



# Semantic Shifts

Fréjus - Destremau  
12-23 Sept. 2022

Semantic Shifts: From lexicon to grammar. Diachronic and typological perspectives

## Semantic Course 2

### Course on Associated Motion in typological and diachronic perspectives

Antoine Guillaume, Laboratoire Dynamique du Langage (CNRS & Université Lyon 2)  
Guillaume Jacques, Laboratoire CRLAO (CNRS, Inalco & EHESS)

#### Course description

‘Associated Motion’ (AM) is a relatively newly identified descriptive and comparative concept defined as a **verbal grammatical category, separate from tense, aspect, mood and direction, whose function is to associate, in different ways, different kinds of translational motion to a (generally non-motion) verb event** (e.g. ‘go / come / move along and then V’, ‘V and then go / come / move along’, ‘V while going / coming / moving along’, ‘V while non-subject is going / coming / moving along, etc.) (Guillaume 2016; Guillaume & Koch 2021).

AM can be expressed by **verbal affixes, clitics, particles or auxiliaries** which, in different linguistic traditions, receive a wide range of descriptive labels such as ‘motion / motion-cum-purpose / purposive / intentional’, ‘(deictic) directional / directive’, ‘ven(i)tive / andative / itive’, ‘hither / thither’, ‘centrifugal / centripetal’, ‘(cis- / trans- / dis- / re-)locative’, ‘displacement’, ‘(secondary / locative) aspect’, etc.

The category of AM is noteworthy from a theoretical point of view because it shows, among other things, that in some languages **the “fact-of-motion”** (Talmy 2007) **can be encoded grammatically**, by way of affixes or other grammaticalized elements, and not necessarily lexically, by way of verb roots, contrary to what is generally assumed.

The phenomenon of AM was first recognized for languages of **Central Australia** since the 1980s (starting with Koch 1984; Tunbridge 1988; Wilkins 1989; 1991), then from 2000 in **Western Amazonia** (starting with Guillaume 2000; 2006; 2008; 2009; Sakel 2004), and many examples have subsequently been identified in Central and North America, Africa, Asia, the South Pacific and Papua New Guinea (Guillaume & Koch 2021; Ross 2021). Conspicuously, AM appears to be very rare in European languages, with a single case found to date in Western Sicilian (De Pasquale & Guillaume 2021).

The most elaborated AM systems, those of the Arandic languages of Central Australia and the Takanan languages of Western Amazonia, can express up to 15 contrasting AM values in paradigmatic opposition. Typological studies of these AM systems have revealed recurrent properties in terms of the semantic parameters and values that are encoded:

- **moving argument** (subject vs. non-subject, generally the object)
- **temporal relation** between motion and verb event (prior, concurrent, subsequent)
- **path of motion** (towards/away from deictic center, upward/downward, straight/return, past)
- **aspectual realization** of verb event (perfective / punctual vs. imperfective / continuous / repeated)

Studies of simpler AM systems comprising sometimes only one or two members, such as those found in **Trans-Himalayan** (Jacques 2013, Jacques et al. 2021) and **Tungusic** (Stoynova 2016, Alonso de la Fuente et al. 2018, Pakendorf et al. 2021) families, have focused on the semantic and syntactic contrasts between AM on the one hand and motion verbs with purposive clauses on the other hand, showing crosslinguistic differences in the **degree of event integration** between the verbal action and the motion event.

A tentative typology of the simplicity vs. complexity of the formation as well as the likelihood of the semantic values being manifested emerges from the Western Amazonian languages (Guillaume 2016):

- (1) **motion of the subject > motion of the object** and
- (2) **prior motion > concurrent motion > subsequent motion**

AM has also been recognized in **languages which do not have dedicated AM markers**, but markers which normally express other (non-AM) meanings, and only display AM meanings in specific contexts. This is typically the case of deictic directional markers which primarily operate on motion verbs and specify the deictic orientation of a motion already encoded by the verb, but which can also be used with (at least certain) non-motion verbs and then give rise to AM readings similar to those expressed by dedicated AM markers. Following the work by Belkadi (2015, 2016), who first identified this phenomenon in African languages, such types of polysemous markers are often named **D-AM markers (for “AM marked by deictic directionals”)**.

From a historical perspective, many of the AM markers **derive etymologically from lexical verbs of motion** used in multi-verbal constructions. And from an areal perspective, AM appears to be is a **highly diffusible category** through language contact.

In this course, we will provide a general overview of the phenomenon of AM and an illustration, through **detailed accounts of the AM systems in four language groups (Tungusic, Algonquian, Gyalrongic and Kiranti)**, of a range topics relevant to the descriptive and comparative studies of AM, including:

- Dedicated vs. polyfunctional
- Time of motion (prior, concurrent, subsequent)
- Deixis (itive vs. ventive)
- Compatibility with motion verbs
- Argument of motion (transitive subject, object, causee)
- Orientation and elevation
- Vertitivity, discontinuity of motion
- Echo phenomena
- Degree of event integration
- Ability to modify the verb's argument structure, and specify the source/goal of motion
- Derivational vs. inflectional
- AM vs. altrilocation

The discussion will show that the four language groups have typologically very different AM systems, even in Gyalrongic and Kiranti which belong to the same Sino-Tibetan family. These case studies illustrate how the features and phenomena listed above are instantiated in different languages, and document the range of variability and complexity of AM systems and their interaction with other areas of morphosyntax.

## References

- Alonso de la Fuente, José Andrés & Guillaume Jacques. 2018. Associated motion in Manchu in typological perspective. *Language and Linguistics* 19(4). 501–524.
- Belkadi, Aïcha. 2015. Associated motion with deictic directionals: A comparative overview. *SOAS Working Papers in Linguistics* 17. 49–76.
- Belkadi, Aïcha. 2016. Associated Motion Constructions in African Languages. *Africana Linguistica* 22. 43–70.
- De Pasquale, Noemi & Antoine Guillaume. 2021. Associated motion in Western Sicilian: a preliminary account. Presented at the Annual Meeting of the Societas Linguistica Europaea (SLE54), August 30 - September 3.
- Guillaume, Antoine. 2000. Directionals versus associated motions in Cavineña. In Alan K. Melby & Arle L. Lommel (eds.), *LACUS Forum XXVI: The lexicon*, 395–401. Fullerton, CA: The Linguistic Association of Canada and the United States.
- Guillaume, Antoine. 2006. La catégorie du “mouvement associé” en cavineña : apport à une typologie de l’encodage du mouvement et de la trajectoire. *Bulletin de la Société de Linguistique de Paris* 101(1). 415–436.
- Guillaume, Antoine. 2008. *A grammar of Cavineña* (Mouton Grammar Library 44). Berlin & New York: Mouton de Gruyter.
- Guillaume, Antoine. 2009. Les suffixes verbaux de mouvement associé en cavineña. *Faits de Langues : Les Cahiers* 1. 181–204.
- Guillaume, Antoine. 2016. Associated motion in South America: Typological and areal perspectives. *Linguistic Typology* 20(1). 81–177.
- Guillaume, Antoine & Harold Koch (eds.). 2021. Introduction: Associated Motion as a grammatical category in linguistic typology. *Associated Motion* (Empirical Approaches to Language Typology 64), 3–30. Berlin & Boston: De Gruyter Mouton.
- Jacques, Guillaume. 2013. Harmonization and disharmonization of affix ordering and basic word order. *Linguistic Typology* 17(2). 187–217.
- Jacques, Guillaume, Aimée Lahaussais, & Zhang Shuya. 2021. Associated motion in Sino-Tibetan, with a focus on Gyalrongic and Kiranti, In Antoine Guillaume & Harold Koch (eds.), *Associated Motion* (Empirical Approaches to Language Typology), 819–853. Berlin & Boston: De Gruyter Mouton.
- Koch, Harold. 1984. The category of “associated motion” in Kaytej. *Languages in Central Australia* 1. 23–34.
- Pakendorf, Brigitte and Stoynova, Natal’ja (to appear) Associated motion in Tungusic languages: a case of mixed argument structure. In Antoine Guillaume & Harold Koch (eds.), *Associated Motion* (Empirical Approaches to Language Typology 64), 855–897. Berlin & Boston: De Gruyter Mouton.
- Ross, Daniel. 2021. A cross-linguistic survey of associated motion and directionals. In Antoine Guillaume & Harold Koch (eds.), *Associated Motion* (Empirical Approaches to Language Typology 64), 31–86. Berlin & Boston: De Gruyter Mouton.
- Sakel, Jeanette. 2004. *A grammar of Mosetén* (Mouton Grammar Library 33). Berlin & New York: Mouton de Gruyter.
- Stoynova, Natal’ja M. 2016. Pokazateli “dviženija s cel’ju” i sobytijnaja struktura: suffiks *-nda* v nanajskom jazyke [Markers of “motion-cum-purpose” and event structure: *-nda* suffix in Nanai]. *Voprosy Jazykoznanija* 4. 86–111
- Talmy, Leonard. 2007. Lexical typologies. In Timothy Shopen (ed.), *Language Typology and Syntactic Description*, 66–168. 2nd edn. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

- Tunbridge, Dorothy. 1988. Affixes of motion and direction in Adnyamathanha. In Peter Austin (ed.), *Complex sentence constructions in Australian languages* (Typological Studies in Language 15), 267–283. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.
- Wilkins, David P. 1989. *Mparntwe Arrernte (Aranda). Studies in the structure and semantics of grammar*. Canberra: Australian National University doctoral dissertation.
- Wilkins, David P. 1991. The semantics, pragmatics and diachronic development of “associated motion” in Mparntwe Arrernte. *Buffalo Papers in Linguistics* 1. 207–257.