

**APPLICATIVES IN SALISHAN LANGUAGES:  
EVIDENCE FOR TWO BASIC TYPES\***

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**1. Introduction**

Salishan languages are well known for their polysynthetic properties. 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 thematic role of the direct object on the verb. Applicatives increase the verb's semantic valence and can increase the syntactic valence as well. When they attach to intransitive verbs, they form transitive constructions. The following examples are from Halkomelem:<sup>1</sup>

	Halkomelem		(Gerds: p.c.)
(1)	<i>ni?</i> <i>nem̓</i>	<i>kʷθə</i> <i>swiwləs.</i>	'The boy went.'
	AUX    go	DET    boy	
(2)	<i>ni?</i> <i>nəʔəm-nəs-əs</i>	<i>kʷθə</i> <i>swiwləs</i> <i>kʷθə</i> <i>John.</i>	'The boy went up to John.'
	AUX    go-DIR+TR-3.ERG	DET    boy            DET	

Sentence (1) is an intransitive sentence, having only one argument. The 'boy' is the subject, and has the thematic role of theme. Sentence (2) is a transitive sentence with an applicative morpheme *-nəs* suffixed on the verb, followed by a third person ergative suffix. 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.

Applicatives also form semantically ditransitive verbs from transitive verbs:

	Halkomelem		(Gerds: p.c.)
(3)	<i>ni?</i> <i>ləkʷ-át-əs</i>	<i>kʷθə</i> <i>sčəšt.</i>	'She broke the stick.'
	AUX    break-TR-3.ERG	DET    stick	
(4)	<i>ni?</i> <i>ləkʷ-štc-t-əs</i>	<i>tʰə</i> <i>swiwləs</i> <i>ʔə</i> <i>kʷθə</i> <i>sčəšt.</i>	'She broke the stick for the boy.'
	AUX    break-BEN-TR-3.ERG	DET    boy            OBL    DET    stick	

Sentence (3) is a transitive sentence, having two arguments. The third person subject is represented as an ergative suffix following a transitive marker that is also suffixed to the verb. The direct object 'stick' appears without any oblique marker, and bears the thematic role of theme. Sentence (4) is also a transitive sentence, having two arguments and an oblique object; however, the direct object 'boy' bears a thematic role other than theme—in this case, benefactive. The adjunct 'stick', which is the direct object of the verb 'break' without the applicative *-štc* attached, also bears the thematic role of theme in (4), but it is realized as an oblique phrase. Halkomelem *-štc* indicates that the direct object is a benefactive.

Information about applicatives is available for many Salishan languages. However, the classification of the applicative suffixes is not yet clear. This paper describes a comparative study of applicatives in eighteen Salishan languages. There are from two to six different applicatives in each of the languages in the study, as shown in Table 1.

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<sup>1</sup> Abbreviations in this paper are as follows:

AUX	auxiliary	BEN	benefactive	DET	determiner
ERG	ergative	OBL	oblique	p.c.	personal communication
TR	transitive				

Subgroup	Language	Number of applicatives	Applicative
Bella Coola	Bella Coola	2	- <i>amk</i> , - <i>m</i>
Central Salish	Sliammon-Comox	3	- <i>ʔəm</i> , - <i>mi</i> , - <i>ni</i>
	Sechelt	3	- <i>ém</i> , - <i>mí</i> , - <i>ni</i>
	Squamish	3	- <i>ši</i> , - <i>min?</i> , - <i>ni</i>
	Halkomelem	4	- <i>as</i> , - <i>ɪc</i> , - <i>me?</i> , - <i>nəs</i>
	Saanich	3	- <i>si</i> , - <i>ŋiy</i> , - <i>nəs</i>
	Clallam	3	- <i>sí</i> , - <i>ŋə</i> , - <i>nəs</i>
	Lushootseed	4	- <i>yi</i> , - <i>bi</i> , - <i>di</i> , - <i>c/s</i>
Tillamook	Tillamook	3	- <i>ši</i> , - <i>əwi</i> , - <i>əs</i>
Tsamosan	Upper Chehalis	6	- <i>ši</i> , - <i>tmi</i> , - <i>tux<sup>w</sup>t</i> , - <i>mis/-mn</i> , - <i>ni</i> , - <i>tas/-ts</i>
Northern Interior Salish	Lillooet	2	- <i>xi</i> , - <i>min/-min</i>
	Thompson	2	- <i>xi</i> , - <i>mi</i>
	Shuswap	2	- <i>x(i)</i> , - <i>m(i)</i>
Southern Interior Salish	Okanagan	4	- <i>xi</i> , - <i>ɬ</i> , - <i>túɬ</i> , - <i>min</i>
	Columbian	4	- <i>xi</i> , - <i>ɬ</i> , - <i>túɬ</i> , - <i>mi</i>
	Coeur d'Alene	4	- <i>ši</i> , - <i>ɬ</i> , - <i>túɬ</i> , - <i>mi</i>
	Spokane	3	- <i>ši</i> , - <i>ɬ</i> , - <i>mi</i>
	Kalispel	3	- <i>ši</i> , - <i>ɬ</i> , - <i>mi</i>

TABLE 1. Applicative number and forms by language.

A total of twelve different applicative forms were found for this paper:<sup>2</sup> \*-*xi* (-*ši*, -*si*, -*yi*), \*-*VmV* (-*ʔəm*, -*ém*, -*tmi*), -*as*, -*ɪc*, -*ɬ*, -*tult*, -*tx<sup>w</sup>t*, \*-*mi* (-*min*, -*min?*, -*mis*, -*me?*, -*bi/-i*, -*əwi*, -*ŋiy*, -*ŋə*), \*-*ni* (-*di*), \*-*nəs* (-*c/s*, -*əs*, -*tas/-ts*), -*amk*, -*m*. The proto-forms were reconstructed by Kinkade (1998), and the forms in parentheses are reflexes. None of the Salishan languages have all twelve applicatives. Rather, each language has at least two and at most six applicatives. The question arises, however, of the direction in which the applicatives have changed: have applicatives expanded from two to six, or have they merged from twelve to two?

In exploring this question, I first outline a classification of applicative suffixes based on the type of verb with which they are associated, and on the thematic role of the direct object (Section 2). Then, I illustrate the two basic concepts expressed by applicatives (Section 3), and I explore the split between these two concepts (Sections 4 and 5). Finally, I outline the distribution of applicatives in Salishan languages and, on the basis of the foregoing discussion, draw my conclusion regarding the original number of applicatives in Salishan languages (Section 6).

## 2. Classification of applicatives

Applicatives are referred to in the Salishan literature by many different terms, such as transitivizer, indirective, redirective, relational, relative, substitutive, purposive, benefactive, possessive, and dative. I classify applicatives by the type of verb with which the applicatives associate and the thematic role of the direct object. The verb types are motion, psychological event, speech act, and transfer. Examples are as follows:

	<i>Example</i>	<i>Verb Gloss</i>	<i>Language</i>	<i>Reference</i>
	<u>Motion</u>			
(5)	<i>nəʔém-nəs-əs</i>	'go to'	(Halkomelem)	(Gerds 1988:134)
(6)	<i>k<sup>w</sup>ənəŋàt-nəs-áŋəs</i>	'ran after'	(Saanich)	(Montler 1986:168)

<sup>2</sup> All applicative forms are shown here without the control transitive morpheme \*-*nt* where separable.

Psychological Event

- |     |                           |              |             |                                 |
|-----|---------------------------|--------------|-------------|---------------------------------|
| (7) | <i>lháyel-mít</i>         | 'ashamed of' | (Sechelt)   | (Beaumont 1985:108)             |
| (8) | <i>svlǝš-ǝš(-s)-wǝš-š</i> | 'angry at'   | (Tillamook) | (Egesdal and Thompson 1998:257) |

Speech Act

- |      |                                 |         |                  |                    |
|------|---------------------------------|---------|------------------|--------------------|
| (9)  | <i>q<sup>w</sup>ay-mi-θi</i>    | 'scold' | (Sliammon)       | (Watanabe 1996:53) |
| (10) | <i>√yáʔš-n-ń, svyáʔš-ni-t-n</i> | 'tell'  | (Upper Chehalis) | (Kinkade 1991:170) |

Transfer

- |      |                              |                   |               |                                  |
|------|------------------------------|-------------------|---------------|----------------------------------|
| (11) | <i>k<sup>o</sup>u'λn-nit</i> | 'borrow from'     | (Squamish)    | (Kuipers 1967:79)                |
| (12) | <i>qáda-di-d</i>             | 'steal from'      | (Lushootseed) | (Bates, Hess and Hilbert 1994)   |
| (13) | <i>łiq-xit</i>               | 'bring'           | (Lillooet)    | (van Eijk 1997:115)              |
| (14) | <i>(n)/n é-x-c</i>           | 'give, hand over' | (Thompson)    | (Thompson and Thompson 1996:877) |

The thematic roles of applied objects are theme, goal of motion, dative (goal of transfer), goal of psychological event, source of motion (starting point), source of transfer, source of psychological event (stimulus or cause), benefactive, malefactive, possessive, location, and instrument. Examples are as follows:

Theme

- |      |                             |        |               |                              |
|------|-----------------------------|--------|---------------|------------------------------|
| (15) | <i>/k<sup>w</sup>ǝλ'-c/</i> | 'miss' | (Lushootseed) | (Hess 1967:17)               |
| (16) | <i>nuyamł-amk-is</i>        | 'sing' | (Bella Coola) | (Davis and Saunders 1997:50) |

Motion Goal

- |      |                      |            |           |                    |
|------|----------------------|------------|-----------|--------------------|
| (17) | <i>√ʔǝnʔé-nǝs-ǝŋ</i> | 'come at'  | (Saanich) | (Montler 1986:168) |
| (18) | <i>mymins</i>        | 'approach' | (Shuswap) | (Kuipers 1992:50)  |

Dative (Transfer Goal)

- |      |                            |        |              |                              |
|------|----------------------------|--------|--------------|------------------------------|
| (19) | <i>ʔám-ǝs-t-ǝs</i>         | 'give' | (Halkomelem) | (Gerds 1988:90)              |
| (20) | <i>k<sup>w</sup>iʔxtis</i> | 'show' | (Thompson)   | (Thompson and Thompson 1980) |

Psychological Goal

- |      |                                 |         |           |                    |
|------|---------------------------------|---------|-----------|--------------------|
| (21) | <i>sǝsiʔnistálx<sup>w</sup></i> | 'scare' | (Saanich) | (Montler 1986:174) |
|------|---------------------------------|---------|-----------|--------------------|

Motion Source

- |      |                          |                            |            |                 |
|------|--------------------------|----------------------------|------------|-----------------|
| (22) | <i>łag-a-θut-mi-θ-as</i> | 'walk; run out, away from' | (Sliammon) | (Watanabe 1996) |
|------|--------------------------|----------------------------|------------|-----------------|

Transfer Source

- |      |                                |               |            |                     |
|------|--------------------------------|---------------|------------|---------------------|
| (23) | <i>čǝw'u-ni-θ-as</i>           | 'steal from'  | (Sliammon) | (Watanabe 1996)     |
| (24) | <i>k<sup>w</sup>ʔimels-nit</i> | 'borrow from' | (Sechelt)  | (Beaumont 1985:102) |

Psychological Source (Stimulus)

- |      |                     |              |           |                     |
|------|---------------------|--------------|-----------|---------------------|
| (25) | <i>lháyel-mít</i>   | 'ashamed of' | (Sechelt) | (Beaumont 1985:108) |
| (26) | <i>ch'ásxem-mít</i> | 'afraid of'  | (Sechelt) | (Beaumont 1985:102) |

Benefactive

- |      |                                 |            |               |                 |
|------|---------------------------------|------------|---------------|-----------------|
| (27) | <i>q<sup>w</sup>ǝł-ǝłc-t-ǝs</i> | 'bake for' | (Halkomelem)  | (Gerds 1988:90) |
| (28) | <i>/łič-i-d/</i>                | 'cut for'  | (Lushootseed) | (Hess 1967:43)  |

Malefactive

- (29)  $\lambda p x \text{ } ^{-} a \text{ } ? a m \text{ } - \theta \text{ } - a s$  'break' (Sliammon) (Watanabe 1996)  
 (30)  $? \acute{u} q \text{ } ^{-} e \text{ } ? x c m s$  'drink' (Thompson) (Thompson and Thompson 1980)

Possessor

- (31)  $l \acute{a} w \text{ } - ? \acute{a} m \text{ } - \theta \text{ } - a s$  'take my...' (Sliammon) (Watanabe 1996)  
 (32)  $k \text{ } ^{-} u \text{ } a \text{ } - k s \text{ } - t x \acute{t} \text{ } - \acute{a} \acute{t} \text{ } - t \text{ } - \acute{í} m$  'take care of my...' (Okanagan) (N.Mattina 1993)

Location

- (33)  $k \acute{í} i s \text{ } - b \text{ } - i \text{ } - d$  'stand up beside' (Lushootseed) (Hess 1967:29)  
 (34)  $\acute{v} y \acute{u} s \text{ } - m n, s \acute{v} y \acute{u} s \text{ } - m i s \text{ } - n$  'fix, work on, work at' (Upper Chehalis) (Kinkade 1991:176)

Instrument

- (35)  $t x \text{ } - a m k \text{ } - i s$  'use ... to cut with' (Bella Coola) (Davis and Saunders 1997:55)

Based on the semantic analysis of the data, I conclude that there were two applicatives in Proto-Salish and that these were supplemented or replaced in the various daughter languages. Nevertheless, the original semantic distinction between the two types holds.

**3. Analysis of two basic types of applicative**

According to the classification based on the type of verb and the thematic role of the applied object, we see that we can divide applicatives into two groups. One type of applicative attaches to motion verbs, psychological events, and speech act verbs, and also marks the verb for transfer source and location. The other type marks the verb for dative, benefactive, malefactive, and possessive. 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 non-theme nominal. The applied objects of redirectives typically share the property of dative (transfer goal), benefactive, malefactive, and possessive. I have adopted the cover term 'redirecive' for this type of applicative following Kinkade (1980:33).

There are eight distinctive forms of redirectives in Salishan languages:  $*-x i$ ,  $*-V m V$ ,  $-a s$ ,  $-t c$ ,  $-t$ ,  $-t \acute{u} \acute{t} t$ ,  $-t x \text{ } ^{-} t$ , and  $-a m k$ . In Northern Interior Salish and Central Salish, with the exception of Halkomelem, there is only one redirecive. The most widespread redirecive is  $*-x i$ . In the following examples in Northern Interior Salish,  $*-x i$  marks the verb for benefactive (36), dative (37), and possessive (38):

- Thompson (Thompson and Thompson 1980)  
 (36)  $q \text{ } ^{-} i n x \acute{f} c n // q \text{ } ^{-} i n \text{ } - x i \text{ } - t \text{ } - s i \text{ } - e n //$  'I spoke for you.'
- Lillooet (van Eijk 1997:115)  
 (37)  $\acute{\lambda} \acute{í} q \text{ } - x i t$  'to bring something to somebody'
- Shuswap (Kuipers 1992:49)  
 (38)  $p e t \text{ } - x t \text{ } - s \text{ } t \acute{a} \text{ } x k \text{ } ^{-} \acute{t} u s t n \text{ } - s$  'he has [OBJECT]'s (parent's) eyes'

In Sliammon-Comox and Sechelt, there is no reflex of  $*-x i$ . Instead,  $*-V m V$  is used to mark a verb for benefactive (39, 41) and malefactive (40) direct objects:

- Sliammon (Watanabe 1996)  
 (39)  $\acute{\lambda} \acute{a} s \text{ } - ? \acute{a} m \text{ } - \theta i \text{ } t \acute{\theta} \acute{a} m \text{ } ? \acute{a} \text{ } t \acute{a} \text{ } \acute{c} u y \text{ } ^{-}$  'I'll punch the kid for you.'  
 (40)  $m \acute{a} k \text{ } ^{-} ? \acute{a} m \text{ } - \theta \text{ } - a s \text{ } ? \acute{a} \text{ } t \acute{a} \text{ } t \acute{\theta} \text{ } ? i i t \acute{a} n$  'Somebody ate my food on me.'  
 (i.e., Somebody stole my food from my plate)

- Sechelt (Beaumont 1985:104)
- (41) *xwúyum-émt-ts-á-chálap-skwa?* 'Will you (pl.) sell it for me?'

The second type of applicative is the relational construction. In the relational construction, a verb makes a relation to a new entity, and increases the valency as a result. The applied object usually has properties of goal or direction of motion, goal of psychological event, source, indirect cause of a psychological event (stimuli or causal), indirect object of a speech act, or location. This label 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 verbs of motion (42), psychological events (43), and Speech act verbs (44):

- Shuswap (Kuipers 1992:50)
- (42) *íəkmíns* 'go towards'
- Thompson (Thompson and Thompson 1992:74)
- (43) *ćéx-mń-s* 'he is ashamed of her'
- Lillooet (van Eijk 1997:114)
- (44) *sq\*ál-miń* 'to report on somebody'

We see then that there are two main types of applicatives in Salishan languages – redirectives and relationals. When a Salishan language has only two applicatives, it will have one of each type. For example, the Northern Interior Salish languages (Lillooet, Thompson, Shuswap) have one redirective and one relational. My claim is that these two types underlie the applicative systems in other Salishan languages as well.<sup>3</sup>

#### 4. The split of the redirective

As seen in the previous section, Northern Interior Salish languages have the basic type of redirective: *\*-xi*. Three Central Salish languages (Sliammon-Comox, Sechelt, Halkomelem) do not have reflexes of the redirective *\*-xi*. Instead, *\*-VmV* is used in Sliammon-Comox and Sechelt. Halkomelem has two forms, *-as* for dative (45) and *-íc* for benefactive (46):

- Halkomelem (Gerds 1988:90)
- (45) *ni ʔám-əs-t-əs k\*θə sq\*əméy? ʔə k\*θə sθ'ám?* 'He gave the dog the bone.'
- (46) *ni ǵ\*əl-əíc-t-əs lə sténí? ʔə k\*θə səplíl* 'He baked the bread for the woman.'

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

Southern Interior Salish languages also have more than one redirective form. They have reflexes of *\*-xi*, but they also have other redirectives. The redirective *-t* appears in all Southern Interior Salish languages, and the redirective *-túł* appears in Okanagan, Columbian, and Coeur d'Alene, but not in Spokane/Kalispel. Examples of the suffixes follow:

- Okanagan
- (47) *k\*u ǵ\*əlíw-xt i? t síya?* 'Pick berries for me.' (N.Mattina 1993 (12))
- (48) *k\*u q\*əlq\*íłłts isq\*si? i? k'əl scəŋq'a'íłsc.* 'He talked to my son about his business.'
- (49) *k\*u q\*əlq\*əłtúłts i? scəŋq'a'íłsc.* 'He talked to me about his business.' (A.Mattina 1994 (11, 12))

<sup>3</sup> Bella Coola seems to contradict this claim, although it has two applicatives. One of them, *-amk*, seems to have the property of both redirective and relational; *-amk* does not correlate in form or function with any applicative in other Salishan languages.

- Coeur d'Alene (Doak 1997:153, 145, 157)
- (50) *čɛʷšitn* 'I prayed for him.'
- (51) *kʷiʔtm xʷɛ sʔimčɛʔs* 'His daughter was taken from him.'
- (52) *cɣʷuytúʔtm* 'They brought something to him for him.'
- Columbian (Kinkade 1980:33)
- (53) *táw-x-t-s* 'He bought it for him.'
- (54) *táq-ʔ-n* 'I bought it from him.'
- (55) *kʷlən-túʔ-n* 'I loaned it to him.'
- Spokane (Carlson 1980:24)
- (56) *ʔʕištən luʔ Albert luʔ t sqéltč.* 'I ate some meat for Albert.'
- (57) *xʷíčštən.* 'I gave it to him.'
- (58) *ʔʕiʔtən luʔ Albert sqéltčs.* 'I ate Albert's meat.'
- Kalispel (Vogt 1940:34)
- (59) *yeskúpštəm* 'I am pushing something (indefinite) for him (definite).'
- (60) *yeskúpʔtəm* 'I am pushing it (definite) for him (definite), or I am pushing his...'

The suffix *\*-xi* is used to mark a verb for benefactive in general (47, 50, 56, 59), though Kinkade (1998) defines the direct object for *\*-xi* as dative in Columbian (53). The suffix *-ʔ* adds a possessor (48, 51, 54, 58, 60), while *-túʔ* adds a dative direct object (49, 52, 55). Spokane/Kalispel uses *\*-xi* to mark dative instead of *-túʔ* (57).

Upper Chehalis has three redirective forms: *\*-xi*, *\*-VmV*, and *-tuxʷt/-txʷt*. The semantic differences among them are not clear from the English glosses, but *\*-xi* marks for dative (61), *\*-VmV* marks for dative and benefactive (62), and *-tuxʷt/-txʷt* marks for possessor (63) (Kinkade 1998).

- Upper Chehalis (Kinkade 1991:34, 15)
- (61) *ʋčai-š-n,* *sʋčai-ši-t-n* 'give, give away to'
- (62) *ʋʔuná-tmi-xʷ,* *sʋʔuná-tmi-y-n* 'ask something for someone'
- (63) *ʋʔuná-tuxʷt,* *sʋʔuná-txʷt-n* 'ask someone for something'

In Northern Interior and Central Salish, there is only one redirective, with the exception of Halkomelem which has two redirectives. In Southern Interior Salish, three redirectives are found: *\*-xi*, *-ʔ*, and *-túʔ*, except in Spokane/Kalispel where *-túʔ* is missing. Kinkade (personal communication) remarks that this may be an accidental gap. The suffix *-ʔ* marks the applied object for possessor in general, and *-túʔ* marks for dative. Upper Chehalis has three redirectives: *\*-xi*, *\*-VmV*, and *-tuxʷt/-txʷt*. 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:

	Benefactive	Dative	Possessor
Northern Interior Salish	<i>*-xi</i>	<i>*-xi</i>	<i>*-xi</i>
Spokane/Kalispel	<i>*-xi</i>	<i>*-xi</i>	<i>-ʔ</i>
Other Southern Interior Salish	<i>*-xi</i>	<i>-túʔ</i>	<i>-ʔ</i>
Upper Chehalis	<i>*-VmV</i>	<i>*-xi, *-VmV</i>	<i>-tuxʷt/-txʷt</i>
Halkomelem	<i>-ʔc</i>	<i>-as</i>	$\emptyset$

TABLE 2. Split of the redirective.

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 innovative redirectives in various sub-groups.

### 5. The split of the relational

All eighteen languages in the study except Bella Coola have some reflex of *\*-mi*. Northern and Southern Interior Salish have only the 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 *\*-nəs*. In Central Salish, either *\*-ni* or *\*-nəs* is present beside *\*-mi*, except in Lushootseed where there are three relationals: *\*-mi*, *\*-ni*, and *\*-nəs*. A central feature of *\*-ni* in Sliammon-Comox, Sechelt, Squamish, and Lushootseed is that it attaches to a transfer verb, thereby marking a transfer source as direct object (64, 65, 66, 69). The suffix *\*-ni* also associates with psychological event (67) and speech act (68) verbs, although its occurrence is limited in every language but Squamish.

	Sliammon	(Watanabe 1996)
(64)	<i>čəw'u-ni-θ-as ʔə tə t<sup>θ</sup> tala</i>	'He stole money from me.'
	Sechelt	(Beaumont 1985:102)
(65)	<i>chél'úlh-nit</i>	'steal something from someone'
	Squamish	(Kuipers 1967:79)
(66)	<i>k'u'λn-nit</i>	'borrow from'
(67)	<i>t'a'jaq'-nit</i>	'get angry at'
(68)	<i>tx°-tə'ta-nit</i>	'talk about'
	Lushootseed	(Bates, Hess and Hilbert 1994:172)
(69)	<i>qáda-di-d</i>	'steal from someone'

The suffix *\*-nəs* usually attaches to motion verbs (70, 71, 72, 73). It associates with psychological events (74) and speech act verbs (75) in Lushootseed.

	Clallam	(Montler 1996:262)
(70)	<i>k"ənəŋútnəs cn</i>	'I ran after it.'
	Saanich	(Montler 1986:168, 33)
(71)	<i>k"ənəŋàt-nəs-áŋəs sx"</i>	'You ran after me.'
	Halkomelem	(Gerdts 1988:90)
(72)	<i>ʔi yə-ʔéʔwəʔ-nəs-əs lə sléniʔ</i>	'He's coming toward the woman.'
	Lushootseed	(Bates, Hess and Hilbert 1994:221, 250, 48)
(73)	<i>lətəláwis tə spàʔc</i>	'He's running after the bear.'
(74)	<i>ʔəsx"ák'isəx" čəd</i>	'I'm tired of it (because it is dull or fatiguing).'
(75)	<i>tədəx" cúucs tsiʔəʔ bədàʔs</i>	'Therefore, he told his daughter.'

In Tillamook, *\*-nəs* behaves slightly differently. It attaches to psychological events (76) and speech act verbs (77):

- (Egesdal and Thompson 1998:257)
- Tillamook
- (76) *de c/ləš-eš(-s)-wəš-š* 'Are you angry at me?'
- (77) *gʷə √gʷələχ-əs-wíł-yəl* 'We will speak with you folks.'

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

In Upper Chehalis, *\*-mi* usually attaches to motion verbs (78), while *\*-ni* occurs with psychological events (79) and speech act verbs (80). It also occurs with transfer verbs; however, the direct object is the theme and not the source of transfer. The suffix *\*-nəs* is found with only two stems in Kinkade (1991). One of them is psychological event, and the direct object is a psychological source (81).

- (Kinkade 1991:149, 168, 170, 113)
- Upper Chehalis
- (78) *√tú-mn*, *svtú-mis-n* 'come to, come for'
- (79) *√χʷfy-n-n*, *svχʷfy-ni-t-n* 'threaten someone'
- (80) *√yáʔš-n-n*, *svyáʔš-ni-t-n* 'tell something (the story) to someone'
- (81) *√qʷán-ts*, *svqʷán-tas-n* 'afraid of'

The suffix *\*-mi* is found in all eighteen languages, and *\*-ni* and/or *\*-nəs* 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)
Northern Interior Salish	<i>*-mi</i>	<i>*-mi</i>	<i>*-mi</i>	∅
Southern Interior Salish	<i>*-mi</i>	<i>*-mi</i>	<i>*-mi</i>	∅
Other Central Salish	<i>*-mi, *-nəs</i>	<i>*-mi, *-ni</i>	<i>*-mi, *-ni</i>	<i>*-ni</i>
Lushootseed	<i>*-nəs</i>	<i>*-mi, *-nəs</i>	<i>*-nəs</i>	<i>*-ni</i>
Tillamook	<i>*-mi</i>	<i>*-mi, *-nəs</i>	<i>*-nəs</i>	∅
Upper Chehalis	<i>*-mi</i>	<i>*-ni, *-nəs</i>	<i>*-ni</i>	∅

TABLE 3. Split of the relational.

No examples of *\*-mi*, which marks the transfer source for its applied object, are found in Northern Interior Salish, Southern Interior Salish, Tillamook, or Upper Chehalis. Thus, this concept seems to be an innovation in Central Salish. Note that (a) *\*-mi* is the most widespread relational form; (b) *\*-mi* attaches to motion, psychological, and speech act verbs in Northern, Southern, and Central Salish; and (c) a new concept seems to have emerged.

## 6. Conclusion

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

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 *-əs* behaves slightly differently from other reflexes of *\*-nəs* in Central Salish. Upper Chehalis is a combination of Southern Interior and Central Salish with respect to the pattern of the 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 innovative applicatives in various sub-groups. As we have seen in the case of Upper Chehalis, the distribution of applicatives in Salishan languages is a geographical as well as a genetic development.

Subgroup	Language	Redirective #: Relational #	Redirective	Relational
Northern Interior Salish	Lillooet	1:1	<i>*-xi</i>	<i>*-mi</i>
	Thompson	1:1	<i>*-xi</i>	<i>*-mi</i>
	Shuswap	1:1	<i>*-xi</i>	<i>*-mi</i>
Southern Interior Salish	Okanagan	3:1	<i>*-xi, -ł, -túł</i>	<i>*-mi</i>
	Columbian	3:1	<i>*-xi, -ł, -túł</i>	<i>*-mi</i>
	Coeur d'Alene	3:1	<i>*-xi, -ł, -túł</i>	<i>*-mi</i>
	Spokane	2:1	<i>*-xi, -ł</i>	<i>*-mi</i>
	Kalispel	2:1	<i>*-xi, -ł</i>	<i>*-mi</i>
Central Salish	Sliammon-Comox	1:2	<i>*-VmV</i>	<i>*-mi, *-ni</i>
	Sechelt	1:2	<i>*-VmV</i>	<i>*-mi, *-ni</i>
	Squamish	1:2	<i>*-xi</i>	<i>*-mi, *-ni</i>
	Clallam	1:2	<i>*-xi</i>	<i>*-mi, *-nəs</i>
	Saanich	1:2	<i>*-xi</i>	<i>*-mi, *-nəs</i>
	Halkomelem	2:2	<i>-as, -łc</i>	<i>*-mi, *-nəs</i>
	Lushootseed	1:3	<i>*-xi</i>	<i>*-mi, *-ni, *-nəs</i>
Tillamook	Tillamook	1:2	<i>*-xi</i>	<i>*-mi, *-nəs</i>
Tsamosan	Upper Chehalis	3:3	<i>*-xi, *-VmV, -tux<sup>w</sup>t/-tx<sup>w</sup>t</i>	<i>*-mi, *-ni, *-nəs</i>

TABLE 4. Distribution of applicatives

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