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**THE HISTORICAL CONNECTION BETWEEN MOVEMENT AWAY MARKER AND THE
ASSOCIATIVE PREPOSITION**

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Abstract

The present study aims to describe and explain why two, synchronically unrelated semantic functions have exactly the same coding. The functions involved are the movement away from a deictic center and the associative preposition. It is demonstrated that one cannot explain the identical coding of the two functions by postulating that one form derives from another, in any order. The identical coding of the two functions is due to the common, no longer attested source from which markers of the two functions derive. The study uses methodology of grammaticalization combined with historical/comparative linguistics.

The aim and the scope of the study

Across languages the time ‘now’, i.e. the time of speech and the location ‘here’ i.e. the location at the place of speech are the default times and locations in the description of situations and events. The time now and the location here in natural discourse may involve the time and the place of speech other the time and place, provided they have been properly identified in the previous discourse. The time now is often the unmarked tense. The location ‘here’ is also often the unmarked place. The evidence for the existence of the default situation is provided by the fact that a departure from the default situation is a marked by tenses other than the unmarked tense. The change of location, such as movement away from or towards the location is often marked by grammatical rather than by lexical means.

In English the departure of participants from the place of speech or from the deictic center is coded by the form *away* which may function as an independent adverb or a particle following the verb (all data from the London-Lund corpus):

2_6_0 <1290 a> are there any constraints on time are you going
away anywhere Paul

2_11_2 <366 c> not really because people go away and . you know
on holiday and stuff

5_2_0 <461 k> [@m] . to ^look b\ack#

5_2_0 <462 k> to the ^p/ast#

5_2_0 <463 k> is ^surely to :look away from your [prez] your
responsibility for the f/uture# .

5_10_0 <512 a> I ^usually 'spend !one !esson#

5_10_0 <513 a> ar^ranging !what they 'want to t\alk a'bout#

5_10_0 <514 a> and ^then . 'tell them to 'go away and :th\ink a'bout it#

In all of these examples the particle *away* does not change the nature of the event, because the verb ‘to go’ is a verb of movement, and it certainly does not involve motion within one place. In other languages other means are used for essentially the same function as *away* in English.

The change of place, more specifically movement away is one of the foci of the present study. The study examines motion away in Mina, a Central Chadic language, where the movement away is coded by the same morpheme that codes the associative preposition. The second question examined is why the markers of the motion away are identical with the markers coding associative preposition. Given the fact in total four markers are identical, coincidence must be ruled out. Accordingly the study examines all possible grammaticalization processes, viz. from motion away marker to the associative preposition, from the associative preposition to the motion away, and finally the derivation of the two markers from a common source.

The study has a broader importance for the theory of language change in that it illustrates the motivation for grammaticalization stemming from the principle of functional transparency (Frajzyngier and Shay, in press). The relevant portion of the

principle of functional transparency states that the role of every constituent in the utterance must be transparent to the addressee. The role of the constituent refers to the functional domains coded in the given language rather than to the addressees need to know the role of the constituent in the real world. The functional domain ‘movement away’ is coded by a variety of means across Chadic languages and might well have been present in the proto-Chadic grammatical system (Newman 1983). The fact that motion away is systematically coded by a variety of means across Chadic languages indicates that this functional domain persists throughout the language change and that it must be coded when the relevant situation obtains. What are such situations is described in the present study.

Form of the movement away coding in Mina

In Mina the movement away is coded by the singular subject pronoun *á* or the plural subject pronoun *í* followed by the associative preposition *b*, realized as *b ʼ* when required by phonological conditions, i.e. when a disallowed syllable structure or consonant cluster were to result. The movement away marker follows nominal subject and precedes the verb. The verb occurs in its unmarked form which is different from the infinitival form. First an example with the singular nominal subject:

- (1) séy lù-á dà dà á d-á-N z' @ syì
 then ask cook cook 3SG cook-GO-3SG EE COM

‘Then the woman asked. It [the calabash] cooked for her [the woman].’

bàhámán áb' \$ ndá ng' \$n
 Bahaman ASSC go 3SG.POSS
 'Bahaman went home.'

Here is an example with the nominal plural subject:

(2) ʃ' \$t á ʃ' \$t-á-N n\$î' > n záván-yî
 wàcín
 get 3SG get-GO-3SG beat PREP guinea fowl-PL DEM
 'He grabbed it [his stick] and swung at those guinea fowl.'

k' @ òm ntá
 INF see one
 'He hit one.'

záván-yî í-b' \$ fir t' \$tàn
 guinea fowl-PL PL-ASSC flight 3PL:POSS
 'And guinea fowl flew away.'

If the subject is third person pronominal, only the associative preposition with the third-person singular or plural pronoun is used:

(3) á n k'şî'@m ng'şn ſ'ş't
 3SG PREP calabash 3SG take

'She took her calabash.'

áb'ş nd-á ng'şn wùtá
 ASSC go-GO 3SG.POSS village

'She returned home.'

The associative preposition forms a construction with the preceding subject and the following verb, in that the preposition codes the number of the subject, and it ends in the phrase-internal form, viz. the consonant *b*, or the consonant followed by schwa, *b'ş*.

The function of the construction

The forms *áb* and *íb* indicate that a participant in the event has moved from the place where it has been at the last mention in discourse. The evidence that the prepositions *áb* and *íb* following the subject code the movement away consists of two components: (1) All constructions of the type Subject Associative Verb involve the subject leaving the previously mentioned scene. (2) If there is a verb of movement but no movement away from an established center is involved, the marker of movement away does not occur.

Here is a description of an event with two groups of participants, hyenas and a family whom the hyenas are trying to lure into their, hyenas' village:

- (4) séy á t'ʃt kám í ndí ngà Lì-yî z'ʃ
 then PRED 3PL TOP (Fula) 3PL HAB catch meat-PL EE
 k'@ ndá k'ʃ dá tàN
 INF go:GO INF cook:GO DED

‘Then, as for them [the hyenas], they just catch the meat [and] bring it for cooking.’ (implication: they have plenty of food)

- (5) èe hìd-yî wá í-b'ʃ yáN t'ʃt'ʃ
 ah man-PL DEM PL-ASSC move 3PL:POSS
 á màcín

PRED there

‘Those people [the woman with her family] moved over there [to the village of hyenas].’

In each case when the preposition follows the subject, the argument represented by the subject moves away from the place where he/she was last. The singular or the plural pronoun preceding the associative preposition may be the only coding of the subject in the clause:

- (6) ʃ´ʂt á ʃ´ʂt yim wà f´@k á f´@k-á
 take 3SG take water DEM throw 3SG throw-GO
 í-b´\$ nd´\$ t´\$tân
 3PL-ASSC go 3PL
 ‘He took the water, threw it into the river, and they went away’.

The evidence that the associative preposition codes the movement away is provided by the fact that the mere use of the verb *nd* ‘go’ alone does not require the use of the preposition. Thus the verb in the function of sentential conjunction does not involve the use of the associative preposition. The preceding example in the narrative is followed by the fragment with the verb *nd* but without the associative preposition:

- (7) **nd´@** dzán wàl wèhín ví fú á gíz€ >-ù
 went find woman DEM all all 3SG say-3SG
 á gíz& t´@ ng´\$n á gíz& t´@ ng´\$n
 3SG say GEN 3SG 3SG say DED 3SG
 ‘They found the woman. They were talking, and each of them told his story.’

The forms *áb* and *ib* are not clausal, sentential, or discourse conjunctions as evidence by the fact that that they are not used in narrative when languages with sentential conjunctions would have a conjunction:

- (8a) séy wàl wà zá wà s' @ n k' @
 then woman DEM COMP but 1SG PREP INF
 máy wá z&í ví hí fú tàN hí kálkál
 choose DEM then who 2PL all DED 2PL equal (Fula)
 'Then the woman said, "Who am I going to choose? You are all equal.'"

- (8b) ʃ'ʂt á ʃ'ʂt déft' @ ng'ʂn
 take 3SG take Koran (Fula) 3SG
 'He took his Koran.'

pàts ntá náy náy náy náy á náy tàN
 took one throw throw throw throw 3SG throw DED
 á n'ʂ y'ʂm wàhíN
 PRED PREP water DEM

'He took one [page] after another and threw them upon the water.'

Here is a fragment of discourse where all participants leave the scene. The first three sentences are the same as example (2):

- (9) ʃ'ʂt á ʃ'ʂt-á-N nʂî'ʂ n záván-yû
 wàcín
 get 3SG get-GO-3SG beat PREP guinea fowl-PL DEM
 'He grabbed it [his stick] and swung at those guinea fowl.'

k' @ òm ntá

INF see one

'He hit one.'

záván-yî í-b' \$ fir t' \$tàn

guinea fowl-PL PL-ASSC flight 3PL.POSS

'The guinea fowl flew away.'

The next two clauses again have participants leaving the scene:

(10) wàl ng' \$n zá áu s' \$ Îál-á-h

wife 3SG COMP INTERJ 1SG do-GO-2SG

m' \$náwà mí

like DEM what

'His wife said, "What did I do to you?"'

í-b' \$ ndá t' \$t' \$ wùtá

PL-ASSC go:GO 3PL.POSS village

'They went home.'

The following examples of the use of the movement away marker represent the remainder of those occurring in the gathered texts. They all support the hypothesis about the function of the marker:

- (11) ndà d'@ɲ á d'@ɲ-ú nd' \$ lw-á
 go bring 3SG bring-3SG go tell-GO
 ngùl ng' \$n
 husband 3SG

‘She brought it and then she told her husband.’

- yá í-b' \$ nd' \$ t' \$t' \$ bíN
 call PL-ASSC go 3PL.POSS room

‘They went into the room.’

- (12) nd' \$ î ká n sk' \$n ng' \$n ɲ' \$t
 lay down PREP thing 3SG take

‘She put it down [and] took her thing.’

- áb' \$ ndá ng' \$n wùtá
 ASSC go-GO 3SG village

‘Then she returned to her village.’

- (13) nd'ʂ L'ʂgám syì m'ʂl á m'ʂl-á-N t'ʂ nʂî'ʂ
 go talk COM hit 3SG hit-GO-3SG 3PL strike
 t'ʂt'ʂmà bá syì
 3PL there again COM

'They talked [to the stick]. It started beating them over there again.'

- kàyífi í-b'ʂ nd-á t'ʂtàN
 strange (Fula) PL-ASSC go-GO 3PL:POSS

'Never seen before [a stick hitting people on its own]. They left [the court].'

- (14) áa îámà wàl wà bà á lúw-á-N tàN
 ah, good woman DEM again 3SG say-GO-3SG 3PL
 "It's good," the woman told them again.'

- áb'ʂ nd'ʂ ng'ʂn n kílvíî-yî
 ASSC go 3SG PREP trash heap-PL
 'She went to the trash heaps.'

- (15) íf á íf-é t'ʂ n fòr'ʂm wá dáp
 blow 3SG blow-GO GEN PREP horn DEM only
 'She blew that which was in the horn.'

vènjéh tü@l kwáykwá-yî tîN tîN tîN m´\$ts
 pepper spread hyena-PL heap heap heap dead

‘The pepper spread, and the hyenas were lying around dead.’

séy m´\$tábù áb´\$ s&i ng´\$n
 except last born ASSC flee 3SG

‘except for the last born: he fled.’

(16) nd´\$ dzáN á dzáN dàkáy t-yî dàmù
 go find 3SG find other PL bush

‘And he searched for others in the bush.’

(17) mbí f´\$k á f´\$k f´\$k-á-N kà áb´\$ nd-á ng´\$N
 3SG discard3SG discard-GO-3SG POS ASSC go-GO 3SG

‘He left it for him, and he returned.’

The movement away is not constrained by any temporal factor, such as a the time of stay at a given place, as evidenced by the following example, where the subject leaves the scene immediately after he has arrived:

(18) tséy mbí kúr´@k áb´\$ nd-á ng´\$n
 so 3SG descend ASSC go-GO 3SG

‘When he came down, he returned.’

The evidence that the movement away marker codes the change of scene is provided by the fact that the movement that does not involve leaving a deictic center, is not accompanied by the use of the movement away marker:

(19) hìd-yî wà¹ í t' \$t' \$màkáî

man-PL DEM 3PL 3PL three

'There were three men'

í nd' \$ k' @ bër-é cìkíî bùhù ntá

3PL go INF sell-GO sesame bag (F.) one

'They were going to sell one bag of sesame seeds.'

(20) hìdì-yî wèhín í t' \$t' \$màkáî

man-PL DEM 3PL 3PL three

'There were three men.'

í nd' \$ k' @ ʃàî-á wàlà

3PL go INF woo-GO woman

'They went to woo a woman.'

¹ In a version of the same story recited by another speaker, instead of the demonstrative *wà*, the phrase final form *wècín* was used.

(21) m' \$ p' \$ îák njü@l ʃ' @t p' \$ îák á p' \$ îák-á nást' \$
 REL split grass take split 3SG split-GO enter (F.)

ng' \$n n' \$ m' @N

3SG PREP LOC.ANAPH

'The one who splits grass split a stalk of grass and entered it.'

(22) m' \$ l' @m bíN rá drìs& ngáî drìs&
 REL build house dig mud mix mud

'The one who builds a house dug the mud, mixed the mud,'

l' @m bíN Lá hàmás nd-à h' \$L ká
 build house cut straw go-GO thatch POS

wán k' @ n' \$ m' @N

lie inside PREP LOC.ANAPH

built a home, cut some straw, thatched the roof, and lay down inside it.'

(23) îá îá á î' \$ wàné
 draw:GO draw:GO 3SG draw a lot (F.)

'It rained a lot.'

séy, áb dùw' @N mbéN làkwát m' \$
 then (H.) ASSC back ANAPH river REL
 nd-à-y zá
 go-GO-STAT EE

‘And afterwards a river came.’

The movement away marker is not used if the movement is from a place other than the deictic center of the narrative:

(24) dzáN á dzán-á m' \$ t' @ gwíîín nákà wèhín
 find 3SG find-GO REL GEN single REM DEM

‘He found the one sesame seed of those [that were counted].’

nd-á náz á náz k' @ n' \$ láy tàN
 go-GO throw 3SG throw POS PREP place DED

‘He went and threw it into its place [in the bag].’

The movement away marker is not used if the movement is continuous, i.e. if there is no change of scene coded:

- (25) í nd-rá í nd-rá í nd-rá
 3PL go-D.HAB 3PL go-D.HAB 3PL go-D.HAB
 nd' § dzáN làkwát m' § nd-à-y zá
 go find river REL go-GO-STAT EE

'They were going, going, going, till they came to a river, which filled up.'

The movement away marker is not a switch reference marker, since it is not used when there is a change of subject:

- (26) m' § mbír mbír ván î' § rá Îíy-á mbìr
 REL jump jump rain draw D.HAB start-GO jump
 n' § m' @N cîîék cîîék cîîék cîîék cîîék
 PREP ANAPH ideophone

'The one who jumps, when the rain was falling, he started to jump in it.'

- ván k' @ mb' §lém îá skù
 rain be touch exist NEG

'The rain did not touch him.'

The associative preposition

The movement away particles are identical with the third person singular and plural associative prepositions. The associative preposition codes a co- participant in the event, i.e. a participant that is not first for any semantic role. The associative preposition alone, i.e. without the third person marking is *b´ş* as evidenced by its use with the first person subject in possessive predications and in instrumental function:

(27) *s´ş b´ş nşkù ntá*
 1SG ASSC goat one
 ‘I have one goat.’

(28) *k´ş pék mì jíp náka b´ş mbéN*
 INF cover mouth hole REM ASSC it
 ‘to cover the entrance hole with it’

In the third person, the associative preposition has two forms *á-b* and *í-b*. The singular form *áb* is used for object, instrumental, and all other non-subject participants: Here is an example of the use of the preposition to conjoin object noun phrases:

- (29) tséy mbí Îéw k' @ báy ndá ʃ' \$t
 so 3SG sit like chief go:GO take
 m' @m' @N áb' \$ cíN
 his mother ASSC his father

'Then he became a chief, and he came to take his mother and father.'

Here is an example of the use of the preposition in associative function:

- (30) tséy bákà s' \$ n k' @ wàN
 so today 1SG PREP INF sleep
 áb' \$ wàl tük wàcín
 ASSC wife 2SG DEM

'Today I will sleep with your wife.'

The plural form of the associative is used only when the associative phrase has the subject role:

- (31) hìdì wàcín í-b' \$ wàl ng' \$n
 man DEM PL-ASSC wife 3SG
 mbù mbù í mbù w' \$ z&í gwáî
 give birth 3PL give birth children many

'This man and his wife had many children.'

- (32) gómbòk í-b bàkàlàf ì Îál gábà
 frog PL-ASSC buffalo 3PL make discussion
 ‘A frog and a buffalo had a discussion.’

The plural associative is used even if the associative phrase follows the verb. The necessary condition for the use of the plural associative is that the participant be subjects. In the following example, the participants are singular, as evidenced by the singular possessive pronoun on the second conjunct:

- (33) séy gâr í gâr t´ştàN í-b´ş ngámbù ng´şn
 so stand 3PL stand 3PL PL-ASSC friend 3SG
 ‘So they got up with their friend.’

The plural form of the associative is also used in noun phrases that serve as titles of stories, where the protagonists will presumably be the subjects:

- (34) gímíL-yî í-b´ş kwáyàN
 monkey-PL PL-ASSC hyena
 ‘The monkeys and the hyena.’

The use of the two forms *á-b* and *í-b* in the associative function is similar to that of the movement away function, in that in the movement away function the participants that ‘move away’ are always subjects.

Grammaticalizations hypotheses

Given the fact that the movement away marker is identical with the associative preposition in the third person singular and plural, and not with other forms of the associative, there is little doubt that the two forms are related. The intriguing question is what kind of relationship is there between the two functions. We are faced with the following possibilities. (1) The associative marker and movement away marker derive from different sources. (2) The movement away marker comes from the associative preposition. (3) The associative preposition comes from the movement away marker; Both markers derive independently from a common source.

The possibility of an independent grammaticalization from different sources has to be ruled out given the identity of forms and functions for the two forms.

The second and third possibilities, viz. the grammaticalization from the associative to movement away or from movement away to the associative has to be ruled out as well, because there is no common semantic feature shared by the two functions. So the only option that remains is the option (4), viz. that the two forms derive from the same source. Given the absence of the common semantic features, the derivation of the two forms from the same source is in itself an intriguing possibility.

The presence of the subject pronoun before the associative preposition and the movement away marker may indicate the verbal origin of the two forms. Hence one should look at the forms *b(à)* with the hope of finding such verb. There is one such verb, *bà* 'enclose, build'. This meaning is compatible with the associative preposition but is not

compatible with the movement away. There is also adverb *bàhá* ‘again, also’ with its shorter form *bà* ‘also’ which is compatible with the associative preposition. But the form *bà* is already phrase internal form and cannot be further reduced to schwa. Hence the possible derivation of the movement away from the adverb, parallel to the potential development of the associative preposition from the adverb, should be ruled out.

If one casts the net a bit wider, into other Chadic languages, other interesting etymologies come up. Jungraithmayr and Ibrizimow 1994: 78-79 reconstruct the form *b as one of several verbs in Proto-Chadic meaning ‘come’, ‘go’ and ‘go out’. The verb ‘to go’ and ‘to go out’ is very much compatible with the function of coding movement away. So for this function in Mina we wouldn’t need any other source, but just the direct derivation from the verb ‘to go’ through the addition of the subject pronoun. Since in contemporary Mina, at least in our field notes we do not have the verb *bà* ‘to go’, the formation of the movement away construction must be a retention from an older stage of the language.

Typological comparison with other Chadic languages is even more interesting. Many Chadic languages, but not Mina, have a verbal extension coding movement away (efferential in Newman 1983). In Frajzyngier 1987 it is claimed that the movement away extension, called there by its French term ‘centrifugal’ derives in various Chadic languages from the verbs ‘to go, go out’. The movement away marker in Mina would then exploit the same verb to code the same function. The difference between Mina and Chadic language that have the movement away extension is that in Mina the verb ‘to go’ precedes the main verb, while in languages with extensions the verb ‘to go’ must have followed the main verb. In Lele East Chadic, the movement away function is coded by

the noun *cáani* ‘bush’ added at the end of the clause (Frajzyngier 2001). Having accounted for the derivation of the movement away marker in Mina we must now explain how the associative function came about.

Ebert 1987 postulates that in East, Central and West Chadic languages verbs of movement grammaticalized as discourse conjunctions. In Frajzyngier (in press) it is demonstrated that in a number of Chadic languages, viz. Hdi and Gidar clausal relators, which partially overlap with the function of English coordinated conjunction ‘and’ derive from the verb ‘to go’. This is the case also in Mina, where several examples involving the etymological verb *nd* actually involve sequence of events. Moreover, in at least one language, Gidar, the nominal connector corresponding to the associative preposition also derives from the verb ‘to go’. In Hausa, (West Chadic), the associative preposition is *dà* and the form *d is reconstructed as one of the verbs ‘to go’ by Jungraithmayr and Ibriszimow 1994 for West Chadic. There are, therefore numerous cases where the associative preposition is similar to the verb ‘to go’. Given that similarity in a number of languages we can postulate that the associative preposition derives from the verb ‘to go’.

The grammaticalization path from the verb ‘to go’ to the associative preposition has most probably had the following form: ‘go’ becoming discourse conjunction (as per Ebert 1987). Discourse conjunction becoming sequential marker (as per Frajzyngier in press). Sequential marker becoming a syntactic conjunction, i.e. a conjunction connecting two constructions having the same grammatical role. The last stage of grammaticalization involves the loss of the original semantic function of the verb ‘go’.

We can now explain the similarity between the movement away marker and the associative preposition in Mina, by postulating that the two forms represent independent grammaticalizations from the same source at an earlier stage of the language.

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