

APPLICATIVES IN SALISH LANGUAGES

by

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THESIS SUBMITTED IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF
THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE OF

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

In the
Department of Linguistics

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SIMON FRASER UNIVERSITY

Fall 2006

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ABSTRACT

This thesis is a study of applicative constructions in Salish, a family of twenty-three languages spoken in British Columbia and the northwestern United States. In an applicative construction, an applicative morpheme is suffixed to the verb and the object bears a semantic role other than theme, such as dative, benefactive, locative, or stimulus. Each Salish language has from two to six different applicative suffixes. I constructed a database of examples gleaned from secondary sources, cataloguing them for their syntactic and semantic properties. I show that applicative suffixes, like many verbal suffixes, do not always have a one-to-one correspondence between form and function. An applicative suffix may exhibit more than one semantic function, and a semantic function may be displayed by more than one applicative suffix.

My research leads to the claim that Salish applicatives are divided into two types. Relational applicatives are based on intransitive verbs and differ according to the semantics of the verb. Redirective applicatives are based on transitive verbs and differ according to the semantics of the direct object. Each Salish language has at least one applicative of each type. Two applicative suffixes can be reconstructed for Proto-Salish: one relational and one redirective. Other applicatives have been innovated in sub-branches or individual languages. For example, Central Salish languages have multiple relational applicatives and Southern Interior Salish languages have multiple redirective applicatives. Tsamosan languages have both multiple redirective applicatives and multiple relational applicatives. The innovated applicatives usurp or augment the

functions of the two Proto-Salish applicatives, yielding a complex picture in the modern languages.

Applicatives, especially relational applicatives, are rare in the world's languages. For example, they are completely lacking in English and other Indo-European languages. A catalog of the Salish data contributes to the study of linguistic typology. The presence of several applicatives in each language not only allows for comparison of applicative and non-applicative constructions but also of different kinds of applicatives. The properties I use to classify Salish applicatives—transitivity, verb class, semantic role, and discourse prominence—may prove useful in classifying applicatives in other languages.

Keywords: Salish; applicative; morphosyntax; historical; typology

Subject Terms: Salishan languages -- Morphology; Salishan languages -- Syntax;

Applicative grammar; Grammar Comparative Salishan Languages

DEDICATION

To my grandmother and my parents

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

My deep gratitude goes to Dale Kinkade, who was a member of my committee, but passed away before the thesis completed. I was very fortunate to take a seminar from him, and my class notes were a good starting point for my research. He gave me valuable comments on my earlier publications that were incorporated into this thesis. It was such an honour to know him academically and personally.

When I started my doctoral program, I did not expect to have such a complex project for my thesis. Donna Gerdts helped me to start the project, shared her knowledge with me, supported me academically and emotionally, and got me through from the start to the finish of this thesis. I cannot thank her enough for everything she has done for me. It has been a real pleasure doing research with her.

I also thank Thomas Hukari for sharing his insights about Halkomelem and for his many comments, and Nancy Hedberg for her encouragement and comments, especially on discourse analysis. I would also like to thank my other committee member, Panayiotis Pappas, for his comments and questions. My external examiner, David Beck, gave a thorough critique that led to many improvements. Charles Ulrich deserves special thanks for his assistance. His consistent writing advice and numerous comments made the thesis much more readable. I also thank Todd Peterson for editorial assistance.

The contributions of the researchers who worked on Salish languages were essential to this thesis. Mercedes Hinkson has been very influential with respect to the historical analysis. I thank her for the beneficial discussions we have had, the comments she has made, and for her encouragement. I would also like to thank Jan van Eijk and Honoré Watanabe for their comments and corrections. Thanks also to the Salishanists who took the time to respond to my inquiries: Dawn Bates, Shannon Bischoff, Ewa Czaykowska-Higgins, Ivy Doak, Brent Galloway, Dwight Gardiner, Anthony Mattina, Nancy Mattina, Timothy Montler, Nile Thompson, and especially Paul Kroeber. Any errors, incorrect lexical entries, or misinterpretations of the data remain my own responsibility.

This thesis benefited greatly from fieldwork with speakers of the Salish languages. I especially thank Halkomelem speakers, Theresa Thorne and Ruby Peter, who shared their expertise with me. Support for my fieldwork came from the Jacobs Research Fund, the Phillips Fund, and SSHRC grants awarded to Donna Gerds.

This lengthy commitment would not have been possible without my family and friends, especially Renée McCallum, who encouraged me throughout this journey. I thank them for being there for me whenever I needed them.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

1	first person	INTR	intransitive
2	second person	IRR	irrealis
3	third person	LNK	linker
ABS	absolute	LOC	locative
ABSENT	absent	LV	liking vowel
ACT	action	MDL	middle
ACTV	activity suffix	NC	non-control
APPL	applicative	NEG	negative
ART	article	NM	nominalizer
ASP	aspect	NOM	nominative
AUG	augmentative	OBJ	object
AUTO	autonomous	OBL	oblique
AUX	auxiliary	OC	out of control
BEN	benefactive	PASS	passive
CISLOC	cislocative	PAST	past
CLF	cleft	PERF	perfect
CLT	clitic	PL	plural
CMPL	completive enclitic	POSS	possessive
CONJ	conjunctive	PREP	preposition
CONT	continuative	PRFX	(unglossed) prefix
CS	causative	PRO	pronoun
CUST	customary	PTC	particle
DAT	dative	PSTN	positional
DEIC	deictic	PUNCT	punctual
DEM	demonstrative	Q	question particle
DET	determiner	QUOT	quotative
DIM	diminutive	RECIP	reciprocal
EMPH	emphatic	RDR	redirective
ERG	ergative	RED	reduplication
EST.REM	establish remote	REL	relational
EVID	evidential	REFL	reflexive
EXIS	existential enclitic	RES	resultive
FEM	feminine	RFM	reaffirmative
FMTV	formative	R.FILLER	rhetorical filler
FOC	focus	RPT	repetitive
FUT	future	RSLT	resultative
IDF	indefinite	SBJN	subjunctive
IM	immediate	SBRD	subordinate
IMP	imperative	SER	serial
IMPF	imperfect	SFX	unglossed suffix
INCH	inchoative	SG	singular
INFX	infix	SSUB	subordinate subject
INST	instrument	ST	stative
INT	introductory	SUB	subject

TR	general transitive	VBL	verbalizer
UNR	unrealized	VOC	vocative

List of Symbols

//...//	morphophonemic form	=...	lexical suffix
-	morpheme boundary	[...]	infix

List of Language abbreviations

Be	Bella Coola	NCS	Northern Central Salish
CCS	Central Central Salish	NIS	Northern Interior Salish
Ch	Upper Chehalis	Nk	Nooksack
Cm	Columbian	NS	Northern Straits
Cr	Coeur d'Alene	Ok	Okanagan
CS	Central Salish	SCS	Southern Central Salish
Cx	Comox	Se	Sechelt
Cz	Cowlitz	Sh	Shuswap
Hl	Halkomelem	SIS	Southern Interior Salish
IS	Interior Salish	Sq	Squamish
Ka	Kalispel	Th	Thompson
Kl	Klallam	Ti	Tillamook
Ld	Lushootseed	TS	Tsamosan
Li	Lillooet	Tw	Twana

Chapter 1: Introduction and Background

Salish languages are well known for their polysynthetic properties. The predicate usually consists of a verb stem, as the base, and one or more affixes or clitics. The verbal affixes, primarily suffixes, have a wide range of morphosyntactic functions, including transitive, causative, middle, reflexive, reciprocal, and applicative.

Salish applicative suffixes and the constructions that they mark are the focus of this thesis. According to Donna Gerds (p.c.), Mithun (1999), Payne (1997), and Peterson (1999), applicative affixes appear on the verb when the direct object refers to a participant that is not a theme but rather a semantically oblique nominal that is related to the event, such as a recipient, benefactive, possessor, goal, or stimulus.¹ In other words, the applicative suffix signals the presence of a non-theme direct object, referred to in this thesis as the applied object.

Observe the following Okanagan examples:

- (1) Okanagan
a. kən n-ǰíł.
 1SG.SUB LOC-afraid
 ‘I got scared. (A. Mattina 1987:252)

¹ I use the theme here in the general use of typological linguistics to refer to the patient of transitive verbs and also the object being transferred in a ditransitive. Semantically oblique nominals are non-theme nominals that do not undergo the event expressed by the verb, but rather express some nominal in relation to the event, such as a recipient, beneficiary, goal, manner, reason, and stimulus.

- b. n-ǰíl-mə-nt-s-ən.
LOC-afraid-REL-TR-2SG.OBJ-1SG.SUB
'I got scared of you.' (A. Mattina 1994:219)

(1a) is an intransitive construction having only one participant, a first-person singular subject expressed by an intransitive subject clitic. In contrast, (1b) is an applicative construction, as indicated by the applicative suffix *-mi*,² which appears between the verb root and the transitive suffix. The applicative construction is syntactically transitive: the subject in the applicative construction is the first-person singular ergative suffix, the direct object is expressed as pronominal object inflection, and the verb is explicitly marked with the transitive suffix. The applied object is not a theme, but rather a semantically oblique nominal related to the event, in this case the stimulus.

In sum, the applicative in (1b) is a transitive construction with a direct object, the applied object, which refers to a semantically oblique nominal relating to the event. I refer to such applicatives as “relational applicatives” and to the suffixes that occur in them as “relational (applicative) suffixes”. Relational suffixes attach to a wide range of predicates, including psychological events, speech acts, and motions. The applied objects play a variety of semantic roles, including stimulus, content, and goal. Chapter 3 of this thesis is a survey and analysis of relational applicatives in Salish.

Salish languages have a second type of applicative construction, which I refer to as “redirective applicatives”. The redirective suffix is attached to a transitive base and the applied object plays a role such as dative, benefactive, or possessive. Compare the following Shuswap examples:

² *i* is reduced to *ə* or deleted when unstressed.

variety of semantic roles, including dative, benefactive, possessive, and source. Chapter 4 of this thesis is a survey and analysis of redirective applicatives in Salish.

In Chapter 2, I give an overview of Salish morphosyntax, the syntax of applicative constructions, and their discourse function. Much more could have been said on these topics, but I limit my discussion to some key points that serve as background for my survey of Salish applicative suffixes in Chapters 3, 4, and 5.

A recurrent theme in this thesis is that Salish applicatives are organized by a two-way typology into relationals and redirectives. Relational applicatives are formed on intransitive bases. In Chapter 3, I classify the relational suffixes according to the semantics of the verbs to which they attach. Redirective applicatives are formed on transitive bases. In Chapter 4, I discuss the redirective suffixes according to the semantics of the applied object. Some applicative constructions, especially those found in Bella Coola, do not fit neatly into this binary classification. In Chapter 5, I probe some issues that arise when dealing with the full set of applicative suffixes in Salish, in particular the relationship of applicatives to simple transitive clauses.

In Chapters 6 and 7, I discuss the applicative suffixes in relation to other morphosyntactic suffixes that appear on the predicate. In Chapter 6, I discuss the complex topic of transitive marking and object suffixes. In Chapter 7, I catalog the morphemes that occur before and after the applicative suffix in each language. The two-way typology makes certain predictions regarding the co-occurrence of applicatives with other suffixes. These predictions are substantiated by the Salish data.

In Chapter 8, I conclude with an overview of the Salish applicative system, placing it in a typological perspective. While a thorough discussion of the cross-linguistic

typology of applicatives is outside the scope of this thesis, I highlight some of the similarities and differences between Salish applicatives and those found in other languages of the world.

I continue this chapter with some preliminary remarks. I give a brief introduction to Salish languages (section 1.1), a survey of previous work on Salish applicatives (section 1.2), and an explication of the data used in my research (section 1.3).

1.1 Salish languages.

There are twenty-three Salish languages currently or historically spoken in British Columbia, Washington, Idaho, Montana, and Oregon (see Czaykowska-Higgins and Kinkade 1998:2 for a map). Table 1 shows the Salish languages and their principal dialects. Dialects shown in boldface are the main sources in this thesis:

Table 1. Salish Language Family³

BRANCH		LANGUAGE	DIALECT
Bella Coola		Bella Coola	Bella Coola, Kimsquit, Tallio
Central Salish		Comox	Island Comox, Sliammon
		Pentlatch	
		Sechelt	
		Squamish	
		Halkomelem	Upriver (Chilliwack), Downriver (Musqueam), Island (Cowichan, Nanaimo)
		Nooksack	
		Northern Straits	Saanich , Sooke, Songhees, Samish, Lummi, Semiahmoo
		Klallam	
		Lushootseed	Northern Lushootseed , Southern Lushootseed
		Twana	
Tillamook		Tillamook	Tillamook , Siletz
Tsamosan		Upper Chehalis	Oakville Chehalis, Satsop, Tenino Chehalis
		Cowlitz	
		Quinault	
		Lower Chehalis	
Interior Salish	Northern Interior	Lillooet	Lower Lillooet (Mount Currie) , Upper Lillooet (Fountain)
		Thompson	
		Shuswap	Eastern, Western
	Southern Interior	Okanagan	Northern, Southern (Colville)
		Kalispel	Spokane , Kalispel, Flathead
		Coeur d'Alene	
		Columbian	Chelan, Entiat, Wenatchee (Pesquous), Moses-Columbia

Pentlatch, Nooksack, Twana, and Tillamook are no longer spoken, and the other Salish languages are endangered or near extinction (Czaykowska-Higgins and Kinkade 1998).

³ This table is based on information from Czaykowska-Higgins and Kinkade (1998), Suttles (1990), and Walker (1998). The language names I use here are the traditional names used by scholars working on Salish languages. Various tribes and bands use self-designating names of the languages. (See Czaykowska-Higgins and Kinkade 1998:64ff.) But since these names often vary from dialect to dialect, there are multiple names for each language and so using them in this study would make it difficult for the non-Salishanist readers to follow the discussion.

1.1.1 Subgrouping.

As shown in Table 1, Salish languages are grouped into five branches—Bella Coola, Central Salish, Tillamook, Tsamosan and Interior Salish. The two outlier languages, Bella Coola to the north and Tillamook in the south, each constitute a distinct branch. Interior Salish is divided into two sub-branches—Northern Interior Salish (Shuswap, Lillooet, and Thompson) and Southern Interior Salish (Okanagan, Kalispel, Coeur d'Alene, Columbian). Tsamosan consists of two sub-branches—Maritime (Quinault and Lower Chehalis) and Inland (Upper Chehalis and Cowlitz), but only data from the latter are considered in this thesis. The Central Salish languages form a chain of related languages, though there is some evidence for several sub-branches—the Northern branch (Comox, Pentlatch, and Sechelt) and the Central branch (Squamish, Halkomelem, Nooksack, Northern Straits, and Klallam), and the Southern branch (Lushootseed and Twana) (Dale Kinkade, p.c.). Squamish and Nooksack are closely related. The languages Northern Straits and Klallam are grouped under the term Straits. The Saanich dialect of Northern Straits and the Island Dialect of Halkomelem are in close contact and have many shared features.

The exact nature of the historical relationship among the five branches of Salish is in some dispute. Many references simply treat the five branches as coordinate daughters of Proto-Salish, though Bella Coola is recognized as the most divergent of the Salish languages (Czaykowska-Higgins and Kinkade 1998:1–5). So it is not unreasonable to claim, as did L. Thompson (1979a), that Bella Coola split from the rest of the Salish languages. The status of the other outlier language, Tillamook, is more problematic. Czaykowska-Higgins and Kinkade (1998:4) treat Tillamook as a separate branch but say

it is more closely related to Central Salish than to any other branch. L. Thompson (1979a) considers Tillamook to be joined with the Central Salish languages in a branch called Coast Salish.⁴ It is also difficult to place the Tsamosan languages within Salish, partly because of the scarcity of data. They parallel Central Salish languages in some respects and Interior Salish languages in others, though Dale Kinkade (p.c.) speculated that they are probably more closely affiliated with Central Salish.

These considerations lead me to adopt the following family tree, after Hinkson (1999).

⁴ Kroeber (1999) refers to Central Salish as “Coast Salish”. However, I follow the practice of Suttles (1990) using Coast Salish only as a cultural term.

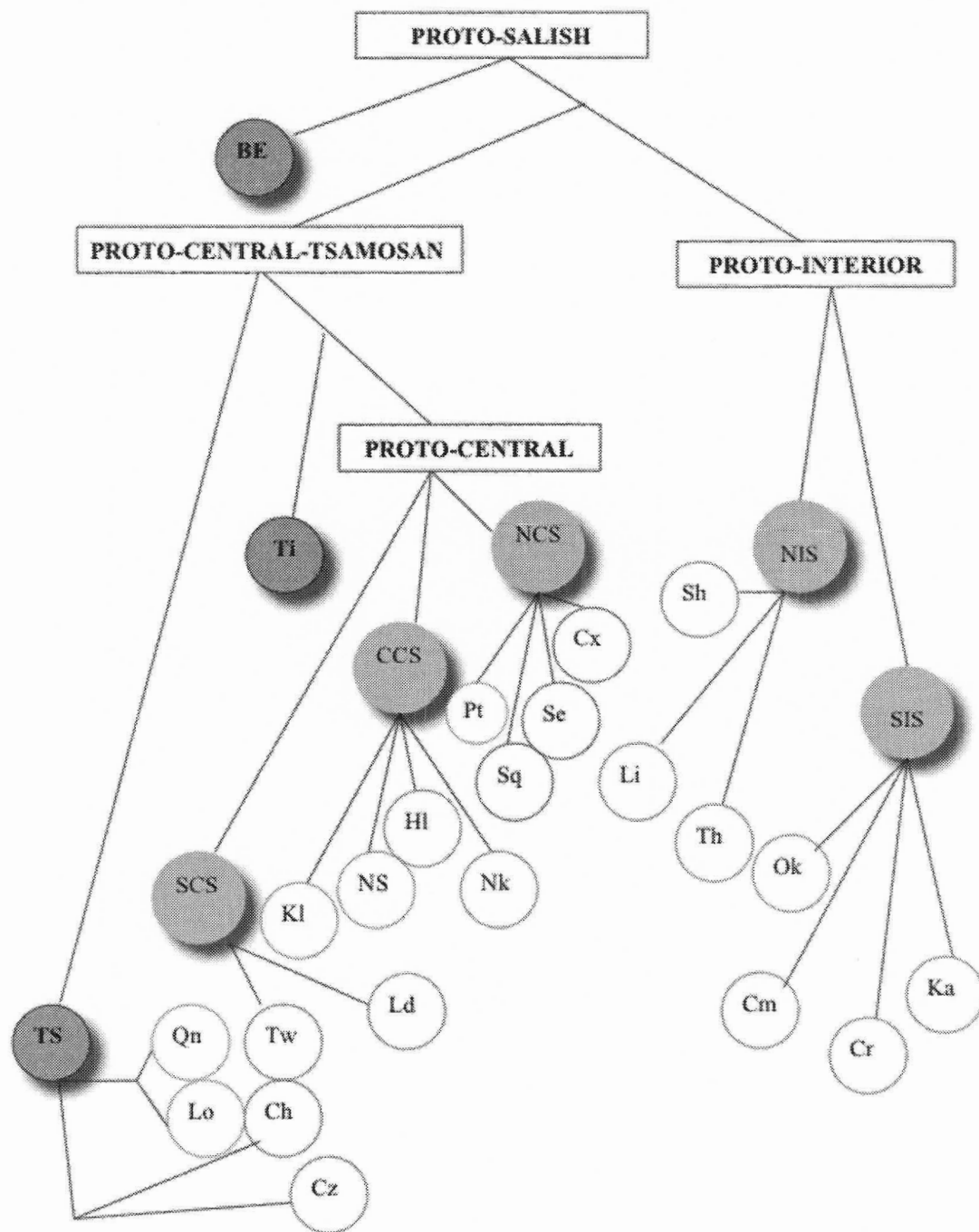


Figure 1. The Salish Language Family

Several factors contribute to the confusion about the relationships of the modern languages. The time depth of Proto-Salish is between 3000 and 6000 years (Kroeber 1999:1) and the Salish people have spread over a vast area during that time. On the other hand, we often see wave-like distribution of features that cross-cut genetic sub-groupings suggesting on-going contact. Also, the Salish languages are part of a Northwest Coast linguistic area and many features are shared with neighboring language families (L. Thompson and Kinkade 1990:42–44).

1.1.2 Comparative/historical Salish studies.

In addition to a number of grammars, dictionaries, and collections of texts for various Salish languages, there exists a substantial body of work on historical-comparative Salish. L. Thompson (1979a) remains the definitive work on phonology. See Kroeber (1999:6–10) for a synopsis.

Overall, Salish languages have very similar sound systems. They have a rich inventory of consonants and few vowels. The Salish languages distinguish two series of stops, affricates, and resonants: plain and glottalized. Uvulars contrast with velars and, in some languages, pharyngeals; these points of articulations also contrast plain with labialized consonants. Laterals include *l*, the lateral fricative *ɬ*, and the glottalized lateral affricate *ɬ̚*.

Following Kroeber (1999:xxix), I use the following symbols for representing Salish consonants and vowels:

p		t		k ^y	k	k ^w	q	q ^w		ʔ
p̣		ṭ		ḳ ^y	ḳ	ḳ ^w	q̣	q̣ ^w		
b		d		g ^y	g	g ^w	ḡ	ḡ ^w		
	t ^θ	c	č							
	ṭ ^θ	c̣	č̣							
		d ^z	ǰ							
		ʃ								
	θ	s	š	x ^y	x	x ^w	š	š ^w	h	h ^w
		ʃ								
m		n			ŋ					
ṃ		ṇ			ŋ̣					
		r z			ɹ				ɸ	ɸ ^w
		ɹ ẓ			ɹ̣				ɸ̣	ɸ̣ ^w
		l								
		ḷ								
				y		w				
				ỵ		ẉ				

Figure 2. Salish Consonants

i		u
	ə	
e		o
	a	

Figure 3. Salish Vowels⁵

L. Thompson (1979a) posits a set of sound correspondences; see Kroeber (1999:8) for a list. Some sound changes relevant to this thesis are given in Table 2.

⁵ I write *a* where Adams et al. (2005), Galloway (1997), and Galloway et al. (2004) have *æ* in Nooksack, *e* where Gardiner (1993) has *ɛ* in Shuswap, and *e* and *o* where Doak (1993, 1997) has *ɛ* and *ɔ* respectively in Coeur d'Alene.

Table 2. Some Relevant Sound Changes

PS	>	LANGUAGES
*x	š	Comox, Sechelt, Squamish, [Island] Halkomelem, Nooksack, Lushootseed, Twana, Tillamook, Upper Chehalis, Cowlitz, Kalispel, Coeur d'Alene
*x	s	Northern Straits, Klallam
*m	ŋ	Northern Straits, Klallam
*m	b	Lushootseed, Twana
*m	w	Tillamook
*n	d	Lushootseed, Twana

Comparative grammatical overviews are given by L. Thompson (1979a), Czaykowska-Higgins and Kinkade (1998), and Kroeber (1999). Two substantial comparative works of note are Kroeber's (1999) study of subordination and Hinkson's (1999) study of lexical suffixes. Several other topics have been addressed in smaller works. Pronouns have been treated by Newman (1977, 1979a, 1979b, 1980), H. Davis (2000), and Kiyosawa (2004b); negation by H. Davis (2001b); aspect by Kinkade (1996); numeral classifiers by Gerdts and Hinkson (2004b); and reduplication by Van Eijk (1990, 1998). Unpublished work by Dale Kinkade on comparative morphology includes a set of course handouts (Kinkade 1998).

1.2 Previous research on Salish applicatives.

There is no corpus of work on applicatives in the Salish literature, and in fact most reference grammars have little to say about them. Generally, applicatives are treated as part of the transitive morphology in reference grammars and their function is covered in a few paragraphs. See section 1.2.1 for a survey.

Shapard (1980) is an exception in that he conducted a comparative study on some applicative suffixes in Interior Salish. Gerdts (1988b) devotes a chapter of her Relational

Grammar analysis of Halkomelem to applicatives. Several papers have addressed applicatives in individual languages: Comox (Watanabe 1996), Columbian (Kinkade 1980, 1982), Halkomelem (Gerds and Hinkson 2004a, Gerds and Kiyosawa 2005b), Kalispel (Carlson 1980), Lushootseed (Hess and Bates 2004), Okanagan (A. Mattina 1982, 1994, N. Mattina 1993), Shuswap (Kuipers 1992), Thompson (L. Thompson and M. Thompson 1980), and Twana (Kiyosawa and N. Thompson 2000).

My own research on applicatives began with Dale Kinkade's Salish Seminar at the University of British Columbia in November 1998. In his handouts for this course, he listed various suffixes and particles found in Salish languages and posited reconstructions. He suggested reconstructions for several applicative suffixes, though some were quite tentative, as discussed below. I undertook a survey of the applicative suffixes in Salish languages, using grammars, dictionaries, and theses, and added several applicative suffixes to his list. In the term paper for that class, I catalogued example phrases and sentences of applicative suffixes and classified them into two categories; redirective and relational. This work led to three conference papers: 'Classification of applicatives in Salishan Languages' (Kiyosawa 1999), 'Proto-Salish applicatives' (Kiyosawa 2002), and 'The distribution of possessive applicatives in Interior Salish Languages' (Kiyosawa 2004a). Chapters 3, 4, and 5 expand on these topics.

My explorations into applicatives led to the issue of two sets of object suffixes in Salish languages, leading to Kiyosawa (2004b). Results of this research are discussed and expanded upon in Chapter 6. Gerds and Kiyosawa (2005a, 2005c) address the discourse functions of Salish applicatives. We examine one hundred examples of relational applicatives from Salish texts, and discuss the applied object in discourse.

Most of the data in this thesis are taken from secondary sources from the published literature. Also, I worked on Twana with Nile Thompson, looking through field notes of Kinkade (n.d.) and N. Thompson (n.d.), to identify applicatives (Kiyosawa and N. Thompson 2000). In addition, Donna Gerdts and I worked with Ruby Peter, a speaker of Island Halkomelem, on psych applicatives, and this led to several publications (Gerdts and Kiyosawa 2003, 2004a, 2004b, 2005b).

1.2.1 A survey of applicative suffixes.

The following is a brief summary of the descriptions of applicative suffixes in the various Salish languages.

1.2.1.1 Bella Coola.

P. Davis and Saunders (1997:49–65) recognize two suffixes *-amk* and *-m*, defined in terms of the concepts “nucleus” and “periphery”. They say: “If the PARTICIPANT elicits an *-m* when placed on the NUCLEUS of the PROPOSITION, it is an EXPERIENCER; and if it elicits an *-amk* it will be perceived as IMPLEMENT.” (P. Davis and Saunders 1997:60)

Nater (1984:62–64) refers to *-m* as a transitivity marker, and treats *-amk*⁶ as a suffix that follows both intransitive and transitive verbs. He discusses three different functions of *-amk*; to derive a transitive verb from an intransitive base, to derive a transitive from a transitive base, and to derive an intransitive verb from an intransitive base.

⁶ *-amk* appears as *-yamk* following *a*.

1.2.1.2 Coeur d'Alene.

Reichard (1938:625–626) lists applicatives under “syntactic suffixes”, and states that “[s]yntactic suffixes serve the purpose of showing relationships between different parts of the sentence. There are several datives, all used with the usual transitive combinations of object-subject in all of the tenses. In all cases the dative refers to the object.” She defines each suffix as follows: *-šit* ‘as a favor to’; *-t* ‘in behalf of, instead of’; and *-tuł* ‘for, in reference to’. The relational suffix *-min*⁷ is listed under “verbal suffixes” (Reichard 1938:608) and glossed ‘used for’.

Doak (1997:142–160) treats redirective suffixes as transitivizers. The “applicative transitivizers” introduce a third participant to the argument structure of the sentence and alter the role of the direct object. She labels *-š(i)* as “benefactive applicative”, *-t* as “possessor applicative”, and *-tuł* as “dative applicative”. She further states that “benefactive applicative” *-š(i)* also functions to assign source or recipient objects, and “possessor applicative” *-t* functions to assign dative objects. She does not specifically discuss the relational applicative *-min*, though some examples with *-min* glossed as ‘relational’ are presented.

1.2.1.3 Columbian.

The Columbian applicative suffixes are discussed in Kinkade (1980) in terms of “two goals” being implied for transitive stems, and in Kinkade (1982) as “transitive inflection”, which includes “a number of grammatical categories such as transitive, transitivizer, control, indirective, causative, object pronoun, and subject pronoun.”

⁷ The suffix *-min* is not morphologically segmentable synchronically in Coeur d'Alene, but *n* is probably from the general transitive suffix **-nt*. This issue is discussed further in Chapter 6.

Kinkade (1980:33) says that “the label ‘indirective’ is appropriate for Cm [Columbian] as well [as for Thompson], and the whole class [except *-min*] might be called ‘redirectives’.” Kinkade (1998) labels direct objects with *-xi*⁸ as “dative” and with *-ɬ* as “genitive”. Kinkade (1982:53) says that *-min* ‘relational’ may be considered to be a transitivizer. He follows L. Thompson and M. Thompson’s (1992:73) discussion of *-min* in Thompson: “the relational ... refers to objects toward which the subject is moving or in relation to whom/which the action is accomplished.”

Columbian data in Willett (2003) comes from Dale Kinkade’s files and Ewa Czaykowska-Higgins’ field notes, as well as Willett’s own field notes. Please refer to Willett (2003) for the original source of each example. Willett (2003:135–143) discusses all three redirective applicatives, *-xit*, *-ɬt*, and *-tuɬt*, in her section on ‘applicatives’, and *-ɬ* under ‘external possession’. She defines applicative as a valence-changing operation. She does not specifically discuss the relational applicative *-mi*.

1.2.1.4 Comox.

Watanabe (2003:243–261) discusses three suffixes *-ʔəm*, *-ni*, and *-mi*, calling the first two “indirective” suffixes and the third “relational”. The suffix *-ʔəm* (realized as *-aʔam* after a sequence of two consonants, followed by the control or the noncontrol transitivizer) creates stems that imply an actor and two goals. *-mi* is found mostly following intransitive stems. *-ni* has been attested with only two intransitive verbs:

√čəwɨɬ ‘steal’ and √čəɬ ‘rain’.

⁸ The suffix *-xit* is not morphologically segmentable synchronically in Columbian, but *t* probably derives from the lexicalized general transitive suffix **-nt*. This issue is discussed further in Chapter 6.

1.2.1.5 Cowlitz.

Kinkade (2004:232–235) discusses seven applicative suffixes. The relational suffix *-mi* has two variants: *-mi* before first-person and second-person singular and first-person plural object suffixes, and *-mis* in third-person imperfective forms with a zero third-person object, before the reciprocal suffix, and in perfective forms before passive *-m*. He says that the transitive suffix *-tas* is probably a second relational suffix.

There are five applicative suffixes that allow a speaker to change an indirect object to a direct object, *-š*i**, *-tux^wt*, *-ni₁*, *-ni₂*, and *-s(t)*. He notes that constructions with the suffix *-š*i** often include ‘for’ in their translation or indicate that there is a benefit for the object. However, this suffix cannot be considered to be a benefactive in all cases. Thus, “it is not tied to a particular set of thematic roles, but rather can promote all kinds of indirect objects to direct object status.” The suffix *-tux^wt* was recorded with too few examples to determine its precise function. He states that comparative evidence from Upper Chehalis—although its role there is not entirely clear either—suggests that *-tux^wt* is used when an oblique object is raised to direct object status, and the original direct object is possessed by someone. The suffixes *-ni₁* and *-ni₂* are identical in form, but Kinkade treats them as distinct because different transitive suffixes follow them.⁹ The suffix *-s(t)* is attested only than three roots.

1.2.1.6 Halkomelem.

Applicative suffixes have been identified for all three dialects of Halkomelem.

⁹ In Kinkade’s terms, *-ni₁* takes *-t* objects while *-ni₂* takes *-y* type causative objects. This is discussed further in Chapter 6.

For the Upriver dialect, Galloway (1993:248–249) discusses “transitivizers (control suffixes)”, which include the suffixes $-(\emptyset)x^y$ ‘do purposely to s-th or s-o (especially to an inanimate object)’, $-m\emptyset T$ ¹⁰ ‘happen (with little control) to do an action not directly affecting s-o or s-th’, and $-(\emptyset)l\emptyset s$ ‘(accidentally, happen to, manage to) do to s-o or s-th’. He discusses the benefactive suffix $-lc$ under the rubric of “beneficiary suffixes”, which also include reflexive and reciprocal (Galloway 1993:255–257).

For the Downriver dialect, Suttles (2004:237–243) briefly illustrates four applicative suffixes: $-n\emptyset s$ ‘goal’, $-\emptyset s$ ‘recipient’, $-lc$ ‘benefactive’, and $-m\emptyset t$ ‘concern’.

For the Island dialect, the ditransitive constructions and applicative constructions with the benefactive suffix $-lc$ are discussed in Hukari (1976b) and Leslie (1979). Hukari (1979) discusses the role of oblique-marked nominals in redirective applicatives, showing that they parallel the oblique-marked themes in antipassive constructions. Gerdt (1988b) suggests that there are four applicatives, which she analyzes in terms of the Relational Grammar concept of advancement: a nominal bearing the semantic role of recipient, benefactive, causal, or directional advances from an indirect object or oblique relation at the initial level of structure to the direct object relation at the final level. These advancements are marked by the verbal suffixes $-as$ ‘recipient/dative’, $-lc$ ‘benefactive’, $-me?$ ‘causal/stimulus’, and $-n\emptyset s$ ‘directional’. Gerdt gives various arguments for the objecthood of the applied object, including pronominal marking, passivization, quantifier interpretation, and possessor extraction. She discusses relational applicatives with respect to the unaccusative hypothesis, and shows that they are

¹⁰ //T// is realized as θ before $-áxy$ ‘first-person singular object’ and $-ám\emptyset$ ‘second person singular object’, and t elsewhere (Galloway 1993:128).

problematic for the Relational Grammar claim that unaccusatives do not passivize (see also Gerdts 1984). She discusses person/animacy conditions on advancements (see also Gerdts 1988a). Her later discussions of the morphosyntax of Halkomelem applicatives are cast in Mapping Theory (1993, 1998).

In recent work on Halkomelem applicatives, Gerdts and Kiyosawa (2005b) discuss applicatives with *-meʔ*, Gerdts (2004b) discusses applicatives with *-nəs*, and Gerdts and Hinkson (2004a) discuss the dative applicative *-as*, giving evidence that it grammaticalized from the lexical suffix for ‘face’. Gerdts (2000) and Gerdts and Hukari (2006b) discuss the co-occurrence of the benefactive applicative *-ɪc* with reflexives, reciprocals, and middle voice. Gerdts (2003) exemplifies the co-occurrence of applicatives and lexical suffixes. Gerdts and Hukari (2004b, 2006a) point out applicative uses of the causative suffix *-stəxʷ*.

1.2.1.7 Kalispel.

Vogt (1940:31, 34) identifies two applicative suffixes, *-šɪ* and *-ɪ*, which he does not name. He presents examples of these suffixes occurring in ‘relative forms’, where they are attached to verb roots belonging to Class IV verbs, i.e. verbs have a transitive or causative suffix in their completive form. He points out a difference between the two suffixes with respect to the definiteness of the theme NP: the theme is indefinite in clauses with *-šɪ* and definite in clauses with *-ɪ*. He lists the suffix *-mín* as a causative suffix, and says that this suffix may be called “instrumental”, and that it is undoubtedly related to the nominal suffix *-mín* with instrumental meaning (Vogt 1940:59).

Carlson (1980:25) glosses *-šɪ* as ‘benefactive/substitutive’ and *-ɪ* as ‘relative’, because it builds a stem with two ‘goals’ (one direct, the other indirect) that somehow

relate to each other in the predication. One difference between the two suffixes is that the oblique *t* marks indirect goals of *-ši* stems, and the prepositions *ǰʷəl* ‘relative to/by/for’ and *č* ‘to’ mark indirect goals of *-t* stems (Carlson 1980:24). The suffix *-min* is glossed as ‘relational’ as well as ‘instrumental’ in Carlson and Flett (1989: vi).

1.2.1.8 Klallam.

Montler (1996) discusses “six special transitivizing morphemes” under the rubric applicatives, though he suspects that “perhaps they do not all fit in a category of what is traditionally termed applicative”. These six morphemes include three causative morphemes and a transitivizer *-taxʷ*, in addition to two applicative suffixes *-sit* and *-nəs*. Montler (1996) refers to *-sit* as the dative applicative, and says: “The presence of this affix creates a ditransitive stem with a recipient/beneficiary/source direct object and an implied patient.” He glosses the suffix *-nəs* as ‘aggressive’, indicating “that the direct object is approached by an agent with a particular intent. The usual interpretation is that the intent is hostile.”

1.2.1.9 Lillooet.

Van Eijk (1997:113–116) says that the suffix *-xit* “refers to an indirect object, i.e., a beneficiary or recipient, or the one from whom something is taken.” The suffix *-min*, he says, refers to an object that is affected less drastically than an object referred to by general transitive suffix.

1.2.1.10 Lushootseed.

Bates et al. (1994: xvi) list four applicative suffixes. *-yi* is a “secondary suffix marking transferred agent, benefactive, dative, recipient.”¹¹ It appears as *-yi*¹² in Northern Lushootseed and *-ši* in Southern Lushootseed. The suffix *-i* is a secondary stem extender that allows the transitive suffix *-d* to be attached to roots which normally lack a patient. I treat this suffix as an allomorph of the relational suffix *-bi* in this paper, since *-i* surfaces after the middle (intransitive) suffix *-(ə)b*. The third suffix *-c* is a “portmanteau of suffix sequence *-t-s*, transitive suffix marking patient-oriented verbs”. They say that it often converts a verb of motion into one that takes a goal patient. Bates et al. (1994) list a fourth suffix *-s*, which attaches to verbs of motion ending in *-il* to form a transitive verb with a patient direct complement. The combination of *-il* plus *-s* surfaces as *-is*. However, I follow the earlier analysis of Hess’ (1967:16) that *-s* is an allomorph of *-c* since it only occurs following *-il*.

Following Kiyosawa (1999) and Gerdts and Kiyosawa (2003), Hess and Bates (2004) give a lengthy analysis of Lushootseed applicatives, providing revised treatments of previously identified suffixes, dative *-yi*, and relational *-i*, and new treatments of two additional suffixes, relational *-bi* and relational *-di*. Thus, they posit three relational suffixes for Lushootseed. The suffix *-bi* attaches to motion, transfer, psych, and speech act verbs. They state that they cannot give a precise description of *-di*, since it is attested with only two roots, $\sqrt{q^w u^? q^w a^?}$ ‘drink’ and $\sqrt{q a d a}$ ‘steal’.

¹¹ See Beck (1994) for an account of the syntactic difference between first/second-person applied objects and third-person applied objects in the construction formed with *-yi*.

¹² According to Hess (1967), the Snohomish dialect uses *-ii* and the Skagit dialect uses *-yi*.

Hess and Bates (2004) say that relational *-i* occurs in three environments: between a verb root and the transitive suffix *-d*, between an intransitive suffix *-(ə)b* and the transitive suffix *-d*, and between a lexical suffix and the transitive suffix *-d*. However, I treat the suffix *-i* that occurs between the intransitive suffix and the transitive suffix as an allomorph of *-bi*. The examples of the suffix *-i* in the other environments do not seem to be applicatives, so those examples are not dealt with in this thesis.

Hess and Bates (2004:75) defer discussion of *-c* because it does not co-occur with the default transitive suffix, saying: “We suspect its basic properties to be those of a primary transitivizer, in contrast with the secondary transitivizers discussed here.”

1.2.1.11 Nooksack.

Galloway (1997) discusses the applicative suffixes under the rubric of transitivizers. He glosses the suffix *-šj*¹³ as ‘do purposely for s-o/s-t (benefactive)’ or ‘do purposely on s-o/s-t (malefactive)’. Under his analysis, *-t* is the purposive control transitivizer. He glosses the suffix *-nit* as ‘do indirectly affecting s-o/s-t’, and he posits that it is an indirective control transitivizer. Thus, under Galloway’s analysis *t* is not segmentable in *-nit*. However, I analyze *t* in both *-šj-t* and *-ni-t* as the transitive suffix. Galloway glosses the suffix *-ns* as ‘(happen to) do to s-o/s-t’ and posits that it is “probably another limited control transitivizer”.

¹³ Galloway (1997:201) notes that *x^y* replaces *š* in many words in the speech of George Swanaset, probably due to the phonological influence of Upriver Halkomelem.

1.2.1.12 Northern Straits.

Data used in this thesis are from the Saanich dialect. Montler (1986:167–168, 170–174) refer to *-si* and *-ŋiy* as ‘factives’, which imply a secondary involvement between the object and the subject, and calls *-si* ‘indirective’ and *-ŋiy* ‘relational’. He states: “[w]hen this suffix [-*si*] is present a third participant is implied and the participant expressed in the object suffix is the goal rather than the patient of the predicate”; and “[w]hen this suffix [-*ŋiy*] is present the participant expressed in the object suffix is the goal as well as the patient of the predicate.” He treats the suffix *-nəs* as a transitivizing suffix, and glosses it as ‘purposive’, stating that its presence implies a patient object and an agent subject that exerts conscious control over the activity expressed in the predicate.

1.2.1.13 Okanagan.

A. Mattina (1982) discusses *-x(i)t* and *-It*, and states that they are ditransitives that include explicit reference to an actor, a primary goal (usually the recipient), and a third-person secondary goal (usually the direct object). He explains the difference between *-x(i)t* and *-It* ditransitives in terms of focus: *-x(i)t* ditransitives focus on the primary goal, while *-It* ditransitives focus on the secondary goal. A second difference is that the secondary goal complement is marked by the proclitic *t* in *-x(i)t* ditransitives but not in *-It* ditransitives. A. Mattina (1982) calls *-m(i)* a ‘transitivizing suffix’, which attaches to intransitive roots. A. Mattina (1994) states that the transitivizer *-túIt* marks the introduction into the sentence of a new direct object, with the concomitant demotion of the object person marker to the role of indirect object. In contrast the transitivizer *-It*

marks the introduction into the sentence of a possessed direct object with concomitant demotion of the direct object marker to the role of possessor.

N. Mattina (1993) discusses *-x(i)t* and *-It* as a part of the (di)transitive system. She states that the goal-type nominal in ditransitives controls object agreement on the verb, an agreement pattern commonly referred to as applicative agreement. N. Mattina (1996:69–78) discusses derivational word formation rules in Okanagan, including ‘dative’ *-x(i)t* and ‘possessional’ *-It*, and their grammatical relations (pp. 45–50).

Hébert (1982:112–178) discusses three suffixes in Nicola Lake Okanagan, *-x(i)* ‘benefactive’, *-I* ‘indirective’, and *-m(i)* ‘relational’, within the framework of Relational Grammar. She says that constructions with *-x(i)* generally mean that the action is performed “for the benefit of someone”, whereas with *-I* constructions mean that the action is performed “to/on someone”.

1.2.1.14 **Sechelt.**

Beaumont (1985:102–112) refers to *-émt*, *-nit*, and *-mít* as “special transitive verb endings”, and calls them ‘benefactive’, ‘malefactive’ and ‘attitude’ respectively. He says that the special transitive endings *-nit* and *-émt* are added to a verb to indicate that the subject of the sentence is doing something ‘against’ (*-nit*) or ‘for’ (*-émt*) someone else, and *-mít* is added to indicate some attitude on the part of the subject towards someone or something else. He also says that *-émt* indicates an action performed by the subject that “works to the *advantage* of someone else”, i.e. a benefactive, and *-nit* is used when the action performed by the subject “works to the *disadvantage* of someone else”, i.e. a malefactive.

1.2.1.15 Shuswap.

Kuipers (1974:45–53) refers to both applicative suffixes *-x(i)* and *-m(i)* as ‘complex transitivizers’, grouping them with the non-control suffix *-nwént*. He states that the suffix *-x(i)* refers to a human secondary object, usually a benefactive, and that the suffix *-m(i)* refers to an object that is affected indirectly, superficially, or malefactively by the action. Kuipers (1992) states that “the productivity of *-m(i)nt-* is limited to certain semantic categories.” These categories are basically similar to those I use in this thesis. He posits five types of verbs: mental acts (e.g. think of, want no longer, be fed up with, want, feel bad about (a loss)/mourn); bodily movements (e.g. gather around someone, turn away from, dodge, approach, run after/pursue); sign-behavior (e.g. point at, sing (a song)/sing about someone, wink at, talk about, cry for/mourn); placing or shifting (e.g. put something on top of someone, put on (clothes)/use, throw (away) something, put/place something, spill); make into or use as (e.g. take possession of/own, enslave, sell, use as payment, use as a scarecrow).

1.2.1.16 Squamish.

Kuipers (1967:78–79) refers to the suffixes *-šit*, *-nit*, and *-min(?)* as ‘complex transitivizers’, all referring to an object that is only indirectly involved in the action expressed by the stem. He states that *-šit* refers to the human destinee of the action, and that *-nit* refers to an object that is not the destinee of the action but bears some other relation to it.

1.2.1.17 Thompson.

L. Thompson and M. Thompson (1992:71–76) refer to the applicatives *-xi* and *-min* as ‘indirective’ and ‘relational’ respectively. L. Thompson and M. Thompson (1980:32) state: “*-xi* redefines the goal as the entity affected or interested, still marked as a direct complement and thus in primary focus, but the action itself is redirected toward a goal related to this entity.” They define the relational as a suffix that “refers to objects toward which the subject is moving or in relation to whom/which the action is accomplished.” (L. Thompson and M. Thompson 1992:73) The relational suffix *-min* appears as *-meh* with certain strong roots.

1.2.1.18 Tillamook.

Egesdal and M. Thompson (1998) discuss three transitive suffixes: *-ši* ‘indirective’, *-əwi* ‘relational’, and *-əs* ‘purposive’. They state: “*-ši* indicates that the predicate has three arguments... hence it is called ‘ditransitive’. It can identify benefactive, and malefactive activities, or connote neither benefit nor harm.” The relational suffix *-əwi* “indicates that the action is related to a third object, instrument, or goal... Perhaps the relational’s original function was to transitivize activities not normally able to be transitivized.” The suffix *-əs* was “originally treated as an allomorph of *-stx*” ‘causative’. However, this analysis was abandoned because of the penultimate stress assignment rule. They state: “[d]iachronically, the *s* element in *-stx*” may reflect the same *s* element in *-əs*.”

1.2.1.19 Twana.

Based on data from the field notes of Kinkade (n.d.) and N. Thompson (n.d.), Kiyosawa and N. Thompson (2000) identify two applicatives: the redirective suffix *-ši* and the relational suffix *-ac*. Twana is extinct and the data is scarce. The suffix *-ši* is attested with only two roots and *-ac* with seven.

1.2.1.20 Upper Chehalis.

Six Upper Chehalis ‘grammatical affixes’ in Kinkade (1991: 369–373) are relevant to this thesis: *-ši*¹⁴ ‘indirective’, *-tmi* ‘redirective’, *-tux^wt/-tx^wt* ‘redirective’, *-mis/-mn* ‘relational’, *-ni* ‘directive’, and *-tas/-ts* ‘transitive’. The relational suffix appears as *-mis* when followed by a zero third-person object suffix, or the first/second-person plural object suffix, and as *-mn* elsewhere. The suffix *-ni* is attested with only twelve roots (Kinkade 1998).

1.2.2 The applicative suffixes.

Table 3 lists the applicative suffixes found in twenty Salish languages:¹⁵

¹⁴ The Tenino Chehalis dialect uses *-xi* (Kinkade 1991:372).

¹⁵ I do not represent stress in this table. When a vowel is unstressed in Salish, it is usually reduced to schwa or deleted.

Table 3. Salish Applicative Suffixes

BRANCH		LANGUAGE	APPLICATIVE
Bella Coola		Bella Coola	-amk, -m
Central Salish		Comox	-ʔəm, -mi, -ni
		Sechelt	-em, -mi, -ni
		Squamish	-ši, -mi, -ni
		Halkomelem	-as, -ɬc, -meʔ, -nəs
		Nooksack	-ši, -ni, -ns
		Northern Straits	-si, -ŋiy, -nəs
		Klallam	-si, -ŋi, -nəs
		Lushootseed	-yi, -bi, -di, -(a)c
		Twana	-ši, -ac
Tillamook		Tillamook	-ši, -əwi, -əs
Tsamosan		Upper Chehalis	-ši, -tux ^w t, -mi(s), -ni, -t(a)s, -tmi
		Cowlitz	-ši, -tux ^w t, -mi(s), -ni, -t(a)s, -s
Interior Salish	Northern Interior	Lillooet	-xit, -min
		Thompson	-xi, -mi
		Shuswap	-xi, -mi
	Southern Interior	Okanagan	-xi, -ɬ, -tuɬ, -mi
		Kalispel	-xi, -ɬ, -mi
		Coeur d'Alene	-ši, -ɬ, -tuɬ, -min
		Columbian	-xit, -ɬ, -tuɬ, -mi

Each language has from two to six different applicative suffixes. In the next three chapters, I will discuss applicative constructions formed with the above suffixes.

1.3 The corpus of data.

Examples of applicative constructions have been obtained from twenty of the twenty-three Salish languages. Pentlatch, Quinault, and Lower Chehalis are not included in the corpus, as there was insufficient data on these languages, all of which are extinct.

Most of the data come from the sources listed in Table 4:

Table 4. Data Sources

Bella Coola	P. Davis and Saunders (1980, 1997), Nater (1984, 1990)
Coeur d'Alene	Doak (1997)
Columbian	Kinkade (1980, 1982), Willett (2003)
Comox	Watanabe (1996, 2003)
Cowlitz	Kinkade (2004)
Halkomelem	Gerds (1988b), Gerds and Hinkson (2004a), Gerds and Kiyosawa (2005b)
Kalispel	Carlson (1972, 1980), Carlson and Flett (1989)
Klallam	Montler (1996, 2000)
Lillooet	Van Eijk (1987, 1997)
Lushootseed	Bates et al. (1994), Hess (1967), Hess and Bates (2004)
Nooksack	Adams et al. (2005), Galloway (1997), Galloway et al. (2004)
Northern Straits	Montler (1986)
Okanagan	A. Mattina (1982, 1994), N. Mattina (1993, 1996)
Sechelt	Beaumont (1985)
Shuswap	Gardiner (1993), Kuipers (1974, 1992)
Squamish	Kuipers (1967)
Thompson	L. Thompson and M. Thompson (1980, 1992, 1996)
Tillamook	Egesdal and M. Thompson (1998)
Twana	Kinkade (n.d.), N. Thompson (n.d.)
Upper Chehalis	Kinkade (1991)

In making use of data from secondary sources, I have modified some morphological boundaries according to my own analysis of applicatives, and I have added morphological boundaries when they are not provided in the original data. When the original data do not have morpheme glosses, I have provided them by using dictionaries and grammars, and by referring to other data. Following the practice of Kroeber (1999) and Hinkson (1999), I have also changed some of the glosses from the original sources in order to standardize them to the abbreviations used here. I have tried to note important differences between my glossing and the original in passing, but I strongly advise consulting the original source before citing data given here.

Making use of the data resulting from my search of secondary sources, as well as from my original fieldwork on Halkomelem, I constructed a database containing a total of 971 examples. I encoded each example for the semantic class of the predicate and for the semantic role of the applied object, as well as other criteria derived from previous work on the typology of applicatives by Donna Gerds (p.c.) and Peterson (1999). The categories were fine-tuned to suit the Salish data as my analysis developed.

Throughout the thesis, I make remarks concerning the relative robustness of one suffix or another. Since the data were not collected under controlled conditions, but are simply a sample of convenience, any such remarks are meant to show general tendencies rather than statistically valid results.

Two or more tokens with the same stem and the same applicative suffix count as one example in the database. For example, the Kalispel verb $\sqrt{k^w\acute{u}l}$ ‘make/do’ appears with the redirective suffix *-š(i)* in three separate sentences in the database:

- (3) Kalispel
- a. $k^w\acute{u}l\acute{-}\acute{s}\text{-}t\text{-}\acute{\epsilon}n$ $\acute{l}u?$ Agnes $\acute{l}u?$ t $yám\check{x}^we?$.
 make-RDR-TR-1SG.SUB ART Agnes ART OBL basket
 ‘I made a basket for Agnes.’ (Carlson 1980:24)
- b. $k^w\acute{u}l\acute{-}\acute{s}\text{-}t\text{-}m\text{-}n$.
 make-RDR-TR-2SG.OBJ-1SG.SUB
 ‘I made you something.’ (Carlson and Flett 1989:35)
- c. $stém$ $\acute{l}u?$ $k^w\acute{u}l\acute{-}\acute{s}\text{-}t\text{-}m\text{-}n?$
 what ART do-RDR-TR-2SG.OBJ-1SG.SUB
 ‘What have I done to you?’ (Carlson and Flett 1989:35)

These three entries are treated as one example. However, if the same verb occurs with different applicative suffixes, each combination of verb and suffix is treated as a separate

example. For example, the Okanagan verb $\sqrt{q^w l}$ ‘talk’ appears in the database followed by the applicative suffixes *-xi*, *-t*, and *-tut*, these are counted as three separate examples:

(4) Okanagan

- a. $k^w u$ $q^w \text{əl} q^w \text{íl} - x - t - s$.
 1SG.OBJ talk-RDR-TR-3SUB
 ‘He talked for me (in my stead).’ (N. Mattina 1993:272)
- b. $k^w u$ $q^w \text{əl} q^w \text{íl} - t - t - s$ $i - sq^w \text{sí}^?$
 1SG.OBJ talk-RDR-TR-3SUB 1SG.POSS-son
 $i^?$ $k \text{əl}$ $sc \text{ə} n \text{q} a^? \text{í} l s - c$.
 ART about business-3SG.POSS
 ‘He talked to my son about his business.’ (A. Mattina 1994:208)
- c. $k^w u$ $q^w \text{əl} q^w \text{əl} - t \acute{u} t - t - s$ $i^?$ $sc \text{ə} n \text{q} a^? \text{í} l s - c$.
 1SG.OBJ talk-RDR-TR-3SUB ART business-3SG.POSS
 ‘He talked to me about his business.’ (A. Mattina 1994:208)

If a root forms distinct stems by means of lexical suffixation or suffixation with other types of suffixes, each combination is treated as a different example in the database:

(5) Shuswap

- a. $\text{ʔyp} - mi - n - s$
 angry-REL-TR-3SUB
 ‘be angry at somebody’ (Kuipers 1974:259)
- b. $\check{x} - \text{ʔyp} = \acute{e} l \acute{c} \acute{e} - m - n - s$
 in-angry=inside-REL-TR-3SUB
 ‘be angry at’ (Kuipers 1992:50)

The verb root $\sqrt{\text{ʔyp}}$ ‘angry’ is directly followed by the relational suffix *-mi* in (5a), while in (5b) the lexical suffix $=\acute{e}l\acute{c}\acute{e}$ ‘inside’ intervenes between the root and the relational suffix. Therefore, (5a) and (5b) are treated as separate examples in the database.

I entered the data into the database as full clauses. This allows for a better assessment of the roles of the NPs involved and the overall meaning of the construction.

Chapter 2: The Syntax and Semantics of Applicatives

In this chapter, I give a brief introduction to the syntax and discourse functions of Salish applicative constructions. I give brief overview of Salish morphosyntax (section 2.1), including elucidation of the structure of applicative clauses (section 2.2), and a brief discussion of the discourse functions of applicatives (2.3), including their use to express highly topical nominals (section 2.3), which tend to rank high in terms of person/animacy (section 2.4).

2.1 Outline of the morphosyntax.

Before turning to the discussion of applicative suffixes, I give a brief overview of the features of Salish morphosyntax that are necessary to understand the data and arguments presented in this thesis. I illustrate the marking of subject, object, and oblique noun phrases, subject and object agreement, passives, possessives, and extraction.

2.1.1 NP marking.

In Salish languages, VSO (verb-subject-object) is the most common word order, though some languages allow VOS and SVO order (Czaykowska-Higgins and Kinkade 1998:37). Nominals are usually preceded by a determiner. For example, Halkomelem has a set of determiners that distinguish the features gender, deixis, and definiteness (Gerdt 1988b:31):

Table 5. Halkomelem Determiners

	PLAIN	FEMININE (SG)
PROXIMAL	t ^θ ə	θə
NON-PROXIMAL	k ^w θə	ʔə
REMOTE	ḳ ^w ə	k ^w sə
INDEFINITE	ḳ ^w , k ^w	

Determiners precede the noun.

- (1) Halkomelem (Gerds 1988b:31)
- | | | |
|-------------------|--------------------|-------------------------|
| t ^θ ə | swá'yqeʔ | 'the man' (visible) |
| k ^w θə | słəntłeniʔ | 'the women' (invisible) |
| θə | słéniʔ | 'the woman' (visible) |
| ʔə | słéniʔ | 'the woman' (invisible) |
| ḳ ^w ə | nə-síʔlə | 'my late grandfather' |
| k ^w sə | nə-séʔlə | 'my late grandmother' |
| ḳ ^w | šúk ^w a | 'some sugar' |

In Bella Coola and Lillooet, nominals are preceded by determiners and also followed by determiner or demonstrative enclitics:

- (2) Bella Coola (P. Davis and Saunders 1997:75)
- | | | |
|------------|--------------------|-----|
| ti | q̣łsx ^w | tx |
| ART | rope | DEM |
| 'the rope' | | |
- (3) Lillooet (Van Eijk 1987:325)
- | | | |
|-----------|-----|----------------|
| ti | káh | a ¹ |
| DET | car | PTC |
| 'the car' | | |

In many Salish languages, as will be discussed more thoroughly below, obliques contrast with subject and object NPs with respect to nominal marking. For example, in

¹ H. Davis and Matthewson (2003) gloss this particle as determiner.

Halkomelem (in the Island dialect), oblique NPs must be preceded by an oblique marker, the catch-all preposition ʔə

- (4) Halkomelem (Gerds 1988b:70)
- | | | | | | | |
|----|-----|---------|-----------|-----|------|----------------------|
| a. | ni | cən | q̣ʷáqʷ-ət | ʔə | kʷθə | ʔənʔ-šápeɫ-ʔət. |
| | AUX | 1SG.SUB | club-TR | OBL | DET | 2SG.POSS-shovel-PAST |
- ‘I hit him with your shovel.’

Oblique markers vary from branch to branch of the Salish family: x in Bella Coola, t in Upper Chehalis and Cowlitz, ʔə in most of the Coast Salish except Squamish, which has t , and t in most of the Interior languages except Lillooet, which has ʔə , and Coeur d’Alene, which has ʔe (Kroeber 1999:43).²

- (5) Bella Coola (Nater 1984:50)
- | | | |
|-----|-----|-------|
| x | ta | stn |
| OBL | DET | stick |
- ‘with a stick’

- (6) Cowlitz (Kinkade 2004:267)
- | | | |
|-----|-----|-----------|
| ɬ | tɪt | pən-ʔíx |
| OBL | DET | time-cold |
- ‘[in] this winter’

In addition to a general preposition, some languages, including Bella Coola, Upper Chehalis,

Tillamook, Lushootseed, and the Interior languages, have prepositions with more specific meanings (Kroeber 1999:44):

² The same markers are also used to mark ergative NPs in Southern Interior Salish (Kroeber 1999:52ff).

- (7) Lillooet (Van Eijk 1997:220)
 l ti cítx^w a
 PREP DET house PTC
 ‘in the house’
- (8) Kalispel (Carlson and Flett 1989:189)
 t^hl-cí?
 from-that
 ‘from there, from that’

2.1.2 Subject marking.

The subject marking differs in main versus subordinate clauses. (See H. Davis (2000) and Kroeber (1999) for more detail.) I will briefly outline subject marking in main clauses here.

The subject is marked on the predicate either as a suffix (9) or a clitic (10):

- (9) Columbian (Kinkade 1982:52)
 ʔəm-cí-nn.
 feed-TR:2SG.OBJ-1SG.SUB
 ‘I fed you.’
- (10) Columbian (Kinkade 1982:59)
 kn čaʔx-m-s-cút.
 1SG.SUB ashamed-REL-CS-RFLX
 ‘I’m ashamed of myself.’

As noted by Kroeber (1999:16–18), subject is marked differently in different languages, depending on such features as person, transitivity, and clause type. In the Central Salish languages, subject clitics are used in main clauses, while subject suffixes are used in subordinate clauses. In the Interior languages, subject clitics are used with intransitive predicates and subject suffixes with transitive predicates. In Upper Chehalis, subject clitics are used with predicates in non-continuative aspects (stative and perfective) and subject suffixes in the continuative aspect.

- (11) Upper Chehalis (Kinkade 1991:367)
- a. ʔit ʔíln čn.
 PERF sing-1SG.SUB
 ‘I sang.’
- b. s-ʔílan-anš.
 IMPF-sing-1SG.SUB
 ‘I am singing.’

In many Central Salish languages, the third-person is ergative in main clauses.

See the following Halkomelem examples:

- (12) Halkomelem (Gerds 1988b:47)
- a. ni ǰ^wàq^w-əθámš-əs.
 AUX club-TR:1SG.OBJ-3SUB
 ‘He/she clubbed me.’
- b. ni ʔíməš-Ø.
 AUX walk-3SUB
 ‘He/she/it walked.’
- c. ni cən ǰ^wáq^w-ət-Ø.
 AUX 1SG.SUB club-TR-3OBJ
 ‘I clubbed him/her/it.’

Third-person pronominal marking is overt when the third person is the subject of the transitive clause as in (12a), but it is zero when the third person is the subject of the intransitive clause (12b) or the object of the transitive clause (12c).

The subject suffixes and clitics are given in Table 6:

Table 6. Subject Pronominal Suffixes and Clitics

		1SG	2SG	3SG	1PL	2PL	3PL
Be ³	TR	-c	-x ^w	-s	-ɪ	-(a)p	-t
	INTR	-c	-nu	-s	-iɪ	-nap/-ap	-naw/-aw
Cx	TR	č(an)	č(a)x ^w	-as	čat/št	čap	-as
	INTR	č(an)	č(a)x ^w	-∅	čat/št	čap	-∅
Se	TR	čen	čex ^w	-ás	št	čálap	-ás-it
	INTR	čen	čex ^w	-∅	št	čálap	-∅
Sq	TR	čən	čəx ^w	-as	čət	čap	-as-wit
	INTR	čən	čəx ^w	-∅	čət	čap	-∅
Hl	TR	cən	č	-əs	ct	ce:p	-əs
	INTR	cən	č	-∅	ct	ce:p	-∅
Nk	TR	ča(n)	č(a)x ^w	-as	čaɫ	čálap	-as
	INTR	ča(n)	č(a)x ^w	-∅	čaɫ	čálap	-∅
NS	TR	sən	sx ^w	-əs	ɪtə	sx ^w	-əs
	INTR	sən	sx ^w	-∅	ɪtə	sx ^w	-∅
Kl	TR	cn	cx ^w	-s	st	cx ^w	-s
	INTR	cn	cx ^w	-∅	st	cx ^w	-∅
Ld	TR/INTR	čəd	čəx ^w	-∅	čəl	čələp	-∅
Tw	TR/INTR	čəd	č	-∅	ɪ	čp	-wəl/?əl/w(ə)ɪ
Ti	TR	-i	-əš	-əs	-yəɪ	-yaləh	-əs
	INTR	-i	-əš	-∅	-yəɪ	-yaləh	-∅
Ch	IMPF	-anš	-š	-n	-stawt	-alp	-iɪt
	PERF	čn	č	-∅	čɪ	čalp	yamš
Cz	IMPF	-anx	-ax ^w	-n	-stawt	-alapt	-iɪt
	PERF	kn	k	-∅	kɪ	kp	-i-umx
Li	TR	-(ɪ)kan	-(ɪ)kax ^w	-as	N/A ⁴	-(ɪ)kaɫap	-as-wit/-it-as/ -twit-as
	INTR	-(ɪ)kan	-(ɪ)kax ^w	-∅	-(ɪ)kaɫ	-(ɪ)kaɫap	-∅-wit
Th	TR	-en	-ex ^w	-es	N/A	-ep	-es
	INTR	kn	k ^w	-∅	kt	kp	-∅
Sh	TR	-en	-ex	-es	N/A	-ep	-es
	INTR	kn	k	-∅	kt/k ^w əx ^w ⁵	kp	-∅
Ok	TR	-(i)n	-(i)x ^w	-(i)s	N/A	-(i)p	-(i)s-lx
	INTR	kn	k ^w	-∅	k ^w u	p	-∅(-lx)
Ka	TR	-n	-x ^w	-s	N/A	-p	-s
	INTR	čn	k ^w	-∅	qe [?]	p	-∅
Cm	TR	-n(n)	-x ^w	-s	N/A	-p	-s
	INTR	kn	k ^w	-∅	kt	kp	lx
Cr	TR	-n	-x ^w	-s	N/A	-p	-s(-ilš)
	INTR	čn	k ^w u	-∅	č	k ^w up	-∅-ilš

³ It is not clear that Bella Coola subject suffixes are separable from the object suffixes. See Beck (1994) and P. Davis and Saunders (1997) for discussion.

⁴ In the Interior Salish languages, whenever the agent is first-person plural, a passive construction is used.

⁵ Shuswap has two first-person plural subject forms: *kt* is inclusive and *k^wəx^w* is exclusive.

(16) Upper Chehalis (Kinkade 1991:367, 372)

a. s-čáči-tul-n.

IMPF-watch-TR:1/2PL.(S)OBJ-3SG.SUB

‘He/she is watching us/you.’

b. s-šál-stu-mul-n.

IMPF-look.for-CS-1/2PL.(M)OBJ-3SG.SUB

‘He/she is looking for us/you.’

Because of their distribution, one set has been referred to as ‘neutral’ (Newman 1980) or ‘non-causative’ (Kinkade 1982), and the other ‘causative’ (Kinkade 1982, Newman 1980). Suffixes in the first set usually start with *s*; suffixes in the second set with *m*. Newman (1980) reconstructs the suffixes for Proto-Salish:

Table 7. Proto-Salish Object Pronominal Suffixes

	1SG	2SG	3SG	1PL	2PL
NEUTRAL OBJECT	*-c (<*-t-s)	*-ci (<*-t-si)	*Ø	*-al	*-ulm
CAUSATIVE OBJECT	*-mx	*-mi	*Ø	*-muł	*-muł

Following Kinkade (1998) and Montler (1996), I refer to the two sets as S-objects and M-objects based on their form. The suffixes are given in Table 8:

Table 8. Object Pronominal Suffixes and Clitics

BRANCH	LG	OBJ	1SG	2SG	1PL	2PL
Be	Be	S	-c(an)	N/A ⁶	-tuł	-(n)ap
		M	-m(an(ca))		-muł	
CS	Cx	S	-θ	-θi	-umuł	-anapi
		M	-mš	-mi	-umuł	-anapi
	Se	S	-c	-cí	-úmuł	-ci...-élap
		M	-mš	-mi	-muł	-mi...-élap
	Sq	S	-c	-umi	-umuł	-umi-(y)ap
		M	-mš			
	Hl	S	-θamš	-θamə	-(?)al?x ^w	-alə
		M	-amš	-amə		
	Nk	S	-c	-ci	-(ə)wáɬən	-ómoł
		M	-miš	-mi?		
	NS	S	-s	-sə	-alx ^w	-sə
		M	-aŋəs	-aŋə		-aŋə
	Kl	S	-c	-c	-úŋɬ	-c
		M	-úŋəs	-úŋə		-úŋə
	Ld	S	-c	-cid	-u(bu)ɬ	-u(bu)ɬəd
		M	-bš	-bicid		
Tw		-bəš	-i(d)	-bəɬ	?	
TS	Ch	S	-c(al)	-ci	-tul(ɬ)	-tul(ɬ)
		M	-mš (<-mal)	-mi	-mul(ɬ)	-mul(ɬ)
	Cz	S	-c(al)	-ci	-taw(ɬ)	-tawɬ
		M	-mal/mx	-mi	-mulɬ	?
Ti	S	-c	-cə	-(i)wiɬ	-(i)wiɬ	
	M	-wəš	-wə			
NIS	Li	S	-c(-al)	-ci(n)/cih	-tumul/ tumúɬ	-tumul/ tam-álap
		M	-tumx(-al)	-tumi(n)/ tumih		
	Th		-cem/cey	-ci(-et)	-ey(-et)	-uym(-et)
	Sh		-c(é)m/c(é)l	-c(í)	-(é)l-	-(ú)lm-
SIS	Ok	S	k ^w u	-c	k ^w u	-(ú)lm
		M		-(ú)m		
	Ka	S	k ^w u	-cí	-ɬúl-əɬ/ qe?...-əɬ	-ɬúl-əɬm
		M		-(ú)m		
	Cr	S	-ce(l)	-ci	-el(i)	-ulm(i)
		M	-me(l)	-mi		
	Cm	S	-c(a(l))	-ci	-al-	-ulm-
		M	-m	-m		

⁶ There are no active transitive sentences in Bella Coola with second-person objects. Instead, a passive construction is used, and the second-person is expressed as the intransitive subject form *-nu*. (See Nater 1984 for discussion.)

Twana, Thompson, and Shuswap do not have a contrast between S-objects and M-objects.

In Okanagan and Kalispel, first-person object marking appears as clitics:

(17) Okanagan (N. Mattina 1996:37)

k^wu ʔac-n-t-íx^w.
 1SG.OBJ tie-TR-2SG.SUB
 ‘You tied me up.’

(18) Kalispel (Carlson 1972:42)

k^wu níč-ənt-x^w.
 1SG.OBJ cut-TR-2SG.SUB
 ‘You cut me.’

The interaction of object marking with different types of applicatives is a very complicated topic. I return to this in Chapter 6.

2.1.4 Passive.

As Kroeber (1999:25ff.) notes, all Salish languages have a construction that is used to demote the agent, which I will refer to here as passive, though it is variously called passive, impersonal passive, impersonal, agent demotion, or inverse by different Salish scholars.⁷ For example, in (19b), the agent is expressed as an oblique object, the verb adds passive morphology to the transitive base, and there is no ergative agreement.

(19) Halkomelem (Gerdts and Hukari to appear)

a. ni^ʔ čew-ət-əs θə steni^ʔ t^θə swəýqe^ʔ.
 AUX help-TR-3SUB DET woman DET man
 ‘The woman helped the man.’

b. ni^ʔ čew-ət-əm t^θə swəýqe^ʔ ʔə θə steni^ʔ.
 AUX help-TR-PASS DET man OBL DET woman
 ‘The man was helped by the woman.’

⁷ See Fadden (2000) for arguments against an inverse analysis of Lummi passives.

In some languages, if the passive involves a first- or second-person patient, this will be registered as a subject pronoun.

(20) Lummi (Jelinek and Demers 1983)
 a. $\check{x}\check{c}i-t-s\grave{a}n$ $c\grave{a}$ $sw\grave{a}y^?q\grave{a}^?$
 know-TR-1SG.SUB DET man
 ‘I know the man.’

b. $\check{x}\check{c}i-t-\eta-n$ \emptyset $c\grave{a}$ $sw\grave{a}y^?q\grave{a}^?$
 know-TR-PASS-1SG.SUB OBL DET man
 ‘I am known to the man.’⁸

However, in other languages, the first- or second-person patient is registered by a set of special passive pronouns, that are historically related to the object pronouns (Gerdts 1989).

(21) Halkomelem (Gerdts and Hukari to appear)
 a. $\acute{c}ew-\acute{a}tal\grave{a}$ ct $ce^?$
 help-TR:2PL.OBJ 1PL.SUB FUT
 ‘We will help you (PL).’
 b. $\acute{c}ew-\acute{a}tal\grave{a}m$ $ce^?$
 help-TR:2PASS FUT
 ‘You (PL) will be helped.’⁹

Thus, an analysis involving passive as a promotional process is not straightforward. I will not concern myself here with the syntactic characterization of this construction in Salish languages, but simply note that active constructions have corresponding passive constructions where the nominal corresponding to the subject in a transitive clause is suppressed or presented as an oblique nominal and the nominal corresponding to the object in a transitive clause is the sole direct argument of the passive clause.

⁸ This also means ‘You are known by the man.’

⁹ This also means ‘We will be helped.’

2.1.5 Possessive marking.

All Salish languages are head-marking languages. Person-markers appear on predicates while possessive markers appear on the possessed noun phrase, either as prefixes or suffixes. For example, in Thompson, the first and second person possessive markers are prefixed, and the third person and plural possessive markers are suffixes:

(22) Thompson (L. Thompson and M. Thompson 1992:60)

1SG	n-cítx ^w	'my house'
2SG	he [?] -cítx ^w	'your (sg.) house'
3SG	cítx ^w -s	'his/her/its/their house'
1PL	cítx ^w -kt	'our house'
2PL	cítx ^w -ep	'you people's house'
3PL	cítx ^w -íyxs	'their house'

Possessive inflection replaces subject inflection in some or all nominalized subordinate clauses in most Salish languages (Kroeber 1999:13):

(23) Thompson (L. Thompson and M. Thompson 1992:60)¹⁰

1SG	n-s-yíq̣-m	'I (am the one who) planted (it)'
2SG	he [?] -s-yíq̣-m	'you (are the one who) planted (it)'
3SG	s-yíq̣-m-s	'(s)he (is the one who) planted (it)'
1PL	s-yíq̣-m-kt	'we (are the ones who) planted (it)'
2PL	s-yíq̣-m-ep	'you people (are the ones who) planted (it)'
3PL	s-yíq̣-m-íyxs	'they (are the ones who) planted (it)'

2.1.6 Extraction.

In most cases of relative clauses, *wh*-questions, clefts, and other such constructions in Salish, the head appears before the embedded clauses. As discussed in Kroeber (1999:272ff), subjects and objects in such constructions are extracted directly

¹⁰ In (23), the verb root *yíq̣* 'to plant' takes the nominalizer *s-* and the middle suffix *-m*.

without any special morpheme on the predicate.¹¹ For example, the ‘woman’ in the Halkomelem example in (24a) heads the relative clause in (24b):

- (24) Halkomelem (Gerdts 1988b:60) replace example
- a. ni cən lém-ət lə sléniʔ.
 AUX 1SG.SUB look.at-TR DET woman
 ‘I looked at the woman.’
- b. ... lə sléniʔ ni ləm-ət-ʔé:nʔ.
 DET woman AUX look.at-TR-1SSUB
 ‘... the woman who I looked at’

In contrast, obliques in many Salish languages are extracted via a second strategy, by nominalizing the predicate (Kroeger 1999:309ff). For example, when the instrument in (25a) is extracted in (25b), the verb is prefixed with the oblique-nominalizing prefix š-:

- (25) Halkomelem (Gerdts 1988b:70)
- a. ni cən qʷáqʷ-ət ʔə kʷθə ʔənʔ-šápeɫ-ʔəl.
 AUX 1SG.SUB club-TR OBL DET 2SG.POSS-shovel-PAST
 ‘I hit him with your shovel.’
- b. kʷθə ʔənʔ-šápeɫ-ʔəl ni nə-š-qʷáqʷ-ət
 DET 2SG.POSS-shovel-PAST AUX 1SG.POSS-NM-club-TR
 ‘your shovel that I hit him with’

2.2 Syntactic structure of applicative constructions.

The difference between transitive and intransitive clauses is transparent in Salish languages. Kroeger (1999:36) states that a clause is intransitive unless its predicate contains a transitive marker, an object pronominal, or subject inflection of a type normally associated with predicates containing one of the other marks of transitivity. All applicative constructions in Salish are transparently transitive in the surface syntax.

¹¹ Some languages have special strategies for subjects of transitives as opposed to subjects of intransitives. But this does not concern us here.

Furthermore, the applied object in all applicative constructions straightforwardly tests to be the direct object of the clause, as discussed in section 2.2.1. The situation with the theme nominal in redirective applicatives, however, is much more complex, especially since Salish languages vary in their treatment of the theme. A total analysis of ditransitives is outside the scope of this thesis, but I give a brief overview in section 2.2.2.

2.2.1 Applied object.

Applied objects appear as plain NPs if they are overtly expressed, for example ‘boy’ in the following sentence:

- (26) Halkomelem (Gerds 1988b:101)
 ni ʔám-əs-t-əs kʷθə swíwłəs ʔə kʷθə púkʷ.
 AUX give-RDR-TR-3SUB DET boy OBL DET book
 ‘He gave the boy the book.’

If the applied object is pronominal, it is expressed with the same object markers that appear in simple transitive clause:

- (27) Comox (Watanabe 2003:100, 336)
 a. ʔáq-a-θi č.
 chase-LV-TR:2SG.OBJ 1SG.SUB
 ‘I chase you.’
 b. ʃał-it-mi-θi č.
 angry-ST-REL-TR:2SG.OBJ 1SG.SUB
 ‘I’m angry at you.’
- (28) Columbian
 a. ʔáčġ-n-c-n.
 look.at-TR-2SG.OBJ-1SG.SUB
 ‘I’m looking at you.’ (Willett 2003:129)
 b. cqánaʔ-m-n-c-n.
 hear-REL-TR-2SG.OBJ-1SG.SUB
 ‘I heard you.’ (Kinkade 1982:53)

The second person singular object suffixes in simple transitive constructions (27a) and (28a) are S-objects in applicative constructions (27b) and (28b). Some applicative suffixes are followed by M-objects (see Chapter 6 for detail).

Another property that applied objects share with direct objects in simple transitive clauses is that they can be passivized:

- (29) Halkomelem (Gerdtz and Kiyosawa 2005b:336)
 niʔ siʔsiʔ-meʔ-θel-əm ʔə-ǰ John.
 AUX frighten-REL-TR:1PASS.OBJ-MDL OBL-DET John
 ‘John was frightened of me.’ (lit. ‘I was frightened of by John.’)
- (30) Klallam (Montler 1996:262)
 ʔəńá-nəs-əŋ cn ʔaʔ cə sqáǰəʔ.
 come-REL-PASS 1SG.SUB OBL DET dog
 ‘The dog came at me.’¹²
- (31) Tillamook (Egesdal and M. Thompson 1998:253)
 də s-ʔisleš-əwí-t-əw.
 ART NM-sing-REL-TR-PASS
 ‘Someone is singing for him.’
- (32) Halkomelem (Gerdtz 1988b:233)
 ʔi ʔám-əs-t-əm t^θə John ʔə-ǰ Mary
 AUX give-RDR-TR-PASS DET John OBL Mary
 ʔə k^wθə šckí:ks.
 OBL DET book
 ‘John is being given vanilla extract by Mary.’
- (33) Sechelt (Beaumont 1985:110)
 ǰél-ém-t-cí-m-sk^wa ʔe ǰe tán.
 write-RDR-TR-2SG.OBJ-PASS-FUT OBL DET:2SG.POSS mother
 ‘Your mother will write it for you. (It will be written for you by your mother.)’

¹² Salish passive sentences are often translated as active sentences in English.

- (34) Coeur d'Alene (Doak 1997:145)
 k^wíłtm x^we s^ímčeʔs.
 //k^win-ł-t-Ø-m x^we s-łimčeʔ-s//
 take-RDR-TR-3SG.OBJ-PASS DET NM-daughter-3SG.POSS
 'His daughter was taken from him.'

The passive suffix appears on the predicate in (29)–(34) and the agent, if it appears, is in an oblique phrase. The NPs that would be the applied object in a corresponding active sentence serve as the sole direct argument in these passives of applicatives.

In addition, the applied object is extracted in the same manner as the direct object of a transitive clause (see (29)); that is, through direct exaction rather than extraction via nominalization:

- (35) Halkomelem (Gerds 1988b:101, 96)
 a. ni ʔám-əs-t-əs k^wθə swíwłəs ʔə k^wθə púk^w.
 AUX give-RDR-TR-3SUB DET boy OBL DET book
 'He gave the boy the book.'
 b. swíwłəs k^wθə ni ʔám-əs-t-əs ʔə k^wθə púk^w.
 boy DET AUX give-RDR-TR-3SUB OBL DET book
 'It's a boy that he gave the book to.'

- (36) Lillooet
 a. hała-xít-i mał ti sáwt a
 show-RDR-2PL.IMP IMP DET pitiful.person PTC
 ti skí^{ʔw}-s a, hała-xít-i!
 DET wife/girlfriend-3SG.POSS PTC show-RDR-2PL.IMP
 'Show that poor fellow his beloved, you folks, show her to him!' (Van Eijk 1987:273)
 b. swat k^wu x^wuž hała-xít-ałap ta məməw-láp a?
 who DET going.to show-RDR-2PL.SUB DET kitten-2PL.POSS PTC
 'Who are you going to show your kitten to?' (H. Davis and Matthewson 2003:91)

In sum, applied objects in all Salish applicative constructions have all the hallmarks of direct objects.¹³ This is discussed further in Chapter 7.

2.2.2 Theme NP in ditransitive construction.

Throughout Salish, applied objects in redirective clauses are licensed as direct arguments: as pronouns they appear as object suffixes and as nominals they appear as plain NPs. The situation with theme nominals in redirective applicatives is more complicated. They never appear as object pronouns. However, they vary with respect to nominal marking.

2.2.2.1 NP marking.

In most of the Central Salish languages, Tillamook, Tsamosan, Thompson, and Shuswap, only one plain NP besides the subject is allowed. Thus, in applicative constructions only the applied object appears as a plain NP. The theme, if there is one, appears as an oblique-marked NP. For example, the theme NP must be in an oblique phrase in the redirective applicative construction with *-əs* or *-ɪc* in Halkomelem:

¹³ However, Gerdts (1988b) notes several differences between direct objects in simple transitives and applicatives in some languages and uses these to argue that applied objects, unlike direct objects in simple transitives, are not initial direct objects, but rather advancees, in Relational Grammar terms. For example applied objects do not antipassivize.

- (i) Halkomelem (Gerdts and Kiyosawa 2005b:338)
- | | | | | | | |
|----|--------------------------|------------|------------------------|-------------|----------------|----------------|
| a. | <i>niʔ</i> | <i>cən</i> | <i>q̣eɫ-meʔ-t</i> | <i>kʷθə</i> | <i>ləplit.</i> | |
| | AUX | 1SG.SUB | believe-REL-TR | DET | priest | |
| | 'I believed the priest.' | | | | | |
| | | | | | | |
| b. | <i>*niʔ</i> | <i>cən</i> | <i>q̣eɫ-meʔ-əm/əls</i> | <i>ʔə</i> | <i>kʷθə</i> | <i>ləplit.</i> |
| | AUX | 1SG.SUB | believe-REL-MDL/ACTV | OBL | DET | priest |
| | 'I believed the priest.' | | | | | |

No examples of the sequence of applicative and antipassive suffixes were attested in my database.

- (37) Halkomelem (Gerdt's 1988b:101)
- a. ni ʔám-əs-t-əs kʷθə swíwłəs ʔə kʷθə púkʷ.
 AUX give-RDR-TR-3SUB DET boy OBL DET book
 'He gave the boy the book.'
- b. *ni ʔám-əs-t-əs kʷθə swíwłəs kʷθə púkʷ.
 AUX give-RDR-TR-3SUB DET boy DET book
 ('He gave the boy the book.')
- (38) Halkomelem (Gerdt's 1988b:101)
- a. ni ǰálʔ-ət-ət-əs kʷθə-enʔ mén ʔə kʷθə pípə-s.
 AUX write-RDR-TR-3SUB DET-2SG.POSS father OBL DET letter-3SG.POSS
 'He wrote the letter for your father.'
- b. *ni ǰálʔ-ət-ət-əs kʷθə-enʔ mén kʷθə pípə-s.
 AUX write-RDR-TR-3SUB DET-2SG.POSS father DET letter-3SG.POSS
 ('He wrote the letter for your father.')

Other examples of redirective constructions with oblique-marked theme NPs are as follows:

- (39) Comox (Watanabe 1996:330)
- ǰətʰ-əʔam-θi tʰəm ʔə tə pəp-pipa.
 burn-RDR-TR:2SG.OBJ 1SG:FUT OBL DET RED.PL-paper
 'I'll burn the paper for you.'
- (40) Lushootseed (Hess and Bates 2004:172)
- xʷiʔ əwə ʔu kʷi t(u)-ad-s-ʔáb-yi-t-s ʔə kʷi kupiʔ
 NEG EMPH Q DET PAST-2SG.SUB-NM-give-RDR-TR-1SG.OBJ OBL DET coffee
 'Didn't you give me any coffee?'
- (41) Cowlitz (Kinkade 2004:234)
- ʔit sáʔ-š-n ɪ tit ǰíqsn.
 PERF make-RDR-TR OBL DET box
 'He made the box for him.'
- (42) Thompson (L. Thompson and M. Thompson 1980:32)
- kʷéñxc tə sqʷnóǰʷs.
 //kʷéñ-xi-t-Ø-es tə s-qʷnóǰʷ-s//
 regard-RDR-TR-3SG.OBJ-3SUB OBL NM-being.sick-3SG.POSS
 'He diagnosed her illness.'

- (43) Shuswap (Kuipers 1992:49)
 mlmalq^w-x-t-s tə cítx^w-s.
 paint-RDR-TR-3SUB OBL house-3POSS
 ‘He paints the/his [other’s] house for him.’/‘He paints his [other’s] house.’

In Sechelt and Lillooet, on the other hand, the theme NP in a redirective applicative construction appears as a plain NP. In the following examples, Sechelt marks redirective clauses with the suffix *-ém* and Lillooet marks them with the suffix *-xit*; the theme NP appears as a plain NP rather than an oblique-marked NP.

- (44) Sechelt (Beaumont 1985:104)
 ʔál-ém-t-čen-sk^wa te háyšén.
 hold-RDR-TR-1SG.SUB-FUT DET ladder
 ‘I’ll hold the ladder for him/her.’

- (45) Lillooet (Van Eijk 1997:115)
 cúł-xít-kan ti sqáyx^w a ti n-cítx^w a.
 point.out-RDR-1SG.SUB DET man PTC DET 1SG.POSS-house PTC
 ‘I pointed out my house to the man.’

In some languages, themes in redirectives can appear either as plain NPs or as oblique-marked NPs. In Squamish, the theme can appear with either the oblique marker (46) or without it (47):

- (46) Squamish (Kuipers 1967:233)
 s-s-mn-sát-ši-t-m t k^wəci snəx^wíł ʔəsqəq^wúʔ
 NM-3SG.POSS-then-give-RDR-TR-PASS OBL ART canoe together

 t k^wəłi sʔánayʔ mənʔ-s k^wəci siʔámʔ.
 OBL ART girl daughter-3SG.POSS ART chief
 ‘Then he was given a canoe together with the girl, the daughter of the chief.’

- (47) Squamish (Kuipers 1967:257)
 mi-ši-t-c-ka k^wi stáq^w!
 come-RDR-TR-1SG.OBJ-IMP DET water
 ‘Bring me some water!’

In Southern Interior languages, the marking of the theme varies depending on the applicative. In applicatives formed with the suffix *-xi*, the theme NP is expressed in an oblique phrase.¹⁴

- (48) Okanagan (N. Mattina 1993:271)
 k^wu x^wíč-x-t-s t sɣlaʷ.
 1SG.OBJ give-RDR-TR-3SUB OBL money
 ‘He gave me some money.’
- (49) Kalispel (Carlson 1980:25)
 x^wíč-š-t-ən ɬuʔ Agnes ɬuʔ t yámǰ^weʔ.
 give-RDR-TR-1SG.SUB ART Agnes ART OBL basket
 ‘I gave a basket to Agnes.’
- (50) Coeur d’Alene (Doak 1997:155)
 číłšic ʔe smlič.
 //číł-ši-t-Ø-s ʔe s-mlič//
 give-RDR-TR-3OBJ-3SUB OBL NM-salmon
 ‘He brought over/gave him a salmon.’
- (51) Columbian (Willett 2003:138)
 kɬ^ʔəmtxic t swánax.
 //kɬ-^ʔəmt-xit-s//
 PSTN-feed-RDR-3SUB OBL huckleberry
 ‘S/he sent huckleberries to someone.’

¹⁴ Some examples in Columbian (Kinkade 1980:34) appear to have unmarked themes in applicatives formed with *-xit*:

- (i) Columbian (Kinkade 1980:34)
 ʔac-yáy-x-t-n Mary sttám̄tam.
 IMPF-weave-RDR-1SG.SUB Mary bag
 ‘I made a bag for Mary.’
- (ii) Columbian (Kinkade 1980:34)
 ʔaní-x-t-n Mary sttám̄tam.
 bring-RDR-1SG.SUB Mary bag
 ‘I brought Mary a bag.’

Willett (2003:140), suspecting that the oblique marking of the theme objects in the above examples was omitted by the speaker, re-checked these examples with a native speaker, and found that forms with the oblique marker are preferred.

In contrast, in applicatives formed with the suffixes *-t* or *-tuł*, the theme NP is unmarked:

- (52) Okanagan (N. Mattina 1993:278)
 k^wu ʔac-ł-t-i x^w in-kəwáp.
 1SG.OBJ tie-RDR-TR-2SG.SUB 1SG.POSS-horse
 ‘You tied my horse for me.’
- (53) Kalispel (Carlson 1980:90)
 hesč̣ṭə-ł-t-én łuʔ sululəmínč.
 keep-RDR-TR-1SG.SUB ART gun
 ‘I keep the gun for him.’
- (54) Coeur d’Alene (Doak 1997:146)
 neʔ léč̣łcex^w x^wa hinq̣^wómqəŋ.
 //neʔ leč̣-ł-t-se-x^w x^we hn-q̣^wom=qin//
 IRR bind-RDR-TR-1SG.OBJ-2SG.SUB DET 1SG.POSS-head
 ‘Tie my head up for me. (Tie it up for me the my head.)’
- (55) Columbian (Kinkade 1980:34)
 má^ʔ-ł-c-x^w ʔin-łkáp.
 break-RDR-TR:1SG.OBJ-2SG.SUB 1SG.POSS-pot
 ‘You broke my pot.’
- (56) Okanagan (A. Mattina 1994:207)
 k^wu ʔam-túł-t-s iʔ síyaʔ.
 1SG.OBJ feed-RDR-TR-3SUB ART saskatoons
 ‘He fed me the saskatoons.’
- (57) Columbian (Kinkade 1980:34)
 n-k^wn=akst-[t]úł-n sk^wən=áʔst-s.
 PRFX-grab=hand-RDR(-TR)-1SG.SUB club=weapon-3SG.POSS
 ‘I took a club away from him.’

In sum, the marking of the theme NP varies depending on the language and the applicative suffix being used. See the summary in Table 9:

Table 9. Plain vs. Oblique-Marked Theme NPs

		THEME NP	
Lillooet		PLAIN	
Sechelt		PLAIN	
Squamish		PLAIN	OBLIQUE-MARKED
Other CS			OBLIQUE-MARKED
Cowlitz			OBLIQUE-MARKED
Other NIS			OBLIQUE-MARKED
SIS	-xi		OBLIQUE-MARKED
	-ɬ	PLAIN	
	-tuɬ	PLAIN	

The marking on the theme NP in applicative constructions differs within a branch. In Northern Interior Salish, the theme NP is plain in Lillooet and oblique-marked in Thompson and Shuswap. In Central Salish, it is plain in Sechelt and oblique-marked in the rest of the Central Salish languages, perhaps including Squamish. In Southern Interior Salish, the marking differs depending on which applicative suffix appears on the predicate. The theme NP is plain in applicative constructions with *-ɬ* or *-tuɬ*, and oblique-marked with the suffix *-xi*.

2.2.2.2 Extraction.

When oblique-marked theme NP in an applicative is extracted in Halkomelem, the predicate is nominalized with the prefix *s-* and the subject of the relative clause is expressed as a possessor.

(58) Halkomelem (Gerds 1988b:101, 103)

a. ni ʔám-əs-t-əs kʷθə swíwłəs ʔə kʷθə púkʷ.
 AUX give-RDR-TR-3SUB DET boy OBL DET book
 ‘He gave the boy the book.’

b. níɬ kʷθə púkʷ ni s-ʔám-əs-t-s kʷθə swíwłəs.
 3EMPH DET book AUX NM-give-RDR-TR-3SG.POSS DET boy
 ‘It’s a book that he gave the boy.’

Furthermore, one might expect that theme NPs in redirective clauses with the suffix *-xi* cannot be extracted with the direct strategy, since they are obliques. However, the theme NP in a redirective construction with *-xi* can in fact be extracted without nominalization on the predicate:

- (61) Okanagan (N. Mattina 1996:47, 49)
- a. ʔac-xí-t-s $iʔ$ t snkɫčaʔsqáħaʔ .
 tie-RDR-TR-3SUB ART OBL horse
 ‘He tied the horse for him.’
- b. $iʔ$ snkɫčaʔsqáħaʔ $iʔ$ ʔac-xí-t-s .
 ART horse ART tie-RDR-TR-3SUB
 ‘The horse is what he tied for him.’

In sum, the theme NP in redirective constructions with *-xi* in Okanagan displays properties of both direct objects and obliques. It extracts in the same manner as the direct object, although it is oblique-marked.¹⁵

2.2.3 Summary.

The properties of the theme NP in the redirective applicative constructions in Halkomelem Lillooet, and Okanagan, are summarized in Table 10:

Table 10. Properties of the Theme NP in Redirective Applicatives

		MARKING		EXTRACTION	
Halkomelem			OBLIQUE-MARKED		NOMINALIZATION
Lillooet		PLAIN		DIRECT	
Okanagan	-ɫ	PLAIN		DIRECT	
	-xi		OBLIQUE-MARKED	DIRECT	

¹⁵ This is not surprising given, as Kroeber (1999:344) notes, nominalizing prefixes are not used in the extraction of oblique NPs in Southern Interior languages.

In Halkomelem, the theme NP is oblique-marked and extracts via nominalization. In Lillooet, the theme appears as a plain NP and uses the direct strategy for extraction. In Okanagan, the theme is marked differently depending on the type of applicative, but it always extracts as in Lillooet, through the direct strategy.

Different Salish languages accommodate the theme NP of redirectives in different manners in their grammars. It is beyond the scope of this dissertation to examine this issue further, mostly because a full range of facts from the different languages is not available. But overall, it is safe to assume that the theme NP in the redirective is neither the direct object nor an oblique NP, but rather sits somewhere in the middle.

Different theories have means of relaying this concept. In terms of Relational Grammar, the theme nominal is a 2-chômeur (Gerds 1988b). In terms of Dryer (1986) the theme is a secondary object. In terms of Mapping Theory (Gerds 1993, 1998a) or Minimalism (H. Davis and Matthewson 2003), the theme is an internal argument of the verb that is not mapped to the direct object position in the surface syntax.

For the purposes of this thesis, I will simply refer to this NP as the theme, and make no attempt at a formal analysis.

2.3 Discourse functions of applicatives.

The purpose of this section is to shed some light on the functions of Salish applicatives in actual use. Although a thorough treatment of the function of applicatives is outside the scope of this thesis, I give some brief remarks here based on joint work with Donna Gerds, published as (Gerds and Kiyosawa 2005a, 2005c) regarding the use of Salish applicative constructions in discourse.

In most Salish languages, redirective applicative constructions do not have non-applicative counterparts. NPs playing the semantic role of datives or benefactives are obligatorily expressed as applied object. However, relational applicatives often have non-applicative counterparts. As seen by the following examples, some semantic roles can be expressed as either oblique NPs (62a) or as applied objects (62a).

(62) Halkomelem (Gerds and Kiyosawa 2005a:99)

a. ni cən siʔsiʔ ʔə kʷθə snəxʷəł.
 AUX 1SG.SUB frighten OBL DET canoe/car
 ‘I was frightened at the car.’

b. ni cən siʔsiʔ-meʔ-t kʷθə sqʷəmeý.
 AUX 1SG.SUB frighten-REL-TR DET dog
 ‘I was frightened at the dog.’

Thus, relational applicative constructions, since they often have non-applicative counterparts, are well suited for a study of applicative 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 11.¹⁶

¹⁶ Texts used for this project were: Bella Coola: P. Davis and Saunders 1980, Columbian: N. Mattina 2004, Halkomelem: Hukari et al. 1977 and unpublished texts provided by Donna Gerds and Tom Hukari, Lillooet: H. Davis 2001a, Nooksack: Galloway et al. 2004, Okanagan: A. Mattina and De Sautel 2002, Sechelt: Beaumont 1985, Shuswap: Gardiner and Compton 2004, Comox: Watanabe 2003, Squamish: Kuipers 1974, Thompson: M. Thompson and Egesdal 1993.

Table 11. Relational Applicatives in Salish Texts

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

The following discussion is based on these data.

2.3.1 Topicality.

While the syntax of applicatives has received much attention, there have been few attempts to explain the reasons for choosing applicative constructions over their non-applicative counterparts. 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.¹⁷ A variety of semantic and discourse factors come into play in the use of applicatives, and some of these are important in the use of 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

¹⁷ 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 Gerdt's (1988b).

rather than an oblique. First, I discuss NPs that are topics in the traditional sense of the main character—what I refer to as primary topics. Then I expand the discussion to include other persons and things of interest to the discourse—what we refer to as secondary topics. Then I 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.

2.3.1.1 Primary topics.

Primary topics in Salish languages are usually subjects (Beck 1996a, 1996b, 2000; H. 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.)

- (63) səw̌ ńəm-nəs-əm tʰəw̌nił swiwləs, səw̌ θət-s-t-əm,
 NM:LNK go-REL-PASS that.one young.man NM:LNK say-RDR-TR-PASS
 “ʔam-əs-θamə ct ʔə ǩʷ hay ʔəľ qəx̌
 give-RDR-TR:2OBJ 1PL.SUB OBL DET very just much
 --p̌qəlwət-- ʔəw̌-həli-t-əx̌ʷ tʰeý sʔeləx̌ʷ niʔ q̌ay-t-əx̌ʷ.”
 blanket LNK-save-TR-2SSUB DET 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)¹⁸

¹⁸ The number in parenthesis after the translation indicates the line or sentence number in the story.

EAGLE (Halkomelem—Tom Hukari p.c.)

- (64) ʔəwə kʷsəs ʕeʔ siʔsiʔ-meʔ-t-əm tʰəw̃nił ʔə
 NEG DET:3SSUB too be.afraid.of-REL-TR-PASS that.one OBL
 tʰəw̃ θiθə, niʔ təl̃-n-əm kʷsəs ʔəw̃
 DET big-PL AUX know-NC-PASS DET:3SSUB LNK
 čecəw̃-ət-əs ʔał tʰeỹ məməñł, ʕətəs-t-əs.
 help(IMPF)-TR-3SUB just DET little(PL) feed(IMPF)TR-3SUB

‘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.

Table 12. Active vs. Passive Applicatives

LANGUAGE	ACTIVE	PASSIVE	TOTAL
Bella Coola	7	5	12
Columbian	2	0	2
Halkomelem	11	10	21
Lillooet	8	2	10
Nooksack	9	3	12
Okanagan	11	2	13
Sechelt	4	1	5
Shuswap	1	0	1
Comox	15	2	17
Squamish	2	0	2
Thompson	5	0	5
TOTAL	75	25	100

Although topics are usually subjects, several languages have an object topic construction, which uses specialized morphology to mark a topical object (H. Davis 1994; Kinkade 1987, 1989, 1990). For example, in Lillooet 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 (Lillooet—H. Davis 2001a:331)

- (65) ...nʔáñwas s-yəqyáqcaʔ ni naq̣ʷ-min-talí ha tuʔ
 ...two.human NM-women(PL) ABSENT.DET steal-REL-TOP EXIS CMPL
 ni qáck-sw a...
 ABSENT.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 (66)

or preverbal focus (67):

PUSH-BACK-SIDES-OF-HIS-HAIR (Thompson—M. Thompson and Egesdal 1993:301)

- (66) ʔe s-cú-t-s “ʔe xeʔe xʷuý nəs-m-ne.”
 INT NM-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 et al. 2004:154)

- (67) te œó:y xwchém(w)esnítchxw kwém ílh kw néch’o xwnánat.
 //tə q̣o:y xʷčém(ʷ)əs-nít-čxʷ kwém íł kʷ náč̣o xʷná:nat//
 ART dead meet-REL-2SG.SUB will PREP ART one night
 ‘the dead you will meet one night,’ (3b)

2.3.1.2 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 (68) that Wren’s grandmother is the co-star. She re-enters the story in (69) after 25 lines, and we see in example (70) 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.¹⁹

WREN (Halkomelem—Tom Hukari p.c.)

(68) ‘Little wren had a granny.’ (1)

(69) ‘He [Wren] then headed for home. His grandparent was sitting down when he arrived home. “Do some knife-sharpening my dear grandmother; 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)

(70) ʔi ʔəw ʔəwə ʔəw yə-hənəm-nəs-əs θə siʔlə-s
 AUX LNK NEG LNK SER-go(IMPF)-REL-3SUB DET grandparent-3POSS
 s-əw yə-həyθ-əs-t-s yə-titələm.
 NM-LNK SER-tell(IMPF)-RDR-TR-3POSS SER-sing(IMPF)

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

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

(72) nił kʷəʔeł niʔ ʃətə-stxʷ-əs “yəqyəq=e:n sisəla.”
 3EMPH indeed AUX say(IMPF)-CS-3SUB sharpen(IMPF)=end grandparent(DIM)
 ‘This is why he was saying, “yəqyəq:e:n sisəla.”’ (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.

2.3.2 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.

¹⁹ To save space, we usually give only the English translation, except for clauses in which applicatives appear.

Applicative constructions relate to topicality in three ways, depending on when and how the NP is introduced into the text.

2.3.2.1 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 is established and then persists as topic through a segment of the text. Another example of this is in the Stoneheads story. Q'iseq massacres his relatives who are the stoneheads. “His relatives” is established in example (73) as a transitive object and appears as the applied object in (75). The storyteller, by bringing up “relatives” in example (73), but then detouring on to the subject of weaponry in example (74), is really teasing the audience just like Q'iseq toys with his relatives, visiting them before he goes back to slaughter them four days later.

STONEHEADS (Halkomelem—Tom Hukari p.c.)

- (73) səw xʷəʔaləm tʰəwnił, niʔ wəl təl-nəxʷ-əs
 NM:LNK return that.one AUX then know-LCTR-3SUB
 tʰə šxʷəweli-s.
 DET relatives-3POSS

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

- (74) ‘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)

- (75) yełsəs nem həyeʔ nəm-nəs-əs tʰə šxʷəweli-s.
 next go depart go-REL-3SUB ART relatives-3POSS
 ‘He then finally went after his relatives.’ (67)

- (76) ‘They were playing “qiʔqtəmas” (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)

- (77) ‘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.

2.3.2.2 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 (78) and (79).

PUSH-BACK-SIDES-OF-HIS-HAIR (Thompson—M. Thompson and Egesdal 1993:301)

- (78) ʔe s-cix^w-s teʔe k^wén-s ɪ s-čəm-čém
 INT NM-lie.PL-3POSS PTC grasp-TR.3SUB EP NM-RED(AUG)-small.bone
 ʔe s-áǰ^w-m-s u ɪʔe.
 INT NM-throw-REL-3SUB to EST.REM

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

KAYÁM (Lillooet—H. Davis 2001a:331)

- (79) ... qañim-[ən]s-as ti waʔ ʔəmʔím n-əm s-k^wlátən
 hear-CS-3SUB DET prog animal.noise-MDL NM-woodpecker
 niɪ ǰuʔ ʔayɪ nás-miñ-as níǰ ǰuʔ s cíx^w-miñ-as ...
 FOC so then go-REL-3SUB FOC so NM go-REL-3SUB

‘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 (80) and (81).

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

- (80) ‘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)

- (81) ʔn-s-na mn qánacut-ní-t-an kʷəci snəxʷiʔ-čət,
 1SG.POSS-NM-AUX PTC return-REL-TR-1SG.SUB ART canoe-1PL.POSS
 s-mn cún-t-an kʷs n-sqʷúʔ-t: . . .
 NM-PTC tell-TR-1SG.SUB ART 1SG.POSS-wife-late/deceased
 ‘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.

2.3.2.3 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 (83). 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—M. Thompson and Egesdal 1993:301)

- (82) ʔwóyt ekʷu ʔuʔ ʔe s-ʔíkʷlxʷ-s.
 sleep RPRT PERF INT NM-dream-3POSS
 ‘He slept and had a dream.’ (202)
- (83) ʔíkʷlxʷ s-m-s k **s-mútec**
 dream image-REL-3SUB UNR NM-woman
 ʔe n-kə́m=cíñ-s e s-cwé[-w]xʷ.
 INT LOC-body.surface=mouth-3POSS PTC NM-creek[-RED(DIM)]
 ‘He dreamed about a **girl** at the mouth of a creek.’ (203)
- (84) ‘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 (82), 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 (83).

2.3.3 Summary.

The results of this study are somewhat preliminary since the data sample was small. Nevertheless, 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. Either the outcome of the action affecting the object is central to the story or the applied object itself is highly topical. 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.

Since the NP has discourse prominence, it is worthy of being cast as an argument rather than an oblique. 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”.

2.4 Applicatives and person/animacy hierarchy effects.

I have argued in the previous section 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, our survey of data from Salish texts show that there is a person/animacy effect in the use of applied objects. Higher animate arguments are more discourse-worthy and so are more likely to appear as applicative objects.

This accounts for the person/animacy effects that Gerdtz (1988a, 1988b) notes for Halkomelem psych applicatives. According to speaker judgments, animate NPs like ‘the priest’ in (85) are better applied objects than inanimate NPs like ‘the words of the priest’ in (86).

(85) Halkomelem (Gerdtz and Kiyosawa 2005b:338)
 niʔ cən ɬel-meʔ-t kʷθə ləplit.
 AUX 1SG.SUB believe-REL-TR DET priest
 ‘I believed the priest.’

(86) Halkomelem (Gerdtz and Kiyosawa 2005b:338)
 ʔniʔ cən ɬel-meʔ-t kʷθə sqʷaqʷəl-s kʷθə ləplit.
 AUX 1SG.SUB believe-REL-TR DET word-3POSS DET priest
 ‘I believed the words of the priest.’

In contrast, inanimate NPs (87) are better obliques than animate NPs (88).

(87) Halkomelem (Gerdtz and Kiyosawa 2005b:341)
 niʔ cən ɬel ʔə kʷθə sqʷaqʷəl-s kʷθə ləplit.
 AUX 1SG.SUB believe OBL DET word-3POSS DET priest
 ‘I believed the priest’s words.’

(88) Halkomelem (Gerdtz and Kiyosawa 2005b:341)
 ʔniʔ cən ɬel ʔə kʷθə ləplit.
 AUX 1SG.SUB believe OBL DET priest
 ‘I believed the priest’s words.’

However, as Gerdtts and Kiyosawa (2005b) 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 (89).

- (89) Halkomelem (Gerdtts and Kiyosawa 2005b:343)
 ʔeʔət xʷiʔ siʔsiʔ-meʔ-t-əs tʰə speʔxʷəm kʷs
 AUX INCHO frightened-REL-3SUB DET fog DET:NM
 nem-s ʕəlím-t-əs tʰə snəxʷət-s.
 go-3SSUB steer-TR-3SUB DET canoe-3POSS
 ‘He’s scared of the fog when he drives his car.’

Sometimes the applicative can be used to highlight a participant of a complement clause:

- (90) Halkomelem (Gerdtts and Kiyosawa 2005b:343)
 ʔi cən wət ʕtəʔe:wən-meʔ-θət kʷə-nə-s hay
 AUX 1SG.SUB PERF think-REL-TR:REFL DET-1SG.POSS-NM finish
 ʔə kʷθə nə-sya:ys.
 OBL DET 1SG.POSS-job
 ‘I was thinking about quitting my job.’

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 (91), there is a downplaying of the participation of the stimulus.

- (91) Halkomelem (Gerdtts and Kiyosawa 2005b:343)
 niʔ ʔə č wət kʷiləm ʔə kʷθə ʔi hiwələm sʕəlīqətʔ
 AUX Q 2SG.SUB PERF fed.up OBL DET AUX playing children
 ‘Are you fed up with the playing children?’

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

To quantify the effect of the person and animacy of the applied object, we constructed a database of Halkomelem psych applicatives from elicited sentences, summarized in Table 13.

Table 13. Applied Object vs. Oblique NP

	APPLIED OBJECT	OBLIQUE
1ST/2ND PERSON	40	0
PROPER NOUN	20	1
OTHER HUMAN	57	6
ANIMAL	10	6
INANIMATE	19	22
CLAUSE	5	8

As the distribution in Table 14 shows, whether the NP appears as an applied object or an oblique correlates with its person and animacy.

Table 14. Applied Object vs. Oblique NP in Halkomelem Psych Constructions

	1ST/2ND PERSON	PROPER	HUMAN	ANIMAL	INANIMATE	CLAUSE
APPLIED OBJECT	100%	95%	90%	63%	46%	38%
OBLIQUE	0%	5%	10%	37%	54%	62%

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 (2005b) 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.²⁰ 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 15.

Table 15. Person/Animacy of Applied Object

LANGUAGE	1ST/2ND PERSON	HUMAN	ANIMAL	ITEM	LOCATION	TOTAL
Bella Coola	0	6	0	4	2	12
Columbian	0	1	0	1	0	2
Halkomelem	2	9	3	4	3	21
Lillooet	0	7	1	1	1	10
Nooksack	3	9	0	0	0	12
Okanagan	1	5	0	7	0	13
Sechelt	1	4	0	0	0	5
Shuswap	0	0	1	0	0	1
Comox	0	3	8	6	0	17
Squamish	0	1	0	0	1	2
Thompson	1	3	0	1	0	5
TOTAL	8	48	13	24	7	100

At first glance, there are fewer animate NPs (69%) and more inanimate NPs (31%) than expected.²¹ Therefore, we discuss the examples in more detail in the subsequent sections.

²⁰ 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.

²¹ 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 15), 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 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

As the data in Table 15 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 (Comox—Watanabe 2003:548ff)

(92) ‘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)

(93) hihiw say-sx^w-as-uł ʔaǰu k^w sa-saɫtəg-ə^m
 very like-CS-3SUB-PAST CLT DET RED(IMPF)-wife-MDL
 (ʔə) k^wut ʔuwk^w.
 OBL CLT all

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

(94) ʔuwk^w tam sa-saɫtg-am-(m)i-t-as.
 all what RED(IMPF)-wife-MDL-REL-TR-3SUB
 ‘He was getting married to everything.’ (7)

(95) ‘Mink had lots of women.’ (8)

(96) ʔuwk^w ta::m saɫtg-am-(m)i-t-as.²²
 all what wife-MDL-REL-TR-3SUB
 ‘He got married to everything.’ (9)

(97) saɫtg-am-(m)i-t k^wa tə t^θamq^wɫ.
 wife-MDL-REL-TR QUOT DET cloud
 ‘He married the cloud.’ (10)

up to 13% in the texts. This is probably because animals are often personified characters in texts, as will be discussed below.

²² Watanabe (2003:539) says that two colons represents rhetorical lengthening.

- (98) saɬg-am-(m)i-t kʷa tə ɣaykʷ.
 wife-MDL-REL-TR QUOT DET eagle
 ‘He married the eagle.’ (11)
- (99) saɬg-am-(m)i-t kʷa tə waʃas.
 wife-MDL-REL-TR QUOT DET frog
 ‘He married the frog.’ (12)
- (100) ‘Even the ... (what’s the name of that...) pitch of tree.’ (13)
- (101) miya kʷa taŋ saɬg-am-(m)i-t-as.
 even QUOT DEM wife-MDL-REL-TR-3SUB
 ‘He married even that.’ (14)
- (102) miya kʷa tə ʔaq=ʔay ʔə saɬtəg-am-(m)i-t-as.
 even QUOT DET salalberry=tree CLF wife-MDL-REL-TR-3SUB
 ‘He married even the salal bush.’ (15)
- (103) miya tə ʔumajʷa (ʔə) saɬtəg-am-(m)i-t-as.
 even DET barnacle (CLF) wife-MDL-REL-TR-3SUB
 ‘Even the barnacle, he married.’ (16)
- (104) ‘And, I’m going to tell you the story about that.’ (17)
- (105) hi saʔ ga tiʔi hihiw (ʔə) tʰ ɣʷaɣʷθus-θi
 it’s CLT CLT here first CLF 1SG.POSS story-TR:2SG.OBJ
 kʷ s saɬg-am-(m)i-t-ʔu-s kʷa
 DET NM woman-MDL-REL-TR-PAST-3POSS QUOT
 tə naʔa tə ʃawgas.
 DET (R.FILLER) DET grizzly.bear
 ‘I’ll tell you first about the time when he married the Grizzly.’ (18)

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 to 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 (106), we know that he is also approaching the Sun.

SEAGULL STEALS THE SUN (Halkomelem—Hukari et al. 1977)

(106) $\dot{\lambda}e?$ $\acute{e}\acute{a}$ $w\acute{a}l$ $n\acute{e}?\acute{a}m-n\acute{a}s-\acute{a}m$ $?\acute{a}-\dot{\lambda}$ $q\acute{w}\acute{a}ni$ $t^{\theta}\acute{a}$ $\acute{x}\theta\acute{a}m.$
 too EVID then go-REL-PASS OBL-DET seagull DET box
 ‘And the seagull went to the box again.’ (199)

(107) “ $ni?$ $?\acute{a}$ \acute{c} $x^w?iy\acute{a}n\acute{e}m,$ $?\acute{a}$ $me??$ ”
 AUX Q 2sg.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 (109), is that it is leading them to the house of *Syal\acute{a}c\acute{a}?*, the title character.

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

(108) $ni-i-i?$ $w\acute{a}c\acute{e}?$ $?\acute{a}$ $\acute{k}^w\acute{a}?\acute{i}n\acute{a}l$ $?\acute{i}?$ $ni?$ $w\acute{a}l$ wil
 AUX get.to.top OBL over.there CONJ AUX then appear
 $t^{\theta}\acute{a}$ $s\acute{\lambda}ey\acute{a}q\acute{a}m.$
 DET smoke

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

(109) $s\acute{a}w$ $t\acute{a}l-n\acute{a}x^w-\acute{a}s$ $\theta\acute{a}w\acute{n}il$ “ $w\acute{a}l$ $ni\acute{l}$ $t^{\theta}ey?$ $ni?$ $\acute{\lambda}ey\acute{a}q\acute{a}m.$ ”
 NM:LNK think-NC-3SUB that.one now 3EMPH DET AUX smoke(IMPF)
 ‘She thought, “That is the place where the smoke is coming from.”’ (22)

(110) hay sis $?\acute{a}w$ $w\acute{a}l$ $n\acute{e}m.$
 and so LNK then go
 ‘They started again.’ (23)

(111) $m\acute{i}-i-i$ $?\acute{e}w\acute{a}-n\acute{a}s-\acute{a}s$ $t^{\theta}\acute{a}$ $\acute{\lambda}ey\acute{a}q\acute{a}m.$
 come come-REL-3SUB DET smoke(IMPF)
 ‘They walked towards the smoke.’ (24)

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.

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.

2.5 Summary.

The above discussion tried to encapsulate the key properties of Salish applicative constructions. I introduced a two-way typology, which serves to organize the rest of the thesis. I briefly recapitulate the applicative suffixes that have been identified by researchers on Salish languages, providing a list of suffixes. I discussed the construction of the database used in the thesis. I gave a brief overview of the syntactic and semantic properties of applicative constructions. In subsequent chapters I turn to a detailed exploration of Salish applicatives, suffix by suffix and language by language.

Chapter 3: Relational Applicatives

As stated in Chapter 1, a relational applicative construction adds a second argument to a clause whose non-applicative equivalent is intransitive. The resulting clause is a syntactically transitive construction in which a non-theme nominal is the direct object.¹ Compare the intransitive construction in (1) with the applicative construction in (2):

(1) Halkomelem (Gerdt 2004b:330)

niʔ	neḿ	kʷθə	swiʷləs.
AUX	go	DET	boy

‘The boy went.’

(2) Halkomelem (Gerdt 2004b:330)

niʔ	nəm-nəs-əs	kʷθə	swiʷləs	kʷθə	John.
AUX	go-REL-3SUB	DET	boy	DET	John

‘The boy went up to John.’

The clause in (1) is intransitive, while (2) is syntactically transitive, as evidenced by the third person ergative marker, and ‘John’, the goal of the motion, is the applied object. The semantic role of the applied object, goal in this case, is signaled by the relational suffix *-nəs*.

Applied objects in relational applicatives are generally not semantic arguments of the predicate but rather have an indirect (or oblique) relationship to the event. For example, contrast the intransitive clause in (3) with the relational applicative in (4):

¹ The term ‘relational’ for this type of applicative is adapted from L. Thompson and M. Thompson (1992:73).

- (3) Halkomelem (Gerds and Kiyosawa 2005b:339)
 niʔ cən siʔsiʔ ʔə kʷθə snəxʷəɬ.
 AUX 1SG.SUB frighten OBL DET canoe
 ‘I was frightened at the car.’
- (4) Halkomelem (Gerds and Kiyosawa 2005b:339)
 niʔ cən siʔsiʔ-meʔ-t kʷθə sqʷəmeý.
 AUX 1SG.SUB frighten-REL-TR DET dog
 ‘I was frightened at the dog.’

In both sentences, the first-person subject is the experiencer of the psychological event. In (3), the stimulus of the event is expressed as an oblique, marked with the general oblique preposition ʔə, but in (4) the stimulus is the applied object in a relational applicative construction, marked by the verbal suffix *-meʔ*. The example in (4) is transitive, as seen by the presence of the transitive suffix on the verb.

The predicates that form relational applicative constructions generally occur as intransitive predicates in non-applicative environments, and thus they do not usually take the general transitive suffix. Even if they are inflected with the transitive suffix, the distinction between the semantic roles of direct objects and applied objects is usually clear. For instance, most Halkomelem psych predicates can take the general transitive suffix. Compare the transitive form in (5) and the relational applicative in (6):

- (5) Halkomelem (Gerds and Kiyosawa 2005b:334)
 čq̣-ət č ceʔ kʷθə nəcəwməxʷ ʔi ceʔ tecəl.
 surprise-TR 2SG.SUB FUT DET visitor AUX FUT arrive
 ‘You will surprise the visitors when they arrive.’
- (6) Halkomelem (Gerds and Kiyosawa 2005b:334)
 čəq̣-meʔ-t č ceʔ kʷθə nəcəwməxʷ ʔi ceʔ tecəl.
 surprise-REL-TR 2SG.SUB FUT DET visitor AUX FUT arrive
 ‘You will be surprised at the visitors when they arrive.’

The subject ‘you’ is the agent in (5), but it is the experiencer in (6). The object ‘visitors’ is the experiencer in (5) and the stimulus in (6). Some psych predicates form transitives with the causative suffix, as in (7), which contrasts with the psych applicative in (8):

- (7) Halkomelem (Gerdtts and Kiyosawa 2005b:334)
 niʔ cən siʔsiʔ-stəxʷ kʷθə sməyəθ.
 AUX 1SG.SUB frighten-CS DET deer
 ‘I frightened the deer.’
- (8) Halkomelem (Gerdtts and Kiyosawa 2005b:334)
 niʔ siʔsiʔ-meʔ-θamš-əs kʷθə sməyəθ.
 AUX frighten-REL-TR:1SG.OBJ-3SUB DET deer
 ‘The deer was frightened of me.’

The first-person subject of the transitive clause in (7) is the causer—a direct, purposive agent. But the first-person applied object in (8) is the stimulus—an indirect cause of the event. The speaker might not even have been aware of having an effect on the deer.

In sum, we see that relational applicative constructions are transitive clauses with an applied object—a nominal that is the direct object in the syntax but that plays a peripheral role in the semantic argument structure that is associated with the event. Applied objects in relational applicatives have a variety of semantic roles, including stimulus, goal, content, and benefactive, as discussed in detail below. The presence of the applied object is signaled on the predicate by means of a relational applicative suffix.

Each Salish language has from one to four relational applicative suffixes, as given in Table 16:

Table 16. Relational Applicative Suffixes in Salish Languages

BRANCH		LANGUAGE	RELATIONAL
Bella Coola		Bella Coola	-amk, -m
Central Salish		Comox	-mi, -ni
		Sechelt	-mi, -ni
		Squamish	-mi, -ni
		Halkomelem	-meʔ, -nəs
		Nooksack	-ni, -ns
		Northern Straits	-ŋiy, -nəs
		Klallam	-ŋi, -nəs
		Lushootseed	-bi, -di, -(a)c
		Twana	-ac
Tillamook		Tillamook	-əwi, -əs
Tsamosan		Upper Chehalis	-mi(s), -ni, -t(a)s
		Cowlitz	-mi(s), -ni, -t(a)s
Interior Salish	Northern Interior	Lillooet	-min
		Thompson	-mi
		Shuswap	-mi
	Southern Interior	Okanagan	-mi
		Kalispel	-mi
		Coeur d'Alene	-min
		Columbian	-mi

The Interior Salish languages and Twana, a Central Salish language, have only one relational applicative suffix, while the other Salish languages have two or more relational suffixes. The association of any given relational suffix to applicative semantics is very complicated, requiring detailed study.

In this chapter, I provide a catalog of relational applicative constructions in Salish and discuss their similarities and differences across languages. In section 3.1, I classify the various meanings conveyed by relational applicatives according to the semantics of the predicate, with reference to the semantic role of the applied objects. In section 3.2, I survey Salish relational applicatives language by language, exemplifying the form and function of the various relational constructions. In section 3.3, I discuss the distribution

and usage of each relational suffix, and I construct an historical picture of the Salish relational applicative system.

3.1 Semantic functions of relational applicatives.

Relational applicative suffixes generally attach to intransitive predicates to form transitive verbs. In my database, I encoded applicatives for the semantic class of the predicate and the semantic role of the applied object. This allows me to study the semantic functions of different applicatives. The most crucial aspect of the semantics of relational applicatives is the type of predicate involved. In some languages, a predicate class is associated with a particular suffix, though the suffix might not be the same one from language to language. The semantic role of the applied object is largely inferred; it is the mostly likely kind of oblique nominal to be associated with the predicate.

Relational suffixes appear on a wide variety of different predicates, which can be classified into a small list of types, as in (9):

- (9)
- a. Internal experience
 - Psychological event (e.g. ‘be afraid of’, ‘be ashamed of’, ‘be tired of’)
 - Perception (e.g. ‘feel’, ‘hear’, ‘see’)
 - Cognition (e.g. ‘know’, ‘think’, ‘understand’)
 - Liking or desire (e.g. ‘like’, ‘want’, ‘wish’)
 - b. Expression
 - Speech act (e.g. ‘ask’, ‘sing’, ‘speak’)
 - Facial expression (e.g. ‘cry for’, ‘smile at’, ‘wink at’)
 - c. Action
 - Social interaction (e.g. ‘meet’, ‘marry’, ‘act tough on’)
 - Activity (e.g. ‘work’, ‘dance’)
 - d. Movement
 - Motion (e.g. ‘go’, ‘run’, ‘walk’)
 - Body movement/position (e.g. ‘hide’, ‘lean’, ‘sit’)
 - e. Transfer (e.g. ‘borrow’, ‘sell’, ‘steal’)
 - f. Nature (e.g. ‘hail’, ‘rain’, ‘snow’)

Most of the examples in the database fall into one of these classes, though there are a few miscellaneous examples that I will not try to accommodate.

What property is shared by these predicates? For the most part, these predicates usually have a dyadic semantic structure; that is, there are two participants associated with the event. For example, psychological predicates often involve an experiencer and a stimulus, verbs of cognition involve a cognizer and some content, and motion verbs often involve an object in motion and a goal. However, in many languages of the world, predicates with the meanings in (9) are intransitive rather than transitive. Even if they are transitive, they have low transitivity, in the sense of Hopper and S. Thompson (1980), and often do not straightforwardly take direct objects. Transfer predicates (9e) may be an exception to this generalization, since they take theme objects in many languages in addition to the goal or source nominal. However, transfer predicates are often syntactically intransitive in Salish languages.

Below, I give examples of relational applicatives in order to illustrate each of the predicate classes outlined in (9) above and to illustrate the semantic roles of the applied objects that are associated with them.

3.1.1 Internal experience predicates.

Psychological event predicates form relational applicatives in which the applied object is the stimulus:

- (10) Okanagan (A. Mattina 1994:221)
ixíʔ ʔáyǰʷ-t-mə-nt-s-ən.
there tired-ST-REL-TR-2SG.OBJ-1SG.SUB
'I am tired of you.'

Perception predicates form relational applicatives in which the applied object is the stimulus in (11) or content in (12):

- (11) Squamish (Kuipers 1967:260)
 čn-wa-tk^wáyaʔn-mi-nt-umi.
 1SG.SUB-CONT-listen-REL-TR-2SG.OBJ
 ‘I am listening to you; I could hear you.’
- (12) Thompson (L. Thompson and M. Thompson 1992:75)
 //nə-ǰək-əp=eñih-meh-t//
 LOC-mark-INCH=ear-REL-TR
 ‘hear correctly about something, hear the correct word for something’

Cognition predicates form relational applicatives in which the applied object is the content:

- (13) Nooksack (Galloway 1997:222)
 ʔas-hák^wə-ni-θí-č k^wəm.
 ST-think-REL-TR:2SG.OBJ-1SG.SUB will
 ‘I’ll think about (remember) you.’

Predicates expressing liking or desire form relational applicatives in which the applied object is the stimulus (14) or goal (15):

- (14) Tillamook (Egesdal and M. Thompson 1998:264)
 šəl-šil-əwí-t-əw.
 RED(AUG)-dislike-REL-TR-PASS
 ‘Nobody likes it [dog].’
- (15) Shuswap (Gardiner 1993:20)
 q^wən-mí-n-s y sčméməlt k-pumékəʔ.
 want-REL-TR-3SUB DET children IRR-drum
 ‘The children want a drum.’

3.1.2 Expression predicates.

Speech act predicates form relational applicatives in which the applied object is the goal (16) or content (17):

- (16) Klallam (Montler 2000: #1869)
 q^wi-q^wəy-ŋə-t
 RED-speak-REL-TR
 ‘scold someone/a child’
- (17) Coeur d’Alene (Doak 1997:209)
 lu čeł tq^waʔq^wəʔelmístx^w.
 //lut čeł t-CVC-q^weʔl-min-stu-Ø-x^w//
 NEG FUT LOC-RED(AUG)-speak-REL-CS-3SG.OBJ-2SG.SUB
 ‘You don’t talk about it.’

Predicates of facial expression form relational applicatives in which the applied object is the goal (18), stimulus (19), or purpose (20):

- (18) Sechelt (Beaumont 1985:110)
 pálá-ʔet čá-čaykús-mí-t-úmuł-as!
 always-EMPH RED(IMPF)-wink-REL-TR-1PL.OBJ-3SUB
 ‘He’s always winking at us!’
- (19) Shuswap (Kuipers 1992:51)
 čə(m)-mi-n-s
 cry/weep-REL-TR-3SUB
 ‘cry for, mourn’
- (20) Lushootseed (Hess and Bates 2004:182)
 číp-il-bi-d
 close.eyes-AUTO-REL-TR
 ‘close eyes to avoid seeing something’

3.1.3 Action predicates.

Predicates involving social interaction form relational applicatives in which the applied object is the goal (21) or comitative (22):

- (21) Lushootseed (Hess and Bates 2004:184)
 ʔád²q-bi-d
 meet-REL-TR
 ‘meet someone by appointment or intentionally’

- (22) Lillooet (Van Eijk 1997:114)
 ?i?wa?-min
 accompany/come.along-REL
 ‘to go along with’

Predicates involving activity form relational applicatives in which the applied object is the benefactive (23) or purpose (24):

- (23) Halkomelem (Gerds and Kiyosawa 2005b:331)
 ya:ys-me?-t
 work-REL-TR
 ‘work for him/her’
- (24) Lillooet (Van Eijk 1997:125)
 ʃ*əst-án-cut-min
 exert-TR-REFL-REL
 ‘to make an effort for something’

3.1.4 Movement predicates.

Motion verbs form relational applicatives in which the applied object is the goal

(25), source (26), or purpose (27):

- (25) Columbian (Kinkade 1982:54)
 kyaʔmn-cút-m-nt-m.
 jump-REFL-REL-TR-1PL.SUB
 ‘We all jumped on him.’
- (26) Comox (Watanabe 1996:335)
 ɫag-a-θut-mi-θ-as.
 leave-LV-TR:REFL-REL-TR:1SG.OBJ-3SUB
 ‘He walked/ran out on me.’/‘He ran away from me.’
- (27) Lushootseed (Bates et al. 1994:143)
 ?u-ɫč-í-s čəd.
 PUNCT-arrive-AUTO-REL 1SG.SUB
 ‘I got there just in time for some particular event.’

Verbs denoting moving the body into an orientation, or holding that position, form relational applicatives in which the applied object is the goal (28), source (29), or periphery (30):

- (28) Columbian (Kinkade 1982:54)
 kłáʔqn-cút-m-n-c.
 lean-REFL-REL-TR-1SG.OBJ(-3SUB)
 ‘He’s leaning against me.’
- (29) Halkomelem (Gerds and Kiyosawa 2005b:331)
 kʷel-meʔ-t
 hide-REL-TR
 ‘hide from him/her’
- (30) Tillamook (Egesdal and M. Thompson 1998:249)
 s-łeq-í-s-i.
 ST-sit-AUTO-REL-1SG.SUB
 ‘I sit down beside him.’

3.1.5 Transfer verbs.

Transfer verbs form relational applicatives in which the applied object is the goal

(31) or source (32):²

- (31) Sechelt (Beaumont 1985:104)
 xʷúyum-ni-t-cí-čen-élap-skʷa.³
 sell-REL-TR-2SG.OBJ-1SG.SUB-2PL-FUT
 ‘I’ll sell it to you (pl).’⁴
- (32) Thompson (L. Thompson and M. Thompson 1992:75)
 ǰʷáǰ-m-me-s.⁵
 borrow-MDL-REL(-TR)-3SUB
 ‘She requests a loan from him.’

² In Salish languages, transfer verbs are often intransitive. Sometimes they take middle voice (cf. Gerds and Hukari 1998).

³ The root \sqrt{x} ʷúyum ‘sell’ is intransitive in Sechelt (Beaumont 1985:258).

⁴ Beaumont (1985:105) remarks that the suffix *-ni* implies disadvantage to the applied object, as the seller is expected to have profited at the expense of the buyer in this case.

⁵ The stem $\sqrt{\text{ǰ}}$ ʷáǰ-*m* (‘borrow’ + middle) ‘borrow’ is intransitive (L. Thompson and M. Thompson 1992:75).

3.1.6 Nature predicates.

Relational applicatives can be formed on predicates (nouns or verbs) denoting natural phenomena to express a negative effect, such as damage from inclement weather or attack from an animal. The semantic is the malefactive, i.e. the person or thing adversely affected by the event:⁶

- (33) Thompson (L. Thompson and M. Thompson 1992:74)

tékł-m-t-i-t.

rain-REL-TR-1PL.OBJ-PASS

‘We get rained on.’

- (34) Lillooet (Van Eijk 1997:122)

miḡał-mín-əm

bear-REL-PASS

‘it was eaten by a bear, he was met by a bear, ran into a bear’

3.2 The form and function of relational suffixes.

In this section, I turn to a detailed survey of relational applicative constructions. My goal is to sort out the form and function of the various relational suffixes in each language, making use of the semantic categories given in the previous section. Since closely related languages seem to have nearly identical applicative systems, I approach the issue by grouping the languages according to the branches and sub-branches of the Salish family.

As mentioned above, each Salish language has from one to four relational applicative suffixes, as given in Table 1. Similarities between the suffixes in the different languages are obvious. Kinkade (1998), as part of his survey of Salish comparative-

⁶ Relational applicatives of nature verbs tend to be passives. See section 3.2.1.6.

historical morphology, reconstructs three relational suffixes: **-mi*, **-ni*⁷ and **-nəs*.⁸

Their reflexes are shown in Table 17. The forms for which he gives no reconstruction are listed in the N/A column:

⁷ Kinkade (1998) said that reconstructing **-ni* was problematic, due to its limited occurrence in only two branches—Central Salish and Tsamosan. See section 3.3.2 for discussion.

⁸ Kinkade (1998) reconstructs this suffix for Proto-Central Salish. See section 3.3.2 for discussion.

Table 17. Relational Applicative Suffixes by Cognates

BRANCH		LANGUAGE	RELATIONAL				
			*-mi ⁹	*-ni	*-nəs ¹⁰	N/A	
Bella Coola		Bella Coola				-amk, -m ¹¹	
Central Salish		Comox	-mi	-ni			
		Sechelt	-mi	-ni			
		Squamish	-mi	-ni			
		Halkomelem	-me [?]		-nəs		
		Nooksack		-ni	-ns		
		Northern Straits	-ŋiy		-nəs		
		Klallam	-ŋi		-nəs		
		Lushootseed	-bi	-di		-(a)c	
		Twana				-ac	
Tsamosan		Upper Chehalis	-mi(s)	-ni		-t(a)s	
		Cowlitz	-mi(s)	-ni		-t(a)s	
Tillamook		Tillamook	-əwi			-əs	
Interior Salish	Northern Interior	Lillooet	-min				
		Thompson	-mi				
		Shuswap	-mi				
	Southern Interior	Okanagan	-mi				
		Kalispel	-mi				
		Coeur d'Alene	-min				
		Columbian	-mi				

All of the Salish languages have reflexes of *-mi except Bella Coola and two Central Salish languages—Nooksack and Twana. Perhaps the lack of examples of *-mi reflexes in the latter two languages may simply be due to insufficient data. Nooksack has reflexes of both *-ni, and *-nəs, and Twana has the suffix -ac. All Interior Salish

⁹ Kinkade (1998) tentatively suggests the alternative reconstruction *-mis based on the Tsamosan suffix -mi(s).

¹⁰ Kinkade (1998) also reconstructs *-nəs for Lushootseed -c, Twana -ac, and Tillamook -əs. However, I do not treat them as reflexes of *-nəs due to a lack of evidence and irregularity of sound correspondences.

¹¹ Bella Coola -m might appear to be a reflex of *-mi, but, since suffixes with -m are ubiquitous in Salish, it would take more than general similarity to support this claim. Kinkade (1998) considers and rejects this possibility, due to the lack of a vowel in the Bella Coola form.

languages have only one relational applicative, a reflex of **-mi*. Central Salish languages (other than Nooksack and Twana) have a reflex of either **-ni* or **-nəs* in addition to a reflex of **-mi*, and Lushootseed has reflexes of two suffixes **-mi* and **-ni*, as well as the suffix *-(a)c*. Tsamosan languages have reflexes of **-mi* and **-ni*, as well as another applicative not attested elsewhere in Salish languages, *-t(a)s*. Tillamook has a reflex of **-mi* and the suffix *-əs*. Bella Coola is an outlier: neither of its suffixes, *-amk* or *-m*, seem to relate to relational applicative suffixes in other Salish languages.

I start my survey of relational applicatives in section 3.2.1 with the Interior Salish languages, since they only have one relational applicative suffix. In section 3.2.2, I turn to the Central Salish languages, surveying uses of **-mi*, **-ni*, and **-nəs*. In section 3.2.3, I treat the two Tillamook suffixes **-mi* and *-əs*. In section 3.2.4, I treat three of the suffixes in the Tsamosan languages **-mi* and **-ni* and *-t(a)s*. The Bella Coola applicative suffixes *-amk* and *-m* are atypical compared with the relational suffixes found in other Salish languages, so I postpone discussion until Chapter 5.

3.2.1 Relational suffix in Interior Salish.

All of the Interior Salish languages—in both the Northern and Southern branches—have only one relational applicative suffix, a reflex of **-mi*. This suffix is used in a wide variety of situations.

3.2.1.1 Internal experience predicates.

Reflexes of **-mi* attach to psychological predicates to form applicatives in which the applied object is the stimulus:

- (35) Lillooet (Van Eijk 1997:124)
 páq^wu[?]-mín
 afraid-REL
 ‘to be afraid of’
- (36) Thompson (L. Thompson and M. Thompson 1992:74)
 čéx-m-ń-s.
 ashamed-REL-TR-3SUB
 ‘He is ashamed of her.’
- (37) Shuswap (Kuipers 1992:50)
 qəs-p-mi-n-s
 itch-INCH-REL-TR-3SUB
 ‘be tickled about’
- (38) Okanagan (A. Mattina 1994:221)
 ixi[?] ʔáyǰ^w-t-mə-nt-s-ən.
 there tired-ST-REL-TR-2SG.OBJ-1SG.SUB
 ‘I am tired of you.’
- (39) Kalispel (Carlson and Flett 1989:134)
 qe[?] ec-ʔáymt-m-ł-s.
 1PL.OBJ ASP-angry-REL(-TR)-1PL.OBJ-3SG.POSS
 ‘He was angry at us.’
- (40) Coeur d’Alene (Reichard 1938:584, Doak 1997:178)
 iy[?]-n-ǰł-mən-əm.
 //Ø in-ýc-hn-ǰł-min-m//
 3OBJ 2POSS-CONT-LOC-fear-REL-SFX
 ‘Thou art fearing him.’
- (41) Columbian (Kinkade 1982:54)
 kłłn-cút-m-n.
 jealous-REFL-REL(-TR)-1SG.SUB
 ‘I’m jealous of him.’

Reflexes of *-*mi* attach to verbs of perception to form applicatives in which the applied object is the goal (42)–(46) or content (47):

- (42) Lillooet (Van Eijk 1997:124)
 kálań-miń
 listen-REL
 ‘to listen to’

- (43) Thompson (L. Thompson and M. Thompson 1992:75)
 //wík=ečeh-meh-t//
 see=pretense-REL-TR
 ‘pretend to see someone/something’ (used primarily in the negative: ‘pretend not to see someone/something’)
- (44) Okanagan (A. Mattina 1994:221)
 haʔ níxəl-mə-nt-xʷ?
 Q hear-REL-TR-2SG.SUB
 ‘Did you hear it?’
- (45) Kalispel (Carlson and Flett 1989:200)
 séw=neʔ-m-st-n.
 ask=ear-REL-CS-1SG.SUB
 ‘I heard it.’
- (46) Columbian (Kinkade 1982:53)
 cqánaʔ-m-n-c-n.
 hear-REL-TR-2SG.OBJ-1SG.SUB
 ‘I heard you.’
- (47) Thompson (L. Thompson and M. Thompson 1992:75)
 //nə-ǰək-əp=eñih-meh-t//¹²
 LOC-mark-INCH=ear-REL-TR
 ‘hear correctly about something, hear the correct word for something’

Reflexes of *-*mi* attach to cognition predicates to form applicatives in which the applied object is the content:

- (48) Thompson (L. Thompson and M. Thompson 1992:74)
 ɬəkʷ-mí-ne.
 hook-REL(-TR)-1SG.SUB
 ‘I remember him.’
- (49) Shuswap (Kuipers 1992:50)
 ptinəs-m-n-s
 think-REL-TR-3SUB
 ‘think of’

¹² The form *ǰək-p* (‘mark’ + inchoative) in (47) means ‘find out, understand, know’ (L. Thompson and M. Thompson 1996:421).

3.2.1.2 Expression predicates.

Reflexes of *-*mi* attach to speech act verbs to form applicatives in which the applied object is the goal (56)–(58) or content (59)–(62):

- (56) Shuswap (Kuipers 1992:51)
k̥əs=ci n-m-n-s
bad=mouth-REL-TR-3SUB
'abuse, scold'
- (57) Coeur d'Alene (Doak 1997:38)
//puʔs=ci n-min-nt//
blow=mouth-REL-TR
'tell someone a joke'
- (58) Columbian (Willett 2003:283)
kastəqʷci nmn.
//kas-təqʷci n-mi-nt-n//
IRR-holler-REL-TR-1SG.SUB
'I am going to holler at him.'/'I am going to shout at him.'
- (59) Lillooet (Van Eijk 1997:114)
ptákʷt-min
tell.a.legend-REL
'to tell a legend about someone'
- (60) Shuswap (Kuipers 1992:51)
t-qʷl-mi-n-s
PRFX-speak/talk-REL-TR-3SUB
'talk about'
- (61) Okanagan (A. Mattina 1994:226)
lut kʷu a-ks-k-málx̣aʔ-m-n-ə̃m.
NEG 1SG.OBJ 2SG.POSS-ABS-IRR-lie-REL-TR-SFX
'Don't lie about me.'
- (62) Coeur d'Alene (Doak 1997:209)
lu čeł tqʷaʔqʷəʔelmístxʷ.
//lut čeł t-CVC-qʷeʔl-min-stu-Ø-xʷ//
NEG FUT LOC-RED(AUG)-speak-REL-CS-3SG.OBJ-2SG.SUB
'You don't talk about it.'

Reflexes of *-*mi* attach to predicates of facial expression to form applicatives in which the applied object is the goal (63)–(64) or stimulus (65)–(67):

- (63) Lillooet (Van Eijk 1987:259)
ka-ǰ^wis-miñ-c-ás a.
RSLT-smile-REL-1SG.OBJ-3SUB RSLT
‘He smiled at me.’
- (64) Shuswap (Kuipers 1992:51)¹³
qič=s-m-n-s
sudden=face-REL-TR-3SUB
‘wink at’
- (65) Shuswap (Kuipers 1992:51)
čə(m)-mi-n-s
cry/weep-REL-TR-3SUB
‘cry for, mourn’
- (66) Kalispel (Carlson 1972:104)
k^wu čǰ^wəǰ^wəʔəyəmiñtx^w.
//k^wu č-ǰ^wǰ^wəʔèy-mi-nte-x^w//
1SG.OBJ to-laugh-REL-TR-2SG.SUB
‘You laugh at me.’
- (67) Columbian (Willett 2003:283)
kmux^wtmís wa kiḥánaʔ John.
//k-mux^wt-mi-nt-s//
PSTN-laugh-REL-TR-3SUB PTC girl John
‘John laughed at the girl.’

3.2.1.3 Action predicates.

Reflexes of *-*mi* attach to predicates of social interaction to form applicatives in which the applied object is the goal (68)–(71) or comitative (72)–(73):

- (68) Thompson(L. Thompson and M. Thompson 1992:75)
//n úk^weʔ-meh-t//
friend-REL-TR
‘claim relationship to someone’

¹³ Dwight Gardiner (p.c.) supplied this interlinear gloss.

- (69) Kalispel (Carlson and Flett 1989:147)
 hec-méʔ=cn-mí-st-n.
 ST-bother=mouth-REL-CS-1SG.SUB
 ‘I bothered him with my talk.’
- (70) Coeur d’Alene (Doak 1997:122)
 yilimíxum kučéʔčeʔšənəmí · · · nšeš.
 //ylmix^w-m k^wu CVC-čéʔš-n-min-šeš//¹⁴
 chief-MDL 2SG.SUB RED(AUG)-condescend-LOC-REL-IDF
 ‘Chief, you condescend to honor us.’
- (71) Columbian (Kinkade 1982:54)
 kas-làḥlaḥs-cút-m-n.
 IRR-play.trick?-REFL-REL(-TR)-1SG.SUB
 ‘I’m going to play a trick on him.’
- (72) Lillooet (Van Eijk 1997:114)
 ʔúllus-min
 get.together-REL
 ‘to join, go with someone’
- (73) Shuswap (Kuipers 1992:51)
 tkʰsl-mi-n-s
 companion-REL-TR-3SUB
 ‘accompany’

Reflexes of *-*mi* attach to activity verbs to form applicatives in which the applied object is the benefactive (74)–(75), purpose (76), or goal (77):

- (74) Lillooet (Van Eijk 1997:125)
 k^wzús-miḥ
 work-REL
 ‘to work for, to look after’
- (75) Thompsen (L. Thompson and M. Thompson 1992:75)
 k^wz=ús-m-me-ne.
 rough=face-MDL-REL(-TR)-1SG.SUB
 ‘I work hard for him.’

¹⁴ Although there is a second-person plural object in the English translation, -*šeš* is the indefinite person suffix, i.e. ‘someone’. The clause is syntactically intransitive, as seen by presence of *k^wu*, the second-person singular intransitive subject marker.

- (76) Lillooet (Van Eijk 1997:125)
 ʧ̥wəst-án-cut-mín
 exert-TR-REFL-REL
 ‘to make an effort for something’
- (77) Thompson (L. Thompson and M. Thompson 1992:76)
 síç(m)-m(e)-s
 //síçəm-mi-t-Ø-es//
 woven.blanket-REL-TR-3SG.OBJ-3SUB
 ‘give a blanket to someone’

The base $\sqrt{síçəm}$ ‘woven blanket’ in example (77) above is a noun, not a transfer verb, so the meaning of this example is probably closer to ‘put a blanket on someone’ than ‘give a blanket to someone’.

3.2.1.4 Movement predicates.

Reflexes of **-mi* attach to motion verbs to form applicatives in which the applied object is the directional goal (78)–(83), source (84)–(85), or the periphery or path of the motion (86)–(88):

- (78) Lillooet (Van Eijk 1987:140)
 ka-ləʧ̥w-miñ-c-as a ʧ̥úʔ a.
 RSLT-come.up-REL-1SG.OBJ-3SUB RSLT CLT(well/so) RSLT
 ‘He came right up to me.’
- (79) Thompson (L. Thompson and M. Thompson 1992:74)
 n-kém-úy=qn-me-s
 //nə-kəm-úy=qin-meh-t-Ø-es//
 LOC-dive-RFM=head-REL-TR-3SG.OBJ-3SUB
 ‘s/he dive for/after someone’
- (80) Shuswap (Gardiner 1993:20)
 nes-m-n-s.
 go.along-REL-TR-3SUB
 ‘He went up to somebody.’

- (81) Kalispel (Carlson 1972:104)
 čx^wúyəməntx^w.
 //č-x^wuy-mi-nte-x^w//
 to-go-REL-TR-2SG.SUB
 ‘You go on to it.’
- (82) Coeur d’Alene (Ivy Doak p.c.)
 hn^wx^wúymənən.
 //hn-x^wuy-min-t-n//
 LOC-go-REL-TR-1SG.SUB
 ‘I track him.’
- (83) Columbian (Kinkade 1982:54)
 kya^omn-cút-m-nt-m.
 jump-REFL-REL-TR-1PL.SUB
 ‘We all jumped on him.’
- (84) Lillooet (Van Eijk 1997:121)
 qáy=ləx-min
 run.away=body-REL
 ‘to run away from somebody’
- (85) Shuswap (Kuipers 1992:50)
 t-səx^w-mi-n-s
 PRFX-leave-REL-TR-3SUB
 ‘leave somebody by himself’
- (86) Thompson (L. Thompson and M. Thompson 1992:75)
 n-zén-m-s
 //nə-zén-mi-nt-es//
 LOC-go.around-REL-TR-3SUB
 ‘he walks around the inside of a particular area, makes a circuit of it’
- (87) Shuswap (Kuipers 1992:50)
 ɬ^w=ilx-m-n-s
 jump=body-REL-TR-3SUB
 ‘jump over’
- (88) Okanagan (A. Mattina 1994:224)
 lut t̥ in-ǰm=ínk t̥ i-ks-wík-əm,
 NEG PTC 1SG.POSS-like=stomach SBRD 1SG.POSS-ASP-see-SFX
 uɬ t-xəl^wk-əmí-n.
 and PRFX-go.around-REL(-TR)-1SG.SUB
 ‘I didn’t want to see him, that’s why I went around him.’

Reflexes of **-mi* also attach to body position verbs to form applicatives in which the applied object is the goal (89) or source (90)–(91):

- (89) Columbian (Kinkade 1982:54)
 kłáʔq̄n-cút-m-n-c.
 lean-REFL-REL-TR-1SG.OBJ(-3SUB)
 ‘He’s leaning against me.’
- (90) Lillooet (Van Eijk 1997:121)
 ləʔw=ílx-min
 hide=body-REL
 ‘to hide oneself from somebody’
- (91) Shuswap (Kuipers 1992:50)
 nʔw=ílx-m-n-s
 hide=body-REL-TR-3SUB
 ‘hide oneself from’

3.2.1.5 Transfer verbs.

Reflexes of **-mi* attach to transfer verbs to form applicatives in which the applied object is the goal (92) or source (93)–(95):

- (92) Columbian (Kinkade 1982:54)
 kʔəłn-xáx-m-n.
 borrow-IDF-REL(-TR)-1SG.SUB
 ‘I loaned someone else’s property to him.’
- (93) Lillooet (Van Eijk 1997:116)
 nás-kan kʔúłən-min kʔ s-Bill ti kə́m̄xʔyəqs-c a.
 FUT-1SG.SUB borrow-REL DET NM-Bill DET car-3SG.POSS PTC
 ‘I am going to borrow Bill’s car. [Lit. I am going to borrow from Bill his car.]’
- (94) Thompson (L. Thompson and M. Thompson 1992:75)
 ǰʔáǰ-m-me-s.
 borrow-MDL-REL(-TR)-3SUB
 ‘She requests a loan from him.’
- (95) Columbian (Kinkade 1982:54)
 kʔan-xíx-m-n.
 grab/take-IDF-REL(-TR)-1SG.SUB
 ‘I took it away from them; pickpocket.’

3.2.1.6 Nature predicates.

Reflexes of **-mi* attach to verbs of natural phenomena, implying a malefactive effect on the applied object:

- (96) Lillooet (Van Eijk 1987:120)
ka-ǰəp-mín-cí-m a.
RSLT-deep/to.be.under-REL-2SG.OBJ-PASS RSLT
'It was dark when you came.'
- (97) Thompson (L. Thompson and M. Thompson 1992:74)
čʔoz-mí-nt-i-s.
dark-REL-TR-1PL.OBJ-3SUB
'It gets dark on us.'
- (98) Thompson (L. Thompson and M. Thompson 1992:74)
tékl-m-t-i-t.
rain-REL-TR-1PL.OBJ-PASS
'We get rained on.'

One example from Lillooet shows that the relational applicative suffix can be suffixed to a noun to convey an attack by an animal:

- (99) Lillooet (Van Eijk 1997:122)
miǰaǰ-mín-əm¹⁵
bear-REL-PASS
'it was eaten by a bear, he was met by a bear, ran into a bear'

Relational applicatives of nature verbs tend to be used in the passive. In fact, only two examples out of fourteen in my database are active sentences.

¹⁵ The noun 'bear' can also form an intransitive predicate with the middle suffix: *miǰaǰ-ám* (bear-middle) 'to hunt a bear' (Van Eijk 1997:122).

3.2.1.7 Summary.

In summary, the types of predicates that occur with reflexes of the relational suffix **-mi* in Interior Salish are shown in Table 18:

Table 18. Predicate Classes with **-mi* in Interior Salish

BRANCH	LANG	EXPERIENCE	EXPRESS	ACT	MOVE	TRANSFER	NATURE
NIS	Li	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
	Th	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
	Sh	✓	✓	✓	✓		
SIS	Ok	✓	✓		✓		
	Ka	✓	✓	✓	✓		
	Cr	✓	✓	✓	✓		
	Cm	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	

Reflexes of **-mi* appears in relational applicatives with predicates of internal experience (9a), expression (9b), action (9c), and movement (9d) in all the Interior Salish languages except for Okanagan, where action predicates are not attested. Applicatives are formed on more types of predicates in Northern Interior than in Southern Interior Salish; Southern Interior Salish does not form applicatives with the transfer (except in Columbian) or nature verb classes.

3.2.2 Relational suffixes in Central Salish.

Reflexes of three of the relational applicative suffixes, **-mi*, **-ni*, and **-nəs*, are found in Central Salish languages. Reflexes of the relational applicative suffix **-mi* are not attested in Nooksack or Twana. Reflexes of **-ni* are attested in five Central Salish languages: Comox, Sechelt, Squamish, Nooksack, and Lushootseed. Reflexes of **-nəs* are attested in four languages: Halkomelem, Nooksack, Northern Straits, Klallam.

Lushootseed and Twana have suffixes that are not attested in the other Salish languages, *-(a)c* and *-ac* respectively, which are most likely cognates.¹⁶

All Central Salish languages have two relational suffixes, except Twana, which has only *-ac*, and Lushootseed, which has reflexes of two relational suffixes **-mi* and **-ni*, and *-(a)c*

3.2.2.1 Relational **-mi*.

The situation in Central Salish is much more complicated than in Interior Salish because there is more than one relational applicative suffix in each language, except Twana. Reflexes of **-mi* attach to a wide range of predicate classes. However, the predicate classes to which they attach differ from language to language, depending on the range of meanings assumed by the other relational suffixes of a given language. In this section, I survey the predicate classes that form relational applicatives with reflexes of **-mi*, giving one example from each language in which it is attested.

Reflexes of **-mi* attach to psychological predicates to form applicatives in which the applied object is the stimulus:

(100) Comox (Watanabe 2003:261)

hihiw	č	q̣ʷə-q̣ʷj-am-(m)i-t-anapi,	niʔ-i-t	č
very	1SG.SUB	RED(IMPF?)-pity-MDL-REL-TR-2PL.OBJ	say-LV-TR	1SG.SUB

xʷukʷt	səm	tam	təxʷ-n[i]xʷ-ap.
none	FUT	what	know-NC-ST.INFX-2PL.SUB

“I feel very sorry for you,” I said. “None of you will know anything.”

¹⁶ Henceforth I refer to both suffixes as *-(a)c*.

- (101) Sechelt (Beaumont 1985:104)
 čásxém-mí-t-á-čex^w te ʔúłqay?
 afraid-REL-TR-Q-2SG.SUB DET snake
 ‘Are you afraid of the snake?’
- (102) Halkomelem (Gerdtz and Kiyosawa 2005b:334)
 čəq-meʔ-t č ceʔ k^wθə nəčəwməx^w ʔi ceʔ tecəl.
 surprise-REL-TR 2SG.SUB FUT DET visitor AUX FUT arrive
 ‘You will be surprised at the visitors when they arrive.’
- (103) Klallam (Montler 2000:#1689)
 qiʔnú-ŋə-t
 angry-REL-TR
 ‘get mad, angry’
- (104) Lushootseed (Hess and Bates 2004:181)
 ʔu-xíxi-bi-t-əb tiʔəʔ sbiaw.
 PUNCT-ashamed-REL-TR-PASS DET coyote
 ‘They were ashamed of Coyote.’

Reflexes of **-mi* attach to perception predicates to form applicatives in which the applied object is the stimulus:

- (105) Sechelt (Beaumont 1985:194)
 qánám-mí-t-ásit ɬe stémtem tíłilím ní
 hear-REL-TR-3PL.SUB DET wren sing(IMPF) there
 ʔe te tátímix^w.
 OBL DET other.side
 ‘They hear Wren singing across the water.’
- (106) Squamish (Kuipers 1967:260)
 čn-wa-tk^wáyaʔn-mi-nt-umi.
 1SG.SUB-CONT-listen-REL-TR-2SG.OBJ
 ‘I am listening to you; I could hear you.’
- (107) Halkomelem (Gerdtz and Kiyosawa 2005b:333)
 siwəl-meʔ-t
 sense-REL-TR
 ‘sense him/her’

- (108) Lushootseed (Hess and Bates 2004:190)
 yíč-əb-i-d
 observe-INTR-REL-TR
 ‘observe/notice something’

Reflexes of **-mi* attach to cognition predicates to form applicatives in which the applied object is the content:

- (109) Comox (Watanabe 1996:336)
 ǰay-mi-θi č.
 believe-REL-TR:2SG.OBJ 1SG.SUB
 ‘I believe you.’
- (110) Sechelt (Beaumont 1985:104)
 sǰálít-mí-t-cí-čen.
 believe-REL-TR-2SG.OBJ-1SG.SUB
 ‘I believe you (concerning it).’
- (111) Squamish (Kuipers 1967:381)
 čn-yəwʔínʔ=c-mi-ń-umi.
 1SG.SUB-spiritual.power=mouth-REL-TR-2SG.OBJ
 ‘I understand you.’
- (112) Halkomelem (Gerdtts and Kiyosawa 2005b:343)
 ʔi cən wəł štəʔe:wəń-meʔ-θət kʷə-nə-s hay
 AUX 1SG.SUB PERF think-REL-TR:REFL DET-1sg.POSS-NM finish
 ʔə kʷθə nə-sya:ys.
 OBL DET 1sg.POSS-job
 ‘I was thinking about quitting my job.’
- (113) Klallam (Montler 2000: #1428)
 kʷaʔwiʔnúʔ-ŋə-t
 dream-REL-TR
 ‘dream’

Reflexes of **-mi* attach to predicates of liking or desire to form applicatives in which the applied object is the stimulus:

- (114) Klallam (Montler 2000: #2166)
 t̚əŋʔáʔ-ŋə-t
 wish-REL-TR
 ‘wish for something/a particular food’
- (115) Lushootseed (Hess and Bates 2004:180)
 ʔəs-qʷíč-bi-d čəd kʷi gʷə-d-s-ʔáda-d.
 ST-lazy/unwilling-REL-TR 1SG.SUB DET SBJN-1SG.SUB-POSS-call-TR
 ‘I don’t know what to call it.’

The root $\sqrt{qʷíč}$ means ‘indifferent, unwilling, lazy’ (Bates et al. 1994:192). Thus the literal meaning of (115) is probably more like ‘I am unwilling to call it something.’

Reflexes of *-*mi* attach to speech act predicates to form applicatives in which the applied object is the goal (116)–(120) or content (121):

- (116) Comox (Watanabe 1996:337)
 qʷay-mi-θi t̚əm.
 talk-REL-TR:2SG.OBJ 1SG.SUB:FUT
 ‘I’ll scold you.’
- (117) Squamish (Kuipers 1967:309)
 čn nəč-níčimʔ-(m)i-ńt-umi.
 1SG.SUB RED-speak-REL-TR-2SG.OBJ
 ‘I bawled you out.’
- (118) Halkomelem (Gerds and Kiyosawa 2005b:331)
 xʷəyxʷəyas-meʔ-t
 brag(IMPf)-REL-TR
 ‘bragging to him/her’
- (119) Northern Straits (Montler 1986:174)
 qʷəlŋəčəłtəŋ sən.
 //qʷəl-ŋiy=ał-ət-əŋ sən//
 talk-REL=offspring-TR-PASS 1SG.SUB
 ‘Somebody scolded my kid.’
- (120) Klallam (Montler 2000: #1869)
 qʷi-qʷáy-ŋə-t
 RED-speak-REL-TR
 ‘scold someone/a child’

- (121) Lushootseed (Hess and Bates 2004:183)
 yəc-bí-d ti čáčas.
 tell-REL-TR DET child
 ‘She told on the boy (and made a good story of it).’

Reflexes of **-mi* attach to facial expression predicates to form applicatives in which the applied object is the goal (122), stimulus (123)–(127), or purpose (128):

- (122) Sechelt (Beaumont 1985:110)
 pálá-ʔet čáčaykús-mí-t-úmuł-as!
 always-EMPH wink[RED]-REL-TR-1PL.OBJ-3SUB
 ‘He’s always winking at us!’
- (123) Comox (Watanabe 1996:336)
 ʔuχʷ-it-mi-t-as.
 cry-ST-REL-TR-3SUB
 ‘She is crying for him.’
- (124) Sechelt (Beaumont 1985:104)
 ʔíʔ. ʃáʃeyám-mí-t-cí-čen!
 yes laugh[RED]-REL-TR-2SG.OBJ-1SG.SUB
 ‘Yes. I’m laughing at you!’
- (125) Halkomelem (Gerdtz and Kiyosawa 2005b:331)
 ʃe:ʃəm-mə-t
 cry(IMPF)-REL-TR
 ‘crying over him/her’
- (126) Northern Straits (Montler 1986:174)
 ʃʷáʔaŋtəs.
 //ʃʷa[ʔ]aŋ-ŋiy-staxʷ-Ø-əs//
 cry-ASP.INFX-REL-CS-3OBJ-3SUB
 ‘She was crying for him.’
- (127) Lushootseed (Hess and Bates 2004:190)
 xáy-əb-i-d
 laugh-MDL-REL-TR
 ‘laugh at someone’
- (128) Lushootseed (Hess and Bates 2004:182)
 číp-il-bi-d
 close.eyes-AUTO-REL-TR
 ‘close eyes to avoid seeing something’

Reflexes of *-*mi* attach to predicates of social interaction to form applicatives in which the applied object is the goal (129)–(131) or comitative (132)–(134):

- (129) Comox (Watanabe 2003:550)
 ?uwk^w ta::m saɪtɡ-am-(m)i-t-as.
 all what wife-MDL-REL-TR-3SUB
 ‘He got married to everything.’
- (130) Sechelt (Beaumont 1985:188)
 “čálím če q^wálíwan,
 how DET:2SG.POSS heart
 we yáqcuwam-mí-t-c-an?
 if look.for.a.wife-REL-TR-2SG.OBJ-1SG.SUB
 “How would you feel if I married you?”
- (131) Lushootseed (Hess and Bates 2004:181)
 ?úk^wuk^w-bi-t-s.
 play-REL-TR-1SG.OBJ
 ‘They made fun of me.’
- (132) Comox (Watanabe 1996:337)
 ni[?]-mi-θi t^θəm s na-nat səm.
 exist-REL-TR:2SG.OBJ 1SG.SUB:FUT PTC RED-night FUT
 ‘I’ll stay with you tonight.’
- (133) Lushootseed (Bates et al. 1994:96)
 g^wá-bi-ci d čəd.
 accompany-REL-TR:2SG.OBJ 1SG.SUB
 ‘I’ll go with you.’
- (134) Lushootseed (Hess and Bates 2004:180)
 ?əs-ǰ^w-ǰ^wú[?]-ad-bi-d čəd.
 ST-RED-together-MDL-REL-TR 1SG.SUB
 ‘I room with him.’

Reflexes of *-*mi* attach to activity predicates to form applicatives in which the applied object is the benefactive or the possessive:¹⁷

¹⁷ Comox also has possessive redirective applicatives, as discussed in section 4.2.2.

- (135) Halkomelem (Gerds and Kiyosawa 2005b:331)
 k^wuk^w-me[?]-t
 cook-REL-TR
 ‘cook for him/her’
- (136) Comox (Watanabe 2003:260)
 yič[?]-mi-θi-m a ʔə k^wə θ ʔayaʔ?
 fill-REL-TR:2SG.OBJ-PASS Q OBL DET 2SG.POSS house
 ‘Is your house full of people?’

Reflexes of **-mi* attach to motion predicates to form applicatives in which the applied object is the goal (137)–(139) or the periphery (140)–(142):

- (137) Comox (Watanabe 1996:335)
 łuk^w-mi-θ-as.
 fly-REL-TR:1SG.OBJ-3SUB
 ‘It’s flying towards me.’
- (138) Sechelt (Beaumont 1985:185)
 ...qem ʔi čát cú-mí-t-as ʔe ʔáliš-s.
 and AUX now go-REL-TR-3SUB DET sister-3SG.POSS
 ‘...and now he went after his sister.’
- (139) Squamish (Kuipers 1967:351)
 na qx^w=ús-mi-ńt-as-wit.
 AUX gathered=face-REL-TR-3SUB-PL
 ‘They ganged up on him.’
- (140) Comox (Watanabe 1996:335)
 łag-a-θut-mi-θ-as.
 leave-LV-TR:REFL-REL-TR:1SG.OBJ-3SUB
 ‘He walked/ran out on me.’/‘He ran away from me.’
- (141) Halkomelem (Gerds and Kiyosawa 2005b:331)
 łəw[?]-mə-t
 run.away-REL-TR
 ‘run away from him/her’
- (142) Lushootseed (Bates et al. 1994:111)
 ad-hiw-il-bi-d čəd.
 2SG.POSS-precede/in.front-AUTO-REL-TR 1SG.SUB
 ‘I’m in front of you.’

We also see reflexes of **-mi* in cases where a body part expressed by a lexical suffix is moved toward a goal:

- (143) Lushootseed (Hess and Bates 2004:185)
 ɬáʔ=ačɪʔ-bi-d
 arrive=hand-REL-TR
 ‘touch something with the hand’

Reflexes of **-mi* also attach to body position predicates to form applicatives in which the applied object is the source (144), goal (145), or periphery (146):

- (144) Halkomelem (Gerdt and Kiyosawa 2005b:331)
 kʷel-meʔ-t
 hide-REL-TR
 ‘hide from him/her’

- (145) Comox (Watanabe 1996:336)
 kʷiʔ-iš-mi-θ-as.
 stand-INTR-REL-TR:1SG.OBJ-3SUB
 ‘He’s standing on me.’

- (146) Lushootseed (Bates et al. 1994:119)
 ʔu-kíis-bi-d čəd.
 PUNCT-stand.up-REL-TR 1SG.SUB
 ‘I stand up beside him.’

Reflexes of **-mi* attach to transfer predicates to form applicatives in which the applied object is the goal:

- (147) Lushootseed (Bates et al. 1994:255)
 ʔəs-xʷúyu-bi-c čəxʷ.
 ST-sell-REL-TR:1SG.OBJ 2SG.SUB
 ‘You sold it to me.’

Reflexes of **-mi* also attach to nature predicates that express natural phenomena having an adverse or malefactive effect on the applied object:¹⁸

- (148) Halkomelem (Gerds and Kiyosawa 2005b:331)
 sq^wəlq^walǰ^w-mē^ʔ-t-ə^m
 hail-REL-TR-PASS
 ‘(he/she/it) get hailed on’

In sum, Central Salish languages exhibit reflexes of the relational suffix **-mi* in combination with the verb classes shown in Table 19:

Table 19. Predicate Classes with **-mi* in Central Salish¹⁹

LANG	EXPERIENCE	EXPRESS	ACT	MOVE	TRANSFER	NATURE
Cx	✓	✓	✓	✓		
Se	✓	✓	✓	✓		
Sq	✓	✓		✓		
Hl	✓	✓	✓	✓		✓
Nk	N/A					
NS		✓				
Kl	✓	✓	✓			
Ld	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	
Tw	N/A					

Reflexes of **-mi* appear with predicates of internal experience, expression, action, and movement in all the Central Salish languages discussed above. Northern Straits appears to be an exception; internal experience predicates with a reflex of **-mi* are not attested in the available data for this language. Most of the Central Salish languages lack examples of applicatives with transfer predicates and nature predicates.

¹⁸ This example is passive. Northern Interior Salish languages, as well, tend to use the passive voice in malefactive constructions, as mentioned in section 3.2.1.6.

¹⁹ In this and subsequent tables, N/A signifies that no attestations of the suffix were found in the language.

3.2.2.2 Relational **-ni*.

In this section, I survey the predicate classes that form relational applicatives with reflexes of **-ni*, giving one example from each language in which it is attested.

Reflexes of **-ni* attach to psychological predicates to form relational applicatives in which the applied object is the stimulus:

- (149) Squamish (Kuipers 1967:271)
čn t'áyaq'-ni-t-umi.
1SG.SUB angry-REL-TR-2SG.OBJ
'I am mad at you.'
- (150) Nooksack (Galloway 1997:222)
ʔiɦ ʔa(s)-sí(y)ʔsayʔ-ni-θ-as.
AUX ST-afraid-REL-TR:1SG.OBJ-3SUB
'He's afraid of me.'/'He doesn't trust me.'

Reflexes of **-ni* attach to perception predicates to form relational applicatives in which the applied object is the goal:

- (151) Nooksack (Galloway 1997:218)
ʔóla-ni-t
hear-REL-TR
'hear someone/something'

Reflexes of **-ni* attach to cognition predicates to form relational applicatives in which the applied object is the content:

- (152) Squamish (Kuipers 1967:338)
čn ʔlʔóli-ni-t-umi.
1SG.SUB dream[RED]-REL-TR-2SG.OBJ
'I dreamt about you.'
- (153) Nooksack (Galloway 1997:222)
ʔas-hákʷə-ni-θí-č kʷəm.
ST-think-REL-TR:2SG.OBJ-1SG.SUB will
'I'll think about (remember) you.'

Reflexes of *-*ni* attach to predicates of liking or desire to form relational applicatives in which the applied object is the stimulus:

(154) Squamish (Kuipers 1967:79)

ʔí-ni-t
dear-REL-TR
'wish for'

(155) Nooksack (Galloway 1997:222)

ʔas-θál-ni-t
ST-admire-REL-TR
'wish for someone, be stuck on someone'

Reflexes of *-*ni* attach to speech act predicates to form relational applicatives in which the applied object is the content:

(156) Squamish (Kuipers 1967:355)

na wa ǵǵǵ-át-ayʔ-ní-t-as-wit.
AUX CONT argue-TR-RECIP-REL-TR-3SUB-PL
'They were arguing about it.'

Reflexes of *-*ni* attach to predicates of social interaction to form applicatives in which the applied object is the goal (157) or comitative (158):

(157) Nooksack (Galloway et al. 2004:155)

čómus-ni-t-čx^w kwəm
meet-REL-TR-2SG.SUB will
'you will meet it'

(158) Nooksack (Galloway 1997:218)

y-əs-ǵó-ni-t
traveling.by/with-ST-with-REL-TR
'along with someone'

Reflexes of *-*ni* attach to activity predicates to form applicatives in which the applied object is the goal:

- (159) Nooksack (Adams et al. 2005:9)
 ʔəháy-ni-t-əs tə i-ł ʃəł
 work-REL-TR-3SUB ART in-PAST sick
 ‘he will do work on the sick’

Reflexes of *-*ni* attach to motion predicates to form relational applicatives in which the applied object is the goal (160)–(161) or source (162):

- (160) Squamish (Kuipers 1967:79)
 ǰán-acut-ni-t
 return-TR:REFL-REL-TR
 ‘return to’
- (161) Nooksack (Galloway 1997:220)
 čála-ni-t
 follow-REL-TR
 ‘follow someone’
- (162) Nooksack (Galloway et al. 2004:155)
 łáwʔ-ni-t
 run.away-REL-TR
 ‘run away from it’

Reflexes of *-*ni* attach to transfer predicates to form relational applicatives in which the applied object is the goal (163) or the source (164)–(167):

- (163) Sechelt (Beaumont 1985:104)
 xʷúyum-ni-t-cí-čen-élap-skʷa.
 sell-REL-TR-2SG.OBJ-1SG.SUB-2PL-FUT
 ‘I’ll sell it to you (pl).’
- (164) Sechelt (Beaumont 1985:104)
 ǰʷímels-ni-t-št-kʷa čems syíyaya
 borrow-REL-1PL.SUB-FUT DET:1PL.POSS friend

 ʔe če ʔúpan=ús.
 OBL DET ten=round.object
 ‘We’re going to borrow ten dollars from our friends.’

- (165) Squamish (Kuipers 1967:343)
 na k^wúł(n)-ni-t-c-as.
 AUX borrow-REL-TR-1SG.OBJ-3SUB
 ‘He borrowed it from me.’
- (166) Lushootseed (Bates et al. 1994:172)²⁰
 qáda-di-d
 steal-REL-TR
 ‘steal from someone’
- (167) Comox (Watanabe 2003:256)
 čəw^hu-ni-θ-as ʔə tə t^h tala.²¹
 steal-REL-TR:1SG.OBJ-3SUB OBL DET 1SG.POSS money
 ‘He stole money from me.’

Reflexes of *-*ni* attach to nature predicates to form relational applicatives in which the applied object is the malefactive:²²

- (168) Comox (Watanabe 2003:257)
 čəł-ni-θay-əm.
 rain-REL-TR:1SG.OBJ-PASS
 ‘I got rained on.’

In fact, the examples above of relational applicatives based on transfer verbs may also imply a malefactive meaning. Beaumont (1985:105) states that the suffix *-ni* is a “malefactive ending”. The buyer is assumed to be at a disadvantage, from the Sechelt viewpoint, since the seller is expected to have profited at the expense of the buyer in the case of (163). The source applied object of a verb ‘steal’ can be considered to be the

²⁰ In Lushootseed, a reflex of *-*ni* is attested with only two roots: √*q^wúʔq^waʔ* ‘drink’ and √*qádaʔ* ‘steal’. The example with the root √*q^wúʔq^waʔ* ‘drink’ followed by a reflex of *-*ni* is a transitive sentence, and not an applicative. ʔu-q^wúʔq^waʔ-di-d čəd. (PUNCT + drink + REL + TR 1SG.SUB) ‘I drank it.’ (Hess and Bates 2004:178)

²¹ The root √*čəw^hul* ‘steal’ in Comox is intransitive. čəw^hul tə čuy. (steal DET child) ‘The child stole (something).’ (Watanabe 2003:256)

²² The root √*čəł* ‘rain’ (168) is the only malefactive attested, although the applicative form of the intransitive root √*čəw^hu* ‘steal’ in (167) also carries a malefactive sense. Honoré Watanabe (p.c.) says that (168) was collected from one speaker but others rejected this form.

malefactive (166) and (167), but the source applied object of a verb ‘borrow’ does not necessarily carry a connotation of malefactive (164) and (165), since, in Coast Salish custom, when you borrow something from someone, you owe a favor back to that person (Donna Gerds p.c.). It may be true that reflexes of **-ni* have a malefactive connotation on the applied objects in some languages in Central Salish, and further research with richer contexts will be required.

The use of the reflexes of the relational suffix **-ni* in Central Salish is summarized in Table 20:

Table 20. Predicate Classes with **-ni* in Central Salish

LANG	EXPERIENCE	EXPRESS	ACT	MOVE	TRANSFER	NATURE
Cx					✓	✓
Se					✓	
Sq	✓	✓		✓	✓	
Hl	N/A					
Nk	✓		✓	✓		
NS	N/A					
Kl	N/A					
Ld					✓	
Tw	N/A					

Reflexes of the relational suffix **-ni* appear in relational constructions with the transfer predicate class in four languages. In Squamish and Nooksack, reflexes of **-ni* appear with more predicate classes than in the other Central Salish languages.

Contrasting reflexes of **-mi* with those of **-ni*, we see in the summary in Table 21 that the former appears with fewer classes of predicates than the latter:

Table 21. Predicate Classes with **-mi* and **-ni* in Central Salish

LANG	EXPERIENCE	EXPRESS	ACT	MOVE	TRANSFER	NATURE
Cx	*-mi	*-mi	*-mi	*-mi	*-ni	*-ni
Se	*-mi	*-mi	*-mi	*-mi	*-ni	
Sq	*-mi *-ni	*-mi *-ni		*-mi *-ni	*-ni	
Nk	*-ni		*-ni	*-ni		
Ld	*-mi	*-mi	*-mi	*-mi	*-mi *-ni	

Reflexes of **-mi* appear with more predicates of all types except transfer predicates. In Comox and Sechelt, reflexes of **-mi* and **-ni* are in complementary distribution: the latter are used only with transfer and nature predicates. In Squamish, the reflex of the suffix **-ni* appears with more classes of predicates than the reflex of the suffix **-mi*. In fact, Kuipers (1967) has many more examples overall with *-ni* than *-mi*. In Nooksack, a reflex of **-mi* is not attested. Thus, in Squamish and Nooksack, reflexes of **-ni* have a broader range of functions than they have in the other Central Salish languages.

3.2.2.3 Relational **-nəs*.

Reflexes of **-nəs* appear in four Central Salish languages. The movement verb class, especially verbs of translational motion, always appears with reflexes of **-nəs* except Nooksack, where a reflex of **-nəs* also appears with predicates of liking and social interaction.

Reflexes of **-nəs* attach to a predicate of liking to form a relational applicative in which the applied object is the stimulus:

- (169) Nooksack (Galloway 1997:223)
 ʔíł-čan ǰí-ns-i.
 AUX-1SG.SUB want/like-REL-2SG.OBJ
 ‘I like you.’

Reflexes of *-nəs attach to predicates of social interaction to form applicatives in which the applied object is the goal:

- (170) Nooksack (Galloway 1997:218)
 ǰo-ns-wál²³
 with-REL-RECIP
 ‘come together (just meet, no purpose)’

Reflexes of *-nəs attach to motion predicates to form relational applicatives in which the applied object is the goal (171)–(174) or purpose (175)–(176):

- (171) Halkomelem (Gerdt 1988b:141)
 ʔi ʔeʷə-nəs-ámš-əs ɬə sténiʔ.
 AUX come-REL-1SG.OBJ-3SUB DET woman
 ‘The woman comes to me.’

- (172) Northern Straits (Montler 1986:168)
 k^wənəŋàt-nəs-áŋəs sx^w.
 run-REL-1SG.OBJ 2SUB
 ‘You ran after me.’

- (173) Klallam (Montler 1996:262)
 ʔəńá-nəs-əŋ cn ʔaʔ cə sqáǰəʔ.
 come-REL-PASS 1SG.SUB OBL DET dog
 ‘The dog came at me.’

- (174) Nooksack (Galloway 1997:223)
 k^wáʔa-ns-əwálʔ
 come.apart-REL-RECIP
 ‘come apart, separate into two parts, fall apart (e.g. glue loosens and books falls apart; it’s all coming apart)’

²³ The same root √ǰo ‘with’ also occurs with a reflex of the suffix *-ni in Nooksack (158).

(175) Northern Straits (Montler 1986:168)

//yéʔ-nəs sən səʔ//
 go-REL 1SG.SUB FUT
 ‘I’ll go (to do something).’

(176) Klallam (Montler 1996:262)

tčí-nəs cn.
 arrive.here-REL 1SG.SUB
 ‘I got here for (to get) him.’

Reflexes of the relational suffix **-nəs* have a more limited range of occurrence than reflexes of the relational suffix **-mi*, as shown in Table 22:

Table 22. Predicate Classes with **-nəs* in Central Salish

LANG	EXPERIENCE	EXPRESS	ACT	MOVE	TRANSFER	NATURE
Cx				N/A		
Se				N/A		
Sq				N/A		
Hl				✓		
Nk	✓		✓	✓		
NS				✓		
Kl				✓		
Ld				N/A		
Tw				N/A		

Examples with *-ns* in Nooksack are scarce; *-ns* appears with only three verb roots in my database—a predicate of liking, a social interaction verb, and a motion verb. Contrasting reflexes of **-mi* and **-ni* with those of **-nəs*, we see in the summary in Table 23 that reflexes of **-mi* and **-ni* also appear with the movement predicate class:

Table 23. Predicate Classes with **-mi*, **-ni* and **-nəs* in Central Salish

LANG	EXPERIENCE	EXPRESS	ACT	MOVE	TRANSFER	NATURE
Hl	*-mi	*-mi		*-mi *-nəs		*-mi
Nk	*-ni		*-ni	*-ni *-nəs		
NS		*-mi		*-nəs		
Kl	*-mi	*-mi	*-mi	*-nəs		

In Northern Straits and Klallam, motion verbs are attested only with *-nəs*. In

Halkomelem, motion verbs occur with either *-nəs* or a reflex of **-mi*, depending on the role of the applied object: **-nəs* appears with goal (177a) and **-mi* with source (177b):

(177) Halkomelem (Gerds and Kiyosawa 2005b:331)

- a. ʃ^wčənəm-nəs
run-REL
'run toward him/her'
- b. ɬəw̌-mə-t
run.away-REL-TR
'run away from him/her'

Thus, it is clear that reflexes of **-nəs* are associated with goal applied objects.

3.2.2.4 Relational *-ac*.

The suffix *-(a)c* attaches to psychological predicates to form relational applicatives in which the applied object is the stimulus:

(178) Lushootseed (Bates et al. 1994:250)

- ʔəs-x^wák^w-i-s-əx^w čəd.
ST-tired-AUTO-REL-ASP 1SG.SUB
'I'm tired of it (because it is dull or fatiguing).'

- (179) Twana (Kinkade n.d.)
 as-ćípal-ac-bəš.
 ST-fear-REL-1SG.OBJ
 ‘He’s afraid of me.’

The suffix *-(a)c* attaches to perception predicates to form applicatives in which the applied object is the goal:

- (180) Lushootseed (Bates et al. 1994:136)
 lóq-ac-əbš-əxʷ.
 listen-REL-1SG.OBJ-2SG.SUB
 ‘Listen to me.’
- (181) Twana (N. Thompson 1979:132)
 as-la-lʔáb-ac-id-čəd.
 ST-RED-look-REL-2SG.OBJ-1SG.SUB
 ‘I’m looking after you.’/‘I’m taking care of you.’

The suffix *-(a)c* attaches to cognition predicates to form applicatives in which the applied object is the content:

- (182) Lushootseed (Bates et al. 1994:33)
 ʔu-balii-c-əbš čəxʷ.
 PUNCT-forget-REL-1SG.OBJ 2SG.SUB
 ‘You forgot me.’

The suffix *-(a)c* attaches to speech act predicates to form applicatives in which the applied object is the goal:

- (183) Lushootseed (Bates et al. 1994:48)
 tə-dəxʷ-cúu-c-s tsiʔəʔ bədàʔ-s.
 PAST-PRFX-speak-REL-3SUB DET daughter-3SG.POSS
 ‘Therefore, he told his daughter.’

The suffix *-(a)c* attaches to facial expression predicates to form applicatives in which the applied object is the stimulus (185) or purpose (184):

- (184) Lushootseed (Hess 1967:16)
 ćíǰǎl-i-s²⁴
 close.eyes-AUTO-REL
 ‘ignore it by shutting eyes to it’
- (185) Twana (N. Thompson 1979:95)
 łas-ilál-ac-bəš-č.
 FUT-cry-REL-1SG.OBJ-2SG.SUB
 ‘You will weep for me.’

The suffix *-(a)c* attaches to predicates of social interaction to form applicatives in which the applied object is the goal:

- (186) Lushootseed (Bates et al. 1994:129)
 x^wiʔ g^wə-d-s-k^wəł^š-c-əb.
 not PRFX-1SG.POSS-NM-miss-REL-PASS
 ‘They never missed me.’

The suffix *-(a)c* attaches to motion predicates to form applicatives in which the applied object is the goal (187) or purpose (188):

- (187) Twana (N. Thompson n.d.)
 t-usíl-ac-čəd.
 PAST-dive-REL-1SG.SUB
 ‘I dove after it.’
- (188) Lushootseed (Bates et al. 1994:143)
 ʔu-łč-í-s čəd.
 PUNCT-arrive-AUTO-REL 1SG.SUB
 ‘I got there just in time for some particular event.’

The suffix *-(a)c* attaches to (change of) position predicates to form applicatives in which the applied object is the goal:

²⁴ The same root √ćíǰǎl ‘close eyes’ also occurs with a reflex of the suffix **-mi* in Lushootseed (128).

(189) Lushootseed (Hess 1967:16)

g^wəd-í-s
 sit.down-AUTO-REL
 ‘sit next to him deliberately’

(190) Twana (N. Thompson n.d.)

bi-ýəqíl-ac-čəd ə ti ɔ̀pələs.²⁵
 CONT-bend-REL-1SG.SUB OBL ART apple
 ‘I’m bending down to get the apples.’

In sum, the suffix *-(a)c* appears with a wide range of predicates, as summarized in

Table 24:

Table 24. Predicate Classes with *-(a)c* in Lushootseed and Twana

LANG	EXPERIENCE	EXPRESS	ACT	MOVE	TRANSFER	NATURE
Ld	✓	✓	✓	✓		
Tw	✓	✓		✓		

In Twana, the suffix *-(a)s* is the only relational suffix, but Lushootseed has two other relational suffixes as shown in Table 25:

Table 25. Predicate Classes with **-mi*, **-ni* and *-(a)c* in Lushootseed and Twana

LANG	EXPERIENCE	EXPRESS	ACT	MOVE	TRANSFER	NATURE
Ld	*-mi	*-mi	*-mi	*-mi	*-mi	
	<i>-(a)c</i>	<i>-(a)c</i>	<i>-(a)c</i>	<i>-(a)c</i>	*-ni	
Tw	<i>-(a)c</i>	<i>-(a)c</i>		<i>-(a)c</i>		

²⁵ Nile Thompson (p.c.) confirms the presence of the oblique marker in this example. So it might not actually be an applicative construction, though it otherwise resembles examples with the relational applicative suffix *-ac* in Twana.

The function of the reflex of **-ni* is very limited, as discussed above. The choice between **-mi* and *-(a)c* is not obvious, since both suffixes are used in all the verb classes:

(191) Lushootseed (Bates et al. 1994:250)

- a. x^wá^k-il-bi-d
 tired-AUTO-REL-TR
 ‘tired of something (especially tired of something because of one’s own internal emotional or physical state)’
- b. ʔəs-x^wá^k-i-s-əx^w čəd.
 ST-tired-AUTO-REL-ASP 1SG.SUB
 ‘I’m tired of it (because it is dull or fatiguing).’

(192) Lushootseed

- a. čí^l-il-bi-d
 close.eyes-AUTO-REL-TR
 ‘shut eyes to avoid seeing something’ (Bates et al. 1994:54)
- b. čí^pəl-i-s
 close.eyes-AUTO-REL
 ‘ignore it by shutting eyes to it’ (Hess 1967:17)

(193) Lushootseed (Bates et al. 1994:129)

- a. ʔu-k^wə^l=g^wás-bi-d čəd.
 PUNCT-miss=pair-REL-TR 1SG.SUB
 ‘I missed him (although I intended to meet him).’
- b. x^wiʔ g^wə-d-s-k^wə^l-c-əb.
 not PREFIX-1SG.POSS-NM-miss-REL-PASS
 ‘They never missed me.’

One difference, however, is that, with movement verbs, *-(a)c* is used with verbs of translational motion while **-mi* is used with non-translational motion:

(194) Lushootseed (Bates et al. 1994)²⁶

a. translational motion

ʔəʔ	ʔəʔ-c
‘come’	‘come after something or someone, come for a specific purpose’ (12)

ʔigʷəɬ	ʔigʷəɬáa-c
‘climb a tree’	‘climb after it’ (16)

lətəy	ʔu-táy-c-əb.
‘coming to raid’	‘They went after them (on a raid).’ (219)

ʔuʔʷ	ʔuʔʷ-c
‘go’	‘go after someone or something’ (22)

təɬáw-il	lə-təɬáw-i-s
‘run’	‘run for a specific goal, run after something or someone’ (221)

ɬč-íl	ɬč-í-s
‘arrive’	‘arrive for some specific reason’ (143)

gʷəd-íl	gʷəd-í-s
‘sit down’	‘sit next for some specific purpose, sit down next to someone’ (100)

b. non-translational motion:

híw-il	híw-il-bi-d
‘go ahead, in front’	‘located in front’ (111)

ɬáʔ=ačɪ(?)	-bi-d ²⁷
‘touch it’	(141)

d ^z alqʷ=us	d ^z alqʷ=us-bi-d
‘look over one’s shoulder’	‘look over one’s shoulder at something’ (88)

kíis	ʔu-kíis-bi-d
‘stand up’	‘stand behind someone’ (119)

ʔuᵑ(u)	ʔúᵑ-bi-d
‘sit on lap’	‘sit on his lap’ (22)

²⁶ Page numbers of source are given in each example.

²⁷ David Beck (p.c.) points out that this form probably a relic. The stem *ɬáʔ=ačɪ(?)* (arrive=hand) is not found in Bates et al. (1994) without the relational applicative.

3.2.2.5 Summary.

To conclude the discussion of Central Salish, I give in Table 26 the distribution of the three relational suffixes sorted by the classes of predicates to which each attaches:

Table 26. Predicate Classes with Relational Applicatives in Central Salish

LANG	EXPERIENCE	EXPRESS	ACT	MOVE	TRANSFER	NATURE
Cx	*-mi	*-mi	*-mi	*-mi	*-ni	*-ni
Se	*-mi	*-mi	*-mi	*-mi	*-ni	
Sq	*-mi *-ni	*-mi *-ni		*-mi *-ni	*-ni	
Hl	*-mi	*-mi	*-mi	*-mi *-nəs		*-mi
Nk	*-ni *-nəs		*-ni *-nəs	*-ni *-nəs		
NS		*-mi		*-nəs		
Kl	*-mi	*-mi	*-mi	*-nəs		
Ld	*-mi -(a)c	*-mi -(a)c	*-mi -(a)c	*-mi -(a)c	*-mi *-ni	
Tw	-as	-as		-as		

Overall, reflexes of **-mi* are more prevalent than the other relational suffixes, appearing in more languages and with more classes of verbs, except for transfer verbs, which more often appear with reflexes of **-ni*. In Squamish and Nooksack, reflexes of **-ni* are used for all verb classes, and in fact *-ni* is used more often than *-mi* in Squamish and it seems to have replaced *-mi* altogether in Nooksack. Reflexes of the suffix **-nəs* exist only in Halkomelem, North Straits, Klallam, and Nooksack. In the first three languages, it is used only with verbs of motion. In Nooksack, it was attested only

with three verbs. The suffix *-(a)c* in Lushootseed and Twana seem to be used with all verb classes.

3.2.3 Relational suffixes in Tillamook.

Tillamook has two relational suffixes; *-əwi* (<*-*mî*) and *-əs*.

3.2.3.1 Relational *-əwi* (<*-*mî*).

The relational suffix *-əwi* attaches to psychological predicates to form relational applicatives in which the applied object is stimulus (195) and (196):

- (195) Tillamook (Egedal and M. Thompson 1998:254)
 de ləš-əš-əwi-c-í.
 ART angry-RED(OC)-REL-TR:2SG.OBJ-1SG.SUB
 ‘I am angry at you.’

- (196) Tillamook (Egedal and M. Thompson 1998:254)
 qeš qe n-šʷaʷəš-əwí-n-i k s-qéʃeʔ.
 NEG IRR LOC-afraid-REL-TR-1SG.SUB ART NM-dog
 ‘I am not afraid of dogs.’

The suffix *-əwi* attaches to a predicate of perception to form an applicative in which the applied object is stimulus (197):

- (197) Tillamook (Egedal and M. Thompson 1998:254)
 ʔe s-tíʷ=aniʔ-wí-c-i.
 ART ST-put=ear-REL-TR:2SG.OBJ-1SG.SUB
 ‘I hear you.’

The suffix *-əwi* attaches to a predicate of speech act to form an applicative in which the applied object is benefactive:

- (198) Tillamook (Egesdal and M. Thompson 1998:253)
 də s-ʔisleš-əwí-t-əw.
 ART NM-sing-REL-TR-PASS
 ‘Someone is singing for him.’

The suffix *-əwi* attaches to activity predicates to form applicatives in which the applied object is goal (199):

- (199) Tillamook (Egesdal and M. Thompson 1998:255)
 de s-ʔiŵ=alč-əw-əwi-n.
 ART ST-spoon=round.object-MDL-REL-TR
 ‘He feeds him with a spoon.’

The suffix *-əwi* also attaches to predicates of social interaction to form applicatives in which the applied objects is comitative (200):

- (200) Tillamook (Egesdal and M. Thompson 1998:243)
 g^wə waʔ čag^w-u-sti-wá-y.
 FUT with dance-REL-CS-2SG.OBJ-1SG.SUB
 ‘I will dance with you.’

The suffix *-əwi* attaches to predicates of movement (motion (201) and body position(202)) to form applicatives in which the applied object is periphery:

- (201) Tillamook (Egesdal and M. Thompson 1998:253)
 de c-ʔəxəl-əwí-n-i ʔəy nə s-ʔaʔáʔəw.
 ART ST-walk-REL-TR-1SG.SUB here at NM-beach
 ‘I’m walking along the beach.’

- (202) Tillamook (Egesdal and M. Thompson 1998:255)
 de s-tə-yət-əcít-wi-n.
 ART ST-to-stand-TR:REFL-REL-TR
 ‘He is standing next to someone.’

The semantics of the relational suffix *-əwi* in Tillamook are summarized in Table

27:

Table 27. Predicate Classes with *-əwi* (<*-*mi*) in Tillamook

LANG	REL					
	EXPERIENCE	EXPRESS	ACT	MOVE	TRANSFER	NATURE
Ti	✓	✓	✓	✓		

The suffix *-əwi* in Tillamook is not attested with transfer or nature predicates.

3.2.3.2 Relational -əs.

In example (203) below the relational suffix *-əs* attaches to psychological predicates to form relational applicatives in which the applied object is stimulus:

- (203) Tillamook (Egesdal and M. Thompson 1998:257)
 de c-ləš-əš(-s)-wəš-š.
 ART ST-angry-RED(OC)(-REL)-1 SG.OBJ-2 SG.SUB
 ‘Are you angry at me?’

The suffix *-əs* attaches to a predicate of social interaction to form relational constructions in which the applied object is goal:

- (204) Tillamook (Egesdal and M. Thompson 1998:257)
 ye-čəg^waš-əs-wəs.
 cause-wife-REL-1 SG.OBJ
 ‘He married me.’

The suffix *-əs* attaches to a speech act predicate to form relational applicatives in which the applied object is goal:

- (205) Tillamook (Egesdal and M. Thompson 1998:257)
 g^wə g^wələχ-əs-wít-yəł.
 FUT speak-REL-2PL.OBJ-1PL.SUB
 ‘We will speak with you folks.’

The suffix *-əs* attaches to a predicate of social interaction to form a relational applicative in which the applied object is source:

- (206) Tillamook Egesdal and M. Thompson 1998:248)
 g^wə t χég-i-s.
 FUT ART catch.ride-AUTO-REL
 ‘I will catch a ride (with someone).’

The suffix *-əs* also attaches to predicates of activity to form relational applicatives in which the applied object is benefactive:

- (207) Tillamook (Egesdal and M. Thompson 1998:252)
 ye-s-x^wseł-s-cá-y.
 cause-NM-present-REL-2SG.OBJ-1SG.SUB
 ‘I made you a present.’

The suffix *-əs* attaches to a predicate of body position to form a relational applicative in which the applied object is periphery:

- (208) Tillamook (Egesdal and M. Thompson 1998:249)
 s-łeq-í-s-i.
 ST-sit-AUTO-REL-1SG.SUB
 ‘I sit down beside him.’

The semantics of the Relational Suffix *-əs* is summarized in Table 28:

Table 28. Predicate Classes with *-əs* in Tillamook

LANG	EXPERIENCE	EXPRESS	ACT	MOVE	TRNSFER	NATURE
Ti	✓	✓	✓	✓		

The suffix *-əs* in Tillamook is not attested with transfer or nature predicates, and has wide range of distribution as *-əwi* does as shown in Table 29:

Table 29. Predicate Classes with *-əwi* (<*-*mi*) and *-əs* in Tillamook

LANG	EXPERIENCE	EXPRESS	ACT	MOVE	TRANSFER	NATURE
Ti	-əwi -əs	-əwi -əs	-əwi -əs	-əwi -əs		

The difference in usage between the two relational suffixes is not clear.

3.2.4 Relational suffixes in Tsamosan.

Discussion of the Tsamosan branch is limited to data from Upper Chehalis and Cowlitz, as information on the other two languages, Lower Chehalis and Quinault, was not available. I discuss three relational suffixes found in Tsamosan: reflexes of **-mi*, reflexes of **-ni*, and *-t(a)s*.

3.2.4.1 Relational **-mi*.

Reflexes of the relational suffix **-mi* attach to psychological predicates to form relational applicatives in which the applied object is the stimulus:

- (209) Cowlitz (Kinkade 2004: 233)
s-x^wón-ms-n.
 IMPF-tired-REL-3SG.SUB
 ‘He is tiring of it.’

Reflexes of **-mi* attach to predicates of liking or desire to form relational applicatives in which the applied object is the stimulus:

(210) Upper Chehalis (Kinkade 1985:lines 45f, Kroeber 1999:139)
 n ʔit šʔà:-šəʔúm, t s-wi-ns ʔit tókʷ-miʔs-m
 and PERF RED-cry ART NM-AUX-3POSS PERF hate-REL-PASS
 ‘and he cried hard from being hated’

(211) Cowlitz (Kinkade 2004:239)
 s-qín-mis-n
 IMPF-want-REL-3SG.SUB
 ‘he is wanting him/her’

Reflexes of **-mi* attach to speech act predicates to form relational applicatives in which the applied object is the content:

(212) Cowlitz (Kinkade 2004:232)
 ʔit táqʷa-m-n.
 PERF talk-REL-TR
 ‘He talked about it.’

Reflexes of **-mi* attach to predicates of social interaction to form relational applicatives in which the applied object is the goal:

(213) Cowlitz (Kinkade 2004:233)
 ʔit ǰáłxʷa-m-n.
 PERF make.fun.of-REL-TR
 ‘He is making fun of him.’

Reflexes of **-mi* attach to motion predicates to form applicatives in which the applied object is the goal (214), source (215), or periphery or path (216)–(217):

(214) Cowlitz (Kinkade 2004:10)
 s-ʔís-m-cal-n.
 IMPF-come-REL-TR:1SG.OBJ-3SG.SUB
 ‘It’s coming at me.’

(215) Upper Chehalis (Kinkade 1991:68)
 s-łáxʷ-mis-n
 IMPF-run.away-REL-3SG.SUB
 ‘run away from’

- (216) Upper Chehalis (Kinkade 1991:174)
 s-yəp-mis-n
 IMPF-walk-REL-3SG.SUB
 ‘walk on, walk in, travel through’
- (217) Cowlitz (Kinkade 2004:44)
 híqq-m-n
 jump-REL-TR
 ‘jump over’

We also see reflexes of **-mi* in cases where a body part expressed by a lexical suffix is moved toward a goal:

- (218) Upper Chehalis (Kinkade 1991:95)
 s-pát=iyq̣-mis-n
 IMPF-stick.out=foot-REL-3SG.SUB
 ‘reach with the foot for’
- (219) Cowlitz (Kinkade 2004:233)
 ʔit ḳʷəp=á:ʃn-m-n.
 PERF straight=upper.arm-REL-TR
 ‘He aimed at it.’

The verb classes that occur with reflexes of **-mi* in Tsamosan are shown in Table 30:

Table 30. Predicate Classes with **-mi* in Tsamosan

LANG	EXPERIENCE	EXPRESS	ACT	MOVE	TRANSFER	NATURE
Ch	✓			✓		
Cz	✓	✓	✓	✓		

In Tsamosan, reflexes of the relational suffix **-mi* are found with predicates of internal experience, expression, action, and movement. No examples of applicatives with transfer and nature predicates are attested in either Tsamosan language.

3.2.4.2 Relational **-ni*.

Reflexes of the relational suffix **-ni* attach to perception predicates to form relational applicatives in which the applied object is the goal:

- (220) Upper Chehalis (Kinkade 1991:10)
s-ʔáχ-ni-t-aŋš.
IMPF-see-REL-TR-1SG.SUB
'I am going to see it.'
- (221) Cowlitz (Kinkade 2004:234)
s-ʔé:χ-ni-t-n.
IMPF-look-REL-TR-3SG.SUB
'He's looking at it./'He's watching it.'

Reflexes of **-ni* attach to speech act predicates to form relational applicatives in which the applied object is goal:

- (222) Upper Chehalis (Kinkade 1991:170)
s-yáʔš-ni-t-n
IMPF-tell-REL-TR-3SG.SUB
'tell something (the story) to someone'
- (223) Cowlitz (Kinkade 2004:87)
tál=aqap-ni-n-aʔ.
call/yell/shout/holler(?=voice)-REL-TR-IMP
'Holler at him!'

Reflexes of **-ni* attaches to predicates of social interaction to form relational applicatives in which the applied object is the goal:

- (224) Upper Chehalis (Kinkade 1991:24)
s-cóʔst-ni-t-n.
IMPF-pay.attention.to-REL-TR-3SG.SUB
'They're paying attention to him.'

Reflexes of **-ni* attaches to motion predicates to form relational applicatives in which the applied object is the goal or comitative:

- (225) Cowlitz (Kinkade 2004:234)
s-ʔáɣx-ni-t-n.
 IMPF-follow-REL-TR-3SG.SUB
 ‘He’s following him.’/‘He’s going with him.’

Reflexes of **-ni* are attested with predicates of internal experience, expression, action, and movement in Tsamosan, as summarized in Table 31:

Table 31. Predicate Classes with **-ni* in Tsamosan

LANG	EXPERIENCE	EXPRESS	ACT	MOVE	TRANSFER	NATURE
Ch	✓	✓	✓			
Cz	✓	✓		✓		

Examples of applicatives formed on transfer and nature predicates are not attested in either Tsamosan language.

3.2.4.3 Relational *-t(a)s*.

The applicative suffix *-t(a)s* is attested with only two verb roots in Upper Chehalis (Kinkade 1991) and eight verb roots in Cowlitz (Kinkade 2004). This suffix attaches to psychological predicates to form relational applicatives in which the applied object is the stimulus:

- (226) Upper Chehalis (Kinkade 1991:113)
s-qʷán-tas-n
 IMPF-fear/afraid-REL-3SG.SUB
 ‘afraid of’

- (227) Cowlitz (Kinkade 2004:74)
 q^wán-tas
 fear/afraid-REL
 ‘fear, be afraid of’

The suffix *-t(a)s* attaches to cognition predicates to form relational applicatives in which the applied object is the content:

- (228) Cowlitz (Kinkade 2004:106)
 xéy^ʔ-tas
 mind/obey-REL
 ‘mind/obey’

The suffix *-t(a)s* attaches to predicates of liking or desire to form relational applicatives in which the applied object is the goal:

- (229) Cowlitz (Kinkade 2004:114)
 ʔac-ǰóq^w-tas kn.
 ST-hungry-REL 1SG.SUB
 ‘I’m hungry for it.’

The suffix *-t(a)s* attaches to speech act predicates to form relational applicatives in which the applied object is the goal:

- (230) Upper Chehalis (Kinkade 1991:112)
 s-ǰíw^ʔ-ts-mal-n
 IMPF-call/invite-REL-1SG.OBJ-3SG.SUB
 ‘he/she is calling/inviting me’

- (231) Cowlitz (Kinkade 2004:239)
 s-ǰíw^ʔ-tas-n
 IMPF-call-REL-3SG.SUB
 ‘he is calling him/her’

The suffix *-t(a)s* attaches to motion predicates to form relational applicatives in which the applied object is the directional goal:

- (232) Cowlitz (Kinkade 2004:32)
 s-k^wáx^w-tas-n
 IMPF-arrive-REL-3SG.SUB
 ‘arrive, get there, reach’

The predicate classes that occur with the relational suffix *-t(a)s* in Tsamosan are shown in Table 32:

Table 32. Predicate Classes with *-t(a)s* in Tsamosan

LANG	EXPERIENCE	EXPRESS	ACT	MOVE	TRANSFER	NATURE
Ch	✓	✓				
Cz	✓	✓		✓		

In Tsamosan, the relational suffix *-t(a)s* is attested with predicates of internal experience, expression, and movement. However, there are no attested examples of the suffix *-t(a)s* with action, transfer, or nature predicates.

3.2.4.4 Summary.

Contrasting three relational suffixes in Tsamosan, there is no remarkable difference in occurrence, as seen in Table 33.

Table 33. Predicate Classes with **-mi*, **-ni*, and *-t(a)s* in Tsamosan

LANG	EXPERIENCE	EXPRESS	ACT	MOVE	TRANSFER	NATURE
Ch	*-mi *-ni -t(a)s	*-ni -t(a)s	*-ni	*-mi		
Cz	*-mi *-ni -t(a)s	*-mi *-ni -t(a)s	*-mi	*-mi *-ni -t(a)s		

We observe that **-ni* is used a little more widely than **-mi*. There are two differences between the languages. In Upper Chehalis, movement predicates appear with **-mi* but not **-ni*. Also, expression and action predicates appear with **-ni* in Upper Chehalis but with **-mi* in Cowlitz. These differences are relatively slight and may simply be due to lack of data.

The suffix *-t(a)s* appears to have the same distribution as **-mi* or **-ni*, except for predicates of action. However, the difference in occurrence of reflexes of **-mi*, **-ni*, and the suffix *-t(a)s* is not remarkable between the two languages.

Relational constructions that contain transfer or nature predicates are not found in Tsamosan.

3.3 Summary.

We have seen the form and function of relational suffixes in each Salish language. In this section, I summarize their distribution and usage, and discuss their historical perspectives.

3.3.1 The distribution and usage of Salish relational suffixes.

Every Salish language has at least one relational suffix, most commonly a reflex of the relational suffix **-mi*. Only two languages, Nooksack and Twana, lack a reflex of **-mi*. Reflexes of the suffix **-mi* are the only relational suffixes in Interior Salish languages, while Central Salish languages and Tsamosan languages have from two to four relational suffixes. Twana is an exception, having only one suffix.

In the Central Salish languages, there are reflexes of three relational suffixes; **-mi*, **-ni*, and **-nəs*. Most of the Central Salish languages have reflexes of two

relational suffixes, **-mi* and either **-ni* or **-nəs*. Nooksack has reflexes of both **-ni* and **-nəs*, but lacks a reflex of **-mi*. However, the absence of reflexes of the relational suffix **-mi* may simply be due to the paucity of data available. Lushootseed is the only Central Salish language that displays three relational suffixes: **-mi*, **-ni*, and *-(a)c*.

Tsamosan languages have three relational suffixes; reflexes of **-mi* and **-ni*, and the suffix *-t(a)s*.

I summarize the predicate classes in relational constructions in Table 34:

Table 34. Predicate Classes with Salish Relational Suffixes

BRANCH	LANG	EXPERIENCE	EXPRESS	ACT	MOVE	TRANSFER	NATURE	
IS	NIS	Li	-min	-min	-min	-min	-min	-min
		Th	-mi	-mi	-mi	-mi	-mi	-mi
		Sh	-mi	-mi	-mi	-mi		
	SIS	Ok	-mi	-mi		-mi		
		Ka	-mi	-mi	-mi	-mi		
		Cr	-min	-min	-min	-min		
		Cm	-mi	-mi	-mi	-mi	-mi	
CS	Cx	-mi	-mi	-mi	-mi	-ni	-ni	
	Se	-mi	-mi	-mi	-mi	-ni		
	Sq	-mi -ni	-mi -ni		-mi -ni	-ni		
	Hl	-me [?]	-me [?]	-me [?]	-me [?] -nos		-me [?]	
	Nk	-ni -ns		-ni -ns	-ni -ns			
	NS		-ŋiy	-ŋiy		-nes		
	Kl	-ŋi	-ŋi	-ŋi		-nos		
	Ld	-bi -(a)c	-bi -(a)c	-bi -(a)c	-bi -(a)c	-bi -di		
	Tw	-ac	-ac		-ac			
	Ti	Ti	-əwi -əs	-əwi -əs	-əwi -əs	-əwi -əs		
TS	Ch	-mi(s) -ni			-mi(s) -ni			
		-t(a)s	-t(a)s					
	Cz	-mi(s) -ni	-mi(s) -ni	-mi(s)	-mi(s) -ni			
		-t(a)s	-t(a)s		-t(a)s			

As seen in Table 34, the relationship of form to function is a complex one. We have seen cases where a relational suffix occurs with a certain predicate class, where a relational suffix occurs with more than one predicate class, and where a predicate class occurs with more than one relational suffix.

Even though the distribution of the suffixes and their usages paints a complex picture, several generalizations emerge from the above discussion:

- **-mi* is the most widespread relational suffix in Salish. It attaches to predicates of internal experience, expression, and movement.
- **-ni* is found in five Central Salish and Tsamosan languages. Its most common use is with transfer predicates.
- **-nəs* is found in four Central Salish languages. Its most common use is with motion verbs.

Other suffixes have minor usage within the family, usually localized to one sub-branch.

3.3.2 Historical perspectives on relational suffixes.

The concept of relational applicative, i.e. adding a non-theme participant as a core argument, thereby changing an intransitive verb into a transitive verb, must be very old in Salish, probably going back to Proto-Salish.²⁸ Given the robustness of the suffix **-mi*, in terms of the number of different branches that have reflexes of this suffix, the wide range of verb classes that reflexes of **-mi* attach to, and the different semantic roles of the applied objects associated with **-mi*, it is likely that this morphology was associated with the relational applicative construction in Proto-Salish.

²⁸ See the discussion of Bella Coola in Chapter 5, however.

The exact nature of the semantics of Proto-Salish **-mi* can be debated. Was it a general transitivizer devoid of semantics functioning simply to license an object? Or was it associated with a particular verb class or verb classes, as reflected in the modern languages? The former would parallel its current use in the Northern Interior Salish languages. The latter would parallel its use in Central Salish languages like Halkomelem. In Halkomelem, **-mi* is more productive on psych predicates and other verbs of internal experience, and it is most commonly associated with applied objects with the semantic role of stimulus.²⁹ In either case, the function of **-mi* has changed over time, expanding and/or contracting in its range of meaning in the various languages.

The suffix **-ni* probably goes back to Proto-Central-Tsamosan. If this is the case, it was lost in some Central Salish languages (Halkomelem, Northern Straits, Klallam, Twana) and Tillamook.³⁰ The functions associated with *-ni* elsewhere are expressed with *-mi* or *-nəs* in these languages, or not expressed at all.

This suffix may originally have been associated with transfer verbs, perhaps indicating a concept like source or malefactive. Perhaps Proto-Salish **-mi* already had this use and was replaced by *-ni* in some languages. More likely, *-ni* originated on the edge of the relational system, associated with a new applied concept—source of a transfer verb. There are very few intransitive transfer verbs in each language, though, so it is difficult to distinguish between these scenarios.

An alternative hypothesis is that the suffix *-ni* is an innovation that first appeared in Central Salish (maybe Squamish or Nooksack) or Tsamosan languages and then spread

²⁹ See Gerds and Kiyosawa (2005b) for a discussion on the possible origin of the suffix **-mi*.

³⁰ The loss of relational suffixes with transfer verbs may be partly due to a shift from intransitive to transitive transfer verbs in some languages.

to other languages. These languages are likely sources because *-ni* is so robust there; it functions as a general relational suffix, attaching to verbs of all classes. Assuming that it requires considerable time for a morpheme to extend its function, *-ni* must be old in these languages. Furthermore, in Squamish *-ni* has become more common than **-mi* with all verb classes, and **-mi* seems to have disappeared altogether in Nooksack.

From its point of origin *-ni* could have spread to neighboring languages. *-ni* is limited to intransitive transfer verbs in Comox, Sechelt, and Lushootseed, except that in Comox *-ni* seems to have replaced **-mi* with nature predicates, probably due to the “malefactive” affect on the applied object. The spread of *-ni* seems to have missed one pocket of Central languages—Halkomelem and the two Straits languages, Northern Straits and Klallam, and this would require explanation. The spread of *-ni* never reached Tillamook, which is separated geographically from both Central Salish and Tsamosan.

Thus, there are two possible scenarios for *-ni*, each with pros and cons. Either *-ni* is Proto-Central-Tsamosan and was lost or replaced in some languages, or it originated in a single language and spread through the region in a wave-like fashion. There is semantic change in either case: *-ni* has either expanded its function to include all the uses of a general relational in some languages, or limited its function to source of transfer verbs in others.

The relational applicative suffix *-nəs* shows a similar history. Given the distribution of the suffix *-nəs*, it probably originated with the Central Salish languages: Halkomelem, Northern Straits, and Klallam. Its spread to Nooksack was probably late, since it is limited to a few lexical items. This may be due to recent intense contact between Upriver Halkomelem and Nooksack. The alternative hypothesis, that *-nəs*

originated in Proto-Central Salish and was lost in the majority of the languages, is unlikely, especially given the fact the functions expressed by *-nəs* are also expressed by the suffixes *-mi* or *-ni*, which are probably older, given their wider distribution.

The central function of *-nəs* seems to be to add a goal as the applied object of motion verbs. Elsewhere in Salish, this function is expressed by reflexes of the relational suffix **-mi*. So one scenario is that the innovated form *-nəs* encroached on the original semantic function of **-mi*. Recall that in Halkomelem, two types of motion verbs are distinguished. Sources of motion or peripheries or motion are indicated by **-mi* and goals of motion are indicated by *-nəs*.

In addition, as noted above, applicatives with *-nəs* have an additional semantic inference that the action was done for a purpose. This inference is usually lacking in applicatives formed with **-mi*. So it is a likely scenario that *-nəs* originated through grammaticalization of a lexical form, perhaps an verb, with the meaning of ‘go somewhere for a purpose.’

By the same logic, the suffix *-(a)c* in Lushootseed and Twana was probably innovated. The function of this suffix in Lushootseed is very similar to that of *-nəs* when it appears with the movement verb class. That is, it appears with verbs of translational motion, but not with verbs of non-translational motion. The suffix **-mi* is used for this instead. Thus, the suffixes *-(a)c* and *-nəs* may have an etymological relationship. However, the function of *-(a)c* is much broader than *-nəs*: it is used for all the functions of relationals usually associated with the suffix **-mi*. In fact, *-(a)c* and **-mi* overlap in

many verb classes. In contrast, *-nəs* in Halkomelem, Northern Straits, and Klallam has a very specific function.

By the same logic, the suffix *-əs* in Tillamook was probably innovated, though it may be cognate to *-(a)c*. It is not clear if *-əs* was associated with a certain verb class or not, since it is used with a wide range of verb classes, and *-əs* and *-əwi* (**-mi*) overlap in many verb classes.

The suffix *-t(a)s* probably goes back to Proto-Tsamosan. It is not clear if this suffix was associated with a certain verb class or not. Again, it is tempting to try to associate *-t(a)s* with the suffix *-nəs* (and the suffix *-(a)c*). This might suggest a reconstruction for an applicative that would go back to Proto-Central-Tsamosan. In fact, Kinkade (1998) tentatively posited **-nəs*. However, he later abandoned this view because there was no principled way to account for the correspondence between *n* and *t*. Furthermore, as pointed out for *-(a)c* above, the function of *-t(a)s* does not align with that of *-nəs*, since *-t(a)s* is used for a wide variety of verb classes in addition to motion verbs. With so little data, it may not be possible to give a definitive position on the relationship of these three suffixes, though further research on the other Tsamosan languages may shed light on the history of this suffix. Nevertheless, similarities in form and function are suggestive of a commonality.

To conclude, the concept of relational applicative—adding a non-theme participant as an applied object of a semantically intransitive verb—is a very old concept in Salish. One relational suffix **-mi* can be reconstructed for Proto-Salish. Other suffixes have been added to the relational system in some branches or some languages and have usurped the functions of **-mi* or added additional functions to the relational applicative

system. In languages with multiple relational suffixes, there is often considerable overlap in the functions of the different relationals. Thus, there is not a one-to-one relationship between form and function. The layering of the relational applicative suffixes over time has created a complex system of relational applicatives in the modern Salish languages.

Chapter 4: Redirective Applicatives

In the redirective applicative construction, the role of direct object is “redirected” from the theme to the applied nominal, which is a semantically oblique NP.¹ Compare the following Shuswap examples:

- (1) Shuswap
- a. m-kúl-n-s y miḿx.
 PERF-make-TR-3SUB DET basket
 ‘She made the basket.’ (Dwight Gardiner p.c.)
- b. m-kúl-x-t-s y núḵʷənḵʷ tə miḿx.
 PERF-make-RDR-TR-3SUB DET woman OBL basket
 ‘She made a basket for the woman.’ (Gardiner 1993:31)

(1a) is a simple transitive construction, and the agent is the subject and the theme is the object. (1b) is a redirective applicative construction, and a semantically oblique NP, the benefactive, is the direct object while the theme is an oblique-marked NP. The root or stem in the redirective construction usually takes the general transitive suffix (< *-*nt*), and forms a transitive construction with a direct object, which is typically a theme. The verb in (1a) is transitive and is suffixed with the general transitive suffix *-nt*, the third-person transitive subject determines ergative agreement, and the theme ‘basket’ is a direct object, appearing as a plain NP. The redirective construction typically involves dative, benefactive, malefactive, or possessive applied objects. Example (1b) is a benefactive applicative: the verb is suffixed with the applicative *-x(i)*, the benefactive ‘woman’ is the

¹ I adopt the cover term ‘redirective’ for this type of applicative, following Kinkade (1980:33).

direct object, and the theme 'basket' appears with an oblique marker. (1a) is syntactically transitive with two arguments: a subject and a (theme) direct object. And it is also semantically transitive with two participants. (1b) is syntactically transitive, as well as having two direct arguments: a subject and an applied object (the benefactive). However, (1b) is semantically ditransitive, with three participants: a subject, a (benefactive) applied object, and a (theme) oblique. In this case, the redirective applicative suffix has allowed an increase in the semantic valence over the sentence with only a general transitive suffix in (1a).

In Table 35, I give a list of the redirective applicative suffixes found in twenty Salish languages. Each language has from one to three different suffixes.

Table 35. Redirective Applicative Suffixes

BRANCH	LANGUAGE	REDIRECTIVE	
Bella Coola	Bella Coola	-amk	
Central Salish	Comox	-ʔəm	
	Sechelt	-em	
	Squamish	-ši	
	Halkomelem	-as, -lc	
	Nooksack	-ši	
	Northern Straits	-si	
	Klallam	-si	
	Lushootseed	-yi	
	Twana	-ši	
Tsamosan	Upper Chehalis	-ši, -tuxʷt, -tmi	
	Cowlitz	-ši, -tuxʷt, -s	
Tillamook	Tillamook	-ši	
Interior Salish	Northern Interior	Lillooet	-xit
		Thompson	-xi
		Shuswap	-xi
	Southern Interior	Okanagan	-xi, -ł, -tuł
		Kalispel	-ši, -ł
		Coeur d'Alene	-ši, -ł, -tuł
		Columbian	-xit, -ł, -tuł

Many Salish languages, including most of the Central Salish languages and all of the Northern Interior Salish languages, have only one redirective suffix. Among the Central Salish languages, Halkomelem is the only language that has two redirective applicative suffixes. The Tsamosan languages have three. Among the Southern Interior Salish languages, Kalispel has two redirective suffixes and the other languages have three suffixes.²

I begin the chapter with a discussion of the semantic functions of redirective applicatives in section 4.1. Redirective applicatives signal applied objects with various

² Dale Kinkade (p.c.) remarked that the lack of *-tuł* in Kalispel may be an accidental gap, due to the lack of data.

semantic roles, including dative, benefactive, and possessor. Languages with several redirective suffixes tend to specialize the meaning of the applied objects. In section 4.2, I give a catalog of redirective applicatives in Salish, showing the forms and functions of the redirective constructions in each language. In section 4.3, I review the information on each redirective suffix in terms of its distribution and usage, and I conclude with some historical and typological remarks on the Salish redirective system.

4.1 Semantic roles of redirective applied objects.

In the previous chapter, I developed an analysis of the relational applicative suffixes classified by the semantics of the verb. The semantic roles of the applied object that appear in relational constructions are inferred from the nature of the event. In some cases, the choice of a relational suffix in a language is based upon the class of the predicate. For example, the source of a transfer verb and the source of a motion verb tend to be marked by different relational suffixes, but the goal of a motion verb and the source of a motion verb tend to be marked by the same relational suffix.

In contrast, redirective suffixes are better classified by the semantic role of the applied object than by the semantics of the verb. The semantic role of the applied object and the verb class are often not correlated. For example, the benefactive, whether it appears with speech act verbs, action verbs, or transfer verbs, tends to be marked by the same redirective suffix, as we will see below.

4.1.1 Semantic roles of applied objects in redirective applicatives.

The semantic role of the applied object in the redirective applicative construction is usually dative (2), source (3), benefactive (4), malefactive (5), delegative (6), or possessor (7):

- (2) Halkomelem (Gerds and Hinkson 2004a:228)
 nem cən sam-əs-t lə sleniʔ ʔə θə-nə snəxʷəl.
 AUX 1SG.SUB sell-RDR-TR DET woman OBL DET-1SG.POSS canoe/car
 ‘I’m going to sell my car to the woman.’
- (3) Squamish (Kuipers 1967:321)
 číʔ-ši-t-umi čán ʔač.
 lift-RDR-TR-2SG.OBJ 1SG.SUB FUT
 ‘I’ll take it away from you.’
- (4) Cowlitz (Kinkade 2004:234)
 ʔit sáʔ-š-n l tit ʔíqsn.
 PERF make-RDR-TR OBL DET box
 ‘He made the box for him.’
- (5) Shuswap (Kuipers 1992:49)
 x-lm[t]=ci-x-t-s
 PRFX-close=mouth-RDR-TR-3SUB
 ‘close door on somebody’
- (6) Comox (Watanabe 1996:330)
 jəʔ-ʔəm-θ ga!
 run-RDR-TR:1SG.OBJ IMP
 ‘Run for me!’ (i.e. on behalf of me)
- (7) Okanagan (A. Mattina 1994: 211)
 way kaʔkíc-l-t-s-ən an-qaʔxán.
 yes find-RDR-TR-2SG.OBJ-1SG.SUB 2SG.POSS-shoes
 ‘I found your shoes.’

A typical dative applied object is a recipient of a transfer verb, such as ‘give’ (8), ‘send’ (9), ‘buy’ (10), or ‘pay’ (11):

- (8) Kalispel (Carlson 1980:25)
 x^wíć-š-t-ən ɬuʔ Agnes ɬuʔ t yámǰ^weʔ.
 give-RDR-TR-1SG.SUB ART Agnes ART OBL basket
 ‘I gave a basket to Agnes.’
- (9) Okanagan (N. Mattina 1993:275)
 k^wu kǝɬx^wíć-x-t t sqɬaw.
 1SG.OBJ send-RDR-TR OBL money
 ‘Send me some money.’
- (10) Okanagan (N. Mattina 1993:276)
 nʔiy-ɬ-t-s-n Fred iʔ púyxən-s.
 buy-RDR-TR-2SG.OBJ-1SG.SUB Fred ART car-3SG.POSS
 ‘I bought you Fred’s car.’
- (11) Lushootseed (Hess and Bates 2004:192)
 ʔu-tás-yi-d.
 PUNCT-pay-RDR-TR
 ‘She paid him.’

I use “dative” loosely, and include goals of speech acts (12) as well as goals or targets of actions in general (13)–(14):

- (12) Halkomelem (Gerdt 1988b:92)
 ni yáθ-əs-t-əs ɬə Mary ʔə k^wθə-nʔ syays.
 AUX tell-RDR-TR-3SUB DET Mary OBL DET-2SG.POSS work
 ‘He told Mary about your job.’
- (13) Cowlitz (Kinkade 2004:240)
 ʔit cíǰ-tux^w-c.
 PERF show-RDR-1SG.OBJ
 ‘He showed it to me.’
- (14) Thompson (L. Thompson and M. Thompson 1980:28)
 ǰ^wʔxítne.
 //ǰ^wəw-xi-t-Ø-enè//
 trap-RDR-TR-3SG.OBJ-1SG.SUB
 ‘I set a trap for it [a particular animal].’

Source applied objects are found with transfer verbs such as ‘buy’ (15), ‘borrow’ (16), ‘steal’ (17), and ‘take away’ (18):

malefactive often depends on the situation. Watanabe (2003:251) states, ‘the choice [between benefactive and malefactive] seems to depend on the context’. For example, the following example in Comox has two different readings:

- (22) Comox (Watanabe 2003:251)
 čəpχ-aʔam-θ-as ʔə tə t^θ ǰəsnaɣ.
 dirty-RDR-TR:1SG.OBJ-3SUB OBL DET 1SG.POSS dress
 ‘She dirtied my dress [on me]./She dirtied my dress for me.’

The applied object in the first reading is malefactive, and the second benefactive. Another example in Shuswap also suggests two interpretations:

- (23) Shuswap (Gardiner 1993:21)
 m-sté(t)ʔə-x-t-sm-s tə ʃ^wəʃ^wʔúʔs.
 PERF-drink-RDR-TR-1SG.OBJ-3SUB OBL beer
 ‘She drank the beer for/on me.’

Since the choice between benefactive and malefactive is largely pragmatic, I treat benefactive and malefactive as a single type of applied object.

Delegative applied objects are not robustly attested in the data. I found only four examples: one in Comox (24), two in Okanagan (25) and (26), and one in Coeur d’Alene (27).

- (24) Comox (Watanabe 1996:330)
 ʃəʃ^ʔ-ʔəm-θ ga!
 run-RDR-TR:1SG.OBJ IMP
 ‘Run for me! (i.e. on behalf of me)’

- (25) Okanagan (N. Mattina 1993:272)
 k^wu q^wəlq^wíl-x-t-s.
 1SG.OBJ talk-RDR-TR-3SUB
 ‘He talked for me (in my stead).’

Even though the semantic role of the applied object is ambiguous, we see the connection in the examples above between malefactive and possessor in (28) (his breaking my stick has a negative affect on me because it is mine), and possessor and source in (29) (he has the pencil because it is his, and he is the starting point of an act of transfer).

It is not unusual for languages to have a single applicative morpheme that is used in a variety of applicative constructions such as dative, benefactive, and possessor. For example, we see this in Swahili (Driever 1976), Mayan languages (Aissen 1987), and Mixean languages (Zavala 1999). In Salish, for example, Shuswap has only one redirective suffix, *-xi*, and the semantic role of the applied object can be dative (30a), benefactive (30b), malefactive (30c), possessor (30d), or source (30e):

(30) Shuswap

- a. *tʰkə-mí-x-t-s*
sell-REL-RDR-TR-3SUB
‘He sells it to somebody.’ (Gardiner 1993:23)
- b. *c-kʷi-kʷí-x-cm-e* *ʔk-číʔ!*
PRFX-RED-leave.food-RDR-TR:1SG.OBJ-IMP IRR-meat
‘Leave some meat for me!’ (Kuipers 1974:222)
- c. *x-lm̃[t]=ci-x-t-s*
PRFX-close=mouth-RDR-TR-3SUB
‘close door on somebody’ (Kuipers 1992:49)
- d. γ Mary *wik-x-t-sm-s* *tə* *n-qéʔčə*.
DET Mary see-RDR-TR-1SG.OBJ-3SUB OBL 1SG.POSS-father
‘Mary saw my father.’ (Gardiner 1993:22)
- e. *təknem-x-t-s*
keep-RDR-TR-3SUB
‘refuse to give something to somebody (object)/withhold from object’
(Kuipers 1974:154, Kuipers 1992:49)

Thompson also has only one redirective suffix, *-xi*, and the semantic role of the applied object can be dative (31a), benefactive (31b), malefactive (31c), and possessor (31d).

(31) Thompson (L. Thompson and M. Thompson 1980:28, 27, 32, 28)

- a. *kʷiʔxtis*.
 //kʷiʔ-xi-t-ey-es//
 show-RDR-TR-1PL.OBJ-3SUB
 ‘She shows it to us.’
- b. *ʎwáqscms*.
 //ʎwəy=aqs-xi-t-sem-es//
 burn=nose-RDR-TR-1SG.OBJ-3SUB
 ‘He turned on the light for me.’
- c. *ʔe piʔ-p-xí-cm-xʷ tə n-ǫwísqn*.
 might lose-INCH-RDR-TR:1SG.OBJ-2SG.SUB OBL 1SG.POSS-ax
 ‘You might lose my ax.’
- d. *ʔúqʷeʔxcms tə tíy*.
 //ʔúqʷeʔ-xi-t-sem-es//
 drink-RDR-TR-1SG.OBJ-3SUB OBL tea
 ‘She drank my tea up on me.’

Notice that ‘tea’ in example (31d) does not appear with a possessive marker, yet the English translation indicates that the ‘tea’ belongs to the sufferer ‘me’, which is the applied object. This example shows that the semantically possessed NP does not necessarily appear with a possessive marker in Thompson. However, most of the Northern Interior examples in my database in fact have a possessive marker when a possessive meaning is given in the translation.

According to L. Thompson and M. Thompson (1980), the following example of a possessive applicative also conveys malefactive semantics:

- (32) Thompson (L. Thompson and M. Thompson 1980:28)
 máʔx times tə s-zélt-ep.
 //máʔ-xi-t-uym-es//
 break-RDR-TR-2PL.OBJ-3SUB OBL NM-dish-2PL.POSS
 ‘He broke you people’s dish.’

In fact, it is generally the case that possessive applicative constructions (a.k.a. “possessor ascension” or “external possession constructions”) do not have simple possessor semantics, but rather have an additional semantic “kick” indicating that the possessor is affected by the action (cf. Fried 1999). For example, the applied objects in the following sentences in Okanagan have other semantic roles in addition to possessor, according to their English translations:

- (33) Okanagan
- a. Mary ʔác-ł-t-s iʔ ttwít iʔ kəwáp-s.
 Mary tie-RDR-TR-3SUB ART boy ART horse-3POSS
 ‘Mary tied the boy’s horse for him.’/‘Mary tied the boy his horse.’ (N. Mattina 1993:265)
- b. caʔkʷ kʷu c-xʷiĉ-ł-t-xʷ i-smáńxʷ.
 should 1SG.OBJ CISLOC-give-RDR-TR-2SG.SUB 1SG.POSS-smoke
 ‘Please give me my smokes.’ (A. Mattina 1994:211)
- c. lut kʷu a-ks-naĉʷ-m-ł-t-əm in-kəwáp.
 not 1SG.OBJ 2SG.POSS-FUT-steal-REL-RDR-TR-INTR 1SG.POSS-horse
 ‘Don’t steal my horse from me.’ (A. Mattina 1994:212)

In Okanagan, the redirective applicative suffix *-ł* is generally used when the applied object is the possessor of a theme object, expressed by a possessive marker on the theme NP. The translations also suggest that the applied object is benefactive in (33a), dative in (33b), and source in (33c). Similarly, examples from Lillooet and Shuswap show ambiguity between possessive and benefactive applied objects:

- (34) Lillooet (Van Eijk 1997:115)
 tx^wus-miñ-xí-c-kax^w ni n-ćqáǰ? a!
 look-REL-RDR-1SG.OBJ-2SG.SUB DET 1SG.POSS-horse PTC
 'Look out for my horse for me!'
- (35) Coeur d'Alene (Doak 1997:146)
 ne[?] leč-ł-t-se-x^w x^we hn-đ^wom=qin.
 IRR bind-RDR-TR-1SG.OBJ-2SG.SUB DET 1SG.POSS-head
 'Tie my head up for me. (Tie it up for me the my head.)'

The applied objects in (34) and (35) can be interpreted as either possessor or benefactive.

The ambiguity in the semantic role of the applied objects in the above examples results as a side-effect of the action; that is, the possessive applied object was also beneficiary (i.e. 'tie someone's horse for that person' in (33a), 'look out for someone's horse for that person' in (34), 'paint someone's house for that person' in (35)), recipient (i.e. 'give someone's smoke to that person' in (33b)), or starting point of an action (i.e. 'steal someone's horse from that person' in (33c)). However, some examples show that the ambiguity of the semantic role of the applied object is contextual, as we have seen in benefactive/malefactive ambiguity in Comox.

We even see examples with three readings for the applied object, e.g. benefactive, malefactive, and possessor:

- (36) Comox (Watanabe 2003:252)
 q^wuq^wu-ʔəm-θ-as ʔə tə t^θ tiy.
 drink-RDR-TR:1SG.OBJ-3SUB OBL DET 1SG.POSS tea
 'He drank my tea for me [when I could not finish it].'/ 'He drank up my tea [on me].'

Whether his drinking my tea is a favor (benefactive) or harm (malefactive) to me depends on the situation. The applied object in (37) can be source or benefactive:

- (37) Upper Chehalis (Kinkade 1991:52)
 s-kʷaná-txʷt-n
 IMPF-get-RDR-3SUB
 ‘get it from or for’

The applied object in (38) can be dative or source:³

- (38) Lushootseed (Hess and Bates 2004:176)
 ʔu-kʷəd-yí-t-əb čəd tiʔiɬ qʷɬayʔ.
 PUNCT-take-RDR-TR-PASS 1SG.SUB DET stick
 ‘She took that stick to me (i.e. whipped me).’/‘She took that stick from me.’

Regarding the benefactive/malefactive examples in Comox, Watanabe (2003:252) states that it can be assumed that the function of the indirective (redirective) suffix is not semantically driven, but rather it is an operation to add and/or manipulate the status of an argument. “Indirective” is defined by L. Thompson and M. Thompson (1992:71) as a transitive verb that focuses on the person affected by the action but also implies another object. They define the suffix *-xi*, which converts a simple root to indirective transitive, as the “indirective” suffix. Kinkade (1980:33) states:

[Columbian] *//-xi//* functions in a manner quite like that described by L. Thompson and M. Thompson for [Thompson] in that it is not simply benefactive; the label ‘indirective’ is appropriate for [Columbian] as well, and the whole class might be called “redirectives”.

In sum, one redirective suffix can assign more than one semantic role to the applied object. The applied object can be dative, benefactive/malefactive, possessor, source, or delegative with the same redirective suffix.

As mentioned earlier, it is not unusual for languages to have a single applicative morpheme that is used in a variety of applicative constructions. However, in other

³ Example (38) is a passive sentence, even though it is not reflected in the English translation.

languages, e.g. Kinyarwanda (Kimenyi 1980), *Tukang Besi* (Donohue 1999), and *Yimas* (Foley 1991), have two or more applicative morphemes, correlating to the difference in the semantic role of the applied object. We see this in Salish languages. When a language has more than one redirective suffix, the semantic roles of applied objects associated with each suffix is more specific. For example, there are two redirective suffixes in *Halkomelem*, *-as* and *-ɬc*, and the applied object is always dative with *-as*, as in (39a), and always benefactive with *-ɬc*, as in (39b):

(39) *Halkomelem*

a. niʔ ʔiʷ-əs-θamš-əs ʔə kʷθə qeq-s.
 AUX show-RDR-TR:1SG.OBJ-3SUB OBL DET baby-3POSS
 ‘She showed me her baby.’ (Gerds and Hinkson 2003:66)

b. ni ǰʷəl-əɬc-t-əs ɬə sléniʔ ʔə kʷθə səplíl.
 AUX bake-RDR-TR-3SUB DET woman OBL DET bread
 ‘He baked the bread for the woman.’ (Gerds 1988b:90)

Southern Interior languages also align the semantic role of an applied object to a certain redirective suffix, though the situation here is not as clear-cut as it is in *Halkomelem*. This is discussed extensively in section 4.2.

4.1.3 Summary.

I organize my discussion of redirective applicatives according to the semantic role of the applied object. The roles found in Salish languages are dative, benefactive, possessor, and source. Classifying redirective applicatives this way is not without its difficulties, however. Many examples are not translated with a unique reading. The semantic ambiguity of the applied objects makes it hard to see the difference between the redirective constructions formed with different suffixes.

There are three types of ambiguities. First, the choice between the benefactive and delegative or between benefactive and malefactive readings, for example, seems to be contextual. The same event may have different readings depending on the opinion of the speech act participants regarding the situation. I repeat a Shuswap example to illustrate this point:

- (40) Shuswap (Gardiner 1993:21)
 m-sté(t)ʔə-x-t-sm-s tə ǰʷəǰʷúʔs.
 PERF-drink-RDR-TR-1SG.OBJ-3SUB OBL beer
 ‘She drank the beer for/on me.’

In this situation, there is an obvious malefactive reading: ‘She stole my beer.’ Nevertheless, a benefactive reading is also available. In fact, the benefactive reading is usually the first to come to mind and is most often represented in the translations. Thus, I use *benefactive* to cover all three meanings.

A second type of ambiguity arises because most redirective suffixes are associated with more than one type of applied object. Different events can be conveyed by the exact same sentence. I repeat the Upper Chehalis example from above that illustrates ambiguity between source and benefactive readings of the applied object:

- (41) Upper Chehalis (Kinkade 1991:52)
 s-kʷaná-txʷt-n
 IMPF-get-RDR-3SUB
 ‘get it from or for’

In addition, in some cases it is necessary to simultaneously attribute more than one semantic role to an applied object. For example, possessive applied objects often bear additional semantic roles, such as benefactive. This is a result of the benefactive (or malefactive) nature of ownership. Thus, the presence of one role may imply the presence

of another. This is especially clear in an example like (42) where the clause gets multiple translations:

- (42) Shuswap (Kuipers 1992:49)
mlmalq^w-x-t-s tə citx^w-s.
paint-RDR-TR-3SUB OBL house-3POSS
'He paints the/his [other's] house for him.'/'He paints his [other's] house.'

In such cases, neither of the semantic roles should be excluded from consideration.

Therefore, it is necessary in some cases to attribute more than one semantic role to the applied object simultaneously.

4.2 The form and function of redirective suffixes.

In this section, I turn to a detailed survey of redirective applicative constructions. My goal is to discuss the various redirective suffixes language by language, detailing for each language (and each suffix) what range of meanings the applied object has. As mentioned above, each Salish language has from one to three redirective applicative suffixes, as given in Table 35. Similarities between some of the suffixes in the different languages are obvious, as seen in Table 36:

Table 36. Redirective Applicative Suffixes by Cognates

BRANCH		LANGUAGE	REDIRECTIVE			
			*-xi			
Bella Coola		Bella Coola			-amk	
Central Salish		Comox		-ʔəm		
		Sechelt		-em		
		Squamish	-ši			
		Halkomelem			-as, -lc	
		Nooksack	-ši			
		Northern Straits	-si			
		Klallam	-si			
		Lushootseed	-yi			
		Twana	-ši			
Tsamosan		Upper Chehalis	-ši	-tux ^w t	-tmi	
		Cowlitz	-ši	-tux ^w t	-s	
Tillamook		Tillamook	-ši			
Interior Salish		Northern Interior	Lillooet	-xit		
			Thompson	-xi		
			Shuswap	-xi		
		Southern Interior	Okanagan	-xi	-ł, -tuł	
			Kalispel	-ši	-ł	
			Coeur d'Alene	-ši	-ł, -tuł	
			Columbian	-xit	-ł, -tuł	

Kinkade (1998), in his comparative-historical survey of Salish morphology, reconstructs the redirective suffix **-xi*.⁴ Most Salish languages have reflexes of **-xi*, given in the first column of suffixes in Table 36. Other suffixes that can be reconstructed for branches, sub-branches are given in the second column. Thus, a redirective suffix **-Vm* can be reconstructed for Comox and Sechelt, **-tux^wt* for Proto-Tsamosan, and **-ł* and **-tuł* for

⁴ Kinkade (1998) suggests the possible reconstruction of a Proto-Salish suffix **-VmV*, linking Comox *-ʔəm* and Sechelt *-em* with Upper Chehalis *-tmi*. He considers this to be tentative, since the phonological similarity is neither transparent nor accounted for by any known sound correspondences. Thus, I choose not to adopt his analysis here.

Proto-Southern Interior Salish. The suffixes in the third column are unique to a single language.

Reflexes of the suffix **-xi* are widespread in Salish languages, and, as we will see below, they allow a full range of semantic roles of applied objects. The languages that do not have reflexes of **-xi* are Bella Coola, which has *-amk*; two Central Salish languages, Comox and Sechelt, which have reflexes of **-Vm*; and Halkomelem, which has developed two new redirective suffixes, *-as* and *-tc*. The other Central Salish languages (Squamish, Nooksack, Northern Straits, Klallam, Lushootseed, Twana) and Tillamook have only one redirective suffix, a reflex of **-xi*. The Tsamosan languages have four redirective suffixes: a reflex of **-xi*, a reflex of **-tux^wt*, and *-tmi* in Upper Chehalis and a reflex of **-xi*, a reflex of **-tux^wt*, and *-s* in Cowlitz. The Northern Interior Salish languages have only one redirective applicative, a reflex of **-xi*, while the Southern Interior Salish languages have one or two additional applicative suffixes, reflexes of **-f* and/or **-tut*.

I start my survey with the Northern Interior Salish languages, since they have only one redirective applicative suffix. I turn next to Central Salish languages, where most languages have one redirective suffix—a reflex of either **-xi* or **-Vm*. In Tsamosan languages, we see reflexes of **-xi* as well as two other redirective suffixes unique to this branch. Last I turn to Southern Interior Salish languages, which have a complicated system of redirective applicatives. Two additional redirectives can be reconstructed for this branch. I postpone the discussion of applicatives in Tillamook and Bella Coola until Chapter 5. The Tillamook applicative is atypical in function and the Bella Coola applicative is atypical in both form and function.

4.2.1 Redirective suffix in Northern Interior Salish.

The Northern Interior Salish languages (Lillooet, Thompson, Shuswap) have only one redirective applicative suffix each, all reflexes of **-xi*, and the applied object can be dative (43), benefactive (44), possessor (45), or source (46).⁵

(43) Dative

- a. Lillooet (Van Eijk 1997:120)
nás-xít
 go-RDR
 ‘to give something to somebody’
- b. Thompson (L. Thompson and M. Thompson 1992:71)
//né-x-t//
 hand-RDR-TR
 ‘hand over (something) to someone’
- c. Shuswap (Gardiner 1993:23)
tʷkə-mí-x-t-s.
 sell-REL-RDR-TR-3SUB
 ‘He sells it to somebody.’

(44) Benefactive

- a. Lillooet (Van Eijk 1987:325)
ʔaž-xi-c-as ti n-sqácəzʔ a ti káh a.
 buy-RDR-1SG.OBJ-3SUB DET 1SG.POSS-father PTC DET car PTC
 ‘My father bought a car for me.’
- b. Thompson (L. Thompson and M. Thompson 1992:72)
cu-xí-t-ne.
 make-RDR-TR-1SG.SUB
 ‘I make it for her.’
- c. Shuswap (Gardiner 1993:21)
m-sté(t)ʔə-x-t-sm-s tə ʃʷəʃʷʔúʔs.
 PERF-drink-RDR-TR-1SG.OBJ-3SUB OBL beer
 ‘She drank the beer for/on me.’

⁵ There are only two Northern Interior examples of source applied objects with reflexes of **-xi* in my database, both in Shuswap.

(45) Possessor

a. Lillooet (Van Eijk 1997:115)

cʔas-miñ-xít-kan kʷ s-kíkaʔ
come-REL-RDR-1SG.SUB DET NM-kíkaʔ

ʔi xʷikáý-s a.
DET prepared.salmon-3SG.POSS PTC

‘I am coming to get the prepared salmon that belongs to kíkaʔ (so I can bring it to her).’

b. Thompson (L. Thompson and M. Thompson 1980:28)

wíkxcn.
//wík-xi-t-si-en//
see-RDR-TR-2SG.OBJ-1SG.SUB
‘I see what you have.’/‘I see your tracks.’

c. Shuswap (Kuipers 1992:49)

pul-st-x-t-s tə sʔmkelt-s.
lie-CS-RDR-TR-3SUB OBL daughter-3POSS
‘He kills his (other’s) daughter.’

(46) Source

a. Shuswap (Kuipers 1974:218)

kʷəln-mi-x-t-s
borrow-REL-RDR-TR-3SUB
‘to borrow from’

b. Shuswap (Kuipers 1974:154, 1992:49)

təknem-x-t-s
keep-RDR-TR-3SUB
‘refuse to give something to somebody (object)/withhold from object’

In all of the Northern Interior Salish languages, reflexes of the redirective suffix *-xi are used with dative, benefactive, and possessive applied objects. Source applied objects are attested in Shuswap, but not in Lillooet and Thompson. The number of applied objects in different semantic roles found in each language is given in Table 37:

Table 37. Applied Objects with *-xi in Northern Interior Salish⁶

LANGUAGE	DATIVE	BENEFACTIVE	POSSESSOR	SOURCE	# OF EXAMPLES
Lillooet	3	10	3	0	14
Thompson	7	16	11	0	29
Shuswap	2	13	11	2	22
TOTAL	12	39	25	2	65

Benefactive applied objects occur more frequently than other types of applied objects.

Possessive applied objects occur more frequently than dative ones. Source applied objects are scarce in Shuswap and not attested in Lillooet and Thompson.

4.2.2 Redirective suffixes in Central Salish.

Most Central Salish languages have only one redirective suffix: reflexes of *-Vm appear in Comox and Sechelt, and reflexes of *-xi appear in Squamish, Nooksack, Northern Straits, Klallam, Lushootseed, and Twana. The one exception is Halkomelem, which has two redirective suffixes, -as and -!c. Dative (47a)–(53a) and benefactive (47b)–(53b) applied objects are attested in all Central Salish languages, except Comox and Sechelt, which apparently lack dative applied objects.

- (47) Squamish (Kuipers 1967:303, 264)
- a. čn sát-ši-t-umi.
1SG.SUB give-RDR-TR-2SG.OBJ
'I give it to you.'
 - b. taʔ-ši-t-ka!
do/make-RDR-TR-IMP
'Do it for him!'

⁶ In this table, a single example may be counted as more than one token of a type of applied object, since more than one semantic role is implied in the translation.

- (48) Halkomelem (Gerdt 1988b:101, 115)
- a. ni ʔám-əs-t-əs kʷθə swíwłəs ʔə kʷθə púkʷ.
 AUX give-RDR-TR-3SUB DET boy OBL DET book
 ‘He gave the boy the book.’
- b. ni lə́xʷ-ə́t-ət-əs.
 AUX blanket-RDR-TR-3SUB
 ‘He covered it with a blanket for him.’
- (49) Nooksack (Galloway 1997:217, 222)
- a. ʔám-ši-t
 come-RDR-TR
 ‘give hand over something to someone’
- b. ʔiɫ ko[ʔ] ʔay páʔθ'-xʷi-t-as kʷo-wát-əs.⁷
 DEM ART CONT sew-RDR-TR-3SUB someone
 ‘Someone is sewing clothes for someone.’
- (50) Northern Straits (Montler 1986:171)
- a. kʷeyəsít sən.
 //kʷey-si-ət-Ø sən//
 unable/forbid-RDR-TR-3OBJ 1SG.SUB
 ‘I refused it to him.’
- b. ʃətsísə sən səʔ.
 //ʃəts-si-ət-sə sən səʔ//
 prepare/make/do-RDR-TR-2SG.OBJ 1SG.SUB FUT
 ‘I’ll make it (a paddle) for you.’
- (51) Klallam (Montler 1996:262)
- a. ʃeʔ-sí-t
 write-RDR-TR
 ‘write (something) to someone’
- b. kʷn-əsí-c-əŋ cn.
 look-RDR-TR:2SG.OBJ-INTR 1SG.SUB
 ‘I look at (something) for you.’

⁷ Thanks to Brent Galloway (p.c.) for supplying the glosses.

- (52) Lushootseed (Hess and Bates 2004:172, 177)
- a. xʷiʔ əwə ʔu kʷi t(u)-ad-s-ʔáb-yi-t-s
 NEG EMPH Q DET PAST-2SG.SUB-NM-give-RDR-TR-1SG.OBJ
 ʔə kʷi kupiʔ
 OBL DET coffee
 ‘Didn’t you give me any coffee?’
- b. ʔu-xʷúyu-b-txʷ-yi-d čəd tsi d-ʔíbac.
 PUNCT-sell-INTR-CS-RDR-TR 1SG.SUB DET.FEM 1SG.POSS-grandchild
 ‘I sold it for my granddaughter.’
- (53) Twana (Kinkade n.d.)
- a. kʷəd-ší-d-bəš!
 get-RDR-TR-1SG.OBJ
 ‘Bring it to me!’
- b. ləq-ší-d-čəd ə ti duxʷtíqʷəbəd.
 buy-RDR-TR-1SG.SUB OBL ART toy
 ‘I bought him a toy.’

In Comox and Sechelt, dative applied objects are not attested, but benefactive applied objects are:

- (54) Comox (Watanabe 1996:332)
 čaχ-ʔəm-θay-əm-uł ʔə tə ʔanxʷ.
 cook-RDR-TR:1SG.OBJ-PASS-PAST OBL DET fish
 ‘They cooked fish for me.’
- (55) Sechelt (Beaumont 1985:104)
 xʷúyum-ém-t-c-á-čálap-skʷaʔ
 sell-RDR-TR-1SG.OBJ-Q-2PL.SUB-FUT
 ‘Will you (pl.) sell it for me?’

Possessive applied objects are attested in Comox, Sechelt, Squamish, Lushootseed, and Twana, but not in Halkomelem, Nooksack, Northern Straits, and Klallam:

- (56) Comox (Watanabe 2003:252)
 ləw-ʔəm-θ-as ʔə šə tʰ apləs-uł ʔə tə kʷaxʷa.
 take.out-RDR-TR:1SG.OBJ-3SUB OBL DET 1SG.POSS apple-PAST OBL DET box
 ‘He took my apples from the box.’

- (57) Sechelt (Beaumont 1985:110)
 ʔáwá-št kʷál-ém-t-c-at če kʷáxʷa.
 NEG-1PL.SUB hide-RDR-TR-2SG.OBJ-1PL.SUB DET box
 ‘We haven’t hidden your box for you yet.’
- (58) Squamish (Kuipers 1967:253)
 ǰíʔ-ši-t-ka ta ǰólʔtn-s!
 grab-RDR-TR-IMP DET pencil-3SG.POSS
 ‘Take that (lit. his) pencil from him!’
- (59) Lushootseed (Bates et al. 1994:135)⁸
 lə́kʷ-yí-c
 eat-RDR-TR:1SG.OBJ
 ‘eat my food’
- (60) Twana (Kinkade n.d.)
 kʷəd-ší-d-čəd ə tə wəqáb.
 get-RDR-TR-1SG.SUB OBL ART box
 ‘I took his box.’

The theme NP in Sechelt (57) and Twana (60) does not have a possessive marker even though the translation indicates that the theme NP is possessed by the applied object.⁹

Source applied objects are attested in Squamish and Nooksack:

- (61) Squamish (Kuipers 1967:321)
 číʔ-ši-t-umi čán ʔaǰ.
 lift-RDR-TR-2SG.OBJ 1SG.SUB FUT
 ‘I’ll take it away from you.’
- (62) Nooksack (Galloway 1997:222)
 kʷo-wát-as ʔíł kʷa[l]-xʷí-θ-as.
 someone AUX hide-RDR-TR:1SG.OBJ-3SUB
 ‘Someone hid something from me.’

One example in Lushootseed translated the applied object as either dative or source:

⁸ No overt theme NP was given with this example.

⁹ The theme NP is in an oblique phrase in Comox (56) and Twana (60) but appears without an oblique marker in Sechelt (57) and Squamish (58).

(63) Lushootseed (Hess and Bates 2004:176)

ʔu-kʷəd-yí-t-əb čəd tiʔiɬ qʷłayʔ.
PUNCT-take-RDR-TR-PASS 1SG.SUB DET stick

‘She took that stick to me (i.e. whipped me)./She took that stick from me.’

This is a passive sentence; the first-singular pronominal (the surface subject) is the goal of the action in the dative reading and the starting point of the action in the source reading. Under both readings, there is a negative effect on the applied object.

One example of a delegative applied object is attested in Comox:

(64) Comox (Watanabe 1996:330)

ʃəʔ-ʔəm-θ ga!
run-RDR-TR:1SG.OBJ IMP

‘Run for me!’ (i.e. on behalf of me)

Malefactive applied objects are attested in Comox:

(65) Comox (Watanabe 2003:252)

məkʷ-ʔəm-θ-as.
eat-RDR-TR:1SG.OBJ-3SUB

‘He [or unknown someone] ate my food [on me by stealing it from my plate].’/
‘He ate it for me [because I could not finish it].’

Apparently, the choice between benefactive and malefactive readings in (65) is contextual (cf. section 4.1).

We saw above that in Northern Interior Salish languages, there is only one redirective suffix, applied object can have the semantic roles of dative, benefactive, and possessor. However, this is not always the case in Central Salish. Even though there is only one redirective suffix in Central Salish languages (except Halkomelem), only two languages—Squamish and Lushootseed—have applied objects with all three semantic roles: dative, benefactive, and possessor.

- (66) Squamish (Kuipers 1967:303, 318, 253)
- a. Dative
 sát-ši-t-m čáx^w ʔit.
 give-RDR-TR-PASS 2SG.SUB FUT
 ‘He’ll give it to you.’
- b. Benefactive
 čít-ši-t-úmuł-ka!
 put.up.high-RDR-TR-1PL.OBJ-IMP
 ‘Put it up high for us!’
- c. Possessor/source
 píʔ-ši-t-ka ta ʔólʔtn-s!
 grab-RDR-TR-IMP DET pencil-3SG.POSS
 ‘Take that (lit. his) pencil from him!’
- (67) Lushootseed
- a. Dative
 ʔu-íás-yi-d.
 PUNCT-pay-RDR-TR
 ‘She paid him.’ (Hess and Bates 2004:192)
- b. Benefactive
 ʔúǰ^w-tx^w-yi-c.
 go-CS-RDR-TR:1SG.OBJ
 ‘Take it for me.’ (Bates et al. 1994:23)
- c. Possessor
 ləǰ^w-yí-c
 eat-RDR-TR:1SG.OBJ
 ‘eat my food’ (Bates et al. 1994:135)

We see that reflexes of the redirective suffixes *-*Vm* and *-*xi* occur with applied objects bearing various semantic roles: dative, benefactive, possessor, and source. Halkomelem, the only Central Salish language that has two redirective suffixes, has *-as* and *-lc*, and neither is cognate with the other applicative suffixes. The applied object is dative in the redirective construction with the suffix *-as* (68a) and benefactive with the suffix *-lc* (68b).

(68) Halkomelem (Gerds 1988b:90)

- a. ni ʔám-əs-t-əs kʷθə sqʷəméyʔ ʔə kʷθə stʰám.
 AUX give-RDR-TR-3SUB DET dog OBL DET bone
 'He gave the dog the bone.'
- b. ni ǵʷəl-əlɕ-t-əs ɬə sténiʔ ʔə kʷθə səplíl.
 AUX bake-RDR-TR-3SUB DET woman OBL DET bread
 'He baked the bread for the woman.'

There is no ambiguity in the semantic role of the applied objects with the redirective suffixes in Halkomelem. Although, the benefactive redirective suffix *-ɬɕ* partially resembles *-ɬ*, the possessive redirective applicative in Southern Interior languages, Halkomelem does not use *-ɬɕ* for possessive applied objects.

The semantic roles of applied objects of the various redirective applicatives is summarized in Table 38:

Table 38. Semantic Roles of Applied Objects with Central Salish Redirectives

LANGUAGE	DATIVE	BENEFACTIVE	POSSESSOR	SOURCE
Comox		-ʔəm	-ʔəm	
Sechelt		-em	-em	
Squamish	-ši	-ši	-ši	-ši
Halkomelem	-as	-ɬɕ		
Nooksack	-ši	-ši		-ši
Northern Straits	-si	-si		
Klallam	-si	-si		
Lushootseed	-yi	-yi	-yi	-yi
Twana	-ši	-ši	-ši	

Dative applied objects are found across Salish except Comox and Sechelt. Benefactive applied objects are seen in all of the Central Salish languages. Possessive applied objects are found in Comox, Sechelt, Squamish, Lushootseed, and Twana. Source applied object

are found in Squamish, Nooksack, and Lushootseed. The number of applied objects in different semantic roles attested in each language is given in Table 39:

Table 39. Applied Objects with Central Salish Redirectives¹⁰

LANG	RDR	DATIVE	BENEFACTIVE	POSSESSOR	SOURCE	# OF EXAMPLES
Cx	-ʔəm	0	19	4	0	21
Se	-em	0	11	1	0	11
Sq	-ši	4	8	1	2	13
Hl	-as	5	0	0	0	5
	-ɫc	0	10	0	0	10
Nk	-ši	2	8	0	1	11
NS	-si	1	3	0	0	4
Kl	-si	2	1	0	0	3
Ld	-yi	3	9	2	1	14
Tw	-ši	1	1	1	0	3
TOTAL		18	70	9	4	95

Benefactive applied objects are more robustly attested than other types of applied objects in the Central Salish languages, except in Klallam and Twana, where only a few examples of redirective constructions were found. Dative applied objects are attested in more languages than possessive applied objects. Source applied objects are scarce; they are attested only in three languages, Squamish, Nooksack, and Lushootseed, and each language has only one or two examples.

4.2.3 Redirective suffixes in Tsamosan.

Both Tsamosan languages represented in this study—Upper Chehalis and Cowlitz—have three redirective suffixes. Both have reflexes of the redirective suffix *-xi

¹⁰ In this table, a single example may be counted as more than one token of a type of applied object, since more than one semantic role is implied in the translation.

and another redirective suffix *-tux^w*. In addition, Upper Chehalis has the redirective suffix *-tmi* and Cowlitz has the redirective suffix *-s*. Applied objects with reflexes of **-xi* may be dative (69)–(70) or benefactive (71)–(72):

- (69) Upper Chehalis (Kinkade 1991:5)
s-ʔám=ul-ši-t-n
 IMPF-take.to/deliver=canoe-RDR-TR-3SG.SUB
 ‘take a canoe across to’
- (70) Cowlitz (Kinkade 2004:272)
čílmi=k^wp-ši-c-aʔ!
 carry=wood-RDR-TR:1SG.OBJ-IMP
 ‘Bring me some wood!’
- (71) Upper Chehalis (Kinkade 1991:52)
k^waná-s-ši-stš.
 get-?-RDR-PASS
 ‘They got [it] for him.’
- (72) Cowlitz (Kinkade 2004:234)
ʔit sáʔ-š-n ɪ tit ʔíqsn.
 PERF make-RDR-TR OBL DET box
 ‘He made the box for him.’

No cases of possessive or source applied objects are attested with reflexes of **-xi*.

The redirective suffix *-tux^wt* is found only in Tsamosan languages (Kinkade 1998). Applied objects in redirective constructions with the suffix *-tux^wt* may be dative (73)–(74) or benefactive (75):

- (73) Upper Chehalis (Kinkade 1991:149)
tú-tux^wt
 come-RDR
 ‘bring it to’
- (74) Cowlitz (Kinkade 2004:167)
k^wústm-tux^wt
 borrow-RDR
 ‘lend to’

- (75) Upper Chehalis (Kinkade 1991:10)
 ?it ?óǰ-ǰ-tux^wt čn.
 PTC see/look.at-RED-RDR 1SG.SUB
 ‘I examined it for him.’

In one example, the applied object is ambiguous between source and benefactive:

- (76) Upper Chehalis (Kinkade 1991:52)
 k^waná-tux^wt
 get-RDR
 ‘get it from or for’

Kinkade (1991:373) lists a third redirective suffix in Upper Chehalis, *-tmi*.

However, he provides no discussion nor sentential examples. I include it here for the sake of completeness. This suffix, which is attested with only seven roots, attaches to transitive base verbs. The applied object, which is dative in all the examples, is always human (Kinkade 1998). However, the suffix *-tmi* does not seem to increase either syntactic or semantic valence as other redirective applicatives do.

- (77) Upper Chehalis (Kinkade 1991:38)
 a. čó:ya-c
 borrow-TR:1SG.OBJ
 ‘he lent me’
 b. čó:ya-tmi-x^w
 borrow-RDR-3SG.OBJ
 ‘loan’
- (78) Upper Chehalis (Kinkade 1991:51)
 a. k^wól-ón
 divide-TR
 ‘divide’
 b. k^wól-š-tmi-x^w
 divide-?-RDR-3SG.OBJ
 ‘give away’

(79) Upper Chehalis (Kinkade 1991:34)

a. s-čáł-t-n
IMPF-give-TR-3SG.SUB
'give'

b. čáł-tmi-x^w
give-RDR-3SG.OBJ
'give, hand to'

(80) Upper Chehalis (Kinkade 1991:161)

a. ǰaǰá?-n
sacred-TR
'make it holy'

b. ǰaǰá?-tmi-x^w
sacred-RDR-3SG.OBJ
'forbid'

The same verb roots appear with *-tmi* (81a)–(82a) and the redirective suffix *-tux^wt* (81b)–(82b).

(81) Upper Chehalis (Kinkade 1991:15)

a. ʔuná-tmi-x^w
ask.for-RDR-3SG.OBJ
'ask for'

b. ʔuná-tux^wt
ask.for-RDR
'ask (him) for'

(82) Upper Chehalis (Kinkade 1991:95)

a. páł-tmi-x^w
stick.out-RDR-3SG.OBJ
'hand to'

b. páł-tux^wt
stick.out-RDR
'hand it to'

It appears that examples with *-tux^wt* have applied objects and theme NPs, while examples with *-tmi* do not have theme NPs. The suffix *-tmi* seems in fact to add a dative

applied object, but it does not increase syntactic valence since the theme nominal seems to be unspecified. Further research will be needed to clarify the function of this suffix.

The applicative suffix *-s* is attested in Cowlitz (Kinkade 2004) but not in Upper Chehalis. This suffix has been found with only three roots (Kinkade 2004:235). The applied object is benefactive (83b) or source (84):

- (83) Cowlitz (Kinkade 2004:235)
a. $\acute{q}^w a \acute{l} \acute{e} - n$
mark/write/design/brand/vote-TR
'mark/write/design/brand/vote [it]'
b. $\text{?it} \quad \acute{q}^w a \acute{l} \acute{e} \text{?} - s - c.$
PERF mark/write-RDR-1SG.OBJ
'He signed for me.'

- (84) Cowlitz (Kinkade 2004:235)
 $s - k^w \acute{o} n - s - c a l - n.$
IMPF-take-RDR-1SG.OBJ-3SG.SUB
'He's grabbing it away from me.'

In the third root that appears with *-s*, the verb does not actually seem to be an applicative but rather a simple transitive:

- (85) Cowlitz (Kinkade 2004:36)
 $\acute{k}^w \acute{o} p - s - t$
straight-RDR-TR
'straighten it out'

Transitive uses of applicative suffixes are discussed further in Chapter 5. Although the suffix *-s* is found with only three roots, it seems to function, at least some of the time, as redirective.

Applied objects are dative or benefactive with reflexes of **-xi* and *-tux^wt* in Upper Chehalis. The difference in the semantic roles of the applied objects with the two different suffixes is not clear:

(86) Upper Chehalis (Kinkade 1991:51)

a. *k^wół-š-n*
 give/divide-RDR-TR
 ‘give a potlatch for’

b. *k^wół-š-tux^wt*
 give/divide-?-RDR
 ‘give to’

When the redirective suffixes follow the root $\sqrt{k^wół}$ ‘give, divide’, the applied object is benefactive with the suffix **-xi*, and dative with *-tux^wt*. However, **-xi* is used for applied objects other than benefactives. With the root $\sqrt{čál}$ ‘give’, the applied object is dative with both redirective suffixes:

(87) Upper Chehalis (Kinkade 1991:34)

a. *čál-š-n*
 give-RDR-TR
 ‘give, give away to’

b. *čál-tux^wt*
 give-RDR
 ‘give it to’

The redirective suffixes may combine with certain roots to derive particular meanings, as in the following examples with the root $\sqrt{k^wółi}$ ‘send, throw, throw away, dump’ (Kinkade 2004:30). (88a) is a simple transitive sentence, in contrast to the applicatives in (88b) and (88c):

- (88) Cowlitz (Kinkade 2004:30, 191, 234)
- a. kʰɔ́tɪ-n-aʔ!
dump-TR-IMP
'Dump it!'
 - b. kʰɔ́t-š-n
send-RDR-TR
'send word to'
 - c. ʔit kʰɔ́t-tuxʷt.
PERF throw-RDR
'He threw it at him.'

The precise meaning of the root with different suffixes may be due to the context or the combination of root and suffix may be lexicalized.

The root $\sqrt{ʔúxʷa}$ is glossed as 'teach' (Kinkade 2004:12). This root is not attested without either the suffix *-ni* or *-ši*:

- (89) Cowlitz (Kinkade 2004:12, 315)
- a. ʔúxʷa-ni-...
teach-REL-
'teach, advise'
 - b. ʔit ʔúxʷ-ši-c.
PERF teach-RDR-TR:1SG.OBJ
'He blamed me.'

The same root also appears with the redirective suffix *-tuxʷt*.¹¹

- (90) Cowlitz (Kinkade 2004:12)
- ʔit ʔúxʷ-n-tuxʷ-c.
PERF teach-REL-RDR-1SG.OBJ
'He taught me.'

¹¹ The stacking of applicative suffixes is discussed further in Chapter 7.

I am not sure what the difference is between (89a) and (90). It could be that the relational suffix is used as a transitivizer in (89a) to bring in a theme object rather than to bring in a dative applied object.

The same verb roots appear with either the redirective suffix *-ši* or *-s* in Cowlitz:

(91) Cowlitz (Kinkade 2004:78, 235)

- a. ǰ^hwaléʔ-ši-
mark/write-RDR
'write to'
- b. ʔit ǰ^hwaléʔ-s-c.
PERF mark/write-RDR-1SG.OBJ
'He signed for me.'

(92) Cowlitz (Kinkade 2004:32, 235)

- a. s-k^wón-ši-t-n.
IMPF-get-RDR-TR-3SG.SUB
'He get it for him.'
- b. s-k^wón-s-cal-n.
IMPF-take-RDR-1SG.OBJ-3SG.SUB
'He's grabbing it away from me.'

There is difference in function between the suffix *-ši* and *-s*. However, the difference depends on the verb, and the semantic role of the applied object is unpredictable by the suffix.

The semantic role of applied objects in redirective constructions in Tsamosan is summarized in Table 40:

Table 40. Semantic Roles of Applied Objects with Tsamosan Redirectives

LANGUAGE	DATIVE	BENEFACTIVE	SOURCE
Upper Chehalis	-ši -tux ^w t -tmi	-ši -tux ^w t	-tux ^w t
Cowlitz	-ši -tux ^w t -s	-ši	-s

Dative, benefactive, and source applied objects are attested in both Tsamosan languages.

The suffix *-tux^wt* in Cowlitz appears with the dative applied objects. The number of applied objects in different semantic roles found in each language is given in Table 41:

Table 41. Applied Objects with Tsamosan Redirectives

LANGUAGE	REDIRECTIVE	DATIVE	BENEFACTIVE	SOURCE	# OF EXAMPLES
Upper Chehalis	-ši	7	4	0	11
	-tux ^w t	7	2	1	9
	-tmi	7	0	0	7
Cowlitz	-ši	7	4	0	11
	-tux ^w t	7	0	0	7
	-s	0	1	1	2
TOTAL		35	11	2	47

Dative applied objects are attested more often than applied objects with other semantic roles. Source applied objects are scarce; two examples are attested in Tsamosan.

4.2.4 Redirective suffixes in Southern Interior Salish.

Recall that Northern Interior languages each have just one redirective suffix, a reflex of **-xi*, and that it is used for all three roles of applied objects—dative, benefactive, and possessor. In Southern Interior languages the situation is much more

complicated. Different semantic roles may be marked by different applicative morphemes—two different suffixes in Kalispel and three different suffixes in the other languages.

4.2.4.1 Redirective *-xi.

In redirective applicatives formed with reflexes of the redirective applicative *-xi, the applied object is usually dative (93) or benefactive (94):

(93) Dative

a. Okanagan (N. Mattina 1993:271)

k ^w u	x ^w íć-x-t-s	t	sqlaw.
1SG.OBJ	give-RDR-TR-3SUB	OBL	money

‘He gave me some money.’

b. Kalispel (Carlson 1980:25)

x ^w íć-š-t-ən	ɪu [?]	Agnes	ɪu [?]	t	yámǰ ^w e [?] .
give-RDR-TR-1SG.SUB	ART	Agnes	ART	OBL	basket

‘I gave a basket to Agnes.’

c. Coeur d’Alene (Doak 1997:155)

číšic	ʔe	smhíč.
//číł-ši-t-Ø-s	ʔe	s-mhíč//
give-RDR-TR-3OBJ-3SUB	OBL	NM-salmon

‘He took him a salmon.’¹²

d. Columbian (Willett 2003:138)

kɪ [?] əmtxic	t	swánax.
//kɪ [?] əmt-xit-s//		
PSTN-feed-RDR-3SUB	OBL	huckleberry

‘S/he sent huckleberries to someone.’

(94) Benefactive

a. Okanagan (A. Mattina 1994:211)

ka [?] kíc-x-t-m-ən	t	a-kɪ-qa [?] xán.
find-RDR-TR-2SG.OBJ-1SG.SUB	OBL	2SG.POSS-FUT-shoes

‘I found you some shoes.’

¹² Ivy Doak (p.c.) supplied a revised translation.

- b. Kalispel (Carlson 1980:24)
 ʔi-š-t-ən ɪuʔ Albert ɪuʔ t sqéltč.
 eat-RDR-TR-1SG.SUB ART Albert ART OBL meat
 ‘I ate some meat for Albert.’
- c. Coeur d’Alene (Doak 1997:168)
 ɪápšcn.
 //táp-ši-t-s-n//
 shoot-RDR-TR-2SG.OBJ-1SG.SUB
 ‘I shot it for you.’
- d. Columbian (Willett 2003:139)
 xə́kxíc sɪámkaʔs t syáyaʔ.
 //xə́k-xít-s sɪámkaʔ-s//
 pick-RDR-3SUB daughter-3SG.POSS OBL serviceberry
 ‘S/he picked some serviceberries for her/his daughter.’

In the vast majority of the sixty-eight examples with reflexes of **-xi* in the Southern Interior languages in my database, the applied object is dative and/or benefactive. In one example in Coeur d’Alene and four in Columbian, reflexes of **-xi* occur with possessive applied objects:

- (95) Possessor
- a. Coeur d’Alene (Doak 1997:167)
 mé^ʷšíc.
 //me^ʷ-ši-t-Ø-s//
 break-RDR-TR-3OBJ-3SUB
 ‘He broke something that belongs to another.’
- b. Columbian (Kinkade 1982:58)
 k^ʷuʔt-mí-xt-n.
 end-REL-RDR-1SG.SUB
 ‘I used up something belonging to someone else.’

Possessive applied objects occurring with reflexes of the redirective suffix **-xi* are not attested in Okanagan or Kalispel.

In the Interior Salish data, three examples of redirective applicatives are explicitly glossed as delegative:

- (96) a. Coeur d'Alene (Doak 1997:157)
- | | | |
|-------------------------|------------------|--------|
| níčšices | x ^w e | pilí. |
| //níč-ši-t-s-es | x ^w e | pili// |
| cut-RDR-TR-1SG.OBJ-3SUB | DET | Felix |
- 'Felix cut (wood) for me./Felix cut (wood) instead of me/in my place.'
- b. Okanagan (N. Mattina 1993:272)
- | | |
|------------------|---|
| k ^w u | q ^w əlq ^w íl-x-t-s. |
| 1SG.OBJ | talk-RDR-TR-3SUB |
- 'He talked for me (in my stead).'
- c. Okanagan (N. Mattina 1993:272)
- | | |
|------------------|---|
| k ^w u | q ^ə y ^ə =sqáǰa [?] -x-t-s. |
| 1SG.OBJ | burn=ear-RDR-TR-3SUB |
- 'He branded for me (in my stead).'

There are two attestations of reflexes of *-xi with a source applied object in a Shuswap, but none in Lillooet, Thompson, or any of the Southern Interior languages. Possessive applied objects with reflexes of *-xi are attested in all of the Northern Interior languages, but only two Southern Interior languages—Coeur d'Alene and Columbian. The possessive redirective suffix -/ takes over this function in the Southern Interior languages. Delegative applied objects with a reflex of *-xi are found in Coeur d'Alene and Okanagan, but this usage is not common in Interior Salish nor elsewhere in Salish. Although there is often overlapping semantics, the main roles of the applied object in the redirective applicative construction with reflexes of *-xi are summarized in Table 42:

Table 42. Semantic Roles of Applied Objects with **-xi* in Southern Interior Salish

LANGUAGE	DATIVE	BENEFACTIVE	POSSESSOR	SOURCE
Ok, Ka	✓	✓		
Cr, Cm	✓	✓	✓	

Each Northern Interior Salish language has only one redirective suffix, a reflex of **-xi*, and it occurs with dative, benefactive, possessor, and/or source applied objects. In Southern Interior Salish, there are three redirective applicatives; reflexes of **-xi*, *-i*, and *-tuł*. Reflexes of **-xi* occur with dative and benefactive applied objects in all four languages, but with possessive applied objects only in Coeur d'Alene and Columbian. The number of examples in my database of redirective applicatives with applied objects of each type is given in Table 43:

Table 43. Applied Objects with **-xi* in Southern Interior Salish

LANG	DATIVE	BENEFACTIVE	POSSESSOR	# OF EXAMPLES
Ok	4	8	0	12
Ka	1	8	0	9
Cr	6	13	1	18
Cm	8	18	4	28
TOTAL	19	47	6	67

Benefactive applied objects are the most robustly attested. Possessive applied objects are the rarest. No examples were attested in Okanagan and Kalispel, and only one example in Coeur d'Alene.

4.2.4.2 Redirective *-t*.

All the Southern Interior languages use the applicative suffix *-t* to designate possessive applied objects. If present, the possessed NP, referred to here as the theme NP, usually appears with a possessive marker:

- (97) Columbian (Kinkade 1980:34)
 má^ow-*t*-c-x^w ?in-*t*káp.
 break-RDR(-TR)-1SG.OBJ-2SG.SUB 1SG.POSS-pot
 ‘You broke my pot.’

Kinkade (1998) defines *-t* as ‘genitive’ since the applied object is usually interpreted as the possessor of the theme in Columbian. However, in some examples, the applied object is translated as a benefactive:

- (98) Columbian (Kinkade 1980:33)
 qíy[?]-*t*-t-a?[?]
 write-RDR-TR-IMP
 ‘Write it for him!’

It is not clear if ‘it’ belongs to ‘him’ since the theme is a zero third person in (98), and thus not marked for possession. Compare the following example, which has the same root √qíy ‘write’:

- (99) Columbian (Kinkade 1980:34)
 qíy[?]-*t*-t-a? qí[?]-mín-s Mary!
 write-RDR-TR-IMP write-INST-3SG.POSS Mary
 ‘Write a letter for Mary!’¹³

¹³ The word for ‘letter’ is composed of the verb for ‘write’ plus an instrumental suffix.

The theme NP ‘letter’ is inflected for third-person singular possessive, and the possessor of the letter refers to Mary. In this case, writing Mary’s letter is a favor or benefit to Mary. If the theme does not belong to the applied object, a reflex of *-*xi* is used instead:

- (100) Columbian (Kinkade 1980:34)
 ǰiʔ-xít-aʔ ani smʔámm!
 write-RDR-IMP DET woman
 ‘Write [it] to that woman!’

The applied object is dative, and writing a letter may still be a favor or benefit for the woman, who is the recipient, but the letter does not belong to woman at this point. Here are more examples in Okanagan:

- (101) Okanagan (N. Mattina 1993:280)
- a. Mary ʔác-ł-t-s iʔ ttwít iʔ kəwáp-s.
 Mary tie-RDR-TR-3SUB ART boy ART horse-3SG.POSS
 ‘Mary tied the boy his horse.’¹⁴
- b. Mary ʔac-xí-t-s iʔ t snkłčaʔsqáħaʔ iʔ ttwít.
 Mary tie-RDR-TR-3SUB ART OBL horse ART boy
 ‘Mary tied the horse for the boy.’

In (101a), the applied object is possessor as well as benefactive. In (101b), the applied object is benefactive, and ‘horse’ is not inflected for third-person singular possessive. Therefore, the predicate in (101b) is marked by a reflex of the redirective suffix *-*xi* instead of -*ł*. N. Mattina (1996:49) notes that themes in Okanagan applicative constructions with -*xi* and -*ł* differ in referentiality. She also states that, “dative themes [theme NPs in -*xi* applicative constructions] cannot be possessed (unless in unrealized

¹⁴ This is the translation in the original source.

mood), and the theme NPs [in *-I* applicative constructions] must be possessed.” For example, compare the *-I* applicative in (102a) with the *-xi* applicative in (102b):¹⁵

(102) Okanagan (A. Mattina 1994:212)

- a. lut kʷu a-ks-naqʷ-m-ł-t-əm in-kəwáp.
 not 1SG.OBJ 2SG.POSS-FUT-steal-REL-RDR-TR-INTR 1SG.POSS-horse
 ‘Don’t steal my horse from me.’
- b. lut kʷu a-ks-naqʷ-x-t-əm t i-kł-kəwáp.
 not 1SG.OBJ 2SG.POSS-FUT-steal-RDR-TR-INTR OBL 1SG.POSS-IRR-horse
 ‘Don’t steal a horse for me.’

The applied object in (102a) is possessor as well as source, and the theme NP ‘horse’ is inflected for the first-person singular possessive, which is coreferential with the applied object. The applied object in (102b) is benefactive, and the ‘horse’ appears as an oblique. It is inflected for the first-person singular possessive. However, ‘horse’ in (102b) is in unrealized mood, as shown by the irrealis prefix, and the possession of the theme NP is not reflected in the translation.

As shown previously, the possessive applicative construction often has an additional semantic “kick” indicating that the possessor is affected by the action. The Southern Interior languages exhibit a number of such examples; the possessor is also a dative (103), benefactive (104), malefactive (105), or source (106):

(103) Possessor/dative

- a. Okanagan (N. Mattina 1993:277)
 kʷu c-xʷiç-ł-t i-kł-łkalát.
 1SG.OBJ ASP-give-RDR-TR 1SG.POSS-IRR-bread
 ‘Give me what will be my bread.’

¹⁵ Both of these examples are in the passive.

- b. Columbian (Willett 2003:137)
 ?anífn.
 //?ani-ł-t-n//
 take.along-RDR-TR-1SG.SUB
 ‘I took it to her/him. [I took her/him it.]’

(104) Possessor/benefactive

- a. Okanagan (N. Mattina 1993:278)
 k^wu ʔac-ł-t-ix^w in-kəwáp.
 1SG.OBJ tie-RDR-TR-2SG.SUB 1SG.POSS-horse
 ‘You tied my horse for me.’

- b. Kalispel (Vogt 1940:34)
 yes-u:l-ł-t-ém.
 ASP-burn-RDR-TR-INTR
 ‘I am burning it for him.’/‘I am burning his...’

- c. Coeur d’Alene (Doak 1997:146)
 neʔ léčłcex^w x^wa hinq^wómqən.
 //neʔ leč-ł-t-se-x^w x^we hn-q^wom=qin//
 IRR bind-RDR-TR-1SG.OBJ-2SG.SUB DET 1SG.POSS-head
 ‘Tie my head up for me. (Tie it up for me the my head.)’

- d. Columbian (Kinkade 1982:58)
 k^wuʔł-nú-ł-t-x^w.
 end-NC-RDR-TR-2SG.SUB
 ‘You used up his X for him.’

(105) Possessor/malefactive

- a. Okanagan (N. Mattina 1993:274)
 k^wu ʔi(ł)-ł-t-s.
 1SG.OBJ eat-RDR-TR-3SUB
 ‘He ate it up on me.’

- b. Columbian (Kinkade 1980:34)
 wəlq^wátk^w-ł-c wa ʔin-lətí.
 drink-RDR-TR:1SG.OBJ PTC 1SG.POSS-tea
 ‘She drank my tea (after taking it away from me).’

(106) Possessor/source

- a. Okanagan (A. Mattina 1994: 212)
 lut k^wu a-ks-naq^w-m-ł-t-əm in-kəwáp.
 not 1SG.OBJ 2SG.POSS-FUT-steal-REL-RDR-TR-INTR 1SG.POSS-horse
 ‘Don’t steal my horse from me.’

- b. Kalispel (Carlson 1980:26)
 k^wúli-ł-t-ən.
 borrow-RDR-TR-1SG.SUB
 ‘I borrowed it from him.’
- c. Coeur d’Alene (Reichard 1938:584, Doak 1997:182)
 čiʔck^wíltəməs.
 //čn ýc-k^win-ł-t-m-s//
 1SG.SUB CONT-grab-RDR-TR-INTR-3SG.POSS
 ‘He is taking it from me.’
- c. Columbian (Kinkade 1980:33)
 táw-ł-n.
 buy-RDR(-TR)-1SG.SUB
 ‘I bought it from him.’

Thus, I treat the applied object as the possessor of the theme in redirective constructions with -ł, unless the possessor reading is not appropriate.

To summarize the discussion on the redirective suffix -ł, its main use is in possessive applicatives, as was previously made clear by various researchers. The suffix ʔ is referred to as ‘possessional’ in Okanagan (N. Mattina 1996:69) and ‘possessor applicative’ in Coeur d’Alene (Doak 1997:142), and also it is defined as ‘genitive’ in Columbian (Kinkade 1998). The status of the applied object as the semantic possessor is seen most clearly in cases in which possession of the theme is indicated in the English translation but not in the inflection of the theme NP:

- (107) Okanagan (N. Mattina 1993:276)
 k^wu ʔ^wáw^m-ł-t-x^w yaʔ ʔacsqáxaʔtn.
 1SG.OBJ let.loose-RDR-TR-2SG.SUB ART reins
 ‘Let loose my reins.’

However, in many examples, the relevant NP is referred to twice—as the applied object and as the possessor of the theme:

In all of the Southern Interior Salish languages, the suffix *-l* is used with dative, benefactive, possessive, and source applied objects, except Kalispel where source applied objects were not attested.

In many examples, given the variation in inflecting the theme for possession, or even in expressing it at all, it is very difficult to determine what role or roles to assign to the applied object. Some examples are given more elaborate translations than others, but this does not necessarily imply that examples with simple translations do not allow for further complications in meaning. Many of the nuances of the semantics are doubtlessly determined by the specific context, which is seldom represented in elicited clauses.

In sum, the semantics of the examples is difficult to determine. Limiting the coding to meanings actually reflected in the English translations, and counting examples for each possible semantic role of the applied objects, leads to the totals given in Table 45:

Table 45. Applied Objects with *-l* in Southern Interior Salish

LANG	DATIVE	BENEFACTIVE	POSSESSOR	SOURCE	# OF EXAMPLES
Ok	5	8	27	1	34
Ka	1	6	8	0	12
Cf	1	9	13	2	19
Cm	6	12	15	3	30
TOTAL	13	35	63	6	95

It is obvious that possessive applied objects are more robustly attested than any other type of applied object. Benefactive is second and dative is third. Source applied objects are not common, and they were not even attested in Kalispel. Thus we can conclude that while

redirective suffix *-t* is used for many types of applicatives, its central use is as a possessive applicative.

4.2.4.3 Redirective *-tuł*.

The Southern Interior languages, except for Kalispel, have a third redirective applicative suffix *-tuł*. Compare the simple transitive clause in (111a) with the *-tuł* redirective construction in (111b):

(111) Coeur d'Alene (Doak 1997:158)

a. *ʔac̥xnc.*
 //ʔac̥x-nt-Ø-s//
 look.at-TR-3OBJ-3SUB
 'He looked at it.'

b. *ʔac̥xtułc.*
 //ʔac̥x-tuł-t-Ø-s//
 look.at-RDR-TR-3OBJ-3SUB
 'He looked at it for him.'

The redirective suffix *-tuł* in (111b) allows the addition of a third participant—the benefactive.

The semantic role of the applied object is dative (112), benefactive (113), possessor (114), or source (115):

(112) Columbian (Willett 2003:137)

yərməntúfn.
 //yərm-i-tuł-t-n//
 push-REL-RDR-TR-1SG.SUB
 'I pushed it to her/him.'

(113) Okanagan (A. Mattina 1994:208)

<i>kʷu</i>	<i>səq̣-túł-t-s</i>	<i>iʔ</i>	<i>slíp̣.</i>
1SG.OBJ	split-RDR-TR-3SUB	ART	wood

'He split wood for me.'

(114) Okanagan (A. Mattina 1994:211)

íiʔ c-ən-ʔúlxʷ pit, uł uk-túł-t-s
 as.soon.as ASP-LOC-come.in Pete and see-RDR-TR-3SUB

iʔ tətwít iʔ sʔə́qánaʔk-s.
 ART boy ART pistol-3SG.POSS

‘As soon as Pete came in, he saw the gun that the boy had (not necessarily the boy’s gun).’

(115) Columbian (Kinkade 1980:34)

wakʷ-tuł-n.
 hide-RDR(-TR)-1SG.SUB
 ‘I hid it from him.’

We have seen the same semantic roles of the applied object in redirective constructions with reflexes of **-xi* and *-ł* in Southern Interior Salish. There are some differences between the suffixes, however.

One difference between redirective constructions with reflexes of **-xi* and the suffix *-tuł* can be seen when these suffixes follow the same root. In Okanagan and Columbian, the applied object is benefactive in the redirective constructions with reflexes of **-xi* (116a) and (117a), while it is dative in the *-tuł* redirective constructions (116b) and (117b).

(116) Okanagan (N. Mattina 1993:272, 208)

a. kʷu qʷəlqʷíl-x-t-s.
 1SG.OBJ talk-RDR-TR-3SUB
 ‘He talked for me (in my stead).’

b. kʷu qʷəlqʷəl-túł-t-s iʔ scənqáʔíls-c.
 1SG.OBJ talk-RDR-TR-3SUB ART business-3SG.POSS
 ‘He talked to me about his business.’

(117) Columbian (Willett 2003:136, 137)

a. kʷɪn wílxtn.
 //kʷuɪn=wíl-xit-n//
 borrow=vehicle-RDR-1SG.SUB
 ‘I borrowed a vehicle for her/him.’

- b. k^wɪntúɪn.
 //k^wuɪn-tuɪ-t-n//
 lend-RDR-TR-1SG.SUB
 ‘I loaned it to her/him.’

We see the opposite pattern in Coeur d’Alene; the applied object is dative in the redirective constructions with reflexes of **-xi* (118a), while it is benefactive in the *-tuɪ* redirective constructions (118b):

(118) Coeur d’Alene (Doak 1997:154, 157)

- a. čn neʔk^wú čicx^wúyšices ʔe stəšá.
 //čn neʔk^wun čic-x^wuy-ši-t-se-s ʔe s-təš=astq//
 1SG.SUB think LOC-go-RDR-TR-1SG.OBJ-3SUB OBL NM-sweet=crop
 ‘I think she brought me huckleberries.’

- b. cx^wuytúɪtm x^wa Don.
 //c-x^wuy-tuɪ-t-Ø-m//
 LOC-go-RDR-TR-3OBJ-PASS DET Don
 ‘It was taken over there for Don.’

However, with one verb root ‘scorch’, the applied object is benefactive in the redirective constructions both with a reflex of **-xi* (119a) and *-tuɪ* (119b):

(119) Coeur d’Alene (Doak 1997:159)

- a. támšic.
 //tam-ši-t-Ø-s//
 scorch-RDR-TR-3OBJ-3SUB
 ‘He burned it for him/somebody.’
- b. támtuɪc.
 //tam-tuɪ-t-Ø-s//
 scorch-RDR-TR-3OBJ-3SUB
 ‘He burned it for somebody.’

Doak (1997:157f) concludes that it is hard to determine the semantic difference between redirective constructions with a reflex of **-xi* and those with *-tuł* in Coeur d'Alene. She gives examples of *-tuł* redirectives with only four roots, so Doak (1997:165) states:

The rarity of *-tuł-t-* suggests that any possible discourse function is no longer useful. However, it is my hypothesis that the distinction between the *-ši-t-* and *-tuł-t-* applicatives lies in distinguishing whether the (morphological) object or the patient (second object) is in focus in the discourse. A discourse function seems to be a plausible alternative explanation for the variety of forms, but it is also the most difficult to test in a dying language.

The difference between *-ł* and *-tuł* redirectives also merit examination. In

Okanagan the semantic difference between *-ł* and *-tuł* redirective constructions is clear when these suffixes follow the same root. The applied object is possessive in (120a), and benefactive in (120b):

(120) Okanagan (A. Mattina 1994:208)

- | | | | |
|----|-------------------------|-------------------|---------------|
| a. | k ^w u | síq̣-əł-t-s | i-slíp̣. |
| | 1SG.OBJ | split-RDR-TR-3SUB | 1SG.POSS-wood |
| | 'He split my wood.' | | |
| b. | k ^w u | səq̣-túł-t-s | i? slíp̣. |
| | 1SG.OBJ | split-RDR-TR-3SUB | ART wood |
| | 'He split wood for me.' | | |

The theme does not have a possessive marker in (120b). The theme has a possessive marker in the *-tuł* redirective construction, and the possessor is not coreferential with the applied object, as in (121b):

(121) Okanagan (A. Mattina 1994:207)

- | | | | |
|----|------------------|------------------|-----------------------|
| a. | k ^w u | ?am-ł-t-ís | i-sq ^w sí? |
| | 1SG.OBJ | feed-RDR-TR-3SUB | 1SG.POSS-son |
| | 'He fed my son.' | | |

- b. k^wu ʔam-túł-t-s a-síya?
 1SG.OBJ feed-RDR-TR-3SUB 2SG.POSS-saskatoons
 ‘He fed me your saskatoons.’

In (121a), the applied object is a first person singular pronominal that is coreferential with the possessor of the theme NP ‘son’: it is ‘my son’ that he fed. Thus, the applied object in (121a) is possessor. In (121b), the applied object is a first person singular pronominal that is not coreferential with the possessor of the theme NP ‘saskatoons’: it is ‘me’ that he fed. Thus, the applied object in (121b) is dative.

A. Mattina (1993:208) gives another set of examples that show this contrast between *-l* and *-tuł* redirectives; the applied object possessor in (122a) and dative in (122b):

(122) Okanagan (A. Mattina 1994:208)

- a. k^wu siw-l-t-s i-sq^wsí? i? sk^wíst-s.
 1SG.OBJ ask-RDR-TR-3SUB 1SG.POSS-son ART name-3SG.POSS
 ‘He asked my son what his name is.’
- b. k^wu su-túł-t-s i-sq^wsí? i? sk^wíst-s.
 1SG.OBJ ask-RDR-TR-3SUB 1SG.POSS-son ART name-3SG.POSS
 ‘He asked me what my son’s name is.’

It is ‘my son’ that he asked the name in (122a), and it is ‘me’ that he asked my son’s name in (122b). Thus, even though the applied object in (122a) and (122b) is the first person singular, which happens to be coreferential with the possessor of the theme NP in (122a), its semantic role is possessor in (122a) and dative in (122b).

As previously discussed, the possessive applied object is not always coreferential with the possessor of the theme NP in *-l* redirective construction:

- (123) Okanagan (N. Mattina 1993:276)
 nʔiy-ł-t-s-n Fred iʔ púyxən-s.
 buy-RDR-TR-2SG.OBJ-1SG.SUB Fred ART car-3SG.POSS
 ‘I bought you Fred’s car.’

The dative applied object ‘you’ is not coreferential with the possessor of the theme NP ‘Fred’. (123) is similar to the example with the redirective suffix *-tuł* in (121b) (repeated here as (124)):

- (124) Okanagan (A. Mattina 1994:207)
 kʷu ʔam-túł-t-s a-síyaʔ.
 1SG.OBJ feed-RDR-TR-3SUB 2SG.POSS-saskatoons
 ‘He fed me your saskatoons.’

The applied object is dative and not coreferential with the possessor of the theme NP in both examples (123) and (124).

This semantic difference between *-ł* and *-tuł* redirectives is also observed in Columbian. When attached to the same root, *-ł* redirectives have benefactive applied objects (125a) and (126a) and *-tuł* redirectives have dative or source applied objects.

- (125) Columbian
 a. tumístmłcn.
 //tumist-mi-ł-t-si-n//
 sell-REL-RDR-TR-2SG.OBJ-1SG.SUB
 ‘I sold it for you.’ (Willett 203:281)
 b. tumist-m-túł-c
 sell-REL-RDR-TR:1SG.OBJ
 ‘he sold it to me’ (Kinkade 1982:58)

- (126) Columbian (Kinkade 1980:34)
 a. wakʷ-ł-n.
 hide-RDR(-TR)-1SG.SUB
 ‘I hid it for him.’

- b. wak^w-tuł-n.
hide-RDR(-TR)-1SG.SUB
'I hid it from him.'

Perhaps this difference relates to the concept of possession. The benefactive examples imply the applied object's possession of the theme, while the goal/source examples do not. The suffix *-t* appears to have a closer connection to possession than the suffix *-tuł*.

The applied object is possessor in redirective constructions with *-t* and *-tuł*.

(127) Columbian

- a. k^wá-ł-c-n.
grab-RDR-TR:2SG.OBJ-1SG.SUB
'I took it away from you.' (Kinkade 1982:56)
- b. n-k^wn=akst-[t]úł-n sk^wən=á?st-s.
PSTN-grab=hand-RDR(-TR)-1SG.SUB club=weapon-3SG.POSS
'I took a club away from him.' (Kinkade 1980: 34)

The applied object is also a source, and it is coreferential with the possessor of the theme NP. Perhaps the crucial distinction is that (127a) and (127b) have different stems; that is, they both have the same root 'grab', but the addition of a lexical suffix 'hand' creates a different stem in the *-tuł* redirective construction (127b). In the Southern Interior Salish languages, stems with lexical suffixes do not appear in the redirective constructions with *-t*.¹⁶ In addition to (127b), there are three more examples, which have stems with lexical suffixes in Columbian:

(128) Columbian

- a. ncək^wakstúłn wa ɥacmíntn.
//n-cək^w=akst-túł-t-n//
PSTN-pull=hand-RDR-TR-1SG.SUB PTC rope
'I pulled the rope out of his hand.' (Willett 2003:256)

¹⁶ See Chapter 7 for further discussion on the combination of lexical suffixes and applicatives.

- b. s-n-kʷλ=àlqʷp-túł-n.
 NM-PSTN-take.out=throat-RDR(-TR)-1SG.SUB
 ‘I took it out of his mouth.’ (Kinkade 1982:58)
- c. nq̣aʔkstułcn.
 //n-q̣aʔ=akst-túł-t-si-n//
 PSTN-wedge.into=hand-RDR-TR-2SG.OBJ-1SG.SUB
 ‘I put it in your hand.’ (Willett 2003:256)

The applied object is source in (128a) and (128b), and dative in (128c). Other than Columbian, the stem with a lexical suffix is not found in the *-tuł* redirective construction in the Southern Interior languages. Thus the use of the redirective suffix *-tuł* following a stem with a lexical suffix might have developed only in Columbian. Okanagan also exhibits peculiar uses of the redirective suffix *-tuł*.

In Okanagan, the usage of the redirective suffix *-tuł* allows us to distinguish two senses of possession:

(129) Okanagan (A. Mattina 1994:213, 211)

- a. c-ən-ʔułxʷ pit, uł wik-ł-t-s
 ASP-LOC-come.in Pete and see-RDR-TR-3SUB

iʔ tətʷít iʔ stətq̣ánaʔk-s.
 ART boy ART pistol-3SG.POSS

‘Pete came in and saw the boy’s pistol.’

- b. iʔ c-ən-ʔułxʷ pit, uł uk-túł-t-s
 as.soon.as ASP-LOC-come.in Pete and see-RDR-TR-3SUB

iʔ tətʷít iʔ stətq̣ánaʔk-s.
 ART boy ART pistol-3SG.POSS

‘As soon as Pete came in, he saw the gun that the boy had (not necessarily the boy’s gun).’

In the *-ł* redirective construction (129a), the applied object ‘the boy’ is possessor, and he is the owner of the ‘pistol’. In the *-tuł* redirective construction (129b), the applied object

'the' boy' is also possessor, but he is not necessarily the owner of the 'pistol'. Thus, the *-tuʔ* redirective construction can imply physical possession rather than ownership.

In sum, the semantic roles of the applied object in the redirective constructions with *-tuʔ* are dative, benefactive, possessor, or source:

Table 46. Semantic Roles of Applied Objects with *-tuʔ* in Southern Interior Salish

LANG	DATIVE	BENEFACTIVE	POSSESSOR	SOURCE
Cr		✓		
Ok	✓	✓	✓	
Cm	✓		✓	✓

The suffix *-tuʔ* was not attested with benefactive applied objects in Columbian nor with dative applied objects in Coeur d'Alene. Possessive applied objects were only attested in Okanagan and Columbian, applied objects bearing the role of source were only attested in Columbian. These lacunae may arise through the simple lack of data. Only twenty examples with *-tuʔ* were found in the Southern Interior data.¹⁷ The number of applied objects in different semantic roles found in each language is given in Table 47:

Table 47. Applied Objects with *-tuʔ* in Southern Interior Salish

LANG	DATIVE	BENEFACTIVE	POSSESSOR	SOURCE	# OF EXAMPLES
Cr	0	4	0	0	4
Ok	3	1	1	0	5
Cm	7	0	1	4	11
TOTAL	10	5	2	4	19

¹⁷ One example with *-tuʔ* in Columbian seems to imply a purposive connotation without increasing any valency.

Dative applied objects occur more frequently than any other type of applied objects. In Okanagan, the suffix *-tuł* is used when physical possession rather than ownership is implied. In Columbian, the suffix *-tuł* is used instead of *-ł* when a predicate contains a lexical suffix.

4.2.4.4 Summary of redirective suffixes in Southern Interior Salish.

The Southern Interior languages have three redirective suffixes; reflexes of **-xi*, *-ł*, and *-tuł*, except Kalispel, which lacks *-tuł*. The semantic roles of the applied objects in redirective constructions are summarized in Table 48:

Table 48. Semantic Roles of Applied Objects with Southern Interior Redirectives

LANG	DATIVE	BENEFACTIVE	POSSESSOR	SOURCE
Ka	-ši, -ł	-ši, -ł	-ł	
Cm	-xit, -ł, -tuł	-xit, -ł	-xit, -ł, -tuł	-ł, -tuł
Ok	-xi, -ł, -tuł	-xi, -ł, -tuł	-ł, -tuł	-ł
Cr	-ši, -ł	-ši, -ł, -tuł	-ši, -ł	-ł

Reflexes of the redirective suffix **-xi* are attested with dative and benefactive applied objects in all four languages. They are also attested with possessive applied objects in a small number of examples in Coeur d'Alene and Columbian, but not in Okanagan and Kalispel. The suffix *-ł* is found with dative, benefactive, possessive, and source applied objects. Often the applied object bears the role of possessor and in addition some other role such as benefactive or source. The suffix *-tuł* is found with dative applied objects in Columbian and Okanagan, and with benefactive applied objects in Okanagan and Coeur d'Alene. The number of applied objects bearing each semantic role in all of the Southern Interior examples is given in Table 49:

Table 49. Applied Objects with Southern Interior Redirectives

REDIRECTIVE	DATIVE	BENEFACTIVE	POSSESSOR	SOURCE	# OF EXAMPLES
*-xi	19	47	6	0	67
-ɪ	13	35	63	6	95
-tuɪ	10	5	2	4	20
TOTAL	42	87	71	10	182

The semantic role of applied objects that occurs more frequently than any other roles with each redirective suffix in Southern Interior is the benefactive with reflexes of *-xi, the possessor with -ɪ, and the dative with -tuɪ. The source applied objects are scarce.

The redirective suffix -tuɪ is used not only to signal the semantic role of the applied object, but also to complement the usage that reflexes of *-xi and -ɪ do not have; that is, to attach the stem consisting of a root and a lexical suffix in Columbian, and to distinguish the applied object's having in own's physical possession versus ownership in Okanagan.

4.3 Summary.

We have seen cases where the semantic roles of applied objects are more transparent than others, where they are speaker-oriented, and also where the status of theme NPs is more significant than the semantic roles of the applied objects. The available data are very limited, and often no context is provided. The translations often indicate multiple readings for the applied object; one semantic role often implies another. Halkomelem is the only language that exhibits a one-to-one correspondence between the semantic roles of the applied object and the redirective applicative suffixes.

4.3.1 The distribution and usage of Salish redirective suffixes.

Reflexes of the suffix **-xi* are the most widespread redirective suffixes in Salish languages, and they allow applied objects with a full range of semantic roles. Reflexes of **-xi* are the only redirective suffixes in Northern Interior Salish. Most of Central Salish languages also have only one redirective suffix, a reflex of **-xi*, except Comox and Sechelt, which have reflexes of **-Vm*, and Halkomelem, which has two redirective suffixes, *-as* and *-lc*.

The Tsamosan and Southern Interior languages are notable for having more redirective suffixes. These languages all have **-xi* plus one or two additional redirectives. The Tsamosan languages have *-tux^wt*, Upper Chehalis also has *-tmi*, and Cowlitz also has *-s*. The Southern Interior Salish languages have *-l* and *-tul*, except for Kalispel where *-tul* is not attested.

I summarize the semantic roles of applied objects in redirective constructions in Table 50:

Table 50. Semantic Roles of Applied Objects in Salish Redirectives

BRANCH	LANG	DATIVE	BENEFACTIVE	POSSESSOR	SOURCE
NIS	Li	-xit	-xit	-xit	
	Th	-xi	-xi	-xi	
	Sh	-xi	-xi	-xi	-xi
CS	Cx		-ʔəm	-ʔəm	
	Se		-em	-em	
	Sq	-ši	-ši	-ši	-ši
	Hl	-as	-lc		
	Nk	-ši	-ši		-ši
	NS	-si	-si		
	Kl	-si	-si		
	Ld	-yi	-yi	-yi	-yi
	Tw	-ši	-ši	-ši	
TS	Ch	-ši	-ši		
		-tux ^w t -tmi	-tux ^w t		-tux ^w t
	Cz	-ši -tux ^w t -s	-ši		-s
SIS	Ka	-ši	-ši		
		-l	-l	-l	
	Ok	-xi	-xi		
		-l	-l	-l	-l
		-tul	-tul	-tul	
	Cm	-xit	-xit	-xit	
		-l -tul	-l	-l -tul	-l -tul
Cr	-ši	-ši	-ši		
	-l -tul	-l -tul	-l	-l	

Some relational suffixes tend to appear with applied objects bearing a particular semantic role. In Comox and Sechelt, *-Vm appears with benefactive or possessive applied objects, but not with dative applied objects. In Halkomelem, the suffix -as appears with dative, and the suffix -lc with benefactive applied objects. In Upper Chehalis, the suffix -tmi seems to appear only with dative applied objects. A reasonable assumption would be that most redirective suffixes originally marked a single function, which manifests as its core function, though it maybe have spread sporadically to mark other uses.

Thus, the core function of an applicative suffix can be determined by how frequently it appears in that function. I counted the semantic roles of the applied objects for each suffix and give the results in Table 51:

Table 51. Applied Objects with Salish Redirectives

REDIRECTIVE	BENEFACTIVE	DATIVE	POSSESSOR	SOURCE	# OF EXAMPLES
*-xi	134	58	35	6	201
*-Vm	30	0	5	0	32
-lc	10	0	0	0	10
-tux ^w t	2	14	0	1	16
-tuł	5	10	2	4	19
-tmi	0	7	0	0	7
-as	0	5	0	0	5
-ł	35	13	63	6	117
-s	1	0	0	1	2
TOTAL	178	95	79	14	409

Even though some applied objects are semantically ambiguous, we can see tendencies for each suffix to be associated with applied objects bearing certain semantic roles.

Benefactive applied objects occur more frequently than other types of applied object with

reflexes of **-xi* and **-Vm*, and, of course, the Halkomelem suffix *-lc* occurs only with benefactives. Dative applied objects appear more frequently than any other types of applied object with the suffixes *-tux^wt* and *-tuł*, and the Upper Chehalis suffix *-tmi* and the Halkomelem suffix *-as* appear only with datives. Possessive applied objects appear more frequently than any other types of applied objects with the suffix *-ł*. Examples with the suffix *-s* are scarce, and so it cannot be determined which semantic role is more closely associated with this suffix.

Furthermore, the results in Table 51 allows us to establish the relative frequency of applied objects bearing different semantic roles for each suffix. I have presented this as a hierarchy in (130):

- (130) Hierarchies of applied object occurrence¹⁸
- a. Benefactive-oriented suffixes: **-xi*, **-Vm*, *-lc*
 Benefactive > (Dative) > Possessor > Source
 - b. Dative-oriented suffixes: *-tux^wt*, *-tuł*, *-tmi*, *-as*
 Dative > (Benefactive) > Source > Possessor
 - c. Possessive-oriented suffix: *-ł*
 Possessor > Benefactive > Dative > Source

The hierarchies show which type of applied object tends to occur in applicative constructions with each redirective suffix. Reflexes of **-xi* and **-Vm*, and *-lc* are strongly correlated with benefactives; the suffixes *-tux^wt*, *-tuł*, *-tmi*, and *-as* with datives, and the suffix *-ł* with possessors.

¹⁸ Parentheses indicate a semantic role that is not attested in all languages or in examples of each type of applicative.

4.3.2 Historical perspectives on redirective suffixes.

The survey in this chapter shows that the concept of redirective is a very old one in Salish. Every language has at least one redirective morpheme, and many languages have more than one. The suffix most often associated with redirective applicatives reconstructs as Proto-Salish **-xi*. It is found in all three branches, and, in fact, is the only redirective suffix in Northern Interior Salish and most of the Central Salish languages. Therefore, it is likely that this morphology was associated with the redirective construction in Proto-Salish.

Judging from the usage of its reflexes in the modern languages, Proto-Salish **-xi* was probably associated with the semantic roles of dative and benefactive. But in many languages (in two out of the three branches), its function has been extended to mark all kinds of applied objects, including possessors and sources. Thus, in these languages, its function is parallel to a general di-transitivizer, perhaps equivalent to in function to dative case in a dependent-marking language. Alternatively, it might be claimed that its original function was as a general di-transitivizer but that its use for marking possessor and source was lost (or usurped by other morphemes) in many languages.

The suffixes *-l* and *-tul* probably go back to Proto-Southern Interior Salish. If this is the case, *-tul* was lost in Kalispel; the functions associated with *-tul* are expressed with *-šl* or *-l*. The central function of the suffix *-l* is to add a possessor as the applied object. Elsewhere in Salish, this function is expressed by reflexes of **-xi* or **-Vm*. Perhaps Proto-Salish **-xi* already had this use and was replaced by *-l* in Kalispel and Okanagan. Or perhaps the extension **-xi* to mark possessive applicatives was

contemporaneous with the development of *-ɬ*. Under either viewpoint, there is a clear tendency for Salish languages to develop a means of expressing possessive applicatives.

One obvious question is: why do some languages have possessive applicatives (a.k.a. external possession constructions) while others lack them? Does the presence or absence of possessive applicatives in a language follow from some other factor, such as word order in possessive constructions or oblique marking of theme NPs? I could observe no obvious pattern, but the issue should be explored further.

The core function of the suffix *-tuɬ* is dative, according to the counts on applied objects in different semantic roles. However, the role of this suffix is not entirely clear: it has also developed language-specific uses. In Okanagan, it is used to distinguish having the applied object in one's physical possession versus ownership. In Columbian, it is used if the stem contains a lexical suffix.

The suffix **-tuxʷt* is tentatively reconstructed for Proto-Tsamosan. However, data are available from only two of the four Tsamosan languages, and Upper Chehalis and Cowlitz are thought to comprise a sub-branch of Tsamosan. Thus, research on Quinault and Lower Chehalis will be required to verify the antiquity of this suffix.

The suffix *-tmi* is attested only in Upper Chehalis, and the suffix *-s* is attested only in Cowlitz. Again, further research on the other Tsamosan languages is required to determine whether these suffix go back to Proto-Tsamosan.

The redirective suffixes *-ʔəm* in Comox and *-em* in Sechelt may have developed from the suffix *-m*, which is used in various functions such as middle and passive

(Mercedes Hinkson p.c.).^{19, 20} Thus, the function of these suffixes in Comox and Sechelt—to express benefactive applied objects, and also possessive applied objects in Comox—is probably innovative. Kinkade (1998) reconstructed *-*Vm V* for -*ʔəm* in Comox, -*em* in Sechelt, and -*tmi* in Upper Chehalis. However, it is dubious that -*tmi* has an etymological relationship with -*ʔəm* in Comox and -*em* in Sechelt, since the suffix -*tmi* is attested only with dative applied objects, while -*ʔəm* in Comox and -*em* in Sechelt are not attested with dative applied objects.

The suffixes -*as* and -*ɬc* in Halkomelem are most certainly innovative. The suffix -*as* expresses dative, and -*ɬc* expresses benefactive applied objects, and the functions and the suffixes have a one-to-one correspondence. Furthermore, the dative suffix -*as* is grammaticalized from the lexical suffix ‘face’ (Gerds and Hinkson 1996, 2004a). It remains a mystery why Halkomelem redirective suffixes do not align with redirective suffixes elsewhere in the Salish family.

To conclude, the concept of redirective applicative—adding a third participant as a core argument—is a very old concept in Salish. One redirective suffix *-*xi* can be reconstructed for Proto-Salish. Other suffixes have been added to the redirective system in some branches or individual languages and have usurped the functions of *-*xi* or added additional functions to the redirective applicative system. In languages with multiple redirective suffixes, there is often considerable overlap in the functions of the different redirectives.

¹⁹ Watanabe (2003:253ff) explores the possibility that the redirective -*ʔəm* and the active-intransitive -*ʔəm* are both reflexes of the Proto-Salish intransitive marker *-*m*.

²⁰ Alternatively, Donna Gerds (p.c.) suggests that this suffix might relate to the Halkomelem verb root *ʔeʔəm* ‘give’.

Chapter 5: Exceptional Applicative Suffixes

So far, my analysis of Salish applicatives has led to the conclusion that there are two types of applicatives with distinct properties. Chapter 3 presents evidence that predicates in relational constructions are formed on intransitive bases, while Chapter 4 shows that predicates in redirective constructions are formed on transitive bases. I classify relational applicative constructions according to the predicate class of the base: internal experience, expression, action, movement, transfer, or nature predicates. The applied objects in relational applicatives have a variety of semantic roles; the role is inferred from the type of oblique relation that would be associated with the event structure of the predicate. In contrast, I classify redirective constructions according to the semantic role of the applied object, which may be dative, benefactive, possessive, or source.

The Salish languages discussed above all have at least one applicative of each type, and many of them have more than one relational and/or more than one redirective applicative suffix, in which case the work of the applicative system is shared among them, often with some degree of overlap. This viewpoint of applicatives accommodates the majority of applicative suffixes and their function in Salish languages. However, a residue of several forms and several functions of applicatives do not fit well with my typology. I turn to a discussion of these remaining details in this chapter.

I discuss the exceptions to my typology from two perspectives. In section 5.1, I discuss the two-way classification into relational versus redirective applicatives. Most

Salish applicative suffixes behave as one type or the other. However, some suffixes, although they are primarily of one type, nevertheless are used in a few examples as the other type. In some cases, both types of uses are so common that it is impossible to assign the suffix conclusively to one type or the other.

In section 5.2, I discuss the issue of valence increasing versus valence maintenance. Standard applicatives add one degree of semantic valence to the predicate. However, sometimes applicative suffixes are used on transitive predicates without increasing the valence. When used in this fashion, the function of the applicative is quite similar to that of transitive suffixes. Thus, the boundary between applicative suffixes and transitive suffixes is blurred.

Thus, we see that applicative suffixes often deviate from the typology that I have established for Salish, but in systematic ways. The issue of deviation from the Salish standard is especially pronounced in Bella Coola, as I discuss in section 5.3. Neither of the two Bella Coola applicatives fits with my typology. Furthermore, one Bella Coola applicative seems to have the primary function of marking instrumental applied objects, and this function is unattested elsewhere in the Salish languages.

5.1 Applicative suffixes that switch types.

According to my typology above, each applicative suffix should in theory be assigned to one type, either relational or redirective. However, in practice, the situation is somewhat more complex. In particular, we see that many redirective suffixes also get used as relational suffixes (section 5.1.1). In fact, one suffix, *-š'i* in Tillamook, is difficult to classify (section 5.1.2). The reverse situation, relational suffixes used as redirective suffixes, is much rarer (section 5.1.3).

5.1.1 Redirective suffixes used as relational.

Redirective suffixes being used as relational applicatives is a relatively rare occurrence. Redirective suffixes by definition should attach to a transitive base to create a semantically ditransitive verb. But in some examples in my database, all listed below, redirective suffixes appear in relational constructions in which there are two participants—a subject and non-theme applied object. For example, the redirective suffixes -*ʔəm* in Comox (1), -*yi* in Lushootseed (2), -*šj* in Upper Chehalis (3) and Cowlitz (4) attach to activity predicates to form relational applicatives in which the applied object is a benefactive:¹

- (1) Comox
- a. *čič-im-ʔəm-t-um uł-as* Mary.
 dance-MDL-RDR-TR-1PL.OBJ-3SUB Mary
 ‘Mary danced for us.’ (Watanabe 1996:331)
- b. *payaʔ štəm t ča-čah-am-ʔəm-t-anapi.*
 always 1PL.SUB CLT RED(IMPF)-pray-MDL-RDR-TR-2PL.OBJ
 ‘We will always be praying for you (pl).’ (Watanabe 2003:252)
- (2) Lushootseed
- a. *łiči-b-ii-d*
 cut-MDL-RDR-TR
 ‘cut cattails for her’ (Hess 1967:43)
- b. *łágʷ-əb-yi-d*
 make.mats-MDL-RDR-TR
 ‘make mats for her’ (Bates et al. 1994:150)
- c. *ʔu-pús-il-yi-cid* čəd.
 PUNCT-throw-AUTO-RDR-TR:2SG.OBJ 1SG.SUB
 ‘I’ll throw/pitch for you.’ (Hess and Bates 2004:176)

¹ In addition to the semantics of the translation, evidence for the intransitivity of the base in many of the following examples comes from the fact that intransitive morphology like middle and autonomous appears before the applicative suffix.

(3) Upper Chehalis (Kinkade 1991:372)
 ?it yús-š-c.
 PERF work-RDR-TR:1SG.OBJ
 'He/she worked for me.'

(4) Cowlitz (Kinkade 2004:210)
 yayús-š-n
 work-RDR-TR
 'use, work for'

The redirective suffixes *-yi* in Lushootseed (5), *-ši* in Cowlitz (6), *-xit* in Lillooet (7), *-xit* in Columbian (8) attach to speech act predicates to form relational applicatives in which the applied object is benefactive (5)–(7) or content (8):

(5) Lushootseed (Hess and Bates 2004:183)
 yác-əb-yi-d ti čáčas.
 tell-MDL-RDR-TR DET child
 'She told for the boy.'

(6) Cowlitz (Kinkade 2004:193)
 ?íln-š-n
 sing-RDR-TR
 'sing for'

(7) Lillooet (Van Eijk 1987:312)
 ?íλ²-əm-xit
 sing-MDL-RDR
 'to sing for someone'

(8) Columbian (Kinkade 1980:33)
 may²-xít-n.
 tell.story-RDR-1SG.SUB
 'I told a story about it.'

The redirective suffix *-f* in Columbian attaches to predicates of cognition (9a)–(9b), desire (9c), or perception (9d) to form relational applicatives in which the applied object is content or goal:

- (9) **Columbian**
- a. *c-mi-stú-ł-n.*
 PRFX-know-CS-RDR(-TR)-1SG.SUB
 ‘I know about it (a secret).’ (Kinkade 1982:58)
- b. *ʔacsúx*łtłs.*
 //ʔac-sux*-ł-t-l-s//
 IMPF-know-RDR-TR-1PL.OBJ-3SUB
 ‘He knows us.’ (Willett 2003:132)
- c. *maʔ-nú-ł-n.*
 oppose-NC-RDR(-TR)-1SG.SUB
 ‘I didn’t want it (noise) and wanted to be undisturbed.’ (Kinkade 1982:58)
- d. *wík-ł-t-m-n.*
 see-RDR-TR-2SG.OBJ-1SG.SUB
 ‘I saw you.’ (Kinkade 1982:57)

I sum up the fifteen examples of redirective suffixes used in relational constructions in Table 52.

Table 52. Redirectives Used as Relationals

LANG	SUFFIX	NO. OF EXAMPLES	SEMANTIC ROLE	VERB CLASS
Cx	-ʔəm	2	Benefactive	Activity
Ld	-yi	1	Benefactive	Speech
		3	Benefactive	Activity
Ch	-ši	1	Benefactive	Activity
Cz	-ši	1	Benefactive	Activity
		1	Benefactive	Speech
Li	-xit	1	Benefactive	Speech
Cm	-xit	1	Content	Speech
		1	Content	Cognition
	-ł	1	Goal	Cognition
		1	Goal	Desire
		1	Goal	Perception

The redirective suffix usually forms relational applicatives in which the applied object is the benefactive, though, in Columbian, redirective suffixes are used to indicate the content or the goal of experience or expression verbs.

5.1.2 The suffix *-š*i** in Tillamook.

In one instance, the Tillamook suffix *-š*i**, there is insufficient data to classify its function as either redirective or relational. However, since Kinkade (1998) says it is a reflex of the Proto-Salish **-x*i**, we can assume that redirective is its primary function.

There are only eight examples with the suffix *-š*i** in my database. It forms three redirective constructions in which the applied objects are dative (10)–(12):

- (10) Tillamook (Egesdal and M. Thompson 1998:239)
*g^wə k š-tk^w=ag^wə(s)-š*i*-c-ə!*
 FUT ART LOC-put=side-RDR-TR:1SG.OBJ-IMP.SG
 ‘You pay me!’
- (11) Tillamook (Egesdal and M. Thompson 1998:251)
*g^wu (?ə) nəš-ʔay-š*i*-t-yə!*
 FUT (?) LOC-retaliate-RDR-TR-1PL.SUB
 ‘We are going to do it back to him.’
- (12) Tillamook (Egesdal and M. Thompson 1998:252)
g^wə ʔayəh-š-t-íw!
 FUT poison-RDR-TR-1PL.OBJ
 ‘They would poison us.’

Considering the stem in (10), it appears that the literal meaning of this sentence is ‘You put it (money) aside for me!’. Thus the applied object is a benefactive. The literal meaning in (11) is ‘We are going to retaliate (for something) on him.’ and in (12) ‘They would poison it (e.g. a drink) on us.’ Thus, the applied objects in (11) and (12) can be interpreted as malefactive.

Egesdal and M. Thompson (1998:251) state, “//-š*i*// indicates that the predicate has three arguments, an agent and two patients for the predicate’s action...” Presumably, they mean by this an agent, a patient, and a third argument such as goal or benefactive. However, some examples have only two participants. For example, the suffix -š*i* forms relational constructions with activity predicates in which the applied object is the benefactive (13) and with motion verbs in which the applied object is the location (14):

(13) Tillamook (Egesdal and M. Thompson 1998:251)
 g^{wəʔ} yə-*yəh*-ən-š*i*-t-i.
 FUT RED(CONT?)-work-FMTV-RDR-TR-1SG.SUB
 ‘I will work for [him].’²

(14) Tillamook (Egesdal and M. Thompson 1998:251)
 de s-čə*l*-čə*l*-əš-c-í.
 ART ST-RED(AUG)-ahead-RDR-TR:2SG.OBJ-1SG.SUB
 ‘I got ahead of you.’

The roots $\sqrt{yəh}$ ‘work’ in (13) and $\sqrt{čəl}$ ‘be ahead’ (14) are semantically intransitive, and it is unlikely that they are followed by the general transitive suffix.

Also, the following example does not seem to be a redirective construction:

(15) Tillamook (Egesdal and M. Thompson 1998:251)
 ɬə nəš-tu-š*i*-t-i.
 ART LOC-believe-RDR-TR-1SG.SUB
 ‘I believe what you told me.’

The fact that the object suffix in (15) is third-person rather than second-person suggests that a more literal translation would be ‘I believe it (what you told me)’ and not ‘I believe you about what you told me.’ Thus, there are only two participants—an agent and a

² Egesdal and M. Thompson (1998) translates this sentence as ‘I work for you.’ This is probably an error. (Paul Kroeber p.c.)

content of cognition—in this example. Again, this is a relational use of the suffix *-š*i**, and the applied object is the content of the cognition verb.

In two other examples, the suffix-*š*i** attaches to nominal rather than verbal bases. In example (16), the base ‘build a house’ is a compound of the root \sqrt{ye} ‘cause’ and a form consisting of a nominalizing prefix, and a reduplicated root \sqrt{na} ‘stay’ followed by an instrumental suffix, i.e. ‘dwelling’. The applied object is a benefactive.

- (16) Tillamook (Egesdal and M. Thompson 1998:251)
- | | | |
|---------|---|------|
| $g^wəʔ$ | $ye-s-niʔ-naʔ-win-ši-c$ | $iʔ$ |
| FUT | cause-NM-RED(AUG?)-stay-INST-RDR-TR:2SG.OBJ | Q |
- ‘Are they going to build a house for you?’

In example (17), the form translated ‘go after someone with a knife’ consists of the root \sqrt{huq} ‘cut’ followed by an instrumental suffix, i.e. ‘knife’. The applied object is a goal.

- (17) Tillamook (Egesdal and M. Thompson 1998:252)
- | | | |
|-------|-------|-------------------------|
| (de) | $waʔ$ | $huq-tən-ši-c$. |
| (ART) | with | cut-INST-RDR-TR:1SG.OBJ |
- ‘He went after me with a knife.’

These forms are presumably denominal verbs hence intransitive. The use of the applicative suffix on an intransitive base is a relational rather than a redirective function.

In sum, there are only eight examples of applicative constructions with *-š*i** in Egesdal and M. Thompson (1998), three of which are redirective and five are relational. The semantic role of the applied object in the applicative constructions with *-š*i** in Tillamook is summarized in Table 53:

Table 53. Semantics of the Suffix *-š*i (<*-*x*i**) in Tillamook**

LANG	RDR		REL					
	BENE	DAT	EXPERIENCE	EXPRESS	ACT	MOVE	TRNSF	NATURE
Ti	✓	✓	✓		✓	✓		

Even though the Tillamook data is very limited, the usage of the suffix *-š*i** is apparently not restricted to redirective constructions in Tillamook, even if this suffix is a reflex of the Proto-Salish redirective suffix **-*x*i***.

5.1.3 A relational suffix used as a redirective.

I have found only one language, Tillamook, in which a suffix that primarily behaves as a relational suffix also behaves like a redirective. As discussed in Chapter 3 (section 3.2.3.2), the suffix *-əs* attaches to a variety of intransitive verbs to form relational applicatives like the following:

(18) Tillamook (Egesdal and M. Thompson 1998:257)
 de c-1əš-əš(-s)-wəš-š.
 ART ST-angry-RED(OC)(-REL)-1SG.OBJ-2SG.SUB
 ‘Are you angry at me?’

(19) Tillamook (Egesdal and M. Thompson 1998:257)
 g^{wə} g^{wə}1əš-əs-wí1-yə1.
 FUT speak-REL-2PL.OBJ-1PL.SUB
 ‘We will speak with you folks.’

(20) Tillamook (Egesdal and M. Thompson 1998:249)
 s-1əq-í-s-i.
 ST-sit-AUTO-REL-1SG.SUB
 ‘I sit down beside him.’

In addition, we see that the suffix *-əs* can be used in redirective constructions in which the applied object is benefactive (21b)–(22b):

- (21) Tillamook
- a. gatc'ɛfa'u da tsa'hǎn dzits ʌdzʌkɪ.
 //gʷəçəfáw de c-óhən cɪc eceki//
 Gatc'elau ART ST-make DEM canoe
 'Gatc'elau made this boat.' (Edel 1939:53)
- b. gʷə ʔəhón-s-c-i.
 FUT make-REL-2SG.OBJ-1SG.SUB
 'I will make it for you.' (Egedal and M. Thompson 1998:258)
- (22) Tillamook (Egedal and M. Thompson 1998:256, 252)
- a. (de) s-íən-ón-i.
 (ART) ST-burn-TR-1SG.SUB
 'I burned it.'
- b. íən-ən-s-ót-i.
 burn-RED(OC)-REL-TR-1SG.SUB
 'I burned it for him.'

However, the suffix *-əs* when used in redirectives does not exactly parallel its use in relationals when we examine the formal properties of the two types of constructions. As we can see in examples with third-person objects, in relational constructions such as (20) the suffix *-əs* is not followed by a transitive suffix, while in redirective constructions such as (22b) it is. That we see two different types of object suffixes following the suffix *-əs* suggests that there may in fact be two different *-əs* suffixes. More data and more research is needed to give a conclusive discussion of this issue.

5.1.4 . Summary.

In this section, I have shown that some uses of applicatives do not match the two-way typology of relational versus redirective applicatives that I developed in Chapters 3 and 4. We see that redirective suffixes often get used for relational functions, namely they are suffixed on intransitive bases to form transitive predicates. In fact, in Tillamook, the form that historically relates to the redirective suffix is attested more often on intransitive

bases than transitive ones. The opposite situation, relational suffixes functioning as redirective ones, is comparatively rare, attested only for one suffix in Tillamook.

While these facts fall outside my two-way system for Salish, they are not surprising given the typology of applicatives in the world's languages. In most languages, applicative affixes attach to either intransitive and transitive bases. See, for example, Amharic (Amberber 2000), Barupu (Donohue 1994), Chichewa (Alsina and Mchombo 1990), Creek (Martin 2000), Dulong/Rawang (LaPolla 2000), Motuna (Onishi 2000), Warrungu (Tsunoda 1998), and Yup'ik (Mithun 2000). If a language does not allow an applicative to attach to both types of bases, then it usually allows only transitive bases (Polinsky 2005). For example, the applicative suffix *-b'e* 'instrumental' attaches only to transitive bases in K'iche' (Campbell 2000); and the applicative suffix *-ka* 'benefactive' attaches only to transitive bases in Kharia (Biligiri 1965). The opposite situation, an applicative that attaches only to an intransitive base is much rarer. For example, the applicative *-mi* 'comitative' or 'dative' and the applicative suffix *-ngan* 'locative' attach only to intransitive bases in Ngan'gityemerri (Reid 2000).

Salish languages are unusual in that they have applicatives of both types—ones that attach only to intransitives and those that attach only to transitives. But given the typological propensity for an applicative to be used on both types of predicates, it is not unexpected that a relational will be used as a redirective and vice versa.

5.2 Transitive uses of applicative suffixes.

Applicatives add one degree of semantic valence to the predicate; relational applicatives attach to intransitive verbs and form transitive constructions, while redirective applicatives attach to transitive verbs and form semantically ditransitive

constructions. However, sometimes applicative suffixes are used on transitive predicates without increasing the valence. When used in this fashion, the function of the applicative is quite similar to that of transitive suffixes, and the direct object is a theme rather than a semantically oblique NP.

5.2.1 Applicative suffixes used as transitives.

As defined and exemplified in Chapters 1–4, applicative suffixes signal the semantic role of a non-theme applied object. However, the direct object is a theme in some constructions with relational and redirective suffixes.

5.2.1.1 Relational suffixes used as transitives.

Relational applicative constructions, as defined and illustrated above involve an applied object that is a non-theme, e.g. psychological stimuli, goals of motion or speech acts, and sources of transfer. For example, the suffix *-mi* in the Okanagan example below is a relational suffix that marks the applied object as a psychological stimulus:

- (23) Okanagan (A. Mattina 1994:219)
n-ǰíl-mə-nt-s-ən.
LOC-afraid-REL-TR-2SG.OBJ-1SG.SUB
'I got scared of you.'

However, the suffix *-mi* also forms transitive constructions with theme direct objects.

- (24) Okanagan (A. Mattina 1994:224)
səq̣-mí-s.
split-REL-3SUB
'He split it.'

In some cases, the same verb root also occurs with the general transitive suffix and the difference in meaning in the clauses with and without *-mi* is not clear:

- (25) Okanagan (A. Mattina 1994:224)
 a. səq̣-nt-ís.
 split-TR-3SUB
 ‘He split it.’

In other cases, there seems to be some difference between some difference in meaning between transitive clauses with the general transitive suffix and the relational suffix:

- (26) Okanagan (A. Mattina 1994:218)
 a. čx^w-ant
 liquid.pours/spills-TR
 ‘pour (liquid)’
 b. čx^w-mi-nt
 liquid.pours/spills-REL-TR
 ‘spill (liquid)’

The clause with the relational suffix exhibits a lower degree of transitivity, for example agent control, than the clause with the general transitive suffix does.

Here are some additional examples of transitive constructions in which the applied object is the theme appear with reflexes of *-mi:

- (27) Comox (Watanabe 2003:260)
 huy-mi-t č tiʔi lasup.
 finish-REL-TR 1SG.SUB DEM soup
 ‘I ate the soup all by myself.’
- (28) Squamish (Kuipers 1967:79)
 səq̣-mí-nt-way
 split-REL-TR-RECIP
 ‘split and share’
- (29) Klallam (Montler 2001:#1805, 1837, 1881, 2037, 1806)
 a. cfi-ŋə-stx^w
 put.up-REL-CS
 ‘put up (as pole)’

- b. həwə-ŋí-stx^w
return-REL-CS
'return something'
- c. k^wc-ŋí-t
send-REL-TR
'send (an object)'
- d. q̣^wə-ŋí-t-əŋ
water-REL-TR-PASS
'taken out of water'
- e. čiyə-ŋú-stx^w
put.up-REL-CS
'put up (as pictures)'
- (30) Lushootseed
- a. x^wəb=álič-bi-d
toss=bundle-REL-TR
'toss something over shoulder' (Hess and Bates 2004:186)
- b. yáyus-bi-d
work-REL-TR
'work at it' (Hess 1967:29)
- c. k^wəd-bi-d
take-REL-TR
'steal something' (Hess and Bates 2004:181)
- d. yəl=ači-bi-d
both=hand-REL-TR
'use both hands on something' (Hess and Bates 2004:185)
- (31) Tillamook (Egesdal and M. Thompson 1998:253)
g^wə həʔəy-əwí-s-t-i.
FUT over.there-REL-REL-TR-1SG.SUB
'I will move it [chair] a little ways away.'
- (32) Upper Chehalis (Kinkade 1991:176)
yús-m-n
fix/work-REL-TR
'fix, work on, work at'

- (33) Lillooet (Van Eijk 1997:114)
- a. čáq-miń
throw-REL
'to throw something'
 - b. ʔúqʷaʔ-min
drink-REL
'to drink something away, to lose it by drinking'
 - c. táw-miń
sell-REL
'to sell something'
- (34) Thompson (L. Thompson and M. Thompson 1992:73, 74, 75)
- a. pún-m-s
find-REL(-TR)-3SUB
'find someone'
 - b. ǰ[aʔ]ǰtek-mí-ń-s
RED[RPT.INFX]fitting-REL-TR-3SUB
'[clothing] fits her, suits her (lit. she is appropriate with respect to [the clothing])'
 - c. //téxkən-meh-t//
pack-REL-TR
'carry something in pack on one's back'
- (35) Shuswap (Kuipers 1992:50, 50, 51)
- a. kex-m-n-s
give-REL-TR-3SUB
'give object away'
 - b. sixʷ-m-n-s
spill-REL-TR-3SUB
'spill'
 - c. tw̓ke-mi-n-s
something.for.sale-REL-TR-3SUB
'sell'
- (36) Okanagan (A. Mattina 1994:219, 220, 223, 224, 224)
- a. lut a-ks-náqʷ-m-n-əm.
NEG 2SG.POSS-ASP-steal-REL-TR-PASS
'Don't steal it.'

- b. x^wíç-x-mə-nt-x^w.
give-FMTV-REL-TR-2SG.SUB
'You gave it away.'
- c. t^ʰap-m-ɬ-t-s-ən
shoot-REL-RDR-TR-2SG.OBJ-1SG.SUB
'I shot your gun (gun is the target).'
- a-sululmínk.
2SG.POSS-gun
- d. səq-mí-s.
split-REL-3SUB
'He split it.'
- e. k^wʰ-mi-s.
take.out-REL-3SUB
'He took it off.'

(37) Kalispel (Carlson 1972:104)

- a. p^wčəne:čstəməmtx^w.
//pux^w=içn=ečst-mi-nte-x^w//
blow=back=hand-REL-TR-2SG.SUB
'You scatter it out from the palm of your hand.'
- b. čánəmstən.
//čan-mi-ste-n//
tie/pinch-REL-CS-1SG.SUB
'I tighten it.'

(38) Coeur d'Alene

- a. me^ʰwšəšmnc
//me^ʰw-šəš-m(i)-nt-Ø-s//
break-IDF-REL-TR-3OBJ-3SUB
'he broke something for somebody else' (Doak 1997:66)
- b. k^wu ýteg^wmínšəš x^we nʰalacé.
//k^w ýc-tig^w-min-šəš x^we nʰalacé?//
2SG.SUB CONT-buy-REL-IDF DET raspberry
'You are buying (for us) raspberries.' (Doak 1997:225)
- c. qeý-mín-ən
make.design-REL-1SG.SUB
'I wrote it.' (Shapard 1980: 264)
- d. ʔicməmeʔeʔmístus
//ýc-meʔ-[C₁V₁][C₂]-min-stu-s//
ASP-send-RED-REL-CS-3SUB
'he sends them away' (Doak 2004:128)

- e. x^wépx^wəpmstm.³
 //x^wep-x^wep-m-st-m//
 spread.out-RED(AUG)-REL-CS-PASS
 ‘Blankets are spread here and there.’ (Reichard 1938:635, Doak 1993:78)

(39) Columbian

- a. yər-mí-n-c.
 push-REL-TR-1SG.OBJ(-3SUB)
 ‘He pushed me.’ (Kinkade 1982:53)
- b. nck^wápmsn.
 //n-cək^w=ap-min-stu-n//
 POSS-pull=base-REL-CS-1SG.SUB
 ‘I am dragging it.’ (Willett 2003:281)
- c. khəmhəmpákstmnúnn.
 //k-həm-həmp=akst-min-nun-nt-n//
 PSTN-RED(AUG)-drop=hand-REL-NC-TR-1SG.SUB
 ‘I accidentally dropped it.’ (Willett 2003:283)
- d. k^wúłnmn.
 //k^wułn-mi-nt-n//
 borrow-REL-TR-1SG.SUB
 ‘I am borrowing it.’ (Willett 2003:283)

Similarly, transitive constructions in which the applied object is the theme appear

with reflexes of the suffix **-ni*:

- (40) Lushootseed (Hess and Bates 2004:178)
 ?u-q^wú?q^wa?-di-d čəd.
 PUNCT-drink-REL-TR 1SG.SUB
 ‘I drank it.’
- (41) Upper Chehalis (Kinkade 1991:5, 13, 38, 90, 166)
 a. ?ám-š-ni-x^w
 deliver/take-?-REL-3SG.OBJ
 ‘deliver something , take something somewhere’

³ Ivy Doak (p.c.) supplied the gloss for the verb root.

- b. ʔípx^w-ni-x^w
hide-REL-3SG.OBJ
'hide something'
- c. s-čó:ya-ni-t-n
IMPF-borrow-REL-TR-3SG.SUB
'borrow something'
- d. né:ł-n-n
act.like/imitate-REL-TR
'act like, imitate something/someone'
- e. ʃ^wáy-ni-x^w
lose.someone-REL-3SG.OBJ
'lose someone'

(42) Cowlitz (Kinkade 2004:35, 96, 103, 206, 235)

- a. k^wáys-ni-n-a?!
separate-REL-TR-IMP
'Part it!'
- b. túł-tł-ni-n-a?!
stretch-RED-REL-TR-IMP
'Stretch it!'
- c. wén'-wn'-ni-n-a?!
fold-RED-REL-TR-IMP
'Fold it up!'
- d. łamó-ni-t-m
tie-REL-TR-PASS
'it was tied up, it was caught'
- e. ʔit k^wón-n-m x.
PERF catch-REL-1SG.OBJ
'He caught me.'

Transitive constructions in which the applied object is the theme appear with the suffix *-(a)c*:

- (43) Lushootseed (Bates et al. 1994:185)
- | | | | |
|-----------------------------|------------------|----------|----------------|
| ʔu-ǰil-ag ^w -i-s | čəx ^w | yəxi | diʔ |
| PUNCT-ride-SFX-AUTO-REL | 2SG.SUB | because | the.thing.that |
| dəx ^w -əs-huy-s | tiʔiʔ | s-tiqiw. | |
| PRFX-ST-make-3SUB | DEM | NM-horse | |
- ‘You ride it because that is what a horse is for.’

Transitive constructions in which the applied object is the theme appear with the suffix *-əs*:

- (44) Tillamook (Egesdal and M. Thompson 1998:257)
- a. de c-ǰk^w-əs-wəš.
 ART ST-bite-REL-1SG.OBJ
 ‘He bit me.’
- b. c-xił-əs-yəł.
 ST-hurt-REL-1PL.SUB
 ‘We hurt him.’
- c. de c-š^wq^w-əs-wəš.
 ART ST-push-REL-1SG.OBJ
 ‘He pushed me.’
- d. de c-š^wǰ^w-əs-wəš.
 ART ST-scratch-REL-1SG.OBJ
 ‘It [the cat] scratched me.’

In sum, the use of a relational suffix to refer to a theme nominal, rather than an oblique, is fairly common. It is attested in fifteen of the twenty languages in my sample, and in all of the branches of Salish. Since the relational suffix attaches to intransitive bases to create a transitive verb, its function as a simple transitive suffix is a natural development from its use as an applicative.

In most languages, it is fairly obvious that the applicative use of the relational suffix is the core use and the transitive use is secondary. Table 54 gives the number of examples of each type of use for the examples in my database.

Table 54. Transitive Use of Relational Suffixes

LANG	REL	RELATIONAL USE	TRANSITIVE USE	TOTAL
Cx	-mi	20	1	21
	-ni	2	0	2
Se	-mi	9	0	9
	-ni	3	0	3
Sq	-mi	4	1	5
	-ni	10	0	10
Hl	-me [?]	21	0	21
	-nəs	5	0	5
Nk	-ni	17	0	17
	-ns	3	0	3
NS	-ŋiy	2	0	2
	-nəs	5	0	5
Kl	-ŋi	6	5	11
	-nəs	5	0	5
Ld	-bi	31	9	40
	-di	1	1	2
	-(a)c	18	1	19
Tw	-ac	7	0	7
Ti	-əwi	13	1	14
	-əs	9	6	15
Ch	-mi(s)	9	1	10
	-ni	5	5	10
	-t(a)s	2	0	2
Cz	-mi(s)	10	0	10
	-ni	5	8	13
	-t(a)s	8	0	8
Li	-min	33	7	40
Th	-mi	19	3	22
Sh	-mi	74	25	99
Ok	-mi	7	13	20
Ka	-mi	7	3	10
Cr	-min	6	5	11
Cm	-mi	19	10	29

The suffixes *-ni* in Tsamosan and *-mi* in Okanagan are an unexplained exception to this.

In fact, in all of the Southern Interior Salish languages, the use of *-mi* in simple transitives is very prevalent.

5.2.1.2 Redirective suffixes used as transitives.

The suffixes *-xit* in Lillooet and *-s* in Cowlitz are redirective suffixes that increase the valence of a clause, deriving ditransitive verbs. Contrast the following examples:

(45) Lillooet

a. ʔaž-xi-c-as ti n-sqácəzʔ a ti káh a.
buy-RDR-1SG.OBJ-3SUB DET 1SG.POSS-father PTC DET car PTC
'My father bought a car for me.' (Van Eijk 1987:325)

b. qʷús-xit-kan ti číʔ a.
shoot-RDR-1SG.SUB DET deer PTC
'I shot the deer.' (Van Eijk 1997:116)

(45a) is a redirective applicative construction with three participant NPs, and the theme NP 'a car' is not marked oblique. The first-person singular applied object is interpreted as a benefactive. However, (45b) is an example of an applicative suffix used in a simple transitive clause. This sentence has only two participants and the object is the theme.⁴

We see another example of this type with the Cowlitz redirective suffix *-s*:

(46) Cowlitz (Kinkade 2004:36)

kʷáp-s-t
straight-RDR-TR
'straighten it out'

The suffix *-s* is attested with only three roots, and in the other two examples it seems to function as a redirective (see section 4.2.3).

⁴ Van Eijk (1987:233) lists this verb root with the general transitive followed by the reflexive suffix as *qʷus-an-cút* 'to shoot oneself', and otherwise it either appears with *-xit* or with the general intransitive as *√qʷús-ə̯m* 'to shoot'.

The Cowlitz suffix may be cognate to the Tillamook suffix *-əs*, which is used as a redirective and followed by S-objects in some examples. Thus, there may in fact be two distinct suffixes of the form *-əs* in Tillamook: one a relational suffix, and the other a cognate of the Cowlitz redirective suffix *-s*.

Relational suffixes function as simple transitive suffixes more often than redirective suffixes do. This is probably due to the fact that the primary function of relational suffixes is to increase syntactic valence from intransitive to transitive. Redirective suffixes, on the other hand, attach to bases that are already transitive.

5.2.2 Applicative suffixes as causative.

Applicative suffixes may also function as causative suffixes. Causative suffixes are used primarily to indicate that ‘something causes someone to do/be something’. See the following Squamish examples:

- (47) Squamish (Kuipers 1967:397)
- a. čn (?i-)páqʷał.
 1SG.SUB (FMTV-)afraid
 ‘I get scared.’
 - b. čn ʔi-páqʷał-ni-t.
 1SG.SUB FMTV-afraid-REL-TR
 ‘I got frightened of it.’
 - c. ʔi-páqʷał-s
 FMTV-afraid-CS
 ‘scare, frighten [someone]’

(47a) is an intransitive clause, (47b) is a relational applicative clause, and (47c) is a causative transitive clause. In (47a) and (47b), the subject is the experiencer, while in (47c), the object is the experiencer.

However, applicative suffixes may also convey causative functions in some clauses:

- (48) Shuswap (Kuipers 1992:51)
 qəx^w-mi-n-s
 scare.away-REL-TR-3SUB
 ‘frighten [someone]’

In (48), the experiencer is the direct object, not the subject, even though a relational suffix, not the causative suffix, is suffixed to the verb. The semantic relation between the subject and the object is the same as the one that obtains in the causative transitive construction (47c). Examples of reflexes of **-mi* used this way are attested in several languages:

- (49) Tillamook (Egesdal and M. Thompson 1998:254)

- a. g^wəʔ yuq-ówi-n.
 FUT die-REL-TR
 ‘He will kill him.’
- b. de c-wəg^w[-əg^w]al-ówi-n.
 ART ST-live[-RED(OC)]-REL-TR
 ‘He rescued him.’
- c. g^wə nəš-g^wəl-əwí-n-i.
 FUT LOC-warm-REL-TR-1SG.SUB
 ‘I will make it hot.’
- d. de c-waš^wən-ówi-n.
 ART ST-cry-REL-TR
 ‘He made him cry.’

- (50) Lillooet (Van Eijk 1997:120, 122, 122, 122)

- a. kɫ=ákaʔ-min
 take.off=hand-REL
 ‘to release one’s grip on something, to let go of something’

- b. saŵt-mín-əm
slave-REL-PASS
'he was taken slave'
- c. čáz'q-min
cushion-REL
'to use something for a cushion'
- d. stqín-min
pillow-REL
'to use something for a pillow'

- (51) Thompson (L. Thompson and M. Thompson 1992:74)
sək-mín-m-ci-me.
stick-INST-REL-TR:1SG.OBJ-PASS
'I fall headlong (lit. something makes me act like a stick or rod with relation to [the ground]).'
- (52) Shuswap (Kuipers 1992:51)
- a. kʷəł-nəʒel-m-n-s
under/below-afraid-REL-TR-3SUB
'use as a scarecrow'
 - b. kł=ekst-m-n-s
come.off/be.released=hand-REL-TR-3SUB
'drop, let go of (release hand from)'
 - c. səc-mi-n-s
lie-REL-TR-3SUB
'put, place sg. object'
 - d. sŵ-t-mi-n-s
slave-STATUS-REL-TR-3SUB
'enslave'

Causative constructions in which the direct object is causee are attested with reflexes of the relational suffix **-ni*:

- (53) Upper Chehalis (Kinkade 1991:168)
ʒʷíy-n-n
threaten-REL-TR
'threaten someone'

I have found only one example of a redirective suffix in a causative construction:

- (54) Thompson (L. Thompson and M. Thompson 1980:28)
 ʔexícmxʷ.
 //ʔəh-xi-t-sem-exʷ//
 good-RDR-TR-1SG.OBJ-2SG.SUB
 ‘You make me happy.’

Co-occurrence with the causative suffix is generally a property of intransitive verbs in Salish (Gerdtz 1988b:157ff). This is probably why relational suffixes are used in causative constructions more often than redirective suffixes are.

5.2.3 Summary.

The instances of relational or redirective suffixes used to express transitive or causative events are summarized in Table 55:

Table 55. Transitive or Causative Use of Relationals

SUFFIX	RELATIONAL USE	TRANSITIVE USE	CAUSATIVE USE	TOTAL
*-mi	290	83	23	396
*-ni	43	14	1	58
*-nəs	18	0	0	18
-(a)c	25	1	1	27
-əs	9	6	0	15
-t(a)s	10	0	0	10

As mentioned earlier, the use of relational suffixes to express transitivity is observed in all Salish languages except five Central Salish languages (Sechelt, Halkomelem, Nooksack, Northern Straits, and Twana). Perhaps this shows that the function of relational suffixes is more stable in Central Salish than the other branches. The use of relational suffixes to express causatives is also observed, though it is less common than the transitive use.

- (57) Bella Coola (P. Davis and Saunders 1997:52)
 k̓c-a-yamk-i-s ti-ʔimlk-tx ti-ħic-tx
 chop-INTR-APPL-3SG.OBJ-3SG.SUB ART-man-DEM ART-axe-DEM
 ʔał-ti-stn-tx.
 PREP-ART-log-DEM
 ‘The man used the axe to chop on the log with.’
- (58) Bella Coola (P. Davis and Saunders 1997:51)
 cp-a-yamk-i-s ti-ʔimlk-tx ti-cmpu:sta-tx.
 wipe-INTR-APPL-3SG.OBJ-3SG.SUB ART-man-DEM ART-towel-DEM
 ‘The man used the towel to wipe.’

P. Davis and Saunders (1997) analyze the suffix *-a* as antipassive, and Nater (1984) analyzes it as an detransitivizer that is suffixed to an unmarked transitive base. In examples (57) and (58), if the applicative suffix *-amk* is used as a redirective (i.e. instrumental), it should be suffixed on a transitive base, not an intransitive one. Thus it is unexpected to see the non-transitive suffix *-a* followed by the suffix *-amk*.

Furthermore, the suffix *-amk* is not only used as a redirective applicative suffix.

Nater (1984:63–64) summarizes the functions of *-amk* as follows:⁵

- (59) a. intransitive base + *-amk* → transitive verb
 b. transitive base + *-amk* → transitive verb
 c. intransitive base + *-amk* → intransitive verb

Thus, *-amk* sometimes functions as a relational applicative suffix (59a), but in other cases, it does not increase the valency of the verb at all (59b)–(59c).

Nater (1984:64) explains (59b) further: the suffix *-amk* can convey special meanings with transitive bases. For example, as (59b) is exemplified by (60b), *-amk*

⁵ Nater (1984) lists the suffix as *-(y)amk*: it appears as *-yamk* following *a*.

b. nuyamł-amk-i-c tx.
 sing-APPL-3SG.OBJ-1SG.SUB him
 ‘I am singing (a song) about him.’

(67) Bella Coola (P. Davis and Saunders 1997:61)
 ʔayuc-amk-ci-nu.⁶
 say-APPL-1SG.SUB-2SG.OBJ
 ‘I’m going to mention you (your name).’

The suffix *-amk* occurs with a motion verb to form relational applicatives in which the applied object is the goal (68b):

(68) Bella Coola (P. Davis and Saunders 1997:61)

a.	ʔawł-m-ic	ti	ʔimlk	tx.
	follow-APPL-3SG.OBJ-1SG.SUB	ART	man	DEM
	‘I’ll go and follow the man.’			
b.	ʔawł-amk-i-c	ti	ʔimlk	tx.
	follow-APPL-3SG.OBJ-1SG.SUB	ART	man	DEM
	‘I’ll run after him for someone.’			

Example (68a) is an applicative construction with *-m*, and the applied object is the goal of the motion predicate. Example (68b) is an applicative construction with *-amk*, and the applied object is also the goal of the motion predicate, but a benefactive reading is also implied.

The suffix *-amk* can occur with body position predicates; in this case, the applied object may be a benefactive (69b) or a location (70b):

(69) Bella Coola (P. Davis and Saunders 1997:65)

a.	ʔmt	ʔał	tx.
	sit	PREP	him
	‘He’s sitting with him.’/‘He’s sitting on account of him.’		

⁶ When the object is second person, the subject suffix precedes the object suffix (Nater 1984:38).

- b. ʔmt-amk-i-s.
 sit-APPL-3SG.OBJ-3SG.SUB
 ‘He has to go and sit there for him.’

(70) Bella Coola (P. Davis and Saunders 1997:64)

- a. kułank ti ʔimmlki: tx ʔał ti man-s tx.
 beside ART boy DEM PREP ART father-3SG.POSS DEM
 ‘The boy is beside his father.’

- b. kułank-amk-i-s ti ʔimmlki: tx
 beside-APPL-3SG.OBJ-3SG.SUB ART boy DEM
 ti man-s tx.
 ART father-3SG.POSS DEM

‘The boy is going to sit alongside his father.’

We see then that, in its relational use, the suffix *-amk* forms applicatives based on the same sorts of predicates as we have seen elsewhere in Salish, as summarized in Table 57:

Table 57. Semantic Roles of Applied Objects and Predicate Classes with *-amk*

LANG	RDR	REL					
	INST	EXPERIENCE	EXPRESS	ACT	MOVE	TRANSFER	NATURE
Be	✓	✓	✓		✓		

There are no examples in the database of instrumental applied objects in other Salish languages.

Furthermore, it is generally the case in the other Salish languages that redirective applicatives are the only way to express the non-theme NP. For example, the dative NP in Halkomelem can be the applied object in an applicative construction (71)a, but not an oblique NP in a non-applicative (71)b:

(71) Halkomelem

a. *neṃ cən saṃ-əs-t ɬə sɬeniʔ ʔə θə-nə snəxʷəl.*
 AUX 1SG.SUB sell-RDR-TR DET woman OBL DET-1SG.POSS canoe/car
 ‘I’m going to sell my car to the woman.’ (Gerds and Hinkson 2003:66)

b. **neṃ cən saṃ-ət θə-nə snəxʷəl ʔə ɬə sɬeniʔ.*
 AUX 1SG.SUB sell-TR DET-1SG.POSS canoe OBL DET woman
 ‘I’m going to sell my car to the woman.’ (Donna Gerds p.c.)

In contrast, non-applicative parallels are available for many applicative examples in Bella

Coola (example (56) repeated here as (72)):

(72) Bella Coola (P. Davis and Saunders 1997:32, 50)

a. *cp-i-s ti ʔimllki: tx ti ǰʷxʷmtimut tx*
 wipe-3SG.OBJ-3SG.SUB ART boy DEM ART car DEM

ʔaɬ ti cɸmpu:sta tx.
 PREP ART towel DEM

‘The boy wiped the car with the towel.’

b. *cp-amk-i-s ti ʔimllki: tx ti cɸmpu:sta tx*
 wipe-APPL-3SG.OBJ-3SG.SUB ART boy DEM ART towel DEM

ʔuɬ ti ǰʷxʷmtimut tx.
 PREP ART car DEM

‘The boy used the towel to wipe the car.’

In the simple transitive sentence (72a), the instrument ‘the towel’ appears in a prepositional phrase, and the direct object is ‘the car’. In the redirective applicative sentence (72b), the instrument ‘the towel’ is the applied object and the theme ‘the car’ is in a prepositional phrase. The theme ‘the car’ is focused in (72a) and the instrument ‘the towel’ is focused in (72b), since they are placed in the direct object position, as reflected in the English translations.

5.3.2 Applicative suffix *-m*.

The suffix *-m* attaches to predicates expressing desire to form relational applicatives in which the applied object is the goal:

(73) Bella Coola (P. Davis and Saunders 1997:35, 60)

a. ʔanayk ti ɬxanm tx ʔaɬ ti sxʷpaniɬ tx.
 want ART hunter DEM PREP ART deer DEM
 ‘The hunter wanted the deer.’

b. ʔanayk-m-i-s ti nusʔu:lɬ tx ti sɬqan tx.
 want-APPL-3SG.OBJ-3SG.SUB ART thief DEM ART necklace DEM
 ‘The thief wanted the necklace.’

The suffix *-m* attaches to speech act predicates to form relational applicatives in which the applied object is the goal:

(74) Bella Coola (P. Davis and Saunders 1997:61)

ʔayuc-m-ci-nu.
 say-APPL-1SG.SUB-2SG.OBJ
 ‘I’m going to tell you (it).’

(75) Bella Coola (P. Davis and Saunders 1997:59)

cut-m-is ti ɬkʷɬx tx ti ʔimmlki: tx.
 speak-APPL-3SG.OBJ-3SG.SUB ART old.person DEM ART boy DEM
 ‘The old man told the boy.’

(76) Bella Coola (Nater 1984:62)

ʔaxws-m
 holler-APPL
 ‘to holler at somebody’

The suffix *-m* attaches to predicates expressing social interaction to form relational applicatives in which the applied object is the goal:

(77) Bella Coola (P. Davis and Saunders 1997:35, 60)

a. smatmx ti ʔimlk tx ʔuɬ ti ʔimmlki: tx.
 friend ART man DEM PREP ART boy DEM
 ‘The man is a friend to/friendly to the boy.’

(82) Bella Coola (P. Davis and Saunders 1997:50)

a. nuyamł ti man tx ʔuł ti mna-s tx
 sing ART father DEM PREP ART son-3SG.POSS DEM
 x ti syut tx.
 PREP ART song DEM

‘The father sang the song to his son.’

b. nuyamł-amk-i-s ti man tx ti syut tx
 sing-APPL-3SG.OBJ-3SG.SUB ART father DEM ART song DEM
 ʔuł ti mna-s tx.
 PREP ART son-3SG.POSS DEM

‘The father sang the song to his son.’

c. nuyamł-m-i-s ti man tx ti mna-s tx
 sing-APPL-3SG.OBJ-3SG.SUB ART father DEM ART son-3SG.POSS DEM
 x ti syut tx.
 PREP ART song DEM

‘The father sang his son the song.’

The examples listed in (82) have three participants: an agent ‘the father’, a theme ‘the song’, and a goal ‘his son’. (82a) is an intransitive sentence, and the theme and goal NPs are marked with prepositions. (82b) is a transitive sentence; the suffix *-amk* functions as a transitive suffix, the theme is the direct object, and the goal is marked with a preposition. (82c) is an applicative sentence, the goal is the applied object, and the theme is marked with a preposition.

The semantics of *-m* are summarized in Table 58:

Table 58. Semantic Roles of Applied Objects and Predicate Classes with *-m*

LANG	RDR	REL					
	DAT	EXPERIENCE	EXPRESS	ACT	MOVE	TRNSP	NATURE
Be	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓		

- (87) Bella Coola (P. Davis and Saunders 1997:50)
- | | | | | | | |
|---------------------------|-----|--------------|-----|-----|------|-----|
| nuyamɨ-amk-i-s | ti | man | tx | ti | syut | tx |
| sing-APPL-3SG.OBJ-3SG.SUB | ART | father | DEM | ART | song | DEM |
| ʔuɬ | ti | mna-s | tx. | | | |
| PREP | ART | son-3SG.POSS | DEM | | | |
- ‘The father sang the song to his son.’

The object in the above examples is the theme.

5.3.4 The Bella Coola puzzle.

Even though there are two applicative suffixes, the Bella Coola system diverges from the picture of Salish applicatives given above in several ways:

- a) Bella Coola does not have any reflexes of the proto-Salish applicative forms;
- b) Both Bella Coola applicative suffixes, *-amk* and *-m*, are used in both redirective and relational constructions; and
- c) Bella Coola is the only Salish language in which instrumental applied objects are attested.

Let’s take a close look at some applicative data in Bella Coola. The applied object in the redirective applicative constructions is an instrument with *-amk* (88), and dative or benefactive with *-m* (89):

- (88) Bella Coola (P. Davis and Saunders 1997:50)
- | | | | | | | |
|---------------------------|-----|--------------|-----|-----|-----------|-----|
| cp-amk-i-s | ti | ʔimmlki: | tx | ti | cpmpu:sta | tx |
| wipe-APPL-3SG.OBJ-3SG.SUB | ART | boy | DEM | ART | towel | DEM |
| ʔuɬ | ti | q̣ʷx̣ʷmtimut | tx. | | | |
| PREP | ART | car | DEM | | | |
- ‘The boy used the towel to wipe the car.’

- (89) Bella Coola (P. Davis and Saunders 1997:50)
 nuyamɪ-m-i-s ti man tx ti mna-s tx
 sing-APPL-3SG.OBJ-3SG.SUB ART father DEM ART son-3SG.POSS DEM
 x ti syut tx.
 PREP ART song DEM
 ‘The father sang his son the song.’

The semantic role of the applied objects in the relational applicative constructions below are psychological stimulus (90), goal of desire (91), goal of a speech act (92), content of a speech act (93), goal of social interaction (94), goal of motion (95), and location of body position (96), (97):

- (90) Bella Coola (P. Davis and Saunders 1997:51)
 yum-amk-i-c ti smatmx-c tx.
 ashamed-APPL-3SG.OBJ-1SG.SUB ART friend-1SG.POSS DEM
 ‘I’m ashamed of my friend.’
- (91) Bella Coola (P. Davis and Saunders 1997:60)
 ʔanayk-m-i-s ti nusʔu:lǰ tx ti sɬqan tx.
 want-APPL-3SG.OBJ-3SG.SUB ART thief DEM ART necklace DEM
 ‘The thief wanted the necklace.’
- (92) Bella Coola (P. Davis and Saunders 1997:59)
 cut-m-is ti ɬkʷlx tx ti ʔimmlki: tx.
 speak-APPL-3SG.OBJ-3SG.SUB ART old.person DEM ART boy DEM
 ‘The old man told the boy.’
- (93) Bella Coola (Nater 1984:63)
 ʔaalač-amk-iit-i-c ti qʷaǰʷ tx.
 tell-APPL-FMTV?-3SG.OBJ-1SG.SUB ART raven DEM
 ‘I am telling something about Raven.’
- (94) Bella Coola (Nater 1984:62)
 talaws-m
 get.married-APPL
 ‘to marry somebody’
- (95) Bella Coola (P. Davis and Saunders 1997:60)
 puǰ-m-i-s ti ʔimlk tx ti nusʔu:lǰ tx.
 come-APPL-3SG.OBJ-3SG.SUB ART man DEM ART thief DEM
 ‘The man attacked the thief.’

5.4 Summary.

The majority of applicative suffixes in Salish languages can be classified as either relational or redirective. However, some applicative suffixes are used in both types of constructions. Thus, the boundary between relational and redirective is not always clearly set. Moreover, the boundary between applicative and transitive is unclear. Applicatives, by definition, should involve a non-theme as the applied object. But in some cases, the object in the applicative bears the semantic role of theme, thus paralleling simple transitive constructions. Several languages have one or more applicatives that act exceptionally to the typology that I have posited for Salish languages in Chapters 3 and 4. Moreover, as we have seen above, neither of the two Bella Coola applicatives behave in the classic fashion. They attach to both intransitive and transitive bases and they show both valence-increasing and valence-maintaining uses.

In terms of the Proto-Salish picture, we can posit that a two-way typology of applicatives and the association with the relational applicative to the suffix **-mi* and the redirective applicative to the suffix **-xi* goes back to Proto-Salish. We have seen that some languages add to this system. Sometimes the original suffixes are lost, but in this case the languages replace the expression of those concepts with other applicative suffixes. In addition, we have seen that applicative suffixes in many languages have taken on other functions. Either often generalize in terms of the types of verbs they appear on and also they take on non-applicative functions.

In Bella Coola, however, the applicative system is different in both form and function from the other Salish languages. Thus, the Bella Coola system has undergone a great deal of change since Bella Coola split from the other languages. It is not surprising

that Bella Coola applicatives do not fit into the Salish applicative system. As Czaykowska-Higgins and Kinkade (1998:4) point out, “Bella Coola on the North Coast of British Columbia is the most divergent of the Salish languages, showing influences of its Wakashan neighbors, as well as a number of innovations specific to it.” It would be interesting to investigate whether the neighboring Wakashan (Haisla and Heiltsuk-Oowekyala) and Athapaskan (Chilcotin and Dakelh) languages possess applicative systems similar to Bella Coola’s. That would help ascertain whether the Bella Coola system deviated from the one found elsewhere in Salish languages due to internal or external factors.

Alternatively, perhaps the correct viewpoint would be to posit that the system I have reconstructed for Proto-Salish in fact goes back only to the common ancestor of the other languages after Bella Coola split off from the family. However, given the fact that several other Salish languages have miscellaneous applicative suffixes that behave outside the core system in exactly the way that the Bella Coola ones do, it is probably more reasonable to view these exceptions as natural developments from the core use of applicatives.

Chapter 6: A Closer Look at Transitive Marking.

In Chapter 5, we saw that the semantic distinction between applicative suffixes and transitive suffixes is not always clear. In fact, applicative suffixes, especially relational suffixes, are used frequently as transitive suffixes. In this chapter I look at transitive marking in more detail. In section 6.1, I show that the function of transitive markers is not straightforward; in some cases they function like applicative suffixes. In section 6.2, I talk about transitive marking and object pronouns in applicative constructions. There are two sets of object pronouns in Salish, and they are for the most part selected based on which transitive suffix appears on the verb. However, the selection of objects in applicative constructions is quite complex, because verbs in applicative constructions sometimes take transitive marking and sometimes do not. I speculate on possible explanations.

6.1 Transitive suffixes used as applicatives.

In Salish languages, both transitives and applicatives are morphologically marked on the predicate. However, semantically, the difference in function between applicative and simple transitive suffixes, and between applicative and causative suffixes seems to be very blurred in some cases. Applicative suffixes can be used for transitive or causative functions, and transitive or causative suffixes can be used for applicative functions.

6.1.1 General transitive suffix used as applicative.

As discussed in section 5.2, it is fairly common for relational suffixes to be used in simple transitive constructions in which the object is a theme nominal, as in the following Lillooet examples.

- (1) Lillooet (Van Eijk 1997:114)
- a. $\acute{c}á\acute{q}$ - $m\acute{i}\acute{n}$
throw-REL
'to throw something'
 - b. $\text{ʔúq}^w\text{a}^?$ - $m\acute{i}\acute{n}$
drink-REL
'to drink something away, to lose it by drinking'
 - c. $táw$ - $m\acute{i}\acute{n}$
sell-REL
'to sell something'

This function is attested in fifteen languages and in all of the branches of Salish. However, the use of redirective suffixes to refer to a theme nominal is extremely rare. Only two examples (one each in Lillooet and Cowlitz) are attested.

Since relational suffixes attach to intransitive predicates and increase syntactic valence, their function as simple transitive suffixes is a natural development. On the other hand, redirective suffixes attach to transitive predicates, so it is not a natural development for them to be used to increase valence, since Salish clauses are limited to at most two arguments.

The opposite situation also holds: the transitive suffix functions like an applicative. Although a thorough discussion of transitive suffixes is outside the scope of this thesis, it is clear that many Salish languages use the general transitive suffix in clauses where the direct object is a non-theme nominal. Sometimes the general transitive

suffix functions like a relational applicative; that is, it derives a transitive verb from an intransitive verb. For example, observe the intransitive motion verbs and speech act verbs in (2a)–(5a) examples and their transitive counterparts in (2b)–(5b), in which the direct object is a goal.

(2) Halkomelem (Gerds and Hukari 2000)

- a. $\dot{i}ic\acute{a}m$
'swim along'
- b. $\dot{i}cim-\acute{a}t$
swim-TR
'swim after it (to get it)'

(3) Halkomelem (Gerds and Hukari 2000)

- a. $n\acute{a}q\acute{a}m$
'dive down'
- b. $n\acute{a}q\acute{e}m-\acute{a}t$
dive down-TR
'dive down for it'

(4) Lillooet (Van Eijk 1997:110)

- a. $sq^w\acute{a}l$
'to report'
- b. $sq^w\acute{a}l-\acute{a}n$
report-TR
'to report to somebody'

(5) Lillooet (Van Eijk 1997:110)

- a. $w\acute{a}^?áw$
'shout, holler'
- b. $w\acute{a}^?áw-\acute{a}n$
shout/holler-TR
'to shout, holler at somebody'

Also, the use of the general transitive suffix in a redirective function is typically observed with verbs meaning 'give', which take a nominal with the semantic role of dative as direct object; none of the following examples have applicative morphology:

- (6) Sechelt (Beaumont 1985:138)
 yát-cí-čen-sk^wa ʔe še sʔíften, we íéqíš-ax^w.
 give-TR:2SG.OBJ-1SG.SUB-FUT OBL DET food if sit.down-2SG.SUB
 ‘I’ll give you some food if you sit down.’
- (7) Lillooet (H. Davis and Matthewson 2003:99)
 táw-en-łkan k^w-s John na xín a n-kaoh a.
 sell-TR-1SG.SUB DET-NM John DET.ABSENT old PTC 1SG.POSS-car PTC
 ‘I sold John my old car.’
- (8) Coeur d’Alene (Doak 1997:123)
 číł-t-ulmi-t.
 give-TR-2PL.OBJ-1PL.SUB/PASS
 ‘We gave it to you folks./It was given to you folks.’
- (9) Shuswap (Kuipers 1974:211)
 kəx-cí-n yɣiʔ.
 give-TR:2SG.OBJ this
 ‘I give you this.’

Thus we see that clauses with the semantic function of an applicative construction can be formed simply with a transitive suffix in Salish languages.

6.1.2 Causative suffix used as applicative.

As discussed in section 5.2.2 above, it is fairly common to see a relational suffix used as a causative suffix, though not as frequent as seeing a transitive suffix used for this purpose. See, for example, the following from Tillamook:

- (10) Tillamook (Egesdal and M. Thompson 1998:254)
- a. g^wəʔ yuq-əwi-n.
 FUT die-REL-TR
 ‘He will kill him.’
- b. g^wə nəš-g^wəl-əwí-n-i.
 FUT LOC-warm-REL-TR-1SG.SUB
 ‘I will make it hot.’

- c. de c-waχ^wən-əwi-n.
 ART ST-cry-REL-TR
 ‘He made him cry.’

However, the use of a redirective suffix to function like a causative is extremely rare. Only one example (in Thompson) is attested. This is, again, due to the transitivity of the bases that applicatives attach to. Since both relational and causative suffixes attach to intransitive predicates and increase syntactic valence, the use of the relational suffix as the causative suffix is a natural development.

The opposite pattern is also observed: the causative suffix can be used as an applicative. The applicative use of the causative suffix is attested only in some languages. It is common for the causative suffix to be used as relational, especially in Central Salish languages:

- (11) Comox (Watanabe 1996:328)
 a. q^wi q^w-q^way-stu-mi t^θəm.
 ?-talk-CS-2SG.OBJ 1SG.SUB:FUT
 ‘I’ll talk to you.’
 b. ɬəχ-stu-mi č.
 bad-CS-2SG.OBJ 1SG.SUB
 ‘I don’t like you.’
- (12) Sechelt (Beaumont 1985:113)
 a. ʔíy-stex^w
 good-CS
 ‘like’
 b. máy-stex^w
 bad-CS
 ‘dislike’
- (13) Squamish (Kuipers 1967:73–74)
 a. haʔɬ-s
 good-CS
 ‘like’

- b. qi-s
bad-CS
'dislike'
- c. ʔalʔ-s
hurt-CS
'feel sorry (for someone)'
- d. č̣i-č̣aỵ-s
RED-follow-CS
'follow, chase'
- (14) Halkomelem (Gerdt 1988b:28)
- a. q^wəl-stəx^w
speak-CS
'speak to him/her/it'
- b. ʔáy-stəx^w
good-CS
'like him/her/it'
- c. qəl-stəx^w
bad-CS
'hate him/her/it'
- d. státəl-stəx^w
understand-CS
'know him/her/it'
- (15) Northern Straits (Montler 1986:172)
- | | |
|--|---------|
| q ^w éltx ^w | sən. |
| //q ^w eɪ-stəx ^w -Ø | sən// |
| talk-CS-3SG.OBJ | 1SG.SUB |
- 'I talked to him.'
- (16) Klallam (Montler 1996:263)
- ʔiʔ-tá-s
good-CS-3SUB
'enjoy, feel good toward'
- (17) Lushootseed (Bates et al. 1994:95)
- g^wə-g^wa(d)-tx^w
RED-talk-CS
'berate/scold someone'

- (18) Tillamook (Egesdal and M. Thompson 1998:258)
 de c-šəʔəy-stx^w-i.
 ART ST-scold-CS-1SG.SUB
 ‘I scolded him.’

Also, in Halkomelem, when the causative suffix attaches to denominal verbs, which are intransitive constructions in Salish, it has a benefactive, not a causative function (Gerds and Hukari 2004b:206):

- (19) Halkomelem (Gerds and Hukari 2004b:206)
- a. niʔ c-tʰeleʔ-stəx^w-əs tʰə šəšiyəł-s.
 AUX VBL-heart-CS-3SUB DET elder.sibling(PL)-3sg.POSS
 ‘He made hearts for his older brothers.’
- b. neṃ c-šəłtən-staṃš!
 go VBL-pencil-CS:1OBJ
 ‘Go get me a pencil!’
- c. niʔ tx^w-səplil-stəx^w-əs ɬə sʔeniʔ k^wθə
 AUX VBL-bread-CS-3SUB DET woman DET
 meṃəṃə-s.
 children-3sg.POSS
 ‘The woman bought bread for her children.’

So we see the causative suffix is frequently functions like a relational applicative. On the other hand, the causative suffix is rarely used as a redirective applicative. Presumably, this is because in general causative suffixes are attached only to intransitive bases. However, Gerds and Hukari (2006a) note that the causative suffix in Halkomelem functions as an applicative when it is attached to a small class of transitive verbs. The object in the transitive construction is a source in (20a) and a goal in (21a), while the object in the causative construction is a benefactive in (20b)–(21b).

(20) Halkomelem (Gerds and Hukari 2006a:142–3)

a. nił ɬwet kʷə niʔ qeʔən-t tʰəń siłə ʔə
 3EMPH who DET AUX steal-TR DET:2POSS grandparent OBL
 kʷəθə sewən-s?
 DET lunch-3POSS

‘Who stole your grandfather’s lunch from him?’

b. nem č ceʔ qəń-stəxʷ tʰəń səlsilə ʔə
 go 2SG.SUB FUT steal-CS DET:2POSS grandparent(PL) OBL
 kʷəθə sciyə.
 DET strawberry

‘You’re going to steal some strawberries for your grandparents.’

(21) Halkomelem (Gerds and Hukari 2006a:143)

a. calaʔt-t č tʰəń men ʔə θəń snəxʷəł.
 borrow/lend-TR 2SG.SUB DET:2POSS father OBL DET:2POSS canoe/car
 ‘Lend your father your car.’

b. niʔ ʔə č calaʔt-stəxʷ kʷəθə John ʔə kʷ telə?
 AUX Q 2SG.SUB borrow/lend-CS DET John OBL DET money
 ‘Did you borrow some money for John?’

Thus we see that applicative suffixes can function as causatives, and also the causative suffix function as applicatives. Their shared functions are expected because both involve valence-increasing operations (from intransitive to transitive, or from transitive to ditransitive). Further, both take non-theme objects. Causees in many languages, like most applied objects in Salish languages, are usually higher animates. In fact, in many languages, e.g. Hualapai (Ichihashi-Nakayama 1996), Orizaba Nahuatl (Tuggy 1996), and Olutec (Zavala 2000), the same suffix to be used for both applicative and causative constructions.

6.2 Transitive marking and objects in applicatives.

In this section, I discuss several puzzles that arise concerning the interaction of applicatives and transitive marking. The first puzzle concerns the presence or absence of transitive marking in applicative constructions. As observed in data cited in the previous chapters, in some examples the applicative suffix is immediately followed by a transitive suffix (22), while in other examples the applicative suffix does not appear to be followed by a transitive suffix (23):

(22) Halkomelem (Donna Gerdts, p.c.)
 niʔ cən siʔsiʔ-meʔ-t-əs kʷθə swiwləs kʷθə John.
 AUX 1SG.SUB frighten-REL-TR-3SUB DET boy DET John
 ‘The boy was frightened at John.’

(23) Halkomelem (Gerdts 2004:330)
 niʔ nəm-nəs-əs kʷθə swiwləs kʷθə John.
 AUX GO-REL-3SUB DET boy DET John
 ‘The boy went up to John.’

The transitive suffix intervenes between the relational suffix and the ergative suffix in (22), but not in (23).

The second puzzle concerns object marking. There are two sets of object pronouns in Salish—S-objects and M-objects—selected, for the most part, based on the transitive suffix appearing on the verb. S-objects appear with the general transitive suffix, and M-objects appear elsewhere.

The third puzzle is that applicative constructions in some languages contradict this generalization. We see both types of exceptions, cases in which the applicative is followed by the general transitive suffix but the objects are from the M-object set, and cases in which there is no general transitive suffix but the objects are from the S-object set.

As the reader has probably noticed in the examples given throughout this thesis, objects in applicative constructions are sometimes from the S-object set and sometimes from the M-object set. This section tries to shed some light on the distribution of the object suffixes.

For the most part, the object set is predictable: when the applicative suffix is followed by the general transitive suffix, the object is from the S-object set. When the applicative suffix not followed by the general transitive suffix, the object is from the M-object set.

Most applicative suffixes are followed by the general transitive suffix, and thus the object suffix is from the S-object set. For example, the suffixes *-əs* in Halkomelem (27), *-t* in Okanagan (28), and *-meʔ* in Halkomelem (29), are all followed by the general transitive suffix, and thus their objects are from the S-object set:

- (27) Halkomelem (Gerds and Hinkson 2003:66)
 niʔ ʔiʷ-əs-θaɪ̃š-əs ʔə kʷθə qeq-s.
 AUX show-RDR-TR:1SG.(S)OBJ-3SUB OBL DET baby-3POSS
 ‘She showed me her baby.’
- (28) Okanagan (N. Mattina 1993:274)
 təxʷ captikʷ(l)-t-t-s-ən.
 PRT storytell-RDR-TR-2SG.(S)OBJ-1SG.SUB
 ‘I’ll tell you a story.’
- (29) Halkomelem (Gerds and Kiyosawa 2003:133)
 niʔ siʔsiʔ-meʔ-θaɪ̃š-əs kʷθə sməyəθ.
 AUX frighten-RDR-TR:1SG.(S)OBJ-3SUB DET deer
 ‘The deer was frightened of me.’

In contrast, the suffix *-nəs* in Halkomelem (30), *-(a)c* in Lushootseed (31), and *-t(a)s* in Cowlitz (32) are not followed by the general transitive suffix, and thus their object suffixes are from the M-object set:

- (30) Halkomelem (Gerds 1988b:141)
 ?i ?e wə-nəs-ámš-əs ɬə sléni?
 AUX come-REL-1SG.(M)OBJ-3SUB DET woman
 ‘The woman comes to me.’
- (31) Lushootseed (Bates et al. 1994:33)
 ?u-balii-c-əbš čəxʷ.
 PUNCT-forget-REL-1SG.(M)OBJ 2SG.SUB
 ‘You forgot me.’
- (32) Cowlitz (Kinkade 2004:79)
 qʷól-ts-mi.
 happy-REL-2SG.(M)OBJ
 ‘He made up with you.’

Object-marking in most applicative constructions is captured by this generalization. But other patterns are seen in the data as well, as I will discuss in the following sections. Object marking in applicatives is summarized in Table 61. I list each applicative suffix and code it for the relational/redirective distinction. I indicate in the TR column whether or not a transitive suffix follows the applicative suffix. I say whether the object is from the S-object set or the M-object set. In the case of splits in the data, I give totals in parenthesis for examples of each type in my database.

Table 61. Object marking in applicatives

LANG	SUFFIX	REL/RDR	TR	OBJECT SUFFIX	
Most Salish	*-mi	REL	YES	S-OBJECT	
Ch, Cz	-mi	REL	YES	S-OBJECT	
Ch, Cz	-mis	REL	NO		M-OBJECT?
Cx, Se, Sq, Nk, Ld	*-ni	REL	YES	S-OBJECT	
Ch	-ni	REL	YES/NO	S-OBJECT (6)	M-OBJECT (5)
Cz	-ni	REL	YES/NO	S-OBJECT (9)	M-OBJECT (4)
Nk	-ns	REL	NO	S-OBJECT	
Hl, NS, Kl	-nəs	REL	NO		M-OBJECT
Ti	-əs	REL	YES/NO	S-OBJECT (5)	M-OBJECT (12)
Ch, Cz	-t(a)s	REL	NO		M-OBJECT
Ld	-(a)c	REL	NO		M-OBJECT
Most Salish	*-xi(t)	RDR	YES	S-OBJECT	
Ok, Ka, Cm	*-xi-t	RDR	YES		M-OBJECT
NS	-si	RDR	YES	S-OBJECT (4)	M-OBJECT (1)
Ok, Ka, Cr, Cm	-ɬ	RDR	YES	S-OBJECT	
Cr	-ɬ	RDR	YES	S-OBJECT (18)	M-OBJECT (1)
Cm	-ɬ	RDR	YES	S-OBJECT (33)	M-OBJECT (2)
Ok, Cr, Cm	-tuɬ	RDR	YES	S-OBJECT	
Cx, Se	-Vm	RDR	YES	S-OBJECT	
Ch, Cz	-tux ^w t	RDR	NO	S-OBJECT	
Cz	-s	RDR	YES	S-OBJECT	
Hl	-as	RDR	YES	S-OBJECT	
	-ɬc	RDR	YES	S-OBJECT	
Be	-amk	APPL	NO	S-OBJECT	
	-m	APPL	NO	S-OBJECT	
Ch	-tmi	APPL	NO		M-OBJECT

As can be seen in Table 61, for the most part each applicative suffix appears only with S-objects or appears only with M-objects. But some applicative suffixes (see the ones marked yes/no for transitivity) are sometimes followed by S-objects and sometimes by M-objects. Such data provides evidence that it is not the applicative suffix but rather the presence or absence of the transitive suffix that determines the selection of the object set. For example, the suffixes *-ni* in Tsamosan and *-əs* in Tillamook can occur with or without the general transitive suffix: when they appear with *-t*, the object is from the S-

object set (33a)–(34a), and when they appear without *-t*, the object is from the M-object set (33b)–(34b):

- (33) Tillamook (Egesdal and M. Thompson 1998:252, 257)
- a. $\acute{t}\acute{a}n\text{-}\acute{a}n\text{-}s\text{-}\acute{s}t\text{-}i$.
 burn-RED(OC)-REL-TR-1SG.SUB
 ‘I burned it for him.’
- b. $ye\text{-}\acute{c}\acute{a}g^w\acute{a}\acute{s}\text{-}\acute{e}s\text{-}w\acute{a}s$.
 cause-wife-REL-1SG.(M)OBJ
 ‘He married me.’
- (34) Upper Chehalis (Kinkade 1991:168, 92)
- a. $s\text{-}\acute{x}^w\acute{y}\text{-}ni\text{-}t\text{-}n$
 IMPF-threaten-REL-TR-3SG.SUB
 ‘threaten someone’
- b. $ʔac\text{-}n\acute{u}k^w\text{-}ni\text{-}mi$ $\acute{c}n$.
 ST-not.know-REL-2SG.(M)OBJ 1SG.SUB
 ‘I don’t know you.’

This observation says nothing about why transitive marking is present or absent in the first place, but I address this point below. For now, suffice it to say that the generalization that transitive marking is associated with S-objects accounts for most of the data in Table 61. The object marking in the shaded cells remains to be accounted for.

6.2.2 Redirective versus relational.

What determines the presence or absence of transitive marking after applicative suffixes? The most obvious question to ask is: Does it relate to the relational/redirective distinction? The answer is yes and no. As Table 61 clearly shows, most redirective examples involve applicative and transitive suffix stacking. The only redirective suffixes that are not straightforwardly followed by the general transitive suffix are the cases where fusion of the suffix and the root has taken place: Southern Interior Salish **-xi-t* and

Tsamosan *-tux* ^{wt}. discussed below. Therefore correlating redirective suffixes with the general transitive suffix is a promising hypothesis.

However, the situation with relationals is more complicated; some relational suffixes are followed by the transitive suffix and some are not. For the most part, the general transitive suffix follows **-mi* and **-ni*, but not the suffixes *-nəs* (Halkomelem, Northern Straits, Klallam), *-(a)c* (Lushootseed, Twana), and *-t(a)s* (Upper Chehalis, Cowlitz).¹ What property can account for the difference in the two types of relationals? I consider two possibilities: first that there is “hidden” transitive marking in these suffixes that determines the object set, and second, that the semantics of the applicative constructions determines the object set directly.

6.2.2.1 The causative hypothesis.

The relational suffixes that do not take transitive marking have a common property: they all end in the consonant *s/c*. Given that many relational suffixes have the shape CV, it is tempting to segment off the final consonant as the piece that marks transitivity. Moreover, it is tempting to equate this piece with the causative suffix (Proto-Salish **-stw*). Not only does it bear a phonological resemblance to the causative suffix, but this would account for why the object in these cases is from the M-object set.² Causative suffixes take M-objects, as illustrated above.³

¹ Tsamosan **-ni* and Tillamook *-əs* show variable behavior, as discussed in section 6.2.3.6.

² I have not seen enough data in Nooksack to tell whether *-ns* has S-objects or M-objects. Brent Galloway (p.c.) informs me that they are S-objects, and in this case, the Nooksack data are not accounted for by my analysis.

³ Note that Northern Straits also allows the causative suffix after the relational suffix, and then the object is from the M-object set:

Adopting a causative analysis for the relational suffixes ending in *s* provides an explanation for object marking in applicatives. All applicatives suffixes are followed by transitive suffixes—either the general transitive suffix or the causative suffix—and the selection of the object depends on the transitive suffix.

6.2.2.2 The dative hypothesis.

In Kiyosawa (2004b), I develop another account of M-object marking in applicatives. Salishanists generally refer to suffixes from both sets as “object” (or “accusative”, cf. Barthmaier 2002, Doak 1997, Montler 1996). There is no doubt that both sets mark syntactic objects. However, since there are formally two different sets, it is worthwhile to explore the possibility that they may not be marking the same type of object. I propose that the M-object set registers agreement with a “dative” object. By this I mean either an indirect object or the sorts of direct objects that are often marked with dative case rather than accusative case in dependent-marking languages.

As discussed above, the causee in the causative construction is an M-object in all Salish languages. In many dependent-marking languages of the world, causees are often marked with dative case. For example, dative is used in the causative construction in Bolivian Quechua (Cole 1983):

- (35) nuqa wawa-man yaca-č̣i-n.
 I child-DAT know-CS-1SG
 ‘I taught it to the child.’

-
- (i) Northern Straits (Montler 1986:174)
 ʔč̣əl-ŋi-st-áŋəs səʔ sɣʷ.
 //ʔč̣-il-ŋiy-staxʷ-aŋəs səʔ sɣʷ//
 down-AUTO-REL-CS-1SG.(M)OBJ FUT 2SG.SUB
 ‘You’re going to sink me.’

The object of the causative construction is often marked by a case other than accusative, since the causee is not a theme.

Similarly a case can be made for dative marking in the non-control transitive constructions, which are also marked by the M-object set. I suspect that this has something to do with low transitivity in the sense of Hopper and S. Thompson (1980), although more research is needed to support this proposal. For example, the ‘accidental’ reading of the non-control transitive suffix fits well in the low-transitivity category of non-volitionality. Cross-linguistically, low transitivity is often manifested as non-canonical case on the subject or the object (Haspelmath 2001). Thus, marking objects in non-control environments with the object suffix set equivalent to dative case is not unexpected.

- (36) Comox (Watanabe 2003:219)
 ?aǫ-nu-mš-as.
 chase-NC-1SG.(M)OBJ-3SUB
 ‘He caught up with me.’
- (37) Sechelt (Beaumont 1985:123)
 ǰáǰ-nú-mi-čen!
 desire-NC-2SG.(M)OBJ-1SG.SUB
 ‘I love you!’
- (38) Squamish (Kuipers 1967:86)
 na pǰʔ-n-mš-as.
 CLT grab-NC-1SG.(M)OBJ-3SUB
 ‘He holds me.’

We can extend this hypothesis to the objects of applicatives. Objects of applicatives are also not prototypical objects. They are generally not themes. The applied object of *-nəs, for example, is the goal of a motion verb or the goal (addressee) of a speech act verb. Cross-linguistically, we find that objects of these types are often marked

dative in dependent-marking languages. For example, goals of motion or speech act verbs are dative in Japanese:

- (39) a. Taroo-ga Canada-ni ki-ta.
 Taroo-NOM Canada-DAT come-PAST
 ‘Taroo came to Canada.’
- b. Taroo-ga Hanako-ni it-ta.
 Taroo-NOM Hanako-DAT say-PAST
 ‘Taroo said to Hanako.’

Given my hypothesis that the M-object set parallels dative case, its use for marking the non-theme objects of applicative constructions is not unexpected.

6.2.2.3 Contrasting the two hypotheses.

Are there grounds for choosing between the causative hypothesis and the dative hypothesis? One suggestive piece of evidence is the fact that M-objects show up on applicatives even when there is no final *s* in the applicative suffix. For example, the applicative suffix *-tmi* takes an M-object:

- (40) Upper Chehalis (Kinkade 1991:373)
- a. s-ʔuná-tmi-y-n
 IMPF-ask.for-RDR-3SG.(M)OBJ-3SG.SUB
 ‘he/she is asking him/her for it’
- b. ʔit ʔuná-tmi-xʷ
 PERF ask.for-RDR-3SG.(M)OBJ
 ‘he/she asked him/her for it’

Interestingly, this suffix is only used in applicatives in which the semantic role of the applied object is dative.

A further example of this type—a construction associated with dative meaning taking M-objects, comes from the Southern Interior languages. Simple transitive clauses marked with the general transitive marker take objects from the S-object set, as expected:

(41) Okanagan (N. Mattina 1996:216)
 ixíʔ tíkɫ-nt-s-ən.
 DEIC feed-TR-2SG.OBJ-1SG.SUB
 ‘This is what I am feeding you.’

(42) Kalispel (Carlson 1972:40)
 tqən-cí-n.
 hit-2SG.(S)OBJ-1SG.SUB
 ‘I hit you.’

(43) Columbian (Kinkade 1982:52)
 ʔəm-cí-n n.
 feed-TR:2SG.(S)OBJ-1SG.SUB
 ‘I fed you.’

Furthermore, the reflex of the redirective suffix *-xí in Coeur d’Alene takes S-objects:

(44) Coeur d’Alene (Doak 1997:153)
 gʷníšices.
 //gʷnit-ši-t-se-s//
 ask.for-RDR-TR-1SG.(S)OBJ-3SUB
 ‘He begged something for me.’

However, in three languages, Okanagan, Kalispel, and Columbian, applicative constructions with reflexes of the redirective suffix *-xí take objects from the M-object set, even though there appears to be a transitive suffix on the verb:

(45) Okanagan (A. Mattina 1994: 211)
 kaʔkíc-x-t-m-ən t a-kí-qaʔxán.
 find-RDR-TR-2SG.(M)OBJ-1SG.SUB OBL 2SG.POSS-IRR-shoes
 ‘I found you some shoes.’

- (46) Kalispel (Carlson and Flett 1989:35)
 kʷúl-š-t-m-n.
 make-RDR-TR-2SG.(M)OBJ-1SG.SUB
 'I made you something.'
- (47) Columbian (Kinkade 1982:56)
 kál-x t-m-s.
 give-RDR-1SG.(M)OBJ-3SG.SUB
 'He/she gave it to me.'

In sum, the occurrence of M-objects is functionally motivated. M-objects are used for objects that are not themes, such as causees in causative constructions, goals in relational applicatives, and goals or benefactives in redirective applicatives; or for themes that are low in transitivity, such as objects of non-control transitives. Thus, the usage of the M-object set parallels the use of dative case on objects in dependent-marking languages.

6.2.2.4 Summary: transitive and object marking.

This discussion has strayed from the original question: Is the redirective versus relational distinction relevant for transitive marking and thus object marking? The answer is basically no, because some redirectives have S-objects while others have M-objects and some relationals have S-objects while others have M-objects. So the S-object/M-object distinction cross-cuts the redirective/relational typology. I discuss transitive marking in redirectives further in the next section. As for relationals, the dative hypothesis provides us with an explanation for why some relationals take S-objects while others take M-objects.

As mentioned in the conclusion of Chapter 3, even though the distribution of the suffixes is fairly complicated, several generalizations emerge from the study of relational suffixes:

- **-mi* is the most widespread relational suffix in Salish. It attaches to predicates of internal experience, expression, and movement.
- **-ni* is found in five Central Salish and Tsamosan languages. Its most common use is with transfer predicates.
- **-nəs* is found in six Central Salish languages. Its most common use is with motion verbs.

We can relate the core uses of relational suffixes to the dative hypothesis.

As pointed out above, goals of motion verbs are commonly associated with dative case in dependent-marking languages, and this predicts that the relational suffix *-nəs* will appear with M-objects. In contrast, if we assign the core use of the relational suffix *-mi* to psych applicatives, then we do not expect an applied object from the M-object set. Cross-linguistically, when dative case appears in psych constructions it is the experiencer, not the stimulus, that is dative-marked. As for the relational suffix **-ni*, it is associated with sources of transfer verbs in core use. Cross-linguistically, the goal rather than the source is more likely to be case-marked dative, especially when they occur in the same construction.

6.2.3 Four cases of reanalysis of transitive suffixes.

One other area of Salish grammar in which we see the conflation of applicative and transitive suffixes is in their morphological form. Most of the time, we see a sequence of an applicative suffix followed by a transitive suffix. For example, reflexes of the relational suffix **-mi* are followed by the general transitive suffix in most languages:

- (48) Sechelt (Beaumont 1985:104)
 čásxém-mí-t-á-čex^w te ʔúłqay?
 afraid-REL-TR-Q-2SG.SUB DET snake
 ‘Are you afraid of the snake?’

However, in some languages the applicative suffix is fused with the following transitive suffix creating a single dual-purpose suffix. In this section, I discuss three cases of this fusion, and its implications for the choice of object set.

6.2.3.1 -*min* in Interior Salish.

The relational suffix is the fused form -*min* in both Coeur d’Alene and Lillooet, and not a sequence of two morphemes, relational -*mi* and transitive -*n*, as in other Interior Salish languages. In Coeur d’Alene, the general transitive marker is -(*n*)*t*. However, the relational suffix appears as -*min* before the redirective suffix—an environment where a transitive suffix does not normally occur:

- (49) Coeur d’Alene (Doak 1997:250)
- | | | | |
|---------|------------------------------------|-----|------------------------|
| | iʔteg ^w mínšitm | ʔe | smíłx ^w . |
| //∅ | in-ýc-tig ^w -min-ši-t-m | ʔe | s-míłx ^w // |
| 3SG.OBJ | 2SG.POSS-CONT-buy-REL-RDR-TR-INTR | OBL | NM-tobacco |
- ‘You are buying him tobacco.’

In Lillooet, the general transitive suffix appears as -*Vn/Vñ/Vns*:⁴

- (50) Lillooet (Van Eijk 1997:115)
 cúł-uñ
 point-TR
 ‘to point at something’

⁴ The vowel of the suffix is either schwa or a copy of the root vowel (H. Davis and Matthewson 2003:81).

The general transitive suffix is probably the historical source of the *n* in the relational suffix *-min* (51),

- (51) Lillooet (Van Eijk 1997:124)
páq^wu[?]-min
afraid-REL
'to be afraid of'

One piece of evidence that *n* can no longer be analyzed as the transitive suffix comes from data in which *-min* is followed by a reflexive suffix, which in Lillooet is preceded by the general transitive suffix:

- (52) Lillooet (Van Eijk 1997:124)
paq^wu[?]-min-an-cút
afraid-REL-TR-REFL
'to be afraid of oneself'

The relational suffix co-occurs with the transitive suffix when followed by the reflexive suffix. We can contrast the situation in Comox, where the relational suffix, which does not contain a fused transitive suffix, is immediately followed by the reflexive suffix:

- (53) Comox (Watanabe 1996:336)
ləx̣-mi-θut tə čuỵ.
bad-REL-TR:REFL DET child
'The kid is behaving badly, crying and screaming.'

Also, *n* occurs even when the relational applicative is followed by a redirective suffix:

- (54) Lillooet (Van Eijk 1987:90)
čaq̣-miñ-xí-ci-łkan.
throw-REL-RDR-2SG.(S)OBJ-1SG.SUB
'I tossed it over to you.'

In contrast, in the neighboring Northern Interior Salish language, Shuswap, *n* segments as the general transitive suffix and thus does not occur before the redirective suffix:

- (55) Shuswap (Gardiner 1993:23)
 tʷkə-mí-x-t-s.
 sell-REL-RDR-TR-3SG.SUB
 ‘He sells it to somebody.’

6.2.3.2 *-xít* in Interior Salish.

We also see some fusional effects with reflexes of the redirective suffix **-xi*, which is followed by the general transitive suffix in most languages:

- (56) Thompson (L. Thompson and M. Thompson 1980:27)
 čəq^wxíte!
 //čəq^w-xi-t-è//
 write-RDR-TR-IMP
 ‘Write [a letter] to her/for her!’

In Columbian, the general transitive suffix appears as *-n(t)* (57), but the redirective suffix contains *t* (58):

- (57) Columbian (Kinkade 1982:51)
 kʰám-n t-m
 go.past-TR-1PL.SUB
 ‘we went past it’

- (58) Columbian (Kinkade 1980:34)
 qí?-xít-a? ani smʔámm!
 write-RDR-IMP DET woman
 ‘Write to that woman!’

When the subject suffix is first-person singular and the object suffix is the third-person zero, the *t* in the general transitive suffix is lost. However, in the same environment, the *t* in the redirective suffix is present:

- (59) Columbian
- a. xəs̥n ʔisqə́láw.
 //xəs-n t-n ʔin-sqə́láw//
 lose-TR-1SG.SUB 1SG.POSS-money
 ‘I lost my money.’ (Willett 2003:142)
- b. xəs̥xít̥n.
 //xəs-xít-n//
 lose-RDR-1SG.SUB
 ‘I lost it for him.’ (Kinkade 1980:33)

Therefore, the redirective suffix is *-xit* in Columbian, and not synchronically a sequence of the redirective suffix *-xi* and the transitive suffix *-t*.⁵

In Lillooet, *-xi* and *-t* are also fused, and Van Eijk (1997) gives this as a single morpheme *-xit*. The only remnant of the Salish transitive suffix appears as the *t* in the redirective form *-xit* (60a); recall that the general transitive suffix appears as *-Vn/Vñ/Vns* (60b):

- (60) Lillooet
- a. qʷús-xít-kan ti č̣iʔ a.
 shoot-RDR-1SG.SUB DET deer PTC
 ‘I shot the deer.’ (Van Eijk 1997:116)
- b. qús-en-łkan.
 shoot-TR-1SG.SUB
 ‘I shot at him/her/it.’ (H. Davis and Matthewson 2003:80)

The initial consonant of the first- or second-person singular object suffixes appears as *c* after either the redirective or the general transitive suffix; note that the *t* in *-xit* disappears:

⁵ A. Mattina (1985, 1994) and N. Mattina (1996) do not segment *-x(i)t* in Okanagan, thus analyzing it as a single morpheme. In contrast, Doak (1997) and Carlson (1980) segment *-š-i-t* in Coeur d’Alene and Kalispel.

- (61) Lillooet (Van Eijk 1997:115)
 cúł-xi-c-as ti cítx^w-s a.
 point-RDR-1SG.(S)OBJ-3SUB DET house-3SG.POSS PTC
 ‘He pointed out his house to me.’

This is the expected allomorphy of the general transitive suffix *-t* in sequence with first-person and second-person objects: *-t* and *-s* fuse as *-c*.

- (62) Thompson (L. Thompson and M. Thompson 1980:28)
 wíkxcn.
 //wík-xi-t-si-en//
 see-RDR-TR-2SG.OBJ-1SG.SUB
 ‘I see what you have.’/‘I see your tracks.’

Thus we see that the final *-t* of the redirective applicative suffix in Lillooet is historically the transitive suffix.

In sum, the final *n* in the relational suffix *-min* in Lillooet and Coeur d’Alene and the final *t* in the redirective suffix *-xit* in Lillooet and Columbian can be linked historically to the general transitive suffix. Thus we see that fusion has taken place between the applicative suffix and the transitive suffix in these languages.

Therefore, we see that, in some Southern Interior Salish languages, *-xi* behaves like the applicative suffix *-nəs* in taking M-object suffixes. This would be anomalous if the *t* of *-xit* were regarded as the transitive suffix, since we know from the above discussion that *-t* governs the S-object set. In fact, Kinkade (1982) does not separate *-xi* and *-t* in Columbian. So perhaps this suffix is now a single morpheme *-xit* in some languages. Similarly, when the object suffix is from the M-object set, the suffix *-t* following the suffix *-si* in Northern Straits and the suffix *-t* following the suffix *-t* in Columbian and Coeur d’Alene should not be analyzed as the general transitive suffix. In

other words, the applicative suffix and the general transitive suffix have been reanalyzed into a single morpheme.⁶ In this case, S-objects are not necessarily expected.

6.2.3.3 *-tux^wt* in Tsamosan.

In the case of *-tux^wt* in Upper Chehalis and Cowlitz, the final *t* is not the general transitive suffix, according to Dale Kinkade (p.c.). Recall that Kinkade (1991:366, 2004:236) posits that the third-person singular object suffix is *-t* in the imperfective and *-n* in the perfective (see Table 62 above). In Upper Chehalis, the transitive suffix *-t* never comes word-finally in either imperfective or perfective forms (63). However, the final *t* of *-tux^wt* does occur word-finally in perfective forms (64), thus it is not the transitive suffix:

(63) Upper Chehalis (Kinkade 1991:367)

- a. s-čáči-t-n.
 IMPF-watch-TR-3SG.SUB
 ‘He/she is watching him/her/it.’
- b. ʔit čáč-n.
 PRF watch-TR
 ‘He/she watched him/her/it.’

(64) Upper Chehalis (Kinkade 1991:10)

- ʔit ʔáǰ-tux^wt ʔit k^wumáʔ-s.
 PRF see/look.at-RDR PTC father-3POSS
 ‘He saw it for the other man’s father.’

In contrast, the first-person singular S-object suffix appears as *c*, which is presumably a coalescence of *-t* and *-s* historically.

⁶ An alternative analysis is that *-xít* is the proto-form of this applicative suffix, and it was reanalyzed as two morphemes *-xi-t*. However, such a reanalysis would have had to occur independently in other languages over several branches.

- (65) Upper Chehalis (Kinkade 1991:373)
 ?it cíř-tux^w-c
 PRF show-RDR-1SG.(S)OBJ
 ‘he/she showed it to me’

Thus the object following the applicative -*tux^w* is from the S-object set, even though this suffix is not followed by transitive marking in the modern language.

6.2.3.4 The Case of Bella Coola.

In Bella Coola, the applicative suffixes -*m* and -*amk* take S-objects. Compare the causative in (66), which takes an M-object, with the applicatives in (67) and (68):

- (66) Bella Coola (Newman 1969:302)
 čkt-nu ?uł tu ?umat-tu-mi-nu íař^w.
 arrive-2SG.ABS at ART go-CS-1SG.(M)OBJ-2SG.ABS DEM
 ‘You will arrive at the place where I lead you.’
- (67) Bella Coola (P. Davis and Saunders 1997:61)
 ?ayuc-m-ci-nu.
 say-APPL-1SG.(S)OBJ-2SG.ABS
 ‘I’m going to tell you (it).’
- (68) Bella Coola (P. Davis and Saunders 1997:61)
 ?ayuc-amk-ci-nu.
 say-APPL-1SG.(S)OBJ-2SG.ABS
 ‘I’m going to mention you (your name).’

However, Bella Coola is the lone Salish language that lacks a general transitive suffix.

Thus, S-objects are unexpected at all in the language, given that they are associated with transitive marking.

6.2.3.5 Disappearing transitive markers and object selection.

In the previous section, I presented four examples of three cases where the general transitive suffix seems to be disappearing in applicative constructions and one case, Bella

Coola, where the general transitive suffix has in fact disappeared from the language as a whole. What we note about object marking in these cases is that in three of them, *-min* in Interior Salish, *-tux^wt* in Tsamosan, and *-m* and *-amk* in Bella Coola, the loss of the general transitive suffix has no effect on object marking—the applied object is from the S-object set exactly as if the general transitive suffix were still there. The fusional data is thus interestingly mysterious. The change in the status of the transitive suffix creates a mismatch that violates the generalization that S-objects should appear only after the general transitive suffix.

In one example, however, the case of *-xit* has a variable effect. The applied object is an S-object in Lillooet but an M-object in Columbian. But again the result is somewhat mysterious. Three Southern Interior Salish languages—Okanagan, Kalispel, and Columbian—have applied objects with reflexes of the redirective suffix **-xi* that are from the M-object set. However, only Columbian has been argued to have fused *-xi* and *-t*. I suggest in Kiyosawa (2004b) that the motivation for the change from S-object to M-object in these languages is driven by the semantic connection of M-object to dative.

6.2.3.6 Remnants.

The remaining cases of object marking that do not comply to the generalization that S-objects follow the general transitive suffix (represented by shading on Table 61), are extremely marginal, attested in only one or two examples each. But for the sake of completeness, I mention them here.

In most of the examples in my database, the redirective suffix *-t*, which is found in Southern Interior Salish languages, is followed by the general transitive suffix and S-objects.

- (69) Okanagan (N. Mattina 1993:274)
 //t'əx^w captík^w(l)-t-t-s-ən//
 PRT storytell-RDR-TR-2SG.(S)OBJ-1SG.SUB
 'I'll tell you a story.'

However, in Columbian there are two instances of *-t* where an M-object appears even though the general transitive marker follows the applicative suffix.

- (70) Columbian
 a. wík-t-t-m-n.
 see-RDR-TR-2SG.(M)OBJ-1SG.SUB
 'I saw you.' (Kinkade 1982:57)
 b. sux^w-t-t-m-s.
 recognize-RDR-TR-1SG.(M)OBJ-3SG.SUB
 'She recognized me.' (Dale Kinkade p.c.)

Apparently, this is attested only on two verbs: the verb for 'see' and the verb for 'recognize'. Both of these cases involve the relational rather than the possessive use of the applicative suffix.⁷

In Coeur d'Alene, applicatives formed with the redirective suffix *-t* on the root $\sqrt{q}^w i\acute{c}$ 'fill' can take either an S-object or an M-object:

- (71) Coeur d'Alene (Doak 1997:143-4)
 a. $\acute{q}^w i\acute{c}t\acute{n}$.
 // $\acute{q}^w i\acute{c}$ -t-t-si-n//
 fill-RDR-TR-2SG.(S)OBJ-1SG.SUB
 'I filled it for you.'

⁷ Kinkade (1982: 61) refers to *-t* followed by the M-object set, and says that "[b]ecause these forms unexpectedly have *-t* 'transitive' it may be best to consider the underlying form of this suffix as *-t-* ..." Note, however, that the thirty-three other examples of this suffix in Columbian are followed by the transitive suffix and S-objects. Therefore, fusion as an explanation would need to be linked to these two particular verb roots.

- b. $\acute{q}^w i \acute{c} \acute{t} m i t$.
 // $\acute{q}^w i \acute{c} - \acute{t} - t - m i - t$ //
 fill-RDR-TR-2SG.(M)OBJ-1PL.SUB
 ‘We filled it for you.’
- c. $\acute{q}^w i \acute{c} \acute{t} m i s i \acute{s}$.
 // $\acute{q}^w i \acute{c} - \acute{t} - t - m i - s - i \acute{s}$ //
 fill-RDR-TR-2SG.(M)OBJ-3SUB-3PL
 ‘They filled it for you.’

The second-person singular object is from the S-object set when the subject is first-person singular, and from the M-object set when the subject is first- or third-person plural. Perhaps with this particular root, whether the object is from the S- or M-object set depends on a subject-object person hierarchy, though there is not enough data to confirm this.

One last problem is from Northern Straits: the root $\sqrt{\acute{x} \acute{a} t}$ ‘prepare, make, do’ followed by the transitive suffix can take either an S-object or an M-object:

- (72) Northern Straits (Montler 1986:171, 172)⁸
- | | | | |
|----|--|-----------------|--------------------|
| a. | $\acute{x} \acute{a} t s i s \acute{a}$ | $s \acute{a} n$ | $s \acute{a} ?$. |
| | // $\acute{x} \acute{a} t - s i - \acute{a} t - s \acute{a}$ | $s \acute{a} n$ | $s \acute{a} ? //$ |
| | prepare/make/do-RDR-TR-2(S)OBJ | 1SG.SUB | FUT |
| | ‘I’ll make it (a paddle) for you.’ | | |
| b. | $\acute{x} \acute{a} t s i t \acute{a} n \acute{a}$ | $s \acute{a} n$ | $s \acute{a} ?$. |
| | // $\acute{x} \acute{a} t - s i - \acute{a} t - \acute{a} n \acute{a}$ | $s \acute{a} n$ | $s \acute{a} ? //$ |
| | prepare/make/do-RDR-TR-2(M)OBJ | 1SG.SUB | FUT |
| | ‘I’ll fix it (a paddle) for you.’ | | |

Given examples like the above, and also the examples from Tillamook and Upper Chehalis, repeated below, with which I started the discussion of Table 61, it is very clear

⁸ Timothy Montler (p.c.) informs me that the predicate in (77b) was originally analyzed as *-si-stax** (-RDR-CS) instead of *-si-t* (-RDR-TR), but it was wrong since subsequent data collected does not support this.

that in many instances the factors influencing the choice between S-object and M-object pronouns are still not fully understood.

(73) Tillamook (Egesdal and M. Thompson 1998:252, 257)

a. ʔən-ən-s-ət-i.
burn-RED(OC)-REL-TR-1SG.SUB
'I burned it for him.'

b. ye-čəg^waš-əs-wəs
cause-wife-REL-1SG.(M)OBJ
'He married me.'

(74) Upper Chehalis (Kinkade 1991:168, 92)

a. s-š^wíy-ni-t-n
IMPF-threaten-REL-TR-3SG.SUB
'threaten someone'

b. ʔac-núk^w-ni-mi čn.
ST-not.know-REL-2SG.(M)OBJ 1SG.SUB
'I don't know you.'

6.3 Summary.

The distinction in function between applicative suffixes and transitive suffixes is not always a clear one. Applicative suffixes function as transitive suffixes, and vice versa. Furthermore, applicative morphemes and transitive morphemes sit next to each other in the verb suffix template and seem to work in tandem to license arguments. The conditions on the co-occurrence of applicative suffixes and transitive suffixes are complex and are tied to the choice between the two sets of pronominal object suffixes. Furthermore, in some cases, we see that a sequence of an applicative and a transitive suffix has fused into a single unanalyzable form.

No one generalization or hypothesis accounts for all the facts concerning the co-occurrence of applicative, transitive, and object suffixes. However, there are several promising threads of analysis.

- i. Redirective suffixes license the general transitive suffix.
- ii. Also, psych applicatives and source applicatives license the general transitive suffix.
- iii. Directional applicatives do not license the general transitive suffix. They link instead to dative semantics, which licenses M-objects.
- iv. If the general transitive suffix is present, S-objects appear. If there is no general transitive suffix present, then M-objects appear.
- v. In some cases, a sequence of an applicative suffix and a transitive suffix has been reanalyzed as a unit. Sometimes this causes a shift from S-object to M-object.
- vi. The final consonant in some applicatives may be a causative suffix *-s*.

In sum, the applicative and the transitive suffixes show a good deal of overlap in both form and function. Overt marking of transitivity is quite rare in the world's languages, but it is a key element in Salish clause structure. The interrelationship between applicative marking and transitive marking is very complex and deserves more thorough study.

Chapter 7: Combinatory Properties of Applicatives

In this chapter, I discuss various combinations of applicative suffixes with other suffixes. As mentioned in Chapter 1, Salish languages are known for their polysynthetic structure. They have a large number of suffixes, most of which can co-occur with applicative suffixes. The basic order of verbal suffixes in the predicate complex is shown in Table 62:

Table 62. Verbal Suffix Template

ROOT	+1	+2	+3	+4	+5
	lexical suffix, intransitive	applicative	transitive, causative, non-control	object, passive, reflexive, reciprocal	subject

This table is a rough template showing the relative order of the suffixes, and not a formal treatment of the morphology. In some cases, outer layer morphology creates the right sort of base for earlier morphology in the template, allowing another cycle of suffixation. For example, Gerds (2004a) shows how the object of a causative (a +3 suffix) can be expressed as a lexical suffix (a +1 suffix) [the lexical suffix for child is =*eyəf*], detransitivizing the verb and thus creating a base to which another causative suffix can be attached:

- (1) Halkomelem (Gerds 2004a:773)
 niʔ qəqəmaʔ-st-eyəf-stəxʷ-əs lə nəʂ lə Mary.
 AUX take.breast-CS-child-CS-3SUB DET nurse DET Mary
 ‘The nurse had Mary breast-feed the child.’

Applicative suffixes co-occur with different suffixes in the template. Some suffixes, such as a variety of intransitive suffixes that occur directly suffixed to the root to form intransitive bases, appear before the applicative suffixes. Other suffixes, including the general transitive suffix, the object suffixes, and the passive suffixes, occur after—not before—applicative suffixes. These are discussed in Chapters 2 and 6.

In this chapter I focus on the suffixes that can occur both inside and outside of the applicative suffixes. In section 7.1, I discuss reflexive and reciprocal suffixes; in section 7.2, causative and non-control suffixes; and in section 7.3 lexical suffixes. I turn to the discussion in section 7.4 of two co-occurring applicative suffixes.

In Chapters 3 and 4, I developed an analysis of two types of applicatives in Salish languages: relational and redirective. Relational constructions are formed on intransitive bases, and redirective constructions are formed on transitive bases. In Chapter 5, I discussed some exceptions to this typology. Sometimes relational suffixes are used to form simple transitives, and redirective suffixes are used in relational contexts. Furthermore, applicatives in the two outlier languages, Tillamook and Bella Coola, seem to function differently from applicatives in other Salish languages. Nevertheless, the two-way typology accommodates most of the facts concerning applicatives in Salish.

The two-way typology leads to certain expectations regarding the co-occurrence of applicatives with other suffixes, as I discuss in section 7.5. For example, we expect to see relational, and not redirective, suffixes following intransitive suffixes. This is largely the case, though occasionally we see examples in which a redirective suffix functioning like a relational suffix (as discussed in Chapter 5) follows an intransitive suffix. In contrast, we do not expect to see a difference between relational and redirective suffixes

with respect to which suffixes follow them. In fact we see some differences in behavior among applicative suffixes, but they vary language by language and suffix by suffix, and do not split along the lines of the two-way typology.

7.1 Applicatives, reflexives, and reciprocals.

Kinkade (1998) reconstructs the Proto-Salish reflexive suffix **-sáwt* and the reciprocal suffix **-awalxʷ*. The reflexive and reciprocal suffixes appear in the same slot in the template as the object suffixes. In their core use (indicating action on oneself or each other), the reflexive and reciprocal suffixes productively appear on verb forms that can otherwise take transitive suffixes, namely process unaccusatives, and always straightforwardly mean ‘self’ or ‘each other’ (Gerds 2000:157), as illustrated in the following Halkomelem examples.

- (2) Halkomelem (Gerds 2000:157)
- | | | | |
|----|-----------|-------------|-------------------------------|
| a. | kʷesət | kʷesəθət | kʷestəl |
| | ‘burn it’ | ‘burn self’ | ‘burn each other’ |
| b. | qʷaqʷət | qʷaqʷəθət | qʷəqʷətəl |
| | ‘club it’ | ‘club self’ | ‘club each other’ |
| c. | ʔakʷət | ʔakʷəθət | ʔakʷtəl |
| | ‘hook it’ | ‘hook self’ | ‘get hung up with each other’ |

As is usually the case with affixal reflexives and reciprocals in the world’s languages, the surface syntax is intransitive, as evidenced by the verbal inflection: absolutive rather than ergative agreement is used for third–person subjects:

- (3) Halkomelem (Gerds and Hukari to appear)
- | | | | |
|-------------------------|------------------|------|----------|
| niʔ | kʷələš-θət(*-əs) | kʷθə | swəyʔeʔ. |
| AUX | shoot-REFL-3SUB | DET | man |
| ‘The man shot himself.’ | | | |

- (4) Halkomelem (Gerds and Hukari to appear)
 ʔiʔ ha:qʷə-təl(*-əs) tə sqʷəm qʷəmeý.
 AUX smell(CONT)-RECIP-3SUB DET dog(PL)
 ‘The dogs are smelling one another.’

Since reflexives and reciprocals form intransitive bases, we expect that the relational applicative suffixes can follow them, and we see that this is the case.

Reflexes of the relational suffixes **-mi* (5)–(8) and **-ni* (9) can follow the reflexive suffix:

- (5) Comox (Watanabe 2003:335)
 təs-θut-mi-t-uł č tə qaymixʷ.
 close-TR:REFL-REL-TR-PAST 1SG.SUB DET native.person
 ‘I was getting closer to the person.’
- (6) Tillamook (Egesdal and M. Thompson 1998:255)
 de s-tə-yət-əcít-wi-n.
 ART ST-to-stand-TR:REFL-REL-TR
 ‘He is standing next to someone.’
- (7) Lillooet (Van Eijk 1997:125)
 ʃʷəst-án-cut-min
 exert-TR-REFL-REL
 ‘to make an effort for something’
- (8) Columbian (Kinkade 1982:54)
 kʰiln-cút-m-n.
 jealous-TR:REFL-REL-TR:1SG.SUB
 ‘I’m jealous of him.’
- (9) Squamish (Kuipers 1967:79)
 ǵán-acut-ni-t
 return-TR:REFL-REL-TR
 ‘return to’

Reflexes of the relational suffixes **-mi* (10) and **-ni* (11) can follow the reciprocal suffix:

(10) Tillamook (Egesdal and M. Thompson 1998:255)
 g^wəʔ də ʃ-ʔəhaʔ-t-əg^wəl-wi-n.
 FUT ART LOC-fight-TR-RECIP-REL-TR
 ‘He is going to fight with him.’

(11) Squamish (Kuipers 1967:355)
 na wa ǵəǵǵ-át-ayʔ-ní-t-as-wit.
 AUX CONT argue-TR-RECIP-REL-TR-3SUB-PL
 ‘They were arguing about it.’

In contrast, redirective suffixes, since they attach to transitive bases, should not follow reflexives and reciprocals. In the database, there is only one example in which a redirective suffix follows the reflexive suffix. However, this form seems very idiosyncratic, because the meaning is the same with or without the reflexive suffix:

- (12) Thompson (L. Thompson and M. Thompson 1992:72)
- a. q^win-xí-c
 speak-RDR-TR:3SUB
 ‘speak to someone for someone; [esp. in arranging a marriage] act as intermediary for someone’
 - b. q^win-cút-x-c
 speak-REFL-RDR-TR:3SUB
 ‘speak to someone for someone; [esp. in arranging a marriage] act as intermediary for someone’

Also, the reflexive morphology does not convey any reflexive meaning. Another another example of a reflexive used in this way in Thompson is the word *ḳəscút* (//*ḳəs-t-sut*// bad-TR-REFL), which means ‘say no [to a marriage proposal]’ (L. Thompson and M. Thompson 1980:28). So apparently the domain of marriage gives rise to a special class of verbs that are morphologically reflexive but semantically transitive.

The instances of applicative suffixes following a reflexive or reciprocal suffix are summarized in Table 63:

**Table 63. Reflexive and Reciprocal Suffixes
Preceding Applicatives**

LANG	SUFFIX	REL/RDR	REFL/RECIP
Cx	-mi	REL	REFLEXIVE
Ti	-əwi	REL	REFLEXIVE, RECIPROCAL
Li	-min	REL	REFLEXIVE
Cm	-mi	REL	REFLEXIVE
Sq	-ni	REL	REFLEXIVE, RECIPROCAL
Th	-xi	RDR	REFLEXIVE

Since the reflexive and reciprocal suffixes form intransitive constructions, relational suffixes can follow those suffixes. In contrast, it appears that a redirective suffix can follow the reflexive only in a highly lexicalized context.

Next we turn to examples where the reflexive or reciprocal suffix follows a applicative suffix.¹ Reflexes of the relational suffix **-mi* can be followed by the general transitive suffix and the reflexive suffix:

- (13) Comox (Watanabe 1996:336)
ləx-mi-θut tə čuʔ.
 bad-REL-TR:REFL DET child
 ‘The kid is behaving badly, crying and screaming.’
- (14) Halkomelem (Gerds and Kiyosawa 2005b:336)
ʔi cən wəl łciws-maʔ-θət² kʷə-nə-s ʔi ɬaɬiʔ.
 AUX 1SG.SUB already tired-REL-TR:REFL DET-1SG.POSS-NM AUX sick
 ‘I’m tired of myself being sick.’
- (15) Lillooet (Van Eijk 1997:124)
nkʷzanwas-min-an-cút
 worry-REL-TR-REFL
 ‘to worry about oneself’

¹ Some Salish languages have non-control reciprocal suffixes, but no examples of these suffixes co-occurring with applicative suffixes are attested in the database.

² The vowel *e* in the relational suffix *-meʔ* changes to *a* before the reflexive suffix (Gerds and Hinkson 2004a).

Reflexes of the redirective suffix **-xi* can be followed by the reflexive suffix:

- (16) Lillooet (Van Eijk 1997:125)
kʷul-xi-cút
 make-RDR-REFL
 ‘to make something for oneself’
- (17) Columbian (Kinkade 1982:59)
sc-maʔ-x-cút-əxʷ.
 PRFX-tell-RDR-REFL-IMPF
 ‘He’s talking to himself.’

In contrast, Gerdts (1988b) claims that the redirective suffixes *-as* and *-ɪc* in Halkomelem cannot be followed by the reflexive suffix:

- (18) Halkomelem (Gerdts 1988b:113)
**ni cən ʔám-əs-θət.*
 AUX 1SG.SUB give-RDR-REFL
 ‘I gave it to myself.’
- (19) Halkomelem (Gerdts 1988b:113)
**ni ǰʷəl-əɪc-θət ʔə kʷθə səplɪl.*
 AUX bake-RDR-REFL OBL DET bread
 ‘He baked the bread for the woman.’

The reciprocal suffix can also occur after applicative suffixes. Reflexes of the relational suffix **-mi* can be followed by the reciprocal suffix:

- (20) Comox (Honoré Watanabe p.c.)
ʃəɫ-it-mi-t-awɫ.
 angry-ST-REL-TR-RECIP
 ‘They are angry at each other.’
- (21) Squamish (Kuipers 1967:79)
səǰ-mí-nt-way
 split-REL-TR-RECIP
 ‘split and share’

- (22) Halkomelem (Gerds and Kiyosawa 2005b:336)
 ?e?ət ʃi:ʔʃe?-me?-təl̩ tʰə sʃəʔi qəʔ kʷ-s
 AUX shy(IMPF)-REL-TR:RECIP DET children DET-NM
 qʷəʔl qʷəʔl-təl̩-s.
 speak(IMPF)-TR:RECIP-3POSS
 ‘The children are shy about speaking to each other.’
- (23) Lillooet (Van Eijk 1997:125)
 cuqʷ-miŋ-twál-ən
 splice-REL-RECIP-TR
 ‘to add several pieces of rope together’

The relational suffixes *-ni* (24), *-nəs* (25), and *-t(a)s* (26) can also be followed by the reciprocal suffix:

- (24) Upper Chehalis (Kinkade 1991:172)
 s-yáy-š-n-twal-n-n
 IMPF-tell-AUTO-REL-RECIP-?-3SG.SUB
 ‘they tell each other’
- (25) Nooksack (Galloway 1997:218)
 ǰo-ns-wál
 with-REL-RECIP
 ‘come together (just meet, no purpose)’
- (26) Cowlitz (Kinkade 2004:79)
 ʔac-ǰʷó:l-ts-wlx-umx.
 ST-happy-REL-RECIP-3PL
 ‘They like each other.’

The redirective suffixes *-xit* (27), *-as* (28), *-lc* (29), *-tuxʷt* (30) can be followed by the reciprocal suffix:

- (27) Columbian (Kinkade 1982:60)
 may̩-xt-ǰáxʷ.
 tell-RDR-RECIP
 ‘They’re telling each other stories.’

- (28) Halkomelem (Gerds 2000:146)
 ʔa:m-əs-tal
 give-RDR-TR:RECIP
 ‘give it to each other’
- (29) Halkomelem (Gerds 2000:146)
 niʔ ct ǫwəl-əlc-təl.
 AUX 1PL cook-RDR-TR:RECIP
 ‘We cooked for each other.’
- (30) Upper Chehalis (Kinkade 1991:10)
 s-ʔaǰ-én-tx^wt-wali
 IMPF-see/look.at-?-RDR-RECIP
 ‘looking after each other’

The examples of applicatives followed by the reflexive and reciprocal suffixes are summarized in Table 64:

Table 64. Applicatives Followed by Reflexive and Reciprocal Suffixes

LANG	SUFFIX	REL/RDR	REFLEXIVE	RECIPROCAL
Cx	-mi	REL	REFLEXIVE	RECIPROCAL
Sq	-mi	REL		RECIPROCAL
Hl	-meʔ	REL	REFLEXIVE	RECIPROCAL
Li	-min	REL	REFLEXIVE	RECIPROCAL
Ch	-ni	REL		RECIPROCAL
Nk	-ns	REL		RECIPROCAL
Cz	-t(a)s	REL		RECIPROCAL
Li	-xit	RDR	REFLEXIVE	
Cm	-xit	RDR	REFLEXIVE	RECIPROCAL
Hl	-as	RDR	*REFLEXIVE	RECIPROCAL
	-lc	RDR	*REFLEXIVE	RECIPROCAL
Ch	-tux ^w t	RDR		RECIPROCAL

The reflexive and reciprocal suffixes appear in the same position as object suffixes, so one would expect there to be no restriction on their occurrence after the applicative suffix. However, Halkomelem does not allow the reflexive suffix to appear after the redirective suffixes *-as* and *-lc*.

7.2 Applicative, causative, and non-control suffixes.

Next, I turn to the interaction of applicative suffixes with transitive suffixes. The general transitive suffix, which appears only outside and not inside applicative suffixes, is covered in section 6.1. Here, I discuss the causative suffix **-stw* and the non-control transitive suffix **-n wá-n*.³

7.2.1 The causative suffix.

The causative suffix **-stw* has a variety of functions. Typically, this suffix is added to intransitive verbs to form causatives in which a causer causes a causee to do something:

- (31) Thompson (L. Thompson 1985:394)
k^wís-s-cm-s.
fall-CS-1SG.OBJ-3SUB
'She caused me to fall (or managed to make me fall).'

The causative derives a transitive base, and thus we predict that causatives can form redirective applicatives. The causative suffix can be followed by the redirective suffix *-aʔam* (*-Vm*) (32), *-yi* (< **-xi*) (33), *-x* (< **-xi*) in (34), and *-l* (35):

- (32) Comox (Watanabe 2003:250)
ʔiɦtən-st-aʔam-θi t^θəm ʔə tə čuý.
eat-CS-RDR-TR:2SG.OBJ 1SG.SUB:FUT OBL DET child
'I will feed the child for you.'

³ The reconstructed forms are from Kinkade (1998). He also suggests alternate forms for the causative suffix and the non-control transitive suffix: **-staw* and **-n wáI-n* respectively. The suffix *-n* at the end of the non-control transitive suffix **-n wáI-n* is the general transitive suffix *-n*, which occurs in Interior Salish.

- (33) Lushootseed (Bates et al. 1994:23)
 ?úǰ^w-tɰ^w-yi-c.
 go-CS-RDR-TR:1SG.OBJ
 ‘Take it for me.’
- (34) Shuswap (Kuipers 1992:49)
 pul-st-x-t-s tə sʰmkelt-s.
 lie-CS-RDR-TR-3SUB OBL daughter-3POSS
 ‘He kills his (other’s) daughter.’
- (35) Columbian (Kinkade 1982:58)
 k^wəń-stú-l-n.
 examine-CS-RDR-1SG.SUB
 ‘I showed it to him.’

One example from Kalispel is particularly noteworthy because the relational suffix appears before the causative suffix and the redirective suffix appears after it:

- (36) Kalispel (Carlson and Flett 1989:153)
 tu-mí-st-š-t-n.
 transact.business-REL-CS-RDR-TR-1SG.SUB
 ‘I bought it for somebody.’

Example (36) is exceptional because in this case the causative suffix does not form a causative stem in which a causer causes a causee to do something. The root \sqrt{tew} ‘transact business’ always appears with two suffixes *tu-mi-st* when it means ‘buy, sell’ (Carlson and Flett 1989:92). Thus, the relational and causative suffixes may be lexicalized in this example. In fact, the Columbian cognate, *tumist*, is analyzed as a verb root meaning ‘sell’, which is in turn followed by a relational suffix, in the following example:

- (37) Columbian (Kinkade 1981:85)
 tumíst-mə-n.
 sell-REL(-TR)-1SG.SUB
 ‘I sold it.’

Reflexes of the relational suffix **-mi* can be followed by the causative suffix:

- (38) Northern Straits (Montler 1986:174)
- a. tčístəs.
 //tč-ŋiy-stax^w-Ø-əs//
 arrive-REL-CS-3OBJ-3SUB
 ‘He brought it.’
- b. ǰčəlŋistáŋəs səʔ sx^w.
 //ǰč-il-ŋiy-stax^w-aŋəs səʔ sx^w//
 down-AUTO-REL-CS-1SG.OBJ FUT 2SUB
 ‘You’re going to sink me.’
- c. səsiʔŋistáɬx^w sx^w.
 //C₁+seý-ŋiy-stax^w-aɬx^w sx^w//
 RED(RES)-scare-REL-CS-1PL.OBJ 2SUB
 ‘You scared us.’
- (39) Klallam (Montler 2001: #1399, 1866)
- a. nuʔ-ǰči-ŋí-stx^w
 ?-deep-REL-CS
 ‘deepen’
- b. saýsiʔ-ŋí-stx^w
 afraid-REL-CS
 ‘scare, frighten’

The causative suffix seems to serve as a simple transitive suffix in (40) and (41); it is not used in the usual sense (i.e. ‘to cause someone to do something’, as exemplified in (31) above):

- (40) Tillamook (Egesdal and M. Thompson 1998:243)
- g^{wə} waɬ čag^w-u-sti-wá-y.⁴
 FUT with dance-REL-CS-2SG.OBJ-1SG.SUB
 ‘I will dance with you.’

⁴ This is the only Tillamook example in the database in which the relational applicative suffix appears as *-u* and is followed by the causative suffix.

- (41) Kalispel (Carlson 1972:104)
 čánəmstən.
 //čan-mi-ste-n//
 tie/pinch-REL-CS-1SG.SUB
 ‘I tighten it.’

In some Salish languages, the causative suffix is used like a general transitive marker in certain aspects (with or without the customary prefix). The aspectual use of causative can follow the relational suffix:

- (42) Shuswap (Kuipers 1992:50)
 c-ǰ-ʎp=ełč-m-st-s
 CUST-in-angry=inside-REL-CS-3SUB
 ‘be angry at’
- (43) Coeur d’Alene (Doak 1997:209)
 lu čeł tqʷaʔqʷəʔelmístxʷ.
 //lut čeł t-CVC-qʷeʔl-min-stu-Ø-xʷ//
 NEG FUT LOC-RED(AUG)-speak-REL-CS-3SG.OBJ-2SG.SUB
 ‘You don’t talk about it.’
- (44) Columbian (Willett 2003:282)
 ʔachúymstms nyʎʎáp.
 //ʔac-huy-min-st-m-s// all the time
 IMPF-visit-REL-CS-1SG.OBJ-3SUB
 ‘He visits me every day.’
- (45) Columbian (Kinkade 1982:54)
 yər-mí-st-m-s.
 push-REL-CS-1SG.OBJ-3SUB
 ‘He is pushing me.’

Looking next at data in which a redirective suffix is followed by the causative suffix, only one example is attested:⁵

⁵ The object suffix following the causative suffix is from the M-object set.

- (46) Coeur d'Alene (Doak 1997:161)
 ʔečńšístmis.
 //ʔe(c)-čeń-ší-st(u)-mi-s//
 CUST-hold-RDR-CS-2SG.(M)OBJ-3SUB
 'He helps you.'

However, in some Interior Salish languages the causative suffix is used instead of the general transitive suffix to mark transitivity in the customary aspect.

I summarize the co-occurrence of applicative and causative suffixes in Table 65:

Table 65. Applicatives and Causative Suffixes

LANG	SUFFIX	REL/RDR	CS-APPL	APPL-CS
NS, Kl, Ti, Ka, Sh, Cr, Cm	*-mi	REL		✓
Cr	*-xi	RDR		✓
Ld, Sh, Ka	*-xi	RDR	✓	
Cm	-ł	RDR	✓	
Cx	-ʔəm	RDR	✓	

The causative suffix comes before and after redirective suffixes, but it only comes after relational suffixes. Since the causative suffix derives transitive bases, and redirectives but not relationals are suffixed to transitive bases, we correctly predict that only redirectives will follow the causative. When the causative suffix comes after a relational or a redirective suffix, sometimes it is not used in the usual way (i.e. 'to cause someone to do something') but rather as a simple transitive suffix (Tillamook, Kalispel). Also, causative suffixes appear in some languages (Shuswap, Coeur d'Alene, Columbian) to mark transitivity in the customary aspect.

7.2.2 The non-control suffix.

The non-control transitive suffix *-nwá-n is used for actions that are performed accidentally or accomplished with difficulty (L. Thompson 1979b, 1985; Carlson and L.

Thompson 1982). Non-control constructions are translated as ‘do accidentally, unintentionally’, ‘manage to do’, ‘(finally) succeed in doing’, etc.:

- (47) Northern Straits (Montler 1986:165)
 ʔəm-n áx^w sən.
 hit-NC 1SG.SUB
 ‘I hit it accidentally.’/‘I finally managed to hit it.’

The non-control transitive suffix can occur before reflexes of the redirective suffix *-*xi* (48)–(49), and before -*ʔ* (50)–(51):

- (48) Lushootseed (Hess 1967:43)
 ʔál-dx^w-i i-c
 put.on.clothing-NC-RDR-TR:1SG.OBJ
 ‘manage to get it on for me’
- (49) Thompson (L. Thompson and M. Thompson 1980:28)
 ciqnwéxcmx^w.
 //cíq-nwén-xi-t-sem-ex^w//
 dig-NC-RDR-TR-1SG.OBJ-2SG.SUB
 ‘You (accidentally) dug up my [flowers] on me.’
- (50) Okanagan (N. Mattina 1996:92)
 nʔal-nu-ʔ-t-x^w.
 sink-NC-RDR-TR-2SG.SUB
 ‘You managed to sink something of his.’
- (51) Columbian (Kinkade 1982:58)
 cəkk-nú-ʔ-n.
 throw-NC-RDR(-TR)-1SG.SUB
 ‘I accidentally hit it.’

In contrast to the sequence -*nú-ʔ*- in (51), the sequence of -*nún-xi* or -*nún-túʔ* is rejected in Columbian (Kinkade 1982).

One example from Columbian is particular noteworthy because a relational suffix appears before the non-control transitive suffix and a redirective suffix appears after it:

- (52) Columbian (Kinkade 1982:58)
 cək-m-nú-ł-t-n.
 throw-REL-NC-RDR-TR-1SG.SUB
 ‘I accidentally threw it at him.’

Examples of a relational suffix *-mi* followed by the non-control transitive suffix are attested in Columbian (52) and Shuswap (53):

- (53) Shuswap (Kuipers 1974:197)
 łək^w-m-nweń-s
 think.of-REL-NC-2SG.SUB
 ‘remember, think of, conceive a thought, get an idea’

An example of the redirective suffix occurring before the non-control transitive suffix is found in Comox:

- (54) Comox (Watanabe 2003:251)
 k^wəl-ʔəm-nu-mš-as ʔə tə t^θ tihaya.
 pour-RDR-NC-1SG.OBJ-3SUB OBL DET 1SG.POSS tea
 ‘He accidentally spilled my tea.’

In Halkomelem, none of the applicative suffixes can be followed by the non-control transitive suffix:

- (55) Halkomelem
- a. *ni ʔám-əs-nəx^w-əs k^wθə sq^wəméyʔ ʔə k^wθə sθ'ámʔ.
 AUX give-RDR-NC-3SUB DET dog OBL DET bone
 ‘He managed to give the dog the bone.’ (Gerds 1988b:116)
- b. *ni k^wən-əłc-n-ámš-əs.
 AUX take-RDR-NC-1SG.(M)OBJ-3SUB
 ‘He managed to get it for me.’ (Gerds 1988b:118)
- c. *siʔsiʔ-meʔ-nəx^w
 afraid-REL-NC
 ‘accidentally be frightened by him/her/it’ (Gerds and Kiyosawa 2005b:337)

- d. *nem̄-nəs-nəx^w
 go-REL-NC
 ‘managed to go toward him/her/it’ (Donna Gerds p.c.)

It is ungrammatical for the non-control transitive suffix to appear after either a redirective or a relational suffix in Halkomelem.

The co-occurrence of applicative suffixes with the non-control transitive suffix is summarized in Table 66:

Table 66. Applicatives and Non-control Suffixes

LANG	SUFFIX	REL/RDR	NC-APPL	APPL-NC
Sh, Cm	-mi	REL		✓
Hl	-meʔ	REL		✗
	-nəs	REL		✗
Hl	-as	RDR		✗
	-ɫc	RDR		✗
Cx	-ʔəm	RDR	✓	✓
Ld, Th	*-xi	RDR	✓	
Cm	-xit	RDR	✗	
	-ɫ	RDR	✓	
	-tuɫ	RDR	✗	

The non-control suffix comes before and after redirective suffixes, but it only comes after relational suffixes. Since the non-control transitive suffix derives transitive bases, and redirectives but not relationals are suffixed to transitive bases, we correctly predict that only redirectives will follow the non-control suffix. However, the co-occurrence of applicatives and the non-control suffix is restricted suffix by suffix and language by language. In Columbian, the non-control suffix can precede the redirective

suffix *-t*, but not *-xit* or *-tut*. In Halkomelem, the non-control suffix cannot follow applicative suffixes at all.⁶

7.3 Applicatives and lexical suffixes.

Lexical suffixes are bound roots that have meanings analogous to free-standing nominals. Salish languages have more than one hundred lexical suffixes expressing body parts, flora and fauna, people, and cultural artifacts, such as houses, garments, and instruments. The syntax and semantics of lexical suffixes have been discussed extensively (Gerdt 2003, Gerdt and Hinkson 1996, Hinkson 1999).

For our purpose here, it is sufficient to note that lexical suffixes are used for different functions. One use of lexical suffixes is as an adjunct to specify the instrument, manner, or location of the verb.

- (56) Halkomelem (Gerdt 2003:346)
q̣t=aθən
go.along=mouth
'walk along (a shore, etc.)'

Following Gerdt and Hinkson (1996), I refer to this function as Type 1.

Another use of lexical suffixes is to express the nominal that plays the role of the theme:

- (57) Halkomelem (Gerdt 2003:347)
qʷs=eɣ̣ən
throw.out=net
'set a net'

⁶ Honoré Watanabe (p.c.) reports that his preliminary observation is that the relational suffix *-mi* in Comox cannot be followed by the non-control transitive suffix.

Following Gerdt and Hinkson (1996), I refer to this function as Type 2. When the lexical suffix is not followed by a transitive suffix, the sentence is syntactically intransitive.

Examples of lexical suffixes appearing before applicative suffixes are quite common. When a lexical suffix appears before a reflex of the relational suffix **-mi* (58)–(69) or **-ni* (70)–(71), it has a Type 1 function.

- (58) Squamish (Kuipers 1967:79)
 qx^w=ús- mi-ń
 gathered=face-REL-TR
 ‘gang up on someone’
- (59) Halkomelem (Gerdt and Kiyosawa 2005b:332)
 š-təʔe:=wəń-meʔ-t
 NM:LOC-like.that=inside-REL-TR
 ‘thinking that way about it/him/her’
- (60) Lushootseed (Hess and Bates 2004:186)
 d^zəl=áǰad-bi-d
 turn=side-REL-TR
 ‘visit someone’
- (61) Tillamook (Egesdal and M. Thompson 1998:254)
 ɬe s-tk^w=aniʔ-wí-c-i.
 ART ST-put=ear-REL-2SG.OBJ-1SG.SUB
 ‘I hear you.’
- (62) Upper Chehalis (Kinkade 1991:95)
 pá-t=yq̣-m-n
 stick.out=foot-REL-3SG.OBJ
 ‘reach with the foot for’
- (63) Cowlitz (Kinkade 2004:233)
 ʔit k^wəp=á:ǰn-m-n.
 PERF straight=upper.arm-REL-TR
 ‘He aimed at it.’
- (64) Lillooet (Van Eijk 1997:120)
 n-q̣l=ǰnwas-min
 ART-bad=heart-REL
 ‘to dislike somebody’

- (65) Thompson (L. Thompson and M. Thompson 1992:75)
 a. //kəs=ičeʔ-meh-t//
 ugly=skin-REL-TR
 ‘have a (skin) allergy to something’
 b. //wík=ečeh-meh-t//
 see=pretense-REL-TR
 ‘pretend to see someone/something’⁷
- (66) Shuswap (Kuipers 1992:50)
 ke-k̓m=ix-m-n-s
 RED-surface=body-REL-TR-3SUB
 ‘sneak up to’
- (67) Kalispel (Carlson and Flett 1989:147)
 hec-méʔ=cn-mí-st-n.
 ST-bother=mouth-REL-CS-1SG.SUB
 ‘I bothered him with my talk.’
- (68) Coeur d’Alene (Doak 1997:38)
 //puʔs=cin-min-nt//
 blow=mouth-REL-TR
 ‘tell someone a joke’
- (69) Columbian (Willett 2003:283)
 nkʷəʔálp̓pm̓n.
 //n-kʷəʔálp̓p-min-nt-n//
 PSTN-take.out=throat-REL-TR-1SG.SUB
 ‘I took it out of my mouth.’
- (70) Squamish (Kuipers 1967:381)
 čn yəwʔín=c-ni-t-umi.
 1SG.SUB spiritual.power=mouth-REL-TR-2SG.OBJ
 ‘I understand you.’
- (71) Cowlitz (Kinkade 2004:87)
 tál=aqap-ni-n-aʔ!
 call/yell/shout/holler(?=voice)-REL-TR-IMP
 ‘Holler at him!’

⁷ This predicate is used primarily in the negative: ‘pretend not to see someone/something’ (L. Thompson and M. Thompson 1992:75).

In the above cases, the combination of intransitive verb root and lexical suffix constitutes an intransitive verb, so it is not unexpected that a relational applicative can suffix to it.

In two examples, we find reflexes of *-*xi* following lexical suffixes with Type 1 functions:

- (72) Tillamook (Egesdal and M. Thompson 1998:252)
 š-tk^w=ag^{wə}(s)-šit-ə!
 LOC-put=side-RDR-IMP.SG
 ‘Pay him!’
- (73) Lillooet (Van Eijk 1997:120)
 nás=aka[?]-xit
 go=hand-RDR
 ‘to send something to somebody’

Nevertheless, in these cases the combination of the verb root and the lexical suffix seems to form verbs with transitive meanings, and the redirective derives verbs with typical ditransitive meanings, ‘put’ and ‘send’ respectively.

More commonly, lexical suffixes followed by redirective applicatives have a Type 2 function, i.e. the lexical suffix plays the role of theme. The combination of verb and lexical suffix constitutes a semantically transitive base to which the redirective suffix is added. The applied object has the semantic role of goal or benefactive:

- (74) Upper Chehalis (Kinkade 1991:5)
 s-ʔám=uł-ši-t-n
 IMPF-take.to/deliver=canoe-RDR-TR-3SG.SUB
 ‘take a canoe across to’
- (75) Lushootseed (Hess and Bates 2004:192)
 ʔu-ǰál=šəd-yi-d čəd.
 PUNCT-don=foot-RDR-TR 1SG.SUB
 ‘I put shoes on him for (his mother who was too busy with the other children).’

- (76) Cowlitz (Kinkade 2004:272)
 čílmi=k^wp-ši-c-a?
 carry=wood-RDR-TR:1SG.OBJ-IMP
 ‘Bring me some wood!’
- (77) Shuswap (Kuipers 1992: 53)
 w^ʔ=ełx^w-x-t-s.
 be.finished=house-RDR-TR-3SUB
 ‘He finishes (building) a house for her/her house.’
- (78) Coeur d’Alene (Doak 1997:154.224c)
 ʔešełítk^wəpštulm n.
 //ʔec-šel-ít=k^wp-š(i)t-ulm-n//
 CUST-chop-for=wood-RDR-TR-2PL.OBJ-1SG.SUB
 ‘I chopped wood for you fellows.’
- (79) Columbian (Willett 2003:136)
 k^włn wılxt n.
 //k^wułn=wıl-xit-n//
 borrow=vehicle-RDR-1SG.SUB
 ‘I borrowed a vehicle for her/him.’

We also see lexical suffixes followed by the redirective suffix *-əłc* in Halkomelem, as discussed in Gerds (2003).

- (80) Halkomelem (Gerds 2003:348)
 šk^w=əyəł-əłc-θámš.
 bathe=baby-RDR-TR:1SG.OBJ
 ‘Bathe the baby for me.’

There are very few examples with the opposite order—the lexical suffix following the applicative. Applied objects are often human, and lexical suffixes seldom refer to humans. In (81), we see the lexical suffix meaning ‘child’ in an applicative construction formed with the relational suffix *-ŋiy* (< *-mi):⁸

⁸ When the possessive applied object is coreferent to the subject, middle voice is used.

- (81) Northern Straits (Montler 1986:174)
 q^wəłŋy^ləŋ sən.
 //q^wəl-ŋiy=ał-əŋ sən//
 talk-REL=offspring-MDL 1SG.SUB
 ‘I’m scolding my kid.’

The lexical suffix plays the role of the possession of the possessive applied object.

We also see the lexical suffix for ‘child’ appearing following a reflex of the relational suffix *-*mi* the following Shuswap example:

- (82) Shuswap (Kuipers 1992:51)
 ʔəχ^w-m-n=ilt-m
 throw-REL-TR=child-MDL
 ‘there are sundogs⁹ (lit: throwing children)’

In Shuswap, the root √ʔəχ^w ‘throw’ does not appear without the relational suffix -*mi* and the general transitive suffix -*n*. In another example, the suffix for ‘water’ appears in the same environment:

- (83) Shuswap (Kuipers 1992:51)
 x-ʔəχ^w-m-n=etk^w-n-s
 PRFX-throw-REL-TR=water-TR-3SUB
 ‘throw object into the water’

I summarize the co-occurrence of applicatives and lexical suffixes in Table 6.

⁹ “Sundog” refers to a small halo or rainbow appearing on either side of the sun.

Table 67. Applicatives and Lexical Suffixes

LANG	SUFFIX	RDR/REL	LS-APPL	APPL-LS
Sq, Hl, Ld, Ti, Ts, NIS, Ka, Cr, Cm	* -mi	REL	✓	
Sh, NS	* -mi	REL		✓
Ld, Ti, TS, NIS, Cr, Cm	* -xi	RDR	✓	
Cm	-tuł	RDR	✓	

In sum, we find that examples with lexical suffixes preceding applicative suffixes are quite common. The lexical suffixes sometimes serve as modifiers of intransitive verbs (type 1 use) deriving intransitive bases that take relational suffixes. In other examples, lexical suffixes serve as modifiers (type 1) or themes (type 2) of transitive verbs to form semantically transitive bases that take redirective suffixes. Lexical suffixes following applicatives are not very common.

7.4 Multiple applicatives.

Sometimes more than one applicative suffix appears in the predicate complex. In some examples, two applicative suffixes can appear with another suffix between them:

- (84) Kalispel (Carlson and Flett 1989:153)
 tu-mí-st-š-t-n.
 transact.business-REL-CS-RDR-TR-1SG.SUB
 ‘I bought it for somebody.’
- (85) Columbian (Kinkade 1982:58)
 cək-m-nú-ł-t-n.
 throw-REL-NC-RDR-TR-1SG.SUB
 ‘I accidentally threw it at him.’

The root \sqrt{tu} ‘transact business’ is followed by the relational suffix *-mi* and the causative suffix *-st* in (84) to form a transitive stem ‘buy’ (‘cause to transact business’). Then the redirective suffix *-š* (< **-xi*) attaches to the transitive stem to form a redirective

construction in which the applied object is benefactive. In the same way, the root $\sqrt{c\acute{e}k}$ ‘throw’ is followed by the relational suffix *-mi* and the non-control transitive suffix *-nu* to form transitive stem ‘accidentally throw it’ in (85). Then the redirective suffix *-t* attaches to the transitive stem to form a redirective construction in which the applied object is dative.

What I discuss in this section are cases of two applicative suffixes directly stacked on top of each other. Multiple applicatives of this sort are rare in languages, though they are attested in Kinyarwanda (Kimenyi 1980), Sierra Popoluca (Marlett 1986), and Huastec (Constable 1989), and Upper Necaxa Totonac (Beck 2006).¹⁰ In Salish, three patterns of stacking are attested. The sequence of a relational followed by a redirective suffix, which is fairly common, is discussed in section 7.4.1. The sequence of two relationals, which is attested in only four examples, is discussed in section 7.4.2. The sequence of two redirectives, which is found in only one example, is discussed in section 7.4.3. The sequence of a redirective followed by a relational suffix is not attested in the database.

7.4.1 Relational followed by redirective.

Given my two-way typology of Salish applicatives, sequences of a relational suffix followed by a redirective suffix are expected. The relational suffix derives a transitive base, to which the redirective suffix attaches.

Sequences of a relational suffix followed by a redirective suffix are attested in the Northern Interior Salish languages, Lillooet (86), Thompson (87), and Shuswap (88):

¹⁰ See Samkoe (1994) for theoretical aspects of multiple applicatives in the world’s languages, including examples from Salish languages.

- (89) Columbian (Kinkade 1982:58)
- a. kʷuʔt-mí-xt-n.
end-REL-RDR-1SG.SUB
'I used up something belonging to someone else.'
- b. cək-m-xít-n.
hit.by.throwing-REL-RDR-1SG.SUB
'I threw it for someone else.'
- (90) Columbian
- a. ck-mí-t-n.
hit.by.throwing-REL-RDR(-TR)-1SG.SUB
'I threw it.' (Kinkade 1982:58)
- b. nált-m-t-n.
forget-REL-RDR(-TR)-1SG.SUB
'I forgot someone's whatever I had.' (Kinkade 1982:58)
- c. tumístmłcn.
//tumist-mi-t-si-n//
sell-REL-RDR-TR-2SG.OBJ-1SG.SUB
'I sold it for you.' (Willett 2003:281)
- (91) Columbian
- a. yərməntúłn.¹¹
//yər-min-tuł-t-n//
push-REL-RDR-TR-1SG.SUB
'I pushed it to her/him.' (Willett 2003:137)
- b. cək-m-túł-n.
hit.by.throwing-REL-RDR(-TR)-1SG.SUB
'I threw it to the next person (to catch).' (Kinkade 1982:58)
- c. tumist-m-túł-c.
sell-REL-RDR-TR:1SG.OBJ(-3SUB)
'He sold it to me.' (Kinkade 1982:58)

Sequences of a relational suffix followed by a redirective suffix are not attested in the other Southern Interior Salish languages, but this is probably simply due to a lack of data.

¹¹ The suffix *-mi* appears as *-min* before the suffix *-tuł* with the root $\sqrt{yə}$ 'push'. Compare (91b) and (91c).

Given my two-way typology of Salish applicatives, sequences of a relational suffix followed by a redirective suffix are expected. The relational suffix derives a transitive base, to which the redirective suffix attaches. This raises the issue, why is this attested only in Interior Salish languages? My suggestion regarding this is that the cases of stacking given above all involve the use of a relational suffix to form a simple transitive in which the object bears the role of theme and not an oblique relation, as discussed in section 5.2.1.1. This usage of relational suffixes is most robustly attested in Interior Salish languages.

7.4.2 Relational followed by relational.

The sequence of a relational suffix followed by a redirective suffix is totally plausible in terms of transitivity, since the relational suffix increases the syntactic valence from one to two arguments, and the redirective suffix increases the semantic valence from two to three arguments. However, we also unexpectedly find the stacking of two relational suffixes in two Salish languages—Lushootseed, in which one example is attested, and Tillamook, in which three examples are attested.

First, examine the Lushootseed example:

- (92) Lushootseed (Hess and Bates 2004:182)
 šúu-c-bi-d
 look.at-REL-REL-TR
 ‘keep an eye out for someone or something’

In (92), the root $\sqrt{\text{š}u\text{t}}$ ‘look, see; appearance’ (Bates et al. 1994:213) is followed by the relational suffix $-(a)c$ and the relational suffix $-bi$ ($< *-mi$). This root can be followed by either of these relational suffixes singly:

(93) Lushootseed (Bates et al. 1994:214)

a. ʔəs-šúu-c čəd tə háʔl s-tùbš.
ST-look-REL 1SG.SUB DET good NM-man
'I'm looking at the good man.'

b. šuɫ-bi-d
look-REL-TR
'keep an eye out for someone or something, look for someone (to come by)'

The root is followed by *-(a)c* in (93a) and *-bi* in (93b). Notice that the translation of (92) is the same as that of (93b). If *-bi* alone can form a relational suffix (93b), it is not clear what the function of the suffix *-(a)c* is in (92).

Three examples of the stacking of relational suffixes are attested in Tillamook:

(94) Tillamook

a. gʷə həʔəy-əwí-s-t-i.
FUT over.there-REL-REL-TR-1SG.SUB
'I will move it [chair] a little ways away.'¹² (Egedal and M. Thompson 1998:253)

b. də s-ləš-əš-əw-əs-c-í.
ART ST-angry-RED(OC)-REL-REL-2SG.(S)OBJ-1SG.SUB
'He made me angry at you.' (Edel 1939:28, Egedal and M. Thompson 1998:252)

c. gʷəš həwəčəʔ-əwi-s-w-í.
ongoing tire-REL-REL-2SG.(M)OBJ-1SG.SUB
'I am tired of you.' (Egedal and M. Thompson 1998:253)

Compare (94b) (repeated here as (95a)) with (95b) and (95c):

¹² The translation implies associative causation ('cause it to be over there' = 'move it'). However, *-s-t* is not the causative suffix. If it were the causative suffix, it would be *-stx^w-i* instead of *-s-t-i*.

- (95) Tillamook
- a. *də s-ləš-əš-əw-əs-c-í.*
 ART ST-angry-RED(OC)-REL-REL-2SG.(S)OBJ-1SG.SUB
 ‘He made me angry at you.’ (Edel 1939:28, Egedal and M. Thompson 1998:252)
- b. *de c-ləš-əš(-s)-wəš-š?*
 ART ST-angry-RED(OC)(-REL)-1SG.(M)OBJ-2SG.SUB
 ‘Are you angry at me?’ (Egedal and M. Thompson 1998:257)
- c. *de ləš-əš-əwi-c-í.*
 ART angry-RED(OC)-REL-2SG.(S)OBJ-1SG.SUB
 ‘I am angry at you.’ (Egedal and M. Thompson 1998:254)

The reduplicated root $\sqrt{ləš}$ ‘angry’ can be followed by stacked relational suffixes *-əw-əs* (< *-*mi-əs*) in (95a), by *-əs* alone as in (95b), or by *-əwi* (< *-*mi*) alone as in (95c). Again, if *-əs* or *-əwi* alone can form a relational suffix, why do they stack together in (95a)?

Compare (94c) (repeated here as (96a)) with (96b):¹³

- (96) Tillamook (Egedal and M. Thompson 1998:253, 272)
- a. *gʷəš həwəčəʔ-əwi-s-w-í.*
 ongoing tire-REL-REL-2SG.(M)OBJ-1SG.SUB
 ‘I am tired of you.’
- b. *de c-həwəčəʔ-əw.*
 ART ST-tire-MDL
 ‘He is tired.’

Again, it is not clear why there are two relational suffixes in the sentence, since it usually requires only one relational suffix to increase the valence and signal the applied object, which is the stimulus of a psychological event in these examples:

¹³ The relational suffix *-əwi* in (96a) resembles the middle suffix, but it would be *-əw* without *i* if it were the middle.

- (97) Tillamook
- a. qeš qe n-šʷaʔəš-əwí-n-i k s-qéxeʔ.
 NEG UNR LOC-afraid-REL-TR-1SG.SUB ART NM-dog
 ‘I am not afraid of dogs.’ (Egesdal and M. Thompson 1998:254)
- b. de c-ləš-əš(-s)-wəš-šʔ
 ART ST-angry-RED(OC)(-REL)-1SG.(M)OBJ-2SG.SUB
 ‘Are you angry at me?’ (Egesdal and M. Thompson 1998:257)

The stacking of relational suffixes is contradictory to semantic and syntactic valence. Is the second suffix being used as a redirective applicative? Is either the first or second suffix not being used as an applicative suffix? Which relational suffix signals the applied object? More research is clearly needed.

7.4.3 Redirective followed by redirective.

There is only one example in my database in which two redirective suffixes stack.

Kinkade (1982:58) cites *-xi-tuʔ* as a case of applicative stacking:

- (98) Columbian (Kinkade 1982:58)
 kʔ-ʔəy-x-túʔ-n.
 PSTN-go-RDR-RDR-1SG.SUB
 ‘I brought something to change back.’/‘I returned (the gloves) (to the store).’

However, I suspect that *-x* is not the redirective suffix, especially since the sequence of *-xi-t* or *-t-xi* is rejected in Columbian (Kinkade 1982:59), and no other stacking of redirective suffixes is attested. This suffix *-x* may be the same suffix that functions as a stem formative in Okanagan:

- (99) Okanagan (A. Mattina 1987:233)
 lut ilìʔ tə c-kíc-x.
 NEG be.there PTC CISLOC-reach-FMTV
 ‘It didn’t reach there.’

7.4.4 Summary.

There are four logical possibilities of applicative combinations: relational-redirective, relational-relational, redirective-relational, and redirective-redirective. I summarize the multiple applicative data attested in Salish languages in Table 7.

Table 68. Multiple Applicatives

COMBINATION	APPLICATIVE	LANGUAGE
REL-RDR	-mi-xi(t)	Li, Th, Sh, Cm
	-mi-l	Cm
	-mi-tuł	Cm
REL-REL	-(a)c-mi	Ld
	-mi-əs	Ti
RDR-REL		N/A
RDR-RDR	-xi-tuł??	Cm

Sequence of redirective and relational suffixes are not unexpected, since they are consistent with the two-way typology of applicatives. The relational suffix derives a transitive base, to which the redirective suffix is attached. However, the stacking of two relational suffixes or two relational suffixes is unexpected. Not only are such examples extremely rare, but the exact function of the suffixes in them is unclear. More research is obviously called for.

7.5 Summary.

In this chapter, I have shown that applicative suffixes can co-occur with other suffixes. The two-way typology I developed in Chapters 3 and 4 leads us to expect certain patterns of co-occurrence of the relational and redirective with other suffixes.

First, let's see what suffixes can appear before the relational and redirective suffixes, summarized in Table 69.

Table 69. Suffixes Occurring Before Applicatives

SUFFIX	RELATIONAL	REDIRECTIVE
REFLEXIVE/RECIPROCAL	✓	(1)
CAUSATIVE/NON-CONTROL	✗	✓
LEXICAL SUFFIX	✓	✓
RELATIONAL	(4)	✓
REDIRECTIVE	✗	(1)

As for relationals, we expect that they are suffixed only to intransitive bases, and we see that this is the case. Straightforwardly, relationals cannot be formed on a base that contains a transitivity suffix such as causative, non-control transitive, or redirective. On the other hand, relationals can be suffixed to a base that contains a reflexive or reciprocal suffix, because these suffixes are detransitivizing in Salish. Furthermore, when lexical suffixes appear inside of relational suffixes, they have Type 1 functions. That is, the lexical suffix plays the role of an adjunct, not a theme. The only unexpected result is the four examples of a relational suffix followed by a second relational suffix. The function each suffix in this case is unclear.

As for redirectives, we expect that they are suffixed to transitive bases, and we see that this is the case. Straightforwardly, redirectives can be suffixed to a base that contains a causative, non-control transitive, or relational suffix. In the case of lexical suffixes, the ones that occur inside redirective suffixes have Type 2 functions. That is, the lexical suffix plays the role of a theme, and the verb and lexical suffix constitute a semantically transitive base. In contrast, the reflexive and reciprocal suffixes derive intransitive verbs, so redirective suffixes should not appear after them. In my database, there was just one very idiosyncratic example of a redirective following a reflexive in Thompson. In addition, stacking of two redirective suffixes seems to not be permitted. Perhaps the

explanation for this is that the redirective derives a ditransitive that cannot be further transitivized.

The two-way typology of applicatives also makes predictions concerning the suffixes that can follow applicative suffixes. The results of my survey are summarized in Table 70.

Table 70. Suffixes Following Applicatives

SUFFIX	RELATIONAL	REDIRECTIVE
REFLEXIVE/RECIPROCAL	✓	✓
CAUSATIVE/NON-CONTROL	✓	✓
LEXICAL SUFFIX	✓	✗
RELATIONAL	(4)	✗
REDIRECTIVE	✓	(1)

Both relational and redirective applicatives allow the expression of applied objects, and with some language-by-language and suffix-by-suffix exceptions, the applied object can be expressed by a reflexive or reciprocal suffix when it is coreferential with the subject. The derived object can be also a lexical suffix. However, since applied objects tend to be higher animates, and few lexical suffixes express higher animates, examples are rare. With respect to transitive suffixes, we expect applicative suffixes to be followed by the non-control transitive suffix, just as they are followed by the general transitive suffix. However, we do not expect applicative suffixes to be followed by the causative suffix, which usually derive transitive from intransitive verbs. However, the applicative suffixes themselves derive transitive verbs and thus the base to which the causative suffix would attach is not intransitive. However, we find that in some languages, the causative suffix is used like a general transitive suffix in certain aspects. When used in this function, it can follow applicative suffixes.

In sum, the two-way typology of applicatives provides an explanation for what suffixes can appear inside and outside applicative suffixes.

Chapter 8: Conclusion

Applicative suffixes, like many verbal suffixes in Salish, are heterogeneous: their form and function do not always have a one-to-one correspondence. An applicative suffix often has more than one semantic function, and the same semantic function is marked by more than one applicative suffix. Because of this complexity, the task of making descriptive generalizations concerning the Salish applicative system has been a challenging one.

The task was made more difficult by the lack of research on applicatives in the world's languages. When I started my research in 1998, very little cross-linguistic research had been done on the typology of applicatives.¹ Much work concentrates on the syntactic properties of applicatives, that is, what position the applied object occupies in the surface syntax and what transformation (or the equivalent in non-derivational theories) can be posited to accommodate the "movement" of the applied object into this position.

Given the overall lack of literature on applicatives, it is not surprising if Salishanists when describing individual languages give scant details concerning applicatives. I am fortunate that many descriptive studies of Salish languages at least list various morphemes, make attempts to characterize their semantic function, and give examples, including sentential examples, some with interlinear glosses. This has made

¹ I thank Donna Gerdts for sharing her applicative database on thirty-five languages with me.

my task both easier and more enjoyable, as my work is connected to research of the scholars who have come before me. The Pan-Salish approach to this topic has been very efficacious because some patterns that were obscure to researchers on individual languages due to the scarcity of data have become much clearer when examples from the twenty languages in my survey were collected and compared.

I started my discussion of Salish applicatives in Chapter 1 with an introduction to the Salish language family and a summary of the applicative suffixes found in twenty languages. In Chapter 2, I gave a brief outline of the syntactic structure of Salish applicatives and their discourse function. In Chapters 3 and 4, I developed an analysis of two types of applicatives in Salish languages: relational and redirective. Relational suffixes attach to a wide range of intransitive predicates, including psychological events, speech acts, and motions. Applied objects in relational applicatives play a variety of semantic roles, including stimulus, content, and goal. Redirective suffixes attach to a wide range of transitive predicates and the applied objects play a variety of semantic roles, including dative, benefactive, possessor, and source.

The majority of applicative suffixes in Salish languages can be classified as either relational or redirective. However, some applicative suffixes are used in both types of construction, as I discussed in Chapter 5. Sometimes redirective suffixes are used to form relational constructions, and sometimes relational suffixes are used to form redirective constructions. Nevertheless, the two-way typology accounts for most of the facts concerning applicatives in Salish. Also, I discussed examples of applicative suffixes used as transitive suffixes. The relationship between applicatives and transitives is a complicated one, as I discussed further in Chapter 6.

In Chapter 7, I discussed combinations of applicative suffixes with other suffixes. The two-way typology makes certain predictions regarding the co-occurrence of applicatives with other suffixes. These predictions are substantiated by the Salish data. Relational applicatives appear after suffixes that derive intransitive bases and redirective applicatives appear after suffixes that derive transitive bases. Of the four possible combinations of multiple applicatives, the stacking of relational-redirective is the only one that fits with my two-way typology.

In this chapter, by way of conclusion, I give a brief reprise of the Salish applicatives suffixes in section 8.1; I place the Salish system in cross-linguistic perspective in section 8.2; I make some brief remarks about transitivity and applicatives in section 8.3; and I make some suggestions for future research in section 8.4.

8.1 Salish applicative system.

Each Salish language has at least one relational applicative and at least one redirective applicative suffix. The suffixes most often associated with relational and redirective applicatives reconstruct as Proto-Salish **-mi* and **-xi* respectively, as discussed in Chapters 3 and 4. The Salish applicative suffixes are shown in Table 71:

Table 71. Relational and Redirective Suffixes by Cognates

BRANCH	LANG	RELATIONAL					REDIRECTIVE					MISCELLANEOUS						
		*-mi	-ni	-nəs	-(t(a)s	-(a)c	*-xi	-l	-tuf	-Vm	-tux ^{wt}							
Proto-Salish																		
Be																	-amk	-m
CS	Cx	-mi	-ni											-ʔəm				
	Se	-mi	-ni											-ém				
	Sq	-mi	-ni							-ši								
	HI	-meʔ		-nəs												-as	-lc	
	Nk		-ni	-ns						-ši								
	NS	-ŋiy		-nəs						-si								
	KI	-ŋi		-nəs						-si								
	Ld	-bi	-di					-(a)c		-yi								
	Tw							-ac		-ši								
	Ti		-əwi							-əs								
TS	Ch	-mi(s)	-ni				-t(a)s			-ši								-tmi
	Cz	-mi(s)	-ni				-t(a)s			-ši								-s
NIS	Li	-min								-xit								
	Th	-mi								-xi								
	Sh	-mi								-xi								
SIS	Ok	-mi								-xi	-l	-tuf						
	Ka	-mi								-ši	-l							
	Cr	-min								-ši	-l	-tuf						
	Cm	-mi								-xit	-l	-tuf						

The relational suffix **-ni* probably goes back to Proto-Central-Tsamosan. The suffix *-nəs* probably originated in the Central Salish languages. The suffix *-(a)c* in Lushootseed and Twana, and the suffix *-əs* in Tillamook were probably innovated. The suffix *-t(a)s* probably goes back to Proto-Tsamosan. Similarities in form and function of the suffixes *-(a)c*, *-əs*, and *-t(a)s* suggest a possible relationship.

The redirective suffixes *-ʔəm* in Comox and *-em* in Sechelt may have developed from the middle suffix *-m*. The suffixes *-as* and *-ʔc* in Halkomelem are most certainly innovative. Gerdts and Hinkson (1996, 2004a) claim that the dative suffix *-as* is grammaticalized from the lexical suffix ‘face’. The suffix **-tuxʷt* is tentatively reconstructed for Proto-Tsamosan. The suffix *-tmi* is attested only in Upper Chehalis, and *-s* is attested only in Cowlitz. The suffixes *-ʔ* and *-tuʔ* go back to Proto-Southern Interior Salish.

We see then that only two applicative suffixes can be reconstructed for Proto-Salish: one relational and one redirective. Other applicatives have been innovated in sub-branches or individual languages. The innovated applicatives usurp or augment the functions of the two Proto-Salish applicatives, yielding a complex picture in the modern languages. The number of relational versus redirective applicatives in each (sub-)branch is given in Table 72.

Table 72. Relationals vs. Redirectives by (Sub-)Branch

BRANCH		RELATIONAL	REDIRECTIVE
Interior Salish	Northern Interior Salish	1	1
	Southern Interior Salish	1	2-3
Central Salish-Tillamook		2-3	1-2
Tsamosan		3	3

The Northern Interior Salish languages, which have one relational and one redirective suffix, most closely resemble the system that I propose for Proto-Salish. Other languages show splits in either the relational or redirective systems. Southern Interior Salish languages have only one relational applicative, but they have two or three redirective applicatives. The Central Salish languages and Tillamook have only one redirective applicative (except for Halkomelem, which has two), but they have two or three relational suffixes. The Tsamosan languages show splits in both types of applicatives—each language has three relational and three redirective applicatives.

The two-way typology that I develop accommodates most of the data in my database, though a few attested uses of applicatives fall outside the typology in interesting ways, as discussed in Chapter 5. Neither of the two Bella Coola applicatives behave in the classic Salish fashion.

8.2 Salish applicatives in cross-linguistic perspective.

A thorough discussion of the cross-linguistic typology of applicatives is outside the scope of this thesis. However, I briefly outline some of the similarities and differences between Salish applicatives and those found in other languages of the world. Most of these points I have noted in passing in previous chapters. Overall, there are many similarities between applicatives in Salish and those in other languages. What is most notable about the Salish case is the number of different types of applicatives that are attested within a single family.

“circumstantial” is a cover term for several types of applied objects, including reason as well as stimulus. For example, in the circumstantial applicative in *Tukang Besi*, the applied object is a reason, not a stimulus, and in fact this language seems to lack psych applicatives per se:

- (1) *Tukang Besi* (Donohue 1997:416)
 No-mate-ako te buti.
 3REALIS-die-APPL CORE fall
 ‘They died in a fall.’

Gerds and Kiyosawa (2005b) revisit Peterson’s sample languages, and find that psych applicatives are clearly attested only in *Halkomelem* and *West Greenlandic*.¹ Therefore, it may be the case that in fact only two out of the fifty languages in Peterson’s sample exhibit psych applicatives—and one of these is *Halkomelem*. Applicative constructions with applied objects bearing the role of psychological stimulus may be rare in the world’s languages, but they are robustly attested in all of the *Salish* languages.

8.2.2 The mapping of form and function.

It is not unusual for languages to have a single multi-purpose applicative morpheme that is used in a variety of applicative constructions such as dative, benefactive, and possessive. Languages with a single applicative include *Swahili* (Driever 1976) and *Mayan* languages (Aissen 1987). However, it is also fairly common for a language to have two or more applicative morphemes, each specialized for use with applied objects in a limited range of the semantic roles. Languages that have several applicatives include *Chickasaw* (Munro 2000), *Haka Lai* (Peterson 1999), *Ilokano*

¹ The data on *Caquinte* and *Zoque* available to us are insufficient to determine if their circumstantial applicatives include the psych use.

- (3) Halkomelem (Gerds 1988b:101, 115)
- a. ni ʔám-əs-t-əs kʷθə swíwłəs ʔə kʷθə púkʷ.
 AUX give-RDR-TR-3SUB DET boy OBL DET book
 ‘He gave the boy the book.’
- b. ni lóǰʷ-əłc-ət-əs.
 AUX blanket-RDR-TR-3SUB
 ‘He covered it with a blanket for him.’

While all of the Northern Interior languages have a single multi-purpose redirective suffix, Southern Interior languages have two or three different redirective suffixes. Though the situation is not as clear-cut in Southern Interior as it is in Halkomelem, the redirective suffixes also tend to align with applied objects bearing particular semantic roles. Counts of examples with the various redirective suffixes attested in Salish languages lead to the following hierarchies of mapping of form to function:

- (4) Hierarchies of applied object occurrence²
- a. Benefactive-oriented suffixes: *-xi, *-Vm, -łc
 Benefactive > (Dative) > Possessor > Source
- b. Dative-oriented suffixes: -tuxʷt, -tuł, -tmi, -as
 Dative > (Benefactive) > Source > Possessor
- c. Possessive-oriented suffix: -ł
 Possessor > Benefactive > Dative > Source

8.2.3 Possessor applicatives.

As discussed extensively in section 4.2.4.2, Salish possessive applicative constructions often have an additional semantic “kick”: the possessor is affected by the

² Parentheses indicate a semantic role that is not attested in all languages or in examples of each type of applicative.

action in some way and so the applied object bears an additional role: dative (5), benefactive (6), malefactive (7), or source (8).

- (5) Okanagan (N. Mattina 1993:277)
 k^wu c-x^wič-ł-t i-kł-lkalát.
 1SG.OBJ ASP-give-RDR-TR 1SG.POSS-IRR-bread
 ‘Give me what will be my bread.’
- (6) Kalispel (Vogt 1940:34)
 yes-u:l-ł-t-ém.
 ASP-burn-RDR-TR-INTR
 ‘I am burning it for him.’/‘I am burning his...’
- (7) Columbian (Kinkade 1980:34)
 wəlq^wátk^w-ł-c wa ?in-lətí.
 drink-RDR-TR:1SG.OBJ PTC 1SG.POSS-tea
 ‘She drank my tea (after taking it away from me).’
- (8) Coeur d’Alene (Reichard 1938:584, Doak 1997:182)
 či?ck^wíłtəməs.
 //čn ýc-k^win-ł-t-m-s//
 1SG.SUB CONT-grab-RDR-TR-INTR-3SG.POSS
 ‘He is taking it from me.’

Note that Polinsky (2005) does not include possessors in her semantic role hierarchy in (1). She states that the place of possessors in the hierarchy is not clear in some cases, but that it often aligns with the benefactive/goal. That the possessor is difficult to locate in the hierarchy is no surprise, given that the possessive relation is not directly associated with the predicate but is anchored semantically through a nominal argument of the predicate.

8.2.4 The transitivity parameter.

Many previous researchers, especially Dixon and Aikhenvald (2000:13–14), Donna Gerdts (p.c.), Payne (1997), have noted the valence-increasing properties of applicatives, and have pointed out that applicatives can be formed on both intransitive

and transitive bases. In most languages, an applicative affix attaches to both intransitive and transitive bases. See, for example, Amharic (Amberber 2000), Barupu (Donohue 1994), Chichewa (Alsina and Mchombo 1990), Creek (Martin 2000), Dulong/Rawang (LaPolla 2000), Motuna (Onishi 2000), Warrungu (Tsunoda 1998), and Yup'ik (Mithun 2000). Those applicatives that are limited to one type of base usually attach only to transitive bases (Polinsky 2005). For example, the applicative suffix *-b'e* 'instrumental' attaches only to transitive bases in K'iche' (Campbell 2000); and the applicative suffix *-ka* 'benefactive' attaches only to transitive bases in Kharia (Biligiri 1965). Applicatives that attach only to an intransitive base are much rarer. For example, the applicative suffixes *-mi* 'comitative, dative' and *-ngan* 'locative' attach only to intransitive bases in Ngan'gityemerri (Reid 2000).

The situation in Salish does not fit typological expectations. Ironically, the Bella Coola applicatives, which do not match any of the other Salish languages in either form or function, are the most normal cross-linguistically. Bella Coola, the outlier language to the north, lacks a relational/redirective distinction; the suffixes *-amk* and *-m* attach to both intransitive and transitive bases, and they are selected based on the semantic role of the applied object. The other Salish languages have both types of applicatives, relationals that attach only to intransitives and redirectives that attach only to transitives, with only a rare exceptional use of a redirective suffix for a relational function. Tillamook, the outlier language to the south, has an applicative suffix that historically relates to the redirective suffix but is attested slightly more often on intransitive bases than transitive bases. Also, there is only one example attested in Tillamook of a relational suffixes having a redirective function.

8.2.5 Defining relationals.

It is an overriding assumption in the literature on applicatives that constructions are better classified by the semantic role of the applied object than by the semantic class of the verb. I argued in Chapter 4 that this is the correct characterization of Salish redirective applicatives. The semantic role of the applied object and the verb class are often not correlated. A benefactive applicative, for example, tends to be marked by the same redirect suffix whether it appears with speech act verbs, action verbs, or transfer verbs, tends to be marked by the same redirective suffix

In contrast, I have argued above that relational applicatives are best classified by the semantics of the verb. For the most part, the semantic role of the applied object that appears in a relational construction is inferred from the nature of the event. The choice of relational suffixes is based upon the class of the predicate. For example, the source of a transfer verb and the source of a motion verb tend to be marked by different relational suffixes, while the goal of a motion verb and the source of a motion verb tend to be marked by the same relational suffix.

Because Salish languages have many relational applicatives, and also because some of the languages, especially Central Salish and Tsamosan languages, have so many different relational suffixes, they provide a unique opportunity to study the verb class semantics of applicative constructions. A variety of different predicates appear in relational constructions; their frequency of occurrence with certain suffixes allows for a classification of predicates into a small list of types, as in (9):

- (9)
- a. Internal experience
 - Psychological event (e.g. ‘be afraid of’, ‘be ashamed of’, ‘be tired of’)
 - Perception (e.g. ‘feel’, ‘hear’, ‘see’)
 - Cognition (e.g. ‘know’, ‘think’, ‘understand’)
 - Liking or desire (e.g. ‘like’, ‘want’, ‘wish’)
 - b. Expression
 - Speech act (e.g. ‘ask’, ‘sing’, ‘speak’)
 - Facial expression (e.g. ‘cry for’, ‘smile at’, ‘wink at’)
 - c. Action
 - Social interaction (e.g. ‘meet’, ‘marry’, ‘act tough on’)
 - Activity (e.g. ‘work’, ‘dance’)
 - d. Movement
 - Motion (e.g. ‘go’, ‘run’, ‘walk’)
 - Body movement/position (e.g. ‘hide’, ‘lean’, ‘sit’)
 - e. Transfer (e.g. ‘borrow’, ‘sell’, ‘steal’)
 - f. Nature (e.g. ‘hail’, ‘rain’, ‘snow’)

Perhaps the relational and redirective applicatives are classified differently—the relationals in terms of verb class and the redirectives in terms of the semantic roles of the applied object—because relational constructions are formed on intransitive bases, while redirective verbs are formed on transitive bases.

8.2.6 The syntax of applicatives.

Much work has concentrated on the syntactic properties of applicatives, that is, what position the applied object occupies in the surface syntax and what transformation (or equivalent in non-derivational theories) can be posited to accommodate the occurrence of the applied object in this position. From the syntactic point of view, Salish applicatives are relatively simple. The applied object is always the direct object in the surface syntax, as seen by evidence from the case of nominals, the form of pronouns, passivization, and extraction (see Chapter 2). We see none of the multiple-object effects

in Salish that Kimenyi (1980) shows for Kinyarwanda.³ Only one applied object and not the theme nominal shows the full range of object properties in Salish.⁴

8.2.7 Combinations of applicatives with other morphology.

One important aspect of the morphosyntax of applicatives is their interaction with other constructions such as reflexives, reciprocals, passives, antipassives, noun incorporation, and causatives (see Baker 1988 and works cited therein). Only a handful of data with complex interactions were attested in my database, but they show that reflexives, reciprocals, lexical suffixes, causatives, and non-control transitive suffixes can appear either before or after applicative suffixes. To be more precise, detransitivizing suffixes like reflexives and reciprocals appear before relational suffixes, transitivizing suffixes like causatives and non-control transitives appear before redirective suffixes, and lexical suffixes, which are variable in their transitivity, appear before both relational and redirective suffixes.

The suffixes allowed after applicatives vary suffix by suffix and language by language, but basically we see that reflexives, reciprocals, causatives, and non-control can appear after both relationals and redirectives, and lexical suffixes appear after relationals.

³ Beck (2006) shows that a variety of applied objects can simultaneously determine agreement in Upper Necaxa Totonac.

⁴ Some issues on the properties of ditransitive constructions, especially definiteness of the theme NP in Interior Salish languages were addressed in Kiyosawa (2004a).

8.2.8 Multiple applicatives.

Cross-linguistically, examples where two applicative affixes are directly stacked on top of each other are rare. They are attested in Kinyarwanda (Kimenyi 1980), Sierra Popoluca (Marlett 1986), Huastec (Constable 1989), and Upper Necaxa Totonac (Beck 2006), but are not allowed in Ilokano or in Halkomelem (Gerdtts and Whaley 1993). It remains a puzzle why some languages allow multiple applicatives while others prohibit them.

In Salish, examples of multiple applicatives are attested in Columbian, Lushootseed, Tillamook, and the three Northern Interior languages. Three patterns of stacking are attested: the sequence of a relational followed by a redirective, which is fairly common, the sequence of two relationals, which is attested in only four examples, and the sequence of two redirectives, which is attested in only one example. The sequence of a redirective followed by a relational suffix is not attested in the database.⁵

8.2.9 The discourse function of applicatives.

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.⁶ Apparently, a variety of semantic and discourse factors come into play in the use of

⁵ See Samkoe (1994) for a Mapping Theory treatment of multiple applicatives in the world's languages, including examples from Northern Interior Salish languages.

⁶ Peterson's sample includes one Salish language—Halkomelem, based on the data and analysis of Gerdtts (1988b).

applicatives. Gerdts and Kiyosawa (2005a) give a brief overview of some of these for Salish applicatives.

The results of our study on the discourse use of applicatives 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 theme 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.

8.3 Transitives versus applicatives.

The cornerstone of my analysis is that applicatives are differentiated according to the transitivity of the base they are attached to. Relational suffixes attach to intransitive bases, while redirective suffixes attach to transitive bases. Transitivity is a pervasive concept in Salish languages. Not only are verb roots categorized for transitivity (Gerdts 2006, Gerdts and Hukari in press, Thomason and Everett 1993), but verbs in clauses that are transitive in the surface syntax are overtly marked with transitive suffixes.⁷ Overt

⁷ Bella Coola is the lone exception: it has no general transitive suffix.

marking of transitivity is quite rare in the world's languages, but it is a key element in Salish clause structure.

The core functions of the two types of applicatives and two of the transitive suffixes, the general transitive suffix and the causative suffix, are summarized as follows:

Table 73. Core Functions of Applicative and Transitive Suffixes

SUFFIX TYPE	APPL/TR	BASE	OBJECT
RELATIONAL	Applicative	Intransitive	Non-theme
REDIRECTIVE	Applicative	Transitive	Non-theme (plus theme adjunct)
GENERAL TRANSITIVE	Transitivizer	Intransitive/transitive	Theme
CAUSATIVE	Transitivizer	Intransitive	Non-theme (causee)

However, the distinction in function between applicative suffixes and transitive suffixes is not always a clear one. Applicative suffixes function as transitive suffixes, and vice versa. Furthermore, as shown in Chapter 5, there is some type-shifting among applicative suffixes, especially redirective suffixes functioning as relationals. In sum, the relationship between the four types of suffixes is a complex one, as diagrammed in Figure 5; solid lines represent a robust number of examples of a suffix at the tail of the arrow behaving with the function at the head of the arrow, and dashed lines indicate few examples:

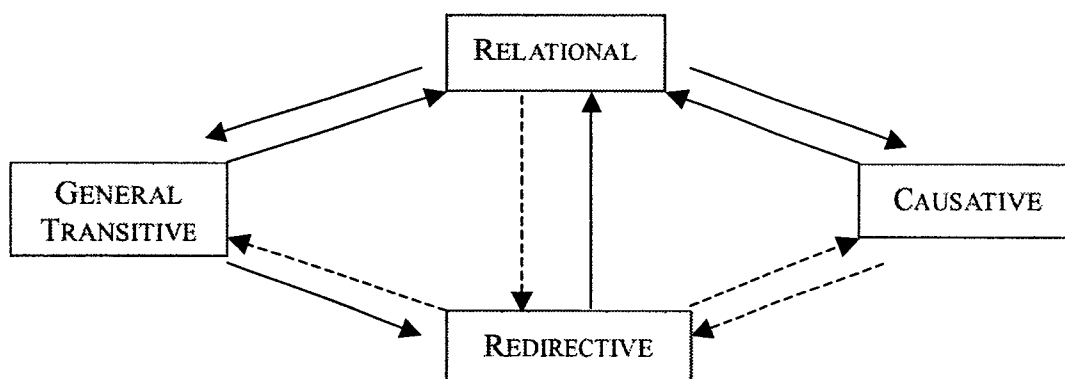


Figure 5. Functions of Applicative and Transitive Suffixes

Furthermore, applicative morphemes and transitive morphemes sit next to each other in the verb suffix template and seem to work in tandem to license arguments. The conditions on the co-occurrence of applicative suffixes and transitive suffixes are complex, as we saw in Chapter 6, and are tied to the choice between the two sets of pronominal object suffixes. Furthermore, in some cases, we see that a sequence of an applicative and a transitive suffix has fused into a single unanalyzable form.

8.4 Future research directions.

Obviously much work is left to do on this topic, since the exact nature of transitive marking in Salish languages is not well understood. Furthermore, the research on verb classes, especially types of intransitive verb classes and the intransitive versus transitive, is not far advanced in Salish languages. My work is hindered by the lack of criteria for testing root classes and a clearer picture of the nature of the stem.

Nevertheless, I have tried to be as systematic as possible in assigning semantic values to

verbs and their associated nominals and the results of my research may in fact help elucidate the verb class semantics in Salish.

My study only addressed the issue of applicative semantics in one direction, namely what applicative suffixes appeared on what verbs to license what semantic roles. I did not systemically look at a class of verbs to study the way they functioned without applicative suffixes, nor did I look at the expression of certain semantic roles to try to ascertain when they were expressed as direct objects, applied objects, or obliques. The functions of the applicative versus non-applicative constructions are only revealed when the data are examined in a richer contextual setting. As more texts from Salish languages become available, especially in electronic format, a more precise study of the function of applicatives will be possible.

Furthermore, to my knowledge, no attempt has been made previously to discuss applicative systems from the point of view of a whole language family. Little is known about the paths of grammaticalization of applicative morphology in the world's languages. Research on the development of applicatives in Salish is hindered by the lack of documentation of Salish languages in pre-contact times. As more comparative work on Salish is undertaken, a clearer picture of the Salish internal relationships may help to clarify some of the distributional issues, and the reconstruction of applicatives can be placed in the context of Pan-Salish morphology, syntax, and semantics. Also, areal influences are strong in northwest North America, making the picture in the modern languages very complicated. Nevertheless, I hope that this study makes a contribution to the enterprise of historical-comparative studies of morphosyntax.

It remains to be seen if the properties I use to classify Salish applicatives—transitivity, verb class, and semantic role—and my two-way typology of applicatives into relational and redirective applicatives prove useful in the analysis of applicatives in other languages. I hope that my presentation of a detailed analysis of the Salish system will bring some perspective on the form and function of applicative constructions.

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