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

1 Halkomelem applicatives

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

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

1 Thanks to the speakers who have provide data for this paper, especially Ruby Peter. Thanks to Kaoru Kiyosawa for help with collection of data and editorial assistance. Thanks to Charles Ulrich for his comments and suggestions. Thanks to audiences at SSILA for comments on an earlier version of this paper. Funding for this research came from a Jacobs Fund Grant and SSHRC Standard Research Grant # 410-2001-1335.

The syntactic effect of adding an applicative suffix can be seen by comparing the simple transitive in (3a) with the applicative in (3b). In the applicative, the benefactive is cast as the direct object and the patient as an oblique NP.4

(3) a. ni? lakʷ-at-as kʷθə scest.
   AUX break-TR-3ERG DET stick
   ‘She broke the stick.’

   b. ni? ləkʷ-əlct-əs tθə swiwləs θə kʷθə scest.
   AUX break-BEN-TR-3ERG DET boy OBL DET stick
   ‘She broke the stick for the boy.’

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

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

4 More precisely this is an “oblique object”. See Gerelts and Hukari (to appear) for discussion.
A second relational suffix -nas forms a directional applicative allowing the expression of the endpoint as an applied object.

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

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

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

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

(9) mì ewe-ns-samš!
   AUX come-here-DIR-2OBJ
   ‘Come here to me!’

(10) xɛʔ ɛw ɛw ɛw-ansi ə-x q-əni
    again hearsay already go-DIR-PAS OBL-DET seagull
    tə ʔəm.
    DET box
    ‘And the seagull went to the box again.’
    literally: ‘And the box was gone up to again by the seagull.’

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

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

2 Applicative versus oblique

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

(11) nem ɛn ɛ kʷθə ʔaʔ-ʔalıs.
    go 1SUB OBL DET dabbing
    ‘I’m going to bingo.’

(12) ʔi ʔaʔ-ewə tə John tə ʔə nə-leleθm.
    AUX SER-come.here DET John OBL DET IPOS-house
    ‘John is coming to my house.’
However, except for a small handful of motion verbs meaning ‘come’ and ‘go’, directional PPs must be preceded by a serialized motion verb, usually nem ‘go’.

(13) nem con ?ašəl nem ?ə-ə snəneyməxə.
go 1SUB paddle go OBL-DET Nanaimo
‘I paddled to Nanaimo.’

(14) nem ctem nem ?ə təə̌n men, qeq.
go crawl go OBL DET:2POS father baby
‘Come crawl to your dad, baby.’

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

(15) *nem ctem ?ə təə̌n men, qeq!
go crawl OBL DET:2POS father baby
‘Come crawl to your dad, baby!’

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

(16) nem ctem-nəə̌ təə̌n men, qeq!
go crawl-DIR DET:2POS father baby
‘Go crawl to your father, baby!’

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

go 1SUB paddle OBL DET woman AUX be.at Cowichan.Bay
‘I’m going to paddle toward the lady who is at Cowichan Bay.’

(18) nem con ?ašəl nem ?ə ə sleni? ni? ni?
go 1SUB paddle go OBL DET woman AUX be.at
Xpaləs.
Cowichan.Bay
‘I’m going to paddle toward the lady who is at Cowichan Bay.’

5 Montler (2004) makes the same point for Klallam.
Thus the applicative morphology clearly adds directional semantics. Many verbs, for examples the ones in (20a), take oblique directional phrases and also form directional applicatives. On the other hand, verbs such as those in (20b) do not allow the expression of an endpoint as a serialized motion verb with an oblique directional and also do not occur with -nàs.

(20) a. some verbs forming directional applicatives:

\[\begin{align*}
&\text{kw}^*i^*\text{‘climb’},
&\text{cìm}^*\text{‘get near’},
&\text{ta}:l\text{‘go to the middle of the floor (in the longhouse)’},
&\text{le}:l\text{‘go ashore’},
&\text{Xpil\text{‘go down’},}
&\text{wəq^*ɪləm\‘go downstream’},
&\text{tas^*‘go home’},
&\text{ʔəsəl^*‘paddle’},
&\text{ɪcəm}\text{‘swim’},
&\text{šəm}\text{‘swim underwater’},
&\text{six^*əm}\text{‘wade out’}
\end{align*}\]

b. some verbs that do not form directional applicatives:

\[\begin{align*}
&\text{təs^*‘approach’},
&\text{x^*iwəl^*‘come forward’},
&\text{nəqəm^*‘dive down’},
&\text{pək^*‘float to the surface’},
&\text{tək^*‘fly’},
&\text{ca:ləc^*‘go over’},
&\text{cłaq^*‘go through’},
&\text{təxiləs^*‘stand’},
&\text{ʔiməs^*‘walk’}
\end{align*}\]

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

3 The directional applicative as a “purposive”

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

(21) \[\begin{align*}
&?i\ θə\ č\ wəl\ tɛcəl-nəs\ k^*θə\ sq^*ɛmɛʔ\ AUX\ INT\ 2SUB\ already\ arrive-DIR\ DET\ dog
&?i:ni\ s-tiːm?\ AUX:2POS\ NOM-ask
\end{align*}\]

‘Are you here for the dog that you are asking for?’

\[\text{6 When I gave a version of this paper (Gerdts 2004), Tim Montier pointed out to me that Saanich is very similar to Halkomelem in this respect. Montier (1986:167) calls the Saanich suffix -nàs ‘purposive’. He says: it “adds the implication that the subject has a specific purpose in its action. It often, but not always, carries an implication of malevolent intent.” The Halkomelem suffix does not seem to imply malevolence, however.}\]
Note that the parallel clause with a stated purpose but without applicative morphology was judged ungrammatical:

(23) *nem cən wət cam ?ə kʷθə sməyəθ
go 1SUB already go.uphill OBL DET deer
niʔ ʔqay-nəxʷ-e:n.
AUX die-LCTR:3OBJ-1SUB

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

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

(24) nem cən wət cam ʔaʔəs-t kʷθə sməyəθ
go 1SUB already go.uphill pick.up-TR DET deer
niʔ ʔqay-nəxʷ-e:n.
AUX die-LCTR:3OBJ-1SUB

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

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

(25) nem cən ʔaʔəs-ləs ʔθə-nə siɬə.
go 1SUB cross-DIR DET-1POS grandparent
naʔəθ šlq̓aʔəʔə təʔə šeł.
AUX:DET other.side OBL DET road

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

(26) nem ce:p ceʔ nəʔwiləm-əs kʷθən sxʷəmní:kʷ
go 2PL:SUB FUT enter-DIR DET:2POS aunt/uncle
ʔiʔ ʔqaʔiʔ.
AUX sick

‘You will all go in and see your uncle who is sick.’
literally: ‘You people will go in toward your uncle who is sick.’
(27) nem cən xʷəʔaləm-nəs kʷθə-nu xθəm niʔ
go 1SUB return-DIR DET-1POS drum AUX
na-s-melq,
1POS-NOM-forget

'I went back for the drum I forgot.'

(28) m̓i č ceʔ ʔaxʷ-nəs-saʔms ʔəw-əʔəm̓
come 2OBJ FUT go.downhill-DIR-1OBJ help-TR:1OBJ
ʔə kʷθə sce:ltən m̓i cəm-stəxʷ-əʔ.
OBL DET salmon come go.downhill.cs:3OBJ-1SSUB

'You will come down to the beach and help me bring up the fish that I'm bringing up.'
literally: 'You will come down to me...'

(29) nem ʔə č ceʔ ʔicəm-nəs tə qʷleʔ ʔəpət.
go Q 2SUB FUT swim-DIR DET log tie-TR

'Are you going to swim to the log and tie it?'

(30) nem ʔə č ceʔ ʔəxəm-nəs tə ʔəxwəʔən ʔəw
(go Q 2SUB FUT jump-DIR DET blanket LNK

niʔəs ceʔ wen-ʔəm?
AUX-3SUB FUT throw-TR-PAS

'Are you going to jump for a blanket when they are thrown out?'

(31) niʔ wəʔ nem həyeʔ-nəs-əs kʷθə ʔəyəʔəł-s
AUX already go depart-DIR-3ERG DET o.sibling-3POS

ʔəʔəs-təs niʔ ʔə-ʔə matulıyeʔ.
pick.up-TR-3ERG AUX OBL-DET Victoria

'He has departed to go and get his brother at Victoria.'
literally: 'He has departed to his brother to pick him up at Victoria.'

(32) nem č ceʔ ʔəxim-nəs teʔ siłə ʔəw
(go 2SUB FUT disembark-DIR DET:2POS grandparent LNK

niʔəxʷ təs ʔə-ʔə yəxəʔəłəs miʔ ʔaʔł-stəxʷ.
AUX-2SSUB arrive OBL-DET Kuper I. come board-CS:3OBJ

'You will go and get your grandmother when you get to Kuper and bring her aboard (on the ferry).'</nliterally: 'You will disembark to your grandmother ....'
In sum, we see that directional applicatives, especially with verbs with meanings other than ‘come’ and ‘go’, require purposive semantics: the agent must be directing the action toward the endpoint for a purpose.

4 Agent control and the unaccusative ban on directional applicatives

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

Several tests for the unergative/unaccusative distinction have been developed for Halkomelem (Gerdts 1991, Gerdts and Hukari 1998, 2000). Unergative verbs are compatible with the desiderative suffix -\textit{nəmən} and the limited control suffix -\textit{namət}, while unaccusative verbs are not. As we see in Table 1, motion verbs that take the directional applicative suffix also take the desiderative and limited control suffixes.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>verb</th>
<th>directional</th>
<th>‘want to’</th>
<th>‘manage to’</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>‘go’</td>
<td>nem</td>
<td>namnəs</td>
<td>nemənən</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘run’</td>
<td>xʷčənəm</td>
<td>xʷčənəməs</td>
<td>xʷčənəmələn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘climb’</td>
<td>kʷiʔ</td>
<td>kʷiʔnəs</td>
<td>kʷiʔələn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘go home’</td>
<td>takʷ</td>
<td>takʷnəs</td>
<td>takʷələn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘swim’</td>
<td>tιcəm</td>
<td>tιcəməs</td>
<td>tιcəmələn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘wade out’</td>
<td>siʔəm</td>
<td>siʔəməs</td>
<td>siʔəmələn</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 1: Unergative verb paradigms

In contrast, verbs that do not take the directional applicative suffix, fail to take the desiderative and limited control suffixes as well, as illustrated in Table 2.
While the semantic forces at work are obscured by the English translations of these verbs, the results from a Halkomelem perspective are clear: some motion verbs are unergative while others are unaccusative.\(^7\)

## 5 Conclusion

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

### References


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


