

## APPLICATIVE AFFIXES IN PERUVIAN AMAZONIAN LANGUAGES

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### 1. Introduction

Affixes, which promote oblique noun phrases to arguments of the verb, are found in the verbal morphology of Peruvian Amazonian languages representing at least six language families.<sup>1</sup> “The semantic content [of the affixes] falls within the range generally attributed to so-called oblique relations” (Craig and Hale 1988:312). Since the most common functions of these affixes are valence-increasing, “applicative” is the cover term used for them in this paper. Nevertheless, the term is not completely satisfactory because in some cases they do not change the transitivity, or they may even decrease it.

Applicatives were first described, as far as I can ascertain, by Carochi in 1645 for Nahuatl. According to him they serve to designate an “order[ing of] the action of the verb towards another person or thing, connecting it to him (*atribuyéndose*) by way of damage or benefit, taking it off him, or putting it on him, or relating it to him (*refiriéndose*) in any way whatever” (1645:166; quoted from Tuggy 1981:413). A given “applicative”—as the term is used here—may define the semantic role of the argument; or, a general applicative, may simply indicate that the argument is somehow involved in the action of the verb.

Data from the following languages are presented to illustrate the range of functions of the applicatives in Peruvian Amazonian languages: Chayahuita (Cahua-panan), Arabela (Zaparoan), Yagua (Peba-Yaguan), Yaminahua (Panoan), Yanasha' (Maipuran Arawakan), Nomatsiguenga (Pre-Andine Maipuran Arawakan).<sup>2</sup> Ashéninka (Pre-Andine Maipuran Arawakan) and Iquito (Zaparoan) are mentioned briefly. The data are then summarized in order to look for correlates with other grammatical characteristics.

### 2. Data

The basic word orders of the languages discussed are SOV (Chayahuita, Arabela, and Yaminahua), SVO (Iquito), and VSO (Yagua, Yanasha', Nomatsiguenga, and Asheninka). The affixes discussed are all suffixes; one applicative suffix in Nomatsiguenga appears to be cognate with a causative prefix. All of the languages discussed have morphological causatives.

<sup>1</sup> I am grateful to Simon van de Kerke and Mily Crevels for helpful comments on an earlier version of this paper.

<sup>2</sup> The term “Pre-Andine” is used by David Payne (2000) to refer to the group of Maipuran Arawakan languages formerly classified “Campa.” It does not include Yanasha' (Amuesha) and Piro, which were listed as Pre-Andine in some previous descriptions such as Wise (1986).

### 2.1. Chayahuita (*Cahuapanan*)

“In Chayahuita the applicative suffix *-të/-ta* may verbalize (1a); transitivize (1b); change impersonal verbs to intransitive (1c); detransitivize [i.e., change transitive to intransitive] (1d); and change transitive to ditransitive (1e)” (Wise 1999:327).<sup>3</sup> (In Chayahuita the third singular object is zero; *-r* is ‘indicative’, *-in* is ‘third singular agent or subject’.)

(1)	<i>a</i>	<i>ira</i>	‘trail’ (noun)	<i>ira-të-r-in</i>	‘he/she walks’
	<i>b</i>	<i>ama-r-in</i>	‘he/she bathes’	<i>ama-të-r-in</i>	‘he/she bathes him/her’
	<i>c</i>	<i>tashi-r-in</i>	‘becomes night’ (lit. ‘it nights’)	<i>tashi-të-r-in</i>	‘it becomes night in the place where he/she is’ (lit. ‘it nights on him/her’)
	<i>d</i>	<i>nati-r-in</i>	‘he/she obeys him/her’	<i>nati-të-r-in</i>	‘he/she obeys’
	<i>e</i>	<i>a<sup>1</sup>pa-r-in</i>	‘he/she sends it’	<i>a<sup>1</sup>pa-të-r-in</i>	‘he/she sends it to someone’

(Hart 1988:269-270)

Chayahuita is a nominative–accusative SOV language with switch-reference suffixes in subordinate verbs. The desiderative, reflexive, and causative morphemes are prefixes and there is a set of bound roots, which occur in compound verb stems. These bound roots could be considered either prefixes or noun incorporation. Otherwise, verbal affixes are suffixes, including those which cross-reference the arguments of the verb.

### 2.2. Arabela and Iquito (*Zaparoan*)

In Arabela the suffix *-ta/-tia* is not always valence-changing. It may imply that the subject is complex or plural, e.g., a monkey and its baby although the baby is left implicit. Some of the meanings added to the basic verb by this suffix, which is glossed ‘applicative’ for convenience, include: compassion on the part of the speaker; passive accompaniment (2); abnormal condition (3); subject or object contained or containing something, e.g., carrying something as in (4);<sup>4</sup> the subject is sick or old or wounded, as in (5); the verb has to do with a goal or reason.

(2)	<i>napa</i>	<i>naana</i>	<i>-akua</i>	<i>tiuu</i>	<i>-tia</i>	<i>-a</i>
	guacamayo	tree	in	perch	APPL	CONT
	‘A guacamayo is perched (with it’s mate) in the tree.’ (Rich 1999:55)					

<sup>3</sup> Since the functions of the Chayahuita suffix glossed ‘applicative’ are so diverse, Bill Henning (p.c.) suggests that *-të/-ta* might be more appropriately glossed ‘reverse default valence’. Thus, *nati-* ‘to obey’ is by default transitive while *ama-* ‘to bathe’ is by default intransitive.

The symbol <sup>1</sup> in Chayahuita and Yanasha’ examples is used for a glottal stop which is part of the syllable nucleus.

<sup>4</sup> Alternatively, *-tia* could be considered transitivizing in (4), that is, ‘I stumbled my manioc.’



### 2.3. *Yagua (Peba-Yaguan)*

In Yagua, also, there is a valence-increasing applicative suffix *-ta/-tya*. T. Payne (1997:187) states that this suffix indicates that the promoted argument is a locative (8b), an instrument (9b), or comitative. Compare (9b) with the postposition *-tya* in (9a). In (8b) *-ta* occurs with an intransitive verb and in (9b) with a transitive. (As in Arabela, the forms *-ta* and *-tya* are allomorphs.) In Yagua the clitic cross-referencing the direct object always immediately precedes it. In (9a) *-ra/-rya* shows that meat is the direct object while in (9b) ‘knife’ is.

(8) a sa- duu rá -viimú  
3SG blow INAN into  
‘He blows into it.’

b sa- duu -tá -ra  
3SG blow APPL INAN.OBJ  
‘He blows it.’

(T. Payne 1997:187)

(9) a si- ichití -rya javanu quiichi -tya  
3SG poke INAN.OBJ meat knife INST  
‘He poked the meat with the/a knife.’

b si- ichití -tya -ra quiichiy  
3SG poke APPL INAN.OBJ knife  
‘He poked something with the knife.’

(T. Payne 1997:187)

Yagua is a nominative–accusative VSO language with cross-referencing pronominal clitics; the cross-reference to the subject is a verbal proclitic while the cross-reference to the object is encliticized to the word preceding the object, as in (9b). Apart from the pronominal proclitics all affixes are suffixes. Classifiers occur in nouns and adjectives but are not incorporated into the verb except to derive a noun.

### 2.4. *Yaminahua (Panoan)*

In Yaminahua there are three applicative affixes each of which increases transitivity. The promoted noun phrase has the form of an object—absolute in the case of a noun but accusative in the case of a first or second person pronoun. The applicative suffixes are *-xon* ‘benefactive’, as in (10); *-ni/∅* (following *n*) ‘malefactive’ (11); and *-kin* ‘comitative’ (12b).

(10) en mia waka we -xon -non  
I you water bring BEN FUT  
‘I will bring you water/I will bring water for you.’

(Faust and Loos, fe)

(11) oa noko wenen min awara mia win(Ø) -a  
 this person man (ERG) you thing you rob(MAL) COMP  
 ‘This man has robbed you of something/This man has robbed something  
 from you.’ (Faust and Loos, fc)

(12) a man wake kawasan -i  
 already child walk PROG  
 ‘The child is already walking.’

b kawasan -kin -we min exto  
 walk COM IMPV your brother  
 ‘Accompany your brother/Go with your brother.’ (Faust and Loos, fc)

Yaminahua is an ergative–absolutive language except for first and second person pronouns, which are nominative–accusative. (If the benefactive and malefactive objects *-mia* in (10) and (11) were nouns, the form would be absolutive rather than accusative.) Word order is SOV (AOV) with switch-reference suffixes in the verb which also indicate the temporal/logical relation of the subordinate clause to its matrix clause and whether or not the verb of the matrix clause is transitive or intransitive.<sup>5</sup> All affixation is suffixal except for bound forms of nouns which may be incorporated as verbal prefixes. There is no cross-referencing of arguments in the verb.

2.5. *Yanesha'* (Maipuran Arawakan)

In *Yanesha'* (Amuesha) there are three applicative affixes; the first two *-n/-on/-nan/-ñan* ‘benefactive/malefactive’, and *-apr* ‘sociative/comitative’, always increase transitivity, as seen in (13) and (14) where *e'n-* ‘look for’ transitive is ditransitivized, (15) where *w-* ‘come’ intransitive is transitivized. A verb with the comitative *-apr* may be detransitivized, i.e., intransitivized, by the addition of *-ann* ‘reciprocal’, as shown in (16).

(13) p- e'n -apr -et -eerr -en ne- roor -eer  
 2SG look.for COM EP REP 1SG 1SG flower POSS  
 ‘Help me look for my flower/Look for my flower with me.’  
 (Duff-Tripp 1997:99)

(14) p- e'n -err -n -an n- a'kosh  
 2SG look.for REP BEN 1SG 1SG needle  
 ‘Look for my needle for me.’ (Duff-Tripp 1997:173)

<sup>5</sup> See Valenzuela (2000) for discussion of a possible diachronic relationship between switch-reference (same subject) markers and applicatives in Shipibo-Konibo (closely related to Yaminahua).

- (15) Ø- w -ahp -on -ay -a  
 3SG come ARR BEN 1PL REFL  
 ‘It arrived on (against) us (an illness).’ (Wise, field notes)
- (16) Ø- rr -apr -et -ann -at -eet  
 3SG eat COM EP RECIP EP 3PL.REFL  
 ‘They ate together/They accompanied one another in eating.’  
 (Duff-Tripp 1997:99)

The functions of the other applicative suffix  $-am^y p^y / -a^y p^y$  are more varied, as in the cases of  $-të/-ta$  in Chayahuita and  $-ta/-tia$  in Arabela. The applicative  $-am^y p^y / -a^y p^y$  usually adds another argument, as in (17). In some cases it simply changes the meaning of the verb stem, as shown in (18).<sup>6</sup>

- (17) Ø- e- t<sup>y</sup>om -amp<sup>y</sup> -s -as s- a<sup>y</sup>neets-er  
 3SG CAUS burn APPL 2PL EP 2PL village GEN  
 ‘He/she burned your village (to your detriment).’
- (18) a Ø- kow -een -aan chesha -t<sup>y</sup>oll  
 3SG look CONT OBJ.FOLLOWS child DIM  
 ‘He/she is looking at the small child.’
- b Ø- kow -am<sup>y</sup>p<sup>y</sup> -een -aan chesha -t<sup>y</sup>oll  
 3sg look APPL CONT OBJ.FOLLOWS child DIM  
 ‘He/she is caring for the small child.’ (Duff-Tripp 1997:99)

The suffix can be ‘benefactive/malefactive’, as shown in (19a). An impersonal verb (20), or one in which the subject is normally only third person (21), can be changed into a regularly conjugated intransitive verb, as in (20) and (21). Thus, an almost avalent verb becomes monovalent when suffixed by  $-am^y p^y$ .

- (19) a ye- ma<sup>y</sup>och -am<sup>y</sup>p<sup>y</sup> -een -s -a  
 1PL pray APPL CONT 2PL REFL  
 ‘We pray for you (pl) (along with others).’
- b ye- ma<sup>y</sup>och -een -s -a  
 1PL pray CONT 2PL REFL  
 ‘We pray to you (pl).’ (Duff-Tripp 1997:100)

<sup>6</sup> Les Bruce (p.c.) suggests that (18b) could be considered to increase transitivity in the sense that the actor is more involved.

(20) *a* ye- chekm<sup>y</sup> -et -am<sup>y</sup>p<sup>y</sup> -es t<sup>y</sup>ooñ -o  
 1PL to.night EP APPL EP trail LOC  
 ‘The darkness overtook us (while we were still) on the trail.’

*b* Ø- chekm<sup>y</sup> -et -een t<sup>y</sup>ooñ -o  
 3SG to.night EP CONT trail LOC  
 ‘It’s dark/night along the trail.’ (Duff-Tripp 1997:100)

(21) *a* y- ahn -om -am<sup>y</sup>p<sup>y</sup> -s -a  
 1PL to.fly COMP APPL EP REFL  
 ‘We flew (in the plane).’

*b* Ø- ahn -om -a  
 3SG to.fly COMP REFL  
 ‘It (the bird) flew.’ (Duff-Tripp 1997:100)

The applicative may also indicate that the subject (21a) or object (22) is in a container or that the object is somehow included in the action (23).

(22) y- at<sup>y</sup>oor -am<sup>y</sup>p<sup>y</sup> -een -<sup>y</sup> on<sup>y</sup>  
 1PL to.fan APPL CONT 3SG water  
 ‘We fan the fire to heat the water.’  
 (lit. ‘we blow/fan the water contained’) (Duff-Tripp 1997:100)

(23) Ø- a<sup>1</sup>nos -am<sup>y</sup>p<sup>y</sup> -s -aan -a rreera po- choy -oor  
 3SG climb APPL EP OBJ.FOLLOWS REFL hawk 3SG child POS  
 ‘He climbed up to where the hawk’s chicks were.’ (Duff-Tripp 1997:100)

Yanesha' is a nominative–accusative VSO language. The subject cross-referencing morphemes and one of the causatives are prefixes; all other verbal affixes are suffixes. Nouns and classifiers may be incorporated in the verb.

2.6 *Nomatsiguenga (Pre-Andine Maipuran Arawakan)*

Nomatsiguenga and the other Pre-Andine Maipuran Arawakan languages are considered by Thomas Payne as probably having “the most highly developed systems of morphologically distinct applicative operations on earth” (T. Payne 1997:190). One verb can contain several applicative markers. Example (24) is from the closely related Pajonal Asheninka. (Both applicative affixes, *-ako* and *-imo*, occur in Nomatsiguenga.)

- (24) no- p -ako -ts -imo -tsi -ro -ri Irena Irokarto paño  
 1SG give APPL EP PRES ASP 3f 3m Irene Richard scarf  
 ‘I gave Richard the head scarf in Irene’s presence.’ (Shaler 1971:45)

The general applicative *-ako/-oko/-ko*, illustrated in (25) and (26), has a whole range of meanings which can be summarized as “the action is somehow in reference to the object or the object is somehow involved.”<sup>7</sup>

- (25) i- samë -ko -k -e -ro i- gisere  
 3m to.sleep APPL ASP NF 3f 3m comb  
 ‘He went to sleep with reference to his comb  
 (e.g., he was making it and dropped it).’ (Wise 1971:50)

- (26) i- komo -t -oko -k -e -ri pabati otsegoha  
 3m dam.stream EP APPL ASP NF 3m father stream  
 ‘He dammed the stream with reference to father  
 (father was the leader of the project).’ (Wise 1971:50)

Other applicatives are listed and exemplified in (27)-(33). Although T. Payne (1997:190-191) describes them as applicatives, some analysts might consider them to be simply valence-changing affixes. (See Aikhenvald 1999:90-92 for discussion of these affixes in “applicative derivations”.) The instrumental suffix *-an/-ant* in (30), for example, is listed as an applicative since it promotes an oblique noun phrase to object. Without *-ant* in the verb, the object suffix *-ro* ‘3f’ could not occur and *abio* ‘plane’ would be suffixed by *-kë* ‘in, at, by, with’.

- (27) -bi/-birí ‘because, for, why, because of’  
 paíró pi- á -birí -k -e Iríma -kë  
 why 2 go REAS ASP NF Lima LOC  
 ‘Why did you go to Lima?’ (Shaver 1996:47)

- (28) -así ‘purposive (action done with some purpose in view), for’  
 ni- pok -así -k -i -mi  
 1 come PURP ASP F 2  
 ‘I came for you (to take you).’ (Shaver 1996:47)

- (29) -pí ‘with respect to, in relation to’  
 i- sigo -pí -t -ë -na  
 3m run RESP EP NF 1  
 ‘He ran away from me.’ (Shaver 1996:47)

<sup>7</sup> Will Kindberg (p.c.) suggests that *-ako* in the closely related Ashaninka language may be derived from the noun root *ako* ‘hand’, that is, *-ako* is an incorporated noun which has been grammaticalized.

- (30) *-an/-ant* ‘instrumental’  
 i- ken *-ant* -ak -a -ro abió  
 3m travel INST PERF REFL.NF 3f plane  
 ‘He traveled by plane.’ (Shaver 1996:48)
- (31) *-ben/-bin* ‘for, benefactive’  
 no- pēn -a *-ben* -k -e -ri  
 1 pay EP BEN ASP NF 3m  
 ‘I paid it for him.’ (Shaver 1996:48)
- (32) *-té* ‘towards, against’  
 i- hok -a *-té* -t -abé -k -a -ri  
 3m throw EP TOWARDS EP FRUS ASP REFL.NF 3m  
 ‘He threw it at him but missed/it didn’t hurt him.’ (Shaver 1996:48)
- (33) *-ak/-akag* ‘comitative/sociative causative’  
 i- komo -t *-ak* -ak -e -ri Pablo otsegoha  
 3m dam.stream EP COMPERFNF 3m Paul stream  
 ‘He dammed the stream with Paul/he caused Paul to dam the stream  
 working along with him.’ (Wise 1971:107)

Passive constructions are rare in Nomatsiguenga and are limited to third person. Example (34) uses the suffix *-imo/-omo*—illustrated for Pajonal Ashéninka in (25)—in a passive construction.

- (34) Pablo ir- ia -t -omo -t -I -ngani  
 Pablo 3m go EP PRES EP ASP PASS  
 ‘Someone went to where Paul was’ (lit. Paul was gone in the presence of)

Nomatsiguenga is basically a nominative–accusative language although in stative intransitive verbs the pronominal form cross-referencing the subject is a suffix (object position), rather than a prefix. Compare the position of the first person marker in the active (35a) and stative (35b) examples.

- (35) *a* no- pok -e  
 1 come NF  
 ‘I arrive.’
- b* pok -ak -i -na  
 Come PERF F 1  
 ‘I arrive (said upon arrival).’ (Shaver 1996:121)

The basic word order in Nomatsiguenga is VSO. Apart from pronominal forms cross-referencing the subject, one of the causatives, and the future/irrealis prefix; all verbal morphology is by suffixation. Nouns and classifiers may be incorporated in the verb.

### *3. Summary of data and discussion*

#### *3.1 Summary of data*

The chart summarizes the data for six of the eight languages mentioned in section 1. Notice that all six have applicative suffixes rather than prefixes, although applicative prefixes seem to be more common than suffixes in other parts of the world. (See section 2.2.) Most verb morphology is by suffixation in all of the languages, irrespective of basic word order. Although not indicated in the chart, all of the languages are head marking; as indicated, all have morphological causatives. Comparison of the languages discussed here with languages which do not have applicatives, but do have morphological causatives, e.g., Bora (see Thiesen 1996), leads to the tentative hypothesis that the presence of an applicative affix implies the presence of a causative affix, but not vice versa. Clear correlations with other grammatical features such as nominative–accusative, ergative–absolutive, or presence of cross-referencing affixes are not apparent.

Incorporated nouns in two of the languages are prefixed and suffixed in two others. Two of the languages do not incorporate nouns. In two of the languages the origin of at least one of the applicatives can be shown to be a postposition; further investigation is needed in this area.

In all of the languages applicative suffixes increase valence most of the time but in those where one of the applicatives has many functions (Chayahuita, Arabela, Yanesha', and Nomatsiguenga), some of the functions do not increase valence. Only in Yagua is the object demoted in an applicative construction. (See example 9 in which the direct object is implicit and the instrument is promoted to the object position.)

	Chayahuita	Arabela	Yagua	Yaminahua	Yanesha'	Nomatsiguenga
Applicative prefix	-	-	-	-	-	-
Applicative suffix	+	+	+	+	+	+
Causative prefix	+	-	-	-	+	+
Causative suffix	-	+	+	+	+	+
Has only suffixes	-	+	+	-	-	-
SOV order	+	+	-	+	-	-
VSO order	-	-	+	-	+	+
Noun incorporation by prefix	+	-	-	+	-	-
Noun incorporation by suffix	-	-	-	-	+	+
Nom-acc	+	+	+	-	+	+
Some split-erg traits or split-S marking	-	?	-	+	+	+
S/O cross-ref affixes	+	-	+	-	+	+
Applicative cognate with a postposition	-	+	+	-	-	-
Applicative usually increases valence	+	+	+	+	+	+
Applicative has many functions	+	+	-	-	+	+
Case markers on core NPs	+	-	-	+	-	-
Object demoted	-	-	+	-	-	-

3.2. *Contrasts with other languages*

In many languages of the world, applicatives are prefixes. Craig and Hale (1988), for example, describe “relational preverbs” in Warlpiri (of Central Australia), Rama (Chibchan of Nicaragua), and Nadëb (Maku of Brazil). O’Herin (1995) describes a set of five applicative prefixes in Abaza (a Caucasian language of Russia). Abaza has SOV order and is an ergative-absolutive language. Several applicative prefixes may

co-occur but, in contrast to the languages of Peruvian Amazonia, neither they nor the causative prefix increase transitivity. There is always one, and only one, cross-referencing agreement prefix from the absolutive set in the verb and only one absolutive noun phrase. (There are a few “inverted verbs” in which no absolutive occurs.) The agreement prefixes, which cross-reference the “applied objects,” are from the ergative set and the noun phrases which they cross-reference are likewise in the ergative case. Abaza shares with Nomatsiguenga and the other Pre-Andine languages the trait that one verb can have several applicative markers.

O’Herin (1995) suggests that the noun phrase must be definite in order for the postposition to be incorporated as an applicative. This is probably true also in those Amazonian languages where alternative constructions are available, e.g. an applicative affix or oblique case-marking on the noun phrase, as in Yagua (example 9). The correlations between definiteness and use of an applicative affix in a given construction need to be investigated. Note that David Payne (2000) states that in Ashéninka the occurrence of a pronominal suffix cross-referencing an overt syntactic object “indicates a difference between highly referential, highly topical objects [36a] versus non-referential, non-topical objects [36b].” (Ashéninka is closely related to Nomatsiguenga; the applicative suffixes are cognate with those of Nomatsiguenga.)

(36) *a* r- etsiya -t -ako -t -aka -a -ye -t -ak -e -ri eentsi  
 3M be.wellEPAPPL EP CAUS EP DIST EP PERF MODE 3M child  
 ‘He healed (caused to be well) the children (the ones being referred to in the prior dialogue).’

*b* osheki mantsiyari  
 many sick  
 r- etsiya -t -ako -t -aka -a -ye -t -ak -e  
 3M be.well EP APPL EP CAUS EP DIST EP PERF MODE  
 ‘He healed many sick people.’ (David Payne 2000)

Perhaps the same is true in the choice of an applicative affix rather than a postpositional phrase where that alternative is available. It is clear from the examples in (36), however, that the use of the applicative *-ako* does not depend on definiteness or referentiality. Pragmatic functions, such as coding thematically peripheral participants as pragmatically salient arguments in the flow of discourse, is also a topic for further study (see Zavala 2000).

### 3.3. *Applicatives as adposition incorporation and relation to causatives*

Baker (1988:229) proposes that preposition [read adposition] incorporation is the source of the grammatical function changing processes called “applicative” and “dative shift.” Some of the applicatives discussed in this paper are clearly cases of postposition incorporation, e.g., Arabela *-ta/-tia* and Yagua *-ta/-tya*. Others are clearly

cognate with postpositions in other languages of the same family. For example, the ‘benefactive/malefactive’ *-n/-on* in Yanesha’ has a postposition counterpart *-(V)na* in Piro, *-ni* in Garifuna, etc. The origin of most of the applicatives, however, is not yet clear.

The similarity between causative and applicative constructions (indicated by Baker 1988:233) shows up in Pre-Andine Maipuran Arawakan languages even in the origin of some of the applicatives. In most of those languages there is a causative prefix *im-*, which appears to be cognate with the applicative suffix *-imo* ‘in the presence of’. In Wise (1990) I showed that the Pre-Andine inflectional suffix *-akag/-aka* ‘causative/comitative’ is clearly cognate with a reciprocal verbal suffix in the broader Maipuran Arawakan family. David Payne (2000) posits a scenario in which the “original reciprocal sense developed into a broader sociative sense (which it still retains with verbs of physical activity in Pre-Andine languages), and from there to a causative sense.”<sup>8</sup>

#### 3.4. *Applicative suffixes as an areal feature*

Is the similarity in form of the applicative suffixes *-të/-ta* in Chayahuita, *-ta/-tia* in Arabela, *-ta/-tya* in Yagua happenstance, indicative of a possible genetic relationship, or an areal feature? Doris Payne (1984 and 1985), on the basis of the similarity in the Yagua and Arabela applicatives and the fact that both have postpositions of the same form, and on the basis of other apparently cognate morphemes, suggested a possible Yagua-Zaparoan connection, but left the exact nature of the connection as a topic requiring further study. The fact that the causative in Huitoto is *-ta*, and many Arawakan languages have a causative suffix of the form *-da/-ta* and/or an epenthetic, verbalizing, or transitivizing suffix which includes a *-t*, leads me to propose (as I did in 1993) that we are dealing with a wide-spread grammatical form (see David Payne 1990) or an areal feature rather than a genetic connection. If it is an areal feature, what is the focal area? What other areal features should be added to those listed by Dixon and Aikhenvald (1999:8-9)? Should this be listed as a western Amazon feature only (cf. Dixon and Aikhenvald 1999:10)? Or should it be considered a northwestern Amazon feature since Panoan languages do not share it? Perhaps it is one indicator that the hypothesis is correct which assumes that Panoan languages originated in the southern Amazon tributaries (Bolivia?) and migrated only as far north as the Amazon itself while the Arawakan languages originated around Manaus (or up the Rio Negro) and dispersed in all directions from there. I leave these questions open pending further research.

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<sup>8</sup> T. Payne (1997:190-191) notes that in some languages “the causative and [instrumental] applicative are the same morpheme. . . The only real difference. . . is the animacy of the ‘causee.’ In both cases a causer acts on something or someone to accomplish some action.” Tuggy (1981:449) describes a variety of Nahuatl as “a halfway or hybrid case in which non-prototypical causatives exhibit a trait associated with applicatives,” i.e., they are overlapping categories. Valenzuela (2000) asserts that in Shipibo (closely related to Yamina-hua) “the associative applicative construction also encodes ‘sociative causation’.”

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#### Abbreviations

ACC = accusative	MAL = malefactive
ANTIPAS = antipassive	NF = nonfuture
APPL = applicative	NOM = nominative
ARR = upon arrival	O/OBJ = object
ASP = aspect	PASS = passive
BEN = benefactive	POSS = possessive
CAUS = causative	PRES = in the presence of
CL = classifier	PROG = progressive
COM = sociative or comitative	RECIP = reciprocal
COMPL = completive	REFL = reflexive
CONT = continuative	REP/REPET = repetitive
DIST = distributive	RES = resolved perfective
EP = epenthetic	REAS = reason
ERG/ERG = ergative	RESP = with respect to
FRUS = frustrative	S = subject
F/FUT = future	SCL = subordinate clause marker
GEN = genitive	1 = first person
HAB = habitual	1R = related to first person
IMPERV = imperfective	1 SG = first person singular
IMPV = imperative	1 PL = first person plural
INAN = inanimate	2 = second person
INCL = inclusive	2 SG = second person singular
INF = infinitive	3F = third person feminine
INST = instrument	3M = third person masculine
IRR = irrealis	Ø = zero