

Some Valency-Neutral Applicatives in the Americas

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1. Introduction: (superficially) comparable phenomena

- (1) Applicatives: The game of the name
- a. Rincón 1595; Payne 2000; Lehmann & Verhoeven 2006, Peterson 2007, Kulikov 2011
 - b. base V + non-object participant X vs. applicativized V + object participant X
 - c. relational (valency-increasing) vs. redirective (valency-rearranging)
(Kiyosawa & Gerds 2010)
- (2) Non-valency-reducing passives in Japanese (Oshima 2003)
- a. *Pat = ga Max = o nagut-ta.*
P. = NOM M. = ACC hit-PST
'Pat hit Max.'
 - b. *Max = ga Pat = ni nagu-rare-ta.*
M. = NOM P. = DAT hit-PASS-PST
'Max was hit by Pat.'
 - c. *Max = ga Pat = ni John = o nagu-rare-ta.*
M. = NOM P. = DAT J. = ACC hit-PASS-PST
'Pat hit John on Max.' / 'Max was subjected to Pat hitting John.'
- (3) Non-valency-reducing antipassive in Kalaallisut (Bittner 1987, Fortescue 1984: 269)
- a. *Qilalukka-nik pui-si-vuq.*
whale-INSTR.PL emerge-APASS-3SG.IND
'There appeared whales [on the sea surface].'
 - b. *Qajar-taa-va asirur-sima-vuq.*
kayak-new-3SG.PSR.ABS break-PERF-3SG.IND
'His/her new kayak has broken.'
 - c. *Taania-p qajar-taa-ni asiru-i-vaa.*
T.-ERG kayak-new-4SG.PSR.ABS break-APASS-3SG→3SG.IND
'Tania_i accidentally broke his_i new kayak.'
- (4) Non-valency-increasing causatives in Tarascan (Maldonado & Nava 2002)
- a. *Eratzini misitu-ni t'wá-rhi-s-Ø-ti.*
E. cat-OBJ spit-LOC-PERF-PRES-3.IND
'Eratzin spat towards the cat.'
 - b. *Eratzini misitu-ni t'wá-rhi-ta-s-Ø-ti.*
E. cat-OBJ spit-LOC-CAUS-PERF-PRES-3.IND
'Eratzin spat aiming at the cat.'
 - c. "Agentivization" in Kittilä's (2009) typology of causatives (from prototype through covert causativization and agentivization to transitivity)

(5) De-transitivizing causatives (Kittilä 2013)

a. De-agentive causative in Mangap-Mbula (Bugenhagen 1995)

Aṅ-kaaga kataama. vs. *Aṅ-pa-kaaga kataama.*
 1SG-open door 1SG-CAUS-open door
 ‘I opened the door.’ ‘I managed to open the door.’

b. Valency-decreasing causative in Kalaallisut (Fortescue 1984: 265)

Nanuq taku-tip-puq. / *Qimmi-mut kii-sip-puq.*
 bear.ABS see-CAUS-3SG.IND dog-ALL bite-CAUS-3SG.IND
 ‘The bear let itself be seen.’ ‘S/he was bitten by a dog.’

c. Kittilä’s “agent-related” and “causer-related” causation: division of agentive features

2. The phenomena in selected indigenous languages of the Americas

2.1 Turning non-flexible into non-rigid in the Arctic

(6) Non-valency-reducing applicatives in CA Yup’ik (Mithun 2000)

- a. *Kalukar-ute-lu-ta unuaqu-ani.*
 hold.feast-APPL-SUB-COREF.1PL next.day-3SG→3SG.ABL
 ‘They made us a Kalukaq the next day.’
- b. *Qimugte-m nere-i-aa angun akutar-mek.*
 dog-ERG eat-APPL-3SG→3SG.IND man.ABS mixture-ABL
 ‘The dog ate some dried fish on the man / ate the man’s fish.’
- c. *ikayur-* ‘help’ (2) → *ikayur-ute-* ‘help out’ (1)
ulligte- ‘cut for drying’ (2) → *ulligte-i-* ‘cut fish for drying’ (1)
- d. CAY verb valency: either 1 (S_A or S_O), 2 (A O), or 1/2 (S_A / A O or A O / S_O)
 APPL can derive agentive ambitransitives (i.e. S_A / A O)

2.2 The four applicatives of Mapudungun (Zúñiga 2009, forthc.)

(7) Basically valency-increasing: *-(l)el* and *-(ñ)ma*

- a. *Ngilla-(fi-)n ti kawellu.*
 buy-3OBJ-1SG.IND ART horse
 ‘I bought the horse.’
- b. *Ngilla-lel-fi-n Antonio ñi kawellu.*
 buy-APPL1-3OBJ-1SG.IND A. 3PSR horse
 ‘I bought Antonio’s horse for him.’
- c. *Ngilla-ñma-fi-n Antonio ñi kawellu.*
 buy-APPL2-3OBJ-1SG.IND A. 3PSR horse
 ‘I bought Antonio’s horse from him.’

(8) Heterogeneous I: *-ye* (cf. *ye-* ‘carry’) (based on Augusta 1916)

- a. Valency-increasing: applied OBJ is usually topic of speech or cognition/emotion
dungu- ‘speak’ (1) → *dungu-ye-* ‘speak about’ (2)
ngüma- ‘weep’ (1) → *ngüma-ye-* ‘weep about, mourn’ (2)
lef- ‘run’ (1) → *lef-ye-* ‘run with (sthg.)’ (2)
- b. Redirective: a couple of verbs of saying, and perhaps some other verbs
nütram- ‘narrate’ (2) → *nütram-ye-* ‘talk about’ (2)

- c. Valency-neutral, lexicalized
wifül- ‘throw (liquid)’ (2) → *wifül-ye-* ‘carry (liquid) splashing’ (2)
pe- ‘see’ (1/2) → *pe-ye-* ‘picture, imagine’ (2)
traf- ‘gather, meet’ (1/2) → *traf-ye-* ‘bump into (sbdy.) on the road’ (2)
- d. Valency-neutral, perhaps bleached
dewma-(ye-) ‘make’ (2) *duam-(ye-)* ‘want, need’ (2) + a handful more
- e. Verbalizing (valency-increasing?), typically ‘consider, treat as X’
kayñe-ye- ‘consider one’s enemy’ (2) (*kayñe* ‘enemy’)
kure-ye- ‘take as one’s wife’ (2) (*kure* ‘woman, wife’)
rüpü-ye- ‘continue in the direction of’ (2) (*rüpü* ‘road’)
- (9) Heterogeneous II: *-tu* (cf. *tu-* ‘take, get’) (based on Augusta 1916)
- a. Valency-increasing: applied OBJ is usually goal of motion, quasi-stimuli, etc. (!)
kon- ‘enter’ (1) → *kon-tu-* ‘go to (sbdy.’s place)’ (2)
aye- ‘laugh’ (1) → *aye-tu-* ‘laugh at’ (2)
nümu- ‘smell’ (1) → *nümu-tu-* ‘smell’ (2)
kawiñ- ‘celebrate’ (1) → *kawiñ-tu-* ‘celebrate’ (1/2)
yew- ‘be ashamed’ (1) → *yew-tu-* ‘respect’ (2)
- b. Valency-neutral, lexicalized
kude- ‘play’ (1) → *kude-tu-* ‘ride a horse in a competition’ (1)
kansha- ‘get tired’ (1) → *kansha-tu-* ‘rest’ (1)
amu- ‘go’ (1) → *amu-tu-* ‘go away, leave’ (1)
ñidiif- ‘sew’ (2) → *ñidiif-tu-* ‘mend’ (2)
poye- ‘love, esteem’ (2) → *poye-tu-* ‘treat affectionately’ (2)
- c. Valency-neutral, ‘back/again’
rüngkü- ‘jump’ (1) → *rüngkü-tu-* ‘jump back’ (1)
mule- ‘be (temporarily)’ (1) → *mule-tu-* ‘be again’ (1)
- d. Valency-neutral, perhaps bleached
chali-(tu-) ‘greet, report’ (2) *eñum-(tu-)* ‘get warm’ (1) + a dozen more
- e. Verbalizing (valency-increasing?), often ‘use X (as it is typically used)’
wekufü-tu- ‘bewitch, cast a spell on’ (2) (*wekufü* ‘evil spirit’)
kure-tu- ‘use (sbdy. as) a woman’ (1/2) (*kure* ‘woman, wife’)
sapatu-tu- ‘put on / wear shoes’ (1) (*sapatu* ‘shoe(s)’)
newen-tu- ‘strengthen’ (1/2) (*newen* ‘force’)
- f. Valency-decreasing, commonly used as iterative/progressive/etc.¹
imül- ‘roll’ (2) → *imül-tu-* ‘roll for fun’ (1)
kayfü- ‘whisper in (sbdy.)’s ear’ (2) → *kayfü-tu-* ‘whisper’ (1)
kuyul- ‘blacken with coal’ (2) → *kuyul-tu-* ‘smudge’ (1)
kütral- ‘burn’ (2) → *kütral-tu-* ‘burn’ (2) / ‘make a fire’ (1)
ira- ‘chop (wood)’ (2) → *ira-tu-* ‘chop (wood)’ (1/2)
lawen- ‘use (sthg.) as medicine’ (2) → *lawen-tu-* ‘treat/heal’ (2) /
‘take a medicine’ (1)

2.3 A somewhat areal-looking oddity in the Peruvian Amazon (Wise 2002)

(10) Aikhenvald (1999: 91-92) on the general picture

“In most Peruvian languages applicatives are typologically unusual. [...] The applicative suffixes show that a peripheral constituent has become obligatory.”

¹ This may be related to the reduplication-based iteratives, which also use *-ye* and *-tu* (in addition to *-nge* ‘be’ and, albeit seldom, *-Ø*), e.g. *rüngkü-* ‘jump’ (1) → *rüngkü-rüngkü-tu-* ‘bounce, hop’ (1).

- e. valency-reducing: (2) → (1)
nati-r-in ‘s/he obeys him/her’ *nati-të-r-in* ‘s/he obeys’
- (15) Arabela† (Zaparoan) *-ta/-tia* (data originally from Rich 1999)
- a. “Passive accompaniment,” “compassion on the part of the speaker”
Napa naana-akua tiuu-tia-a.
 ara tree-in perch-APPL-CONT
 ‘An ara is perched (with its mate) on the tree.’
- b. “Abnormal condition”
Kia maka-ta-re tee pa kia-nu-taniya-ni.
 2SG climb-APPL-IRR where 1PL.INCL go-INF-FUT-SUB
 ‘Climb (the tree in order to see) where we should go.’
- c. “SBJ/OBJ contained/containing,” or perhaps valency-increasing (FN4)
Kua morehaka tiurii-tia-ree-nihia.
 1SG manioc stumble-APPL-COMPL-1SG
 ‘I stumbled (while carrying) my [load of] manioc.’
- d. “SBJ sick, old, or wounded”
Haniya-ri nu-koko-hi kua shikiorta-ashi
 1SG-SBJ trail-by-of 1SG hurt-CL
roshi-yo-ko-ho-ta-rikio-wa-ni.
 drag-CONT-CONTACT-MULTIPLE-APPL-IPFV-REPET-R1
 ‘With my wounded (leg) paining me at each step, I dragged myself along the trail and returned [home].’
- e. Disjoint reference across clauses in embedding
 — *Haniya kia-ta kia-nu pani-ya-ni.*
 1SG 2SG-COM go-INF want-CONT-R1
 ‘I want to go with you (SG).’
 — *Haniya kia pani-tia-a kia-nu-ni.*
 1SG 2SG want-APPL-CONT go-INF-R1
 ‘I want you (SG) to go.’
- (16) Areal and historical perspectives
- a. Payne (1984): COM and APPL appear to be cognate
- b. Pre-Andine Arawak: *im-* ‘CAUS’ cognate with *-imo* ‘APPL’ (cf. (10) above) (Wise 2002)
- c. Pre-Andine Arawak *-aka* ‘COM/CAUS’ cognate with RECIP in S Arawak (Wise 1990)
- d. Payne (2001): “the original reciprocal sense developed into a broader sociative sense (which it still retains with verbs of physical activity in Pre-Andine languages), and from there to a causative sense.”
- e. Payne (1984, 1985): (i) similarity of Yagua and Arabela APPL + (ii) other cognates > possible Yagua-Zaparoan connection (either areal or genealogical)
- f. Wise (1993, 2002): Huitoto CAUS *-ta* + many Arawakan languages CAUS *-da/-ta* and/or verbalizing/transitivizing suffix including *t* > “wide-spread grammatical form” or areal feature
- g. Wise’s (2002) open questions: What is the focal area? List of areal features of Amazonian (cf. D&A)? W Amazonian or rather NW Amazonian (Panoan does not share the trait)? Perhaps an indicator that Panoan originated in the southern Amazon tributaries and migrated north up to the Amazon + Arawak originated around Manaus / up the Rio Negro and migrated and dispersed in all directions?

3. Final remarks

- The Peruvian Amazon valency-*t* looks areal (and is probably not yet well mapped and described in detail), but functional motivations conspiring against having a run-of-the-mill valency-increasing applicative seem both more general (less Amazon-bound) and less consistent (not all languages have it).
- The Mapudungun valency-*t* may or may not be related historically (*tu-* ‘take’ could very well be cognate with the instrument/comitative/sociative markers); it is intriguing that its valency-related inconsistency should be similar.
- The Eskaleut valency-*t* (cf. PE **utə-* ‘do for/with’, Fortescue et al. 2010) does not look related, and the functional motivations (and ramifications) are still somewhat unclear to me.
- Further research: large-scale lexical comparison between lexical groups in Eskaleut and Peruvian Amazonian vis-à-vis Mapudungun.

Abbreviations

ABS absolutive, ACC accusative, ALL allative, APASS antipassive, APPL applicative, ASP aspect, BEN benefactive, CAUS causative, CL classifier, COM comitative, COMPL completive, CONT continuative, COREF coreferential, DAT dative, DIM diminutive, EP epenthesis, ERG ergative, F feminine, FUT future, IND indicative, INF infinitive, INSTR instrumental, IRR irrealis, LOC locative, M masculine, MAL malefactive, NFUT non-future, NOM nominative, OBJ object, PASS passive, PERF perfect, PL plural, POSS possessive, POVO post-verbal object, PRES present, PSR possessor, PST past, R1 related to 1st person, REFL reflexive, SBJ subject, SG singular, SUB subordinate, VBLZ verbalizer

$x(y)$ syntactic valency of predicate x

{ x } argument applied by applicative x

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