəlmən	*wəɫəcnamət

Table 2: Unaccusative verb paradigms

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 *-nəs* 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.

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

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