The Emergence of Lexical Applicatives in Iraqw

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Abstract. Iraqw has a number of preverbal elements that are compounded to the verb and some of these have functions similar to an applicative. These compounds are not fully productive and are prone to lexicalisations. One of them, hara, doubles as a preposition. The grammaticalisation of a number of these preverbal elements allows us to study the process of development from preposition (and other independent elements) to verbal applicative marker.

Keywords: Applicative, Cushitic, Verbal Compounds, Grammaticalization

Languages: Iraqw

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1.0 Introduction

Iraqw (Cushitic, Tanzania) has both syntactic and derivational (verbal compounding) means for functions similar to the Swahili applicative. This paper is about the verbal compound applicatives, but first I introduce the syntactic applicatives.

The syntactic marker is a clitic $i$ that is one of four possible clitics that have a position immediately before the verb, cliticise to the left, and link a constituent to the verb like adpositions do. In (1) the directional $=i$ indicates the direction of giving; example (2) shows the instrumental clitic $=ar$ and the reason clitic $sa$ which requires a resumptive element when positioned after the verb. These clitics also have prepositional equivalents. For example, in (3), the directional clitic $=i$ operates as preposition $ay$ with the copula $a$ as its base; likewise $ar$ INS and $as$ REAS can function as preposition. The only other prepositions in the language are $hara$ ‘together with’ and $nee$ ‘and, by, with’.

(1) \[\text{ínós } \text{i } \text{hhar-tá } \text{hhawat-i } \text{hanmiis}\]
    \[\text{3SG } \text{3 } \text{stick-F1:CON } \text{man-DIR} \text{ give:3M}\]
    ‘He is giving a stick to the man.’

(2) \[\text{i-na } \text{basi-r-ár } \text{daqay-ká } \text{tluwo-sa } \text{álé}\]
    \[\text{3-PAST } \text{bus-F-CON:INS } \text{leave:3M-NEG} \text{ rain:M-REAS RESPRO}\]
    ‘He didn’t go by bus because of the rain.’

(3) \[\text{iimír } \text{aang } \text{ay } \text{hamtí}\]
    \[\text{time:F:CON long.ago to now}\]
    ‘from long ago until now’

The derivational applicatives are pre-compounded to the verb.¹ Iraqw is otherwise strictly suffixing. There is a number of such preverbal elements, Table 1, which I call preverbs in this article for ease of reference; these are first elements in verbal compounds. They tend to be not productive. Among these, I discuss those that have applicative-like functions, $hara$, $ii$, $har$, $sa$, $alee$, $ad$, $ila$, and $gee$. The definition of an applicative morpheme is any derivational morphology occurring on a verb root/stem that has amongst its functions the introduction of a non-actor semantic argument into a main clause (cf. Pacchiarotti and Zúñiga 2022).

¹ WALS https://wals.info/chapter/109 reports that Iraqw has no applicative construction, which is true in the sense that all cases reported here are not fully productive.
There are roughly three kinds of etymological sources for these preverbs: The case clitics mentioned above, nouns, and verbal adverbs. These are the elements that can occur in the position immediately before the verb.

The preverbs of nominal origin are body parts (‘eye’, ‘ear’, ‘head’, ‘stomach’, ‘mouth’) or general locative nouns (‘place’, ‘front’), or the general noun *adoo* ‘manner’. They can develop into preverbs by noun incorporation. Body parts are prone to incorporation, see Kooij and Mous (2002). The phonological reduction of the original sources is a sign of their grammaticalisation. Noun incorporation is not a very productive process in Iraqw but common enough to be a likely source for the grammaticalisation to a preverb compound element. Next to the morphological kind of noun incorporation, Iraqw has what Kießling (1990) has termed noun encapsulation which is the productive process of placement of a noun or noun phrase in the position before the verb for de-topicalisation or backgrounding. Such a noun is in construct case but does not form a close unit with the verb; another element like a verbal adverb can intervene.

Likewise the case clitics are in the required position to link to the verb, though as case clitic they cliticise to the left, while the preverb element cliticises to the right to form a tight unit with the verb and a true compound. The verbal adverbs *hara* and *al* often occur in the position immediately before the verb. As adverbs there are independent from the verb but they too can form a true compound with the verb.

Kießling (1990) provides a comprehensive analysis of the grammaticalisation of these elements and in general of the preverbal field as a cradle of innovation in Iraqw. I copy and adapt his Table 1 with some adjustments. I only discuss the preverbs with applicative-like functions which are presented above the double line in the table, but I include the others to show the bigger picture of the preverb category.

**Table 1: Preverbal Compounding Elements**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Preverb</th>
<th>Function and Meaning</th>
<th>Possible Source</th>
<th>Word Class of Source</th>
<th>Function and Meaning of Source</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><em>hara</em></td>
<td>APPL-COM: extra entity involved</td>
<td><em>hara</em></td>
<td>preposition</td>
<td>almost, at same time as, together with</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>har</em></td>
<td>COM: nearly</td>
<td>=ar</td>
<td>case clitic</td>
<td>instrumental</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Note that the preverb *ii and the syntactic case clitic i are very similar and only differ in vowel length but can always be distinguished by the test that verbal adverbs can intervene between the syntactic i and the verb, while nothing can intervene between the preverb *ii and the verb.

Before discussing the applicative-like preverbs one by one, I position the Iraqw situation in what is reported about preverbs and their development of applicative functions. The most common etymological sources for applicative in general are adpositions and verbs (Peterson 2007). Gerdt and Hinkson (2004) report on a unique case in which the noun ‘face’ develops into an applicative, through an intermediate stage of lexical suffix. Craig and Hale (1988) discuss a number of languages of the Americas that show the development how “relational preverbs” acquire applicative functions. These latter show interesting parallels with the Iraqw cases. They argue that these “preverbs” ultimately originate in postpositions and remark that the languages concerned are verb-final. Iraqw can be characterised as verb-final too but it does not have postpositions, rather prepositions (and only few), and the other approximation of adpositions, the location nouns, are also preposed. In Iraqw, the relevant preverbs have in common with these Amerindian “relational preverbs” that they form compounds with the following verb with various tendencies to lexicalisation and semantic
specialisation. The Iraqw preverbs develop from any source that can occur in the immediate preverbal position: bare nouns that are prone to incorporation (body parts and locational nouns), verbal adverbs, and case clitics. The functions are comparable to the “relational preverbs” discussed in Craig and Hale (1988) but there is no indication that these Iraqw preverbs were once postpositions. Thus, this article expands or modifies the typological range of sources of applicatives. Iraqw shows that the preverb can come from any preverbal bound element to the verb. The boundness is in accordance with Peterson’s remark about possible nominal origins “it is not clear to me that we should consider these to be direct developments from the nouns themselves, but instead from the bound elements which themselves grammaticalized from those nouns” (Peterson 2007:141).

Peterson (2007), in his study on applicatives, discusses the evolution of applicatives, and the conclusions are schematised in his Figure 5.1, our Figure 1:

**Figure 1: The Evolution of Applicative Constructions (Following Peterson 2007)**

![Figure 1: The Evolution of Applicative Constructions (Following Peterson 2007)](image)

For Iraqw the starting position of a grammaticalisation scheme should allow for any bound preverbal element, and the last two stages do not occur. But the side roads to “lexicalizations” are indeed common in Iraqw too. The relevance of continuity-motivated applicative is for Iraqw in the evolution of *hara*, discussed in Section 2.

### 2.0 The Applicative Preverb *hara*

The applicative preverb *hara* changes the meaning of the verb so that the action is (i) nearly completed, or (ii) includes a third party that is expressed while the original object (if there is one) is still present and understood; ‘do
VERB while including X’. Meaning (i) does not change the valency much.\(^2\) Meaning (ii) does, and in this meaning adding *hara* can be termed applicative.

Meaning (ii) ‘do VERB while including X’, is evident in example (4): The verb with *hara* in the second clause of the example has the same complements as the one without it in the previous clause but *hara* indicates that the counting in the second clause is concomitant with the counting in the first clause. The number of syntactic arguments does not change but what is expressed is that the action is in addition to another.

(4)  
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>goats</th>
<th>IMP:S:O:P-PST</th>
<th>count</th>
<th>evening-PRED</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>gurta</td>
<td>O3:IMP:S:O:M-PST</td>
<td>COM=count</td>
<td>also</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

‘They counted the goats in the evening, and they counted the he-goat too (among them).’

In the next example too, *hara* indicates that the action is together with the action of the preceding clause (‘going to the neighbours’) in (5). Thus, *hara* helps to stress the connection between clauses in narratives; yet, *hara* is used sparsely in narratives: Only if the concomitant action is focal is it used. The function to stress the connectivity of the two clauses when focussing on the second one, containing *hara*. This is a particular instance of the function of continuity-driven applicative that is mentioned by Peterson (2009:142).

(5)  
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>boy</th>
<th>3-CSEC1</th>
<th>lying:M:CON</th>
<th>go:3M:PAST</th>
<th>neighbours</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ina</td>
<td>maheeri-wós</td>
<td>hara=tlehhtuá</td>
<td>áy</td>
<td>‘The boy went to stay with the neighbours. He went to prepare his arrows there.’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The use of *hara* can also indicate an immediate sequence of actions rather than simultaneity, as is clear in (6).

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\(^2\) I use the term *valency* as referring to semantic actants and not necessarily syntactic arguments, cf. Beck (2009:533) who defines valency-increasers as “morphemes that allow for the expression of semantic actants beyond those normally associated with the underived form of a verbal base.”
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(6) 

```
girl thing:F-DEM2 03:O.F-BGNDF hear:3F
girl hear:3F g.father:M:CON house:M-3PL.POSS
'When the girl heard this, she immediately jumped upon her father.'
```

In the following example, (7), the concommitant action is due to the involvement of two “objects” to be thrown at the same time.

(7) 

```
g.mother-F-1SG.POSS past O.F-PAST man:M:CON forest:F:1:CON
hara=kwaaahh, i-ri gwá’
COM=throw 3-CSEC die:3F
'In the past I threw my wife together with the man of the forest and she died.'
```

The extra element involved, and introduced by hara is not an action but an object in (8) and (9). In both cases someone is locked in into the house by the action of closing the house and that fact is crucial in the story. In (8), the subject of the impersonal “passive” is referred to by hara as additional to the meat. In (9) hara allows for the expression of the object children as involved by “filling the poles”: In a traditional Iraqw house closing the door gap involves putting a series of horizontal poles on top of one another.

(8) 

```
3SG 03:IMPS.O.M:PF house:M:CON COM=close with meat:P:PRED
'He was locked into the house with the meat.'
```

(9) 

```
'The children are closed in by placing the door poles.'
```

In (10), hara is used because the leaning is on an extra entity. The sentence tells us that the leaning is on the wall or something like that but the arm of the child is (extra) in between. In (11) the leaning is metaphorical and allows for the expression of Efrem whose role is crucial in the action of the embedded following clause.

(10) 

```
arm:M:CON child O>M-PST COM=lean:1SG 3-CSEC cry:3M
'I leaned on the arm of the child and it cried.'
```

(11) 

```
field O3.O:F-CSEC get:1SG:DEP
'I count on Efrem to get a field.'
```
The preverb *hara* indicates the (animate) goal of the action—the dove—in (12). The base verb *tsa/aam* ‘to climb’ is intransitive.

(12) i hara=tsa/ám 02SG.F COM=climb:1SG  
‘I climb to you.’

The extra element to the action of the verb introduced by *hara* is not always expressed. In (13), *hara* indicates that ‘going to dance’ should be done ahead of the speaker (not expressed but implied): A second action is linked but not simultaneous.

(13) kiíng, hara=hi’íít bará ni/ima 2SG.F COM=walk:IMP in dance  
‘You, go ahead to the dance.’

The verbal adverb *hara* that this preverb originates from, has the meaning of ‘at the same time’ in (14), ‘together with’ in (15), and ‘almost’ in (16) and (17).

(14) ta hara /aylin IMPS same.time sing:PRS  
‘They sing at the same time.’

(15) ti fu’uná doó hara tseég IMPS:O1SG meat:CON house:CON same.time close:PST  
‘I am shut in in the house together with the meat.’

(16) gajeét aa fák hara alé work 3:PRF finish:3F almost RESPRO  
‘The work is nearly finished.’

(17) an-á-ga hara slaqaát 1sg-1/2-PRF almost tired:1SG  
‘I am almost tired.’

And in the following imperfective verb of ‘showing’ in (18), adverb *hara* indicates an approximation of showing, that is, only some times, or partly.

(18) ti hara=laqaqan-á’ REC COM=show:IPFV2-3PL  
‘They show themselves to some extent.’
In example (19), the preverb *hara* expresses the same closeness to the achievement of the action of *waraahh* ‘to pass’ but with this verb, *hara* has become a bound element, a preverb of the compound verb *har(a)waraahh*.

(19) a-ga hara waraáhh
    1/2-PRF ALMOST pass:1SG
    ‘I am close to passing.’

The difference between *hara* as a verbal adverb and as a preverb is structural in the development of a free element to a bound element while the functions overlap. In examples (14,15) above *hara* is separate from the verb since an acceptable alternative is to insert another adverb like *malé* ‘again’ between *hara* and the verb. This is also clear in (20) where *hara* occurs before the encapsulated object. Thus, syntactically, *hara* functions as an independent verbal adverb. In the examples (4,5,18) above nothing can appear between *hara* and the verb.

(20) Gwaandé/ i hara daaqaywós qaqáy arí
    G COM boys:M:3SG.POSS IPFV:give:3M prophecy
    ‘And at the same time G gave his boys magic powers.’

The preverb *hara* has two senses, as argued above. The first sense of expressing near completion is directly linked to the meaning of the adverb *hara* ‘almost’. In the meaning ‘almost’, *hara* has no effect on the syntax of the clause, it is simply emphasizing the endpoint is nearly achieved. This meaning is common with telic accomplishment verbs such as ‘arrive’, ‘return’ and ‘finish’ and the preverb *hara* often forms compounds with telic movement verbs, as can be deducted from the list in (24).

The second sense of ‘do VERB while including X’ developed out of the other meanings of the adverb *hara* ‘at the same time’ and ‘together with’. It is in this second sense that the preverb *hara* has applicative-like functions but does not always change the syntactic valency of the verb. This is understandable from these other meanings of the source adverb. Even in the meaning of the preverb ‘together with’, that additional entity is not necessarily present in the clause, although it often is, but it is at least understood. In the meaning ‘at the same time as’, the use of the verbal adverb *hara* does not change the content of the statement much; it merely emphasises the connection of actions in the narration.
Different senses of meaning of the source, the adverb hara, can be present in the same lexeme with preverb hara as first compound element. The verb hara=duuxüm in (21) can be both ‘marry early’, which is evident from context, or ‘marry with the help of’, the help is a bull in (21) represented here by the masculine object pronoun u O.M in burkwaa.

(21) burkwaa hara=duuxún
    COND:O3:IMPS:O:M:PRF APPL=marry
    ‘If he has married by the help of the bull.’

The preverb hara is used with gradable adjectives for comparison. The adjective har(a)=saaw from saaw ‘far’ and hara=tseew ‘close, near-by’ are used when two entities are compared, (22).

(22) doori nee yaamu ki hara=tseew
    sky and earth O.3-O.P COM=close
    ‘Sky and land come close to each other.’

A difference can be made between hara=nakaα/ ‘nearly come close’ and nakaα/ ‘come close’ but this difference is tiny, and the combination of hara with an accomplishment verb can erode, as has happened with the derived hara=kii/ ‘nearly return’ which has become interchangeable with kii/ ‘return’ and a new hara=harakii/ has emerged in order to emphasize the closeness to completion without reaching it.

Once hara has become a bound element, lexicalisations can and do occur. Specialisations in meanings for compound verbs with the preverb hara occur often. Examples of such lexicalisations are the verb hara=ti’iiit which has acquired the meaning of ‘come across by change’ from ti’iiit (‘come out, appear’), hara=gaas (‘to mix’) from gaas (‘kill’), hara=gwaa’ (‘to be mixed’0 from gwaa’ (‘to die’). The verb hara=tlaw means ‘to come to make trouble’ from tlaw (‘to leave’). The derivation of hara=xuu’ (‘to expect’) is from xuu’ (‘to know’), as in (23).

(23) deebedaá tám i hara=xuu’ ngiwa slaw
    tins:P:CON three O.P COM=know O.3-O.P get:1SG:DEP
    ‘I expect to get three tins.’

In the compounds, hara has a wide range of meanings. Some of the lexicalisations show the origin of the core meanings of the verbal adverb:
closeness; additional developments involve the concept of ‘meet’, and ‘by chance’. Some of these compounds intensify the meaning of the verb. The following provides a list of attested hara=verb compounds in (24).

(24) suruuk ‘to move a little’ harasuruuk ‘to get closer’
nakaa/ ‘to get close’ hanakaa/ ‘to get close to sth.’
ti’it ‘to go out’ hara’tiit ‘to meet by chance’
tsoo/ ‘to squeeze’ haratsoo/ ‘to squeeze (for little things)’
xuu’ ‘to know’ haraxuu’ ‘to be confident’
ii/ ‘to return’ haraki/ ‘to come back and stay’
tluntii’ ‘to lean on sth.’ haratluntii’ ‘to depend on sb.’
faar ‘to count’ harafaar ‘to add to the number (tr.), to check family relations before marriage’
waa/ ‘to vomit’ harawa/ ‘to flood’
warawaa ‘to pass (intr.)’ harawaraah ‘to overtake intentionally (tr.)’
gaas ‘to kill’ haragaas ‘to mix (tr.)’
gwaaw ‘to die’ haragwaa ‘to join (intr.)’
fiits ‘to sweep’ haraﬁits ‘to gather’
tlaw ‘to get up’ haratlaw ‘to go to sb. for a fight’
waatl ‘to go home’ harawaatliim ‘to get to live in sb.’s residence’
kaw ‘to go’ harakees ‘to quicken sth.’

There are a small number of compound verbs with the element hara for which there is no verb form without it like hara=hheef ‘to expect’.

There is a complex situation of variation and distinction between hara and har. The two are variants in (24), but there are also instances of har which do not vary with hara and that have a different function as in harwarahh ‘to go beyond, to exceed’, (25b) compared to (25a). This compound verb har=warahh (‘go beyond’) is different from hara=warahh (‘to overtake intentionally’).

(25) a. a-ga har(a)=waráhh
1/2-PRF COM=pass:1SG/
I nearly pass.’

b. a-ga har=waráhh tligmaawo
1/2-PRF go.beyond:1SG late:P:PRED
‘I am way too late.’

Har also occurs in compound nouns for certain bird names that are compared to other birds. There is phonological rule that deletes the short vowel in the middle syllable of sequences of three syllables with short vowels, provided there is a morpheme break; hence, the examples in (26) could be underlyingly /hara+konki/ → harkonki.
(26) a. konki (f) ‘chicken’  b. har=konki ‘owl’  
c. kuray (m) ‘hawk’  d. har=kuray ‘hammerheaded stork’

The element har- occurs in a small number of compound verbs. It is different from hara because some verbs have both forms with a difference in meaning, for example harslaqaat (‘to fail’) versus hara slaqaat (‘almost tired’).

(27) neet ‘to play’  har=neet ‘to play with sb.’
      hhe’ees ‘to finish’  har=hhe’ees ‘to be fed up now and then’
      slaqaat ‘to be tired’  har=slaqaat ‘to fail’
      qaytsiit ‘to investigate’  har=qaytsiit ‘to cast an inquisitive eye on sth.’
      oh ‘to seize, grasp’  har=oh ‘to arbitrate, to stop a fight’
      dah ‘to enter’  har=dah ‘to arrive’
      meetiim ‘to avoid’  har=meetiim ‘to leave things, to neglect’

In addition to har(a) and har there is also hari. This preverb occurs in a small number of verbs, most of them related to bringing harm, such as hari=aw ‘to harm’ from aw ‘go’, hari=tlakw ‘harm bringing’, hari=hhoo ‘relief’. But also hari=tlees ‘winnow’ from tlees ‘lift up’ which has a parallel derivation with hara, hara=tlees ‘to annoy’; there is no hartlees.³

The three preverbs hara, har, and hari go back to the same origin and are related to the verbal adverb hara and the instrumental preposition and case clitic ar. Their history is unfolded in Kießling (2002:275). He brings all these forms back to the proto WestRift Southern Cushitic verb *had ‘to pass, to proceed; accompany,’ and its verbal noun *hada (and its 3M inflected form *hadi for the preposition). The lenition d to r is regular in the history of the languages concerned. However it is still a challenge to propose a source construction in which a verbal noun could develop into a preverb. An infinitive preceding the verb needs a construct case. The history of these various forms is complex due to parallel lexicalisation processes and the survival of earlier forms in lexicalised verbs. For example, the preposition goes back to *hadi in proto WestRift and it is preserved in that form in the few lexicalised verbs and adjectives in Iraqw mentioned above (2.2) even though the same source has developed into a form ar in Iraqw and Gorwaa in the shape of the preposition as argued in Kießling and Mous 2003:133).

³ To which one could add harbuu ‘transfer disease by magic’ from buu ‘pay’ with similar semantics and dropping of the i.
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The fact that the preverb har(a) can vary with the instrumental case clitic =r in the two equivalent variants of (28) and (29) suggests that the two are related and have a common origin.\(^4\) The instrumental case clitic and preposition is glossed with INS (instrumental) but it has a wide range of functions. In addition to the instrumental function in (28) and the comitative in (29) and (31) below, it has directional-locative functions to diimá ‘where’ in (30) and the indication of a period of time in (32).

(28) bir-ti-r néet
   COND-IMPS:O1SG-INS play:3M:PST
   ‘If somebody played with me, ...’

(29) bir-ta har-néet
   COND-IMPS:O1SG-PRF INS-play:3M:PST
   ‘If somebody played with me, ...’

(30) Chalinzenëe Daresalaam a har diimá
   Chalinze and Dar COP INS where
   ‘Where are Chalinze and Daresalaam in relation to each other?’

(31) ala i watlká ár sáxmaäreema.
   but 3 return.home:3:NEG INS peace
   ‘But they won’t return safe and sound.’

(32) na/i’i har afiqoomár kurerá tsiyáhh ngaa ayé’,
   ‘The children went for a period of four years.’

The structural difference between the preverb and the verbal adverb hara is that a verbal adverb allows material to be inserted between hara and main verb. The functions of hara as verbal adverb and as preverb overlap.

3.0 The Directed Applicative Preverb ii

The applicative ii changes the frame of the verb in such a way that the action is directed to the entity expressed as object. Any original (theme) object can no longer be expressed but is assumed to be present. In example (33) the base verb daa’ ‘sing’ is intransitive, while in (34) its object is what is sung. But when ii=daa’ is used, one can express a person (35) or an object (36) that was sung to or about.

\(^4\) The case clitics =i, =r, =s double as preposition ay, ar, as, Mous (1993:102-107).
(33) ta-n daa’ ar qwala/
  IMPS-EXPEC sing INS joy
They sing with joy.

(34) girayda kwaa daa’
girayda.poetry O3:IMPS:O:M:PRF sing
The girayda is sung

(35) Efrem kwaa ii=daa’
  E O3:IMPS:O:M:PRF APPL=sing
Efrem is sung to.

(36) murúú /ayma ku ii=daa’
Food is praised.

It is not possible to keep two objects, e.g. both Efrem and the song, in the sentence with ii=daa’, (37).

(37) *Efrem /ayla kwaa iidaa’
  Intended: The /ayla song was sung for Efrem.

Nor is it possible to have what is sung as object of iidaa’, (38). Example (36) without ii would mean that they are singing food, which is not felicitous.

(38) *girayda kwaa iidaa’
  Intended: the girayda is sung.

The intransitive verb hheek ‘draw (water)’ becomes transitive in ii=hheek, (39).

(39) balaangw u-na ii=hheék baraá kuntir úr wa álé
         grains O.M-PST APPL-scoop in basket:F:CON big:F ABL RES
  ‘I scooped cereals from the granary.’

(40) ná/’aay hheék ma’aay i kahh-ir
                VOC:child scoop:IMP water 3 absent-3p
  ‘Child, get water, it is finished.’

The verbs with ii often acquire specific meaning. The transitive verb iiifuutl ‘correct, insinuate’ (41) is based on the intransitive fuutl ‘whistle’, (41).

(41) na/’aay u-na ii=fuútl i-ri xasliit
            child O.M-PST APPL=whistle 3-CSEC be.quiet:3M
  ‘I rebuked the child and it shut up.’
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(42) i tuutl asma aa qwaláa/
   3 whistle:3M because 3:PRF happy:3M
   ‘He whistles because he is happy.’

While *tlaw* means ‘leave, get up’, *ii=tlaw* refers to growing up, especially for children going into puberty, (43).

(43) qartos-e dasi i-wa ii=tleér ka hhoohhoo’
   generation:F1:3SG.POSS-PRED girl 3-BGND APPL=leave:3F O:3:O:F nice
   ‘The girl has become beautiful within her group.’

The verb *tsuunq* to spit is semi-transitive: it can have the spittle as (cognate) object, (44a), while in (44b) the object of *ii=tsuuq* is what is spit on.

(44) a. tsuunqaa tsuunqe baráa xooslamo
   spittle spit:TR:IMP in pot
   ‘Spit into the pot.’

b. kaa ii=tsuúq nee dayshamo
   O:3:IMPS:O:F APPL=spit by snake
   ‘He has been spit on by the snake.’

There is some variation between *ii* and *in*. In my dictionary files I have *in=tlaw* and *in=kii*/* where other speakers prefers *ii=tlaw* and *ii=kii*/* but recognize these other forms as variants. In (45) I present the verb compounds with the preverb *ii ~ in*. The last ones have no base verb (anymore).

(45) xasl (ideo.) ‘quiet’ ii=xaasl ‘to clear the throat’
    hhaaf ‘to spread (of a mat)’ ii=hhaaf ‘to lay the layers of a mat’
    hheek ‘to go to fetch water’ ii=hheek ‘to scoop up water’
    gahhaat ‘to rebuke’ ii=gahhaat ‘to rebuke sb.’
    aw ‘to go’ ii=’aw ‘to grow’
    guu ‘to sleep’ ii=gu’us ‘to make known, to call’
    slaw ‘to get’ in=slaw/ii=slaw ‘to remember’
    kii/ ‘to return’ in=kii/ ‘to repeat’
    tla’aas ‘to let sth. open to harm’ in=tlaa’ ‘to set out to dry’
    ku/ ‘to make tight’ in=kuu/ ‘to make really tight’
    haar ‘to proceed’ ee=haar ‘to follow’
    ii=slaakw ‘to take out’
    in=sareehh ‘to be in doubt’
    in=tsaa ‘to pick like millipede’
4.0 The Person-Affected Applicative Preverb \textit{sa}

The preverb \textit{sa=} expresses that the action is done affecting a person. For example in \textit{sa=wawiiti’iim} ‘to rule people’ that is exactly what is added to the meaning ‘to rule’ of the base verb \textit{wawiiti’iim}. The object of the verb with \textit{sa} is always a person. This can be an action ‘on behalf of’ as it is in the verb \textit{sa=axwees} ‘to act as go-between’ is basically ‘talk on behalf of’ from \textit{axwees} ‘to talk’, (46). The action can be to the benefit of a person as in \textit{sa=mamaw} ‘to stop using for sb.’s benefit’.

\[
\begin{align*}
garmoo & \quad \text{geera, oo} & \quad \text{baris} & \quad \text{g-a-na} & \quad \text{sa=axwees} \\
\text{boy:M:CON} & \quad \text{first} & \quad \text{INDEP:CON:M} & \quad \text{first.born} & \quad \text{O3-O.F-PST} & \quad \text{APPL=negotiate:3M} \\
g-a-na & \quad \text{bay} & \quad \text{O3-O.F-PST} & \quad \text{call:3m} \\
& \quad \text{‘Among those first boys, that is the eldest among them, he spoke for her saying...’} 
\end{align*}
\]

Additionally, there is limited productivity in the preverb developing negative outcome, e.g. \textit{sa=kii} ‘to come to do harm to sb.’ from \textit{kii} ‘to return’. Similarly ‘harm’ is an element in \textit{sa=kwasleemuut} ‘to accuse’ from \textit{kwasleemuut} ‘to hold a meeting’.

\[
\begin{align*}
maytsir & \quad \text{kil’} & \quad \text{ka-na} & \quad \text{bay,} & \quad \text{ki} \\
\text{cat:CON:F} & \quad \text{right} & \quad \text{O3:IMPS:O.F-PST} & \quad \text{call:3M} & \quad \text{you.F} \\
do’oa & \quad \text{aayi} & \quad \text{a-na} & \quad \text{sak’} & \quad \text{maybe} & \quad \text{mother} & \quad \text{O.F-PST} & \quad \text{harm:2} \\
& \quad \text{‘Even cat was told, you maybe if you harm mother.’} 
\end{align*}
\]

Examples of the compound verbs with preverb \textit{sa} are presented in (48).

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{(48) kwasleemuut} & \quad \text{‘to hold a meeting’} & \quad \text{sa=kwasleemuut} & \quad \text{‘to accuse’} \\
\text{dakuus} & \quad \text{‘to make a mistake’} & \quad \text{sa=dakuus} & \quad \text{‘to make a mistake against sb.’} \\
\text{axwees} & \quad \text{‘to talk’} & \quad \text{sa=axwees} & \quad \text{‘to speak as a go-between, e.g. for marriage’} \\
\text{kii/} & \quad \text{‘to return’} & \quad \text{sa=kii/} & \quad \text{‘to come to do harm to sb.’} \\
\text{wawiiti’iim} & \quad \text{‘to rule’} & \quad \text{sa=wawiiti’iim} & \quad \text{‘to rule people’} \\
\text{maw} & \quad \text{‘to leave’} & \quad \text{sa=mamaw} & \quad \text{‘to stop using for sb.’s benefit’} 
\end{align*}
\]

It is difficult to suggest a source for the preverb \textit{sa} because there are three different candidates that fit in form and that occur in the preverb position but the semantic fit for all three is far from evident.
A first possible source for the preverb *sa* is the noun *saga* ‘head’. This noun is used as preverb in the compound *saga=aw* ‘go ahead’ with the sense of in front rather than ‘for someone’. There is one other instance of verb compounding with *saga* ‘head’ and the verb *giiw* ‘to be dark’ yielding *saga=giiw* ‘to be stupid’ in which the incorporated noun did not grammaticalise to a different meaning or function.

(49) *diraangw slee ngiwa faák, aa lion cow O3:O.F-BGND finish:3M 3:PFV saga awín malé alé head go:IPFV:3M again RESPRO

‘When Lion finished the cow, he went ahead again.’

Another candidate for an etymological source is the case clitic *sa*, expressing reason as in (50).

(50) *i-na basi-r-ar daqay-ká thiwo-sa alé 3-PAST bus-F-INS leave:3SG,M-NEG rain:M-REAS RESPRO

‘He didn’t go by bus because of the rain.’

Yet another candidate is the verbal adverb *sa* ‘early, already’. In the following example *sa* is the temporal adverb ‘early, ahead of time’, (51) and the next example (52) shows the expression of ‘already’. And there is a homophone verbal adverb *sa* expressing ‘such, like this’ in (53).

(51) *Ina ó’, uú, uú, án bura sa laqwaál 3-PST say:3F uu uu 1SG COND:O.M early give:birth:1SG

‘She said, ‘Uu, uu, if I give birth early, …’’


‘If he has already left my belly swallowing is that a thing?’

(52) *kár ni/i ni-wa sa ti’imiit-ir hee a hatlá’ well children HITH-BGND such go.out:1PFV1-3PL man COP different

‘When the children left like this it was another person; the children were caught.’
Suggesting the case clitic for reason as source completes the set of case clitics that develop into preverbs but the semantic development from reason to person-affected is not evident. The semantic link is equally different for the meanings of the verbal adverb(s), ‘early’, ‘already’, ‘such’. I consider the noun *saga* ‘head’ as representing ‘person’ semantically the best fit but it requires reduction of *saga* to *sa* while it is not reduced in an example with a different meaning, that of ‘ahead’.

5.0 **The Source Applicative *waa***

The preverb *waa* in verb compounds is parallel to the use of its source, the ablative case clitic =*wa*. This is evident from the following two equivalent sentences; in (51a) the ablative case clitic *wa* is used and in the (51b) clause the preverb *wa* = in addition to the reason case clitic *sa*. The source sense with the ablative clitic is not uncommon, Kruijt (2018), and the preverb *waa* likewise introduces the source for the state of affairs.

(51) a. b<a>r/aa~/aamiín aníng wa álé
   COND<1/2>cry~IPFV2:2SG 1SG ABL RESPRO
   'If you cry because of me, ...'

b. aníng b<i>r-sa wa=/aa-/aam-iín
   1.SG COND<0.1.SG>-REAS ABL:cry:about~IPFV2:2SG
   'If you cry because of me, ...'

The applicative nature of the preverb *waa* comes out in the fact that (51b) above needs an object pronoun, *i* 01sg, and it is also evident in the compound verb *waa=qaseem* ‘laugh about, laugh at’ in the following examples (52), (53).

(52) makaá yariir ngu-na waa=qasene'.
   'Many animals laughed at him.'

(53) kwa/aangw ku-na waa=qasên nee baba
   hare O3:IMPS:O,M-PST APPL=laugh.at:3M by hyena
   'Hare was laughed at by hyena.'

In the above examples, the preverb *waa* the source of the mental activity, ‘crying’, ‘laughing’ is the object of the compounded verb. This source meaning in already present in the functions of the case clitic *wa*. The
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ablative meaning of the case clitic shines through in *waa=tlees* ‘remove, raise away’ from *tlees* ‘raise’, (54).

(54) *aluuwo tlaa/a g-a-ri waa=tłeés*

then rock O3-O,F-CSEC APPL=remove

‘Then he removed the rock.’

The preverb *waa* does not in all instances stay so close to its source, the ablative case clitic. In various *waa*-compounded verbs the preverb introduces a locative object. The compound verb with ‘to jump’ becomes transitive with a locative complement ‘jump over’, (55). In (55), the location, ‘spears’, is a true object as is evidenced by the object pronoun *a* that refers to the spears. In (56), the intransitive verb *imu/uum* ‘to start’ of the first clause is repeated with the preverb *wa* in the second clause and rendered transitive with a locative object, ‘place of one person’.

(55) *gimáy lawala a waa=akmitaán*

well spear O.F APPL=jump.over-1PL

Well, let us jump over the spear!

(56) *daxaa ta-ri imu/ún dir heé*

now IMPS-CSEC start place:F:CON man:M:CON

one O3:IMPS:O,F-EXPEC APPL=start:3M

‘And now they will start, they will start at the place of one player.’

The verb with *wa* acquires a specialised meaning in *waa=tlaakwées* ‘admire sb.’, (57), crave for sth. (58). The verb *tlaakwées* means ‘make bad’, verbalised from the adjective *tlaakw* ‘bad’. There are quite a few compounds with adjectives and specifically with *tlaakw*.

(57) *g-u-ri waa=tlakwés guri taatáx*

O3-O,M-CSEC APPL=admire;3F O3-O,M-CSEC pick.up:2SG

‘She admired him and picked him up.’

(58) *yaamu-dá’ i-na waa=tlakwemiís hotaa-w-o*

land:P-DEM4 O,P-PST APPL=crave.for:1SG living-M-PRED

‘I crave for living in that land.’

The intransitive verb *waa=slee/‘come to life again’ has no relation to *slee/‘to pass through water’, (59), according to our informants. It is either not related or completely lexicalised. Examples (60) and (61) show more instances of lexicalisation of the compound with *waa: waa=kii/‘be
surprised at’ from kii/ ‘return’ (60), and waa=/iis ‘assist a cow in delivering’ from /iis ‘to do’, (61)

(59) daxa ni/i ngaa ar-ír gidaábá now children O3:O:F:IPV see-3P reason

aayii-rén daxa ni waa=slé/ mother:F-3PL.POSS now hit APPL=revive:3F

‘Now the children saw that their mother comes to life again.’

(60) Baso bura al/ág u waa=ki/ B COND:O.M:PFV deceive O.M APPL=surprised:2SG

‘If you deceive Baso, you will see something!’

(61) slee-r-ók gaa waa=iis cow-F-2SG.POSS O3:O:F:PFV APPL=help:3M

awu g-w-aa laqwál bull O3-O.M-PF. give.birth:3F

‘He assisted the cow to deliver a bull.’

With some verbs the pre-compound is waa, and with others the vowel is short: wa. The conditioning is not clear, though I present a list of compound verbs with the preverb waa in (62).

(62) tlaw ‘to get up, leave’ waa=tlaw ‘to come up’
tlees ‘to lift’ waa=tlees ‘to lift up, to open’
/iis ‘to help’ waa=iis ‘to help a cow give birth’
slee/ ‘to cross in water’ waa=slee/ ‘to revive’ (intr.)
kii/ ‘to return’ waa=kii/ ‘be surprised at’
tlakweemiis ‘to do badly’ wa=tlakweemis ‘to admire, crave for’
oh ‘to seize’ wa=yoh or hayoh ‘to appropriate, to take away by force’
/aa/ ‘to cry’ wa=/aa/ ‘to be sad about’
qaseem ‘to laugh’ wa=qaseem ‘to laugh about’
waa=qaa’ ‘to disapprove sth/sb’
waa=’alah ‘to exchange’

6.0 The Unexpressed Manner Applicative Preverb id/ad

There is no real difference between id=baw and baw ‘tell’ since both verbs are transitive with a person as object. The verb id=baw is more insisting. Sentence (63) differs with its equivalent without ad in the fact that in (63) there is witness who is not mentioned in the sentence. The preverb id or ad ad changes the semantic valency in that an extra aspect of manner is understood but this is not (and cannot be) expressed. This is an instance par
excellence in which the semantic valency is increased but the syntactic valency remains as it is. In (64) the addition of \textit{ad} to \textit{oo} ‘to say’ leads to an interpretation that something particular is said.

\begin{verbatim}
(63) u-gwa ad=báw
O2SG.M-PF APPL=tell:1SG
'I told you.'

(64) inós bira ád='o ó' kuú
3SG COND:3:PRED APPL=say 2SG.M DEP1/2
ta ó’ na’ás waay
say:2SG thanks hé
'When he tells you this, you say, ‘thank you.’'
\end{verbatim}

The variation \textit{id}~\textit{ad} is already present in its source, the noun \textit{adoo}~\textit{idoo} (f) ‘manner’. The equivalence of \textit{ádbaw} and \textit{ídbaw} is evident as the two forms are used in the same sentence in a repetition (65).

\begin{verbatim}
(65) aakosú dasi loó’ ku-ri
\textit{ád=ba'y ku-ri id=báy inós ta-na oó’}
APPL=tell:3M O3:IMPS:O.M-CSEC APPL=tell:3M 3SG IMPS-PST:say:3M
'That father of the girl was told. He was told, they said.'
\end{verbatim}

The element \textit{ád} can combine with an adjective, such as \textit{tlaakw} ‘bad’ in (66). The compound adjective \textit{áditlakw} means ‘difficult’ and is possibly a contraction from \textit{adór tlaakw} ‘a bad manner’ which developed to mean a \textit{difficult} manner.

\begin{verbatim}
(66) ba’ari ka ló’wa saaw gawtí
bee.F O3:IMPS:O.F very far top:F1:DIR
alé tsa/amtooro ka ád=tlaakw
RESPRO climbing-F-PRES O3:IMPS:O.F APPL=difficult
'The bee is very high, climbing it is difficult.'
\end{verbatim}

The preverb \textit{ad=} occurs in a relatively small number of verbs. The list is presented in (67).

\begin{verbatim}
(67) baw ‘to tell’ ad=báw ‘to inform sb.’
oo ‘to say’ ad=’oo’ ‘to say sth.’
koom ‘to possess’ ad=koom ‘to be untouched’
laaq ‘to do’ ad=laaq ‘to make to be’
dah ‘to enter’ ad=ah ‘to tread on sth.’
\end{verbatim}
7.0 The Affecting Applicative Preverb alee

Compounding with alee renders the verb transitive. In (68) the transitive form of the imperative is used. In (69) the addition of alee= allows the inclusion of the object pronoun i 'me'; looa aa dat without alee= would have meant 'the sun has set'. In (70) alee= indicates a second element in the mixing.

(68) inös i-ri ə': alee=/aa/-aak     haywa'
     3SG 3-CSEC   say:3F   APPL=cry-IMP:PL.ADDR:TR   children
     'She said, 'Cry about it children.'"

(69) Ina ə', qata, looa i-ga alee=dát.
     3-PST   say:3F  sleeping sun O1SG-PFV APPL=enter:3F
     She said: Spending the night? The sun has gone in on me.

(70) née fá/a ti alee=xwaran~xwat. g-i-ri
     with porridge:F DEP-O.P APPL=IMPFV~mix:3F O3-O.P-CSEC
     fa/ár   alee=xwarat
     porridge:CON:F APPL=mix:3F
     And mix it [milk (p)] with the porridge. She mixed it with the porridge.

The preverb alee introduces a benefiting or affected object. A benefiting person is introduced by alee in alee=firiim 'to ask on behalf of sb.' from firiim 'to ask', and in alee'aw 'to come in defence of sb.' from aw 'to go into'.

The preverb is similar in shape to the resumptive element alé which replaces the verb if a constituent positioned after the verb. Hence this resumptive element alé never occurs in the required preverbal position and cannot be the direct source for the preverb. Possibly the preverb and the resumptive element have a common origin; alee behaves as a noun with no clear meaning in occurrences such as aleero with -r feminine linker and -o predicative marker. Kießling (2002:306) suggests that the preverb alee developed from ila 'eye'.

Specialised meanings occur, for example, in alee/iis means 'to help' from /iis 'to do'; the semantic development is from 'to do for sb.' and hence 'to help', (71,72).
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(71) aní  alee=/iimís
1SG:O1SG  APPL=help:IPFV:3F
‘She helps me.’

(72) gám  Looa  i  slá’,  i-ga  alee=/is.
Well  God  O1SG  love:3F  O1SG-PFV  APPL=help:3FD
‘Well, God loves me. She has helped me.’

The preverb alee occurs in the verbs presented in (73).

(73) firiim  ‘to ask’  alee=firiim  ‘to ask on behalf of sb.’
aw  ‘to go into’  alee=aw  ‘to come in defence of sb.’
doog  ‘to increase, to meet’  alee=doog  ‘to mix’
/iis  ‘to help’  alee=/iis  ‘to help sb.’
slaw  ‘to get’  alee=slaw  ‘to be able’
kuuf  ‘to fart’  alee=kuuf  ‘to make a structure to hold a pot’
dirii  ‘to be here’  alee=diri  ‘to be troublesome’

8.0 The Respecting Applicative Preverb ila

The noun ila (f1) ‘eye’ is as preverb part of a number of verbal compounds, mostly with a positive meaning. With the verb iwaa/ ‘to show respect’ it opens the option to mention of a person that is respected (74). The compound with qwarees ‘to lose’, causative of qwaar ‘be lost’ has developed the meaning ‘to divert attention’, (75), based on the metaphor of “losing the eye” while “catching the eye” is used for either ‘receiving sb.’, (76), or ‘answering by singing the chorus’, (77). “Putting the eye” means ‘to do as if, to pretend’. The combination with goow ‘to run away’ has come to mean ‘to avoid sth’, (78).

(74) án  geera  adoodá’  a-ga
first manner:F-DEM4  O.F-PFV  want:1SG-PRED-NEG
sla-ii-ká  a-qo  aayí  a-na  tawo  ila=iwaá/
1SG  COP-EMPH  mother  O.F-PAST  just  APPL=respect:1SG
‘I did not like that way, I just respected mother.’

(75) a-n  ila=qwareés  kahhó’  ti
O.F-EXPEC  APPL:divert.attention:1SG  so.that  IMPS:O1SG

tsaaahh-ii-ká
recognise-PRED-NEG
‘I hid it so that I won’t be found out.’
(76) i-n  o’, aayí muruú /ayma ila=oheek
3-EXPEC say:3F mother things:M:CON eating APPL=receive:IMP.TR
‘She said, ‘Mother take the food.’’

(77) aako daa’aangw g-u-na tleés, daaqaay
old.man song O3-O.M-PST raise:3M:PST boys

(78) kwasleema-r-qá’ a-ga ila=goów
meeting-F-DEM3 O.F-PFV APPL+avoid:1SG
‘I steered myself away from that meeting.’

(79) Án ti-n gwa’arár ila=qaás,
1SG REC-EXPEC death:CON APPL=pretend:1SG
‘I pretend myself to be dead.’

What all these examples have in common is that the compound verbs are transitive. In the last example, (79), this is evident from the use of the reflexive/reciprocal ti in addition to the object ‘death’. But clauses with the preverb ila can have no object, as in (80). Noun incorporation can render the verb intransitive since the object is incorporated but in Iraqw it often does not. A body part like ‘eye’ is prone to undergo regular noun incorporation as in (81). In this example, the noun incorporation does not render the clause intransitive, and the expression of an object is still possible.

(80) aamaasíng aa ilaa=wats-ká,
g.mother:F-DEM2 3:PFV APPL=utter:3F:PRED-NEG

(81) na/oó saree/a na/oó diraangw ngwaa ila=kalaa/
‘The child of the buffalo kicked the child of the lion in the eye.’

The combination of ila with an imperfective form of ‘to give’, hanmiis, has developed a specialised meaning of using a go-between, but the object of the verb is the dialogue, (82).
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(82) kwasleema ka gawd-ee-ká
meeting O3:IMPS:O.F difficult-PRED-NEG
asma axweesani ka ila=hanmiis
because talking O3:IMPS:O.F talk through intermediary 3M
'The meeting is not difficult because the discussion was through an intermediary.'

The examples with the preverb ila in my dictionary files are listed below, (83).

(83) oh 'to seize' ila=oh 'to receive sth/sing a refrain'
iwa 'to respect, avoid' ila=iwa 'to respect sb.'
hanmiis 'to give' ila=hanmiis 'to communicate using an intermediary'
goow 'to flee' ila=goow 'to escape from sth, to deny, to dislike'
slaw 'to get' ila=slaw 'to get sth by luck, reward for a finding a lost thing'
qwaarees 'to lose/cause to perish' ila=qwaarees 'to divert attention in order to cover up'
ila=waats 'to utter, speak'

The preverb ila also combines with adjectives in which properties of the eye are metaphorically extended to character properties: "Long eye" is 'greedy', "dry eye" is 'clever'; and even more general properties in the case of "bad eye" for 'scarce'.

(84) tlaakw (adj) 'bad' ila=tlaakw (adj) 'one-eyed, unattractive, few, scarce'
tleer (adj) 'long' ila=tleer (adj) 'greedy'
kaahaar (adj) 'dry' ila=kaahaar (adj) 'clever'

9.0 The Separative Applicative Preverb gee

The preverb gee= renders most verbs transitive and expresses a movement away, a separation. Examples are geemaw 'leave behind, release, set free' from maw 'let', (85) and (86), geexaw 'leave behind' from xaw 'come', (87) and (88), geeqaw 'break sth. solid' from qaw 'break', (89) and (90).

(85) baha a hheechhuuso'o baha gee=maw-aak.
hyena COP glutton hyena APPL=release-IMP:PL.ADDR:TR
'Hyena is a glutton. Release hyena.'

(86) gár /awaak ka gee=meer,
'She left a white thing behind.'
The preverb *gee=* is used both with verbs and adjectives. With the adjective for ‘good’ the result means ‘clear, visible’ and with the adjective ‘bad’ the opposite. This suggest that the source for *gee* has something to do with visibility or openness. Kießling (2002: 308) suggest that the source for this preverb is an amalgamation of the word *gaa* (f) ‘thing’ as dummy object plus the applicative preverb *ii*.

10.0 Summary and Conclusions

Iraqw has a variety of applicative preverbs, first elements of verbal compounds. As these result from compounding, the applicative preverbs are not productive. Nevertheless most of these applicatives have a function that is more specific than general applicative. The most general functions are those of the preverb *ii-* for a directed action and *hara* for including an extra entity into the action. Other functions include source, locative (*waa*), benefactive or affected object (*alee*), unexpressed manner (*ad*), and separative (*gee*). For all preverbs there are lexicalisations that have a specialised meaning in which these characterisations are not valid, and it is sometimes a challenge to find a general characterisation of the meaning that
is added by the preverb, as is the case with *ila*. Some of these preverbs also occur as first elements in adjectival compounds. The specific functions of preverbs can be related to the meaning of their sources, when these sources can be determined. The semantic direction in which these applicative preverbs develop is to some extent into cross-linguistically commonly distinguished subtypes of applicatives, such as benefactive and locative. It is remarkable though that no specific instrumental applicative can be recognised among the set of Iraqw applicative preverbs.

It is interesting that despite the presence of a fully productive syntactic option of introducing an extra participant by using a case clitic, there is such a rich system of lexically formed applicative verbs. It is conceivable that bilingualism in Bantu languages strengthened the grammaticalisation processes to develop lexical applicative counterparts of verbs. The majority of the applicative compounds is transitive but not all and the nature of the applicative is in adding to the semantic valency rather than the syntactic valency.

The sources for the applicative preverbs are of different grammatical type: case clitics, prepositions, nouns. The position immediately before the verb is a real cradle for grammaticalisation as argued by Kießling (1990). Iraqw shows that it is not only postpositions that can develop into applicative but any bound element in the right position. The applicative preverbs are only a subset of the outcomes of grammaticalisation of preverbs compounding with verbs.

**References**


