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Motion Events in Kambaata*

Yvonne Treis

Abstract

Based on oral and written text data, the present article investigates in which morphosyntactic constituents the semantic components of a motion event (i.e. path, manner, figure and ground of motion) are realised in Kambaata. Although the path of motion is lexicalised in many verb roots, the analysis points out the great importance of case morphemes on ground NPs for the encoding of path. Furthermore, the study illustrates how complex motion events are broken up into semantic sub-components and how these sub-components are expressed in separate converbal clauses.

1 Introduction

Kambaata is a member of the Cushitic branch of the Afro-Asiatic language phylum, more precisely of the Highland East Cushitic (HEC) language group. The language is spoken by more than 600,000 speakers in an area approximately 300 km south-west of the Ethiopian capital Addis Ababa.

The present article aims to describe translational motion events in Kambaata from the perspective of Leonard Talmy's typology (1985, 2000). Motion events have the following four basic semantic components: figure (the moving entity), ground (the entity that the figure is moving in relation to), path (the course followed by the figure) and manner (of motion). In Kambaata, the semantic component path often conflates with (the fact of) motion in the verb root. Thus, Kambaata conforms mainly to the verb-framed language type of Talmy's typology. But apart from path being lexicalised in the verb root, case-markers on ground nouns are extremely important indicators of the path followed in the motion event.

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After an overview of the nominal and verbal morphology of Kambaata is given in section 2, section 3 investigates in detail how path is encoded in motion constructions. Section 4 demonstrates in which constituents the semantic component manner is realised. Section 5 takes a look at multi-verb constructions. Section 6 considers the semantic components figure and ground. A conclusion is formulated in section 7. The appendix contains a list of Kambaata motion verbs

Recent works on motion constructions in Cushitic have dealt with the Lowland East Cushitic language Oromo (Debela 2006, this volume) and Sidaama (Kawachi 2007, forthcoming), an HEC language, which is closely related to Kambaata. Kawachi (forthcoming) examines how far manner-oriented verbs of Sidaama are compatible with goal and source NPs. While Kawachi's detailed work is based on elicited data, my analysis is predominantly based on oral and written text data and, therefore, intends to shed light not only on the question of what is grammatically possible but also what is commonly used and pragmatically felicitous. The Kambaata corpus consists of narratives and interviews as well as four stories, which Kambaata speakers re-told after having studied Mayer's picture book *Frog, where are you?* (Mayer 1969). Furthermore, written texts from Kambaata school books (Kambaatissata 1989 E.C.) were taken into consideration.[1]

2 Overview on verbal and nominal morphology

Kambaata is a strictly suffixing and consistently head-final language. In the noun phrase all modifiers precede the head. The verb is the final constituent of a clause. Subordinate precede superordinate clauses. Verbs are inflected for aspect (the main distinction is between imperfective and perfective aspect), mood (indicative vs. imperative/jussive vs. preventive), subordination (main vs. subordinate verb) and subject agreement (person, gender, number and social status of the subject). Kambaata clearly distinguishes between main and subordinate verbs: main verbs complete a sentence, while subordinate verbs usually require the occurrence of a superordinate main verb form. The subordinate verbs may be divided into relative verbs (which also constitute the base of various types of adverbial clauses and complement clauses; see Treis 2008), purposive verbs and converbs. As will be shown in section 4, the latter type of subordinate verb is an especially important element in expressions of motion events. Converbs are less-finite, medial verb forms. They encode events which are anterior or simultaneous to the event in the superordinate clause, or they are used to express what other languages would express by adverbs. Often several converbs are found in one sentence (see the bold-faced verbs in (1)). Kambaata distinguishes among perfective (PCO), imperfective (ICO) and

[1] The abbreviations in brackets after the examples refer to written Kambaata sources.

negative converbs (NCO). Converbs receive a suffix *-yan* (DS) if the subject changes between the converb and the superordinate clause.

(1) […] *Caallam-í* *urr-óon* ***maax-ámm*** *halleechch-óon*
C.-M.GEN front:yard-M.LOC hide-PS.3M.PCO shadow-M.LOC

ossá' ***hóshsh*** *dimb-ú-s*
lie:down.3M.PCO pass:the:day.3M.PCO drunkenness-M.ACC-3M.P

dirr-icc-í *hawwarr-óon* *koot-i-sí*
go:down-CS.MID-3M.PCO evening-M.LOC jacket-M.GEN-3M.P

kiis-á ***áff*** *xuud-anó=da* *gízz-u*
pocket-M.ACC seize.3M.PCO look-3M.IPV.REL=COND money-M.NOM

ag-ámm ***fájji-yan*** ***kichché'***
drink-PS.3M.PCO do:completely.3M.PCO-DS become:sad.3M.PCO

boq-úta ***hangaa'rr-án*** *méxxin* ***gunguum-án***
head-F.ACC scratch.MID-3M.ICO alone talk:to:oneself-3M.ICO

waal-im-bá-ndo?
come-3M.NIPV-NEG-Q
'[…] he hid in the front yard of Caalamo, lay down in the shadow, passed the afternoon [there] and slept of his drink (lit. made his drunkenness come down). [Later] when he looked into the pocket of his jacket, [he noticed that] all the money had been stolen (lit. drunk). He became sad and scratching his head and talking to himself he came [home], didn't he?'

Kambaata has an elaborate case system and distinguishes not fewer than eight case forms in various nominal declensions (Treis 2006). Table 1 exemplifies the inflectional potential of Kambaata nouns with a feminine noun of declension F3a and a masculine noun of declension M2. The nominal stem is a unit of the linguistic analysis only; bare stems without case suffixes do not occur overtly. The accusative marks the citation form and direct objects, while the nominative is merely the subject case.

Table 1. Nominal case paradigm: *sanúta* (F) 'nose' and *lagá* (M) 'river'

ACC	NOM	GEN	DAT	ABL	ICP	LOC	OBL
san-ú-ta	sán-u-t	san-ó	san-óo(ha)	san-óochch	san-óon	san-óon	sán-o
lag-á	lág-u	lag-í	lag-íi(ha)	lag-íichch	lag-íin	lag-áan	lág-a

Adjective, numerals and demonstratives agree with their head noun in case and gender.

3 Path

In Kambaata, the path of a motion event is both lexicalised in the root of motion verbs and expressed through case morphemes on ground nouns. As elaborated in detail below, accusative (ACC), ablative (ABL), instrumental-comitative-perlative (ICP), locative (LOC) and oblique (OBL) case morphemes serve as path markers. Kambaata does not have adpositions. Instead it makes use of spatial nouns[2] to specify the relation between figure and ground more exactly as only case morphemes on the ground noun would do (e.g. *haqqáan* 'on/at/in/under the tree' vs. *haqqí aléen* 'on (top of) the tree'). Spatial nouns are preceded by genitive- or ablative-marked ground nouns and can themselves inflect for all cases. A list of spatial nouns is presented in (2). The spatial nouns originate from and are still used in reference to parts of inanimate wholes and body parts.[3]

(2)

al-í	'top'	*gujj-ú*	'back'
boq-úta	'head'	*etar-ú*	'exterior, back side'
aaz-í	'interior, underside'	*shiin-á*	'side'
lokk-áta	'foot'	*wud-ú*	'side'
fagaar-á	'bottom, buttocks'	*gur-áta*	'left side'
mereer-ú	'middle, centre, space between'	*makk-íta*	'right side'
		tochch-ú	'edge, border'
bir-íta	'front'	*hegeeg-ú*	'area, environment'
zakk-ú	'back side, area behind'	*gidaan-ú*	'vicinity, environs'

In the following section, I will discuss in detail how particular path conformations are expressed in Kambaata.

3.1 Source (point of departure)

The source of motion is always encoded in the ablative case; see the inanimate source object in (3), the animate source nouns in (4) (a human being) and (8) (an animal).

(3) *Xon-é* *haqq-í* *baamb-í* *aaz-í*
aforementioned-F.GEN tree-M.GEN tree:hole-M.GEN interior-M.ACC

láqq *laagoos-áni-yani-n* ***haqq-í***
move:towards.3M.PCO call:out:loud-3M.ICO-DS-N tree-M.GEN

baamb-íichch *ammóo* *gutans-íchch-u* *ill-éen-ta-s*
tree:hole-M.ABL however owls-SG-M.NOM eye-F.LOC-L-3M.P

bulúqq *y-ée'u.*
emerge:unexpectedly say-3M.PVE
'While he was calling loudly into the tree hole, all of a sudden, an owl emerged from the tree hole (just) before his eyes.'

(4) *Am-a-síi* *ann-íichchi-s* *ful-tóo=g-a-n* […].
mother-F.NOM-3M.P.CRD father-M.ABL-3M.P leave-3F.PVO.REL =GA-M.OBL-N
'And as soon as his mother had left his father […].' (K8: 20)

[2] Kawachi (forthcoming) calls these nouns "locational nouns".
[3] Detailed information about spatial nouns is provided in Treis (2007a: chapter 7.7.2).

If more explicit information about the point of departure is necessary, the ground noun (then genitive-marked) can combine with an ablative-marked spatial noun: the spatial noun *alí* 'top' in (5) expresses that the movement originated from the top of the ground rather than, say, the interior of the ground.

(5) […] ***ma'nn-á*** ***al-íichch*** *xóphph* *y-í* *agúrr*
bed-M.GEN top-M.ABL jump say-3M.PCO leave.3M.PCO

fooq-í *woskamb-áan* *fooloocc-ée'u.*
window-M.GEN frame-M.LOC rest-3M.PVE
'[…] he jumped up from the bed (lit. from the top of the bed) and (sat down for a) rest on the window sill.'

Ablative NPs are common with 'leave', 'descend', 'ascend' and 'fall' verbs but by no means restricted to them, as, for instance, (53) below shows.

3.2 Terrain (location)

The terrain in which a motion takes place is encoded in the locative case; see the terrain NPs of motion events expressed through the verbs *maram-* 'go', *hagág y-* 'strut about (of birds)' and *hun-* 'run away' in (6)-(8).

(6) ***Car-áan*** *maram-án* *worr-iichch-ú* *haamm-óomm.*
forest-M.LOC go(.PS)-1SG.ICO snakes-SG-M.ACC step-1SG.PVO
'When walking around in the forest I stepped on a snake.'

(7) ***wees-é*** ***aaz-éen*** *hagág* *y-anó* *hagas-ó*
enset-F.GEN interior-M.LOC strut:about say-3M.IPV.REL bird:*sp*-M.ACC
'a *hagaso*-bird which struts about in the enset (garden)' (K8: 19)

(8) *Sabír-u* ***Cacc-í*** ***boq-óon*** *samaag-ichch-íichch*
S.-M.NOM C.-M.GEN head-M.LOC leopards-SG-M.ABL

húnn *fushsh-aqq-ée'u.*
run:away.3M.PCO leave.CS-MID-3M.PVE
'On top of Cacca Mountain, Sabiro ran away from the leopard.' (K8: 25)

3.3 Route (place passed)

The location which is passed along a path (route) is encoded by the instrumental-comitative-perlative (ICP) case in Kambaata.[4] ICP-marked NPs are common in combination with 'pass' verbs, e.g. *hig-* 'pass (by, across)' (9), *hulut-* 'pass through (e.g. a gate)' (10), *huruur-* 'go through (e.g. a container)' (11), *mur-* 'cut; cut (across), cross' and *qo'll-* 'stumble (across)' (12), but are not restricted to these verbs (see (54) and (59)).

[4] From a cross-linguistic point of view, it does not seem to be uncommon that languages possess a case marker or adposition which combines the functions of comitative, instrumental and perlative. Another language with such a polyfunctional morpheme, Fur, is discussed in Waag (this volume).

(9) […] *dángo-n* ***shiin-íin-ka-s*** *hig-áyyoo*
suddenly-N side-M.ICP-L-3M.P pass-3M.PROG.REL

wengereell-ichch-ú *xúujj* […].
foxes-SG-M.ACC see.3M.PCO
'[…] suddenly he saw a fox passing by his side […].' (K6: 123)

(10) […] *xórb-ut* *ann-í* ***koof-íin***
ball-F.NOM father-M.GEN area:between:legs-M.ICP

hulút-t *el-óon* *aag-góo'u.*
pass:through-3F.PCO pit-M.LOC enter-3F.PVO
'[…] the ball passed through the father's legs and entered a hole.'

(11) […] *Sabír-u* *bun-í* ***aaz-íin*** *hurúurr*
S.-M.NOM coffee-M.GEN interior-M.ICP go:through.3M.PCO

da'll-am-án *min-í* *láqq* *wáall-o.*
be:fast-PS-3M.ICO house-M.ACC move:towards.3M.PCO come-3M.PVO
'Sabiro […] passed through the coffee [trees/garden] and came quickly towards the house.' (K8: 21)

If 'pass' verbs co-occur with locative phrases, these phrases encode the terrain in which the passage takes place (see section 3.2) but not the place passed. Compare the function of the ICP- and locative-marked ground nouns in (12)-(13).

(12) […] *qeraa'rr-ú* *woqq-áa* *maram-uhúu* ***gufichch-íin***
far-M.ACC way-M.ACC go(.PS)-M.NOM.CRD obstacle-M.ICP

qo'll-uhúu [...] *abb-áta* *gen-íta* *eeb-áno.*
stumble-M.NOM.CRD big-F.ACC harm-F.ACC bring-3M.IPV
'[…] walking far distances and stumbling across obstacles is harmful [for their feet].' (K8: 49)

(13) […] *qoonq-é* ***aaz-éen*** *qo'll-í* *eged-ámm* […].
throat-F.GEN interior-M.LOC stumble-3M.PCO hold:back-PS.3M.PCO
'[…] it stumbles (across s.th.) in the throat and is held back […].' (KXS: 8)

Accusative NPs usually encode the goal of the passage; see *angáta* 'hand(s)' in (14) and section 3.4 below. However, various 'pass' verbs (*hig-* 'pass', *mur-* 'cut; cut across, cross' and *tol-* 'cross (a river, a crevice)') are alternatively[5] attested with route-encoding accusative complements, so that only the context enables the hearer to determine whether the accusative NP preceding the 'pass' verb actually refers to the route or to the goal of motion.[6] Compare (9) and (15) in which the place passed by in the

[5] The verb *qaaf-* 'step over' seems to require an accusative complement; it is never attested with an ICP-marked NP in reference to the place stepped over.

[6] However, route NPs governed by other (non-'pass') motion verbs (e.g. *mar-* 'go') are never expressed through accusative NPs.

motion event is marked by the ICP and the accusative case, respectively. See also the accusative-marked rout NP in (58) below.

(14) *Ku* […] *cíil-u* […] *nubaab-i-sí* ***ang-áta*** *hígg-ee'u.*
DDEM1.M.NOM infant-M.NOM elders-M.GEN-3M.P hand-F.ACC pass-3M.PVE
'The baby […] was passed on to the hands of the elders.'

(15) ***Im-á-s*** *hig-íi* *mát-u* *mat-ú-s*
crevice-F.ACC-3M.P pass-M.DAT one-M.NOM one-M.ACC-3M.P

tol-án-s-u *has-is-áno-s.*
pass-PS-CS-M.NOM want-CS-3M.IPV-3M.OBJ
'In order to pass the crevice, one has to assist each other in traversing.'

ICP adjuncts are not necessarily interpreted as expressing the route of a motion event but they may, of course, also denote companions, instruments and means of conveyance (16), as well as the manner in which the movement is carried out (17). Nevertheless, the semantic role of the ICP adjunct in the motion event is seldom misunderstood, as the nature of its referent and world knowledge assist the hearer in making a plausible interpretation.

(16) […] ***bobir-íin*** *maram-anó* *moos-ú* *ikk-ó=da* […].
wind-M.ICP go(.PS)-3M.IPV.REL disease-M.ACC become-3M.PVO.REL=COND
'[…] if it is a disease that travels with the wind […].'

(17) […] *ább-ata* ***maalal-oonii*** ***bajig-oonii***
big-F.OBL surprise-F.ICP.CRD happiness-F.ICP.CRD

hog-o-ssá=b-a *fanqal-éemma.*
field-F.GEN-3PL.P=PLACE-M.ACC return-3HON.PVE
'[…] he returned very surprised and happily to his farm.' (K4: 78)

If disambiguation is required, Kambaata speakers resort to periphrastic constructions in which the ICP adjunct is placed in a separate converbal clause, which is subordinate to the clause of the motion verb. A converb form of *barg*(*-am*)- '(be) add(ed)', for instance, introduces companions of and additions to the moving figure. Thus, in (18), the converbal clause establishes water as the companion of the figure's downward movement in order to exclude its interpretation as the substance through/along which the figure descends.

(18) *Mát-u-s* […] ***wo'-íin*** ***barg-ámm*** *dirr-í*
one-M.NOM-3M.P water-M.ICP add-PS.3M.PCO descend-3M.PCO

eel-áno-a *síit-a.*
gather-3M.IPV.REL-M.COP2 sediment-M.PRED
'One (of the products extracted from the enset plant) […] is a sediment which descends together with the water and gathers (in a pit).' (K5: 28)

A converb form of *mur-* 'cut; cut (across), cross' or *hig-* 'pass' may signal explicitly that the ICP adjunct is to be interpreted as a place crossed or passed by and not, for instance, as a means of conveyance (19).

(19) *Maakiin-íin* ***hígg*** *wáall-ee'u.* vs. *Maakiin-íin* *wáall-ee'u.*
car-M.ICP pass.3M.PCO come-3M.PVE car-M.ICP come-3M.PVE
'He came past the car.' 'He came by car.'

3.4 Goal

In motion events, the goal of motion occurs usually in the accusative case; see the ground nouns *irá* 'land, garden' (20), *Qaaccá* (place name) (21) and *miní* 'house' (22).

(20) *Hánno,* ***ir-á*** *dirr-í* *anabbab-áamm.*
please land-M.ACC descend-1SG.PCO read-1SG.IPV
'Excuse me, I will go down to (our) garden and read (the letter).' (K8: 21)

(21) *Hoogg-ó* *j-áata* *maram-án* *taabbaídda*
become:tired-3M.PVO.REL time-F.ACC go(.PS)-3M.ICO otherwise

dagud-án ***Qaacc-á*** *iill-ée'u.*
run-3M.ICO Q.-M.ACC reach-3M.PVE
'When he felt tired he walked, otherwise he ran and reached Qaacca.' (K8: 23)

(22) *Hitt-ínta* *hóshsh* ***min-í-s*** *fanqal-áno.*
like:this-F.ACC<N> pass:the:day.3M.PCO house-M.ACC-3M.P return-3M.IPV
'One passes the day simply (i.e. without food) and returns home (hungrily in the evening).'

Goals are marked in the same way as the direct object of verbs such as 'beat', 'kill', 'eat' and 'drink' but unlike grounds in expressions of location (which are locative- or oblique-marked). As the predicate alone can function as a complete clause, neither direct objects of non-motion verbs nor goal NPs of motion verbs have to be expressed overtly. In (23), for instance, the goal of *iill-* 'reach, arrive' is not mentioned, because it is clear from the context which place the addressee is asked to come to.

(23) […] *ann-íichchi-kk* *sinaabb-áta* *aaqq-ít*
father-M.ABL-2SG.P permission-F.ACC take-2SG.PCO

dandee-toontí *woqq-éen* *sarb-ít* *íill.*
be:able-2SG.PVO.REL way-M.ICP hurry-2SG.PCO arrive.2SG.IMP
[Excerpt from a letter:] '[…] seek permission from your father and come (here) quickly any way you can.' (K8: 22)

Grounds (e.g. *hoga'anníba* in (24)) into whose direction a figure moves but which it does not necessarily reach are introduced by the verb *laq-* 'move towards'.

(24) *Maatáb-u […] hoga'aann-í=b-a* ***láqq***
M.-M.NOM farmers-M.GEN=PLACE-M.ACC move:towards.3M.PCO

dagújj *fanqalaan-s-í* *yaarr-o=dáa* [...].
run.3M.PCO be:repeated-CS-3M.PCO shout-3M.PCO.REL=COND.CRD
'Although Maatabo ran towards the farmers and shouted again and again, [...].' (K4: 135)

Apart from the 'fall' verbs discussed further below, all verbs of translational motion seem to be able to govern accusative goal NPs in Kambaata, irrespective of whether they are rather path-oriented or rather manner-oriented. Admittedly, path-oriented motion verbs (e.g. *mar-* 'go', *iill-* 'reach', *laq-* 'move towards, turn towards', *fanqal-* 'return', *orooqq-* 'go away, leave', *ful-* 'leave; ascend', *dirr-* 'descend', *múgg y-* 'descend') co-occur with overt goal NPs more commonly than manner-oriented motion verbs (e.g. *dagud-* 'run', *fiikk-* 'run very fast, *búrr y-* 'fly' (25), *waachch-* 'swim', *onkolo'll-* 'roll' (26), *baad-* 'crawl'), which rarely govern goal NPs directly but which are usually subordinate to path-oriented motion verbs (see section 4 below). See, however, the following examples, in which path-oriented verbs ('fly' and 'roll') govern accusative goal NPs.

(25) *mát-o* *kaashsh-í* *zaraar-óochch* ***wol-í=b-a***
one-M.OBL plant-M.GEN flower-F.ABL other-M.GEN=PLACE-M.ACC

búrr *y-itán* *qan-táa* *maalet-ichch-aakk-atáa*
fly say-3F.ICO suck-3F.IPV.REL butterfly-SG-PL-F.ACC.CRD
'and butterflies which fly from the flower of one plant to another and suck (nectar)' (K8: 19)

(26) *Kín-u* ***lag-á*** *onkolo'll-ée'u.*
stone-M.NOM river-M.ACC roll-3M.PVE
'The stone rolled to the river.'

Although goals are generally accusative-marked, it is important to point out that not every possible goal of motion can simply be expressed in a bare accusative noun. While the nouns given in (27) and the spatial nouns listed in (2) may serve as heads of goal NPs without further measures being taken (recall, for instance, (20)-(22) and (26)), the addition of the phrase-enclitic place morpheme *=ba* (Treis 2007a: 227-30) is necessary with many other grounds.

(27) *Place nouns used as heads of accusative-marked goal NPs (non-exhaustive list)*

Houses, parts of the house, areas surrounding the house
miní 'house', *gaxá* 'front room', *dumá* 'back room', *qo'llú* 'cattle-pen', *kifilá* 'room', *gatíta* 'back yard', *urrúta* 'front yard', *hadáta* 'outside', *irá* '(one's) land'

Regions, places, landscape
baadú 'country, region', *beechchú* 'place', *lagá* 'river', *bonqoqú* 'cave', *gaxará* 'country (as antonym to town)', *katamá* 'town', *dikkúta* 'market', *daqayyá* 'large pasture (common land)', *bizzeenná* 'North', *muggeenná* 'South'
Place names
Duuraamíta (capital of the Kambaata-Xambaaro Zone), *Tophphíta* 'Ethiopia', *Adisaabá* 'Addis Ababa'
Directional pronouns
hannúta '(to) where?', *hikka'íta* '(to) over there', *ka'íta* '(to) the other place'
Other
oonnáta 'funeral, mourning ceremony'

The *=ba* morpheme is historically derived from a noun **baa* 'place' and cognate to Sidaama *=wa* (Kawachi 2007: 58-73). The *=ba* morpheme is preceded by (pro)nouns in the genitive case. It inflects for as many cases as nouns do. As the head of a goal NP, it receives accusative case marking. The *=ba* morpheme enables the following (pro)nouns to function as heads of goal NPs:[7]

(28) *(Pro)nouns requiring* =ba *when used as heads of goal NPs*[8]

Common and proper nouns referring to persons (e.g. *Ayyaanó=ba* 'to Ayyaano's (place)')
Animals (e.g. *ameezanna=ba* 'to the (place of the) wild animals')
Objects (29)
Actions (30), events, abstract concepts
Personal pronouns (e.g. *níi=ba* 'to us (lit. to our place)')
Certain demonstratives (e.g. *ka=bá* '(to) here (lit. to this place)')[9]

(29) [...] ***atakaan-i=b-áa*** *ísi-n* *mar-áno-a,*
dish:*sp*-M.GEN=PLACE-M.ACC.CRD 3M.NOM-N go-3M.IPV.REL-M.COP2

muchch-i=b-áa *ísi-n* *mar-áno-a* [...].
dish:*sp*-M.GEN=PLACE-M.ACC.CRD 3M.NOM-N go-3M.IPV.REL-M.COP2
[Preceding sentences: 'An unfrayed enset leave is put on the winnowing plate. An enset leaf "goes" everywhere (i.e. is useful as underlay and cover for all types of food).'] 'It "goes" to the *atakaanu*-dish; it "goes" to the *muchchu*-dish, [...].'

(30) […] ***huj-e-ssá=b-a*** *fanqal-tóo'u.*
work-F.GEN-3PL.P=PLACE-M.ACC return-3F.PVO
'[…] they returned to their work (lit. to the place of their work).' (K4: 135)

[7] Exception: the verb *iill-* 'reach' can govern goal NPs which refer to animate, inanimate and abstract referents and which are not marked with *=ba*; see (49).
[8] The place morpheme is also necessary when a goal NP is headless; see *wolí=ba* 'to another one' (25).
[9] Demonstratives of the 1st and 2nd degree as well as interrogative demonstratives (Treis 2007a: 350f, 359-62).

It is difficult to predict in Kambaata whether a noun with an inanimate referent is considered to be a member of the group of "place nouns" given in (27)[10] and as such does not need to combine with *=ba*: it is, for instance, particularly striking that the noun *oonnáta* 'funeral, mourning ceremony' can serve as a goal NP without further measures being taken, whereas, for instance, the noun *hujíta* 'work' (30) must combine with the place morpheme. Similarly, it cannot yet be explained why the noun *irá* '(one's) land' (20) can simply head a goal NP, whereas the noun *hogúta* 'field; ploughing' (17) necessitates *=ba* to do so.

Furthermore, it seems to be possible to combine at least some of the place nouns in (27)[11] with the place morpheme *=ba* in order to encode motion towards (but not necessarily reaching) the ground or motion to the vicinity of the ground (31).[12]

(31) [...] *cacár-u* *zooxiráam-u* *samaag-íchch-u* *dasan-á-s*
spotted-M.NOM long-M.NOM leopards-SG-M.NOM tail-M.ACC-3M.P

goshooshsh-án ***bonqoq-i-sí=b-a*** *wáall-o.*
drag:over:ground-3M.ICO cave-M.GEN-3M.P=PLACE-M.ACC come-3M.PVO
'[...] a spotted long leopard came towards the cave / to a place near the cave, dragging his tail over the ground.' (K8: 22)

Only goals of few translational motion verbs are **not** accusative-marked. Verbs of entering and ascending may alternatively occur with locative-marked goals.

VERBS OF ENTERING: The verb *aag-* 'enter', for instance, governs an accusative goal in (32) but a locative goal, *elóon*, in (10). Whereas *miní* 'house' (32) and parts of the house (e.g. *dumá* 'back room', *gaxá* 'front room'), *katamá* 'town', place names (e.g. *Awuroppá* 'Europe') and the spatial nouns *aazí* 'interior' and *mereerú* 'middle' (34) are preferably accusative-marked as goals of 'enter' verbs,[13] substances (e.g. *wo'á* 'water'), body parts (e.g. *illíta* 'eye'), containers (e.g. *koddá* 'aluminium bottle'), events and situations (e.g. *daafá* 'danger') are only attested with locative-case marking. Furthermore, verbal nouns with which *aag-* 'enter' is combined to express 'start V-ing' may only receive a locative but not an accusative marker (33).[14] The phrasal verb *lúqq y-* 'enter immediately, unexpectedly, quickly' behaves syntactically similar to *aag-* 'enter' and may govern accusative as well as locative goals; compare (34) and (35).

[10] This group of nouns is called "place nouns" in accordance with Kawachi (forthcoming).
[11] So far, it has not yet been checked with how many nouns in (27) *=ba* can actually be combined.
[12] Meyer (this volume: ex. (28a) and (28b)) and Kawachi (forthcoming: fn. 7) observed a similar function of the place morpheme in Muher and Sidaama, respectively.
[13] Locative marking is also attested with these nouns, but less frequently.
[14] When used in the sense of 'understand', the human goal of entering is marked for the dative case: "X entered Y-DAT" = Y understands X'.

(32) *Ka* *xeen-á* ***min-í*** *áag-g* *birr-iis-sáanti-ba'i?*
DDEM1.M.ACC rain-M.ACC house-M.ACC enter-2SG.PCO stop-CS-2SG.IPV-NEG.Q
'Don't you enter a house and take shelter from the rain?'

(33) […] *fe'llon-ch-ú-s* ***has-óon*** *aag-góo'u.*
frogs-SG-M.ACC-3M.P look:for-M.LOC enter-3F.PVO
'[…] they started to look for the frog.'

(34) [...] *hobbangaf-íchch-u* *gar-ínta* *wáall* *hooll-á*
wolves-SG-M.NOM truth-F.ACC<N> come.3M.PCO sheep-F.GEN

mereer-ú *lúqq* *y-í* […].
middle-M.ACC enter:immediately say-3M.PCO
'[…] the wolf truly came and jumped into the (flock of) sheep […].'
(K4: 135)

(35) *Ál-u-kk* *nadájji-yan* ***ba'anch-áan***
body-M.NOM-2SG.P become:angry.3M.PCO-DS argument-M.LOC

lúqq *y-itóot.*
enter:quickly say-2SG.IMP.NEG
'Don't lapse into an argument when you are angry.' (K7: 25)

It is unknown so far what exactly triggers the choice of one or the other case frame. It would be worth investigating further whether it is the nature of the place/object entered which determines the case marking on goals of entering verbs. Possibly, there is an overlap between the nouns which are usually accusative-marked as goals of entering verbs and the group of place nouns in (27), which do not require the *=ba* morpheme when used as goals of other motion verbs.

VERBS OF ASCENDING: The case marking which the polysemous verb *ful-* 'leave; ascend' triggers on the goal of motion, depends on whether the verb is used in the sense 'leave, go out' or in the sense 'climb on, go up, ascend'. In the former context, goal NPs are encoded in the accusative case (36).

(36) […] *irsaas-á* *tákk* *át-t* ***had-áta*** *ful-tóo'u.*
pencil-M.ACC drop do-3F.PCO outside-F.ACC leave-3F.PVO
'[…] she dropped the pencil and left out (lit. went out to the outside).'

If the motion event follows a vertical path the goal may be encoded in the locative case (37). More frequently though, the ground noun is headed by the accusative form of the spatial nouns *alí* 'top' (38) or, in the case of mountains sometimes, *boqúta* 'head'. Note that this variation in means of expression is not only observed between speakers but can even be found in one and the same text; compare (37) and (38). The choice of one or the

other encoding strategy for the goal of ascending motion is pragmatically determined.[15]

(37) *Xon-é* *gedéel-aa* ***haqq-áan*** *fúl-t*
aforementioned-F.GEN trunk-M.OBL tree-M.LOC ascend-3F.PCO

afuu'll-itoo'íi [...].
sit:down-3F.PVO.REL.VV.M.ACC
'(When) they had climbed on the tree trunk and sat down […].'

(38) [...] *adab-óohu* *birs-í* *gedéel-aa* ***haqq-í*** ***al-í***
boy-M.NOM precede-3M.PCO trunk-M.OBL tree-M.GEN top-M.ACC

ful-íi *mar-anó=da* [...].
ascend-M.DAT go-3M.IPV.REL=COND
'When the boy climbed on (top of) the tree trunk in front (of him) […].'

VERBS OF FALLING: The goal of 'fall' verbs (e.g. *ub-* 'fall down', *giggil-* 'fall down in numbers, rain down', *xulbúqq y-* 'fall into the water') occurs in the oblique (39) or locative case (40). Even spatial nouns must occur in the oblique or locative rather than the accusative case (41). In contrast, spatial nouns governed by 'enter' (34) and 'ascend' verbs (38) are usually accusative-marked.

(39) […] *máal-ch-u* ***úull-a*** *úbb-o.*
meat-SG-M.NOM ground-M.OBL fall-3M.PVO
'[...] the piece of meat fell on the ground.'

(40) […] ***wo'-aaníi*** ***maax-aaníi*** *xulbúqq* *y-ít* *dub-an-tóo'u.*
water-M.LOC.CRD mud-M.LOC.CRD fall:into:water say-3F.PCO cover-PS-3F.PVO
'[...] they fell into the water and mud and submerged.'

(41) *Áchche* *tées-u* *uull-á* ***al-éen*** *fidiicc-ít* *úb!*
so now-NOM ground-F.GEN top-M.LOC lie:spreadeagled-2SG.PCO fall.2SG.IMP
'So now fall down spread-eagled on the ground!' (K6: 124)

For several reasons, 'fall' verbs should not be included in the class of translational motion verbs in Kambaata. As we have seen above, the argument structure of 'fall' verbs differs from those of other motion verbs in that their goal NPs can never be accusative-marked.[16] 'Fall' verbs are syntactically similar to change-of-position verbs, e.g. *afuu'll-* 'sit (down)', *uurr-* 'stand (up)' (42) and *ossa'-* 'lie (down)'. Furthermore, *ub-* is a member of the semantic field of change-of-position verbs and in opposition to both *afuu'll-* 'sit (down)' and *ossa'-* 'lie (down)'. Objects are said to sit (*afuu'll-ée'u* 3M.PVE 'it has sat down, it is sitting') in their canonical posi-

[15] Note that the more explicit sentence (38) precedes sentence (37) in the story.
[16] As a weather verb, however, *ub-* can have an accusative object, *xeená* 'rain'.

tion, but they are said to have fallen (*úbb-ee'u* 3M.PVE 'it has fallen down, it is lying') when they are in a non-canonical horizontal position (42). Moreover, people can lie somewhere (*ossá'-ee'u* 3M.PVE 'he has lain down, he is lying'), whereas objects cannot lie in the literal sense; they can only have fallen down (*úbb-ee'u* 3M.PVE 'it has fallen down, it is lying').

(42) *Gugun-ch-í* *al-éen* *mát-u* *haqqúuchch-u* ***úbbi-yan***
stump-SG-M.GEN top-M.LOC one-M.NOM tree.SG-M.NOM fall.3M.PCO-DS

mát-u-s *shiin-áan* ***uurr-ée'u.***
one-M.NOM-3M.P side-M.LOC stand:up-3M.PVE
'One pole is lying on the stump, one is standing beside it.'

It is the coming into being of a position which is lexicalised in 'fall' verbs. Therefore, 'fall' verbs are often preceded by 'descend' verbs (see *dirr-* in (43)) in narratives to encode a completed falling process rather than the result of falling.

(43) *Qáchch-ut* *ziishsh-íin* *barg-án-t* *yoo'íi-t*
beehive-F.NOM bees-M.ICP add-PS-3F.PCO COP1.3.REL.VV-F.NOM

dirr-ít *ub-bóo'u.*
descend-3F.PCO fall-3F.PVO
'The beehive, together with the bees, fell down.'

Goal and terrain NPs are not formally differentiated in sentences depicting a positional change. Therefore, (44) actually has two interpretations.

(44) ***Xaraphpheez-í*** ***al-éen*** *úbb-ee'u.*
table-M.GEN top-M.LOC fall-3F.PVE
(i) 'It fell onto the table (e.g. from a shelf above the table).'
(ii) 'It fell over (while standing) on the table.'

3.5 Is the goal NP a direct object?

As it is characteristic of languages with a marked-nominative system, the accusative case form of Kambaata is, functionally, the unmarked case form. The accusative is the citation form[17] and it marks the direct object, whose semantic role is prototypically that of a patient; see *hoozú* in (45). Apart from this, the accusative case marks adverbial constituents (see *jáata* in (21) and *garínta* in (34) above) and there are arguments for (and against) considering the accusative to be the case form for which nominal predicates are marked (Treis 2007b).[18]

[17] Hence, all nouns are cited here in their accusative case form.
[18] The case form which is here called "accusative" is also called "absolute", "absolutive" or "unmarked form" in the description of other Ethiopian languages.

(45) *Egerr-óo-hu* *az-ó* ***hooz-ú***
wait-3M.PVO.REL.VV-M.NOM milk-F.GEN liquid-M.ACC

sarb-amm-óo-hu *wo'-í* ***hooz-ú*** *ag-áno.*
hurry-PS-3M.PVO.REL.VV-M.NOM water-M.GEN liquid-M.ACC drink-3M.IPV
'The one who waited drinks milk; the one who is in a hurry drinks water.'

In the analysis of motion constructions, the question arises whether the accusative-marked goal NPs should be considered direct objects of motion verbs (cf. Dimmendaal 2003). Meyer (this volume) and Debela (this volume), who examine the syntactic status of goal NPs in the Ethio-Semitic language Muher and the Cushitic language Oromo, respectively, argue that goals in these languages have syntactic features different from those of direct objects, although goal NPs and direct objects are marked with identical morphological means.[19] Meyer and Debela stress, in particular, that goal NPs, unlike direct objects, cannot be referred to by object markers on the verb and favour treating goal NPs as adverbial constituents. The arguments brought forward by Meyer and Debela are examined in the following discussion with respect to Kambaata.

In Kambaata, pronominal object markers may be attached to verbs in reference to human (and only in exceptional cases to non-human) direct objects. The question of whether accusative goal NPs can also be referred to by object markers is difficult to assess in Kambaata. This is, firstly, because, in natural discourse, **human** goals (which could be referred to by an object morpheme) are much less common than **inanimate** goals (which would usually not be pronominalised) and, secondly, because object markers are not only used in reference to accusative (direct) objects but also to indirect and oblique objects including the beneficiary of an action; only peripheral constituents cannot be pronominalised on the verb (Treis 2007a: 317-21). Hence, if object morphemes are detected on motion verbs, one may, strictly speaking, only deduce that the referent is not a peripheral (adverbial) constituent. It is, however, often hard to tell whether the pronominalised referent would function as direct object or as indirect/oblique object if expressed in an NP. There are clear cases like example (46), in which the object pronoun does definitely **not** refer to the goal (*hannúmma* '(to) where?') but to an ablative constituent, the source of motion.

(46) *Fe'llán-ch-o,* *fe'llán-ch-o* *hann-úm-ma* *már-ti-**nne**?*
frogs-SG-M.OBL frogs-SG-M.OBL where-F.ACC-MA go-2SG.PCO-1PL.OBJ
'Frog, frog, where did you go to when you left us (lit. where did you go to from us)?'

It is reasonable to assume that the object marker *-nne* in (47) pronominalises the human goal ('to us'). But admittedly, one cannot exclude the possibility that it refers to a dative-marked beneficiary ('for us'), given exam-

[19] Both in Muher and Oromo direct objects of verbs like 'beat' and goal NPs of verbs like 'go' occur in the unmarked form.

ples such as (48), in which the co-referent of the object marker is a dative constituent.[20]

(47) *Masáal-a,* *wáal-i-**nne**,* *bajig-ó* *bu'll-éechch-o!*
masaala-M.OBL come-2SG.IMP-1PL.OBJ happiness-F.GEN sources-SG-F.OBL
'Masaala [= big annual feast], come to us, (you) source of happiness!' (K3: 35)

(48) […] *lam-e-ssá* ***ciil-l-áanta*** *gisán-at* *waal-tóo-**ssa**.*
two-F.GEN-3PL.P baby-PL-F.DAT<N> sleep-F.NOM come-3F.PVO-3PL.OBJ
'[…] sleep overcame (lit. came for) the babies of the two [women].'

The only unequivocal example of a goal NP being pronominalised on the verb is (49); but note that *iill-* 'reach, arrive at' is insofar special as it is the only motion verb which does not require human goals to be marked by the place morpheme *=ba*.

(49) ***Ées*** ***wotar-ch-úta*** *áy-eet* *dagújj*
1SG.ACC donkey:foal-SG-F.ACC who-M.NOM.VV-COP3 run.3M.PCO

*iill-áno-**'ee**?*
reach-3M.IPV-1SG.OBJ.VV
'Who can run and catch up with me, the donkey foal?' (K4: 34)

The passivisation test provides more convincing evidence for the syntactic status of the goal NPs. In Kambaata, direct objects can be passivised but indirect or oblique objects cannot. In (45), the patient *hoozú* 'liquid' functions as the direct object of *ag-* 'drink', while in (1) and (50) the patients *gízzu* 'money' and *án* 'I' are subjects of the passivised *ag-am-* 'be drunk'.[21] Passive verbs in Kambaata receive a derivational morpheme *-am*, which is cognate to the Oromo passive morpheme (Debela this volume).

(50) *Án* *ag-**amm**-óomm-ba(')-i)ndo?*
1SG.NOM drink-**PS**-1SG.PVO-NEG-Q
'I have been cheated (lit. drunk), haven't I?'

Examples in which goal NPs are subjects of passivised motion verbs are an important piece of evidence for considering them to be direct objects of the corresponding active verbs. Examples such as (51) and (52) seem to be perfectly acceptable but, admittedly, quite rarely attested in the corpus.[22] The passive construction in (51) is felicitous in a context in which it is not important **who** went to the market but only that the shopping has already been made.

[20] Pragmatically salient objects are expressed in both an NP and an object marker on the verb; see (48)-(49).

[21] The verb *ag-* 'drink' is often used metaphorically.

[22] Only passive forms of the motion verbs *mar-* 'go', *iill-* 'reach' and *dagud-* 'run' are attested in the corpus. Unfortunately, I have no data for (dis)proving that the goal NPs in the other examples could also be turned into subjects of passivised verbs.

(51) *Áy* *dágg-o* *dikk-úta* *marr-ee'íi*
who.M.NOM know-3M.PVO market-F.ACC go-3M.PVE.REL.VV.M.NOM

yóo-ndo? – *Díkk-ut* *mar-**án**-tee'u.*
COP1.3-Q market-F.NOM go-**PS**-3F.PVE
'Has someone, maybe, gone to the market?' – 'Someone has gone to the market (lit. the market was gone to).'

(52) *Qé-qéer-u* *báad-u* *iill-**án**-tee'u.*
RED-far-M.NOM country-M.NOM reach-**PS**-3F.PVE
[Context: People departed into different directions.] 'Each far place was reached.'

Although the question of whether goal NPs of motion verbs are direct objects cannot be answered entirely satisfactorily, the morphological marking and the passivizability of goal NPs point in this direction.

3.6 Journeys

In Kambaata, complex paths, so-called "journeys", encoded in more than one ground/path NP can be placed in one clause. In written texts and elicited data, source and goal NPs are often governed by one verb; see, for instance, example (53), in which the verb *hig-* 'pass' governs both a source and a goal NP, while the place passed is only implicit.[23] More than two ground/path NPs are uncommon (though probably not ungrammatical).

(53) […] *wó'-u* *wor-ó* *wud-íichch* *al-í* *wud-ú*
water-M.NOM lower-M.GEN side-M.ABL top-M.GEN side-M.ACC

hig-íiha *dand-áno-ba'a.*
pass-M.DAT be:able-3M.IPV-NEG
'[…] the water cannot be transported (lit. cannot pass) from down [= the roots] to up [= to the leaves] (through the tubes).' (K8: 30)

A study of oral texts reveals that speakers prefer to distribute complex paths across several clauses. In contrast to written texts, it is even uncommon to find two ground/path NPs in one clause.[24] Routes are commonly added in clauses headed by 'pass' or 'cross' verbs; sources are integrated into clauses headed, for instance, by 'get up', 'leave' and 'descend', while goals are located in clauses headed by 'reach'. In example (54), route (*maskootíin*) and goal (*hadáta*) occur in the main clause, whereas the third ground/path NP, the source (*burcuqí aazíichch*), is expressed in a preceding converbal clause.

[23] In examples (3) and (8), a source and a terrain NP are located in one clause.

[24] The recorded frog stories contain only four sentences in which two ground/path NPs are located in the same clause.

(54) *Fe'llón-ch-u [...]* *lácc* *íkk* *burcuq-í* *aaz-íichch*
frogs-SG-M.NOM slowly become.3M.PCO glass-M.GEN interior-M.ABL

fúll *fan-amm-ó* *maskoot-íin* *had-áta*
go:out.3M.PCO open-PS-3M.PVO.REL window-M.ICP outside-F.ACC

orooqq-ée'u.
go:away-3M.PVE
'The frog [...] left the glass carefully and disappeared through the open window.'

In example (55), each of the ground/path NPs is found in a separate clause.

(55) [...] *fooq-í* *al-íichch* *xóphph* *íkk* *had-áta*
window-M.GEN top-M.ABL jump become.3M.PCO outside-F.ACC

láqq [...] *uull-áan* *dirr-í* *úbb* [...].
move:towards.3M.PCO ground-F.LOC descend-3M.PCO fall.3M.PCO
'[...] it jumped down from the window (sill) and fell on the ground (lit. it jumped from the top of the window to the outside, descended, fell on the ground) [...].'

Consider also example (10) above, in which the two sub-events of a motion event, passage along a ground and entering into a container, are expressed in two separate clauses.

4 Manner

Many Kambaata motion verbs are completely unspecific in terms of manner. Verbs such as *ful-* 'leave; ascend', *aag-* 'enter', *mar-* 'go (away from a deictic centre)', *waal-* 'come (toward a deictic centre)', *fanqal-* 'return', *orooqq-* 'go away', *fad-* 'go away, migrate', *maram-* 'go', *dirr-* 'descend, go down' and *iill-* 'reach' are manner-neutral although the English translation might sometimes erroneously imply a certain manner of motion. In contrast to this, a considerable number of motion verbs have lexicalised a quite specific type of manner; see, for instance, *takkúnn-takkúnn y-* 'walk some steps and repeatedly fall and get up again (of an infant learning to walk)', *hagág y-* 'strut about (of a bird)' and *dirgímm y-* 'take a header, enter head first into the water'.[25] On a scale from exclusively path-oriented to very manner-specific verbs there is a zone in which verbs can be placed which are manner-oriented to a lower or higher degree.

The most typical constituent in which manner is expressed in Kambaata is the converbal clause. Path-oriented verbs (e.g. *ful-* 'leave; ascend') tend to be used as main verbs, whereas manner-oriented verbs (e.g. *baad-* 'crawl')

[25] Specific manner verbs are often phrasal verbs made up of an invariant ideophone and an inflectable verb *y-* 'say'. Native speakers consider it as a sign of eloquence when someone masters the use of these semantically specific phrasal verbs.

tend to be used as subordinate verbs (56). The more manner-specific a verb is the more likely that it will occur as a subordinate verb.

(56) [...] *úb-bee* *gedeel-í* *al-éen* ***báad-d*** *ful-tóo'u.*
fall-3F.PVE.REL trunk-M.GEN top-M.LOC crawl-3F.PCO ascend-3F.PVO
'[...] they crawled onto the tree trunk (lit. crawling, they ascended onto the tree trunk).'

Manner of motion may also be conveyed through one of the very few adverbs that the language has (e.g. *leelán* 'slowly, carefully', *dángon* 'unexpectedly, all of a sudden' (57)), through case-marked NPs (see, for instance, *makiiníin* in (19) above) or through the main verb (see, for instance, *bulúqq y-* in (3) and (57) as well as *lúqq y-* in (35) above). The expression of manner of motion can, of course, also be distributed over various constituents of a clause or sentence, as the excerpt from a frog story in (57) illustrates. The narrator stresses the unexpectedness of the mole's appearance and encodes this manner of motion in three constituents (in bold face).

(57) [...] ***mexxé-n*** *ill-éen-ta-s* *fuux-íchch-u* ***dángo-n***
suddenly-N eye-M.LOC-L-3M.P moles-SG-M.NOM suddenly-N

wáall ***bulúqq*** *y-ée'u.*
come.3M.PCO emerge:unexpectedly say-3M.PVE
'[The boy bent down deeply and looked into the hole in the ground, when] suddenly, out of the blue, a mole emerged unexpectedly before his eyes.'

5 Multi-verb constructions

Multi-verb constructions[26] consist of a main clause headed by a fully finite verb form and one or more preceding subordinate clause(s) headed by less-finite converb forms. In this type of construction, distinct semantic subcomponents of motion events are "decompressed" and assigned to different clauses.

As already shown in section 3.6 above, complex paths can be broken up by distributing the ground NPs across several clauses. A frequent type of complex path expression is a multi-verb construction with either *waal-* 'come', a verb encoding motion toward a deictic centre, or *mar-* 'go', a verb encoding motion away from a deictic centre. The deictic centre is either the speaker or a third person referent from whose perspective the motion event is described. The complex path ACROSS + TOWARD DEICTIC CENTRE, for instance, is expressed through the sequence of *tol-* 'cross' and

[26] The multi-verb constructions discussed are very similar to those found in Sidaama. Note that the verb forms which I call in Kambaata "perfective converb" and "imperfective converb" correspond to those Sidaama verb forms called by Kawachi (2007: 414-25 and forthcoming) "verbs with a subject person suffix and a connective suffix" and "verbs with a subject person suffix, the infinitive suffix *-a* and the manner suffix *-nni*", respectively.

waal- 'come' in (58), the path OUT OF + TOWARD DEICTIC CENTRE is encoded through the combination of *ful-* 'leave' and *waal-* 'come' in (59).[27] There is often no obvious meaning difference between multi-verb constructions in which *waal-* 'come' is V2 (58) and those in which it is V1, as in (60).

(58) *Baarzáaf-u* *baar-á* *tóll* ***waall-ó****=bíiha* [...].
eucalyptus-M.NOM sea-M.ACC cross.3M.PCO come-3M.PVO.REL=BEC
'Because the eucalyptus came across the sea (lit. crossed the sea came) [...].' (K4: 59)

(59) *Xon-é* *wosh-íchch-unku* *ammóo* *fóol-u-s*
aforementioned-F.GEN dogs-SG-M.NOM<N> however soul-M.NOM-3M.P

qoq-éen *ful-íi* ***wáalli-yan-s*** […].
throat-M.ICP leave-M.DAT come.3M.PCO-DS-3M.OBJ
'And the dog, his soul was about to come out (lit. leave come) through his throat [...].'

In analogy to the previous examples, complex path expressions of which one aspect is movement away from a deictic centre contain the verb *mar-* 'go'. Compare example (60) and (61), in which the paths INTO + TOWARD DEICTIC CENTRE and INTO + AWAY FROM DEICITC CENTRE are expressed, respectively.

(60) *Kúun* ***wáall*** *lúqq* *yee'íi-'nnu!*
IDEM1.M.NOM come.3M.PCO enter:unexpectedly say-3M.PVE.REL.VV-NNU
[Complaint of a person sitting in his office directed to someone who entered the room without knocking on the door:] 'This is unexpected entering, isn't it?!'

(61) […] *nubáachch-u* *can-i-sí* *af-óoha* *fan-éen*
old:man-M.NOM sack-M.GEN-3M.P mouth-M.ACC open-3HON.PCO

af-éeni-yan ***márr*** *lúqq* *y-ée'u.*
seize-3HON.PCO-DS go.3M.PCO enter:quickly say-3M.PVE
[From the perspective of the speaker or the other protagonists:] '[...] as soon as the old had opened the sack, the leopard […] jumped into it.' (K4: 78)

Complex manners of motion can also be split up in multi-verb constructions and thus be encoded in more than one clause (62).

[27] The first verb (V1) *ful-* 'leave' occurs in a purposive verb form in (59). It is, however, equally possible to express OUT OF + TOWARD DEICTIC CENTRE through a converb-main verb sequence; see (57), in which the converb form of *waal-* 'come' combines with the main verb form of *bulúqq y-* 'emerge unexpectedly'.

(62) […] *buud-i-sé* *qarf-áan* *iyy-itoo'íi*
antler-F.GEN-3F.P area:between-F.LOC carry-3F.PVO.REL.VV.M.ACC

bobar-tán *aphph-itoo'íi* ***hamúu*** *y-itán*
storm-3F.ICO seize-3F.PVO.REL.VV.M.ACC be:confused say-3F.ICO

háww *y-itóo'u.*
run:headless say-3F.PVO
'[...] carrying (the boy) between the antlers, she [= the antelope] stormed (forward), confused, she ran headless.'

Interestingly, the semantics of subordinate and superordinate verbs in multi-verb constructions often overlap. Quite commonly, the subordinate and the superordinate verb are near synonyms (see the 'run fast' verbs in (63) and the two 'descend' verbs in (64)) or in a hyponym-hyperonym relationship, with the semantically more specific verb preceding and the semantically more general verb following (see the specific and general 'leave' verbs in (65)[28] and the specific and general 'enter' verbs in (66)). In the latter constructions, the subordinate and the superordinate verbs encode one and the same aspect of a motion event in differing detail.

(63) [...] *wosh-íchch-u* *awwan-áni-yan* *firiix-án* *fiikk-ée'u.*
dogs-SG-M.NOM follow-3M.ICO-DS run:fast-3M.ICO run:fast-3M.PVE
'[...] with the dog following, it ran very fast.'

(64) *Haqq-íichch* *múgg* *yí* *dirr-ée'u.*
tree-M.ABL descend say-3M.PCO descend-3M.PVE
'He climbed down from the tree.'

(65) [...] *fuux-éechch-u* *húrr* *y-í*
moles-SG-M.NOM come:out:suddenly say-3M.PCO

full-ó *j-áata* [...].
leave-3M.PVO.REL time-F.ACC
'[...] a mole came out suddenly.'

(66) [...] *xíll-aa* *wo'-áan* *dirgímm* *y-í* *áagg* [...].
deep-M.OBL water-M.LOC enter:head:first say-3M.PCO enter-3M.PCO
'[...] he took a header into the deep water [...].'

This combination of semantically overlapping verbs is not restricted to motion events but is an often observed phenomenon in oral texts; see, e.g., the sequence of a semantically specific and general 'pound' verb in (67).

(67) *So'-á* *futtug-éen* *udul-éenno.*
barley-M.ACC pound:strongly-3HON.PCO pound-3HON.IPV
'The barley is pounded strongly (to remove the seed coats).'

[28] I am not sure whether *húrr y-* is a deictic verb or whether it simply expresses 'leave suddenly'.

From a formal point of view, one has to distinguish between perfective and imperfective converbs. Perfective converbs (PCO) are the unmarked choice for the V1 in a multi-verb construction. On the one hand, perfective converbs are used to encode sequences of separable, consecutive events. In (68), the events expressed through *ful-* 'go out' and *aag-* 'go in' are in a temporal sequence.

(68) *Xumm-á* *aass-í-ya'nne* *fúll* *aag-áyyoomm.*
peace-M.ACC give-3M.PCO-DS<1SG.OBJ> leave.1SG.PCO enter-1SG.PROG
'He has given me the peace and I am going out and in [i.e. God protects me on my way].'

On the other hand, the perfective converbs are used to encode inseparable sub-events/aspects of a complex event, as could be seen in many of the previously discussed examples in this section; see, for instance, (63)-(67).

With the choice of an imperfective converb (ICO) the speaker indicates explicitly that the durative event in the converbal clause is simultaneous to the event in the superordinate clause (see the ICO form of *goshooshsh-* in (31) above) or that the event in the converbal clause is not yet completed when the event of the main clause happens (see the ICO form of *ful-* in (69) below).

(69) *Adab-óo* *haqq-í* *al-í* ***ful-án*** *úbb-ee'u.*
boy-M.NOM tree-M.GEN top-M.ACC ascend-3M.ICO fall-3M.PVE
'While climbing up the tree the boy fell down.'

The imperfective converb form of a verb denoting a punctiliar action signals that this action is carried out repeatedly, as the description of how a drunkard leaves a pub in (70) illustrates.

(70) *Híkku* *mánch-u* *dimb-ee'íichch* *zakk-íin*
DDEM2.M.NOM man(.SG)-M.NOM become:drunk-3M.PVE.ABL after-M.ICP

biix-am-aníi ***woqqa'rr-aníi*** ***ub-aníi*** ***xóqq***
break-PS-3M.ICO.CRD beat.MID-3M.ICO.CRD fall-3M.ICO.CRD get:up

y-aaníi *dand-ée=da* *marámm*
say-3M.ICO.CRD be:able-3M.PVE.REL=COND go(.PS).3M.PCO

dand-úmb-o=dda *mánn-u* *oroos-áno-s.*
be:able-3M.NREL-M.OBL=COND people-M.NOM take:out-3M.IPV-3M.OBJ
'When that man is drunk, he breaks (his limbs), hits himself, falls down and gets up repeatedly and walks (out of the pub), if he is able, if he is not able, people carry him out.'

Multi-verb constructions are particularly common in oral discourse. They can be of considerable length and turn sentences into paragraph-like narrative units.

6 Figure and Ground

As in many other languages, Kambaata has verbs which convey, strictly speaking, not only manner of motion but also (or instead) information on the kind of figure which moves or the kind of ground which is reached. The verb *giggil-* 'fall down (in numbers), rain down' is used for leaves and other multiple small light objects; it implies the motion of a multitude of figures. The verb *fírr y-* 'jump, spray in all directions' is most appropriately employed for a multitude of small figures (objects or animals), e.g. fleas and sawdust. The verb *shaláll-shaláll y-* 'walk carefully through water' contains information about the ground, which is water or at least a liquid. Apart from these and similar verbs, there is a restricted domain in which figure could be said to be systematically conflated with motion. Invariant command forms,[29] which are exclusively used to chase away or drive certain animals and to call them for feeding, include information about the kind of figure which is told to move. Only some selected examples of figure-conflating imperatives, a phenomenon that is common in many regions of Ethiopia (and possibly beyond), are given in (71). Note that for virtually every domestic animal a 'come!' – 'go!' pair exists.

(71) *azúrr* or *húrr* 'come (for cat)!'
chíf 'go (for cat)!'
lúk lúk 'come (for hens)!'
kút 'go (for hens)!'
mác 'come (for mule)!'
cháy 'go (for mule)!'
chí chí … 'come (for sheep)!'
ár 'go (for sheep)!'
múu 'come (for wild animal, e.g. hyena, leopard)'
púy 'go (for wild animal, e.g. hyena, leopard)'[30]

7 Conclusion

In Kambaata, the semantic component path is, firstly, lexicalised in the verb root of many motion verbs (see, e.g., the path THROUGH in *hulut-* 'pass through (a gate)', the path INTO in *aag-* 'enter', the path AWAY FROM in *orooqq-* 'go away, leave'). Secondly, the path is reflected in the case morphemes that are attached to ground nouns: the point of departure receives ablative marking; the terrain in which a motion event proceeds is encoded

[29] The "verbhood" of these command forms is highly questionable. They are all completely invariant (i.e. they cannot be inflected), not formally related to an inflectable verbal stem, only used in isolation (i.e. without a syntagmatic context) and mostly monosyllabic. Hence, it is more appropriate to categorise them into the word class of interjections.

[30] These are the only command forms for wild animals; all other forms are for different types of domestic animal.

in the locative case; the ICP case morpheme is suffixed to the place passed; the accusative case marker is, among others, the sign of a goal NP. It is important to note that the lexicalisation of a certain path does not render the corresponding case marker on the ground noun superfluous: even if, for instance, a verb has lexicalised the path AWAY FROM, the ablative marking on the ground noun denoting the source is required. Furthermore, verbs which have lexicalised a specific path are not restricted to combining with certain ground/path NPs: verbs which have lexicalised the path THROUGH, for instance, cannot only co-occur with route NPs but also with source, terrain and goal NPs; see (53), in which *hig-* 'pass' governs a source and a goal NP.

Ground nouns (e.g. *miní* 'house') themselves serve as heads of source-, route-, terrain- or goal-encoding NPs or, if the relation between moving figure and ground requires further specification, they are made dependent on spatial nouns (see (2)), which encode whether the movement of the figure originated from, passed by, took place at or reached a certain part of the ground (e.g. the top (*alí*), the interior (*aazí*), or the side (*shiiná*) of the ground).

Goal-encoding ground nouns may be bare accusative-marked nouns only if they belong to the group of "place nouns" (27) (e.g. *katamá mar-* 'go to (the) town'); otherwise, an accusative-marked place morpheme *=ba*, functioning as the head of the goal NP, has to be encliticised to the (genitive) ground noun (e.g. *manní=ba mar-* 'go to the people'). In contrast to this, source-, route- and terrain-encoding NPs do not seem to require such additional morphological means, even if their (pro)nominal heads are not members of the group of "place nouns" (27); see, e.g., sentence (4), in which a noun with a human referent is simply ablative-marked in order to serve as a source NP (*anníichchis* 'from his father'), while the same noun would require the attachment of *=ba* if it were used in a goal NP (*annisí=ba* 'to his father (lit. to his father's place)'). The *=ba* morpheme is only necessary as a head of source, route and terrain NPs when there is no other (pro)nominal head; i.e. *=ba* is the default head of the NP when genitive nouns, relative-clauses, adjectives, numerals and certain demonstratives should be enabled to refer to a place. In (72), a constituent consisting of a relative clause and an ablative-marked place morpheme denotes the point of departure of a caused motion event. In (73), the source NP is made up of a numeral and an ablative-marked place morpheme.[31] Of course, the place morpheme also generates goal NPs on the basis of the above-mentioned modifiers; see *wolúbba* 'to another one' in (73).

[31] The place morpheme has two ablative forms in free variation (*=béechch* in (72) and *=bíichch* in (73)).

(72) *waas-í* *mereer-óon* ***moog-ámm-ee=b-éechch***
waasa-M.GEN middle-M.LOC bury-PS-3M.PVE.REL=PLACE-M.ABL

fushsh-eemmá *bu'll-á*
leave.CS-3HON.PVE.REL enset:flour-M.ACC
'[a packet of] enset flour which was taken out from where it was buried in the *waasa* [= fermented enset pulp]'

(73) *Mánn-u* ***mát-ua=bb-íichch*** ***wol-ú=bb-a***
people-M.NOM one-M.OBL=PLACE-M.ABL other-M.ACC=PLACE-M.ACC

maram-án *hoog-úmb-o=g-a* *iyy-itáa-s.*
go(.PS)-3M.ICO become:tired-3M.NREL-M.OBL=GA-M.OBL carry-3F.IPV-3M.OBJ
'They [= horses and mules] carry people from one place to another place lest they [= the people] become tired. (K3: 20)'

Kambaata conforms mainly to Talmy's category of verb-framed languages. In a sentence like (74), the path is expressed in the main verb (*waal-* 'come'), while the subordinate clause headed by the converb contains the supporting event, the manner of motion (*dagud-* 'run').

(74) *Huj-í-ssa* *gaffár-t* ***dagud-dán*** ***waal-tóo***
work-F.ACC-3PL.P leave-3F.PCO run-3F.ICO come-3F.PVO.REL

hoga'áann-u [...].
farmers-M.NOM
'The farmers, who had left their work and **run to** (him), [...].' (K4: 134)

Despite this tendency, speakers accept manner verbs, e.g. *dagud-* 'run', *on-kolo'll-* 'roll' and *búrr y-* 'fly', as main verbs of a clause and do not consider goal NPs (and other ground/path NPs) governed by manner verbs to be ungrammatical (recall example (26)). However, this is rarely attested in texts! The quotation from a recorded children's song in (75) is one of only two examples in which the very frequent verb *dagud-* 'run', for instance, governs an accusative goal NP in non-elicited data.

(75) *Wor-ó* ***min-í*** *dagúdii* *guugú* [...].
lower:area-F.GEN house-M.ACC run.2SG.IMP.VV IDEO

Fad-í ***min-í*** *dagúdii* *guugú* [...].
exterior-F.GEN house-M.ACC run.2SG.IMP.VV IDEO

Gat-é ***min-í*** *dagúdii* *guugú* [...].
back:yard-F.GEN house-M.ACC run.2SG.IMP.VV IDEO
'Run to the house down (the mountain), *coo coo* [...].'
'Run to the house in front (of ours), *coo coo* [...].'
'Run to the house in the back (of ours), *coo coo* [...].'

And in those instances in which a manner verb functions as the main verb of a sentence, one can often observe that the accusative NP denotes a direction rather than a goal (see (76)) and is, commonly, embedded into a converbal clause headed by the path verb *laq-* 'move, turn towards' (see (77)).

(76 ***Ka'itáa*** ***ka=b-aháa*** *dagud-dán*
IDEM3.F.ACC.CRD DDEM1.M.OBL=PLACE-M.ACC.CRD run-2SG.ICO

gisan-áachch *báqq* *at-tóonte-'e.*
sleep-F.ABL wake:up do.2SG.PVO-1SG.OBJ
'Running to and fro, you woke me up from my sleep.'

(77) […] *firíicc-o* *y-am-amm-ó* ***wud-ú***
run:fast-3M.PVO say-PS-PS-3M.PVO.REL side-M.ACC

láq-q *dagud-dóo'u.*
move:towards-3F.PCO run-3F.PVO
'[…] they ran in the direction in which (the leopard) had allegedly fled.' (K4: 76)

Kambaata does not favour the semantic component manner being mapped onto the main verb. In cases where the manner verb functions as a main verb, it rarely governs a goal NP.

This article concludes with a caveat: the label "verb-framed" obscures an essential feature of Kambaata, namely the fact that the case markers on the ground nouns are very important additional indicators of the path followed by the moving figure. If the main verb of a motion event is a path-oriented verb (e.g. THROUGH), case markers (e.g. the ICP case) on ground NPs are obligatory second indicators of the path. If the main verb of a motion event is manner-oriented, case markers on ground NPs are the **only** indicators of the path (see, for instance, the accusative case affix in (75)). However, case affixes do not meet the criteria of satellites, which Talmy defines as constituents that are in a sister relation to the verb **root.** Therefore, one is left with the option to categorise Kambaata as verb-framing. If case affixes qualified as satellites, Kambaata could actually be considered a satellite-framing or even more appropriately, a double-framing language realizing path in the verb root as much as in the satellite.

Abbreviations

ABL	ablative
ACC	accusative
BEC	causal clause
CS	causative
COND	conditional clause
COP1	locative copula
COP2	*-ha* / *-ta* copula
COP3	VV-*t* copula
CRD	coordination
DAT	dative
DDEM1	demonstrative attribute: proximal
DDEM2	demonstrative attribute: medial
DS	different subject
F	feminine
GA	marker of similative, purpose and complement clauses
GEN	genitive
HON	honorific; impersonal
ICO	imperfective converb
ICP	instrumental-comitative-perlative
IDEO	ideophone
IDEM1	demonstrative pronoun: proximal
IDEM3	demonstrative pronoun: contrastive
IMP	imperative
INACT	past tense, counterfactual
IPV	imperfective
K1-8	Kambaatissata (1989 E.C.): Grade 1-8
KXS	Maatewoos (1992)
L	linker
LOC	locative
M	masculine
MA	attitude marker
MID	middle voice
N	pragmatically conditioned polyfunctional morpheme
NCO	negative converb
NNU	attitude marker
NEG	negation
NIPV	non-imperfective
NOM	nominative
NREL	negative relative
OBJ	object marker
OBL	oblique case
P	possessive
PS	passive
PCO	perfective converb
PL	plural / plurative
PRED	predicate form
PROG	progressive
PVE	*e*-perfective
PVO	*o*-perfective
Q	question marker
RED	reduplication
REL	relativisation
SG	singular / singulative
sp	specific type of
VV	vowel lengthening

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Appendix

Table 2. Motion verbs and 'fall' verbs in Kambaata

aag-	'enter'
ameet-	'come for a moment'
baad-	'crawl'
bárk-bárk y-	'flap'
bátt-bátt y-	'flutter'
béxx y-	'come suddenly, soon'
bobar-	'bolt'
bulúqq y-	'emerge unexpectedly'
búrr y-	'fly'
caall-	'cross'
cálba-cálba y-	'stagger'
chalál y-	'float'
chír y-	'walk around, stroll'
daabbar-	'run and jump and lash out to the front and back' (of horses, mules)
dagud-	'run'
dirgímm y-	'take a header, enter head first into the water'
dirr-	'descend'
di'nn-	'limp'
fad-	'go away, disappear'
fanqal-	'return'
fiikk-	'run very fast'
findilíqq y-	'move in somersaults'
firiix-	'gallop, run fast, storm'
fírr y-	'jump, spray in all directions'
fuduud-	'walk bent over'
ful-	'leave, go out; ascend, climb on'
giggil-	'fall down (in numbers), rain down'
hagág y-	'strut about (of bird)'
haam-	'step on'
háww y-	'run headless, run absent-minded'
hig-	'pass (by, across)'
hínc y-	'approach'
hulut-	'pass through (a gate)'
hun-	'run away, escape, flee'
húrr y-	'come out suddenly'
huruur-	'pass through (a container)'
iill-	'reach, arrive at'
kad-	'step on, kick'
korj-	'jump'
laq-	'move, turn towards'
lenqeeqq-	'move, stir'
lúqq y-	'enter quickly, immediately, unexpectedly, jump in'
luukk-	'enter into a narrow space'
mar-	'go' (away from deictic centre)

maram-	'go' (non-deictic)
mucúcc y-	'slide, slip'
mucuucc-	'sneak out'
múgg y-	'descend'
mur-	'cut; cut across, cross'
onkolo'll-	'roll'
orooqq-	'go away, leave'
qaaf-	'step over'
qo'll-	'stumble across'
saggaar-	'trot' (of horses, mules)
shaláll-shaláll y-	'walk carefully through water'
sholaat-	'gallop'
shop-	'climb'
shúrr y-	'slide, sneak out, slip'
tákk y-	'fall, be dropped'
takkúnn-takkúnn y-	'walk some steps and repeatedly fall and get up again' (of infants)'
tar-	'spread, transfer'
tarákk y-	'go out secretly'
tarká y-	'run out, flee out'
tol-	'cross (a crevice, a river)'
tulúll y-	'jump across'
túk y-	'go after one another (of large groups)'
ub-	'fall'
waachch-	'swim'
waal-	'come' (toward deictic centre)
wíll y-	'move, stir'
wís-wís y-	'bustle about, swim around'
xóphph y-	'jump'
xoróphph y-	'(move a) step to the front'
xulbú y-	'fall down lengthwise'
xulbúqq y-	'fall into the water'
zaaz-	'flow'
zágg y-	'fall down heavily'
zútt y-	'fall down heavily'
zahh-	'go, move around'