Straight from the Source:

The semantics and functions of the ablative case clitic of Iraqw

Anne Kruijt

s1289349

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a.kruijt@umail.leidenuniv.com

ABSTRACT

This thesis focuses on the description of the ablative case clitic of Iraqw, a Cushitic language of Tanzania. The ablative case clitic of Iraqw is reported to have multiple functions and is attested to be used for expressing source, location, time, reason, and (simile) adverbial constructions. Especially the apparent extension of source to location marker is remarkable, as Iraqw has a separate goal marker and this particular Source = Location ≠ Goal syncretism is extremely rare in languages of the world. The ablative case clitic is part of the adverbial case clitics of Iraqw, which consist of the ablative, directional, instrumental, and reason case clitics. These clitics introduce an extra oblique argument to a clause and are closely tied to the verb. The source semantics of the ablative clitic inherently express Place and Path. In locational clauses the notion of Path is expressed in a durative aspect and the clitic therefore does not function as a primary locative marker. The ablative is also used in other contexts. It can be extended into the temporal domain to describe a temporal source and into the causal domain to denote the cause of an event. The ablative clitic is used in adverbial constructions that describe similarity and is grammaticalized in certain intensifying verbal adverbs. In conclusion the ablative case clitic is a source marker, and not a locative marker. Therefore I propose the pattern Source ≠ Location ≠ Goal for Iraqw.

Keywords: Source marker, ablative case, location, spatial domain

CONTENTS

ABBREVIATIONS

1	first person	INDEF	indefinite
2	second person	INDEP	independent
3	third person	INF	infinitive
ABL	ablative	INSTR	instrumental
BACK	background suffix	INT	interrogative
BGND	background aspect	INTER	interjection
CAUS	causative	M	masculine
COMP	completive	M1	masculine subclass
CON	construct case	MID	middle
COND	conditional	N	neuter
CONSEC	consecutive	NEG	negation
DEM1	demonstrative 1	O	object
DEM2	demonstrative 2	PAST	past
DEM3	demonstrative 3	PERF	perfective
DEM4	demonstrative 4	PL	plural
DEP	dependent	PN	proper noun
DIR	directional	POSS	possessive
DUR	durative	PRES	present
EXPEC	expectational	Q	question
F	feminine	REAS	causational
F1	feminine subclass	RESPRO	resumptive pronoun
HAB	habitual	S	subject
HIT	hither	SBJV	subjunctive
IMPS	impersonal	SG	singular

< >	infix boundary
( )	optional
:	separates abbreviations of different morphemes used
.	separates abbreviations that are part of a single morpheme
~	reduplication boundary
-	affix/clitic boundary

LIST OF TABLES AND MAPS

1. INTRODUCTION

This thesis is the final product of my research for the completion of a research master of Linguistics at Leiden University, the Netherlands. My research focuses on the ablative case clitic *-wa* of Iraqw, a South-Cushitic language spoken in Tanzania. This introduction serves to provide the reader with some background information on the Iraqw language and its speakers, and a brief introduction into the research topic and the methodology applied. The final section will discuss in more detail the structure of the thesis.

1.1 ON THE IRAQW PEOPLE, LANGUAGE, AND CULTURE

Iraqw is a South-Cushitic language which is spoken in Tanzania by almost half a million speakers (Johnstone and Mandryk census 2001; in Simons and Fennig 2017). The language has speakers in the northern parts of Tanzania, mainly in the region of the Rift Plateau between Lake Manyara and Lake Eyasi. The language belongs to the southern branch of the Cushitic language family. The Cushitic language family extends north up to the Sudanese-Egyptian border and most of its languages are spoken in Ethiopia. There is little internal variation in Iraqw and there exist no clear dialects (Mous 2007). There is only a limited amount of literature available on and in Iraqw. The academic literature on the language is relatively extensive, with two grammars (Nordbustad 1988; Mous 1992), an Iraqw-English dictionary (Mous, Qorro, and Kiessling 2002), and various publications on different grammatical aspects of the language (e.g. Qorro 1982; Elders and Mous 1991; Mous and Qorro 2000, 2009, 2010; Peters 2016). Literature written in Iraqw is scarce, and consists mainly of religious texts, of which the largest text is a bible translation in Iraqw created by the Protestant church (The Bible Society of Tanzania 1995). The secular literature in the language consists of collections of traditional Iraqw stories, songs, and riddles (e.g. Berger and Kiessling 1998; Mous and Sanka 2008).

Iraqw is spoken in a linguistically diverse region and is surrounded by a variety of both related and unrelated languages. Various other South-Cushitic languages, like Gorwaa, Alagwa, and Burunge, are spoken in the region. There is also historical and current contact with languages belonging to other language families, like Hadza (isolate), Mbugwe (Bantu, Niger-Congo) and Datooga (Southern Nilotic, Nilo-Saharan) (Mous 2007:3). Map 1 shows the Iraqw speaking area and the languages that are spoken in the direct proximity of Iraqw.
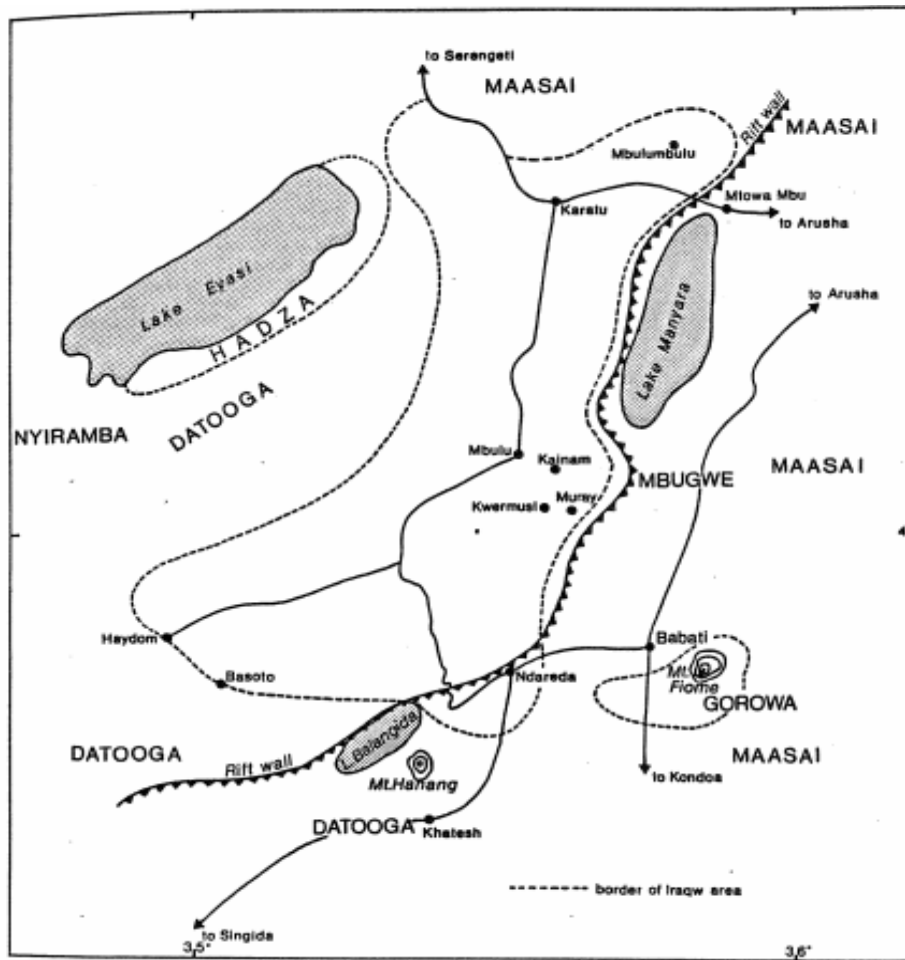
Map 1: Map of Iraqw speaking area (Mous 1992:xv)

These neighbouring languages have had a considerable influence on Iraqw in the past and still influence the language today. However, the major source of linguistic influence at the moment is Swahili (Bantu), the national language of Tanzania. Most Iraqw speakers speak Swahili fluently as a second language. Swahili is the language of instruction in primary eduction and as such is acquired by children from an early age on. Swahili is essential for administration, education and writing, and dominates many of the formal domains of language use. The informal domains are also increasingly being taken up by Swahili, which has found a very powerful medium in television and radio, and through these channels is rapidly becoming the language of entertainment and popular culture. The influence from English is still limited, but will probably grow in the coming years, because English has become the language of instruction in high school and higher eduction. The political dimension has a strong and controlling influence on the languages spoken in the public domains, like school and administration, and this makes these domains largely inaccessible to tribal languages, like Iraqw.

The Iraqw community consists mostly of farmers who grow a large variety of crop, like corn, potatoes, and squash. Many of the Iraqw people also keep livestock, mainly cows, chickens, goats, and sheep, which are used for fertilizer, milk, and meat.

1.2 RESEARCH TOPIC

This research aims to describe and analyse the use and functions of the ablative case clitic of Iraqw (-*wa*). This clitic has been labelled as an ablative case suffix (Mous 1992:104) and as a locative particle (Nordbustad 1988:194). Its function has been described as 'in, at, or moving out of' by Nordbustad (1988:194-5), signalling that the clitic can either be used to indicate the source of a movement (1a) or can function as a locative particle (1b).

(1)   a. *i-na*   *ti'iít*   *bará*   *qaymó-r* ***wa***   *alé*
           S.3-PAST   appear:3.SG.M in:CON   field-F   ABL   RESPRO
           'He went out of the field.'

       b. *i-na*   *gadiyuús*   *bará*   *qaymó-r* ***wa***   *alé*
           S.3-PAST   work:3.SG.M in:CON   field-F   ABL   RESPRO
           'He worked in the field.'

(Nordbustad 1988:194, glosses mine)

Mous (1992:104-5) attests more functions of the clitic than Nordbustad (1988) and describes the core meaning of the clitic as movement away from the noun (2a), resulting in the label of ablative case clitic. Mous also reports on the use of the clitic for 'reason' (2b), temporal marking (2c), locatives (2d) and that it can occur on verbal nouns (2e).

(2)   a. *tlakway* *i-na*   *huú'*   *gawá*   *hhar-ta-**wa***   *alé*
           bag   S.3-PAST fall:3.SG.M:PAST top:CON stick-F1-ABL   RESPRO
           'The bag fell from the stick.'

       b. *i*   *gi'i-**wa***   *da'eemiit*
           S.3   ghost-ABL   fear:3.SG.M:PRES
           'He is afraid of ghosts.'

       c. *ka*   *tlatla/ang-**wa***   *laqan*
           O.3:IMPS:O.F   afternoon-ABL show:PRES
           'It is shown in the afternoon.'

       d. *i*   *bará*   *xats-ta-ka-r-**wa***   *qa-qeér*
           S.3   in:CON   valley-F1-INDEF-F-ABL   HAB-graze:3.SG.F
           'It usually grazes in a certain valley.'

       e. *b<u>r*   *gaasa-r-**wa***   *slá'*
           COND<O.M> killing-F-ABL   want:2.SG
           'If you want to kill it.'

(Mous 1992:105-6)

Mous (1992:211) also reports on the use of the ablative case clitic on certain adverbial constructions and its grammaticalization in some frequently used adverbs, e.g. *lówa* 'very' (3), *tsuwa* 'for sure, really', and *tseewa* 'early'. In these cases the adverb seems to be derived from the noun plus the ablative case clitic. Some of these are still transparent, like *lówa* 'very' from the noun *lo'* 'true' in combination with the ablative case clitic. Other combinations have become opaque and can no longer be reconstructed to their original noun.

(3) *ka*   ***lówa*** *huurín*
     O.3:IMPS:O.F   very   cook:3.SG.M
     'It is very much cooked.'

(Mous 1992:213)

The different functions of the clitic have thus been described in the past, but there is no in-depth analysis of the semantics of the clitic. Some of the reported usages have no clear connection to the primary source semantics, and the use of the ablative clitic as a locational marker appears to be quite exceptional, as the literature suggests that such a syncretism is virtually impossible.

This prediction goes back to the extensive literature on motion events and the encoding of spatial meaning in languages. In any motion event, there is the possibility to encode location, source, and goal. In many languages these markers take the form of adpositions or case clitics. When it comes to syncretisms of these three markers, the syncretism of the ablative marker and the locative marker in opposition to a distinct goal marker appears to be incredibly rare. In several typological studies (Blake 1977; Noonan 2008; Pantcheva 2010) this syncretism is either completely absent from the sample or extremely rare. For example, it is only attested by Creissels (2006:22) in Dinka (Western, Nilotic) (Andersen 2002) and Iraqw (Mous 1992:105), which results in the claim there is only evidence for this syncretism in North East Africa. This research aims to look closer at the alleged syncretism of the locative and ablative marker in Iraqw and to discuss in detail the use of the ablative clitic in source and locative constructions.

This thesis aims to do two things. Firstly, it addresses the problem of the use of a single marker for conveying both location and source information in opposition to a distinct goal marker. Secondly, it discusses and analyses the other usages of the ablative case clitic. This also means establishing the environments in which it appears and its relation to the other adverbial case clitics.

1.3 METHODOLOGY

The data for this thesis was collected during a two month period in the field, from December 2016 to February 2017. The fieldwork was conducted in the village of Kwermusl, situated in the Manyara region of Tanzania (see map 1). All the linguistic data was collected in the village, which provided a familiar working environment for the language consultants and came the closest to natural settings of the language, since Swahili is the common lingua franca outside of Iraqw speaking areas. I worked primarily with one consultant, Basilisa Hhao, who is a native speaker of Iraqw and who functioned as my main language

teacher and consultant. Basilisa has lived in an Iraqw speaking area for most of her life and also speaks fluent Swahili and good English. The constructions have also been checked with a variety of other speakers from the community to ensure the validity of the data. All consultants were inhabitants of the village of Kwermusl, spoke Iraqw as their mother tongue and spent a large part of their life in an Iraqw speaking community.

The data was collected in various ways. Some of the elicitation was done by translating sentences from English into Iraqw, providing a context whenever possible, and by formulating Iraqw phrases that I proposed to the speakers and which I asked them to judge. As often as possible, I drew my phrases from stories like *Geéso Duqangw* (Mous and Sanka 2008) to ensure a good context. In other cases I created my own. I have also used non-verbal ways to elicit data, e.g. a storyboard, images and short videos (see appendix A for storyboard and stimuli), and the elicitation kits of Levinson (2001), Bohnemeyer (2003), and Wilkins and Hill (1993). Although not ideal, the meta-language for elicitation was English, the only language I shared with my language consultant. All sessions have been recorded and have been transcribed both in real-time and afterwards with the accompanying sound file. I have decided against using a video recorder as this would mean more of an imposition on the consultants. Consultants were adequately compensated for their time and were informed on how the data would be used and who would have access to it. A copy of this thesis will be provided to the main language consultant and another copy will be left in the community to ensure accessibility for the speakers and members of the community.

Apart from my own data, I have also made use of a corpus of Iraqw texts which I have compiled from various secular texts. This has helped me to find new contexts of use, allowed me to analyse the frequency of the different functions, and provides external validation of my data. The corpus is been compiled of the stories of *Géeso Duqang na hadithi nyingine* (Mous and Sanka 2008), the *Iraqw texts* by Berger and Kiessling (1998) and the texts in the grammar of Mous (1992:299-359). The entire corpus is composed of roughly 83.000 words and contains a total of 157 instances of the ablative case clitic.

1.4 NOTE ON IRAQW ORTHOGRAPHY AND GLOSSING CHOICES

There are multiple orthographies available to Iraqw speakers. The differences between the orthographies are small, yet of importance for the readability of the text. I have chosen to use the orthography as used in Nordbustad (1988) and Mous and Sanka (2008). This decision was made because the Iraqw community has adopted this orthography and I want to ensure that the text is as accessible as possible for members of the community. The Iraqw orthography is phonemic. Iraqw has long and short vowels, and long vowels are indicated by the doubling of the vowel in question. Iraqw has two tones, a high and a low tone, of which only the high tone is indicated in the orthography. This is done with an acute accent on the vowel. In the case of long vowels, the high tone is indicated on the last vowel. The majority of the Iraqw orthography is derived from the Internal Phonetic Alphabet (henceforth IPA) and are the same across the divergent orthographies. However, there are some exceptions. The following phonemes occur in varying forms either across orthographies or in comparison to the IPA, see table 1.

phonetic values	IPA	Mous and Sanka (2008)	Mous (1992)	Peters (2016)	Notes
voiced pharyngeal fricative	[ʕ]	/	ᶜ	c	Followed by creaky voice
voiceless lateral fricative	[ɬ]	sl	hl	sl	
voiceless pharyngeal fricative	[ħ]	hh	hh	hh	
voiceless alveolar lateral affricate	[t͡ɬ]	tl	tl	tl	Has ejective qualities

Table 1: Iraqw orthography

The glossing conventions have been adopted from Mous (1992, 2007). The transcriptions are represented in three lines. The first line gives the Iraqw data in the standard orthography, the second line provides the glosses, and the third line gives an idiomatic translation in English. In the literature a single bar is used to indicate both suffixes and clitics, I have chosen to uphold that tradition as the distinction between suffixes and clitics contributes little to the data and will make the examples fit more in line with the rest of the literature on the language. Example phrases that are not referenced come from my own data set, for all other sources references are provided. Only if there are multiple phrases within a single example that have different sources have I specified that it concerns my own data. If all phrases within a single example are derived from the same source, it is only referenced once at the end of the example.

1.5 STRUCTURE OF THIS THESIS

This thesis provides a detailed account of the usages of the ablative case clitic of Iraqw and provides a reanalysis for the alleged use of the ablative clitic as a locative marker. The next section starts by sketching the theoretical framework in which this research has been conducted and the main literature on the spatial domain as far as this is relevant to this research and the interpretation of the data. Chapter three provides a structural account of the ablative clitic by discussing the properties of the adverbial case clitics in general and the similarities and differences between the different case clitics. It will focus on describing the morphology and syntax of the ablative clitic. It will also discuss the claims made by Mous (1992) on the behaviour of the ablative clitic on verbal nouns. Chapter four forms the main body of the thesis and discusses the ablative and locative use of the adverbial case clitic. Chapter five examines the other meanings that the ablative clitic conveys and the extensions from the source domain that have resulted in these meanings. Three different uses are discussed, namely the temporal domain, the causal domain and the adverbial domain. Chapter six summarizes the findings of the research and presents the conclusions that can be drawn from the data.

2. THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

The introduction states that a syncretism of an ablative and a locative marker is commonly thought to be non-existent and grammatically impossible. First, this chapter will discuss some of the basics of cognitive semantics, and will then precede to go into detail on the location and source literature surrounding the use of the same marker to express both. It will provide a background on the literature on the encoding of source, goal and location, and explain the exception that Iraqw seems to form. The final section discusses the extensions of meaning and grammaticalization patterns common for ablative markers in languages of the world.

2.1 COGNITIVE SEMANTICS

First of all, I want to briefly discuss the basic ideas that underlie the field of cognitive linguistics. Cognitive linguistics views language as an integral part of the whole of human cognitive capacities, and not as an autonomous system. This means that language does not just reflect linguistic knowledge and structure, but that it reflects the whole general conceptual knowledge that humans have. Many of this conceptual knowledge is non-linguistic (Pit 2003:54), which means that language structure is not only influenced from within, but is also externally (from outside the linguistic domain) motivated (Luraghi 2009:136-7). For example, a rich source for non-linguistic structures and concepts is the visual mental system, which has been found to be in some cases strongly reflected in linguistic structures and conceptualizations (Jackendoff 1987). The framework of cognitive linguistics gained real traction in the eighties when many influential works (e.g. Langacker 1987; Fauconnier 1985; Lakoff 1987; Talmy 1988b) were published. They formulated many of the theories on which cognitive semantics is build today.

There are some basic notions that form the basis of cognitive linguistics. The main assumption is the one of notional categories. Talmy (1988a:51) stated that languages use 'certain fundamental notional categories to structure and organize meaning, but that it excludes other notional categories from this role'. This can be broken down in some basic assumptions. It supposes that meanings are mentally encoded and are decompositional in nature. This means that they have an internal structure that is composed of an innate stock of primitives. These primitives are limited in number, as not everything can take the role of notional category. Talmy (1988a:51) gives the example of the encoding of the number of a noun across languages of the world, whereas the color of a noun is not usually encoded and as such not a notional category. Still, it must be kept in mind that the border between different meanings may be blurry as they do not necessarily decompose into 'necessary and sufficient conditions'. Meanings are mapped onto the syntactic form in which they are expressed and they are suitable for psychological purposes besides the interpretation of language (Jackendoff 1987:97). Lakoff (1987) introduced the idea of radial categories, which are a type of prototypical categories. This means that radial categories have a central subcategory which displays all the features relevant to the category, and there are various subcategories that have a variety of the features in the central category. Which subcategories are generated in a language is not

predictable, so they must be acquired one by one by language learners (Lakoff 1987). The idea of radial categories as such does not have predictive power, but has the advantage of proving an explanation for the possibility of a language expressing adjacent, but not necessarily identical, meanings with the same grammatical element.

The linguistic data supporting this framework can be taken directly from varying languages across the world that show certain categories of concepts that are expressed by closed-class forms, such as inflections, particle or grammatical constructions. These notional categories are not only important for construing meaning, but they also form a driving force behind structuring lexicalization patterns for open-class lexical items (Talmy 1988a:51). Perhaps the most famous and clearly demonstrable evidence for conceptual semantics is the correlations between expressions of spatial and temporal structures. The spatial and temporal field appear to have strong conceptual ties, as they share constructions in many languages of the world. In example (4), we find the exact same construction in the temporal and in the spatial field. Both fields want to express the notion of Path, which in (4a) is a concrete spatial path, whereas in (4b) it is an abstract temporal path.

(4)   a. I cycled from the city to the beach.
        b. I cycled from one to five (o'clock).

To conclude, language incorporates a system that pertains to reasoning, and where logically systems and concepts can be extended to other semantic fields as long as there is a notional motivation for doing so (Talmy 1988a:98). These general ideas have been very influential in the field of semantics and the way that syncretism, homonymy and grammaticalization are viewed from a conceptual point of view.

When it comes to case and extensions of the meaning of cases, the cognitive field is rich in its applications. As grammatical forms are considered to be meaningful in themselves and composed of different meaningful 'building blocks', they can be analysed for their semantic properties and their extensions more easily mapped. If we use the notion of radial categories (Lakoff 1987) for the semantic analysis of case systems, it allows us to explain why certain extensions are made and functions taken up by the same case marker. The system holds no predictive value, but does provide an explanation as to why certain meanings can be generated. For case systems, this allows you to explain the multiple uses of a case marker, without rattling off a list of apparently unrelated uses. If we consider the markers to be polysemous rather than homonymous, this allows for a more in-depth understanding of a case system (Luraghi 2009).

2.2 SYNCRETISM OF SOURCE AND LOCATION

The expression of location, goal and source lies at the very basis of the expression of motion events and forms an important part of the spatial domain. Languages differ in the way that they encode these three concepts and can either conflate one with the (one of the) other(s) or encode each concept separately. There is a total of five different patterns logically available (5).

(5)   a. Location = Goal = Source
        b. Location ≠ Goal ≠ Source
        c. Location = Goal ≠ Source
        d. Location ≠ Goal = Source
        e. Location = Source ≠ Goal

<div align="right">(Pantcheva 2010:2)</div>

According to the literature, some of the patterns given above are more common than others. Typological research on adpositions and case affixes (Blake 1977[1]; Creissels 2006; Noonan 2008[2]; Pantcheva 2010[3]) suggests that the first three patterns (5a/b/c) are a lot more common than the last two (5d/e). These findings give typological support to the generalization made by Andrews (1985), who claimed that the last two patterns are completely unattested in languages of the world. The absence of the pattern (5d) can be quite easily explained, as such a construction would attempt to use the same marker to express opposite meanings, making it pragmatically unacceptable. Pattern (5e) however, is pragmatically fine, but still incredibly rare. There are very few attestations of this pattern. Only for Dinka (Andersen 2002) and Iraqw (Mous 1992) has the pattern Location = Source ≠ Goal been reported by typological studies. Others have reported on the possibility of such a pattern, for example Narrog (2010) remarks that Lehmann (1988:63) posits an extension from Ablative to Locative, whereas Rice and Kabata (2007:486) suggest the opposite direction. Neither provide concrete examples. So the question remains why pattern (5e) is so incredibly hard to find. Narrog (2010:246) suggests that the connection is often overlooked, and not commonly reported on in either synchronic or diachronic literature, but most researchers have argued that there are semantic and syntactic reasons for not finding this pattern.

Various explanations for this phenomenon have been offered, though most stem from the basic ideas of cognitive semantics (e.g. Langacker 1987; Lakoff 1987; Talmy 1988b; Jackendoff 1983). One of the earlier discussions on the topic is by Lachlan-Mackenzie (1978), who discussed the conceptualization of Path and Place and the different dichotomies that can be postulated. He reports that there are those (e.g. Anderson 1971) that claim that there is a closer relation between goal and location, as goal inherently implies positive location (e.g. He goes to Mbulu > He is in Mbulu). Source has opposite implications and instead poses negative location (e.g. He comes here from Mbulu > He is not in Mbulu), which would lead to the logically closer connection between goal and location. Others have suggested that goal and source have a closer tie to each other than to location, since both express a sense of path and are therefore dynamic in meaning, whereas location is static (Lyons 1968). A tie between ablatives and locatives has been suggested to be an 'unnatural' conceptualization, yet, as Lachlan-Mackenzie (1978) argues, there is an abundance of diachronic data that shows the development of ablative constructions into locative prepositions (6), which shows that the reconceptualization itself cannot be the problem.

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[1] Based on sample of 115 Australian languages

[2] Based on sample of 76 Tibeto-Burman languages

[3] Based on sample of 53 languages of 22 different genera, and two isolates.

(6)　　Modern French　　*devant* 'before'　　< *de+ avant*

　　　　　　　　　　　　　dehors 'outside'　　< *de + hors*

<div align="right">(Lachlan-Mackenzie 1978:143)</div>

Based on these three completely different, yet all plausible theories Lachlan-Mackenzie (1978) proposes a tri-part division that makes no predictions about semantic naturalness or 'natural' reconceptualizations, which still leaves us with the question why typologically this particular pattern is not found.

　　The answer might lie in, not what is conceptually possible, but what is structurally possible. It is commonly accepted in the field that directional expressions consist of minimally two heads: a Path head and a Place head. The Path head is commonly believed to dominate the Place head resulting in the basic structure as illustrated in (7). This is supported by literature (e.g. Koopman 2000; Van Riemsdijk and Huybregts 2002; Den Dikken 2010; Svenonius 2010) mainly based on Jackendoff (1983) and his conceptual structure in which the PATH function dominates the PLACE function.

(7)

　　Path

　　　　　Place　　DP
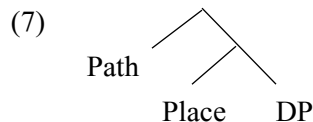
<div align="right">(Pantcheva 2010:6)</div>

Pantcheva (2010) further supports the postulation of the PLACE position within the PATH position with morphological data from a variety of languages. This view is mirrored in the semantic representation of spatial constructions. Zwarts (2005) argues that Source and Goal prepositions always demand a location as semantic complement. In the case of Source prepositions this is the starting point and for Goal markers this is the end point. Based on this convergence of syntactic and semantic theories on the hierarchy of Path and Place, I will assume the hierarchy as postulated in (7).

　　Deriving from this basic hierarchy, a further split in the structure has been suggested (e.g. Pantcheva 2010; Nam 2004). This split is the result of the postulation of a Source head that dominates a Goal head, given in the diagram in (8), which results in a syntactic asymmetry between the Goal and Source encoding. This is partly based on the well-known bias towards expressing Goal over Source, which is shared by cognitive patterns attested in non-linguistic research as well (e.g. Lakusta and Landau 2005).

(8)

　　Source

　　　　　Goal

　　　　　　　　Place　　DP
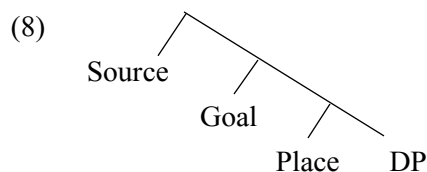
<div align="right">(Pantcheva 2010:6)</div>

It must be noted that the Goal-Source hierarchy is not without its critics (e.g. Gehrke 2007), who draw in question the supporting data and its representativeness. As this thesis focuses solely on the ablative clitic and its relation to location, this issue will not be discussed for Iraqw in this thesis. However, the structure is of importance in order to understand the arguments against the possibility of a syncretism of source and location in opposition to a goal marker. The implications of the structure of (8) are that if that pattern was to be lexicalized, the syncretism patterns of (5a/b/c/d) would be perfectly possible, whereas the pattern of (5e) would be inaccessible. The pattern of Source = Location ≠ Goal (5e) faces the problem of the intervening Goal structure, which results in violations of the lexicalization rules which block the structure from being expressed. I would like to refer readers to Pantcheva (2010) for a full syntactic account of the lexicalization processes, as they fall outside the scope of this thesis.

It can be concluded that conceptually there is a way to get from an ablative to a locative marker as has been attested in diachronic data on prepositions in, at least, many Indo-European languages. However, there are syntactic and semantic barriers that bar the same from happening in synchronic data on adpositions and case clitics.

2.3 SEMANTIC DOMAINS AND OVERLAP

The spatial domain is without doubt one of the richest sources for reconceptualizations and forms the basis for uncountable conceptualizations, metaphors and constructions (Szwedek 2011). As such there are many semantic domains that at some point have an overlap with the spatial domain. Case systems are also known to be highly polysemous in nature, which means that an ablative marker may have many different uses, as is attested for the Iraqw ablative. If we consider such different functions not as distinct uses, but rather as radial subcategories of the central subcategory, we can form a set of subcategories of the ablative marker which allows us to explain why certain usages are available to this marker.

Case is a class of grammatical elements that has often been investigated in researches on semantic extensions and in the creation of semantic maps. Case systems are notorious for reducing in size and adding extensions, which makes them a fertile area for semantic research, but which can also cause difficulties for determining the original meaning of a marker, especially as it is often unclear what a marker was originally used for (Kulikov 2009:455). There is a large amount of literature on ablative case extensions. Heine (2009:467) connects the ablative with cause, possessive, partitive, or instrumental markers, and for Ngiyambaa (Malchukov and Narrog 2009:520) it has been attested to spread to circumstantial nouns and to oblique and circumstantial uses of 1/2nd person (free) pronouns. Through extensive research into languages of the world, there are common grammaticalizations that have been identified for certain markers and domains. If we use the grammaticalization paths provided by Heine and Kuteva (2002:29-35, 93, 330), there follows a range of different uses that we might expect to find for an ablative marker. If we consider the function of the ablative as described by Mous (1992), the following functions might be relevant and we can create the following scheme (9).

(9)

```
┌────────┐        ┌──────────┐      ┌────────┐      ┌──────────────┐
│ Source │ ─────> │ Temporal │      │ Simile │ <─── │    Manner    │
└────────┘        └──────────┘      └────────┘      └──────────────┘
                        │                                  ↑
                        ↓                                  │
                  ┌────────┐        ┌──────────┐     ┌──────────────┐
                  │ Cause  │ <───── │ Locative │     │ Instrumental │
                  └────────┘        └──────────┘     └──────────────┘
```
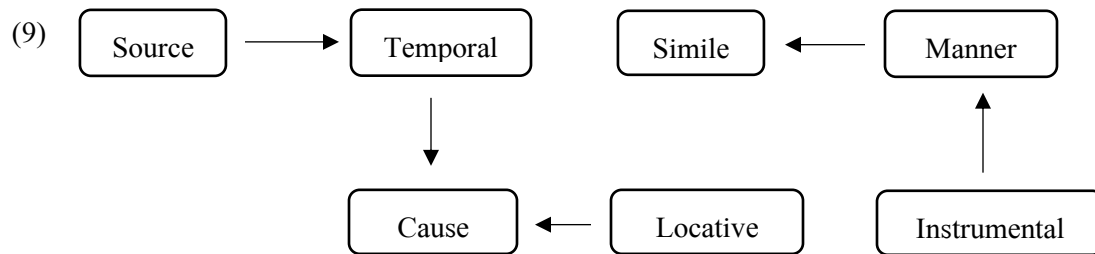
Source constructions have been often connected to temporal and causal constructions. There is also a link from locative to causal constructions, but, as was expected, no direct link has been attested between the source and the location marker. The simile constructions remain completely unlinked to the source structure, but occurs frequently in connection with an instrumental marker. There are also some common functions of the ablative that have not been represented here, as there is no indication in the data that they occur in Iraqw. Those functions are the comparative, indication of material, and the partitive (Heine and Kuteva 2002:30-1). None of these uses are attested in the grammars of Mous (1992) or Nordbustad (1988), and an exhaustive search of the corpus provides no evidence for any of these usages either. There are some indications that historically the ablative was used in comparative and partitive constructions, but since this research solely focuses on synchronic usages, this will not be discussed further except when useful for the interpretation of the data.

3. STRUCTURAL PROPERTIES

This section will first discuss the structural properties of the Iraqw adverbial case clitics, including the ablative case clitic. It mainly answers questions like 'where', 'on what', and 'where not'. This section does not focus on the specific meaning of the clitic, which means that the examples provided below do not consider the function of the clitic, only the position and the attachment. It will also address the use of the ablative clitic on verbal nouns as described in Mous (1992). Several of the structural properties of the Iraqw language will be briefly discussed, if they add to the understandability of this thesis or are of importance to the claims made.

3.1 THE ADVERBIAL CASE CLITICS

The ablative clitic is one of the Iraqw adverbial case clitics. These adverbial case clitics each give a separate case assignment to a noun. There are four adverbial case clitics in total: the ablative case clitic, the directional case clitic, the instrumental case clitic and the reason case clitic. The ablative has already been introduced and is the core topic of this thesis (10a). The others will be introduced here and their core semantics discussed briefly.

Firstly, there is the directional case clitic *-i*. This clitic has been described as the opposite of the ablative clitic and its main function is to encode the goal of a motion and it can be translated as 'to, on, into' (10b). The second case clitic is the instrumental clitic which has the form *-r* when preceded by a vowel and *-ar* when preceded by a consonant. This case clitic indicates that the noun is used as an instrument (10c), and is also commonly used to indicate manner, the comitative, and an exchange of items. Lastly, there is the reason case clitic *-sa* which indicates the cause of an event (Mous 1992:107) (10d).

(10) a. *naxés ba'ari   ni-na   bará   sla/a-tá-wa   ti'it*
          well bees   PL-PAST in:CON   bush-F1-ABL   appears:3.SG.F
          'Then bees appear from the bush.'

      b. */ameeni i   hi'i<m>iit   dír   yaeé-r-i   alé*
          woman   S.3 walk<DUR>:3.SG.F place:CON river-F-DIR   RESPRO
          'The woman walks to the river.'

      c. *dooslitamo /ayto'o   ga-na   doósl   kurmó-r   alé*
          farmer   maize   O.3:O.F-PAST   dig:3.SG.M hoe-INSTR   RESPRO
          'The farmer digs the maize with a hoe.'

      d. *hhawaata   i-na   hikwá-sa   daqay*
          man   S.3-PAST cattle-REAS go:3.SG.M
          'The man goes for (to get) the cattle.'

The adverbial case clitics behave in a similar manner syntactically and morphologically. The following sections will elaborate on their attachment to their host and their position in the clause.

3.1.1 ATTACHMENT ISSUES

The adverbial case clitics attach to their host via a gender linker if the noun is unmodified. Iraqw nouns have three genders: masculine, feminine and neuter (Mous 1992:41). Gender agreement is irrespective of number and is nearly always different between plural and singular forms of the noun. Both the masculine and the feminine gender have a subgroup, which is defined by a different form of gender linker, which are called respectively F1 and M1. For nouns inflected with a demonstrative or possessive suffix, the gender linker is not necessary. The ablative clitic is attached to this linker, keeping in consideration the vowel coalescence rules that rule that the linker -*u* is deleted after *o* (Mous 1992:33). For all the gender linkers as they appear before the ablative clitic, see example (11).

(11)   a. *tsatsee*/ (M) 'stars'   > *tsate*/*wa*
      b. *basa* (M1) 'South'   > *baskwa*
      c. *Arusha* (F) 'PN.loci'   > *Arusharwa*
      d. *hhara* (F1) 'stick'   > *hhartawa*
      e. *gi'i* (N) 'ghost'   > *gi'iwa*

(Mous 1992:104)

Not all adverbial case clitics behave exactly the same when it comes to gender linkers. For example, the directive case only has gender linkers for feminine and M1 nouns (Mous 1992:103-4), whereas the others take a broader variety of linkers.

The tonal properties of the adverbial clitics might be variable among speakers. This is not reported in Mous (1992), but for the speakers in Kwermusl, all adverbial case clitics carry a high tone that spreads to the preceding vowel (12). The adverbial case clitic itself may either carry a high tone or a low tone, this is variable depending on the sentence and the preference of the speaker.

(12) a. *muu*   *shuúle*   *ga-n*   *tleéhh*   *matofaálí-r-wa* *alé*
          people   school   O.3:O.F-EXPEC   make:3.SG.M   bricks-F-ABL   RESPRO
          'The people build a school because they had bricks.'

      b. *tleeusmo'* *hutlay*   *gu-n*   *tleéhh*   *tleeí-r-ár*   *alé*
          potter   pot   O.3:O.M-EXPEC   make:3.SG.M   clay-F-INSTR   RESPRO
          'The potter makes the pot with clay.'

      c. */ameeni* *i*   *hi'ii\<m\>ít*   *dír*   *yaeé-r-í*   *alé*
          woman   S.3   walk\<DUR\>3.SG.F   place:CON   river-F-DIR RESPRO
          'The woman walks to the river.'

      d. *hhawaata* *i-na*   *hikwaá-sa*   *daqáy*
          man   S.3-PAST   cattle-REAS   go:3.SG.M
          'The man goes for the cattle.'

Many speakers have trouble distinguishing between high and low tones, even though in certain cases it is important for the correct parsing of the sentence. There is no clear reason for deciding on either the high tone or the low tone on the clitic itself, as often both variants are accepted and it does not influence the semantics. However, the high tone of the construct case can be important for the correct interpretation of the sentence. For example, with the directional case clitic, the preceding high tone (13a) may result in a minimal pair with the demonstrative (13b).

(13) a. *siyó* *i*   *tuumbín*   *amór*   **tláw**-*t-í*   *alé*
          fish   S.3   swim:3.SG.M place:CON   lake-F1-DIR   RESPRO
          'The fish swim to the lake.'

      b. *siyó* *i*   *tuumbín*   *amór*   **tlaw**-*t(-i-)í*   *alé*
          fish   S.3   swim:3.SG.M place:CON   lake-F1(-DEM1-)DIR   RESPRO
          'The fish swim to this lake.'

The adverbial case clitics can attach either to a bare noun or to a modified noun. This means that the clitic can be attached to a noun modified by a possessive suffix (14a), adjective or a relative clause (14b), or may consist of a personal (pro)noun (14c) (Mous 1992:244-5).

(14) a. *sleé ga-na   dír   inslawamo-wós-wa   sláy*
       cow O.3:O.F-PAST place:CON neighbour-3.SG.POSS-ABL get:3.SG.M
       'He gets a cow from his neighbour.'

    b. *iimpirmo u-na   taataáhh   dír   na/ay-dá'   gwaa   fiís-wa alé*
       ball   O.M-PAST take:1.SG place:CON child-DEM4 O.3:O.M:PERF steal-ABL RESPRO
       'I take the ball from the child who stole it.'

    c. *a-na   goów   as   inoín-wa alé*
       S.1/2-PAST go.away:1.SG because 3.PL-ABL RESPRO
       'I run away from them.'

The case clitics attach to the preceding noun, even if this noun is not the object of the case relation. For example in (15) the case clitic is attached to the direct object of the clause, instead of the indirect object which functions as the goal of the action. This shows that the adverbial case clitics have a fixed position before the main verb and that they can attach to a non-complement. The placement of noun phrases in Iraqw is governed by pragmatics, not by syntax, which means that their order is relatively free and the case clitics have to take whatever noun is available to host them. If there is no noun present, the case clitics, with exception of the ablative, can cliticize to the preceding object pronoun (Mous 1992:102). This will be further discussed in section 3.1.3.

(15) *buura a-n   sum-i   qaas-áan*
     beer O.F-EXPEC poison-DIR put-1.PL
     'We'll put poison into the beer.'

                                                    (Mous 1992:246)

In some cases the adverbial clitics can occur without a host in the verbal complex, while refering to a noun phrase located outside of the verbal complex. In this case the object occurs in the patient argument position, and the ablative clitic remains in the position within the verbal complex (16).

(16) *Kwa/aangw muu   gu-na   wa   qasen*
     Hare   people O.3:O.M-PAST ABL laugh
     'Hare laughed because of the people.'

There are also cases in which verbs have formed a compound with one of the adverbial clitics. The exact semantic relation between the clitics and the meaning of the verbs is often speculative. The instances found with the ablative clitic can often be attributed to its reason semantics, as with *wa*/*aa*/ 'cry about (Mous 1992:198-199). Such adverbial clitic-compound might be the result of the grammaticalization of the construction in (16).

3.1.2 SYNTAX

Iraqw basic sentences consist of the verb 'to be', commonly referred to as the selector, and the main verb, which together form the verbal complex of the sentence. A verbal complex is the bare minimum for forming an Iraqw sentence. As arguments and tense are marked on the selector and the verb, subjects and objects need not be expressed overtly but often still are. The word order of Iraqw sentences is relatively free and is governed by pragmatics. The object and subject can appear both before the verb complex and behind it, in free order.

Noun phrases marked with the adverbial case clitics have two distinct positions in the clause in which they can appear. The first position is in the core of the sentence, concretely meaning that they occur directly in front of the verb and after the selector (17).

(17) a. *murú /ayma*   *Joseph*   *gu-na*   ***tsiindó-wa***   *amohhe'eés*
          food   PN   O.3:O.M-PAST   evening-ABL   prepare:3.SG.M
          'From the evening on Joseph prepared the food.'
      b. */ameeni i*   *dír*   ***yaeé-r-i***   *hi'i<m>iit*
          woman   S.3   place:CON   river-F-DIR   walk<DUR>3.SG.F
          'The woman walks to the river.'

The second position is outside of the core of the sentence, in which case the noun phrase marked with the adverbial clitic follows the main verb and in turn must be followed by the resumptive pronoun *alé* (18). The resumptive pronoun must always follows verbal adverbs and noun phrases marked with the adverbial clitics that appear after the verb (Mous 1992:117). Example (18a) illustrates that locative phrases marked by the ablative case clitic, here '*dír qatuúwa alé*', must be followed by *alé*, whereas unmarked locative phrases, here '*ay gawá muundí*', do not.

(18) a. *kitaangw*   *u-na*   *hingeés*   ***dír***   ***qat-uú-wa***   ***alé***   *ay*   *gawá*
          chair   O.M-PAST   move:1.SG   place:CON   room-M-ABL   RESPRO   DIR   top:CON
          muundí[4]
          courtyard
          'I moved the chair from the sleeping room to the courtyard.'
      b. */ameeni i*   *hi'i<m>iit*   ***dír***   ***ya'e-r-i***   ***alé***
          woman   S.3   walk<DUR>3.SG.F   place:CON   river-F-DIR   RESPRO
          'The woman walks to the river.'

---

[4] A more accurate translation of *muundí* would be 'open space with grass within the compound' (Mous, Qorro, and Kiessling 2002:173), but for brevity's sake I have translated it as either 'courtyard' or 'grass' (depending on the felicity of the English idiomatic translation) in this thesis.

The position that the element occupies does not affect the semantics of the clause as illustrated by (17b) and (18b). Nouns marked by the adverbial case clitics are not free in order like bare nouns and instead are restricted to the two positions that have been described above. This means that all other positions are unavailable to a phrase marked with an adverbial case clitic and the resumptive pronoun is obligatory in the post-verbal position (19). Full argument positions are therefore not open to any noun phrase with an adverbial clitic, for example before the verbal complex (19a) or behind the verbal complex without presumptive pronoun (19b).

(19) a. *_murú /ayma_   _Joseph_   **_tsiindó-wa_**   _gu-na_   _amohhe'eés_
          food   PN   evening-ABL   O.3:O.M-PAST   prepare:3.SG.M
          'From the evening on Joseph prepared the food.'
      b. *_/ameeni_   _i_   _hi'i<m>iit_   **_dír_**   **_yaeé-r-i_**
          woman   S.3   walk<DUR>3.SG.F   place:CON   river-F-DIR
          'The woman walks to the river.'

A phrase with an adverbial clitic cannot function as one of the core arguments of the verb nor as an argument in a non-verbal copular or locational phrase (compare 20a and 20b). The case clitics are closely tied to the verbal complex and are circumstantial in nature. They always have the role of oblique argument. They can occur in sentences where there is no main verb, but only as oblique argument (21).

(20) a. _kitaangw_   _i_   _gawá_   _muundí_
          chair   S.3   top:CON   grass
      b. *_kitaangw_   _i_   _gawá_   _muundí-r-wa_   _alé_
          chair   S.3   top:CON   grass-F-ABL   RESPRO
          'The chair is on the grass.'

(21) _huunkáy i_   _fúti_   _kumuú_   _wák_   _gawa iimír_   _yamuú-wa_   _alé_
       cloud   S.3   feet   hundred one   top   from:CON   ground-ABL RESPRO
       'The cloud is a hundred feet up from the ground.'

This means that an adverbial case clitic adds another complement to a clause, which is always an oblique argument. It can happen that there are multiple oblique arguments for the ablative clitic to attach to. When it involves multiple items the last items will be marked and the first will not be marked at all. The double use of the -_wa_ in a sentence is dispreferred (22c). Marking only the first oblique argument is ungrammatical (22b).

(22) a. *dasi i-na   masaasákw nee   diwíl-**wa**   gób*
      girl S.3-PAST   black.ants and   wasps-ABL run.away:3.SG.F

   b. * *dasi i-na   masaasákw **wa**   nee   diwíl   gób*
       girl S.3-PAST   black.ants ABL and   wasps   run.away:3.SG.F

   c. * *dasi i-na   masaasákw **wa** nee   diwíl-**wa**   gób*
       girl S.3-PAST   black.ants ABL and   wasps-ABL run.away:3.SG.F

    'The girl runs away because of the ants and the wasps.'

Even when the two ablative clitics serve different functions, using it multiple times in one sentence is dispreferred. In example (23), there is both a locational noun phrase and a temporal noun phrase present to which the ablative can attach. As the temporal construction has the preposition *iimír* 'from' to express ablative temporal meaning the ablative clitic can be left out and it can therefore be placed on the locative phrase. In regular temporal phrases marking a phrase with both *iimír* and the ablative clitic is possible too, but here this option is blocked by the locative use of the clitic.

(23) a. */ameeni i-na   iw<iw>ít   bará   muundí-r-wa   alé   iimír*
      woman   S.3-PAST sit<DUR>3.SG.F in:CON   grass-F-ABL   RESPRO from:CON
      matlatlee
      morning
      'The woman has been sitting on the grass since the morning.'

   b. */ameeni i-na   iw<iw>ít   bará   muundí-r-wa   alé   iimír*
      woman   S.3-PAST sit<DUR>3.S.G.F in:CON   grass-F-ABL   RESPRO from:CON
      matlatleé-r-wa alé
      morning-F-ABL RESPRO
      'The woman has been sitting on the grass since the morning.'

3.1.3 DIFFERENCES BETWEEN THE ABLATIVE AND THE OTHER CASE CLITICS

In most aspects of their morphology and syntax, adverbial case clitics act in the same manner, but there are some areas in which the ablative case clitic diverges slightly from the behaviour of the other three adverbial case clitics.

First of all, the ablative case clitic does not have a corresponding preposition that can be used to express source. All the other adverbial clitics do have corresponding prepositions, namely the following: *ay* 'DIR' (24a), *ar* 'INSTR' (24b), *as* 'REAS' (24c). Logically, we would expect a preposition like *wa* or *aw(a)* or something similar to correspond to the ablative case clitic, yet it does not exist.

(24) a. *iimpirmo*   *aa*   *amór*   *peehhí-r-wa*   *gwangwara'aat ay*   *dír*   *guftano*
          ball   S.3:PERF place:CON wood-F-ABL   roll:3.SG.M   DIR place:CON trunk
          'The ball rolls away from the piece of wood to the (piece of) trunk.'

     b. *tleeusmo'*   *hutlaay* *gu-n*   *tleéhh*   *ar*   *tleei*
          potter   pot   O.3:O.M-EXPEC make:3.SG.M   INSTR   clay
          'The potter makes a pot out of clay.'

     c. *makaay* *ni-na*   *gow-ír*   *as*   *slakaatuusmo*
          animals PL-PAST   run.away-3.PL   REAS   hunter
          'The animals run away from the hunter.'

It is unclear why this preposition does not exist. It could be hypothesized that such a preposition would be redundant as the preposition *iimír* 'from/since' already fulfills the function of source preposition. Or it could be postulated that the prepositions are formed by combining the copula with the case clitic, and since the ablative clitic cannot occur in this position, it could not form such a preposition. Both theories are highly speculative, but the second theory does land the discussion on the second point on which the ablative clitic diverges from the others.

   The ablative case clitic cannot appear on a selector, which is a restriction which does not apply to the other adverbial clitics (25a). The reason for this is pretty straightforward: there is a background aspect tense marker which also has the form -*wa* which appears on selectors and which function is backgrounding (Mous 1992:147). It is used to indicate that a certain action constitutes the background to the action of the verb in the main clause, meaning that it occurs at the same time of the action of the verb in the following or preceding clause or it occurred before the action of the main verb (25b). While diachronically they might be derived from the same source, synchronically there is no reason to assume that the background marker and the ablative marker are the same, as they never occur in each others environment, and neither can take the function(s) of the other. Therefore, I will treat the two as distinct homonyms rather than the same marker here.

(25) a. *aníng kurmo*   *u-n-**ar***   *doósl*
          1.SG hoe   O.M-EXPEC-INSTR   dig:1.SG
          'I dig with a hoe.'

                                                                                              (Mous 1992:153)

     b. *aníng ni-**wa***   *hardáh*   */isá*   *inós*   *i*   *barwad-á*   *tsár*
          1.SG DEP.S.1.SG-BACK   arrive:1.SG yesterday   3.SG   S.3 letters-N:CON   two
          goín
          write:3.SG.M
          'When I arrived yesterday, he was writing two letters.'

                                                                                              (Mous 1992:147)

In short the ablative case clitic is in most ways identical to the other adverbial case clitics, but does not possess a corresponding preposition. Also the ablative cannot occur on selectors as this would result in an overlap with the background marker -*wa* which occurs on selectors. The other adverbial clitics do not have this restriction nor a similar overlap.

3.2 VERBAL NOUNS

In the introduction it was mentioned that in Mous (1992:106) the ablative case clitics are also attested on verbal nouns (26), but Mous reports that in this environment they are not used with any specific locational meaning which is in contrast with regular noun phrases that are marked with the ablative clitic.

(26) *tluway*   *fiiro-r-wa*   *alé*
      rain   asking-F-ABL   RESPRO
      'in order to ask for rain'

(Mous 1992:106)

He also states that "if the nominalised verb is not circumstantial and if there is another object, the nominalised verb can occur in the verbal phrase with the ablative suffix -*wa*" (27) (Mous 1992:271).

(27) *kú*   *u*   **lawe'esa-r-wa**   *sláa'*
      2.SG.M   O.M   greeting-F-ABL   want:1.SG
      'I want to greet you.'

(Mous 1992:271)

This need for another object within the clause seems odd, as regular verbal nouns do not require such a thing nor is it something we known from regular ablative nouns. The following sections examine this problem and focus on the syntactic form of the verbal noun marked with the ablative case clitic. The semantics of the construction will also be discussed briefly.

3.2.1 GENERAL PROPERTIES OF IRAQW VERBAL NOUNS

Iraqw verbal nouns can serve numerous syntactic and semantic roles. Verbal nouns can be used as the external subject (28a), the internal object (28b), and the external object (28c) of a clause (Mous 1992:265).

(28) a. **tlaqó-r**   tla/e   i   tsaxwá   koón

        throwing:CON-F   stones   S.3   danger:CON have:3.SG.F

        'Throwing stones is dangerous.'

    b. *mulqomo-'ée'*   i   **Imború keemú**   sláa'   matlo

        friend-1.SG.POSS   S.3   Mbulu   going:CON want:3.SG.M tomorrow

        'My friend wants to go to Mbulu today.'

    c. *baabá*   **kii/ima-wós**   g-i-n   da'amar-án

        father   return-3.SG.POSS   O.3-O.N-EXPEC wait-DUR:3SG.M

        'Father waits for his return.'

<div align="right">(Mous 1992:265-6)</div>

Iraqw verbal nouns can be part of complex noun phrases (29a), and are frequently marked with the background suffix. If the verbal noun is not an external subject and the main verb is intransitive, the background suffix -*o* can be used to form an adjunct with the verbal noun phrase (29b).

(29) a. *aníng* **hlaahh-tá**   **oowi** *a-na*   *axáas*

        1.SG   beating-F1:CON   drum O.F-PAST listen:1.SG

        'I heard the beating of the drum.'

    b. *inós* *i* *baló* *kii/-ii-ká*   **fiiso-r-o**

        3.SG S.3 ever return-S.3:INF-NEG   stealing-F-BACK

        'He will never steal again.'

<div align="right">(Mous 1992:266)</div>

If the verbal noun is adjuncted with the background marker and it has an object, the object pronoun will agree with the external or understood (implied) object of the verbal noun, and not with the verbal noun itself. Compare (30a) and (30b). In (30a) the agreement of the selector is with verbal noun which appears in a full argument position. In (30b) the verbal noun is readjusted to be an adjunct and can therefore no longer agree with the selector. Therefore the selector cannot agree with the verbal noun, and instead agrees with the direct object.

(30) a. **tsa/amtó-r**   *gawá*   *xa'ano* **ga**   *aleeslay-ká*

        climbing:CON-F   top:CON tree(M) O.3:O.F can:3.SG.M-NEG

        'He cannot climb into the tree.'

    b. **xa'ano** *tsa/amtó-r-o*   **gu**   *aleeslay-ká*

        tree(M) climbing-F-BACK O.3:O.M can:3.SG.M-NEG

        'He cannot climb the tree.'

<div align="right">(Mous 1992:270)</div>

Iraqw verbal nouns do not indicate tense, but if the clause must be explicitly future, this is done by adding the auxiliary *aw* 'to go' which removes the main verb from the verb position and returns in as a verbal noun (31).

(31)   *makay   i   ma'á   **wahúngw   ay-á'***
      animals S.3   water:CON   drinking:CON   go:3-PL
      'The animals will drink water.'

<div align="right">(Mous 1992:266-7)</div>

Person agreement can be marked on verbal nouns. The subject of a nominalised verb may be expressed by a possessive suffix (32a), as long as the subject is a person. The patient can also be marked on the verbal noun through possessive suffixes (32b), if it concerns a person, which means that some phrases may be ambiguous and the interpretation of the possessive suffix on verbal nouns is context-dependent (Mous 1992:270).

(32)   a.   *tleemu-w-**ós**   ngu-na   aníng-i   óo'*
          leaving-M-3.SG.POSS O.3:HIT:O.M-PAST 1.SG-DIR say:3.SG.M
          'He informed me of his leaving.'
      b.   *aníng a   harahhif-íit   ara'aangw-**os**-ee*
          1.SG   S.1/2 expect-MID:1.SG   seeing-3.SG.POSS-BACK
          'I expect to see him.'

<div align="right">(Mous 1992:270)</div>

3.2.2 THE ABLATIVE CLITIC ON VERBAL NOUNS

At a first glance at the data, there seem to be two types of constructions which feature a verbal noun marked with the ablative clitic. The first type is discussed in the section on verbal nouns in Mous (1992:271). These constructions has no obvious source semantics, leading to Mous' statement that they can be used with 'no specific locational meaning'. They are frequently found in combination with the main verb *slaa'* 'to want, love, like' (33a/b). Of the eight attestations of this type of construction in the corpus, six are composed of a clause with the main verb *slaa'*. This verb has been described by Mous and Qorro (2010:73) as a verb that lets the verbal noun into the verbal complex. As this is the position in which we find the adverbials case clitics, their co-occurrence may not be entirely unexpected. However, this type can take other main verbs as well, as in Mous (1992) there are two instances that do not take the main verb *slaa'* and also have no clear source semantics (33c).

(33) a. *ku*   *malé* **muxtá-r-wa**   *slaa'*

       O.3:IMPS:O.M   again beating-F-ABL   want:3.SG.M

       'They wanted to beat him again.'

<div align="right">(Mous and Sanka 2008:110)</div>

  b. *gi'i*   *ado-r-'ín*   *a-t-í*   *awu* *buur-ku*

       ghosts   manner-F-3.PL.POSS   S.3-IMPS-DEM.1 bull   COND:O.3:O.M-O.3:IMPS:O.M

       gaasá-r-wá   *slaa'*

       killing-F-ABL   want:3.SG.M

       'The work of the spirits of the ancestors is like this when they want to slaughter a bull.'

<div align="right">(Berger and Kiessling 1998:223)</div>

  c. *barisee*   *masamba*   *ngi-na*   *ya/áb*   *dír*   *qwahlarmo*

       elders   youth   O.3:DEP.S.3:O.F-PAST   send:3.SG.F   place:CON   medicine.man

       fiirór   **tluway-wa** *alé*

       asking:CON rain-ABL   RESPRO

       'The elders sent the boys to ask the rainmaker.'

<div align="right">(Mous 1992:271)</div>

    In the second type of construction, the known semantics of the ablative clitic are clearly present in the clause. In example (34a) the source of a movement is indicated and (34b) indicates a reason and is introduced with *asma* 'because', exposing clear reason-semantics.

(34) a. *naagáy* *saree/a* *ni-ri*   *wátl*   *bará*   *slakt-uú-wa*   *alé*

       then   buffalo   HIT-CONSEC return:3.SG.M   in:CON   hunt-M-ABL   RESPRO

       'Then the buffalo came back from hunting.'

<div align="right">(Berger and Kiessling 1998:142)</div>

  b. *dasu* *nee* *aten* *a-n*   *meet-aan*   *bara*   *qaymo*   *asma*   *balo-da*

       girls and   1.PL   S.1/2-EXPEC remain-l.PL   in:CON   field   because   day-DEM4

       kwi-dá   *na*   *fiq-aan*   *alhhe'eese-r-owa* *alé*   *gaga-r-o*

       INDEP.M-DEM4 DEP.S.1/2:PERF harvest-l.PL finishing-F-ABL   RESPRO carrying-F-BACK

       'We and the girls stay in the field because in the days on which we harvest, we carry the harvest until it is finished.'

<div align="right">(Mous 1992:335)</div>

    Mous (1992:271) states that a sentence with a verbal noun with an ablative clitic must have another object as well. For the first type of construction, this is indeed what we find. In (35a) the verbal noun has the construct case and there is no other object present. However, when the verbal noun is marked with the ablative clitic this automatically adds an object which will be derived from the selector if no overt object is available (35b).

<div align="right">24</div>

(35) a. *i   /aymár   sla'-ír*
     S.3   eat:CON   want-3.PL
     'They want to eat.'
  b. *i   /aymá-r-wa   sla'-ír*
     S.3   eat-F-ABL   want-3.PL
     'They want to eat me/you (2.SG.F).'

However, the second type shows no such restrictions. There can either be another object present as in (34c, repeated below as (36a) for convenience), but phrases without another object are perfectly fine as well (36b).

(36) a. *i-na   oó',   xáy aáma án   kiíng   balá'   i   bará   gwa'arár wa*
     S.3-PAST say:3.SG.M INTER dear S.1/2 2.SG.F   day:CON   S.3   in:CON   death-F-ABL
     tu/uúm-â-ke
     pull.out:3.SG.M-INF:INT-NEG
     'He said, dear, (don't your forget) that day I rescued you from death (lit. dying).'
                                                                    (Mous and Sanka 2008:83)
  b. *ag'ale   aayi   i-n   amór-d-i   harakií/   nee*
     always   mother   S.3-EXPEC place:CON-DEM4-DIR return:3.SG.M:PRES with
     hárgarma-wos-ee   asma   tseehhee qasa-r-wa   alé
     daughter.in.law-3.SG.POSS-BACK because manure   placing-F-ABL RESPRO
     'Mother always returns home with the daughter-in-law to put the manure inside.'
                                                                    (Mous 1992:335)

Instead of postulating two distinct types of verbal noun plus ablative clitic constructions, I would like to argue against the stated need for another object. When the verbal noun receives the ablative marker it becomes an adjunct and can therefore no longer function as the direct object of the noun. If the verb is transitive (e.g. *slaa'*) this leaves a vacuum and requires the insertion of another object to fulfill the empty semantic role. This means that adding the ablative clitic on a verbal noun which is bare or in construct case, the sentence loses an argument which has to be replaced. However, in the case the verb is intransitive the verbal noun plus ablative construction can occur without another object without any problem, as there is no need to fill the object roll.

This would also mean that the semantics of the first type should also be derivable from the regular semantics of the ablative clitic, as they should be similar to the second type. I will tentatively hypothesize that the causal semantics of the ablative make this function available to the clitic. After all, the examples sentences can easily be reanalysed to fit the reason-semantics (37).

(37) a. *daaqay   gu   doohla-r-wa   slaa'*
      boys   O.3:O.M digging-F-ABL want:3.SG.M
      'He wants the boys to help dig.'
      Proposed analysis: 'He wants the boys for digging'.

<div align="right">(Mous 1992:271)</div>

    b. *kángw   Iraqw   u   intsahhá-r-wa   slaá'*
      language Iraqw   O.M   learn-F-ABL   want:1.SG
      'I want to learn Iraqw.'
      Proposed analysis: I want Iraqw for learning (because I want to learn it)

<div align="right">(own data)</div>

In cases where the reason semantics are not so readily available to the main verb, we find slightly odd phrases or interpretations of the sentence that lay bare the underlying reason-semantics. In (38a) the regular expression for expressing 'the man starts digging in the field' is given. If we attempt to add the ablative clitic, this significantly changes the meaning of the sentence. In (38b) where the verbal noun is marked with the ablative clitic, there is the implication that this was not the original purpose of the field. Marking the digging as reason would suggest that this is a marked decision and therefore not the original purpose of the field.

(38) a. *hhawaata   qaymo doosla-r-o   gaa   iimu/ún*
      man   field   dig-F-BACK O.3:O.F:PERF   start:3.SG.M
      'The man started digging the field.'
    b. *hhawaata   qaymo gaa   dooslá-r-wa iimu/ún*
      man   field   O.3:O.F:PERF   dig-F-ABL   start:3.SG.M
      'The man started digging the field (although it was meant for something else).'

Additional evidence for analysing both constructions as containing conventional ablative semantics, can be gained by examining the use of the other adverbial case clitics on verbal nouns. Mous (1992:271-2) also mentions that in some sentence the *-sa* reason clitic can be used instead of the *-wa* (39a) and that in some cases it is possible for a verbal noun with the instrumental marker to occur in the core of the sentence (39b).

(39) a. *garma*   *gu-na*   **barwadu leehha-r-sa**   *ya/aáw*
        boy   O.3:O.M-PAST   letters   catching-F-REAS   send:3.SG.M
        'He sent a boy to get the letters.'

    b. *daaqay*   *gu*   **doohla-r-ar** *hlaa'*
        boys   O.3:O.M   dig-F-INSTR want:3.SG.M
        'He intends to make the boys do the digging.'

<div align="right">(Mous 1992:271-2)</div>

On the subject of the -*sa* reason clitic I will be quite brief, as this clitic will be discussed fully in section 5.2.2. For here it suffices to say that the reason clitic is not very common in use and in (most) cases cannot replace the ablative clitic. The sentences with -*sa* are not judged to be ungrammatical, but not readily accepted by speakers either, which is why they have been marked with a double question mark instead of a star (40b).

(40) a. *kár*   *kuuray*   *gu*   *mak* */aymá-r-wa*   *slaá'*
        well   eagle   O.3:O.M   just   eating-F-ABL   want:3.SG.M
        'And then the eagle wants to eat him.'

<div align="right">(Mous and Sanka 2008:89)</div>

    b. ??*kár kuuray*   *gu*   *mak* */aymá-r-sa*   *slaá'*
        well   eagle   O.3:O.M   just   eating-F-REAS want:3.SG.M
        'And then the eagle wants to eat him.'

The use of the instrumental is quite interesting, because in (39b) there do not seem to be any instrumental semantics present. However, in my data it does call for an instrumental-like object. For example, in (41) the replacement of the ablative with the instrumental is rejected. Example (42) illustrates why this is the case. Like (41b), (42b) is rejected, and instead (42a) is offered as a repair, where an instrument is added to the clause to which the instrumental case clitic can refer.

(41) a. *kángw* *Iraqw*   *u*   *intsahhá-r-wa* *slaá'*
        language Iraqw   O.M   learn-F-ABL   want:1.SG
        'I want to learn Iraqw.'

    b. * *kángw Iraqw*   *u*   *intsahhá-r-ár* *slaá'*
        language Iraqw   O.M   learn-F-INSTR want:1.SG
        'I want to learn Iraqw.'

(42) a. *leei a kuúng ár laawe'esá-r-ar slaá'*
gift S.1/2 2.SG.M INSTR greet-F-INSTR want:1.SG
'I want to greet you with a gift.'

b. **kuúng u laawe'eesá-r-ar slaá'*
2.SG.M S.1/2 greet-F-INSTR want:1.SG
'I want to greet you.'

If we find the ablative, reason and instrumental case clitics on verbal nouns, it would make sense to assume the position is also open to the directional case clitic. However, this is not the case, as example (43a) is rejected, unless the case clitic is interpreted as the demonstrative suffix (43b). This is in line with the report on case clitic on verbal nouns by Mous (1992:271).

(43) a. **daaqay gu dooslá-r-í slaá'*
boys O.3:O.M dig-F-DIR want:3.SG.M
? 'He wants the boys towards digging.'

b. *daaqay gu doosla-r-í-wa slaá'*
boys O.3:O.M dig-F-DEM1-ABL want:3.SG.M
'He wants the boys for this digging.'

As the other adverbial case clitics keep their semantics, I will assume that the ablative does the same. As the only meaning of the ablative clitic that makes sense in these construction is the reason-meaning, I will assume it is this function that is utilized here.

3.3 SUMMARY

The ablative clitic behaves in many aspects like the other adverbial case clitics. The clitics need a gender linker to connect to an unmodified noun and adds a high tone to the preceding vowel. The clitic has two positions in the clause: inside the verbal complex or behind the verbal complex, in which case it must be followed by the resumptive pronoun. It functions differently from the other adverbial clitics in two distinct ways. Firstly, it does not have a corresponding prepositions, like the others do, and secondly, it cannot occur on selectors as this position is already taken by the background marker which is a homonym of the ablative.

Contrary to the claims of Mous (1992:270), I have argued that verbal nouns marked with an ablative or other adverbial clitic do no require another object in the clause. Only with transitive verbs which require a second argument to take the theta role of the patient, is it necessary to have another object, as noun phrases marked by the adverbial case clitic cannot function as core arguments. The adverbial clitics have the same semantics on the verbal noun as on regular nouns. In the case of the ablative clitic, its semantics are less clear than with the others. I hypothesize that the causal semantics of the clitic are used in most verbal noun phrases, where there is no clear source meaning present.

4. SYNCRETISM OF SOURCE AND LOCATION

This chapter focuses on the issues surrounding the ablative case clitic of Iraqw and its alleged marking of both source and location. First, a brief recap of what is exactly going on. According to the grammars on Iraqw (Nordbustad 1988; Mous 1992), the ablative case clitic can be used both to indicate a source (44a) and a location (44b) of an event, yet there is a different goal marker (44c)

(44) a. *i-na*   *ti'iít*   *bará*   *qaymó-r* **wa**   *alé*

      S.3-PAST   appear:3.SG.M in:CON   field-F   ABL   RESPRO

      'He went out of the field.'

                                         (Nordbustad 1988:194, glosses mine)

    b. *i-na*   *gadiyuús*   *bará*   *qaymór* **wa**   *alé*

      S.3-PAST   work:3.SG.M   in:CON   field-F   ABL   RESPRO

      'He worked in the field.'

                                         (Nordbustad 1988:194, glosses mine)

    c. */eesi*   *inós*   *i*   *hi'<iim-am>íit*   *amo-r-i*   *alé*

      always   3.SG   S.3   travel<HAB-HAB>3.SG.M   place-F-DIR   RESPRO

      'He always travels to this place.'

                                                (Mous 1992:219)

This syncretism of source and location marker in opposition to a goal marker is highly irregular in languages of the world and has been argued to be non-existent and theoretically impossible by the existing literature. Conceptually there is no problem in reconceptualising source as location as many Indo-European place prepositions are derived from source constructions. However, if we assume that Path governs Place, and that Place is divided into Source and Goal of which Source governs Goal, then lexicalization rules determine that there is no way to syncretize source with location without also expressing goal. This thesis does not aim to make any claim regarding the hierarchy of Goal versus Source, but it will investigate the way that the ablative case clitic can be used to express location and whether the claims made by Nordbustad (1988) and Mous (1992) hold up.

4.1 SOURCE CONSTRUCTIONS

The core domain of the ablative case clitic is the Source domain. Source markers inherently encode both Place and Path, as it locates the place where the action takes place from and the Path which is directed away from the mentioned Place (45). In essence there are three things being expressed: Path, Place, and directionality.

(45)   ●——————▶

In the remainder of this section I will use the terms Ground (Talmy 2000) and Place mixed, as they refer basically to the same thing. The main vocabulary for expressing motion events stems from influential literature such as Talmy (2000) and Slobin (2004). Therefore I will mainly use the terms that they use to describe motion events. The following terms will be used: Figure is the item being located in relation to a Ground. Path describes the path and directionality of the motion in relation to the Ground.

4.1.1 THE SOURCE OF A MOTION

Most Iraqw motion events consist of a Figure and a verb which encodes Manner (Peters 2016:63-77). Path and Ground information can also be expressed in the clause, but this is not as frequent. Iraqw has a number of verb stems that express Manner, whereas Path is encoded in satellite-constructions e.g. prepositions, case and locational nouns. There are also deictic and directional verbs which encode movement with regard to the deictic centre, but which Peters (2016) claims do not encode Path since they still require an overt marking of Path through a locational noun, case or a preposition. Example (46) illustrates the use of the ablative case clitic in a motion event.

(46) *biri-ndi*   *tláy*   **amór**   **do'-ós-wa**   *alé*   *i-n*   *gawá*
     COND-VENT   leave:3.SG.M   place:CON   house-3.SG.POSS-ABL   RESPRO   S.3-EXPEC   top:CON
     daanduú   *maanaá-r-i*   *tsa/án*
     back:CON   zombie-F-DIR   climb:3.SG.M
     'He leaves the house and climbs on the back of a hyena-zombie.'

                                                                              (Inspired on Berger and Kiessling 1998:226)

Motion events do not only contain a noun and a case clitic, but also take a locational noun, which in example (46) is *amór* 'place:CON'. Iraqw has many of these locative nouns and they describe the exact relation that the Figure has to the Ground, but they do not encode Path. The nature of locational nouns will be elaborated on further in section 4.1.3. For now it suffices to state that most, and possibly all, locative nouns can be combined with the ablative case clitic. Examples (47-49) show the use of three different locational nouns in motion events which take the ablative case clitic.

(47) *iimpirmo*   *aa*   **amór**   *peehhí-r-**wa***   *gwangwaraa'aát*   *ay*   *dír*   *guftano*
     ball   S.3:PERF   place:CON   wood-F-ABL   roll:3.SG.M:MID   DIR   place:CON   trunk
     'The ball rolls away from the piece of wood to the (piece of) trunk.'

(48) *guftano*   *i-na*   *suruúk*   **dír**   *iimpirmó-**wa***   *alé*   *ay*   *amó-r-qá'*
     trunk   S.3-PAST   move:3.SG.M   place:CON   ball-ABL   RESPRO   DIR   place-F-DEM3
     'The trunk moves from the ball to that (other) side.'

(49) c*hapaáti*   *a-na*   **bará**   *qwaree/amó-**wá***   *taataáhh*
pancakes   O.F-PAST   in:CON   plate-ABL   take:1.SG
'I take the pancakes from the plate.'

The use of the ablative clitic in motion events is actually pretty straightforward. The ablative clitic can be used in 'regular' source constructions and can also be used to encode, so called, fictive motion. Fictive motion refers to the use of motion semantics in non-motion constructions. As motion concepts are frequently used outside of their own domain, this can give an important insight in the underlying representations of motion and how these are perceived and constructed in and by language (Bohnemeyer 2003, based on Talmy 2000, 1996). A full examination of fictive motion and its conceptual patterns of Iraqw falls outside the scope of this thesis, so this overview is not comprehensive on fictive motion in Iraqw, but merely an indication of some of the patterns found. It is exhaustive on the use of the ablative clitic in fictive motion present in the data.

There are two types of fictive motion constructions that are attested in the corpus. The first type is a construction that conveys the perception of sound emanating from a source (50) and the second encodes the line of sight (51) from a certain point.

(50) a. *kar   umuú hee-wo   i-wa   bará   chuúmba-r-ós-i   watl-i*
well   every man-BACK   S.3-BGND   in:CON   room-F-3.SG.POSS-DIR   go.home-3.SG.M:SBJV
du'uma   i   bara   chumba-r-ós-wa   axmaamís-iî-ke
leopard   S.3   in:CON   room-F-3.SG.POSS-ABL   hear:DUR-S.3:INF:INT-NEG:BACK
xweera-wo
night-BACK
'When every man returned to his room, didn't the leopard listen from his room in the night?'
(Mous 1992:105)

b. *i-ri   gawa-dá'-wa   uú'   so só/aa soó mirandó'   ilaá   tlakw*
S.3-CONSEC   top-DEM4-ABL   scream:3.SG.M   so só/aa soó mirandó   eyes:CON evil
'He screamed from the top: "So só/aa sóo mirandó, the evil eyes."'
(Berger and Kiessling 1998:58)

(51) a. *tsir/i   i   gawá   ságw   xa'nó-wa   amó-r-'ee   ga/eér*
bird   S.3   top:CON   head:CON   tree-ABL   place-F-1.SG.POSS   look:3.SG.F
'The bird is looking at me from the top of the tree.'
(own data)

b. *saragi   i gawtí-wa   harqaytsi<m>iit*
gazelle   S.3 top:CON-ABL   look<DUR>3.SG.F
'The gazelle is looking from above.'
(Peters 2016:64)

Outside of the corpus, I have also elicited a variety of other types of fictive motion that result from the elicitation kit of Bohnemeyer (2003). I found the use of the ablative case clitic in co-extension paths (52), demonstrative (53a) and targeting (53b) paths, and radiation paths (54) (Talmy 2000).

(52) a. *yawa i-na gawá diindirmo-wa tleer ay bará xatsa*
fence S.3-PAST top:CON elevated.land-ABL go:3.SG.F DIR in:CON valley
'The fence goes from the plateau to the valley.'

b. *qaymo i-na diya/át bihhee sleémero iimír amór do'-wa*
field S.3-PAST spread:3.SG.F:MID sides all from:CON place:CON house-ABL
alé
RESPRO
'The fields spread out in all directions from the house.'

(53) a. *a-na amó-r-qa-í looloqoós dír do'-wa alé*
S.1/2-PAST place-F-DEM.3-DIR point:1.SG place:CON house-ABL RESPRO
'I point away from the house.'

b. *kamera a-na tseegii laalaqaasa-r-ó amór dír*
camera S.1/2-PAST slowly point:3.SG.M-F-BACK place:CON place:CON
qat-uú-wa alé
living.room-M-ABL RESPRO
'I slowly point the camera away from the living room.'

(54) *gwa'ateema i-n gawá tsaa'as-ta-wa gwa'at-ír*
light S.3-EXPEC top:CON torch-F1-ABL give.light-3.PL
'The light is shining from the torch.'

Again, a full account of the use of motion semantics in fictive motion domains cannot be given here. It can however be concluded that the ablative clitic is commonly used to indicate the source of both regular motion events and fictive motion events.

4.1.2 THE SOURCE OF A NON-MOTION EVENT

The source function of the ablative case clitic is not limited to motion events, but it is frequently used in other event structures as well. The ablative clitic can be used to refer to the object from which a movement takes place, which uses the same basic scheme of Place and Path. These are not real motion events, as there is no motion verb which is being executed by an agent. Instead the source constructions is being used the encoding of a source for verbs like 'to pull' (55a) and 'to take' (56a). Without the ablative clitic

these sentences would be ungrammatical (55b/56b), which indicates that the Path is not expressed in the verb, but must be present in the clitic.

(55) a. *hhawaata   hhara   ga-na   uuruúx   bará   sla/a-tá-wa   alé*
      man   stick   O.3:O.F-PAST   pull:3.SG.M in:CON   bush-F-1-ABL   RESPRO
      'The man pulls the stick out of the bushes.'

    b. **hhawaata   hhara   ga-na   uuruúx   bará   sla/a*
      man   stick   O.3:O.F-PAST   pull:3.SG.M in:CON   bush
      'The man pulls the stick out of the bushes.'

(56) a. *garma   iimpirmo   gu-na   taataáhh   dír   hhiya-wós-wa*
      boy   ball   O.3:O.M-PAST take:3.SG.M place:CON   brother-3.SG.POSS-ABL
      alé
      RESPRO
      'The boy takes the ball from his brother.'

    b. * *garma   iimpirmo   guna   taataáhh   dír   hhiyawós*
      boy   ball   O.3:O.M-PAST take:3.SG.M place:CON   brother-3.SG.POSS
      'The boy takes the ball from his brother.'

For some verbs the ablative clitic is obligatory in order to get to the proper meaning. For example, the verb *meet* 'remain' needs the ablative clitic in order to get the meaning 'to avoid' (57).

(57) a. *i   do'-óg-wa   meet-ín*
      S.3   house-2.SG.POSS-ABL   remain-3.SG.M

    b. * *i   do'-óg   meet-ín*
      S.3   house-2.SG.POSS   remain-3.SG.M
      'He avoids your house.'

<div align="right">(Mous 1992:105)</div>

There are some verbs that have an intrinsic sense of direction, and which as a result do not need a case clitic or locational noun to specify Path. Peters (2016) argues that these verbs do not encode Path as they always need an overt marking of Path like a locational noun or case, but I will argue that this is not always the case based on the example provided in (58). The verb *daahh* 'to come from a place' has an intrinsic Source (and therefore Path) meaning and cannot be combined with the ablative clitic as this would be redundant. In (58a) there is a locational noun present, but this only indicates a general location in respect to the Ground and does not possess any Path semantics.

(58) a. *xweera-wo gwa/atema bará   slahhaangw nee   tsatse/ kilo-'ín*
     night-BACK light   in:CON   moon   and   stars   just-3.PL.POSS
     *ngi-n   **dahh-ír***
     O.3:DEP.S.3:O.N-EXPEC   come.from-3.PL

   b. * *xweera-wo   gwa/atema bará   slahhaangw nee   tsats-uu-**wa** kilo-'ín*
     night-BACK   light   in:CON   moon   and   stars-M-ABL just-3.PL.POSS
     *ngi-n   **dahh-ír***
     O.3:DEP.S.3:O.N-EXPEC   come.from-3.PL
     'At night, the only light comes from the moon and the stars.'

In some cases, it might be one of the extensions of the semantic of the ablative clitic that results in the obligatory pairing. For example, in Carlin and Mous (1995) it is stated that correspond verbs obligatorily take the ablative clitic (59), (60). There are multiple ways to interpret the use of the ablative clitic here. Either it can be posed that the person on whose behalf is being spoken, for example the king in (59), is the source of the message and therefore there is a relation to source semantics. On the other hand, we can also pose that the argument is actually a reason for the correspondence, connecting it to the 'reason'-function of the ablative that will be discussed in section 5.2. Based on the two different interpretations given in (60), I will argue for the latter.

(59) *muu   gu-na   ateét   kitángw   waawutmó wa   alé*
     people   O.3:O.M-PAST call:3.SG.M on.behalf king   ABL   RESPRO
     'He calls the people on behalf of the king.'
                                                    (Stimulus taken from Carlin and Mous 1995:131)

(60) *baabá   i-na   firiirín   daandú   dasi-r-ós-wa   alé*
     father   S.3-PAST   ask:3.SG.M back:CON   girl-F-3.SG.POSS-ABL RESPRO
     'The old man pleads on behalf of his daughter.'
                                                    (Carlin and Mous 1995:131-2)
     Two possible interpretations:
     a. The daughter has asked her father to ask someone
     b. The father wants something for his daughter.
                                                    (own data)

To summarize, the ablative clitic is used to indicate the source of non-motion verbs as well. The ablative clitic is obligatory with certain verbs either to get the correct interpretation or to supply the necessary Path semantics. If the verb already has an inherent sense of Source, the ablative clitic cannot be used.

4.1.3 Note on locational nouns

Locational noun is the term that is used to refer to a set of prepositions that indicate the relationship between a Figure and its Ground in locative constructions. These nouns indicate the exact position of a Figure, e.g. *daanduú* 'back:CON', *bihhaá* 'side:CON' or more general *bará* 'in:CON'. Most are derived from a noun of location or body part and are used in their construct form. An account of locational nouns and their exact meanings can be found in Mous (1992:95-101) and Peters (2016). Here, I limit the discussion to their relation to the ablative case clitic.

In the previous section, it was already discussed that the ablative clitic can combine with all locational nouns, including *amór* 'place:CON'. This goes against the claims of Peters (2016:70-6) who states that the ablative case clitic cannot combine with *amór* 'to' due to their contradictory meanings. Peters' (2016) claims suggest that Path is expressed by the locational nouns as well, since it is the directionality of the ablative and *amór* which would be contradictory in nature. These claims are based on the fact that Peters only attests the combination of *amór* and -*wa* when the *ni-* 'hither' morpheme is used. As a result he concludes that in these cases the locational noun refers to the motion towards the speaker and does not refer to the motion of the Figure from the Source (61a). This leads him to conclude that sentences without this speaker-directed movement are ungrammatical (61b).

(61) a. **ni**-na   **amór**   **peehhí-r-wa**   *gwangwaraa'aát*   *ay*   *dír*   *guftanoo*
        HIT-PAST place:CON   wood-F-ABL   roll:3.SG.M:MID   DIR   place:CON   trunk
        'It (the ball) rolls from the wood in our direction to the tree stump.'

    b. * *dasi*   *aa*   *tleér*   *amór*   *xa'noó-wa*   *alé*
       * girl   S.3:PERF   go:32SG.F   place:CON   tree:M-ABL   RESPRO
       * 'The girl went away from the tree.'

                                                                    (Peters 2016:78-9)

In my own data the combination of *amór* and the ablative case clitic is not only possible but even quite common. It is produced naturally in response to both verbal and non-verbal stimuli, and it is also found in narratives. In some cases, I did indeed find it in combination with the hither morpheme *ni-* (62a), but also in similar constructions without the hither morpheme present (62b). Still, this example does not completely rule out the hither-analysis, as the stimulus of (62b) shows the ball rolling in the direction of the consultant.

(62) a. *iimpirmo* **ni-na** *gwangwaraa'aát* **amór** **peehhí-r-wa** *alé* *i-ri*
ball   HIT-PAST roll:3.SG.M:MID   place:CON   wood-F-ABL   RESPRO   S.3-CONSEC

waaraahh   *ar*   *bihhaá* *guftano*
pass:3.SG.M   INDEP:CON.F   side:CON trunk

'The ball rolls away from the piece of wood close past the trunk.'

b. *iimpirmo* **aa**   **amór**   **peehhí-r-wa** *gwangwaraa'aát* *ay* *dír*
ball   S.3:PERF place:CON   wood-F-ABL   roll:3.SG.M:MID   DIR   place:CON

guftano
trunk

'The ball rolls away from the piece of wood to the (piece of) trunk.'

However, I also have found clear cases of '*amór*....*-wa*' where there is no speaker-directed motion present at all. In (63a) and (63b) there is no reason to assume any type of hither semantics, yet we still find the ablative clitic combined with the preposition that allegedly is contradictory in meaning.

(63) a. *chapaáti a-na*   *gaqaár*   *amór*   *tlaa/fí-r-wa* *alé*   *ay*   *dír*
pancakes S.1/2-PAST   carry:1.SG   place:CON   kitchen-F-ABL   RESPRO   DIR   place:CON

qata
living.room

'I carry the pancakes from the kitchen to the living room.'

b. *birindi*   *tláy*   *amór*   *do'-ós-wa*   *alé*   *i-n*
COND-VENT   leave:3.SG.M   place:CON   house-.3.SG.POSS-ABL   RESPRO   S.3-EXPEC

gawá   *daanduú*   *maanaá-r-i*   *tsa/án*
top:CON   back:CON   zombie-F-DIR   climb:3.SG.M

'He leaves the house and climbs on the back of a hyena-zombie.'

(Inspired on Berger and Kiessling 1998:226)

Based on these examples, I would like to hypothesize that locational nouns do not encode Path, but only code the precise relation between Ground and Figure. This hypothesis is supported by examples like (64), in which the locational noun means 'over, above' whereas the Path is downwards. There is no reason to assume *amór* indicates Path, as it is derived from *amo* 'place' and can even be modified by -*wa* (65).

(64) *kár* *ko-qá'*   *adoo-r-í*   *ngi-wa*   *axaás,*   *i-na*   */akuút*
well   INDEP.M-DEM3   manner-F-DIR   O.3:DEP.S.3:O.N-BGNDhear:3.SG.M   S.3-PAST   jump:3.SG.M

gawá   *kitará-r-wa*   *alé*   *ay*   *yaamu*
top:CON   stand-F-ABL   RESPRO   DIR   ground

'When he hears this, he jumps down from the stand to the ground.'

(Mous and Sanka 2008:28)

36

(65) *naxés maytsí   i   **amo-r-qá'-wa**   ti'i'iín   maytsír   aáng*
      then   cat   S.3   place-F-DEM3-ABL   run:3.SG.F   cat:CON   already

      'Then the cat is running from there, that cat.'

<div style="text-align: right;">(Mous and Sanka 2008:120)</div>

Additionally, if we consider constituency tests, *amór* forms a constituent with the noun phrase which is marked with the ablative case clitic. For example, it cannot be separated with an adverb (66a) (compare with 66b), and it can together be moved to the post verbal position (66c).

(66) a. **iimpirmo aa   **amór**   malé   **peéhhí-r-wa**   gwangwaraa'aát   ay*
          ball   S.3:PERF place:CON   again   wood-F-ABL   roll:3.SG.M   DIR
          dír   guftano
          place:CON   trunk
          'The ball rolls away again from the wood to the trunk.'

      b. *iimpirmo aa   **amór**   **peéhhí-r-wa** malé gwangwaraa'aát   ay   dír*
          ball   S.3:PERF place:CON   wood-F-ABL   again roll:3.SG.M   DIR   place:CON
          guftano
          trunk
          'The ball rolls away again from the wood to the trunk.'

      c. *iimpirmo   aa   gwangwaraa'aát   **amór**   **peéhhí-r-wa** alé   ay*
          ball   S.3:PERF roll:3.SG.M   place:CON   wood-F-ABL RESPRO   DIR
          dír   guftano
          place:CON   trunk
          'The ball rolls from the wood to the trunk.'

To summarize, the ablative clitic can freely combine with locational nouns without it influencing its source semantics. Locational nouns in themselves do not express Path, nor do they require the hither-morpheme to create a context in which they can be used.

4.2 LOCATIVE CONSTRUCTIONS

Now it is time to take a closer look at the use of the ablative case clitic in locational constructions. The use of the ablative marker to indicate location is one of its most common usages, with 41 attestations in the corpus. The ablative marker can be used to indicate undirected motion on a Ground (67).

(67) a. *i*   *bará*   *xats-ta-ka-r-**wa***   *qa~qeér*

        S.3   in:CON   valley-F1-INDEF-F-ABL   HAB~graze:3.SG.F

        'It usually grazes in a certain valley.'

                                                          (Mous 1992:106)

    b. *saree/a* *i-wa*   *bará*   *xats-ta-**wa***   *qa~qeér*   *Geesoó Duqangw i*

        buffalo S.3-BGND   in:CON   valley-F1-ABL HAB~graze:3.SG.F PN   S.3

        di-dá-wa   *iwi<iw>iit*

        place-DEM4-ABL   sit<DUR>3.SG.M

        'When the buffalo was grazing in the valley, Geeso Duqa was there.'

                                            (Mous and Sanka 2008:1)

If we consider the core primitives of the ablative clitic to be the notion of Place and the notion of Path, the expression of a basic locative construction would leave the notion of Path unexpressed. It can be argued that the examples in (67) do express a notion of Path, but that this Path lacks directionality. Contrary to the source constructions, which can be represented as (68a), the locational expressions lack a sense of boundary crossing or directed motion, and could be represented as (68b).

(68) a.

    b.
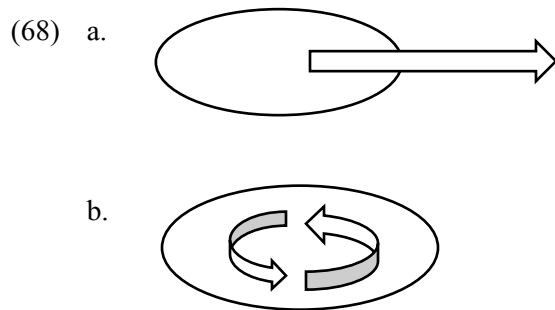
Not all the locational constructions with the ablative clitic have similar semantics to examples (67) or can be directly traced to scheme (68b). The clitic is often found in clauses that do not possess a motion verb, but that instead have a stative (69a) or active non-motion verb (69b) as the main verb. The notion of spatial Path, which would provide an explaination for the use of the ablative case marker, is not present in either of these sentences.

(69) a. *xaa'i i*   *bará*   *qaymó-r-wa*   *sihh<m>iit-ír*

        trees S.3   in:CON   field-F-ABL   stand<DUR>-3.PL

        'The trees stand in the fields.'

    b. */ameeni i* *tlabá*   *dah<m>ís*   *dír*   *qat-uú-wa*   *alé*

        woman S.3 clothes   dress<DUR>3.SG.F place:CON   bedroom-M-ABL   RESPRO

        'The woman is putting on clothes in the qata.'

The expression of location in Iraqw is not solely restricted to the ablative case clitic. There are multiple ways of expressing locational information in Iraqw, of which the ablative is but one (70a). Location can also be expressed by a bare, unmarked, noun phrase (70b) or by the directional case clitic (70c).

(70) a. *an-aá-qo*   **yaamu-dá-waá**   */an~/anuús*
        1.SG-S.1/2-EMPH   ground-DEM4-ABL HAB~romp:1.SG
        'I'll be playing at that place.'

                                                                      (Berger and Kiessling 1998:115)
      b. *xwaant-ar-á*   *ila'óh*   **alaá**   **dó   Migiiree**
        roaring.of.water-POSS.1PL-s.3:PERF   join:3.SG.M behind:CON house PN
        'The roar of our water has joined in the chorus behind Migiiree's house.'

                                                                      (Berger and Kiessling 1998:270)
      c. *garmaa-w-í*   *i*   **dó'-ós-í**   *diri*
        boy-M-DEM1   S.3   house-3.SG.POSS-DIR be.present:3.SG.M
        'This boy lived in his own house.'

                                                                      (Berger and Kiessling 1998:81)

All three of these constructions are relatively frequent in the corpus. The ablative and the bare noun constructions appear in the same frequency, with respectively 41 and 42 occurrences. The directional case clitic is a little bit less common with 32 attestations, but by no means scarce. Despite all three being quite common, and seemingly expressing the same information, they are not freely interchangeable. For example, there are phrases where the ablative clitic is not allowed (71a), but both the bare noun and the noun plus directive clitic are accepted (71b/c). The opposite is true too, as sometimes the ablative clitic is accepted (72a), whereas both the bare or directional noun (72b/c) would result in infelicitous sentences.

(71) a. **amaslaahhi* aa   *tsoxnono'ót*   *gawá*   *loo/i-r-wa*   *alé*
        frog   S.3:PERF   squat:3.SG.F   top:CON leaf-F-ABL   RESPRO
        'The frog is squating on the leaf.'
      b. *amaslaahhi* *aa*   *tsoxnono'ót*   *gawá*   *loo/i*
        frog   S.3:PERF   squat:3.SG.F   top:CON leaf
        'The frog is squating on the leaf.'
      c. *amaslaahhi* *aa*   *tsoxnono'ót*   *gawá*   *loo/i-r-i*   *alé*
        frog   S.3:PERF   squat:3.SG.F   top:CON leaf-F-DIR   RESPRO
        'The frog is squating on the leaf.'

(72) a. *dasi   i   naanú   huu<m>iín   bará   tla/fí-r-wa   alé*
          girl   S.3   vegetables[5]   cook<DUR>3.SG.F   in:CON   kitchen-F-ABL   RESPRO
          'The girl is cooking vegetables in the kitchen.'

      b. **dasi i   naanú   huu<m>iín   bará   tla/fí-r-i   alé*
          girl   S.3 vegetables   cook<DUR>3.SG.F   in:CON   kitchen-F-DIR   RESPRO
          * 'The girl is cooking vegetables in the kitchen.'[6]

      c. **dasi i   naanú   huu<m>iín   bará   tla/fi*
          girl   S.3 vegetables   cook<DUR>3.SG.F   in:CON   kitchen
          * 'The girl is cooking vegetables in the kitchen.'[7]

This issue needs to be unraveled further, so the next sections discuss basic locative constructions in Iraqw, examine the environments in which the ablative clitic appears and significantly where it does not. The bare noun constructions and the use of the directional case clitic in locative expressions are examined as well, to provide a complete picture of the possible locative constructions of Iraqw.

4.2.1 BASIC LOCATIVE CONSTRUCTIONS IN IRAQW

Basic locative constructions (henceforth BLCs) express static location, which is a subdomain of the spatial domain. They answer the question 'where is X' or 'in which X is a known 'spatial entity''. BLCs can be expressed in multiple ways. For example there are languages that form non-verbal clauses and languages that use a copula, locative or positional verb to express static location (Grinevald 2006:32-3).

The most detailed discussion on Iraqw BLCs can be found in Peters (2016). Iraqw uses a copula (73a), which is similar to the selector used in all verbal constructions of Iraqw. A noun phrase cannot be marked with an adverbial case clitic if there is no main verb which can assign case, as was discussed in section 3.1.2. Here this means that there are no copular BLCs that have an ablative or directioncal case clitic, but that they can only occur with bare noun constructions (73). For animate nouns positional verbs can be used to form a BLC as well (74a). If this is the case, the phrase does possess a main verb which can assign case, and can therefore take the ablative clitic (74b).

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[5] Again this translation is lacking in accuracy. The correct translation would be side-dish which is eaten with the main food like rice or stiff porridge. This is usually a vegetable dish of green leaf vegetables, but can also be a meat dish.

[6] Would mean something like 'The girl is cooking the vegetables IN the kitchen (as if the kitchen where a cooking pot).'

[7] Would mean something like: Note: would means something like 'The girl is cooking the vegetables ON the kitchen.'

(73) a. *bálgeeraa*   *kil'-ee*   *Iraqw*   *i*   *baraá*   *Ma/aangwatáy*
       a.long.time.ago   whole-BACK   Iraqw   S.3   in:CON   Ma/angwatáy
       'A long time ago, the Iraqw were in Ma/angwatáy.'

                                                              (Berger and Kiessling 1998:146)

      b. *xooslmoo*   *i*   *bará*   *meesa*
       cup   S.3   in:CON   table
       "The cup is on the table."

                                                                  (Peters 2016:33)

(74) a. *maytsí*   *i*   *iwít*   *bará*   *tlawu*
       cat   S.3 sit:3.SG.F in:CON   rug
       'The cat is sitting on the rug.'

                                                                  (Peters 2016:37)

      b. */ameeni*   *i*   *iw<iw>ít*   *gawá*   *muundí-r-wa*   *alé*
       woman   S.3   sit<DUR>3.SG.F   top:CON   grass-F-ABL   RESPRO
       'The woman is sitting on the grass.'

                                                                      (own data)

There are also some verbs that appear to obligatorily take the bare noun construction, even though they have a main verb which could assign case. For example, the verbs *lú/* 'to hide something' and *haragwá'* 'to gather' (75) appear exclusively in combination with the bare locative construction in the corpus.

(75) a. *inós*   *i-ri*   *matliít*   *dír*   *ku/aá*   *geendaryaandi*
       3.SG   S.3-CONSEC   hide:3.SG.M   place:CON   ledges:CON   baobab
       'So he was hiding in between the ledges of the baobab trunk.'

                                                         (Berger and Kiessling 1998:100)

      b. *Tara*   *i-ri*   *haragwá'*   *dír*   *tlahhó*   *kwasleema*
       Datoga   S.3-CONSEC   gather:3.SG.F   place:CON   assembly.place:CON   council
       ta-ri   *kwasleemuút*
       DEP.BE-CONSEC   hold.council:3.SG.M
       'The Datoga gathered at the assembly place for judgement and held council.'

                                                         (Berger and Kiessling 1998:166)

    Locative constructions that have an overt future tense usually take a bare locative phrase rather than locative prhase with an adverbial case clitic. Overt future tense can only be made with the auxiliary *aw* 'to go' and the main verb takes the form of a verbal noun (76).

(76)   *loo'aytleér* *i-na*   *iwtanángw* *áy*   *dír*   *tlahhay*

      next.day   S.3-PAST sitting:CON go:3.SG.M place:CON assembly.place

      'The next day he was going to sit at the elders' outdoor assembly place.'

<div align="right">(Berger and Kiessling 1998:61)</div>

The most basic locative constructions that Iraqw has are the copular BLCs. These constructions are always formed with bare locative phrases, which means that the most basic expression of location is formed with the bare noun phrase.

4.2.2 LOCATIVE USE OF THE ABLATIVE CASE CLITIC

A survey of the corpus reveals that a large amount of the locational constructions with the ablative case clitic have a main verb which takes a durative aspect. The total number of occurrences in the corpus of the ablative case clitic in locational constructions is 41, of which 22 have a main verb which has overt durational morphology (77). This means that in over 50 procent of the cases the verb takes durative aspect. This percentage is significantly higher than the percentage of durative aspect in other locative constructions. For comparison, there are only six main verbs with durative morphology in the total of 42 bare locational constructions.

(77) a. *tokaro-yâ* *saree/a* *i*   *bará*   *xats-ta-ka-r-wa*   ***qa****~qeér*

        once-INTER buffalo S.3   in:CON   valley-F1-INDEF-F-ABL HAB~graze:3.SG.F

        'Once upon a time, a buffalo wandered around in a certain valley.'

<div align="right">(Mous 1992:299)</div>

     b. *inós* *da'aangw-dá'* *gu-ri*   *'ót*   *baabá i*   *di-dá-wá*

        3.SG song-DEM4   O.3:O.M-CONSEC hold:3.SG.F father S.3   place-DEM4-ABL

        *axa<**m**>iis*

        listen<DUR>3.SG.M

        'So she stroke up that song and father pricked up his ears.'

<div align="right">(Berger and Kiessling 1998:83)</div>

    The importance of durative aspect for the ablative clitic also comes forth from the rest of the data, and is possibly best visible in positional verbs[8]. In these cases only the use of the ablative case clitic is allowed (78a), whereas both the bare noun and the directional clitic are not accepted (78b). If the durative form is

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[8] With the exception of *qaat* 'to lie down' which only takes the bare noun locative construction, and is not attested with the ablative marker.

(1) *inós* *i-na*   *qáat*   *gawá*   *kítaara*

     3.SG S.3-PAST lie.down:3.SG.M top:CON bedstead.near.fire

     'He was lying down on the bed near the fire.' (Berger and Kiessling 1998:62)

reduced to the simple form, this pattern is turned around (78c/d). If used in their simple form the meaning of a positional verb can be quite different, allowing for us to see the difference between the durative and the single event verb form well. There are some verbs that most commonly go with the ablative case clitic, as they are often describing a durative event (79a), and not a single one. If used in their simple form the meaning is clearly a single, short-term event and the location is usually bare (79b).

(78) a. *muu   i   tumnanaa'a<m>iit   bará   guru   kanisá-r-wa   alé*
          people   S.3   kneel<DUR>3.SG.M   in:CON   stomach:CON   church-F-ABL   RESPRO
          'The people are kneeling in the church.'

      b. **muu   i   tumnanaa'a<m>iit   bará   guru   kanisa(-r-i   alé)*
          people   S.3   kneel<DUR>3.SG.M   in:CON   stomach:CON   church(-F-DIR   RESPRO)
          'The people are kneeling in the church.

      c. **muu   i   tumnanaa'aat   bará   guru   kanisá-r-wa   alé*
          people   S.3   kneel:3.SG.M   in:CON   stomach:CON   church-F-ABL   RESPRO

      d. *muu   i   tumnanaa'aat   bará   guru   kanisá(-r-í   alé)*
          people   S.3   kneel:3.SG.M   in:CON   stomach:CON   church(-F-DIR   RESPRO)
          'The people will kneel in the church.'

(79) a. *i   tlahháy-waá   iw<iw>iit*
          S.3   elder's.assembly.place-ABL   sit<DUR>3.SG.M
          'He was sitting in the elder's outdoor assembly place.'

                                                                     (Berger and Kiessling 1998:177)

      b. *inós   i-ri   iwít   gawá   muundi*
          3.SG   S.3-CONSEC   sit:3.SG.F top:CON   grass
          'She touched down in the grass on the courtyard's edge.'

                                                                     (Berger and Kiessling 1998:91)

Durative aspect can be expressed by a variety of morphemes in Iraqw. The most common one is the durative affix -*m* (80a). However, not all verbs can use this morpheme (80b), which makes it necessary for them to use something else to express durative aspect. There are a number of options open. The habitual reduplication can be used for this function in case there is no way to use the durative morpheme (81a), or in some cases even in combination with the durative affix to add further longevity to an action (81b). In other cases the middle suffix can be used to indicate the durative aspect (81c). The examples below show examples of these durative morphemes and provide evidence for the claims that they can all take the ablative case clitic.

(80) a. *hhawaata i sihh<m>iit gawá tloomá-r-wa alé*

      man   S.3   stand<DUR>3.SG.M top:CON mountain-F-ABL RESPRO

      'The man is standing on the mountain.'

  b. *iwit > * iwimiit* 'to sit'

     iwit > iwiwiít 'to sit (DUR)'

(81) a. *hhawaata i-n tlinti<'a>'iit gawá ku/-uú-wa alé*

      man   S.3-EXPEC lean<HAB>3.SG.M top:CON wall-M-ABL RESPRO

      'The man is leaning against the wall.'

  b. *hhawaata aa sihhi<**maa**><**m**>iit gawá tloomá-r-wa alé*

      man   S.3:PERF stand<HAB><DUR>3.SG.M top:CON mountain-F-ABL RESPRO

      'The man is standing on the mountain for a long time.'

  c. */ameeni i naanú **siiqít** gawá muundí-r-wa alé*

      woman S.3   vegetables:CON cut:3.SG.F:MID over:CON grass-F-ABL RESPRO

      'The woman is cutting the vegetables (while sitting) on the grass.'

The durative aspect is not always overtly marked, even if there is a way to do so. For example, verbs like *hoot* 'to live' can both be in the durative and in the simple present (82a/b) in combination with the ablative case clitic. Remarkably the verb *iwít* in its meaning 'to stay' can be in the simple form in combination with a location marked with the ablative clitic (83a), possibly because the meaning already signifies duration and therefore has inherent durative aspect. If the verb is used with the meaning 'to sit' the ablative case clitic is not allowed in combination with simple form of the verb (83b).

(82) a. *i-ri bará **Iraqwá-r-wá hót***

     S.3-CONSEC in:CON Iraqw-F-ABL live:3.SG.F

     'And they lived among the Iraqw.'

                                (Berger and Kiessling 1998:147)

  b. *i-ri **di-r-wá** ho<**taa**>**tín***

     S.3-CONSEC place-F-ABL live<HAB>DUR.3.SG.M

     'And he lived on there in that place for the rest of his life.'

                                (Berger and Kiessling 1998:117)

(83) a. *daq-dá'*   *a-qo*   *tsaahh-aán*   *ayór*   *na/ay*   *gwaá*
      time-DEM4   O.F-EMPH   recognize-1.PL   mother:CON   child   O.3:O.M:PERF

      xwáyluur   *wa/ari*   *i-qo*   *bará*   *gur'u-wós-wa*   *iwit-ír*
      give.birth:3.SG.F   vomit   S.3-EMPH   in:CON   stomach-3.SG.POSS-ABL   stay-3.PL

      'Then we will find out the real mother, the vomit will stay in her stomach.'

<div align="right">(Berger and Kiessling 1998:136)</div>

    b. * *aa*   *iwiít*   *gawá*   *muundí-r-wa*   *alé*
      S.3:PERF   sit:3.SG.M   top:CON   grass-F-ABL   RESPRO

      'He sat on the grass.'

<div align="right">(own data)</div>

If we count this type of covert semantic duration as durative aspect as well, this accounts for another 16 instances in the corpus, leaving only a few instances unaccounted for. This might be taken for proof that there is flexibility in the system. With many positional verbs the rules are quite strict, as a different use would influence the semantics of the verb too much. In other cases, the use of -*wa* seems to be relatively free, and probably speaker dependent. For example, in some cases, where we would expect the ablative locative construction, instead we find the bare noun construction (84a), yet in a very similar clause the ablative case clitic is used (84b).

(84) a. *naagáy*   *Iraqw*   *i-ri*   *hót*   **yaamu-dá'**
      then   Iraqw   S.3-CONSEC   live:3.SG.F   land-DEM4

      'And then the Iraqw lived in that land.'

    b. *ta-ri*   *hoót*   **yaamu-dá-wa**   *ale*
      DEP.BE-CONSEC   live:3.SG.M   land-DEM4-ABL   RESPRO

      'And they lived in that land.'

<div align="right">(Berger and Kiessling 1998:147)</div>

For motion verbs the rules appear to be stricter, as using the directional or bare noun would suggest boundary-crossing or directed motion instead of motion on a Ground. In order to determine the role of the case clitic in assigning Ground or Path, it is necessary to look at the other case clitics to see how they change the sentence and semantics of the phrase. First of all, a case clitic is obligatory in order to get a grammatical sentence, so leaving the noun bare is not an option (85b) for motion verbs. We find that the ablative clitic assigns a general area (85a), whereas the directional case clitic always keeps its Goal semantics (85c). The instrumental case can also be used in motion events and marks movement through the Ground (85d).

(85) a. *siyó   i   tuu\<m\>bín   bará   tlaw-tá-wa   alé*
         fish   S.3   swim\<DUR\>3.SG.F   in:CON   lake-F1-ABL RESPRO
         'The fish swim in the lake.'

      b. * *siyó i   tuu\<m\>bín   bará   tlawi*
         fish   S.3   swim\<DUR\>3.SG.F   in:CON   lake

      c. *siyó   i   tuu\<m\>bín   bará   tláw-t-í   alé*
         fish   S.3   swim\<DUR\>3.SG.F   in:CON   lake-F1-DIR RESPRO
         'The fish swim to the lake.'

      d. *siyó   i   tuu\<m\>bín   bará   tlaw-tá-r   alé*
         fish   S.3   swim\<DUR\>3.SG.F   in:CON   lake-F1-INSTR RESPRO
         'The fish swims through the lake (on the way to the river or ocean).'

It can be concluded that durative aspect is of importance for the use of the ablative marker and I will argue that is due to the core semantics of the ablative case clitic. The ablative marker indicates a Path, and as such a distinct Path from a certain point. It seems that both the notion of Place and Path must be expressed whenever a noun phrase carries the ablative case marker. If a spatial interpretation of Path is not available, as it is not for locational phrases, it instead expresses temporal Path which is translated into a durative aspect.

4.2.3 LOCATIVE USE OF THE DIRECTIONAL CASE CLITIC

The discussion above did not elaborate on the use of the directional case clitic in locative constructions. To recall, there is a total of 32 attestations in the corpus of locative constructions with the directional case clitic (86a). The use of the ablative case has been attested before, but the use of the directional clitic in locative constructions has been unattested so far. It is not reported as locational marker in any of the grammars (Mous 1992; Nordbustad 1988), but is only attested to function as a goal marker. Yet it is the only adverbial clitic that is allowed in this position. Both the instrumental and the reason clitic are not accepted for expressing locations (86b/c).

(86) a. */ameeni   aa   iwít   gawá   muundí-r-i   alé*
         woman   S.3:PERF   sit:3.SG.F   top:CON   grass-F-DIR   RESPRO

      b. */ameeni aa   iwít   gawá   muundí-r-ar   alé*
         woman   S.3:PERF   sit:3.SG.F   top:CON   grass-F-INSTR   RESPRO

      c. */ameeni aa   iwít   gawá   muundí-r-sa   alé*
         woman   S.3:PERF   sit:3.SG.F   top:CON   grass-F-REAS   RESPRO
         'The woman sits/is sitting in the grass.'

In many situations the directional case clitic alternates freely with the bare noun phrase, which means that contrary to the ablative clitic it does not add durational semantics despite also encoding Path. Still, it is

the only other case clitic that operates in the spatial domain and can presumably be extended more easily into the locative domain than the instrumental or the reason case clitic. The syncretism of goal and location markers is a very common pattern in languages of the world, implying that this is a conceptually easily accessible pattern to use. In Iraqw the directional marker can be used in constructions that indicate the goal of a motion, but in effect also imply location (87).

(87) *tlakway-í   dahas-eek   bará   hhar-ti   alé*
      sack-DEM1 put-IMP.SG.O   in:CON   stick-F1:DIR RESPRO
      'Put this sack on a stick.'

<div align="right">(Mous 1992:104)</div>

This research has not focused on the directional clitic and cannot make any definite statements on the exact semantics of the directional clitic in locational phrases. From the attestations of the corpus might be hypothesized that the directional clitic is often used if there is a purpose or goal to an action. For illustration see the phrases in (88).

(88) a. *kár   bál   ádoo-r-í   dasu   i-na   hheék   baraá*
         well day:CON manner-F-DEM1   girls S.3-PAST fetch.water:3.SG.M in:CON
         hhaalá-r-í   alé
         wells-F-DIR RESPRO
         'One of these days the girls were out fetching water from the wells.'

<div align="right">(Berger and Kiessling 1998:106)</div>

     b. *deelór   xwayla-r-ós   bir-aa   xeér   i-ri   bárá*
         day:CON birth-F-3.SG.POSS COND-S.3:PERF   come:3.SG.F S.3-CONSEC in:CON
         islángw-í   xwayluúr
         watch.hut:CON-DEM1 give.birth:3.SG.M
         'When the day of her confinement has come, she will give birth to the child in this small hut.'

<div align="right">(Berger and Kiessling 1998:241)</div>

There are also some verbs, like *qaas* 'to put' and *geexay* 'to leave' (89) that seem to obligatorily take the directional clitic. Both still encode a location and path, but also imply a sense of purposiveness in the event.

(89) a. *gimsé*   *fanfe'amo*   *u-n*   *afkú*   *do'-i*   *qaas-aán*
       well   snake   O.M-EXPEC   mouth:CON   house-DIR   put-l.PL
       'We'll put a snake at his door.'

                                                                         (Mous 1992:206)

     b. *damaa-r-ós*   *ti-dá'*   */awaak*   *ga-ri*   *di-da'-í*   *geexáy*
       calf-F-3.SG.POSS   O.3:IMPS-DEM4   white   O.3:O.F-CONSEC   place-DEM4-DIR   leave:3.SG.M
       'He left that white calf of his at that place.'

                                                       (Berger and Kiessling 1998:115)

The most convincing argument for this analysis of the use of the directional case clitic are the examples in (90). The use of the directional clitic here implies a direct involvement of the Ground in the event (90a), whereas the ablative case clitic merely indicates the space in which an event takes place (90b).

(90) a. */ameeni*   *naanú*   *gu*   *síq*   *bará*   *muundí-r-í*   *alé*
       woman   vegetables   O.3:O.M   cut:3.SG.F   in:CON   grass-F-DIR   RESPRO
       'The woman is cutting the vegetables (directly) on the grass.'
     b. */ameeni*   *naanú*   *gu*   *síq*   *bará*   *muundí-r-wa*   *alé*
       woman   vegetables   O.3:O.M   cut:3.SG.F   in:CON   grass-F-ABL   RESPRO
       'The woman is cutting the vegetables (on a plate) on the grass.'

The use of the directional case clitic therefore seems to stem from (abstract) goal semantics. Like the ablative case clitic, the directional case clitic must express the notions of Place and Path. Because a goal marker encodes the end point of an event, it is unlikely to be involved in the expression of durativity. Durativity in essence implies the continuation of an event from a moment on, needing a starting point but preferably not an end point. The goal semantics of the directional clitic are conceptually very accessible for the expression of purposiveness, as this implies a goal or conceived end point of an action. In Heine and Kuteva (2002:39) a common grammaticalization path from goal marker to purpose marker is drawn, proving that this extension occurs across languages of the world. I hypothesize that the directional case clitic expresses Path as purpose in locative constructions.

4.2.4 NOTE ON LOCATIONAL NOUNS AND MOTION EVENTS ON ABLATIVE GROUNDS
We have already discussed the basics of the locational nouns in section 4.1.2. As with Source semantics, the locative noun phrases marked with the ablative clitic can be freely combined with any of the locational nouns. See example (91) for instances with *dír* (91a), *amór* (91b), and *gamú* (91c).

(91) a. *ta-waa*   ***dír***   *tlahháy-wá*   *iw<aaw>iit-i*   *gu-ri*
       DEP.BE-BGND   place:CON   assembly.place-ABL   sit<HAB>3.SG.M-SBJV   O.3:O.M-CONSEC
       dii-r-í   *geexáy*
       place-F-DIR   leave:3.SG.M
       'While they were sitting at the elder's outdoor assembly place, he left them there.'

<div align="right">(Berger and Kiessling 1998:129)</div>

    b. *i-ri*   ***amór***   *saá-wá*   *ho<taa>tiín*
       S.3-CONSEC   place:CON   far.away-ABL   dwell<HAB>3.SG.F:DUR
       'And he will be dwelling together with her far away.'

<div align="right">(Berger and Kiessling 1998:207)</div>

    c. *na/ay*   *i*   ***gamú***   *xa'anó-wa*   *sihh<m>iit*
       child   S.3   under:CON   tree-ABL   stand<DUR>3.SG.M
       'The child is standing below the tree.'

<div align="right">(own data)</div>

In Peters (2016) we also find reference to the use of the ablative clitic to indicate motion on a Ground, as was discussed in above section 4.2.2 (92a). According to Peters (2016:79) the locative use of the ablative clitic can only occur in combination with the locational noun *bará*, and therefore is disallowed for other locational nouns like *dír* (which would imply movement away from the road) (92b) or *amór* which would indicates movement towards the road (92c).

(92) a. *hee*   *i*   *hi'iimiit*   ***bará***   *loohi-r-wa*   *alé*
       man   S.3   walk:3SG.M:DUR   in:CON   road-F-ABL   RESPRO
       'The man is walking on the road.'

<div align="right">(Peters 2016:22)</div>

    b. *hee   *i*   *hi'iimiit*   *dír*   *loohi-r-wa*   *alé*
       man   S.3   walk:3SG.M:DUR   place:CON   road-F-ABL   RESPRO
       'The man is walking on the road.'

<div align="right">(Peters 2016:79)</div>

    c. *hee   *i*   *hi'iimiit*   *amór*   *loohi-r-wa*   *alé*
       man   S.3   walk:3SG.M:DUR   place:CON   road-F-ABL   RESPRO
       'The man is walking on the road.'

<div align="right">(Peters 2016:79)</div>

In my own data I find similar results, however it is not true that the use of *dír* and *amór* is completely ungrammatical. For some speakers, it just enlarges the location to the Ground and the area around it, retaining their locational semantics. The *bará* keeps the motion contained on the Ground, whereas *dír* and

amór are more general in location and just means that the motion is either near the Ground (93b/c) or both near, around and on the ground (94b/c).

(93) a. *hee   i   hi'iimiit   bará   loohi-r-wa   alé*
       man   S.3   walk:3.SG.M:DUR in:CON   road-F-ABL   RESPRO
       'The man is walking on the road.'

<div align="right">(Peters 2016:22)</div>

   b. *hee   i   hi'iimiit   dír loohi-r-wa   alé*
       man   S.3   walk:3.SG.M:DUR place:CON   road-F-ABL RESPRO
       * 'The man is walking on the road.'

<div align="right">(Peters 2016:79)</div>

       'The man is walking near the road.'

<div align="right">(own data)</div>

   c. *hee   i   hi'iimiit   amór   loohi-r-wa   alé*
       man   S.3   walk:3.SG.M:DUR place:CON   road-F-ABL   RESPRO
       * 'The man is walking on the road.'

<div align="right">(Peters 2016:79)</div>

       'The man was walking at the road, next to the road, besides the road.'

<div align="right">(own data)</div>

(94) a. *a-ná   /akw<m>iít   bará   do'wa   alé*
       S.1/2-PAST   jump<DUR>1.SG   in:CON   house-ABL   RESPRO
       'I am jumping inside the house.'

   b. *a-ná   /akw<m>iít   dír   do'wa   alé*
       S.1/2-PAST   jump<DUR>1.SG place:CON   house-ABL   RESPRO
       'I am jumping around the house (not just inside, but everywhere).'

It must be noted that not all speakers share this interpretation, and some do not accept the use of either *dír* or *amór*. This might be due to the exact semantics of the locational nouns and their compatibility with the semantics of the motion clause, rather than from the motion verb itself. The locational noun *bihhaa* can be used for expressing movement around the edge of a Ground (95), and is accepted by all speakers.

(95) a. *hikwaa i bará xats-tá-wá harwe<rii>riná'*
     cattle   S.3 in:CON   valley-F1-ABL graze<HAB>3.SG.F
     'The cattle is wandering around in the valley.'

    b. *?hikwaa i dír xats-tá-wá harwe<rii>riná'*
     cattle   S.3 place:CON valley-F1-ABL graze<HAB>3.SG.F
     'The cattle is wandering around the valley.'

    c. *??hikwaa i amór xatstá-wa harwe<rii>riná'*
     cattle   S.3   place:CON valley-F1-ABL graze<HAB>3.SG.F
     'The cattle is wandering around the valley.'

    d. *hikwaa i bihhaá xatstá-wá harwe<rii>riná'*
     cattle   S.3   side:CON valley-F1-ABL graze<HAB>3.SG.F
     'The cattle is wandering at the edge of the valley.'

For non-motion events the use of locational nouns is free. Example (95) already illustrated this for the locational noun *bihhaa*, and example (96) gives examples of the very common *gawá*. Depending on the shape of the Ground, different locational nouns are appropriate. For example, the meaning of *gawá* is 'over' which indicates that if the Ground has a highest point, this is the position that is indicated. In example (96) both *gawá* and *bará* can be used as the Ground is flat and level. In example (97b) however it results in the sentence becoming infelicitous.

(96) a. *daqwaay i gawá muundí-r-wa hi'i<m>iit*
     donkey S.3 top:CON grass-F-ABL   walk<DUR>3.SG.M
     'The donkey is running on the grass.'

    b. *daqwaay i bará muundí-r-wa hi'i<m>iit*
     donkey   S.3 in:CON   grass-F-ABL   walk<DUR>3.SG.M
     'The donkey is running on the grass.'

(97) a. *du'uma i bará sla/a-tá-wa ti'<ii'>ín*
     leopard S.3   in:CON forest-F1-ABL   run<DUR>3.SG.M
     'The leopard is running in the forest.'

    b. **du'uma i gawá sla/a-tá-wa ti'<ii'>ín*
     * leopard   S.3 top:CON forest-F1-ABL run<DUR>3.SG.M
     * 'The leopard is running on the forest.'

Based on the examples given above, I argue that locational nouns can always combine with ablative locative phrases, regardless whether the main verb is a motion verb or a non-motion verb. The use of some locational nouns may be blocked in certain contexts due to their own locational semantics, not due to the ablative clitic. The locational nouns *amór* and *dír* are often found to be incompatible with motion events

on a Ground signified by the ablative case clitic. This is due to pragmatics rather than the clitic itself, as both locational nouns can be marked with the ablative clitic to express the location of an event (98).

(98) a. *aluwo*   *ado-r-qá'*   *ka-wa*   *áy*   *yâ*   *tlawi* *i-na*
         then   manner-F-DEM3   O.3:IMPS:O.F-BGND   DIR   INTER   lake   S.3-PAST
         geera-dá'-wa   *ó'*   *wís*   *naxés*
         front-DEM4-ABL   say:3.SG.F   INTER then
         'When they walk a short distance, a lake appears in front of them.'

                                                                      (Mous and Sanka 2008:60)

      b. *ka-y*   *tsee/aá-wá*   *sagee*   *guú'*
         O.3:IMPS:O.F-DIR   outside-ABL   head:CON   sleep:3.SG.M
         'So they had to sleep outside because of the cattle.'

                                                                      (Berger and Kiessling 1998:130)

Since the locational nouns themselfs does not indicate Path and the ablative clitic can either be used to encode Path ór to encode Ground, certain phrases remain ambiguous and could both be interpreted as a source and a locative construction. How the sentence is parsed depends mainly on to speaker interpretation, the use of verb, and the context of the phrase.

4.2.5 NOTE ON THE SYNTACTIC-SEMANTICS INTERFACE

The account given above focuses solely on the semantics of the constructions, and not on the syntactic effects of the choice between the bare and the adverbial case clitic constructions. The effect of marking a noun with an adverbial case clitic has already been discussed in section 3.2 in the discussion on verbal nouns. To recap, the marking of a noun phrase with an adverbial case clitic syntactically demotes the noun phrases to an oblique role. Noun phrases marked with the adverbial case clitics cannot function as a core argument of the verbal complex, and cannot provide the ɸ-features for the selector to agree with (please refer to section 3.2 for examples). As such they have a more circumstantial role in the event structure than a core argument. Here, I will argue that this syntactic difference is strictly structural, and not the result of the semantics of the clause. Keep in mind that this is not a full syntactical account of Iraqw, and I want to make as little claims about Iraqw syntax as possible.

Another possible argument for the choice of the bare or the adverbial locative construction may be proposed in which syntactic structure is mapped directly on the semantic structure. This is based on some cases in which the durative link is less clear than in others. Based on the data from the elicitation, there are constructions that do not necessarily take the durative aspect, or cannot be directly proven to have a durational event, but that still only take the ablative clitic and reject the bare and directional constructions, like the ones in (99) and (100). Based on their syntactic roles, it might be hypothesized that the locative construction can either play a central role in the phrase semantics or a mere circumstantial role and that the choice for or against an adverbial case clitic is based on this. In (99) the speaker can either decide to

use the durative form of the verb (99a) or the simple form of the verb (99b), without this having a direct impact on the semantics of the clause. Even without direct evidence for durative aspect, the use of the bare or the directional construction is still blocked (99c/d). In (100) the durative aspect is overtly present and it obligatorily takes the ablative case clitic. There are two possible interpretations of the choice for the ablative case clitic. Either this restriction is driven by the durative aspect, which is what I argue in 4.2.2, or it is driven by the circumstantial nature of the locative phrase, which can be hypothesized based on the interpretations of (99c/d, 100c/d), which both imply a (too) direct semantic role for the locative phrase and are therefore infelicitous.

(99) a. */ameeni i naanú siiqít gawá muundí-r-wa alé*
     woman S.3 vegetables:CON cut:3.SG.F:MID over:CON grass-F-ABL RESPRO
     'The woman is cutting the vegetables (while sitting) on the grass.'

   b. */ameeni naanú gu síq gawá muundí-r-wa alé*
     woman vegetables O.3:O.M cut:3.SG.F over:CON grass-F-ABL RESPRO
     'The woman is cutting the vegetables (while sitting) on the grass.'

   c. *??/ameeni naanú gu síq gawá muundí-r-i alé*
     woman vegetables O.3:O.M cut:3.SG.F over:CON grass-F-DIR RESPRO
     Implication: 'The woman is cutting the vegetables (directly) on the grass.'

   d. ??/*ameeni naanú gu síq gawá muundí*
     woman vegetables O.3:O.M cut:3.SG.F over:CON grass
     Implication: 'The woman is cutting the vegetables (directly) on the grass.'

(100) a. *dasi i naanú huu<m>iín bará tla/fí-r-wa alé*
     girl S.3 vegetables cook<DUR>3.SG.F in:CON kitchen-F-ABL RESPRO
     'The girl is cooking vegetables in the kitchen.'

   b. ?? *dasi i naanú huu<m>iín bará tla/fí-r-i alé*
     girl S.3 vegetables cook<DUR>3.SG.F in:CON kitchen-F-DIR RESPRO
     'The girl is cooking vegetables in the kitchen (as if the kitchen was a cooking pot).'

   c. ?? *dasi i naanú huu<m>iín bará tla/fí*
     girl S.3 vegetables cook<DUR>3.SG.F in:CON kitchen
     'The girl is cooking vegetables on the kitchen (using the kitchen directly as cooking surface).'

Examples (99) and (100) do imply that if the location is in either bare or directional clitic there is a more direct role available for the locative phrase in contrast to the ones with the ablative clitic. However, there are certain problems with linking the semantics directly to the syntactic structure. First, in very few cases can convincing evidence be given for the circumstantial nature of the locative construction. There is no clear link between a durative aspect and a circumstantial locative reading nor is there any reason to suppose that durative aspect demotes locative phrases. In fact, the existence of minimal pairs proves that the

prominence of the locative phrase cannot be the defining feature for choosing one construction over the other. There is no reason to assume differences in prominence for the locations in (101a/b) or (102a/b). Both examples are positional verb BLCs in which the locative phrase has a central role in the meaning, after all, we are answering the question 'where is X'. These examples only leave the variable of aspect to explain the difference.

(101) a. *amaslaahhi aa   tsoxnono'ót   gawá   loo/i-r-wa alé*

        frog   S.3:PERF   squat:3.SG.F   top:CON leaf-F-ABL RESPRO

        'The frog is squating on the leaf.'

    b. *amaslaahhi aa   tsoxnono'ót   gawá   loo/i*

        frog   S.3:PERF   squat:3.SG.F   top:CON leaf

        'The frog is squating on the leaf.'

(102) a. *muu   i   tumnanaa'a\<m\>iit bará   gurú   kanisá-r-wa   alé*

        people S.3   kneel\<DUR\>3.SG.M in:CON   stomach:CON   church-F-ABL RESPRO

        'The people are kneeling in the church.'

    b. **muu   i   tumnanaa'a\<m\>iit bará   gurú   kanisa(-r-i   alé)*

        people S.3   kneel\<DUR\>3.SG.M in:CON   stomach:CON   church(-F-DIR RESPRO)

        'The people are kneeling in the church.'

Secondly, the importance of the durative aspect is mirrored in the constructions that we find in the corpus. There is little to no data in the corpus that is supportive or suggestive of a correlation between circumstantial meaning and an oblique syntactic case in locative constructions. A correlation between the durative aspect and the ablative case clitic on the other hand is supported by the corpus. Finally, if the variation was due to the syntactic nature of the ablative clitic, the same should apply to the directional clitic, which in fact resembles the behaviour of the bare noun and not the behaviour of the ablative case clitic. The data seems to suggest that the directional clitic imposes purposive meaning on the locative construction, and if we combine this with what we know about the semantics of the ablative case clitic, it seems most likely that the semantics of the clitics impose their meaning on the construction and not the other way around. As a result the syntactic structure is changed by the semantic structure, rather than the syntactic structure influencing the semantic structure.

This is not to say that there is no semantic-syntactic mapping at all. Due to the unmarkedness of the use of the ablative clitic, and its circumstantial role, the use of the bare noun imply a direct involvement, just because it becomes a main argument. In the case of the directional, if we assume that it has purposive semantics, the direct involvement reading can be derived from the meaning of the clitic. That still leaves the examples in (99) and (100) to account for. I tentavely hypothesze that as the event is implied to be durative or involve multiple actions - it takes not a single cut, but many to cut a vegetable - the use of the bare noun is a marked choice and changes the status of the location to a possible core argument, in turn

suggesting the location has a core role to play. Based on the arguments I have presented above, I claim that the semantics of the case clitics influence the syntactic structure of the sentence, and not the other way around.

4.3 DISCUSSION AND SUMMARY

Based on the data given in the section above I state that the ablative case clitic has the inherent notions of Place and Path. In source constructions both can easily be expressed by the source event, but in case of some locative constructions Path has been reconceptualised as an abstract Path rather than spatial Path. The ablative clitic expressed this abstract Path as a temporal Path, resulting in a durative aspect. The directionality of the Paths is part of the reconceptualization of the clitics, as movement away from a starting point allows for a durational interpretation. The directional case clitic acquires the meaning of purpose, as a result from the directionality of its Path notion. Movement to an end point implies goal and purpose or at least directed motion towards an abstract goal.

This analysis of the data means that Iraqw can no longer be analysed as a rarity with a source and location syncretism in opposition to a goal marker. Rather I would like to hypothesize that Iraqw has a different marker for source, location, and goal. The locative marker is a lack of marking, or zero marker if you like, and the source and goal markers are build on top of this. This hypothesis is based on the fact that copular Basic Locative Constructions are always expressed with a bare locative phrase, and that this seems to be the default or basis of all locational expressions. If you consider the extra durational semantics that the ablative clitic lends to a construction, it cannot be considered to be a regular or true locational marker. The same case can be made for the directional case clitic, though this clitic needs more research to establish it exact semantics. It must also be considered that the difference between an ablative noun phrase and a bare noun phrase is not only in semantics. A bare noun phrase can function as a core argument of the clause and is therefore more directly tied to the action. The ablative case clitic is necessarily oblique and therefore has a less direct tie with the event structure. On the other hand, due to its purposive semantics the directional case clitic also implies a concrete role for the locative phrase, even though it is syntactically still an oblique argument. So the adding of an adverbial case clitic also demotes the noun phrase to an oblique role, yet this is a syntactic demotion and not necessarily a semantic demotion.

5. EXTENSIONS OF MEANING

Following on the discussion of the inherent Path and Place properties of the ablative clitic, we will now review the other uses of the ablative case clitic and their ties to the core notions of the ablative case clitic. The notion of radial categories assumes that not necessarily all the core notions have to be expressed in a subcategory, but that a subset of the core notions can be used to extend the meaning of a grammatical element into adjacent domains.

This section will focus on three different usages of the ablative case clitic which are tied to the core notions of the clitic. The first extension of the ablative clitic that will be discussed is the one into the temporal domain. The second section focuses on the causal domain and the role of the ablative clitic in the expression of causes and reasons. The last extension is into the adverbial domain and the use of the adverbial case clitic on adverbs and in simile adverbial constructions.

5.1 TEMPORAL DOMAIN

There is a remarkable and common correlation between the structural encoding of the temporal and the spatial domain across languages of the world. As was already discussed in the theoretical framework, researchers like Jackendoff (1983) and Haspelmath (1997) have shown that expressions of time are on the whole identical to spatial expressions. Temporal expressions can be seen as defining a one-dimensional "pseudo-space" in which events and states are located, rather than things (Jackendoff 1983:189). The mapping of this temporal pseudo-space is done in patterns parallel to the mapping of spatial space.

This correlation in the mapping of spatial and temporal information occurs all across the board of spatial expressions. For example, Heine and Kuteva (2002:33-5) attest a common grammaticalization path from an ablative marker to a temporal marker 'since' in languages like Dutch (Germanic, Indo-European) which uses the preposition *vanaf* 'from' as a source marker in both the temporal (103a) and the spatial domain (103b). Similar processes have been reported for allatives, locatives and spatial lexemes (Heine and Kuteva 2002).

(103) a. **vanaf** *morgen* *heb* *ik* *vrij*
   from tomorrow have:1.SG 1.SG free.time
   'From tomorrow (on) I will have time off.'
  b. *de* *man* *loop-t* *naar* *huis* **vanaf** *het* *station*
   the man walk-3.SG to house from the station
   'The man walks home from the station.'

The Iraqw ablative clitic, like the Dutch ablative preposition, can be used in both the spatial and the temporal domain (104). The correlation between the spatial and the temporal domain in Iraqw is not limited to the adverbial case clitics. Both phrases given in (104) include the temporal noun *iimír* 'from:CON',

which also can be used as a temporal marker (104a) and as a spatial marker (104b). This is of interest because *iimír* 'from:CON' originates from the temporal domain. It is the construct case form of *iimi* 'time, people' and can be translated as 'from, since' (Mous, Qorro, and Kiessling 2002:45). This means that the link between the spatial and temporal domain is bidirectional, with both domains supplying structures for the other.

(104) a. */ameeni*   *i-na*   *iwít*   *gawá*   *muundí* **iimír**   *matlatlé-r-**wa*** *alé*

         woman   S.3-PAST   sit:3.SG.F   top:CON grass   from:CON   morning-F-ABL RESPRO

         'The woman sat on the grass from the morning on.'

    b. *hhawaata*   *i-na*   *hi'imiit*   **iimír**   *Kwermusl-uú-**wa*** *alé*   *ay*   *Iímboru*

         man   S.3-PAST walk:3.SG.M   from:CON   PN-M-ABL   RESPRO DIR   PN

         'The man was walking from Kwermusl to Mbulu.'

The rest of this section discusses in detail the use of the Iraqw ablative clitic in temporal constructions. Section 5.1.1 focuses on Iraqw temporal constructions in general and elaborates on the use of the ablative case clitic. Section 5.1.2 examines the use of *iimír* 'from:CON' in temporal constructions and the position of the clitic and the loctional noun in the clause and the implications that this has for the semantics of the clause.

5.1.1 TEMPORAL CONSTRUCTIONS WITH THE ABLATIVE CLITIC

First, a brief look at temporal constructions in Iraqw in general. Iraqw has a large number of temporal nouns that are used to indicate the temporal setting of an event. Most expressions of time are nouns, which can either be bare (105a), take the background suffix (105b) or one of the adverbial clitics. Being nouns they can be inflected in the regular fashion and occur frequently with the demonstratives (105b). Only a limited number of the temporal lexemes are adverbs (106) (Mous 1992:223-6).

(105) a. **laarí**   *hhawaata*   *qaymo* *ga*   *doosl*

         today   man   field   O.3:O.F   cultivate:3.SG.M

         'Today the man is cultivating the field.'

    b. */ameeni* *i*   *hhuuntsiit*   **tlaatla/angw-i-hee**

         woman S.3   wash.clothes:3.SG.F   afternoon-DEM1-BGND

         'The woman will wash the clothes this afternoon.'

(106)   **aáng**   *múk*   *Iraqw*   *i-na*   *lóh*   *Iimbóru*

         long.ago people   Iraqw   S.3-PAST migrate:3.SG.F PN

         'A long time ago the Iraqw moved to Mbulu.'

Temporal nouns that occur sentence initially are most commonly left bare. In the other positions, the background suffix -*o* occurs frequently. It is especially common in expressing periods of the day (107), unless the period is the subject of the clause (Mous and Qorro 2010:63). The most commonly used temporal nouns for referring to a period of the day are *xweera* (N) 'night' (107), *tsiindo* (N) 'evening', *tlaatla/aangw* (M) 'afternoon' and *matlatle* (F) 'morning' (Nordbustad 1988:184-9).

(107) *alaa   na/aay   **xweeraa-wo** daqwayee   gw-aa   gás*
       but   child   night-BACK donkeys   O.3:O.M-PERF kill:3.SG.F
       'But the child, the donkeys have killed it in the night.'

(Mous and Qorro 2010:62)

The background suffix -*o* defines the 'unit over which an operation is active' (Mous and Qorro 2010:56, 77). A complete discussion of the background marker -*o* falls outside the scope of this thesis, for an in-depth analysis of the suffix, I would like to refer readers to Mous and Qorro (2010).

Let's now turn our attention to the ablative temporal constructions. As was mentioned in the introduction to this section, the Iraqw ablative marker occurs both in the spatial and the temporal domain and can be used to encode spatial and temporal source. In temporal constructions the ablative clitic is used to signal the starting time of an event (108).

(108) *hhawaata   qaymo   ga-n   doosl   iimír   laarí-wa   alé*
       man   field   O.3:O.F-EXPEC   cultivate:3.SG.M from:CON   today-ABL   RESPRO
       'The man will cultivate the field from today on.'

If we consider the temporal noun to indicate the Place from which the temporal Path stretches out, we can postulate a one-to-one mapping of the temporal notions with the spatial notions. Furthermore, the notion of Path has further implications for the data which are reminisced of the semantics of the ablative locative phrases. Not only does the ablative clitic indicate the starting point of an action, it also adds a durative aspect to a phrase when compared to a construction with bare temporal noun. The length of the event is not specified by the clitic, but it does indicate that is a lengthier process than if the ablative is left out. Compare examples (109a) with (109b) and (110a) with (110b).

(109) a. *gadyeé*   *a*   ***laarí***   *iimu/uúm*

       work   S.1/2   today   start:1.SG

       'I will start the work today.'

       Implication: the work will be finished soon, either today or else tomorrow.

     b. *gadyeé*   *a*   ***laarí-wa***   *iimu/uúm*

       work   S.1/2   today-ABL   start:1.SG

       'I will start the work today.'

       Implication: the work will go on for many days, weeks or even months.

(110) a. ***xweera-wo*** *bahu*   *ni-na*   *buheelin-é'*

       night-BGND hyenas   PL-PAST   howl-PL:PAST

       'In the night the hyenas howled.'

       Implication: they howled only for a limited amount of time in the night.

     b. *bahu*   *ni-na*   ***xweerá-wa*** *buheelin-é'*

       hyenas   PL-PAST   night-ABL   howl-PL:PAST

       'The hyenas howled during the night.'

       Implication: they howled until the morning.

The notion of Path adds the implication of duration and of a certain period that spans out from the temporal noun. This use is the main motivation for using the ablative case clitic rather than the bare temporal noun phrase. Speakers appear to have an active awareness of this durative aspect that the ablative clitic adds, as it is also used for narrative purposes. In example (111a) the ablative clitic is used in an unexpected environment, as it does not concern the indication of a starting point of an action. What it does is imply that the amount of time that has passed since the event is quite big, and as such adds the idea of a long period of time having passed. This is narrative strategy and can be left out in favour for the bare temporal noun phrase (111b) and still yield a grammatical sentence.

(111) a. *kár   inín   ta-wa   hardáh   piindo ka-na   duúx   ala   qatni*
        well   3.PL   IMPS-BGND   enter:3.SG.M   door   O.3:IMPS:O.F-PAST   open:3.SG.M   but   bed

        kaa   qaro   tlaatla/áng-wa   laqán-í-ke
        O.3:IMPS:O.F:PERF   long.ago   afternoon-ABL   show:3.SG.M-INF:INT-NEG

        'Then when they arrived, they opened the door, the bed that had already been shown in the afternoon.'

<div align="right">(Mous and Sanka 2008:181, corrected version 2017)</div>

    b. *kár   inín   ta-wa   hardáh   piindo   ka-na   duúx   ala   qatni*
        well   3.PL   IMPS-BGND   enter:3.SG.M   door   O.3:IMPS:O.F-PAST   open:3.SG.M   but   bed

        kaa   qaro   tlaatla/ángw   laqán-í-ke
        O.3:IMPS:O.F:PERF   long.ago   afternoon:CON   show:3.SG.M-INF:INT-NEG

        'Then when they arrived, they opened the door, the bed that had already been shown in the afternoon.'

This narrative use of an ablative temporal phrase is rare, and commonly the ablative clitic is only used to indicate the source of a time period. In all other cases, a sentence needs to have temporal source semantics in order to warrant the use of the ablative case clitic (112a). Here leaving the ablative clitic out results in an ungrammatical sentence (112b).

(112) a. *kár   looitleér   hháy   /aga   naxés   aa   iwít   dinkwa*
        well   next.day   clan:CON   cannibals accidentaly   S3:PERF   sit:3.SG.F   together

        'Then (on the next day) the cannibal clan happened to be sitting together.'

<div align="right">(Mous and Sanka 2008:39)</div>

    b. **kár   looitleér-wa   hháy   /aga   naxés   aa   iwít   dinkwa*
        well   next.day-CON   clan:CON   cannibals well/lucky   S.3:PERF   sit:3.SG.F   together

        'Then (from the next day on) the cannibal clan happened to be sitting together.'

<div align="right">(own data; based on Mous and Sanka 2008:39)</div>

In summary, the ablative clitic is used to indicate the starting point from which an event takes places, which expresses the notion of Place, and it also implies that the action will continue for quite some time, which is the expression of the notion of Path.

5.1.2 THE TEMPORAL NOUN *IIMÍR* AND THE ABLATIVE CLITIC

The temporal noun *iimír* 'from:CON' often co-occurs with the ablative clitic, as we have seen in the previous sections. Its semantics are similar to the temporal semantics of the ablative clitic, which means that at times the ablative can be left out and the semantics of the sentence remain unchanged. In these cases, the ablative case becomes redundant due to the source semantics that are already being expressed by the temporal noun. Especially in spoken language, the shorter variant is often favoured (113a/b).

Leaving the ablative clitic out also opens up more positions for the noun phrase and therefore allows for fronting or possible pragmatic focusing (114a/b).

(113) a. *daraása a iimír looár tám ar matlatlee ay looár*
class S.3 from:CON hour:CON three INDEP.CON.F morning DIR hour:CON
mibaangw ar tsiindo
ten INDEP.CON.F evening

b. *daraása a iimír looár tám ar matlatlé-r-wa alé ay*
class S.3 from:CON hour:CON three INDEP.CON.F morning-F-ABL RESPRO DIR
looár mibaangw ar tsiindo
hour:CON ten INDEP.CON.F evening
'The class is from nine o'clock in the morning until six o'clock in the afternoon.'[9]

(114) a. *iimír matlatle hhawaate u gadyuus-ír*
from:CON morning men O.M work-3.PL

b. *hhawaate u gadyuus-ír iimír matlatlé-r-wa alé*
men O.M work-3.PL from:CON morning-F-ABL RESPRO
'The men work since the morning.'

Attempting to do this the other way around, so using the ablative but leaving out *iimír*, reveals an interesting pattern. In some cases, it is either ungrammatical or at least questionable to leave *iimír* out and to keep the ablative, while in other cases this is perfectly fine. The phrase in (115a) is not judged as completely ungrammatical but speakers feel it to be incomplete without *iimír* there. Example (115b) is much preferred over (115a).

(115) a. ?? *bahu ni-na buheelin-é' xweerá-wa alé*
hyenas PL-PAST howl- PL:PAST night-ABL RESPRO
'The hyenas sing during the night (till the morning).'

b. *bahu ni-na buheelin-é' iimír xweerá-wa alé*
hyenas PL-PAST howl- PL:PAST from:CON night-ABL RESPRO
'The hyenas sing during the night (till the morning).'

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[9] East African time-keeping differs from Coordinated Universal Time (UTC), which features periods that start at midnight and the middle of the day. The first hour in East African time-keeping starts at what is six o'clock in the morning in UTC, which is when the sun comes up. The rest of the system is similar to UTC with twelve hours for each half of the day. As such, the times indicated in example (113) are 3 in the morning and 10 in afternoon in East African time. The translation gives the time in UTC.

Oddly enough, this is only the case when the temporal construction appears as an adjunct behind the verbal complex. When the temporal construction inhabits the verb-internal position, there is no problem in using the ablative temporal construction without *iimír*. However, this does have the effect that the meaning of the phrase shifts slightly. Compare the examples in (116).

(116) a. *bahu   ba'asa   ngu-na   slakaat-ír   iimír   xweerá-wá alé*
        hyenas   bush.buck   O.3:DEP.S.3:O.M -PAST   hunt:3.PL   from:CON   night-ABL   RESPRO
        'The hyenas are hunting the bush buck from the night on.'
        Implication: they are still hunting in the morning.

    b. *bahu   ba'asa   nguna   xweeráwá   slakaatír*
        hyenas   bush.buck   O.3:DEP.S.3:O.M -PAST   night-ABL   hunt:3.PL
        'The hyenas were hunting from evening till morning.'
        Implication: they have finished hunting in the morning.

Based on examples (116-118) it can be hypothesized that *iimír* lends an imperfective aspect to the action. In example (117a) the food is finished whereas in (117b) the food was not. Similarly in (118a) the chair is finished whereas in (118b) the chair remains unassembled.

(117) a. *muruú /ayma   Joseph   gu-na   **tsiindó-wa**   amohhe'eés*
        food   PN   O.3:O.M-PAST   evening-ABL   prepare:3.SG.M
        'Joseph prepared the food in the evening.'
        Implication: the food was finished.

    b. *Joseph   muruú /ayma   gu-na   amohhe'eés   **iimír**   tsiindó-wa   alé*
        PN   food   O.3:O.M-PAST   prepare:3.SG.M   from:CON   evening-ABL   RESPRO
        'Joseph prepared the food in the evening.'
        Implication: the food was not finished.

(117) a. *Ephraim kitaangw gu-na   tleéhh   **iimír**   tlaatla/áng-wa alé*
        PN   chair   O.3:O.M-PAST   make:3.SG.M   from:CON   afternoon-ABL   RESPRO
        'Ephraim built a chair in the afternoon (but didn't finish it).'

    b. *Ephraim kitaangw gu-na   **tlaatla/ángw-wa**   tleéhh*
        PN   chair   O.3:O.M-PAST   afternoon-ABL   make:3.SG.M
        'Ephraim built a chair in the afternoon (and finished it).'

For the moment, I will assume that the ablative clitic can always be left out if *iimír* is used, of course taking into account the syntactic consequences of this, forcing the noun phrase to change position if it was in the verb-internal position or losing the resumptive pronoun if it appeared behind the verb. If we instead

focus only on constructions which include the ablative clitic, we can postulate the following four possible temporal constructions (119).

(119) a. selector   verb   *iimír* temporal.noun-*wa* RESPRO

      b. selector   verb   temporal.noun-*wa* RESPRO

      c. selector *iimír*   temporal.noun-*wa* verb

      d. selector   temporal.noun-*wa* verb

The constructions given in (119a/c/d) represent the grammatical patterns that if they are lexicalized return grammatical sentences (120a/c/d). The remaining pattern (119b) is the exception and when lexicalized is judged to be of highly questionable nature (120b).

(120) a. *daawe*   *qaymo* *ga-na*   *hhitiín*   *iimír*   *matlatlé-r-wa*   *alé*

           elephants   fields   O.3:O.F-PAST   destroy:3.SG.F from:CON   morning-F-ABL   RESPRO

           'In the morning the elephants were destroying the field (action not yet completed).'

      b. ?? *daawe*   *qaymo* *ga-na*   *hhitiín*   *matlatlé-r-wa*   *alé*

           elephants   fields   O.3:O.F-PAST   destroy:3.SG.F morning-F-ABL   RESPRO

           'In the morning the elephants destroyed the field (action completed).'

      c. *daawe*   *qaymo* *ga-na*   *iimír*   *matlatlé-r-wa*   *hhitiín*

           elephants   fields   O.3:O.F-PAST   from:CON   morning-F-ABL destroy:3.SG.F

           'In the morning the elephants were destroying the field (action not yet completed).'

      d. *daawe*   *qaymo* *ga-na*   *matlatlé-r-wa*   *hhitiín*

           elephants   fields   O.3:O.F-PAST   morning-F-ABL   destroy:3.SG.F

           'In the morning the elephants destroyed the field (action completed).'

At first glance, (119b) seems to be the only disallowed construction, but if we take a closer look at the data, pattern (119c) can also be considered to be unnatural. Even though it is accepted when put to a speaker, it is never produced spontaneously and does not occur in the corpus at all. As a result I would hypothesize that it might be that, though technically correct, this position is simply not used for the temporal construction with *iimír*. It is odd that this distinction is made, as both positions should be available to a noun phrase marked with an adverbial clitic, yet the temporal constructions seem to form an exception.

     This ties in with another interesting thing in the distribution of the temporal *-wa* constructions. The pre-verbal position seems to have another meaning than post-verbal. In example (121a) the action takes a relatively short time as there is the implication that there is work to be done afterwards. In (121b) the lunch takes a long time and there is no indication of actions that would have to be done afterwards. This is not an isolated incident, as we find similar results for phrases like (122).

(121) a. /*ametleemi'í-wa*   /*aymaán*
      noon-ABL   eat:1.PL
      'At noon, we eat lunch.'
      Implication: we continue working afterwards, the lunch is short.

    b. /*aymaán iimír*   /*ametleemi'í-wa*   *alé*
      eat:1.PL from:CON   noon-ABL   RESPRO
      'At noon, we eat lunch.'
      Implication: lunch goes on for a long time.

(122) a. *hhawaata*   *qaymo*   *ga-n*   *doosl*   *iimír*   *laarí-wa*   *alé*
      man   field   O.3:O.F-EXPEC cultivate:3.SG.M from:CON today-ABL RESPRO
      'From today the man cultivates the field (continues in the days to come).'

    b. *hhawaata*   *qaymo*   *ga-n*   *laarí-wa*   *doosl*
      man   field   O.3:O.F-EXPEC today-ABL cultivate:3.SG.M
      'From today the man cultivates the field.'
      Implication: He needs to finish the job today.

    The verb internal position indicates what speakers refer to as 'the work to be done'. Due to this, there is a connotation of relative brevity and that there are other actions to be undertaken after this. We find this interpretation for many of the examples. In cases where this implication does not necessarily fit, it results in some odd interpretations of the data. For example, in (123a) the verb internal position creates the implication that there is another group of women that will talk later, whereas in (123b) the post-verbal phrase simply receives the durative semantics. Similarly, in (124a) the verb internal position creates the implication that the work that is being done was actually planned for the afternoon, and that there is something else to be done afterwards, which means it must be finished in the morning as well. Again the post-verbal position has no such implications (124b).

(123) a. /*ameena*   *i*   *tsiindó-wa*   *axwés*
      women S.3   evening-ABL   talk:3.SG.F
      'The women talk in the evening.'
      Implication: there is another group of women which will talk later.

    b. /*ameena*   *i*   *axwés*   *iimír*   *tsiindó-wa*   *alé*
      women S.3   talk:3.SG.F from:CON evening-ABL RESPRO
      'The women talk in the evening (until late).'

(124) a. *hhawaate ni-na   matlatlé-r-wa gadyus-iyé'*
      men   PL-PAST morning-F-ABL work-3.PL
      'In the morning, the men were working.'
      Implication: the work was planned to start in the afternoon, but instead it was started and also finished in the morning.

    b. *hhawaate ni-na   gadyus-iyé' iimír   matlatlé-r-wa alé*
      men   PL-PAST work-3.PL   from:CON   morning-F-ABL RESPRO
      'In the morning, the men were working.'
      Implication: they were working from the morning (and it continues).

In conclusion there is a variety of temporal constructions that take the ablative case clitic. Some merely imply the source of temporal period, whereas others function in a more limited temporal domain.

The data presented above indicates that the spatial strructures are also used in the temporal domain. The ablative temporal construction is found in combination with the temporal noun *iimír* and occurs both in the verb internal and post-verbal position. Contrary to spatial expressions, the position of the clause makes a difference for the meaning of the temporal phrase. The verb-internal position implies that there is something else that will happen afterwards, providing a concrete boundary for the temporal space and therefore not warranting the durative aspect. Instead these constructions may be viewed as parallel constructions to the spatial motion on a Ground constructions. Instead of a Path leading away from the Ground, there is a Path occurring on the Ground itself without crossing Ground-boundaries. The post-verbal construction with *iimír* works differently, and expresses the boundary-crossing Path function which we have seen in both durational locative and ablative source constructions.

5.2 CAUSAL DOMAIN

Another common extension of the ablative case clitic is into the causal domain. The use of ablative markers in causal phrases is widely attested in languages with case systems and occurs quite frequently (Heine and Kuteva 2002:328). A possible link between the two domains is that the ablative can be contrived to indicate the source of a certain event or the source for the occurrence of an event (125a). The ablative clitic is not the only adverbial case clitic that operates in the causal domain, Iraqw also has a specific case clitic for denoting 'reason', fittingly named the reason case clitic *-sa* (125b).

(125) a. *i   gi'i-wa   da'eemiit*
      S.3   ghost-ABL   fear:3.SG.M:PRES
      'He is afraid of ghosts.'

    b. *buhara-sa*
      rainy.season-REAS
      'because of the rainy season'

(Mous 1992:106-7)

Based on these examples, the ablative and the reason case clitic appear to share this domain and overlap in use and meaning. This section will first discuss the causal use of the ablative case clitic in detail and will then continue to discuss the 'reason' clitic *-sa* which in the literature appears to overlap with the ablative.

5.2.1 THE ABLATIVE CASE CLITIC IN CAUSAL CONSTRUCTIONS

Iraqw has multiple ways of expressing causal relations between phrases. There is a causal connective *asma* 'because', the ablative clitic and the reason case clitic. The latter is the topic of discussion of section 5.2.2. Here the focus lies on the use of the connective *asma* and the ablative case clitic. Example (126) contains both cause markers in the same sentence.

(126) *a   habambír   yangariít-**wa**   daiimiít   xweera-wo bará   doó hamtloo-r-o*
       S.1/2 spider:CON big-ABL   be.afraid:1.SG night-BACK in:CON   bath.room-F-BACK
       asma   *i   gawá   daári*
       because S.3   top:CON ceiling
       'I am afraid to go to the bathroom at night, because there is a big spider on the ceiling.'

The ablative case clitic incorporates the reason in the verbal complex and indicates the cause of the event. The causal connective *asma* cannot appear inside the verbal complex and instead connects the further reasons for the event, in this case fear, in a coordinated clause.

    As with all its other uses the ablative case clitic can appear in two different positions, within the verbal complex (127a) and behind the verbal complex in which case it is followed by the resumptive pronoun (127b). When the ablative case clitic appears in the post-verbal position it can be preceded by the causal connective (127b), which does not affect the semantics of the clause. The causal connective and the ablative case clitic appear to fulfill the same function, so using both is technically redundant but still correct and often used. The redundancy can result, for example in fast speech, in the dropping of the ablative case clitic (127c).

(127) a. *dasi i-na   tluway-**wa** ta'ain   bará   do'*
         girl   S.3-PAST rain-ABL   ran.in:3.SG.F   in:CON   house
     b. *dasi i-na   ta'ain   bará   do'   **asma**   tluway-**wa** alé*
         girl   S.3-PAST ran.in:3.SG.F   in:CON   house because rain-ABL   RESPRO
     c. *dasi i-na   ta'ain   bará   do'   **asma**   tluway*
         girl   S.3-PAST ran.in:3.SG.F   in:CON   house because rain
         'The girl ran into the house because of the rain.'

The other way around is perfectly acceptable as well, favouring the ablative case clitic (128a) over the causal connective (128b). The causal connective and the ablative case clitic can vary freely, only inserting the causal connective in the verbal complex is sheer impossible, as a connective cannot appear in such environments (128c). When it comes to the semantics of the causal connective and the ablative clitic I would say that they are similar or even identical. The choice for one or the other does not affect the semantics of the clause or the interpretation of it, so appears to be dependent on either speaker preference or pragmatics.

(128) a. *a   daiimiít   gi'í-wa   alé*
         S.1/2 be.afraid:1.SG ghost-ABL   RESPRO

     b. *a   daiimiít   asma   gi'í-wa   alé*
         S.1/2 be.afraid:1.SG because ghost-ABL   RESPRO

     c. * *a   asma   gi'í-wa   daiimiít*
         S.1/2 because ghost-ABL   be.afraid:1.SG
         'I am afraid of ghosts.'

The ablative case clitic is widely applicable in the causal domain and can be used with any type of causal relation. Some languages encode various causal events in different manners, to specify between reason or cause or other such distinctions. Iraqw does not. The corpus does not suggest any particular causative constructions in which the clitic is particularly frequent nor does it provide any evidence for constructions in which it might be ungrammatical. For example, in (129) the ablative marker is used to indicate a reason for an event and in (130) the cause of an event, both of which are expressed by the ablative case clitic (in combination with the causal connective).

(129) *ag'ale   aayi   i-n   amó-r-d-i   hara-kií/   nee*
         always   mother S.3-EXPEC place:CON-F-DEM4-DIR towards-return:3.SG.M:PRES with
         hárgarma-wos-ee   asma   tseehhee qasa-r-wa   alé
         daughter.in.law-3.SG.POSS-BACK because manure   placing-F-ABL RESPRO
         'Mother always returns home with the daughter-in-law to put the manure inside.'
                                                                                          (Mous 1992:335)

(130) *giiyeé   kurkí   ti-toó   fắk-a   asma   heé   wák   waa   alé.*
         famine   dear me! O.1:IMPS-only finish:3.SG.F-Q because man   one   ABL   RESPRO
         'Should the famine finish us all off just because of one person?'
                                                                                          (Berger and Kiessling 1998:361)

The ablative case clitic is used quite frequently in causal environments and occurs a total of 14 times in the corpus. The expression of the core notions of the ablative clitic seem to be expressed in a causal,

abstract source construction. The noun phrase marked with the clitic still signifies the source or Place of the cause or the reason, with other words the source for the event. The notion of Path is necessarily implied in this as well, as it describes the Place as a Place of origin, rather than a Place of existence or Place of Goal.

5.2.2 THE REASON CASE CLITIC

As was mentioned in the introduction of this section, apart from the causal connective *asma* 'because' and the ablative case clitic, Iraqw also has a specialized reason case clitic *-sa*. This clitic is described to have causal semantics (Mous 1992:107) and to be used to indicate the reason of an event (131).

(131) *gi'i-sa*

  ghosts-REAS

  'because of the ghosts'

  (Mous 1992:107)

Since the reason case clitic is also an adverbial case clitic, it appears in exactly the same environments as the ablative case clitic. Additionally, on first glance the meaning of the reason clitic *-sa* appears to be identical to the causal meaning of the ablative *-wa*. Compare examples (132a) and (132b).

(132) a. *i-na   basi-r-ar   daqay-ká   tluwo-**sa**   alé*

  S.3-PAST bus-F-INSTR leave:3.SG.M-NEG rain:M-CAUS   RESPRO

  'He didn't go by bus because of the rain.'

  (Mous 1992:240)

  b. *dasi   aa   bará-d-í   tleér   as(ma)   tluwáy-**wa** alé*

  girl   S.3:PERF in:CON-DEM4-DIR   go:3.SG.F because   rain-ABL   RESPRO

  'The girl went inside because of the rain.'

  (own data)

However, my data provides evidence that the ablative and the reason case clitic are in fact not freely interchangeable, for example in (133) and (134). In most cases where the ablative case clitic is perfectly acceptable, the reason case clitic is not. In fact, it was extremely difficult to get phrases with the reason clitic *-sa* clitic accepted by speakers at all. In most cases the phrase was judged to be not completely ungrammatical, but simply not 'useful'.

(133) a. */ameeni i habambó-r-**wa** daiimit-ká*
      woman S.3   spider-F-ABL   be.afraid:3.SG.F-NEG

    b. ??*/ameeni i   habambó-r-**sa** daiimit-ká*
      woman   S.3   spider-F-REAS be.afraid:3.SG.F-NEG
      'The woman is not afraid of spiders.'

(134) a. *a   gi'í-**wa**   daiimiít*
      S.1/2 ghosts-ABL be.afraid:1.SG

    b. ?? *a gi'í-**sa**   daiimiít*
      S.1/2 ghosts-REAS be.afraid:1.SG
      'I am afraid of ghosts.'

This suggests that the reason clitic can be used, but that it is infelicitous in these type of contexts. Getting a 'reason'-interpretation for any phrases with -*sa* has proven to be difficult. It was never produced spontaneously and if given it was either rejected or interpreted as the abbreviated form of the adverb *sangw* 'just' (135). In other cases, if the consultant was asked to use the reason -*sa*, she was uncertain of how to use it and this could result in sentences like (136) where the reason clitic is stacked on top of the ablative clitic. We would expect the adverb *sangw* in such a positions, but not another adverbial clitic, because adverbial clitics cannot be stacked.

(135) *hhawaata   i   fu'unáy-wa sa(ngw) slaktuú áy*
      man   S.3   meat-ABL   just   hunting go:3.SG.M
      'The man will just go hunting for meat.'

(136) ??*dasi   aa   tluwáy-wa sa   tleér*
      girl   S.3:PERF rain-ABL   REAS go:3.SG.F
      The girl goes inside because of the rain.

This all suggests that the reason case clitic is not commonly used to mark a causal relationship with a noun phrase, and might be uncommon in this environment in general. That the reason case clitic is or was used to indicate causal relationships is at least clear. There are many of instances of the reason clitic on selectors and verbs (137) and of the preposition that corresponds to the reason clitic. Observant readers will have already noticed that the reason preposition *as* 'because' is part of the causal connection *asma* 'because' and is also used as the abbreviated form of the causal connective. However, there is not a single instance of a noun marked by -*sa* with clear causative semantics in the corpus.

(137) *aako   i-ri   oó'   aama   i-na   /araán-di   kí-wa*
old.man S.3-CONSEC say:3.SG.M old.woman S.3-PAST faint:3.SG.F-PL 2.SG.F-BGND

aán   m-a-s-a   ma'á-y   ku'us-é'
see:3.SG.F Q-O.F-**CAUS**-PERF water-DIR sprinkle:2.SG-PL.PAST

The master said: "Did your mother faint when she saw you? Why did you sprinkle her with water?"

(Berger and Kiessling 1998:84)

This does not mean that the -*sa* clitic does not occur on nouns at all. If asked what a good way to use the -*sa* clitic would be, speakers will come up with phrases like (138) and the corpus has two instances of a noun phrase marked with -*sa* (1139), which both occur behind a conditional form, which could be interpreted as a wish or a hope.

(138) *hhawaata   i-na   hikwa-sa   daqay*
man   S.3-PAST cattle-REAS go:3.SG.M

'The man goes for the cattle.'

(139) a *i-na   ó'   uú uú á-n   bur-a   sa   laqwaál   bará*
S.3-PAST say:3.SG.F uu uu S.1/2-EXPEC COND:O.M-PERF REAS get.children:3.SG.F in:CON

guru-eé'   bir-i-nga   sa   geexáy   gu/a
stomach-1.SG.POSS   COND-S.3- O.3:DEP.S.3:PERF REAS leave:3.SG.M swallow

gaa-síng   a   gâar-o
O.3:O.F:PERF-DEM2   S.3   kill-BACK

'She said: 'uú uú, I beter have the child, better for it to leave my stomach, and (then) swallow it.'[10]

b. *bará   slaqwte'-eé   bir-i-nga   sa   geexaáy*
in:CON   body-1.SG.POSS   COND-S.3- O.3:DEP.S.3:PERF REAS leave:3.SG.M

'Better for it to leave my body.'[11]

(Mous and Sanka 2008:108, English translations mine)

The reason case clitic can be traced to other South Cushitic languages, like Burunge, which is a language closely related to Iraqw. In Burunge we find that the preposition *sa* is both used as a benefactive (140) and to indicate causality (141). Therefore it seems safe to assume that even if the reason clitic is not commonly used like a causative clitic at the moment, it was definitely used like that in the past. The example in (140) is reminisced of the one in (138), leading to hypothesize that instead of causal semantics the clitic now has beneficiary or optative semantics.

---

[10] Original Swahili translation: *Mama akasema, "Uu! uu!, heri mimi niwe nimeshamzaa; akishatoka tumboni mwangu kumezwa siyo tatizo.*

[11] Original Swahili translation: *Bora atoke mwilini mwangu.*

(140) *'iyoo*   *hi-gi*   *tantint^i*   *fa/a*   **sa**   *taataa*

       mother   s.3-SEQ   cook:3.SG.F:PERF   stiff.porridge   for   father

       'Mother cooked stiff porridge for father.'[12]

                                       (Kiessling 1994:192, English translation and glosses mine)

(141) *muunaati-r-^i*   *hi-ng*   *hant^i*   **sa**   *tleema*

       wax-F-DEM4   s.3-COMP   be.hot:3.SG.F:PERF   because   sun.heat

       'The wax has become soft because of the heat of the sun.'[13]

                                       (Kiessling 1994:192, English translation and glosses mine)

I will not speculate further on the semantics of the reason case clitic, as there is precious little data to work from and the clitic seems to be falling out of practice on nouns in any case.

What can be concluded is that on nouns the causative function of the reason case clitic has been taken over by the ablative marker. It can also be traced to *as(ma),* which is clearly derived from or has a shared origin with the case clitic *-sa*. On selectors and verbs, the reason *-s* is still used and productive as a causative. It might be hypothesized that in these cases the ablative marker cannot take over, as it is not allowed on selectors due to its similarity to the background marker.

5.3 ADVERBIAL DOMAIN

This section takes a closer look at the circumstantial use of the ablative marker as part of adverbial constructions. The term adverb covers a large word class which has a lot of internal variation. Of interest here is the class of adverbs also known as manner adverbs. These type of adverbs tell us something about the way in which the action denoted by the verb takes place (Eckardt 1998:1). According to Cinque (1997:40) there are some important differences between Manner adverbs and other 'regular' adverbs. Manner-adverbs can be interchangeable in scope and are, at least in Indo-European languages, often realized differently from proper adverbs.

Iraqw has two distinct adverbial classes, one of which features the ablative case clitic. The ablative case clitic can fulfil two functions in the adverbial domain. In the first function, the ablative clitic has grammaticalized on an existing adverb (142a), and in its second function, it is used to actively form simile 'such/like' adverbial constructions (142b).

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[12] Original German translation and glosses: Mutter S.3-SEQ kochen.3sgf.PF Brei für Vater. '*Mutter kochte für Vater Brei.*'

[13] Original German translation and glosses: Wachs-F-DEM.4 S.3-KOMP heiß sein.3sgf.PF wegen Sonnenhitze. '*Jenes Wachs ist wegen der Hitze weich geworden.*'

(142) a. *i-na   lówa saweés*
          S.3-PAST very   go.far:3.SG.M:PAST
          'He went far.'

<div align="right">(Mous 1992:211)</div>

    b. *ta-ri   daá'   adó-r   aako-dá-**wá**   alé*
       IMPS-CONSEC   sing:3.SG.M   manner:CON   old.man-DEM4-ABL   RESPRO
       'And they were singing like that old man did.'

<div align="right">(Berger and Kiessling 1998:138)</div>

In both cases there is no clear connection to the source semantics of the clitic or to one of the other meanings described in earlier chapters. The adverbial simile 'such, as' function has been described as commonly derived from a comitative or instrumental element (Heine and Kuteva 2002), but there is no common attestation of such constructions stemming from an ablative item. This chapter will first discuss the Iraqw adverbials, and then take a closer look the use of the ablative in adverbial constructions.

5.3.1 IRAQW ADVERBIALS
There are two distinct types of adverbs in Iraqw: the sentential adverb and the verbal adverb. These two types of adverbs occupy different positions in the sentence and they behave differently from each other. As such they can be classified as two distinct word classes (Mous 1992:210).

    First of, there is the verbal adverb. Verbal adverbs can occur either immediately before the verb (143a) or after the verb in which case they are followed by the resumptive pronouns *alé* (143b). Verbal adverbs are adverbs like *male* 'again', *adá* 'quickly', and *mak* 'just' (Mous 1992:210).

(143) a. *dooslusmo qaymo ga-na   **adá**   doósl*
         farmer   fields   O.3:O.F-PAST   quickly   cultivate:3.SG.M
    b. *dooslusmo qaymo ga-na   doósl   **adá**   alé*
       farmer   fields   O.3:O.F-PAST   cultivate:3.SG.M   quickly   RESPRO
       'The farmer cultivated the fields quickly.'

    The second type is the sentential adverb. Unlike the verbal type, these adverbs never occur immediately before the verb nor do they take the resumptive pronoun when they appear behind the verb. Instead, they can occur sentence-initially (144a), after the subject (144b), or sentence finally (144c). Examples of sentential adverbs are items like *aáng* 'long time ago', *doqa* 'maybe, possibly', and *kar* 'well' (Mous 1992:217).

(144) a. **aáng**   múk   Iraqw   i-na   lóh   Iimbóru
       long.ago people   Iraqw   S.3-PAST moved:3.SG.M Mbulu

    b. múk   Iraqw   **aáng**   i-na   lóh   Iimbóru
       people   Iraqw   long.ago S.3-PAST moved:3.SG.M Mbulu

    c. múk   Iraqw   i-na   lóh   Iimbóru **aáng**
       people   Iraqw   S.3-PAST moved:3.SG.M Mbulu   long.ago

    'A long time ago the Iraqw moved to Mbulu.'

The observant reader will have noticed that the distribution and behaviour of the verbal adverbials is identical to the distribution and behaviour of the adverbial case clitics. Hence, this section will not discuss sentential adverbs any further, but it will instead focus on the verbal adverb and its connection to the ablative case clitic.

5.3.2 VERBAL ADVERBS WITH AN INCORPORATED ABLATIVE CLITIC

As noted above, the adverbial case clitics behave in a similar manner to the verbal adverbs. The distribution is similar as they occur within the verbal complex and when behind the complex they are followed by the resumptive pronoun. As such, it comes as no surprise that the adverbs that appear to be derived from a lexical item plus the ablative clitic are all part of the verbal adverbs (145).

(145) *tseewa*   'early'

     lówa   'very'   (from *lo'* 'true')

     tsuwa   'for sure, really'

                                                          (Mous 1992:210-1)

     kangw kilá'wa 'very much'   (from *kilá'* 'exact, very')

                                              (Mous, Qorro, and Kiessling 2002:49)

These forms are grammaticalized to an extent that the noun-clitic combination has conventionalized to a set meaning. Some of the nouns can no longer occur without the clitic and only exist in their adverbial form. There are no attestations of adverbs with any of the other adverbial noun clitics, but there are some verbal adverbs that appear to be contracted forms of a noun with the resumptive pronoun or to contain the construct case marker (Mous 1992:211). The behaviour of verbal adverbs containing the ablative clitic is identical to the other verbal adverbs. They occur in exactly the same positions (146a/b), and are similarly disallowed in the positions that are occupied by sentential adverbs (146c).

(146) a. *i-na   lówa saweés*
      S.3-PAST very go.far:3.SG.M:PAST
      'He went very far.'

<div align="right">(Mous 1992:211)</div>

  b. *na/ii'   ti   sla'an-á'   ló'wa alé*
      children O.3:PL:IMPS love:3.SG.F-INF very RESPRO
      'The children really loved each other.'

<div align="right">(Mous and Sanka 2008:27)</div>

  c. * *na/ii'   ló'wa   ti   sla'an-á'*
      children very   O.3:PL:IMPS love:3.SG.F-INF
      'The children really loved each other.'

They are also applied in the same manner as the other verbal adverbs. Verbal adverbs can be used to modify a verb (147a), adjectives (147b), and other adverbs (147c).

(147) a. *a-na   tseewa tláw   gu'tee-r-o*
      S.1/2-PAST early   wake.up:1.SG sleep-F-BACK
      'I woke up early.'
  b. *dasi-r-qá' ka   ló'wa   hhoohhoo'*
      girl-F-DEM3 INDEF.F really   beautiful
      'That girl is really beautiful.'

<div align="right">(own data)</div>

  c. *i-na   amó-r   lo'wá-r   saaw káy*
      S.3-PAST place:CON-F very:CON-F far   go:3.SG.M
      'He went very far.'

<div align="right">(Mous 1992:213)</div>

Many of the adverbs containing an ablative clitic involve intensifying, like *lówa* 'very' and *tsuwa* 'really'. The adverb *ló'wa* can be used to create superlatives (Mous 1992:213) and in the corpus there is an attestation of the ablative clitic on a noun phrase for expressing a comparative (148a). This use is rejected by speakers nowadays in favour of (148b). The construction in (148b) is commonly found in comparative constructions which often consists of *ta*[14] 'than' followed by a noun phrase usually marked with the background marker (Mous 1992:214).

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[14] This is probably a loan construction from the Swahili comparative construction with *kuliko* 'than'.

(148) a. *i-ri tumbarara'aát dír diraangw i-ri oó'*
S.3-CONSEC kneel:3.SG.M place:CON lion S.3-CONSEC say:3.SG.M

aako-eé' án kuúng u ló'wa slaá' geerá makay
old.man-1.SG:POSS 1.SG 2.SG.M O.M very love:3.SG.M front:CON animals

sleémeeró-wa alé
all-ABL RESPRO

'He kneels for the lion, he says, my master, I love you very much, more than all the other animals.'

<div align="right">(Mous and Sanka 2008:94)</div>

b. *i-ri tumbarara'aát dír diraangw i-ri oó'*
S.3-CONSEC kneel:3.SG.M place:CON lion S.3-CONSEC say:3.SG.M

aako-eé' án kuúng u ló'a slaá' ta makay sleémeeró
old.man- 1.SG.POSS 1.SG 2.SG.M O.M very love:3.SG.M than animals all

'He kneels for the lion, he says, my master, I love you very much, more than all the other animals.'

The comparative construction is similar to the superlative construction as given by Mous (1992:214), in example (149a). In example (149) I mainly want to look at the final part, which in (148a) is marked with the ablative clitic. Ablative markers in languages across the world are often used as a partitive, a way to distinguish something from a group. On (149a), Mous remarks that *bará* is used to indicate the group from which the lion is the worst, which could be why an ablative could be used in (148a), and might be expected in (149a). In (149b) *geeraá* has a similar to function to the *bará* of (149a), which explains its use in (148a).

(149) a. *dirangw a lówa makt'ór tlakway hhe'eés bará makay sleemero*
lion S.3 very animal:CON badness finish:3.SG.M in:CON animals all

'The lion is the worst of all animals.'

<div align="right">(Mous 1992:214)</div>

b. *kú 'ak tlákw geeraá Tarár hatlá'*
O.3:IMPS:O.M very be.bad:3.SG.M front:CON Datoga:CON other

'Is the worst of all the other Datoga.'

<div align="right">(Berger and Kiessling 1998:172)</div>

In (148a) the noun phrase headed with the locational noun was marked with the ablative clitic, but speakers now no longer create these type of phrases, instead opting for the comparative construction given in (148b) with the lexical item *ta* 'than' instead of a locational noun (149).

In short, it can be concluded that some verbal adverbs show traces of the ablative clitic. The fact that both the ablative clitic and the verbal adverbs occur in the same position in the clause might have contributed in the overlap between the categories. None of the other adverbial clitics can be found on

verbal adverbs, which means the question remains what the exact function of the ablative is in these cases. Based on the intensifying nature of many of the ablative adverbs and its connection to superlatives and comparatives, it might be very tentatively hypothesized that the historic function of partitive maker has led to the use of the ablative in these cases and this created a connotation with intensifying usages. The intensifying use of the ablative clitic on adverbs is in any case no longer productive, as no new constructions can be formed as such.

5.3.3 THE ABLATIVE CLITIC IN SIMILE 'SUCH AS/LIKE' CONSTRUCTIONS

There is another adverbial construction that sports the ablative clitic and in these cases the ablative clitic is productive. It concerns constructions that express simile 'such as, like' meanings. In these cases the construction is preceded by *adór* 'manner:CON' and the following noun phrase is cliticized by the ablative case clitic, see examples (150) and (151).

(150) *ta-ri*   *daá'*   *adór*   *aako-dá'-wá*   *alé*
     IMPS-CONSEC   sing:3.SG.M manner:CON   old.man-DEM4-ABL   RESPRO
     'And they were singing like that old man did.'

(Berger and Kiessling 1998:138)

(151) *ilwa*   *ki-n-ar*   *ha<m>tlín*   *adór*   *ma'áy-wá* *alé*
     milk   O.3:IMPS:O.N-EXPEC-INSTR   bathe<DUR>3.SG.M   manner:CON water-ABL   RESPRO
     'They are bathing in milk, as if it was water.'

(Berger and Kiessling 1998:151)

These type of adverbial phrases described the manner in which an action takes place by comparing it to something similar. In these type of phrases it is obligatory to use the ablative clitic (152a) as leaving it out would result in an ungrammatical phrase (152b).

(152) a. *i-na*   *oó'*   *kuúng* *ka-wa*   *xu'*   *a-ná*
       S.3-PAST say:3.SG.M 2.SG.M O.3:IMPS:O.F-BGND   think:2.SG S.1/2-PAST
       gu<aa>ím-a   *adór*   *kuúng-wa* *alé*   *kuú*   *a*   *daktani* *xáygan*
       sleep<HAB>1.SG-INF   manner:CON 2.SG.M-ABL RESPRO 2.SG.M   S.1/2 fool   INTER
       'He says, do you think I sleep like you, you are stupid, you man.'

(Mous and Sanka 2008:97)

   b. **i-na*   *oó'*   *kuúng* *ka-wa*   *xu'*   *a-ná*
       S.3-PAST say:3.SG.M 2.SG.M O.3:IMPS:O.F-BGND   think:2.SG S.1/2-PAST
       gu<aa>ím-a   *adór*   *kuúng* *kuú*   *a*   *daktani* *xáygan*
       sleep<HAB>1.SG-INF   manner:CON 2.SG.M   2.SG.M   S.1/2 fool   INTER
       'He says, do you think I sleep like you, you are stupid, you man.'

In a few cases we find that the ablative clitic can be left out with no cost to the grammaticality or meaning of the phrase. In example (153a, 154a) the 'such as/like' construction is simply composed of the construct form of *ado* 'manner', a demonstrative and the ablative clitic. The ablative clitic can be deleted without cost (153b, 154b).

(153) a. *daba-wós*   *gaa*   **adoo-r-í-wa**   *kunjuús*
      hand-3.SG.POSS O.3:O.F:PERF   manner-F-DEM1-ABL   fold:3.SG.M

     b. *daba-wós*   *gaa*   **adoo-r-í**   *kunjuús*
      hand-3.SG.POSS O.3:O.F:PERF   manner-F-DEM1   fold:3.SG.M
      'He/she crossed his/her arms like this.'

(154) a. *kár*   *dír*   *da/ewa'*   *ngi-wa*   *áy*   *daba-wós*   *gaa*
      well   place:CON   chest   O.3:DEP.S.3:O.N-BGNDgo:3.SG.M hand-3.SG.POSS   O.3:O.F:PERF
      adoo-r-í-wa   *wageeqáy*
      manner-F-DEM1-ABL   cross:3.SG.M
      'Then when he reached his chest, he crossed his arms in this way.'

<div align="right">(Mous and Sanka 2008:43)</div>

     b. *kár*   *dír*   *da/ewa'*   *ngi-wa*   *áy*   *daba-wós*   *gaa*
      well   place:CON   chest   O.3:DEP.S.3:O.N-BGNDgo:3.SG.M hand-3.SG.POSS   O.3:O.F:PERF
      adoo-r-ír   *wageeqáy*
      manner-F-DEM1:CON   cross:3.SG.M
      'Then when he reached his chest, he crossed his arms in this way.'

In other cases, where the ablative clitic is also attached to *adór,* but it used to refer to the entire phrase, leaving the element out would result in an ungrammatical sentence (155b). This is due to the fact that a simple 'in this manner' translation that is available in (154b), cannot be used in phrases as (155), instead the simile must be described to make the sentence intelligible.

(155) a. *’inós buura ga-ri   ’óh   gaa   ado-r-í-wá*
   3.SG beer O.3:O.F-CONSEC catch:3.SG.M O.3:O.F:PERF manner-F-DEM1-ABL

   huuw   gáwá   afa
   bring:3.SG.M   top:CON mouth

   ‘And the boy held the calabash of beer, as if he would bring it to his lips.’

                (Berger and Kiessling 1998:115)

 b. * *’inós   buura ga-ri   ’óh   gaa   ado-r-í*
   3.SG   beer O.3:O.F-CONSEC catch:3.SG.M O.3:O.F:PERF manner-F-DEM1

   huuw   gáwá   afa
   bring:3.SG.M   top:CON mouth

   ‘And the boy held the calabash of beer, as if he would bring it to his lips.’

In short, the ablative clitic is productively used to express a similar manner in which an event takes place. The clitic is optional if the clitic occurs on the manner noun and does not refer to an entity outside of this. It always occurs in combination with *adór*, which encodes manner.

5.3.4 ADVERBALIZATION WITH ADVERBIAL CASE CLITICS

In section 5.3.2 it was stated that the other adverbial case clitics do not appear in derived verbal adverbs. Yet, one of the other adverbial case clitics does play a role in adverbialization. The instrumental case clitic does seems to have a role to play in the creation of adverbs. The instrumental is very frequently used to form new adverbs with the *-(a)r* clitic (156), but the instrumental preposition *ar* can also be used to create an adverbial phrase (157).

(156) a. *hhawaata   /ameeni gana   tlaatlakwesá-r-ár laawe’eés*
   man   woman O.3:O.F-PAST   be.polite-F-INSTR greet:3.SG.M

   ‘The man greets the woman politely.’

                    (own data)

 b. *ala   diraangw í /uur-ú-r   daham-uú-wá slaa’   bará   doó*
   but   lion   S.3 violence-M-INSTR entry-M-ABL   want:3.SG.M in:CON   house:CON

   Sa'eembásl
   PN

   ‘So the lion tried to force his way into Se'embásl's house.’

               (Berger and Kiessling 1998:143)

(157) a. *ta-ri*   *waátl*   *amór*   *do'*   **ar**   **wayda**

        IMPS-CONSEC   return.home:3.SG.M   place:CON   house   with peace

        'They return home safely.'

<div align="right">(own data)</div>

     b. *is*   *gu*   *ar-tá-wa*   *slaa'*   *xadaaxáy* *gwa'ara* **ar** **lôe** *laqaá*

        S.3   O.3:O.M see-F1-ABL want:3.SG.M INTER   death   with true or

        i   *ax<m>iis*

        S.3   hear<DUR>3.SG.M

        'He want to see if the death is real or if he (the hare) hears.'

<div align="right">(Mous and Sanka 2008:89)</div>

For all these examples it can be argued that it concerns a noun phrase that is marked with the instrumental marker and the correct translation would be *'with* NP'. This makes it very difficult to make a distinction between an adverbial noun phrase and an adverb in Iraqw. Especially differentiating between a noun phrase with an adverbial clitic and a verbal adverb is next to impossible, as their position is identical and both add circumstantial meaning to an event. For now, I will assume that these are adverbial constructions.

    Less frequently and semantically more restricted than the instrumental clitic, the ablative suffix can in a similar manner be used to create what seem to be manner adverbs. As the ablative has no prepositional form, it can only be done with the case clitic. It uses the reason semantics of the clitic to suggest that the reason for the action is because of the characteristics of the subject (158).

(158) a. *garma*   *chuúmba ga-na*   *barawasláy-wa*   *geexáy*

        boy   room   O.3:O.F-PAST   rudeness-ABL   leave:3.SG.M

        'The boy leaves the room rudely (because of his rudeness).'

     b. *hhawaata/ameeni ga-na*   *tlaatlakwemá-wa* *laawe'eés*

        man   woman O.3:O.F-PAST   politeness-ABL   greet:3.SG.M

        'The man greets the woman politely (because he is polite).'

There are no instances of the use of the directive or the reason suffix for forming any type of adverbial constructions. The adverbial constructions that can be formed with the adverbial cases seem to limit themselves to manner adverbs that describe the manner in which the action is preformed. There are no instances of temporal adverbs being formed this way, for example (159).

(159) a. *patermo i   bará   kanísár   kaakáy   wiíki-r-o*
      priest   S.3   in:CON   church:CON go:3.SG.M   week-F-BACK

   b. * *patermo   i   bará   kanísár   kaakáy   wiikí-r-wa alé*
      priest   S.3   in:CON   church:CON go:3.SG.M   week-F-ABL RESPRO

   c. * *patermo   i   bará   kanísár   kaakáy   wiikí-r-ár   alé*
      priest   S.3   in:CON   church:CON go:3.SG.M   week-F-INSTR   RESPRO

    'The priest goes to church weekly.'

The instrumental is most commonly used to create adverbs from verbs and noun, and the ablative clitic can in some particular case be used here as well. However, the 'such/as' adverbs are the terrain of the ablative only, as the instrumental cannot be used here in any case (160).

(160) a. *daxta ngi-wa   slai   masók   inoín i-n   malé*
      now   O.3:DEP.S.3:O.N-BGND want:3.SG.M:SBJV hopefully   3.PL   S.3-EXPEC just

      qatl-iyá'   adór   iltós-wa alé
      lie.down-3.PL   manner:CON eyes-ABL RESPRO
      'Now he wants them to be dead, like his eye.'

                                (Mous and Sanka 2008:103)

   b. * *daxta   ngi-wa   slai   masók   inoín i-n   malé*
      now   O.3:DEP.S.3:O.N-BGND want:3.SG.M:SBJV hopefully   3.PL   S.3-EXPEC just

      qatl-iyá'   adór   iltós-ár   alé
      lie.down-3.PL   manner:CON eyes-INSTR   RESPRO
      'Now he wants them to be dead, like his eye.'

It might be concluded that the instrumental case clitic can be used to create manner adverbs, but that it has not made the extension to simile adverbial constructions, which in Heine and Kuteva (2002) was postualed as a common path of grammaticalization. Rather the reason semantics of the ablative have allowed it to occur in adverbalizing contexts whenever the characteristics of a subject are being described. This use for the expression of characteristics could have been the source of the extension to simile adverbial constructions.

6. CONCLUSIONS

This thesis has provided a detailed account of the functions and the semantics of the ablative case clitic of Iraqw. It first briefly discussed the structural properties of the adverbial case clitics in general, and the ablative case clitic in particular. It concluded that an adverbial case clitic forms an oblique argument with the noun phrase it is hosted on, and such a phrase cannot provide features for verb agreement. This means that the ablative case clitic always appears on syntactically oblique phrases.

The main topic of discussion was the reported syncretism of a source and location marker in opposition to a goal marker. According to the literature this is highly unusual in languages of the world and therefore warranted further research. It can be stated that the core semantics of source markers can be seen as build out of two heads: Place and Path. All source markers necessarily encode both the starting Place of the motion and the Path that is directed away from this place. This is also the case for the ablative case clitic, as the core domain of the ablative marker is without doubt the source domain. Source semantics involve the expression of a Place, the start of a motion, and of a Path, which is directed away from the place. In regular source expressions both Place and Path can be expressed in a spatial manner. However, if the ablative clitic appears in a locative construction this poses a problem. Place can still be expressed, but Path can no longer be present as a spatial notion. Many events that contain an ablative locative phrase also have a durative aspect, either overtly marked on the verb or covertly present in the meaning of the verb. Durative aspect can be reconceptualised as a temporal Path, and I have argued that this is exactly what happens in locative phrases marked with the ablative case clitic. In locative phrases marked with the directional case clitic, the non-spatial expression of Path manifests as purpose or goal semantics. In this manner both the ablative and the directional case clitic retain their core notions of Place and Path, but they express them in divergent ways. It is the Path property that is reconceptualised in such environments and extended in meaning to add to the semantics of the clause. The directionality of the Path is the driving force behind the interpretation of the clitics and plays a determining role in the use of the ablative case clitic in locative expressions. If we consider the basic locative marker to be a zero marker, and the ablative marker to function as a primary source marker, not a locative marker, this means that the analysis of the spatial markers of Iraqw as a Source = Location ≠ Goal syncretism is incorrect. Rather I have argued that the locative marker is a lack of marking, or zero marker, and the source and goal markers are build on top of this. This leads to the reanalysis of Iraqw as a language with a Source ≠ Location ≠ Goal system that can be lexicalized as *wa/ø/i* 'ABL/ZERO/DIR'. As such Iraqw will no longer form a typological exception in the field of spatial marker syncretisms.

The ablative case clitic has three sort of extensions into other semantics fields. These three usages are due to either a reconceptualization of the core notions of the ablative case clitic, or to the fact that they share certain notions and as such can be contrived to be radial subcategories of the ablative central category. The first of these extensions is the use of the ablative clitic in temporal constructions, where it is used to mark the temporal source of an event and to express the Path that extends from this place. Because there is a covert expression of Path through the ablative clitic, a durative aspect is added to the

event. There is a strong connection between the spatial and the temporal domain, which is further proved by the extension of the temporal noun *iimír* 'from:CON' into the spatial domain. The mapping of the two domains is quite simple and the reconceptualization of the ablative straightforward. There is one remarkable feature in the temporal field and that is the grammaticalization of the verb internal and the post-verbal positions. The verb internal position has acquired a perfective aspect, rather than the imperfective durative aspect of the post-verbal position. When linked to the spatial domain, this might be mapped onto non-boundary crossing motion on a Ground and boundary-crossing motion from a Source.

The second extension of the ablative clitic is into the causal domain. The ablative case clitic can be used to indicate the reason or cause of an event, which might be derived from a reconceptualization of source as the abstract source of an event. This is quite a common grammaticalization for ablative markers in the languages of the world. In these type of constructions the ablative case clitic occurs frequently in combination with the causal connective *asma* 'because', which carries a similar meaning, and can at times replace the ablative clitic. The causal domain counts another case clitic, which is attested with overlapping semantics, but which is most frequently found on verbs and selectors. The reason case clitic is more restricted in use on noun phrases and has possibly been replaced by the ablative marker in marker cause or reason on nouns. It seems to still be used for indicating benefactive or optative semantics, but its frequency count is very low and no real conclusions can be reached on this account.

The third extension is from the ablative domain into the adverbial domain. The ablative case clitic appears on adverbs in two distinct ways. It has grammaticalized on certain adverbs of intensification, but can no longer be actively used in to form adverbs in this manner. It is still productive in the creation of simile 'such as/like' adverbial structures. The ablative case clitic can appear in adverbializations that through the reason semantics can be used describe the characteristics of a subject. I hypothesize that this expression of characteristics has led to the extension to simile adverbs.

In conclusion it can be said that the core notions of the ablative case clitic of Iraqw are Path and Place, and they must be expressed in constructions that feature the ablative case clitic. Together they provide the basic semantics that are necessary to explain the diverse usages and functions of the ablative case clitic. The notion of Place is always encoded in the noun phrase that the adverbial clitic is hosted on, either as a concrete spatial Place or a more abstract interpretation of Place. The notion of Path is more diverse in the way that it is expressed and it is responsible for the possible use of the clitic to indicate duration or add a durative aspect to an event. Here the directionality of the Path plays an important role in the reconceptualization of the structure. This research has shown that typological research that takes Iraqw as an example of a similar marker for location and source in opposition to a different goal marker has been based on data which lacked a detailed account of the exact function of the ablative case clitic in locative constructions. In light of the new data and analysis of the ablative case clitic, Iraqw can no longer be considered an exception in the field of spatial markers and their syncretisms.

There a lot remains to be researched for the Iraqw language. For future research it might be interesting to focus on the semantics of the other adverbial case clitics of Iraqw. In the field of spatial expression, a closer look at the semantics of the directional case clitic might prove to be particularly interesting and

valuable in order to get a complete picture of the spatial domain of Iraqw. Another interesting topic would be the reason case clitic as its use is still quite opaque and it would benefit from further analysis and additional data, possible from a historic point of view.

A făk
'It is finished.'

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APPENDIX A: VISUAL STIMULI

The following visual stimuli were used to elicit parts of the data for this research.

A.1 IMAGES AND VIDEOS

The following images were presented to speakers in a PowerPoint presentation. It contained both pictures and videos (here represented with freeze frame). The language consultants were asked to describe the event occuring in the picture or video using the two words provided above the stimulus.

a. **Amaaslaahhi   loo/i**

b. **/ameeni   do'**
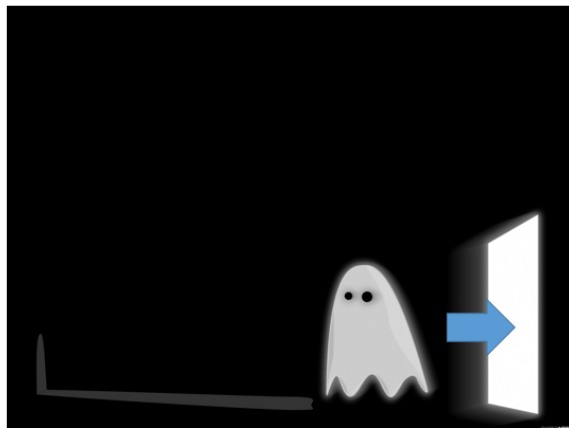
c.

Gi'i   qata

d.

faras   gitsoo

A.2 STORYBOARD

The language consultant was shown the storyboard given below (vertically to allow for the best representation) and asked to describe each of the nine sections in one or two sentences, and in this manner tell the story that is shown on the storyboard.