Halkomelem directional applicatives

Donna B Gerdts
Simon Fraser University

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

1   Halkomelem applicatives[1]

Halkomelem is a Central Salish language spoken by around one hundred elders in southwest British Columbia. The data in this paper are from original fieldwork on Island Dialect (həl̓q̓əmín̓əm̓). Like other Salish languages, Halkomelem is polysynthetic—many affixes referencing nominals appear in the verb complex, including agreement markers, transitive suffixes, applicative suffixes, and lexical suffixes. This paper addresses one of the applicative suffixes –nəs, which is used to allow the expression of an endpoint as an applied object.
As posited by Kiyosawa (1999, 2000, 2002) Salish languages have two types of applicatives—REDIRECTIVE and RELATIONAL. In a redirective applicative the direct object role is redirected to a non-theme nominal—the applied object. The verb stem is transitive. The semantic role of the applied object is usually a goal, benefactive/malefactive, or possessor. Halkomelem has two redirective applicative suffixes:[2]

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

(1)   -*as* dative[3]

ʔeʔəm	'give'	ʔa·məst	'give it to him/her'
xʷayəm	'sell'	xʷayeməst	'sell it to him/her'
ʔiw̓-	'instruct'	ʔiwəst	'show it to him.her'
yəθ-	'tell'	yəθəst	'tell him/her about it'

(2)   -*əłc* benefactive

q̓ʷələt	'bake it'	q̓ʷələłcət	'bake it for him/her'
θəyt	'fix it'	θəyəłcət	'fix it for him/her'
kʷənət	'take it'	kʷənəłcət	'take it for him/her'
p̓et̓θət	'sew it'	p̓et̓θəłct	'sew it for him/her'

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

(3)   a.   niʔ   ləkʷ-at-əs   kʷθə   sćešt.
              AUX   break-TR-3ERG   DET   stick
              'She broke the stick.'

        b.   niʔ   ləkʷ-əłc-t-əs   t̓θə   swiw̓ləs   ʔə   kʷθə   sćešt.
              AUX   break-BEN-TR-3ERG   DET   boy   OBL   DET   stick
              'She broke the stick for the boy.'

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

(4)   -*me ʔ* general relational applicative

siʔsiʔ	'afraid'	siʔsiʔ**meʔ**t	'afraid of him/her'
łəẅ	'run away'	łəẅ**mət**	'run away from him/her'
qʷal	'say, speak'	qʷəl**mət**	'lecture to, bawl out him/her'
θeʔc	'get dark'	θeʔc**meʔ**t	'get dark on him/her'
kʷukʷ	'cook'	kʷukʷ**meʔ**t	'cook for him/her'

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

(5)   -*nəs* directional

nem̓	'go'	nəm̓**nəs**	'go toward him/her/it'
ʔewə	'come'	ʔewə**nəs**	'come toward him/her/it'
x̌ʷčenəm	'run'	x̌ʷčenəm**nəs**	'run toward him/her'
xʷəniʔ	'get there'	xʷəni**n̓s**	'get there to him/her'

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

(6)   a.   niʔ   nem̓   kʷθə   swiẅləs.
             AUX   go   DET   boy
             'The boy went.'

       b.   niʔ   nəʔem̓-**nəs**-əs   kʷθə   John.
             AUX   go-DIR:TR-3ERG   DET   John
             'He went up to John.'

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

(7)   ni   cən   siʔsiʔ   ʔə   kʷθə   skʷəl̓eš.
       AUX   1SUB   frighten   OBL   DET   gun
       'I was frightened of the gun.'

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

(8)   ni   cən   siʔsiʔ-**me**ʔ-t   kʷθə   sqʷəmeẏ.
       AUX   1SUB   frighten-REL-TR   DET   dog
       'I was frightened of the dog.'

Gerdts (1988) discusses the syntactic properties of applicative constructions in great detail. Suffice it to say that the applied object is clearly the

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direct object because it appears as a direct case NP (6b, 8) or as an objective
pronominal suffix (9), and furthermore can passivize (10).

(9)   ṁi   ʔewə-nəs-saṁš!
        AUX   come.here-DIR-2OBJ
        'Come here to me!'

(10)   ƛ̓eʔ   c̓ə   wəɬ   nəʔəm-nəs-əm   ʔə-ƛ̓   qʷəni
        again   hearsay   already   go-DIR-PAS   OBL-DET   seagull

        tᶿə   x̌θəm.
        DET   box

        'And the seagull went to the box again.'
        literally: 'And the box was gone up to again by the seagull.'

    In this paper, I address two issues concerning directional applicatives.
First, given that there are two different ways of expressing an oblique (as a
prepositional phrase in an intransitive clause or as the direct object in an
applicative), what semantic difference, if any, exists between these two
paraphrases? This topic is taken up in sections 2 and 3.
    The second issue I address concerns the verbs to which the suffixes
attach. The general applicative *–meʔ* attaches to a wide variety of psychological
and cognitive verbs. To date, we have found twenty-seven verbs taking this
suffix (Gerdts and Kiyosawa 2003, to appear) and no verbs clearly of this class
that do not. In the case of the directional applicative, only a half dozen verbs
commonly appear with the suffix *–nəs* in data from texts. However, many more
(twenty-nine out of approximately sixty motion verbs tested to date) have been
found to take *–nəs* in elicited data. The question thus arises: why do only half of
the motion verbs form directional applicatives?

2   Applicative versus oblique

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

(11)   neṁ   cən   ə   kʷθə   ƛ̓ali̓qʷəi̓s.
        go   1SUB   OBL   DET   dabbing
        'I'm going to bingo.'

(12)   ʔi   yə-ʔewə   tᶿə   John   ʔə   tᶿə   nə-leləṁ.
        AUX   SER-come.here   DET   John   OBL   DET   1POS-house
        'John is coming to my house.'

However, except for a small handful of motion verbs meaning 'come' and 'go', directional PPs must be preceded by a serialized motion verb, usually *nem̓* 'go'.[5]

(13) nem̓   cən   ʔəšəl   nem̓   ʔə-x̣̌   snəneyməxʷ.
     go   1SUB   paddle   go   OBL-DET   Nanaimo
     'I paddled to Nanaimo.'

(14) nem̓   ćtem   nem̓   ʔə   tᶿən̓   men,   qeq.
     go   crawl   go   OBL   DET:2POS   father   baby
     'Come crawl to your dad, baby.'

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

(15) *nem̓   ćtem   ʔə   tᶿən̓   men,   qeq!
     go   crawl   OBL   DET:2POS   father   baby
     'Come crawl to your dad, baby!'

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

(16) nem̓   ćtem-nəs   tᶿən̓   men,   qeq!
     go   crawl-DIR   DET:2POS   father   baby
     'Go crawl to your father, baby!'

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

(17) *nem̓   cən   ʔəšəl   ʔə   łə   słeniʔ   niʔ   niʔ   x̣̌paləs.
     go   1SUB   paddle   OBL   DET   woman   AUX   be.at   Cowichan.Bay
     'I'm going to paddle toward the lady who is at Cowichan Bay.'

(18) nem̓   cən   ʔəšəl   nem̓   ʔə   łə   słeniʔ   niʔ   niʔ
     go   1SUB   paddle   go   OBL   DET   woman   AUX   be.at
     x̣̌paləs.
     Cowichan.Bay
     'I'm going to paddle toward the lady who is at Cowichan Bay.'

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

(19) nem̓ cən ʔəšəl-nəs łə słeniʔ niʔ niʔ x̌əlpaləs.
      go   1SUB paddle-DIR DET woman AUX be.at Cowichan.Bay
      'I'm going to paddle toward the lady who is at Cowichan Bay.'

Thus the applicative morphology clearly adds directional semantics.

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

(20) a. some verbs forming directional applicatives:

         k̓ʷiʔ 'climb', čiməl 'get near', taːl 'go to the middle of the floor
         (in the longhouse)', łeːl 'go ashore', x̌pil 'go down', wəq̓ʷiləm
         'go downstream', tak̓ʷ 'go home', ʔəšəl 'paddle', ticəm
         'swim', štem 'swim underwater', six̌ʷəm 'wade out'

      b. some verbs that do not form directional applicatives:

         təs 'approach', x̌ʷiwəl 'come forward', nəqəm 'dive down',
         p̓ək̓ʷ 'float to the surface', łak̓ʷ 'fly', ċaːłəc 'go over', cłaqʷ
         'go through', łx̌iłəš 'stand', ʔiməš 'walk'

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

3 The directional applicative as a "purposive"

In addition to the directional meaning, the applicative often adds a sense of purpose.[6] All of the following examples were judged incomplete without the inclusion of the explanation of why the action was directed toward the object; the explanation usually takes the form of a modifying or a complement clause.

(21) ʔi   ʔə   č   wəł   tecəl-nəs kʷθə sqʷəmey̓
      AUX INT 2SUB already arrive-DIR DET   dog

      ʔiːn̓   s-tiːm̓?
      AUX:2POS   NOM-ask

      'Are you here for the dog that you are asking for?'

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[6] When I gave a version of this paper (Gerdts 2004), Tim Montler pointed out to me that Saanich is very similar to Halkomelem in this respect. Montler (1986:167) calls the Saanich suffix −nəs 'purposive'. He says: it "adds the implication that the subject has a specific purpose in its action. It often, but not always, carries an implication of malevolent intent." The Halkomelem suffix does not seem to imply malevolence, however.

(22) nem̓   cən   wəɬ   cam-nəs   kʷθə   sməyəθ
     go   1SUB   already go.uphill-DIR DET   deer

        niʔ   q̓ay-nəxʷ-eːn̓.
        AUX   die-LCTR:3OBJ-1SSUB

     'I'm going up the mountain for the deer that I killed.'

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

(23) *nem̓   cən   wəɬ   cam   ʔə   kʷθə   sməyəθ
      go   1SUB   already go.uphill OBL   DET   deer

        niʔ   q̓ay-nəxʷ-eːn̓.
        AUX   die-LCTR:3OBJ-1SSUB

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

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

(24) nem̓   cən   wəɬ   cam   ƛ̓aʔəs-t   kʷθə   sməyəθ
     go   1SUB   already go.uphill pick.up-TR DET   deer

        niʔ   q̓ay-nəxʷ-eːn̓.
        AUX   die-LCTR:3OBJ-1SSUB

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

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

(25) nem̓   cən   šaqʷəl-nəs   θə-nə   sil̓ə.
     go   1SUB   cross-DIR   DET-1POS grandparent

        naʔəθ   šɬq̓aʔθ   ʔə   t̓θə   šeɬ.
        AUX:DET   other.side OBL   DET   road

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

(26) nem̓   ceːp   ceʔ   nəw̓iləm-nəs   kʷθən̓   sxʷəmnikʷ
     go   2PL:SUB FUT   enter-DIR   DET:2POS aunt/uncle

        ʔiʔ   q̓aq̓iʔ.
        AUX   sick

     'You will all go in and see your uncle who is sick.'
     literally: 'You people will go in toward your uncle who is sick.'

(27)   nem̓   cən   xʷəʔaləm̓-nəs   kʷθə-nə   x̌θəm   niʔ
         go   1SUB   return-DIR   DET-1POS   drum   AUX

           nə-s-melq̓.
           1POS-NOM-forget

         'I went back for the drum I forgot.'

(28)   m̓i   č   ceʔ   ɬaxʷ-nəs-samš   ċew-əθam̓š
         come   2OBJ   FUT   go.downhill-DIR-1OBJ   help-TR:1OBJ

           ʔə   kʷθə   sce:ɬtən   m̓i   cəm-stəxʷ-ən̓.
           OBL   DET   salmon   come   go.downhill.CS:3OBJ-1SSUB

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

(29)   nem̓   ʔə   č   ceʔ   ɬicəm-nəs   tθə   qʷɬey̓   q̓ep̓-ət.
         go   Q   2SUB   FUT   swim-DIR   DET   log   tie-TR
         'Are you going to swim to the log and tie it?'

(30)   nem̓   ʔə   č   ceʔ   cx̌əm-nəs   tθə   sɬewən   ʔəw̓
         go   Q   2SUB   FUT   jump-DIR   DET   blanket   LNK

           niʔ-əs   ceʔ   wen-š-əm?
           AUX-3SSUB   FUT   throw-TR-PAS

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

(31)   niʔ   wəl   nem̓   həyeʔ-nəs-əs   kʷθə   šəyəɬ-s
         AUX   already   go   depart-DIR-3ERG   DET   o.sibling-3POS

           x̌əʔas-t-əs   niʔ   ʔə-x̌   mətuliyeʔ.
           pick.up-TR-3ERG   AUX   OBL-DET   Victoria

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

(32)   nem̓   č   ceʔ   q̓ʷim-nəs   ɬən̓   sila   ʔəw̓
         go   2SUB   FUT   disembark-DIR   DET:2POS   grandparent   LNK

           ni-ʔəxʷ   təs   ʔə-x̌   yəx̌ʷəlaʔəs   m̓iʔ   ʔa:ɬ-stəxʷ.
           AUX-2SSUB   arrive   OBL-DET   Kuper I.   come   board-CS:3OBJ

         'You will go and get your grandmother when you get to Kuper and
            bring her aboard (on the ferry).'
         literally: 'You will disembark to your grandmother ....'

(33) ʔənəxʷ-nəs-saṁš č   ʔəẃ ləm-naṁš-əxʷ
     stop-DIR-2OBJ   2SUB   LNK   see-LCTR:1OBJ-2SSUB

     k̓ʷə-nə-s   ʔiʔ   ʔiṁəš.
     DET-1POS-NOM   AUX   walk

'Stop for me if you see me walking.'

In sum, we see that directional applicatives, especially with verbs with meanings other than 'come' and 'go', require purposive semantics: the agent must be directing the action toward the endpoint for a purpose.

4 Agent control and the unaccusative ban on directional applicatives

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

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

	verb	directional	'want to'	'manage to'
'go'	neṁ	nəṁnəs	neṁəlmən	neṁnamət
'come'	ʔewə	ʔewənəs	ʔewəʔəlmən	ʔewənamət
'run'	x̌ʷčenəm	x̌ʷčenəmnəs	x̌ʷčenəməlmən	x̌ʷčenəmnamət
'climb'	k̓ʷiʔ	k̓ʷiʔnəs	k̓ʷiʔəlmən	k̓ʷiʔnamət
'go home'	tak̓ʷ	tak̓ʷnəs	tak̓ʷəlmən	tak̓ʷnamət
'paddle'	ʔəšəl	ʔəšəlnəs	ʔəšələlmən	ʔəšəlnamət
'swim'	ṫicəm	ṫicəmnəs	ṫicəməlmən	ṫicəmnamət
'wade out'	six̌ʷəm	six̌ʷəmnəs	six̌ʷəməlmən	six̌ʷəmnamət

Table 1: Unergative verb paradigms

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

	verb	directional	'want to'	'manage to'
'disappear'	ƛ̓əẃ	*ƛ̓əẃnəs	*ƛ̓əẃəlmən	*ƛ̓əẃnamət
'drop'	kʷeʔ	*kʷeʔ nəs	*kʷeʔəlmən	*kʷeʔnamət
'fade away'	θəxʷ	*θəxʷnəs	*θəxʷəlmən	*θəxʷnamət
'fall'	hiləm	*hiləmnəs	*hiləməlmən	*hiləmnamət
'move'	təyq	*təyqnəs	*təyqəlmən	*təyqnamət
'tilt'	p̓əɬq̓ʷ	*p̓əɬq̓ʷnəs	*p̓əɬq̓ʷəlmən	*p̓əɬq̓ʷnamət
'stumble'	wəƛ̓əc̓	*wəƛ̓əc̓nəs	*wəƛ̓əc̓əlmən	*wəƛ̓əc̓namət

Table 2: Unaccusative verb paradigms

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

5   Conclusion

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

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

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