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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) inós i hhar-tá hhawat-i hanmiis
 3SG 3 stick-F1:CON man-DIR give:3M
 ‘He is giving a stick to the man.’
- (2) i-na basi-r-ár daqay-ká tluwo-sa alé
 3-PAST bus-F-CON:INS leave:3M-NEG rain:M-REAS RESPRO
 ‘He didn’t go by bus because of the rain.’
- (3) iimír aang ay hamtí
 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

Preverb	Function and Meaning	Possible Source	Word Class of Source	Function and Meaning of Source
<i>hara</i>	APPL-COM: extra entity involved	<i>hara</i>	preposition	almost, at same time as, together with
<i>har</i>	COM: nearly	= <i>ar</i>	case clitic	instrumental

<i>hari</i>	harm	<i>*hari</i>	preposition	instrumental
<i>ii</i>	APPL: directed to	= <i>i</i>	case clitic	directional
<i>sa</i>	APPL: on behalf of; against; affecting person	= <i>sa</i>	case clitic	reason
<i>waa</i>	APPL: source	= <i>wa</i>	case clitic	ablative
<i>ad</i>	APPL:	<i>ado</i>	noun	manner
<i>ila</i>	APPL	<i>ila</i>	noun	eye
<i>alee</i>	APPL: on behalf of	?	resumptive pronoun	stand in for verb for displaced constituent with case clitic or verbal adverb
<i>gee</i>	in front of, APPL	<i>gaa</i> + <i>ii</i> =	loc. noun	front
<i>amo</i>	?	<i>amo</i>	loc. noun	place
<i>saga</i>	ahead	<i>saga</i>	noun	head
<i>gur</i>	pity	<i>gura</i>	noun	stomach
<i>af</i>	?	<i>afa</i>	noun	mouth
<i>iia</i>	?	<i>iia</i>	noun	ear
<i>al</i>	together	<i>al</i>	verbal adverb	together

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). Gerdts 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)*

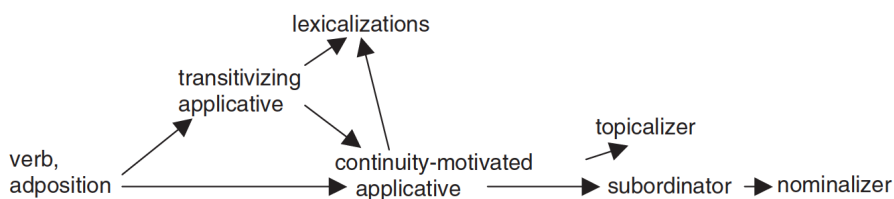


FIGURE 5.1 The evolution of applicative constructions

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) aara ki-na faár tsindoo-wo
 goats IMPS:O.P-PST count evening-PRED
- gurta ku-na hara=faár sleeme
 he.goat O3:IMPS:O.M-PST COM=count also
- '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) garma i-ri qatuú áy iinslaawaay.
 boy 3-CSEC1 lying:M:CON go:3M:PAST neighbours
- ina maheeri-wós hara=tlehhtuú áy
 3-PST arrows-3SG.POSS COM=making:M:CON go:3m:past
- 'The boy went to stay with the neighbours. He went to prepare his arrows there.'

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

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."

- (6) *dasi* *gaa-sí* *ngi-wa* *axás,*
 girl thing:F-DEM2 O3:O.F-BGND hear:3F
- dasi* *gu-na* *hara=akút* *aakoó* *doo-ín*
 girl O3:O.M-PST COM=jump: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 concomitant action is due to the involvement of two “objects” to be thrown at the same time.

- (7) *aama-r-’eé’* *aáng* *a-na* *aakoó* *sla/tá*
 g.mother-F-1SG.POSS past O.F-PAST man:M:CON forest:F1:CON
- hara=kwaahh,* *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) *is* *kwaa* *doó* *hara=tseég* *nee* *fu’unaywo*
 3SG O3:IMPS:O.M:PF house:M:CON COM=close with meat:P:PRED
- ‘He was locked into the house with the meat.’
- (9) *ni/i* *gaa* *piindór* *hara=dalaá/*
 children O3:O.P:PRF door.pole:F:CON COM=fill:3M
- ‘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) *dákw* *na/aay* *u-na* *hara=tlintíí’* *i-ri* */aa/*
 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) *Efrem* *u-na* *hara=tlintíí’* *[qaymo nga-ri* *slaw].*
 E O.M-PST COM=lean field O.3: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
 O2SG.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) kííng, hara=hi’iit 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=laqaaqan-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 *waraáhh* ‘to pass’ but with this verb, *hara* has become a bound element, a preverb of the compound verb *har(a)waraáhh*.

- (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 3 COM boys:M:3SG.POSS IPFV1: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=duuxuum* 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=nakaa/* ‘nearly come close’ and *nakaa/* ‘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’iit* which has acquired the meaning of ‘come across by change’ from *ti’iit* (‘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=xuú’* *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’	haranakaa/	‘to get close to sth.’
	ti’iit	‘to go out’	harati’iit	‘to meet by chance’
	tsoo/	‘to squeeze’	haratsoo/	‘to squeeze (for little things)’
	xuu’	‘to know’	haraxuu’	‘to be confident’
	kii/	‘to return’	harakii/	‘to come back and stay’
	tlintii’	‘to lean on sth.’	haratlintii’	‘to depend on sb.’
	faar	‘to count’	harafaar	‘to add to the number (tr.), to check family relations before marriage’
	waa/	‘to vomit’	harawaa/	‘to flood’
	waraahh	‘to pass (intr.)’	harawaraah	‘to overtake intentionally (tr.)’
	gaas	‘to kill’	haragaas	‘to mix (tr.)’
	gwaa’	‘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 *harwaraahh* ‘to go beyond, to exceed’, (25b) compared to (25a). This compound verb *har*=*waraahh* (‘go beyond’) is different from *hara*=*waraahh* (‘to overtake intentionally’).

- (25) a. a-ga har(a)=waraáhh
 1/2-PRF COM=pass:1SG/
 ‘I nearly pass.’
- b. a-ga har=waraáhh 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=tlaakw* ‘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*.

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

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

- (32) na/i’i har afiqoomár kureraá tsiyáhh ngaa ayé’,
children INS period:F:CON years:P:CON four O3:O.F:PRF go:3PL:PRF
‘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) muruú /ayma ku ii=daa'
 things:M:CON eating O3:IMPS:O.M APPL=sing
 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 iihheék baraá kuntír úr wa alé
 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 kakh-ír
 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 xasliít
 child O.M-PST APPL=whistle 3-CSEC be.quiet:3M
 'I rebuked the child and it shut up.'

- (42) i fuutl asma aa qwalaá/
 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=tsuunq* is what is spit on.

- (44) a. tsuunqaa tsuunqe baraá xooslamó
 spittle spit:TR:IMP in pot
 ‘Spit into the pot.’
 b. kaa ii=tsuúq nee dayshamo
 O.3:IMPS:O.F:PF 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 prefer *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’uus | ‘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 *sa*

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

- (46) garmoõ geera, oo baris g-a-na sa=axwees
 boy:M:CON first INDEP.CON.M first.born O3-O.F-PST APPL=negotiate:3M

 g-a-na báy
 O3-O.F-PST call:3m
 'Among those first boys, that is the eldest among them, he spoke for her saying...'

Additionally, there is limited productivity in the preverb developing negative outcome, e.g. *sa=kii/* 'to come to do harm to sb.' from *kii/* 'to return'. Similarly 'harm' is an element in *sa=kwasleemuut* 'to accuse' from *kwasleemuut* 'to hold a meeting'.

- (47) maytsír kilá' ka-na báy, kí
 cat:CON:F right O3:IMPS:O.F-PST call:3M you.F

 doóqa aayí a-na saki/
 maybe mother O.F-PST harm:2
 'Even cat was told, you maybe if you harm mother.'

Examples of the compound verbs with preverb *sa* are presented in (48).

- | | | | |
|------------------|---------------------|----------------|---|
| (48) kwasleemuut | 'to hold a meeting' | sa=kwasleemuut | 'to accuse' |
| dakuus | 'to make a mistake' | sa=dakuus | 'to make a mistake against sb.' |
| axwees | 'to talk' | sa='axwees | 'to speak as a go-between, e.g. for marriage' |
| kii/
sb.' | 'to return' | sa=kii/ | 'to come to do harm to' |
| wawiiti'iim | 'to rule' | sa=wawiiti'iim | 'to rule people' |
| maw | 'to leave' | sa=mamaw | 'to stop using for sb.'s benefit' |

It is difficult to suggest a source for the preverb *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 *giw* ‘to be dark’ yielding *saga=giw* ‘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* *tluwo-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, ...’”

- (52) *bará* *guru-eé’* *biri-nga* *sa* *geexáy,*
 in:CON stomach:M-1SG.POSS COND<3>-O3:O.F:PFV already leave:3M
- gu/a* *gaasíng* *a* *gâaro*
 swallowing thing:F-DEM2 COP thing-F-PRED:INT
 ‘If he has already left my belly swallowing is that a thing?’

- (53) *kár* *ni/i* *ni-wa* *sa* *ti’imiit-ír* *hee* *a* *hatlá’*
 well children HITH-BGND such go.out:IPFV1-3PL man COP different
- ni/i* *ki-na* *káp, káp, káp, káp* *kina*
 children O.3:IMPS:O.P-PST get:3m O3:IMPS:O.P-PST
- ohín*
 get:IPFV:3M
 ‘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 *waa*=, 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 aning wa alé
COND<1/2>cry~IPFV2:2SG 1SG ABL RESPRO
‘If you cry because of me, ...’
- b. aning b<i>r-sa waa=/aa-/aam-iín
1.SG COND<o.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* o1sg, 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’.
animals:P:CON many:P O3:O.M-PST APPL=laugh.at:3:PL:PST
‘Many animals laughed at him.’
- (53) kwa/aangw ku-na waa=qasén 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 is already present in the functions of the case clitic *wa*. The

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=tleés
 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 dír heé
 now IMPS-CSEC start place:F:CON man:M:CON
- wák ka-n wa=imu/ún.
 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 *waatlakwees* ‘admire sb.’, (57), crave for sth. (58)’. The verb *tlakwees* means ‘make bad’, verbalised from the adjective *tlakw* ‘bad’. There are quite a few compounds with adjectives and specifically with *tlakw*.

- (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* *gidaabá*
now children O3:O.F:IPV see-3P reason
- aayii-rén* *daxa* *ni* *waa=slé/*
mother:F-3PL.POSS now hith APPL=revive:3F
‘Now the children saw that their mother comes to life again.’
- (60) *Baso* *bura* *al/ág* *u* *waa=kí/*
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) <i>tlaw</i> | ‘to get up, leave’ | <i>waa=tlaw</i> | ‘to come up’ |
| <i>tlees</i> | ‘to lift’ | <i>waa=tlees</i> | ‘to lift up, to open’ |
| <i>/iis</i> | ‘to help’ | <i>waa=/iis</i> | ‘to help a cow give birth’ |
| <i>slee/</i> | ‘to cross in water’ | <i>waa=slee/</i> | ‘to revive’ (intr.) |
| <i>kii/</i> | ‘to return’ | <i>waa=kii/</i> | ‘be surprised at’ |
| <i>tlakweemiis</i> | ‘to do badly’ | <i>wa=tlakweemiis</i> | ‘to admire, crave for’ |
| <i>oh</i> | ‘to seize’ | <i>wa=yoh or hayoh</i> | ‘to appropriate, to take away by force’ |
| <i>/aa/</i> | ‘to cry’ | <i>wa=/aa/</i> | ‘to be sad about’ |
| <i>qaseem</i> | ‘to laugh’ | <i>wa=qaseem</i> | ‘to laugh about’ |
| | | <i>waa=qaa’</i> | ‘to disapprove sth/sb’ |
| | | <i>wa=‘alah</i> | ‘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 *íd=báw* 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* 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 *ad* to *oo* ‘to say’ leads to an interpretation that something particular is said.

- (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.’’

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

- (65) aakosuú dasi loó’ ku-ri
 G/father:M-DEM2:CON girl really O3:IMPS:O.M-CSEC
- ád=báy ku-ri íd=báy inós ta-na oó’
 APPL=tell:3M O3:IMPS:O.M-CSEC APPL=tell:3M 3SG IMPS-PSTsay:3M
 ‘That father of the girl was told. He was told, they said.’

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

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

The preverb *ad=* occurs in a relatively small number of verbs. The list is presented in (67).

- (67) baw ‘to tell’ ad=baw ‘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.’

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) inós i-ri ó': alee=/aa/-aak haywa'
 3SG 3-CSEC say:3F APPL=cry-IMP:PL.ADDR:TR children
 ‘She said, ‘Cry about it children.’’

(69) Ina ó', 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) nee fá/a ti alee=xwaran~xwat. g-i-ri
 with porridge.F DEP-O.P APPL=IMPV~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 benefacting or affected object. A benefacting 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’.

Thre preverb is similar in shape to the resumptive element *alé* which replaces the verb if a constituent postioned 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 *ale* 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).

- (76) i-n o', aayi 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

g-u-ri ilaa=óh
 O3-O.M-CSEC APPL=answer:3M:PST
 'Father started the song and the boys sang the refrain.'

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

i-na xaslít
 3-PST keep.quiet:3F
 'The lady did not utter anything, she kept quiet.'

- (81) na/oó saree/a na/oó diraangw ngwaa ila=kala/
 child:M:CON buffalo child:M:CON lion O3:O.M:PFV eye=kick:3M
 '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).

- (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’ ilaa=oh ‘to receive sth./sing a refrain’
iwaa/ ‘to respect, avoid’ ila=iwaa/ ‘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’ ilaa=slaw ‘to get sth by luck, reward for a finding a lost thing’
qwaarees ‘to lose/cause to perish’ ilaa=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 hhechhuuso’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=meér,
thing:F:CON white:F O3:IMPS:O.F APPL=leave.behind:3F
‘She left a white thing behind.’

- (87) bar hhawahhabá' án kuungá'
COND:1/2 go.slow:2PL 1SG 2PL

nu gee=xáw
O2PL APPL=leave.behind:1SG
'If you don't hurry, I will leave you behind.'

- (88) lawaala mu-ng-u-wa gee=xéér.
spear.F NEG-O3-O.M-BGND APPL=leave.behind:3F
'Let the spear not spare him.'

- (89) loo/írós g-aa gee=qéér.
leaf-F-3SG.POSS O3-O.F APPL=break.off:3F
'When she broke off a leaf, ...'

- (90) hara'aya ka gee=qáy
law O3:IMPS:O.F APPL=break:3M
'They broke the law.'

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 suggests 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-*.

- | | | | |
|------------|--------------|------------------|---------------------------------|
| (91) leehh | 'bring' | gee=leehh (v) | 'throw at' |
| maw | 'leave, let' | gee=maw (v) | 'set free, release, let go' |
| qaw | 'break' | gee=qaw (v) | 'break sth solid' |
| xaw | 'come' | gee=xaw (v) | 'leave behind, leave' |
| hhoo' | 'nice, good' | gee=hhoo' (adj) | 'clear, visible, open, obvious' |
| tlaakw | 'bad' | gee=tlaakw (adj) | 'invisible, obstructed' |

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.

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