UNIVERSITÀ DEGLI STUDI DI NAPOLI
"L'ORIENTALE"

ANNALI

*del Dipartimento di Studi
Letterari, Linguistici e Comparati
Sezione linguistica*

AIΩN

N.S. 8

2019

Alla memoria di Vincenzo Valeri

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INDICE

BIBLIOGRAFIE, RECENSIONI, RASSEGNE

Nota del Direttore

Quando questo volume era in composizione la collega Carla Cristilli mi ha informato della scomparsa di Vincenzo Valeri, che per lunghi anni aveva fatto parte dei linguisti afferenti al poi disattivato *Dipartimento di studi del Mondo classico e del Mediterraneo antico* nonché del comitato di redazione della precedente serie della rivista, alla realizzazione della quale Valeri aveva collaborato anche come autore di contributi. Ho chiesto pertanto alle colleghe della redazione se fossero d'accordo nel dedicare il volume alla sua memoria e ne è venuto un assenso immediato. Ho chiesto quindi a Domenico Silvestri se fosse disponibile a scrivere per la rivista un ricordo del collega scomparso: ha accettato e lo ringrazio a nome di tutti noi, poiché - ci tengo a dirlo - nessun ricordo poteva essere più significativo di quello firmato da Silvestri. Ricordiamo con affetto Valeri e questo è un segno che offriamo alla sua memoria.

Una nota di tutt'altro argomento ha costituito poi il fatto che nel corso di quest'anno i direttori delle riviste dell'Orientale hanno ricevuto da una Commissione d'ateneo la richiesta di fornire dati utili a verificare l'adeguatezza ai parametri per la classificazione delle riviste fissati dall'Agenzia nazionale che si occupa anche di simili questioni. In quella occasione, AION-L ha potuto ancora una volta certificare di avere i "fondamentali" a posto: pareva opportuno informarne i lettori nonché gli studiosi che sanno di poter affidare i loro contributi a una rivista percepita forse come una sede un po' severa ma che anche per questo è solida.

Ricordo di Vincenzo Valeri

DOMENICO SILVESTRI

Ricordare Vincenzo Valeri significa per me parlare allo stesso tempo di un Allievo, di un Collega, di un Amico: le tre dimensioni si intrecciano e sono con ogni evidenza scaglionate nel tempo, ma mentre le prime due riassumono una normale vicenda universitaria, la terza non è affatto scontata ed è certamente la più importante. Come Allievo lo ricordo attento e propositivo, come Collega lo rivedo presente e solidale, come Amico è ancora qui a farmi, anzi a rinnovarmi il dono di una curiosità onnivora che dalle lingue e dalla linguistica si espandeva in modo lucido e affettuoso su un numero veramente incalcolabile e sicuramente non prevedibile di aspetti del reale (piante e animali, persone e cose e molto altro ancora...). Il suo approdo all'Orientale di Napoli non fu certo quello di un "esordiente allo sbaraglio", semmai fu la scelta consapevolmente perseguita di un "capitano di lungo corso", come mostrano e dimostrano i suoi studi pre-universitari presso l'Istituto di Cultura Giapponese e l'Istituto Italiano per il Medio ed Estremo Oriente di Roma, dove nel 1964 si è diplomato a pieni voti in Lingue e Culture Orientali. La laurea con lode conseguita nel 1974 segna l'inizio della sua carriera universitaria e del lunghissimo sodalizio scientifico e umano con chi scrive queste righe. Nel frattempo Vincenzo era stato studente lavoratore ("a tempo pieno" sia come lavoratore sia come studente!) e aveva trovato anche il tempo di sposarsi e cominciare, come si dice, "a metter su famiglia", un bell'esempio per certi attuali esordienti nella vita, che io definirei neghittosi e procrastinanti, soprattutto poco attenti al modello latino del suae fortunae faber …

*Abbiamo condiviso molte avventure di ricerca a cominciare dall'esame assai poco praticato dai linguisti dei testi arcaici del quarto strato archeologico di Uruk in Mesopotamia (seconda metà del IV millennio a. C.). Ricordo che Vincenzo arrivò a Napoli con una fotocopia da lui realizzata e rilegata dell'*editio princeps *di Adam Falkenstein uscita a Berlino nel 1936. Lui l'aveva scovata al Pontificio Istituto Biblico di Piazza della Pilotta a Roma, non lontano quindi dalla sua casa di Via Panisperna dove scritture esotiche,*

conchiglie bivalvi e allevamenti di tartarughe viaggiavano in una sua arca personale di salvezza sui flutti massificanti di questi nostri opinabili tempi moderni (e, ancora più opinabili, "postmoderni"). Insieme ad un'altra mia allieva, presto diventata una cara compagna di viaggio (non solo in senso metaforico, giacché come Vincenzo veniva in treno da Roma!), Lucia Tonelli, intraprendemmo un lungo, appassionante viaggio (questo, sì, metaforico), un po' linguistico un po' semiotico un po' qualcos'altro ancora, che si è concretato in vari articoli scritti a sei mani ma con tre teste pensanti in proprio e in un libro complessivo (Testi e segni di Uruk IV. Analisi sintattiche, Napoli 1985, Istituto Universitario Orientale, Dipartimento di Studi del Mondo Classico e del Mediterraneo Antico) che ha poi conosciuto anche una (ri)edizione in lingua inglese (1990). Vincenzo, oltre ad un prezioso contributo di idee e ad alcune intuizioni folgoranti (come quando riconobbe a ragion veduta – e solo Lui poteva farlo!– in un pittogramma di Uruk l'icona di un lamantino o, meglio, di un dugongo, un sirenide che vive nelle aree marine contigue alle foci di grandi fiumi, nel caso nostro i ben noti e direi quasi "canonici" Tigri ed Eufrate), realizzò con straordinaria dedizione e con altrettanto straordinaria competenza i disegni di tutti i pittogrammi (Falkenstein ne individua ben 891!) e di tutti i testi di Uruk (Falkenstein ne raccoglie ben 578!), ideando e realizzando tutte le griglie formali di quelle che definimmo "analisi sintattiche".

L'attenzione alla scrittura di Uruk si inscrive in una sua grande passione per le scritture in generale, che negli anni si converte in consapevolezze originali e prende forma compiuta in un libro, La scrittura. Storia e modelli, *(Roma 2001, Carocci editore), dove Vincenzo conduce per mano il lettore attraverso tutto il mondo scritto, sia quello antico o antichissimo (dalla Valle dell'Indo e dall'India attraverso la Mesopotamia, la Persia e l'Anatolia fino all'Egeo e all'Egitto, senza trascurare Cina, il sud-est asiatico e la Mesoamerica precolombiana) sia quello appena più recente che coinvolge Ebrei, Fenici, Arabi sulle sponde orientali del Mediterraneo e poi Greci, Latini, genti prelatine dell'Italia antica per giungere all'estremo occidente delle scritture paleoispaniche. Un'altra sua impresa originalissima in questo settore si compendia nel libro* Per una scrittura della lingua dei segni italiana *(Roma 2004, Aracne editrice), dove Vincenzo, forte delle sue competenze in scritture ideo-*

grafiche, intraprende la non facile impresa di convertire la lingua dei segnanti e in particolare i connessi atti gestuali effimeri in produzioni scritte di lunga durata, giungendo ad una sua "proposta di adattamento".

Voglio finire questo mio sommario, ma anche sincero "ricordo" evocando la terza (ma non l'ultima!) passione scientifica di Vincenzo: la sua prolungata attenzione al mondo delle lingue iberiche prelatine, che gli valse l'attenzione e la considerazione di studiosi del calibro di Jürgen Untermann e di Francisco Villar, che lo accolsero come collaboratore competente nel volume collettivo Lengua y cultura en la Hispania prerromana. Actas del V coloquio sobre lenguas y culturas prerromanas de la península ibérica *(Salamanca 1993, Ediciones Universidad de Salamanca), dove Vincenzo disse la sua a proposito di* Las nasales ibéricas.

Vincenzo arrivava in treno da Roma a Napoli con un sorriso, felice di essere con noi; ripartiva in treno da Napoli per Roma con un sorriso, felice di tornare tra i suoi Cari… Questo piccolo e sorridente viaggio con Lui sul treno dei ricordi è solo un piccolo dono alla memoria di un Allievo, di un Collega, di un Amico.

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ARTICOLI, NOTE, SAGGI

Ricerche e problemi linguistici di ambito teorico e applicato

ANNAMARIA BARTOLOTTA, GERALDINE QUARTARARO**

THE ASYMMETRIC PATH-CONFLATION PATTERN
OF *GO* AND *COME* VERBS IN AYMARA[1]

Abstract

This paper investigates the basic motion verbs *sara* 'go' and *juta* 'come' in Aymara, an indigenous language of the Andes, within the framework of Talmy's lexical typology (Talmy 2000). In a crosslinguistic perspective, 'come' and 'go' are assumed to be deictically complementary and have been represented as a kind of Path-conflating verbs, i.e. verbs that include the deictic component of Path in their lexical semantics, which is respectively the direction 'toward the speaker' *vs* that 'not toward the speaker'. Data from Aymara show in fact that 'come' and 'go' exhibit an asymmetrical Path-conflation pattern: 'come' does inherently entail deictic motion toward the speaker, whereas 'go' indicates a more general motion along a path at a lexical semantic level, expressing Path through morphological (derivational suffixes, case endings), syntactic (spatial NPs, adverbs), and pragmatic contexts.

Keywords: motion verbs; Path-conflation; aspect; directional suffixes; spatial deixis

1. Introduction

By focusing primarily on modern Indo-European languages, previous typological research on the verb pair *go/come* has traditionally assumed that these verbs are inherently deictic and has classified them as Path-conflating verbs (Talmy 2000, Nakazawa 2006, etc.). More precisely, typological studies state that the roots of 'go' and 'come' verbs conflate together the component of Motion and the deictic component of Path by

Annamaria Bartolotta, Università di Palermo, annamaria.bartolotta@unipa.it. *Geraldine Quartararo,* Pontificia Universidad Católica de Chile, geraldinequartararo@gmail.com

expressing a symmetrical opposition between the centripetal direction 'toward the speaker' and the centrifugal direction 'not toward the speaker' (Fillmore 1971: 54; Cinque 1976: 112; Emanatian 1992, 22; Talmy 2000: 56; Nakazawa 2009: 388; Oshima 2012: 287; Diessel 2012: 2407). This assumption has been challenged by recent studies on different non Indo-European languages, which show that these verbs do not always have an inherent deictic meaning nor can be considered symmetrical terms (Wilkins & Hill 1995; Senft 2000: 113; Levinson & Wilkins 2006: 533; etc.)[2]. In this study, we argue that also Aymara can be listed among those languages in which *go* and *come* do not represent a symmetrical two-element system. In other words, these basic motion verbs show an asymmetrical Path-conflation pattern: *sara* 'go' is not inherently deictic, whereas *juta* 'come' is a Path-conflating verb, entailing the deictic component 'motion toward the speaker' at the lexical semantic level.

Aymara is a member of the Aymaran language family (Coler 2014a: 10) and is spoken in the Andean area located among Chile, Peru and Bolivia. It is an agglutinative language with a morphologically complex verb system, in which the process of verb formation is carried out through both derivational and inflectional verb suffixes. In particular, the basic verbs of motion *sara* 'go' and *juta* 'come' exhibit a prototypical structure which may include derivational suffixes indicating directed motion, spatial location, effective arrival of the Figure to the Ground. Although very productive, these suffixes are indeed not obligatory (Coler 2014a: 284). Additionally, directed motion and spatial location can be expressed by both case endings (allative and genitive/locative cases respectively) and spatial adverbs. Based on original data collected in La Paz and El Alto (Bolivia), the analysis presented here will show that the distribution of the derivational suffixes with *sara* 'go' and *juta* 'come' is not random, but rather related to the inherent semantic meaning of the verb root. More in detail, the suffixes expressing directional motion can be exclusively agglutinated to *sara* 'go',

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[2] Some scholars have focused on the non-deictic uses of *come* and *go* also in Romance and Germanic languages (Ricca 1991; Di Meola 2003). They have demonstrated that the opposition between the two verbs was originally not deictic, but based on the aspectual telic-atelic feature. The same conclusion is valid for ancient Indo-European languages, such as Vedic and Homeric Greek (see respectively Bartolotta 2016 and 2017b).

whereas *juta* 'come' exhibits strong restrictions to this suffixation due to the deictic component of Path inherent to its lexical semantic meaning. In a similar way, the compatibility of specific spatial location suffixes with the two verbs is different according to the lexical aspectual feature of their roots, which are atelic and telic respectively. The analysis of the contexts of use suggests that only *juta* 'come' can be correctly defined as a Path-conflating verb, while *sara* 'go' is a deictically neutral verb which may express the direction of motion by means of derivational suffixes, case endings, and pragmatic implications due to the opposition with *juta* 'come'.

Section 2 outlines the Aymara verbal system with a particular focus on the expression of motion events. Within it, the first subsection (2.1) is a brief sketch on the Aymara verb system, with particular emphasis on the expression of directed motion and spatial location. The second subsection (2.2) focuses on the case marking system. Finally, the third subsection (2.3) deals with the description of methodology and corpus data used in this study. Section 3 is devoted to the analysis of the verb *sara* 'go'. After introducing the motion event schema within Talmy's framework, we will first consider the more frequent occurrences with the derivational suffix *-naqa-* indicating 'diffuse or non-purposive motion' (3.1), and then the occurrences in which the verb encodes a non-deictic directed motion through the addition of case-marked noun phrases (3.2). Subsection 3.3 dwells on the compatibility of *sara* 'go' with the derivational suffixes indicating direction of motion. This latter point is a piece of evidence against the hypothesis of the symmetrical deictic meaning 'not toward the speaker' inherent to the lexical verb. Subsection 3.4 focuses on the less frequent occurrences in which *sara* 'go' shows a deictic meaning by virtue of both the aspectual completive suffix *-xa-*, indicating bounded Path at the start, and the pragmatic opposition to *juta* 'come', that inherently entails motion towards the speaker. Section 4 is devoted to *juta* 'come'. It focuses, first, on the deictic component 'toward the speaker' (with a bounded Path at the end) that is included in the lexical entry of the verb and is responsible for the incompatibility of the root with directional suffixes (4.1). Secondly, it argues that the co-occurrence of the verb with aspectual completive or incompletive suffixes depends on the entailment of the effective arrival of

the Figure to the Ground in the motion event (4.2). The concluding section (5) provides some final remarks and gives directions for further research.

2. **Preliminaries to the study: a brief introduction to Aymara**

2.1. *A sketch of the Aymara verbal system with reference to motion verbs*

Although different studies have been conducted on Aymara (Briggs 1976; Coler 2014b; Coler 2015; Cuelenaere 2011; Filimonova 2002), this paper is the first attempt of analysis of the Aymara basic motion verbs from Talmy's lexical typology perspective.

Aymara is an agglutinative language with a rich suffixal morphology. The preferred word order is SOV with modifier-head. It exhibits a morphologically complex verb system in which the process of verb formation is carried out through both derivational and inflectional verb suffixes. Verb predicates are built according to a structured ordering where derivational suffixes always precede inflectional ones.

Obligatory inflectional suffixes show a high degree of fusion (Müller 2013: 39). In addition to person, these suffixes also convey grammatical information about tense and mood. The Aymara verb paradigm has four moods (indicative, potential, imperative and inferential) and four tenses: three for the expression of the non-future, i.e. simple, experienced past and non-experienced past, and one for the expression of the future.

As regards verbal derivation, Aymara derivational suffixes can be divided into four main categories: 'direction of motion and spatial location', 'valency increasing and multipliers', 'aspectual' and 'others'. Coler (2014a: 281) emphasizes the unclear nature of Aymara aspectual suffixes and points out that «some categories of suffixes, most notably the aspectual ones, are comprised of a variety of suffixes, some of which are more inflectional-like or derivational-like than others». In this study, we will mainly consider the aspectual completive and incompletive suffixes, i.e. *-xa-* (1) and *-ka-* (2). The suffix *-xa-* indicates an action that is considered to be completed at a specific time reference point, whereas the suffix *-ka-* indicates an action considered as not yet completed (Müller 2013: 105).

(1) *Jach'a-pt(a)-xa-täna*   *uka*   *jamp'atu*
   broad-VBZ-COMPL-3PNOE   that   toad
   "That toad grew up"   (Quartararo 2017: 270)

(2) *Nayra*   *Yungasa-na*   *trabaj(a)-ka-yat(a)*   *s(a)-i-w(a)*
   before   Yungas-GEN/LOC   work-INCOMPL-1EXCL.PE   say-3SPL-DECL
   "Previously, I was working in Yungas"   (Quartararo 2017: 118)

Previous research (Cerrón Palomino 2000; Coler 2014a; Hardman *et al.* 2001) has much discussed the suffixes belonging to the group 'direction of motion and spatial location'. These suffixes are not obligatory. This discussion has been developed due to the influence that the semantics of the verb root seems to have on their meaning: when they co-occur with verbs of motion (e.g. *apa* 'take', *chillchi* 'dance', *jala* 'run', *puri* 'arrive', *thuqhu* 'jump', *unuqi* 'move', kuti 'come back'), they signal direction or spatial location, but when they co-occur with other verb roots, they seem to acquire metaphorical semantic extensions. In this study, we will focus mainly on the first of the two situations indicated above.

The suffixes that indicate direction of motion are the following (Coler 2014a: 292; Adelaar with Muysken 2004: 278):

-nta- indicates motion in an inward direction, from an outside location to an interior location.
-su- indicates motion in an outward direction. In our data and in the existent grammars, it does not appear with the verbs *sara* 'go' and *juta* 'come'.
-qa- indicates motion in a downward direction.
-ta- indicates motion in an upward direction. In the data, when *-ta-* co-occurs with the verb *sara* 'go', it modifies the original meaning of the verb into 'get up' or 'go ahead'.

The suffixes that signal spatial locations are the following:

-naqa- indicates diffuse or non-purposive motion. Coler (2014a: 323) states that this suffix indicates an action that is performed in various places. When *-naqa-* co-occurs with *sara* 'go', it modifies the original meaning of the verb into 'live' or 'walk'.

-waya-, known as the 'distancer', indicates the spatial or temporal distance in which an action is performed.[3]

2.2. *The Aymara case system with reference to motion verbs*

Aymara nominal inflection exhibits 12 cases that are expressed through 8 suffixes[4]. The nominative is the only unmarked case, whereas all the others are marked on the end of the noun phrase that corresponds to the head. We will focus on the suffixes that mostly interact with motion verbs: the genitive/locative suffix *-na-*, the allative/dative suffix *-ru-*, and the ablative suffix *-ta-*.

As locative case suffix, *-na-* can signal both physical (3) and temporal location. The suffix *-ru-* expresses the endpoint of the motion event (4). Lastly, the suffix *-ta-* indicates the ablative and has a wide range of uses. In our sample with motion verbs it indicates both spatial (5) and temporal (6) origin.

(3) *Naya-x(a)   ak(a)-jama   sar(a)-naq(a)-ir(i)-t(a)-xa   Yungasa-n(a)*
    1PR-TOP   this-CP   go-DF-AG.NMZ-1EXCL.SPL-TOP   Yungas-LOC
    "I used to live in the Yungas"

(4) *Marka-r(u)   Chukiyagu   marka-ru   sara-way(a)-x(a)-ta*
    city-ALL   La Paz   city-ALL   go-DIST-COMPL-1EXCL.SPL
    "I went to the city, to La Paz city"

(5) *Aka-ta   buti-t(a)   Ch'ililay   sara-p.x(a)-pacha-xa[5]*
    this-ABL   boat-ABL   Chililaya   go-PL-3INFR-TOP
    "From here he must have go by boat to Chililaya"

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[3] In Cerrón Palomino's and Coler's Grammar the description of *-waya-* does not appear; the only studies that mention this suffix are Hardman *et al.* (2001) and Hardman (2001). However, both authors describe the 'distancer' *-muku-*, a suffix that seems to have the same characteristics as *-waya-* in Bolivian Aymara.

[4] The accusative is subtractive (Coler 2014a). Furthermore, on the one hand, the allative and the dative and, on the other hand, the genitive and the locative are conveyed through the same suffixes that are *-ru-* and *-na-*, respectively.

[5] In some cases, for reasons yet to be investigated, the case suffixes are omitted where they should be expected. In (5), for instance, the suffix *-ru-* is missing.

(6) *Awicha-ja-mp(i)   qama-si-yat(a)-x(a)   chika-t(a)-pini awicha-ja-mp(i)*
grandmother-1POS-COM live-REFL-1EXCL.PE-TOP child-ABL-EMP grandmother-1POS-COM

> *sar(a)-naqa-yat(a)*
> go-df-1excl.pe
> "I have lived with my grandmother, always since I was a girl I have lived with my grandmother"

2.3. Methodology: data collection and materials

The original data presented in this study were gathered in La Paz and El Alto (Bolivia) during 2014 and 2015. The data were mainly elicited through semi-structured tasks, i.e. the *Family Problems Picture Task* (San Roque *et al*. 2012) and the *Pear Story* (Chafe 1980). On the one hand, the *Family Problems Picture Task* is an interactive task. It consists of 16 pictures in black and white that follow a defined sequence. The pictures depict the story of a farming family, composed of wife, husband and a child. The task was developed in five steps. In the first step, participants were asked to describe five of the sixteen pictures randomly selected by the fieldworker. In the second step, participants ordered all the pictures according to the story that they believed was represented in the pictures. In the third step, one of the two participants in the first two steps was asked to describe the story in the first person singular. In the fourth step, the other participant was asked to tell the story in the third person singular to a person who did not participate in the task until then. Finally, during the fifth step, the third participant was asked to tell the story s/he had been told. On the other hand, the *Pear Story* (Chafe 1980) is a dynamic stimulus that consists of a short movie (approximately six minutes) with actions and sounds but not verbal material. The film begins with a man who is picking pears in an orchard and putting them in baskets. It follows a chain of events: a boy on a bicycle steals one of the baskets of pears and runs away, he loses his hat along the way, a group of boys recovers the hat and returns it to the boy, finally, he gives them some pears in return. Participants were asked, firstly, to watch the movie and, secondly, to tell what happened in the movie.

Eighteen Spanish-Aymara bilingual speakers participated in the recording sessions (7 males and 11 females). All participants were

born as monolingual Aymara and learned Spanish during childhood. Participants' education is closely related to their age: the older the age, the lower the level of education. About 60% of the speakers had university level education, 26.6% had secondary education and 13.4% had primary education[6].

Fourteen audio recordings lasting 4 hours and 24 minutes were obtained from the elicitation process. The *verbatim* transcripts of the recordings have been recompiled in a corpus of 19,154 words. Transcripts were made entirely by native speakers of Aymara. For data transcription the *Alfabeto Unificado* 'unified alphabet' was employed since transcribers were already familiar with it. The corpus was transcribed according to a basic transcription system where only pauses and changes of speaking turn have been indicated. The process of transcription was followed by a review process during which a native speaker ascertained the accuracy of the transcripts and inserted the translations into Spanish of the texts transcribed in Aymara.

3. The verb *sara* 'go' in Aymara

Before analysing data, we will introduce the basic motion schema according to the Talmy's framework (1975). A translational motion event involves the following components: the moving entity (Figure), its movement (Motion) through a path (Path), and the reference object (Ground) with respect to which the Figure moves, as exemplified in the sentence in (7).

(7) The ball   moved   into   the box
    [Figure]   [Motion]   [Path]   [Ground]

The component of Path, in turn, consists of three subcomponents, namely the Vector, the Conformation and the Deixis (Talmy 2000: 53;

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[6] For social and political reasons, the acquisition of Aymara by participants was limited to affective and familiar contexts. Until 2006 the Bolivian educational system was basically developed in Spanish. For further information, see Cancino (2007).

2006: 95). The Vector includes arrival, transversal or departure of the Figure executed with respect to the Ground (the Vector component specifies, for example, a movement to(ward) a goal or from a source, or both). The Conformation specifies the main geometric schema of a Path, so that the speaker may add information about the full Ground object (e.g., a point which is of the inside of [an enclosure] = into an enclosure). Finally, the Deixis (or Deictic component) expresses motion either toward or not toward the speaker. According to Talmy, deictic motion verbs such as 'go' and 'come' are a kind of Path-conflating verbs with a special choice of the Path and the Ground. Put in other words, the verb root conveys information about both Motion and Path. In particular, in the motion schema of these verbs the Ground is always the speaker, whereas the Path has only the two member options «'toward the speaker' and 'in a direction other than toward the speaker'» (Talmy 2000: 56). In this section, we will test this hypothesis for the verb *sara* 'go' in Aymara.

The sample analysed in this study contains about 300 occurrences of the Aymara basic motion verbs *sara* 'go' and *juta* 'come'. In this sample, *sara* turns out to be far more frequent than *juta*, by representing 80% out of the total of the occurrences. This first piece of data suggests that *sara* has a wider range of uses than *juta*, due to its inherent deictically neutral meaning. The analysis will show that *sara* is an inherently atelic verb that means 'move along a path, travel' and does not include the deictic component of Path in its lexical entry. In addition, *sara* tends to develop metaphorical non-motion uses precisely because of its general motion meaning. In this section, the distribution of all occurrences of *sara* is examined on the basis of the compatibility of the verb root with specific derivational suffixes. Differently from the verb *juta* 'come', *sara* can in fact be agglutinated with derivational suffixes indicating directed motion, such as *-nta-* 'inward', *-ta-* 'upward', *-qa-* 'downward', thus behaving as part of a satellite-framed system. Furthermore, the verbal root can be derived by adding the aspectual completive suffix *-xa-* when the Path is bounded at the start or at the end according to specific contexts.

3.1. Sara 'go' with the spatial locative suffix -naqa-

As mentioned above, the most frequent uses of *sara* are by far those without a specific directed motion. More precisely, in almost 50% of the occurrences, *sara* exhibits a non-deictic atelic meaning by expressing motion with the Path not bounded at either the start or the end (8)-(10).

(8) *Wawa-naka*   *jiwas(a)-Ø*   *uñja-sa*   *sar(a)-naqrak(i)-i*
   child-PL   1PR.INCL -ACC: 1PR.INCL-ACC   see-SUB   go-DF-ADD-3SPL
   "Children, observing us, also walk"

(9) *Mä jisk'a*   *animal-it(u)-jama khuchhi-sit(u)-jama sar(a)-naqa-yat(a)-xa*
   one small   animal-DIM-CP   pig-DIM-CP   go-DF-1EXCL.PE-TOP
   "I lived (lit. walked) like a small animal, like a piglet"

(10) *Uk(a)-jam(a)*   *wiskh(u)-itu-mpi*   *sar(a)-naqa-p.x(a)-ta*
    that-CP   sandal-DIM-COM   go-DF-PL-1EXCL.SPL
    "In that way, we walk with sandals"

Although derivational categories are not always obligatorily expressed in the verb stem, it should be borne in mind that verbal roots usually do not appear bare and are minimally affixed with inflectional suffixes. The motion events described in the examples from (8) to (10) do not entail either a directed motion or a goal previously specified in the context. What is at issue is rather the manner of motion, which is similar to that of a piglet in (9) and is with a specific kind of shoes in (10). Even the Aymara native speaker translates *sara* as 'walk' in (8), thus leaving no doubt on the atelic interpretation of the verb. Similar examples occur frequently, as shown from (11) to (13).[7]

(11) *Wajcha-k(i)*   *sar(a)-naqa-si-way(a)-ta*
    orphan-DL   go-DF-REFL-DIST-1EXCL.SPL
    Orphan, I lived (lit. walked)"[8]

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[7] Translations in parentheses show the original meaning in Spanish.
[8] In (11), the suffix *-waya-* indicates temporal distance of the performed action.

(12) *Warmi-m(a) yaqha   chacha-mpi sar(a)-naqa-s(i).k(a)-i   uk(a)-jama*
    wife-2POS   other   man-COM   go-DF-REFL.INCOMPL-3SPL   that-CP
    "Your wife is dating (lit. walking with) another man, like that"

(13) *Uk(a) amta-si-sa   inas(a) warmi-ja-x(a) yaqha chacha-mp(i)*
    that   remember-REFL-SUB maybe wife-1POS-TOP other man-COM

    sar(a)-naq(a)-i
    go-DF-3SPL
    "By remembering that *maybe my wife dates (lit. walks with) another man[9]*"

In all the examples we have encountered so far, *sara* is affixed with the spatial locative suffix *-naqa-* which indicates 'diffuse or non-purposive action', i.e. a general and repetitive action that is diffuse and performed in various places (Coler 2014a: 323). On these grounds, one might ascribe the atelic meaning of the verb to the semantics of this suffix. However, it seems that the suffix *-naqa-* occurs with motion verbs also by virtue of its compatibility with the lexical meaning of the verbal root. For instance, in Muylaq' Aymara, other verbs that typically take *-naqa-* are *jala* 'run' and *chuku* 'run collectively' (Coler 2014a: 323), which are atelic. Instead, *juta* 'come', which is a telic verb, never appears with this suffix. Moreover, sentences like those in (14) and (15) show that *sara* is atelic even when it occurs without the suffix *-naqa-*.

(14) *Uk(a)-jama uka-t(a)   uta-yatiqa-wi-n(a)   sara-raki-yata*
    that-CP   that-ABL   house-learn-NMZ-GEN/LOC   go-ADD-1EXCL.PE
    "So then I also attended school"

(15) *Uka-t(a)-sti   mä   lluqalla-x(a) bicicleta-mpi   sara-s(i).ka-tayna*
    that-ABL-ADVS one boy-TOP   bicycle-COM   go-REFL.INCOMPL-3PNOE

    thakhi-na
    road-GEN/LOC
     "And then a boy was going by bicycle along the road"

In (14) *sara* describes a motion event that does not entail directed motion, despite its co-occurrence with a locative noun

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[9] In (13), the part of the translation in italics signals direct speech.

phrase. The genitive/locative case *-na-* marking *uta-yatiqa-wi* 'school' expresses indeed spatial location and not directed motion as does the allative case *-ru-*. The spatial locative case leads to a static interpretation of the motion event, which does not focus on the change of location, but rather on the static event of attending, i.e. to be present at school. Also in (15) *sara* indicates atelic not directed motion, as the boy is moving along the road by bicycle (manner of motion). Additionally, the aspectual incompletive suffix *-ka-*, which is part of the progressive construction *-s(i).ka-*,[10] emphasizes that the Path is not bounded at the end nor it entails the arrival of the Figure to a final endpoint (Ground). Interestingly enough, it is this generic basic meaning 'move, travel' that allows the verb *sara* to be employed also in non-motion uses. It is frequently used to describe other atelic events or actions, such as 'live' or 'behave', as illustrated in sentences from (16) to (19).

(16) *Uk(a)-jam(a)-puni   aka   vida-n(a)-x(a)   uk(a)-jama   sar(a)-naq(a)-tan*
     that-CP-EMP   this   life-GEN/LOC-TOP   that-CP   go-DF-1INCL.SPL
     "So in this life, that is how we live"

(17) *Uka-t(a)   ak(a)-jama   wali   na-naka-x(a)   wali   llak(i)-t'a-ta*
     that-ABL   this-CP   good   1PR.EXCL.PL-TOP   good   worry-MOM-RE

     sar(a)-naqa-p.x(a)-ta
     go-DF-PL-1EXCL.SPL
     "Then, so we live really unhappy"

(18) *T'aqhi-taki-w(a)*   *sar(a)-naqa-si-p.x(a)-ta*
     suffering-BEN-DECL   go-DF-REFL-PL-1EXCL.SPL
     "We live for suffering"

(19) *Jani-w(a)   sum(a)   sar(a)-naqa-p.k(a)-t(a)-ti*
     no-DECL   good   go-DF-PL-1EXCL.SPL-IR/NEG
     "We do not live well"

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[10] In Aymara the progressive construction is built through two verb suffixes, the reflexive suffix *-si-* and the aspectual incompletive suffix *-ka-*.

The examples above show metaphorical non-motion uses of *sara*, whose inherent atelic meaning expressing uniform motion lends itself to develop metaphorical extensions referred to atelic situations. In (16) the genitive/locative case (*vida-na-xa* "in life") does not indicate motion directed toward a place, but a metaphorical motion representing life as a journey. The same considerations can be made for (17) and (18), in which the verb 'to go' preserves its prototypical property of uniform motion in the metaphorical mapping, thus motivating the conceptual metaphor 'life is a journey'. In other words, *sara* does not involve deictic (centrifugal) or directed motion, because the schema of uniform motion itself lacks both a starting-point and an end-point. The Figure described as 'going' in this model, i.e. the same adult woman talking about her life in the Altipiano in both (17) and (18), is not felt to undergo a change of state (cf. Radden 1996: 443). The context in (19) is similar to those shown from (16) to (18). Here, the speaker, i.e. the husband of the woman in (17)-(18), complains about the poverty and the low quality of life that people have in the plateau.

Another interesting metaphorical use is found in sentences like (20), which describes the non-motion situation in which the Figure (an adult woman) held a position at work for three years.

(20) *Ma-n(a)*   *sar(a)-xaru-way(a)-ta*   *uka-mpi*   *kargu-naka-mpi*
     one-GEN/LOC   go-INCL-DIST-1EXCL.SPL   that-COM   role-PL-COM

     sara-way(a)-ta   *uka-n(a)*   *kasi*   *kimsa*   *mar(a)-jama-w(a)*
     go-DIST-1EXCL.SPL   that-GEN/LOC   almost   three   year-CP-DECL
"Once I managed [the Bartolina Sisa Organization][11], there I held those positions, there almost for three years"

Here, the metaphorical expression *sara-way(a)-ta uka-mpi kargu-naka-mpi* (lit.) "I went with this office" indicating 'I held a job' is again made possible by the schema of uniform motion which is inherent to the verb *sara*. The atelic feature of such a situation is also confirmed by

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[11] The Bartolina Sisa National Confederation of Campesino, Indigenous, and Native Women of Bolivia is the union organization of peasant women in Bolivia, and the women's organization with the largest membership in the country.

the co-occurrence with the durative adverbial expression *kimsa mar(a)-jama-w(a)* 'for three years'.

3.2. Sara 'go' with the allative suffix -ru-

After having examined the atelic meanings of *sara*, let us observe how its root lexical feature can be modified through the addition of a goal phrase. In about 23% of the sentences of our sample *sara* indicates directed motion. It refers to a telic event by means of the co-occurrence with an added goal phrase marked by the allative case ending *-ru-*.

(21) *Uka-ta   sara-p.x(a)-i-w(a)   marka-ru*
     that-ABL   go-PL-3SPL-DECL   town-ALL
     "Then they go to town"

(22) *sara -tayna   uta-pa-r(u)*
     go-3PNOE   house-3POS-ALL
     "He went to his home"

(23) *Uk(a)-sa   tuqi-r(u)   sara-ña   gust(a)-itu*
     that-side   side-ALL   go-ANMZ   like-3>1EXCL.SPL
     "I like to go to that area"

In (21)-(23), *sara* is followed by a locative noun marked with the allative case *-ru-* and expresses directed motion toward a place that is the town in (21), the home of the character (Figure) shown in the task in (22), and the rural area in (23). The presence of the directional allative case forces a telic interpretation of the motion event described by *sara*. For this reason, *sara* does not appear with the suffix *-naqa-* 'diffuse motion' in these passages. The same observations are valid for (24) and (25).

(24) *Ramos timpu-x(a) walt'a-t(a)   ganado-x(a) sar(a)-i-x(a) Pirwa-tuqi-ru-x(a)*
     Ramos.period-TOP be.abundant-RE cattle-TOP go-3SPL-TOP Peru-side-ALL-TOP
     "During Ramos period, many cattle went to the side of Peru"

(25) *Aka-t(a) sara-p.xa-tayna-xa   Ch'ililaya-ru   buti-taki*
    that-ABL go-PL-3PNOE-TOP   Ch'ililaya-ALL   boat-BEN
    "Then, they must have gone by boat to Ch'ililaya"

In (24), the motion is directed toward the border between Bolivia and Peru, whereas in (25) the goal of the motion is the city of Ch'ililaya (Puerto Perez), a location in the La Paz Department (Bolivia). In (25) the description of the motion scene also includes the manner of motion (*buti-taki* 'with the boat'), thus reinforcing the idea that, although being telic, the motion event is not focused on the effective arrival of the Figure to the Ground. The evidential suffix *-tayna-*, indicating the not experienced past, confirms this idea. In other words, although the Path of the motion is bounded at the end due to the directional allative case, the use of the atelic verb *sara* means that the entailment of the arrival is not an issue in (25). Furthermore, as can also be observed for the occurrences with the suffix *-naqa-* previously analysed (§ 3.1), in the passages from (21) to (25) *sara* does not show specific restrictions on its supposed deictic component of Path, i.e. the motion must not necessarily be 'toward a point which is not the location of the speaker (Ground)'. In fact, the motion Path is not anchored with respect to the deictic center. The root of the verb *sara* simply expresses a motion along a path, which can be specified at the end (or eventually at the start) by adding locative phrases or derivational suffixes, as shown in the examples of this section. As will be discussed in the next section (3.3), a deictic interpretation is in fact possible in specific contexts. Before examining the deictic uses of *sara*, it is worth noting that the entailment of the arrival can be expressed by adding the aspectual completive suffix *-xa-*, as in (26).

(26) *Ukja-t(a)   pap(a)-itu-ja-x(a)   apa-way(a)-x(a)-itu-xa*
    that-ABL   dad-DIM-1POS-TOP   take-DIST-COMPL-3>1EXCL.SPL-TOP

    Yunkasa-ru-x(a) sara-way(a)-xa-p.x(a)-ta   pap(a)-itu-ja-mpi-xa
    Yungas-ALL-TOP go-DIST-COMPL-PL-1EXCL.SPL   dad-DIM-1POS-COM-TOP
    "From there my daddy took me, with my daddy we went to the Yungas"

The scene in (26) describes a motion Path that includes both the source, i.e. *ukja-t(a)* 'from there', marked with the ablative case, and the goal, i.e. *Yunkasa-ru-x(a)* 'to the Yungas', marked with the directional allative case. The 'distancer' suffix *-waya-* is added to *sara* due to the remarkable distance between the Yungas, i.e. a region of forests in the north-east part of Bolivia, and the starting point of the movement, i.e. the Bolivian plateau. Thus, *-waya-* should not be considered as a deictic centrifugal suffix (*pace* Hardman 2001: 88), since here the source of motion does not coincide with the deictic center. Furthermore, *sara* is affixed with the completive suffix *-xa-*, which is employed in the expression of events that are already completed, regardless of the tense (Coler 2014a: 380), thus focusing on the effective arrival of the Figure to the Ground. On the contrary, when the motion Path does not entail the arrival of the Figure, *sara* can be affixed with the aspectual incompletive suffix *-ka-* (27).

(27) *Axsar(a)-t'a-sa-mpi-w(a)*   *na-x(a)*   uka *organisiyasiona-r(u)*   uka
     fear-MOM-SUB-COM-DECL   1PR.EXCL-TOP   that organization-ALL   that

     departamela-r(u)   *Lapasa-ru-x(a)*   *sar(a)-k(a)-t(a)-xa*
     department-ALL   La.Paz-ALL-TOP   ir-INCOMPL-1EXCL.SPL-TOP
     "With fear I was going to that organization and to the department of La Paz"

The passage in (27) describes a motion event in which the speaker was going to La Paz. The motion Path is bounded at the end, as shown by the allative case marking the goal of the Path, i.e. the organization at the Department of La Paz. However, the incompletive suffix *-ka-* indicates that the speaker has not yet arrived to La Paz (there is no arrival of the Figure to the Ground in the discourse context).

3.3. *Sara 'go' with suffixes indicating direction of motion*

One of the main differences between *sara* and *juta* is that *sara* can express direction of motion through the agglutination process with specific derivational suffixes. Our sample shows that in about 13% of cases *sara* is suffixed with *-nta-* 'inward' (28), *-ta-* 'upward' (29), *-qa-*

'downward' (30)-(31). The Path is thus expressed at a VP level, while the verb root remains neutral with regard to the directional information.

(28) *Uka jatha-nak(a) sara-nta-p.x(a)-i yast(a) sara-nta-p.x(a)-i uk(a)-jama-y(a)*
    That seed-PL   go-IW-PL-3SPL   that's it go-IW-PL-3SPL   that-CP-POL
    "Those seeds go into, that's it, they go into like that"

In (28) the suffix *-nta-* 'inward' conveys the physical motion of the seeds (Figure) that go into, i.e. enter the soil (Ground). In (29) *sara* added with the suffix *-ta-* 'upward' means 'to get up'.

(29) *Juma-w(a)   alwa-t(a)   sar(a)-ta-si-ta*
    2PR-DECL   morning-ABL   go-UW-REFL-2FUT
    "You will get up in the morning"

In the examples (30) and (31) the suffix *-qa-* 'downward' is used to express the physical movement of the Figure, i.e. the sheep and the Aymara speaker, respectively.

(30) *Uka-t(a)   iwija-x(a)   k'achat(a)   sara-qa-way(a)-x(a)-i*
    that-ABL   sheep-TOP   slowly   go-DW-DIST-COMPL-3SPL
    "Then the sheep goes slowly down"

(31) *Uka-t(a)   jichha-x(a) pampa-r(u)   sara-qa-ta-x(a)   quta-raki-w(a)*
    that-ABL now-TOP   pampas-ALL go-DW-1EXCL.SPL-TOP lake-ADD-DECL
    "Then, now, I (usually) go down to the pampas and also to the lake"

It is worth noting that in (30) *sara* is also marked with the aspectual completive suffix *-x(a)-*, which indicates that the motion event is completed. In (31), instead, the Path is bounded by the allative case (*pampa-ru*), which expresses the goal of the motion, and the absence of the completive suffix indicates that the effective arrival of the Figure to the Ground is not an issue, i.e. it is not the prominent information in the narrative discourse. The passages from (28) to (31) show that while the root of the verb *sara* expresses only information about motion, which is uniform and atelic, the added suffix, acting as a satellite element, conveys the Path of movement, which can be

directed inward, upward, and downward, as is the case of satellite-framed languages (see Talmy 2000: 102).

3.4. Deictic uses of sara 'go'

Our sample shows about 14% of occurrences in which *sara* exhibits a deictic centrifugal meaning. Let us begin with those passages in which the verb co-occurs with spatial adverbs.

(32) *Uka-t(a)*   *aka-t(a)*   *sar(a)-xa-p.x(a)-i-xa*
     that-ABL   this-ABL   go-COMPL-PL-3SPL-TOP
     "Then, they go away from here"

In (32), *sara* describes a motion event in which the Path includes the source (*aka-ta* 'from here'), marked with the ablative case. In this context the adverb 'here' corresponds to the deictic center, i.e. the place where the speaker is at the utterance time. Furthermore, the verb is affixed with the aspectual completive suffix -*xa*- indicating a completed action. Given the lack of reference to a final endpoint of the motion Path, it might be hypothesized that the completive suffix here refers to the Path bounded at start, rather than at the end (which eventually entails the arrival of the Figure) (cf. Nakazawa 2006). The Vector component of the Path can indeed express the departure of the Figure (Talmy 2000: 53). Thus, the centrifugal meaning in (32) is conveyed by both the deictic adverb *aka-ta* 'from here' and the completive suffix, which delimits the beginning of the centrifugal motion. Similarly, in (33) *sara* is agglutinated with the same completive suffix -*xa*-, while the locative adverb *aka-na* 'here' indicates the deictic center which anchors the entire scene.

(33) *Jani-w(a) naya-x(a)   sar(a)-x(a)-ch(i)-irista   aka-n(a)   manq'a-ña-x(a)*
    no-DECL 1PR.EXCL-TOP go-COMPL-DUB-1EXCL.POT this-LOC   eat-ANMZ-TOP

  utja-s(i).k(a)-i-wa
  exist-REFL.INCOMPL-3SPL-DECL
  "Maybe, I am not going to go, there is food here"

Although the source is not expressed here by the ablative case, the motion Path is nonetheless oriented away from the deictic center in which the speaker is located (*aka-na* 'here') and from which it originates. Both the completive suffix *-xa-*, indicating boundedness at the departure, and the lack of an element expressing the goal of motion (adverbial particles, case endings, derivational suffixes) speak in favour of a centrifugal direction of the motion Path in (33).

A deictic centrifugal reading of *sara* is supposed for (34) as well. In this example, an old woman is complaining about the fact that young people are abandoning their homeland, i.e. an Aymaran community of the plateau, where the speaker is located at the moment of speech.

(34) *Wali   jaya-r(u)   sara-way(a)-xa-p.x(a)-i*
      Good   far-ALL   go-DIST-COMPL-PL-3SPL
      "They go very far"

In (34), the verb *sara* is again marked with the completive suffix *-xa-* and the motion Path is bounded at the end, as the allative case (*jaya-ru* 'far') shows. Also, the 'distancer' suffix *-waya-* emphasizes the spatial distance of the place where the Figure (i.e. they) goes to. It might be hypothesized that the completive suffix here does not express the entailment of the arrival of the Figure ('they', i.e. the young people) to the Ground (*jaya-ru* 'far'), as the latter adverb does not refer to specific locations for which the arrival can be proved. In other words, the focus here is on young people leaving home, rather than their arrival to the place they are going to. This hypothesis seems to be confirmed by similar examples where *sara* shows exactly the same form observed in (34), but where the completive suffix *-xa-* cannot refer to any arrival of the Figure, since the goal of motion is not expressed (35).

(35) *Sara-way(a)-xa-p.x(a)-i*
      go-DIST-COMPL-PL-3SPL
      "They left"

Interestingly, when it refers to a motion event in which a deictic centrifugal interpretation is excluded, *sara* is not marked with the completive suffix *-xa-* expressing Path bounded at the departure (36).

(36) *Chacha warmi   sara-p.xa-na Oruru-t(a) Potosi-kam(a) sara-p.xa-n(a) s(a)-i-ya*
     Man   woman   go-PL-3PE   Oruro-ABL Potosi-LIM   go-PL-3PE   say-3SPL-POL
     "Husband and wife went, they went from Oruro until Potosi, (s)he says"

In the example above, the motion Path is bounded at both the start (*Oruru-ta* 'from Oruro') and the end (*Potosi-kama* 'until Potosí'). In spite of this, the verb *sara* is not affixed with the completive suffix *-xa-*, as we might expect in light of the fact that both the departure and the endpoint of the motion are explicitly expressed. The reason for this is that the motion event is neither deictically centrifugal nor does it entail the arrival of the Figure (husband and wife) to the Ground (Potosi), since the limitative suffix *-kama-* 'until' focuses on the entire length of the traversed path with its correlated time flow.[12] Technically speaking, the Vector expresses the traversal and not the departure or the arrival of the Path. Thus, it can be hypothesized that as well as having an intrinsic atelic meaning, *sara* is also deictically neutral, as the lack of the aspectual completive suffix suggests. When *sara* describes deictic centrifugal motion, it is affixed with *-xa-* that expresses boundedness at the start of the centrifugal motion Path. The data suggest that this completive suffix is added to *sara* in order to emphasize the departure of the Path of centrifugal motion when no goal is expressed in the motion scene. However, when the motion event includes a goal phrase marked with the allative case, the completive suffix is meant to emphasize the arrival of the Figure to the Ground, as discussed in §3.2. Though *-xa-* is not a deictic suffix, it however contributes to the deictic interpretation of the motion event described by the verb *sara*. Then, if not the aspectual completive suffix, what else is prevailing in the deictic interpretation of *sara*? So far, the examples have shown that *sara* is inherently atelic and

[12] It is worth noting that 'until' is a durative adverbial commonly used as a diagnostic test for assessing verb atelicity (see, among others, Bartolotta 2017a).

deictically neutral, as it is confirmed also by those passages where this verb describes motion directed toward the shifted deictic center (37).

(37) *mä   sa-ñäni   awisa-x(a)   aka(-na)   jupa-naka sara-p.xa-puni-na*
   one say-1INCL.FUT sometimes-TOP this-GEN/LOC 3PR-PL   go-PL-EMP-3PE
   "for example, sometimes they came (lit. went) here"

In (37), the speaker is telling a story. He describes the adventures of a married couple, who is moving toward a place. According to the Deictic Shift Theory in fictional narrative, the speaker shifts its deictic center from the real world to the world of story (see, among others, Segal 1995: 15), i.e. he tends to witness the events as if these were really happening. Therefore, the deictic adverb *aka(-na)* 'here' refers to the location or spatial center (either physical or psychological) that the speaker identifies within the story, by including also the perspective from which the events are described. Once the deictic center has been established, the deictic verb 'go' is interpreted on the basis of that reference point, thus it is presumed to indicate a movement away from the established spatial center. Instead, here *sara* expresses motion in a direction toward the deictic center, thus developing a deictic meaning that is opposite (i.e. centripetal) to its presumed centrifugal value. This seems to be a piece of evidence in favour of the deictically neutral meaning of *sara*. Such being the case, given that *sara* does not entail a deictic value at a lexical semantic level, the question still remains open on what triggers its centrifugal meaning. The answer might come from the role of the pragmatic context. Previous studies have challenged the widely assumed universal deictic opposition between 'go' and 'come' verbs at lexical semantic level, by demonstrating that such an opposition does not hold crosslinguistically. In particular, it has been shown that in languages in which the verb 'go' is not inherently deictic, as for instance Mparntwe Arrernte (Pama-Nyungan) and Longgu (Oceanic), the centrifugal meaning arises from the systemic contextual opposition with the 'come' expressions (Wilkins & Hill 1995). More in detail, when the motion Path is in a direction toward the deictic center, then the verb *juta* 'come' is used. Therefore, by virtue of its more

general meaning, *sara* can be used in all those cases in which *juta* cannot occur, i.e. in the expression of movement not towards the deictic center. In the absence of any phrase or affix specifying the source of the motion Path, «a typical default contextual interpretation is that the most easily identified source is the contextually given 'here'» (Wilkins & Hill 1995: 238). Consider for instance the passage in (38).

(38) *Juta-spa-x(a)*   *sara-p.x(a)-sna-w(a)*
    come-3POT-TOP   go-PL-1INCL.POT-DECL
    "If she could come, we could all go"   (Hardman 2001: 187)

In the example above, *juta* 'come' shows its lexical deictic meaning, expressing at the root level the centripetal motion toward the place where the speaker is at the utterance time. In this context, *sara* indicates a motion away from the deictic center, i.e. 'from here', although there is no adverb or other element that specifies the source of the Path. We hypothesize that such a centrifugal meaning originates from the pragmatic knowledge of the systemic opposition between *juta* and *sara*. Given that it is centripetal at the lexical level, *juta* always entails the reference to the deictic center that is the location of the speaker, thus triggering the contextually given 'here'. As shown in the preceding sections (§3.1 to §3.3), *sara* is not deictically specified, expressing a motion along a Path which has no source or goal, and which is not anchored to a deictic center. However, it can develop a deictic centrifugal meaning through the pragmatic opposition with *juta* starting from those occurrences in which a default contextual interpretation is given. This is also made clear when *sara* is used in the imperative mood (39)-(40).

(39) *Jum(a)*   *sara-m(a)*
    2PR   go-2IMP   (Hardman 2001: 113)
    "Go!"

(40) *Sijway(a)-cØ*   *sara-wjwa-m(a)*
    Sijuwaya-ACC   go-BFR-2IMP
    'Go to Sijuaya'   (Coler 2014a: 402)

As it is common crosslinguistically (see, among others, Schwager 2011: 37), also in Aymara the imperative forms tend to be morphologically very simple, i.e. they may appear without aspectual or tense markers, as it can be observed in both (39) and (40). As Wilkins & Hill (1995: 238) put it, «the more reduced an utterance expression is, the more it relies on information provided by the context». Thus, if there is no phrase or affix indicating the source of motion and especially if a goal is explicitly expressed, as in (40), the perceived source of motion is the contextually given 'here'. By starting from these contexts, the deictically neutral verb *sara*, which means 'move along a path', may develop a deictic centrifugal meaning based on the pragmatic opposition with *juta*, which always entails motion towards the speaker.

4. The verb *juta* 'come' in Aymara

Differently from *sara*, which describes a wide range of motion scenes, *juta* 'come' exhibits strong restrictions in its uses, due to the deictic component of Path that is inherent to its lexical semantics. *Juta* 'come' is a telic verb including a Vector toward a point which is the location of the speaker (Ground)[13]. As a Path-conflating verb, *juta* never undergoes the agglutination process with suffixes indicating paths of motion that are not compatible with its inherent lexical meaning. In our sample, *juta* occurs either alone or with a locative noun marked with a directional allative case, always expressing centripetal movement toward the deictic center. According to the data, the spatial locative suffix which *juta* may co-occur with is the distancer *-waya-*, which is compatible with the semantic meaning inherent to the verb root and never changes its deictic value. As regards aspectual suffixes, which are not obligatory, we will argue that *juta* takes the completive suffix *-xa-* when the telic directed motion entails the

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[13] For further details on the Vector TOWARD or TO included in the motion schema of 'come' verbs crosslinguistically, see Nakazawa (2009). It is worth reminding that the term telicity refers to the property that characterizes those actions or events that entail a natural or intended endpoint, denoting a definite change of state that may or may not be actually reached (Depraetere 1995).

arrival of the Figure to the Ground, whereas the incompletive suffix *-ka-* is added to the verb whenever the arrival is excluded.

4.1. Deictic uses of juta 'come'

In the examples from (41) to (43), *juta* co-occurs with locative nouns marked with the directional allative case.

(41) *Avesa-ki-w(a)*   *jut(a)-x(a)-ta*   *aka*   *pata-ru-xa*
    sometimes-DL-DECL   come-COMPL-2SPL   this   mountaintop-ALL-TOP
    "Only sometimes I come to this plateau"

(42) *Aka   jach'a yatiqa-ñ(a)   uta-r(u)*   *jut(a)-x(a)-ta*
    this   big   learn-ANMZ house-ALL   come-COMPL-1EXCL.SPL
    "I came to this university"

(43) *Uka-ta*   *aka-r(u)*   *jut(a)-x(a)-ta*   *kullaka*
    that-ABL   this-ALL come-COMPL-1EXCL.SPL   sister
    "Then, I came here, sister"

Although the allative case *-ru-* refers to a specific place, namely the plateau in (41) and the university in (42), the deictic interpretation of *juta* in these passages is made clear by the presence of the demonstrative *aka* 'this', which refers to the location of the speaker at the moment of speech. In (43), where the goal (*aka-ru* 'to there') is marked with the allative case, the presence of the deictic adverb 'here' leaves no doubt about the centripetal motion expressed by *juta*. The distance of the motion can also be emphasized through the addition of the spatial suffix *-waya-*, which however does not change the direction of the Path expressed by the verbal root (44).

(44) *Uk(a)-jam(a) aka pata-tuqi-r(u)*   *juta-way(a)-xa-p.x(a)-ta*
    that-CP   this mountaintop-side-ALL come-DIST-COMPL-PL-1EXCL.SPL
    "So, we came to this plateau"

As already shown in (26), the 'distancer' is a suffix conveying the physical distance in which the action is performed. The example (44)

confirms that the suffix *-waya-* does not inherently convey the direction of a deictic centrifugal motion, as previously hypothesized (Hardman 2001: 88), given that *juta* preserves here its centripetal meaning.

(45) *Uk(a)-jam(a)   jut(a)-i-x(a)*   *aka*   *pap(a)-itu-ma-xa*
       that-CP   come-3SPL-TOP   this   dad-DIM-2POS-TOP
       "Your daddy comes like that"

In (45), *juta* is added only with the inflectional suffix of tense and person *-i-*, besides the sentence affix *-xa-*. Consequently, the directional information can be only inferred through the lexical semantics of the verbal root. Here, the speaker is a woman who is telling her daughter about her father and is comparing the male character of the pictures (in the task) to him, since both used to come home drunk. Although there is no co-occurring locative phrase, adverb or affix, the expressed motion Path is deictic (centripetal), since the speaker's 'home' is the implied deictic center. Similar considerations are valid for (46) as well, taken from a corpus of Muylaq' Aymara.

(46) *Mukiw(a)   tuqi-naka-t(a)*   *taq(i)-pacha-w(a)*   *juta-ph(a)-i-x(a)*
       Moquegua   side-PL-ABL   all-INCL-DECL   come-PL-3SPL-TOP[14]
       "They came from all sides of Moquegua".   (Coler 2014a: 124)

In (46) *juta* exhibits a telic meaning. It indicates motion directed towards the deictic center, i.e. the location of the speaker, though there is no added element expressing the endpoint of the Path. Furthermore, *juta* allows the shift of the deictic center to the addressee, which can be the Ground of the motion Path, as in the example (47), taken from Muylaq' Aymara.

(47) *Juwanita   isti   na-w(a)*   *juta-s(k)(a)-t(a)*
       Juanita   this   1PR.EXCL-DECL   come-REFL-1EXCL.SPL[15]
       "Juanita, I am coming"   (Coler 2014a: 539)

[14] Original gloss modified.
[15] Original gloss modified.

In some cases, *juta* can also develop metaphorical semantic extensions because of its lexical meaning, which encodes physical or mental motion to a final endpoint (48).

(48) *Tapuqu*   *ultimo pueblito*   *boliviano-Ø-pachan(a)-xa*   *aka*   *1936*
     Tapuqu   last   village   Bolivian-VBZ-3INFR.PST-TOP   this   1936

     ukha   *mara-naka-w(a)*   *jut(a)-pachana*   *kanje*   *territorial*
     that   year-PL-DECL   come-3INFR.PST   exchange   territorial
     "Tapuqu, the last village, must have been Bolivian, in 1936, (in) those years the territorial swap must have happened"

This passage shows an extended motion use of *juta*, whose meaning turns into 'occur, happen' starting from the telic feature inherent to the verbal root. The speaker is an old man, who lives near the Lake Titicaca. He is telling about a village located not far from the border of Bolivia and Peru. The motivation for using *juta* in (48) does not arise from its deictic component of Path, but rather from the focus on the final part of the movement, which is represented by the so-called 'termination schema' of metaphorized motion (Radden 1996: 452).

4.2. *Juta 'come' and the arrival of the Figure to the Ground*

As mentioned in §4, the verb *juta* may be affixed with both the completive suffix *-xa-* and the incompletive suffix *-ka-*. The data show that the distribution of such suffixes is not random, but rather it is related to the entailment of the arrival of the Figure to the Ground. Let us compare the examples in (49) and (50).

(49) *Uma-nta-ta-x(a)*   *jut(a)-xa-rak(i)-i-wa*
     drink-IW-RE-TOP   come-COMPL-ADD-3SPL-DECL
     "He also came drunk"

(50) *Jani-w(a)*   *jut(a)-k(a)-i-ti*
     no-DECL   venir-INCOMPL-3SPL-IR/NEG
     "He did not come"

As already observed in examples from (41) to (44), also in (49) the completive suffix *-xa-* indicates that the motion event entails the arrival of the Figure (the husband) to the Ground (home), whereas in (50) the incompletive suffix *-ka-* emphasizes that the Figure (the husband) did not arrive to destination. Since these aspectual suffixes are not obligatory, sometimes *juta* may occur without any specification of arrival, especially when it is not an issue (51).

(51) *Aka-ru   sapa   fiesta-naka-n(a)   juta-p.x(a)-i   aniversarios*
    this-ALL each celebration-PL-GEN/LOC come-pl-3spl   anniversaries

    aka-nka-si-p.ka-rak(i)-i   uk(a)-jam(a) ukha-naka-ki-y(a) juta-p.x(a)-i-xa
    this-VBZ-REFL-PL-ADD-3SPL   that-CP   that-PL-DL-POL come-PL-3SPL-TOP
    "They come here during every celebration, also during anniversaries they are here, that's it, only in those times do they come"

The motion event expressed in (51) refers to a habitual action, i.e. young people usually come back home during the holidays. The prominent information in the narrative discourse is not the effective arrival of the Figure (i.e. the young people) to the Ground (*scil*. home), but rather the constant and motivated action of going back home, to their native land. The verb *juta* is not marked here with any specific aspectual suffix.

5. Concluding remarks

The analysis of the basic motion verbs *sara* 'go' and *juta* 'come' in Aymara has shown that these two verbs show a different behavior with respect to the conflation of the Deictic component of Path that is usually considered part of their lexical entry. The results of this investigation are consistent with both recent studies on non-Indo-European languages (Wilkins and Hill 1995) and studies on the most archaic stage of ancient Indo-European languages (Bartolotta 2016; 2017b). Such studies show that crosslinguistically 'go' and 'come' cannot be considered as opposing deictic motion verbs in a symmetrical relationship within a two-element subsystem. In

particular, the motion events described in our sample show that the Deictic component of Path is not inherent to the root of the verb *sara* 'go', which instead exhibits a wide range of non-deictic uses in which the motion event is not anchored to the speaker (Ground). The data shows that 'go' is not a Path-conflating verb in Aymara, but it simply expresses an atelic motion along a Path, without any specifications about neither the source nor the goal of the movement. Due to its inherent generic motion meaning, *sara* 'go' can indeed undergo an agglutination process with derivational suffixes expressing direction of motion or spatial location. On the contrary, the verb *juta* 'come' never appears with such suffixes, since these contrast the Deictic component of Path 'directed to(ward) the speaker' that is inherent to the lexical verb root. However, in the rare cases where *sara* co-occurs with deictic adverbs (e.g. *aka-ta* 'from here') or it implies motion away from the speaker because of its pragmatic opposition with *juta* 'come', this verb can develop a deictic meaning. More in detail, the deictically neutral verb *sara* may assume a centrifugal deictic meaning starting from the opposition with *juta* which, entailing deictic motion towards the speaker, triggers the contextually given 'here' as the perceived source of motion (Wilkins & Hill 1995: 215). It follows that in the absence of any grammatical element indicating the source of motion, *sara* 'go' seems to conflate the deictic component of Path. Nevertheless, the data make clear that the centrifugal motion meaning 'from here', i.e. from the deictic center, derives from specific pragmatic contexts and is not lexically determined. Differently, the analysis of *juta* shows that it is a Path-conflating verb, in which the Deictic component of Path is specified at the lexical level. Furthermore, the aspectual completive suffix *-xa-* is used to specify the arrival of the Figure to the Ground when it occurs with *juta* 'come', which inherently expresses Path bounded at the end. This paper is intended as a first step in the study of the lexicalization pattern of motion events in Aymara. Further research should take into account the morphological and syntactic contexts of use of all the motion verbs and their relationships at a larger systemic level, toward a classification of Aymara in terms of Talmy's framing typology.

Symbols and abbreviations

1 – First Person; 2 – Second Person; 3 – Third Person; ABL – Ablative; ACC – Accusative; ADD – Additive; ADVS – Adversative; AG – Agent; ALL – Allative; ANMZ – Action Nominalizer; BEN – Benefactive; BFR – Buffer; COM – Comitative; COMPL – Completive Aspect; CP – Comparative; DECL – Declarative; DF – Diffuse Motion; DIM – Diminutive; DIST – Distancer; DL – Delimitative; DUB – Dubitative; DW – Downward Motion; EMP – Emphasizer; EXCL – Exclusive; FUT – Future; GEN – Genitive; IMP – Imperative; INCL – Inclusive; INCOMPL – Incompletive Aspect; INFR – Inferential; IR – Interrogative; IW – Inward Motion; LIM – Limitative; LOC – Locative; MOM – Momentaneous Aspect; NEG – Negative; NMZ – Nominalizer; OW – Outward Motion; PE – Experienced Past; PL – Plural; PNOE – Non-Experienced Past; POL – Politeness; pos – Possessive; POT – Potential; PR – Pronoun; PROG – Progressive; PST – Past; RE – Resultative; REFL – Reflexive; SPL – Simple Tense; SUB – Subordinator; TOP – Topicalizer; UW – Upward motion; VBZ – Verbalizer.

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