1. Introduction: (superficially) comparable phenomena

(1) Applicatives: The game of the name
   b. base V + non-object participant X vs. applicativized V + object participant X
   c. relational (valency-increasing) vs. redirective (valency-rearranging)
      (Kiyosawa & Gerdts 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-ruq.
      whale-INSTR.PL  emerge-APASS-3SG.IND
      ‘There appeared whales [on the sea surface].’
   b. Qajar-taa-va     asiru-sima-ruq.
      kayak-new-3SG.PSR.ABS  break-PERF-3SG.IND
      ‘His/her new kayak has broken.’
   c. Taania-p  qajar-taa-ni  asiru-i-ruq.
      T. -ERG  kayak-new-4SG.PSR.ABS  break-APASS-3SG→3SG.IND
      ‘Tania, accidentally broke his, new kayak.’

(4) Non-valency-increasing causatives in Tarascan (Maldonado & Nava 2002)
      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 transitivization)
De-transitivizing causatives (Kittilä 2013)

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

\[ \text{Aŋ-} \text{kaaga \ kataama. vs. Aŋ-pa-} \text{kaaga \ kataama.} \]

\[ \text{1SG-open door vs. 1SG-CAUS-open door} \]

‘I opened the door.’

‘I managed to open the door.’

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

\[ \text{Nanuq \ taku-tip-puq.} \]

bear.ABS \ see-CAUS-3SG.IND

\[ / \text{Qimmi-mut \ kii-sip-puq.} \]

dog-ALL \ bite-CAUS-3SG.IND

‘The bear let itself be seen.’

‘She 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. \text{Kalukar-} \text{ute-} \text{lu-ta \ unuaqu-ani.}

\text{hold.feast-APPL-SUB-COREF.1PL} \ \text{next.day-3SG→3SG.ABL}

‘They made us a Kalukaq the next day.’

b. \text{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. \text{ikayur- \ ‘help’ (2)} \ \rightarrow \ \text{ikayur-ute- \ ‘help out’ (1)}

\text{ulligte- \ ‘cut for drying’ (2)} \ \rightarrow \ \text{ulligte-i-} \ \ ‘cut fish for drying’ (1)

d. CAY verb valency: either 1 (SA or SO), 2 (A O), or 1/2 (SA / A O or A O / SO)

\text{APPL} \ \text{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. \text{Ngilla-(fi-)n \ ti \ kawellu.}

\text{buy-3OBJ-1SG.IND \ ART \ horse}

‘I bought the horse.’

b. \text{Ngilla-lel-fi-n \ Antonio \ ní \ kawellu.}

\text{buy-APPL1-3OBJ-1SG.IND \ A.} \ \text{3PSR \ horse}

‘I bought Antonio’s horse for him.’

c. \text{Ngilla-ñma-fi-n \ Antonio \ ní \ kawellu.}

\text{buy-APPL2-3OBJ-1SG.IND \ A.} \ \text{3PSR \ horse}

‘I bought Antonio’s horse from him.’

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

a. Valency-increasing: applied \text{OBJ} is usually topic of speech or cognition/emotion

\text{dungu- \ ‘speak’ (1)} \ \rightarrow \ \text{dungu-ye- \ ‘speak about’ (2)}

\text{ngüma- \ ‘weep’ (1)} \ \rightarrow \ \text{ngüma-ye- \ ‘weep about, mourn’ (2)}

\text{lef- \ ‘run’ (1)} \ \rightarrow \ \text{lef-ye- \ ‘run with (sthg.)’ (2)}

b. Redirective: a couple of verbs of saying, and perhaps some other verbs

\text{nütram- \ ‘narrate’ (2)} \ \rightarrow \ \text{nütram-ye- \ ‘talk about’ (2)}
c. Valency-neutral, lexicalized

\( \text{wifül-} \) ‘throw (liquid)’ (2) → \( \text{wifül-ye-} \) ‘carry (liquid) splashing’ (2)
\( \text{pe-} \) ‘see’ (1/2) → \( \text{pe-ye-} \) ‘picture, imagine’ (2)
\( \text{traf-} \) ‘gather, meet’ (1/2) → \( \text{traf-ye-} \) ‘bump into (sbdy.) on the road’ (2)

d. Valency-neutral, perhaps bleached

\( \text{dewma-} \) ‘make’ (2) \( \text{duam-} \) ‘want, need’ (2) + a handful more

e. Verbalizing (valency-increasing?), typically ‘consider, treat as X’

\( \text{kayñe-} \) ‘consider one’s enemy’ (2) (\( \text{kayñe} \) ‘enemy’)
\( \text{kure-} \) ‘take as one’s wife’ (2) (\( \text{kure} \) ‘woman, wife’)
\( \text{rüpü-} \) ‘continue in the direction of’ (2) (\( \text{rüpü} \) ‘road’)

(9) Heterogeneous II: -\( \text{tu} \) (cf. \( \text{tu-} \) ‘take, get’) (based on Augusta 1916)

a. Valency-increasing: applied OBJ is usually goal of motion, quasi-stimuli, etc. (!)

\( \text{kon-} \) ‘enter’ (1) → \( \text{kon-tu-} \) ‘go to (sbdy.’s place)’ (2)
\( \text{aye-} \) ‘laugh’ (1) → \( \text{aye-tu-} \) ‘laugh at’ (2)
\( \text{nümu-} \) ‘smell’ (1) → \( \text{nümu-tu-} \) ‘smell’ (2)
\( \text{kawiñ-} \) ‘celebrate’ (1) → \( \text{kawiñ-tu-} \) ‘celebrate’ (1/2)
\( \text{yew-} \) ‘be ashamed’ (1) → \( \text{yew-tu-} \) ‘respect’ (2)

b. Valency-neutral, lexicalized

\( \text{kude-} \) ‘play’ (1) → \( \text{kude-tu-} \) ‘ride a horse in a competition’ (1)
\( \text{kansha-} \) ‘get tired’ (1) → \( \text{kansha-tu-} \) ‘rest’ (1)
\( \text{amu-} \) ‘go’ (1) → \( \text{amu-tu-} \) ‘go away, leave’ (1)
\( \text{nídiif-} \) ‘sew’ (2) → \( \text{nídiif-tu-} \) ‘mend’ (2)
\( \text{poye-} \) ‘love, esteem’ (2) → \( \text{poye-tu-} \) ‘treat affectionately’ (2)

c. Valency-neutral, ‘back/again’

\( \text{rüngkü-} \) ‘jump’ (1) → \( \text{rüngkü-tu-} \) ‘jump back’ (1)
\( \text{mule-} \) ‘be (temporarily)’ (1) → \( \text{mule-tu-} \) ‘be again’ (1)

d. Valency-neutral, perhaps bleached

\( \text{chali-} \) ‘greet, report’ (2) \( \text{eñum-} \) ‘get warm’ (1) + a dozen more

e. Verbalizing (valency-increasing?), often ‘use X (as it is typically used)’

\( \text{wekufü-tu-} \) ‘bewitch, cast a spell on’ (2) (\( \text{wekufü} \) ‘evil spirit’)
\( \text{kure-tu-} \) ‘use (sbdy. as) a woman’ (1/2) (\( \text{kure} \) ‘woman, wife’)
\( \text{sapatu-tu-} \) ‘put on / wear shoes’ (1) (\( \text{sapatu} \) ‘shoe(s)’)
\( \text{newen-tu-} \) ‘strengthen’ (1/2) (\( \text{newen} \) ‘force’)

f. Valency-decreasing, commonly used as iterative/progressive/etc.\(^{1}\)

\( \text{imül-} \) ‘roll’ (2) → \( \text{imül-tu-} \) ‘roll for fun’ (1)
\( \text{kiyfii-} \) ‘whisper in (sbdy.)’s ear’ (2) → \( \text{kiyfii-tu-} \) ‘whisper’ (1)
\( \text{kuyul-} \) ‘blacken with coal’ (2) → \( \text{kuyul-tu-} \) ‘smudge’ (1)
\( \text{kütral-} \) ‘burn’ (2) → \( \text{kütral-tu-} \) ‘burn’ (2) / ‘make a fire’ (1)
\( \text{ira-} \) ‘chop (wood)’ (2) → \( \text{ira-tu-} \) ‘chop (wood)’ (1/2)
\( \text{lawen-} \) ‘use (sthg.) as medicine’ (2) → \( \text{lawen-tu-} \) ‘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. \( \text{rüngkü-} \) ‘jump’ (1) → \( \text{rüngkü-rüngkü-tu-} \) ‘bounce, hop’ (1).
Pajonal Ashéninga (S Arawak; data originally from Shaler 1971)

No-p-ako-ts-imo-ts-ri Irena Irocarto paño.
1SG.SBJ-give-APPL1-EP-APPL2-ASP-3SGF.OBJ-3SGM.OBJ
‘I gave Richard the head scarf in Irene’s presence.’

(11) Yanesha’ (S Arawak) (data originally from Duff-Tripp 1997)

a. APPL1 (-n and allomorphs): affective (BEN/MAL) -- valency-increasing
b. APPL2 (-apr): comitative -- valency-increasing
c. APPL3 (-am’p’ ~ -’a’p’): valency-increasing (d) or valency-neutral (e)

d. Ø-e-t’om-amp’-s-as  s-a’neets-er.
   3sg-CAUS-burn-APPL3-2PL-EP  2PL-village-POSS
   ‘S/he burned your (PL) village (to your (PL) detriment).’

e. — Ø-kow-een-aan  chesa-t’oll.  ‘S/he is looking at the small child.’
   3SG-look-CONT-POVO  child-DIM
   — Ø-kow-am’p’-een-aan  chesa-t’oll. ‘S/he is caring for the small child.’
   3SG-look-APPL3-CONT-POVO  child-DIM

f. “SBJ/OBJ container or OBJ is somehow included in the action”
   Ø-a’nos-am’p’-s-aan-a  reera  po-choy-oor.
   3SG-climb-APPL3-EP-POVO-REFL  hawk  3SG.PSR-child-POSS
   ‘S/he climbed up to where the hawk’s chicks were.’

(12) Nomatsiguenga (S Arawak) (data originally from Wise 1971 and Shaver 1996)

General APPL -ko (and allomorphs): “the action is somehow in reference to the OBJ, or the
OBJ is somehow involved”

— I-samë-ko-k-e-ro  i-gisere.
   3M.SBJ-sleep-APPL-ASP-NFUT-3F.OBJ  3M-comb(F)
   ‘He went to sleep with reference to his comb.’ (e.g. he was making it and dropped it)

— I-komo-t-oko-k-e-ri  pabati  osegoha.
   3M.SBJ-dam-EP-APPL-ASP-NFUT-3M.OBJ  father  stream
   ‘He dammed the stream with reference to father.’ (e.g. father was the project leader)

(13) Aikhenvald (1999: 91) on Arawak applicatives

“These [very complicated applicative derivations i
n South Arawak] put an oblique constituent into the O slot. [They] apply to comitative,
dative, benefactive or malefactive, reason, purpose, instrument, allative, elative,
presential (i.e in the presence of somebody) and to any ‘thematic’ argument (i.e. the one
with reference to which the action is done).”

“In Amuesha, -amp’ ‘thematic argument advancement’ is often used idiosyncratically, to
refer to a vehicle in which the action is performed, or to a meteorological condition.”

(14) Chayahuita (Cahuapanan) -të (data originally from Hart 1988)

a. APPL: (0) → (1)
   tashi-r-in ‘it becomes night’  tashi-të-r-in ‘it become nights where s/he is’

b. APPL: (2) → (3)
   a’pa-r-in ‘s/he sends it’  a’pa-të-r-in ‘s/he sends it to someone’

c. VBLZ: (0) → (1)?
   ira  ‘trail’ (N)  ira-të-r-in ‘s/he walks’

d. CAUS: (1) → (2)
   ama-r-in ‘s/he bathes’  ama-të-r-in ‘s/he bathes him/her’
e. valency-reducing: (2) → (1)

\[ nati-r-in \quad \text{‘s/he obeys him/her’} \quad nati-tê-r-in \quad \text{‘s/he obeys’} \]

(15) Arabela† (Zaparoan) -ta/-tia (data originally from Rich 1999)

a. “Passive accompaniment,” “compassion on the part of the speaker”

\[ Napa \quad naana-akua \quad tiuu-tia-a. \]
\[ \text{ara tree-in perch-APPL-CONT} \]
\[ \text{‘An ara is perched (with its mate) on the tree.’} \]

b. “Abnormal condition”

\[ Kia \quad maka-ta-re \quad tee \quad pa \quad kia-nu-taniya-ni. \]
\[ 2SG \text{ climb-APPL-IRR where 1PL.INCL go-INF-FUT-SUB} \]
\[ \text{‘Climb (the tree in order to see) where we should go.’} \]

c. “SBJ/OBJ contained/containing,” or perhaps valency-increasing (FN4)

\[ Haniya-ri \quad nu-koko-hi \quad kua \quad shikiorta-ashi \]
\[ 1SG\text{-SBJ trail-by-of 1SG hurt-CL} \]
\[ \text{roshi-yo-ko-ho-ta-rikio-wa-ni.} \]
\[ \text{drag-CONT-CONTACT-MULTIPLE-APPL-IPFV-REPET-R1} \]
\[ \text{‘With my wounded (leg) paining me at each step, I dragged myself along the trail and} \]
\[ \text{returned [home].’} \]

d. “SBJ sick, old, or wounded”

\[ Haniya-ri \quad nu-koko-hi \quad kua \quad shikiorta-ashi \]
\[ 1SG\text{-SBJ trail-by-of 1SG hurt-CL} \]
\[ \text{roshi-yo-ko-ho-ta-rikio-wa-ni.} \]
\[ \text{drag-CONT-CONTACT-MULTIPLE-APPL-IPFV-REPET-R1} \]
\[ \text{‘With my wounded (leg) paining me at each step, I dragged myself along the trail and} \]
\[ \text{returned [home].’} \]

e. Disjoint reference across clauses in embedding

\[ \text{— Haniya kia-ta kia-nu pani-ya-ni.} \]
\[ 1SG 2SG-COM go-INF want-CONT-R1 \]
\[ \text{‘I want to go with you (SG).’} \]

\[ \text{— Haniya kia pani-tia-a kia-nu-ni.} \]
\[ 1SG 2SG want-APPL-CONT go-INF-R1 \]
\[ \text{‘I want you (SG) to go.’} \]

(16) Areal and historical perspectives

a. Payne (1984): COM and APPL appear to be cognate
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
\[ \text{(which it still retains with verbs of physical activity in Pre-Andine languages), and} \]
\[ \text{from there to a causative sense.”} \]
e. Payne (1984, 1985): (i) similarity of Yagua and Arabela APPL + (ii) other cognates >
\[ \text{possible Yagua-Zaparoan connection (either areal or genealogical)} \]
f. Wise (1993, 2002): Huitoto CAUS -ta + many Arawakan languages \textit{CAUS -da/-ta} and/or
\[ \text{verbalizing/transitivizing suffix including} \ t > \text{“wide-spread grammatical form” or} \]
\[ \text{areal feature} \]
g. Wise’s (2002) open questions: What is the focal area? List of areal features of
\[ \text{Amazonian (cf. D&A)? W Amazonian or rather NW Amazonian (Panoan does not share} \]
\[ \text{the trait)? Perhaps an indicator that Panoan originated in the southern Amazon} \]
\[ \text{tributaries and migrated north up to the Amazon + Arawak originated around} \]
\[ \text{Manaus / up the Rio Negro and migrated and dispersed in all directions?} \]
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 \(*ut\)- ‘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 compleitive, 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

References


