Expressing Paths of Motion in Apurimac Quechua

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BACKGROUND

Slobin (2004)
Talmy (1985)

Components of a Motion event

'Killa ran across the field'
Figure   Manner   Path   Ground

"S(atellite)-framed" patterns:
Manner: encoded in the main verb
Path: complement to the verb

e.g. English
'João **ran into** the store.'

"V(erb)-framed" patterns:
Manner: optional verbal adjunct
Path: encoded in the main verb

e.g. Brazilian Portuguese
João   entrou   na   loja   (correndo)
João   enter.PST   in.the   store   (run.PROG)
(lit.) 'João entered the store (running).'

"E(quipollently)-framed" patterns:
Manner & **Path:** encoded
as separate main verbs

e.g. Mandarin Chinese
ta   pao-jin   le   shangdian
3SG   run-enter   PST   store
'S/he ran into the store.'

RESEARCH QUESTIONS & HYPOTHESES

How does Apurimac Quechua encode Motion?

Apurimac Quechua exhibits S-framed patterns by expressing Motion events with a Manner verb + postpositional Path satellite

Do the patterns change with changes in parameters (e.g. number of Grounds)?

Different parameters do not affect the lexicalisation patterns in Motion events

METHODS

Consultant
YM, a native speaker of Apurimac Quechua

Trajectoire – 13 video stimuli (Ishibashi et al., 2006)
- Elicit translations of Motion events that **varied systematically by parameter** (e.g. Ground, Source/Goal, Deixis, Manner)
- Guiding question: *"What happened in this clip?"*

Questionnaire (adapted from Wilkins et al., 1998)
- Elicit translations involving **Motion verbs of different semantic domains**
- Construct sentences for the consultant based on observed patterns in other languages

RESULTS

PL (Plural), **INT** (Intensifier), **PST** (Past), **DET** (Determiner), **ACC** (Accusative Case), **GER** (Gerundive), **CIS** (Cislocative)

S- VS. V-FRAMED PATTERNS

Standard, S-framed pattern:
Manner expressed in main verb, **Path** as postpositional satellite

*paykuna   **puri**-yku-cha-rqa   chay   chaka-**pi***
3PL   walk-INT-cha-PST   DET   bridge-on
'They walked on the bridge.'

V-framed pattern:
Path verb used transitively with a direct object

*paykuna   **pasa**-yku-cha-rqa   chay   chaka-ta*
3PL   pass-INT-cha-PST   DET   bridge-ACC
(lit.) 'They passed the bridge.'

ASSOCIATED MOTION (Guillaume, 2013)

Motion event with **non-Motion verb** (e.g. *takiy-* 'sing'), expressed as a gerundive adjunct; **Manner** is expressed in a Deictic verb (e.g. *ri-* 'go'), **Path** is expressed in a postpositional satellite (e.g. *–kama* 'until')

*Killa   **ri**-sqa   **takiy-kuspa**   lliu   ñan-ta   yachay   wasi-**kama***
Killa   go-PST   sing-GER   all   path-ACC   knowledge   house-until
'Killa sang all the way to school.'

GROUND RESTRICTIONS

Having two Grounds for one Motion verb is permitted, unlike in some other languages (Wilkins et al., 1998); separate **Path** satellites are attached to each of the two Grounds

Killa   apamu-sqa   papa-ta   llaqta-manta   yachay   wasi-man
Killa   bring-PST   potato-ACC   village-from   knowledge   house-to
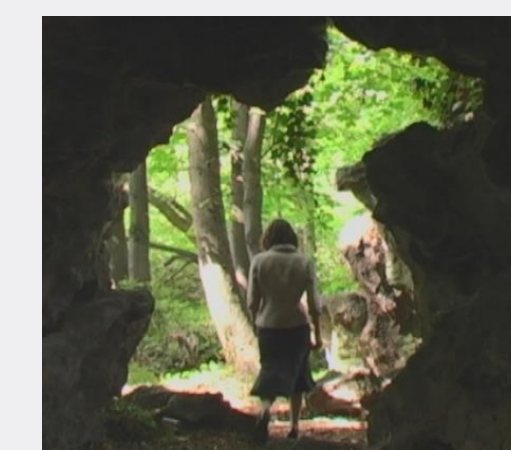'Killa brought the potatoes from the village to the school.'

DEIXIS

Centripetal Deixis (Motion **towards** a deictic centre)

*Killa   lluqsi-**mu**-chan   chay   mach'ay-manta*
Killa   exit-CIS-chan   DET   cave-from
'Killa exited the cave.' (front)

Centrifugal Deixis (Motion **away** from a deictic centre)

*Killa   lluqsir-**parin**   chay   mach'ay-manta*
Killa   exit-parin   DET   cave-from
'Killa exited the cave.' (back)

DISCUSSION

- Like English, Apurimac Quechua exhibits **canonical S-framed patterns** for describing simple Motion events

- To encode an Associated Motion event, a main Deictic verb and a postpositional Path satellite are used, while the non-Motion verb is attached as a gerundive adjunct to express Manner of motion

- When the target construction or Motion verb is not available in the lexical inventory, **V-framed patterns can be used instead**, where a Path verb is used transitively and takes a direct object

- There do not appear to be restrictions on the number of Grounds allowed per Motion verb

- Apurimac Quechua has different affixes for encoding Centripetal vs. Centrifugal Deixis

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