

happens to have the nominalizing prefix. Thus what appears to be varying order of prefixes is actually only a matter of secondary development of stems.

## REFERENCES

- Mattina, Anthony. 1973. *Colville Grammatical Structure*. Ph.D. Dissertation in Linguistics, University of Hawaii. Honolulu. (Distributed as *University of Hawaii Working Papers in Linguistics* 5.4.)
- Reichard, Gladys A. 1938. Coeur d'Alene. *Handbook of American Indian Languages* 3:517-707. New York: J. J. Augustin.

## Classification of Applicatives in Salishan Languages

Kaoru Kiyosawa  
Simon Fraser University

This is an ongoing project of the comparative study on applicatives in Salishan languages. In this paper, I cite data from eighteen languages, organized from the viewpoint of verb type and the thematic role of the grammatical object. Based on this classification, I propose two basic types of applicatives, redirective and relational, and show their distribution in Salishan languages.

### 1. Introduction<sup>1</sup>

The verb in Salishan languages consists of a stem as a base and a variety of affixes and clitics. Among those elements that are suffixed to the verb stem, the applicatives mark the verb for the thematic role of its direct object. Applicatives increase the verb's semantic valence and can increase the syntactic valence as well. When they attach to transitive verbs, they form semantically ditransitive constructions. The following examples are from Halkomelem:

HI (Gerds, p.c.)<sup>2</sup>

- (1) *ni? lak "dt-as k"θə s'cēšt.*  
aux break-tr-3erg det stick  
'She broke the stick.'

- (2) *ni? lak "sk-t-as t"ə swiwlax ?ə k"θə s'cēšt*  
aux break-BEN-tr-3erg det boy obl det stick  
'She broke the stick for the boy.'

Sentence (1) is a transitive sentence, having two arguments. The third person subject is represented as an ergative suffix after a transitive suffix. The direct object 'stick' appears without any oblique marker, and has theme for its thematic role. Sentence (2) is also a transitive sentence, having two arguments and an oblique object; however, the direct object 'boy' has a thematic role other than theme, and, in this case, benefactive. The noun phrase 'stick', which is the grammatical object of the verb 'break' without the applicative *-k* attached in (1), also bears the thematic role of theme in (2), but it is in an oblique phrase. Halkomelem *-k* marks that the direct object is a benefactive.

The following examples show that the applicatives increase the syntactic valence when the applicative *-nas* attaches to an intransitive verb:

<sup>1</sup> I would like to thank Donna Gerds, Dale Kinkade, and Charles Ulrich for comments on an earlier version of this paper.

I use the following abbreviations for language and branch/subgroup names: Be = Bella Coola, Sl = Sliammon, Cx = Comox, Se = Sechelt, Sq = Squamish, HI = Halkomelem, Sa = Saanich, Cl = Clallam, Ld = Lushootseed, Ti = Tillamook, Ch = Upper Chehalis, Li = Lillooet, Th = Thompson, Sh = Shuswap, Ok = Okanagan, Sp = Spokane, Ka = Kalispel, Cr = Coeur d'Alene, Cm = Columbian, CS = Central Salish, TS = Tsamosan, NIS = Northern Interior Salish, SIS = Southern Interior Salish.

The voiceless uvular fricative is represented as *χ*.

<sup>2</sup> aux = auxiliary, tr = transitive, 3 = 3<sup>rd</sup> person, erg = ergative, det = determiner, BEN = benefactive, obl = oblique

HI (Gerdt's; p.c.)<sup>3</sup>

- (3) *ni? nem k"θə swiwləs.*  
 aux go det boy  
 'The boy went.'

- (4) *ni? nəʔəm-nəs-əs k"θə swiwləs k"θə John.*  
 aux go-DIR+tr-3erg det boy det  
 'The boy went up to John.'

Sentence (3) is an intransitive sentence, having only one argument. The 'boy' is the subject, and has the thematic role of theme. Sentence (4) is a transitive sentence with an applicative morpheme *-nəs* suffixed on the verb, followed by a third person ergative suffix, as this applicative is a portmanteau morpheme with the transitive marker. The subject is, again, the theme of the motion verb: the 'boy'. 'John' is the grammatical object, and its thematic role is goal. Halkomelem *-nəs* typically attaches to motion verbs, and signals that the direct object has the thematic role of goal.

Applicative is referred to in the Salishan literature by many different terms such as transitivizer, indirective, redirective, relational, relative, substitutive, purposive, benefactive, possessive, and dative. In the Lushootseed dictionary (Bates, Hess, and Hilbert 1994), some applicatives are referred as 'secondary suffixes' and 'secondary stem extenders'. However, the classification of the applicative suffixes is not yet clear. In this paper, I would like to compare the applicative suffixes in eighteen Salishan languages, where available in accessible data, in terms of the type of verbs with which the applicative suffixes are associated, and of the thematic role of direct objects. Some proto-Salish forms for applicatives have been reconstructed by Kinkade (1998), which will be used in this paper for the purpose of comparative study, although the reconstruction of applicative forms is not the aim of this paper.

Twelve different applicative forms were found for this paper<sup>4</sup>: *\*-xi* (*-ši*, *-š(i)*, *-si*, *-yi*), *\*-VmV* (*-ʔəm*, *-ém*, *-imi*), *-as*, *-ʔc*, *-ʔ*, *-túʔ*, *-tux"t/tx"t*, *\*-mi* (*-min*, *-minʔ*, *-mis/-mn*, *-meʔ*, *-bi/-i*, *-əwi*, *-ɣiy*, *-ɣə*), *\*-ni* (*-di*), *\*-nəs* (*-c/-s*, *-əs*, *-tas/-ts*), *-amk*, *-m*.<sup>5</sup> The forms in parentheses are reflexes. None of the Salishan languages have all twelve applicatives. Instead, every language has at least two to at most six applicatives as shown in table 1. Northern Interior Salish languages and Bella Coola have the minimum of two applicatives, and Upper Chehalis has the maximum of six applicatives.

In section 2, I examine the data in each language to decide what type of verb with which the applicatives are associated, and what thematic role the direct object (applied object) is assigned. In section 3, I illustrate the two basic concepts of applicatives. In section 4 and 5, I explore the split of those two concepts. Finally, I show the distribution of applicatives in Salishan languages based on the two basic concepts.

<sup>3</sup> DIR = directional

<sup>4</sup> All applicative forms are shown here without the control transitive morpheme *\*-nt* where separable.

<sup>5</sup> The causative suffix *\*-stw* is also used in applicative constructions in many Salishan languages, but I will not include this here.

Subgroup	Section # in this paper	Language	The number of applicatives	Applicative
Be	2.1.	Be	2	<i>-amk</i> , <i>-m</i>
CS	2.2.	SI-Cx	3	<i>-ʔəm</i> , <i>-mi</i> , <i>-ni</i>
	2.3.	Se	3	<i>-ém</i> , <i>-mí</i> , <i>-ni</i>
	2.4.	Sq	3	<i>-ši</i> , <i>-minʔ</i> , <i>-ni</i>
	2.5.	HI	4	<i>-as</i> , <i>-ʔc</i> , <i>-meʔ</i> , <i>-nəs</i>
	2.6.	Sa	3	<i>-si</i> , <i>-ɣiy</i> , <i>-nəs</i>
	2.7.	CI	3	<i>-sí</i> , <i>-ɣə</i> , <i>-nəs</i>
	2.8.	Ld	4	<i>-yi</i> , <i>-bi</i> , <i>-di</i> , <i>-c/-s</i>
	2.9.	Ti	3	<i>-ši</i> , <i>-əwi</i> , <i>-əs</i>
TS	2.10.	Ch	6	<i>-ši</i> , <i>-tmi</i> , <i>-tux"t/tx"t</i> , <i>-mis/-mn</i> , <i>-ni</i> , <i>-tas/-ts</i>
NIS	2.11.	Li	2	<i>-xi</i> , <i>-min/-min'</i>
	2.12.	Th	2	<i>-xi</i> , <i>-mi</i>
	2.13.	Sh	2	<i>-x(i)</i> , <i>-m(i)</i>
SIS	2.14.	Ok	4	<i>-xi</i> , <i>-ʔ</i> , <i>-túʔ</i> , <i>-min</i>
	2.15.	Sp	3	<i>-ši</i> , <i>-ʔ</i> , <i>-mi</i>
	2.16.	Ka	3	<i>-š(i)</i> , <i>-ʔ</i> , <i>-min</i>
	2.17.	Cr	4	<i>-š(i)</i> , <i>-ʔ</i> , <i>-túʔ</i> , <i>-mi</i>
	2.18.	Cm	4	<i>-xi</i> , <i>-ʔ</i> , <i>-túʔ</i> , <i>-mi</i>

Table 1. Applicative number and forms by language.

## 2. Applicative data by language<sup>6</sup>

### 2.1. Bella Coola

There are two applicatives: *-amk* and *-m*. Davis and Saunders (1997: 60) refer to two different morphemes, and state, "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." All the examples are from Davis and Saunders (1997), and the number in parentheses after each example indicates page and example numbers.

#### 2.1.1. *-amk*

*-amk* is attached to both intransitive and transitive verbs. When attached to intransitive verbs, including a psychological events (5) and motion verbs (6, 7), the verb takes theme (8, 9, 10), goal (6, 7), or source (5) as a direct object:

- (5) *yum-amk-ic ti-smatmx-c-tx*  
 'I'm ashamed of my friend.' (51.65b)  
 (6) *ʔawʔ-amk-ic ti-ʔimlk-tx*  
 'I'll run after him for someone.' (61.90a)

<sup>6</sup> All analyses and generalizations I describe here are based on the available data, and I would appreciate any correction on my misreading or misunderstanding of the materials.

- (7) *kuʔank-amk-is ti-ʔmmllkī-tx ti-man-s-tx*  
'The boy is going to sit alongside his father.' (64.96)
- (8) *nuyamʔ-amk-is ti-man-tx ti-syut-tx ʔuʔ-ti-mna-s-tx*  
sing- -he/it - father- -song- Prep- -son-his-  
'The father sang the song to his son.' (50.61)
- (9) *slqʷ-amk-is ti-ʔmlk-tx ti-nup-s-tx*  
'The man found his shirt.' (50.64)
- (10) *%ʔaw. nap-amk-ic ʔuʔ-txʔ*  
yes give- -I/it Prep-him  
'Yes, I gave it to him.' (54.75b)

Note that when *-amk* is attached to the intransitive verbs in (8, 10), the theme, not the goal, is the applied object. In (11, 12, 13), the instrument, not the theme, is the applied object:

- (11) *cp-amk-is ti-ʔmmllkī-tx ti-cpm̥pūsta-tx* 'The boy used the towel to wipe the car.' (50.63)
- (12) *ke-a-yamk-is ti-ʔmlk-tx ti-ʔic-tx* 'The man used the axe to chop on the log with.' (53.71b)
- (13) *tx-amk-is ti-ʔmmllkī-tx ti-tqʔa-tx* 'The boy used the knife to cut with.' (55.76)

*-m* is also associated with a motion verb; however, it seems that *-amk* implies the benefactive of the third person that is unexpressed in (6). When attached to transitive verbs, the verb takes theme as a direct object instead of goal (10)<sup>8</sup>, and instrument instead of theme (11, 12, 13). The instrumental use of an applicative is very rare in Salish; in fact, Bella Coola is the only Salishan language that has the instrumental use of an applicative.

There is another example of *-amk* with a motion verb:

- (14) *ʔnt-amk-is* 'He has to go and sit there for him.' (65.99)

However, the thematic role of the applied object is benefactive, while it was goal in (6, 7).

There are some examples in which *-amk* is attached to a transitive verb with theme as the only direct object. In these cases, the construction of the sentence is the same as the one without *-amk*, but the meaning implies that the direct object is not as direct as the one without *-amk*:

- (15) *ʔs-amk-is ti-nus ʔūʔ-tx ti-stn-tx* 'The thief bent the stick aside.' (55.78b)  
Cf. *ʔs-is ti-nus ʔūʔ-tx ti-stn-tx* 'The thief bent the stick.' (55.78a)
- (16) *tx-amk-is ti-ʔmmllkī-tx ti-qʔsxʷ-tx* 'The boy cut the rope along with other things.' (55.77)
- (17) *lis-amk-is ti-nus ʔūʔ-tx ti-ʔmsta-tx* 'The thief pushed the person aside.' (55.79b)
- (18) *nmp-amk-is ti-nus ʔūʔ-tx ti-sʔqan-tx* 'The thief put the necklace in with the other stuff.' (55.80b)
- (19) *ʔstux-amk-is ti-ʔʔanm-tx ti-nan-tx* 'The hunter went somewhere else to skin the grizzly bear.' (56.81b)
- (20) *kaw-amk-is ti-ʔmlk-tx ti-paqiyala-tx* 'The man brought the box on his way elsewhere.' (56.82b)

<sup>7</sup> "The symbol '%' is employed to indicate an utterance that is well-formed and meaningful, but not with the sense attributed to it in the current discussion, or which is not appropriately used in the present context." (Davis and Saunders 1997: 53, Footnote 3)

<sup>8</sup> Compare this sentence with the following: *ʔaw. nap-ic x-tx*  
yes give-I/him Prep-it  
'Yes, I gave it to him.' (53.75a)

The use of applicative in (15-20) does not seem to fit the definition of applicatives in this paper.

I found one example in which the direct object could be interpreted as possessor of the indirect object:

- (21) *ʔayuc-amk-cinu*  
say- -I/you  
'I'm going to mention you (your name).' (61.89a)

This sentence lacks the (prepositional) noun phrase that would indicate that the thematic role of the applied object is possessor.

## 2.1.2. *-m*

*-m* attaches to speech act verbs (22) and motion verbs (23, 24, 25):

- (22) *ʔayuc-m-cinu* 'I'm going to tell you (it).' (61.89b)
- (23) *ʔawʔ-m-ic ti-ʔmlk-tx* 'I'll go and follow the man.' (61.90b)
- (24) *puʔ-m-is ti-ʔmlk-tx ti-nus ʔūʔ-tx* 'The man attacked the thief.' (60.86)
- (25) *kuʔank-m-is ti-ʔmmllkī-tx ti-man-s-tx* 'The boy is sitting next to his father.' (65.97)

When attached to an intransitive verb with two prepositional noun phrases, it always takes a goal as a direct object rather than a theme (26):

- (26) *nuyamʔ-m-is ti-man-tx ti-mna-tx x-ti-syut-tx* 'The father sang his son the song.' (50.62)

This pattern seems to be directly opposite of the pattern seen in (8, 10). *-m* also takes a theme (27, 28):

- (27) *ʔanayk-m-is ti-nus ʔūʔ-tx ti-sʔqan-tx* 'The thief wanted the necklace.' (60.85)
- (28) *smatmx-m-is ti-ʔmlk-tx ti-ʔmmllkī-tx* 'The man took the boy as a friend.' (60.87)

To sum up, Bella Coola has two applicatives: *-amk* and *-m*. We will see in comparing the Bella Coola applicatives to those in other Salishan languages that the Bella Coola applicatives are unique, since *-amk* can appear on both intransitive and transitive verbs.

## 2.2. Siammon-Comox

There are three applicatives: *-ʔam* 'indirective', *-mi* 'relational', and *-ni* 'indirective'. According to Watanabe (1996), *-ʔam* and *-mi* are quite productive, whereas only two occurrences of *-ni* have been found. All the examples are from Watanabe (1996).<sup>9</sup>

### 2.2.1. *-ʔam* (\*-VmV)<sup>10</sup>

*-ʔam* occurs with motion verbs (29):

<sup>9</sup> Ind = indirective, CTr = control transitive, 1sg = 1<sup>st</sup> person singular, Obj = object, Imp = imperative, 3.Sbj = 3<sup>rd</sup> person subject, Obl = oblique, Det = determiner, Psv = possessive, Cau = causative, Fut = future, Rlt = relational, Pass = passive, Qn = question, Impf = imperfect.

<sup>10</sup> The reconstructed forms of applicatives are cited from Kinkade (1998).

- (29) *jəx'-ʔəm-θ ga*  
run-Ind-CTr+1sg.Obj Imp  
'Run for me!' (i.e. on behalf of me) (330.13b)

However, the thematic role is benefactive rather than motion goal. The following examples also have benefactive applied objects:

- (30) *čit-im-ʔəm-t-umut-as Mary* 'Mary danced for us.' (331.17b)  
(31) *x'ax'-ʔəm-nu-mš-as* 'He won (—managed to win—) for me (in a gamble).' (332.23)  
(32) *xas-ʔəm-θi tʰəm ʔə tə čuy'* 'I'll punch the kid for you.' (330.12b)  
(33) *xəpx'-a-ʔəm-θ čx''* 'Break it for me.' (330.14b)  
(34) *q'ətx'-a-ʔəm-θi tʰəm ʔə tə pəp-pipa* 'I'll burn the paper for you.' (330.15b)  
(35) *ʔilq'ay-ʔəm-θi tʰəm* 'I'll barbecue deer for you.' (330.16b)  
(36) *č'ax'-ʔəm-θay-əm-ut ʔə tə janx''* 'They cooked fish for me.' (332.24)

When there is a theme, it is always expressed as oblique object (32-36). The following examples have malefactive applied objects:

- (37) *č'əpx'-a-ʔəm-θ-as ʔə tə tʰ q'əsnay'*  
dirty-Ind-CTr+1sg.Obj-3.Sbj Obl Det 1sg.Psv dress  
'She dirtied my dress on me. / She dirtied my dress for me.' (331.20)  
(38) *mək'-ʔəm-θ-as* 'Someone ate my food on me (i.e. someone stole my food from my plate).' (331.21b)  
(39) *xəpx'-a-ʔəm-θ-as ʔə tə tʰ xəpay'* 'He broke my stick on me.' (331.18)  
(40) *k'wət-ʔəm-nu-mš-as ʔə tə tʰ tihaya* 'He accidentally spilled my tea.' (331.19)  
(41) *təw-ʔəm-θ-as ʔə tə tʰ ʔuplas-ut* 'He took my apples from the box.' (331.22)

Watanabe (1996: 331) says, "The choice between the two interpretations -- one benefactive and the other malefactive -- is not based on the roots that -ʔəm attaches to, ... The choice depends on the context, and, as might be expected, two different readings of the same form are often possible." The thematic role of the applied objects can be interpreted as possessor in (38-41).

The following examples show the cooccurrence of an applicative and a causative:

- (42) *ʔəxən-st-a-ʔəm-θi tʰəm ʔə tə čuy'*  
eat-Cau-Ind-CTr+2sg.Obj 1sg.Sbj+Fut Obl Det child  
'I'll feed the kid for you.' (332.25b)  
(43) *pəq-st-a-ʔəm-θ čx''* 'Make it white for me!' (332.26)  
(44) *pəh-st-a-ʔəm-θ čx'' ʔut* 'Make it thick for me!' (332.27)

Sentences (42-44) are rare examples with a causative suffix occurring before an applicative suffix. Other examples of this type are found in Lushootseed (-yɪ), Shuswap (-x(i)), and Columbian (-ʔ).<sup>11</sup> For these particular sentences, it is appropriate to consider 'stem-causative' as a complex stem that an applicative suffix is attached to. Note that -ʔəm is always followed by both a control and a non-control transitive suffix.

## 2.2.2. -mi (\*-mi)

-mi attaches to motion verbs (45-48), psychological events (49-52), and speech act verbs (53):

- (45) *ʔuk' w-mi-θ-as* 'It's flying towards me.' (335.41)  
(46) *jəx'-mi-t ga tə θ man* 'Run to your Dad!' (335.42)  
(47) *ʔag-a-θut-mi-θ-as* 'He walked/ran out on me.' / 'He ran away from me.' (335.43a)  
(48) *təs-θut-mi-t-ut č tə qaymix''* 'I was getting closer to the person.' (335.44a)  
(49) *xəh-it-mi-θi* 'I'm angry at you.' (336.49)  
(50) *q'ay-mi-θi* 'I believe you.' (336.50)  
(51) *x'ux'-it-mi-t-as* 'She is crying for him.' (336.51)  
(52) *qa-qas-mi-θ-as* 'They're laughing at me.' (337.52)  
(53) *q'ay-mi-θi tʰəm* 'I'll scold you.' (337.53)

-mi seems to be attached only to intransitive verbs in Sliammon. The thematic role of applied object in (47) is motion source, while the others are motion goal (45, 46, 48) when the applicative -mi attaches to motion verbs.

Sliammon has a rare use of the applicative -ʔəm:

- (54) *niʔ-mi-θi tʰəm s na-nat səm* 'I'll stay with you tonight.' (337.53)  
(55) *q'a'tʰ-ag-a-θut-mi-θi* 'I'll get together with you guys.' (336.45a)  
(56) *k'w'iʔ-iš-mi-θ-as* 'He's standing on me.' (336.48)

The thematic roles of the applied objects seem to be comitative (54, 55) and locative (56). -mi can be also followed by the reflexive suffix in Sliammon:

- (57) *ʔəx-mi-θut tə čuy'* 'The kid is behaving badly, crying and screaming.' (336.46)

One example shows a possessor as the applicative object:

- (58) *yič'-mi-θi-m-a ʔə k'ə θ ʔayaʔ*  
fill-RI-CTr+2sg.Obj-Pass-Qn Obl Det 2sg.Psv house  
'Is your house full of people?' (337.55)

This construction is somewhat obscure because of the passivization; pronominal subjects of passives take object morphology in Sliammon. 'house' is not the subject of this sentence since it is in the oblique phrase. The possessive use of -mi is not mirrored in other Salishan languages.

<sup>11</sup> Ld *ʔəx-ix'-yi-d* 'bring something for someone' (Bates, Hess, and Hilbert 1994: 12)  
Sh *kək-s-xt-com-X* 'where did you put my X?' (Kuipers 1974: 51)  
Cm *cmistutʰ* 'I know about it (a secret).' (Kinkade 1982: 58)

2.2.3. *-ni* (\*-ni)

The two stems that have been found to occur with *-ni* are 'steal' and 'rain':

- (59) *čəw'u-ni-θ-as*      ʔə    tə    tʰ      tala  
steal-Ind-CTr+Isg.Obj-3.Sbj    Obl    Det    Isg.Psv    money  
'He stole money from me.' (334.38)

- (60) *č'əʔ-ni-θay-əm*  
rain-Ind-CTr+Isg.Obj-Pass  
'I got rained on.' (334.40)

'steal' is a type of transfer verb, and the applied object in (59) can be interpreted as malefactive, possessor, or source. If the first person object is the applied object of the verb 'rain' in (60), it is a malefactive or perhaps goal.

## 2.3. Sechelt

There are three applicatives: *-ém*, *-mi*, and *-ni*. Beaumont (1985) calls these applicatives "special transitive verb endings", and says that *-ém* is sometimes called a "benefactive ending", and *-ni* a "malefactive ending". *-mi* indicates "the subject's attitude towards another person". All the examples are from Beaumont (1985).

2.3.1. *-ém* (\*-VmV)

The following examples have benefactive applied objects:

- (61) *chél'ááh-ém*      'steal something for someone' (102)  
(62) *xwúyüm-ém*      'sell something for someone' (102)  
(63) *ch'íyüm-ém*      'pray for someone' (102)  
(64) *tsítsiyím-ém*      'work for someone' (102)  
(65) *yíx-ém*      'wreck something to someone's advantage' (102)  
(66) *tl'ál-ém*      'hold something for someone' (102)  
(67) *lásem-ém*      'fix something for someone' (108)  
(68) *kwal-ém*      'hide something for someone' (108)  
(69) *xél-ém*      'write something for/to someone' (108)  
(70) *kwáy-ém*      'take something out of someone's way' (108)

2.3.2. *-mi* (\*-mi)

*-mi* is attached to motion verbs (71) and psychological events (72-75):

- (71) *kem t'i chát tsú-mít-as the áálish-s*      'and now he went after his sister' (185)  
(72) *ch'áxšem-mít*      'be afraid of someone/something' (102)  
(73) *xáyam-mít*      'laugh at someone/something' (102)

- (74) *lháyel-mít*      'be ashamed of someone/something' (108)  
(75) *sá'alít-mít*      'believe someone' (103)

*-mi* also takes (dative) goal:

- (76) *ts'áyk'ús-mít*      'wink at someone' (108)

2.3.3. *-ni* (\*-ni)

Beaumont (1985) gives only three verb stems ('steal', 'sell', and 'borrow') that occur with *-ni*, and they are transfer verbs:

- (77) *chél'ááh-nit*      'steal something from someone' (102)  
(78) *kw'ímels-nit*      'borrow money from someone' (102)  
(79) *xwúyüm-nit*      'sell something to someone' (102)

The thematic role of the applied object is malefactive.<sup>12</sup> Transfer source (77, 78) and dative (79) meanings also seem to be involved here.

## 2.4. Squamish

Kuipers (1967: 78-79) shows three "complex transitivizers" *-ši*, *-min(ʔ)*, and *-ni*. He explains that *-ši* refers to "the destinee of the action", and *-ni* to "an object that is not the destinee of the action but bears some other relation to it". All the examples are from Kuipers (1967).

2.4.1. *-ši* (\*-xi)

The thematic role of the applied object is benefactive (80-83), dative (83-85), or transfer source (196):

- (80) *c'ic'a p'-ši*      'work for someone' (79)  
(81) *xəʔʔ-ši*      'write for someone' (78)  
(82) *či ʔ-ši-ka*      'put it up high for him!' (318)  
(83) *ʔam ʔə q'-ši*      'deliver to/for' (390)  
(84) *ša t-ši*      'give to someone' (79)  
(85) *na ʔ-ši*      'take to someone' (78)  
(86) *p'í'ʔ-ši*      'take away from someone' (79)

The difference between the thematic roles in (105) and (106) may be due to the type of the verb stems. *ʔam ʔ* is a motion verb 'go', and means 'take, bring' when the causative suffix is attached. *p'í'ʔ-t* is a transitive verb which means 'seize, grab'. Thus, the type of verb in (106) is not transfer, while the thematic role of the applied object appears to be a transfer source.

<sup>12</sup> Beaumont (1985: 105) says that sentence (79) suggests that "in the Sechelt view the buyer is assumed to be at a disadvantage: that is, the seller is expected to have profited at the expense of the buyer."

### 2.4.2. -min?(\*-mi)

-min? attaches to a motion verb (87), a psychological event (88), and a speech act verb (109):

- (87) *qx'ú s-min?* 'gang up on someone' (79)  
 (88) *iaw'ñ h-ñ-min?* 'understand' (79)  
 (89) *nəç-ni čim?-(m)in?* 'bawl out' (79)

The verb stem /qəx/ in (87) means 'gathered', and /ni čim/ means 'speak'. The thematic role is goal (87-89) and theme (90, 91):

- (90) *tk'á ġa ħ-min?* 'hear, listen to' (79)  
 (91) *səq'-mi h-t-μaj* 'split and share' (79)

According to Kuipers, the verb stems in (90) and (91) are intransitive. The verb stem 'split' in (91) is transitivity by -min?, and detransitivized by the reciprocal suffix -μaj.

### 2.4.3. -ni (\*-ni)

-ni attaches to motion verbs (92), psychological events (93-98), speech act verbs (99, 100), and transfer verbs (101):

- (92) *q'a hacut-nit* 'return to' (79)  
 (93) *sə'slq'-nit* 'be sad about' (79)  
 (94) *t'a ġaq'-nit* 'get angry at' (79)  
 (95) *ħp'a q'á ġ-nit* 'get frightened of' (79)  
 (96) *iaw'ñ h-ñ-nit* 'understand' (79)  
 (97) *ñ.ñəti-nit* 'dream about' (79)  
 (98) *λ'i'-nit* 'wish for' (79)  
 (99) *tx'í-tə ġa-nit* 'talk about' (79)  
 (100) *q'əq'xa ġaq'ñ-nit* 'argue about' (79)  
 (101) *k'ú ġn-nit* 'borrow from' (79)

The thematic role of speech act verbs in (99, 100) is theme rather than goal. The transfer verb 'borrow' in (101) takes source for its grammatical object.

## 2.5. Halkomelem

Gerdts (1988) suggests that there are four applicatives in Halkomelem. She proposes an advancement analysis; that is, a nominal bearing the semantic role of "recipient", "benefactive", "causal", or "directional" advances to the direct object relation at final level from an indirect object or oblique relation at the initial level. These applicatives are -as<sup>13</sup> "recipient / dative", -fc "benefactive", -me? "causal / stimulus", and -nas

<sup>13</sup> Gerdts and Hinkson (1996) suggest the applicative use of lexical suffixes: "Phonological distributional facts are consistent with the hypothesis that the applicative markers are actually lexical suffixes. We can tell that the dative applicative is underlying -as

"directional". Gerdts and Hinkson (1996) claim that -as and -f are actually lexical suffixes in Halkomelem: -as 'face' and -f 'belly'. All the examples are from Gerdts (1988).

### 2.5.1. -as

-as takes dative (goal) for its grammatical object, and the type of the verb stem to which -as attaches is transfer (102, 103) or speech act (104):

- (102) *ni ġám-as-t-as k"θə sq"ənéy? ġə k"θə sθám?* 'He gave the dog the bone.' (90.1)  
 (103) *ni cən x"áiyem-as-t k"θə Bob ġə k"θə nə-lelám-?əf* 'I sold Bob my house.' (92.10)  
 (104) *ni yəθ-as-t-as tə Mary ġə k"θə-n? syays* 'He told Mary about your job.' (92.11)

### 2.5.2. -fc

-fc takes benefactive for its grammatical object:

- (105) *ni q'á-əfc-t-as tə sténi? ġə k"θə səplíl* 'He baked the bread for the woman.' (90.2)  
 (106) *ni θəy-əfc-θ-ám-ñ-as ġə k"θə nə-snəx"əf* 'He fixed my the canoe for me.' (95.20)  
 (107) *ni xəġ-əfc-ə-as k"θə-en? mén ġə k"θə pípə-s* 'He wrote the letter for your father.' (92.13)  
 (108) *ni cən ġlax-əfc-ə tə nə-mán?ə ġə k"θə q"təy-ñan?* 'I bought my daughter shoes.' (92.14)

### 2.5.3. -me?(\*-mi)

-me? is attached only to psychological events. Gerdts (1988) calls the semantic role of the direct objects "causal", but I classify it as psychological source (stimulus) in this paper:

- (109) *ni θ'eyñ' "me?-t-as k"θə sq"ənéy?* 'He was startled at the dog.' (90.3)  
 (110) *ni cən wəf kciws-mə-t t'ə John* 'I'm already tired of John.' (124.124)  
 (111) *ni cən q'el?mé?-t k"θə ləplíl* 'I believed the priest.' (124.123)  
 (112) *ni cən sifñi?-me?-t k"θə spəpəq"t'ə?* 'I was frightened of the screech owl.' (139.177b)

### 2.5.4. -nas (\*-nas)

-nas attaches only to motion verbs, and the applied objects are goals:

- (113) *ñ yə-ñəñwə?-n-as-as tə sténi?* 'He's coming toward the woman.' (90.4)  
 (114) *ni nəñém-n-as-as k"θə John* 'He went up to John.' / 'He went to get John.' (134.158)  
 (115) *ñ ġamí-n-s-as tə nə-stáñas* 'He came up to my wife.' / 'He came for my wife.' (134.159)

Gerdts (1988: 143) gives a generalization concerning the advancement to the direct object according to her summary:

since it appears like this under stress, as in the form for 'throw a liquid on him'. ... It is also obvious that the applicatives occupy the same post-stem position as lexical suffixes."

Advancements to Object<sup>14</sup>

initial relation	3/Ben	Caus	Dir	Instr
animate:	yes	yes	(yes)	xxx
inanimate:	xxx	no	no	no

Inanimate nominals cannot advance to object. (143.189)

Animacy condition on applicatives has not been tested systematically in any other Salishan languages except Halkomelem.

2.6. Saanich (Northern Straits)<sup>15</sup>

Montler (1986) treats *-nas* as a transitive suffix<sup>16</sup>, and *-si* and *-giy* as “factives”. Furthermore, he refers to *-si* as “indirective” and *-giy* as “relational”. All the examples are from Montler (1986).

2.6.1. *-si* (\*-xi)

The thematic role of the applied objects of *-si* is benefactive (116-119), except (120) being malefactive:

- (116) *kʷənsít sən* ‘I looked at it for him.’ (170.47)  
 (117) *leʔsít sxʷ* ‘You fixed it for him.’ (170.50)  
 (118) *xəsisəs* ‘He got it ready for me.’ (171.52)  
 (119) *xəsisə sən səʔ* ‘I’ll make it (a paddle) for you.’ (171.53)  
 (120) *kʷeyasít sən* ‘I refused it to him.’ (171.54)

2.6.2. *-giy* (\*-mi)

*-giy* attaches to motion verbs (121-123), psychological events (124, 125), and speech act verbs (126-128):

- (121) *ʔčəʔjstáɣəs səʔ sxʷ* ‘You’re going to sink me.’ (174.58)  
 (122) *íkʷtstxʷ* ‘Get it across. (174.65)  
           //*íkʷ-giy-staxʷ-Ø*//  
 (123) *tčístəs* ‘He bought it.’ (174.64)  
           //*šč-giy staxʷ-Ø-əs*//  
 (124) *səsiʔjstáɣ sxʷ* ‘You scared us.’ (174.59)  
 (125) *xʷáʔaɣʔtəs* ‘She was crying for him.’ (174.63)  
 (126) *qʷəlɣət sən* ‘I gave him a talking to.’ (172.57)  
 (127) *qʷəɣəčəʔtəɣ sən* ‘Somebody scolded my kid.’ (174.60)  
           //*qʷəɣ-giy=ət-ətəɣ sən*//

<sup>14</sup> In the chart, xxx indicates that no examples are available, and parentheses indicate that there are some sentences that shows advancement without an applicative suffix.

<sup>15</sup> The description of the grammatical suffixes in Efrat (1969) is sketchy, and I did not find any applicative-like suffixes in her dissertation.

<sup>16</sup> Montler (1986) also lists *-əs* as a transitive suffix. However, I excluded it from this paper because the function of this suffix is very similar to a causative suffix. See the discussion in Montler (1986).

- (128) //*qʷəɣ-giy=ət-ətəɣ sən*// ‘I’m scolding my kid.’ (174.61)

The verb stems mean ‘down’ in (121), ‘across’ in (122), and ‘arrive’ in (123). These motion verbs take theme for their applied object rather than motion goal. The thematic role of the applied object in (124) is goal rather than psychological source. Sentence (127) implies that the subject was scolding someone, giving a piece of their mind, or giving advice. We have seen the same pattern in Sliammon (see Section 2.2.).

*-giy* occurs with the lexical suffix *=ət* ‘offspring’ in sentences (127, 128). This type of example has been found in some other Salish languages, but *-giy* in Saanich is the only example where it precedes a lexical suffix. Note that (128) is detransitivized by the middle; thus it is intransitive even though the translation in English is transitive.

2.6.3. *-nas* (\*-nas)

*-nas* attaches to motion verbs:

- (129) *ʔʔənʔé-nas-əɣ sən ʔə tsə sʔqéxəʔ* ‘The dog came at me (probably not in a friendly way).’ (168.30)  
 (130) *kʷəʔəɣət-nas-əs* ‘He ran after it.’ (168.32)  
 (131) *kʷəʔəɣət-nas-áɣəs sxʷ* ‘You ran after me.’ (168.33)  
 (132) *ʔyéʔ-nas sən səʔ* ‘I’ll go (to do something).’ (168.28)  
 (133) *ʔáxʷ-nas sən* ‘I went over there (for some specific purpose).’ (168.29)  
 (134) *štáɣəs sən ʔəl* ‘I’m just going to walk over there (with something in mind such as to tell somebody off).’ (168.31)

In sentences (132-134), *-nas* does not seem to be functioning as an applicative. However, *-nas* in the rest of the examples is similar to *\*-nas* in Halkomelem, Clallam, and Lushootseed; that is, *-nas* attaches to motion verbs, and the thematic role of the applied object is motion goal.

## 2.7. Clallam

Montler (1996) discusses “the six special transitivizing morphemes” under the section “Applicatives”. However, he suspects that “they do not all fit in a category of what is traditionally termed applicative”. I found that the first three morphemes *-ístxʷ*, *-txʷ*, and *-as* are causatives, and *-taxʷ* is also a causative used as an applicative. Thus, I assume there are three applicatives in Clallam: *-si*, *-ɣə*, and *-nas*. The data for the applicative suffix *-ɣə* is missing in Montler (1996). Therefore I will examine two applicatives in Clallam. All the examples are from Montler (1996).

2.7.1. *-si* (\*-xi)

Montler calls *-si* the “dative applicative”. He does not give many examples; however, he claims, ‘The presence of this affix creates a ditransitive stem with a recipient/beneficiary/source direct object and an implied patient.’ The thematic role of the applied object is benefactive (135), dative (136), and source (137):

- (135) *kʷʷnə́ɣ cxʷ* ‘You look at (something) for me.’ (262.32)  
 (136) *ʔéʔsít* ‘write (something) to someone’ (262)  
 (137) *qənʷsít* ‘beg (something) from someone’ (262)

2.7.2. *-nəs* (\*-nəs)

This suffix has, like *-nəs* in Saanich, very limited occurrence. The roots that have been found with *-nəs* are: *nəw* 'be in', *č'əyax* 'enter', *húx* 'go to', *hiyá?* 'go', *ʔən ʔi* 'come', *tač'i* 'arrive here', and *k'anəɣut* 'run'. The verb stems in the following examples are all motion verbs:

- (138) *č'ix nəs cn* 'I barged in on him/her/them.' (262.33)  
 (139) *ʔən ʔánəsəɣ cn ʔa? cə sqáxə?* 'The dog came at me.' (262.35)  
 (140) *tčínəs cn* 'I got here for (to get) him.' (262.36)  
 (141) *k'anəɣúinəs cn* 'I ran after it.' (262.38)  
 (142) *ʔən ʔánəs cn ʔa? nək* 'I came for you.' (262.39)

## 2.8. Lushootseed

Lushootseed has four applicatives: *-yi*<sup>17</sup>, *-bi/-i*, *-di*, and *-c/-s*. Bates, Hess, and Hilbert (1994: xvi) list *-yi* as a "secondary suffix marking transferred agent, benefactive, dative, recipient." *-i*, *-c*, and *-s* are listed besides *-yi*. *-i* is a "secondary stem extender; allows transitive *-d* forms to be derived from roots which normally lack a patient." *-c*, which is a portmanteau of the sequence of *-t*, transitive suffix, plus *-s*, the first element of the object paradigm, often converts a verb of motion into one which takes a goal patient. *-s* is a "transitive suffix attaching to stems in *-il*; [it] allows verbs of motion ending in *-il* to have a patient direct complement."

2.8.1. *-yi* (\*-xi)

All the examples are from Hess (1967: 43-44). The thematic role of the applied object is benefactive (143-154), dative (155, 156), and possessor (154, 157, 158):

- (143) *púsil-ii-d* 'throw for him'  
 (144) *iúč'il-ii-d* 'shoot for him'  
 (145) *hč'ib-ii-d* 'cut cattails for her'  
 (146) *l'ág wəb-ii-d* 'make mats for her'  
 (147) *l'al-šəd-ii-d* 'put shoes on him for her'  
 (148) *dx wəq wəy-áxad-yi-d* (Sk)<sup>18</sup> 'open the door for her'  
 (149) *hč'-ii-d* 'cut it for him'  
 (150) *l'ág wəii-d* 'stitch it for him'  
 (151) *húx wətx-ii-d* 'take it for him'  
 (152) *x wəyub-tx wəii-d* 'sell it for him'  
 (153) *l'al-dx wəii-c* 'manage to get it on for me'  
 (154) *húx wəyi-c* 'fetch it for me, go in my place'  
 (155) *k wəad-ii-təb* 'took it (a switch) to him'  
 (156) *həb-ii-d* 'give it to him'  
 (157) *hč'it-ii-c* 'paddle in my place'  
 (158) *ʔax wəslək wəadx wəyi-təbəb* 'want to be able to eat her food (without her consent)'

<sup>17</sup> The reflex of *\*-xi* in Southern Lushootseed is *-ši*, while it is *-yi* in Northern Lushootseed, and *-i* (Hess 1967) in Snohomish.

<sup>18</sup> The form in (148) is from Skagit, the Puget Salish dialect most closely related to Snohomish.

The thematic role of the applied object in (154) can be interpreted as benefactive or possessor from the English gloss, and that in (158) can be interpreted as malefactive.

2.8.2. *-bi/-i* (\*-mi)

All the example are from Hess (1967: 29, 39-42). *-bi/-i* attaches to motion verbs (159) and psychological events (160-163):

- (159) *ʔəl'-b-i-d* 'is on this side / this side of something'  
 (160) *híp-b-i-d* 'seat self on his lap'  
 (161) *xáyəb-i-d* 'laugh at him'  
 (162) *xəc-b-i-d* 'afraid of him'  
 (163) *xí-cil-b-i-d* 'angry with him'

The thematic role of the applied object is theme (164), dative (165), and locative (166, 167, 168):

- (164) *wáč-b-i-d* 'watch it'  
 (165) *x wəyub-b-i-d* 'sell to him'  
 (166) *kūs-b-i-d* 'stand up beside him'  
 (167) *yáyus-b-i-d* 'work at it'  
 (168) *l'al-šəd-i-d* 'put shoes on someone'<sup>19</sup>

The thematic role of the applied object in (167) is probably theme while it is probably locative in (168).

2.8.3. *-di* (\*-ni)

Only two verb stems have been found with this suffix: 'drink' (Bates, Hess, and Hilbert 1994: 193) and 'steal' (Bates, Hess, and Hilbert 1994: 172):

- (169) *q wəuʔq wəaʔ-di-d* 'drink something'  
 (170) *həu-q wəuʔq wəaʔ-di-d* 'I drank it.'  
 (171) *həu-q wəuʔq wəa-d-yi-c* 'He drank my drink.'  
 (172) *qáda-di-d* 'steal from someone'  
 (173) *həu-qáda-d-yi-d* 'He stole it for him.'

In sentences (171) and (173), *-di* is followed by another applicative *-yi*. This applicative *-yi* takes possessor (171) and benefactive (173) for its applied object (see 2.8.1.). Thus, the applied object of *-di* is theme (171, 172) or transfer source (172).

2.8.4. *-c/-s* (\*-nəs)

All the examples are from Hess (1967: 16-17). *-c/-s* attaches to motion verbs (174-180), psychological and perceptual events (181-186), and speech act verbs (187, 188):

<sup>19</sup> Compare this sentence with (147).



(174) <i>āā'c</i>	'go after it'
(175) <i>āā'-c</i>	'come after it'
(176) <i>āāwi-s</i>	'run after it'
(177) <i>āā'āā-ac</i>	'climb after it'
(178) <i>x'āāg'ī-s</i>	'climb down from height after it'
(179) <i>dāyāy'-c</i>	'run out of it'
(180) <i>tāy-c</i>	'pursue it in a raid'
(181) <i>x'āā'ī-s</i>	'grow tired of it'
(182) <i>āā-c</i>	'think of it'
(183) <i>balī-ic</i>	'forget it'
(184) <i>šū-uc</i>	'look at it'
(185) <i>lāq-c</i>	'listen to it'
(186) <i>lū-uc</i>	'listen to it'
(187) <i>cū-uc</i>	'tell him'
(188) <i>q'āā-ac</i>	'call to him'

The thematic role of 'run' in (179) is source, and not goal as in the other examples with motion verbs. The thematic role of the applied objects in the following examples are theme (189), goal (190, 191), locative (192), or reason (193):

(189) <i>k'āā'-c</i>	'miss it' (a target)
(190) <i>cīpāli-s</i>	'ignore it by shutting eyes to it'
(191) <i>qīlāg'ī-s</i>	'thumb a ride'
(192) <i>g'āāfī-s</i>	'sit next to him deliberately'
(193) <i>kī-s</i>	'arrive for some specific reason'

The verb stems mean 'shut eyes' in (190), and 'mount a horse / get in vehicle' in (191). The thematic role of reason is not common when it is not attached to psychological events.

## 2.9. Tillamook

Egesdal and Thompson (1998) discuss three applicatives: *-šī* 'indirective', *-āwi* 'relational', and *-ās* 'purposive'. *-šī* 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 *-āwi* 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.' Egesdal and Thompson (1998) consider the connection between *-ās* and *-stx* 'causative' (see the discussion of purposive in Egesdal and Thompson (1998)). I will follow the reconstruction in Kinkade (1998); that is, *-ās* is the reflex of *\*-nās*.

All the examples are from Egesdal and Thompson (1998).

### 2.9.1. *-šī* (\*-xi)

*-šī* signals that the thematic role of its applied object is benefactive (194, 195), goal (196-199):

(194) <i>g'āā? lye-s-ni?/na?win-šī-c i</i>	'Are they going to build a house for you?' (251.41)
(195) <i>g'āā? yāy'āh-ān-šī-t-i</i>	'I will work for you.' (251.43)
(196) <i>(de) wāf /huq-tān-šī-c</i>	'He went after me with a knife.' (252.47)
(197) <i>g'ū (āā) nāš/āy-šī-t-yāf</i>	'We are going to do it back to him.' (251.42)
(198) <i>g'āā /āyāh-šī-t-īwī</i>	'They would poison us.' (252.46)
(199) <i>šīk'āā=ag'āā(s)-šī-t-ā</i>	'Pay him!' (252.48)

The verb stems mean 'cut-instrument' in (196), 'retaliate' in (197), and 'put=side' in (199). *-šī* in the following examples are unusually attached to a motion verb (200) and a psychological event (201):

(200) <i>de s-šā'āā-āš-c-ī</i>	'I got ahead of you.' (251.45)
(201) <i>fā nāš/tu-šī-t-i</i>	'I believe what you told me.' (251.44)

I am not sure if the thematic object in (200) is motion goal or source. There is no second person object in (201), so 'what you told me' may be in the context. If so, the thematic role in (201) is theme.

### 2.9.2. *-āwi* (\*-mi)

*-āwi* attaches to motion verbs (202-204), and psychological or perceptual events (205-209):

(202) <i>de (s)sāg'āā'āwi-n-i</i>	'I jumped over it.' (253.55)
(203) <i>de c/qegī-st-āwi-n</i>	'Someone brought something back.' (255.69)
(204) <i>de c/āāā-āwi-n-i āy nā s/āāāfāw</i>	'I'm walking along the beach.' (253.56)
(205) <i>de āāā-āwi-c-ī</i>	'I am angry at you.' (254.57)
(206) <i>qēš qe n/ā'āy'āš-āw'ī-n-i k s/qēšē?</i>	'I am not afraid of dogs.' (254.58)
(207) <i>de c/wāx'ān-āwi-n</i>	'He made him cry.' (254.60)
(208) <i>de līlāh-āwi-n</i>	'Someone made him laugh.' (254.63)
(209) <i>te s/āā'āni?wī-c-i</i>	'I hear you.' (254.59)

The verb stem in (203) means 'return'. The thematic role of the applied objects with motion verbs is not goal: it is more or less locative in (202), theme or comitative ('return with something') in (203), and locative in (204). The usage of applicatives in (203, 207, 208) is more like causative according to the English translation. More examples of the causative use of *-āwi* are as follows:

(210) <i>de c/wāg'āā'āwi-n</i>	'He rescued him.' (254.61)
(211) <i>g'āā? /yuq-āwi-n</i>	'He will kill him.' (254.62)
(212) <i>g'āā āā'āwīl'-āw'ī-n-i</i>	'I'm going to give him a bath.' (255.64)
(213) <i>de s/fw'āā=āā-āwi-n</i>	'He feeds him with a spoon.' (255.66)

The attached verbs mean 'live' in (210), 'die' in (211), 'bathe' in (212), and 'stative-spoon=round. object' in (213). Theme is the thematic role of the applied object. In the following examples, the applied object is benefactive (214), comitative (215), and location (216):

(214) <i>dā s/āāā-āw'ī-t-āw</i>	'Someone is singing for him.' (253.54)
(215) <i>g'āā? dā š/āāā?t-āg'āā-wī-n</i>	'He is going to fight with him.' (255.67)

- (216) *de s-təyət ə-cit-wi-n* 'He is standing next to someone.' (255.68)

The comitative applied object is uncommon in Salishan languages.

### 2.9.3. -as

-as attaches to psychological events (217) and speech act verbs (218, 219):

- (217) *de c/əṣ-əṣ(-s)-wəṣ-ṣ* 'Are you angry at me?' (257.76)  
 (218) *ci g "u g "ə/g "əh-əs-wit-ṣ, ...* 'If you call us, ...' (257.77)  
 (219) *g "ə /g "əṣ-əs-wit-yəṭ* 'We will speak with you folks.' (257.81)

The applied object in the other examples is either theme (220-225) or benefactive (226, 227):

- (220) *de c/qk "as-wəṣ* 'He bit me.' (257.72)  
 (221) *de c/x "q "as-wəṣ* 'He pushed me.' (257.74)  
 (222) *de c/x "q "as-wəṣ* 'It [the cat] scratched me.' (257.75)  
 (223) *c/xil'-ṣ-yəṭ* 'We hurt him.' (257.79)  
 (224) *g "ə /sə?ən-s-c-i* 'I will whip you.' (258.82)  
 (225) */ye/čəg "aṣ-ṣ-wəṣ* 'He married me.' (257.80)  
 (226) *g "ə /?əhən-s-c-i* 'I will make it for you.' (258.83)  
 (227) *l'ən-ən-s-ṣ-t-i* 'I burned it for him.' (252.51)

The semantic ditransitive construction as in (226) and (227) is not seen often with the applicative \*-mi.

## 2.10. Upper Chehalis

I found six applicatives in Kinkade (1991: 369-373), which are listed under "grammatical affixes". They are -ṣi "indirective", -tmi "redirective", -tux "i/-tx "i "redirective", -mis/-mn "relational", -ni "directive", and -tas/-ts "transitive". All the examples are from Kinkade (1991).

### 2.10.1. -ṣi (\*-xi)

Kinkade (1998) refers \*-xi as 'dative'. The thematic role of the applied object is benefactive (228, 229) or dative (230-232):

- (228) *vyús-ṣ-n, s vyús-ṣi-t-n* 'work for' (176)  
 (229) *ṣ "ṣṣ-ṣ-n, s ṣ "ṣṣ-ṣi-t-n* 'give a potlatch for' (51)  
 (230) *s vṣám=uṣ-ṣi-t-n* 'take a canoe across to' (5)  
 (231) *ṣṣat-ṣ-n, s ṣṣat-ṣi-t-n* 'give, give away to' (34)  
 (232) *ṣyay=l=ó-p-ṣn, s ṣyay=l=ó-p-ṣi-t-n* 'tell a story to' (172)

### 2.10.2. -tmi (\*-VmV)

-tmi is recorded with seven roots only in Kinkade (1991). The applied object is benefactive (233, 234), dative (234-237), or goal (238, 239):

- (233) *vṣuná-tmi-x "ṣ, s vṣuná-tmi-y-n* 'ask something for someone' (15)  
 (234) *ṣ "ṣṣ-ṣ-tmi-x "ṣ, s ṣ "ṣṣ-ṣ-tmi-y-n* 'give something away to someone' / 'divide something for someone' (51)  
 (235) *ṣṣáṣ-tmi-x "ṣ, s ṣṣáṣ-tmi-y-n* 'give, hand something to someone' (34)  
 (236) *ṣṣó-ya-tmi-x "ṣ* 'loan something to someone' (38)  
 (237) *ṣṣát-tmi-x "ṣ, s ṣṣát-tmi-y-n* 'hand something to someone' (95)  
 (238) *ṣq'iw-tmi-x "ṣ* 'ask someone for something' (112)  
 (239) *ṣṣáṣ-tmi-x "ṣ* 'forbid someone' (161)

-tmi always takes a person for the applied object. The difference between the usage of -ṣi and -tmi is not clear. \*-VmV is also found in Sliammon and Sechelt.

### 2.10.3. -tux "i/-tx "i

Cognate forms of this suffix are found only in other Tsamosan languages (Kinkade 1998). Kinkade (1998) remarks that the direct object is possessive, though this is not clear from the English gloss. Examples are as follows:

- (240) *ṣit vṣṣṣ-x-tux "i čn* 'I examined something for someone' (10)  
 (241) *ṣṣáṣ-tux "i, s ṣṣáṣ-tx "i-n* 'give something to someone' (34)  
 (242) *ṣṣiṣ-tx "i-n* 'show something to someone' (24)  
 (243) *ṣṣát-tux "i, s ṣṣát-tx "i-n* 'hand something to someone' (95)  
 (244) *ṣ "i-tux "i, s ṣ "i-tx "i-n* 'bring something to someone' (149)  
 (245) *vṣuná-tux "i, s vṣuná-tx "i-n* 'ask someone for something' (15)  
 (246) *ṣ "ṣṣ-ṣ-tux "i, s ṣ "ṣṣ-ṣ-tx "i-n* 'give something to someone' / 'divide something for someone' (51)

### 2.10.4. -mis/-mn (\*-mi)

-mis/-mn attaches to motion verbs (247-244) except one sentence (255):

- (247) *ṣṣ'is-mn, s ṣṣ'is-mis-n* 'come after, come for' (41)  
 (248) *ṣ "i-mn, s ṣ "i-mis-n* 'come to, come for' (149)  
 (249) *ṣṣáṣ "s-mis-n* 'go after' (150)  
 (250) *s ṣṣṣṣq' -mis-n* 'run after' (153)  
 (251) *ṣṣát=yq'-mn, s ṣṣát=iyq' -mis-n* 'reach with the foot for' (95)  
 (252) *ṣṣát=l=č' -mn* 'reach (with the hand) for' (95)  
 (253) *vṣṣ "mn, s vṣṣ "min-n* 'run away from' (68)  
 (254) *ṣyṣp-mn, s ṣyṣp-mis-n* 'walk on, walk in, travel through' (174)  
 (255) *ṣyús-mn, s ṣyús-mis-n* 'fix, work on, work at' (176)

The applied object is motion goal (247-252), motion source (253), locative (254), and theme (255).

#### 2.10.5. -ni (\*-ni)

Kinkade (1991) gives only twelve roots with -ni. Kinkade (p.c.) wonders if this suffix is an applicative at all because of this infrequency. -ni attaches to psychological and perceptual events (256-260) and speech act verbs (261, 262):

- (256) *ṣṣ'iy-n-n, s ṣṣ'iy-ni-t-n* 'threaten someone' (168)  
 (257) *mā'q-ni-x ṣṣ' māl'q-ni-y-n* 'forget something/someone' (83)  
 (258) *ṣac ṣhūk ṣṣ-ni-mi-čn* 'I don't know you.' (92)  
 (259) *s ṣṣ'ē ṣṣ-ni-?t-n* 'see, look at something/someone' (10)  
 (260) *s ṣṣ'ō ṣṣ-t-ni-t-n* 'they're paying attention to him' (24)  
 (261) *ṣyā ṣṣ-n-n', s ṣyā ṣṣ-ni-t-n* 'tell something (the story) to someone' (170)  
 (262) *s ṣyāy-ṣ-n-twal-n-n*<sup>20</sup> 'they tell each other' (172)

-ni also attaches to transfer verbs (263, 264), but the applied object is theme:

- (263) *ṣṣām-ṣ-ni-x ṣṣ*<sup>21</sup> 'deliver something, take something somewhere' (5)  
 (264) *s ṣṣ'ō-ya-ni-t-n* 'borrow something' (38)

Note that the thematic role of transfer source is the remarkable shared feature of -ni among Central Salishan languages (Sliammon, Sechelt, Lushootseed). -ni in Upper Chehalis does not fit in this pattern.

The applied object is also theme in the following examples:

- (265) *ṣṣpx ṣṣ-ni-x ṣṣ, s ṣṣpx ṣṣ-ni-y-n* 'hide something' (13)  
 (266) *ṣṣē-ṣ-n-n, s ṣṣē-ṣ-ni-t-n* 'act like, imitate something/someone' (90)  
 (267) *ṣṣ'āy-ni-x ṣṣ* 'lose someone' (166)

#### 2.10.6. -tas/-ts (\*-nās)

Kinkade (1991) gives only two verb roots with -tas/-ts: 'call, invite' and 'fear, afraid':

- (268) *sṣiwtsmaln* 'he/she is calling/inviting me' (112)  
 (269) *ṣṣ'ān-ts, s ṣṣ'ān-tas-n* 'afraid of' (113)

The applied object is theme in (268). In (269), -tas/-ts attaches to a psychological event and take a psychological source (stimulus) for its direct object.

#### 2.11. Lillooet

"Type II transitivizers" -xi and -min are discussed in van Eijk (1997). -xi refers to "an indirect object, i.e., a beneficiary or recipient, or the one from whom something is taken." (1997: 115) -min refers to "an object that is affected less drastically than an object referred to by -s, -ən-s or N." (1997: 114)

<sup>20</sup> -n between -twal and -n is an intruding sound (usually a vowel) which occurs between syllabic sounds.

<sup>21</sup> ṣ is not an applicative here. Kinkade (1991) lists it as one of the unclear endings.

#### 2.11.1. -xi (\*-xi)

The following examples are from van Eijk (1997: 115). The applied object is benefactive (280) or dative (281, 282):

- (270) *q' ṣṣ'xl-xit* 'to roast, cook something for someone'  
 (271) *ṣṣ'iq-xit* 'to bring something to someone'  
 (272) *cūṣ-xit* 'to point something out to someone'

#### 2.11.2. -min (\*-mi)

The following examples are from van Eijk (1997). -min attaches to motion verbs (273-275), psychological (276-283) and perceptual (284) events, and speech act verbs (285, 286):

- (273) *ṣṣ'ṣ-ṣlx-min* 'to come straight at somebody' (121)  
 (274) *p'ān-t-min* 'to return for smt., to return to get smt.' (114)  
 (275) *q'āy-lax-min* 'to run away from somebody' (121)  
 (276) *ṣṣṣṣ=āka-?min* 'to give somebody a rough time, to be mean to somebody / to make something stronger' (120)  
 (277) *ṣṣṣṣ-s-cūt-min'* 'to act tough on somebody' (125)  
 (278) *ṣṣ'ast-ān-cut-min* 'to make an effort for something' (125)  
 (279) *pāq'ṣu-?min* 'to be afraid of smt.' (114)  
 (280) *c'a ṣṣ'ūs-min* 'to be ashamed of' (120)  
 (281) *n-qṣ-ṣnwas-min* 'to dislike somebody' (120)  
 (282) *nṣ'zānwas-min* 'to worry about' (124)  
 (283) *ṣṣn-cūt-min* 'to brag about something' (125)  
 (284) *k'al'an'-min'* 'to listen to' (124)  
 (285) *ptāk'ṣ-min* 'to tell a legend about someone' (114)  
 (286) *sq'āl'-min'* 'to report on someone' (114)

The applied object is a motion goal (273, 274), motion source (275), psychological goal (276-278), psychological source (279-283), perceptual source (284), or theme (285, 286). The thematic role of theme is also seen in the following examples:

- (287) *ṣṣq'ṣa-?min* 'to drink smt. away, to lose it by drinking' (114)  
 (288) *c'āq'-min'* 'to throw something' (114)  
 (289) *tāw-min'* 'to sell something' (114)  
 (290) *kṣ=āka-?min* 'to release one's grip on something, to let go of something.' (120)  
 (291) *lūt=xən-min'* 'to squish something with one's foot' (120)  
 (292) *ma ṣṣ'-min'-teāl'-ən* 'to mix things together' (125)  
 (293) *cūq'-min'-twāl'-ən* 'to add several pieces of rope together' (125)  
 (294) *stqín-min* 'to use something for a pillow' (122)  
 (295) *c'āz'q-min* 'to use something for a cushion' (122)  
 (296) *szāytən-min* 'to carry out, execute' (122)

(297) *saw't-min-əm* 'he was taken slave' (122)

*-min* also takes transfer source (298), source (299), comitative (300-302), and benefactive or theme (303):

- (298) *k'utən-min* 'to borrow smt. from' (114)  
 (299) *ləŋ' -ilx-min* 'to hide oneself from somebody' (121)  
 (300) *ʔəwaʔ-min* 'to go along with' (114)  
 (301) *nuk'aʔ-min* 'to accompany, go with' (114)  
 (302) *ʔil'us-min* 'to join, go with someone' (114)  
 (303) *k'zuš-min* 'to work for, to look after' (125)

## 2.12. Thompson

Two applicative suffixes are discussed in Thompson and Thompson (1980, 1992). One is 'indirective' *-xi*, and the other 'relational' *-min*. *-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.' (Thompson and Thompson 1980: 32) *-min* is 'unmarked for control, and does not change the control status of the stem to which it is added. It refers to objects toward which the subject is moving or in relation to whom/which the action is accomplished.' (Thompson and Thompson 1992: 73)

### 2.12.1. *-xi* (\*-xi)

All the examples with *-xi* are from Thompson and Thompson (1980), unless otherwise specified. The thematic role of the applied object is benefactive (304-306), benefactive or possessor (307), benefactive or dative (308, 309), malefactive or possessor (310-312), possessor (313), and dative (314-316):

- (304) *q'inxícən //q'in-xi-t-si-en//* 'I spoke for you.' (27.1)  
 (305) *mlámxtye //mlám-xi-t-ey-ə//* 'Bless it for us!' (27.3)  
 (306) *ŋ'wáqšxcms //ŋ'wáqš-xi-t-sem-es//* 'He turned on the light for me.' (27.4)  
 (307) *q'icxc //q'ic-xi-t-ə-es//* 'She did his laundry.' (27.5)  
 (308) *čəq'xíte //čəq'xí-xi-t-ə-ə//* 'Write [a letter] to/for her!' (27.2)  
 (309) *q'oŋ'xítis //q'oŋ'xí-xi-t-ey-es//* 'They made it cheaper for us, /gave us a discount.' (28.6)  
 (310) *ʔúq'əʔxcms //ʔúq'əʔ-xi-t-sem-es// tə tít* 'She drank my tea up on me.' (28.7)  
 (311) *máŋ'xtimes //máŋ'xí-t-uy-m-es// tə széllep* 'He broke you people's dish.' (28.8)  
 (312) *ciqnwéxcmx' //ciq-nwé-xi-t-se-ex'//* 'You (accidentally) dug up my [flowers] on me.' (28.9)  
 (313) *nexíc //nehe-xi-t-ə-es//* 'He pronounced her name.' (28.12)  
 (314) *xixíc //xəy-xi-t-ə-es//* 'She asked him for it.' (28.13)  
 (315) *k'ʔxítis //k'ʔxí-t-ey-es//* 'She shows it to us.' (28.15)  
 (316) *né-x-c* 'give, hand over (something) to someone' (Thompson and Thompson 1996: 877)

*-xi* also denotes goal for its applied object (317-319); however, the thematic role of its applied object is not straightforward in some examples:

- (317) *cúʔqšxtx' //cúʔqš-xi-t-ə-ex'//* 'You pointed the gun at him.' (10)

- (318) *q'ʔxíte //q'əw-xi-t-ə-enə//* 'I set a trap for it.' (14)  
 (319) *kəšxícms //kəš-xi-t-sem-es//* 'They refused my daughter [as wife for their son].' (17)  
 cf. *kəšcút //kəš-t-sut//* 'say no [to a marriage proposal]'  
 (320) *wíkxcn //wík-xi-t-si-en//* 'I see what you have or I see your tracks.' (11)  
 (321) *yéxícmx' //yəh-xi-t-sem-ex'//* 'You make me happy.' (18)  
 (322) *ceʔx'míxc //ceʔex'-min-xi-t-ə-es//* 'He congratulates her.' (19)  
 cf. *ceʔx'míns //ceʔex'-min-t-ə-es//* 'He's happy to see her or he appreciates it.'  
 (323) *nčqšwšxc //nəčəqš-xi-t-ə-es//* 'They added something to the contributions for a feast.' (16)

The applied object appears to be possessor (320). *-xi* in (321) seems to be the causative use of applicative. I cannot tell what the thematic role of the applied object is in (322, 323).

### 2.12.2. *-min* (\*-mi)

The examples with *-min* are from Thompson and Thompson (1992: 74) unless specified. *-min* attaches to a motion verb (324), a psychological event (325), and a speech act verb (326):

- (324) */nóx'w-m-s* '[an animal] runs up to him'  
 cf. */nóx'w-e-s* '[many-legged insect] crawls over it'  
 (325) */c'éx-mn'-s* 'he is ashamed of her'  
 (326) *qíl-m-s* 'bawl out, get after something, scold' (Thompson and Thompson 1996: 1180)

*-min* provides the transitive construction to 'many stems not otherwise transitivized' (Thompson Thompson 1992: 74) in the following examples:

- (327) */c'ʔəz-mín-t-i-s* 'It gets dark on us.'  
 (328) */wux'í-mín-ci-me* 'I get caught in the snow.'  
 (329) */tekt-m-t-i-t* 'We get rained on.'

The thematic role of the applied object is not clear in some examples:

- (330) *ʔəʔaʔ/ʔtekt-mín'-s* '[clothing] fits her, suits her' (lit. she is appropriate with respect to [the clothing])  
 (331) */ʔəʔ'w-mí(n)-ne* 'I remember him.'  
 cf. */ʔəʔ'w-t-éne* 'I hook it, put a sharpened stick through it'  
 (332) */səʔ-mín-m-ci-me* 'I fall headlong (lit. something makes me act like a stick or rod with relation to [the ground])'  
 (333) *//ceʔex'-min-t-ə-es//* 'He's happy to see her.' or 'He appreciates it.' (Thompson and Thompson 1980.19cf.)

The verb stem in (331) is not a psychological event; however, the applied object seems to be psychological source as well as the one in (333).

## 2.13. Shuswap

Kuipers (1974: 46) discusses "three complex transitivizers": *-x(i)*, *-m(i)* and non-control suffix *-nwén't*. *-x(i)* refers to "a human secondary object, usually a benefactive, in a minority of cases to another object-type." *-m(i)* refers to "an object which is affected indirectly, superficially or malefactively by the action." All the examples are from Kuipers (1992: 49-50).

2.13.1. *-x(i)* (\*-xi)

The applied object is benefactive (334-339), benefactive or possessor (338-341), or possessor (342, 343):

(334) <i>sæci-xi-s</i>	'he sings for him'
(335) <i>c-k "il xi-s</i>	'he leaves (some) for obj.'
(336) <i>q "mxiis</i>	'he shortens hair for him'
(337) <i>i q "ekst-xi-s</i>	'he applauds (strike=hand) for obj.'
(338) <i>k "nm-esl p-xi-s</i>	'he gathers (his) firewood for (him)'
(339) <i>mlmalq "xi-s tæ citx "s</i>	'he paints the/his house for him / he paints his (other's) house'
(340) <i>xte kxts</i>	'he fills (cup) for him / his cup'
(341) <i>k "exts</i>	'he gets X for obj. / he takes obj.'s X'
(342) <i>pulst-xi-s tæ simkelts</i>	'he kills his (other's) daughter'
(343) <i>pet-xi-s tæ xk "iustn-s</i>	'he has obj.'s (parent's) eyes'

The thematic role of the applied object in some examples is ambiguous:

(344) <i>x-kæλ-ci-xi-s</i>	'open door to'
(345) <i>x-lm[t]-ci-xi-s</i>	'close door on sb.'
(346) <i>taknem-xi-s</i>	'refuse to give to obj., withhold from obj.'
(347) <i>ta?xít-s</i>	'refuse obj. st.'

It can be benefactive in (344) and malefactive in (345). If 'obj.' is a person or animate object, the thematic role might be goal or source in (346, 347).

2.13.2. *-m(i)* (\*-mi)

Kuipers (1992: 50-51) states that "the productivity of *-m(i)nt-* is limited to certain semantic categories." These categories are basically similar to how I categorize the type of verbs in this paper. He has five semantic categorizations: (1) mental acts, (2) bodily movements, (3) sign-behavior, (4) placing or shifting, and (5) make into or use as. (See the actual data in Kuipers (1992: 50-51).

*-m(i)* attaches to motion verbs (348, 349), psychological events (350, 351), and speech act verbs (352):

(348) <i>iækmíns</i>	'go towards'
(349) <i>iæk ðilxmns</i>	'run to'
(350) <i>nælinns</i>	'be afraid of'
(351) <i>syymíns</i>	'be angry with'

(352) <i>æeymns</i>	'scold, warn'
---------------------	---------------

*-m(i)* may take theme (353-355) for its applied object:

(353) <i>kex-mn-s</i>	'give obj. away'
(354) <i>cæq-min-s</i>	'throw (away)'
(355) <i>tn-min-s</i>	'put on [clothes] / use'

## 2.14. Okanagan

There are four applicatives found in Colville-Okanagan (A. Mattina 1978, 1982, 1994, and N. Mattina 1993) for this paper: *-x(i)*, *-t*, *-tut*, and *-min*. These suffixes are explained as a part of the (di)transitive systems in A. Mattina, and N. Mattina uses the notion of "applicative agreement".

2.14.1. *-x(i)* (\*-xi)

*-x(i)* and *-t* often appear on the same roots. The difference between them is that *-x(i)* takes a person as direct object, while *-t* takes an inanimate thing as direct object. "The difference between *-x(i)-t* and *-t-t* ditransitives is one of focus ... *-x(i)t* ditransitives require that the secondary goal complement be marked by the proclitic *t*, while *-t* ditransitives never do." (A. Mattina 1982)

The following examples are from N. Mattina (1993). The applied object is benefactive (356-359) or dative (360-362):

(356) <i>Mary sac-xi-t-s i? t snkic'a tsqáxa? i? tw'it</i>	'Mary tied the horse for the boy.' (265.1)
(357) <i>k "u q "alíw-xi i? t siya?</i>	'Pick berries for me.' (271.12)
(358) <i>k "u q "alq "il-xi-s</i>	'He talked for me (in my stead).' (272.12)
(359) <i>k "u q "ay'sqáxa? xi-s</i>	'He branded for me (in my stead).' (272.12)
(360) <i>k "ul-xi-æn Mary t p'ina?</i>	'I made Mary a basket (*in her stead).' (271.12)
(361) <i>x "ic' æxt-æ-s i? sq "si? s t k-sqlaw'-s</i>	'He gave his son, his, money.' (272.12)
(362) <i>k "u kætæ "ic'-xi t sqlaw'</i>	'Send me some money.' (275.28)

I think the reason that *-t* takes two direct objects and *-x(i)* only one is probably related to animacy. Since an inanimate thing is lower than an animate object in the hierarchy, *-t* ends up with two direct objects. The exceptional example of *-x(i)* in (363) supports this idea:

(363) <i>k "u c-ðlit-xi-x " i? sax "ikam</i>	
1sAcc asp-call-x(i)t-2sErg art policeman	
'Call a policeman for me.' (N. Mattina 1993: 273.17)	

The secondary goal complement 'policeman' is not marked by the proclitic *t*, because it is an animate noun.

2.14.2. *-t*

The examples with *-t* are again from N. Mattina (1993), unless otherwise specified. *-t* usually has a direct object that is a possessor:

- (364) *Mary šac-t-t-s i? itw'it i? kawáps* 'Mary tied the boy's horse for him.' (265.1)  
 (365) *k'u a-ks-txt' ət-t-ím in-lakli* 'You will take care of my key.' (270.6)  
 (366) *lut k'u p'a-š-t-ik' axa? in-lpút* 'Don't break my cup.' (274.20)  
 (367) *k'u naq'm-t-x' i-sqəlmix'* 'You stole my man.' (274.21)  
 (368) *k'u šaw'm-t-x' ya? šacsqāša'n* 'Let loose my reins.' (276.39)  
 (369) *k-tu-š-w(s)-t-š-s i? sλ'ašcinan* 'He had stitched up his deer.' (276.40)  
 (370) *ənc'iw'-t-m-əlx ən štəntan-səlx* 'Someone washed their dishes.' (276.34)  
 (371) *k'tənk'ahk'ip-t-ən* 'He<sub>i</sub> opened his<sub>ij</sub> door for someone<sub>jk</sub>.' (276.35)  
 (372) *k'u c-x'ic'-t i-kf-lkalút* 'Give me what will be my bread.' (277.46)  
 (373) *i? iktmilx' ki? liš'w-t-ən i? syriwāxan-s* 'The woman put his/her snowshoes on him.' (276.32)

In addition, *-f* also marks benefactive (374), malefactive (375), and dative (376-380):

- (374) *k'u ks-k'əpəš-t-ip* 'You all figure it out for me.' (275.29)  
 (375) *k'u š(t)-t-s* 'He ate it up on me.' (274.22)  
 (376) *x'ic'-ət-x'w' i-š-qlaw'* 'You give him some money.' (A. Mattina 1982: 426.3c)  
 (377) *k'əš-t-š-t-ə-n Mary* 'I sent something to Mary.' (275.27)  
 (378) *nšy-t-s-n Fred i? p'úyxan-s* 'I bought you Fred's car.' (276.36)  
 (379) *t'ax'w' captik' (l)-t-s-ən* 'I'll tell you a story.' (274.25)  
 (380) *ks-m'ayá?-t-s-t i? sck'əpəš-t-ə* 'We will tell you our thoughts.' (276.33)

#### 2.14.3. -túf

The examples in this section are from A. Mattina (1994). *-túf* signals that the applied object is benefactive or dative. The contrast between the same root with *-f* and *-túf* shows the semantic difference between them clearly:

- (381) *k'u su-túf-t-s i-sq'ší? i? sk'št-s*  
 me ask-túft-he my-son art name-his  
 'He asked me what my son's name is.' (208.9)  
 cf. *k'u siw-t-s i-sq'ší? i? sk'št-s*  
 me ask-ft-he my-son art name his  
 'He asked my son what his name is.' (208.8)  
 (382) *k'u q'əq'ə-túf-t-s i? scəq'ašls-c*  
 me talk-túft-he art business-his  
 'He talked to me about his business.' (208.12)  
 cf. *k'u q'əq'ə-t-t-s i-sq'ší? i? k'ə scəq'ašls-c*  
 me talk-ft-he my-son art about business-his  
 'He talked to my son about his business.' (208.11)

- (383) *k'u saq-túf-t-s i? slíp'*  
 'He split (-túft) wood for me.' (208.10b)  
 cf. *k'u siq'-ət-t-s i-slíp'*  
 'He split (-ft) my wood.' (208.10a)

As seen above, *-túf* marks dative (381, 382) and benefactive (383), while *-f* marks possessor for the applied object. More examples show that *-túf* takes a dative direct object:

- (384) *k'u šam-túf-t-s i? síya?* 'He fed me the saskatoons.' (207.5)  
 (385) *k'u šam-túf-t-s i-sq'ší?* 'He fed me my son.' (207.6)  
 (386) *k'u šam-túf-t-s a-síya* 'He fed me your saskatoons.' (207.7)

#### 2.14.4. -min (\*-mi)

All the examples are from A. Mattina (1994). *-min* attaches to psychological events (387-390) and a perceptual event (391):

- (387) *luk k'u aksənšilmnən* 'Don't be scared of me.' (219.62)  
 (388) *ixí? šáyx'mantsən* 'I am tired of you.' (221.66f)  
 (389) *šilmantsən* 'I'm glad to see you.' (221.66l)  
 (390) *šlx'mən i? síya?* 'I am hungry for sask.' (222.67c)  
 (391) *ha? nixəlməntx'w'?* 'Did you hear it?' (221.66b)

The applied object is theme in the following:

- (392) *c'q'mint* 'throw away (rock or similar object)' (218.58b)  
 (393) *səp'mint* 'throw away (a stick)' (218.58d)  
 (394) *c'x'mint* 'spill (liquid)' (218.58f)  
 (395) *pk'mint* 'spill solids' (218.58h)  
 (396) *ymint (i? lwakín)* 'push (the wagon)' (219.58j)  
 (397) *t'šupmín* 'I shot (the weapon)' (223.71b)  
 (398) *x'ic'xməntx'w'* 'You gave it away.' (220.64a)  
 (399) *š'a?š'ašmínt* 'go look for it' (224.73b)  
 (400) *k'š'mis* 'He took it off.' (224.73d)  
 (401) *š'ušwmís* 'He put out the light.' (224.73f)  
 (402) *saq'mís* 'He split it.' (224.73h)  
 (403) *axá? laš'míntx'w'* 'Here, you put this on.' (224.73j)  
 (404) *naq'məntx'w' //naq'w-min-nt-x'w'//* 'You stole it.' (219.61b)

There is one example of *-mi* occurring with a motion verb:

- (405) *lut t' inšmínkt ikswikən, ut tšəlkəmin*  
 'I didn't want to see him, that's why I went around him.' (224.75)

However, the thematic role is not motion goal in (402). It is not clear in this case.

## 2.15. Spokane

There are three applicatives found in Spokane for this paper: *-ši-*, *-f-*, and *-mi-*. Carlson (1980: 25) examines *-ši-* and *-f-* in terms of "two goal stems". He states that "The suffix *-ši-* can be glossed benefactive/substitutive. The suffix *-f-* is glossed relative, because it builds a stem with two goals (one direct, the other indirect) that relate to each other somehow in the predication."

Shapard (1980: 247) calls *-mi-* "transitive derivational", and Carlson (1972: 104) explains that "*//mi-* added to an intransitive base (intransitive root) forms a derived transitive stem."

### 2.15.1. *-ši* (\*-xi)

Carlson (1980: 24) explains that the basic difference between the sentence constructions is that "t oblique marks the indirect goal for the *-ši-* stem and *š"əl* relative to/by/for and *č* to mark the indirect goals for the *-f-* stems." I illustrate them as follows:

- (406) '[make] something for someone'
- |                          |            |               |            |             |               |
|--------------------------|------------|---------------|------------|-------------|---------------|
| a. [make]- <i>š(i)-t</i> | <i>tu?</i> | NP(someone)   | <i>tu?</i> | <i>t</i>    | NP(something) |
| b. [make]- <i>f-t</i>    | <i>tu?</i> | NP(something) | <i>tu?</i> | <i>š"əl</i> | NP(someone)   |
- (407) '[give] something to someone'
- |                          |            |               |            |          |               |
|--------------------------|------------|---------------|------------|----------|---------------|
| a. [give]- <i>š(i)-t</i> | <i>tu?</i> | NP(someone)   | <i>tu?</i> | <i>t</i> | NP(something) |
| b. [give]- <i>f-t</i>    | <i>tu?</i> | NP(something) | <i>tu?</i> | <i>č</i> | NP(someone)   |

The following examples are from Carlson (1980). The applied object of *-ši* is benefactive (408-410) or dative (411):

- (408) *k"úlštān tu? Agnes tu? t yámš"e?* 'I made a basket for Agnes.' (24.38)  
 (409) *šhštān tu? Albert tu? t sqéltč* 'I ate some meat for Albert.' (24.42)  
 (410) *msámúšštān tu? Albert* 'I felt around for Albert.' (25.47)  
 (411) *x"tčštān tu? Agnes tu? t yámš"e?* 'I gave a basket to Agnes.' (25.40)

### 2.15.2. *-f*

While the grammatical object in the examples in the previous section is goal/benefactive, the grammatical object in the following examples is theme. The examples are from Carlson (1980):

- (412) *k"úlštān tu? yámš"e? tu? š"əl Agnes* 'I made a basket for Agnes.' (24.39)  
 (413) *x"tčštān tu? yámš"e? tu? č Agnes* 'I gave a basket to Agnes.' (24.41)

Moreover, *-f* signals that the thematic role of the applied object is possessor:

- (414) *šhštān tu? Albert sqéltčs* 'I ate Albert's meat.' (24.43)  
 (415) *š"ósštān tu? Albert šščís* 'I lost Albert's dog.' (25.44)

- (416) *múštān tu? Albert sām šuršictis* 'I felt Albert's stove.' (25.46)

### 2.15.3. *-mi* (\*-mi)

*-mi* attaches to a motion verb (417) and a psychological event (418). The following examples are from Carlson (1972: 104):

- (417) *čx"úyāmāntx" //č-x"uy-mi-n-te-x"//* 'You go on to it.'  
 (418) *k"u čš "əš "ə?əyāmíntx" //k"u č-š"š"šy-mi-n-te-x"//* 'You laugh at me.'

The applied object is theme in the following examples:

- (419) *čánāmstān //čān-mi-s-te-n//* 'I tighten it.'  
 (420) *p"čānēčstāmāmtx" //pux"-ičn-ečst-mi-n-te-x"//* 'You scatter it out from the palm of your hand.'

## 2.16. Kalispel

Vogt (1940: 34) has *-ši* and *-f* as "the relative forms" that occur with Class III and Class IV verbs. The difference between them is definiteness of the reference. Shapard (1980: 252) explains that "Only the indirect object is considered 'definite' with *-š(i)t-*, but with *-f-*, both objects are considered 'definite'." *-mín* is also found in Kalispel.

### 2.16.1. *-š(i)* (\*-xi)

The following examples are from Vogt (1967:34), and the applied object is benefactive:

- (421) *yeskúpštān* 'I put something (indefinite) for him (definite).'  
 (422) *yesu-lštān* 'I am burning something for him.'

Since these examples do not have a noun phrase complement, it is difficult to see which is the direct object. However, it seems that 'definiteness' shows the direct object.

### 2.16.2. *-f*

Compare the following examples from Vogt (1967: 34) with the examples in the previous section:

- (423) *yeskúpštān* 'I am pushing it (definite) for him (definite), or I am pushing his...'  
 (424) *yesu-lštēm* 'I am burning it for him, or I am burning his...'

The applied object is theme or possessor.

2.16.3. *-mín* (\*-mi)

The following examples are from Vogt (1967: 38):

- (425) *esamistén* 'I know it'  
 (426) *esamíktutámístán* 'I keep it in mind'  
 (427) *esamécínámístán* 'I bother him with my talk'  
 (428) *estumístán* 'I buy or sell it'

Since I cannot tell the meaning of the verb stems to which *-mín* is attached, the verbs in sentences (425-427) are categorized as psychological verbs in this paper. The thematic role of the applied object is theme (425, 426, 428) or goal (427).

2.17. *Coeur d'Alene*

Doak (1997) discusses "the benefactive applicative" *-š(i)-t*, "the possessor applicative" *-t-t-*, and "the dative applicative" *-tút-t*, and has some examples of *-mi* 'relational'. All examples are from Doak (1997), unless specified.

2.17.1. *-š(i)* (\*-xi)

The applied object is benefactive (429-433), benefactive or substitutive (434), benefactive or dative (435-437), or dative (438-444):

- (429) *šennšítix'ilš* 'You (pl) worked for them.' (152.218a)  
 (430) *g'níšices* 'He begged something for me.' (153.220b)  
 (431) *šéš'šün* 'I prayed for him.' (153.221)  
 (432) *na? šacnpáššítex* 'Think for me!' (153.223)  
 (433) *šəš'elík'apštulmn* 'I chopped wood for you fellows.' (154.224c)  
 (434) *níčšic x'E píli* 'Felix cut (wood) for me.' / 'Felix cut (wood) instead of me / in my place.' (157.232)  
 (435) *šəš'šítix'ilš* 'You folks help him.' (152.218b)  
 (436) *k'nE? čišicn* 'I will get you help.' (153.222)  
 (437) *g'buššuces* 'He asked for / begged something for me.' / 'He asked me for something.' (155.228)  
 (438) *mi?mi?šicn* 'I told you a story.' (151.217)  
 (439) *čikšicn* 'I give you s.t.' (153.219b)  
 (440) *čikšic* 'he gave her s.t.' (155.226c)  
 (441) *čikšic šE smšič* 'He brought over / gave him a salmon.' (155.227)  
 (442) *hoi šE nunE šEs šEčínšic* 'Then his mother served it (roots) [to them].' (156.229)  
 (443) *mi?mi?šicelp* 'You folks told me a story.' (156.230)  
 (444) *nk'ínšicn* 'I sang to you.' (156.231)

There is one example in which it is not clear what the thematic role of the applied object is. It may be possessor:

- (445) *g'aš li-mšic x'E nək'sčints.* 'He shook hands with his people.' (151.216)

2.17.2. *-t*

The applied object of *-t* is benefactive (446, 447) or dative (448-452) in the following examples:

- (446) *q'íthmlt* 'We filled it for you.' (143.195a)  
 (447) *níčšicn* 'I cut it for you.' (147.206)  
 (448) *k'nE? cúncuñmE ýthelis* 'He will show us [how to do it].' (149.210b)  
 (449) *k'nE? cúnmE?šic x'E sqécm* 'Hewill show you how to knit.' (149.211)  
 (450) *cúnme?šicn* 'I showed you how it's done.' (150.212)  
 (451) *cúnme?šicelam* 'I was taught how to do s.t. (specific).' (150.213)  
 (452) *nE? cúnmE?šic* 'You advise him.' (150.215)

As we have seen in other Southern Salishan languages, *-t* signals that the thematic role of the applied object is possessor:

- (453) *k'íthm x'E símčEš* 'His daughter was taken from him.' (145.198)  
 (454) *k'íthmE x'E šcamčəməlqšis* 'We held his legs.' (145.199)  
 (455) *pupúlušəməlš šE sni?šmE šmsilš* 'Their only woman was killed.' (145.200)  
 (456) *k'íthelli šE yllmíxumEš* 'Our chief was taken from us.' (146.201)  
 (457) *nE? lēčšic x'a hinq'šmqən* 'Tie my head up for me.' (146.202)  
 (458) *hššic q'uq'šmqən čičšE?* 'Sprinkle my little head, grandmother.' (146.203)  
 (459) *g'níšicEš k'íin* 'He asked for my mouse.' (146.204)  
 (460) *x'i? čiččēššam šE ščičšEč* 'Thus it was taken hold of for him his hand...' (147.205)  
 (461) *g'níšicEš* 'You asked for my property.' (148.208)  
 (462) *g'níšic* 'He asked for his property.' (148.209)  
 (463) *šEčšicEš x'E pušyahd x'E šiúmišams t x'i? čenničšic* 'He takes Mole's breast and he cuts it.' (148.207)

2.17.3. *-tút*

The applied object of *-tút* is dative or goal in the following examples:

- (464) *cx'uytúthm* 'They brought s.t. to him for him.' (157.233a)  
 (465) *šimúšic* 'He put it straight up for him. (He aimed it at him for s.b. else)' (158.234a)  
 (466) *šimúšic x'E Lolo* 'He aimed it at it for Lolo.' (158.234b)  
 (467) *šacšitux* 'He looked at it for him.' (158.235b)



-*túf* also takes a theme for its applied object; the third benefactive object is implied:

- (468) *támtuʔc* 'He burned it for s.b.' (159.236b)

However, it is not clear what the thematic role of the grammatical object is in the following sentences (-*m* = nontopic ergative):

- (469) *cxʷuytúʔm xʷE yíʔn* 'S.t. was taken for the sake of food.' (158.233b)  
 (470) *cxʷuytúʔm xʷa Don* 'It was taken over there for Don.' (158.233c)

#### 2.17.4. -*min* (\*-*mi*)

-*min* attaches to a psychological event (471) or a speech act verb (472):

- (471) *iý-n-ǰíʔ-mən-əm* 'Thou art fearing him.' (178.272b)  
*in-ýc-hn ǰíʔ-min-m*  
 (472) *//ʔpuʔʔ=cin-min-n-t-//* 'tell someone a joke' (38)

-*min* takes theme (473) for its grammatical object by the interpretation of Shapard (1980: 264), and the applied object seems to be theme as well in (474):

- (473) *qáý-mi h-En* 'book, paper, writing' (Reichard 1938: 608)  
 'I wrote it.' (Shapard 1980: 264)  
 (474) *mEʔʷ-ʔEʔmnc* 'he broke something for somebody else' (66.28d)  
*//mEʔʷ-ʔEʔ-m(i)-n-t-Ø-s//*

It is not clear what the applied object is in the following example:

- (475) *yllmíxum kuʔeʔʔEʔʔənəmínʔEʔ* 'Chief you condescend to honor us.' (122.139)  
*ylmíx-m kʷu CVC+ǰʔEʔʔ-n-min-ʔEʔ*  
*/chief-mdl 2nom aug+/condescend-loc-rel-s.o.<sup>22</sup>*

#### 2.18. Colombian

There are four applicatives found in Colombian for this paper: -*xi*, -*f*, -*túf*, and -*min*. The first three 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." Kinkade (1980) says that "the label 'indirective' is appropriate for Cm as well [as for Thompson], and the whole class [except -*min*] might be called 'redirectives'."

-*min* is discussed in Kinkade (1982): "-*min*- 'relational' may be considered to be a transitivizer", due to the fact that it occurs with an intransitive verb stems such as motion and psychological verbs, and one with a lexical suffix or reflexive.

<sup>22</sup> mdl = middle, nom = nominalizer, aug = augmentative, loc = locative, rel = relational

#### 2.18.1. -*xi* (\*-*xi*)

All the examples with -*xi* are from Kinkade (1980). Kinkade (1998) defines the direct object for -*xi* as dative. The applied object is benefactive (476-482), benefactive or possessor (483), or dative (484-488):

- (476) *táw-x-t-s* 'He bought it for him.' (33.1)  
 (477) *ǰm-xi-t-n* 'I stole it for him.' (33.4)  
 (478) *xas-xi-t-n* 'I lost it for him.' (33.5)  
 (479) *ǰiʔʷ-xi-t-n* 'I said a prayer for them.' (33.7)  
 (480) *ʔackáʔ-x-t-n Mary sttámám* 'I made a bag for Mary.' (34.10)  
 (481) *kʷy-xi-t-n sʔaʔcínəm Mary* 'I hunted for a deer for Mary.' (34.12)  
 (482) *ʔac-xi-t-u-xʷ-taʔ t qáʔʔk* 'Tie me up a colt!' (34.18)  
 (483) *npiýáʔkʷ-x-t-s waʔ (s)Albert* 'She did Albert's laundry.' (34.16)  
 (484) *qíʔ-x-t-n* 'I wrote to him' (33.2)  
 (485) *qíʔ-xi-t-aʔ ani smʔám* 'Write to that woman!' (34.15)  
 (486) *ʔac-káʔ-x-t-n sttámám Mary* 'I gave Mary a bag.' (34.11)  
 (487) *ʔaní-x-t-n Mary sttámám* 'I brought Mary a bag.' (33.9)  
 (488) *ǰáʔi-s-t-n sqaláw* 'I asked him for money.' (34.17)

The applied object may be theme, benefactive or possessor (489), theme or possessor (490), and theme (491):

- (489) *ǰáʔ-x-t-n* 'I paid for it, I paid his fare.' (33.3)  
 (490) *támxʷ-t-t-n* 'I [used (up) his X and] wore them out.' (33.8)  
 (491) *may-xi-t-n* 'I told a story about it.' (33.6)

#### 2.18.2. -*f*

Kinkade (1998) defines -*f* as 'genitive'; that is, the applied object is possessor. All the examples with -*f* are from Kinkade (1980), and the number in parenthesis indicates the example number:

- (492) *qíʔ-ʔ-t-aʔ* 'Write it for him!' (33.2)  
 (493) *ǰáʔ-ʔ-n* 'I paid (it) for him.' (33.3)  
 (494) *xas-ʔ-n* 'I lost it for him.' (33.5)  
 (495) *ǰiʔʷ-ʔ-n* 'I prayed and blessed it for him.' (33.7)  
 (496) *ʔacyáʔ-ʔ-n sttámám ǰl Mary* 'I'm weaving a bag for Mary.' (34.13)  
 (497) *qíʔ-ʔ-t-aʔ qíʔmín-s Mary* 'Write a letter for Mary!' (34.14)  
 (498) *wáʔqʷáʔkʷ-t-c(t-sá) wa ʔn-láʔi* 'She drank my tea (after taking it away from me).' (34.19)  
 (499) *máʔʷ-ʔ-t-c(t-sá)-xʷ ʔn-ʔáʔp* 'You broke my pot.' (34.20)  
 (500) *táq-ʔ-n* 'I bought it from him.' (33.1)  
 (501) *ǰm-ʔ-n* 'I stole it from him.' (33.4)  
 (502) *ǰlí-ʔ-t-x ʔani waʔ scʔqʷáʔcúʔ* 'She asked for the name.' (34.21)  
 (503) *miyáʔ-ʔ-t-s ʔani wa sqáʔt-s* 'He diagnosed her illness.' (34.22)  
 (504) *xas-ʔ-t-c(t-sá)-dxʷ naʔ ʔn-qáwáʔsqən* 'You might lose my ax.' (34.23)

- (505) *máya? t-n* 'I instructed them.' (33.6)  
 (506) *tánux w-t-n* 'I wore it out.' (33.8)

### 2.18.3. -túf

The following examples are from Kinkade (1980, 1982):

- (507) *k t-an-túf-n* 'I loaned it to him.' (1980: 34.26)  
 (508) *k t-váay-túf-n* 'I returned the (gloves) back (to the store).' / 'I brought something to change back' (1980: 34.27)  
 (509) *stáin ay sawtúfc* 'What did he ask you?' (1982: 58)  
 (510) *táw'qúftx w* 'You kicked it towards them.' (1982: 58)  
 (511) *cakmtúfn* 'I threw it to the next person (to catch).' (1982: 58)  
 (512) *tumistmtúfc* 'He sold it to me.' (1982: 58)  
 (513) *n w n=akst-úf-n sk w-an=a'á?sts* 'I took a club away from him.' (1980: 34.24)  
 (514) *wak w-túf-n* 'I hid it from him.' (1980: 34.25)  
 (515) *snk w'ááiq'púúfn* 'I took it out of his mouth.' (1982: 58)

Unlike *-f*, *-túf* does not always take a possessor applied object. The applied object is dative (507-512) or source (513-515).

### 2.18.4. -min (\*-mi)

The following examples are from Kinkade (1982: 54):

- (516) *kya?mncúmtm* 'We all jumped on him.'  
 (517) *k hincútmn* 'I'm jealous of him.'

*-min* attaches to a motion verb (516) or a psychological event (517). The applied object in the following examples is theme (518), location or goal (519), source (520), or dative (521, 522):

- (518) *áátxíxm* 'I asked other people for it.'  
 (519) *k ká?qncútmnc* 'He's leaning against me.'  
 (520) *k w-anxíxm* 'I took it away from them / pickpocket.'  
 (521) *k w-áhxáxm* 'I loaned someone else's property to him.'  
 (522) *kasláhlahscútmn* 'I'm going to play a trick on him.'

### 3. Analysis of two basic types of applicatives

According to the classification based on the type of verb and thematic role of applied object, we can group applicatives into two types. One type of applicative marks the verb for dative, benefactive, malefactive, and possessive. The other type attaches to motion verbs, psychological events, speech act verbs, and also marks the verb for transfer source and location. All the applicatives fall into two major categories: redirecive and relational, which are illustrated below.

In the redirecive construction, the applied object, that is, the direct object in the applicative construction, is redirecived to a non-theme nominal. The redirecives typically involve benefactive, malefactive, dative (transfer goal), and possessive applied objects. I adopt the cover term 'redirecive' for this type of applicative, following Kinkade (1980: 33).

There are eight distinct forms of redirecives in Salishan languages: *\*-xi*, *\*-VmV*, *-as*, *-fc*, *-f*, *-túf*, *-tux* *-t-tx* *-t*, and *-amk*. In Northern Interior Salish and Central Salish, except Halkomelem, there is only one redirecive. The most widespread redirecive is *\*-xi*. In Sliammon-Comox and Sechelt, there is no reflex of *\*-xi*. Instead, *\*-VmV* is used to mark a verb for benefactive and malefactive direct object.

The second type of applicative is the relational construction. In the relational construction, the action of the verb is done in relation to an entity, which serves as the applied object. The valency increases as a result. The applied object is typically a goal or direction of motion, goal of psychological event, source, indirect cause of a psychological event (stimulus or causal), indirect object of a speech act, or location. The term relational is from Thompson and Thompson (1992: 73).

There are five distinct relational forms in Salishan languages: *\*-mi*, *\*-ni*, *\*-nas*, *-amk*, *-m*. The most widespread relational is *\*-mi*. In Northern and Southern Interior Salish, there is only one relational: *\*-mi*. It attaches to motion verbs, psychological events, and speech act verbs.

We see then that there are two main types of applicatives in Salishan languages – redirecives and relationals. When Salishan languages have only two applicatives, they will have one of each type. For example, the Northern Interior Salish languages (Lillooet, Thompson, Shuswap) have one redirecive and one relational. My claim is that these two types form the basis of the applicative systems in other Salishan languages as well.<sup>23</sup>

### 4. The split of the redirecive

As seen in the previous section, Northern Interior Salish languages have the basic type of redirecive: *\*-xi*. Three Central Salish languages (Sliammon-Comox, Sechelt, Halkomelem) do not have a reflexes of the redirecive *\*-xi*. Instead, *\*-VmV* is used in Sliammon-Comox and Sechelt. I would like to examine the languages which have more than one redirecive forms in this section. Halkomelem has two forms, *-as* for dative (523) and *-fc* for benefactive (524):

HI (Gerds 1988)

- (523) *ni áim-as-t-as k w-tha sq w-anáy? áa k w-tha s-thám?* 'He gave the dog the bone.' (90.1)  
 (524) *ni á w-tha-á-t-as áa sténi? áa k w-tha saplil* 'He baked the bread for the woman.' (90.2)

Gerds and Hinkson (1996) claim that these applicative markers are actually lexical suffixes in Halkomelem: *-as* 'face' and *-fc* 'belly'.

Southern Interior Salish does have reflexes of *\*-xi*. But there are other redirecives as well. The redirecive *-f* appears in all Southern Interior Salish languages, and the redirecive *-túf* appears in Okanagan, Columbian, and Coeur d'Alene, but not in Spokane/Kalispel. Examples of the suffixes follow:

Ok (A. Mattina 1994, N. Mattina 1993)

- (525) *k w q w-áliw-xt i? t síya?* 'Pick berries for me.' (N. Mattina 1993:271.12)  
 (526) *k w q w-áq w-ths isq w-sí? i? k'al scánq'a áisc.* 'He talked to my son about his business.' (A. Mattina 1994: 208.11)  
 (527) *k w q w-áq w-áttúfs i? scánq'a áisc.* 'He talked to me about his business.' (A. Mattina 1994: 208.11)

<sup>23</sup> Bella Coola seems to contradict this claim; although it has two applicatives, one of them, *-amk*, seems to have the property of both redirecive and relational. *-amk* does not correlate in form or function with any applicative in other Salishan languages.

Cr (Doak 1997)	
(528) <i>č'εf'šim</i>	'I prayed for him.' (153.221)
(529) <i>k'it'm x'ε s'imč'εʔ</i>	'His daughter was taken from him.' (145.198)
(530) <i>cx'uɣt'it'm</i>	'They brought s.t. to him for him.' (157.233a)
Cm (Kinkade 1980)	
(531) <i>t'aw-x-t-s</i>	'He bought it for him.' (33.1)
(532) <i>t'ag-t-n</i>	'I bought it from him.' (33.1)
(533) <i>k'ʔʔan-t'it-n</i>	'I loaned it to him.' (34.26)
Sp (Carlson 1980)	
(534) <i>ʔit'it'an tuʔ Albert tuʔ t sq'el'ic</i>	'I ate some meat for Albert.' (24.42)
(535) <i>x'ic'štan tuʔ Agnes tuʔ t yámx'eʔ</i>	'I gave a basket to Agnes.' (25.40)
(536) <i>ʔit'it'an tuʔ Albert sq'el'ic</i>	'I ate Albert's meat.' (24.43)
Ka (Vogt 1940: 34)	
(537) <i>yeskúpš'am</i>	'I am pushing something (indefinite) for him (definite).'
(538) <i>yeskúpš'am</i>	'I am pushing it (definite) for him (definite), or I am pushing his...'

\*-xi is used to mark a verb for benefactive in general (525, 528, 534, 537), though Kinkade (1998) defines the direct object for \*-xi as dative in Columbian (531). -f signals that the thematic role of applied object is possessor (526, 529, 532, 536, 538), and -t'it' dative (527, 530, 533). Spokane/Kalispel uses \*-xi to mark dative instead of -t'it' (535).

Upper Chehalis has three redirective forms: \*-xi, \*-VmV, and -tux'u/-tx't. The semantic difference among them are not clear from the English gloss, but \*-xi marks for dative (539), \*-VmV marks for dative or benefactive (540) and -tux'u/-tx't marks for possessor (541) (Kinkade 1998).

Ch (Kinkade 1991)	
(539) <i>vč'ač-š-n, s vč'ač-š-i-t-n</i>	'give, give away to' (34)
(540) <i>vč'and-tmi-x'ʔ, s vč'and-tmi-y-n</i>	'ask something for someone' (15)
(541) <i>vč'and-tux'ʔ, s vč'and-tx'ʔ-n</i>	'ask someone for something' (15)

In Northern Interior and Central Salish, there is only one redirective, except that Halkomelem has two redirectives. In Southern Interior Salish, three redirectives are found: \*-xi, -f, and -t'it', except in Spokane/Kalispel where -t'it' is missing. Kinkade (p.c.) remarks that this may be an accidental gap. -f marks the applied object for possessor in general, and -t'it' marks for dative. Upper Chehalis has three redirectives: \*-xi, \*-VmV, and -tux'u/-tx't. It is interesting to see that Upper Chehalis has \*-VmV, which is also found in Sliammon-Comox and Sechelt.

It seems that the concept of redirective has split roughly as shown in table 2.

I conclude from these facts that \*-xi is the Proto-Salish redirective and its use probably paralleled its use in Northern Interior Salish. It marks the verb for benefactive, dative, and possessor. It was supplemented or replaced by innovated redirectives in various sub-groups.

	Benefactive	Dative	Possessor
NIS	*-xi	*-xi	*-xi
Sp/Ka	*-xi	*-xi	-f
Other SIS	*-xi	-t'it'	-f
Ch	*-VmV	*-xi, *-VmV	-tux'u/-tx't
HI	-f	-as	Ø

Table 2. Split of the Redirective.

## 5. The split of the relational

All eighteen languages in the study except Bella Coola have the reflex of \*-mi. Northern and Southern Interior Salish have only one relational. However, the other languages (Central Salish, Tillamook, Upper Chehalis) have, in addition, reflexes of either or both of two other relationals: \*-ni and \*-nas. In Central Salish, either \*-ni or \*-nas is present beside \*-mi except in Lushootseed where there are three relationals: \*-mi, \*-ni, and \*-nas. The feature of \*-ni in Sliammon-Comox, Sechelt, Squamish, and Lushootseed is that it attaches to a transfer verb, and that marks a transfer source as direct object (542, 543, 544, 547). \*-ni also associates with psychological events (545) and speech act verbs (546), although the verb stems to which \*-ni attaches to are few in each language except in Squamish.

SI (Watanabe 1996:334.38)	
(542) <i>č'aw'u-ni-θ-as ʔa t'ə t'ə tala</i>	'He stole money from me.'
Se (Beaumont 1985: 102)	
(543) <i>č'el'it'h-nit</i>	'steal something from someone'
Sq (Kuipers 1967:79)	
(544) <i>k'ʔit'an-nit</i>	'borrow from'
(545) <i>t'áyaq'-nit</i>	'get angry at'
(546) <i>tx'ʔit'áa-nit</i>	'talk about'
Ld (Bates, Hess and Hilbert 1994: 172)	
(547) <i>qáda-dl-d</i>	'steal from someone'

\*-nas usually attaches to a motion verbs (548, 549, 550, 551), and it associates with psychological events (552) and speech act verbs (553) in Lushootseed.

CI (Montler 1996: 262.38)	
(548) <i>k'ʔanəp'it'n-as cn</i>	'I ran after it.'
Sa (Montler 1986: 168.33)	
(549) <i>k'ʔanəp'it'n-as-á-gas sx'</i>	'You ran after me.'
HI (Gerdtis 1988: 90.4)	
(550) <i>ʔa ya-č'el'waʔ-n-as-as t'ə st'eniʔ</i>	'He's coming toward the woman.'

- Ld (Bates, Hess and Hilbert 1994)  
 (551) *lataldwis tə spəʔ* 'He's running after the bear.' (221)  
 (552) *ʔasx"ak"isax" ɛəd* 'I'm tired of it (because it is dull or fatiguing).' (250)  
 (553) *tadax"cuucis tsiʔaʔ bədaʔ* 'Therefore, he told his daughter.' (48)

In Tillamook, \*-nas behaves slightly differently. It attaches to psychological events (554) and speech act verbs (555):

- Ti (Egesdal and Thompson 1998)  
 (554) *de cʷlɔʃ-ɛʃ(-s)-wəʃʃ* 'Are you angry at me?' (257.76)  
 (555) *g"ə ʋg"alɔʃ-ɛʃ-wiʃ-ɔʃ* 'We will speak with you folks.' (257.81)

No examples of \*-nas are attested with motion verbs.

In Upper Chehalis, \*-mi usually attaches to motion verbs (556). \*-ni occurs with psychological events (557) and speech act verbs (558). It also occurs with transfer verbs; however, the direct object is theme and not source of transfer. Kinkade (1991) gives only two stems with \*-nas. One of them is a psychological event, and the direct object is the psychological source (559).

- Ch (Kinkade 1991)  
 (556) *ʃlú-mn, s ʃlú-mis-n* 'come to, come for' (149)  
 (557) *ʃx"ty-n-n, s ʃx"ty-ni-t-n* 'threaten someone' (168)  
 (558) *ʃyáʃ-n-n', s ʃyáʃ-ni-t-n* 'tell something (the story) to someone' (170)  
 (559) *ʃq"án-ts, s ʃq"án-tas-n* 'afraid of' (113)

\*-mi is found in all eighteen languages, and \*-ni and/or \*-nas share the concept of relational with \*-mi in Central Salish, Tillamook, and Upper Chehalis. The rough split of the concept relational is shown in table 3:

	Motion	Psychological	Speech act	Transfer (Source)
NIS	*-mi	*-mi	*-mi	∅
SIS	*-mi	*-mi	*-mi	∅
Other CS	*-mi, *-nas	*-mi, *-ni	*-mi, *-ni	*-ni
Ld	*-nas	*-mi, *-nas	*-nas	*-ni
Ti	*-mi	*-mi, *-nas	*-nas	∅
Ch	*-mi	*-ni, *-nas	*-ni	∅

Table 3. Split of the Relational

Note that \*-mi is the most spread relational form, and that \*-mi typically attaches to motion verbs, psychological events, and speech act verbs in Northern, Southern, and Central Salish.

## 6. Conclusion

According to the analysis of two basic categories of applicatives in the previous section, twelve applicatives in Salishan languages can be divided into redirective and relational as shown in table 4.

S. subgroup	Language	Redirective #: Relational #	Redirective	Relational
NIS	Li	1:1	*-xi	*-mi
	Th	1:1	*-xi	*-mi
	Sh	1:1	*-xi	*-mi
SIS	Ok	3:1	*-xi, -f, -túf	*-mi
	Sp	2:1	*-xi, -f	*-mi
	Ka	2:1	*-xi, -f	*-mi
	Cr	3:1	*-xi, -f, -túf	*-mi
	Cm	3:1	*-xi, -f, -túf	*-mi
TS	Ch	3:3	*-xi, *-VmV, -tux"t/-tx"t	*-mi, *-ni, *-nas
CS	Sl-Cx	1:2	*-VmV	*-mi, *-ni
	Se	1:2	*-VmV	*-mi, *-ni
	Sq	1:2	*-xi	*-mi, *-ni
	Cl	1:2	*-xi	*-mi, *-nas
	Sa	1:2	*-xi	*-mi, *-nas
	Hi	2:2	-as, -fc	*-mi, *-nas
	Ld	1:3	*-xi	*-mi, *-ni, *-nas
Ti	Ti	1:2	*-xi	*-mi, *-nas

Table 4. Distribution of Applicatives

Northern Interior Salish has the general pattern of one redirective applicative and one relational applicative. In Southern Interior Salish, the redirective is split into three, while retaining one relational. In Central Salish, the relational is split into two (except in Lushootseed) while one redirective is retained (except in Halkomelem). Tillamook has the same pattern as Central Salish, although -as behaves slightly different from other reflexes of \*-nas in Central Salish. Upper Chehalis is a combination of Southern Interior and Central Salish with respect to the pattern of applicative split. It has three redirective applicatives as in Southern Interior Salish and three relational applicatives as in Lushootseed.

In conclusion, I claim that Proto-Salish had two types of applicatives: the redirective \*-xi and the relational \*-mi. These were supplemented or replaced by innovated applicatives in various sub-groups. As we have seen the case of Upper Chehalis, the distribution of applicatives in Salishan languages is a geographical as well as a genetic development.

## APPENDIX: SOURCES BY LANGUAGE

- Bella Coola:** Davis, Philip W., and Ross Saunders (1997)  
**Challam:** Montler, Timothy R. (1996), Thompson, Laurence C., and M. Terry Thompson (1971)  
**Coeur d'Alene:** Doak, Ivy Grace (1997), Reichard, Gladys A. (1938)  
**Columbian:** Kinkade, M. Dale (1980, 1982)  
**Comparative:** Kinkade, M. Dale (1998), Samkoe, Lori M. (1994), Shapard, Jeffrey (1980)  
**Halkomelem:** Gerdt, Donna B. (1988, to appear), Gerdt, Donna B., and Mercedes Hinkson (1996), Gerdt, Donna B., and Thomas E. Hukari (1998)  
**Kallispel:** Vogt, Hans (1940)  
**Lillooet:** van Eijk, Jan P. (1997)  
**Lushootseed:** Bates, Dawn, Thom Hess, and Vi Hilbert (1994), Hess, Thomas M. (1967), Hess, Thomas M. (1995), Hess, Thomas M., and Dawn Bates (1998)

- Okanagan:** Hébert, Yvonne M. (1982). Mattina, Anthony (1978, 1982, 1987, 1994), Mattina, Nancy (1993)  
**Saanich (Northern Straits):** Efrat, Barbara (1969), Montler, Timothy R. (1986)  
**Sechelt:** Beaumont, Ronald C. (1977, 1985)  
**Shuswap:** Gardiner, Dwight (1993), Kuipers, Aert H. (1974, 1992)  
**Sliammon-Comox:** Hagege, Claude (1981), Harris, Herbert R., II. (1977), Watanabe, Honoré (1996)  
**Spokane:** Carlson, Barry F. (1972, 1980), Carlson, Barry F., and Pauline Flett (1989)  
**Squamish:** Kuipers, Aert H. (1967)  
**Thompson:** Thompson, Laurence C., and M. Terry Thompson (1980, 1992, 1996)  
**Tillamook:** Egesdal, Steven M., and M. Terry Thompson (1998)  
**Upper Chehalis:** Kinkade, M. Dale (1991)

## REFERENCES

- Bates, Dawn, Thom Hess, and Vi Hilbert. 1994. *Lushootseed dictionary*. Seattle: University of Washington Press.
- Beaumont, Ronald C. 1977. Causation and control in Sechelt. Paper presented at the 12<sup>th</sup> ICSL, Omak, Washington.
- Beaumont, Ronald C. 1985. *she shashishalhem, the Sechelt language: Language, stories and sayings of the Sechelt Indian people of British Columbia*. Penticton, B.C.: Theytus Books.
- Carlson, Barry F. 1972. *A grammar of Spokane: A Salish language of eastern Washington*. Ph.D. dissertation, University of Hawaii, Hawaii.
- Carlson, Barry F. 1980. Two-goal transitive stems in Spokane Salish. *IJAL* 46: 21-26.
- Carlson, Barry F., and Pauline Flett. 1989. *Spokane dictionary*. UMOPL 6.
- Davis, Philip W., and Ross Saunders. 1997. *A grammar of Bella Coola*. UMOPL 13.
- Doak, Ivy Grace. 1997. *Coeur d'Alene grammatical relations*. Ph.D. dissertation, University of Texas at Austin, Austin, Texas.
- Efrat, Barbara. 1969. *A grammar of non-particles in Sooke, a dialect of Straits Coast Salish*. Ph.D. dissertation, University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia.
- Egesdal, Steven M., and M. Terry Thompson. 1998. A fresh look at Tillamook (Hutéyu) inflectional morphology. In Ewa Czaykowska-Higgins and M. Dale Kinkade (ed.), *Salish Languages and Linguistics: Theoretical and descriptive perspectives. Trends in linguistics: Studies and monographs* 107: 235-273. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.
- Gardiner, Dwight. 1993. *Structural asymmetries and pre-verbal positions in Shuswap*. Ph.D. dissertation, Simon Fraser University, Burnaby, B.C.
- Gerds, Donna B. 1988. *Object and absolutive in Halkomelem Salish*. New York: Garland Publishing.
- Gerds, Donna B., and Mercedes Hinkson. 1996. Salish lexical suffixes: A case of decategorialization. In A. Goldberg (ed.), *Proceedings of the Conference on Conceptual Structure, Discourse, and Language*, 163-176. Stanford, California: CSLI.
- Gerds, Donna B., and Thomas E. Hukari. 1998. Inside and Outside the Middle. *ICSNL* 33: 166-220, Seattle, Washington.
- Gerds, Donna B. to appear. Combinatory restrictions on Halkomelem reflexives and reciprocals. In Zygmunt Frajzyngier (ed.), *Reciprocals: Forms and functions*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.
- Hagege, Claude. 1981. *Le comox lhaamen de Colombie britannique: présentation d'une langue amérindienne*. Amerindia, revue d'ethnolinguistique amérindienne, numéro spécial 2, Paris.
- Harris, Herbert R., II. 1977. *A grammatical sketch of Comox*. Ph. D. dissertation, University of Kansas, Lawrence.
- Hébert, Yvonne M. 1982. *Transitivity in (Nicola Lake) Okanagan*. Ph.D. dissertation, University of British Columbia, Vancouver, B.C.
- Hess, Thomas M. 1967. *Snohomish grammatical structure*. Ph.D. dissertation, University of Washington, Seattle.
- Hess, Thomas M. 1995. *Lushootseed reader with introductory grammar. Volume 1: Four stories from Edward Sam*. UMOPL 11.
- Hess, Thomas M., and Dawn Bates. 1998. Semantic role assignment in Lushootseed causatives. *ICSNL* 33: 221-234, Seattle, Washington.
- Kinkade, M. Dale. 1980. Columbian Salish -xi, -f, tuft. *IJAL* 46: 33-36.
- Kinkade, M. Dale. 1982. Transitive inflection in Moses-Columbian Salish. *KWPL* 7: 49-62.
- Kinkade, M. Dale. 1991. *Upper Chehalis dictionary*. UMOPL 7.
- Kinkade, M. Dale. 1998. Comparative Salish Seminar. Course notes, UBC.
- Kuipers, Aert H. 1967. *The Squamish language: Grammar, texts, dictionary*. (Janua Linguarum, Series Practica 73.) The Hague: Mouton.
- Kuipers, Aert H. 1974. *The Shuswap language: Grammar, texts, dictionary*. (Janua Linguarum, Series Practica 225.) The Hague: Mouton.
- Kuipers, Aert H. 1992. The Shuswap complex transitivizers. *ICSNL* 27:49-53, Kamloops, B.C.
- Mattina, Anthony. 1978. The Colville transitive system. *ICSL* 13: 91-102, Victoria, B.C.
- Mattina, Anthony. 1982. The Colville-Okanagan transitive system. *IJAL* 48: 421-435.
- Mattina, Anthony. 1987. *Colville-Okanagan dictionary*. UMOPL 5.
- Mattina, Anthony. 1994. -tuft, and more on Okanagan transitive forms: A working paper. *ICSNL* 29: 204-231, Pablo, Montana.
- Mattina, Nancy. 1993. Some lexical properties of Colville-Okanagan ditransitives. *ICSNL* 28: 265-284, Seattle, Washington.
- Montler, Timothy R. 1986. *An outline of the morphology and phonology of Saanich, North Straits Salish*. UMOPL 4.
- Montler, Timothy R. 1996. Some Klamath paradigms. *ICSNL* 31: 257-263, Vancouver, B.C.
- Reichard, Gladys A. 1938. Coeur d'Alene. In Franz Boas (ed.), *Handbook of American Indian Languages*, Vol. 3. Glückstadt, Germany: J.J. Augustin Inc., and New York: Columbia University Press, 517-707.
- Samkoe, Lori M. 1994. Mapping multiple applicatives. M.A. thesis, Simon Fraser University, Burnaby, B.C.
- Shapard, Jeffrey. 1980. Interior Salishan (di)transitive systems. *ICSNL* 15: 229-284, Vancouver, B.C.
- Thompson, Laurence C., and M. Terry Thompson. 1971. Clallam: A preview. In Jesse Sawyer (ed.), *Studies in American Indian languages*. UCPL 65: 251-294. Berkeley.
- Thompson, Laurence C., and M. Terry Thompson. 1980. Thompson Salish // -xi//. *IJAL* 46: 27-32.
- Thompson, Laurence C., and M. Terry Thompson. 1992. *The Thompson language*. UMPOL 8.
- Thompson, Laurence C. and M. Terry Thompson. 1996. *Thompson river Salish dictionary*. UMOPL 12.
- van Eijk, Jan P. 1997. *The Lillooet language: Phonology, morphology, syntax*. Vancouver: UBC Press.
- Vogt, Hans. 1940. *The Kalispel language: An outline of the grammar with texts, translations, and dictionary*. Oslo: Det Norske Videnskaps-Akademi i Oslo.
- Watanabe, Honoré. 1996. Sliammon (Mainland Comox) transitive constructions with -?am, -ni, and -mi. *ICSNL* 31: 327-338, Vancouver, B.C.