

13 Applicatives

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13.1 Background Information and Observation

Applicatives are a valency-changing strategy present in many languages. In an applicative construction what would be normally expressed with an oblique is promoted to be an argument of the verb (Payne 2006, 264-5). As such applicatives usually function as a referent-focusing strategy at discourse level, because they bring into focus an otherwise peripheral element. An applicative construction is most commonly formally signalled via dedicated morphosyntax on the verb.

In HA and SA we find three applicative prefixes: *e-*, *ko-*, and *o-* (Tamura 2000, 206-8; Murasaki 1979, 32-4; Dal Corso 2021; Bugaeva 2010). These applicative morphemes are attached to the verb and have linear priority over personal agreement prefixes. Examples (1) and (2) show an applicative construction in HA and SA, while examples (3) and (4) show the relative non-applicative constructions.

- (1) *A-kor* **yupo** *a-ko-itak.*
4S-3SO/have **older.brother** 4S-**APPL-3SO**/speak
'I said [so] to my older brother.' (OS 1980, line 11)

- (2) *Suma kema 'e-tuhse-ka.*
stone leg APPL-3SS/3SO/3SOI/jump-TR
'He/she kicked the stone with [his/her] foot.' (Murasaki 1979, 32)
- (3) *A-kor yupo eun itak-an.*
4S-3SO/have older.brother towards speak-4S
'I said [so] to my older brother.'
- (4) *Suma kema ani tuhse-ka.*
stone leg with 3SS/3SO/jump-TR
'He/she kicked the stone with [his/her] foot.'

→ *Dataset 1 - Applicatives and thematic roles*

Consider the following examples featuring the applicatives *e-*, *ko-*, and *o-* (* marks ungrammatical examples). The non-applicative variants of some of these examples are also included. What causes the ungrammaticality? Is there any correspondence between the properties of the noun promoted to argument of the verb and the applicative form used? Can you point out what determines the choice of the applicative form?

Set 1.1 (Hokkaidō Ainu)

1. **Taihō koak.*
'He shot with a cannon.'
2. *Akor kamuy aepotara wa ...*
'I worried about my god.' (Bugueva 2010, 765)
3. **Pirka usike onaha epuni.*
'She offered the good parts [of the meat] to her father.'
4. **Akor ekasi ioonne.*
'My grandfather lived with me for a long time.'
5. *Kuioroinkar kusu kek ruwe ne.*
'I came [here] for sightseeing.'
6. **Taihō oak.*
'He shot with a cannon.'
7. *Akor ekasi ikoonne.*
'My grandfather lived with me for a long time.' (adapted from Bugueva 2010, 780)
8. *Pirka usike onaha kopuni.*
'She offered the good parts [of the meat] to her father.' (Bugueva 2010, 776)
9. **Akor yupo aoitak.*
'I said [so] to my older brother.'
10. *Aarserkehe toytumta rer.*
'Half of my body sank in the earth.'

11. **Pirka usike onaha opuni.*
'She offered the good parts [of the meat] to her father.'
12. *Akor yupo akoitak.*
'I said [so] to my older brother.' (OS 1980, line 11)
13. **Akor kamuy akopotara wa ...*
'I worried about my god.'
14. **Aarserkehe toytum korer.*
'Half of my body sank in the earth.'
15. *Kuioroinkar eek ruwe ne.*
'I came [here] for sightseeing.' (Bugaeva 2010, 767)
16. **Akor yupo aeitak.*
'I said [so] to my older brother.'
17. *Taihō eak.*
'He shot with a cannon.' (Bugaeva 2010, 768)
18. *Taihō ani ak.*
'He shot with a cannon.'
19. **Kuioroinkar oek ruwe ne.*
'I came [here] for sightseeing.'
20. *Akor ekasi iturano onne.*
'My grandfather lived with me for a long time.'
21. *Aarserkehe toytum orer.*
'Half of my body sank in the earth.' (Bugaeva 2010, 783)
22. *Akor yupo eun itakan.*
'I said [so] to my older brother.'

Set 1.2 (Sakhalin Ainu)

1. **Nis esikuru wa niskurukaene rikin.*
'He turned to the sky and ascended to above the clouds.'
2. **Utarihincin 'onne 'utasa 'epayehci.*
'They went to their relatives to visit [them].' (Dal Corso 2021)
3. *Nokanramuhu'ohta pisi.*
'He asked his younger brother.'
4. *Huu hay newa pehsamus tura, 'utura tenkoro.*
'She held together in her arms fresh hay and mat grass.'
5. *Suma kema 'etuhseka.*
'He/she kicked the stone with [his/her] foot.' (Murasaki 1979, 32)
6. *Nis'ohta sikuru wa niskurukaene rikin.*
'He turned to the sky and ascended to above the clouds.'
7. **Nokanramuhu episi.*
'He asked his younger brother.'
8. *Nokanramuhu cisehehcin neya 'arapesca oan kusu ...*
'Since the houses [of the village] of his younger brother were on the opposite bank [of the river] ...' (Dal Corso 2021)

9. * *Suma kema kotuhseka.*
'He/she kicked the stone with [his/her] foot.'
10. * *Nokanramuhu cisehehcin neya 'arapesca koan kusu ...*
'Since the houses [of the village] of his younger brother were on the opposite bank [of the river] ...'
11. * *Utarihihcin 'onne 'utasa kusu payehci.*
'They went to their relatives to visit [them].'
12. * *Suma kema ani tuhseka.*
'He/she kicked the stone with [his/her] foot.'
13. * *Suma kema 'otuhseka.*
'He/she kicked the stone with [his/her] foot.'
14. * *Huu hay newa pehsamus tura 'uotenkoro.*
'She held together in her arms fresh *hay* and mat grass.'
15. * *Nokanramuhu cisehehcin neya 'arapescata an kusu ...*
'Since the houses [of the village] of his younger brother were on the opposite bank [of the river] ...'
16. * *Nokanramuhu kopisi.*
'He asked his younger brother.' (Dal Corso 2021)
17. * *Nis kosikiru wa niskurukaene rikin.*
'He turned to the sky and ascended to above the clouds.' (Dal Corso 2021)
18. * *Huu hay newa pehsamus tura 'ukotenkoro.*
'She held together in her arms fresh *hay* and mat grass.' (Dal Corso 2021)
19. * *Utarihihcin 'onne 'utasa 'opayehci.*
'They went to their relatives to visit [them].'

13.2 Research

Now look at this other dataset and also read the examples from other languages given after it, which you will need for the third and last activity of this lesson.

→ *Dataset 2 - Polysemy and polyfunctionality*

Consider the following additional examples. Given what you have discovered up to this point of the analysis, what is peculiar about the use of applicatives in these instances? What new functional extensions and/or semantic properties of applicatives do you notice? In light of this, how can you refine your account of HA and SA applicatives?

Set 2.1 (Hokkaidō Ainu)

1. *Sirar aiekikkik.*
'I was thrown on(to) the rock.' (Bugaeva 2010, 770)
2. *Akor huciape aekoitak.*
'I told [about that] to the Fire Goddess.' (adapted from OS 1977, line 348)
3. *Akor katkemat aekira.*
'I escaped with my wife.' (OS 1988, line 315)
4. *Siknuan wa yaycisekohospian.*
'I came back to life and returned to my own house.' (Bugaeva 2010, 789)
5. *Akor kotanu iorura.*
'He carries me to my village.' (adapted from Bugaeva 2010, 783)
6. *Tan nupuri [...] ekohemesu.*
'You climbed to [the top of] this mountain.' (Bugaeva 2010, 779)

Set 2.2 (Sakhalin Ainu)

1. *Otakata cih ehekem.*
'They dragged the boat off to the shore.' (Pilsudski 1912, 85)
2. *Ueyaycisekorohci.*
'They had a house for themselves together.' = 'They shared a house together.' (Dal Corso 2021)
3. *Sine ehorah cisehe 'an.*
'There was one collapsed house.' (Dal Corso 2021)
4. *Neya horokeypo tani oro'omos teh [...] 'ekowepekere.*
'The young man eventually woke up and [...] she told him about it.' (Dal Corso 2021)
5. *Yayce emus ani tawke emusi kokaye.*
'He cut the trout with the knife but he broke his knife up.' (Pilsudski 1912, 235)
6. *Nean poohohcin henke 'eko'imokakorohci.*
'That daughter of theirs gave [that] to her father as a gift.' (Dal Corso 2021)
7. *Ciseohta esirepaan.*
'I got to my house.' (Pilsudski 1912, 160)
8. *Ciseonnay tekoro kohokuy.*
'The inside of the house burnt down violently.' (Pilsudski 1912, 69)

Examples from Other Languages...

Malang Javanese (Austronesian, Indonesia)
(examples from Hemmings 2013, 168-71)

<i>Pelem</i>	<i>ceblòk</i>	menyang	gentèng	<i>ómah-ku.</i>
mango	fall	towards	roof	house-1SG.POSS

'A mango fell on the roof of my house.'

Pelem nyeblohk-i gentèng ómah-ku.
 mango fall-**APPL** roof house-1SG.POSS
 ‘A mango fell on the roof of my house.’

Ibu-ku ng-gupuk kasur nganggó sapu.
 mother-1SG.POSS AV-hit mattress AV.use broom
 ‘My mother hit the mattress with a broom (once).’

Ibu-ku ng-gupuk-i kasur nganggó sapu.
 mother-1SG.POSS AV-hit-**ITER** mattress AV.use broom
 ‘My mother hit the mattress with a broom (many times).’

Malang Javanese has two suffixes (*-i* and *-aké*) that fulfill the primary function of applicatives. Like **prototypical applicatives**, *-i* promotes a noun, that is otherwise expressed via an oblique, to argument of the verb – i.e. applicatives are a **valency-changing strategy**. The applicative *-i* of Malang Javanese typically targets nouns with the **thematic functions** of location or goal. In the first example above you see a non-applicative construction where the location ‘on the roof’ is expressed via the oblique *menyang gentèng* ‘towards the roof’. In contrast, in the second example the verb bears the applicative *-i* and the noun *gentèng* ‘roof’ is **promoted to argument**. The formerly intransitive verb is now transitive. There are also cases, however, where the applicative suffix *-i* **does not affect** the verb’s valency but rather encodes an aspectual meaning (iterative meaning specifically). In such instances, the applicative *-i* has a **valency-preserving** function.

13.3 Analysis and Description

Describe, in no less than 300 words, the semantics and functions of the applicatives *e-*, *ko-*, and *o-* in HA and SA.

- Where did your analysis start from?
- What properties of the applied object determine the choice of the applicative form?
- Are there cases of polysemy?
- Do applicatives have special functional extensions? Of what kind? How would you describe them?
- What are the differences between HA and SA?
- What would be needed to refine our analysis of Ainu applicatives?