

*Cintia Carrió*

*Consejo Nacional de Investigaciones Científicas y Técnicas*

*Buenos Aires. Argentina.*

*Facultad de Humanidades y Artes.*

*Universidad Nacional de Rosario.*

*Rosario. Santa Fe. Argentina.*

*carrió@unl.edu.ar*

## **Conflation in verbs of motion: construction of location and direction in the Mocoví language**

This paper sets to explore the behavior of motion verbs and verbs of locative state in the Mocoví language. We intend to examine the various constructions presented by this language when marking direction and location. The study of these aspects has revealed the importance of the notions of 'path', 'ground' and 'figure' (Talmy, 1985). The purpose is to design a study that brings us closer to understanding the linguistic expression of location and direction in Mocoví, considering the resulting structures and combinations. Furthermore, we intend to discuss the morphological nature of the marks involved and to provide data on a South–Amerindian language by means of which the process of conflation (Talmy, 1985) is accounted for in verbs of motion.

### **1. Introduction**

The Mocoví language is part of the linguistic family 'Guaycurú', together with Toba, Pilagá, Kadiwéu, Payaguá Mbayá and Abipón. The Mocoví people reside exclusively in Argentina; they live in communities located in the south of the province of Chaco and in the northern and central areas of the province of Santa Fe. According to Gualdieri (2004), age is the most important variable that is linked to sociolinguistic behavior nowadays, and it allows us to account for the vitality of the language. This vitality is stronger in the Chaco region than in the Santa Fe region; several factors have a direct impact on the progressive loss of the language.

This study presents and analyzes data from the Santa Fe area to which we accessed through direct field work carried out in discontinuous periods over the years 2004–2009 in the towns of Recreo, Colonia Dolores and Marcelino Escalada. For the presentation of the data we resorted to the International Phonetic Alphabet, since there has not been a broad consensus about the Mocoví alphabet. The organization of the data is as follows: the first line shows a phonemic transcription<sup>1</sup>; the second line suggests a morpheme-by-morpheme transcription; the third line presents a morpheme-by-morpheme gloss; the fourth line shows an English translation and a fifth line containing a literal English translation is added when considered necessary.

The main objective of this study is to explore the behavior of motion verbs and verbs of locative state in the Mocoví language in order to analyze the different language constructions presented to mark 'direction' and 'location'. We also set to discuss the morphological nature of the marks involved and to provide data on a South–Amerindian language by means of which the process of conflation (Talmy, 1985) is accounted for in verbs of motion.

## 2. Brief overview of Mocoví Language

We introduce here some relevant aspects of the Mocoví language that can be useful for a better understanding the problem that we present.

Mocoví is an SVO<sup>2</sup> language with an Active/Inactive pronominal system. It has one set of markers for agentive subjects, and another set for non-agent subjects and objects. In previous works (Carrió, 2009; 2010b), it has been analyzed as a language with split intransitivity.

In terms of nominal morphology there can be found monomorphematics words, derivational words and compounds.

It presents some agglutinative language marks, as is the case of the possession (alienable/inalienable) in nouns; a set of 'applicatives' directional and

1 The following typographical adaptation should be taken into consideration: /ʔ / voiceless, plosive, glottal; / B / voiced, fricative, bilabial; / g / voiced, fricative, velar; / G / voiced, plosive, uvular; / h / aspirate; / ll / voiced, palatal, lateral, approximant; / ñ / voiced, nasal, palatal; / r / voiced, alveolar, flap; /S/ voiceless, fricative, postalveolar; / tS / voiceless, affricate, postalveolar; / z / voiced, fricative, postalveolar.

**References:** – : morpheme boundary; # : word boundary; \* : impossible or ungrammatical; √ : root; ∅ : empty morpheme; 1 – 2 – 3: first – second – third person grammatical; Ag: agent; Adj: adjunct; Adv: adverb; Apl: applicative; Asp: aspect; Atr: attributive; Cl: class marker; Compl: complement; conj: conjunction; Det: determiner; Detr: detransitivizer; Dim: diminutive; Dir: directional; Dur: durative; Ev: eventive; Ex: existential; fem: feminine; Hab: habitual; Ind: indefinite; Intens.: intensifier ; Iter: iterative; Loc: locative; m: masculine; M: mood; Med: middle voice; MM.: modal marker; MV: motion verb; Nar: narrative; Neg: negative; Nmz: nominalizer; NP: nominal phrase; Obl: oblique; Pc: paucal; Pl: plural; Pos: possessive; PP: prepositional phrase; Pro: pronoun; Prog: progressive; Pros: prospective; Quant: quantifier; Res: resultative; Ret: retrospective; sg: singular; suj: subject; Sup: surface; Ta: affected Theme; Ter: terminative; TInc: incremental Theme; VMM: verbs of manner of motion; VMM–E: verbs of manner of motion with movement of external reference; VMM–I: verbs of manner of motion with internal movement; VP : verbal phrase.

2 SVO: subject – verb – object

locative (in ours terms) in the verbs of motion; evidentiality and modality morphemes in verbs. The structure of the verb in Mocoví presents some morphological complexity. It has a complex verb form with numerous categories expressed as: negation, location, direction, aspect, evidentiality, person, indefinite agent, number, object number, and (some) moods, among others.

Like many other Amerindian languages, this language lacks morphological marking tense, so the tense is expressed by others forms (see Carrió, 2009; 2010a).

Furthermore, Mocoví has not prepositions except for a particle that marks oblique Case, which introduces nominal phrases and can combine with determiners.

Finally, this language lacks copulative verbs, therefore attributive sentences and ecuative sentences are built by nominal phrases or adjectival phrases.

The existential is part of a lot of constructions; productive for the syntax and the morphology of this language. The existentials are involved in morphological process, are roots of derivative estative verbs. What is more, they appear in different syntactic contexts as possessive constructions, with simple nouns or resultative derivates, in verbal constructions without subjects, in meteorological verb constructions and inchoative structures.

We anticipate briefly the problem that we will analyze in details below.

There are in Mocoví some verbs of motion that can be combined with marks of direction or location. These marks only appear in verbal context and theirs distributional context is word-final position. Semantically allow indicate the place or direction supposed by the event. Syntactically can transitiviser an intransitive verb because promotes a new argument to the object category.

As shown later, in the data (14) and (16) (see page 12–13), these constructions may alternate with prepositional phrases that function as adjuncts.

Before beginning to analyze the problem, we present a table that shows 'applicatives' (directional and locative) that we work. In the table we detail the conceptual charge of the applicatives.

<b>Directionals</b>		<b>Locatives</b>	
<b>applicative</b>	<b>conceptual charge</b>	<b>applicative</b>	<b>conceptual charge</b>
<i>-lek</i>	forward–horizontal	<i>-lek</i>	in a flat surface
<i>-o</i>	towards a closed place (inward)	<i>-o</i>	in a closed place (in)
<i>-aGasom</i>	towards a water source	<i>-aGasom</i>	in a water source
<i>-Sim</i>	upward	<i>-?ot</i>	down
<i>-ni</i>	downwards		
<i>-ge</i>	towards a particular place		
<i>-gi</i>	inward		

### 3. Main issues<sup>3</sup>

The Mocoví language presents a series of suffixes that combine with verbal roots to indicate 'direction', 'location' and 'orientation'. Gualdieri (1998) considers these marks as “verbal suffixes that express contents linked to direction–locative spatial relations (...) they present derivational properties, since they modify and/or contribute, in some cases dramatically, to the meaning of the verbal theme (...) I assume that these forms are part of the derivational morphology” (Gualdieri, 1998:279)<sup>4</sup>. The fact that Gualdieri considers these marks as derivational suffixes generates problems for Greenberg’s Universal # 28: “If both the derivation and inflection follow the root, or they both precede the root, the derivation is always between the root and the inflection” (Greenberg: 1963, 16). Thus, provided that the derivation and inflection follow or precede the root, the inflection will be more peripheral than the derivation. Even though universals simply represent a tendency, it is important to pay attention to an issue that arises since the marks of direction/location always occur in word–final position, and merge with inflectional morphemes such as aspect marks (1) and grammatical persons (2).

- |     |   |   |                                |
|-----|---|---|--------------------------------|
| (1) | <i>rahasa</i><br><i>rahasa</i><br>sun<br>the sun rises                        | <i>ketaSim</i><br><i>ø-ke-ta-Sim</i><br>3sg–move–Asp–Apl <sub>Dir</sub> | [–√ <sub>v</sub> –Asp–Dir/Loc] |
| (2) | <i>naatini</i><br><i>naas-i-ni</i><br>fall–2sg–Apl <sub>Dir</sub><br>you fell |   | [–√ <sub>v</sub> –2sg–Dir/Loc] |

On the other hand, Censabella considers allative and locative marks that are present in the Toba language (Guaycurú family) to be 'applicative'. From the perspective of functional–typological studies, theory that the aforementioned author adheres to, the term 'applicative' is defined as “verbal morphemes that allow for the promotion of an oblique or peripheral argument to the category of object argument with a nuclear function” (Censabella, 2007: 31) and, following Dixon and Aikhenvald (2000) she argues that “the applicative are derivational affixes that increase the verbal valency, transforming an argument S in A”<sup>5</sup> (Censabella, 2007:31). That said, given the definition that this author adheres to, in the case of the Mocoví language the problem presented

3 The data presented here are part of a larger corpus that we personally collected using funding granted by a CONICET research award.

4 Our own translation from the Portuguese: “sufixos verbais que expressam conteúdos ligados às relações espaciais direccionais–locativas (...) apresentam propriedades de derivacionais, porquanto eles modifican e/ou contribuem, drasticamente em alguns casos, com o significado do tema verbal (...) assumo que estas formas fazem parte da morfologia derivacional” (Gualdieri, 1998:279).

5 S: [–Transitive]; and, A: [+ Transitive].

by the Universal #28 remains unsolved. In addition, it is worth mentioning that according to our data, these affixes never change the category of the verbal root with which they combine, which is a characteristic of derivational morphemes.

In this paper, we assume, contrary to what is stated by Gualdieri, (and in part by Censabella), that direction/location marks are cases of 'applicative' (in the way Marantz (1981) understands them and which is detailed below). In this way, the alternation with prepositional phrases can be explained (as shown below) and the language corresponds to the above pattern (Greenberg's morphological universal # 28).

#### 4. Data: presentation

According to Katamba, "there are rules that map semantic notions on syntactic operators of construction", hence words that have similar meanings tend to have some syntactic properties in common (Katamba, 1993:264). So then, languages have rules that generate changes in the grammatical functions of noun phrases. According to Katamba "such rules mask the relationship between the surface manifestation of the 'grammatical function' which is often marked by case or word order, and the semantic role of an argument" (Katamba, 1993:267). In Marantz (1981), applicative are defined as affixes with independent argument structure that cause changes in the grammatical function and that entail significant morphological consequences. They are not lexical but syntactic operations with morphological impact.

The author recaptures this idea in the principle (191) "If a lexical item assigns a semantic role or has an argument structure, it is an independent constituent at l-s structure", and he adds, "affixes carrying their own argument structure must 'merge' with the roots to which they attach somewhere between l-s structure and surface structure" (Marantz, 1981:259). As Spencer explains (1991:273), in "applied verbs" there is an affix on the verb that fulfills the same role than a preposition does in an analytical construction, and this affix is the core in that lexical structure.

Thus, there are languages that mark the verb morphologically in order to enable the presence of a complement with a particular thematic role, and those marks can make transitive an intransitive verb root by enabling an object.

This paper assumes that the Mocoví language presents "applied verbs" in the sense proposed by Marantz (1981). These verbs, by means of an operation called "applicative"<sup>6</sup>, increase their argument structure (AS) (or, in other words, increase their valency) since they add a peripheral participant to the basic AS of the verb; at the same time, they reduce the number of surface constituents. This operation allows data that in some languages is presented as an adjunct (at the syntactic level (cf. 3, for the case of Spanish )) to be –in these cases– a complement governed by the affix which is merged in the verbal core,

6 Syntactic operation: 'merge'.

and to receive thematic role in an argumentative-position. In these cases, the new complement is presented as an “applied object” on which the applicative suffixed to the verb base has scope (cf. 4).

(3) *Juan caminó [(cien metros)<sub>Ta(TIno)]<sub>Compl.</sub>[(hacia el río<sub>Dir</sub>/hasta el río<sub>Loc</sub>)]<sub>Adj</sub></sub>*  
 John walked [(hundred meters)] [(toward the river / to the river)]

(4) *so qo?o        iotalék        da        pigim*  
*so qo?o        ø-io-ta-lek<sub>Dir</sub>    da        pigim<sub>Loc</sub>*  
 Det bird 3sg-fly-Asp-Apl    Det sky  
 the bird flies into space [over the space of sky]

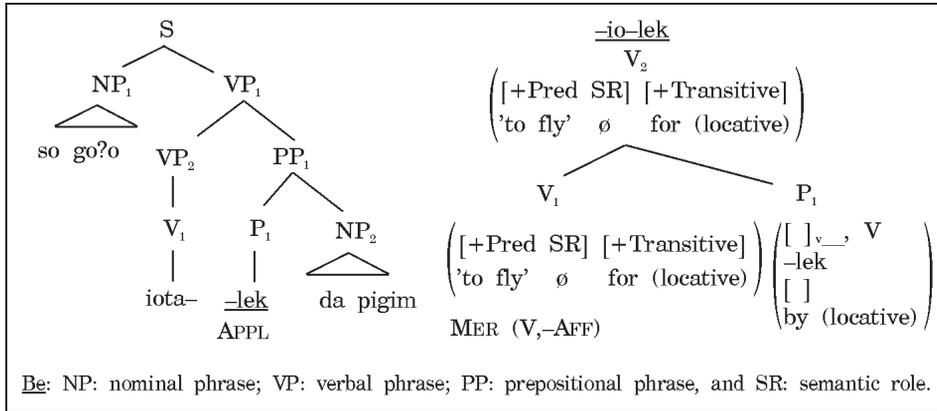
(5) \* [DP *so qo?o*] [VP *iota* [DP<sub>Loc</sub> *da pigim*]]

As shown in (5), the intransitive verb root [(*io-*) (to fly)] cannot occur without the presence of an applied verb in the prior context to a determinate phrase (DP), since it is the applied verb what enables the new argument.

In the case of DPs that are licensed by a prepositional core –in this language the oblique marker– the situation is different, as shown below in (10). This behavior is expected especially if the operation “applicative” is understood as the incorporation of a prepositional phrase (PP) to the verb as stated by the schemes based on Marantz’s proposal.

Consider (6) where the locative is presented as an object of the applied verb since V<sub>2</sub> “inherits the semantics role assigning properties of P<sub>1</sub> over those of V<sub>1</sub> and may be seen as assigning the (...) role” (Marantz, 1981:269):

(6) *so qo?o iotalék da pigim*



Continuing with the analysis, as shown in (5), given that the main verb is intransitive and it does not have the applicative that enables the presence of a new argument, the DP is illegitimate. This is due to the fact that it does not receive a thematic role, thus violating the Principle of Full Interpretation (PFI). In this way, a mark is required to enable the incorporation of a locative complement to the AS. This ungrammatical construction is saved by combining the verbal root with the “applied affix”, since the latter “signals the pre-

sence in the sentence of an NP not contained within the argument structure of the verb to which it attaches” (Marantz, 1981: 267).

Now, if a semantic representation framed within Jackendoff’s theory (1990) is proposed, the following outlining can be presented for (6):

[<sub>EVENT</sub> GO [<sub>THING</sub> *qoʔo*] [<sub>PATH</sub> *-lek* [<sub>PLACE</sub> IN ([<sub>THING</sub> *pigim*])]]]

It is clear that the representation of lexical semantics differs from the syntactic structure of the verbs in which the arguments appear. This template also shows that in this particular case, this main verb (*-io-*) merged with this applicative (*-lek#*) mark the path.

### 5. Conflation in verbs of motion. Brief general framework

Talmy (1985) deals with the relationship between meaning and surface expressions, i.e. between ‘semantic entities’ and ‘grammatical categories’ from a typological perspective. He studies how different languages encode the conceptual representation of a scene of motion. Studying these relationships, he provides a series of typological patterns based on the recognition of the elements that conflate. We assume that “conflation” is the category by which the density of semantic information condensed on a single item is accounted for; it is a fusion procedure at the semantic level; whereas the ‘lexicalization’ occurs when “a particular meaning component is found to be in regular association with a particular morpheme” (Talmy, 1985:59).

We propose here an analysis of a series of lexical entries, that, whether in an inherent way or in particular collocations, indicate ‘direction’, ‘location’ and ‘path’. In order to account for it, we selected Talmy’s proposal (1985 – 2000), which is framed within a semantic positioning.

It is from this perspective, then, that the selected semantic elements will be analyzed taking into consideration their surface representation, their instantiation, either through verbs, adpositions or combinations.

We will address the components of the “sketch of motion event” consisting of four elements: “Figure” (located or moving object with respect to another reference object), “Ground” (the reference object), “Path” (the course taken or the place occupied by the figure in relation to the Ground –component that relates the figure relating to the Ground–) and, “Motion” (the event itself). “Manner” and “Cause” can also be added as components.

In this way, according to Talmy, the analysis proposed in (8) could be performed in (7):

(7) *pioq netoot na kiaGalate*  
*pioq ø-ne-ʔot na kiaGalate*  
 dog 3sg-Ex-Apl Det table  
 the dog is under the table

(8) *pioq netoot na kiaGalate*  
 Fig Path Ground

Taking into consideration the example presented above, we will also seek to determine the nature of the Mocoví language in relation to the semantic

elements involved, and also in relation to its nature as a “verb-framed language”; in order to do that, the different kinds of “conflations” present in the language will be explored.

Talmy (1985) considers that languages can be categorized into one of two options (“verb-framed” or “satellite-framed”) according to the dominant pattern of lexicalization for events that express motion. This categorization depends on the ways in which a language encodes the Path.

Thus, we define “verb-framed” as the cases of lexicalization of the path in the main verb; and “satellite-framed” as those cases in which the path is encoded by means of elements that somehow accompany the main verb, without being part of its internal structure.

Of all the cases of “conflation” acknowledged by Talmy, we state that the Mocoví language lexicalizes in the verb root [Motion + Manner] in the way ‘verb-framed’ languages do, although it cannot be classified in this way since what this language conflates is the manner and not the path. In turn, this language conflates [Motion + Path] by means of a “satellite-framed” system, and in this same way, it also conflates [Motion + Direction + Ground] [Manner + Direction + Ground] [Location + Ground], [Motion + Path], [Motion + Path + Ground] as will be showed all throughout this article.

Furthermore, if the requirement of the conflation of the Path in the verb root is left aside, and the other kinds of conflation are considered, then –and since the different kinds of conflation are obtained with verbs of the same type (approximately)– it is safe to state that the Mocoví language presents a “Parallel System of Conflation” (Talmy, 2000:66).

This analysis is interesting because –as Talmy claims– satellite elements of certain kinds, such as those discussed below, are very rare in the languages, albeit quite frequent and even productive in some cases of languages of indigenous peoples of America.

## 6. Data: analysis

### 6.1. Morphological, oblique and syntactic marking

In this paper we acknowledge Morimoto’s difference (2001) in reference to motion verbs in Spanish. According to Morimoto, such verbs can be divided into two classes: “motion verbs” (MV), those that designate the displacement of the figure taking into consideration the path; and the “verbs of manner of motion” (VMM), those which refer to a particular form of movement.

According to Morimoto, the difference between these two types of motion verbs focuses on the nature of the path involved in the meaning of the two groups of verbs; thus, verbs of displacement “express a motion with a particular orientation or direction”, whereas verbs of manner of motion “simply denote the existence of a motion, without specifying, at the lexical level, what kind of path is involved in that motion” (Morimoto, 2001:46)<sup>7</sup>.

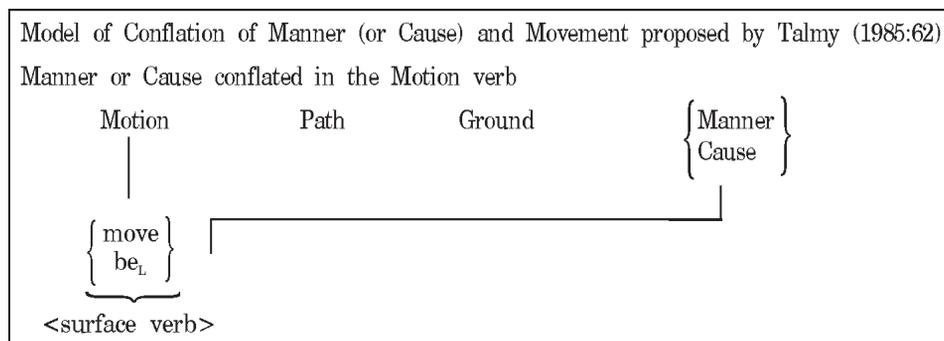
7 Our translation: “se limitan a señalar la existencia de un desplazamiento, sin concretar, a nivel léxico, qué tipo de trayectoria está implicada en dicho desplazamiento” (Morimoto, 2001:46).

In turn, the latter type of verbs can be subdivided into “verbs of manner of motion with movement of external reference” (VMM-E) such as *walk*, and “verbs of manner of motion with internal movement” (VMM-I) such as *stagger* (in this study, we intend to focus on the first of the subgroups only).

In the Mocoví language, some verbs of motion lexicalize the manner of the motion (cf. 9 and 10). In these two cases verbal roots indicate motion and manner, these are what Morimoto (2001) calls “verbs of manner of motion”. Manner is presented as inherent in certain main verbs (as in 9 and 10), whereas in verbs of manner of motion with displacement that imply locative change, such manner is expressed compositionally (cf. 11 (MV) and 12 (VMM + MV)). However, it is worth mentioning that in (11) Manner can be considerate as an unmarked case, which by default would be *walking*:

- (9) *so jale ioGontak*  
*so jale i-oGon-tak*  
 Det man 3sg-swim-Asp  
 that man is swimming (swimming comes and goes in all directions)
- (10) *so qo?o iota kenda pigim*  
*so qo?o ø-io-ta ke-da pigim*  
 Det bird 3sg-fly-Asp Obl.Det sky  
 the bird flies through the sky
- (11) *na ahlo taige da napaGainatanaki*  
*na ahlo t-ai-ge da napaGainatanaki*  
 Det woman 3sg-go-Apl<sub>Dir</sub> Det school  
 the woman goes to school
- (12) *so ahlo negeneta taiage da napaGainatanaki*  
*so ahlo ø-n-egen-ta t-ai-ge da napaGainatanaki*  
 Det woman 3sg-??-run-Asp 3sg-go-Apl<sub>Dir</sub> Det school  
 the woman goes running to school

In the first two cases, the conflation of [Motion + Manner] can be observed in the verbal root; this is one of the cases postulated by Talmy (1985:62) in one of his models of lexicalization. The same applies to the first verb (12), #*negeneta* # (to run). These three cases highlight, in this sense, the “verb-framed” nature of the Mocoví language.



As already stated, Marantz (1981) considers the applicative as affixal morphemes with an independent argumentative structure. Thus, Mocoví, as stated, is one of the languages that mark the verb morphologically in order to enable the presence of a complement with a particular thematic role; as a consequence, there is an increase of its AS.

In the Mocoví language, these applicatives have the purpose of bringing locative and directional meanings (mark of direction, location, nature of the location and indication of the path). This is a major concept, in relation to the fact that this language does not present the type of prepositions present in Spanish (*hacia, desde, en, sobre...*) or English ('in', 'on', 'at'...). Instead, in Mocoví, there are three possibilities: bare applicative verbs (cfr. 13); applicative verbs with a complement (directional or locative) (as in 4); and particle *#ke-* which occurs attached to a determiner (cfr. 14). This particle, devoid of semantic content, only has the uninterpretable feature of the oblique case and is always accompanied by a determinate phrase, since it governs a nominal complement. (cf. 15).

- (13) *ni qo?o Sim ioSim*  
*ni qo?o Sim ø-io-Sim*  
 Det bird MM 3sg-fly-Apl<sub>Dir</sub>  
 the bird wants to fly [upwards]

- (14) *so ioGoi iota kenda pigim*  
*so ioGoi ø-io-ta ke-da pigim*  
 Det plane 3sg-fly-Asp [Oblic-Det sky]<sub>Loc</sub>  
 the plane is flying through the sky  
 Lit. that flying that moves in the distance flies in the sky

- (15) \* *so qo?o iota ke pigim*

In (13) the absence of the locative complement (DP) allows for an ingressive interpretation (the speaker sees that the bird wants to fly (upwards)). In contrast, (4) is an event that has already started and is developing. The ungrammatical construction (15) results from the absence of a determiner in the complement of the PP. The system of determiners in the Mocoví language, provides important meanings in relation to different semantic domains, one of them is the path. On the other hand, item *#ke-* basically licenses DPs marking them in oblique case. Its combination with bare names appears to be restricted in certain cases, making the functionality of the determiner evident, both in the marking of the path, as well as in time and space. Also, (17) shows ungrammaticality that results from the co-presence of the options above mentioned, although it is worth clarifying that the sequence V-Apl + PP is not always ungrammatical; it all depends on whether the PP specifies what is stated by the applicative (then it is ungrammatical), or whether it provides new information (it is then possible, as in (18)).

- (16) *so ioGoi iotalek da pigim*  
*so ioGoi ø-io-ta-lek da pigim*

Det plane 3sg-fly-Asp [Det sky]<sub>Loc</sub>  
 the plane is flying through the sky  
 Lit. that flying that moves in the distance flies in the sky

(17) \* *so ioGoi iotalek kenda pigim*

If we consider (16) parallelly to (14), a case of alternation can be observed between the morphological marking of the applicative (16) and the syntactic marking of the internal argument (14) instantiated by PP.

This type of applicative is a very productive morphosyntactic resource in the Mocoví language; they make it possible to mark not only direction but also location and path. Some roots of motion verbs with inherent direction require, for the proper formation of the verb, the mandatory presence of the applicative in order to be able to mark direction or location; in this way, a root like  $\sqrt{\text{not-}}$  (to go down) has to be necessarily accompanied by the applicative that indicates the inherent direction  $-ni\#$  (down) (cfr. 18-20, cf. also: 21 for the case  $-Sim\#$  (upwards)). Our hypothesis is that in the cases of MV with inherent direction and in the cases of verbs of body position involving intrinsic directionality, alternation [V-Apl] vs. [V [PP]] is blocked because the applicative is required by the semantic features of the verb.

(18) *jim senotani (kena qopaq)*  
*jim s-not-ta-ni (ke-na qopaq)*  
 1Pro 1sg-jump-Asp-Apl<sub>Dir</sub> ([Obl-Det tree]<sub>Loc</sub>)  
 I jumped (this tree) to the ground<sup>8</sup>

(19) *so pioq imirni na BaGaiaK*  
*so pioq i-mir-ni na BaGaiak*  
 Det dog 3sg-sank-Apl<sub>Dir</sub> Det water  
 this dog is sank into the water

(20) *senaasni lava kena qopaq*  
*s-naas-ni lava ke-na qopaq*  
 1sg-fall-Apl<sub>Dir</sub> ground Obl-Det tree  
 I fell to land from the tree

(21) *ni limeta najoGontaSim BaGaiak kena la'tSewe*  
*ni limeta ø-n-joGon-ta-Sim BaGaiak ke-na la'tSewe*  
 Det bottle 3sg-T-float-Asp-Apl<sub>Dir</sub> water Obl-Det river  
 that bottle is floating in the river water<sup>9</sup>

8 To some native speakers the inclusion of the oblique particle does not make a difference; thus they present (18') as an alternative to (18):

(18') *jim senotani qopaq*  
*jim s-not-ta-nip qopaq*  
 1Pro 1sg-jump-Asp-Apl<sub>Dir</sub> tree<sub>Loc</sub>  
 I jumped (this tree) down

9 To some native speakers the data presented in (21) is not correct; on the contrary, (21') should occupy that position. We opted for (21) given its proximity to the corresponded verb listed in Buckwalter y Ruiz (2000:33).

It is also interesting to compare (6) with (10); in the latter data a verb of inherent motion that lexicalizes manner of motion, is combined with a PP complement and introduces location by using a PP, that is, without applicative marking. Furthermore, one base can increase its AS by means of an applicative operation or occur without that information (cfr. 13 and 14). This is also observed when considering (22) in relation to (10) (repeated here as (23)); this pair shows that the language has what Talmy (1985) calls a “system of lexicalization doublets”.

(22) *so qo?o iotaSim da pigim*  
*so qo?o ø-io-ta-Sim da pigim*  
 Det bird 3sg-fly-Apl<sub>Dir</sub> Det sky  
 the bird flies skyward

(23) *so qo?o iota kenda pigim*  
*so qo?o ø-io-ta ke-da pigim*  
 Det bird 3sg-fly-Asp Obl.Det sky  
 the bird flies through the sky

As in (12), (24) shows a construction of “serial verb” through which it is possible to express different phases of a motion event. In these two cases the merging can add to the verb of displacement a mark of manner of motion by including a (second) inherent motion event with manner lexicalization (the first, according to the order of appearance in the phrase). This contribution of meaning through serial verbs is important because, in the Mocoví language, we have detected very few cases that allow, in a different way, to mark the conflation of a verb of displacement with Manner. We present in (25) one of the few cases found with this conflation [[Motion + Path] + Manner] or, which is the same, [MV + Manner] which is achieved by combining the root of an MV with aspectual affixes:

(24) *jim seGontak saiage ni nilikota*  
*jim s-Gon-tak s-ai-ge ni n-likota*  
 1Pro 1sg-swim-Asp 1sg-go-Apl<sub>Dir</sub> Det Ind.Pos-canoe  
 I’m going to swim the canoe

(25) *so jale ioGontari*  
*so jale i-Gon-ta-ri*  
 Det man 3sg-swim-Asp-Asp  
 that man swam across (side to side of the creek)

In (24) the applicative *-ge#* indicates ‘towards a particular place’, such orientation is specified by the locative PP [*ni nilikota*] (the canoe). It is important to relate the data and analysis presented in (9), (24) and (25) to observe

(21’) *ni limeta iamaGatetaSim BaGaiak kena la’tSewe*  
*ni limeta i-amaGat-ta-Sim BaGaiak ke-na la’tSewe*  
 Det bottle 3sg-float-Asp-Apl<sub>Dir</sub> water Obl-Det river  
 that bottle is floating in the river water

the behavior of the different verbal roots according to their combinations with applicatives, or with aspectual morphemes.

On the other hand, these applicatives can be combined with stative bases (cf. 26) to make new meanings.

- (26) *na wena vetalek da norek*  
*na wena ø-ve-ta-lek da norek*  
 Det pot 3sg-Ex-Asp-Apl<sub>Dir</sub> Det fire<sub>Loc</sub>  
 the pot is on (up to) that fire

In the former case, as in (27) and (28), a stative verb base *-ve-* is found merged with the morphological mark that has a durative aspect, and an applicative of direction (upwards) which in turn is combined *-at* syntactic level- with a locative noun phrase with a determiner in (26), with an optional prepositional phrase in (27) and bare in (28). In these cases, the syntactic subject clearly appears as an object affected by a locative change, and therefore it entails the role- $\Theta$  'Theme'.

- (27) *na wena vetaSim (ken)di qoiGonala*  
*na wena ø-ve-ta-Sim (ke)-di qoiGonala<sup>10</sup>*  
 Det pot 3sg-Ex-Asp-Apl<sub>Dir</sub> [Obl-Det grill]<sub>Loc</sub>  
 the pot is above [upwards] of the grill

- (28) *na wena vetalek kiaGalate*  
*na wena ø-ve-ta-lek kiaGalate*  
 Det pot 3sg-Ex-Asp-Apl<sub>Loc/Sup</sub> table<sub>Loc</sub>  
 the pot is on the table  
 The pot is supported on the table (because someone put it)

It is worth re-considering (29) in relation to (30) to observe the particular meaning given to the lexical item in relation to the applicative to which the base is combined.

- (29) *na wena vetaSim norek*  
*na wena ø-ve-ta-Sim norek*  
 Det pot 3sg-Ex-Asp-Apl<sub>Dir</sub> fire<sub>Loc</sub>  
 the pot is above [upwards] of the fire  
 the pot is above (up) near the fire (without touching it) (without having direct contact with the fire, for example mediated by the (grill) or suspended, hung from something)

- (30) *na wena vetalek norek*  
*na wena ø-ve-ta-lek norek*  
 Det pot 3sg-Ex-Asp-Apl<sub>Loc/Sup</sub> fire<sub>Loc</sub>  
 the pot is on the fire  
 the pot is on the fire (touching it) (in touch with the fire)

10 Iron grill-shaped utensil used to roast something on a fire.

From our point of view, these data show that the base conflates stative location ( $ve_{-Loc}$ ) with location of manner [+/- contact] according to the applicative selected for its combination ( $-lek\#$  [+ contact], ( $-Sim\#$  [- contact]), thus involving two components of the basic scheme of motion events: figure and ground.

Moreover, the stative base  $\#ve\#$  may appear unbounded and behave as a mark of existence generating cases of intransitivity (see: 31), this base is transitivised when it is combined with an applicative, whereas the stative base  $-ne-$  is always found bounded (cf. 32).

- (31) *ve iaGat*  
 Ex rain  
 It rained  
 Lit.: there was rain
- (32) *ni kaloee regatoki netoot lahal da qopaq*  
 ni k-lo-ii regat-oki  $\emptyset$ -ne-?ot lahal da qopaq  
 Det 2Pos-Cl-2sg cat-Dim.m 3sg-Ex-Apl<sub>Dir</sub> shade Det tree  
 your cat is under the shade of the tree  
 Lit.: your pet animal cat is under the shade of the tree

Together with the two stative verbal bases presented above, we can also find the verbal root  $\sqrt{ke-}$  in the same context of distribution and presenting the same restrictions as the case of the root  $\sqrt{ne-}$ . This base assumes the existence of an entity with movement capacity and that cannot occur unbounded.

As can be seen, the verbal base is eventive; it supposes movement without any inherent direction and with volition, reason why an argument with an Agent role- $\Theta$  that presents the feature [+ animate] is required (cf. (33)).

- (33) *so jale ketalek na ime lelak*  
*so jale  $\emptyset$ -ke-ta-lek na i-me l-lak*  
 Det man 3sg-move-Asp-Apl<sub>Dir/Sup</sub> [Det 1Pos-house 3Pos-back]<sub>Loc</sub>  
 this man is walking up the roof of my house (in the opposite direction to me)

In these cases then, the verb carries features in relation to the possibility of movement of the Figure. Thus, the difference between stative roots  $\sqrt{ve-}$  and  $\sqrt{ne-}$  lies in the value of animacy; this feature is always marked for the second root. This difference also lies on the value of volition of the event from which these states derive; also marked for the second root; whereas  $-\sqrt{ke-}$  occurs as an eventive base.

Continuing then with the study of the applicative, the semantic opposition to the applicative  $-Sim\#$  (cf. (1), (13), (22), (27) and (29)), is recovered in (34)  $-ni\#$ .

- (34) *loni vetani akapi*  
*loni  $\emptyset$ -ve-ta-ni akapi*  
 frost 3sg-Ex-Asp-Apl<sub>Dir</sub> grass<sub>Loc</sub>  
 frost is (down) in the grass

- (35) *da noGot iamaGani da noGotoli*  
 da noGot i-amak-ni da noGot-oli  
 Det boy 3sg-push.over-Apl<sub>Dir</sub> Det baby-Dim.fem  
 the boy pushed the girl over

In (34), the stative root with the suffixed directional applicative *-ni#* indicates the direction (down) that the syntactic subject adopts (not agentive – role- $\Theta$  Theme, as required by the root as discussed above), whereas the bare name *#akapi#* functions as a locative that indicates the place where the movement expressed by the verb-applicative merging, ends. In this case *#akapi#* is presented as an affected object (argument of Path); it delimits the movement. It indicates the completion point and it transforms the stative base (and therefore inherently durative) in telic, even when it is combined with a durative morpheme.

This combination [[Pers-Ex-Asp<sub>Dur</sub>-Apl<sub>Dir</sub>] [NP<sub>Loc</sub>]] seems to behave as an “accomplishment” (in Vendler’s sense, 1967) since two phases can be distinguished, a “process” and a “resulting state” of affectedness of the object. Also noteworthy is the impossibility of considering the name *#akapi#* as Incremental Theme, since, although it is an affected object, its affectedness presupposes the previous affectedness of the theme *#loni#* for the change of location.

In an event of spatial displacement, the moving object moves along a path, so the progress of the event is reflected in the distance traveled by the object (role- $\Theta$ : Theme). When the path is limited, the event reaches its final point coincidentally with the complete coverage of the path, as detailed in (34). The path then is a type of locative indicating the mode or course that the moving entity takes.

A verb of movement such as *subir* –in Spanish– does not present an inherent limit, this is determined by the PP that goes with it. The Mocoví language behaves the same way, with the difference that before the PP that delimits the movement, one can opt for the inclusion of an applicative in the verb followed by a DP.

In the Mocoví language, there can also be cases where the same suffix specifies direction or location and the shape of the Ground. In (33) we find a case of conflation of Direction and Ground (showed in the data with the sub-index Sup); whereas in (28), and (36), we find cases of conflation of Location and Ground.

- (36) *so nesoGona netalek ni lavak*  
*so nesoGona  $\emptyset$ -ne-ta-lek ni lavak*  
 Det rabbit 3sg-Ex-Asp-Apl<sub>Loc/Sup</sub> [Det cave]<sub>Loc</sub>  
 the rabbit is on the cave (out above (up))

The applicative *-lek#* allows for two readings according to the morphological context in which it is situated and, in turn, it displays information about the direction or location and also about the nature of the surface (its horizontal shape (flat)). Thus, in (33) when it is combined with an eventive verb base, it triggers direction features (outward or horizontal), however, in (36) it is combined with a stative verb base –this implies absence of movement– and

therefore its locative feature is activated (on). Also, in (33) the applicative not only does indicate the direction of Path, but it also indicates the shape of the Ground (extended surface); the same happens in (36) where in addition to indicating the location, it indicates the shape of the place that is presented as Ground.

In (33) we can recover the notion of nature of the Ground, a flat surface (*ime lelak* (roof)), the notion of movement (*ke-*) and the notion of Path. It is also interesting to notice the combination of an eventive verb base with a durative aspectual morpheme that allows the marking of a path, since the latter implies movement and, therefore, [+dynamic] and [+durative]. This is in line with the semantic following representation framed within Jackendoff's proposal (1990).

[<sub>EVENT</sub> *ke* [<sub>THING</sub> *jale*] [<sub>PATH</sub> TO [<sub>PLACE</sub> IN ([<sub>THING</sub> *ime lelak*])]]]

Recapitulating, the notion of Path (direction 'moving away from speaker') plus location (the roof of the house) is compositionally achieved, when considering a new satellite element that has scope on the verb base: the determiner. In this case, the determiner is selected for the external argument #*so*# whose semantics (#*so*# moving away) provides the value of movement and direction different than that of the speaker ("thither"). This represents a case that Talmy calls "deixis"<sup>11</sup>, which is a subcomponent of the basic structure of movement in relation to the Path (along with the "Vector" and "Conformation"), and which allows to mark the direction of the path.

Here, the determiner marks the direction of the Figure in relation to the subject of the discourse. This confirms our hypothesis about the nature of the determiners in relation to their ability to specify the nominal cores; they can also bring other meanings which have scope on the verbal core (as in this case) or on the entire clause.

We now turn to review other applicatives of this type. The suffix *-ge*# expresses direction to a particular location, which requires the explicitness of the site by the inclusion of a locative argument.

In (37), (38) and (39), the main verbs are verbs of inherent motion, they are verbs of displacement, with change of location (*√ai-* and *√tioka-*), so that the internal argument is presented as incremental theme. In turn, these verbs, given their semantics, have restricted combinations with the applicative verbs and they cannot occur without them.

As already stated, the applicative *-ge*# provides the semantics of direction 'from' / 'to a particular place'.

(37)	<i>na</i>	<i>lo</i>	<i>imeSim</i>	<i>taige</i>	<i>da</i>	<i>o'ti</i>
	<i>na</i>	<i>lo</i>	<i>i-ke-Sim</i>	<i>t-ai-ge</i>	<i>da</i>	<i>o'ti</i>
	Det	ash	3sg-move-Apl <sub>Dir</sub>	3sg-go-Apl <sub>Dir</sub>		[Det mount] <sub>Loc</sub>
	Ash got up went to the mount					

11 Another case of deixis is "hither", direction to the speaker, also expresses in Mocovi with the determine #*na*#)

- (38) *xuan koetani taige da la'tSewe*  
*xuan ø-kaBa-ta-ni t-ai-ge da la'tSewe*  
 john 3sg-step-Asp-Apl<sub>Dir</sub> 3sg-go-Apl<sub>Dir</sub> [Det river]<sub>Loc</sub>  
 john was up to the river walking  
 Lit.: (Hip): john stepping on the land went to the river

(38')\* *xuan koetani da la'tSewe*

- (39) *xuan koetani tSiko lindik koBaGaki*  
*xuan ø-kaBa-ta-ni tSiko lindik kaBaGak-i*  
 juan 3sg-step-Asp-Apl<sub>Dir</sub> Intens quick<sub>A</sub> step-Pl  
 john walks light  
 john walks and its steps are very fast  
 Lit.: (Hip): john stepping into the ground very fast in his footsteps

In (38') and (39), we find a specified verb with an applicative of direction. The ungrammaticality of (38') does not respond –as one would assume– to the semantic incompatibility between the directional applicative present in the verb (*-ni#*, 'specified down') and the semantic features of the locative argument (*[da la'tSewe]*, 'that river') which presupposes a horizontal displacement and would require the specification of a 'particular place'; in this case, this language has the specific applicative (*-ge*) or even more *-aGasom#* as will be showed later. Our hypothesis is that, in this case, the ungrammaticality is due to the fact that the applicative *-ni#* is not enabling an argument (DP) but it has scope on the nominal base from which the verbal root *-to* which it is merged– derives. In this way, *-ni#* indicates the direction of *#kaBaGak#* ('step'), nominal base of the denominal verb *#koetani#* (*ø-kaBaGak-ta-ni*). This hypothesis becomes stronger when we corroborate the ungrammaticality of a case like *#koeta#* (*ø-kaBaGak-ta*), in which the applicative is absent.

As showed in (39), the bare verb of motion is accepted (in this case a verb of manner of motion). We find it here without a serial verb structure, more specifically, without the second predication of verbal base –with applicative of specific place– like the other cases in which verbs that indicate motion mode (conflation, "Movement" + "Way") are found accompanied by a second predication with scope on the first, as in (12) (adverbial co-event).

In (38) we find a serial verb structure in which the two verbs involved have applicatives: *-ni#* that indicate the direction of the action 'to step' (*down – to the ground–*) and *-ge#* that indicates the 'determined direction' towards a specific place (Path). Here, the presence of locative PP is enabled by the applicative that specifies the direction of the action of the second event. Our hypothesis is, as we have anticipated, that for the first verb (*#koetani#*) the applicative needs an argument that specifies the location of the displacement (down) rather than the figure ("John") but a part of the figure ("John's feet"), while the locative argument is lexicalized in the verbal base (for the case: the land /soil); the Spanish verb *pisar* can be used as a comparison.

Locative verbal systems tend to be sensitive to the cultural characteristics of the different peoples, this leads to differences in different languages in

terms of both space as well as time. In Mocoví, the location of certain substances becomes a point of reference linguistically marked (cf. (40) with (41)).

(40) *da jale vetao laBo*  
*da jale ø-ve-ta-o l-Bo*  
 Det man 3sg-Ex-Asp-Apl<sub>Loc</sub> [3Pos-home]<sub>Loc</sub>  
 the man is in his home (inward)

(41) *so jale vetaGasom la'tSewe*  
*so jale ø-ve-ta-aGasom la'tSewe*  
 Det man 3sg-Ex-Asp-Apl<sub>Loc</sub> [river]<sub>Loc</sub>  
 the man is in the river  
 [the one who enunciates is witness]

In (40) we find the locative applicative *-o#* whose semantic marks enclosed place (*into*). In (41), the occurrence of the applicative suffix conflates Motion, Path and the nature of Ground, which in this case is liquid (water source). This can be seen more clearly in (42).

(42) *jim ñatilo kena iBo ita?a nataliGasom la'tSewe*  
*jim i-n-atil-o ke-na i-Bo i-ta?a ø-n-atil-aGasom la'tSewe*  
 Pro1 1sg-Med-bathe-Apl<sub>Dir</sub> [Obl-Det 1Pos-home]<sub>Loc</sub> 1Pos-father 1sg-Med-bathe-Apl<sub>Dir</sub> [river]<sub>Loc</sub>  
 I bathe in my house (indoor), my father bathes in the river

The events presented in (42) could be considered in relation to their Spanish equivalents: *#ñatilo#* for the case of *asearse (en un baño)* (to clean oneself (in a bathroom)) and *#ñatilaGasom#* for the case of *bañarse en un río, laguna u otra fuente de agua de esta naturaleza* (bathing in a river, lake or other water source of this nature).

It is interesting to relate (41) with (43) and (44). In (41) the locative applicative together with the stative verbal base indicate the specific place of the subject –place that it shares with the speaker– which is marked by the choice of the determiner which accompanies the external argument (*#so#*), (the subject indicated by the external argument is in the visual field of the speaker). In contrast, in (43) the speaker does not share the same location as the subject of which it is predicating its locative state; this is marked by the determiner that indicates “absence” (*#ka#*). Now, in (44), the eventive verb base –together with the directional applicative– indicate the place to which the external argument is directed (the goal).

(43) *ka jale vetaGasom la'tSewe*  
*ka jale ø-va-ta-aGasom la'tSewe*  
 Det man 3sg-Ex-Asp-Apl<sub>Loc</sub> [river]<sub>Loc</sub>  
 the man is in the river  
 [the one who enunciates is not witness]

(44) *so jale ketaGasom la'tSewe*  
*so jale ø-ke-ta-aGasom la'tSewe*  
 Det man 3sg-Ex-Asp-Apl<sub>Loc</sub> [river]<sub>Loc</sub>

the man is going to the river (he/she sees him)  
[the one who enunciates is witness of the event]

We believe, according to what it has been said and discussed so far, that Mocoví presents in this case a conflation of Motion + Path + Ground.

We need now to exemplify another directional applicative in the Mocoví language: *-gi#* that indicates direction *inward* as in the cases of (45) and (46).

- (45) *sapogi lasom*  
*s-apo-gi lasom*  
 1sg-close-Apl<sub>Dir</sub> door  
 I closed the door
- (46) *kiotapigi iap*  
*ø-kio-ta-gi i-ap*  
 1sg-wash-Asp-Apl<sub>Dir</sub> 1Pos-mouth  
 I wash my mouth

Finally, as stated by Payne (1997:121), locative predicates bear some close relationship with the forms of possession. Payne mentions the case of English, language in which possession can be expressed by locative constructions. In Mocoví, the uses of locative constructions are extended to allow, in some cases, the expression of a certain degree of possession as in (47):

- (47) *sentot so ita?al*  
*s-ne-?ot so i-ta?a-l*  
 1sg-Ex-Apl<sub>Loc</sub> Det 1Pos-father-Pc  
 I was with my parents  
 Lit.: I was under (the guardianship of) my parents

## 7. Summary

According to what it has been discussed so far, the following cases of motion verbs (following Morimoto (2001)) can be found in the Mocoví language:

	<b>motion verbs</b>	<b>verbs of manner of motion (with external reference)</b>
<b>marked by the root</b>	<i>soBiro</i> (48) arrive	<i>kake'tak</i> (50) crawling
<b>marked by the root + applicative</b>	<i>nemeSim</i> (49) rise	–

- (48) *soBiro kenda kaBoti kena napaasni*  
*s-oBir-o ke-da k-Bo-i kena ø-napaal-ni*  
 1sg-arrive-Asp Obl-Det 2Pos-home-2sg MT 3sg-darken-Apl<sub>Dir</sub>  
 I am going to arrive to your house when it is getting dark

- (49) *paglet nonot nemeSim na lava leSikiaGa kosoti*  
*paglet nonot n-eme-Sim na lava l-SikiaGa kosot-i*  
 Quant wind Med-raise-Apl<sub>Dir</sub> Det ground 3Pos-tickles neck-2sg  
 a lot of wind raised the land that did tickling to us in the throat  
 Lit.: a lot of wind raised land tickles in our throat
- (50) *da ka'walo kake'tak kena lava*  
*da ka'walo ø-kake-tak ke-na lava*  
 Det *culebra*<sup>12</sup> 3sg-crawling-Asp [Obl-Det land]<sub>Loc</sub>  
 that snake is crawling in the land

Similarly, as was anticipated in §2 (page 4), the following semantic notions –expressed by applicative– can be recognized:

Directionals		Locatives	
<i>-lek</i>	forward–horizontal	<i>-lek</i>	in a flat surface
<i>-o</i>	towards a closed place (inward)	<i>-o</i>	in a closed place (in)
<i>-aGasom</i>	towards a water source	<i>-aGasom</i>	in a water source
<i>-Sim</i>	upward	<i>-?ot</i>	down
<i>-ni</i>	downwards		
<i>-ge</i>	towards a particular place		
<i>-gi</i>	inward		

Recapitulating what has been said throughout this section, the Mocoví language –in regard to the order of the sequence of expressions of direction and location– is determined and rigid. It always occurs this way [Dir [Loc]], and for this reason, the possibilities of combination are restricted. If both notions are marked morphologically<sup>13</sup> in the verb as an applicative verb, the predictive order is:

If: V–Apl–Apl → [V–Dir–Loc]

If the case of an applicative followed by a complement, there is a direction suffix applied to the verb, and the complement will regain the specification of the location, or, if the applicative marks Location, the complement specifies that place.

If: V–Apl + Compl. → [V–Dir] + [Loc]  
 → [V–Loc] + [Loc]

12 *culebra* (*liophis poecilogyrus sublineatus*) type of snake that inhabits the Argentine littoral.

13 It is worth mentioning that we do not have this possibility in our data and according to Grondona (1998) this is not possible.

The linguistic expression recuperates the motion sequence. Direction of motion is indicated firstly, and then its final point of location is marked; it is with this compositionality that path is expressed. This order of succession is described by Messineo & Klein, in their study of the Toba language, as “iconic, as it first encodes the path of movement and then the location of the Figure” (Messineo & Klein, 2006:4).

The types of applicative suffixes that we have worked with seem to behave differently depending on the semantic of verb roots. Thus, direction applicatives *-o#* (*to / in inside*) *-lek#* (*to / on top- flat surface*) and *-aGasom#* (*towards the water*), seem to act as locative if merged with stative verb roots (in our data: existential–durative.aspect –Apl) that do not involve movement and license nominal phrases that specify place/location.

In Mocoví, direction and location can (i) be lexicalized in the verb root; (ii) they can have morphological marking in lexical items, which is manifested by the inclusion of direction and location applicatives in the verb; or (iii) they can have syntactic representation by the presence of a complement.

The Path, in contrast, occurs through “conflation” of [V + Dir] followed by a fusion at the syntactic level (“merge”) of the previous item with a locative complement. Thus, path is expressed compositionally at the syntactic level involving “conflation” at the lexical level.

Messineo & Manelis Klein (2005) propose a mixed system (combination of the verb–framed and satellite–framed types) for the case of the Toba language; from our point of view Mocoví is a case of satellite–framed in regard to the codification of the path. Now, if we do not limit the observation of the Path as the “only requirement” for the classification –but we consider the other elements of the scheme of movement– then Mocoví is a Parallel System of Conflation.

The case of the occurrence of satellite components associated with verbal bases by the process of suffixation of applicatives (“applied verb”) is very productive in this language and together with it, we also find the functionality of the determiners and serial verbs.

Finally, in brief, in the Mocoví language, the following cases of conflation can be found.

In the verb root: [Motion + Manner] (cf: (+ Dir in the Determiner for case (51)) and (52)).

(51) *na ahlo negeneta*  
*na ahlo ø-n-egen-ta*  
 Det woman 3sg-??-run-Asp  
 the woman is running [towards me]

(52) *da ahlo rasotetak*  
*da ahlo r-asot-tak*  
 Det woman 3sg-dance-Asp  
 the woman is dancing

In combination with the verb root: [Motion + Manner] (cf. 53); [Motion + Direction + Ground] (cf. 54), (+ Determiner in (55)); [Manner + Direction + Ground] (cf. 56); [Location + Ground] (cf. 57); [Motion + Path] (cf. 58) and [Motion (MV) + Path + Ground] (cf. 59).

- (53) *sua jaleripi kiriSim kenda o'ti*  
*sua jale-ipi ø-ke-Sim ke-da o'ti*  
 Det.Pl man-Pl 3sg-move-Apl<sub>Dir</sub> Obl-Det mount  
 the men climbed to the mount  
 Lit.: the men climbed to the mount that was in a high surface
- (54) *maria ioBiro kenda santa fe*  
*maria i-oBir-o ke-da santa fe*  
 maría 3sg-arrive-Narr Obl-Det santa fe  
 mary arrived to Santa Fe  
 Lit.: mary arrived to Santa Fe (place where the speaker is not)
- (55) *na ahlo keta ('hither')*  
*na ahlo ø-ke-ta*  
 Det woman 3sg-move-Asp  
 this woman comes
- (56) *sainaGasom la'tSewe*  
*s-nak-aGasom la'tSewe*  
 1sg-throw-Apl<sub>Dir</sub> río  
 I am going to throw the *fija*<sup>14</sup> to the river  
 Lit.: I am going to throw. *fija* to the river
- (57) *seendatagelek kena selaq*  
*s-da-ta-ge-lek ke-na s-laq*  
 1sg-move-Asp-??-Apl<sub>Loc/Sup</sub> Obl-Det 1sg-sleep  
 I move when I sleep  
 Lit.: I move (on the bed.extended surface) when I sleep
- (58) *soGontari*  
*s-Gon-ta-ri*  
 1sg-swim-As-Asp  
 I cross swimming (the river)
- (59) *saBeaGasom ilñaGala la'tSewe satilaGam*  
*s-aBe-aGasom i-lñaGala la'tSewe s-atil-aGam*  
 1sg-carry-Apl<sub>Dir</sub> 1Pos-mounted río 1sg-bathe-Apl  
 I carry my horse to the river to bathe it

As regards syntax, the applicative allow intransitive bases to combine with a new argument, applied object, making them transitive. Similarly, transitive

14 *fija*: kind of harpoon used for fishing.

bases become ditransitive when they accept an applied object in addition to the direct complement object governed by the verb (60).

- (60) *da noGot inaGalek lava lapo ni laBo*  
*da noGot i-nak-lek lava lapo ni l-Bo*  
 Det boy 3sg-throw -Apl<sub>dir</sub> rubble Det 3Pos-home  
 the boy threw the rubble above the house  
 Lit.: the boy threw ground hardness above his house

The data presented allow us to assume, in addition to data presented in Gualdieri (1998:292:222) and Carrió (2009), and in contraposition to what Grondona concluded (1998:138), that next to a transitive applied verb, before the enabling of two arguments, one direct (DO) and the other applied (AplO), the sequence is:

[VApl]<sub>+</sub> Tr [DO] [AplO]

and not as assumed Grondona<sup>15</sup>:

V<sub>[+ Tr]</sub> NP<sub>[Loc]</sub> NP<sub>[DO]</sub>.

## 8. Conclusion

All throughout this article we show how in the Mocoví language there are marks that help to promote arguments. We assume that such marks are applied verbs in Marantz's sense (1981) and we exclude the possibility of treating them as derivational morphemes.

We show how the elements of the motion scheme proposed by Talmy behave in this language, in relation to two types of verbs recognized by Morimoto, the MV and the VMM. We then show the cases of conflation that allow us to categorize Mocoví as a "satellite-framed" language and we believe that –if we expand the perspective and include for this categorization the other elements of the motion scheme– then, Mocoví can be classified as a language with a Parallel System of Conflation (Talmy, 2000).

To end this paper then, we state that in Mocoví, the VMM can be combined with applied verbs. These applied verbs are listed and they are combined with the roots in the syntax. MV with inherent direction require the explicit morphological marking of such direction, in order to do that, the verbal root selects an applied verb, taking into consideration the compatibility of the semantic features.

15 "When these loc/dir enclitics are added to an intransitive verb, they introduce a noun phrase, an NP<sub>[loc]</sub> into the sentences, (...) and the verb agrees with the locative/directional noun phrase (NP<sub>[loc]</sub>). When they are added to a transitive verb we can find not only a NP<sub>[loc]</sub> in the sentence, but also a direct object noun phrase (NP<sub>[DO]</sub>). This NP<sub>[DO]</sub> occurs farther from the verb form than the NP<sub>[loc]</sub>, and the verb agrees NP<sub>[loc]</sub> rather than with the NP<sub>[DO]</sub>, affecting the grammatical relation of the noun phrase to the verb within the verb phrase" (1998:138).

## Acknowledgement

I want to express my sincere gratitude to my informants: María Teresa (Coyaco) Cabasorí, Raúl Teotí, Cristina Vázquez, †Juan Nacitiquí, Delfino Nacitiquí, †Agustín Cabasorí, †Aurora Andrada, Alfredo Salteño y Rosa Gómez. Thank you for your generosity.

## References

- Buckwalter, Alberto y Roberto Ruiz (2000): “Mocoví. South American Indian Languages, Computer Database”. In Mary Ritchie Key (ed.) *Intercontinental Dictionary Series*. Irvine: University of California. CD-ROM.
- Carrió, Cintia (2009): *Mirada Generativa a la Lengua Mocoví (Familia Guaycurú)*. PhD Thesis. Córdoba: Universidad Nacional de Córdoba. Unpublished.
- Carrió, Cintia (2010a): “Los laberintos del tiempo y el hilo de Ariadna. La marcación del tiempo en la lengua Mocoví (familia Guaycurú, Argentina)”. In *Indiana 27*. Berlin: Instituto Ibero-Americano.
- Carrió, Cintia (2010b): “La marcación escindida del sujeto en la lengua mocoví”. Paper presented at “IV Simposio sobre el estado actual del conocimiento del Gran Chaco Meridional”. Chaco: Instituto de Investigaciones Geohistóricas de la Universidad Nacional del Nordeste.
- Censabella, Marisa (2007): “Los aplicativos alativo y locativo en toba”. In Fernández Garay Ana y Marisa Malvestitti (2007) *Estudios lingüísticos y sociolingüísticos de lengua indígenas sud-americanas*. Santa Rosa: Universidad Nacional de La Pampa, pp. 29–50.
- Chomsky, Noam (1995): *El programa minimalista*. Madrid: Alianza.
- Greenberg, Joseph (1963): “Some universal of grammar with particular reference to the order of meaningful elements”. In: <<http://angli02.kgw.tu-berlin.de/Korean/Artike201/>> (January 7, 2011)
- Grondona, Verónica (1998): *A Grammar of Mocovi*. PhD Thesis. Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh. Unpublished.
- Gualdieri, Beatriz (1998): *Mocovi (Guaycurú) Fonología e morfossintaxe*. PhD Thesis. Campinas: Universidade Estadual de Campinas. Unpublished.
- Gualdieri, Beatriz (2004): “Apuntes sociológicos sobre el pueblo mocoví de Santa Fe”. In *BilingLatAm 2004, Actas del Primer Simposio Internacional sobre Bilingüismo y Educación Bilingüe en Latinoamérica*. In: <<http://www.essarp.org.ar/bilinglatam/gualdieri.html>> (January 7, 2011).
- Hale, Ken & Samuel J. Keyser (1993): “On the argument structure and the lexical expression of syntactic relations”. In Hale, Ken & Samuel J. Keyser (eds.) *A view from Building 20<sup>th</sup>*. Cambridge: The MIT Press. pp. 53–109.
- Hale, Ken & Samuel J. Keyser (1998): “The basic elements of argument structure”. In MIT *Working papers in linguistics 32: Papers from the Upenn/ MIT Roundtable on Argument Structure*. Cambridge: MIT. pp. 73–118.
- Jackendoff, Ray (1990): *Semantic Structures*. Cambridge: MIT Press.
- Katamba, Francis (1993): *Morphology*. London: The MacMillan Press.
- Marantz, Alex (1981): *On the nature of grammatical relations*. Cambridge: MIT Press.
- Messineo, Cristina & Harriet Manelis Klein (2005): “Expresión de la trayectoria en verbos de movimiento y posición en Toba (flia. guaycuru)”. In *Proceedings of the 2<sup>o</sup> Conference on Indigenous Languages of Latin America*. EEUU: University of Texas at Austin.
- Messineo, Cristina & Harriet Manelis Klein (2006): “Verbos de posición en Toba (flia. Guaycurú)”. Paper presented at *52<sup>o</sup> Congreso Internacional de Americanistas*. Sevilla, España.
- Morimoto, Yuri (2001): *Los verbos de movimiento*. Madrid: Visor.

- Payne, Thomas (1997): *Describing morphosyntax: a guide for field linguists*. University of Oregon and Summer Institute of Linguistics. Cambridge: University Press.
- Spencer, Andrew (1991): *Morphological Theory. An Introduction to Word Structure in Generative Grammar*. Massachusetts: Blackwell. 1992.
- Talmy, Leonard (1985): “Lexicalization patterns: semantic structure in lexical forms”. In Shopen, T. (ed.) *Language typology and syntactic description. Grammatical categories and the lexicon*. Vol. III. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. pp. 57–150.
- Talmy, Leonard (2000): *Toward a Cognitive Semantics. Typology and Process in Concept Structuring*. Vol II. MIT Press.
- Vendler, Zeno (1957): “Verbs and Times”. In *Linguistics in Philosophy*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press. pp. 97–121.

### *Proces spajanja u glagolima kretanja: konstruiranje položaja i smjera u jeziku mocoví*

Ovaj članak istražuje ponašanje glagola kretanja i glagola lokativnog stanja u jeziku mocoví. Namjera je propitati različite konstrukcije u mokovskom koje se upotrebljavaju za označavanje smjera i položaja. Proučavanjem tih pojava naglašava se važnost pojmova *path* ‘staza’, *ground* ‘pozadina’ i *figure* ‘lik’ (Talmy 1985). Svrha je osmisliti studiju koja će nas približiti razumijevanju jezičnih izraza položaja i smjera u mokovskom, uzimajući u obzir strukture koje proizlaze iz tih kombinacija. Nadalje, namjeravamo raspravljati o morfološkoj prirodi oznaka koje se pojavljuju i predstaviti podatke o jeziku južnoameričkih Indijanaca pomoću kojih se kod glagola kretanja objašnjava proces spajanja (engl. *conflation*) (Talmy 1985).

**Key words:** location, direction, conflation, morphology, Mocoví language, verbs of motion, Guaycuruan languages

**Ključne riječi:** položaj, smjer, proces spajanja, morfologija, jezik mocoví, glagoli kretanja, guajkuruanski jezici