スライアモン・セイリッシュ語のアプリカティブ接尾辞の歴史的起源について

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1. Introduction

Sliammon is one of the twenty-three languages that comprise the Salish language family. Major branches within Salish are: Bella Coola, Central Salish, Tillamook, Tsamosan, and Interior Salish Czaykowska-Higgins and Kinkade (1998:175). Sliammon is the northernmost language of the Central branch.[1] There may be some evidence for three sub-branches in the Central branch: Northern, Mid, and Southern (Kiyosawa & Gerdts 2010:12).[2] See Table 1.

Salishan languages have rather complex morphology, employing reduplication and affixation (mostly suffixes) as main processes. Verbal morphology includes transitive, causative, active-intransitive (antipassive), middle, object (if transitive), reflexive, reciprocal, and applicative.

Each Salish language has at least two applicative suffixes. They are listed in Table 1.

The Sliammon applicative suffixes have been described in Watanabe (1996; 2003:243-261): *-ʔəm, -mi, -ni*. The purpose of this paper is to add another suffix, *-us*, as the Dative applicative, and to investigate the historical origins of these suffixes.

Table 1. Salish Language Family and Applicative Suffixes[3]

Branch		Language	Applicative suffixes
Bella Coola			-amk, -m
Central Salish	Northern	**Sliammon**/Comox	-ʔəm, -mi, -ni
		Sechelt (Se)	-əm, -mi, -ni
		Pentlatch	
	Mid	Squamish (Sq)	-ši, -mi, -ni
		Halkomelem (Hk)	-as, -ɬc, -meʔ, -nəs
		Nooksack	-ši, -ni, -ns
		Northern Straits	-si, -ŋiy, -nəs
		Klallam (Kl)	-si, -ŋi, -nəs

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[1] Sliammon is also known in the technical literature as the Mainland dialect of Comox. The dialect is spoken by three groups (or bands): Sliammon, Homalco, and Klahoose. For details on the issue of these designations, see Watanabe (2003: 2-3). I refer to this language as "Sliammon" in this paper. Also, I refer to the Salish languages by their anglicized names.

[2] Citing Dale Kinkade (p.c.).

[3] Kiyosawa and Gerdts (2010:20) with slight modification.

Southern	Lushootseed	-yi, -bi, -di, -(a)c	
	Twana	-ši, -ac	
Tillamook		-ši, -əwi, -əs	
Tsamosan	Upper Chehalis	-ši, -tuxʷt, -mi(s), -ni, -t(a)s, -tmi	
	Cowlitz	-ši, -tuxʷt, -mi(s), -ni, -t(a)s, -s	
	Quinalt		
	Lower Chehalis		
Interior Salish	Lillooet	-xit, -min	
	Thompson	-xi, -mi	
	Shuswap	-xi, -mi	
	Okanagan	-xi, -ł, -tuł, -mi	
	Kalispel	-xi, -ł, -mi	
	Coeur d'Alene	-ši, -ł, -tuł, -min	
	Columbian	-xit, -ł, -tuł, -mi	

Most notably nearly all Salish languages have the reflex of *-*xi* and *-*mi*.

Historical sound changes that are relevant to applicative suffixes are given in Table 2.

Table 2. Relevant Sound Changes[4]

Proto-Salish		
*x	š	Sliammon/Comox, Sechelt, Squamish, [Island] Halkomelem, Nooksack, Lushootseed, Twana, Tillamook, Upper Chehalis, Cowlitz, Kalispel, Coeur d'Alene
*x	s	Northern Straits, Klallam
*m	ŋ	Northern Straits, Klallam
*m	b	Lushootseed, Twana
*m	w	Tillamook
*n	d	Lushootseed, Twana

2. Indirective -ʔəm.
2.1. Form and function.

The suffix -*ʔəm* followed immediately by the Control or the Noncontrol transitivizer creates stems that imply an actor and two goals. Since the maximum number of participants that can be encoded in a predicate is two, only the actor and one of the two goals can be marked overtly; the

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second goal must be expressed, if expressed at all, in an oblique NP.[5]

-ʔəm is realized as -aʔam immediately after sequences of two or more consonants.

(1) Indirectives		Control transitives	
ʔix̣-ʔəm-t	'carve (s.t.) for him'	ʔix̣-i-t	'carve it'
gət'ᶿ-ʔəm-t	'chop (s.t.) for him'	gət'ᶿ-t	'chop it'
gəq'-ʔəm-t	'open (s.t.) for him'	gəq'-t	'open it'
ǰax̣ʷ-ʔəm-t	'thaw (s.t.) for him'	ǰax̣ʷ-a-t	'thaw it'
ƛəpxʷ-aʔam-t	'break (s.t.) for him'	ƛəpxʷ-a-t	'break it'
p'əsxʷ-aʔam-t	'flatten (s.t.) for him'	p'əsxʷ-a-t	'flatten it'
q'ətxʷ-aʔam-t	'burn (s.t.) for him'	q'ətxʷ-a-t	'burn it'
t'əmq'ʷ-aʔam-t	'break off (a piece, e.g., of bread) for him'	t'əmq'ʷ-a-t	'break it [e.g., bread into pieces]'

(2) Indirectives		Agentive free roots	
ǰəƛ'-ʔəm-t	'run for him'	ǰəƛ'	'run'
ʔiɬq'ay-ʔəm-t	'barbecue seal for him'	ʔiɬq'ay	'barbecue seal'
qʷay-ʔəm-t	'ask (s.o.) on behalf of him'	qʷay	'say'
ʔuɬqʷu-ʔəm-t	'dig clams for him'	ʔuɬqʷu	'dig clams'

(3) Indirectives		Middle stems	
čiɬ-im-ʔəm-t	'dance for him'	čiɬ-im	'dance'
č'ah-am-ʔəm-t	'pray for him'	č'ah-am	'pray'
tiwš-am-ʔəm-t	'teach (s.o.) for her'	tiwš-am	'learn'

(4a) t'əmq'ʷ-a-t-as   tə̰ saplin
      break-LV-CTR-3ERG   DET̰ bread
      'He breaks off the bread.'

(4b) t'əmq'ʷ-**aʔam**-t-as   tə̰ čuy'   ʔə̰ tə̰ saplin
      break-IND-CTR-3ERG   DET̰ child   OBL̰ DET̰ bread
      'He breaks off the bread for the child.'

(5) məkʷ-**ʔəm**-θ-as
      eat-IND-CTR+1SG.OBJ-3ERG
      'He [or an unknown s.o.] ate my food [on me, by stealing it from my plate].'

'He ate it for me [because I could not finish it].'

2.2. Active-intransitive -ʔəm.

Morphologically, there are two types of intransitive predicates in Sliammon: unsuffixed and suffixed. Unsuffixed intransitives are equivalent to the bare forms of free roots. Suffixed intransitives are formed with one of the three intransitive suffixes: *-ʔəm* 'Active-intransitive', *-Vm* 'Middle', and *-Vš*. It is most likely that the Active-intransitive and the Middle are both reflexes of the Proto-Salish **-(ə)m*. Sliammon is different from most Salish, and indeed from Sechelt, in that it developed distinct suffixes for Active-intransitive and Middle.

The **Active-intransitive** suffix renders agentive intransitive stems. The subject of such stems is the one who performs the act denoted by the root. The logical patient is demoted to an oblique status and expressed, if expressed at all, in an oblique NP.

The Active-intransitive *-ʔəm* is realized as *-aʔam* immediately after sequences of two or more consonants.

(6) Active-intransitives formed with free roots

Active-intransitive		Unsuffixed intransitive	
gət'ᶿ-ʔəm	'chop (wood)'	gət'ᶿ	'split' (Intr.)
ǰax̣ʷ-ʔəm	'melt (s.t.)'	ǰax̣ʷ	'melt' (Intr.)
kʷəɬ-ʔəm	'untie (s.t.); loosen (s.t.)'	kʷəɬ	'become untied; get loose'
k'ʷəɬ-ʔəm	'pour (s.t.)'	k'ʷəɬ	'be spilled'
k'ʷəq-ʔəm	'chop (wood)'	k'ʷəq	'split' (Intr.)
ƛ'uɬ-ʔəm	'raise (a child)'	ƛ'uɬ	'grow up'
yəč'-ʔəm	'fill (s.t.)[container]'	yəč'	'[container is] full'
kʷətxʷ-aʔam	'light (s.t.)'	kʷətxʷ	'catch fire'
ƛəpxʷ-aʔam	'break (s.t.) [in two]'	ƛəpxʷ	'break [in two]' (Intr.)
p'əsxʷ-aʔam	'burst (s.t.); deflate (s.t.)[e.g., tire, ball]'	p'əsxʷ	'burst; deflate' (Intr.)
q'ətxʷ-aʔam	'burn (s.t.)'	q'ətxʷ	'burn' (Intr.)

(7) Active-intransitives formed with bound roots: *yəq-ʔəm* 'buy (s.t.)', *θiq-ʔəm* 'dig (s.t.)', *θəx̣ʷ-ʔəm* 'stab (s.t.)', *ʔix̣-ʔəm* 'carve (s.t.)', *gət'ᶿ-ʔəm* 'chop (wood)', *ʔat'ᶿq'ʷ-aʔam* 'boil (meat)'

(8a) q'ətxʷ ‿čən
       burn ‿1SG.INDC.SBJ
       'I got burnt.'

(8b) q'ətxʷ-aʔam ‿č
       burn-A.INTR ‿1SG.INDC.SBJ
       'I burn (s.t.).'

(8c)　q'ətxʷ-aʔam ‿č　　　ʔə‿ tə‿ pipa
　　　burn-A.INTR ‿1SG.INDC　　OBL‿ DET‿ paper
　　　'I burned (some) paper.'

(8d)　q'ətxʷ-a-t ‿tᶿəm　　　　　tiʔi　pəq　　pipa
　　　burn-LV-CTR ‿1SG.INDC.SBJ+FUT　DEM　whilte　paper
　　　'I am going to burn this white paper.'

　　　The **Middle** suffix *-Vm* forms stems whose meanings fall reasonably within the category of the 'middle voice' (as discussed, for example, by Kemmer (1994)). This suffix is realized with any one of the four phonemic vowels.

(9) **-am**: *č'ah-am* 'pray', *has-am* 'sneeze', *ǰaq'ʷ-am* 'sweat', *ƛan-am* 'be embarrassed', *qah-am* 'open mouth', *san-am* 'fall overboard', *šas-am* 'sneak', *t'ᶿaq-am* 'be sour [e.g., berries]', *xag-am* 'cry', *t'ᶿik'ʷ-am'* '(be on) left side', *yikʷ-am* 'go around [e.g., a point]', *kʷət-am* 'go over', *ƛ'aɬs-am* 'be strong', *tiwš-am* 'learn'

(10) **-im**: *čiɬ-im* 'dance', *čiq-im* 'be squished, torn', *ǰix̣-im* 'collapse', *k'ʷit'ᶿ-im* 'jump', *ɬiθ-im* 'drizzle' *p'it'ᶿ-im* 'squeezing (s.t.)', *t'ig-im* 'sweet', *t'iq-im* 'shining', *x̣it'ᶿ-im* 'be raw, not ripe', *həš-im* 'smell bad', *kʷəǰ-im* 'shining', *č'əyk'-im* 'being fried', *gəsx̣-im* 'making banging noise', *ǰətkʷ-im* 'shaking [e.g., leaves]', *t'ᶿətg-im* 'jingling'

(11) **-um**: *t'ikʷ-um* 'disembark [from boat, car]', *guh-um* '[animal] bark', *k'ʷuƛ'-um* 'salty taste', *luq'ʷ-um* 'be stuck [in mud, sand]', *nuh-um* '[people] gather [esp. for a feast]', *tuq'ʷ-um* 'cough', *t'us-um* 'be quiet', *kapu-h-um* 'put on a coat'

(12) **-əm**: *ʔat'-əm* '[hair] fall off', *ǰat-əm* 'move', *mač'-əm* 'lubricate, rub [with oil]', *tač-əm* 'be visible' (possibly *tač-am*), *x̣as-əm* 'rustle, make rustling sound', *x̣ʷay-əm* 'dive', *ǰuk'ʷ-əm* '[glass] break, shatter', *kʷət-əm* 'get sick', *nəš-əm* 'swim', *pəč-əm* 'wake up', *p'əƛ-əm* 'pick fruit', *q'ay'-əm* 'camp', *qəkʷ-əm* 'stop', *qəs-əm* 'laugh', *qʷaʔq'ʷ-əm* 'bump (into s.t.)', *səč-əm* 'itch', *səkʷ-əm* 'shake [from cold]', *θay'-əm* 'sink', *məsq'ʷ-əm* 'be soft', *təɬq'ʷ-əm* '[ball] bounce, be bouncy'

Given the allormorphy and function (demotion of logical patient), it is likely that the Active-intransitive suffix came to be used as an applicative suffix, in which case the (reflex of the) Proto-Salish **-xi* must have been replaced by it.

However, we should also take Sechelt into consideration.

2.3. Sechelt

One of the applicative suffixes in Sechelt is *-ə́m* 'benefactive' (Beaumont 1985; 2011). It is apparently always realized as *-ə́m*, even after two consonants.

(13) Se.　t'i ‿čən　　　　lácəm-**ə́m**-t-cí
　　　　　　AUX ‿1SG.INDC.SBJ　fix-APPL-CTR-2SG.OBJ
　　　'I fixed it for you.' (Beaumont 1985:109)

(14) Se. x̣ə́l-**ə́m**-t-cí-m ˏskʷa   ʔəˏ X̣'əˏ tán
         write-APPL-CTR-2SG.OBJ-PASS ˏFUT   OBL ˏ2SG.POSS ˏmother
    'Your mother will write it for you.' (*lit.* 'It will be written for you by your mother.')
         (Beaumont 1985:110)

Sechelt applicative -*ə́m* after CC: no allomorph.
(15) Se. qʷə́X̣'-st-**ə́m**-t
         come-CAU-APPL-TR
    'bring/take s.t. to s.o.' (Beaumont 2011:581)

(16) Se. yú-st-**ə́m**-t
         go.home-CAU-APPL-TR
    'bring/take (s.t.) home for s.o.'

    In Sechelt -*(V)m* is a quite common marker of intransitives that corresponds to both Active-intransitives and Middles in Sliammon.

(17a)		Sliammon	Sechelt	(17b)		Sliammon	Sechelt
		Active-intr.				Middle	
	'shoot'	t'ut'ᶿ-ʔəm	t'úc'-əm		'learn'	tiwš-am	tíwš-ám
	'squeeze'	p'it'ᶿ-ʔəm	p'ə́c'-ə́m		'pray'	č'ah-am	č'íy-im
	'stab'	θəxʷ-ʔəm	ɬə́q-ə́m		'collapse'	ǰix̣-im	yíx̣-im
	'dig'	θiq-ʔəm	cíq-əm		'bark (dog)'	guh-um	wuʔ-əm, wu-m
	'pinch'	t'ᶿəyp'-aʔam	c'ə́lp'-ə́m		'be quiet'	t'us-um	t'ús-um

(18) Se. lə́p'-**ə́m**-la ʔəˏ šəˏ sáplín
         break-MDL-IMP   OBL ˏDET ˏbread
    'Break off some bread.' (Beaumont 2011:59)

(19) Se. q'ʷə́-q'ʷəl-**əm**   ʔəˏ təˏ ʔásxʷ-iws
         IMPF-cook-MDL   OBL ˏDET ˏseal-body
    'He is cooking seal-meat.' (Beaumont 2011:98)

(20) Se. tí-tiwš-**ám**   ʔəˏ təˏ msˏ qʷáltən
         IMPF-learn-MDL   OBL ˏDET ˏ1PL.POSS ˏlanguage
    'He is learning our language.' (Beaumont 2011:253)

2.4. Sliammon and Sechelt
If the intransitive suffix *-*Vm* actually came to be used as an applicative suffix in both Sliammon and Sechelt, we need to account for the difference in form of the intransitive/applicative suffixes.

Table 3. Sliammon and Sechelt Middle/Active-intransitive and Applicative

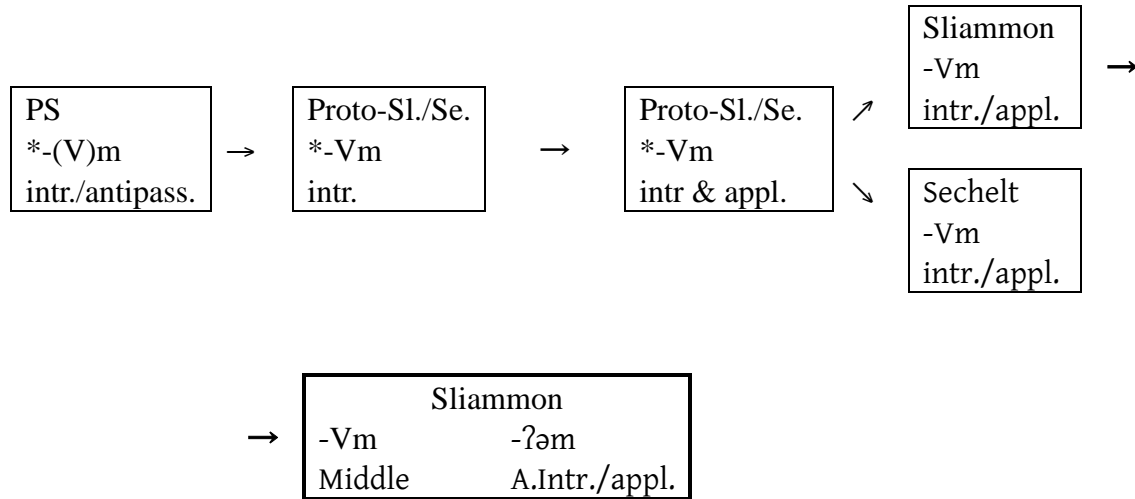|	Sliammon	Sechelt
Middle	-Vm	-Vm
Active-intr.	-ʔəm (-aʔam)	
Applicative	-ʔəm (-aʔam)	-ə́m

Figure 1. Evolution of Sliammon/Sechelt applicative suffix

Development of intransitive markers (with antipassive function) to applicatives is not found in previous literature on applicatives (e.g. Peterson 2007). Kiyosawa and Gerdts (2010:175) speculate that these applicative suffixes in Sliammon and Sechelt might be the result of grammaticalization of an older verb form 'give', as in Halkomelem *ʔəʔəm*.[6] The verb that means 'give' is a source for applicative markers in genetically unrelated languages in the world (Peterson 2007:130-133). However, this verb form is not reconstructed to Proto-Salish or Proto-Central Salish (according to Kuipers 2002), and there is no evidence that there ever was a cognate form which meant 'give' in Sliammon or Sechelt.[7] Alternatively, homonymy between an intransitive (antipassive) marker and an applicative marker is not unique to Sliammon/Sechelt; Central Alaskan Yupik has homophonous antipassive and applicative suffix, -ɣi (Miyaoka 2012:1105).

3. Dative applicative -us.
Gerdts and Hinkson (2004) conclude that the dative applicative suffix *-as* in Island Halkomelem is an innovation and that its origin is the lexical suffix *-as* 'face'.

The dative applicative suffix *-as* (*-əs* in unstressed environment) is found in the stems listed in (21)(Gerdts & Hinkson 2004:229):

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[6] Kiyosawa and Gerdts (2010:175) refute an earlier reconstruction *-VmV* by Kinkade for Sliammon *-ʔəm*, Sechelt *-əm*, and Upper Chehalis *-tmi* (Czaykowska-Higgins & Kinkade 1998:56).

[7] Kuipers (2002:37) reconstructs *-kaɬ* 'to give' for Proto-Salish. In Sliammon the root 'to give' is χənat- and in Sechelt *yat* (Beaumont 2011:183).

-as dative
(21) Hk. ʔeʔəm   'give'   ʔa:m-**əs**-t   'give it to him/her'
          sem'-ət   'sell it'   sam'-**əs**-t   'sell it to him/her'
          xʷayəm   'sell'   xʷayəm-**əs**-t 'sell it to him/her'
          √ʔiw'   'instruct' ʔiw'-**əs**-t   'show it to him/her'
          √yəθ   'tell'   yəθ-**əs**-t   'tell him/her about it'

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somatic use 'face' (22) → locational/directional extensions (23) → metonymic extensions ('person')(24) → dative applicative (21)

Figure 2. Grammaticalization of Halkomelem lexical suffix 'face' to dative applicative

(22) Hk. xʷ-ɬaq'ʷ-**əs**-t   'slap him/her on the face'
          š-t'ᶿx̣ʷ-**as**   'washed face'
          xʷ-yəqʷ-**s**   'burn face'
                              (Gerdts & Hinkson 2004:234)

(23) Hk. nəʔ-**as**   'facing away' (niʔ 'be there')
          təh-**as**   'facing this way' (təʔi 'this')
          x̣ʷtaʔ-**əs**-əm   'face toward, head toward' (x̣ʷteʔ 'toward')
          q'p'-**as**-t   'turn it upside down' (qp'ə 'down')
          c'al-**əs**-əm   'look back, turn around' (√c'al 'change, switch')
                             (Gerdts & Hinkson 2004:235)

(24) Hk. ʔiy-**əs**   'happy' (cf. ʔəy' 'good')
          qil-**əs**   'sad' (cf. qəl 'bad')
          k'ʷɬ-**as**-t   'throw liquid on him'
          ɬəlt-**əs**-t   'sprinkle him/her'
          miq'-**əs**-t   'push, force him/her underwater'
                          (Gerdts & Hinkson 2004:236)

Gerdts and Hinkson (2004:236) cite three Interior Salish languages that show the metonymic extension of the lexical suffix 'face' to 'person': Shuswap, Lillooet, and Thompson.

Sliammon shows the same somatic and extended uses of the lexical suffix 'face'.

Lexical suffix -*us* 'face, head, round object, opening, flat surface' (*muʔus* 'face, head')

Somatic uses:
(25) sa-sax̣ʷ-**us**-əm ‿č
      IMPF-shave-face-MDL ‿1SG.INDC.SBJ
      'I am shaving my face.'

(26) t'ᶿəč'xʷ-**us**-t ‿čxʷ
      cut-face-CTR ‿2SG.INDC.SBJ
      'Cut the head off (of the fish)!'

(27) kʷət-**us**-t ‿tᶿəm
go.over-face-CTR ‿1SG.INDC.SBJ+FUT
'I will turn it around. (e.g. mirror)'

Metonymic uses ('person')
(28) kʷət-**us**-əm ‿čxʷ
go.over-face-MDL
'You turn around.'

(29) xʷam-**us**-t ‿ga
wave?-face-CTR ‿IMP
'Wave at her!'

Although limited to only three stems, *-us* is used in dative applicative sense:

Dative applicative uses:
(30) q'ʷaq'ʷθ-**us**-t-as   tə‿saɬtxʷ   ʔə‿kʷ‿x̣ʷax̣ʷaǰ'im'
tell.stories-DAT-CTR-3ERG   DET‿woman   OBL‿DET‿legend
'He told the woman a legend.'

(31) q'ʷaq'ʷθ-**us**-θi ‿tᶿəm
tell.stories-DAT-CTR+2SG.OBJ ‿1SG.INDC.SBJ+FUT
'I will tell you a story.'

(32a) q'ʷaq'ʷθ-əm' ‿tᶿəm
tell.stories-MDL ‿1SG.INDC.SBJ+FUT
'I will tell a story.'

(32b) q'ʷaq'ʷθ-əm' ‿tᶿəm   ʔə‿kʷ‿k'ʷəšuθinəm
tell.stories-MDL ‿1SG.INDC.SBJ+FUT OBL‿DET‿joke
'I am going to tell a joke.'

(32c) q'ʷaq'ʷθ-a-t-as   tə‿ya-y'a-θut-s   tə‿ɬax̣ čuy'
tell.stories-LINK-CTR-3ERG DET‿IMPF-do-CTR+RFL-3POSS DET‿bad child
'He is telling about what the bad child is doing.'

(33) xʷuǰ-um-**us**-t-uɬ ‿č   ʔə‿tə‿ǰanxʷ
sell-MDL-DAT-CTR-PAST ‿1SG.INDC.SBJ   OBL‿DET‿fish
'I sold him the fish.'

(34) xʷuǰ-um-**us**-θ-as-uɬ   ʔə‿tə‿ǰanxʷ
sell-MDL-DAT-CTR+1SG.OBJ-3ERG-PAST   OBL‿DET‿fish
'He sold me the fish.'

(35a) xʷu-xʷuǰ-um   θu   (kʷ‿) pəču
      IMPF-sell-MDL   go   DET‿basket
      'She used to go and sell her basket.'

(35b) xʷaǰ-əxʷ-uɬ‿č   šə‿tᶿ‿pəču
      sell-NTR-PAST‿1SG.INDC.SBJ   DET‿1SG.POSS‿basket
      'I sold a basket (to him).'

(35c) xʷay'   tə‿ǰanxʷ
      sell   DET‿fish
      'The fish is sold.'

(36a) ta?at   x̣ič-**us**-θ-as-uɬ   kʷ‿ šin'   t'it'ist'is
      DEM   point-DAT-CTR+1SG.OBJ-3ERG-PAST   DET‿DEM   bird
      'He pointed out the bird to me.'

(36b) x̣ič-i-t-as
      point-LV-CTR-3ERG
      'He pointed at it.'

(36c) hu ‿št   x̣ič-ig-**us**-?əm   ta?a
      go ‿1PL.INDC.SBJ   point-PL-DAT?-A.INTR   DEM
      'We went pointing out some areas over there.'

Sliammon is not the only Central Salish language that shows the same phenomenon as Halkomelem. Sechelt and Squamish have comparable uses of the cognate lexical suffix, and Klallam has a "recipient applicative" suffix *-us* along with the lexical suffix *-us* 'face'.

Sechelt
"-*us* dollar, end (bow of boat, point of pencil/tool/etc.), eye, face, flat face/object/surface, hair, head, money, opening, round object.... There are a few words in which the meaning of 'eyes', 'face' or 'head' seems to refer to the whole person:
  (37) Se. *q̓áyx̣-**ús**-t* 'wave at/to s.o.';
  (38) Se. *q̓áw-**ús**-əm* 'share a bed, sleep together';
  (39) Se. *sáy-**us**-t* 'show to s.o.';
  (40) Se. *wíx̣-**us**-t* 'accuse s.o., blame s.o., expose s.o.';
  (41) Se. *yíyc-**ús**-əm* 'talk(ing)/tell(ing) about things'; etc." (Beaumont 2011:899)

(42) Se. *yíyc-**ús**-t-cí‿čən‿skʷa ...* 'I'll tell you (about) ... ' (Beaumont 2011:462)
(43) Se. *yíyc-ít* 'tell(ing) about s.o./s.t.' (Beaumont 2011:462)

Squamish
-**us** 'face' (*s-?ác-us* 'face', *s-m?-us* 'head') (Kuipers 1967:124)
(44) Sq. mik'ʷ-**us**-m 'wash one's face' (Kuipers 1967:124)
(45a) Sq. x̣ʷə-x̣ʷi?-**ús**-n 'tell a story to someone' (Kuipers 1967:124)

(45b) Sq. x̣ʷə-x̣ʷiʔ-ámʔ 'tell a story (Intr.)' (Kuipers 1967:371)

<u>Klallam</u>
-us 'face' (sʔacs 'face') (Montler 2012:354, 812-813)
(46) Kl. *qʷay-**us**-t* 'to talk to s.o. directly in the face' (*qʷay* 'to talk, speak') (Montler 2012:337-338)

-us 'recipient applicative' "occurs on three participant stems marking the direct object as a recipient"
Examples listed in Montler (2012:800-801): 'exchange', 'give', 'throw sand on', 'hang up', 'getting paid', 'throw to', 'hug/kiss', 'bend down for', 'take away from', 'cull', 'pour on/be spilled on', 'hang on hook', 'salt it', 'take in', 'pay', 'lend', 'sell', 'tell a story', 'drag', 'argue with', 'tell'

(47) Kl. sx̣ʷiʔam'-**ús**-t ˎcn   tiə   sƛ'ayéʔƛ'qɬ
         story-RCPNT-TR ˎ1SG.INDC.SBJ   DEM   children
       'I told these children a story.' (Montler 2012:441)

Hence, Halkomelem is not the only language where the lexical suffix **-us* 'face' developed into a dative applicative.

4. Relational -mi.
The Relational *-mi* can be reconstructed to Proto-Salish **-mi.*

(48a) ǰəƛ'-**mi**-t ˎga   tə ˎθ ˎman
        run-RLT-CTR ˎIMP   DET ˎ2SG.POSS ˎfather
      'Run to your father!'

(48b) hu ˎč   ǰəƛ'   ʔə ˎkʷ ˎnaʔa   t'at'miʔim'   taʔat   ɬ ˎǰaʔam-as
        go ˎ1SG.INDC.SBJ   run   OBL ˎDET ˎFILLER   Bingo   DEM   when ˎsome-3CNJ.SBJ
      'I run to bingo sometimes.'

(49a) x̣ʷit   qʷəl'   x̣əɬ-**mi**-t-as   qayx̣
        really come   angry-RLT-CTR-3ERG   Mink
      'She was getting angry at Mink.'

(49b) x̣ʷit   qʷəl'   x̣əɬ   ɬə ˎx̣awgas
        really come   angry   DET ˎgrizzly.bear
      'Grizzly was starting to get mad.'

5. -ni.
The Sliammon suffix *-ni* occurs with only two roots: *čəw'uɬ* 'steal' and *č'əɬ* 'rain'. The applied object is the malefactive.

(50a) čəw'u-**ni**-θ-as   ʔə ˎtə ˎtᶿ ˎtala
        steal-IND-CTR+1SG.OBJ-3ERG   OBL ˎDET ˎ1SG.POSS ˎmoney
      'He stole money from me.'

(50b) čəw'uɬ   tə‿ čuy'
       steal   DET‿ child
       'The child stole (s.t.).'

(51) č'əɬ-**ni**-t-əm
      rain-IND-CTR-PASS
      'He got rained on.'

(52) č'əɬ-**ni**-θay-əm
      rain-IND-CTR+1SG.OBJ-PASS
      'I got rained on.'

Sechelt
(53) Se. čə́l(ʔ)ú ɬ-**ni**-t   'steal s.t. from s.o.'
(54) Se. č'ə́ɬ-**ní**-t-əm   'get rained on'

Kiyosawa and Gerdts (2010:112-113) provides two possible scenarios for *-ni* attested in Central and Tsamosan Salish (though not all): (i) it was innovated in Proto-Central/Tsamosan branch or (ii) it was innovated in a single modern language (they speculate either Squamish or Nooksack to be the origin) and spread through the region.

6. Final remarks

Abbreviations:
Se Sechelt; Hk Halkomelem; Kl Klallam; PS Proto-Salish; Sl Sliammon; Sq Squamish

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