

## BASIC MOTION VERBS IN NYAKYUSA: LEXICAL SEMANTICS AND ASSOCIATED MOTION

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This paper gives a descriptive account of the lexical semantics of seven basic verbs of translational motion in Nyakyusa (Bantu, M31), together with a description of the meaning and use of another motion verb that has grammaticalized to a marker of associated motion. The findings include, among other things, that Nyakyusa's most simple verb of motion encodes solely a motion path and that only the 'come'-verb, but none of the 'go'-verbs, encodes reference to the deictic centre. Applying a micro-comparative perspective, the choice of 'go'-verb that has grammaticalized to a marker of associated motion is explained based on the relative salience assigned to the goal vis-à-vis the path.

Keywords: Nyakyusa, Bantu, semantics, motion

### 1. Introduction

**1.1 Translational motion in Bantu.**<sup>1</sup> The aim of this paper is to give a detailed description of the lexical semantics of seven basic verbs of translational motion in Nyakyusa M31,<sup>2</sup> a Bantu language of Tanzania, together with a note on some of their extended uses. Translational motion is understood as involving the movement of a figure (the moving object) along a motion trajectory, which may or may not be delimited by landmarks such as a source (the initial location) or a goal (the final location). Any verb that denotes manner of motion or a more complex trajectory such as a return path (a path leading back to some original location) is excluded. The analysis of the lexical verbs of translational motion is complemented by a discussion of a former verb of translational motion that has grammaticalized as a marker of associated motion (a grammatical device that serves to portray an act against the background of a motion co-event; see §4).

The need for a detailed description of the lexical semantics of motion verbs is made prominent by Wilkins & Hill's (1995) seminal work. These authors point out that "verbs that depict come and go scenes cross-linguistically vary in their base semantics to such a degree that there is no useful sense in which they may be considered universal notions" (Wilkinson & Hill 1995: 124). Also, Dimmendaal (2000: 191–192) states that there has so far been little study made of patterns of lexicalization in African languages. As for the Bantu language family, some patterns of lexicalization of motion are discussed in Gaines (2001), albeit with focus on Talmy's typology of verb-framed vs. satellite-framed languages; see below on the latter. Siteo (2001) is a book-length study of motion verbs in Changana S53, including the effects of derivation and a discussion of

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<sup>2</sup> Combinations of a letter plus digits following the name of a language indicate the code the language receives in the updated version of Guthrie's referential system (Maho 2009).

inflectional morphemes grammaticalized from motion verbs. Botne (2005) gives a detailed description of lexical semantics and the construction of complex motion events in Ndali M301. As Ndali is closely related to Nyakyusa, the present study allows us to observe patterns of micro-variation. Botne (2006) discusses the motion scheme of various ‘come’ and ‘go’ verbs across a number of Bantu languages from the background of grammaticalization. Devos (2014) is a detailed examination of 9 basic motion verbs in Shangaci P312. Lastly, some Swahili G42, Nyakyusa and data from other Bantu languages are discussed by Lusekelo (2010). Some of his analysis of Nyakyusa, however, does not hold up to further scrutiny, and he does not discuss the associated motion marker (*ja*) ‘go’. A first approach to the latter is found in Persohn 2017a (pp. 317–320). The present study thus contributes to broadening our understanding of the encoding of motion in Bantu languages.

The remainder of this study is structured as follows: In §1.2, the semantic components of motion verbs are discussed, to then give some background information on the Nyakyusa language (§1.3). This is followed by a discussion of locative expressions in Nyakyusa (§1.4) and the structure of the verb in this language (§1.5). In §1.6, data collection is described. §§2–4 form the main body of this study. In §2, the only deictic verb among Nyakyusa’s basic verbs of, *isa* ‘come’, is described, and in §3 six non-deictic basic verbs of motion are examined. §4 contains a discussion of the grammaticalized auxiliary (*ja*) ‘go’. The article concludes in §5.

**1.2 Analysing motion verbs.** In typological studies of motion verbs (Talmy 1985, Wilkins & Hill 1995, among others), the following components are normally understood as essential for the description of translational motion:

1. an anchor (source or goal of the motion)
2. the direction in relation to the anchor(s)
3. a description of the motion path
4. the relation of the motion to a deictic centre

Botne (2005) proposes two additional components: coincidence between the motion figure and an anchor and the relative salience of an anchor vs. the path. In §3.4 we will critically discuss the first (coincidence). The latter (relative salience) has most likely played a role in grammaticalization in Nyakyusa (§4).

Concerning the question of deixis, Wilkins & Hill (1995: 125) warn against assuming that a verb in a given language that translates as ‘go’ is necessarily deictic: “there are languages in which the GO verb is not inherently deictic”. In §§3 and 4 we will see that Nyakyusa is such a language.

Basic or translational motion events can also be associated with a description of the manner of motion. In a well-known typology proposed by Talmy (2000), languages are classified as either ‘verb-framed’ or ‘satellite-framed’, based on how they conflate motion, direction and manner respectively (but see Slobin 2004, among others). Verb-framed languages are said to conflate motion and direction while expressing manner in a separate syntactic element. Satellite-framed languages, on the other hand, are said to conflate manner and motion, while expressing direction in ‘satellites’, e.g. affixes, particles, adpositions or case markers. Within this typology, Bantu languages are commonly described as predominantly verb-framed (Schaefer & Gaines 1997; Gaines 2001), although some uses of applicative morphemes can be understood as representing an additional satellite-framed pattern (Beavers et al. 2010; also see Seidel 2007).

**1.3 Nyakyusa.** Nyakyusa (M31) is a Bantu language of south-western Tanzania, spoken on the coastal plains of Lake Nyassa and in the hills to the north of it (e.g. Wilson 1963: 1). The number of speakers lies between 730,000 and 1,080,000 (Muzale & Rugemalira 2008; Simons & Fedding 2017). Its closest relatives are Ndali (M301), bordering to the west, and Ngonde (M31d) across the Malawian border.

**1.4 Locative expressions.** The linguistic construal of motion events typically includes locative expressions. These therefore deserve a short discussion. Nyakyusa has three locative noun classes. Table 1 lists the shape of the locative prefixes and a short summary of the meaning of each class. See Gregoire (1975) on locatives from a pan-Bantu perspective.

**Table 1:** Locative noun classes

Class	Prefix	Semantics
16	<i>pa-</i>	‘at’, ‘proximity’
17	<i>ko-</i>	‘general area’, ‘far away’
18	<i>mu-</i> (typically N / C)	‘in’

Locations are also often indexed on verbs through enclitic demonstratives of the shapes =*po* (class 16), =*ko* (class 17) and =*mo* (class 18). While Nyakyusa also uses object prefixes for the locative noun classes, their use is very rare (see Persohn 2017b). In some contexts, verbs of motion may be used without any overt locative expression. This will be addressed at various points in the discussion of specific lexical verbs.

As for the functional role of locative expressions, Creissels (2006: 23) observes that especially in the Niger-Congo phylum, to which the Bantu languages belong, “locative expressions [...] by themselves provide no clue to the choice between the roles of localization, source or destination. Localization is the default interpretation, and the roles of source or destination can be assigned by verbs only.”

**1.5 Verb structure.** Verbs in Nyakyusa have the highly agglutinative structure that is typical of Bantu languages. The following is a slightly simplified version of the linear structure of the inflected verbal word:

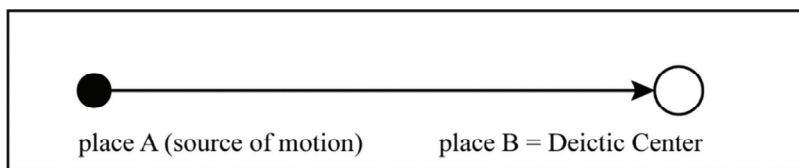
(1) Tense=Subject-NEG/TAM-Object-Root-Derivation-TAM=LOC/WH

As the different motion verbs in Nyakyusa contribute different components of a motion event, the description of a complete motion episode normally requires the use of more than one verb. This interplay of the various motion verbs will be addressed at various points throughout this article.

As for syntactic structure, the different verbs employed in a description of a motion event may either be finite verbs distributed across more than one clause (2), or alternatively, infinitival complements may be employed. This can either be in the form a bare infinitive, as in (3), or an infinitive together with an enclitic form of comitative (‘with/and’) *na* (4). Infinitives by themselves never express an anchor. They may, however, be additionally marked for one of the three locative classes, in which case class 16 indicates a specific place at which the event takes place, as with the last verb in (4). Classes 17 and 18 typically give a purpose reading, as in the last verb in (3) (also see Persohn 2017a: 327–328).

- (2) a-fum-ile            ku-Manow.    i-ku-**booka**    ku-Ndembo  
 1-come\_from-PFV    17(LOC)-M.    1-PRS-go        17(LOC)-N.  
 ‘S/he is going from Manow to Ndembo. [lit. has come from Manow ... is going to Ndembo]’
- (3) ba-lmku-bopa    a-ka-balilo    kala-ka-la            **o-ku-booka**    ku-ku-keeta  
 2-NARR-run        AUG-12-time    REDUPL~12-DIST    AUG-15(INF)-go    17(LOC)-15(INF)-watch  
 i-mi-gonda    gy-abo  
 AUG-4-field    4-POSS.PL  
 ‘They ran off right away to look at their fields’
- (4) i-n-gwina            j-iis-aga            n-ku-j-eega            i-n-gambili  
 AUG-9-crocodile    9-PST.come-IPFV    18(LOC)-15(INF)-9-take    AUG-9-monkey  
**n=o-ku-booka**        na=j            pa-lo-songo            pa-kw-angala  
 COM=AUG-15(INF)-go    COM=REF.9    16(LOC)-11-island    16(LOC)-15(INF)-be\_well  
 ‘Crocodile used to come to pick up monkey and go with him to an island to spend time together’

**1.6 Data collection.** The data used in this study come primarily from two sources. First, ten scenes from Wilkins & Hill's (1993) ‘come’ and ‘go’ questionnaire were elicited with two language assistants (‘informants’) each. The scenes used are listed in the appendix. These scenes depict the trajectory of a figure along a path, together with possible anchors and the deictic centre, the latter of which may or may not coincide with one of the anchors. As an example, scene 4 is given in (5).



(5) Scene 4:

Elicitation of the questionnaire scenes was provided by giving an English description. In case of the scene depicted in (5), this would be “We are here in Lwangwa. Somebody is moving from Itete to us.” The second main data source has been the examination of 42 texts, mainly folk narratives. Some of these texts stem from the author's original fieldwork, others are the product of literacy workshops by SIL International and were kindly made available by Helen Eaton. The written texts have been checked for a phonemic spelling in collaboration with the language assistants. An additional oral rendition of a folk narrative was made available by Knut Felberg. Some peculiar uses of motion verbs in the texts were further discussed in the elicitation sessions. Complementing the analysis of texts and questionnaires, some data from participant observation

are also included. A few additional illustrative examples have been taken from a draft of a Bible translation by SIL International (kindly provided by Helen Eaton).<sup>3</sup>

Table 2 lists the 7 lexical verbs plus (*j*)a ‘go’ – the latter is only available as an auxiliary in the present-day language – that are in the focus of this study, together with their Proto-Bantu reconstructions. For *sooka* ‘leave’ no suitable Proto-Bantu reconstruction is attested.

**Table 2:** Verbs in the focus of this study

Nyakyusa	Gloss	Proto-Bantu (Bastin et al. 2003)
<i>booka</i>	‘go’	*bóok ‘rise up; go away; fly away’
<i>enda</i>	‘travel’	*génd ‘walk; travel; go; go away’
<i>isa</i>	‘come’	*jjj ‘come’
<i>fuma</i>	‘come from’	*kúm ‘come from’
<i>fika</i>	‘arrive, reach’	*pik ‘arrive’
<i>sooka</i>	‘leave’	n/a
<i>knda</i>	‘pass’	*kínd ‘throw in wrestling; overcome’
<i>(j)a</i>	‘go’	*gi ‘go’

In the following, first the only deictic verb among these verbs, namely *isa*, ‘come’ is discussed (§2), turning then to each of the remaining six non-deictic lexical motion verbs (§3). Lastly, in §4 the associated motion auxiliary (*j*)a is discussed.

## 2. Deictic motion: *isa* ‘come’

The only out of the eight verbs that explicitly encodes a deictic centre – by default the location of the speaker – is *isa* ‘come’. Both language assistants used it in the description of scenes 4 and 5, the only scenes depicting motion of the figure to the location of the speaker. (6) corresponds to scene 4.

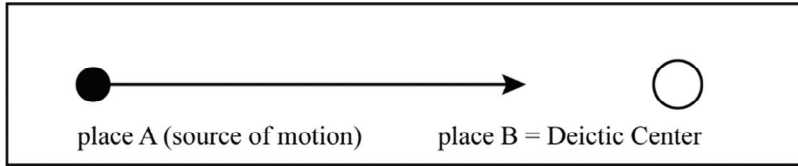
- (6) i-kw-**isa**      a-pa                      ū-kŭ-fuma                      kw-Itete  
 1-PRS-come      AUG-PROX.16(LOC)      AUG-15(INF)-come\_from      17(LOC)-I.  
 ‘S/he’s coming here from Itete.’

While *isa* lexicalizes reference to the deictic centre, it does not encode a landmark identifying the site of the deictic centre, i.e. a goal. Thus, while the location of the deictic centre may be identified, e.g. through *apa* ‘here’ in (6), *isa* is often found without any overt locative expression. Also note that both language assistants used *isa* in the description of scene 3, which encodes motion of a figure on a path towards, but not delimited by the deictic centre. Scene 3 is given in

<sup>3</sup> Scripture quotations from The Authorized (King James) Version. Rights in the Authorized Version in the United Kingdom are vested in the Crown. Reproduced by permission of the Crown’s patentee, Cambridge University Press,

(7), and its description in (8). To make the termination of the motion event explicit, *fika* ‘arrive’ may be employed (§3.4)

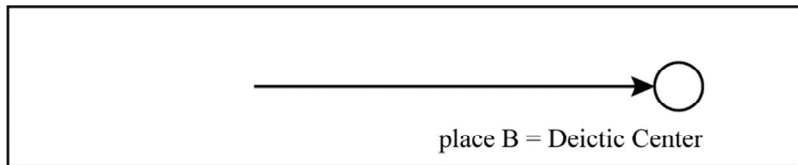
(7) Scene 3:



(8) *o-mu-ndo o-jo i-kw-isa o-ko-fuma kw-Itete*  
 AUG-1-person AUG-PROX.1 1-PRS-come AUG-15(INF)-come\_from 17(LOC)-I.  
 ‘This person is coming [towards us] from Itete.’

Not only does *isa* not encode a goal, it also does not encode a source. To indicate the source of motion, a form of *fuma* ‘come from’ (§3.3) needs to be used. If one removes the infinitival form of *fuma* plus complement in (6, 8), they correspond to scene 5, which is given in (9). Botne (2005) makes the same observations for the cognate verb *isa* in neighbouring Ndali. To sum up, *isa* encodes unanchored motion along a path towards the deictic centre.

(9) Scene 5:



Apart from its original meaning as a motion verb, *isa* has also grammaticalized to a phasal verb (a.k.a. aspectual verb) which takes an infinitive without the augment (‘pre-prefix’) as its complement. In this function its meaning has undergone a metaphorical transfer (see Lichtenberk 1991: 487, among others) from denoting translational motion towards the deictic centre to denoting that the subject reaches, achieves or is led to a specific condition

(10) *a-ka-pango a-ka ki-ku-tu-many-isyia okuti tu-ng-iib-aga,*  
 AUG-12-story AUG-PROX.12 12-PRS-1PL-know-CAUS COMP 1PL-NEG.SUBJ-steal-IPFV  
*tu-ng-iisa ku-fwa bo luolo sy-a-fw-ile i-n-gambiri*  
 1PL-NEG.SUBJ-come 15(INF)-die as DEM.11 10-PST-die-PFV AUG-10-monkey  
*si-la*  
 10-DIST

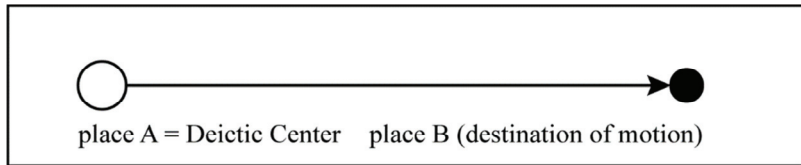
‘This story teaches us that we should not steal, otherwise we will die (lit. we should not come to die) just like those monkeys died.’

The simple present of *isa* has grammaticalized even further from this ingressive function to a marker of future time reference; see Persohn (2017a: 260–265, 320–322) for discussion.

### 3. Non-deictic motion

**3.1 *booka* ‘go’.** The verb *booka* describes motion on a path that is delimited by a goal. It was consistently employed in the description of scenes 1, 7, and 14, all of which describe motion to a goal. Scene 1 is illustrated in (11) and its description is given in (12).

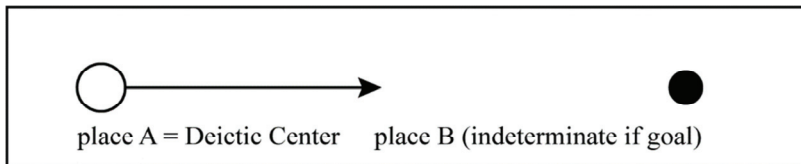
(11) Scene 1:



(12) i-ko-**booka** kw-Itete  
 1-PRS-go 17(LOC)-I.  
 ‘S/he is going to Itete.’

One language assistant also used *booka* in the description of scene 13, which describes motion *towards*, but not *to* a goal:

(13) Scene 13:



(14) i-ko-**booka** (i-n-jila) i-j-aa kw-Itete  
 1-PRS-go AUG-9-path AUG-9-ASSOC 17(LOC)-I.  
 ‘S/he is going the path to Itete.’

It is noteworthy that this language assistant did not use the goal (Itete) as the complement of *booka* ‘go’, but circumscribed it by a noun phrase ‘the path to Itete’, thus effectively describing an anchored path. The second language assistant used a different verb, namely *labila* ‘go in a certain direction’ for the description of this scene.

In §1.2 it has been pointed out that ‘go’ verbs need not necessarily be deictic. This is corroborated by the Nyakyusa data. First, the source of the motion depicted by *booka* need not be the deictic centre, as its employment in scenes 7 and 14 shows: in both scenes the motion leads away from the deictic centre but does not start there. So far, this could be interpreted as *booka* denoting motion in a direction *away* from the deictic centre. An examination of data from texts shows that this is not necessarily the case. Consider (15), which stems from the beginning of a

narrative. In this example, the figure (a certain man) moves a long an anchored path. The deictic centre here is the settlement on top of a mountain, which is also the goal.

(15) Context: Three people have built on top of a mountain.

ii-siko li-mo, na=a-ma-jolo      a-a-**book**-ile    u-mu-ndo    ju-mo,  
 5-day 5-one COM=AUG-6-evening 1-PST-go-PFV AUG-1-person 1-one  
 ndisi                              ku-no                      a-a-fum-ile.  
 1-one I\_don't\_know 17(LOC)-PROX      1-PST-come\_from-PFV  
 a-a-fik-ile              pa-ba-ndo              ba-la  
 1-PST-arrive-PFV 16(LOC)-2-person 2-DIST

‘One day in the evening, a certain person, I don’t know where he came from, went. He arrived at those people’s.’

In the same fashion in (16) the goal of motion, Lion’s place, coincides with the place where the entire story takes place, hence the deictic centre.

(16) Context: Lion was ill. He slept for three days.

po      leelo    ji-linko-lagila      ji-linko-ti      u-tu-nyamaana    t-ooa  
 then    but    9-NARR-order      9-NARR-say      AUG-12-animal    12-all  
 n-k-iiso              ky-ake              tu-**book**-ege              ku-ku-ji-keeta  
 18(LOC)-7-land    7-POSS.SG      12-go-IPFV.SUBJ      17(LOC)-15(INF)-9-watch

‘Then he [Lion] ordered that all little animals in his land should go to see him.’<sup>4</sup>

A deictic reading of *booka* as motion away from the deictic centre can, however, arise contextually through opposition with the deictic verb *isa* ‘come’. Such a case is given in (17). The second ‘go’ verb (*ja*) that is employed in this example will be discussed in §4. (17) illustrates another interesting fact about the use of *booka* in discourse: it may be used without the overt expression of a goal, which, however, remains implicit (‘go to some place’). That is, unlike English *go* or Swahili G42 *enda* (TUKI 2014a; Anthon Mwangake, personal communication), Nyakyusa *booka* without a locative complement does not express the notion of ‘to leave’. The latter is expressed by the verb *sooka* (§3.5).

<sup>4</sup> The language assistants consulted prefer the masculine pronoun in the English translation here.



(17) Context: Hare and Skunk are staying together.

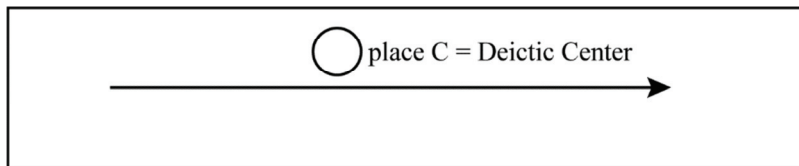
po	nsyisyi	j-oope	a-a- <b>book</b> -ile.	a-a-j-ile	ku-londa	a-ma-ani.
then	skunk(1a)	1-also	1-PST-go-PFV	1-PST-go-PFV	15(INF)-search	AUG-6-leaf
a-al-iis-ile	na=a-ma-ani	ga-la	bo	a-gon-ile	o-to-lo	kalolo
1-PST-come-PFV	COM=AUG-6-leaf	6-DIST	as 1	-rest-PFV	AUG-12-sleep	hare(1a)

‘Skunk also went. He went and searched for leaves. He came with those leaves, while Hare was asleep.’

To summarize, *booka* denotes motion towards a goal. As (15–17) have shown, it does not include reference to the deictic centre as part of its meaning. Concerning these components, Nyakyusa *booka* parallels its cognate *buuka* in neighbouring Ndali. In Ndali, the verb in question, however, forms part of a lexical opposition based on the relative salience assigned to the goal and path components respectively (Botne 2005). The meaning and function of Nyakyusa’s grammaticalized ‘go’-verb (*ja*) indicate that this opposition could be found in earlier Nyakyusa chronolects, see §4.

**3.2 enda ‘travel’.** The verb *enda*, for lack of a more adequate English translation is here glossed as ‘travel’; it denotes unanchored motion along a path. In elicitation of the questionnaire, it was used only by one of the two language assistants, namely in the description of scenes 15 and 7. Scene 15 describes motion of the figure along an unanchored path passing by the deictic centre (here the town of Lwangwa). Scene 15 is illustrated in (18) and its description is given in (19).

(18) Scene 15:



(19) **end-ile**            ku-Lwangwa  
 1.travel-PFV        17(LOC)-L.  
 ‘S/he has gone by Lwangwa.’

Discussing this use of *enda* in comparison to *kmda* ‘pass’ (§3.6), the assistant explained that *enda* in this scenario merely describes the trajectory, whereas *kmda* makes explicit the fact of moving beyond the landmark (the town of Lwangwa). Accordingly, in the texts examined, any locative noun phrase accompanying *enda* is understood as describing (a part of) the trajectory, not a landmark. For instance, in (20), the locative noun phrase *pamwanyanya pamyabo* ‘on top of them’ describes a portion of the path along which the figure (the group of invaders) moves.

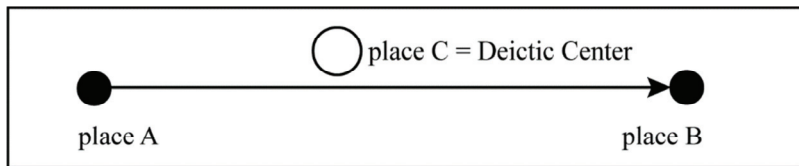
- (20) Context: Invaders have come. The locals have hidden below the hay.

po ba-lmkw-**enda** pa-mwanya pa-my-abo. ba-lmkw-**enda**  
 then 2-NARR-travel 16(LOC)-high 16(LOC)-4-POSS.PL 2-NARR-travel  
 pa-my-abo pa-ba-ndu a-ba b-iibũliile paa-si  
 16(LOC)-4-POSS.PL 16(LOC)-2-person AUG-PROX.2 2-hide\_at.PFV 16(LOC)-below

‘They [invaders] walked on top of them. They walked on top of the people that were hidden below.’

A closer look at scene 7, the other scene in which one language assistants employed *enda*, shows that the anchors, which differentiate this scene from scene 15, are introduced by *fuma* ‘come from’ and *buoka* ‘go’ respectively. This gives further evidence of the non-anchored semantics of *enda*. Scene 7 is given in (21) and its corresponding description in (22).

- (21) Scene 7:



- (22) a-fum-ile kw-Itete. i-ko-buoka koManow, i-kw-**enda** ko-Lwangwa  
 come\_from-PFV 17(LOC)-I. 1-PRS-go 17(LOC)-M. 1-PRS-travel 17(LOC)-L.  
 ‘S/he has come from Itete. S/he is going to Manow, s/he is passing by Lwangwa.’

Lusekelo (2010) states that “manner of motion is indicated [...] by Nyakyusa *enda* ‘walk’ [...] the verb encodes manner of motion”. While ‘walk’ is indeed often a suitable translation for *enda*, the following examples will show that manner is not part of the lexical semantics of this verb.

- (23) Context: Crocodile is travelling with monkey on his back.

bo ba-li pa-kati pa-m-isi bi-kw-**enda** i-n-gwina  
 as 2-COP 16(LOC)-middle 16(LOC)-6-water 2-PRS-travel AUG-9-crocodile  
 ji-linkw-anda u-ko-lila a-ma-sosi  
 9-NARR-begin AUG-15(INF)-cry AUG-6-tear

‘When they were travelling in the middle of the water, Crocodile started to cry.’

Even though we are dealing with a fable and hence with anthropomorphized animals, the locative noun phrase *pakati pamisi* ‘in the middle of the water’ excludes any interpretation of *enda* as depicting manner of motion. Further evidence for *enda* encoding a path, but neither anchor nor manner, comes from its use to express abstract movement of things. In (24) it is the success of work that is portrayed as a trajectory, while in (25) it is the object of trade, potatoes, which is depicted as the figure that is changing location. In fact, *enda* is the default verb used to describe

(metaphorical or physical) translational motion without reference to the deictic centre, anchor or manner.

- (24) gi-ko-lond-igwa a-ma-hala m-ingi fiijo lnga ko-londa  
 6-PRS-need-PASS AUG-6-wisdom 6-many INTENS if/when 2SG.PRS-want  
 i-m-bombo sy-ako sy-**end**-e kanunu  
 AUG-10-work 10-POSS.2SG 10-travel-SUBJ well

‘You must be very clever to be successful (lit. Very much intelligence is required if you want that your work goes well).’

- (25) si-kw-**enda** bule pa-Mbeja?  
 10-PRS-travel how 16(LOC)-M.  
 ‘For what price (lit. how) do they [potatoes] go in Mbeya?’

To sum up, the Nyakyusa verb *enda* lexicalizes only a path, but neither the deictic centre nor anchor or manner of motion. Botne (2005), who observes the same for the cognate verb in Ndali points out that this verb thus presents a prime example of Miller & Johnson-Laird's (1979) primitive verb TRAVEL.

As for non-motion functions, *enda* together with a comitative infinitive (*n=ɔ-kw-* ‘COM=AUG-15(INF)-’) serves as a marker of an ensuing development in narrative discourse (26) (Persohn 2017a: 330).

- (26) kangɪ ba-lmkw-**enda** n=ɔ-kw-ibwa i-n-dagilo sy-osa i-sy-a  
 again 2-NARR-travel COM=AUG-15(INF)-forget AUG-10-rule 10-all AUG-10-ASSOC  
 ŋ-ganga  
 1-healer

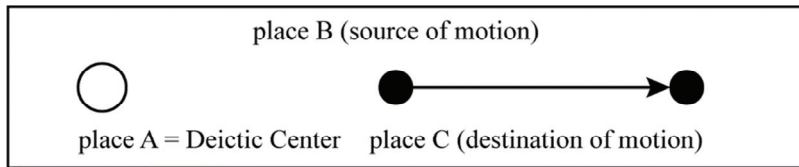
‘Then they forget all the rules of the witch doctor.’

Lastly, *enda* together with the intensive extension (*-elela*), which by itself denotes repetition, intensity or continuity of an act (Persohn 2017a: 100–101), serves as a phasal verb (‘aspectual verb’) denoting the continuation or resumption of an act (27).

- (27) jɔ-la a-lmkw-**end-elela** ɔ-ko-mm-ongesya ɔ-mw-ana  
 1-DIST 1-NARR-travel-INTS AUG-15(INF)-1-breastfeed AUG-1-child  
 ‘That one continued to breastfeed the child.’

**3.3 fuma ‘come from’.** The verb *fuma* depicts motion away from a source. It was consistently used by both language assistants in the description of scenes 3, 4, 6, 7 and 14, all of which include motion away from a landmark. (28) illustrates scene 14, (29) gives the corresponding description.

(28) Scene 14:



(29) a-fum-ile            p-Itete,    i-ku-bũoka    m-Masooko  
 1-come\_from-PFV    16(LOC)-I.    1-PRS-go        18(LOC)-M.  
 ‘S/he is going from Itete to Masoko.’

Like for the verb *enda*, the data on *fuma* clearly indicate that this verb is not inherently deictic. In scene 14 (ex. 29), the source of motion is a landmark distinct from the deictic centre, while at the same time the motion leads away from the deictic centre. In scenes 3, 4, 6 and 7, on the other hand, motion takes place in the direction of the deictic centre, or passing by it; see (6) above for scene 4 (*Ikwisa apa okofuma kwItete*). Unlike what Botne (2005: 56–57) reports for its Ndali cognate, Nyakyusa *fuma* is not attested in the data with a sense of motion away from the inside of a source. To give a meaning of ‘get out of’, *sooka* is employed (§3.5).

To sum up, *fuma* denotes motion of the figure away from a source. It does not encode the deictic centre as part of its meaning. Note that neighbouring Ndali (Botne 2005), unlike Nyakyusa, distinguishes between two verbs with this meaning, which differ in the relative salience they assign to the source and path component.

Lastly, Nyakyusa *fuma* is also used to indicate not the source of motion, but the home of a person (30). In a related fashion, the infinitive (*o*)*kofuma* is also used in a preposition-like manner, in which it indicates a source location outside of motion eventualities (31). As a metaphorical extension, this may even be a temporal starting point (32); a similar development of source-oriented motion verbs is found in other Bantu languages, for instance with Swahili G42 *toka* ‘get out, go out/leave, exit’ (TUKI 2014b).

(30) ku-**fuma**                    kuũũ?  
 2SG.PRS-come\_from    where?  
 ‘Where are you from?’

(31) a-a-ba-koliile    a-ba-anaake    bo    ba-bĩlĩ    **o-ko-fuma**  
 1-PST-2-call.PFV    AUG-2-his\_child    REF.2    2-two    AUG-15(INF)-come\_from  
 ku-tw-aja            tw-abo  
 17-13-homestead    13-POSS.PL  
 ‘He called his two children from their villages.’

(32) bu-mmw-ag-ile    o-bu-bine            o-bu            **o-ko-fuma**            ndũli?  
 14-1-find-PFV        AUG-14-sickness    AUG-PROX.14    AUG-15(INF)-come\_from    when  
 ‘How long is it ago since this [illness] came unto him?’ (Mark 9:21)

**3.4 *fika* ‘arrive, reach’.** The Nyakyusa verb *fika*, as its cognate Ndali counterpart (Botne 2005: 66) is not attested in the questionnaire data, but is very frequent in discourse, where it marks the endpoint of a motion event. (33) is a first example.

- (33) po        a-lmkw-enda, a-lmkw-enda, a-lmkw-enda.    *a-lmkw-fika*    *pa-n-jila*  
 then    1-NARR-travel 1-NARR-travel 1-NARR-travel    1-NARR-arrive    16(LOC)-9-path
- pa-la        i-bılı        i-si        si-paagok-eene  
 16(LOC)-DIST 10-two        AUG-PROX.10 10-branch\_off-RECP.PFV

‘She went, went, went. She arrived at that [place at the] path where the two paths separate.’

Botne (2005: 68) describes the cognate verb in Ndali as “encoding coincidence of figure and place [...] motion [...] latently implied”. As for coincidence of figure and place, it is unclear how far the additional component of coincidence needs to be assumed for Nyakyusa. To begin with, the stipulation of coincidence as a separate component of motion verbs is embedded in his cognitive approach to semantics: Botne assumes an image-schematic semantic representation of the meaning of motion verbs and adopts Wilkinson & Hill’s (1993) representations of motion scene to “represent features of the lexical content of the individual verbs” (Botne 2005: 49). It is only within such an allegedly holistic cognitive schema approach that the representation of arrival (or its counterpart, departure) calls for an additional semantic component. Secondly, according to Botne (2005: 67) “-*fika* makes salient the coincidence of figure and goal”. The notion of *saliency* is originally introduced by Botne (2005) to distinguish those Ndali verbs of motion whose meaning difference lies in the relative prominence of path vs. anchor (e.g. ‘go TO’ vs. ‘GO to’; see §4 for Nyakyusa). In his discussion of ‘arrive’ and ‘leave’ verbs in Ndali, Botne, however, uses the term *salient* interchangeably with the *explicit* denotation of arrival and departure, which renders the notion of saliency mute.

Not adopting Botne’s specific cognitive approach, we may simply assume that Nyakyusa *fika* encodes a change-of-state from motion to arrival at a goal (i.e. the explicit denotation of the goal as the endpoint of travel) as part of its lexical semantics. That being said, Nyakyusa *fika* has broader uses than English *arrive*. In the following example the speaker employs *fika* to denote that he should not only take to the road, but that he should reach his destination and be present at it.

- (34) Context: An event of the presidential election campaign takes place at Lwangwa. The interlocutor wants to see the candidate’s speech and therefore wants to finish the conversation.

m-**fik**-e        pa-la  
 1sg-arrive-SUBJ    16(LOC)-DIST  
 ‘I should arrive there.’

Use of *fika* is also attested with metaphorical movement of abstract entities, such as in the following example, where the moving figure is the abstract concept of hunger.

- (35) a-a-li m-oolo fiijo. a-ka-al-iigan-ile u-ku-bomba i-m-bombo.  
 1-PST-COP 1-lazy INTENS 1-NEG-PST-like-PFV AUG-15(INF)-work AUG-9-work  
 po kokoti ka-balilo i-n-jala j-aa-**fik**-aga pa-ka-aja  
 then every 12-time AUG-9-hunger 9-PST-arrive-IPFV 16(LOC)-12-homestead  
 ka-ake  
 16(LOC)-12-homestead 12-POSS.SG

‘It [tortoise] was very lazy. It did not like to work. So constantly hunger reached its home.’

In concord with the denotation of the endpoint of a motion event, *fika* is frequently used in narratives in a discursive structure similar to tail-head-linkage,<sup>5</sup> as illustrated in (36). The use of *booka* in the first sentence denotes motion to a goal (the homestead), while *fika* in the temporal clause of the second sentence denotes the endpoint of motion, thus the termination of the motion event.

- (36) Context: Hare and Skunk went hunting and have caught a guinea fowl.

po ba-lmku-*booka* ku-ka-aja. bo ba-**fik**-ile  
 then 2-NARR-go 17(LOC)-12-homestead as 2-arrive-PFV  
 ku-ka-aja ba-a-peeny-ile ii-kanga I-la  
 17(LOC)-12-homestead 2-PST-remove\_feathers-PFV 5-guinea\_fowl 5-DIST

‘They went home. When they arrived at home, they removed the feathers from that guinea fowl.’

Concerning the latency of the motion itself, as pointed out by Botne (2005) for the Ndali cognate of the verb in question, *fika* is typically used together with other motion verbs, as in (36). This distribution points to the fact that *fika* by itself does not denote a motion path. In cases where *fika* is used without further elaboration of a motion event, only the arrival is signalled explicitly, while the motion itself is suggested by context, such as in (35) above, or as in the following example.

- (37) Context: Hare has left Spider behind to go and persuade Spider's fiancée to cancel the wedding.

kalolo, bo i-ku-joba n=u-n-kiikulo, u-lo-bobi *lo-lmku-**fika***  
 hare(1a) as 1-PRS-speak COM=AUG-1-woman AUG-11-spider 11-NARR-arrive  
 ‘As Hare was speaking with the woman, Spider arrived.’

As for the question of deixis, *fika* is attested in contexts where the goal equals the deictic centre, such as in (37), but also with goals other than the deictic centre, such as in (34). This distribution gives evidence that *fika* does not lexicalize reference to the deictic centre.

To sum up, the verb *fika* encodes a goal as the explicit endpoint of a motion event. It does not denote a motion path nor lexicalize reference to the deictic centre.

<sup>5</sup> The term *tail-head-linkage*, coined by Thurmman (1975), refers to a discourse pattern in which the last clause of a chain is partially repeated at the beginning of the following clause.

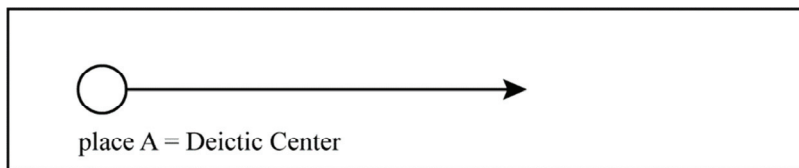
Lastly, the infinitive (*o*)*kofika* is also used in a preposition-like manner, in which it can also denote a temporal endpoint:

- (38) *o-ko-fuma*                      *ko-bw-andilo*    *bw-a*      *m-bombo*      *j-aake,*  
 AUG-15(INF)-come\_from    17(LOC)-14-start    14-ASSOC    9-work            9-POSS.SG
- o-ko-fika***            *p-ii-siku*            *li-la*            *a-aly-eg-iigwe*      *o-ko-fyoka*  
 AUG-15(INF)-arrive    16(LOC)-5-day      5-DIST            1-PST-take-PASS.PFV    AUG-15-climb
- ko-mwanya*  
 17-above

‘[...of all that he] began both to do and teach until the day he was taken up [lit. from the beginning of his work until...].’ (Acts 1: 1–2)

**3.5 sooka ‘leave’.** The verb *sooka* is the counterpart to *fika* ‘arrive’. In the questionnaire data it was used by one language assistant in the description of scene 1, and by both assistants in the description of scene 2. (39, 40) give scene 2 and its description.

- (39) Scene 2:



- (40) *i-ko-sooka=po*  
 1-PRS-leave=16(LOC)  
 'S/he is leaving'

While in (40) the source corresponds to the deictic centre, in the following extract from a narrative the action takes place in the main room of a house, while the source, from which the figure (the husband) departs, is another room. The motion can thus be understood as directed towards the deictic centre.

- (41) Context: A married couple has set a trap for a strange woman, with the husband hiding in the bedroom.

*o-n-dome*                      *a-linko-sooka*      *o-ko-fuma*                      *ko-u-sofu*  
 AUG-1-husband      1-NARR-leave      AUG-15(INF)-come\_from      17(LOC)-room(9)

*n=o-ko-n-kola*                                      *o-n-kiikolo*    *ju-la*  
 COM=AUG-15(INF)-1-grasp/hold      AUG-1-woman    1-DIST

‘The husband came out of the bedroom and caught that woman.’

Example (41) illustrates another important point about *sooka*: in all attested tokens, when a path is expressed an additional verb of motion is used. As becomes evident from this distribution, *sooka* by itself denotes only separation from a source, but not a path.

In (40), *sooka* is used together with an enclitic form of the substitutive (‘referential demonstrative’) of locative noun class 16. In fact, *sooka* is frequently used with one of the enclitics of locative classes 16–18, which in this case specify the spatial relation to the source in accordance with the respective locative noun class semantics (42); see §1.4 on the latter and Persohn 2017b for a general discussion of post-finals in Nyakyusa.

- (42) class 16: *sooka=po* ‘go away; go off; pull out (train, bus)’  
 class 17: *sooka=ko* ‘get away’  
 class 18: *sooka=mo* ‘get out’

The following example illustrates the use of *sooka* together with class 18 =*mo* in discourse.

- (43) bo ba-fik-ile kw-a Jesu, ba-linko-m-bona o-mu-ndo  
 as 2-arrive-PFV 17(LOC)-ASSOC J. 2-NARR-1-see AUG-1-person  
 ju-la, o-ju si-sook-ile=**mo** i-m-bepo ii-nyali,  
 1-DIST 1-PROX 10-leave-PFV=18(LOC) AUG-10-spirit AUG-dirty(10)  
 a-tuogeele kifuki na Jesu  
 1-sit.PFV near COM J.

‘[...] and came to Jesus [lit., when they had come to J.], and found the man, out of whom the devils were departed [lit. the ones the bad spirits had left from within], sitting at the feet of Jesus’ (Luke 8: 35)

While the use of *sooka* with a locative enclitic is very frequent, (44) illustrates that the verb can also be used without an enclitic or any other overt locative expression.

- (44) po a-ka-balilo kala~ka-la a-a-sook-ile o-mu-ndo.  
 then AUG-12-time REDUPL~12-DIST 1-PST-leave-PFV AUG-1-person  
 a-aly-umiilwe a-m-iisi  
 1-PST-be\_thirsty\_for.PFV AUG -6-water

‘That time, a person set off. He was thirsty for water.’

To sum up, *sooka* denotes separation of the figure from a source without encoding a motion path. It does not encode the deictic centre, and the spatial relation to the goal is often expressed through a post-final locative enclitic.

**3.6 *kmda* ‘pass’.** The verb *kmda* encodes motion on a path beyond a landmark. In the questionnaire, it was employed in the descriptions of scenes 7 and 15, in which the landmark corresponds to the deictic centre. A look at the uses in texts reveals that *kmda* also allows for other landmarks. Thus in (45), the landmark beyond which the figure (the first child) moves is a snake blocking the way.



(45) Context: A snake blocks the way. Children sing to pass it.

gw-a	kw-anda	a-a-t-ile	<song>	a-a- <b>kmd</b> -ile	o-mw-ana
1-ASSOC	15(INF)-start	1-PST-say-PFV		1-PST-pass-PFV	AUG-1-child
jɔ-la					
1-DIST					

‘The first one said: <song>. That child passed.’

The verb *kmda* on its own is not attested together with noun phrases denoting an anchor (source or goal). In those instances, in which the anchors are included in the description of the motion event, these are introduced by other verbs. Thus in (46), a rendition of scene 7 (also see §3.2), the source and the goal are introduced by *fuma* and *booka* respectively. This gives evidence for *kmda* denoting unanchored notion.

(46)	a-fum-ile	kw-Itete	o-ku- <b>kmda</b>	pa-Lwangwa.	i-ku-booka	ku-Manow
	1-come_from-PFV	17(LOC)-I.	AUG-15(INF)-pass	16(LOC)-L.	1-PRS-go	17(LOC)-M.
	‘S/he has come from Itete and is passing by Lwangwa. S/he is going to Manow.’					

To sum up, *kmda* denotes unanchored, non-deictic motion on a path beyond a landmark. Apart from its use as a verb of motion, *kmda* is also used in comparisons of inequality, following a common pattern in Bantu languages and African languages in general (cf. Stassen 2013).

(47)	a-lmkw-aga	n-dali	o-ku- <b>kmda</b>	mu-no	sy-a-j-ii-ii-ile
	1-NARR-find	10-long	AUG-15(INF)-pass	18(LOC)-PROX	10-PST-be(come)-APPL-PFV
	‘He found they [ears] were longer than they had been.’				

#### 4. Associated motion

In this section, we discuss a grammaticalized verb of motion: (*j*)*a* ‘go’. The consonantal phoneme is given in brackets, as it is regularly dropped when following any prefix of the shape *kw-* (the infinitive, simple present and narrative tense), yielding the sequence *kwa*. (*j*)*a* clearly goes back to Proto-Bantu \**gi-a*, with loss of stem-initial \**g* being a frequent phenomenon throughout the Nyakyusa lexicon. The cognate of (*j*)*a* in neighbouring Ndali has the shape *ya* which points to \**gia* [uɟi] > [ya], and a comparison with Ndali phonology shows that at an earlier stage of Nyakyusa [y] became strengthened to [j].

Unlike in Ndali (Botne 2005), in Nyakyusa (*j*)*a* ‘go’ does not exist as a lexical verb.<sup>6</sup> Instead, it has grammaticalized to an auxiliary that takes an infinitive without the augment (‘pre-prefix’) as its complement; it does not appear in any other morphosyntactic frame. See (49, 50) below for first illustrative examples. As to its function, (*j*)*a* serves as a marker of associated motion. As this

<sup>6</sup> There is, however, a copula of the shape *ja*, which also often loses its consonantal segment, albeit in different environments.

grammatical category is still relatively unknown in studies of Bantu languages,<sup>7</sup> it deserves a short excursion.

The term associated motion has been coined by Koch (1984) for certain verbal affixes in Kaytej, an Australian language from the Pama-Nyungan family, and has most commonly been used in treatments of Australian languages and languages from the Americas (Guillaume 2013, 2016; Koch 1984; Wilkins 1991, 2006) and of some African languages outside of Bantu (see Belkadi 2016). Associated motion markers serve as a grammaticalized way of expressing motion, more specifically to portray the act encoded in the verb stem with respect to a motion co-event (Wilkins 1991, 2006). For instance, in the Eastern Arrernte example (48), the act of dying is elaborated upon by framing it against a preceding co-event of running off through the use of *yene* ‘go and’.

(48) Eastern Arrernte (Pama-Nyungan, Australia)

nhartepe artnpe-nke, nhartepe ampwarre-yene-nke  
 then run-PRS then die-go\_and-PRS

‘Then it (the wounded animal) runs off and dies’ (Wilkins 2006: 27)

Unlike what is found in Nyakyusa, canonical systems of associated motion typically use verbal affixes rather than auxiliaries and encode a wider array of distinctions, such as direction, the temporal ordering between motion main event, aspectual notions, and the identity of the moving entity (see Guillaume 2016 for an overview).

The motion co-event denoted by Nyakyusa (*j*)*a* typically precedes the act encoded in the verb stem (49, 50).<sup>8</sup> In a few instances, in all of which the lexical verb is a motion verb, the two events may be understood as concurrent rather than ordered; see (53) below for such a case.

(49) Context: the researcher is on his way ‘home’ from Manow mission. Halfway greetings are exchanged.

o-j-ile ku-bomba?

2SG-go-PFV 15(INF)-work

‘Did you go (and) work?’

<sup>7</sup> The relevant grammatical constructions are sometimes discussed under labels such as *itive* and *ventive* (e.g. Nurse 2008: 22), *movement grams* (Nicolle 2002; Persohn 2017a), *distal aspects* (Nicolle 2003), or *deictic markers* (Sitoe 2001). A typologically oriented examination of the encoding of associated motion across Bantu languages is the subject of ongoing research.

<sup>8</sup> A preliminary description of (*j*)*a*, without a discussion of the category of associated motion, nor an elaboration of the questions of deixis and grammaticalization, is given in Persohn (2017a: 317–320).

(50) Context: Speaking of marriage in old times.

po	linga	a-ba-bool-ile	a-ba-paapi	ba-ake	pamo	
then	if/when	1-2-tell-PFV	AUG-2-parent	2-POSS.SG	or	
o-gwise		gw-a	n-domyana	jü-la,	<b>a-a-j-aga</b>	
AUG-his/her_father(1a)	1-ASSOC	1-boy	1-DIST	1-PST-go-IPFV		
ku-n-soom-ila	ku-gwise		gw-a	n-kiikolu	okoti	
15(INF)-1-beg-APPL	17(LOC)-his/her_father(1a)	1-ASSOC	1-woman	COMP		
“o-mw-anaako,	n-gü-londa	okoti	eeg-igw-ege		n=o-mw-anango”	
AUG-1-your_child	1SG-PRS-want	COMP	1.marry-PASS-IPFV.SUBJ	COM=AUG-1-my_child		

‘When he had told his parents or his father, he [father] would go to the woman's father and ask “Your child, I want it to be married to my child.”’

As with *booka* ‘go’, the question arises, whether the meaning of (*j*)*a* includes any reference to the deictic centre. The context of (49) above shows that the source of motion need not be the deictic centre. This does, however, not exclude the possibility that (*j*)*a* denotes an act that takes place at a location other than the deictic centre. The employment of (*j*)*a* in examples such as (51) speak against such an interpretation: The story from which the excerpt in (51) is taken centres around a family's house. The protagonist, Python, is hidden in a banana tree outside the house. If we assume that the deictic centre, and hence the goal of the motion event, is the house, while the banana tree serves as a side stage, then we are dealing with motion towards the deictic centre. Alternatively, we may assume that the entire homestead, including the banana tree, constitutes the deictic centre. In this case we are dealing with motion within the deictic centre. In both interpretations, (*j*)*a* clearly does not denote that the act encoded in the lexical verb takes place away from the deictic centre.

(51)	po	j-aa-ti	“niine	n-gü-booka	bo	a-ka-ja=po	maama	
	then	9-SUBSEC-say	COM.1SG	1SG-PRS-go	as	1-NEG-be(come)=16(LOC)	mother(1a)	
	jü-la.”	po	bo	ji-book-ile	ii-sota	j-oope	<b>j-aa-j-ile</b>	kw-imba
	1-DIST	then	as	9-go-PFV	AUG-python(9)	9-also	9-PST-go-PFV	15(INF)-sing

‘Then it [python] said: “Me too, I'm going when that woman isn't there.” When python had gone it (went and) sang.’

The use of (*j*)*a* is a frequent device in discourse. As a noteworthy fact, (*j*)*a* does not always introduce a motion event of its own. Rather, as in (51), it often follows verbs such as *booka* ‘go’ and thus echoes a preceding motion event. Likewise, in (52), (*j*)*a* does not introduce a second motion event. Instead, the act of searching takes place in the bushes, the goal of preceding *booka*.

(52)	Saliki	a-a-book-ile	m-ma-tengele.	<b>a-a-j-ile</b>	ku-londa	i-ki-piki
	S.	1-PST-go-PFV	18(LOC)-6-bush	1-PST-go-PFV	15(INF)-search	AUG-7-stump
	‘Saliki went into the bushes. He (went and) searched for a stump.’					

This seeming redundancy is typical for associated motion markers. Similar observations have been made for geographically and genetically unrelated languages (Wilkins 1991, 2006; Guillaume 2009, among others). Wilkins (1991) in his discussion of the complex system of associated motion affixes in Eastern Arrernte explains this type of employment on a functional basis:

It is important to remember that it is not the main function of ‘associated motion’ forms to present and elaborate information about a motion event [...] [T]he ‘category of associated motion’ functions to locate events within the flow of space [...] to foreground, identify and characterise the event in the verb stem [...] with respect to a particular motion event (Wilkins 1991: 251)

In narratives, (*j*)*a* is frequently used in collocation with *fika* ‘arrive’ following other verbs of motion, often *enda* ‘travel’. In this use, (*j*)*a* apparently serves to set the event of arrival against the ground of the preceding journey:

- (53) boo=buno~bu-no            ba-lmkw-enda,    ba-lmkw-enda,    ba-lmkw-enda  
 REF.14=REDUPL~14-DEM    2-NARR-travel    2-NARR-travel    2-NARR-travel
- n=ɔ-kw-enda.                    **ba-a-j-a**            kɔ-fika            n-k-iisu            ki-mo  
 COM=AUG-15(INF)-travel       2-SUBSEC-go       15(INF)-arrive    18(LOC)-7-land    7-one

‘Thus they travelled, travelled, travelled and travelled. Finally they arrived in some land.’

As discussed above, (*j*)*a* ‘go’ often follows the lexical verb *booka* ‘go’. (54) illustrates that (*j*)*a* can also take the infinitive of this verb as its complement. In this excerpt from a story, a woman is instructed that at a following branch-off she should not go down the path where a certain sound is heard. Through the use of (*j*)*a*, this second motion event is portrayed against the ground of the first motion event (the travel that leads to the branch-off).

- (54) Context: A magic animal is giving instructions to a woman.

lmo    ɔlɔ    gw-end-ege            fiijo.            po    kw-a            kɔ-sy-aga  
 now    now    2SG-travel-IPFV.SUBJ    INTENS            then    2SG.PRS-go    15(INF)-10-find

i-n-jila            i-bɪlɪ.            kɔ-mo            kɔ-no            kɔ-kɔ-tɪ  
 AUG-10-path       10-two            17(LOC)-one       17(LOC)-PROX    17(LOC)-PRS-say

bugubugubugubugu, komma    **ɔ-kw-a**            **kɔ-booka**  
 IDEOPH                            PROH            AUG-15(INF)-go    15(INF)-go

‘Now walk much. You’ll go and find two paths. At one, where it sounds bugubugu bugubugu, don’t (go and) go there.’

As pointed out initially, the function of (*j*)*a* lies in portraying the event encoded in the lexical verb against a motion co-event. Note at this point that Nyakyusa (*j*)*a* does not have a motion-cum-purpose (‘go in order to’) reading. To give such a reading, *booka* ‘go’ plus an infinitive marked additionally for either of locative noun classes 17 or 18 has to be used (55); also see (3).

- (55) a-ba-ndu      ba-a-buok-ile      n-ku-n-keeta  
 AUG-2-person    2-PST-go-PFV      18(LOC)-15(INF)-watch  
 ‘People went to see her.’

In the overwhelming majority of tokens, the entity that undergoes the motion co-event (i.e. the moving figure) is the same as the grammatical subject of (*j*)*a*. The only attested counter-example is the following excerpt from a narrative. Here we find two consecutive uses of (*j*)*a*. In the first, the speaker proposes to go and throw pepper at monkeys. In the second use, it is, to all appearances, not the grammatical subject of (*j*)*a* (the monkeys) that moves. Instead the monkey’s assumed reaction is portrayed against the previously introduced speaker’s motion. It is likely that this use is motivated by the fact that the simple present of (*j*)*a* often serves a future-oriented function (see below). It is worth foregrounding that no token of (*j*)*a* is attested in which the figure of the motion co-event is the grammatical object.

- (56) tu-tik-e                  i-m-bilipili      tu-buk-e      n-to-supu.      tu-kw-a  
 1PL-pound-SUBJ      AUG-9-pepper    1PL-put-SUBJ    18(LOC)-13-bottle    1PL-PRS-go  
 ku-si-sop-el-a              paapo              i-sy-ene              si-kw-a      ku-t-igi  
 15(INF)-10-throw-APPL    because              AUG-10-self      10-PRS-go    15(INF)-say-IPFV  
 bi-ku-to-pa      i-fi-ndu  
 2-PRS-1PL-give    AUG-8-food

‘We should pound pepper and put it in little bottles. Then we will go throw them at them, for they [monkeys] will think they [=we] are throwing food.’

To sum up, Nyakyusa (*j*)*a* has grammaticalized to an auxiliary that serves as a marker of associated motion. It denotes that an act is portrayed against the background of a – typically preceding – motion co-event and it does not encode any reference to the deictic centre.

A question that imposes itself at this stage is why (*j*)*a* ‘go’, but not *buoka* ‘go’, has grammaticalized to a marker of associated motion. A micro-comparative perspective offers an explanation. In neighbouring Ndali M301 both cognates of (*j*)*a* and *buoka* are used as lexical verbs. Botne (2006) shows that these two verbs differ in the relative salience they assign to the path and anchor respectively: Ndali *ya* emphasises the goal (‘go TO’), whereas *buoka* emphasises the path (‘GO to’). From a diachronic point of view, Botne’s observation fits well with the reconstructed meanings of these two verbs in Proto-Bantu (Bastin et al. 2003): while \*gi translates as simple ‘go’, the meaning of \*buok ‘rise up; go away; fly away’ suggests a stronger emphasis on the motion itself. A similar contrast of relative salience is also suggested by the definitions Schadeberg & Mucanheia (2000) give for *weetta* and *olawa* in Koti P311, while Devos (2014) in a detailed examination of their cognate forms *entta* and *lawa* in Shangaci P312 comes to the same conclusion. Such a semantic distinction of saliency may thus well be a more widespread phenomenon in the Bantu-speaking area.

If we assume that at an earlier stage both Nyakyusa verbs (*j*)*a* and *buoka* encoded the same distinction as their Ndali cognates, the current meaning of (*j*)*a* can be understood as the result of an extension by which motion to a salient goal came to mean motion to a salient event (or, in Wilkin’s terms, to denote the main event against the ground of the motion co-event).

Lastly, note that the simple present of (*j*)*a* has also developed a prospective (future-oriented aspectual) function (Persohn 2017: 258–260) and that a proclitic bare stem form *aa=* serves as a “shifter” (Nurse 2008) that sets posterior or unrealized eventualities in a future frame of reference (see Persohn 2017a (250–255) for discussion of the latter.)

## 5. Conclusion

In §§2 and 3, a detailed examination was given of the lexical semantics of 7 basic verbs of translational motion in Nyakyusa. Table 3 summarizes the findings.

As can be gathered from Table 3, Nyakyusa's most simple verb of translational motion is *enda*, which denotes unanchored, non-deictic motion along a path. Only one of the 7 basic motion verbs, *isa* ‘come’ encodes reference to the deictic centre. This gives further evidence for Wilkins & Hill's (1995) observation that ‘go’-verbs across languages need not necessarily be deictic. As Botne (2005) observes for the cognates of *enda* and *isa* in neighbouring Ndali, these two verbs of unanchored motion can be considered to form a primary lexical opposition, differing only in their (non-)deicticness. Nyakyusa's inventory of verbs of translational notion also includes *booka*, which denotes motion to a goal as well as its mirror image *fuma*, which denotes motion away from a source. A pair of two further verbs, *sooka* and *fika*, leaves the motion itself latent, and encodes arrival at a goal and separation from a source respectively. In both cases the anchor is construed as the explicit starting point or endpoint of the motion event. Lastly, *knda* denotes unanchored motion beyond a landmark. Along with the description of the lexical semantics of these verbs, some additional functions have been pointed out, such as e.g. the preposition-like uses of the infinitives of *fuma* and *fika*.

In comparison to its neighbour Ndali M301 (Botne 2005), Nyakyusa does not synchronically distinguish between verbs that differ in the relative salience they assign to the anchor vis-à-vis the path component. What is more, Nyakyusa has only one verb of motion beyond a landmark, whereas Ndali lexicalizes a two-way distinction between interrupted/non-interrupted and anchored/unanchored motion beyond a landmark. All this leads to a considerably smaller inventory of basic verbs of translational motion in Nyakyusa.

**Table 3:** Overview of lexical semantics






Nyakyusa	Gloss	anchor	direction	path	deictic	further
<i>booka</i>	‘go’	goal	to goal	yes	no	/
<i>enda</i>	‘travel’	/	/	yes	no	/
<i>isa</i>	‘come’	/	towards deictic centre	yes	yes	/
<i>fuma</i>	‘come from’	source	from source	yes	no	/
<i>fika</i>	‘arrive, reach’	goal	to goal	no	no	endpoint
<i>sooka</i>	‘leave’	source	from source	no	no	starting point
<i>knda</i>	‘pass’	/	/	yes	no	beyond landmark

In section §4, the verb (*j*)*a* < Proto-Bantu \*gì ‘go’ has been discussed. It has been shown that this Nyakyusa verb –which in the present-day language is found only as an auxiliary, and not as an

independent verbal lexeme – serves as a marker of associated motion. In the clear majority of cases, it is the subject of (*j*)a itself that undergoes translational motion. It has further been shown that the meaning of (*j*)a includes no reference to the deictic centre. The grammaticalization of this verb has been explained by assuming that at an earlier stage Nyakyusa, like present-day Ndali (Botne 2005), distinguished two verbs of goal-oriented non-deictic motion, which differed in the relative saliency they assigned to the goal and motion path. The present-day meaning and function of Nyakyusa (*j*)a can then be explained by a semantic shift in which a goal portrayed as salient vis-à-vis the motion path gave place to the denotation of an act profiled against the ground of a motion event.

The present study has contributed to our understanding of the lexicalization of motion in Bantu languages and has shown the fruitfulness of including a micro-comparative perspective to the subject matter. It has further given one of the first detailed examinations of a marker of associated motion in a Bantu language.

## Appendix

Scene	Illustration
1	 <p>place A = Deictic Center    place B (destination of motion)</p>
2	 <p>place A = Deictic Center</p>
3	 <p>place A (source of motion)    place B = Deictic Center</p>
4	 <p>place A (source of motion)    place B = Deictic Center</p>
5	 <p>place B = Deictic Center</p>

Scene	Illustration
6	
7	
13	
14	
15	



**Abbreviations**

1...18	noun classes	NARR	narrative tense
1PL	first person plural	NEG	negative
1SG	first person singular	PASS	passive
2SG	second person singular	PFV	perfective aspect
APPL	applicative	PL	plural
ASSOC	associative	POSS	possessive
AUG	augment	PROH	prohibitive
CAUS	causative	PROX	proximal demonstrative
COM	comitative	PRS	present tense
COMP	complementizer	PST	past tense
COP	copula	RECP	reciprocal
DEM	demonstrative	REDUPL	reduplication
DIST	distal demonstrative	SG	singular
IDEOPH	ideophone	SUBJ	subjunctive mood
INF	infinitive	SUBSEC	subsecutive
INTENS	intensifier	NARR	narrative tense
INTNS	intensive verbal extension	NEG	negative
IPFV	imperfective aspect	PASS	passive
LOC	locative	WH	wh-question marker

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