

6 Applicatives in Toba/Qom (Guaykuruan)

Abstract: Toba or *Qom l'aqtaqa* (T/Q) is a polysynthetic Guaykuruan language spoken mainly in the Argentinean Chaco region. It lacks morphological case marking and adpositions; instead, the role of the unmarked NPs is either specified by the lexical meaning of the verb or encoded via applicativization. There are twelve applicative verbal suffixes: five with a locative meaning, four with a goal/directional one, and three that encode benefaction, reception, and accompaniment, respectively. Whether valency-increasing or valency-re-arranging, applicativization introduces applied arguments as core P arguments (as seen in number agreement and constituent order patterns, as well as in topicalization and its consequences for coordination and subordination pivots). When used with transitive roots/bases, applicatives do not add a third argument but change the meaning expressed by the verb, allowing a different semantic role from the one specified in the verbal root/base. T/Q is a beneficiary-prominent language: whenever the speaker wants to highlight the benefit that a non-subject participant gets through the verbal event, that participant will be encoded as a beneficiary. Serial verb constructions seem to be the origin of applicatives, and the grammaticalization processes undergone by the latter—in coexisting stages of evolution—show plausible routes for pragmatic morphology.

1 Introduction

1.1 The language

Toba or *Qom l'aqtaqa*¹ is a Guaykuruan language spoken mainly in the Argentinean Chaco region (Chaco, Formosa, and Salta provinces) and in some important southern cities, such as Rosario, Santa Fe and the surroundings of Buenos Aires. The latest population census estimates that Toba/Qom (T/Q) people in Argentina approaches 126,967 (INDEC 2012), whereas 2,057 live in Paraguay (DGEEC 2013).² In rural settings, T/Q is often the first language that children learn at home, while in large cities, a process of displacement in favor of Spanish is observed. This process involves different commu-

1 *Qom/qoml'ek/qomlashe* and *qom l'aqtaqa* are the endogenous ethnonyms ('people/person.M/person.F') and glottonym ('the language of the People') known in the ethnographic and linguistic literature as *Toba language* and *Toba people*, respectively.

2 Since national population censuses are carried out every 10 years in Argentina, the figures mentioned here are outdated, because the 2020 National Census was suspended due to the COVID-19 pandemic disease.

nicative competences within the indigenous language, according to biographical trajectories, even among speakers of the same age living in the same community (Censabella 2009a: 167).

The glottonyms *Toba*, *Qom*, or *Qom l'aqtaqa*³ are used in linguistic studies to refer to a set of related varieties that belong to the Guaykuruan linguistic family (together with Mocoví, Pilagá, Caduveo, and the extinct Abipón and Mbayá; Tovar and Larrucea Tovar 1984). The language is catalogued as tob (ISO 639–3) and toba1269 (Glottolog 4.5). T/Q presents the largest number of linguistic and sociolinguistic studies within the mentioned linguistic family.⁴ T/Q speakers—as well as linguists (Klein 1981)—identify four main dialects in Province of the Chaco in Argentina: *lañagashék*, *noʔolgranaq*, *rapigem-lʔek*, and *takshek*, all mutually intelligible. In this chapter, clauses from the three first mentioned dialects are used.⁵

3 The phoneme inventory of T/Q is shown below. The bracketed graphemes are the ones used in this paper.

	labial	alveolar	pre-palatal	palatal	velar	uvular	glottal
plosives	p	t	tʃ <ch>		k	q	ʔ
voiceless frict.		s	ʃ <sh>				h
voiced frict.			ʒ		ɣ <g>	ʁ <g>	
laterals		l		ʎ <ll>			
semi-con.	w			j <y>			
tap		r <r>					
nasals	m	n		ɲ <ñ>			

	front	back
close	i	o
open	e	a

4 For T/Q reference grammars, Buckwalter (1980), Klein (1981), Censabella (2002), Messineo (2003), Carpio (2012), Cúneo (2013), González (2015), and Zurlo (2016a–b). For sociolinguistic aspects, see Bigot (2007); Censabella (2009a), Hecht (2010), and Medina (2017). There are few studies on grammatical features—Avellana (2012, 2013); Avellana and Dante (2013); Censabella (2015); Zurlo (2013, 2016a)—and discourse issues—Zurlo and Censabella (2014)—related to Spanish in contact with T/Q, and even fewer about the influence of Spanish on T/Q—González and Censabella (2009); González (2013a) (the list is not exhaustive)—. For comparative studies of Guaykuruan languages in some grammatical domains, see Carpio and Mendoza (2018) and Carpio (2018); for comparative studies of Guaykuruan and Mataguayan languages, see Censabella and Terraza (2009), Vidal (2010), Messineo, Carol and Klein (2016); and for comparative studies of Guaykuruan and Tupi-Guaraní languages, see Carpio, González, and Mendoza (2021).

5 Current T/Q linguistic varieties' names are related to a non-linguistic denomination system composed of traditional demonyms, cardinal points, and names of ecological regions. According to Braunstein and Miller (1999), T/Q dialectal varieties relate to local groups of extended families or bands, and to tribes (conceived as groups of bands); following Mendoza (1999), the bands were identified by other groups with a proper name. In the ethnographic literature written in Spanish, these demonyms are called *par-*

1.2 Brief typological sketch

T/Q is a polysynthetic language with non-rigid word order (mainly VS, AVO, and OVA when O is pronominal), head marking, a verb-noun opposition, and an alienable-inalienable possession distinction. T/Q lacks an adjectival class of words, and also lacks both morphological case marking and adpositions; instead, it has unflagged NPs whose role is specified either by the lexical meaning of the verb or encoded via applicativization. T/Q displays four types of nominal categorization: nominal classes or “gender”, nominal classifiers (i.e., derivational morphemes that indicate the shape of objects encoded as deverbal nouns), possessive classifiers, and demonstrative or deictic classifiers. The expression of number in nouns combines a category of morphological number (singular and plural) with one of collectives and another of distributives; dual number is marked syntactically.

The verb system is organized in an active-middle opposition for all persons (Table 1). The verbal lexicon is accordingly divided into three main groups:

- (i) *active tantum* verbs, which occur only with the active voice marker (e.g., *rke?e* ‘s/he eats’, *ro?oche* ‘s/he sleeps’, *hek* ‘s/he goes’);
- (ii) *media tantum* verbs, which occur only with the middle voice marker (e.g., *nachel* ‘s/he bathes’, *niyin* ‘s/he cries’), and

cialidades and *nacionalidades*—nationalities—by T/Q people. For a semasiological analysis of the most used demonyms see Censabella (2002, 2009); Gordillo (1992), de la Cruz (1995) and Mendoza (2002) list and locate the bands at the end of 19th century as they were mentioned in the historical records and contemporary T/Q oral narratives. *lañagashék* (‘sth./sb. related to *lañaga* [= dry land]’) designates an ecological region with that specific characteristic, not a particular region in the map. *No?olgranaq* refers the band of the Roosters (cf. *olegra* ‘rooster’), usually located in the north-center of the Chaco province, and *rapigeml?ek* ‘the man from the region where the land touches the sky’ (cf. *pigem* ‘sky’) refers to the western region of the province where the land smoothly rises to the western mountains. Finally, *takshek* (‘sth./sb. related to *tageñi* [= east]’) refers to a huge region towards the east of the Chaco region, along the Paraguay and Paraná rivers. Migration to bigger cities in Chaco Province and settlement in suburban areas since the 1960’s, in different and constant waves, have weakened the differences within the varieties, although some older speakers still know the demonyms system of ancient neighbors and are able to identify the phonological and lexical differences between some varieties. Some syntactic differences between the varieties show different stages of grammaticalization processes and different contact drifts in the verbal alignment and number systems, causative constructions, and uses of pragmatic particles. No in-depth dialectological studies have been made; nevertheless, Censabella’s (2002) reference grammar—mainly focusing on the *rapigeml?ek* syntax—presents phonological differences between a small sample of *no?olgranaq* speakers born in Pampa del Indio (Chaco), *lañagashék* speakers born in Colonia Aborigen (Chaco), and *takshek* speakers living in Misiones Tacuaglé (Formosa). González (2015) specifically studies the phonology, morphology, and syntax of the *takshek* variety. Carpio (2012) studies the variety spoken by Western Tobas or *ñachilamole?k*, which is closer to Pilagá. Messineo (2014: 19, 22) provides maps with regions inhabited by Qom people in Argentina, as well as the areas covered by the four main dialects in Chaco Province.

- (iii) a large group of verb roots and bases that can take either marker (e.g., *iyó* 's/he washes sth./sb.' vs. *nyó* 's/he bathes'; *parenagan* 's/he jumps' vs. *nparenagan* 's/he jumps willingly'; *yawan* 's/he sees, knows sth.' vs. *nawan* 's/he watches sth.', *yapagagen* 'teaches sb.' vs. *napagagen* 's/he studies', *imen* 's/he sells sth.' vs. *n-men* 's/he buys sth.'; *iro* 's/he takes sth., herds [animals]' vs. *nro* 's/he brings sth., herds [animals] for him, he is the owner of the herd'.

The middle voice participates in the same syntactic processes as the active voice, that is, transitivity alternations or adjustments which increase syntactic valence as applicativization and causativization, as well as valency decrease adjustments such as impersonal passive, reflexive, and reciprocal constructions.⁶ Further, the active voice shows a split for the third person, used to distinguish actions, events, different kinds of processes, and states. With non-derived verbs, the third personal marker *i-* appears with canonical transitive verbs and indexes the A argument; the complete clause requires plain or pronominal A and P arguments,⁷ with or without applicatives. The personal markers *r-*, \emptyset -, *t-*, and *w-* indexes the S argument, and they can appear in monovalent intransitive clauses, but also with an intransitive verb plus an applicative. Thus, the active voice shows a split alignment system based on person hierarchy: nominative-accusative (A=S≠P) between speech act participants (1st and 2nd person singular and plural), and a tripartite system (A≠S≠P) with splits in the S argument with the 3rd person singular and plural. Furthermore, a small number of verbal roots show an active-inactive alignment system, not verified in all varieties, and mainly used for 1st person singular and plural.

⁶ In previous studies, personal indexes shown in Table 1 were interpreted as morphemes encoding two grammatical notions: a personal index plus the orientation of the event. The latter was interpreted as: towards outside vs. towards inside (Buckwalter 1980), non-ad-corporeal vs. ad-corporeal action (Klein 1981), and centrifugal vs. centripetal movement (Bigot 1994). Following Benveniste (1966[1950]) and Kemmer (1993), Censabella (1998, 2002) proposes an active-middle voice opposition in T/Q; the ad-corporeal or centripetal movement meanings are subsumed in more general semantic features allowed by the middle voice, in which the S/A arguments are semantically interpreted as affected, receiving a benefit, or emotionally engaged while performing the event encoded by the verb. Zurlo (2016a), following Klaiman (1991), Kemmer (1993) and Creissels (2006, 2007), proposes that T/Q shows a "basic voice" system (viz., having active and middle voices) characterized by the following: (i) the verbal lexicon is organized into three verb classes (invariant active, invariant middle, and alternate); (ii) within the alternate verb class, which has the highest number of items, the middle markers are related to intransitive meanings, but not exclusively, because T/Q uses a significant number of alternate transitive verbal roots and bases and full P arguments with middle voice markers; (iii) the middle markers also encode different classes of atelic, non-punctual, irrealis or future meanings; and (iv) middle markers encode specific meanings that vary from one language to another but are similar in considering the logical subject as the principal locus of the denoted event.

⁷ S and A personal index prefixes (Table 1 and Figure 1) are obligatory in well-constructed verbal syntagms. Plain (lexical or full pronominal) S or A are not obligatory; they are used with pragmatic functions.

Table 1: Active and middle voice personal markers.

	Active voice	Middle voice
1SG	<i>s-</i>	<i>ñ-</i>
2SG	<i>aw-</i>	<i>an-</i>
3SG	<i>i-; r-; Ø-; t-; w-</i>	<i>n-</i>
1PL	<i>s...q</i>	<i>ñ...q</i>
2PL	<i>qaw...i</i>	<i>qan...i</i>
3PL	<i>i...ʔ; r...ʔ; -...ʔ; t...ʔ; w...ʔ</i>	<i>n...ʔ</i>

T/Q does not have tense; rather, it shows an aspectual system consisting of an obligatory perfective-imperfective opposition for all verbs, with other aspectual markers distributed in different semantic fields. There is verbal number, and the language does not have converbs. T/Q also possesses a rich locative- and directional-marking system with different functional slots in the verb complex. In these two paradigms, morphemes of one set operate as applicatives that increase or re-arrange transitivity, while morphemes of the other set have semantic functions different from valency and voice change. Both paradigms can co-occur in the verbal syntagm (cf. § 2). Valency changes are expressed by derivational and syntactic mechanisms, the former in causative and antipassive constructions and the latter in applicative and non-promotional passive constructions.⁸

The gray columns in Figure 1 show the minimal obligatory templatic slots that a well-formed verb form must contain: a portmanteau morpheme encoding the S/A personal index and the category of voice (cf. Table 1), the verbal root, a marker specifying person and number of the S/A, and an aspectual marker (unmarked perfective, imperfective progressive *-tak*, and imperfective continuous *-ta*).

IMPRS	Voice + S/A person index	Derivational prefixes	Verbal root	CAUS/ANTIP/ FACT derivational morphemes	S/A index (plural only)	Aspect	RECP/REFL	Verbal number	Locative / directional	Applicative	P number
Verbal prefixes		Lexical base			Verbal suffixes						

Figure 1: Verbal slots in T/Q.

To better understand the functions of applicatives and some lexicalization processes, it is convenient to distinguish the lexical from the syntactic areas in T/Q verbs. The second segment of 1st- and 2nd-plural discontinuous indexes clearly separate the lexical base

⁸ This typological sketch and the rest of the chapter is based on Censabella (2002, 2006a, 2006b, 2007, 2008, 2010, 2018), Carpio (2007, 2012), Carpio and Censabella (2010), González (2010a, 2010b, 2013b, 2016a, 2016b), Zurlo (2011, 2016b, 2019), and Zurlo and Censabella (2013).

from the verbal suffixes; this boundary does not exist for the 1st-, 2nd- or 3rd-singular indexes. The lexical base area contains, apart from the verbal root, unfrequently a derivational prefix, and usually derivational morphemes that increase transitivity (viz., different types of causatives) or reduce it (e.g., the antipassive). One of these derivational morphemes, *-agan*, is a sort of transitivity operator, which increases or reduces the number of core arguments that the base lexical root specifies. The causative derivational morphemes used in this slot encode different types of causatives with instrumental, intentional direct and intentional indirect causation, and a non-intentional or non-human direct causation; these morphemes can co-occur.⁹ Examples (1)–(3) show the boundaries between derivational and syntactic areas that 1st- and 2nd-plural discontinuous morphemes distinguish inside the verb form.

- (1) a. *i-nan-tak* *na* *l-ʔaganagat*¹⁰
 3TR-roll.up-PROG DEM 3POSS-rope
 ‘S/he is rolling up her/his rope.’
 b. *se-nan-aq-tak* *na* *qar-ʔaganagat*
 1PL-roll.up-1PL-PROG DEM 1PL.POSS-rope
 ‘We are rolling up our rope.’
- (2) a. *se-men-aq-tak* *a-so* *npaqta-pi*
 1PL-exchange-1PL-PROG F-DEM basket-COLL
 ‘We are selling baskets.’
 b. *se-men-agan-aq-tak* *qoʔollaga*
 1PL-exchange-ANTIP-1PL-PROG long.time.ago
 ‘We were selling in those days (we used to sell for a living).’

⁹ Examples (i) and (ii) below show two and three derivational morphemes in the verb form, respectively. A double and triple gloss line is added to better understand the derivational process.

- (i) *se-kag-aqt-agan-aq-tak*
 1PL-[be.broken-INSTR]-ANTIP-1PL-PROG
 1PL-break-ANTIP-1PL-PROG
 ‘We are breaking (INTR).’
- (ii) *se-kag-aqt-agan-agan-aq-tak* *a-so* *ʔalo*
 1PL-[be.broken-INSTR]-ANTIP]-CAUS-1PL-PROG F-DEM woman
 1PL-[break-ANTIP]-CAUS-1PL-PROG
 ‘We are making/ordering (TR) that woman to break (INTR).’

¹⁰ The examples presented in this chapter were mainly obtained by elicitation techniques and from narrative texts, collected and translated by the author, except where indicated otherwise. For expository reasons, some sentences have been simplified, testing their acceptability with two T/Q consultants by elicitation techniques.

- (3) *qoʔomi s-alekten-agan-aga-ʔa so towe*
 PRO.1PL 1PL-mix-ANTIP-1PL-APPL:ALL DEM salt
 ‘We mix things with salt.’

2 Applicative morphology

T/Q distinguishes two paradigms of verbal morphemes; one encodes a) LOCATIVE OR DIRECTIONAL NOTIONS and the other encodes b) LOCATIVE, DIRECTIONAL AND OTHER FUNCTIONAL NOTIONS, as shown in Tables 2 and 3 and discussed in 2.1 and 2.2, respectively. The latter behave as applicatives, increasing valency or re-arranging transitivity, while the former modify the verbal semantics without an applicative function. Morphemes from both paradigms can co-occur in the verbal syntagm; the functional slots occupied by each one are represented in Figure 1 above.

2.1 Locative-directional non-applicative verbal suffixes

Table 2: Locative-directional non-applicative morphemes in T/Q.

<i>-ñi</i>	‘down(wards)’
<i>-shegem</i>	‘up(wards)’
<i>-som</i>	‘to the water’
<i>-wo</i>	‘in(side)’
<i>-wek</i>	‘out(side), to an open space’

With movement verbs, these morphemes indicate the direction of movement (4b, c, d).

- (4) a. *se-parenagan* b. *se-parenagaa-ñi*
 1-jump 1-jump-L/D:down
 ‘I jump.’ ‘I jump down.’
 c. *se-parenagaa-shegem* d. *se-parenagaa-som*
 1-jump-L/D:up 1-jump-L/D:to.water
 ‘I jump up.’ ‘I jump into the water.’

With stative constructions, these morphemes indicate location, as seen in (5)–(6).

- (5) *we-ta-wo* *ʒe* *nogotole-k*
 3INTR-go¹¹-L/D:in DEM child-M
 ‘The boy is inside.’ (inside his mother’s belly)

- (6) *we-ta-wek* *ra* *shiyagawa*
 3INTR-go-L/D:out DEM person
 ‘This person is naked.’

With intransitive or transitive verbal roots or bases, L/D morphemes do not increase valency and are therefore not applicatives, at least in the studied varieties of T/Q language.¹² In (7), the verb root ‘to push’ is transitive and the L/D marker neither demands the incorporation of a new argument nor re-arranges the function of the previous arguments; instead, the L/D marker—via its own semantics or with the co-occurrence of other morphological categories—modifies the meaning of the VP, as is clearly shown in Example (8b), or in Example (9a) when contrasted with (9c). Notice that the process of lexicalization between the verb root and the L/D marker is still weak, because the S/A 1PL index is located between the verb root and the L/D marker, as seen in examples (9b) and (9d).¹³ Most L/D morphemes are grammaticalized nouns, and some probable clines could be the following: *l-awo* ‘his/her family’ > *-wo* ‘into’; *pigem* ‘sky’ > *-shegem* ‘upwards’; *ñi* is a deictic demonstrative meaning ‘sitting, lean on’¹⁴ and the likely origin of *-ñi* ‘down’.

- (7) a. *ʔam* *y-amaq*
 PRO.2 3TR-push
 ‘S/he pushes you.’
 b. *ʔam* *y-amag-awo*
 PRO.2 3TR-push-L/D:in
 ‘S/he pushes you inside (the house, a place).’
 c. *ʔam* *y-amag-awek*
 PRO.2 3TR-push-L/D:out
 ‘S/he pushes you outside (the house, a place).’

¹¹ In Examples (5) and (6), stativity arises from the combination of the 3rd-person index *w-* and the movement verb *-ta* ‘to go’ (cf. the 3rd-person index split in Table 1).

¹² Calqued clauses from Spanish in elicitation sessions could give the impression of L/D argument incorporation, but this behavior is not corroborated in narrative or conversational T/Q texts.

¹³ Some fully lexicalized L/D markers are found in nouns or attributive constructions: *ʒoʔogoñi* ‘dawn’, *naloñi* ‘frost’, *rapaqñi* ‘s/he has a fever’ / ‘it is hot’.

¹⁴ This demonstrative is used prototypically with animals in stand-up position (leaned on the four legs), but also with objects which lay on the ground, such as houses or cooking pots with supports.

Table 3: Applicative morphemes in T/Q.

SUBTYPE	BASIC SEMANTIC ROLE	OTHER SEMANTIC ROLES	APPL		MEANING	P.PL3 ¹⁵
			MORP HEME	ALLO MORP HS		
LOCATIVE (STATIVE)	location	animate goal /others	-lek	-leg -lge -ek	‘over’	-te
		animate goal/ beneficiary	-ʔot	-ot	‘under’	-oʔ
		animate goal	-gi		‘against / (on the) side’	-lo
		—	-igi		‘inside’	-lo
DIRECTIONAL	inanimate goal/source	—	-ta		‘to the other side’	-lo
		animate moving goal	-ge		‘moving away’	-lo
		human goal /source	-get		‘approaching’	-oʔ
		animate goal	-sop		‘around’	-oʔ
		animate goal /others	-ʔa	-a -ya	‘to’	-lo
BENEFACTIVE/ MALEFACTIVE	beneficiary /maleficiary	involuntary causer	-em	-tem -am -om	‘for’	-a
TRANSFER	recipient		-i		‘to’	-lo
COMITATIVE	co-agent		-eʔ		‘with’	-oʔ

Unlike the examples in the previous sub-section, where the addition of L/D morphemes to a base clause (BC) does not require an obligatory P argument, the main syntactic function of applicativization is shown in example (11b), where a locative argument is required in the applicative clause (AC), and in (11c), which is ungrammatical.

- (11) a. *ramaze* Ø-kewo-tak
PRO.3 3INTR-walk-PROG
‘He is walking.’ (BC)
- b. *ramaze* Ø-kewo-tag-elek *ra* *noʔonaga*
PRO.3 3INTR-walk-PROG-APPL:over DEM field
‘He is walking over the field.’ (AC)
- c. **ramaze* kewotagelek

¹⁵ When the applied P is plural, number agreement is marked after the applicative, as shown in (45c).

The twelve applicative markers stand in complementary distribution in all studied T/Q varieties: five with a locative meaning, four with a goal/directional meaning, and three that encode benefaction, reception, and accompaniment, respectively. All applicatives co-occur with active and middle personal indexes, but the following sub-sections show all 3rd-person indexes in active and middle voice only for the locative applicative *-lek*, due to space limitations. Other alternations will be presented in Section 4.

2.2.1 Locative applicative *-lek* ('over')

- (12) a. *we-ta-lek* *ñi* *ñigellaq*
 3INTR-go-APPL:over DEM roof
 'S/he is over the roof.'
- b. *t-alek* *a-ñi* *qoma?*
 3INTR-go.APPL:over F-DEM mountain
 'S/he climbs the mountain.'
- c. *somaʒe* *Ø-pe-lek* *a-na* *ʔalwa*
 PRO.3 3INTR-step-APPL:over F-DEM land
 'He steps over the land.'
- d. *r-an-aga-lge-te* *na-wa* *noʔonaga-ʒe*
 3INTR-give-ANTIP-APPL:over-P.PL DEM-DL field-PL
 'S/he plants the fields.' (Buckwalter 1980: 19)
- (13) a. *a-so* *Nsogoj* *ʔam* *y-amaq*
 F-DEM cannibal[F] PRO.2 3TR-throw/push
 'The cannibal woman pushes you.' (BC)
- b. *a-so* *Nsogoj* *ʔam* *y-amag-alek* *ʒe* *le?*
 F-DEM cannibal[F] PRO.2 3TR-throw/push-APPL:over DEM ember
 'The cannibal woman pushes you over the ember.' (AC)
- (14) *no-wir-añi* *ñi* *Dios*,
 3MID-arrive-L/D:down DEM God
n-ahañi-ta-lek *ra* *Resistencia*
 3MID-fell.down-CONT-APPL:over DEM R.
 'God comes down, he is tilting over Resistencia (city).'

2.2.2 Locative applicative *-ʔot* ('under')

- (15) a. *ñi* *qagesaq* *we-to-ʔot* *a-ra* *ipaq*
 DEM ant 3INTR-go-APPL:under F-DEM tree
 'The ant is under the tree.'

- b. *r-ewagay-ot* *se?eso* *qoma?*
 3INTR-shelter-APPL:under DEM.PRON stone/mountain
 ‘S/he shelters under that stone.’

2.2.3 Locative applicative *-gi* (‘[in]side / against / lean on’)

- (16) *Ferocho* *Ø-keta-gi* *na* *awyaq*
 F. 3INTR-walk-APPL:side DEM forest
 ‘Ferocho walks in/by the forest.’

The examples in (17) show that the applicatives are frequently used to adapt the semantic specification of the verbal base to allow for the application of a different semantic role of the P argument. In (17a), the verbal base *-wagan* selects a human or animate entity to fulfill the P argument while in (17b) the applicative allows a prototypical inanimate patient to fulfill that function.

- (17) a. *i-wag-an* *so* *l-qaya*
 3TR-hand/fist-VBLZ DEM 3POSS-brother
 ‘S/he hits his brother.’ (BC)
- b. *i-wag-an-gi* *a-na* *lacampana*
 3TR-hand/fist-VBLZ-APPL:side F-DEM bell
 ‘S/he hits (on) the bell.’ (AC)
- (18) *y-aa-ta-gi* *ra* *l-qayk* *a-ka* *l-asoge?*
 3TR-hold-CONT-APPL:side DEM 3POSS-head F-DEM 3POSS-bag
 ‘She holds on her head the bag.’

2.2.4 Locative applicative *-igi* (‘inside’)

This applicative is found with locative meaning, without a secondary animate-goal meaning.

- (19) *Ø-chek-tak* *ne?ena* *w-aygi* *na* *awyaq*
 3INTR-eat-PROG P.PRON 3INTR-go.APPL:inside DEM forest
 ‘S/he is eating this which it is inside the forest.’
- (20) a. *Juan* *ro-ʔon-aga-tak*
 J. 3INTR-sing-ANTIP-PROG
 ‘Juan is singing.’ (BC)

- b. *Juan ro-ʔon-aga-ta-ygi* *ñi l-ma?*
 J. 3INTR-sing-ANTIP-CONT-APPL:inside DEM 3POSS-home
 'Juan is singing inside his home.' (AC)

2.2.5 Goal/directional applicative *-ta* ('to the other side')

Probably due to different paths of grammaticalization of the verbal root *-ta* 'to go' in serial verb constructions (§ 5), this locative applicative, or trajectory applicative—used to express the notion of crossing a creek, river, or lagoon—shows a relatively low type frequency but an extremely low token frequency: it is the less frequent of all applicatives in the analyzed corpora. The fact that it frequently co-occurs with the expression *ra leʔego qaʔim/lapel/tala?* 'this side (of) the *estero* / lagoon / big river' (21b–c) possibly indicates the development of a process of desemantization, at least in the varieties studied so far.

- (21) a. *saga-ta* *na qaʔim*
 1PL.go.1PL-APPL:other.side DEM shallow.lagoon
 'We go to the other side of the *estero*.'
- b. *ño-wir-aga-ta* *na leʔego na tala*
 1PL.MID-arrive-1PL-APPL:other.side DEM side DEM Paraná.river
 'We arrive to this side of the Paraná river.'
 (Buckwalter 1980: 80)
- c. *y-ashike-ta* *ra leʔego na ʔetagat*
 3TR-go.straight-APPL:other.side DEM side DEM water
 'S/he goes straight across the water.'
 (Buckwalter 1980: 192)

2.2.6 Goal/directional applicative *-ge* ('moving away')

This applicative—as well as its opposite *-get* (§ 2.2.7)—shows traces of serial verb construction and grammaticalization processes in progress. In (22a), the applied P simply refers to the locative goal; in (22b), with two animate arguments, the directional meaning must be interpreted as A going behind P, which is moving away from A. In (22c), P is the source of the event coded by the predicate.

- (22) a. *se-wir-age* *ra Salta*
 1-arrive-APPL:away DEM S.
 'I (will) arrive to Salta [Province].' (S is far away from Salta)

- b. *ayim sa-ta-te-ge a-na potay*
 PRO.1 1-go-CONT-APPL:away F-DEM antbear
 'I'm going towards (chasing) the antbear (which is running away from me).'
- c. *na laʔat i-chigoʔo-ge na tohlek ʔalwa*
 DEM wind 3TR-come-APPL:away DEM desert
 'The wind comes from the desert.'

2.2.7 Goal/directional applicative -get ('approaching')

Apart from the directional use with the 'approaching' meaning (23b), this applicative indicates the source with 'come'-type verbs, as in (24).

- (23) a. *r-alako ñi pioq*
 3INTR-bark DEM dog
 'The dog barks.' (BC)
- b. *r-alakoi-get na shiyagawa-pi so pioq*
 3INTR-bark-APPL:approach DEM person-COLL DEM dog
 'It barks—while approaching—to the people, that dog.' (AC)
- (24) *Rosa Merino i-chigoʔo-get na rokshe*
 R. M. 3TR-come-APPL:approach DEM non.indigenous.person
 'Rosa Merino comes from the *criollos*.' (Her family is not indigenous.)

2.2.8 Goal/directional applicative -sop ('around')

This applicative introduces an argument that represents an object, a person, or a geographical space around which an animate S/A argument circles. Example (25b) shows the lexical productivity of this type of applicative.

- (25) a. *we-tai-sop ñi noyik*
 3INTR-go-APPL:around DEM house
 'It [an animal] is/lives around the house.'
- b. *ramaze ya-koo-sop so nogotolek*
 PRO.3 3INTR-grab-APPL:around DEM boy
 'He embraces the boy.'
- c. *[so qañagaʔe-ʔ]... Ø-qolee-tege-sop-o?*
 DEM scavenger.bird-PL 3INTR-spin-PROG-APPL:around-P.PL
kenaga so-m Nsogoy-k
 ADV DEM-TOP cannibal-M
 'He always circles around the two scavenger birds, that cannibal man. . .'

2.2.9 Allative applicative -ʔa

This applicative can introduce an argument with the role of a goal, either inanimate (26b) or animate/human (27b):

- (26) a. *so Pedro i-ro-wo so l-yalek*
 DEM P. 3TR-take-L/D:in DEM 3POSS-son
 ‘Pedro takes inside (the house/a place) his son.’ (BC)
- b. *i-ro-w-ʔa ñi loh-pital so l-yalek*
 3TR-take-L/D:in-APPL:ALL DEM hospital DEM 3POSS-son
 ‘He takes his son to the hospital.’ (AC)
- (27) a. *so jale i-wir-ewo ñi noyik*
 DEM man 3TR-arrive-L/D:in DEM house
 ‘The man arrives inside the house.’ (BC)
- b. *so jale i-wir-ew-ʔa a-ra ʔalo*
 DEM man 3TR-arrive-L/D:in-APPL:ALL F-DEM woman
 ‘The man arrives to(wards) the woman.’ (AC) (Sp. ‘llega a/hasta la mujer’)

In some cases, there is no clear distinction in semantic roles that could explain the use of the applicative marker, and the relevant factor seems to be rather the inherent nature of the participant fulfilling a given role, but additional data would be necessary before discussing a possible generalization. In (28), for instance, the verb *-wen* ‘to need’ takes, when applicativized, an object that is apparently to be used as an instrument or raw material in an implicit future event:

- (28) a. *i-wen ka l-maʔ*
 3TR-need DEM 3POSS-home
 ‘S/he needs a place to live’ (BC)
- b. *i-wen-ʔa a-ka lagaray l-awe*
 3TR-need-APPL:ALL F-DEM palm tree 3POSS-leaf
 ‘S/he needs a palm leaf (to make baskets).’ (AC)

By a related token, the verb *-pot* means ‘to touch or to step on (with the sole of the foot or the palm of the hand and the nails)’; its expected P arguments are ‘soil’, ‘land’, ‘water’ and ‘sand’, as in (29a). Nevertheless, non-expected Ps, such as someone’s neck in (29b), require the use of the applicative:¹⁶

¹⁶ Although a possessive construction is involved in (29b), it would not be correct to consider it an example of external possession.

- (29) a. *i-pot a-na ʔalwa*
 3TR-touch F-DEM land/soil
 ‘S/he touches the soil.’ (BC)
- b. *i-pot-ew-ʔa a-so Ana l-qosot*
 3TR-touch-L/D:in-APPL:ALL F-DEM A. 3POSS-neck
 ‘S/he touches Ana’s neck.’ (AC)

2.2.10 Benefactive/malefactive applicative -ʔem

The beneficiary (30) or maleficiary (31) interpretation of the P introduced by this applicative results from the semantics of the verbal root/base. This marker can also introduce an involuntary cause, as in (32b) and (33b).

- (30) a. *ramaʒe do-ʔon-agan*
 PRO.3 3INTR-sing¹⁷-ANTIP
 ‘He sings.’ (BC)
- b. *ayim do-ʔon-agan-em*
 PRO.1 3INTR-sing-ANTIP-APPL:BEN
 ‘He sings for me.’ (AC)
- (31) *ayim i-lla-peg-em ra y-aqtak*
 PRO.1 3TR-forbid-REP-APPL:BEN DEM 1POSS-word
 ‘S/he always forbids me to talk / my speech.’
- (32) a. *ramaʒe Ø-keʔemaq*
 PRO.3 3INTR-be.wounded
 ‘He is wounded.’ (BC)
- b. *aw-keʔemag-am so l-kat*
 2-be.wounded-APPL:BEN DEM 3POSS-word
 ‘You are wounded by that piece of iron.’ (AC)
- (33) a. *a-ramaʒe i-lew¹⁸*
 F-PRO.3 3TR-die
 ‘She dies.’ (BC)

17 In T/Q, the verbal root -ʔon ‘to sing’ is transitive.

18 In T/Q, the verb ‘die’ (INTR) co-occurs with the 3rd-person index *i-* used with transitive verbs, because this index encodes telicity. Thus, it is also used with active accomplishments, which are usually lexicalized as transitive verbs (Zurlo and Censabella 2013).

- b. *a-ka ?alo i-lem ra l-ko?ok*
 F-DEM woman 3TR-die.APPL:BEN DEM 3POSS-giving.birth
 ‘That woman dies because of giving birth.’

2.2.11 Recipient applicative -ʔi

Since the recipient applicative -ʔi mainly occurs with the transitive verb -*an* ‘to give’, it has an extremely low type frequency but a high token frequency. It does not necessarily yield a ditransitive clause (cf. § 3).

- (34) a. *so yagaykyolek y-an so l-apo?*
 DEM old.man 3TR-give DEM 3POSS-poncho
 ‘The old man gives his poncho away.’ (BC)
- b. *so yagaykyolek y-añ-i so l-qaya*
 DEM old.man 3TR-give-APPL:REC DEM 3POSS-brother
so l-apo?
 DEM 3POSS-poncho
 ‘The old man gives his brother the poncho.’ (AC)

2.2.12 Comitative applicative -e?

The comitative applicative -*e?* could be the result of the further grammaticalization of the goal/directional applicative -*get* (§ 2.2.7). In (36b), with a plural P, the comitative applicative morpheme recovers the original -*t-* phoneme of its putative source. Other examples are presented in Section 5.2.

- (35) a. *n-yom-e? ñi l-qaya*
 3MID-drink-APPL:COM DEM 3POSS-brother
 ‘S/he drinks with his brother.’ (González 2011: 147)
- b. *so yale r-apet-tag-e? ra l-aworewa*
 DEM man 3INTR-argue-PROG-APPL:COM DEM 3POSS-neighbor
 ‘The man is arguing with his neighbor.’
- (36) a. *somaʒe i-kelela-peg-e? na l-qayañik-pi*
 PRO.3 3TR-help-REP-APPL:COM DEM 3POSS-brother-COLL
 ‘He always helps with his brothers.’
- b. *somaʒe i-kelela-peg-et-o? na-wa ?alo-l*
 PRO.3 3TR-help-REP-APPL:COM-P.PL DEM-DL woman-PL
 ‘He always helps with the two women.’

3 Applicative syntax

Zúñiga and Creissels (this volume) define the applicative construction as follows:

- i) The predicates in both constructions are built upon the same root, but the one in the AC bears additional overt marking that distinguishes it from the one in the BC.
- ii) The participant encoded as S or A in the BC appears as S or A in the AC.
- iii) The AC includes a noun phrase in a role other than S or A, the applied phrase (AppP), which refers to a participant that either requires a non-core coding different from its coding in the AC or cannot be expressed at all in the BC.

All T/Q examples presented above show properties i) and ii): the AC shares the same root with the BC and involves a morphological expression in the verb. As regards property iii), T/Q applied phrases cannot be expressed at all in the BC; when applied, the introduced argument shows all the properties of a transitive object. T/Q applicatives are obligatory: the only way of expressing a new non-agentive participant in the clause is by means of applicativization; we do not find the category of oblique argument in the BC that could alternate with a promoted applied argument in the AC.

Applicatives in T/Q co-occur with either active or middle voice without restrictions, and they can also co-occur freely within each semantic verb class, whose classification is encoded by the 3SG and 3PL split active personal indexes. Each verbal root contains a specification in terms of number of obligatory arguments; thus, in T/Q there is no P-lability or ambitransitivity: verbal roots/bases are either intransitive or transitive. Any transitivity clause alternation must resort to syntactic or derivational procedures. Different types of causatives (instrumental, direct intentional causative, direct unintentional causative and factitive) and the antipassive rely on derivational procedures to create new verbal bases that increase or decrease transitivity, respectively. Syntactic procedures such as non-promotional passives and applicatives, on the other hand, respectively decrease and increase/re-arrange transitivity.

To denote states with locative and directional information, T/Q has applicative deponents or *applicativa tantum*. For instance, the highly grammaticalized root *-ta* ‘go’ can only appear with an applicative, showing some degree of lexicalization and regressive vowel assimilation, as in (37).

- (37) a. *t-aja* *na* *menaganagaki*
 3INTR-go.APPL:ALL DEM market
 ‘S/he goes to the market.’
- b. *t-alek* *a-na* *qoma?*
 3INTR-go.APPL:OVER F-DEM stone/mountain
 ‘S/he climbs the mountain.’
- c. *we-to-ʔot* *a-ra* *ipaq*
 3INTR-go-APPL:under F-DEM tree
 ‘S/he is under the tree.’

T/Q does not have double applicatives, and each VP only has one applicative at a time, as seen in all examples above. Only lexicalized applicatives in the verbal base could co-occur with a syntactic applicative, as in (38d), but here the lexicalized unit no longer functions as an applicative; rather, it is fully integrated into the verb base, to the left of the second segment of the 1PL index. Nevertheless, the existence of (38b) shows that grammaticalization of the allative is still in progress with this verbal predicate.

- (38) a. *ramaʒe r-taqa*
 PRO.3 3INTR-talk
 ‘He talks.’ (BC)
- b. *ramaʒe r-taga-ya so l-awo*
 PRO.3 3INTR-talk-APPL:ALL DEM 3POSS-family
 ‘He talks about his family.’ (AC)
- c. *qoʔomi se-tagaya-qa-pek*
 PRO.1PL 1PL-talk.about-1PL-REP
 ‘We always talk about sth./sb.’ (BC)
- d. *ramaʒe se-tagaya-qa-peg-eʔ*
 PRO.3 1PL-talk.about-1PL-REP-APPL:COM
 ‘We always talk about sth./sb. with him.’ (AC)

T/Q does not show ditransitive verbal roots/bases but has ditransitive constructions based on coordinated clauses. Ditransitive constructions are allowed only with the verb *-an* ‘give’ plus the recipient applicative *-i*, as shown in (34b) above. Nevertheless, these ditransitive clauses could be the result of the elicitation work and mostly a replica of ditransitive constructions in Spanish. Narrative texts in T/Q, however, are frequently expressed as in (39a–b), where the same verb root/base appears twice: first in a BC and then in an AC, both clauses being coordinated and sharing—by anaphoric persistence—the non-applied argument, instead of constructing one clause with three arguments. In these examples, the speakers’ strategy is to decompose the event into two sub-events, each one associated with a two-argument clause. Thus, with transitive verbs, T/Q applicatives do not increase valency but redirects P-hood.

- (39) a. *i-ro so l-yalek, i-ra-ʔa ñi Resistencia*
 3TR-herd DEM 3POSS-son 3TR-herd-APPL:ALL DEM R.
 ‘S/he takes his/her son, s/he takes [him] to Resistencia city.’
- b. *y-asaq a-so pelota, y-asag-a ñi qar-qaya*
 3TR-throw F-DEM ball 3TR-throw-APPL:ALL DEM 1PL.POSS-brother
 ‘S/he throws the ball, s/he throws [it] to our brother.’

This strategy, based on the paratactic juxtaposition of clauses with reference tracking and tight restrictions on the nominal arguments associated with each verb, could be explained by the inexistence of inherently ditransitive verbs and oblique arguments

(as Mithun 2004 suggests for some Native American languages). Narrative texts also show examples like (40a–b), where an argument is anaphorically shared by the two coordinated clauses; in these examples, the verb root is first detransitivized by the anti-passive, *-shin-agan* in (40a) and *-ʔaqt-agan* in (40b), and the 3rd-person index is *r-*, for intransitive active verbs. Then, the applicative derives a verb with a non-agentive argument semantically different from the originally P argument specified in the lexical root.

- (40) a. *r-shin-agan-a* *a-so* *lawogo*, *y-añi* *a-so* *María*
 3TR-get-ANTIP-APPL:ALL F-DEM flower 3-give-APPL:REC F-DEM M.
 ‘S/he gets to that flower; s/he gives [it] to María.’
 b. *qaq* *ʔera* *ra* *la-ʔaqtaganagak* *so* *i-taʔa*,
 COORD PH.DEM DEM 3POSS-story DEM 1POSS-father
 qoʔollaq *ayim* *ra-ʔaqt-agan-em*
 ADV PRO.1 3INTR-talk-ANTIP-APPL:BEN
 ‘And this is my father’s story, long time ago he told (it) to me.’

There is a less frequent property where the applicative is related to antipassivized verbal bases: the verbal base and the benefactive/malefactive applicative *-em* allow a 3rd person active voice index alternation: *i-* (for transitive verbs) vs. *r-* (for intransitive ones). This feature is rare, because usually *i-* vs. *r-* 3rd-person index alternations require valency adjustments involving the derivational or syntactic procedures explained above. More research is needed to confirm whether such examples represent elicitation deformations or are, presumably, a clue to a sort of converb construction, which would arise via grammaticalization. In (41a) we find a recipient-beneficiary interpretation, while (41b) has a substitutive-benefaction interpretation only; the latter reading is encoded only by choosing intransitive *r-* instead of transitive *i-*.

- (41) a. *a-ra* *ʔalo* *ayim* *i-wosh-agan-em*
 F-DEM woman PRO.1 3TR-cook-ANTIP-APPL:BEN
 ‘This woman cooks for me.’
 b. *a-ramaʒe* *ayim* *r-wosh-agan-em*
 F-PRO.3 PRO.1 3INTR-cook-ANTIP-APPL:BEN
 ‘She cooks for me.’ (she works as a cook in my restaurant)

Usually, when the semantic specification of a transitive verb root/base introduces an inanimate P, the predicate accepts a human goal, recipient or beneficiary P when applicativized, as in example (39a–b), above. Antipassivized transitive verbs change the semantic specification of the verbal base, from an active accomplishment into an activity; thus, the latter is the allowed construction used in order to derive a new applicativized one, as in examples (42).

- (42) a. *a-ramaʒe y-alekten na l-leʔe*
 F-PRO.3 3TR-stir DEM 3POSS-soup
 ‘She stirs the soup.’
 b. *a-ramaʒe r-alekten-agan*
 F-PRO.3 3INTR-stir-ANTIP
 ‘She stirs (sth.).’ (BC)
 c. *a-ramaʒe y-alekten-agan-a so towe*
 F-PRO.3 3TR-stir-ANTIP-APPL:ALL DEM salt
 ‘She stirs (sth.) with salt.’ (AC)

Finally, when the semantic specification of the verb demands a human goal as P, the applicative construction allows the introduction of a locative P argument, as in (43).

- (43) a. *qa-y-kotaq a-saʔaso Nsogoj*
 IMPRS-3TR-push F.DEM.PRON cannibal[F]
 ‘(Someone) pushes that Nsogoi.’
 b. *qa-y-kotaq-an-gi ʒeʔeʒe leʔ,*
 IMPRS-3TR-PUSH-L/D:DOWN-APPL:SIDE DEM.PRON ember
a-saʔaso Nsogoj
 F.DEM.PRON cannibal[F]
 ‘(Someone) pushes downwards to the ember, that Nsogoi.’ (The Nsogoi is pushed towards the ember.)

Whether increasing or re-arranging valency, all applied arguments behave as core P arguments in three respects: a) P number agreement, b) constituent order, and c) topicalization and its consequences in coordination and subordination pivots.

Applied arguments behave in the same way as non-applied P arguments regarding nominal number encoded in the verb, as shown in (44)–(45).

- (44) a. *so-wa nogotol-qa y-asoʔt ñi pioq*
 DEM-DL child-PL 3TR-kick.PL DEM dog
 ‘The children kick the dog.’
 b. *so nogotole-k y-asoʔt ñi-wa piogo-ʒe*
 DEM child-M 3TR-kick.PL DEM-DL dog-PL
 ‘The child kicks the dogs.’
 (45) a. *y-an so pan*
 3TR-give DEM bread
 ‘S/he gives bread away.’
 b. *y-an-em so l-qaya, so pan*
 3TR-give-APPL:BEN DEM 3POSS-brother DEM bread
 ‘S/he gives her/his brother bread.’

- c. *y-an-em-a* *so* *l-qaya-qa,* *so* *pan*
 3TR-give-APPL:BEN-P.PL DEM 3POSS-brother-PL DEM bread
 ‘S/he gives her/his brothers bread.’

Applied arguments have the same position in the clause as base P arguments. Both follow the verb when lexical but precede it when pronominal, as seen in (46) and (47), respectively.

- (46) a. *ayim s-alawat so shigyaq*
 PRO.1 1-kill DEM animal
 ‘I kill the animal.’
 b. *ʔam s-alawat*
 PRO.2 1-kill
 ‘I kill you.’
- (47) a. *so yagaykyolek y-añ-i* *so*
 DEM old man 3TR-give-APPL:REC DEM
l-qaya *so* *l-apo?*
 3POSS-brother DEM 3POSS-poncho
 ‘The old man gives his brother the poncho.’
 b. *so yagaykyolek ʔam y-añ-i* *so* *l-apo?*
 DEM old man PRO.2 3TR-give-APPL:REC DEM 3POSS-poncho
 ‘The old man gives you the poncho.’

In T/Q, non-promotional (impersonal) passives demote the A argument without any other modification in the basic clause (48).

- (48) a. *ramaʒe y-amaq a-so qoma?*
 PRO.3 3TR-throw F-DEM stone
 ‘He throws the stone.’
 b. *qa-y-amaq a-so qoma?*
 IMPRS-3TR-throw F-DEM stone
 ‘They (IMPRS) throw the stone.’

When used in ACs, non-promotional passives have the same pragmatic and syntactic consequences as in any BC: the (applied) P argument is topicalized and, because of this, coordination and subordination pivots can relate the (applied) P with a co-referential A or S argument in the next coordinated or subordinated clause, as seen in (49) and (50), respectively. In (49), the one who says “Yes, thank you, my grandson” is *Nsogoj*, the cannibal woman, an argument introduced by the allative applicative in the precedent clause. In (50), the allative applicative introduces a complement clause.

- (49) *nache qa-y-wir-ew-ʔa a-so-m Nsogoj*
 COORD IMPRS-3TR-arrive-L/D:in-APPL:ALL F-DEM-TOP cannibal[F]
nache e-nak-oʔ ahaʔ ñachik i-wal
 COORD 3TR-say-FOC ADV thanks 1POSS-grandson
 ‘And they arrive towards the Nsogoi and she says: “Yes, thank you, my grandson.”’
- (50) *qayka qa-y-aten-ʔa n-eta-lek a-naʔana*
 NEG.EX.PRES IMPRS-3TR-know-APPL:ALL 3MID-go-APPL:over F-DEM.PRON
kor-ereʔ
 1PL-book
 ‘It is not known what is in our book.’

4 Applicative semantics

This section presents semantic nuances that applied P arguments can encode according to the combination of high frequency applicatives with certain verbal roots/bases. Examples (51a, b, c) show that applicatives based on transitive roots/bases do not add a third argument; instead, they change the meaning expressed by the verb. The lexical base *-wagan* ‘hit’ allows only two human/animate core arguments, A and P, with or without applicatives; thus, only some applicatives can be used without altering the basic semantic template of this lexical base. On the contrary, if the speaker wants to use *-wagan* with the intention of applying a locative P argument, the applicative used is typically a locative one (51d–e).

- (51) a. *so Pedro i-wagan so l-qaya*
 DEM P. 3TR-hit DEM 3-POSS-brother
 ‘Pedro hits his brother (with the fist).’
- b. *so Pedro i-wagan-lek so l-qaya*
 DEM P. 3TR-hit-APPL:over DEM 3-POSS-brother
 ‘Pedro gives his brother a beating.’
- c. *so Pedro i-wagan-ʔa so l-qaya*
 DEM P. 3TR-hit-APPL:ALL DEM 3-POSS-brother
 ‘Pedro accidentally hits his brother.’
- d. *so Pedro i-wagan-gi l-qayk so l-qaya*
 DEM P. 3TR-hit-APPL:side 3-POSS-HEAD DEM 3-POSS-brother
 ‘Pedro accidentally hits (lit. hits on) his brother’s head.’
- e. *i-wagan-gi a-na lacampana*
 3TR-hit-APPL:side F-DEM BELL
 ‘S/he hits the bell.’

When applicatives used with transitive verbal roots/bases do not change the P's semantic role, they contribute to encode an adverbial meaning, adding a notion of intensity/volition to the lexical content of the verbal root/base. The verbal base specifies an animate P in (52a) and the directional applicative *-ge* contributes to modify the semantic meaning of the original lexical root (52b):

- (52) a. *Juan i-lo so l-yalek*
 J. 3TR-look DEM 3POSS-son
 'Juan looks at his son.'
- b. *Juan i-lo-ta-ge so l-yalek*
 J. 3TR-look-CONT-APPL:away DEM 3POSS-son
 'Juan watches/supervises his son.'

A scale of saliency governs the selection of one of the four morphemes related to human locative/directional goals (from less to more salient): *-lek* > *-ʔa* > *-eʔ* > *-ʔot*. Many verbs can allow the alternation of at least two of these morphemes. Despite this saliency scale and its overlap with the recipient-beneficiary encoding, whenever the speaker wants to highlight the benefit that a non-subject participant receives from the verbal event, that participant will be encoded as a beneficiary, which means that the same applicative morpheme *-em* is also used in intransitive clauses with a substitutive benefaction reading. Only with the verb 'give' is it possible to make a clear distinction between a recipient and a recipient-beneficiary in T/Q; with other verbs, the benefactive applicative marker *-em* is used to express both semantic notions. Thus, following Kittilä's classification (2005: 277, 295), T/Q is a beneficiary-prominent language, since "languages with few formally ditransitive verbs are more prone to beneficiary prominence".

5 Grammaticalization

Except for the origin of the allative applicative marker, there is no specific research on the grammaticalization clines of applicatives in T/Q yet. Censabella (2006b, 2008) proposes that the verb *-ta* 'go' may have become a continuous imperfective aspect marker *-ta*, and, alternatively, the allative applicative marker *-ʔa*, following in both cases universal paths of grammaticalization. Regarding other grammaticalization routes of applicatives, Censabella (2018) studied the different contexts that gave rise to a focus marker from the locative applicative *-ʔot* ('under').

In his study on T/Q serial verb constructions, González (2009) presents examples that could be interpreted as contexts of grammaticalization in which a serial verb construction gives rise to an aspectual marker plus an applicative one. Examples like (53a–b) could be interpreted as bridging contexts in grammaticalization processes because the morpheme *-ta* could be interpreted as the 3rd-person index *tV*- (cf. Table 1)

stative locational information, this applicative can relate to human arguments, providing the *locus* or spatial reference of P as related to A (55a–b).

- (54) a. *ñi qagesaq we-to-ʔot a-ra ipaq*
 DEM ant 3INTR-go-APPL:under F-DEM tree
 ‘The ant is under the tree.’
 b. *we-to-ʔot seʔeso qomaʔ*
 3INTR-go-APPL:UNDR DEM stone/mountain
 ‘S/he shelters under that stone.’
- (55) a. *a-ñi l-yale ra-tato-ʔot so l-taʔa*
 F-DEM 3POSS-daughter 3INTR-go-CONT-APPL:under DEM 3POSS-father
 ‘The daughter is under her father.’ (they are seated on a tribune/platform)
 b. *ñi l-taʔa ra-tato-ʔot a-so l-yale*
 DEM 3POSS-father 3INTR-go-CONT-APPL:under F-DEM 3POSS-DAUGHTER
 ‘The father is under his daughter.’ (they are seated on a tribune/platform)

5.1.2 The bridging context

In this context, the speaker infers a new semantic nuance from the AC, namely that the P has more saliency than the A. Both arguments refer to human entities, and with verbs like ‘ask’, ‘beg’, ‘surrender’, the A argument is in an inferior hierarchical scale than P (56). When P refers to a divinity, the spatial metaphor—coding A *under* P—is even clearer (57a); by contrast, the comitative applicative is unacceptable for speakers (57b).

- (56) *ñ-añan-q-ot ñi qar-taʔa*
 1PL.MID-surrender-1PL-APPL:under DEM 1PL.POSS-father
 ‘We surrender to our father.’ (Buckwalter 1980:149)
- (57) a. *se-taq-tek-ot ñi Dios*
 1-talk-PROG-APPL:under DEM G.
 ‘I am talking to God.’
 b. **se-taq-tek-geʔ ñi Dios*
 1-talk-PROG-APPL:COM DEM G.
 ‘I am talking with God.’²⁰

²⁰ The speaker explains as follows: “we can’t talk to God as if he were a friend”.

5.1.3 The switch context

Here, the locative interpretation fades away and allows a hierarchical one, not only in relation with divinities—via lexical conditioning—but extending the coverage to any other human being (58a–b). In these examples, the speaker freely chooses whether the human P has more or less saliency or authority in relation to A.

- (58) a. *se-taq-tek-ot* *so* *Intendente*
 1-talk-PROG-APPL:under DEM mayor
 'I am talking with the mayor.' (talking to an authority)
- b. *se-taq-teg-e?* *so* *Intendente*
 1-talk-PROG-APPL:COM DEM mayor
 'I am talking with the mayor.' (he is my friend)

5.1.4 Conventionalization context

In this context, the notion of saliency/hierarchy remains but another one appears too, namely one of focus, as seen in (59a) and (60a). The alternation with the benefactive applicative shows how the speaker can choose semantic nuances in different types of benefaction situations, as shown in (59b) and (60b). Explanatory comments were obtained via elicitation.

- (59) a. *a-so qomlashe y-anek a-so l-yale,*
 F-DEM T/Q.woman 3TR-give F-DEM 3POSS-daughter
y-an-ot a-so rokshelashe
 3TR-give-APPL:under F-DEM non.T/Q.woman
 'That Qom woman gives her daughter, she gives [her] to the white woman.'
 (The daughter is given to work for that *patroness* white woman) (hierarchical applied P)
- b. *a-so qomlashe y-anek a-so l-yale,*
 F-DEM T/Q.woman 3TR-give F-DEM 3POSS-daughter
y-an-em a-so rokshelashe
 3TR-give-APPL:BEN F-DEM NON.T/Q.woman
 'That Qom woman gives her daughter, she gives [her] to the white woman.'
 (The daughter is given to work for that white woman) (substitutive benefactive applied P)
- (60) a. *?am se-wosh-agan-ot*
 PRO.2 1-cook-ANTIP-APPL:under
 'I cook for you.' (you are the patron/patroness)

- b. *ʔam se-wosh-agan-em*
 PRO.2 1-COOK-ANTIP-APPL:BEN
 ‘I cook for you.’ (I’m the cook in your restaurant)

5.1.5 Context of advanced grammaticalization

In narrative texts, when using *verba dicendi*, speakers can optionally use the morpheme *-oʔ* for introducing direct (49)—repeated here as (61)—or indirect speech (62). We propose to interpret this morpheme as a FOCUS MARKER. The clause that follows is highlighted and its S/A or P arguments—the latter in a non-promotional passive—will show the same coordination and subordination pivots as those presented in Section 3.

- (61) *nache qa-y-wir-ew-ʔa a-so-m Nsogoj*
 COORD IMPRS-3TR-arrive-L/D:in-APPL:ALL F-DEM-TOP cannibal[F]
nache e-nak-oʔ ahaʔ ñachik i-wal
 COORD 3TR-say-FOC ADV thanks 1POSS-grandson
 ‘And they arrive towards the Nsogoi and she says: “Yes, thank you, my grandson.”’

- (62) *qalagaʔi so-m shiyagawa... e-nak-oʔ ʒi y-alawat*
 COORD DEM-TOP person 3TR-say-FOC DEM 3TR-kill
qome na rokshi-pi
 ADV DEM NON.T/Q.person-COLL
 ‘... but that person. ... s/he says that s/he kills, afterwards, the white people.’

5.2 Coexisting grammaticalization contexts of the goal/directional applicative *-get* (‘approaching’)

Less studied in terms of Heine’s changing contexts, but displaying a clear path of grammaticalization nonetheless, is the cline *-get* (‘approaching’) > *-eʔ* ‘COMITATIVE’ (63). Examples (63a) and (63b) show the source-meaning context; notice that (63a) still retains the semantics of the putative serial construction. In (63c) and (63d) we can identify the bridging context, because a second interpretation of the clause is possible, while in (63e) the comitative sense indicates the switch context. Finally, (63f) shows the conventionalization context, alongside phonological erosion, with a clear comitative meaning.

- (63) a. *r-alakoi-get na shiyagawa-pi so pioq*
 3INTR-bark-APPL:approach DEM person-COLL DEM dog
 ‘The dog barks to the approaching people.’

- b. *a-so ʔaltemoy i-laʔat-get*
 F-DEM car 3INTR-destroy-APPL:approach
so l-alo kaayo
 DEM 3POSS-domestic.animal horse
 ‘The car crashes the horse.’
- c. *ʔam se-wat-ta-get*
 PRO.2 1-wait-CONT-APPL:approach
 ‘I’m waiting for you.’ or ‘I’m waiting with you.’
- d. *Rosa Merino i-chigoʔo-get na rokshe*
 R. M. 3TR-come-APPL:approach DEM NON.INDIGENOUS.PERSON
 ‘Rosa Merino comes from the criollos.’ or ‘R. M. comes with the criollos.’
- e. *qoʔomi s-ow-aq-ta-get a-ñi Rosita*
 PRO.1PL 1PL-be.inside-1PL-CONT-APPL:approach F-DEM R.
 ‘We are inside [the house] with Rosita.’
- f. *so yale r-asot-tag-eʔ a-ra ʔalo*
 DEM man 3INTR-dance-PROG-APPL:COM F-DEM WOMAN
 ‘The man is dancing with the woman.’

6 Conclusions

This chapter surveyed the applicative constructions attested in Toba/Qom language. These can be characterized as follows:

Morphology

- T/Q presents a paradigm of twelve morphemes which behave like applicatives. This paradigm occupies the last functional slot in the verb form, followed by a number agreement marker if the applied P is plural. The locative applicative *-lek* (‘over’) and *-ʔot* (‘under’), the allative applicative *-ʔa* and the benefactive/malefactive applicative *-em* are the only markers in the paradigm that show morphophonologically conditioned allomorphy.
- Applicativization is highly productive in T/Q: almost all verbal roots can accommodate additional arguments via an applicative morpheme.

Syntax

- T/Q applicatives are obligatory, meaning that the only way to express the semantic roles expressed by applied phrases is by means of applicativization. Moreover, applicativization is the only available strategy to encode semantic roles other than those licensed as subjects or objects of non-applicative verb forms.

- The applied phrase shows all the syntactic properties of a transitive object or P argument.
- Applicatives in T/Q co-occur without restrictions in both active- and middle-voice verbs, and can co-occur freely within each semantic verb class.
- Each verbal root specifies the number of its obligatory arguments. Thus, in T/Q there is no P-lability or ambitransitivity: verbal roots/bases are either intransitive or transitive.
- T/Q does not have double applicatives; each predicate has only one applicative at a time. Some lexicalized applicatives could be identified, but they no longer behave as applicatives.
- In free conversation or narrative texts, T/Q speakers usually do not accept ditransitive clauses. Rather, speakers decompose complex events into sub-events.
- Whether increasing or re-arranging transitivity, in T/Q all applied arguments behave as base P arguments in three main respects: P number agreement, constituent order, and topicalization (and its consequences in coordination and subordination pivots).

Semantics

- When used with transitive roots/bases, applicatives do not add a third argument; instead, they change the meaning expressed by the verb, allowing a different semantic role from the one specified in the verbal root/base.
- Applicatives whose meaning relate to human locative/directional goals, show a scale of saliency that governs arguments (from less to more salient): *-lek* > *-ʔa* > *-eʔ* > *-ʔot*. Many verbs can take at least two of these morphemes.
- T/Q is a beneficiary-prominent language: whenever the speaker wants to highlight the benefit that a non-subject participant gets through the verbal event, it will be encoded as a beneficiary. Only with the verb ‘give’ is it possible to make a clear distinction between a recipient and a recipient-beneficiary; with other verbs, the benefactive/malefactive applicative marker *-em* is used to express both semantic notions.

Grammaticalization

- Applicatives in T/Q seem to derive from serial verbs constructions, although more research is needed in order to confirm this statement.
- Applicatives in T/Q show undergoing grammaticalization processes in different stages of evolution, as shown by the non-canonical semantic roles introduced by each applicative.

Abbreviations

A	agent-like argument in a transitive clause
ALL	allative
ANTIP	antipassive
APPL	applicative
BEN	benefactive
CAUS	causative
COLL	collective
CONT	continuous
COORD	coordinator
DEM	demonstrative
DEM.PRON	demonstrative pronoun
DL	dual
EMPH	emphatic
EX.PRES	existential presentative
F	feminine
FACT	factive
FOC	focus
H.GOAL	human goal
IMPRS	impersonal
INSTR	instrumental
INTR	intransitive
L/D	locative-directional
M	masculine
MID	middle voice
NEG	negative
P	patient-like argument in a transitive clause
PRO	personal pronoun
PH.DEM	phrasal demonstrative
PL	plural
POSS	possessive
PROG	progressive aspect
REC	recipient
RECP	reciprocal
REFL	reflexive
REP	repetitive (verbal number)
S	single argument in an intransitive clause
SUB	subordinator
TOP	topicalizer
TR	transitive
UNKW.AG	unknown agent
VBLZ	verbalizer

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