

Semantic functions of the Kampan applicative *-ako* (Arawak) in a typological perspective

Oral

Abstract

Typical applicative derivation is a transitivity operation whereby an applicative verb is overtly marked for the semantic role of an added direct object (Payne 1997:186; Peterson 2007:1-2). Unlike simple transitivity which adds central (theme or patient) participants, applicative formation normally increases the number of object arguments by incorporating peripheral (local and non-local arguments such as beneficiary, instrument, etc.) participants into the argument structure of the applicative verb (Polinsky 2005:45). Applicative systems in Kampan languages include generalized, semantically unspecified applicatives, conveying a cluster of thematic roles, and morphologically distinct applicative markers, each referring to a single thematic role. The present study is concerned with the Kampan generalized applicative *-ako* and addresses the following issues: (1) What participant roles does the *ako*-applicative assign to the applied objects? (2) What is a possible motivation for their assignment? (3) Are the attested semantic functions of *-ako* idiosyncratic, compared with those assigned by semantically unspecified applicatives in other languages?

This study reveals that the semantic functions associated with applied objects encoded by the generalized Kampan applicative *-ako* include both central and peripheral participants (theme, patient, place, goal, source, recipient, addressee, human source, beneficiary, comitative, instrument, purpose, stimulus). For example, *-ako* marks the central patient participant on the verb in the following sentence: *i=t^honk-ako-we-t-a-a=ri* [3m.A -finish-APPL-FRUS-EP-REGR-REAL.REFL-3m.O] 'He finished in vain with him.' (Ashéninka Pichis; Payne 1994:83); the *ako*-coded peripheral stimulus participant is shown in the next example: *i=kis-ako-ak-i=ro* [3m.A=be.angry-APPL-PRF-REAL-3n.m.O] 'He is angry about her.' (Nanti; Michael 2008:288).

This analysis uses the cognitive/diachronic approach to account for the selection of semantic roles coded by the applicative *-ako*. The proliferation of semantic functions of the applicative **-ako* is explained here in the context of the suffix's historical development, grounded in the mapping of its basic 'container' meaning from a spatial domain onto non-spatial domains of speakers' conceptualized experience with the world. The diachronic evolution of the original local 'container' sense of the generalized applicative **-ako* in ten Kampan languages has spawned multiple semantic extensions, evolving from local to grammatical functions, e.g. *n=aree-go-t-an-ë=ni* [1.S=fly-APPL-EP-DIR-EP=3.O] 'I arrived on the plane.' (Nomatsiguenga; Wise 1971:225); *o=tsa-ako-t-av-ak-e=ri* [3n.m. A-loosen-APPL-EP-DIR-PRF-REAL-3m.O] 'Ella desató el paquete [she untied the bundle].' (Machiguenga; Grosh 1996:77).

The synchronic usages of the generalized applicative *-ako* in Kampan languages are placed in the context of typological studies on generalized applicatives in other languages (Gerds & Kiyosawa 2005; Peterson 2007; Wise 2002). Circumstantial (stimulus) and grammatical functions of the generalized Kampan applicative *-ako* turn out to be a cross-linguistically rare phenomenon.

REFERENCES

- Gerds, D., & K. Kiyosawa. 2005. Halkomelem psych applicatives. *Studies in Language* 29 (2):329-62.
- Grosh, Sylvia Carlson. 1996. Análisis lingüístico de un texto machiguenga. In Ågot Bergli (ed.), *Estudios lingüísticos de textos de la Amazonia Peruana*, 13-103. Serie Lingüística Peruana, 37. Pucallpa: Ministerio de Educación and Instituto Lingüístico de Verano.
- Michael, L. 2008. *Nanti evidential practice: Language, knowledge and social action in an Amazonian society*. Ph.D. thesis, University of Texas at Austin.
- Peterson, David. 2007. *Applicative constructions*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Payne, David. 1984. Activity as the encoding of foregrounding in narrative: a case study of an Ashéninka legend. In Robert E. Longacre (ed.), *Theory and application in processing texts in non- Indo-European languages. Papers in Textlinguistics* 43, 49-91. Hamburg: Buske.
- Payne, Thomas. 1997. *Describing morphosyntax*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Polinsky, M. Applicative constructions. In M. Haspelmath, M. Dryer, D. Gil, & B. Comrie (eds.), *The World Atlas of Language Structure*, 442-446. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Wise, M.R. 2002. Applicative suffixes in Peruvian Amazonian languages. In M. Crevels, S. van de Kerke, S. Meira, & H. van der Voort (eds.), *Current studies on South American Indian languages: Selected papers from the 50th International Congress of Americanists in Warsaw and the Spinoza workshop on Amerindian languages in Leiden, 2000*, 329-244. ILLA, 3. Leiden: Research School of Asian, African, and Amerindian studies.
- Wise, M.R. 1971. *Identification of participants in discourse: a study of aspects of form and meaning in Nomatsiguenga*. Norman: SIL of the University of Oklahoma.