

Directional morphology and person marking

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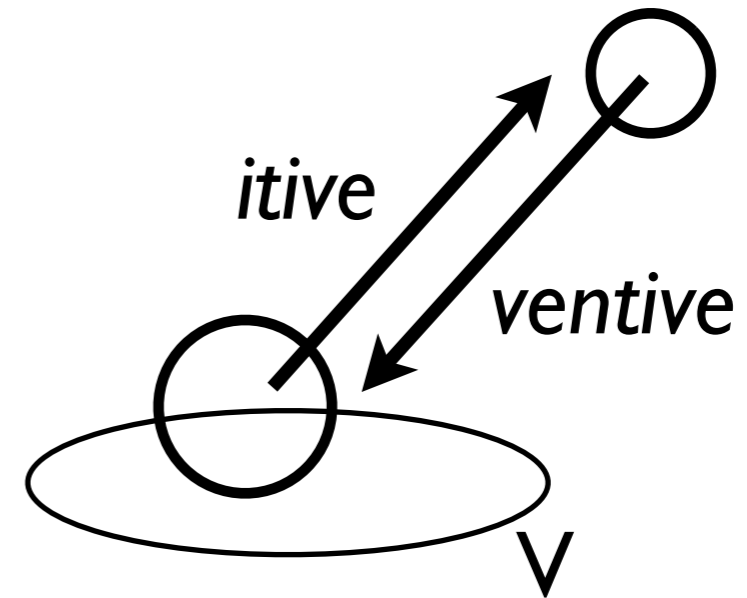


Talk map

- General Idea
- Patterns
- Typology I (coarse)
- Closer Look
- Typology II (fine / preliminary)

General Idea

Directionals: dynamic spatial deixis



ventive = venitive = cislocative = centripetal
itive = andative = translocative = centrifugal

Gorum (Munda):

don-tu

take-ACT:NPST

‘he will take (it)’

don-t-aj

take-ACT:NPST-VEN

‘he will bring (it)’

Sizang Chin (Tibeto-Burman):

kei ka-pai hi.

I 1st-go IND

‘I go/went.’

kei k-onq-pai hi.

I 1st-CISL-go IND

‘I come/came.’

DeLancey 1981:637

Sahaptin (Plateau Penutian):

i-q'ínun-a

3.NOM-see-PAST

‘he saw/looked’

i-q'ínun-im-a

3.NOM-see-CISL-PAST

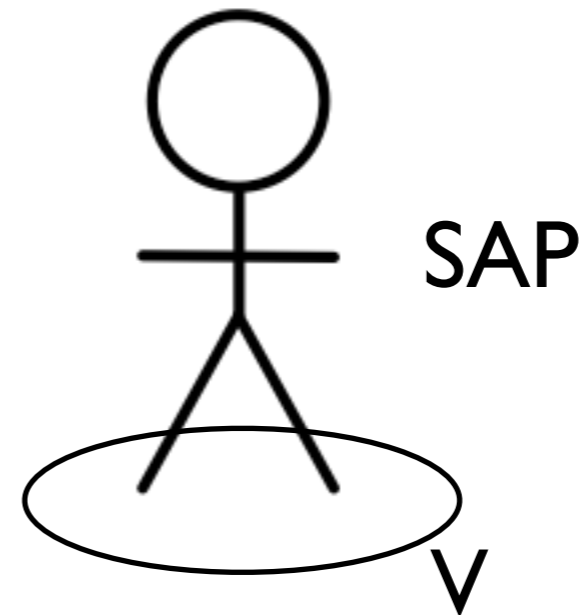
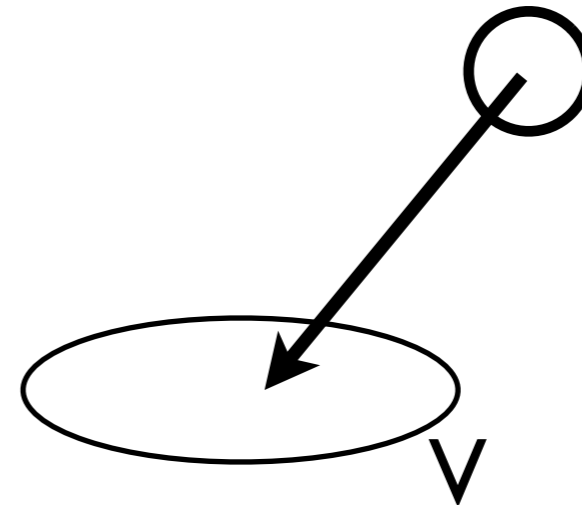
‘he looked this way’

Rude 1991:38

Ventives

as

Speech Act Participant markers



Sizang Chin (Tibeto-Burman):

kei ka-pai hi.

I 1st-go IND

‘I go/went.’

kei k-onq-pai hi.

I 1st-CISL-go IND

‘I come/came.’

honq-pe-tu hi.

CISL-give-FUT IND

‘(She/He) will give it to me.’

Gorum *-aj* ‘ventive’ – I SG SUBJ

Nez Perce *-im* ‘cislocative’ – 2>I INVERSE

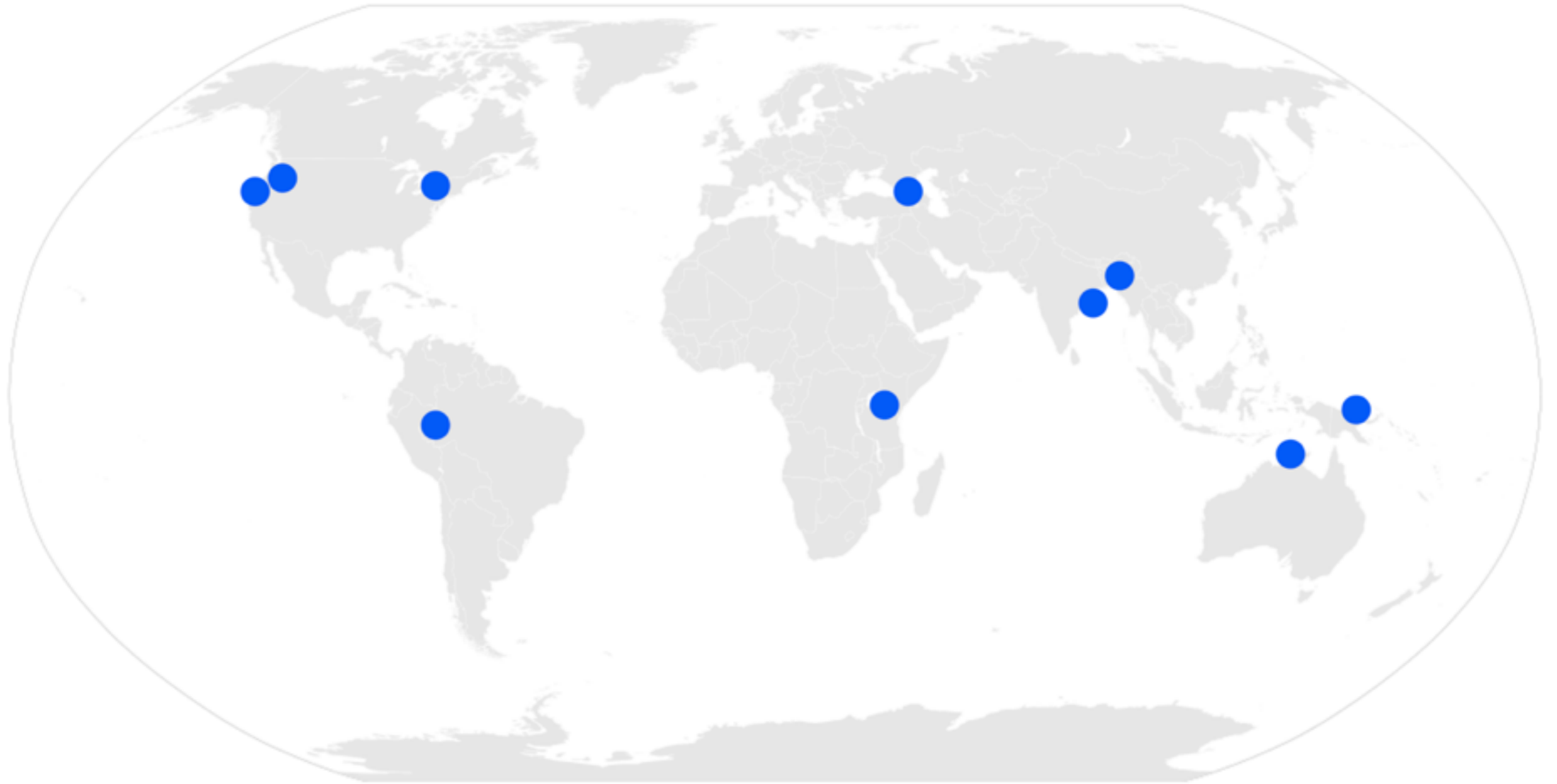
Kalenjin *-u* ‘ventive’ – SAP BENEFACTIVE APPLICATIVE

Mohawk *takw-* ‘cislocative’ – 2>I

Kabardian *q’a-* ‘horizon of interest’ – object is kin
of speaker

Directionals as Person Markers

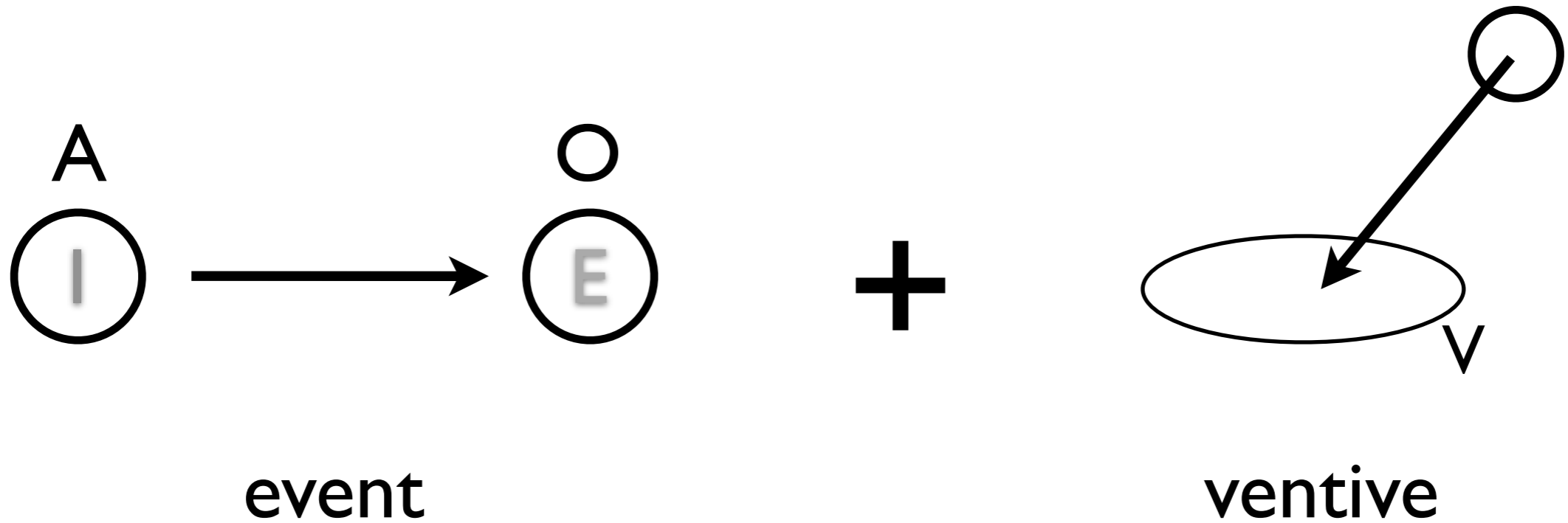
- locative origin (directional)
- not a trivial parallelism between the spatial and person usage
- no isomorphism of space and person domain
- typological variation



Ad hoc Survey

Grammatical Patterns

Conceptual notions



Kalenjin

- Cislocative *-u/-ʊ*
- → 1st/2nd Person
- benefactive applicative

mas-té

sweep.IMP-ITV

‘sweep it away!’

mas-ʊ

sweep.IMP-VEN

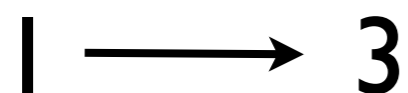
‘sweep it here’

Kalenjin (Southern Nilotic):

a-coor-ciini

I s-steal-DAT.3s

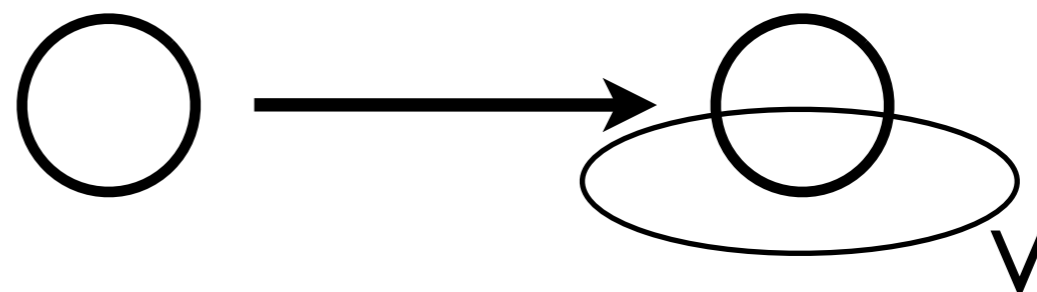
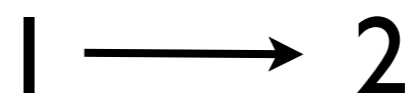
'I steal it for him'



a-coor-uun

I s-steal-VEN.2sg

'I steal it for you'



(Dimmendaal 2003:95)

Nez Perce

- Cislocative *-im*
- 2nd → 1st Person
- inverse

hi-kúuy-e

3NOM-go-PRFV

‘He went.’ (Mithun 1996:417)

hi-kúu-m-e

3NOM-go-PST-CIS-PRFV

‘He came.’ (Mithun 1996:417)

kúu-m-e

go-CIS-PRFV

‘I came.’ (Deal 2010:94)

Nez Perce (Plateau Penutian):

héexn-e

see-PST

'I saw you'

1 → 2



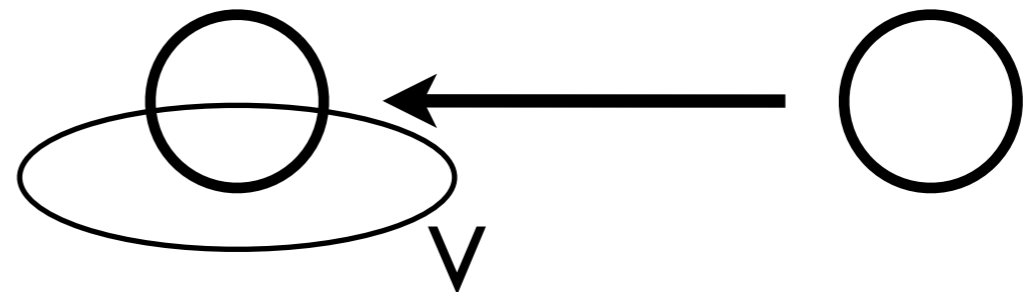
hexn-ím-e

see-CISL-PST

'You saw me'

2 → 1

(1 ← 2)



(Zuñiga 2006:166)

Gorum

- Ventive *-aj*
- 1st S / A

don-t-u

take-ACT:NPST

'he will take (it)'

don-t-aj

take-ACT:NPST-VEN

'he will bring (it)'

ne-zel-tu

1sA-ACT:NPST

'I will tell (it)'

don-tu

take-ACT:NPST

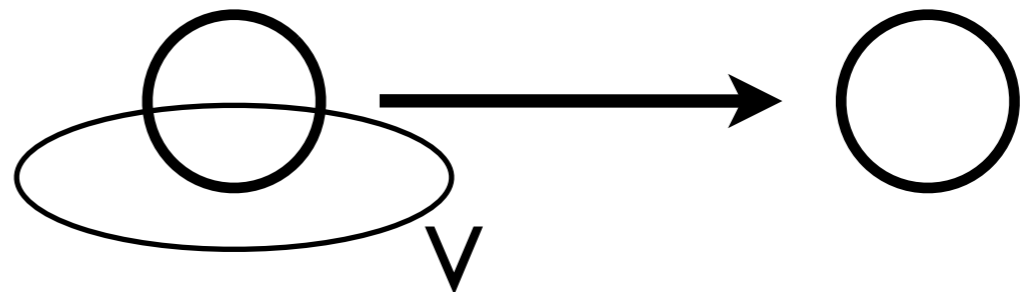
's/he will take (it)'



don-t-aj

take-ACT:NPST-VEN

'I will take (it)'



*S*_(A) *ne-j-tu?*
IsA-go-MID:NPST
'I will go'

uj-t-aj
go-MID:NPST-VEN
'I will go'

A *ne-don-t-aj*
IsA- take-
ACT:NPST

don-t-aj
take-ACT:NPST-VEN
'I will take (it)'

*S*_(P) *aḍaʔ-r-iŋ*
thirsty-ACT:PST-IsP
'I was thirsty'

aḍaʔ-r-aj
thirsty-ACT:PST-VEN
'I was thirsty'

Types

- Marking

S/A or O marking

- Direction

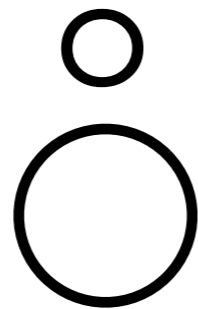
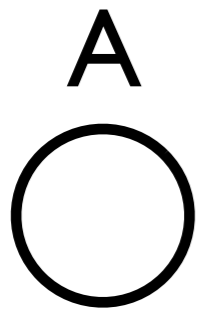
direct/inverse

- Viewpoint

construal of event

Notions involved

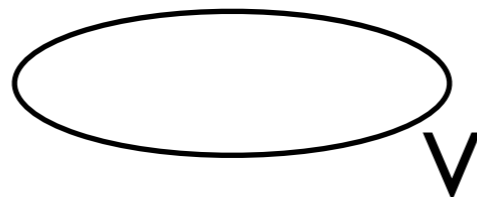
marking:

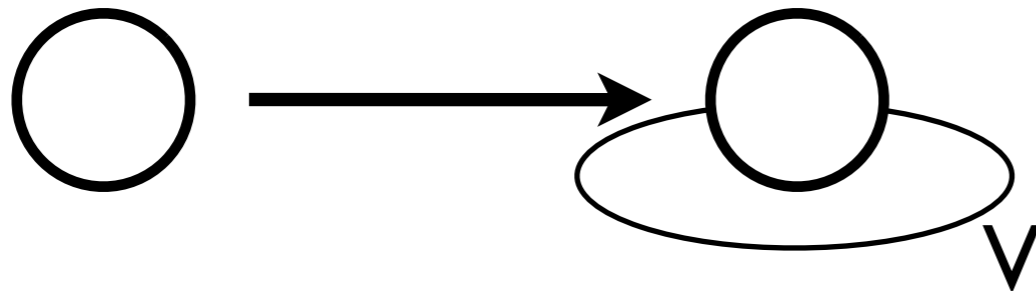


direction:

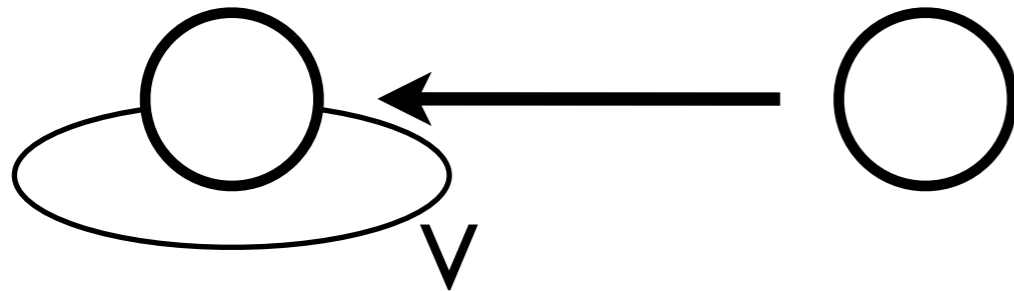


viewpoint:

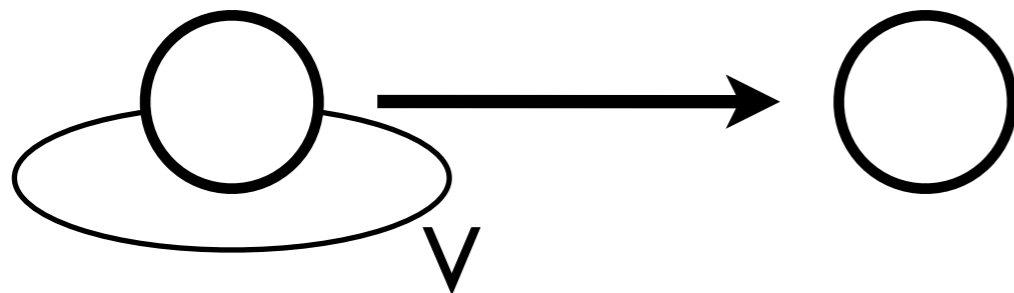




Kalenjin, Sizang Chin,
Kabardian, Iwaidja



Nez Perce, (Sizang Chin)



Gorum, Sora



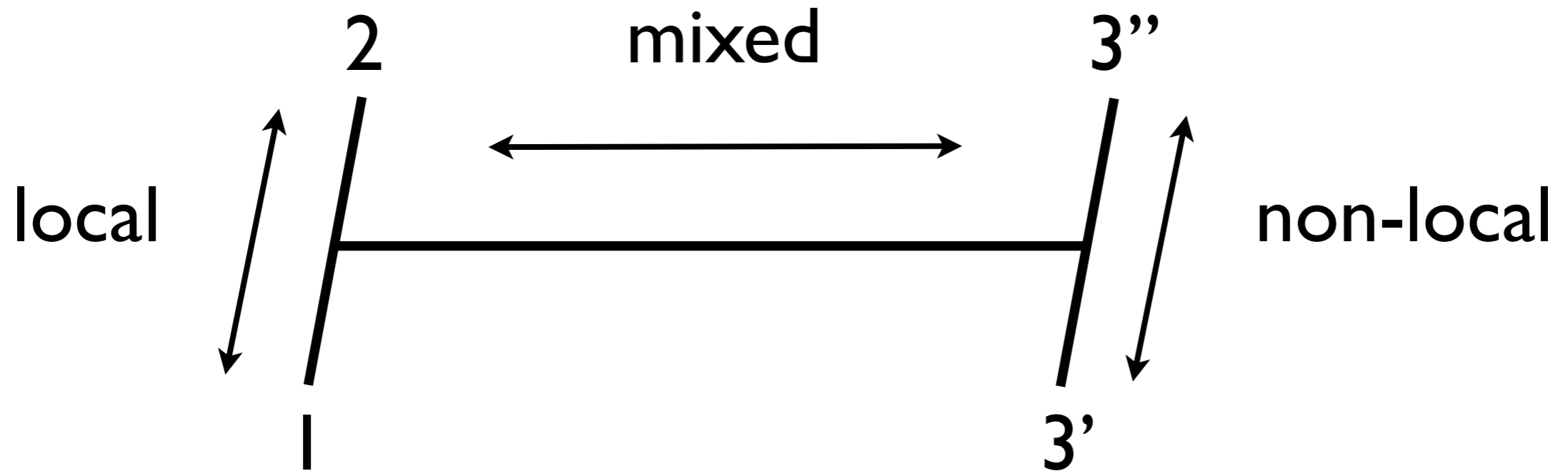
Types II

- Marking ✓
- Viewpoint ✓
- Direction ✓
- Focality
- Domain
- Alignment Patterns
- Spatial Meaning
- Temporal Meaning

Gorum

a closer look

Domain



Focality/Domain

1s S_A intr

uj-t-aj

go-MID:NPST-VEN

'I will go'

1s A → 3s/p

laʔ-t-aj

hit-ACT:NPST-VEN

'I will hit him/her/it/them'

1s S_O intr

adaʔ-r-aj

thirsty-ACT:PST-VEN

'I was thirsty'

Focality / Domain II

- Focality
 - ISS/A ($\rightarrow 3$)
- Domain
 - mixed
 - local?

Alignment

- Normal SAP Marking:

“Active/Stative”

- Ventive Pattern

Nominative

ne-koko-ru?

ISA-sit-MID:PST
'I sat (down)'

ne-la?-r-om

ISA-hit-ACT:PST-2sP
'I hit you'

ada?-r-in

thirsty-ACT:PST-1sP
'I was thirsty'

Alignment II

1s S_A intr

uj-t-aj

go-MID:NPST-VEN

'I will go'

1s A → 3s/p

don-t-aj

take-ACT:NPST-VEN

'I will take (it)'

1s S_O intr

adaʔ-r-aj

thirsty-ACT:PST-VEN

'I was thirsty'

Gorum Person Markers

	A / S _A	P / S _P
1s	<i>ne-</i>	<i>-in</i>
2s	<i>mo-</i>	<i>-om</i>
1p	<i>le-</i>	<i>-ilen</i>
2p	<i>bo-</i>	<i>-iben</i>
3p	<i>(=gi)</i>	

	A / S _A / S _P
1s	<i>-aj</i>
3p	<i>-ej</i>

Sora (Munda)

	non-motion
1s	STEM-TNS- <i>aj</i>
2s	STEM-TNS- ϵ
3s	STEM-TNS- ϵ
1p.incl	STEM-TNS- <i>be</i>
1p.excl	∂ -STEM-TNS- <i>aj</i>
2p	∂ -STEM-TNS- ϵ
3p	STEM-TNS- ϵ - <i>dʒi</i>

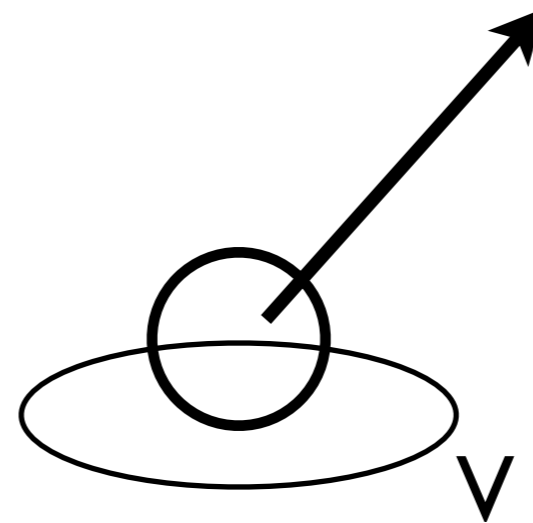
Spatial Usage

motion events

don-tu

take-ACT:NPST

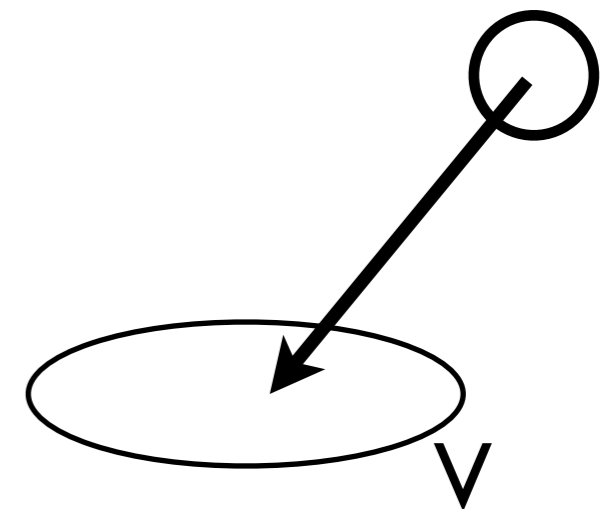
‘he will take (it)’



don-t-aj

take-ACT:NPST-VEN

‘he will bring (it)’



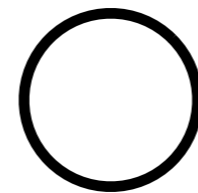
Spatial Usage II

non-motion events

no'd oa'd laʔ-tu

s/he dance hit-ACT:NPST

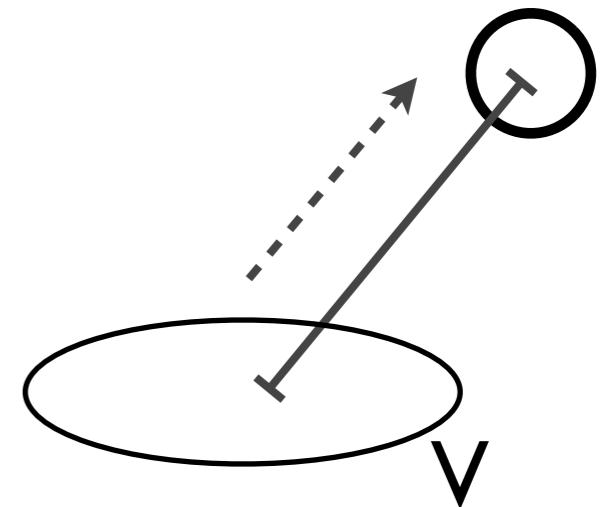
‘s/he will dance’



no'd oa'd laʔ-t-aj

s/he dance hit-ACT:NPST-VEN

‘s/he will dance over there’



cf. Q'eqchi' (Mayan) particle čaq (DeCormier 1979)

Spatial Meaning

- motion towards viewpoint
- distance from viewpoint
- motion (from viewpoint) towards a distant point?

Temporal Usage I

no'd sur-ru

s/he say-ACT:PST

'he said'

past

no'd sur-r-aj

s/he say-ACT:PST-VEN

's/he said a long time ago'

remote past

Temporal Usage II

ne-zel-tu

ISA-tell-ACT:NPST

'I will tell it'

future / habitual

zel-t-aj

tell-ACT:NPST-VEN

'I am going to tell it now'

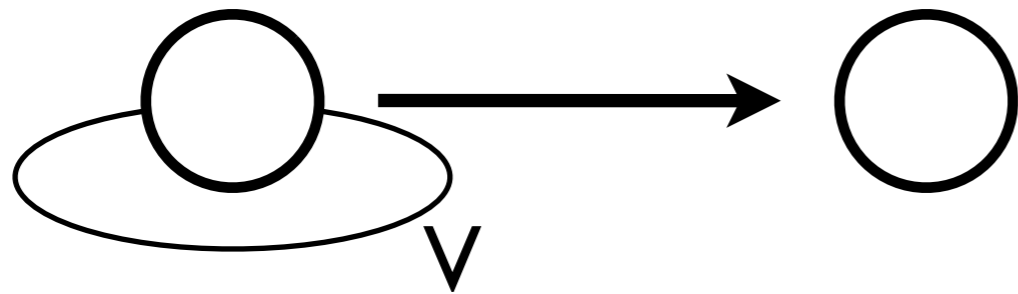
immediate future

Temporal Meaning

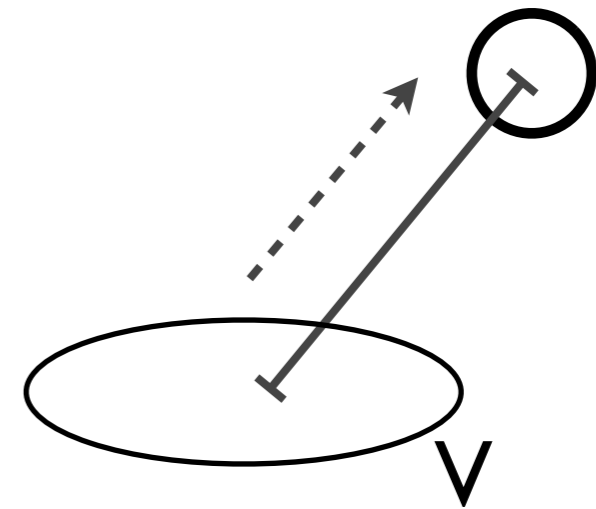
- remote past
- immediate future
- (urgency?)

spatial	direction towards viewpoint	distance from viewpoint	motion towards distant point
temporal	immediate future	remote past	
person	1st person sg actor/subject		

Space to Person



1st person subject



Non-motion usage

In Sora (Munda): 1st person subject usage restricted to non-motion verbs

	Viewpoint	Direction	Focality	Domain	Space	TAM
Gorum	A/S	DIR	1s	mixed/(local)	towards V distal distal-abl.	REM.PST IMM.FUT
Sora	A/S	DIR	1s	mixed/local	towards V distal?	?
Nez Perce	A	INV	2s>1s?	local	towards V distal?	?
Mohawk	O	DIR	2s>1s	local	towards V	?
Sizang Chin	O	DIR?	(3>)1s?	mixed/?	towards V	?
Kalenjin	O	DIR	SAP	mixed/local	towards V	(inceptive)
Kabardian	O	DIR	SAP?	local/mixed/non- local	towards V proximal	—

open issues

- What are relevant parameters?
- better understanding of spatial semantics
- usage in temporal domain
- correlations: person/space/time?
- links between specific meanings

Thank you!

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Thanks to Dagmar Jung, Nikolaus Himmelmann, Caro Pasamonik, Gerrit Dimmendaal, and Marianne Mithun

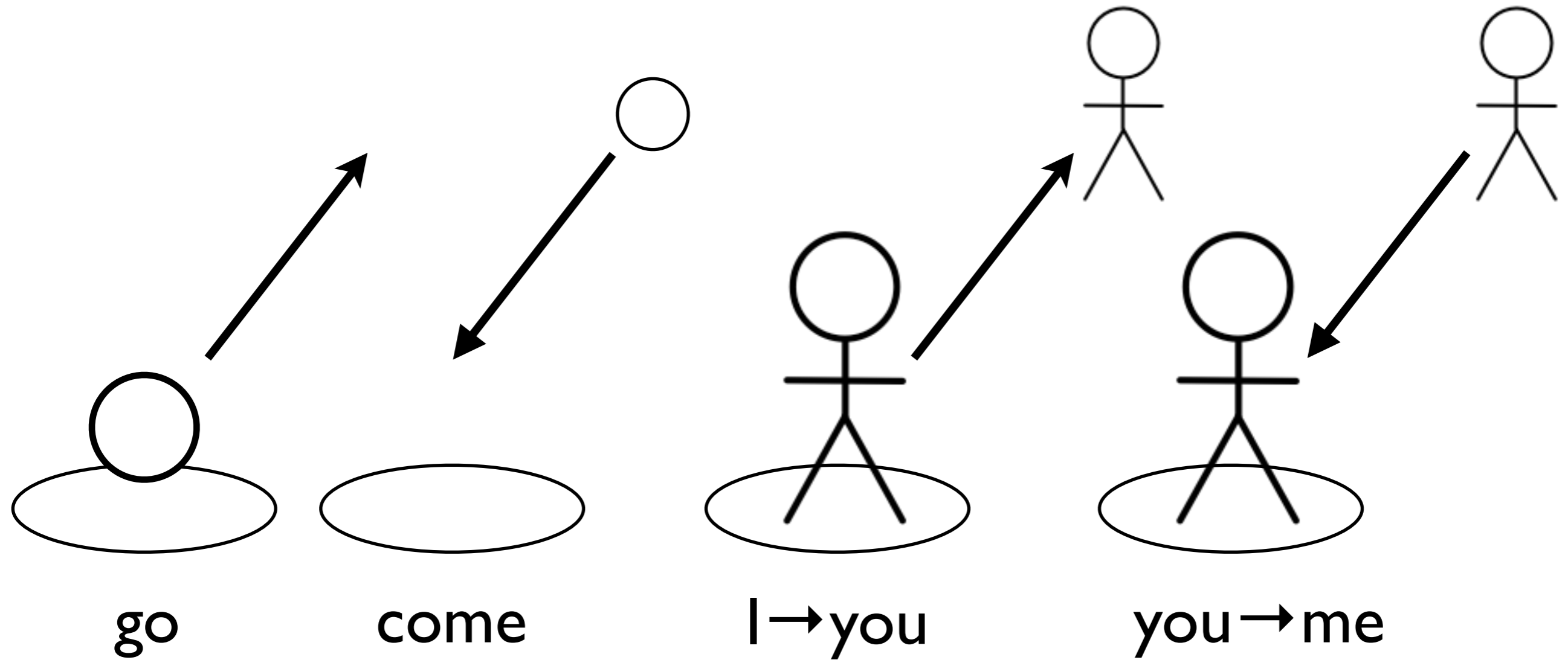
The parallelism between motion and dative sentences is hardly surprising, in view of the obvious and long-noted grammatical and semantic parallelism of the two types.

DeLancey 1981:637

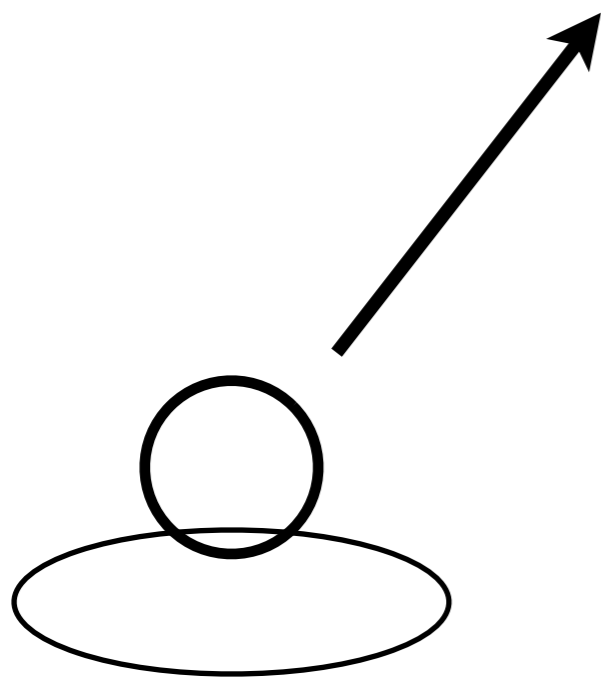
In any semantic field of events and states, the principal event, state, path, and place functions are a subset of those used for the analysis of spatial motion and location.

Jackendoff 1983:188

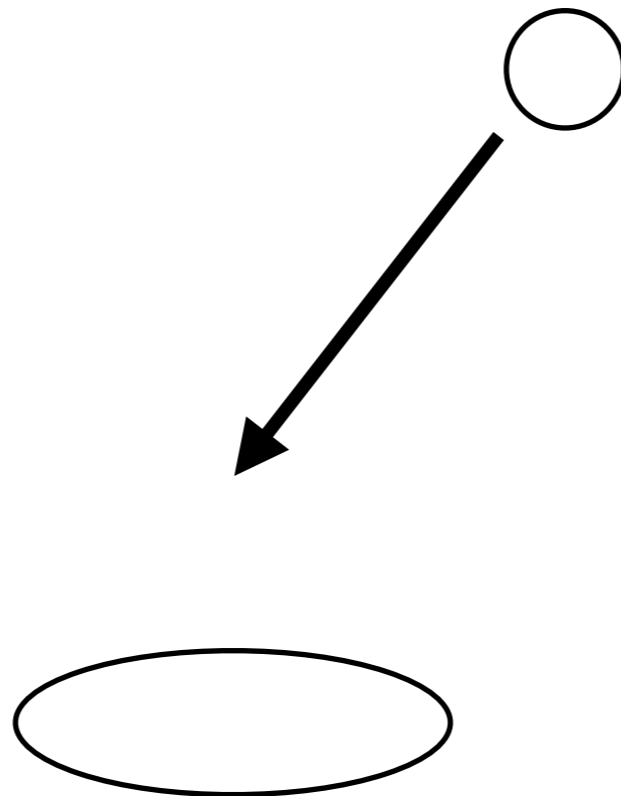
Nez Perce



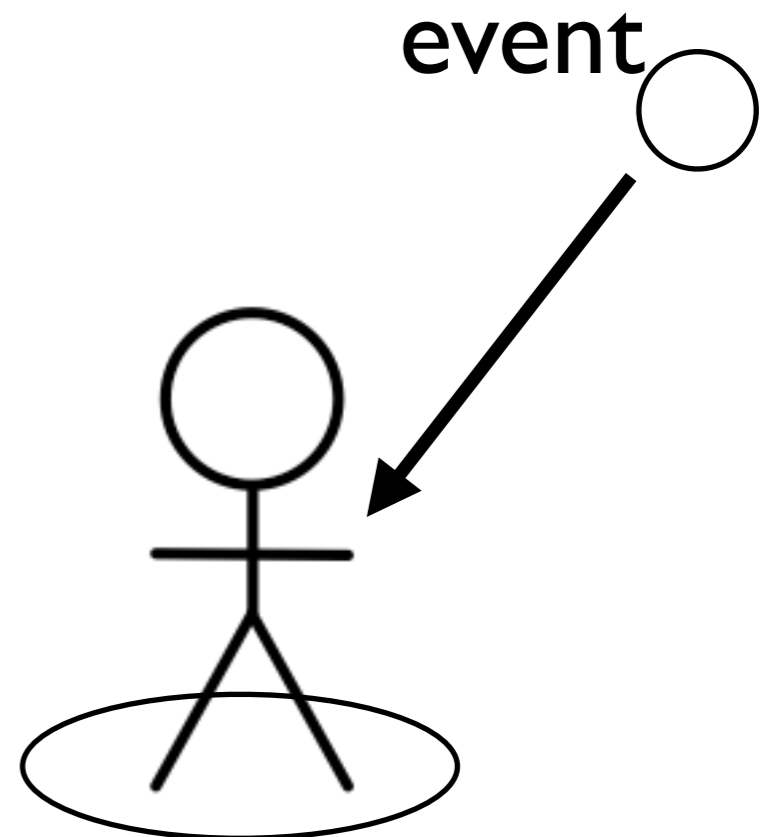
Benefactive



go



come



→SAP

Gorum

ne-koko-ru?

ISA-sit-MID:PST

‘I sat (down)’

ne-laʔ-r-om

ISA-hit-ACT:PST-2sU

‘I hit you’

aɖaʔ-r-in

thirsty-ACT:PST-1sU

‘I was thirsty’

	A / S _A	P / S _P
1s	<i>ne-</i>	<i>-in</i>
2s	<i>mo-</i>	<i>-om</i>
1p	<i>le-</i>	<i>-ilen</i>
2p	<i>bo-</i>	<i>-iben</i>
3p	<i>-ej/=gi</i>	(S _P : <i>-ej</i>)

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