ALL TYPOLOGIES LEAK:

The functions of satellite-framing in a verb-framed language of southern Mexico

THE TYPOLOGY: LEXICALIZATION PATTERNS

a certain meaning is expressed in a certain type of word or in a certain part of a word

  languages are framed by the verb or by a satellite according to where the core schema of an event is encoded and where we find other information about the event
  In a motion event, the core schema is the path which is the direction of movement or trajectory of the figure in motion
  Other information about the movement would be for example the manner of motion or something about the figure in motion

and so, the theory is that there are THREE TYPES OF LANGUAGES in the world

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type of Language</th>
<th>Framing Details</th>
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</table>
| VERB-framed languages       | with framing in the main VERB  
like Spanish                  |
| SATELLITE-framed languages  | with framing in a SATELLITE of the main verb  
like English                   |
| EQUIPOLLENTLY-framed languages | with framing in TWO VERBAL ELEMENTS  
like serial verb languages     |

LEXICALIZATION PATTERN TYPOLOGY: what else can we predict?

- Talmy (e.g. 1991, 2000)
  extended the notion of 'framing' to other event types based on other core schema

- Slobin (e.g. 1997, and many others)
  investigating consequences of 'framing' type in other areas of language (i.e. cognitive tasks, narrative style)
In my dissertation, and in the revised version of it that has just come out as a book, I applied Talmy's ideas about framing concepts and language types to the encoding of 'change' events in Lowland Chontal of Oaxaca, a language of southern Mexico.

I analyzed expressions of change of location, change of position, and change of state and I found 3 types of predicates that encode 'change':

- **Simple predicate (VERB) + inflection**
- **Associated motion (AM) predicate (VERB + AM + inflection)**
- **Compound stem (V1-V2) predicate (V1-V2 + inflection)**

**Lowland Chontal**

three correspond to the THREE TYPES of languages

simple predicate

VERB + inflection

associated motion (AM) predicate

VERB + AM + inflection

compound stem (V1-V2) predicate

framing in two verbal elements

**Today I would like to:**

describe AM constructions that depict associated motion and associated change in Lowland Chontal of Oaxaca

situate AM constructions within the resources in the language for expressing change

to associated motion about motion?

**Lowland Chontal of Oaxaca is an unclassified language (Hokan?)**

- highly endangered (~100 fluent L1 speakers)
- sister language is Highland Chontal
- both languages documented by SIL linguists
- a third variety, Tequistlateco, is extinct
- not related to Chontal of Tabasco (Mayan)

**Typological characteristics**

- verb-initial, head-marking language
- variable constituent order, no case marking
- complex aspectual system, no tense marking
- agentive system of person marking

**The Chontalpa of Mexico**

Lowland Chontal villages are indicated by circles and Highland Chontal villages by diamonds. The Chontalpa of Oaxaca is illustrated on the map by F. Kirps.
the term **ASSOCIATED MOTION** describes a semantic category that associates simultaneous, previous, or subsequent motion to the event of the main verb.

*e.g.* GO and verb

GO while verbing

verb and then GO

thither, thither, vera, andative, ventive, translative, cislocative

aspectual, anaphoric uses, inclusivative change, indicator of participants, esp. 1st/2nd

Australia (Koch 1984, Wilkins 1991)

Polynesia (Hopper 2002)

Oceania (Margetts 2002)

the Americas:

- Mayan languages (Zavala 1993)
- Cavinilha (Guillaume 2004, to appear)
- Lowland Chontal (O’Connor 2004, 2007)

**ASSOCIATED MOTION & CHANGE** in Chontal

**associated motion (AM) predicate**

VERB + [AM] = inflection

"path of change" is in a satellite

- small paradigm – only 4 suffixes (internally diverse set)
- encode change over SPACE and change over TIME
- the undergoer of change – the Theme or Figure is an EVENT or a STATE that is situated along the path of change
- unusual Figure – is this really about motion?

**LOWLAND CHONTAL**

4 suffixes of **ASSOCIATED MOTION**

* a state change PATH asserts an endpoint and implies a trajectory

PATH = language-specific encoding of the trajectory between

A AND VEN LOCATION/STATE A (source) DLOC B LOCATION/STATE B (goal)

* a translational PATH asserts a trajectory and implies an endpoint

**similarities among the suffixes**

- attach to a verbal root (process, state, some change; restrictions)
- occur after applicative morphology
- restrict the types of aspectual inflection

**basic semantics of AM morphology in Chontal**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>gloss</th>
<th>suffix</th>
<th>semantics</th>
<th>path type</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>AND</td>
<td>andative</td>
<td>motion away from here</td>
<td>GO and V</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DLOC</td>
<td>dislocative</td>
<td>motion to there</td>
<td>GO and V</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VEN</td>
<td>ventive</td>
<td>motion to or toward here</td>
<td>COME and V</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CLOC</td>
<td>cislocative</td>
<td>motion to or toward here</td>
<td>COME Vng</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**differences among the suffixes**

- three are derivational and one is inflectional (verb-final)
- all but cislocative can encode state change
- cislocative occurs only with motion roots

**the ANDATIVE suffix:** leave here and do V

- go to, -a, -a, -ta, -x

**main VERB** + **AND** + **inflection**

< process >  < PERFECTIVE or IMPERATIVE >

**sma-ja’**

sleep-IPFV.SG

"Sleep!"

**fa-pa=ya’**

sleep-IPFV.SG=IS.AGT

"I slept."

**fa-pa=ya’**

plant-IPFV.SG=IS.AGT

"I planted."

**sma-ja’**

sma=ja’-IPFV.SG

"Go and sleep!"
the DISLOCATIVE suffix: go there and do V

main VERB + DLOC (subsumes IMPERFECTIVE inflection)

fa'-ma=ya' (SG)
'I will plant.'

fa'-ta=ya' (PL)
'I will go and plant.'

andative: DEPART from here and/to VERB

a. ga’a lakwe-grosen ku naa ‘fa-s-pa
That big idiot says he went and bought them.'

b. mi-pa-ya’ ojî-ko-s-ki lam-musico
‘I had told him to go and get the musicians.’

c. ‘fa-gas-kix-pa ga’le li’amana ku lam-ptyu’
‘That jerk went and bought those critters, he says they’re whistles.’

andative: DEPART from here to V; do V THERE

a. limoygi to’sa ñu’ee-s-ki medida
‘The next morning (he said) go on, go ask to borrow a scale.’

b. el kilo para spî-me’ el me’le
‘The kilo, so we can measure out the money.’

c. xux lo-kilo kompale
‘I had told him to go and get the musicians.’

d. tes ima’ spi-ta
‘What are you going to measure (over there)?’

e. spi-ya’i yarh ña-jko=tes
‘We’re going to measure who-knows-what over there.’

andative and dislocative: encoding a CHANGE OF STATE

perfective change of location

main VERB + DLOC

ongoing change of state

main VERB + DLOC + < PERFECTIVE >

a. wa’lo-s-pa
hunt.iguana-AND-PFV.SG
‘He went and hunted iguana.’

manj-s-pa lapku’
‘The pot is filling.’

be.full-AND-PFV.SG pot

b. wa’lo-ta
hunt.iguana-DLOC.SG
‘He will go and hunt iguana.’

manj-ta lapku’
‘The pot is full (has been filled).’

be.full-DLOC.SG pot

how did we get from SPACE to TIME?

1. similar semantics along the path of change

a state change PATH asserts an endpoint and implies a trajectory

PATH = language-specific encoding of the trajectory between

AND

LOCATION/STATE A

AND

LOCATION/STATE B

(goal)

(main)

a state change PATH asserts an endpoint and implies a trajectory

andative:

depart from Source
to do V at new location
to be V at new time

dislocative:

arrive at Goal
to do V there
to be V then
2. a bridging context = narrative dislocation: do V THEN

a. pase-ta sa=yma' la'wa-kafé
   make-loc.sg Dem=2sg.at Dim-coffe
   "You'll make the coffee."

b. nang'mi-tya sa=yma' lampa
   make.tortilla-loc.sg Dem=2sg.at fat.tortilla
   "You'll make a thick tortilla."

c. chicha poyo sa tots'in-ka=yma' la'wa-skujl
   now PAST-LOC-2sg.at Dim=1sg.at tie.up
   "Now as soon as you tie up my lunch sack,"

d. ay'ma sa=ya' lijwalay'
   depart-IPFV.SG Dem=1sg.at highlands
   "I'll go off to the highlands."

e. fa-ta sa=ya' xantya
   plant-loc.sg Dem=1sg.at watermelon
   "I'll plant melons (there)."

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the VENITIVE suffix: leave there toward here and do V

- way, nay, -day

main VERB + VEN + inflection < PERFECTIVE or IMPERATIVE >

< process >

mi-pa=yma' sa=Pfv.Sg=2s.at
   "You said."

mi-way-pa=yma' sa=Pfv.Ven-Pfv.SG=2s.at
   "You came and said."

sago-jla' sa=Pfv.SG watermelon
   "Eat!"

sago-way-jla' sa=Pfv.Ven-impv.SG
   "Come and eat!"

---

the CISLOCATIVE suffix: come toward here while doing V

- way, -nay, -ñay

main VERB + CLOC + inflection < PERFECTIVE, PROGRESSIVE, IMPERATIVE >

< motion >

mu-pa lo'mix sa=Pfv.SG watermelon
   "Your foot sank."

mu-way-pa=yma' sa=Pfv.Ven-Pfv.SG=2s.at
   "You came down."

ay-pa sa=Pfv.SG watermelon
   "S/he is going."

ay-way-pa=yma' sa=Pfv.Ven-Pfv.SG=2s.at
   "The big storm came (and went)."

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hypothesis: VEN can occur with certain 'translational' motion roots?
VEN = departure semantics, VERB = direction semantics ??

oriented to Source | path type | not VEN
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ay- 'depart away'</td>
<td>state change</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pa- 'depart toward'</td>
<td>state change</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>po- 'exit'</td>
<td>state change</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mu- 'sink'</td>
<td>state change</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>po- cho- 'rise'</td>
<td>state change</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

oriented to Goal | path type | not VEN
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
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</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>may- 'go'</td>
<td>translational</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>feer- 'go and return'</td>
<td>translational</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pa- 'come'</td>
<td>translational</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fa- 'ascend'</td>
<td>translational</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>chuf- 'enter'</td>
<td>translational</td>
<td></td>
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</tbody>
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SUMMARY: functions of satellite-framing in Chontal

1. locate an event with respect to the speech event (in space)
2. serve as the 'Goal' of motion-cum-purpose (in space)
3. locate an event with respect to the speech event (in time)
4. locate a state along a path of change (in time)
5. supply a translational path to another motion verb

does associated motion encode a "motion event"?

YES. AM suffixes encode a PATH
the "Figure" is the event or state situated on that PATH
unusual, and indeed not the "most usual way" to express motion in this language

CONCLUSIONS

• Talmy-Slobin theory of lexicalization patterns aims to typologize languages based on the expression of the 'core schema' of event types
• Predicates of associated motion and associated change in Lowland Chontal of Oaxaca show that a language of one basic framing type can use constructions from another framing type to serve specific semantic and discourse functions
• This offers support for moving from typologies of languages to typologies of constructions and typologies of use.

We need to document all languages, especially those that are endangered, to complete and enrich what we know about the languages of the world.
EVERY LANGUAGE is a reflection of HUMAN DIVERSITY

References and sources

O’Connor, Loretta. 2007. Motion, transfer, and transformation: The grammar of change in

References, contd.