15 Applicatives

Summary 15.1 Background Information and Observation. – 15.2 Research. – 15.3 Analysis and Description.

15.1 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 peripherical 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.*
     4A-3S.O/have **older.brother**   4A-**APPL**-3S.O/speak

     'I said [so] to my older brother.' (OS 1980, line 11)

(2) *Suma*   ***kema***   *'**e**-tuhse-ka.*
     stone   **leg**   **APPL-**3S.A/3S.O/3S.IO/jump-CAUS

     'He/she kicked the stone with [his/her] foot.' (Murasaki 1979, 32)

(3) *A-kor*   ***yupo***   ***eun***   *itak-an.*
     4A-3S.O/have   **older.brother** **towards**   speak-4S
     'I said [so] to my older brother.'

(4) *Suma*   ***kema***   ***ani***   *tuhse-ka.*
     stone   **leg**   **with**   3S.A/3S.O/jump-CAUS
     '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.' (Bugaeva 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 Bugaeva 2010, 780)

8. *Pirka usike onaha kopuni.*

    'She offered the good parts [of the meat] to her father.' (Bugaeva 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 esikiru wa niskurukaene rikin.*

    'He turned to the sky and ascended to above the clouds.'

2. *'Utarihihcin 'onne 'utasa 'epayehci.*

    'They went to their relatives to visit [them].' (Dal Corso 2021, 313)

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 sikiru 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, 328)

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, 331)

17. *Nis kosikiru wa niskurukaene rikin.*

    'He turned to the sky and ascended to above the clouds.' (Dal Corso 2021, 276)

18. *Huu hay newa pehsamus tura 'ukotenkoro.*

    'She held together in her arms fresh *hay* and mat grass.' (Dal Corso 2021, 403)

19. * *'Utarihihcin 'onne 'utasa 'opayehci.*

    'They went to their relatives to visit [them].'

➜ *Consider this additional information …*

In both Hokkaidō and Sakhalin Ainu, there exist the verbal prefixes *he-* and *ho-*. These two prefixes have long been a debated topic in Ainu studies and are traditionally intended to mean 'head' and 'bottom' respectively. Not always can they be translated literally and, generally, they indicate that the upper or lower part of a referent is chiefly involved in the event expressed by the verb. Therefore, we may have *hepuni* (from *puni* 'lift') 'lift one's head up', *hekiru* (from *kiru* 'turn') 'turn forward in the direction of something', or *hopita* (from *pita* 'loosen') 'become untied' (Tamura 2000, 197). These prefixes do not influence the verb's valency and, with regard to their phonologi-

cal characteristics, they may lose the initial fricative and be realised as *e-* end *o-*. When this happens, you see how they become identical to two of the applicative prefixes you have just been introduced to.

15.2 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? Which instances of *e-* and *o-* are not applicatives but are better recognised as the prefixes *he-* and *ho-*? What is the semantic and/or syntactic evidence for that? 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 yaycisekohosipian.*

   '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)

7. *Suy nituyean hike aeenke.*

   'Again I cut a piece of wood and sharpened its tip.' (HS 1969 line 385)

8. *Kasi ca otuye hine …*

   'Above, he cut some tree branches at the base and …' (NP 1980 line 170)

Set 2.2 (Sakhalin Ainu)

1. *Otakata cih ehekem.*

   'They dragged the boat up to the shore.' (Pilsudski 1912, 85)

2. *Ueyaycisekorohci.*

   'They had a house for themselves together.' = 'They shared a house together.' (Dal Corso 2021, 313)

3. *Sine ehorah cisehe ʻan.*

   'There was one house with a collapsed roof.' (Dal Corso 2021, 371)

4. *Neya horokeypo tani oroʻomos teh* […] *ʻekoweepekere.*

   'The young man eventually woke up and […] she told him about it.'
   (Dal Corso 2021, 319)

5. *Mokoro poka ankoyakus reusian. Kosistono tonoske kooman kane …*

   'I couldn't even sleep [but] I lay down [anyway]. Having [the day] gotten to midday, when it was plainly bright …' (Pilsudski 1912, 146)

6. *Nean poohohcin henke ʻekoʻimokakorohci.*

   'That daugther of theirs gave [that] to her father as a gift.' (Dal Corso 2021, 296)

7. *Ciseohta esirepaan.*

   'I headed back to [my] house.' (Pilsudski 1912, 160)

8. *Eikupapa ka koyaykus […] ʻimaki ʻohawke.*

   'They cannot bite food with [their teeth] […], their teeth are weak at the base.'
   (Dal Corso 2021, 206)

Examples from Other Languages…

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

Pelem	*ceblòk*	***menyang***	***gentèng***	*ómah-ku.*
mango	fall	**towards**	**roof**	house-1SG.POSS

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

Pelem	*nyeblòk-**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.

15.3 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?
- Do you think the applicatives *e-* and *o-* and the verbal prefixes *he-* and *ho-* are related? How would you explain the common semantics that bring the two pairs of prefixes together?
- What would be needed to refine our analysis of Ainu applicatives?