Making do without prepositions: Exploring serial verb and applicative shared functions in Central Salish

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Abstract. This paper explores the shared functions of applicatives and serial verb constructions (SVCs) in Central Salish languages. As a language family, Salish languages generally have small inventories of prepositions and two to six applicative suffixes (Kiyosawa & Gerdts 2010a). The link between prepositions and applicatives has been noted in the broader linguistic literature for some time (e.g., Baker 1988a; 1988b; Mithun 2001). The first shared function of applicatives and SVCs is to add goal or purpose to motion constructions, and I compare the directional applicative suffix -nəs with the directional coverb nem' 'go'. The second shared function is participant reference management, and I examine how transfer of possession is alternatively encoded by the dative applicative suffix -as and directional verbs. Thus, Central Salish applicatives and SVCs function as tools in multiple overlapping systems including the expression of directional and spatial meanings and participant reference management.

Keywords. Applicatives, serial verbs, motion constructions, Central Salish

1. Introduction. This paper explores the shared functions of applicatives and serial verb constructions (SVCs) in Central Salish languages, focusing on the language Hul'q'umi'num' (I.HK) as a case study.[2] As a language family, Salish languages generally have small inventories of prepositions (Kroeber 1999: 44) and two to six applicative suffixes (Kiyosawa & Gerdts 2010a: 5). Baker (1988b: 360) refers to applicatives as a type of "preposition incorporation", and Mithun (2001: 74) explains that applicatives offer syntactic alternatives for expressions of participants such as "semantic recipients, beneficiaries, instruments, associates, directions, and/or locations". Cross-linguistically, these participants are generally identified as oblique NPs, but in applicative constructions, they are instead core arguments. In some Central Salish languages, such as Hul'q'umi'num', core arguments are easily distinguished from obliques because they are always preceded by the multi-purpose oblique marker ʔə, as in (1).[3]

(1) nem' tsun tse' nem' **'u**tl' s-hwut. *Hul'q'umi'num' (I.HK)*

nem̓	cən	ceʔ	nem̓	**ʔə̓-ƛ̓**	shwət.
go.AUX	1SG.SUB	FUT	go	OBL-DT	thrush

'I am going to go visit Thrush.' (AM.RCS.121)

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[2] See Appendix A for language names and abbreviations.

[3] However, it is not this transparent in all of Central Salish languages. For example, ʔayʔaǰuθəm (CX) has a strong tendency to omit proclitics, including—but not limited to—determiners and the oblique marker (Reisinger et al. 2021: 752).

The oblique marker is purely functional and the interpretation of relation between the oblique argument and the rest of the clause is determined by the context. In (1), the directional information is provided by the verb, (the second) *nem̓* ‘go’ indicates the subject’s path of the motion toward ‘Sparrow’. Some semantic roles, such as motion toward a goal, can be expressed either as oblique NPs, as in (2), or as applied objects, as in (3).

(2) nem’ tsun **’u** kwthu tl’al’qwul’s. *Hul’q’umi’num’*

nem̓	cən	**ʔə**	kʷθə	ƛ̓al̓qʷəl̓s
go	1SG.SUB	OBL	DT	dabbing

‘I’m going to bingo’

(3) ni’ num**nus**us kwthu swiw’lus kwthu John.

niʔ	nəm-**nəs**-əs	kʷθə	swiẇləs	kʷθə	John.
DIST.AUX	go-**REL**-3SUB	DT	boy	DT	John

‘The boy went up to John.’ (Kiyosawa & Gerdts 2010a: 301)

Both examples encode motion toward a goal, but in (3), the goal argument has been promoted to object by means of the applicative suffix *-nəs*. Kiyosawa and Gerdts demonstrate that when there is a choice between applicative and oblique-marked NPs, there is a tendency to use applicatives for objects of higher animacy (2010a: 304) or topicality (2010a: 323). The goal object argument in (3) is animate; thus, this is a context in which use of the applicative is expected. The use of the oblique-marked NPs is more frequent and less marked than the use of the applicative.

As mentioned above, the multi-purpose oblique does not impart any meaning to its clause. In Central Salish languages verbs, rather than prepositions, do much of the work of many directional and spatial meanings. Table 1 provides a sample of directional verbs in six Central Salish languages.

	go home	*go ashore, reach shore*	*go downriver, downstream*
CX	ǰu	ɬayiš	ʔaqʷiš
SQ	t̓uk̓ʷ	p’si / p’əs	wuq̓ʷ
HK	t̓ak̓ʷ	ɬe:l	wəq̓ʷ
NS	t̓ák̓ʷ	ɬéel	kʷə́qʷəl
KL	t̓úkʷ	t̓án	kʷə́q̓ʷi
LD	t̓uk̓ʷ	ɬálil	qʷíc

Table 1 | Sample of Central Salish directional verb[4]

These verbs encode direction and also function to situate the clause in space. For example, the Hul’q’umi’num’ word *təywət* is used for both ‘go upstream’ and ‘go north’ because, for their geographical context, these are usually the same thing (Hukari & Peter 1995). Thus, a sense of space and direction is deeply woven into the verbal semantics.

In addition, it is not uncommon for multiple directional verbs to be stacked. In (4) and (5), each verb contributes different aspects of the event.

[4] Sources: (Bates et al. 1994; FirstVoices; Hukari & Peter 1995; Montler 2008: 8; 2018; Walker 1973)

(4) suw' **huye's t'akw'** tthu spaal'. *Hul'q'umi'num'*

səẇ	**həyeʔ-s**	**t̓ak̓ʷ**	tθə	spa:l̓.
N.CN	leave-3POS	go.home	DT	raven

'And so the raven went home.' (EW 12855)

(5) **hiyá**=yaʔ=cn **waʔ** **ʔúx̱ʷ** **t̓ákʷi** **t̓úk̓ʷ.** *Nəxʷsƛ̓ayəmúcən (KL)*

go.away=PST=1SUB	go.along	go.to	go.across	go.home	

'I went along (with someone) across (the strait) over to home. (Montler 2008: 10)

In (4), the first Hul'q'umi'num' verb *həyeʔ* 'leave, depart' indicates the direction away from some location, and the second verb *t̓ak̓ʷ* 'go home' combines with the first and indicates the goal of motion. Similarly, example (5), contains Nəxʷsƛ̓ayəmúcən (KL) cognates of the verbs in (4), *hiyá* 'go away' and *túkʷ* 'go home', as well as three others that further modify the event; *waʔ* indicates that the speaker went with someone else, and *ʔúx̱ʷ* and *t̓ákʷi* provide additional information about the path of motion ('toward' + 'across'). Thus, one of the ways that Central Salish languages are able to modify a motion event is through verb serialization.

Verb serialization is an understudied feature found in the Central Salish branch; it is attested so far in literature in Halkomelem (Schneider 2021; 2024b), Klallam (Montler 2008), and SENĆOŦEN (Campbell 2023). Cross-linguistically, a serial verb construction (SVC) is defined as a monoclausal construction consisting of multiple independent verbs without any element of coordination or subordination linking them (Aikhenvald 2018; Haspelmath 2016; Lovestrand 2018). A subtype of SVC that commonly occurs in Central Salish is a *coverb construction*, which consists of a main predicate and another verb that serves a "preposition-like function" (see Van Valin 1992: 201). Coverbs are on a continuum between verb and preposition.[5] For example, in (6) and (7), there are strings of three verbs in which the third verb (underlined) introduces an oblique phrase.

(6) …ni' tsun **nem'** hwi' **'akw'ust nem'** 'u tthu shhwxwuyxwul's. *Hul'q'umi'num'*

niʔ	cən	**ném̓**	xʷiʔ=**ʔak̓ʷ-əs-t**	**<u>ném̓</u>**	ʔə	tθə	šxʷx̌ʷəyx̌ʷəl̓s.
DIST.AUX	1SG.SUB	go	MIR=hook-LS:FACE-TR	go.CVB	OBL	DT	door.knob

'…I went and hung it up on the doorknob.' (EC 19009)

(7) Men yálh s-en **mi tl'ik̲ tiná7** t-kwa Sk̲wx̲wú7mesh. *Sk̲wx̲wú7mesh (SQ)*

men	yáɬ	s-en	**mi**	**ƛ̓íq**	**<u>tináʔ</u>**	t-kʷa	sqʷx̌ʷúmeš.
just	finally	N-1SG.SUB	come	arrive	from	OBL-DT	Sk̲wx̲wú7mesh

'I just arrived from Sk̲wx̲wú7mesh.' (Gillon 2006: 159)

In (6), there are three Hul'q'umi'num' verbs and the main predicate is 'went (and) hung it'. The second, underlined *nem'* has a function similar to the English prepositions *on* or *onto* and indicates the resulting location, i.e., where the item was hung up. In (7), there are three

[5] In the languages that I have examined so far, I have analyzed these coverbs as being closer to full verbs, rather than having grammaticalized to the point of becoming prepositions For the rationale behind this analysis, see Schneider (2024b: §3.2).

Sḵwx̱wú7mesh verbs and the main predicate is 'come (and) arrive', and the verb *tináʔ* has a function similar to the English preposition *from*, indicating the source of motion.

In Central Salish languages, applicative and serial verb constructions function as tools in multiple overlapping systems often occupied by prepositions in other languages. These systems include the expression of directional and spatial meanings and participant reference management. This paper focuses on the shared functions of SVCs and applicatives, and more specifically, in the context of motion constructions.

2. Applicatives with serial verb counterparts in Hul'q'umi'num'. This section focuses on the language Hul'q'umi'num', the Vancouver Island dialect of Halkomelem, as a case study. The territory of the Hul'q'umi'num' people extends along the Salish Sea from Nanoose to Malahat on Vancouver Island in British Columbia. Today around thirty fluent first-language speakers remain, mostly over the age of seventy (Donna Gerdts, p.c.). Due to the efforts of Indigenous native speaker linguists, such as late Ruby Peter | *sti'tum'at* and late Delores Louie | *swustanulwut*, and linguistic documentation by Donna B. Gerdts, Thomas Hukari, and Wayne Suttles, we have many legacy materials to work from. The present work makes use of a Hul'q'umi'num' text corpus (Gerdts n.d.), in order to illuminate some patterns and tendencies in serial verb and applicative constructions. This corpus consists of over 17,000 lines of Hul'q'umi'num' oral texts, mostly narratives, from seventeen different Elders.

In this section, I compare two different sets of constructions in Hul'q'umi'num'. In §2.1, I explore the shared functions of directional applicative *-nəs* and the directional coverb *nem̓*. Both of these morphemes can work together with a main predicate to modify a motion event. In §2.2, I search for motion verb parallels where transfer of possession is alternatively encoded by the dative applicative marker or a motion verb. Finally, in §2.3 I discuss the generalizations, a few avenues of further investigation, and some limitations of the present data.

2.1. DIRECTION: *-nəs* vs. *nem̓*. The directional applicative suffix *-nəs* is a relational applicative, which means it is applied to an intransitive verb resulting in a syntactically transitive clause (Kiyosawa & Gerdts 2010a: 51).[6] In Hul'q'umi'num', the suffix *-nəs* attaches to motion predicates to form relational applicatives in which the applied object is the goal or purpose. The goal of motion can be added to manner of motion verbs by means of either the applicative, as in (a), or a directional coverb, as in (b).

(8) a. nem' **ts'temnus** tthun' men, qeq.

nem̓	**c̓tem-nəs**	tθəṅ	men,	qeq.
go.AUX	crawl-REL	DT.2POS	father	baby

'Go crawl to your dad, baby!'

b. nem' **ts'tem nem'** 'u tthun' men, qeq.

nem̓	**c̓tem**	**nem̓**	ʔə	tθəṅ	men,	qeq.
go.AUX	crawl	go.CVB	OBL	DT.2POS	father	baby

'Go crawl to your dad, baby!'

[6] Kiyosawa and Gerdts (2010a: 75) reconstruct a Proto-Salish applicative **-nəs* with reflexes in Halkomelem varieties, Lhéchalosem (NK), Northern Straits varieties, and Nəxʷsƛ̓ayəmúcən (KL).

c. *nem' **ts'tem** 'u tthun' men, qeq.

*nem̓	**c̓tem**	ʔə	tθən̓	men,	qeq.	
go.AUX	crawl	OBL	DT.2POS	father	baby	(Gerdts 2010: 4)

Example (c) above demonstrates that the goal of motion must be introduced by one of the methods represented in (a) and (b). The oblique phrase containing the goal cannot directly follow a manner of motion verb without some directional element.

To further compare these construction types, Table 2 provides a count of the types of verbs that the relational applicative *-nəs* attaches to and that *nem'* 'go' is frequently combined with for a similar purpose.

	Verb base manner	**path**	**space**	**action**	**Total**
-nəs applicative	0	55	23	0	78
nem' coverb	23	46	0	15	82
effect	+DIRECTION	+GOAL/PURP.	+GOAL	+GOAL/PURP., LOC., SOURCE	

Table 2 | Directional applicative and coverb shared function in text corpus

While (8)a demonstrates that the applicative suffix can be used to add direction to manner of motion verb, in the text corpus this function is more frequently performed by a verb, such as *nem'* 'go', as in (8)b.

Another shared function of these directional morphemes is that the applicative (9) and the coverb (10) are both used to add a goal or purpose to a path verb (Gerdts 2010) .

(9) 'i tseep m'i 'aant m'i **'ewunus** thu q'em'i'.

ʔi	ce:p	m̓i	ʔa:n-t	m̓i	**ʔewə-nəs**	θə	q̓em̓iʔ.
PROX.AUX	2PL.SUB	AUX.come	allow-TR	AUX.come	come.here-REL	DT	girl

'And you came for our young lady. (EW 14507)

(10) sis 'uw' **t'ahw nem'** 'u tthu tsetsuw'.

sis=ʔəẇ	**c̓taxʷ**	**nem̓**	ʔə	tθə	cecəẇ.	
N.AUX.3POS=CN	go.downhill	go.CVB	OBL	DT	beach	

'And then she went down to the beach.' (AG 31572)

In (9), the applicative marker is added to the verb *ʔewə* 'come here' to add purpose, i.e., why the subject came. In (10), *nem̓* is stacked with the verb *c̓taxʷ* 'go downhill, toward the water' to add a specific goal. Both of these strategies were evident in the text corpus, as show by Table 2. In cases where both strategies appear nearly equally likely, I found that motion toward animate referents tends to be encoded by the applicative marker, as in (9), while motion toward inanimate referents tends to be encoded by a motion verb and an oblique NP, such as the location

as in (10).[7] This is consistent with the tendencies found by the previous applicative research by Kiyosawa and Gerdts (2010a as discussed above.

As we have seen so far, the applicative *-nəs* is most often attached to path verbs to encode goal or purpose. The second most common occurrence of this applicative in the text corpus is in the verb *xʷənin̓*s‘arrive at, get there’, which is made up of an inchoative marker xʷə-, the distal space-time auxiliary niʔ, and the directional applicative; this verb is exemplified in (11).

(11) ’i’ wulh hwuni**n’s**us tthu t’xum stulqeye’allh.

ʔiʔ	wəł	xʷə-ni-**n̓s**-əs	tθə	t̓x̌əm	stəlqeyeʔ-alł.
CN	PERF	INCH-be.there-REL-3SUB	DT	six	wolf-LS:BABY<PL>

‘And he came across six wolf pups.’ (AG.Stu.2)

The inchoative adds a change-of-state meaning to the spatial auxiliary and the applicative marker adds achievement of goal semantics.

So far, I have not found a serial verb construction parallel with constructions like (11), where a motion verb is alternatively used to add goal semantics to a spatial verb. However, verbs like *nem’* ‘go’ can be combined with other types of non-motion predicates to express goal, purpose, location, or source. For example, in (12) *nem̓* is combined with the transitive verb *qp̓ət* ‘stick it on’.

(12) sis ’uw’ **qp’utus nem’** ’u tthu s’athuss thu ni’ thut ’u tthey’.

sis=ʔəẇ	**qp̓ə-t-əs**	**nem̓**	ʔə	tθə	sʔaθəs-s
N.AUX.3POS=CN	stick.on-TR-3SUB	go.CVB	OBL	DT	face-3POS

θə	niʔ	θət	ʔə	tθeẏ.
DT	DIST.AUX	say	OBL	DEM

‘And he put it right over the face of the person that had said that.’ (AG 32134)

In this example, *nem̓* functions to add a resulting location to the preceding verb, i.e., where the item was stuck. This function is not shared by the applicative *-nəs*.

Similarly, *-nəs* is only used to encode motion toward, and it is not used to encode source of motion, i.e., motion away. There is one corpus case where the Hul’q’umi’num’ coverb *nem̓* is used to express source, which has been provided in (13).

(13) nilh wa’lu ni’ ’uw’ hul’iq ’ul’ kws nem’s **’ulqels nem’** ’u tthu hwunitum’.

nił	wal̓ə	niʔ	ʔəẇ	həl̓iq	ʔəl̓	kʷs	nem̓-s	**ʔəlq-els**
3FOC	maybe	AUX	CN	cheap	just	DT.N	go.AUX-3POS	buy-ACT

nem̓	ʔə	tθə	xʷənitəm̓.
go.CVB	OBL	DT	white.man

‘It must be quite easy to go and buy **from** the white man.’ (AG 28604)

[7] For a sense of this tendency: Out of 55 tokens of *-nəs* attach to a path verb stem, 36 were animate (~65%); out of 46 tokens of *nem̓* following another path verb, 8 were animate (~17%). The number occurrences of each of these morphemes in this context was fairly small.

In this example, *nem̓* is added to the verb *ʔəlqels* 'buy' to encode the transfer of possession. This types of metaphorical movement from one possessor to another will be discussed more the next section.

In sum, the corpus data shows that both the applicative *-nəs* and the coverb *nem̓* are frequently combined with intransitive path verbs to add a goal or purpose. The applicative is also used with distal *niʔ* to form *xʷəniʔ* 'come to be there', where the applicative functions to add achievement to the semantics. The coverb *nem̓* can also be combined with non-motion actions to encode goal/purpose, location, and source. Thus, this applicative appears to be restricted to slightly narrower range of predicate types than its parallel coverb *nem̓*.

2.2. TRANSFER OF POSSESSION: *-as*. The Hul'q'umi'num' dative applicative suffix *-as* is a redirective applicative, which means it is applied to an transitive verb, promoting an oblique argument to applied object (Kiyosawa & Gerdts 2010a: 117). The dative applicative marker promotes the recipient to applied object, and it appears on five verbs in Hul'q'umi'num', which have been provided in Table 3 (Gerdts & Hinkson 2004: 229).[8]

Base		**Applicative**		**Applic. corpus count**
ʔeʔəm	'give'	ʔam-əs-t	'give it to him/her'	109
sem̓-ət	'sell it'	sam̓-əs-t	'sell it to him/her'	0
xʷayəm	'sell'	xʷayəm-əs-t	'sell it to him/her'	3
√ʔiẇ	'instruct'	ʔiẇ-əs-t	'show it to him/her'	10
√yəθ	'tell'	yəθ-əs-t	'tell him/her about it'	175

Table 3 | Verbs that take redirective applicative

Unlike the goal arguments discussed in the previous section, certain semantic roles, such as recipient, cannot be expressed as oblique-marked NPs; this is demonstrated by example (14).

(14) a. nem' tsun sa'm**ust lhu slheni'** 'u thunu snuhwulh. *Hul'q'umi'num'*

nem̓	cən	sam̓-**əs**-t	**łə**	**sləniʔ**	ʔə	θə-nə	snəxʷəł.
go	1SG.SUB	sell-RDR-TR	DT	woman	OBL	DT-1SG.POS	canoe/car

'I'm going to sell my car to the woman.'

b. *nem' tsun se'mut thunu snuhwulh **'u lhu slheni'**.

*nem̓	cən	sem̓-ət	θə-nə	snəxʷəł	**ʔə**	**łə**	**sləniʔ**.
go	1SG.SUB	sell-TR	DT-1SG.POS	canoe	OBL	DT	woman

'I'm going to sell my car to the woman.' (Kiyosawa & Gerdts 2010a: 299)

In (14), the recipient is *łə sləniʔ* 'the woman'. In (a), the redirective (dative) applicative marker *-as* is suffixed to a transitive verb and allows for the recipient to occupy the object slot. When the applicative marker is absent, as in (b), the item being sold, *θənə snəxʷəł* 'the canoe', goes into the object slot, and the recipient cannot be included as an oblique in a transitive clause

[8]Gerdts & Hinkson (2004) argue that the dative applicative suffix -as arose from the lexical suffix -as 'face' through a process of grammaticalization.

According to Kiyosawa and Gerdts (2010a), it is possible to separate two aspects of the SELL event in (14). Each aspect, the effect on the theme and the transfer of possession, can be expressed by a separate verb by means of an SVC, as in (15).

(15) ni' tsun wulh **se'mut ne'mustuhw** 'utl' John thunu swetu.

niʔ	cən	wəɬ= **sem̓-ət**	**nem̓-əstəxʷ**	ʔə-ƛ̓	**John**	θənə	swetə.
AUX	1SG.SUB	PERF= sell-TR	go-CS	OBL-DT	John	DT.1SG.POS	sweater

'I sold John my sweater.' (Kiyosawa & Gerdts 2010a: 300)

Example (15) could be literally translated: 'I sold my sweater, and it went to John.'

As can be seen in Table 3, the applicative forms of both 'sell' verbs are infrequent in the corpus. Perhaps unsurprisingly then, I did not find corpus examples like (15), consisting of the non-applicative form of either verb meaning 'sell' followed by a (causative) motion verb encoding transfer of possession. The verbs *ʔa:məst* 'give it to him/her' and *yəθəst* 'tell him/her about it' appeared more promising because they are higher frequency concepts. But even for verbs that occur more frequently, it seems that breaking down this type of event into two parts, as in (15), is not common in narrative texts. Instead, I only found corpus examples where the entire GIVE event is encoded by causative motion verbs:

(16) m'i **'ewustuhw**, sisul'u, m'i **'ewustuhw**

ṁi	**ʔewə-stəxʷ**,	sisəl̓ə,	ṁi	**ʔewə-stəxʷ**.	
come.AUX	come.here-CS	grandma<DIM>	come.AUX	come.here-CS	

'Give it to me, gramma, give it to me.' (EW 10142)

(17) suw' hith 'uw' qwal, "**m'istuhw** thunu s'itth'um, **m'istuhw**."

səẇ	hiθ	ʔəẇ	qʷal,	"**ṁ̓i-stəxʷ**	θənə	sʔiṫ̓ᶿəm,	**ṁ̓i-stəxʷ.**"
N.CN	long.time	CN	say	come-CS	DT.1POS	clothes	come-CS

'After a while he said, "Give me my clothes, give me my clothes.'" (AM SCS.9)

In (16) and (17), a literal sense of motion is encoded by the motion verb meaning 'bring it (here)', which is often translated as 'give it to me'.

However, there are cases in the text corpus where a recipient is pointed to by a motion verb, such as (Page #8)

(18) nilh kwu'elh st'e 'uw' [tl'i'] snuw'uyulh kwthey' **xwte'** 'u **tthu stl'ul'iqulh**.

nił	kʷəʔeł	st̓e	ʔəẇ	[ƛ̓iʔ]	snəẇəyəł	kʷθeẏ
3FOC	indeed	now	CN	difficult	cultural.teaching	DEM

x̌ʷteʔ	ʔə	**tᶿə**	**sƛ̓əl̓iqəł**	
go.toward	OBL	DT	child<PL>	

'So that's (important) advice that you give to the children' (RP 18752)

In (18), the recipients of the lessons, *tᶿə sƛ̓əl̓iqəł* 'the children', are indicated by the verb *x̌ʷteʔ* 'go toward'.

To sum up this section, the dative applicative suffix is not productive in that it is not affixed to new verb roots, but of two of the verbs containing this suffix are frequent in the text corpus—GIVE and TELL. The transfer of an item or information can be communicated using only a motion verb, but this strategy is less common than the use of an applicative marker.

2.3. DISCUSSION. The first shared function of applicatives and serialized verbs was to add goal or purpose to motion constructions. Section 2.1 compares the directional applicative *-nəs* with the directional coverb *nem̓* ‘go’, comparing morphemes that occur in the corpus performing similar functions with comparative frequency. *nem̓* was selected because of how often it performs this function, but other path verbs can also be combined in this way to point to a goal, purpose, or location, such as *təs* ‘arrive, get near’ in (19)–(21).

(19) ni’ tsun tl’uw’ **wekunum tus** ’utl’ tl’ulpalus. *Hul’q’umi’num’*

niʔ	cən	ƛ̓əẇ	**wekənəm**	**təs**	ʔə.ƛ̓	ƛ̓əlpaləs.
DIST.AUX	1SG.SUB	also	go.by.wagon	arrive	OBL.DT	Cowichan.Bay

‘I also went by wagon to Cowichan Bay.’ (BA.CRG.75)

(20) huye’ tthuw’nilh ’es-hw nem’ **qwsuthut tus** ’u tthu qa’...

həyeʔ	tθəẇnił	ʔesxʷ	nem̓	**qʷsə-θət**	**təs**	ʔə	tθə	qaʔ.
leave	PRO.DT	seal	go.AUX	go.in.water-REFL	get.near	OBL	DT	water

‘That seal left, going into the water.’ (WSa.MTS.21)

(21) suw’ **’unuhw** tthuw’ne’ullh **tus** ’u tthu smulshun.

səẇ	**ʔənəxʷ**	tθəẇneʔəlɬ	**təs**	ʔə	tθə	sməlšen:
N.CN	stop	PRO.DT.SUB<PL>	get.near	OBL	DT	track

‘Then they stopped right on her tracks...’ (MJJ.SHD.60)

In (19), the verb *təs* follows a manner of motion verb to encode path, in (Page #19) it follows another path verb, and in (21) it follows a non-motion action to encode the resulting location. Thus, other verbs can also perform similar functions in serial constructions, but *nem̓* is the most frequent and is used in the broadest array of semantic contexts (Schneider 2024b: 82).

Additionally, this coverb construction is not uncommon in the other Central Salish languages, such as SENĆOŦEN in (22), Nəxʷsƛ̓ayəmúcən in (23), and Sḵwx̱wú7mesh in (24).

(22) SU¸ **TESS YÁ**¸ E TŦE T̓ET̓ÁĆES. *SENĆOŦEN (NS)*

suʔ-**tə́s**-s	**yéʔ**	ʔə	tθə	ƛ̓əƛ̓éčəs	
LNK-arrive-3POS	go	OBL	DT	island	

‘So they got **to** an island.’ (ErC) (Montler 2018: 666)

(23) **štəŋ** **hiyáʔ** **ʔúxʷ** ʔaʔ tə sp̓úqʷs. *Nəxʷsƛ̓ayəmúcən (KL)*

walk	go	go.to	OBL	DT	bluff

‘He walked over to the bluff.’ (Montler 2008: 10)

(24) Men yálh s-en **mi tl’ik̓ tináʔ** t-kwa Sḵwx̱wú7mesh. *Sḵwx̱wú7mesh (SQ)*

men	yáł	s-en	**mi**	**ƛ̓íq**	**tináʔ**	t-kʷa	sqʷx̌ʷúmeš.
just	finally	N-1SG.SUB	come	arrive	from	OBL-DT	Sḵwx̱wú7mesh

‘I just arrived from Sḵwx̱wú7mesh.’ (Gillon 2006: 159)

Thus, this construction type is not unique to Hul’q’umi’num’, but appears to be pervasive in Central Salish languages.

The second shared function, explored in §2.2, was participant reference management. I found that the transfer of an item or information can be communicated using only a motion verb, but this strategy is less common than the use of an applicative marker. While exploring GIVE in

the Hul'q'umi'num' text corpus, I observed that this applicative verb is also frequently passive, as in (25).

(25) suw' muq' 'amust**ewut** thu q'uleeq'e' 'u tthu slhewut. *Hul'q'umi'num'*

səẇ̓	məq̓	ʔam-əs-t-**ewət**	θə	q̓əle:q̓eʔ	ʔə	tᶿə	słewət̓.	
N.CN	fill.up.with.food	give-RDR-TR-**3SPAS**	DT	crow	OBL	DT	herring	

'So, he decided to feed the crow all the herring she could eat.' (MJJ.DB.48)

In examples like (25), the applied object is promoted to subject. In Salish languages, topics are usually subjects (Gerdts & Hukari 2008: 2; Kinkade 1990). Thus, a topical animate applied object is emphasized by being made the subject. Exploring this further may shed additional light on the tools available to the Central Salish participant reference management systems.

A limitation of the current data in Table 2 and Table 3 is that these fairly small frequency counts do not explain why certain patterns do not appear. It is evident from the elicited data provided by Kiyosawa and Gerdts (2010a) and Gerdts (2010) that examples like (8) and (15) respectively where the applicative adds path to a manner verb, and where the two aspects of the SELL event have been divided into separate verbs, respectively—are possible but did not occur in the corpus. The small number of L1 speakers for all Central Salish languages has limited the present investigation to legacy materials for the time being, but I hope to pursue this further in the future.

3. Conclusion. This paper demonstrated that Hul'q'umi'num' applicatives and SVCs function as tools in multiple overlapping systems including the expression of directional and spatial meanings, and participant reference management. The motivation for developing SVCs in some languages may lie in the semantics of the verbs since it is verbs, rather than prepositions, that express relations such as source, goal, or path of motion (see Creissels et al. 2007). Just as nouns can be used as modifiers within an NP, in these languages verbs can be used as modifiers of other verbs, forming an SVC.

Verb serialization has been attested so far in literature in Halkomelem (Schneider 2021; 2024b), Klallam (Montler 2008), and SENĆOŦEN (Campbell 2023). There is a divide between Salish languages that have slightly larger inventories of prepositions, such as the Interior Salish languages(Kroeber 1999: 44), and those that exhibit some degree of verb serialization. So far, I have found no convincing cases of Salish serialization outside of the Central branch, and so serialization appears likely an areal feature of the coastal languages (Schneider 2024a). The distribution of this construction led to my question of what the other strategies are for encoding similar meanings across the language family, thus leading to this investigation into applicatives.

Abbreviations

ACT	activity suffix	INCH	inchoative	PROX	proximal
AUX	auxiliary	LNK	linking element	RDR	redirective applicative
CN	connective	LS	lexical suffix	REFL	reflexive
CS	causative	LV	linking vowel	REL	relational applicative
CVB	coverb	N	nominalization	SG	singular
DIM	diminutive	OBL	oblique	SPAC	subordinate passive
DIST	distal	PERF	perfect	SSUB	subordinated subject
DEM	demonstrative	PL	plural	SUB	subject
DT	determiner	POS	possessive	TR	transitive
FOC	focus	PRO.DT	pro determiner (pronoun)		

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Appendix A. Central Salish languages

The Central Salish languages are spoken on the coast of the Salish Sea including territory in what is now Washington and British Columbia.

As much as possible, I have tried to use endonyms for the languages in this paper. In some cases, such as Halkomelem and Northern Straits, the labels used in the literature do not clearly distinguish which dialect they are referring to. The language name "Halkomelem" is used here to refer to features of all three main dialects. When available in the source material, this paper will also include an orthography line for the examples. To aid readers, abbreviations following more commonly known exonyms have been included next to the endonyms. Table A lists the Central Salish languages and is a work in progress.

LANGUAGE	DIALECT(S)
ʔayʔaǰuθəm	Island Comox
(Comox-Sliammon, CX)	Mainland Comox
Pentl'ach (Pentlatch)	
she shashishalhem (Sechelt, SE)	
Sḵwx̱wú7mesh (Squamish, SQ)	
Halkomelem (HK)	Hul'q'umi'num'(Island/Cowichan, I.HK) həńq̓əmiń̓əm̓ (Downriver/Musqueam) Halq̓emeylem (Upriver/Chilliwack)
Lhéchalosem (Nooksack, NK)	
Tuwaduq (Twana, TW)	
dəxʷləšucid (Lushootseed, LD)	Northern Southern
Northern Straits (NS)	T'sou-ke (Sooke) SENĆOŦEN (Saanich) Lekwungen (Songhees/Songish) Semiahmoo Malchosen (Samish) Xwlemi'chosen (Lummi)
Nəxʷsƛ̓ay̓əmúcən (Klallam, KL)	

Table A. Central Salish languages (Adapted from Davis 2019: 452–3; Kiyosawa & Gerdts 2010b: 8)