The Umoⁿhoⁿ language
The applicative prefixes
Specificities of Umoⁿhoⁿ applicative constructions

Applicative prefixes in Umoⁿhoⁿ (Omaha, Siouan)

Julie Marsault
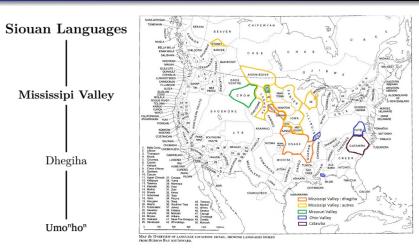
Syntax of the World Languages 8

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julie.marsault@sorbonne-nouvelle.fr

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The Umoⁿhoⁿ language (Omaha)

Siouan Languages

Mississipi Valley

Dhegiha

Umoⁿhoⁿ

MAP 1B: OVERVIEW OF LANGUAGE LOCATIONS: DETAIL, SHOWING LANGUAGES SPOKEN
FROM HUDSON BAY SOUTHWARD.

(adapted from Mithun 1999)

The Umoⁿhoⁿ language
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Umoⁿhoⁿ documentation

- Highly endangered language (speakers over 60)

- Language thoroughly documented by Rev. James O. DORSEY in the late 19th Century.
  - Glossed and translated texts translated (+800pp)
  - Manuscript dictionnary (around 18000 entries)

- Recordings and transcriptions made by Dr. Rudin in the 1990s

- Revitalization efforts in progress (lexicons, manuals)

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Main features of Umoⁿhoⁿ grammar

- Head-marker language ; no flagging. Flexible SOV order.
- Split intransitivity (A : "agent-like" ; P : "patient-like")
- No indexation of 3rd persons on the verb (except 3rd person plural object)

$$noⁿ'óⁿ$$
he/she/they heard him/her/it

- Ergative lability
- Polysynthetic features
    - Indexation of up to 2 arguments (3 in specific cases)
    - Templatic morphology with numerous derivational prefixes
    - Many morphophological changes among prefixes : merging into opaque surface forms
    - Nominal incorporation (though infrequent)

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Applicative constructions

Mithun, 2001 : "derivational processes within the verbal morphology that add a participant to the set of core arguments."

---

noⁿzhíⁿ "to stand" vs *unóⁿzhiⁿ* "to stand in"

Xthíazhi	*noⁿzhíⁿ-i-ga.*
quiet	stand-PX-IMP.M

Stand ye still (Dorsey 1890:23.19)

tizhébe	*etá*	*tʰe*	*u-nóⁿzhiⁿ*	*égoⁿ*
Door	POSS.3	the	APPL:IN-stand	as

As he stood in his door, ...(Dorsey 1890:23.19)

Umoⁿhoⁿ has morphologically distinct applicative construction markers, but some of them are polysemous.

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Applicatives in Umoⁿhoⁿ

"benefactive" ; "dative"

gí-	benefactive (+ malefactive, affectee…)
ígi-	benefactive-possessive

"locatives" ; "adverbials" ; "preverbs" (Helmbrecht 2006)

u-	locative "into" (APPL:IN) ; "about"
á-	locative "on" (APPL:SUP)
í-	locative "against/by" (APPL:AD) ; "with" (APPL:SOC)
	instrumental (APPL:INST) ; cause (APPL:CAUSE)
→ *ithá-*	(< *í-á-*)
→ *uthú-*	(< *í-u-*)

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Applicative prefix *u-*

Basic locative meaning : "in"

Locative "in" ; "inside"

Xthíazhi	*noⁿzhíⁿ-i-ga.*
quiet	stand-PX-IMP.M

Stand ye still (Dorsey 1890:23.19)

tizhébe	*etá*	*tʰe*	*u-nóⁿzhiⁿ*	*égoⁿ*
Door	POSS.3	the	APPL:IN-stand	as

As he stood in his door, ... (Dorsey 1890:23.19)

---

ubáaze	"to scare off [x] to [y]" (allative)
ubétʰoⁿ	"to wrap [x] inside [y]"
ugthíⁿ	"to sit in [x]"
utí	"to camp in [x]"

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Applicative prefix *u-* as nominalizer

The prefix *u-* also has a nominalizing function, a feature shared
with other Siouan languages (Helmbrecht 2006).

Nominalizing function

Noun		**Verb**	
ugthíⁿ	"seat"	*gthíⁿ*	"to sit"
unéthe	"firing place"	*néthe*	"to start a fire"
ukʰí	"home"	*kʰí*	"to arrive back there"
udóⁿbe	"appearence"	*dóⁿbe*	"to look at ; to see"

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Applicative prefix *á-*

> ### locative meaning : "on"
>
> | *shóⁿge* | *amá* | *nóⁿge* | *agí-i.* |
> |---|---|---|---|
> | horse | the.MOV | run | come.back-PX |
>
> "His horse was coming back running to the camp." (Dorsey 1890:464.9)
>
> | *ki* | *zhoⁿthínoⁿge-'óⁿsagi* | *mazhóⁿ* | *thoⁿ* | *á-noⁿga-i.* |
> |---|---|---|---|---|
> | and | wagon-swift | land | the.RND | APPL:SUP-run-PL |
>
> And the swift wagons run on the land (Dorsey 1891:103.01 ; my translation)

ágashoⁿ	to spill [x] on [y]
ágthiⁿ	to sit on [x] ; to mount [a horse]
ánoⁿzhiⁿ	to rain on [x]

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Applicative prefix *í-*

Productive function : instrumental applicative

ki	*wíⁿ*	*'ú-i*	*tʰe*
and	one	wound-PX	EVID

"And he wounded one slightly" (Dorsey 1890:189.9)

Moⁿ	*nóⁿba*	*í-'u-biamá*	*Moⁿchʰú.*
arrow	two	APPL:INST-wound-PX.EVID	Grizzly.Bear

He wounded the Grizzly Bear with two arrows (Dorsey 1890:46.8)

íbibthaska	to press flat [x] with [y]
íthizé	to take (=catch) [x] with [y]
íhitha	to bathe by means of [x]

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> ### Locative function "by" ; "against"
>
> | *wakóⁿdagi* | *pa-péthoⁿba* | *akʰá* | *shkóⁿ-hnoⁿ-i* | *thóⁿdi* |
> |---|---|---|---|---|
> | water.monster | head-seven | the.SG | move-HAB-PX | whenever |
>
> And whenever the Water-monster with seven heads moved, ...
> (Dorsey 1890:111.10)
>
> | *Sni<thi>t'e!* | *Péde* | *í-shkoⁿ-ga!* |
> |---|---|---|
> | <P2>cold | fire | APPL:AD-move-IMP.M |
>
> You are cold! Draw near the fire! (Dorsey's manuscript dictionary)

ígthiⁿ	to sit by/near [x]
ínoⁿzhiⁿ	to stand at [x]
íbista	to press [x] against [y]

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Link between instrumental and locative "against" senses

The locative/instrumental syncretism : some pivot constructions

Moⁿthíⁿk	*iⁿdé*	*thoⁿ*	*í-biká-bi-amá*	*ké-toⁿga*	*akʰá.*
soil	face	the.RND	APPL:AD-rub-PX-EVID	turtle-big	the.SG

[The Big Turtle] rubbed earth on his face. (Dorsey 1890:257.01)

síⁿde	*kʰe*	*noⁿbé*	*tʰe*	*í-wi- kʰoⁿtóⁿ*
tail	the.HOR	hand	the.VERT	APPL:AD-A1SG/P2- tie

te	*há*
IRR	DECL.M

I will tie your hands to his [colt] tail (Dorsey 1890:96.4-5)

The sociative meaning "together with"

[*Tanúkagaxthíxthi*]	[*waníde*]	*i-páxe*	*támiⁿkʰe.*
hamburger	gravy	APPL:SOC-A1SG.make	1SG.IRR

I will make gravy with hamburger. (Swetland 2006:2.1)

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Applicative prefix *í-*

Introducing a cause / a reason

Niníba	*háshi*	*tʰi*	*tʰóⁿ*	*é*	*í-noⁿshtóⁿ-bi-amá.*
pipe	later	arrive	the.STAND	that	APPL:CAUSE-stop-PX-EVID

They stopped, owing to the act of him who came afterwards with
the pipe. (Dorsey 1890:400.06)

oⁿwóⁿxpani	*égoⁿ,*	*tháthuha*	*ith-á- tʼe.*
P1SG.poor	as	almost	APPL:CAUSE-A1SG- die

As I am poor, I have almost died from that cause. (Dorsey
1890:504.11)

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Applicatives *ithá* and *uthú-*

Regular combination of productive applicatives

badóⁿ	*ubádoⁿ*	*uthúbadoⁿ*
to push [x]	to push [x] into [y]	to push [x] into [y] with [z]

Available definitions for *uthúbadoⁿ* :

- "use [it] to push [her/him] into [him/it]" (ULCC 2005)
- "to push in [a ball or bullet] with [a ramrod – the name of the instrument preceding the verb]" (Dorsey's manuscript dictionary)

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Regular applicative *í-* on a *u-* verb

Núgthe	*úhoⁿ-bi-amá,*		
turnip	cook-PX-EVID		
shi	*te-níxa*	*égoⁿ*	*uth-úhoⁿ-bi-amá.*
and	buffalo-pounch	like	APPL:INST-cook-PX-EVID

He cooked turnips, and he cooked a buffalo-paunch with them (Dorsey 1890:256.14)

Regular applicative *í-* on a *á-* verb

Tha-héchi	*ki,*	*í*	*tʰe*	*ágaxada-ga!*
A2-sneeze	when	mouth	the.VERT	cover-IMP.M

'Cover your mouth when you sneeze!' (Saunsoci & Eschenberg 2006:180)

Wahí	*ge*	*waíⁿ*	*ith-ágaxade*	*ihétha-bi-amá.*
bone	the.SCT	robe	APPL:INST-cover	lay.down-PX-EVID

He laid her bones down, and covered them with a robe. (Dorsey 1890:279.6)

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ithá- and *uthú-* as independant derivational prefixes?

Many verbs with *ithá-* and *uthú-* prefixes have minimal pairs but are semantically opaque :

ápe	to ask [x] to accompany one	*ithápe*	to wait for [x]
ubéthoⁿ	to wrap [x] into [y]	*ithábethoⁿ*	to wrap [x] around [y]
dóⁿbe	to look at [x]	*uthúdoⁿbe*	to examine/consider [x]
unóⁿzhiⁿ	to stand in [x]	*uthúnoⁿzhiⁿ*	to depend on [x]

Some verbs starting with the *uthú-* prefix have no minimal pairs :

- *uthúkʰoⁿpi* : be beautiful ; [x] be becoming to [y]
- *uthúkʰi* : to side with [x] ; to be an ally of [x]

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Alternative constructions

Specificities of Umoⁿhoⁿ applicative constructions

- Applicatives introducing whole clauses
- Alternative constructions
- Lexicalization and morphological restrictions

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í- introducing whole clauses

Case of *í-kuhe* "to feel fear on account of [x]"
(from *kúhe* "to feel unsecure ; to feel uncertain danger")

Introduction of NP vs clause

shóⁿ	*Wégithe-shtóⁿ*	*í-kuhe*-hnóⁿ-biamá
yet	Beggar	APPL:CAUSE-fear-HAB-PX-EVID

They were always apprehensive on account of The Beggar
(Dorsey 1890:335.3)

pási	*íⁿtexi*	*ith-á-* *kuhé*	*ha*
A1SG.drive	P1SG.DAT.difficult	APPL:CAUSE-A1SG- fear	DECL.M

It is difficult for me to drive it along, and I am apprehensive on this account.
(Dorsey 1890:755.4)

Niníba	*háshi*	*tʰi*	*tʰóⁿ*	*é*	*í-noⁿshtóⁿ*-bi-amá.
pipe	later	arrive	the.STAND	that	APPL:CAUSE-stop-PX-EVID

They stopped, owing to the act of him who came afterwards with the pipe.
(Dorsey 1890:400.06)

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í- introducing whole clauses

In some instances *í-kuhe* means "to fear that ...", introducing a clause with argument rising.

Complement clause with argument rising

ki	Póⁿka-ta	né	í-wi- kuhé.
and	Ponka-ALL	A2.go	APPL:CAUSE-A1SG/P2- fear

I am apprehensive about your going to the Ponkas. (Dorsey 1890:651.6)

óⁿ-gi-nóⁿge	ith-á- kuhé	goⁿ
APPL:SUP.P1SG-POSS-run	APPL:CAUSE-A1SG- fear	as

a-óⁿhe	ha
A1SG-flee	DECL.M

I fled as I feared that he would run over me. (Dorsey 1890:64.2)

ki	Ihoⁿktoⁿwíⁿ	tíí	thoⁿ-tá	shné	wí-koⁿbtha.
and	Yankton	village	the.RND-ALL	A2.go	A1SG/P2-want

I wish you to go to the Yankton village. (Dorsey 1890:737.4)

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í- introducing whole clauses

Summary of possible constructions with í- introducing a cause :

1. Introducing NP : "to be fearful on account of ...."
   "They were afraid on account of the Beggar."

2. Introducing clause (+NP) : "to be fearful because..."
   "He came later with a pipe, they stopped because of that."
   "I am afraid because I have difficulties in driving it."

3. Introducing clause : "to fear that..."
   "I feared that he would run over me."

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Alternative constructions

Prototypical applicative constructions have alternative syntactic constructions where the additional argument is peripheral.

Some of the Umoⁿhoⁿ applicative constructions have alternative constructions:

- Applicative í- because of
- Locative applicatives u- inessive (inside) ; á- superessive (on top) ; í- sociative (by/beside)

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Alternatives to the applicative locative constructions :

---

gthíⁿ "to sit" vs u-gthíⁿ "to sit in [x]"

gthíⁿ-bi-amá	*Wahóⁿthishíge*	*akʰá*	*uthóⁿda*	*thóⁿ-di.*
sit-PX-EVID	Orphan	the.PX	middle	the.ROUND-in

the Orphan sat in the very middle (surrounded by the people).

(Dorsey, 1890:601.16)

ki	*Kíxaxájoⁿ*	*akʰá*	*Xithá*	*áhiⁿ*	*kʰigthé*	*hiⁿ*
and	Wren	the.PX	Eagle	wing	beneath	feather

shkúbe	*thoⁿ*		*u-gthíⁿ-bi-amá.*
deep	the.ROUND		APPL:IN-sit-PX-EVID

But the Wren got under the thick feathers of the Eagle and sat
there as the Eagle flew. (Dorsey 1890:581.1)

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Various constructions with peripheral locatives :

"inside"

Wa'ú	dúba	watʰóⁿzi	tóⁿde	móⁿtʰe	xa-í,
woman	some	corn	ground	inside	bury-PL

tóⁿwoⁿ	thóⁿ-di.
village	the.RND-in

Some of the women had buried corn in the ground at the village.

(Dorsey 1890:452.4)

"on top"

Sadégthe	tʰe	ána-bi	egóⁿ	gahá	zhóⁿ-bi-amá
scaffold	the.VERT	climb-PX	as	on.top	lie-PX-EVID

He climbed the scaffold and lay on it (Dorsey 1890:619.10)

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Applicative constructions with NP expressed :

Without marking	157	84%
With *-di/-ta*	17	9%
With other markers	13	7%
Total	187	100%

Example of applicative locative argument marked

Ní	*kʰé-ta*	*ú-baazá-bi-amá.*
water	the.HOR-ALL	APPL:IN.P3PL-scare-PX-EVID

They scared them into the water. (Dorsey 1890:412.5)

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Argument marking and degree of lexicalization

Verbs with lexicalized *u-* prefix mark their locative arguments as peripheral.

thé-ge	*bthúga*	*ga-tʰe*	*édi*	*úhoⁿ-i*	*tʰe.*
DEM-the.SCT	all	DEM-the.VERT	there	P3PL.cook-PL	EVID

They cooked all the ribs and everything in there. (Rudin 1990:Two Ghosts Story)

égithe	*tébia*	*tú-xti*	*amá*	*wíⁿ*	*ní*	*xébe*
finally	frog	green-very	the.PL	one	water	shallow
kóⁿha	*kʰé-di*	*ugáha*	*góⁿ*	*gthíⁿ*	*akʰáma.*	
side	the.HOR-in	float	thus	sit	EVID	

At length a very green Frog was sitting, floating by the edge of the shallow water. (Dorsey 1890:282.03-4)

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Facultative locative arguments

uóⁿsi "to jump / to jump in [x]" (from *óⁿsi)

Ní	*kʰe*	*u<á>oⁿsi.*
water	the.HOR	<A1SG>leap

I jumped into the water. (Dorsey 1890:422.6)

Mashchíⁿge	*uóⁿsi*	*áiátha-bi-ama.*
Rabbit	leap	leavePX-EVID

The Rabbit had gone with a leap. (Dorsey 1890:36.08)

ágazhade "to make a stride / to stride over [x]"

"*Kʰé,*	*óⁿ gazháda-ga! (...)*	*á-bi-amá*	*Wés'a*	*akʰá.*
INTERJ	P1SG. stride-IMP-M	say-PX-EVID	snake	the.SG

"Come! Step over me! (...)", said the Snake. (Dorsey 1890:567.2)

ishtá	*thip'íⁿze-doⁿ*	*ágazhade*	*athá-bi-amá.*
eye	close-while	stride	go-PX-EVID

Having closed his eyes, he made a stride and departed. (Dorsey 1890:144.12)

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Summary of the lexicalization process

Fonctional applicative
ugthíⁿ
"to sit in [x]"
(from *gthíⁿ* "to sit")

$\Rightarrow$

Lexicalized verb
with appl. obj
upé
"to enter into [x]"

$\Rightarrow$

Lexicalized with
facultative appl. obj
uóⁿsi
"to jump (into [x])"

$\Rightarrow$

Lexicalized with no appl.
obj
uhóⁿ
"to cook [x]"
(the location can only be
expressed peripherally)

$\Rightarrow$

Lexicalized with
opaque meaning
unábthiⁿ
"to sweat"

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Abbreviations

A	Agent marker	INTERJ	interjection
AD	adessive ("by")	IRR	irrealis
ALL	allative	M	masculine
APPL	applicative	MOV	moving
DAT	dative	RND	round
DECL	declarative	P	Patient marker
DEM	demonstrative	POSS	possessive
EVID	evidential	PX	proximate
F	feminine	SCT	scattered
HAB	habitual	SOC	societive ("with")
HOR	horizontal	STAND	standing
IN	inessive ("in")	SUP	superessive ("on")
INST	instrumental	VERT	vertical