A typological study of applicative uses of spatial markers

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This paper investigates cross-linguistic evidence for the functional extension of spatial verb morphology into applicative uses. Spatial markers (SM) have only recently been established as a source for applicatives; see Van linden (2022) on Harakmbut and Payne (2021) on Nilotic languages. It is still unknown how widespread this pathway is, and what the main types of variation are. This paper presents the results of a pilot study investigating these issues from a typological perspective in a 75-language sample, compiled using Miestamo's (2005) Genus-Macroarea method.

First, applicative uses are observed for different functional types of SM. A first type concerns *locationals*, as in (1a) from Jarawara (Arauan), where the prefix *ka-* 'inside' changes the semantics of the predicate from 'grasp with hand' (1b) to 'cup in hand' without affecting its valency. Contrariwise, in (1d), the same prefix introduces the applied phrase *otara* 'us' as a core argument; in the non-applicative counterpart (1c), the same participant is coded as an oblique adjunct.

(1) Jarawara (Dixon 2004: 255, 259)

a. *sina* *tama* *o-**ka**-na* *o-ke*
snuff(F) hold 1.SG.A-**APPL**-AUX 1.SG-DCL.F
'I hold the snuff in my hand.'

b. *jimawa0* *tama* *o-ne* *o-ke*
knife(F) hold 1.SG.A-CONT. F 1.SG-DCL.F
'I am holding the knife with my hand.'

c. [*otaa* *ni-jaa*] *mee* *bosa* *na-maki-hete-ke* *tasa*
1.EXC PERI 3.NSG.S get.up.early AUX-following-RP.NE.F-DCL.F again
'Then they got up early on us again.'

d. [*otara*] *mee* *bosa* ***ka**-na-hani*
1.EXC.O 3.NSG.A get.up.early **APPL**-AUX-IP.NE.F
'They got-up-early-on us.'

In addition to *locationals*, we also find *directionals*, see (2), and *associated motion* markers (e.g. in Tungusic languages (Pakendorf & Stoynova 2021)); some of these functions may be coded by the same SM (Guillaume & Koch 2021: 7).

Secondly, our dataset shows that SM are not only found in prototypical "*P*-applicative constructions", where a core argument is added, see (1d), but also in so-called "*X*-applicatives", where a non-core argument is introduced to the clause, see (3b) (Zúñiga & Creissels 2024: 19). Our dataset also evidences *redirecting* effects of SM. This is illustrated in (2) from Agar Dinka (Nilotic), where the itive

verb form triggers a rearrangement of semantic roles but no valency-change; it causes the object to shift from goal ('bird') (2a) to moving theme ('stone') (2b) (Payne 2021: 719).

(2) Agar Dinka (Andersen 1992-1994: 10)

a. *d̪ɔ̱ɔ̱k* *à-bòk* *dít*
boy DCL-throw bird
'The boy is throwing at the bird.'

b. *d̪ɔ̱ɔ̱k* *à-**bóok*** *doòot*
boy DCL-**throw:ITV** stone
'The boy is throwing a stone thither.'

Thirdly, in terms of the semantic role of the applied phrase, we find that it is often a locative participant, as is expected from the (original) spatial meaning of the marker, but not necessarily so. In (3b) from Dagik (Kordofanian), the suffix *-tːɛ* 'towards' introduces the landmark 'room', while in (1d), the prefix *ka-* introduces a maleficiery. More generally, we will investigate whether Peterson's (2007: 229) hierarchy of semantic roles of applied phrases can be upheld.

(3) Dagik (Vanderelst 2016: 96)

a. *ɑ-ŋɪ* *b-ɔ-bɛkːɔ*
REF-1.SG CL-PM-bath_o.s.-FV(-PFV)
'I bathed.'

b. *ɑ-ŋɪ* *b-ɔ-bɛkːɔ-**tːɛ*** [*ri=g-əðu*]
REF-1.SG CL-PM-bath_o.s.-FV-**(PFV.)APPL** LOC=CL-room
'I bathed in the room.'

Harmonized abbreviations

A	transitive subject	FV	final vowel	PFV	perfective
APPL	applicative	IP	immediate mood	PM	predicative marker
AUX	auxiliary	ITV	itive	REF	referential marker
CL	class marker	LOC	locative	RP	recent past
CONT	continuous	NE	non-eyewitness	S	intransitive subject
DCL	declarative	NSG	non-singular	SG	singular
EXC	exclusive	O	transitive object	1, 3	first, third person
F	feminine	PERI	peripheral		

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