Expressing Paths of Motion in Apurimac Quechua

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Cross-linguistically, spatial expressions track the Motion of a Figure as it traverses a Path with respect to a Ground. Talmy (1985) proposed a two-way typology differentiating between "satellite-framed" (henceforth, S-framed) and "verb-framed" (henceforth, V-framed) patterns. While S-framed patterns (such as English in (1)) express Path as a complement to the verb, V-framed patterns (such as Portuguese in (2)) express Path within the main verb.

(1) 'John ran **into** the store.'

(2) *João* **entrou** *na loja (correndo)*
João enter.PST in.the store (run.PROG)
lit. 'João entered the store (running).'

However, most languages do not exclusively employ S-framed or V-framed constructions; rather, they will often straddle the two categories in their expressions of Motion events (Beavers et al., 2010; Levin & Hovav, 2015). With respect to encoding Paths of Motion, this work examines the lexicalisation patterns of the variety of Quechua as spoken in the Apurimac region of Peru.

Methods Data were elicited from a native speaker of Apurimac Quechua and explored the following research questions: **(I)** *How does Apurimac Quechua encode (Paths of) Motion?* **(II)** *Do the lexicalisation patterns change with respect to changes in parameters (e.g. number of Grounds allowed per Motion verb, centrifugal vs. centripetal Deictic centres)?* Thirteen video clips were selected from the *Trajectoire* methodological tool developed by Ishibashi et al. (2006) that would target translations of Motion events that varied systematically by parameter (e.g. Ground, Source/Goal, Deixis, Manner). Taken together with translations from Motion events adapted from a lexical typological questionnaire (Wilkins et al., 1998), the data provide a general overview of the attested patterns in Motion event constructions in Apurimac Quechua.

Results Example (3) shows that Apurimac Quechua, like English, exhibits canonical S-framed patterns for describing simple Motion events (i.e. Manner of Motion is expressed in the main verb, *phawar* 'to fly,' while Path is expressed with a postpositional satellite, *-pi*, 'on'). When the target construction or Motion verb is not available in the lexical inventory, V-framed patterns can be used instead (as in (4), where the Path verb *pasar* 'to pass' is used transitively with a direct object). Systematic changes in the deixis parameters revealed that Apurimac Quechua has distinct markers for encoding Motion towards and away from a deictic centre (as in (5) and (6)).

(3) *Killa* **phawa**-*sqa chay pampa*-**pi**
Killa fly-PST DET field-on
'Killa ran across the field.'

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

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

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

Additional observations regarding other systematic changes in parameters, Associated Motion events, and lexical restrictions in expressing Motion will be discussed. This work provides preliminary descriptions of the yet unstudied ways in which Apurimac Quechua expresses Path of motion, and Motion events more generally. Rather than confining the language to one of the

previously established typological categories, the data presented here show that, while Apurimac Quechua exhibits canonical S-framed patterns, it can also use V-framed patterns in specific contexts, helping to further the typological research on Motion events.

Glossing abbreviations

PST   Past
DET   Determiner
ACC   Accusative Case
CIS   Cislocative

References

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