



# Semantic Shifts

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

## Course on Associated Motion

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### 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: 81–94; Guillaume & Koch Forthcoming).

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, but, conspicuously, not (yet) in European languages (Guillaume & Koch Forthcoming).

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 vs. imperfective)

Studies of simpler AM systems comprising sometimes only one or two members, such as those found in **Trans-Himalayan** (Jacques 2013, Jacques et al. to appear) and **Tungusic** (Stoynova 2016, Alonso de la Fuente et al. 2018, Pakendorf et al. to appear) 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 an introduction to the phenomenon of AM and a state-of-the-art discussion of a range of important topics relevant to the descriptive and comparative studies of AM, including:

- geographical distribution of AM systems in languages of the world
- areal diffusion of AM across genetic boundaries
- semantic parameters identified so far for the description of systems
- subcategories of AM recognized cross-linguistically
- inflectional vs derivational AM
- generalizations concerning the hierarchy of parameters
- interaction of with other verbal categories, especially direction
- interaction and contrast between grammaticalized AM and non-grammaticalized expressions of motion in the same language
- possible discourse-pragmatic functions of AM forms
- possible etymological sources of the exponents of AM values
- grammaticalization of AM into non-AM markers (e.g. aspect, direction, etc.)

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