

Motion events in Bambara (Mande)

KLAUDIA DOMBROWSKY-HAHN

Abstract

The paper analyses motion events in the Mande language Bambara, using the theoretical framework developed by Croft et al. (2010), which is a revision of the theory first proposed by Talmy (1975, 1985). The revision of Talmy's theory on the semantics and syntax of motion events introduces a distinction between symmetrical and asymmetrical constructions and proposes to apply it to individual constructions and not to entire languages.

In Bambara we find two different types of constructions both of which are asymmetrical: verb framing and satellite framing constructions. The verb framing construction expresses the path of motion in a finite verb, whereas manner of motion is encoded in an adverbial form or copredicative form, which is derived by means of **-tɔ** or **-bagato**. The adverbial form precedes the finite form of the verb.

The second type is a satellite framing construction where the manner of motion is expressed in a finite verb form and the path of motion by means of an infinitive form of the verb introduced by the morpheme **kà**. Some of the path verbs in the language have developed into prepositions together with the infinitive morpheme **kà**. Although this allows characterizing them as satellite framing, there are some features that set them apart from satellite framing constructions in languages like English, German or Polish. The first feature is that even those path verbs that develop into prepositions continue to function as full verbs in the language with no tendency to lose this function. The second distinguishing feature is the possibility of combining several path verbs in one clause. These features make Bambara resemble languages that have serial verb constructions, which belong to symmetrical constructions according to Croft et al. (2010).

1. Introduction: Theoretical framework

Since Talmy's first works on the syntax and semantics of motion events (Talmy 1975, 1985), further research has resulted in numerous studies of individual languages and elaboration of the theory of the conceptualisation and expression of motion events. In the present paper I undertake a description of motion events in Bambara, a Mande language that belongs to the Niger-Congo phylum, and discuss it within the framework of the revised Talmy classification by Croft et al. (2010).¹

1.1. Semantic components of motion events

The theoretical framework used in this paper is the theory of lexicalization patterns, more precisely of the semantics and syntax of motion events, introduced by Talmy (1985, 1991, 2000) and later developed by Slobin (1997, 2004, 2006, Slobin and Hoiting 1994) and Croft et al. (2010). According to Talmy's theory, complex events very often fuse cognitively into one, and are expressed linguistically as a unique event, most frequently in just one clause. In the case of translational motion or, more commonly, locomotion (Payne 1997: 56), the change of the localization of a figure from one ground element to another constitutes the main event. It is considered to form the frame-setting event called the path. One or several supporting events or co-events, for example manner of motion or causation of motion, can be associated with it.

Thus, a locomotion event comprises the following main semantic categories: the motion itself, the path of motion, the figure and the ground. Talmy defines the figure as the element that moves or is moved in relation to another element called ground. Path is the trajectory followed by the figure in relation to the ground element. Possible paths are motion towards the ground element, away from it or past it. The ground is the reference object in relation to which the figure is moving. Possible ground elements are goal, source or milestone. Manner of motion is a “cover term for a number of dimensions” (Slobin 2006). It includes among others

- 1) patterns of motion like for example **hop**, **jump**, **leap**
- 2) rate of movement like **run** or **dash** in comparison to **go**
- 3) attitude as expressed in English verbs like **saunter** or **stroll**

1. I am thankful to Lamine Doumbia for his assistance in recording the Frog story and to Axel Fleisch and Gudrun Miehe who read and commented on an earlier draft of this paper and to two anonymous reviewers for their suggestions. Of course, remaining shortcomings and errors are entirely my responsibility.

- 4) force dynamics or intensity as expressed in verbs like **stride**, **walk**, **stalk**, **march**
- 5) participation of particular body parts and the medium where the motion takes place, as in the English verbs **swim** or **fly**, or
- 6) the use of particular instruments to realize a motion event, like in English **skate**, or **ski**; French **patiner**.

1.2. TALMY'S TYPOLOGY OF LANGUAGES

In what follows, I use the term motion event exclusively to speak about loco-motion events. Based on the morphosyntactic means languages characteristically² use to express the path component, Talmy established a two-way typology: satellite framing languages and verb framing languages.

1.2.1. Satellite framing languages. The first type, the satellite framing type of languages, encodes the path in a satellite. A satellite is closely connected with the verb (in italics), with which it forms a constituent, i.e., the verb complex (Talmy 1985: 102). Depending on the language, a satellite (underlined) can be a verbal particle, as in the English sentence (1), a separable or inseparable prefix, as in the German examples (2)–(3) and (4)–(5) or an inseparable prefix as in Polish (6). Talmy (2009: 390) notes that a language is ‘satellite framed’ if the path component “[. . .] is characteristically represented in the satellite and/or preposition [. . .]”.

- (1) English
He ran in.
- (2) German
... und **plötzlich kommt da eine Eule**
... and suddenly come.PRS.3SG there an owl
heraus-gesprungen.
out-spring.PTCP.PRF
'... and suddenly an owl springs out' (Frog Anne-Kathrin 4: 23).
- (3) ... und **plötzlich springt da eine Eule heraus.**
... and suddenly spring.PRS.3SG there an owl out
'... and suddenly an owl springs out'

2. According to Talmy the lexicalization patterns in a language not only apply to motion events but also to very different events in a language. The encoding of an event is ‘characteristic’ when it belongs to colloquial rather than to literary style, when its occurrence is frequent and when it is pervasive, that is when a wide variety of semantic notions are expressed in this way (Talmy 1985: 62).

- (4) **Er durch-schwamm den Fluss in 10 Minuten.**
he through-swim.PST DEF.M river in 10 minutes
'He took 10 minutes to swim through (through-swim) the river' (Talmy 2000: 128).
- (5) **Er hat den Kanal durch-schwommen.**
he have.PRS.3SG DEF.M channel through-swim.PTCP.PRF
'He swam through the channel'.
- (6) Polish
Nagle wy-leciała sowa.
suddenly out-fly.3SG.PST.F owl
'Suddenly an owl flew out'.

In German, the prefix **heraus-** in the verb complex **herausspringen** ‘jump out’ is considered to be a separable prefix because it can be separated from the verb in certain contexts: it is not separated in tenses using auxiliaries or when combined with a directional verb like **kommen** in (2). It is, however, separated from the verb with tenses inflected on the verb itself, as is the case in (3). In contrast, the prefix **durch-** in the verb **durchschwimmen** ‘swim through / across’ or ‘float through / across’ is an inseparable prefix, as it is prefixed to the verb in both contexts (4 and 5).

1.2.2. Verb framing languages. In the other group of languages, called ‘verb framing languages’, the verb codes the path component of motion. According to Talmy, Semitic, Polynesian and Romance languages belong to this type. He illustrates it with Spanish examples, among others (7) and (8):

- (7) Spanish
La botella entró a la cueva (flotando).
The bottle moved-in to the cave (floating).
'The bottle floated into the cave' (Talmy 1985: 69)
- (8) **La botella salió de la cueva (flotando).**
The bottle moved-out from the cave (floating).
'The bottle floated out of the cave' (Talmy 1985: 69)

In verb framing languages, the optional manner component of the motion event is expressed in a constituent that is independent of the main verb, e.g. a participial form (in brackets).

1.3. AMEKA AND ESSEGBEY'S AND SLOBIN'S MODIFICATION OF THE TYPOLOGY PROPOSED BY TALMY

Talmy's dichotomy was found to be deficient when attempts were made to place serializing and certain other languages within it. Consequently, modifica-

tions of the typology have been proposed by different authors.³ A fundamental critique has been advanced by Ameka and Essegbe (2001) who have shown that serializing languages do not belong to either of the two types established by Talmy. In order to account for serializing and some other languages, Slobin (2004, 2006) introduced a third language type, that he called the equipollent type of languages. In serializing languages, complex motion events are expressed in a verbal complex that consists of two (or more) verbs that are semantically and syntactically co-dependent upon each other with an initial verb which expresses the manner of motion and a following verb which expresses the path of motion (Ameka and Essegbe 2001: 6). This is illustrated by the Akan sentence (9).

(9) Akan (Kwa)

akwadáa	no	weá	kó	dan	no	mu.
child	DEF	crawl:HAB	go:HAB	room	DEF	contain.region
FIGURE		MOTION,	MOTION,	GROUND		
		MANNER	PATH			
		Verb	Verb	N+(adposition)		

'The child crawls into the room' (Ameka and Essegbe 2001).

The path component of the motion event is here expressed in the verbal complex. The encoding of path in one of the verbs constituting the verbal complex, considered thus to be an equivalent of a main verb, justified the former classification of serializing languages as verb framing languages. However, Ameka and Essegbe (2001) show that the expression of manner differs considerably in serializing and in verb framing languages. While this component is encoded in a non-finite or subordinated form in verb framing languages, as for example in the Spanish gerundive form *corriendo* in (10), it is part of the serial verb construction which does not show any sign of dependency in the Akan example (9).

(10) Spanish

Juan	salió	de la casa	corriendo.
FIGURE	MOTION, PATH	GROUND	MANNER
Verb finite	N+(adposition, case)	Verb non finite	

'Juan ran out of the house'.

The expression of the manner component in the verb is a feature that satellite framing and serializing languages have in common. However, they differ in

3. For further typologies and their motivations, see the summary by Treis and Mietzner (2008). Another typology, not mentioned in the special issue of APAL introduced by these two authors, has been set up by Bohnmeyer et al. (2007). In this study, a wide range of typologically different, unrelated languages have been classified in three groups according to the way they segment motion events. The criterion used there is the Macro Event Property, a property that events possess when temporal operators have scope over the sub-events constituting them. The three groups differ from the types established by Talmy (2009) and Slobin (2004).

respect to the coding of the path component insofar as in satellite framing languages path is expressed in a satellite. Thus, in the expression of the motion event in the English sentence (11), manner of motion is expressed in the verb 'run', and path in a satellite, i.e. an element unable to form a predicate on its own (**out** in the English example in (11)), whereas in serializing languages this component is expressed in a verb that is able to function as a predicate (**kó** 'go' in the Akan example (9)).

(11) English

John	ran	out	of the house.
FIGURE	MOTION, MANNER	PATH	GROUND
Verb	Satellite	N+(adposition, case)	

Thus, serializing languages encode the path component of a motion event differently from satellite framing languages, and they encode manner in a way that differentiates them from verb framing languages (cf. Ameka and Essegbe 2001). Some further characteristics were noted early on that set these languages apart, i.e. their possibility of combining several path verbs (Slobin and Hoiting 1994), and the fact that ideophones are frequently employed to encode manner of motion (Slobin 2006: 76).

Talmy (2009) argues against the use of 'equipollent framing', as proposed by Slobin (2004), too loosely. He shows that, according to syntactic and semantic criteria, one item used in distinct constructions can function as a verb or a satellite. Thus, if a morpheme has divergent meanings when used as the second verb in a serial verb construction and when used as the only main verb in the clause, its usage as the second verb (V2) in a verb complex is regarded as making it subordinate to the first verb (V1), and hence as a satellite to it (Talmy 2009: 399). As the difference in meaning does not concern all path verbs in Mandarin, the language that Talmy takes as an example, he concludes that some of the serial verb constructions expressing motion events in this language are equipollently framing while others are not.

Thus, even if Talmy (2009)⁴ applies the now tripartite typology to individual constructions encoding motion events and not to languages, he does not change his original theory in this respect.

1.4. The typology of constructions according to Croft et al. (2010)

Croft et al. (2010), who do not appear to be familiar with Talmy's 2008 draft of the 2009 article, fundamentally revise Talmy's typology of complex events,

4. The longer draft of his 2009 paper dates from 2008 and can be accessed at: <http://linguistics.buffalo.edu/people/faculty/talmy/talmyweb>.

especially motion events and resulting states. Croft et al.'s (2010) contribution comprises two changes: 1) it adds supplementary types to Talmy's verb framing and satellite framing types, and 2) it applies the classification to individual constructions expressing complex types of event instead of applying it to languages as a whole. There have been suggestions that types of 'strategies' rather than types of languages should be considered (e.g. Grinevald 2006: 31), but it is only the article by Croft et al. (2010) that introduces changes into the theory showing that the different types of constructions used to express motion events represent stages in grammaticalization paths leading ultimately to the expression of complex events in a single verb.

Croft et al. introduce a distinction that was not made by Talmy: the distinction between grammatical symmetry and asymmetry. Both satellite framing and verb framing are asymmetric in the encoding of the semantic components of an event (path, manner), as only one of these components is expressed by the main verb while the other one is expressed by an element that cannot function independently as a main predicate. Table 1 shows the asymmetric character of the satellite framing type represented by English and the verb framing type represented by Spanish.

Table 1. Asymmetric types

Language	Framing	Only one semantic element is main predicate (italic)	Impossibility for the other element to function as verb / main predicate (underlined)
English	satellite verb	The bottle floated into the cave	* The bottle <u>into</u> the cave.
Spanish	verb	La botella entró flotando a la cueva	* La botella <u>flotando</u>.

These types contrast with symmetric constructions where complex events are expressed by elements which can each occur as a predicate on its own. The authors identify three symmetric constructions, extending Talmy's typology as in (12).

- (12) a. Verb framing (asymmetric)
- b. Symmetrical
 - (i) Coordinate
 - (ii) Serial
 - (iii) Compounding
- c. Satellite framing (asymmetric)
- d. Double framing (path expressed twice)

The three categories of symmetric types of constructions, coordinate, serial and compounding, range from less tightly bound to more tightly bound constructions.

The coordinate construction displays some kind of conjunction or another morpheme that joins the verbs together. For example, in Amele, a language of Papua New Guinea, a same-subject morpheme -i is considered as marking a coordinate construction (Roberts 1987: 102, cited by Croft et al. 2010: 207):

- (13) Amele

Cois	hina	gad	<u>cesel</u>	-i	<u>nu</u>	-ug	-a
OK	2SG	may	return	PRED(ss)	go-2SG-IMP		

'Alright, you can go home [back] now.'

In (13) the two components of the motion event, the path 'back/return' and the deictic component 'go' are encoded in verbs that are coordinated with the same-subject morpheme.

In other languages, such as Bulgarian, the conjunction 'while' is used as a connector (Croft et al. 2010: 217).

The second symmetric construction, the serial verb construction, is illustrated by a Mandarin example. Each verb in such a construction can occur as an independent predicate. In addition to path and manner, the Mandarin example (14) also contains a deictic orientation element, a component that is not discussed by Talmy.

- (14) Mandarin

<u>tāmen</u>	pǎo	chū	<u>lái</u>	le
3PL	run	exit	come	PF

'They came running out.' (Li & Thompson 1981: 58, cited in Croft et al. 2010: 207)

In the symmetric compounding type the two forms are morphologically bound. In Japanese, hitherto considered to be verb framing (Talmy 2000: 222), certain complex events are encoded by compounding. One of the Japanese compounding strategies, the i-compound, realized as -e in (15), is illustrated in the expression of a telic motion event.

- (15) Japanese

watashi	wa	ie	ni	<u>kake-</u>	-konda
I	TOP	house	to	run-	-go.into:PST

'I ran into the house.' (Croft et al. 2010: 218)

In Japanese, some complex motion events are expressed in a less grammaticalized symmetric coordinating construction.

In the other additional type (type d in the enlarged typology), the double framing type, the path is encoded twice, as in French **monter en haut** 'go up' where both the verb and the satellite express the path component of motion.

Examining eight different motion events⁵ in five languages (Bulgarian, Japanese, Icelandic, Dutch and English), the authors show that the individual languages cannot be classified as belonging to one particular type; rather, several construction types are represented in every language, determined by the event semantics.

Spanish, for example, classified as a verb framing language by Talmy, uses a satellite framing construction with atelic path expressions, as exemplified in (16).

(16) Spanish

- El libro deslizó hasta el suelo
the book slide:3SG.PST towards the floor
'The book slid down to the floor.' (Croft et al. 2010: 211)

2. General notes on Bambara grammar

Bambara is part of the Manding dialect cluster spoken in large parts of West Africa, especially in Mali, Senegal, Burkina Faso and Ivory Coast. It belongs to the Central group of Western Mande languages (Niger-Congo). In what follows, I refer to the Bambara spoken in Mali, using examples from the varieties spoken in Segu and Bamako.

Bambara is a tone language displaying two tones having lexical and grammatical function. All Bambara words are arranged according to a tonal pattern, the major ones being the high and the rising pattern (Dumestre 2003a). In the lexemes belonging to the high pattern all syllables are assigned a high tone, as shown in (17) and (18).⁶

- (17) **kán** [kâ] 'voice' def. **kán`** [kâ] 'the voice'
(18) **súruku** [súrúkú] 'hyena' def. **súruku`** [súrúkû] 'the hyena'

The rising pattern consists of the low + high tones. They are assigned to the syllables of the respective item, as in (19)–(22):

5. In fact, Croft et al. (2010) discuss motion events and change of state events. However, in view of the subject of the present paper, my summary of their paper refers only to their discussion of motion events. The following events are studied: 'run out of', 'run into', 'crawl to', 'float into', 'run across', 'follow X out of', 'dance across' and the differently behaving non self-agentive caused motion 'roll X into'.

6. In the current Bambara orthography, nasal vowels are written Vn and tones are usually not marked at all. I follow Dumestre, who in most of his publications notes the initial tone of an item and adds a phonetic transcription where relevant. The definite category, marked only tonally in Bambara, is noted only where it is relevant for the presentation of a certain phenomenon.

- (19) **sà** [sâ] 'snake' def. **sà`** [sâà] 'the snake'
(20) **mùso** [mùsô] 'woman' def. **mùso`** [mùsô] 'the woman'
(21) **nàmasa** [nàmâsâ] 'banana' def. **nàmasa`** [nàmâsâ] 'the banana'
(22) **mìsiri** [mìsírî] 'mosque' def. **mìsiri`** [mìsírî] 'the mosque'

Some grammatical categories are marked only tonally. Thus, definite is marked by a floating low tone following the noun, which docks into the last syllable of the noun uttered in isolation (17–22), and which entails the downstep of a following high tone within an utterance (e.g. 23). Several constructions are distinguished tonally. For example in unmarked genitive constructions,⁷ where possessor and possessed are juxtaposed, each element maintains its own lexical tone (23).

(23) tonal independence: genitive construction

- mùso`** **bólô** [mùsô bôlô]
woman DEF arm 'the woman's arm' (Dumestre 2003a: 97)

Other constructions such as noun + adjective or nominal compounds are tonally compact, i.e. the tone of the first element determines the tonal shape of the entire construction. The lexical tone of the last element of such a construction is neutralized; it is always high in such cases.

(24) tonal compactness: noun + adj.

- mùso`** **jùman** [mùsôjûmâ]
woman nice 'a nice woman' (Dumestre 2003a: 97)

(25) tonal compactness: noun + adj.

- dén`** **jùman** [dénjûmâ]
child nice
'a nice child'

(26) tonal compactness: compound

- mùso`** **tágô** [mùsôtágô]
woman name
'a female name' (Dumestre 2003a: 97)

(27) tonal compactness: compound

- wári`** **kó** [wârîkô]
money problem
'money problem'

7. Bambara distinguishes between unalienable possessives that are encoded in an unmarked genitive construction and alienable possessives encoded in a construction marked by the morpheme kâ.

jùman in (24) and (25) belongs to the rising pattern and **tógo** in (26) to the high pattern. However, in the respective noun phrases they are both realized as high.

Bambara is an isolating language with a rigid S-Aux_O-V-Other word order. As in other Mande languages, the identification of word classes is a subject intensively discussed (cf. for instance Vydrine 1999, Creissels 2009, chap. 5). Many lexemes are polyvalent, and word classes are identified according to distributional and syntactic criteria. Constituent order marks grammatical relations. The direct object always precedes the main verb without any special marking. Oblique arguments follow the verb and are marked by postpositions. There are some prepositions, too, e.g. **fó** ‘until’, **kàbini~kabi** ‘since’⁸ and the preposition — postposition combination **ní . . . yé** ‘with . . . with’. Adjectives and numerals follow the noun, and in genitive noun phrases the head noun follows the possessor.

Bambara disposes of a series of non-verbal clauses, among others identification, ascriptive, existential and locative clauses that do not display a verb. In non-verbal as well as in verbal clauses, predicate markers are constitutive of a clause. Placed after the subject, they indicate the tense-aspect-mode category and the polarity in verbal clauses, and function, together with the main verb, as the predicate. Thus, Bambara (and Mande languages in general) have split-predicate syntax (Bearth 1995, Kastenholz 2003). Predicate markers are required in all verbal predictions (e.g. 28) except for the imperative and perfective affirmative which display just one argument noun phrase in pre-verbal position. In the latter case, the TAM morpheme **-ra** is suffixed to the verbal stem, as in (29).

- (28) à yé dén sòrɔ.
3SG PFV.AF child get
'She has got a child.'

- (29) ù jɔ-ra nsìra kóra
3PL stop-PFV.AF baobab under
'They stopped under a baobab.'

The TAM system of Bambara displays an aspectual opposition between imperfective (marked by the predicate markers **bé** or **bé**, neg. **té**) and perfective (marked by means of **yé /-ra**, neg. **má**) (cf. among others Dumestre 2003a, Idiatov 2000, Vydrine 2000). Blecke (2004) interprets the present-day situation as a system originally dominated by aspect developing into a system dominated by tense. According to this author, **bé**, neg. **té** still have primarily imperfective value, while **yé /-ra**, negative **má** have developed into markers of the preterit tense.

8. Both items also function as clausal conjunctions.

Further, Bambara has several other predicate markers in the indicative mode, for example an immediate and a general future, and predicate markers of deontic and epistemic modes. In addition, periphrastic means serve to express further aspects, especially habitual and progressive.

As we will see, the polyvalence feature mentioned above concerns even grammatical morphemes in Bambara (cf. Dumestre 2003b) and constitutes, among others, a problem related to the subject of the present paper.

3. Motion events in Bambara

The data used for the present study come principally from texts recorded with five Bambara speakers from Bamako. The texts are narrations of the picture-book story *Frog, where are you?* (Mayer 1969). A boy and his dog are looking for a frog who escaped from the jar in which the boy had put it. During their quest, the protagonists and other beings they meet move from place to place, a reason why this story has become a classic in the study of motion events. Additional material is taken from published Bambara texts, dictionaries and grammatical descriptions.

In what follows, I shall present the different strategies for encoding motion events in Bambara and discuss them in the framework of the revised Talmy typology (Croft et al. 2010).

3.1. Encoding of the framing event (path)

In Bambara it is sufficient to encode a motion event in a path verb.

- (30) Source orientated path
à bóra búteli kónɔ.
3SG exit:PFV.AF jar in
'It (the frog) left the jar. ~ It jumped / climbed out of the jar.' (Frog Salabari 1:00)

(30) comprises the components: figure (the frog referred to by the anaphoric pronoun *à*), ground (the noun **búteli** + the adposition **kónɔ**) and the path verb **bó** ‘exit’, indicating the source of motion. The manner of motion in (30) can be inferred from the information about the respective figure, i.e. the frog mentioned earlier in the text, and the ground. The comparison of clauses with source oriented path, goal oriented path and essive meaning (30 to 32), each of which bears the identical postposition **kónɔ** ‘in, inside’, shows that it is not the postposition but the verb or non-verbal means such as the predicate marker of locative clauses that encode the path of motion.

(31) Goal oriented path

wùlunin, ò fána y'à kùn dòn búteli kóno.
 dog DEM also PFV.AF:3SG head enter jar in
 'The dog put its head into the jar.' (Frog Salabari 1:35)

(32) Localization (essive meaning)

tòri tún bé búteli míñ kóno...
 frog ANT PM.AF jar REL in
 '...the jar where the frog was ...' (Frog Salabari 1:40)

(31) displays the goal oriented path verb **dòn** 'enter' that conflates motion with the additional component of causation when it is used as a transitive verb with a patient in direct object position. Clause (32), having an essive meaning, is a non-verbal locative clause, bearing the affirmative predicate marker **bé** and a postpositional phrase.

Thus, in respect to the encoding of the path component, Bambara behaves like Maninka (Tröbs 1999) and most other African languages of the Niger-Congo phylum studied by Creissels (2006), where locative adpositions do not participate in the encoding of the distinction between localization, source and destination. Postpositions indicate the search domain (cf. Levinson 2003), i.e. the region in space where figure is located in respect to the ground. In motion events, the relation between figure and the search domain is dynamic, and it is encoded in a verb. However, certain path verbs are in the process of developing into a preposition, as I will show.

A path verb can be used alone, as in (30) above, or in association with an adverbial form of a manner verb (cf. 3.2.1) or a finite manner verb (cf. 3.2.2). The most frequent Bambara path verbs are given below in the infinitive and they are grouped according to the orientation of the path in relation to the ground of motion.

Table 2. Bambara Path verbs

source oriented	goal oriented	milestone oriented
kà bó 'exit'	kà nà 'come' kà tágá 'go (away)' kà dòn 'enter' kà jigin 'descend' kà yèlen 'ascend' kà bin 'fall' kà (í) sin, kà (í) kùnsin 'turn toward any specified direction' kà sègin 'return' kà yéreke 'scatter, go in different directions'	kà témén 'pass'

3.2. Encoding of the framing event plus a supporting event (path and manner)

As shown in Section 3.1, locomotion events in Bambara can be expressed exclusively by a path verb. Often, however, a supporting event expressing the manner of motion is encoded together with the framing event, the path, in one clause. Manner verbs include verbs expressing the rate of motion (Table 3, first column) or the intensity of motion (Table 3, second column), or the position of the limbs or the carriage of the body as a whole, as exemplified in Table 3, third column.

Table 3. Bambara Manner verbs

Rate of movement	intensity of movement	position of the limbs or the carriage of the body
kà bòli 'run'	kà gírin ~ kà gíribasa 'burst (in/out)'	kà kòoro, kà kòronto 'shuffle, drag one's feet'
kà tágama 'walk'	kà fó 'burst (in/out)'	kà í fófo 'shuffle, drag one's feet, crawl'
kà í sùlusala [sùlùsálá] 'go very slowly, stagger, as if one has just woken up'	kà í kári 'throw (oneself), perform a movement rapidly and decidedly'	kà í dén 'duck'
		kà í móntɔ 'bend'
		kà (í) pán⁹ 'fly, jump, execute a movement in which the feet (at least partially) do not touch the ground'
		kà í cún 'jump'
		kà núnúma 'crawl (figure = human being)'
		kà (í) nón 'swim'

There are two very different ways for Bambara speakers to code path and manner of a motion event in one clause. The first one is a verb framing construction similar to the Spanish construction using a gerundive form (3.2.1); the second one is a construction displaying a finite verb + kà + verb that will be categorized as a satellite framing construction. It is introduced in 3.2.2. The coexistence of the two types of construction corroborates the view of Croft et al. (2010) who claim that the typology should apply to individual constructions and not to entire languages.

9. The verb is used intransitively or as a reflexive verb, which is signalled by the notation of the second person singular pronoun í as a reflexive marker in brackets.

3.2.1. *Copredicative construction.* The first means of encoding the manner and path of a motion event is a construction where path is expressed in the main verb and manner in a non-finite adverbial form displaying the derivative suffix **-tɔ**, as for instance in (33).

- (33) Copredicative construction with participle

à	bòli-tɔ	tèmenna.
3SG	run-PTCP.IPFV	pass:PFV.AF
FIGURE	MOTION, MANNER	MOTION, PATH

'S/he ran past.'

The form **bòli-tɔ** in (33) is non-finite, i.e. it cannot function as the predicate of an independent clause (34). On the contrary, **tèmenna** is a finite verb and the only predicate of clause (35)

- (34) ***à bòli-tɔ.**

3SG run-PTCP.IPFV

- (35) **à tèmenna.**

3SG run:PFV.AF

'He passed.'

Verb roots suffixed by means of **-tɔ** are imperfective participles that can assume different syntactic functions, among others the function of a verbal attribute, an independent noun, a secondary predicate or a copredicative.¹⁰ A copredicative predicates something about a cosubject, which is the subject or object of a complementary predicate (Müller-Bardey 1989). In (36) the copredicative is **bòli-tɔ**, the cosubject **à**, that is the subject of the complementary (in this case the main) predicate **tèmenna**. Here, the imperfective participle expresses the simultaneity of the event 'run' with the event encoded in the main predicate, 'pass'.

A copredicative does not agree in number with its cosubject (cf 36, 37); however, it is followed by a low tone, which is probably the marking of the definite category (Dumestre 2003a: 334). In clauses where a high-tone verb follows the copredicative it is manifest in the lowering of the high tone (38).

- (36) copredicative construction sg.

mùso	bòli-tɔ	tèmenna
woman	DEF run-PTCP.IPFV	DEF pass:PFV.AF

'The woman ran past.'

10. The French terminology in this domain is not uniform. Thus, Dumestre (2003a: 236, 331) calls the copredicative function 'la fonction d'attribut', while Creissels (2009, chap. 15) uses the term 'prédition seconde'.

- (37) copredicative construction pl.

mùsow	bòli-tɔ	tèmenna.
woman.PL	DEF run-PTCP.IPFV	DEF pass:PFV.AF

'The women ran past.'

- (38) copredicative construction sg.

à	bòli-tɔ	bóra	[bòli-tɔ bòrā].
3SG	run-PTCP.IPFV	DEF exit:PFV.AF	

'S/he ran out.'

(39)–(40) are some further examples illustrating motion events encoded in the copredicative construction:

- (39) **í gírin-tɔ bóra**

1SG	dash-PTCP.IPFV	exit:PFV.AF
-----	----------------	-------------

'I dashed out.' (Dumestre 2003a: 335)

- (40) **ò Daa dénmuso fólo dágɔnin bòli-tɔ**

INTJ	Da	daughter	first	younger.sibling	run-PTCP.IPFV
nàna					come:PFV.AF

'Then the younger sister of Da's oldest daughter came running.' (Dumestre 2003a: 335)

The **-bagatɔ** derivatives are another form able to function as a copredicative.¹¹ This function is illustrated in (41), which is equivalent to (33). As in (33) the manner of motion is encoded in the copredicative, while the path maps into the finite verb. This derivation, however, is not productive, in opposition to the derivation by means of the suffix **-tɔ**.

- (41) Copredicative construction with derivative **-bagatɔ**

à	bòli-bagatɔ	tèmenna
3SG	run-DER	pass:PFV.AF
FIGURE	MOTION, MANNER	MOTION, PATH

'S/he ran past.'

This way of encoding motion events can be clearly considered as a verb framing and hence asymmetrical construction in the sense of Croft et al. (2010), in which the frame is expressed by the finite verb and the (additional) event, i.e. the manner of motion, in an adverbial form.

11. For further details concerning the derivation by means of **-bagatɔ** see Dumestre (2003a: 73–74), and the copredicative construction, Dumestre (2003a: 331).

3.2.2. *Finite manner verb + kà path verb.* In the second type of construction the manner is encoded in the finite verb while the path verb is joined to it by means of the morpheme **kà** that has different functions in the language.

Thus, (42) is equivalent to both (33) and (41), where the path verb is encoded in the finite verb.

- (42) Finite manner V + **kà** path V
 à bòli-la kà tèmen.
 3SG run:PFV.AF kà pass
 FIGURE MOTION, MANNER MOTION, PATH
 'S/he ran past.'

Motion events comprising a manner component and a path component (framing event) expressed by means of a V **kà** V construction can be considered as being asymmetric in the sense that only the first component, the manner of motion (**pán** in (43)), is expressed by the main verb which can occur as the only verb (44), while the other one, the path (**kà bó** in (43)), is encoded in an element corresponding to the infinitive that cannot independently function as a main predicate (45).

- (43) tòto y'í pán kà bó wò míñ kóno...
 rat PFV.AF:REFL3SG jump kà exit hole REL in
 'The hole the rat jumped out of...' (Frog Salabari 055)

- (44) tòto y'í pán
 rat PFV.AF:REFL3SG jump
 'The rat jumped.'

- (45) *tòto kà bó
 rat kà exit
 *'The rat out of...'

Although at first glance the less frequently occurring copredicative construction¹² and the more widespread V **kà** V construction seem to correspond, it is possible that a study based on a much larger amount of data would reveal a pragmatically conditioned distinction between them.

Some notes seem appropriate in order to understand and categorize the expression of motion events making use of a verbal form introduced by **kà**.

kà occurs in the citation form of the verb:

12. For example, the frog story recorded with speakers from Bamako does not include any copredicative constructions.

- in its intransitive use: **kà bó** 'to exit',
- in its transitive use with a preceding direct object, here represented by the third person singular pronoun **à** as in, **kà à tà** 'to take', **kà à bó** 'to put / take etc. something out / from'
- or in its reflexive use, signalling that the agent performs an action on itself, for which the second person singular pronoun **í** is used in the citation form, e.g. **kà í bàñ** 'to refuse'; **kà í pòngiri** 'to kneel'.¹³

The infinitive form has a very wide range of usage. Among others, there are two different contexts where a **kà** + verb form can follow a finite verb. The first one is a monoclausal construction defined by the fact that there is no pause or any other element intervening between the finite verb and the **kà** + verb form (Dumestre 2003a: 397) and by the possibility of negation having scope over one or both verbs occurring in the clause. Clauses with verbal complements and clauses with purpose function are included here.

Dumestre (2003a: 397) defines clauses with a verbal complement as clauses where the predicate controls a verb introduced by **kà** (46a). A verbal complement has the function of an argument of the verb and can frequently be replaced by a noun + postposition complement as in (46b). The unexpressed subject of the verbal complement is most often coreferential with the subject of the antecedent verb. There is a restricted number of verbs that can take such verbal complements, for example **sòn** 'accept', **désé** 'fail', **méen** 'last', **túgu** 'do on purpose' (Dumestre 2003a: 398).

- (46) a. àle má sòn kà kúma
 3SG.EMPH PFV.NEG accept kà talk
 b. àle má sòn kúma mà
 3SG.EMPH PFV.NEG accept talk PP
 'He did not accept to talk.' (Dumestre 2003a: 399)

In (46a) there is no pause or other element between **sòn** and **kà**.

In infinitive forms following finite transitive verbs, the unexpressed subject of the infinitive verb corresponds to the object of the finite verb. Among them there are manipulative verbs illustrated in (47a) that can be read as purpose clauses. The absence of any pause between the finite verb and the **kà** morpheme makes them akin to complement clauses (Dumestre 2003a: 400). The

13. The reflexive is marked by the pronoun identical to the subject referent except for the third person singular and sometimes the third person plural where, similar to the citation form, it is marked by the second person singular pronoun **í**. The following paradigm may illustrate this: **ń yé ń pòngiri** 'I kneel', **í yé í pòngiri** 'you kneel', **à yé í pòngiri** 'he kneels', **án yé án pòngiri** 'we kneel', **áw yé áw pòngiri** 'you (pl.) kneel', **ù yé ù / í pòngiri** 'they kneel'.

infinitive has irrealis-directive modality; i.e. the situation is not realized but expected for the future. They can be replaced by finite clauses containing the conjunction **kó** or **wálasa** ‘so that’, ‘in order to’ and the subjunctive predicate marker **ká** (that differs tonally from the connective **ká**) as in (47b, c), which are reformulations of (47a).

- (47) a. **ń y'í wéele ká ń cè fágá**
1SG PFV.AF:2SG call **ká** 1SG husband kill
b. **ń y'í wéele kó í ká ń cè fágá**
1SG PFV.AF:2SG call so.that 2SG SBJV 1SG husband kill
c. **ń y'í wéele wálasa í ká ń cè fágá**
1SG PFV.AF:2SG call so.that 2SG SBJV 1SG husband kill
'I have called you in order that you kill my husband.' (Dumestre 2003a: 400)

If another element is inserted between a verb that can take a complement and **ká** (cf. 48, 49), it is no longer a monoclausal construction (48) but a consecutive clause (49).

- (48) **à y'á dème ká dòn**
3SG PFV:3SG help **ká** enter
'S/he helped him/her to enter.' (Dumestre 2003a: 399)

- (49) **à y'á dème ká sòrɔ ká dòn**
3SG PFV:3SG help **ká** find **ká** enter
'S/he helped him/her and then entered.' (Dumestre 2003a: 399)

Another criterion is the scope of negation. In monoclausal constructions, negation has scope over both verbs as illustrated in (50) to (52), which are the negative counterparts of (48).

- (50) **à má à dème ká dòn, à yé à dème ká bó**
3SG PFV.NEG 3SG help **ká** enter 3SG PFV.AF 3SG help **ká** exit
'S/he didn't help him/her to enter, s/he helped him/her to get out.'

- (51) **à má à dème ká dòn, nkà à yé à bila ká dòn**
3SG PFV.NEG 3SG help **ká** enter but 3SG PFV.AF 3SG let **ká** enter
'S/he didn't help him/her to enter, but s/he let him/her enter.'

- (52) **à má à dème ká dòn, à yé à wájibi ká bó**
3SG PFV.NEG 3SG help **ká** enter 3SG PFV.AF 3SG force **ká** exit
'S/he didn't help him/her to enter, s/he forced him/her to get out.'

In (50) the negation extends over the infinitive complement **ká dòn**, in (51) over the complement taking verb **dème**, and in (52) over both verbs in the clause. In all cases negation is marked only once.

The other contexts where **ká** + verb follow a finite verb are constructions displaying several clauses, i.e. consecutive clauses. Introduced by the morpheme **ká**, a consecutive clause follows a finite clause from which it is separated by a suspensive pause. Consecutive clauses are the reduced form of a following clause with the same subject and the same tense-aspect value as the preceding clause, and usually they are arranged according to the temporal order of the events expressed in each clause. In this context, the morpheme **ká** has the function of a connecting morpheme in consecutive clauses. Such clauses cannot be negated; if they are, they are finite clauses and cannot be considered to be consecutive clauses any more.¹⁴

- (53) a. **í bé bìne tā ká à dí yépege ìn mà.**
2SG PRS.AF arrow take **ká** 3SG give albino DEF PP
b. **í bé bìne tā, í bé à dí yépege ìn mà.**
2SG PRS.AF arrow take 2SG PRS.AF 3SG give albino DEF PP
'You take the arrow and you give it to the albino.' (Dumestre 2003a: 394)

(53a) is an example of a finite clause followed by a consecutive clause introduced by **ká**. It can be considered as a reduced form of (53b), where the subject (**i**) and the predicate marker (**bé**) are repeated, i.e. where we are dealing with two finite clauses.

Several consecutive clauses can be chained, each being introduced by the morpheme **ká**. Sometimes the morpheme **ká** can be preceded by the conjunction **ní**. (54) illustrates both, consecutive clauses introduced by **ká** only and those additionally containing the conjunction **ní**.

- (54) **ò túma ná, ò táara finikolonba dó nyini, k'ò kála à yère lá, ká dó ké bánfula**
DEM time POST DEM go.away:PFV.AF clothes.old.very IND look.for CC:DEM sew 3SG self POST CC IND do hat
yé, ní ká béréba dó tā, ní ká n'i jò.
POST CNJ CC stick:big IND take CNJ CC come:2SG stand
'So he went to get some old clothes, he sewed them on himself, he used some to make a hat; then he took a big stick and stood there (with purpose).' (Dumestre 1989: 61)

14. This is in line with Creissels, cited in Vanhove (2008), who observes that there is a blocking of negation in consecutive clauses cross-linguistically.

According to Kastenholz (1998: 92), clauses connected by **kà** can, when suggested by the context, be translated in German by *um zu* ‘in order to’, i.e. as a purpose clause. Thus, there seems to be an overlap of constructions introduced by **kà** that have the function of purpose clauses: on the one side monoclausal (cf. above), on the other side multiclausal constructions. This may be related to Creissels’ (2009: 209) assumption that the source of the consecutive construction in Malinke of Kita, a Manding variety closely related to Bambara, is the infinitive purpose construction. Yet, according to the author, the consecutive construction cannot be interpreted as a subordinated construction because of the possibility of chaining an unlimited number of consecutive clauses.

There are several criteria permitting us to consider the motion event expressions as monoclausal, similar to verbal complement constructions (and to monoclausal purpose constructions):

- as in these two types, there is no pause between the finite verb and the **kà** morpheme
- the tense-aspect-modality value and the subject are identical for both the finite and the non-finite verb
- there is no other element intervening before **kà**. If something is inserted between **kà** and the path verb as in (55), the construction is considered to be a consecutive clause, expressing two distinct events

- (55) **ù y'ù nón dóənidəɔni ù filà bée kà bó jí lá.**
3PL PFV.AF:REFL3PL swim slowly 3PL two all **kà** exit water PP
'They swam slowly both of them and went out of the water.' (Frog Lamine 100)

- In a way similar to infinitive complements, negation extends over one verb (of manner (56) or of path (57)) or both verbs of a construction expressing a motion event (58).

- (56) **dén má ŋúnūma kà dòn só kóno.**
child PFV.NEG crawl **kà** enter house PP
à bòlila dè kà dòn.
3SG run.PFV.AF FOC **kà** enter
'The child didn't crawl into the room. It ran in.'

- (57) **dén má ŋúnūma kà dòn só kóno.**
child PFV.NEG crawl **kà** enter house in
à ŋúnūmanà kà bó dè.
3SG crawl.PFV.AF **kà** exit FOC
'The child didn't crawl into the room. It crawled out.'

- (58) **dén má ŋúnūma kà dòn só kóno.**
child PFV.NEG crawl **kà** enter house in
à bòlila kà bó.
3SG run.PFV.AF **kà** exit
'The child didn't crawl into the room. It ran out.'

3.2.3. *Categorization of Bambara motion events encoded in a finite manner verb + **kà** path verb.* According to the criteria distinguishing the different clauses with a finite verb + **kà** verb phrase, motion event expressions resemble infinitive complements and purpose clauses rather than consecutive constructions. Therefore, in spite of one of the functions of **kà** as a connective in consecutive constructions comparable to the same subject morpheme **-i** in Amele cited by Croft et al. (2010, cf. (13) above), they cannot be interpreted as symmetric constructions within the framework of Talmy's revised theory. Rather, the **kà** + path verb element must be considered as a satellite, since it tends to grammaticalize into a directional marker in certain contexts.

According to Kuteva (2001: 20), the grammaticalization process begins when elements start to be used in an incompatible semantic context. In the case of path verbs this means that the verbs are used in a context that does not express locomotion. Such a use is attested for instance for the verbs **nà** ‘come’ and **bó** ‘exit’ as a centripetal and an ablative marker respectively.

- (59) **ní filen bé míñ bólo kó à k'à dí í mà**
if calabash PM.AF REL PP say 3SG SBV:3SG give 2SG PP
kà nà, ná ná ká sòkubaranin tÙ.
kà come 1SG FUT 1SG GEN violin cover
'Anyone (any woman) who has a calabash may give it to you for me, (so that) I shall make my violin.' (Dumestre and Maïga 1993: 10)

In (59) **kà nà** functions as a centripetal marker combined with the action verb **dí** ‘give’. **kà nà** expresses the orientation of the verb ‘give’ towards the deictic centre, which is the speaker in this example, translated here, *faute de mieux*, as ‘for me’, and that would be translated in German by the deictic *her-geben*.

The grammaticalization of **kà bó** has gone a step further, as it is not only used with non-motion verbs like **kúnun** ‘wake up’ in (60) or **cì** ‘break’ in (61), but even in identificational clauses like (62), where it functions as a preposition.

- (60) **à kúnunnen kà bó sùnəgə lá, cènin y'i**
3SG wake.up:PTCP.PFV **kà** exit sleep PP boy PFV.AF:2SG
yéléma k'à kunkolo bíla lí sènkərɔyānfàn na.
turn **kà:3SG** head let bed foot.side PP
'Woken up from sleep, the boy turned to the bottom of the bed.' (Frog Nuhun)

- (61) bútelí in círa kà bó à kùnkolo lá
bottle DEF break:PFV.AF kà exit 3SG head PP
'The bottle broke off / smashed on his head.' (Frog Salabari 038)
- (62) nín yé Musa yé kà bó Bamakò
DEM PM.AF Musa PP kà exit Bamako
'This is Musa from Bamako.'

Further, **kà bó . . . kà táa** is used in constructions designating 'from . . . to'. There are, moreover, in Bambara, a series of grammaticalized local and temporal prepositions (cf. Table 4 and ex. 63) introduced by **kà** (**à**). It is of interest that all verbal components of the prepositions continue to function as full verbs.

Table 4. **kà** (**à**) V grammaticalized to prepositions

kà à tà	from, since	< tà	take
kà à mìnè	from	< mìnè	catch
kà nà à bila	to, till, until	< nà + bila	come + let
kà táa à bila	to, till, until	< táa + bila	go + let

- (63) kà à tà sàñ 1973 lá kà nà à bila bì lá,
kà 3SG take year 1973 PP kà come 3SG let today PP
jà yé tipení míñ kék án kák jàmana kónò,
drought PFV.AF destruction REL do our GEN country PP
bée b'á dón.
all IPFV.AF:3SG know
'Everybody knows what destruction the drought has brought about to our country since 1973 (lit: from 1973 till now).' (Dumestre and Maïga 1993: 7)

This development suggests that the Bambara V **kà** V constructions expressing motion events can be considered as satellite framing in the typology revised by Croft et al. (2010).

3.2.4. Further means of encoding manner of motion. Some Bambara manner verbs have a relatively broad range of correspondences in languages like German, French or English. A verb like **pán** is translated as 'jump, hop, skip, fly'. In fact, **pán** describes a manner of motion characterized by a posture of the body in which the feet do not touch the ground, at least temporarily. Adverbs and ideophones could be added to further specify the manner of

the event. In (64) the adverb **dóonidɔɔni** specifies the manner of the motion described by **pán**.

- (64) à yí pán kà bó ò kónò dóonidɔɔni.
3SG PFV.AF:2SG jump kà exit DEM in cautiously
'It climbed out of it slowly.' ~ 'It stole out of it.' (Frog Lamine1 010)

dóonidɔɔni is an adverb that combines with any predicate marker and with any verb without restriction of the verb semantics.

A similar function can be taken over by expressive adverbs. According to Dumestre (1998, 2003a: 294) expressive adverbs are a special group of ideophones with adverbial function. Ideophones combine particular phonetic and semantic characteristics. Thus, they show consonants that have marginal phonological status in the language, e.g. [c], [p], [z], or that are not considered to be phonemes, e.g. [ʃ], [v]; closed syllables are found in ideophones although the language does not show such syllables elsewhere; they display reduplicated syllables or syllable sequences. They exhibit special semantics such as affectivity or expressivity. Ideophones are found in different word classes; expressive adverbs are ideophones, which function as adverbs and hence occupy the final position in a clause. Unlike 'usual' adverbs, for example **dóonidɔɔni** in (64), which can be used with any verb and with any TAM and polarity markers, expressive adverbs have a particular distributional property in that they occur exclusively in affirmative non-interrogative clauses; furthermore there are restrictions or at least specializations for expressive adverbs concerning their combination with a predicate, due to the tight conceptual relation between them, so that often such an item can combine with one particular verb only.

There is a growing tendency for some expressive adverbs to be used as verbs. While their tonal realization is superhigh when used as adverbs, i.e. clause-finally, it is high or rising when they are used as verbs.

Example (65a) illustrates the use of an item as an expressive adverb and (65b) its use as a verb. It should be noted that although the expressive adverb **fúgubefugube** in (65a) is glossed as 'quickly', it is tightly related to the verb **táa** 'go' and even conflates aspects of the moving figure, as it describes 'marching with rapidly swaying movements when talking about a small fat person'.¹⁵ Grammaticalized to a verb, as shown in (65b), **fúgubefugube** encodes the manner of motion, i.e. 'march quickly', and occupies the position of a finite verb, whereas the path of motion is connected by means of the morpheme **kà**.

- (65) a. à bé táa fúgubefugube.
3SG IPFV.AF go (march)quickly

15. Literally: "marcher en se balançant; d'une manière ample (pour une démarche assez vive) en parlant d'une personne petite et grasse" (Dumestre 2011: 344).

- b. à bέ fügubefugubε kà tάa.
3SG IPFV.AF march.quickly kà go
'She hurries away.' (Dumestre 1998: 331; "Elle s'en va d'un pas affaire")
- (66) a. à bέ bó párav
3SG IPFV.AF exit (do)promptly
b. à bέ párav kà bó
3SG IPFV.AF do.promptly kà exit
'S/he speedily gets out.'
- (67) à párawra~párawura kà bó
3SG do.promptly.PFV.AF kà exit
'S/he speedily got out.'
- (68) à má párav kà bó
3SG PFV.NEG do.promptly kà exit
'S/he did not get out speedily.' (Dumestre 1998: 331)

(66) to (68) illustrate the development from expressive adverb (66) to a full-fledged, non-defective verb in the perfective affirmative construction (67).¹⁶ Like any regular verb it combines with negative predicate markers (68). Noting that example (68) is not accepted by all speakers, Dumestre (1998: 331) concludes that it seems to be a development in progress, the final point of which leads to the loss of the item as an adverb. In fact, he hypothesizes that some actual verbs with marginal phonetic shape, like for example, gálabasa 'fall, crash' or pòrokoto 'trip, stumble', may have resulted from expressive adverbs by a similar process.

3.3. Combination of several path verbs

It is possible, in Bambara, to connect several path verbs by means of **kà**. It has been noted that the pattern combining several path verbs is very common in languages possessing serial verb constructions (Slobin and Hoiting 1994); it has not been mentioned for satellite framing constructions so far. In Bambara, path verbs can be combined when a second one is meant either to introduce a deictic component or to change the orientation of a path verb, which is already ground oriented.

16. It is possible that the two forms, párav and párawu are in fact two possibilities of writing the same word, the first of which would be parallel to the convention in Bambara orthography to write the plural marker -w, which is in fact -wu.

- (69) cénin jíginna kà nà à nòfe.
boy descend.PFV.AF kà come 3SG behind
'The boy went down after him (to join him)' (Frog Lamine1 030).
- (70) cénin jíginna kà bó à ká dálán sánfe.
boy descend.PFV.AF kà exit 3SG GEN bed on
'The boy climbed down from the bed' (Frog Kajatu 1:28).

In (69) the second path verb, **nà** 'come', is an element adding a deictic component in conversational texts. In this narrative text it has however a non-deictic function: it situates the event expressed by the finite goal oriented path verb **jígin** 'descend' in relation to the location of a particular protagonist, here the dog, at reference time. This is the moment when the dog has fallen down from the window in the preceding scene of the picture book. The boy's motion is executed towards this protagonist.

In (70), the second, non-finite verb of the construction changes the orientation of the movement. The verb **jígin** 'descend' expresses the inherent orientation towards a goal. The source oriented path verb **bó** 'exit, depart from' is added in (70) by means of a **kà** V construction in order to code the motion of figure in relation to the source element **dálán** 'the bed'.

4. Conclusion

The existence of two very different constructions in Bambara to express complex motion events, the copredicative construction and the construction comprising a finite manner of motion verb and a non-finite path verb corroborates the view of Croft et al. (2010) that a typology should concern individual constructions and not entire languages.

The first one can clearly be categorized as a verb framing construction: the finite verb encodes the path component, whereas the manner component is expressed in a derived form of a verb that cannot function as a predicate in an independent clause. This form is either an imperfective participle or another derived form that has the function of a copredicative.

The categorization of the other construction is, at first sight, not unambiguous, given that the morpheme **kà** connecting a finite manner verb to a path verb, or a path verb to another path verb, has different functions: the function of a purpose marker, an infinitive, a morpheme connecting verbal complements to the complement-taking verbs and a connecting morpheme in a consecutive construction. While the last function would be an argument in favour of interpreting this construction as symmetrical, it has been shown that based on several criteria it has a closer resemblance to infinitive complements and purpose

clauses. This, and the tendency of the **kà** + path verb to be grammaticalized into a preposition or a sort of satellite, are evidence in favour of interpreting it as an asymmetrical satellite framing construction.

However, the elements counted as satellites in Bambara are very special when compared to corresponding elements in such satellite framing languages as English, German or Polish. While different sorts of separable or inseparable particles and/or prepositions function as satellites in these languages, in Bambara, grammaticalization has led to the existence of two related forms: a preposition and a verb. This makes these motion expressions similar to the symmetrical constructions, i.e. the serial verb constructions. These are found in different Gur languages spoken in areas adjacent to the Bambara-speaking regions. The tendency of serializing languages to encode supplementary information regarding the manner of motion in ideophones, and the possibility of combining path verbs are further correspondences between serializing languages and Bambara.

University of Bayreuth, Germany
klaudia.hahn@uni-bayreuth.de

Abbreviations

AF	affirmative	INTJ	interjection
ANT	anteriority morpheme	IPFV	imperfective
AOR	aoriste	M	masculine
CC	connective in consecutive construction	NEG	negative
CNJ	conjunction	PART	particle
DEF	definite	PFV	perfective
DEM	demonstrative	PL	plural
DER	derivational morpheme	PM	predicate marker (non-verbal clause type)
EMPH	emphatic pronoun	PP	postposition
F	feminine	PRED	predicative
FOC	focus marker	PRF	perfect
FUT	future	PRS	present
GEN	connective of marked genitive	PST	past
HAB	habitual	PTCP	participle
IMP	imperative	REFL	reflexive
INF	infinitive	REL	relative pronoun
IND	indefinite	SBJV	subjunctive
INTER	interrogative marker	SG	singular
		TOP	topic marker

References

- Ameka, Felix K. & James Essegbe. 2001. Serialising languages: verb-framed, satellite-framed or neither? Paper presented at the 32nd Annual Conference on African Linguistics, University of California, Berkeley, March 23–25.
- Bearth, Thomas. 1995. Nominal periphrases and the origin of the predicative marker in Mande languages — an alternative view. *Afrikanistische Arbeitspapiere* 41. 89–117.
- Blecke, Thomas. 2004. La fonction du morphème *tùm* en bambara (temps, aspect et mode). Cologne, 1988 (avec une postface de 2004), traduit de l'allemand par Monika Zeutschel, Thomas Blecke et Gérard Dumestre. *Mandenkan* 40. 1–104.
- Bohnemeyer, Jürgen, Nicolas J. Enfield, James Essegbe, Iraide Ibarretxe-Antunano, Sotaro Kita, Friederike Lüpke & Felix K. Ameka. 2007. Principles of event segmentation in language: the case of motion events. *Language* 83(3). 495–532.
- Creissels, Denis. 2006. Encoding the distinction between location, source and destination. In: Hickmann, Maya & Stéphane Robert (eds.), *Space in languages. Linguistic systems and cognitive categories*, 19–28. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.
- Creissels, Denis. 2009. *Le malinké de Kita*. Köln: Köppe.
- Croft, William, Jóhanna Barðdal, Willem B. Hollmann, Violeta Sotirova & Chiaki Taoka. 2010. Revising Talmy's typological classification of complex event constructions. In: Boas, Hans (ed.), *Contrastive studies in Construction Grammar*, 201–236. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.
- Dumestre, Gérard. 1989. *La pierre barbue et autres contes du Mali. Edition bilingue bambara — français*. Angers: Ville d'Angers, Bibliothèque Municipale.
- Dumestre, Gérard. 1998. Les Idéophones: le cas du bambara. In: Platiel, Suzy & Raphaël Kaboré (eds.), *Les langues d'Afrique Subsaharienne*, 321–333. Paris: Ophrys.
- Dumestre, Gérard. 2003a. *Grammaire fondamentale du bambara*. Paris: Karthala.
- Dumestre, Gérard. 2003b. Transcatégorialité ou homonymie: réflexions méthodologiques à partir du bambara. In: Robert, Stéphane (ed.), *Perspectives synchroniques sur la grammaticalisation. Polysémie, transcatégorialité et échelles syntaxiques*, 21–34. Paris: Peeters.
- Dumestre, Gérard. 2011. *Dictionnaire bambara — français suivi d'un index abrégé français — bambara*. Paris: Karthala.
- Dumestre, Gérard & Ismaïl Maïga. 1993. *Baabu ni baabu*. Paris: Editions du MRAP/Différences.
- Grinevald, Colette. 2006. The expression of static location in a typological perspective. In: Hickmann, Maya & Stéphane Robert (eds.), *Space in languages. Linguistic systems and cognitive categories*, 29–58. Amsterdam: Benjamins.
- Idiatov, Dmitri. 2000. Le sémantisme des marqueurs aspecto-temporels du bambara: une tentative d'analyse. *Mandenkan* 36. 1–59.
- Kastenholz, Raimund. 1998. *Grundkurs Bambara (Manding) mit Texten*. Köln: Köppe.
- Kastenholz, Raimund. 2003. Auxiliaries, grammaticalization, and word order in Mande. *Journal of African Languages and Linguistics* 24 (1). 31–53.
- Kuteva, Tania. 2001. *Auxiliation*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Levinson, Stephen C. 2003. *Space in language and cognition. Explorations in Cognitive Diversity*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Li, Charles & Sandra A. Thompson. 1981. *Mandarin Chinese: A functional reference grammar*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Mayer, Mercer. 1969. *Frog, where are you?* New York: Dial books for young readers.
- Müller-Bardey, Thomas. 1990. Koprädiskation als grundlegende syntaktische Operation. In: Seiler, Hansjakob (ed.), *Internationales interdisziplinäres Kolloquium "Sprache und Denken: Variation und Invarianz in Linguistik und Nachbardisziplinen"*. (= *Arbeiten des Kölner Universalien-Projekts Nr. 81, Bd. 2*). 1–22. Köln: Institut für Sprachwissenschaft.

- Payne, Thomas E. 1997. *Describing morphosyntax. A guide for field linguists*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Roberts, John R. 1987. *Amele*. London: Croom Helm.
- Slobin, Dan I. 1997. Mind, Code, and Text. In: Bybee, Joan, John Haiman & Sandra A. Thompson (eds.), *Essays on language function and language type*, 437–467. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.
- Slobin, Dan I. 2004. The many ways to search for a frog. Linguistic typology and the expression of motion events. In: Strömqvist, Sven & Ludo Verhoeven (eds.), *Relating events in narrative. Typological and contextual perspectives*, 219–257. Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates.
- Slobin, Dan I. 2006. What makes manner of motion salient? Explorations in linguistic typology, discourse, and cognition. In: Hickmann, Maya & Stéphane Robert (eds.), *Space in Languages. Linguistic systems and cognitive categories*, 60–81. Amsterdam: Benjamins.
- Slobin, Dan I. & Nini Hoiting. 1994. Reference to movement in spoken and signed languages: typological considerations. In: Gahl, Susanne, Andy Dolbey & Christopher Johnson (eds.), *Proceedings of the twentieth annual meeting of the Berkeley Linguistic Society*, 487–505. Berkeley: Berkeley Linguistics Society.
- Talmy, Leonard. 1975. Semantics and syntax of motion. In: Kimball, John P (ed.), *Syntax and semantics*, vol. 4, 181–238. New York: Academic Press.
- Talmy, Leonard. 1985. Lexicalization patterns: Semantic structure in lexical forms. In: Shopen, Timothy (ed.), *Language typology and syntactic description. (Vol. III) Grammatical categories and the lexicon*, 57–149. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Talmy, Leonard. 1991. Path to realization. A typology of event conflation. *Proceedings of the Berkeley Linguistics Society* 17. 1–31.
- Talmy, Leonard. 2000. *Toward a cognitive semantics. Vol. II: Typology and process in concept structuring*. Cambridge: MIT Press.
- Talmy, Leonard. 2009. Main verb properties and equipollent framing. In: Guo, Jinasheng, Elena Lieven, Nancy Budwig, Susan Ervin-Tripp, Keiko Nakamura & Şeyda Özçalışkan (eds.), *Crosslinguistic Approaches to the psychology of language. Research in the tradition of Dan Isaac Slobin*, 389–402. New York: Psychology Press.
- Treis, Yvonne and Angelika Mietzner. 2008. Introduction. In: Mietzner, Angelika & Yvonne Treis (eds.), *Annual Publication in African Linguistics 5 (2007) Special Issue: Encoding motion. Case studies from Africa*, 11–18. Köln: Köppe.
- Tröbs, Holger. 1999. Lokalisation im Maninka (West-Mande). *Sprachtypologie und Universalienforschung* 52 (3/4). 365–379.
- Vanhove, Martine. 2008. Enoncés hiérarchisés, converbes et prosodie en bedja. In: Caron, Bernard (ed.), *Subordination, dépendance et parataxe dans les langues africaines*, 83–103. Paris: Peeters.
- Vydrine, Valentin. 1999. Les parties du discours en bambara: Un essai de bilan. *Mandenkan* 35. 73–93.
- Vydrine, Valentin. 2000. Le sémantisme de TAM en bambara: une postface à l'article de Dmitri Idiatov. *Mandenkan* 36. 61–63.