

Abui applicatives and other valency-increasing morphology

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Overview

Structure and goals of the paper

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- Abui verbal morphology
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What are applicative constructions?

Applicatives are constructions that increase transitivity by adding an O participant to the scene expressed by a verb (cf. Polinsky 2013).

(1) Tukang Besi (Austronesian, Indonesia; Donohue 1999: 256)

- a. ^{basic verb} no-ala te kau ^{basic object}
3.REALIS-fetch the wood
'She fetched the wood.' TRANSITIVE
- b. no-ala-ako te ina-su te kau ^{demoted basic object}
3.REALIS-fetch-APPL the mother-my the wood
'She fetched the wood (as a favor) for my mother.' APPLICATIVE
- ^{applicative verb} ^{applicative object}
-

What are applicative constructions?

Sometimes applicatives are thought of as advancing an oblique argument to direct object status.

(2) Pangutaran Sama (Austronesian, Philippines; Walton 1986)

a. n-bəlli aku taumpa ma si Andi.
ACT-buy 1SG.NOM shoe DAT PERS name

‘I bought some shoes for Andy.’

TRANSITIVE

b. n-bəlli-an aku si Andi taumpa'.
ACT-buy-APPL 1SG.NOM PERS name shoe

‘I bought Andy some shoes.’

APPLICATIVE

What are applicative constructions?

In many languages applicative constructions alternate with PPs and combine with both transitive and intransitive bases. Here examples from Chichewa are given.

(3) Chichewa (Nyanja) (East Bantu, Malawi; Baker 1988: 229-260)

a. Ndi-na-tumiz-a chipanda cha mowa kwa mfumu.
1SG.S-PAST-send-ASP calabash of beer to chief]PP
'I sent a calabash of beer to the chief.' TRANSITIVE

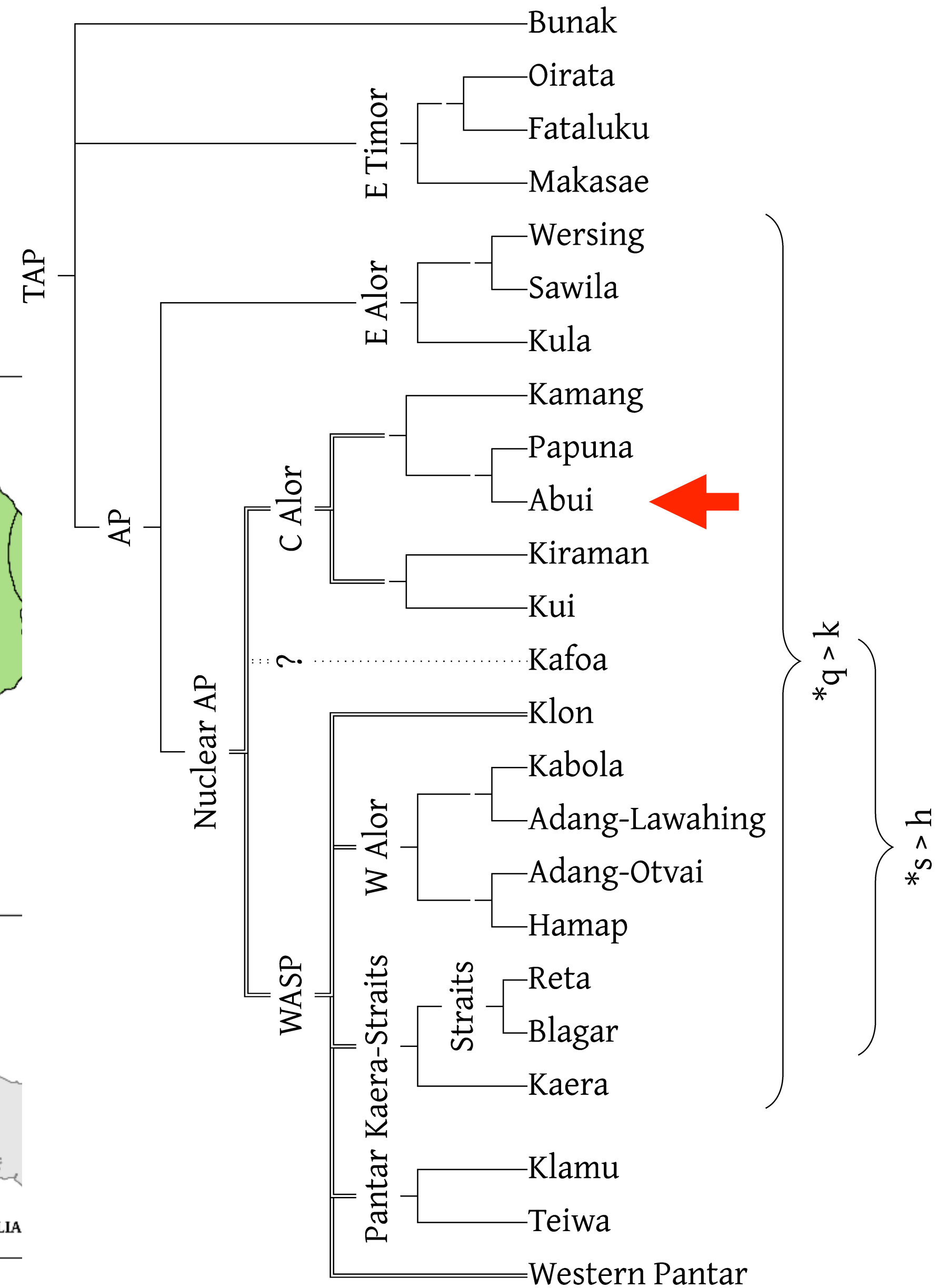
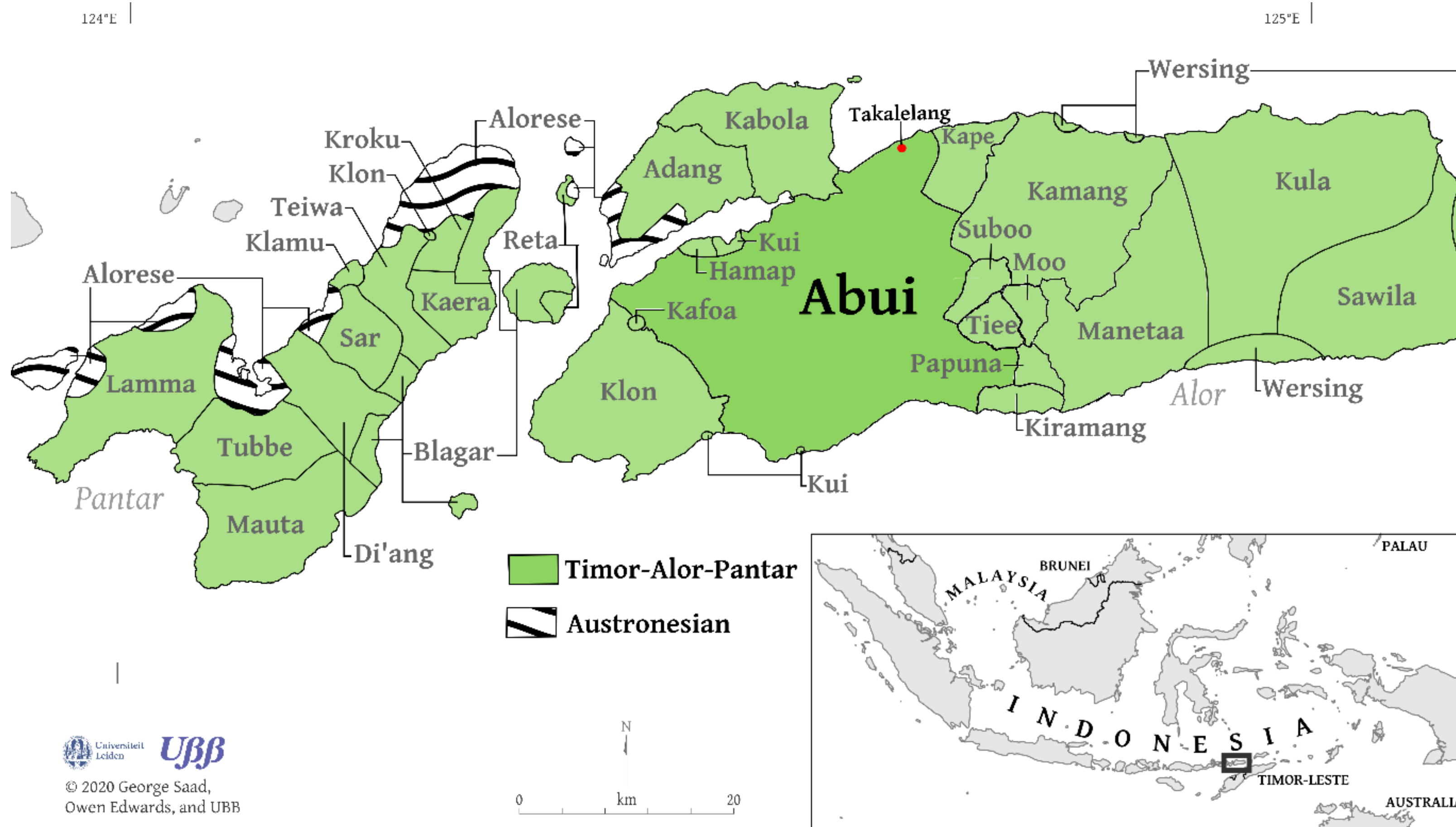
b. Ndi-na-tumiz-ir-a mfumu chipanda cha mowa.
1SG.S-PAST-send-APPL-ASP [chief]O calabash of beer
'I sent the chief a calabash of beer.' APPLICATIVE

c. Msangalatsi a-ku-yend-a ndi ndodo.
entertainer S.AGR-PRES-walk-ASP [with stick]PP
'The entertainer is walking with a stick.' INTRANSITIVE

d. Msangalatsi a-ku-yend-er-a ndodo.
entertainer S.AGR-PRES-walk-APPL-ASP [stick]O
'The entertainer is walking with a stick.' APPLICATIVE



Timor-Alor-Pantar languages



Abui Morphological Profile

- Head-marking language
- Consistently verb-final
- Highly agglutinative verbal morphology
- **Extensive verbal morphology:**
Affixation, Root mutation, Reduplication, Incorporation
- Elaborate object agreement but **no** subject agreement
- Free and bound verbal roots
- Verb serialisation

- (1) Bui kaai ha-wik.
name dog 3.I-carry.IPFV
'Bui is carrying her dog in her arms.'
- (2) A-táng do mi he-wik, hee-wik-e!
2SG.INAL-hand PROX take 3.II-carry.IPFV 3.BEN-carry.IPFV-PROG
'Carry it in your hands, carry it for him!'
- (3) Ata di he-daweng he-da-minang-di.
name 3.AGT 3.AL-medicine 3.II-3.REFL.I-remember-INCH
'Ata remembered his medicine.'
- (4) Deri di ama hee-l=he-fikang
name 3.AGT person 3.BEN-GIVE=3.II-respect.IPFV
'Deri respects people'
- (5) kaai de-tamai dieng-pe lang-mara~mara
dog 3.REFL.II-keep.doing.IPFV kitchen ALL.MD-RED~go.up.IPFV
'The dog is entering kitchen all the time.'
- (6) tung-ai loohu ming-nada-sama
year-root be.long APPL-1SG.COM=be.with
'may I have a long life!' (lit. 'may long years be with me!')

Abui verb template

VERB EXTENSION			LEXICAL VERB										
-2	-1	ROOT	-5	-4	-3	-2	-1	ROOT	+1	+2	+3	+4	+5
APPL.2	APPL.1	light verb	DEIC	APPL	S/P.3	S/P.2 2	S/P.1	stem change	ASP.1	ASP.2	ASP.3	MOOD.1	MOOD.2
BEN	BEN	GIVE	MED	APPL	BEN	LOC	PAT	PFV	INCP	INCH	CONT	PRIOR	PROH
APPL	GOAL	THROW			GOAL	REC		IPFV	STAT	PFV	PROG	COND	HORT
		TOUCH			COM			INCP		PRF		ANTE	EXHORT
			PROX.DIR			INCORP						SIM	ALT
			MED.DIR									SEQ	CNFT
			CAUS									CSEQ	

Abui verbs can be morphologically complex, although forms consisting of more than five morphemes are rare. The available combinations are schematically linearised in an idealised template. The reality is more network-like where each affix slot that is filled restricts which other slots remain possible.

The valency-increasing morphemes discussed in this paper are found in slots -3 to -5 and in the verb extension headed by one of the light verb roots.

Abui valency increasing prefixes

DISTANCE	DEICTIC	DIRECTIONAL	APPLICATIVE
PROXIMAL		<i>dong-</i> ~ <i>doong-</i>	<i>ming-</i> ~ <i>miing-</i>
MEDIAL	<i>la-</i> ~ <i>laa-</i>	<i>lang-</i> ~ <i>laang-</i>	



Usually adding an inanimate applied object, tracking its distance and direction

	BENEFACTIVE	GOAL	COMITATIVE
1SG	<i>nee-</i>	<i>noo-</i>	<i>nada-</i>
2SG	<i>ee-</i>	<i>oo-</i>	<i>ada-</i>
3	<i>hee-</i>	<i>hoo-</i>	<i>hada-</i>
3.REFL	<i>dee-</i>	<i>doo-</i>	<i>dada-</i>
DISTR	<i>tee-</i>	<i>too-</i>	<i>tada-</i>
1PL.INCL	<i>nii-</i>	<i>nuu-</i> ~ <i>noo-</i>	<i>nida-</i>
1PL.EXCL	<i>pii-</i>	<i>puu-</i> ~ <i>poo-</i>	<i>pida-</i>
2PL	<i>rii-</i>	<i>ruu-</i> ~ <i>roo-</i>	<i>rida-</i>



Usually adding a human applied object tracking person-number features

Abui applicatives (PP > applicative O)

Abui applicative morphology is used to promote a peripheral constituent (location, benefactive, companion, etc.) to an argument of the verb. A case-marked peripheral argument (here with the allative suffix) becomes the applied object (zero-marked) of the verb which takes the applicative prefix *ming-*.

(10) Abui (EVY.1073-4)

a. [ne-kaweni he-bula]_S ee [wii=ng] ha-yeei-ya
1SG.AL-machete 3.AL-blade before stone=ALL 3.PAT-fall:PFV-SEQ
paliik-di
crooked-INCH



‘the blade of my machete fell on a stone and bent’ INTRANSITIVE

b. [ne-kaweni he-bula]_S ee [wii]_O ming-ha-yeei
1SG.AL-machete 3.AL-blade before stone APPL-3.PAT-fall:PFV
la-paliik-di
APPL.MD-crooked-INCH

The applicative object (location) is a bare NP,
the case marking is dropped

‘the blade of my machete hit the stone and bent from it’ APPLICATIVE

Semantics of applied objects

Allative NP alternates with the *ming-* applicative verb and the GOAL-verb, tracking person-number features of the human applied object.

(24) Abui (B7.62.1a; SS.43yr.M; N2012.123)

a. [bataa yo]_s ...nahare [he-toqu=ng]_{direction} hayeei
WOOD MED.ADDR almost 3.AL-foot=**ALL** fall.from.above:PFV
'the log almost fell on his foot' INTRANSITIVE

b. [anuui ba e saai do]_s [pi-ut loku
rain REL before come.down:PFV PROX 1PL.INCL.AL-garden PL
baai]_o **ming-**hayeei
ADD **APPL** fall.from.above:PFV
'the rain earlier on fell also on our gardens' APPLICATIVE

c. [di]_s el mii noo-ha-kuoili
3AGT before take:PFV **1SG.GOAL**-3.PAT-throw.down:PFV
'he has dropped it at me (lit. he took it, dropped it at me)' GOAL

Abui applicative and deictic prefixes

Applicative and deictic prefixes extend the argument structure to include an inanimate participant. There are in total four such prefixes that display some striking segmental similarity, suggesting a common origin (cf. Klamer 2022). At present we do not understand the role of the vowel length.

DISTANCE	DEICTIC	DIRECTIONAL	APPLICATIVE
PROXIMAL		<i>dong-</i> ~ <i>doong-</i>	<i>ming-</i> ~ <i>miing-</i>
MEDIAL	<i>la-</i> ~ <i>laa-</i>	<i>lang-</i> ~ <i>laang-</i>	

Abui applicative and deictic prefixes

ming- ~ *miing-* (APPL): adds a primary location of the event (often syntactically non-adjacent)

la- ~ *laa-* (MD): adds a secondary location or an abstract circumstance (often reason or cause), which is somewhat unexpected or presented as external

dong- ~ *doong-* (PROX.DIR): adds a proximate goal or direction

lang- ~ *laang-* (MD.DIR): adds a non-proximate goal or direction

Semantics of applied objects

The applicative prefix *ming-* adds an inanimate argument into the valency frame. The applied object is typically not immediately preceding the applicative verb.

- (23) Abui (EVY.105)
[ama nuku di]_s [keju]_o mii-ba ming-ha-munang
person one 3.AGT cheese take:PFV-SIM APPL-3.PAT-smell
'a man took the cheese and smells at it' APPLICATIVE

PAT-munang 'to smell':

1. EXPERIENCER PAT-VERB
2. STIMULUS EXPERIENCER APPL-PAT-VERB

Semantics of applied objects

The applicative prefix *ming-* may promote to object position **larger complements, both clausal as well as nominalisations** which cannot be indexed with the -2 and -1 slot prefixes. Such constituents typically precede the subject.

(30) Abui (B7.15.6a-b)

a. [me]_{complement} [pi]_s **ming-ha-roosa**
come:IPFV 1PL.INCL.AGT APPL-3.PAT-await:IPFV

‘let us wait (till) he comes!’

APPLICATIVE

PAT-rosa^{IPFV} ‘to wait’:

1. AGENT^{AGT} **BENEFACTOR** *PAT-VERB*

2. **TYPICAL EXTENSION**^{CLAUSE} AGENT^{AGT} **BENEFACTOR** **APPL-PAT-VERB**

Semantics of applied objects

b. [[he]_S-sei do]_{nominalization} [pi]_S
3.AL-come.down:IPFV PROX 1PL.INCL.AGT

ming-he-roosa

APPL-3.LOC-await:IPFV

‘let us hope that he comes!’

APPLICATIVE

LOC-rosa^{IPFV} ‘to await, to hope’:

1. AGENT^{AGT} **BENEFACTOR** *LOC-VERB*

2. **TYPICAL EXTENSION**^{CLAUSE} AGENT^{AGT} **BENEFACTOR** **APPL-LOC-VERB**

Other functions of applicatives

The applicative morphology occurs **in reciprocals**. The applicative prefix promotes the subject to the object position. Without the applicative prefix, verbs inflected only with the distributive prefix have got a distributive reading (one by one, each of, etc.). So we would get ‘both Simons are angry with everyone’ for (36a) and ‘both Simons are making fun of everyone’ in (36b).

(33) Abui (EVY.194-5)

a. [Simon ayoku]_{S=O} ming-tada-nuk-nukda
name two APPL-DISTR.COMIT-disturb:IPFV

‘both Simons are angry at each other’

RECIPROCAL

COMIT-*nukda*^{IPFV} ‘to disturb, to annoy s.o.’:

1. AGENT^{AGT} PATIENT COMIT-VERB

2. AGENT<->PATIENT APPL-COMIT-VERB

(reciprocal construction)

Semantics of applied objects

Directional prefixes *doong-* and *lang-* add inanimate goals and differentiate their distance. The medial *lang-* ~ *laang-* usually implies some kind of contrast. In (28) it is the unusual location to keep the slacked lime (it should be kept in a special box with betel nuts).

(28) Abui (MM.YF.2125.6)

[fala do]_O doong-mareei-ba ming-wahai-si...

house PROX PROX.DIR-go.up:PFV-SIM APPL-look:PFV-CNFT

‘they went into the house and looked inside and then...’

DIRECTIONAL

mareei^{PFV} ‘to go up’:

1. AGENT^{AGT} (LOCATION)^{ALL} VERB

2. AGENT^{AGT} LOCATION PROX.DIR-VERB

Semantics of applied objects

Directional prefixes *doong-* and *lang-* add inanimate goals and differentiate their distance. The medial *lang-* ~ *laang-* usually implies some kind of contrast. In (28) it is the unusual location to keep the slacked lime (it should be kept in a special box with betel nuts).

(29) Abui (CV.AH.56)

awaai baai ba mii [pelastik hu]_o laang-ia

slacked.lime ADD TOP take:PFV plastic.bag SPC.ADDR MD.DIR-put:IPFV

‘the lime has been put in some plastic bag (i.e. not its box)’ DIRECTIONAL

ia^{IPFV} ‘to put’:

1. AGENT^{AGT} (LOCATION)^{ALL} VERB

2. AGENT^{AGT} LOCATION MD.DIR-VERB

Other functions of applicatives

Various types of predicate modification require secondary predicates which formally take the VP with the lexical verb as their object, showing that syntactically they scope over the lexical verb VP.

(39) Abui (EVY.105)

[anuui saai]_O

lang-ha-tiik

rain come.down:PFV MD.DIR-3.PAT-stretch:IPFV

‘it is raining continuously’

ASPECTUAL AUXILIARY

Other functions of applicatives

There are instances of applicative morphology in **nominalised constructions** where the applicative seems to be means **to demote the core argument**.

(37) Abui (EVY.315)

[Simon]_{demoted O} ming-ha-yaal he-war
name APPL-3.PAT-give.birth:IPFV 3.AL-day

‘(it is) Simon’s birthday’

NOMINALISATION

(38) Abui (B7.25.4d)

a. mayool do wan [de-wiil]_O ha-yaar-i
woman PROX already 3I.AL-child 3.PAT-give.birth:PFV-PFV

‘the woman gave birth to her child’

TRANSITIVE

b. [needo]_S na-yaar-ba wan latukoi lunga
1SG.FOC 1SG.PAT-give.birth:PFV-SIM already very.much be.long

‘I was born long ago’

INTRANSITIVE

Applicatives in discourse

Applicatives are used to track topical arguments in declaratives or questions. They are individuated entities that are attention-worthy and as such are promoted to the object position.

There is often some syntactic distance between the applicative object ([in the first clause](#)) and the applicative verb.

(43) Abui (S23)

[na]_S kul [sura kiding]_O bel-i, tanga-ananra ming-tulisa
1SG.AGT must book small buy-PFV language.notes APPL-write:IPFV

‘I must buy a small notebook to write down language notes (in it)’

APPLICATIVE

tulisa^{IPFV} ‘to write’:

1. AGENT^{AGT} (THEME) VERB
2. AGENT^{AGT} (THEME) LOCATION APPL-VERB

Applicatives in discourse

(41) Abui (B7.14.2a)

[yambuk nu]_O nu-miwea-ba ni

glass SPC 1PL.EXCL.REC-want:IPFV-PURP 1PL.EXCL.AGT

ming-buuk

APPL-drink:IPFV

‘we want a glass to drink from’

APPLICATIVE

(42) Abui (B7.14.7a)

[fakal]_O mii ne-r-ba na ruwol bira mii-ba

scuttle take:PFV 1SG.LOC-give:PFV-SIM 1SG.AGT chicken egg take:PFV-SIM

ming-ii-se

APPL-put:PFV-PRIOR

‘give me a scuttle that I can put the eggs I collected in’

APPLICATIVE

Applicatives in discourse

Applicatives occur **in relative clauses** and the shared noun may become the applied object.

(43) Abui (B7.14.8a)

te [he-tofa]_O=ba [pi ming-taa]?

where 3.AL-shelter=REL 1PL.INCL.AGT APPL-sleep:IPFV

‘where is the hut that we would sleep in?’

APPLICATIVE

taa^{IPFV} ‘to lie flat, to sleep’:

1. AGENT_{AGT}

VERB

2. AGENT_{AGT}

LOCATION

APPL-VERB

Valency-increasing morphemes (human O)

BENefactive, GOAL, and COMitative prefixes add a human object to the verb.

	BENEFACTIVE	GOAL	COMITATIVE
1SG	<i>nee-</i>	<i>noo-</i>	<i>nada-</i>
2SG	<i>ee-</i>	<i>oo-</i>	<i>ada-</i>
3	<i>hee-</i>	<i>hoo-</i>	<i>hada-</i>
3.REFL	<i>dee-</i>	<i>doo-</i>	<i>dada-</i>
DISTR	<i>tee-</i>	<i>too-</i>	<i>tada-</i>
1PL.INCL	<i>nii-</i>	<i>nuu- ~ noo-</i>	<i>nida-</i>
1PL.EXCL	<i>pii-</i>	<i>puu- ~ poo-</i>	<i>pida-</i>
2PL	<i>rii-</i>	<i>ruu- ~ roo-</i>	<i>rida-</i>

Valency-increasing prefixes (human objects)

(5) Abui (B7.29.1d-e)

a. [a]_s kariiyang-ba mii [raaha]_o he-l-e?
2SG.AGT work-SIM take:PFV king 3.LOC-give-PROG

‘are you working for the king?’

BI-CLAUSAL

b. [a]_s [raaha]_o hoo-kariiyang?
2SG.AGT king 3.GOAL-work:IPFV

‘are you serving the king?’

GOAL

kariiyang^{IPFV} ‘to work’:

1. AGENT^{AGT} (THEME) VERB

2. AGENT RECIPIENT GOAL-VERB

Valency-increasing morphemes (human O)

(19) Abui (EL.BD.OL; B7.29.1e)

a. [a]_s [raaha]_O hee-kariiyang?
2SG.AGT king 3.BEN-work:IPFV

‘are you doing the king’s work (i.e. instead of the king)?’ BENEFACTIVE

b. [a]_s [raaha]_O hoo-kariiyang?
2SG.AGT king 3.GOAL-work:IPFV

‘are you serving the king (i.e. working for the king)?’ GOAL

kariiyang^{IPFV} ‘to work’:

- | | | |
|-------------------------|-------------|-----------|
| 1. AGENT ^{AGT} | (THEME) | VERB |
| 2. AGENT | RECIPIENT | GOAL-VERB |
| 3. AGENT | BENEFICIARY | BEN-VERB |

Valency-increasing morphemes (human O)

The **benefactive paradigm (BEN)** is used to add an object expressing the beneficiary in (16).

(16) Abui (EVY.1282)

na-taang na-riik=hare, a nee-kafii-te

1SG.INAL-arm 1SG.PAT-hurt=so 2SG.AGT 1SG.BEN-scratch:PFV-PRIOR

‘my hand hurts, so scrape (the leaves) in my stead’

APPLICATIVE

kafii^{PFV} ‘to scratch, to scrape’:

1. AGENT^{AGT} (THEME) VERB

2. AGENT BENEFICIARY (~~THEME~~) BEN-VERB

Valency-increasing morphemes (human O)

The **benefactive paradigm (BEN)** is used to add a cause (17) to the valency frame. Note that the cause is generally labeled as *alowai* ‘misfortune’ and can include disease, spell, poverty, and various other suffering. This shows that inanimate forces pattern here with the animates.

(17) Abui (AAA.854)

afe [Len he-yaa nu]_S hen [nala]_O hee-ha-riik-e?

before name 3.AL-mother SPC 3.COP what 3.BEN-3.PAT-hurt- PROG

‘what did Len’s mother suffer from earlier on?’

CAUSE

PAT-riik ‘to hurt, to fall ill’:

1. PATIENT/EXPERIENCER

PAT-VERB

2. PATIENT/EXPERIENCER

CAUSE/STIMULUS

BEN-PAT-VERB

Valency-increasing morphemes (human O)

The **GOAL prefix** can differentiate a human goal (zero-marked NP indexed on the verb with the GOAL prefix) from an inanimate location (zero- or allative-marked NP).

(18) Abui (B7.57.3a, Alowai.LAF.205)

a. [tafuda]_S dee-l=to-liyol-i-ba [raaha]_O

all 3.REFL.BEN-give=DISTR.REC-gather-PFV-SIM chief

hoo-baleei

3.GOAL-around:PFV

‘everybody gathered and surrounded around the king’ **GOAL**

baleei^{PFV} ‘to surround, to encircle, to wrap around, to stand in a circle around st.’:

1. AGENT_{AGT} **LOCATION_(ALL)** VERB

2. AGENT_{AGT} **HUMAN.GOAL** **GOAL-VERB**

Valency-increasing morphemes (human O)

The COMitative indexes companions and instruments.

(21) Abui (EL.BD.OL, S.124, E15BDDDef.62)

a. [Simon di]_S nada-mui~muila

name 3.AGT 1SG.COM-RDP~play:IPFV

‘Simon is playing with me’

COMITATIVE

b. [Fani]_S oro [kamai]_O hada-muila

name DIST cat 3.COM-play:IPFV

‘Fani is playing with the cat’

COMITATIVE

c. [neng-moqu]_S [de-bal]_O hada-muila

boy 3REFL.AL-ball 3.COM-play:IPFV

‘the boy is playing with his ball’

INSTRUMENT

muila^{IPFV} ‘to play’:

1. AGENT^{AGT} VERB

2. AGENT^{AGT} COMPANION/INSTRUMENT COM-VERB

Semantics of applied objects

The comitative can alternate with a bi-clausal construction with the verb *-do* ‘join someone’. The inflected verb is marked with the simultaneous mood marker and joined with the clause describing the activity performed together.

(22) Abui (B7.16.5a)

[na]_s sei a-do-ba mui-muila kaang?
1SG.AGT come.down.IPFV 2SG.PAT-join-SIM RED~play.IPFV be.good

‘Can I come and play with you?’

BI-CLAUSAL

Semantics of applied objects

If the direction or goal are human, the GOAL prefix, indexing the person-number features must be used, as in (25). So we see a differential marking of the applied object here triggered by animacy. The base object is typically not realised as an NP but remains to be indexed on the verb.

- (25) Abui (N2012.123)
[di]_S el mii noo-ha-kuoili
3AGT before take:PFV 1SG.GOAL-3.PAT-throw.down:PFV
'he has dropped it at me (lit. he took it, dropped it at me)' APPLICATIVE

PAT-kuoili^{PFV} 'to drop, to throw down':

1. AGENT^{AGT} PATIENT *PAT-VERB*
2. AGENT^{AGT} ~~PATIENT~~ *HUMAN.GOAL* *GOAL-PAT-VERB*

Causative-like discourse uses

The GOAL prefix has sometimes a causative-like reading: ‘drink’ > ‘let drink’

(44) Abui (healer identifying one of her patients; Alowai.AA.844-849)

AA: eh [o do]_O, [wó e-ya do]_O, [do Kol Sara do]_O
oh MD PROX DIST.H 2SG.AL-mother PROX PROX proper.name PROX

baai [needo]_S mara hoo-dawen-i
also 1SG.FOC go.up.IPFV 3.GOAL-cure.PFV-PFV

‘oh, that one, up there, your aunt, this Kol Sara here, even her I treated
(lit. gave medicine to)’

APPLICATIVE

AA: hedo di parenta=ba mara wala do baai
3.FOC 3.AGT paved.road=TOP go.up:IPFV part PROX also

beeka=ba

cannot=QUOT

‘she said that she could not even walk up the road (to her house)’

Causative-like discourse uses

Here the human object is expressed several turns earlier but remains the whole time topical as the speaker talks about the proper way of treating certain types of patients.

(45) Abui (Alowai.AA.349)

medication

AA: ma hen di ko ya taka iti mii
PART 3.COP 3.AGT IRR water be.empty that take.PFV

recipient

hoo-buuk to, p-ienglaka? hare di
3.GOAL-let.drink.IPFV PROX.AD 1PL.INCL.LOC-3.PAT.know so 3.AGT
ta ko di pi-ai sembayang-di-a-re tewil-re
be.PROX.AD IRR 3.AGT 1PL.INCL.AL-side pray-INCH-CONT-ALT do.how-ALT
he-nil to.

3.LOC-do.so.IPFV PROX.AD

‘he just gave them water to drink, how can we know? Maybe he cured them by praying in our way or in some other way, you know’

Iterative applicative marking

Abui verbs may combine with multiple applicative prefixes whose semantic contribution we will return to. In (12) the applicative *la-* indexes the manner in which the ‘watching of the woman who is due to give birth’ is done by the midwife. The prefix *hoo-* indexes the pregnant woman.

(12) Abui (Alowai.MA.771)

...[neng mit-ba do=wiir-ba_o la-hoo-roa

1SG.INVOL sit-SIM PROX=be.like.MD-SIM APPL.MD-3.GOAL-watch:IPFV

‘I just sit like that and watch her in that way’

DOUBLE APPLICATIVE

(14) Abui (Alowai.AA.402)

hen pi la-hee-l=taai-so

3.COP 1PL.INCL.AGT APPL.MD-3.BEN-GIVE=heal-PRIOR:MD.AD

‘then we treated him for it (advanced sepsis in an arrow shot wound)’

Applicative marking and reduplication

In verbal derivation, applicativization may be followed by partial reduplication (encoding aspect). In the following examples the applicative prefix is reduplicated together with the base verb.

(15) Abui ()

- a. wiil=neng do ladawai~la-da-wai do
child=man PROX RDP~APPL.MD-3.REFL.I-turn PROX
'this young man is turning around' ITERATION
- b. he-isi do [war kanakda do]_o lang-hariik~ha-riik
3.AL-body PROX day every PROX ALL.MD-RDP~3.I-hurt
'with each day he gets more ill' INTENSITY

Applicative marking and reduplication

Reduplication precedes the attachment of multiple applicative affixes below to distinguish habitual events.

- Partial reduplication (habitual): root indexed for O undergoes RDP before APPL

la-ming-haweel~ha-weel

MD-APPL-RDP~{3.I-bathe}

‘keep bathing it (in the tonic) because of that’

- Partial reduplication (habitual): root indexed for O undergoes RDP before ASP and APPL are attached

la-ming-hakol~ha-kol-ra

MD-APPL-RDP~{3.I-cheat}-INCP

‘he keeps cheating in that, he usually cheats in that’

Applicative marking and incorporation

It is possible to incorporate obligatorily possessed bodyparts into applicative verbs, where the applicative attaches after the bodypart, which may be indexed in **slot -1** when the verb requires so (bound vs. free roots).

- Incorporated body part *da-tááng* ‘his own hand’

LIGHT VERB			LEXICAL VERB										
-2	-1	root	-4	-3	-2	-1	root	+1	+2	+3	+4	+5	
U _{APPL}	U _{LV}		APPL ₂	U _{APPL.2}	U _{APPL}	PAT		INCP	INCH	STAT	MOOD ₁	MOOD ₂	
				APPL ₁		N _{incorporated}		STAT	PFV	PROG			
				CAUS					PRF				

hee-da-tááng-ha-tool-i

3.BEN-3i.inal-hand-3.I-stretch-PFV

‘he reached for it [with his hand]’ [N2012.137]

Applicative marking and incorporation

The prefix on the verbal root does not always have to come from the Ca- series as shown below. In this example the verb *pa* ‘possess, have’ requires the applicative goal prefix. The incorporated noun is in slot -2.

- Incorporated body part *hoomi* ‘his heart’

LIGHT VERB			LEXICAL VERB										
-2	-1	root	-4	-3	-2	-1	root	+1	+2	+3	+4	+5	
U _{APPL}	U _{LV}		APPL ₂	U _{APPL.2}	U _{APPL}	PAT		INCP	INCH	STAT	MOOD ₁	MOOD ₂	
				APPL ₁		N _{incorporated}		STAT	PFV	PROG			
				CAUS					PRF				

amakaang ba ming-hoomi-hoo-pa nuku

person REL APPL-3.inside-GOAL-have one

‘a person that is adult (lit. has got a heart)’

Applicative marking and incorporation

The following example shows a cyclic attachment of applicative prefixes interceded by noun incorporation. The verb *natia* is intransitive and requires the allative =*ng* to create a slot for incorporation. The incorporated verb adds two more affixes to mark the location (fruit garden) and index the reason to put a spell (frequent theft).

- Intransitive root and incorporation

LIGHT VERB			LEXICAL VERB										
-2	-1	root	-4	-3	-2	-1	root	+1	+2	+3	+4	+5	
U _{APPL}	U _{LV}		APPL ₂	U _{APPL.2}	U _{APPL}	PAT		INCP	INCH	STAT	MOOD ₁	MOOD ₂	
				APPL ₁		N _{incorporated}		STAT	PFV	PROG			
				CAUS				PRF					

la-ming-iyafoka-ng-natia

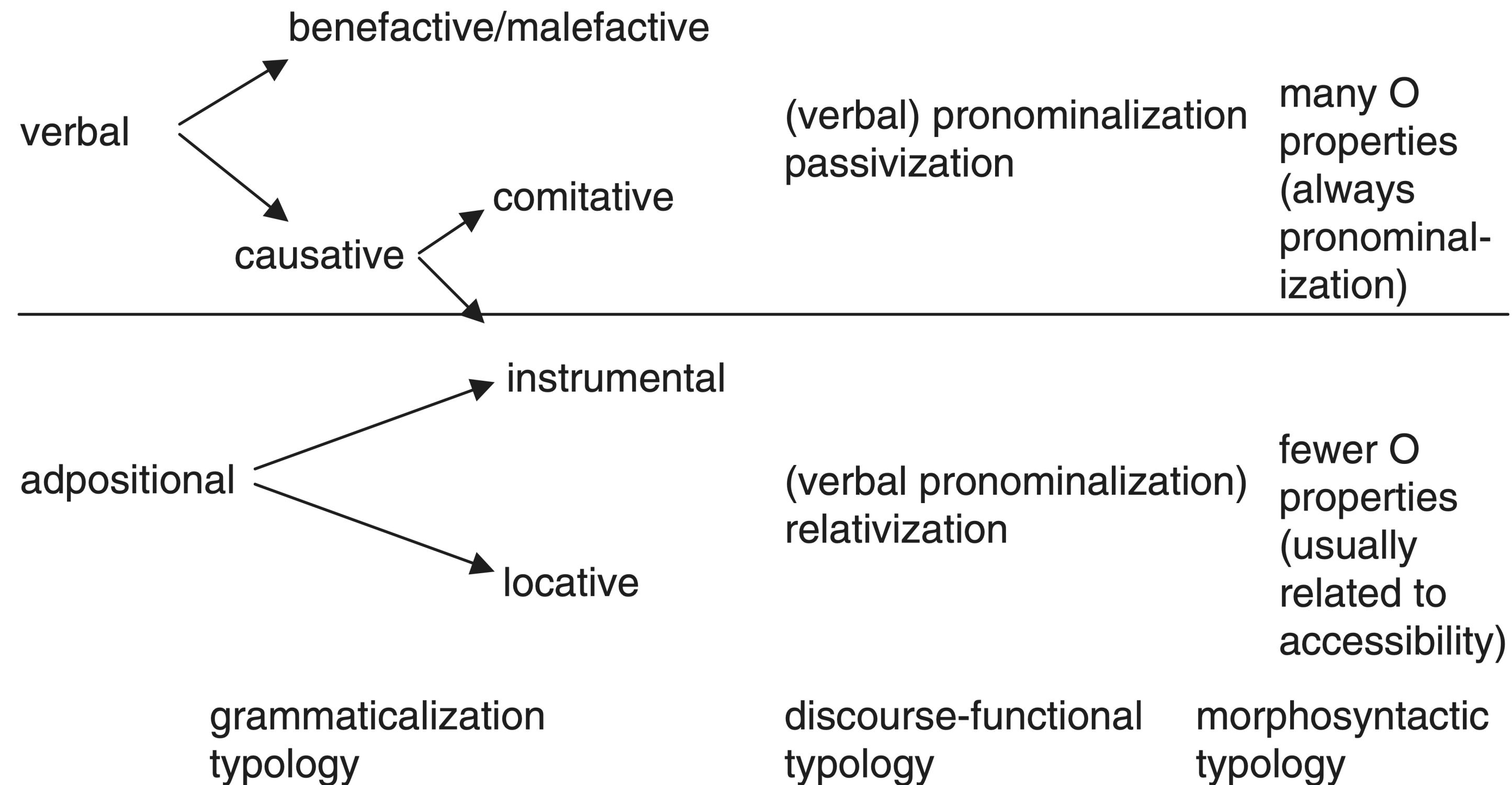
APPL.MD-APPL-path-ALL-erect.IPFV

‘it was protected with the path spell because of that’

Discussion and Conclusion

- Two types of applicatives (verbal vs. adpositional (cf. Peterson 2007: 231))
- Semantic roles of the applicative object: location, direction, benefactive, goal, comitative...
- Some alternations still exist: allative case vs. allative applicative, comitative construction vs. comitative applicative
- Properties of the applicative object:
 - (i) more like prototypical object when valence not increased;
 - (ii) valence increased and the basic object demoted;
 - (iii) some instances of causative/applicative isomorphism (e.g. goal applicatives)
- Grammaticalised uses of applicatives in reciprocals, complementation, and predicate modification

Summary (Peterson's Typology of Applicatives)



There are two pathways in which the Abui applicatives originate.

The first one, available mainly to promoted human objects originates in inflecting object-indexing verbs. They are grammaticalised into several prefix series which index the person-number features of the applicative object.

The second one originates in case markers, and demonstrative roots which were used adnominally to distinguish various types of inanimate arguments. They were merged phonologically with the verb and retain some of their spatial features (distance and orientation).

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Applicative constructions in Sawila (Alor-Pantar)

A recent paper by Marian Klamer (2022 at APLL in Berlin) attempts to systematise the data. Here we restrict ourselves to our own work on Sawila, which you heard about yesterday.

(4) Sawila (Kratochvíl 2014: 398; A.022; A.024; P.204)

a. Laampuru ilo.

[laampuru]_S ilo

lamp bright

‘The lamp is bright.’

INTRANSITIVE

b. Laampuru mailo.

[laampuru]_S ma-ilo

lamp APPL-bright

‘The lamp is brighter/turned up.’

CAUSATIVE / APPLICATIVE

applicative implies some force input
(causative like with greater effect)

c. Laampuru liilo.

laampuru [] li-ilo

[lamp]_S []_O APPL-bright

‘The lamp is shining for someone/at something.’

TRANSITIVE

applicative adds a beneficiary or
a location at this the lamp shines
(animacy not differentiated)

Applicative constructions in Sawila (Alor-Pantar)

Applicative morphology precedes the basic person-number prefixes (indexing A, S, and O, depending on the verb class). There are three applicative prefixes: *ma-*, *li-*, and *wii-*.

(5) Sawila (Kratochvíl 2014: 398; A.117-120)

a. Nasoorana.

na_ʃ-soorana

1SG.I-FIN.angry

‘I am angry.’

INTRANSITIVE

b. Erra gapi manasoorana.

erra ga-pi ma-na-soorana

[2SG.AGT 3.I-make]_O APPL-1SG.I-FIN.angry

‘You are making me more angry.’

CAUSATIVE / APPLICATIVE

cause is explicit here

c. Nirre linesoorana.

nirra [] li-na-soorana

1SG.AGT []_O APPL-1SG.I-FIN.angry

‘I am angered about it.’

APPLICATIVE

applicative adds a stimulus here

Applicative constructions in Sawila (Alor-Pantar)

Applicative morphology precedes the basic person-number prefixes (indexing A, S, and O, depending on the verb class). There are three applicative prefixes: *ma-*, *li-*, and *wii-*.

d. Erra tulori napunni ngana, kaluno wiinesoorana.

[erra tulori na-punni ngana]_O kaluna
2SG.AGT two.days.ago 1SG.I-hit DEF FIN.now

wii-na-soorana

APPL-1SG.I-FIN.angry

‘You hitting me that time, is making me angry now.’

APPLICATIVE

applied objects can be
clausal complements or
nominalizations

Applicative constructions in Sawila (Alor-Pantar)

The applicatives may combine with transitive verbs to indicate that the applicative object acquires more prototypical object properties such as being affected.

(6) Sawila (Kratochvíl 2014: 398; A.9; A.11, A.12, A.14)

a. Nirre luuku tii.

nirra [luuku]_O tii

1SG.AGT hole dig

‘I dig a hole. OR I dig at a hole. (unspecified result)’

TRANSITIVE

b. Nirre luuku matii.

nirra [luuku]_O ma-tii

1SG.AGT hole APPL-dig

‘I dig a hole deeper (specific result).’

applied objects imply greater effect on the object (cf. the causative link)

APPLICATIVE

Applicative constructions in Sawila (Alor-Pantar)

Some applicatives demote the basic object entirely (cf. *chômeur* argument). Such objects are reconstructable from the discourse or based on one's world knowledge.

c. Nirre siripine litii.

nirra [siripine]_o li-tiii

1SG.AGT FIN.root APPL-dig

'I dig [a hole] along a root.'

applied object is
a location or path

APPLICATIVE

d. Nirre mu madiirana wiitii.

nirra [mu madiirana]_o wii-tii

1SG.AGT wood FIN.sharp APPL-dig

'I dig [a hole] with a sharp wood.'

applied object is
an instrument

APPLICATIVE

Applicative constructions in Sawila (Alor-Pantar)

The contribution of the *ma-* depends on the verb class. While with verbs that do not lexicalise change of state, we got a greater degree of affectedness, with verbs of change (here creation) we get a repeated action (i.e. build > repair).

(7) Sawila (Kratochvíl 2014: 399-400; A.5-8)

a. Nirra araasing gapi.

nirra [araasing]_o ga-pi
1SG.AGT NFIN.house 3.I-make

‘I build a house OR I build houses.’

TRANSITIVE

b. Nirra araasing magapi.

nirra [araasing]_o ma-ga-pi
1SG.AGT NFIN.house APPL-3.I-make

‘I repair a house OR I repair houses’

applied objects imply
repeated effort (repair)

APPLICATIVE

Applicative constructions in Sawila (Alor-Pantar)

It is not clear whether the basic object in (7d) is demoted (i.e. *chômeur* argument) and the 1sg agent implicit. The alternative is that the NP *niaraasine* is the subject (marking the agent with the possessive prefix).

c. Nirra araasing ligapi.

nirra [araasing]_O li-ga-pi

1SG.AGT NFIN.house APPL-3.I-make

‘I extend a house’

applied object is extended

APPLICATIVE

d. Niaraasine mu wiigapi.

[ni-araasine]_? [mu]_O wii-ga-pi

1sg.ii-FIN.house wood APPL-3.I-make

‘my house is built with wood’

the applicative object is
the building material.

Th status of the NP is unclear

APPLICATIVE

Applicative constructions in Sawila (Alor-Pantar)

Applicative marking interacts with other types of argument indexing in Sawila which is triggered with some verbs by the human and individuated affected objects.

(8) Sawila (Kratochvíl 2014: 408; P.178, P.180, P182-3)

a. nirra mura ma-ga-diila

applied object is non-individuated

1SG.AGT kid APPL-3.I-pursue

‘I am chasing children’

APPLICATIVE

b. nirra ga-na-ma-ga-diila

applied object is individuated and
requires the INVERSE morphology

1SG.AGT 3.I-INV-APPL-3.I-pursue

‘I am chasing him’

APPLICATIVE + INDIVIDUATED O

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requires the INVERSE morphology

1SG.AGT 3.I-INV-APPL-3.I-pursue

‘I am chasing him’

APPLICATIVE + INDIVIDUATED O

Applicative constructions in Sawila (Alor-Pantar)

The *na-* morpheme plus the person-number prefix are used also for first and second person objects.

c. nirra a-na-ma-ga-diila
1SG.AGT 2SG.I-INV-APPL-3.I-pursue

applied object is non-individuated

‘I am chasing you’

APPLICATIVE + INDIVIDUATED O

d. girra na-na-ma-ga-diila
3.AGT 1SG.I-INV-APPL-3.I-pursue

applied object is individuated and
requires the INVERSE morphology

‘he is chasing me’

APPLICATIVE + INDIVIDUATED O

Applicative constructions in Sawila (Alor-Pantar)

The applicative morphology is compatible with loan verbs (Mly. *perlu* ‘need’ > *paarlu*). It also interacts with incorporation.

(9) Sawila (Kratochvíl 2014: 408; QVP.043, APPL.71)

a. Nannu iria lipaarlu boorana.

nannu [iria]_O li-paarlu boorana
1SG water APPL-need very.FIN

‘I really need water’

b. Gannu limalileawa.

gannu li-mali=leawa
3STAT [APPL-tasty=search]_{predicate}

‘he is always picking the best food’

applicative combines with a loan base

APPLICATIVE

mali ‘tasty’ is a modifier from ‘tasty food’ but the head is dropped and the modifier is incorporated. The reading is more general, not just food.

APPLICATIVE