

Associated Motion markers with applicative functions: A typological study

Timofey Mukhin

Linguists' Day, Linguistic Society of Belgium
KU Leuven, 10 October 2025

Outline

1. Introduction
2. Sample & data collection
3. Analysis & results
4. Conclusion

1. Introduction

What are applicatives?

(1) San Lucas Quiaviní Zapotec (Zapotecan; Munro 2000: 285–286 cited in Zúñiga & Creissels 2024: 4)

a. *B-ìi'lly Gye'eihlly cēhnn Jwaany.*
PFV-sing M. with J.

Base Construction = BC

b. *B-ìi'lly-nèe Gye'eihlly [Jwaany].*
PFV-sing-**APPL** M. J.
'Mike sang with John.'

Applicative Construction = AC

Applicatives: morphological verb markers that increase the valency of verbs (= the number of arguments), by allowing “the coding of a thematically peripheral argument or adjunct as a core-object argument” (Peterson 2007: 1).

Broader definition from Zúñiga & Creissels (2024: 4): introduced argument (applied phrase) need not be a core argument

Previously established sources

Traditionally two independent (direct) sources for applicatives: **adpositions** and **verbs** (Peterson 2007:125)

New sources:

+ **nouns** (as direct source) (Nordlinger 2019: 423; Arkadiev 2021: 50)

+ classifiers (Rose 2019)

+ spatial verb morphology

(e.g. Pakendorf & Stoyanova 2021, Payne 2021, Van linden 2022)

Associated Motion

AM: a verbal grammatical category, separate from tense, aspect, mood and direction, whose function is to associate, in different ways, different kinds of translational motion to a (generally non-motion) verb event (Guillaume: 2016; Guillaume & Koch 2021: 3)

(2) Bystraja Even (Tungusic; Russia, Eurasia; Pakendorf & Stoyanova 2021: 857)

AC *nan* *qa-sči-**na**-ri-n* [***akan-taki-n***] *asatkam*
and *take*-CONAT-**AM**-PST-3SG *father-ALL-POSS.3SG* girl.ACC
'And he **went to her father to** ask for (lit. *take*) the girl (in marriage).'

Expressing arguments of AM (e.g. goal) **is usually not allowed** (Guillaume & Koch 2021: 25) except for some languages, e.g. Tungusic → applicative use

Mukhin et al. (submitted): **not limited** to Tungusic languages

Research questions

RQ1: *What are the characteristics of AM markers with applicative uses?*

RQ2: *Are there any correlations between specific parameters of AM and parameters related to the applicative use? Are there any areal tendencies?*

Some parameters of variation:

- (i) meaning of the marker
- (ii) exponence of the marker
- (iii) syntactic effect of the marker
- (iv) semantic role of the applied phrase
- (v) event scope of the applied phrase



spatial use

applicative use

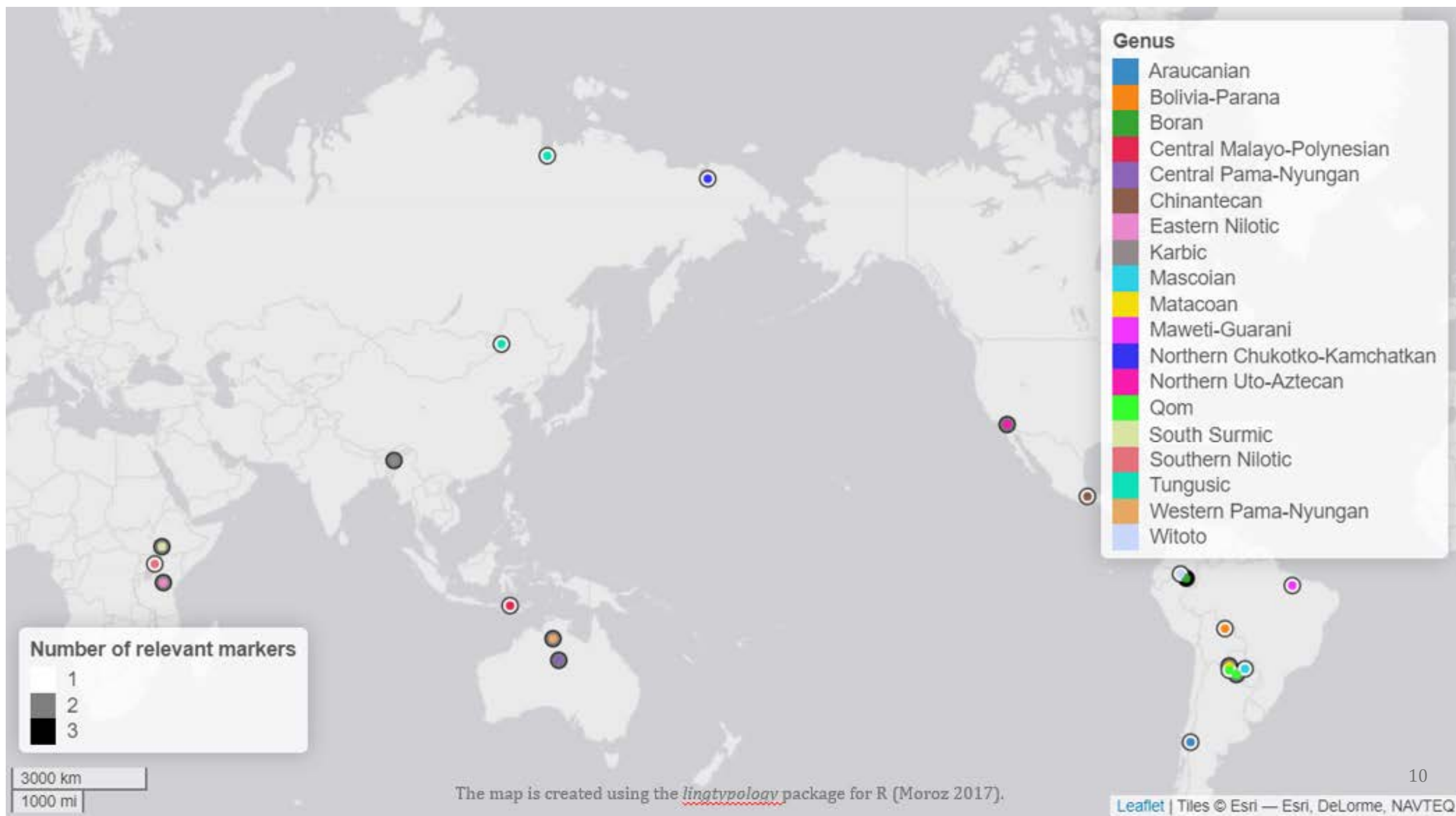
2. Sample & data collection

Convenience sample

21 languages so far

=only languages with **relevant AM** markers (including AM/DIR)
31 markers

Macroarea	Language	Genus	Markers
South America	Enxet Sur	Mascoian	1
	Huitoto	Witoto	1
	Mapudungun	Araucanian	1
	Nivaclé	Matacoan	2
	Paunaka	Bolivia-Parana	1
	Guajá	Maweti-Guarani	1
	Toba, Pilagá	Qom	3
	Bora	Boran	3
Africa	Mursi	South Surmic	2
	Maasai	Eastern Nilotic	2
	Sebei	Southern Nilotic	1
Eurasia	Even, Solon	Tungusic	2
	Chukchi	Northern Chukotko-Kamchatkan	1
Aust.&NG	Kaytej	Central Pama-Nyungan	2
	Mudburra	Western Pama-Nyungan	2
SE Asia&Oc.	Mikir	Karbic	2
	Ende	Central Malayo-Polynesian	1
North America	Cupeño	Northern Uto-Aztecan	2
	Chinantec (Sochiapan)	Chinantecan	1



3. Analysis & results

Meaning in spatial use

Three parameters for (non-applicative) AM marking (Guillaume & Koch 2021: 9, 12):

1. Temporal relation between the motion and the verb event
2. Direction of the motion
3. Argument role of the moving figure

(3) Nivacle (Matacoan; SA, Bolivia, Paraguay; Fabre under review: 11)

j-ovalh-c'oya

1A(>3P)-watch-AM

'I watch(ed), waiting for him/her/them **to come**.'

→ concurrent ventive
non-subject AM

AM with applicative uses: No limitations found, but differences in distribution:

1. prior > concurrent > subsequent
2. itive or ventive > reversive, andative (unoriented), adlocative (arrive)
3. subject > non-subject > subject&non-subject

Exponence

(4) Murui (Witotoan; Colombia, Peru, South America; Wojtylak 2020: 344)

AC

[*Alexis jo-fo-mona*] *Fransiska=di-no-moloc* *gui-**zaibi**-t-epred.*

Alexis house-CLF-ABL *Francisca=at-CLF-LOC* *eat-**VENTV**-LK-3*

‘**From** the house of Alexis (she) **came to** eat at Francisca’s.’

→ cumulative
(applicative &
AM together)

(5) Paunaka (Arawakan; Bolivia, South America; Terhart 2024: 394-395)

a. *nȳ-neku**pu**-bi.*

1SG-see.**coming**-2SG

‘I see you **coming**.’

b. *pero pi-yunu pi-sane-yae?*

but 2SG-go 2sg-field-LOC

‘But did you go to **your field**?’

c. *kuina Jose ti-yunu-**pu** [*uneku*].*

NEG José 3-go-**DLOC** town

‘José isn’t here, he went **to town**.’

→ separative
(applicative &
AM separately)

BC

AC

Cumulative markers are more frequent than separative

Syntactic effect in applicative use

1. Syntactic Status of the applied phrase (AppP) in the AC:

- *P-applicative* — AppP = direct object
- *D-applicative* — AppP = dative/indirect object
- *X-applicative* — AppP = oblique

2. Status of the semantic equivalent (BaseP) of the AppP in the BC:

- *Optional* applicative — BaseP present in the BC
- *Obligatory* applicative — BaseP obligatorily absent from the BC

3. Sensitivity to syntactic valency (relevant for P-applicatives):

- *Transitivizing* applicative — increases number of core syntactic arguments in BC
- *Redirecting* applicative — introduction of AppP + demotion of non-Actor argument (up to omission)

Almost all types of applicatives are attested:

- obligatory X- or P-applicatives (most common)
- optional P-applicatives, obligatory D-applicative, redirecting applicatives (rare)

Syntactic effect in applicative use

(6) Paunaka (Arawakan; Bolivia, South America; Terhart 2024: 394-395)

BC

a. *pero pi-yunu pi-sane-yae?*
 but 2SG-go 2SG-field-LOC
 ‘But did you go to your field?’ (=5b)

→ optional
P-applicative

b. *kuina Jose ti-yunu-pu [uneku].*

AC

NEG José 3-go-DLOC town
 ‘José isn’t here, he went to town.’ (=5c)

(7) Solon (Altaic; China, Eurasia; personal communication)

AC

[*t^ha-ttu*] əxur t^həkkəŋ-tʃi ikkitʃ^hi pakki-na-nti
 DIST-DAT cow car-INS food prepare-AM-2SG
 ‘You go there and prepare the food by a cart.’

→ obligatory
D-applicative

Syntactic effect in applicative use

(8) Maasai (Eastern Sudanic; Kenya, Tanzania, Africa; Payne 2021: 720)

BC

a. á-púrr-íto ol=dúka

1SG-rob-PRG M.SG=shop

‘I am stealing from the shop/robbing the shop.’

AC

b. n-é-purr-óo ol=áyíóní [il=mósorr]

CN-3-rob-ITV M.SG=boy.NOM M.PL=eggs

‘The boy stole eggs.’ (He probably **went away** with them).

AC

c. á-púrr-ú [enk=alámu] tɔ l=dúkâ

1SG-rob-VENTV F.SG=pen OBL M.SG=shop.NOM

‘I will steal a pen from the market.’

→ redirecting
applicative

→ redirecting
applicative

Semantic role of applied phrase

(9) Nivacle (Matacoan; Bolivia, Paraguay, South America; Fabre 2013: 11)

AC

a-pitej-[*yi*]-*c'oya*

2s-be.tall-1-AM

'You are taller than me.'

→ Standard of comparison

(10) Pilagá (Guaicuruan; Argentina, South America; Vidal & Payne 2021: 471)

AC

n-oye-ta-ge [*so'* *la-t'e*]

3-cry-PRG-ITV CLF:far POSS-mother

'He/she was crying (because) her mother (had) departed.'

→ Reason/Stimulus

Fewer roles are found for AM than for other spatial markers with applicative uses:

- Source, Path, Goal, Means (spatial)
- Recipient, Beneficiary, Standard of comparison, Reason/Stimulus (non-spatial)

Event scope of the applied phrase

Relevant only for cumulative markers:

(11) Murui (Witotoan; Colombia, Peru, South America; Wojtylak 2020: 344)

AC [*Alexis jo-fo-mona*] *Fransiska=di-no-moloc* *gui-**zaibi**-t-epred.*
Alexis house-CLF-ABL *Francisca=at-CLF-LOC* *eat-**VENTV**-LK-3*
'**From** the house of Alexis (she) **came to** eat at Francisca's.' (=4)

→ Source in AM event

(12) Pilagá (Guaicuruan; Argentina, South America; Vidal & Payne 2021: 460, 463)

BC a. *nač'e qatafa w-enot*
then also 3-jump
'Then he (Fox) jumped (straight up).'

AC b. *w-enot-te-**get*** [*so'* *siyaɣawa*]
3-jump-PRG-**VENTV** CLF:far.vis man
'Something (e.g., an animal) jumped on/towards the man that was **coming**.'

→ Goal in main event & Actor in AM event

Markers with event scope over both AM & main events are rare

4. Conclusion

AM markers as applicatives

RQ1:

- Found with various types of AM and applicative uses
BUT applied phrases are found with a more limited range of semantic roles (than with other spatial markers)
- Exponence and event scope: previously unreported parameters

RQ2:

- Cumulative markers found in all macroareas; Separative markers only in Africa and South America
- Applicatives with event scope over both main and AM events (necessarily cumulative markers) are restricted to non-subject AM

One issue: finding relevant data

Absence of relevant examples $\neq$ absence in language

→ Your help is needed!

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Thank you!

Timofey Mukhin <tmukhin@uliege.be>