Spatial prefixes as applicatives in Harakmbut

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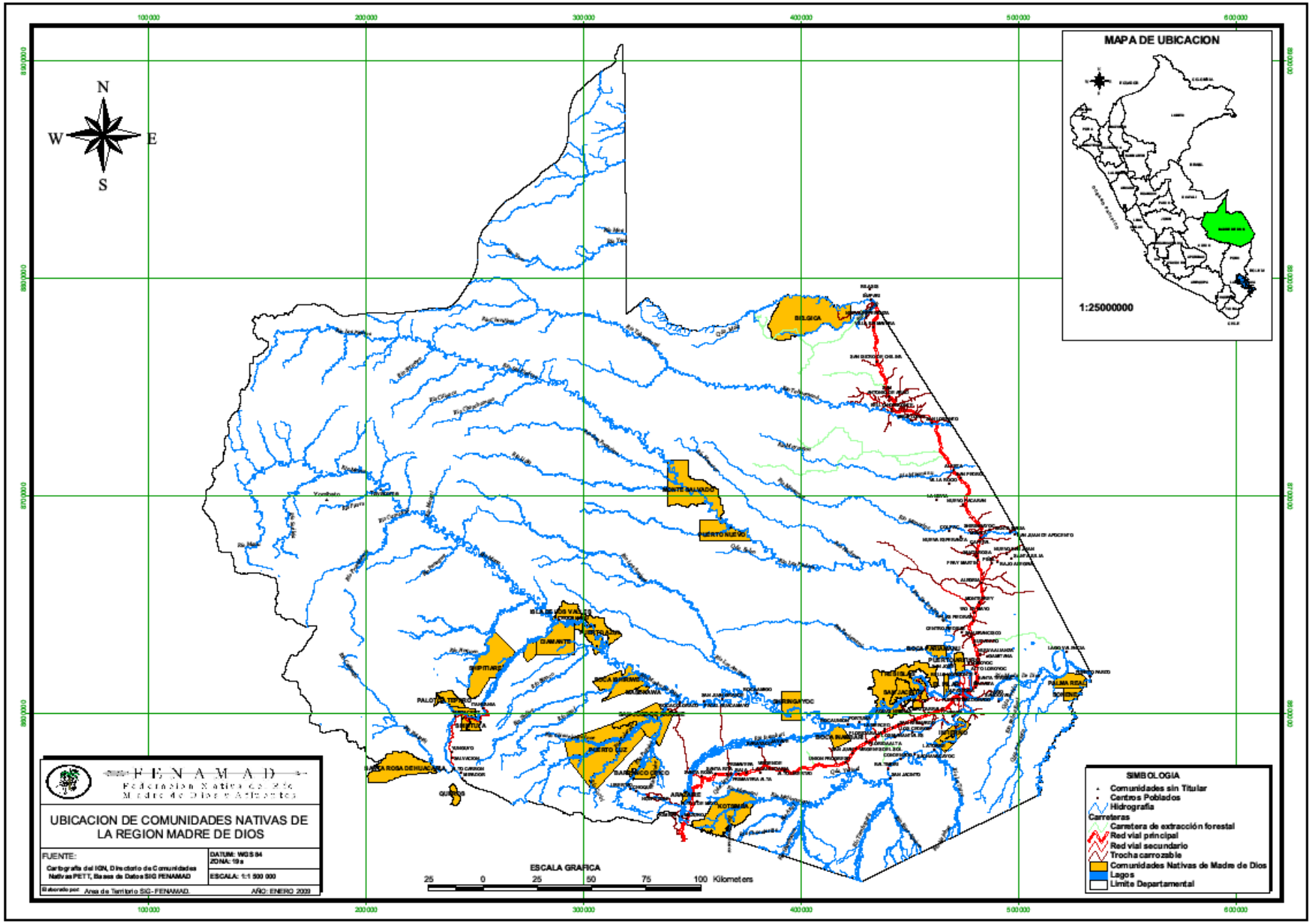
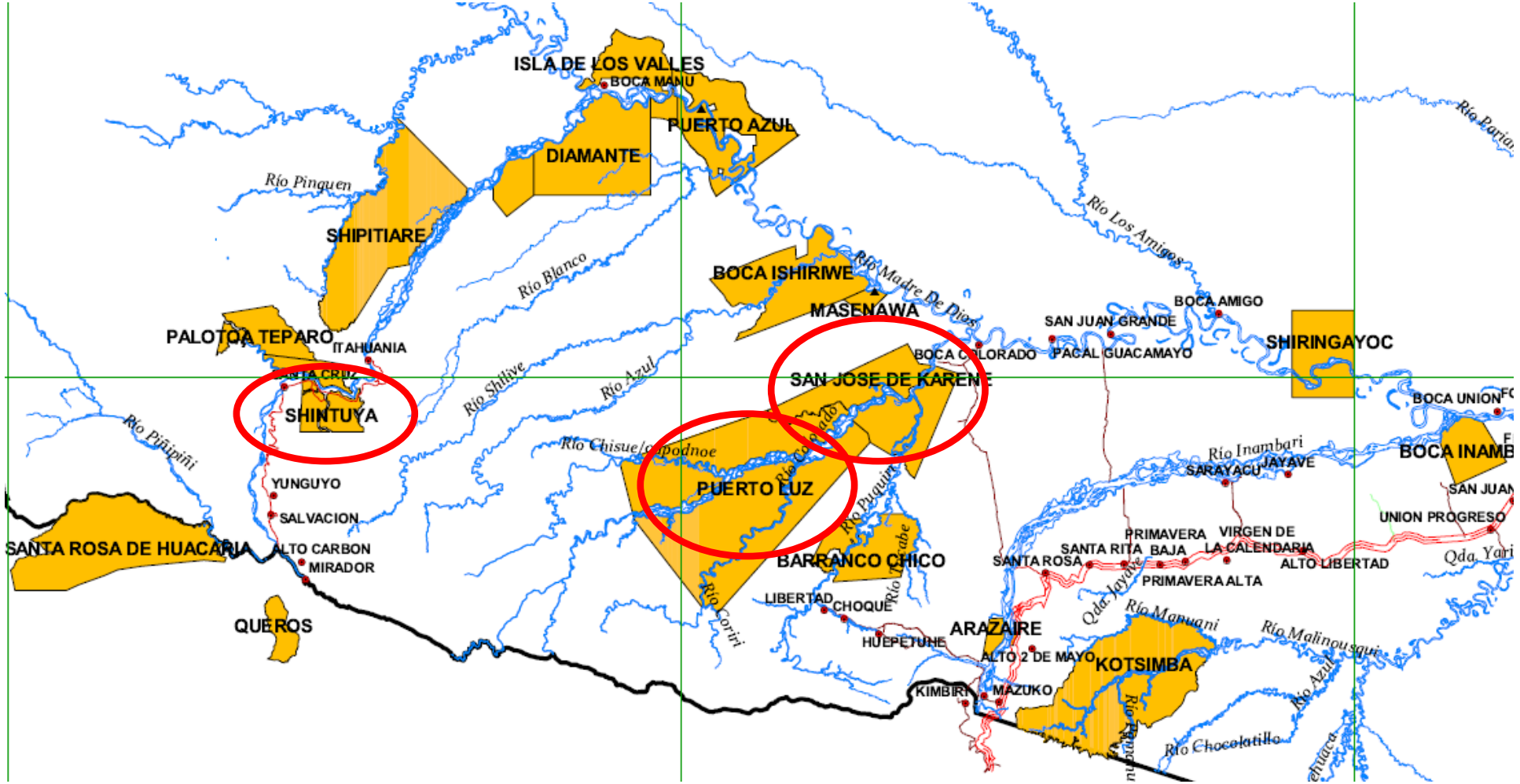
1. Introduction

- Harakmbut is a language from the Peruvian Amazon, Madre de Dios and Cusco
- Genetic affiliation:
  - **isolate/unclassified** language (cf. Wise 1999: 307; WALS)
  - Adelaar (2000, 2007): genetically related to the Brazilian **Katukina** family
- Areality:
  - Some grammatical features are shared with languages from **Guaporé-Mamoré** linguistic area (Crevels & van der Voort 2008)

- Harakmbut live in ‘native communities’: patches of land entitled to them by the government
- subtropical climate
- around tributaries of the Madre de Dios River, which eventually flows into the Amazon River;





- About 1000 speakers left; distinct dialects
- Previous linguistic work: focus on Arakmbut/Amarakaeri dialect (Hart 1963; Helberg 1984, 1990; Tripp 1976ab, 1995)
- Fieldwork in Puerto Luz, San Jose de Karene and Shintuya → Arakmbut/Amarakaeri variety

Outline

1. ~~Introduction~~
2. The Harakmbut finite verb form
3. “Canonical” applicatives
4. Spatial prefixes as applicatives
5. Conclusion

2. Harakmbut finite verb form

- Table 1: verbal plural marker (VPL) and a set of adverbial prefixes are positionally flexible, entertaining scopal relations with fixed-position prefixes (cf. Van linden Forthc.)

Table 1: The prefix (Pf) string of Harakmbut finite verb forms

Pf1	Pf2	Pf3	Pf4	Pf5	
MOOD+AGR	BEN (APPL)	APPL	CLF/INCORP.N	CAUS.SOC	Verb stem
obligatory					

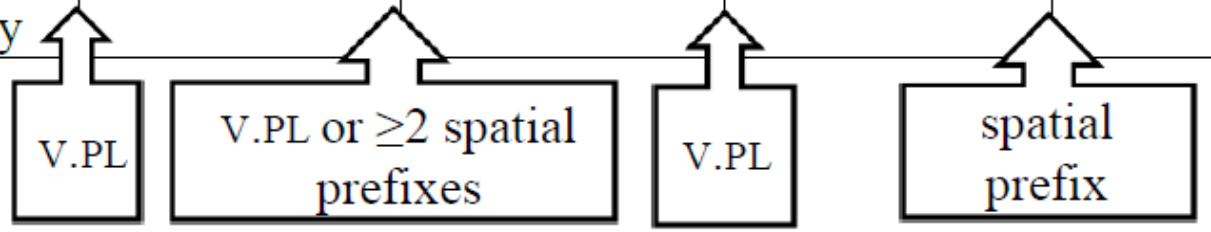


Table 2: The suffix (Sf) string of Harakmbut finite verb forms (cf. Tripp 1976a)

Verb stem	Sf1	Sf2	Sf3	Sf4	Sf5	Sf6	Sf7
	Asp1	TRNS	Asp2/AM	AVRT	Asp3	TENSE	MOOD+AGR; MOD; EVID
							obligatory

2. Harakmbut finite verb form

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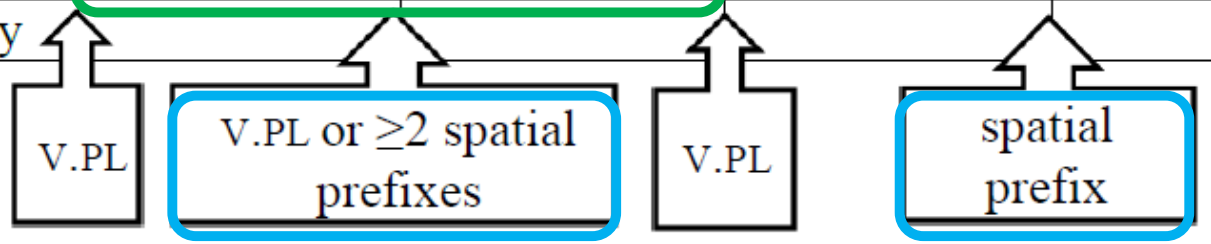

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	Asp1	TRNS	Asp2/AM	AVRT	Asp3	TENSE	MOOD+AGR; MOD; EVID
							obligatory

3. “Canonical” applicatives

3.1 Benefactive *niŋ-* (Pf2)

(1a) Yesica o-ma-mbasa yudnta Fermin-tewapa
Yesica 3SG.IND-VPL-wash clothes Fermin-BEN
‘Yesica washes clothes for Fermin.’

(1b) Yesica o-**niŋ**-ma-mbasa yudnta Fermin-ta
Yesica 3SG.IND-**BEN**-VPL-wash clothes Fermin-ACC
‘Yesica washes Fermin clothes.’

Base clauses in (a): monotransitive verbs

(2a) Yoma o-ka wenpu ndo-tewapa
Yoma 3SG.IND-make string.bag 1SG-BEN
‘Yoma makes a string bag for me.’

(2b) Yoma me-**niŋ**-ka-ne wenpu
Yoma 3SG>1/2SG-**BEN**-make-IND string.bag
‘Yoma makes me a string bag.’

Hierarchical indexation resulting in a scenario-based split (without direction marking)
(1b): non-local scenario → O-participant is not indexed → no change of person prefix
(2b): mixed scenario → SAP O-participant is indexed → relational person prefix indexing A>O

3. “Canonical” applicatives

3.1 Benefactive *niŋ-* (Pf2)

(3a) Pablo o-matinoa Maribel-tewapa
Pablo 3SG.IND-sing Maribel-BEN
‘Pablo is singing for Maribel (to cure her).’

(3b) Pablo o-**niŋ**-matinoa Maribel-ta
Yesica 3SG.IND-**BEN**-sing Maribel-ACC
‘Pablo is singing for Maribel (to cure her).’

Why is BEN ***niŋ-*** a **canonical** applicative? (e.g. Peterson 2007)

- ✓ verbal derivational process with syntactic consequences
- ✓ BEN introduces internal argument to the argument structure of the underived verb root/stem
- ✓ “peripheral” semantic role: **Beneficiary** (or substitutive)
- ✓ OPTIONAL

(4a) ?

(4b) yok-ndik õ-**nĩŋ**-ẽ-nẽ taŋtaŋ
give-POT 1<>2SG-**BEN**-be-IND flower
‘you should give him flowers on my behalf.’ → ‘substitutive’ applicative

in (3a): intransitive verb
In (4b): ditransitive verb

Hierarchical indexation resulting in a scenario-based split (without direction marking)
(3b): non-local scenario → O-participant is not indexed → no change of person prefix
(4b): local scenario → SAP O-participant is indexed → relational person prefix indexing A<>O

3. “Canonical” applicatives
3.1 Benefactive *niŋ-* (Pf2)

- BUT:

  benefactive applicative can still **co-occur** with the oblique constituent that should have been promoted to object position, cf. (5)

(5a) Jonas-tewapa o-ka wa-wedn gringo-a
Jonas-BEN 3SG.IND-make NMZR-lie foreigner-NOM
‘The foreigner makes a bed for jonas.’

(5b) Jonas-**tewapa** o-**niŋ**-ka wa-wedn gringo-a
Jonas-**BEN** 3SG.IND-**BEN**-make NMZR-lie foreigner-NOM
‘The foreigner makes Jonas a bed.’ (Van linden 2019: 457, ex. (1))

- Examples drawn from elicitation → (discourse) motivation for co-occurrence is question for further research

3. “Canonical” applicatives
3.2 General applicative *ta-* (Pf3)

(6a) mboerek o?-wadn wettone-ere
man 3SG.IND-sit woman-COM
‘The man is sitting with his wife.’

(6b) mboerek o-**ta**-wadn wettone-ta
man 3SG.IND-**APPL**-sit woman-ACC
‘The man is sitting with his wife.’

(7a) Luis o?-wadn kusina-yo ndo-ere
Luis 3SG.IND-sit kitchen-LOC 1SG-COM
‘Luis is sitting in the kitchen with me.’

(7b) Luis mbe-**ta**-wadn-ne kusina-yo
Luis 3SG>1/2SG-**APPL**-sit-IND kitchen-LOC
‘Luis is sitting in the kitchen with me.’

Why is ***ta-*** a **canonical** applicative?
(e.g. Peterson 2007)
- ✓ verbal derivational process with syntactic consequences
- ✓ APPL introduces internal argument to the argument structure of the underived verb root/stem
- ✓ “peripheral” semantic role: **Comitative** in (6)-(7), but also other
- ✓ OPTIONAL

Base clauses in (a): intransitive verb

Hierarchical indexation resulting in a scenario-based split (without direction marking)
(6b): non-local scenario → O-participant is not indexed → no change of person prefix
(7b): mixed scenario → SAP O-participant is indexed → relational person prefix indexing A>O

3. “Canonical” applicatives
3.2 General applicative *ta-* (Pf3)

(8) o-**ta**-mba-to-tiak-me-ne e-mamboya
1<>2SG-**APPL**-CFL:two.dimensional-CAUS.SOC-come-REC.PST-IND NMLZ-photograph
‘I brought your photograph.’ (Lit. ‘I brought a photograph on you.’)

(9) mbe-**ta**-**k**-puk-on-ne ilo
3SG>1/2SG-**APPL**-**SPAT:separation**-tear-PFV.NVOL-IND thread
‘The thread got torn on me’ (Lit. ‘The thread got torn with respect to me; the thread got torn to my detriment.’) (Van linden 2020: 16, ex. (12b))

- ✓ verbal derivational process with syntactic consequences
- ✓ APPL introduces internal argument to the argument structure of the underived verb root/stem

- ❖ “peripheral” semantic role → (8): (prospective) Possessor? Person depicted in photograph? Beneficiary? (9): Maleficiary
- ❖ OPTIONAL?

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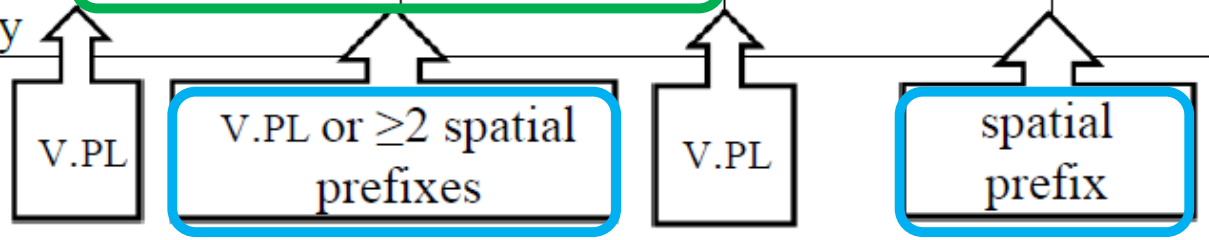

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Verb stem	Sf1	Sf2	Sf3	Sf4	Sf5	Sf6	Sf7
	Asp1	TRNS	Asp2/AM	AVRT	Asp3	TENSE	MOOD+AGR; MOD; EVID
							obligatory

4. Spatial prefixes as applicatives

Spatial prefixes:

- can be inserted in-between different fixed-position prefixes/incorporated nouns
- specify locative or directional circumstances of (participants in) the event denoted by the verb
- are valence-neutral or valence-increasing → rate as applicatives (in this workshop)
- have become fossilized in certain cases

Three items:

- *ti-* : location high up (ti_C → [ʧi]; ti_V → [ʧ])
- *on-~n-* : spatial relation of ‘in’, ‘to’ (Tripp 1976: 8) or ‘on’
- *ok-~k-* : spatial relation of ‘separation’ (Tripp 1995: 219)

4. Spatial prefixes as applicatives

4.1 Valence-neutral uses

- Transitive verb stems
- SPAT does not introduce applied phrase → non-syntactic function
- SPAT specifies location/spatial configuration of O-participant, just like CLF characterize O-participants in terms of shape or substance

monotransitive verb stems

(10a) ken on-pok mboerek-ta
then 3PL.IND-pass man-ACC
'Then they pass the man.'

(10b) ken on-**ti**-pok mboerek-ta
then 3PL.IND-**SPAT:up**-pass man-ACC
'Then they pass the man (who is high up, on a ladder).' (Pear story)

(11a) Lupe oʔ-tegŋ-me mbiʔigŋ
Lupe 3SG.IND-cut-REC.PST fish
'Lupe cut (into) the fish.' (Lupe made cuts in the fish, e.g. to remove the guts)

(11b) Lupe o-**k**-tegŋ-me mbiʔigŋ
Lupe 3SG.IND-**SPAT:separation**-cut-REC.PST fish
'Lupe cut the fish into pieces.'

4. Spatial prefixes as applicatives

4.1 Valence-neutral uses

(12) intransitive verb stem ‘go’
→ (12b) valency increase due to sociative causative prefix *to-*
→ (12c) if valence-neutral, then prefix specifies location of both A- & O-participant
→ (12c) maybe valence-increasing “away from the man” as unexpressed source?

(12a) ken o-wa
then 3SG.IND-go
‘Then he goes.’

(12b) ken o-to-wa
then 3SG.IND-CAUS.SOC-go
‘Then he takes (it).’

(12c) ken ãnĩ o-**k**-to-wa ken, ãnĩ,
then FILLER 3SG.IND-**SPAT:separation**-CAUS.SOC-go 3 FILLER
no-kot-we-nda mbokerek
vital.centre-fall-NEG-MOD man
‘[boy is stealing pears] … Then he (the boy) goes away with them (the pears), while the man does not realize it at all.’ (Pear story)

4. Spatial prefixes as applicatives

4.2 Valence-increasing uses

Examples with intransitive verb stem *-kot* (‘fall’) → spatial prefixes locate ‘original’ S viz-à-viz applied phrase (seem obligatory!)

(13) o-wedn-ato ãnĩ bisikleta o-**n**-kot
3SG-lie-MOVE&DO FILLER bicycle 3SG.IND-**SPAT:on**-fall
‘He falls (literally: ‘moves and lies down’), eh, he falls onto his bike.’ (Pear story)

(14) o-**k**-mba-kot-onka-me-te yave An-ta
3SG.IND-**SPAT:separation**-VPL-fall-suddenly-REC.PST-NFIRSTH key An-ACC
‘An’s keys fell all of a sudden.’ (Lit.: ‘The keys suddenly fell away from An.’)

(15) mbe-ku-**ti**-kot-uy-ne apoareʔ-a taʔmba-ya
3SG>1/2SG-head-**SPAT:up**-fall-REM.PST-IND papaya-NOM swidden-LOC
‘A papaya fell on my head in the swidden long ago.’
[also noun incorporation Type II: possessor is advanced to object status, which position is vacated by the incorporated body part *ku-* (cf. Mithun 1984: 857–858)]

4. Spatial prefixes as applicatives

4.2 Valence-increasing uses

Example with transitive verb stem *-mbere* (‘steal’) → spatial prefix seems obligatory

(16) wambo-ta i-mba-uk-i tareʔ
boy-ACC 1SG-VPL-search-1.IND manioc
men-**ok**-mbere-me-niŋ-ta
3PL>1SG-**SPAT:separation**-steal-REC.PST-REL-ACC
‘I am looking for the boys that stole manioc from me.’

compare: … on-mbere-me-niŋ-ta
3PL.IND-steal-REC.PST-REL-ACC
‘I am looking for the boys that stole manioc.’

Spatial prefix in this context: functionally equivalent to **separative applicative** morphology, e.g. suffix *-apitsa* in Nanti (Arawak), which indicates “both that the applied object is the erstwhile possessor of the demoted object, and that the verbal subject is involved in depriving the possessor of the demoted object” (Michael 2012: 163-164)

4. Spatial prefixes as applicatives

4.2 Valence-increasing uses

Spatial prefixes: **semantic weakening** from spatial semantics to ‘involvement’ in the event

(17a) Kate i-ka-me-Ø sik-yo?
what 2SG-do-REC.PST-DUB dark-LOC
‘What did you do in the evening?

(17b) Kate i-**n**-ka-me-Ø abuela-ta sik-yo?
what 2SG-**SPAT:on**-do-REC.PST-DUB grandmother-ACC dark-LOC
‘What did you do to grandmother in the evening?’

(context: I removed a thorn from grandmother’s knee that night with my tweezers; the thorn was *in* her knee)

‘DO STH’ → ‘DO STH TO A PERSON’

4. Spatial prefixes as applicatives

4.2 Valence-increasing uses

Spatial prefixes: **semantic weakening** from spatial semantics to 'involvement' in the event

(18a)	mboerek	oʔ-a-me	[o-arak-apo-ne	ndumba-yo]
	man	3SG.IND-say-REC.PST	[1<>2SG-kill-FUT-IND	forest-LOC]
	'The man said: "I am going to kill you (SG) in the forest."'			

(18b)	mboerek	me-**n**-a-me-ne
	man	3SG>1/2SG-**SPAT:on**-say-REC.PST-IND
	[mbe-arak-apo-ne-a	ndumba-yo]
	3SG>1/2SG-kill-FUT-IND-QUOT	forest-LOC
	'The man told me he was going to kill me in the forest'	

(18a): reporting clause of direct speech/ 'SAY' → intransitive

(18b): reporting clause of indirect speech / 'SAY TO SOMEBODY' → transitive

4. Spatial prefixes as applicatives

4.2 Valence-increasing uses

Spatial prefixes: **semantic weakening** from spatial semantics to ‘involvement’ in the event
→ abstract valence-increasing use seems to have become optional!

(19a)	ndoʔ-edn	nãŋ-ere	i-yorok-mbedn-i
	1SG-GEN	mother-COM	1SG-dream-ALL.NIGHT-1.IND
	‘I dreamt of my mother all night.’		

(19b)	ndoʔ-edn	nãŋ-ta	i-**ti**-yorok-mbedn-i
	1SG-GEN	mother-ACC	1SG-**SPAT:up**-dream-ALL.NIGHT-1.IND
	‘I dreamt of my mother all night.’		

→ Comes close to a canonical applicative

4. Spatial prefixes as applicatives

4.3 Fossilized uses

Non-transparent uses

(20) e-ma-**ti**-no-a
NMLZ-VPL-**SPAT:up**-vital.centre-say
'to sing'

(21) e-ma-**ti-on**-ka
NMLZ-VPL-**SPAT:up**-**SPAT:on**-do
'to hunt'

(22) e-ti-ka
NMLZ-**SPAT:up**-do
'to kill (an insect)' (Tripp 1995: 96a)

(23) e-ti-ok-ot
NMLZ-**SPAT:up**-**SPAT:separation**-wear
'to put on clothes on top of other clothes' (Tripp 1995: 99a)

5. Conclusion

- Harakmbut has canonical applicatives: benefactive *niŋ-* and general applicative *ta-*
- In addition: set of spatial prefixes → can be ranged on a grammaticalization cline:

Morpheme	Valence-neutral	Valence-increasing	
		spatial	abstract
ok-~k-	✓	✓	✗
ti-	✓	✓	✓
on-~n-	✗	✓	✓

- Valence-neutral uses: typically transitive stems; SPAT specifies location/spatial configuration of O-participant (resultant state or 'stable' throughout event)
- Valence-increasing uses – spatial (motion, caused motion verbs):
  - with intransitive stems (e.g. *fall, climb, go*), SPAT specifies direction or resultant state of original S-argument (*Figure*) with regard to applied phrase (*Ground*)
  - with transitive stems (e.g. *steal*), SPAT specifies direction or resultant state of original O-argument (*Figure*) with regard to applied phrase (*Ground*)
- Valence-increasing uses – abstract (non-motion verbs): applied phrase typically human

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