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The system of "associated motion" in Cavineña

1   Cavineña: some background

The language and its speakers:
   Northern Bolivia, Amazon Basin
   Tacanan family: Araona, Cavineña, Ese Ejja, Reyesano, Tacana
   Macro Pano-Tacanan family hypothesis: (Key 1968, Girard 1971)
   Approx. 1000 ~ 12000 fluent speakers

Context of the study:
   Doctoral dissertation at the Research Centre for Linguistic Typology
      (La Trobe University, Australia)
   Writing of a descriptive grammar of the language (Guillaume 2004)

The corpus :
   - 15 months of fieldwork (6 fieldtrips) between 1996 et 2003 (in the
   town of Riberalta and 2 traditional communities)
   - 60 texts and conversations recorded, transcribed and translated
   - 20 texts written directly by speakers
   - sentences obtained through controled settings
   - sentences overheard during participant observation
   - non-religious texts published by Camp et Liccardi (SIL missionaries)
   - sentences that illustrate the entries of Camp et Liccardi's (1989) dic-
   tionary

Basic clause structure:
   - case marking language; ergative pattern (S=O≠A)

(1)   a. [*Tu-ke   tupuju*]   =*tu*$_S$ ***iba***$_S$ *tsajaja-chine.*
            3SG-FM FOLLOWING =3SG(-FM)   jaguar   run-REC.PAST

            'The jaguar chased him (lit. ran following him).' sg010

         b. ***Iba***=*ra*$_A$ =*tu*$_O$ *iye-chine*   ***takure***$_O$.
            jaguar=ERG=3SG(-FM)   kill-REC.PAST   chicken

            'The jaguar killed the chicken.' n1.0227

   - polysynthetic: root + numerous affixes + noun incorporation but no marking of person in the
   verb!

2 The system of "associated motion"

• paradigm of eleven mutually exclusive verbal suffixes (see Diagram in Appendix 1)
• function: associate a "motion" component to the event expressed by the verb stem they are attached to

(2)   a. *Tudya =ekwana$_A$ ba-**ti**-kware   takure$_O$.*
           then   =1PL   see-GO.TEMP-REM.PAST chicken

          'Then we went to see the chicken (in the back of the bus).' ga034

      b. *Jadya=tibu=dya   =mikwana$_O$ ba-**na**-wa…*
          thus=REASON=FOC =2PL   see-COME.TEMP-PERF

          'This is why I have come to see you (here in your village).' T1.69

• fascinating topic that immediately draws the attention of the investigator
• earliest description by Camp (1982)
• three articles by Guillaume (2000, 2006a, forthcoming) + a dissertation chapter in Guillaume (2004)
• not yet fully understood. Work in progress.

2.1. Typological perspective

• correspond to "**associated motion**" as in Australian languages (Wilkins 1991).
• different form **directionals** as in   Mayan languages (Haviland 1991, 1993, Craig 1994)
                                    Papuan languages (Foley 1986: 148-52)
                                    English particles (e.g., in, out, away, up, down, etc.).

• "associated motion" markers enccode **motion and path** while directionals only **encode path**.[1]
• "associated motion" markers associate a motion component to a verb stem event, regardless of whether this event already involves motion or not

• "associated motion" markers can be attached to all sorts of verbs

(3)   <u>motion verbs</u>   <u>non-motion verbs</u>

*nubi-**ti**-*	'go and enter'	*nawi-**ti**-*	'go and bathe'
*warere-**ti**-*	'go and turn'	*wira-**ti**-*	'go and pee'
*isha-**ti**-*	'go and insert O'	*tawi-**ti**-*	'go and sleep'
*abu-**ti**-*	'go and carry O'	*ba-**ti**-*	'go and see O'
*wesa-**ti**-*	'go and lift O'	*isara-**ti**-*	'go and greet O'
etc.		*ara-**ti**-*	'go and eat O'
	etc.		

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[1] Following Talmy (1985, 2000), motion (here "translational" motion, as opposed to "self-contained" motion) refers to the spatiotemporal displacement of an entity (or figure) vis-à-vis a ground object, from a source (origin) to a target (goal, endpoint). Path concerns the specification of the course followed by the figure during its displacement with regards to different landmarks, e.g., vis-à-vis the deictic center (towards vs. away from), vis-à-vis an enclosure (in vs. out), vis-à-vis the vertical axis (up vs. down), etc.
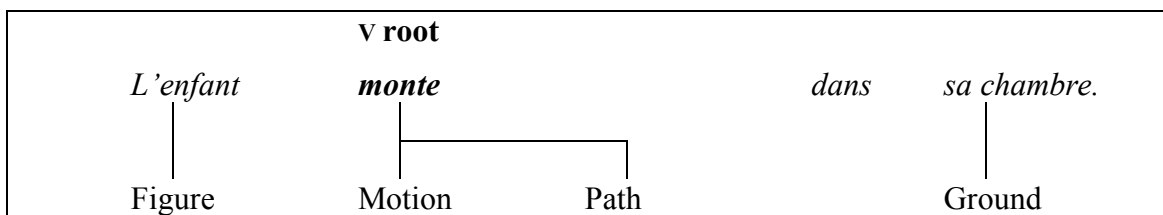
• directional markers can only specify the path of a motion that is already present in the verb stem event they are attached to.
• directional markers are restricted to motion verbs
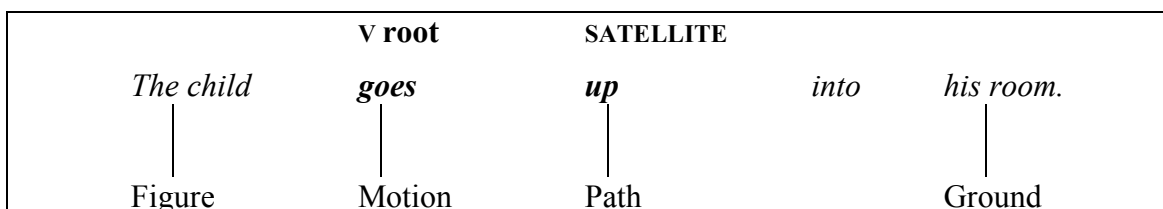
(4)   <u>motion verbs</u> (English)

*move **out***
*run **away***
*push O **in***
*throw O **away***
etc.

• note that Cavineña also has directional-like markers (-*tsura* 'UP', -*bute* 'DOWN', etc.). However, they belong to a distinct paradigm/slot in the predicate structure

• "associated motion" markers hardly ever discussed in the typological literature
• unlike for directional systems, <u>Talmy's "verb-framed / satellite-framed" framework not applicable</u> for "associated motion" systems because it only accounts for motion events expressed by motion verbs
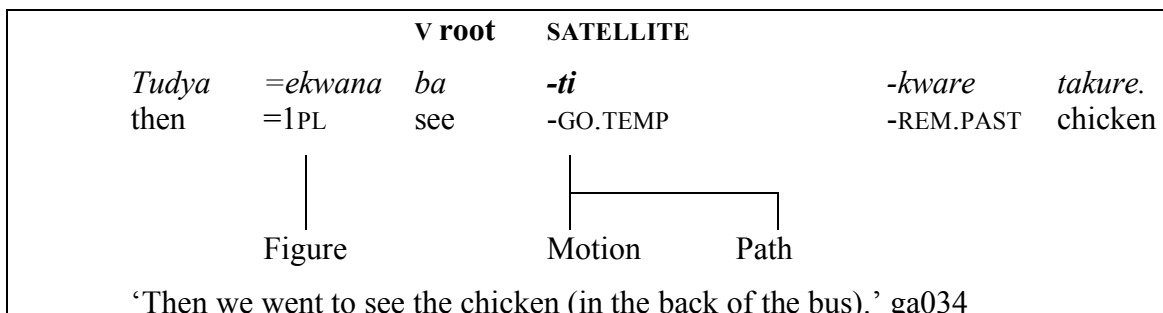
(5)   French — verb framed

	V root			
L'enfant	***monte***		*dans*	*sa chambre.*
Figure	Motion	Path		Ground

(6)   English — satellite framed

	V root	**SATELLITE**		
The child	***goes***	***up***	*into*	*his room.*
Figure	Motion	Path		Ground

(2)   Cavineña — ???

		V root	**SATELLITE**		
Tudya	*=ekwana*	*ba*	***-ti***	*-kware*	*takure.*
then	=1PL	see	-GO.TEMP	-REM.PAST	chicken
	Figure		Motion	Path	

'Then we went to see the chicken (in the back of the bus).' ga034

• "associated motion" markers typically grammaticalize from verbs

Table 1. Correspondences between motion suffixes and motion verbs in Cavineña

Suffixes		Independent verbs	
-ti / -nati	'GO.TEMP'	*kwa*	'go temporarily'
-na	'COME.TEMP'	*je*	'come temporarily'
-diru	'GO.PERM'	***diru***	'go permanently'
-eti	'COME.PERM'	***jeti***	'come permanently'
-kena	'LEAVE'	?	
-aje	'GO.DISTR'	***aje***	'walk'
-be	'COME.TEMP.DISTR'	***be*** (?)	'apporter'
-etibe	'COME.PERM.DISTR'	?	
-tsa	'COME(O)'	?	
-dadi	'GO(O)'	***dadi*** (?)	'find'

• but: "associated motion" markers are not verbs anymore !
    => we are not talking about verb compounding/serialization (at least synchronically)
    => no case for equipollent-framed language

• "associated motion" markers are very frequent in Amerindian languages, reported under various names, including the misleading term "directional":

North:	Atsugewi (Hokan, California, Talmy 1985)
Central:	Olutec (Mixe-zoquean, Mexico, Zavala 2000)
	Oaxaca Chontal (Isolate, Mexico, O'Connor 2004)
South:	Asheninca (Arawak, Peru, J. Payne 1982)
	Cavineña (Tacanan, Bolivia)
	Matses (Panoan, Peru, Fleck 2003: 364)
	Reyesano (Tacanan, Bolivia, Guillaume 2006b)
	Yagua (Peba-Yagua, Peru, T. Payne 1984)
	and many others…

• "associated motion" markers in other areas of the world:
    Central Australia (Koch 1984, Austin 1981, Tunbridge 1988, Wilkins 1991)
    Chadic languages of Africa (Parson 1960/61, Frajzyngier 1993 and p.c.)

2.2. Semantics of "associated motion" markers in Cavineña (cf. Appendix 1 - Diagram 1

System semantically particularly complex, that involves:
1 — the figure (moving entity): S/A or O argument;
2 — the manner of realization of the verb stem event: punctual or distributed;
3 — the orientation of the motion : 'towards' or 'away from' a reference point;
4 — the "stability" of the motion target: temporary or permanent;
5 — the location of the verb stem event vis-à-vis the target or the source of the motion: 'move and V' or 'V while moving' or 'V and move'

3   S/A-oriented motion suffixes - punctual verb stem event

Table 1. S/A-oriented motion suffixes - punctual realization

-ti/-nati	'GO.TEMP'
-diru	'GO.PERM'
-na	'COME.TEMP'
-eti	'COME.PERM'
-kena	'LEAVE'

Semantic constrasts:
   (1) orientation of the motion (§3.1)
   (2) "stability" of the location that is targeted by the motion (§3.2)
   (3) location of the verb stem event vis-à-vis the target or the source of the motion (§3.3)

3.1. Orientation of the motion

• specify a motion that is deictically oriented, i.e., directed either away from or towards the deictic center (DC)

-ti, -nati, -diru	motion away from the DC
-na, -eti	motion towards DC

• DC is the location of the speaker at the time of speech

(7)   a. *Kwa-kwe   AltoIvon=ju!   Ba-**ti**-kwe   tu-wa*
           go-IMP.SG   AltoIvón=LOC   see-GO.TEMP-IMP.SG   there-LOC

           Chakubu=kwana$_O$!
           Chácobo.person=PL

           'Go to Alto Ivón! Go and meet (lit. see) the Chácobo people there!' pa002

       b. *Ita   [jee$_{CC}$=ke bicho]$_O$ ba-**na**-kwe!*
          ATT.GETTER here=LIG   beast   see-COME.TEMP-IMP.SG

          'Come and see that beast!' ij012

3.2. "Stability" of the targeted location

• the motion targets different kinds of locations in terms of their "stability"

-ti, *-nati*, *-na*	motion targets "unstable" (temporary) locations
-diru, *-eti*	motion targets "stable" (permanent) locations

• compare (7a) and (7b) ("unstable" locations) with (8a) and (8b) ("stable" locations)

(8)   a. *Jadya=eke =tuna*~S~ *tu-wa   ani-**diru**-wa   [ekwana-ja iyakwa epu=ju]*.
        thus=PERL =3PL   there-LOC sit-GO.PERM-PERF 1PL-GEN   now   village=LOC

        'This is why they (our Cavineña ancestors) have settled (lit. gone to sit) there, where our
         village is now.' hs047

      b. *Ba-**eti**-kware   =tu-ra*~A~ *=Ø*~O~   *amena i-ke*~O~   *ari-ari.*
        see-COME.PERM-REM.PAST=3SG-ERG (=1SG-FM) BM   1SG-FM   big-REDUP

        '(When my older brother returned back home, after many years), he saw me much big-
         ger (than at the time he had left).' nk054

3.3. Location of the verb stem event vis-à-vis the source and/or the target of the motion

• specification of where the verb stem event takes place vis-à-vis the source and/or the target of the
motion.

-ti	verb stem event takes place at the target of the motion => 'go and/to V, arrive and V, V while arriving'
-nati	verb stem event takes place between the source and the target of the motion => 'V while going, V on the way'
-kena:	the verb stem event takes place at the source of the motion => 'V and move, V while leaving'

• *-ti* versus *-nati*:

(9)   a. Verb stem event at target of motion

        ... kwa-kware   i-ke~S~   *bei=ju   wikamutya=ra.*
          go-REM.PAST 1SG-FM   lake=LOC   fish=PURP.MOT

        Tu-wa   =tu-ke~O~ *=Ø*~A~   *ba-**ti**-kware*   *[peadya rau]*~O~...
          there-LOC =3SG-FM (=1SG-ERG) see-GO.TEMP-REM.PAST one   egret

        '… I went fishing at the lake. Arriving there, I saw an egret…' sl012-013

b. Verb stem event between source and target of motion

[*Jukuri turu ebari*]$_O$ =*tu-ke*$_O$ =$\emptyset_A$
coati big.male big =3SG(-FM) (=1SG-ERG)

    *mee=ju ba-**nati**-kware.*
    saltlick=LOC see-GO.TEMP-REM.PAST

'While I was going (to see my family,) I saw a big male coati in a saltlick.' mj119

• *-kena*

(10)   a. *Pa-**kena**-kware* [*Rosa* [[*tu-ja familia*]$_O$ *shana-ya=ke*]]$_S$.
          cry-LEAVE-REM.PAST Rosa 3SG-GEN family leave-IMPFV=LIG

        'Rosa cried as she was leaving her family.' n2.0887

   b. [*Refresco=kamadya*]$_O$ =*tu-ke*$_O$ =$\emptyset_A$ *iji-**kena**-wa.*
     soft.drink=RESTR =3SG-FM (=1SG-ERG) drink-LEAVE-PERF

     'I just had a soft-drink as I was leaving (my house).' lv033

-na, -diru, -eti   verb stem event takes place either at the target of the motion or between the source and the target of the motion

              => 'go and/to V, arrive and V, V while arriving' or,
              => 'V while going, V on the way'

• illustration with *-eti* 'COME.PERM':

(11)   Verb stem event at target of motion

   a. …*jamani*$_S$ *amena ani-**eti**-wa tu-wa.*
     vulture BM sit-COME.PERM-PERF there-LOC

    '(Seeing me like dead,) the vulture came and sat there (in order to eat me).' sd055

   b. … [*bakwa=ja kapana*]$_O$ [*armario dyake*] *iya-**eti**-kware…*
     viper=GEN bell cupboard ON put-COME.PERM-REM.PAST

    '… arriving (home,) he put the rattle (lit. bell) of the rattlesnake (lit. viper) on top of a cupboard.' vi030

(12)   Verb stem event between source and target of motion

   a. *Tudya ekatse*$_S$ *tawi-**eti**-kware*
     then 3DL sleep-COME.PERM-REM.PAST

     [*e-diji patyapatya*].
     NPF-path IN.MIDDLE.OF

    'They slept midway along the path.' ts007

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b. *Tudya* *=tu*_A   *jeti-nuka-ya=ke*_A

then   =3SG(-ERG)   come-REITR-IMPFV=LIG

    *ba-**eti**-kware*   *e-kike=ju*

    see-COME.PERM-REM.PAST NPF-forest=LOC

    [*tume*_{CC}*=ke bakwa cascabel*]_O.

    there=LIG   viper   rattlesnake

'Then, as he was coming back home (from delivering goods to his nephews at the school center), he saw that rattlesnake (lit. viper) in the forest.' vi005

4 S/A-oriented motion suffixes - distributed verb stem event

• punctual versus distributed

- punctual   verb stem event takes place only once in a particular location somewhere along a motion path, either at the source, or at the target, or in between

- distributed verb stem event is distributed or realized continuously between the source and the target of the motion.

Table 1. S/A-oriented motion suffixes - distributed realization

-aje	'GO.DISTR'
-be	'COME.TEMP.DISTR'
-etibe	'COME.PERM.DISTR'

• contrasting *-nati* (punctual) and *-aje* (distributed)

(13)   a. *Kwa-baka-nuka-tsu* *=pa*   *=tu*   *ba-**aje**-kware*

        go-SHORT-REITR-SS =REP =3SG(-ERG) see-GO.DISTR-PAST

          [*kwanubi=kwana=ja e-mekware*]_O.

          animal=PL=GEN   NPF-trace

          'He kept going and soon started to see traces of animals.' se029

    b. [*Yawa* *pupi-da=ju*]   *=pa*

       ground clean-ASF(=LIG)=LOC =REP

       [*kwanubi=kwana=ja e-tsau=kwana*]_O *ba-**nati**-wa.*

       animal=PL=GEN   NPF-bone=PL   see-GO.TEMP-PERF

       '(Then, after going a bit further, he ended up in a clearing and there,) on the clean ground, he saw the bones of animals.' se030c

• distributed or continuous

(14)   distributed

        [*I-ke*$_S$ *mia-keja*   *je-ya=ke*]$_S$ *neti-**be**-wa.*
        1SG-FM   2SG-ALL   come-IMPFV=LIG   stand-COME.TEMP.DISTR-PERF

        'As I was coming to you, I had to stop (lit. stand) many times on the way (to do various things. So this is why I am late).' n3.0497

(15)   continuous

        Jadya *=tu*$_O$ *amena* *ara-**be**-kware*   *e-ra*$_A$.
        thus   =3SG(-FM) BM   eat-COME.TEMP.DISTR-REM.PAST   1SG-ERG

        'So I was coming and eating (motacú nuts) along the way.' mp029

4.1. Orientation

-aje	motion away from the DC
-be, *-etibe*	motion towards DC

(16)   *Tudya*   *diru-baka-tsu*   *kike-tere-**aje**-kware*   *maju-diru=ishu.*
        then   go-SHORT-SS   shout-COMP-GO.DISTR-REM.PAST   die-GO.PERM=PURP.GNL

        'Then, he (the jaguar I had shot) went away a short distance, screaming with pain intermittently before he died.' mt012

(17)   *Nereka-da*   [*e-kwe*   *e-bakujuna*]   *tsajaja-**be**-ya.*
        miserable-ASF   1SG-GEN   1-daughter   run-COME.TEMP.DISTR-IMPFV

        'My daughter was coming back to me, running now and then, miserably (through the terrible pampa path, in order to meet me back).' ka018

4.2. "Stability" of the targeted location

-be	motion targets "unstable" (temporary) locations
-etibe	motion targets "stable" (permanent) locations
-aje	unspecified

• compare *-be* in (17) with *-etibe* in (18)

(18)   *E-diji=ju*   *i-ke*$_S$ *jara-**etibe**-chine.*
        NPF-path=LOC   1SG-FM   lie-COME.PERM.DISTR-REC.PAST

        'I lay on the path many times on my way back home (because I had a strong fever).' pf079

5 O-oriented motion suffixes

• Figure is S/A argument versus O argument

Table 1. O-oriented motion suffixes

-tsa	'COME(O)'
-dadi	'GO(O)'

These two suffixes have the following semantic and distributional characteristics:

1 — they are only used with transitive verbs;
2 — the orientation of the motion is not deictic: the reference point is the location of the A argument, regardless of the location of the speaker;
3 — the verb stem event is realized punctually;
4 — there is no distinction in terms of the "stability" of the targeted location nor in terms of the location of the verb stem event vis-à-vis the source or the target of the motion.

(19) a. *Tume =pa =taa =tu-ja =tu*_O
then =REP =EMPH =3SG-DAT =3SG(-FM)

*ba-**tsa**-ya* *ekwita*_O...
see-COME(O)-IMPFV person

'Then he$_i$ saw a man coming towards him$_i$.' cp013a

b. [*Peadya ekwita*]_O *=tu-ke*_O *=Ø*_A *ba-**dadi**-wa*...
one person =3SG-FM (=1SG-ERG) see-GO(O)-PERF

'I saw a man going away from me (with the duck he had stolen).' ju008

• additional examples:

(20) a. [*E-kwe e-bakujuna=ekana=ra*]_A *=Ø*_O
1SG-GEN 1-daughter=PL=ERG (=1SG-FM)

*dunu-**tsa**-chine=dya.*
surround-COME(O)-REC.PAST=FOC

(When I arrived home after a long journey,) my daughters surrounded me.' ka541

b. ... *tyuwi=ju buka=ra*_A *mada*_O *karu-**dadi**-kware.*
nape=LOC furet=ERG agouti bite-GO(O)-REM.PAST

'(From the top of a tree, I was observing a furet chasing an agouti. I saw) the furet bit the agouti on the nape (from behind).' ms020

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6 Discourse function of associated motion

• "echo" phenomenon with semantically corresponding independent verbs of motion in the same sentence or contiguous sentences

(9a)   I **went** to fish. I saw-**GO** an egret.
(12b)   As he was **coming back** home, he saw-**COME** that rattlesnake.
(13a)   He kept **going** and soon started to see-**GO** traces of animals.
(14)   As I was **coming** to you, I had to stop-**COME** many times on the way.
(16)   The jaguar **went away** a short distance, screaming-**GO** with pain before he died-**GO**.

• the same phenomenon was noted in Central Australian languages by Wilkins (1991), who interprete it as a device for **foregrounding** the verb stem event.

> « [I]t is **not the main function of 'associated motion' forms to present and elaborate information about a motion event**. Just as tense [...] functions to locate events within the flow of time, the 'category of associated motion' functions to **locate events within the flow of space**. » (Wilkins 1991: 251)

• hypothesis: structuring of narratives by way of specifying important "scenes"

    - the presentation of motion events is realized by way of independent verbs
    - the role of "associated motion" markers is to set up important "scenes"

• the story of Mr. Crisanto and the Rattlesnake

(1)   Mr. Crisanto had three nephews who were studying in a remote school. vi001-003
(2)   One day he **went** to the school to bring them food. vi004

SCENE 1: THE FOREST

(3)   As he was **coming back** home, he saw-**COME** a rattlesnake, in the forest. vi005
(4)   The rattlesnake almost bit him. vi006
(5)   Then Mr. Crisanto cut a stick and killed the snake. vi007-009

SCENE 2: THE EDGE OF THE PAMPA

(6)   Then, as he was **coming back** again, he saw-**COME** another snake, at the edge of the pampa. vi010
(7)   The same thing happened: the snake almost bit him. vi011

SCENE 3: NEAR THE RATTLESNAKE

(8)   This time, Mr. Crisanto, approached-**GO** the rattlesnake, cut-**GO** its rattle with a knife, took-**GO** the bell with him and left the snake in the path. vi012-014

SCENE 4: A WOOD IN THE PAMPA

(9)   Then, he kept **coming back,** (stopped) and slept-**COME** (for the night) in a wood of the pampa. vi015
(10)   His house was far away from the school. vi016
(11)   As dawn was breaking he heard the noise of leaves moving. vi017
(12)   He looked carefully around him and saw a rattlesnake who was turning around his mosquito net. vi018-19
(13)   He immediately jumped out of his mosquito net, got ready and left the rattlesnake. vi020-21-22

SCENE 5: A LOG

(14)   And he kept **coming back**. He **came back** a short distance and (stopped and) ate-**COME** his food on top of a log. (As he was doing so,) he saw-**COME(O)** again a rattlesnake who was **going** in the path. vi024
(15)   He was really surprised and left it again. vi023-27

SCENE 6: THE HOME OF MR. CRISANTO

(16)   He kept **going** toward his house. Then he arrived (lit. was-**COME**) at his house. vi028-29
(17)   Then he put-**COME** the rattlesnake's bell on top of a cupboard, having tightly tied it inside a piece of clothe. vi030
(18)   Then he went to sleep. vi031

(19)   His house was in good shape. There was no way a snake could enter it. But when he woke up, he saw the damn rattlesnake lying underneath the cupboard! vi032-033

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8 Abbreviations

=	clitic boundary	INCOMP	incompletive
( )	material that does not appear on the surface (used in the glossing line)	INT	interrogative
		INTENS	intensifier
[ ]	multiple-word constituent	JUSS	jussive
A	transitive subject	LIG	ligature
ABIL	abilitative	LOC	locative
ADVERS	adversative	LOC.APPROX	locative approximative
AFFTN	affection	LOC.GNL	general locative
ALWS	always	MAN	manner
ANTIPASS	antipassive	NEG	negative
APPROX	approximative	NP	noun phrase
ASF	(dummy) adjective suffix	NPF	(dummy) noun prefix
ASSOC	associative	NSG	non-singular
ATT.GETTER	attention getter	O	object
AUGM	augmentative	ONOM	onomatopoeia
CAUS	causative	PASS	passive
CAUS.INVLT	causative of involvement	PERF	perfect
CC	copula complement	PERL	perlative
COMP	completive	PERM	permanently
CONDIT	conditional	PL/pl	plural
CONTR	contrastive	POT	potential
CONT.EVID	contrary to evidence	PROP	proparalepsis
DAT	dative	PROX	proximal
DC	deictic center	PURP.GNL	general purpose
DESID	desiderative	PURP.MOT	purpose of motion
DIM	diminutive	QUEST	question (marker)
DISEMPH	disemphatic	REC.PAST	recent past
DISTR	distributive	REDUP	reduplication
DL/dl	dual	REF	reflexive
DS	different subject	REITR	reiterative
E	extended argument	REM.PAST	remote past
EMPH	emphatic	REP	reportative
ERG	ergative	RES	resultative
FILL	(lexical) filler	RESTR	restrictive
FB	father's brother	S	intransitive subject
FM	formative	SG	singular
FOC	focus	SIMLR	similarity
FRUST	frustrative	SS	same subject
GEN	genitive	STRG.EMPH	strong emphasis
HORT	hortative	TEMP	temporarily
IMP	imperative	UNCERT	uncertain
IMPFV	imperfective	1, 2, 3	1st, 2nd, 3rd person