

**Deictic directionals as markers of Associated Motion: examples from several
African languages
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Overview of the talk

- Introduction of deictic directionals
- The category of Associated Motion
- Associated Motion with deictic directionals
- African languages with Associated Motion interpretations of directionals
- Properties of Associated Motion marked by directionals
- The role of the main verb's semantics (if time)
- Concluding remarks

1. Deictic Directionals

- Deictic directionals are functional elements, such as verbal affixes, particles and clitics which occur predominantly in the descriptions of motion events where they contribute a deictic path.
- Canonical systems of deictic directionals contrast ventive morphemes, which orient a motion event to or towards the location of a deictic centre, to itive morphemes, which specify motion away or not in the direction of the deictic centre.

1) **Somali** (Cushitic, Afro-Asiatic; Somalia: Claudi, 2012)

a. wuu *soo* soc-eyaa
FOC: 3SGM VEN walk-PRSPRG:3SGM
'He is walking towards me.'

b. wuu *sii* soc-eyaa
FOC:3SGM ITV walk-PRSPRG:3SGM
'He is walking away from me.'

- As markers of deictic path, deictic directionals are part of a larger class of linguistic elements which serve this function cross-linguistically:
 - Verbs (e.g. English verbs come/go)
 - Multi-verbal constructions such as serial verb or converbs constructions
 - Multiclausal constructions, often coordination.
- The expression 'deictic directionality' is sometimes applied indifferently to all elements which have the ability to express deictic path. Only functional elements are considered here.

- Ventive and itive directionals have a range of other semantic uses (particularly with verbs that do not encode motion) (cf. Mietzner, 2012 for an overview in Nilotic languages, Fleisch, 2012 for Berber). There are some well known grammaticalization paths for directionals → into tense and aspect markers (Heine & Kuteva, 2002; Bourdin, 2006; 2002), discourse markers (Bourdin, 2002) or evidential markers (Aikenvald, 2007).
- Today's focus is on one less-known additional function, Associated Motion.

2. Associated Motion

- Generally refers to a category of verbal affixes in some Australian, North American and South American languages, which indicate that the event encoded by a verb is framed with respect to a motion co-event (Koch, 1984; Wilkins, 2005).

- 2) **Mparntwe Arrernte** (Pama-Nyungan; Australia: Wilkins, 2006)
 angk-**artn**.alpe-ke
 speak-QUICK:DO&GO.BACK-pc
 'Quickly spoke and then went back.'

- Characteristic AM systems have affixes (some grammaticalised from verbs encoding deictic directionality) paired with specific and quite sophisticated types of motion.

Affixes may encode information about:

- a. the deictic direction of the motion event
- b. the temporal relation with the verb's event
- c. some aspectual notions
- d. the identity of the moving entity
(Guillaume, 2006)

- 3) **Cavineña** (Tacana, Bolivia; Guillaume 2006)
 tume =pa =taa =tuja =tu ba-**t**sa-ya ekwita...
 Then =RAP =EMPH =3SG.DAT =3SG see-COME(O)-IMPF person
 'He saw a person coming in his direction.'

3. Associated Motion With Deictic Directionals

- Example: the ventive clitic =*d* in Taqbaylit Berber

- 4) **Taqbaylit** (Berber, Afro-Asiatic; Algeria: Belkadi, 2014)
 a. *Directional function*
 t-jjlb =**d** γr tabla.
 3SGF-jump.PRF =VEN to table
 'She jumped on the table (in the direction of the speaker).'

→ =*d* contributes a deictic path semantics to the event described by the verb: the jumping event involves a change of location, and is directed toward the deictic centre.

b. *AM function*

i-ʕum =**d**.
3SGM-swim.PRF =VEN

‘He (went somewhere) swam and came back (to the location of the speaker or to his house).’

‘*He swam (towards or to the location of the speaker).

→ =*d* does not specify a deictic path for the event encoded by the verb. Instead it implies the occurrence of an independent motion event, which is itself directed to the deictic centre.

4. Deictic AM In African Languages

- Instances of AM interpretations of directionals have been reported in a number of languages from the Afro-Asiatic and Nilo-Saharan phyla, under different terminologies — ‘alloying’ (Alamin et al., 2012), ‘roundtrip motion’ (Bourdin, 2006) or ‘coerced motion’ (Belkadi, 2014).

- *Afro-Asiatic*

Chadic: Pero (Nigeria: Frajzyngier, 1989), Tangale (Nigeria: Jungrathmayr, 2003), Hausa (Newman, 2000)

Cushitic: Somali (Bourdin, 2006; Claudi, 2012)

Berber: Tuareg (Mali: Heath, 2006); Ghadamsi (Libya: Kossman, 2013); Taqbaylit (Algeria: Belkadi: 2014) Ait Seghrouchen (Morocco: Bentolila, 1969); Tashlhit (El Mountassir, 2000)

- *Nilo-Saharan*

Songhay (Algeria: Souag, pc)

Nilotic: Pări (South Sudan, Andersen, 1988; Mietzner, 2012); Anywa (Sudanese-Ethiopian border: Reh, 1996); Maasai (Kenya: Tucker & Mpaayei, 1955; Alamin et al., 2012)

Kenga (Chad: Neukom, 1993)

- *Niger Congo*

Rangi (Bantu; Tanzania: Gibson, forthcoming)

Tima (Sudan Nuba Mountains: Alamin et al., 2012)

- The phenomenon remains understudied. The data available consists mostly of some examples in grammars, or in descriptive papers of deictic directionals in particular languages. Only Bourdin (2006) focusses on the AM interpretations of directionals in Somali. He observes that these uses are very much context-dependent (contexts are discussed in subsequent parts of the presentation).

- Aims today →
 - (i) To present some characteristic features of deictic AM (henceforth D-AM), based on examples from the above languages
 - (ii) To show that D-AM uses present similarities with AM affixes, and that AM is another kind of function that deictic directionals grammaticalize into, rather than a remote type of extension.

5. Properties of D-AM

- The properties of the motion event that deictic directionals mark vary both depending on the language and on the context. The variations affect three components of motion events:
 - its time relation with the main verb's event
 - the identity of its theme
 - the shape of its trajectory
- If, as observed by Bourdin (2006), pragmatics plays a role in how some variations are triggered, the range of interpretations of D-AM mirrors the range of specifications encoded by AM affixes.

Temporal Relations

- Like AM marked by affixes, D-AM events can stand in different relations with the event encoded by the main verb. It is either one of precedence or subsequence, and is overall consistent given a particular language and a particular directional (except in Maasai).
- **Precedence** obtains when the motion co-event occurs prior to the main verb's event.

5) **Anywa** (Nilotic, Nilo-Saharan; Sudan-Ethiopia: Reh, 1996)

<i>Source form</i>	<i>Monovalent Itive</i>
làáJ 'to urinate'	làaJJ 'to go and urinate'

<i>Source form</i>	<i>Monovalent Vative</i>
Téenn 'cook for somebody'	téennó 'come and cook for somebody'

6) **Rangi** (Bantu, Niger-Congo; Tanzania: Gibson, forthcoming)

koo-ya-nyw-a	tu-ri	ay-a	maaji	aha	vii.
DIR-OM6-drink-FV	SM1stpl-AUX	DEM-6	6.water	now	just
'We will [go and] drink this water soon.'					

- **Subsequence** obtains when the added motion occurs after the event described by the main verb.

11) **Somali** (Bourdin, 2006)

a. **soo** seexo

VEN sleep:IMPER.2SG

‘Come sleep over here!’ [face to face conversation]

‘*Sleep and come over here.’

b. **soo** fadhiso

VEN sit.down:IMPER.2SG

‘Come here and sit down!’ [face to face conversation]

‘*Sit down and come here!’

Shape of Trajectory

- The trajectory or path of the associated motion event also varies. It can be straight (cf. previous examples) or a complex one of the type [go and come back/ return].
- In complex path contexts, the first part of the path is directed towards a location distinct from the deictic centre, where the main verb’s event takes place. The second part of the path is directed toward the deictic anchor. The first part of the path may not be overtly given in translations, but instead implied by the return part of the path.

12) **Tashlhit** (Berber, Afro-Asiatic; Morocco: El Mountassir, 2000)

i-kka =d Brahim Fraṇṣa

3SGM-pass.PRF =VEN Brahim France

‘He passed in France and came back.’

13) **Hausa** (Chadic, Afro-Asiatic; Niger-Nigeria: Newman, 2000)

Nāshāfō bangō

‘I whitewashed the wall and came back.’

14) **Kenga** (Nilo-Sahara, Chad: Neukom, 1993)

ḡk tās sé ā-túg-íñ-ó!

2:take cup ART 2-wash-3SGO-VEN

‘Take the cup, wash it and bring it back.’

- Complex D-AM gives rise to a subtle range of interpretations.

15) **Somali** (Bourdin, 2006)

aad baan u soo cun-i

much FOCUS:1SG to/for VEN eat-INFNT

‘I’m going to stuff myself while you wait for me here.’

Identity of The Theme

- In most AM cases, the theme/figure of the motion event is identified with the subject of the verb, but if the verb is transitive the figure may be identified with the object of the verb.
- 16) **Pero** (Chadic, Afro-Asiatic; Nigeria: Frajzyngier, 1985)
ní -íp -nà tújè
1SG catch COMP.VEN horse
'I caught a horse (and brought it).'
- 17) **Hausa** (Chadic, Afro-Asiatic; Niger, Nigeria: Newman, 2000)
yā sayō nāmà
'I bought some meat and brought it here.'
- 18) **Masai** (Nilotic, Nilo-Saharan ; Kenya: Tucker & Mpaayei, 1955)
Ta-lak-unkishu
'Untie the cattle (and bring them here).'
- 19) **Masai** (Nilotic, Nilo-Saharan ; Kenya: Tucker & Mpaayei, 1955)
e-te-dek-ua yiook
'He came cursing us'
'He cursed as we came'
- More rarely, subject-figure 'disjointness' occurs (Bourdin, 2006). Amongst the languages surveyed, only Somali seems to follow this pattern. Precisely Bourdin (2006) attributes a function of 'switch-reference' to the itive *sii*. Where a motion event whose endpoint is distinct from the deictic centre cannot be inferred, a motion whose figure is a discourse participant, rather than the main verb's subject is constructed (see also Claudi, 2012).
- 20) **Somali** (Cushitic, Afro-Asiatic: Claudi, 2012)
- a. **sii** seexo
ITV sleep.IMPRF.2SG
'Have a rest until I come back.'
- b. aad baan u **sii** cun-i
much FOCUS:1SG to/for ITV eat-INFN
'I'm going to stuff my face, while you are out.'

6. Main Verb's Semantics and D-AM

- The inherent semantics of a verb affect the time relation of an AM or the identity of its figure. The particular semantics of the main verb seems to play a more crucial role. It seems to be a pivot not only in the types of AM we get, but more importantly on whether we get it at all.

- D-AM readings tend to arise in contexts where a canonical directional reading is not derivable, often outside of motion event descriptions. It follows from this that D-AM interpretations of deictic directionals are in complementary distributions with their basic directional readings.
- Most of the languages surveyed seem to have a clear-cut dichotomy whereby motion verbs trigger directional uses, while other classes of verbs trigger D-AM uses.
- Other systems are a bit more complex. In Tima (Alamin, et al., 2012), for instance, verbs describing motion events as well as verbs describing natural phenomena and bodily secretions trigger directional uses of the ventive affix, while other classes of verbs derive AM interpretations.

21) **Tima** (Alamin et al., 2012)

a. kì-címbárí éñ-díík-íḡ áyḡḡé mádèràsà
 NC.SG-child TAM-walk-VEN DIR:SPEAKER.THERE school
 ‘The child is walking towards the school (where I am).’

b. kw-ààṛék é-w-òdàná-y-íḡ
 NC.SG-sky TAM-EE-cry-EE-VEN
 ‘It was thundering (lit. the sky cried towards the speaker).’

22) a. kóyò-òḡ k-ùrtú
 build.IMP:SG-VENT NC.SG-house
 ‘Build the house and come.’

b. móòk-íḡ
 drink.IMP:SG-VEN
 ‘Drink and come.’

- Taqbaylit Berber and a number of northern Berber languages have an overall clear-cut distinction between D-AM verbs and others, but the dichotomy is more difficult to establish. Deictic directional readings are found with verbs of motion, as long as they encode an orientation or imply translational motion, verbs of perception and emission of a stimulus, verbs of transfer, degree achievements, inchoative verbs and their causative counterparts (Belkadi, 2014; in press). All other verbs derive AM interpretations.

23) **Taqbaylit** (Berber, Afroasiatic; Belkadi, 2014): directional readings

a. t-ḡni =d taʕcit kaml!
 3SGF-sing.PRF =VEN afternoon whole
 ‘She sang the entire afternoon!’

b. y-ḥma =d yimnsi.
3SGM-be.hot.PRF =VEN dinner
'The dinner became hot.'

c. fka-n =as =d i tqcict snat n tibwadin n lggatu.
give.PRF-3PLM =3SG.DAT =VEN DAT girl two of boxes of sweets
'They gave her two boxes of sweets.'

24) D-AM readings

a. t-γra =d taktaf
3SGF-read.PRF =VEN book
'She read the book somewhere else and came back (to the location of the speaker).'

b. t-cdḥ =d di tamyra
3SGF-dance.PRF=VEN in wedding
'She danced at the party and came back.'

7. Concluding remarks: AM as a grammaticalization path?

- This small survey has shown that in addition to their primary function as ventive and itive path markers, deictic directionals may also be used as a non-verbal strategy to encode motion co-events; so-called Associated Motion.
- This relation between deictic directionals and Associated Motion is found in a number of African languages, where it presents approximately similar properties.
- Although contact might play an important role in its diffusion, the phenomenon is found in languages from two language groups, and seems to be quite geographically spread.
- Moreover, it is similar to the type of AM reported in Australian and American languages, some of which are grammaticalized from verbs originally expressing deictic directionality.
- It seems that AM constitutes yet another route of grammaticalization for deictic directionals.

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