

Abstract: Canonical and Non-canonical Applicatives in Waray

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Waray is the mother tongue and language of wider communication for most inhabitants of Samar, Eastern Leyte, and parts of Biliran islands in the Eastern Visayas region of the Philippines. With over three million speakers, it is the sixth most widely spoken language in the country. In this paper, we document two applicative processes, both of which have canonical and non-canonical applicative functions.

First, we show that Waray verb morphology includes two productive stem-forming affixes, *-an* and *i-*, with canonical valence increasing applicative functions (see, e.g., Polinsky 2013, Peterson 2007, Dixon & Aikhenvald 2000). Next, we show that between them, these applicative affixes have at least five non-canonical functions: 1) An applicative affix is required in the basic transitive form of some verbs. 2) The *i-* prefix always indicates that there is a beneficiary or recipient in the scene being expressed, but without necessarily changing the basic case frame of the verb. 3) The *-an* applicative may indicate that the patient argument is only partially affected, again without changing the case frame of the verb. 4) There is an "adversative" use of the *-an* suffix, in which the absolute argument is someone adversely affected by the situation described in the clause. Finally, 5) there is an "evaluative" usage of the *-an* suffix, e.g.

- (1) Nahúhusáyan hi Pedro ha íya. 'Pedro considers her beautiful'.
na-RED1-husay-an
R.HAP-IMPERF-beautiful ABS.PERS Pedro LOC 3SG

Non-canonical applicative functions similar to 1-4 are attested in the world's languages (see, e.g., Pacchiarotti, 2017, Peterson, 2007). As far as we are aware, however, the evaluative function is not attested outside of the Philippines. Our conclusion is that the overarching function of the *-an* applicative is to "deflect" the transitivity of the situation to an alternative central participant. This general function encompasses all the usages of *-an*, including the evaluative function.

References

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