

Donna B. Gerdtz

4 Hul'q'umi'num' Salish applicative constructions

Abstract: Based on original fieldwork and data from texts, this paper details applicatives in Hul'q'umi'num', spoken along the western shores of the Salish Sea in British Columbia, Canada. Hul'q'umi'num' has four applicative constructions marked by suffixes that allow the expression of objects with such semantic roles as goal, beneficiary, direction, and cause/stimulus. Applicatives are divided into two types: relationals, which are formed on intransitive bases, and redirectives, formed on transitive bases. (Transitivity is easily ascertained in Hul'q'umi'num' due to transitive morphology and ergative inflection.) Hul'q'umi'num' is a direct/oblique object language: only two NPs per verb can be direct arguments and other NPs are introduced by oblique marking. In semantically ditransitive constructions, the applied object is always the direct object and thus there are no non-applicative counterparts for redirective applicatives. As a polysynthetic language, Hul'q'umi'num' exhibits voice and valence marked by suffixes—limited control, passive, causative, reflexive, reciprocal, and antipassive—as well as lexical suffixes with the semantic meaning of nominals. These all co-occur with the applicative suffixes. Applicative constructions are an important device for expressing topic-worthy NPs as direct objects or, if they are also passivized, as subjects.

1 Introduction

Hul'q'umi'num' is the dialect of the Halkomelem language (Central Salish, Salish ISO 639-2 / 5 sal, Glottolog sali1255) spoken on Vancouver Island and neighboring islands in British Columbia, Canada. Today there are only around twenty first language speakers of Hul'q'umi'num', but more than three hundred fluent and semi-fluent second language speakers. The data in this chapter come from the author's fieldwork (1975 to present) and also from a corpus of texts.¹ This chapter describes the applicative con-

¹ Research on Hul'q'umi'num' linguistic structure and the transcription and compilation of texts was funded by grants from the Jacobs Research Fund and the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council. My thanks to the elders whose recordings make up the 5,000-line text corpus. These legacy

Acknowledgments: Thank you to Ruby Peter | Sti'tum'at and Arnold Guerin | Xwunuthut and other speakers who shared their knowledge of Hul'q'umi'num' on which this paper is based and who inspired and guided our research mission. Thanks to my applicative research partners Mercedes Hinkson, Tom Hukari, and Kaoru Kiyosawa. My heartfelt thanks to Lauren Schneider and Charles Ulrich for transliterating, editing, and proofreading, and thanks as well as to the editors of this volume and to David Beck for comments and corrections.

structions found in Hul'q'umi'num', which have been a topic of much interest to the author over the years (see Gerdtz 1984, 1988b/2016, 2010a, 2010b; Gerdtz and Kiyosawa 2005; Kiyosawa and Gerdtz 2010a). I refer you to Kiyosawa and Gerdtz (2010b) and references therein for a survey of applicative constructions in Salish languages.

Hul'q'umi'num' has two types of applicative constructions, and it has two applicatives of each type, for a total of four applicatives (Gerdtz 1988b). The first type of applicative is the “relational” applicative, in which an applicative suffix is added to an intransitive base to derive a transitive. The two relational applicatives are the general relational applicative, formed with the suffix *-meʔ*, labelled REL, as illustrated in (1), and the directional applicative, formed with the suffix *-nas*, labelled DIR, as illustrated in (2).²

- (1) *čəq-meʔ-t* *č* *ceʔ* *kʷθə* *nəčəwməxʷ* *ʔi* *ceʔ* *tecəl*.
 surprise-REL-TR 2SG.SBJ FUT DET visitor AUX FUT arrive
 ‘You will be surprised at the visitors when they arrive.’

- (2) *níʔ* *nəm-nəs-as* *kʷθə* *swiwləs* *kʷθə* *swəyʔqeʔ*.
 AUX go-DIR-3SBJ DET boy DET man
 ‘The boy went up to the man.’

The second type of applicative is the “redirective” in which an applicative suffix is added to a transitive base to derive a ditransitive clause. The two redirective applicatives are the dative applicative, formed with the suffix *-as*, labelled DAT, as illustrated in (3), and the benefactive applicative formed, with the suffix *-ətc*, labelled BEN, as illustrated in (4).³

- (3) *neṁ* *č* *ʔam-as-t* *tʰə* *sqʷəmeʔ* *ʔə* *tʰə* *stʰəam!*
 go 2SG.SBJ give-DAT-TR DET dog OBL DET bone
 ‘Go give the dog the bone!’

- (4) *neṁ* *č* *ʔiləq-ətc-t* *tʰəṁ* *silə* *ʔə* *tʰə* *səplil!*
 go 2SG.SBJ buy-BEN-TR DET.2POSS grandparent OBL DET bread
 ‘Go buy your grandfather some bread!’

stories were recorded by Tom Hukari, Wayne Suttles, and me, and transcribed by Arnold Guerin, Ruby Peter, Theresa Thorne, and edited by Zack Gilkison, Tom Hukari, Sarah Kell, Kaoru Kiyosawa, Zoey Peterson, and myself.

2 Data are presented in a modified Americanist Phonetic Alphabet; *x* represents the velar fricative and *χ* the uvular fricative.

3 The dative suffix appears as *-as* in an unstressed syllable.

This description of Hul'q'umi'num' applicatives is structured as follows. Section 2 gives a brief introduction to Hul'q'umi'num' morphosyntax. Section 3 gives details about the morphology of applicative verbs, including their inflection for transitivity and person. Section 4 details the syntactic status of the noun phrases in applicative constructions and in their non-applicative counterparts, and it also discusses combinations with other constructions, such as passives, antipassives, reflexives, reciprocals, causatives, and lexical suffixes, all of which are formed with suffixes in Hul'q'umi'num'. Section 5 comments on the semantic range of each type of applicative and their use in discourse. The conclusion in Section 6 gives a summary of the findings.

2 Basics of Hul'q'umi'num' morphosyntax

Hul'q'umi'num', a mildly polysynthetic language, has robust morphology that registers valence and person marking. Hul'q'umi'num' is a split ergative language (Gerds 1988b): third-person subjects of intransitive main clauses (5) and objects of transitive clauses (6) are unmarked, but third-person subjects of transitive main clauses are marked by the third-person subject suffix *-əs* (7).

- (5) *nɪʔ ʔiməʃ.*

AUX walk

'He/she/it walked.'

- (6) *nɪʔ cən ɬʷaqʷ-ət ʔə kʷθən ʃapəl-əl.*

AUX 1SG.SBJ club-TR OBL DET.2POSS shovel-PST

'I hit him with your shovel.'

- (7) *nɪʔ ɬʷaqʷ-ət-əs tʰə swəyqeʔ tʰə speʔəθ.*

AUX club-TR-3SBJ DET man DET bear

'The man clubbed the bear (in view).'

In contrast, first- and second-person indexing works on a nominative/accusative basis. Main clause subjects are marked with second-position clitics in both intransitive (8) and transitive (9) clauses, while objects appear as verb suffixes (10), often fused with a transitive marker:

- (8) *nɪʔ cən ʔiməʃ.*

AUX 1SG.SBJ walk

'I walked.'

- (9) *ni? cən qʷaqʷ-ət tʰə speʔəθ.*
 AUX 1SG.SBJ club-TR DET bear
 ‘I clubbed the bear.’
- (10) *ni? qʷaqʷ-θamš-əs tʰə swəyʔeʔ.*
 AUX club-TR.1SG.OBJ-3SBJ DET man
 ‘The man clubbed me.’

Compared to person marking, marking on noun phrases provides little information about the syntactic role of a noun phrase. All argument noun phrases (including proper nouns, plurals, and generics) are preceded by a determiner that registers semantic features such as gender, viewpoint deixis, number, and spatial deixis. There are over fifty determiners; the most frequently occurring are listed in Table-1 and illustrated in (11).

Table 1: Some Hul’q’umi’num’ determiners.

	plain	feminine (sg)
proximal	<i>tʰə</i>	<i>θə</i>
non-proximal	<i>kʷθə</i>	<i>lə</i>
non-deictic	<i>kʷ</i>	

- (11) *tʰə swəyʔeʔ* ‘the man’ (in view)
kʷθə slənɛniʔ ‘the women’ (out of view)
θə slɛniʔ ‘the woman’ (in view)
lə slɛniʔ ‘the woman’ (out of view)
kʷ šukʷə ‘some sugar’

NP subjects and objects of active, stative, and transitive verbs in all tenses and aspects are preceded by determiners.

- (12) *ni? ʔəšəl tʰə swəyʔeʔ.*
 AUX paddle DET man
 ‘The man (in view) paddled.’
- (13) *ni? qʷəl tʰə səplil.*
 AUX cook DET bread
 ‘The bread (in view) baked.’
- (14) *ni? qʷaqʷ-ət-əs tʰə swəyʔeʔ tʰə speʔəθ.*
 AUX club-TR-3SBJ DET man DET bear
 ‘The man (in view) clubbed the bear (in view).’

In contrast, semantically oblique noun phrases are oblique marked by the catch-all preposition *ʔə*, which precedes the determiner. This preposition is used to mark a variety of semantic roles, including goals (15) and instruments (16).

- (15) *neṁ č ceʔ ɛ:l neṁ ʔə-ʔ ʔəlpalas!*
 go 2SG.SBJ FUT go.ashore go OBL-DET Cowichan.Bay
 'Go ashore at Cowichan Bay!'
- (16) *niʔ cən q̣ʷaqʷ-ət kʷθə speʔəθ ʔə kʷθəṁ šapəl-əl.*
 AUX 1SG.SBJ club-TR DET bear OBL DET.2POSS shovel-PST
 'I hit the bear with your shovel.'

As seen in the above examples, the verb complex (the verb and its surrounding auxiliaries and clitics) is in clause-initial order, while the noun phrases follow—word order among the noun phrases is free, so the word order in (17) is also allowed.

- (17) *niʔ cən q̣ʷaqʷ-ət ʔə kʷθəṁ šapəl-əl kʷθə speʔəθ.*
 AUX 1SG.SBJ club-TR OBL DET.2POSS shovel-PST DET bear
 'I hit the bear with your shovel.'

Overall, we see that much of the weight of identifying the syntactic roles of the entities related to an event is borne by the verbal morphology.

3 Morphology

As mentioned above, each of the four applicative constructions in Hul'q'umi'num' is associated with an applicative suffix. The general relational suffix *-meʔ* is suffixed to an intransitive base to form a transitive verb and is inflected with the general transitive suffix *-(ə)t* as in *-meʔt*.

- (18) *ɫciws* 'be tired' *ɫciwsmeʔt* 'be tired of him/her'
siʔsiʔ 'be afraid' *siʔsiʔmeʔt* 'be afraid of him/her'
xiʔxeʔ 'be ashamed' *xiʔxeʔmeʔt* 'be ashamed of him/her'
čəq̣ 'be astonished' *čəq̣meʔt* 'be astonished, surprised at him/her'
ʔiyəs 'be happy' *ʔiyəsmeʔt* 'be happy for him/her'

The directional suffix *-nas* is also added to intransitive bases, but it is not followed by the general transitive suffix.⁴

⁴ Since all other transitive verb forms have overt transitive morphology in Hul'q'umi'num', we should

- | | | | | |
|------|---------------------------|----------|------------------------------|-------------------------|
| (19) | <i>nem</i> | ‘go’ | <i>nəmnəs</i> | ‘go toward him/her’ |
| | <i>ʔewə</i> | ‘come’ | <i>ʔewənəs</i> | ‘come toward him/her’ |
| | <i>χ^wčənəm</i> | ‘run’ | <i>χ^wčənəmnəs</i> | ‘run toward him/her’ |
| | <i>čtem</i> | ‘crawl’ | <i>čtemnəs</i> | ‘crawl toward him/her’ |
| | <i>ʔəšəl</i> | ‘paddle’ | <i>ʔəšəlⁿəs</i> | ‘paddle toward him/her’ |

Redirective applicatives are formed from transitive bases, as seen by comparing the mono-transitive verbs, suffixed with transitive morphology, with the benefactive verbs, formed with the applicative suffix *-əlc* followed by the transitive suffix.

- | | | | | |
|------|-------------------------------------|-----------|--|-----------------------|
| (20) | <i>k^wənət</i> | ‘take it’ | <i>k^wənəlcət</i> | ‘take it for him/her’ |
| | <i>p^ət^əət</i> | ‘sew it’ | <i>p^ət^əəlcət</i> | ‘sew it for him/her’ |
| | <i>θəyt</i> | ‘fix it’ | <i>θəyəlcət</i> | ‘fix it for him/her’ |
| | <i>ʔiləqət</i> | ‘buy it’ | <i>ʔiləqəlcət</i> | ‘buy it for him/her’ |
| | <i>t^əχ^wat</i> | ‘wash it’ | <i>t^əχ^wəlcət</i> | ‘wash it for him/her’ |

The benefactive suffix is productive in Hul’q’umi’num’: any transitive verb can be augmented with this suffix so long as the meaning of benefaction is compatible with the event. In contrast, there are only five applicative verbs formed with the dative suffix *-as*, all followed by the transitive suffix.⁵

- | | | | | |
|------|---------------------------|------------|---|-------------------------|
| (21) | <i>√sem</i> | ‘sell’ | <i>sam^əast</i> | ‘sell him/her it’ |
| | <i>√ʔeʔəm</i> | ‘give’ | <i>ʔam^əast</i> | ‘give him/her it’ |
| | <i>√ʔi^w</i> | ‘instruct’ | <i>ʔi^wast</i> | ‘show him/her it’ |
| | <i>√x^wayəm</i> | ‘sell’ | <i>x^wayəm^əast</i> | ‘sell him/her it’ |
| | <i>√yəθ</i> | ‘tell’ | <i>yəθ^əast</i> | ‘tell him/her about it’ |

Only one of the forms *√sem* has a mono-transitive form *sem^əat* ‘sell it’; the other forms require the dative suffix in order to appear as transitive verbs. In sum, three of the four applicative suffixes are quite productive, but the dative suffix *-as* appears on a few, mostly frozen forms.

As noted above, applicatives formed with three of the four suffixes are inflected with the general transitive suffix *-t*. Hul’q’umi’num’ pronominal object suffixes follow and sometimes merge with the transitive suffix, producing paradigms as follows:

assume that either the applicative itself is a transitivizer or perhaps the form can be segmented into *-n* and *-s*, with the later related to the causative suffix.

5 As previously noted by Hukari and Peter (1995: 371ff.), several, perhaps six, suffixes in the language trigger vowel harmony of a preceding *e* vowel to *a*. See Gerds and Hinkson (2004) for more discussion.

(22) Object paradigm with basic transitive verb

<i>leməθam̓š</i>	'look at me'
<i>leməθamə</i>	'look at you (SG)'
<i>lemətaɫx^w</i>	'look at us'
<i>lemətaɫə</i>	'look at you (PL)'
<i>lemət</i>	'look at him/her/it/them'

(23) Object paradigm with relational suffix *-meʔ*

<i>ɫciwsmeʔθam̓š</i>	'be tired of me'
<i>ɫciwsmeʔθamə</i>	'be tired of you (SG)'
<i>ɫciwsmeʔtaɫx^w</i>	'be tired of us'
<i>ɫciwsmeʔtaɫə</i>	'be tired of you (PL)'
<i>ɫciwsmeʔt</i>	'be tired of him/her/it/them'

(24) Object paradigm with benefactive suffix *-əɫc*

<i>k^wənəɫcəθam̓š</i>	'take it for me'
<i>k^wənəɫcəθamə</i>	'take it for you (SG)'
<i>k^wənəɫcətaɫx^w</i>	'take it for us'
<i>k^wənəɫcətaɫə</i>	'take it for you (PL)'
<i>k^wənəɫcət</i>	'take it for him/her/it/them'

(25) Object paradigm with dative suffix *-as*

<i>ʔaməsθam̓š</i>	'give me it'
<i>ʔaməsθamə</i>	'give you (SG) it'
<i>ʔaməstaɫx^w</i>	'give us it'
<i>ʔaməstaɫə</i>	'give you (PL) it'
<i>ʔaməst</i>	'give it to him/her/it/them'

The directional applicative suffix *-nəs*, which is not followed by a transitive suffix, takes object suffixes from a slightly different (vowel-initial) paradigm.

(26) Object paradigm with the directional suffix *-nəs*

<i>ʔewənəsam̓š</i>	'come to me'
<i>ʔewənəsamə</i>	'come to you (SG)'
<i>ʔewənəsalaɫx^w</i>	'come to us'
<i>ʔewənəsala</i>	'come to you (PL)'
<i>ʔewənəs</i>	'come to him/her/it/them'

We see this paradigm with other transitive suffixes, for example the causative suffix *-stəx^w*.

- (27) Object paradigm with causative suffix
- stəx^w*

ʔəltənəstam̩ʃ ‘feed me’*ʔəltənəstamə* ‘feed you (SG)’*ʔəltənəstəlx^w* ‘feed us’*ʔəltənəstalə* ‘feed you (PL)’*ʔəltənəstəx^w* ‘feed him/her/it/them’

Thus, applicative constructions have comparable inflectional paradigms to those of other transitive constructions in the language.

4 Syntax

4.1 General comments

Hul’q’umi’num’ applicatives straightforwardly match the comparative notion of applicative constructions advance in Zúñiga and Creissels (this volume).⁶ Relational applicative constructions have corresponding intransitive basic clauses built on the same root (28) and the applicative clause is syntactically transitive, marked with an applicative suffix, with a non-theme nominal as the direct object, as seen in the directional applicative construction in (29).

- (28)
- niʔ nem k^wθə swiwləs.*

AUX go DET boy

‘The boy went.’ (Gerdts 2010b)

- (29)
- niʔ nəm-nəs-əs k^wθə swiwləs k^wθə čan.*

AUX go-DIR-3SBJ DET boy DET John

‘The boy went up to John.’ (Gerdts 2010b)

One way to clearly see the difference in transitivity is to compare the psychological clause in (30) with its relational applicative counterpart in (31).

- (30)
- niʔ siʔsiʔ k^wθə sʔiʔʔqəʔ ʔə k^wθə snəx^wəʔ.*

AUX afraid DET child OBL DET canoe

‘The child was frightened of the car.’

⁶ Peterson (2007) references our research on Salish applicatives and places it in typological perspective.

- (31) *nɪʔ siʔsiʔ-meʔ-t-əs kʷθə sʰiʔʰqəʔ kʷθə sqwəmey.*
 AUX afraid-REL-TR-3SBJ DET child DET dog
 'The child was frightened of the dog.'

In (30) the stimulus of the psychological event is an adjunct, expressed as an oblique noun phrase, while in (31) it is the direct object, expressed without oblique marking. The verb in (30) is intransitive, while the verb in (31) is transitive, as evidenced by the presence of overt transitive morphology. Also, as mentioned above, Hul'q'umi'num' is a split ergative language (Gerdtz 1988b: 49): third-person subjects of intransitive main clauses are unmarked while third-person subjects of transitive main clauses are marked by the third-person subject suffix. Third-person marking thus shows that the basic clauses in (28) and (30) are intransitive, but the applicative clauses in (29) and (31) are transitive.

In discussing redirective applicatives, we should note that they show all the hallmarks of ditransitive constructions, with the sole difference being the suffixation of applicative morphology. Ditransitive constructions are discussed at length in Gerdtz (2010a), but notably there are no indirect objects in Hul'q'umi'num', rather the recipient/goal appears as the direct object and the patient/theme appears as an oblique object.

- (32) *nem̓ č ʔexweʔ-t tʰə čáč ʔə tʰə lapat!*
 go 2SG.SBJ give-TR DET George OBL DET cup
 'Go give George the cup!'

The theme appears as an oblique-marked noun phrase. The applied objects in redirective applicatives are also direct objects and thus appear as direct arguments with no preposition, for example 'grandfather' in the dative applicative in (33) and the benefactive applicative in (34):

- (33) *nɪʔ ʔam-əs-t-əs tʰə-nə silə ʔə kʷθə pukʷ.*
 AUX give-DAT-TR-3SBJ DET-1SG.POSS grandparent OBL DET book
 'He gave my grandfather the book.'

- (34) *nɪʔ ʔiləq-ət-c-t-əs tʰə-nə silə ʔə kʷθə snəxʷəl.*
 AUX buy-BEN-TR-3SBJ DET-1POSS grandparent OBL DET canoe
 'He brought my grandfather a car.'

Redirective constructions are obligatory in the sense that there is no non-applicative equivalent in which the theme occurs as an object and the applied object occurs as an oblique noun phrase. So, for example, the recipient in (35a) cannot be expressed as an oblique-marked noun phrase in a non-applicative construction, as in (35b):

- (35) a. *neṃ cən saṃ-əs-t lə sleni? ʔə θə-nə snəxwəl.*
 AUX 1SG.SBJ sell-DAT-TR DET woman OBL DET-1SG.POSS canoe
 ‘I’m going to sell my car to the woman.’
 b. **neṃ cən saṃ-ət θə-nə snəxwəl ʔə lə sleni?*
 AUX 1SG.SBJ sell-TR DET-1SG.POSS canoe/car OBL DET woman

Thus, Hul’q’umi’num’ can be considered a primary/secondary object language (Dryer 1986) or, more accurately, a direct object/oblique object language (Gerdtz 2010a). However, it is possible to separate two aspects of the event—the effect on the theme and the transfer of possession or benefit—and express each as a separate predicate. This can be accomplished by means of a serial verb construction, as in (36) and (37), or conjoined clauses, as in (38).

- (36) *ni? cən wəl seṃ-ət neṃ-əstəx^w ʔə-ḷ čən θə-nə swetə.*
 AUX 1SG.SBJ PRF sell-TR go-CAUS OBL-DET John DET-1SG.POSS sweater
 ‘I sold John my sweater.’
 (37) *q^wəl-ət cən ce? k^w sce:ltən ʃ^wte? ʔə-ḷ nəwə.*
 cook-TR 1SG.SBJ FUT DET salmon go.toward OBL-DET 2SG.PRO
 ‘I will barbecue some salmon for you.’
 (38) *q^wəl-ət cən ce? k^w sce:ltən ʔi? niḷ s-we?-stamə ce?.*
 cook-TR 1SG.SBJ FUT DET salmon CNJ 3PRO NMZ-OWN-CAUS.2SG.OBJ FUT
 ‘I will cook some salmon and it will be for you.’

Applied objects in all four applicative constructions can be expressed by object suffixes, an additional reason for positing that they are direct objects.

- (39) *ni? qəl-me?-θamš-əs k^wθə x^wələnitam.*
 AUX believe-REL-TR.1SG.OBJ-3SBJ DET White.man(PL)
 ‘The White men believed me.’
 (40) *ʔi ʔewə-nəs-amš-əs lə sleni?*
 AUX come-DIR-1SG.OBJ-3SBJ DET woman
 ‘The woman comes to me.’ (Gerdtz 1988b: 141)
 (41) *ni? ʔam-əs-θamš-əs lə sleni? ʔə k^wθə puk^w.*
 AUX give-DAT-TR.1SG.OBJ-3SBJ DET woman OBL DET book
 ‘The woman gave me the book.’

- (42) *ni? θəy-əlc-θamš-əs ?ə kʷθə-nə snəxʷəl.*
 AUX fix-BEN-TR.1SG.OBJ-3SBJ OBL DET-1SG.POSS canoe
 'He fixed my canoe for me.'

Only subjects and objects are indexed in the verb complex. The theme noun phrase in a redirective applicative appears as an oblique-marked noun phrase, as in the dative applicative in (43a) and the benefactive applicative in (44a); omitting the oblique preposition results in ungrammaticality, as in (43b) and (44b).

- (43) a. *ni? ?am-əs-t-əs kʷθə swiwləs ?ə kʷθə pukʷ.*
 AUX give-DAT-TR-3SBJ DET boy OBL DET book
 'He gave the boy the book.' (Gerds 1988b: 101)
 b. **ni? ?am-əs-t-əs kʷθə swiwləs kʷθə pukʷ.*
 AUX give-DAT-TR-3SBJ DET boy DET book
 Intended: 'He gave the boy the book.'
- (44) a. *ni? ʃəl-əlc-ət-əs kʷθən men ?ə kʷθə pipə-s.*
 AUX write-BEN-TR-3SBJ DET.2POSS father OBL DET letter-3POSS
 'He wrote the letter to/for your father.' (Gerds 1988b: 101)
 b. **ni? ʃəl-əlc-ət-əs kʷθən men kʷθə pipə-s.*
 AUX write-BEN-TR-3SBJ DET.2POSS father DET letter-3POSS
 Intended: 'He wrote the letter to/for your father.'

4.2 Relativization and similar operations

As detailed in Gerds (1988b), noun phrases appear in pre-verbal position in a variety of extraction constructions in Hul'q'umi'num', including relative clauses, *wh*-questions, and clefts (*it*-clefts, NP-clefts, and *wh*-clefts). The extracted noun phrase appears before the clause that it is extracted from, as seen by comparing the monotransitive clause in (45a) with its cleft counterpart in (45b):

- (45) a. *ni? č lem-ət kʷθə swəyqeʔ.*
 AUX 2SG.SBJ look.at-TR DET man
 'You looked at the man.'
 b. *nił kʷθə swəyqeʔ [ni? lem-ət-əxʷ].*
 3PRO DET man AUX look.at-TR-2SG.SBJ
 'It's the man that you looked at.'

The clause marked in square brackets in (45b) is a dependent clause, as seen by subject indexing; first- and second-person subject markers appear as second-position clitics in main clauses (45a) but as verbal suffixes in dependent clauses (45b). Applied objects

in both relational and redirective constructions are similarly extracted: (46b) shows extraction of an applied object in a directional applicative, (47b) in a relational applicative, (48b) in a dative applicative, and (49b) in a benefactive applicative.

- (46) a. *niʔ nəm-nəs-əs kʷθə swiwləs kʷθə swəyʔqeʔ.*
 AUX go-DIR-3SBJ DET boy DET man
 ‘The boy went up to the man.’
 b. *łwet kʷə niʔ nəm-nəs-əs kʷθə swiwləs?*
 who DET AUX go-DIR-3SBJ DET boy
 ‘Who did the boy go up to?’
- (47) a. *niʔ č qel-meʔ-t kʷθə ləplit.*
 AUX 2SG.SBJ believe-REL-TR DET priest
 ‘You believed the priest.’
 b. *łwet niʔ qel-meʔ-t-əxʷ?*
 who AUX believe-REL-TR-2SG.SBJ
 ‘Who did you believe?’
- (48) (Gerdts 1988b: 101, 103)
 a. *niʔ ʔam-əs-t-əs kʷθə swiwləs ʔə kʷθə pukʷ.*
 AUX give-DAT-TR-3SBJ DET boy OBL DET book
 ‘He gave the boy the book.’
 b. *nił kʷθə swiwləs niʔ ʔam-əs-t-əs ʔə kʷθə pukʷ.*
 3PRO DET book AUX give-DAT-TR-3SBJ OBL DET book
 ‘It’s a boy that he gave the book to.’
- (49) a. *niʔ č qʷəl-əl-c-t tʰəñ silə ʔə kʷθə səplil.*
 AUX 2SG.SBJ cook-BEN-TR DET.2POSS grandparent OBL DET bread
 ‘You baked bread for your grandfather.’
 b. *łwet kʷə niʔ qʷəl-əl-c-t-əxʷ ʔə kʷθə səplil?*
 who DET AUX cook-BEN-TR-2SG.SBJ OBL DET bread
 ‘Who did you bake the bread for?’

In some languages of the world, the applicative construction serves to allow an NP access to rules such as extraction if direct objects but not obliques undergo such rules. However, In Hul’q’umi’num’ a secondary strategy of extraction via nominalization is available for noun phrases that are not core arguments. Extractions are constructed in different ways, depending upon the noun phrase’s grammatical relation in the corresponding basic clause (Gerdts 1988b). As we have seen above, direct objects are extracted with no special morphology. However, oblique noun phrases, as in (50a), are extracted through a process of nominalization with the oblique nominalizer *š(xʷ)*-, as in (50b).

- (50) a. *ni? č qel̥ ʔə kʷθə s-qʷaqʷəl̥-s kʷθə ləplit.*
 AUX 2SG.SBJ believe OBL DET NMZ-talk(IPFV)-3POSS DET priest
 'You believed the priest's words.'
- b. *stem kʷə ni? ʔəñ-š-qel̥?*
 what DET AUX 2POSS-OBL.NMZ-believe
 'What did you believe?'

The subject of the relative clause is expressed as a possessor, *e.g.* ʔəñ 'your'.

Extraction reveals a difference between oblique noun phrases and the oblique-marked noun phrase in redirective applicatives. A "true" oblique is extracted via nominalization with the prefix *š(xʷ)-*, as noted above, but when the theme in a redirective applicative is extracted, the predicate is nominalized with the prefix *s-*: the theme in (48a) is extracted as in (51).⁷

- (51) *nił kʷθə pukʷ ni? s-ʔam-əs-t-s kʷθə swiwləs.*
 3PRO DET book AUX NMZ-give-DAT-TR-3POSS DET boy
 'It's a book that he gave the boy.' (Gerdt 1988b: 103)

Gerdt (1988b) uses this fact as evidence against an analysis for Hul'q'umi'num' ditransitive constructions that would paraphrase an example like (48a) as "he gifted the boy with the book" since "book" does not extract like a true oblique.⁸

4.3 Combinatory properties of applicatives

This section discusses combinations of applicatives with other voice/valence constructions, such as passives, antipassives, reflexives, reciprocals, causatives, and lexical suffixation, all of which are known to relate to the concept of direct object in Hul'q'umi'num'.⁹ All of these constructions are formed with suffixes in Hul'q'umi'num' and, as previously discussed in Gerdt (1988b, 2004), the ordering of Hul'q'umi'num' morphology straightforwardly reflects the syntactic structure of a complex predicate. If construction A serves as a base for construction B, then the morphology associated with A will appear

⁷ Gerdt (1988b, 2010c) shows other oblique objects [NPs that are semantically the patient of a transitive event but grammatically an oblique-marked NP in an intransitive construction] also undergo extraction in the *s*-nominalization construction. These include patients in antipassives, free-standing NPs doubling a lexical suffix or denominal verb, and cognate objects.

⁸ Other evidence against this analysis presented in Gerdt (1988b) comes from the fact that the applied object has some but not all of the properties of the objects of mono-transitive clauses. For example, applied objects do not undergo antipassive.

⁹ Hul'q'umi'num', unlike some of the other Salish languages, does not allow multiple applicatives (Kiyosawa and Gerdt 2010b: Ch. 7).

closer to the root than the morphology associated with B (as we will see in examples below). Research reveals four types of patterns of ordering of morphology with respect to applicative suffixes: (i) some voice/valence morphology can only appear before applicatives, (ii) some can only appear after applicatives, (iii) some can appear either before or after, and (iv) some do not co-occur with applicatives at all. Sometimes relational and redirective applicatives behave differently with respect to allowable combinations of constructions.

4.3.1 Passives

Passives in Hul'q'umi'num' differ from their active counterparts in several ways. In a passive, for example (52b), the agent, if it appears, is expressed as an oblique noun phrase:

- (52) a. *ni? ćew-ət-əs θə sleni? t^əə swəy'qe?*
 AUX help-TR-3SBJ DET woman DET man
 'The woman helped the man.'
- b. *ni? ćew-ət-əm t^əə swəy'qe? ʔə θə sleni?*
 AUX help-TR-PASS DET man OBL DET woman
 'The man was helped by the woman.'

Because passives are intransitive, they do not take ergative agreement. Instead, the verb in a passive adds intransitive morphology, labeled PASS, to the transitive suffix; in main clauses this is the suffix *-əm*, which is historically related to the middle suffix (Gerdtz and Hukari 2006b). First- or second-person subjects in passives are indexed by a set of special passive suffixes that are historically related to the object suffixes (Gerdtz 1989), as can be seen by comparing an active clause with a second-person plural object to its passive counterpart:

- (53) a. *ćew-ətala ct ce?*
 help-TR.2PL.OBJ 1PL.SBJ FUT
 'We will help you (PL).'
- b. *ćew-ətalam ce?*
 help-TR.1/2PL.PASS FUT
 'You (PL) will be helped.' [also 'We will be helped.']

Thus, indexing for the sole argument in a passive is a portmanteau morpheme combining the general transitive suffix *-t*, a person suffix, and the passive suffix. This yields a paradigm such as that for the verb 'kill':

- (54) *q̣ay-θeləm* 'I was killed'
q̣ay-θa:m 'you were killed'
q̣ay-taləm 'we were killed'
q̣ay-taləm 'you (PL) were killed'
q̣ay-təm 'he/she/it/they were killed'

All four applicative constructions have passive counterparts:

- (55) *ni? siʔsiʔ-meʔ-θeləm ʔə-ʔ̌ čan.*
 AUX frighten-REL-TR.1SG.PASS OBL-DET John
 'John was frightened of me.'
 (Lit. 'I am the source of John's being frightened.')
- (56) *ni? nəm-nəs-əm kʷθə speʔəθ.*
 AUX go-DIR-PASS DET bear
 'They approached the bear.' (Lit. 'The bear was gone up to.')
- (57) *ʔi ʔam̓-əs-t-əm tʰə John ʔə-ʔ̌ meli. ʔə kʷθə šcki:ks.*
 AUX give-DAT-TR-PASS DET John OBL-DET Mary OBL DET vanilla.extract
 'John is being given vanilla extract by Mary.' (Gerdt 1988b: 233)
- (58) *ni? θəy-əlc-θeləm ʔə θə-nə snəxʷəl.*
 AUX fix-BEN-TR.1SG.PASS OBL DET-1SG.POSS canoe
 'Someone fixed my canoe for me.'
 (Lit. 'I was fixed my canoe for.')

All show a full range of person inflection in the passive, e.g. the following paradigm for benefactive applicatives.

- (59) *θəy-əlc-θeləm* 'I was fixed something for'
θəy-əlc-θa:m 'you were fixed something for'
θəy-əlc-taləm 'we were fixed something for'
θəy-əlc-taləm 'you (PL) were fixed something for'
θəy-əlc-təm 'he/she/it/they were fixed something for'

Hul'q'umi'num' has a complex set of restrictions on when to use active versus passive clauses (Gerdt 1988b; Gerdt and Hukari 2008), and these pertain to applicatives as well. For example, when the agent is a proper noun, a passive rather than an active clause is used (see [57] above). There is a ban on the combination of third-person subject and second-person object, and passive is often used as a repair strategy.

- (60) *ni? ʔə ċ qəl-stəx^w θə kəpu ni? s-ʔiləq-əlɕ-θamət.*
 AUX Q 2SG.SBJ bad-CAUS DT coat AUX NMZ-buy-BEN-2SG.SPASS
 ‘Do you dislike the coat that was bought for you?’

Since passive morphology is conflated with person inflection, it is not surprising that it is restricted to the very end of the verb complex, as derivational morphology appears closer to the root than passive morphology. Passives cannot be further derived into transitives by means of applicatives or causatives. Therefore, the pattern of combination is that applicatives can serve as a base for passives but not vice versa.

4.3.2 Antipassives

Most monotransitive clauses have antipassive counterparts (Gerdtz and Hukari 2005):

- (61) a. *ni? q^wəl-ət-əs t^θə sce:ltən.*
 AUX cook-TR-3SBJ DET salmon
 ‘He cooked the salmon.’
 b. *ni? q^wəl-əm ʔə t^θə sce:ltən.*
 AUX cook-MID OBL DET salmon
 ‘He cooked the salmon.’
- (62) a. *naʔət q^wəs-t-əs t^θə ʔeləm sce:ltən.*
 AUX go.in.water-TR-3SBJ DET salted salmon
 ‘She put the salted fish in water.’
 b. *naʔət q^ws-els ʔə t^θə ʔeləm sce:ltən.*
 AUX go.in.water-ACT OBL DET salted salmon
 ‘She soaked the salted fish.’

Antipassives are formed with the middle suffix *-əm* (61b), or the activity suffix *-els* (62b). The patient in the antipassive is expressed as an oblique object. A wide variety of transitive verbs have antipassive counterparts. However, as Gerdtz (1988b) notes, applicative verbs do not form antipassives, as seen in the relational applicative in (63b) and the benefactive applicative in (64b).

- (63) a. *ni? cən q^lel-meʔ-t k^wθə ləplit.*
 AUX 1SG.SBJ believe-REL-TR DET priest
 ‘I believed the priest.’
 b. **ni? cən q^lel-meʔ-əm/əls ʔə k^wθə ləplit.*
 AUX 1SG.SBJ believe-REL-MID/ACT OBL DET priest
 Intended: ‘I believed the priest.’

- (64) a. *nem̓ ʔə č θəy-əlɕ-t kʷθə-nə mən̓ə ʔə kʷθə*
 go Q 2SG.SBJ fix-BEN-TR DET-1SG.POSS child OBL DET
snəxʷəl-s?
 canoe-3POSS
 'Are you going to fix his canoe for your son?'
 b. **nem̓ ʔə č θəy-əlɕ-əm ʔə kʷθə-nə mən̓ə ʔə kʷθə*
 go Q 2SG.SBJ fix-BEN-MID OBL DET-1SG.POSS child OBL DET
snəxʷəl-s?
 canoe-3POSS
 Intended: 'Are you going to fix his canoe for your son?'

This follows from a general restriction in Hul'q'umi'num' that antipassives are not formed on derived transitive verbs, so, for example, causative constructions also do not form antipassives. Antipassive is thus one construction that distinguishes between objects in simple transitive clauses, which can be oblique objects in antipassives, and applied objects, which cannot.

4.3.3 Reflexives and reciprocals

Hul'q'umi'num' reflexives and reciprocals are formed by suffixing the reflexive *-θət* or the reciprocal *-təl* to a wide variety of both intransitive and transitive verbs (Gerdtz 2000). Table 2 gives some examples of reflexives and reciprocals formed on transitive verb roots.

Table 2: Reflexives and reciprocals.

	transitive verb	reflexive	reciprocal
a.	<i>q̣ʷaqʷət</i> 'club it'	<i>q̣ʷaqʷəθət</i> 'club self'	<i>q̣ʷaqʷətəl</i> 'club each other'
b.	<i>ʔakʷət</i> 'hook it'	<i>ʔakʷəθət</i> 'hook self'	<i>ʔakʷətəl</i> 'get hung up with each other'
c.	<i>čewət</i> 'help him/her'	<i>čawəθət</i> 'help self'	<i>čawətəl</i> 'help each other'
d.	<i>xiq̣ət</i> 'scratch him/her'	<i>xiq̣əθət</i> 'scratch self'	<i>xiq̣ətəl</i> 'scratch each other'

Both reflexives, e.g. (65) and (66), and reciprocal, e.g. (67) and (68), can be formed on relational applicatives.

- (65) *ni? cən siʔsiʔ-meʔ-θət ʔə kʷθə nə qiʔxəneʔtən niʔ ʔə*
 AUX 1SG.SBJ frighten-REL-REFL OBL DET 1SG.POSS reflection AUX OBL
kʷθə ʃkʷcastən.
 DET mirror

‘I frightened myself with my reflection in the mirror.’

- (66) *ʔi cən wəl ʔciws-maʔ-θət¹⁰ kʷə-nə-s ʔi ʔaʔiʔ.*
 AUX 1SG.SBJ already tired-REL-REFL DET-1POSS-NMZ AUX sick
 ‘I’m tired of myself being sick.’ (Gerdts and Kiyosawa 2005: 336)

- (67) *ʔeʔət xi:ʔxeʔ-meʔ-təl tʰə sʔəliqəl kʷ-s qʷəlqʷəl-təl-s.*
 AUX shy(IPFV)-REL-REC DET children DET-NMZ speak(IPFV)-REC-3POSS
 ‘The children are shy about speaking to each other.’

- (68) *ʔi yə-hənən-nəs-təl tʰə sqʷəm qʷəmeʔ.*
 AUX DYN-go(IPFV)-DIR-RECP DET dog(PL)
 ‘The dogs are going up to each other.’

In contrast, Gerdts (1988b) claims that the redirective suffixes *-as* and *-əlc* in Hul’q’umi’num’ cannot be followed by the reflexive suffix:

- (69) **niʔ cən ʔam-əs-θət.*
 AUX 1SG.SBJ give-DAT-REFL
 Intended: ‘I gave it to myself.’ (Gerdts 1988b: 113)

- (70) **niʔ ʔəʔəl-əlc-θət ʔə kʷθə səplil.*
 AUX cook-BEN-REFL OBL DET bread
 Intended: ‘He baked the bread for himself.’ (Gerdts 1988b: 113)

Syntactically, there is no reason to expect that reflexive forms of redirective applicatives should not be possible,¹¹ though Gerdts (2010a) shows that non-applicative ditransitive constructions also disallow reflexives: for example, *ʔexʷeʔt* ‘give it to him/her’ does not form a reflexive **ʔexʷeʔθət* ‘give it to oneself’ and *cset* ‘tell him or her to do something’ does not form the reflexive *cəsəθət* ‘tell oneself to do something’. Semantically it is somewhat awkward to direct an action toward the self using a construction that purposely directs the action to another person.¹²

¹⁰ The vowel *e* in the relational suffix *-meʔ* changes to *a* before the reflexive suffix (Gerdts and Hinkson 2004).

¹¹ See Kiyosawa and Gerdts (2010b: Ch. 7) for examples of reflexives formed on applicatives in other Salish languages.

¹² See the periphrastic construction in (38) above that can be used to express that meaning.

In contrast, reciprocal forms of ditransitives were easier for speakers to construct, as the meaning can be construed as an outwardly directed action doing something to “each other”, and likewise reciprocal forms of redirecive applicatives are also possible:

- (71) *ní? ct nāwān-təl ?i? θā-nā sqeʔəq ʔə kʷθā leləm ct.*
 AUX 1PL.SBJ will-RECP CNJ DET-1SG.POSS sister OBL DET house 1PL.POSS
 ‘My little sister and I willed each other our house.’

- (72) *ʔam-əs-təl*
 give-DAT-RECP
 ‘give it to each other’ (Gerds 2000: 146)

- (73) *ní? ct qʷəl-əlc-təl.*
 AUX 1PL cook-BEN-RECP
 ‘We cooked for each other.’ (Gerds 2000: 146)

We see then that both reflexives and reciprocals can follow relational applicatives but only reciprocals can follow redirecive applicatives in Hul'q'umi'num'.¹³

Research on the opposite order has uncovered another asymmetry between applicative types. Reflexives and reciprocals are detransitivizing constructions and thus they are suitable as bases for relational but not redirecive applicatives. One use of reflexive morphology is on manner-of-motion verbs, e.g. *qix* ‘slide, slip’ as a non-agentive action versus *qixəθət* ‘slide (as in sledding)’ as a verb of controlled motion. Such reflexives allow directional applicatives.

- (74) *nem qix-əθət ʔə kʷθā sθimaʔ.*
 go slide-REFL OBL DET ice
 ‘Go slide on the ice.’

- (75) *nem č pə? qiqəx-əθət-nəs tʰən men.*
 go 2SG.SBJ CERT slide-REFL-DIR DET.2POSS father
 ‘Go and skate/slide to your father.’

The reciprocal suffix can be added to intransitive verbs to express the meaning that the action was done “together”, and in the following example we see a motion verb suffixed with the reciprocal followed by a directional applicative suffix.

¹³ The difference between the range of occurrence between reciprocals and reflexives is not unexpected from a cross-linguistic viewpoint. For example, in English, reciprocal pronouns, but not reflexive pronouns, can function as possessives: compare ‘they looked at each other’s pictures’ with the unacceptable ‘*he looked at himself’s picture’.

- (76) *nem ct ce? pe? ʔəw šaqwəl ʔəšəl-təl-nəs-amə.*
 go 1PL.SBJ FUT CERT LNK go.across paddle-RECP-DIR-2SG.OBJ
 ‘We will all paddle across together toward you.’

To summarize, the two types of applicatives have different combinatory properties with respect to reflexives and reciprocals. Only relational applicatives can follow reflexives and reciprocals, and only relationals serve as bases for reflexives. Both relational and redirec-tive applicatives serve as bases for reciprocals. The lack of reflexives built on redirec-tive applicatives is one difference between mono-transitive and ditransitive constructions.

4.3.4 Causatives

Hul’q’umi’num’ causatives (Gerdts 1988b; Gerdts and Hukari 2006a) are formed with the suffix *-stəx^w*. When the base is an active intransitive verb (77a), the causative (77b) forms a transitive clause in which the causer is the subject and the causee is the direct object, and when the base is a transitive verb (78a), the causative (78b) forms a ditransitive clause in which the causee is the direct object, and the object in the corresponding transitive is an oblique object.

- (77) a. *ni? ʔəltən θə qeq*
 AUX eat DET baby
 ‘The baby ate.’
 b. *ni? cən ʔəltən-stəx^w θə qeq*
 AUX 1SG.SBJ eat-CAUS DET baby
 ‘I fed the baby.’
- (78) a. *ni? ʔiləq-ət-əs t^θə sʔiʔʔqət k^w sk^wawəs.*
 AUX buy-TR-3SBJ DET child DET bucket
 ‘The boy bought a bucket.’
 b. *ʔiləq-stəx^w č t^θə sʔiʔʔqət ʔə k^w sk^wawəs.*
 buy-CAUS 2SG.SBJ DET child OBL DET bucket
 ‘Have the boy buy a bucket.’

Relational applicatives cannot be formed on causatives, as causatives are transitive constructions, and relational applicatives are formed only on intransitive bases. In contrast, benefactive applicatives, which are formed on transitive bases, can be formed on causatives.

- (79) *ni? cən ʔəltən-əst-əlc-ət ʔə θə qeq.*
 AUX 1SG.SBJ feed-CAUS-BEN-TR OBL DET baby
 ‘I fed the baby for her.’

- (80) *nem̓ ʔənəx^w-st-əl̥c-θam̓š ʔə θə sti:č!*
 go stop-CAUS-BEN-TR.1SG.OBJ OBL DET bus
 'Stop the bus for me!'
- (81) *nem̓ x^wəʔaləm̓-st-əl̥c-ət ʔə θə ʔe:y̌x̌aľ.*
 go return-CAUS-BEN-TR OBL DET crab.young(DIM)
 'Bring the little crabs back for him.'

Next, we consider the possibility of a causative being formed on an applicative construction. Speakers easily constructed examples of directional applicatives followed by causatives:

- (82) *nəm̓-nəs-stəx^w t^əəñ siľə ʔə t^əə ʔi šqəq̌ip*
 go-DIR-CAUS DET.2POSS grandparent OBL DET AUX gathered
q^wəli:lq^wəɬ̌-təɬ̌.
 talk(PL.IPFV)-RECP
 'Have your grandfather go to the people in discussion.'
- (83) *ňi? č ʔewə-nəs-stəx^w t^əə x^wəlməx^w ʔi ťecəl.*
 AUX 2SG.SBJ come.here-DIR-CAUS DET First.Nation.people AUX arrive
 'Have the First Nation people that arrived come this way.'

Work with speakers did not reveal examples of causatives being formed on other applicatives.¹⁴

4.3.5 Lexical suffixes

Hul'q'umi'num' has over one hundred lexical suffixes, which are bound roots that have meanings analogous to free-standing nominals expressing body parts, flora and fauna, people, and cultural artifacts, such as houses, garments, and instruments. The lexical suffix usually bears little resemblance to the free-standing noun of similar meaning.

Table 3: Some lexical suffixes.

Noun	Meaning	Lexical suffix	Meaning
<i>sʔaθəs</i>	'face'	<i>-as</i>	'face', 'round object'
<i>qələm̓</i>	'eye'	<i>-alas</i>	'eye', 'loop'
<i>θaθən</i>	'mouth'	<i>-aθən</i>	'mouth', 'edge'
<i>lələm̓</i>	'house'	<i>-eł̌tx^w</i>	'house', 'building', 'room'
<i>qeq</i>	'baby'	<i>-eyəɬ̌</i>	'baby', 'younger generation'

¹⁴ See Gerdts and Hukari (2006a) for more discussion of causatives formed on transitives.

The syntax and semantics of lexical suffixes have been discussed elsewhere (Gerdtz 2003, 2010c; Gerdtz and Hinkson 1996; Hinkson 1999), but suffice it to say that the way lexical suffixes stack with applicatives rests crucially on the type of lexical suffix construction.

One type of lexical suffixes behaves as an adjunct to specify the instrument, manner, or location of the verb; the suffix attaches to an intransitive base and yields an intransitive verb.

- (84) *q̣t-aθən*
go.along-mouth
'walk along (a shore, etc.)' (Gerdtz 2003: 346)

Many cognitive/psychological predicates are formed with an adjective or intransitive verb and a lexical suffix, which embodies the experience, and such forms can be transitive with the relational applicative suffix *-meʔ*. Examples are provided in Table 4:

Table 4: Lexical suffixes preceding relational applicative.

Base	Parse	Base + <i>-meʔ</i>	meaning
<i>qil-əs</i>	bad-face 'sad'	<i>qilasmeʔt</i>	'sad for him/her/it'
<i>xʷ-θt-iwən</i>	LOC-say-inside 'think'	<i>xʷθtiwənmeʔt</i>	'think, decide about him/her/it'
<i>xʷ-qʷəl-əwən</i>	LOC-talk-inside 'think'	<i>xʷqʷələwənmeʔt</i>	'think about him/her/it'
<i>tɕ-iws</i>	cut-body 'tired'	<i>tɕiwsmeʔt</i>	'tired of him/her/it'

Another use of lexical suffixes is as a classifier relating to the direct object (whether or not the object is actually expressed). So, for example, the suffix refers to *qeq* 'baby' in (85).

- (85) *nem cən škʷ-əyət-t tʰə-nə qeq.*
go 1SG.SBJ bathe-child-TR DET-1POSS baby
'I'm going to bathe my baby.'

Transitive clauses like (85) can serve as the base for benefactive applicatives, in which the applied object is the direct object and the theme corresponding to the direct object in the base form is expressed as an oblique object.

- (86) *škʷ-əyət-əl-θamš ʔə tʰə-nə qeq.*
bathe-child-BEN-TR.1SG.OBJ OBL DET-1SG.POSS baby
'Bathe my baby for me.'

Table 5 provides some additional examples.

Table 5: Lexical suffixes followed by applicatives.

Base	Parse	Base + <i>-meʔ</i>	Meaning
<i>θay-eʔt-t</i>	fix-fabric-TR 'make a bed'	<i>θay-eʔt-əlc-t</i>	'make a bed for someone'
<i>ʔəʔq-əʔeʔ-t</i>	wash-fibre-TR 'wash wool'	<i>ʔəʔq-əʔeʔ-əlc-t</i>	'wash wool for someone'
<i>xʷ-kʷaʔ-qə-t</i>	LOC-open-container-TR 'open the container'	<i>xʷ-kʷaʔ-qə-əlc-t</i>	'open the container for someone'
<i>xʷ-tʰəʔχ-wil-t</i>	LOC-wash-vessel-TR 'wash the dishes'	<i>xʷ-tʰəʔχ-wil-əlc-t</i>	'washes dishes for someone'

As with other cases of stacking with applicatives, relational and redirecive applicatives behave differently, as they have different conditions on transitivity. Lexical suffix constructions that are intransitive serve as bases for relational applicatives and ones that are transitive serve as bases for redirecive applicatives.

We have also found examples in which the lexical suffixes *-ənəq* 'people' and *-eyl ~ eyəl* 'child/children' appear after the benefactive suffix *-əlc*. Compare the applicatives in (87) and (88)—the latter uses the lexical suffix for people to refer to the applied object.

- (87) *nem ʔa:l-əlc-ət tʰən silə ʔə tʰə ʃθəm.*
 go load-BEN-TR DT.2POSS grandparent OBL DET box
 'Go and load the box for your grandfather.'

- (88) *ʔi tecal kʷθə swawʔləs ʔa:l-əlc-ənəq ʔə kʷθə ʔəpla:ʃ.*
 AUX arrive DET young.man.PL load-BEN-people OBL DET board
 'The young men arrived who will load the lumber on the community's behalf.'

This lexical suffix always detransitivizes the clause and thus obviates the need for transitive marking.¹⁵ Additional examples of the benefactive suffix followed by human lexical suffixes follow:

¹⁵ As discussed in Gerdtz (2003, 2010c) lexical suffix constructions can be shifted from transitive to intransitive simply by deleting the transitive morphology. The construction with *-ənəq* is unique in that it does not have a transitive counterpart.

- (89) *qəx̣ kʷθə səwələm̃ ʔi nə-s-ʔiləq-əlc-eyl.*
 much DET toy AUX 1SG.POSS-NMZ-buy-BEN-child
 ‘I bought a lot of toys for the children.’
- (90) *nem̃ č θəy-əlc-eyl ʔə-kʷ šxʷʔiʔətət-s.*
 go 2SG.SBJ make-BEN-child OBL-DET bed-3POSS
 ‘Go make up beds for the children.’
- (91) *nił ceʔ tʰə yeysələ p̣etʰ-əlc-ənəq ʔə-kʷ ləxʷtən-s tʰə*
 3PRO FUT DET two.people sew-BEN-people OBL-DET blanket-3POSS DET
məstiməxʷ.
 people
 ‘These two people will be the ones to sew their blankets for the people.’
- (92) *yeysələ ceʔ kʷə peθ-əlc-ənəq ʔə θə ləxʷtən.*
 two.people FUT DET spread-BEN-people OBL DET blanket
 ‘Two people will spread the blanket for the people.’

Instructions of this sort are often heard during longhouse ceremonies where the ceremonial speakers are directing the collective work being done on behalf of a family.

4.3.6 Summary of combinations

I first summarize the combinations where the applicatives precede other constructions. We find applicatives combine with passives but not antipassives. Applicatives can form reciprocals, but only relational applicatives form reflexives. We see then that there is one difference between objects in monotransitive clauses and applied objects: the former but not the latter can be antipassivized. We also see that applicative constructions differ as to their allowable combinations: only directional applicatives form causatives and only benefactive applicatives are known to be followed by person lexical suffixes.

Next, to summarize examples where the applicatives follow other constructions, we find that the allowable combinations are predictable according to the type of applicative. Relational applicatives are formed on intransitive bases and thus they can combine with reflexives and reciprocals, which are intransitive in Hul’q’umi’num’, but not with causatives, which are transitive constructions. In contrast, redirective applicatives are formed on transitive bases and thus they can combine with causatives, but not with reflexives or reciprocals. In the case of lexical suffixes, Hul’q’umi’num’ has both

intransitive and transitive lexical suffix constructions, and the former combine with relational applicatives and the latter combine with benefactive applicatives.

5 Semantics

5.1 Meanings associated with each applicative suffix

The relational suffix *-meʔ* appears on a wide variety of verbs; relational applicatives are used when the applied object is the stimulus of a psychological predicate (the most common use), the source of a verb of motion, the goal of a speech act, the sufferer of an adversative, or the beneficiary of an intransitive verb.

(93) *-meʔ* general relational applicative

- | | | | | |
|----|--|-------------|-----------------------------|----------------------------------|
| a. | stimulus of psychological or cognitive predicate | | | |
| | <i>łciws</i> | 'tired' | <i>łciws-meʔ-t</i> | 'tired of him/her' |
| | <i>qel</i> | 'believe' | <i>qel-meʔ-t</i> | 'believe him/her' |
| | <i>siʔsiʔ</i> | 'be afraid' | <i>siʔsiʔ-meʔ-t</i> | 'afraid of him/her/it' |
| | <i>xiʔxeʔ</i> | 'ashamed' | <i>xiʔxeʔ-meʔ-t</i> | 'ashamed of him/her' |
| | <i>siwəl</i> | 'sense' | <i>siwəl-meʔ-t</i> | 'sense him/her/it' |
| b. | source of verb of motion | | | |
| | <i>łəw</i> | 'run away' | <i>łəw-mə-t</i> | 'run away from him/her' |
| | <i>kʷe:l</i> | 'hide' | <i>kʷe:l-meʔ-t</i> | 'hide from him/her' |
| c. | goal of speech or expressive act | | | |
| | <i>xʷəyxʷəyasəm</i> | 'brag' | <i>xʷəyxʷəyas-meʔ-t</i> | 'bragging to him/her' |
| | <i>xe:m</i> | 'cry' | <i>xe:ʔəm-mə-t</i> | 'crying over him/her' |
| | <i>qʷal</i> | 'speak' | <i>qʷal-mə-t</i> | 'lecture to, bawl out him/her' |
| d. | adversative (often in passive) ¹⁶ | | | |
| | <i>θeʔc</i> | 'get dark' | <i>θeʔc-meʔ-t</i> | 'get dark on him/her' |
| | <i>łəməxʷ</i> | 'rain' | <i>θəməxʷ-meʔ-t-əm</i> | '(he/she/it) get rained on' |
| | <i>yəq</i> | 'snow' | <i>yəq-meʔ-t-əm</i> | '(he/she/it) get snowed on' |
| | <i>sqʷəlqʷalxʷ</i> | 'hail' | <i>sqʷəlqʷalxʷ-meʔ-t-əm</i> | '(he/she/it) get hailed on' |
| e. | beneficiary of intransitive verb | | | |
| | <i>kʷukʷ</i> | 'cook' | <i>kʷukʷ-meʔ-t</i> | 'cook for him/her' |
| | <i>ya:ys</i> | 'work' | <i>ya:ys-meʔ-t</i> | 'work for him/her' ¹⁷ |

¹⁶ See Gerdts (2012) and Kiyosawa and Gerdts (2010a) for discussion of adversatives in Hul'q'umi'num'.

¹⁷ This verb also means 'to work on' a person in a spiritual sense.

The directional *-nəs* appears on a wide variety of motion verbs:

- | | | | | |
|------|---------------------------|-------------|------------------------------|--------------------------------|
| (94) | <i>nem</i> | ‘go’ | <i>nəmnəs</i> ¹⁸ | ‘go toward him/her/it/them’ |
| | <i>?ewə</i> | ‘come’ | <i>?ewənəs</i> | ‘come toward him/her/it/them’ |
| | <i>ʃ^wčənəm</i> | ‘run’ | <i>ʃ^wčənəmnəs</i> | ‘run toward him/her/it/them’ |
| | <i>x^wəni?</i> | ‘get there’ | <i>x^wəniñs</i> | ‘get there to him/her/it/them’ |

The dative applicative suffix *-as* appears in only a half dozen verb forms:

- | | | | | |
|------|---------------------------|-----------|-------------------------------|-------------------------|
| (95) | (Gerdtz and Hinkson 2004) | | | |
| | <i>?e?əm</i> | ‘give’ | <i>?əm-əs-t</i> | ‘give it to him/her’ |
| | <i>sem-ət</i> | ‘sell it’ | <i>sam-əs-t</i> | ‘sell it to him/her’ |
| | <i>x^wayəm</i> | ‘sell’ | <i>x^wayəm-əs-t</i> | ‘sell it to him/her’ |
| | <i>√?iŋ</i> | ‘show’ | <i>?iŋ-əs-t</i> | ‘show it to him/her’ |
| | <i>√yəθ</i> | ‘tell’ | <i>yəθ-əs-t</i> | ‘tell him/her about it’ |

Gerdtz and Hinkson (1996, 2004) claim that the dative applicative suffix is grammaticalized from the lexical suffix ‘face’.¹⁹ In many examples, this suffix has a concrete body part meaning, e.g. *š-t^θʃ^w-as* ‘washed face’ (*√t^θʃ^w* ‘wash’), *x^w-laq^w-əs-t* ‘slap him/her on the face’, *x^w-pał-əs-t* ‘feel his/her face’ (*peł* ‘feel’). It extends semantically to various locational and directional meanings, e.g. *nə?-as* ‘facing away’ (*ni?* ‘be there’), *qəl-əs* ‘backwards’ (*qəl* ‘bad’), *qp-əs-t*, ‘turn it upside down’ (*√qp* ‘down’). There are also examples of metonymy where the lexical suffix *-as* FACE refers to the entire person or entity: *k^wl-əs-t* ‘throw liquid on him’, *ł-əs-t* ‘go pick him/her up and bring back’, *x^w-θq^w-əs-t* ‘meet, to go towards’. These two extended uses of lexical suffixes set the stage for the further development of the lexical suffix into the dative applicative morpheme, which adds to the verbal semantics the meaning that an action is directed toward a person. The verbs in dative applicatives include verbs of transaction ‘give’ and ‘sell’, a verb of perception ‘show’ (96), and the speech act verb ‘tell’ (97).

- | | | | | | |
|------|---|--------------------------|-----------|------------------------|----------------|
| (96) | <i>ni?</i> | <i>?iŋ-əs-θamš-əs</i> | <i>?ə</i> | <i>k^wθə</i> | <i>qeq-s</i> . |
| | AUX | show-DAT-TR.1SG.OBJ-3SBJ | OBL | DET | baby-3POSS |
| | ‘She showed me her baby.’ (Gerdtz and Hinkson 2004: 66) | | | | |

¹⁸ When suffixed with the directional applicative suffix, the verb *nem* ‘go’ frequently shows vowel reduction. Also, some speakers lose the glottalization of the final *m* altogether, or they restructure it as an intervocalic glottal stop: *nə?əmnəs*.

¹⁹ Gerdtz and Hinkson (2004) note that forms for ‘face’ have developed into grammatical markers elsewhere in the world. For example, in Chalcatongo Mixtec (Brugman 1983, Macaulay 1996) ‘face’ is used as a locative or dative preposition and in Ayoquesco Zapotec (MacLaury 1989) it is used as a dative preposition with verbs of speaking. Hollenbach (1995) discusses the extensions of ‘face’ in nine Mixtec dialects as well as Trique and Cuicatec.

- (97) *nɪʔ yəθ-əs-t-əs lə Mary ʔə kʷθəŋ sya:ys.*
 AUX tell-DAT-TR-3SBJ DET Mary OBL DET.2POSS work
 'He told Mary about your job.' (Gerdt 1988b: 92)

In comparison, benefactive *-əlc* is productively added to a wide variety of appropriate verbs (see Table 5 above for some examples).²⁰ Benefactive applicatives are translated with the prototypical benefactive meaning of doing something for someone's benefit, with the exception of one verb *χəlat* 'write', which as an applicative can be translated as 'write to' or 'write for' (98):

- (98) *nɪʔ χəlat-əlc-ət-əs kʷθəŋ men ʔə kʷθə pipə-s.*
 AUX write-BEN-TR-3SBJ DET.2POSS father OBL DET letter-3POSS
 'He wrote the letter to/for your father.' (Gerdt 1988b: 101)

In addition, as Kiyosawa and Gerdt (2010a) note, an example such as the following can also be used in the sense of delegation (99):

- (99) *qʷəl-əlc-θamə cən ceʔ ʔə kʷ sce:ltən.*
 cook-BEN-TR.2SG.OBJ 1SG.SBJ FUT OBL DET salmon
 'I will bake some salmon for you.'

Our colleague the late Dr. Ruby Peter explained, "You can use this for your benefit in whatever way: for you to eat, because you are unable to do it for whatever reason, because you are too busy to do it and it needs to be done, because I am being substituted to do your job, and so on." The precise meaning is determined by the context. However, the most normal or neutral reading would be that the salmon is being cooked for the referent of the object to eat themselves rather than for the salmon to be cooked to give it to someone else to eat.

5.2 Applicatives in discourse context

In the case of redirective applicatives, there are no corresponding basic constructions that are regularly used, so the purpose of the applicative is to allow the expression of the theme nominal (the oblique object) and the recipient/beneficiary (direct object) in a ditransitive clause. In the case of relational applicatives, there is always an equivalent intransitive clause in which the noun phrase corresponding to the applied object

²⁰ The Hul'q'umi'num' dictionary (Hukari and Peter 1995) lists 55 examples of words with benefactive applicatives, many with sentential examples.

is expressed as an oblique noun phrase.²¹ This raises the question: when is the basic construction versus the applicative construction used? This section attempts to answer this question by examining the noun phrases that appear in each type of clause in elicitations and in corpus data.

Hul'q'umi'num' has previously been described as having an animacy restriction on applied objects (Gerdtz 1988a, 1988b). There is indeed a strong tendency for noun phrases high on the person/animacy hierarchy to occur as applied objects rather than as obliques (100); furthermore, noun phrases low on the person/animacy hierarchy dis-prefer applicative constructions (101).

- (100) *ni? cən siʔsiʔ-meʔ-t kʷθə sqʷəmey.*
 AUX 1SG.SBJ frighten-REL-TR DET dog
 'I was frightened at the dog.' (Gerdtz and Kiyosawa 2005: 339)

- (101) *ni? cən siʔsiʔ ʔə kʷθə snəxwəl.*
 AUX 1SG.SBJ frighten OBL DET canoe
 'I was frightened at the car.' (Gerdtz and Kiyosawa 2005: 339)

Discussing person/animacy effects, Gerdtz (1988b) notes speaker judgments that animate noun phrases like 'the priest' in (102) are best expressed as applied objects rather than obliques, in contrast to an inanimate noun phrase such as 'the words of the priest' in (103).

- (102) *ni? cən qel-meʔ-t kʷθə ləplit.*
 AUX 1SG.SBJ believe-REL-TR DET priest
 'I believed the priest.' (Gerdtz and Kiyosawa 2005: 338)

- (103) *??ni? cən qel-meʔ-t kʷθə s-qʷaqʷəl-s kʷθə ləplit.*
 AUX 1SG.SBJ believe-REL-TR DET NMZ-talk(IPFV)-3POSS DET priest
 'I believed the words of the priest.' (Gerdtz and Kiyosawa 2005: 338)

Likewise, inanimate noun phrases (104) are better obliques than animate noun phrases (105).

- (104) *ni? cən qel ʔə kʷθə s-qʷaqʷəl-s kʷθə ləplit.*
 AUX 1SG.SBJ believe OBL DET NMZ-talk(IPFV)-3POSS DET priest
 'I believed the priest's words.' (Gerdtz and Kiyosawa 2005: 341)

21 The endpoint of a motion verb is sometimes expressed as an oblique phrase in a serial verb construction using motion verbs such as *neh* 'go' and *xʷteʔ* 'go toward' (Gerdtz 2010b).

- (105) *?*ni? cən qelʔ ʔə kʷθə ləplit.*
 AUX 1SG.SBJ believe OBL DET priest
 Intended: 'I believed the priest.' (Gerdtz and Kiyosawa 2005: 341)

However, as Gerdtz and Kiyosawa (2005b) show, in certain contexts the acceptability of an inanimate applied object improves greatly. For example, the fog is a force of nature in (106).

- (106) *ʔeʔət xʷiʔ siʔsiʔ-meʔ-t-əs tʰə speʔxʷəm kʷs nemʔ-s*
 AUX INCH frightened-REL-3SBJ DET fog DET.N go-3POSS
ʔəlīm-t-əs tʰə snəxʷət-s.
 steer-TR-3SBJ DET canoe-3POSS
 'He's scared of the fog when he drives his car.' (Gerdtz and Kiyosawa 2005: 343)

Similarly, when an animate stimulus is expressed as an oblique (107), there is a down-playing of the participation of the stimulus.

- (107) *niʔ ʔə ʕ wəl kʷiləm ʔə kʷθə ʔi hiwələm sʔəlɪqətʔ*
 AUX Q 2SG.SBJ PRF fed.up OBL DET AUX play(IPFV) children
 'Are you fed up with the playing children?' (Gerdtz and Kiyosawa 2005: 343)

After all it is the disturbance made by the children that is annoying and not the children themselves.

To try to enumerate the effect of person and animacy, we constructed a randomized list of English sentences based on psych predicates known to take the relational suffix *-meʔ* with a variety of potential applied objects and then asked for translations from one speaker (the late Dr. Ruby Peter) over a period of several days. The results, summarized in Table 6, show the higher the person/animacy of a noun phrase, the more likely that it will appear as an applied object rather than as an oblique noun phrase.

Table 6: Applied object vs. oblique NP.

	Applied object		Oblique	
1st/2nd person	40	100%	0	0%
proper noun	20	95%	1	5%
other human	57	90%	6	10%
animal	10	63%	6	37%
inanimate	19	46%	22	54%
total	146	81%	35	19%

Next, we turned to our corpus of texts to make a comparison of person/animacy effects in applied objects compared to their oblique counterparts. We used a 5,000-line corpus

of Hul'q'umi'num' texts. We counted relational applicatives—relational applicatives formed with the suffix *-meʔ* and directional applicatives formed with the suffix *-nas*—and also any intransitive clauses that contained an oblique phrase with the appropriate semantics (stimulus, goal, etc.) and a verb that is known to take these suffixes. We summarize the results in Table 7.

Table 7: Applied object vs. oblique NP.

	Applied object	Oblique
1st/2nd person	1	0
other human	8	8
animal	1	4
inanimate	3	4
location, clause	6	77
total	19	93

Comparing the text data in Table 7 with the elicited data in Table 6, we see some interesting results. First, it is noticeable that the use of relational applicatives is fairly rare in texts. There is only one example involving a first or second person, and this is an applicative. But noticeably, almost half of the noun phrases referring to humans and all but one of the noun phrases referring to animals were expressed as obliques. Why did 8 out of 16 human noun phrases appear as obliques rather than applied objects, given the propensity of humans as applied objects in the elicited data? We found various factors at work. For example, many of the humans expressed as oblique noun phrases did not refer to individualized persons, but rather to institutionalized positions, such as Indian agent, or to generics such as “elders”, “white man”, or “people”, see for example this line from the story ‘Hunting with Flares’ by Samuel Tom.

- (108) *səw̓ nem-s ʔə tʰə ʔičənt ʔiʔ qʷal, “nə sʰiʔ*
 NMZ.LNK go-3POSS OBL DET agent CNJ say 1SG.POSS want
kʷəñs ʔam-əs-θ-əxʷ ʔə kʷə-nə sʔəltən.
 DET.2POSS.NMZ give-DAT-1SG.OBJ-2SG.SBJ OBL DET-1SG.POSS food
 ‘They go to the Indian agent and say, “I want you to give me my food.”’

Oblique phrases are indeed used to express the majority of inanimate noun phrases and locations and clauses (81 of 90, or 90%). We found only 9 examples where they were expressed as applied objects. One observation is that when an inanimate item is the central topic of the text, then it will tend to appear as an applied object, especially if it has already been established. In the following excerpt from the story *Syaləčaʔ* by Basil Alphonse, the smoke, expressed as an applied object in (112), is important because it is leading them to the house of the title character.

- (109) *ni.i.i? wə́ce? ʔə k'wəʔinət ʔi? ni? wət wil tʰə*
 AUX get.to.top OBL over.there CNJ AUX then appear DET
sʔeyəqəm.
 smoke
 'When they got to the mountain top they could see smoke.'
- (110) *səw təl-nəxʷ-əs θəwnil, "wət nil tʰey ni? ʔeyqəm."*
 NMZ.LNK think-NC-3SBJ that.one now 3PRO DET AUX smoke(IPFV)
 'She thought, "That is the place where the smoke is coming from."
- (111) *hay sis ʔəw wət nem.*
 only NMZ.AUX.3POSS LNK then go
 'They started again.'
- (112) *mi.i.i ʔewə-nəs-əs tʰə ʔeyqəm.*
 come come-DIR-3SBJ DET smoke(IPFV)
 'They walked towards the smoke.'

In example (113), from a Hul'q'umi'num' story about the Elhwa people by Manson George, the river is cast as an applied object; it is not only the home of the people being discussed, but it is also the main place where the story is set:

- (113) *sis miw ʔewə-nəs-əm tʰə staləw-s tʰəw-neʔəl*
 NMZ.AUX.3POSS come. LNK come-DIR-PASS DET river-3POSS DET-3PRO(PL)
ʔiʔlʔʷa . . .
 Elhwa
 'And they came to the river of the Elhwa people. . .'

Examples such as these lead Gerdt and Kiyosawa (2005b) to the conclusion that the person/animacy effects are simply an artifact of other properties. What we see in the data overall is that it is not the person or animacy of the noun phrase that determines whether it appears as an applied object or an oblique, but rather its topic-worthiness. Higher animates are inherently more topical, and things and places of interest to the storyline or to the main character are also topical and thus can appear as applied objects. First and second persons are universally more central to the discourse and thus are topic-worthy. Animates generally outrank inanimates in their degree of importance in a conversation. Thus, the person/animacy effects are a by-product of the salience of the noun phrases to the discourse. Most research on topics in Salish language focuses on subjecthood and the use of passive voice (see Gerdt and Hukari 2008, and references therein). But our result here shows that more research is needed on the discourse properties of objects.

6 Conclusion

This chapter surveys the basic morphological, syntactic, and semantic properties of Hul'q'umi'num' applicatives. The main conclusions are as follows:

Morphology

- Hul'q'umi'num' has four applicative suffixes: *-meʔ* 'RELATIONAL', *-nəs* 'DIRECTIONAL', *-as* 'DATIVE', and *-əlc* 'BENEFACTIVE'.
- The dative suffix arose from the lexical suffix for 'face', suggesting a metonymic construction as the path of grammaticization. Sources for the other applicative suffixes are unclear.
- Applicative morphemes combine with a wide-variety of other morphemes marking valence/voice phenomena, and the combinatory order is transparent from the ordering of the morpheme associated with each construction. The applicative suffixes can appear after the antipassive suffixes, as well as various aspectual suffixes relating to verb classes, and they appear before transitive, object, subject, and passive inflection. Applicative suffixes can appear both before and after reflexive, reciprocal, causative, and lexical suffixes so long as restrictions on the transitivity of the base form are followed and a suitable meaning can be found.

Syntax

- We can distinguish two types of applicative constructions in Hul'q'umi'num': relational applicatives are transitive clauses whose corresponding basic clause is intransitive, and redirective applicatives are ditransitive clauses whose corresponding basic clause (if it has one) is monotransitive.
- The two relational applicatives, formed with *meʔ* 'RELATIONAL' and *-nəs* 'DIRECTIONAL', have intransitive counterparts in which the relevant noun phrase may appear as an oblique noun phrase (an optional adjunct) in the clause or in a serial verb construction. All relational applicatives constructions have intransitive counterparts. Relational applicatives have a valence-increasing effect and the applied object is the direct object.
- Benefactive applicatives are ditransitives built on transitive constructions. Dative applicatives (with the exception of the verb pair *šəmət* 'sell it' / *šəməst* 'sell it to him/her') do not have non-applicative counterparts. The applied object in a redirective applicative is always cast as the direct object and the theme noun phrase is cast as an oblique-marked object. This is characteristic of ditransitives in Hul'q'umi'num', a primary/secondary object language. Redirective applicatives show all the hallmarks of ditransitive constructions, with the sole difference being the presence of applicative morphology.
- Applied objects have some but not all the properties of direct objects in simple transitive sentences. The inflect with object person markers, they combine with

passive, reflexive, and reciprocal constructions, and undergo a range of extraction processes. However, they cannot be demoted in an antipassive construction.

Semantics

- The relational suffix *-meʔ* appears on a wide variety of verbs; relational applicatives are used when the applied object is the stimulus of a psychological predicate (the most common use), the source of a verb of motion, the goal of a speech act, the sufferer of an adversative, or the beneficiary of an intransitive verb. By contrast, the semantic role associated with the relational suffix *-nas* is limited to the goal of a motion verb.
- The redirecive suffix *-əlc* is productively added to transitive verbs to license applied objects that are beneficiaries. By contrast, the redirecive suffix *-as* appears on only a half dozen verbs to express applied objects that are recipients or goals.
- Applicative constructions are useful devices for expressing topic-worthy noun phrases as direct objects.

Abbreviations

ACT	activity
AUX	auxiliary
BEN	benefactive applicative
CAUS	causative
CERT	certainty
CNJ	conjunction
DAT	dative applicative
DEM	demonstrative
DIM	diminutive
DLM	delimiter
DET	determiner
DIR	directional applicative
DYN	dynamic
FUT	future
IMP	imperative
INCH	inchoative
IPFV	imperfective
LNK	linker used for connective and complementizer
LOC	locative prefix
MID	middle
NMZ	nominalizer
NC	non-control
OBJ	object
OBL	oblique
PASS	passive

PL	plural
POSS	possessive
PRF	perfect
PRO	pronoun
PST	past
Q	interrogative
RDR	redirective applicative
RECP	reciprocal
REFL	reflexive
REL	relational applicative
SG	singular
SPASS	subordinate clause passive
SBJ	subject
TR	transitive

References

- Brugman, Claudia. 1983. The use of body-part terms as locatives in Chalcatongo Mixtec. *Report No. 4 of the Survey of California and other Languages* 4. 235–290.
- Dryer, Matthew S. 1986. Primary objects, secondary objects, and antitativity. *Language* 62(4). 808–845.
- Gerdtz, Donna B. 1984. A relational analysis of Halkomelem causals. In Eung-Do Cook & Donna B. Gerdtz (eds.), *Syntax and Semantics, Vol. 16: The syntax of Native American languages*, 169–204. New York: Academic Press.
- Gerdtz, Donna B. 1988a. A nominal hierarchy in Halkomelem clausal organization. *Anthropological Linguistics* 30(1). 20–36.
- Gerdtz, Donna B. 1988b. *Object and absolutive in Halkomelem Salish*. New York: Garland Publishing.
- Gerdtz, Donna B. 1989. Relational parameters of reflexives: The Halkomelem evidence. In Donna B. Gerdtz & Karin Michelson (eds.), *Theoretical perspectives on Native American languages*, 259–280. New York: State University of New York Press.
- Gerdtz, Donna B. 2000. Combinatory restrictions on Halkomelem reflexives and reciprocals. In Zygmunt Frajzyngier & Traci S. Curl (eds.), *Reciprocals: Forms and functions*, 133–160. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.
- Gerdtz, Donna B. 2003. The morphosyntax of Halkomelem lexical suffixes. *International Journal of American Linguistics* 69(4). 345–356.
- Gerdtz, Donna B. 2004. Combinatory conditions on Halkomelem causatives. *Linguistics* 42(4). 767–789.
- Gerdtz, Donna B. 2010a. Ditransitive constructions in Halkomelem Salish: A direct object/oblique object language. In Andrej Malchukov, Martin Haspelmath & Bernard Comrie (eds.), *Studies in ditransitive constructions: A comparative handbook*, 563–610. Berlin: De Gruyter Mouton.
- Gerdtz, Donna B. 2010b. Semantic effects in Halkomelem directional applicatives. *Northwest Journal of Linguistics* 4(3). 1–17.
- Gerdtz, Donna B. 2010c. Three doubling constructions in Halkomelem Salish. In Donna B. Gerdtz, John C. Moore & Maria Polinsky (eds.), *Hypothesis A / Hypothesis B: Linguistic explorations in honor of David M. Perlmutter*, 183–201. Cambridge, Massachusetts: The MIT Press.
- Gerdtz, Donna B. 2012. Ghosts, mirrors, and adversative passives in Hul'q'umi'num'. *Northwest Journal of Linguistics* 6(4). 1–11.

- Gerdts, Donna B. 2016. *Object and absolute in Halkomelem Salish*. London: Routledge. (Republication of Gerdts 1988b)
- Gerdts, Donna B. & Mercedes Hinkson. 1996. Salish lexical suffixes: A case of decategorialization. In Adele Goldberg (ed.), *Proceedings of the Conference on Conceptual Structure, Discourse, and Language*, 163–176. Stanford, California: CSLI Publications.
- Gerdts, Donna B. & Mercedes Hinkson. 2004. The grammaticalization of Halkomelem 'face' into a dative applicative suffix. *International Journal of American Linguistics* 70(3). 227–250.
- Gerdts, Donna B. & Thomas E. Hukari. 2005. Multiple antipassives in Halkomelem Salish. *Proceedings of the Twenty-sixth Annual Meeting of the Berkeley Linguistics Society, Special Session*, 51–62. Berkeley: University of California.
- Gerdts, Donna B. & Thomas E. Hukari. 2006a. Classifying Hul'q'umi'num' causatives. *Papers for the 41st International Conference on Salish and Neighbouring Languages, University of British Columbia Working Papers in Linguistics* 18. 129–145.
- Gerdts, Donna B. & Thomas E. Hukari. 2006b. The Halkomelem middle: A complex network of constructions. *Anthropological Linguistics* 48(1). 44–81.
- Gerdts, Donna B. & Thomas E. Hukari. 2008. The expression of noun phrases in Halkomelem texts. *Anthropological Linguistics* 50(3/4). 1–41.
- Gerdts, Donna B. & Kaoru Kiyosawa. 2005. Halkomelem psych applicatives. *Studies in Language* 29(2). 329–362.
- Hollenbach, Barbara E. 1995. Semantic and syntactic extensions of body-part terms in Mixtecan: The case of 'face' and 'foot'. *International Journal of American Linguistics* 61(2). 168–190.
- Hinkson, Mercedes Quesney. 1999. *Salishan lexical suffixes: A study in the conceptualization of space*. Burnaby, British Columbia: Simon Fraser University dissertation.
- Hukari, Thomas E. (editor) & Ruby Peter (associate editor). 1995. *Hul'q'umi'num' dictionary*. Duncan, British Columbia: Cowichan Tribes.
- Kiyosawa, Kaoru & Donna B. Gerdts. 2010a. Benefactive and malefactive uses of Salish applicatives. In Fernando Zúñiga & Seppo Kittilä (eds.), *Benefactives and malefactives: Typological perspectives and case studies*, 147–184. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.
- Kiyosawa, Kaoru & Donna B. Gerdts. 2010b. *Salish applicatives*. Leiden: Brill.
- MacLaury, Robert. 1989. Zapotec body part locatives: Prototypes and metaphoric extensions. *International Journal of American Linguistics* 55(2). 119–154.
- Macaulay, Monica. 1996. *A Grammar of Chalcontongo Mixtec*. UCPL 127. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Peterson, David A. 2007. *Applicative constructions*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Zúñiga, Fernando & Denis Creissels. This volume. Applicative constructions: An introductory overview.